A short grammar of Inanwatan, an endangered language of the Bird's Head of Papua, Indonesia

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A short grammar of Inanwatan, an endangered language of the Bird's Head of Papua, Indonesia

Lourens de Vries

Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
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## Abbreviations

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Map 1: The Bird's Head in Eastern Indonesia
Map 2: Languages of the Bird's Head
Introduction

Inanwatan (or Bira, Suabo) is a Papuan language spoken on the south coast of the Bird's Head peninsula of Papua (Irian Jaya), Indonesia (see Maps). Voorhoeve (1975:440) and the survey reports of Gravelle (1986), Berry and Berry (1987) and Kempf (n.d.) contain some rudimentary information about the language. See van Oosterhout (2002) for an ethnography of the Inanwatan community.

The Inanwatan language is spoken in three places. First, in the village Inanwatan on the south coast of the Bird's Head peninsula, where the Siganoi waters into the MacCluer Gulf. Inanwatan is the main village of the Inanwatan district (Kecamatan Inanwatan). Second, at the southern entrance of Sele Strait which separates Salawati island from the Bird's Head peninsula. And finally in the Jalan Ferry area of Sorong, the capital of the Sorong regency. These three communities maintain intensive contacts and I have not been able to detect dialectal differences when I visited those communities. The Sele Strait and Sorong communities consist of migrants from the village Inanwatan.

The Inanwatan language is dying out in a process of generational erosion. Generally speaking, only people older than around fifty speak and understand it well. For these older people, Inanwatan still is a major means of daily communication that they use alongside local Malay. Children of elementary school age as a rule do not know the Inanwatan language; they speak the local variety of Malay. Whereas the Inanwatan people as an ethnic group number about 3000, I estimate the number of people fluently speaking Inanwatan to be no higher than 800. The great majority of these 800 is also fluent in Malay. Since Malay functions both within the community and for external communication, Malay is the most important means of communication for the Inanwatan community. Very extensive borrowing from Malay and code mixing between Malay and Inanwatan occurs (see Appendix 2, Texts Part B, no. 2 and 3).

According to Voorhoeve (1975) the Inanwatan language belongs to the Inanwatan family, one of the sixty-odd families of Papuan languages. The Inanwatan family has two member languages, Inanwatan and Duriankari (also called Duriankere). It is very doubtful whether Duriankari, reported by Voorhoeve (1975:440) as spoken on the island of Duriankari at the southern entrance of Sele Strait, still exists. In one of the flood myths of the Inanwatan, the

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1 According to van Oosterhout (2002:175) some of her Inanwatan informants said they were the Bira people but she notes that the name Bira was also used for people living along the coast between Bintuni and Teminabuan. Suabo might be the name of an Inanwatan clan (gobó) or subclan (fadwu) although the name does not occur on the list of gobó of van Oosterhout (2002:173).

2 This chapter is partly based on de Vries (1996, 1998).
Duriankari speakers are regarded as Inanwatan people who in ancient times were carried off to the Sele Strait area by a flood (see Texts, Part A, no.4). When I visited the Inanwatan speaking community of the village Seget, situated at the southern entrance to the Sele Strait, in March 1994, the Inanwatan people there claimed that the Duriankari language was no longer used. Below we will discuss the possibility that Inanwatan is not an isolate but a member of the South Bird's Head family. The language, village and district name Inanwatan originates from a Patipi expression meaning 'sago only' or 'it is all sago' (inan 'sago' and sewatan 'one'). The immense sago swamps of the Inanwatan area inspired Patipi colonists to call the area Inanwatan ('it is all sago'). Patipi is a village on the south coast of the Bomberai peninsula, in the Onin area. Inanwatan people use the name Patipi also for the Austronesian language of the Bomberai peninsula known as Sekar, a dialect of the Onin language, spoken today in Kokas by about 600 persons. Some Inanwatan people called their language the Irarowataro language when talking to me, an adaptation of the word Inanwatan to the sound patterns of the Inanwatan language (see below) but nidáibo 'our language (voice)' is the normal way to refer to the language. The North-Moluccan Sultans of Tidore had their 'middle men' in the Onin area who established trade monopolies on the Bird's Head south coast, especially where major rivers watered into the MacCluer Gulf and the Seram Sea. These 'middle men' had the Malay title raja 'king'. There were raja's in the villages Rumbati, Patipi, Ati-Ati and Fatagar and each raja had his own section of the Bird's Head south coast where he had some influence through representatives who settled near river mouths (see Vink 1932:41). The raja of Patipi sent representatives to the Siganoi river mouth where they engaged in slave trade with the Inanwatan people. To get slaves, the Inanwatan raided the interior but also neighbouring coastal peoples like the Yahadian. In exchange for the slaves, they received cloths, iron tools and weapons and guns from the Patipi 'middle men'. Although these raja's of Patipi never established a regular government in the Inanwatan area, the Patipi colonists in Inanwatan married local women and Patipi words were borrowed by the Inanwatan language. To confirm the Patipi origin of the name Inanwatan and to investigate lexical links between Inanwatan and Patipi, an Austronesian language, I visited the Patipi speaking village Kokas in October 1995. Examples of Inanwatan words with Patipi origin: náti 'raja (king)' (>Patipi nati), nóto 'cloth; sarong' (>Patipi not), pásao 'rice' (>Patipi pasa), sósorao 'forked fishing spear' (>Patipi sosona).

Between the 16th and the end of the 19th century, Patipi (Onin, Sekar) had become an important lingua franca in the MacCluer Gulf area. Old Inanwatan people told me that the first protestant evangelists in Inanwatan (from 1908 on) used a mixture of Patipi and Malay in their sermons. The senior Dutch civil servant F.H. Dumas writes in his Memorie van Overgave (Memorandum of Conveyance) in 1911: 'De op Bira geplaatste ambtenaar E.A. Tanasale is [...] de Papoeataal van Onin, die ook daar verstaan wordt machtig.' (The civil servant E.A. Tanasale who has been placed in Bira knows the Papuan language of Onin which is also understood there.) With the arrival of the Dutch colonial administration in Inanwatan in 1908, the Patipi influence diminished, although the Dutch initially ruled the Inanwatan area through appointed Patipi raja who were called raja-commissie (kówisí in the Inanwatan language).

The relationship with Onin and Patipi is strongly reflected in the oral tradition of the Inanwatan people. For example, I recorded a story about Namora, the first raja of

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3 Possibly reflecting my use of the Malay term bahasa Inanwatan.
Inanwatan who came from Patipi (see de Vries 2000 and Appendix 2 Texts, A 1). He became the father of the Inanwatan fam Nawora (see below for the notion fam).

Whereas the Austronesian language Patipi functioned as the primary contact and trade language in the MacCluer Gulf area in pre-European times, after the arrival of the Dutch around 1900 Moluccan Malay took over that role. Of course, for contacts with peoples outside the MacCluer Gulf area, Malay had already established itself as the interregional lingua franca in the MacCluer Gulf area long before the Dutch established government posts there. The regional variety of Malay spoken on the Bird’s Head south coast still has Moluccan Malay characteristics. In fact, a range of varieties of Malay is used, from formal varieties approximating standard Indonesian to very informal varieties with strong Moluccan and Bazaar Malay features.

1.1 Research framework and data collection

Data for this book were collected in the framework of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research program The Irian Jaya Studies: a programme for interdisciplinary research (ISIR) and further analyzed as part of the Spinoza (NWO) research program Lexicon and Syntax.

Inanwatan was chosen within the ISIR research program to represent the languages of the southern Bird’s Head. This whole area is linguistically unknown and a data oriented study of at least one language was seen to be important for a general picture of Papuan languages. Indeed Inanwatan and other south Bird’s Head languages that I surveyed turned out to be typologically distinct in interesting ways from both the languages of the Bird’s Head and Trans New Guinea languages (see §I.6 and §I.7).

The relevance of the Inanwatan data for the Spinoza program of Pieter Muysken that focuses on language contact, resides in the fact that most Inanwatan speakers constantly rely on two languages, Malay and Inanwatan, to construct their messages. Intense bilingualism in situations of generational erosion creates specific field linguistic problems, in the collection, transcription and analysis of the data (see §1.2).

I recorded and transcribed word lists and oral texts in Inanwatan in the first three months of 1994 and during three months in 1995. Since I had only six months of exposure to the language, I do not pretend to present more than a preliminary survey of some major patterns of the language as they could be observed in the word lists and texts that I collected.

There is a clear age and gender bias in the Inanwatan data since the majority of my informants were older, male speakers. Male informants were easier to get and easier to work with for cultural reasons. The age bias follows from the fact that only older people are fluent speakers of the Inanwatan language and still use it as their first language in daily life. The Inanwatan community was very supportive of my research and many people volunteered to tell stories, take me along on trips and to their houses knowing that I was recording all that was said during those visits and trips.

Although the description is mostly based on natural speech that I recorded and transcribed, I also made use of data elicited in Malay. These data are marked by (el.) after the reference number. I used direct elicitation only where I judged the chance for interference from the Malay stimuli to be relatively small but still there is no doubt a Malay bias in these elicited data.
1.2 Transcribing and analyzing speech in bilingual communities

Linguists collecting and transcribing vernacular speech in bilingual communities of Indonesia will increasingly observe Malay elements in their transcribed texts. This creates special difficulties for the field linguist, for example how to separate Malayicized vernacular from Malay in the transcriptions. Consider the following examples from three texts recorded in Inanwatan. Bold is used in this book for all Malay elements in the data, irrespective of their status as borrowed elements or code mixes.

(1.1) Máiwa owóiw-ıqe + atá-ata + sikorao-wai búka-wé-ge-re
next there-TOP stay-stay school-this.F open-3.S-do-PAST

sementara-go Mugüro-wo + màiwa-rarı sikorao-wo ré-ge-re +
temporary-CIRC Mugüro-in next-I school-in 1SG-do-PAST

Mugüro-wo + gurá-i-sai + Elias + Watimena + qeqído
Mugüro-in teacher-M-this.M Elias Watimena not
gíre-y-dígo + ãwoge pínda-ré-ge-re sikorao-wai + Qódeqari-wai.
long-TR-not again move-1SG-do-PAST school-this.F Odeqari-to
And those staying there opened a temporary school and I followed that school in Mugur, the teacher in Mugur was Elias Watimena, but after a short time I moved again to the school in Odeqari.

(1.2) a. Murray:
Agó sibidaro méqaro?
but church house
But the church building?

b. Yunus:
A suda ya kunisitori terus plafon terus mimbari
ah already yes consistory next ceiling next pulpit

móteqogeritau panggung owó-qiare.
pulpit pulpit that.F.SG-again(?)
Ah, finished yes, the consistory and the ceiling and the pulpit also

c. Murray:
Agu-awoge qái-de-ta-sa?
and-again follow-cross-go-FUT
And you want to go there again?

d. Yunus:
Iyó rencana begitu tapi ísido-wo nárido kerédidao
yes plan thus but empty-be.3SG.F my work

e-wai hanya karena bu dia sendiri disana
ATTR-this.F just because older.brother he himself there
Introduction

possibly shortage shortage there-TOP 3SG-for 1SG-S-saw-FUT
Yes, that is the plan but my work must be finished, just because my older brother he is there on his own and maybe there are shortages, I am going to saw there for him.

(1.3) duaberas + duabelas Desember
twelve twelve December
twelve December

(1.4) Biasa mé-rego-rita dua ratus limapuluh + kalau dua
usually 3.S-put.down-HAB two hundred fifty if two

ratus niwapuluh pípiso qeqido + sidáogo. #
hundred fifty money not kain.blok
They usually pay two hundred and fifty, if they do not have two hundred fifty, (they pay in) kain blok.

There are two types of Malay forms in such transcriptions of bilingual speech as in (1.1)-(1.4), forms that conform to the patterns of regional Malay spoken in the Bird’s Head such as semen tara and Desember. And forms that violate those patterns such as duaber as in (1.3) and sikorao-wai in (1.1). In (1.4) the Malay word lima ‘five’ occurs in adapted (niwa) and non-adapted form (lima) within one utterance. Since the deviations from the regional Malay standards follow from adaptations of these forms in the direction of the vernacular language, in this case Inanwatan, I will call forms such as duaber as, niwapuru, sikorao-wai adapted forms and forms like duabelas, limapulu h, sekola non-adapted forms. Of course, regional Malay varieties are oral, non-standardized varieties with a lot of variation, not only horizontally, from place to place, but also vertically because regional Malay is a sociolect continuum with basolects, mesolec ts and acrolects. It is normal for texts in local Malay to mix elements from basolects, mesolec ts and acrolects. So, the norms are rather flexible. Nevertheless, forms like duaber as, niwapuru, sikorao-wai are recognized by Inanwatan speakers as ‘bad’ Malay when these forms occur in Malay-only genres such as sermons in church.

‘Pure’ regional Malay (without code mixing and without Inanwatan loans) is used in church, school and government contexts and as an interethnic lingua franca (see Appendix 2 Texts, Part C for a text in this local Malay). Relatively ‘pure’ Inanwatan (without code mixing, but with some Malay loans) is used in certain genres of the oral tradition like the túgarido genre (clan (gobō) owned heirloom stories, see for example Appendix 2, Texts, Part A, texts 1 and 2). Continuous, intensive Malay/Inanwatan mixing is used within the community as the default means of communication, exemplified by texts 2 and 3 of Part B, Appendix 2, Texts).

It is to be expected that the Inanwatan morphosyntax is not immune from influence from the morphosyntax of Malay but since we do not have knowledge of older stages in the development of Inanwatan, such influence is hard to assess. For example, nowadays SVO constituent order occurs in frequent variation with SOV order in Inanwatan clauses but we do not know what the clause order was before contact with Malay. But it is clear that not only lexical words but also complete classes of grammatical words or function words have been borrowed from Malay, for example discourse conjunctions (like baru and jadi, see §4.3.2) and numerals (see §3.7 and §4.4.4). The inclusive-exclusive distinction in first person plural
pronouns and verbs (see Chapter 3) very likely derives from contact with Austronesian languages like Malay and Sekar since only non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea bordering on Austronesian languages or in close contact with them have the inclusive-exclusive opposition.

1.3 Types of adaptation occurring in Malay elements

(a) Phonemic and allophonic adaptation:

Inanwatan has nasal phonemes with oral allophones. The Inanwatan phoneme /n/ has three allophones [n], [r] and [r]. The allophone [n] occurs word-initially and [r/r] word-medially. The flapped vibrant [r] freely varies with [r], the rolled vibrant, the latter being the most frequent realization. Examples: [n'ero] ‘name’, [a-rEra] ‘your name’, [nira] ‘day’ [nirarira] ‘each day’. The Inanwatan phoneme /m/ has three allophones [m], [w] and [β]. The allophone [m] occurs word-initially, [w] medially adjacent to back vowels (i.e. followed and/or preceded by [o], [u] or [o]) and [β] elsewhere. Examples: [muwur] ‘rivers’; [naβe] ‘me (object)’.

Now in foreign words, word-medial [m] may be pronounced as [w] or [β] and the initial [w] of source forms as [m]. Examples: Dutch emmer ‘bucket’ is adapted to [eβerɛ]. Indonesian wakil ‘deputy’ is adapted to [makiri] ‘deputy headman (raja)’, Indonesian kaca mata ‘glasses’ is adapted to [karɔwato]; Indonesian limapuluh ‘fifty’ to Inanwatan [nǐʃapuru]. Dutch commissie, a term used for the Patipi headmen appointed by the Dutch administration to rule Inanwatan, is adapted to [kɔvisi]. Medial [n] is adapted to [r/r] in foreign words. For example, the Patipi word inanwatan is adapted both to the word structure prohibiting final C and CC clusters (>inánowatanol, by vowel insertions) and to the allophonic patterns of the Inanwatan language ([iˈrɔrɔwatɔrɔ]. Malay /l/ is replaced by Inanwatan /n/ with its oral allophones [r/r], for example Malay wakil ‘deputy’ is adapted to [makiri] ‘deputy headman’.

(b) Phonotactic adaptation

Inanwatan phonotaxis does not allow CC clusters and final C. Vowel insertion and consonant deletion are employed to adapt foreign words to Inanwatan phonotactics, for example pótoroti ‘pencil’ is the adapted form of Dutch potlood).

(c) Adaptation in word stress and intonation contours

Inanwatan has unpredictable, lexical word stress. Quite often the word stress of foreign words changes in borrowed words, e.g. regional Malay pandita> Inanwatan pūditae ‘(male) minister’. When two Malay utterances are linked by recapitulative strategies reflecting ‘Papuan’ tail–head linkages, the intonation contour is adapted towards the typical fall–rise–pause pattern associated with ‘Papuan’ tail–head linkage. See §4.3.1 for Inanwatan recapitulative linkage strategies.

(d) Semantic adaptation

Meanings of foreign words may change, for example Malay kapal means ‘non-native boat’ in both its adapted form (káparo) and non-adapted form. Because of the gender system
of Inanwatan, gender-neutral foreign nouns referring to animate entities develop gender-specific meanings e.g. Malay pandita ‘minister’ > Inanwatan páditae ‘male minister’.

(e) Morphological adaptation

Morphological adaptation can be illustrated with the integration of nouns and verbs in the Inanwatan morphology.

Gender in Inanwatan nouns is marked by the last vowel, with nouns ending in a front vowel (/i/, /e/) being masculine and the remaining nouns (ending in /o/, /u/ and /a/) feminine. In a minority of nouns, gender has a semantic basis (male and female). Now borrowed nouns denoting humans have /e/ or /i/ added when they denote males and /o/ when they denote females, for example Malay guru ‘teacher’, has the Inanwatan forms gurui ‘(male) teacher’, guruo ‘(female) teacher’. Inanimate borrowed nouns are assigned a gender on the basis of their final vowel, if they end in a vowel. When they end in a consonant, they are assigned a gender by the addition of /o/ or /e/, /i/. Examples: éwero ‘bucket’ (<Dutch emmer), kómposi ‘compass’ (<Dutch kompas), kápáro ‘ship’ (<Malay kapal), pótoroti ‘pencil’ (<Dutch potlood), pensili (<Malay pensil ‘pencil’), listiki ‘electricity’ (<Malay listrik), tabágido ‘tobacco’ (<Dutch tabak). The addition of vowels is done arbitrarily, that is, I have not (yet) been able to find a semantic or phonetic base for the gender-integration of such non-human nouns.

Inanwatan has a complex verb morphology. Verbs are inflected for subject person and number, object person and number, tense, mood, aspect, negation and gender. Subject and object are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes, with the exception of counterfactual and third person future forms which have subject suffixes. To integrate foreign verbs into this system, Malay verbs (like buka ‘to open’) are productively combined with the verb ge- ‘to do’ in complex phrasal verbs (see §4.2.1). Phonologically, the Malay verb and the verb ge- with its prefixes and suffixes are integrated under one stress contour and the first /m/ of the subject prefix /me-/ is always realised by the intervocalic allophone [w]. Thus buka-wé-ge-re (open-3.s-take-PAST) instead of buka mé-ge-re. Another way to integrate Malay verbs found in the text is to adapt a Malay stem phonologically and then attach affixes to it as in me-susa-re ‘they lamented, wailed’ (from regional Malay bersusa ‘to lament, to wail’).

These phonological and morphological adaptation processes have drastic effects on the form of Malay items. In the speech of bilingual members of the Inanwatan community one can find hundreds of pairs of words with a Malay item alongside its adapted Inanwatan counterpart. Examples: síkorao/sekolah ‘school’, tâu-go/tahun ‘year’ (in which -go is the Inanwatan circumstantial postposition), kêredidao/kerja ‘work’, kápáro/kapal ‘ship’, íko-/ikut ‘to follow someone’. Many of these adapted forms have been around for a long time in the community and have a stable, conventional form. Although adaptation occurs very frequently not every Malay element occurs in two forms (adapted and non-adapted). Some words, like sementara ‘temporary’ in (1.1), always seem to have the same non-adapted form, even when they are integrated within Inanwatan morphology.

1.4 Adaptation in borrowing and in code mixing

Adaptation of Malay forms may take place in the context of borrowing, when Malay elements become part of the Inanwatan language in a diachronic process on the level of the language system, or in the context of interference, a synchronic process on the level of
language use, when bilingual Inanwatan people speak Malay with Inanwatan patterns influencing the form of Malay elements. Because of the grand scale code mixing and borrowing the boundaries between Malay and Inanwatan are often unclear in the texts that form the basis for the description of Inanwatan.

When adaptation occurs in borrowing, the adaptation is aimed at fully and smoothly integrating the Malay element into the Inanwatan language and the adapted form conforms to the rules of the Inanwatan language. For example sikorao-wai in (1.1) is good Inanwatan. When adaptation occurs in the context of interference, the adapted forms remain part of Malay and may be perceived as violating the patterns of (regional) Malay. For example, duaberas in (1.3) is ‘bad’ Malay and followed by a repair.

When Malay is the only language used in a communicative situation, for example in church or when talking to non-Inanwatan people, adaptation is much more marked and much less accepted than when Malay forms are adapted in code mixing, when speakers such as Yunus in (1.2) use both Malay and Inanwatan to construct their messages to other Inanwatan bilinguals such as Murray in (1.2).

The negative attitudes of the community towards adaptation of Malay forms in Malay-only genres prevent most types of interferential adaptation in these situations. The adaptation that I noticed is at higher levels of grammar: the prosodic level and the levels of discourse and surface syntax. For example, certain discursive strategies such as tail–head linkage (see §4.3.1) are used also in local Malay and the typical fall (tail)–rise plus slowing down/ pause phenomena (head) intonation contour of Inanwatan tail–head linkage is clearly audible in the Malay tail–head linkages. Lower level adaptations (phonotactic, morphological and phonemic adaptations of the type kapal > káparo) hardly occur or are followed by repairs in Malay-only genres.

Muysken (2000:3) distinguishes three types of code mixing: ‘insertion of material from one language into a structure from the other language, alternation between structures from languages and congruent lexicalization of material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure’. In alternating Inanwatan-Malay code mixing, levels of interferential adaptation are comparable to the very low levels in Malay-only contexts. Compare the Malay stretches in examples (1.2b) and (1.2d) above such as hanya karena bu dia sendiri disana mungkin kekurangan kekurangan.

Although Malay words may be inserted without any adaptation, in insertional code mixing levels of adaptation are much higher than in alternating code mixing and adaptation occurs on phonemic, phonotactic and prosodic levels. Therefore the distinction between insertional code mixes and borrowings is often difficult to make on the basis of adaptation criteria. Consider:

(1.5) Máiwa + laboratorium kéredidau ré-gé-re ewáïwa + tígo

and laboratory work 1SG.S-do-PAST and so

mó-qe pénasio ré-gé-re + órmati-go me-régo-re +
then-TOP retirement 1SG-do-PAST honour-with 3.S-put-PAST

táu-go-wai + seribusembilanratusdelapanpuluhempat. #
year-CIRC-this.F 1984

Next I worked in the lab until I retired with honour in 1984.

The foreign word laboratorium is inserted without adaptation, it is not part of the Inanwatan vocabulary and clearly a case of insertional code mixing. But órmati, an adaptation from
Malay *hormat* inserted in the slot *NP-go* could be both a Malay insertional code mix showing interferential adaptation or a borrowed word with resulting adaptation.

One of the most frequently used mixing strategies employs the verb *ge* - 'to do'. When this occurs, the Malay material preceding the verb *ge* - may remain completely unadapted or exhibit considerable adaptation. Consider the following examples:

(1.6) a. *Máiwa kéredidau ré-ge-re + táu-go tujuhpulu-go +*
next work 1SG.S-do-PAST year-CIRC 70-CIRC

b. *náwe ángka-wé-ge-re áwoge + kepala Desa-go +*
me appoint-3.S-do-PAST again head Desa-CIRC

c. *sampai táu-go seribusembilanratustujuhpuluhdua +*
until year-CIRC 1972

d. *áwoge na-rérowo mé-re-re + né-i-de4 +*
again my-body 3.S-call-PAST 1SG.S-descend-PAST

e. *kepala Kampong e + Desa berhenti dulu ré-ge-re +*
head village eh Desa stop first 1SG.S-do-PAST

f. *sikorao ré-ge-re áwoge + né-ta-re*
school 1SG.S-do-PAST again 1SG.S-go-PAST

g. *prakteki ré-ge-re Soru laboratorium Rumah Sakit*
internship 1SG.S-do-PAST Sorong laboratory Hospital

*Umum Sorong. #*

General Sorong
And I worked and in 1970 they appointed me head of the village until in 1972 I received a call again and I stepped down from the office of village head in order to go to school again and to be an intern in the laboratory of the General Hospital in Sorong.

In example (1.6) the verb *ge* - 'to do' occurs five times. It occurs with the adapted nouns *kéredidau* 'work' in (1.6a), *sikorao* 'school' in (1.6f) and *prakteki* 'practice' in (1.6g), with the unadapted Malay alternating code mix *kepala Kampong e Desa berhenti dulu* in (1.6e) and with the Malay loan verb *ángka-* 'to appoint' in (1.6b). The verb *ge* - can be used as an alternation device, for example *kepala Kampong e Desa berhenti dulu ré-ge-re* in (1.6e) and as an insertion device, for example *prakteki ré-ge-re* in (1.6g). When used as an insertion device, *ge* - forms complex phrasal verbs with the preceding Malay words (see §4.2.1). Again the boundary between insertional code mixing with *ge* - and borrowing is very hard to draw.

Malay words may be borrowed without adaptation. For example the loan conjunctions *terus, jadi, baru, suda(h), atau, tapi, dan* have various discourse connective functions in Inanwatan and are never adapted. But most borrowed elements from open lexical classes undergo adaptations.

Inanwatan speakers call the process of code mixing *lompat*, a Malay verb meaning 'to jump' and they usually have no problems separating 'speaking Inanwatan' from 'speaking Malay'. For example when asked about utterances as in (1.2d) they will say that Yunus

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4 -*de* is an allomorph of the Past suffix -*re* occurring after stem-final *ń* (see §3.4.2.1).
speaks Malay when he says iyó rencana begitu tapi and Inanwatan when he says nárido kéré didao e-wai.

Summarizing, adaptation phenomena occur both in borrowing and in interference and Malay words can be borrowed without adaptation, so adaptation cannot be easily applied as a criterion to separate Malay elements in code mixes (speaking Malay) from Malay borrowings (speaking Inanwatan). Adaptation is strongly disfavoured in Malay-only contexts, disfavoured in Malay/Inanwatan alternating code mixing and quite accepted in insertional code mixing. Only certain types of adaptation ‘survive’ in Malay-only genres and in alternating code mixing (mostly prosodic and discursive adaptation). In borrowing the tendency is the opposite: adaptation is favoured and expected, and occurs at all levels. Because of pairs like sikorao/sekolah ‘school’, tâugo/tahun ‘year’, kâparo/kapal ‘ship’, iko-/ikut ‘to follow’, phonotactic, morphological and semantic adaptation became associated for Inanwatan speakers with ‘speaking Inanwatan’. And absence of adaptation (or mild presence of prosodic and discursive adaptation) is associated with ‘speaking Malay’. Such structural criteria are combined by native speakers with genre criteria to decide whether someone is speaking Malay or Inanwatan. For example, adapted forms of Malay occurring through interference during a government meeting (such as niwapuru ‘fifty’ instead of limapulu) will be seen as (bad) Malay because that is a Malay-only setting. The same adapted forms when occurring in a tûgarido story, an Inanwatan genre of texts, will be seen as good Inanwatan (for example adapted borrowed numerals).

1.5 Language death and ethnic identity in the Inanwatan community

The Inanwatan people realize that their language is dying. This saddens older people but most young people do not seem to care all that much. Inanwatan is a language they associate with the past and a language they cannot use in cities like Sorong, Manokwari and Jayapura where they would like to live, a language they cannot use in the work environments they would like to be in. But the older people also accept the way things are going. These attitudes to language death by generational erosion can be understood better if we realize the relatively modest place the Inanwatan language has in the way the Inanwatan people construct their ethnic identity.

An Inanwatan person derives his sense of identity primarily from the gobô and fâwu he or she was born in. The noun gobô is used for bodies of water (sea; river; lake; tributary), for localized descent groups (clans) living on ancestral lands surrounding those bodies of water and finally for the ancestral lands themselves. A gobô consists of (ideally) four fam (Malay) or fâawu (adapted Inanwatan form) with each fam descending from a different son of the ancestor pair (van Oosterhout 2002:95–101). The ancestral lands of the gobô cannot be sold; only rights to use the land can be sold, but the land itself is the inalienable possession of the clan. Clan membership is defined in patrilineal terms. The land claims of the clan, the origins of the clan, the places where the clan has lived, rights the clan has acquired through warfare or alliances, all these crucial things are expressed in the oral tradition of the clan, the stories of the clan. These stories are ‘owned’ by the clan and people who are not member of the clan should not know them, certainly not in the sacred versions with the real names of the ancestors, and are not allowed to tell them. Also within the gobô there are differences in terms of access to the sacred stories and to the ‘knowledge’ embodied in them. The secrets are only safe with a small group of elders, belonging to certain fam within the gobô. These
are considered to be sufficiently 'dry' and 'cooled' to be able to deal with the heating powers of 'knowledge' (van Oosterhout 2002:101).

Interestingly, in these clan owned stories, the ancestors sometimes do not speak Inanwatan but Puragi, another South-Bird's Head family language, spoken in the area of the Upper Metamani river; this area is seen as the area of origin of various groups of people who nowadays speak various languages like Inanwatan and Kokoda. When Inanwatan people visit the upper Metamani area, the use of the Inanwatan language is taboo (Dianne van Oosterhout, pers. comm.). In Inanwatan oral stories, when ancestors sing magic chants, often the words of those chants are Puragi (see for example Appendix 2, Part A, text 3, no.5). When I asked people about this, some said that the ancestors spoke Puragi.

The fact that Inanwatan is not considered the language of the ancestors, at least not by all, is significant to determine the place of the Inanwatan language in the identity of Inanwatan people. And the oral tradition of the clan, containing its history and rights, is transmitted in both the Inanwatan and the Malay language, and can be 'stolen' in both forms. The 'knowledge' embodied in the oral traditions is what counts and not the linguistic form in which this 'knowledge' is formulated (see van Oosterhout 2002:99 for the Inanwatan concept of 'knowledge' and its relation to clan owned stories and claims to ancestral lands).

It is clear that the Inanwatan language has a place in the Inanwatan ethnic identity but the notion of gobó (gobó land, gobó flesh and blood, gobó knowledge) occupies a much more central place in the way the Inanwatan define themselves than the Inanwatan language. Notice that the Inanwatan have generic words and proper names for social groups like clans (gobó) and subclans (fáawu) but have no word or name for Inanwatan as an ethnolinguistic group (van Oosterhout 2002:175) nor for Inanwatan as a language. For speakers of Inanwatan, Inanwatan is a place name used by outsiders to label what they see as a 'tribe', suku or 'ethnolinguistic group'. When Inanwatan define themselves in other terms than those of gobó and fáawu, they 'skip' the level of the 'ethnolinguistic group' and switch to the Malay political-religious discourse (kitorang Kristen 'we are Christians', kitorang Papua 'we are Papuans').

1.6 The linguistic position of the Inanwatan language

As far as links to Papuan languages are concerned, to the east and north of Inanwatan, the Puragi language is spoken in the villages Saga, Puragi, Bedare and Isogo. Puragi belongs to the South Bird's Head family to which Arandai also belongs (Voorhoeve 1985). Yahadian, of the Konda-Yahadian family, spoken in the villages Mugim and Yahadian, is the western neighbour of the Inanwatan language. In initial survey work, I found only 8% possible lexical correspondences between Yahadian and Inanwatan (16 lexical correspondences in 202 items) whereas I found 25% lexical correspondences between Inanwatan and Puragi (52 lexical correspondences in 199 items). With Kokoda, also of the South Bird Head family and spoken to the east of Puragi, Inanwatan has 41 lexical correspondences in 202 items (20%).

Structurally, Inanwatan shows many correspondences with Puragi and Kokoda in phonology and morphology whereas Inanwatan is strikingly different from Yahadian in these regards. In Kokoda and Puragi, for example, a masculine-feminine gender distinction is a pervasive feature of the morphosyntax affecting 3SG verb forms, adjectives, demonstratives and nouns. Their gender systems resemble the Inanwatan system very closely, with back
vowels associated with the feminine gender and with plurality and front vowels with the masculine gender. Example (1.7) is from Kokoda, (1.8) from Puragi, (1.9) from Inanwatan and (1.10) from Yahadian:

Kokoda:
(1.7)(el.) Mōma-e dánes-i wātak-aya.
person-M that-M bad-M
That man is bad.
Mōma dánes-o wātak-omo.
person.F that-F bad-F
That woman is bad.

Puragi:
(1.8)(el.) Rabīn-i dá-i-qa badā-i-to.
man-M that-M-TOP bad-M-be.M
That man is bad.
Rāw-o dá-u-qa badā-o-mo.
woman-F that-F-TOP bad-F-be.F
That woman is bad.

Inanwatan:
(1.9)(el.) Mēsida-e e-sáí badā-e-so.
person-M ATTR-this.M.SG bad-M-be.3SG.M
This man is bad.
Mēsida-o e-wāi badā-o-wo.
person-F ATTR-this.F.SG bad-F-be.3SG.F
This woman is bad.

Yahadian:
(1.10)(el.) Orame ye nanāigine.
man this bad
This man is bad.
Wa ye nanāigine.
woman this bad
This woman is bad.

On the other hand, the Kokoda and Puragi verb paradigms in my survey data have only suffixes and I found no subject and object prefixes as we find in Inanwatan. Further research of these South Bird's Head languages is badly needed to establish their relationship to Inanwatan.

Concerning lexical links with other Papuan language families, Voorhoeve (1975:443, 445) gives average cognation percentages of the Inanwatan family with other Papuan language families: for example, 4.7% with the Central Bird's Head family, 5.5% with the North Bird's Head family, 8.1% with the West Bird's Head family, 7.5% with the Marind and Asmat-Kamoro families, 7.7% with the Ok family, 5.5 with the Dani family, 7.2% with the Awyu family, 9.5% with the Kolopom family and 4.3% with the Sentani family.

These percentages are all below 10% and point in all directions: to Bird's Head language families, to typical Trans New Guinea language families like the Awyu and to aberrant
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1.3 language families of South Irian Jaya like the Marind. Explaining the lexical links with Bird's Head languages as borrowings, Voorhoeve (1975) classified Inanwatan as a Trans New Guinea language.

At that time, very little structural information on the Inanwatan family was available and the Marind languages were, with some hesitation, considered as Trans New Guinea languages. The structural information on Inanwatan available to Voorhoeve (1975), the pronoun system, pointed into the direction of the Trans New Guinea Phylum. The Inanwatan pronouns of first person have initial /n/, those of second person an initial vowel and plural forms have more fronted or higher vowels than those of singular forms. According to Voorhoeve (1975:444), such pronoun sets occur widespread in South West New Guinea and the western highlands. As in other coastal areas of New Guinea with intensive contact with Austronesian languages, Inanwatan distinguishes exclusive and inclusive first person plural pronouns.

The typology and relative complexity of the morphology of Inanwatan sets it clearly apart from the simple verb morphologies of the other Bird's Head languages (see Reesink, ed. 1996, 2000, 2002). But the type of morphosyntax of Inanwatan is very different from the typical Trans New Guinea morphosyntax of mainland Papuan language families as described by McElhanon, Voorhoeve and Wurm (1975:299–322). Inanwatan has no clause chaining with medial verbs, no serial verbs and no switch-reference. Instead, Inanwatan coordinates fully inflected verbs. Its verb morphology also deviates strongly with its subject and object prefixation. The presence of subject and object prefixes in the verb (s-o-v) is rare in Papuan languages, it occurs in only three of the over sixty families of Papuan languages, namely Marind family (Drabbe 1955), Northern Halmahera family (van Baarda 1891) and South Bird's Head family. Gender pervades the Inanwatan language in ways unknown to Trans New Guinea languages.

Summarizing, Inanwatan most probably is a member of the South Bird's Head family of Papuan languages. Its lexical links point in all directions. Structurally, Inanwatan is different from both Bird's Head languages and languages of the Trans New Guinea group.

1.7 Inanwatan and the Marind languages

When we compare the structural data on Inanwatan with what is known of the Marind stock (Marind, Yaqai and Boazi families, Drabbe 1955), Inanwatan seems to fit the typological picture of these Marind languages, both in broad outline and in details of its morphology.

The Marind languages are spoken in the central south coast area of New Guinea. It has been recognized for a long time that the Marind languages display a number of striking characteristics, aberrant from the point of view of the Trans New Guinea grouping of languages as McElhanon, Voorhoeve and Wurm (1975) noticed. The Marind languages combine the following characteristics:

(1.11) the typology of Marind languages:

(i) the verb has a subject prefix followed by an object prefix in a basic SOV clause;

(ii) there are suppletive verb stems to indicate plurality of the subject (and sometimes of the object);
(iii) there are (often elaborate) gender systems with concord phenomena and with front vowels indicating masculine and back vowels indicating feminine gender;
(iv) there is coordination of fully inflected verbs instead of clause chaining with medial verbs, and no or marginal presence of serial verbs

Consider the following Marind data from Drabbe (1955). Examples (1.12) and (1.13) show the gender system, (1.14–1.16) show subject and object prefixes and (1.17) shows suppletive plural stems of verbs:

(1.12)  
\[ E-pe \text{ anem e-pe akek ka.} \]
M-the man M-the light M COP
The man is light.

(1.13)  
\[ U-pe \text{ anum u-pe akuk ka.} \]
F-the woman F-the light F COP
The woman is light.

(1.14)  
\[ N\text{ak-a-endor.} \]
1SG.S-2SG.O-yell
I yelled to you

(1.15)  
\[ O\text{-n-endoror.} \]
2SG.S-1SG.O-yell
You yelled to me.

(1.16)  
\[ A\text{-na-sib-et.} \]
3SG.M.S-1SG.O-hit-FUT
He will hit me.

(1.17)  
\[ \begin{align*}
kahek & \quad \text{‘to ascend’ (singular subject)} \\
kapet & \quad \text{‘to ascend’ (plural subject)} \\
umak & \quad \text{‘to run’ (singular subject)} \\
bamet & \quad \text{‘to run’ (plural subject)} \\
takoi & \quad \text{‘to fell’ (singular object)} \\
arok & \quad \text{‘to fell’ (plural object)}
\end{align*} \]

The south coast area where Marind languages are spoken has a long history of large-scale, frequent headhunting. Knauf (1993) describes how this region placed particular cultural emphasis on the creation of life-power through ritual sexuality and on the taking of life-power by severing enemy heads. Throughout the region, ethnographers found cosmological links between the fertility power of ritual sexuality and that of headhunting. Knauf (1993) points out how the swampy coastal plains, the many rivers, the shallow coastal waters, full of fish, and the abundance of storable and transportable sago created the ecological conditions for large scale, frequent military operations by the Marind (and other groups) which found their cultural basis in this headhunting–fertility complex.

Van Baal (1966) describes the Marind headhunting practices in detail. Marind groups used to organise their headhunting expeditions every year. The Marind war parties were large. We know this because of confrontations with colonial officers who wrote reports at the end of the 19th century. In 1884, for example, Captain Strachan discovered 1200 Marind in 35 war canoes across the international border some 300 kilometres east of the Marind home.
bases (Knauft 1993:156). In 1896, Lieutenant William MacGregor encountered 75 manned Marind war canoes and captured 48 canoes, which contained dozens of bundles of sago each weighing around twelve pounds. This party numbered 1500 or more persons, 250 kilometres away from their home settlements (van Baal 1966:713).

Crucial for the linguistic diffusion of Marind features was the gradual establishment by headhunting groups of corridors where groups who had been victims in the past, became allies, in the sense that they allowed headhunting parties to cross their territories to reach groups even further away. The Marind exported cultural characteristics and linguistic features along these corridors. Van Baal (1984) describes the situation as follows:

Marind-Anim culture was an expanding culture, spreading from the coast to the interior, and along the coast from east to west. (van Baal 1984:129)

In this historical context, it is not surprising to find some of the Marind stock characteristics in Trans-Fly stock and Ok languages to the east and north of the Marind area. Southern Kati, for example, is a Lowland Ok language showing on the one hand Trans New Guinea features like clause chaining with medial verbs, and subject suffixation but on the other hand some of the Marind features are present (Voorhoeve 1975:381) like object prefixation with some verbs, a few verbs having suppletive plural stems and a two-gender distinction in nouns and 3SG personal pronouns, with a back vowel (F) and front vowel (M) opposition (for example, ye 'he', yu 'she'). The Ok languages Telefol and Ninggerum have similar patterns. Many Trans-Fly stock languages also display one or more of the Marind features. For example, object prefixes are widespread in the Trans-Fly stock but on the other hand subject suffixes are very common there (see Wurm 1975:323–344).

Whereas Trans-Fly and Ok languages show the four Marind typological characteristics of (1.11) in an unsystematic fashion, Inanwatan has them all: the Inanwatan data (1.18) and (1.19) show the gender system, (1.20) shows subject and object prefixes, (1.21) shows coordination of fully inflected verbs, (1.22) is an example of a Past verb paradigm with a suppletive verb stem indicating plurality:

(1.18)(el.) Mésida-e e-sáí íragir-i badá-e-so.
person-M ATTR-this.M.SG body-M bad-M-be.3SG.M
This man has leprosy (lit. (his) body is bad).

(1.19)(el.) Mésida-o e-wái íragir-o badá-o-wo.
person-F ATTR-this.F.SG body-F bad-F-be.3SG.F
This woman has leprosy.

(1.20)(el.) Iwáa-go sugére né-i-we-re.
esterday-CIRC sago 1SG.S-2PL.O-give-PAST
Yesterday I gave you sago.

(1.21)(el.) Nó-apo-be-re né-ri-be-re né-re-be.
1SG.S-take.a.bath-PRES-and 1SG.S-eat-PRES-and 1SG.S-sleep-PRES
I took a bath, ate and slept.\(^5\)

---

\(^5\) The Present tense is used for events taking place at the moment of utterance or before that moment but after yesterday's sunset.
Chapter 1

(1.22)  
1SG  nó-uwu-ge  ‘I sat’  
2SG  ó-uwu-ge  
3SG.M  mó-uwu-i  
3SG.F  mó-uwu-ge  
1PLEX  nigé-te-re  
2PL/1PL.IN  gé-te-re  
3PL  mé-te-re  

Compare the Inanwatan data (1.18–1.22) with the Marind data (1.12–1.17) above. In the gender systems of both languages, the back vowel front vowel opposition is used to indicate feminine (back vowel: Marind: /u/, Inanwatan /o/) and masculine (front vowel: Marind /e, i/, Inanwatan /e, i/). Inanwatan has a phonotactic rule that words cannot end in a consonant, compare:

(1.23)  
Inanwatan : mésidae ‘man’ mésidao ‘woman’  
Marind : anem ‘man’ anum ‘woman’

The shared gender morphemes (/i, e/ for masculine and /u, o/ for feminine) in Inanwatan and Marind are significant since these are rare outside the Marind stock: as we saw above, the back and front vowel opposition is found in Ok languages in personal pronouns (e.g. Ginggerum, Southern Kati), north of the Marind, one of their traditional headhunting areas (Knauft 1993:161). The Sepik and Torricelli groups also have gender systems but gender is not indicated by vowel oppositions, with an occasional exception in personal pronouns such as the Iwam (Sepik) pronouns *si* ‘he’ and *sa* ‘she’ which have a vowel opposition between front and mid vowels (Laycock & Z’Graggen 1975:742).

Inanwatan is spoken in the western part of the New Guinea south coast whereas the Marind languages are spoken in the central part of the New Guinea south coast area. In between, we mostly find Asmat-Kamoro languages and some Austronesian languages. For future research, I would like to hypothesize the idea that Inanwatan is a western member of the Marind stock. We would have to assume that Inanwatan became separated from the other Marind languages by the arrival of Trans New Guinea groups such as the Asmat-Kamoro, probably from the mountains, and Austronesian groups like the Patipi, probably over sea. Admittedly, the average lexical correspondence percentage of 7.5% between Inanwatan and Marind is rather low. Wurm (1975) takes 12% as the boundary below which inclusion in a stock of language families is not defendable. However, if we take structural considerations into account, the similarity between Inanwatan and the Marind languages could well be too great to be coincidental. Notice that the gender and subject/object cross-referencing morphology of Inanwatan and Marind is very similar, both in the morphological pattern and in the grammatical morphemes. Furthermore, the diagnostic value of the shared gender morphology (front vowels=M, back vowels=F) and the verbal pattern (s-o-verb) is rather high since both are rare in New Guinea. Foley (1986:138), for example, states: ‘Marind is the only Papuan language I know which consistently exhibits A-U-V.’

1.8 Three important lexical domains

To facilitate understanding of the Inanwatan texts presented in this book, I discuss three cultural and lexical domains that play a crucial role in those texts.
1.8.1 Sago and sago related terminology

The In anwatan people are a typical south coast lowland community that subsists from sago and fish. The In anwatan distinguish at least eight sub species of sago palm trees (suqí ‘sago tree’). Dependent on the sub-species, sago trees take ten to twelve years to mature. As far as the production of sago flour is concerned, just before flowering (when the amount of starch in the sago tree is maximal), the men cut (suqí u- ‘to cut down the sago tree’) the tree after which they cut the trunk in a few big pieces called sowótó ‘trunk part’. An average sowótó trunk part measures 2 metre. The number of people available to work determines the size and number of the trunk parts. Then the bark of the trunk parts must be removed (sowótó ǐqore- ‘to remove bark from trunk parts’) and the trunk parts opened.

Next, the women, sometimes assisted by the men, pound (qaa- ‘to pound sago’) the sago-containing fibres (mówuqo) in order to be removed from the tree. The instrument used to pound the sago is called máqo. Once removed from the tree, the sago-containing fibres are called gugo.

Next, they put the pounded fibers in bags (tébo) made from woody shafts of sago leaves and transport them from the place where the sago palm was felled to a nearby spot where there is stream or well. At that place the washing out of the sago flour takes place. To do this the women set up a structure consisting of (at least) two connected woody shafts of sago leaves. At the connection points, filters of hairy upper parts of sago leaf shaft (múgó) or a part of an old shirt (also called múgo) are placed. In the first shaft, called qaro, the mixture of water and fibers is pressed and kneaded by the hands of the women (gugo noi- ‘to knead sago fibers’). The fibers remain in the first higher shaft while the suspension of sago flour flows through the múgó filter into the second lower shaft, called bówo, at the end of which sago fibers (that have been washed out already) are placed in such a way that the water slowly runs away whereas the sago flour settles.

The resulting lumps of sago flour, ready to be baked, are called suqere. When grilled in the fire and wrapped in sago leaves, the sago is called soqow. When prepared as porridge, it is called dâu ‘sago-porridge’. When prepared in a clay form called porna in Local Malay, the sago is called sáqeraro.

Every step in this harvesting process is hard work but in ancient times, according to the story of sago tree, the parrot and the cockatoo (see Appendix 2, Part A, Text 5) the whole process was an easy job: they just pricked a round of holes in the soft sago tree causing the sago tree (suqí) to fall after which lumps of ready–to–bake sago (suqere) could straightaway be cut out of the felled tree. The two labor-intensive steps of pounding and kneading were not needed then. The cockatoo, after a violent argument with the red parrot, introduced the pounding and the kneading of the sago and thus made life much harder for the In anwatan people.

The sago palm is also used for many other things the Inanwatan need. The sago leaves (géro ‘sago leaf; arrow’; gérero ‘sago leaves; roof’) are used to make arrows and roofs. The ribs of the sago leaves (títo ‘sago rib; wall’) are used for the walls of houses (Indonesian gaba-gaba). The bark of woodened sago ribs is used to make floor mats (qipáiro). The young sago leaves are used to make skirts (qarábeqo) for the women. These skirts are used when traditional dances are performed.
1.8.2 Canoes, movement, motion verbs

Since the jungle is flooded with every high tide, canoes (éro) are essential means of transport in the Inanwatan area. Canoes are built from térido wood (local Malay: pohon katapan), biuro wood (local Malay: pohon bitanggur) or najiro wood (local Malay: pohon gerupa). Most canoes use bamboo outriggers (gata) for stability in the sometimes rough MacCluer Gulf. Canoes without outrigger are called éro básido (naked canoe). The pieces of wood connecting the canoe and the outriggers are called múawero. The prow or head is called qibo and the stern túgo. The Inanwatan use peddles (nőqaro) and sails (qaqē).

Apart from se- (PL: neqa-) ‘to walk; to go’; ‘to travel over land’ and no- ‘to peddle; to travel by ship’, Inanwatan has 13 motion verbs. Three of them are generic verbs of motion: mo- ‘to come’ (towards deictic centre), eta- ‘to go’ (away from deictic centre), ede- ‘to pass (the deictic centre)’. Two are verbs of crossing (river, road, sea): de- ‘to go across’ and de-wo- ‘to come across’, a compound of de- and the generic verb mo-. The remaining verbs of motions are these:

noe- ‘to go down/leave’ (from house, to the river, downriver)
nowo- ‘to come down’ (from house, to the river, downriver)
owe/me- (IMP stem) ‘to go upriver’
uevo/mouwo- (IMP stem) ‘to come upriver’
nawe- ‘to go up (over land)’
nawo- ‘to come up (over land); to enter (house)’
1- ‘to go down (vertically)’
nae- ‘to go up (vertically)’ (Malay <naik?)

In verbs of coming towards deictic centre mo- is recognizable but in the other motion verbs no synchronic subanalysis possible; the ‘go’ verbs (away from deictic centre) all end in e.

Whereas there are two specific river verbs for movement upstream (owe-/me- (IMP stem) ‘to go upriver’ and uwo-/mouwo- (IMP stem) ‘to come upriver’), the verbs for movement downstream are also used for movements down over land or down from the house.

1.8.3 Kinship

Inanwatan kinship and social organization is discussed by van Oosterhout (2002). Here I give some morphological properties of kinship nouns.

Kinship nouns belong to the class of inalienable nouns (see §3.3). Inalienable nouns take possessive prefixes. In Table 1 they are given with the first person singular possessive prefix na- ‘my’ (with vowel elision n-).

Kinship nouns occur in a male and a female form, e.g. nowäre ‘my grandson’, nowáro ‘my granddaughter’, with stem final front vowels (i, e/) indicating male referents and back vowels o, u/ female referents.

A number of kinship nouns have irregular plural forms while others use the proximate plural demonstrative clitic -wasu to mark plurality.

The parent terms nágide ‘my father’ and néqido ‘my mother’ are also used by many speakers as the Inanwatan equivalents of the Malay terms bapak and ibu. So the actual usage of these kinship terms is complex and co-determined by regional Malay patterns.
Table 1 presents forms and ranges of reference of kinship nouns found in elicited, very incomplete data. M=mother, F=father, S=sister, B=brother, H=husband, W=wife, e=elder, y=young, s=son, d=daughter, ♂=male ego, ♀=female ego.

Table 1: Kinship nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Ranges of reference in data</th>
<th>Plural form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāqide</td>
<td>'father'</td>
<td>F, FB, FSH</td>
<td>nāqidewasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēqido</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
<td>M, MS, FS, FBW</td>
<td>nēqidowasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naqotoqōware</td>
<td>'son'</td>
<td>s, ♀ Ss, ♂ Bs</td>
<td>naqāwere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naqotoqōwaro</td>
<td>'daughter'</td>
<td>d, ♀ Sd, ♂ Bd</td>
<td>naqāwere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōwi</td>
<td>'maternal uncle'</td>
<td>MB</td>
<td>nōtabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nīdago</td>
<td>'wife of maternal uncle'</td>
<td>MBW</td>
<td>nīdagowasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēwi</td>
<td>'son of maternal uncle'</td>
<td>MBs, FSs, ♀ Bs</td>
<td>nasobedabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāwo</td>
<td>'maternal uncle's son's wife'</td>
<td>MBsW</td>
<td>negōwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāsobedi</td>
<td>'son of maternal uncle'</td>
<td>MBs, FSs, HFSs</td>
<td>nāsobedabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāsobedo</td>
<td>'daughter of maternal uncle'</td>
<td>MBd, Fsd</td>
<td>nāsobedabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāwori(nāwoe)</td>
<td>'cross nephew'</td>
<td>♂ Ss, HSs</td>
<td>nāorabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāworo(nāoro)</td>
<td>'cross nephew'</td>
<td>♀ Sd, ♀ SsW</td>
<td>nāororo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nadōri-ara6</td>
<td>'elder brother'</td>
<td>eB</td>
<td>nārubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nadōru-ara</td>
<td>'elder sister'</td>
<td>eS</td>
<td>nārubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namāroqe</td>
<td>'younger brother'</td>
<td>yB, HyB</td>
<td>māroqo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namāroqo</td>
<td>'younger sister'</td>
<td>yS, yBW, Wys</td>
<td>māroqo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nātaturi</td>
<td>'grandfather'</td>
<td>MF, FF, FMB, HFFs, FFSs</td>
<td>nātatabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawēre</td>
<td>'grandfather'</td>
<td>MF, FF, FMB, HFFs, FFSs</td>
<td>nātatabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nātato</td>
<td>'grandmother'</td>
<td>MM, FM</td>
<td>nātatabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawēro</td>
<td>'grandmother'</td>
<td>MM, FM</td>
<td>nātatabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nowāre</td>
<td>'grandson'</td>
<td>ss, ds, Ss, MBss</td>
<td>nōwaqoqo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naqegōware</td>
<td>'grandson'</td>
<td>ss, ds, Ss, MBss</td>
<td>nōwaqoqo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nowāro</td>
<td>'granddaughter'</td>
<td>sd, dd, Bdd, MBsd</td>
<td>nōwaqoqo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naqēgōwaro</td>
<td>'granddaughter'</td>
<td>sd, dd, Bdd, MBsd</td>
<td>nōwaqoqo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nērawe</td>
<td>'husband’s father'</td>
<td>HF, HFB</td>
<td>nerásaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nērawo</td>
<td>'husband’s mother'</td>
<td>HM</td>
<td>nerásaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēqotato</td>
<td>'daughter in law'</td>
<td>sW, BsW</td>
<td>nerásaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nērage</td>
<td>'wife’s father/son in law'</td>
<td>dH, WF, BdH, SH, WB</td>
<td>nerásaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nērago</td>
<td>'wife’s mother'</td>
<td>WM</td>
<td>nerásaru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 The meaning of the morpheme -ara is not clear.
2 Phonology

This chapter presents Inanwatan phonemes, allophones and orthography. Sound processes occurring in morpheme sequencing are discussed in Chapter 3, Morphology. Inanwatan has eleven consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes. Stress is phonemic. Inanwatan syllables can be subsumed under one type of syllable: (C)V(V). Neither word-final consonants nor consonant clusters occur.

2.1 Consonants

The consonant system is rather simple, with four points of articulation and only three manner classes: plosives, fricatives and nasals. The nasals are striking because of their phonetically wide range of allophones, for example /m/ is realized as [m], [β] and [w]. Chart of consonant phonemes (with allophones in brackets):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosives</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p [p]</td>
<td>t [t]</td>
<td>k [k]</td>
<td>? [?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b [b]</td>
<td>d [d]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>φ [φ, ϕ]</td>
<td>s [s, ts]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m [m, β, w]</td>
<td>n [n, r, r]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1 Nasals

The phoneme /n/ has three allophones [n], [r] and [r]. The allophone [n] occurs word-initially and [r/r] word-medially. The flapped vibrant [r] freely varies with [r], the rolled vibrant, the latter being the most frequent realization. Consider the following examples.

(2.1) /néno/ ['nɛɾɔ] name
(2.2) /áneno/ ['a-rɛɾɔ] your name
(2.3) /nina/ ['nɪɾa] day
(2.4) /nina-nina/ ['nɪɾa-rɪɾa] each day

Medial /n/ is pronounced as [r/r] in borrowed words. For example, the Patipi word inanwatan is adapted both to the word structure prohibiting final C and CC clusters (>inánowatano/, by vowel insertions) and to the allophonic patterns of the Inanwatan language ([i'ɾarɔwatarɔ].
Since Inanwatan has no /l/, Indonesian /l/ is replaced by Inanwatan /n/, medially pronounced as [r/ɽ], word-initially pronounced as [n], for example ['niŋapuru] 'fifty' from Indonesian limapuluh.

Finally, an extremely frequent phenomenon is variation of [n] and [r/ɽ] word-initially conditioned by slow and fast speech. In citation forms and in slow pronunciation as in (2.5), word-initial [n] never varies with [r/ɽ], but in connected speech where initial /n/ is followed and immediately preceded by vowels, the phoneme is often realized as [t/ɽ] as in (2.6):

(2.5) /mûmuno napago/ ['muwurɔ#napago] all rivers
(2.6) /mûmuno napago/ ['muwurɔ#rapagɔ] all rivers

The nasal phoneme /m/ has three allophones [m], [w] and [β]. The allophone [m] occurs word-initially, [w] medially adjacent to back vowels (i.e. followed and/or preceded by [o], [u] or [ɑ]) and [β] elsewhere. Examples: ['muwurɔ] 'rivers'; ['nɑβe] 'me (object)'.

In borrowed words, the medial [m] of source forms is pronounced as [w] or [β] and the initial [w] of source forms as [m]. Examples: Dutch emmer ‘pail’ is adapted to ['E13Er:] ‘pail’. Indonesian wakil ‘deputy’ is adapted to ['makiri] ‘deputy headman (raja)’, Indonesian kaca mata ‘glasses’ is adapted to ['karɔwato]; Indonesian limapuluh ‘fifty’ to Inanwatan ['niŋapuru]. Dutch commissie, a term used for the Patipi headmen appointed by the Dutch administration to rule Inanwatan, is adapted to ['kɔwisɪ]. In morpheme sequencing, the allophonic relationship between [m] and [w/β] also surfaces:

(2.7) /mɪnɪ/ ['mɪrɪ] stomach
(2.8) /námini/ ['na-βɪri] my stomach
(2.9) /ˈɑmɪnɪ/ ['ɑ-βɪri] your stomach
(2.10) /ˈmádido/ ['madidɔ] shoulder
(2.11) /ˈnámadido/ [na-βadidɔ] my shoulder
(2.12) /ˈmásu/ ['masu] they/them
(2.13) /ˈmeʔaʔabi-masu/ ['meʔaʔabi-βasu] he bit them

Finally, word-initially [m] and [w/β] are in variation, conditioned by slow and fast speech; since all words end in a vowel in Inanwatan, in fast speech word-initial /m/ is followed and preceded by vowels sounds and accordingly receives a [w/β] realization:

(2.14) /omóimo métene/ ['ɔˈwɔwiɔ ˈwɛtɛɾɛ] They were there.
Uttered in isolation or in slow speech, the initial /m/ is realized as [m]:

(2.15) /omóimo métene/ ['ɔˈwɔwiɔ ˈmɛtɛɾɛ] They were there.

Since none of the allophones of the phonemes /m/ and /n/ seems to have the widest distribution or highest frequency, the choice of the nasal realizations as basic allophone is rather arbitrary. When discussing the orthography with Inanwatan people, they insisted on distinguishing the oral allophones (represented in the spelling by w, r) from the nasal ones (m, n). This was so important to them that they asked me to follow their orthographic proposal in all my publications.

Having discussed the allophones of /m/ and /n/, we give minimal pairs for these phonemes in (2.16).
2.1.2 The glottal stop

The /\ functions as a consonant phoneme in Inanwatan. Evidence for this comes from contrasts in identical or near-identical environments and from vowel elision phenomena.

To start with the latter, consider the following data:

(2.17) /\epel/ ['\EpE ] foot
(2.18) /\epel/ ['\EpE ] tooth
(2.19) /n-\epel/ ['na-\EpE ] my foot
(2.20) /n-\epel/ ['n-\EpE ] my tooth

In (2.20), vowel elision takes place: the final vowel of the first singular possessive prefix /na-/ ‘my’ is elided before the initial vowel of /\epel/ ‘tooth’. But in (2.19) the glottal stop functions as an initial consonant and blocks vowel elision.

There is contrastive evidence for /\/ in (2.21). Since /k/ is a rather rare sound (the majority of occurrences is in borrowed words, see below), we have not yet found an example of contrast in identical environment for /k-/\/.

(2.21) /\-\k/: /\pona/ don’t! /\p/ don’t! /\ponau/ civil servant
/\p\no/ thatched roof /\k/ thatched roof /\p\no/ civil servant
/\k\no/ sea turtle
/\p\io/ new /\i/ new
/\\io/ small stick; splinter
/\\lo/ stern post /\\l/ stern post
/\g\l/ egg /\g\l/ egg
/\m\l/ moon /\m\l/ moon
/\\l/ room /\\l/ room
/\\l/ they spoke /\\l/ they spoke
/\\l/ bite (N) /\\l/ bite (N)
/\\l/ they sat /\\l/ they sat
/\\l/ heath /\\l/ heath
/\\l/ wood /\\l/ wood

2.1.3 Other voiceless plosives: /\/, /\/ and /k/

/\/: [p], a voiceless, bilabial plosive. Minimal pairs for /\/ in (2.22):

(2.22) /\-\b/: /\bon/ bite (N) /\bon/ bite (N)
/\\b/ they spoke /\\b/ they spoke
/\\b/ heath /\\b/ heath
/\\b/ wood /\\b/ wood
Phonology

(2.22) /p/-/ʔ/: see (2.21)
/p/-/b/: /opóna/: take a bathe! /obóna/: hit!
/p/-/φ/: /úpo/: live coal /úφo/: firestone
/pipiso/: money /φípesai/: Fifé

/t/: [t], a voiceless alveolar plosive. Minimal pairs for /t/: (2.23)
/t/-/d/: /tómo/: true /dómo/: short
/néto/: sago grub /néðo/: shrimp species
/tó?e/: bone /dó?e/: come on!
/t/-/ŋ/: see (2.21)
/t/-/s/: /náto/: wound /náso/: my head
/t/-/n/: /néto/: sago grub /néno/: name
/óto/: leech /óno/: vagina

/k/: [k], a voiceless velar plosive. The phoneme /k/ is not very frequent; it might be a loan phoneme since most words containing /k/ are (suspected) borrowings. Examples: (2.24)
/kápano/: boat (<IND kapal)
/kábaso/: thread (<?))
/kénano/: sea turtle (<IND kura-kura)
/kóponido/: (colonial) government (<IND kompeni<DOUCH compagnie)
/kándo/: cooking pot (<?)
/mokáʔono/: cup (<IND mangkok)
/kóponi/: suitcase (<IND kopor<DOUCH koffer)
/kópropo/: coffee (<IND kopi<DOUCH koffie)
/kánatomo/: glasses (<IND kacamata)
/mánakamono/: sweet potatoes (<?)

Minimal pairs for /k/: (2.25)
/k/-/g/: /míiki/: hawk; eagle /mígi/: (male)breast
/k/-/ʔ/: see (2.21)

2.1.4 Voiced plosives: /b/, /d/ and /g/

/b/: [b], a voiced bilabial plosive. Minimal pairs for /b/-/p/ and for /b/-/φ/ were given in (2.22) and for /b/-/m/ in (2.16).

/d/: [d], a voiced alveolar plosive. Minimal pairs for /d/-/t/ were given in (2.23), for /d/-/n/ in (2.16) and for /d/-/ʔ/ in (2.21).

/g/: [g], a voiced velar plosive. Minimal pairs for /g/-/k/ were given in (2.25) and for /g/-/ʔ/ in (2.21).
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2.1.5 Fricatives

\(/\phi\): [\(\phi\)], a rather strong bilabial voiceless fricative. Examples: [\(\acute{i}\phi\omega\u0297\)] 'breadfruit', [\(\acute{g}\acute{e}\acute{r}\phi\omega\u0297\)] 'song'; \([\phi\)], a bilabial affricate varying with \([\phi\]) word-initially. Example: [\(\phi\omega\omega\u0297\)] 'breadfruit tree', [\(\phi\omega\omega\u0297\)] 'breadfruit tree'.

Minimal pairs for \(/\phi\/:

(2.26) \(/\phi\/-/p/\): see (2.22)
\(/\phi\/-/m/\): see (2.16)

\(/s\): [\(s\)], an alveolar voiceless fricative; word-initially, the affricate \([ts]\) varies with \([s]\). Examples: [\(\acute{a}\acute{s}\phi\u0297\)] 'head', [\(s\phi\u0297\)] 'water', [\(ts\phi\u0297\)] 'water'.

Minimal pairs for \(/s/:

(2.27) \(/s/-/\phi/\): see (2.23)

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 General remarks

Inanwatan has these vowel phonemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Close</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>Front</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i [i]</td>
<td>u [u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-close</td>
<td>e [ɛ, e]</td>
<td>o [ɔ, ɔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a [a, ə]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All vowels may occur word-initially, word-medially and word-finally. Vowels in stressed syllables tend to be lengthened. The vowels /e/ and /a/ in unstressed syllables of the CV type may show some reduction in the direction of the [a] but this is rather rare, even in fast colloquial talk. Examples: [\(\acute{s}\acute{i}\acute{d}r\acute{o}\u0297\)] 'parrot', [\(\acute{s}\acute{i}\acute{d}r\acute{o}\u0297\)] 'parrot'; [\(n\acute{a}\acute{g}\acute{a}\omega\u0297\)] 'my chin', [\(n\acute{a}\acute{g}\acute{a}\omega\u0297\)] 'my chin'. Vowels in unstressed initial syllables of the V type show reduction in the form of devoicing, sometimes leading to completely devoiced vowels. Example: [\(\acute{c}\acute{r}\omega\omega\u0297\)] 'spear', [\(\acute{p}\acute{r}\omega\omega\u0297\)] 'spear'.

Sequences of two vowel phonemes frequently occur in Inanwatan. Examples:

(2.28) /\(\acute{o}\u0306\omega\u0301\)/ [\(\acute{c}\acute{r}\omega\)] bind!
/\(\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{n}\acute{\acute{a}}\omega\u0301\)/ [\(\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{r}\acute{\acute{a}}\omega\)] crab
/\(\acute{\acute{a}}\omega\u0301\)/ [\(\acute{\acute{u}}\\omega\)] wood
/\(\acute{g}\acute{\acute{a}}\omega\\omega\u0301\)/ [\(\acute{g}\acute{\acute{a}}\omega\omega\)] thumb

In fast speech, the second vowel of the sequence, syllabic in slower pronunciation, may become non-syllabic:

(2.29) [\(\acute{n}\u0301.a.t\u0301.i\)] I (slow speech, CV.V.CV)
[\(\acute{n}\u0301.a.t\u0301.i\)] I (fast speech, CVV.CV)

The vowels in VV sequences may be identical (double vowels). With double vowels, usually there are two clearly audible breath pulses in slow pronunciation. In fast speech, the double vowels tend to be realized as a long vowel. So far I have found clear cases of double vowels when morpheme sequencing results in double vowels. Compare (2.30) and (2.31):...
(2.30)  /mé-ena-ne/ ['mɛ:ɾəɾɛ]  3.S-say-PAST (she/they said)
(2.31)  /mé-na-ne/ ['mɛɾəɾɛ]  3.S-take-PAST (she/they took)

2.2.2 Vowel allophones and minimal pairs

/i:/ [i], a close, front, unrounded vowel. Examples: ['ʔiʔɔ] 'new'; ['ʔɛsɔi] 'that'.

/e/: [e], a half-open, unrounded front vowel, [e], a half-close, unrounded front vowel. The
allophone [e] occurs in variation with [ɛ] preceding [i], [a] and [w]. Examples: [du'rewɔ]
[ɛpə'reabɛ] 'you (SG) know'.

/u/: [u], a close, rounded, back vowel. Examples: ['uwɔ] 'road', ['wəwu] 'afternoon',
[metu'turita] 'it hurts'.

/o/: [ɔ], a half-open, rounded, back vowel; [o], a half-close rounded back vowel. [o] occurs
only before [u] and in variation with [ɔ] before [w]. Examples: ['sɔwatɔ] 'good', ['sɔwatɔ]
'good', ['nɔrabo] 'I see'.

/ɑ/: [a], a central, open, unrounded vowel; [a], a backed, open unrounded vowel. [a] occurs
only before /u/ and /o/ and in variation with [a] before [ʔ] and [w]. Examples:

(2.32)  ['maʔapɔ]  fire
       ['maʔapɔ]  fire
       ['naʔɛɾɔ]  my ear
       ['mʊa]  wife
       ['duʔ]  sago porridge
       ['ʔəɾa]  catch!

Minimal pairs for vowel phonemes are given in (2.33):

(2.33)  /i/-/e/:  /nîna/  drink!  /néna/  sleep!
       /mɪdo/  sand  /médo/  snake
       /mɛʔebi/  he read  /mɛʔebe/  she read

/e/-/a/:  /nêna/  sleep!  /nãna/  take!
       /nãne/  my  /nãne/  take!

/o/-/o/:  /nêno/  name  /nêna/  sleep!
       /nîno/  night  /nîna/  drink!

/u/-/o/:  /ûno/  banana shoot  /론o/  vagina
       /tûo/  stern post  /tόo/  bone

2.3 Stress

Stress is distinctive. Consider the following minimal pairs:

(2.34)  /ámɛno/  above  /amɛno/  grandmother
       /mɛʔo/  rope  /mɛʔo/  wood
       /tόʔo/  bone  /tόʔo/  palm wine
Stress is a combination of pitch, force and length but pitch is the dominating element. Stress may occur on any syllable but the last syllable of words gets stress in a tiny minority of words only. No V.'V words have yet been found. Examples:

(2.35) /ásə/ V.CV head
/ebê/ V.'CV mouth
/mídeni/ 'CV.CV.CV tongue
/panáto/ CV.'CV.CV rain
/hôòô/ 'CV.CV bone
/toôô/ CV.'CV palm wine
/anomí/ V.CV.'CV star
/onómo/ V.'CV.CV spear
/âao/ 'V.V tree; wood

With some words stress has been found to vary, for example /mído/ ‘sand’, /midô/ ‘sand’.

2.4 Graphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Graphemes</th>
<th>Graphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/: p</td>
<td>/s/: s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/: t</td>
<td>/m/: m initially/w medially¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/: k</td>
<td>/n/: n initially/r medially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/q/: q</td>
<td>/a/: a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/: b</td>
<td>/e/: e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/: d</td>
<td>/i/: i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/: g</td>
<td>/o/: o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/φ/: f</td>
<td>/u/: u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

stressed vowels: á, é, í, ó, ú
transitional sound [j]: y²

¹ This graphemic decision is not based on phonemic considerations but on sociolinguistic ones. In anwatan people, under the influence of the Indonesian writing system, do not accept a purely phonemic spelling for /m/ and /n/.

² See Chapter 3 for the transitional [j] and other morphophonemic processes.
3 Morphology

The relatively complex verb morphology of Inanwatan, where verbs can have up to five affixes, is in contrast with the rather simple verb morphologies of the languages of the other parts of the Bird's Head like Abun (Berry & Berry 1999), Moi (Menick 1996, 2000), Maybrat (Dol 1999) and Hatam (Reesink 1999). Verbs are inflected for subject person, number and gender, object person and number, tense, mood, aspect and negation. Subject and object are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes. Gender is a pervasive feature of the Inanwatan morphology, affecting all major wordclasses.

3.1 Pronouns

3.1.1 Personal pronouns

The free personal pronouns of Inanwatan are differentiated for subject, object, emphatic subject and oblique functions. The bound forms (subject and object prefixes) are discussed in §3.4.1.

(3.1) Subject | Object | Emphatic(subject) | Oblique
1SG | náíti/nári | náwe | néwa | nága(dara)
2SG | áiti/ári | áwe | éwa | ága(dara)
3SG.M | ítígi | íwe | méwa | érá(dara)
3SG.F | ítígo | méwa | érá(dara)
1PL.EXC | niíti | niíwe | ndéwawaro | níga(dara)
1PL.INC | dáíti | dáíwe | dewawaro | íga(dara)
2PL | ííti | ííwe | dewawaro | íga(dara)
3PL | ítíga | méwawaro | érá(dara)

Enclitic demonstratives -wai, -sai, -wasu function as personal pronouns for third person objects (see §3.2) filling the 'gaps' in (3.1). Some tentative further analysis of the pronouns in (3.1) seems to be possible. The suffix -ííti marks subject forms, -íwe object forms, -íwa emphatic forms and -íwaro plurality in emphatic forms. For -ííti we would have to assume the
allomorphs \textit{iti-} (with third person subject forms) and \textit{-ri} (in variation with \textit{-itti}) in 1SG and 2SG forms.

The oblique forms occur sometimes in a longer form (e.g. nágadara in stead of nágå). The oblique forms are used for personal pronouns with peripheral functions in the clause (see §4.1.2 for the distinction between core and peripheral nominals in Inanwatan). The oblique forms most likely consist of (former) postpositions attached to the personal pronouns. For the third person forms this is certain: \textit{-ra} is a postposition meaning ‘to, for, about’ (see §4.1.2). So far I have not encountered a postposition \textit{-ga} or \textit{-gadara}. There are also combinations of personal pronouns and the postpositions \textit{-wai} ‘to’ (direction) and \textit{-\{u\}ru} ‘(together)with’ (comitative):

(3.2) \textit{Abo-go ná-wai mó-ra.}
\textit{tomorrow-CIRC me-to come-IMP.SG}
Tomorrow you must come to me.

(3.3)(el.) \textit{Náwa-ru sé-ra.}
\textit{me-with go-IMP.SG}
Take me along!

(3.4) \textit{Awa-ru mé-se-i?}
\textit{you-with 3.S-go-PAST.3SG.M}
Did he go with you?

I have found the emphatic forms so far only combined with non-emphatic subject forms. Possibly the \textit{-wa} morpheme in the emphatic forms derives from the proximate demonstrative element \textit{-wa}, compare the frequent local Malay emphatic form saya ini literally ‘I here’.

Some examples of personal pronouns, object forms (náwe, 3.5), subject forms (náiti, niiti, 3.6), oblique forms (i-gadara, 3.7) and emphatic forms (néwa, (3.8)).

(3.5) \textit{Máwa náwe sikorao me-qegó-re.}
\textit{next me school 3.S-cause-PAST}
And they put me to school.

(3.6) \textit{Iyó míroqai-webe tigó-wo + áruqo qai nigé-rowo-be +}
\textit{yes true-be so-be.3.SG.F blood.F follow 1PLE.XCS-come.down-PRES}
\textit{a áruqo qai-nigé-rowo-be mé-ra-re tígo úra-wai}
\textit{ah blood follow-1PLE.XCS-come.down-PRES 3.S-lay-PAST so DEM-this.F}
\textit{tígo-wo níiti nige-rágo-be.}
\textit{so-be.3SG.F we 1PLE.XCS-pierce-PRES}
\textit{níiti ne-rágo-be níro-go isíbowo. #}
\textit{I 1SG.S-pierce-PRES night-CIRC sago.bait}
Yes, that is true, we followed the bloodtrail and it lay dead which we speared, which I speared at night at the sagogait.

(3.7) \textit{Má-ge-re-re má-ge-re-re + a mé-era-rita-re}
\textit{thus-do-PAST-and thus-do-PAST-and ah 3.S-say-DUR-PAST.PL}
\textit{gåwere i-gadara ísido mé-ge-rita-bi-sai-sai. #}
Since he kept doing so, they said, ah, this one leaves us without children.
3.1.2 Possessive pronouns

Inanwatan has both free and bound possessive pronominal forms. The free forms express alienable possession, the possessive prefixes express inalienable possession.

(3.9) Free            Bound

1SG.M  náre-so       na-
1SG.F  naridó-wo     na-
2SG.M  áre-so        a-
2SG.F  aridó-wo      a-
3SG.M.male tigídá-so  
3SG.M.female tigá-so
3SG.F.male tigídá-wo
3SG.F.female (tigu)a-wo/áo
1PL.EXC.M niri(-so)   ni(da)-
1PL.EXC.F niridó(-wo) ni(da)-
1PL.INC.M dári/dáé-so da-
1PL.INC.F dáro(-wo)   da-
2PL.M  iiri(-so)     i(da)-
2PL.F  irido-wo      i(da)-
3PL.M  tigá-so       
3PL.F  (tig)a-wo/áo

The free forms express gender of the possessor. The third person singular free forms express double gender: male or female possessor plus the cross-referenced gender of the possessed noun (optional gender suffixes, masculine: -so; feminine: -wo).

(3.10) tigídá-so  suquére
his-M    sago.M
his sago

(3.11) tigá-so  suquére
her-M    sago.M
her sago

The free forms may also be used predicatively:

(3.12) Méqaro  naridó-wo.
house     mine-F
The house is mine.

The possessive prefixes, used for inalienable nouns (body part nouns, kinship terms and a few other nouns, see §3.3), do not differentiate gender. Inalienably possessed nouns indicate gender by the stem-final vowel.
Chapter 3

The bound forms occur only in the first and second person. When possession is not expressed on inalienably possessed nouns, third person possessors are understood, that is miro means 'her belly' (3.14). In other words, inalienable nouns have either a possessive prefix (first and second person) or imply third person possessors.

(3.13) Ná-wiri me-tutú-rita-bi.
My belly is hurting. (I (male) have pain in my belly).

(3.14) Miro me-tutú-rita.
belly.F 3.S-hurt-DUR
Her belly is hurting. (She has pain in her belly).

Although informants used the bound forms consistently with inalienable nouns in direct elicitation, in the texts I found free possessive pronouns with kinship terms:

(3.15) [riqotqaware-sái + nírido qotoqówaro +
your(PL) child.M-this.M our(EXCL) child.F
úto wé-ri-rita-bi. #
fish 3.S-eat-HAB-M
Your son has a relationship with our daughter.

The final vowel of the bound forms is elided before noun-initial vowels (na-épe>n-épe 'my-foot.M') but in some cases noun-initial vowels elide, for example ná-oro>ná-ro 'my-vagina.F'.

3.1.3 Reflexive pronouns

The nouns íra-giro 'body; person' (body-skin.F), íra-giri 'body; person' (body-skin.M) and iro-wo (body-CONN) are used as reflexive pronouns, as follows:

(3.16) 1SG.male n-íragiri
1SG.female n-íragiro
2/3SG.male íragir-í/iro-wo
2/3SG.female/3PL íragiro
1PL.EXC níd-íragiro
1PL.INC/2PL d-íragiro/iro-wo

Examples:

(3.17) Mai-röe-bido írowo ége-bido d-irágiro. #
now-go.out-1PL.INC.ADH body-CONN show(?)-1PL.INC.ADH 1PL.INC-body
Let us show ourselves.

(3.18)(el.) N-íragiro nó-ura-re.
my-body.F 1SG.S-see-PAST
I (female) saw myself.

The nouns functioning as reflexive pronouns are inalienably possessed nouns, taking possessive prefixes (see §3.1.2) and with semantic gender (§3.3.1).
I have one example in my texts\(^2\) of a reciprocal pronoun:

\[(3.19) \text{Mé-rowo-re } \text{ewáiwa } + \text{nìogai } \text{mé-era-re} \]

3.S-come-down-PAST and each.other 3.S-say-PAST

\text{\textit{suda} mé-era-re núawu-bido } + \text{mútero-wai. #}

so 3.S-say-PAST come.together-1PL.INC.ADH one.this.F

They came down and they said to each other, let us come together in one place.

### 3.2 Demonstratives

Demonstrative forms are presented in (3.20):

**Table 3: Demonstratives**

\[(3.20)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Substantive</th>
<th>Attributive</th>
<th>Clitic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.SG</td>
<td>ma-i</td>
<td>e-wá-i</td>
<td>-wa-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.SG</td>
<td>sa-i</td>
<td>e-sá-i</td>
<td>-sa-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>má(-su)</td>
<td>e-wá(-su)</td>
<td>-wá(-su)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distal</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.SG</td>
<td>owó-i</td>
<td>i-ówo-i</td>
<td>-wo-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.SG</td>
<td>osó-i</td>
<td>i-ósó-i</td>
<td>-so-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>owó(-su)</td>
<td>i-owó(-su)</td>
<td>-wo(-su)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Singular is marked by -\textit{i}; plural is optionally, but usually, marked by -\textit{su}. The consonant opposition /\textit{m}/ (intervocalic allophone written as w) versus /\textit{s}/ marks feminine versus masculine. The vowel opposition /\textit{a}/ versus /\textit{o}/ marks proximate versus distal. Notice that the feminine singular forms are also used as plural forms. The attributive use is distinguished by e- in the proximate and i- in the distal attributive forms. In addition to the attributive singular forms of (3.20), sometimes the forms úra-wai, úra-sai, úra-woi and úra-soi are used, as in (3.21).

\[(3.21) mura-gárebo-wai úra-wai \]

river-mouth-this.F DEM-this.F

the rivermouth

The form úra also occurs on its own as a demonstrative (glossed DEM), as in (3.22):

\[(3.22) \text{Adó adó úra bido úra mé-rare-wai } + \text{ewétewa me-rágo-re. #} \]


Oh dear, oh dear, the pig is dead, who speared it?

Forms derived from demonstratives like máiwo and owóiwo are used as spatiotemporal adverbs meaning ‘here/now’ and ‘there/then’:  

\(^2\) In direct elicitation with Malay stimuli (\textit{Mereka baku bunuh} ‘They killed each other’) the reciprocal form turned up in the following example: \textit{itiga nìogai mewutulbe} (they each.other they.killed).
Here he settled and he brought across all pieces of iron for his smithy.

The demonstrative based forms *maí-wa* and *ewái-wa* (-wa is probably a reduced form of -wai) very frequently occur as discourse-conjunctions meaning 'and' or 'next' (e.g. (3.23)), especially in narratives following tail-head linkages (see §4.3).

The proximate, plural demonstrative clitic -wasu has also been found to express plurality in some nouns, especially kinship nouns, for example *néqide* 'my father', *néqide-wasu* 'my fathers'.

In noun phrases the demonstratives very frequently function as markers of definiteness, (3.24, 3.25):

(3.24) *Nawóra esáí Patipi-wótwé wé-de-wo-re.* Nawora this.M Patipi-from 3S-go.across-come-PAST.PL Nawora and his clan came across from Patipi.

(3.25) *Baru + mirágo sówato mé-we-rita-i* táwaro sówato + next machete good 3S-give-DUR-PAST.SGM steel.axe good *buat mogólo áreto wé-ra-rita-re* itatábo iówosu. # for for thing 3S-make-DUR-PAST.PL ancestors those And he gave good machetes, good axes for the ancestors to do things.

The postclitic forms function as third person subject markers (3.26), *médewoi-sáí* and object markers (3.27) with verbs and as definiteness markers with nouns, (3.28):

(3.26) *Mé-de-wo-i-sáí* *Náwóra esáí + buka méwo si* 3.S-cross-come-PAST.SGM-this.M Namora this.M not hand empty *wé-de-wo-bi-d-aigo +* ao miriqó ewái nági-aga irágiro 3.S-cross-come-PRES.SGM-TR-NEG his gun this.F one-POSS body *mógo-we-de-wo-i +* mawágoruqu-wa mé-era-rita-re. # carry-3.S-cross-come-PAST.SGM big.men-these 3.S-say-HAB-PAST.PL When Namora came across, he did not do so emptyhanded, he brought twenty guns across, the leaders used to tell.

(3.27) *Ne-wutáu-ge-sáí.* 1SG.S-kill-PAST-this.M I killed him.

(3.28) *Jádi orowó-wai dówo-go me-sée-re + géro-wai.* # therefore lance-this.F short-with 3.S-cut-PAST.PL handle-this.F Therefore they cut the lance short, its handle.
3.3 Nouns

There are two noun classes, alienable and inalienable nouns. Inalienable nouns take possessive prefixes and alienable nouns free possessive pronouns. Number (singular and plural) and gender (feminine and masculine) are distinguished in nouns. In the plural, the gender distinctions are neutralised.

3.3.1 Gender

Gender in nouns is determined by the last vowel. Nouns ending in a front vowel (/i/ or /e/) are masculine and the remaining nouns (ending in /u/ or /o/) are feminine. Phonological gender systems (in the sense of Corbett 1991:51), as found in Inanwatan, have been found elsewhere in New Guinea (in Torricelli and Lower Sepik families, for example Yimas, see Foley 1986, 1991). The great majority of nouns is feminine.

In a minority of nouns gender has a semantic basis (male and female). This class comprises the following nouns. Nouns denoting humans (including kinship nouns, for example qotogowaro ‘daughter’, qotogoware ‘son’). Nouns denoting domesticated animals (for example mevalqote ‘female dog’, mevalqote ‘male dog’). Also included are a number of inanimate nouns such as human body parts and body fluids (for example àruqo ‘blood (of a female)’, àruqi ‘blood (of a male)’), orientational nouns which take the human body as point of reference (for example edîduro ‘left (of a female)’, edîdurî ‘left (of a male)’, the noun néro ‘name (of a female)’, neri ‘name (of a male)’ and other nouns associated with the body (for example awuwuro ‘strength (of a female)’, awuwuri ‘strength (of a male)’). Although a minority, these nouns with semantic gender have a high profile in the language, not only because of the importance of kinship but also because body related nouns are used in the expression of a wide range of lexical and grammatical meanings such as reflexivity (§3.1.3), spatial orientation, cognition (3.30), emotion (see §4.1.1, (4.7) and (4.8)) and experiential expressions (3.13, 3.14). Examples:

(3.29) Ira-gir-i me-wutáu-sa-bi.
body-skin-M 3.S-kill-FUT-M
He wants to kill himself.

(3.30) Náwe a-qer-ó ìgo-ra.
me.O your-ear-F think-IMP.SG
You (female) must remember me!

3.3.2 Number

Plurality is marked by a suffix -o, which replaces the last vowel of the noun stem. This means that for the majority of nouns (which have /o/ as stem-final vowel) there is no formal distinction between singular and plural forms. Some nouns, especially kinship nouns, have suppletive plural forms (see §1.8.3):

3 In Puragi (see Appendix 3, §2.5.2), the neighbouring language to the north and east of Inanwatan, the vowel opposition which expresses the feminine/masculine opposition in human nouns (final /o/ : female, final /u/ : male), expresses size/quantity in inanimate nouns, e.g. amepuri ‘wind’, amepuro ‘strong wind’.
3.3.3 Derivation of nouns

Nouns referring to humans characterized by a quality X can be derived by adding -ewi (M), -ewo (F) and -ewe (PL) to the noun denoting X, with its final vowel elided, as follows:

(3.32) (el.) náto wound
nátewi wounded man
nátewo wounded woman
nátewe wounded people

(3.33) qówe penis
qówewi man (polite)
óró vagina
órëwo woman (polite)

(3.34) mído snot
mídewi snotty nose (M) (abusive)

(3.35) īgo tinea
īgewi (male) sufferer from tinea
īgewe sufferers from tinea

Nouns referring to persons habitually performing an action X can be derived from the habitual form of the verb denoting X, which is X-rita. The derivational suffixes are -we (M), -wo (F) or -(ra)saru (PL). Examples:

(3.36) buqá-rita-we writer (<buqa- ‘to write’)  
buqá-rita-wo (female) writer  
buqá-rita-saru writers
neqódi-rita-we thief (<neqodi- ‘to steal’)  
mutau-rita-we killer (<mutau- ‘to kill’)  

The feminine form of this derivation is used both for agent nominalization (3.36) and event nominalization, (3.37):

(3.37) Mutáu-rita-wo-wai bàdá-o-wo.  
kill-HAB-NOM-this.F bad-F-be.3SG.F  
Killing is bad.

A nominalized form that consists of the verb stem plus a combination of the two plural nominalization suffixes -ewe and -saru functions as a relative clause with implicit head, for example qai-regá-ewesaru, literally ‘the followers’ in (3.38) and mőgo-wo te-ewésaru, the sitters in the jungle in (3.39):

(3.38) Qai-regá-ewesaru mó-ura-re mësida-o urá-owosu.  
Those who followed (the trail) saw that there were people.
My ancestors, eh, they met, my relatives and the ancestors, those who lived in the jungle.

And those who had speared (the pig), they came down to follow the bloodtrail.

In (3.40) the nominalization is combined with a Malay code switch containing the Malay relativiser yang.

### 3.3.4 Compounds

In noun compounds a modifying noun stem precedes a modified noun stem. When the modifying noun stem is a feminine noun ending in /o/, the final vowel becomes /a/ in the compound noun. The stress of the modified noun becomes the main stress of the compound. The stress of the modifying noun becomes a secondary stress. Examples:

(3.41) | iro | gong | séro | word | ira-séro | a story about a gong
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
| múro | river | métoro | side | mura-wétoro | riverside
| bido | pig | érasoe | fat | bida-érasoe | pigfat
| qegedi | sun | órewo | woman | qegedi-órewo | daughter of the sun

### 3.4 Verbs

There are four classes of verbs, intransitive, transitive, ditransitive and copular verbs (-ra and i-). Copular verbs have either their own, limited inflection (-ra) or no inflection (i-). The other verb classes share inflection for person, number and gender of the subject, tense, aspect and negation. Transitive and ditransitive verbs may mark the object in the verb, but only when the object is the speaker or the addressee. Subject and object are crossreferenced or expressed by verbal prefixes, with the exception of counterfactual and third person future forms which have subject suffixes. A sizeable minority of verbs have suppletive plural stems, for example uwu- ‘to sit’, with plural stem te-, se- ‘to go’ with plural stem reqa-, miwi- ‘to run’ with plural stem noda-, qebadi- ‘to turn (INTR)’ with plural stem gebate-, na- ‘to cry’ with plural stem neberu- and nou- ‘to fall’ with plural stem nouquge-.

### 3.4.1 Subject and object prefixes

The set (3.42) gives the subject and object prefixes of verbs:
The subject and object prefixes of the first and second person have clear formal correspondences with the sets of personal pronouns and possessive prefixes (see §3.1) but the 3SG/PL subject prefix me- is completely different from the personal and possessive forms.

Whereas the possessive prefixes undergo vowel-elision before noun-initial vowels, the final vowels of the subject and object prefixes do not undergo elision. Instead, vowel sequences are formed, including double vowels, phonetically realised as long vowels, for example /né-era-re/ 'I said' (['ne: rare]) contrasting with /né-ra-re/ 'I held' (['nerarə]). The final /e/ of the subject prefixes assimilates to /o/ when the verb stem has an initial /o/ or /u/.

Examples: /né-opo-rel > ['nɔ: pɔre] '1SG.S-take a bath-PAST', /mé-uwu-gel > ['mouwuge] '3.S-sit-PAST'. The prefix final /e/ dissimilates to /i/ before verb initial /a/, for example /ne-átu-gel > [ni'atuge] '1SG.S-board (the canoe)-PAST'.

Examples of subject and object prefixation:

(3.43)(el.) Ni-á-weigo-re.
1SG.2SG.O-deceive-PAST
I deceived you.

(3.44) Mi-ri-ra-rita + míroqai-weebe + nige-tóbo-be tígo
3.S-1PL.EXC.O-say-HAB true-be(?) 1PL.EXC.S-listen-PRES so
qotoqówar-o órewo-wai séro mútero. #
child-F woman-this.F word one
They say to us, it is true, we have heard the same thing about the girl.

(3.45) Awoge méqaro naguáre áwoge dinasi-da-wo nágo-wo
again house one again service-POSS-be.3SG.F one-CONN
me-rá-wi-de buat nanti páakai-béqewu mó ré-re-sa. #
3.S-1SG.O-give-PAST for later use-in.order.to(PL) there 1SG.sleep-FUT
And they gave me also a house of the (health) service to live there in the future.

Transitive verbs with object prefixes also allow the object to be marked by an independent personal pronoun in its object form. If so, there is no object prefix. Compare (3.43) and (3.46):

(3.46)(el.) áwe ne-wéigo-re
you(SG.O) 1SG.S-deceive-PAST
I deceived you.

The phoneme /o/, the other half-close vowel of Inanwatan, undergoes an analogous closing dissimilation before the open vowel /a/ in morpheme sequencing, for example /qidù-are/>/qidú-are/ 'not yet'.

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(3.42) subject object

- 1SG: ne- na-
- 1PL.EXC: nige- ni-
- 1PL.INC/2PL: ge- i-
- 2SG: e- a-
- 3SG/PL: me- -
3.4.2 Tense

Inanwatan has three tenses, a Past tense for events that took place before yesterday’s sunset, a Present tense for events taking place at the moment of utterance or before that moment but after yesterday’s sunset, and a Future tense for events after utterance-time.

3.4.2.1 Past

The Past is expressed by the suffix -re, with the phonologically conditioned allomorphs -de after verb stems ending in /i/ and -ge after verb stems ending in /u/. In 3SG masculine forms, the Past suffix is -i. In verbs which do not have suppletive plural stems, the 3PL forms are identical to the 3SG feminine forms. Examples of the Past paradigms of *uwu/-te- ‘to sit; to stay; to live’ and *opo- ‘to take a bath’:

(3.47)  
1SG  nó-uwu-ge  nó-opo-re  
2SG  ó-uwu-ge  ó-opo-re  
3SG.M  mó-uwu-i  mó-opo-i  
3SG.F  mó-uwu-ge  mó-opo-re  
1PL.EXC  nigé-te-re  nigó-opo-re  
2PL/1PL.INC  gé-te-re  gó-opo-re  
3PL  mé-te-re  mó-opo-re

3.4.2.2 Present

The Present is expressed by the suffix -be. In 3SG masculine forms, the Present suffix is -bi. An example paradigm of *uwu/-te- ‘to sit’:

(3.48)  
1SG  nó-uwu-be  
2SG  ó-uwu-be  
3SG.M  mó-uwu-bi  
3SG.F  mó-uwu-be  
1PL.EXC  nigé-te-be  
2PL/1PL.INC  gé-te-be  
3PL  mé-te-be

3.4.2.3 Future

The Future forms have the suffix -sa. The Future forms have subject suffixes in the third person singular forms, -bi for 3SG.M and -be for 3SG.F/3PL. An example Future paradigm of *uwu/-te- ‘to sit’:

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5 The Inanwatan seem to consider the previous sunset as the termination of ‘yesterday’ and as the start of ‘today’.
Thus far I have found only one aspectual distinction expressed inflectonially, with the habitual-durative suffix -rita. These tenseless forms are used for events presented as occurring habitually, repeatedly or prolongedly. In stories, the forms with -rita often seem to lose their aspectual meaning and seem to function as narrative forms (see for example Appendix 2, text A 2, (21)). The 3SG masculine forms have the gender suffix -bi. An example habitual-durative paradigm of uwu-/te- ‘to sit’:

(3.50)  
1SG nó-uwu-rita  
2SG ó-uwu-rita  
3SG.M mó-uwu-rita-bi  
3SG.F mó-uwu-rita  
1PL.EXC nígé-te-rita  
2PL/1PL.INC gé-te-rita  
3PL mé-te-rita

The habitual-durative suffix -rita may also be used in tensed verb forms, like Past forms. In that case the Past endings are used. Notice the contrasts between (3.51) and (3.52):

(3.51) Mó-uwu-rita-bi.  
3.S-sit-HAB-3SG.M  
He is sitting.

(3.52) Mó-uwu-rita-i.  
3.S-sit-HAB-PAST.SG.M  
He used to sit.

See also Appendix 2, Texts, for examples of tenseless (Text A 2, (2) and (3)) and tensed forms (A 3, (4)) with -rita.

3.4.4 Mood

3.4.4.1 Imperative and adhortative mood

The suffix -ra marks imperative; in plural imperative forms, a plural suffix -e is added:

(3.53) Sé-ra-re + qégédì òréwo + káawe-ra. #
goiMP.SG-and sun woman marry-iMP.SG  
Go and marry the daughter of the sun.
(3.54)  

Ago mè-qaqo-i-de  mè-era-rita-i +
but  3S-face-PAST.SG.M-and  3S-say-DUR-PAST.SG.M

qotoqówaro owóí  iga-ra-e  na-wáño-go. #
daughter  that.F  put.down-IMP-PL  my-wife-CIRC

And he faced (them) and said, that girl, you must give her to me as my wife.

For the negative imperative, Future forms with -sa are used in combination with the negative imperative adverb egábara. Examples:

(3.55)  

Egábara náwe  e-sée-sa. #
NEG.IMP  me.O  2SG.S-cut-FUT
Don’t cut me.

(3.56)  

Egábara  áibo  gé-ra-sa. #
NEG.IMP  voice  2PLS-say-FUT
You must not speak!

The suffix -bido marks the plural adhortative:

(3.57)  

Iro  tugarido  ırá-séro  qé-bido.
gong  inheritance  gong-story  speak-ADH.1PL
The gong, let us tell the tugarido6 story of the gong.

3.4.4.2 The counterfactual mood

The counterfactual mood, expressed by the suffix -d, has its own set of subject person and number suffixes. An example paradigm of mo- "to come":

(3.58)  

1SG  mó-d-eqo  ‘I would have come’
2SG  mó-déro
3SG.M  mó-d-io
3SG.F/3PL  mó-d-ewo
1PLEXC  mó-d-iro
2PL  mó-d-idó

(3.59)(el.)  

Iwáa-go  dökter-e  náwe  úra-y-aigo7  máiwo-go  nú-d-eqo.
yesterday-CIRC  doctor-M  me.O  see-TR-NLG  now-CIRC  die-CF-1SG
If the doctor had not helped me, I would be dead now.

3.4.5 Negation

Negative imperative forms with the negative imperative adverb egábara have already been given, see (3.55–3.56). The other negative verb forms found thus far have a negative

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6 See Appendix 2, Texts, Part A for this Inanwatan genre.
7 Generally, when the negative suffix -aigo follows a vowel, the transitional sound [j] (grapheme: y) or sometimes [d] is inserted at the morpheme break. After the future suffix -sa, elision of /a/ takes place (-sa+aigo->saigo).
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suffix -aigo. Optionally, negative verb forms are preceded by the negative adverb náwo. Examples:

(3.60) (Náwo) né-se-s-aigo.
(not) 1SG.S-walk-FUT-NEG
I am not going to walk.

Occasionally, negation with -aigo leads to neutralization of tense, gender, person and number distinctions, for example:

(3.61) Má-ge-re-re neqo-y-aigo me-roe tígo + uwó
thus-do-PAST-and catch-TR-NEG 3S-go.out.PAST.M so road
tíra-i + Usuqó gobó ewáiwa + uwá-rero. #
take-ADV Usuqó branch and road-name
They did not catch him and he went out via the Usuqo arm, that it’s name.

The words èise ‘yes’ and (qe)qido ‘no’ can stand on their own8 as complete utterances in conversations but (qe)qido is also used as an interclausal conjunction in disjunctive questions, for example:

(3.62) Kójido é-ri-sa qe(qido) téro é-ri-sa?
coffee 2SG.S-drink-FUT or tea 2SG.S-drink-FUT
Do you want coffee or tea?

In contrastive contexts I have found the negative adverb ógora:

(3.63) Ógora íiti (ago) náiti ne-wága-rita.
not he (but) I 1SG.S-make-HAB
Not he but I usually make it.

3.4.6 Non-finite forms

A non-finite verb form consisting of just the reduplicated verb stem is used to indicate simultaneity of events in durative contexts. This reduplicated form may either precede or follow the main predicate.

(3.64)(el.) Aretö ni-ri séro me-qé-rita.
food eat-eat word 3PL.S-speak-DUR
They are eating and talking.

(3.65) Né-se-rita iwe úra-w-ura.
1SG.S-walk-DUR you(PLO) see-TR-see
While I walk, I am watching you.

The second non-finite form consist of the verb stem with the suffix -i. The verb form qualifies a finite verb that it follows or precedes in an adverbial manner. For example:

(3.66) Ererao tígo má-ge-tíra-i mé-i-de
other.PL so thus-do-take-ADV 3S-descend-PAST

8 Sometimes (qe)qido combines with -aigo to form (qe)qiduaigo.
While some thus descended, still others went up to the headwater.

The third non-finite form found so far is a purposive infinitival form consisting of the verb stem plus the suffix -beqewu with singular subjects and -birowu with plural subjects:

(3.67) *Má-ge-re re mawágo-wasu meigo-weigo + ago Mugúro-wotewe + thus-do-PAST-and big-these deceive-deceive but Mugúro-from me-párea-re + urú-we-rowo-rita-re ewáiwa 3S-know-PAST.PL together-3S-come.down-DUR-PAST.PL and órewe sówa eráwise-wasu qeqúqu-wa + éro-wo woman.PL attractive virgin-these parent.PL-these canoe-in teqó-ge + távaro ra-bírowu mírago ra-bírowu.# board.canoe-with steel.a xe take-for.PL machete take-for.PL Thus the big men deceived (him) and those from Mugim knew it and they came down with (their) attractive women, girls, the parents put them in the canoes when they went to get axes and machetes.

(3.68)(el.) *Né-i-rita opó-beqewu.
1SG.S-descend-DUR take.a.bath-to(SG) I am going down to take a bath.

*Mé-i-rita bi opó-beqewu.
3.S-descend-DUR-M take.a.bath-to(SG) He is going down to take a bath.

*Mé-i-rita opó-birowu.
3.S-descend-DUR take.a.bath-to(PL) They are going down to take a bath.

### 3.4.7 Copular verbs

In locative-existential clauses Inanwatan uses a combination of the invariable element *i*- and demonstrative enclitics. Consider the following examples:

(3.69) *E-ra mé-qe-re i-sái na-qíde-sai.
3SG-to 3.S-speak-PAST be-this.M my-father-this.M She said to him, my father is there.

(3.70) *I-wosu Sóru.
be-those Sorong They are in Sorong.

(3.71) *I-wasu mésida-o?
be-these people-PL Are there people?

With first and second person subjects, there is no predicative element:
Locative-existential clauses may also be used to express possession:

(3.73) Túgare, pipiso i-wai?
Sir money be-this.F
Sir, do you have money?

The copular verb -ra is used in clauses that express attribution (3.74), equation (3.75) and possession (3.78, 3.79). The verb -ra is a special verb with irregular forms which express only person, number and gender. The verb criticizes to predicative adjectives (3.74) and nouns (3.75), as follows:

(3.74) 1SG.M sówat-e-ra-ra 'I am good' (good-M-1SG-be)
1SG.F sówat-o-ra-ra
2SG.M sówat-i-a-ra
2SG.F sówat-u-a-ra
3SG.M sówat-e-so
3SG.F/3PL sówat-o-wo
1PL.EXC sówat-o-ri-ra
2PL/1PL.INC sówat-o-i-ra

(3.75)(el.) Mésida-e bidó mé-wutau-bi íosoi nówi-so.
person-M pig 3.S-kill-PRES.3SG.M that my.uncle-be.3SG.M
The man who killed the pig is the headman

The person and number suffixes of the first and second person correspond to the possessive prefixes and the object prefixes. The verb form -eri-aigo 'not be' is used in negative attributive-equative clauses with -ra:

(3.76)(el.) Nítti sówato-eri-aigo.
we.EXC good-not.be-NEG
We are not good.

A rather special use of -eri-aigo is its function in verbs as a marker of temporal overlap of events ('while A, B'). Informants insist that -eraiago means 'while' and not 'before' as might be expected on the basis of the negative element in -eraiago.

(3.77) Usoqo gobó mái-wo e má-ge-re-re mó-owo-re
Usoqo sea here-CONN EXCL thus-do-PAST-and 3.S-go.upstream-PAST
máiwa tiqo + mi-átu-ge sáa ewat ágó-wasu + mésida-e
next so 3.S-ascend-PAST water this.f and-they man-M
rage ésaí mároru-sai tígo Düweqau egí-sai +
one that.M offspring-this.M so Düweqau father-this.M

9 The /i/ and /u/ in the 2SG forms are the result of the morphophonemic dissimilation rule which changes the half-close vowels /e/ and /o/ into the close vowels /i/ and /u/ before /a/.
When used to express possession, the possessive marker -da is suffixed to the possessor noun in predicate position:

(3.78)(el.)  Bidó iowoi  guru-i-dá-wo.
    pig  that.F  teacher-M-POSS-be.3SG.F
That pig is the teacher’s (pig).

(3.79)  Méqaro Dinasi-dá-wo.
    house  Service-POSS-be.3SG.F
The house is owned by the Service.

### 3.4.8 Derivation and compounding of verbs

Adjectives are productively verbalised by affixing verbal morphology to the masculine form of the adjective. For example, sowate ‘good’ is the base for me-sowate-be ‘she is good’ (3.S-good-PRES.F). This form may also mean ‘she becomes good’ and this is a difference with the predicative adjectives supported by the copular verb -na that do not have the dynamic reading (see §3.4.7, compare sowat-o-wo ‘she is/was/will be good’). Furthermore, the verbalised adjectives express the full range of morphological categories (tense, mood, aspect, gender, person, number) distinctions whereas the predicative adjectives with -na express only person, number and gender.

Inanwatan has two productive strategies to combine verb roots (see §4.2.1). The first is to combine verb roots in compound verbs. The second is to combine verb roots with inflected verbs in complex phrasal verbs. Causative, (in)transitive and continuative verbs are formed by both strategies. The first strategy is used to form compound verbs like úwu-ge- ‘to cause to sit’, úwu-se- ‘to sit continuously’:

(3.80)  Qotoqówar-e  báakuko-qai  mó-úwu-ge-be.
    child-M  bench-at  3.S-sit-do-PRES.3SG.F
She (just) made her son sit on the bench.

(3.81)  Nó-úwu-se-rita.
    1SG.S-sit-go-DUR
I am sitting all the time.

With the verb ego- ‘to cause’ causative compound verbs can be formed with adjectival and verbal roots, for example sowato ‘good’, sowatego- ‘to repair’, ópo- ‘to take a bath’, ópoego- ‘to make someone take a bath’, for example:

(3.82)  Mótoro  me-sowat-ego-be.
    engine  3.S-good-cause-PRES
They (just) have repaired the engine.
I do not have sufficient data to say anything on the relation between causative compounds with ego- and ge-. The verb ge- is very frequent, both as independent verb and in compounds whereas I did not find many ego- compounds and no examples of its use as an independent verb.

The second strategy, complex phrasal verb formation (see §4.2.1) is illustrated by (3.83) and (3.84):

(3.83) **Máso-we-ge-i.**
enter-3.S-do-PAST.SG.M
He entered.

(3.84) **Mái-wo wó-uwu-i**  **ewáíwa + ao nésar áwuga-era-era-ro**
tétewo mogó-we-de-wo-i. #
all carry-3.S-go.across-come-PAST.SG.M
Here he settled and he brought across pieces of iron for his smithy.

The verb complex mogó we-de-wo-i in (3.84) illustrates both strategies of verb compounding (de-wó- ‘to come across’) and formation of complex phrasal verbs with bare verb roots preceding the inflected verb and phonologically integrated with that inflected verb. This second strategy seems to be used with the intransitivising root ide- in ide-wó-u-rita-re in (3.85) that intransitivizes u- ‘to fell (trees)’:

(3.85) **Suqó-wai + ibáu-go**  **éwáí + deraqóbo-go**
sago-this.F formerly-CIRC this pointed.stick-CIRC
mó-u-rita-re + tíra-tíra-we-i-rita-re  **éwáíwa**
3.S-fell-HAB-PAST take.take-3.S-pierce-HAB-PAST and
ide-wó-u-rita-re + suqó-wai ibau éwai suqere-wai
INTR-3.S-fell-HAB-PAST sago-this.F formerly this.F raw.sago-this.F
me-tetéi-rita-re.
3.S-cut-HAB-PAST
Formerly, they used to fell the sago palm with a pointed stick, they pierced it repeatedly and then it would fall and they would cut the sago palm in blocks of raw sago.

I have no example of the use of ide- as an independent verb and only one other example in the texts of its use in a phrasal verb:

(3.86) **Baru + owáqepe áboto egégiro mi-arouge-i**
and stairs top bridge 3.S-moor-PAST.SG.M
ide-we-qáwo-i. #
INTR-3.S-descend-PAST.SG.M
And he moored at the bridge and descended (from the canoe).
3.5 Adjectives

The adjective, which occurs postnominally, shows gender agreement with the noun it qualifies in both attributive and predicative uses. When the noun is masculine, the adjective ends in /el/, when feminine the adjective ends in /ol/, for example sòwat/sòwate ‘good’, badáo/badáe ‘bad’, ébaro/ébare ‘closeby’, éseqo/éseqe ‘far(away)’, tétewo/tétewe ‘all’, giro/gire ‘long’, dòwo/dòwe ‘short’.

(3.87)    méqaro sòwat-o
          house.F good-F
          a good house

(3.88)    Méqaro ewáí sòwat-o-wo.
          house this.F good-F-be.3SG.F
          This house is good.

(3.89)    Fúgi esáí ápéw-i-so.
          banana this.M delicious-M-be.3SG.M
          This banana is delicious.

Some adjectives have unpredictable masculine and feminine forms, for example si ‘empty (M)’ and ísido ‘empty (F)’. The adjective áida ‘big’ has only one form, used for both genders. The feminine form of the adjective is also used as the plural form. Some adjectives have reduplicated plural forms. In such cases, the feminine form, the default gender, is the basis for the reduplicated form. Examples: qíqe ‘new (M)’, qíqo ‘new (F)’, qíqíqo ‘new (PL)’; ísido ‘empty (F)’, ísísido ‘empty (PL)’.

There is no morphological comparative or superlative. Periphrastic constructions are used in these contexts:

(3.90)    Mésida-e esáí iragir-i áida-so agó-soi mésida-e
          person-M this.M. body-M big-be.3SG.M but-that.M person-M
          nág-e nésíror-i-so.
          other-M little-M-be.3SG.M
          This man is bigger than that man.

The adjective tétewo ‘all’ (3.91) is used as intensifier with adjectives in predicate position.

(3.91)    Awuga-era-era-ro tétewo ogó-we-de-wo-i.
          iron-piece-piece-PL all carry-3.S-go.across-come-PAST.3SG.M
          He brough all his pieces of iron across.

(3.92)(el.) Mésida-e esáí tétew-i sòwat-e-so.
          person-M this.M very-M good-M-be.3SG.M
          This man is very good.

3.6 Adverbs

There is a small closed class of invariable adverbs that enjoys considerable positional freedom but prefers to occur immediately before the verb, like áwoge ‘again’, mádei ‘already’, nágide ‘quick’:
3.7 Numerals

The Inanwatan count on hands and feet. Counting starts on the left little finger. The numerals from 1 to 4 reveal a binary system \((3=2+1; 4=2+2)\). The numerals 5 (one hand), 10 (both hands), and 20 (one body) are body-part based and combine with the numerals for 1–4 and with each other to form additive numeral phrases.

\[(3.94)\]

1. **mútero/nagiare/naguare** (bending the little finger)
2. **éri-wo** (bending the ring finger)
   
   two-F
3. **éri-naguare** (bending the middle finger)
   
   two-one
4. **éri-eridare** (bending the index finger)
   
   two-two
5. **néwo-gáago** (clenching left fist)
   
   hand-side
6. **néwo-gáago nagiare** (bending the right little finger)
   
   hand-side   one
7. **néwo-gáago éridare** (bending right ring finger)
   
   hand-side   two
8. **néwo-gáagoéri-naguare** (bending right middle finger)
9. **néwo-gáagoéri-eridare** (bending right index finger)
   
   hand-side   two-two
10. **néwo-wa sugéri** (clapping two hands in front of the breast)
    
    hand-PL both
11. **néwo-wa sugéri mútero** (touching left little toe)
    
    hand-PL both one
15. **néwo-wa sugéri néwo-gáago** (touching left big toe)
    
    hand-PL both hand-side
16. **néwo-wa sugéri néwo-gáago nagiare** (touching right little toe)
    
    hand-PL both hand-side one
20. **nágia-ga íragiro**
    
    one-POSS body
21. **nágia-ga íragiro mútero**
    
    one-POSS body one
30. **nágia-ga íragiro néwo-wa sugéri**
    
    one-POSS body hand-PL both
40. **eridá-ga íragiro**
    
    two-POSS body
100 néwo-gáagua-ga íragíro  
hand-side-POS  body

100 natído-rago  
bundle.of.hundred.sticks-one

200 natído  
body

1000 nipído-rago  
bundle.of.ten.natído-one

2000 nipído  
body

Gestures tend to accompany the use of the numerals. The system is rapidly being replaced by Malay numerals. The numerals occur after the noun and before the adjective:

(3.95)(el.) bído éri-naguáre mawágo
pig two-one big
three big pigs

3.8 Postpositions

A number of postpositional clitics express semantic relations of peripheral NPs to the predicate (see §4.1.2). So far I have found -wai ‘to(wards), -tewe ‘from’, -woide ‘from’, -qai ‘in, at’, -wo ‘in, at’, -ra ‘to, for’, -(u)ru ‘with’ and -go, a general circumstantial postposition occurring with time, instrument, manner and place nominals. Here I give just two examples. See Chapter 4, Syntax, for more details.

(3.96)  
Iraróí-go  sé-ra.
quick-CIRC go-IMP.SG
Go quickly!

(3.97)  
Gáago-wo dópis  ewái  ísi-we-ge-rita-re  obapasa  ewái.
side-at chamber this.F fill-3S-do-HAB-PAST gunpowder this.F
At the side they used to fill the chamber with gunpowder.

3.9 Conjunctions

The topic marker -qe(de) (or sometimes -qa) cliticizes to clauses and nouns. When it is a clause clitic it functions as a subordinating conjunction with adverbial and relative clauses (see §4.2.4):

(3.98)  
Sídepa-o  mé-i-de-qe  nári  nésirog-i-go.
When the Japanese came, I was a little boy.

When -qe occurs in the transcribed texts with nominals that express the time, place participant framework for the utterance, the clitic is glossed as TOP (topic):

(3.99)  
Qówewao-wasu  qówewao  me-rúqawu-rita-re  mótewe
man.side-these man.side 3.S-come.together-HAB-PAST there
The man’s people hold a meeting and there the parents agree about the daughter and (say), ‘let us tomorrow collect the (bridal) payment’.

The coordinating conjunction (-)ere, with elided form (-)re after stem-final vowels and -de after stem-final /l/, coordinates noun phrases and clauses.

(3.100) mírágo-ere náto-ere
machete-and knife-and
a machete and a knife

(3.101)(el.) nó-opo-be-re né-ri-be-re né-re-be
1SG.S-take.a.bath-PRES-and 1SG.S-eat-PRES-and 1SG.S-sleep-PRES
I took a bath, ate and slept.

Although (-)ere almost always cliticizes to the noun phrases and clauses that it coordinates, it does not always cliticise:

(3.102) Qéro-we-igo-re-re + ne-wígí-da-wo me-rá-wi-de +
medalye + mútero + ere méída-ra naguware. #
medal one and table-for one
They judged and gave me one medal for my breast and one to stand on the table.

The conjunctions tígo ‘so’, agó ‘and, but’, ewáìwa/máiwa/mai ‘and; next’ and the Malay loan conjunctions baru ‘and’, jadi ‘therefore; and so; so’, terus ‘next; and’, tapi ‘but’ atau ‘or’ and suda ‘allright, and, next’ have various discourse connective functions. For examples and more details on their discourse functions, see §4.3.2.

Two temporal conjunctions are -de ‘still’ for (partially) overlapping events and -dara ‘until’ when the first event goes on until the second starts, for example:

(3.103) Suqó-wai gé-rawe-rita-re gó-u-rita gó-u-rita-de
sago-this.F.SG 1PL.INC-go-HAB-and 1PL.INC-fell-HAB 1PL.INC-fell-HAB-still

We would go to fell sago and while still felling the sago palm, it would become dark.

(3.104) Mé-se-i ewáìwa + oo gíre-wo-wo é-ra we-qáwa-re
mé-se-i-dara-wo + mé-se-i mé-se-i
And he went and oh a very long time they waited and waited for him and he went on and on and he arrived.

3.10 Connectives and ligatures

Inanwatan has a possessive connective (-)agá in possessive noun phrases that links the pre-nominal possessor noun to the possessed headnoun:

(3.105) Jadi suda órewo agá aibá- sero ìko-we-ge-i.
therefore allright woman POSS voice-word follow-3.S-do-PAST.M
Therefore he followed the instructions of the woman.

The connective (-)agá also occurs with demonstrative or numeral modifiers when they occur prenominally (normally these modifiers occur postnominally):

(3.106) ósoi-d-agá méqaro
that.M.SG-TR-POSS house
that house
(3.107) nági-agá íragiro
one-POSS body
twenty(=one body)

There is a number of occurrences of the morpheme -wo in the texts that have been glossed as CONN (connective). This -wo seems to be different from the nominalizing morpheme -wo (see §3.3.3), the 3SG feminine form -wo of the copular verb ra- (see §3.4) and the locative postposition -wo (see §4.1.2). The function of the connective -wo is not clear. Consider this example:

(3.108) Qeququ-wo qaqó-wo ìií-we-ge-re + áibo-wo ra-y-aigo
áwero-go nigé-ro-ríta-wo + áibo-wo na-y-aigo. #
up-CIRC IPLS-ROW-DUR-CONN voice-CONN make-TR-NEG
Both the parents and the children were silent and did not speak, although above (they called), we are rowing, they did not speak.

3.11 Question clitics and question words

Polar questions are marked by rising intonation and the optional sentence-final polar question clitic -qe (sometimes -e), (3.109)-(3.78).

(3.109) Múero-go gé-reqa-sa-e?
one-CIRC 1PL.INC.S-go.PL-FUT-Q
Shall we go together?
(3.110)(el.) Qotoqóware me-parea-i qé-rita-wo-qe?
Could the boy read?
Usually just rising intonation is used to mark utterances as polar questions as in the following dialogue:

(3.111) Murray:
Ebaro-wo?
close-be.3SG.F
In the vicinity?

Yunus:
Ebaro-wo!
close-be.3SG.F
In the vicinity!

Murray:
I-woi ao?
be-that.F.SG wood
Is there wood?

Content questions are marked by rising intonation and a question word that is often but not always fronted. Consider the following dialogue:

(3.112) Murray:
I-waí-qa nawórau-woïe? éwo-go?
be-this.F.SG-? where-from when-CIRC
Where did you recently return from? When?

Yunus:
Ah nigé-ta-re + tigó #
ah 1PLEXC-PL-go-PAST so
We went alright.

Murray:
Éwo-go gé-ta-re?
when-CIRC 2PL-go-PAST
When did you go?

Yunus:
Masut + Mateia-wasu hari Rabu m-ëta-re + agó-rari
goal Matius-they day Wednesday 3SG-go-PAST and-I

hari Kamis qái-ré-ta-re +
day Thursday follow-1SG-go-PAST
I mean, Matius they went on Wednesday, but I followed on Thursday .

The following question words occur in the data:

(3.113) awéëio who
arétero what
aréte-ra why (what-for)
arétero-go with what
ewo-go when
Awéti ‘who’ and árétero ‘what’ function as unmarked core constituents (see Chapter 4) with subject and object functions:

(3.114)  
Awéti  mé-wo-bi? 
who  3.S-come-PRES 
Who just came?

(3.115)  
Awéti  mé-qobo-re? 
who  3.S-hit-PAST 
Who did they hit?

(3.116)(el.) Árétero  é-turo-sa? 
what  2SG.S-buy-FUT 
What are you going to buy?

The other question words have peripheral functions like instrument, place, time. The postpositions marking peripheral nominals (Chapter 4) like -wai ‘to(wards)’, -wo ‘in, at’, -woide ‘from’, also mark peripheral question words. Examples:

(3.117)  
Áréte-ra  e-róe-sa  Segéi-wai? 
what-for  2SG.S-descend-FUT  Segei-to 
Why do you want to go to Segei?

(3.118)  
Sébato-ra. 
shrimp-for 
To catch shrimps

(3.119)  
A-qide  naworau-wo? 
your-father  where-at 
Where is your father?

(3.120)(el.) Náge  wé-ge-bi? 
how  3.S-make-PRES 
How did he make it?
The clauses and phrases occurring in the texts that I transcribed tend to be simply structured (as in (4.1) and (4.2)) and this makes it difficult to give general formulae describing the possible orders of constituents of clauses and phrases.¹

(4.1)   Ñé-re-be.
         1SG.S-sleep-PRES
         I (just) slept.

(4.2)   Tégi-sai me-tára-rita-bi íraro-biai mi-ráwo-rita-bi-re
         sun-this.M. 3S-shine-HAB-SG.M quick-very 3S-come.up-HAB-SG.M-and
         mé-i-rita-bi. #
         3S-descend-HAB-SG.M
         When the sun shone, it used to rise and set very quickly.

First, clause types and clause constituents are discussed (§4.1). Then we turn to clause combinations (§4.2), discourse conjunctions and other devices to link sentences (§4.3) and finally to noun phrases (§4.4).

4.1 The clause

4.1.1 Clause types

There are at least four clause types, locative-existential clauses (i-DEM S Loc), attributive-equative clauses (S P-ra), transitive clauses (SOV/SVO) and intransitive clauses (S V).

Locative-existential clauses have as first constituent the invariable predicative element i- 'to be' with demonstrative clitics attached to it that (cross)refer to the subject. Then follows the subject NP and a locative nominal predicate:

(4.3)   l-woi bido Báradara úrago?
         be-that.F pig Netherlands place
         Are there pigs in the Netherlands?

¹ The data are written in phonemes represented by the graphemes given in the Grapheme Table (see §2.4). Notice that the orthographic decision to write the allophones of /m/ and /l/ (see Chapter 2) means that for example the third person subject prefix me- is written sometimes as we- and sometimes as me- depending on its pronunciation.
When there is no location expressed, the clause predicates the presence or existence of the subject:

(4.5)  I-wasu mésida-o?
be-these person-PL
Are there people?

Attributive-equative clauses (S P-ra) have non-verbal predicates expressing possession, attribution and equation (see §3.4.7 for examples). These clauses contain the copular verb -ra, a special verb with irregular forms which express only person, number and gender (see §3.4.7). The copular verb cliticizes to predicative adjectives and nouns. The predicate is the only obligatory constituent in this clause type.

(4.6)  Badá-o-wo!
bad-F-be.3SG.F
It is bad!

Intransitive clauses (S V) have intransitive verbs as their heads, for example the verbs tára- ‘to shine’, ráwo- ‘to come up’ and i- ‘to descend’ in example (4.2). The verb is the only obligatory constituent in the intransitive clause, example (4.1)

A special subtype of intransitive clauses is based on experiential verbs, intransitive verbs that take a bodypart as their first argument and express emotional and physical experiences. Because the bodypart argument is always subject, the verb is always a third person form. The verb and the bodypart NP are both obligatory constituents in the experiential intransitive clause:

(4.7)  Ná-quer-e me-tutá-rita-bi.
my-ear-M 3.S-hurt-DUR-3SG.M
I (male) have pain in my ear.

(4.8)  Qótoqowar-e mó-ri mé-sowate-bi.
child-M belly 3.S-good-3SG.M.PRES
The boy is glad.

When there is an experiencer NP, it precedes the bodypart subject, as in (4.8).

Transitive clauses (SOV/SVO) have transitive verbs as their heads. The verb is the only obligatory constituent in the transitive clause, (4.9).

(4.9)(el.)  Ni-á-weigo-re.
1SG.S-2SG.O-deceive-PAST
I deceived you.

(4.10)  Ao úto úra me-rí-we-be.
their fish DEM 3.S-1PLEX.O-give-PRES
They gave us their fish

(4.11)  Ní-taturi-dere ni-tató-ere aqiro máqare
our-grandfather-and our-grandmother-and foreleg hindleg
Mogó-we-rawe-re.
carry-3S-go.up.over.land-PAST
My grandfather and grandmother carried up the foreleg and the hindleg.

Objects frequently occur after the verb:

(4.12) **Agó-wai e-rá-qa mé-rabu-ego-i méduro éwai.**
and-that.F 3SG-from-TOP 3S-hide-CAUS-PAST.M wing that.F
And he had hidden her wings.

### 4.1.2 Clause constituents

There are two types of nominal constituents in the Inanwatan clause, core nominals (subject, object) and peripheral nominals. Core nominals are unmarked phrases, i.e. they do not take postpositions, and are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes (see §3.4.1). Peripheral nominals take postpositions and are not cross-referenced in the verb.

The core nominals subject and object are distinguished by order only (subject preceding object). Only in personal pronouns is the opposition between subject and object expressed in the form of the constituents (see §3.1.1).

Peripheral nominals (in all clause types) may occur clause-initially (when they express the time, place or other type of frame for the clause), but also pre- or postverbally when they qualify the event or state denoted by the predicate (for example manner peripherals).

NPs governed by -go denote time (4.13, 4.15), place (4.14), instrument (4.15) and manner (4.16). The postposition -go is restricted to inanimate NPs and has been glossed as CIRC (circumstantial):

(4.13) **Máiwo-go + suqá-sero qé-bido. #**
now-CIRC sago-story tell-IPL.IN.ADH
Let us now tell the story of the sagotree.

(4.14) **Air Mati-go wé-qa-rita + mútero-go dáií gé-ra-rita**
Air Mati-CIRC 3S-say-HAB together-CIRC we(IN) IPL.IN.S-say-HAB
**Air Mati sáro-wasu mái-wo-tewe mé-rowo-be + iitábo-wasu. #**
Air Mati multitude-these here-CONN-from 3S-descend-PRES ancestors-these
In Air Mati they say, we all call it Air Mati, from there all the ancestors came
down.

(4.15) **Suqó-wai + ibáu-go éwai + deraqóbo-go mó-u-rita-re +**
sago-this.F formerly-CIRC this.F pointed.stick-CIRC 3S-fell-HAB-PAST
**tíra-tira-we-i-rita-re éwáwa íde-wó-u-rita-re + suqó-wai**
take-take-3S-pierce-HAB-PAST and INTR-3S-fell-HAB-PAST sago-this.F
**íbau éwai suoqé-wai me-tetéi-rita-re.**
formerly this.F raw.sago-this.F 3S-cut-HAB-PAST
Formerly, they used to fell the sagotree with a pointed stick, they pierced it repeatedly and then it would fall and they would cut the sagotree in blocks of raw sago.
(4.16) Séro-wai mé-qe-re + iso-we-rego-re sówato-go + baru.
word-this.F 3S-speak-PAST.PL 3S-put.down-PAST.PL good-CIRC and
They spoke thus and organized it well and..

The postposition -ra marks both animate (4.17–4.20) and inanimate oblique NPs
(4.21–4.23). It has wide range of meanings including ‘about’ (4.17, 4.18), ‘for’ (4.19, 4.21),
‘to’ (4.20) and ‘on’ (4.23).

me-about 3S-talk-HAB-these
They use to talk about me.

(4.18) Do io sé-ra-wo do io sé-ra-wo áwoge
EMPH ADH go-IMP.SG-EMPH EMPH ADH go-IMP.SG-EMPH again
náwe-ra náwe-ra qeré-igo-ra qeré-igo-ra náwe-ra
me-for me-for ear-think-IMP.SG ear-think-IMP.SG me-for
náwe-ra qeré-igo-ra.
me-for ear-think-IMP.SG
Allright, go away, go away but remember me, remember me, remember me.

3SG-for 3.S-wait-PAST
They waited for him.

(4.20) E-ra mé-qe-re.
3SG-to 3.S-say-PAST
She said to him.

(4.21) Mái-ra we-se-re.
this-for 3.S-go-PAST
She looked for it. (lit. she went for it)

(4.22) medalye múero méida-ra naguíre
medal one table-for one
one medal for the table

(4.23) Ewi sídero máiwa qeqído-wo + sídero-wa naqíde we-ra-re
but parrot next not-be.3.SG.F parrot-this quickly 3.S-take-PAST
mágo-rai-re qékaqé ái-ra me-qáa-re. #
sago.pounder-this.F-and cockatoo head-on 3.S-pound.sago-PAST
But the parrot said, No, and quickly took the sago pounder and pounded the
cockatoo on he head.

The postpositions -tewe, -woide and -qede mark point of departure:

(4.24) Patipi-wo-tewe wé-de-wo-re.
Patipi-CONN-from 3S-go.across-come-PAST.PL
They came across from Patipi.

(4.25) Mé-de-wo-i wáíwa + muró-wai mura-gárebo-wai +
3S-go.across-come-PAST.SG.M and river-this.F river-mouth-this.F
ura-wai Sarátubiro Nawétira-wo Nawétira-wo māiwo-qede
DEM-this.F Sartubir Nawétira-at Nawétira-at here-from
mura-gārebo jadi mái-wo-qede máso-we-ge-i. #
river-mouth therefore here-CONN-from enter-3S-do-PAST.SG.M
He came across and via the rivermouth of the Nawetira river at Cape Sartubir
so from here he entered.

(4.26) I-wāi-qα nawórau-woide?
bе-this.F.SG-TOP where-from
Where did you recently return from?

The postposition -wo and -qai 'in, at, on' mark locative relations:

(4.27) Gāago-wo dōpis ewart-isi-we-rita-re əbapasa ewart.
side-at chamber this.F fill-3S-HAB-PAST.PL gunpowder this.F
At the side they used to fill the chamber with gunpowder.

(4.28) sīra-gao-wo
boiling.water-inside-in
in the boiling water

(4.29) Aриqiware-sai + awéra-qaqābo-woa + mirago méwo-wo
Ariqiware-this.M grandfather-grandmother-these machete hand-in
wé-ge-re + mé-era-re sé-ra. #
As for Ariqiware, the forefathers put a machete in his hand and they
told him to go.

(4.30) Iro tugarido íra-séro qé-bido mó-uwu-ge
inheritance gong-word speak-1PL.IN.ADH 3.S-sit-PAST
Giririfo-qai. #
Giririfo-in
Let us tell the story of the inherited gong which is in Giririfo.

(4.31) Ewāiwa terus + mó-uyo-i-re + mó-uwu-i
nusiro úra mó-uwu-ge Sorowāto gārebo-qai. #
island DEM 3.S-sit-PAST.PL Solowat mouth-at
And when he had come upriver, he settled on the island, they settled
opposite the Solowat rivermouth.

The postposition -wai 'to(wards)' marks goal or direction:

(4.32) Awoge pinda-ré-ge-re sikoroa-wai + Qódeqari-wai. #
again move-1SG-do-PAST school-this.F Odeqari-to
I moved again to the school, to Odeqari.

(4.33) Aréte-ra e-rőe-sa Segéi-wαi?
what-for 2SG.S-descend-FUT Segel-to
Why do you want to go to Segel?
I have found the comitative postposition (-)uru so far only with personal pronouns (see §3.8).

4.2 Clause combinations

Multiverb constructions and clause combining strategies will be discussed in the order of decreasing morphosyntactic integration.

4.2.1 Compound verbs and complex phrasal verbs

Verb roots can be combined in compound verb stems like dewo- 'to come across' in (4.35) and in complex phrasal verbs like mógo-we-wo-re in (4.36):

(4.35) Wé-de-wo-re.
3.S-go.across-come-PAST
They came across.

(4.36) Suguére mógo-we-wo-re.
sago carry-3.S-come-PAST
She brought sago.

The verbs de- and wo- are phonologically and morphologically integrated in the compound verb dewo- but in phrasal verbs there is only phonological integration. For example, mógo- 'to carry' in (4.36) is phonologically one word with the inflected second verb. A sign that these phrasal verb combinations form phonological words is the stress pattern, the bare verb root attracts the main word stress and the second inflected verb receives secondary stress. Another sign is that the /m/ of the subject prefix me- is always realized by its intervocalic allophone [w]. The fact that the subject and object prefixes separate the bare verb form the following inflected verb signals that there is no morphological integration of the two verbs, in contrast with compound verbs. Complex phrasal verbs frequently occur in the texts (see Appendix 2), both with two Inanwatan verbs and with a Malay loan or code mix followed by an inflected form of ge- 'to do' (see §1.3).

4.2.2 Clausal arguments of verbs

Perception and cognition verbs have finite object clauses immediately following the verbs. There are no complementisers or any other formal markings of the complement nature of the clause. An alternative analysis would be to view these clauses as asyndetically linked coordinated clauses that are pragmatically interpreted as goals of the preceding perception verbs.

(4.37) Mai wi-átuge-re + tapi qido-wo morá-y-aigo +
this.F 3S-fire-PAST.PL but not-be.3SG.F hit-TR-NEG
They fired but they did not hit and they (Namo ra’s people) came and saw that they (=the Inanwatan killing party) had fled with fright.

The object clause *mérodare árasaugo* in (4.37) has no complementiser or any other formal indication of its syntactic function.

Another strategy to express clausal arguments is to use nominalizations (see §3.3.3). For example:

(4.38) (el.) *U-rita-*wo párea-y-aigo

swim-HAB-NOM know-TR-not

He cannot swim.

4.2.3 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses consist of the non-finite purposive verb form with -*beqewu* (SG)/-*birowu* (PL) (see §3.4.6). They may precede (4.39) or follow (4.40) the main verb:

(4.39) *Jadi* suda + póra-séro wé-ge-re mutáu-birowu.

therefore allright conspiracy-word 3.S-do-PAST.PL kill-in.order.to.PL

Therefore, allright, they made plans to kill him.

(4.40) *Mai* rebáu-birowu + arégara-gai + méida-gai + máge

this.F ascend-in.order.to.PL door-price table-price thus

mogó-wé-de-rita.

In order to enter, they carry across the price of the door and of the table.

4.2.4 Relative and adverbial clauses

Clauses marked by the topic marker/subordinator -*qe(de)* (see §3.9) may be interpreted either as a relative clause (4.41) or an adverbial clause (4.42). Clauses that modify nouns (relative clauses) always follow the head noun and do not have pronouns coreferential with the head noun.

(4.41) *A óti mígagoi bidó ewái ge-rágo-be-qe + mé-ri-be*

ah also in.return pig this.F 1PL.IN.S-pierce-PRES-SUB 3S-eat-PRES

mé-iqo-be + *baru awogé méri-de íwaqe í-woi*

3S-vomit-PRES and again 3S-eat-PAST allright be-that.F.SG

e-rádara nígé-ge-be + *ní-sa-be + óti mígagoi úto*

3PL-for 1PL.EX.S-do-PRES eat-FUT-3PL also in.return fish

úra me-ri-we-be ní-ra-e míqa-da.

DEM 3S-1PL.EX.O-give-PRES eat-IMP.PL ADH-EMPH

Ah, also, in return, they ate the pig which we speared and they vomited, allright we left it for them to eat and also, in return, they gave us this fish, ‘you must try and eat it’.
Although it is raining, I want to go. (Given that it rains, I want to go.)

Clauses may function as relative clauses without any overt marking. Compare níiti nige-rágo-be in (4.43):

(4.43)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lyó miroqai-webe} & \hspace{1cm} \text{tígó-wo + áruqo qai-nígé-rowo-be +} \\
\text{yes true-be} & \hspace{1cm} \text{it-be.3SG.F blood.F follow-1PLEX.S-come.down-PRES} \\
\text{a áruqo qai-nígé-rowo-be} & \hspace{1cm} \text{mé-ra-re tígó úra-wai} \\
\text{ah blood} & \hspace{1cm} \text{follow-1PLEX.S-come.down-PRES 3.S-lay-PAST so DEM-this.F} \\
\text{tígó-wo níiti nige-rágo-be} & \hspace{1cm} \text{náiti ne-rágo-be} \\
\text{so-be.3SG.F we 1PLEX.S-pierce-PRES I 1SG.S-pierce-PRES} \\
\text{níro-go isibowo. #} \\
\text{night-CIRC sago.bait} \\
\text{Yes, that is true, we followed the bloodtrail and it lay dead which we speared, which I speared at night at the sagobait.}
\end{align*}
\]

In (4.44) -qe functions as a topic marker that cliticizes to the head of the relative clause:

(4.44)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jadi bidó-} & \hspace{1cm} \text{iwáa-go me-rágo-re + me-téte-re} \\
\text{therefore pig-TOP yesterday-CIRC} & \hspace{1cm} \text{3.S-pierce-PAST 3.S-cut-PAST} \\
\text{ewái mugó-reqa-y-aígo. #} \\
\text{this.F carry.walk.PL-TR-NEG} \\
\text{Therefore the pig which they had speared and slaughtered the day before, they did not carry it away.}
\end{align*}
\]

In the context of Papuan languages it not unexpected to have adverbial and relative clauses expressed by the same form (e.g. Korowai, van Enk & de Vries 1997:114–115), and also to have the same marker with topical noun phrases and adverbial:relative subordinate clauses (e.g. Usan, Reesink 1987, Kombai, de Vries 1993).

### 4.2.5 Coordination

The coordinating conjunction -ere coordinates nouns (4.45) and clauses (4.46) in a semantically open way. In coordination of nouns the conjunction cliticizes to each member of the coordination, in clause coordination only to the first member (me-wága-rita-i-re in (4.46)). Asyndetic coordination of clauses is more frequent than clausal coordination with -ere. Coordinated clauses are not constituents of other clauses, and they can stand on their own.

(4.45)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Máíwa + tâu-go-wai + seribusembilanbelasempatpuluhdua mulai} \\
\text{next year-this.F 1942 begin} \\
\text{pica-wé-ge-re + mi-ado-re + Báradaro-ere Sidepao-ere. #} \\
\text{burst-3S-do-PAST 3S-make.war-PAST Netherlands-and Japan-and} \\
\text{But in the year 1942 the war between the Dutch and the Japanese broke out.}
\end{align*}
\]
And there he welded machetes, axes, fishing spears, lances and harpoons, there he made them and traded them with our ancestors for sago, other people gave slaves.

4.3 Linking sentences; discourse conjunctions

The multi verb sentences in the Inanwatan text corpus are linked by a number of devices. The most important are tail–head linkage, generic verb linkage and linkage with discourse conjunctions.

4.3.1 Tail–head linkage and generic verb linkage

Tail–head recapitulation\(^2\) is frequently used in Inanwatan texts to link sentences, as a continuity device, especially in narrative texts. The recapitulated 'head' clause is a coordinate clause usually linked to the next clause with the proximate demonstrative *ewäiwa* ('here; now'; see §3.2) as in (4.48). Sentences (4.47)–(4.49) are from the opening section of the Nawora text (see Appendix 2, Texts).

(4.47)  
\[
\text{Nawóra aga séro tugarido + né-qe-rita + Nawóra esái}
\]
\[
\text{Nawora POSS story inheritance 1SG.S-speak-DUR Nawora this.M}
\]
\[
\text{Patipi-wotewe wé-de-wo-re. #}
\]
\[
\text{Patipi-from 3S-go.across-come-PAST.PL}
\]
\[
\text{I am telling the history of Nawora, as for Nawora, they came across from Patipi.}
\]

(4.48)  
\[
\text{Mé-de-wo-i ewäiwa + muró-wai mura-gárebo-wai +}
\]
\[
\text{3S-go.across-come-PAST.SG.M and river-this.F river-mouth-this.F}
\]
\[
\text{ura-wai Saráubiro Nawétila-wo Nawétila-wo máiwo-qede}
\]
\[
\text{DEM-this.F Sartubir Nawétira-at Nawétira-at here-from}
\]

\(^2\) The term tail–head linkage is from Thurman (1975). It refers to a phenomenon which is 'extremely common in Papuan languages, especially in narrative texts. Such texts are littered with dozens of examples of this usage' (Foley 1986:201). Longacre (1972:45) has described the phenomenon as follows: 'Commonly the function of the first base in such chaining units is to refer back to the last base of the previous chain. If the chain structures as a paragraph, then such back-reference or recapitulation joins paragraph to paragraph.'
mura-gârêbo jadi màiwo-qede mâsô-we-ge-i. #
river-mouth so here-from enter-3S-do-PAST.SG.M
He came across and via the rivermouth of the Nawetira river at Cape Sartubir
he entered.

(4.49) Ewáiwa terus + mo-uvo-i-re + mó-uvu-i
and next 3S-come.upriver-PAST.SG.M and 3S-sit-PAST.SG.M

nusiro úra mó-uvu-ge Sorowâto gârêbo-qai. #
island DEM 3S-sit-PAST.PL Solowat mouth-at
And when he had come upriver, he settled on the island, they settled
opposite the Solowat rivermouth.

The connection (4.48/49) shows that ewáiwa is also used to connect sentences without
recapitulation.

Instead of repeating the verb of the last clause of the previous sentences as the first verb
of the next sentences, the generic verb mâgerere may be used to link sentences as in (4.50).
Mâge(rere) most likely derives from mai ‘here, this.F’, the verb ge- ‘to do’, the Past suffix -re
and the coordinator -re ‘and’.

(4.50) Má-ge-re-re má-ge-re-re + duqûrewe ériwo +
thus-do-PAST-and thus-do-PAST-and bird.PL two

qeqéi-d-e re atau qêkâqe-re sîdo-ere sîdero-wa
white.cockatoo-TR-and or cockatoo-and red.parrot-and parrot-this

sîdero ewáiwa qêkâqe-wa mé-ra-i qân-bido. #
parrot and cockatoo-this 3.S-say-PAST.M pound.sago-1PL.IN.AOH
This being so, there were two birds, a cockatoo and a parrot and the cockatoo
said to the parrot, let us pound sago.

4.3.2 Discourse conjunctions

Besides tail–head linkage and generic verb linkage Inanwatan employs a closed set of
discourse conjunctions consisting of the Inanwatan conjunctions ewáiwa/maiwa/mai ‘and,
next’, agó ‘and, but’, tígo ‘so, thus’ and the Malay loan conjunctions tapi ‘but’, ataü ‘or’ suda
‘next, allright, and so’, baru ‘and, next’, jadi ‘therefore; and so; so’ and terus ‘next; and’. The
Malay discourse conjunctions combine with each other and with the Inanwatan conjunctions,
for example in (4.49) terus is used together with ewáiwa.

The conjunctions ewáiwa/maiwa/mai ‘and, next’, agó’and, next’ and baru ‘and, next’ are
sequencing conjunctions. I have not yet been able to determine their relationships, for
example in terms of the nature or force of the sequentiality they express. The conjunction
agó (sometimes ágo) is exemplified by (4.51):

(4.51) Agó mé-qago-i-de mé-era-rita-i + qotoqówaro
and 3S-face-PAST.SG.M-and 3S-say-DUR-PAST.SG.M daughter

owói íqo-ra-e na-wáo-go. #
that.F put.down-IMP.PL my-wife-CIRC
And he faced (them) and said, that girl, you must give her to me as my wife.
In (4.52) *baru* is used medially to express sequence of events, and in (4.53) initially as a
sequential sentence-linker:

(4.52) Séro-wai mé-ge-re + isó-we-re-go-re sówato-go +
word-this.F 3S-speak-PAST.PL 3S-put.down-PAST.PL good-CIRC
baru otau-wai mó-ù-ge + mé-iqo-re-re +
and sago.species-this.F 3S-fell-PAST.PL 3S-remove.bark-PAST.PL-and
bidó iro we-qúngo-re + fåágido we-sée-re + mógo-we-reqa-re
pig body 3S-cut-PAST.PL banana 3S-cut-PAST.PL carry-3S-walk.PL-PAST.PL
Múguro néwago má-wai mé-ra-re + baru + owáqepo
Múguro harbour thus-this.F 3S-take-PAST.PL and stairs
egéqiro mé-soro-re owáqepo-wai gábo-go mé-itogo-re. #
bridge 3S-plant-PAST.PL stairs-this.F decoration-CIRC 3S-decorate-PAST.PL
They spoke thus and organized it well and they felled sago trees, removed the
bark, butchered a pig, cut bananas and brought it to the Mugur harbor, constructed
a bridge and decorated it.

(4.53) Baru + mirágo sówato mé-we-rita-i táwaro sówato +
next machete good 3S-give-DUR-PAST.SG.M steel.axe good
buaat mogógo áreto we-rita-re itarábo iówosu. #
for for thing 3S-make-DUR-PAST.PL ancestors those
And he gave good machetes, good axes for the ancestors to do things.

The conjunctions *tígo* and *jadi* express consequence ('and so, and therefore') rather than
just neutral sequence. They may have reason and cause interpretations.

*Tígo* 'so, thus' is used in example (4.54):

(4.54) Tígo máge mé-era-rita-re + mé-se-rita-i má-ge-re-re
so thus 3SG-say-DUR-PAST 3S-go-DUR-PAST.M thus-do-PAST-and
má-ge-re-re a + ógora soqúwai mo-óte-be ewáíwa +
thus-do-PAST-and ah Q long 3SG-be.iill-PRES next
mé-era-i áreqaro náwe-idío-ra. #
3S-say-PAST.M door open-stand-IMP.SG
Because she said so, he went and having thought 'oh, how long is she ill!',
he said, 'open the door!' .

*jadi* occurs in (4.55):

(4.55) Agó-iri ga gó-ura-rita ewái ná-qide jadi
and-you(PL) POSS 2PLS-see-HAB this.F my-father therefore
nóe-bido ewáiwa + méqaro-wo na-qide-sai +
go.out-1PL.IN.ADH and house-in my-father-this.M
büsa-wó úra-ra. #
can-CONN see-IMP.SG
And what you use to see is my father, therefore, let us show ourselves
and you can see my father in the house.
Tapi is an explicitly adversative and contrastive discourse conjunction, \((4.56)\):

\[(4.56)\]

\[
\text{Mai wi-\text{\^a}tu\text{\^e}-re + tapi qido-wo mor\-\text{\^a}-y-aigo + me-wo-re-wo m\-\text{\^o}-ura-re m\-\text{\^e}-roda-re \text{\^a}rasau-go. #
\]

\[
3S\text{-fire-PAST.PL but not-be.3SG.F hit-TR-NEG 3S-come-PAST.PL-CONN 3S\text{-see-PAST.PL 3S\text{-run-PAST.PL fright-CIRC}
}\]

They fired but they did not hit and they (Namora’s people) came and saw that they (=the Inanwatan killing party) had fled with fright.

Example \((4.57)\) shows the use of suda. Its functions are hard to pin down. Often it is used as a pause device/speaker continuation device that can be glossed as ‘allright’ or ‘allright and next ...’:

\[(4.57)\]

\[
\text{M\-\text{\^e}\text{-roda-ri-\text{\^y}-aigo suda + a m\-\text{\^e}\text{-rowo-i}
}\]

\[
3S\text{-run-not.be-TR-NEG allright ah 3S\text{-come.dow-PAST.SG.M
}\]

\[
\text{ew\text{\^a}iwa + qa\text{\^o}\text{-wa m\-\text{\^e}\text{-s\text{\^u}\text{-}sa-ri arubu we-s\text{\^u\text{-}sa-ri
}\]

\[
\text{and child-this 3S\text{-trouble-PAST.PL relative 3S\text{-trouble-PAST.PL
}\]

\[
\text{q\text{\^e}g\text{\^i}-sai\ u\text{\^a}r\text{\^a} n\text{\^a}\text{-doro m\-\text{\^e}\text{-rowo-re-re n\text{\^a}rere-wai
}\]

\[
\text{father-this.M DEM again 3S\text{-come.dow-PAST.PL-}and magic-this.F
}\]

\[
\text{m\text{\^e}\text{-ra-re. #
}\]

\[
3S\text{-take-PAST.PL
}\]

While they were fleeing, he (Namora) came down and his children lamented, his relatives were in sorrow and seeing (their) father, they returned and performed magic.

Terus 'and, next' expresses speaker continuation (‘I am going on to tell you the next thing’), \((4.49)\). Notice how terus is used in exactly the same way in the local Malay text in Appendix, Part C.

Atau expresses alternative conjunction:

\[(4.58)\]

\[
\text{Me-r\text{\^a}pago-rita-re ew\text{\^a}iwa + a acara kedua me-b\text{\^i}rowu
}\]

\[
3S\text{-distribute-HAB-PAST and ah ceremony second give-for.PL
}\]

\[
\text{si\text{\^u}rurato m\text{\^e}\text{-we-rita + atau m\text{\^i}sida\text{\^o} me-b\text{\^a}-rita + s\text{\^e}ro-go +
}\]

\[
\text{letter 3S\text{-give-HAB or people 3S\text{-send-HAB word-CIRC
}\]

\[
\text{m\text{\^e}\text{-era-rita m\text{\^e}\text{-de-wo-rita \text{\^i}dau\text{\^u}qai-ra + ew\text{\^a}-go
}\]

\[
3S\text{-say-HAB 3S\text{-cross-come-HAB clock-f or late.afternoon-CIRC
}\]

\[
m\text{\^o}\text{\^g\text{\^o}-ringe-de-wo-sa. #
}\]

\[
carry-{}^{1}\text{PLEX\text{-cross-come-FUT
}\]

When they (=man’s people) have paid (the bridal payment), ah, the second ceremony, in order to give, they (=man’s people) send a letter or send people with the word that they will come in the late afternoon to bring across (the bride).
4.4 Noun phrases

Noun phrases are distinct from compound nouns (see §3.3.4). In noun compounds a modifying noun stem precedes a modified noun stem under one stress contour. When the modifying noun stem is a feminine noun ending in /o/ (the large majority of nouns), the final vowel becomes /a/ in the compound noun, for example:

\[(4.59) \quad \text{iro gong} \]
\[
\quad \text{séro word} \]
\[
\quad \text{ira-séro story about a gong} \]

In noun phrases the constituents are not brought under one stress contour, as in (4.60) where the possessor noun órewo modifying the possessed (compound) head noun aibuséro retains its lexical stress and the final /o/ of modifying feminine nouns does not change into /a/:

\[(4.60) \quad \text{Jadi sudá órewo agá aibuséro íko-we-ge-i.} \]
\[
\quad \text{so allright woman POSS voice-word follow-3S-do-PAST.M} \]
\[
\quad \text{So, allright, he followed the instructions of the woman.} \]

Noun phrases seem to have the following general structure:

```
+/- possessor N/PRO + N(-dem enclitic) +/- NUM +/- ADJ +/- DEM
```

A noun phrase combining a numeral and an adjective did not occur in the texts but only in the data elicited through Malay (see below, numerals). I have no examples of noun phrases with a numeral, plus an adjective plus a demonstrative nor of noun phrases with a possessor plus a numeral and/or adjective. Gender plays an important role in the cohesion of the noun phrase. The adjective, numeral and the demonstrative agree with the head noun in gender and number (see Chapter 3).

4.4.1 Possessives

The distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns was discussed in Chapter 3. Inalienable nouns are always prefixed for first and second person possessors, (4.61), while inalienable nouns without prefixes are understood as having third person possessors, (4.62).

\[(4.61) \quad \text{na-qíde-sai} \]
\[
\quad \text{my-father-this.M} \]
\[
\quad \text{my father} \]

\[(4.62) \quad \text{mir-i} \]
\[
\quad \text{belly-M} \]
\[
\quad \text{his belly} \]

Personal pronouns may occur in the possessive NP preceding the possessed noun, (4.63):

\[(4.63) \quad \text{náití ná-taturi-de ni-tato-wa} \]
\[
\quad \text{I my-grandfather-and my-grandmother-this.F} \]
\[
\quad \text{my grandfather and grandmother} \]

Alienable nouns can be possessed with a noun linked to the head noun with the possessive connective (-)agá, an independent word that sometimes cliticizes to preceding possessor
nouns, as in (4.64) or with free possessive pronouns that also occur before the head noun, as in (4.65).

(4.64)  \( \text{mewöqa-ga qāruqo urá} \)
        dog.PL-POSS blood DEM
        the blood of dogs

(4.65)  \( \text{tigidáe-so suqére} \)
        his-M sago
        his sago

### 4.4.2 Demonstratives

Besides their ostensive function, demonstratives function also to express definiteness (identifiability). Most occurrences of demonstratives in the texts are in fact motivated by the expression of definiteness. Consider the following examples from the Nawora text:

(4.66)  \( \text{Nawóra aga séro tugarido + né-qe-rita + Nawóra esái} \)
        Nawora POSS story inheritance 1SG.S-speak-DUR Nawora this.M
        I am telling the history of Nawora, as for Nawora, they came across from Patipi.

(4.67)  \( \text{Mé-de-wo-i ewáwa + muró-wai mura-gárebo-wai +} \)
        3S-go.across-come-PAST.SG.M and river-this.F river-mouth-this.F
        ura-wai Sarátubiro Nawétira-wo Nawétira-wo máiwo-qede
        DEM-this.F Sartubir Nawetira-at Nawetira-at here-from
        mura-gárebo jadi máiwo-qede máso-we-ge-i. #
        river-mouth therefore here-from enter-3S-do-PAST.SG.M
        He came across and via the rivermouth of the Nawetira river at Cape Sartubir he entered.

Demonstratives may cliticize to the head noun in their special clitic forms (see Chapter 3) or occur as the final constituent of the noun phrase.

### 4.4.3 Adjectives

The attributive adjective follows the noun with which it agrees in number and gender (see §3.5).

(4.68)  \( \text{Baru + mírago sówato mé-we-rita-i táwaro sówato +} \)
        next machete good 3S-give-DUR-PAST.SG.M steel.axe good
        buat mogóqo àreto wé-ra-rita-re itatúbo iówosu #
        for for thing 3S-make-DUR-PAST.PL ancestors those
        And he gave good machetes, good axes for the ancestors to do things.
4.4.4 Numerals

The numeral (see §3.7) follows the noun and agrees with it in number and gender. In the following example the numeral is followed by a demonstrative (mésida-e rag-e ésai):


One man with his children, the father of Duweqau, was still in the house and while the water rose, the man slaughtered his dogs.

Only in the following elicited example the adjective and the numeral combine in one phrase. Since the Malay stimulus (tiga babi besar) has a totally different syntax (NUM N ADJ), chances for Malay interference are small:

(4.70)(el.) bido éri-naguw are pig two-one big three big pigs

The higher numerals are asyndetic coordinate phrases, as in the following example:

(4.71) néwo-wa sugéri néwo-gáago nagiáre (touching right little toe) hand-PL both hand-side one sixteen

Most speakers use Malay loan numerals and/or switch to Malay for numeral expressions:

(4.72) Mé-ta-i áwoge mé-wo-i + i-sai 3.S-go-PAST.M again 3.S-come-PAST.M be-this.SG.M mái-wo-qe + áwoge ru kerédidau n-é-rita duaberás now-at-TOP again together.with work 1SG-do-HAB 12 duabelas + Desember + tâu-go semblanbelassembilaspuluflima + 12 December year-CIRC 1994 iwái-qa + tígo i-sai mái-wo-qe. # now-TOP so be-this.M.SG now-at-TOP He went away and returned and he is here now and I work again with him this day, December 12th.

4.4.5 Coordination of noun phrases

Noun phrases can be coordinated in two ways, open-ended (non-exhaustive listing), asyndetic noun coordination as in (4.73) and coordination with (-)ere for exhaustive lists of two nouns as in (4.74):

(4.73) Máiwa + étiride qeqúqu órewao-wa + a suda me-búqa-rita next wait(?) parent.PL woman.side-these ah allright 3S-write-HAB
Next the parents (of the man) wait until the woman's party, eh, allright, until they write how many things, vessels, kain blok, plates, glasses, pieces of cloth and sarong cloth (they demand) and they (=woman's people) set the price, 10 kain blok, in money two hundred thousand or one million, thus they write in their letter and then the man's side considers (this price).

Máïwa + tâu-go-wai + seribusemilanbelasempaipuluhdua mulai
next year-this.F 1942 begin
pîca-wé-ge-re + mí-ado-re + Bánadaro-ere Sidepao-ere. #
burst-3S-do-PAST 3S-make.war-PAST Netherlands-and Japan-and
But in the year 1942 the war between the Dutch and the Japanese broke out.
Appendix 1: Vocabulary
Inanwatan–English

This appendix contains lexical items as found in the texts recorded in Inanwatan, including Malay lexical items used in code switches (with IND after the part of speech abbreviation) and Malay loans (with <IND after the English gloss). Since the majority of the texts were produced by older speakers fluent in Inanwatan, this glossary reflects their usage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>agó  (CONJ) and; but</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a (INTERJ) ah!</td>
<td>águstusi (N) August (&lt;IND Agustus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ába- (V) to saw</td>
<td>ai (N) skull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abáqare (N) matches</td>
<td>áibo (N) voice;language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abásido (N) morning</td>
<td>áida (ADJ) big; (N) elder brother or sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ábere (N) brains</td>
<td>áirawese- (V) to search</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ábiqao (N) spirit; ghost</td>
<td>ákarewì (N) cheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ábo (N) morning</td>
<td>ámepuro (N, PURAGI) strong wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abói (N) horsefly</td>
<td>áo (N) tree; wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abotéira (N) crown (of head)</td>
<td>áo (N) opening; room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áboto (N) top</td>
<td>áo-ge- (V) to open something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abugâe (ADJ) light (of weight)</td>
<td>Apáguro (N, PROP) Apaguro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abúrate (N) neck</td>
<td>apápuro (N) a small red fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acara (N, IND) ceremony</td>
<td>apaqo (N) maize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ádawao (N) harpoon</td>
<td>ápaqurido (N) nesthill made by wild chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adée (INTERJ) oh dear! (&lt;IND aduh)</td>
<td>apéwo (ADJ) sweet; delicious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ádiro (N) wild chicken</td>
<td>apírewo (N) saltwater fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adiwáto (N) mirror</td>
<td>ápril (N, IND) April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ádo- (V) to attack; to make war</td>
<td>ápriri (N) April (&lt;IND April)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ádo (N) enemy</td>
<td>aqabáto (N) cape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adóo (INTERJ) oh dear (&lt;IND aduh)</td>
<td>áqawe- (V) to adopt (children); to bring up (children)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afiráíro (N) eastwind</td>
<td>aqíro (N) foreleg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áfosaro (N) taboo sign</td>
<td>aqo- (V) to fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ágasa (N) season</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agáwo (Q) where</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vocabulary: Inanwatan-English

áqorawi (ADJ) hungry
aráqu (N) soul
árarido (N) *kenari* tree
árasau (N) fright
aráu (N) bracelet
arágoi (ADV) also; same
árete (N) hair (on body, on head)
áreter (Q) whatever
áretero (Q) what
áreto (N) food; thing; something
Ariqiware (N, PROP) Ariqiware
arlóji (N, IND) wristwatch
aro- (PL stem: *tera-*) (V, INTR) to moor
arou-ge- (V, TR) to moor a ship
arowí (N) star
árubu (N) relatives; kin
áruqo (N) blood
ásárau (N) hat
áséwo (ADV) maybe; perhaps; possibly
ásó (N) head
ásosogau (N) tree marsupial
ata- (V) to stay
atatúri (N) grandfather
atau (CONJ, IND) or
atíqi- (V) to pour out (fluids)
ató (N) mouse
atóri- (V) to rule; to regulate (<IND mengatur)
atu- (V) to board a ship
atu-ge- (V) to put on fire
átubu- (V) to stand in between; to block passage
áwadido (N) *nibung* tree species
awaí- (V) to pull
áweqego- (V) to leave behind
awére (PL *awéraqabo*) (N) grandfather
awéro (PL *awéraqabo*) (N) grandmother
áweró (ADV) up there; high; above
áwétewa (Q) who
awetíára (Q) who
awogé (ADV) again
awóto (ADJ) thick
áwugo (N) iron
awúwuri (F *awúwuro*) (N) strength

B
báakuko (N) bench (<IND bangku)
Bábo (N, placename) Bintuni
badáé (ADJ, M) bad
badágo- (V) to make bad; to torment
bái- (V) to send
baik (also: bái) (ADJ, IND) good
bápa (N) mister; sir (<IND bapak)
barábaro (N) antique plate
barádara (ADJ) Dutch (<IND Belanda)
Barádare (N) Dutchman
bárao (N) people; followers
baru (CONJ, IND) and; next
Batúre (N, PROP) Batúre
Bédari (N, placename) Bedare
bégero (N) *nibung* tree species
bejitu (ADV, IND) that way; thus
belum (ADV, IND) not yet
Benoni (N, PROP) Benoni
berábo (N, PROP) Benoni
bérábo (N) black and white poisonous sea snake
béraguro (N, PURAGI) great forest
beraqáqabo (N) (sleeping) mat
beráre (N) rainbow
béraro (N) war canoe
berhenti (V, INTR, IND) to stop
béridasí(do) (ADJ) yellow
béro (N) sleeping mat
besar (ADJ, IND) big
Besaró (N, placename) Besam
béto (N) stone (<IND batu)
biasa (ADV, IND) usually
bibewo (N) thorny sago species
bibo (N) thorn
bidárare (N) heart
bidó (N) pig
bísa (ADV) possible; be able to
(<IND bisa)
bíqo (N) top
birágo (N) blowfly
bíraitó badáwo (N) leprosy
bíta (ADJ) decayed; rotten
-biáí (ADV) very
bobáó (N) young shoots
boqéro (N) boil; ulcer
bowíto (N) mucus; lungs
bódeso (ADJ, M) stupid (<IND bodoh)
bódo (N) land
bósairo (N) sago tree subspecies
bótóro (N) bottle (<IND botol)
bówo (N) sago leaf shaft; shaft used in sago production
bu (N, IND) older brother
bukan (NEG, IND) not
buku (N, IND) book
buqa- (V) to write
buqúro (N) taro
búbu (N) fish trap
búqaqare (N) pen; pencil
búqo (N) fruit (<IND buah)
búsido (ADJ) naked
búteto (ADJ) little bit

dabraó (N) sago leaf stem
dádo (N) leaf
darapa (NUM) eight (<IND delapan)
dáre (N) edible fern
daú (N) sago porridge
Davite (N, PROP) David
dawáó (N) dawáó fruit
Dawéraí (N, PROP) name of God
dé- (V) to cross; to go across (river, sea, street)
débáó (ADJ) close
déngan (PREP, IND) with
deradaqa (N) bottom
deraóbo (N) pointed stick
déreraro (N) window (<IND jendela)
dério (N) magic chant
dé(e)sa (N) village; head of village (<IND (kepala) desa)
désémbér (or: desémbéri) (N, IND) December
Dewarusi (N, placename) Dewarusi
déwó- (V) to come across
didáqoro (N) nipple
dídáro (N) nibung tree; floor
dido (N) breast; milk
dínasidau (N) government department (<IND Dinas)
diploma (N, DUTCH/IND) school certificate
dodó (ADJ, PL) short
dókter (N, IND) doctor
dóktere (also: dókteri) (N) doctor (<IND dokter)
Dominggus (N, PROP) Dominggus
dópis (N) place for powder in antique senaphaan rifles
dóqe (INTERJ) oh dear (<IND aduh)
Dówe (N, PROP) name of culture hero; Jesus
dówo (ADJ, F) short
du (INTERJ) oh dear (<IND aduh)
dua (NUM, IND) two
duabelas (NUM, IND) twelve
dúrewo (PL: duquírewew) (N) wing; bird
Dúweqau (N, PROP) Dúweqau

ebaqoro (N) forehead
ebáwe (ADV) possibly
ebé (N,M) mouth
ebéro (N, PURAGI) wave
edé- (V) to pass
édi- (also: idi, PL: widi) (V) to stand
Vocabulary: Inanwatan-English

edúduri (N) leftside
edúreri(do) (N) heron
egéqiro (N) bridge; rack
egéwawaqo (N) offspring
ei- (V) to descend
eída (ADV) in just a moment
éiragaqaro (N) kumbili yam
eise yes
eité (Q) how many; several
Elias (N, PROP) Elias
Elisabet (N, PROP) Elisabet
empat (NUM, IND) four
enam (NUM, IND) six
épaguro (N) molar
épau (N) shoe
épe (ADJ) sharp
épewego (N) (house) pole
épo (N) tooth
épopo (N) nail
éposiwai (ADJ) straight
era- (V) to tell
Erabibo (N, PROP) Erabibo
eragatá (N) outrigger
érasoe (N) (body) fat
ératuqura (N) injection
éráwira (N) virgin, maiden (PL: éráwise)
erégo (N) nibung tree species
Erepau (N, PROP) Erepau
érerao (N) other
érero (N) thatched roof
éró (N) canoe; dugout
ésawarido (N) cassowary
eséqo (ADJ) far
eta- (V) to go
étégo- (V) to swallow
etíi- (V) to be silent
étoto (N) end
ewáíwa (CONJ) and; next
ewáó (N) late afternoon
Ewerido (N, PROP) Ewerido
éwi(qa) (ADV) just; only; but
ewó (N) hand, PL méwo
evogo (Q) when
ewótira (N) tongs
F
fárido (N) pari fish
fatáro (N) attic
fifau (N) breadfruit
Fife (N, PROP) Fife
flur (N, DUTCH) floor
fluri (N) floor (<Dutch vloer)
fólo- (V) to embrace
fóto (N, DUTCH) picture
fówo (N) sukun tree species
fúgi(do) (N) banana
G
gáago (N) side
gágowo- (V) to compose
gai (N) price; sum; treasure
gaisi (N) armpit
gao (N) inside
gaore- (V) to smell
gáqeto (N) headwater
garágará (N) treefrog species
gárasaqoro (N) drinking glass (<DUTCH glas, IND gelas)
gárebo (N) rivermouth; front; face
gárigariso (N) matches
gáure (N) stench
gawágawáro (N) yearbird
gáwo (N) chin
gáwuri (N) ray (of light)
ge- (V) to do; to take; to make
géqare (N) finger
géqarasio (N) fingernail
gébíro (N) tree species
gebó (N) underside
gégawo (N) branch
gérafo (N) song
geré- (V) to pull out
gerédidau (N) work (<IND kerja)
geréja (N, IND) church
géro (N) smoke
gesigéwo (N) trousers
Gésoweri (N, placename) Kasuweri
giáres- (V) to be afraid
giáta- (V) to continue
giqiriwe (N) witch
giré (ADJ) long
Giririfo (N, placename) Giririfo
girito (N) fog
giro (N) skin
gobó (N) 1. body of water (sea; tributary; river; lake)
  2. ancestral land; sago garden.
góbo (N) liver
góisaqido (N) spider
góuto (N) bamboo musical instrument with three strings
gúqo (N) egg
gurui (F: gúrugo) (N) teacher (<IND guru)
gúso (N) tail

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gúso (N) tail

H

hanya (ADV, IND) just
hari (N, IND) day
hidupi- (V) to live (<IND hidup)

I

i- (V) descend
iba- (V) to trade
ibáu (ADV) formerly
íbau (ADJ) old; last
íbi (N) behind; buttocks
íbora (N) ashes; kitchen
ibósíqaí (N) lightning
ídábe (N) hawk
Idagúgobo (N, placename) Idagúgobo
ídauqái (N) watch; clock
idéró (N) white fruit
ídewou- (V, INTR) to fall
idi- (V) to stand
idiqo- (V) to open something
idúaara (ADV) not yet
ígo (N) scabies
íko- (V) to follow (<IND ikut)
ípo (N) splinter; small stick
íqo- (V) to put down
irágiri (N) body; person
iráro (N) hair
irarói (ADJ) quick
Irarówatáro (N, placename) Inanwatan
irábuqo (N) eye
irásíqo (N) eyelid
iráte (N) place
iráuto (N) flesh
irere- (V) to withdraw
ireró (N) bamboo
iri (N) morning bird
íro (N) gong
írowo (N) body; person
ísi (V, IND) to fill
ísibo (N) sago bait to lure wild pigs
isidó (ADJ) empty; finished
ísó (N) small jambu fruit
Isógo (N, placename) Isogo
itatábo (N, PL) ancestors
itáto (N) lizard
ítato (N) grandmother
ítitido (N) crown pigeon
itoqo- (V) to decorate
ituro (N) high ground
iwáa (ADV) yesterday
iwáíqa (ADV) just; recently
iwáqe (ADV) all right; true
ió (ADV) yes

J

jadi (CONJ, IND) therefore
jéngkrik (N, IND) cricket
Jumat (N, IND) Friday
juta (NUM, IND) million

K
kain (N, IND) cloth
Kakubari (N, placename) Kampong Baru
kalau (CONJ, IND) if
Kamis (N, IND) Thursday
kampong (N, IND) village
Kaqére (N, PROP) Kaqére
karena (CONJ, IND) because
kariwu (N) (one) time; turn (<IND kali)
kasikeruari- (V) to makesomething go out (<IND kasih keluar)
kasimásu- (V) to make something go in (<IND kasih masuk)
kábaso (N) yarn
káparai (N) head; leader (<IND kepala)
kápare (ADJ) big
káparo (N) ship (<IND kapal)
kágeti- (V) to be afraid (<IND kaget)
kárido (N) cooking pot
káturo (N) office (<IND kantor)
káwe- (V) to marry (<IND kawin)
kebóu (N) garden (<IND kebun)
kélúari- (V) to go out (<IND keluar)
kepala (N, IND) head; leader
kerédidau (N) work (<IND kerja)
etemu (V, IND) to meet
kéeraro (N) sea turtle
kéqidau (N) sago beetle
kodok (N, IND) frog
Koka (N, placename) Koka
kopórida (N) Dutch Indies government (<Dutch compagnie)
koran (N, IND) newspaper
kóbikobido (N) big red jambu fruit
Kókowa (N, PROP) Kokowa
kóófido (N) coffee (<IND kopi)
kóopo (N) ridge of roof
kóqawo (N) basket

Vocabulary: Inanwatan-English 73
kórekore (N) war canoe (<IND kore-kore)
kôroburo (N) fruit of sago
kórotaso (N) paper (<IND kertas)
kuburan (N) grave
kúkiso (N) cookies (<Dutch koekjes)
kúparo (N) bridal payment

L
lengkapi (ADJ) complete (<IND lengkap)
líma (NUM, IND) five
lulusi- (V) to pass an exam (<IND lulus)
lusin (N, IND) dozen

M
maburúku (N) crown pigeon (<Malay mambruk)
madëi (ADV) already
mai (N) husband
maitáro (N) petrol
máiwâ (CONJ) next; and; thus
máiwò (ADV) now; here
mákaqiddo (N) taro
maksud (N, IND) goal
mantri (N, IND) health worker
mao (N) wife
maqápo (N) fire
máqare (N) hindleg
maqárerido (N) citrus fruit
maqiwód (ADJ) wet
máqo (N) sago pounding stick
marábeto (N) iguana
mária (N) earthquake
maráido (N) Malay; Indonesian (<Dutch: Maleis)
máarakawo (N) sweet potatoe
mararawa (ADJ) crooked
máráro (N) nibung tree species
máro (N) village; kampong
márouru (N) offspring
márugó (ADJ) ashamed (<IND malu)
marusáí (ADJ) white
maso (N) to enter (<IND masuk)
Mateis (N, PROP) Matthew
máto (N) placenta
mawágo (ADJ) big
máwise (N) younger siblings
me- (V) to give
mébuto (N) elbow; corner
medaqóqote (N) worm
médo (N) snake
meidáu (N) table (<IND meja)
meigo- (V) to deceive
meqáro (N) house
méqo (N) rope
mérépo (N) sago species
with short thorns
mésidae (N) man
mésidaro (N) shrimp species
méte (ADJ) bad; aggressive
métoro (N) side
mewa- (V) to plant something
Mewáowa (N) Kokoda people
méwoqo (N) dog
midáido (N) influenza
mídero (N) tongue
mídewi (N) snotnose
midó (N) sand
mído (N) nasal mucus
mígido (N) chest
míki (N) eagle
míogae (ADV) in turn
míowo (ADJ) different
miqoqoro (N) lip
mírágo (N) machete
míraqo (N) umbilical cord
míri (N) belly
miriqó (N) gun
miroqai (ADJ) true
mísidao (N) woman
mítobi (N) nose
mo (ADV) there; then
mo- (V) to come
mófiro (N) medicine
mogágo (N) sago species
Mógewiso (N, placename) Mógewiso
mogó- (V) to carry
mógo (N) jungle; clan territory
mógogi- (V) to fail (of engine) (<IND mogok)
mogóqui (N) heron
móí (ADV) there
móide (ADV) from there; from then
mópetirido (N) firefly
móqo (N) moon; month
moqo- (V) to put down
morá- (V) to hit
moráworau (N) snake species (Boa Constrictor)
more- (V) to mention
mosése (N) sir; master
moseséqido (N) government
mosírido (N) debt
móteqogeritau (N) pulpit
motor (N, IND) engine
mówuqaro (N) chair
mówaro (N) settlement
muéra (N) salt
mugérido (ADJ) dark
Mugúro (N, placename) Mugúro
mulai (V, IND) to begin
mungkin (ADV, IND) possibly
Murray (N, PROP) Murray
múri (N) gift
múro (N) river
mutáu- (V) to kill
mútéri (NUM) one
múti (N) elbow
muwuqo (N) nenek fish

N

na- (V) to make; to take
na- (V) to cry
nado- (V) to return
nagi(á)re (NUM, M) one
nago- (V) to pierce
naguáre (NUM, F) one
nanti (ADV, IND) later
napago- (V) to divide
naqáro (ADJ) red
naqirau (N) gerupa tree
naqide (ADV) quickly
nasíqau (N) window
natératewe (N) (married) couple
natíta (N) anger
Naware (N, PROP) Naware
Nawétira (N, PROP) Nawétira
návo (ADV) not
naworáu (Q) where
Nawóra (N, PROP) Namora
náto (N) knife
nábawo (N) slave
nádago (ADV) again
nádaro (N) clothing
nádoro (ADV) again
nágetirai (Q) how
náireso- (V) to throw away
nápaigoi (ADV) through; middle
náqaqato (N) scar
nárere (N) magic
násari (N) dedication offering (<IND nazar)
nátabuqo (N) framboesia
náto (N) wound
náugu (N) screw; ventilator
náwoido (N) nibung tree species
ne- (V) to sleep
neqo- (V) to catch
neqódi- (V) to steal
nerá- (V) to ask
néri (N) name
netáro (N) clearing in jungle; garden
netó (N) sago grub
néqau (N) goat
néqebisa- (V) to defecate
néqi (N) thunderstrike
néquqo (N) mud
nérewo (N) storm
nésaro (N) smithy
nésíoro (ADJ) small
nétasiqo (N) shell
néwago (N) harbour
ni- (V) to eat; to drink; to smoke
niwapulu (NUM) fifty (<ND limapuluh)
niwáriwáro (N) plates (traditional wealth article)
nído (N) frog (of the swamps)
níogae (ADV) each other
níra (N) day
nirítawo (N) food
níro (N) night
níroro (ADV) self
noo- (V) to fly
nódera (N) burial
noi- (V) to pound (sago)
nóqaro (N) paddle
noqego- (V) to don (clothing)
nóqoqau- (V) to cough
nou- (V) to fall
nowo- (V) to come down; to descend (river, land, house)
nosíro (N) well; source of a river
nóto (N) cloth for sarong (<Patipi not)
nówo (N) flying fox
nu- (V) to die
núawu- (V) to come together
nurúgo (ADJ) heavy
nusíro (N) island
núgai (N) (my) middle finger; Wednesday

O
oba (N) medicine (<IND obat)
obáro (N) (plant) shoot
óbau (N) sand
obéqo (N) black water snake species (non poisonous)
Appendix 1

obó- (V) to hit
óbuqo (N) coconut
óderi (N) thunder
ó(u)do (N) (walking) stick
óe (N) fart
Októberi (N) Octobre (<IND oktober)
oote- (V) to be ill
ópaguo (N) testicle
ópe (N) scrotum
opo- (V) to take a bath
opopó- (V) to nail
óqobuwai (ADJ) straight
órasiqo (N) coconut shell
órewo (N) woman
órído (N) riverbank
óro (N) vagina
óróbeqo (ADJ) cold
orowó (N) outside
otau (N) sago species
otí (ADV) also
otoqó (N) woman
otówo (N) leech
ówae (EXCL) oh
óweidi- (V) to become day
ówetiti (N) cricket
ówiwire (N) scabies
ówoíwo (ADV) there

P
páakai- (V) to use (<IND pakai)
páditae (N) pastor (protestant)
págaro (N) fence (<IND pagar)
pahati- (V) to chisel (<IND pahat)
palapon (N) ceiling (<Dutch plafond)
panggung (N, IND) pulpit
panitia (N, IND) committee
parapón (N, IND) ceiling (<Dutch plafond)
paráto (N) rain
párea- (V) to know
páretau (N) command (<IND perintah)
pasari (N) market (<IND pasar)
pásau (N) rice (<Patipi pasa)
Patipi (N, placename) Patipi
pawárai (N) lazybird (<IND pemalas)
peberuári (N) February (<IND Februari)
pemerintah (N, IND) government
pensiun (N, IND) retirement
péraqote (also: pérau) (N) devil
pertama (N, IND) first
pidei- (V) to spit
Pigére (N, PROP) Pigére
pigéro (N) ceramic jar
pigi- (V) to go (<IND pergi)
pindah (V, IND) to move
pípiso (N) money (<Patipi pitis)
pítari (ADJ) clever (<IND pintar)
póoligi (N) clinic (<IND poliklinik)
póotoroti (N) pencil (<Dutch potlood)
popó- (V) to knock
poqoi- (V, INTR) to break
póra (N) attack scheme; conspiracy
pulau (N, IND) island
puríqato (N) bat
putih (ADJ, IND) white

Q
qa (N) faeces
qaa- (V) to knead (sago fibres)
qabáto (N) cockroach
qai (N) behind; buttocks
qai- (V) to follow
-qai (POSTP) in; at; on
qáqa- (V) to bite
qaqapiró (N) trash
qaqé (N) sail
qaqó (N) child
quarqaro (N) door
qatóto (N) beach
qawáro (N) gall
qawe- (V) to care
qáwere (N) son
qawo- (V) to step
qe- (V) to speak; to say; to read; to do
qebadi- (V) to return
qebásaro (N) back
qebi- (V) to defecate
qée- (V) to play
qégedi (N) sun
qegéiro (N) rack
qegi (N) father
qégi (N) father
qekáqe (N) cockatoo
qépabuto (N) heel
qépaqa (ADJ) paralyzed
qépo (N) foot
qeqée- (V) to laugh
qeqéi (N) white cockatoo
qeqido (ADV) not
qéqu- (V) to swim
qera- (V) to fall dry
qérasoe (N) fat
qérawira (N) virgin
qére (CONJ) thus; therefore
qéré (ADJ) old
qério (N) ear
qetáiraro (N) rattan
qetáwirido (N) little container made from sago leaf shaft
qéwo (N) centipede
qibaqorau (N) first wife
qibíro (N) turtoise
qígo (ADJ) new
qíqore- (V) to peel off skin; to remove bark (from tree)
qíri (N) morning bird
qodi- (V) to steal
qógeqaro (N) forked spear
qoi (N) white ant
qógorau (N) chicken
qóqwówo (ADJ) straight
qóte- (V) to give birth to
qóto (N) young (animal)
qóto (N) louse
qotoqóware (N) son
qowáepo (N) stairs; brigde
qówewao (N) husband’s people
qówewi (N) man
qugo- (V) to cut
ququ- (V) to boil
qúqu (N) parents; fathers
qúro (N) shoot

R
Rabu (N, IND) Wednesday
rádio (N, IND) radio
ratusi (NUM) hundred (<IND (se)ratus)
rencana (N, IND) plan
ribu (NUM, IND) thousand
róti (N, IND) bread
rumah (N, IND) house
rúsa (N, IND) deer

S
sáa (N) water
sampai (V, IND) to arrive; until
Sarátubiro (N, placename) Sartubir
sarido (N) cloud; heaven
satu (NUM, IND) one
saióre (N) vegetables (<IND sayur)
sáaki (ADJ) ill (<IND sakit)
sái (ADJ) warm
sákiraoro (N) cup
sáragao (N) result
sáráro (ADJ) little
sárau (ADJ) bad; wrong (<IND salah)
sáro (N) multitude
sarido (N) sky
se (PL: neqa) – (V) to walk; to go
sebab (CONJ, IND) because
sebéro (N) black saltwater fish (IND ikan sembilan hitam)
Sebéru (N, PROP) Sebérú
see- (V) to cut
Segéi (N, PROP) Segéi
sekarang (ADV, IND) now
sekolah (N, IND) school
sengki (N) corrugated iron (<IND seng)
Septemberi (N) September (<IND September)
seño (N) word; story
sébato (N) shrimp
Sédida (N, placename) Yahadian
sénteri (N) flashlight (<IND senter)
séqaro (N) stick used in playing
the gouto musical instrument
séqoqai (N) sewing machine
sésege (N) mosquito; malaria
sésero (N) fishhook
Séti (N, PROP) Seth
séturo (N) waistband
si (ADJ) empty
sidááqo (N) roll of fabric
Sidepao (N) Japan
sigité (N) elephantiasis
sígo (N) pole
Simson (N, PROP) Simson
síó (N) shell; nail
siwówaqo (N) butterfly
Sía (N, PROP) Yosias
síwo (N) grass
síbidaro (N) worship; church; Sunday; week
subáídau (N) Saturday
sidadóódowe (N) cuttings of cloth
sidagae (N) bird of paradise (IND burung kuning)
sídero (N) parrot
sído (N) red parrot
sidoqugoi (N) piece of fabric
síiwa- (V) to wash
sikorao (N) school (<IND sekolah)
Síríqare (N, PROP) Síríqare
síro (N) tea; hot drink
sísíwa- (V) to knock
síwae- (V) to be born
síwaro (N) nibung tree species
síwo (N) comb
síó (N) poison
sopétáwau (N) banana species (IND pisang nona)
sóqówo (N) sago
soqíwai (ADV) long
soridásíqo (N) acreage of sago
soro- (V) to plant
Sorowáto (N, PROP) Sorowáto
Sóoru (N, PROP) Sorong
sówo (N) stomach
sówato (ADJ) good
sóbaro (N) bamboo
sóboro (ADJ) very good
sóparo (N) mist; fog
sósorao (N) forked spear for fishing
sówa (ADJ) attractive
sówato (ADJ) good
sóvatéíra (ADV) beautifully
sówo (N) stomach
sówoigíáwo- (V) throw forcefully
spitbot (N, IND) speedboat
su- (V) leak
subáídau (N) Saturday
sugaqore (N) bottom
sugerí (NUM) two, both
suqére (N) sago
súqo (N) sago species (with thorns)
súrato (N) letter (<IND surat)
sururáto (N) letter, book (<IND surat)
surúqo (N) feast
surúrubo (ADJ) green; blue
súgarato (N) net
súro (N) seed
súsage- (V) to make trouble; to bring trouble to someone (<IND susah)
súster (N) nurse (<DUTCH zus ter)
súusa (N) trouble (<IND susah)
T

tagáu- (V) traverse
tahun (N, IND) year
tanggal (N, IND) date
tapi (CONJ, IND) but
tara (V, INTR) but
tarara- (v) shine
tarago (N) road
tarido (ADJ) black
tatábo (N) grandparents
tató (N) grandmother
tatúri (N) grandfather
tatúbori (N) head
Tawo (N, PROP) Tawo
táamati- (V) graduate (<IND tamat)
tába- (V) count with lidi sticks
tábeqatori- (V) agree
táberau (N) táberau fish
táboro- (V) bite
tápuqaro (ADJ) blunt
táqo (N) grandmother
táqui (N) grandfather
tára- (V) shine
táragare (N) south
táragaro (N) lake
táugo (N) year (<IND tahun)
táurasugo (N) bowstring
táuro (N) bow
táwaro (N) steel axe
te- (V, PLURAL STEM) sit, live, be, stay
tebégo (N) stick
tegaqawuri (ADJ) hot
Teko (N, PROP) Steenkool
teqo- (V) ascend
tera- (V) submerge, go under
terus (ADV, IND) continuous, next
terusi (ADV) continuous (<IND terus)
tete- (V) cut
tetewo (ADJ) all
tetéise (V) cut into pieces
tetéwo(qa) (ADJ) all
tetóira (Q) how many
tewe (POSTP) from
te- (V) be erect
téba- (V) try
tégi (N) sun; watch
tégo (N) day
téguride- (V) reproach
Téko (N, PROP) Steenkool
téraqobo (N) cleft, valley
téro (N) tea (<IND teh)
térogo (ADJ) slanting
téte- (V) cut
téwarago (N) land falling dry during low tide
tiap (ADJ, IND) each
tidó- (V) pierce
tiga (NUM, IND) three
tígó (ADV) that, already, finished, just
tíra- (V) take fish with hook
tíra- (NEG) not be (<IND tidak ada)
tita (N) sweat
tiwíro (N) wind
tíi(de)- (V) silent
típitipidarere (ADJ) narrow
tíra- (V) take
tírae (ADV) slow
tíraeséra (ADV) slow, careful
tírasere (ADV) slow
tíraseretirai (ADV) slowly
tírido (N) mountain
títo (N) wall
tiwíro (N) wind
to (ADJ) true, original, open
tobo- (V) listen
toqo- (V) erect
toqó (N) palmwine

Vocabulary: Inanwatan-English  79
torné (N) patrol (<DUTCH toernee)
tó (ADJ) fresh(water)
tóbo- (V) listen
tóide (ADJ) afraid
tókuro (N) shop (<IND toko)
tóqo (N, F) bone
tótoqo (N) bones
tóuqedesiri (N) on his own (<IND tersendiri)
tuebe (ADV) late
turáqa (ADJ) crippled
turun (V, IND) descend
tutu- (V) be painful
tutupi- (V) close, cover (<IND tutup)
túgare (N) Master; master
Túgarido (N) inheritance
Túgau (N, PROP) Túgau
túge (ADV) firmly, strong
tugo (N) woven fishing sieve for scooping shrimps and small fish from shallow water
túkari- (V) exchange (<IND tukar)
túqu- (V) plant
túro- (V) buy
tútú- (V) smoke, inhale, ache

U
u- (V) fell
udágibo (ADJ) black
úrago (N) clan territory; village; world; weather
urá- (V) see
-uru (POSTP) with; together with
urúqu (ADV) together
uséqe (ADJ) many
Usóqo (NPROP) Usóqo
utábuqo (N) meat
uto (N) fish
uwaqide (N) east
uwása (N) urine
uwó- (V) come up river; enter
uwú- (V, SINGULAR STEM) sit; stay; be, live
uwútawora (N) piece of wood with burning end
údagibi (ADJ) black
údo (N) charcoal
úfo (N) firestone
úgari (ADV) together
úge- (V) be dark
úgo- (V) cut
úpasara (N) police (>DUTCH oppasser)
úpaso (N) policeman; police (>DUTCH oppasser)
úro (N) banana shoot
úru (ADV) together
úsabi- (V) come
úsugo (N) vein; tendon
útariri (N, M) beloved
útariro (N, F) beloved
útaro (N) shark
úto (N) fish
úuwe- (V) become dark
úuwege- (V) become dark; be dark
úware (N) young unmarried man
úwiqo (N) urip
úwo (N) road
Appendix 2: Texts

The oral texts in this appendix were selected to illustrate patterns of grammar and discourse described in this book. Part A presents texts from the oral tradition. Part B presents Inanwatan texts that do not come from the oral tradition. These are a procedural discourse, a narrative with a first person perspective, and a conversation. Part C illustrates the 'pure' regional Malay (without code mixing and without Inanwatan loans) that is used in church, school and government contexts and as an interethnic lingua franca. The texts from Part B illustrate the relatively 'pure' Inanwatan (without code mixing, but with some Malay loans) that is used in certain genres of the oral tradition like the tugarido genre. Continuous, intensive Malay/Inanwatan mixing is used within the community as the default means of communication and is exemplified by Texts 2 and 3 of Part B.

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Part A: Texts from the oral tradition

1. Nawora from Patipi

The Nawora story was told to me by Bernard Mitogai, a former Kepala Desa (head of the village) of Inanwatan (born in Inanwatan around 1930) in March 1994 in his house in Inanwatan. In the first line the story is announced as belonging to the tugarido genre. The word tugarido means heirloom and is also used for inherited wealth items such as antique guns and plates. Texts of the tugarido genre are inherited texts, transmitted within descent groups that own these stories. Often, a tugarido text and a tugarido object belong together. For example, the Fife people showed me the gong that goes with the tugarido story about the man Fife and his gong which commences with the typical tugarido intro formula:

\[ \text{Iro tugarido ira-séro qé-bido.} \]
\[ \text{gong heirloom gong-story speak-ADH.1PL} \]
\[ \text{Let us tell about the inherited gong, the story of the gong.} \]

A characteristic of these tugarido texts is the combination of narrative and magic chant of a type called derió. In the course of the narrative, one of the characters in the story chants such a derió or at the end of the narrative the narrator sings the magic derió chant that goes with that narrative. The chant is accompanied by gőuto music. The gőuto, called gambus in Malay, is a three-stringed bamboo idiochord found only along the MacCluer Gulf of western New Guinea. Chordophones being rare in New Guinea, the gőuto probably betrays Malay influences (cf. Kunst 1967:130; van Hille 1907:547).

Tugarido texts deal with the history and origin of cultural and natural phenomena that are important to Inanwatan people. The fact that these stories date back to the ancestors gives them authority. All narrators of the tugarido texts that I recorded firmly believed that they were true and the genre was contrasted with the eqiqa-séro, stories without pretensions of truth and authority.

The Nawora story deals with the relationship with Onin and Patipi. Patipi is a village on the south coast of the Bomberai peninsula, in the Onin area. The North-Moluccan Sultans of Tidore had their middle men in the Onin area who established trade monopolies on the Bird's Head south coast, especially where major rivers watered into the MacCluer Gulf and the Seram Sea. These middle men had the Malay title raja 'king'. The raja of Patipi sent representatives to the Siganoi river mouth where they engaged in slave trade with the Inanwatan people. These representatives were also called raja ('king'). To get slaves, the Inanwatan raided the interior but also neighbouring coastal peoples like the Yahadian. In exchange for the slaves, they received cloths, iron tools and weapons and guns from the Patipi 'middle men'. This text is about Nawora, the first raja of Inanwatan who came from Patipi. He became the father of the Inanwatan fam Nawora. This fam name also occurs in the Onin area, in the village Puar, and the Inanwatan Nawora people and the Onin Namora people regard each other as kinsmen, according to the narrator of this story. According to van Oosterhout (2002:248) the Nawora fam occupies a rather marginal position within Inanwatan society: 'They live on the outskirts of the village, separated by the graveyard, and are accused of having stolen their history from 'indigenous' Inanwatan and intruded on other people's land'.
Interestingly, some Nawora people deny their Patipi origin, probably to strengthen their claims to land (van Oosterhout 2002:248). This story likewise reflects the animosity between Patipi intruders and Inanwatan people.

Text

(1) **Nawóra aga séro túgarido + né-ge-rita +**
Nawora POSS story heirloom 1SG.S-speak-DUR

**Nawóra esáí Patipi-wó-tewe wé-de-wó-re. #**

I am telling the history of Nawora, as for Nawora, they came across from Patipi.

(2) **Mé-de-wó-i ewáïwa + muró-wai mura-gárebo-wai +**

**úra-wai Sarátubiro Nawétira-wo Nawétira-wó**
DEM-this.F Sartubir Nawetira-at Nawetira-at

mái-wó-qede mura-gárebo **jadi** mái-wó-qede máso-we-ge-i. #
here-at-TOP river-mouth therefore here-at-TOP enter-3.S-do-PAST.SG.M

He came across and via the rivermouth of the Nawetira river at Cape Sartubir he entered.

(3) **Ewáïwa terus + mo-uwó-i-re + mó-uwu-i**

**nusíro úra mó-uwu-ge Sorowátó1 gárebo-qai. #**
island DEM 3.S-sit-PAST.PL Solowat mouth-at

And when he had come upriver, he settled on the island, they settled opposite the Solowat rivermouth.

(4) **Mái-wó wó-uwu-i ewáïwa + ao nésaro áwuga-era-era-ro**

**tétewo mogó-we-de-wó-i. #**
all carry-3.S-go.across-come-PAST.SG.M

Here he settled and he brought across all pieces of iron for his smithy.

(5) **Mái-wó ura-sai tigó + mírago mé-qobo-rita tawaro + sósorao-wo² +**
this-at DEM-this.M so machete 3.S-hit-DUR.PL axe spear-CONN

**orówo+ ádawao + mái-wó úra me-wága-rita-i-re**
lance harpoon this-at DEM 3.S-make-DUR-PAST.SG.M-and

**dáro itatábo-wasu tükari-we-rita-i +**
our.INC ancestors-these exchange-3.S-HAB-PAST.SG.M

**suqere-go wé-iba-rita-i + ereráu-wasu nábawo wé-we-rita-re. #**

And here he welded machetes, axes, fishing spears, lances and harpoons, here he made them and traded them with our ancestors for sago, other people gave slaves.

---

1 Small stream watering into the (very wide) Siganoi headwater.
2 From Patipi *sosona*, a forked fishing spear (Malay: *kelawai*).
Appendix 2

(6) **Baru** + mírago sówato mé-we-rita-i
next machete good 3.S-give-HAB-PAST.SG.M
táwaro sówato + **buat** mogóqo áreto
steel.axe good for for thing
wé-ra-rita-re itatábo iówosu. #
3.S-make-HAB-PAST.PL ancestors those
And he gave good machetes, good axes for the ancestors to do things.

(7) **Mé-de-wo-i-sai** Náwora esái + **buka** méwo si
3.S-cross-come-PAST.SG.M-this.M Namora this.M not hand empty
wé-de-wo-bi-d-aigo + **ao** míriqó ewái nági-aga íragiro
3.S-cross-come-PRES.SG.M-TR-NEG his gun this.F one-POSS body
ógo-we-de-wo-i + mawágoruqu-wa mé-era-rita-re. #
When Namora came across, he did not do so emptyhanded, he brought twenty guns
across, the leaders used to tell.

(8) **Gáago-wo dópis** ewái ísi-we-ge-rita-re **obapasa** ewái. #
side-at chamber this.F fill-3.S-do-HAB-PAST gunpowder this.F
At the side they used to fill the chamber with gunpowder.

(9) **Jadi** nágia-ga íragiro mógo-we-de-wo-i +
therefore one-POSS body carry-3.S-cross-come-PAST.SG.M
**ao** míriqó ewái + **ao** béraro + **ao** máwise +
his gun this.F his warcanoe his younger.sibling.PL
tétewo urú-we-de-wo-i. #
all together-3.S-cross-come-PAST.SG.M
So he brought twenty guns and he brought all his warcanoes and all his relatives.

(10) **Buka** wéwa-muteri qeqido-wo + **ao** árubugere
not himself-one not-be.3.SG.F his relatives
urú-we-de-wo-i + **mó-uwu-i** mái-wo-qede
ére itígó qobó-i-ge mé-iba-rita-i + áretere
and so hit-ADV-with 3.S-trade-HAB-PAST.SG.M whatever
suqere-go + **atau** nábawo mai wé-iqo-rita-re. #
sago-with or slave this.F 3.S-put.down-HAB-PAST.PL
Not just he himself, no he brought across his relatives and settled and from
here he exchanged what he welded with whatever which they put down,
with sago or slaves.

(11) **Má-ge-re-re** mawágo-wasu meigo-weigo +
thus-do-PAST-and big-these deceive-deceive

---

3 Dopis 'chamber for gunpowder' and obapasa 'gunpowder' (<standard Indonesian *obat pasang*) are local Malay words used for these parts of antique guns.
Thus the big men deceived (him) and those from Mugim knew it and they came down with (their) attractive women, girls, the parents put them in the canoes when they went to get axes and machetes.

(12) Agó mé-qaqo-i-de mé-era-rita-i +

gotoqówaro owóí iqo-ra-e na-wódó-go, #
daughter that.F put.down-IMP-PL my-wife-CIRC
And he faced (them) and said, ‘that girl, you must give her to me as my wife’.

(13) Suda mai mé-iqo-rita-re mo-wé-tira-rita-i +

tígo mao-go mé-ra-rita-i. #
so wife-CIRC 3.S-take-DUR-PAST.SG.M
So they put her down and he came and took her to become his wife.

(14) Má-ge-re-re má-ge-re-re + a mé-era-rita-re

gáwére ígadara ísido mé-ge-rita-bi-sai-sai. #
Since he kept doing so, they said, ‘ah, this one leaves us without children’.

(15) Jadi suda + póra-séro wé-ge-re mutáu-bírowu. #
therefore so conspiracy-word 3.S-do-PAST.PL kill-in.order.to.PL
Therefore, all right, they made plans to kill him.

(16) Séro-wai mé-ge-re + íso-we-rego-re
sówato-go + baru otau-wai mó-u-ge +
good-CIRC and sago.species-this.F 3.S-fell-PAST.PL
mé-iqo-re-re + bidó iro we-qúgo-re + fúgido
we-sée-re + mógo-we-reqa-re Múguoro néwago
má-wai mé-ra-re + baru + owáqepo egégiro mé-soro-re
They spoke thus and organized it well and they felled sago trees, removed the bark, butchered a pig, cut bananas and brought it to the Mugur harbour, constructed a bridge and decorated it.

They decorated and went down and invited (him) and he came upriver in his warcanoe, with twenty wives and also twenty rifles.

And he moored at the bridge and descended (from the canoe).

While he is ascending (the stairs), they had told the man who was to pierce him, you must do it suddenly under the armpit. Therefore they cut the lance short, its handle.

Therefore they cut the lance short, its handle.
3.S-fall.into-PAST.SG.M lance-NOM.M-this
Therefore he held (the lance) short and he (=Nawora) went up and just while he
wanted to step on the bridge, he (=killer) suddenly pierced him through the
armpit and the man with the lance in his body fell back in his canoe, with the
lance in his body.

(22) Me-róo-i seréwi-wa + nataqe qaqó-ere
3.S-fall.into-PAST.SG.M man.with.lance-this wives child-and
miriğó ewái qaqó-we-ra-re mai wi-átuge-re. #
gun this.F grab-PAST.PL this.F 3.S-fire-PAST.PL
The man with the lance fell back and the wives and the children grabbed the
rifles and started firing.

(23) Mai wi-átuge-re + tapi qido-wo morá-y-aigo +
this.F 3.S-fire-PAST.PL but not-be.3.SG.F hit-TR-NEG
me-wo-re-wo mö-ura-re mé-roda-re árasau-go. #
They fired but they did not hit and they (Namora’s people) came and saw that
they (=the Inanwatan killing party) had fled with fright.

(24) Mé-roda-ri-aigo suda + a mé-rowo-i ewáiwa +
qaqó-wa me-susa-re arubu we-susa-re qégí-sai
úra nádoro mé-rowo-re-re nárere-wai mé-ra-re. #
While they were fleeing, he (Namora) came down and his children lamented, his
relatives were in sorrow and seeing (their) father, they returned and performed
magic.

(25) Tawo-tawo-gobe-sai-qede néto nárere-go e-ríta-wo ewái
Tawo-tawo-river-this.M-TOP shell magic-CIRC speak-DUR-NOM.F this.F
mé-ra-re ewáiwa + kárido awéro mó-uwu-ge-re
3.S-take-PAST.PL and pot big 3.S-sit-PAST.SG.F-and
me-quivu-rí-aigo mai wi-wi-re gao-wai
mó-uwu-ge-re + mai néto ewáiwa áibo wé-to-re +
sira-gao-wo baru dóge + párato néréwo + saa ewái
boiling water-inside-in and oh rain storm water this.F
mó-owe-re baru qáge-wa qáge-wa mai-we-reso-i
2. Ariqiware

This text was recorded in February 1994 in the house of the narrator Bernard Mitogai (born 1931 in Inanwatan). Dominggus Murray helped me with the transcription of the text. It is an example of the genre séro tugarido (‘heirloom-story’). This text is ‘owned’ by the Erepa gobó (clan) and has the link between the ancestors and the sun as its theme. See van Oosterhout (2002:230–331) for the culture hero Ariqiware, for other versions of this myth and for an interpretation of this myth in the context of Inanwatan ethnography. A typical characteristic of these tugarido texts is the combination of narrative and magic chant of a type called derió (see Text A no. 1, the Nawora story). This text has a derió in line (29).

Text

(1) Ariqiware aga-wo séro-wai qé-bidó +
Ariqiware POSS-CONN story-this.F tell-1PL.ADH
Let us tell the story of Ariqiware.

Ariqiware-sai + awéra-qaqábo-wa +
Ariqiware-this.M grandfather-grandmother-these

mírago méwó-wo wége-re + mé-era-re sé-ra. #
As for Ariqiware, the forefathers put a machete in his hand and they told him to go.

(2) Tégi-sai me-tára-rita-bi iraroi-biai
sun-this.M 3.S-shine-HAB-M quick-very

mi-ráwo-rita-bi-re mé-i-rita-bi. #
When the sun shone, it used to rise and set very quickly.

(3) Suqó-wai gé-rawe-rita-re go-ú-rita
sago-this.F 1PL.INC-go.up-HAB-and 1PL.INC-fell-HAB

go-ú-rita-de suqó-wai mú-úwe-rita. #
We would go to fell sago and while still felling the sagotree, it would become dark.

(4) Mú-úwe-rita eváiwa + áwoge mú-wei-di-rita. #
It would become dark and then become light again.

The meaning of ‘the sail threw’ is unclear.
G-iqore-rita-de + áwoge mú-uwe-rita. #
1PL.INC-peel.off-HAB-still again 3.S-become.dark-HAB
When still removing the bark, it would become dark again.

Mái-ra-qa-re séro-wai awéra-qaqabo-wa
this-for-TOP-and word-this.F grandfather-grandmother-these
sé-ro me-qé-re ewáïwa me-bái-de + mé-era-re
sé-ra-re + qégedi órewo + káawe-ra. #
go-IMP.SG-and sun woman marry-IMP.SG
Therefore the forefathers spoke this word and sent (him away) and they told
him to go and to marry the daughter of the sun.

Mé-se-i ewáïwa + oo gíre-wo-wo
3.S-go-PAST.M and oh long-be.3.SG.F-CONN
e-rá we-qáwa-re mé-se-i-dara-wo +
mé-se-i mé-se-i mé-se-i
ewáïwa + nőe-we-i-di. #
and go.out-3.S-descend-PAST.M
And he went and oh a very long time they waited and waited and he went on
and on and he arrived.

Nőe-we-i-di ewáïwa + mó-ura-i
qido-terusi-go noe-áigo mé-rabu-i-re m-agé-i-de +
mó-ura-i mungkin sáro qido. #
3.S-see-PAST.M possibly multitude NEG
He arrived and he saw and he did not subsequently appear, and hid himself and
keeping still he saw whether there were many people or not.

Qeqídu-aigo mó-ura-i-wo órewo-wai + médur-ew-o +
not.be-not 3.S-see-PAST.M-CONN woman-this.F wing.person-F
órewo-wai + mé-i-de ewáïwa + buka-wé-ge-re
awo méduro ógo ró-rita-wo me-regó-re sliwo-qai
her wing to(?) fly-HAB-CONN 3.S-put.down-PAST grass-in
sáraba-wétoro-qai + atau mura-wétoro-qai wó-uwu-ge-re. #
spring-side-at or river-side-at 3.S-sit-do-PAST
There were not (people) and he saw the woman with wings and the woman went
down and put off her wings to fly and laid them in the grass at the side of the
spring or the river and there they (the wings) stayed.
Appendix 2

(10) Qére mé-i-de-re mó-opo-re. #
Thus she went down and took a bath.

(11) Mó-opo-re + búsid-o-wai mó-opo-re. #
She took a bath, naked she took a bath.

(12) Agó írowo-we-ge-i duu +
    and body-3.S-do-PAST.M oh.dear
gébo-qai-de íro-we-ge-i ewáïwa +
underside-at-TOP body-3.S-do-PAST.M and
mó-opo-re ísido me-rái-re-re +
mái-ra we-se-re dóqe órëwo ewáïwa + agó-wai5
this-for 3.S-go-PAST oh.dear woman and and-that.F
e-rá-qa mé-rabu-ego-i méduro éwai. #
3SG-from-TOP 3.S-hide-CAUS-PAST.M wing that.F
And he followed her movements, oh, my from down he followed her movements
and. she took a bath and after that she ascended and searched but Oh, the woman,
he had hidden the wings.

(13) Ah baru mésidai-sai é-ra we-se-rita-ri-aigo
    ah and man-this.M 3SG-for 3.S-go-HAB-while-not
írowo Ariqiware írowo me-rúsaside-i. #
    body Ariqiware body 3.S-show-PAST.M
And the man, while she was searching for it, Ariqiware showed himself.

(14) Irowo me-rúsaside-i ewáïwa + a suda órëwo-wa
    body 3.S-show-PAST.M and ah thus woman-this
wé-era-re + mó-ra + ãwe káawe-ré-ge-sa
3.S-say-PAST come-IMP.SG you marry-1SG.S-do-FUT
egábara náwe e-sée-sa. #
NEG.IMP me 2SG.S-cut-FUT
He showed himself and, ah, thus, the woman said: ‘Come, I shall marry you,
do not cut me’.

(15) Jadi suda + órëwo-wa tígo séro-wai
    therefore thus woman-this so word-this.F
é-ra mé-qe-re i-sái na-qíde-sai +
3SG-for 3.S-speak-PAST be-this.M my.-father-this.M

---

5 Demonstrative clitics which function as personal pronouns (see Chapter 3), may also cliticize to the conjunction ago.
Therefore the woman spoke to him in this way: 'My father is there, my father carries the sun'.

(16)  
Agó-iri ga gó-ura-rita ewái
and-you(PL) POSS 2PL.S-see-HAB this.F

ná-qide jadi nőe-bido ewáiwa + méqaro-wo
my-father therefore go.out-1PL.INC.ADH and house-in

na-qide-sai + būsa-wo6 úra-ra. #
my-father-this.M can-CONN see-IMP.SG

And what you use to see is my father, therefore, let us show ourselves and you can see my father in the house.

(17)  
Séro-wai tábeqatorí-we-ge-re7 + mé-era-re

kalau + méqaro sampai-gé-ge-be + náwo qediara
if house arrive-1PL.INC-do-PRES not yet

írowo é-rusaside-sa-qido + tideria-ra
body 2SG.S-show-FUT-NEG be.silent-IMP.SG

ná-qide-sai mé-se-rita-bi-dere nebái-bido-qe

máiwa qáqo-wo náwa-ru. #
next room-in me-with

They agreed and she said, ‘When we have arrived at the house, you shall not yet show yourself, be silent, if my father is still underway, let us go up and you stay with me in my room’.

(18)  
Jadi suda órewo agá aibá-séro ika-we-ge-i +
therefore so woman POSS voice-word follow-3.S-do-PAST.M

qegi-sai mé-se-rita-i-daigo tégi-sai. #

Therefore he followed the word of her voice and the father was still underway, the sun.

(19)  
Me-reba-i me-reba-i-re ewáiwa +
3.S-ascend-PAST.M 3.S-ascend-PAST.M-and and

terusi-we-ge-re qáqo-wai. #
continuous-3.S-do-PAST room-this.F

And he went up and they stayed in the room.

(20)  
Qáqo-wai-ooo + gíre-wo-wo + níra
room-this.F-PAUSE long-be.3.SG.F-CONN day
Appendix 2

The sleep they slept in this room, many days.

(21) 
Ago qég-i-wa mé-se-rita-i ewáiwa + mé-rai-rita
next father-this 3.SG-walk-DUR-M and 3.S-ascend-DUR
méqaro + me-popó-rita-i árawu-ge-i
house 3.S-knock-DUR-PAST.M you.with-do-Q
mé-era-rita-re no-ô-te-be. #
3.S-say-DUR-PAST 1SG-be.ill-PRES
Having walked, the father came to the house and knocked, ‘are you there?’ and
she said, ‘I am ill’.

(22) 
Tigo máge mé-era-rita-re + mé-se-rita-i
so thus 3.SG-say-DUR-PAST 3.S-go-DUR-PAST.M
mágerere mágerere a + ògora sòqiwai mo-ô-te-be
hus thus ah Q long 3.SG-be.ill-PRES
ewáiwa + mé-era-i áreqaro náwe-idio-ra. #
next 3.S-say-PAST.M door open-stand-IMP.SG
Because she said so, he went and having thought ‘oh, how long is she ill!’ he said,
‘open the door!’

(23) 
Nawe-we-idio-i órewo + Ariqìware-sai urú-qu. #
open-3.S-stand-PAST.M woman Ariqìware-this.M-IMP together-?
He opened and the woman and Ariqìware were together.

(24) 
Jadi + mé-era-re órewo-wa egábàra
therefore 3.SG-say-PAST woman-this NEG.IMP
nápaigo-i e-sée-sa +
divide-ADV 2SG-cut-FUT
épe-gáage-ra sée-ra + nápaigo-i e-sée-sa
leg-one.side-for cut-IMP.SG divide-ADV 2SG-cut-FUT
nìoro-go giáta-sa + íwàq épe-sai. #
darkness-CIRC be.continuous-FUT allright foot-this.M
Therefore the woman said, ‘do not cut through, cut off just one leg, if you cut
him through, it will be dark forever, his leg is allright’.

(25) 
E-rá wé-idio-i áreqaro baru
3SG-for 3.S-open-PAST.M door and
qetáiraro-go mé-qobo-i + nágo-go
rattan-CIRC 3.S-hit-PAST.M one.time-CIRC
mé-qobo-i + òwogé nágo-go áwogé nágo-go-wa
3.S-hit-PAST.M again one.time-CIRC again one.time-CIRC-this
terus miogago-i me-sée-t + épe-sai-ra
next in.return-ADV 3.S-cut-PAST.M foot-his-to
me-sée-i  
baru + sóbaro-wai
3.S-cut-PAST.M next bamboo-this.F

mé-iwiw-i-re  
qai-w-éró-i-wai. #
3.SG-take-PAST.M-and put.in-3.S-put-PAST.M-thus
He opened the door to him and he (the sun) hit one time with a rattan, and then another time, and another time and next he (Ariqíware) in his turn cut him, his leg he cut off and he took a bamboo and put it in (its place).

3.S-cut-PAST.M next bamboo-this.F

(26) Qai-w-éró-i  
ewáïwa suđa + sóbaro mó-uwe. #
He put in into the bamboo and there it sat.

E-ra  
we-qawa-re níra é-wai  éite-wo
3SG-for 3.S-wait-PAST day ATTR-this.F many-be.3SG.F

mú-uwege-re  
úrago e-wái
3.S-be.dark-PAST world ATTR-this.F

mú-uwege-re + tégi náwo i-yaigo sebag épe-ra

we-sée sai-ara mógo mó-uwu-i + sampai

épe-sái-wa  
suda bái-we-ge-re  kelúari-we-ge-i. #
They waited a long time and it was dark, the whole world was dark, the sun did not rise because he (Ariqíware) had cut off his leg and he (the sun) sat wounded until his leg had recovered and he went out again.


(28) Kelúari-we-ge-i  
ewáïwa oo + mó-ura-re woïwi

sówat-e-go  
tirásereitirae-i baru gágowo-wé-ge-re +
good-M-CIRC slowly-ADV and compose-3.S-do-PAST

dério éwai + téga-qóre-sai  me-ráwo-ida-i + máge wé-era-re. #
He (the sun) went out again and they could see that he went slowly in the right fashion and they composed this dério chant8 that they utter when the sun rises:

(29) Abo-ábogáawo  
Dewárusi awé-ro-wo
morning-morning.light Dewárusi high-at

mé-re-bi-yo  
Érepa-w-awé-ro-wo  mé-re-bi-o

níro dádore níro-riro dádore
night many night-night many

8 Recorded March 14, 1994, in the house of Bernard Mitogai in Inanwatan, the lead singer and góuto player is Augus Yawae, the dério specialist of Inanwatan; Dominggus Murray and Bernard Mitogai also joined the singing.
níro dádore tégo tégo dádore tégo dádore
night many day day many day many
The morning light shines over Dewarusi land, over Erepa\(^9\) land it shines; many
nights, many, many nights, many days, many, many days.

3. Fife text

Bernard Mitogai (born in Inanwatan around 1930, former *Kepala Desa*) told me this
story of the *túgarido* genre in February 1994 in his house in Inanwatan.

In this text about the man Fife, the founding father of the Inanwatan fam Fife, it is told
how in ancient times the people of Inanwatan, Bedare, Isogo, Puragi and Kasuweri lived
together as one tribe in the area around the hill Girifo which oversees the lake Air Mati which
is the source of the Metamani river. Fife belonged to this tribe but he lived alone because he
suffered from leprosy, a disease viewed as a curse of God and so strongly taboo that
Inanwatan people refuse to mention the name of the disease (*bíraqito*) and in this text the
disease is referred to as ‘the bad body’ (line (4)).

Fife hears how the people talk about him (‘his body is bad’) and frustrated and angry
because of his isolation, Fife sings a magic *deri6* chant (see introduction to Text A 1, the
Nawora story) while hitting his big gong. Fife invokes with his *deri6* the jungle and the wind,
and soon the sky darkens with rainstorms and the resulting flood destroys the village and
carries the people in all directions to their present places in the Puragi, Kokoda and
Inanwatan areas.

Text

(1)  *Iro*\(^{10}\)  *túgarido íra-séro qe-bido mó-uwu-ge Giririfo-qai.*
  gong heirloom gong-word speak-1PL.INC.ADH 3.S-sit-PAST Giririfo-in
  Let us tell the story of the inherited gong which is in Giririfo.

(2)  *Air Mati-go wé-qe-rita + mútero-go dáiti*
  Air Mati-CIRC 3.S-say-HAB together-CIRC we(IN)
  *gé-ra-rita Air Mati*\(^{11}\)  *sáro-wasu mái-wo-tewe*
  1PL.INC.3.S-say-HAB Air Mati multitude-these here-at-from
  *mé-rowo-be + itatábo-wasu.*
  3.S-descend-PRES ancestors-these
  In Air Mati they say, we all call it Air Mati, from there all the ancestors
came down.

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\(^9\) Erepa and Dewarusi are the names of two adjacent ancestral territories, situated along the headwater of
the Siganoi river (see Map 6 in van Oosterhout 2002:173). This *deri6* used to be sung before sunrise to
make the sun rise, the lines of the song were repeated over and over until the sun had risen.

\(^{10}\) The copper gongs are a characteristic part of the Inanwatan traditional wealth. In 1994 the gongs costed
around Rph 750,000. The gongs are still important in Inanwatan life, for example when communal labour
is carried out.

\(^{11}\) The Malay name *Air Mati* (‘Dead Water’) is used here for the lake that forms the origin of the Metamani
river. The Inanwatan name for that lake is *ðbaragobó*. Informants said (in Malay) that the lake is called
Air Mati because the water *tidak bergerak* (‘it does not move’). The Puragi name for the lake is Kátamo.
See van Oosterhout (2002:26) for the association between ancestral spirits and the motionless stillness of
Air Mati.
(3) Agó ụrụbasu mé-te-re oti-wasu + Puragi-d-áura + and relative-these 3S-stand-PAST also-these Puragi-TR-people

Saga-rásaru + Bérdari-aura + mé-te-re Gésowerigo-b-aura + Saga-NOM.PL Bedare-people 3S-stand-PAST Kasuweri-TR-people

Isog-aura + oti-dari Irorowatáro-wai gé-rowo-re Isogo-people also-from Inanwatan-this.F 3S-descend-PAST

máro-wai aida-wo máro wé-ra-re ewái.# village-this.F big-be.3SG.F village 3S-do-PAST this.F

The ancestors and the relatives were there, the Puragi people, the Saga people, the Bedare people, the Kasuweri people, the Isogo people and also those from Inanwatan came down; they built this big village here.

(4) Mésida-e Fife esái + írágiri-sai nágo person-M Fife this.M. body.M-this.M. like
gé-ra-rita írágiri-sai badái-so-sai + 1PL.INC-say-HAB body.M-this.M bad-be.3SG.M-this.M
awére-sai + tóuédesiri12 hídùpi-m-è-rita-i grandfather-this.M on.his.own live-3S-do-HAB-PAST.M
írọ-wai tigúdá-wo + mé-tóbo-rita-i gong-this.F his-F 3S-listen-HAB-PAST.M
séro-ri esái duu + é-ra word-PL this.M oh.dear 3SG-for
we-qé-rita-re má-ge-re-re má-ge-re-re 3S-say-HAB-PAST thus-do-PAST-and thus-do-PAST-and
mé-ra-i eise-wasu + náwe-ra mé-querita-wasu + 3S-say-PAST.M you(PL)-these me-for 3S-talk-HAB-they
a sunda iro awére ewái qásugoi-werawu ah already gong big this.F hang-NOM.PAST
ao éwái mé-ra-i ewái tebégo wood his.F 3S-take-PAST.M this.F stick
evái tígó + mé-worataba-i + nágo-go-re this.F already 3S-hit.hard-PAST.M one-CIRC-and
dério riserí13 mé-wore-i + máge mé-ra-i.# chant he.himself 3S-speak-PAST.M thus 3S-say-PAST.M

The man Fife, his body was, as we use to say, bad and this ancestor lived on his own with his gong and when he heard, aduh! what they said about him, thus he spoke, 'because you talk about me, ah, the gong is hanging already' and he took the stick and he hit (the gong) hard one time and he himself uttered a dériyo chant, as follows:

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12 Loan based on Malay tersendiri.
13 riserí: based on Malay dia sendiri.
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(5)  Béraguro + náme óbowe\textsuperscript{14} + ámepuro + náme óbowe. #
  forest me listen.IMP great.wind me listen.IMP
  ‘Forest, listen to me, great wind, listen to me!’

(6)  Baru íro ewáí me-sé-rita ámepuro náme óbowe
  and gong this.F 3.S-hit-HAB great.wind me listen.IMP
  béraguro náme óbowe + baru íro ewáí me-sé-rita-i. #
  forest me listen.IMP and gong this.F 3.S-hit-HAB-PAST.M
  And he was hitting the gong, ‘great wind listen to me, forest, listen to me!’, and he was hitting the gong.

(7)  Máge-re-re mó-ura-re-wo mé-i-di-dere-wai
  áwero-wo qáqia-tebëgo-wai\textsuperscript{15} máro áwero ewáí +
  above-in sail-beam-this.F village above this
  tutupi-we-gë-rë + paràto óderi\textsuperscript{16} me-géraqë-re
  sekarang Air Mati-go ge-që-rìta. #
  now Air Mati-CIRC 1PL.INC.S-speak-HAB
  Thus what they saw was (like) a sail-beam above descending until above the village there were rain and thunder covering the place we now call Air Mati.

(8)  Tìgo ao séro aga gébiro.\textsuperscript{17} #
  so its word POSS tree
  Finished the tree of the story.

4. Batúre and the Flood

This story of the tugarido genre is about a flood in ancient times caused by the anger of the ceramic jar Batúre. The flood creates the Siganoi tributary and carries some Inanwatan people as far as the Sele Strait. Notice that according to Voorhoeve (1975:440) in the Sele Strait area a language is spoken which is closely related to Inanwatan, the Duriankari language. The Inanwatan say that the Duriankari people are descendants from the Inanwatan people who were carried to the Sele Strait by the flood caused by Batúre.

During the flood, some Inanwatan people submerged in the water and became muwúqo fish. There were also Inanwatan people who saved themselves by becoming flying foxes. Both muwúqo fish and flying foxes used to be taboo food items.

\textsuperscript{14} The chant is in the Puragi language, not in the Inanwatan language.
\textsuperscript{15} The qáqia tebëgo ‘beam of the sail’ is the horizontal beam around which the sail is rolled when it is not used. The approaching thunderstorm is compared with a sail that is being rolled from its beam.
\textsuperscript{16} The thunderstorm, which is the result of Fife’s chant, causes a flood that disperses the groups mentioned in (3). The theme of dërio chants causing floods that in their turn disperse people, occurs in many Inanwatan texts dealing with migrations of groups of people.
\textsuperscript{17} This is a conventional closing formula of a story.
This is one of the best-known flood stories of the Inanwatan. A Malay version of this story occurs in Miedema (1997:62). See van Oosterhout (2002:209) for an interpretation of the myth in the context of Inanwatan ethnography.

The narrator of this text is Agustinus Yawae, 61 year old, with three years elementary school and one of the Inanwatan people with a relatively limited command of Malay. From line (23) on, the narrator is Dominggus Murray who was present when Agustinus Yawae was telling his version.

Text

(1) Pigére18 néri-sai Batûre-sai-ere + irâte-ira-sai
jar name.M-this.M Batûre-this.M-and place-place-this.M
ôrido + toqô-wo we-i-rita. #
riverbank palmwine-at 3.S-descend-HAB
There was an ceramic jar named Batûre, his place was on the riverbank where they produce palmwine.

(2) Mâi-wo ewáîwa-sai nîra-rapago-i érawise masu-wa
now-at and-this.M day-each-ADV maiden.PL these-this
máîwa urû we-gée-rita-re apáupro-go19 +
thus together 3.S-play-HAB-PAST red.fruit-CIRC
atatûri-go we-gée-rita-re. #
grandfather-CIRC 3.S-play-HAB-PAST
Now each day the young maidens used to play there together, with the apáupro fruit and with grandfather they used to play.

(3) Nîra ragé-wo-go + Dûweqau mé-rawe-re
day one-LOC-CIRC Dûweqau 3.S-go.up.over.land-PAST
sugó nóî-beqewu erâwira-otó-wo-wa +
sago pound-to(SG) maiden-young-CONN-this
apáupro-go uru-we-gée-rita-re érawise
érerao-wai-go mai nawe-wigo wai
other.PL-this.F-CIRC this.F go.up.over.land-while this.F
nai-wé-iira-re. #
go.up-3.S-take-PAST
On a certain day Duweqau went up to pound sago and the maidens were playing together with the apáupro fruit with other girls and she took (a fruit) on her way up.

(4) Nai-wé-iira-re ewáîwa + mógo-wé-rawe-re
go.up-3.S-take-PAST and carry-3.S-go.up.over.land-PAST

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18 Antique ceramic jars played an important role in Inanwatan bridal payments until the 1960s.
19 The apáupro is a small round red fruit. Inanwatan children like to play with this fruit. Trying to hit each other with these fruits is popular among young people. In this text, they play that game with Batûre who is respectfully referred to in this line as ‘grandfather’.
mëwo-wo me-sâi-re dawâo-wo +
hand.PL-in 3.S-warm-PAST dawâo.fruit-CONN
negô-y-aigo + magé-i tîgo mëwo-wo
put-TR-NEG thus.do-ADV so hand.PL-in
me-sâi-re suqo-wai qeqûqu-ru me-rôi-de
ewâu-go + âwoge më-rowo-re. #
afternoon-CIRC again 3.S-come.down-PAST
She took (a fruit) and carried it up in her hands and the dawâo fruit became warn in her hands, she did not put it down and thus keeping it in her hands she pounded sago with her parents and in the afternoon they returned.

(5) Mé-rowo-re-wo e urú
3.S-come.down-PAST-CONN EXCL together
we-qee-rita-re árubu gérerao
3.S-play-HAB-PAST companions other.PL
agó-wai tîgo dawâo mëwo-wo me-sâi-re
and-this.F so dawâo.fruit hand.PL-in 3.S-warm-PAST
me-sôwoigiawo-wo + qer-é-sai é-ra we-qiórego-re. #
They returned and, hey, the other companions were still playing together and she forcefully threw the dawâo fruit, which had become warm in her hands and his ear came loose.

(6) E-ra me-qíorego-re ewáiwa + aiba-qá-we-ra-i +
adée + Batûure + na-qeré-e adée + Batûure + na-qeré-e. #
oh.dear Batûure my-ear.M-EXCL oh.dear Batûure my-ear.M-EXCL
His ear came loose and he cried, 'oh dear, Batûure, my ear, oh dear, Batûure, my ear'.

(7) A tîgo madéi tigó + uwô20 ewái mi-ai-soi +
ah so already so road this.F 3.S-follow-that.M.SG
nôe-beqewu gobó-wai. #
go.out-to(SG) sea-this.F
Ah, thus he followed the road in order to come out to the sea.

(8) Agô lîro-go negô-rego me-regó-rita-re
and body catch-catch 3.S-go.PL-HAB-and
íbi-go me-badâgo-rita-i + lîro-wo-sai-sai
behind-CIRC 3.S-attack-DUR-PAST.M body-this.M-this.M

20 Mr Murray who helped me with the transcription, remarked at this point that the road mentioned in this line is the Siganoi which was a land road before the Flood told about in this story.
And they were trying to catch (him) and he attacked (them) muwu with his behind.

They did not catch him and he went out via the Usuqo territory, that’s the name of the path.

Via that way he went out and took to the sea.

To the sea and he called Sail and Sail and Jar held council.

They threw, he rolled out and they, with Jar behind him and then the water, they followed the road upstream which we now use as a river.
Appendix 2

(14) Usóqo gobó mái-wo e má-ge-re-re
Usóqo territory here-at EXCL thus-do-PAST-and
mó-owo-re máiwa tigo + mi-átu-ge sáa ewái agó-wasu +
mésida-e rage ésai márouru-sai tígo Dúweqau egí-sai +
man-M one that.M offspring-this.M so Dúweqau father-this.M
méqaro-wo-qede + sáa-wai mi-átu-ri-aigo-sai-tígo
méwoqo-wasu mé-qugo-i. #
dog-these 3.S-cut-PAST.M
So via the Usoqo land they entered here and the water rose and one man with his
children, the father of Duweqau, were still in the house and while the water rose,
the man slaughtered his dogs.

(15) Tígo mé-qugo-i-re meqáro-wai gâwo wé-ge-i. #
Next, having slaughtered, he put (the pieces) around the house.

(16) Sáa-wai máiwa mi-átu-rita-re
water-this.F next 3.S-ascend-DUR-PAST
ewáiwa + mewoqa-ga qårulqo urá bei-we-rita-re
and dog.PL-POSS blood DEM block(?)-3.S-DUR-PAST
mó-uwu-i-sai. #
3.S-sit-PAST.M-this.M
The water rose but the blood of the dogs stopped it and it (the water) stayed.

(17) Qaqoróru mái-wo tíi-we-ge-i tígo-wom +
child.PL here-at silent-3.S-do-PAST.M so-be.3SG.F
árubu gérerao-wasu-aigo éró-wai qeqido tígo
relatives other.PL-these-NEG canoe-this.F not so
íro tuebe-mi-a-re. #
body late-3.S-be-PAST
The children kept silent, others had no canoe, they were too late.

(18) Ererao-wasu éró-éro mi-átu-ge
other.PL-these canoe-canoe 3.S-board.ship-PAST
mé-ro-re tígo sáa-go mé-i-de. #
Others went into the canoes and rowed and thus they descended with the water.

(19) Ererao tígo máge-tirá-i mé-i-de
other.PL so thus-take-ADV 3.S-descend-PAST
While some thus descended, still others went up to the headwater.

(20)

_Awero-go ró-ró níreridee + nigé-ro-rita-wo +

up-CIRC row-row older.brother 1PL.S-row-DUR-CONN

agó qaqa-wasu mé-ra-i-qede a tíde-ra-e-qede +

but child-these 3.S-say-PAST.M.-? ah silent-IMP-PL.-?

egábara áibo gé-ra-sa.24 #

NEG.IMP voice 2PL.S-say-FUT

Above those who were rowing (said), ‘Older brother, we are rowing but he ordered the children to be silent, do not speak!’

(21)

_Qeqquqí-wo qaqa-wo tii-we-ge-re +


áibo-wá ra-y-ái go áwero-go nigé-ro-rita-wo +

voice-CONN say-TR-NEG up-CIRC 1PL.S-row-DUR-CONN

áibo-wá na-y-ái go.

Both the parents and the children were silent and did not speak, although above (they called), ‘we are rowing’, they did not speak.

(22)

_Tígo-wo seró-ura.25 #

so-be.3SG.F word-DEM

Thus is the story.

_Addition by Mr Murray_

23 _Ererao-wasú qai-qede méduro-wai_

other.PL-these behind-TOP wing-this.F

beraqágabo-wái méduro qai-qai we-tirá-re ewáiwa +

mat-this.F wing behind-behind 3.S-take-PAST and

nówo-go mé-we-re me-róo-re. #


Again others imitated wings with sleeping mats and became flying foxes and flew away.

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23 The Inanwatan say that in ancient times, there was no sea separating the Bomberaí peninsula from the south coast of the Bird’s Head. Just a river flowed where now the MacCluer Gulf is. The Inanwatan talk about the MacCluer Gulf in river terms: Bintuni is upstream and Sorong is downstream. In this line, it is told how the flood carried some people ‘upstream’ in the direction of the Bintuni area and others ‘downstream’ in the direction of Sorong.

24 According to the informant Murray, the water surrounded Duwequa and her family like a high wall, and if they would answer the call for help from the rowing people above, the sound of their voices would immediately cause the water to fall on them.

25 This is a conventional way to end a story. After this line, Mr Murray, who helped me to transcribe this text, continues.
Appendix 2

(24) Ererao-wasu sãa-wa mé-tera-re muwuqo-go ther.PL-these water-this 3.S-submerge-PAST muwuqo.fish-CIRC
   érerao-wai-go Sórurao-wo Selat Sele ága ge-tóbo-rita other.PL-this.F-CIRC Sorong-to Strait Sele and 1PL.INC-listen-DUR
   qéro-ere eragatá-ere qéro-wai me-túqu-ge ewáiwa óbaro arrow-and outrigger-and arrow-this.F 3.S-plant-PAST and shoot
   we-se-re sekarang suqó ura mé-rebai-re mai-óti ireró-wai 3.S-go-PAST now sago DEM 3.S-grow-PAST this-also bamboo-this.F

Others submerged in the water as muwuqo fish and still others (went) to Sorong and the Sele Strait and we heard they planted there arrows and outriggers which had shoots and now grow there.

(25) Tígo ao séro to úra-wa. # so its word true DEM-this
Thus its true story is this.

5. The story of the sagotree, the parrot and the cockatoo

This story was told to me by D. Murray on 28 February 1994. It belongs to the tūgarido genre (see introduction to Text A 1, the Nawora text). The topic of the short text is the origin of the way the Inanwatan people pound sago, of the colours of the red parrot and the baldness of the white cockatoo.

Text

(1) Mái-wo-go + suqó-sero qé-bido. # now-at-CIRC sago-story tell-1PL.INC.ADH Let us now tell the story of the sagotree.

(2) Suqó-wai + ibáu-go ewái + deraqóbo-go sago-this.F formerly-CIRC this.F pointed.stick-CIRC

26 The arrows of the Inanwatan are made from the ribs of sago-leaves and the outriggers from bamboo. The planting of their arrows and outriggers resulted in the growth of sago and bamboo.
Formerly, they used to fell the sagotree with a pointed stick, they pierced it repeatedly and then it would fall and they would cut the sagotree in blocks of raw sago.

While it fell, they used to cut it into blocks/lumps and fill containers with it.

This being so, there were two birds, a cockatoo and a parrot and the cockatoo said to the parrot, ‘let us pound sago’.

Let us pound sago and then knead it.

But the parrot said, ‘No!’, and quickly took the sagopounder and pounded the cockatoo on he head.

It pounded (him) on the head and the crown became bald.

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27 See §1.8 for the processing of sago. Every step in this process is hard work but in ancient times, according to this story, the whole thing was an easy job: they just pricked a round of holes in the soft sagotree causing the sagotree (suqé) to fall after which lumps of ready-to-bake sago (suqé-wé) could straightaway be cut out of the felled tree. The two labor-intensive steps of pounding and kneading were not needed then. The story now proceeds to explain how come this sago-paradise was lost because of the actions of the cockatoo.

28 qetáwiros and tébo sago containers are made form the inside of shafts of sagoleaves. They differ in form: qetáwiros containers are round and tébo containers rectangular.

29 A kind of hammer made from pieces of wood to loosen the fibres inside the sagotree.

30 Since the verb qáa- is normally only used with the undergoer 'sago' the use of qékaqe 'cockatoo' as undergoer of this verb gives an humoristic effect and this line caused a lot of laughter.
In return, the cockatoo quickly took a burning piece of wood and caused burns on the parrot and we see that its body is red and black on the head, the blackness we see on the head is the charcoal of the fire.

6. **Yospan song**

*Yospan* is an Malay acronym based on *yosim* and *pancat*, two dance-forms originally from the Wandamen/Biak area. *Yospan* is a mix of those two dance forms that became very popular throughout Irian Jaya as a modern dance form replacing older, traditional dance-forms. The young men and boys play drums (*tifa*) and home made guitars (*ukulele*) and sing, the girls and young women dance. Popular themes in the *yospan* songs are relationships of love and affection, between lovers, between parents and children, between people and their native land or native village, expressed in a few lines that are repeated over and over again. The Inanwatan love to *yospan* and do it both for special occasions and with no special reason at all, just to amuse themselves. The song text reproduced here, was recorded on 13 September 1995 when the Inanwatan performed *yospan* in honour of a visiting delegation of the regional parliament in Sorong.

**Text**

(1) *Ore norá-o*31 náwadai é-ta-rita áretera-ga sé-ro-wo
oh girl-F from.me 2SG.S-go-DUR whatever-POSS word-EMPH

néra-y-aigo náwadai é-ta-sa.
tell-TR-NEG from.me 2SG.S-go-FUT
Oh, girl, you are leaving me, without a single word you are going to leave me.

(2) *Do io sé-ra-wo do io sé-ra-wo*
EMPH ADH go-IMP.SG-EMPH EMPH ADH go-IMP.SG-EMPH

áwoge náwe-ra náwe-ra qeré-igo-ra qeré-igo-ra náwe-ra
again me-for me-for ear-think-IMP.SG ear-think-IMP.SG me-for

31 From Malay *nona*. 

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104 Appendix 2
The pounding worksong, the pounding stick worksong, I will take the sago, put it in the shaft and knead it.

Text

1. **Nárido** + **ná-tatabo** + **maa** + **ketemu-we-gé-re** + **n-ırubu**
   my my-ancestor.PL PAUSE meet-3.S-do-PAST my-relatives

2. **Náitt** **ná-taturi-de** + **ní-tato-wa** + **ní-taturi-sai**
   I my-grandfather-and our-grandmother-this our-grandfather-this.M

3. **Suqó** **we-ròi-rita-ri-aigo** + **sugó**
   sago 3.S-pound.sago-DUR-not.be-NEG sago

   **we-ròi-rita-ri-aigo** + **níra-wai érigo** + **éri-nagiare**
   3.S-pound.sago-DUR-not.be-NEG day-this.F two two-one

   **ewáiwa ma** + **n-ırubu** + **áwerasaru**
   and PAUSE my-relatives above-NOM.PL

7. **How the coastal people met the jungle people**

   This text was recorded in 1994 in Inanwatan. The narrator is Set Eramuri, from the desa Mate, a man of 50 years old, with six years of elementary school. The text tells how the Inanwatan people from the coast, fish-eaters, and the Inanwatan people of the interior, pig-eaters, met each other for the first time. After initial mutual fear, they decide to come together and to settle in a new village at the headwater of the Siganoi. The text belongs to the tugarido genre. The Inanwatan like this story very much, especially the parts that tell how the fish-eaters vomited when first eating pig, and the pig-eaters vomited when first eating fish.
Appendix 2

isibowo\textsuperscript{32} bidó-wai me-rágő-re
sago.bait pig-this.F 3.S-pierce-PAST

níro-go + a a níro-go + baru bidó ewáwa mé-se-re. #
night-CIRC ah ah night-CIRC and pig and 3.S-go-PAST
They were pounding sago, pounding sago, during two or three days and their relatives from higher grounds speared a pig at a sago-bait in the night and in the night the pig went away.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Mé-se-re ewáwa + nírido ni-tatábo bow-ága suqa-gebó
3.S-go-PAST and our our-grandparent.PL sago.shaft-POSS sago-underside
me-rói-rita-ri-aigo bówo wo-rói-rita-wo
mói-agaga gébo-wo nare-wè-we-re + mé-ru-ge. #
It went and our grandparents, ah, under a sago-shaft where they were pounding sago, where they were pounding, there under the shaft, there it lay dead.

\item Mé-ru-ge gébo-wo + a baru agó ábo-go
3.S-die-PAST down-in ah and but morning-CIRC
mè-te-re ni-taturi-d-ere ni-tató-ere
3.S-sit.PL-PAST our-grandfather-TR-and our-grandmother-and
mè-rawe-re soridásiqo suqó rói-birowu +
3.S-go.up.over.land-PAST sago.acreage sago pound.sago-in.order.to.PL
e mó-uri-re-wo bido-wai + nare-we-de + a nare-we-de +
adó adó úra bido úra mé-rare-wai + ewéte-wa me-rágo-re. #
He was dead, under it, ah and the next morning our grandfather and grandmother woke up and went up to pound sago in their sago acreage and, hey, they saw the pig dead, oh dear, oh dear, the pig is dead, who speared it?

\item Baru + yang nágo-ewesaru ewásu
next that pierce-NOM.PL these
áruqo qai-wé-rowo-re. #
blood follow-3.S-come.down-PAST
And the people who had speared (the pig), they came down to follow the bloodtrail.

\item Aruqo qai-wé-rowo-re wé-rowo-re
wé-rowo-re wé-rowo-re + mógo ewái
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{32} The term \textit{isibowo} is used for a sagotree that has been felled and made a hole in for the purpose of attracting wild pigs which are killed with spears from a nearby hiding place. The sagotree is felled in such a way as to block a trail frequently used by wild pigs (cf. its local Malay name \textit{pele sago} 'blocking sago').
They came down to follow the bloodtrail, came down and down and down and crossed many clanlands until they arrived at Idawugobo.

The people who followed (the trail) saw, there are people and they were afraid, 'what will they do to us?' 'Will they kill us?' 'Will they spear us?).'

They sat and watched from far until the jungle people said, ‘let us show ourselves’.

Next they came straight out and grandfather and grandmother said to the (other) grandparental couple, ‘Come, over here lies your pig which you have pierced’.

The word naté-wi or naté-bi is an adapted loan from local Indonesian laki-bini 'married couple' (lit. man-wife).
Appendix 2

tígo-wo nítí nige-rágo-be
so-be.3SG.F we 1PL.EXC.S-pierce-PRES
nátti ne-rágo-be níro-go isíbowo. #
I 1SG.S-pierce-PRES night-CIRC sago.bait
Yes, that is true, we followed the bloodtrail and it lay dead which we speared,
which I speared at night at the sagobait.

(12) A a mé-era-re dóge ná-ra-e awái-ra-ra-e
ah ah 3.S-say-PAST oh take-IMP-PL pull-take-IMP-PL
téte-ra írido-wo. #
cut-IMP.SG your(PL)-be.3.SG.F
They said, 'Allright, take it and slaughter it, it is yours'.

(13) Awai-wé-ra-re + awai-wé-ra-re otoqó-wai me-téte-re. #
They pulled it out and slaughtered it.

(14) Me-téte-re ewáïwa míro-wo + góbo-wo +
3.S-cut-PAST and belly-CONN liver-CONN
mé-rowo-egó-re + a terus +
3.S-come.down-CAUS-PAST ah continuous
ítato ewáïwa máqapo-wai mé-woqo-re. #
grandmother and fire-this.F 3.S-lit-PAST
They slaughtered it and removed the intestines and the liver and grandmother
lit the fire.

(15) Mé-woqo-re ewáïwa + mé-qi-de. #
She lit (a fire) and cooked it.

(16) Mé-qi-de-re mogá-wo ewásu-wa + táboro-ra ní-ra. #
3.S-cook-PAST-and jungle-CONN these-these bite-IMP.SG eat-IMP
She cooked it and the jungle people (said), 'Take a bite and eat'.

(17) O táqui-sai me-táboro-i
oh grandfather-this.M 3.S-bite-PAST.M
tárò-wai me-táboro-re + a mé-iqo-re mé-era-re
geqído-wo + badá-wo nígé-iqo-sa
not-be.3SG.F bad-be.3.SG.F 1PL.EXC.S-vomit-FUT
badá-wo-wa + geqído-wo. #
no.good-be.3.SG.F-this not-be.3SG.F
Oh, grandfather took a bite and grandmother took a bite, ah, they vomited
and said, 'No, this is bad, we shall vomit, no good, not at all'..

(18) A sudá máge mígogago ni-tato-wa mé-idi-de-re +
ah so thus in.turn our-grandmother-this 3.S-stand-PAST-and
uto-wai mé-ra-re mésidar-o-re utó-re mé-ra-re
mé-we-re. # mogá-wasu. #
3.S-give-PAST jungle-these
Ah, thus, in their turn, our grandmother took fish and shrimp and gave it to the
jungle people.

(19) Míqa ni-ra-e-da mé-ri-de
ADH eat-IMP-PL-? 3.S-eat-PAST
mé-iqo-re áwoge a + a mé-iqo-re. #
Try to eat it and they ate and vomited and again, ah, they vomited.

(20) Awoge máge níra ériwa éwi mé-er-a-re níra érigo m-é-sa-be +
again thus day two just 3.S-say-PAST day two 3.S-do-FUT-3PL
ngé-rowo-sa iwáe. #
1PL.EXC.S-come.down-FUT really
In just two days, they said, ‘If two days are gone, we will really come’.

(21) A suda + me-téba-re + meqó meqó-wai
ah so 3.S-tie-PAST rope rope-this.F
éri-ga + baru mé-er-a-re mái-qe buki-ra ra a +
two next 3.S-say-PAST this-TOP open-IMP ah
gorá-gora-wo me-téba-re34 éwáiwa + mé-er-a-re nágo éwái níra
appointment-CONN 3.S-tie-PAST next 3.S-say-PAST one this.F day
nágo éwái níra ngé-rowo-sa. #
one this.F day 1PL.EXC.S-come.down-FUT
Ah, allright, they tied knots, two knots in the rope and they said, ‘Untie these knots’,
ah, they made an appointment and they said, ‘This day we shall come down’.

(22) Mágé-ra wé-ge-re. #
thus-for 3.S-do-PAST
Thus they did.

(23) Jadi bidó-qe iwáa-gó me-rágo-re +
therefore pig-REL yesterday-CIRC 3.S-pierce-PAST
me-téte-re éwái mugó-reqa-y-aigo. #
Therefore the pig which they had speared and slaughtered the day before,
they did not carry it away.

(24) Ní-taturi-der e ni-tató-ere aqiro máqare
our-grandfather-and our-grandmother-and foreleg hindleg

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34 In former times, the Inanwatan made appointments with the help of knotted ropes. each knot symbolising
one day.
My grandfather and grandmother carried up the foreleg and the hindleg walking far.

(25) Qeseqó-wo mé-reqa-re jadi ítígo-wa óni miogágoi far-LOC 3.S-walk.PL-PAST therefore she-this also in.their.turn
ní-tato-wa + mésidara-ga meréreqo utó-ere our-grandmother-this shrimp.species-POS parcel.PL fish-and
mogó-rawe-ra-e ní-sa-be + baru nóge nówo-ra-e + carry-go.up.over.land-IMP-PL eat-FUT-3PL and thus come.down-IMP-PL
níra múteri-go nówo-ra-e. #
day one-CIRC come.down-IMP-PL
They walked far and in their turn my grandmother (said), 'You must carry up the parcels of shrimp and the fish so that you can eat and thus come down on the appointed day'.

mé-reqa-wasu mé-rawe-re. #
3.S-walk.PL.-these 3.S-go.up.over.land-PAST
Ah, ah, all right, they ate and the slaughtered pig they left behind for them and they went away.

(27) Mé-rawe-re ewáiwa + owówo írowo mé-ge-re +
mé-era-re nige-röe-be i-wósu mésidao-wosu 3.S-say-PAST 1PL.EXC.S-go.out-PRES be-those people-those
urú-rige-rápa-be + naté-bi-wo naté-bi-wo together-1PL.EXC.meet-PRES husband-wife-be.3.SG.F husband-wife-be.3.SG.F
i-wósu + ao úto úra me-ri-we-be be-those their fish DEM 3.S-1PL.EXC.O-give-PRES
mésidáro úra + nigé-ri-be íwaqe a + shrimp.species DEM 1PL.EXC.S-eat-PRES allright ah
pertama nigé-ri-be nigé-iqo-be + kedua first 1PL.EXC.eat-PRES 1PL.EXC.S-vomit-PRES second
nigé-ri-be íwaqe sówato-w + a a sówato-wo. #
1PL.EXC.S-eat-PRES allright good-be.3.SG.F ah ah good-be.3.SG.F
They went up there and showed (the fish) saying, we went down and there we met people, they were husband and wife and they gave us their fish and we ate shrimp, at first we vomited but the second time we ate it, it was good, very good.

(28) A óni miogágoi bidó ewái ge-rágo-be-ge ah also in.return pig this.F 1PL.INC.S-pierce-PRES-SUB
Ah, also, in return, the pig which we speared, they ate and vomited, all right we left it for them to eat and also, in return, they gave us this fish, you must try and eat it.

(29) Me-ri-de me-ri-de + iwaqe  
sowato-wo a a mai-rőe-bido mé-rowo-re. #
good-be.3.SG.F ah ah now-go.out-1PL.INC.ADH 3.S-come.down-PAST
They ate, ate, all right, it is good, ah, ah, let us go down and they went down.

(30) Mé-rowo-re ewáiwa + nígai mé-era-re  
3.S-come.down-PAST and each other 3.S-say-PAST
suda mé-era-re núawu-bido + mútero-wai. #
so 3.S-say-PAST come.together-1PL.INC.ADH one-this.F
They came down and they said to each other, ‘Let us come together in one place’.

(31) Ini baru pulau ini yang bapa pigi ambil tiang  
this and island this that mister go take supporting.pole
sama-sama kumpul disitu.35 #
together collect there
This is the island where you went to fetch the pole, there they gathered together.

(32) Ya tígo ini dia punya ceritera ini + terimakasih. #
yes it this it POSS story this thanks
Yes, this is its story, thank you.

Part B: Other texts

1. The arrangement of marriages

Mr Murray produced this procedural text in November 1995 as an answer to my question about the way marriages are arranged in the Inanawan community.

35 In this line, the narrator addresses me in Malay to identify the place where the bush people and the coast people came together. The island he is referring to is a small island in the Siganoi headwater where I went with some people to look for remnants of the settlements mentioned in this text. Indeed, we found there the remnant of a supporting pole that had been worked with a stone axe.
Let us now talk about the matter of the children.

Our unmarried son has a love relationship with a girl behind our back and afterwards we get to know it, the parents.

Next the woman’s people say to the man’s people.

As in many Papuan societies, giving food by a woman to an unrelated male is associated with a sexual relationship between them. In the Inanwatan language, the association is so strong, that the conventional term for having a love relationship is ‘to eat fish with’.
Next the man’s side sends a letter to the parents on the woman’s side and they read it and they wait until the appointed time has come.

In the late afternoon, they go across and enter on the appointed time.

In order to enter, they carry across the price of the door and of the table.

After the price of the table and the price of the door, if they did not come with empty hands, ah, all right, then the negotiation of the arrangement starts.

The negotiations start, the man’s party go across, (saying), we heard that our son has a relationship.

They say to us, it is true, we have heard the same thing about the woman.

---

37 The verb *qe- ‘to speak’ means ‘to read’ in the context of written communication. Reading is done aloud.

38 ‘The price of the door and of the table’: a customary initial ‘entrance’ payment by the man’s party without which the woman’s party refuses to discuss marriage arrangements. The door refers to the entrance and the table to the reception of the man’s party as guests. The informant told me that the price of the door and the table can be as high as Rph. 250.000.


(15) Máiwa + étiride qeqúqu órewao-wa + a suda me-búqa-rita next wait(?) parent.PL. woman.side-these ah so 3.S-write-HAB áreto ewái + été-ra pigéro + sidáuqo + thing this.F how many-for ceramic.jar kain.blok39 niwariwaro + gárasaqoro + sído-qugoi-werawu nóto + plate glass cloth-pieces-? cloth.sarong máiwa gái-wa mé-rego-rita sidáuqo néwo-wa-sugeri + pípiso-wai next price-this 3.S-put.down-HAB kain.blok hand-this-both money-this.F dua ratus wé-rego-rita + dua ratus ribu + two hundred 3.S-put.down-HAB two hundred thousand atau satu juta mé-rego-rita surato + máge or one million 3.S-put.down-HAB letter thus mái me-qé-rita qówewao-wa mótewe qéro-we-igo-rita. # this.F 3.S-speak-HAB man.side-these then ear-3.S-think-HAB Next the parents (of the man) wait until the woman’s party, eh, allright, until they write how many things, jars, kain blok, plates, glasses, pieces of cloth and sarong cloth (they demand) and they (=woman’s people) set the price, 10 kain blok, in money two hundred thousand or one million, thus they write in their letter and then the man’s side considers (this price).

(16) Mótewe qéro-igo-ere + mé-era-rita ítigo gáago then ear-think-and 3.S-say-HAB so side

39 The local Malay phrase kain blok refers to folded ‘blocks’ of 40 metre of kain cita cloth which are sold in the shops of the local Bugis traders. The price of one ‘block’ was around Rph. 60.000 in 1995. The word blok is a loan from Dutch.
Then they consider (the price) and they say, all right, let us give them the half (of their demand), they demand one million, let us give five hundred, their demand for kain blok is twenty, let us give them ten first, 20 plates, let us give them 10 first, thus they count.

When they (=man’s people) have paid (the bridal payment), eh, the second ceremony, in order to give, they (=man’s people) send a letter or send people with the word that they will come in the late afternoon to bring across (the bride).

Next they wait and the woman’s people cook food and bake cookies and in the late afternoon the man’s people carry across the (bridal) payment.

Appendix 2

\[
\text{kalau dua ratus niwapuluh pípíso qeqído + sidáqoqo.}
\]

They carry (it) across and carry it up into the house of the woman's party and they say, this is the price of the table, they usually pay two hundred and fifty, if they do not have two hundred fifty, (they pay in) kain blok.

(20) \text{Sidáqoqo-go apaio-w-é-rita aréqaro média ura rágo.}

With kain blok they pay for the door and the table in one time.

(21) \text{Máge ewáiwa + tetéwo atírai apaio-w-é-rita me-sé-rita.}

Thus they pay all in one time and they go away.

(22) \text{Eri-aga mówa-gait}^{40} + \text{kain putih}^{41} \text{ satu blok mai éri}

The price of mother’s back is one roll of white cloth, when they have collected all the things, they bring down the woman and bring her up into the house of the man’s people.

(23) \text{A qówewawa-ga méqaro-wo qáwo-begewu}^{42} +

This payment is to compensate the mother of the bride for her suffering (pain in the back) when the bride was born. The price of one roll of white cloth is about Rph. 60.000.

\[\text{Áwoge múri-wurido ewái tígo me-rápago-rita-re órewé} + \text{ arewao}
\]

When the mother of the bride is old, the white cloth is saved for the day of her death: then her body will be wrapped into the cloth; when she is younger, it is also used to pay the ‘payment of the back’ of the mother-in-law of her son.

\[\text{Ewásu + mé-we-rita me-rápago-rita-re tetéwo ísido +}
\]

This expression refers to the custom that the bride puts one foot on the stairs of the house of the man and keeps that foot there until all the muriwurido gifts have been given. These muriwurido gifts (pieces of cloth, machetes, lances and other things) do not fall under the bridal payment proper which was agreed upon in writing but are gifts for the women who follow the bride when she goes over to the man’s house. These followers must be comforted for the ‘loss’ of their female relative who leaves them to go to live with her husband. Also, when someone in the woman’s party is not content with the part of the bridal payment which he received, the muriwurido gifts are used to try to satisfy him before the bride enters the house of the man’s party. It is generally believed that when someone in the woman’s party is not content, he may use magic to prevent the marriage to result in births.

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In order to bring her up into the man’s people’s house, they distribute again gifts, they distribute gifts to all those of the woman’s side who followed (the bride) and when they have given all there is to give, oh, go across! and they go across.

(24) Ti-go-wo séra-guro. #
that-be.3SG.F word-tree
That’s the end of my story.

2. The beach conversation

This text is the transcription of the first part of a spontaneous conversation between Yunus Mitogai, around 35 years old, and Dominggus Murray, 67 years old. The conversation was recorded when we were on the beach of the Arafura sea eating the fish just caught. Afterwards the men gave permission to use the recording for linguistic purposes.

Text

(1) Murray:
I-wái-qa náwórâu-woide? Ewó-go?
be-this.F.SG-TOP where-from when-CIRC
Where did you recently return from? When?

(2) Yunus:
A nigé-ta-re + tígó. #
ah 1PLEX-EXC-PL-go-PAST so
We went allright.

(3) Murray:
Ewó-go gé-ta-re?
when-CIRC 2PL-go-PAST
When did you go?

(4) Yunus:
Masut + Mateia-wasu hari Rabu m-éta-re +
goal Matius-they day Wednesday 3SG-go-PAST
agó-rari hari Kamis qáí-ré-ta-re + máiwa parapón
and-I day Thursday follow-1SG-go-PAST and ceiling
sibidara-wéqaro é-ra ne-qéro-re + i-wóí
worship-house 3PL-for 1SG-saw-PAST be-that.F.SG
fluri we-gé-i-d-owoī ao i-owoī + baru sekarang
floor 3S-do-PAST.M-TR-that.F room ATTR-that.F and now
Sia-ere palapon mungkin mo wé-tíra-re + Yáqo-ere. #
Yosias-and ceiling possibly there 3PL-make-PAST Yakub-and

43 'Go across' refers here to crossing the threshold of the man's house.
I mean, Matius and others they went on Wednesday, but I followed on Thursday and I did the sawing for the church building, there is a floor already and a room and now Yosias is possibly making the ceiling with Yakub.

(5) Murray:
O
oh

(6) Yunus:
{l-wo}s + {mungkin mai-wo}{go} mo {popo-sa}be {palaponitu} + {terus} be-those possibly now-at-CIRC there nail-FUT-3.S ceiling that next
{sibidaro-go erero} {yang bocor itu} + {mungkin buka-wé-sa-be. #} church-CIRC roof that leaking that possibly open-3.S-FUT-3.S Possibly they are now nailing the ceiling and removing the roof of the church which is leaking.

(7) Murray:
Erero-to?
roof-true
Is it a thatched roof?

(8) Yunus:
{Iyo bukan} + {sengki-wo} i-wói {qígo-wo-y-are} yes no corrugated:iron-be.3.SG.F be-that.1.SG new-be.3.SG.F-TR-again
{mo popó-sa-be} + {jádi} {Benoni-d-osoi} + {hari Jumat itu} there nail-FUT-3PL.S therefore Benoni-TR-THAT.M.SG day Friday that
{iwáiqa dia turun} + {mé-ta-i. #} recently he descend 3.S-go-PAST.M
Yes, no, corrugated iron, there is new (corrugated iron) again which they will nail, therefore Benoni he went down on Friday.

(9) Murray:
Soru-wai?
Sorong-to
To Sorong?

(10) Yunus:
{Qeqído-wo} + {Isogó-wai} + {dia kepala panitia} not-be.3.SG.F Isogo-to he head committee
No, to Isogo, he is chairman of the committee.

(11) Murray:
Gedung gereja?
building church
The church building (committee)?

(12) Yunus:
Sibidaro méqaro!
church house
The church building!

(13) Murray:
Ewo-go tabiskan?
when-CIRC dedicate
When will it be dedicated?

(14) Yunus:
Qidúara + iyo + tétewo daro mésidao
not.yet yes all our(IN) people
óbau ewasu o Bapak + gerédidao ewái + qidúara.
beach these oh Mister work this.F.SG not.yet
Not yet, all our people (and) those from the beach, oh Sir, this work is not yet finished.

(15) Murray:
Are-aretere-wo + yang selain?
what-what-be.3.SG.F which other
And what about the other (work)?

(16) Yunus:
Kunsistori
consistory
The consistory.

(17) Murray:
Agó sibidaro méqaro?
but church house
But the church building?

(18) Yunus:
A suda + ya kunsistori + terus plafon +
ah already yes consistory next ceiling
terus mimbari mótéqGeritorau panggung + owóí-qi-are.
next pulpit pulpit pulpit that.F.SG-TOP-again
Ah, finished yes, the consistory and the ceiling and the pulpit also.

(19) Murray:
Agu-ówoge qái-de-ta-sa?
and-again follow-cross-go-FUT
And you want to go there again?

(20) Yunus:
Iyó rençana begitu tapi + ísido-wo nárído gerédidao ewái +
yes plan thus but empty-be.3.SG.F my work this.F
hanya karenba bu dia sendiri disana
just because older.brother he himself there
120 Appendix 2

mungkin kekurangan- kekurangan owóiwoq é-ra ne-géro-sa. # possibly shortage- shortage there 3SG-for 1SG.S-saw-FUT
Yes, that is the plan but my work must be finished, just because my older brother he is there on his own and maybe there are shortages, I am going to saw there for him.

(21) Murray:
Ebaro-wo?
close-be.3.SG.F
In the vicinity?

(22) Yunus:
Ebaro-wo!
close-be.3.SG.F
In the vicinity!

(23) Murray:
I-woi ao?
be-that.F wood
Is there wood?

(24) Yunus:
A naqirau ewái Bapak! + ma kuburan gáago +
ah Gerupa.tree this.1F Mister PAUSE graveyard side
tétewo éposiwi-wheebe + tiga orang empat orang fólo44 + iya. #
all straight-be (?) three person four person embrace yes

(25) Yunus:
Né-ta-re-re tiga hari é-ra re-go-re +
1SG-go-PAST-SEQ three day 3SG-for 1SG.S-saw-PAST
dua ratus enampuluh dua panggal +
two hundred sixty twopiece
e-ра isido nè-ge-re. #
3SG-for empty 1SG-do-PAST
There is Gerup wood, Mister, eh, besides the graveyard, all straight and three, four persons' embrace big; yes, I went there and in three days I sawed for him two hundred and sixty two pieces that I sawed completely.

(26) Murray:
Nó-go-rita madéi isido-wo. #
1SG-think-DUR already empty-be.3.SG.F
I thought it was already finished.

(27) Yunus:
Qidú-ara + tetéwo ai-éwasu máwago-wo. #
not-yet all skull-these big-be.3.SG.F
Not yet, they are all fools.

44 fólo 'embrace' from Malay peluk; the expression is used to indicate how big the Gerupa trees are, two or three men are needed to 'embrace' the tree.
3. The career of Mr Murray

On 19 September 1995, Dominggus Murray told me about his career. The result is the following first person narrative.

Text

(1) **Séra nê-qa-sa + nárîdo + nirá niro-go sówae-werawo +**
word 1SG-speak-FUT my day day-CIRC give.birth-NOM.F

**nari na-rêrî + Dominggus Murray + mâi wo niro**
I my-name-M Dominggus Murray now-at day

**me-siwae-re + nira-wai duabelas Desember tâu-go-wai**
3.S-give.birth-PAST day-this.F twelve December year-CIRC-this.F

**sembilanbelasduapuluhdelapan # Irorôwataro-wo. #**
1928 Inanwatan-in
I will tell you, the day of, the day I was born, my name is Dominggus Murray, now I was born on 12 December 1928, in Inanwatan.

(2) **Ná-qide-sai + nër-i-sai + Siriqare. #**
my-father-this.M. name-M-this.M Siriqare
My father’s name was Siriqare.

(3) **Sâa-we-ra-re + Simson Murray. #**
water-3S-do-PAST Simson Murray
He was baptised Simson Murray.

(4) **N-éqido-wai + Ewerido. #**
1SG-mother-this.F Ewerido
My mother’s name was Ewerido.
Appendix 2

(5) Sáa wé-ra-re + Elisabet Warigi.#
water 3.S-do-PAST Elisabet Warigi
She was baptised Elisabet Warigi.

(6) Máiwa + náwe síkora me-qegó-re + nira-wai
next me school 3.S-cause-PAST day-this.F
múteri April tâu-go-wai
one April year-CIRC-this.F
seribusebilanbelastigapuluhtujuh síkora né-qe-re.#
1937 school 1SG-do-PAST
Now they put me to school on 1 April in the year 1937.

(7) Síkora + sekolah rendah síkora kampong.#
school school elementary school village
The school was the elementary school, the village school.

(8) Máiwa + tâu-go-wai + seribusebilanbelasempatpuluhdua
next year-CIRC-this.F 1942
mulai pica-wé-ge-re + mí-ado-re +
Báradoro-ere Sidepao-ere.#
Netherlands-and Japan-and
But in the year 1942 the war between the Dutch and the Japanese broke out

(9) Máiwa + ní-deqúqwa + ná-qide-ere n-éqidoере
next our-parents my-father-and my-mother-and
mógo-wai + Besaró-gobó-ere45 Apaguro-ere.#
jungle-this.F Besam-river-and Apaguro-and
And my parents, my father and mother (stayed) in the jungle, on the Apaguro territory at the Besam river.

(10) Máiwa owóíwo-ge + atá-ata + síkora-wai búka-wé-ge-re
next there-TOP stay-stay school-this.F + open-3.S-do-PAST
sementara-go Mugúro-wo46 + máiwa-rári síkora-wo ré-qe-re +
temporary-CIRC Mugúro-in next-I school-in 1SG-do-PAST
Mugúro-wo + gurú-i-sai + Elias + Watimena + qeqido
Mugúro-in teacher-M-this.M Elias Watimena not
gire-y-áigo + áwoge pinda-ré-ge-re síkora-wai + Qódeqari-wai.#
long-TR-not again move-1SG-do-PAST school-this.F Odeqari-to
And those staying there opened a temporary school and I followed that school in Mugur, the teacher in Mugur was Elias Watimena, but after a short time I moved again to the school in Odeqari.

45 The Besam is a small stream watering into the Siganoi headwater. Apaguro and Besam are two adjacent gobó territories (see Map 6 in van Oosterhout 2002:173).
46 Mugur is a small stream watering into the Siganoi headwater.
(11) Maiwa グルーイ + Martin Marlisa おわいwo-け + グー-け
next 教師-M Martin Marlisa そこで TOP 1SG-する-PAST

 sikorao-wai いこ-れ-け + qeqido + ぜひ-やいわ
学校-これ.F 職業-1SG-する-PAST なら 長-Tr-なら

 awogé + ね-rowo-re Irorowatáro-wai-れ シデパオ-ガガ
again 1SG-来る.down-PAST イナワターン-これ.F-と 日本-ポセス

áibo-go ね-け-け Irorowatáro-wo ね-け-け
voice-CIRC 1SG-読-PAST イナワターン-in 1SG-読-PAST

gúru-i-sai+ シデパオ-ガガ グルーイ シンライ sei+ 教師-M-M.シデパオ-ガガ 名称-M

Nakamura nagó 父-接続 ね-ワレ-ワレ-セイ + ドクトー-ソ
Nakamura and 我的父亲 我の介護-NOM.M-M.シデパオ-M.名稱-M

neri-sai Nishimoto シデパオ-ガガ メシーダ-エ。#
name-M.Nishimoto 日本-ポセス 名人-M

And the teacher there was Martin Marlisa and I went to school but after a short
time I went down again to Inanwatan and I followed the school in the Japanese
language in Inanwatan, the teacher was a Japanese teacher named Nakamura and
my adoptive father was a doctor named Nishimoto, a Japanese man.

(12) Maiwa シコラオ qai-サ + たー-ゴ-ワ + シモンランセマンセマプルウヘナム +
next 学校- FOLLOW-follow 年-これ.F 1946

Bárádaro あが アメリカ-エ モー-ウセク-レ + マイワ
ネーション-M.アンド アメリカ-エ.nd 3.S-Many-PAST next

áwe-ウセクイ ni-れ-ケ エワイワ + ね-ウィ-デ オワゲ。#
leave-CAUS-ADV 1PLS-PL-DO-PAST next 1SG-する-PAST again
And I followed the school until the year 1946 when the Dutch and the Americans
were victorious and we left (the Japanese) and we ran again.

(13) Awoge ね-クバディ-デ エワイワ オワゲ シコラオ グー-け-サ +
again 1SG-返-PAST and again school 1SG-する-PAST

maiwa たー-ゴ-ワ + シモンランセマンセマプルウヘンチュユ +
next 年-これ.F 1947

baru + タマタ-れ-ケ シコラオ サンラハ。#
and 毕業-1SG-する-PAST 学校 小学
I returned again and followed school again and I graduated from the elementary
school in 1947.

(14) Awoge に-ウディデ-ウイ-サ + たー-ゴ-ワ シリブセンブルランスラムプルウル +
again 1SG.S-する.out-PAST 年-これ.F 1950

áwoge 京太-マス-レ-サ セー-リセイ + シコラオ
again 給与-1SG-する-PAST 我の名稱-M.SG 学校

qé-begewu SPK + いわげる サラガウ グー-サ LULU-サ-レ-サ +
do-to(SG) SPK 了然 result 1SG-する-PAST pass.exam-1SG-する-PAST
máiwa sikorao ré-ge-re mantri verpleger. #
next school 1SG-do-PAST health.worker health.worker
Again I ran away and in 1950 I registered my name to follow the SPK school, 
allright I passed the final exam and I went to the school for health worker.

(15) Máíwa íro-wutero-go né-ge-re + táu-go
next body-one-CIRC 1SG-do-PAST year-CIRC
sembilanbelaslimapuluh-woide + táu-go niwapulu-wo
1950-from year-CIRC fifty-in
né-ge-re éwáíwa + táamati-ré-ge-re
1SG-do-PAST and graduate-1SG-do-PAST
táu-go seribusembilanratusniwapuluniwa-go + diploma
year 1955-CIRC certificate
dan + mái-wo-ge kerédidau-ré-ge-re +
and this-in-TOP work-1SG-do-PAST
méqaro + óte-rita-saru-aga méqaro Irarowataro-wo +
house be.ill-HAB-NOM.PL-POSS house Inanwatan-in
táu-go-wai niwapulu-gara-wo awogé +
year-this.F fifty-six(?)-in again
sikorao-ré-ge-re awogé + laboratorium. #
school-1SG-do-PAST again laboratory
And I followed school continuously from 1950 until I graduated in 1955 and 
here in Inanwatan I worked in the hospital and in '56 I went again to school, 
the lab school.

(16) Máíwa + niwapulu-sebila-wai + pinda-ré-ge-re +
next fifty-nine-this.F move-1SG-do-PAST
póoli gi Kákubaridao47 owóíwo-ge + máiwa táu-go
clinic Kampong.Baru there-TOP next year-CIRC
seribusembilanratusgarapuluhdua-go + awóge pinda-ré-ge-re +
1962-CIRC again move-1SG-do-PAST
Irarowataro-wai mé-i-de + PGT-wáigo48
Inanwatan-from 3.S-descend-PAST PGT-because
níro-go ná-wai mó-owo-re
night-CIRC 1SG.O-to 3.S-go.upriver-PAST
né-rowo-re Irarówatáro-wai. #
1SG-come.down-PAST Inanwatan-to
In '59 I moved to the clinic in Kampong Baru and from there I moved again in 
1962 because they had descended from Inanwatan and moved upriver to me in 
the night because of the PGT and I came down to Inanwatan.

47 Kampong Baru is a village on the Kais river, see Maps.
48 PGT refers to Malay military infiltration units.
Now in the year 1969 they appointed me officially to become the head of the laboratory of the Inanwatan health centre.

In 1970 they appointed me again as head of the laboratory of the Inanwatan health centre. And I worked and in 1972 they appointed me again as head of the village.

I came back in 1974 and worked again in the hospital here in Inanwatan.
Next I worked in the lab until I retired with honour in 1984.

Máiwa + nígá wé-we-re áwoge +
next to.us 3.S-give-PAST again
qárowo-wai ne-wi-gí-wo nígá túro-birowu + táu-go
star-this.M my-breast.M-at to.us hang-in.order.to.PL year-CIRC
seribusbilanratusdelapanpuluhempat + tanggal duabelas December
1985 date 12 0 December
pemerintah Indonesia móo-tewe qéro-we-igo-rita nárído kerédíau
government Indonesia that-from ear-3.S-think-DUR my work
jasa baik. #
service good
And they gave me a medal to hang on my breast because on December 12, 1985 the Indonesian government had judged my service good.

Móo-tewe qéro-we-igo-re-re + ne-wígi-dawo
me-rá-wi-de + medalye + mútero + ere
3.S-1SG.O-give-PAST medal one and
méida-ra nاغuare. #
table-for one
They judged and gave me one medal for my breast and one to stand on the table.

Awoge méqaro någuare áwoge dinasi-dawo nágo-wo
again house one again service-POSS one-CONN
merá-wi-de buat nanti páakai-béqewu mó ré-re-sa. #
3.S-1SG.O-give-PAST for later use-in.order.to(PL) there 1SG-sleep-FUT
And they gave me also a house of the (health) service to live there in the future.

Máiwa terus áwoge + sekarang náwe ángka-wé-re +
and next again now me.O appoint-3.S-do-PAST
áwoge jádi tokoh masyarakat Desa Wadoi +
again become leader community Desa Wadoi
tígo sampai mo nór-uwu-ge. #
so until thus 1SG.S-sit-PAST
And they appointed me to become community leader of the Desa Wadoi which I still am.

Iwái-qa táu-go sembilanbelasbilanpuluhempat +
now-TOP year-CIRC 1994
In 1994 I worked together with the Dutchman Lourens de Vries during three months.

He went away and returned and he is here now and I work again with him this day, December 12th.

Part C: Text in local Malay of Inanwatan

The following fragment exemplifies the type of regional Malay spoken in Inanwatan, recorded and transcribed by the anthropologist Dianne van Oosterhout. The narrator is Bapak Magawe of the Solowat clan, around 70 years old. Told on January 7, 1996, it is a part of the story of the catching of the moon.

(1) Kalau menurut kita- dorang + waktu itu ada pulau-pulau. #
if according we-people (INC) time that be island-island
According to our people, there were islands at that time.

(2) Jadi kami punya nenek itu dia pi timbang udang +
so we(EXC) POSS grandmother that she go scoop shrimp
udang alus ini. #
shrimp delicate this
So our grandmother went to scoop out little shrimps.

(3) Dia timbang itu + dia bawa naik di kali itu. #
she scoop that she bring go.up at river that
She scooped them out and brougth them up river.

(4) Timbang-timbang +di kepala air dia naik + terus + dia lihat cahaya. #
scoop-scoop at head water she go.up next she see radiance.
She scooped and she went to the headwater of the river and she saw radiance.

(5) Eh + ini cahaya apa ini + di kayu itu besar +
Uh this radiance what this at tree that big
kayu Kira-kira + di a punya lobang disitu + lobang besar. tree Kirakira it POSS hole there hole big
Uh, what is this radiance, at that big tree, a Kirakira tree, with a big hole there in it.

(6) Dia + pigi + terang + terus ini dia kaget. #
she go light and this she startled
She went, there was a light and because of this she was startled.

(7) Dia kembali panggil tete dorang disana
she return call grandfather people there

eh kamu mari ikut. #
uh you come follow
She returned and called grandfather and the others there, uh, come and follow me.

(8) Ada apa yang di dalam lobang kayu itu + kita dong pigi.
be what that in inside hole tree that we(INC) people go
What is it that’s inside that hole in the tree? Let us go.
Appendix 3: Survey data of the languages of the Inanwatan district

This appendix presents survey data concerning the languages of the Inanwatan district. Since the Austronesian language Patipi, spoken in the Bomberai peninsula, has had a major role as contact-language in the Inanwatan district until Malay took over that role in the beginning of this century, I will also present Patipi data.

I found 8% lexical correspondence between Yahadian and Inanwatan (16 corresponding items in a list of 202 words) whereas I found 25% lexical correspondence between Inanwatan and Puragi (52 corresponding words in 199 items). Furthermore, Inanwatan shows many correspondences with Puragi in phonology and morphology whereas the Yahadian phonology and morphology are strikingly different from Inanwatan and Puragi. Since lexical correspondence percentages tend to turn out much higher in later research than revealed by initial surveys, the results of my survey shed doubt on a separate status of the Inanwatan family (Voorhoeve 1975; Berry & Berry 1987). Of course, further research is needed to establish Inanwatan as a member of the South-Bird’s Head family. I used the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Irian Jaya) 209 item survey list to collect lexical data.

Besides Inanwatan the following five languages are spoken in the Inanwatan district (kecamatan):

1. **Kokoda** (South Bird’s Head family), approx. 6000 speakers, villages: Migori, Kesueri, Tarof, Negeri Besar, Tambani, Udagaga.
2. **Puragi** (South Bird’s Head family), 1400 speakers, villages: Puragi, Saga, Isogo, Bedare.
3. **Benawa** (South Bird’s Head family), 800 (?), villages: Benawa I+II, Sumano, Atori.
4. **Kais** (South Bird’s Head family), 600 speakers, village: Kampong Baru on Kais river.
5. **Yahadian** (Konda-Yahadian family), 1150 speakers, villages: Mugim, Yahadian.

In this appendix I present data on Kokoda, Puragi, Yahadian and Benawa. Unfortunately, I have no data on Kais. See Map 2, Languages of the Bird’s Head, for the location of Inanwatan and its neighbouring languages.
Appendix 3

1 The Kokoda language

The date of the survey was 18 September 1995. The informants were Paulus Nagóra, born in Kasueri in 1959, Sekolah Dasar (elementary school) in Kasueri, SMP (Junior High School) in Fak-Fak; Dance Káó, born in Kasueri in 1968, Sekolah Dasar in Kasueri. Tomas Kerámu, born 1965 in Kasueri, with Sekolah Dasar education, Matius Nagóra, born 1954 in Kasueri, Sekolah Dasar. All informants spent most of their lives in Kasueri and speak the language daily and fluently. They gave information on their language in Inanwatan, the main village of the district which has a small Kokoda section. I worked for four hours with these men who were on their way to Sorong.

Kokoda is the name which is used throughout the Inanwatan district for the language spoken in the villages Kasueri (about 1000 speakers), Migori (500 speakers), Siwatori (500), Tarof (250), Negeri Besar (2000), Tambani (250), Udagaga (1000) and Nebes (number of speakers unknown). There seem to be two dialects: the Kasueri dialect (Kasueri, Migori, Siwatori) and the Nebes dialect (Tarof, Negeri Besar, Tambani, Udagaga, Nebes).

The Kokoda language is much more alive than the Inanwatan language. Whereas Indonesian is often used by the Inanwatan people when they are among themselves, Kokoda speakers use Indonesian only for contact with outsiders. The Kokoda are divided into protestant and islam communities. The name Kokoda seems to mean 'flooded land'. Big parts of the Kokoda area are flooded most of the year. The houses, built on stelts in the water, are interconnected with a kind of bridges.

1.1 Kokoda phone inventory

Consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveolo-palatal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td>γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrants</td>
<td>r r</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sounds [b] and [β], [d] and [r/r] and [g] and [γ] have been found to vary between vowels.

Vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-close</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-open</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no CC clusters no word-final C in the data.
1.2 Kokoda word list

<p>| | | | | |</p>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>wa'kawa</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hair (on head)</td>
<td>wa'tunu</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>slippery</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td>e'kera</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>neck</td>
<td>e'tata</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>e'tad</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>e'recinu</td>
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<td>eye</td>
<td>e'mago</td>
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<td>nose</td>
<td>e'jara</td>
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<td>hand</td>
<td>o'bora</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>dirty</td>
<td>kaka'pirumco</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>earth; clay</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>hair (on body)</td>
<td>ka'raumu</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>dust</td>
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<td>elbow</td>
<td>me'tugeu</td>
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<td>finger</td>
<td>ko'kago</td>
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<td>nail</td>
<td>me'kepe</td>
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<td>a'kai</td>
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<td>'wa'juki</td>
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<td>cloud</td>
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<td>fat (body)</td>
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<td>rain</td>
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<td>bone</td>
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<td>(breast) milk</td>
<td>di'ku</td>
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<td>a'niabar</td>
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<td>ill</td>
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<td>ki'rito</td>
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<td>'mø'gija</td>
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<td>rope/rattan</td>
<td>'ka'ñepera</td>
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<td>to bind</td>
<td>'wøtøi</td>
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<td>'kaßimpan</td>
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<td>fly (n)</td>
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<td>different</td>
<td>'na'amø</td>
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<td>to bite</td>
<td>'ka'tia</td>
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<td>tail</td>
<td>'e'ruka ja</td>
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<td>leech</td>
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<td>'køø</td>
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<tr>
<td>120.</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>'ta'bai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>121.</td>
<td>to shoot (arrow)</td>
<td>'pa'rab</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>122.</td>
<td>worm</td>
<td>'si'neketa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>123.</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>'tameridi</td>
<td></td>
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<td>124.</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>'ekaboja</td>
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<tr>
<td>125.</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>'icikia</td>
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<tr>
<td>126.</td>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>'kønac'ia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mnemonic</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>127.</td>
<td>full</td>
<td>'itøøja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128.</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>'kenia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129.</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>'boçia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130.</td>
<td>old</td>
<td>'to'øjøja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131.</td>
<td>roof</td>
<td>'ciraumø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132.</td>
<td>in front</td>
<td>me'toraga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133.</td>
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<tr>
<td>134.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>135.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>136.</td>
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<td>me'tunia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137.</td>
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<td>'dedorae</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>140.</td>
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<tr>
<td>141.</td>
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<td>'nigeja</td>
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<tr>
<td>143.</td>
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<tr>
<td>144.</td>
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<td>'rawaomø</td>
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<td>mother</td>
<td>'øjo</td>
</tr>
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<td>149.</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>'ñi'biša/akota</td>
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<tr>
<td>150.</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>151.</td>
<td>you (SG)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>we (INCL)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>153.</td>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>'i'kerø (he)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154.</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>'nìkoømø</td>
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<tr>
<td>155.</td>
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<td>'i'manara</td>
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<td>'nanajø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158.</td>
<td>to come</td>
<td>'møø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159.</td>
<td>to walk</td>
<td>'bøata</td>
</tr>
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<td>160.</td>
<td>to turn around</td>
<td>'tøepø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161.</td>
<td>to know</td>
<td>na'ba'radøø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162.</td>
<td>to hear</td>
<td>'tøsøøase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163.</td>
<td>to see</td>
<td>'øtaøase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164.</td>
<td>to look for</td>
<td>'ka'tøi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165.</td>
<td>to speak</td>
<td>'ñenipe</td>
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<td>166.</td>
<td>true</td>
<td>'tøcia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167.</td>
<td>to drink</td>
<td>'øøpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168.</td>
<td>to smoke</td>
<td>'øi'øøe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169.</td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td>'nißøe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Survey data of the languages of the Inanwatan district

1.3 Percentages of possible lexical correspondences

Kokoda-Inanwatan: 41 correspondences 202 items (20%)
Kokoda-I sogo dialect of Puragi: 61 correspondences in 170 items (35%)
Kokoda-Puragi dialect of Puragi: 52 correspondences in 198 items (26%)
Kokoda-Mugim: 7 correspondences in 199 items (4%)

1.4 Patipi loans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kokoda</th>
<th>Patipi (Kokas dialect)</th>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tr>
<td>mitua</td>
<td>bitun</td>
<td>tombak</td>
<td>spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wákiwákisi</td>
<td>wakiswakis</td>
<td>acun</td>
<td>harpoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóte</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>kain (sarong)</td>
<td>cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>momóga</td>
<td>momóga</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td>gong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pátau</td>
<td>pása</td>
<td>beras</td>
<td>rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokóko</td>
<td>kokó</td>
<td>ayam</td>
<td>chicken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.5 Morphological data

1.5.1 Gender

A masculine-feminine gender distinction is a pervasive feature of Kokoda morphology affecting 3SG verb forms, adjectives, demonstratives, pronouns and nouns. The gender system resembles the Inanwatan system very closely, with back vowels associated with the feminine gender and front vowels with the masculine gender. Examples:

1.5.2 Nouns

In nouns, number and gender are distinguished. Apart from a class of mostly animate nouns in which gender has a semantic basis (see examples (1), (2), (5), (6)), the Kokoda gender system seems to be a phonological one, with nouns in /e/ or /ʊ/ masculine and nouns ending in /a/, /o/ and /u/ feminine.

Just as in Inanwatan, masculine nouns seem to take the feminine form in the plural and feminine nouns remain unchanged in the plural:
1.5.3 Personal pronouns

Gender, grammatical function and number are distinguished in personal pronouns:

(14) 1SG subject  nêiyâ
     1SG object  nàmé
     2SG       âiyâ
     3SG.M     nigéra
     3SG.F     nigómo
     1PL subject nigâra/nîyi
     1PL object nàmé
     2PL       ìya
     3PL       nigáumo

There are the following possessive pronominal forms in the data:

(15) nêri-kênija
     my-house
     âdi-kênija
     your(SG)-house
     níge-kênija
     his-house
     nígo-kênija
     her-house

1.5.4 Verbs

The verbs in the survey consist of a stem followed by a tense/mood slot and a person/number slot. Sometimes it is possible to distinguish separate person and number slots. The Future paradigm distinguishes gender in the third person singular forms.

(16) Ojâre údi-ja ni-da-ßâ.
     yesterday banana-M eat-PAST-1SG
     Yesterday I ate a banana.

(17) Tabâkomo pie-ra-ßâ.
     tobacco smoke-PAST-1SG
     I smoked tobacco.
The Past suffix -\textit{da} in (16) occurs after verb stems ending in \textit{\textit{i}i}, elsewhere (as in (17)) the Past suffix is -\textit{ra}. (Compare \textit{Inanwatan} Past suffix -\textit{re} with its allomorph -\textit{de} after i-stems.) Past paradigm with \textit{notúa-} ‘to go’, in which -\textit{i} seems to mark plurality:

(18) | SG 1  | notúa-\textit{ra}-\textit{ba} |
    | 2    | notúa-\textit{ra}-\textit{be} |
    | 3    | notúa-\textit{ja} |

| PL 1  | notúa-\textit{ra}-\textit{ban}-\textit{i} |
    | 2    | notúa-\textit{ra}-\textit{be}-\textit{i} |
    | 3    | notúa-\textit{ra}-\textit{ja}-\textit{i} |

Past paradigm with a verb stem ending in \textit{\textit{i}i}, \textit{ni-} ‘to eat’:

(19) | SG 1  | \textit{\textit{n}i}-\textit{da}-\textit{\textit{ba}} |
    | 2    | \textit{\textit{n}i}-\textit{da}-\textit{\textit{be}} |
    | 3    | \textit{n}i-\textit{na} |

| PL 1EX | \textit{\textit{n}i}-\textit{da}-\textit{\textit{ban}}-\textit{\textit{i}} |
    | 1IN(?) | \textit{\textit{n}i}-\textit{da}-\textit{\textit{b}a}-\textit{mu} |
    | 2    | \textit{\textit{n}i}-\textit{\textit{d}a}-\textit{\textit{be}}-\textit{\textit{i}} |
    | 3    | \textit{n}i-\textit{na}-\textit{i} |

The Future marker is -\textit{\textit{\beta}a}. There seems to be a masculine/feminine distinction in the third person singular forms and an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural Future forms. The Future paradigm of \textit{notúa-} ‘to go’:

(20) | SG 1  | notúa-\textit{\textit{\beta}a}-\textit{ena} ‘I shall go/I want to go’ |
    | 2    | notúa-\textit{\textit{\beta}e} |
    | 3M   | notúa-\textit{\textit{\beta}a}-\textit{nie} |
    | 3F   | notúa-\textit{\textit{\beta}a}-\textit{nuo} |

| PL 1EX | notúa-\textit{\textit{\beta}a}-\textit{\textit{d}ona} |
    | 1IN/2PL | notúa-\textit{\textit{\beta}a}-\textit{\textit{d}ora} |
    | 3    | notúa-\textit{\textit{\beta}a}-\textit{\textit{do}} |

The imperative marker is -\textit{\textit{\beta}e}. In the imperative plural the plural suffix -\textit{i} (compare (18) and (19)) is added. The negative imperative is based on the future forms and the negative adverb \textit{\textit{\delta}tukara}:

(21) \textit{\textit{\textbf{T}abákomo pié-\textit{\textit{\beta}e}.}}
    tobacco smoke-IMP.SG
    You must smoke!

(22) \textit{\textit{\textbf{T}abákomo pié-\textit{\textit{\beta}e}-\textit{i}.}}
    tobacco smoke-IMP-PL
    You(PL) must smoke!

(23) \textit{\textit{\textbf{N}ámé tō\textit{\textit{\beta}o-\textit{\beta}e}.}}
    me(O) listen-IMP.SG
    Listen to me!
2 Puragi

The Puragi language is spoken in the villages Puragi (600 speakers), Saga (300) and Bedare (250) on the Metamani river, and in the coastal village Isogo (250). The Puragi people call their language iwáro. The Puragi language is classified a member of the South Bird's Head family (Voorhoeve 1975). I visited Puragi village on 26 and 27 September 1995. Main informants: Tomas Watarai, born 1948 in Puragi, Sekolah Dasar Puragi, JVVS (Jongens Vervolg School); Kristian Manetuni, born in 1942 in Puragi, Sekolah Dasar Puragi; Wilhelmus Manas, born 1945, Sekolah Dasar Puragi.

2.1 Phone inventory

Consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosives</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveolo-Palatal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ß</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
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<td>Vibrants</td>
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<tr>
<td>Semi-Vowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
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</table>

Vowels:

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<th>Back</th>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-close</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-open</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

There are no CC clusters nor final C in the data.

2.2 Word list (Puragi dialect)

I have taken word lists from Puragi, Bedare and Isogo. Bedare and Isogo generally correspond and contrast with the Puragi dialect. Some correspondences: medial voiced plosives have prenasalization in Bedare/Isogo but not in Puragi; and Puragi [d] is [dʒ] in Bedare/Isogo.
1. head na'kɔibi
2. hair (on head) na'pəlainu
3. ear na'ɛrawu
4. neck na'bumana
5. mouth ne'anu
6. tooth nama'nu
7. tongue ne'ʔani
8. eye na'magu
9. nose na'miobia
10. hand ne'bəru
11. dirty kakapiri
12. hair (on body) nedinaka'rara
13. elbow ne'bu'rutobi
14. finger ne'bu'rug'i'arıu
15. nail ne'ge'cianu
16. skin ne'din/atai
17. flesh 'amu'bi
18. fat (body) 'gewa
19. bone ko'toma
20. (breast) milk 'dido
21. belly 'eɓi
22. back 'bɔaku
23. blood a'pa'a
24. heart bi'jauri
25. liver 'aubo
26. foot ne'ʔoru
27. swollen bi'jaraparu
28. ill ba'ta'ranu
29. water a'dɔna
30. lake 'maraganu
31. river 'owedi
32. to flow
33. sand mi'ɔni
34. wet rupi
35. sea tu'anc
36. salt 'mu'eđoño
37. fire ka'di'ba
38. to grill (food) 'eije
39. ashes bo'ani
40. smoke ku'kubi
41. stone beʔəni
42. heavy 'rabəranu
43. slippery wo'teteanu
44. one mo'ɔ̃anada
45. two ou'ge
46. three 'arwe
47. four 'ouge'ouge
48. five nebo'raida
49. many 'muru
50. little ke'keʔu
51. all ke'epumu
52. earth; clay bo'dona
53. dust bi'bi'ɔ
54. road a'omi
55. narrow ge'nanı
56. wide mako
57. mountain pe'tu
58. cloud ma'nino
59. rain pa'ra'to
60. sky ma'nino
61. fog ta'panu
62. wind a'mepuri/a'mepuru (big)
63. hot 'kakeri
64. cold ro'ʃɔu
65. thunder 'gurweranu
66. lightning i'bo'cianeri
67. stick ma'kerer/ko'di
68. straight ke'kebi
69. thick a'mu'wu
70. thin reregi/re'eʔi
71. sharp a'gewu
72. blunt to'pi'ʔi
73. sun e'gedi
74. day be'ranu
75. night 'muareni
76. moon mani'nagu
77. star ma'beni
78. banana a'mimi
79. garden 'auro
80. grass giwoni
81. dry ka'kere
82. to cut ta'rafe
83. tree/wood e'mini
84. to split ka'bebe
85. with
86. branch meʔaga
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Inanwatan</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Inanwatan</th>
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<tr>
<td>87.</td>
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<td>thorn</td>
<td>'o'bera</td>
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<td>u'guni</td>
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<td>rotten</td>
<td>mi'au</td>
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<td>92.</td>
<td>to stink</td>
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<td>to bind</td>
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<td>ke'oni</td>
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<td>mumu'ri</td>
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<td>green</td>
<td>'manageoc</td>
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<td>101.</td>
<td>bird</td>
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<td>egg</td>
<td>wu'ku</td>
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<td>wing</td>
<td>med'ra</td>
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<td>wife</td>
</tr>
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<td>104.</td>
<td>to fly</td>
<td>'berabai</td>
<td>147.</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
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<td>105.</td>
<td>cassowary</td>
<td>i'ro</td>
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<td>mother</td>
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<td>fly (n)</td>
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<td>he/she</td>
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<td>'goi'a</td>
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<td>they</td>
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<td>who</td>
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<td>same</td>
<td>mo'cunu</td>
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<td>a'geanc</td>
<td>158.</td>
<td>to come</td>
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<td>tail</td>
<td>re'wai</td>
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<td>fish</td>
<td>bi'be'a</td>
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<td>leech</td>
<td>'jondaco</td>
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<td>house</td>
<td>'kano</td>
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<td>pig</td>
<td>bu'oni</td>
<td>163.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>to shoot (arrow)</td>
<td>paebe</td>
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<td>snake</td>
<td>worm a're'ini</td>
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<td>long</td>
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<td>to hit</td>
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</table>
Appendix 3

173. to pierce  'keraɓe/'auraɓe
174. to kill  koɓe/taupeɓe
175. dead  tauanepo
176. to live  to'morani
177. to scratch  'wouge
178. to sit  a'muge
179. to stand  i'deɓe
180. not  e?iwo
181. to bathe  'wapaɓe
182. to fall  'abuɓe
183. to lie  'rairariaɓe (?)
184. to sleep  'inaɓe
185. to dream  'ini naru
186. to hold  gi'naɓe
187. to give  'meigę
188. to blow  'wepaɓe
189. to breath  i'mumui ga'ranę
190. to cough  pa'pauparę
191. to count  ra'hapuɓe
192. to dig  a'ɓeɓe
193. afraid  igawa(ra)
194. ashamed  ari'ase
195. to cry  'kaurane
196. to sing  o'ɓeną kairabai
197. to play  'dirabae
198. to push  mi'asę
199. to pull  'bi'ę
200. to brush  pi'poɓe
201. to wipe  ọ'ıge
202. to wash  ọ'kaɓe
203. to sew
204. to throw  'reiɓe/'auraɓe
205. six  nebo'raida 'mẹężnada
206. seven  nebo'raida ou'ge
207. eight  nebo'raida arwe
208. nine  nebo'raida ou'ge ou'ge
209. ten  nebo'raida ne'bo'ru

2.3 Lexical correspondence percentages

Puragi-Kokoda (Kasueri): 52 correspondences in 198 items = 26%
Puragi-Mugim: 6 correspondences in 203 items = 3%
Puragi-Inanwatan: 52 correspondences in 199 items = 25%

2.4 Patipi loans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Puragi</th>
<th>Patipi</th>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nɔtę</td>
<td>nɔt</td>
<td>kain</td>
<td>cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɔraŋı</td>
<td>sɔsaŋa</td>
<td>kelawai</td>
<td>forked spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔai</td>
<td>nek</td>
<td>kambing</td>
<td>goat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5 Morphological data

2.5.1 Personal pronouns

(25)  neʔi you (SG)
     eʔi     he
     nide    she
     nido    we
     eʔemu/idi you (PL)
     nidao   they
The personal pronouns are also used as possessive pronouns (26), except with bodyparts and kinship nouns where possessive prefixes were found for 1SG, 1PL and 2SG forms (27) but personal pronouns in the other forms (28):

(26)  
ne?i  éino
my    house

nido  éino
her    house

(27)  
na-warada  my younger sibling
na-ko?i?i  my head
a-ko?i?i   your(SG) head
nida-ko?i?o  our heads

(28)  
nide-ko?i?i  his head
nido-ko?i?o  her head
ididi-ko?i?i  your (PL) heads
nidao-ko?i?i  their heads

2.5.2 Gender

As in Inanwatan and Kokoda, gender pervades the grammar of Puragi affecting nouns, demonstratives, adjectives and verbs and the system works along the same lines. Again, front vowels are associated with masculine and non-front vowels with feminine gender:

(29)  
house this.F/that.F good-F
This/that house is good.

(30)  
Rabíni  dáw?a nasi-to.
man that.M good-M
That man is good.

(31)  
Ráwo  dáw?a nasi-ómo.
woman that.F good-F
That woman is attractive.

(32)  
Mo-βá-mai.
come-FUT-3SG.M
He will come.

(33)  
Mo-βá-mao.
come-FUT-3SG.F
She will come.

Whereas in Kokoda and Inanwatan gender has a semantic basis in animate nouns only (male versus female referents), in Puragi (as in Tehit, Flassy 1991) the vowel opposition front versus non-front is used in animate nouns to distinguish male from female referents (30/31) and in (at least some) inanimate nouns to distinguish small from big referents, (34/35):
Appendix 3

(34) amépurī wind
      amépurō strong wind

(35) beqóni stone
      beqóno big stone

Nouns distinguish number, with the plural expressed by /u/ replacing the stem final vowel of the singular. A number of nouns have irregular plurals:

(36) éino house
      éinumu many houses

(37) róga male dog
      rógo female dog
      roroqa dogs

(38) rabíni moqóñada one man
      ráwo moqóñado one woman
      rabínu arwé many people

2.5.3 Verbs

Puragi verbs consist of a verb stem followed by a tense or mood marker and a person/number/(gender) slot. The Past marker is -ra with -da after i-stems (cf. Kokoda and Inanwatan cognate Past markers with their allophones). Gender (M/F) is expressed in 3SG forms. The person-number markers of Past and Present are the same.

(39) Past paradigm of ni- 'to eat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ni-dá-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ni-dá-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.M</td>
<td>ni-dá-nedo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.F</td>
<td>ni-dá-nomo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ni-dá-ninio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ni-dá-duro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ni-dá-numo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Present forms are also used for events occurring before utterance time on the same day (compare Inanwatan Present forms). The Present is marked by -a. The paradigm of ni- 'to eat':

(40) | Person  | Form       |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-dero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.M</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-nedo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.F</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-numo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-ninio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-duro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-numo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Future tense is marked by -ba (-ra with first person forms). The paradigm of mo- 'to come':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-dero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.M</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-nedo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.F</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-numo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-ninio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-duro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ni-ʔa-numo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Survey data of the languages of the Inanwatan district

The imperative corresponds to the 2SG future form:

(41) 1SG mo-rá-?o
2SG má-βe
3SG.M mo-βá-ma-i
3SG.F mo-βá-ma-o
1PL mo-ra-βa-ni-?o
2PL mo-βá-ma-o-ro
3PL mo-βá-ma-o-mo

(42) tará-βe cut!
kafá-βe pound!
má-βe come!

The negative adverb aβéra precedes the imperative form in negative contexts:

(43) Aβéra nidá-βe.
donot eat-IMP
Don't eat!

3 The Yahadian language

Yahadian, of the Konda-Yahadian family, spoken in the villages Mugim, Yahadian and (parts of) Kais, is the western neighbour of the Inanwatan language. Konda, spoken in the villages Konda and Sisir in the Teminabuan subdistrict, and Yahadian seem to be dialects of the Konda-Yahadian language. Speakers of the Mugim-Yahadian variety claimed that they could easily understand Konda speakers. They claimed also that they could not understand Tehit, and that they hardly understood Puragi and the language of Makororo, a village on the Kais river where a dialect of May Brat is spoken (Dol 1999).

The village of Mugim, situated on the Metamani river close to its mouth, has around 750 inhabitants and Yahadian, on the Kais river, around 400. I visited Mugim on 26 and 27 September 1995. Many informants helped me there. Two main informants were Yunus Mebüto (born in Mugim, 1926) and Doroteis Reráte (born in Mugim, 1923), both with elementary and junior high school education.

The data on the variety spoken in the village Yahadian I obtained in Inanwatan in October 1995 from the mantri Nataniel Regói, born in 1944 in Yahadian and with elementary school plus junior high school education. All data given here are from Mugim. According to the Mugim people, Yahadian is the younger brother village and Mugim the older brother village.
### 3.1 Phone inventory

**Consonants:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosives</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveolo-Palatal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vowels:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-close</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-open</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yahadian allows CC clusters and at least some word-final C (whereas Kokoda, Inanwatan and Puragi do not allow them):

(44) CC clusters with [rC] or [Cr]:

- 'merge: rotten
- ba'brite: evening
- pru'e: to bite
- umrei: to pierce

(45) CC clusters with [Nt]:

- h:Jmanta: to sing
- edamta: to play

Nasals and vibrants were found word-finally:

(46) 'detrun: bone
- di'gir: skin

### 3.2 Yahadian word list (Mugim dialect)

1. head de'βehè
2. hair (on head) de'βehëwer
3. ear 'depe
4. neck de'hôi
5. mouth de'pa
6. tooth di'nam
7. tongue 'derônam
8. eye di:
9. nose 'dïngu
10. hand de're
11. dirty baginôge
12. hair (on body) di'guhu
13. elbow de'retucu
14. finger de'rede dehù
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>nail</td>
<td>dere'hui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>skin</td>
<td>di'gir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>flesh</td>
<td>de'nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>fat (body)</td>
<td>a'mer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>bone</td>
<td>'detrun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>(breast) milk</td>
<td>hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>belly</td>
<td>de'tor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>back</td>
<td>de'rɔhabrutun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td>di'girɔsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>'demenagar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>liver</td>
<td>da'rɔmegin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>de'be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>swollen</td>
<td>ba</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>ill</td>
<td>'digige</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>he'de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>lake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>to flow</td>
<td></td>
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<td>ja</td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
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<td>'hubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>salt</td>
<td>'buahro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>'cua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>to grill (food)</td>
<td>cu'puni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>ashes</td>
<td>te'pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>smoke</td>
<td>cu'ameha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>'pace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>bo'rete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>slippery</td>
<td>xi'xirɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>mu'cu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
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<td>'irege</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>three</td>
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</tr>
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<td>five</td>
<td>de'rɛbiamu'cu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>nɔge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>little</td>
<td>nɔgo'hie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>'dimitaige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>earth; clay</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>dust</td>
<td>ta'ginaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
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<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>wind</td>
<td>ru'a</td>
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<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>hot</td>
<td>hu'PUTE</td>
</tr>
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<td>star</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td>'hungunon</td>
</tr>
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<td>79</td>
<td>garden</td>
<td>ta'tarɔ</td>
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<td>grass</td>
<td>'pehegiŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>dry</td>
<td>hu'ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>to cut</td>
<td>ta'gorani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>tree/wood</td>
<td>ɔi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>to split</td>
<td>'tairia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>with</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>branch</td>
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<tr>
<td>87</td>
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<td>ɔr</td>
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<td>thorn</td>
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<tr>
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<td>seed</td>
<td>bur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>rotten</td>
<td>'merge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>to stink</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>jungle</td>
<td>ɔŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>rope/rattan</td>
<td>ɔ'ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>to bind</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>a'bɔgɔge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>'mejuane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>pu'ane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>yellow</td>
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<tr>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>101.</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
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<td>102.</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103.</td>
<td>wing</td>
<td>'gia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104.</td>
<td>to fly</td>
<td>bu'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105.</td>
<td>cassowary</td>
<td>kaha'war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106.</td>
<td>fly (N)</td>
<td>pu'cu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107.</td>
<td>mosquito</td>
<td>ni'no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108.</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>'jia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109.</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>'nage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110.</td>
<td>little</td>
<td>'abuge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111.</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112.</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113.</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>'umade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114.</td>
<td>different</td>
<td>'gitge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115.</td>
<td>to bite</td>
<td>pru'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116.</td>
<td>tail</td>
<td>ro'ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117.</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>ba'no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118.</td>
<td>leech</td>
<td>'briti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119.</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120.</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>'momol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121.</td>
<td>to shoot (arrow)</td>
<td>'tene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122.</td>
<td>worm</td>
<td>'tameni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>snake</td>
<td>wahu'ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124.</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>ro'paime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125.</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>tepe</td>
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<tr>
<td>126.</td>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>'katu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127.</td>
<td>full</td>
<td>ci'ce/cce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128.</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129.</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>d3i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130.</td>
<td>old</td>
<td>ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131.</td>
<td>roof</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132.</td>
<td>front (house)</td>
<td>(o)pur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133.</td>
<td>outside (house)</td>
<td>(o)hi'oi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134.</td>
<td>inside (house)</td>
<td>(o)mur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135.</td>
<td>in</td>
<td></td>
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<td>136.</td>
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<td>de'requa</td>
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<tr>
<td>137.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>140.</td>
<td>person</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>141.</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>ho'bore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142.</td>
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<td>gi'ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143.</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>rua'li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144.</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>βa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145.</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>'murete/note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146.</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>βa'meta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147.</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>dei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148.</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>mam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149.</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>pra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151.</td>
<td>you (SG)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152.</td>
<td>we (INCL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153.</td>
<td>he/she</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154.</td>
<td>they</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155.</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>ε'meago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156.</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>'nua(ga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157.</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>ru'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158.</td>
<td>to come</td>
<td>'amo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159.</td>
<td>to walk</td>
<td>'mane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160.</td>
<td>to turn</td>
<td>'ubaitenta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161.</td>
<td>to know</td>
<td>cie/cce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162.</td>
<td>to hear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163.</td>
<td>to see</td>
<td>'cahane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164.</td>
<td>to look for</td>
<td>bati'terta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165.</td>
<td>to speak</td>
<td>'pahamenta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166.</td>
<td>true</td>
<td>s' bore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167.</td>
<td>to drink</td>
<td>'nome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168.</td>
<td>to smoke</td>
<td>'hopota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169.</td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td>'nome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170.</td>
<td>to spit</td>
<td>'depahur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171.</td>
<td>nausea</td>
<td>ruawententa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172.</td>
<td>to hit</td>
<td>'to'bre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173.</td>
<td>to pierce</td>
<td>'umrei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174.</td>
<td>to kill</td>
<td>'o(me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175.</td>
<td>dead</td>
<td>d3u'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176.</td>
<td>to live</td>
<td>bri'tain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177.</td>
<td>to scratch</td>
<td>'riheta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178.</td>
<td>to sit</td>
<td>'nade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179.</td>
<td>to stand</td>
<td>'nende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180.</td>
<td>not (IMP)</td>
<td>'bahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181.</td>
<td>to bathe</td>
<td>cu'ame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182.</td>
<td>to fall</td>
<td>'nure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183.</td>
<td>to lie</td>
<td>'nairue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184.</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
<td>'nairue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185.</td>
<td>to dream</td>
<td>ure'hE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 186. | to hold | 'mure
Survey data of the languages of the Inanwatan district

187. to give 'tenuε 199. to pull bri'aingenta
188. to blow 'ciwɔ 200. to brush 'pananta
189. to breath hehεtα 201. to wipe 'dijere
190. to cough 'dɔhɛta 202. to wash hu'buvarε
191. to count 'bangihɛta 203. to sew
192. to dig hrita 204. to throw u'wahε
193. afraid he'berdɛ 205. six 'denam 'mucu
194. ashamed igigimaiε 206. seven de'nam 'irege
195. to cry ci'bita 207. eight de'nam 'berege
196. to sing ho'amanta 208. nine de'nam 'deheriyi
197. to play c'damta 209. ten de'rebirehe
198. to push uru'ahore

3.3 Percentages of lexical correspondences

Mugim-Inanwatan: 16 correspondences 212 items (8%)
Mugim-Puragi dialect of Puragi: 6 correspondences in 203 items (3%)
Mugim-Kokoda: 7 correspondences in 199 items (4%)

3.4 Patipi loans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mugim</th>
<th>Patipi (Kokas dialect)</th>
<th>(local) Malay</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uróroi</td>
<td>wároroi</td>
<td>urip</td>
<td>red parrot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raar-noti</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>kain (sarong)</td>
<td>sarong cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gahu</td>
<td>guci</td>
<td>guci</td>
<td>earthenware vessel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néki</td>
<td>nek</td>
<td>kambing</td>
<td>goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokóro</td>
<td>koko</td>
<td>ayam</td>
<td>chicken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5 Morphological data

3.5.1 Personal pronouns

(47) 1SG né(nigi)
2SG é(rigi)
3SG mí(gigi)
1PL ná(gigi)
2PL ádigí/adigí
3PL míginaiğí

The Yahadian informant also gave wo for both the 3SG and the 3PL personal pronouns. This is a distal demonstrative 'that/those' used as personal pronoun.
### 3.5.2 Possessive pronouns

(48)  
1SG  néné
2SG  ére
3SG  migéne
1PL  na/nam
2PL  ádi
3PL  migina

One set of possessive pronouns seems to be in use for all nouns, whether kinship terms, bodypart nouns or other nouns:

(49)  
néné pra
my child

(50)  
néné o
my house

(51)  
ére pra
your (SG) child

(52)  
migéne o
his house

(53)  
na o
our house

(54)  
nam pra
our child

### 3.5.3 Verbs

The verbs in the elicited data consist of a verb stem (sometimes with suppletive plural stems), followed by a tense/mood suffix. In sentences elicited with ápeme ‘yesterday’ these forms occur:

(55)  
*man*- (PL stem *ray*) ‘to go’ (data from the dialect spoken in the village Yahadian)

Me ápeme mán-e.
yesterday go-PAST

E ápeme mán-e.
you(SG) yesterday go-PAST

Wo ápeme mán-e.
he/she yesterday go-PAST

Na ápeme ráy-e.
we yesterday go.PL-PAST

A ápeme ráy-e.
you(PL) yesterday go.PL-PAST

Miginaigi ápeme ráy-e.
they yesterday go.PL-PAST
In sentences elicited with *mopána* 'tomorrow' these forms occur:

(56) Ne/e/wo mopána man-omega.
    I/you/he/she tomorrow go-FUT

    Na/a/wo mopána ray-omega.
    we/you/they tomorrow go.PL-FUT

In negative sentences with *ápeme* 'yesterday' these forms occur:

(57) Ne/e/wo ápeme man-ohté.
    I/you/he/she yesterday go-NEG

    Na/a/néginaigí ápeme ray-ohié.
    we/you/they yesterday go.PL-NEG

In response to the Malay stimulus *'saya ada jalan'* ('I am going'), these forms were given:

(58) Ne/e/woha man-ta.
    I/you/he/she OUR go-PRES

    Na/a/wo ha ray-ta.
    we/you/they OUR go.PL-PRES

From the Mugim dialect these forms are in the data.

(59) Rey-ogaga!
    go.PL-NEG.IMP
    Do not go!

(60) A-rey-ome!
    ADH-go.PL-FUT
    Let us go.

(61) Ne/na momó ginan nó-me.
    I/we pig meat eat-FUT
    I want to eat pig meat.

3.5.4 Nouns

There seems to be no gender in nouns (nor in demonstratives and adjectives), see (70/71); plural forms are only found with kinship nouns, (69). Data from the Mugim dialect:

(62) o  house
(63) néne o  my house
(64) o nuáne  many houses
(65) dʒi gi  person
(66) dʒi gi múcigeine  one person
(67) dʒi gi óriege  two persons
(68) dʒi gi nuáne  many persons

Kinship nouns in the data have plurals formed by adding *
-0* to the noun stem:
(69)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gey</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geyó</td>
<td>fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mam</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamó</td>
<td>mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayo</td>
<td>uncles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káka</td>
<td>aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakáo</td>
<td>aunts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bor</td>
<td>nephew(MB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boró</td>
<td>nephews</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(70)  
Orame ye nanáigine.
This man is bad.

(71)  
Wa ye nanáigine.
This woman is bad.

4 Patipi word list (Kokas dialect)

The informants were the Kepala Desa Kokas (name and age unknown), Abdul Mutalip (born 1965), anonymous informants loading the Buginese ship that took me from Inanwatan to Kokas and back. Date 29/30 September 1995, place: Kokas (Kab. Fak-Fak). When Malay words were given, they appear bracketed.

<p>| 1. head | nen | 21. belly | bi'tuan |
| 2. hair (on head) | nu'kaki | 22. back | ta'wana |
| 3. ear | ta'nigan | 23. blood | 'rara |
| 4. neck | 'gurar | 24. heart | (jantung) |
| 5. mouth | 'suman | 25. liver | 'jatan |
| 6. tooth | 'ni'san | 26. foot | 'phanen |
| 7. tongue | 'kerer | 27. swollen |
| 8. eye | bati'baten | 28. ill | |
| 9. nose | ipir/idum | 29. water | wer |
| 10. hand | 'niman | 30. lake |
| 11. dirty | (kotor) | 31. river | 'irinana |
| 12. hair (on body) | bukin | 32. to flow |
| 13. elbow | | 33. sand | ki'dai |
| 14. finger | | 34. wet |
| 15. nail | | 35. sea | (laut) |
| 16. skin | 'kunet | 36. alt | 'sira |
| 17. flesh | (daging) | 37. fire | 'jafi |
| 18. fat (body) | | 38. to grill (food) | mi'tuni |
| 19. bone | rururi | 39. ashes | 'jafiru |
| 20. (breast) milk | (susu) | 40. smoke | 'masi/swan |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>41. stone</th>
<th>'bati</th>
<th>84. to split</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42. heavy</td>
<td>ma'berat</td>
<td>85. with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. slippery</td>
<td>sa'pin</td>
<td>86. branch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. one</td>
<td>'isa/sa'watan</td>
<td>87. leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. two</td>
<td>'nuu</td>
<td>88. thorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. three</td>
<td>tin</td>
<td>89. fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. four</td>
<td>φat</td>
<td>90. seed</td>
</tr>
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<td>48. five</td>
<td>'nima</td>
<td>91. rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. many</td>
<td>'jani</td>
<td>92. to stink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. little</td>
<td></td>
<td>93. jungle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. all</td>
<td>'karagatuni</td>
<td>94. rope/rattan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. earth; clay</td>
<td>'ropak</td>
<td>95. to bind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. dust</td>
<td></td>
<td>96. white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. road</td>
<td></td>
<td>97. black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. narrow</td>
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<td>98. red (merah)</td>
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<tr>
<td>56. wide</td>
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<td>99. yellow</td>
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<tr>
<td>57. mountain</td>
<td>'keni</td>
<td>100. green</td>
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<td>58. cloud</td>
<td>'paronterei</td>
<td>101. bird</td>
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<td>59. rain</td>
<td>'jagin</td>
<td>102. egg</td>
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<td>60. sky</td>
<td></td>
<td>103. wing</td>
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<td>61. fog</td>
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<td>104. to fly</td>
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<td>62. wind</td>
<td>'diri</td>
<td>105. cassowary</td>
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<td>63. hot</td>
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<td>106. fly (N)</td>
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<td>64. cold</td>
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<td>107. mosquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65. thunder</td>
<td>'dudem</td>
<td>108. dog</td>
</tr>
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<td>66. lightning</td>
<td>nina'fa'tepa</td>
<td>109. big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67. stick</td>
<td></td>
<td>110. little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68. straight</td>
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<td>111. this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69. thick</td>
<td>ma'kaφan</td>
<td>112. that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. thin</td>
<td>ma'nipes</td>
<td>113. same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71. sharp</td>
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<td>114. different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72. blunt</td>
<td></td>
<td>115. to bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73. sun</td>
<td>'rera</td>
<td>116. tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74. day</td>
<td>kimEr</td>
<td>117. fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75. night</td>
<td>masiag</td>
<td>118. leech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76. moon</td>
<td>'bunan</td>
<td>119. louse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77. star</td>
<td>φenemu'ma</td>
<td>120. pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78. banana</td>
<td>φudi</td>
<td>121. to shoot (arrow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79. garden</td>
<td>sa'ragn</td>
<td>122. worm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80. grass</td>
<td></td>
<td>123. snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81. dry</td>
<td></td>
<td>124. long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82. to cut</td>
<td></td>
<td>125. short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83. tree/wood</td>
<td>ka'jaj</td>
<td>126. mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127. full: full</td>
<td>169. to eat: eat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128. house: house</td>
<td>170. to spit: spit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129. new: beri</td>
<td>171. nausea: nausea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130. old: tu'ari</td>
<td>172. to hit: hit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131. roof: 'baban</td>
<td>173. to pierce: pierce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132. in front:</td>
<td>174. to kill: kill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133. outside: dead</td>
<td>175. to live: live</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134. inside: to scratch</td>
<td>176. to sit: sit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135. in:</td>
<td>177. to stand: stand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136. right: to bathe</td>
<td>178. to bathe: bathe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137. left:</td>
<td>179. to fall: fall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138. close:</td>
<td>180. to fear: fear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139. far:</td>
<td>181. to lie: lie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140. person:</td>
<td>182. to blow: blow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141. good:</td>
<td>183. to hold: hold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142. bad:</td>
<td>184. to dream: dream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143. man:</td>
<td>185. to dream: dream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144. woman:</td>
<td>186. to give: give</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145. husband:</td>
<td>187. to come: come</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146. wife:</td>
<td>188. to dig: dig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147. father:</td>
<td>189. to cough: cough</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148. mother:</td>
<td>190. to count: count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149. child:</td>
<td>191. to count: count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150. I:</td>
<td>192. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151. you (SG):</td>
<td>193. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152. we (INCL):</td>
<td>194. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153. he/she:</td>
<td>195. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154. they:</td>
<td>196. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155. who:</td>
<td>197. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156. what:</td>
<td>198. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157. name:</td>
<td>199. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158. to come:</td>
<td>200. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159. to walk:</td>
<td>201. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160. to turn around:</td>
<td>202. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161. to know:</td>
<td>203. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162. to hear:</td>
<td>204. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163. to see:</td>
<td>205. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164. to look for:</td>
<td>206. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165. to speak:</td>
<td>207. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166. true:</td>
<td>208. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167. to drink:</td>
<td>209. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168. to smoke:</td>
<td>210. to be: be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 Benawa word list

In the villages Benawa I, Benawa II, Sumano and Atori, the Benawa (or Kaburi) language is spoken by about 1000 people. The following list was taken (in the Indonesian spelling) by the anthropologist Dianne van Oosterhout in the village Sumano, in April 1997; the informant was Mr Aser Dene.

1. head na'awa
2. hair (on head) wahinu
3. ear kerawa
4. neck etata
5. mouth zehanu
6. tooth amano
7. tongue nanuni
8. eye amiago
9. nose mitowi
10. hand mekepa
11. dirty kotoranu
12. hair (on body) nazini
13. elbow omani
14. finger iwara
15. nail nobohaynu
16. skin aka'i
17. flesh hama
18. fat (body) to'a
20. (breast) milk zizo
21. belly akoh'ea
22. back amaha
23. blood nawira'izi
24. heart wira'izi
25. liver nahara
26. foot wetazio
27. swollen pupubai
28. ill ha'abi
29. water hohara
30. lake howeri
31. river heriri
32. to flow horore
33. sand egei
34. wet djerau
35. sea garama
36. salt ka'ewa
37. fire ka'ewa kaido'e
38. to grill (food) ka'ewa kaido'e
39. ashes to steal a'nage
40. cloth kum'nasi

Additional items:

210. sago 'konan (raw)/dana (ready to be eaten)
211. papeda (sago porridge) i'rak
212. rice 'pasa
213. knife 'sisin
214. money 'pitis
215. tobacco ta'baki
216. sago grub ka'batari
217. wall (gaba-gaba) ka'par
218. roof (atap) 'sirafaken
219. floor ger'gara
220. coconut rur
221. dugout canoe rai
222. bamboo 'wami
223. firematch 'garis
224. palmwine (segeru nipah) ko'ko
225. chicken nek
226. goat 'kerga
227. yesterday 'utaφ
228. tomorrow aφ'nage
229. to steal a'nage
230. clothes kum'nasi
231. flying fox madmada
232. friend 'warer
233. king (raja) 'nati
234. slave ka'jam
235. cloth not
41. stone  totona  68. straight  boygera
42. heavy  aramaini  69. thick  kibite
43. slippery  hehetaizi  70. thin  hawa'ie
44. one  ma'ara  71. sharp  ageni
45. two  uge  72. blunt  turi'e
46. three  aroi  73. sun  kozai
47. four  iziate  74. day
48. five  zekepa ma'aza  75. night  rine
49. many  maromo  76. moon  ehaino
50. little  zazomo  77. star  turuwi
51. all  uta'o  78. banana  hamimi
52. earth; clay  kere'a  79. garden  uwuri
53. dust  80. grass
54. road  aumi  81. dry  huwa'aibi
55. narrow  tokve  82. to cut  keraza'aizo
56. wide  mahe'a  83. tree/wood  kemini
57. mountain  uturo  84. to split
58. cloud  baroma  85. with
59. rain  amana'o  86. branch  hinaka
60. sky  erahi  87. leaf  rona
61. fog  88. thorn  t'i'aha
62. wind  roworowoi  89. fruit  kabua
63. hot  hahe'a  90. seed  u'uni
64. cold  tigahagei  91. rotten  miha'a
65. thunder  92. to stink
66. lightning  93. jungle  aworo
67. stick  tameti'i
References


Suharno, I., 1979, Some notes on the teaching of standard Indonesian to speakers of Irianese Indonesian. *Irian* 8(1):4–32.


