

*Materials on languages in danger of
disappearing in the Asia-Pacific region No.1*

*Some endangered languages of Papua New
Guinea: Kaki Ae, Musom, and Aribwatsa*

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

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**MATERIALS ON LANGUAGES IN
DANGER OF DISAPPEARING IN THE
ASIA-PACIFIC REGION No.1**

SOME ENDANGERED LANGUAGES OF
PAPUA NEW GUINEA: KAKI AE, MUSOM,
AND ARIBWATSA

edited by
S.A. Wurm



Pacific Linguistics

Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra

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MATERIALS ON LANGUAGES IN DANGER OF DISAPPEARING IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

Pacific Linguistics is expanding the scope of its series D publications with the addition of a new subseries to be entitled *Materials on languages in danger of disappearing in the Asia-Pacific region*. It is envisaged that contributions to the subseries will cover the full range of endangered languages from the potentially endangered (a number of children no longer learn the language) to the endangered (very few children speakers, many young adults have only a passive or rudimentary knowledge of the language) to the seriously endangered (the youngest speakers are fifty years or so old) to the moribund (only a small number of very old speakers exist) and almost extinct (only a handful of semi-speakers and perhaps one or two speakers are left).

The purpose of the subseries is to bring materials on such languages to the attention of interested readers as quickly as possible because of the generally parlous state of these languages. It is envisaged that the subseries will include articles ranging from vocabularies, to short descriptive notes and more sophisticated studies as well as to maps and small atlases with accompanying texts. Because the recording of endangered languages is an urgent task, contributions to this subseries will not be copyedited with the same rigour as other *Pacific Linguistics* publications.

The subseries will be edited by Stephen A. Wurm, the founding editor of *Pacific Linguistics*.

KAKI AE (FORMERLY KNOWN AS RAEPA TATI), A POTENTIALLY ENDANGERED LANGUAGE IN SOUTHERN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The Papuan Kaki Ae language of the coastal Gulf Province of Papua New Guinea is assumed to belong to the large Trans-New Guinea Phylum of Papuan languages (see Note below). It has 310 speakers who are mostly multilingual in both surrounding and trade languages. The language is still strong and very much favoured by its speakers, but is potentially endangered because of the high level of intermarriage between Kaki Ae speakers and speakers of other languages, and the pressure from other very much larger neighbouring languages and trade languages. The multilingualism of the Kaki Ae speakers itself seem to have little direct influence in this.

John M. Clifton's description of the sociolinguistic situation of Kaki Ae, the grammar sketch, the vocabularies, and the texts with morpheme divisions, interlinear and free translation provide a good insight into, and a permanent record of, the Kaki Ae language in its present, still fully functioning, form.

NOTE: Very recent work by Andy Pawley and Malcolm Ross (A. Pawley 'C.L. Voorhoeve and the Trans New Guinea hypothesis', M. Ross 'The Great Papuan pronoun hunt: recalibrating our sights', both in Connie Baak, Mary Bakker, Dick van der Meij, eds, 1995, *Tales from a concave world*, Liber amicorum Bert Voorhoeve, Projects Division, Department of Languages and Cultures of South East Asia and Oceania, Leiden University, pp.83-123 and pp.139-168 respectively), is beginning to demonstrate that the very large postulated controversial *Trans New Guinea Phylum* of over 500 Papuan languages may, at least for a very considerable part of its presumed extent, be shown to be in fact a large group of interrelated languages. Its existence was first proposed by K. McElhanon and C.L. Voorhoeve in 1970 (*The Trans-New Guinea Phylum: Explorations in Deep-Level Genetic Relationships*, Canberra, *Pacific Linguistics* B-16 and later elaborated on by S.A. Wurm, C.L. Voorhoeve and K. McElhanon in 1975 in their contribution 'The Trans-New Guinea Phylum in General' in S.A. Wurm (ed.), *New Guinea area languages and language study*, vol.1: *Papuan languages and the New Guinea linguistic scene*, Canberra, *Pacific Linguistics* C-38:299-322, and by S.A. Wurm in contributions to that volume, and in his S.A. Wurm 1982 *Papuan Languages of Oceania*, *Ars Linguistica* 7, Tübingen, Gunter Narr).

Portions of John Clifton's contribution have appeared as follows: 'Stable multilingualism in a small language', *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia (LLM)* 25:107-124 (1994), and as 'A grammar sketch of the Kaki Ae language', in 1995 *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session*. Permission for the present publication to contain those portions is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

A very sizeable grant was made available by CIPL (Permanent International Committee of Linguists) towards the research work in Kaki Ae, on which the present contribution is based. This was on the understanding that the contribution resulting from this research would eventually be published in its entirety as a complete text.

S.A. Wurm, Editor

THE KAKI AE LANGUAGE

JOHN M. CLIFTON

1. INTRODUCTION¹

This paper is a preliminary report on the Kaki Ae language. The observations reported here are based on a two visits to the area: a one-day visit to Uriri village in October 1990, and a one-week stay in Uriri in November 1993. During the 1993 stay I also visited Lou and Kupiano villages and talked with a number of people from Ovorio and Gupra. There is minimal variation between the different villages. This is not surprising since Ovorio, Gupra, and Kupiano represent relatively recent splits from Uriri. In addition, two Kaki Ae speakers worked with me at Ukarumpa transcribing texts and helping to clear up grammatical problems for an additional week.

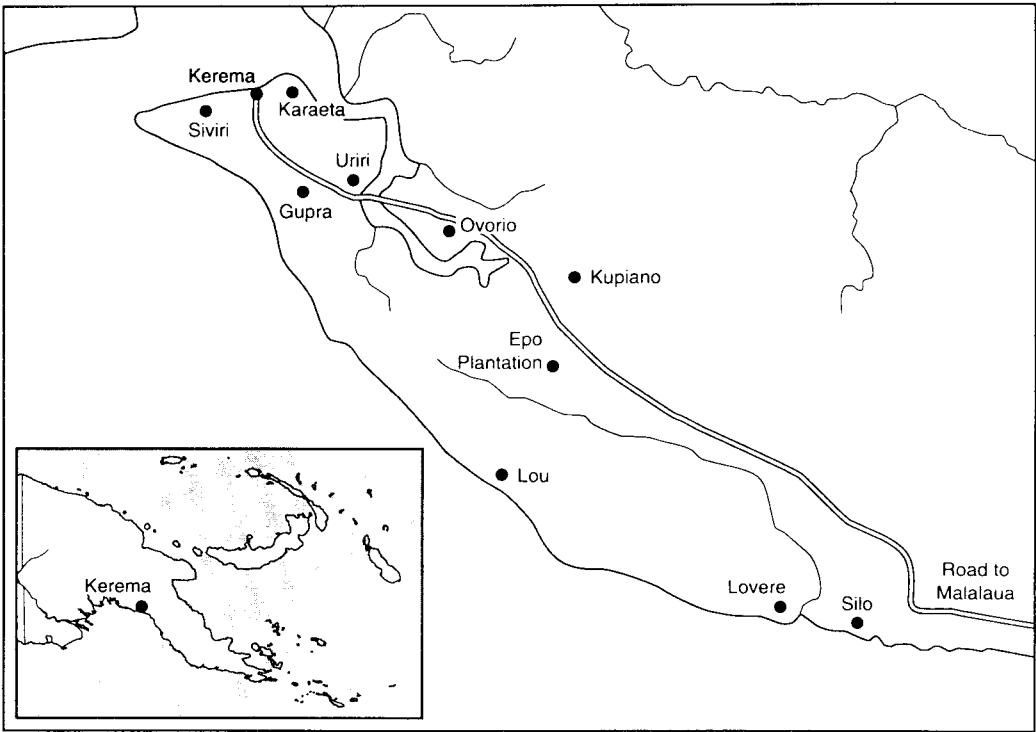
2. GENERAL INFORMATION

Kaki Ae is spoken in six villages southeast of Kerema in Gulf Province of Papua New Guinea. Brown (1973) refers to the language by the Toaripi designation Raepa Tati, or 'Hill Tati'. The people have no generally recognised name for their language, but many dislike the designation Tati since they feel it refers to 'bush people' in Toaripi. In fact, the phone [t] is nonexistent in Kaki Ae. The designation Kaki Ae is derived from *kaki*, a modified form of [tati], and *ae* 'language'.²

As shown in Map 1, the villages of Gupra, Uriri, Ovorio, and Kupiano are located along the road from Kerema to Malalaua. The other two villages, Lou and Lovere, are located along the the coast. The six villages include 69 houses, located as shown in Table 1.

¹ This work was done under the auspices of the Papua New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and was underwritten by a grant from CIPL administered through the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University. Many thanks also to the many Kaki Ae speakers who gave of their time to talk about their language and traditions, and especially to Jeremiah Mehau and Robbie Mora who worked with me on the texts.

² Grimes (1992) gives the name of the language as Tate, with the code TBD. Alternative names listed are Raepa Tati, Tati, Lorabada, and Lou.



MAP 1: KAKI AE AND SURROUNDING VILLAGES

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF HOUSES IN EACH KAKI AE VILLAGE

Gupra	8
Kupiano	4
Lovere	4
Lou	17
Ovorio	13
Uriri	23

In a survey of language ability conducted in Uriri, there were approximately 4.5 people per house. If this number holds throughout the language group, the present population of the six villages is approximately 310. The population shows moderate growth over the last two decades as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2: KAKI AE TOTAL POPULATION

1970 census ³	266
1980 census ⁴	297
1993	310

The languages surrounding Kaki Ae are shown in Map 2. Keuru, Opau, Tairuma,⁵ and the Kaipi dialect of Toaripi are all members of the Eleman language family; Kamea and Akoye⁶ are members of the Angan language family. All have many more speakers than Kaki Ae does, as shown in Table 3.⁷

TABLE 3: POPULATION OF SURROUNDING LANGUAGES

Kaipi	4689
Tairuma	2470
Opau	1116
Keuru	4523
Kamea	32400
Agoya	850

Two other Eleman languages also have more speakers: to the east of Kaipi is Toaripi proper with over 14,000 speakers, and to the west of Keuru is Orokolo with over 7000 speakers. Toaripi and Orokolo are the official church languages for the entire Eleman area. Published materials in the two languages include a hymnal in each language, a New Testament in Orokolo, and an entire Bible in Toaripi.

Wurm and Hattori (1981) classify Kaki Ae as a family-level isolate in the Eleman stock, apparently based on the word lists reported by Brown (1973). This classification follows Brown's statement that, 'My investigations suggest that Raepa Tati has its nearest affinity with the Eleman language family.' (p.286) Brown does not report any percentages of similar forms, but my analysis of the data reported results in percentages between 14% and 17%. Most of the similar forms, however, are almost identical. This suggests that the similarities may be due to borrowing, not genetic relationship. The borrowing hypothesis is supported by the fact that in several instances Kaki Ae speakers can identify a form reported by Brown as a borrowed form and give the 'true' Kaki Ae form. For example, I was told the true Kaki Ae form for 'louse' is /amuri/, not /saruta/ (cf. Kaipi /sarutʃa/); 'bark (of tree)' is /βeraʔa/, not /ruru/ (cf. Kaipi /ruru⁸/); 'sand' is /fae/, not /kekene/⁹ (cf. Kaipi /kekere/). Thus, I feel it

³ These are the figures reported by Brown (1973:285).

⁴ These figures are from Rural Community Register: Gulf Province (1984).

⁵ Tairuma is referred to as Uaripi by Brown.

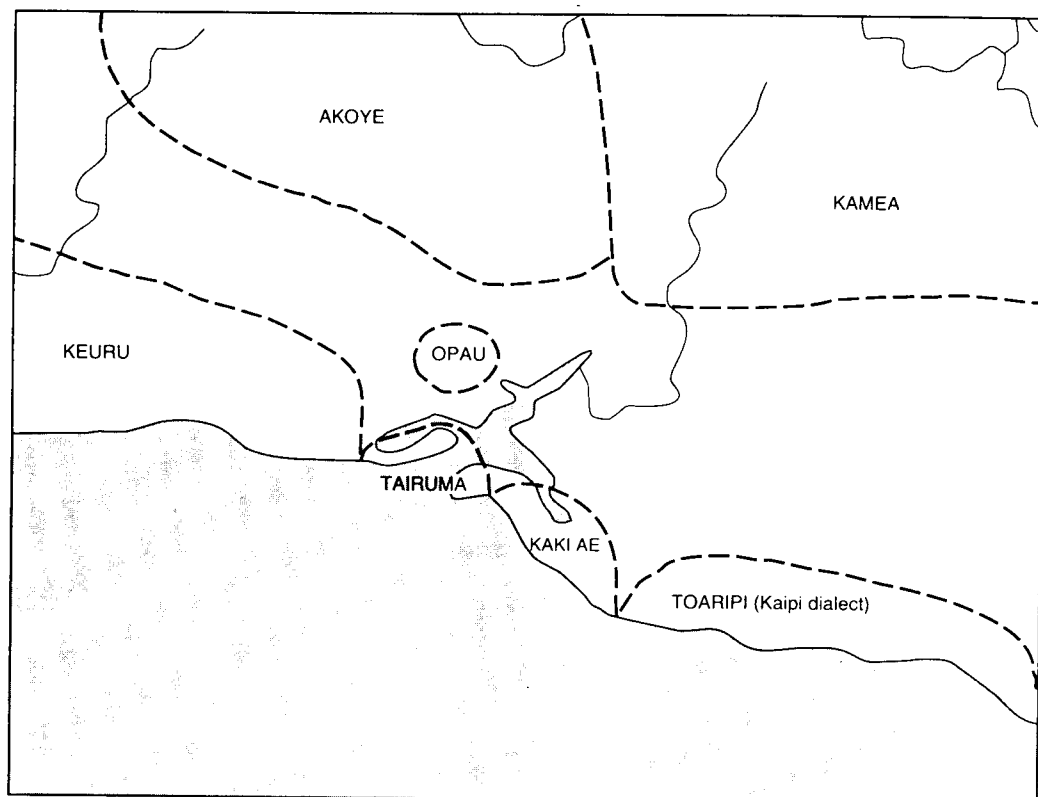
⁶ Lloyd (1973) refers to Kamea as Kapau and Akoye as Lohiki; Wurm and Hattori (1981) refer to Kamea as Hamtai.

⁷ All population figures are from Wurm and Hattori (1981).

⁸ /βeraʔa/ (recorded by Brown as /meraʔaʔ/) is the general word for 'skin' in Kaki Ae; /ruru/ is the general word for 'skin' in Kaipi.

⁹ Brown gives /fae foʔolo/ as an alternate form for 'sand'.

is questionable as to whether Kaki Ae is related to the Eleman languages even on the stock level.



MAP 2: KAKI AE AND SURROUNDING LANGUAGES

There is regular travel between all Kaki Ae villages and Kerema. Residents of the four villages along the road, Gupra, Uriri, Ovorio, and Kupiano, have ready access to Kerema. It takes approximately 45-60 minutes to walk from Kupiano to Uriri, and another 60 minutes from Uriri to Kerema. A PMV costs K1 from Kupiano to Kerema and 50t from Uriri to Kerema. Access to Kerema is more difficult for residents of Lou. As shown in Map 3, the foot path from Lou to Epo Plantation goes up a relatively steep incline. It is possible for people to get from Lou to Kerema by dinghy although they still need to carry cargo up and down the bluff. The only outboard motor in the village was given to them recently by their member to parliament. It is also sometimes possible to find dinghy transport with a dinghy from Silo, especially when coming from Kerema to Lou. The standard rate for dinghy travel is K1 per passenger.

3. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

Speakers of Kaki Ae are multilingual in both surrounding languages and trade languages and have been for a considerable period of time. In addition, the number of Kaki Ae speakers is small, the language group is surrounded by mutually unintelligible languages, and it is close to the governmental centre of Kerema. In spite of all this, the language seems to be in no danger of dying out at this point in time. In this section I will explore the sociolinguistic situation for Kaki Ae. In §3.1 I outline Western influences on the speakers of Kaki Ae. Then in §3.2 I discuss the current balance between Western and traditional practices in the Kaki Ae community. Finally in §3.3 I examine the use of Kaki Ae and the attitudes of the people towards their language.

3.1 WESTERN INFLUENCES

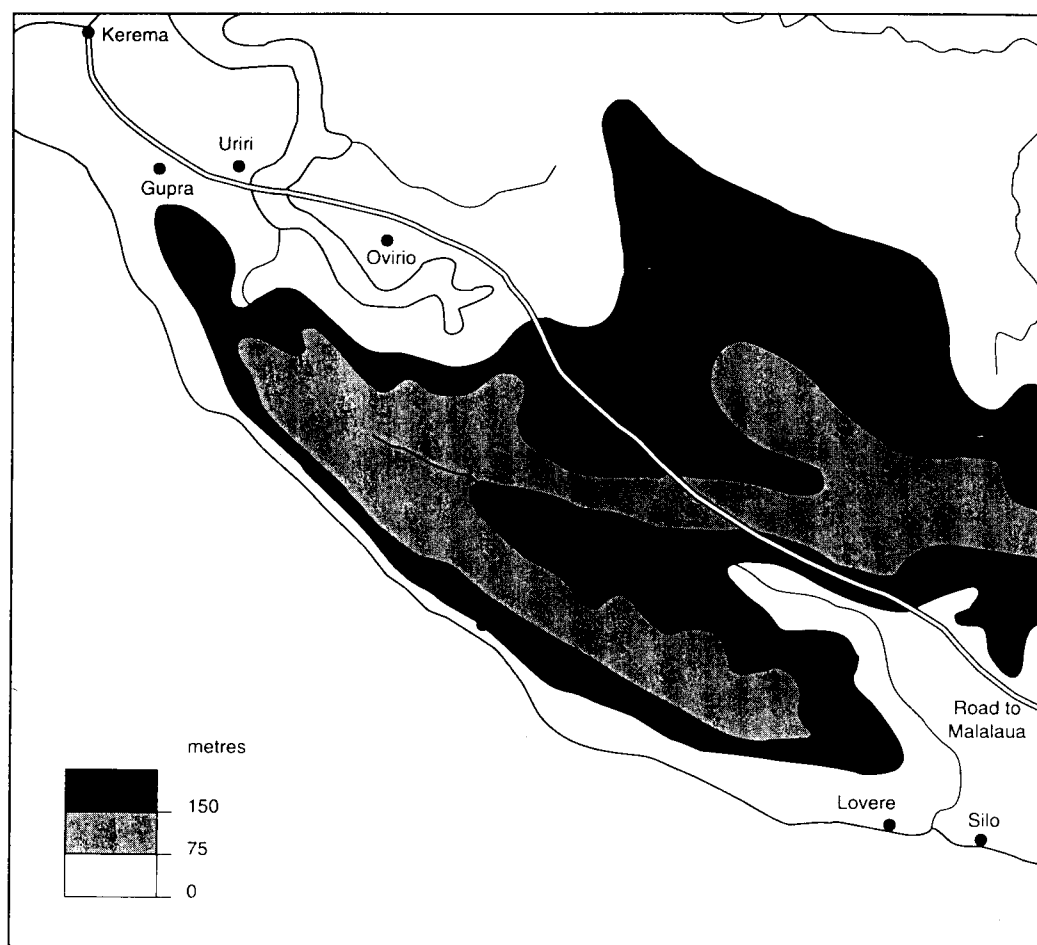
Western influences are greatest in the areas of religion, education, and economics. Each of these areas are discussed in turn, giving special consideration to the use of language in each area.

3.1.1 RELIGION

The only church in the area is the United Church. There are pastors at Uriri and Lou; neither speak Kaki Ae. The pastor at Uriri is Toaripi, and the pastor at Lou is Kaipi. The pastor at Uriri also looks after Gupra, Ovorio, and Kupiano. Due to geography, the Kaki Ae congregations have traditionally been split between two church circuits. Lou and Lovere are grouped with the Kaipi villages as part of the Koaru circuit. Uriri, Gupra, Ovorio, and Kupiano are grouped with the Tairuma villages. These villages were part of the original Orokolo circuit. For the last three years, however, these villages (along with Kerema town) have made up the Tairuma Interim Circuit. It has not been decided whether this interim circuit will become a permanent circuit or will be reunited with the Orokolo circuit.

The people seem to be actively supporting the church at the present time, at least in Uriri, Gupra, Ovorio, and Kupiano. Attendance on Sunday morning has averaged around 70 over the last nine months, varying from a low of 50 to a high of 130.¹⁰ In addition, the pastor, a single man, indicates he has received good support in a number of practical areas including laundry and food. There has been no request for remuneration for this practical assistance. One of the single young men is currently doing an extension course through CLTC (Christian Leaders Training College) under the supervision of the pastor. Another young man who is married seems to have organised an active youth programme.

¹⁰ The pastor of the Uriri church has been keeping detailed attendance records over this period of time.



MAP 3: TOPOGRAPHY OF THE KAKI AE AREA

Traditionally, the Toaripi language was used in the Koaru circuit, including in the church in Lou, while Orokolo was used in the Orokolo circuit, including in the church in Uriri. With the greater use of English songs and scripture, this distinction is becoming less important, but it is still in evidence. Language use in church is somewhat fluid, depending on the activity and speaker. Neither hymns nor scripture reading are in Kaki Ae: hymns tend to be in Toaripi or Orokolo; and the scripture reading is in Hiri Motu, Toaripi, or Orokolo. Prayer, announcements, and the sermon are primarily in Kaki Ae if the speaker knows it, with summaries in Hiri Motu or English for those present who do not understand Kaki Ae. Otherwise, the prayers tend to be in Hiri Motu or English; announcements in Hiri Motu; and the sermon in Hiri Motu, English, or Toaripi. Non-Kaki Ae speakers include the pastor and teachers from the community school. Choruses are sung in many languages, including some

like Kiwai that are not known to any of those singing. Some original choruses have been composed in Kaki Ae; other choruses have been translated into Kaki Ae. Other church activities like women's fellowship, youth fellowship, and Sunday School are generally conducted in Kaki Ae.

The church, then, seems to be actively supporting use of the Kaki Ae language. This can be seen as a continuation of the long-standing policy of both the United Church and its predecessor the London Missionary Society to encourage use of the vernacular. Both the pastor at Uriri and the people in all the Kaki Ae villages also expressed a strong desire to have scriptures and in the Kaki Ae language. This, of course, is the one area in which Kaki Ae is not used within the church context.

3.1.2 EDUCATION

I conducted a survey of language ability in Uriri village. As part of this survey I asked for the highest grade level completed by each member of the household, as well as by parents (alive or deceased) who were raised in a Kaki Ae village. This information was not known for 12 males and 10 females, most of whom were deceased. The results for the remaining 50 are summarised in Table 4.

TABLE 4: HIGHEST GRADE LEVEL COMPLETED BY KAKI AE SPEAKERS

		Males				Total
Age	Grade:	none	1-3	4-5	6+	
	11-20	0	0	3 ¹¹	4	7
	21-30	5	0	2	2	9
	31-50	6	0	1	0	7
	51+	3	3	1	0	7
Total		14	3	7	6	30
		Females				Total
Age	Grade:	none	1-3	4-5	6+	
	11-20	2	1	2	2	7
	21-30	2	3	0	1	6
	31-50	3	0	0	1	4
	51+	2	1	0	0	3
Total		9	5	2	4	20

The three males and one female over the age of 51 who completed between 1 and 3 years of schooling went to mission schools in Orokololo or Toaripi. These schools were evidently discontinued by the time the group aged 31 to 50 attained school age. Prior to 1990, all children went to Kerema schools. Considering how close the villages are to Kerema, a relatively high number of people over 20 never attended school. The number of people 20 or under who did not attend school is much lower, especially among males.

There are currently no students from any of the Kaki Ae villages attending high school or vocational school, although there are a few young people in the villages who have gone past

¹¹ These three are currently attending school at Urilolo Community School.

grade 6. The three individuals in the community who have some tertiary schooling are James Aru, the chairman of the Urilolo Community School Board of Management; Henry Ori Ori, the chairman of the Urilolo Business Group; and Vai'i Ori, an announcer for Radio Gulf.

In 1990 a Urilolo Community School was established at Epo Plantation. Currently it has grades 1 and 4. The current headmaster is from the Baimuru area (Kaimare speech community) and the other teacher is from Malalaua (Toaripi); both in Gulf Province. The composition of the school by village is given in Table 5.

TABLE 5: COMPOSITION OF URILOLO COMMUNITY SCHOOL BY VILLAGE

Village	Male	Female	Total
Gupra ¹²	7	4	11
Uriri	8	3	11
Ovorio	7	6	13
Kupiano	11	5	16
Epo Plant.	18	2	20
Uara Kerema	1	1	2
Total	52	21	73

The overwhelming preponderance of males is due in large part to the children from Epo Plantation. These children are mostly Kamea speakers whose parents work on the plantation. If the children from Epo Plantation and Uara Kerema (also non-Kaki Ae speakers) are ignored, the ratio of Kaki Ae males to females is 33:18. While the percentage of males is still large, it seems to accurately reflect the communities involved. For example, in my survey of Uriri I found 10 males and 3 females between 7 and 12 years of age. The headmaster confirmed what the village people said, that is, that all eligible children from Gupra, Uriri, Ovorio, and Kupiano attend school.

Interest in education seems to be on the rise. There are approximately 22 children in grade 4 and 48 children in grade 1.¹³ The school is ultimately intended to serve all the Kaki Ae villages including Lou and Lovere. At present there are children from 4 Lou families staying with relatives in one of the villages listed in Table 5. Plans are underway to build a dormitory at Epo or Kupiano for other children from Lou and Lovere.

Although more than one language is represented in the students attending Urilolo Community School, use of Kaki Ae is widespread. The teachers report the children use Kaki Ae with each other on the playground. In addition, when some of the grade 1 students do not understand a given concept, the teacher has other children explain it in Kaki Ae. The P&C meetings are conducted using Kaki Ae and Tok Pisin or Hiri Motu.

There is a local culture component in the school which consists of traditional Kaki Ae dance and songs. People from the community originally taught this class; now the teachers handle it. Both teachers are also in favour of vernacular prep schools.

¹² Also includes the houses between Gupra and Uriri known as Kiks. This community consists of the houses of a Kikori (Kerewo) man and his Uriri wife, and of their married children.

¹³ These numbers do not equal 73; I do not know the source of the discrepancy.

3.1.3 FACILITIES AND ECONOMICS

There are no aid posts in any of the villages, as people are served by the Kerema Hospital. Similarly, there are few trade stores in the villages since people can generally purchase trade goods in Kerema.

People regularly bring garden produce to sell in the Kerema town market. This is a major source of income since most of the surrounding villages are located along the ocean on sandy ground and do not have access to good gardening areas.

The other major source of income is selling betelnut in Port Moresby. Dinghies regularly travel between Kerema and Iokea, close to the Central Province border. From there it is possible to travel by PMV to Port Moresby. Transportation costs for the dinghy trip are K40 per passenger and K5 per bag of betelnut; for the PMV (public motorised vehicle), costs are K10 including cargo. Bags of betelnut are generally sold for K200 to Highlanders who sell the individual betelnuts in the Port Moresby market.

One other potential future source of income is the rubber plantation at Epo. In the past this was operated by the Gulf Provincial government, and most of the employees are Kamea speakers. Recently one-third of the plantation has been returned to the traditional Kaki Ae landowners. There are hopes that more will be returned in the future, and that the plantation will provide income to the Kaki Ae community.

3.2 TRADITIONAL VS. WESTERN CULTURE

The Kaki Ae villages show a combination of traditional and nontraditional influences. The houses are mostly constructed of bush materials. Most houses have thatch roofs and walls of woven sago bark.¹⁴ Nails are used, however, to put the frame together. There is at least one house in Gupra made from fibro with a copper roof.

Dugout canoes are still the traditional form of river transportation and for fishing, and boys know how to make them. The canoes have small double hulls and outrigger, with a platform across the hulls. The people of Lou now have a dinghy and outboard motor for travel to and from Kerema.

Women of all ages make bilums, baskets from coconut leaves and mats from pandanus. All are common in the villages. The pandanus mats are coloured with commercial dye or gentian violet. Most can also make the traditional grass skirts, although they are not generally worn. People also make traditional headdresses for special occasions. Men of all ages make spears, and bows and arrows. The shafts and bindings of the spears and arrows are made with traditional materials, and the points are made with metal.

Western tools, and cooking and eating utensils are common in the village and have largely replaced traditional items. However, some traditional dippers made from sticks tied to half coconut shells can also be found, and people know how to make them.

¹⁴ The woven walls were introduced by the South Seas pastors who worked in the area under the London Missionary Society.

Pigs and chickens are both common in the villages. The pigs are not kept behind fences, but wander freely. Other domesticated animals include hunting dogs and cats. Nondomesticated animals like opossums are also raised in cages.

The traditional clan structure is strong, although some of the clans are small or have died out. There is no fighting between the clans, although there is more competition than cooperation between them. Bride price is generally between K200 and K500, although it has gone as high as K1500.

A naming ceremony for babies is still practiced. Initiation ceremonies are also still being held. The focus of these ceremonies has changed, however. The teaching aspect of the initiation ceremony is no longer important; instead, the ceremony is an occasion for people to have a good time and show appreciation to traditional initiation sponsors.

Traditional Kaki Ae singsings are held at Christmas and New Year as well as at funerals. In the past people used to compose new singsings. The young people do not seem to be learning the singsings, however, preferring string band music. There are some young people who are composing choruses in Kaki Ae, some original and some translations from Tok Pisin or other languages.

There are a number of old people who still tell the traditional stories and the young people are interested in hearing and learning these stories. The taboos against speaking the names of some of the traditional heroes are still observed.

Both healing magic and sorcery are still practiced by some people. Sorcery is seen as a problem both by church leaders as well as within the community as a whole. There have been accusations of sorcery leveled in recent deaths. In addition, a number of village splits can be traced to claims of deaths caused by sorcery.

In summary, the Kaki Ae community seems to be maintaining a cultural identity. It has absorbed a number of Western influences, but has integrated these influences without losing its identity. In areas like crafts, the traditional culture is strong. Even in areas like music, where the singsings seem to be dying, the Kaki Ae identity is continuing in Kaki Ae string band choruses.

3.3 LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES

The people report that there is almost no lexical variation and little variation in pronunciation among the Kaki Ae community. My elicitation bears out this observation. There are alternants for particular words, for example, /maʔi ~ wāʔi/ 'go down'. These alternants are idiolectal, however, a single speaker using both forms in some cases.

Kaki Ae is used in village settings by almost everyone in almost all domains. The only people who do not regularly use Kaki Ae are those from other groups who have married into a Kaki Ae village. In just over half of all families, either the husband or wife is from a non-Kaki Ae language group. Table 6 shows the distribution of non-Kaki Ae spouses for 43 households in four villages.

TABLE 6: PLACE OF ORIGIN OF SPOUSES IN KAKI AE VILLAGES

Village	Both Ae	Non-Ae Wife	Non-Ae Husband	Total
Gupra	3	5	0	8
Uriri	6	8	4	18
Ovorio	7	4	2	13
Kupiano	4	0	0	4
Total	20	17	6	43

All but three non-Ae women are from surrounding language groups: 5 Tairuma, 4 Toaripi, 2 Kaipi, 2 Opau, and 1 Orocolo. The other three are from the highlands, Central Province, and Koriki (Gulf). These three all live in Gupra. Most of the men, on the other hand, are from outside the area: two are from the highlands, and one each are from Koriki, Sio (Morobe), and Gogodala (Western). The one man from the area is a Kamea. Men who marry Ae women came to Kerema to work, then decided to marry a local woman and live in her village.

All of the non-Kaki Ae men and all but one of the non-Kaki Ae women can understand Kaki Ae, while 1 of the men and 9 of the women can speak Kaki Ae. These spouses all learned Kaki Ae after marriage. Although Kaki Ae speakers generally understand and even speak many of the surrounding languages, speakers of surrounding languages do not even understand Kaki Ae.

Kaki Ae is reported to be the predominate language used in all households where Kaki Ae is spoken by both spouses. It is also regularly spoken by the Kaki Ae speaker in all but one of the households in which Kaki Ae is understood but not spoken by one of the spouses. In addition, it is reported that children who do not hear the mother speak Kaki Ae learn it from the other children in the village. Kulick (1987:142) makes a similar claim for Taiap, spoken in East Sepik province:

...Children in Gapun acquire and learn to use language principally through interactions with their older siblings and other children and not through interactions with their parents.

Whether or not this is actually true of language acquisition in Kaki Ae, my observations are that all children use Kaki Ae almost exclusively in most domains. Even school children who would be expected to use English as a matter of prestige consistently use Kaki Ae. As noted in §4, this is true even at school.

This pattern of men marrying non-Kaki Ae women from surrounding language groups is not a new phenomenon. Table 7 shows marriage trends in Uriri village over a longer period of time.

TABLE 7: PLACE OF ORIGIN OF SPOUSES IN URIRI VILLAGE (LONGITUDINAL)

Age	Both Ae	Non-Ae Wife	Non-Ae Husband	Total
20-35	4	5	4	13
36-50	6	3	0	9
51-70	5	5	0	10
71-90	5	0	0	5
Total	20	13	4	37

While the introduction of non-Kaki Ae men into the village is a recent phenomenon, the introduction of non-Kaki Ae women into the village is not. Children have been learning Kaki Ae for quite some time in families in which the mother is not from a Kaki Ae village.

Languages other than Kaki Ae are used regularly in certain restricted domains. As noted in §3, a combination of Kaki Ae, English, Hiri Motu, Orokolo and Toaripi are used in church, depending on the language abilities of the participants. Hiri Motu and Tairuma are used in village court. English expletives are frequently used, especially by the younger people. A combination of Kaki Ae, Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin, and English is used when playing sports. Finally, a number of languages are used for songs, including languages not known by the singers. Someone who likes the sound of a particular song will learn the song without learning the meaning of the song. This is reasonable in light of the traditional singsings which were passed down from generation to generation after the meanings of particular words (or even whole songs) had been lost.

Kaki Ae speakers generally know a number of the surrounding Eleman languages, especially Tairuma, Toaripi (and Kaipi) and Orokolo. I conducted a survey of reported language knowledge among the residents of Uriri village. In general information was collected from the head of each household for each member of the household, as well as for the parents of the husband and wife. I attempted to collect the following information for each person: age,¹⁵ sex, marital status, highest grade completed, first language, and other languages understood, spoken, read, and written. I was able to gather some information on 116 individuals, 96 of whom were raised in a Kaki Ae speaking village. Of these, I was able to gather information on language ability on 52 individuals over the age of 10.¹⁶ The information summarised in the rest of this section deals with these 52 individuals.

Knowledge of neighbouring languages correlated best with age. The results are given in Table 8.

¹⁵ In the case of deceased parents, I estimated what their age would be if they were alive by adding 25 to the age of the offspring.

¹⁶ Language ability in languages other than Kaki Ae drops dramatically among children under the age of 10, probably because they have not had sufficient exposure to other languages. There is no noticeable difference in language ability between individuals between the ages of 11 and 20 and those between the ages of 21 and 30. There were 20 individuals over the age of 10 for whom I could not gather information on language ability. Almost all of these were deceased.

TABLE 8: KNOWLEDGE OF NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

Males (Speak/Understand/Neither)			
Age	Tairuma	Orokolo	Toaripi
11-30	9/4/3	7/6/3	7/7/2
31+	14/1/0	15/0/0	15/0/0
Females (Speak/Understand/Neither)			
Age	Tairuma	Orokolo	Toaripi
11-30	8/4/1	7/5/1	8/5/0
31+	8/0/0	8/0/0	7/1/0

All Kaki Ae speakers over 30 understand Tairuma, Orokolo and Toaripi, and almost all also speak all three. Among speakers under the age of 30, however, knowledge of the surrounding languages drops dramatically. Less than 50%, 14 out of 29, can speak Orokolo; 14% cannot understand Orokolo. Marginally more can speak Toaripi and Tairuma, which is to be expected in light of the fact that speakers of Kaki Ae have more interaction with speakers of these languages than with speakers of Orokolo.

In addition to neighbouring languages, a large number of Kaki Ae speakers know Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin, and English. This is reflected in Table 9.

TABLE 9: KNOWLEDGE OF TRADE LANGUAGES

Males (Speak/Understand/Neither)			
Age	Hiri Motu	Tok Pisin	English
11-30	15/1/0	14/2/0	10/6/0
31+	15/0/0	12/2/1	2/7/6
Females (Speak/Understand/Neither)			
Age	Hiri Motu	Tok Pisin	English
11-30	10/3/0	9/4/0	6/4/3
31+	4/3/1	1/3/4	1/1/6

Ability in Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin is tied to the sex of the speaker, especially in the case of those over the age of 30. Almost all males, regardless of their age, report they can speak both Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin. Half the females over 30 cannot even understand Tok Pisin, while half cannot speak Hiri Motu. Even among females 11 to 30 only about 25% can understand Hiri Motu or Tok Pisin.

Ability in English is uniformly low among those over 30. Once again, ability among females is considerably lower than among males. Over half of the males report they can at least understand English, while only 25% of the females report they can understand English. As can be expected, ability in English correlates more closely with educational attainment. This is shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10: KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH VS. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

English Ability (Speak/Understand/Neither)			
Grade	Males	Females	Total
none	2/8/4	0/1/8	2/9/13
1-3	0/2/1	1/3/1	1/5/2
4-5	4/3/0	2/0/0	6/3/0
6+	6/0/0	4/0/0	10/0/0

As educational attainment continues to rise, I expect ability in English to rise.

A total of 22 of the 52 people surveyed for language ability indicated they could read in at least one language. Of these, 14 could read English, 13 could read Oroko, 11 Toaripi, 8 Hiri Motu, and 6 Tok Pisin. There was no correlation between reading ability and sex. Reading ability in English was strongly tied to educational attainment and age as shown in Table 11.

TABLE 11: ENGLISH READING ABILITY

(can/cannot)				
Grade Level				
Age	none	1-3	4-5	6+
11-30	0/9	0/4	5/2	8/1
31-50	0/9	0/0	0/1	1/0
51+	0/5	0/4	0/1	0/0

All 14 individuals who can read English are 50 and under and have completed at least 4 years of schooling. Reading ability in English does not carry over into other languages. None of the five English readers who have completed 4 or 5 years of school can read any other language; three of the English readers who have completed 6 or more years of school cannot read any other language.

Reading ability in Oroko, Toaripi, Hiri Motu, and Tok Pisin is more complex. Only six individuals can read Tok Pisin; all of these had completed at least 4 years of school. Everyone who can read Hiri Motu or Tok Pisin can also read either Oroko or Toaripi. A total of 10 people can read both Oroko and Toaripi, while 3 can read Oroko but not Toaripi, and 1 can read Toaripi but not Oroko. Reading ability in Oroko and Toaripi is generally limited to those over 51¹⁷ or with 6 or more years of schooling as shown in Table 12.¹⁸

¹⁷ The two readers in the age group 31-50 who completed less than six years of school are both 50.

¹⁸ In addition to the individuals reported in Table 12, there was one male over 51 of unknown educational level who could read Oroko.

TABLE 12: OROKOLO AND TOARIPI READING ABILITY

(both/Orokolo only/Toaripi only/neither)				
Grade Level				
Age	none	1-3	4-5	6+
11-30	0/0/0/9	1/0/0/3	0/0/0/7	4/0/1/4
31-50	0/0/0/0	0/0/0/2	0/0/0/0	1/0/0/0
51+	1/1/0/10	1/1/0/2	2/0/0/0	0/0/0/0

While most people are bilingual, their ability in languages other than Kaki Ae is limited. Languages other than Kaki Ae are generally limited to use in contact situations with speakers of other languages and specific domains like school and church. Most people report that it is difficult to read any of the available Bible translations. There is widespread agreement that Kaki Ae scriptures are necessary if most people are to really understand.

Kaki Ae is highly valued by all the speakers I talked to, and the regular use of the language backs up their comments. The use of Kaki Ae is not limited to the village. As noted in §3.2, Kaki Ae is used regularly at school P&C meetings even though non-Kaki Ae speakers also participate in the meetings. Kaki Ae is also normally used in Kerema between Kaki Ae speakers. One community leader indicated people like to use Kaki Ae in town because it is like a secret language: when you speak in Kaki Ae outsiders cannot understand what you are saying. Kaki Ae serves as a definite source of group identity, a group identity that people are proud of.

Adults want the children to be multilingual in Kaki Ae, Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin, and English. At the same time, they want Kaki Ae to remain the first language learned, and language of the village. The widespread concern that young people do not speak the language correctly is a product of the high value placed on Kaki Ae. This concern comes from the fact that non-Kaki Ae words are frequently used. My observations are that the use of non-Kaki Ae words is generally limited to concepts which are not part of traditional culture, like 'Women's Fellowship', 'corner', 'testimony/testify', and 'thank you', or for introduced objects like the iron axe or knife. There are also a few words like 'first' and 'story' that are commonly borrowed. Borrowed words are generally restricted to nouns. In the case of verbs like 'testify', the normal subject agreement suffixes are added. Code switching seems to be limited to specific situations like church, and to lexical borrowing.

4. GRAMMATICAL NOTES

4.1 PHONOLOGY

The phonemic inventory of Kaki Ae includes the eleven consonants and ten vowels shown in Table 13.

TABLE 13: PHONEMES OF KAKI AE

<i>p</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>i</i> <i>ĩ</i>	<i>u</i> <i>ũ</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>				<i>o</i> <i>õ</i>
<i>ɸ</i> <i>β</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>		<i>ɛ</i> <i>ẽ</i>	<i>a</i> <i>ã</i>
	<i>l</i>				
<i>w</i>					

Stress is always penultimate.

There are no closed syllables or syllable initial consonant clusters. Therefore all consonants may occur in only two positions: word initially and intervocalically. Most consonants may occur in both positions, the possible exceptions being /ʔ/ and /w/. The situation for /w/ is discussed with vowel sequences. Regarding /ʔ/, I have found no evidence for a word-initial contrast between /ʔV/ and /V/. There is, however, contrast between these sequences morpheme initially in the following forms.

- /ɛlɛa-ʔɛ-ʔɛna/ I see you (sg)
 /ɛlɛa-ɛ-ʔɛna/ I see you (pl)/them

Therefore it is not unreasonable to expect that a contrast between /ʔV/ and /V/ may well be found in word initial position.

There is allophonic variation for two of the consonant phonemes. The phoneme /l/ varies between [l] and [d] word initially, and between [l] and [r] intervocalically as shown in the following forms.

- /laɛ/ [la.rɛ ~ da.rɛ ~ da.lɛ] sun
 /alo/ [a.ro ~ a.lo] head

When intervocalic /l/ is realised as [l], word initial /l/ is realised as [r], that is, /laɛ/ cannot be realised as *[la.lɛ].

The phoneme /β/ varies between [b] and [m] word initially, and between [β] and [v] intervocalically as shown in the following forms.

- /βɛraʔa/ [bɛ.ra.ʔa ~ mɛ.ra.ʔa] skin
 /ɛβɛra/ [ɛ.βɛ.ra ~ ɛ.vɛ.ra] dog

The contrast between nasal and oral vowels is clear after oral consonants as shown in the following examples.

- | | | | |
|------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| /ao/ | you | vs. /ãʔo/ | a swamp |
| /aʔo/ | ladle | vs. /ãʔõ/ | large bilum |
| /ɛama/ | bird sp. | vs. /ẽa/ | house |
| /ɛhɛ/ | that | vs. /ẽhẽ/ | yes |
| /ɛʔelo/ | white | vs. /ẽʔẽ/ | coconut |
| /iʔi/ | piece of food | vs. /ĩʔiɦa/ | to burn |
| /oʔɛka/ | to make | vs. /õʔẽɦa/ | to try to do |
| /oʔiamuha/ | to put | vs. /oʔĩ/ | to say |
| /uʔuli/ | centipede | vs. /ũʔũka/ | two |

After nasal consonants there does not seem to be a distinction, all vowels seem to be nasalised. Most sequences of vowels are all oral. The only sequence of nasal vowels found

thus far is in /ãẽ?a/ 'that'. The following words with sequences of nasal followed by oral vowel have been found.

/ão?a/	swamp
/ẽa/	house
/ẽa?a/	that's all
/ẽa?i?a/	same
/nẽ?ũa/	1st plural object agreement suffix
/ũa/	to put into
/ũani ~ ãa?i/	someone

The sequence /ão/ is a diphthong; all other sequences are across syllable boundaries. No monomorphemic forms with sequences of oral followed by nasal vowels have been found, although such sequences have been found across morpheme boundaries in words like /ẽre-amu-he-ã?ẽ/ 'did you see it?'. The sequence /ẽã/ is also across syllable boundaries.

No long vowels have been found. Eight diphthongs have been found: /ei eu æ ai au ao oi ou/. The diphthong /ei/ is realised as phonetic [ei]. Examples are given in Table 14 for all eight diphthongs in five environments whenever possible: word initial, between consonants, word final, before a vowel, and after a vowel.

TABLE 14: DIPHTHONGS IN KAKI AE

<i>ei</i>	/eisi/	banana	/meima/	hornbill	/βeiβei/	long
<i>eu</i>			/leuha/	to go around		
<i>æ</i>	/aena/	betelnut	/naelo/	who?	/φæ/	sand
	/enaæa/	to buy				
<i>ai</i>	/aipalo/	pig	/φai?aφai?a/	wet	/apaæ/	young
	/aiẽ?i/	fire				
<i>au</i>	/au?iha/	to say	/φaula/	garden	/mehau/	heavy
	/auale/	spider				
<i>ao</i>	/aolaka/	make (canoe)	/kaola/	unripe	/nao/	I
<i>oi</i>			/koi?ala/	another	/βoi/	spear
<i>ou</i>	/oulaha/	to remove	/leouha/	to swim		

In addition to these diphthongs, the following eleven sequences of vowels occurring across syllable boundaries have been found: /eo ea oe oa io ie ia ui ue uo ua/. The only sequence not found is /iu/. Examples are given in Table 15 for all eleven sequences in as many of the same environments as for diphthongs as possible for each sequence.

TABLE 15: VOWEL SEQUENCES ACROSS SYLLABLE BOUNDARIES

<i>eo</i>	/leou/	to swim				
<i>ea</i>	/ɛama/	bird sp.	/βeaʔɛ/	cockatoo	/φelea/	to jump
			/ɛnaɛa/	to buy		
<i>oe</i>	/oela/	new	/moɛa/	old	/noɛ/	nose
<i>oa</i>			/koale/	a trip	/φoa/	vine type
<i>io</i>			/siolo/	dry season	/aio/	clay pot
<i>iɛ</i>	/iɛ/	green parrot	/aiɛʔi/	fire		
<i>ia</i>	/siahu/	power	/sia/	okari tree	/φaia/	arrow type
<i>ui</i>	/φuia/	moon				
<i>ue</i>			/haʔuehumo/	to cough	/mue/	to return
<i>uo</i>	/uo/	mountain				
<i>ua</i>	/ūaha/	he put it into	/φuani/	seed	/lalu/	cassowary
			/auale/	spider		

A comparison of the sequences in Table 14 with those in Table 15 shows that syllabification of vowel sequences is predictable. Sequences are always realised as one syllable (that is, they are diphthongs) if the second vowel is higher than the first. They are two syllables if the first vowel is higher than the second or if the two vowels are equal in height.

Sequences of three vowels generally also follow these principles of syllabification. A word like /φaia/ [φai.a] 'arrow type' syllabifies as two syllables. Since the second vowel is higher than the first or third vowel it syllabifies with the first vowel and forms a separate syllable from the third vowel. A word like /moɛa/ [mo.ɛ.a] 'old', on the other hand, syllabifies as three syllables since the second vowel is equal in height to the first vowel and higher than the third. Thus it forms a separate syllable from either the first or third vowel.

In this context the questionable nature of the phonemic status of /w/ can be discussed. There are apparent contrasts between /w/ and /u/ as shown in the following example.

/warehava/ first
/ūaha/ put into something

However, such contrasts are rare and only in initial position. In fact, only two words have been found with initial /w/, one of which alternates with /u/ (/wāʔi [wā.ʔi ~ u.ā.ʔi] 'to go down'). The one phonetic occurrence of word medial [w] is in /φuia/ [φu.i.a ~ wi.a] 'moon'.

There do not seem to be widespread morphophonemics in evidence. There are modifications in the pronouns, especially in the diphthongs, that are outlined in §4.5.3. There is also general reduction of sequences of identical vowels across morpheme boundaries. For example, [ɛɛamuʔɛna] 'I see it' is derived from /ɛleɛamuʔɛna/ (cf. [ɛɛɛaʔɛʔɛna] < /ɛleɛaʔɛʔɛna/ 'I see you', [ariamuʔɛna] < /ali-amuʔɛna/ 'I throw it' and [ariʔɛʔɛna] < /aliʔɛʔɛna/ 'I throw you'). When the second vowel in the sequence is nasal, the remaining vowel is also nasal as in [aβahāʔɛ] < /aβa-ha-āʔɛ/ 'did he go up?'. Finally, /ʔ/ is deleted after a consonant across a morpheme boundary as in [amamenu] < /ama-mʔenu/ 'I hit it'. This is easily explained in terms of the general constraint against consonant clusters.

4.2 SENTENCES

Sentences in Kaki Ae can be categorised as simple, complex, or compound. Simple sentences contain only one clause, while complex and compound sentences contain more than one clause.

4.2.1 SIMPLE SENTENCES

There are two types of simple sentences: verbal and nonverbal.

4.2.1.1 VERBAL SENTENCES

Verbal simple sentences contain a verb. The basic form of a verbal sentence is given in (1).

- (1) NP_{subj} (NP_{obj1} (NP_{obj2})) V

That is, a verbal sentence consists of a subject noun phrase followed by one or two optional object noun phrases, followed by a verb. In addition, various adverbial words or phrases can occur between any of these major constituents.

Verbal sentences can be classified as intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive depending on how many object noun phrases can be present. Sentences which cannot contain an object noun phrase, as shown in (2), are intransitive.

- (2) *Nao Kereva-ma wä'ï-'ena.*¹⁹
 1s Kerema-LOC go.down-1sS
 I'm going down to Kerema.

Sentences which may contain only one object noun phrase, as shown in (3)-(6), are transitive.

- (3) *Aiparo-ro nao erea-ne-ha.*
 pig-ERG 1s see-1sO-3sS
 The pig sees me.
- (4) *Erahe aiparo ere-amu-'ani.*
 3p pig see-3sO-2/3pS
 They see the pig.
- (5) *Era nao faha-ma o'i-ne-ha.*
 3s 1s table-LOC put-1sO-3sS
 He put me on the table.

¹⁹ The orthography used in the examples is as follows: oral vowels /a e i o u/ are <a e i o u>, nasal vowels /ã ẽ ĩ õ û/ are <ä ë ï ö ü>, consonants /p k ʔ m n ŋ β s h w/ are <p k ' m n f v s h w>, the consonant /l/ is <l> word initially and <r> word medially. The following abbreviations are used in glosses:

CONT	continuous	IRR	irrealis	PL	plural	Q	question
ERG	ergative	LOC	locative	POSS	possessive	RDP	reduplication
IMP	imperative	NEG	negative				

Pronouns are indicated by a combination of 1, 2, or 3 to indicate person and s or p to indicate number; verbal agreement suffixes have an additional S or O to indicate agreement with subject or object.

- (6) *Era hau'ani akiva-ma asi-amu-ha.*
 3s sweet.potato knife-LOC cut-3sO-3sS
 He cut the sweet potato with a knife.

Sentences which may contain two object noun phrases, as shown in (7), are ditransitive.

- (7) *Nu-ro evera mono ini-amu-'ena.*
 1p-ERG dog boy give-3sO-1pS
 We gave the dog to the boy.

When the subject is a noun phrase (as opposed to a pronoun), a referential pronoun frequently follows.

- (8) *Kurokuro erahe oharo moha ve'i-'ani...*
 cuscus 3p tree ? sit-2/3pS
 Cuscus sit in trees...

Time adverbials can occur sentence initially, sentence finally, or between the subject and verb.

- (9) i. *Lafi aru ona-ha.*
 yesterday man go-3sS
 Yesterday the man went.
- ii. *Aru lafi ona-ha.*
 man yesterday go-3sS
 Yesterday the man went.
- iii. *Aru ona-ha lafi.*
 man go-3sS yesterday
 Yesterday the man went.

Locative adverbials can occur sentence finally or between the subject and verb, as shown by (2) and (10).

- (10) *Nao wä'i-'ena Kereva-ma.*
 1s go.down-1sS Kerema-LOC
 I am going down to Kerema.

I have labelled the affix *-ro* in (3) and (7) as an ergative marker. It is true that it only occurs on subjects of transitive verbs. However, it does not occur on all subjects of transitive verbs, as shown in (4)–(6). As in many other PNG languages, it seems to occur most commonly where there is potential ambiguity as to which noun phrase is the subject. No object in either transitive or ditransitive sentences receives any morphological marking.

As shown in the above examples, verbs take suffixes agreeing in person and number with the subject and object noun phrases. In ditransitive sentences the verb agrees in person and number with the semantic recipient, not the semantic patient.

- (11) *Erahe aiparo himiri nao ne-ni-'ani.*
 3p pig many 1s give-1sO-3pS
 They gave many pigs to me.

If there is no overt subject or object noun phrase, the verb will still take suffixes agreeing with the understood subject, as in (12), or with the understood object, as in (13).

- (12) *Noa-'au, eisi lire-'au, hau'ani ore-'au, o'i-m-'enu.*
 taro-PL banana sucker-PL sweet.potato leaf-PL put-?-1pS
 We plant taro, banana suckers, and sweet potato leaves.
- (13) *Aiparo-ro erea-ne-ha.*
 pig-ERG see-1sO-3sS
 The pig sees me.

As shown in (13), the subject of a transitive sentence can also be marked with the ergative marker *-ro* even if the object is not overt.

Most verbs may only be used either intransitively or transitively. Some verbs, however, can be used intransitively or transitively; one such verb is *ara* 'to burn'. When *ara* is used intransitively as in (14i), it takes no object agreement suffix, and the subject cannot take the ergative suffix. When it is used transitively as in (14ii), it takes an object agreement suffix and the subject may take the ergative suffix.

- (14) i. *Aie'i ara-ha.*
 fire burn-3sS
 The fire is burning.
- ii. *Aie'i-ro äa ar-amu-ha.*
 fire-ERG house burn-3sO-3sS
 The fire is burning the house.

The verb *ehera* 'to be hungry' never takes an overt subject, although it always takes the third singular subject agreement affix. It also takes object agreement affixes agreeing in person and number with the one overt noun phrase.

- (15) i. *Nao ehera-ne-ha.*
 1s hungry-1sO-3sS
 I am hungry.
- ii. *Ofe ehera-e-ha.*
 2p hungry-2/3pO-3sS
 You (pl) are hungry.

The morpheme *ehera* can also be used as a noun as discussed in §4.4.1.

Two slightly different constructions are used for negative statements following the basic distinction in the language between realis and irrealis. (See §4.4.1 for a discussion of the realis/irrealis distinction.) In both constructions the verb is in the irrealis mood. If the corresponding positive statement is in the realis mood, the negative morpheme *ore* is used as shown in (16)–(17).

- (16) i. *Aru era ma-ha.*
 man 3s come-3sS
 The man came.
- ii. *Aru ore ma-na-ra.*
 man NEG come-?-IRR
 The man did not come.

- (17) i. *Nao era koarai-amu-'ena.*
 1s 3s help-3sO-1sS
 I am helping him.
- ii. *Nao era ore koarai-amu-ra.*
 1s 3s NEG help-3sO-IRR
 I am not helping him.

The negative morpheme *ore* can occur before or after the object as shown in (18).

- (18) i. *Era ore evera ama-amu-ra.*
 3s NEG dog hit-3sO-IRR
 He did not hit the dog.
- ii. *Era evera ore ama-amu-ra.*
 3s dog NEG hit-3sO-IRR
 He did not hit the dog.

If the corresponding negative statement is in the irrealis mood, the negative morpheme *one* is used as shown in (19).

- (19) i. *Pani'ira aru era ma-na-ra-ha.*
 tomorrow man 3s come-?-IRR-3sS
 Tomorrow a man will come.
- ii. *Aru one ma-na-ra-ha.*
 man NEG come-?-IRR-3sS
 The man will not come.

The differences in the internal constituency of the verb itself are discussed in §4.4.1.

Commands are marked by verbal morphology. Generally the second person subject is not specified. Otherwise, imperative sentences are not differentiated from declarative sentences. Verbs in negative commands are also in the irrealis mood, but the negative morpheme *vaika* is used.

- (20) i. *On-e!*
 go-IMP
 Go!
- ii. *Vaika ona-ra!*
 don't go-IRR
 Don't go!

4.2.1.2 VERBLESS SENTENCES

The basic form of verbless sentences is given in (21).

- (21) NP_{subj} Complement

The subject may be any noun phrase, including a simple noun or pronoun. The complement may be a noun phrase as in (22)–(23), an adjective as in (24)–(25), or an adverbial as in (26)–(27).

- (22) *Era ava'ivori.*
3s old.man
He is an old man.
- (23) *Ē'a aiparo.*
that pig
That is a pig.
- (24) *Ehe aiparo era hi'ivira.*
that pig 3s big
That pig is big.
- (25) *No-verē napara era ahara-fe ü'üka.*
1s-POSS father 3s brother-PL two
My father has two brothers./My father's brothers are two.
- (26) *Aiparo faura-ma.*
pig garden-LOC
A pig is in the house.
- (27) *Aiparo era vehe.*
pig 3s yonder
The pig is over there.

As with verbal sentences, anaphoric pronouns frequently follow subject noun phrase as in (24), (25) and (26).

Negative verbless sentences are constructed according to the formula in (21) with the addition of sentence final *ore'ea* 'nothing' as shown in (28)–(30).

- (28) *Ē'a aru ore-'ea.*
that man NEG-thing
That's not a man.
- (29) i. *Aiparo äa (lue) ore-'ea.*
pig house in NEG-thing
A pig is not in the house.
- ii. *Aiparo äa fe'u ore-'ea.*
pig house under NEG-thing
The pig is not under the house.
- (30) *No-verē napara era ahara-fe ü'üka ore-'ea.*
1s-POSS father 3s brother-PL two NEG-thing
My father does not have two brothers.

4.2.1.3 QUESTIONS

There are two types of questions: yes-no questions and information questions. There are two constructions for yes-no questions, one for verbal sentences and one for verbless sentences. In the case of verbal sentences the suffix *-ä'e* is added to the verb as in (31)–(33).

- (31) *Ofe Kereva-ma wä'i-'ani-ä'e?*
 2p Kerema-LOC go.down-2/3pS-Q
 Are you (pl) going down to Kerema?
- (32) *Era mao-h-ä'e?*
 3s dance-3sS-Q
 Is he dancing?
- (33) *Ao aiparo ere-amu-he-ä'e?*
 2s pig see-3sO-2sS-Q
 Did you see the pig?

In the case of verbless sentences the morpheme *ä* is added in sentence initial position as in (34)–(35).

- (34) *Ä ne'e aiparo?*
 Q this pig
 Is this a pig?
- (35) *Ä ë'a aiparo ëa lue-ma?*
 Q that pig house in-LOC
 Is that a pig in the house?

There is a class of quality verbs that forms questions with initial *ä* instead of with the suffix *-ä'e*.

- (36) *Ä ë'a ara'a ho'u-ha?*
 Q that canoe break-3sS
 Is that canoe broken?

Content questions are formed by filling one of the positions in a sentence with an interrogative pronoun. This is true for both verbal sentences as shown in (37)–(40) and for verbless sentences as shown in (41)–(43). The interrogative pronoun can fill a noun position as in (37)–(38), (41)–(42) or an adverbial position as in (39)–(40), (43).

- (37) *Naero ona-ra-ha Kereva-ma?*
 who go-IRR-3sS Kerema-LOC
 Who is going to Kerema?
- (38) *Era ena'i fa'ari-ma üa-ha?*
 3s what string.bag-LOC put-3sS
 What did he put in the string bag?
- (39) *Ao ka'a-ma ona-ra-veha?*
 2s where-LOC go-IRR-?
 Where are you going?
- (40) *Ao enaha'u ona-ra-veha Kereva-ma?*
 2s when go-IRR-? Kerema-LOC
 When are you going to Kerema?
- (41) *Ä'a naero ëa-ma?*
 that who house-LOC
 Who is in the house?

- (42) *Ē'a enena'i-ro äa-ma?*
 that what-ERG house-LOC
 What is in the house?
- (43) *Enaha'u aiparo äa lue-ma?*
 when pig house in-LOC
 When was the pig in the house?

Sometimes the normal yes-no question suffix *-ä'e* is also added to verbs in content questions.

- (44) *Era ena'i ere-amu-h-ä'e?*
 3s what see-3sO-3sS-Q
 What did he see?
- (45) *Ao ka'a-ma aena o'i-he-ä'e?*
 2s where-LOC betelnut put-2sS-Q
 Where did you put the betelnut?
- (46) *Aiparo ka'a-m-ä'e?*
 pig where-LOC-Q
 Where is the pig?

4.2.2 CONJOINED AND COMPLEX SENTENCES

Conjoined and complex sentences consist of more than one clause. This discussion of compound and complex sentences is tentative; it does not even account for many of the sentences in the texts which accompany this grammatical sketch. Many of the observations made in this discussion are made on the basis of elicited sentences although most of the structures discussed also occur in the texts.

In many cases the two clauses are simply juxtaposed with no conjunction as in (47)–(53).

- (47) *Ara'a ho'u-ha era feha-ha.*
 canoe break-3sS 3s spoil-3sS
 The canoe broke, it's spoiled/no good.
- (48) *Ara'a ho'u-ha, era a'a feha-mo-ha.*
 canoe break-3sS 3s make-3sO spoil-?-3sS
 The canoe broke, he made it and it got spoiled.
- (49) *Ara'a era ore ho'u-ra, era namaia.*
 canoe 3s NEG break-IRR 3s good
 The canoe is not broken, it's good.
- (50) *Aru-ro ara'a ama ho'u-mo-ha.*
 man-ERG canoe hit break-?-3sS
 The man hit the canoe and broke it.
- (51) *Ao ma-na aiparo ere-amu-he-ä'e?*
 2s come-? pig see-3sO-2sS-Q
 Did you come and see the pig?

- (52) *Ona lo'u-ma, hina-m-enu narakau ne-i-enu.*
 go village-LOC arrive-?-1p food eat-?-1pS
 Going to the village, we will arrive and eat.

- (53) *Aru evera am-amu-ha evera ona-ha.*
 man dog hit-3sO-3sS dog go-3sS
 The man hit the dog and the dog went.

Juxtaposition is also used for adversative and comparative sentences. In these sentences there is some point of opposition between the two clauses: in (54)–(55) the first clause is positive while the second is negative; in (56) the first clause is irrealis while the second is realis; and in the comparative (57) there is opposition between the adjectives *hi'ivira* 'big' and *paka'u* 'small'.

- (54) *Evera-ro no-vere aiparo au-ha, oki-'a o-vere ore-'ea.*
 dog-ERG 1s-POSS pig kill-3sS one-? 2s-POSS NEG-thing
 The dog killed my pig but not yours.

- (55) *Nao epa-ma ona-ena oki-'a ao ore ona-ra.*
 1s bush-LOC go-1s one-? 2s NEG go-IRR
 I went to the bush but you didn't go.

- (56) *Nu'u aiparo au-ra-veha ö'ë-'enu-ma li'o-ha.*
 1p pig kill-IRR-when try-1pS-when run.away-3sS
 We tried to kill the pig but it ran away.

- (57) *No-vere aiparo era hi'ivira, era-vere aiparo paka'u.*
 1s-POSS pig 3s big 3s-POSS pig small
 My pig is big, his pig is small/My pig is bigger than his.

The conjunctions *pe* 'and' and *kape* 'and' are used to show sequential action as shown in (58)–(63). The subject agreement marker is optional on the first verb when the subject of the two clauses is identical.

- (58) *Aru evera am-amu kape ona-ha.*
 man dog hit-3sO and go-3sS
 The man hit the dog and went.

- (59) *Aru aiparo amu kape na-ha.*
 man pig get:3sO and eat-3sS
 The man got the pig and ate it.

- (60) *Amu-'e-pe faha-ma o'i-amu-e!*
 get:3sO-IMP-and platform-LOC put-3sO-IMP
 Get it and put it on the table!

- (61) *Nu'u amu-'enu-pe faha-ma o'i-amu-'enu.*
 1p 3sO-1p-and platform-LOC put-3sO-1p
 We got it and put it on the table.

- (62) *Ona aiparo ere-amu-e-pe ma-n-e.*
 go pig see-3sO-IMP-and come-?-IMP
 Go see the pig and come back.

- (63) *Era Kereva-ma ona-kape narakau enaea-ha.*
 3s Kerema-LOC go-and food buy-3sS
 He went to Kerema and bought food.

The conjunction *o* 'or' is used for alternative sentences as in (64)–(65).

- (64) *Ao Kereva-ma ona-ra o lo'u-ma ve'i-ra?*
 2s Kerema-LOC go-IRR or village-LOC sit-IRR
 Are you going to Kerema or staying in the village?
- (65) *Ao Kereva-ma ma'i-ra o ore-'ea?*
 2s Kerema-LOC go.down-IRR or NEG-thing
 Are you going down to Kerema or not?

Reason-result sentences consist of two juxtaposed clauses. The reason clause begins with *ipi* 'reason/because'. Either of the two clauses may come first as shown in (66), but when the reason clause comes first as in (66ii) it is marked by a sharp rise in intonation at the end of the clause. There is no such intonational marking when the result clause is first as in (66i).

- (66) i. *Era narakau one na-ra-ha ipi era eka-ka.*
 3s food NEG eat-IRR-3sS reason 3s sick-3sS
 He cannot eat because he is sick.
- ii. *Ipi era eka-ka, era narakau one na-ra-ha.*
 reason 3s sick-3sS 3s food NEG eat-IRR-3sS
 Because he is sick he cannot eat.

Time clauses are marked by the locative suffix *-ma* as in (67)–(70). Since *-ma* normally occurs with noun phrases (see §4.3.2.1), this analysis claims time clauses are treated as nominalisations.

- (67) *Aru ona-ha-ma mono evera am-amu-ha.*
 man go-3sS-LOC boy dog hit-3sO-3sS
 When the man went, the boy hit the dog.
- (68) *Napara-ro sia-ne-ha-ma ona-'ena.*
 father-ERG send-1sO-3sS-LOC go-1sS
 When father sent me I went.
- (69) *Era-ro mini la'i-ha-ma isi-ha.*
 3s-ERG bird shoot-3sS-LOC fall-3sS
 When he shot the bird it fell.
- (70) *Era-ro ma-na-ra-ha-ma nao aika'u haua-nana.*
 3s-ERG come-?-IRR-3sS-LOC 1s now afraid-?
 When he comes, I will be afraid.

When the event referred to in the time clause has not yet occurred, as in (70), the verb is in the irrealis mood.

Contrary-to-fact conditional clauses begin with *ape* 'for' and end with the conjunction *lo'erama* as shown in (71)–(72). I am analysing the final *-ma* of *lo'erama* as the locative suffix; I am treating conditional clauses, like time clauses, as nominalisations.

- (71) *Ape nao lare li'i lo'era-ma, nao kivi-'ena-pe-ra-ra.*
 for 1s day remaining then-LOC 1s work-1sS-and-IRR-IRR
 If I had time, I would have done it.
- (72) *Ape era-ro one ma-na lo'era-ma, aiparo ere-amu-kape-ra-ra.*
 for 3s-ERG NEG come-? then-LOC pig see-3sO-and-IRR-IRR
 If he would have come, he would have seen the pig.

Some verbs take sentential objects. One such verb is *ore* 'to know', as illustrated in (73).

- (73) i. *Era ore-ha kere'a-ma ona-ra-ha.*
 3s know-3sS path-LOC go-IRR-3sS
 He knows where to go.
- ii. *Nao ore-'ena kere'a-ma ona-nao.*
 1s know-1sS path-LOC go-1s
 I know where to go.

4.3 PHRASES

Three types of phrases are described in this section: noun phrases, adverb phrases, and intensifier phrases.

4.3.1 NOUN PHRASES

Common noun phrases have the structure in (74).

- (74) (Demonstrative)(Place)(Noun) Noun (Adjective)(Numeral)(Limiter)
- 'Place' refers to a nationality, village, or ethnic group, as illustrated in (75)–(76).
- (75) *Toaripi aru* Toaripi man
Uriri aru'u Uriri leaders
Lau aru European man (< *lau* 'axe')
- (76) *ĕ'a Uriri aru-'u vori-vori ii'ũka*
 Dem Place Noun Adj Num
 that Uriri man-PL big-PL two
 those two Uriri leaders

Other examples of adjectives of quality are given in (77).

- (77) *aru hi'ivira* big man
evera paka'u small dog

Noun-noun constructions are used in two ways. First, as illustrated in (78), the first noun can function as an adjective, specifying a quality of the head noun. Second, as illustrated in (79), the construction can be a partitive construction in which the first noun indicates the whole and the second noun indicates the part. Structurally there is no difference between these two uses of noun-noun constructions.

- (78) *aiparo narakau* pig food
lo'u evera village dog

- (79) *oharo ore* tree
aro u'umo head hair

The only limiter is *uma'i* which has the sense of 'the very' or 'exactly' as illustrated in (80).

- (80) *pani'ira uma'i* just tomorrow
aiparo uma'i the very pig

Possessive noun phrases have the structure in (81).

- (81) NP_{Possessor} *vere* NP_{Possessed}

Generally the possessor is a concrete entity as in (82a,d,e), but the possessor can be abstract as in (82b,c). A possessive noun phrase can also be embedded as the possessed noun phrase in a larger possessive noun phrase as illustrated in (82e). A possessive noun phrase may also be the noun phrase in an adverbial phrase as in (82d).

- (82) a. *mono vere aiparo* the boy's pig
 b. *ma'uri vere ae* life's story
 c. *aika'u vere testimoni* today's testimony
 d. *nu-vere maiena-ma* in front of us
 e. *no-vere naora-vere fa'ari* my mother's bilum

The possessive morpheme *-vere* also occurs in other constructions which I do not fully understand. In the paraphrases in (83i,ii), *vere* occurs with the one form of the agreement suffix, but not with the other as shown by the ungrammatical forms in (83iii,iv).

- (83) i. *Erahe ara'a oki-vere kivi-a-'ani.*
 3p canoe one-POSS work-3sO-2/3pS
 They are making one canoe.
 ii. *Erahe ara'a oki kivi-amu-'ani.*
 3p canoe one work-3sO-2/3pS
 They are making one canoe.
 iii. **Erahe ara'a oki kivi-a-'ani.*
 3p canoe one work-3sO-2/3pS
 iv. **Erahe ara'a oki-vere kivi-amu-'ani.*
 3p canoe one-POSS work-3sO-2/3pS

Noun phrases can be conjoined by *la* as in (84), or by juxtaposition as in (85). Use of the conjunction *la* is more common when only two noun phrases are conjoined.

- (84) *Robbin la Jeremiah la Kereva-ma ona-'ani.*
 Robbin and Jeremiah and Kerema-LOC go-2/3pS
 Robbin and Jeremiah went to Kerema.
 (85) *Robbin, Jeremiah, Jon, erahe Kereva-ma ona-'ani.*
 Robbin Jeremiah John 3p Kerema-LOC go-2/3pS
 Robbin, Jeremiah, and John went to Kerema.

Relative clauses occur before the head of the relative clause. There is no overt noun phrase in the relative clause which is coreferential with the head noun phrase; neither is there any anaphoric pronoun in the relative clause. The head noun phrase can be the subject of the main clause as in (86)–(87), or the object of the main clause as in (88)–(89).

- (86) *No-verē aiparo au-ha aru iia'i Kereva-ma ona-ha.*
 1s-POSS pig kill-3sS man someone Kerema-LOC go-3sS
 The man who killed my pig went to Kerema.
- (87) *Ē'a faura hasi'avai-ha aiparo uma'i epa-ma li'o-ha.*
 that garden ruin-3sS pig very bush-LOC run.away-3sS
 The very pig that ruined that garden ran away to the bush.
- (88) *Nao no-verē aiparo au-ha aru iiani ere-amu-'ena.*
 1s 1s-POSS pig kill-3sS man somebody see-3so-1sS
 I saw the man who killed my pig.
- (89) *Nao no-verē faura hasi'avai-ha aiparo uma'i au-'ena.*
 1s 1s-POSS garden ruin-3sS pig very kill-1sS
 I killed the very pig that ruined my garden.

In (86)–(89) the head noun phrase is coreferential with the implied subject of the relative clause. I have not been able to find any examples of relative clauses in which the head noun phrase is coreferential with an implied object. Attempts to elicit such examples have resulted in conjoined sentences as in (90).

- (90) *Nao ē'a faura ere-amu-'ena, aiparo-ro hasi'avai-'amu-ha.*
 1s that garden see-3sO-1sS pig-ERG ruin-3sO-3sS
 I saw the garden that the pig spoiled.

4.3.2 ADVERB PHRASES

Adverb phrases include phrases indicating location, time, or manner.

4.3.2.1 LOCATIVE PHRASES

The unmarked locative suffix is *-ma*. The meaning of *-ma* depends on the semantics of the noun and verb in the clause. With verbs of motion like *ava* 'to go up' and *wä'i* 'to go down', *-ma* indicates the goal of motion as illustrated in (91)–(92).

- (91) *Era uo-ma ava-ha.*
 3s mountain-LOC go.up-3sS
 He went up the mountain.
- (92) *Nao Kereva-ma wä'i-ena.*
 1s Kerema-LOC go.down-1sS
 I'm going down to Kerema.

With verbs of position like *ve'i* 'to sit/stay' or *lea* 'to stand', *-ma* indicated the unmarked position for the particular noun. For a noun like *faha* 'platform/table' the unmarked position would be on the surface, therefore, *faha-ma* means 'on the table'. For a noun like *faura* 'garden' which refers to a area of land the unmarked position would be in or at the area, therefore, *faura-ma* means 'at/in the garden'. Similarly, with a verb of position *uo-ma* means 'at the mountain'.

With verbs of motion *mape* indicates the source of motion as illustrated in (93)–(95).

- (93) *Era ëa mape ama'u-ha.*
 3s house from come.out-3sS
 He came out of the house.
- (94) *Era uo mape wä'i-ha.*
 3s mountain from go.down-3sS
 He came down the mountain.
- (95) *Nao Kereva mape ava-'ena.*
 1s Kerema from go.up-1sS
 I am coming up from Kerema.

Both source and goal can be indicated with verbs of motion as illustrated in (96).

- (96) *Nao lo'u mape Kereva-ma wä'i-ena.*
 1s village from Kerema-LOC go.down-1sS
 I am going down from the village to Kerema.

The locative suffix *-ma* can be augmented with various positional particles to further specify location as shown in (97).

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| (97) | <i>faha fe'u-ma</i> | under the table |
| | <i>ëa lue-ma</i> | in the house |
| | <i>ëa maima-ma</i> | beside the house |
| | <i>ëa maiena-ma</i> | in front of the house |
| | <i>ëa poe-ma</i> | outside the house |
| | <i>ëa ho'e-ma</i> | near the house |
| | <i>ëa apa-ma</i> | behind the house |
| | <i>ëa ho'e-ma</i> | near the house |
| | <i>ëa apa-ma</i> | behind the house |
| | <i>ëa au-ma</i> | on the house |
| | <i>ëa ü'üka moha fihi-ma</i> | between the two houses |

Many of these positional particles are body parts. For example, *maiena* is 'forehead', *poe* is 'side', *apa* is 'back', and *fihi* refers to the 'middle' fingers, that is the ones next to the thumb. The other particles apparently have no synchronic meaning. While these particles are generally used with verbs of position, they can be used with verbs of motion as illustrated in (98).

- (98) *Era ëa lue-ma ure-ha.*
 3s house in-LOC go-3sS
 He went into the house.

4.3.2.2 TIME PHRASES

Basic time phrases and the time words they are built on are listed in (99).

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| (99) | <i>aika'u</i> | today |
| | <i>laŋi</i> | yesterday |
| | <i>pani'ira</i> | tomorrow |
| | <i>pani'ira ivirahama</i> | day after tomorrow |
| | <i>fuia</i> | month |
| | <i>apa fuia</i> | next month |

<i>manera fuia</i>	last month
<i>ho'ora</i>	night
<i>aika'u ho'ora</i>	tonight
<i>lafi ho'ora</i>	last night (yesterday night)
<i>manera ho'ora</i>	night before last
<i>sioro</i>	year
<i>apa sioro</i>	next year
<i>manera sioro</i>	last year

The word for 'month', *fuia*, also means 'moon'; the word for 'year', *sioro*, also means 'dry season' which occurs from November through January.

4.3.2.3 MANNER

There are a few manner phrases. The instrumental is marked by the general locative suffix *-ma*.

- (100) *akiva-ma* with a knife

Accompaniment is marked by *moha*.

- (101)a. *ahara moha* with the (his) brother
 b. *oharo moha* with the tree

This morpheme is also used in the expression for between in (97) above. The expression in (101b), *oharo moha*, occurred in one text in the clause 'Cuscuses sit in trees'. Its usage here may reflect a perception that the tree accompanies the cuscus (opposum) in general.

4.3.3 INTENSIFIER PHRASES

There are two ways to intensify an adjective or an adverb. The first, the suffix *-ao* 'very', has only been found in one phrase.

- (102) *ëa ho'ema'ao* very near the house

The second, *ha'eka* 'very', is used extensively.

- (103) *ekakau himiri ha'eka* very many things
 aiparo hi'ivira ha'eka very big pig

4.4 WORDS

4.4.1 VERBS

All verbs take subject agreement suffixes (SAS) that agree with the subject in person and number. These affixes are listed in §4.5.1. The third singular SAS can optionally be used with third plural subjects; the third plural SAS cannot be used with third singular subjects as illustrated in (iii).

- (104)i. *Aru oki lea-'ani*.
 man one stand-3pS
 One man is standing.

- ii. *Aru oki lea-ha.*
 man one stand-3sS
 One man is standing.
- iii. **Aru ü'üka lea-ha.*
 man two stand-3sS

In addition to SASs, transitive and ditransitive verbs take object agreement suffixes (OAS) that agree with the object in person and number. These affixes are listed in §4.5.1. The OAS occurs between the verb root and the SAS. The third singular OAS is optional as illustrated in (105).

- (105) i. *Evera-ro no-vere aiparo au-amu-ha.*
 dog-ERG 1s-POSS pig kill-3sO-3s
 The dog killed my pig.
- ii. *Evera-ro no-vere aiparo au-ha.*
 dog-ERG 1s-POSS pig kill-1sS
 The dog killed my pig.

The OAS agrees with the indirect object (goal), not the direct object (patient), for the ditransitive verb *ini* 'to give' as shown in (106).

- (106) i. *Era aiparo oki ofe ini-e-ha.*
 3s pig one 2p give-2pO-3sS
 He gave you (pl) one pig.
- ii. *Era aiparo himiri nao ne-ni-ha.*
 3s pig many 1s give-1sO-3sS
 He gave me many pigs.

There are no tense distinctions in Kaki Ae. Instead there is a general distinction between realis and irrealis. Realis is unmarked, while *-ra* marks irrealis. The use of the irrealis mood has been outlined above. In simple sentences it generally marks either a future action or negation. When it marks a future action it occurs before the SAS as illustrated in (107).

- (107) *Era pani'ira na-ra-ha.*
 3s tomorrow eat-IRR-3sS
 Tomorrow he will eat.

When it occurs in a negative sentence, the SAS does not occur.

- (108) *Era evera ore am-amu-ra.*
 3s dog NEG hit-3sO-IRR
 He did not hit the dog.

There is at least one occurrence of the irrealis that I cannot explain.

- (109) *Nao ara'a feha-ra ere-amu-'ena.*
 1s canoe spoil-IRR see-3sO-1sS
 I saw the rotten canoe.

Most other morphemes that appear as verbal suffixes in the texts are conjunctions which occur word finally. It is unclear whether these are part of the verb or separate words, as I have not found criteria on which to make consistent word breaks. One other morpheme that occurs word internally is *-m* as shown in (110).

- (110) *Opa haima ika la'u-m-enu-pe, i'i-m-enu-ma...*
 first bush self clean-?-1pS-and burn-?-1pS-LOC
 First we clear the bush, when it is cleared...

This morpheme appears to have a habitual connotation. It is used consistently in this one procedural text, but even the same story teller does not use it in another procedural text.

Reduplication is occasionally used to indicate continuous aspect as shown in (111).

- (111) *...nane oki veri-veri...*
 fish one pull-CONT
 ...they keep pulling in fish...

At least one verb, *a* 'to get', takes different forms with singular and plural objects.

- (112) *a* get (sg) *o'a* get (pl)

Either form can be used with a plural object, but only *a* can be used with a singular object.

- (113) i. *Nao aiparo oki a-'ena.*
 1s pig one get-1sS
 I got one pig.
 ii. **Nao aiparo oki o'a-e-'ena.*
 1s pig one get-3pO-1sS
 iii. *Nao aiparo himiri a-'ena.*
 1s pig many get-1sS
 I got many pigs.
 iv. *Nao aiparo himiri o'a-e-'ena.*
 1s pig many get-3pO-1sS
 I got many pigs.

At least one verb, *ini* 'to give', takes different forms with first person versus nonfirst person objects.

- (114) *ne* give (me/us) *ini* give (you/he/she/them)

This verb also takes a slightly different set of OASs than do other verbs; this is discussed further in §4.5.1.

The morpheme *ehera* 'hungry' can be used as either a verb as in (115i) or as a noun as in (115ii).

- (115) i. *Nao ehera-ne-ha.*
 1s hungry-1sO-3sS
 I am hungry.
 ii. *Nao nane ehera-ro o'a-ne-ha.*
 1s fish hungry-ERG get-1sO-3sS
 Fish hunger got me./I am hungry for fish.

4.4.2 NOUNS

The only noun morphology is differentiation of singular and plural. The most general way to form plural is by using the suffix *-voro*. This affix can be used on human nouns as in

(116i), animate nouns as in (116ii), inanimate nouns as in (116iii), and even mass nouns as in (116iv). In the case of mass nouns, *-voro* means 'much'.

(116)	Singular	Plural	
i.	<i>ä'u</i>	<i>ä'uvoro</i>	woman
	<i>aru</i>	<i>aruvoro</i>	man
	<i>aruä'u</i>	<i>aruä'uvoro</i>	person
ii.	<i>aiparo</i>	<i>aiparovoro</i>	pig
	<i>evera</i>	<i>everavoro</i>	dog
	<i>mini</i>	<i>minivoro</i>	bird
	<i>nane</i>	<i>nanevoro</i>	fish
iii.	<i>aie'i</i>	<i>aie'ivoro</i>	fire
	<i>ara'a</i>	<i>ara'avoro</i>	canoe
iv.	<i>aime</i>	<i>aimevoro</i>	water

A second way to form plurals is by adding the affix *-fe*. This affix can be used with most kinship terms as shown in (117).

(117)	Singular	Plural	
	<i>napara</i>	<i>naparafe</i>	father
	<i>naora</i>	<i>naorafe</i>	mother
	<i>onera</i>	<i>onerafe</i>	sister
	<i>ahara</i>	<i>aharafe</i>	brother
	<i>laira</i>	<i>lairafe</i>	aunt
	<i>anaure</i>	<i>anaurefe</i>	uncle
	<i>nomara</i>	<i>nomarafe</i>	in-law

At least two kinship terms cannot take the affix *-fe*. Instead they have separate plural forms as shown in (118). Both of these terms can be used as common nouns ('boy' and 'girl') or as kinship terms ('son' and 'daughter').

(118)	Singular	Plural	
	<i>mono</i>	<i>moroua</i>	son, boy
	<i>murū</i>	<i>murua'u</i>	daughter, girl

Finally, there is at least one noun that forms the plural by reduplication.

(119)	<i>aua</i>	child	<i>aua'aua</i>	children
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Although most, if not all, nouns have plural forms, the singular form is generally used as illustrated in (120).

(120)	... <i>aua</i>	<i>erahe</i>	<i>ore</i>	<i>naora</i>	<i>era</i>	<i>kapora</i>	<i>koare</i>	<i>mape</i>	<i>ma-ha</i> .
	child	3p	know	mother	3s	fishing	trip	from	come-3sS
	...the children know the mother will come from the fishing trip.								

4.5 MORPHEME CATEGORIES

4.5.1 VERBAL AGREEMENT SUFFIXES

The use of subject agreement suffixes (SAS) and object agreement suffixes (OAS) is discussed in §4.4.1. The set of SASs is listed in (121).

- (121) *-'ena* first singular
 -he/ke second singular
 -ha/ka third singular
 -'enu first plural
 -'ani second/third plural

Most verbs take *-hel-ha* with second and third singular subjects, a minority take *-ke/-ka*. No verbs take *-hel-ka* or *-ke/-ha*.

The OASs are listed in (122).

- (122) *-ne* first singular
 -'e second singular
 -amula third singular
 -ne'üa first plural
 -e second/third plural

I have not found any conditioning factors for the alternation in the third singular OAS.

One verb, *ini* 'to give', takes a slightly different set of OASs as listed in (123).

- (123) *-ni* first singular
 -'e second singular
 -Ø third singular
 -ni'üa first plural
 -e second/third plural

The *e* in the regular set of first person OASs corresponds to *i* in the OASs for the verb *ini* 'to give'; the regular third singular OAS *-amula* corresponds to *-Ø*. As noted in §4.4.1, the OASs generally agree in person and number with the indirect object for the ditransitive verb *ini* 'to give'. When the direct object is plural, however, the first plural OAS is *-nu'üa* instead of *-ni'üa*, while the first singular OAS remains *-ni* as shown in (124).

- (124) *ne-ni-'ani* they gave them to me
 ne-nu'üa-'ani they gave them to us

4.5.2 VERB ROOTS

Verb roots are classified by whether they can be used in intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive clauses. As noted in §4.2.1.1 some verbs can be used in more than one type of clause. Verbs are also classified as to the form of the second and third singular SAS they take (see §4.5.1).

4.5.3 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

There are six pronouns distinguished by person (first, second, and third) and number (singular and plural). There are no distinct dual forms, nor is there is distinction between inclusive and exclusive.

- (125) *nao* 1s *nu'u* 1p
 ao 2s *ofe* 2p
 era 3s *erahe* 3p

The possessive forms are derived from these basic forms by adding the possessive suffix *-vere*. The *ao* diphthong in the first and second singular forms is reduced to *o*, and the first plural form *nu'u* is shortened to *nu*.

(126)	<i>novere</i>	1s	<i>nuvere</i>	1p
	<i>overe</i>	2s	<i>ofevere</i>	2p
	<i>eravere</i>	3s	<i>erahevere</i>	3p

The ergative forms are derived from the basic forms by adding the ergative suffix *-ro*. The *ao* diphthong in the first and second singular forms is reduced to *a*, the first plural form *nu'u* is shortened to *nu*, and the final *e* in the second and third plural forms becomes *o*.

(127)	<i>naro</i>	1s	<i>nuro</i>	1p
	<i>aro</i>	2s	<i>oforo</i>	2p
	<i>eraro</i>	3s	<i>erahoro</i>	3p

4.5.4 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

There are three demonstrative pronouns which refer to the distance of the object from the speaker. All three can be used adverbally (here/there/yonder) or adjectivally (this/that/yond).

(128)	<i>ne'e</i>	here/this
	<i>ehe/ë'a</i>	there/that
	<i>ëa'ehe'a/vehe'a</i>	yonder/yond

4.5.5 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The basic interrogative pronouns are listed in (129).

(129)	<i>naero</i>	who
	<i>ena'ilenena'i</i>	what
	<i>enaha'u</i>	when
	<i>ene(ipi)veha</i>	why
	<i>ka'a-ma</i>	where

4.5.6 NOUNS

Nouns are divided into classes on the basis of which affix they take to form plurals. For more discussion, see §4.4.2.

4.5.7 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives can be divided into two classes: those which occur before the noun and those which occur after the noun. As outlined in §4.3.1, the adjectives which occur before the noun are adjectives of nationality or place of origin, while those that occur after the noun are adjectives of quality. Adjectives of quality denote colour as in (130i), quantity as in (130ii), size or dimensions as in (130iii), or quality as in (130iv).

(130) i.	<i>epore</i>	black
	<i>e'ero</i>	white

	<i>nano</i>	yellow
	<i>o'u</i>	green
	<i>viro</i>	red
ii.	<i>himiri</i>	many
	<i>hoi</i>	few
	<i>pirari</i>	few
	<i>kau'ara</i>	some
iii.	<i>hi'ivira</i>	big
	<i>paka'u</i>	small
	<i>veivei</i>	long
	<i>au</i>	short
iv.	<i>ani</i>	old
	<i>moea</i>	old
	<i>apai</i>	young
	<i>oera</i>	new
	<i>mehau</i>	heavy
	<i>kine</i>	ripe
	<i>kaora</i>	unripe; not heavy
	<i>namaia</i>	good
	<i>feha</i>	bad (with sores)
	<i>hove'a</i>	correct
	<i>no'a</i>	straight
	<i>lohoru</i>	round
	<i>fa'ifa'i</i>	wet
	<i>hara'o</i>	dry
	<i>hahe'a</i>	warm
	<i>hahu'u</i>	cold
	<i>eani</i>	left (side)
	<i>haune</i>	right (side)

4.5.8 NUMERALS

The counting system is based on 'two' and 'five' as shown in (131).

(131)	<i>oki</i>	one
	<i>ü'üka</i>	two
	<i>ü'üka oki</i>	three (also <i>ü'üka pau'a</i>)
	<i>ü'üka ü'üka</i>	four
	<i>upu oka'i</i>	five
	<i>(upu) oka'i oka'i</i>	ten

The words for 'five' and 'ten' are based on *upu* 'arm, hand' and *oka'i* 'side'.

5. A KAKI AE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

The 450 entries in this dictionary come from the texts in §7, the SIL standard word list (including the Swadesh 100 word list), and miscellaneous words elicited during text analysis

and general conversations. The part of speech is in parentheses after the vernacular form; this designation should be treated with a healthy dose of skepticism, especially in the case of verbs of quality versus adjectives. Positional particles discussed in §4.3.2.1 are designated as 'pp', or postpositions.

Verbs that take second and third singular agreement suffixes beginning in *k* are so marked along with the part of speech. All other verbs take suffixes beginning in *h*. Nasal vowels are treated the same as oral vowels for the purpose of alphabetisation, while <'>, the glottal stop, comes last in the alphabet.

a (vt: *o'aeha* with pl. obj.)
to get: *Nao evera*
o'ae'ena. 'I got many
dogs.'

ä yes-no question marker

ae (n) word; language

aena (n) betelnut

äë'a (pro) that

ahara (n) brother

ahena (n) liver

ahi (vt) to cut (alternant:
asi)

ai (n) sago

aie'i (n) fire

aika'u (adv) now; today

aime (n) water

aimumu (n) calf of leg

aino (n) spittle

aio (n) clay pot
(traditional)

aiparo (n) pig

aki (n) body

akiva (n) knife

ama (vt) to hit

ama'u (vi) to come out

ame (n) breast

amere (n) grass skirt

-amu (afx) third person
singular object marker

amuri (n) louse

ana (vi) to laugh

anara (n) mouth

ane (n) rubbish

ane'e (adv) here
(synonym: *ne'e*)

ani (adj) old, used for
animal

anipe (conj) then

anure (n) husband

ao (pro) you (sg)

aora (vt: *k*) to make grass
skirt (*amere*) or canoe
(*ara'a*)

äo'a (n) a swamp

apa (n) back: *aki apa*
'entire back'; (pp) after:
apa fuia 'next month'; *apa*
sioro 'next year'

apai (adj) young, used for
animal

ape (pp) for

ara (v) to burn

ara'a (n) canoe

arepo (n) a fly

are'e (n) shellfish

ari (vt) to throw
something

aro (pro) you (sg:subject)

aro (n) head

aru (n) man

arua'u (n) person

aru'u (n) people

ase (n) sugarcane

asena (vt) to eat

asi (vt) to cut small things

asia (vt) to cut

au (vt) to shoot, to kill

au (adj) short

au (pp) on

-au (afx) plenty

aua (n) child

auare (n) spider

Au'arari (n) God

au'i (vt) to say

ava (vi) to go up

ava'ivori (n) old man

a'e (vi: *k*) to walk

-ä'e (afx) yes-no question
marker

a'o (n) traditional ladle
made of coconut shell and
stick

ä'ö (n) a large string bag

ä'u (n) woman

a'uuvori (n) old woman

-e (afx) imperative marker

-e (afx) third plural object
agreement

ëa (n) house

eama (n) a black bird
about the size of a
chicken

eani (adj) left (direction)

ëa'a (interjec) that's all

ëa'i'ao (pro) same

ehe (adj) that: *ehera* 'that
one'

ëhë (interjec) yes

ehera (v) hungry: *nao eheraneha* 'I am hungry'; *nu'u eherane'üaha* 'we are hungry'; *erahe eheraeha* 'they are hungry'; *erahe eheraeraha* 'they will be hungry'

ehune (n) nape of neck

eisi (n) banana

eka (vi: k) to be sick

ekakau (pro) something

ekalesia (n: from Greek) church, or member of church

ekau (pro) something

eke (n) the fourth and fifth fingers (counting from the thumb)

ema'i (v) to prepare

emera (vt) to tell

enaeva (vt) to buy

enaha'u (pro) when?

enape (n) crocodile

ena'i (pro) what?

ene (pro) why

enena'i (pro) what?

epa (n) bush

epore (n) charcoal; (adj) black

era (pro) he, she, it

erahe (pro) they

eraro (pro) he, she, it (subject)

ere (n) stone

ereä (vt) to see

ero (vi) to turn, also used when the water turns and is coming in, becoming high tide

esi (vt) to wear

evera (n) dog

evera (vt) to tell someone

ë'a (pro) that

e'e (vt) to chop

ë'ë (vt) to dig something up

ë'ë (n) coconut

e'ero (adj) white

fae (n) sand

fafaro'a (n) the place where canoes are kept

faha (n) platform, used for table

faia (n) arrow with flat, broad tip for pigs

fai'afai'a (adj) wet

fari (n) story

faura (n) garden: *nao faura ena* 'I am doing the garden'; *ao faurahe* 'you are doing the garden'

fave (vi) to bark

fa'apai (vt) to open

fa'ari (n) small string bag used for carrying betelnut and related items; basket

-fe (afx) plural

feha (v) to spoil

fehara (adj) bad; with sores

fehea (vt) to husk coconuts, sugarcane, betelnut

fera (n) leg or foot

fereä (vi) to jump

fereä (vt) to pull out from something

fe'u (pp) under

fih (n) the first and second fingers (counting from the thumb); middle

finu (n) an island

foa (n) vine type, short

fua (vt) to carry

fuani (n) seed

fuia (n) moon; month

fu'ihä (adj) full (used for liquid or dry items)

-hä (afx) third singular subject agreement

haeke (v) to make strong

hafafia (n) a bush fowl, nests on ground

hafu (vt) to meet someone

hahe (vt) to take useless skin off

hahe'a (adj) hot; warm

hahu'u (adj) cold

haima (n) bush

haisa (n) arrow with 3 to 4 tips for birds

hara'o (adj) dry

hasi'avai (vt) to ruin

haua (n) rat

haua (vi) be afraid

hauka (adj) straight

haune (adj) right (direction)

hauraia (n) thigh of leg

hau'ani (n) sweet potato

hava (vt) to cut open

havarö (n) wallaby

hava'u (n) show

haveha (conj) and then

ha'eka (adv) very

ha'uehumo (vi) to cough

ha'uhave'i (vi) to sit

-he (afx) second singular subject agreement

heafo (n) a struggle; (vi) to struggle

hehe (vt) to clear rubbish from the garden

heka (adv) far

here (n) belly

- hereane** (n) intestine
- himiri** (adj) many: *himiri ha'eika* 'all; many (over 1000)'
- hina** (vi) to arrive
- hinehine** (adj) previous:
hinehine fuia 'month in the past'; *hinehine ho'ora* 'night in the past';
hinehine sioro 'year in the past'
- hi'ivira** (adj) big
- hohiri** (n) heart
- hoi** (adj) few
- homa** (vt) to stab something using knife or spear
- homa'i** (vt) to push foot into mud to push ka'i out of holes
- hove'a** (adj) correct; to be fit; period of time
- ho'ora** (n) night:
ho'ora'ini 'midnight'
- ho'u** (vi) to break
- huru** (vi) to fall down
- hu'a** (n) a block of wood
- hu'u** (n) tooth
- ie** (n) green parrot
- ifia** (n) mosquito
- ika** (pro) self
- ini** (n) eye
- ini** (vt: *ne* first person object) to give
- inimu** (n) finger or toe nail; claw
- ipi** (n) reason
- irahoro** (pro) they (subject)
- isani** (conj) and
- isa'a** (n) traditional spoon made of coconut shell and stick
- isi** (vi) to fall from top of something
- ivare** (n) blood
- ivi'ira** (n) morning
- i'i** (n) a small piece of food
- i'i** (vt) to burn, as grass; to cook in the fire
- ka** (afx) third singular subject agreement
- kai** (pp) to
- kaia** (vi) to paddle
- kaipe'a** (n) arrow with single round tip
- kane'ea** (pro) here
- kaomo** (vi) the beginning of high tide
- kaora** (adj) unripe; light, not heavy
- kapai** (n) orchid
- kape** (conj) and
- kapora** (vi) to fish
- karo** (vt) to find
- kau** (n) house
- kava** (conj) so
- kavo** (n) bat, flying fox
- ka'ama** (pro) where?
- ka'i** (n) small green prawn-like creature which lives in the mangrove swamp and is used for bait
- ke** (afx) second singular subject agreement
- kekese** (v) ready
- keko** (n) a type of bamboo used for building houses and fences
- kenekunu** (n) frog, green or brown in colour
- kere'a** (n) path; road
- keta** (n) mat woven from pandanas; pandanus
- ke'oro** (n) the activity of fishing, fishing expedition
- kine** (adj) ripe
- kivi** (n) work: *nao kivi a'ena* 'I am working'; *ao kivi ahe* 'you are working'; *nu'u kivi a'enu* 'we are working'
- koarai** (vt) to help
- koare** (n) a trip
- koi'ara** (pro) another
- kore'ea** (int) no
- koru** (n) a small piece of food
- kou'ara** (adj) some
- kure'ai** (n) influence
- kuri'a** (adv) already
- kurokuro** (n) cuscus
- la** (conj) and
- lafi** (n) yesterday
- lafifi** (n) evening
- laha** (n) a fish species, red in colour
- laifuru** (n) afternoon
- laka** (v) to bear fruit
- lamo** (adj) only
- lamu** (vt) to plant stick in ground to tie canoe to
- lao** (n) axe; when used with *ua'iluma'i* it refers to someone of European extract
- lare** (n) day; sun
- laro** (n) shoulder
- larua** (n) cassowary
- lasi** (n) yam
- lavara** (n) the southwest wind, resulting in rough seas

la'a (vi) to think
la'i (vt) to plant
la'i (adj) together
la'i (vt) to shoot
-la'i (afx) future
la'u (vt) clean
lea (vi) to be standing
leou (vi) to swim (as a fish)
leu (vi) to go around in no particular direction
li (vi) to sleep
liave'i (vi) to die
lire (n) sucker
li'i (n) remaining
li'o (vi) to run away
loea (vi) return, travel back
lofo (vi) be strong
lohoru (adj) round
loku (n) pawpaw
loro (n) grass
loroka (vi) be completed
lo'era (conj) and; so
lo'u (n) village
lue (pp) in
luera (conj) then, that moment
-ma (pp) locative
ma (vi) to come
maia (n) catfish
maiana (n) tongue
maiena (n) forehead; (pp) in front
maima (pp) near
maina (n) lime
manera (adj) previous:
manera ho'ora 'night before yesterday'; *manera fuia* 'last month'; *manera sioro* 'last year'

mao (vi) to dance
mape (pp) from
mari (vt) to catch; to hold
mavi (n) bandicoot
ma'ao (adj) early, used for morning; just then
ma'i (vi) to go down
ma'o (n) oldest brother, first born brother
ma'omuru (n) older sister
ma'uri (n) life
mehau (adj) heavy
meima (n) hornbill
meivi (n) mango
memere (n) snake
mene (n) sky: *mene uru* 'cloud'
mene (n) root
mero (n) grease, fat
merove (n) vine used for tying thatch on roof
mihamiha (n) a scorpion
mini (n) bird
moea (adj) old
moha (pp) with
mono (n) boy; son
mo'e (vi) to listen
mo'orea (vt) to tie, as grass for a skirt
mua (vt: *k*) to drink
mue (vi) to return
muhu (vt) to rub, squeezing, as when preparing grass for skirt
muka (n) ant: *muka hoi* 'rice (it looks like ant eggs)'
mumu (n) egg
murū (n) girl; daughter
na (vt) to eat
naero (pro) who?

namaia (adj) good
nanamu (vt) to bite, as a dog bites
nane (n) fish
nano (adj) yellow
nao (pro) I
naora (n) mother
napara (n) father
narakau (n) food
naro (pro) I (subject)
naume (adv) again
-ne (afx) first singular object marker
ne'e (adj) this: *ne'era* 'this one'
-ne'ua (afx) first plural object agreement
noa (n) taro sp with one tuber with smaller heart shaped leaves
noani (n) high tide
noe (n) nose
nomara (n) an in-law
nora (n) thumb
nori (n) snot
no'a (adj) straight
no'i (vt) to ask
nuro (pro) we (subject)
nu'u (pro) we
o (conj) or
oe (n) ear
oera (adj) new
ofe (pro) you (pl)
oforo (pro) you (pl:subject)
oharo (n) tree
ohe'ohe (n) armpit
oka'i (n) side: *upu oka'i* 'five'; *oka'i oka'i* 'ten'
oki (adj) one: *ü'üka oki* 'three'

oko (n) joint: *fera oko*
'knee; ankle'; *upu oko*
'elbow; wrist'

ome (interjec) word used
when you can't think of
the right one

ome (vt) to make
something

ona (vi) to go

one (adv) negative

onera (n) younger sister

onomo (n) auxiliary hair,
also used for pig, etc.;
feather

opa (adv) first

oporo (n) dead wood;
firewood

ora'e (vt) to show

ore (n) leaf

ore (vt) to know

ore (adv) not

ore (vi: k) to be finished

ore'ea (pro) nothing

orohavu (n) mist

orora (n) tail

orora (n) younger brother

oura (vt) remove

ovava (vi) to be bright

ovora (vi) when the water
is going back, becoming
low tide

o'ae (vt) to take many, not
used for singular objects

o'e (vt: k) to make

ö'ë (vt) to try to do
(alternant: *ome*)

o'i (vt) to put

o'i (vt) to say

o'o (vi: k) gather

o'ore (vt) to hunt

o'u (adj) green

paira (pro) another

paka'u (adj) small; (n)
baby

pani (n) neck

pani'ira (n) tomorrow

pao'a (adj) one (used with
ü'üka 'two' to make
three)

paua (vi: k) to cry

pauamo'e (vt) to hear

pa'i (adj) same

pe (conj) and

pirari (adj) few

piri (n: from English)
bean

pirikari (n) taro sp with
plenty of tubers and large
heart shaped leaves

poe (n) side

poko'u (n) throat
(generally used with *pani*)

poko'u (n) a type of
bamboo used for cooking

ponu (n) grasshopper

porapora (adj) early,
used of morning

po'e (n) heron

pupura (n) hair of beard
or armpit

pura (n) clothing

-ra (afx) irrealis:
information question
marker, future tense
marker, negative
agreement

-ro (afx) ergative marker

sa'i'ore'ea (adv) not
long

se'o (n) a tree sp with
edible fruit

si (vi) to get into traveling
object

sia (n) okari tree

sia (vt) to send

siahu (n) power

sioro (n) year; dry season

soa'oki'ao (adv) together

soka (vi: k) stop

soka (conj) so

sukerere (n) belief

supi'a (n) spear

tiro (n) a container for
holding water,
traditionally bamboo,
coconut shell, or clay pot

u (n) chin

u (vt) to call

üa (vt) to put into

üani (pro) somebody,
used with *aru* 'man'
(alternant: *üa'i*; *uma'i*)

ua'i (vi) to go down

üa'i (pro) someone
(alternant: *uma'i*; *üani*)

uki (n) bone

ukuri (vt) to hear

uma (n) smoke; cigarette;
tobacco

uma'i (adv) very

umu (n) ashes

une (n) breadfruit

uo (n) mountain

upa (n) rain

uparare (n) wet season

upu (n) arm and hand: *upu*
apa 'back of the palm';
upu faha 'palm of the
hand'

urara (n) meat

ure (vi) to go into

uri (n) stick

uri (vt) to weave

uri (vt) to cook by boiling

uriri (vi) to run

uru (n) cloud (used with *mene*)

uru (n) name

u'e (vi: k) to stand up from other position

ü'üka (adj) two: *ü'üka oki* 'three'; *ü'üka pau'a* 'three'; *ü'üka ü'üka* 'four'

u'uma (n) bone of calf of leg

u'umo (n) hair (from head)

u'uri (n) centipede

vaho (n) wing

vai (n) river

vaika (v) don't

vao (n) a small net with cane circular frame for catching prawns

vaura (n) the northeast wind, resulting in somewhat rough seas

va'a (conj) so

va'a (vi) dead

va'uva'u (n) butterfly

veahiri (adv) usually

vearovaeka (n) the earth

vea'e (n) cockatoo

veha (adv) when

vehe (pro) there

veivei (adj) long

vera'a (n) skin; bark of tree

vera'ama (n) body

-vere (afx) possession marker

vere (vt) to want

veri (vt) to pull something

veru (n) gift

ve'i (vi) to sit

ve'o (n) wind

via (n) mustard, used with betelnut

vihu'u (n) star

vire (n) the mind

viro (adj) red

voi (n) spear

vorivori (adj) big, refering to many items

-voro (afx) plural

vu'o (vi) to fly (as a bird)

warehava (adv) first

wä'i (vi) to go down

-'ani (afx) second or third plural subject agreement

-'ao (afx) only, used with adjectives

-'au (afx) plural marker

-'e (afx) second singular object marker

-'ena (afx) first singular subject agreement

-'enu (afx) first plural subject agreement

-'i'i (afx) very

6. AN ENGLISH-KAKI AE FINDER LIST

This finder list is to be used in conjunction with the dictionary in §5. More information on the individual lexical items can be found in the dictionary. The English words used for the finder list are generally the glosses used in the texts in §7.

afraid: *haua*

after: *apa*

afternoon: *laifuru*

again: *naume*

already: *kuri'a*

and: *isani; kape, pe; la; lo'era*

another: *koi'ara; paira*

ant: *muka*

arm: *upu*

armpit: *ohe'ohe*

arrive: *hina*

arrow: *faia; haisa; kaipe'a*

ashes: *umu*

ask: *no'i*

at: *ma*

axe: *lao*

baby: *paka'u*

back: *apa*

bad: *fehara*

bamboo type: *keko;*

poko'u

banana: *eisi*

bandicoot: *mavi*

bark: *bera'a*

bark, to: *fave*

basket: *fa'ari*

bat: *kavo*

bean: *piri*

bear fruit: *laka*

belief: <i>sukerere</i>	claw: <i>inimu</i>	far: <i>heka</i>
belly: <i>here</i>	clean: <i>la'u</i>	father: <i>napara</i>
betelnut: <i>aena</i>	clear: <i>hehe</i>	feather: <i>onomo</i>
big: <i>hi'ivira; vorivori</i>	clothing: <i>pura</i>	few: <i>hoi; pirari</i>
bird: <i>mini</i>	cloud: <i>mene uru</i>	find: <i>karo</i>
bird species: <i>eama; hafafia</i>	cockatoo: <i>bea'e</i>	finger: <i>eke; fihi</i>
bite: <i>nanamu</i>	coconut: <i>ë'ë</i>	finish: <i>ore</i>
black: <i>epore</i>	cold: <i>hahu'u</i>	fire: <i>aie'i</i>
block: <i>hu'a</i>	come: <i>ma</i>	first: <i>opa; warehava</i>
blood: <i>ivare</i>	come out: <i>ama'u</i>	fish: <i>nane</i>
body: <i>aki; vera'ama</i>	complete: <i>loroka</i>	fish species: <i>kapora; laha</i>
bone: <i>uki</i>	container: <i>tiro</i>	fishing: <i>ke'oro</i>
bone of calf: <i>u'uma</i>	cook: <i>uri</i>	fit, be: <i>hove'a</i>
boy: <i>mono</i>	correct: <i>hove'a</i>	fly: <i>arepo</i>
breadfruit: <i>une</i>	cough: <i>ha'uehumo</i>	fly, to: <i>vu'o</i>
break: <i>ho'u</i>	crocodile: <i>enape</i>	food: <i>narakau</i>
breast: <i>ame</i>	cry: <i>paua</i>	for: <i>ape</i>
bright: <i>ovava</i>	cuscus: <i>kurokuro</i>	forehead: <i>maiена</i>
brother: <i>ahara; ma'o; orora</i>	cut: <i>ahi; asi; asia; hava</i>	frog: <i>kenekunu</i>
burn: <i>ara; i'i</i>	dance: <i>mao</i>	from: <i>mape</i>
bush: <i>epa; haima</i>	daughter: <i>murū</i>	front: <i>maiена</i>
butterfly: <i>va'uva'u</i>	day: <i>lare</i>	fruit, to bear: <i>laka</i>
buy: <i>enaea</i>	dead: <i>va'a</i>	full: <i>fu'iha</i>
calf: <i>aimumu</i>	die: <i>liave'i</i>	garden: <i>faura</i>
calf bone: <i>u'uma</i>	dig: <i>ë'ë</i>	gather: <i>o'o</i>
call: <i>u</i>	dog: <i>evera</i>	get: <i>a</i>
canoe: <i>ara'a</i>	don't: <i>vai</i>	get in: <i>si</i>
canoe place: <i>fafaro'a</i>	drink: <i>mua</i>	gift: <i>veru</i>
carry: <i>fua</i>	dry: <i>hara'o</i>	girl: <i>murū</i>
cassowary: <i>larua</i>	dry season: <i>sioro</i>	give: <i>ini</i>
catch: <i>mari</i>	ear: <i>oe</i>	go: <i>ona</i>
catfish: <i>maia</i>	early: <i>ma'ao; porapora</i>	go around: <i>leu</i>
centipede: <i>u'uri</i>	earth: <i>vearovaeka</i>	go down: <i>ma'i; ua'i; wä'i</i>
charcoal: <i>epore</i>	eat: <i>asena; na</i>	go in: <i>ure</i>
child: <i>aua</i>	egg: <i>mumu</i>	go up: <i>ava</i>
chin: <i>u</i>	European: <i>lao</i>	God: <i>Au'arari</i>
chop: <i>e'e</i>	evening: <i>lafifi</i>	good: <i>namaia</i>
church: <i>ekalesia</i>	eye: <i>ini</i>	grass: <i>loro</i>
	fall: <i>huru; isi</i>	grasshopper: <i>ponu</i>

grease: <i>mero</i>	light: <i>kaora</i>	now: <i>aika'u</i>
green: <i>o'u</i>	lime: <i>maina</i>	of: <i>vere</i>
hair: <i>onomo; pupura;</i> <i>u'umo</i>	listen: <i>mo'e</i>	okari: <i>sia</i>
hand: <i>upu</i>	liver: <i>ahena</i>	old: <i>ani; moea</i>
head: <i>aro</i>	long: <i>veivei</i>	old man: <i>ava'ivori</i>
hear: <i>pauamo'e; ukuri</i>	long, not: <i>sa'i'ore'ea</i>	old woman: <i>a'uvori</i>
heart: <i>hohiri</i>	louse: <i>amuri</i>	on: <i>au</i>
heavy: <i>mehau</i>	low tide: <i>ovora</i>	one: <i>oki; pao'a</i>
help: <i>koarai</i>	make: <i>aora; ome; o'e</i>	only: <i>lamo; 'ao</i>
here: <i>ane'e; kane'ea</i>	man: <i>aru</i>	open: <i>fa'apai</i>
heron: <i>po'e</i>	mango: <i>meivi</i>	or: <i>o</i>
high tide: <i>kaomo; noani</i>	many: <i>himiri</i>	orchid: <i>kapai</i>
hit: <i>ama</i>	mat: <i>keta</i>	paddle: <i>kaia</i>
hold: <i>mari</i>	meat: <i>urara</i>	pandanas: <i>keta</i>
hornbill: <i>meima</i>	meet: <i>hafu</i>	parrot: <i>ie</i>
hot: <i>hahe'a</i>	middle: <i>fihi</i>	path: <i>kere'a</i>
house: <i>ëa; kau</i>	mind: <i>vire</i>	pawpaw: <i>loku</i>
hungry: <i>ehera</i>	mist: <i>orohavu</i>	people: <i>aru'u</i>
hunt: <i>o'ore</i>	moon: <i>fuia</i>	person: <i>aru'a'u</i>
husband: <i>anure</i>	morning: <i>ivi'ira</i>	piece: <i>koru</i>
husk: <i>fehea</i>	mosquito: <i>ifia</i>	pig: <i>aiparo</i>
in: <i>lue; ma</i>	mother: <i>naora</i>	plant: <i>lamu</i>
in-law: <i>nomara</i>	mountain: <i>uo</i>	plant: <i>la'i</i>
influence: <i>kure'ai</i>	mouth: <i>anara</i>	platform: <i>faha</i>
intestine: <i>hereane</i>	mustard: <i>via</i>	pot: <i>aio</i>
island: <i>finu</i>	nail: <i>inimu</i>	power: <i>siahu</i>
joint: <i>oko</i>	name: <i>uru</i>	prawn type: <i>ka'i</i>
jump: <i>ferea</i>	nape of neck: <i>ehune</i>	prepare: <i>ema'i</i>
just then: <i>ma'ao</i>	near: <i>maima</i>	previous: <i>hinehine;</i> <i>manera</i>
kill: <i>au</i>	neck: <i>pani; ehune</i>	pull: <i>ferea; veri</i>
knife: <i>akiva</i>	net: <i>vao</i>	push out: <i>homa'i</i>
know: <i>ore</i>	new: <i>oera</i>	put: <i>o'i; üa</i>
ladle: <i>a'o</i>	night: <i>ho'ora</i>	question: <i>ä; -ä'e</i>
language: <i>ae</i>	no: <i>kore'ea</i>	rain: <i>upa</i>
laugh: <i>ana</i>	northeast wind: <i>vaura</i>	rat: <i>haua</i>
leaf: <i>ore</i>	nose: <i>noe</i>	ready: <i>kekese</i>
left: <i>eani</i>	not: <i>one; ore</i>	reason: <i>ipi</i>
leg: <i>fera</i>	not long: <i>sa'i'ore'ea</i>	red: <i>viro</i>
life: <i>ma'uri</i>	nothing: <i>ore'ea</i>	remaining: <i>li'i</i>

remove: <i>oura</i>	snake: <i>memere</i>	then: <i>anipe; haveha; luera</i>
return: <i>loea; mue</i>	snot: <i>nori</i>	there: <i>vehe</i>
right: <i>haune</i>	so: <i>kava; soka; va'a</i>	thigh: <i>hauraia</i>
ripe: <i>kine</i>	some: <i>kou'ara</i>	think: <i>la'a</i>
river: <i>vai</i>	someone: <i>üani; ae; üa'i</i>	this: <i>ne'e</i>
root: <i>mene</i>	something: <i>ekakau; ekau; ome</i>	throat: <i>poko'u</i>
round: <i>lohoru</i>	son: <i>mono</i>	throw: <i>ari</i>
rub: <i>muhu</i>	southwest wind: <i>lavara</i>	thumb: <i>nora</i>
rubbish: <i>ane</i>	spear: <i>boi; supi'a</i>	tie: <i>mo'orea</i>
ruin: <i>hasi'avai</i>	spider: <i>auare</i>	to: <i>kai; ma</i>
run: <i>uriri</i>	spittle: <i>aino</i>	together: <i>la'i; soa'oki'ao</i>
run away: <i>li'o</i>	spoil: <i>fefa</i>	tomorrow: <i>pani'ira</i>
sago: <i>ai</i>	spoon: <i>isa'a</i>	tongue: <i>maiana</i>
same: <i>ëa'i'ao; pa'i</i>	stab: <i>homa</i>	tooth: <i>hu'u</i>
sand: <i>fæ</i>	stand: <i>lea</i>	tree: <i>oharo</i>
say: <i>au'i; o'i</i>	stand up: <i>u'e</i>	tree species: <i>se'o</i>
scorpion: <i>mihamiha</i>	star: <i>bihu'u</i>	trip: <i>koare</i>
season, dry: <i>sioro</i>	stick: <i>uri</i>	try: <i>ö'ë</i>
season, wet: <i>uparare</i>	stone: <i>ere</i>	turn: <i>ero</i>
see: <i>erea</i>	stop: <i>soka</i>	two: <i>ü'üka</i>
seed: <i>fuani</i>	story: <i>fari</i>	under: <i>fe'u</i>
self: <i>ika</i>	straight: <i>hauka; no'a</i>	unripe: <i>kaora</i>
send: <i>sia</i>	strengthen: <i>haeke</i>	usually: <i>veahiri</i>
shellfish: <i>are'e</i>	string bag: <i>ä'ö; fa'ari</i>	very: <i>ha'eka; uma'i; 'i'i</i>
shoot: <i>au; la'i</i>	strong: <i>lofo</i>	village: <i>lo'u</i>
short: <i>au</i>	struggle: <i>heafo</i>	vine: <i>foa; merove</i>
shoulder: <i>laro</i>	sucker: <i>lire</i>	walk: <i>a'e</i>
show: <i>hava'u; ora'e</i>	sugarcane: <i>ase</i>	wallaby: <i>havaro</i>
sick: <i>eka</i>	sun: <i>lare</i>	want: <i>vere</i>
side: <i>oka'i; poe</i>	swamp: <i>äo'a</i>	water: <i>aime</i>
sister: <i>ma'omuru; onera</i>	sweet potato: <i>hau'ani</i>	wear: <i>esi</i>
sit: <i>ha'uhave'i; ve'i</i>	swim: <i>leou</i>	weave: <i>uri</i>
skin: <i>bera'a</i>	tail: <i>orora</i>	wet: <i>fai'afai'a</i>
skin, take off: <i>hahe</i>	take: <i>a'a; o'ae</i>	wet season: <i>uparare</i>
skirt: <i>amere</i>	take off skin: <i>hahe</i>	what: <i>ena'i; enena'i</i>
sky: <i>mene</i>	taro species: <i>noa; pirikari</i>	when: <i>enaha'u; veba</i>
sleep: <i>li</i>	tell: <i>emera; evera</i>	where: <i>ka'ama</i>
small: <i>fih; i'i; paka'u</i>	that: <i>äë'a; ehe; ë'a</i>	white: <i>e'ero</i>
smoke: <i>uma</i>	that's all: <i>ëa'a</i>	who: <i>naero</i>

why: <i>ene</i>	woman: <i>ä'u</i>	yellow: <i>nano</i>
wind: <i>be'o</i>	wood: <i>oporo</i>	yes: <i>ëhë</i>
wind, northeast: <i>vaura</i>	word: <i>ae</i>	yesterday: <i>lafi</i>
wind, southwest: <i>lavara</i>	work: <i>kivi</i>	young: <i>apai</i>
wing: <i>vaho</i>	yam: <i>lasi</i>	
with: <i>moha</i>	year: <i>sioro</i>	

7. TEXTS

Seven relatively short texts are included in this section, all told by people from Uriri village. The first three are customary procedural in character, that is they describe a customary activity. The first, Fishing (110 seconds in length), was told by Mini Wara, a middle-aged man. The next two, Gardening (40 seconds) and Weaving (55 seconds), were told by Urufa'u Avuvua, a middle-aged woman. The next text, Kikori Hunt (140 seconds), is a first person hunting narrative told by Mini Wara. The next three texts are broadly descriptive. Cuscus (25 seconds) is a description of the life of the cuscus told by Urufa'u Avuva. Church (20 seconds) is a statement by Simona, an old man, about his work for the church. Lifetime (55 seconds) is a complaint by Kakare Kuku, an old man, about the lack of help from his children. The final text, Prayer (75 seconds), is a prayer from a Sunday morning church service by James Aru, an educated middle-aged man.

Minimal editing was done in each text. Punctuation generally follows the intonation of the speaker, with full stops signalling pauses with falling intonation and commas signalling pauses with rising intonation. The presentation of the texts involves a three-line interlinearisation. The first line represents the actual pronunciation in the practical orthography. The second line gives the morphemic representation. Morphemes are given in isolation form ignoring morphophonemic effects. For example, *novere* 'my' is represented as *nao-vere* since *nao* is the isolation form for 'I'. The third line gives a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss in English.

Fishing 001

Nuvere ne'e lo'uvere fari nao ä'uvoro, veahiri kaporaraveha
nu'u-vere ne'e lo'u-vere fari nao ä'u-voro veahiri kapora-ra-veha
 1p-POSS this village-POSS story 1s woman-PL usually fish-IRR-when

ma'i'ani fari, nao ne'e au'inao.

ma'i-'ani fari nao ne'e au'i-nao

go.down-2/3pS story 1s this say-1s

Our village story, I will tell the story of how the women go down to fish.

Fishing 002

Nuvere ä'u erahe liaisani ivi'ira porapora ma'ao, erahe aua
nu'u-vere ä'u erahe li-a-isani ivi'ira porapora ma'ao erahe aua
 1p-POSS woman 3p sleep-get-and morning early early 3p child

everae'isani.

evera-e-isani

tell-2/3pO-and

Our women they sleep and in the early morning they tell the children.

Fishing 003

Nao aika'u kaporaveha wä'inäo au'isani.
Nao aika'u kapora-veha wä'i-nao au'i-isani
 1s now fish-when go.down-1s say-and
 I'll tell about how they go down to fish.

Fishing 004

Wä'i ka'i homa'isani, ara'akaia aisani, vao aisani, aime
Wä'i ka'i homa'i-isani ara'a-kaia a-isani vao a-isani aime
 go.down prawn.type push.out-and canoe-paddle get-and net get-and water
katlain, erahe tiro, narakau oki va'a mari'isani, ä'ö luema,
katlain erahe tiro narakau oki va'a mari-isani ä'ö lue-ma
 fishing.line 3p container food one so hold-and string.bag in-LOC
aisanipe wä'i ara'ama sihaisani.
a-isani-pe wä'i ara'a-ma si-ha-isani
 get-and-? go.down canoe-LOC get.in-3sS-and
 They go down and get the bait, get the paddle, get the bait net, fishing line, they get the water container, they hold some food, get the bilum and go down and get into the canoe.

Fishing 005

Sihaisanipe va'a ama'u'isani.
si-ha-isani-pe va'a ama'u-isani
 get.in-3sS-and-? so come.out-and
 They get in and go out.

Fishing 006

Ama'u ke'oro ari'isani, luerama nane oki veriveri lorokarahama
Ama'u ke'oro ari-isani luera-ma nane oki veri-RDP loroka-ra-ha-ma
 come.out fishing throw-and then-LOC fish one pull-CONT complete-IRR-3sS-LOC
mene ereamu'isanima laifururahama, eraheva'a vere'isani narakau
mene erea-amu-isani-ma laifuru-ra-ha-ma erahe-va'a vere-isani narakau
 sky see-3sO-and-LOC afternoon-IRR-3sS-LOC 3p-so want-and food
koru va'a i'i'isani.
koru va'a i'i-isani
 piece so burn-and
 They go out and throw the fishing lines, the moment they finish pulling in the fish, when they see the sky and it is afternoon, they will cook the pieces of food they want.

Fishing 007

Ī'i'isanipe naisanima lorokarahaveha.
ī'i-isani-pe na-isani-ma loroka-ra-ha-veha
 burn-and-? eat-and-LOC complete-IRR-3sS-when
 They finish cooking and eating.

Fishing 008

Aime era erorakape noani kaomoraha, eraheva'a kaiaka
Aime era ero-ra-kape noani kaomo-ra-ha erahe-va'a kaia-ka
 water 3s turn-IRR-and high.tide high.tide-IRR-3sS 3p-so paddle-3sS

loea'isani laifuru'ao.

loea-isani laifuru-'ao

return-and afternoon-only

When the water is coming back in and going to high tide, they paddle and return back in the afternoon.

Fishing 009

Kaiaka loea'isani aua erahe ore naora era kapora koare mape
kaia-ka loea-isani aua erahe ore naora era kapora koare mape
 paddle-3sS return-and child 3p know mother 3s fish trip from

maha.

ma-ha

come-3sS

They paddle and return and the children know the mothers will come from the fishing trip.

Fishing 010

Ē'aveha erahe ekau himiri kekese oporo e'eisani, narakau, ekau
ē'a-veha erahe ekau himiri kekese oporo e'e-isani narakau ekau
 that-when 3p something many ready wood chop-and food something

himiri kivika o'i'isanipe erahevere ini fafaro'ama ao erea'isani
himiri kivi-ka o'i-isani-pe erahe-vere ini fafaro'a-ma ao erea-isani
 many work-3sS put-and-? 3p-POSS eye canoe.place-LOC 2s see-and

naora era loearaha.

naora era loa-ra-ha

mother 3s return-IRR-3sS

That is why many things are ready, they chop wood and prepare and put out much food, their eyes look only to the canoe place, for their mother's return.

Fishing 011

Naoraro loearakape naoraro uraha luerama, aua erahe
naora-ro loa-ra-kape naora-ro u-ra-ha luera-ma aua erahe
 mother-ERG return-IRR-and mother-ERG call-IRR-3sS then-LOC child 3p

uriri'uriri'isani naora kai, wā'i'isanipe koi'ara oporo hu'a fua'isani, koi'ara
uriri-RDP-isani naora kai wā'i-isani-pe koi'ara oporo hu'a fua-isani koi'ara
 run-CONT-and mother to go.down-and-? another wood block carry-and another

ē'a eravere katlain ekakau himiri fua'isani, aisanipe ava'isani.

ē'a era-vere katlain ekakau himiri fua-isani a-isani-pe ava-isani

that 3s-POSS fishing.line something many carry-and get-and-? go.up-and

The mother returns, the mother calls, and the children run down to the mother, some carry blocks of wood, some carry fishing line and many other things, they get them and go up.

Fishing 012

Ava'isani, ekakau himiri o'i'isani luerama, narakau era lorokaraha,
 ava-isani ekakau himiri o'i-isani luera-ma narakau era loroka-ra-ha
 go.up-and something many put-and then-LOC food 3s complete-IRR-3sS

apava'a mana nane i'i'isani.

apa-va'a ma-na nane i'i-isani

after-so come-? fish burn-and

They go up and put the many things away, and right then when the food is completed, after they come and cook the fish.

Fishing 013

Nane i'i'isani nanero araraha, soa'oki'ao o'oka ve'isanipe
 Nane i'i-isani nane-ro ara-ra-ha soa'oki'ao o'o-ka ve'i-isani-pe
 fish burn-and fish-ERG burn-IRR-3sS together gather-3sS sit-and-?

neisani, oki. fahama o'i'isani.

na-isani oki faha-ma o'i-isani

eat-and one platform-LOC put-and

When the fish is cooked, they sit down together and eat and put a few on the platform.

Fishing 014

Fari au'i'i e'ama mana oreka.

Fari au-'i'i e'a-ma ma-na ore-ka

story short-very that-LOC come-? finish-3sS

The very short story has come to the end.

Gardening 001

Opa haima ika la'umenupe, i'imenuma ararahaveha, oharo
 Opa haima ika la'u-m-'enu-pe i'i-m-'enu-ma ara-ra-ha-veha oharo
 first bush self clean-?-1pS-? burn-?-1pS-LOC burn-IRR-3sS-when tree

hehemenuma lorokarahaveha, faura menu va'a.

hehe-m-'enu-ma loroka-ra-ha-veha faura m-'enu va'a

clear-?-1pS-LOC complete-IRR-3sS-when garden ?-1pS so

First we clean the bush itself, burn the grass and when it is burned, clear the trees and when it is complete, do the gardening.

Gardening 002

Noa'au, eisi lire'au, hau'ani ore'au, o'imenu.
 noa-'au eisi lire-'au hau'ani ore-'au o'i-m-'enu
 taro.sp-PL banana sucker-PL sweet.potato leaf-PL put-?-1pS

We put in the taro suckers, banana suckers, and sweet potato leaves.

Gardening 003

La'imenuma lakarahaveha, ona vorivori isani laka isani
 la'i-m-'enu-ma laka-ra-ha-veha ona vorivori isani laka isani
 plant-?-1pS-LOC bear.fruit-IRR-3sS-when go big and bear.fruit and

va'a

va'a

so

When we plant it and it bears fruit, when it grows bigger and bears fruit.

Gardening 004

<i>Laka</i>	<i>isani</i>	<i>eisi</i>	<i>lakarahama</i>	<i>amamenu,</i>	<i>noa</i>
<i>Laka</i>	<i>isani</i>	<i>eisi</i>	<i>laka-ra-ha-ma</i>	<i>ama-m-'enu</i>	<i>noa</i>
bear.fruit	and	banana	bear.fruit-IRR-3sS-LOC	hit-?-1pS	taro.sp

<i>lakarahama</i>	<i>noa</i>	<i>fereamenu</i>	<i>pirikari</i>	<i>ëa'i'ao,</i>	<i>pirikari</i>	<i>ë'ëmenupe</i>
<i>laka-ra-ha-ma</i>	<i>noa</i>	<i>ferea-m-'enu</i>	<i>pirikari</i>	<i>ëa'i'ao</i>	<i>pirikari</i>	<i>ë'ë-m-'enu-pe</i>
bear.fruit-IRR-3sS-LOC	taro.sp	pull-?-1pS	taro.sp	same	taro.sp	dig-?-1pS-?

va'a, laka ë'ëmenu.

va'a laka ë'ë-m-'enu

so bear.fruit dig-?-1pS

It bears fruit, when the bananas bear fruit we cut them, when the taros bear fruit we pull the taros, do the same with the other taros, we dig up the taros, we dig the ones that bear fruit.

Gardening 005

<i>Naume</i>	<i>la'imenu</i>	<i>noa</i>	<i>lire</i>	<i>ëa'i'ao</i>	<i>fereamenupe.</i>
<i>Naume</i>	<i>la'i-m-'enu</i>	<i>noa</i>	<i>lire</i>	<i>ëa'i'ao</i>	<i>ferea-m-'enu-pe</i>
again	plant-?-1pS	taro.sp	sucker	same	pull-?-1pS-?

We pull the taro suckers again and plant them.

Gardening 006

<i>Lakarahaveha</i>	<i>hove'arahaveha</i>	<i>oreka</i>	<i>faura</i>	<i>va'a</i>	<i>oreka.</i>
<i>laka-ra-ha-veha</i>	<i>hove'a-ra-ha-veha</i>	<i>ore-ka</i>	<i>faura</i>	<i>va'a</i>	<i>ore-ka</i>
bear.fruit-IRR-3sS-when	correct-IRR-3sS-when	finish-3sS	garden	so	finish-3sS

When it bears fruit and is all right, the garden is finished, it is finished.

Weaving 001

Keta moha ika au'inana.

Keta moha ika au'i-nana

mat with self say-?

My talking starts with the mat.

Weaving 002

<i>Keta</i>	<i>asi'enu,</i>	<i>a'enupe</i>	<i>mana</i>	<i>larema</i>	<i>o'i'enu,</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>a'enu,</i>	<i>keta</i>
<i>Keta</i>	<i>asi'enu</i>	<i>a-'enu-pe</i>	<i>ma-na</i>	<i>lare-ma</i>	<i>o'i-'enu</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>a-'enu</i>	<i>keta</i>
pandanas	cut-1pS	get-1pS-?	come-?	sun-LOC	put-1pS	rubbish	get-1pS	mat

uri'enu.

uri-'enu

weave-1pS

Cut the mat, we bring it to dry in the sun, remove the useless part (thorns), weave the mat.

Weaving 003

Keta moha oka'ima ëa'a.
Keta moha oka'i-ma ëa'a
 mat with side-LOC that.all
 That's all about the mat.

Weaving 004

Ape amere.
Ape amere
 for skirt
 Now the skirt.

Weaving 005

Amere ahi'enu, ane a'enu, oura'enu, hahe'enu, muhu'enupe
Amere ahi'enu ane a'enu oura'enu hahe'enu muhu'enu-pe
 skirt cut-1pS rubbish get-1pS remove-1pS take.off-1pS rub-1pS-?
larema o'i'enu vaha hara'oha vaha amere uri'enu, mo'orea'enu.
lare-ma o'i'enu vaha hara'o-ha vaha amere uri'enu mo'orea'enu
 sun-LOC put-1pS when dry-3sS when skirt weave-1pS tie-1pS
 Cut the skirt, get the rubbish and remove it, take it off, rub the grass and put in the sun,
 when dry, weave the skirt, tie it.

Weaving 006

Mo'orea'enuma ä'u muruä'u esira ekau ëa'a.
mo'orea'enu-ma ä'u muru-ä'u esi-ra ekau ëa'a
 tie-1pS-LOC woman girl-woman wear-IRR something that.all
 When it is tied, women and girls can wear something, that's all.

Weaving 007

Fa'ari ëa'i'ao, keta asi'enupe mana larema o'i'enu, ane a'enu
Fa'ari ëa'i'ao keta asi'enu-pe ma-na lare-ma o'i'enu ane a'enu
 basket same pandanas cut-1pS-? come-? sun-LOC put-1pS rubbish get-1pS
fa'ari va'a ä'uvoorō hava'u lare va'a uri'enu.
fa'ari va'a ä'u-voro hava'u lare va'a uri'enu
 basket so woman-PL show day so weave-1pS
 The basket is the same, cut the pandanas come put it in the sun, remove the rubbish, the
 basket women weave for the show day.

Weaving 008

Felosip ä'u la'i so'a'oki'au o'oka ve'i anipe hava'u keta au
felosip ä'u la'i so'a'oki'au o'o-ka ve'i anipe hava'u keta au
 fellowship woman together together gather-3sS sit then show mat PL
amere la'i uri'enu, fa'ari uri'enu kou'ara ma'i hava'u'enu,
amere la'i uri'enu fa'ari uri'enu kou'ara ma'i hava'u'enu
 skirt together weave-1pS basket weave-1pS some go.down show-1pS

koi'ara o'i'enu, koi'ara hava'u'enu, koi'ara o'i'enu, koi'ara ema'ia
koi'ara o'i'-enu koi'ara hava'u'-enu koi'ara o'i'-enu koi'ara ema'i-a
 another put-1pS another show-1pS another put-1pS another prepare-get

lira veva keta.

li-ra veva keta

sleep-IRR when mat

The fellowship women gather together and sit down then weave skirts for the weaving show, we weave some baskets for the show, put some aside, others prepare for sleeping.

Kikori Hunt 001

Kikorima novere warehavama ona'enape ë'ama ve'i'ena luerama.

Kikori-ma nao-vere warehava-ma ona-'ena-pe ë'a-ma ve'i-'ena luera-ma

Kikori-LOC 1s-POSS first-LOC go-1sS-? that-LOC sit-1sS then-LOC

My first time going and staying in Kikori.

Kikori Hunt 002

Nomaraforo emerane'ani, aika'u au'i'ani, "Nu'u ao ora'emenu, nu'u'ani

nomara-fe-ro emera-ne-'ani aika'u au-i-'ani Nu'u ao ora'e-m'-enu nu'u-'ani

in.law-PL-ERG tell-1sO-2/3pS now say-2/3pS 1p 2s show-?-1pS 1p-2/3pS

evera o'oreraveha ona'enu."

evera o'ore-ra-veha ona-'enu

dog hunt-IRR-when go-1pS

My in-laws told me, they said, "We will show you, we will go hunting with dogs."

Kikori Hunt 003

Ivi'ira ma'ao, evera himiri a'enupe mana ara'ama üa'enu

Ivi'ira ma'ao evera himiri a-'enu-pe ma-na ara'a-ma üa-'enu

morning early dog many get-1pS-? come-? canoe-LOC put-1pS

lorokahaveha.

loroka-ha-veha

complete-3sS-when

Early in the morning we got many dogs, came and put them into the canoe, that was complete.

Kikori Hunt 004

Ë'ë fehea'anipe, ai fa'arima üaro'erama soka kaiaka ama'u

Ë'ë fehea-'ani-pe ai fa'ari-ma üa-ro'era-ma soka kaia-ka ama'u

coconut husk-2/3pS-? sago basket-LOC put-and-LOC so paddle-3sS come.out

ama'u'enu, ononoma finu pairavere ë'ama o'iamu'enu.

ama'u-'enu ona-RDP-ma finu paira-vere ë'a-ma o'i-amu-'enu

come.out-1pS go-CONT-LOC island another-? that-LOC put-3sO-1pS

We husked coconut and putting sago into baskets, so we paddled, coming out, we came out, going, we put the canoe there at another island.

Kikori Hunt 005

Ara'a lamuro'era ma nu'u va'a ure'enu, evera a'enupe.
 Ara'a lamu-ro'era-ma nu'u va'a ure'enu evera a'enu-pe
 canoe plant-and-LOC 1p so go.in-1pS dog get-1pS-?
 We planted the canoe and went into the bush, we got the dogs.

Kikori Hunt 006

Ure'enupe erahevere kere'a äo'a hi'ivira ha'eka, ai vorivori voro
 ure-'enu-pe erahe-verē kere'a äo'a hi'ivira ha'eka ai vorivori voro
 go.in-1pS-? 3p-POSS path swamp big very sago big PL
 lea'ani, oporo ore'ea, ai voro.
 lea-'ani oporo ore'ea ai voro
 stand-2/3pS wood nothing sago PL
 We went in, their path is a very big swamp, big sagoes were standing, no trees, only sagoes.

Kikori Hunt 007

Ē'a, ai lue ē'a äo'ama leu'enu, evera o'ae a leu'enu.
 Ē'a ai lue ē'a äo'a-ma leu'enu evera o'ae a leu'enu
 that sago in that swamp-LOC go.around-1pS dog take get go.around-1pS
 We went around in the sagoes in that swamp, taking the dogs and going around.

Kikori Hunt 008

Leu, leu evera erahe ona sa'i ore'ea, wä'ira ma'ao
 Leu leu evera erahe ona sa'i ore'ea wä'i-ra ma'ao
 go.around go.around dog 3p go not long go.down-IRR just.then
 aiparo hi'ivira kiviamu'ani.
 aiparo hi'ivira kivi-amu-'ani
 pig big work-3sO-2/3pS
 We went around and around, the dogs did not go around very long, just then they started chasing a big pig.

Kikori Hunt 009

Aiparo hi'ivira a'enu, evera voro omeamu'anima, uriri'enupe mana
 Aiparo hi'ivira a'enu evera voro ome-amu-'ani-ma uriri-'enu-pe ma-na
 pig big get-1pS dog PL make-get-2/3pS-LOC run-1pS-? come-?
 akiva homamu'enu lorokahaveha aiparo amu'enupe ona poema
 akiva homa-amu-'enu loroka-ha-veha aiparo a-amu-'enu-pe ona poe-ma
 knife stab-3sO-1pS complete-3sS-when pig get-3sO-1pS-? go side-LOC
 o'iamu'enu.
 o'i-amu-'enu
 put-3sO-1pS
 Getting the big pig, the dogs chased the big pig, and running we came and stabbed the pig with the knife, after completed we got the pig and put it on the side.

Kikori Hunt 010

Poema o'iamu lo'erama.
 poe-ma o'i-amu lo'e-ra-ma
 side-LOC put-3sO and-IRR-LOC
 We put it on the side.

Kikori Hunt 011

Äë'a aiparo hi'ivira uma'i ama'uraveha ara'avere, heafo ha'eka.
 Äë'a aiparo hi'ivira uma'i ama'u-ra-veha ara'a-vere heafo ha'eka
 that pig big very come.out-IRR-when canoe-? struggle very
 When we tried to pull that very big pig out into the canoe it was very hard work.

Kikori Hunt 012

Aua pirari ore'ea, nu'u aua ü'üka pao'a lamoha.
 Aua pirari ore'ea nu'u aua ü'üka pao'a lamo-ha.
 child few nothing 1p child two one only-3sS
 There were not plenty of us, we were only three people.

Kikori Hunt 013

Aiparo uma'i veriamu'a, veriamu'a, ama'u, ama'u, ama'u, ama'u,
 Aiparo uma'i veri-amu-'a veri-amu-'a ama'u ama'u ama'u ama'u
 pig very pull-3sO-? pull-3sO-? come.out come.out come.out come.out
 ama'u.
 ama'u
 come.out

We pulled and pulled the pig, coming out, coming out, coming out, coming out, coming out.

Kikori Hunt 014

Vai pairavere o'iamu'enu ara'avere kere'a uma'i heka ha'eka, vai
 Vai paira-vere o'i-amu-'enu ara'a-vere kere'a uma'i heka ha'eka vai
 river another-? put-3sO-1pS canoe-POSS path very far very river
 pairama ve'iha.
 paira-ma ve'i-ha
 another-LOC sit-3sS

We put it at another river, the canoe path was very far on the other side of the river.

Kikori Hunt 015

Aiparo ë'a, vai paira vere o'iamu'enupe aua koi'ara ara'a haveha
 Aiparo ë'a vai paira vere o'i-amu-'enu-pe aua koi'ara ara'a haveha
 pig that river another ? put-3sO-1pS-? child another canoe and.then
 ero'ani.
 ero-'ani
 turn-2/3pS

We put that pig to the other side of the river, some boys went around for the canoe.

Kikori Hunt 016

Aua koi'ara ona ara'a amu'ani, va'a, mue'ani mue'enupe mana
 Aua koi'ara ona ara'a a-amu-'ani va'a mue-'ani mue-'enu-pe ma-na
 child another go canoe get-3sO-2/3pS so return-2/3pS return-1pS-? come-?

aiparo üamu'enupe.

aiparo üa-amu-'enu-pe

pig put-3sO-1pS-?

Other boys went to get the canoe, we returned, returning we put the pig.

Kikori Hunt 017

Aiparo hi'ivika ha'eka, üamu'enu lorokahaveha soka.

Aiparo hi'ivika ha'eka üa-amu-'enu loroka-ha-veha soka

pig big very put-3sO-1pS complete-3sS-when so

The very big pig, we put it in finished.

Kikori Hunt 018

Kaiaka mue'enu.

kaia-ka mue-'enu

paddle-3sS return-1pS

Paddling we returned.

Kikori Hunt 019

Kaiaka mano, mano, mano mana omema lo'uma.

kaia-ka ma-no ma-no ma-no ma-na ome-ma lo'u-ma

paddle-3sS come-? come-? come-? come-? something-LOC village-LOC

Paddling we came, came, came, came, to somewhere, to the village.

Kikori Hunt 020

Lo'uma o'iamu lo'erama aiparo va'a havamu'enu.

lo'u-ma o'i-amu lo'e-ra-ma aiparo va'a hava-amu-'enu

village-LOC put-3sO and-IRR-LOC pig so cut-3sO-1pS

Put it in the village and then cut the pig.

Kikori Hunt 021

Aiparo havamu'enuma, erahe ore ë'a aiparo uma'i, a'onara ë'ama.

Aiparo hava-amu-'enu-ma erahe ore ë'a aiparo uma'i a-ona-ra ë'a-ma

pig cut-3sO-1pS-LOC 3p NEG that pig very get-go-IRR that-LOC

We cut the pig, they (in-laws) did not get the pig and go.

Kikori Hunt 022

Vere'ani ë'a koru i'i'ao a lo'erama au'i'ani, "Ne'e overe

vere-'ani ë'a koru i'i-'ao a lo'e-ra-ma au'i-'ani Ne'e ao-vere

want-2/3pS that piece small-only get and-IRR-LOC say-2/3pS this 2s-POSS

aiparo," o'ani, "a'a one ao ë'aveha heraföhe."

aiparo o'i-'ani a'a ona-e ao ë'a-veha heraföhe

pig say-2/3pS take go-IMP? 2s that-when struggle-2sS

They got the small pieces that they wanted and then said, "This is your pig," they said, "Take it and go because you did hard work."

Kikori Hunt 023

Soka aiparo va'a a'ama'enu, ěama.
 Soka aiparo va'a a'a-ma-'enu ěa-ma
 so pig dead take-come-1pS house-LOC
 So we brought the pig, brought it to the house.

Kikori Hunt 024

A'ama'enupe uri'enupe na'enu.
 a'a-ma-'enu-pe uri-'enu-pe na'enu
 take-come-1pS-? cook-1pS-? eat-1pS
 We cooked it, and ate it.

Kikori Hunt 025

Ē'aveha erahevere kere'a aiparo one karora, erahevere kere'a namaia.
 ě'a-veha erahe-vere kere'a aiparo one karo-ra erahe-vere kere'a namaia
 that-when 3p-POSS path pig cannot find-IRR 3p-POSS path good
 Therefore their place is good, you do not need to look for pigs.

Cuscus 001

Kurokuro erahe oharo moha ve'i'ani.
 Kurokuro erahe oharo moha ve'i'ani
 cuscus 3p tree with sit-2/3pS
 Cuscuses sit in trees.

Cuscus 002

Eheraerahaveha erahe avaha loku kine'ao neisani, loku
 ehara-e-ra-ha-veha erahe ava-ha loku kine'ao na-isani loku
 hungry-2/3pO-IRR-3sS-when 3p go.up-3sS pawpaw ripe-only eat-and pawpaw
 moha ava'isanipe loku kine'ao neisani, wä'i'isani ona oharo fuani
 moha ava-isani-pe loku kine'ao na-isani wä'i'isani ona oharo fuani
 with go.up-and-? pawpaw ripe-only eat-and go.down-and go tree seed
 koi'ara ěa'i'ao neisani, wä'i'isanipe ona oharo pairavere avaraha.
 koi'ara ěa'i'ao na-isani wä'i'isani-pe ona oharo paira-vere ava-ra-ha
 another same eat-and go.down-and-? go tree another-? go.up-IRR-3sS
 When they are hungry they go up and eat only ripe pawpaw, they go up with the pawpaw
 and eat only ripe pawpaw, they go down and then up another fruit three in the same way,
 they go up and eat, they go down and going to another tree go up.

Cuscus 003

Oharo pairavere avarakape ěa'i'ao, oharo fuani ě'a'ao namaiaarahama
 Oharo paira-vere ava-ra-kape ěa'i'ao oharo fuani ě'a'ao namaia-ra-ha-ma
 tree another-? go.up-IRR-and same tree seed that-only good-IRR-3sS-LOC
 era ve'ira kape ao naraha.
 era ve'i-ra kape ao na-ra-ha
 3s sit-IRR and 2s eat-IRR-3sS

They go up another tree the same way, when the fruit is good, it will stay in only that tree
 and just eat.

Church 001

Nao 26 sioro, nao ekalesia kivia'ena manomanoma aika'u.
Nao 26 sioro nao ekalesia kivi-a-'ena ma-no-RDP-ma aika'u
 1s 26 year 1s church work-?-1sS come-?-CONT-LOC now
 I have worked for the church for 26 years.

Church 002

Ne'e lao üa'iro maha, nao hafuneha.
Ne'e lao üa'i-ro ma-ha nao hafu-ne-ha
 this European someone-ERG come-3sS 1s meet-1sO-3sS
 This European has come and has met me.

Church 003

Kava novere fari la'i au'i nao, ekalesia luema ve'i'ena sioro la'i
Kava nao-vere fari la'i au'i nao ekalesia lue-ma ve'i-'ena sioro la'i
 so 1s-POSS story FUT say 1s church in-LOC sit-1sS year FUT
au'inao.
au'i-nao
 say-1s
 So I'm telling my story of my years staying in the church.

Church 004

Sioro hove'a 26 sioro, manomanoma ne'e.
Sioro hove'a 26 sioro ma-no-RDP-ma ne'e
 year correct 26 year come-?-CONT-LOC this
 Twenty six years have come to now.

Lifetime 001

Nao aua'aua moha ma'uri fehaha nao ore hove'ara, novere ma'uri.
Nao aua-RDP moha ma'uri feha-ha nao ore hove'a-ra nao-vere ma'uri
 1s child-CONT with life spoil-3sS 1s NEG be.fit-IRR 1s-POSS life
 The children haven't been looking after me, I'm not strong, my life.

Lifetime 002

Ē'aveha aika'u, nao lao üa'i ne'e avaha novere fari ne'e
ē'a-veha aika'u nao lao üa'i ne'e ava-ha nao-vere fari ne'e
 that-when now 1s European someone this go.up-3sS 1s-POSS story this
au'i'ena.
au'i-'ena
 say-1sS

That's why this European man came so I'm telling him my story.

Lifetime 003

Ē'aveha novere ma'uri ore hove'ara.
ē'a-veha nao-vere ma'uri ore hove'a-ra
 that-when 1s-POSS life NEG be.fit-IRR
 That's why my life is not fit.

Lifetime 004

Ma'uri aua ore koarainera.
Ma'uri aua ore koarai-ne-ra
 life child NEG help-1sO-IRR
 The children did not help my life.

Lifetime 005

Ma'uri fehaha.
Ma'uri feha-ha
 life spoil-3sS
 My life is spoiled.

Lifetime 006

Fehahaveha novere lofo, anivere lofo, hove'a ne'e lofo ore
feha-ha-veha nao-vere lofo ani-vere lofo hove'a ne'e lofo ore
 spoil-3sS-when 1s-POSS strong old-? strong be.fit this strong NEG
hove'anera.
hove'a-ne-ra
 be.fit-1sO-IRR

Before it was spoiled, my strength was all right, this fitness is not strong, fitness is not strong.

Lifetime 007

Lofo ore hove'anera.
Lofo ore hove'a-ne-ra
 strong NEG be.fit-1sO-IRR
 My fitness is not strong.

Lifetime 008

Ē'aveha naro ona'ena ma'ena luema, ore hove'ara.
ē'a-veha nao-ro ona'ena ma'ena lue-ma ore hove'a-ra
 that-when 1s-ERG go-1sS come-1sS in-LOC NEG be.fit-IRR
 That's why when I go and come in I'm not fit.

Lifetime 009

Ē'aveha novere fari ne'e oreka.
ē'a-veha nao-vere fari ne'e ore-ka
 that-when 1s-POSS story this finish-3sS
 That's why my story ends here.

Prayer 001

Overe ini ane'e vearovaekavere auma, vearovaekavere luema foa kona
ao-vere ini ane'e vearovaeka-vere au-ma vearovaeka-vere lue-ma foa kona
 2s-POSS eye here earth-? on-LOC earth-? in-LOC four corner
luema.
lue-ma
 in-LOC

Your eye is here on the earth, in the earth in the four corners.

Prayer 002

Overe ini era ovava hi'ivira ha'eka.
 ao-vere ini era ovava hi'ivira ha'eka
 2s-POSS eye 3s bright big very
 Your eyes are very bright.

Prayer 003

Arua'u moha aro mape ma'i vera'ama erahevere upu ekeke,
 Arua'u moha aro mape ma'i vera'ama erahe-vere upu eke-RDP
 person with head from go.down body 3p-POSS hand finger-PL
 erahevere fera ekeke himiri, erahevere hohiri fuani, eravere
 erahe-vere fera eke-RDP himiri erahe-vere hohiri fuani era-vere
 3p-POSS leg finger-PL many 3p-POSS heart seed 3s-POSS
 hereane himiri ao kuri'a ereahe.
 hereane himiri ao kuri'a erea-he
 intestine many 2s already see-2sS
 You already see people from their head going down to the body, their fingers and many toes,
 their heart and intestines.

Prayer 004

Aika'u ivi'ira, overe nenu üahe veru.
 Aika'u ivi'ira ao-vere nenu üa-he veru
 now morning 2s-POSS give put-2sS gift
 This morning you gave your gift.

Prayer 005

Aika'u vere testimoni luema, Miriam Ori, era testifaiha eravere ae,
 Aika'u vere testimoni lue-ma Miriam Ori era testifai-ha era-vere æ
 now POSS testimony in-LOC Miriam Ori 3s testify-3sS 3s-POSS word
 ma'uri, era eka ve'iha ma'uri vere nuvere maienama au'iha.
 ma'uri era eka ve'i-ha ma'uri vere nu'u-vere maiena-ma au'i-ha
 life 3s sick sit-3sS life POSS 1p-POSS front-LOC say-3sS
 In today's testimony Miriam Ori testified about her life, she was staying sick, she told her life
 story in front of us.

Prayer 006

Nuro mo'erape, ao sukerere ae'eraveha.
 nu'u-ro mo'e-ra-pe ao sukerere ae-'e-ra-veha
 1p-ERG listen-IRR-? 2s belief someone-2sO-IRR-when
 We will listen and believe you.

Prayer 007

Poe ekakau himiri, poe kure'ai himiri one la'araveha.
 Poe ekakau himiri poe kure'ai himiri one la'a-ra-veha
 side something many side influence many cannot think-IRR-when
 When many side things, side things influence us, we will not think of them.

Prayer 008

Ē'a testimoni namaia a'amaha.
 Ē'a testimoni namaia a'a-ma-ha
 that testimony good take-come-3sS
 She brought that good testimony.

Prayer 009

Ē'a testimoni luema era chalenj hi'ivira ha'eka nenu ūaha aika'u
 Ē'a testimoni lue-ma era chalenj hi'ivira ha'eka nenu ūa-ha aika'u
 that testimony in-LOC 3s challenge big very give put-3sS now
 ivi'ira luema, ne'e äa vere ve'i'enu arua'u himiri.
 ivi'ira lue-ma ne'e äa vere ve'i'enu arua'u himiri
 morning in-LOC this house POSS sit-1pS person many
 In that testimony she gave a very big challenge to us this morning, the many people sitting in this house.

Prayer 010

Erahe vire fa'apai'amo'e.
 Erahe vire fa'apai'-amo'e
 3p mind open-3p
 You open their minds.

Prayer 011

Ē'aveha napara ao tankiu ini'e'enu, ne'e æ himiri.
 Ē'a-veha napara ao tankiu ini-'e'-enu ne'e æ himiri
 that-when father 2s thanks give-2sO-1pS this word many
 That's why, father, we give thanks for you making these many words.

Prayer 012

Aro o'ekema, aro ē'a aevere luema leve, aro
 ao-ro o'e-ke-ma ao-ro ē'a ae-vere lue-ma lea-ve ao-ro
 2s-ERG make-2sS-LOC 2s-ERG that word-POSS in-LOC stand-?2s-ERG
 o'ekema o'ekema haekekae, lofohae siahuhae.
 o'e-ke-ma o'e-ke-ma haeke-ka-e lofo-ha-e siahu-ha-e
 make-2sS-LOC make-2sS-LOC strengthen-3sS-IMP strong-3sS-IMP power-3sS-IMP
 You stand in those words to make us strong, with strength and power.

Prayer 013

Au'arari, nuvere no'i æ fihi äa'a.
 Au'arari nu'u-vere no'i æ fihi äa'a
 God 1p-POSS ask word small that.all
 God this is our small request, that's all.

Prayer 014

Amen.
 amen
 amen
 Amen.

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MUSOM, AN ENDANGERED LANGUAGE IN NORTHEASTERN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The Austronesian Musom (or Misatik) language of the Markham Valley, north-eastern Papua New Guinea, which has about 219 multilingual speakers, is endangered because of its low number of speakers, the relatively high incidence of intermarriage of Musom speakers with speakers of other languages, and the very high level of bi- and multilingualism, especially in *lingue franche* whose influence can be observed in Musom in some grammatical structures and vocabulary items.

This morphology and grammar sketch of the Musom language by Dr Susanne Holzkecht of the Australian National University, with a text with interlinear and free translation and a separate extensive vocabulary of Musom, provides a good insight into, and a permanent record of, the Musom language in a state in which it is still very much in its traditional form.

A small grant was made available by CIPL (Permanent International Committee of Linguists) towards research work in Musom, originally given to Mr Geoff Smith. All the work leading to this contribution was carried out by Dr Susanne Holzkecht.

S.A. Wurm, Editor

MUSOM MORPHOLOGY AND GRAMMAR SKETCH

SUSANNE HOLZKNECHT

1. SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT

1.1 NAME OF THE LANGUAGE

The name of this language, Musom, is taken from the name of the village where present-day speakers of the language live. Another name, Misatik, was also given by older informants as the name of the language; this was the name of the ancestral village, first settled by refugees from Kondzrong village who fled up into the Finisterre mountains from the Markham Valley, after fighting with a neighbouring group, the Wampar (Holzknecht 1989).

1.2 GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES

Musom is spoken by the people of Musom village, with a population of 139 [NSO:1983]. Also, about one-third of the population of Gwabadik, a neighbouring village which was established after 1945, speak Musom. Other languages spoken in Gwabadik are Nabak and Mesem (both Papuan languages). The population of Gwabadik is 254 (Papua New Guinea, NSO:1983). So the Musom speakers there number approximately 80. The total language population therefore is about 219.

1.3 MULTILINGUALISM

Musom village: people speak Musom, many speak Yalu (Aribwaung) and Duwet (both Austronesian languages of the Markham Family, (Holzknecht 1989)) as there were and still are marriages between these groups. Older people (that is, those over 40 years of age) speak, read and write Yabim as well. Yabim is a lingua franca originating as an indigenous Austronesian language spoken in the coastal Finschhafen district, adopted and spread since the early 1900s by the Lutheran Church (Schmutterer 1923; 1934; n.d.), but seldom used since the 1960s. And all people now speak Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea lingua franca).

Gwabadik village: some Musom speakers also speak Nabak and Mesem (Papuan languages of the Finisterre-Huon Family (McElhanon 1973)) because of intermarriages. Some speak Yabim, some Kâte (Papuan language spread in Papuan speaking areas by the Lutheran Church and still used in church affairs). All speak Tok Pisin.

1.4 INFLUENCES OF OTHER LANGUAGES ON MUSOM

Some vocabulary items and grammatical structures in Musom can be traced to the relatively recent influences of Yabim and Tok Pisin. These are noted and discussed in this paper where they arise, and in the text provided. However, Musom, as it was spoken in 1985, still retains all the characteristics of the Lower Markham subgroup of the Markham Family of AN languages (Holzknecht 1989).

1.5 WORD TABOOS

Mother- and father-in-law, son- and daughter-in-law, brother- and sister-in-law names were taboo in the past and the names of things which are part of or included in those names were also taboo. If the name was called, then a pig had to be killed by the offending party and presented to the injured party as compensation. Now these taboos are weakened, and the linguistic avoidance is only sporadically observed. However, in the past the observance of this custom, of replacing taboo words with other words, would have led to rapid turnover of lexical items (see Holzknecht 1987).

1.6 WHY MUSOM IS AN ENDANGERED LANGUAGE

As stated above, the population which speaks Musom is fewer than 250, and this population is not monolingual. Because of several factors, including intermarriage of Musom speakers with people who speak other languages, the strong presence of Yabim and Tok Pisin in Musom and Gwabadi villages, proximity to Lae and the influences of city life, education in English from Primary School upwards, and long absences out of the village by adult males for work, the language is changing so rapidly that it is in danger of becoming 'lost' to the next generation.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 CONSONANTS

TABLE 1: MUSOM CONSONANTS

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Affricated Alveolar	Velar	Glottal	Labio-velar
Stop: voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>k</i>	'	<i>kw</i>
voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>g</i>		<i>gw</i>
Prenasalised			(<i>nts</i>)			
voiceless						
voiced	<i>mb</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i>ndz</i>	<i>ngg</i>		
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ng</i>		
Fricatives		<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>	
Liquid		<i>r</i>				
Semi-vowel	<i>w</i>					

- Notes:
1. There are three series of stops: voiceless, voiced and prenasalised voiced.
 2. Word initially, prenasalisation of voiced stops is not realised unless a vowel precedes it.

3. When prenasalised voiced stops occur word finally, they may be realised as nasal only. The homorganic stop is not realised unless there is a vowel following.
4. Prenasalised voiced affricated alveolar stop /ndz/ has allophones [ndz], occurring initially and medially, and [nts] occurring finally.
5. All consonants occur initially, medially and finally except /w, kw, gw/ which do not occur finally, and /d, g, ndz/ which do not occur finally.
6. [b] becomes affricated [ɸ] word finally.
7. A prothetic *a* is inserted between words, when the first ends with a consonant and the next begins with a consonant. This appears to function to keep the syllable pattern CVCV. The *a* has no meaning. In interlinear glosses it is denoted by V.
8. /r/ has two allophones [r] and [l], in free variation. In this paper, only [r] is used.

2.2 VOWELS

TABLE 2: MUSOM VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	
Diphthongs:	<i>ai, ou, au, oi, oai</i>		

Note: 1. Although informants claimed that Musom has a 7-vowel system, corresponding to that of Yabim, it is not possible to distinguish between [ê] and [i], [ô] and [u]. Probably, /i/ has allophones [i] and [I], and /u/ has allophones [u] and [ʊ]. This paper will use only [i] and [u].

2.3 MINIMAL/SUB-MINIMAL PAIRS

p : b	<i>apun</i>	Compleitive	<i>abun</i>	charcoal
	<i>pep</i>	approach	<i>bip</i>	defecate
	<i>ng-u-pu</i>	you spear it	<i>nggubu</i>	press, squeeze

[b] > [ɸ] word finally

b : mb	<i>bip</i>	defecate	<i>mbip</i>	fart
	<i>bu-</i>	inceptive prefix	<i>mbu</i>	water
	<i>gwabeng</i>	millipede	<i>ng-a-mbeng</i>	I pour out
m : mb	<i>ro-m</i>	2nd person reflexive pronoun	<i>omb</i>	house/village
	<i>amis</i>	yam	<i>a-mbis</i>	I bury
	<i>muk</i>	do/try	<i>mbu</i>	water
t : d	<i>a-tus</i>	I do again	<i>a-dus</i>	I break
	<i>tak</i>	lift up	<i>dak</i>	now
	<i>tam</i>	fall (landslide)	<i>dam</i>	Venus

No final [d]

d : nd	<i>duk</i>	bend down	<i>nduk</i>	frown
	<i>a-dong</i>	I dont want to	<i>a-ndung</i>	I teach
	<i>i-dit</i>	he is dizzy	<i>i-ndir</i>	he goes to it
n : nd	<i>uri-n</i>	his penis	<i>u-rind</i>	you run
	<i>ku-n</i>	his neck	<i>kund</i>	fall down
	<i>unu-ng</i>	my head	<i>u-ndung</i>	you teach
ts : dz	<i>tsarang</i>	garden hut	<i>dzarangan</i>	fork of tree
	<i>tsih</i>	fly (verb)	<i>dzih</i>	hole in ground
	<i>mutsum</i>	coconut sheath	<i>budzun</i>	channel
	<i>ku-tsang</i>	taking	<i>kudzang</i>	yellow

No final [dz]

ts : nts	<i>kitsi</i>	across, downwards	<i>kints</i>	left hand
	<i>apits</i>	residue from coconut	<i>mints</i>	nit

[nts] word finally only

s : ts	<i>is</i>	3rd plural. pronoun	<i>its</i>	hit
	<i>sahu</i>	make smooth	<i>tsah</i>	banana leaf
	<i>sus</i>	breast	<i>tsuts</i>	horned beetle
dz : ndz	<i>dzup</i>	knot	<i>ndzun</i>	hole
	<i>dzig en</i>	forget	<i>ndzing en</i>	insert something

No final [ndz]

[nts] word finally only. [ndz] and [nts] are allophones of /ndz/

n : nts	<i>min</i>	stay	<i>mints</i>	nit
k : g	<i>kom</i>	dog	<i>gom</i>	echidna
	<i>ku-ng</i>	my mind	<i>gung</i>	teach
	<i>kahik</i>	crawls along	<i>gahik</i>	ripe

No final [g]

g : ngg	<i>gung-ang</i>	teacher	<i>nggung-ang</i>	waiting for
	<i>garang</i>	taro	<i>nggara</i>	bite
	<i>g-u-bum</i>	you stayed	<i>nggubu</i>	press, squeeze
ng : ngg	<i>tsing</i>	fence	<i>tsingg</i>	fish
	<i>mo-ng</i>	my tongue	<i>mongg</i>	bird
	<i>ng-u-bum</i>	stay !	<i>nggubu</i>	squeeze, press
r : d	<i>iro-ng</i>	1st person reflexive pronoun	<i>i-dong</i>	he does not like
	<i>rum</i>	chop (verb)	<i>dum</i>	fish net
	<i>ruk</i>	go inside	<i>duk</i>	bend down
b : w	<i>bu-</i>	inceptive prefix	<i>wu</i>	in-law
	<i>ribu-ng</i>	my grand child	<i>niwu-ng</i>	my liver
	<i>bir</i>	type of bark cloth	<i>wir</i>	1st singular pronoun

h : s	<i>hun</i>	base, root	<i>su-n</i>	his nose
	<i>moh</i>	cloud	<i>mos</i>	coconut
	<i>a-hung</i>	I blow	<i>sun</i>	mountain

2.4 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

Syllable structure is (C) V (C) (V) (C)

2.5 MORPHOPHONEMICS

/u/ is often realised as [i] in fast speech.

- e.g. *num* > [nim] drink
wutsin > [witsin] inside

With some verb roots, the vowel in the root changes according to the vowel of the preceding subject pronoun prefix.

- e.g. *mbidi* stand up
a-mbidi 1st person subject > *u-mbudi* 2nd person subject
i-mbidi 3rd person subject

mbitsi cook on fire
a-mbitsi 1st person subject > *u-mbutsi* 2nd person subject
i-mbitsi 3rd person subject

kwak go down
a-kwak 1st person subject > *i-kwek* 3rd person subject
u-kwak 2nd person subject

sak go up
a-sak 1st person subject > *i-sek* 3rd person subject
u-sak 2nd person subject

Vowels in a final syllable may be dropped, or centralised, if the word has more than one syllable. The vowel in the unstressed syllable becomes schwa [ə].

- e.g. *'apun* completive particle > ['apm] ~ ['apəm]

In the example above, final [n] also changes to [m], the point of articulation moving closer to [p].

Where identical vowels occur across morpheme or word boundaries, one vowel is lost.

- e.g. *i-its* > [its] he hits
kahi is > [kahis] the women

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 NOUN PHRASE

3.1.1 PRONOUNS

3.1.1.1 FREE PRONOUNS

Focal Pronouns

The focal pronouns are used as subjects of verbs, and as objects of verbs and prepositions, and as part of the possessive phrase. There are no short forms (except occasionally *u* or *ur* is used instead of *wir* for 1st singular).

TABLE 3: FOCAL PRONOUNS

	SG	DU	PL
1 excl.	<i>wir/u/ur</i>	<i>sikin</i>	<i>tse</i>
1 incl.	-	<i>suk</i>	<i>tsir</i>
2	<i>ingg</i>	<i>som sikin</i>	<i>tsom</i>
3	<i>in</i>	<i>isikin</i>	<i>is</i>

Interrogative pronouns

'Who' and 'what' are expressed by two different pronouns: *asa* 'who' and *sira* 'what'. The *asa* is suspiciously like Yabim *asa* 'who, what, which one' (Streicher 1982:17).

- (1) *in asa?* Who is he?
 Rak anu sira? What is that there?
 Asa ngaing gi-its ingg? Who hit you? (lit. Which man hit you?)

This word order reflects that of Yabim, in which one finds:

- (2a) *Asa ngac gi-mac?*
 which man SPP3-be.sick
 Which man is sick?

Whereas true Musom order would probably have paralleled that of Yalu (Aribwaungg), in which one finds:

- (2b) *In oromb sira?*
 he man which
 Which man is that?

3.1.1.2 BOUND FORMS

There are two types of bound pronoun forms in Musom – the possessive pronoun suffixes for inalienable nouns (see §3.1.1.3) and the subject pronoun prefixes affixed to verbs (see §3.2.1).

3.1.1.3 POSSESSION

Two types of possession are reflected in the morphology of Musom.

Type I includes inalienable nouns, i.e. kin terms, body parts, name, namesake, friend or trade partner. Type II includes all other nouns, and they are not suffixed for possession as are the inalienably possessed nouns.

1. Type I – Inalienable

This category has two sets of possessive suffixes.

Set I suffixes apply to body parts, names and all kin except certain female kin possessed through a male. These latter are in Set II and have different but homorganic suffixes to Set I. Set I possession usually consists of the focal pronoun and prothetic *a* plus the noun possessed, with the possessive suffix according to person of the possessor. First person singular has two alternative possessive pronouns: *wir* or *ur*.

- (3) *wir a wu-ng* my in-law
 ur a wu-ng my in-law

TABLE 4: POSSESSION OF SET I INALIENABLE KINSHIP TERMS AND BODY PARTS

	SG	DU	PL
1EXC	<i>wir/ur a + N-ng(g)</i>	<i>sikin a + N-ng (g)</i>	<i>tse + N-ng(g)</i>
1INC		<i>suk a + N-ng(g)</i>	<i>tsir a + N-ng(g)</i>
2	<i>ingg a + N-m</i>	<i>som sikin a + N-m</i>	<i>tsom a + N-m</i>
3	<i>in a + N-n</i>	<i>isikin a + N-n</i>	<i>is a + N-m</i>

Examples are as follows:

- (4) *ur a rai-ng/ur a na-nggura* my belly
 ingg a ramo-m your father
 tsom a wu-m your (pl) in-law
 ur a siwu-ng my husband
 tse rino-ng our (ex) mother
 wir a bai-ng my hand

Both 'mother' and 'father' are irregular. The vocative exhibits suppletive forms, and in 1st and 2nd person, root modification occurs, as tabulated below.

TABLE 5: POSSESSION OF MOTHER AND FATHER

	mother	father
Vocative:	<i>anong</i>	<i>ata</i>
1st possessive:	<i>rino-ng</i>	<i>ramo-ng</i>
2nd possessive:	<i>rino-m</i>	<i>ramo-m</i>
3rd possessive:	<i>rina-m</i>	<i>rama-n</i>

To avoid calling the name of an in-law, the person may be referred to through his/her relationship to someone else, for example 'mother-in-law' may be called *Ngowes a rina-n*, (Ngowes's mother) through the child Ngowes, and a sister-in-law may be called *Dzek hini-n* (Jack's wife) through her husband.

Some body parts are also irregular, exhibiting modified roots according to whether possession is by 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, for example 'belly' has two interchangeable forms: *rai-* +possessive suffix, or *na-* +possessive suffix + *ura*.

- (5)
- | | <i>rai-</i> form | <i>na-ura</i> form |
|------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1st person | <i>rai-ng</i> | <i>na-ngg ura</i> |
| 2nd person | <i>rai-m</i> | <i>na-m ura</i> |
| 3rd person | <i>rai-n</i> | <i>na-n ara</i> |

Examples of other irregularly possessed body parts are:

- (6)
- | | eye | tongue | leg/foot | ear |
|------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1st person | <i>mo-ngg itsin</i> | <i>mo-ng</i> | <i>ho-ng</i> | <i>ringo-ng</i> |
| 2nd person | <i>mo-m itsin</i> | <i>mo-m</i> | <i>ho-m</i> | <i>ringo-m</i> |
| 3rd person | <i>ma-n itsin</i> | <i>ma-n</i> | <i>ha-n</i> | <i>ringga-n</i> |

Set II (inalienable) kinship terms include woman's brother's children, and woman's brother's wife, or spouse's same sex siblings.

TABLE 6: POSSESSION OF SET II INALIENABLE KINSHIP TERMS

	SG	DU	PL
1EXC	<i>wir a + N-k</i>	<i>sikin a + N-k</i>	<i>tsi + N-k</i>
1INC	-	<i>suk a + N-k</i>	<i>tsir a + N-k</i>
2	<i>ingg a + N-p</i>	<i>som sikin a + N-p</i>	<i>tsom a + N-p</i>
3	<i>in a + N-ts</i>	<i>isikin a + N-ts</i>	<i>is a + N-ts</i>

Examples are:

- (7)
- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| <i>wir a wo-k</i> | my brother's child (female speaking)/sister's child (male speaking) |
| <i>is a ha-ts</i> | their sister-in-law |

2. Type II – Alienable Possession

1) Type II possession includes all nouns not in Type I category. The possessive phrase consists of noun or pronoun possession, prothetic *a*, then the noun possessed which is not affixed with possessive markers. Examples as below:

- (8)
- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| <i>wir a om</i> | my house |
| <i>ingg a mimin</i> | your betelnut |
| <i>in a tahung</i> | his smoke |
| <i>is a kom/kom a is en</i> | their dog |

2) There is an alternative structure for the possessive phrase, exemplified in the last item: *kom a is en*, 'their dog'. It consists of the noun possessed, then prothetic *a*, then noun or pronoun possessor, then the oblique object/instrument preposition *en*, which denotes exclusive possession (see 4) below). Some other examples are:

- (9)
- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>mimin a Ngowes en</i> | Ngowes's betelnut |
| <i>kom a tse nen</i> | our dog |

These two types alternate, either can be used.

3) Partitive Possessive Noun Phrase-compounds

When a word for a body part is a compound of two words, the first word takes the possessive suffix, for third person possession, the possessive $-n \rightarrow \emptyset$ before a consonant but remains $-n$ before a vowel, for example:

- (10) *wir a mo-ngg itsin* my eye
 ingg a mo-m itsin your eye
 in a ma-n itsin his eye
 wir a unu-ng kwaruk my head
 ingg a unu-m kwaruk your head
 in a unu- $\emptyset$ kwaruk his head

4) Possessive Pronouns

After the focal pronoun, the particle preposition *en* indicates exclusive possession, as in the following examples:

- (11a) *sikin en* ours (DU.EXC.)
 ingg en yours (SG)
- but *or en* mine, my own
- (11b) *kom a or en* my own dog
 ingg en da mak not yours

5) Interrogative Possessive

Asa + N (-3 POS) means 'whose N?', for example:

- (12) *Asa naru-n?* Whose child?
 Asa kom? Whose dog?

3.1.1.4 REFLEXIVE/EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

There is a set of reflexive/emphatic pronouns which mean Pronoun + 'self'. The same forms indicate reciprocal or mutual action after verbs (see §3.2.1.4). The reflexive/emphatic pronouns are:

TABLE 7: REFLEXIVE/EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

	SG	DU	PL
1EXC	(o)rong	ro(ng)geng	ro(ng)geng
1INC	-	rons	rons
2	(i)rom	romem	romem
3	ron	rons	rons

In this set, 1st (exclusive) dual and plural are identical and have alternative forms. Inclusive dual and plural have the same form as 3rd dual and plural, for example:

- (13) *Tse* *ro-geng* *bo-ng-a-nis* *karanum.*
 weEXC 1PL.EXC.REFL FUT-IRR-SPP1-say talk
 We ourselves will talk.

3.1.2 NOUNS

3.1.2.1 NOUN CLASSES

There are several types of noun classes in Musom. One classification is through the possessive system, according to whether the nouns are marked for alienable or inalienable possession. Another grammatical device, modification of verb root form, is also employed in Musom, as in all the other languages of the Lower Markham Sub-group – Wampar, Aribwaungg, Duwet, Nafi and Labu – (Holzknecht 1989) to show whether the noun subject or object is singular or plural:

- (14a) Singular Subject *in i-tsing(g)*. He is sleeping.
 Plural Subject *is i-tsitsi*. They are sleeping.
- (14b) Singular Object *Wir ng-a-wimb a mos*. I will throw a coconut.
 Plural Object *Tse ng-a-rawu a mos*. We will throw the coconuts.

The classification of nouns, according to whether the subject is animate or inanimate, human or non-human, as found in other languages of the Markham family, is not found in Musom. The only exception, as in Aribwaungg (the language of Yalu village) is that the 1st person dual exclusive pronoun *sikin* is accompaniment preposition before human nouns. Non-human nouns take *iri*, and human nouns can too. But non-human nouns never take *sikin*, e.g.:

- (15a) *Wir sikin ramo-ngg biak aruts.*
 1SG 1DU.EXC father-1POS go.to sea
 I went with my father to the sea.

but

- (15b) *ingg ng-u-ak taun iri asa?*
 2SG IRR-2-go town ACC who
 With whom are you going to town?

3.1.2.2 NOUN COMPOUNDS

Noun compounds are of the form: Noun₁ (head) + Noun₂ (modifier)

Examples are as follows:

- (16a) *ub a mbang*
 clay.pot V valley
 pot from Markham Valley
- (16b) *tsouk a ndzun*
 stone V hole
 cave

If the noun₂ modifier is a body part, it takes the 3rd person possessive suffix *-n*, as in the following examples:

- (16c) *mbu ha-n*
 water leg-3POS
 branch of river

- (16d) *reb bai-n*
 tree hand-3POS
 branch of tree

Location compounds also have the form:

Noun₁ (head) + Noun₂ (modifier)

If N₂ (modifier) is a body part, it takes 3rd person possessive suffix *-n*:

- (17) *omb wutsin* inside the house
omb baru-n back of the house
omb mara-n front of the house

3.1.2.3 ARTICLES

In Musom, singular/plural definite article/demonstrative *te* occurs after the noun or pronoun. Plural definite article *is*, also occurs after nouns.

- (18a) *is korok is*
 3PL *kunai* 3PL.ART
 the Markham people (lit. the *kunai* them)

(*Kunai* is Tok Pisin for *Imperata* sp. grass and grasslands, characteristic of the Markham Valley, and by which its inhabitants are known to mountain and coastal dwellers.)

- (18b) *In te g-i-its wir.*
 3SG 3SG.ART Past-SPP3-hit 1SG
 He hit me.
- (18c) *ub te ingg g-u-saho*
 pot 3SG.ART 2SG Past-SPP2-make
 the pot you made
- (18d) *kahi is ani*
 woman 3PL.ART DEM
 these women here

Te is also used as a Demonstrative for marking relative clauses, as in the example (18c) above.

There are two Indefinite articles, one singular and one plural. Both occur after nouns.

- | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|------|
| | <i>wen</i> (or <i>wenen</i>) | a |
| | <i>hun</i> | some |
- (19) *bik wenen* a pig
omb nanaru wen ana a little house there
is hun some of them

3.1.2.4 SINGULAR/PLURAL MARKING

Some Musom nouns are marked for singular or plural through the use of root modification:

- (20a) *karanum* talk, speech
karakarak lots of talk

- (20b) *aromb* man
ngaing men

Another way of marking singular or plural is by using *is* 3rd person plural pronoun/article after a noun. This would not be used if the noun is already marked for plural, for example *ngaing*.

- (20c) *kahi is* women
kom is the dogs

A numeral only occurs after the noun it is modifying:

- (21) *kom siruk* two dogs

Reduplication of an adjective following a noun can indicate plural. Reduplication can be full or part.

- (22a) *is kahi is takutakuts*
 3PL woman 3PL short.short
 the short women

- (22b) *reb atopatop anu*
 tree big.big DEM
 the big trees there

For certain verbs, plurality of subject or object nouns/pronouns can also be shown by suppletive forms of the verb root, as mentioned earlier. The plural verb root *min-* can mean 'sit, stay, be, remain, continue', depending on context.

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| (23a) | Singular Subject: | <i>Wir g-a-pungg.</i> | I sat down. |
| | Plural Subject: | <i>Tse g-a-min.</i> | We sat down. |
| (23b) | Singular Subject: | <i>Kom i-bum.</i> | The dog is there. |
| | Plural Subject: | <i>Kom i-min.</i> | The dogs are there. |
| (23c) | Singular Object: | <i>Wir g-a-wimb tsouk.</i> | I threw a stone. |
| | Plural Object: | <i>Wir g-a-rawu tsouk.</i> | I threw stones. |

3.1.2.5 DEMONSTRATIVES

Two sets of demonstratives were recorded, one set indicating definiteness and location, and one set marking less definite. Both types occur after nouns or verbs:

Definite: Demonstratives showing definiteness or exact location are:

<i>te</i> (also singular article)	this one
<i>rak, rak anu</i>	there, that one there
<i>rak a(ng)go</i>	there, that one, far away

Te also marks relative clauses, as mentioned earlier; it is most likely a determiner, which can fulfil several different functions.

Indefinite: Demonstratives indicating less definite and indicating time and general direction or location are:

<i>ani; ani ngge; a</i>	close to speaker; this; these
<i>anu; anu nggo; nggo; o; ana</i>	further away; far away; that; those

The short forms *a* and *o* also occur after verbs, therefore are considered here to have an adverbial function, locating the action of the verb in time or space

- (24a) *Mbu ana g-i-hil atop.*
 water DEM P-SPP3-flood big
 That river was very flooded.
 (*ana* here shows that the object was far away in space)
- (24b) *G-i-nis iri is ana.*
 P-SPP3-say ACC 3PL DEM
 He spoke to them.
 (*ana* here shows the action spoken about, and the people mentioned, were far away in time)
- (24c) *G-a-ruk g-a-pep a mbu te.*
 P-SPP1-go.down P-SPP1-arrive V water DEM
 We went down that river.
 (*te* indicates definite location of the noun in space.)
- (24d) *Tse g-a-mbidi rak a nggo.*
 weEXC P-SPP1-stand.up DEM V DEM
 We stood (at that place) there.
 (Both *rak* and *nggo* show that the action was definitely located in space, far away.)
- (24e) *Mating g-e-k g-i-kwek ena Ariwomb a ha-n (ng)go.*
 Martin P-SPP3-go P-SPP3-go.down LOC Ariwomb V leg-3POS DEM
 Martin went down a tributary of the Ariwomb river.
 (*nggo* shows the action was indefinite, far away in space.)
- (24f) *Mak, aporo ani g-e-k, g-i-rikik tsom i-mak.*
 No old.person DEM P-SPP3-go P-SPP3-see you(PL) REAL.SPP3-NEG
 No, the old person went, and saw that you (PL) were not there.
 (*ani* shows the subject was close to the speaker.)

Demonstrative Pronouns are formed by affixing *n-* before the Demonstratives:

<i>nani; nani ngge</i>	this here, close to speaker
<i>nanu; nanu nggo</i>	that there, further away from speaker
<i>rak anu</i>	there – indicates location

- (25) *Nani sira?* What's this?
Nanunggo, a? That one there, ah?

3.1.2.6 QUANTITATIVE MODIFICATION

1. Definite Quantifiers:

The Musom counting system combines a counting system based on two with body tallying on hands and feet:

- 0- *mak* = Negative verb
- 1- *munuts*
- 2- *siruk*
- 3- *siruk da wen* 2 + definite singular article
- 4- *siruk da siruk* 2 + 2
- 5- *bai-ng rehen*
hand-1POS side
one hand
- 6- *Bai-ng rehen a rus ka i-kun rehen munuts.*
hand-1POS side V altogether and REAL-SPP3-take side one
One hand altogether and take one from the other side.
- 10- *Bai-ng siruk a rus (g-i-sa munuts).*
hand-1POS two V altogether REAL-SPP3-go.up one
Two hands together (become one).
- 11- *Bai-ng siruk a rus ka i-kun rehen munuts.*
hand-1POS two V altogether and REAL.SPP3-take side one
Two hands together and take one (from) the other side.
- 15- *Bai-ng siruk a rus ka i-ku ho-ng rehen.*
hand-1POS two V altogether and REAL.SPP3-take foot-1POS side
Two hands together and take one foot (to the) side.
- 20- *Ho-ng siruk bai-ng siruk.*
foot-1POS two hand-1POS two
Two feet and two hands.

2. Indefinite quantifiers:

Indefinite numerals/quantifiers were recorded as follows. *Wen(en)* and *hun* have been discussed, above.

<i>wen(en)</i>	a
<i>hun</i>	some
<i>munuts munuts</i>	a few
<i>a mots</i>	plenty, lots
<i>a rus</i>	all, altogether
<i>hori</i>	enough

3. Interrogatives: 'how much' and 'how many' are expressed by *sahis*:

- (26a) *Ngaing is sahis i-min?*
man 3PL how.many REAL.SPP3-stay
How many people are here?
- (26b) *Mimin a sahis?*
betelnut V how much
How much for the betelnut?

4. Ordinals:

The concepts of 'first' and 'following' are expressed by verbs which can be translated as 'go ahead, precede, go first' and 'follow, go behind, come after' respectively. 'Middle' and 'last' are expressed through nouns of location:

- (27a) First:
Aromb i-mungg i-ka.
 man REAL.SPP3-go.first REAL.SPP3-come
 The man comes first.
- (27b) Middle:
Kahi i-ka nihi.
 woman REAL.SPP3-come middle
 The woman is in the middle.
- (27c) Following:
Aromb a tamun-ang en.
 man V follow-GER OBL.O.
 The man following.
- (27d) Last:
Wir rasi-ngg a'uts.
 1SG brother-1POS tail
 My last brother.

5. Birth Order Terms

Musom has had birth-order terms in the past, but they are becoming less frequently used. Only two terms for male and two terms for female were remembered by informants. These are similar to those still in use in other Markham languages (see Holzknecht 1993):

TABLE 8. BIRTH ORDER TERMS IN MUSOM

	Male	Female
1st born	<i>ngaru</i>	<i>ambuk</i>
2nd born	<i>nganggwe</i>	<i>kwain</i>

3.1.2.7 DESCRIPTIVE MODIFICATION

In Musom, there are two types of descriptive modifiers, both of which follow nouns:

Type I, non-verbs, do not take any verb morphology. Type II, stative verbs, can take either tense/aspect/subject pronoun prefixes or the gerundive suffix *-ang*.

1. Type I: Non-verbs

These can be intensified by the particle *iron* following them, meaning 'very':

- (28a) *nanarun* small
atop big
wadi long
takuts short
tsats bad

<i>posop</i>	white
<i>husik</i>	black

- (28b) A son a *tsats* iron.
 V thing V bad very
 A very bad thing.

2. Type II: Stative verbs

When stative verbs are used as post-nominal modifiers, they are affixed with either tense/aspect/subject pronoun prefixes, or the gerundive suffix *-ang*. Two of the five Musom colour terms are verbs, and one, *wek-ang* 'red', is the noun *wek* 'blood' affixed with the gerundive suffix.

- (29) *tsak-ang* good
 nuh-ang cold
 herek-ang strong
 munggu-ang old
 kudzang-ang yellow
 wek-ang red
 paparats-ang green, unripe

3. Type III *mara-*

Descriptive modifiers preceded by *mara-*, commonly found in other Markham languages, are very rare in Musom. Only one, *mara-win-ang* 'heavy', was recorded.

3.1.2.8 NEGATION OF NOUN PHRASE

The noun phrase is negated by the negative verb *mak* occurring after the phrase:

- (30a) *amik mak*
 rain NEG
 no rain
- (30b) *karanum mak*
 talk NEG
 nothing to say

Expletive *Mak* means 'No!'

3.2 VERB PHRASE

3.2.1 VERB AFFIXES AND PARTICLES

TABLE 9: VERB AFFIXES AND POST-VERBAL PARTICLES

Aspect Particle	Tense Prefix Prefix	T/A/ Mood Prefix	Subject Pronoun	Suffix	Post-verbal Particle
<i>dak</i> 'now' (Immediate)	(<i>bi-</i> 1 & 3 <i>bu-</i> 2 'just now' $\emptyset$ - (Inceptive)	$\emptyset$ - <i>a-</i> $\emptyset$ - <i>u-</i> <i>i-/e-</i> (Realis)	1 2 3		<i>butikik ani</i> 'straight away' Verbs: <i>bum</i> SG 'stay' <i>min</i> PL continuous <i>k</i> 'go' Dir. away from speaker <i>ka</i> 'come' Dir. towards speaker ' <i>apun</i> ' finished' (Compleitive) <i>rus</i> 'altogether' (Compleitive) <i>kitsi</i> 'off, across, away' rootC- <i>ang</i> <i>tsitsi</i> 'around, on itself' rootV- <i>tsang</i> (Gerund) <i>hunu</i> 'dead, completely' Adverbs: <i>igin</i> 'only' <i>apeape</i> 'everyday, continuously' <i>morom morom</i> 'repeatedly' (<i>s</i>) <i>ahik</i> 'again'
<i>bute</i> 'still' (Continuous)	<i>bo-</i> (Future)	<i>ng-a-</i> <i>ng-u-</i> <i>ng-i-/e-</i> (Irrealis)	1 2 3		
<i>hori</i> 'can' (Potential)		<i>g-a-</i> <i>g-u-</i> <i>g-i-/e-</i> (Past)	1 2 3		

3.2.1.1 VERB PREFIXES

1. Subject Pronoun Prefixes (SPP):

The prefix immediately before the verb root is the subject pronoun prefix which is marked for person but not number, of the subject.

These prefixes are all vowels:

- a-* 1st person subject
- u-* 2nd person subject
- i-/e-* 3rd person subject

Before certain verbs the SPP and tense marker may be fused, usually the Realis, which is $\emptyset$ -:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|------------|
| (31) | <i>an</i> | eat | (<i>a</i>) <i>k</i> | go |
| | $\emptyset$ - <i>a-an</i> | 1st person | $\emptyset$ - <i>a-(a)k</i> | 1st person |
| | $\emptyset$ - <i>u-an</i> | 2nd person | $\emptyset$ - <i>u-ak</i> | 2nd person |
| | $\emptyset$ - <i>e-an</i> | 3rd person | $\emptyset$ - <i>e-k</i> | 3rd person |

2. Realis (REAL): Ø-SPP-V

Realis mode or present/past/general occurs as Ø- before the SPP-Verb root. It indicates action which is happening now, is real, has really happened, in narrative, etc. With second or subsequent verbs in a sequence the Ø- indicates aspect.

- (32a) *In te bute Ø-i-bum omb.*
 he ART still REAL-SPP3-stay village
 He is still, now, in the village.
- (32b) *Wir Ø-a-its a bik.*
 I REAL-SPP1-hit V pig
 I hit the pig.
- (32c) *Kuwits Ø-i-gasagis en.*
 skin REAL-SPP3-be.wrinkled OBL.O
 The skin is wrinkled.
- (32d) *Wir Ø-a-rin a me.*
 I REAL-SPP1-feel V hunger
 I am hungry.

3. Irrealis (IRR): ng-SPP-V

Irrealis indicates action not yet done, not completed, might happen, is imagined or thought of, etc. It is marked by *ng-* with SPP-verb root. Certain particles or prefixes are always combined with *ng-*.

General future: *ng*-SPP-V

Indefinite or general future is marked by *ng*-SPP-V. It also indicates a wish, intention or desire to do something.

- (33a) *Wir ng-a-num a mbu.*
 I IRR-SPP1-drink V water
 I will/want to drink water.
- (33b) *Tsir a rus ng-a-sa munuts.*
 weINC V altogether IRR-SPP1-go.up one
 We will all gather together.

3b. Definite future (FUT): *bo-ng*-SPP-V

Definite time in the future is marked by the prefix *bo-*, before irrealis prefix *ng*-SPP-V.

- (34a) *Wir bo-ng-a-taka in ena mop.*
 I FUT-IRR-SPP1-meet him LOC road
 I will meet him at the road.
- (34b) *Is bo-ng-i-sek a sun.*
 they FUT IRR-SPP3-go.up V mountain
 They will climb the mountain.

3c. Tense prefix with Inceptive (INCE):

bi- 1st and 3rd person subject*bu-* 2nd person subject

The Inceptive prefix indicates that the subject of the verb is about to do, or has just done something, and is used with whichever tense/mood marker applies.

With Irrealis (IRR):

bi-/bu-ng-SPP-V.

- (35a) *Tse bi-ng-a-tsitsi.*
 weEXC INCE-IRR-SPP1-sleep
 We are about to go to sleep.

With *dak* 'right now':

- (35b) *In dak bi-ng-i-tsingg.*
 he right.now INCE-IRR-SPP3-sleep
 He will sleep right now.

- (35c) *Ingg bu-(ng-u-)kwa ma?*
 youSG INCE-(IRR-SPP2)-come or
 Are you coming now?

After a 2nd person subject *ng-* is usually dropped. Root modification may also occur, as in the example of the verb 'sleep' below:

- (35d)
- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>bi-ng-a-tsingg</i> | 1st singular subject |
| <i>bi-ng-a-tsitsi</i> | 1st plural subject |
| <i>bu-Ø-tsingg</i> | 2nd singular subject |
| <i>bu-Ø-tsitsi</i> | 2nd plural subject |
| <i>bi-ng-i-tsingg</i> | 3rd singular subject |
| <i>bi-ng-i-tsitsi</i> | 3rd plural subject |

4. Hortative and Imperative: *ng-SPP-V*

Irrealis marker *ng-SPP-V* with 1st and 2nd person subject pronoun prefixes marks hortative and imperative, respectively. The pronoun subject is optional.

- (36a) *Tse ng-a-k aruts.*
 weEXC IRR-SPP1-go sea
 Let's go to the sea.
- (36b) *Ng-u-ak!*
 IRR-SPP2-go
 Go!
- (36c) *Ingg ng-u-an pasik ani da mak.*
 youSG IRR-SPP2-eat meat DEM NEG
 Don't eat this meat.

5. Conditional:

da + Subject 1 + *ng*-SPP-V + *da* + Subject 2 + *bo-ng*-SPP-V

Irrealis can also, in a complex sentence, convey conditional. The second verb (ie the verb in the dependent clause) is in the future tense:

- (37a) *Da amik ng-i-ruk wir bo-nga-bum omb.*
 and rain IRR-SPP3-go.down I FUT-IRR-SPP1-stay village
 If it rains I will stay in the village.

- (37b) *Wir iri son an-ang wir bo-ng-a-an.*
 I ACC thing eat-GER I FUT-IRR-SPP1-eat
 If I had some food I would eat.

6. Past tense (P): *g*-SPP-V

6a. Simple Past tense (P)

Actions which occurred in the past are indicated by the past tense prefix *g*- before Subject Pronoun Prefix and Verb root. This is the most common tense marking used in narrative. To indicate completion of the action in the past, various particles can be used after the verb.

- (38a) *Wir g-a-tapi ub iri¹ munggwang nggo.*
 I P-SPP1-break pot TIM long.time DEM
 I broke the pot a long time ago.
- (38b) *Tse g-a-k g-a-mbitsi ung da g-a-hul a mbu.*
 weEXC P-SPP1-go P-SP1-cook breadfruit and P-SPP1-fish V water
 We went and cooked breadfruit, and fished (for crayfish) in the river.

6b. Completive (COMP)

Completion of action can be indicated by several different post-verbal particles, with different meanings, for example the Completives *rus* 'altogether', *'apun* 'finished', *hunu* 'completely/dead'.

- (39a) *Tsir a naru-ngg, is te g-e-k a mbu a rus!*
 weINC V child-IPOS they DEM P-SPP3-go V water V altogether
 Our children, they've been carried away by the river!
- (39b) *G-i-reng iri tse 'apun, da bi-g-i-rik tse...*
 P-3-cry DAT usEXC finished and INCE-P-SPP3-bring usEXC
 They finished crying over us, and (they) brought us...
- (39c) *In g-i-hung a tsih hunu.*
 he P-SPP3-blow V fire completely/dead
 He blew out the fire completely.

6c. Past tense marker *g*- with Inceptive *bi-/bu*:

bi-g-SPP-root 1st and 3rd person subject
bu-g-SPP-root 2nd person subject

¹ *Iri* is a preposition which functions as accompaniment, time marker, dative, benefactive.

- (40a) *Tsom bu-g-u-nis...*
 youPL INCE-P-SPP2-say
 You(plural) just said...
- (40b) *Is te bi-g-i-reng e naru-n is, g-i-min.*
 they DEM INCE-Past-SPP3-cry LOC child-3POS 3PL P-SPP3-continue
 They began to cry for their children, and continued crying, on and on.
- (40c) *In te bi-g-e-k.*
 he DEM INCE-P-SPP3-go
 He has just gone.

7. Continuous Aspect

Continuous action in past, present or future can be marked in two ways:

7a. With pre-verbal particle *bute* 'still':

- (41a) Present:
Ramo-ng te bute Ø-i-bum omb.
 father-1POS DEM still REAL-SPP3-stay village
 My father is still living in the village.
- (41b) Past:
Tsom bute g-u-min omb?
 youPL still P-SPP2-stay village
 Were you (plural) still staying in the village?
- (41c) Future:
Wir bute ng-a-bum omb iri ape.
 I still IRR-SPP1-stay village TIM tomorrow
 I will still be staying in the village tomorrow.

7b. Continuous aspect can also be indicated through, verbs in sequence indicating that the action in Verb 1 is: i) continuing in the same place; ii) going away from focus; or iii) going towards focus.

i) With verb roots *bum* (Singular subject)/*min* (Plural subject) 'stay, be continue, sit' as second (and sometimes repeated) verb in a series, showing that action is continuing in the same place:

- (42a) *Tse g-a-hil a num g-a-min g-a-min.*
 weEXC P-SPP1-go.up V school P-SPP1-stay P-SPP1-stay
 We were in school, continuing on and on.
- (42b) *Wir a-num a mbu a-bum.*
 I REAL-SPP1-drink V water REAL-SPP1-stay
 I drink water (continuously).

ii) To show action is not in one place but located away from focus, the verb (*a*)/*k* 'go' is used, as second verb in a sequence:

- (42c) *Ingg ng-u-nggung e-e-k, mikim o ng-u-ak.*
 youSG IRR-SPP2-wait SPP3-SPP3-SPP3-go night DEM IRR-SPP2-go
 You should wait until night, then go.

iii) Action towards focus is shown with verb *ka* 'come' as second verb in a series:

- (42d) *G-i-rind g-i-ka kaa g-i-rikik...*
 P-SPP3-run P-SPP3-come come P-SPP3-see
 They ran (towards us) on and on, and saw...

When the verbs *ka* 'come' and (*a*)*k* 'go' are used after a main verb to indicate continuing action with a direction, they are often in the 3rd person form even though the subject of the main verb is 1st or 2nd person; the vowel of the verb or the SPP is also lengthened to indicate continuity, as in the following examples:

- (42e) *G-a-reng e-e-e-k...*
 P-SPP1-cry SPP3-SPP3-SPP3-go
 (We) cried, on and on...
- (42f) *G-i-rind g-i-ka kaa...*
 P-SPP3-run P-SPP3-come come
 They ran, (towards us) on and on...

8. Immediate Aspect: *dak* now

To indicate that an action is happening right now, the pre-verbal particle *dak* 'right now' can be used, and may also be used with Inceptive prefix *bi-/bu-*:

- (43) *Wir dak bi-ng-a-pep omb.*
 I right.now INCE-IRR-SPP1-arrive village
 I am just now coming up to the village [but have not yet arrived].

It is clear that the speaker has not yet arrived, because the Irrealis prefix *ng-* has been used, thus indicating that the action is not yet a reality.

9. Potential/Abilitative: pre-verbal particle *hori* 'can'

To mark that an action can potentially occur, the pre-verbal particle *hori* with Future + Irrealis prefix *bo-ng-SPP-V* is used:

- (44a) *Wir hori bo-ng-a-mbitsi mamand.*
 I POT FUT-IRR-SPP1-cook banana
 I can cook the bananas.
- (44b) *Ingg hori ng-i-ak a ruts.*
 he POT IRR-SPP3-go V sea
 He can go to the sea.
- (44c) *Ma hon a ingg iri kar ingg hori ng-u-ak Rai.*
 but accordingly V youSG ACC car youSG POT IRR-SPP2-go Lae
 But if you then had a car, you could go to Lae.

3.2.1.2 VERB SUFFIXES

There is only one verbal suffix in Musom and that is the gerundive/participle suffix *-ang/-tsang*. The form of the suffix is determined by the last sound of the verb root. If the root ends in a consonant, the suffix is *-ang*; if it ends in a vowel, it is *-tsang*. Before the root prothetic *a*, which has no meaning, occurs before a consonant, for example:

- (45a)
- | | |
|-----------------------|---------|
| <i>an-ang</i> | eating |
| <i>ak-ang</i> | going |
| <i>a ringin-ang</i> | hearing |
| <i>a wusu-tsang</i> | cutting |
| <i>a mbitsi-tsang</i> | cooking |

The suffix has the functions of forming nouns from verbs and adjectives from verbs, forming a structure N head + modifier. After certain verbs the verb predicate is always in the gerundive/participle form.

Examples of the construction N head + Modifier:

- (45b)
- | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|--|----------------------|
| <i>son</i> | <i>an-ang</i> | | food |
| thing | eat-GER | | |
| <i>aromb</i> | <i>a gung-ang</i> | | a teacher |
| man | V look.after-GER | | |
| <i>reb</i> | <i>a nik-ang</i> | | firewood |
| wood | V dry-GER | | |
| <i>ku-ngg</i> | <i>a nis-ang</i> | | my mind, my thoughts |
| mind-1POS | V say-GER | | |

Further examples:

- (45c)
- | | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>karanum</i> | <i>son</i> | <i>a wik-ang</i> | angry or cross talk |
| talk | thing V | be.cross-GER | |
| <i>pitat</i> | <i>a tsak-ang</i> | | smooth surface |
| flat.surface | V good-GER | | |
| <i>Nini-ng</i> | <i>a nuh-ang.</i> | | I am cold. (lit. My skin is cold.) |
| skin-1POS | V cold-GER | | |

After Auxiliary verbs:

- (45d)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|----------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|-----|
| <i>muk</i> | 'do, make, work, try to do sth, want to do sth' | | | | | |
| <i>In i-muk</i> | <i>a nis-ang</i> | <i>karanum</i> | <i>da</i> | <i>hori</i> | <i>da mak.</i> | |
| he | REAL-SPP3-try | V say-GER | talk | and | POT | NEG |
| He tries to talk but is not able. | | | | | | |
- (45e)
- | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| <i>dong</i> | 'not want to , dislike' | |
| <i>Wir a-dong</i> | <i>a tsingg-ang.</i> | |
| I | REAL-SPP1-not.want | V sleep-GER |
| I don't want to sleep. | | |

As verb complement or as oblique object after verb:

- (45f) *Wir ng-a-k a rikik-ang in.*
 I IRR-SPP1-go V see-GER him
 I am going to see him.
- (45g) *Tse g-a-sa e an-ang.*
 weEXC P-SPP1-go.up OBL.O eat-GER
 We went up in order to eat.

3.2.1.3 POST-VERBAL MODIFIERS

Post verbal modifiers indicating completed action (*'apun, rus*) and those indicating continuous action (verbs *bum/min* stay; *(a)k* go; *ka* come) have been discussed previously. There are several other modifiers which occur after verbs, indicating nature of the action, its duration, its result, manner or mutuality of the action. Some of these may be better classified as adverbials, but for simplicity of presentation, they are listed here with all post-verb modifiers.

1. *'apun* completive

- (46) *G-i-reng iri tse 'apun, da bi-g-i-rik tse...*
 P-SPP3-cry DAT usEXC finished and INCE-P-SPP3-bring usEXC
 They finished crying over us, and (they) brought us...

2. *rus* completive

- (47) *Tsir a naru-ng is te g-e-k a mbu rus!*
 ourINC V child-1POSS they DEM P-SPP3-go V water finish
 Our children have been taken (by) the river!

3. *bum* (Singular subject)/*min* (Plural subject) – continuous action in one place (see examples (42a), (42b) above).
4. *(a)k* 'go': continuous action away from focus (see example (42c) above)
5. *ka* 'come': continuous action towards focus (see example (42d) above)
6. *butikik ani* 'straight away'

- (48) *Ingg ng-a-k butikik ani*
 youSG IRR-SPP2-go straight.away
 You go straight away.

7. *kitsi* 'across, away, down, altogether'

- (49a) *Reb i-tsingg a mop kitsi.*
 tree REAL.SPP3-sleep V road across
 The tree is lying across the road.
- (49b) *Wir bo-ng-a-nis in kitsi ng-e-k da mak.*
 I FUT-IRR-SPP1-say him across IRR-SPP3-go and NEG
 I will forbid him to go.

8. *tsitsi* 'curled up'

- (50) *Kom i-tsingg tsitsi.*
 dog REAL.SPP3-sleep curled.up
 The dog sleeps curled up.

9. *kipi* 'in pieces'

- (51) *Wir g-a-pu ub kipi.*
 I P-SPP1-break pot in pieces
 I broke the pot in pieces.

10. *kugurus* 'scattered'

- (52) *Wir g-a-mburis reb g-i-to kugurus.*
 I P-SPP1-break wood P-SPP3-become scattered
 I broke up the wood and it became scattered about.

11. *sahik* 'again'

- (53) *Wir ng-a-tamun karanum ana sahiK.*
 I IRR-SPP1-repeat talk DEM again
 I will repeat (again) what I said.

12. *hunu* 'dead, completely'

- (54) *Wir bo-ng-a-its in hunu!*
 I FUT-IRR-SPP1-hit him dead
 I will kill him!

13. *huri* 'back again, return'

- (55a) *In bo-ng-i-nis huri.*
 he FUT-IRR-SPP3-say return
 He will reply.

- (55b) *Ng-a-tingg huri.*
 IRR-SPP1-give return
 I will give it back.

14. *ape ape* 'every day, continuously'

- (56) *In a num-ang karanum en ape ape.*
 he V drink-GER talk TIM continuously
 He babbles on continuously.

15. *morom morom* 'repeatedly'

- (57) *In a naru-n i-reng morom morom.*
 her V child-3POS REAL.SPP3-cry repeatedly
 Her child cries repeatedly.

16. Adjectives or stative verbs can be used following a verb to indicate manner, or describe the action of the verb:

- (58) *posangposang* slow → slowly
tsakang good → well
pepep quick → quickly
tsats bad → badly

3.2.1.4 REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL

The reflexive/emphatical pronouns (see §3.1.1.4 above) are used after verbs to show reciprocity of the action:

- (59a) *Is kahi is g-i-hinu rons.*
 3PL woman 3PL P-SPP3-decorate 3PL.REFL
 The women decorated each other.
- (59b) *Isikin i-dabu iri rons.*
 3DU REAL.SPP3-play ACC 3PL.REFL
 The two are playing with each other.
- (59c) *Ingg g-u-ra rom?*
 youSG P-SPP2-cut 2.SG.REFL
 Did you cut yourself?

Some verbs take obligatory reflexive/reciprocal directly after them:

- (59d) *tsapik eron* smack lips
muk ro copulate
rihong ro rest
nunggut ro curl up
mburis ro groom
its ro fight with each other

3.2.2 NEGATION OF VERB PHRASE

The verb phrase, in all tenses, aspects and moods, is negated by adding the negation phrase *da mak* (lit. 'and not') after the verb phrase:

- (60a) *Wir a-bum omb da mak.*
 I REAL.SPP1-stay village NEG
 I am not staying in the village.
- (60b) *Tse bo-ng-a-num a mbu da mak.*
 weEXC FUT-IRR-SPP1-drink V water NEG
 We will not drink the water.
- (60c) *Ramo-ng g-i-bak iri mungguang go da mak.*
 father-1POS P-SPP3-die TIM long.time DEM NEG
 My father did not die a long time ago.

Prohibitive is indicated in the same way as simple negation. The negative marker *da mak* is used after the hortative or imperative phrase:

(61a) *Ingg ng-u-an pasik ani da mak.*
 youSG IRR-SPP2-eat meat DEM NEG
 Don't eat this meat.

(61b) *Tsom ng-u-ak da mak!*
 youPL IRR-SPP2-go NEG
 Don't (you plural) go!

Another form of negation of the verb phrase utilises the negative verb *dong* 'not like, not want to', can be used before the verb instead of using *da mak* after the verb phrase. This is not used for prohibitive. After *dong* the second verb is in the gerund form:

(62a) *Ah, naru-ng g-i-dong a ka-tsang!*
 ah child-IPOS P-SPP3-not.like V come-GER
 Ah, my child did not come!

(62b) *In g-i-dong a hil-ang a num?*
 he P-SPP3-not.like V go.up-GER V school
 Didn't he go to school?

The use of *dong* implies a wilful negation, i.e. wilfully not doing the action of the second verb.

3.2.3 VERB SERIALISATION

1. Same subject

When the subject is the same for two or more verbs in serial construction, the same subject pronoun prefix and the same tense/aspect prefix is used on first and subsequent verbs. In the examples which follow, in the row above the vernacular text, subscript numbers refer to the order of the element, eg 1st subject (SPP1), 2nd verb (V2) etc., while superscript numbers refer to the person of the morpheme, e.g. 1st person (SPP1), 3rd person (SPP3):

(63a) Person¹ 1 1 1 1
Wir bo-ng-a-k ng-a-k ng-a-k ng-a-pep
 I FUT-IRR-SPP1-go IRR-SPP1-go IRR-SPP1-go IRR-SPP1-arrive
omb.
 village

I will go and go and go and arrive at the village.

(63b) Person³ 3 3
Aporo wen ana g-i-ka g-i-rikik tse mak e num.
 old.person a DEM P-SPP3-go P-SPP3-see usEXC NEG LOC house
 An old person went and saw that we were not at the house.

However, two separate actions must be separated by *da* 'and'. In the example which follows, the subject will descend from the mountain, and then go somewhere else in a separate action.

(64) *In bo-ng-i-kwek asun anu da ng-e-k*
 he FUT-IRR-SPP3-go.down mountain DEM and IRR-SPP3-go
 He will go down from that mountain and go.

2. Different subject

If the subject of second or subsequent verbs is of different person to that of the first, the switch in subject is indicated through change in SPP before the verb. Commonly, the object of V₁ becomes the subject of V₂:

- (65a) SPP1³ V₁³ Obj¹=SPP2¹ V₂¹ V₃¹
Aporo wen g-i-kun tse g-a-k g-a-hil a
 old.person a P-SPP3-take 1PL.EXC. P-SPP1-go P-SPP1-go V
num.
school
 An old person used to take us to school.

- (65b) SPP1¹ V₁¹ Obj³=SPP2³ V₂³
Wir g-a-mburis reb g-i-to kugurus.
 1SG P-SPP1-break wood P-SPP3-become scattered
 I broke up the wood and it became scattered about.

3.2.4 OBJECTS

Order of constituents in Musom sentences is usually SVO. Thus, direct object of a transitive verb comes directly after the verb, and is marked by position only. Indirect object is marked by accompaniment preposition *iri*. Oblique object is marked by oblique object/preposition/locative marker *e/en*. The structure of a sentence with all possible objects is:

S+V+DO+ *iri* + IND.O+*e/ena*+ OBL.O

With Direct Object (DO):

- (66a) *Wir ng-a-k ng-a-tingg son an-ang iri mbik.*
 I IRR-SPP1-go IRR-SPP1-give thing eat-GER (DO) ACC pig
 I am going to give food to the pig.

With Indirect Object (IO):

- (66b) *Tse ng-a-k ng-a-muk karakarak iri is.*
 weEXC IRR-SPP1-go IRR-SPP1-do talk.PL ACC 3PL (IO)
 We are going (in order) to do some talking to them.

With Oblique Object (OBL.O), after *en/ena* Oblique Object Marker (OBL.O.M):

- (66c) *Wir ng-a-muk karakarak iri is ena karanum wen.*
 I IRR-SPP1-do talk.PL ACC them OBL.O.M talk.SG a
 I will do some talking to them about something.

Some verbs take obligatory *en* Oblique Object before a direct object. Also, verbs of this type may include a third person pronoun direct object in the meaning. This does not have the same meaning or function as *ena* Oblique Object Marker, when the object is actually a noun:

- (66d) *ng-u-tsip en deflect it*
ng-a-ngguguts en I go round and round it
ng-u-sakasik en wipe it

Compare with:

- (66e) *Ena siwuk atop wir g-a-nis en.*
 OBL.O.M. sun big I P-SPP1-say OBL.O about it
 ...because of the big sun which I spoke about.
- (66f) *wir a mus an-ang en*
 my V coconut eat-GER OBL.O of it
 my coconut for eating
- (66g) *Ng-a-nis en moneng.*
 IRR-SPP1-say OBL.O.M money
 I will count the money.

but compare with:

- (66h) *A-girik ena mur.*
 REAL.1-fear of snake
 (I) am afraid of snakes (lit. fearing about snake).

3.2.5 TIME PHRASES

Time phrases can occur unmarked at the beginning of a sentence, or preceded by *iri* Accompaniment, Time Marker, Dative, Benefactive etc (ACC) marker, at the end of a sentence:

- (67a) *Remek wir g-a-ra reb.*
 yesterday I P-SPP1-cut tree
 Yesterday I cut the tree.
- cf.
- (67b) *In g-i-nis karanum iri remek?*
 he P-SPP3-say talk ACC yesterday
 Did he speak yesterday?
- (67c) *Ape ingg bo-ng-u-num a mbu.*
 tomorrow youSG FUT-IRR-SPP2-drink V water
 Tomorrow you will drink the water.

cf.

- (67d) *Ingg bo-ng-u-num a mbu iri ape.*
 youSG FUT-SPP2-drink V water ACC tomorrow
 You will drink the water tomorrow.

'When' is expressed in two possible ways, both of which appear to have been borrowed recently, one from Yabim and one from Tok Pisin.

1. Yabim: *giding gai* + V.P

- (68a) *Giding gai tse bo-ng-a-k?*
 when where weEXC FUT-IRR-SPP1-go
 When will we go?

Giding appears to be identical to the Yabim time marker *giding*:

- (68b) *giding te* then
giding ondoc when?
giding nogeng yesterday
 (Streicher 1982:92)

The verb root *-ding* in Yabim means 'move in the direction towards' (Streicher 1982:91). *Ding* has no discernible meaning as a verb root in Musom; *giding* appears to include past tense, 3rd person subject (*g-i-*) but this does not correspond with the usual marking of future time on the verb of Musom sentences (through prefixes *bo-ng* Future-Irrealis). Thus *giding* is most likely recently borrowed from Yabim.

Musom *gai* means 'where?' and when this is used together with *giding*, the phrase becomes a question.

2. Tok Pisin: *tim ho gai + da + Verb Phrase*

- (69a) *Tim ho.gai da tse ng-a-k?*
 time how and weEXC IRR-SPP1-go
 When will we go?

Tim (sometimes heard as *tem*) is probably from Tok Pisin *taim*. However, it could also possibly come from Yabim *tim* 'time', as in *tim teng* 'one time'. *Ho gai* and *gai* mean 'how' and 'where' respectively, in Musom. They appear to have been added on to the word for 'time' to form a question. The Musom word for 'time' is *mung*, but *tim* or *tem* are more frequently heard now.

Tim + time phrase is also very commonly used in declarative sentences as well as in interrogative sentences:

- (69b) *...da tim aporo wen g-i-kun tse g-a-k da mak...*
 and time old.person a P-SPP3-take usEXC P-SPP1-go NEG
 ...and when an old person did not take us...

Sometimes *giding* and *tim* are used together:

- (70) *Giding a tim ana amik g-i-ruk atop.*
 when V time DEM rain P-SPP3-fall big
 At that time the rain fell heavily.

3.2.6 LOCATION PHRASES

If a verb has a direction or location included in its meaning, the location phrase comes directly after the verb and is not marked by the locative preposition. However, if the location sense is not included, then the location preposition *e/ena* is used before the location phrase:

With location/direction included in verb:

- (71a) *Is te g-e-k a mbu a rus.*
 they DEM P-SPP3-go (to) V water V altogether
 They have gone altogether to the river.
- (71b) *Tse g-a-mbidi rak is a go.*
 weEXC P-SPP1-stand DEM 3PL V DEM
 We stood up at those places.

With locative preposition (LOC) *e/ena*:

- (72a) *Aporo ani g-i-rikik tsom i-mak e omb.*
 old.person DEM P-SPP3-see youPL REAL.SPP3-NEG LOC village
 This old person saw (that) you (pl.) were not at the village.
- (72b) *Mating g-e-k g-i-kwek ena Ariwomb a ha-n go.*
 Martin P-SPP3-go P-SPP3-go.down LOC Ariwomb V leg-3POS DEM
 Martin went down to the branch of the Ariwomb river.
- (72c) *Kar i-mbidi raun en e papaia.*
 car REAL.SPP3-stand underneath of.it LOC papaya
 The car is standing underneath the papaya (tree).

Interrogative: at the end of a sentence, *gai* means 'where':

- (73a) *Tsom ng-u-ak gai?*
 youPL IRR-SPP2-go where
 Where are you (PL) going?
- (73b) *Ramo-ng i-bum gai?*
 father-1POS REAL.SPP3-stay where
 Where is my father?

3.2.7 OTHER PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Iri functions as accompaniment, time marker, benefactive and dative.

- (74a) *Is i-hoh iri rons.*
 they REAL.SPP3-fight ACC 3.PL.REFL
 They are fighting with each other.

Iri can include a 3rd person pronoun object 'it, him, or her' in its meaning:

- (74b) *Gutum g-i-ka iri.*
 grasshopper P-SPP3-come ACC
 Grasshopper came too (with him).
- (74c) *Pita iri i-bum a um.*
 Peter ACC REAL.SPP3-stay V garden
 Peter too is in the garden.

E/ena functions as Instrument, Locative, Oblique Object Marker, Benefactive and Causal. *E/ena* as locative has been discussed above (examples (72a), (72b), (72c)). Examples of its various functions are below:

- (75a) *In ng-i-putu ha-n e tsouk.*
 he IRR-SPP3-pound leg-3POS INSTR stone
 He pounded his leg with a stone.
- (75b) *Dzon g-i-ra reb ena naip.*
 John P-SPP3-cut tree INSTR knife
 John cut the tree with a knife.

- (75c) *Ingg u-muk son an-ang ena asa?*
 youSG REAL.SPP2-make thing eat-GER BENE who
 For whom are you cooking the food?
- (75d) *Ingg ng-u-muk a um ena gai?*
 youSG IRR-SPP2-make V work LOC where
 Where are you going to work?
- (75e) *Is g-i-kemb a um da mak ena siwuk atop.*
 they P-SPP3-weed V garden NEG CAUS sun big
 They did not weed the gardens because of the big (hot) sun.

At the end of a verb phrase, *en* includes a 3rd person pronoun object, and means 'with it, for it, because of it/him' etc.:

- (76a) *...ena siwuk atop u g-a-nis en.*
 CAUS sun big I P-SPP1-say about.it
 ...because of that big sun I spoke about.
- (76b) *Aromb ana ng-i-kemb a um en.*
 man DEM IRR-SPP3-weed V garden with.it
 That man will weed the garden with it.
- (76c) *Tim a mbidi-tsang en.*
 time V stand.up-GER about.it
 Time to get up.

3.2.8 OTHER FEATURES OF THE VERB PHRASE

3.2.8.1 SUPPLETIVE VERB FORMS

Musom has several verbs which have a different form according to whether the subject is singular or plural in number. This has been discussed above:

	No of Subject	Verb
(77a)	SG	<i>bum</i> stay, live, be, dwell, remain
	PL	<i>min</i>
	SG	<i>tsingg</i> sleep, lie
	PL	<i>tsitsi</i>

One verb, 'throw', has two different forms depending on whether there is one or more than one object thrown:

(77b)	<i>wimb</i>	SG object	throw
	<i>rawu</i>	PL object	

3.2.8.2 AUXILIARY VERBS

Certain verbs in Musom come before other verbs as auxiliary, for example *muk* 'do, make, try, work'; *dong* 'dislike, not want'; *hiniri* 'like, love, desire'.

After these verbs, the 2nd verb must be in the Gerund form, that is, with suffix *-ang/-tsang*:

(78a) *In i-muk a mbidi-tsang en.*
 he REAL.SPP3-do V stand.up-GER about.it
 He tried to get up.

(78b) *Wir a-dong an-ang a tsingg.*
 I REAL.SPP1-dislike eat-GER V fish
 I don't like eating fish.

Hiniri 'like, love, desire' is probably made up of the verb *hin* 'be with' and *iri* Accompaniment, but the two forms are now inseparable. As the feelings of love and desire are considered to be located in the stomach, *rai*-POS 'stomach' is usually the subject of the verb *hiniri*.

(79) *Rai-ng i-hiniri ena an-ang a tsingg.*
 belly-1POS REAL.SPP3-like LOC eat-GER V fish
 I want to eat fish.

4. COMPLEX SENTENCES

4.1 COORDINATION

Sentences in Musom can be joined by the conjunctions *da* 'and, but' and *ma* 'or'.

With *da* 'and, but':

(80a) *Tse g-a-k g-a-bitsi ung da g-a-hur a mbu.*
 weEXC P-SPP1-go P-SPP1-cook breadfruit and P-SPP1-fish V water
 We cooked breadfruit and fished (for crayfish) in the river.

(80b) *Amik g-i-ruk da u g-a-k a um.*
 rain P-SPP3-fall but I P-SPP1-go V garden
 It was raining but I went to the garden.

With *ma* 'or':

(81) *Ingg ng-u-ak Madang ma ingg ng-u-ak Ramu.*
 youSG IRR-SPP2-go Madang or youSG IRR-SPP2-go Ramu
 You can go to Madang or you can go to Ramu.

4.2 RELATIVISATION

Relative clauses in Musom are marked optionally by a demonstrative, usually either *(a)na* or *te* which occurs after the noun being modified, and before the relative clause. The verb of the clause does not become a participle.

With demonstrative *na* marking relative clause:

(82a) *Kahi na wir g-a-rikik in i-bum omb...*
 woman DEM I P-SPP1-saw she REAL.SPP3-stay house
 The woman whom I saw staying in the house...

Without marking of relative clause:

- (82b) *Ngowes g-i-ra reb ena naip u g-a-tingg iri in.*
 Ngowes P-SPP3-cut tree INSTR knife I P-SPP1-give ACC him
 Ngowes cut the tree with the knife (which) I gave him.

With demonstrative *te* marking relative clause:

- (82c) *Ingg g-u-saho ub te g-i-potok 'apun.*
 you SG P-SPP2-make pot DEM P-SPP3-break finished
 You made that pot which is broken.

4.3 CONDITIONAL

Musom conditional sentences are in the form of:

da + Subject 1+ *ng-SPP-V* *da* + Subject 2 *bo-ng-SPP-V*

- (83) *Da amik ng-i-ruk wir bo-ng-a-bum omb.*
 and rain IRR-SPP3-fall I FUT-IRR-SPP1-stay village
 If it rains I will stay in the village.

APPENDIX 1: ABBREVIATIONS USED

1SG	1st person singular pronoun
2SG	2nd person singular pronoun
3SG	3rd person singular pronoun
1DU	1st person dual pronoun
2DU	2nd person dual pronoun
3DU	3rd person dual pronoun
1PL	1st person plural pronoun
2PL	2nd person plural pronoun
3PL	3rd person plural pronoun
SPP1	1st person subject pronoun prefix
SPP2	2nd person subject pronoun prefix
SPP3	3rd person subject pronoun prefix
SG	singular
DU	dual
PL	plural
1POS	1st person possessive
2POS	2nd person possessive
3POS	3rd person possessive
EXC	1st person plural exclusive
INC	1st person plural inclusive
DAT	dative
FUT	future
GER	gerund
INCE	inceptive
IRR	irrealis
P	past tense

POT	potential
REAL	realis
REFL	reflexive
DO	direct object
IO	indirect object
OBL.O	oblique object
OBL.O.M.	oblique object marker
ACC	acompaniment
BENE	benefactive
CAUS	causative
COM	completive
INSTR	instrumental
LOC	locative
TIME	time marker
ART	article
DEM	demonstrative
NEG	negative
V	prothetic vowel <i>a</i> inserted C#V#C

APPENDIX 2: MUSOM TEXT

Speaker: Ms Katam, age: c.25 years.

Recorded in Lae, 17 October 1985.

<i>Wir narun en da tse g-a-hir a num.² G-a-hir a num</i>	
I small OBL.O and weEXC P-SPP1-go V ³ school. P-SPP1-go V school	
<i>tse Hosom en da g-a-sak g-a-hir a num e Gawam.</i>	
weEXC Musom OBL.O and P-SPP1-go.up P-SPP1-go V school LOC Gawam	
<i>Tse g-a-hir a num tim⁴ hun tsak-ang, tim hun a tse</i>	
weEXC P-SPP1-go V school time some good-GER time some V weEXC	
<i>g-a-k g-a-rim a mbu, g-a-k g-a-bitsi ung e</i>	
P-SPP1-go P-SPP1-dam V water P-SPP1-go P-SPP1-cook breadfruit LOC	
<i>dawu, g-a-muk a son hon a roge-ng a laik.⁵ Da</i>	
bush P-SPP1-do V thing according.to V REFL-1POS V wish and	
<i>aporo wen g-i-kun tse g-a-k g-a-hir a num da</i>	
old.person a P-SPP3-take usEXC P-SPP1-go P-SPP1-go V school and	

² *hir a num* = 'go inside the house', a set phrase for 'go to school'.

³ V= prothetic vowel [a] inserted between consonants, C#V #C; no meaning.

⁴ *tim* = *taim* (Tok Pisin) = 'time, when'; or Yabim *tim* 'time'.

⁵ *laik* = *laik* (Tok Pisin) = 'wish'.

tse g-a-k tsak-ang. Da tim aporo wen g-i-kun
 weEXC P-SPP1-go well-GER and when old.person a P-SPP3-take

tse g-a-k da mak, da tse g-a-k g-a-bitsi ung da
 usEXC P-SPP1-go NEG and weEXC P-SPP1-go P-SPP1-cook breadfruit and

g-a-hur a mbu, da g-a-rim a mbu, a g-a-min a mbu.
 P-SPP1-fish V water and P-SPP1-dam V water V P-SPP1-stay V water

E-e-k, tim wen, aporo wen, ramo-ngg, g-i-kun tse
 SPP3-SPP3-go time a old.person a father-1POS 1P-SPP3-take usEXC

g-i-sek g-i-tingg en a Gawam. Tse g-a-hir a num
 P-SPP3-go.up P-SPP3-bring LOC V Gawam. weEXC P-SPP1-go V school

g-a-min, g-a-min e-e-k, num g-i-to mak⁶, u,
 P-SPP1-stay P-SPP1-stay SPP3-SPP3-go school P-SPP3-continue NEG now

tse bi-g-a-muk a k-atsang a omb tse bi-g-a-muk a
 weEXC INCE-P-SPP1-want V go-GER V village weEXC INCE-P-SPP1-want V

k-atsang a omb, da giding⁷ a tim ana amik g-i-ruk atop. Tse
 go-GER V village and be.at time DEM rain P-SPP3-fall big weEXC

bi-g-a-k a, g-a-pep a mbu wen, g-a-pep a mbu ana,
 INCE-P-SPP1-go V P-SPP1-arrive V water a P-SPP1- arrive V water DEM

g-a-rikik a mbu ana g-i-hir atop, pilei pilei⁸ da mak. Da tse
 P-SPP1-see V water DEM P-SPP3-rise big play play NEG and weEXC

g-a-kwak g-a-min omb⁹ nanaru wen ana, da g-a-k
 P-SPP1-go.down P-SPP1-stay house small a DEM and P-SPP1-go

g-a-kwak stoa¹⁰ da g-a-rob a son, g-a-sa e
 P-SPP1-go.down store and P-SPP1-buy V thing P-SPP1-go.up OBL.O

an-ang. Tse bi-g-a-sa g-(a)-an g-a-min, g-(a)-an a
 eat-GER weEXC INCE-P-SPP1-go.up P-SPP1-eat P-SPP1-stay P-SPP1-eat V

son g-a-min, da amik g-i-ruk atop da mbu g-i-hir
 thing P-SPP1-stay and rain P-SPP3-go.down big and water P-SPP3-rise

da aporo wen ana i-ka g-i-rikik tse mak e
 and old.person a DEM REAL.SPP3-come P-SPP3-see usEXC NEG LOC

⁶ *gi-to mak* = S3P-continue Neg. = 'it goes up until it is no more'.

⁷ *gi-ding* = 'be at' + 'time', probably borrowed from Yabim *gê-dêng* = 'at time'.

⁸ *pilei pilei da mak* = from Tok Pisin, *em i no pilei* 'very big indeed'.

⁹ *omb* = 'house', in this context means 'store'. Can also mean 'village'.

¹⁰ *stoa* = Tok Pisin *stoa* 'store'.

omb. Da g-e-e-k g-i-pep omb da g-i-nis: "Tsom
house and P-SPP3-SPP3-go P-SPP3-arrive house and P-SPP3-say youPL

u-min? Tsir a naru-ngg is te g-e-k a mbu
REAL.SPP2-stay ourINC V child-1POS they DEM P-SPP3-go V water

rus! Tsibes tsibes! Sataret sataret¹¹! Tsir ng-a-k,
altogether oh.dear oh.dear oh.dear oh.dear weINC FUT-SPP1-go

ng-a-rikik tsir a naru-ngg is te. Wir g-a-sak g-a-rikik
FUT-SPP1-see weINC V child-1POS they DEM I P-SPP1-go.down P-SPP1-see

e num te mak. Da is a rus, mbu g-i-rik is
LOC school DEM NEG and they V altogether water P-SPP3-take them

g-e-k a rus. Tsom u-min, is ng-u-min. Is
P-SPP3-go V altogether youPL REAL.SPP2-stay they FUT-SPP2-stay they

ng-u-min da tsom a naru-m is te i-min? Mbu
FUT-SPP2-stay and youPL V child-2POS they DEM REAL.SPP3-stay water

g-i-rik is g-e-k a rus a mak?" G-i-nis iri
P-SPP3-take them P-SPP3-go V altogether or NEG P-SPP3-say ACC

is ana, is a bi-g-i-reng, kahi aporo wen g-i-duk kutup
them DEM they V INCE-P-SPP3-cry woman old a P-SPP3-hold stick

wung, da g-i-rind g-i-ka da g-i-rikik. "I ribu-ngg,
walking and P-SPP3-walk P-SPP3-come and P-SPP3-look oh grandchild-1POS

i ribu-ngg, I naru-ngg, I naru-ngg!" Da bi-g-i-reng
oh grandchild-1POS oh child-1POS oh child-1POS and INCE-P-SPP3-cry

e naru-n is g-i-min. G-i-reng g-i-min e-e-k,
BENE child-3POS 3PL.ART P-SPP3-stay P-SPP3-cry SPP3-stay SPP3-SPP3-go

tse g-a-min Kitombawek (Gawam), bola, da bi-g-a-ruk.
weINC P-SPP1-stay Kitombawek Gawam later and INCE-P-SPP1-go.down

G-a-ruk g-a-pep a mbu te, g-a-rikik a mbu te.
P-SPP1-go.down P-SPP1-arrive V water DEM P-SPP1-see V water DEM

Mbu ana bing-a-n Bomotsak, da Bomotsak te g-i-hir atop
water DEM name-3POS Bomotsak and Bomotsak DEM P-SPP3-flood big

iron. Tse g-a-mbidi rak ago da g-a-rikik is g-i-mbidi
very WeINC P-SPP1-stand side DEM and P-SPP1-see them P-SPP3-stand

¹¹ *sataret sataret*: informant gave as alternative to *tsibes tsibes*. Both mean 'oh dear oh dear'.

ka is a rehen te, g-i-reng da g-i-muk sira g-i-mbidi?
and them V far.side DEM P-SPP3-cry and P-SPP3-do what P-SPP3-stand

Is hun bi-g-i-sereng, ara-ngg Mating a g-e-k
they some INCE-P-SPP3-search uncle-1POS Martin V P-SPP3-go

g-i-kwek ena Ariwomb a ha-n nggo da bi-g-i-reng
P-SPP3-go.down LOC Ariwomb V leg-3POS DEM and INCE-P-SPP3-cry

g-i-reng da g-i-sereng tse g-i-sa. Da rino-ngg da
P-SPP3-cry and P-SPP3-search usEXC P-SPP3-go.up and mother-1POS and

rasi-ngg is a apa, is bi-g-i-sereng tse,
brother-1POS they V grandparents they INCE-P-SPP3-search usEXC

g-i-kwek g-i-kwek, g-i-pep Ariwomb g-i-min
P-SPP3-go.down P-SPP3-go.down P-SPP3-arrive Ariwomb P-SPP3-stay

e-k, mak, g-i-sa da bi-g-i-reng g-i-min. Tse
P-SPP3-go NEG P-SPP3-go.up and INCE-P-SPP3-cry P-SPP3-stay weEXC

g-a-ruk g-a-mbidi son da g-a-rikik is. Is
P-SPP1-go.down P-SPP1-stand mountain and P-SPP1-see them they

g-i-rikik tse da g-i-nis: "Ah! Tsom g-u-min gai?"
P-SPP3-see usEXC and P-SPP3-say ah youPL P-SPP2-stay where

Tse bi-g-a-nis: "Mak! Tse g-a-kwak g-a-min
weEXC INCE-P-SPP1-say NEG weEXC P-SPP1-go.down P-SPP1-stay

i-kwek g-a-rob a son da g-(a)-an g-a-min
REAL.SPP3-go.down P-SPP1-buy V thing and P-SPP1-eat P-SPP1-stay

i-kwek Gawam is a omb nanarun wen ana. Da tsom
REAL.SPP3-go.down Gawam 3PL V store small a DEM and youPL

g-u-rikik tse a mak?" "Mak, aporo ani g-e-k i-k
P-SPP2-see usEXC or NEG NEG old.person DEM P-SPP3-go REAL.SPP3-go

g-i-rikik tsom i-mak e omb, da g-i-ruk g-i-nis
P-SPP3-see youPL REAL.SPP3-NEG LOC store and P-SPP3-go.down P-SPP3-say

iri tse, tsom te, mbu g-i-rik tsom te g-u-ak a
ACC usEXC youPL DEM water P-SPP3-take youPL DEM P-SPP2-go V

rus! Hon a da tse bi-g-a-sereng tsom". Es g-i-rikik
altogether accordingly V and weEXC INCE-P-SPP1-search youPL they P-SPP3-see

tse ana, rai-n a tsak-ang, g-i-ses, da bi-g-i-rik tse
usEXC DEM belly-3POS V good-GER P-SPP3-be.happy and INCE-P3-take usEXC

kitsi *g-i-ka*, *g-i-reng* *iri* *tse* 'apun, *da* *bi-g-i-rik*
 away P-SPP3-come P-SPP3-cry ACC usEXC finished and INCE-P-SPP3-take

tse *bi-g-a-ka* *omb.*
 usEXC INCE-P-SPP1-come village

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

When I was small and went to school, we Musoms went up to school at Gawam. Sometimes we actually went to school as we were meant to, other times we went and played in the river, cooked breadfruit in the bush, and did what we wanted to do. When a certain old man took us to school, we went, but if the old man did not go with us then we would cook breadfruit, catch crayfish in the river, make little dams in the river and stay there.

One time, the old man, my father, took us up to school at Gawam. We stayed at school until it finished, then when we wanted to come back to our village, at this time rain began to fall heavily. We came to the river and saw that the river had risen a lot. And so we went down and stayed at a little store there, we went down to the store in order to buy something to eat. We stayed there and ate the food, and the rain kept falling heavily and the river kept on rising. That old man came, but did not see us at the store.

He went on to the village, and called out: "Are you there? Our children have all been carried away by the river! Oh dear, oh dear! We must go down to look for the children! I went down to look for them at the school, but they were not there. And they have all been taken by the water. You were all here, and where were your children? Has the river carried them all away altogether?"

He said this to them there, and they began to cry; one old woman came leaning on her walking stick to see (what the noise was) and cried: "O my grandchildren! O my grandchildren! O my children! O my child!" And she just cried and cried for us children. Cried and cried, on and on.

But we had stayed in Gawam, and later started to go down. We went down to the river, and saw the river. That river's name is Bomotsak, and Bomotsak was very flooded indeed. We stood on this side of the river, and we could see them standing on the far side there, crying and what were they doing? Some of them were searching, and uncle Martin went down to the Ariwomb river branch, and started to cry and cry, and searched for us up and down. My mother and brothers and grandparents were searching for us, on and on, and came down to the Ariwomb river, stayed there for a while, then went up again and still cried.

We came down the mountain and saw them. They saw us and said: "Ah! Where were you?" We said: "No! We went down and bought something to eat at a store in Gawam. Didn't you see us?" "No, this old man went down, did not see you at the school and came down and said to us that the river had carried all of you away altogether! Then we started to look for you". When they found us there they were very happy, they came and gathered us up and cried for us again and took us back to the village.

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MUSOM WORD LIST

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>A. Human beings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> aa. general ab. stages of maturity ac. kinship ad. supernatural beings ae. social status af. pronouns ag. body parts ah. body products ai. tradition <p>B. Fauna</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ba. domestic animals bb. wild animals bc. insects bd. reptiles be. birds bf. fish bg. other aquatic creatures bh. shellfish <p>C. Flora</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ca. domesticated flora cb. wild plants cc. trees <p>D. Artefacts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> da. buildings db. fire | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> dc. cooking dd. clothing <p>E. Geographical features</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ea. substances eb. landscape features <p>F. Astronomy, meteorology</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> fa. astronomy fb. meteorology fc. periods of time fd. time deictics <p>G. Epithets and classifiers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ga. colours gb. human physical conditions gc. human qualities gd. classifiers <p>H. Verbs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ha. corporeal hb. attention hc. position, motion hd. affect he. giving hf. location hg. mental states and activities <p>I. Quantifiers</p> <p>J. Interrogatives</p> |
|---|--|

A. HUMAN BEINGS

AA. GENERAL

man

men

woman

women

arom(b) (= human being)

gaiŋ

kahi

is kahis [= *kahi* + *is* → *kahis*]

person
people
humans not of same group

ŋaiŋ
aromb amots (is amots)
tsib = spirit of dead
ribanir = enemy

AB. STAGES OF MATURITY

baby
boy
girl
young man
young girl
married man
married woman
old man
old woman
young
old

tatarun ridim
tatarun ŋaiŋ
tatarun kahi
ŋaiŋ gwarikin
kahi binom
ŋaiŋ iri hinin
kahi iri siwun
aporo
kahi poro
gwarikin
aporo

AC. KINSHIP

related
elder kin
heirloom
parent
father
mother
child
grandparent
grandchild
son
daughter
sibling
older sibling
younger sibling
brother
man's brother
woman's brother
sister
woman's sister
man's brother
same-sex sibling
older same-sex sibling
younger same-sex sibling
cross-sibling
older cross-sibling
younger cross-sibling
parent's sibling

ura¹ ramonj (ata- = vocative)
ura rinonj
ura narunj
ura/apa kahi
ribunj apa ŋaiŋ
ura narunj ŋaiŋ
ura narunj kahi

wir rasiŋ(g) atop
wir rasiŋ nanarun
rasiŋ
rasiŋ
wir nahunj
—
rasiŋ
rasiŋ
rasiŋ
rasiŋ(g) atop
rasiŋ nanarun
nahunj
nahunj(g) atop
nahunj nanarun

¹ *uran uran wir* = First person singular focal pronoun. All items here are inalienably possessed, and represent 'my -'.

mother's brother
 man's sister's child
 man's sister's son
 man's sister's daughter
 woman's brother's daughter
 woman's brother's son

mother's sister
 woman's sister's child
 father's sister
 father's brother
 grandparent's sibling
 maternal grandmother's brother
 cousin
 cross-cousin

same-sex cross-cousin
 opposite-sex cross-cousin
 spouse
 husband
 wife

(fs) brother's wife (exchange)
 spouse's parent
 child's spouse
 child's spouse's parents
 woman's daughter's husband

wife's parent
 husband's parent
 spouse's sibling
 spouse's cross-sibling
 spouse's s.s. sibling
 wife's brother
 husband's sister
 man's sister's husband
 woman's brother's wife
 spouse's same-sex sibling
 spouse's same-sex sibling's spouse
 wife's sister
 husband's brother
 parent's sibling's spouse
 spouse's cross-sibling's spouse
 wife's brother's child

araŋ
muruwun
muruwun
muruwun wir a wok
a wok ↔ 1. *wok...*²
a wok 2. *wop*
 3. *wats*
riŋoŋ(g) atop [elder], *riŋoŋ(g) auts* [younger]
naruŋ
ramoŋg anahun
ramoŋg anahun ŋaiŋ
apa
apa
 = sibling *raŋiŋ*

ura siwiŋ, wir siwiŋ
ura hiniŋ/kahi/wir hiniŋ/wir kahi
ura kahi huri
ura wuŋ
ura wuŋ

ura hok²/iŋg a wadzim
kahi siruk da ŋgi-ku ŋaiŋ uruts
ura hok² = spouse's mother
wuŋ
wuŋ
wadziŋ ↔ (reciprocal)
wadziŋ

hats ↔
hok ↔

hok (1)/*hop* (2)/*hats* (3)³
hok

wadziŋ
wadziŋ

awok ↔³

² Possession is inalienable Type 2. See Morphology and Grammar sketch -*k* 1st person; -*p* 2nd person; -*ts* 3rd person.

³ Inalienably possessed, Type 2.

husband's sister's child spouse's kin [man's Sr's Husb] = *araŋ*
 [man's Sr] = *awok*

OTHER KIN TERMS

line, kinship *iŋg iri iŋg enin is*
 name *wir a biŋoŋ, ura biŋoŋ/biŋom/biŋan⁴*
 namesake *wir a horoŋoŋ?iŋg a horoŋom/in a haraŋan*
 twins *babum siruk*
 kinsman
 get married *ŋaiŋ ŋi-ku hinin*
 (sne) marry (her) *ŋaiŋ ŋi-ku hinin*
 (she) marry (him) *kahi ŋi-ku ŋaiŋ*
 (they) divorce, ((s)he) divorce ((s)he) *kahi sikin siwun/ŋaiŋ i-don erons*

AD. SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

spirit of living *aromb anun*
 spirit of dead *aromb anun*
 spirit of forest *tsiɓ*

AE. SOCIAL STATUS

bigman *aromb atop*
 chieftain *aromb atop*
 sorcerer, magic man *asamuŋ (sangguma)*
 widow *kahi siwun gi-bak, kahi kirit*
 widower *ŋaiŋ hinin gi-bak, ŋaiŋ kirit*
 orphan *tatarun rinan raman mak*
 guest *aromb ika/aromb iɓik/aromb amots*
 stranger *tsiɓ*
 enemy *tsiɓ*
 friend *rasiŋ gwadiŋ/aroy/aran*
 companion *rasiŋ*
 trade partner *rasiŋ*

AF. PRONOUNS

pronoun affixes, etc.

I	<i>wir</i>	Reflexive
you (sg)	<i>iŋg</i>	<i>oroŋ wir roŋ wir rogen</i>
he	<i>in</i>	<i>iron</i>
we (exc)	<i>tse</i>	<i>tse roŋgeŋ</i>
we (inc)	<i>tsir</i>	<i>tsir arus en tsiroŋgen</i>
you (pl)	<i>tsom</i>	<i>tsom romem</i>
they	<i>is</i>	<i>is rons</i>
we two	(exc) <i>sikin</i>	
we two	(inc) <i>suk</i>	<i>suk rons roŋg</i>
you two	<i>som sikin</i>	<i>sikin roŋgeŋ</i>
they two	<i>is ikin</i>	<i>is ikin rons</i>

⁴ Inalienably possessed, Type 1.

AG. BODY PARTS

head	<i>unukwaruk</i>
(head) hair	<i>ninihun</i>
bald head	<i>unumbutsuŋ</i>
(head) back, nape	<i>kubarun</i>
(head) side	<i>ŋem</i>
skull	<i>unukwaruk</i>
brain	<i>unum buruk</i>
forehead	<i>daba kwaruk</i>
fontanelle	<i>ununasus</i>
(hair) bun	<i>ŋu-mur unukwaruk</i>
grey hair	<i>ukwahun</i>
eye	<i>wir a moŋg itsin/mom itsin/ina man itsin</i>
eyebrow	<i>manitsi kitipin</i>
eyelid	<i>manitsin kuwits</i>
eyelash	<i>manitsi kitipin</i>
(eye) tear	<i>man atsun</i>
face	<i>morong asun</i>
ear	<i>riŋoŋ (g)ibun</i>
earlobe	<i>riŋoŋ mariɓ</i>
nose	<i>sun dzugon</i>
nostril	<i>suŋ(g) adzun</i>
cheek	<i>ŋem</i>
mouth	<i>mundihiŋ</i>
tongue	<i>moŋ, mom, man⁵</i>
lips	<i>mu kuwits</i>
tooth	<i>gidim</i>
molar tooth	<i>gidi hun</i>
(mouth) gum	<i>gidi pasik</i>
gap in teeth	<i>gidi andzun</i>
jawbone	<i>gedeh</i>
chin	<i>gedeh</i>
beard	<i>sinon [not declined]</i>
neck	<i>kutikot</i>
throat	<i>kun ambis</i>
blood	<i>wek</i>
vein	<i>wakawits</i>
skin	<i>kuwits</i>
body	<i>ninin kuwits</i>
bone	<i>kwaruk</i>
(body) hair	<i>ninihun</i>
fat	<i>moran</i>
grease	<i>moran</i>
flesh	<i>pasik</i>
hand	<i>bai-</i>
arm	<i>bai-</i>

⁵ Inalienable possession, Type 1.

finger	<i>bai namunamun</i>
knuckle	<i>bain andut</i>
fingernail	<i>bain makidzin</i>
thumb	<i>bai rinan</i>
palm	<i>bai pitat</i>
elbow	<i>bain andut</i>
armpit	<i>pakasun</i>
wrist	<i>bai andut</i>
shoulder	<i>hinasun</i>
shoulderblade	<i>hinarib</i>
collarbone	<i>henarib</i>
breast	<i>wir a tsuk/ing a sisum</i>
milk	<i>tsuk ninin</i>
chest	<i>bibinakop</i>
nipple	<i>tsuk a mun</i>
rib	<i>dopodip</i>
lung	<i>niwu- posop</i>
belly	<i>nanigura/namura/nanara</i>
navel	<i>hisi-</i>
waist	<i>dzabom</i>
hip	<i>bedzuhu-n</i>
(sne) back	<i>baruŋ</i>
spine	<i>rahuk waruh</i>
heart	<i>siwuk narun</i>
liver (blak lewa)	<i>niwun</i>
kidney	<i>rahukimundz</i>
pancreas (wait lewa)	<i>niwu husik</i>
spleen	<i>nanara [= 'belly']</i>
intestines	<i>nanara tarun</i>
womb	<i>tatarun a mun</i>
gall bladder	<i>pikisit</i>
pregnant	<i>kahi iri raigwabun</i>
clitoris	<i>son [= 'thing']</i>
vagina	<i>hin</i>
penis	<i>urin</i>
testicles	<i>gaiŋ a urin isit</i>
buttocks	<i>namura hun</i>
anus	<i>namura hun andzun</i>
bladder	<i>kaputs</i>
groin	<i>bidzuhun</i>
leg	<i>hoŋ/hom/han⁶</i>
thigh	<i>bidzu-hun</i>
knee	<i>hom andut</i>
(leg) calf	<i>hom pasik</i>
foot	<i>hom amun</i>
ankle	<i>hom andut</i>

⁶ Inalienable possession, Type 1.

heel
 sole
 footprint
 bow-legged
 (skin) peel
 scab
 sore (on skin)
 itch
 boil
 scar
 ringworm
 scabies

 elephantiasis
 wart, growth
 (skin) mole
 cataract
 albino
 dwarf

AH. BODY PRODUCTS

spittle
 (sne) spit
 snot
 earwax
 dried eye mucus
 pus
 sweat, perspiration
 (sne) sweat, perspire
 faeces
 (sne) defecate

 intestinal worms
 urine
 urinate
 (sne) break wind, fart

AI. TRADITION

habit, custom, way
 power, 'mana'
 forbidden, taboo
 behave improperly
 break taboo
 portent, sign

hom utun
hom pitat
*hoŋ/hom/han*⁶
ha koben-aŋ
baik uwits
kukuk sepin
kukuk
bai kakats
kukuk itam
kukuk sepin
kwisakwis
garagara [probably borrowed from Jabim
garagara – 'skin disease']
han irum
dzuwin
dzuwin
manitsin posop
arom kudzeŋ
arom takuts

raim sagin
arom i-hint
sutepe
riŋom andam
momitsin anaŋ
kukuk anaŋ
kohokoh
wir kohokoh
kura
bik i-bip [= 'pig defecates']

togiŋ
mimbaŋ
iŋg wah ŋu-mim
iŋg ŋu-mbip kokois

miti
niningop
ŋu-muk da mak
iŋg a miti tsats ['your behaviour is bad']
ogamuk tsakan da mak
karanum ika mu wenen [= 'news came from place']

B. FAUNA

BA. DOMESTIC ANIMALS

(animal's) young

dog

(dog +) tail

(dog +) bite

(dog +) wag tail

(dog +) bark

fowl

pig

(pig +) grunt

(pig +) tusk

(pig +) hoof

cat

ruminant

*narun**kom**kom a'uts**kom rar arom* [= 'dog bites man']*kom a'uts kirikirits**kom andas**tirik**bik**bik i-its bosas**bik a deh**bik a han a mun**pusi* [English 'pussy']*makau* [Tok Pisin: *bulmakau*]

BB. WILD ANIMALS

wild

rat

bat

flying fox

(bat) bone

wallaby

bandicoot

cuscus

possum

wild pig

tree kangaroo

echidna

*biman**gwakerek**sawapip**soŋon**pikin**wapuŋ**kasakep**bubuk* [spotted]*gwanan**bik biman**ŋomanduh**gom*

BC. INSECTS

insect

butterfly

mosquito

midge

housefly

march fly

bluebottle

hornet

centipede

millipede

louse

nit

spider

(spider) web

sandfly

wasp

leech

kurubuŋ [= worm]*tsuburik**nanom**sumusak**nuŋunuŋ**dzihih**hunuŋ parats**wabum**ganih**gwabeŋ**ur**mints**gowokoub**gowokoub**sumusak**kitomburun* [mud wasp]*gadim*

scorpion
 bee
 bumble bee
 beeswax
 firefly
 grasshopper
 cricket
 mantis
 (horned) beetle
 ants
 small black ants
 large black ants
 red ants
 termites
 cockroach
 caterpillar
 sago grub
 dragonfly
 cicada

BD. REPTILES

snake
 python
 death adder
 OTHER SNAKES

shed skin
 worm
 maggot
 crocodile
 lizard
 gecko
 iguana
 monitor
 OTHER LIZARDS
 frog
 tadpole
 snail

BE. BIRDS

bird
 (bird) wing
 feather
 beak
 claw
 (bird) crop
 egg
 egg yolk

punpun
bupik
bupik
bupik ninin
niɲiniɲ
gutum
tsidzatsiɲ
kuŋgukwaɲ
tsuts
sisɪɲ
sisɪɲ husik
karot
niɲ
ugih
didirak
kurubun [*tirinuɲ/kwabip* - hairy ones]
kurubun anan
sasapim
kweɲ

mur
mur a was
mundzir
mur kurem [poisonous snake, white, lives in bush]
mur a heik = python; *basam* = house python
mur gi-tus iron
tugiɲ
urun
huts
barudzarak [anglehead]
aramen
dziwanom
hap
gumeɲ [spiny lizard], *gakiɲ*
ɲawaɲ
ɲawang kuruwik
kibuk

mon
mon pikin
mon ninihun
mon mundihin
monɲ a bain
kun a ɲgara
kuruwik
rai bimak

eggshell	<i>boborih</i>
nest	<i>mong a nits</i>
baby bird	<i>mong narun</i>
(bird) fly	<i>mong gi-tsih ge-ek</i>
beat, flap (wings)	<i>pikin gi-its</i>
(bird) peck	<i>gi-dus gi-dus</i>
cassowary	<i>suwe</i>
pigeon	<i>busumumuŋ</i> ['ground pigeon']; [<i>tiktik siriŋ</i> = 'dove']
bush fowl	<i>mando rinan</i> [lays red eggs]; <i>kenken</i> [lays white eggs]
seagull	
crow	<i>mongapanjaŋ</i>
hornbill	<i>digir</i>
kite	<i>tsihabun</i>
eagle	<i>marim</i>
bird of paradise	<i>si</i>
heron	<i>ŋokumbuŋ</i> ['grey or black heron']; <i>ŋowahuk</i> = 'white heron'
owl	<i>mongabik; gomambun</i>
parrot	<i>katiŋkatiŋ</i>
leather head	<i>kuarŋ</i>
kingfisher	<i>ŋotsum</i>
willy wagtail	<i>kadzahin</i>
woodpecker	<i>purup purup</i>
BF. FISH	
fish	<i>tsiŋg/tsiŋg aruts en</i> ['sea fish']
fishscale	<i>tsiŋg a garagara</i>
fishbone	<i>tsiŋg kwaruk</i>
gill	<i>tsiŋg a riŋa gibun</i>
roe, fish eggs	<i>tsiŋg kuruwik</i>
fish odour	<i>tsiŋg popots</i>
freshwater eel	<i>monip</i>

BG. OTHER AQUATIC CREATURES

shrimp	<i>burur</i>
crayfish	<i>pahim</i>
tortoise shell	-- [<i>huts kuruwik</i> = 'turtle eggs']
crab	<i>kwahir</i>

BH. SHELLFISH

triton shell	<i>nim</i>
ovum ovum (cowrie)	<i>ruk</i>
other cowries	<i>dzanam</i>
bivalve	<i>kibuk</i>
pearlshell	<i>kibuk</i>

C. FLORA

CA. DOMESTICATED FLORA

pith	<i>boŋan</i>
(fruit) skin	<i>kuwits</i>
(fruit) stalk	<i>kuwits a kun</i>
areca nut	<i>mimin</i>
areca palm	<i>mimin</i>
lime	<i>kakabuts</i>
betel chew	<i>mimin i-wek i-min mundihim</i>
Piper betle	<i>wuk nitsin</i>
pandanus	<i>umeh; umeh kura</i> [yellow variety]
pandanus fruit	<i>umeh</i>
sago palm	<i>naŋ(g)</i>
sago pith	<i>naŋ nitsin</i>
sago leaf	<i>naŋ(g) inon</i>
sweet potato	<i>subi</i>
sweet potato runner	<i>subi inon</i>
tapioca	<i>anoka</i> [= <i>anioka</i> - German, Yabim]
taro	<i>garaŋ</i>
taro leaf	<i>garaŋ inon</i>
(taro +) sucker, shoot	<i>garaŋ ihin</i>
long yam	<i>amis</i>
short yam	<i>ureh</i>
yam head	<i>amis mutun</i>
yam planting material	<i>amis ihin</i>
yam fruit	<i>amis nitsin</i>
yam vines	<i>amis dabaŋ</i>
yam garden	<i>um amis</i>
coconut	<i>mus</i>
ripe coconut	<i>mus tsiriŋan</i>
immature coconut	<i>mus bute wahauk</i>
young drinking coconut	<i>mus a boain</i>
sprouted coconut	<i>mus a dabaŋ</i>
coconut palm	<i>mus dzaban</i>
coconut blossom	<i>mus its wahauk</i>
coconut blossom sheath	<i>mutsum</i>
dead coconut blossom	<i>mutsum gi-worok</i>
coconut frond	<i>mus inon</i>
coconut flesh	<i>mus nitsin</i>
shredded coconut	<i>mus narun</i>
coconut milk	<i>mus a bu</i>
coconut cream	<i>mus ninin</i>
coconut oil	<i>mus ninin</i>
coconut husk	<i>mus a hum</i>
dehusk (coconut)	<i>wir ŋa-ka ŋa-pu mus</i>
coconut shell	<i>mus a kop</i>
break open (coconut)	<i>ŋa-its a mus</i>
scraped shell	<i>mus a kop</i>

bunch of coconuts
 residue from grated coconut
 citrus fruit
 breadfruit
 guava
 canarium almond

 sugar cane
 sugarcane quid
 banana
 banana tree
 banana trunk
 banana sucker
 banana flower
 banana planting material
 cover for banana bunches
 to cover (banana bunches)
 banana garden
 pumpkin
 melon
 pawpaw
 (pawpaw) pip
 mango
 Malay apple
 ginger root
 cinnamon tree
 turmeric
 greens
 spinach/aupa
 Gnetum gnemon/tulip
 Abelmoschus manihot/aibika
 tobacco
 (banana) ripe
 unripe
 (plant) grow
 wither [ed]
 take root

CB. WILD PLANTS

flower
 scent, aroma
 red hibiscus
 Hibiscus tiliaceus, yellow hibiscus
 grass
 Imperata cylindrica
 bamboo
 Saccharum edule pitpit
 rattan

mus a kun
mus a pits
muri [Tok Pisin]
uŋ [*gahik* = ripe]
reβ nitsin [= 'tree fruit']
ranih - village; *nikak* [bush nut with black skin]
atso - bush [short bush nut]
rih
rih tsahan
maman
maman dzaban
dzaban
maman(d)ihin
maman dzabim
ihin
beh-aŋ
ŋo-wiwih maman
um maman
waruwaru (Yabim)
mereŋ [Tok Pisin]
papaya [German; Tok Pisin]
papaya nitsin
riwuk
mopok
mahan
waduŋ
tsontson
wus
mindzam
waits
utsatsin
tahuŋ
mamand a niwaŋ
mamand parats
mamand i-sek wahok
mamand biginik
utsatsin gi-sa

paraua [Tok Pisin]
nunuhiŋ
kwaniŋ
bohom
kwaŋ
korok
kup [very small]/*dzugin* [small]
rabup
dzo

reeds	<i>kobok</i>
cordyline	<i>dzidzi</i>
croton	<i>papam</i>
derris root	<i>oraberŋ</i>
lemon grass	<i>pitik</i>
weeds	<i>monin</i>
nettle	<i>bipar</i>
fern	<i>ŋomom</i> (thick stemmed edible fern)
	<i>dzibun</i> (thin ferns)
mushroom	<i>warangapup</i> [big]; <i>kwanandzam</i> [small]
plant for making grass skirts	<i>naŋ</i> [= sago]
plant for making bark-cloth (narrow)	<i>pawu</i>
plant for making bark-cloth (wide)	<i>pawu</i>

CC. TREES

tree	<i>reb</i>
bark	<i>reb kuwits</i>
leaf	<i>reb inon</i>
root	<i>reb kwats</i>
buttress root	<i>reb kwats</i>
seed	<i>nitsin</i>
fruit	<i>nitsin</i>
(tree) branch	<i>reb bain</i>
(branch) fork	<i>dzaragan</i>
tree trunk	<i>dzaban, hun</i>
tree stump	<i>hun</i>
thorn	<i>reb amun</i>
sap	<i>reb ninin</i>
stick	<i>reb kutup</i>
hole (in wood)	<i>reb adzun</i>
(tree) top	<i>reb bidin</i>
log	<i>reb dzaban</i>
heartwood	<i>wutsin</i>
(fruit) cluster	<i>kun</i>
ringbark (tree)	<i>ŋu-tir</i>
liana, vine	<i>wuk</i>
k vine	(Flame of forest - <i>tsigitsiŋ</i>)
(inedible) pandanus	<i>umen</i>
casuarina	<i>nahir</i>
Erythrina; -coraltree	<i>matsam</i>
Intsi sp. ironwood; (kwila)	<i>dzeke</i>
Black palm; limbum	<i>gats</i>
kapok	<i>kapok</i> [German; Tok Pisin]

D. ARTEFACTS

DA. BUILDINGS

house	<i>omb/tau</i>
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ladder
 room
 (house) wall
 house post
 doorway
 doorpost

 roof
 thatch
 pandanus thatch
 sago thatch
 ridgepole
 rafters
 (house) floor
 eaves
 house mound
 men's house
 cookhouse

 temporary shelter
 garden-hut
 build (house)

DB. FIRE

fire
 (fire) burn
 (fire) roar
 grey ash
 (fire) smoke
 embers
 charcoal
 soot
 firewood
 (sne) light (fire)
 fetch fire
 tinder
 (sne) blow (fire)
 put out (fire)
 hearth
 acrid (smoke)

DC. COOKING

food
 (sg to) drink
 bake (on fire)
 boil (sg)
 water) boil
 stir (liquid)

tihan
om(b) wutsin
om riŋa riŋan
mungis
dzun
reḅ ŋidzaŋ adzun en [= word for strenghtening door]
ombunun
naŋ
(kuhuhuŋ = pandanus thatch in middle)
naŋ
baraŋ
burumbaraŋ
sip
om duguŋuŋ
om bubon

om(b) (a)mukaŋ son an-aŋ en ('house for cooking food in')
om maket en [Tok Pisin *maket* = 'market']
tsaraŋ
wir ŋa-rim om ['I build house']

tsih
tsih i-wek
tsih i-wek atop iron ['fire burns very big']
kakabuts
tsih wasun
tsih bawapup
tsih abun
tsih abun
reḅ anikaŋ
kahi i-kuriŋ atsih ['woman lights fire']
ŋu-kun a tsih ŋu-kwa ['fetch the fire to me here']
tsah [banana leaf]
kahi ŋi-huŋ a tsih ['woman blows fire']
ŋu-huŋ hunuh ['blow (out) fire, deod']
kakabuts
tsih wasun momoin ['fire smoke smells bitter']

son anaŋ
son a numaŋ
ŋu-mbutsiŋ ŋi-sa tsih ['bake it on the fire']
ŋo-pereŋek a uḅ [cook in pot]
uḅ ŋi-rop ['pot is boiling']
ŋa-pariwen son

mix up (food)
pound (food)
taste (food)

spoil (food)
pour out (water)
draw water
dilute

throw away (rubbish)
skewer
spoon
wooden dish
water container
cooking pot
clay pot
meat
soup
rubbish
dregs
(food) cooked
(food) raw
(meat+) tough
(food) stale
(taste) sweet
(taste) sharp

bitter
tasty
(food) taste
(liquid) sour

DD. CLOTHING

put on (clothing +), dress (sf)
clothing
undress (sf)
grass skirt
loincloth
bark cloth
belt, girdle
bracelet, armlet
necklace
beads
(feather +) headdress
personal decoration (for singsing)/
bilas paint (for singsing)

smear

ŋa-pariwen
ŋa-putu
ŋa-an a pah ŋa-rinjin
eat hear ['I eat the food, hear it']
son anaŋ tsats
ŋa-mbeŋ a mbu
wir ŋa-kun a mbu
wir ŋa-tenŋ a mbu ŋi-kwek a uɓ ['I put water into
the pot']
ŋa-mbeŋ a son tsats (dzomorok)
nihit
tsah (folded leaf)
keke
kup/i-ruh a bu e kup
uɓ
uɓ
pasik
sagin
dzomorok
uɓ rahun
son anaŋ ginik apun
son anaŋ bute parats
pasik herekaŋ
son anaŋ tsats
tsir ŋan son anaŋ (a) tsakaŋ
son anaŋ momoin hon(a)mahan
ginger

momoin tsats
tsakaŋ
see before
momoin

wir bo-ŋa-su reɓ kuwit ['I put on bark cloth']
rih = laplap (*ŋakwi* = Yabim [clothes])
ŋa-rak reɓ kuwits ŋek
simik
pawu
rih a bir (reɓ kuwits)
wuk
batsaou
kumukum
kumukum
moŋ

kitomp posop [white clay] [*guh* = red paint from
seeds]
kitomp awekaŋ [red clay]

tattoo marks	<i>turum turum</i>
tattoo (v)	<i>ŋa-pu turum</i>

DE. INSTITUTIONALISED LOCATIONS

village	<i>omb/mung</i>
hamlet	<i>omb nanarun</i>
enclosure	<i>tsiŋ</i>
open space	<i>bigiŋ maran</i>
cleared ground (in village)	<i>bigiŋ maran</i>
path	<i>mop</i>
bridge (over river)	<i>serer</i>
dam	<i>is ŋi-rim a mbu/tewerŋ</i>
garden	<i>um</i>
fence	<i>tsiŋ</i>
make a garden	<i>wir bo-ŋa-mints a um</i>
weed a garden	<i>wir bo-ŋa-kemba um</i>
ditch	<i>badzun</i>
hole (in ground)	<i>dzih adzun</i>
channel, gutter	<i>budzun</i>
abandoned garden, overgrown	<i>um wen bupaŋ gi-bub kitsi</i>
fallow land	<i>um kwabup</i>
forest	<i>dawu</i>
undergrowth	<i>monin</i>
(yam +) mound	<i>ŋi-su mun kitomb</i>
grave	<i>misiu/omb atop (= Yabim)</i>
	big place
(ground) flat	<i>mangik</i>
place (e.g. of work)	<i>mung</i>

DF. LOCATIVE PARTS

left-hand	<i>bain a kints</i>
right-hand	<i>bain apo</i>
off to side	<i>rehen</i>
surface, outside	<i>barun</i>
inside	<i>wutsin</i>
underside	<i>rahun</i>
down (there)	<i>raun</i>
base, bottom	<i>rahun</i>
topside	<i>dzagum</i>
up (there)	<i>wuŋg</i>
frontside	<i>maran</i>
in front	<i>maran en</i>
backside	<i>barun</i>
behind	<i>barun en</i>
on the other side	<i>riŋan</i>
[be]side	<i>riŋan en</i>
near	<i>morom</i>
edge, rim	<i>dzagum</i>

border, boundary
 node, end
 middle
 space between
 far apart
 close together
 in contact
 corner
 out of sight
 far away
 isolated, secluded
 landward
 inland
 seaward

kibob
ndut
dzaban
nihu
wadi
morom morom
i-dem rons
tukaŋ
muŋ wen iron; wadi iron
wadi iron
munuts ikik iron ['alone/one only']
sak om
sak om
biak aruts/biak raun

DG. HOUSEHOLD ARTEFACTS

goods
 shell money
 axe
 axe handle
 adze
 knife
 (knife +) edge
 pestle
 mortar
 file, rasp
 nail
 carve (wood)
 lime gourd
 lime stick, lime spatula
 thread
 needle
 mat
 weave
 a comb
 comb (hair)
 string
 twine rope
 netbag
 tube, water container

 basket
 big basket
 cover, lid
 cover, put lid on

 uncover
 cork, stopper

son ['thing']
ruk; dzam
kisiŋ
kisiŋg a hak
kiwi; its
wiŋ narun
wiŋg a mun
kadiŋ [= wooden - for betel nut]
tsouk [stone]
tsouk [stone]
birim [Yabim]
wir bo-ŋa-tsap a reb ['I carve wood']
 bamboo = *kup*
kutup
wuk
waia [Tok Pisin]
ubon
wir bo-ŋa-sahu ubon ['I weave a mat']
suak
bo-ŋa-suak unukwaruk [comb skull]
wuh
ŋa-ndzindz a wuk
hek
mbu kupur [coconut]
mbu kup [bamboo]
sabe
sabe
u^b dzagun/tsah = leaf used for cover
wir andzagun a u^b
wir tahun au^b
wir ga-kun u^b dzagun kaŋek
bu kidzin(dz)

broom
 (she) sweep
 clean (sg)
 a fan
 (sne) fan (sf)
 pillow, headrest
 bed
 torch
 crutch, pole
 digging stick

mutsum
kahi ŋu-ndzamuŋ a muŋ
wir ŋa-nuk a ub ['I clean pot']
ŋu-tsawir en ['fan with it']
ninih ['wind']
unun
muŋg a-tsiŋg-aŋ en ['place to sleep on']
gure
kutup
kutup

DH. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

hourglass drum, kundu
 kundu handle
 garamut; slit drum
 garamut beater
 flute

motsoŋ
motsoŋ bain
garamut [Tok Pisin]
garamut tahun (*reba-putu-tsaŋ garamut en*)

OTHER INSTRUMENTS

dimiri = jew's-harp
nim = conch shell

DI. WEAPONS, HUNTING

hunt
 bow
 arrow
 shoot
 (stone, arrow) hit (sg)
 throw
 spear
 (spear) point
 spear (animal +)
 miss (on shooting)
 trap (for birds)
 trap (for animals)
 trap (animal +)
 club
 club (animal +)
 slingshot
 shield

wir biak dawu
wadik
wadik narun
wir ŋa-pu bik ['I shoot pig']
wir ŋa-its
ŋa-wim
barun
barun a mun
ŋa-pu bik e barun
ŋa-pu sapip
nowoŋ
nowoŋ
wir ŋa-kun in en a nowoŋ ['I catch it in a trap']
barak/gats
wir ŋa-its a bik e gats ['I hit pig with club']
nowoŋ
rib [cf. *reβ* = tree]

DJ. SEAFARING

boat, craft
 raft

motsoŋ
kwambum

DK. FISHING

fish hook
 fishing-line
 bait
 fishing net
 fish spear

gats kwaruk ['rib of a palm tree']
wuk
burur a'uts [= shrimp tails]
dum [= round one]; *dzoh* = [with cane frame]
udup

fish poison
go fishing, catch fish

orabɛŋ
wir biak ahura bu

E. GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

EA. SUBSTANCES

water	<i>mbu</i>
(water) flow	<i>mbu i-rin</i>
(water) drip	<i>mbu i-tuk</i>
river	<i>mbu top</i>
spring	<i>mbu rinan/mbu turuk</i>
(river) bank	<i>mbu riŋan</i>
(river) mouth	<i>mbu han</i>
flood	<i>mbu i-hir</i>
quick-flowing	<i>mbu wahiŋ iron</i>
brackish	<i>mbu but</i>
turbid, cloudy	<i>mbu rumik</i>
(water) clear	<i>mbu rinan atsakaŋ</i>
(water) squirt out	<i>mbu wahiŋ herekaŋ iron</i>
(water) bubble up	<i>mbu i-kwak i-kwak i-sa</i>
overflow	<i>mbu i-beŋ</i>
(water) leak out	<i>mbu i-beŋ</i>
stone	<i>tsouk</i>
earth	<i>kitomb</i>
clay	<i>tekeber</i>
sand	<i>mom</i>
dust	<i>buhubih</i>
particle	<i>buhubih</i>
clod	<i>tekeber</i>

EB. LANDSCAPE FEATURES

sea	<i>ruts</i>
salt	<i>gwik</i> [= 'sea' =Yabim]
ocean, high sea	<i>ruts</i>
shallow	<i>bu purukaŋ i-mak</i>
deep	<i>purukaŋ iron</i>
high tide	<i>mbu i-rim i-rim</i>
low tide	<i>mbu i-rim i-rim</i>
tide	<i>mbu i-rim i-rim</i>
current	
whirlpool	<i>mbu i-its kwahits en</i> [water 'turns self around']
island	<i>ninun</i>
channel; strait	<i>kitomb a mun</i> [= in mountains]
beach	<i>ruts amaŋ</i>
reef	<i>tsouk dededede</i>
coral	<i>muranan</i>
mountain	<i>sun</i>
summit	<i>sun bidin</i>

landslide	<i>gatsing i-tam</i>
cave	<i>tsouk a dzun</i>
cavity	<i>dzun</i>
waterfall	<i>bu kururug</i>
pond	<i>bu rinan</i>
swamp	<i>bu but isun</i>
mud	<i>tekeber</i>
valley	<i>Bodzok a maŋ/Makam a maŋ</i>
[River names: Busu = <i>Bodzok</i> ; Saŋkwep = <i>Moram</i> ; Markham = <i>Makam</i>]	

F. ASTRONOMY, METEOROLOGY

FA. ASTRONOMY

sun	<i>siwuk</i>
moon	<i>ŋomburum</i>
star	<i>damarints</i>
Venus	<i>Dam</i>
(sun) shine	<i>siwuk awek</i> [<i>wek</i> = 'red; blood']

FB. METEOROLOGY

cloud	<i>moh</i>
rain	<i>amik</i>
sky	<i>gunungun</i>
rainbow	<i>bimaru itsing</i>
wind	<i>ninih</i>
(wind) blow	<i>ninih i-rin</i>
north wind	<i>ninih ika ruts en</i> [wind from sea]
north-west monsoon	<i>ninih dawu en rak aruts</i> [wind from mountain to sea]
storm	<i>tsukamin</i>
thunder	<i>muŋ gitik</i>
lightning	<i>kokorints i-tak</i>
fog	<i>moh</i>
dew	<i>damandam</i>
puddle	<i>mbu sagisagin</i>
earthquake	<i>duhiŋ</i>
brightness	<i>ram i-wek, tsih i-wek, siwuk i-sa</i>
shade, shadow	<i>tsitsoŋ</i>
(light) fade	<i>ŋu-huŋ a tsih hunu</i>
(weather) cold	<i>muŋ a nuhaŋ iron</i>
(weather) hot	<i>muŋ sakwasuts</i>
hail	<i>damandam</i>

FC. PERIODS OF TIME

time	<i>muŋ(g); tem, tim</i> [Tok Pisin]
daytime	<i>tim siwuk en</i>
dawn	<i>muŋ i-pe</i>

morning
 midday
 afternoon
 evening
 twilight
 night
 darkness
 year
 dry season
 wet season

ribona (*ribona tsakaŋ* = 'good morning')
siwuk nihu
tsogaŋ
siwuk rak i-ruk
siwuk
mikim (atsakaŋ)
mikim nihu
sond top (= 'big Sunday' = Christmas)
tim siwuk en/siwuk atop
tim amik en/manaman

FD. TIME DEICTICS

today
 yesterday
 tomorrow
 day before yesterday
 day after tomorrow
 formerly
 just now
 firstly
 already, finished
 later
 soon
 for a long time

buge
remek
ape
nipen
nipe wen
mungwaŋ, gubaŋ
butikik en
apun u; muŋ (verb, = 'to go first')
apun
bora u
bora, butikik ani [= 'straightaway']
wir ga-bum Lae iri gubaŋ iron ('I stayed in Lae for a long time')
tim amots, ape ape
morom morom
dak
bute

every day
 continuous[ly]
 now
 yet

G. EPITHETS AND CLASSIFIERS

GA. COLOURS

black
 red
 white
 yellow
 green

husik
wekaŋ [*wek* = blood]
posop
kudzaŋ-aŋ
paparats-aŋ

GB. HUMAN PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

living
 life
 fat
 thin
 cross-eyed
 blind
 deaf
 dumb
 crippled

muŋ maparats
som maparats
bubuhaŋ
kwaruk
manitsin i-pariɓ
manitsin mikim
riŋan andzun i-mak/riŋa titut
mundihin i-mak
han i-mak

(old person) bent
barren, infertile
deformed, misshapen

strong
weak
sick
(have) fever
asthma
be in pain
sting (sne)
tired
paralyzed
dizzy
nausea
wrinkled (skin)

(sne) cold
(sne) hot
hungry
famine

thirsty
full up, sated
naked
ruffled, shabby, dishevelled

GC. HUMAN QUALITIES

be greedy
clever
stupid
good
evil
brave
cowardly
hardworking
lazy
extravagant, wasteful
stingy, thrifty
skilful
careful
mad
go crazy
hot-tempered
rebellious
erratic

GD. CLASSIFIERS

(pig +) big

aporo kunanduk-aŋ
kahi narun i-mak
aromb tsats/ninin i-ras arus arus ('whole body misshapen')
herekaŋ
nini mop imak
wir a-mar/in i-mar
nini sakwasuts
itus niwun/mamar [asthma]
ura baiŋ sakwasuts
nonom ger wir [nonom = mosquito]
wir a-riŋin ninin tsats
baiŋ iri hoŋ gi-bak
mogŋ i-dit
wir a-muk a-nup-aŋ ('I want to vomit')
[*kuwits*] *i-ga sagis en*
[*ninin*]
wir a-rat/niniŋ nuh-aŋ
niniŋ sakwasuts (-aŋ)
wir a-rin ame
[*muŋ*] *ame en* ('time of hunger')
[*tim*]
kun gadzun sakwasuts
wir gan son anaŋ hori/hori
nanara hun sirak
son amats gi-to tsats iron

aromb/arikikaŋ a sok i-tsi (aromb = 'man')
(a)tsakaŋ
tsats
tsakaŋ
tsats
aromb a-itsaŋ aromb en
aromb a-itsan aromb da mak
aromb a um en
aromb a um en i-mak
aromb a muk-aŋ a son tsats
aromb a-bits i-mak/tsih kwariŋ
aromb kuna anis-aŋ atsakaŋ
aromb a-guŋaŋ a son en
kun a mak
aromb gi-bum atsakaŋ e kun amak
aromb asun awik-aŋ
aromb a wadi
aromb a um en da mak/um i-mak

atop

(pain +) severe, intense
 (pig +) small
 wide
 spacious
 (dish +) shallow
 narrow
 straight
 rectangular
 crooked (stick)
 tilted, inclined
 curving, sinuous, bent, curly
 taut
 long
 tall
 short (in length)
 short (in height)
 (house +) new
 old
 (basket +) old
 (wood) rotten
 stink

ruined
 worn away
 rusty
 damaged
 tattered, shabby
 punctured, holed
 good
 beautiful
 bad
 heavy
 difficult
 light
 easy
 thick
 thin
 (trunk +) round
 sharp
 sharp-pointed
 blunt
 rough, jagged
 smooth
 flattened
 polished
 bumpy
 hard
 brittle

sakwasuts atop iron
nanarun
mun atop
om wutsin atop
pitat (hamahuman = 'deep')
nanarun/atop iron da mak/ihing en
tsakan
rehen en/rija rigan
koben-an
i-koben
i-kwahits
guwin en
wadi
wadi
takuts
takuts
wahok
munghan
munghan
reḅ wamut-an
 [so] *popots*
 [son]
tsats iron
weng amun nanarun wadi
i-to tsats
gi-to
gi-to tsats
dzun
tsakan
tsakan
tsats
marawin-an
marawin-an
marawin da mak
marawin da mak
atop
nanarun
hukum-an
mun (= 'point')
mun wadi
mun i-mak
koben-an
pitat atsakan
pitat
momitsin bo-ŋi-ndzim ['your eyes will be dazzled']
i-kwek i-sa
(he)herek-an
hori bo-ŋi-potok

soft
dirty
spotted, streaky
sticky, clinging
(liquid) viscous, thick
(cloth) clean
(water) hot
(water) cold
wet
dry
(sg) dry (in sun)
(food +) dry up
(stream +) dry
shrink

slippery
full
fill (cup +)
empty

be open
open (door)
be shut
shut (door)
blocked, stopped up
close-fitting
quickly
slow(ly)
different
same, similar
common, worthless
useful, valuables
poor
noisy
quiet

H. VERBS

HA. CORPOREAL

do, act
eat
feed (sne)

sate (sf)
feast, celebrate
drink
suck
slurp
sip

son bereh-aŋ
mirin
turumturum
ninin
herekaŋ
posop/tsakaŋ
sakwasuts
nuh-aŋ
nuh-aŋ
rereŋ-aŋ
ŋu-hiripi ['put it in the sun']
rereŋ-aŋ
gi-katsik
siwuh ger, gi-nakanik iron [= 'sun burns it, it dries out']
sururup-aŋ
sagihitŋ
ŋa-ndziŋa kap
son i-mak/uḅ i-bidi kahats [= 'the pot stands empty']
ndzun i-hoŋ
ŋu-piwik a ndzun
ndzun herek-aŋ
bu i-ruk da mak
bu i-ruk da mak
son i-diritŋ atsakaŋ
verb + *pep*
verb + *posaŋ posaŋ*
karanum wen karanum wen
hori rons
son tsats
son a moneŋ atop en
aromb a son i-mak
son diduh
diduh i-mak

muk-aŋ

an-aŋ

wir ŋa-tiŋ son anang iri narutŋ ('I give food to child')

in bigen hori ['he has eaten enough']

son anaŋ atop

num

ŋi-tsuka atsuk

ŋi-sa kwanutŋ en

ŋi-num posaŋ posaŋ en

gargle
 chew (food)
 chew (betel)
 gnaw
 smack lips
 hold (food) in mouth
 grind teeth
 swallow
 (sne) fast, not eat
 sleep

close eyes
 have a dream
 snore
 (sne) wake up
 wake up (sne)
 do work
 rest
 die
 (dog +) drown
 cry
 breathe
 gasp, pant
 catch breath
 (throat) rattle
 smell (sg)

laugh
 vomit
 cough
 sneeze
 yawn
 gape
 sniff
 dribble
 hiccup
 belch
 (sne) blow
 lick
 blink
 wink
 frown
 play
 tremble
 shiver
 shy away
 (baby) be born
 give birth

ŋi-sa warik
ŋi-sama
wir an mimin
gidiŋ i-diŋ ['my teeth chew']
i-tsapik eron
wir ŋa-kun son anang e mundihin
gidin i-niŋ
wir ŋa-tiŋin a son
bo-ŋan a son da mak
tsiŋ(g) (singular subject)
tsitse (plural subject)
wir moŋ gi-muk
wir a-mih
ŋatus garak
a-mbidi (tim bidi-tsaŋ en)
wir ŋa-huruŋ in
muk a um
wir bo-ŋa-rihoŋ roŋ
bak
kom gi-num a mbu da gi-bak
ŋi-reŋ
ŋa-tus niwuŋ
wir mamar [= 'short of breath']
ŋu-tarom kitsi
ŋi-tus niwun
wir ŋa-kwis a son popots (= 'I smell something bad')
wir a-guruŋ (= 'I laugh')
wir a-nup
wir a-tekere
wir a-tsaparu
ŋu-ndzumop
ŋu-tsah gedeh
ŋu-kwis amun
rahi sagin gi-puruk
sumusak (not Vb)
kokois (not Vb)
huŋ (Vb)
ŋi-tep
ŋu-mburis momitsin
ŋu-mburis momitsin
ŋi-nduk
ŋu-ndabu
niniŋ gi-rat
niniŋ gi-rat
ŋu-tarom kitsi
kahi i-kun narun (= 'woman bears child')
kahi i-kun narun

(sne) wave
beckon
point
clap
fold arms
cup hands
straighten (limbs), stretch out (arm)

embrace (sne)
hug, squeeze
stroke, feel
swell
burst, split
spread (legs), separate
heal
copulate
masturbate
kiss

HB. ATTENTION

happen, occur
be aware, perceive, feel
see
recognise
glance, glimpse
look at, stare at, peer at
inspect
show, cause to see
hear
inattentive
loud noise

NOISES (VARIOUS)

echo
look for
look after (child +)
rear, bring up (child)
guard
appear
vanish, fade
try, test

HC. POSITION, MOTION

move (sf)
start
go
walk
stroll
hurry

ŋu-its baim
ŋu-its baim da in ŋi-ka
ŋu-pu baim
ŋu-potah baim
ŋu-nuŋgut e baim
ŋu-naburen baim
ŋa-wiŋ e roŋ ('I stretch my arm')
ŋu-wiŋ e rom ('you stretch your arm')
ŋu-su in
ŋu-su in
ŋu-su
i-rum
potok

is i-muk rons

ŋu-mumuŋ

karanum wen i-ka
wir kuŋ gi-nis
ŋa-rikik ['see']; *moŋ gidij* ['look at']
kuŋ gi-nis in
ŋa-rikik da hona ŋa-rikik da mak
moŋ gi-diŋ
ŋa-rikik
ŋu-ak ŋu-titiŋ iri in
wir a-riŋiŋ
tatarun i-bum a num da i-riŋiŋ aro mb
diduh atop

ŋi-puk itsi
wir ŋa-seren a son anan
wir a-ŋuŋ tatarun
wir a-ŋuŋ tatarun
kom ani i-guŋa om atsakan
i-ka
son te gek
ŋa-muk a son ani, tsats, ma tsakan, ma

ŋu-pariwen rom
ŋu-muh a son wen
ak
ak
ak posan posan en
ak pepep

roll, walk unstably
 hop, limp
 crawl
 come
 approach
 arrive
 visit
 depart
 deviate, stray

take short cut
 divert, deflect
 drive away
 runs
 flee, run away
 escape, slip away

enter, go inside
 pass, go beyond
 circumvent, go round
 go along, follow (path +)
 goes down [hill]
 downwards
 (sun) set
 goes up [hill]

upwards
 climb (tree)
 (sun) rise
 cross over
 (sne) turn round
 come back
 go round and round (sg)
 (sg) rotate, revolve
 swim
 float
 be washed away
 bathe
 dive/jump (into water)
 dive
 jump over (sg)
 jump (up and down)
 jump up, spring up
 dance
 singsing
 sing
 ride
 move (sf)

i-haki mun i-koben koben
han rehetan munuts/ha rehe munuts
i-kah
ka
pep
pep
gak in a mun
ga-rak en omb
wirr gak da ga-dziken ena mop
da gak dawu
gak nihuwen, takuts igin
gu-tsipen
wiri
rin(d)
rin gek ['run' + 'go']
bik gi-dus da reb kitsi gek ['pig broke fence + went']
ga-k ga-ruk wutsin
mun
guak rigan en
ga-tamun a mop
bi-ga-kwak
raun
siwuk gek gi-ruk
bo-ga-sak a sun [sak = 1st + 2nd person subjects;
 sek = 3rd person subjects]
wung
sak
siwuk i-sek
bo-ga-ruk a bu da gak
wir ga-pariwen
wir ga-pariwen ga-ka
ga-nguguts en
iron ge-nguguts eron
ga-mop a bu
gu-tsing a bu wun
bu i-kun wir ak
wir a-sik a mbu
ga-tsurup ga-kwak a mbu
ga-tsurup ga-kwak a mbu
gu-tekep
ga-ndus ga-ndus
a-mbidi
wir ga-kim(b)
kim(b) (Vb)
gu-kimb a min/its a min [= 'sing a hymn']
is gi-kapun a hos wun ['they sat on a horse']

stands up	<i>mbidi</i> (1st + 2nd person) <i>mbudi</i> (3rd person)
stand	<i>mbidi</i>
erect (post +)	<i>wil bo-ŋa-pu mungis</i>
lean (against)	<i>son ani rak i-paŋ, rak i-tsiŋg</i>
protrude	<i>i-tsiŋg niŋu</i> (is between some things)
sits down	<i>kapuŋ</i> (singular)/ <i>min</i> (plural)
sit	<i>kapuŋ</i> (singular)/ <i>min</i> (plural)
dwelt	<i>bum</i> (singular)/ <i>min</i> (plural)
wait	<i>wir a-guŋ aroŋb wen</i>
lies down	<i>wir a-ruk a-tsiŋg</i>
lie	<i>tsiŋg(s) tsitsi</i>
curl up	<i>i-nuŋgut eron</i>
lie across, athwart	<i>i-tsiŋg amop kitsi</i>
kneels down	<i>wir ŋa-mburis a hoŋ gunun</i>
kneels	<i>wir ŋa-mburis a hoŋ gunun</i>
bend down	<i>wir a-duk</i>
crouch down	<i>wir ŋa-tuŋ kitsi</i>
stumble	<i>ŋu-putu hom</i> [leg]
falls over	<i>ŋa-kund</i>
fall (from tree +)	<i>ŋa-puruk i-sek a reḅ da ŋa-ruk kitomb</i> ['I climb a tree and fall to ground']
(house) fall down, collapse	<i>om(b) i-to</i>
hang (from hook +)	<i>ŋa-tarak a hek ŋi-sek ŋi-nduk</i> ['I hang a netbag up on a hook']
sag, droop	<i>hek ŋi-ku kitsi</i> ['net bag hangs down crooked']
(sg) roll	<i>son ŋi-kokoŋ ŋi-kwek</i>
assemble	<i>tsir arus ŋa-sa munuts</i>
meet (e.o.)	<i>wir bo-ŋa-taka in ena mop</i> ['we will meet on the road']
co-operate, work together	<i>ŋa-muk a um ŋa-mbiri rons</i> [together]
lead	<i>ŋi-muŋ da ŋi-tutu is</i> ['he goes ahead and leads them']
follow	<i>da is ŋi-tamun</i> ['...and they follow']
impede, obstruct	<i>son i-sut a mop</i>
grope for	<i>ŋu-timis a son</i>
reach for	<i>baiŋ ŋek</i>
seize, take	<i>ŋu-ŋgapur en</i>
hold (in hand)	<i>ŋu-su</i>
catch (ball)	<i>ŋa-tsapur</i>
catch (runaway)	<i>ŋa-tsapur/ŋu-su in</i>
carry	<i>kun</i>
carry (hand)	<i>su</i>
carry (shoulder)	<i>mboriŋ a reḅ</i> [carry wood]
carry (on back)	<i>pits</i>
carry (head)	<i>ŋu-hits</i>
carry (bilum +)	<i>ŋu-hits a hek</i>
carry (underarm)	<i>ŋu-kahiŋg</i>
pick up	<i>ŋu-kun ŋu-sa</i> [close by]/ <i>tiŋ</i> [if long way]

lift
 take out, withdraw
 put down (sg)
 let down, lower
 pack into, stuff into
 put in, insert
 take out, extract
 turn (sg) over
 collect
 pile, stack up (coconuts +)
 a heap of (coconuts +)
 scatter, strew
 hide (sf)
 (sne) hide
 lose
 (sg) be lost

HD. AFFECT

push
 pull
 stretch
 cut (self)
 stab
 scratch (skin +)
 scrape (coconut)
 (coconut) scraper
 graze (sg)
 (sne) pinch
 tap
 bump into, collide with
 hit
 hit (with stick)
 kill
 fight
 wrestle
 strangle
 attack
 cut (throat)
 punish
 win, defeat
 peel (sweet potato +)
 peel (banana)
 cut (meat +)
 cut up (pawpaw)
 cut (string)
 cut (grass), mow
 cut (stick)
 fell

ŋa-tak ŋi-sa
ŋa-wuɓ
ŋa-tiŋ kwek
ŋa-tiŋ posaŋ ŋi-kwek
ŋa-ndziŋ subɪ ŋi-kwek a hek
ŋa-ndziŋ
ŋa-tsikik e hek
ŋa-pariwen
ŋa-tuŋ ŋi-sa munuts
ŋu-tuŋ a mus
unu wen
ŋu-rawu munuts munuts
wir a-hubun a son (sth)
wir ŋak ŋa-tip
oroŋ ga-muk ŋi-puruk
ura son gi-puruk

ŋu-ndiki
ŋu-radiɪ
ŋu-wiŋ en
wir bo-ŋa-ra roŋ
wir ŋa-pu bik [pig]
wir ŋa-kikiɓ baiŋ
wir ŋa-noɓ a mus
gare (Yabim kale = 'small shell from the sea')
ga-wadzur a hoŋ [leg]
ŋu-kitim in
ŋu-su in
ŋu-putu in
ŋa-its in
ŋa-its in e reɓ
wir bo-ŋa-its in hunu
isikin gi-hoh ['those two are fighting']
aromb wen gi-diki wen, wen gi-diki wen
gi-ŋgubu gek kutikot
tsir arus ŋak ŋa-hoh
ŋa-wusu kutikot kitsi [altogether]
ŋu-tiŋ marawin iri in
iŋg nini mop herekaŋ [straight]
wir ŋa-pere subɪ
wir bo-ŋa-pipi maman kuwits
wusu pasik
wusu papaya
wusu wuk
ŋa-herɛp a kwaŋ
ŋa-tsap kutup
bo-ŋa-ra reɓ ŋi-to

cut off (stick +)
 chop
 split (wood)
 separate (sg)
 notch, groove, slit
 slap
 kick
 hammer (sg with fist)
 bend (sg)
 fold (sg)
 roll up (sg)
 wind around
 shake (sg)
 poke
 splash (sne)
 twist (string +)
 plait (hair at night)
 tie
 a knot
 tie together (e.g. sticks)
 thread (on string)
 tether
 join, graft
 untie, loosen
 unwrap
 spread out (to dry)
 wrap
 wrapping, bandage
 bundle
 rub
 wipe
 squeeze (grated coconut +)
 press together
 inflate
 deflate
 bore (hole)
 pierce
 chisel (sg)
 widen (opening)
 dent
 hollow out
 scoop out
 plane (wood)
 pick (fruit), pull out
 WAYS OF PICKING
 sharpen (stick)
 sharpen (axe)
 tear (paper +)

bo-ŋa-ra kutup
ŋa-rum a reḅ anik-aŋ (firewood)
ŋa-rum a reḅ anik-aŋ ŋi-ruk niḥu
ŋu-pu maman ŋu-ruk wen, ŋaraŋ ŋi-ruk wen
gum andzun
its
its a bal
ŋu-tapi
ŋu-ŋgobu
ŋu-mburis
ŋu-ripip en
ŋu-mur awuk ŋi-sa reḅ
ŋu-sakwanu wen
ŋu-pu
ŋu-tsipen
ŋu-ndzindz a wuk
ŋu-mur unu kwaruk
ŋu-mur a dzup
ndut
reḅ hetep/wir ŋa-hetep a reḅ
ŋu-sarut misin [beads]
ŋu-mura bik
ŋu-mur tekus
ŋu-pirik
ŋu-purik a tsah [leaf banana]
ŋu-putaŋ en [cf. *pitat* = flat]
ŋu-tsukup
tsikup, bunum
son bunum
ŋu-teŋ
ŋu-sakasik en
ŋu-ŋgubu
ŋu-ŋgubu
ŋu-huŋ
ŋu-tus ka ŋek
ŋu-kipat
gi-potoh apun
ŋu-tsap
ŋi-pu ek ŋi-totop
sipin
wir ŋa-muk amus apits ka ŋek
ŋa-muk ka ŋek
ŋu-sahu tsakaŋ iron
ŋak ŋa-rah subi

tsap a reḅ
wir bo-ŋa-tsap a its
ŋa-mirip

burn (grass)
 crush under foot
 break (stick)
 break (clay pot)

crack
 crumble
 fragment
 destroy
 take to pieces
 wash (child +)
 wash (clothes)
 wash (self)
 immerse (sg)
 shave (sf)
 delouse
 dig
 root up
 bury
 plant (sweet potato +)
 draw, write
 flick (w fingers)
 use up

HE. GIVING

give
 give back
 receive
 send
 steals
 take, get
 borrow

 distribute

 exchange
 buy
 sell
 pay
 cost, price
 value, usefulness
 debt
 help
 add to, increase (sg)
 decrease (sg)

ŋa-haŋga korok
ŋu-wakih e hom
ŋu-mburis ŋi-to
 [*ŋa-pu u^h kipi*
ŋa pu u^h ŋi-potok
mus ŋi-potok gi-ruk dzaban
ŋu-ŋgubu
pakapak
ŋa-mburis ŋi-to kugu rus
gi-to kitsi kitsi
bo-ŋa-tsukuh narug
bo-ŋa-nuk ŋakwi
wir biasik a mbu
ŋa-tiŋgason ŋi-ruk a mbu
ŋa-ker sinoŋ
wir ŋa-sereŋ iŋg a ur
wir ŋa-rah kitomb
ŋa-tus da ŋarawu ŋek [throw away]
tse ŋa-mbis aromb ŋek kitomb
ŋa-pu subi
wir ŋa-to
ŋu-muk baim ŋiniŋ
ŋa-muk a son te gi-to mak

u ŋa-tiŋg iri iŋg
ŋa-tiŋg huri
ŋa-kun
wir ŋa-tiŋg karanum ŋek
gi-kep
kun
iŋg iri tsouk [money] *ŋu-tiŋg iri wir ape u*
bo-ŋa-tiŋg huri
 [*wir iri mimin a mots*]
 [*bo-ŋa-tiŋg iri is arus*]
huri ŋa-tiŋg huri
wir bo-ŋa-rou^h
bo-ŋa-tiŋg
tsouk
tsouk
tsouk
huri
iŋg hori ŋu-wir en wir
son birak i-to atop
son birak nanarun

HF. LOCUTION

language, word

speak

repeat (sf)

shout, speak loudly

call (to sne)

whisper

keep silent

mumble

stammer, stutter

whistle

groan

cry out (e.g. in pain)

whine, whimper

count

tell (story)

a story

tell a joke

tell, inform

claim

make a speech

converse

gossip

say

ask

(sne) reply

agree

disagree

refuse, decline

be cross with

scold, rebuke

(people) quarrel

discord

lie

pretend

betray

yes

no

praise, honour

command, order

permit, allow

prohibit, forbid

karakarak [lots of talk]*karanum, ing a karanum ho gai* ['what is your language?']*ŋa-nis**ŋa-tamun karanum ana sahi**ŋa-kuk atop**ŋa-kuk e is**ŋa-nis posaŋ en**bo-ŋa nis da mak**mumaup**in i-muk a-nisaŋ karanum da hori da mak*

['he wants to talk but is unable to']

*wir ŋa-kutsum**ŋu-mburis rom**ŋu-kuk**ŋi-muk rahin**ŋa-nis en moneŋ**ŋa-nis**karanum**wir bo-ŋa-wir akun e is**nis**nis**ing bo-ŋu-mbudi da ŋu-his en karanum**suk ŋa-muk karakarak**ŋu-hakis en in**nis**ŋu-tais in**in bo-ŋi-nis huri**hori**wir bo-ŋa-ndzom amuŋ* ['I contradict him']*wir bo-ŋa-ndzom amuŋ* ['I contradict him']*wir bo-ŋa-rubu in**wir bo-ŋa rubu in**is i-rubu rons**karanum wen; karanum sunawik-aŋ**in i-wob**in i-wob**gi-wob in**'ee, nitsin**mak**bo-ŋa-tak ina biŋan**wir ŋa-tiŋg karanum wen iri in**wir bo-ŋa-raken in ŋek**wir bo-ŋa-nis in kitsi ŋek da mak*

HG. MENTAL STATES AND ACTIVITIES

mind, will

kuŋ(g) anis-aŋ

know (fact +)
 know (person)
 understand
 doubt
 hope
 be indifferent
 forget (name +)
 memory, remember
 correct
 false
 err[or], mistake
 fear (sne)
 respect, venerate
 pity
 think, meditate
 want (sg)

(pregnant woman +) crave for (sg)

intend
 whim, caprice
 like (a food +)
 like, love (sne)
 endure, survive
 choose
 happy
 sad
 lonely
 ashamed
 revenge
 angry
 make angry
 calm down, be calm
 nervous
 troubled
 be startled, surprised
 confused
 vigilant

I. QUANTIFIERS

many
 all
 some, several
 a few
 whole
 too much, surplus
 enough
 insufficient
 other

wir kuŋ gi-nis
wir kuŋ gi-nis in
wir a-riŋiŋ karanum
dak mak, honan da man
dak hona ma...
wir a-doŋ
wir ŋa-dzigen ina biŋan
wir kuŋ gi-nis ina biŋan
nitsin
honan da mak
son atsats
wir a-girik ena mur ['I am afraid of snakes']
raiŋ i-hiniri in
wir nuŋgu haŋ in
wir kuŋ gi-nis
raiŋ i-hiniri [= hin + iri ?] ['my stomach wants something']
raiŋ i-hiniri
bo-ŋa-muk
irom a raiŋ
raiŋ i-hiniri ena ŋan-aŋ tsiŋg
wir raiŋ i-hiniri aromb anu
aporo muŋgwaŋ iron
raiŋ i-hiniri
wir raiŋ(g) atsakaŋ
wir nuŋguhaŋ
oroŋ munuts iron
wir niniŋ gi-tsim
huri
ŋa-rubu in
ŋa-rubu in
bo-ŋa-sahu karanum
wir a-girik
wir iri marawin
ga-taroŋ kitsi
kuŋ(g) anisaŋ gi-to tsats
wir bo-ŋa-ŋguŋ roŋ

amots iron
arus
is hun
munuts munuts
um amots...gi-rereŋ arus
son amots iron
son hori
son hori da mak
aromb wen anu ŋi-ka apun

none
half

mak
rehen

J. INTERROGATIVES

who?
what?
what part of?
where?
when?
how many?
how?
why?

asa
sira
rak gai
gai
tim gai [Tok Pisin]/*gi-diŋ (ho) gai* (Yabim)
sahis
ho gai
da ho gai

ARIBWATSA, AN ALMOST EXTINCT LANGUAGE IN NORTHEASTERN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The Austronesian Aribwatsa language of the eastern end of the Markham Valley, in the area of the present-day town of Lae in northeastern New Guinea, has now only one surviving very old female speaker. The language is heading for extinction, but there are now concerted efforts by direct descendants of this last speaker to at least partially revive it.

The contribution on the language by Dr Susanne Holzkecht of the Australian National University, which is based on fieldwork undertaken a number of years ago gives a good insight into, and provides a permanent record of, the Aribwatsa language in a state which still very much corresponds to its traditional form.

S.A. Wurm, Editor

ARIBWATSA: A 'LOST' LANGUAGE OF THE MARKHAM FAMILY, PAPUA NEW GUINEA?

SUSANNE HOLZKNECHT

PREAMBLE

This paper is about a language called variously, Lae, Lahe, Ahi, or Aribwatsa. It appears to have been a member of the Markham Family of languages, first established as a genetic grouping named by Hooley (1971) and further analysed and described by S. Holzknecht (1989). These Austronesian languages are spoken by communities living in the Markham Valley, in the valleys of the tributaries of the Markham River to the north and south, and in the mountains to the north and south. There are now 15 languages in this 'family', which can be divided into three lower-order subgroupings (1989:12):

TABLE 1: LANGUAGES OF THE MARKHAM FAMILY

Group I	Upper Markham	Adzera (ADZ) Wampur (WPU) Mari (MRI) Sukurum (SUK) Sarasira (SAR)
Group II	Watut	Watut 1 (WAT1) (formerly Danggal) Watut 2 (WAT2) (formerly Maralango) Watut 3 (WAT3) (formerly Silisili, with Unangk)
Group III	Lower Markham	Wampar (WPA) Labu (LAB)
	Busu Sub-group	Nafi (NFI) (formerly Sirak) Duwet (DWT) Musom (MSM) Aribwaungg (AWG) (Yalu) Aribwatsa (ARB)

1. INTRODUCTION

The language called Lahe, Ahi, or Aribwatsa is now remembered (not really spoken) by one old woman who lives in Henggali, a part of Butibam Village, an urban village of Lae.

1.1 A 'LOST' LANGUAGE?

Tantalising references have been made by linguists, missionaries and historians to an 'extinct' or 'lost' language in the Lae area. Some said it may have been a Kawa language which had been mostly absorbed by the larger Kawa-speaking group of Butibam and Kamkumung (see Bamler 1906; Lehner 1907; Schmutterer 1927). Others suggest that it may have been related to the Markham family of languages (for example Hooley 1971:106 who indicated that Lahe belonged in his Adzera Family), or more precisely 'a dialect closely related to the present Yalu language of the lower Markham' (Willis 1974:2). More recent reports have said that the language was 'almost extinct' (Hooley 1971:106; Smith 1984:53). Early accounts of the area, from missionaries and explorers, mentioned the presence of Lahe refugees in the Huon Gulf coastal area and something of their history but very little, if anything, about their language. Stephen Lehner, the first missionary in the Bukaua area who had contact with Lahe refugees, in one place (1907) describes them as 'a Bukaua tribe of about 600 people' and later as a 'Laewomba (Wampar) tribe which recently adopted the Bukaua language' (quoted in Sack 1976:76). Lehner (1909) recognised the connections between these groups and said that somewhere between 1840 and 1850, the Labu, Lahe, Lae-womba, Laetimbu, Lae Winwin, Yalu and Munum formed one single tribe with one uniform language (quoted in Sack 1976:56). Schmutterer (1927:1) considered that the Lahe belonged 'together with Laewomba'.

All that can be agreed upon is that the Lahe were once a large 'tribe' which lived inland from the present Lae area in several different groupings and who spoke a different language to the Kawa. They were attacked, decimated and chased out to the coast by the Wampar. Survivors joined forces with various 'friendly' groups around the Huon Gulf among whom they probably had relatives and trade partners. Under pressure from languages of their host communities they 'lost' their language and were absorbed culturally and linguistically into whichever group gave them refuge. The Yalu (or Aribwaungg) were the only group which retained their own language. After the coming of the Europeans put a stop to the fighting in 1909, they had left the refugee camps and returned to their own land.

So, intrigued by the possibility of another 'Markham language', I went to Henggali (now a section of Butibam Village, an urban village of Lae city) and talked to an old woman, Butoawê, whose name had been given to me as the last person who would still know something about the 'Lahe language'. She was approximately 80 years old in 1985, had not spoken this language with anyone since her brother died in 1967, and it is doubtful that they spoke it together much anyway. She is indeed the last living person to know anything about the language, which she prefers to call ARIBWATSA, the name by which her father's sub-group of the Lahe was known. The word *aribwatsa* means 'hold the fighting shield up high' in the language of the same name.

In 1985 I worked with Butoawê for several sessions of 2-3 hours each, and as we progressed she remembered more and more, going from single lexical items to whole sentences. But she could not manage a story for an example of text.

There are, however, reservations about the data, and indeed about the process of describing and analysing it in this paper, which should be aired at this point.

1. Firstly, the methodological propriety of using data from a language which probably 'died' 100 years ago, and comparing it with contemporary data from apparently related languages which have certainly been changing, probably quite rapidly, over the 100 years is questionable.
2. There exists only one informant who was at the time of the study at least 80 years old, forgetful and sometimes ill. She still remembers single words and occasionally sentences from several other closely related languages (Aribwaungg (Yalu), Musom, Wampar, Bukawa and Yabim), and during the sessions with her it was often unclear whether she was giving 'true' Aribwatsa responses, or a similar word from one of these languages. Thus she may have been confused. Her pronunciation was certainly inconsistent.
3. By the time the informant was born, the language had most likely ceased to be spoken by a viable community. Therefore she had only learned a patchy, limited vocabulary, and that was a very restricted child's vocabulary. As well as this, her people were living in a 'foreign' land, out of their own milieu. Their movements were restricted to the hosts' villages and very close gardens and streams due to the danger of a Wampar raid.
4. Therefore, the question remains whether Aribwatsa was a language in its own right, or a variety of Aribwaungg or Musom. This paper will address this question, among others.

Nevertheless, the data are presented here, albeit with many reservations, in order that the linguistic record of the languages of this part of Papua New Guinea is extended. Moreover, the descendants of those who spoke this language are interested in their heritage and the history of their ancestors, and it is primarily for those people that this paper is being written.

1.2 SCOPE AND ORGANISATION OF THIS PAPER

I propose firstly to look briefly at the confusion over names, then present what can be salvaged of the history of the 'Lahe' people, reconstructed as best I can from the existing written and oral sources. I will then present some background on the last speaker, Butoawê. After that I will discuss the linguistic material gathered during several sessions with Butoawê, and will compare and contrast the phonology, morphology and syntax of Aribwatsa (as much as I have managed to get) with that of the Aribwaungg, Musom, Nafi, Duwet and Wampar languages. These appear to be the closest relatives among the languages still being spoken today.

The Wampar language may have been a very early branch of Lahe. The Watut languages may also have been even earlier offshoots of the original language community; they appear to have moved into the mountains above and beside the Watut River before the Wampar began their push into the Markham Valley, and have only recently in the last 30 years come down from the mountains beside the Watut River, to live closer to the river.

1.3 CONFUSION OVER NAMES

The different names for the group which is the subject of this paper, and for the language spoken by its members have been used in different contexts and inconsistently, giving rise to much confusion. A map drawn in 1906 by Georg Bamler (a German Lutheran missionary from the Neuendettelsau mission society, in search of land for a new station) identified the people living near the mountain called 'Lo'wamung' (or Burgberg) as 'Lahe' (this is now called Mt Lunaman, and is within Lae city). But possibly because of this map and the usage of the term 'Lahe' to cover all the people of the area near Lo'wamung, this name came to mean not only Lahe but all of the people in those coastal communities. The Yabim speakers who came in 1907–08 as the first Christian evangelists and teachers to the area with the Yabim-speaking German missionaries, could not say the [h] sound, and the word became 'Lae', sometimes written 'Laë'. By 1914, when the German colony passed into Australian control, the name Lae (pronounced [lai]) was used generally to describe both the people and the place.

The name Ahi (or Ahe) also refers to the Lahe. This was a prefix used before clan names by the group of Lahe who settled in the Wamped River area – for example, Ahe Nggali, Ahe Bulu. It is used prefixed to clan names in several of the present-day Lae villages (Butibam, Kamkumung, Wagang and Yangga) but is also used by some historians to denote the whole Lahe 'tribe' (for example K. Holzknicht 1973; Willis 1974).

The name 'Laewomba', used to denote the former enemies of the Lahe and the coastal communities, appears to be a combination of the names 'Lae' (or 'Lahe') and 'Wampar'. The names may have been used together by the coastal people to refer to all the inland people, both Lahe and Wampar, and was taken by the early missionaries to mean just the Wampar. The name has been further corrupted to 'LeiWompa', to cover the government census division stretching from the Lae city boundary to the Irumu River (NSO, 1983).

In this paper, I will refer to LAHE as the larger community and language of the people who claim origin from a mother village near present-day Apo; ARIBWATSA as the group and language name for those Lahe who came from the Wamped area via Yalu village to the Butibam and Kamkumung communities as refugees and of which there is now only one speaker living. ARIBWAUNGG is the name by which the inhabitants of present-day Yalu village prefer their community and language to be known. LAE is the name of the present-day city. WAMPAR is the name of the language and the communities living in the lower Markham Valley and in the lower Wamped Valley.

1.4 A RECONSTRUCTED HISTORY OF THE 'LAHE TRIBE'

This account is reconstructed from many sources. The written sources are Sack (1976), Willis (1974), Schmutterer (n.d.a, n.d.b, 1916, 1923a, 1923b, 1923c, 1927), Bamler (1906), Lehner (1907, 1909), Dammkoehler (1907/8, 1909), Froehlich (1908), K. Holzknicht (1973). The oral sources are people from Butibam, Henggali, Kamkumung, Bukaua, Labu, all Wampar villages, Yalu, Musom, Banzain, and Lambaip. As usual, the marriage of written and oral sources is a very uneasy one.

The following languages and groups are mentioned in this account:

LAHE

Name given to a large group of different villages, probably originating from one (unnamed) village near the coast somewhere between present-day Lae and Bukawa; small groups of people from this village migrated into the Markham Valley and its tributaries and into the Busu River valley in pre-contact times. The original language appears to have split over time into different communalects. The time span of these splits is not known. The languages which are most likely descendants of Lahe and still existing today are listed below. Populations given are according to 1980 census figures (NSO 1982).

ARIBWAUNGG	spoken by people of Yalu village (formerly OTSOPUMBU village); population c.593;
MUSOM	spoken in 2 communities (Musom and Gwabadik) in the mountains in the mid-Busu River valley; population c.219;
NAFI	spoken by one community, Banzain, at the head of the Busu River (near Boana Station); population c.300;
DUWET	a very aberrant language spoken by people of three villages on the northern side of the Busu River (Lambaip, Lawasumbileng and Ninggiat), between the NAFI and the MUSOM communities; population 398;
ARIBWATSA	spoken formerly by a group of people who had migrated from the Lahe homeland into the Wamped River valley and then retreated to the coast after fighting with the WAMPAR; current population of one; cannot really be said to be 'spoken';
WAMPAR	a large language group, now inhabiting the lower Markham Valley, who formerly lived in the Watut River Valley. They came down into the Markham Valley during the last century and fought with, decimated and displaced the groups of LAHE who had been living in the Wamped and Markham Valleys. The Wampar were probably an earlier branch of the LAHE who had moved into the Watut Valley. Wampar-speaking villages are now Dzifasin, Tararan, Gabsongkeg, Ngasowapum, Munun, Gabandzidz, Mare, Wamped. Population c.5,150.
LABU	language spoken in three large villages (Labubutu, Labumeti, Labutale) on the coast to the south of present-day Lae. Formerly fought with the WAMPAR, and gave refuge to several groups of LAHE, probably ARIBWATSA, refugees. Population 1,726.
KAWA	language spoken by the coastal villages around the Huon Gulf, from Busamang in the south to near Finschhafen in the north, including Butibam, Kamkumung, Wagang and Yangga (villages of Lae city). The communities of Kawa speakers living in the area of present-day Lae gave refuge to many LAHE groups, fleeing from the WAMPAR. Lahe refugees were living among the Kawa speaking communities when Europeans first arrived in the area in the 1880s. Population c.9,900.

1.5 POPULATION MOVEMENTS PRIOR TO AND OVERLAPPING WITH THE ARRIVAL OF EUROPEANS, IN THE LAE AND LOWER MARKHAM VALLEY AREAS

According to informants from Yalu village, the original homeland of the LAHE people (taking them as possibly a confederation of villages or hamlets, all speaking one language) was somewhere in the present-day Apo/Aluki area, northeast of Lae, over the Busu River and near the coast. The Apo, Aluki and Tikeleng people lived nearby (or perhaps were part of the group). Over time, small groups left this mother-village and moved further inland, founding Musom, Banzain, Lambaip, Lawasumbileng and Ninggiett communities. The name of this 'original' village or confederation of hamlets is unknown, and the reasons for the breakup and dispersal are now in the realms of mythology.

A small group moved away from this mother village and travelled, via the river valleys, up into the foothills to the east side of the Leron River, and founded a village called KONDZORONG. There are several conflicting stories of why they moved on from there, but all involve some kind of flood. The people left KONDZORONG and moved across to the south bank of the Markham River and founded another village called NGARONGURIS, opposite present-day Gabmatsung. These people were attacked there by the WAMPAR coming down from the Watut River and some fled across to OTSOPUMBU which had in the meantime been founded by colonisers from NGARONGGOSOR (see below). Some of them fled to the coast and were allowed by the LABU to build hamlets near the Lo'senang (Sugarloaf Mountain). These were later forced out, possibly by the LABU themselves or by natural disasters (see Schmutterer 1927) and scattered to join relatives or friends in Wagang and Luhu, near Lowamung mountain (Sack 1976:81, quoting Lehner). Some still live now among the Wagang and the Wagangluhu communities, and have also mixed with the Tale and Tikeleng people (all Kawa speakers).

Another small village group moved out of the homeland and founded villages called NGARONGGOSOR and OMBRUA, near the site of present day Kamkumung village. Some of these people moved out, up into the Markham Valley (possibly using the Bumbu River as their route), and founded OTSOPUMBU village near the site of present-day YALU village, but on the eastern side of Yalu Creek, and PAMANUM PAMANDZA, near present-day Ngasowapum.

It appears that yet another group moved out either from NGARONGGOSOR, or NGARONGURIS in the lower Wamped Valley, further up into that valley. There they settled in a village called IAGO (Sack 1976:101). IAGO was made up of three clans: AHENG GALI, AHEBWANGA, and AHEBULU. The Ahenggali clan and another clan (unknown) had an argument over a totemic animal, a praying mantis; and a fight ensued in which people were killed on both sides. The 'bigman' of Ahenggali and some of his people left IAGO and settled at MASING (near present-day Oomsis) on the Garagas River (a tributary of the Wamped River). Some others of the Ahenggali group went further up-river and settled at SAMSAM. The MASING group then went down-river further, to LUAMPOM. Here they were attacked by the WAMPAR, coming down from the Watut and through the Wamped. The survivors went across the Markham River and were given refuge by the OTSOPUMBU people who, according to Yalu informants, still spoke 'the same language'. The OTSOPUMBU people gave them land and they settled in a village which they called AHI. This was situated in the hills behind the present-day Bubia Agriculture Research station.

Those who settled at SAMSAM, upriver from IAGO, were from AHENG GALI clan also and were also attacked by the WAMPAR. The survivors fled across the Markham River to join the

others at AHI, forming one of a group of hamlets which they renamed AHI-HENGGALI. The WAMPAR continued to pursue them all, attacking them and the ARIBWAUNGG people of OTSOPUMBU continuously.

Some of the people from OTSOPUMBU (whether they were original settlers or later refugees is not known) fled into the mountains near the upper Busu River and joined friendly WAIN people. These were probably the ancestors of some present-day NAFI and DUWET language speakers. Some fled up into the middle Busu River area and joined the MUSOM people who had earlier settled there from the original mother village near the coast.

Other survivors of the WAMPAR attacks, from OTSOPUMBU and AHI-HENGGALI, went towards the Huon Gulf coast and were taken in by friends and relatives in Busamang, Labu, Kamkumung, Wagang, Wagangluhu and Bukawa, that is, the LAHE people were dispersed all around the Huon Gulf.

The OTSOPUMBU and AHI-HENGGALI people who had fled to the coast and were taken in by the 'Lowamu, part of the present Lae' (Schmutterer 1927:2) and set up small, temporary hamlets were involved in the last big fight between the WAMPAR and the coastal people in 1907 (Dammkoehler 1907/1908). Many members of the coastal community were killed and most of the survivors fled north to Bukawa. Wagang, an Aribwatsa man and a leader of Ahenggali and Kamkumung, stayed back and built a stockade to shelter the older people, women and children until they could be moved in canoes to Bukawa. Where this stockade was actually situated is not entirely clear – some accounts say it was at the mouth of the Asiawe Creek, at Voco Point (see Sack 1976:102), others place it at Wagang (a village named after the man) on the beach (H.S. Holzknecht, pers. comm. 1986). Others again say that there was one at each place.

After peace had been established in 1909 between the WAMPAR and the coastal people, largely at the instigation of the European missionaries, the Lae people returned to their land. Some remnants of the LAHE still lived with them on their land. But after a drought and food shortage had led to a quarrel between the refugees and their hosts at Butibam, the leader of the ARIBWAUNGG (who had lived at OTSOPUMBU) moved with his people back to their own land, across the Atzera Ranges. This new village was called YALU. The ARIBWATSA group stayed on in Butibam.

The MUSOM people, who now live in the mountains to the north of Lae, in the middle reaches of the Busu River, were once part of the big LAHE group. A fight broke out in the homeland area, once again over a praying mantis (this motif occurs many times in the stories of the LAHE, KAWA and LABU people). One group moved out westwards and then northwards, 'making friends with the mountain dwellers, their former enemies' (Schmutterer n.d.a). They built a fortified settlement on a high, steep hill. Their descendants still live there as well as in Gwabadik village further down the Busu river.

1.6 PRESENT-DAY LAHE PEOPLE

The LAHE refugees who stayed on in Butibam village formed their own hamlet, called HENGGALI, within Butibam territory. Their descendants remain there today, in a section of Butibam village, and number about 200 people. They have kept their rights to the land on the northern side of the Markham River, given to them originally by the OTSOPUMBU (ARIBWAUNGG) people. However, through at least 80 years of living and intermarrying with

KAWA speakers, as the least prestigious and landless immigrants, they have lost their original language.

1.7 BACKGROUND OF THE LAST SPEAKER OF THE LAHE LANGUAGE, BUTOAWÊ

Butoawê is the last surviving child and youngest daughter of the *bigman* and first Luluai, Wagang Endi. Wagang's parent were members of the 'LAHE tribe' (Schmutterer 1927) belonging to the group which settled on the south side of the Markham at NGARONGGURIS. When attacked by the WAMPAR, these LAHE fled across the Markham River to join their relatives in OTSOPUMBU (now YALU). Others went towards the coast and were given refuge by communities near LABU at Lo'senang (Sugarloaf Mountain).

When Wagang's father was dying, in Otsopumbu, he was afraid that his son might be killed and said to him: 'When you have buried me, go to the coast. There are people there who know me' (1927:2). So Wagang went to the area where Lae is now and there the 'Ogamu/Lowamu' people took him in (these people were the ancestors of the present-day Butibam and Kamkumung, and were Kawa speakers).

When the German Lutheran missionaries from Cape Arkona (Bukaua) visited the Lae and Labu peoples, Wagang was their interpreter. He also acted as intermediary and interpreter between the local people and various other Europeans who arrived in the area – Dammkoehler, Froehlich, Oldorp, for example – and accompanied Stephan Lehner (missionary) and Richard Neuhauss (anthropologist) as interpreter for the first visit of the missionaries to the Wampar people in 1909. He spoke not only 'Lahe' (Aribwatsa), Yalu and Labu, but also Kawa, Wain (a Papuan language of the Finisterre Range), and Wampar (the latter because he had a half-brother amongst the Wampar). He became the mediator between the warring Labu, Lae and Wampar peoples and, with the missionaries, succeeded in establishing a sometimes fragile peace.

Wagang became the first Luluai of the 'Finschhafen Region', a sub-district of Madang under the German administration until 1914. When Wagang was baptised as a Christian, he had to put aside two of his three wives. He died in 1917, aged in his mid 50s, leaving his wife and children in Ahenggali. One of his sons, Kahata, became Paramount Luluai under the Australian administration. Kahata died in 1967.

Butoawê is the youngest of Wagang's children. She was born sometime between 1905 and 1912. She grew up just after the period of the worst fighting between her father's people and the Wampar.

The Lahe had, by then, begun to speak Kawa as their everyday language. Butoawê remembers that there were also many Aribwaungg speakers around as she grew up. Her mother, father, brothers and sisters all spoke Lahe together, but around her both Aribwaungg and Kawa were being spoken as well. The last person with whom she could speak Lahe (or Aribwatsa as she prefers the language to be called) was her brother Kahata. Since he left home at a very young age to carry cargo for Europeans and then worked all around the country, his Aribwatsa was not very fluent. After he died she had no one to speak with in Aribwatsa. All her children speak Kawa (urban Butibam variety), Tok Pisin and English. Some of her children's generation know a few words of Aribwatsa, her grandchildren none at all. She married a Yalu man and learned his language. She herself understands, speaks, reads and writes Kawa, Yabim, Aribwaungg, Wampar, some Adzera, some Musom and Tok Pisin.

Thus Butoawê is the last person who knows anything of the Aribwatsa language. As she speaks the related languages of Aribwaungg, Musom and Wampar, I suspect that occasionally during our language sessions she was mixing them up with Aribwatsa. But I obtained enough data, both lexical and syntactic, from her to be able to detect some (at least) of these mixings, recognising them as 'foreign' and so was able to ask her about the 'correct' Aribwatsa words or constructions.

Some words and phrases she could not remember, or said she never knew, for example, the word for 'betelnut'. She said that formerly betelnut was very rare, a prestige item and for use only by 'bigmen'. Women and children never chewed it. And her father rarely had it, so she said that she was never asked to fetch it or share it out. Another word she could not translate was 'chicken'; she said that they had no chickens before Europeans came and that they later used the Aribwaungg word, *tiri*, or *tirik*, which is closer to the Musom word. Similarly with the word for 'sweet potato', which she said she never knew about until much later. She offered the word *huguhig*, which appears likely to be an Aribwatsa transliteration of Aribwaungg *funggufingg*.

Descendants of the Lahe refugees in other coastal villages who are still living there and still identify themselves as 'Lahe', speak no Aribwatsa at all. One old man, living in 1985 in Wagangluhu, was said to know a few words, but was very ill and could not be interviewed.

2. LINGUISTIC MATERIAL

The language material from Aribwatsa is compared with that of the other languages in the geographical area, and in the sub-grouping to which it appears to belong. As discussed in the Introduction to this paper, however, these comparisons must be viewed with some caution.

2.1 PHONOLOGY

Table 2 gives the chart of phonemes and allophones of the Aribwatsa language. The symbol '~' means that the two sounds alternate, apparently freely.

TABLE 2: ARIBWATSA CONSONANTS

		Labial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	velar	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	'
	voiced	<i>b~b̥</i> (fin)		<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	
Prenasalised	voiced	<i>mb~b̥</i>		<i>nd~d̥</i>		<i>ngg~g̥</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>ngg</i>	
Affricated stops	velar			<i>ts~tš</i>			
	voiced			<i>dz~dž</i>			
Fricatives			<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Liquid				<i>r~l</i>			
Semi-vowels		<i>w~b̥</i>			<i>y</i>		

TABLE 3: ARIBWATSA VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
	<i>ɪ</i>		<i>ʊ</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

While this phoneme inventory is very similar to those of Musom and Yalu, there are greater differences between ARB and Nafi, Duwet and Wampar. Table 4 (below) shows the reflexes in ARB, AWG, MSM, NFI, WPA and DWT of POC phonemes. For some POC phonemes there is insufficient evidence to make any statements.

TABLE 4: COMPARISON OF PHONEMES OF LOWER MARKHAM LANGUAGES AND POC

POC	*p	*mp	*t	*k	*ngk	*q	*d	*m	*n	*ng	*ngm	*s
ARB	<i>h, b, w</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>Ø, '</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>Ø, g, '</i>	<i>r, d</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>s, ts</i>
AWG	<i>f, p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>Ø, '</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>Ø, k, '</i>	<i>r, nd</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>s, ts</i>
MSM	<i>h, p, w</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>Ø, g, k</i>	<i>r, nd</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>s, ts</i>
NFI	<i>f, p, w</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g, k</i>	<i>r, nd</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>s, h</i>
WPA	<i>f, p</i>	<i>p, b</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g, Ø</i>	<i>r, nd</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>s, ts</i>
DWT	<i>f, p</i>	<i>p, b</i>	<i>l-r</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g, ɛ</i>	<i>r, d</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>s, h</i>

POC	*ns	*l	*w	*y	*k	*a	*e	*i	*u	*o
ARB	<i>s</i>	<i>n, r</i>	<i>ɸ, w</i>	<i>dz, Ø</i>	-	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>a, i</i>
AWG	<i>s</i>	<i>n, r</i>	<i>ɸ, w</i>	<i>ts, Ø</i>	'	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>a, i</i>
MSM	<i>s</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>dz, Ø</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>a, i</i>
NFI	<i>s</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>s, Ø</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>a, i</i>
WPA	<i>s</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>dz, Ø</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o, u</i>	<i>a, i</i>
DWT	<i>s</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>s, Ø</i>	-	<i>a, ua</i>	<i>i, iau</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ei, u</i>	<i>u</i>

2.2 MORPHOLOGY

2.2.1 NOUN PHRASE

2.2.1.1 FOCAL PRONOUNS

Aribwatsa focal pronouns, as remembered by Butoawê, are not consistent with the sets recorded for the other five languages in the Lower Markham Group. Only three Aribwatsa pronouns were elicited easily, and used consistently – these were first, second and third person singular. The others were elicited with difficulty, over several sessions, and were used inconsistently.

TABLE 5: FOCAL PRONOUNS OF LOWER MARKHAM LANGUAGES

		SG	DU	PL
ARB	1EXC	<i>tsamag</i>	<i>tsamag siruk ~ siruk</i>	<i>tsamag ari</i>
	1INC		-	<i>tsamag arus ~ hong</i>
	2	<i>agom</i>	<i>siruk</i>	<i>agom ~ tsom</i>
	3	<i>gia</i>	<i>siruk</i>	<i>gis ~ is</i>
AWG	1EXC	<i>wir</i>	<i>wir isin</i>	<i>tse</i>
	1INC		<i>sor</i>	<i>tsir</i>
	2	<i>ingg</i>	<i>ingg isin</i>	<i>tsom</i>
	3	<i>in</i>	<i>in isin</i>	<i>is</i>
MSM	1EXC	<i>wir</i>	<i>sikin</i>	<i>tse</i>
	1INC		<i>suk</i>	<i>tsir</i>
	2	<i>ingg</i>	<i>som sikin</i>	<i>tsom</i>
	3	<i>in</i>	<i>isikin</i>	<i>is</i>
NFI	1EXC	<i>wi</i>	<i>semeng sik</i>	<i>semeng</i>
	1INC		<i>suk siruk</i>	<i>si</i>
	2	<i>yingg</i>	<i>som siruk</i>	<i>som</i>
	3	<i>yin</i>	<i>yeh siruk</i>	$ye-\begin{Bmatrix} h \\ s \end{Bmatrix}$
I. SUBJ	1EXC	<i>ahei'</i>	<i>au' ahahi'</i>	<i>yaga</i>
	1INC	-	<i>aind ~ ai' seik</i>	<i>aind</i>
	2	<i>au</i>	<i>yam seik</i>	<i>yam</i>
	3	<i>ei</i>	<i>ei seik</i>	$ei-\begin{Bmatrix} h \\ s \end{Bmatrix}$
	1EXC	<i>ni</i>	<i>yaga seik</i>	<i>yaga</i>
	1INC		<i>ai' seik</i>	<i>aind</i>
	2	<i>nou</i>	<i>yam seik</i>	<i>guam ~ yam</i>
	3	<i>ei</i>	<i>ei seik</i>	$ei-\begin{Bmatrix} h \\ s \end{Bmatrix}$
WPA	1EXC	<i>edza</i>	<i>abid</i>	<i>yaga</i>
	1INC		-	<i>yaer</i>
	2	<i>yai</i>	<i>yai ri ongan</i>	<i>nuum</i>
	3	<i>gea</i>	<i>ges i ama</i>	<i>ges</i>

Butoawê alternated what appeared to be AWG or WPA pronoun forms with ARB forms, for example:

- (1) 2PL *agom* (ARB) ~ *tsom* (AWG)
 3PL *ges* (ARB) ~ *is* (AWG)

Also, two forms were clearly WPA forms, *gea*, and *ges*. All first person forms were preceded by *tsamag*. The ARB dual is formed by adding *siruk* ('2') to this 1st person form, the 1st plural exclusive is formed by adding *ari*, and the 1st plural inclusive is formed by

adding *arus* or *hongg*. However, *arus* means 'all, altogether' in ARB and *hongg* is a Kawa word meaning 'all', which is occasionally heard in Yalu (AWG) and also means 'all'.

The second and third dual are not differentiated in ARB, *siruk* ('2') being used for both.

2.2.1.2 POSSESSION

a) Inalienable Possession

Kin terms, body parts and part-to-whole relationships are expressed by suffixing possessive pronoun morphemes to the possessed noun.

TABLE 6: POSSESSIVE PRONOUN SUFFIXES OF LOWER MARKHAM LANGUAGES:
INALIENABLE

		1	2	3
ARB	Set I	-g	-m	-n
	Set II	-g	-b	-ts
AWG	Set I	-ngg	-m	-n
	Set II	-'	-p	-ts
MSM	Set I	-ngg	-m	-n
	Set II	-k	-p	$\begin{Bmatrix} -h \\ -s \end{Bmatrix}$
NFI	Set I	-ngg	-m	-n
	Set II	-k	-p	-s
DWT	Set I	-ngg ~ -'	-m	-n
	Set II	-k	-p	-ts
WPA	Set I	$\begin{Bmatrix} -d \\ -g \end{Bmatrix}$	-m	-n
	Set II	-Ø	-p	-ts

All languages of the Lower Markham Group have two sets of inalienable possessive pronoun suffixes. Suffixes of Set I are affixed to most body parts and most kinship terms. Set II suffixes are affixed to certain body parts terms (for example, testicle, palm of hand) and kin terms only (for example, sister-in-law (woman speaking), co-wife) (see S. Holzkecht 1989:104–105). There is no distinction made between singular/non-singular.

b) Alienable Possession

This covers all nouns other than those discussed above under 'Inalienable Possession'. Possession is indicated in ARB, AWG, MSM and WPA by the following:

TABLE 7: ALIENABLE POSSESSION IN ARB, AWG, MSM, WPA

$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Pronoun} \\ \text{Noun Possessor} \end{Bmatrix} + \text{Noun Possessed}$

For NFI and DWT the following is used:

TABLE 8: ALIENABLE POSSESSION IN NFI, DWT

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pronoun} \\ \text{Noun Possessor} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Possessive Particle,} + \text{Noun Possessed Sing or Pl (Subj)}$

Another classification of nouns exists, distinguishing between which subjects take the verb *(m)bum* and which take the verb *min* - both meaning 'to stay, be sit, dwell, exist'.

TABLE 9: SUBJECTS TAKING *m(bum)* OR *min*

	Singular Subject		Plural Subject	
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate	Inanimate
ARB	<i>bum</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>bum</i>	<i>min</i>
AWG	<i>mbum</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>mbum</i>	<i>min</i>
MSM	<i>bum</i>		<i>min</i>	
NFI	<i>mbum</i>		<i>min</i>	
DWT	<i>mahaun</i>		<i>min</i>	
WPA	<i>men</i>		<i>men</i>	

In ARB and AWG, a distinction is made between animate subjects, which take *(m)bum*, and inanimate subjects, which take *min*. In MSM, NFI and DWT, the distinction is made between singular subjects taking *(m)bum*, or *mahaun* (DWT only), and plural subjects taking *min*. WPA exhibits *men* only, for all classes.

2.2.2 VERB PHRASE

2.2.2.1 SUBJECT PRONOUN PREFIXES

For all the languages in the sub-group, except WPA, the sets of subject pronoun prefixes have the same forms, according to whether they represent 1st, 2nd or 3rd person subject. No distinction is made between singular and plural subject in the subject pronoun prefixes.

TABLE 10: SUBJECT PRONOUN PREFIX SETS FOR LOWER MARKHAM LANGUAGES

	1	2	3
ARB	<i>a-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>i-</i>
AWG	<i>a-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>i-</i>
MSM	<i>a-</i>	<i>u-</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} i- \\ e- \end{array} \right\}$
NFI	<i>a-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>i-</i>
DWT	<i>a-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>i-</i>
WPA	<i>a-</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} u- \\ o- \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} i- \\ e- \end{array} \right\}$

In all languages of the group, the subject pronoun prefixes have the forms *a-* for first person, *u-* for second person, and *i-* or *e-* for third person. No distinction is made between singular and plural subject. WPA has the forms *a-*, *u-* and *i-* before verb roots whose vowel is *a*, *u* or *i*, and *a-*, *o-* and *e-* before verb roots whose vowel is *o* or *e*.

2.2.2.2 TENSE/ASPECT MARKING

Tense/Aspect marking in all the languages is through using pre-verbal particles, or by prefixing the verb with tense and/or aspect markers.

a) Present tense

For all the languages except NFI and DWT, the present or general tense is marked by Ø-SPP. For NFI and DWT it is shown by *ng-SPP-V*.

b) Irrealis/imperfect

This is marked *ng-SPP-V* in all languages of the group, including ARB.

c) Near/definite future

This is marked by using only the prefix *ng-SPP-V*, in all languages of the group except DWT, NFI, WPA, which use a pre-verbal particle, respectively *mba'*, *mbana*, and *ban* with the + *ng-SPP-V* (see Table 11, below).

d) Far/indefinite future

All the languages mark indefinite future with particle + *ng-SPP-V*. The forms of the particle are different for each language, but are probably cognate.

TABLE 11: INDEFINITE FUTURE MARKING

ARB	<i>ba + ng-SPP-V</i>
AWG	<i>pa + ng-SPP-V</i>
MSM	<i>bo + ng-SPP-V</i>
NFI	<i>mba + ng-SPP-V</i>
DWT	<i>mbi' + ng-SPP-V</i>
WPA	<i>badzin + ng-SPP-V</i>

e) Past/Perfect

Past tense or completion of action is marked by different, but cognate, prefixes in each language (except WPA), and the verb is followed by a completive particle.

TABLE 12: PAST/PERFECT MARKING

ARB	$\emptyset$ -SPP-V + <i>raun</i>
AWG	<i>k</i> -SPP-V + <i>raun</i>
MSM	<i>g</i> -SPP-V + <i>apun</i>
NFI	<i>ngg</i> -SPP-V + <i>apun</i>
DWT	<i>ngg</i> -SPP-V + <i>si'</i>
WPA	<i>w</i> -SPP-V + <i>etse</i>

In tense marking, Aribwatsa behaves a little differently to the other languages of the Lower Markham group in that it distinguishes a general past/present, or realis tense, from a general future or irrealis tense. In this feature, it is closer to the Kawa and Yabim languages (Huon Gulf Family) than to other languages of the Markham Family.

f) Continuous aspect

For all tenses, in all the languages of the sub-group except WPA, the continuation of an action is expressed by the addition of the verb (*m*)*bum* or *min*, after the main verb of the sentence, depending on the class of the subject (see Table 9, above). So for all languages of this group, the formula is:

$$T/A - \text{SPP} - V + \text{SPP} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (m)\text{bum} \\ \text{min} \end{array} \right\}$$

Wampar includes another prefix, after SPP, to show continuous action:

SPP-*re* -V + *men*.

g) Gerund suffix

All the languages of the Lower Markham Group, except DWT, have a gerund suffix, which is similar in form and function across all languages of the sub-group. This suffix turns verbs into participles or gerunds, and allows stative verbs to be used adjectivally after nouns and adverbially after verbs. This is also a common feature throughout the whole Markham Family (see S. Holzknecht 1989:157–158).

TABLE 13: GERUND SUFFIX IN LOWER MARKHAM LANGUAGES

	Verb Root	Suffix
ARB	V	- <i>ang</i>
AWG	V	- <i>ang</i>
MSM	V	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\text{ang} \\ -\text{tsang} \end{array} \right\}$
NFI	V	- <i>ang</i> (fossilised form only)
DWT	-----	-----
WPA	V	-(<i>e</i>) <i>ran</i>

In ARB, the form of this suffix is identical to that found as a productive morpheme in AWG and MSM. In NFI this suffix is no longer productive, and its function has been taken over by the referential post-verbal particle *en*. The suffix exists in fossilised form on some adjectives only. Only DWT exhibits no trace of this suffix. The function in DWT is performed by the post-verbal referential particle *iə*.

2.2.2.3 NEGATION OF VERB PHRASE

Aribwatsa uses two alternative methods of negating the verb phrase – one a simple serialisation of verbs, $V_1 + i\text{-}ma'$, and another method which is closer to that of Yalu (AWG), in which V_1 is used with the gerund suffix, in the form $V_1\text{-}ang + i\text{-}ma'$. MSM, NFI, DWT and WPA all negate the VP in different ways.

TABLE 14: NEGATION OF VERB PHRASE IN LOWER MARKHAM LANGUAGES

	Pre-verb	Verb ₁	NEG Verb ₂
ARB	Method 1.	V	+ <i>i-ma'</i>
	Method 2.	SPP-V- <i>ang</i>	+ <i>i-ma'</i>
AWG	<i>a-</i>	V- <i>ang</i>	+ T-SPP- <i>ma'</i>
MSM		V	+ <i>da + mak</i>
NFI	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kara} (1+3) \\ \textit{koro} (2) \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{ng-} \\ \textit{ngg-} \end{array} \right\} - \text{SPP} - \text{V}$		
DWT	<i>pa'</i> + T/A Prefix - SPP - V		+ <i>mba' mua'</i>
WPA	T/A Particle + T/A Prefix - SPP- <i>mam</i> + V -(<i>e</i>) <i>ran</i>		

In all the languages, the negation is through use of a negative verb of the form *maC*, except in NFI.

2.2.2.4 POST-VERBAL PARTICLES

2.2.2.4.1 RESULTATIVES

Another common feature of all the languages of the Markham Family, including ARB, is the use of post-verbal resultative particles which act like adverbs and show the result of the action expressed in the verb.

TABLE 15: RESULTATIVES IN LOWER MARKHAM LANGUAGES

	finished	dead, completely	across, off, away
ARB	<i>raun</i>	<i>hunu</i>	<i>itsi</i>
AWG	<i>raun</i>	<i>funu</i>	<i>itsi</i>
MSM	<i>apun</i>	<i>hunu</i>	<i>kitsi</i>
NFI	<i>apun</i>	<i>hunu</i>	<i>kisin</i>
DWT	<i>si', aleis</i>	-	<i>kisai</i>
WPA	<i>raun</i>	<i>fono</i>	<i>etse</i>

The forms and meanings are similar for all except DWT.

2.2.2.4.2 POST-VERBAL PARTICLE *en*

In all the Lower Markham languages except DWT, certain verbs must be followed by a particle *en* which transitivises the verb. This can end the sentence, or can be followed by an object. The same morpheme, *en*, also acts as a preposition in all these languages, having the function of instrumental, referential, benefactive, and oblique object marker. Therefore the function of this verbal particle seems to be to show a connection between the action of the verb and a patient which is not as close as a direct object. Some examples from ARB of the verbs which take *en* are:

- (2)
- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>giri en</i> | fear, dislike something |
| <i>u' en</i> | call out to someone |
| <i>wiri en</i> | help someone |
| <i>tsitsi en</i> | forget something or someone |

2.2.2.4.3 POST-VERBAL REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL PRONOUN

In all of the Lower Markham languages, there are some verbs which take an obligatory reflexive/reciprocal after the verb. These reflexives are always of the form *(i)ro* Poss. Pronoun Suffix, except for WPA, whose form is *era* Poss. Suffix, and for DWT, whose form is *iri* Poss. Pronoun Suffix.

Some examples of this type of verb in ARB are:

- (3)
- | | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| <i>di + ro</i> | fall over, fall down |
| <i>its + ro</i> | fight |
| <i>ruts + ro</i> | quarrel |

2.3 SIMPLE SENTENCES

The order of constituents in all the languages of the Lower Markham Group for sentences with one verb is shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16: WORD ORDER, SENTENCE WITH ONE VERB

ARB		S	+	V	+	DO	+	<i>iri</i>	+	IND.0	+	<i>en</i>	+	OBL.0.
AWG		S	+	V	+	DO	+	<i>iri</i>	+	IND.0	+	<i>en</i>	+	OBL.0.
MSM		S	+	V	+	DO	+	<i>iri</i>	+	IND.0	+	$\begin{Bmatrix} en \\ ena \end{Bmatrix}$	+	OBL.0.
NFI	(1)	S	+	V	+	DO	+	<i>iri</i>	+	IND.0	+	<i>a</i>	+	OBL.0.
	(2)	S	+	O	+	V								
DWT	(1)	S	+	V	+	DO	+	<i>ag</i>	+	IND.0	+	<i>aga</i>	+	OBL.0.
	(2)	S	+	O	+	V								
WPA		S	+	V	+	DO	+	(<i>a</i>) <i>ri</i>	+	IND.0	+	<i>en</i>	+	OBL.0.

The word order is the same for all these languages (SVO), and the forms of the markers for dative (*iri*) and oblique object (*en*, *ena*, *a*) are similar. DWT is the exception, exhibiting different forms to those of the other languages.

In NFI and DWT, SOV order is acceptable for interrogative and negative sentences. In DWT, SOV is also an acceptable alternative in some declarative sentences. This is probably due to influence from their Wain (Papuan) neighbour, whose preferred order is SOV (pers. comm. David Hynum, SIL, 1985).

2.4 COMPLEX SENTENCES

In ARB, relative clauses in complex sentences are joined by parataxis only. Coordination also occurs, verb phrases being joined by conjunctions. In all the other languages, relative clauses are marked by demonstrative placed after the head noun being modified.

3. CONCLUSIONS

- Aribwatsa is indeed a lost language, in that there is only one elderly speaker left. All other living members of this once larger group are now speakers of other languages and no longer speak Aribwatsa.
- Aribwatsa was a language in its own right, and was a member of the Busu sub-group of the Lower Markham Group of the Markham Family of Austronesian languages (S. Holzkecht 1989:188–196), all of which had their origins in one linguistic community which probably lived near the coast, north of present-day Lae. This community dispersed into the mountains and valleys to the south and east of the original settlement. One of these groups which went out from the homeland community comprised the ancestors of the Aribwatsa speakers.
- The ancestors of the Aribwatsa settled for some time on the edge of the Markham Valley. The language of this growing community eventually diverged from that of the home

community and from the languages spoken by other groups which dispersed from the original settlement.

- Under pressure of fighting and natural disasters such as famine, disease, flooding, landslides, earthquakes and lightning strikes, the people who spoke the Aribwatsa language were scattered, joined other linguistic communities and, over time (at least 80–100 years), lost their own language.
- Aribwatsa's closest linguistic relationships, within the Busu sub-group, were with Musom and Aribwaungg.
- There is evidence of borrowing in Aribwatsa from Kawa (the language of the major host communities of Butibam, Kamkumung, Yangga and Wagang).

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Abbreviations

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MWA	Missionswerk Archiv der Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern, Neuendettelsau.
NSO	National Statistical Office (Papua New Guinea)
PL	<i>Pacific Linguistics</i>

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ARIBWATSA WORD LIST

INFORMANT: Butôawê, female, aged 80+ years. Interviewed in Hengali Village, Lae, August 1985 by S. Holzknecht.

- A. Human beings
 - aa. general
 - ab. stages of maturity
 - ac. kinship
 - ad. supernatural beings
 - ae. social status
 - af. pronouns
 - ag. body parts
 - ah. body products
 - ai. tradition
 - dd. clothing
- B. Fauna
 - ba. domestic animals
 - bb. wild animals
 - bc. insects
 - bd. reptiles
 - be. birds
 - bf. fish
 - bg. other aquatic creatures
 - bh. shellfish
- C. Flora
 - ca. domesticated flora
 - cb. wild plants
 - cc. trees
- D. Artefacts
 - da. buildings
 - db. fire
 - dc. cooking
- E. Geographical features
 - ea. substances
 - eb. landscape features
- F. Astronomy, meteorology
 - fa. astronomy
 - fb. meteorology
 - fc. periods of time
 - fd. time deictics
- G. Epithets and classifiers
 - ga. colours
 - gb. human physical conditions
 - gc. human qualities
 - gd. classifiers
- H. Verbs
 - ha. corporeal
 - hb. attention
 - hc. position, motion
 - hd. affect
 - he. giving
 - hf. location
 - hg. mental states and activities
- I. Quantifiers
- J. Interrogatives

A. HUMAN BEINGS

AA. GENERAL

man	<i>ngain</i>
men	<i>arob ~ aroomb</i>
woman	<i>ahi'</i>
women	<i>ahi'</i>
person	<i>ngain</i>
people	<i>aromb amots/ngain amots</i>

AB. STAGES OF MATURITY

baby	<i>naru ridim</i>
boy	<i>aroho</i>
girl	<i>bate arun</i>
young man	<i>aroho</i>
young girl	<i>bate arun</i>
married man	<i>gia i-yun ahi' raun</i> (lit: he takes woman COMP)
married woman	<i>bate i-yun ngain</i> (lit: girl takes man)
old man	<i>ngain poro</i>
old woman	<i>ahi' amunguang</i>

AC. KINSHIP

father	<i>aba-ng</i>
mother	<i>ano-g</i>
child	<i>naro-g</i>
grandparent	<i>rumpu-n</i>
grandchild	<i>rumpu-n</i>
son	<i>naru-g ngaing</i>
daughter	<i>nalu-g ahi'</i>
brother	<i>rasi-g</i>
older brother	<i>rasi-g madang</i>
sister	<i>nahu-g</i>
same-sex sibling	<i>rasi-</i>
older same-sex sibling	<i>rasi-(g) madang</i>
younger same-sex sibling	<i>rasi-(g) nanarun</i>
cross-sibling	<i>nahu-</i>
older cross-sibling	<i>nahu-(g) madang</i>
younger cross-sibling	<i>nahu-(g) nanarun</i>
mother's brother	<i>asi-g</i>
man's sister's child	<i>muruwu-</i>
father's sister	<i>awo-g</i>
cross-cousin	<i>gwadi-</i>
husband	<i>suu</i>
wife	<i>hini-</i>
spouse's parent	<i>awu-g</i>
child's spouse	<i>awu-</i>
husband's parent	<i>awu-</i>
husband's sister	<i>of'o/fo-p? (b?) (or oho-?)</i>

OTHER KIN TERMS

name	<i>binga-</i>
namesake	<i>horongo-</i>

AE. SOCIAL STATUS

bigman	<i>orob madang/ngain madang</i>
chieftain	<i>ngain wasif</i>
widow	<i>ahi' rib</i>
widower	<i>ngain bagits</i>

AF. PRONOUNS

I	<i>tsamag</i>
you (sg)	<i>agom</i>
he	<i>gea</i>
we (exc)	<i>tsamag ari</i>
we (inc)	<i>tsamag arus</i>
you (pl)	<i>agom</i>
they	<i>gis</i>
we two	<i>tsama siruk</i>

AG. BODY PARTS

head	<i>ono gugung</i>
(head) hair	<i>ono huhun</i>
(head) back, nape	<i>u nadut</i>
eye	<i>mara-n</i> (3rd person); <i>moro-g</i> (1st person) <i>nidzin</i>
eyebrow	<i>mara dibin</i>
eyelid	<i>mara uwits</i>
eyelash	<i>mara nuhuhun</i>
face	<i>mara-</i>
ear	<i>ringa- gubun</i>
nose	<i>su dzur</i>
nostril	<i>sun adzun</i>
mouth	<i>mu mandzum</i>
tongue	<i>mo-g, mo-m, ma-n</i>
tooth	<i>gandi-</i>
molar tooth	<i>gandi fun</i> (probably <i>hun</i>)
jawbone	<i>gedef</i> (probably <i>gedeh</i>)
beard	<i>mu sino-g</i>
neck	<i>u-n tsian</i>
throat	<i>u dziag</i>
blood	<i>wi</i>
skin	<i>nini-g</i>
body	<i>nini-g arus</i> (lit: skin altogether)
bone	<i>waru-</i>
(body) hair	<i>nini-g huhun</i>
fat	<i>moron</i>
flesh	<i>basiri'</i>
hand	<i>bagi-ng ~ bagi-g</i>

arm	<i>bagi-ng ~ bagi-g</i>
finger	<i>bagi-ng a mun</i>
knuckle	<i>bagi-ng a dut</i>
fingernail	<i>bagi-ng dzifif</i> (probably <i>dzihih</i>)
thumb	<i>bagi-ng rinan</i>
palm	<i>bagi-ng bitat</i>
elbow	<i>bagi-ng a dut</i>
armpit	<i>bapu</i>
wrist	<i>bagi-ng aun</i>
shoulder	<i>hinariḅ</i>
breast	<i>sus</i>
milk	<i>sus ninin</i>
chest	<i>bibing adzun</i>
nipple	<i>sus a mun</i>
rib	<i>dobodib</i>
lung	<i>niwu-g</i>
belly	<i>nu-g ura</i>
navel	<i>hisi-</i>
hip	<i>bidzu hu-n</i>
(sne) back	<i>baru ara</i>
spine	<i>ruh aru</i>
heart	<i>niwu-g adzon</i>
liver (blak lewa)	<i>niwu-g</i>
womb	<i>naru-n dzadzān</i>
pregnant	<i>ahi' i-wabun/nara gabun</i>
clitoris	<i>hin</i>
vagina	<i>hin</i>
penis	<i>urin</i>
testicles	<i>ngasits</i>
anus	<i>ruhun andzun</i>
bladder	<i>ngapuk</i>
groin	<i>sanga-g</i>
leg	<i>oho-g/oho-m/aha-n¹</i>
thigh	<i>pidzo-g</i>
knee	<i>oho-g adut</i>
foot	<i>oho-g aman</i>
ankle	<i>oho-g adut</i>
heel	<i>oho-g mutun</i>
sole	<i>oho-g pitat</i>
footprint	<i>oho-g nunuba-g</i>
scab	<i>zipi-g/waip</i>
boil	<i>gugug</i>
ringworm	<i>karakara²</i>
leprosy	<i>uru uru</i>
yaws	<i>guhi</i>

¹ Inalienable possession, Type 1.

² Probably Yabim *gala* 'ringworm' (Streicher 1982:122)

elephantiasis
dwarf

ha didut/ha-n obong
orob agwats

AH. BODY PRODUCTS

spittle
(sne) spit
snot
pus
sweat, perspiration
(sne) sweat, perspire
faeces
(sne) defaecate
urine
urinate

a hid
tsamag ng-a-hid/agam ng-u-hid/gea ng-i-hid³
su gura
na-g
iyot
gea i-yots madang⁴
ni
gea i-bip⁵
nibang
big i-nib⁶

B. FAUNA

BA. DOMESTIC ANIMALS

dog
fowl
pig
male pig
female pig
(pig +) grunt

om
tirik⁷
big
big maro
big rinan
big (i-?)gadig

BB. WILD ANIMALS

wild
rat
bat
flying fox
wallaby
bandicoot
cuscus
possum
wild pig
tree kangaroo

biman
mudeg
dzidzip
songod/ngatsong
modop
siri
bubu' (white)
gwanang
big biman
maduf (probably maduh)

BC. INSECTS

butterfly
mosquito
housefly
centipede
louse
nit

buburis
nonob
nungabib
garif (probably garih)
ur
nits

³ 'I will spit/you (SG)will spit/he/she will spit'.

⁴ 'He is sweating a lot'.

⁵ 'He is defaecating'.

⁶ 'The pig urinates'.

⁷ Borrowed from Musom *tirik* 'fowl', because fowl introduced recently, and Aribwatsa had no word of its own.

spider	<i>barawang</i> (bush spider, long body and legs); <i>gom a buts</i> (house spider, round body)
(spider) web	<i>gobop</i>
leech	<i>ngandip</i>
firefly	<i>ninginang</i>
ants	<i>sisig</i>
red ants	<i>dawanig</i>
cockroach	<i>tindi</i>

BD. REPTILES

snake	<i>mur</i>
python	<i>mur rinan</i> (lit: 'snake mother')
death adder	<i>mudzir</i>
shed skin	<i>mur i-rem</i>
crocodile	<i>huts</i>
lizard	<i>hap</i>
gecko	<i>moh narun/goso</i> (coloured one)
iguana	<i>hap</i>
frog	<i>ngaruwang</i> (green tree frog)/ <i>purim a gring</i>

BE. BIRDS

bird	<i>mog</i>
bird's wing	<i>mog a pin</i>
feather	<i>mog a ninig huhun</i>
egg	<i>rowi'</i>
bird fly	<i>mog i-tsih</i>
cassowary	<i>sube'</i>
pigeon	<i>ngarusi'</i>
kite	<i>udung</i>
bird of paradise	<i>ngarogi'</i>
leather head	<i>uwang</i>
willy wagtail	<i>hadza afits</i> (probably <i>ahits</i>)

BF. FISH

fish	<i>tsig</i>
freshwater eel	<i>monib</i>

BG. OTHER AQUATIC CREATURES

shrimp	<i>buruh</i>
tortoise shell	<i>heneh</i>
crab	<i>hir a dib</i>

BH. SHELLFISH

triton shell	<i>nib</i>
ovum ovum (cowrie)	<i>pusupis</i>

C. FLORA

CA. DOMESTICATED FLORA

areca nut	<i>mimin</i> ⁸
areca palm	<i>mimin</i>
lime	<i>udzi'</i>
<i>Piper betle</i>	<i>ahi'</i>
sago palm	<i>nang</i>
sago pith	<i>nang nidzin</i>
sago leaf	<i>nang rinon</i>
sweet potato	<i>tsibuts/huguhig/butuk</i> ⁹
sweet potato runner	<i>subi inon</i>
tapioca	<i>anoka</i> [= <i>anioka</i> - German, Yabim]
taro	<i>gararj/maragari</i>
taro leaf	<i>gararj inon</i>
long yam	<i>yamis</i>
yam vines	<i>amis dabang</i>
coconut	<i>mos</i>
sprouted coconut	<i>mos a dabang</i>
coconut milk	<i>sagin</i>
citrus fruit	<i>ngarugawam</i>
breadfruit	<i>'ok</i>
sugar cane	<i>rif</i> (probably <i>rih</i>)
banana	<i>garang/mamad</i>
banana trunk	<i>dzaban</i>
banana garden	<i>om garang/mamad</i>
mango	<i>uruwa</i>
ginger root	<i>mahan</i>
cinnamon tree	<i>wadug</i>
turmeric	<i>mahan a dzung</i> (lit: yellow ginger)
greens	<i>bus</i>
spinach/aupa	<i>midzam</i>
<i>Gnetum gnemon</i> /tulip	<i>tsahits</i>
<i>Abelmoschus manihot</i> /aibika	<i>bis</i>
tobacco	<i>tahu</i> (tobacco plant)/ <i>dzi hasu</i> (cigarette of tobacco)
(banana) ripe	<i>garang a nib</i>
unripe	<i>garang parats</i>

CB. WILD PLANTS

grass	<i>darand</i>
<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>	<i>dzidz</i>
bamboo	<i>up</i>
<i>Saccharum edule</i> pitpit	<i>rabo</i>
rattan	<i>dzu</i>
cordyline	<i>dzidzi'</i>

⁸ Informant gave Musom word for betelnut, *mimin*, because she never knew the Aribwatsa word.

⁹ No word in Aribwatsa for sweet potato, because its cultivation and use post-dates European contact; words given were probably from the Aribwaungg language (informant's husband's language, closely related to Aribwatsa).

croton
fern
mushroom

bapab
boi' (edible fern)
wus

CC. TREES

tree
bark
leaf
root
buttress root
seed
fruit
(tree) branch
(branch) fork
tree trunk
tree stump
hole (in wood)
(fruit) cluster
vine
Calophyllum sp.
Erythrina sp.
Intsia bijuga (kwila)
black palm

Inocarpus (aila)

urug
urug uwits
rinon
okots
tanig
nidzin
nidzin
urug bagig
dzadzangan
urug hun
hun
urug adzun
ut
wu
gibodz
maham
obon
sip (small variety)/*romok* (large, spathe used for making sleeping mats)
puts

D. ARTEFACTS

DA. BUILDINGS

house
ladder
room
doorway
roof
pandanus thatch
shelf, plank, platform
(house) floor
men's house
temporary shelter
garden-hut
build (house)

tau
tuhan
tau nidzin
dzun
obunun
sum
sip (cf. black palm)
sip
num tsa' tsa'
tau dzaram (*dzarang*?)
dzarang
rah tau

DB. FIRE

fire
grey ash
(fire) smoke
charcoal
soot

dzih
huni'
dzih a sun
dzih a mbun
tsih a mbun (*dzih a mbun* ?)

firewood
(sne) blow (fire)

rab
ng-u-hu a dzih (Imperative: 'blow on the fire!')

DC. COOKING

food
(sg to) drink
pound (food)
throw away (rubbish)
cup
spoon
wooden dish
water container
cooking pot
clay pot
meat
soup
(food) cooked
(food) raw
(meat+) tough
(taste) sharp

mug a nang-an (or *mug an-ang*)
mug a num-ang
putu
tsamag a-tun raun (lit: I throw away)
biap (half coconut shell)
songkang (carved coconut shell)
e' urug
dzuam (gourd)/*mbu pur* (coconut shell)
ab iron (or *ob*?)
ab iron
basiri
sagin
oson gini'
oson parats (or *barats*?)
basiri hehere
moit

DD. CLOTHING

grass skirt
loincloth
bark cloth
paint (for singsing)
widow's head cloth

somi'
hip
hip
guh (red paint)
du' (netbag fabric)

DE. INSTITUTIONALISED LOCATIONS

village
hamlet
open space
path
garden
fence
make a garden
plant a garden

ditch
hole (in ground)
channel, gutter
abandoned garden, overgrown
fallow land
forest
grave
place (e.g. of work)

ob
ob narun
neho
ribo
um/gom
etsing
tsamag a-its a gom (lit: I cut the garden)
tsamag ng-a-dan/ng-a-pu a um (lit: I will plant the garden)
budzun
dzih
budzun
um a bu-ang
um kwabup
dau'
dzih
mungg

DF. LOCATIVE PARTS

left-hand	<i>bagi nidzin</i> (some uncertainty here)
right-hand	<i>bagi ohop</i> (some uncertainty here)
off to side	<i>dadagin</i>
inside	<i>nihu</i>
underside	<i>uru-n</i>
down (there)	<i>ngurua'</i>
topside	<i>wog</i> (or <i>waug</i>)
up (there)	<i>wog/watsa'</i>
frontside	<i>maran</i>
in front	<i>maran</i>
backside	<i>barun</i>
behind	<i>barun</i>
on the other side	<i>na rehen</i>
[be]side	<i>dadagin</i>
near	<i>ogots/morom</i> (very close, visible)
border, boundary	<i>ibong</i>
node, end	<i>dut</i>
middle	<i>obom</i> (or <i>ombom</i>)
space between	<i>nihu</i>
far apart	<i>wadin</i>
close together	<i>ogots</i>
out of sight	<i>wadi raun</i>
far away	<i>wadi raun</i>
landward	<i>ng-a' a ruts ng-a-tus ng-a-ma' ob</i> (lit: go sea turn come village)
inland	<i>ng-u-a' nihu</i> (lit: you go middle)
seaward	<i>ruts</i> (sea)
upriver	<i>rihuang</i>
downriver	<i>ruang</i>

DG. HOUSEHOLD ARTEFACTS

axe	<i>aidz</i>
axe handle	<i>dzu aidz aha'</i>
adze	<i>dzu aidz</i>
knife	<i>nubu</i> (oyster shell)/ <i>dzegez</i> (obsidian)
(knife +) edge	<i>mun</i>
lime gourd	<i>dzuam udzi'</i>
lime stick, lime spatula	<i>sipa mun</i> (made from <i>sipa</i> 'black palm')
string	<i>wu'</i>
twine rope	<i>i-dzidz a wu'</i>
netbag	<i>he'</i>
basket	<i>wanup</i> (woven from grass)
broom	<i>midzup</i>
pillow, headrest	<i>unup</i>

DH. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

hourglass drum, kundu	<i>motsong</i>
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conch shell *nim*

DI. WEAPONS, HUNTING

throw *-ari*
 spear *esen*
 (spear) point *mun*
 spear (animal +) *-ari*
 miss (on shooting) *tsamag ari i-yun sapit* (lit. 'I throw misfire')
 trap (for birds) *mudu'*
 trap (for animals) *mudu'*
 club *tir*
 shield *rib*

DJ. SEAFARING

boat, craft *motsong*

DK. FISHING

fishing net *dum* [= round one]; *semem* = [on long pole, with cane frame]
 fish spear *wadi'*
 fish poison *wu riruh*

E. GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

EA. SUBSTANCES

water *bu ~ mbu*
 river *mbu madang*
 (river) mouth *mbu han*
 stone *tsau'*
 clay *bamut*
 sand *mom ~ magamag*
 obsidian *dzegez a hidau* [lit. 'knife obsidian']

EB. LANDSCAPE FEATURES

sea *ruts*
 salt *gi' ~ nggi' so'* ['sea salt']
 vegetable salt *gi' ~ nggi'* [ash salt from burning saltwater-logged driftwood]
 beach *kaga ~ magamag*
 mountain *sun*
 summit *sun buding*
 cave *tsau' a dzun*
 pond *bu rinan ~ bu tun*
 swamp *bamut*
 valley *ban*

F. ASTRONOMY, METEOROLOGY

FA. ASTRONOMY

sun *su*

moon
star
Venus
(sun) shine

burup
nga damarits
nga damarits madang
su a-ring

FB. METEOROLOGY

cloud
rain
sky
wind
(wind) blow
thunder
lightning
earthquake
shade, shadow
(weather) cold
(weather) hot
hail

omoh
mi'
kunugun
rinih
rinih i-rid
haharap
buadzip
duhig
hor
nuh-ang
duhuduh-ang
miru' nanuh

FC. PERIODS OF TIME

time
daytime
dawn
morning
midday
afternoon
evening
night
darkness
dry season
wet season

bono
su [lit. 'sun']
mung i-po'
boano ~ ribono
su i-mede noh [lit. 'sun come to middle']
ngitsong
ngitsong iron
pu nuhu
min
su madang [lit. 'sun big']
bono ami' [lit. 'time rain'] ~ *mandaman*

FD. TIME DEICTICS

today
yesterday
tomorrow
day before yesterday
day after tomorrow
formerly
just now
firstly
already, finished
later
for a long time
every day
continuous[ly]

bono
nibin ~ remeg
apo
bono wenen [lit. 'time a']
apo wenen [lit. 'tomorrow a']
mug iron ~ mug-ang iron
butene
iri nogo ~ i-mug
raun
damu-ang
mug-ang raun
ni hong [*hong* = Bukaua *hong* 'all, every']
ridzits

G. EPITHETS AND CLASSIFIERS

GA. COLOURS

black	<i>husi'</i>
red	<i>wi'</i> [<i>wi'</i> = 'blood']
white	<i>bosop</i>
yellow	<i>adzun ~ adzung</i>
green	<i>parats parats</i>
blue	<i>mitsop</i>

GB. HUMAN PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

fat	<i>i-rup</i>
thin	<i>aruhuruts</i>
blind	<i>mara bisu</i>
deaf	<i>ringa ditut</i>
dumb	<i>munadzun i-gugum</i>
crippled	<i>han i-tsats</i>
barren, infertile	<i>ahi bagits; a hur-ang i-ma'</i> [lit. 'has not given birth']
strong	<i>hehere' iron</i> [lit. 'strength very']
weak	<i>hehere' i-ma'</i> [lit. 'strength has not']
sick	<i>i-mar</i> [lit. 'he/she is sick'; - <i>mar</i> = 'die']
be in pain	<i>i-tutu</i> [lit. 'it pains']
tired	<i>rini-g uwits i-tutu'</i> [lit. 'skin is loose']
dizzy	<i>moro-g i-dit</i> [lit. 'my eye goes round']
(sne) cold	<i>rini-g i-nuh</i>
(sne) hot	<i>rini-g uwits i-duhuduh</i>
hungry	<i>tsamag omo'</i>
famine	<i>bono omo'</i>
thirsty	<i>tsamag a uts i-yag i-gagareng</i> [lit. 'my neck is feeling dry']
full up, sated	<i>tsamag i-suh</i>

GC. HUMAN QUALITIES

be greedy	<i>ngan i-radih</i>
clever	<i>okots</i>
stupid	<i>i-pu en iron</i>
good	<i>ngarubingin ~ a dziang</i>
evil	<i>tsats</i>
hardworking	<i>ngain a um</i> [lit. 'man work']
lazy	<i>ngain i-kos raun</i>
mad	<i>mamuh</i>
hot-tempered	<i>ngain a ramun</i>

GD. CLASSIFIERS

big	<i>madang</i>
(pain +) severe, intense	<i>madang</i>
small	<i>narun</i>
wide	<i>madang</i>

narrow	<i>narun</i>
straight	<i>wadi'</i>
crooked	<i>i-yongg en yongg en</i>
taut	<i>i-hehere</i>
long	<i>wadi'</i>
tall	<i>wadi'</i>
short (in length)	<i>ogots</i>
short (in height)	<i>ogots</i>
new	<i>woho'</i>
old	<i>muguang</i>
stink	<i>i-mut</i>
good	<i>atsiang</i> [note; not a verb]
bad	<i>i-tsats</i> [note; verb]
heavy	<i>i-marawin</i>
difficult	<i>i-hehere</i>
light	<i>i-pambapimb</i>
easy	<i>ahats</i>
sharp	<i>mun</i> [lit. 'point']
blunt	<i>mun i-ma'</i>
soft	<i>i-bosala'</i>
dirty	<i>mirim</i>
(water) hot	<i>sasuts</i>
lukewarm	<i>i-duhuduh</i>
(water) cold	<i>i-nuh</i>
dry	<i>i-gagareng</i>
(stream +) dry	<i>a mbu i-dzereng</i>
full	<i>i-sa' i-fo'</i> [lit. 'it goes up it is full']
empty	<i>ub a hats</i> [lit. 'the pot is empty']
be open	<i>dzon i-buding</i> [lit. 'door is open']
open (door)	<i>tsamag nga-un a dzon</i> [lit. 'I open door']
be shut	<i>dzon i-tsi'</i>
shut (door)	<i>tsamag a-its a dzun i-tsi'</i> [lit. 'I hit door it closes']
quickly	verb + <i>tseptsep</i>
slow(ly)	<i>tsamag ng-a-ha-ts ng-a-bum</i> [lit. 'I slow I walk']
different	<i>iron en</i>
noisy	<i>duh madang</i>
quiet	<i>duh i-ma'</i>

H. VERBS

HA. CORPOREAL

NOTE: *ng-a-* irrealis marker-first person subject pronoun prefix

ng-u- irrealis marker-second person subject pronoun prefix

ng-i- irrealis marker-third person subject pronoun prefix

do, act	<i>ng-a-mung oson</i> [lit. 'I will do something']
eat	<i>ng-a-an</i>
drink	<i>ng-a-num</i>
suck	<i>ng-i-sus</i>
chew (betel)	<i>nga-an mimin</i> [<i>mimin</i> = Musom 'betelnut']

swallow	<i>ng-a-tining</i>
sleep	<i>ng-a-tsig</i> [with singular subject] <i>ng-a-tsitsi</i> [plural subject]
close eyes	<i>ng-u-its moro-m i-tsi'</i> [lit. 'you hit your eyes they close']
have a dream	<i>ng-a-pahu</i>
snore	<i>ng-a-sugura'</i>
(sne) wake up	<i>ng-a-biding</i>
do work	<i>ng-a-muk a um</i>
rest	<i>ng-a-pug</i>
die	<i>i-mar hunu</i>
(dog +) drown	<i>om i-num a mbu a i-ba'</i> [lit. 'the dog drank water and it died']
cry	<i>i-reng</i>
gasp, pant	<i>i-dahadah</i>
smell (sg)	<i>i-dungis</i>
laugh	<i>i-guruk</i>
vomit	<i>i-nup</i>
cough	<i>i-tere'</i>
sniff	<i>u-dungis</i>
dribble	<i>rahi sagin i-bong</i>
spit	<i>ng-i-hit</i>
(sne) blow	<i>ng-u-hung</i>
wink	<i>i-its mara-n</i> [lit. 'he hits his eye']
play	<i>i-dabung</i>
tremble	<i>i-rat</i>
shiver	<i>i-rat</i>
(baby) be born	<i>ahi i-yu narun</i> [lit. 'woman bears her child']
clap	<i>i-its bagi-n</i> [lit. 'he hits his hands']
HB. ATTENTION	
happen, occur	<i>a num i-ama'</i> [lit. 'the talk goes and comes']
see	<i>agom o-tsop</i> ¹⁰ <i>naru-n</i> [lit. 'you(SG) see the child']
hear	<i>a-ringin</i>
look for	<i>ng-a-sirip</i>
look after (child +)	<i>ng-u-gi' naru-n</i>
guard	<i>ng-a-gi'</i>
HC. POSITION, MOTION	
start	<i>ng-a-sahu a-bum</i>
go	<i>a'</i>
walk	<i>bum</i>
stroll	<i>ng-a-hats ng-a-bum</i> [lit. 'I slow I walk']
hurry	<i>ng-a-rid tseptsep</i>
crawl	<i>i-bum a ha-n nunubi'</i>

¹⁰ The second person subject pronoun prefix in Aribwatsa is usually *u-*. The use of *o-* here is probably due to the informant's knowledge of Wampar, in which *o-* second person subject pronoun prefix alternates with *u*, and harmonises with the vowel of the verb stem, in this case *tsop* 'see'.

come
 approach
 arrive
 depart
 drive away
 runs
 flee, run away
 enter, go inside
 pass, go beyond
 go along, follow (path)
 goes down [hill]
 downwards
 (sun) set
 goes up [hill]
 upwards
 climb (tree)
 (sun) rise
 come back
 swim
 bathe
 jump (up and down)
 dance
 sing
 stands up
 sits down
 dwell
 wait
 lies down
 falls over
 fall (from tree +)
 (house) fall down, collapse
 hang (from hook +)
 sag, droop
 assemble
 meet (sne)
 lead
 follow
 hold (in hand)
 catch (ball)
 carry (on shoulder)
 carry (on back)
 carry (head)
 carry (bilum +)
 carry (underarm)
 pick up
 put down (sg)
 pile, stack up (coconuts +)
 a heap of (coconuts +)

i-ama'
i-a' raun
i-a' i-abog
pat i-a' i-a'
ng-a-wirig a big [lit. 'I drive away a pig']
i-rid
li-rid i-a' raun
ng-a-rih tau nuhu
a-mug [lit. 'I go ahead']
ng-a-tamu a ribo
ng-a-ru'
rirun
su i-ru'
ng-a-sa'
waug
ng-a-sa' urug waug
su i-sa' i-a'
gis i-tus i-ama'
i-dzurup a mbu
i-si'
i-dabu
i-ib a mid
i-its a mid
i-miding
i-apug
i-apug ob [lit. 'he lives in a village']
ng-a-han
ng-u-tsig
i-di ron
i-bibing
tau i-pa'
i-du'
i-ru'
ngain i-tsunun [lit. 'the people assemble']
tsamag a-tao
i-ib i-mug
gis i-tamu
ng-a-un
a-ngih iri'
ng-a-pits
ng-a-hits
ng-a-hits
ng-a-hits ehe'
ng-a-bahing
ng-u-git
ng-u-tig i-ru'
ng-a-sumu
unun uruts

scatter, strew
lose

(sg) be lost

HD. AFFECT

push
pull
scratch (skin +)
scrape (coconut)
(coconut) scraper

hit
hit (with stick)
kill
fight
peel (sweet potato +)
peel (banana)
cut (meat +)
cut (string)
cut (grass), mow
cut (stick)
slap
kick
twist (string +)
tie
a knot
wrap
squeeze (grated coconut +)
press together
sharpen (axe)
burn (grass)
crush under foot
break (stick)
break (clay pot)
crumble
wash (child +)
wash (clothes)
wash (self)
delouse
dig
bury
plant (sweet potato +)
draw, write

ng-u-nu utsip
ng-a-tu i-min a ten [lit. 'I threw it away, where is it?']
oson i-op

ng-a-hadzun
u-su
ng-u-ip
u-nob a mus
nubu' [shell, serrated for scraping coconut]
sahug [shell, sharpened for scraping taro, bananas etc]
ng-a-its
ng-a-its en urug
ng-a-its hunu ~ hun
i-its iron
ng-a-tsuh en a wig [with a knife]
ng-a-ruh mamad uwits
ng-a-wusu
ng-a-wusu a wu'
ng-a-harap
ng-a-ra'
ng-a-its
i-hai'ng-a-its en a ho-g [lit. 'I hit with my foot']
ng-a-dzidz a wu'
ng-a-haru
dut
ng-a-pati'ng-a-padi'
ng-u-fingif¹¹
ng-u-gubu
u-dzuf¹²
ng-i-haga' a dzidz
ng-u-hai'
ng-u-adzung
ng-u-tum i-poto'
ng-u-rumus
ng-u-tsuh narun ridim [lit. 'you wash small child']
ng-u-nuh
ng-a-nuh irong
ng-a-hidi a ur
ng-a-rah itob [lit. 'I will dig ground']
i-dzihun
a-pu'
i-ar rawi [lit. 'make marks/decorations on object']

¹¹ This should be *hingih*, because phoneme /f/ in other Busu sub-group languages regularly corresponds to /h/ in Aribwatsa.

¹² Similarly, this should be *dzuh*.

HE. GIVING

give	<i>a-tig</i>
give back	<i>ng-a-tig i-tus</i> [lit. 'I will give, it returns']
receive	<i>a-un</i>
send	<i>a-tig</i>
steals	<i>i-ap</i>
take, get	<i>a-un</i>
distribute	<i>i-tig i-tig</i>
buy	<i>ng-a-nem iri en</i>
sell	<i>ng-a-sit</i>
debt	<i>dut</i>
help	<i>ng-a-wiri en</i>

HF. LOCUTION

talk	<i>num</i>
language, word	<i>rahin</i> [e.g. <i>Waba rahin</i> = 'Wampar language']
speak	<i>a-ruts a num</i>
repeat (sf)	<i>u-ruts wurit</i>
shout, speak loudly	<i>ng-a-u' madang</i>
call (to sne)	<i>tsamag ng-a-u' en</i> + object
cry out (e.g. in pain)	<i>ng-a-u' madang iron</i>
tell (story)	<i>ng-a-ruts a num</i>
a story	<i>num</i>
tell a joke	<i>i-ruts i-dabu</i>
say	<i>i-ruts</i>
ask	<i>ng-a-dzin oson</i>
be cross with	<i>ng-a-ruts a gis</i> [lit. 'I will speak to them']
(people) quarrel	<i>gis i-ruts iron</i>
lie	<i>tsamag a-ma suh</i>
yes	<i>eha'</i>
no	<i>i-ma' ~ e-ma'</i> [<i>ema'</i> is Wampar 'no']

HG. MENTAL STATES AND ACTIVITIES

know (fact +)	<i>a-tsop</i>
know (person)	<i>a-tsop</i>
understand	<i>a-rungum</i>
learn	<i>ng-a-duhung</i>
be indifferent	<i>a-kos</i>
forget (name +)	<i>tsamag a-ug itsitsi en</i>
remember	<i>tsamag a-ud i-hir</i>
correct	<i>nidzin</i>
false	<i>i-ma' maharan</i> [lit. 'it is not right']
err[or], mistake	<i>a num i-tsats</i>
fear (sne)	<i>tsamag a-giri en a mur</i> [lit. 'I am afraid of snakes']
like (a food +)	<i>tsamag nugura i-hin a tsig</i> [lit. 'my belly stays with meat']
like, love (sne)	<i>tsamag nugura i-hin ngain ogo</i> [lit. 'my belly stays with man there']

happy
sad
lonely
angry

make angry
be startled, surprised

I. QUANTIFIERS

many
all
some, several
a few
enough
insufficient
one
two
three
four
five
ten
twenty

J. INTERROGATIVES

who?
what?
where?
when?
how many?
how?
why?

nugura atsiang [lit. 'belly good']
tsamag a-barabin [lit. 'I be heavy']
tsamag uruts [lit. 'I one']
tsamag a-ramun [or *a-r a mun*. Not enough
information to analyse]
nga-lubu in
tsamag a-giri tsats

amots
amots
rehen
uruts uruts
eha
mam a far
uruts
siruk ~ siru'
siruk a ruts
siruk a siruk
bagig wenen ~ rehen [lit. 'hand a']
bagig siruk
ar tsamo [lit. 'one man']

sira'
sira'
aten
iri kana ~ iri sira'
sira' sira'
i-bi sira'
e sira'

PUBLICATIONS ON LANGUAGES IN DANGER OF
DISAPPEARING IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

- Wurm, S.A.**, ed., 1996, *Atlas of the world's languages in danger of disappearing*. Paris/Canberra: UNESCO Publishing/*Pacific Linguistics*. (A small Atlas in an English, French and Spanish edition.)
- Wurm, S.A.**, ed., 1997, *Materials on languages in danger of disappearing in the Asia-Pacific region* (*Pacific Linguistics*, Series D), No.1. (Containing contributions on Papuan and Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea.)
- Wurm, S.A.**, ed., forthcoming, *Materials on languages in danger of disappearing in the Asia-Pacific region*. (*Pacific Linguistics*, Series D), No.2. (Containing contributions on a Papuan language in New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, and others.)
- Wurm, Stephen A., Peter Mühlhäusler and Darrell T. Tryon**, eds, 1996, *Atlas of languages of intercultural communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas*. 3 vols. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. (Many of the languages involved in the communication situations referred to are in danger.)
- Maps of languages in danger in parts of the Pacific, and in other areas, to constitute a small Atlas. In preparation.

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