THE FLAMINGO BAY DIALECT OF THE ASMAT LANGUAGE
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C. L. VOORHOEVE

THE FLAMINGO BAY DIALECT
OF THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

'S-GRAVENHAGE — MARTINUS NIJHOFF — 1965
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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My thanks are due to Dr J. C. Anceaux and Mr B. J. Hoff for their suggestions made during the preparation of the book, suggestions upon which I place great value.

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

The village of Jepém, 1962.
PART I

INTRODUCTION

1 The Asmat language: area, adjacent languages, dialects

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

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

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

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

---

\textbf{Introductory note}

In the notes the following abbreviations have been used:

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

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

\(^2\) See map at back.
to Ásmat, Kámoro and Sémpan, are spoken. These two languages cover the whole coastal area between the Rivers Ópa and Otákwa. Between the Otákwa and the Momáć, where the Ásmat language-area begins, there are no villages. Nothing is known about the languages to the north and the north-east of the Ásmat language-area: in the east and the south-east, Ásmat meets up with the Áwju and Jakáj languages, which are probably not related to Ásmat.³

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

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

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

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

³ The data on the Kámoro and Sémpan languages are taken from P. Drabbe, M.S.C., Spraakkunst van de Kámoro-taal, Kon. Inst. TLV., Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1953.
The first studies of the Awju and Jakaj languages, also by the same author, are:
3) Kæti en Wambon, twee Awju-dialecten, Kon. Inst. TLV., The Hague, 1959; and
(Vocabulary on pp. 128-142.)
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

6 There is a more detailed description of the first contacts of the Ásmat people with the outside world, and of the establishment of Government, the Roman Catholic Mission and the Protestant Mission in these regions in: V. P. M. van Amelsvoort, Early Introduction of Integrated Rural Health into a
Investigation into the language spoken in the territory inhabited by the Ásmat people, as in so many regions in New Guinea, was first undertaken by the Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions. The Dutch Missionary, P. Drabbe, who lived in Ágats from 1957 to 1959, made a study of the dialect of the village of Ajám, 20 miles further upstream. In addition, he collected material on various other dialects. His grammar of the Ajám dialect, with a vocabulary, as well as a comparative study of three Ásmat dialects, have been published.\(^7\) The TEAM linguist, C. Roesler, is still working on the Ajám dialect, and Mrs. Dresser, the wife of the TEAM doctor at Pirimayún, Cook Bay is making an initial study of the Ásmat of the Casuarinen Coast. To date, their work has not been published.

4 Present research, choice of dialect

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

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

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

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\(^8\) The activities of the W.O.N.G. Foundation were continued by a new Foundation, de Stichting voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek van de Tropen, W.O.TRO., after the transfer of West New Guinea to Indonesia.
the *lingua franca* of West New Guinea. It was therefore obvious that
the thing to do in this situation was to use Malay as the contact
language and to make use of bilingual informants — Ásmat Pапuans
who had acquired a reasonable knowledge of Malay in school.

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

5 The Flamingo Bay dialect: area, history

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

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

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

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<td>Ewér</td>
<td>686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surú</td>
<td>697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jępém</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uwús</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2653</td>
</tr>
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because its inhabitants dispersed to different villages after the death in battle of their foremost warrior. Some of the Kajé people went to live at Surú. The inhabitants of Ewër and Surú left the Mow and, after wandering about for some time, settled in their present dwelling place.

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

6 Work with informants

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\(^ {12}\) The Indonesian word for foster-child.
7 Tape recording

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

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

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

8 Research in Ágats and Jepem

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

During the period of my stay in the Ásmat region, the Dutch scholar, Dr. A. A. Gerbrands, and the American student D. B. Eyde, were also there: the former doing research into Ásmat art, similarly under the auspices of W.O.N.G., and the latter doing ethnological field work. Their presence was of great value in acquiring as good an insight as
possible into Asmat culture. Many were the pleasurable and stimulating discussions we had when we were together, either in the house of the W.O.N.G. in Ágats or at the ‘Wong Club’, as Dr. Gerbrands’ house in the village of Amánamkaj was called. During the last year, a lively correspondence on mythological and linguistic subjects was kept up with Eyde. A knowledge of mythology seemed to be of the greatest importance for acquiring an insight into Asmat culture, and it was for this reason that I put as many tales as possible on the tape. I collected approximately 80 texts, but these represent only a fraction of the wealth of stories the Asmat people know.
PART II

PHONOLOGY

I  THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

Introduction

9

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

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

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

10

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

Sets of minimal pairs are:


Since the printer did not have some of the symbols, used by Pike, it has been necessary to replace these by other symbols. The following are not Pike’s: [ā, ġ, ą, ū, ĺ, ź, ţ, ĵ, ļ, ţ, Ľ].
Most phonemes occur in phonetically differing variants (allophones). These can be divided into: positional and alternating allophones.\(^2\)

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

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

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

---

\(^2\) With regard to the terms *alternation*, *alternate* I have departed from the usual practice of using them specifically in relation to phonemes, and have made them applicable to allophones, morphemes, and words.
To give an example: of the allophones of the /e/ phoneme, [č] may be called an alternating allophone because of the free alternation with [e] in certain positions, and a positional allophone because in other positions [č] and [e] exclude each other. (§ 14).

The vowel phonemes

12

Diagram of the allophones of the vowel phonemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front unrounded</th>
<th>Central unrounded</th>
<th>Back unrounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rounded</td>
<td>rounded</td>
<td>rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mid</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>ě 1</td>
<td>õ</td>
<td>ě 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>ô</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a, 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 slightly open [e] and [o]
2 fronted [a]

18

/a/ Allophones: [a, [a], [â], [æ].
1. [a] occurs in final position: [a] thigh; [fa] bottom; [fit'ka] kind of grass.
2. [a] occurs in all other positions: [ak] cheek; [baq] foot; [was'ën] forest; [kanp'or] kind of crab.
3. [a] ～ [â] in initial and medial positions, except before a cluster or a final consonant: [kan'um, kám'em] many-pointed spear; [as'ën, âs'ën] place; [aw'or, âw'or] kind of fish.
4. In addition, [a] ～ [æ] when the vowel immediately preceding it or the one immediately following is /i/: [jism'ak, jism'æk] fire;
[jir’an, jir’æn] ripe; [baw’it, bəw’it, bæw’it] star; [dam’in, dəm’in, dæm’in] white ant.

14
/e/
Allophones: [č], [ɛ], [ö].
4. [ɛ] ~ [č] in all other cases: [čr’en, er’en] upstream; [fčr’o, fɛr’o] sharp. Here there appears to be a certain tendency towards harmony on the allophone level [č-č; ɛ-ɛ]; the allophone most frequently occurring before /a/ is [č]: [čs’č] bag; [tɛɾ’č] rattan leaf; [bes’ep] spittle; [bɛt’en] armband; [bɛw’or] kind of parrot; [sɛj’or] kind of fish.

15
/i/
Allophones: [i], [ʊ], [i].
1. [i] occurs in all positions: [i] urine; [ič] thorn; [fič] nail; [pi] cassowary.
   In the following cases, [i] alternates with [ʊ] or [i]:
2. [i] ~ [ʊ] before a final /w/, and before clusters of the type /wC/: [tiw, tiw] son; [iwn’im, üwn’im] the water’s edge.
3. [i] ~ [i] occurs in a small number of words, before a final consonant: [bisɔr’im, bisɔr’im; māsir’im, māsir’im] thereupon; [b’utar, b’utar] octopus; [in, m] (postposition, see § 258). In these words the [i] allophone generally occurs.

16
/o/
Allophones: [ö], [o], [ã].
1. [ö] occurs in final position, and before /w/: [ɔö] nest; [jõ] river; [cɔw’ak] one (numeral); [çɔw] the sago palm.
2. [o] occurs in all other cases. In addition, it occurs in final position, unless preceded by /c/ or /j/, and before /w/, unless preceded by /c/ or /j/. In the lastnamed cases, therefore, [ö] and [o] alternate: [ɔk] egg; [ɔm’en] shouting; [ɔm’a] neap tide; [pɔm’an] opposite side; [bɔr’wɔt] kind of duck: [ö, o] pig;

3. In the following cases, [o] alternates, moreover, with [ê] when the environment is formed by a specific combination of consonants from the alveolar and alveopalatal set. These combinations are:
/s - s, s - t, t - s, t - t, j - r, j - c/: [sês, sôs] dry sago leaf; [sêt, sôt] kind of bird; [tês'ôw, tôs'ôw] fruit; [têôp'om, têôp'om] wild cucumber; [jêr'ô - jôr'ô] wing; [jêc'ôp, jôc'ôp] head-hunting raid; [jêc'ôr] river mouth. (No form of this with [o] was found.)
A case standing on its own seems to be the name [Kôs'êr], of which no form with [o] was found, while in other words with /ô/ between /s/ and /r/, the allophone [o] was always found.

17

/u/
Allophones: [u], [û].
2. In some cases [u] alternates with an allophone [û], namely, when consonants of the alveolar and alveopalatal set precede and follow /u/. The [u] occurs in these cases only if the words are spoken slowly and emphatically: [ajt'ur, ajt'ûr] full (of something); [cur'uw, cur'uw] secret; [jims'ur, jims'ûr] stake standing in the water; [bis'ur, bis'ûr] pole; [sus'ur, sús'ûr] kind of small bat; [jur, jûr] white cockatoo; [bis'un, bis'ûn] abdomen; [duç'ur, dûç'ûr] ancient; [juûs'uç, jûûs'ûç] longing.

18

/ê/
In addition to the vowels /a, e, i, o, u/ there occurs a mid-central vowel [ê]. In the first place, it is found in the following cases where it alternates with one of the other vowels:
1. in words in isolation; only in the unaccented position: [fas'ak, fas'ak] white; [en'am, ân'am] fish; [piç'în, pâç'în] skin; [pôr'ôw, pôr'ôw] evening; [juw'ur, jôw'ur] dog.
2. In words in context; also in the accented position: [jô, jê] river; [dew'et, dôw'et] elder brother; [dô 'nat, dô 'nat] I (stressed); [jumb'us, jêm'ës] with bowed head.
In the second place, it does not alternate with one of the other vowels, for example in [çâm'en] penis; [çâm'ên] elbow; [çâm'ôw] abuse; [jôp'ôres] sweat; [ônd'ôw] mother.
It also occurs in a number of verbal suffixes, such as: [-ên, -êr].
The possibility of this [ə] occurring only in a consonantal environment in which the other vowels do not occur, is excluded by the occurrence of word pairs, like the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[čem]} &= \text{house} \\
\text{[čam'ən]} &= \text{space under the house} \\
\text{[čəm'en]} &= \text{penis} \\
\text{[čum'ən]} &= \text{a burn} \\
\text{[čim'in]} &= \text{the temple (of the head)} \\
\text{[čəmb'ít]} &= \text{sponge made of young sago leaves}
\end{align*}
\]

The following minimal pairs were also found:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[cəm'en]} &= \text{penis} \\
\text{[čim'en]} &= \text{stem of a canoe} \\
\text{[ənd'öw]} &= \text{mother} \\
\text{[ond'öw]} &= \text{thatch} \\
\text{[dəpər'əs]} &= \text{they saw him (from \textit{por} - to see)} \\
\text{[dəpər'es]} &= \text{they sat (from \textit{ap} - to sit)}
\end{align*}
\]

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

19

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{i} & \text{u} \\
\text{e} & \text{ŋ} & \text{o} \\
\text{a}
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{3 According to my informants, the word [onəd'öw] was used only by the people who originated from the village of Kajé. I had the impression that now only the older people within this group use it. The younger people, as well as the non-Kajé people in Suru, use the form [ond'öw].}\]
From the foregoing it is clear that a rounded allophone of /i/ and /e/ occurs in analogous cases, while a rounded and an unrounded allophone of /u/ and /o/, respectively, occur in analogous cases. Later it will become clear that there is a close connection between /i/ and /u/, and between /e/ and /o/ which manifests itself in their occurrence in word variants (see § 55, 56) and in allomorphs (see § 91, 98).

**The consonant phonemes**

20

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labiodental</th>
<th>interdental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>alveo-palatal</th>
<th>palat.</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>unvoiced</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>unvoiced</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>unvoiced</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>unvoiced</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stop</th>
<th>p, p(^1)</th>
<th>unvoiced</th>
<th>voiced</th>
<th>unvoiced</th>
<th>voiced</th>
<th>unvoiced</th>
<th>voiced</th>
<th>voiced</th>
<th>unvoiced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fricat.</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>voiced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>unvoiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vibrat.</td>
<td></td>
<td>flapped</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>trilled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semi-</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>unvoiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) rounded [p]  
\(^2\) palatalized [t]  
\(^3\) [s] with minimal friction.
The consonants are not, in general, strongly articulated. The stops do not usually have a release when they occur at the end of a word. When a final /p, t, k/ is followed by a hesitation pause, a nasal release sometimes occurs:

\[ p^n, t^n, k^n. \]

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

21
/p/
Allophones: [p], [t], [p^w].
1. [p] occurs in all positions: [ep] tail; [pa] scale; [up'u] coconut shell; [apc'om] having; [kanp'or] kind of crab.
2. [t] alternates with [p], it would seem, only in the sequence /VpVpV/ [ba:tia:ajimb'u:u] open it!
3. [p^w] this allophone, it seems, is used only by older people. It could not be established whether it is a social characteristic, for instance, a sign of status. It occurs only before the vowel /e/. This allophone did not occur in the speech of the regular informants. [p^w'or] name of a village; [p^w'c] crab.

22
/t/
[t]. No allophones.
[tem] rattan; [bät'c] gaba-gaba; [pit] python; [tatt'm'a] nonsense; [ajt'ur] having a high degree of a particular quality.

23
/c/
Allophones: [č], [t'].
2. [t'] was found alternating with [č] in final position in the following cases: [ič, it'] thorn; [fič, fit'] nail.

24
/k/
Allophones: [k], [x].
1. [k] occurs in all positions: [kap] armpit; [ak'at] good; [akm'at] old; [esk'am] red; [pök] goods.
2. [x] as an alternant of [k] was found only in a few cases; in
the cases noted, [x] always follows a vowel: [akm'at, axm'at] old; [atak'am, atax'am] story; [op'ak, op'ax] not.

25

/f/  [f]. No allophones.
[fi] empty; [uf'u] kind of shell fish; [of] rotten; [afč'in] the crust of roasted sago; [bat'akfiw] to go downstream into (a house).

26

/s/  Allophones: [s], [*], [š], [θ].
1. [s] occurs in all positions: [si] stone axe; [ēšê] bag; [esp'et] shoot of the sago palm; [dmęs'ânâkap] slow; [oš] tree.
2. [*] alternates with [s] in normal speech, i.e., speech that is neither deliberately slow nor intentionally emphatic. In the cases noted, [*] always occurs after a vowel. The phonetic quality of this allophone is difficult to define by ear. I found it markedly similar to a voiceless glottal fricative [h]. When, however, I deliberately pronounced an [h] in such cases, my informants thought it ridiculous. It is probably a weak alveolar fricative. Regrettably, I have not been successful in reproducing this allophone: [amb'os, amb'a*] sago; [děš'en, dě'v'en] none.
3. [š] and [θ] occur especially in the speech of older people. I got the impression that they are not alternants of [s], but that [č] and [θ] are distributed throughout the vocabulary in a way which varies from person to person.

27

/r/  Allophones: [ɾ], [ɾ].
1. [ɾ] occurs in all positions except in initial position and as the last consonant of a cluster (§ 48, 53): [tɛɾ'ĉ] rattan leaf; [arp'uk] far away; [ir] year bird.
2. [ɾ] ∼ [ɾ] was found only in the speech of small children and in the speech of the regular informants. It is not beyond question that a consequence of the latter regularly speaking Malay with [ɾ], is their using it now and then in their mother tongue.

28

/w/  [w]. No allophones.
[wu] edible top of the sago palm; [juw'ur] dog; [ow] crocodile; [iwn'im] the water's edge; [k'arwan] dagger made from a croco-
dile's jaw. [w] is often very weak between two identical vowels: [juw'ur] dog; [niw'i] father.

29

/j/ All phonemes: [j], [j], [j].
1. [j] occurs in all positions: [jɔf] hole; [áj'ám] name of a village; [baj] foot; [aj'k'ún] younger brother; [bát'am'jen] name of a woman.
2. [j] and [j] alternate with [j] in initial position: [j'ɔpərəs, j'ɔpərəs, j'ɔpərəs] sweat; [jiw'i, jiw'i, jiw'i] child; [jö, jö] river.

30

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

\[ /m/ = [b], [m], [mb] \]
\[ /n/ = [d], [n], [nd] \]

1. The voiced stop\(^4\) occurs in initial position, and as second member of the clusters /nm, mn/; in the latter case only if no nasal follows: [b]: [bi] nose; [besn'im] smell; [ćáp'ínbi] land; [d]: [det] ghost; [dew'et] brother; [am'd'u] towards each other.
2. The nasal occurs in all other cases, and, in addition, in initial position before a following nasal, and also as second member of the clusters /nm, mn/, if no nasal follows. In these last cases, the stop and the nasal thus alternate: [m]: [m'ímkam, b'ímkam] kind of liana; [m'ántam, b'ántam] on the lookout; [am'an] bow; [jims'ip] door; [manm'ak, manb'ak] eye; [jók'm'en] having supernatural power; [ľamm'm] we eat; [tam] morning; [łm] digging stick.


3. In the following cases, the nasal and the combination nasal + voiced homorganic stop, alternate:
   a) between two vowels, when no nasal or final /a/ follows: [mem'ap, memb'ap] to sit down; [em'atmor, emb'atmor] he cut down; [en'ôw, ênd'ôw] mother; [min'ô, mind'ô] lump.

\(^4\) In initial position the voiced stop is often preceded by a very weak homorganic nasal. This has not been indicated in the phonetic spelling.
b) as second member of a cluster $\neq /nm, mn/$ provided no nasal follows: $[jitm`up, jitmb`up]$ the sea; $[tas\text{'m}a, tasmb\text{'a}]$ beautiful, powerful.

No cases were found of $[n] \sim [nd]$, though $[n]$ as well as $[nd]$ was found in comparable environments: $[k\text{ok}`ojndiew`ef]$ to fall down continually (ripe fruit); as well as: $[d\text{dk}`ajni`ef]$ it toppled over, broken (of a tree).

31

The consonant system can now be set out as follows:

\begin{align*}
\text{p} & \quad \text{t} & \quad \text{c} & \quad \text{k} \\
\text{f} & \quad \text{s} \\
\text{m} & \quad \text{n} \\
\text{w} & \quad \text{r} & \quad \text{j}
\end{align*}

II SPECIAL PHONOLOGICAL PHENOMENA

Introduction

32

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

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

5 The special phonological phenomena described in §33 to §38 will be indicated in the phonematic spelling as follows: $[\varepsilon]$: $\varepsilon$. prolongation of the vowel by a macron: $\bar{\text{d}}\text{d}$

laryngalization by a broken underlining.

the alveopalatal nasal: $\text{n}$

the voiceless glottal fricative: $h$

$[\text{'m}]': \text{m}; [\text{ts}]: \text{ts}; [\text{pr}]: \text{pr}$.
The occurrence of an allophone in a position in which it occurs not otherwise

33
The [ɛ] allophone of the phoneme /e/ occurs in final position in:

- the word [kajˈɛ] name of a village
- two forms of the verb: these will be discussed in § 135 and § 140.
- interjections: [we] ouch!
- onomatopoeia: [kkekeke] the screaming of the joc bird;
  [ājˈɛ ājˈɛ ājˈɛ] imitating laughter.

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

[ji, ndɔŋ mbˈoɛ] hey, my husband!
  hey my husband

And a man will say:

[ˈɔ nat ˈis esčowˈɔ] now, you go to sleep!
  you pp⁶ sleep /you must/

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

[non sˈawe] Oh, Mrs! (a pity you are going).
  Mrs. pity

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

Particular phoneme modifications

34
1. Prolongation of vowels occurs:

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

   - in onomatopoeia: [sopˈiː, sopˈiˑ] uuup and dooown; (said of a fish jumping high out of the water);

⁶ pp = postposition. (See § 245-261). Since postpositions mostly are untranslatable in a word by word translation, they will be marked here by pp.
[ə:] (laryngalized, see § 35) reproducing the screaming of a crowd of people.

In addition, I found the forms [jin’ičâč’î-na, jin’ič-a:] ‘exceptionally beautiful’ in which the prolongation of the vowel stresses the high degree of beauty.

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

[doŋom’umô:] my dear one! (expression of affection);

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

[o č’ama:] Who are you?
you who
[wu ja č’a jôw’ôw mböw’a:] hey there! Who are those people?
hey there which people pp

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

[t’owa:] (they gathered continually) sago grubs.
sago grubs....
[’umsemb’ésə:] they slept and slept....
[č’e’n 'awitepef’e’] upstream /he walked quickly/
he walked quickly further and further upstream.

35

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

[ə] (voiceless) scream of horror;
[ji’iə] (voiceless) cry of amazement;
[u] (voiceless, rising to voiced) war cry;
[jiw’i č’a t’owtopm’uča:] quickly, bring the child upstream!
child quickly /bring it upstream/
4. *Palatalization* of the alveolar nasal [n] occurs sometimes in onomatopoeia, in initial position only:

- [ñer, ñɛr], or [ñ’omö, ñ’omö .] indicating the gnawing of maggots devouring a corpse, or the gnawing of sago grubs.
- [ña ña ña] indicating the murmur when a great crowd of people are talking together.

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

- ['m! 'ö nim jak k’aju k’aju 'êtêtërmb'ar araw 'un]
- m! pig like heart thump thump /began it of each to do/ pp pp

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

**Sounds which stand completely by themselves**

38

1. A voiceless glottal fricative [h] which occurs in the stereotyped sign of agreement [hehe], and in the interjection [ha]! ah!
2. An alveolar click [ts]: an interjection expressing annoyance.
3. A bilabial trill with 'mouth air' [pr]: an interjection indicating that one finds something very beautiful or impressive.

III THE ACCENT

**Introduction**

39

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

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7 I owe this term to: K. L. Pike, Phonetics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1958, p. 93.
wide departure from a smooth or undulating contour”. By ‘departure’ Bolinger means a deviation in a contour which then continues in the same pitch or , as well as a sudden rise or fall , after which it continues on a higher or a lower level.

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

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

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

   

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

   

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

   

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

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

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9 Id. p. 112.
10 Id. pp. 136, 137.
11 In the above mentioned article, Bolinger remarks that psychological factors play a role in the interpretation of phonetic data as accent: data interpretable as accent may be ignored by a person speaking his mother tongue, when they occur in places where he knows from experience that there is no accent. (p. 136, 137). This presents the possibility that, on the one hand, a linguist
The general principle of accentuation

40

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

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

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{iririri} imitating the sound produced by many small objects falling down.
  \item \textit{sēsēsēsē} imitating the hissing of fire as it is put out.\textsuperscript{12}
\end{itemize}

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

Words in isolation

1. Monomorphematic words:

41

Here the general principle applies without exception.

Words having two vowels:

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{mimkam} kind of liana
  \item \textit{iric}\textsuperscript{13} Spanish pepper
  \item \textit{jũwa} kind of grass
  \item \textit{sikaf} kind of tree
  \item \textit{ũmu} crown of a palm tree
  \item \textit{ũsi} a tree fallen over a river
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{12} working on a language foreign to him, interprets phonetic data as accent where the man speaking his mother tongue would not do so, and on the other, that he errs in ignoring phonetic data when they occur in places where he does not anticipate them. So, the fact that most words with two vowels have the accent on the second vowel, caused me to overlook for a considerable time a number of cases in which the accent falls on the first vowel.

\textsuperscript{13} More cases will be given in § 237.

\textsuperscript{13} Loan-word from Malay (ritja).
mútir octopus
óset a cricket
wárat kind of bird
eco kind of frog

mujsaw cumulus cloud
ócen spear
kárwan dagger
kámter the legs
jókmen tongs
náriw brothers
mácir an embrace
jípir to clasp (a large object)
cámuw sound of wood being chopped

kófo
káju
cáka
père

{ onomatopoeia indicating a slap, splash or flash.

jáka
átar

deictic words (§§ 225, 226).

A number of minimal pairs were found in which the accent appears to be distinctive:
cámuw sound of wood being chopped - camúw (going) on foot
úmu crown of a palm tree - umú name of a feast
úsi a tree fallen over a river - usí camp
éco kind of frog - écó revenge
jókmen tongs - jokmén having supernatural power

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

úsawic banana
jícêmúp the sea

An exception is the word canúpir, pelican.
2. Polymorphemic words.\textsuperscript{14}

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

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

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

   \textit{d.few} relatives
   \textit{jó mopán} bird of paradise.

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

   \textit{om.ócen} spear (\textit{ócen}) of which the top of the shaft is shaped like a digging stick (\textit{om}).

No cases were found of the theoretically possible combination:

\textit{v.'vv'v}

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

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

\textsuperscript{14} In the following paragraphs, the signs given below will be used:

\textit{v} = morpheme with one vowel
\textit{vv} = morpheme with two vowels
\textit{vvv} = morpheme with three vowels
\textit{'v} = accented vowel
\textit{-} = junction between two morphemes, for example: \textit{wa.sén}, the forest. However, the junction between a verbal core and verbal affixes will be shown by a dash: -, for example: \textit{má-ni.tewer-ic} go home and take it! For the term \textit{core}, see § 64).
**wa.sén** the forest 
**mi.tá** nasal mucus 
**facin** the skin of the cuscus (fac + cin) 
**ucin** the skin of the iguana (uc + cin)

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

**emén.metén** calf band

Words with two vowels, having the accent on the first vowel, however, retain this accent when they occur as first member of a compound word:

**jípir.sám** to wrestle

Some cases of regular accentuation are:

**ná.tin.ák** ‘Our sago palm blossom’ (proper name)  
**áp.temét** to climb into (a tree)  
**patá.m.kurúm** to load full  
**saká.m.tam.pór** to try to cut off something for someone  
**ó.sirim.tak** to row quickly downstream again.

43

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

**akám**, nipa palm; **úmu**, crown; **akám.umú**, crown of the nipa palm (proper name).

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

44

Sequences of two unaccented vowels occur in the following cases:

1. When an accented vowel is followed by:
a) three morphemes, each of which has one vowel, the last morpheme being final or penultimate:

\[ \text{tōw.} \text{om.} \text{iv.} \text{tām} \] to bring something inside for someone;
\[ \text{tōw.} \text{om.} \text{iv.} \text{tām-cēmēs} \] they will bring it inside for someone.

But: \[ \text{ā-mit.} \text{āp.} \text{m-ac.ēs} \] when they had stabbed him;

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

\[ \text{pōr} \text{jar.} \text{awēr} \] to go and look at (something) continually.

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

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

\[ \text{ūmu} \text{nakāp} \] full
\[ \text{pākaj.} \text{amīs} \] all to lie together \(^{15}\)

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

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

a) the imperative forms of the verb (§ 116);

b) shouted words, to which the vowel -a is suffixed (§ 34).

In these cases, the last vowel of the word is always accented.

When a morpheme of the type vv is followed by this accented vowel, this morpheme is unaccented if it is also preceded by an accented vowel, as for example in:

\[ \text{mē-tevēr} \] to take - \[ \text{mē-tevēr-ic} \] take it!
\[ \text{Tevēr.} \text{awuc.} \] T. - \[ \text{Tevēr.} \text{awuc.ā} \] hey, T! (woman's name).

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

\[ \text{nīvi} \] father - \[ \text{nīvi.ā} \] hey, father!

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\(^{15}\) \text{pākaj} \text{ is not included in the list given in § 41, because it is a bound morpheme (verbal formative, see § 67).}
Words in context

45

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

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

\[ \text{wún ow nát cem máp emétepákajpítes in} \]

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

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

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

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

\[ \text{ém-or.ém} \quad \text{you made it.} \]

\[ \text{a pó ca ém-or.ém} \quad \text{who made this paddle?} \]

this paddle who /you made it/

\[ \text{a pó cá em-or.ém} \quad \text{who made this paddle?} \]

this paddle who /you made it/

\[ \text{má.ne.m-or.ém} \quad \text{you chopped down.} \]

\[ \text{ucím os má.ne.m-or.ém} \quad \text{which tree have you chopped down?} \]

which tree /you chopped down/

\[ \text{os cá ma.né.m-or.ém} \quad \text{who has chopped down the tree.} \]

tree who /you chopped down/

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

\[ \text{úsawic} \quad \text{banana} \]

\[ \text{úsawic é} \quad \text{banana leaf} \]
pomán 'the other side'

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

46
Contrary to the general principle, sequences of two accented vowels can occur in context. Unfortunately, I have not been able to discover any definite regularity in their occurrence.

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

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

jimśip óñoká bolt the door! (§ 292).
door bolt

47
Because the rules of accentuation presuppose an insight into the morpheme structure of the Asmat words which cannot be expected from readers without a fair knowledge of the Asmat language, and because in context changes in the accentuation of words often occur, the accents will be shown throughout this work, except in the lists of verbal cores \(15^a\) given in §§ 100-103, and in the verbal cores, given in the word list.\(15^b\)

IV THE DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES IN THE WORD

Single vowels and consonants

48
All vowels occur word-initially, word-medially and word-finally, except ê which does not occur word-finally.

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

\(15^a\) For this term, see §§ 64-69.
\(15^b\) The reasons for not showing the accents in these cases are: a. that only a few cores were found in isolation; b. that the morphological structure of many cores is still not fully known.
In many cases it is therefore impossible to tell how the core in isolation will be accentuated.
poeic words sësësë hissing of fire as it is put out, and fëfëfëfë the sound of the wind; b) the words with the long final ē mentioned in § 34.

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

Vowel sequences

49
Here, the following rules apply:

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

   Mait/Majit  the name of a ceremonial house in Surú
   faij/fawic  joke

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

50
The following combinations of vowels were found:

word-initial:

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

word-medial:

   ae  má-enāw-c.aw  he must come here
   ai  na.itūm  to eat in the evening
   ao  má-ökōm.čm.tam-č.i.n  roll it up for me!
   ea  móm-se.āwer-i  stay in the water henceforth
   ee  atē.enāw-m.ōm  we come here to summon
   eē  sé.pe-čr.ēs  they started out, rowing
   eo  se.okōr  to float past (on water)
\( ia \)  \( ni.ap \)  to return and sit down
\( ie \)  \( tep.si-\text{-\text{ér}} \)  upstream he went into a side-stream
\( i\check{e} \)  \( s\acute{e}.si-\text{-\text{ér}},\acute{e}s \)  they entered a side-stream
\( io \)  \( ni.om.\check{u}aw \)  to go down to the river and depart (with someone)
\( iu \)  \( ni.u\check{u}w \)  to go down to the river and set out

\( oa \)  \( po.amis \)  to sleep with many people together
\( oe \)  \( \check{e}w.tep.ko-\text{ér} \)  it fell from above

\( ua \)  \( mu.amis \)  to lie down after bathing
\( u\check{e} \)  \( a-\text{-}wu-\check{e}f \)  he wrapped it up
\( u\check{e} \)  \( t\acute{e}p.kur\acute{u}-\text{-\text{ér}}, \acute{e}s \)  upstream they shouted approval
\( uo \)  \( a-mu-\text{-}\text{ör} \)  he bathed

word-final:

Here, the second vowel is always one of the three vowels: \( a, o \) and \( \check{e} \) which are discussed in \( \S \) 33 and 34.

\( ea \)  \( mar.e.a \)  enough!; stop!
\( eo \)  \( mar.e.o \)  it's done now
\( ia \)  \( n\acute{i}vi.\acute{a} \)  father!
\( i\check{e} \)  \( uci.\check{e} \)  what's the matter!
\( io \)  \( \acute{e}m.ams-i.o \)  I lay down
\( oa \)  \( t\acute{o}.a \)  tomorrow!
\( ua \)  \( mu.a \)  water!
\( o\check{e} \)  \( nor \, m\check{o}.\check{e} \)  my husband!

The following vowel combinations were not found in this material:

word-initial:  \( ae, ai, au; e\check{e}, eu; \check{e}V; iV; uV. \)
word-medial:  \( a\acute{e}, au; ei, eu; \check{e}V; ii; o\check{e}, oi, oo, ou; ui, uu. \)
word-final:  \( V\check{e}; aV; ei, eu, ee; \check{e}V; ii, iu; oi, oo, ou. \)

**Consonant sequences**

51

Here, the following rules apply:

1. Consonant sequences occur only word-medially; sequences of more than two consonants do not occur.
2. sequences of two identical consonants cannot occur;
   consequently, in polymorphematic words, only one consonant is found
   instead of two identical consonants wherever one would expect a
   sequence of two identical consonants to occur because of the constituent
   morphemes:
   
   **mánakap** little hand; from **man** hand, and **-nakap**, diminutive
   suffix.
   
   **tépor** to go upstream to look at; from **tep** to go upstream, and
   **por** to look at.

3. The sequence **c +** non-identical consonant cannot occur;
   consequently, in polymorphematic words, **t** is found instead of **cC**
   (**C ≠ c**) wherever one would expect this sequence to occur because of
   the constituent morphemes:
   
   **cowítnakap** little woman; from **cowúc** woman, and **-nakap**, dimi-
   nutive suffix.
   
   **motni** to return while crying; from **moc** to cry, and **ni** to return.

4. The sequence **tc** cannot occur;
   consequently, in polymorphematic words, only **c** is found instead of **tc**
   wherever one would expect **tc** to occur because of the constituent
   morphemes:
   
   **anakácowúc** the said woman, she; from **anakát** anaphoric element
   and **cowúc** woman.

52

The following consonant combinations were found: 16

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{pt} & \text{áp.ták} \quad \text{to go on the way down river} \\
\text{pc} & \text{apcóm} \quad \text{with, supplied with} \\
       & \text{em.áp-cém.á} \quad \text{he usually sits} \\
\text{pk} & \text{tép.ku} \quad \text{to go upstream and land} \\
\text{pm} & \text{épmák} \quad \text{upper course of a river} \\
       & \text{áp.m-or} \quad \text{he planted} \\
\end{array}
\]

16 It is not within the scope of this material to answer the question whether
   definite consonant combinations do occur in polymorphematic words but do
   not occur in monomorphematic words. For the sake of completeness, however,
   and where it is possible, after each consonant combination I give an instance
   where such a combination occurs in a monomorphematic word, as well as one
   in which it is the result of word derivation or composition.
pn epnám pandanus
áp.n.awér to sit, eating continually
ps têp.si upstream to enter a side-stream
pj áp-f.ôm we sat
pj áp.ji.pú to stay and do habitually

tp pór.it-p.ês they looked at it in the morning
tk jitkakér kind of bird
tm tatmá nonsense
á-sit-m.i I stand up
tn jim.ot.náw to drag towards
ts temét.surum to scratch one’s head
tf tiw.ot-f.én he touched me
tw temét.wani.ôc to grow high (of trees)
tj temét.jam.êm to stand high up

kp akpês tattoo marks
ták.por to go downstream to look at
kt ták.ti.tiw to go downstream and put down
kc akcá together
cá-tak-ci first I must go downstream
km jokmén having supernatural power
a-sak.m-ôr he cut through it
kn aknim angry
ták.n.ap to go downstream and sit down to eat
ks ták.se to row downstream
kj ták.jiw to go downstream and go into
kw ták.wi.tiw to go downstream and throw down
kj ták.jukú.m.ap.ôm to go downstream and put together

mp wêmpa small stone axe
e.m-p.új I did it
mt kamtér both legs
sirîm.tak to row downstream quickly
mc mamacúp three
e.m.ôi I am, I stand (as a man)
mk omkôc kind of insect
á.m.kawi to join
mn jammôk two
é.m.nî to go down (walking)
ms  simsá  scurf
ém.se  to be on the river
mf  tetám-f.es  they gave him
nw  a-ném.wer-ér  they took to their heels

np  kanpór  kind of crab
án-p.uj  I ate it
nt  mantám  look out post
nc  án-c.om  when we have eaten
nk  ankós  centipede
nm  tanmá  nonsense
án-m.ar  he eats it
nf  án-f.om  we ate it
nw  nanwís  shattered

sp  espét  young shoot of the sago palm
jis.por  to go outside to look at
st  jis.kip.sé  to come out partly (said of a fish in its hiding place)
sc  cescúw  skilled, clever
á-po.amis-cëm.óm  we all go to sleep (as usual)
sh  eskám  red
jis.kapú  to row out of a river and join up with
sm  fusmá  widow
a-jis-má  he goes to the forest
sm  mesnim  smell
nemés.nakáp  cautious
sf  amés.fac  to become emaciated (said of a person lying down)
sw  taráswuč  sister
sj  és.jar  to sleep and travel on

fc  afcin  crust of ball of roasted sago
aj-áj-c.en  hit me!
fm  áf-m.ar  he hits him
fn  jój.nakap  a little hole
fs  áf.se  to die in the water

wp  táw.pacáj  to scatter in all directions
wt  awtó  kind of tree
áw.tiw  to roast and put down (sago)
wc  áw-c.om  when we have roasted it
wk  uwkú  crochet needle made of a pig's bone
tiw.koj  to go on one's way
wm  taw.mes.ém  to put things along the edge of something
wn  iuním  the water's edge
ev.ni  to return from
ws  jowsèp  baby
Súw.simít  Suw senior (proper name)
wf  aréw.saj  to assemble
wj  taw.jimir.se.m  to launch (a number of canoes)
jp  ajpáw  fine!
jt  ajtúr  having a high degree of a particular quality
jc  se.táj-cém.és  they will arrive (by canoe)
jk  ajkún  younger brother
tép.taj.kú  to go upstream and land
jm  ájmír.ém  to be lost
se.táj-m.es  they arrive (by canoe)
jn  ajnín  now
sáj.ni  to return (many people)
js  mújsaw  cumulus cloud
páj.se  to turn off (in a canoe)
jf  fajfó  cocoon
páj.fir.áp  when sitting to turn round
rp  arpák  far away
mér.papúj  to head off by going upstream
rt  pó.r.tew.ét  to be on the lookout for a woman to marry
rc  arcéř  main stream
a-por-ci  if I see him
rk  firká  kind of grass
jir.ku  to cross a river and land
rm  karmák  kind of snail
a-por-m.i  I see him
rn  jirnó  half burnt (of wood)
mér.ni  to go downstream to look for food
rs  parsá  scattered, dispersed
áp.ter.sí  to enter a river in line of battle
rf  mér.fasi  to go upstream and return again
rw  karwán  dagger made of a crocodile's jaw
rj  pó.r.jit  to plan (a murder)
The following consonant combinations were not found in this material: \( Cr; fp, ft, fk, fw, jj; ns, nj; pw. \)

V WORD-VARIANTS

Types of variants

53

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

Conditioned variants are variants which:

a) exclude each other in all contexts, or:

b) exclude each other in some contexts, and alternate in others, or:

c) alternate only in specific contexts.

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

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

Free variants

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

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

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Pairs of variants of which the one member has \( i \) whereas the other has \( u \), are:

\[ jifó - jufó \] cold
\[ jiwús - jiwús \] name
\[ jimṣip - jumṣip \] door
The phonemes c en t were probably differentiated rather late in the history of this dialect. This is suggested by the close relationship between c and t, which appears from their distribution and their role in word-variation and also from the fact that the phoneme c does not occur in the dialects spoken in the interior and along the Casuarinen Coast.
When $w$ occurs in the one variant between two identical vowels, the other variant has $V$ instead of $VwV$:

- $kwàwás$ - $kus$ head
- $níwú$ - $ni$ father
- $nuwúw$ - $nuw$ to go aboard and depart
- $tewór$ - $ter$ to take

59

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

- $Majít$ - $Mait$ name of a ceremonial house in Surú
- $iwijís$ - $iwís$ to go quickly to the forest
- $éwtepkójér$ - $éwtepkóbr$ (the fruit) fell from above

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

- $ájímsomícěmes$ - $ájímsomítmes$ they pull him up with them
- $manuwúw$ - $manuwúw$ (in order) to go aboard and depart
- $ajísic$ - $ajsíc$ go to the forest!
- $misítí$ - $mistí$ stand up!
- $mápacajkukuás$ - $mapcájkukuás$ (in order) to disperse in all directions.

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

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

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

1. $másinerím, másnerím, masíirim, misérím, masním$ then, thereupon.
2. $maréw, maréw; marí, maré$ ready, finished.
PART III

WORD-CLASSES

I INTRODUCTION: MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

62

The following morphological processes occur:

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

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

II THE VERB

Introduction

63

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

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

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

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

2. the core-morphology;

3. the word-morphology.

General survey of the structure of verbal forms

Core and peripheral part

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

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

2. a peripheral part.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. The morphemes that can occur as a core of a verb, for example: 
   \( \text{ap} \) to sit; \( \text{tak} \) to go downstream; \( \text{tewér} \) to take

2. The morphemes that were not found as a core, but which appear to be allomorphs of morphemes that occur as cores, for example:
   occurring as a core: not occurring as a core:
   \( \text{en} \) to go upstream
   \( \text{amîs} \) to lie (down)
   \( \text{amés} \)

The distribution of these allomorphs will be dealt with in \( \S \) 97-100.

3. The morphemes that were not found as the core of a verb, but that do occur as a word within another word-class, i.e. cases of transposition. For example:
siri quick (adjective)  *áp.*siri to break into a run
kiki close together (adjective)  *kiki.m* to put close together.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>as components of a core</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>as a core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

68

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

1. a number of morphemes of which it cannot be said with certainty
   whether they belong to the formatives or to the roots. These fall into:
a. a number that were not found in combination with formatives.
b. a number that occur with formatives. The fact that these morphemes can occur with formatives could be an indication that we are here dealing with roots. This applies particularly to those morphemes which, in combination with formatives, were found to occur as a root, such as:

co ‘hidden’ in cores as: có.ap to sit hidden;
co.m to hide something (co + formative -m/Vm, cf § 81).

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

2. a residu of forms of which the constituent morphemes could not yet be identified and/or, of which the meaning is not known with certainty.
Complete lists of the morphemes and residual forms belonging to the rest-group will be added to the core-morphology.

69
Survey of the root - formative structures, occurring in cores.
The following survey will, naturally, be limited to those cores of which all the constituent morphemes could be identified as root or formative. These cores fall into four groups:

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

The following symbols will be used here:

R  =  root
f-  =  prefixed formative
-f  =  suffixed formative
fi, placed before R  =  infixed formative.
I. R  
   ap to sit; onór to carry something on the back

II. RR  
   tép.ap to go upstream and stay
   RRR ni.ma.tiw to return and chop down

III. f-R  
   éw.ni to return from
   fiR s.om.it to stand up with something (in the hand);
   R-f from: sit to stand up.
   f-f-R pór.om to show, to cause to see
   R-f-f éw.om.sé to row with something from
   R-f-f jik.tam.pór to try to tie something up for someone
   f-R-f sá.saká.m to cut into pieces
   fiR-f s.úm.ut.úm to cause to stand up;
   R-f-f from: sit to stand up.
   R-f-f é.m.tam.pór to try to make something for someone

IV. f-RR  
   ó.jis.pór to go outside again to have a look at
   R-fR fá.m.tiw to burn a lying object
   RfR jím.s.om.it to pull someone up
   Rf-R tów.o.mi to bring something to the river
   R-f-f fá.m.o.p to sit by someone until the morning
   RR-f-f ni.tiw.tam.pór to try to put down on behalf of
   someone
   f-Rf-R éw.ni.om.tiw to go down from (the house) and
   go aboard with (something)
   f-R-fR ó.fasí.m.tewör to take up where one left off (a
   story)
   R-fR-f taká.m.ne.m to cause to go below through an
   opening
   f-RR-f ó.wu.ap.óm to bury something again
   RR-fR jís.kawi.m.tiw to go outside and put down some-
   thing against
   RRR-f ni.tow.sé.m to go to the river and lay something
   in the water
   f-R-ff-R-fR si.si.m.ka.kami.m.tiw to wash ashore many objects
   (subject = the water).

The morphological structure of the peripheral part.

The peripheral part can consist of: a prefix, or: 1, 2, 3 or 4 suffixes,
or: a combination of 1 or 2 prefixes and 1, 2, 3 or 4 suffixes. The
Peripheral part can also be absent: the core can occur as a word (see § 107).

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

\[ p = \text{prefix} \]
\[ s = \text{suffix} \]
\[ Co = \text{core} \]

\[ \text{Co} \quad \text{tewér} \quad \text{to take} \]
\[ \text{p Co} \quad \text{mé-tewér} \quad \text{in order to take} \]
\[ \text{Co s} \quad \text{tewer-ic} \quad \text{take it!} \]
\[ \text{Co ss} \quad \text{tewér-m.em} \quad \text{you take it} \]
\[ \text{Co sss} \quad \text{tewér-m.en.óm} \quad \text{we take you} \]
\[ \text{Co ssss} \quad \text{tewér-m.an.en.ém} \quad \text{are you taking me?} \]

\[ \text{Co} \quad \text{por} \quad \text{to see} \]
\[ \text{p Co s} \quad \text{emé-por-i} \quad \text{I have seen him (today)} \]
\[ \text{p Co ss} \quad \text{emé-por-n.ém} \quad \text{you have seen me (today)} \]
\[ \text{p Co sss} \quad \text{emé-por-án.en.ém} \quad \text{have you seen me (today)?} \]
\[ \text{p pp Co s} \quad \text{emé.pa-pór-an.én.ém} \quad \text{can you see me now?} \]
\[ \text{pp Co ss} \quad \text{emé.pa-pór-an.en.em (éw)} \quad \text{has he perhaps seen it (today)} \]
\[ \text{pp Co sss} \quad \text{emé.pa-pór-an.en.em (éw)} \quad \text{have you seen him perhaps (today)} \]
\[ \text{pp pp Co sss} \quad \text{emé.pa-pór-m.an.en.ém (éw)} \quad \text{have you seen me perhaps? (today)} \]
\[ \text{pp pp Co ssss} \quad \text{emé.pa-pór-m.an.en.em (éw)} \quad \text{can you perhaps see me now?} \]

Core-morphology

Formatives which occur prefixed to a root

71

\[ \text{em/om-} \quad \text{This formative was only found with the roots amís, to lie;} \]
\[ \text{ap, to sit; em, to stand; tep, to be above; se, to be on or in the water.} \]
\[ \text{om-} \quad \text{only occurs in combination with the formative o/om/ot/oc-} \]
\[ \text{(§ 76):} \]
\[ \text{óm.óp to go and sit by someone,} \]
\[ \text{óm.o.mís to go and lie with someone.} \]
The difference in meaning between roots with and without this formative seems to be that the roots without \textit{em/om-} mean: 'to be' or 'to move', of a subject which belongs to the 'lying', 'standing', 'flying' or 'swimming' class of things,\(^1\) whereas the roots with \textit{em/om-} denote the actual action of lying, sitting, etc. The roots with \textit{em/om-} have, moreover, an inchoative element of meaning: they can mean: to lie down, to sit down, etc. \textit{ap} 'to be, to move', of a 'sitting' subject. \textit{ém.ap} to sit, to sit down.

72
\textit{éw-} from, out of, since.
\textit{fis} to come outside; \textit{éw.fis} to come outside from (a house).
\textit{kekém} to sew something up; \textit{éw-kekém} to sew something up from a particular point; to be sewing something from a particular point in time.
Found in 39 cores.

73
\textit{irim-} indicates: 1) plurality of subject; 2) that the subject is walking.
\textit{tep} to go upstream (rowing or walking); \textit{irim.tep} to walk upstream wit many people.
Found in 6 cores.

74
\textit{jam-} indicates that the subject or object is bulky, or that it consists of a quantity of component parts. It refers, for example to a \textit{bunch} of fruit, a \textit{bundle} of arrows, a \textit{crowd} of people.
\textit{tep} to hang, to be up in the air; \textit{jám.tep} to hang; of a large object, or a bundle, a bunch of objects.
\textit{ni} to go downriver; \textit{jám.ni} to go downriver; of a large animal, of a crowd of people together.
Found in 24 cores.

\(^1\) The Asmat people divide all existing things into these five 'position' classes. In general, it can be said that anything that is tall and slender 'stands' (e.g. trees, upright poles, and men); anything that is about as high as it is broad 'sits' (e.g. houses, carrying bags, and also women); anything that is much broader than it is high, or is low to the ground, 'lies' (fallen trees, small animals, reptiles, the just-risen sun or moon). The fourth class contains anything in or on the water (e.g. canoes, fishes, and also rivers); the fifth class contains anything that is above eye-level (e.g. flying animals, hanging objects, objects stored away on the rafters of the house).
75

/o/or- again, anew.

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

In such cases or- always occurs:

\*mow ap\* to split off pandan fibres
/pandan fibres/ to split off/

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

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

e to say.

\*ô-o.j I said; ór-e-ô.j I said again.

Found in 37 cores.

78

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

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

/o- occurs with:

\*ni\* : \*o.ni\* to go downriver with (on a large river)
\*tak\* : \*o.tak\* to go downriver with (on a small river)
\*tep\* : \*o.tep\* to go upriver with (on a small river)

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

\*ap\* : \*o.p\* to sit with, by; or, busy with something
\*em\* : \*o.m\* to stand with, by; busy with
\*amis\* : \*o.mis\* to lie with, by; busy with
\*es\* : \*o.s\* to come here with; busy with

\*om-\* occurs with:

\*jir/ir\* : \*óm.ir\* to cross the river with; towards someone
\*jis/is/us\* : \*óm.is\* to go landwards with; towards someone
\*jir/iw\* : \*óm.iw\* to enter with; to go inside towards someone.

(Of these roots, the allomorph without initial \*j\* occurs after an \*m\*)
as : óm.as to go away with
at : óm.at to go with
ku : óm.ku to go ashore with, to
pūw : óm.pūw to go into the water with
se : óm.se to be on or in the water with
uw : óm.uw to go aboard with

ot- occurs only with:

naw : ot.naw to come with

oc- occurs only with:
en : óc.in to go upstream with (on a large river)
(the allomorph in occurs only in combination with oc)

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

fis : f.óm.is to come outside with
fiw : f.óm.iw to go inside with
sit : s.óm.it to stand up with
(There occurs also a form fiw.óm.iw, which has the same meaning as fómiw; here iw is an allomorph of jiw which also means 'to go inside'.)

Modification occurs in:

tep : top to hang with, by

This is the only case of modification I found.

77
pákaj ‘with many together’.
pákaj was only found with the roots amis, ap, em, tep and se (see § 71).
ap to sit; pákaj.ap to sit together with many.

78
tēw indicates the beginning of an action.

po ji to row
paddle /to do/
po tēw.ji to start to row

o.s to come here with; tēw.o.s to leave here with.
*jinîw.jar* to go with everyone (walking); *têw.jinîw.jar* to set out with everyone (walking).

Found in 12 cores.

79

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*áp.epér* to make test holes.

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

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

80

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

1. *amís, ap, em, tep, se*: ‘positional roots’;

2. roots that indicate a going in a particular direction, ‘directional roots’;

3. other roots;

   as will appear from the following survey.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>positional roots</th>
<th>directional roots</th>
<th>other roots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>erv-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jam-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o/or-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o/om/ot/oc-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tew-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>em/om-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pákaj-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irim-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplication</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ = found  
- = not found

*Formatives which occur suffixed to a root*

81

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

-\(m\) occurs:

1. After a vowel:
   - kawi to add oneself to; kawi.m to add something to.
   - an/na to eat (see § 98); na.m. to cause to eat, to give to eat.

Of roots which have two allomorphs, one with and one without final j or w, the allomorph without j or w always occurs with this formative:
   - sakáj to be broken; saká.m to break something.
   - uw to go aboard; u.m to cause to go aboard.

2. After a consonant, when a vowel follows the formative:
   - ap to sit; áp.om to cause to sit; ap.m-ór he made him sit.

-\(Vm\) occurs:

After a consonant, if no vowel follows the formative.

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

- tak to go downstream; ták.am to cause to go downstream.
- onór to carry something on the back; onór.om to cause to carry something on the back.
Exceptions to this rule are:
ap to sit; áp.om to cause to sit.
tep to go upstream; tép.om, táp.om to cause to go upstream.

82
In three cases suffixation of -Vm occurs simultaneously with infixation of -Vm:
sit to get up; s.úm.ut.úm to cause to get up.
fiw to go inside; fj.m.u.m to cause to go inside.
jis to come inside, to come outside; fj.m.us.úm to cause to come inside, or outside.

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

83
Two positional roots cannot be combined with -m/Vm:

em can mean 'to stand' as well as 'to cause to be stood up, to put down' (of a 'standing' object)
amis, to lie, does not occur with the meaning 'to lay, to put down' (a 'lying' object); in place of it, another root is used: tiw, to lay, to put down.

84
-m/Vm has a particular value \(^2\) in such cases as:

(faj to burn; fa.m to cause to burn; ap to sit, to stay):
jo fá.m.ap to stay somewhere until the sun begins to shine.
sun

(pu to rise; pu.m to cause to rise; em to stand, to stay):
jo pú.m.em to stay somewhere until the sun rises.

(jis to go outside):
pir jamnók jis.m.ap
moon two
to stay somewhere until two 'months' have elapsed.

\(^2\) In using the term meaning exclusively for the semantic aspect of words, and the term value for the semantic aspect of parts of words, or morphemes, I follow E. M. Uhlenbeck and A. Reichling. See: E. M. Uhlenbeck, De systematiek der Javaanse pronomina, VKI 30, Den Haag 1960, Inleiding p. 2; and: A. Reichling, Verzamelde studies, Zwolle 1962, p. 43.
In addition, there are a number of cases in which the value of this formative is not clear to me; such as in:

*ni.tam*, having apparently the same meaning as the underlying form *ni.taj* 'to return and reach', in:

*tánnakap ni.ta.m-or*

/morning-a-bit /she arrived/
she arrived (home) towards the end of the morning,

when compared with:

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

house /I alone /shall arrive/

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

*wá ot.m.enów-or.és* they came, brushing along the trees,

/trees /touching them they came/

when compared with:

*amás a pínnakap átemet.ót.áp-er*

sago there /near-edge /it rose-touched-sat/

the sago had almost risen to the edge.

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

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

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

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

*parsá, porsá* disorderly, scattered about here and there (adjective?); *parsá.m* to scatter.

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

*káju* onomatopoeia, indicating a dull thud, the sound of footsteps; *ká.kajú.m* to knock on something.

**-kurúm** ‘all, totally’

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

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

Found in 41 cores.
88

-\textit{por} ‘to try, to be able to’
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{an} na to eat; \textit{ná.por} to try to eat, to taste.
\item \textit{e.m} to make something; \textit{é.m.por} to try to make something; to be able to make something.
\end{itemize}
Found in 25 cores.

89

-\textit{tam} ‘for, on behalf of’
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{aw} to roast; \textit{áw.tam} to roast for.
\item \textit{onów fe} to make thatch
\item thatch make
\item \textit{onów fē.tam} to make thatch for someone; to help to make thatch.
\end{itemize}
Found in 76 cores.

90

-\textit{totór} ‘everyone for himself, each individually’
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{wu} bundle, wrapped in sago leaves; \textit{wu wu} to make a bundle, wrapping it in sago leaves; \textit{wu wú.totór} each person to make for himself sago leaf bundles.
\item \textit{e} to say; \textit{é.totór} to say, each person for himself.
\end{itemize}
Found in 10 cores.

91

Finally, there are four suffixed formatives, \textit{-itum, -es, -it, and -awer} which, in contradistinction to the other formatives, exert an influence on the peripheral part: there are a number of verbal categories which do not occur with cores in which these formatives occur.\(^3\)

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

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

The allomorph containing \textit{u} instead of \textit{i} or absence of vowel, or \textit{o} instead of \textit{e, ū}, occurs only:

\(^3\) A survey of these categories can be found in § 104, 105.
— after ṣ, w, or j, when these consonants are preceded by a con-
onant, or by a, o, or u.
— after m.

The only exceptions to this rule are the positional roots em to stand,
and ap to sit, after which the allomorph with i or e, ǝ, always occurs:
atòw e to play
play/to do/
atòw e.itúm to play in the afternoon.
é.m.itúm to stand during the afternoon.
é.m.utúm to make during the afternoon.
taw to talk; taw.utúm to talk in the afternoon.

92
-es indicates that the action or the event takes place during the period
from nightfall to early in the morning. This period covers that part
of the day which is called erém 'night, when it is really dark', and
the first part of tam 'morning, from daybreak to ± 10 a.m.'
tak to go downstream; tak.es to go downstream at night, in the
early morning.
 purumúc ji to sing dirges
dirge sing
purumúc j.es to sing dirges the whole night.

93
-it/ut indicates that the action or the event takes place in the morning,
i.e. in the remaining part of tam (see above).
The distribution of -it and -ut runs parallel to that of -itúm/utúm.
tak to go downstream; ták.it to go downstream in the morning.
faw to spear (plural object);
enám fáw.ut to spear fish during the morning.
fish

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

94
-awér/ewér/ewír/a is a formative indicating duration: 'continually,
always, all the time'.
The distribution of the allomorphs is determined by the verbal categories within which the core occurs:

awér occurs in forms of category 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 23 $^3$

ewér occurs in forms of category 5, 6, 7 and 23

ewir occurs in forms of category 22

so e to sing (with drum accompaniment)
singing do
to só e.awér-m.om

tomorrow singing /we shall do continually/
tomorrow we shall sing and play the drums continually.

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

pe ak to catch crabs
crabs catch

pe ak.es.awér to catch crabs continually at night.

jisin ák.it.awér to gather coconuts all the morning.

coconuts

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

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

coconuts

jisin ak.it.m om we gathered many coconuts (during the day)

jisin ak.itúm.om we gathered many coconuts (in the afternoon)

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

Sequences of formatives

95

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

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

f-R-ff-R-fR si.si.m.ka.kami.m.tiw to wash ashore many objects.

---

$^3$ A survey of these categories can be found in § 104, 105.
Only a few different combinations of prefixed formatives were found; for some of these a relative order could be tentatively fixed:

\[
\text{o/or-}, \text{em/om-}, \text{o/om/ot/oc-}, \text{Root, or: o/or-, (re)duplication, Root.}
\]

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

The following combinations were found:

\[
\text{o/or- + (re)duplication: \text{o.si.si.m.tám} \text{ again to push (different objects) towards someone.}}
\]

\[
\text{o/or- + em/om-: \text{ór.em.ém} \text{ again to stand up}}
\]

\[
\text{em/om- + o/om/ot/oc-: \text{óm.o.ó} \text{ to sit down by, with}}
\]

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

\[
\text{R -m/Vm, -kurúm, -tam, -por, \{-itúm/utúm \{-es \{-avér/awér/ewír/a \{-it/ut}
\]

Here, the following sequences of formatives were noted:

\[
\text{-m/Vm + -por \text{: \text{é.m.por} to try to make}}
\]

\[
\text{-m/Vm + -es \text{: \text{é.m.es} to make something at night}}
\]

\[
\text{-tam + -por \text{: \text{fik.tam.pór} to try to tie up something for someone}}
\]

\[
\text{-por + -avér \text{: \text{otáw.por.awér} continually to try to exhort someone}}
\]

\[
\text{-itúm + -avér \text{: \text{jisín ak.ítúm.awér} to gather coconuts all afternoon}}
\]

\[
\text{-kurúm + -awér \text{: \text{sa.kurúm.awér} to be dried up all}}
\]

\[
\text{-kurúm + -por \text{: \text{ná.kurúm.pór} to try to eat up everything}}
\]

\[
\text{-m/Vm + -tam + -por: \text{ém.tam.pór to try to make for someone.}}
\]

**Root-allomorphs**

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

---

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

a. The morphologically conditioned allomorphs of the positional roots (§ 76).

b. The phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the roots jiw and jir (§ 76).

c. The morphologically conditioned allomorphs, mentioned in § 81.
The distribution of these allomorphs appears to be conditioned by the following factors:
1. a phonological feature, or:
2. a morphological feature, or:
3. a positional feature, or:
4. a combination of 1 and 3, or of 2 and 3.

There are three positions which are relevant to the conditioning of root-allomorphs:
a. Occurrence as a core; b. final position in the core; c. non-final position in the core.

97
Conditioned by a phonological feature are the allomorphs of the root \( e/j \) to say, to do
- \( e \) occurs in all cases, except between two vowels.
- \( j \) occurs between two vowels.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( é-o.f \)} & \quad \{ \text{I said} \\
\text{\( ā-j-o.f \)} & \\
\end{align*}
\]
\( ā.p.ōm \) to build (a house);
\( ā-j.āp.m-ōr \) he built (a house).

98
Conditioned by a morphological feature is the distribution of the allomorphs of the following roots:

1. \( ni/ne \) to go down, to go home, to go towards the river.
   - \( ni \) occurs in all cases, except before the formative \(-m/Vm\).
   - \( ne \) occurs before the formative \(-m/Vm; ne.m \) to cause to go down, etc.

2. \( fis/jus \) to come inside
   - \( fiw/juw \) to go inside
   - \( sit/sut \) to stand up

\( fis, fiw, \) and \( sit \) occur in all cases, except in the exceptional case of simultaneous infixation and suffixation of the formative \(-m/Vm\), in which the allomorph with \( u \) occurs: \( f.im.us.um; f.im.u.m; s.um.ut.um \) (see § 82).
3. **tep**/**tap** to go upstream (on a small river).

*tep* occurs in all cases. In addition, *tep* alternates with *tap* before the formative -m/Vm: *tep. om*, *tap. om* to send someone upstream (see § 81).

4. **tep**/**top** to be above, to be hanging.

*tep* occurs in all cases, except before the formative -m/Vm. Here occurs *top*: *tóp. om* to cause to be above; to hoist (a flag).

5. **temét***/tomt* to rise, to climb.

*temét* occurs in all cases, except before the formatives -m/Vm and o/om/ot/oc-; here occurs *tomt*: *tómt. om* to cause to rise; *tómt. om* to stand on top of something, and be busy with.

6. **tew***/tow** to take, to seize.

*tew* occurs in all cases except before the formative o/om/ot/oc-: *tów. om. ìw* to bring inside; and in the core *tow. okòp* to swallow.

99

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

1. **amis**/**amés***/ams* to lie down; to stream; to swim (a fish).

*ams* occurs preceding a vowel.

Preceding a consonant occur:

*amis*, as a core, or core-finally

*amés*, in a core, but not core-finally.

*àw-amis* it is lying here; *àw-ams-ì* I am lying here.

*âms.es* to come swimming towards (said of fish)

*kâmi.ams-ër* he lay after having collapsed

*kâmi.amîs* to lay after having collapsed

*amîs.nî* to stream downwards.

2. **am**/**atâm***/ma/m* to chop.

*am* occurs as a core

*atâm* occurs core-finally

*ma* occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before a consonant, or a vowel ≠ *a.*

*m* occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before *a.*
am-úc  chop it!
mér.atám  to go to ... to chop
má.tiw  to chop down
m.ás.am  to chop off, to chop away.

3.  an/na/n/Vn  to eat.
an  occurs as a core
na  occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before a consonant, or a vowel ≠ a or e.
n  occurs a) in a core, but not core-finally, before a and e; b) core-finally, after a vowel.
Vn  occurs core-finally after a consonant; the vowel of Vn harmonizes with the vowel preceding it.
án-m.ar  he eats, is eating
ná.kurúm  to eat up everything
ná.itám  to eat in the afternoon
n.ás.am  to eat up;  n.es  to eat at night
ci.n  to cut up something for eating
tév.en  to take something to eat it.

4.  ap/pa/p  to work loose (fibres); to gather (sago grubs).
ap  occurs as a core, and core-finally
pa  occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before a consonant, and before vowels ≠ a.
p  occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before a.
mów ap  to work loose fibres from the roots of the pandan tree.
pandan fibres/
m-o.ap-úc  work (the fibres) loose again!
mów pa-m.ar  she was busy working loose the fibres
tów pág.á.áwér  to work loose the pith of the sago palm in order to
sago grubs/  gather the sago grubs.

5.  en/in/mer  to go upstream (on a large river); to go to a specific point.
en  occurs a) as a core; b) core-finally, except when it is preceded by the formative o/om/ot/oc-; in this case in occurs.
mer  occurs in a core, but not core-finally.
jáw.en  to spear (fish) while going upstream
tów.óc.in  to take upstream
mér.áp  to go upstream and stay there.
6. *jis/is/us* to go to the forest; to go outside.

   *jis* occurs in all cases, except after *m*.
   *is* occurs after *m*, but not after the formative *-m/Vm*.
   *us* occurs after *-m/Vm*.

*émis* to walk to the forest
*tówomis* to bring to the forest
*nimus* to disappear into the forest.

**Lists of unidentified morphemes, and of residual forms**

100

I. Morphemes that in combination with one or more formatives can constitute a core (see §68).

1. *ariw* to be together; to be with many people in one canoe. See:
   *ariwap, ariwes, emariw, tawariwap*; + *-m/Vm*: *arim, arimut, emarimut*.

2. *asaw* to be adorned. See: *asawtam* (+ *-tam*), *asam* (+ *-m/Vm*).

3. *faj* to glide, to stream. See: *fajpuw*; + *-m/Vm*: *fam, famasam, famsem, enawfam*.

4. *fajim* to put in order; to arrange neatly. See: *fajim, tatafajimtiw*.

5. *fiki* to give forth a smell. See: *fikikonaw*; + *-m/Vm*: *fikim*.

6. *firi* to be turned around. See: *merpajfiranp, pajfiranp*; + *-m/Vm*: *firim, firimtiw*.

7. *jiri* to be fully loaden. See: *jirikaj*; + *-m/Vm*: *jirim (repeated), jirmotep, nijirimuw*.

8. *juw* to marry. See: *juwut, sajwut*; + *-m/Vm*: *juwum*.

9. *kaj* to be loose. See: *kajkurum*; + *-m/Vm*: *kam, kamapom, kamoni, kampones, kamtewer, kantiw*.

10. *koj, okoj* to break off; to set out. See: *emkoj, kojir, kokojin, takokojir, tepokojir, tiwkoj*; + *-m/Vm*: *kom/okom, ankoman, emkom, jisokontiwas, komtewer, kokontaw, kokontiw, okomentam, okomse, okmoni, okomtiw, okokom*.

11. *ok* to stick to. See: *okay; + -m/Vm*: *okom, okokom*.

12. *pajiw* to be open. See: *pajiwem*; + *-m/Vm*: *pajim*.

13. *papuj* to perish. See: *papujkurum*.

14. *pari, pêri* to turn round. See: *papériini, popériomat*; + *-m/Vm*: *parem/pêrem, kupapedremapom, papërimop, tepomparem, tiwopêrem*.

15. *patam* to load full. See: *patamkurum*. 
16. pur to be covered with. See: puramis, purap; + -m/Vm: purum, purumucintiw.

17. su to be pregnant. See: jiw-su; + -m/Vm: sum.

18. tip ‘to be just beyond a demarcating line’ (e.g. a man sitting just outside the door of his house). See: jistipse; + -m/Vm: tipim.

19. co to be concealed, hidden. See: coap; + -m/Vm: com, comop, comapom.

20. tur, turu beside each other in a row. See: turamis; + -m/Vm: turum, turumtiw.

II. Morphemes occurring with one or more formatives, though not constituting a core in combination with one or more formatives.

1. ani disappeared. See: anicukas; + -m/Vm: anicuku, animus.

2. anaw bowed. See: anawtep; + -m/Vm: emanam.

3. akapi alone, separate. See: akapiem, akakapipu.

4. as ‘away’. See: anicukas, nakurumas, eas, jisas, kikicukomas, kukuas, pacajkukuas; + -m/Vm: nasam, emasam, famasam, fajemasam, jawasam, pamamasam, sasaman, iwasam, tawasam, tewerasam, tisesiriasam, cumasam, wisam.

5. awer to be at the edge of something; to be at the extreme part of something. See: awerjis, niawerap, apawerjotak, aweverjar (reduplicated); + -m/Vm: aweremtiw, aweveremkum.

6. mes against, close by, along. See: mesamis, mesakajipirem, mesari, mesem, mesenaw, meses, mesjotep, mesom, mesop, jiwmesop, konawmesem; + -m/Vm: mesemapom, mesemjirmem, tamesem.

7. met accompanying; in addition to. See: metos, metotnaw, metotep, metowomis, metocin; + -m/Vm: metenaw, metemenan, metemtewer.

8. nav coming. See: enaw, enawap, konaw/kunaw, konawamis, konawap, konawmesem, konawfim, konawkapu, konawomis, pinaw, pijinaw, towotnaw; + -m/Vm: iwenam.

9. nuk to embark with many others (in a canoe). See: ninukamis; + -m/Vm: nukumomuw.

10. fu gathered round, with. See: fuamis, jiwiuem; + -m/Vm: jiufumtotor.

11. jiniw (walking) with many, with all. See: tewjiniwamis, tewjiniwem, tewjiniwjar; + -m/Vm: jinimtewer, tewjinim.
12. jirim to stick something in somewhere. See: jirimem, mesem-
jirmem, jirimku, jarjirimop, kujirimap; jirimsem (re duplicated).

13. juk together, assembled. See: jukap, jujukamis; + -m/Vm:
jukumtiw, jujukumapom, jujukumapomtam, jujukumsomit, ta-
jujukumapom.

14. kuri, kuru to agree with. See: tepkuru, kukuram.

15. pakaj to break. See: oterespakaj; + -m/Vm: capakamop.

16. pawu to depart with many. See: pawuawer, pawuamis.

17. piti to be full. See: pitijamap, pitijiwap; + -m/Vm: pitimsem.

18. puw to go into the water. See: jipuw; + -m/Vm: jipum, jispum,
pumasam.

19. si being in something. See: nisiap; + -m/Vm: simom, sisimomis,
jiramsimopom.

20. co to put on a string; to plait. See: cop, coap, cotiw, cotiwpor,
comom.

21. cuk, cuku to disappear, to go out of sight, to be out of sight.
See: anicukas, namicuku, jicuku, pacajcuku, anincuku, cukem,
kikicukomas; + -m/Vm: parsamcukum.

22. wu with all, with everyone. See: wuamis, emwu; + -m/Vm:
wumomas.

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III. Morphemes, not found in combination with formatives.

1. am together, with each other. See: amanew, amakan, ame,
amkaw, amakawimapom, amkoman, ampi, amtak, amtewen, am-
tewer, amtiw, amcirim, amew; apam, emantewer, jumamtim,
kapumantewer, kukuram, otamantewer.

2. amis to set out (to seek food). See: wuamis, tewjiniwamis.

3. anim to take in hand. See: tiwanim.

4. asi to assemble. See: asienew.

5. atam indicates that the subject is doing two things at the same
time, or that the subject is using an implement. See: atamni,
atamen, atamjik, atamse, atamsi, atamsiom, atamtewer, atamurum,
atamompor, jiwatamap.

6. awum to stick something in the hair. See: tewawum.

7. matam to accompany to. See: nimatam, takmatam.

8. mu to pay, to present (a gift). See: mutam, mutiwam.

9. nuwum, nowom (rowing) in line of battle. See: nuwumamis,
mesnowomtep.
11. *fes* to stick fast; to be unable to get free. See: *nifesap, nifesop- omit.*
12. *jininim* all around. See: *jininame.*
13. *jir* to bend; to stretch (a bow); to split. See: *jirap, jirem, jirpor, jirse.*
15. *jirw* jigging up and down. See: *jurwutum.*
17. *kipim* to hold ready for use (a spear). See: *kipmom.*
18. *okop* to swallow. See: *towokop.*
19. *oram* to pierce (with a spear). See: *omomoromiw.*
20. *orow* to press repeatedly on. See: *orowapom, orownem.*
21. *ota* to and fro; returning with many people. See: *otasiap, em- otasisimawer.*
22. *oc* to stand out high. See: *temetwanioc.*
23. *papi* to turn round. See: *papiromku.*
25. *saj* each person; all. See: *nisaj, sajes, sajis, sajtaawer, sajwut, emsaajuku.*
26. *sicim* to separate from each other; to set apart. See: *nisicimtiw, sicimapom.*
27. *taj* slanting. See: *tajamis.*
28. *ter* in a row beside each other. (Perhaps = *tur*). See: *aptersi.*
29. *tuw* to keep an eye on. See: *tuwop.*
31. *cum* to let go. See: *cumasam.*
32. *cucuru* to slip, to glide. See: *cucuruni.*
33. *wasi* rising above the ground a little bit; to be coming up (of plants). See: *temetwasiap.*

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Residual elements

These elements will be marked as follows:

A = meaning uncertain, or unknown.
B = morphological structure uncertain, or unknown.
AB = meaning as well as morphological structure uncertain, or unknown.
1. Amer AB. See: jitemem, jitemertaw.
3. Anew B. to tell someone to do something. See: amamew.
4. Ak A. See: niakap.
5. Akaj A. being somewhere for some time (?). See: mesakajipirem, tepakajap.
10. Aw A. See: apomawsim, tiwawsim.
12. Me AB. See: apme.
15. Faj A. See: arewaj, arewajpor, arewajpurat.
18. Karem B. to cause to be silent. See: karemem.
19. Kikira B. to stop up. See: kikirakurum.
23. Om B. to chop. See: omas.
25. Okopom B. to touch, to hit. See: pumokopom.
27. Pit, Put A. (to fall (asleep), to go (tosleep)). See: pitamis / putamis, nipitamis.
29. Pok AB. See: emempokawer.
30. Pu A. (to be in the habit of, to be used to). See: mapu, akakapipu, jipu.
31. Sam AB. (to detach from; to take out from). See: sanetewer, sanop, emsamem; jipersam, arewsam.
32. Sapu B. to take care of. See: apsapu.
34. Sirim A. (to stare at). See: tiwsirimasam, tiwsirimawer.
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35. suw A. See: suwap, suwem, suwomis, jisuwap, nisuwem, suwumomis/sumomis, suwumop/sumop, mersuwem.
38. tapow AB. See: nitapow.
39. tatepi AB. See: nitatepiap.
40. taw A. See: tawariwap, tawpacamapom, tawpacamop, tawpacaj.
41. tem AB. See: tetemsem.
42. tomin AB. See: tawtominomas.
43. topom AB. (to row strongly). See: ceutopomsirim.
44. caj AB. See: cajkurum, cajomat.
45. caci AB. (tightly packed). See: caciap, caciom.
46. urum AB. See: atamurum, urumni.
47. ucim AB. See: pupurumucimtiw.
48. wani AB. See: temetwanioc.
49. vari A. (all at once). See: waritemet.
50. warim AB. See: warimomas.

WORD-MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

104

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

The form of the scheme is determined by the following considerations:
1. that the verbal cores are distinguished from all other verbal forms by the absence of a categorial element of form. They can be said
## Survey of the verbal categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>por</em></td>
<td>1. non-characterized categories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>por-ic</em></td>
<td>2. characterized categories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>á-por-á</em></td>
<td>1. without sub-categories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <em>mó-por</em></td>
<td>2. with sub-division into object-categories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. <em>mó-por-áji</em></td>
<td>3. with sub-division into subject-categories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. <em>mó-por-ájpurúw</em></td>
<td>A. occurring with all cores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. <em>mó-por-ic</em></td>
<td>B. not occurring with cores ending in a time-formative or in the durative-formative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. <em>á-por-ców</em></td>
<td>C. only occurring with cores ending in the durative-formative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. <em>a-por-cí</em></td>
<td>The categories are dealt with in the sequences as given in the survey. For a fuller explanation of this survey, and the meaning of the verbal forms shown, see paragraphs 104 and 105.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. <em>ta-por-cáj</em></td>
<td>12. <em>á-por-cěmí</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. <em>á-por-cěmőp</em></td>
<td>14. <em>á-por-mí</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. <em>á-por-mőp</em></td>
<td>16. <em>á-por-í</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. <em>á-por-ój</em></td>
<td>18. <em>á-por-ací</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. <em>á-por-aró</em></td>
<td>20. <em>á-por-iti</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. <em>á-por-ító</em></td>
<td>22. <em>á-poréwir-i</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. <em>á-por-měró</em></td>
<td>24. <em>ap-i</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A | B | C

1

2

3

4
to form a *non-characterized* category as opposed to to all other categories, which are *characterized*.

In the scheme: I and II.

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

   \[ \text{*mo-por-c.én*} \quad \text{look at me!} \\
   \text{*mo-por-c.awúj*} \quad \text{look at us!} \]

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

   \[ \text{*á-por-c.ów*} \quad \text{do look! (sing.)} \\
   \text{*á-por-c.awúj*} \quad \text{do look! (plur.)} \]

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

   \[ \text{*á-por-m.i*} \quad \text{I see him} \\
   \text{*á-por-m.ém*} \quad \text{you see him} \\
   \text{*á-por-m.én.ém*} \quad \text{you see me} \quad \text{(Cat. 14)} \]

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

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

In the scheme: II. A, B, C.
The 24 categories given in the scheme are as follows:

I. 1. The core category: *por* to see, to look at.

II.

1. A: 2. A category of forms of which the categorical meaning is still not clear:

   *por-*ic seeing (?)

3. A category of repetitive forms:

   *á-*por-*á* to look at time and again.

4., 5. Two categories each of which has a semantic element of intent. Cat. 5 has, in addition, a semantic element translatable by ‘usually, customarily’:

   *mó-*por in order to see, to wish to see
   *mó-*por-*áji* customarily to want to see.

6-11. These categories are modal categories. They express ‘The psychological atmosphere of an action as interpreted by the speaker’.5

6., 7. Two categories expressing reproof. The forms in Cat. 6 contain, in addition, a semantic element of exhortation: the forms in 7, one of disapproval:

   *mó-*por-*ájmos* you ought to look at it
   *mó-*por-*ájpurúw* you shouldn’t look at it.

2. A: 8. A category of imperative forms:

   *mó-*por-*íc* look!

3. A: 9. A category of hortative forms:

   *á-*por-*ców* do look!

4. A: 10. A category of conditional forms:

   *á-*por-*cí* if I see him.

11. A category of optative forms:

   *tá-*por-*cáj* had I but seen him.

---

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tense</th>
<th>habitual</th>
<th>progressive</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>anteriority</th>
<th>perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ultimate past</td>
<td>[12]</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mediate past</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

12. á-por-cēmi  I shall see, I am accustomed to look at
13. á-por-cēmōp I was accustomed to look at
14. á-por-mi    I look at, I am looking at
15. á-por-mōp   I was looking at
16. á-por-i     I saw him (ult. past)
17. á-por-ōj    I saw him (med. past)
18. á-por-acī   After I had seen it (ult. past)
19. á-por-arō   After I had seen it (med. past)
20. á-por-iti   I had seen him (ult. past)
21. á-por-itä   I had seen him (med. past)

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

á-poréwir-i  I always looked at him.

---

6 The Asmat people divide the past into two periods of which the one embraces the other. The one period, which I shall call the ultimate past, includes the most recent past as well as the distant past. To the ultimate past belongs everything that happens on the day of a speech-event but prior to it, as well as everything that took place so long ago that it is known only from tradition. The interval of time between begins with yesterday and goes as far back as the generations still alive can recall from their own experience: this period I shall call the mediate past. It should be noted that according to the Asmat people the day begins at nightfall.
4. A: 23. A category of forms which seems to be an isolated category. These forms relate to the past (ultimate- and mediate past) and, in addition, have a semantic element of repetition that can be translated with 'each day again':

\[ \text{d-por-meró} \quad \text{I saw him again each day.} \]

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

\[ \text{ap-i} \quad \text{I am (sitting).} \]

106

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

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

1 The core category

107

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

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

\[ a \text{ Wók tetám, a Míš tetám, é a nívi tetám, iním a-e-f} \]
here Wók give here Míš give there his father give /that's what / he did/
He gave (the fish) to Wók, and to Míš, and to his father (§ 318).

\[ \text{onów amápóm ará} \quad \text{it must be covered with thatch.} \]
thatch /to cover / it is/
b. one comprising a number of cases in which the core seems to have a semantic element of completion:

\[ \text{pök tatájajimtiw akát} \] the things were neatly put down (§ 268).
things / neatly put down/ properly

\[ \text{ci jicémúp a pájníjs} \] canoe sea there / to turn downstream and go out /
the canoe had turned downstream and drifted out on sea (§ 339).

2 The -ic category

108

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

\[ \text{jurs-úc} \] longing for : jurús to long for.

\[ \text{mokót tewer-íc} \] an inherited sago garden (§ 329).
sago garden / having acquired

\[ \text{Jépm ów por-íc} \] thinking of the people of Jepem (§ 322).
Jepém people ‘seeing’

\[ \text{jirm-úc jirim} \] customarily to send someone on (errands).
sending on / to send on

\[ \text{cowúc móč am komapm-úc araw un} \] woman wailing pp / was doing/ pp pp
the woman was wailing continually (§ 300).

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

\[ \text{a hari Minggu}^7 \text{ cowák jiwí takás áj mupicín a-táwat-íc} \]
this Sunday one children all new clothes receiving
this very Sunday all the children will get new clothes.

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

---

^7 hari Minggu: loan-word from Malay.
3 The -a category

109
When -a is suffixed to cores, a category is formed with a semantic element of repetition. In most cases the suffix -a was found to be accented.

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

\[ \text{é so ôkom-á, purumúc am taw-á, /iním cowák, / iním cowák/} \]
\[ e \text{ song /to start repeatedly/ lament also /to sing repeatedly / and so on/} \]
\[ /and so on/ \]
now (she) started the e song, then again (she) sang the lament, and so on, and so on.

\[ enám faw-á, arásen jukúmtiw-á fáfaw-á, arásen jukúmtiw-á...} \]
\[ á-mesjåtep-êf \]
fish spearing there /putting together/ spearing there /putting together / so he did going upstream along the bank/

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

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

4 The m-/mV- category

110
m- is prefixed to cores beginning with a vowel;
mV- is prefixed to cores with initial consonant. The vowel of the prefix is identical to the first vowel of the core, but it can also be a irrespective of the following vowel. A definite regularity could not be found here; sometimes both possibilities were found alongside each other, sometimes only one of them, for instance, I noted:

- from \( \text{por} \) 'to see': \( \text{mó-por} \) and \( \text{má-por} \);
- from \( \text{fis} \) 'to come inside': always \( \text{mi-fis} \);
- from \( \text{ni} \) 'to return home': always \( \text{má-ni} \).

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

1. to wish to, in order to, to intend to:
nó amás m-awán  I am going to scrape out sago.
I sago /go to scrape out/

Ac ma-jsas ów opén
Ac /want to go to/ people pp
are there people who want to go to (the village) Ac?

ěněw mú m-aw dapur 8 emiw-ér
mother water /to boil/ kitchen /she went into/
mother went into the kitchen to boil water.

2. to have to, to be necessary to:

akát cepés mo-cómopawér
comely women /must be kept hidden/
you must keep comely women hidden (in the house) (§ 330).

ná m-wapóm araw án  must we bury him (§ 274)?
we /must bury/ pp pp

3. ‘to be able to, to be allowed to’, if the postposition pen follows:

nó a cém mi-jis pen  may I come inside this house?
I this house /can come in/ pp

111
I obtained, in addition, m-/-mV- forms from my informants every time
they referred to the action or the happening as such; for example, when
I asked them “What’s ‘to go’”, they replied “ma-jár”. “What’s ‘to take’?” - “mó-teuwér”.
The question is, how do these forms stand as regards the core which
can also indicate an action or a happening as such? It is out of the
question that this is an idiosyncracy of my informants, for Drabbe 9
had the same experience with his informants from Ajam.10 It occurs
to me that these forms only differ from the affixless core in having
a semantic element of explanation, or clarification. This idea is sup-
ported by the fact that in categories 12, 14, 16 and 17, forms also
occur that are characterized by a prefix m-/-mV- which seems to differ

8 loan-word from Malay.
9 mentioned in the introduction, § 6.
10 Drabbe does not say this explicitly. That he had the same experience, how-
ever, appears from his treatment of the m/mV-forms: see § 47 of his “Gram-
mar of the Asmat Language”.
from the forms without this prefix by having a semantic element of explanation or clarification. Examples of the use of these forms, which I shall call explanatory forms, are to be found in §§ 140, 148, 158, 164.

5 The \textit{m-/mV- -ájí/éjí} category

\textbf{112}

\textit{m-} occurs before an initial vowel;

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

\textit{-ájí} occurs in all cases, except when the core ends in the durative formative, which in this category has the allomorph \textit{eówr}; in this case \textit{-éjí} occurs. The first vowel of the suffix is always accented.

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

\begin{quote}
\textit{nó capínmi ma-konáwams-ájí}
I land /usually go to sleep/
I shall make it my custom to go on the land to sleep (says a crocodile).
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{cár mo-kokójniewer-éjí araw án}
you /always to fall down/ pp pp
must you always fall down (§ 226)?
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{ná iním as m-em-ájí pów} we don't usually do such a thing (§ 287).
we such /a thing / usually to do/ not
\end{quote}

6 The \textit{-ájmos} category

\textbf{113}

The following forms were noted:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{m/mV- core -mos}
\item \textit{m/mV- core -ájmos}
\item \textit{core -ámos}
\item \textit{core -ájmos/éjimos.}
\end{itemize}

No difference in meaning could be found between the forms with and without a prefix and between forms with \textit{-mos}, \textit{-ámos}, \textit{-ájmos} or \textit{-éjimos}. \textit{-éjimos} only occurs with cores ending in the durative formative, which here occurs in the allomorph \textit{eówr}. 
From a comparison with the -ájpurúw category, (§ 114), it appears that we are here dealing with a suffix -a/aj/éji, followed by a suffix -mos. The suffix -a/aj/éji is probably identical with the suffix -áji of the forms of category 5. The forms of the -ájmos and the -ájpurúw category are used to comment on something that, in the opinion of the speaker, is not as it ought to be.

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

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

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

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

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

7 The -ájpurúw category

114

The following forms were noted:

\[ m-/mV- \text{core} \quad -ájpurúw \]

\[ \text{core} \quad -ájpurúw/-éjipuruw. \]

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

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

---

10a For the final o in akájmosó, see § 33.
inim as em-ápuruwa¹⁰⁶ you mustn’t do such a thing!
like this/ something /you must not do/

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

The semantic difference between forms with -ápuruwa and forms with -ájomos stands out clearly in the following case:

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

8 The imperative category

115
In this category there is a division into three object categories, a
division that also occurs in categories 10 to 24, inclusive. These object
categories are:

I. a. the verb has no object;
b. the object or, where the verb admits of two objects, the indirect
object, is neither the speaker, nor a group to which the speaker
belongs, nor the person(s) spoken to:

him, her, it; them.

II. the object or the indirect object, is the speaker or the person(s)
spoken to:

me, you.

III. the object, or the indirect object, is a group of people to which
the speaker considers himself to belong at the time of speaking:

us.

¹⁰⁶ For the final a in all these examples see § 34.
116

Paradigms of the imperative forms: 11

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

give it
you should give it to him
give it to me
give it to us

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

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

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

---

11 The following should be noted regarding the arrangement of the paradigms:
1. the verbal forms in the paradigms are shown without any prefixes. When prefixes do occur, they are given separately below the paradigms;
2. in the forms, only the junction between the core and the peripheral part is shown: in the usual manner, by a dash. The morpheme structure of the peripheral part can be deduced by comparing the different forms and from the discussion on the formal characteristics of the categories which will be given immediately after the paradigms;
3. when the phonological structure of the core influences the form of the suffixes following the core, the paradigms of the different verbs will be given in order to demonstrate this influence;
4. in general, a translation will only be given of one of the series of forms. This translation will always be of the forms with prefixes given in A.
similar suffix is absent in the form of the object category I. Object category I is here characterized by the absence of an element of form which is correlated with the categorical meaning. In a case such as this, we can say that the object category is characterized by zero. If we compare the form an-i with the other forms of the paradigm, then we see that here the modal suffix c is absent: the imperative is therefore characterized by zero. Besides an-i, the form with modal suffix -c, an-ic then occurs: here, the modal suffix -c alternates with zero.

 Formal characteristics.

117

Modal suffix: -c.
-c occurs after the suffix of object category I, and alternates freely with zero;
-c occurs before the suffix of object categories II and III.
In these cases, -c alternates freely with zero, when the core ends in r.

Object suffixes:
I.  a. -i/-u; -i and -u are conditioned allomorphs.
    According to the rule formulated in § 91 (/itúm/utúm) they are mutually exclusive.
   b.  -ej.
II.  -en alternates freely with -in.
III. -awuj.

Prefixes:
A.  a-/aj-/an-; m-/mV-; p-/pV-.
a- is only found before a core-initial consonant, or a. aj- or an- also occur before a instead of a-.
m- and p- occur before vowels.
mV- and pV- occur before consonants. As a rule, the vowel is identical to the first vowel of the core, but it can also be a, irrespective of the vowel following. No definite regularity could be discerned here. These prefixes can also be absent: when, however, the core consists of one vowel, there is always a prefix. In the cases noted this prefix was mostly a-.
B. mom-/pom- appear to alternate freely.
Categorial meaning

118
1. The imperative forms with prefixes of series A, or without a prefix. No difference in meaning could be found between the forms with and without a prefix or between the forms which each have a prefix. The forms with a- and with m-/mV- are interchangeable; the forms with p-/pV- are perhaps rather more emphatic than the others. All these forms, with the exception of those with -cej, express a command that must be obeyed immediately:

\textit{mó-por-i, a-por-i} look at it!

\textit{aj-ðf-cen, an-ðf-cen} hit me!

\textit{atów p-e-c} go and play!

play /do it/

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

\textit{iním a-ðm-cej} you must chop it this way.

/this way / chop it/

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

\textit{pacák pók towós-cêmokóm, akát pok tówos-céj}
bad wares /bring you always/ good wares /you must bring/
you always bring bad wares, you should bring good wares.

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

\textit{mó-m-tetám-cin} give it to me soon!

\textit{pom-mátewer-ic (pomáteweric)} chop it down soon and take it!

9 The hortative category

119
In this category the following subject categories are distinguished:
1. 2nd. pers. s. you
2. 2nd. pers. pl. you
3. 2nd. pers. dual both of you
4. 1st. pers. pl. we
5. 1st. pers. dual both of us

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

120
Paradigms of the hortative forms:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pór-cow</th>
<th>pór-cowúj</th>
<th>look at it, look now</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. án-cow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>you (pl.) look at it,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. án-cowúj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>you (pl.) look now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. án-cim</td>
<td>pór-cim/im</td>
<td></td>
<td>both of you look at it,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. án-car/ca</td>
<td>pór-car/ca</td>
<td></td>
<td>both of you look now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. án-casín</td>
<td>pór-casín</td>
<td></td>
<td>let us look at it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a. án-erasín</td>
<td>pór-asín</td>
<td></td>
<td>let us both look at it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a. án-erar/era</td>
<td>pór-ar/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>let us look at it (inf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(inf. = informal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. p-/pV-, m-/mV-, a-, -

The forms with the modal suffix *-er* that occur here in 4. and 5. are forms which only occur in friendly, familiar speech. They are not used when the speaker desires to or must keep the person(s) spoken to at a distance. These forms I shall call informal forms; the forms with modal suffix *-c* I shall call formal forms. The term formal only indicates, that in 'formal speech' only the formal forms are used; it does not imply that the formal forms can not occur in 'informal speech'. The distinction between formal and informal forms also occurs in categories 10, 11 and 12.
Formal characteristics

121

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

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

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

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

Subject suffixes:

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

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

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

Categorical meaning

122

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

The hortative forms express an exhortation:

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

$inín a-án-cow!$  eat it up!
/this way / eat it!/

$m-án-ca!$  let us eat it!
$atów p-ē-car!$  let us play!
play /let us!/

$má-jirpor-im$  both of you cross now (to the other side of the river).
Subdivision into subject- and object-categories

123

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

The object-categories are those mentioned in § 115.

The subject-categories are as follows:

1st. pers. sing
2nd. pers. "
3rd. pers. "
1st. pers. plural
2nd. pers. "
3rd. pers. "
3rd. pers. dual

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subj. cat.</th>
<th>obj. cat.</th>
<th>no.</th>
<th>I - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers. s.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>I - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>I - you, you (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. pers. s.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>you - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>you - me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>you - us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers. s.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>he - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>he - me, you, you (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>he - us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers. pl.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>we - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>we - you, you (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. pers. pl.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>you - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>you - me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>you - us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers. pl.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>they - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>they - you, you (pl.), me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>they - us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers. dual</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>both of them - him, them, etc., or: absence of object of object</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the paradigms, the verbal forms will be given in the order as above.\footnote{From the foregoing it will be clear that, when a verbs admits of no object, only forms 1, 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, and 17 occur. See, for example, the paradigms of the positional verbs, given in § 176.}

124

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes indicating the object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. -\text{n} after a vowel or \text{r}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-\text{en} word-finally; and after \text{C}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-\text{en} medial; and after \text{C} \neq \text{r}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. -\text{aw}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes indicating the subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers. s. -\text{i}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. pers. s. -\text{em}; after \text{w}, however: -\text{om}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers. s. \text{zero}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers. pl. -\text{om}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. pers. pl. -\text{okom}; after \text{r} or \text{w}, however: -\text{kom}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3rd. pers. pl. -\text{es}; after \text{p} or \text{w}, however: -\text{os}. With object-
  suffix -\text{en} - you (pl.): zero; see § 126. |

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

10 **The conditional category**

125

In this category there is a division into formal and informal forms. This division cuts through the classification into subject- and object-
categories, so that the whole paradigm is split into one series of formal forms and one series of informal forms.

Paradigms of the conditional forms:

*tetám* to give; *por* to see

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>formal</th>
<th>informal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tetám-ci</td>
<td>tetám-ěrí</td>
<td>por-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tetám-cín</td>
<td>tetám-ěrín</td>
<td>por-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tetám-cem</td>
<td>tetám-ěréém</td>
<td>por-ém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. tetám-čeném</td>
<td>tetám-ěrném</td>
<td>por-ném</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. tetám-cawóm</td>
<td>tetám-črawóm</td>
<td>pór-awóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/8. tetám-caw</td>
<td>tetám-čráw</td>
<td>por-áw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. tetám-cen</td>
<td>tetám-črán</td>
<td>por-én</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. tetám-com</td>
<td>tetám-čróm</td>
<td>por-óm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tetám-cenóm</td>
<td>tetám-ěrnóróm</td>
<td>por-nóróm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. tetám-cokom</td>
<td>tetám-ěrkóróm</td>
<td>por-kóróm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. tetám-cenokóm</td>
<td>tetám-černokóróm</td>
<td>pór-nokóróm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tetám-cawkóm</td>
<td>tetám-črawkóróm</td>
<td>pór-awkóróm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. tetám-ces</td>
<td>tetám-črés</td>
<td>por-és</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. tetám-cenés</td>
<td>tetám-černés</td>
<td>por-nés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. tetám-cawós</td>
<td>tetám-črawós</td>
<td>pór-awós</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. zero, a-

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

C. p-*/pV-, m-*/mV-, zero prohibitive

D. ca-*/ta- prioritive

---

13 Of the pronouns in object category I: him, her, it, them, I shall follow the practice throughout the paradigms of giving only ‘him’.

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

126

Modal suffixes:  -c; -er/-êr/zero.\(^{15}\)

-c  occurs with the formal forms.
The following occur with the informal forms:
-er  before C
-êr  before V; after the core-final r, zero always occurs.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:
III. in forms 6/8 zero occurs instead of -aw.
Subject suffixes; peculiarities:
3rd. pers. s. in forms 6/8: -aw occurs instead of zero.
3rd. pers. pl.: a feature occurs here which is also found in the
following categories: when combined with the subject suffix -es of the
3rd. pers. pl., the object suffix -en only relates to the speaker and the
person spoken to:

tetâm-cênês  if they give me, you (sing.).

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

 tetâm-cen  
  a. if he gives it to me, you, you (pl.)
  b. if they give it to you (pl.).

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

\(^{15}\) For reasons unknown to me the informants always used the informal forms
with cores ending in es, it and awër, and the formal forms with cores ending
in itâm:

kârtu atôw ë.it-êri, ë.es-êri, ë.awer-i, ë.itâm-ci
cards play /if I do.../

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

Later, it appeared from the texts that the formal forms can occur with cores
ending in it and es and the informal forms with cores ending in itâm (á-porit-ci, 
á-pores-ci, á-poritâm-êři).

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

á-porâtwêr-i  if I continually look at.... (formal & informal).
B. *m-/ma-/maj-:

*ma- occurs before C and V ≠ a.
*m- occurs before a, except with the positional roots *ap to sit, and
amis to lie: here, maj- occurs.

C. *m-/*mV-, *p-/*pV-:
The rules of distribution are here the same as for the prefixes of the
imperative category (§ 117).

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

**Categorial meaning**

127
A. Forms with prefix *a-*, or without prefix:
these have a conditional meaning:

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

128
B. Forms with prefix *m-/ma-/maj-*: these have an imperative meaning;
they express an order or a requirement. Only the forms of the 1st. and
3rd. persons occur with this meaning:

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

*máj-ap-éráw* he must remain sitting.
*máj-ams-éráw, máj-amis-caw* it must remain lying.
*má-emtiép-caw* it must remain hanging.

*má-tep-érés* they must go upstream.

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

129
Forms with prefix *m-/*mV- or *p-/*pV-*: these have a prohibitive
meaning. Here, by contrast, only the forms of the 2nd. person occur.
They have either no prefix, or *m-/*mV-, or *p-/*pV-, just as in the
imperative and hortative categories, without noticeable difference in meaning:

*pók mi-jitúm-cënemó*\(^{15a}\) don’t throw things at me the whole evening!
things /don’t throw at me in the evening/

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

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

*man mi tìvot-ârém*
/hand tip /don’t touch him/
don’t touch him with the tips of your fingers (§ 309)!

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

*m-owórse p-é-cémá*\(^{15b}\) you must not travel to and fro!
/to travel to and fro / you must not/

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

130

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

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

*cá-xijisp-rin*\(^{16}\) let me first go quickly to the forest to look at it.

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

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

\(^{15a}\) For final *o* see § 33.
\(^{15b}\) For final *a* see § 34.
\(^{16}\) Form 2 (I-you) always occurs when the speaker refers to himself, as in the case just given.
The conditional forms also occur in interrogative sentences with the interrogatives *ucim* what, which, and *ca* who, when the question relates to the future:

- *ucim caj é-cem* what are you going to do?
- which scheme /you do?/
- *ca a-tewér-caw* who will take it?
- who /will take it?/

See also the discussion on interrogatives, § 234.

### 11 The optative category

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

Paradigms:

- *tetám* to give; *por* to see

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>formal</th>
<th>informal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tetám-caj</td>
<td>tetám-aráj</td>
<td>por-áj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tetám-can</td>
<td>tetám-aran</td>
<td>por-án</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tetám-carém</td>
<td>tetm-ararém</td>
<td>por-arém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. tetám-carném</td>
<td>tetm-ararném</td>
<td>por-arném</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. tetám-carawóm</td>
<td>tetm-arárawóm</td>
<td>por-árawóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. tetám-car</td>
<td>tetm-arár</td>
<td>por-ár</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. tetám-carén</td>
<td>tetm-ararén</td>
<td>por-arén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. tetám-caráw</td>
<td>tetm-araráw</td>
<td>por-aráw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. tetám-caróm</td>
<td>tetm-arárom</td>
<td>por-árom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tetám-carnóm</td>
<td>tetm-ararnóm</td>
<td>por-arnóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. tetám-carkóm</td>
<td>tetm-ararkóm</td>
<td>por-arkóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. tetám-carnokóm</td>
<td>tetm-arárnokóm</td>
<td>por-árnokóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tetám-carawkóm</td>
<td>tetm-araráwkóm</td>
<td>por-aráwkóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. tetám-carés</td>
<td>tetm-ararés</td>
<td>por-arés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. tetám-carnés</td>
<td>tetm-ararnés</td>
<td>por-arnés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. tetám-carawós</td>
<td>tetm-araráwos</td>
<td>por-aráwos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. t-/ta-
Formal characteristics

133
Modal suffixes: -car/-ca, -arar/-ara/-ar/-a:
formal: -car in all cases, except in forms 1. and 2. where -ca occurs.
informal: in all forms, except 1. and 2.: -arar, but after the core-final
r: -ar.
In forms 1. and 2.: -ara, but after the core-final r: -a.
As in the conditional forms, the contrast formal-informal, does not
occur with cores ending in awér. After awér, only -ar and -a occur.

Object suffixes: no peculiarities.

Subject suffixes: peculiarities:
1st. pers. s. -j in form 1.; zero in form 2.

Prefixes: t-/ta-.
t- before vowels; ta- before consonants.

Categorial meaning

134
The forms of the optative category express an unrealizable wish of
the speaker:

jó cowák a t-arwáp-cares áw!
river one there /had they but lived together/ pp
had they but lived together on one river ($§$ 329)!

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

 nórap áj nat a jèw t-ámses-aráj
/I alone/ pp pp here /ceremonial house / I would sleep/
If I were alone (unmarried) I would stay and sleep here in the
ceremonial house.
ó a-tówof áj, nés t-on-cán
pig killed pp flesh /I would give you/
If I had killed a pig, I would give you the flesh.

When, however, the verb following after aj relates to the past, then
the past tense forms of categories 16 and 17 occur:
to á es áj, emé-jaw-óf
yesterday here /to come/ pp /I speared them already/
    had they come here yesterday, I would have speared them

jó pu iním ense-res áj nat, mú namir emé-dóf-ores in
sea on /like this / they were/ pp pp water dead /they were already/ pp
    had they been on the sea, then they would by now have met their
deaths in the water.

12 The habitual category

135
This category, like categories 13 to 15, inclusive, and 18 to 21, inclusive,
is a tense-aspect category with separate characteristics of form for
indicating time and aspect. In this category, as in the two previous
categories, a series of formal and a series of informal forms occur.
These two series are, in addition, opposed to a third series of forms
which express a particular mood of the speaker, such as, for example:
joy, excitement, vexation, disappointment. These forms I shall call
mood forms. The formal and the informal forms are, in this respect,
near. In addition, a few interrogative forms were noted. These occur
only in the traditional stories. I get the impression that they have an
archaic character. Outside the traditional tales, I found in questions only
the non-interrogative forms, followed by the question marker en/an. 17

136
(Paradigms: see pp. 94-95)

I noted the following interrogative forms:

1. tetám-cëmaní shall I give him
3. tetám-cëmaném will you give him
6. tetám-cëmán will he give him
9. tetám-cëmanóm shall we give him
11. tetám-cëmánokóm will you give him
14. tetám-cëmanés will they give him

Formal characteristics

137
Aspect suffixes: -cém/-cē/-cu/-m; -erm (informal).
1. only with cores not ending in the formative awér:

17 For the discussion on this, see § 252.
-cêm in all non-mood forms, and in mood-form 6 (before mood suffix -op).

-cê before mood suffix -p when -p is followed by a vowel ≠ u.
-cu before the mood suffix -p when -p is followed by u.

2. only with cores ending in the formative awër: -m.\(^{18}\)

3. Informal: -erm. This suffix occurs only with cores not ending in r.
The opposition formal-informal does not, therefore, occur if the core ends in r.

Tense suffix: from a comparison with the forms of category 13, it appears that here the time suffix is zero.

Mood suffix: -p/-op.

-p occurs in all forms, except when the object suffix and the subject suffix are zero; in that case, -op occurs.

Interrogative suffix: -an.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:

III. In the non-mood series: -ćraw occurs before vowels; -araw occurs word-finally and before consonants.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

1st. pers. s.; after the mood suffix -p: final -uj, medial -u.

3rd. pers. s.; in the formal and informal series: when the object suffix is zero: -ar alternating with -a. -ar and -a alternate freely, except when, in context, the form is followed by a word with initial vowel. In that case, this suffix is always -ar.

Prefixes:

A. zero/a-/aj-:

\(^{18}\) Here I noted only one mood-form of a core ending in awër: m-ajmir,wemewč-punë = I always go the wrong way, (§ 317).

Here, the aspect suffix is zero. If we compare this form with mood-forms of cores without awër, it then becomes apparent that in this series we can expect an aspect suffix -m in form 6. (before -op):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>before -op</th>
<th>before -p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>without awër</td>
<td>-cêm</td>
<td>-cê, -cu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with awër</td>
<td>(-m)</td>
<td>zero</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigms of these forms would, therefore, probably be as follows:

1. porawer-puj; 2. porawer-pun; etc.; 6. porawer-mop; 7. porawer-pen, etc.
Paradigms: *tetám* to give; *por* to see

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>formal</th>
<th>informal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tetám-cěmí</td>
<td>tetám-ermí</td>
<td>porawér-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tetám-cěmín</td>
<td>tetám-ermín</td>
<td>porawér-min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tetám-cěmém</td>
<td>tetám-ermém</td>
<td>porawér-mem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. tetám-cěměném</td>
<td>tetám-erměném</td>
<td>porawér-měném</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. tetám-cěměrawón</td>
<td>tetám-ěrměrawóm</td>
<td>porawér-měrawóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. tetám-cěmá(r)</td>
<td>tetám-ermá(r)</td>
<td>porawér-ma(r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. tetám-cěmén</td>
<td>tetám-ermén</td>
<td>porawér-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. tetám-cěmaráw</td>
<td>tetám-ermaráw</td>
<td>porawér-maráw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. tetám-cěmóm</td>
<td>tetám-ermóm</td>
<td>porawér-móm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tetám-cěměnóm</td>
<td>tetám-erměnóm</td>
<td>porawér-měnóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. tetám-cěměkóm</td>
<td>tetám-erměkóm</td>
<td>porawér-měkóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. tetám-cěměnkóm</td>
<td>tetám-erměnkóm</td>
<td>porawér-měnkóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tetám-cěmaráwkóm</td>
<td>tetám-ermaráwkóm</td>
<td>porawér-maráwkóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. tetám-cěmés</td>
<td>tetám-ermés</td>
<td>porawér-més</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. tetám-cěměnés</td>
<td>tetám-erměnés</td>
<td>porawér-měnés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. tetam-cěměrawós</td>
<td>tetam-ěrměrawós</td>
<td>porawér-měrawós</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. zero, a-/aj-

B. m-/mV-

C. tep-/tepa-

*a-* alternates with zero. In addition, *a-* alternates with *aj-* before *a.* The prefix *a-* usually occurs before a core having one vowel and beginning with a consonant. There is usually no prefix before cores beginning with a vowel.

B. *m-/mV-*:
The rule of distribution is here the same as that applying to the prefix *m-/mV-* of category 4 (§ 110).

C. *tep-/tepa-*:
*tepa-* occurs in all cases, except before *a*
*tep-* occurs before *a.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mood forms</th>
<th>I usually give him</th>
<th>I shall give him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćupúj</td>
<td>I usually give you</td>
<td>I shall give you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćupún</td>
<td>you usually give him</td>
<td>you will give him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćepém</td>
<td>you usually give me</td>
<td>you will give me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćepéném</td>
<td>you usually give us</td>
<td>you will give us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etm-ćepawóm</td>
<td>he usually gives him</td>
<td>he will give him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćemop</td>
<td>he usually gives me, you</td>
<td>he will give me, you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćepen</td>
<td>they usually give you (pl.)</td>
<td>they will give you (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćepaw</td>
<td>he usually gives us</td>
<td>he will give us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćepom</td>
<td>we usually give him</td>
<td>we shall give him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćepénóm</td>
<td>we usually give you</td>
<td>we shall give you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćepokóm</td>
<td>you usually give him</td>
<td>you will give him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćepénokóm</td>
<td>you usually give me</td>
<td>you will give me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćepawköm</td>
<td>you usually give us</td>
<td>you will give us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćepés</td>
<td>they usually give him</td>
<td>they will give him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćepénés</td>
<td>they usually give me, you (sing.)</td>
<td>they will give me, you (sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etám-ćepawós</td>
<td>they usually give us</td>
<td>they will give us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**explicative**

**negative interrogative**

*Categorial meaning*

138

A. The forms without prefix, or with *a-/aj*-.

These indicate:

1. that the action or the happening is customary:

   *jéw emáp-cěmá*

   ceremonial house / he sits usually/

   he is sitting, as usual, in the ceremonial house (§ 265).
is a-poáms-ermóm (after the feast) we usually all go to sleep.
sleep /we usually all go to sleep/

ci jufúj nim a-kirim-cupúj
canoe /trough for paint/ like /I am accustomed to make/ (mood-form)
I am accustomed to make a canoe (beautifully carved) like a trough
for paint! (Here the speaker gives expression to a feeling of pride).

In addition, they can have a prohibitive meaning:

iniim ém-cémemá\(^{18a}\) you mustn't do it this way.
/this way / you must not always do it/

iniim atakám a-taw-cémém you mustn't keep saying such things.
/like this/ talking /you mustn't always speak/

2. that the action or the happening will take place in the future:

usi wow a-káj-cémá today the people will return from camp (§ 333).
camp today /people will return/

ós armá emwús-ermár
tree /it itself / it will fall down/
the tree will fall down of its own accord (§ 296).

ós kor am ém-cépém
cough loudly also /you will do/ (mood-form)
soon you'll also cough loudly (said a speaker laughing to the tape
recorder when he had interrupted his narrative with a fit of
coughing).

139

B. Forms with the prefix m-\(/mV\).-
All the forms noted belong to the formal series.
The forms with m-\(/mV\) are distinguished from the forms without
a prefix, or with a-\(/aj\) in that they are used when the speaker explains
or interprets something, or when he makes a confirmatory statement
to himself. These forms I shall call explicative forms (see § 111).
Explaining which word is used for peeling skin, an informant said:

na picín ma-fajúj-cémároú our skin ‘peels’.
our skin /it ‘peels us’/

m-ájmiremewér-puně\(^{18b}\) (mood-form) - I always go the wrong way!

\(^{18a}\) For final a see § 34.
\(^{18b}\) For final ē see § 33.
(complains a man who meets spirits when he is looking for food § 317).
Form 2. occurs here because he makes the observation to himself.

140
C. Forms with the prefix tep-/-tepa-.
All the forms noted belong to the formal series.
The forms with tep-/-tepa- are distinguished from the forms with zero/a-/aj- in that they express a negative question:

tepa-pór-cémém  why don't you usually look at it?

13 The habitual forms of the mediate past

141
Paradigms:
tetam to give; e/j to do

| 1. tetam-cémop   | j-ermop   | I usually gave him |
| 2. tetam-cempín  | j-erpín   | I usually gave you |
| 3. tetam-cempém  | j-erpém   | you usually gave him|
| 4. tetam-cempéném| j-erpéném | you usually gave me |
| 5. tetam-cempawóm| j-erpawóm | you usually gave us |
| 6. tetam-cempép  | j-ermép   | he usually gave him |
| 7. tetam-cempén  | j-erpén   | he usually gave you |
| 8. tetam-cempáw  | j-erpáw   | they usually gave you (pl.) |
| 9. tetam-cempóm  | j-erpóm   | he usually gave us   |
| 10. tetam-cempénóm| j-erpénóm | we usually gave him  |
| 11. tetam-cempokóm| j-erpokóm | we usually gave you  |
| 12. tetam-cempenokom| j-erpokóm | you (pl.) usually gave him |
| 13. tetam-cempawkóm| j-erpawkóm | you (pl.) usually gave me |
| 14. tetam-cempés | j-erpés   | you (pl.) usually gave us |
| 15. tetam-cempénés| j-erpénés | they usually gave him |
| 16. tetam-cempawós| j-erpawós | they usually gave me, you (sing.) |

A. -/a-
It will be seen from the paradigms that a series of forms occurs with an aspect suffix -cēm, and another series with an aspect suffix -erm/-er. Though the formal contrast between the two series shows great similarity with that between the formal and the informal series of the habitual category, there does not appear to be a division into formal and informal forms. The forms with -erm/-er were only found with the verb e/j to do, when it is linked to the repetitive form of a verb (core-ā); they occur here instead of the forms with -cēm. The two series appear to be mutually exclusive.

Formal characteristics

Aspect suffixes: -cēm; -erm/-er. -erm before vowels; -er before consonants.

Tense suffix: -p. In all forms, the tense suffix follows the aspect suffix, except in forms 1 and 6, in which it follows the subject suffix.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:
1st. pers. s.: before the tense suffix: -o (form 1)
3rd. pers. s.: before the tense suffix: -e (form 6).

Prefix: a-.
a- was only found before cores having one vowel, and an initial consonant. In all other cases noted, no prefix occurred.

Categorical meaning

The forms of this category indicate that the action or the happening took place regularly over a certain period of time. They differ semantically from the forms of the habitual category in that they relate to that part of the past that goes back from yesterday as far back as the generations still alive can recall from their own experience. This period I have called the mediate past (see also § 105, note 6) in contrast to the ultimate past which covers the remaining part of the past.

Forms with -cēm:
erěm ‘ni’ a-jěs-cěmpěs, na tapín
night come /they said time and time again/, we /sleeping mats/
/manám a-jik-cěmpōm/, wunám ‘opák’ a-ji-cěmpes
/we packed them up time and time again/, then ‘no’ /they said/
time and time again that night they said: “come (let’s go)”. Then
we packed up our sleeping mats, but again they said they were
not going.

/wá mu/ nákurumsém-cěmop, wunám /wun ás/
pool /I drank up again/ then another
every time I drank one pool dry I began on another (§ 314).

In Jepém I noted one case where the ending -cěpes occurs instead
of -cěmpes:

jiwī a mú nisé-cěpes, ás i op tepómponsém-cěpes
children there water /they were as usual/ shit piss above /they kept letting go/
The children who, as usual, were (playing) in the water just let
their shit and piss go (§ 320).

Forms with -erm/-er:

“nū” jicuku-á j-erměp shouting, they usually fled.
ooh! /shouting fled / they usually did/

ci táktetémapm-á j-erpōm
canoes /went downstream and rammed / we usually did/
we usually rowed downstream and rammed their canoes!

14 The progressive forms

144

In this category there occur a series of non-mood forms and one series
of mood forms. In addition, a number of interrogative forms was found
which appear to be used exclusively in traditional stories. A dual form
of the 3rd. pers. occurs in the non-mood series. In contrast to the dual
forms of the hortative category, this one appears to be unproductive.
Until now, I have only found it in texts which were narrated by a
couple of old men who were approximately 50 or 60 years old. In these
texts, the dual form was not used consistently by the narrators. The
informants knew these dual forms, but in practise they made no
distinction between the 3rd. pers. pl. and the 3rd. pers. dual.
In the progressive forms, the durative formative occurs in the allomorph
a instead of awér.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-mood forms</th>
<th>mood forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. por-mí</td>
<td>tetámutam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. por-mín</td>
<td>tetámutamín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. por-mém</td>
<td>tetámutamém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. por-méném</td>
<td>tetámutuménem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. pór-měrawóm</td>
<td>tetámutaměrawóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. por-má(r)</td>
<td>tetámutumá(r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. por-mén</td>
<td>tetámutumén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. pór-maraw</td>
<td>tetámutumaraw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. por-móm</td>
<td>tetámutumóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. pór-měnom</td>
<td>tetámutuménom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. pór-mokóm</td>
<td>tetámutumokóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. pór-měnokóm</td>
<td>tetámutuměnokóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. pór-měrawkóm</td>
<td>tetámutuměrawkóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. por-més</td>
<td>tetámutumés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. pór-měnés</td>
<td>tetámutuménés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. pór-měrawós</td>
<td>tetámutuměrawós</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. pór-mamés</td>
<td>tetámutamamés</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. zero/a-/j-  
B. m-/mV-  
C. em-/eme-  
D. op-/opa-  
E. tep-/tepa-  

I give it to him  
I give it to you  
you give it to him  
you give it to me  
you give it to us  
he gives it to him  
he gives it to me, you  
they give it to you (pl.)  
he gives it to us  
we give it to him  
we give it to you  
you give it to him  
you give it to me  
you give it to us  
they give it to him  
they give it to me, you (sing.)  
they give it to us  
they both give it  

explicative  
completive  
interrogative  
negative-interrogative
Paradigms:

tetám to give; tetámutúm to give in the evening; por to see
(Paradigms: see p. 100)

The following interrogative forms were found:

1. á-por-maní do I see him?
2. á-por-manín do I see you?
3. á-por-maném do you see him?
4. á-por-máněném do you see me?
10. á-por-manóm do we see him?

Formal characteristics

145
Aspect suffix: -m/-am/zero.
-m occurs in all cases, except when the core ends in m.
-am occurs when the core ends in m, except after the formative itúm/
utúm 'in the evening', and after the core em 'to do, to make' when
the verb forms a word-group with a form of category 4 (see § 183).
zero occurs after itúm/utúm, and with em 'to do, to make' in the case
mentioned above.

Tense suffix: from a comparison with the forms of category 15 this
appears to be zero.

-Vp occurs after aspect suffix -m. The vowel is identical with the (last)
vowel of the subject suffix.
-op final, when the aspect suffix is -am or zero.
-p medial, when the aspect suffix is -am or zero.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:
1. when the subject suffix is zero -a alternates freely with -ar, except
in context if the word following has an initial vowel: in that case, only
-ar occurs.
III. In the non-mood series: final -araw; medial -čraw.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:
1st pers. s.: after the mood suffix: final -uj (form 1) medial -u
(form 2).

Interrogative suffix: -an; follows directly on the aspect suffix.
Prefixes:
A. zero/a-/aj-.
a- alternates freely with zero. In addition, a- alternates with aj-
before a. Cores having one vowel and with an initial consonant usually
have the prefix a-.

Cores with an initial vowel usually have no prefix.
B. m-/mV-: the same rules of distribution apply as for the prefix
m-/mV- of category 4 (§ 110).
C. em-/eme-: eme- occurs in all cases except before e; em- occurs
before e.
D. op-/opa-: opa- occurs in all cases, except before a; op- occurs
before a.
E. tep-/tepa-: tepa- occurs in all cases, except before a; tep- occurs
before a.

Categorial meaning

146
The progressive forms indicate that the action or the happening is or
was still in progress. They relate to the present and the ultimate past
to which, as I have already mentioned, belongs everything that has
occurred on the same day as the speech event, but prior to it, as well
as everything that took place so long ago that it is known only from
tradition.19 When, however, the core ends in the formative itúm/utúm,
es, it/ut, or a (durative), these forms only relate to the ultimate past
and appear to lack the progressive aspect.

147
A. The forms with zero/a-/aj-: their categorial meaning does not
differ from the categorial meaning as described in § 146.

jisín kokómtaw-més aráw they are picking coconuts.
cocoanuts /they are picking/ pp

no atakám a-táw-mopokóm (hey!) you’re talking about me!
me talking /you do/ (mood-form)

Jaméw is nim póamis-már maré a-níjirimuw-or in
/people of J./ sleep when /they all slept/, then /they all departed/ pp

19 See § 105; note 6.
When the people of Jaméw all slept, they (people of Jepém) all departed (§ 344).

tám a-nuːwúːt-mames in they both departed in the morning (§ 328).
morning /they both departed/ pp

móːc a-móːca-már she wailed continually.
wailing /she kept wailing/

I came across a few cases in which the categorial meaning of the forms with zero/a-/aj- appeared to be parallel to those of category 12 with prefix zero/a-/aj-. These forms are to be found in text II (§ 265). The following case is taken from a text which is not included in this book:

ci na sówpum-cěmi aráw, a ci wunám jú canoe pp /I always launch/ pp the canoe again trunk
owsorės-mopá /it becomes again at night!/ (mood-form)
I always launch the canoe and then at night it always changes into a trunk again!

148

B. Forms with prefix m-/mV-: These are distinguished from the forms with zero/a-/aj- by a semantic element of explication or clarification:

sók mi-pimá a bird flies.
bird /it flies/

"ó uciè!" — "ó ućiè pak áw; nám m-enâw-mi". you what — you what not pp; I /I come/
"What do you want!" — "Don’t say ‘what do you want’; I’m just coming”.

maré, jó ma-ni-má; nó a me-sès
good, sun /goes down/ I here /stay tonight in the water/
Good, the sun goes down, I’ll stay here tonight in the water (says a crocodile).

149

C. Forms with the prefix em-/eme-: these are distinguished from the forms with zero/a-/aj- by a semantic element of completion which can be translated with ‘already’.
mú emé-susu-má pen  Is the water boiling already?
water /it is boiling already/ pp

emé-jistewóres-mí  I have already been to the forest tonight and fetched it.

150
D. Forms with the prefix op-/opa-: these are distinguished from the forms with zero/a-/aj- by a semantic element of interrogation, translatable with: for what reason, why.

car mó nor asén opá-na-már
your (pl) husband my place /why he ate/
why has your husband eaten at my place?

151
E. Forms with the prefix tep-/tepa-: these are distinguished from the forms with op-/opa- by a semantic element of negation:

enám tep-ámpía-mém  why won't you also go fishing?
fish /why won't you also go fishing/

Instead of enám tepámpiamém, one can also say: 20

enám m-ampi pák opá-ema-mém.
fish /also to fish/ not /why don't you/

15  The progressive forms of the mediate past

152
A division into non-mood and mood forms does not occur here.
The durative formative here occurs in the allomorph a.

(Paradigms: see p. 105)

Formal characteristics

153
Aspect suffix: -m/-am/zero.
-m occurs after core-final V, and after core-final C ≠ m when a vowel follows the aspect suffix (forms 1. and 2.).

20 For this construction, see § 183.
Paradigms: *tetám* to give; *af* to strike; (*atakám*) *tawutum* to tell stories the whole evening

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I was striking him</th>
<th>1. af-móp</th>
<th>tetám-amóp</th>
<th>tawutum-óp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I was striking you</td>
<td>2. af-pín</td>
<td>tetám-ampín</td>
<td>tawutum-pín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you were striking him</td>
<td>3. af-pém</td>
<td>tetám-ampém</td>
<td>tawutum-pém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you were striking me</td>
<td>4. áf-pěném</td>
<td>tetám-ampěném</td>
<td>tawutum-řhéném</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you were striking us</td>
<td>5. áf-pawóm</td>
<td>tetám-ampawóm</td>
<td>tawutum-pawóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he was striking him</td>
<td>6. af-mép</td>
<td>tetám-amép</td>
<td>tawutum-ép</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he was striking you</td>
<td>7. af-pén</td>
<td>tetám-ampén</td>
<td>tawutum-pén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they were striking you (pl.)</td>
<td>8. af-páw</td>
<td>tetám-ampáw</td>
<td>tawutum-páw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he was striking us</td>
<td>9. af-póm</td>
<td>tetám-ampóm</td>
<td>tawutum-póm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we were striking him</td>
<td>10. áf-pěnóm</td>
<td>tetám-ampěnóm</td>
<td>tawutum-řhénóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we were striking you</td>
<td>11. áf-pokóm</td>
<td>tetám-ampokóm</td>
<td>tawutum-pokóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (pl.) were striking him</td>
<td>12. áf-pěnokóm</td>
<td>tetam-ampěnokóm</td>
<td>tawutum-pěnokóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (pl.) were striking me</td>
<td>13. áf-pawkóm</td>
<td>tetam-ampawkóm</td>
<td>tawutum-pawkóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (pl.) were striking us</td>
<td>14. af-pés</td>
<td>tetám-ampés</td>
<td>tawutum-pés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they were striking him</td>
<td>15. áf-pěnés</td>
<td>tetám-ampěnes</td>
<td>tawutum-pěnés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they were striking me, you (sing.)</td>
<td>16. áf-pawós</td>
<td>tetám-ampawós</td>
<td>tawutum-pawós</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. zero/a-/a-
-am occurs after core-final m, except after cores ending in the formative itūm/utūm ‘in the evening’.

zero occurs:  
a. after core-final C ≠ m, when a consonant follows; 
b. after itūm/utūm.

Tense suffix:  -p.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:
1st. pers. s.: in form 1.: -o. 3rd. pers. s.: in form 6.: -e.

Prefix:  zero/a-/a'-. 

a- alternates with zero; in addition, a- alternates with aj- before a.

Categorial meaning

154

The forms of this category differ from those of the preceding category only in that they relate to the mediate past:

Owpacákic is nim pútamis-mēp, parás ten kāku a-wini-ōf
O. asleep when /he lay down / dune-ridge/ on quickly /I went away/
when O. lay down asleep, I quickly ran away along the dune-ridge (§ 312).

atakám tāwutum-ēp  in the evening he told of it.
story /he told in the evening/

erēn tepit-mēp  he went upstream in the morning.
upstream /he went in the morning/

kónawomsēs-pēnem cēm
/you came-slept with me/ house
the house where you came and slept with me (§ 300).

a jif sionípora-mēp
the ground /I tried to dig away continually/
I tried to dig away the ground continually (§ 302).

These forms, like those of category 14, lack the progressive aspect when the core ends in one of the time-of-day formatives or the durative formative.

16  The ultimate past category

155

In these categories there is again a distinction between non-mood forms and mood forms. In addition, there is a series of interrogative forms
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>non-interrogative</th>
<th>mood-forms</th>
<th>interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>an-í</td>
<td>tetam-új</td>
<td>por-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>an-in</td>
<td>tetam-ún</td>
<td>por-ín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>an-érém</td>
<td>tetám-orém</td>
<td>por-ém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>an-éném</td>
<td>tetám-éném</td>
<td>por-ném</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>án-éravóm</td>
<td>tetám-éravóm</td>
<td>por-awóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>an-ér</td>
<td>tetam-ór</td>
<td>por-óp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>an-én</td>
<td>tetam-én</td>
<td>por-én</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>an-aráw</td>
<td>tetám-aráw</td>
<td>por-áw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>an-éróém</td>
<td>tetám-oróém</td>
<td>por-óm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>an-énóm</td>
<td>tetám-énóm</td>
<td>por-nóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>an-érkóm</td>
<td>tetám-orkóm</td>
<td>por-kóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>án-ernokóm</td>
<td>tetám-ornokóm</td>
<td>por-nokóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>án-érawkóm</td>
<td>tetám-érawkóm</td>
<td>por-awkóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>an-érés</td>
<td>tetám-érés</td>
<td>por-és</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>an-énés</td>
<td>tetám-énés</td>
<td>por-nés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>án-éravós</td>
<td>tetam-éravós</td>
<td>por-awós</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>án-ermamés</td>
<td>tetam-ermamés</td>
<td>por-mamés</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>explicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>completeive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>interrogative (causal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>negative interrogative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
characterized by the suffix -an. The forms of this category, in contrast to those of categories 12 and 14, do not occur in combination with the question marker en/an (§ 252).

As in category 14, a dual form of the 3rd. pers. occurs but it does not appear to be productive. I found it in the same texts as the dual form of category 14.

Paradigms of the ultimate past forms:
por to see; tetám to give; an to eat; wu to shout

(Paradigms: see p. 10?)

tití to tremble; fe to string together; (owén) amo to fight with

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. a-titi/titi-jí</th>
<th>a-fé-j</th>
<th>amó-j</th>
<th>a-wú-j</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. a-titi-rém/érém</td>
<td>a-fe-rém/érém</td>
<td>amo-rém</td>
<td>a-wú-órém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. a-titi-r/ér</td>
<td>a-fé-r/ér</td>
<td>amó-r</td>
<td>a-wú-ór</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Formal characteristics

156

Tense suffix: from a comparison with the forms of category 17, it appears that the tense suffix is zero.


Interrogative suffix: -an, suffixed directly to the core.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:
I. zero: in form 1.; after core-final r; 21 in all mood forms.
-or: after core-final m; after core-final p, w, f, preceded by a, o, u or C; not, however, after em - to stand and ap - to sit (/// itúm/ utúm, § 91).

In the other cases occur:
-ér before a vowel; between two vowels -ér alternates with -r.
-er word-finally, or before a consonant.

21 In the speech of only one speaker did I find the object suffix -er word-finally after core-final r, alternating with zero: aporér/apór he saw it; atewerér/ atewér he took it. See text IV and V, passim.
II. -ën alternates with -n between two vowels.

III. -aw occurs in the mood forms, and after core-final r.
    -araw occurs word-finally, after core-final C ≠ r. After core-final V -araw alternates with -raw.
    -êraw occurs medially, after core-final C ≠ r. After core-final V -êraw alternates with -raw.
    -raw after core-final V alternating with -araw and -êraw.

Subject suffixes: peculiarities:
1st. pers. s.: -uʃ occurs word finally; -u occurs word-initially; zero after core-final -i; -j after core-final V ≠ i.
The distribution of -uʃ and -u is parallel to that of -or (see above).
3rd. pers. dual: -mames.

Prefixes:
A. a-/aj-/an-/zero:
a- alternates freely with zero. In addition, a- alternates with aj- before a.
an- was only found in the form an-e-rés = they said, alternating with a- and zero: a-e-rés/e-rés. Before cores having one vowel, with initial consonant, a- usually occurs. Before cores with an initial vowel, there is usually no prefix.

B. m-/mV-/ Here, the rules of distribution apply as for the prefix m-/mV- of category 4 (§ 110).

C, D, E: Here, the same rules of distribution apply as for the corresponding prefixes of category 14 (see § 146).

Categorial meaning

157

A. The forms without a prefix, or with a-/aj-/an-:
These relate exclusively to the ultimate past, i.e. the period covering that part of the day which is prior to the speech event, as well as the distant past which is only known from tradition (see also § 105, note 6).
B. The forms with the prefix m-/-mV-.
These have a semantic element of explanation, clarification:

\[ aná\text{m} \ jp\text{im} \ \text{new}, \ \ddot{\text{o}}\text{mus} \ \text{now}, \ \text{me-}ms\text{émapm-új} \]

anam /extreme end/ perhaps ōmus perhaps /I've left there/
I've left the extreme end of the anám (central sago pith) in the
trunk of the sago palm, or perhaps it's the ōmus (outside sago
pith) (§ 299).

\[ ts! \ m\text{-}m\text{ámamtewér-pokóm!} \ (\text{mood-form}) \ So, \ you've \ just \ met \ each \ other! \]
(Here the speaker deduces a fact and remarks upon it testily to
himself.)

C. The forms with the prefix em-/-eme-.
These have a semantic element of completion translatable with already:

\[ emé\text{-}setaj-ér \ he \ has \ already \ arrived \ (by \ canoe). \]

\[ emé\text{-}pa\text{-}nikájap-ánokom \ ewá \]

pp
have all of you perhaps returned? (from getting sago).

\[ amás \ nes \ emé\text{-}awkurúm-puj \]
sago pith /I have already scraped out all/
I have already scraped out all the sago pith! (§ 297).

D. The forms with op-/-opa-.
Forms with this prefix are interrogative forms translatable with why,
for what reason:

\[ a \ nát \ a \ ci \ mátuvuvw \ pák \ opá-em-ór \]
he pp his canoe go off not why does he
why doesn't he go in his own canoe?

E. Forms with tep-/-tepa-.
These are negative interrogative forms translatable with why not:

\[ ^{22}\text{For pa-, see § 180.} \]
a náit a ci tepá-tuwuw-ór
he pp his canoe /why doesn't he go/
why doesn't he go in his own canoe? (This is an alternative used
instead of the previous example).\textsuperscript{23}

amás tepa-ëmn-ërém why haven’t you fetched sago?
sago /why haven’t you fetched it/

17 The mediate past category

\textbf{162}
A division into non-mood forms and mood forms does not occur here.
I did find a number of informal forms: these, however, do not form
a complete paradigm. In addition, I found in the texts a few cases of
informal interrogative forms characterized by the suffix -an. My in-
formants, however, always used a construction with the question
marker en/an in interrogative sentences.

(Paradigms: see \textit{p. 112})

The verb \textit{e/j} -to do, when linked with a form of category 3 (core-á),
has -erof, eref as endings instead of -of and -ef (form 1., 6.):

\begin{align*}
tetam-á & j-eróf \text{ time and again I gave it to him} \\
tetam-á & j-eréf \text{ time and again he gave it to him.}\textsuperscript{24}
\end{align*}

\textit{Formal characteristics}

\textbf{163}
Tense suffix: -\textit{f}; in the informal forms: zero.

Interrogative suffix: -\textit{an}.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:
III. In the informal forms, -\textit{eaw} occurs instead of -\textit{aw}.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

\textsuperscript{23} Compare \textit{§ 151}.
\textsuperscript{24} See also \textit{§ 182}.  

Paradigms:
*tetám* to give

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>formal</th>
<th>informal</th>
<th>interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tetám-of</td>
<td>tetám-o</td>
<td>I gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tetám-fin</td>
<td></td>
<td>I gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tetám-fem</td>
<td></td>
<td>you gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. tetám-fêñêm</td>
<td></td>
<td>you gave it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. tetám-fawóm</td>
<td></td>
<td>you gave it to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. tetám-ef</td>
<td>tetám-è</td>
<td>he gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. tetám-fen</td>
<td>tetám-anè</td>
<td>he gave it to me, you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. tetám-faw</td>
<td></td>
<td>they gave it to you (pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. tetám-fom</td>
<td></td>
<td>he gave it to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tetám-fêñôm</td>
<td></td>
<td>we gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. tetám-fokóm</td>
<td>tetám-okóm</td>
<td>we gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. tetám-fêñokóm</td>
<td></td>
<td>you gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tetám-fawkóm</td>
<td></td>
<td>you gave it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. tetám-fes</td>
<td>tetám-cès</td>
<td>you gave it to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. tetám-fênes</td>
<td></td>
<td>they gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. tetám-fawós</td>
<td>tetám-eawós</td>
<td>they gave it to me, you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(sing.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. zero/a-/aj-

B. m-/mV- explicative

C. em-/eme- completive

D. op-/opa- interrogative

E. tep-/tepa- negative interrogative
1st. pers. s.: -o (form 1)  
3rd. pers. s.: -è (form 6).\textsuperscript{25}

Prefixes:
A. zero/a-/aj-: a- alternates with zero; in addition, it alternates with aj- before a. The prefix a- was found in most cases before cores having one vowel, with initial consonant. No prefix was found usually before cores with an initial vowel.

B. m-/mV-: m- and mV- are distributed according to the rule given in \S 110.

C. em-/eme-; D. op-/opa-; E. tep-/tepa-: Here, the rules of distribution apply as for the corresponding prefixes of category 14 and category 16.

Categorial meaning

A. The forms with zero/a-/aj- relate exclusively to the mediate past, i.e. the period which begins with yesterday and goes as far back as the generations still alive can recall from their own experience.

B. Forms with m-/mV-: these have a semantic element of explanation or clarification:

\begin{align*}
\text{Taweric enim Jiw ma-tawsim-faws} \\
\text{Taweric and Jiw /took us with them/} \\
\text{Taweric and Jiw took us with them (on their flight) (\S 342).}
\end{align*}

C. Forms with em-/eme-: these have a semantic element of completion, translatable with already:

\begin{align*}
\text{amás emé-kafum-anés} & \text{ had they already scraped out sago?} \\
\text{sago /had they already scraped out/}
\end{align*}

D. Forms with op-/opa-: these have a semantic element of interrogation, translatable with why:

\begin{align*}
\text{ēnēw nat mifān opā-faj-fém} & \text{ why were you averse to mother?} \\
\text{mother pp averse /why were you/}
\end{align*}

E. Forms with tep-/tepa-: these are negative-interrogative forms:

\begin{align*}
\text{tepā-por-fém} & \text{ why didn’t you see it?}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{25} Here, a special allophone of the e phoneme occurs: see \S 33.
18/19 The anterioritive forms

The anterioritive forms are those verbal forms which indicate that the action or happening is anterior to another action or happening. They can be translated with: after...; first...

Paradigms:

tetám to give

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ultimate past</th>
<th>mediate past</th>
<th>after I had given it to him</th>
<th>after I had given it to you</th>
<th>after you had given it to him</th>
<th>after you had given it to me</th>
<th>after you had given it to us</th>
<th>after he had given it to him</th>
<th>after he had given it to me, you</th>
<th>after they had given it to you (pl.)</th>
<th>after he had given it to us</th>
<th>after we had given it to him</th>
<th>after we had given it to you</th>
<th>after you had given it to him</th>
<th>after you had given it to me</th>
<th>after you had given it to us</th>
<th>after they had given it to him</th>
<th>after they had given it to me, you (s.)</th>
<th>after they had given it to us</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tetám-ací</td>
<td>tetám-aró</td>
<td>after I had given it to him</td>
<td>after I had given it to you</td>
<td>after you had given it to him</td>
<td>after you had given it to me</td>
<td>after you had given it to us</td>
<td>after he had given it to him</td>
<td>after he had given it to me, you</td>
<td>after they had given it to you (pl.)</td>
<td>after he had given it to us</td>
<td>after we had given it to him</td>
<td>after we had given it to you</td>
<td>after you had given it to him</td>
<td>after you had given it to me</td>
<td>after you had given it to us</td>
<td>after they had given it to him</td>
<td>after they had given it to me, you (s.)</td>
<td>after they had given it to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tetám-acín</td>
<td>tetám-arín</td>
<td>after I had given it to you</td>
<td>after you had given it to him</td>
<td>after you had given it to me</td>
<td>after they had given it to you (pl.)</td>
<td>after he had given it to us</td>
<td>after we had given it to him</td>
<td>after we had given it to you</td>
<td>after you had given it to him</td>
<td>after you had given it to me</td>
<td>after you had given it to us</td>
<td>after they had given it to him</td>
<td>after they had given it to me, you (s.)</td>
<td>after they had given it to us</td>
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<td>3. tetám-acénm</td>
<td>tetám-arém</td>
<td>after you had given it to him</td>
<td>after you had given it to me</td>
<td>after they had given it to you (pl.)</td>
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<td>4. tetám-acénm</td>
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<td>5. tetám-acawóm</td>
<td>tetám-arahóm</td>
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<td>after they had given it to me, you (s.)</td>
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<td>6. tetám-ac</td>
<td>tetám-aré</td>
<td>after he had given it to him</td>
<td>after they had given it to you (pl.)</td>
<td>after he had given it to us</td>
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<td>tetám-aré</td>
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<td>after they had given it to you (pl.)</td>
<td>after he had given it to us</td>
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<td>8. tetám-acaw</td>
<td>tetám-aráw</td>
<td>after they had given it to you (pl.)</td>
<td>after he had given it to us</td>
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<td>9. tetám-acóm</td>
<td>tetám-aróm</td>
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<td>10. tetám-acénóm</td>
<td>tetám-arnóm</td>
<td>after they had given it to you (pl.)</td>
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<td>11. tetám-acokóm</td>
<td>tetám-arkóm</td>
<td>after they had given it to you (pl.)</td>
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<td>12. tetam-ácenokóm</td>
<td>tetám-arnokóm</td>
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<td>13. tetám-acawkóm</td>
<td>tetám-arihów</td>
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<td>tetám-arés</td>
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<td>15. tetám-acénés</td>
<td>tetám-arnés</td>
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<td>after he had given it to us</td>
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<td>16. tetám-acawós</td>
<td>tetám-arihów</td>
<td>after they had given it to you (pl.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>zero/a-/-aj-</td>
<td>after they had given it to us</td>
<td>after they had given it to you (pl.)</td>
<td>after he had given it to us</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Formal characteristics

166

Tense - aspect suffixes: ultimate past forms: -ac; mediate past forms: -ar.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:
mediate past: 1st. pers. s.: -o (form 1); 3rd. pers. s.: -e (form 6).
Prefix: zero/a-/aj-
a- alternates with zero; in addition, a- alternates with aj- before a.

Categorial meaning

167
The forms of category 18 relate to the ultimate past; those of category 19, to the mediate past:

\textit{ci sès a-sów-aci, mú a-nifámpum-aci, anpīw a-pesè-j}
canoe firing /I did first/ water /I pushed it first into/ immediately /I rowed off/
First I fired the canoe, then I pushed it into the water, and immediately rowed off.

\textit{tapīn a-jık-aró ci á-nuwuw-óf}
/sleeping mat / I packed it up and/ canoe /I go into it/
I packed up the sleeping mat and got into the canoe.

The anteriortive forms of the mediate past were never found as the last verb in a sentence; they were always followed by at least one verb. The anteriortive forms of the ultimate past can occur as the last verb of a sentence. They then have a conditional meaning. I do not know in how far their meaning is then identical to that of the forms of category 10 with the prefix ca- (§ 130) and whether they are interchangeable with those forms:

\textit{mār atów e-acóma!}  let us first play football.
ball play /let us first do/

\textit{tó amás emtewn-ácema}
tomorrow sago /you must first fetch/
tomorrow you must first fetch sago (before we go on our way).

20/21 The perfective forms

168
In the course of working on the material it became clear that the verbs with the suffix \textit{-it/ut} form a separate category. It was, therefore, not possible to obtain a complete paradigm from my informants. It is, however, possible, on the basis of the cases noted, to deduce the complete paradigm with rather great certainty. The forms not found in the material are put between brackets in the paradigm that follows. All these forms appear to have a semantic element of completion.
I have therefore termed them *perfective* forms. They relate to the past; a division into ultimate past and mediate past only occurs, however, in forms 1 and 6.

Paradigm:

*por* to see; *tetám* to give

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ult. past</th>
<th>med. past</th>
<th>ult. past</th>
<th>med. past</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. pór-ití</td>
<td>pór-itó</td>
<td>tetám-utí</td>
<td>tetám-utó</td>
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<td>2. pór-itín</td>
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<td>tetám-utín</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. por-itém</td>
<td></td>
<td>tetám-utém</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. [por-itěnem]</td>
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<td>[tetam-utěnem]</td>
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<td>5. [por-itawom]</td>
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<td>[tetam-utawom]</td>
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<td>6. por-it</td>
<td>pór-itě</td>
<td>tetám-ut</td>
<td>tetám-utě</td>
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<td>7. [por-iten]</td>
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<td>[tetam-uten]</td>
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<td>8. pór-itáw</td>
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<td>tetám-utáw</td>
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<td>9. pór-itóm</td>
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<td>tetám-utóm</td>
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<td>10. [por-itěnöm]</td>
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<td>[tetam-utěnóm]</td>
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<td>11. pór-itokóm</td>
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<td>tetám-utokóm</td>
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<td>12. [por-itěnokom]</td>
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<td>[tetam-utěnokom]</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. [por-itawkom]</td>
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<td>[tetam-utawkom]</td>
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<td>14. pór-itěs</td>
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<td>tetám-utěs</td>
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<td>15. [por-itěnes]</td>
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<td>[tetam-utěnes]</td>
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<td>16. [por-itawos]</td>
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<td>[tetam-utawos]</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>zero/a-</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>em-/eme-</th>
<th>completive</th>
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</table>

*Formal characteristics*

189

Tense - aspect suffix: *-it/ut, -it* and *-ut* are distributed according to the rule given in § 91 (*// itům/utům*).

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:
mediate past forms: 1st. pers. s.: -o (form 1); 3rd. pers. s.: -ê (form 6).\textsuperscript{26}

I noted one case of the ending -itof instead of -ito; here the f occurs which, in category 17, is the tense suffix.

Prefixes:
A. zero/a-: only in two of the cases noted a prefix a- occurs.
B. em-/eme-: only one form with this prefix was noted.

170

A. Forms with prefix, or with a-.
Some of the cases noted were:

\textit{no asén akatés cowák emáms-ití}
I place good very /I have lain/
I have lain in a very good place! (§ 314).

\textit{jóp nim jitak-itó a mú,}
/on the back / like this / I had gone downstream/ there water
I had gone downstream, laying on my back in the water (§ 313).

\textit{jéw évenaw-út} he has come from the ceremonial house (§ 315).
/through the ceremonial house / he has come from/

B. The only form with em-/eme- I noted, occurs in the following sentence:

\textit{wín ow nát cem máp emé-tepákajap-îtes ín}
some people pp houses ahead /they had already gone upriver/ pp
some of the people had already gone upriver to their houses (§ 273).

22 \textbf{The past tense category of cores with the durative formative}

171

A separate category of past tense forms occurs with cores ending in the durative formative. There is no division into ultimate and mediate past. The durative formative here occurs in the allomorph \textit{ewír}.

As in categories 12, 14 and 16, there is a series of mood forms.

(Paradigms: see p. 118)

\textsuperscript{26} Here, a special allophone of the e phoneme occurs; see § 33.
Paradigms:
*por* to see, to look at

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-mood forms</th>
<th>mood forms</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. pórewir-i</td>
<td>pórewir-ipúj</td>
<td>I always looked at him</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. pórewir-in</td>
<td>pórewir-ipún</td>
<td>I always looked at you</td>
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<td>3. pórewir-im</td>
<td>pórewir-ipém</td>
<td>you always looked at him</td>
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<td>4. pórewir-iném</td>
<td>pórewir-ipéném</td>
<td>you always looked at me</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. pórewir-irawóm</td>
<td>pórewir-ipawóm</td>
<td>you always looked at us</td>
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<td>6. pórewir-ir</td>
<td>pórewir-úp</td>
<td>he always looked at him</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. pórewir-in</td>
<td>pórewir-ipán</td>
<td>he always looked at me, you</td>
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<td>(pl.)</td>
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<td>8. pórewir-iráw</td>
<td>pórewir-ipáw</td>
<td>he always looked at us</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. pórewir-üm</td>
<td>pórewir-ipóm</td>
<td>we always looked at him</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. pórewir-inúm</td>
<td>pórewir-ipénóm</td>
<td>we always looked at you</td>
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<td>11. pórewir-ikóm</td>
<td>pórewir-ipokóm</td>
<td>you always looked at him</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. pórewir-inokóm</td>
<td>pórewir-ipénokóm</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. pórewir-irawkóm</td>
<td>pórewir-ipawkóm</td>
<td>you always looked at us</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. pórewir-is</td>
<td>pórewir-ipós</td>
<td>they always looked at him</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. poréwir-inés</td>
<td>pórewir-ipénés</td>
<td>they always looked at me, you</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. pórewir-irawós</td>
<td>pórewir-ipawós</td>
<td>(s.) they always looked at us</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A. zero/a-

B. em/-eme- compleitive

*Formal characteristics*

**172**

Tense suffix: *-i* in all cases, except in form 9 of the non-mood series where it is zero.

Mood suffix: *-p/-up. -up* occurs word-finally, *-p* medially.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:

III. In the non-mood forms: *-raw.*

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:
1st. pers. s.: in the non-mood forms: zero. In the mood forms: -uj/-u.
-uj occurs word-finally, -u medially (forms 1 and 2).
2nd. pers. s.: -m when the tense suffix immediately precedes it.
3rd. pers. s.: -r in form 6 of the non-mood series.
1st. pers. pl.: -um in the non-mood series.
2nd. pers. pl.: -kum when the tense suffix immediately precedes it.
3rd. pers. pl.: -s when the tense suffix immediately precedes it.

Prefixes:
A. zero/a-: a- was only found before cores having one vowel and with initial consonant.
B. em-/eme-: eme- occurs in all cases, except before e. em- occurs before e.

173
A. Forms without a prefix; or with a-:

inim émtawëwr-is that's what they always said.
//like this /: they always said/

pé amás nëwir-um nëwa
crabs food /we always ate/ perhaps
what we always ate before was perhaps crabs! (§ 302).

mú micic sejirëwr-úp
water seaweed /he lay in it so long that it grew over him/
he lay in the water so long that the seaweed grew over him!

B. Forms with em-/eme- have a semantic element of completion, translatable with 'already; have':

ci emë-akëwr-irúj I have always made canoes!
canoe /I have always made/

23 The -mër forms

174
A category about which meagre data were obtained is that of the forms characterized by the suffix -mër. I only got form 6 from the informants, so that I thought for a long time that I was dealing with an isolated case. Later, from the texts it appeared that other forms also occur.
The forms with -mër relate to the past. In addition, they have a semantic element of repetition which is translatable with 'each day again'.
The following forms were noted:
1. a-pór-méró every day I saw him again
2. a-pór-mérén every day I saw you again
3. a-pór-mérém every day you saw him again
6. a-por-méro/mére every day he saw him again
11. a-pór-mérkóm every day you (pl.) saw him again.
14. a-pór-mérès every day they saw him again

súntik 27 a-empór-méró opák
injection / gave him every day / but not/
I gave him an injection every day but it didn't help.

camíw ci ákaraavér-mérkóm a-por-óf
/on foot/ canoe /you went each day again / I saw/
I saw that you (pl.) went each day on foot instead of by canoe.

The -mór forms can also indicate that an action or a happening takes
place over a long time, from a point in the past up to the present:

núr epic nam tari jiwanís-méró, wow /namír af-ór/
my sister sick long /she lay/ today /she died/
my sister has been sick for a long time, today she died.

I found an ending -ermêro with the verb e/j - to do, when it was
linked with a form of category 3 (core -á). The forms with -ermêro
were only found in a text, narrated by an old man (between 50 and
60 years old). The suffix of the forms of cat. 3 in these cases is -e
instead of -á.

Taweric nat /ow cem/ inim apéwer-e j-ermêro
T. pp /lookout house / like this / he sat there each day/
each day Taweric again remained in the lookout post ($§$ 340).

enám /teweréwe-r e j-ermêro/, tów /péwer-e j-ermêro/
fish /they fetched each day/, /sago grubs / they fetched/
each day they again fetched fish and sago grubs ($§$ 324).

In addition, this ending occurs in the same text, suffixed to cores
ending in awér or ewér:

27 suntik: loan-word from Malay.
jók apawer-émëro each day they spent the day in idleness (§ 326).
/during the day / they just sat, each day/

wasén namicukewer-émëro
forest /they all went each day/

each day they all went to the forest (§ 326).

These forms are probably contractions of forms of category 3 and j-ermëro. I think it not impossible that the forms with -ermëro are archaic. When I ran the text after the recording, the informants repeated it word for word, and they always used in these cases forms with -mëro instead of these with -ermëro: jók apawër-mëro; wasén namicukewër-mëro.

Finally, a form with -mamëro was found:

Surú áwenic arëw, juwur fëk wut ak-mamëro
Suru /is there/ pp /juwur wood/ big very /he makes (a canoe) each day/

Surú is there, he is busy every day making a very big canoe of juwur wood.

In this case, the daily activity is seen as a process that is still unfinished. Perhaps the -mër forms are divided into a category of past tense forms and another category of present tense forms.

24 The unproductive category of the positional verbs

176

When the positional roots occur as a core or as the last morpheme of a core with the meaning ‘to be’ (in a specific position), the forms of category 14 do not occur. Instead of them we find:

I. With amis (to lie), ap (to sit), and se (to be in the water):

| 1.  ams-í | ap-í | a-sé-j | I am |
| 2.  ams-ém | ap-ém | a-sé-m | you are |
| 3.  amis | ap | a-sé | he is |
| 4.  ams-óm | ap-óm | á-se-óm | we are |
| 5.  áms-okóm | áp-okóm | á-se-okóm | you (pl.) are |
| 6.  ams-és | ap-és | a-sé-s | they are |
| 7.  ? | ap-més | ? | both of them are |
II. With *em* (to stand), and *tep* (to be above):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>em-cí</th>
<th>á-tep-cí</th>
<th>I am</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>em-cém</td>
<td>á-tep-cém</td>
<td>you are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>em-íc</td>
<td>á-tep-íc</td>
<td>he is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>em-cóm</td>
<td>á-tep-cóm</td>
<td>we are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>ém-cokóm</td>
<td>á-tep-cokóm</td>
<td>you (pl.) are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>em-cés</td>
<td>á-tep-cés</td>
<td>they are</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once in a text I found a dual form of *ap* (see above).

With *amis, ap*, and *se*, interrogative forms occur which are characterized by a suffix *-an*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>áms-aní</th>
<th>áp-aní</th>
<th>á-se-aní</th>
<th>am I?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>áms-aném</td>
<td>áp-aném</td>
<td>á-se-aném</td>
<td>are you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>áms-án</td>
<td>ap-án</td>
<td>á-se-án</td>
<td>is he?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>áms-anóm</td>
<td>áp-anóm</td>
<td>á-se-anóm</td>
<td>are we?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>áms-anokóm</td>
<td>áp-anokóm</td>
<td>á-se-anokóm</td>
<td>are you (pl.)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>áms-anés</td>
<td>áp-anés</td>
<td>á-se-anés</td>
<td>are they?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The construction with the question marker *en/an* occurs with *em* and *tep*:

*em-cém en* are you?

*á-tep-íc en* is it (above)?

177

The complete paradigm occurs when the positional root is combined with the formative *o/om-* (see § 76).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>op-i</th>
<th>om-ci</th>
<th>I am with him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>op-in</td>
<td>om-cín</td>
<td>I am with you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>op-ém</td>
<td>om-cém</td>
<td>you are with him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>óp-ëném</td>
<td>óm-ëném</td>
<td>you are with me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>óp-awóm</td>
<td>óm-cawóm</td>
<td>you are with us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>op</td>
<td>om-íc</td>
<td>he is with him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. op-én  om-cén  he is with me, you
8. op-áw  om-cáw  he is with us
9. op-óm  om-cóm  we are with him
10. óp-énóm  óm-cénóm  we are with you
11. óp-okóm  óm-cokóm  you are with him
12. óp-čnokóm  óm-cénokóm  you are with me
13. óp-awkóm  óm-cawkóm  you are with us
14. op-és  om-cés  they are with him
15. óp-čnés  óm-cčnés  they are with me, you (s.)
16. óp-awós  óm-cawós  they are with us

178
When the positional verbs are preceded by the deictic words a here, or e there, a w occurs between these words and the verb:

\[
\begin{align*}
  a \ w \ së & - \ a \ w \ amis & - \ a \ w \ áp & - \ á \ w \ emic & - \ á \ w \ atepic & \text{it is here} \\
  é \ w \ asé & - \ é \ w \ amis & - \ é \ w \ áp & - \ é \ w \ emic & - \ é \ w \ atepic & \text{it is there}
\end{align*}
\]

Morphophonologically, these word-groups behave as one word: it is not á wamis etc., because a wsé is impossible: a consonant cluster cannot occur at the beginning of a word; it is not ew asé because in that case the [ö] allophone of the e phoneme would occur in ew, whereas the [č] allophone occurs.
Therefore I shall write awse, áwamis, éwase etc.

The prefixes \emph{em-} and \emph{p-}/\emph{pV-}.

179
There are two prefixes of which the occurrence appears to be exclusively dependent upon syntactical factors. These prefixes are \emph{em-} and \emph{p-}/\emph{pV-}.
\emph{em-} occurs only when the verb is linked with the interrogative word ucim - how, how many. It does not, however, occur with the verb \emph{em} - to make.
\emph{em-} was found in forms of categories 10, 12, 16, 17 and 24 with the prefix \emph{a-}/\emph{aj}- or zero; it precedes \emph{a-}/\emph{aj}-.

\footnote{See §§ 197, 198.}
Cat. 10:  \( \text{o amás ucím em-áw-cem}^{29} \) how will you cook this sago?
this sago how /will you cook it/
But:
\( \text{sájer}^{30} \text{ ucím em-cém} \) how will you prepare the vegetables?
vegetables how /you make them/

Cat. 12:  \( \text{sej si ucím em-tetám-cêmokóm} \)
iron axes /how many / you usually give/
how many iron axes do you usually give for it?

Cat. 16:  \( \text{ów ucím em-setáj-ěrés} \) how many people have arrived?
people /how many / they arrived/

Cat. 17:  \( \text{kús ucím em-sakámtever-fém} \)
heads /how many / you cut off and took/
how many heads have you taken?

Cat. 24:  \( \text{jisín ucím éma-tep-ic} \)
coconuts /how many / are there/
how many coconuts are hanging there?

180

\( p-/pV-: \)  \( p- \) occurs before vowels; \( pV- \) before consonants.
The vowel of \( pV- \) is identical to the vowel immediately following it.
\( p-/pV- \) is prefixed to the verb when it is immediately followed by the
postposition \( ew/aw \) (§ 255).
It was found in forms of categories 10, 12, 14, 16, 17 and 24 with the
prefix \( a-/aj/-zero, \) or with \( em-/eme-\). It is noteworthy that \( p-/pV-
precedes \( a-/aj-, \) but is preceded by \( em-/eme-\).

Cat. 10:  \( \text{ucím cáj p-e-caw ėw} \) what is he thinking of (§ 282).
which plan /has he/ pp

Cat. 12:  \( \text{ucím asém pi-jisas-şrmokom} \) where will you go?
which place /will you travel to/ pp

Cat. 14:  \( \text{pá-porr-mem ėw} \) did you or did you not see it?

Cat. 16:  \( \text{emépá-sá-n ew} \) is it perhaps dry already (§ 284).

Cat. 17:  \( \text{ucím p-em-øj ėw} \) how could I have done it? (§ 326).
how /did I do it/ pp

---

29 See § 234.
30 Loan-word from Malay, = sajur.
Cat. 24:  o p-áp-em áw  are you at home?  
you /you sit/ pp

Syntactical valence 31 of the verbs

181
Provisionally, the following can be said about the syntactical valence of the verbs:
1. it would appear that all verbs can be linked with substantives, proper names, personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns;
2. it would appear that the only time that there can be a linkage verb + verb is in the verbal word-groups which are to be discussed in paragraphs 182 and 183;
3. the word-group interrogative + verb was only found with forms of the categories 10, 12-17 inclusive, 20, 21, 22 and 24;
4. only the forms of categories 4 and 5 (m-/mV-; m-/mV- -ájí) can form word-groups with negations.

Cases in which all these verbal word-groups occur will not be given here; they can be found in paragraphs 182 and 183 (verb + verb; verb + negation); 192 (substantive + verb); 198 (proper name + verb); 219 (pronoun + verb); 234 (interrogative + verb) and in 235-243 (verb + negation).

Summary of the forms of the verbs e/j and ji 'to do',31 which were found linked to a form of category 3 (core-á)

182
Cat. 10:  a-por-á j-éri/e-cí etc.: Everytime I see him 
/to see repeatedly / if I do/

Cat. 12:  a-por-á j-ermí etc.: I shall see him again and again.

Cat. 13:  a-por-á j-ermóp etc.: I used to see him time and again.

Cat. 14:  a-por-á e-mí etc.: time and again I see him.

31 By the syntactical valence of a word is meant: the possibility of the word forming word-groups with other words.
31a The meanings of ji and e/j overlap each other: both can mean to do, to say. e/j in addition can mean: to become, to make.
Cat. 15: a-por-á e-móp etc.: time and again I saw him (mediate past).

Cat. 16: a-por-á ej etc.: time and again I saw him (ultimate past).
a-por-á e-rém etc.: time and again you saw him.
a-por-á e-r etc.: time and again he saw him.

Cat. 17: a-por-á j-erój : time and again I saw him (mediate past).
a-por-á e-jém : time and again you saw him.
a-por-á j-eréj : time and again he saw him.
a-por-á e-jóm etc.: time and again we saw him.

If the core of the form preceding ends in the durative formative (ewér), then the suffix is -e, and instead of e or j, ji occurs:

a-poréwer-é ji-rój : I saw him time and again, over a long period;

etc.

a-poréwer-é ji-jém
a-poréwer-é ji-réj
a-poréwer-é ji-jóm
etc.

Cat. 23: á-por-a j-érmeřo/jiméro each day I saw him again.

The forms of categories 8 and 9 (imperative and hortative forms) are always separated from the core with the suffix -a by inim ‘in this way’:

Cat. 8: tám masëřim wunám otwusé-a inim mom-é-c
morning then again /depart again / this way / do it!/
and when it is morning, you must start out again (§ 300).

Cat. 9: wowúc sumoms-á inim e-rasin
middle /let lie with repeatedly / this way / let us both do/
let us always sleep on either side of him! (§ 282).

The forms of category 3 can also be linked with verbal forms the core of which contains the root ji, or e/ji:

a-por-á jes-mí time and again I see him at night (cat. 14).
"ni", a-jipor-á jipór opák
"come" /to win over / she tried / but not/
"come" so she tried to win her over, again and again, but in vain.

Summary of the forms of the verb em - to do, to make, which were found linked to the m/mV- form of the verb

183

I. Directly linked: this construction has a volitive meaning.

Cat. 12: mó-por ém-cēmi, etc. I shall want to see it.

Cat. 14: Here, instead of em-amí, etc., the forms em-i, em-ém, etc. are found (see § 145).
    mó-por em-i, etc. I want to see it.
    mó-por em-aném, etc. do you want to see it?

Cat. 16: mó-por em-új, etc. I wanted to see it (ultimate past).
    mó-por em-púj, etc. I wanted to see it!

Cat. 17: mó-por em-ój, etc. I wanted to see it (mediate past).

I also noted here a form e-ój, instead of em-ój.

Only once did I find a m/mV- form followed by a form of the verb ji - to do, of category 23:

    o mo-pórtewét jiewér-méró
    you /want to marry / he always did/
    he has always wanted to marry you (§ 281).

II. Indirectly linked: this is the negative construction with pák - not. This construction has no volitive meaning.

Cat. 12: mó-por pák em-cēmi, etc. I shall not see it.
    /to see/ not /I shall do/

Cat. 14: mó-por pák em-i, etc. I don’t see it.
    mó-por pák emut-mi, etc. I didn’t see it this morning.

Cat. 16: mó-por pák em-új, etc. I didn’t see it (ultimate past).

Cat. 17: mó-por pák em-ój, etc. I didn’t see it (mediate past).

Cat. 22: mó-por pák émewir-i, etc. I never saw it.
III SUBSTANTIVES

Definition

184

I will term *substantives* those words from which derivatives can be formed by adding the following suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>- nakáp</th>
<th>primary derivatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- nakás</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-irív/-éré</td>
<td>secondary derivatives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Primary derivatives

185

-накáп is a diminutive suffix indicating 'smallness + singular number'. The diminutive value of -накáп has four aspects:

1. 'smallness': *cem* house, houses; *cémnakáп* small house.

2. 'small part of a whole':

a. *mopán* trunk;

*mopánakáп ám awamís*

/piece of the trunk/ also /it lies there/

there is also a piece of the trunk lying there (§ 299).

*si* axe;

*sinakáп mitapmúį* I thrust the axe into it, but not deep/y (§ 278).

/little bit of the axe/ I thrust into it/

*píswá* dagger;

*píswávánakáп mafáw*

/little bit of a dagger / to strike repeatedly/

to strike repeatedly, but not deeply, with a dagger.

b. Suffixed to names of substances, and generic names, -накáп indicates a 'small quantity of':

*amás* sago; *amásnakáп* a little bit of sago

*mu* water; *mínakáп* a little water

*enám* fish; *énámnakáп* a little bit of fish.
3. Suffixed to the words *tam* morning; *jok* noon; *porów* afternoon; and *erém* night, *-nakáb* indicates that the time of day or night in question has just begun or has almost passed: 32

\[
\text{támnakap ów /ucim ar' am/ ów enéwmes aráw} \\
/early in the morning/ people various pp /they are coming/ pp \\
early in the morning various people come.
\]

\[
\text{támnakap nitémor in, jok} \\
/late in the morning / she arrived/ pp, noon \\
she arrived (at home) towards the end of the morning, at noon (§ 301).
\]

4. In the following cases the suffix *-nakáb* indicates a closeness to:

\[
\text{úmu top;} \\
\text{esé umúnakap apítmomésmar in} \\
bag /almost to the top / he filled it at night/ pp \\
at night he filled the bag he had with him almost to the top.
\]

\[
\text{pim edge;} \\
\text{amás a pínakap átemetótaper in} \\
sago there /almost to the rim / it rose and stayed/ pp \\
the sago (meal) rose until it had almost reached the rim (§ 289).
\]

188

One case was noted in which *-nakáb* was suffixed to the last word of a word-group; here it refers to the whole group:

\[
\text{amás nec raw sago; amás nétnakap a little bit of raw sago.}
\]

Similar cases are probably:

\[
\text{pók kow opáknakap not enough to eat.} \\
\text{food much not-}
\]

---

32 A similar semantic symmetry is found in the following words which also denote periods of time:

- **to**: tomorrow / yesterday
- **jowún**: the day after tomorrow / the day before yesterday
- **átójowún**: in three days' time / three days ago
- **átójofáj**: in four days' time / four days ago
- **átomér**: in five days' time / five days ago.
ténam jój opáknakap 33 ádemémer in
throat opening not- /he stood/ pp
he stood there his throat almost choked (with crying).

187
-nakás is a diminutive suffix indicating 'smallness + plural number':

 pok thing/things; póknakas little things
 naní heap/heaps; nanínakas little heaps.

The semantic value of -nakás does not seem to have the different aspects that -nakáp has.

Secondary derivatives

188
To derivatives with -nakáp and -nakás, the suffix -irív/-eré can be added to form secondary derivatives. The forms of this suffix have a distribution parallel to that of -nakáp and -nakás: -irív is suffixed to derivatives with -nakáp, and -eré is suffixed to derivatives with -nakás. Derivatives with -irív/-eré indicate something very small, a very small quantity of, etc.:

 jak rain cloud; jáknakápíriv a tiny rain cloud
 amás sago; amásnakápíriv very little sago
 ow people; ównakápíriv very few people

porów afternoon;
porównakápíriv masnín maré atakám afasmapéf
evening- then /at last/ story /he told/

Finally, when it was still evening, he told them the story (§ 320).

jísís the edge of the fire;
jísísnakápíriv fa amnú aotmámsëres in
/edge of the fire-/ back /to each other / they lay/ pp
by the edge of the fire they lay, their backs towards each other.

jep side;
jépnakápíriv máokomémamtamcin
side- /roll it up for me/
roll up for me a tiny part of the side (of the fish trap) (§ 269).

No cases parallel to sinakáp mitapmuj were found.

33 The negation opák will be dealt with in § 240.
A secondary derivative with -eré is:

pis grandchildren; car pisnakaseré all your small grandchildren.
See also: cowukaseré, § 191.

Words with which derivatives are formed only with -nakáp, or only with -nakás

189
1. In the following words, diminutive forms were found only with -nakáp:

cowúc woman; cowútnakáp little woman, girl
jípíc man; jípítnakáp little man
evúc younger brother; evútnakáp little younger brother.

It can therefore be assumed that only -nakáp can be suffixed to the following kinship terms denoting a particular person:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>em</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ótipíc</td>
<td>brother (said by a sister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tèrásuwuc</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wá</td>
<td>brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>épúc</td>
<td>older brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>épíc</td>
<td>older sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amúás</td>
<td>younger sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nin</td>
<td>daughter-in-law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. In the following words, diminutive forms were found only with -nakás:

isípis parents, mothers or fathers; isípisnakás little fathers
pis grandchildren; pisnakás little grandchildren.

It can also be assumed that only -nakás can be suffixed to the following kinship terms denoting a number of persons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ninvis</td>
<td>husbands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ófajís</td>
<td>grandparents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ófew</td>
<td>blood kinsmen belonging to a ceremonial house different from one's own</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
obody of a similar age
sisters
children of both sexes
parents-in-law
'sons'
older brothers
older sisters
younger sisters
daughters-in-law

A non-productive plural category

190
A non-productive plural category occurs with six kinship terms. The derivative suffix is -\textit{\textit{e}}\textsubscript{\textit{wes}} in four cases, -\textit{\textit{w}is} in two cases:

\begin{tabular}{lll}
\textbf{A.} & \textbf{B.} \\
\textit{epúc} & older brother & \textit{epúc\textsubscript{\textit{wes}}} & older brothers \\
\textit{epic} & older sister & \textit{epic\textsubscript{\textit{wes}}} & older sisters \\
\textit{evúc} & younger brother & \textit{evúc\textsubscript{\textit{wes}}} & younger brothers \\
\textit{amús} & younger sister & \textit{amús\textsubscript{\textit{wes}}} & younger sisters \\
\textit{nin} & daughter-in-law & \textit{nin\textsubscript{\textit{w}is}} & daughters-in-law \\
\textit{mo} & husband & \textit{m\textsubscript{\textit{w}is}} & husbands \\
\end{tabular}

The possibility of suffixing -\textit{\textit{n}ak\textit{a}p} to the words under A, and -\textit{\textit{n}ak\textit{ás}} to the words under B, has already been discussed in § 189.

Cases of transposition

191
The one definite case of transposition I found is the word \textit{\textit{j}i\textit{w}in\textit{a}k\textit{a}p}, which occurs as a substantive with the meaning ‘small child’ (from \textit{\textit{j}i\textit{w}ú}, child), and as an adjective with the meaning ‘small’. This case will be dealt with when the adjective is discussed. Transposition to the class of substantives probably occurs in the following cases:

1. The adjectives \textit{awút} large, and \textit{\textit{j}i\textit{w}in\textit{a}k\textit{a}p} small, occur in the following sentence in positions in which one would expect substantives to occur:
takás asvakámkurúmor in, awút am, jíiwínakař am, takás in
all /he killed them all/ pp, large also, small also, all pp
He killed them all, large and small, all of them (// owerów am, cępés am - men and women).

2. cowák ‘one, very, forthwith’ > cowákaseré ‘little ones’ (substantive).
cowák is a word of which it is not yet clear to which word-class it belongs. It can form groups with substantives, adjectives, and verbs, as in: cem cowák one house; akát cowák very good; átepfés cowák they forthwith rowed upriver.
The irregular derivative with -aseré instead of -nakásere (see § 202)
I found once, as a substantive:

cowákaseré pen éw menéstever empúj
/little ones/ pp pp /come to get/ I do (mood form)
I come here and would like to get some [sago] if perhaps there are still some crumbs left! (§ 324).

Syntactical valence

192
Substantives can form groups with:

1. other substantives:
amás esé a bag with sago.
sago bag

2. adjectives:
dj cem a new house;
new house

cem awút a large house.
house large

3. deictic words:
no cém my house; a cém this house; cém ar to the house;
cá cem (ám) whose house; ucim cem (ám) what kind of house.

4. verbs:
fét avorséc change into a fet fish! (§ 270).
/fet fish / change into/
amás ancêmés  they usually eat sago.
sago /they usually eat/

no mëntomir ów
me /accompany to the other side/ people
people who (want to) accompany me to the other side (of the river).

5. the postpositions arāw, nat, am (see §§ 245, 246, 248).

198

There are a number of kinship terms which are always linked to a personal-possessive pronoun. They are:

(nor) amús(êwés)  (my) younger sister(s)
(nor) as, asakáp  ,,  papis-partner
(no) mëwës  ,,  husbands
(nor) mó  ,,  husband
(no) nèp  ,,  child
(nor) em  ,,  wife
(nur) épëc(êwés)  ,,  older sister(s)
(nor) épûc(êwés)  ,,  older brother(s)
(nor) ètwûc(êwés)  ,,  younger brother(s)
(nur) isipis  ,,  parents
(nur) îcipîc  ,,  father 34
(nor) ó  ,,  grandchild
(nor) ôfajîs  ,,  grandparents
(nor) ôfew  ,,  kinsmen belonging to another jëw
  ,,  than one's own
(nor) ôswuc  ,,  mother 34
(nor) ôtîpîc  ,,  brother (said by a sister)
(nor) ôtwîw  ,,  brothers (said by a sister)
(no) pûs, purîs, parwës  ,,  daughter
(nur) uûs, ûs  ,,  grandchildren
(no) sin(opîs)  ,,  wife (wives) (said by a husband)
(no) sôk  ,,  grandmother
(nor) wâ  ,,  brother-in-law
(nor) wës  ,,  sons
(nor) wët  ,,  namesake
(nur) wis  ,,  sisters-in-law
IV PROPER NAMES

Grouping

194
Proper names fall into two groups:

1. one group consisting of names of persons and names of rivers;

2. one group consisting of names of villages and names of ceremonial houses (jew).

Names of persons and names of rivers

195
Derivatives can be formed from names of persons and names of rivers by adding the suffixes -akáp or -simit. When -akáp is suffixed to a person’s name, it indicates that that person is the younger of two namesakes; when -simit is suffixed to a person’s name, it indicates that that person is the elder of two namesakes:

Tewérawuc (women’s name)
Tewérawúcakáp small T. (T. junior)
Tewérawutsimit big T. (T. senior).

When -akáp and -simit are suffixed to names of rivers, they serve to distinguish two identically names rivers from each other. The name of the smaller of the two acquires the suffix -akáp, that of the larger, the suffix -simit:

Mow (name of a river)
Mówakáp the small Mow
Mówsimit the big Mow.

34 The current terms for father and mother are níwí and énów; icipec, óswuc, wic and wós I found in texts only. The difference in meaning between icipec and wic, óswuc and wós, is not clear to me. From the texts I get the impression that wic and wós are used only when referring to persons belonging to one’s own family.
196
The following kinship terms link up with the proper names:

čněw mother  čněwakáp younger sister of father or mother  
eněsmit (< čněw-simít) grandmother

niwi father  niwíakáp younger brother of father or mother  
nísimít (< niwi-simít) grandfather

wet namesake:  wětakáp/wětisimít younger/elder namesake.

as partner in the exchange of women;  asakáp the younger of the two partners.

No derivative with -simít is known to me of the last term.

Names of villages and ceremonial houses

197
Names of villages and of ceremonial houses (jew) link up with the names of persons and of rivers as regards their syntactical valence. But, they have no morphological valence.\(^{35}\)
The name of one of the ceremonial houses of the village, or also a compound formed by the names of two ceremonial houses belonging to a village, are used as the name of the village, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>village</th>
<th>the ceremonial houses (jew) belonging to the village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jepém</td>
<td>Jepém, Aposéw, Kosér, Mos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surá</td>
<td>Surá, Setmów, Ar, Awór, Majit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanamkáj</td>
<td>Amán, Namkáj, Awók.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amísu</td>
<td>Amísu, Su.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactical valence

198
Proper names can form groups with:

1. substantives:
   Warsé ci the canoe of Warsé;  Jepém ow people of Jepém.

\(^{35}\) A word has morphological valence when derivatives can be formed from it by means of one or more of the morphological processes, mentioned in § 62.
2. adjectives:
   Natinák omér Natinák is afraid; Jepém wut many people of Jepém.

3. deictic words:
   no Tewérawuc I am Tewérawuc; ná Jepém we are from Jepém.
   já Matámjen that Matámjen (persons name); e Jepém over there, in Jepém.
   Tewérawuc ár in the direction of Tewérawuc.
   Jepém a to Jepém.
   ca Miwirpic ar’áma! who is this Miwirpic! (§ 273).
   who M. pp pp

4. verbs:
   Jispáripic ájmírintíwéwér It was the fault of Jispáripic.
   Jomót ajíser He rowed out of the Jomót.

5. postpositions:
   aráw, am, eněím, cin (see §§ 245, 246, 248, 250, 251).

V ADJECTIVES

 Characteristics

199
Words from which derivatives can be formed with the following suffixes will here be termed adjectives:

- -nakáp, -iriv
- -nakás, (-eré)
- -picim

Since, as far as morphological valence is concerned, there is a distinct similarity to the substantives, it is legitimate to ask the question whether there is here a separate class of adjectives. There are three arguments which plead for the existence of a special class:

1. the semantic value of -nakáp and -nakás differs clearly from the semantic value which these suffixes have when they are added to a substantive;
2. the possibility of suffixing -picím, a productive process, that does not occur with the substantives;

3. the word jiwínakáp occurs as a derivative substantive with the meaning of 'small child' (see § 191), and as an adjective, with the meaning of 'small'. It is possible here to conclude that this is a case of transposition, a conclusion strengthened by the fact that from jiwínakáp 'small', derivatives can be formed with -nakáp(irév) and -picím (see § 204).

**Morphological valence**

200

The suffix -nakáp has here the semantic value of 'much, to a high degree':

- *jíníc* slack
- *sirí* quick
- *kiki* close together

*Jinitnakáp* very slack, weak
*sirínakáp* very quick
*kikínakáp* very close together.

The suffix -nakás, similarly, has the semantic value of 'much, to a high degree':

- *nemcén* angry, pugnacious
- *jepénc* recent

*nemcénakás* furious, very pugnacious
*jepéncakás* very recent.

The material is not decisive in respect of the distribution of -nakáp and -nakás; a distinct correlation with singular and plural, respectively, such as occurs in parallel formations with the substantive, was only found with pacák - bad (discussed below). In all other cases, this does not occur:

- *emák kikínakáp* having a quantity of bones (said of fish).
  bones /very close together/

- *onów kikíkíkíkíkínakás* thatch
  pieces of thatch laid very, very close together.

- *jepéncakáp; jepéncakás* in the recent past, still very new.

The material is, however, too limited to allow of a decision whether -nakáp and -nakás are interchangeable in these cases and are thus alternants. Bearing in mind the case of pacák (§ 202), they will be provisionally regarded as two separate suffixes.
201
On the basis of the derivatives with -nakáp, secondary derivatives can
be formed with the suffix -iriw, which serves to emphasize the semantic
value of -nakáp:

jinic slack; jinitnakáp very slack; jinitnakápiríw very, very slack.

The only case of a secondary derivative with -eré that I came across
was pacákaseré (§ 202).

202
Pacák bad, unfit, has irregular derivatives: the suffix -ap and -as
are added to pacák instead of -nakáp and -nakás:

\[
\begin{align*}
pácakáp & \quad \text{pacák} \\
\text{pacák} & \quad \text{(not found)} \\
pacákpiríw & \quad \text{pacákaseré}
\end{align*}
\]

These derivatives express intensity of feeling. Pácakipáp is used to
express compassion, for example:

newét pacákáp! my poor man! (said by a wife about a deformed
husband).

Pacákpiríw and pacákaseré can be translated by: worthless, miserable,
deuced. This is the only case in which the derivative with -piríw
indicates the singular number, in contrast to the derivative with -aseré
which here indicates the plural number:

\[
\begin{align*}
a \text{ acir pacákpiríw}! & \\
\text{that acir bad} & \\
\text{that confounded acir (store for sago on the collar beams of the house).}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
a \text{ juwús pacákaseré /miníp manímcémi/!} & \\
\text{those names bad /I always forget/} & \\
\text{those deuced names, I always forget!}
\end{align*}
\]

203
The suffix -picim indicates a relative degree:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{awúit large} & \quad \text{awútpicim rather large} \\
\text{jiwínakáp small} & \quad \text{jiwínakápicim rather small} \\
\text{tari long ago} & \quad \text{tariopicim rather long ago}
\end{align*}
\]
Cases of transposition

204

The case of jiwínakáp small, of which the derivatives jiwínakápnakáp very small, jiwínakápnakápíriv very, very, small, and jiwínakápicím rather small, were found, has already been noted. Probably the following case is also one of transposition (transposition to the adjective class by suffixing -nakáp):

nemsnánakáp slow
nemsná: I only came across this word as an exhortation:
   nemsná! don’t hurry!, be careful!

I do not know if sétnakáp narrow, and karésnakáp thin, laid out far apart (of atap) are derivatives: I did not find an underlying form set and kares.

Syntactical valence

205

Adjectives can form groups with:

substantives: až young, new, is the only adjective that always precedes a substantive:
   až cem a new house
   až jípic a beginner, newcomer.

The other adjectives can precede as well as follow a substantive. An adjective precedes the substantive when a certain emphasis falls on the former:

   ów akát good people
   akát ów good people (in contrast to bad people)
   ów tari old people
   tari ów people from the distant past, ancestors.

proper names:

Natinák omér N. is afraid.

verbs:

   ew až aworéf the other day he was changed into a crocodile
crocodile new /he changed into/
akát émores ów  the men who did it well.
good-/they did it/ people

personal pronouns:

ó jiwínakáp you are small

nó pacák I will not, I won’t do it (Pacák can have the meaning
‘averse to, not willing’ when linked with personal names or personal
pronouns).

Adjectives, in addition, can be linked with words which express ‘a great
degree of’. I got the impression that these words cannot be linked to
all adjectives. Thus I found:

kor very, too, in:

tari kor     very long (ago)
afó kor      very very wide, too wide
awút kor     very very large, too large
akát kor     very very beautiful
jicó kor     very very smooth, too smooth
jitúr kor    very very heavy, too heavy
siri kor     very very quick, too quick

anakát really, in:

fúm anakát   clear as crystal
mocó anakát  wet through
akmát anakát really old

nucúr very, in:

awút nucúr   huge
pacák nucúr   most miserable

asúw ?, in:

pár asúw      very wide
fék asúw      as hard as a stone

safán ?, in:

jurúw safán   very long
cakámka? ?, in:

jocó cakámka? skinny

ut very, in:

arwát ut very large

cowák 'totally', in:

akát cowák very good

VI DEICTIC WORDS

Introduction

206

Asmat has a number of deictic words which fall into two main groups: I. non-interrogative pronouns; II. interrogative pronouns.

I. The non-interrogative pronouns, if we set aside the derivative forms, can be set out in the following scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a / ar</th>
<th>no / nor</th>
<th>e / er</th>
<th>arív</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na / nar</td>
<td></td>
<td>jáka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o / or</td>
<td></td>
<td>átar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca / car</td>
<td>personal</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>directional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form of this scheme rests on the following considerations:

1. the non-interrogative pronouns fall into three classes:
   personal possessive pronouns; demonstrative pronouns; and directional pronouns;
   Of these, only the personal possessive pronouns have morphological valence;
2. There is one ‘neutral’ deictic word, a/ar, which links up with all three classes;

3. In all three classes we find pairs of word-variants: one variant ending in a vowel, the other in r.

The scheme makes it clear that there is a certain formal connection between the classes: 1) because the deictic word a/ar belongs to all three classes; 2) because the same type of word-variants occurs in all three classes.

Only with these deictic words do word-variants with and without final r occur systematically: outside the deictic words, only a few isolated cases were found. 

II. The interrogative pronouns are ca/com, ucım and ucınak/ucı/uc. In this group the neutral deictic word a/ar does not occur, nor do word-variants with and without final r. The reasons for treating them as one group will be given in § 232.

The non-interrogative pronouns

1. The personal possessive class

This class consists of four personal possessive pronouns, to which the neutral deictic word a/ar is added:

| A      | B      | I
|--------|--------|---
| no     | nor    | we
| na     | nar    | you (s.)
| o      | or     | you (pl.)
| ca     | car    | he, they
| a      | ar     |

The forms in set A will be called A variants; those in set B, B variants.

36 I.e. the verbal forms ending in -ca/-car, -cėma/-cėmar, and -ma/-mar. See §§ 120, 136, 144.
Distribution of variants.

208

When a personal possessive pronoun is linked to a substantive, we find the B variant before a substantive beginning with a vowel; the A variant before a substantive beginning with a consonant:

\[\text{nor amás my sago; no cém my house.}\]

Deviations from this regularity are found:

1. when the personal possessive pronoun is linked to a substantive having one vowel, which is initial:
   \[\text{no ém my drum; o ó your pig;}\]

   Besides these, however, one always finds:
   \[\text{nor ém my wife; or ó your grandchild.}\]

It is possible that here the homonymy has led to a need for differentiation.

\[\text{nas 'it is mine', occurs as well as the regular construction nor ás 'it is mine'.}\]

2. when the personal possessive pronoun is linked to one of the following substantives, all of which belong to the group of kinship terms that occur exclusively linked to one of these pronouns (see § 193): Here, the B variant occurs before substantives beginning with \(m\) or \(w\):

\[
\begin{align*}
1. \text{mo} & \quad \text{husband} & \text{nor mó, or mó, etc.} \\
2. \text{wa} & \quad \text{brother-in-law} & \text{nor wá, or wá, } \\
3. \text{wes} & \quad \text{sons} & \text{nor wés, or wés, } \\
4. \text{wet} & \quad \text{namesake} & \text{nor wét, or wét, } \\
5. \text{wopis} & \quad \text{people of the same age} & \text{no wopis, but: or wopis, } \\
6. \text{wos} & \quad \text{mother} & \text{no wós, but: or wós, } \\
\end{align*}
\]

In one case has the personal possessive pronoun 1st. pers. sing. a variant \textit{new}, in four cases a variant \textit{nur}; in all these cases, the personal possessive pronoun 2nd. pers. sing. has a variant \textit{ur}. These variants occur when these pronouns are linked to the following substantives:

\[
\begin{align*}
1. \text{isipis} & \quad \text{parents} & \text{new isipis, ur isipis} \\
2. \text{icipic} & \quad \text{father} & \text{nur icipic, ur icipic} \\
3. \text{pis} & \quad \text{grandchildren} & \text{nur pis, ur pis} \\
\end{align*}
\]
4. *epic* elder sister  
   *nur epic, ur epic*
5. *wis* sisters-in-law  
   *nur wis, ur wis*

These substantives belong to the group of kinship terms which occur exclusively linked to a personal possessive pronoun (see § 193).

209

Only the B variant was found:

1. when the personal possessive pronoun is the only word in the sentence:

   *nor.* I. (in reply to the question: who is there?)
   *or* you;

2. when the personal possessive pronoun is not linked to any other word in the sentence:

   *omóp ca afán, or* you, who has hit you?
   blow who struck you, you
   *nor, or, nar, car, ar* (summing up).

3. when the personal possessive pronoun is linked to one of the following words:

   a. the directional pronoun *ar/a* (§ 229):
   *ó nor ár pen* are you going for me?
   you me to pp

   b. the question markers *en* and *pen* (§§ 252, 253):
   *ór en* is it you; *ór pen* are you there?

   c. the postposition *am* (§ 248):
   *nor ám, ar ám* I also, and he too.

   d. the postposition *aráv* (§ 245):
   *nór árav, “...” inim éof* I then said: “...”
   I pp so /I spoke/

   e. the postposition *aw* (§ 257):
   *nór aw* (yes) it is only I (reassuringly).

4. in sentences like:
ór enakáp nóř enakáp, júramtámʃawos
you small I small /they intended us for each other/
when we were both very small, they intended us for each other (§ 280).

ór a /jó ajpim/ inim mapi, nóř a /jó ajpim/ inim memáp
you this side /like this / go to sit/, I this side /like this / go to sit/
you go and sit on that side, then I will go and sit on this side (of the sleeping mat) (§ 283).

5. before a hesitation pause:

no ó mopor pák nor .... nám /pok mer emémi/
I you /look for/ not; I /also I/ searched for food/
I am not looking for you; I .... I was also searching for food.

6. in derivatives: These will be discussed in §§ 213-217.

210
The A variant was always found:

1. before the postposition nat (§ 246):
   no nát I (emphatic);

2. before the interrogative ca/cam/com (§§ 232, 233):
   o cáṃ; ó com ám who are you?
you who; you who pp

211
For the remaining cases, it was not possible to establish a constant difference in distribution between the A variant and the B variant.
The A variant was found in the vast majority of cases. Both forms occur in identical or similar environments in which no difference in meaning is discernible and it is thus probable that in these cases the two variants can alternate freely:

o/or cowək aráw an are you the only one? (§ 290).
you one pp pp

no/nor pók memtém emín I shall take care of the food
I food /take care off / I shall/

no/nor áwavpi aráw here I am; here I sit.
I /sit here/ pp
Only in one isolated case, namely, when they are linked to the word omér, was a difference in meaning found between the A and the B variant:

- nó omér  I am afraid
- nór omér  afraid of me
- ar omér  afraid of him
- a nát omér  he is afraid (For nat, see § 246).

The meaning of the personal possessive pronouns.

- no/nor  points to the speaker of the sentence in which no/nor occurs:
  
  nó or ēnēw aráw  I am your mother.
  I your mother pp

- na/nar  points to a group of persons to which the speaker of the sentence in which na/nar occurs belongs, or to which he considers himself to belong:
  
  ná Jēpēm ow  we are people of Jepem.
  we Jepem people

- o/or  points to the person to whom the sentence in which o/or occurs is directed:
  
  ó Miwir en  are you Miwir(pic)?
  you M. pp

- ca/car  points to a group of persons to whom the sentence in which ca/car occurs is directed, or to whom the person spoken to belongs or is considered to belong at the time of speaking:
  
  ca arásen ememic  you must remain here!
  you here remain

- a/ar  points to a person or persons other than those, indicated by no/nor, na/nar, o/or and ca/car:
  
  ár enakáp, nór enakáp, jumantámēravós
  he small I small /they intended us for each other/

  when he and I were still small, they intended us for each other (§ 280).
When these pronouns are linked to a substantive, they can have a possessive meaning:

\[ \text{nor ēnēw no niwī} \text{ my mother and father (see also § 208).} \]

Morphological valence.

218

Derivatives can be formed by suffixing -mā, -ap/-pa, -ow, -am, and -m to the B variant.

The forms with the suffix -mā have a semantic element in common which can be translated by: self, oneself, of one's own accord, or reflexively by: myself, etc. In the cases noted, the derivatives with -mā are always linked to a verb:

\[ \text{normā macī emī} \text{ I myself will cut it up.} \]
\[ /I \text{ myself / cut up / I will it/} \]

\[ \text{normā aterwērīn} \text{ I have fetched you of my own accord (§ 283).} \]
\[ I- /fetched you/ \]

\[ \text{sej si normā sakamṓf} \text{ I cut myself with an axe.} \]
\[ \text{iron axe myself /I cut/} \]

\[ \text{armā māpjīt ās pow} \text{ it is not something that will grow by itself.} \]
\[ \text{self /to grow/ thing not} \]

\[ \text{se armā wuāpmor in} \text{ he himself buried him (§ 274).} \]
\[ \text{ground self /he buried him/ pp} \]

214

The derivatives with the suffix -ap/-pa all have a semantic element which can be translated by: alone, secluded.

Distributionally, the forms with -ap and with -pa exclude each other: the derivatives with -pa occur only when linked to a verb; derivatives with -ap are never linked to a verb:

\[ \text{orpā mempṓr pow!} \text{ only you won't do it! (§ 283).} \]
\[ /only you / will do/ not} \]

\[ \text{nām a norpā emapči cowáčk} \]
\[ \text{I here alone /I sat/ continually} \]
\[ \text{I have sat here the whole time on my own.} \]

\[ \text{wasēn arpā sorāpēres in} \text{ they lived quite alone in the forest.} \]
\[ \text{forest /they alone / they lived/ pp} \]
**WORD-CLASSES**

naráp /ow somót/ emcóma! we are an independent group (§ 320).
/we alone/ group /we are/

op aráp sipám un, cenés aráp sipám un
above /it alone/ row of collar-beams/ pp below /it alone/ row pp
(in the house) there was a separate row of collar-beams above, and
a separate row of collar-beams below (§ 321).

When these derivatives are linked to a substantive, they can have a
possessive meaning:

noráp tapin my own sleeping mat, mine alone.

One exception to the above mentioned rule of distribution was found:
the derivative with -ap as well as that with -pa occurs linked to an
element min, which appears to be an emphasizing element:

caráp min; carpá min you alone (with emphasis).

215

The derivatives with the suffix -am have a semantic element which
can be translated by: in (his) turn, on the other hand, however:

náram ám naráp /ow somót/ emcóma
we too /we alone/ group /we are/
we, too, are an independent group (§ 320).

arám ja atmár araw ún, arám po ajinimés araw ún
he way /he was on it travelling/ pp pp, they paddle /they were rowing down
river/ pp pp
while he was on his way (on foot), they rowed downriver (§ 341).

Fêt am arám, "....." inim aer in Fet, in his turn, said..... "....."
Fet and /he in his turn/ ....so /he spoke/ pp
(§ 270).

216

The derivatives with the suffix -ow have a semantic element which can
be circumscribed as emphasis on the person or persons in question, to
the exclusion of others:

norów aaporóf I saw it (not you).
cowúc akát norów tetámjëñem áw
wife beautiful me /you gave me/ pp
you have indeed given me a beautiful wife (and not to others).

cępés manám arów maf, owór masájwut opów
women /in love / they only/ are, husbands choose not
women do fall in love, but the choice of a husband is not theirs
(§ 283).

217

The derivatives with -m are:

nam (1st. pers. sing. & pl.)
om (2nd. pers. sing.)
cam (2nd. pers. pl.)
am (3rd. pers. sing. & pl.)

Unlike the other derivatives, it is impossible in these cases to decide which variant is the underlying form. Is -m suffixed to the A variant or does it replace the r of the B variant? Furthermore, here both no/nor and na/nar have a derivative nam.

The semantic element common to these derivatives can be translated by: also, concerning; often it can only be circumscribed as slight emphasis on the person or persons in question.

náma! I, too!

nam asén akát emámsió I lie in a good place, I do! (§ 314).
I place good /I lie/

nam ám namsón pak I don’t know it either!
I either /I know not/

When a personal possessive pronoun is linked to a substantive and is preceded by an -m derivative, it lays stress on ‘possession’:

nám no ci (its) my canoe!
I my canoe

óm or as (its) yours!
you your thing

ám a papis cowúc (she is) his own papis-woman!
he his papis woman
In fact, the -m derivatives om, cam and am were found almost exclusively in this construction; nam, on the other hand, occurs frequently in other contexts, see the previous examples.

218

Summing up, we can say that all these derivatives refer to relations between persons. If we call the persons concerned A and B, then we can set out the following scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derivatives</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-aφ/−pa</td>
<td>A only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>A without (assistance of) B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ow</td>
<td>A excluding B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-am</td>
<td>A as opposed to B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>A as well as B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A, as distinct from B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactical valence.

219

The personal possessive pronouns can form groups with:

- substantives: no cêm my house
- proper names: no Teawuc I am Teawuc
- adjectives: no omér I am afraid
- verbs: nó matevét I will have it
  wów, car áfèrí take care, or I shall kill you!

deictic words; only with the directional pronouns: or ár in your direction, going for you (see § 209).

the postpositions am, aráw, aw, nat. (Examples of these constructions have already been given in § 209).
2. The demonstrative class

This class consists of the demonstrative pronoun e/er, the neutral pronoun a/ar and the three demonstrative pronouns without variants: ja, jáka and átar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jáka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>átar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The A variant was always found, except in the following cases; in these, the B variant occurred exclusively:

1. as the single word in a sentence:
   ar here; er there.

2. linked to the directional pronouns:
   ár ar this way; ér ar that way, over there.

3. linked to:

   aráw (§ 245) ár aráw this is it; here it is.
   ér aráw that is it.

   masẽrím   ár masẽrím and next; and then
   nim       ér nim  a little bit to that side
   picirím   ár picirím to here (and no further).

Cases in which the demonstrative pronoun was linked to en, pen, am or aw, were not met with in the material I worked on.

4. before the final a which occurs in exclamations: érat hey, there!

a/ar points to:

1. that which is by, or in the direct neighbourhood of the speaker:
   a fér ca serápnorémê
   this /fish trap/ who /you put it down/
   who are you, who have put down this fish trap? (§ 269).
jismák, a pér afáṃtiwit  fire, burn up this mouse! (§ 266).
fire, this mouse /burn it/!

2. the locality of the events told of (in a tale):

a nesén /os wá 37/ cowák in, a Siréc
there only forest only pp there Siréc
there was only the forest, there by the Siréc (the locale of the story)
(§ 290).

3. to that which is simultaneous, or almost so, with the action spoken of, or the happening narrated:

a /hari Minggu/ 38 cowák jiwí takás aj mupícín atáwatic
this Sunday one children all new clothes receiving
this very Sunday, all the children will get new clothes.

The demonstrative pronoun a/ar often occurs without its pointing to anything definite. I got the impression that this is the case when something is mentioned which has already been spoken of, or is presumed to be known to the listener:

Majít nucúr moporóm pak in, a cém os
Majít ancestors /to show/ not pp the house poles
the house poles [already mentioned], they did not let the ancestors of the Majít people see them (§ 274).

a Watér nat ‘…’ inim aer in  Watér then said: …
- Watér pp so /he said/ pp

a amás jis akát, a pók jis akát étampormi a jím a enám
- sago roasted well - fish roasted well /I make for him/ - /fish net/ - fish

piewérmí, mán opów
/I catch many/ [but] eat not
I prepare tasty roasted sago, tasty roasted fish for him, I scoop up many fish with the net, but eat he does not! (§ 280).

37 Asmat people make the distinction between two kinds of forest: cow - sago forest, and os wá forest without sago palms.
38 Hari Minggu: loan-words from Malay.
**228**

*e/er* points to:

1. that which is distant from the speaker:

   *e cá ci ám* whose is that canoe over there?
   that whose canoe pp

2. to a point in time, neither simultaneous, nor almost so, with the time of the speech-event:

   *e astép enáwów /hari Rabu/*
   *ará no karjí opák*
   that next /it comes/ Wednesday pp I work not
   next Wednesday I am free.

3. a place far from the locality of the event set forth in the narrative:

   *fér e kapi cuwuc áp aw án*
   /fish trap/ there closed /was present/ sitting pp pp
   there in the distance stood the fish trap (in the river) closing it
   (§ 269).

4. *e/er* can also indicate a point that, in relation to another, is seen by the speaker as being the farther removed; or as the last one of a series: the distance is not then relevant.

   *esé jép er ár, jép er ár*
   bag side there to, side there to
   a bag whose sides reach from there to there (the speaker stretches out his arms on either side) (§ 285).

*e/er* can occur without pointing to anything definite, // *a/ar*:

   *enáa a Wok tetám, a Mis tetám, é a niwi tetám, iními ofí*
   fish - Wok /to give/ - Mis /to give/ - his father /to give/ so /he did/
   he gave the fish to Wok, to Mis and to his father.
   (Here *e* occurs as the last one of the series: *a... a... e...*).

   *é ur isipí aráw siríá, arásen momásiénawút*
   - your parents pp quickly here /presently you must come together/
   as regards (you and) your parents, presently you must come together here quickly! (§ 275).

---

39 Hari Rabu; karjí: loan-words from Malay. karjí = kerdja.
ja points specially to the person spoken to: (that) there with you:

ja ucim pok towomkonawmem
that what thing /you bring with you here/
what is that thing you bring with you?

ja émorem ánam aráw
that /you work up/ middle pp
that part you have been working on is the ánam (middle part of the pith of the sago palm) (§ 299).

no já or mó /manám maʃ/ páka!
I that your husband like not
I don't like that husband of yours! (§ 281).

jáka points to everything that is not at too great a distance from the speaker.
Before a word beginning with a vowel, sometimes jak is found instead of jáka:

jak ápori look there (beside: ar ápori, look here! and er ápori look over there!)

jáka jowówa! hey, you there!
there people

ci jáka erén a! (let's go) a length upstream with the canoe! (§ 269).
canoe there upstream to

átar was only found in a few cases in the texts. It seems to me that átar only differs in meaning from the demonstrative a/ar by a certain emphasis:

átar enám amás néwirum néwa!
that fish food /we ate always/ perhaps
perhaps it was fish we always ate formerly! (§ 302).

a ci nat átar jís ci nim makmák aráw án
his canoe pp there firewood canoe like /piled up/ pp pp
in his canoe, now, there they lay piled up high (the corpses) like
a canoe with firewood in it.
The demonstrative pronouns form groups with:

substantives: a esé this bag; ja esé that bag (with you); jáka esé that bag there; e esé that bag over there.

proper names: a Jepém here in Jepém; e Kájmo the village of Kájmo, away over there; ja Matámjen Matámjen there, near you.

directional pronouns: ar á this way; er á that way. (not found with ja, jáka, átar).

with arów, masérim, nim, picirim (§ 221).

3. The directional class

This class consists of only two members: the directional pronoun arów, and the neutral pronoun a/ar:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>ar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arów</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

a/ar  points in a certain direction:

- wásen á  to the forest
- nor á    to me

The B variant was always found before the question markers en, pen, before the ‘quotative’ marker in/un, and before the final a, o or é which were mentioned in § 33 and § 34.

- ár aró  this way!
- here to!

- ó nor ár pen  are you going for me?
- you me to pp

- o mokót ar en  are you going to the sago garden?
- you /sago garden / to it/

- no mokót aró  yes, I am going to the sago garden.
- I /sago garden / to it/
\textit{e jowów mokót ar in}

those people /sago garden / to it/ pp

they are on their way to the sago garden, so it is said.

In the other cases, the A and the B variant seem to alternate freely.

\textbf{230}

\textit{arîw} indicates that the point to which the movement is directed has been reached:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{e jowów mokót arîw} they are at the sago garden.
  \item \textit{káper} \textsuperscript{40} \textit{Merauke arîw} boat Merauke /to it/
  \item the boat (which left here) has arrived at Merauke.
\end{itemize}

Syntactical valence

\textbf{231}

Directional pronouns can form groups with substantives, personal possessive pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Examples were already given in § 229.

\textbf{Interrogative pronouns}

\textit{Characteristics}

\textbf{232}

There are three interrogative pronouns:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ca/com} who, whose
  \item \textit{ucim} what, which, how, how many, how much
  \item \textit{ucinak/uci/uc} where.
\end{itemize}

These will here be treated as a group for the following reasons:

1. they can occur in combination with a postposition \textit{am}, which only occurs in combination with interrogatives;
2. they can only occur with particular forms of the verb.

\textit{ca/com}: \textit{ca} occurs in all cases except immediately preceding the postposition \textit{am}: in this case \textit{com} occurs.

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{káper}: loan-word from Malay, = kapal.
ucim: only once in a text a form ucip was found instead of ucin.
ucinak/uci/uc: ucinak is probably a compound formed with uci and
nak true, actual; ucinak occurs in all cases except those given below.
uci was found only once in a context in which one would expect ucinak:
this case is given in § 233 under ucinak.
uc occurs before the directional pronouns a/ar and aríw.
In addition, uci and uc occur in the two alternating forms uciè and ucè,
which occur in contexts in which the speaker expresses annoyance or
uneasiness. These forms have the final è, dealt with in § 33.
The syntactical valence of the interrogatives is still not fully known
to me. The structure of the sentences in which they occur is not always
clear. It can only be said with certainty that they can form groups
with substantives and verbs.
I shall deal first with those cases in which the interrogatives occur
in combination with am; then I shall discuss those in which they occur
without am.

Interrogatives occurring in combination with am:

233
am only occurs in combination with interrogatives in non-verbal
word-groups.
There are two exceptions: a. uciè/ucè, with which am never occurs;
b. the word-group ucinak + positional verb, after which am does occur.

ca/com

a cá jipic ám who is this man?
this who man pp

cá Miwirpic ar' ám who is Miwirpic?
who Miwirpic pp pp

o cóm am who are you?
you who pp

Instead of ó com ám, o cá as who are you, also occurs.

jírpu com ám who is angry?
angry who pp

awút jíwí com ám which is the biggest child?
big child which pp
ucim

a ucim pok ám what's this thing?
this what thing pp

ucim as ám what is it, what do you want?
what something pp

In the contexts in which ucim means how, how many, am is always
preceded by the postposition ar’ (see § 245):

ók ucim ar’ ám how many eggs are there?
egg how many pp pp

ná ucim ar’ ám what must we do now?
we how pp pp

o ci par ucim inim ar’ ám how wide is your canoe?
you canoe wide /how much / like this/ pp pp

ucinak/ucit/uc

The postposition am is always preceded by the postposition ar’, when
am occurs in combination with ucinak.

niwi ucinak ar’ ám where is father?
father where pp pp

nó juwur sis uci ar’ ám where is my necklace of dog’s teeth?
my dog tooth where pp pp

cá uc ár’ am where are you going?
you where pp pp

é jowów uc áriw ám where have those people gone to?
those people where /have gone to/ pp

Exceptions, mentioned above:

a. niwi uciè/ucè where is father?
father where

In the following set expression, uciè/ucè has the specific meaning:
why.

inim nat uciè why (do you say) this! (§ 281).
/like this/ pp why
b. Surú ow ucínak apés ar' ám where do the people of Surú live?
   Surú people where /they live/ pp pp

**Interrogatives without am**

284

*am* does not occur in verbal word-groups. The only exception is the word-group *ucínak* + positional verb + *ar am* as mentioned in the preceding.

The interrogatives can form groups with the verbal forms of Cat. 10 (conditional forms), Cat. 12 (habitual forms), Cat. 14 (progressive forms), Cats. 16 and 17 (ultimate- and mediate-past forms), and Cat. 24 (unproductive category of the positional verbs). The forms of category 10 always occur when the question relates to the future.

*ca*

*a kanit ca cepés apières*
   these shrimps who women /they caught/
   who are the women who have caught these shrimps?

*no cá amkawicen* who will go with me there.
   me who /will go with me/

*ucim*

*ucim emésmemá* how did you do it tonight?
   how /you did it tonight/

*tirif* ucim emamís how many letters are lying there?
   letters /how many / lie there/

*makík ucim ématamcénum* how will you throw out the fish line?
   /fish line/ how /will you throw it/

*ucínak*

/makík mer/ ucínak em-cém where will you go to fish?
/go to fish/ where /will you do it/

---

40a. *tirif*: loan-word from Malay: tulis - to write.
41. For the prefix *em-* see § 179.
Usually, however, one finds before a verb the circumscriptio...e which place, instead of ucínak:

*tirif ucín asén tiwirámjem*  where did you send the letter?
letter which place /sent you it/

VII INTERJECTIONS

**Characteristics**

235

The interjections form a word-class characterized by:

1. the absence of morphological and syntactical valence;
2. the occurrence of special phonological phenomena;
3. the breaking of the rules of phoneme distribution;
4. the breaking of the rules of accentuation.

The special phonological phenomena occurring with interjections are:

word-final è  
prolongation of vowels  
laryngalization  
the special sounds nj, 'm, ts, and pr.

These have already been dealt with in §§ 33-38.

The rules of phoneme distribution are broken in that the vowel è can occur word-finally. The rules of accentuation are broken in that, in specific cases, the regular alternation of accented and unaccented vowels does not occur.

The interjections fall into two groups:

1. exclamations;
2. onomatopoeic interjections, and exclamations used to call animals  
or to urge them on.

**Exclamations**

236

The rules of phoneme distribution are only broken in this group. Among others, the following cases were noted:
wu! oh! alas!
wuwú! oh! alas!
je fie!
jój an exclamation of surprise
ēmá wait! be patient!
atów come!
ajpáw fine!
enamúc come on!
ts a sign of annoyance
'm indicates a vigorous start to an action
sl! hey! I say!
noromúm you are my husband, my dear one, my dear

Some cases were noted in which a whole word-group was transposed to the category of interjections. These cases are: the affectionate expression nor mó my husband, my dear one, and the abusive words:

ekcú jiná monster! misbegotten brat! (arse child!)
nés minó weakling! (piece of meat)

Onomatopoetic interjections and words of command to animals

The rules of accentuation are only broken in this group. A phenomenon frequently occurring in this group is the repetition of the same element, usually one having one vowel. In this case the alternation of accented and unaccented vowels does not occur.

Examples of onomatopoeia:

sēsēsēsē hissing of fire as it is put out
jējējējējējējē the sound of the wind
pepepepe the creaking of a cane binding as it is pulled tight
iriririri sound of many small objects falling down

42 When two Asmat people meet or are together and are pleased to see each other it is usual for the two of them to express their pleasure by using the term noromúm - 'you are my husband', my dear one, irrespective of the sex of the two people concerned and irrespective of whether or not there is a sexual relationship between them. Instead of noromúm, one can also say nor mó cowah ēm - you are my only husband, or: no mitwis ēm - you are my husbands, when one addresses more than one person.
ko, ko, ko, ko, ko  sound made by drums
kuku       call of the ojüm bird
kèkèkèkèkè  scream of the joc bird
taká ko, taká ko  sound made by feet squelching in the mud

The following interjections are suggestive of actions:

njankanjanjanja or
njómo njómo njómo  the action of nibbling or gnawing
urururururu  the action of something slipping into something else; people following one after another
wáka  the making of a scarcely noticeable movement (e.g., with the hand)
père  a sudden appearing and disappearing, flashing of light, a quick short movement.

In the following cases the element that is repeated occurs also in the class of verbs either as a core, or as a component of a core. We are thus dealing here with cases of transposition:

tepteptetep  the action of going lower and lower down, of sinking deeper (tep to be above)
tajtajtajtaj  the gradual ceasing of rain (taj to cease, to stop)
purpurpur  the assembling of a great crowd of people (pur in rows)
sopì, sopì  the action of leaping high in the air (of a fish leaping out of the water) (sow to leap up, pi to fly).

I also noted the following interjections which are used to call an animal or to urge it on:

as, as  urging on dogs at a pig hunt
fasafasafa  calling tame pigs
VIII NEGATIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

Introduction

238
I shall now deal with a number of words that have no morphological valence and which cannot yet be classified into a definite word-class because the material is insufficient for this purpose. That I have, nevertheless, divided them into negations and postpositions is due to the fact that the negations, at least, have a feature common to them, one which is not found in the postpositions: only specific forms of the verb can occur before negations. The feature characteristic of the postpositions is that they always occur at or within the end of a word-group.\footnote{43}

The syntactical valence of the negations and postpositions, like that of the interrogatives, is still not fully known to me. In so far as I have been able to determine it with certainty will it be mentioned, and examples will be given.

In addition, cases will also be given of the occurrence of negations and postpositions in sentences of which the syntactical structure has not yet been determined.

The negations and postpositions will be dealt with in the following order:

1. The negations: opák/pak, opów/pow; ópnakáw/pěnakáw, pok, ēmár.

II. The postpositions: on the basis of their function, these can be divided into:

1. emphasizing words: aráw, nat, man
2. conjunctions: am, win, eněrim/ením, cin\footnote{44}
3. question markers: en/an, opén/pen, am²
4. the dubitative marker: ew
5. the irrealis marker: aj

\footnote{43} The only exception to this is eněrim/ením which is always placed between proper names.

\footnote{44} There are still three other conjunctions: másinerim/masnerim/maserim/misěrim/masním then; wunam again; maréu/maréw/mari/maré - at last, finally. These link word-groups with word-groups. These words will not be discussed here because this is not possible without a previous investigation into the syntax.
6. the subjectivity marker: aω
7. the quotative marker: in/un/n.

Lastly, I will discuss three elements of which the function is still not clear to me: in/un/n², am', and aω.

Negations

239

Only the following forms of the verb can precede negations:

1. the m-/mV- and the m-/mV-áji forms:
2. the tense and tense-aspect categories of verbs of which the core contains the formative por = to wish, to try to. These verbal forms only occur in combination with opák/pak, opów/pow and ópnakáw/pénakáw. These negations then express a contrariness which can be translated by: but no, but in vain.

240

opák/pak not, without

opák and pak alternate freely, except after verbs with the formative por, where opák always occurs. pak was usually found after the m-/mV- and the m-/mV-áji forms of the verb; in other cases opák was usually found.

opák/pak can form groups with:

the m-/mV- forms of the verb: mópor pák emóf I did not see it; see not /did I/

substantives: amás opák there is no sago
adjectives: akát opák it is not good
personal possessive pronouns: or pák not you
cowák one, all: opák cowák absolutely not
wut much, many: opák wut by no means
pak not: opák pak really! positively!

Cases in which opák is preceded by the verbal forms mentioned in § 239, 2. are:
Seréw matowóf un arewuśájporamár opák in
/people of Seréw / in order to kill/ pp /they assembled/ not pp
the people of Seréw gathered to kill her, but in vain (§ 338).

"manic" ajipor opák  eat it, he said, but in vain.
/eat it / he said/ not

241

opów/pow  not, without

The distribution of opów and pow is parallel to that of opák and pak.
I could not find a distinct difference in meaning between opák/pak and
opów/pow. I got the impression from the examples to hand that the
relationship between opák/pak and opów/pow is parallel to that
between the non-mood and the mood forms of the verb. opów/pow
was only found in direct speech, in sentences in which the speaker
gives expression to varying moods.

opów/pow  was found linked to:

the m-/mV- forms of the verb:

Sajit masetáj powá  Sajit has not arrived!
Sajit arrived not!

substantives:

amás opów  there is no sago!

personal possessive pronouns:

no opów  I am not there!

Cases in which opów is preceded by one of the verbal forms mentioned
in § 239, 2. are:

atakám otawpormín opów
talk I do with you not
I give you advice, but you won't listen! (§ 282).

pók jis akát etámpormí opów
fish roasted good /I make for him/ not
I prepare nicely roasted fish for him; it's all in vain! (§ 281).
otáwnporéwirin opów
/continually I gave you advice/ not
I 've always given you advice, but you won’t listen!

242

ópnakáw/pěnakáw

ópnakáw, or pěnakáw, occurs in negative-interrogative sentences and in sentences containing an emphatic denial and is translatable with: why not, not.
In sentences with this negation the speaker is always expressing a certain uneasiness, vexation, disappointment or dislike.

ópnakáw/pěnakáw was found linked with the m-/mV- forms of the verb, and with adjectives:

manapór pěnakáw  why won’t you eat them! (§ 280).
/want to eat / why not/

namké ópnakawè now, aren’t you ashamed!
ashamed not

Preceded by a verbal form mentioned in § 239, 2.:

owerós moporómtewér empórmin ópnakawè
husband /to find / I try / but no/
I am trying to find a husband, but without success.

Other cases:

cár jimin pěnakáw  I don’t like you at all!
you like not

okorá or owopís pěnákawè
seduce you /people of your own age / why not/
why don’t you seduce girls of your own age!

243

pok  let not, lest

pok was only found after the m-/mV- form of the verb:
jó mupú pok
sun /come up / let not/
don’t let the sun rise = be sure you’re ready before the sun comes up.

ów mopor pók efá jaró
people /to notice/ lest quickly /I walked/
I walked quickly lest people should notice (§ 314).

244
emár is a negation expressing the reverse of an assumption; it can be translated with: but . . . . not; indeed not; oh, no!
emár can be linked to aráw and to the group substantive-adjective:

no ów akát emár I am indeed not a handsome man.
I man handsome /indeed not/

máwtewer asén emár aráw
/to fetch (sago)/ place not pp
there is really no place to get sago from (§ 324).

pacáksere ci mosokóm, emár aráw, ci tari moskóm pak
useless canoe /break up/ no pp canoe old /break up/ not
a useless canoe, broken up . . no, they didn’t break up the old canoe
(§ 339).

Postpositions

1. Emphasizing words

245
aráw/ará/ar': aráw and ará appear to alternate freely, except in the following cases:
aráw always occurs before the postpositions an/en, in/un/n, and man.
ará always occurs before the negation pak, and before new (§ 255).
ar' 45 always occurs before the postposition am.
aráw/ará/ar' can be used to make a statement about an existing situation, and is then translatable by: (there) is, (there) are.
Often, however, aráw/ará/ar' only places a slight emphasis on the word or the word-group preceding it.

aráw/ará/ar' can be linked with:

45 In order to distinguish the postposition ar from the directional pronoun ar,
the first one will be written ar'.
verbs:

*ajinawimé ará*  there they are, all coming back.
*atawfém aráw*  you said it.

The group:  *m*/*mV* form of the verb + *ará/aráw* expresses requirement:

*mósirimták aráw án*  is it necessary to row down the river again?  

(substantives):

*cowúc cém ará*  the woman is at home (§ 265).
*woman house pp*

*maró, atów ará*  then, there is play (§ 264).
*then play pp*

(proper names):

*Watér aráw, mú aniser in*  then, Watér went into the water (§ 270).
*W. pp water /he went into/ pp*

(personal possessive pronouns):

*nór aráw, ó matewér e mín*  I want to take you with me (§ 280).
*I pp you /take with / I want to/*

(demonstrative pronouns):

*ár aráw*  here is it, this is it.
*ór aráw*  there it is, that’s it.

the postposition *man*:

*aráw man*  naturally, certainly.

246

*nat/na*

*nat* and *na* alternate freely.
*nat/na* places a slight emphasis on the word or the word-group preceding it.
nat/na can form groups with:

substantives:

cowút nat jiwinakap in the girl (in contrast) was quite small.
girl pp small pp

proper names:

a Watér nat "....." iním aer in
Watér pp so he spoke pp
Watér (in his turn) said: ..... (§ 269).

personal possessive pronouns:

no nát o jimín emció I am fond of you.
I pp you /fond of / I am/

When the pronoun a/ar is the subject of a sentence it is always linked to nat:

a nát, ó mopórtewét eménè
he pp you /to take / he wants you/
he wants to take you (as a wife) (§ 281).

directional pronouns:

ér na over there.

In the following cases, nat/na emphasizes the word-group preceding it:

amás os nát opák in then there were no sago palms (§ 289).
sago palm pp not pp

mitúr wut nát, pasték wut nát, mípacák in
mitúr many pp pasték much pp full pp
(there were) many mitúr bushes, much pasték grass; the whole place was covered with it.

247

man always occurs at the end of an emphatic statement or affirmation.
It can be linked to:

verbs:
mácatíw man! (yes), let’s kill it!
to kill pp

substantives:

atów man  good, (let us) play!
play pp

and to arów, see § 245.

A few other cases are:

no pók araw mán  it’s mine!
my thing pp pp

ér araw mán  that’s it! that’s right!
that pp pp

2. Conjunctions

248
am  also, and.
am can be linked to substantives, proper names and personal possessive pronouns:

onów am, ós am  thatch and wood.
thatch pp wood pp

púw atéwer in firkóm am amán am
spear /he took/ pp, /heavy arrow/ pp bow pp
he took a spear, and also a heavy arrow and a bow, . . (§ 277).

nám am, namsóm pak  I also don’t know.
I also /I know/ not

nor ám, or ám  you and I.
I pp you pp

249

win  all, one by one.

win can only be linked to substantives:

ci win, ci win, ci win  all the canoes, one after the other.
canoe pp canoe pp canoe pp
mokót win ásasakăjesef in, mokót win ásasakăjesef
/sago garden/ pp /she passed, coming/ pp /sago garden/ pp /she passed,
coming/

she passed one sago garden after another, on her way here .... (§ 307).

250

eněrim/enim and.

eněrim, freely alternating with enim, only occurs between proper names:

*Pisím eněrim Wasi* Pisím and Wasí (§ 328).
*Juwúr eněrim Ew* Dog and Crocodile (as persons in a story).
*Cepésmi eněrim Okórmi* (the streams) Cepésmi and Okórmi.

251

cin and, inclusive.

cin occurs after words or word-groups which indicate a person. It is found linked to proper names, personal possessive pronouns and the interrogative ca ‘who’:

*a tíw cin, Juwútakap cin* he and his son, Juwútakap.
his son pp Juwútakap pp

When linked to personal possessive pronouns cin is translatable with ‘both’:

*ná cin* both of us; *cá cin* or *ó cin* both of you.

With the interrogative ca:

*ó cá cin ám* who is with you?
you who pp pp

A few other cases:

*Taweric, ar ewic Jiw cin* Taweric and his brother Jiw (§ 336).
Taweric his brother Jiw pp

But: *Taweric, eněrim Jiw* Taweric and Jiw (see § 250).

*no sinakap cin anijic* go home now, you and my little wife § 292).
my /little wife/ pp /go home/

*ar ém cin, ar mó cin* the man and his wife.
his wife pp her husband pp
3. Question markers

252

en/an

en and an appear to alternate freely; en occurs most frequently. After aráw, however, an always occurs.
en/an occurs in interrogative sentences in which an inquiry is made regarding the identity of a person or a thing, or about the nature of something. It can be linked to verbs, substantives and adjectives:

apórmen én are you looking at it?
enám en is it fish?
awút en is it big?

A few other cases are:

játakám jurúw en is the story long?
story long pp

tó nukúwúw jokom én did you set out yesterday?
yesterday /you set out/ pp

ó Téwér en are you Téwér(awuc)?
you Téwér pp

253

opén/pen

opén, freely alternating with pen, occurs in sentences in which: a. an inquiry is made about the presence of something or the occurrence of something:

enám pen is there any fish?

mú emésusumá pen is the water already boiling?
water /it boils already/ pp

no méntomir ów opén is there someone who can take me across?
me /to take across/ people pp

b. an inquiry is made about the possibility of something happening, or permission is requested to do something. In these cases opén/pen always occurs after the m-/mV- form of the verb:
nó a cém misis pen may I go into this house?
I this house /go into/ pp

no maní pen éw may I perhaps go home? (§ 299).
I /go home/ pp pp

ja omá makámtewer pén
these /binding material / to split into/ pp
can you split them (the sago leaves) into binding material? (§ 288).

254
am²

This am which is not identical with the conjunction am, occurs only at the end of word-groups containing an interrogative. Since it has been discussed in paragraphs 232 and 233, it will not be dealt with again here.

4. The dubitative marker éw

255

With some exceptions which will be mentioned later, éw always occurs in combination with either the interrogative form of the verb, with an interrogative, or with one of the question markers en/an and opén/pen. Sentences with éw express a doubt or an assumption:

with the interrogative form of the verb:

énew niwi pacáseánes éwa! ⁴⁵ᵃ
mother father /did they kill them/ pp!
have they perhaps killed mother and father (on the river)?

mów emépasán éw are the pandanus fibres already dry? (§ 284).
/pandanus fibres / are they already dry/ pp

with an interrogative:

já ucím pemof éw well, how should I have done it? (§ 327).
that how / did it/ pp

na ucím jo ár' am éw by which river are we? (§ 340).
we which river pp pp pp

⁴⁵ᵃ For the final a see § 34.
With en/an: here, new always occurs instead of en/an + ew:

amás aráw newá \(^{45b}\) is it sago? Perhaps it is sago! (§ 302).
sago pp pp!

pakás kor nēw perhaps (he had) a big ulcer (§ 331).
ulcer big pp

ucím o amítérém, jipít new, penēs new
/what kind/ pig /you speared/, male pp female pp
what kind of pig did you spear, a boar or a sow?

Exceptions are the verbs of which the core consists of or ends in
a positional root: ew then occurs instead of new and alternates with aw:

namůj pámis aw is my brother-in-law perhaps (lying) there?
/brother-in-law / does he lie/ pp

pāpes ew are they perhaps at home?
/they sit/ pp

amán pômeen éwa! \(^{45c}\) have you the bow by you? (§ 336).
bow /you stand with/ pp

with opén/pen:

o pacák pen éw don’t you want to?
you /don’t want to/ pp pp

no jó pen éw mopówpor
I river pp pp /go to look for/
I’m going to see whether or not there is a river (to settle down).

5. The irrealis marker  aj

256

aj occurs only at the end of conditional word-groups as an indication
that the condition therein mentioned has not been met. It can still be
followed by the postposition nat/na. It would appear that aj can be
linked to verbs and personal possessive pronouns. Sentences in which
aj occurs have already been given in § 135.

\(^{45b}\) For the final a see § 34.
\(^{45c}\) For the final a see § 34.
6. The 'subjectivity' marker aw

aw is used to express delicate differences in the feelings of the speaker, e.g.:

reassurance: nór aw it's only I.
disappointment: wasén cow opák aw!
forest /sago palma/ not pp
there are no (good) sago palms in the forest (§ 279).
anxiety: niwi nat áw where has father got to?
father pp pp
querulousness: a esé awút kor new áw
this bag big too pp pp
this bag is perhaps too big! (§ 285).

7. The quotation marker in/un/n

in/un/n occurs in sentences containing a quotation in direct or in indirect speech, or containing a statement made from hearsay. It's noteworthy that the rule of distribution obtaining for in/un is parallel to that which applies to the verbal formatives itüm/utüm, it/ut and to a number of verbal suffixes (see § 91): un occurs after word-final m (except after em, to stand), and after word-final p, w or f preceded by a, o or u, except after ap to sit. in occurs in the other cases. n was found only in two texts, narrated by a boy from Jepém. (Text VII and IX, §§ 303-306; 316-320). In these texts it occurs after form 6 of category 19:

Safán atéptowópmare’n first she dropped Safan upstream (§ 303).

in/un/n always occurs at the absolute end of a word-group.47

46 With exception of a few interjections, and n² (§ 259), n is distinguished from all other words by the absence of vowels. In order to indicate that in n a vowel has been dropped, I shall write 'n. The same applies to n².
47 For the postpositions en/an, opén/pen, am, ew, aw, and in/un/n a relative order could be determined; this order is:

{ en/an
  { opén/pen
    { am
    - ew - aw - in/un/n.}
á, arána, Miwirpic /jiwís tuwéséʃ/ aráw new ín, ci napí
hey, upstream Miwirpic /who moved away / it is/ perhaps pp canoe white
é nimár araw ín, e jó pu /mu ján/ asórmonimár
there /comes downstream/ pp pp there river on current /it follows downstream/
araú ín
pp pp
"Hey, they say that there upstream — perhaps its Miwirpic who
moved away — a white canoe comes floating down, it follows the
current there in the middle of the river!" (§ 301).

An abundance of cases can be found in the texts.

Elements of which the function is not clear

259

in/un/n²

The distribution of un is identical to that of the quotative un; n ⁴⁸
occurs after word-final vowel; in the remaining cases in occurs.

in/un/n² was found:

1. After a m-/mV- form of the verb in sentences such as:

(peri), am ék man in jisapcéj
(mouse), am fruit /to eat/ pp /come outside and sit/
mouse, come outside and sit down to eat up the am fruit! (§ 266).

 pó mipipim un ámeremer in
midribs /to cut off/ pp /he went there/
he went there to cut off midribs (of the sago palm) (§ 267).

The m-/mV- forms of the verb do, however, occur in comparable
constructions without in/un/n².

sér matáw ajisápères in
/set fish /to catch / they went onto land and sat/ pp
they went onto the land to sit down and catch the ser fishes (§ 272).

I was not able to discover a difference in meaning between this con-
struction and that with in/un/n².

⁴⁸ In order to indicate that a vowel has been dropped, I shall write 'n see § 258,
note 46.
2. After a substantive in sentences like:

\[ jipit, /mán \ jān/ ajimómcémés \]

boy wrist /they drag him along/

they drag the boy along by the wrist (§ 265).

\[ e \ akát \ ow, e \ akát \ cepés \ in \ poreréntewerá, \ pacákser \ ow \ pacák \ cepés, \]

the fit men the fit women pp /choose repeatedly/, unfit men unfit women

\[ towofá, inim aer in \]

/kill repeatedly/, so /he did/ pp

again and again he choose the fine men and women (from the people in the water), and the unfit men and the unfit women he killed (§ 278).

In these cases \( in/un/n^2 \) appears to indicate that some part of a whole is affected by the action. There are, however, a number of cases in which constructions with and without \( in/un/n^2 \) occur without any apparent difference in meaning:

\[ /sēn/ \ ajáwnimámar \ in \] she returned covered in mud (§ 300);

mud /she returned covered in/ pp

as well as:

\[ sé \ ajáwnimía \] I return, covered in mud (§ 301);

mud /I return covered in/

and:

\[ júmus \ in \ jīremóf \] I walked with bowed head (§ 309);

/bowed head/ pp /I went/

as well as:

\[ júmus \ jīreméf \]

/bowed head / she went/

she went with bowed head (looking for crabs) (§ 303).

260

\( am^3 \)

An element \( am \), which appears not to be identical to the conjunction \( am \), was found in a limited number of cases, linked to \( mak \) back, \( moc \) wailing, and \( fajmúc \) unhindered, safe, undisturbed:
mak ám matátiw  to pile up on each other
back pp /to put on/

páj akát fajmúc am e-črés
/peace-making ceremony/ good undisturbed pp /they did/
they held their peace-making ceremony properly, without disturbance.

móc am ajetámniamár  she returned, wailing all the time.
wailing pp /she returned/

But, in a comparable case, in instead of am occurs after moc:

móc in ajatámsières in  wailing, they entered the river (§ 328).
wailing pp /they entered the river/ pp

261

aw

This aw is not identical to the aw mentioned in § 257; it probably is an allomorph of aráw/ará/ar'.

Compare:

Patépo cuwúc opéf aráw  at that time he lived with Patépo (§ 311);
Patépo /at that time / he sat with/ pp

and:

Patépo enèrím Jitúrcem cuwúc opéf áw
Patépo and Jitúrcem /at that time / he sat with/ pp
at that time he lived with Patépo and Jitúrcem (§ 311).
PART IV

TEXTS

INTRODUCTION

Recording and presentation

262

The ten stories presented here are only a selection of those recorded on tapes. Eight of the stories were narrated by youths of 14 to 17 years of age and the recordings were made either at my house in Ágats or in my house in Jepém. One story, (VI), was told by a woman and was recorded in her own house and one, (X), narrated by an older man, was recorded in the ceremonial house.

During the narration, the speaker sat cross-legged on the ground on a sleeping mat, according to Ásmat custom. And, since the stories were being told to an audience, the hand microphone, on its holder, was placed on the ground in front of the narrator. A number of listeners were always present during the recording sessions. The speaker was only interrupted during the telling of the story when a new tape had to be put on.

The recorded stories were later transcribed and translated with the help of my informants. For the transcripts, they repeated the stories word by word, and the translating of each story was only done when the transcription had been completed.

The stories have been presented — as far as it has been practicable to do so — as they were told by the narrators: recapitulations, anacolutha, corrections made by the speakers, sudden changes of theme, and asides have been retained. Any errors of speech which, in my opinion, were a hindrance to the understanding of the texts have been deleted.

The transcripts given here are based on the word-by-word repetition of the stories by my informants, who sometimes deviated from the original by using another word-variant, or another word, or by using an Ásmat word instead of a Malay word used by the narrator. In these cases the word used by the latter is given in a note.

To facilitate the reading of the texts these have been divided into relatively short paragraphs. One paragraph of the Ásmat text corresponds to one paragraph of the translation. If any notes occur in a
paragraph, these have been put at the end of it. For technical reasons
the notes to the Åsmat text as well as the notes to the translation have
been added to the Åsmat text.

The spelling of the texts is phonematic; the special phonological sounds
are written as shown in § 32, note. The accent is always indicated.
The $x$ indicates the sound made by striking the cupped hand with
the fist. The narrators sometimes did this when the passage dealt with
chopping, striking, spearing, or when they wanted to indicate a thud
or a crack, or a sudden start of an action. Since the striking of the
cupped hand with the fist often wholly or partly took the place of a
verbal description, it seemed advisable to indicate this sound in the
transcription. A sentence such as: Taweric amás . . . ‘Taweric sago’ . . .
cannot be understood unless the accompanying sounds made by the
narrator are represented: Taweric amás $x$ $x$ $x$ $x$ ‘Taweric chopped
down sago palms’.

In addition, the following punctuation-marks will be used:
the comma, to indicate a non-final pause in the speech of the narrator;
the full stop, to indicate a final pause, after a non-exclamatory sentence;
the exclamation mark, to indicate a final pause after an exclamatory
sentence;
the dash, to indicate a sudden change of theme;
quotations marks, to indicate statements in direct speech.
No capital letters will be used, except for proper names.

Individual details about the texts

263

I. ($§$ 264). Narrator: the informant Mîfekpic from Surú; approximately 14 years of age. He tells of a day in the life of youths
from Surú.

II. ($§$ 265). Narrator: Mîfekpic. He gives a brief description of the
way in which a marriage is concluded.

III. ($§$ 266). Narrator: Mîfekpic. A story for children about the
squabble between the Maciw, a snake, and the Am, a fruit.

IV. ($§§$ 267 - 270). Narrator: Warsé, an elder brother of Mîfekpic,
also from Surú; approximately 16 years of age. A story for
children telling how the fet fish came by his scarred nose and the
watër fish by its many bones. (Children are not allowed to eat
the watër fish because it has so many bones).

V. ($§§$ 271 - 279). Narrator: Warsé. This story of Owpacâk and
Cowútpacák is part of the history of the origin of the Majít group in Surú. The locale of the story is the Sepér, a sidestream of the Siréc (see map II). In the past, the people of Majít lived for some time on the Sepér.

VI. (§§ 280 - 302). Narrator: Asépar, the mother of my informant, Natináq. This story is about the origin of sago — the only story told by a woman. It differs in various details from the story of the origin of sago told to me later by Warsékomen, the chief of the ceremonial house Ar in Surú. Because this is the origin myth of the most important food of the Ásmat people, I shall give a short summary of both versions:

In Asépar’s version, Miwírpic wants to marry the younger sister of his wife, Tewérawúc. When the girl expresses her unwillingness to become his wife, he takes the two women with him to the upper course of the Siréc. There he finds a sago palm which he looks after until the sago can be extracted. In the meantime, he gets Tewérawuc to make a huge bag. He chops down the sago palm and instructs the women in the extraction of the sago. While he is on his way home with the heavy bag full of sago on his back he sinks into a morass, still bearing the bag. During the night he changes into a sago palm which makes the sago palms, scattering them everywhere. It has, however, no crown. On the following day the women return to look for him. Tewérawuc puts her sister upside down on Miwírpic and she changes into the crown of the sago palm, her legs and arms, sticking up towards the sky, become its fronds. Tewérawuc then returns alone to her village and introduces the sago to the people.

In Warsékomen’s version, Miwírpic goes alone to look for sago. He threads on a thorn which he then plants. From it grows the first sago palm. Helped by his wife, he then extracts the sago. On his way back, he and the bag full of sago sink into a morass. At night he changes into a sago palm which scatters its fruit everywhere and so spreads the sago palm.

Warsékomen told me that he did not know the version given by Asépar and claimed that it was incorrect. The question arises in this connection, whether Asépar’s version may be told only by women. Unfortunately I was not aware of this during the time I was staying with the Ásmat people. It is noteworthy that various procedures in the karware feast held on the Mimika Coast, bear a strong resemblance to some of the events described in
Asépar’s version.¹

VII. VIII. & IX. Narrator: Wominén, a young man from Jepém, approximately 16 years of age. These three stories all have as their subject matter a contact with supernatural beings. These were told to me as true happenings. In VII. (§§ 303 - 306), he tells about the woman, Pajámpari, and the consequences following intercourse with a spirit from a river which passes itself off as the man she desires.

In VIII. (§§ 307 - 315), Wominén tells how he himself was taken off by a spirit girl who wanted to marry him, and was finally brought back.

In IX. (§§ 316 - 320), he tells how his father once had an encounter with his ancestors when he was searching for fish.

X. (§§ 321 - 344). Narrator: Simni, chief of the ceremonial house Awór in Surú; approximately 55 years of age. This story tells about a famine in the coastal regions which made it necessary for the people living in the area to join villages further inland. It describes in detail the fate of the people of Jepém when they went to the village of Seréw, and how the majority of them were slain there. The story is a tari atakám, a story regarded by the Asmat people as historical. The happenings described in this story must have taken place at least a century ago.²

¹ The only description of the kaware feast known to me is in the unpublished notes of the Dutch Roman Catholic missionary, Father G. Zegwaard, M.S.C., which date from 1952. Father Zegwaard associates this feast with two origin myths of which the Asmat equivalents are the stories of Fimiriw, and Tönjenap and Mújenap. The first story tells of the origin of mankind, the second, of a number of plants. In my opinion, various parts of the kaware feast clearly relate to happenings in the myth, told by Asépar, i.e.,

the plaiting of a very large basket, followed by the young men carrying very heavy objects;

the ritual chopping down of the tree of which the trunk is to provide the central pole of the house of the feast. When the tree is to be chopped down, the crown foliage is first stripped off and then a man climbs to the top. Here he is discovered by women who are out looking for him. He spits chewed leaves onto those below (= sago fruit?);

the ritual banging end-to-end of the broad ends (called the ‘heads’) of two poles. This could be a re-enactment of the young Tewérawuc being placed, head-to-head, on Miwirpic.

In view of the preceding, the Kámoro word kaware could be connected with the Asmat word coworé, the extreme end of a frond of the sago palm. This view is supported by the fact that Kámoro words often have k where the Asmat words, corresponding to them, have c.

² From Zegwaard’s data, it appears that four generations ago (± 100 years) the villages of Surú, Ewér, Jepém, Per, and Uwús were in the same places as described in this story.
I

ná amás mér, wásen á. amás mamánem, amás mawán. amás awcóm, amás esé atápomcémom. amás esé tapómcom\(^1\) misérím, ánícémom. cém misérím ásetájicémom. amás áncom, mari atów ará. atów ecóm, wunám, porów, már atów me, arásen ajiniwenáwcémom. már atów eitúmcom, áncom, cém amás ancóm, mari is ápoamiscémom.

\(^1\) capómcom.

* i.e., from Surú to Agats.

II

jipít, jéw emápoémá. cowút, cém ará. ájimsonićémés cowút jímsonít, jipít jímsonit écèmes. jímsonicémés, cowút, jís atopómce mes jipít, mán fe’n ajimómcémés. ár énèw, a niwí cém misérím áfiwomíačémís.\(^1\) fiwomíačémés\(^2\) masérím, mari, á ko iním ajíwemapómce ñémés. á ko jíwapómce mes, jókmén sintiwátámcémés.\(^3\) amás án co sintiwátámcémés. mari, amás ánccémés. amás, si amamétámcémés. á pakajápcémés ósí amamétámcémés misérím mari, misit écèmes misérím, séj in órowapómce ñémés awér kápmapómce ñémés. jófaí misérím, mari amás mer jisomásmes. wasén, fawíc emásmewérmes. fawíc\(^4\) emásmewérmes. ci nio múwcémés.\(^5\) fawíc ésasmiwérmes. cém setájicémés. wun jófaí amás mer jisámés. ófásicémés. porów misérím, amás, cowúc, ár isipís, cém atówomiwitámcémés. tówomitiwitámcémés pók am ámutámce ñámés. mari opák.

\(^1\) fiomúcémés; \(^2\) fiomúwcémés; \(^3\) sintiwiwérmes; \(^4\) falt; \(^5\) niomúwcémés.

\(^{a}\) They = the male members of the girl’s family.
\(^{b}\) The boy may try to escape to avoid being married.
\(^{c}\) The boy’s parents.
\(^{d}\) The bride and groom.
\(^{e}\) The members of the boy’s family.
\(^{f}\) At the same time they express the wish that the girl may thrive in her new home.
\(^{g}\) The atwér, (sketch p. 365) is only worn by married women.
\(^{h}\) The making of jokes with the young woman, who again is carried on the back, is a set part of the ceremonial becoming acquainted with the sago garden of her husband’s family.
\(^{i}\) On an occasion such as this the following can be offered: stone axes, daggers, spears, bows and arrows; feathers of the cassowary, the white cockatoo and the bird of paradise; headbands of the fur of the cuscus, necklaces made of dog’s teeth and, more recently, iron axes, knives and clothes.
We go to the forest to get sago. To cut down a sago palm; to scrape out the sago. When we've scraped out the sago, then we put the sago in the bags. When we've filled the bags we go back. Then we arrive home. When we've eaten, there'll be play. When we've played then, in the afternoon, we all come here to play football once more. When we've played football in the afternoon, and when we've gone back and have eaten at home, then we all go to sleep.

The boy sits in the ceremonial house. The girl is at home. They pull them up with them; they pull the boy up with them; they pull the girl up with them. They pull them up with them; they put the girl on someone's back; they drag the boy along with them by the wrist. Then they take them inside, into the house of his mother and father. When they've taken them inside, they make them sit down [on the floor] cross-legged. They make them sit cross-legged and they push the bamboo tongs towards her. They push a basket with sago in it towards her. Then they eat the sago. They share the sago out. They share out the sago among all the people who are gathered there, and after that the latter get up one by one, and gently press her several times on the shoulders. The awér is put on her. The following day, they go away with her to the forest to get sago. In the forest they make jokes all the time; all the time they make jokes. They take her with them in the canoe. Still joking, they come here and arrive home. The next day they go away to the forest to get sago. They come back. Then, when it's evening, they take the sago inside the house of the girl's parents. They take it to them, and they also present them with things of value.
III

266


₁ mokóni; ₂ éwtékoër.

IV

267


₁ támjíwém; ₂ Watér; ₃ akór; ₄ ajénac; ₅ jikurumoros.

ₐ In order to find out which part of the trunk contains the sago, holes are made at regular intervals in the bark. Through these holes a digging stick is thrust into the pith. When the pith contains sago it sticks to the digging stick as it is pulled out (sketch p. 367).

ₐ Water is poured out over the pith that has been scraped out of the trunk and the pith is then squeezed in the hand to separate the sago which then runs down with the water into the sump trough, where it sinks to the bottom. As soon as the sump trough fills up with the water, the plug at the end is removed and the water flows away, leaving the sago. The process is repeated until the sump trough is filled with sago. The caked mass of sago is then cut crosswise into pieces approximately 12 inches long. These pieces, which are flat on the top and convex at the bottom, are called pomán -half; often two pomán are put face to face thus forming a roll of sago; this is called maj -foot.
III

266
A Maciw snake lay asleep after bathing. A [bunch of] ripening Am fruit hung above it. "Maciw, get out of the way, you! I want to fall down to become squashy," it said, but in vain. "Why do you never fall down when you're alone? Why do you always want to fall down when someone's lying here?" [the snake] said. "Well, since you are there," it said. And the whole bunch of Am fruit forthwith fell down from above and hit the [snake's] nose. "Oh, my nose! Oh, my nose!" it cried. "Mouse, run out of the undergrowth and sit down and eat up the Am fruit," it said. The mouse immediately started to run out, and it sat down to eat up the Am fruit. "Hey, fire, burn up this mouse," said [the fruit]. The fire came up to the mouse, frizzling it up. "Downpour fall down!" it said. A downpour fell down. That's all.

IV

267
Fet went to get sago; early in the morning he started out. Early in the morning he started out to get sago and, having gone upriver, entered a sidestream. When he had rowed into the sidestream, they (Fet and his wife) went quickly into the forest. When they got into the forest, the man began to chop down a sago palm. Fet, the husband. He made the test holes. When he'd made them, he chopped off the growth from the trunk, and he also stripped off the bark. When the man had stripped off the bark, he first took the sago scraper. He first fixed the headpiece to it. He took the sago scraper and began to scrape out the pith. When they'd scraped out all the pith —, after that, he gave his wife the sago scraper. He gave the sago scraper to his wife, and she began to scrape out the pith. Then the man walked quickly to the crown of the palm; he went there to cut off midribs of the fronds. He cut off midribs of the fronds and then he fitted up the trough for washing the sago, and when he'd made the whole thing, he then said to his wife: "Squeeze out the sago pulp." His wife squeezed out the sago pulp continually; continually she squeezed out the sago pulp. They were doing it from the early morning. The man, on his part, scraped out sago continually. He scraped all the time; they squeezed out all the sago pulp. The man scraped out the pith until it was all out and when he'd scraped out all the pith they let the water run away and put the sago meal in the carrying bag.
268
ar mó cowó mokokómtewér, cowó eméner in. cowó emenér, cowé kokómtawór, ar ém, cowé esé atówopmor ín. cowé esé towopmór, ar ém aráw, "wú copón pomátewerí,¹ cem, wú matáknap" inim aer ín. 
ar mó wú copón emátmor ín. wú aématmac ín, wú copón mátewér, wú asumór masérim, — ar ém am arám, amás esé tapómp akát. pók 
am tatáfajimtiw akát. mari ar mó wu ámerátmor ín. wú sumomér, 
tówocinér masérim, "enamúc ánica" inim aer ín. a amás apím ará, 
atéwerac ín, mirám ajíkoníer ² ín. mirám ajíkoníac ³ ín, ci anítitiwer 
in a amás esé am ci nitowópmorés, ar ém mú amúor ar mó cin mú 
amorés masirim ci asuíwuwóres ⁴ in. — wasen éwiniérées nu ánimurés. 
mu ánúores ⁵ ín ci ásuwaces in. mari aséperes in. sépeërês, áptakëres ín.

¹ pomáterí; ² ajíkoníer; ³ ajíkoníac; ⁴ asuíwóres; ⁵ nu ánûores.

269
Watér am arám, mú inim jímseamamár mari asírmeser ín férf maser-
apóm. férf masirim, a Fét ar ém cin sésiéres jó, áserápmor ín. fer 
áserápmac ín wasén ajsiémer ín. arám ásirimejitkërs cowák ar ém 
cin, Fét am, ásirimejitkërs cowák ar ém cin. sén, ar mó manmak 
ápejtakém.¹ férf e kapí cuwuc áp aw ún a jó. "á, a férf ca sérm-
morëmë" inim atakjiser ín. Watér wasén cuwuc emic aw ún, "ja férf 
nó sérmujá", inim ajsiémer in. "éma férf sérmorëm new, é wasen 
inim jépnakâpiriw máokomémxtám in. nor, — ci ara wasén pinim 
mesétak" ajípor ópak ín. a Watér nat, "carpa min nat tépesájtakawém-
mokóm. wûnam a férf serampuíj masirim, mósimaták araw án" inim 
aer ín. inim ajsiémer ín. a capíni. "á, éma awút akát pak é jep ín 
okomémxtám no cásirimtakci", ajípor ópak ín. Watér nat, "carpa min 
nat tépesájtakawémokóm" inim ajsiémer in. "á, eméménërëm" ájac 
in, "enamúc ci jáka eren a" inim aer ín. éren ásirimejitérës, ar ém 
cin éren ásirimejitérës cowák. e erén ewtopómsirimorés pó ji. éren

¹ ápemór.
The man went to the crown to break off side leaves of the fronds of the sago palm. He went to the crown; he broke off side leaves, and his wife lined the bag with them. She lined the bag with them and she said: "By and by, chop down a young sago palm and take the edible top out of it, so that when we arrive home we can eat it." The man went to chop down a young sago palm. He went to chop it down; then he chopped it open in order to get the edible top out of it, and —. Meanwhile, his wife had put the sago neatly in the bag, and placed all the tools neatly beside each other. The man went to cut out the edible top. He pulled out the edible top, took it back with him and said: "Come, let's go home." Then he took the sago pulp, which he wrapped up in a small bag, and went with it to the river. First he wrapped it up and then he went with it to the river; then he put it in the canoe. They also put the bag with the sago in it in the canoe; then the wife went to bathe. When she and her husband had bathed, they stepped into the canoe to start out... They came out of the forest and went to the river to bathe. They bathed; they stepped into the canoe. Then they started out. They started out, and began to row downstream.

Then Watér came, just as the water began to go down, to put down a fish trap. And he put down the fish trap in the river which Fet and his wife had entered. When he'd put down the fish trap, he went ashore and stayed there. Now they came down the river; Fet and his wife came rowing quickly down the river. The man kept a sharp lookout downstream; there, in the distance, was the fish trap in the river, closing it. "Hey, who are you who've put down the fish trap?" he cried out from where he rowed downstream. Watér, who stood in the forest, said: "I've put that fish trap down there." "Oh, maybe you're the one who's put the fish trap there, then roll up a little of the end that's on your bank, then I — the canoe, can go along by the bank," he said, but to no purpose. Watér said: "Why don't you go down the river when you're alone? Must you travel down the river just as I've put down a fish trap?" so he shouted out, standing on the land. "Oh, come, only a little gap; roll up the end for me, let me get through first!" he said, but in vain. Watér said: "Why don't you go down the river when you're alone?" "Since you are there...," (Fet) said. "Come, let's take the canoe upstream a bit," he said. They quickly
éwtopómsirimorés cowák marí fér jeten in atapómterémores in a jó pu. fér jo pú jeten in atapómterémores in.

270
Watér am arám apán cfa tiwsiríteverac in, Fét cuwúc emic, maré mi picín, mitápmor in. mí picín ámbtápmac in, Fét am “á, nemcén emétemërém” iním aer in. ásefasiac in, amás apív, atíwtewerac in cuwúc emic maré nám empámor in. nám empámor misërim, mare owén ajipírsámores in. owén amorés amorés amorés, “apán mitápnmú aráw, Fét, Fét májawérnes. Fét aworséc” iním aer in. Fét am arám, “amás apív emsokmú aráw, mú enám niáworséc Watéra. Watér emák kikinakap mómseaweri”, iním aer in. maré, Watér aráw, mú anísé in. mu tiki ajípuor in. fér am musúmtever pak in, mú wu ánijíser in. Fét am arám, ci ewtépсовор cowák, mo mi’n ajístipser in. mo mi’n jistípsèr misërim, ów porá er, mó amán tapíjiwá, ów opák aporá er, mi’n jistíspèá, iním aer in. Watér am arám, ów porá er, mú tiki jípuá ów opák aporá er, súwapá, mú jípuá afún pupupu iním ajípuor in. iním aëmor in. maré.

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1 tiwsiríte; 2 mí pcín; 3 atíte; 4 aporër.

* The fet is a fish that lives in small holes in the mud.

271
Ówpacák, Cowútpacák. a tíw Miwirpic. Majít nucur in. sé caka jësmar jiwi mú. Majít nucur in. sé caka jësmar ci sér mokokóm sen, cowák awuámsesmar in. Ówpacák Cowútpacák, a tíw Miwirpic am, maré erém ajámuwésmar in. erém amtaksemár, sé caka jësmar, sè pe mákan maré, sè ajiémërës in. pé akitmes in. pé akitmës, pû mu am álkonawor in. “marëwa, pû mu átewermára, jáka erén mátepítmúca, eren máescësa”, iním acres in. erèn jipít cowák ajirimtápmores in, ów maté. erén tépkuruérés, ci anisájëres in. ci nisajëres, ci sér araw
rowed up the river; he and his wife forthwith rowed up the river. From there they set off, rowing quickly. They rowed strongly from there — in the middle of the river they drove straight into the fish trap and split it down the centre. There in the middle of the river they drove straight into it and split it down the centre.

270
Then Watér quickly picked up a many-pointed arrow and hit Fet, who stood there, on the nose. When it had hit him on the nose, Fet said: "Oh, so now you are angry!" He turned round, picked up the sago pith and hit Watér, who stood there, on his body. After it had hit him, they began to struggle. They fought, and fought, and fought . . . . "With a fish spear I struck you; Fet shall they call you from now on. Change into a fet fish," said Watér. Fet, in his turn said: "With sago pulp I hit you. Change into a fish, a watér fish. By and by become a fish, a water, full of bones!" Thereupon, Watér went into the water; with a splash he dived in. He did not remove the fish trap. In the water, he began to waggle his fins. Fet, for his part, forthwith sprang off the canoe and stuck his nose up through a small hole. He stuck his nose up through a hole, and whenever he saw anybody, he went back into the hole, and whenever he saw that there was nobody, he stuck his nose up through the hole. That's what he did. Watér, in his turn, dived below with a splash when he saw anybody, and whenever he saw that there was nobody, he came above the water, and when he dived he blew air bubbles. That's what he did. That's all.

271
Ówpcak and Cowútpcacak. Their son was Mwiwripic. They were forefathers of the Majít people. At night the mud banks lay dry, it was jiwi nu. They were forefathers of the Majít people. At night, when the banks lay dry, the whole village went down the river to catch ser fish. And Mwiwripic, the son of Ówpcak and Cowútpcacak, went at night with them. At night, he too went downriver; the banks lay dry, and they went onto the banks to catch the crabs in the mud. The whole morning they caught crabs, and while they were catching the crabs
ún. áokómorés. wasén, ajisokómtiwières 4 in. sér atáworés, wunám, áokomorés ci wa. a cimín cowák araw wunám wasén ajisokómtiwières in.

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1 Mírpir; 2 átermára; 3 másésa; 4 ajisokómtires.

a See the details, given in § 263, V.
b jìwì mu: the period during February and March when the tide is very low at night.
c The method used to catch the ser fish is as follows: in the shallow water near the bank of the river a number of canoes are placed end to end in a half circle, facing the bank. The canoes are then pushed towards the bank driving before them the fish that have been caught in this trap. The men who have been pushing the canoes then go and sit on the bank, stretch out their legs to the right and left of their bodies, and try to seize the fish as they slither back to the water.

272

wunám ci wá kor óeres ín. a sér najtípit, ci wa iním emés maré wasén sopí sopí ajiser ín. Miwirpirsimít 1 arám, ów a tasmájipic ín, "tiwa, é sosójismar nás korá, atewércokom ów mómtetámìná", iním aer ín. maré wá omisérés, wasén jisokómtiwières misérím, maré sér matáw ajisjápëres ín. ar às kor nat e wasén ewcúcurumorés cowák. wasén ewcúcurúmorés cowák, àr apnàf 2 a, cúrujíisá, ájamesiníner ín iwnim piním. Òwpacák Cowútpacák, a tíw Miwirpic 3 apnàf 2 masirím maré mímì aníäper ín. maré, átewerac ín, ci atówoner ín. mú apirímac ín, fé acomómor ín. a Miwirpirsimít 1 aráw, Miwirpirsimít 1 aráw, curúw jirpu apúemer ín. "à, ja mátetamúca, májsirié rá" ajipores opák in. "à, nám nor ënëw no niwi ása, cëmëw atmokóma", inim ajómer ín.

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1 Mírpirsimít; 2 apnàf; 3 Mírpir; 4 mátamúca.

273

wunám, ar erén piním, ci ser áokomorés. ajisokómtiwières 1 in. a Miwirpicakáp ará, a Miwirpirsimít, ci, ak, iním mésarimár, pó men awón mopac ín x, sè okon in ajakmápmor ín. à emsér jicop ci ow, "maréwa", áemwúor ín. wùn ow nát cem máp, emétepákajapítes 2 in. mámmak in tiwsírínasmámes ín. ar ásakap Mewóripic. Mewóripic aráw, "manmák in tiwsírmejeréjipurúwa" ájac ín, átewerac ín, mú, é nam mú cíckimór e sé, mú cíckimór, 3 ci atítiwer ín. átepà jamés, "Ówpacák Cowútpacák, ca tíw aráw, Miwirpirsimít 4 pó men, só okon in aknapmór. sér aráw, arów ajisirér sér omót nak, omót kor cowó. arów ajisirér, ca tíw masërím atéwer ín, matetám 5 pak emór", inim tepjomésanes ín. ar ënëw a niwi misérím, "à, ja cá Miwirpic ar’ amá", inim japá jamés in. ar mö cin ar ém cin. átepá jamés, "Ówpacák
the tide came in. “Let’s stop now, the tide begins to rise. Send someone upriver to call the people; they must come here,” they cried. They sent a man upriver to call the people. There upstream they shouted their agreement, and they all got into the canoes. They all got into the canoes, and after that, they drove the ser fishes (before them) with the canoes. They drove them against the (downstream) bank. They caught the ser fishes. Again they drove them, with the canoes in a half circle. Then, as before, they drove them to the bank.

272
Again they made a big half circle. While they were busy doing that, a gigantic ser fish rushed to the bank, leaping high out of the water. The old Miwirpic, the men’s war leader, cried: “Children, that one that’s leaping onto the shore yonder is mine! If you catch it you must give it to me.” And they pushed the canoes towards the shore. When they’d driven them against the land, they went onto the land to sit down and catch the ser fishes. The huge ones forthwith slithered from the bank. They (the fishes) slithered down from the bank, towards the wide apart stretched legs (of the men). They broke through to the water’s edge. The son of Ówpackak and Cowútpacak, Miwirpic, sat down, his legs stretched wide apart close to the ground. He was the one who caught it, and he took it to the canoe. He washed it in the water, and he strung it on a rope. Now, the old Miwirpic was furious, but he didn’t show it. “Hey, give him that fish, he’s laid claim to it,” they cried, but to no purpose. “No, it’s for my mother and father; you won’t rile me,” he said, keeping it.

273
Once again they drove the ser fishes up but then to the upstream bank. They drove them up onto the shore. As to the small Miwirpic; the old Miwirpic went alongside him with the canoe; he gave him a thwack with the blade of his paddle and toppled him into the mud with his mouth open. The men who were in the war canoes (called out): “Let’s go!” and they all fled. Some of the people had already gone ahead upriver to their houses and they sat there just staring. His papis partner was Mewóripic. Mewóripic then said: “Don’t sit there as usual, just staring!” He took him up, and washed the body with water; he washed off the mud with water, and he laid him in the canoe. Again and again the people went up the river: “Ówpackak, Cowútpacak, the old Miwirpic struck your child with the blade of the paddle and
Cowútpacáka, ca tíw aráw. pó men sé okon in akmápmoréš, è asep móc ajósmes ará” inim eres in.

1 ajísokómtires; 2 emétépakajpítes; 3 cikimóř; 4 Mírpitsimit; 5 matám.

* An open mouth (with the tongue hanging out) is a sign of death: the young man is therefore dead.
* The people who are looking on behave in a manner which is customary in the Asmat country: they don’t meddle with things concerning others.

274

Miwírpí, ásirmotéperá, cém atepómser in. cém tepomsér, ar ēnèw a niwí móc mamóc 1 pak ín, ar ēnèw a niwí móc mamóc 1 pak. múapom ámamewámes ín. “a, na iním pacákseré ow, ów ceps na jímá, ná muápóm araw ána”, inim já james ín. Miwírpí masërím wunámas, sé armá awuápmor ín. sé armá wuápmor ín. jófaj apamés, jófaj am ápmámés, jófaj misërím amás mér araw ún. amás mér, amás cem áwtiwérés, a ci towopmór jípt. 2 Mewórpí, mare Miwírpí mi aókmores ín. amás aworés, wunám, os mér araw ún, cém os. cém os, curúw ámores ín. Majit nucúr moporóm pak ín a cém os. curúw amápuèresí in ar ém cin ar mó cin. cém am curúw, ájapómkekémores ín. cém am curúw, curúw. jóf opák ín, takás akikirákurúmores ín. jimsíp, ákamápmores ín. wasén, pók cem, aápmoresses ín.

1 mot móť; 2 jípt.

* i.e., Mewórpí.

275

wunám, amás araw ún. amás, amás, aworés, aworés, aworés. cém, amás patámkurmorés, “má” jaces ín, mú enám 1 araw ún, sen ásirimb-tákérés ín. súku átewer ín. fét atéwer ín. fis atéwer ín. pé atéwer ín. kanpór atéwer ín. sinák atéwer ín. én atéwer ín mu enám. 1 è pakajseč, pók, e pákajamis pók, takás áfelfetawor ín. wasén, ców ek átewer ín. ci ek átewer ín. os ék, átewer ín. jíf atéwerer ín. piri misín átewer ín. sé atewémer ín. emór, jófaj apamés jófaj, erám pok, asefémtáware in. erám pok asefémtáware in. erám pok fefémtáwaremés, acic acic pok, asefémtáwares, jófaj, masërím, a tíw, Mewórpí a Miwírpí mi otkorés jípt, aótmores ín. “’pirí mu ajítmar” ecés aráw, e ur isipis aráw, siriá, arásen mom-
tumbled him dead in the mud. There was a ser fish, he claimed it, it was a ser fish like a real omót fish, as big as an omót. He claimed it, but your son captured it and wouldn’t give it to him,” so they called out again and again as they were rowing up the river. But his mother and his father who were sitting there said: “Hey, who is this Miwírpíc?” So they sat, asking it again and again. All the time (people) came up the river: “Owpacak, Cowútpacak, it’s your child! He struck him with the blade of his paddle and tumbled him dead in the mud; and there behind, they come with him here, crying,” they said.

274

He rowed with Miwírpíc upriver; he took him upriver to the house. He took him home, but his mother and his father didn’t cry. They didn’t cry. Everyone was telling everybody else to bury him. “Must we bury the child of such a bad man and woman,” they said over and over again. In the end he himself buried Miwírpíc. The following day they stayed at home and the day after, and the day after that they went to get sago. They got the sago; they put the sago down at the house and Mewórpíc, the youth who had laid him in the canoe, they took as a son in place of Miwírpíc by rubbing him with lime. They scraped out the sago and then they went to fetch wood for the poles for a house. They chopped down the poles for the house in secret. They didn’t let the forefathers from the Majit people see those house poles. They chopped them secretly, the man and his wife. The house, too, they built in secret and tied it firmly. They built the house in secret, too; there were no holes in it. They stopped them all up. They made a door in it. In the forest they put up a hut to store food.

275

Once more, they went to get sago, and sago, and sago; they scraped and scraped and scraped; they filled the hut right up with sago. “That’s still not enough,” they said, and they went downstream to get the things that live in the water. He got a small ewór crab, a súku, a fet and a fis fish, a pe and a kanpór crab, a sinák lobster, an en fish. Everything that swam or crawled in the water he collected. From the forest he fetched a sago fruit, a fruit of the ci tree, and other fruits. He fetched humus, and from the seashore he fetched sand. That’s what he did. The next day they rested, and the day after that they gathered magic herbs. The whole day they gathered magic herbs; they
asiénawút", iním ajitámor ín. ájitamac ín jófaj aráw maré, erém atiwkojer ín. Majít nucúr arám se cáka jésmar, pök memán, sén fofofojitaker ín. arám efá sirimtakáces ín, e jó naraw atákseaces 2 ín, "jáka jícémup múá, máenawcáwa", iním aer ín. Ówpacák, iním entawmármjóca "kkekkékkêkêkê" iním aer ín. ar ém cin ar mó cin, "á, émá síri kór naká, cém cátepapcómá",3 iním aer ín.

1 eném; 2 atáksaces; 3 tátepapcómá.

* The call of the jóc bird is considered as an augury in that when its call is heard one may ask the bird a question. If the call stops, the answer is in the affirmative. In this story, the screaming of the jóc bird is a sign that the magic practised by Ówpacák and Cowútpacák will take effect immediately.

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1 jítmúp; 2 Mowórpi; 3 jímtewer; 4 atátiáþéres.

* asé ar isípis, asé a tarásépés: his asé "side" parents and sisters. It is not clear which kinship group is meant here.

277
a Ówpacák enim Cowútpacák aráw, "jáka inín im emésées ow aráw, já ur isípis, nesén momniemít, nesén momátewerit", iním áres ín. anakátípic aráw, "awó", iním aer ín. púw atéwer ín, fírkém am amán am átewerac ín, maré iwínier ín. cemsén áwiniér, iním apór, pó karéw
gathered all kinds of magic herbs. Then, on the following day, they told their son Mewórpc about it, the one they had taken in place of Miwirpic by rubbing him with lime. “When the people say that the water’s rising downstream, then be quick and come here with your parents,” so they said to him. The day after they had told him that, he [Ówpcak] started out at night; the forefathers from the Majít people went downriver in crowds to find food because at night the mud banks were dry. They also went quickly down the river; when they had gone downstream on the shallow river he, Ówpcak, cried: “That sea water there, may it come here!” While he was saying that, a joc bird screamed: “kèkèkèkèkè!” * “Hey, wait a bit,” said the man and his wife, “not so fast! Let’s first reach our house.”

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When they’d arrived home a tiny dark cloud gathered above the sea; above the Siré. A tiny dark cloud gathered itself. The fingers of water edged quickly towards the land. The man who had struck with the paddle did not come to the village. He was the first to perish in the water at the mouth of the river. When the people cried: “Hey, they say that there below the water’s rising!”, Mewórpc fetched all his blood kin and all his distantly related kin* and took them all inside the house of Ówpcak and Cowútpcak. “Open the doors”, he said. When they had opened the doors, all his family went into the house. After that, they stayed there with the doors shut. The forefathers from the Majít people, who were in the village, made a raft of canoes. When they’d got onto it, they built a house on it. Higher and higher rose the water and in the end it carried away the forefathers from Majít. The rising water carried away the raft with the people on it. The people who were scattered everywhere looking for fish and sago all perished in the water. But at night, all at once, the water began to go down. Those of the forefathers from the Majít people who were sitting on the raft, — the rain poured down on them all night, the waves buffeted them all night long. They just sat in the canoes, packed together, as though dead, completely numbed, their heads bowed.

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Ówpcak and Cowútpcak said: “The people there on the water in front of the house, your parents, by and by go down to them and fetch them and do them no harm.” “All right” he said [Mewórpc]. He took a spear, he took a heavy arrow and a bow and went down quickly to
apérés ow cuvúć\(^1\) asés aw ún. ów manmáć mempepém pak. té afesmár, nám jiníc, cí amán of ním cuwúć\(^2\) pakajamís aw ún. jefé aniómac in, ócen in asemármor in. anakátow mopór pak in. a ócen in/mitapmá er, ájujukúmsomítěřes in. ájafac in, — ar ėněw a niwi mofasím pak néw —, maré nesén ajísemér in. a mú kampomésmar enám, capínmí nát, máj memém asén pak in. usír wut, ón wut, sowót wut, ár wut, capínmí, ókokónísk in. a mú emór, as wá maré, sá takas in. ców, sá takas, sánamikurúmor in. á seokorá eres, é akát ow é akát cepes in póérémtewerá iním aer in. — cérn, arám, cém cápmorés, mú am aráp cem etámores in. wá mu áwsemac in, ewór atewsémor in súku átewsémor in fét atewsémor in, e wá mu.

\(^1\) cu; \(^2\) cut.

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emór, á emsěčěres, é akát ow e akát cepes in póérémtewerá, pacáksere ów pacák cepés, tówofá, iním aer in. á cemšén pakajámser enám, cém aciómiwěřes in. mú sisímkakamintiwer enám. Cowútpacák, Ówpacák ar ém cin, wasén aiwjišěřes\(^1\) in. “amás pawáncasin, amás sa sákurumawér ará” iním eres in. Ówpacák amás ajísátmor in. amás amor in. mocó nat si mén acín atáper in. “má, iním pak” ájaces in, áfasiniĕřes in. wú aurúmteweres\(^2\) in. wú nat, mú afemór, asèas kamák mopan in. cém niápěřes, “wasén, ców opák aw, amás jemé. sínakap mitapmuj cérécafó jasér aw”, iním anijáper in. “ma” jac in, tínak ek átewer in. wasén ajistówópmor in. ci èk atéwer in, wasén ajistówópmor in. os èk, átowópmor in. sen fét atákítěwer\(^3\) in, súku atákítěwer\(^3\) in, fis atákítěwer\(^3\) in. ewór, pé, atákítěwer\(^3\) in. mú enám anítewsémor in. “má” jac in jisín akán atowópmor in. wasén, amás, átemětwasiáper in, copú. mówerompór pak in. arám a cém amás cowák ajapáněřes in. sěn matákoweróm pak in. arám a cém enám cowák ajapáněřes in.

\(^1\) aiwísłěřes; \(^2\) aurúmters; \(^3\) aták tier.

\(^a\) This is a sign that the sago in the tree has been spoiled.

\(^b\) copú: an early stage in the growth of a sago palm.
the river. He went down in front of the house and there he saw on the river the people sitting on the raft. They weren't on the lookout. The rain had poured down on them the whole night. They were numbed; like dead wood they lay together in the canoes. Then he went down quickly and stood beside them. He struck about him with the spear. The people took no notice. Again and again he struck with the spear. Only when they were struck did they make a move to get up. When he'd killed them — he didn't tell his father and mother, did he? — he went ashore without them. There was no place to put one's feet among the fish left on the land. The water had done that. The trees were already quite dead; all the sago palms were dead; they were all quite dead. Again and again when people floated by, he choose from among the fine men and women. They had (also) made a house; they had also made a separate house for the (drinking) water. When he had dug a water-hole, he put the ewór crab in it, and the sukú fish and the fet fish.

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That's what he did; again and again he chose fine men and women from the people in the water, and the unfit men and the unfit women he killed. They cut up the fishes that lay in a huge mass in front of the house and took them inside; the dead fish which the water had washed ashore in great numbers. Owpacak and his wife went quickly to the forest. "Let's both scrape out sago before all the sago palms are dead," they said. Owpacak went to cut down a sago palm. He cut it down and there was fluid sticking onto the blade of the axe. "No, it can't be done," they said and they turned back. They got out the edible top of a sago palm. The water had ruined it; it was as hot as ginger. They went home. "There are no (good) sago palms in the forest, the sago is salty. I thrust the axe into it a bit and the juice spurted out," he said when he had returned. "So, it's no good," he said, and he took the fruit of the sago palm and planted it in the forest. The fruit of the ci tree, he took it and planted it in the forest. He planted the seeds of the trees in the forest. Downstream, he put the fet fish, the sukú and the fis fish, the ewór and the pe crab. He put back again into the water all things that live in the water. "That's still not good enough", he said, and he planted coconut shoots. In the forest the sago palm was beginning to grow; it was already copú. He didn't go back again to keep an eye on them; they only ate the fish that were in the house.
Ówpacák Cowútpacák ar ém cin aráw, amás mer áiwijísĕres ¹ in. amás aráw, aworés, curúw un mufúm pak in. curúw aniôpĕres in. “wasén, ców opák aw” iním anijápĕres in. sen ásirím takerés, wasén pe okós jan ajamestámor in. mú enám arám fá arma mananátamser in. wasén arám, amás, maré atemétwaniocer in. iním temétwniôtma, a tiw Mewórpíc aráw maré, é jipmúr ewapômjimorés cowák, áw apcóm kor, maré emápmores in. áj petéw amás mer másirim maré wasén, áiwijísĕres ¹ in. amás awamés, jofaj amás. jofaj am awamés amás misérém, cowúc ar ħnéw a niwi ataßamores in. “ma” jaces in pirí enám araw ún. pirí enám, ájapánères in. wasén amás mú emporá, mú enám emporá, wasén, pé emporá, iním ajápĕres in. mú wumomásér ów, wún e jopmák, átawpácamápmor in. wún ow misérém e Kájmo ará. maré.

¹ aiwísĕres.

VI

Miwírpíc, Twééravúc, tátmores in. ar épíc Twééravúc, atátmores in. Twééravúc á amás jis epórawér. Miwírpíc jis étamporawér a enám akát, tów jímín akát enám nes jímín akát. a ná manapór pak in. a nát, e ár amús matewét, cenés awamís ¹ araw ún. a amás jis akát a pók jis akát etamór, Miwírpit na mán pak in “m, or amás man. orám o pók mán. iním ánáców”, ² iním er in. “e, Miwírpíc, amás jis akátê, pók jis akátè étampormînê. enám akát, piewérmi, enám akát piewérmi, ám ep omót ep akátê. enám nes jímín akat jiktampomín, manapór pénakáw. ór enakáp nór enakáp júmamtámfawos áw”, iním merjápa iním er in. “má” jac in, ar amús áw temér, ájapómíwer in. cém, cuwuc áp ar amús, ajiwmesopér in. “á Twééravúc, o ucím as ám” iním er in. “á, ‘o ucím as ám’ pak! á newét aráw, ár enakáp, nór enakáp, júmam- táměrawós. á amás jis akát, a pók jis akát, étampormî. a jím a enám piewérmi. ám ep omót ep, áwjijs étamporî, mán opów! mán opák. cenés nesén mesamís. nór aráw, ó matewér emín, nó makawimop emín”, iním er in.

¹ wamís; ² ánánchez.
Ówparak and his wife went to the forest to get sago. They scraped out the sago in secret, they told nobody about it; they returned and hid it. "There's no sago in the forest," they said after they'd returned. They went downriver. On the bank the crabs were making a great noise with their pincers, the fishes were scratching each other with their spines. In the forest, the sago palm grew right up. When it had grown fine and high, they then took for their son, Mewórpic, a big-bodied marriageable girl from the far end of the house, and made them sit down (as husband and wife). After that, the young couple went to scrape out sago in the forest. They scraped out the sago all day long, and the following day, and the day after that, and the sago they scraped out on the day following that one, they gave to the girl's mother and father. "It's still not enough," they said, and they went to the sea to fish. They ate sea fish. So they stayed there, scraping out sago in the forest and then fishing again, then going on land again to catch crabs. One part of the people who were carried away by the water were scattered about here and there along the upper course of the river (the Siréč); another part of them now forms the village of Kájmo. That's all.

VI

They gave Tewérauc to Miwirpic (as a wife). They gave the elder sister, Tewérauc, to him. Tewérauc always roasted sago; for Miwirpic, she always roasted nice fish, tasty sticks of sago mixed with sago grubs, and tasty sticks of sago mixed with fish. But he wouldn't touch them. He just lay on the floor; he wanted to marry her younger sister. She prepared tasty roasted sago for him, and tasty roasted fish. But Miwirpic wouldn't eat. "It's your sago, and it's also your fish, you must eat it," he said. "Oh, Miwirpic, I prepare tasty roasted sago, delicious roasted fish for you. I always catch many fine fish, fine am and omót; I make tasty sticks of sago and fish for you, now why won't you eat them? When you were still small and I was still small, they intended us for each other," so she spoke, sitting down (beside him) every now and then. "All right, have it your own way!" she cried, and she went to her younger sister who already had breasts (was marriageable). She went inside and sat down beside her sister who was at home. "Hey, Tewérauc, what's the matter?" she said. "Bah, don't ask 'what's the matter with you'? My husband, when he was still small and I was still small, they intended us for each other. I
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“á, Tewérawúc, no já or mó manám maf páka! iním as kor ám naká”, ajípor opák ín. “á, iním nat ucé! a nát, ó mopórtewét emené, nórm amás jis akát, no pók jis akát etámpormí opów. nórm amás nat no pók nat, paké nesen atiwanám aráw”, iním ajíkurúmor 1 ín, ar épíc. ásosówomér cowák ar amús matewér, ásosówomér cowák. ásosówomer. maré, ár amus áteweráces ín, ar épíc akáwimápmores 2 ín. ar épíc káwimápmorés, 2 anákácowíc, cáj ín. a nát caj ín. ar mó, nám makawi pak ín. nám makawi’n empòr opák ín. jumús iním jirápér cowák araw ún. amás pók, mó pék in. manmák moc mimís acín tacer ín. ár épíc

“á, newét aráw, ó mopórtewét jiewérméró. a nórm amás aráw no pók aráw, mopórsaméwirir. nórm masínéríím, nám, normá makawi möp, ajúursewiríí. mare akáwimtewérmin aráw. amás pók jis metamúj e jísis pájírápi”, ajíporá jípor opák ín. “á, no nát ja or mó nat manám afání. manám mañé, e nórm amás jis no pók jis arów metám aráwí”, iním japá iním er ín. “á, manám maf pák am iním aráw! manám maf pák am iním aráw nó sinopís, néw isipís, manám maf pák owér iním aráw owérer armá, manám 3 armá comá 3 emes ám. fáciintewtá emes ám ám amás jis ín. pók jis in jíwpoped iním emés. oráp cowák mémper pák”, ajípor opák ín.

1 ajíkurúmor; 2 akáwimápmores; 3 suka: loan-word from Malay.

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anákátípic, nám makawi pák apór, “Tewérawúc, jiwis pok ci a” iním aer ín. jiwis atúwór ín — tuwútmar ín. anákácowútnakáp ep ánía- awerápér ín. ar épíc wówúc ín ar mó cimén ín. jiwis tuwómser ín maré. é Siréc arán, ápajimómser ín ci mí. Siréc améóciner ín. mówsec is, ésumítá er, nám makawi pak ín. cémnakapiríw awút opác ín, iním- nakapiríw emapmá jípor, cowkán mopóromomís. a nát, eráñakápíriw, fá icítnakap nésen 1 jisams. a ár épíc aráw “á, ní newét, mótówóm- sefáw, wówúc sumomsá iním erasi”, ajíporá jípor opák ín. ar amús nat “á, nó or mó manám afáníé. no or mó manám afání. nórm masínéríím,
prepare nice roasted sago for him, and tasty roasted fish, I always catch fish with the net. I roast am and omôt for him, but eat he will not! He just lies on the ground doing nothing. Now I'll take you with me, I'll put you beside him," she said.

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"Oh, Tewérawuc, I don't like that husband of yours, so don't do that," she said, but to no purpose. "Come, why do you say that; he wants to have you as his wife. I've prepared nice roasted sago, nicely roasted fish for him; it's all in vain. He just lets my sago and my fish get hard and old," she said, urging her, that elder sister. Again and again she got up to take her with her, again and again she got up, and yet again. In the end, they took the younger sister with them and added her to her elder sister. They added her to her elder sister, but the girl was not willing. She didn't want to. She wouldn't go near her husband; he tried to approach her but failed. She just sat with her head bowed; she wouldn't eat the sago or the fish; her eyes were full of tears. "Come, my husband has always wanted to marry you, he has always thrust aside my sago and my fish. And I, I've always wanted to add you to myself, that's why I take you now. Roast sago and fish for him, turn yourself towards the fire," so she tried again and again to win her over, but without success. "Oh, am I then to love this husband of yours! I'd roast sago and fish for him if I loved him," so she kept on repeating as she sat there. "Come now, although you don't love him, you must. Love or no love, it makes no odds! My sisters, my mothers, were married without being in love, that's the way of it. It's only the men who fall in love and marry again; they (the women) always sit indoors and roast the sago and the fish. You're the only one who won't do it!" so she tried to persuade her, but without avail.

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When the man saw that she wouldn't go to him, he said: "Tewérawuc, take everything to the canoe that we need to move house," and off he went — in the morning he went off. The younger wife went and sat in the stern, her sister was in the middle, their husband stood in the bows. Then he departed with them to another dwelling place. He turned the nose of the canoe towards the upper reaches of the Siréc, and he went up the Siréc with them. During the journey, he took them every night to sleep with him. She wouldn't go near him. Every time he made a small house, not a big one — one about this size —, to force
já or mó wowúc no musúwumomis atakám ájapotáwmanëném”, iním ja iním er in. tam jó puamsá er, ci niómuwá, Siréc arán átowomsér cowák. jó iním nimémerapá er, wasén kuomsá, cémnakap inímakap in, áomociner in. iním cowák, tám tuwomséa, jōk, pó mináf un. tám, ci niómuwá, e jōk jo jurúw, pó mináf un. é ar epic kor, “á, Tewér-awucakáp, cepés métiw atakám motáw pak emár aráw. acakám otáw-pornín opów. otáwporewirín opów! newét, nám makawi atakám otáwporewirín opák. ucím cáj pomsefaw éw. jōk mukáp opák, op jō poké animár, na mák atiwtarémar aráw. ucím cáj pecaw éw newét, acán owpornín opák mówsec omsénom”, iním jomséa iním aer in anakácowúnakápíriv, e ci ep móc mimís pu in. “é, ó jurúsmémá, émá, newét matowómsefaw, jiwis cem armá kújurumápca w pórrerár”, ar epic iním jomséa iním aer in.

1 nè.

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maré Siréc épma nák ákikíçukómaser in. ajárkikiómsér in. ajárkikiómsér 1 in maré. cém wos in ajarómer in. cém wos in ajarómer in. Siréc épma. cém, eapmór, ar epic, “néj, newét cowkán wowút sumóperasín, newét a cém, tapín a juncip iním mimíwtiwtám, ór a jó ajpim iním nór a jó ajpim iním memáp”, ajípor “á, no nát manám afání, jáka or mó manám afání!” “á, orpá mempór pow! nó sinopís níw isipás am, a tíw jak in jíwsú emár, iním aráw! ówerów, cepés iním manmák armá okoromá emés, tewtá iním emés cepés manám arów maf. owér masájvut opów! newét arám iním minip púmeméweýir 2 o matewét, nó máserím aráw, cáj asiropén, normá atewérfin”, ajípor opák in. “mowsécè, po jámkonáweýirúm 3 aráw mariw, cém os in ajárjirim-opmar aráw, ní nám makavi”, ajípor opák in. “no nát, o nám makavi cowút memáp pow, óm or atakám matáw emápem áw” iním
her to sleep with him. But no, every time she moved a little to one
side and slept by herself. Her sister tried to win her over. "Come, our
husband has brought us along with him, let's sleep on either side of
him!" But no, every time her sister said: "Do you think I love that
husband of yours? Are you asking me to let your husband sleep
between us?" Each time, just as the sun had risen, he got into the
canoe with them and started out and he took them right to the upper
course of the Siréc. Each time, just as the sun sank down towards the
horizon, he went ashore with them to sleep, and he made a small house
— one about this size — and so he moved upriver. And so it went on:
in the morning he started out with them and during the day they just
rowed. In the morning he got into the canoe with them and started out,
and during the day they did nothing else but row, a long way upriver.
During the journey, the big sister said continually: "Oh, little Tewérawuc, an older woman should not fail to give advice. Well, I
give you advice, but you won't listen. I've always given you advice,
but you wouldn't listen! All the time I've told you to go to my husband,
but you won't hear of it! Why is he taking us along with him? During
the day he doesn't go to the shore. The hot sun up there is going
down; it makes our backs hot! What's my husband thinking of? I've
tried to give you good advice, but in vain, all the time -ou're with us,"
she spoke repeatedly during the journey. The girl sat at the stern,
crying all the time. "It's your fault, but since our husband has taken
us with him, let's wait and see whether he lands to build a permanent
house" so spoke the elder sister again and again.

Finally, he arrived with them at the narrow upper course of the Siréc;
forward he went with them into the narrow stream and then (went
ashore and) cleared an open space for a house. There, on the upper
reaches of the Siréc. When he'd made the house, the elder sister said:
"Come, let's allow our husband to sit between us. Spread a sleeping
mat out here, near the door; you go and sit on one side and I'll go
and sit on the other." "Oh, do you think I love him? Do you think
I love that husband of yours?" "Oh, only you won't do it! My sisters
and my mothers always have children in their bellies; that is the way
it is. It's only the men who flirt with the women, who take them to
wife; women do fall in love, but they don't do the marrying. My man
has always had it in his mind; he's wanted to take you, and I've
finally given in. I, of my own accord, I fetched you," so she tried to
aer in. jó puamsá er, mopór pak a cimín cowák araw ún. cém in aópac in, e jók jo jurúw, jo ti merémapá, iním aer in.

1 ajárkikuómser; 2 púmemewirúp; 3 jomkanawewirim.

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"Tewéra, esé mú anemúc" iním aer in. é wasén anakátipíc e wasén erém anímculá er. a wú mikin wút cowák araw ún, ców na opák in. a wú mikin wút cowák, ci papi nesen aémsiter in. á nesen os wá cowak ín, a Siréc.1 amás opák in, ców opák in. anakátipíc áomatmár araw ún, wós wos áomatmár araw ún. ci aésumtúmor in wú ci. iním porá er, “nor mó wút ém”, ni wút nim nesen afmár araw ún. maré waser kór atemétswáper in. copón atemtémér in. anakátipíc mésomic araw ún.2 maré op atemétjamémer in. ar ém, esé at áetamor in. mów esé, mow, anakátipíc mów ajáker 3 in. mów akamár, ar ém aniíjuknapóm-tamor in. “Tewéra, a mów esé masi mów akamí, mów masamúc jo poké asirímsamúc” iním aer in. ar ém aráw, “hè hè” jac in, a mów aráw jo poké aturúmamár, jo poké aturúmtiwer in. “e esé, mócopí maríw, mów emépasán ew” “á, mow tó emésamep áw. jowún emé-samep áw” “á maré mocóapi, mów mapúc” iníím er in. amás na maré mic atémtemer in. mic wut in. “pok wút cowák, á matatám 4 pok éfamúc” iním er in. “esé siriá, ácopáwerém cowák, mér cowáká”. ar ém masním, “á, esé a mér cowák mewtiwijá pák! písís esé émá a mér cowák mewtiw aráw mów esé siporewérmes opák. má, émtawwém aráw an” 5 iním er in.

1 Sirát; 2 in; 3 ajáker; 4 matawtám; 5 en.

* Sago is often compared with lime or ashes; a sago palm of which the growth is prolific, with a cloud of ashes, or lime; a big sago palm which contains an abundance of meal, with a canoe, newly painted with lime (see § 343).

* wasér and copón are two stages in the growth of the sago palm.

* When a sago palm begins to flower, the pith becomes unusable.

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esé, mów pamárá, acóaper in. coapér, esé nat najítipícéj, cótiwer in. "Miwíripicá, e esé awút kor new áw", iním er in. anakátipíc iním apór, “á, ja wúm mow ám moapú! já esé nat, énakpiriw misi atakám tawmanín, esé jép er ár, jép er ár”, iním er in. “á, Miwíripic é esé nat ucím caj écemé. esé awút nák wút mempór pow no nát a esé najítipic
persuade her, but in vain. “The whole way we’ve rowed together and now he’s busy putting up the poles for the house. Come,” she said, “go to him”. “I’m not the one to add to you (as co-wife), so don’t go on about it,” she said. Every day, as the sun rose, she carried on as though it didn’t concern her. So she did all day long, until the sun set, after he had made the house.

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“Tewér, make a carrying bag” he said. Each night he disappeared into the forest. There was only one goodly young sago palm; it stood there with broad-based fronds. There was only the ordinary forest by the Siréc. There were no sago palms; there was no sago forest. The man got to work; he made an open space. He pulled off the old fronds from the young palm. Time and again he looked at it: “You’re a beauty!” It rose up like lime which is thrown about. Finally it grew into a wasér; (then) it became a copón. The man stood guard by it. At last it had grown large and high. He told his wife to make a bag, a bag plaited with the fibres from the roots of the pandan tree. The man got the roots; he stripped off a great quantity of roots and put them down together for his wife. “Tewér, I’ve just stripped off a great amount of pandan roots to make the bag with; dry them, put them in the sun to dry quickly!” he said. “All right,” said his wife, and she spread out the roots in the sun; she laid them down neatly in the sun. “Now, plait the bag; are the roots dry yet?” “Yes, they were already quite dry yesterday; they were already quite dry the day before yesterday.” “Fine, start the plaiting, work loose the fibres,” he said. Now, the sago palm had grown into a fully grown palm. A large fully grown palm. “It’s huge! Quickly, it mustn’t flower,” he said. “Get on with the bag, if you plait continually it’ll be made in a day.” But his wife said: “Huh, a carrying bag can’t be plaited in a day! A bag made of grass, yes, that can be plaited in a day, but a fibre bag, even if the plaiting is done without interruption, that can’t be done! You don’t really mean that,” she said.

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She worked loose many fibres for the bag and she started to plait it, and she plaited an enormous bag. “Miwirpic, the bag is perhaps too large,” she said. He looked at it. “No, work loose still more of those fibres. Do I tell you to make this bag very small! It must be a bag with the sides from here to there,” he said. “Miwirpic, what are you
nak áw”, ajípor opák in. “ése mów moapúc, ja esé jiwiñakap”, iním er in. anakácowuc “hèhè” jac in, wunám, áorápor in, mów mançúp. manmák atewerámar jep é merámser in. esé jep a emámser in. ar ém, womák pasés in átemétsurúmor in “á, néw isipís, nó sinopís, esé asímés iním esé masiporáji pów, iním esé at nak ówenem áw” iním er in. acópomít cowáx, acópomít cowáx, acópomít cowáx, acópomít cowáx. mów asén kor iním asianeréntiwer in. “émá, Miwirípic, asé emésakajámi maré asé jipin wut. esé awút kor maré émá, to mewtiw” iním er in.

1 manmák.

* The translation is uncertain: my informants translated ‘she plaited the manmák’, but no one knew what the manmák of a carrying bag was.

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1 kuwuís.

a See § 284, note a.
b Tamed pigs are (traditionally) fatter than wild pigs.
c For the jirik design, see sketch p. 365. Zegwaard remarks in his unpublished notes that the origing of woman is said to be a jirik bag.
going to do with the bag? I can’t make an enormous bag. I... this bag is too terribly large,” she said, but to no purpose. “Work loose still more fibres for the bag, this bag is much too small,” he said. “All right,” said his wife, and she again worked loose many fibres, a huge quantity of them. She plaited the eye design;’ — the one side reached to here, the other to there. The wife scratched her head (thoughtfully, as though) she had lice. “Oh, my mothers and sisters plait bags, but such a bag have they never tried to make, and you’ve told me to make such a bag!” she said. She plaited, and she plaited, and she plaited, and she plaited. She plaited until she reached a place where she could stop, and then she put the bag aside. “Wait, Miwirpic, my back is so tired; my back’s breaking; the bag’s too big, wait! I’ll finish it tomorrow,” she said.

The following day, just as the sun had risen, the man took his bow and went into the forest. He looked at it: there it stood, looking as usual, like a huge cloud of ashes! ‘ ‘Ho, my most beautiful one! Many times shall I return home, filling the house (with your sago)’. The wife was busy from early morning, continually at it, and finally she finished the huge thing. When she’d completed the top, she fastened the headband to it. From one side to the other the bag was enormous. He went to the forest to look at the sago palm and when he returned he shot a large sow, with a heavy arrow. It was though he’d killed a tamed sow.” Immediately he took it to the house and laid it on the ground. “Tewér, are you there?” “Yes, I’m here.” “This large sow, I’ve shot it with an arrow.” “Ah, plenty to eat”, she said. “Have you done the bag?” “Yes, the huge thing hangs up there. I’ve already fixed the large headband to it.” “Fine, decorate the bag with red and white,” he said. She put stripes of red ochre on it, she put the jirik design on it; and white lime. It hung there, a fine sight. He cut up the sow and took it inside. To her sister she said: “Come, turn yourself round (towards the fire), my husband’s killed a large sow. You must roast the entrails of the sow.” “Oh, it’s your sow, your husband killed it for you, so you eat it yourself,” she said. “I want the jaw of the pig and the back part,” he said, “the head is for my little wife, and a foreleg and a hindleg”. “Go on, put it down for her,” she said. He put them down for her, a hindleg, a foreleg and the head. He put everything together for her, but to no purpose. Her sister nagged her,

* See § 284, note a.

as usual, until the sun set, and then the girl turned round to roast a little bit of the pig's flesh and to eat it.

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When the sun had risen, he said: "Tewér, collect up the implements for getting sago." His wife collected up the sago-making implements. The man made the handle of the sago scraper, and the head of the sago scraper. His wife plaited the strainer for the sago and stitched up a trough for the sago. She filled the bag with the implements for getting sago. "Miwrpic, but our implements, how do we get the sago with them?" "Wait a moment! In the forest you'll see for yourself, just you watch carefully!" he said. They didn't know how to scrape sago. There had never been sago. Their food had been only things that live in the water; fish had been the only food they ate. The younger sister took the implements too. He went with them to the forest; he went with them to the forest. "Miwrpic, what are we to do? For food, we usually eat things that live in the water. Such a thing we've never done," she said, his wife. "Patience, just come with me, just come with me," he said to them. When he saw it, he said: "Tewér, take a good look above." His wife looked. "Hey, Miwrpic, what's that?" she said. "Have patience! Perhaps it's sago, perhaps it's sago! Wait a bit! Come, hand me that axe," he said. He began to chop it down; he cut down that huge palm. He chopped the bark off it. He made it (the sago meal) fly out like a great mass of ashes: he chopped, and chopped, and he toppled it over.

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He made a test hole in it; he stuck the digging stick into it a bit. "Tewér, it's sago! Look, I pull out the digging stick and there's sago on it!" he said. "Hey, is that really sago? Now we'll eat sago!" she said. For food they'd had only things that live in the water. He moved towards the top; it was near the surface; again he moved towards the top; it was near the surface. "That's enough, the palm's very tall, the top and the bottom can wait. Come, let's open up the middle," he said. He climbed up onto the growth (on the trunk). He chopped away the growth, and then he made cuts across the trunk. He began to strip off the bark; he marked off three sections. He wrenched the bark off downwards. "The head of this sago scraper, you must pull out a young sago palm shoot for it, and when you've pulled out the young shoot, you must split it and then tie it (the head) with it," he said. "Oh, I
íñ. ájawócinér umú, ájawócinér mopán. po ámersuwémer íñ. “a mú mawsemúc, amás po mú majircaw.² mú mawsemúc” inim aer íñ. ar ém mú ajawsémor íñ. anakátipít pó, ásasakámtiwér íñ. jéc mífim un áomómer íñ. “Tewéra, jéc afímtiwmí”, inim aer íñ. jéc fimtiwér,³ sis ajírmemor íñ. “a sis jírmemamí” inim aer íñ. apím atítiwér íñ. jec atítiwér íñ ep atítiwér íñ. cowó átewerac íñ, “já omá makámtewér pen”, inim aer íñ “á, nar omá makámtewer namsóm pow”. ar mó oma kámtewer íñ. manám ajikémor íñ.

1 aktíwír; 2 majírtaw; 3 fimtiwír.

a i.e., the bark of the sago palm is rather thin; the farinaceous pith starts just below the surface of the bark.
b often, the whole trunk is not cleared of its pith at once and so that the scraping out can be done on different days, the trunk is marked off into sections. the bark is then removed only from one section at a time and the pith beneath it scraped out.
c see sketch p. 366.
d the gutter for washing the sago pith is made out of four of the central ribs of the fronds of the sago palm. see sketch p. 366.
e the omá is a kind of rope made from the leaves of the sago palm and used to tie together the sticks placed on either side of the sump trough to hold it in place. see sketch p. 366.

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“ní apím mitiwmúc” inim aer íñ. “á, čmá atow mémtamporén, namsóm pak”, inim er íñ. anakátipíc “hè hè” jac íñ, apím atìtewérac ¹ íñ a án, a pó atìtiwac in mú ajírtewérac in awímmemor íñ. “apím jirè inim memjíc” inim aer íñ. apím, apím, amás nak nesén ajimísnier íñ. “Tewéra, a pó moporí amás nak ajíamésmáir, amás aráw! ja enám amás, pé amás néwirum. já amás jaka majípor pak, a amás aráw amas ánawermom”, inim er íñ. ar ém inim apór “éj, Miwírpíc, inim mopórem ún, jiwís átuwomséfénem newá. a amás moporómtewer pémanem éwa” inim er íñ. — amás os nát opák in a cowák wut jitémer íñ. — mú pitímsemór, afámèmesór, “a mú mafámami”, inim aer íñ. amás mák wut in anijáamésen íñ. “Tewéra, amás aráw. mari majíc, amás mak in ániamismár aráw a mú pitímsémá jawerém, a ép mú inim enáwfmam wunám owuapa inim mójìawírí” inim aer íñ. “é Miwírpíc, cáj akáit nak émem áw”, inim er íñ. ar ém arám, atìwumor íñ. arám, arám, arám, mú aptímsenór íñ, afámèmesór, jéc wut, ép wut komén wut, jec mák am aniámser in amás. aótiwmóm, aótiwumór, a pímnakap átemetötaper íñ. “á, Tewéra, amás po awút kor ní esé tápomcár”, inim aer íñ. “á, maríw”, inim aer íñ. “nó cowó mokóm-
don't know how to do it!” “All right,” he said. The man pulled out the young shoot, split it, and he himself tied the head on the sago scraper.” He fastened the head on the handle. Then he began to scrape out the sago pith; he scraped until it was all out. He scraped to the top; he scraped to the bottom. He went to make the washing trough to wash the sago in. “Dig a water-hole here; water for the sago has to be scooped into the trough; dig a water-hole,” he said. His wife dug a water-hole. The man cut midribs of the fronds of the sago palm and went to make the sump trough. “Tewér, I'm making the sump trough,” he said. He finished the sump trough and he put in the support. “Now, I put in the support,” he said. He put in a plug of sago pith, he put it in the sump trough, he put it in the end of it. He fetched sago leaves and said: “Can you split them into binding material?” “Oh, we don’t know how to split them.” Their husband split them into binding material. He bound it.*

“Come, pour water over the scraped out pith,” he said. “Give me time. do it for me, I don't know how to do it,” she said. “All right,” said the man. He took the scraped out pith in a trough, put the sago in the washing trough, fetched water and poured it over it. “The pulp here, you must squeeze it out like this,” he said. [He squeezed out] pulp, more and more pulp. The pure sago flowed downwards. “Tewér, take a look in the washing trough, the pure sago is flowing down: that's sago. We always ate fish and crabs for food. This sago we didn't know. This is sago, sago we'll eat henceforth,” he said. His wife looked at it. “Hey, Miwirpic, maybe you moved house with me because you wanted to do this. Maybe you wanted to look for this sago!” she said. — There were no sago palms, there was only this big one growing. He let it [the sump trough] fill up with water; he let the water run away. “Now, I let the water run away,” he said. A thick layer of sago lay at the bottom. “Tewér, this is sago! Now you must squeeze out the sago. There's a layer of sago in it. You must keep filling it up with water and then you must let the water run away at the end, and then you must plug it up again, and this you must do again and again,” he

1 atúwterac.

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1 omómowápma.

* or cowák aráw an; Literally: are you alone, are you the only one?

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“a esé ucím ar’ áma, Miwíripíc, a esé ucím ar’ ám’” iním er ín. “á, máp omóni emi, mónorómcen” iním er ín. á esé najtítipí, mónor in émporamár, ar ém masúmutum ún émporamár, a cenés nesén apáwuwúmar
said. "Oh, Miwirpic, this is a good idea you have," she said. And his wife began to pour water [over the scraped out pith] and kept on doing it. She filled up the trough with water, then she let it run away. There was much sago in the sump trough; from the one end to the other there was a thick layer of sago. And again she poured water over it, and again. It rose almost to the edge. "Hey, Tewér, there's an awful lot of sago in the washing trough, come, let's fill up the carrying bag," he said. "Yes, let's do that," she said. "I'll go and get sago leaves," he said. "What do we do with sago leaves?" "Have patience and be quiet," he said.

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— No, they'd never seen sago. On the coast from which he'd departed with them the only food they'd had was fish and crabs. By the Siréc there was only the ordinary forest. There were no sago palms. When he had quickly fetched sago leaves, he said: "Come, hold the top of the bag wide open." She held the bag open and the man lined the inside with sago leaves. "That's what the sago leaves are for. You must always put the sago leaves in like this. Now I'm lining it with sago leaves," he said. He took the sago and he himself spread it out in the bag. "Now that I've put it in for you, you must put the sago in the bag," he said. His wife put the sago in the bag, and more sago, and still more sago. "Miwirpic, the huge bag is already filled to the brim with sago!" "Is that so! Now you must plait a band made of sago leaves onto the top of it. Do you want to waste sago!" he said,— the bag stretched from here to there, the enormous fibre bag — "Plait a band made of sago leaves onto the top of it! Such a big one, I'll carry back in stages." "But, Miwirpic, that's not possible, the sago bag is much too big, a smaller one would be better. It's easy for you to say that a sago leaf band must be plaited onto the top of it! Another bag would do as well!" so she said. "Are you giving the orders?" he said. "You must plait a sago leaf band." She plaited a sago leaf band onto the top of the enormous bag, the sago which she then put in the bag was like a morsel! The other wife also put her sago in the bag.

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"What do we do now with this bag, Miwirpic, what do we do with the bag?" she said. "I'll go ahead and walk back with it; hang it on my back," he said. He tried to carry the enormous bag on his back; his wife tried to help him to stand upright but it only wobbled about
araw 1 ún. “Miwírpícá, emétawamía amás esé asép ním matápmom atakám emétawamía!” “a ēmá, camnim caemápći jiná onók” iním aer ín. jiná onók iním aótapac ín ar ém a esé macír jipíromic araw ún. asúmutum-émor ín. anakácowuc máp aemémer ín. ar mó a fá sormémer ín. é ar amús masérim asép nak ín. fá icíc ín. áomóniérésē, mé, me japjóninímar 2 araw ún a pōk fek fén. anírēs anírēs anírēs anírēs anírēs, maré e iwínim, “a pōw asísímar aráw arán nım nım swémic” iním aer ín ar ém. “ós a jírew” iním aer ín. ós pu iním manísuwek in máj aki an atapómak-mamár, maré a esé wut apcóm ’m! Miwírpíc maré copó nesen niápér cowák. “ā, Tewérawucá, masúmutumcén! no jíf manjorsópmi amás esé awút”, iním aer ín “ā! esé awút moc ciropámén áw” iním aer ín esé mipor efá wiásmac ín a ómomer esé, mátewer ín, émporár “ā, ēmá mawe rer pók a jíf masiasmúc” iním aer ín. a jíf, a jíf, a jíf anakátipit nát a esé apcóm tep tep jónímíar araw ún. a jíf, mátewer ín emá jipórm, masómit ín emá jipór. a nát esé apcóm tep tep jónímíar araw ún. a jíf, a jíf, masómit ín emá jipór, a nát tep tep jónímíar araw ún.

1 aw; 2 wapjóninímar.

* Contrary to custom, Miwírpíc himself carries the bag with the sago in it. Normally, it is the women who always carry these bags. Moreover, Miwírpíc is carrying a jírik bag (see § 286, note b), which is synonymous with woman. The situation is, in my opinion, significant: Miwírpíc is already carrying the woman who is to be put on his head when he later becomes a sago palm.

má ré manmák in anifesáper ín, jíf. “ā, Tewérawucá, má ré manmák in nifesapmi, anijic” iním aer ín. ar ém má ré mót se mów arów pu anímuámer ín. mót se mów poperiátamár, poperiátamár, poperi-átamár, ofóm efa tíwsirítewerac ín, ar amús cuwúc emic empárír ín. ar amús, “e, anáfcená, no júrsewri arawá, newet aw, iním ajáfcen”, iním aer ín. ar amús. ar amús cámenemémémórm, wunám, mót se mów, mót se mów, “ā, Tewéra, maré no sinákap cin anijic! jó manímmeme-ápmá cém jok nım nifiwic, cáj pacák eapí”, iním aer ín. “e jímsip onoká, ónok mómjtnótwi”, 1 iním aer ín. aémnireš moc ám ajatám-niérés, ajatámniérés, máj sé mu ánippímac ín, cem mócam ajíwátmaper ín. op ják atitiwer ín, “Tewérawút, jímsip, ónok jinitewi, newét májmiremic, jo úccúmesawémürar a óp apori ják titiwmá” iním e rín. ar amús e jímsip ónok ájítótewér ín. ónok, tám pepepepe emtáw-
on the ground. "Miwírpíc, I've said all along, I've said all along that
the bag should be only half full!" "Wait, let me get in the right
position on my knees," he said. First he knelt down; his wife stood
holding the bag, she helped him to stand upright. The wife set out,
walking in front, her husband followed her and her sister walked at
the back, a little distance behind them. They walked back with it;
staggering he walked back with the huge thing. They walked, and
they walked, and they walked; arriving at the river's edge, she, his
wife, said: "Here's a deep bog. Go upstream a little. Here's a tree
trunk," she said. But as soon as he put his foot onto the tree trunk
to cross to the river, splash! there sank Miwírpíc with the huge bag,
right to the bottom, with a heavy thud. "Hey, Tewérawúc, help me
out, I've sunk up to my chest in the bog, with the huge sago bag," he
said. "Huh, so now it's you complaining about the huge bag!" she
said, and she flung down the bag, the bag that she carried, and tried
to haul him out. "No! Wait, don't haul me out, dig the ground away!"
he said. Earth, earth, and more earth [she dug away] but the man sank
farther and farther down with the bag. More earth... again and again
she tried to haul him out; again and again she tried to stand up with
him, but he sank farther and farther down with the bag. Earth, earth,
and more earth [she dug out]; again and again she tried to stand up
with him, but he sank farther and farther down with the bag. Earth,
more earth [she dug out], again and again she tried to stand up with
him, but he sank farther and farther down.

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At last he had sunk down up to his eyes in the bog. "Hey, Tewérawúc,
I've sunk up to my eyes now, go home!" he said. His wife threw her-
self in the mud near him, wailing. Wailing, she rolled over, and over,
and over. She quickly picked up a small digging stick and struck her
sister who stood there. She, her sister, said: "Go on, hit me, I've
always been in the wrong! Oh, husband! Go on, hit me." She thrashed
her sister soundly and after that she threw herself wailing into the mud,
as before. "Come, Tewér, go home now you and my little wife! The
sun has just passed its highest point, you should arrive home early in
the afternoon. My situation is hopeless," he said. Wailing, she went
home. "Get a beam for the door. Presently shut it with a beam," he
said. They walked back; wailing, they walked back. After she had
washed the mud off her feet, she stayed in the house, wailing. High
uthumár, anakácowút nat móc mináf. anakácowut nat móc.

1 momjítnteweri.

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porów jó iním tiamismár, fó fèfèfèfèfèfè tiwémor in. maré mér kasè atiwémor in. wúr a capínmi nesén aniámser in mari. anakácowuc “a, Miwírpic, Miwírpic, Siréc, jó pirí popomismèrènè, Tewéravuc káwi kawintewerawér iním, ó jursómewérmèrènèm áw newét akát, ár awún ájmirèmic áw”. maré móc mamóc pak in. te ‘n! jók ewníemèr cowák. mér kasè tiwemá jesmar wúr. anakátipíc, a amás esé niopér jipít, ’m, mariw in amás os, e óp worworworworworwor ájiténtésmar. iním émesmár, iním émesmár e Siréc pirí atáwnemesmár e arán e wasén, é mu pú nak am ánítawpiptimesmar ców. tam jó iním apumár tajtajtajtajtajtaj ajiémer in. a amás e wuán wut cáwuwaw araw 1 ún Siréc, pirí wut arán wut, é pomán wut, é wasén wut. anakátipit nát, a os wá nat cenés ajimnemor in. anakácowúc, jimsip ápajimór, arán manmák, pirí manmák, pomán manmák, wasén manmák, “ji, Tewéra, majíspori, newét, orów jursópëném aráw, maré amás kúaworésmar. ar ápo, Siréc 2 os wá cowák okorésawér ará amás ucim pemésmar éw, ców ar áporí”, iním ajifamútmar in.

1 aw;  2 Sirát.

* The sago palm is still acting as a human being.

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ar amús iním apór “é, Miwírpic noromomè nó jursópen awá, cáj nak éwiripunè” iním er in. “ní, newét iwijísporasín ucim pemésmar éw”, iním aer in. áiwiónímisér, áiwiónímisér, á cenés aporpó opák in. anakátipic úsis in afajáper in a óp. mic wut in. mic maworémkurúm pak in, iním atémtpésmar in. “á, tó arásen aráw a uciè, a uciè!” “á, o Tewér ená” iním aer in a óp. “á, Miwírpic o ucim emésmemá! Miwírpic tó a jíf nisiáspem áw ucim emésmemá” iním er in “á, noromóm, nor
in the sky dark clouds piled up. "Tewérawuc, fix the door tightly with the beam, a calamity has overtaken our husband. A violent storm is going to rage all night. Look at the clouds piling up there in the sky!" she said. Her sister fixed the door firmly with the beam. In the afternoon, she drew tight the rattan on the beam. The woman only thought of wailing; she kept on wailing.

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In the evening just when the sun had gone down, the wind rose in squalls, vivid lightning flashed, the thunder was so heavy it seemed to lay on the earth. "Oh," cried the wife, "Miwirpic, Miwirpic, wasn't I always with you on the coast, near the Siréc! By always wanting Tewérawuc as a second wife the way you did, you did me a wrong! My good man, now he's in trouble," and she stopped wailing. The rain, my! it fell down continually from the middle of the day, the terrible lighting flashed constantly that night, and it thundered. The man, the one who had sunk down with the sago bag, lo! he became a sago palm; higher and higher he* rose during the night. That's what he did, that's what he did that night: he made the sago palms and he scattered them all along the Siréc, down to the sea. He filled up [the land] with them, upstream, landwards, and right to the edge of the water. In the morning, when the sun rose, it stopped gradually. Then there was a continuous rustling of sago leaves along the Siréc: downstream, upstream, on the opposite side, in the forest. The man left the forest far below. The wife opened the door. She looked upriver, downriver, to the opposite side, and towards the forest. "Hey, Tewér, go and look outside! My man — you've brought this disaster upon me — has changed during the night into a sago palm. Take a look here, along the Siréc! All night long, only the usual forest was there. How did he make those sago palms during the night? Just look at those sago palms!" So she spoke as day broke.

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Her sister took a look. "Oh, Miwirpic, my dear husband, I've done the wrong thing by you. I would never have anything to do with you!" she said. "Come, let's both hurry to the forest to see what he has done during the night," she said. Quickly she hurried with her to the forest; she looked around below, but did not see him. The man up above smiled broadly. He had become a great sago palm, just about to flower, — no, he had not then completely* changed into a full grown sago
áwapi aráw. áwemci nó emcí no amás áwórémesmí”. maré a mopán
amuámser ín. — á, ar amús memtomís pak cém makán takámjiser ín.
anákácowuc aráp ín. — se mów omitmár, ómitmár, amás, akáw opák
ín, pó opák ín nesén, ócen témtemesmar ín. é opák ín. nesén é ín.
“êmá atów, nó sinakáp ám, masim caátërén, arów jursómiwirín,
manitewi” iním aer ín. “hè” ájac ín, áiwínier ín. “á, Tewér noromóm,
Tewéra, nor mó cowák emá” iním aer ín. áemnierá, “Tewéra, newét
ucím pemésmar éw ni, orám masim pati” iním aer ín. ar amús ín
ánisirítewerac ín áomomiser ín. áomomiserá, wunám, mótt se mów
ajismuámser ín. mótt se mówa, mótt se mówa. anakátipíci, “á, noromóma
maréwa mú muemica” iním aer ín. ar amús cin mótt se mów. “mú
muemic, ánícím, maré no amás kuáworémesmí. Miwírpic, Siréc arán,
amás kuáworémer ín. iním májawérmes”.

* He has as yet no crown, as will be clear from what follows.
palm, when he grew during the night. "Hey, yesterday he was here, where is he, where is he?" "Hey, is that you Tewér?" he said, high up above. "Oh, Miwirpic, what have you done during the night? Yesterday you sat here stuck in the ground; what have you done during the night?" she said. "Ah, my dear girl, here I sit, here I stay, I'm here. During the night I've changed into a sago palm." Thereupon she threw herself down beside his trunk. — No, she didn't take her sister to the forest; she left her at home, the first time she went. She was alone. — She threw herself down in the mud, she threw herself down in the mud. — The sago palm had no fronds, no ribs, it had nothing. Just like a spear it had risen up during the night. It had no leaves, without leaves it was. — "Wait, first my little sister must see me, she's always acted in the wrong way towards me. Go back and fetch her," he said. "All right," she said, and she hurried back. "Oh Tewér, my dear girl, you're the only one for me," he said. And she ran back. "Tewér, come! You, too, must see what our husband's done during the night," she said. After she'd hurried back and had fetched her sister, she took her to the forest. There she threw herself down into the mud and the water, wailing. Again and again she fell into the mud. "Now, that's enough, my good girl, go and bathe," he said. She and her sister threw themselves into the mud. "Go and bathe, and both go home. During the night I've changed into a sago palm. 'Miwirpic changed into a sago palm on the upper course of the Siréc', that's what people must say about me from now on'.

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"During the night I became a sago palm; I've made sago palms during the night. They must henceforth increase and people must also eat sago," so he spoke, as he stood there. "I've no fronds, no side leaves, no ribs; without anything, smooth all over, I've come into being here during the night," he said. "Oh, come! Come down from above," she said. "Come down from above, and take my sister." "Oh, have pity on my little wife," he said, but to no purpose. "Why [should I]? She's the one who's done wrong," she said. Lower and lower shrunk the huge man. When he'd come down from above, she put her sister on him, [standing her] upside down [on his head]. Next, she put her two legs upwards; her two arms she put — like this; her fingers, — we wash the sago in the ribs of the fronds of the sago palm —. Tewérawuc, the younger sister, little Tewérawuc, sits with her thighs spread out —
masirím, a á jamnók iním emór araw ún, a máj ek, pó atáwtermenáp-mor ín. a amás é masirím a man éf araw ún.

1 kuwús.

* Here, the speaker indicates with her arms how Tewérawuc was sitting.

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1 mátmetí; 2 ánememcow; 3 ajísmotiwír.

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aémniera, sí'n ajiwisíterewer ín. sí efá tevérac ín, amás cuwúc emíc anúk efá aknémac ín (—). 1 picin apúnmomer ín. mí, mapmó senén, ás, maré awúmnemor ín. áwijísér, "amás emenimiwpúj!" "ää, mom-
this way —, they are the branches which stick out; she sits with her arms — this way —. Her fingers, the fingers of the small Tewérawuc, she spread out — like this — she put them separate from each other.
— The ribs we always break off, the ribs in which we squeeze out the sago, are her two thighs; that was how she put her, and her toes, she put them separate from each other, as the ribs. The small leaves of the sago palm, those are her fingers.

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"It's done, I've put my sister there onto you, go upwards" she said. Lo! the huge man left the forest below him. The sago palm then had fronds. High up it stood, with leaves rustling. "That's fine, you must not stay alone. My sister always did the wrong thing by you. Now keep her," she said. Then the sago palm had ribs, with rustling leaves it stood there. Once more, the wife threw herself, wailing, into the mud, and into the water. She wailed, and wailed, and wailed — "Now, that's enough, you're a good girl, go home," he said. "Miwirpic, if I go back home, — I'll leave here, since there's no one with me. I'm alone, I've already put my sister on you there," she said. "Oh, you're a good girl, wait! Tomorrow you must scrape out the sago from the sago palm which has grown in front of the house during the night, and the next day also, you must scrape out the sago. Be patient!" he said. "All right" she said. "No one will come to look for you here," she said. Continually wailing, she returned, and stayed in the house. She wailed and wailed, until the sun went down. In the afternoon, she went again to the forest to look at him. There, she mourned again for her husband. She returned and went to sleep; in the morning she went to the forest. "Miwirpic, I am going to scrape out sago," she said. "Oh, that sago palm there in front of the house, the sago palm beside which you sleep and wake, cut down that one," he said. "How do I cut it down?" "When you've chopped off the growth round the trunk with that axe, then start to chop it down," he said. "When you've chopped off the bark — chop it away at the left side and at the right side, — then chop through the pith, and it will topple over of its own accord," he said. "All right," she said.

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She went back, inside she quickly got an axe. After she'd quickly got the axe, she quickly chopped the growth off the sago palm that stood there, and — *. She chopped off the bark, she chopped at her right
ápeperíc, ja wowúc tiwapércem, já om mén, amás nec apcóm nesen émisėrm. e úmu am momápeperócini e mopán am momápeperócini" iním aer ín. "amás, apecéracem anúk momtémteníci anúk akcémi, pín ororóntiwcem, e úmu am mômjtnemúc a mopán am mômjtnemúc a wowúc, e nám poman áfañenemenácem a nám pomá masiríma amúss maw nám pomán masiríma am momáawmapmúc. amúss misérími a mômtiwkáfumúc", iním aer ín. "hè" iním aer ín. áwiniér, wowúc atiwaperer ín. ténakap atewémor ín. "m, amás aráw new" iním aer ín. úmu ásiócinér, ténakap ín ásiócinér ténakap ín. mopán, anúk ín atémtemer ín. anúk akérë.2 úmu ajítnémor ín, fáñenocinér, mopán, manmák jansíkrí wut ajítnemor 3 ín, ájawumnémoír ín. amúss atiwkañfumór cowák, amas nês, amas nês, amas nês, áwkurumtiwír,4 wunám wasëm aiwíjíser ín. "Miwirípcô, amás nes eméawkurúmpuj ucín emci".

1 Here one word is unintelligible; 2 akáré; 3 ajítmomér; 4 áwkurumtiwír.

* Here a word is not clear enough on the tape for it to be understood.
side, and at her left side, the pith, and finally she toppled it over. She hurried to the forest. "I went back and I've chopped down the sago palm!" "Fine! Now you must make the test holes. When you've made a test opening in the middle, then the digging stick will come out with nothing but raw sago sticking to the edge; then make the test holes towards the top, and after that, towards the end of the trunk," he said. "When you've made the test holes in the sago palm, then you must climb onto the trunk. When you've chopped off the growth and have made the surface smooth, then make cuts across the trunk on the upper surface, at the top end, the bottom end and the middle. When you've stripped the bark off the one half towards the bottom, then strip the bark off that half, which is the one that has to be scraped out. Then begin to loosen the pith with the sago scraper," he said. "All right," she said. She hurried back and began to make a test hole in the middle. She thrust it [the digging stick] into it a little bit. "Ho, this is probably sago," she said. She moved up towards the top, testing — just under the surface was the sago —; she moved down, testing, towards the lower end — it was just under the surface! She climbed onto the growth on the trunk. She chopped off the growth. She made a cut across the trunk on the upper side. She stripped the bark off towards the top; at the lower end [she did the same]; she divided it into two large sections. She wrenched the bark loose towards the bottom. Immediately she began to work loose the pith with the scraper. She scraped out more and more sago pith, until it was all out. Then she hurried to the forest. "Miwirpic, I’ve scraped out all the sago pith. What do I do now?"

"Oh, the ribs of the fronds you put on me last night, those ribs you put separate from each other, cut them off near the top of the fronds and chop them off at the base. Three of them you must cut off. One pair you must make into the sump trough, but first you must get a supporting pole and stick it in the ground. First you must pull off all the side leaves. When you've put in this supporting pole, rest the end (of the washing trough) on it; when you've put the sump trough in place, you must make it fast. [To do this,] you must split the bark of the sago palm*. When you've cleaned it, you must stop up the far end tightly, and when you've also put the filter in place, and the strainer, then you must start to squeeze out the sago in it." "All right" she said. Quickly she returned and went to chop off the ribs of the sago palm
wunám. amás apím jikurumór, po mú fowu émsemor in. anám, anám, anám, — opák a úmu anám mé pak in — “amás po motowómsemém” iním aer in.

\[1\] atówopnésmérawóm; \[2\] mampíp.

\[a\] Pieces of the hard bark of the sago palm are probably used to hold the sump trough firm (instead of the sticks, mentioned in § 288, note e). I have never seen this material used in the making of the trough for washing the sago.

\[b\] Literally: trough, you’re full of sago.

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\[1\] móntiwúrumúc; \[2\] tájujukmapmúj; \[3\] tájujukmapmó.

\[a\] See sketch p. 367.
fronds. After she had quickly chopped off the ribs and she'd quickly put together the sump trough, she pulled off the side leaves [of the support pole] and she put in the support pole. After she'd made the support pole and had put it in the ground, she rested the end of the washing trough on it. When she'd cleaned it, and had bound it together, she fastened the strainer to it. She put the filter in place and right away she began to pour water over the sago pulp. Straight away she saw to it that the water reached to the far end of the trough, and again, and once again [she squeezed out the sago pulp until the sump trough was filled with water]. She squeezed out all the pulp; she filled the trough up to the brim with water. Continually she scraped out the inner pith — no, she didn't work the inner pith on the side near the top end — "The trough's full of sago," she said.

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She hurried to the forest. "Miwirpic, the trough's full of sago." "Ho, my good girl, put it in the bag; take the rolls of sago and light a fire made of dry sago leaves. Take a dry rib of a frond, place the lumps of sago on it, and set the withered leaves alight. You must then peel off the cooked skin while it is still thin, when you've taken the rolls of sago off [the rib]." "How shall I do it, I have just squeezed out the sago!" "Have you worked up all the sago?" he asked. "Not all the sago; I've left the end of the anám (inner part of the pith), or is it the ómus (the outer part of the pith)?" "What you've worked up is the anám." "A small piece of the trunk is still to be done." "Wait! Tomorrow you must do that first, my good girl," he said. She filled a bag, she filled another bag; she took a lump of sago, and another, and yet another, and she put them all together in the house. At night she slept. The following day, in the morning, she went to the forest and began to work up the inner part of the pith, the last part of the inner pith, and the outer pith. She wrenched off the bark from the trunk; pith — pith — she worked it all up and she began with the pulp. More and more pulp — she squeezed out all the pulp. At the lower end, she first scraped out all the inner pith and a small part of the outer pith. She squeezed out all pulp, and when she'd filled the bags full of sago and had stored away the rolls of sago in the house, she went straight to the forest, to her husband. "Are you there?" "I'm here". She burst out wailing. Wailing, she threw herself into the mud. "Oh, poor thing, you mustn't be continually wailing and throwing yourself down," he said. "Have you got the sago out, or not?" "I've got [all] the sago out,
móc mocómewermár mocómewermár, “noromúmo jó matimár anijica. cém niamsia” iním aer ín. móc am ajatámnier in. cém anifíwer ín. móc jó’n afamásmor ín. tám aráw, aóriwiser ín. mót se mów ajitmar, ajitmar, “o ucią”. “no maré manwuwo” 1 iním aer ín. “á, noromóm maré anijíc. tó atáwtam-fin aráw, já mowséc akónawamsá 2 efom cém, nifiwá iním moméc. tám masërím wunám otuwsea iním moméc. or ówtiw, ur isipis, cém a mómmamúc”, iním aer ín. jiwis atúwör ín. móc am, kómapmúc arow ún jiwis pok cí, jiwis pok cí, jiwis atúwser ín. jiwis atúwser in mú ja’n asormónier ín móc am amóznier ín. móc am ájatámniamár, móc am ájatámniamár, móc am ajatámniamár. jó tisér apór, arów konawámsëres cém ánifíwer ín. ámsesmárá. jó iním apumár, aóniuwor ín. mú ja’n asormónier ín, mu já, sórmoniamár, niamár, niamár, wunám, jó atímséer ín. jó timseér, arów konáwwíwërés 3cem, cápmorés cem, wunám onifíwer ín. ámsesmár, jó apuer ín. jó iním tepumár, wunám cí oníuwor ín. mu já’n sornóianíamár, niamár, niamár, jó tisér wunám, máp nak konawápères 4 cém, ánifíwésmar ín — fiwítúmar ín. ámsesmár, jó iním tépsérímar “á, Miwíripëj, maré takámtowómensefëñém néw isipis náriw, nó sinopis, cahímmi éwnióm-uvfëñem, kónawomsëspënem 5 cém amsésmupúj. cí nuwumë, cém norgá manitájë, wówë”, iním aer ín. moc ín ajatámsër ín. mót se mów ajitmár ajitmár cí aníuwor ín sé’n ajáwwiamár ín.

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1 maníuw; 2 kánawamsá; 3 kanáwwíwëres; 4 kanawápères; 5 kánawomsëspënem.
I've filled all the bags right up with it; yesterday also, I filled the bags right up with it. The house is chock full of sago rolls, they're piled up everywhere. Can I go back now?” “Tomorrow you must set out, the current should take you to the sea. You must stop in the houses we came to and where we passed the nights. When you've rowed until the sun goes down, then sleep and then set out [again], continue your journey in the morning; that's the way in which you must return,” he said.

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She stood there, wailing, continually wailing. “Oh, poor thing, the sun goes down now, go home to sleep,” he said. Wailing, she returned and went into the house. She wailed until the day broke. In the morning, she hurriedly returned to the forest. Wailing, she continually threw herself down. “What do you want?” “I want to set out now,” she said. “Oh, my good girl, that's enough now, go home! I told you yesterday what you had to do. You must enter the houses we came to and where we slept, and in the morning you must set out again. That's what you have to do. You must go to the house of your brothers and fathers,” he said. She started to depart; wailing she took the baggage to the canoe and set off. She set off. The current carried her to the sea; wailing, she went downriver. She wailed all the time; all the time she wailed. When she saw that the sun was going down, she went into the house where they'd slept. She slept the whole night, and when the sun rose, she set out again. The current carried her down; the whole day long the current carried her. Again she travelled until the sun went down. She travelled until the sun went down, and then again she went into the house in which they'd been; the house they'd built. She slept the whole night, and the sun rose. When the sun had risen, she went to the canoe and set off again. The current carried her down, farther and farther. When the sun went down, at night — no, in the evening, she went into the first house they'd come to and slept in. During the night she slept, and when it was light she cried: “Oh, Miwirpic, Miwirpic, now I've slept tonight in the house where you brought me first; where you came and slept with me when you departed with me from the country of my parents, my brothers and my sisters. Now I'm going to get into the canoe and set out. Today, I'll arrive home, alone.” Wailing she rowed on; wailing she threw herself into the mud, again and again. She went to the canoe and set off. She went back covered in mud.
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“newét, ucim peme éw, newét ucim pemef éw newétë”. “cáj pacák emé, áwamis ás aráw, áwamis ás aráw newét ar ás. ese at étamén mow armá jaktamfén. ese nam pomán aráw nám pomán aráw énkap ním cotiwporó opák. cowák wut jiwirtámtamewiri. ese asiasmó com ám topmof, “amas kén mekenéc” iním jómitép. amás ken kénef, amás anititíwitè amás awámpom. a ese najitípíc, asép matápom emporó opák. “cowó cirím sótëmti” iním jampén. cowó cirím sótëmtamó. mónor in émporámép, onór asomitéf akát, tówoniéf, oniéf, oniéf,1 maré iwnim, os máj masúwem ín, akín tapomákamép a amás ese apcóm, ese najitípíc, jíf copo wú jamép, manmák in rifesopómitè. mátewer in a jíf sioníporamóp. tepte tep jómpuamép. newét maré
Now, her brothers and fathers sat on the lookout. "Hey, you people come floating down the river in a white canoe," they said. "Hey," cried the people, "they say there upstream, — perhaps it's Miwirpic, the one who moved away —, a white canoe comes floating down! It's floating downstream with the current, there on the river!" Everyone went to the river. The woman sat in the canoe, covered in mud. "Hey, Tewérawuc is alone! Miwirpic must have been killed; the people upstream have eaten him! Her sister is not there, either. She's alone. She's covered in mud," they said. All the people went to the river. She arrived towards the end of the morning — at noon [to be precise]. "Tewér, what's happened? Where's your husband? Where's your sister?" they asked. "Oh, I left them upstream; he sent me back alone; ashamed and covered in the mud into which I threw myself, wailing, I return. He took a dislike to me, he only had thought for his [other] wife," she said. They took all the sago into the house, the house of her mother and father. Everybody crowded together into the house, men, women, and children, in great numbers, to hear the news. The family of Miwirpic, his sons and daughters, his older and younger brothers, his sisters, said: "What have you got there?" "That's sago. What you eat is not real sago, fish and crabs are what you eat. This is sago," she said. "It comes downriver; now there is a great rustling of sago leaves on the upper course of the Siréć; on the banks, over the water, everywhere. Continually the fruit of the sago palm is raining down into the water which carries them to the sea, leaving them on the land on its way here," she said. The people struck themselves on their breasts with amazement.

"Just what has happened to your husband? Just what has happened to your husband?" they said. "A calamity overtook him. This stuff that lies here, is his! He got me to make a bag for it. He himself fetched the roots for me. I plaited a bag, wide from there to there, not so big, but that wasn't any good. Only one, a huge one, I made for him. I plaited the bag and fastened the headband onto it. "Get the implements ready," he said to me in the morning. I got the implements ready. We scraped out the sago palm he'd felled. I only wanted partly to fill the gigantic bag, but no! "Plait a band of sago leaves on top of it" he said to me. I plaited a band of sago leaves onto the top. He tried and tried to carry it on his back; [at last] he succeeded in carrying
amás kúaworéme Siréc arán. erém a mér cowak wáritemtesmep. nó sinakáp akáwimopé maré". mu pó aniáper in móc. móts se mów ajámar in. ar isipis ar epúcëwes ar ewicëwes a típuris, a têrásëpës, móts semén araw ún awér opák semén, áëmit in. móc mocamès mocamès, "amás awamis aràw an", "a amás aràw, amás aràw" inim aer in. a amás jis tòwopmà eres, amás acín inim tòwkopà eres mó kawös in. ná eres "áw, átar enám amós pók amás pé amás nèwirum nèwa, amás aràw newá amás akatés aporiá", ajámes in. amás atáwtonimomaser ² in. Siréc, Miwírci,amás kúaworémer in. ár picirim áw.

1 towonioph, oniof, oniof; ² táwtonimomaser.

a When a dead man is being buried, it is the custom that the female members of his family who are most closely related to him show that they are in mourning by removing their awér and going about naked.

b In Asmat stories the people always vomit as a reaction to: a) contact with the supernatural (see also § 311), and b) their first acquaintance with something entirely new to them, as is the case here. In the myth about the origin of fire, which is not given in this work, the people vomit when they first see fire.

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net, Mís, Mísìmit a erén éwesef. erén, erén ewesef masnìm, Pajámpari am arám, Fití, férs serapômnes in. férs serapómnes masnìm, éren éwemef cowák, a Pajámpari am arám ar mó cin, férs serapómnes in. Pajámpari am arám, ar mó Safán cin férs serapómnes in. férs serapómnes masnìm, áserápmarès maré eren átepès in. éren átepès cowák. ar mó makán ajísef in, a Safán atéptowòpmare 'n. a nát, a tìw am, á puris am, — a tìw makán ef in. Mesók, ámetosef in. a mí nat, a níwi mi nim ajáworemeʃ ¹ in. anakácowuc aràw, a cenés ajápèsfes in. â, Mesók cin ajápèsfes in. Mesók cin ajápèsfes cowákà, férs enám am arám, mú awút kor in. mú awút kor. "Mesókà, férs men mú misi pàka, mér amércásina" inim aef in. "mér amércásina" inim aef in. a níwi am arám, a jó minkúm, pisíwa'n ajíjomomarèn, màkpin inim cuwuc ² éméf áw un. màkpin inim cuwuc ² éméf áw un. Pajámpari am arám, á Mesok ám, póman in. Pajámpari nesè in. Mís am arám, níwi mi nim ajáworemeʃ in. níwi ni nim áworeméf, inim aporiéf, Pajámpari pé okómteweraře'n, jùmùs, jireméf jireméf jireméf pé mokómtewer
the heavy load on his back; he went back with it, farther and farther [he went]. Then, at the river, he tried to step onto a tree trunk, but as soon as he set foot on it, splash! there he sank into the bog with the bag, the gigantic bag. There he stuck, after he had sunk down up to the eyes. I dug away the ground to try to haul him out, but he sank farther and farther down. Now he's been changed into a sago palm, on the upper course of the Siréc. He grew right up during that one night; my sister was joined to him. That's what happened." The people went in a crowd to the water, wailing. Wailing, they threw themselves into the mud, his parents, his older and his younger brothers, his sons and his daughters, his sisters — in a long row they stood [the women] and wailed, without their ovér \(^{a}\). They wailed and wailed. "Is this sago, this stuff that lies here?" "That's sago," she said. Every time they put the sago on the fire and every time they ate the baked crust, they vomited \(^{b}\). Every time they ate it, they said: "Oh, what we always ate before was perhaps fish, and crabs! Perhaps this is sago! Look! This is very nice food!" From then on, they ate sago. On the Siréc, was Miwirpic changed into a sago palm. That's the story.

VII

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A spirit, Mis \(^{a}\), Mísimit \(^{b}\), came here \(^{0}\) from upstream. When he came from upstream — also Pajámpari — on the Fiti \(^{a}\) — they put down a fish trap. When they'd put the fish trap in place, he (Mis) came straight from upstream — Pajámpari and her husband put down a fish trap. Pajámpari and her husband, Safán, put down a fish trap. They put the trap in place, and when they'd put it in place, they went upstream. They rowed straight upstream where she left her husband behind and returned. After she'd dropped Safán upstream, then she and her son — and her daughter; she left her son behind —, she brought Mesók back with her here \(^{e}\). He [Mis], had changed his face into that of father \(^{e}\). The woman rowed down here. She and Mesók rowed straight here. She and Mesók rowed and rowed ... Now about the fish in the trap, the water was still too high [to get at the fish]. It was still too high. "Hey, Mesók, the water's not yet run out of the trap, let's both go and catch crabs," she said. Father \(^{z}\) was also there, at the mouth of the river; he stood there with his arms crossed, a
júmus jireměf jireměf, inim aporěf, “ā, Manéfakat o ucim minip pumommema, ā, Jomót ewenáwanemá” inim aef īn.

1 ajorémef; 2 cúc.

* Every river is the domain of a supernatural being, a river spirit. *Mis*, or *Misimit*, is the master of the Jiníw (see map p. 363). The master of the Jomót is *Jomótsimit*; of the Fiti, *Antásimit*.

* Names of mythological and historical personages often have the suffix -*simít*. I get the impression that this suffix has an honorific value in these cases.

* here = downstream, towards the coast.

* See map, p. 363.

* Towards the coast.

* i.e., Manéfakat, Wominén’s father.

* i.e., Mis, in the form of Manéfakat.

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inim aporéf Pajámpari “áw, nó nat o moporómtewer, pök mer nór a pök mer ajákakapípmupújé” 1 inim ef in. “ó moporómtewer ajakakapípmumia, cáj ecéna” inim ef in. anakátipic aráw “á, nám pok mer emémi, no ó mopor pák”, inim ef in. anakácowuc aráw, “efamúc” a juwúr nani ním emnánimár araw ún. “efamúca, efamúca!” “sawnáka, ēmá memić” ajíporéf. “sawnák ēmá memić” ajíporéf, “ā, memémérém” inim aef in. ániperémepin m, ásumtúmaré’n, anakátipic aráw, “no ów asmótipic opák, no n étipic emći, no n étipic emcí Manéfakat mí nım áworemi” inim aef in. “eā, eméajmírám günē, eméajmírámón! Manéfakat mí nım áworetım awê!” anakácowuc aráw, námun ēmémef in. “Mesóka”, inim aef in, a Mesók “á” inim ef in. “marçà, férs musúmtewercárá mú akumára” inim ef in. férs na enám pak in, férs enám ūk in. ásumtewerarés, 2 mare mér amer pák, a umúc nimirsemá nimirsemá nimirsemá, enám, fo mufúm pak in. enám ep nám mukurúmtewer pak in. “á, maré enám ep nám mukurúmtewer pák maré, atépca” inim ef in. “mú mukumár” inim aef in.

1 ajákakapípmupújé; 2 asúmtewerarés.

* Coitus is effected in a sitting position.

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“mú akumára”, férs in asúmtewerares 1 in maré eren atówotépfes in. átepbes in. átepbes cowáká, pó jitepfes, pó jitepfes, ar mó “enám kor ním, férs in áserapmáćokom, mínimir kór nörpa aptákasaneweréji-purúwa enám jó kor awer áw, enám kor awer áw férs masúmtewer férs atakám kor tawútúmćepokom porów aporémokom” inim aef in. “enám kor awer áw enám jó wut awer áw” inim ef in. maré, enám nat, Safán nat, Safán inim émtawaré, “enám nat jipis eawěrmokom
dagger stuck in his armband. With his arms crossed, he stood there. Pajampari and Mesök were on the opposite bank — no, Pajampari was on this side. And also Mis, who had changed himself into father. He had changed his face into that of father. He saw her: Pajampari was catching crabs, she continually stooped to catch crabs. She caught sight of him. "Hey, Manefakat, what are you thinking about me? Have you come here from the Jomot?" she said.

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When Pajampari saw him, she said: "Oh, just to look for you I'm out catching crabs, I always go out alone to catch crabs. To look for you, I always go out on my own; come and couple with me," she said. "Well, I'm also out hunting. I wasn't looking for you," said the man. "Do it quickly," said the woman, and she stood there whimpering like a bitch! "Quickly, now; quickly, now!" Please, stay where you are, stay where you are," he pleaded. "Well, since you are there," he said and he went and sat by her — mmmm — When he'd helped her up, he said to the woman: I'm not a man, I'm a spirit, a spirit man. I've changed my face into that of Manefakat." "Oh, and I've just committed adultery with you; I've just committed adultery with you. But you'd changed your face into that of Manefakat!" The woman kept her secret. "Hey, Mesök, she called. "Yes," Mesök replied. "It's time now, let's take away the fish trap, there's no more water," she said. But there were no fish in the trap. There were no fish in the trap. When they'd pulled it up, they didn't catch more crabs but looked for fish in the pools that had been left. They searched, and searched, but they didn't pull out any fish; not a fish's body or a fish's tail did they touch. "Enough of this, we can't get hold of any fish, let's go upstream," she said. "There's no more water," she said.

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"There's no more water." They pulled up the fish trap and took it with them upriver. They went upstream; they went straight upstream. They rowed straight up there. "You put down a fish trap as though there were plenty of fish, so that I went down the whole river on my own to feel about for fish", but this river doesn't have any fish! There are no fish at all! All the afternoon are you talking about lifting it, and you are always going to have a look at it in the afternoon, but there
aráw eitúmcêmokóm ara, jipís efokóm ar masním aserapómfnôm áw. enám caj curúw nakó”, iním aef in. “enám caj curúw nakó” iním aef in. anakácowuc am aram nám, akin atépakámñf in. nám Fití opés opés opés opés, maré, ámetótnawfé. metótnawfé masírm, metótnawfé, jófaj, ápampés, jófaj apampés, jófaj masérin maré ju ájamnép. jú emépê emép emép emép emép emép. jófaj jófaj jófaj masérin maré, erém ákamiamséf. erém ákamiamséf maré.

1 asúmterares.

* One of the ways of catching fish is to search for them in the pools left in the beds of the small streams as the tide ebbs.

b here = the village of Jepém.

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1 Piàpipin; 2 awájotepes; 3 atérfes; 4 atatèrfes.

* According to the Ásmat people dwelling on the coast, the dead live on the upper courses of the rivers, where they have their own villages.

b It is noteworthy that the spirits squabble among themselves for the possession of Pajámpari in exactly the same way as the Ásmat people used to do over a head that had just been cut off in a head-hunting raid.
are no fish, this river doesn’t have any fish!” grumbled her husband. And he spoke to the fish, like this: “You fish, you’re always darting to and fro, in the afternoon! You darted to and fro when we put down the trap for you. One never knows what you fish are going to do!” he said. As soon as the woman had gone upriver she became ill. They stayed with her on the Fití; they stayed, and stayed, and stayed, and finally they brought her here*. When they’d brought her here, then — they stayed at home the following day; the day afterwards they stayed at home, and the day after she began to scream. She screamed, and screamed, and screamed, and screamed the whole day, and yet another day, and another day, and the day after that, until finally she died in the night. In the night she expired.

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The ghosts on the upper course of the Jiniw* then wanted to take her. “Oh, [they had] many feathered paddles, many feathers in their hair; the ghosts from the upper Jiniw set out for the Fití, the ghosts from the upper Fití set out; the Jiniw ghosts set out and arrived at the Fití where they joined up with them; they joined up with the Fití ghosts and arrived here so that they could join [those from] the Jomót, at the upper course. — There, on the Jomót, is the Piapipín, the short cut to the Jomót. It goes across to the Jomót; the Piapipín runs from the Jomót to the Jiniw. It forms a link with the Jomót. The people usually go along it. Jomótisimit keeps guard on the bank where the Piapipín branches off —. [They had] many feathered paddles, many nose shells, many bird’s feathers stuck in their hair; great numbers of feathers they put in their hair that night. In rows close together they came that night over the Jomót; they all came here. The son of Sajmós — I don’t know his name — stuck his paddle in the mud and landed. He went ashore quickly so that he could get her. Quickly he went ashore, picked her up where she lay, and they carried her off in the canoe; and, singing, they took her right to the end of the upper course of the Jomót. Like this they all did: the ghosts from the Jiniw snatched at her; the ghosts from the Jomót snatched at her. The ghosts from the Mow snatched at her, the ghosts from the Jiniw snatched at her, those from the Fití snatched at her, those from the Mow snatched at her*, finally, the ghosts from the Mow grabbed her. Pajámpari remains on the Mow; the ghosts from the Mow grabbed her, the ghosts from the Mow won her. She stays with the ghosts from the upper Mow, she’s in the house of Uwúsakap. The ghosts from the
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net, ís tamesmóp a jí pu cowák ara. ís tamesmóp a jí pu cowák. nám, wasén animcukof, pók mer wú mer aríwtepóf. wú mujú aríwtepóf, wú mujú aríwtepóf. no jowów nat, a iwním pim ním ámesemfés. awún, nór masirim a wasén pim nór awun ájisakápiemof. wasén pim nór awun ájisakápiemof. e, Jomótakap a puris am arám, a puris am arám, ãw apcóm un. ãw apcóm, émemef ín. a owér, porów tetamfés. anakácowut maserim, “ã, iním owér no pú naká, nam ámat ów owéros pen éw mopórfjar emia, emára”, iním aef ín. nám, wú mujú, a wú mujú cuwúc emof. arám, a niwi kor am arám, firkóm mawër, firkóm mawër, cuwúc aepf. séj awérifís ín. séj awérifís maré, “nía no owéros pen éw mapórfjarawër 1 emió” iním ef ín. “owerós pen éw mapórfjarawër émi” iním ef ín. é eren éwemef cowák. mokót win ásasakájesef ín. mokót win sásakájesef, sásakájesef sásakájesef, ása-
sakájesef ín. no ná, Tówmi á, — e, Tówmi emí ara —, Síwinmak á, Síwinmak. wú aurúntewaró, — wú asér awáp aráw. a wú asér, murúntewer, aurúnnmemaró a cenés masním musúm cuwúc emof.

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1 mapórfjarawér.

* jowów, here translated with ‘people’ refers primarily to people belonging to one and the same ceremonial house; it can also mean people who are of the same village.

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the Jiníw were worsted. The ghosts from the Jiníw lost, and the ghosts from the Mow won the contest.

VIII

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I dreamt about ghosts, and it happened just that way. What I dreamt actually happened. I, I disappeared in the forest; we went upriver with one canoe to hunt and to get edible tops of the sago palm. We went upriver to get the edible tops; to get the edible tops we went upriver. My people' stood there near the water’s edge, but I stood alone at the edge of the forest. I stood alone at the edge of the forest. The daughter of Jomótakap, his daughter was also there; already she had breasts. She had breasts; she stood there. In the evening they had given her in marriage, but the girl had said: “No, I don’t want such a marriage! I want to look around and see if there’s not a human man who can be my husband, wait a bit!” I was there getting the edible tops. As for her great father, he sat there sharpening long arrows. She went outside, slipping out behind his back. When she’d gone outside behind his back, she said: “Father, I want to go and see if there’s not a husband for me; I want to go and look for such a man.” And straightaway she went off from the upper reaches. She passed one sago garden after another on her way here; she passed one after another... Now, I went to the Tówmí, — the Tówmí, I say... the Siwínmak, the Siwínmak. I got an edible top and, — there stood a young palm, a wú asér. In order to pull out the edible top, I toppled it over and I stood there pulling it out.

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As I stood there pulling it out, the girl heard the noise and with shining eyes she came there. “That’s fine, that’s fine,” she said. She came quickly towards me and looked at me. She didn’t come out of the forest to meet me, she just peered at me. “What a handsome man this is! What a good looking young man,” she said. “The ghosts of the upper reaches of the Jomót have broad flat noses, every one of them,” she said. “That’s my husband,” she said. The girl simply raised her hand* and quickly went upriver; she walked and walked. “Father, I...” — he sat at home; she went to her father, — “What’s it?” he said. “Come, I’ve raised my hand to a man; yonder he stands, he stands on top of [the trunk] busy getting out the sago top. There he is,
mar. no cepés namós ² témjoméno owerów namós ² mijóm pow!” inim ef ín. anakátipic firkóm mirám un atiwjimáre’n, átowoséf, a fa’n ajastámosef ín. fa’n ajastámosefé, inim aperéf, “a émesí” inim ef ín. inim aperéf “awemic aráw. épnam áj ap, áj ap” inim aef ín. á waséc kor masirím, nesén, oméw ten ín, amúw omew ín. ápumasméf cowák, anakácowuc inim aperéf, arám, arów aperéf, — jimámuc in emí ara emí ara —, inim aperéf, ápumef cowák maré nam ápumokopomfén.

1 aoréméf; ² suka: loan-word from Malay.

* This gesture is an act of magic. As the girl raises her hand she casts a spell on Wominén which so slows down all his movements — though he still thinks he is working normally — that she can take her time fetching her father knowing that she will find Wominén on her return just where she left him.

* Male ghosts are always out to seduce human women. Their favorite haunt are the banks of the rivers when the tide is in. There they lurk in branches of the overhanging trees, on the lookout for canoes with women in them.

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ápumfes cowák, maré nam ápumokopómfenes nor aráw, maré mér
nim “á” cenés inim ájamsóf. maré, “a ēmá arpúka, arpúka ēmá, man
mí tiwotérém. ēmá, a tów cajaric” ¹ inim aef ín. ēmá ēmá ēmá ēmá
ēmá ēmá ēmá, anakátipic aráw, ják asé eméomoméf, tiwotfén.
“á” ajamsóf. “á, ucim omnémè, no ucím ar’ amè, no ucím ar’ amè, ucím
eminè” inim ajof. “ēmá, man mí tiwotérém” inim aef ín. man mí inim
tiwótnepen ják, ják asé’n aráw, ájatmapóm ájatmapóm, a kús
ajatmapóm inim aef. “á” jisitóf. jisitóf masním, nor, “o cá jipic ām’
no nát atakám mataw pák, atakám mataw pák. maré, átakam pák
cowák. “Jomót áwse aráw, a Jomót teté, a Má teté, Júwotep pú awamis
aráw, maré no mokot pú aráw”, inim aef. fa’n ajastámteweréf cowák,
Jomót erén. “maré ja matawéř pak, já matawér pak maré, pú amis
aráw”, inim aef. á camák, wos kór inim eméf cowák, Má mu ani-
jukumef ín. é a mokót pu maséřim, cém onow mák kor oméw cuwuc
apéf. inim aperóf, “cém onow mák awamis aráw, cém onow mák
åwamis aráw” inim aef. inim aperóf, júmus in ajíremód. arám, a cepés
am arám amás wut, tów wut, wú jímín wut, áj amás akát amás, án
có sisímampés, ásisímampéş ásisímampés ásisímampes. cém ko niápóf.
cém amán inim aperóf pok có maré cepés pok có ásisimomséf. ar mó
aráw “á, atów ca mé jipit aráw an! no owerów namós ³ majóm pak
no cepés namos ³ jomófa. matéwtakám emí marí memawér pak marí.
cém emapacáw maré”.

1 tájarit; ² oweréw; ³ suka.
a very handsome man, look now!” she said. “Oh, wait, he’s a married man, they usually go out to hunt, to get sago and edible tops [the married men]; I only like the women,” he said. The man took a bundle of large arrows and took it with him, following her. He followed her. She looked round. “It was here that I walked a moment ago,” she said. “A young pandan tree stands there on either side,” she said. In between there was a wide open space, overgrown with hanguana reeds. She trod them down; the girl looked, he looked also: I continued to work busily. She looked. She trod them down, and caused them to touch me on the body.

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They trod it down and, doing so, they caused them to hit me, and I, “ah!” I cried, and like a flash of lightning, I fell to the ground. “Wait, stand aside, keep off! Wait, don’t touch him with your fingers! Wait! Let him come round first,” he said. They waited and waited, and waited. The man had a magic piece of charcoal with him. He touched me with it. “Oh,” so I lay, calling out. “Oh, why are you here with me? What’s happening to me, what’s happening to me?” so I cried. “Wait, don’t touch him,” he said. And he touched me with the tips of his fingers, and dabbed me here and there and there, and on the head, with the magic charcoal. “Ah,” I cried, standing up. When I stood up, I said: “Who are you?” — No, I said nothing, I didn’t speak, I said not a word. — “Here’s the Jomót. Between the Jomót and the Ma lies the path along the Júwotép, that’s the path through my sago garden,” he said. And he took me with him, walking behind me, to the upper course of the Jomót. “It’s not so far, it’s not so far. Here’s the path,” he said. There, behind the house, he'd made a large clearing which reached to the river Ma. And there, near the sago garden, lay the house, with a big roof, in an open space. I looked up. “There’s the roof of the house, there’s the roof of the house,” he said. I looked up. I was walking with bowed head. They, his wives, were busy filling one trough after another with much sago, many sago grubs, many sago sticks, mixed with the edible top of the sago palm; with new, fine sago. I went to sit on the front gallery. I took a look inside: there were the wives filling troughs with food and they brought them out-
When a woman offers a man food, it can be a sign that she wants him as her husband. This is probably the case here.

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nó jowow 1 ám arám, a pök jimmamúc in ajámpes, ajásmampés. no emcí akat ním. “ē”, — a purís nat cém amán, mot micic ajirmár araw ún —. “niiá, no owér jursúc 2 ememía maréwa, owér jursúc 2 ememí marè májperáwa”. “á, ur isipisnakás” “o ucim as ám, o cá jipíc ám, o cá jemwopánipic ám, o cá a tíw, o níwí com án” emár aráw. no nát, atakám mataw pák cowák, iním apitóf. jó, aémapef 3 masním, “tá, nó Womínén anícukasít cowák arawá, sí jen, óm jen opálka”, iním aéfes in. nám, ci, — “pó meteweri, matákmatám. nesén omómáti, nesén omómáti” iním ef. anákácowuc nat móć, matákmatam maré, jók ním ámétosfén. ná jowów am arám ci aníinkámsěres mí amnú. memámtewer ín. a pó na pó a pó na pó, ci píním iním aporéf, nesnín asén ajáwewerémkumfěnés.4 nesnín asén ajáwewerémkumfěnés. a nát, x on amánakapiríw teteté jícúkufés. a nát maré, iním aporéf “á, na Womínén ewemíc araw! e jipíc ucim ás emút! uá”. a cowút ownés asakámmtamfén, úwku átetamfén. “o á uwkú aráw, nóř, a uwkú tatmaním, a ownés tatmaním, paras tén aráw, mówiénawút. or epút Sumúj, or epúc Sumúj aráw, jewéw 5 canfés jipíc aráw, a Jiniw erén aráw, a Jiniw éwáp ara sé minakap. nó a cém matákfiw worwós ním matákfiw emí. a uwkú masním, o jófaj enáwcem uwkú am matawér emín”, iním aéf.

1 jow; 2 ijarí: loan-word from Malay; 3 aómaper; 4 ajáwewerémkumfěnés; 5 jew.

In the silence of the forest, the sounds of chopping, among others, carry over a great distance.

According to the Ásmat people, spirits are not able to see well but they have a particularly good sense of smell.

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á na jowów am arám, á na jowów am arám, pök mu. án pok mú omopfés. án pok mú, niwi am arám enmúm mer, e pírí a. Òwpaçákipit máj nosó, — jók akát emamópá, jók akát akát porów masním, a úwku aráw ajásmopóf, a fin am. á na jowów jíwí araw iním aporfés, “apák, jáka jowówa, Wómínen, ájakápiemic araw, Wómínen uwkú am fin
side." "Hey," said their husband, "is he your playmate? I dislike the married men, I only liked the women. I want to let him go. He can't stay here all the time. But for the time being he must stay in the house."

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Now, my people were all busy searching for food, they were all engrossed, as though I were safe and sound. Ah! in the house his daughter cried her eyes out. "Father, I want a man so much, please, I need a man, let him stay!" "No, they are your small fathers [the human men]." "What do you want? Who are you? Which ceremonial house do you belong to? Whom are you a son of? Who's your father," she said. But I said not a word, I just sat there. When the sun began to sink, they [our people] said: "Hey, our Wóminén has disappeared! We can't hear the sound of his digging stick or his axe!*" Now, about me, he [the ghost] said: "Take a paddle and go with him downriver, go with him without doing him harm." Crying, the girl went with me downriver. It was early in the afternoon when she accompanied me here. My people also had all got in the canoe, and they set out in the opposite direction, so that we should meet. They rowed, and we rowed, they rowed, and we rowed... When she smelt* the canoe [of my people] they hastily put me ashore just anywhere. They hastily put me ashore and, flash! disappeared into a small side stream. When they saw me they called out: "Hey, there's our Wominén! What's he done! Oh, ho!" — The girl had cut off a piece of her long knitted hair for me and had given me a crochet hook, a crochet hook made from a pig's bone. "I give this crochet hook, I give you a length of knitted hair. By and by, come to me, along the dune-ridge. Your elder brother, Sumúj, who was eaten by the enemy, lives on the upper course of the Jiníw; there by the Jiníw he lives on a small spit of land. I'll go to his house. I'll go inside as though I'm eloping. I'll knit your hair with this crochet hook, if you come on the following day," she said.

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Our people, our people held a feast, the feast of the sago troughs. They were busy with the feast of the sago troughs, the an feast. Father had gone that day to the sea with the canoe to fish. Ówpačákípic [was at home] with a wound in his foot. During the day everything went well for me, the whole day, and in the afternoon I brought out the crochet
am, owns am tátmorés, kapák sek esé am óp aráw”, iním efes ín.
“á, Wominéná karúwa, iním as mempór pak! fin, nét fin masakám-
tampór pak” iním aefés. nó aráw, “nám omómi” eóf eóf porów
masním, x mó kawós, x mó, x jak ám aóromés mop. níwi nát moc,
mócesmep. ’m, mó kawós núm kánamóp jok, porów kawós núm
kamamóp kamamóp kamamóp kamamóp. — núwi aráw Patépo cuwuc
ópéc aráw. Patépo ením Jitúrceem cuwúc ópéc aw. a, Patéem nat jep-
nakasá. énew nat, Patiém. Jitúrceem ením Patépo móc amócamps. nó
aráw, apóf apóf apóf apóf apóf apóf apóf maré mammák is ajáp-
meof. níwi maré pók masakám, iním emép. “á émá, o n'épnakapiríw, net,
áwiomatámés. na, ná majsás pak, iním emitóm. jisín jímí atawór
masním, a jisín capínmi akát masním, atémtemér. á jisín óp ara néw,
nét e jisín óp ara néw, arásen ew pewesánes éw, a erén éw pewesánes
éw. nét aráw, á eren éw pewesánes éw. á jisín óp ara néw asúk néw,
jisín asúk new, nét, Jomót eren ów ara néw”, iním aefés.

* The breaking of one's possessions is a means of warding off a calamity. (See
also § 328, note b).

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na jowów jiwi, nó mapór a cém jiwfuemfés. “émá, o n'épnakapiríw,
émá, cúomatómités. nám mopor pák, nár emic akát núm, tí mu, cí
jiwiri nat arów ememér, na nát wasén, nám pomán iním emerm”,
iním aefés. Menákpic a cém ewiséf “á, jáka jipíc araw, fin am, úwku
ám inim tátmores in. porów jépnakas ájasamópm Oráráw, iním asam-
ópmar masním iním ajísmar mó kawós iním akámütmar aráw. mó,
a jemésten éwotewér, e jew masním cowák motiwér, ár masním
áwikunáwm”, iním aef, Menákpic. “atów tatakáj jiwi ín, tatakáj
jiwi, pok mé jirmúc majirímpor pák, átatakájm, jen in jopít, jen
in jopít!” iním aef. amsóf amsóf amsóf, ufú amúp iním émfnés, ufú
amúp empórfénés empórfénés, “á”, — nó aráw, Menákpic aráw,
cemsén, tesén ewiséréf cowák. “Wominén, nó o niwi aráw, no Menák”,
iním aef. “ó”, jisítof, a nát Mipíc, a minúp nat Mipíc minúp, ápupúm-
esmop. jo fá omér ajemsmop ájesmop ájesmop ájesmop, jo fá,
ájámsóf niwi am is mes pák, énew am is mes pák. jo'n áfamóbfénes.
cem áfuamsépes á na jowów jiwi ám. wunám, jofaj, arów metmát
emóf, is. niwi am arám enám fawesmép, omót kus, enám nes jimin
hook and the hair. When the children of our people saw that, they said: "Hey, folks, Wominén is standing there on his own; they gave him a crochet hook and hair; a knitted tress! And he also has a parcel of shag in his bag," they said. "Oh, Wominén, that's dangerous! You mustn't do that! The ghosts should not cut off their hair for you," they said. "No," I said, "I'll keep it," said I, again and again. When it was evening I began to vomit, and vomit. The whole night I emptied my stomach! Father cried, all night long. Lo! all the day I wanted to vomit, all the afternoon I wanted to vomit. Father was at that time married to Patépo; to Patépo and Jitúrcem. Patiém has only recently come, Patiémi, [my present] mother. Jitúrcem and Patépo waited the whole day, and I just sat there, and sat, and sat. Finally, I became dizzy. Father wanted to break everything we had. "Hey, wait, your small son has been kidnapped by ghosts! We didn't go away, we have been there all the time. And he searched for the fruit of the jisin tree. He gathered the jisin fruit, and he went to the high hard ground on which the jisin trees grow. Up there, in the jisin tree, there might have been ghosts; perhaps it was from here that they'd come there, perhaps they went there from the upper course. Perhaps it is the caterpillars up there in the jisin tree, the caterpillars of the jisin tree, which are ghosts! Perhaps they're the ghosts from the upper Jomót!" they said.

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The children of our ceremonial house all came together into the house to see me. "They've taken him with them secretly, we didn't notice it, we thought he was safe and sound, the water was very high," he stood at the extreme end, near the canoes, and we stood on the other side, in the forest," they said. Menákpic came out of his house: "They gave this boy hair and a bone crochet hook. A few moments ago, in the afternoon, he took them out of his bag, and as he took them out, he went outside and began to vomit. He retched all the way from the landing stage until he reached the ceremonial house. And after that he came quickly here," so said Menákpic. "A playful child, a lively child should not always be sent away to search for food. He's very lively! Listen then, listen then!" he said. I lay there, just lay there. They treated me with hot shells, they tried out hot shells on me. Oh! — Menákpic came hurriedly from outside, from the front of the house, and said to me: "Wominén, it's me your father, Menák." "Oh!" I cried, standing up. I thought, he was the giant Mipic! The whole night I was afraid; I lay until the morning, afraid. My father didn't sleep
nitiwtámporfénés, nó man pák. Öwpacákipic máj noso cém makan aefés. ènéw am jím maré sén atakéf ènéw mes. no nát, arów metmát emóf. is, jinic acáíkurumóf. Öwpacákipic is nim pútamismép, x parás ten kákú aiwínóf.

* There are always many ghosts abroad at high water (see § 308, note b). Because it was high water at the time Wominén disappeared, the children assume that it was the ghosts that had taken him away.

* When a person is sick heated shells are used as we would use a hot-water bottle and they are placed under the sick person's sleeping mat.

parás ten kákú inim winiamop, Mitewer aráw asép ewisirif 1 cowák. mácìr kápu èntewerfén. 2 “ö, Mitewera émá no, jítakám mijimír emí, jítakám mijimír emí”, ajiporóf. a nát ájimotnawfén, ájimotnáwaren, á jowów am maré jím takáš, cepés am ówerow án maré, pók mer takáš píri á. no nát arásen efá wiesáró, jew kór ará Jepémcéwi am Apokó am Mapíw am, jáméret e sén cuwúc ámsef áw. inim aporóf a cém afiwá, a cém afiwá a cém afiwá a cém afiwá, amás tewená tewená tewená, amás masním maré tawanóf amás masnim, mú efá niómpuwaró, mú am setná, jóp nim jítakító a mú. mé, a amás nat mé pipí jap aráw, jáp aráw jáp aráw jáp aráw jáp aráw maré sén jéwsén, Ménálkipic cuwúc apéf “á, mókonawúca, níá mókonawúca, noromóma, pók cowák a óp jíra mancasína”, inim aef. nór aráw, nór aráw, “óm or áso nám amás emétawnio” inim eóf. “nám amás emétawnio” inim eóf. “amás matáwní” ájáró, túan 3 kúri 3 a mewésén, Ufénesc cuwúc emef áw. Ufénesc cuwúc emef ásep tuan kúri aráw. jemésten óf nim inim áparísaró jináf jináf jináf ajukóf. maré, tuan kúri wápu mú masnim, már atów emfes ásén, wápu mú masnim, mé anásamóp. “á”, — tuan kúri — “á, Wominén, nor mó cowák em ní, a cém mú a jíráw, té mu maní, nási a jíráw, maníc”.

1 ewisirif; 2 ènterfén; 3 loan-word from Malay (tuan guru = Mission teacher).

* In 1960 Jepémcéwi again had its own ceremonial house: Apokó and Mapíw still shared a ceremonial house.

* A Papuan assistant attached to the Roman Catholic Mission who only gives religious instruction. A village such as Jepém had only a penolong. Villages where Christianization had progressed further and where a beginning had been made with schooling, also had a teacher (guru). Here, Wominén calls the penolong kúri (guru) in error.
either, my mother didn’t sleep either. They sat with me until the morning. And also the children of our people slept round me in the house. Then, on the following day, I fooled them and acted as though I were still asleep. During the night, father had speared fish and they put down beside me the head of an omát fish, and a stick of sago mixed with fish, but I didn’t eat. They left Ówpcákkipic at home, the one who had a wound in his foot. Mother went to the sea with the fish net, mother and her companions. Then I fooled them and acted as though I were fast asleep. And when Ówpcákkipic fell asleep, I ran away along the dune-ridge.

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But when I ran along the dune-ridge Mítewer straightaway came after me and grabbed me. “Oh, Mítewer, wait, I want to catch jiakádm fishes, I want to catch jitakám fishes!” I said, but in vain. He brought me here. When he brought me here, our people had already gone to the sea; the women with the nets, the men to catch crabs. I walked quickly here — to the big ceremonial house common to Jepémčéwi, Apoków and Mapiw which, at that time, lay at the downstream end (of the village). I looked around. I went into one house, into another, into still another, and still another, to get sago, to take away sago, and sago. And then I went quickly into the river with the lumps of sago I’d taken away. I dipped them into the water and ate them; drifting on my back I went downriver, my mouth was chock full of sago. There, in front of the ceremonial house downstream, sat Menákpic. “Hey, there, come onto the land, come! come onto the land! You’re a good boy. Let’s both have a bite to eat up here,” he called out, but I said: “It’s your food, I’ve already got sago, I’ve already got sago, I’ve already got sago.” The penolong stood by the landing place. Juventius stood there, the former penolong. I lay stretched out, like a dead man, by the landing stage; crawling, I went ashore. After that, I drank from the rain-water pools near the house of the penolong, the pools of water on the football field. “Oh,” cried the penolong, “oh, Wominén, good boy, come, there’s water here in the house, drink some tea! Here’s rice, eat it!”
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“á, óm or ás pacákap mán! óm or ás pacákap man nó nat akát pok momaní”, ájamop. ’m! wapú mu mé, ’m, wá mu nákursémêmop wunám wun ás, “wuá ja ják awût aporia” ájamép. Owpacákipit nát no môt, cém amán ájamemumújaramép, máj noso. “wuá, ja Tatépia mopórporia Wòminen” jamép jamép. “o nát is escowó o nát noso” ájumá jamóp. “nám asén akát emámio, no inim, ja ponów 1 asén pacáko, nám a ponów 1 opák asen áwamsi aráwo”, inim ef. ’m, nákurmás masnim, jim ci inim sajespés masnim, mare cém ajiwóf se apcóm kor. “níwi, no asén akatés cowák emámsi, asén pacák nucúr wor!” “úá” emés ará. jójaf, ámésmót, jójaf masnim wunám, Jiniw awinióf. Jiniw a parás ten, mú efá kojiráro ów mapor pók ajaró, — no nát jéw ámésmót, ów momor pók efá jaró, pomán mu cáka efá jiráro, Sumúj mes, cuwúc emfés, Sumúj cuwúc eméf aw. a purís, — net, Sumúj, nor epúc, Uwúsopis 2 ajímirimfé sji píc ará, Uwúsopis ajímirimfé, inim aporte, “á, niwi mánam ow opák, mofasi! ucim as eméméren” inim aef. a nát més pak in. a pó cuwúc ajímep rór masnim, ániemof un. pó cuwúc ajímep nór masnim ániemof ún. a nát, a Sumúj, a purís 3 jammók “níwiá, maréa, or ewúca, or ewút maré jén in mápaimóm 4 ará maré nor mó aráwo”, inim aef, Júrurúmawúc enim Owófawúc. cowút pak atá jínicaci jammók. “maréwa, nor mó aráwá”, inim aefés.

1 kotor loan-word from Malay; 2 Usopis; 3 típuris; 4 máperimop.

a Wominén is the only living son of Manéfákát and must look after him when he is old.

b “turn his ears round”: let him forget the world of men so that he will stay here.

A woman is beautiful in the eyes of the Asmat people when her body is free of any deformity, but especially if she has an unblemished and rather light colored skin.

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a Sumúj araw “má, jajmír naká, ca nísmír aráw, ca nísmír, mánet ow opák. nó ememof aráw, nó ememof ér aráw, cá niwíakap aráp, wún ca niwíakap am jíwi, jiwinaíkapat ca nísmír mánam ow opák, jók apáweraw, arám porów metêménem emí”, inim aef. maré cém cko masnim ájapamóp. á na jowów am arám, a jéw jem mopów emfés ów jicop ci pé makán, Jiniw a. Jiniw, pé makán jícóp ci kó ajariwtepês. inim ariwtepêspe, nám wasén ewkukuóf cowák, x Jiniw mú caka ajiwóf. “á”, sír ow utonimóp ow, “á, a jipic ucim emór, a jipic ucim emor” inim aporte, “úá, á jipit a jéw éwenawút jítaikám mimimír,
“Oh, keep your bad food, keep that nasty food of yours! I’m just eating nice food,” I said. And I drank the water out of the pools. As soon as I’d drunk one dry, I began on another. “Ha, look at his swollen belly,” he cried. Ówpacâkipi, with the wound in his foot, cried over me, shuffling around the house. “Oh, Tatepí, come, and look at Wominén,” he cried. “Go to sleep you, you’ve a wound in your foot,” I said again and again to him inside. “I’m lying here in a good place, I don’t want to lie in such a dirty place! I’m lying in a nice clean place,” I said. When all the rain water had been drunk, and the canoes with the fish nets returned, I went into the house covered in mud. “Father, I’ve been in a lovely place. This is the nasties of places!” “Ha!” they cried. The following day, — at night, I slept —, the following day I went to the Jiniw, along the dune-ridge. I crossed the river [Jiniw] quickly. I crossed quickly, so that the people shouldn’t see me. — At night I slept in the ceremonial house —. I went quickly, so that they wouldn’t notice it. I went into the water with a splash and swam to the other side. Sumúj and his family were there. Sumúj was there, and his daughters, ghosts. Sumúj, my elder brother, the man who was killed by the men of Uwús. The men of Uwús killed him. When he saw me, he said to me: “Hey, there’s no one to give food to father! Go back! Why did you come?” — she hadn’t yet arrived. She was still on her way when I arrived. She was still rowing and I’d already arrived. The two daughters of Sumúj each said: “Oh, father, please let your younger brother be my husband. Let him stay with his ears turned round.” They were Jururúmawúc and Owófawúc, they were too beautiful to be true! “Come, let him be my husband!” they said.

But Sumúj said: “Oh, no! you fools! Your grandfather, your grandfather, no one shall care for him. Were I still there, were I still there, then all would be well, but your little father is alone, moreover, your little father is still a child. He’s too young. Your grandfather has no one to give him food! Today, he can stay, but in the evening I’ll take him home.” And I stayed sitting on the front gallery. Now, our people, who’d fetched the bark for the floor covering for the ceremonial house also went to the Jiniw in a large war canoe to catch crabs. They went up the Jiniw in a large war canoe to catch crabs. When they went

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á niwí aráw, jiníw enám, Maní mopór aniéf. niwi jiníw enám mopór, aniéf. amás man pák maré tám ewsówsitesmep. é Sinak wú inim aniémare, á jiníw enám am arám, mú opák cowák, jiníw enám am arám, atéwyjiniwámsíté, x áfawásmamep x áfawásmamep x áfawásmamep, á Sinak wú emniéf maj jof, póman, Sinák wu aemnief maj jof, níjukúmtiwef in. ájukúmtiwaré1 masním erén masním awitétef. erén awitépare, átewyjiniwarítmep ás, x x átewyjiniwarítmep ás x.

— Jiníw eren ów am arám, Mis, Wok, jícrop ci, pomám am ájirkuámsaré’n a nét aráw. a jó afó — jó setnakáp pakajáp aráw, ápumés araw afó apumés, afó apumés aráw, pár asúw un e Ásewec ním inim empúcénès in — arám pomám am ájirkuámsaré, Cepésmi ením Okórmí nát, pùrumuc mamó, okón jo cuwúc secsnepés aw ún.

a niwi am arám, enám fawá, arásen jukúmtiwa, fáfawá arásen jukúmtiwa, arasén afáfawá jukúmtiwa, ámesjótepéf ámesjótepéf ámesjótepéf.

maré, a Napú masním atépeméf in. Napú masním x áfawútme x áfawútme x áfawútme x áfawútme maré. á erén pùrumuc kokó cuwúc amésjesmep inim aporéf, “uój, nét jicóp ajtera” inim aef in. “ucim ar’ amè” inim aef in. — arám manmák apcóm —. á Napu jisin
upriver, I dashed straight out of the forest and sprang with a splash into the waters of the Jiníw. "Ho!" — they stood with their spears at the ready. — "Ho!" what's the boy done, what's the boy done?" They looked at me. "Oh, that boy has come here from the ceremonial house to catch jitakám fishes, he said, he went away at night." But another man, Sasák, said: "No, the boy saw his elder brother Sumúj. He saw Sumúj." "Come to the canoe, come to the canoe, come to the canoe!" "No, there are the canoes of the fishing women, I want to join them. I want to guard their canoes," I said. The children of our people, longing to see me, were on their way there, but I lay on my belly among the mangroves and crawled in the direction of the village, just like a crocodile. At that moment there were people searching between the mangroves for crabs; they saw me. "Ho!" they cried and started towards me. "Hey, people, here's Wominén!" Straightaway they picked me up and took me with them. Straightaway they took me with them. Now, a part of the people went to stay on the Jiníw, and we went quickly towards the village: Sokoréw, and I and Ewén. We went up-stream and arrived home here. That's what I did. That's all.

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Father went to the Maní to search for shoals of fish. Father went there to look for shoals of fish. He hadn't eaten; he started out quite early in the morning. First he went along the connecting river, the Sinák. There was very little water in the channel and the shoals of fish had started to swim. He speared, and speared, and speared. He took the path along the Sinák, on the other side, he went along the Sinák, and he put the fishes together in a heap on the path. After he'd put the fish down, he went quickly upriver. He went upriver, and the fishes which swam there in shoals [he speared]. Now the ghosts of the upper Jiníw, Mis and Wok, also set out on a hunting party, [the line of] their canoes stretched from shore to shore. The river was broad; in fact, the river is narrow everywhere, but when the ghosts are on it, it's wide, then it's wide. They usually row on it as though it were the Asewéc. So they stretched from shore to shore, at the Cepésmi and the Okórmi. They were approaching, singing with their mouths wide open. Now, father walked farther and farther upstream along the bank of the river, spearing fish and putting them together where he'd speared them, here, and there, and there. Finally, he arrived at the
mopán, jiśin, tamúw kor jemés kor nim iním paríemíc. á jiśin tamúw masním, iním amésakájipírémef in.

1 ajukúmtiare.

*i.e., Manéfaka, the father of the speaker.
*b The Sinák is a small stream that joins the Jomót and the Jiníw together.

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*a A kind of shell-fish.
*b The Asmat people believe that they live in the spirit world before they are born and that they return to it after they die. Jisaworém is the name by which Wominén’s father is known in the spirit world; Manéfaka: is the name he bears in the world of men.

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“á, noromúm”. á wun ów nat, erén memtótep in. a Jisaworémsimit, ar wétsimit nát, “aw! á no tiw emít no á jipít ámomámú” iním aef in. maré, jínci ám arám, akát cepés, mú pakénakap ámsesef in. “jim
Napú, and that morning he speared fish near the Napú. Then he heard it: there, upstream, they were all coming in his direction, singing. “Ho, the ghosts are abroad! What am I to do now!” he said. — He has second sight —. On the Napú, there was a jisín tree, a jisín tree with huge buttresses, like shields, stretching on all sides. He kept close to those buttresses of the jisín tree.

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But they didn’t go to the sea in the canoes. They went to the Napú and lined them up [the canoes against the bank]; screeching like fik birds, they lined them up. They lined them up by the Napú. “What’ll we do, what’ll we do, let’s get on, what’ll we do,” they said. “The Napú should provide many crabs, many makáp *, many sisit *, many fish out of the remaining pools,” they said. “Fine, then here by the Napú we’ll sing, by the Napú; [sitting in a circle] we’ll sing in turn,” they said. Wóksimit then set out on foot, in the forest, and came towards him. He looked [about him] and there he saw father, standing there. “Hey, people,” — no, when he saw him, he said: “Hey, someone’s standing there!” Father’s eyes began to itch. “Ho, tonight I took the wrong path; I always take the wrong path!” he said. — Father carried with him a great quantity of the makáp that were there. “Hey, come, the people are sitting there in a circle in a huge clearing on the bank of the Napú, singing,” he said. He took him with him, and when they saw him, they said. “Hey, there’s the young Jisaworém! — Father’s name is Jisaworém .” — “Ahoy! Who are you? oh yes, you’ve done right to come here!” His father, the old Jisaworém, looked at him, and when he saw him, his eyes nearly popped out of his head. “Hey, that’s my son; what’s happened to you? Are you dead perhaps!” so he said. They took him and made him sit on the ground. “What do you want?” they asked him. “From early this morning I’ve been walking here; your little grandchildren were wailing for fish. Yesterday they [the others] speared fish; they [the children] cried for fish. I set out on my way here early today to search for fish. I speared many fish and put them down together. I went along the Sinák, looking for fish. Along the Jiniw, I came here in the early morning,” he said.

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“Ho, my good man!” The others wanted to take him upriver with them. But Jisaworémsimit, his elder namesake, spoke: “No, he’s my son, usually, I visit him.” Then the canoes with the fish nets arrived;
ci aráw" iním aefes in. iním aporfé Jésircém, niwi mí iním aporéf "á" — Jésircém — "niwia Manéfakatá, Manéfakat noromúma ucum eméréma!" "nam, pök meró erém éwsiresí, típuris enám mot mocám-pes. enám moc amocámpesá, enám mapórf masnim erém émsiresí" iním aef in. anakatipic aráw, a Mís aráw, Wóksimit ám, "ní, tíw eren métotopca, tiw erén a" iním efes in. "má, erén pak, maré. enám, pök mer emémer, atakám un atawúc" iním efes in. anakatipic aráw, afáwjukúmtiwef enám, a Wók tetám a Mís tetám é niwi ko tetám, iním aef in. jó'n aéntiméf. jó'n emtiméfá, arám, máj, tíwpoporémampes in. arám, popújaramép popújaramép popújaramép popújaramép. jó iním sapí-anismép masnim, tiamismép masnim enám, fé enaré, wúwu. e fáwtiwef enám, tewerá tewerá tewerá ajamesjótakef ajamesjótakef ajamesjótakef. Sinák wu masnim, wú awuèf in, ców, ájisakàmteweraré wú awuèf in.

* Jesircem is the name of a deceased daughter of Manéfakat.

wú awuèf, awuaré', maré, a niwi kor Jísaworém “apák no á jipic, jó'n emtimèmar, kawí net máj mumu jómewérmes” iním ef in. arám asúwemaré'n akcá iwitak. cuvúc emismép aw un, iním aporéf, mák in apámusmef in “á, nor mó, o ucum emitém! kawí net máj mumu jómewérmesá, máj pupurúmomowérmesésa”, iním aef in. "wuá, emétawúja na móá", iním aef in. anakatipic a enám wuwú kor atéwer ef in. amás to méten emitè. 'm "jó ucim asén sápiámséráw, jó ucim asén sápiámséráw, ucim asén sápiámséráw, ucim asén sápiámséráw!" Fití aniémefes in. Fití niémfés, Jomót iním emfés cowak, maré Jomót masnim, Jomót jó pim masnim maré, na jéw ajpim kor masnim animatámef in. "no porów aráw, porów aráw ja ájmirmóméwérmesnes nét mopórporemi, orpá maniómcémènès nór masirím, mák am matítemi" iním aef in, niwi am arám manmák is maré kási anímsef. móc ajuomispés maré sisiri pák cowak. 'm, móc ajuomispés ajuomispes. camán a fó kokokó emár aráw, a fó kokokó emár aráw. jo'n emfaamfés, jó'n faafamfés, jófaj aráw, jófaj ápamép. porów, jók ním emár masnim, mapórf cepés púpírur ájamep. a nát mistém nim iním ásitemaré, pök éreremamép éreremamép éreremamép éreremamép asámtiwá asámtiwá asámtiwá asámtiwá, á emamséf pok iním átewer-
all the beautiful women arrived: the river was covered with canoes. "There are the canoes with the woman," they said. They looked — Jesírcem" saw her father's face, — "Oh," cried Jesírcem, "father, Manéfakat, Manéfakat, dear father, what's happened to you?" "I've been fishing. Early in the morning I took the path here. The children cried all day long for fish. They cried all day long for fish. Early in the morning, I came here to look for fish," he said. Mis and Wok said: "Come, let's take your son upstream, our son must go upstream!" "No, not upstream; but he's been fishing, take his fish first," [the others] said. He gave the fish he'd speared and put together; to Mis, to Wok, and to his father. He stayed there until the sun went down, he... — they made him walk in a circle, he was always coming back on his own tracks; he walked in a circle, in a circle. When the sun had nearly gone down, he put the fishes on a string; he packed them in sago leaves. — Again and again he picked up the fish he'd speared and put down; doing this he went downstream along the bank, farther and farther. Finally, at the Sinák, he packed them in a basket made of sago leaves; he went into the forest, cut a frond from a sago palm and made a basket.

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He made a basket of sago leaves, when he'd done this, his father Jisaworém [there upstream] said: "No, this young man of mine, he'll walk until the sun goes down and strange ghosts will take him on the wrong path!" He, too, went on his way, to go with him downriver. He [father] was walking there, going to the forest. He saw him: he [father] turned his back on him, going to the forest. "Oh, my good man, what have you done? Strange ghosts will take you on the wrong path, they'll make you walk round in a circle!" he said. "Ah, it's just as I said, my poor man!" he said. He [father] carried a heavy basket with fish, he was also feeling hungry. "Where shall I be when the sun goes down, where shall I be when the sun goes down...?" They walked to the Fiti, and then they walked straight to the Jomót. He [Jisaworém-simit] went with him to the Jomót, to the shore of the Jomót, at the far end of our ceremonial house. "This evening I wanted to see whether the ghosts were taking you on the wrong path; if you're alone, they'll join you, so I followed you," he said. Father became dizzy and suddenly fell down. They [the ghosts] grizzled all night; it was serious. They grizzled, and grizzled, and grizzled. Under the house, the ghosts whistled; wheeyee! They whistled, until the sun rose. The following
are 1 maré anitéweméf. manitewer nín inim titeweraré a jismák, atiw-

1 áteraré; 2 atiteweraré.

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ananátipic ócen átiwsiriiteweraré maré erén, x “wuá, jak áporia ja
Manéfakat jóca, tó majmirimomewérpesá” inim aefés. cepés wut
ówerow wút, jiwi wut ás mimis acumásmamép! ’m, jiwi a mú
nisécépes ás, i op tepómporsémcépés. i op tepómporsomá inim cowák
ajásmampés. póman ákojiréf, póman ákojiraré, áwieséf, áwiesef. cém
masnim áemamséf. cém masnim, mánnak is, enésamséf. arám,
mut, moc, mut, mut, porównakapiriw masnim maré atakám afásamapép. 
nét nat camán njonjonjonjo emár araw ún njonjo emár araw ún.
porów jo inim tiamísmepr maré maré fó aráw. ar ewút Mewerósakát
am arám, ék mu jól ewtowópmuté, ék jis towópfes. ék mu jól
ewtowópmuté, x x fajásmepr, áfajásmanepr. arám ar epúcéwés, arów
metéwer in. Afújè, Wók aráma, Sumújè, Jópakipícè, Nokópè, ci
inim ariwésfés in. arów metéwer in. ’m, a ci kor ajaríwésfés cowák
camán mimí, anésmapomfés maré. “čmá maré Manéfakat metewér
emóm” inim aefés. “maré Manéfakat mítíwísmúc maré Manéfakat
metewer emóm” inim aefés. “narám am naráp ow somót emcóma”
inim efés. ar ewúc Mewerósakát aráw inim emotáwanepré, ek masáme-
tewer nín inim asámteweraré, jismák jokmén inim ájatámteweraré,
ci, Nokóp emic aráw, Jópakipíc emic aráw, e Afúj emic aráw Jópakipíc
ewemic aráw titur asép, maré ci ák ‘söh!’ emésmep. ’m, maré opák
cowák. opák cowák in maré, maré eméf masnim mare jó’n, nét opák
jó’n emfáméf. inim eméf maré.

a A red hot stone is the traditional means of rendering supernatural beings
harmless.
b The water is obviously very high otherwise it would not be possible for a
canoe to go right up to the house.

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Kajè enérim Jepém, Maní cowkán aemápères in. Ajkúm a tíw
Acúwnam, arúw 1 aporómores in. Maní nám Maní ájumópères cowák.
day, he stayed at home, and just when the afternoon had begun the women crowded together to see him. He got up as though he wanted to go away, and started sorting out things [in the house], pushing them all over the place; he picked up the things that lay there and put them down again casually; then he picked up pieces of burning wood and threw them to both the ends [of the house]. "Lo!" they cried. "Lo!" they all fled outside.

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Quickly he picked up a lance and dashed upstream. "Ho, look there now, Manéfakat is mad! Yesterday they made him loose his way!" they said. The many women, men and children, they let their shit go freely. The children, who, as usual, were [playing] in the water, just let their shit and piss go, they just let their piss go; so they all did. He swam to the other side. When he’d gone to the other side, he came here quickly. He came... and he lay down in the house to sleep, he lay down in the house, dizzy. They [the women] cried and cried and cried. Finally, when it was nearly night, he told them what had happened. The ghosts screeched under the house, they were continually screeching there. In the evening, when the sun had gone down, they whistled. Now, in the middle of the day, his younger brother Meweróskáát, had put down a large stone. They laid it in the fire, at the middle of the day they’d put it in the fire. It glowed fiercely, fiercely it glowed'. His older brothers then wanted to fetch him: Afúj, and Wok, Sumúj, Jópakipíc and Nokóp, they all arrived in a canoe and they drove it under the house until it stuck'b. "Now, we want to take Manéfakat with us," they shouted. "Bring Manéfakat outside, we want to take Manéfakat with us," they said. "We, too, are an independent group," they said. While they were thus talking, his younger brother, Mewerósakat, took up the stone, picking it up casually, as though without purpose; he took up the stone from the fire with the tongs. The canoe in which Nokóp stood, and Jópakipíc, and Afúj — Jópakipíc stood at the end of the row —, there beside the canoe — swoosh! [he threw it in the water]. And they vanished, all of them vanished. When he’d done that, there were no ghosts, until the break of the day. That’s how it happened.

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The people of Kajé and Jepém lived together on the Maní'. They [the people of Jepém] then practised magic against Acúwnam, the son of

1 arów; used everywhere in place of arów.

a See map, p. 363. From the story, it appears that the people of Jepém also had houses on the Jomôt.

b A kind of dance performed by women when a child is seriously ill or dying.

c See § 267, note b.

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Jépem nát a nát tenfoj. a nát a cém wut, cem jôf ópak in! á cénès matâw 1 memsêm acâciomér cowák. é cénès, matâw memsêm ácimomér cowák. é wasën jérô kor, é wasën jérô kor, worêm wut póman wût máj wut, makámatis 2 emár araw ún. esé cówo apcóm, esé cówo apcóm mapómjim acâciomér cowák. tén matáweném, tén matáwenem, tén matáweném, tén mataweném, tén mataweném. nâm cóko nesën jièmèr cowák ópak cimin ním. mare Acúwnam akámiésmar in maré. “ë, Jépemá, maré Ajkúm a tíw Acúwnama, curúw moc fa ní niònewirîr 3 emékamiésmar in” inim eres in. “haháh! a Jépemá, Jépém, Jomot amás carpá manâwer, no tíw arúw, tès nak ajisowpênokom” âner in, mó. mó. mó. nk ópak in ûc in emócamár araw ún. ar omúsêwes, a típuris mó, arpá amotmês araw ún. “a, ow nák anisâ, mó mopájipurûwa”, emár araw ún. amás, x worêm kor cuwúc
Ajkúm. They [his mother and his father, Tawéric] were staying with him on the Mani when they made him ill. They went with him to the Jomót. "You," cried the men on the Jomót, "hey, make Acúwnam, the son of Ajkúm, well again [make him able to stand up]. Hey, men of Jepém, make Acúwnam well again!" He just lay there becoming emaciated. His mother wailed in secret and danced the buttock dance. She didn’t cry loudly; secretly she wailed and danced the buttock dance. The people of Jepém didn’t know about it. His mother, Ajkúm, wailed and danced the buttock dance in secret, so that the people of Jepém wouldn’t see. In secret she wailed and danced the buttock dance.

When Tawéric saw that, he first built a new large house. A new house for the son of Ajkúm, Acúwnam, who lay sick. It was a very wide house, it was a very wide house; there were a separate row of collar-beams above, and a separate row of collar-beams below; — he stored the sago on them. When he’d built a well-made house, he began to gather large quantities of sago. And they, the people of Jepém, they just sat there, right opposite, and went on eating their sago and their fish! Tawéric — Tawéric [fetched sago], Tawéric [fetched] sago; it lay there above in large quantities, on the platforms there above on the top set of collar beams. "That’s not enough," he said. Sago in sago leaf bags, more and more [he put] there on the lower platforms; and large lumps of sago, large lumps of sago. There were no small lumps of sago. Large lumps of sago, he piled them up at random, and maj of sago, and pomán of sago; and again, and again, he packed sago in sago leaf bags.

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The people of Jepém knew nothing about it. There was no space left in his large house. He went on, putting them on the floor, along the sides, neatly in rows. He heaped them up along the wide back-wall of the house: many lumps, pomán, and maj. Carrying bags lined with sago leaves, he put them neatly in rows, and on top of them, he put other rows, and on those, and on those, and on those — he was in high spirits, as though nothing were afoot. Then Acúwnam died, at night. "Hey, men of Jepém, Acúwnam, the son of Ajkúm, over whom she wailed secretly and for whom she secretly danced the buttock dance, died last night," they said. "Hey, men of Jepém, you’re not the only ones who eat the fish and the sago from the Jomót! You’ve dared to practise magic against my son!" she said, weeping. — She didn’t really cry, she stood there laughing. Only all his younger

1 matá; ² makámtati; ³ aniomirír; ⁴ átiwájsimamár; ⁵ cakás; ⁶ aw.

* It is not clear to me what is meant by this expression.

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sc asimés araw ún. se, se, se, se, siápmorés, amás worém kor atiwtewer cowák, x a sé amán, x a sé amán, x a sé amán, x a sé amán, x a sé amán, a sé amán, a sé amán, a sé akápmore sé. “eweráw mane” áner ín. matowomíséres ám aráp amás, mi ním cómismár araw ún. wów jimóismár araw ún wów jimóismár araw ún wów jimóismár araw ún wunám a sé amán wunám a sé amán wunám a sé amán. Acúwnam iním tiwimamés, wunám ten wunám ten wunám ten, maré a amás se amán, apcóm apupúrumucúmtiwères ¹ in maré. sé apcóm aáptérémtiwères in maré. amás, x x Jépem, x x arúw pok emamár, x jófaj amás atíwkukúmor ín. amás amás amás amás amás, arám, afín am njénjer emár araw ún, maré amás afín ásowaper ín. njómo njómo njómo njómo, afín oróm ním étiwamár nat, amás nat maré, anémsoper ín maré. amás mer emporés, “wè, na ucím ar’ám na ucím ar’ám” awemés araw ún. Tawerít nat emsókmemér, máj ni’n anímar araw ún. emporés, x x émporés, x x émporés, x x maré wú makanám atéménemos ² ín, enám sew ám. jiwi kor ajismár araw ún, cémi ákmot cepes kór ajismar araw ún. mot jóptom jóptom emár araw ún. iním jípit iním cowúc a purís a tiw amás to’n maré manmíafmor in. moc áomímsés araw ún. mot jóptom jóptom emár araw ún.

¹ apupúrumucúmtiwères; ² atéwtewémoses.
* Because the worms in the corpse have eaten the sago in the grave the sago in the sago palms has also disappeared.

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Mósopis, nát, Tamúw Kér a cepés nat curúw apórkaíasces in. Tawerít a cém. jípi emáporápërès. si átewerács in, Tawerít acomápmore in
sisters and his children cried. "Oh, you mustn’t cry, he wasn’t much
of a man,” she said. Sago,—a large lump that lay there—she smeared
on the body of Acúwnam. Sago meal—as much as the lime for
[painting] a canoe. She made him glisten like a large mewór cockatoo.
“Now I’m satisfied,” she said. His thighs—here and here—[she
smeared] every part with sago meal; as much as the lime for a canoe,
he lay there like a large canoe. "Ajkúm, please practise magic which
isn’t harmful! What are you going to do to us?” everyone said. “Think
of the people of Jepém! You should have got sago! And now you have
done a thing like this. All the time that Acúwnam lay sick, you should
have got sago; and look now! [at the waste]” said the people. “Oh!
it’s your fault,” she said.

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They dug a pit; they dug out more and more earth. Straight away she
fetched a large lump of sago and strewed it in the pit, and more of it,
and more, until she covered the mud with it. “That’s all right,” she
said. They took their own sago outside and she strewed it about like
lime; making patterns, she went with it outside, and again [she
strewed] it in the pit, and again, and yet again. Then they put Acúwnam
in it, and thereupon [they put] sago on top of him, and more, and more,
and still more, and finally they filled the whole pit with sago. They
covered it up with mud. [They were getting] sago — the people of
Jepém — while she was practising magic, and the next day, too, they
all went out to get sago. Sago, sago, sago, sago — as for Acúwnam:
the maggots were devouring him, and they also began to eat the sago.
They ate, and ate, and ate, and ate — when the maggots had eaten
him clean, all the sago had disappeared”. They tried to get sago, but in
vain. “Oh, what must we do, what must we do, what must we do?”
they said. Taweric, who had spoilt it, in the meantime, just dangled
his feet. They tried, and tried, and tried to get sago but in vain.
Finally, they put the edible tops of the sago palms on the racks above
the fires, and also smoked fish [they ate]. The very small children
died, the very old women died; everywhere there was wailing. A son,
a daughter of this or that man or woman had already died of hunger.
They mourned over them; everywhere there was wailing.

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The wives of Tamúw and Ker, men belonging to the ceremonial house
Mos, took a sly look at the house of Taweric; they had a feeling about

1 téweréwere jíjério; 2 pêwere jíjério; 3 owérów; used everywhere in place of owérów.

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“na nát amás to ucim ar’ám, pó memjí pow ják nat, or wés am, o niwis am o porówer ám, o tarásépes ám, a sé jec ewèrom ucim pok tewawé-come” ajsúmés in. “enám at etámérawómé” iním eres in. “sén ewésçokóm jicó pí ám jím ci ám, ca cemsén setácokom ci mi’n, no cemsén cowáka” iním aer in. pók tewértotoramár, enám tewér- totoramár, juuwúr o camár, amésnowomóteper 1 in. “tó navic wut atakám jismumnép, — jismutumep atakám tawútumép, ucim, minip pupúmmemé ew” iním eres in. cemsén asemúrimor in. amás cém a wasén etámor in. cem nák tári cém nat nesén ememer in, kawénak iním emer in. amás aráp cem etámor in. já matatáw emár araw ún, awamís taríjipic mónoníér e camák. erén Jiséw metépewewer- awér. á cemsén cowák atépsirimamár armá emkúmar araw ún ám wut omót wut, usir wut sowót wut. o kór, pé kor juuwúr o cajítmar.
it. They fetched a stone axe and presented it to Taweric. It was a long axe, they didn't take a short one. It was quite a long axe. "Hey, what's that? What a splendid axe!" "The children — are like dried up sago palms through hunger. I come here and would like to get some [sago] if there are still some crumbs left." "Oh, ho, you're quite wrong! We've nothing, there's really no place to get sago from, there's nothing," she said. Her husband gave her a sign by lifting his head; a large lump of sago lay there, she gave it to them on the quiet. They took it downstream [to their house]. Again on the following day they got it and secretly took it away. The people of the many ceremonial houses of Jepém did not notice it; it was only known in Mos. The people of Mos gave no mere trifles; they caught many fish every day, they got many sago grubs every day, and they gave axes also: they took away a part [of the sago], not a big part, only a very small part of it. "Woe," — a man had already died of hunger — "Woe, Ajkúm, please do something about it," they asked, and asked. On the Maní, the Mow and the Jomót, all the sago was spoilt. The numerous people of Jepém, the many from Kajé, the Mismám people: [those from] Ewér, Surú, and Majít-Jinic; the many people of Per and Uwús [they all cried]: "What must we do, what must we do, oh, what's to be done, what's to be done?" Then Taweric went outside to speak. When he saw that a part of the men, women and children had died, he went outside to speak. From midday he stood [there] calling out. "Tomorrow, tomorrow, the men and the women must go out to fish, every man in his own canoe, the women with the fish nets," he told them.

"We're hungry, how can we? We can't row because of hunger; [we] your sons, your sisters-in-law, your married daughters, your sisters, if we have to walk through the mud to look for fish, how can we catch them?" they said all the evening. "Well, you've told us to get the fish," and they gave in. "When you come here from the sea with the war canoes, and with the canoes with the fish nets, and arrive in front of your houses, then direct all the canoes towards my house," he said. The whole day everyone looked for food, everyone caught fish; the whole day they hunted pigs with dogs; in battle array they rowed upriver with everything. "Yesterday evening our father came out and spoke; what did he have in mind?" so they spoke. They assembled on the river in front of his house. He'd made a house for the sago in the forest. The real house, the old house, was empty, only the people were
“á, no nát ucím pok émciñé, nó ucím pok tetámcin no ucím toswóccémánokom” emár araw ún utsis nat fájáp araw ún. “éma ci mawrmne ará pak éma inim mempori” inim aer in. “Jépm cewì, cár amás awamis aráw matewi” inim er in. ci jomamár, á jomámamár, á jomamatamár a ci win ci win ci win cepés ci ám owerów ci ám, maj jónakaps nesén fíni emémér in.

1 amésnomóteper.

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“éwamis, Apoków car amás asi éwamis aráw matewi” inim aer in. “éwamis Mapís ow amás asi éwamis aráw”, inim aer in. “ér, Ufín enérim Jiwin car amás e jiráw” inim aer in. “Muká car amás éwamis aráw, Kosér car amás éwamis aráw, Mós car amás éwamis aráw. ér, Mitwopis car amás éwamis aráw. ér, Owse cár amás éwamis aráw”. ci nat, maj jòf opák in. e minakaps nesén asámteweres in á par piw nat, mémcintémét 1 pak in. op wút nat, mémcintémét pak in. amás tó ewermóero, 2 e si araw ún, e porów si ajiwmar in. porów si, jök apawermóero 3 si ajiwmar araw ún. wasén namicukweermóero 4 tów mirám ajiwmar araw ún. sén takawermóero, 5 enám ajiwmar araw ún. máwkam un émporés, “ja ucím pemo éw jak áporwítj”, énimár araw ún. op wút nat macintémét pak in. émá ci cenés fapiw miwpomór. ci mi jipín apinmar araw ún moporoamtewen asen emár, amás mer ajisásér 6 mawtewer asen emár araw ún, cófo jiémuménér cowák. x máwkam ún, x empór, máwkam un, máwkam un, máwkam un. a cenés aómirismár araw ún. á cenés aómirismár araw ún. a cenés aómirismár araw ún. “no miwis em, no ja ucím pemof éw, carma pori!” emár araw ún. “wè, Tawerít noromóm, Tawerít noromóm jiw ná moméweri” jininímemár araw ún cépes ám ówerow ám.

1 mómciintémét; 2 ewere jérmóero; 3 apawermóero; 4 namicukweermóero; 5 takewere jérmóero; 6 jisásér.

* Jepéméwei, Apoków, Mapís, Kosér, Muká, Mitúr, Owse, Ufín and Jiwin were at that time *jew* in Jepém. The last four are no longer in existence. Mapís now shares a ceremonial house with Apoków, Muká with Kosér. The people of Jepém told me that this was due to a lack of people.
in it. He made a separate house for the sago. He kept going to it; the sago, which had lain there a long time, he brought it back home along the path behind the house. He didn’t go upstream to get sago at the Jiséw [his sago garden]. Everybody went upstream to his house. Everybody went ashore: many am fish, omót fish, rays, sawfishes, large pigs, huge crabs; pigs which had been hunted that morning with dogs. “Oh, what can I do for you? What shall I give you? What will you give me in return,” he said, and he smiled broadly. “Wait, don’t go again to the canoes, wait a moment,” he said. “Jepémoéwi”, your share of the sago lies over here, take it,” he said. They took it to the canoes, one after another, to those of the women as well as those of the men. [In the canoes] there was only very little room for them to stand.

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“Apoków, your share of the sago lies over there, take it,” he said. “That part there, Mapíw, is yours,” he said. “Over there, — Ufún and Jiwin, over there’s your share,” he said. “Muká, there’s your sago; Kosér, yours is there, yonder. Mos, your sago’s over there, people of Mitúr, your sago’s over there. Owsé, yours is over there.” There was no place in the canoes to stand! And still they had taken away only a tiny part from the far end; they didn’t take it away from the huge main mass. They didn’t take it from the huge quantity above. Every day, when they were hungry, [they gave] axes. In the evening they made them a present of axes, in the evening. Day in, day out, they sat, doing nothing, they just presented them with axes. Day in, day out, they went to the forest [to get sago grubs]; and [then] presented them with bundles of sago grubs. Day in, day out, they went to the sea, and then presented them with fish. They didn’t succeed in using it [the sago] all up. “How can I have done it, look at it!” so he said, time and time again. He didn’t take [sago] from the supply above, only from the sago he’d put on the floor. There was a coming and a going of people; there was no [other] place where they could get sago. — They went away in search of sago, but there was no place where they could get it! There were no sago palms with sago meal in them. He didn’t succeed in using it up; first he busied himself with the sago below. “Oh, good people, take a look yourselves. How can I have done it!” he said. “Oh, Taweric, good man; Taweric, good man, long may you live!” so everyone said, the women, and the men.
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ci mí jipin apinmár araw ún. máwkam ún empór, máwkam ún empór, čmá cenés, a jo wín fafujér a cenés, a cenés tāmesmór, a cenés tāmesmór, a cenés tāmesmór, a cenés tāmesmór, a cenés tāmesmór. worém mak ám tatāmenemór worém omirismar in ese apcóm mapom-tewér pak in. ese japúw apómjmír mapómtewér pak in. “e worém tákamomirisic, e máj tákamomirisic” iním aer in. maré a cenés awakámkurumor in maré, worém wut máj wut áwakámkurumor in maré ese apcóm cuvuc áp. ájapómcimores in maré, ese máwkam un empór, ese máwkam un empór, ese máwkam un empór, ese máwkam un empór. “carmá porí ja ucím pemof éw” emár ar awawún. ar amótipic nat máj ni’n emnimár araw ún. ar amótipic nat máj ni’n emnimár araw ún. máwkam un empór, máwkam un empór, máwkam un empór. maré ese apcóm awakámkurúmores ¹ in maré. maré a cenés sipám anamicímór, a jisipíj átewéres in. x x x awakámkurúmores in maré. wowút nat mémcmtewér pak in. emorphés, ják manáfakam ún empórés, — wasén amás memtéw av, jak fék mawór ará —, áj nat ajismár araw ún, x x óp acir, worém wut máj wut, póman wut, mak ám tatámenemór awakámkurúmores in. e óp, sosót teméttowtopmór acir atemétjimores ² in. e óp x e óp e óp x e óp x e óp e óp e óp, mariw, wí cowak ápimópères in maré.

¹ bikin apis emorés. bikin apis = Malay: bikin habis; ² atapómjimores.

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sawéráw, car wíc jammók newét jammók jowún mápecés” iním eres in. tam jó iním púamismár nat, jiwis pok nat ci ãówonier in. Písim ením Wásí nat cém wapés araw ún. “á ja ‘tó em’ iním efom áwa!” “á, ça nát em éawíria” aneres in. tam jírruru âniámser in maré. Maní
There was a coming and a going of people. He couldn’t use it up, he
couldn’t use it up. Day in, day out, he put [sago] on the floor, along
the walls, more, and more, and more, and more, and more. He only bothered
with the large lumps, which he’d piled up; he didn’t take the full bags,
his didn’t draw on the big mass of bags of sago he’d stored. “First deal
wit the rolls of sago, first deal with the large lumps, first deal with
the maj,” he said.

Finally, he’d used up the sago below; the many lumps of sago and
maj of sago were used up. But the full bags still lay there. They began
to take some of those, he tried to use up the bags, continually, he tried
to use them up. “Look for yourself, how can I have done it!” he said.
The rich man dangled his feet, he dangled his feet. Again, and again,
and again, he tried to use it up — Finally, they’d used up all the bags
of sago. Then they began to fetch it from the lowermost collar-beams.
They took it away from near the door. They used up all of it, but the
middle part he’d not yet removed. They tried to eat their fill, but in
vain — [only] when you go to the forest to get [fresh] sago, [will] your
belly be satisfied —. Part of the people died. The many lumps, rolls,
half rolls he’d put down in rows on each other, there on the platforms
above, they used them all. They took away the sago from the platforms
he’d hung up on the ridge beam: more, and more, and more — finally,
only the bags made from sago leaves were left.

In Seréw — the news that the sago palms on the coast didn’t contain
any meal had spread like wildfire around the regions of the Mec —
in Seréw] there were two men, Pisím and Wasi, blood kinsmen of
people in Jepém; they were great warriors. “Pisím and Wasi, they
carry [the dead] of your family like firewood! It’s said they die of
hunger because of the famine,” the people said. — Sisnám was a very
beautiful woman living at the mouth of the Sakán. She had as much
tes as a man “! — In the morning, Pisím and Wasi started out. They
went from the Aw — or was it the Ninim? They both had paddles
decorated with white cockatoo’s feathers. Wailing, they entered the
Jomót. In the village the sound of lime throwing rang out b. Jepém was
astir, [the people were] packing their baggage as though someone had
given the order: “Pack the baggage in readiness to move.” Wailing,
they walked round. In the evening, people began to sing for them; the
whole evening they sang and danced to honour them. Meanwhile, the
am, Kajè át etám nak ním, arám kukuku ániamser ín. Mów am arám, 
Ewér Surú, Majít Jinit, Per, Uwús át etám nak ním, arám jiwis 
po kukuku ániamser ín. Jómot, ajísér ín. Maní nat akápuamár nat, 
Siréc asier ín. Mów am, Mów samát 2 manmák win marmák win 
Kajè wun Asewéc apáchser ín. wún Unír ar ín, wún Pomúc ar ín. 
wún Momác ar ín. Amorép apáchser ín, Ac apáchser ín, Miwár apáchser 
ín, Ešín apáchser ín, Amída apáchser ín Jów apáchser ín. Kawét, Cowéw, 
Jaméw, Micím Sosó, Ar-Naním Atánuc. Sérew apcóm ajápteremotepe 
ín memáp ow opák ín.

1 isémérés; 2 somót; used everywhere in place of samát.

a *tes*: a quality that can be present in certain objects and in man. In men it 
manifests itself as success in war, in being successful in hunting pigs and in 
having a dominant personality; in women, in being beautiful (see § 324, note c) 
and in having a dominant personality. An insufficiency of *tes* can be augmented 
by taking the head of an enemy at a head-hunting raid arranged for the purpose.

b Lime is thrown in order to avert a calamity, or to neutralize the *tes* of an 
enemy. In a crisis such as that described here, not only is the lime thrown 
but the bamboo lime containers are also smashed: this is the sound referred to.

c A new canoe is ‘fired’ before it takes to the water. Burning torches, made of 
sago palm leaves are held under its bottom until a layer of charcoal, approxi-
ately 1/8 in. thick has formed. This is then scraped off with shells. Canoes 
that have been in the water for a long time are also subjected to this process 
in order to remove the growth of weed. Canoes are also fired before a long 
journey. According to the Ásmat people, firing makes a canoe light and fast.

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Jómot, Ewnápo araw ún, Cemnácuw araw ún, iním aerwápëres ín. Maní, 
Minwúj enim Erák, makán ajipéres ín. Mów, — Séper, ja Mów makan 
jipéres ów, ucim ow ám —. Maní Amánipismít ám araw ún, Mów 
Jákajmówismít, Kurúm, makán ajipéres ín. Korè, Jinác, makán ajipéres 
ín Jómot ám arám ów kow ún Maní nat, Minwúj enim Erák cowák aráp 
ín. amás nat, á makán ers ów jísitëres ów, amás, e óp jürúw nat amás 
opák in. api e inímakapíwiw. iním amásnakápíriw ajápñëres ín. Mów a 
jismák sukmapá ers ów, a Maní jismák jártewerá, Maní a jismák 
sukmapá ers ów, a Mów jismák tewéré, Jómot a jismák sukmapá 
ers ów, Maní jismák pátewerá, Kajè a jismák sukmapá ers ów 
Jomót jismák tewérä iním ajapámeres ín. — iním emoréz nat á 
cowák jó cowák a tárvápáres áw —, arám iním aemápëres in jir 
cómic ín. mokót tewérít mokót memáp pak. Minímap, wasén jísapëres 
ín. Jiniw anikápëres ín. Minwúj nat, apácínakáp ajapkántakawér-
mérö 1 cowák Maní jaká, Cemenosamin, minküm sé in ajítomiwmár
people fetched coconuts and packed up their things. They were busy firing the canoes. "Tomorrow the drums must be beaten, your two fathers, your two elder brothers must depart on the day after tomorrow," they said. In the morning, just when the sun had risen, they took the baggage to the canoes. Pisim and Wasi, who sat in the house [of their kinsmen], said: "Hey, there, 'tomorrow the drums must be beaten' so we said yesterday!" "Beat them yourselves, then," the people said, and that morning they all started out, one after another. On the Maní, it was the same: the people of Kajé, as though they had been ordered, all went down the river, with paddles thumping. And on the Mow, also, the people of Ewér, Surú, Majít-Jiníc, Per and Uwúś were also on the move as though they had been ordered; they all rowed down the river with paddles thumping. They rowed out of the Jomót; the people from the Maní joined them, and they set out on the Siréc. The people from the Mow, one group after another, came out and joined them. The water swarmed [with the canoes]. Some of the people of Jepém broke away and went to the Asewéc; some from Kajé broke away and went to the Asewéc; some went to the Unír, some to the Pomác, some to the Momác. Some went to Amorép, to Ac, Miwár, Êsin, Amísù, and Jow; to Kawét, Cowéw, Jaméw, Micím, Soso, Ar-Naním and Atamác. The great mass of people went on their way to Seréw. Nobody stayed behind.

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Only Ewnápo and Cemnácuw stayed together on the Jomót. On the Maní they left Minwúj and Erák. On the Mow — Sepér *, the people they left on the Mow, who were they? — On the Maní, Amánpitsimit also stayed behind. On the Mow, they left Jakajmówsimít and Kurúm, Koré and Jinác behind. On the Jomót, also, there were still many people. On the Maní, only Minwúj and Erák were left behind. The sago, the sago of the people whom they'd left behind — up there [in the house] there was no sago. Look, such a little bit, only such a small piece did they have to eat. — The people on the Mow whose fires had gone out, went to the Maní to get fire; when the fires of the people on the Maní went out, they fetched fire from the Mow. When the fires of the people on the Jomót went out, they turned to the Maní to fetch fire; when the fires went out in Kajé, the people went to the Jomót to get fire: so the give and take went on. — So they went on, but they would have done better had they come together on one river — so they stayed there, their spleens like sponges *.
arāw jewër kor, či e jewër ak, iním jiskawimtiwawēr cowāk. a nāt jewër, ēw nǐm iním ātajāmser 2 īn. enām iním akōnawmesmā jermep, kānem sé maniapóm pak īn. iním atakāntewerā či, mipor ēmtitiwā, iním jewērnēro 3 ’n Mani. porów maserim jîrmutepā jipuawēr araw ūn.

1 ajakāntakēwere jērmēro; 2 ātajamsār; 3 jēwere jērmēro.

*a Sepēr*: one of the listeners; he came from the village of Uwūs, or the Mow.
b i.e., life was very difficult for them.
c He didn’t miss once.

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1 onów; used everywhere in place of onów.

*a According to my informants a man only daubs red earth above the eyes of a woman with whom he has a *papīs* relationship when she is not the wife of his *ēsakap*, i.e., his official *papīs* partner.
b Bloodshot eyes are a sign of a vicious nature.
c Here the listeners make the comment that one must effect *papīs* with a woman of one’s own village.

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— ā, atakām mōfasāmtewer emīn —, jakā, Sepēr jep, cācīw kor wasēn ēwumsonimtēres īn marē. Atāripic x ci ēwtiwtewer cowāk,
sago palm gardens which had been passed down to them were no longer there. They went to live in the forest by the Minímap; they went to the Jiniw and stayed there. Now Minwúj went down to the Maní each day in his small one-man canoe and tied up his canoe to a huge jewér tree which lay with one end in the mud, near the mouth of the Cémenosamín. He always put his canoe alongside this jewér tree. Like a crocodile, he lay down on the trunk. Each time a fish swam close by he didn’t stick the many-pointed spear into the mud but he speared the fish with it; he pulled it in and threw it carelessly into the canoe. Then, in the afternoon, he usually went up the Maní with a full canoe.

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In Seréw, they began the feast for the new ceremonial house. Now, Jispáripic, Jispáripic of the ceremonial house Kamús at Kajé — in Seréw, there was Jewernamakát: full of tes she was, like a man. And Sisnám, the beautiful woman — they didn’t hide Sisnám; you should keep beautiful women indoors. Sisnám’s husband was Jiw. The people noticed that Jewernamakát was beautiful. She didn’t have a papis man in Seréw. He [her papis man] was Jakaríwcimmit, from Ac in the Mecēmūp. “You, of Seréw, are not allowed to enter into a papis relationship with Jewernamakát, she’s my papis woman,” so he spoke, and he alone went to lie with her as her papis man. Now, Jewernamakát caught the eye of Jispáripic as he stepped from the canoe onto the land. And forthwith he daubed the red papis sign above her eyes. — At that time, they were making the new ceremonial house, making it strong. They worked constantly at it — at last they put the thatch on it and fastened it firmly. While they were getting the thatch, they all moved to a temporary dwelling place to scrape out sago. “Jispáripic, this Jewernamakát has no papis man in Seréw. She’s the papis woman of Jakaríwcim, Jakaríwcim with the bloodshot eyes, of whom people are afraid! Even the people living in the same village with him are afraid of him. He only lies with her!" He [Jispáripic] said: But she’s not from the same river [as Jakaríwcim]!" — They’d all gone to a temporary dwelling place to scrape out sago.

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— Now I’ll take up the story again — There, at the mouth of the Sepré, they drove a huge cacîw fish away from the shore. Atáripic

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anakátipic, pomót kor, iním ámesémjirmémæc in, jeniwpa kór, wác apcóm kukár mi, éperak sé ar in mén in acápmomkówér in. a wác in ajimomer in. Jispáripit nat pô sejpá atmár arow un, ápatmár arow un. asówfiwer in. jéw ko pô sejpá cuwuc1 ápatmár, “Jispáripit, snakap pototomcenó,2 Jewérnamakatá papís manmák wasé ó etjiwir-feñem inó” iním aer in. “no Seréw jaká cowúc papís manmák wasé majwir pakó, ja papís norpá ajímëspomio” iním er in. ‘Jakaríwcm snakap patetamcená’ iním aer in anakátipic, áj pim éwfiwer cowák áj pim ëmëner in. a jeniwpa kór nat, épermák nêsèn apáçcapípimár a mén in acápmomír cowák. áj pim amérfasíac in, iním emór, pô sejpá cuwuc ápatmár, màn am ápomosómor in. áteweráces in a jéw, kámu inm ajarimópères in. maré a jéw amán út ním, út ním uc ajé ajé ajé ajé, nêsèn ciromásères cowák maréw in. maré a jéw, tesén a mijispóm pak in maré, o ním pinim un áfikmámes in mufúm pak in. nów kus nat áteweráces in. Ac ci aniómuwores in. Jispáripit tówoférés maji pak in curúw anápères in maré.
took one [a harpoon] out of the canoe and hit it. Quickly the canoes of the people who'd stayed behind, in the middle of the river, pushed on — they chased and killed the fish and hauled it aboard. When they seized it, they threw it in the canoe of Wasí and Pisím. Immediately after they'd put it ashore, Atáripic became ill. Perhaps he had a big ulcer. "Jakariwcim, your *papis* woman, Jewérnamakát, Jispáripic came from the coast and put the red *papis* sign above her eyes; he has a *papis* relationship with her!" they said. "Oh, she's not from the same river [as I am], let her be his *papis* woman," he said. He waited, and he waited, and waited — "Well, I'm going to the coast, to pay a visit to the Aw, to pay a visit to the Aw," he said. In the morning, he manned a big war canoe. At that time the village [of Seréw] was deserted. At the downstream end [of the village] they raised a shout. "A big canoe from Ac!" — "Who's shouting there?" — "It's a big canoe from Ac that Jakariwcim manned this morning," they said. Jispáripic, Jispáripic sat making a small paddle. "Jispáripic, get away from here, it's Jakariwcim! You've daubed his *papis* woman [with red paint], get up! He's bloodshot eyes," so they urged him. But he just sat there making the paddle with a chopping knife. There were no [other] people there; there was nobody in the houses. The men who sat in the ceremonial house tried to reason with him again and again, but in vain.

He [Jakariwcimsimit] put his huge feather adorned paddle in the mud beside the canoe, and went ashore with a long lance with a cassowary's claw like the beak of the *kukár* bird which he held at its point, dragging the end in the mud. He pulled it along, holding the cassowary's claw. Jispáripic just sat there working the paddle with the chopping knife. He went inside — he sat on the gallery in front of the ceremonial house working with the chopping knife. "Jispáripic, give me a small stone axe; it's said that you daubed the *papis* red above the eyes of Jewérnamakát, instead of me," he said. "Jakariwcim, do give me a little axe!" he said [Jispáripic]. The man at once went inside, at the far end of the ceremonial house, and walked to the other end. The end of his big lance swung to and fro; he held it only by the point. When he'd gone to the other end and had turned round, this is what he did: with both hands, he thrust the lance into the body of the man who sat working the paddle with the chopping knife. They picked him up; in the ceremonial house, they all made a terrible noise. It was as though
1 cuc;  2 potómcen.

a This is a sign that his intentions are bad.
b According to custom the corpse should have been dipped in the river.

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1 tówomiwír;  2 fomiwír;  3 ipít.

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usi ajaréwkajamí in cém. Jispáripit nát curúw nesén napères cowák maréw ín. amás cowú curúw aetántewéres cowák. a Seréw, kurkur-kurkur-kurkur-kurkur-kurkur, ’m, ó nim, jak káju káju étotormár araw
there was laughter in the ceremonial house; — haw, haw, haw; — they simply cut him up in pieces. They stayed in the ceremonial house, and did not go outside to throw him into the water. They made it [his flesh] smell like roasting pork; they kept it a secret. They took the head they'd cut off with them in the canoe to Ac. They told no one that they'd killed Jispáripic; in secret they'd eaten him.

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The man who'd brought Atáripic into his house went off with all his co-wives; his chief wife he left at home. "My elder brother, and also my sister, are ill, keep an eye on them here in the house," he said. The people who'd been at home that morning had all gone away to fish. The chief wife of the man who'd brought Atáripic to his house, [the wife] who was left behind, had taken a fancy to Atáripic. She spoke about it to his wife, who was sitting there. "Hey, woman," — was it Sorówsmít, or Opekátśmít? — "hey, woman, I've taken a fancy to your husband. He has a beautiful young penis, let him couple with me!" she said. She drew towards him and nudged her husband, who lay there. "What has my sister to say to me?" "She's something to say to you. [She says] that when we arrived here, she took a fancy to you. She said [to me]: 'tell him that for me,'" so she spoke. "Oh, what can I do? What you say and what you're thinking of with regard to me is very bad," he said. "Be quick! If I see that you don't want to couple with me, then I'll say to my husband when he comes home: 'Atáripic has raped me!' All the people of Seréw are away getting sago, but [there'll be] no feast sago for you, your flesh will be packed in bundles! They're all away getting sago; if you couple with me, I'll let you go." She kept on saying that, and Atáripic became more and more afraid. "Come, I'll let you go; but if I see that you won't couple with me, then . . .," she threatened him. At least, the wife of Atáripic went to sit at the far end [of the house] and Atáripic and the beautiful woman sat together in the house. He coupled with her . . . he raised her. "You, I'll let you go this evening. Today the people return from camp, and tonight I'll let you go away," she said.

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The people came home from camp in great numbers. Concerning Jispáripic, they had just eaten him in secret. Straightaway, they'd secretly brought the news to the place where the sago was being scraped out. The news flew from mouth to mouth amongst the people
ún maré. “apák, maré amás, ków nak, maré na, maré ajnima ajnima” ánères in maré. ájarewfájpurtańar in sèkakajáamar in. amás cem fá asen opák in. “maré jëw, tô jem ãm, onôk muri ãm tô, onôw jowún mápurámsëraw” inim aer in. jëw nat tôw mamátwi pak in. căj eméérës, piri sö mopórtit, jëw aj icímores in. jëw amán mæporjursúm, jëw aj icímores in. jofaj, onôk muri jém ci atáwjímirësëmor in, onôk muri kór aamjíwëpmoro in. jofaj masním, tesën so niesmár niesmár niesmár, tám onôw un awitiwëres in. tám, onôw awitiwëres, maré pir sö, jok ákurumápëres in. piri sö, emá porw jirwútumá jirwútmá maré, a Atáripic a cën anér cowít, “newét, a cepés am, a tipéris âm erém màtepërès” inim aer in. maré ar mó kor ãm arám, amán asów mípici, cuwúc amís jirporà jirporà jirporà akátipit. màj pakám wut ním anitewëntamôr in. onócèn kór aníjimèntamor in. ceswën mirám kor aníjimèntamor in “po fá asorómoçës ów, aníjimèntamamin, mòmokómëtiwic” inim aer in. maré Atáripic, erém, Aw erén ajírèntapmèsmes in maré.

1 aníjimèntamor.

* When a new ceremonial house is completed, its strength is tested by all the men who take part in the feast, jumping up and down to a rhythm beaten out by the drums. Should the house settle as a consequence, then great is the humiliation of the group to which it belongs: their strength is as that of their house.

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of Seréw. Then, their hearts began to thump like the hearts of wild pigs! "Hey! there's sago in abundance. Now it's our turn, now it's our turn [to take heads]" they cried. They came together from all directions and reached the village. Because of the sago, there was no room in the houses to sit down. "All right, tomorrow the floor covering for the ceremonial house and also the rafters — the day after tomorrow the thatch must be on," they said. For [the feast for] the ceremonial house they didn't cut down sago palms to get the sago grubs. They wanted an excuse to murder the men from the coast, so they began the feast. They began the feast for the new ceremonial house in order to kill them in the ceremonial house. The next day, they took the canoes to the water so that they could fetch the rafters and the floor covering. They laid many large rafters on it. The following day, they danced the whole night and sang the tesín song. In the morning, they laid the thatch. They laid the thatch in the morning and then, at noon, they sat and sang the pir song — no, in the afternoon they sang the pir song — and they jigged up and down, up and down, up and down*. The woman with whom Atáripic had coupled said: "Our brother, his wives, and his children must go upriver tonight." Then her husband tried to bend a very large strong bow that lay there. He tried it, and again he tried it, — it was fine — and he put the bow down for him [with a thud], as though he stamped his foot. He fetched a large spear from above for him. From above, he fetched a big bundle of arrows for him. "I put them down for you," he said, "should the men pursue you, you must kill them." And when it was night they sent Atáripic away to the upper course of the Aw.

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The whole night long there was dancing; they went on until daybreak and in the morning they stopped. "Enough, now! This morning the sago [must be handed round], all the people who came from the coast must go to the ceremonial house," they announced. The people of Jepém, Kajé, Per, Uwús, and Mismám: of Ewér, Surú and Majit-Jinič, all went to the ceremonial house. There was no room left! Taweric, however, just stayed in the house that morning. — Taweric, the father of Jakáj and Máspic. — "Where's Taweric!" More and more sago [they got together]. In the long ceremonial house they assembled the men from the coast; there was no room left. They waited, and waited, on the lookout for Taweric. Finally, after a long wait, Taweric stood up. He entered the ceremonial house in the middle; he
wut Epém wut Sakwús wut.² á amás masé mapór, a Tawerít nat mánůk pepe emár araw ún, pepe emár araw ún. maré, awón mopáces ín, x “á Serewá no só ajitmi ca pacák pén!” a wasén kor iniám niámár ’m x x x Tawerít nat maréw, Jiw cin ar ewúc, ’m á onow mák jitén in átarífiser in marí. Tawerít arám ócen apcó amán apcó atépsowamár cowák ar ewúc cin maríw, a jëwsen tóko, énesjáþeres in marí. a nát maríw, a jëw nat pipipipipi tatakáj ov émsajúcukumár araw ún, tatakáj ov émsajúcukumár araw ún. maré eren cowák, airmimteper in, maré.

¹ wojir; ² A listener interrupts: “e Tawerít nat atakám matáw an ew” — Did they tell Tawerít about it? Simní answers: “a ná amson un! a ná erám apcó, or épúc kor na!” — He knew it! He had a magical power, that great-grandfather of yours!

³ Serewá, Epém and Sakawús: the three jêw of the village of Serewá.

⁴ They crawl through the forest, so that when the killing begins, they will catch those who flee.

Atáripit nat maríw x, amás, “já mokót pu amás, mómákomomít, erém momáwesí! e amás am, amás kumís jisá, amás kumís jisá, momawesi, amás kumís esé kor masnim a momsimomít. amás maj atáwcokom máj esé a, jismák am mi jis nim mómwuwsusí” iním ajítamor in, a cém towomír jipic.¹ jismák kor ám mús jimís atówowac in, maré amás juwreůw kor cuwuć emíc át etamór, erém ánîmomóperes in erém x erém x, a Atáripic asimotéper ów, x x amás x erém x erém x erém. maré a Tawerít am arám, Atáripit, erén emátepsmar ow, ji nak ním jítam nak ním, maré erém airmimteper in maré. a cepés, iním cuwuć émtewjínìwmar, maríw, x Tawerít ar ewúc cin Jiw, Jiw cin, cocóco aémfimsúmores² in maré. “Atáripicá, — Aw mifis pak áemutmár a Atáripic maré a cém jipic erém akserémtapmésmar in, Aw erén tepésmar in” anérès in. maré atiwikukuómores in maré. a jowówpic ám arám anúwuwor in. “Atáripicá, o péncem éwa, já tatmésmín amána, póncem éwa, Sérew wut Epém wut ájumar áwa ór ar ína” iním er in. “já, newét car wic já atemár aráw, ca nát ajsí, ca ná ajsí” iním aer in. ajsór ajsór ajsór ajsór ajsór, maré, — Tawerít, ar ewúc Jiw cin ám, tépkawiërês —, “ca nát ér nim jisemic, nó, amán matmómopor” iním er in. Atáripic apín asé iním atówopmor in. “wú Atáripicá, wú ja wuá ja Serewá já jumar aráwa” iním aer in. masirifís in, a ná mesóper, x “wá” nesén mapmór cowák! omócen
walked to one end and then to the other, looking up. He looked above, looking for a thin place in the thatch. At least, at the upstream end, he saw a place where the thatch had not been laid on so thickly, and he went and stood there, with his lance and his bow, his arms crossed. There, at the far end. Many people from Seréw, from Epém, from Sakawús* approached through the forest, crawling like a mass of sago grubs⁹. Taweric watched the sago being given out, looking sharply around him. There the killing started! "Hey, you from Seréw, do you want me to kill you?" [Taweric shouted]. Those in the forest then came back; they stabbed and stabbed. But Taweric and his younger brother Jiw, crash! they broke straight through the thatch, to the outside. Taweric sprang with his lance and his bow, right down from above, he and his younger brother, and with a thud they landed on the ground. In the ceremonial house the killing went on; the fleetest men all fled to the forest. The fleetest men all fled to the forest. Then they all fled to the upper course of the river.

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Now, Atáripic had cut down a sago palm. "Presently, you must chop down a sago palm near the path through [my] sago garden. You must scrape out the sago at night, and the sago, the balls of sago, you must roast; roast them tonight. Then put them into a big bag and take them with you. When you've fetched the maj of sago, put them in bags. A big fire, as for burning lime, you must light tonight," so he was ordered by the man who had brought him to his house. And he put a large piece of burning wood into an empty bamboo water container. That night, they felled the big, full grown sago palm which stood there, the one he'd pointed out to him. The people whom Atáripic had brought upriver scraped out sago all night long. And also Taweric — Atáripic had already gone upriver at night — fled, as though someone had indeed ordered him to, upriver. Just as all the women went on their way [after they'd washed the sago], there Taweric and his brother Jiw dashed out of the forest. — "Where's Atáripic? He didn't leave the Aw this morning. The man who had him in his house, sent him upriver tonight, by a devious path. This night he went to the upper course of the Aw," they [the people of Seréw] said, and they set out in pursuit. His blood kinsman also set out. "Hey, Atáripic, are you there? Have you the bow I gave you last night? Many people from Seréw and Epém are on their way to you, yelling," he cried. "Hey, your brother,

1 ipit; 2 aémfumúsmores.

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a nát mariw, anémwerer in maré. kwús in ásakámteweres in maré. tóvoper ów kor marí iriri nesen émoper cowák maré. maré aem-téwjinwiwer in. Siréc arán áiriméner in. a nát jiwa nesen jiwa emár araw ún wunám a wásen parsámukumór ow móaf ún arán, e, Nówit jép, Máj jep Cáka jep amérapújier in. a nát, a nát omá nesen jitmarmés arow ún á Seréw nat jú emar arow ún. a nát mapájuru pák. “émá mápapúj ará pak é ci sés amán, é ci sés amán”. Siréc jo pím maniém pak in. a Méc juwút, a Siréc juwút, óma nesen jitmarmés arow ún. Seréw nat a jó pím, mataka j inim apor. wásen is esjarmés arow ún. Jiw nat ar ém moc, mícawan mm emár arow ún ar epit, “o nát Jomót tepapém” aemár arow ún karem emá. a nát micuwan,1 púrumut mícawan í emár arow ún. Tawerit na “’mi” aemár arow ún. maréw, atáwpacajór ów, Ac, Micím Soso, Esinkom, Ar-Namin, Amiw Su, Atámuc, Kawét, Cowéw Jaméw, táwpcamóper ów, Esinkom, “Seréwa, tó apónjmírísóname pína”, ajípores “á, am aráp samáta, nó, Mecémúp, jokmén no apesáwe no cém micicìmípor paká! ám aráp samat pacákam mán!” jipakajapér cowák atáwpacajóper ów now opák in. maré a Seréw cowák, aráp acápowersóper in. án Jispáripic ajimirimíwir.2 — a nát amás awtámacar áw, wunám piri fajmúc am totápowcar. Jewénakat ajimirimor —.

1 A listener says: “Sisnám micuwán!”; 2 ajimirimíwir.

* The concept of jokmén, here translated with ‘powerful’ has also to do with the possession of tes. The idea appears to be that a person who is a jokmén man has no need to resort to a head-hunting raid to augment his tes: he has enough.  
* Ghosts make a rustling noise in the sago leaf walls of houses, like mice. “We have no need of the rustling of the ghosts” means: we don’t need to hold a head-hunting party.
your father is calling yonder! Go to the forest, you, go to the forest!” he said. One after the other they went to the forest [the wives of Atáripic]. Taweric and his brother, Jiw, joined them, going upstream. “You must wait at a little distance in the forest. I'm going to try the bow,” [Atáripic] said. And he placed his legs wide apart, firmly. “Look out, Atáripic, look out, the people of Seréw are pursuing you [his kinsman] cried. They [the people of Seréw] wanted to rush out [from their cover] but he stood there on his guard. Thump! — “Oooow.” — he’d just struck one with the lance he was holding at the ready. “Ho, Jepém, good oh! That’s a hit!” “Hurrah!” cried the people of Jepém. The people of Seréw crawled [back] on their knees; they fled, crawling.

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And the others hurried on; they cut off the head [of the man they’d killed]. — The people they [Seréw] caught, [in the ceremonial house], not one of them was left. — And they went on their way, they all fled in the direction of the upper course of the Siréc. The others tried in vain to surround them, to kill the people still scattered about in the forest. They made a circling movement towards the mouths of the Nowit, the Maj, and the Cáká. They [Atáripic, etc.] went forward cautiously, while the people of Seréw started yelling. They couldn’t be seen. “Don’t make detours, go straight on, beneath the dead ribs of the sago palm fronds” [Taweric said]. They didn’t go down to the banks of the Siréc. Between the Mec and the Siréc they went forward cautiously. The people of Seréw peered round to see if they should make a break for the banks of the river, but they went on, passing the night in the forest. Jiw bemoaned his wife. “Ooooh”, he groaned under his breath. “Shsh! why didn’t you stay on the Jomót!” so spoke his elder brother again and again, to keep him quiet. But he just moaned under his breath, crying, oooh, oooh! “Shsh,” said Taweric, again and again. The people who dispersed to Ac, Micím, Sosó, Esinkom, and Ar-Nanim, to Amisu, Atámuc, Kawét, Cowéw and Jaméw, — concerning those refugees — the people of Esinkom tossed up a small ball: “Yesterday, it was the people of Seréw who killed them, it’s said….” “They, the people of Seréw, are an outside group; I, of the Mecémup, am powerful", I have no need of the rustling [of ghosts] in my house ". They, the people of Seréw, are an outside group, they are weak!” so spoke everybody, and the refugees were not slaughtered. Only the people of Seréw killed them. — It was the fault of Jispáripic! They would have scraped out sago for them, and after that they could
wasén ajarmés araw ún, e cí ses amán. Siréc efá maniéém pak ín.  
“ëmá jurwúcaw jurwúcaw jurwúcaw cém otásiápěraw masirim, Siréc  
jo pim ániemcowúj” iním er ín. Amorép, Warsé, Sumúj, Jaméw,  
táwpacájoper ów, Méc ow, táwpacámoper ów, nów opák ín. ja Úswut  
a niwi, Jurúwpitsimít, Jín enérim Nosó, a jowópit jammók ín, cém  
camán nicontíwites ín. Seréw matowóf un arewfájporamár opák ín.  
“no Jína, no Nosó” ajémítes cowák. Úswut a niwi Jurúwpitsimít ará.  
cowúc, Cámán aráw, Jécám aráw, e camán aniásimomsíères ín. Pokás  
aráw, Eréw ar enéw Pokás. Kamémemak a niwi, c, ar enéw, Námew-  
fáksimít. Sisnám cém nesén towópëres ín. pér nesen átëres ín cá-  
pakamópërës ín. Amíw, Jámew, Sisnám matowóf er, pirkawó araw ún,  
juwúr sis, tari si, múitiwtamó. pirkawó akát apor juwúr sis akát  
apór, cesén aöpenusúmtamor ín a cowút tesmá. téwër ním aëm-  
komámanes ín Sisnám. Amíw cowák ámtewënërës ín. Sisnám, Sisnám  
cowút akát amí amésfájer ín.

cém osiáper ururu apórkurumór masním, mariw, “semi emár nów  
mináf amopmár maré, tajú emár” iním aëres ín. maré a Niním cákám,  
Taweritsimit nat, ci mopórómtewer onméri iním onnermár araw ún  
map. Siréc akám jokós kor ámitémer ín, maré juwúr kor, ep wút  
címen wút araw ún, mokóp in emtópmores ín. jëwi, ci, pacákseré ci  
omoskóm, — emár araw, ci tari moskóm pak. a ci jipín firímtiwporá  
firímtiwporá firímtiwporá firímtiwporá firímtiwporá a erén a se tén maré a juwúr  
kor cuwúc ateptic atapomfámores ín. “er aráw man, a cowák wut,  
a maémariwces mám” iním aer ín. pó jipín aporómtawamár, “no miwiis  
em”. omócén wút nat mán kipmongi araw ún. akám akám akám, wu,  
wu, “Siréc, akajnapuésawiri no miwiis em” iním aer ín. Jiw nat möt  
micuwan jí emár araw ún. a nát, a omócén kor sir 1 ám otomá emár  
araw ún. “o cém arásen emémaném! o nát tépacoapém! nicuwan jí
all have gone back to the coast in peace. He was to blame, because of Jewérnamakát.

Meanwhile, they went through the forest, under the dead ribs of the sago palms. They didn’t go down to the Siréc straightaway. “Wait, first let them search, first let them search, and when they’re all gone back to the village, then you can go down to the bank of the Siréc,” said Taweric. The people of Amorép, Warsé, Sumúj, Jaméw and the people from the Mec didn’t kill those who had taken refuge with them. — The father of Úswut, Jurúwpitsimit, was hidden away under the house by Jin and Nosó, his two blood kinsmen. The people of Seréw came to try to kill him, but in vain. “I am Jin; I am Nosó!” they shouted at them. The father of Úswut, Jurúwpitsimit, and a woman, Cáman, as well as Jecám, lay hidden together under the house. And Pokás, Pokás, the mother of Eréw, and the father — no, the mother of Kamémemak, Námewfáksimit. They took Sisnám into the house. They took her to wife; [the others] they’d killed. Then the people of Amiw and Jaméw wanted to kill Sisnám: triton shells, necklaces made of dog’s teeth, old axes, they paid these for her, and because [the people of Seréw] saw that the shells were fine and that the dog’s teeth were fine, they pushed her out of the house, the beautiful woman. They took her as one picks a tewér flower, Sisnám the beautiful woman. It was the people of Amiw who got her, to eat her. Sisnám, the splendid woman, like a flame, she lay there.

At last, when the pursuers had all gone back to the village, one after another, they said: “It’s quiet now, now they’re only thinking of the head-hunting feast, it’s over.” And Tawericmit went quickly ahead of the others to the old deserted village [of Seréw] on the Ninim, to look for a canoe. A long rib from a nipa palm leaf pricked him, by the Siréc. [And lo and behold!] a huge canoe of juvwír wood, from stem to stern huge, had been turned upside down. A canoe of the enemy, a useless canoe, broken up — no, they didn’t break up the old canoe — they tried to turn the truncated * canoe over, they tried and tried again, and finally they turned it over and pushed the juvwír wood canoe off the high bank on which it was lying, at the upstream end of the village. “That’s fine! In this big one here, everyone must go aboard,” he said. They searched for broken paddles. “My good people;” he stood with
iním ja ewér̃mêro, wów!" jomatmár araw ûn. erën, wasën apamës apamës apamës marë jó iním sipasemar, ci anipórömjiwísëres in marë. Tawerit nat mâp atakmár araw ûn, Tawerit nat mâp, Tawerit nat mâp. arán am piri am fifimkurûmac in, "marë ów opák, marë". Aw jo pîm anîémac in mariw, "emûurûrûtes nôw minâf aâmomràr arâw" iním aer in. marë Siréc apijináwores in marë. ci nat pôm apcôm un pô metëwji pak in cepës wut owerôw wut mak âm tatemâp² araw ûn. Mow jëp, Mow jëp, ci jicëmûp a pâjñjiis, "jôw sirifisërâr" maji pas in marë misîn kë aemâpmesmar in marë.

¹ sur; ² tatemamâp.

* truncated: sometimes a canoe splits at one end, due to the working of the wood. When this happens, the damaged portion is cut right off. The remaining good part is made seaworthy by placing a barrier of clay across the open end.

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"na că jo ápfamútmanomê, marë Siréc, pomân omër ja emâtewirûm marë, na jô jemâm enáwapesmôm émá ucîm jo ar'am év! tam jô putêráw apôrca" iním erës in. tam arâw jô'n apumápëres in. "na Môvakap jêp arawâ" iním erës in. "Môvakap jêp apôma" iním erës in. tâm masnim, muwu' mu a enâm nisarámesmar, misîn ten enâm áfawûtmes in. mu wâ konâwkumûm maseirim marë, âmsenáwores in. wà aotemenáwores in. Jómot, cêm atepájëres in. Jiwsimit "Jómota misî no jawera' ajimiajî jü cafà anafiriîjî macî ju cafa anafiriê" ajîkuer in marë, Jîw ara. Tawerit nat marë cemsên x ci kor cuwúc emîc, ákin ájakómer in marë. mariw, Ewnápò, Cenmácuw, çóápères ow am arâm, ja Nêt wasën jarâp ara, Samûn emâp ara Ufit tepáp arâ iním apijipûëres in. marë a Nêt wasën cuwúc apês, á, Tawerit, Jomót asësier in. marë a ci jan káju káju erës, curûw apawërjétakëres in. curûw atakómëres in. otmântewerés masnirim, akapmâmteveres in. Môw am arâm tawpaca'môper ów, arâm Mow apcôm ajapértësier in. Kajê arâm Maní ajâptersier in. a Jepëm cowák, arpà jursumôper in. á, Kajê, a Jurûwpiec, ar wës am a cepês am arpà ankawières in. a tarâsèpës âm. ów nat âm Esîn, cêm cowák ar in Ac cêm cowák ar in, Amiw Su Micîm Soso Ar-Nanim, cêm ar in. a ci jipîn kor, èren ów kapmòpaces in a ci jipîn kor, jocôr ajàpewere jáermêro'n, Tawerit nat
the long lance in his hand. Nipa palms [they chopped open], edible tops [they took]. "Eat them tonight on the Siréc when we're on our way, homeward bound, my good people," he said. Jiw cried under his breath. Again and again he threatened him with the long lance. "Is your house here? Why don't you hide yourself? Day in, day out, you're crying under your breath, be careful!" so he spoke, walking round. During the day they stayed in the forest, and when the sun went out in the sea they all got into the canoe to move off. Taweric went ahead downriver. When he'd searched about everywhere down-stream and upstream, [he said]: "Fine, there are no people." After he'd also gone to the side of the Aw, he said: "They've all returned, they're only thinking of the head-hunting feast." Then they crossed the Siréc to this side. The canoe was full to overflowing; they couldn't row. Many men and women sat there, packed tight. When the canoe had drifted downstream and out to sea near the mouth of the Mow, they said: "Let's cross quickly over the sandbank," but they couldn't do it, they stuck on the sandbank that night.

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"On whose side of the river do we have to wait until the morning? We've gone a long way, full of fear, on the other side of the Siréc; tonight we've arrived at our side of the river, but on which [side] river are we? In the morning, when the sun rises, we'll see," they said. They stayed there until the sun rose in the morning. "We're at the mouth of the Mówakap," they said. "We're by the Mówakap," they said. In the morning they speared the fishes that had been left behind on the sand that night by the ebb tide. And when the water had risen to the forest, they came here. They came here, brushing close past the edge of the forest. They came up the Jomót and reached the houses. Jiwsmít stepped ashore, wailing: "Alas, from now on I'm alone on the Jomót, I shall cry loudly every day..." Taweric immediately went to a huge ci tree which stood by the houses and chopped it down [to make] a canoe. Now, Ewnápo and Cennácuw had kept themselves hidden there; usually they stayed either in the forest near the Net, or near the Samún, or upstream, near the Fiti. At that time, when Taweric went rowing up the Jomót, they were in the forest by the Net. They heard the sound of the ci tree being felled, and they walked quietly downriver, following the river but out of sight. Quietly they went downstream to meet them. When they met each other they joined up. The refugees
ór cem iním apéwere jérmēro’n. “ór mapcájkukuasé, ów mantám, piri emseawér cowák ará” iním aer in.

a The language in which songs are couched, is very different from that of everyday speech. My stay in the Asmat was too short for me to make a study of it. The words of this fragment are not included in the word list.

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Jaméw am arám, Jaméw kapmòpères ów am arám, Jum éwisérés,
— És aráw new Júm ara néw —, És awísérés “piri mér pemerawéra”
iním eres in maré a Ömawer jép, Jákarew jép Akámjow jép jím
emères aw ún. ci emsèères ów am arám, a Má nesé, ájinawsirimuères
in. camúw masnírim, — ci new camúw new, a Jómot ów camúw a
petéwmanes éw —, á Asewet éwnèrés 1 ów ci’n, Jómot éwemères
ów, camúw un. pówo mopán cirin enám àfawéner a Jómot éwemer jípit.
é, Asewèc éwisèrés, jípit, ci, ci emseres jípíc jammók arám anímés
araw ún. arám ja atmár araw ún, arám ja atmár araw ún, arám po ájinímés
araw ún. jaká, akám jof, jítakám ser, apán ájatánumumó cowák. maré a
ci ócémén anicímsenor in. a ci jípic jammók okón waksés aw ún. “á com
ám, á apán cá wimá, ja apán a ép ow wianém” iním aer in. maré
emémér jípit, “á, ja apán nor apán winémami” 2 maré ci ál
apapirónmuères in maré. — ci akát kor in, a ci kor mán aósmer
in Taverit. cia, ákin ákomer cia, ajáksemor in sirimáksemor in, ci
taksém akát.

1 éwnèrés; 2 jimf.

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mariw, ak mí komén cómic aámewermés. a Asewec éwníères jípíc
jammók am á Jomot éwemer jípíc cowák am. jú omewermés, “na
ucín atakám atéwercóm, na ucín iním ar’am, ca ucím emfokóm!”
“nar mariw, Seréw akpufóm ow, Pisím enèrim Wási jokmén nım
from the Mow all entered the Mow together, in battle array. And all the people from Kajé entered the Mani in a line. Only the people of Jepém were overtaken by the disaster. Of the people of Kajé, only Jurúwpic and the male members of his family, as well as his wives and his sisters [all of whom had stayed behind] joined them. The people of Kajé had gone to Esin, Ac, Amísu, Micím-Sosó and Ar-Namí. In the large truncated canoe, — when the people from the upper reaches had joined them, Taweric went each day in the large truncated canoe to the river mouth. Each day he stayed there in the lookout post. “When people scatter themselves about, there must always be someone on the look-out at the sea,” he said.

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The people from Jaméw, the people who had joined up at Jaméw, went out of the Jum — was it the Es, or the Jum? — they went out of the Es. “Let’s go to the sea and fish,” they said. And they fished with the nets at the mouth of the Ómawer, the Jákarew and the Akámjow. The men in the canoes crossed over to our side of the river, and went to land near the Ma. Then they went farther on foot. — By canoe, or was it on foot? Or was it the men from the Jomót who set out on foot? — The people who came from the Asewéc went by canoe; the people who came from the Jomót went on foot. The man who came from the Jomót was spearing fish in the strip of mangrove along the coast, and the men who came from the Asewéc — by canoe — two men in a canoe, rowed downstream. The one just walked and walked, while the others rowed. There, from the path between the nipah palms, he shot at jitaúm and ser fishes with a many-pointed arrow, until he shot it [an arrow] into the water near the stem of the canoe. The men in the canoe stood gaping in wonder! “Hey, who is that who shot that arrow? Did you shoot that arrow from behind,” he said [the foremost man]. The man who stood there [on the shore] said: “Hey, I shot that arrow!” They turned the canoe round and went ashore to meet him. — A very beautiful canoe it was, the large canoe on which Taweric set to work, the canoe he immediately began to make. He finished it quickly. It was a beautifully made canoe.

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Well, they licked each other’s faces, the two men who’d come from the Asewéc, and the man who’d come from the Jomót. They stood there screaming with joy. “What shall we say now? What must we do now? How are things with you?” “We, the people who joined up with the
járteweréjipurúwa maré eméjursúmeawós, maré, mátakam pák! ná atakajfóm ównakapiriw, Atáripít, erém atákámsomcükmespés, nár masním, jéw amán so ájteawós, ápacájfóm. Tawérít enéim Jiw, matáw-símfawós, Atáripíc, erém tepésme, atépkawifóm, atéw:iniwemom ówerow am cepés am, cakás. ów nat maré matakám pak, jú mamacup kor setajóm.¹ Jómot áapom. maré erén coapfés jipic mámacup ám, emákápúmtefom awapóm. cá nat ucim ar'am éw", inim áámeres ín. "á, nar, éma mimínp nat mapic. á om mén, nú asetáckóm, amás a om mén arámtiwic. porów masnirim, a Jépem ótewerá otewerá otewerá momjítmumút "nar, nú amás kor, Má jep, simtiwésmár, tó, usí tapín in átwéercar jowún, amás ajáwcár, átojowún júmenáwcár" inim moméc. óm men amás armamúc, "mu amás kor, pó sasakámtau ním, mapepértaw emóm" inim momjítmumúc inim er in maré. a amás óm men ájaramáces in torón ten ájaweréntiwéres in, jó poké atiwpmámár in.

¹ setajém.

* i.e., as though we had nothing to fear from them (see § 337, note a).

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people from Seréw — Pisim and Wasi came to fetch us, as though they were jokmén men*, but they slaughtered us! There was no escape, we got away with only a few people. They let Atáripic flee in advance, at night, but they murdered us in the ceremonial house, we fled in all directions. Taweric and Jiw took us with them when they fled, and we joined Atáripic who went upstream at night. We went away, men and women, everybody. The others didn’t escape. Only three heads of family came back [Taweric, Jiw and Atáripic]; we’re on the Jomót. We also let the three men who had hidden themselves on the upper course join us, so we stay there. “How are things with you?” they said to each other. “We... wait, stay here to think up something. First, you must stick the point of the digging stick in the water and then smear it with sago meal. Then, this evening, you must say to all the people of Jepém: ‘Last night the water washed ashore a huge sago palm at the mouth of the Ma. Tomorrow, let’s take the sleeping mats to make a camp and the day after tomorrow let’s scrape out sago, and the day after that let’s return here.’ So you must say presently. Smear the sago meal on the point of the digging stick and in the evening, say: ‘The sago palm which has been washed ashore is huge, we shall make test holes until we have to cut off the fronds!’” So he spoke. After they’d rubbed the point of the digging stick with sago meal, they placed it [in the canoe] on a couple of supports. The heat of the sun dried it.

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The people who were out fishing caught many fish; they returned upriver, content they went upriver, they rowed with ease. “It must be tomorrow, don’t delay. We must tell it to Taweric” [the man from the Jomót said]. “He really must wait there at the mouth of the Jep and the Tewtén,” so they urged him. They said nothing about it to the people in the canoes and the women who’d fished with the nets. “Hey, that’s splendid sago. How did you get this sago?” “Oh, there’s a huge sago palm in the water, complete with roots; an enormous full grown sago palm, it [the sago] comes out like lime off a [newly painted] canoe*. It’s as large as a mangrove tree. Don’t wait! The palm mustn’t get cracks [in the bark]. We’ve come here to tell [everyone] to get the sleeping mats as well, [so that we can make] camp; and also to bring fish as food.” “This one is ours! That’s good news! You’re two fine fellows,” they said. Dancing for joy, they rowed up river. They entered the Es. At night, after they’d had a bite to eat, they went on their way so that they could tell the people. They went into the houses and said to the people: “Yesterday, we... a sago palm, there’s a huge sago

¹ asirinuwur.

a See § 284, note a.
b i.e., a sago palm of which the trunk has farinaceous pith well up to the top.

± 344 ±


Jómot fu pún ajatámísíomer in. Sérew am átowoférés, a Serw acômères, nów kus ám arám, ós mopán afajúmores in. wunam a Jaméw aókajúmores in. Sisnám purumúc ámocémés.

¹ merwap.

a The meaning of os mopán 'under' a tree', is not clear in this context.
b The song which tells of the dead of Sisnám, the Sisnám purumúc, is still popular in Jépém and Surú.
palm; the water rolled it at night onto the land at the mouth of the Ma. Such a palm that the fronds must be cut away to make the test holes. The digging stick lies there in the house, covered in raw sago. Yesterday, every time we stuck it [in the tree] the raw sago came out; we stuck poles in the water [to prevent it from rolling back]. Tomorrow, our brothers and our sisters will take the sleeping mats to make camp,” they said. “Good, go and scrape out sago, get sago,” the men of Jaméw said. “Tonight it must be, before the sun has risen. We’ll wait for daybreak downstream, at the mouth of the Jep,” they said. The people from the Jomót in their turn, told Taweric. “All right, let’s go,” he said. “But, first, all take a rest,” he said. “Let’s go upstream,” he said. “Roast food in the houses,” he said. Now, when the sun went out in the sea, Taweric went quickly to the canoe to set out. He put the canoe in the water; he turned it the right way up on the high bank, the canoe, slim as a young gaba-gaba stalk, and put it in the water, so that he should be at the mouth of the Jep before the others.

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The whole evening they were telling each other, and when all the people of Seréw were asleep, they all set out in the canoes. Nobody stayed behind. A man from Seréw, Seménterésimit, also went with them. “I, also, want to go and catch crabs,” he said. “Oh, stay at home, stay at home! We want to go alone, only with our people,” they said, but in vain. “I, also, want to catch crabs,” he said. They all went out to the Asewéw, the river was full of canoes. They covered it from side to side, going down, the main mass of canoes. A part went more upstream. It was night and the ebb, and the current carried them to the sea, to the mouth of the Jep. Then Taweric quickly crossed the river. “Here comes Taweric, perhaps! He’s coming here! Who are you,” they called out. “I’m Taweric,” he said. “What do you want!” “Are you alone? Is there someone with you,” he said. “There are no other people, only our great brother Seménterésimit came with us,” they said. Where is he? Where have you put him?” “Here he is,” they said. He pushed forward between the canoes that lay there to where he [Seménterésimit] stood, and — thud — he killed him on the edge of the canoe. “Oh, Taweric! have pity on our great brother,” they cried. “He’s not a bad man,” they said, but in vain. “Stay you!” With the bamboo horns booming, they rowed into the Jomót. The head of the man of Seréw whom they’d killed, they flayed under a tree”, and after that they also flayed the head of the man of Jaméw. They still sing the lament of Sisnám.
WORD LIST

This list is a complete record of the Åsmat words that occur in the texts and in the grammar. The words are arranged alphabetically: e follows ê.

When a word has been discussed in the grammar, reference is made to the relevant paragraph or paragraphs. The number following the verbal forms belonging to categories 8—24 denotes the paragraph where the paradigm can be found.

Occasionally, the paragraph of the text where a word occurs is shown by quoting the number of the paragraph in brackets. This has been done when: 1. a word has a form which deviates from the one that would be expected according to the rules given in the grammar; 2. a doubt exists with regard to the correctness of the word-form given; 3. a word has a specific meaning in a particular context; 4. there is uncertainty about the correctness of the meaning given.

In the few cases in which a substantive only denotes one thing or person, or a number of things or persons, [s.] and [pl.] respectively are used. In the other cases, as a rule only the translation of either the singular or the plural aspect of the meaning of the substantive is given.

The following terms are used:

*singular; plural.*

*subject,* = verbal subject; *object,* = verbal object.

*aquatic,* *lying,* *sitting,* *standing,* *above eye level:* these terms refer to the five position-classes as discussed in §71, note. *Aquatic* and *above eye level* are preferred here to *swimming* and *flying.* Thus e.g. *‘aquatic subject’* means: the subject of the verb belongs to the *aquatic* class of things.
The following signs are used:

\[ \rightarrow \] see.
\[ \langle \] from.
\[ = \] the same as.
\[ - \] stands for the catchword.
\[ ? \] indicates that the correctness of the word-form or the meaning can be doubted.

### A

- a 1 exclamation: hey, oh, ah!
- a 2 \( \rightarrow \) ar 2.
- a 3 branch, thigh, hind leg [of a pig].
- aámcej \( \langle \) am 7; 116.
- aámères \( \langle \) aме, 155.
- aámétvermes \( \langle \) ametter, 136.
- aámítjwápmores \( \langle \) amjwapon, 155.
- aámópmár \( \langle \) amop, 144.
- aámcow \( \langle \) an 3; 120.
- aápm \( \rightarrow \) áwpom.
- aápírermitwères \( \langle \) apteremitw, 155.
- Ać name of a village on the Mec.
- acaciápmères \( \langle \) cacap, 155.
- acáciomér \( \langle \) caciom, 155.
- acájkarumóf \( \langle \) cajkurum, 162.
- acákoxorómerses \( \langle \) cakokormse, 155.
- acán advice.
- acápmémérm \( \langle \) capimorm, 155.
- acápmónkúer \( \langle \) capimomku, 155.
- acápmorsomór \( \langle \) caporpmop, 155.
- acic, acic all kinds of.
- ácicikimidwer \( \langle \) cicikimitw, 155.
- acicin beforehand, in advance, ahead.
- acicin \( \langle \) cimom, 155.
- acitvèr \( \langle \) cimitw, 155.
- acimúj \( \langle \) cim, 155.
- acin 1 \( \rightarrow \) tap.
- acin 2 baked crust of sago.
- ácimitérer \( \langle \) ciomitéw, 155.
- acir small platform on the collar beams of a house, used for storing sago.
- acirá \( \langle \) ciri, 109.
- áciropères \( \langle \) cirop, 155.
- acápm ãer \( \langle \) cop 1, 2; 155.
- acápmoro \( \langle \) comapom, 155.
- acémères \( \langle \) com, 155.
- acomómor \( \langle \) comom, 155.
- ácopháverém \( \langle \) copawer, 125.
- acópmít (285) she was continually busy with plaiting \( \langle \) cop [?].
- acundásamép \( \langle \) cunasam, 152.
- Acúnam personal name.
- Acúnam \( \langle \) Acúnam, 34.
- áemamáár \( \langle \) emauer 1, 2; 144.
- áémamáser \( \langle \) emamis, 162.
- áémapi afe \( \langle \) emap, 162.
- aémápmères \( \langle \) emap, 155.
- aéma \( \langle \) emapom, 155.
- aématámor \( \langle \) ematam, 155.
- aématmac \( \langle \) ematam, 165.
- aémémcow \( \langle \) emem 1; 120.
- aémmémaf \( \langle \) emem 1; 162.
- aémémier \( \langle \) emem 1; 155.
- aémmier \( \langle \) emem 1; 155.
- aemité \( \langle \) e 4; 144.
- aemesmáár \( \langle \) emes 1, 2; 144.
- aemémsi \( \langle \) emes 1, 2; 144.
- aémsi \( \langle \) emfisum, 155.
- aemic \( \rightarrow \) avemic.
- aemít \( \rightarrow \) avemic.
- aémjirmar \( \langle \) emjir, 144.
- aémkomómes \( \langle \) emkom, 144.
- aémniar \( \langle \) emni 1, 2; 155.
- aémniará \( \langle \) aemnier, 34.
- aémnierá \( \langle \) emni 1, 2; 155.
- aémor \( \langle \) em 4; 155.
- aempórmèro \( \langle \) empor 2; 174.
- aémsire \( \langle \) emsires, 155.
- aémsire \( \langle \) emsires, 33.
- aémsiter \( \langle \) emsiti, 155.
- aémí \( \langle \) emtam, 155.
- aémíwéracém \( \langle \) emtewer, 165.
- aemteewiníwér \( \langle \) emteewiniw, 155.
- aemteewímor \( \langle \) emteutum, 155.
- aémimiró \( \langle \) emtim, 162.
- aémíwser \( \langle \) emtive, 155.
áemutmár < emut 1; 144.
aémura < emwa, 155.
aénères < en 3; 155.
aef < e 4; 162.
aefés < e 4; 162.
aer < e 4; 155.
áeremtèweverac < eremtever, 165.
aerés < e 4; 155.
aerwàpères < ariwap, 155.
aesème < esem, 162.
aesùntàmor < esumtum, 155.
áetamór < etam, 155.
áetamteverés < etamtever, 155.
áetèper < etèp, 155.
af 1 to strike, to kill.
af 2 manàim — to like, to take a fancy to, to be in love with; mi — to throw lime; namir — to die; omòp — to beat.
afàjasimar < jafasi, 144.
af àjavà < jafaw, 109.
afàfàjèmèmacım < fajemnem, 165.
afàfàjèmònasèr < fajemomas, 155.
afàfàjèmòr < fajem, 155.
afàjaòper < fajop, 155.
afàjavàmsamèp < fajasam, 152.
afàjavàmòres < fajum, 155.
afàjavàmsòr < famasam 1, 2; 155.
afàjavàmsòres < famasam 1, 2; 155.
afàjavecènes < fawen, 155.
afàjavecùntimòwèf < fawujkumtiwì, 162.
afàjavùmèp < fawut, 152.
afàjavùmèse < fawut, 144.
afàjin skin or crust of roasted sago.
afèfèmtawòr < jefèmtaw, 155.
afèfèmtawòrèse < jefèmtawè, 155.
afem < afem, 155.
afes to buffet all night long.
afèsmar < afes, 144.
afètmèr < fetèw, 155.
afer < af 1, 2; 125.
afikimòmes < fikimòwer, 144.
afìmitwòmac < fìmìtwì, 165.
afìmitwever < fìmìtwì, 155.
afìmitwòmìr < fimìtwì, 144.
afìs maggot.
afìswa < fìswa, 109.
afìswòmìtwòmìs < fìswòmitwì, 136.
afìmàr < af 1, 2; 144.
afìmès < af 1, 2; 144.
afò broad, wide.
afòr < af 1, 2; 155.
afìse to die in the water.
afìswìnsìpsèp < fuamses, 152.
Afiùj personal name.
Afiùjè (320) = Afiùj [in an enumeration of personal names].
afùn air bubbles.
aicimòres < icim, 155.
aùrimèner < irimen, 155.
aùrimteper < irimentèp, 155.
aùrivènàc < iriven, 165.
aùrivijèr < irivijìs, 155.
aùrivijèrèp < irivijis, 155.
aùrivinìer < irivini, 155.
aùrivinòj < irivini, 162.
aùrivòmisèr < irivonis, 155.
aùrivòsèf < irivos, 162.
aùrivòsèr < irivos, 155.
aùrivòsèrèp < irivosì, 155.
af 1 irrealis marker, 255.
af 2 new, young, the other day; jwew — the feast for the new ceremonial house.
af 3 side, half.
ajà exclamation: hey!
ajàc < e 4; 165.
ajàces < e 4; 165.
ajàjac < af 1, 2; 165.
ajàjècén < af 1, 2; 116.
ajàjakàpìpìmì < akakapìpu, 144.
ajàjakàpìpìmììa < ajakakapìpìmì, 34.
ajàjakàpìpìpìpìpìpì < akakapìpu, 144.
ajàjakàpìpìpìpìpìpìj < ajakakapìpìpìpìpì, 33.
ajàkapìpìmìc < akapiem, 176.
ajàker < ak 2; 155.
ajàkàmpìmòr < akmapom, 155.
ajàkàmpòmac < akmom, 165.
ajàkòmer < akom, 155.
ajàkomìsèr < akomìs, 155.
ajàkòsemòr < aksem, 155.
ajàman < eawee, 144.
ajàmèp < eawer, 152.
ajàmes < eawer, 144.
ajàmìsìmmùjìramìp < amesmunjar, 152.
ajàmìsìnnìer < amesni, 155.
ájamésnimbár < amesni, 144.
ájaméshinier < amesjini, 155.
ájamésjotakéf < amesjotakib, 162.
ájamésstámor < amestam, 155.
ájamóp < eavor, 152.
ájamóps < eavor, 152.
ájamorsó < eamsis, 165.
ájamósf < amis, 162.
ájamtmérmi < amettmer, 144.
ájamttémi < omitte, 155.
ájamtmérms < ameuvres, 144.
ájamtmérres < apam, 155.
ájamtmapór < apavwer, 152.
ájamtmérres < apam 2; 155.
ájamtmérres < apam 2; 155.
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ájamtmérres < apam 2; 155.
ájamtmérres < apam 2; 155.
ajimēp < ji 5; 152.
ajimespomi < ajimespomi, 33.
ajimespomi (332) I sleep with her [dia-
lect of Ač], < ajimespomi.
ajimmemor < jimmem, 155.
ajiminmar < jinom, 165.
ajimomcēmes < jinom, 136.
ajimomer < jinom, 155.
ajimotnawarūn < jinotnaw, 165.
ajimotnawefn < jinotnaw, 162.
ajimomicēmes < jinomst, 136.
ajimomstimes a. < jinomst, 144; b. =
ajimomicēmes, 51, 60.
ajimtēwew < jintiw, 155.
ajinaumā < jinaw, 144.
ajinausrimkuēres < jinawsirimku, 155.
ajinemom < jine, 144.
ajinemor < jinem, 155.
ajinemēs < jini, 144.
ajinemimēs < jiniwēni, 144.
ajķēp < jēp, 155.
ajķēres < jēpe, 155.
ajķērsāmores < jipser, 155.
ajķipor < jipor, 155.
ajķiporā < jipor, 109.
ajķiporēf < jipor, 162.
ajķipore < jipor, 155.
ajķiporōf < jipor, 162.
ajķipuōf < jipu, 162.
ajķipur < jipor, 155.
ajķiremōf < jirem, 162.
ajķirkākākā < jirkūkun, 165.
ajķirktāmēs < jirktamēs, 144.
ajķirktamorē < jirktamor, 155.
ajķirktamorērō < jirktamorē, 155.
ajķisakāmitumēs < jisakāmitum, 155.
ajķisakāmitumēr < jisakāmitum, 155.
ajķisakāmituēvēres < jisakāmitwē, 155.
ajķisakāmitūmēf < jisakāmiw, 162.
ajķisamser < jisamis, 155.
ajķisāpēr < jisāp, 155.
ajķisāsēr < jisās, 155.
ajķisātām < jisatam, 155.
ajķisem < jisem, 1, 2, 3; 155.
ajķiser < jis 3, 4; 155.
ajķisētēs < jisit, 162.
ajķisēpēres < jis̊ep, 155.
ajķisām < jis 3, 4; 155.
ajķisāmēf < jisāmē, 155.
ajķisāmituēvēres < jisāmiti̊wē, 155.
ajķisāmituēvērē < jisāmiti̊wērē, 155.
WORD LIST

ajnín now.
ajnima < ajnín, 34.
ajój < e 4; 162.
ajómer < em, 155.
ajómetevérmar < eomewer 1; 136.
ajómovép < omovép, 155.
ajpámá (324) known.
ajpáw fine!
ajpém the far end [of a house].
ajšér < jjs 3, 4; 155.
ajši < jjs 3, 4; 116.
ajšic < jjs 3, 4; 116.
ajširér < jisir, 155.
ajšeawads < jits 3; 162.
ajšir < jits 1, 3; 155.
ajšéra < ajšér, 34.
ajšár having a high degree of a particular quality, e.g.: atőw — playful; akmim — hot-tempered.
ajšukumápmac < jukumapom, 165.
ajšukumápmor < jukumapom, 155.
ajšukumápompom < jukumapom- tampor, 155.
ajšukumápomótčerés < jukumapomit, 155.
ajšukój < jiku, 162.
ajšukúmíwár < jukumíw, 165.
ajšumá < jum, 109.
ajšumar < jum 4, 5; 144.
ajšumópéres < jumop, 155.
ajšúmísáps < júmís, 152.
ajšúwekwirn < jursawer, 171.
ajšúwekwim < juruwu, 144.
ajšurúns < juru 1, 2; 162.
ak 1 ‘curved side—surface’, cheek, beside; amús — the handle of the sago scraper; ci — side of the canoe, beside the canoe.
ak 2 to chop or strip off along a curved surface, to scoop up; anük — to chop the growth off a tree; ci — to make a canoe; ókon fin — to shave; pe — to catch crabs.
akácéma < kaj, 136.
akacíms < ak 2; 113.
akácímsó < akamís, 33.
akácípsawiri < kajnapuesawer, 116.
akácíj < kajni, 162.
akakanimomse (324) to get [sago] and take it away in the canoe [?].
akakanimomseirá < akakanimomse, 155.
akákapiwu always to go out alone.
akám nipa palm.
akámápmor < kamapom, 155.
akamár < akawer, 144.
akámci < kam, 125.
akámí < akawer, 144.
akamámisfr < kamamis, 162.
akamíémá < kamíés, 144.
Akámjów name of a river.
akamónimá < kamoni, 144.
akamóp < kamop, 155.
akamítawír < kamitiv, 144.
Akánnumú personal name.
akán shoot of a palm or tree; progeny, offspring.
akam, pe — to catch crabs for food.
akapiem to stand on one’s own.
akapamámeta < kapatamameter, 155.
akapamap < kaptimap, 155.
akapamóre < kaptim, 155.
akapamápmor < kapatawer, 144.
akapamórá < kapu 2; 165.
akát good, fine; avít — very large (269).
akatés very nice, very good.
akátípic very beautiful, excellent.
akáw from a palm tree.
akawer, camúw ci — always go on foot in stead of by canoe; ci — always to make canoes; jisín — to gather many coconuts; mow — to chop off many roots of the pandanus tree.
akawermókm < akawer, 174.
akawémápmor < kawimapom, 155.
akawémápmor < kawimop, 162.
akawémámeta < kawimetawer, 144.
akc Cá together.
akcém < ak 2; 125.
akér < ak 2; 155.
akérí < akér, 34.
aké < ak, 162.
akés, pe — to catch crabs at night.
akésawe < ak, 155.
akésawe < ak, 155.
akésawe < ak, 155.
akesawe, pe — all night long to catch crabs.
akicíkúmáspí < kikicúmos, 155.
akicíkírúmámetros < kikikurum, 155.
akín immediately after, as soon as [always preceding a verb of which the core contains an element ak].
akín immediately after, as soon as [always preceding a verb of which the core contains an element ak].
akín immediately after, as soon as [always preceding a verb of which the core contains an element ak].
akitórpí < kirimpí, 136.
akitórpí < kirimpí, 136.
akitórpí < kirimpí, 136.
akitórpí < kirimpí, 136.
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akitórpí < kirimpí, 136.
akitórpí < kirimpí, 136.
akitórpí < kirimpí, 136.
akitum, jisín — to gather coconuts in the afternoon.
akhmédia < ak; 175.
abmap, a — to sit with spread-out thighs.
akhmapmár < abmap, 144.
akhmapmór < abkmapom, 155.
akhápomorés < abkmapom, 155.
akhmapom to cause to sit with open mouth = to kill someone.
akmát old.
akmom to hold open [a bag].
akmonic < abnom, 116.
akmót → akmát.
aknem to chop off downwards [growth of a tree].
akhémac < aknem, 165.
aknénacém < aknem, 165.
akním cross, bickering.
akojiráré < kojir, 165.
akojiréf < kojir, 162.
akom, akin — immediately after [having arrived] to start to work on something.
akónaméš < kom, 144.
akémér < akom, 155.
akomis < akin — immediately after [having got up] to go to the forest to meet somebody.
akonawamis < konawamis, 109.
akonawésmupáj < konawes, 144.
akonawemis < konawemis, 109, 182.
akonawor < konaw, 155.
akpes tattoo-mark.
akpuró < kapó; 162.
akse, okon — to gape in wonder [aquatic subject].
aksem, ci — to make a canoe until it is finished.
aksérenampa < aksérenampa, 144.
aksérenampa mesmer < aksérenampa, 144.
aktam, motv — to fetch roots of the pandanus tree for someone.
aktv, anúk — to chop off the growth until it is al off.
aktivér < aktiv, 155.
ákukuásor < kukusas, 155.
ákurrumápérés < kurrimap, 155.
am 1 unidentified element, 260.
am 2 question marker, 254.
am 3 also, and; 248.
am 4 < or 2; 217.
am 5 kind of tree.
am 6 kind of fish [Malay: kakap].
am 7 to chop, 99.
am 8, com — to fasten the headband to a carrying bag; nani in — to waste; onów — to cover [a house] with thatch.
ám (273, 291) < am 2; 34.
amakan also to catch crabs.
amaméswaver to keep on telling each other to do something.
amaméswames < amaméswaver, 144.
amamtam, si — to share out [sago].
amamtáméshimés < amamtam, 136.
amán 1 bow.
amán 2 the inside; inside, in, during, beneath; em — the inside of the drum; cem — in the house; ci — in the canoe; pok mú — during the feast; ci sés — beneath the dry sago palm fronds (377).
amán 3, jo — side stream.
Amón name of a ceremonial house in Amán namkáj.
amána (336) < amán 1; 34.
amánakapiw < aman 3; 188.
Amán namkáj name of a village.
Amán kájínamí personal name.
amapom to cover [with thatch].
amápuérés < mapo, 155.
amás sago, food, sago palm; enám — fish for food; pe — crabs for food; mu — sago palm, washed ashore by the sea.
amásnapak < amás, 185.
amásnapapiw < amás, 187.
amél (309) < am 2; 33.
amé to say to each other.
amer, mer — to catch crabs.
ámerápér < merap, 155.
ámerátmor < meratam, 155.
amercasín < amer, 120.
amerásina < amercasín, 34.
ámerémer < merem, 155.
amerémsemer < meremsem, 155.
ameráfásac < merfasí, 165.
amerómémer < meroom, 155.
amerpápújer < merpápúj, 155.
ámersláres < mersi, 155.
ámersusvémer < mersusam, 155.
amesakajípírem < mesakajípírem, 162.
améssempés < mesem, 162.
amésémjíriménac < mesemjírimem, 165.
amésfac to become emaciated [a sick person].
amésfacamár < amésfacower, 144.
AMESFACAWER to become more and more emaciated [a sick person].
AMESFAJ to lie burning.
AMESFAJER < AMESFAJ, 155.
AMESJEN, ÉW JÈ — to crawl upstream like a crocodile.
AMESJENÖF < AMESJEN, 162.
AMESJES to come in great numbers which/who are doing something else at the same time [e.g. singing].
AMESJESMÉP < AMESJES, 152.
AMESJINI to go to the river in great numbers, which/who are doing something else at the same time.
AMESJOTAK < MESJOTAK.
AMESJOTEPF < MESJOTEP, 162.
AMESMUNUJAR to shuffle around [subject lying].
AMESNI to flow downwards, to crawl downwards.
AMESNOWOMOTEP to bring upstream in many canoes in battle array.
AMESNOWOMOTEPEP < AMESNOWOMOTEP, 155.
AMESSTAM, JAN — to make noise [subject lying].
AMETÉCINER < METOCIN, 155.
AMETÉSÉF < METOS, 162.
AMETÉSON < METOS, 162.
AMETÉTNAUFES < METOTNAU, 162.
AMETÉWER, AK MI KOMÉN CÔMÉC — continually to lick each others faces.
AMI all, without exception, nothing but, only; AKAT — splendid.
AMIS to lie down.
AMISU name of a village.
AMITÁPMACI < MITAPOM, 165.
AMITÁPMACES < MITAPOM, 165.
AMITÉMÉR < MITEM, 155.
AMITÉRÉM < MIÉT, 155.
AMITÉV one of the few of the village of AMISU.
AMITÉWAPOM, ONÓK MURÉ — to put the rafters on a house.
AMITÉWATNI to join.
AMITÉWATNIEN < AMKAWTI, 116.
AMITÉWATNIAPOM to join someone to...; to marry a woman to a man.
AMITÉWONAN, PE — also to go to catch crabs for food.
AMMU turned to each other; MI — face to face; MAK —, JA — back to back.
AMU, OWÉN — to fight with each other.
AMUCAMÉR < MOCAWER, 144.
AMUCAMPÉS < MOCAWER, 152.
AMUCAMPÉSÁ < AMOCAMPÉS, 34.
AMUCÉMÉS < MOC 2; 136.
AMUMATMI < OMOMAT, 144.
AMUMÓRMÓTTENW < MOMOROMTIW, 155.
AMOHP, MIÒF — to be engrossed.
AMOPFÁM < AMOP, 144.
AMÓP < AM 7; 155.
AMORÉP name of a village.
AMORÉS < AM 7; 155.
AMORÉS < AM, 155.
AMOTMÉS < MOC 2; 144.
AMÔMRÉ < MOMI, 155.
AMOTJÁRAMÂMES < MOTJARAWER, 144.
AMPIATWER also to go fishing [with a net].
AMSAWER to lie down all the time.
AMSTÉF < AMIS, 152.
AMSENÀWORES < AMSENAV, 155.
AMSES 1 to sleep [at night].
AMSES 2 to come towards, swimming [fish].
AMSES 3 with many people in canoes to come towards.
AMSESÉF < AMSES 1, 2, 3; 162.
AMSESMRÁ < AMSES 1, 2, 3; 144.
AMSESMRÁ < AMSESMRÁ 34.
AMSESÍMÉS < AMSESÍMÉS 34.
AMSESÍMÉS < AMSESÍMÉS 1, 2; 144.
AMSESÍMÓP < AMSES 1; 152.
AMSESÍMULÉ < AMSES 1; 144.
AMSESÍMÚR < AMSAWER, 171.
AMSTÉF (322) he was lying down.
AMSTÉF < AMIS, 152.
AMTAKESE also to go downriver at night.
AMTAKESMÉR < AMTAKESE; 144.
AMTAKEWENIMTIW to fit up [the trough for washing the sago].
AMTAKEWENIMTIWÉR < AMTAKEWENIMTIW, 155.
AMTEWEN also to get food.
AMTEWENÉRES < AMTEWEN, 155.
AMTEWENÉWERN, AMAS OM — to pull a digging stick out of the sago pith, with sago meal sticking to it → apér.
AMTIW, COM — to fasten the headband to a carrying bag.
AMUÁMSER < MUAMIS 1, 2; 155.
AMUÍC < AM 7; 116.
AMUÍN vapour, steam, smoke, haze.
AMUÓR < MU 4; 155.
AMUÔRÉS < MU 4; 155.
AMUÝP hot; NAM — having fever.
amís 1 younger sister [s.].
amís 2 sago scraper [see sketch p. 366].
amús 3 also to go to the forest.
amúšɛvɛs younger sisters [pl.], 190.
ámutumɛmɛs < mutum, 136.
amúw̃ kind of reed [Hanguana Malayana], growing in and along rivers where there is little or no current. Its roots intertwine, forming a floating layer so that a river can be wholly overgrown by this plant. Traditionally this is the place where the children of the ghosts play.
amówɛs also to depart at night [by canoe].
an 1 question marker, 252.
an 2 small trough made of the leaf-case of the frond of the sago palm.
an 3 to eat, 99; cêmén — to have sexual intercourse with a man [said of a woman]; cen — to have sexual intercourse with a woman [said of a man]; mu — to drink; sis — to take a rest.
ána < an 1; 34.
ánájcen < af 1; 2; 116.
anakacovùc the said woman, she [anaphoric].
anakacovùcúnakapiriv < anakacovùc, 188.
anaká 1 very, really: akmát — really old; jum — clear as cristal [said of water]; mocó — wet through.
anaká 2 trunk [of a man or an animal].
anakápiçic the said man, he [anaphoric].
anaká dov the said people, they [anaphoric].
anám the inner pith of the sago palm: the part of the pith which is scraped out first, by people standing outside the trunk [see sketch p. 367].
anamicimór < namicim, 155.
anapacés < nap, 165.
anápɛrɛs < nap, 155.
anásamamóp < nasam, 152.
ánawɛrmom < navor, 136.
anawɛtɛp to be bent upstream [top of a tree].
ánćɛmɛs < an 3; 136.
ánɛm < an 3; 125.
anem, mu — to make a quantity of anything, to make a large object.
anɛmor < nem, 155.
anɛmɔspir < nemɔspi, 155.
anemùc < anem, 116.
anɛmɔwerer < nemwer, 155.
anɛr < an 3; 155.
anɛr < e 4; 155.
ánɛres < e 4; 155.
anɛsmapɔmɛs < enesmapom, 162.
anɛkapɛrɛs < nįkap, 155.
animisɛmɛr < niamis 1; 2; 144.
animisɛf < niamis 1; 2, 162.
animisɛr < niamis 1; 2, 155.
anipɛr < niap, 155.
anipɛs < niap, 162.
anisɛmɛsɛries < niasinomis, 155.
anisɛwerɛp < niaverap, 155.
anica < ni 4; 5; 120.
anici < ni 4; 5; 125.
anicim < ni 4; 5; 116.
anicinɛrɛm < niciσem, 155.
anicim < ni 4; 5; 125.
anicukasî < anicukas, 168.
anif < ni 4; 5; 162.
anımɛmac < niem, 165.
anímɛmar < niem, 165.
anímcovɛj < niem, 120.
anímfɛ < niem, 162.
anímoʃ < niem, 162.
anímpuj < niem, 155.
anifɛmpumaci < nįjumum, 165.
anifesapɛr < nįpesap, 155.
anifewɛr < niwe, 155.
anifewɛmɛr < nįwe, 144.
anìjanomɛr < nįjanomis, 155.
aníjanitɛɛer < nįjanitew, 155.
aníjaɛper < nįjap, 155.
aníjapɛres < nįjap, 155.
anījic < ni 5; 116.
anījica < anįjic, 34.
anįjimɛmɛtamamin < nįjimɛtam, 144.
anįjimɛtamorn < nįjimɛtam, 155.
anįjirirwɛvar < nįjirirw, 155.
anįjirak a morsel, mouthful.
anįjumɛf < nįkum, 162.
anįjumapɔmɛtamorn < nįjumapɔm- tam, 155.
animɛr < ni 4; 5; 144.
animɛr (328), jisin — they fetched coconuts.
animatɛmef < nįmatam, 162.
animatiɛr < niamatw, 155.
animɛkɛf < anicuku, 162.
animɛkua < anicuku, 109.
animɛku to disappear into the forest, to flee into the forest.
animɛs < ni 4; 5; 144.
aníomópréres < nimomóp, 155.
ánimuré < ninu, 155.
anímus to disappear into the forest.
anímyknámésres < nuinkamis, 155.
anímómac < niom, 165.
anímomer < niom, 155.
anímótithmes < níomítum, 144.
anímóvaérés < níomuv, 165.
anímovufes < níomuv, 162.
anímuvufres < níomuv, 155.
aníópréres < neiop, 155.
anípírimac < nípírim, 165.
anípórempaf < níporemp, 162.
aníporómjiviwesres < níporomjivis, 155.
anis not what it seems; similar to but not quite.
anís < anis, 34.
anísáj < nisaj, 155.
anís < níse, 155.
anísicimtiwěrm < nísicimtiw, 155.
anísiritéverac < nísirétudever, 165.
anísápooswe < nítapouses, 144.
anísátepapac < nitépapap, 165.
aníséwem < nitewem, 162.
aníséawemtimor < nitewemtim, 155.
aníséwemsemor < nitéwesem, 155.
anísítive < nítiive, 155.
anísítitévité < nítiivité, 168.
anísítitépomjes < nitéwopom, 162.
anísíw < nísw, 155.
anísos centipede.
anímokó < an 3; 144.
anímopókó < an 3; 144.
anípaw within reach; straight away, without delay.
aník growth of mosses, ferns and prickles on the bark of the sago palm; layer of charcoal on the bottom of a canoe when it has been fired, → ses.
anírénatánemes < nírauw, 144.
anínuumuvó < nuuv, 162.
anínuumuvó < nuuv, 155.
aníakajámores < okajum, 155.
aníkmores < okom 1, 2; 155.
aníkmorres < okom 1, 2; 155.
anímatmá < omat, 144.
anímimés < ome, 144.
anímirmá < omirís, 144.
anímiríres < omis 1, 2; 155.
anímocíner < omocin, 155.
anímómat < omonat, 155.
anímómer < omon, 155.
ánomómisèr < omomis 1, 2; 155.
ánomómisér < omomísér, 34.
ánomómière < omómière, 155.
ánomómière < omómière, 34.
ánomósiromèr < osomírom, 155.
anónuw < oníuw, 155.
anópac < op 2; 165.
anópor < oraf, 155.
anóriwer < oríwis, 155.
anóróme < oróm, 162.
anóromésmop < oromes, 152.
anósicín < osícín, 155.
anósíoper < osomop, 155.
anósapac < otap, 165.
anósíuomeres < otowa, 155.
anósíweres < otever 1, 2; 155.
anósíuwumór < otíuvum, 155.
anósímasères < otmanís, 155.
anósímenawores < otmenaw, 155.
anósípemusúntamor < opípemusúntam, 155.
anósíwoni < owoni, 155.
anósívor < ow 2, 3; 155.
ap 1 kind of tree.
ap 2 to sit; to be, to move [of a sitting subject].
ap 3 to work loose, to split, [fibres off the pandanus tree]; tow — to get sago grubs by breaking up the pith of the sago palm with digging sticks.
apakásfom < paksaf, 162.
apáci small one-man canoe.
apácínakáp < pácí, 185.
apájítirápé < pajiiráp, 155.
apájimómser < pajiímomse, 155.
apájimór < pajiím, 155.
apájíséf < pajiís, 162.
apájíser < pajiíse, 155.
apák 1 interjection, expressing discontent: no! oh!
apák 2 the raw core of a ball of roasted sago; budding leaf.
apámép < apawer 1, 2; 152.
apamé < apawer 1, 2; 144.
apamép < apawer 1, 2; 152.
apámítívé < pamtív, 155.
apámusméf < pamusúm, 162.
apán 1 many-pointed arrow used to kill small fish and small birds.
apan 2 to have something to eat; to sit and eat.
apákcapípmar < pákcapípi, 144.
apapkírimkuër < paprikímku, 155.
apárisaró < páríse, 165.
apat to sit working something up with a chopping knife.
vapamur < apat, 144.
apiw 1 to sit all the time, to sit the whole day.
apiw 2, mow — to work loose many fibres of the pandanus tree.
apiwerau < apiw 1, 2; 125.
apiwerjotak, curiw — to walk quietly downriver keeping close to the bank [but out of sight], in order to meet someone.
apiwerjotakere < apiwerjotak, 155.
apiweirmoro < apiw 1, 2; 174.
apiwawamur < apiwawam, 144.
avom with, supplied with, having; totally, wholly, the bulk, the main mass [of canoes, people]; av — having breasts, marriageable; manmak — having sec- ond sight; es — filled bag.
av < api 1, 2; 162.
avem the upstream or downstream end of a village.
avwakomur < avwakom, 155.
aver, aver — to make test holes in the trunk of a sago palm → aver 1, 2.
averjoterakem < aver, 165.
averjoterakem < aver, 165.
averjoterakem < aver, 165.
averjoterakem < aver, 165.
avejotak to make test holes towards one of the ends of the trunk of the sago palm, starting in the middle → aver 1.
avejotak to make test holes in the trunk of a sago palm.
aver 1 small hole made in the trunk of a felled sago palm in order to find out whether the pith is farinaceous. A digging stick is pushed through the hole into the pith and if there is sago there it will be adhering to the stick when it is pulled out. Here translated with: test hole [see sketch p. 367].
aver 2, aver — to make a test hole in the trunk of a sago palm.
aver < aver 2; 155.
aver < aver 2; 155.
aves 1 to come rowing towards.
aves 2 < aver 2; 176.
avesawer, sokmen — to be powerful.
avesawer < avesawer, 34.
avese < es, 155.
avere < avewer 1; 109, 175.
avemat to stay until the morning.
avesawer < avesawer, 34.
avesawer < avesawer, 34.
avesawer < avesawer, 34.
avesawer < avesawer, 34.
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avesawer < avesawer, 34.

ápmútanom < apamut, 144.

Stop
apomjīrsom to kill, to bring disaster upon.
apomjīrsomamep < apomjīrsom, 152.
apomkekem, cem — to make a house, tying everything firmly.
apomkekemēs (330) = apomkekēmamēs < apomkekem, 144.
apomkom to start to chop down [a tree].
apōmkurer < apomkuru, 155.
apomkuru to agree upon.
apomosom, man — to thrust [a lance] with both hands into.
apomosimor < apomosom, 155.
apomlewewer to take [object sitting].
apōpērinimokēm < pōpērin, 144.
apōpērinimokēmē < apōpērinimokēm, 33.
apōr < por, 155.
apōrā < por, 109.
apōrāc < por, 165.
apōrāca < por, 120.
apōrci < por, 125.
apōrcin < por, 125.
apōrērmokom < por, 136.
apōrēs < por, 155.
apōrewewer < porawer, 182.
apōri < por, 116.
apōria < apori, 34.
apōrkastāces < pōrkasi, 165.
apōrkurummor < pōrkurum, 155.
apōrēj < por, 162.
apōrmēj < porem, 162.
apōrōj < por, 162.
apōrōmarēs < porom 1; 165.
apōrōmtawawar < poromtawawer, 144.
apōrōmtawow < poromiaw, 155.
apōrōpor < porpor, 155.
apōrōserer < porese, 120.
apōrōwej = apori, < por, 116.
apotaw, atakām — to ask, to tell someone.
apotim, atakām — to sit talking until the sun sets.
apotimēr < apotim, 155.
apapsupply, ci — to guard the canoes of the women when they are fishing. [Generally this is done by children].
apĕsirē < apsiri, 155.
apĕsiri to break into a run.
apētak to go on the way downriver.
apētakasamawer to set out and go down the whole length of the river.
apētakasāmeverējipurūw < aptakasamawer, 114.
apētakasāmeverējipurūwa < aptākakasamawerējipurūw, 34.
apētakērēs < aptak, 155.
apētemet to climb into a tree.
apēteremotep to go on one’s way upstream to.
apēteremtiw to cover up.
apētorsi to enter a river with the canoes in line of battle.
apēteteremtaw to sit discussing with others.
apēteterēmtawājipurūw < apteteremtaw, 114.
apēteterēmtawājipurūwa < apteterēmtawājipurūw, 34.
apēteterēmtawmōs < apteteremtaw, 113.
apēteterēmtawmōsa < apteterēmtawmōs, 34.
apυēr < pu 5; 155.
apumāpēres < pumāp, 155.
apumār < pu 5; 144.
apumasmēj < pumasam, 162.
apumēj < pu, 162.
apumēs < pu 6; 144.
apumfēs < pu, 162.
apumokōpmēj < pumokopom, 162.
apumokōpmējēnes < pumokopom, 162.
apumōmer < pumom 1, 2; 155.
apupumemōpē < pumumes, 152.
apupumumucūmtiwejēres < pupurumucūmtiwej, 155.
ar 1 → arāw.
ar 2 a. he, she, it, they; him, her, them; his, her, its, their; 206-219; b. this, there, here; 220-222; c. to, in the direction of; 228, 229.
ar 3 sawfish.
Ar name of a jew in the village of Surū.
arā 1 → arāw.
arā 2 < ar 2c; 34.
arām 1 < ar 2a; 215.
arām 2 to rub in with.
arāmā (320) = arām 1 [in enumeration].
aramapom to smear with, rub with [object sitting].
aramitīw to smear with [object lying].
aramitīwic < aramiwic, 116.
arāñ upstream, the upper reaches [of a large river].
arána < arán, 34.
aráp < ar 2a; 214.
arásen here, this place.
aráw emphasizing word, 245.
aráwa < aráw, 34.
aráwo < aráw, 33.
arcér main stream.
arewaj to assemble [many people].
arewafjporamár < arewafjporawer, 144.
arewafjporawer to come together in
great numbers to try to.
arewafjporawer to come together from
all directions.
arewafjporawer to come home from camp
in great numbers.
arewosam to start out from.
arewosamores < arewosam, 155.
arim to man a canoe.
arimop, kámu- to sit together, making a
terrible noise.
arimut to man a canoe in the morning.
aríw 'arrived at', 230.
aríwaf to stay together with a number of
people.
aríwes to come towards in a canoe full
of people.
aríwesfes < aríwes, 162.
aríwtesp to go upriver in a canoe full of
people.
aríwtesp∂om < aríwtesp, 162.
aríwtespmepes < aríwtesp, 152.
armá < ar 2a; 213.
aríwmapom < aríwmapom, 116.
aríwmpit or the owner, rich man [s.]
Aranim name of a village.
aró < ar 2c; 33.
arów < ar 2a; 216.
aróp < ar 2a; 214.
arópk out of the way, at a distance
from.
arów magic.
as 1 call, used to urge on dogs at a pig
hunt.
as 2 something, a thing; beast (272);
wm another.
as 3 soft inner part of a stalk or stem;
the pith.
as 4 faeces, shit.
as 5 'friend': when an Ásmat child is
still young, its parents will show it its
as, another child or a youth of the
same sex. [I don't know how this
relation is established]. The two boys
or girls are expected to become close
friends; in childhood they are play-
mates and regularly exchange food.
In puberty, a homosexual relationship
seems to have been regularized. After
marriage, the as relationship ends as
far as the girls are concerned; with
the boys, the relations...
asér, teu — young sago palm of which
the edible top is taken for food.
áserápmac < saramoin, 165.
áserapmacokom < saramoin, 165.
áserapmoras < saramoin, 165.
áserapmor < saramoin, 155.
áserapomjenom < saramoin, 162.
asés < as 2; 176.
asésa hot to the taste, painful.
asésier < seis, 155.
asetácokom < set, 165.
ásetájcemom < setaj, 136.
Asetévéc name of a river.
Asetévéc → Asewéc.
asi share.
asiac < si 3, 4; 165.
asianaramtiwer < sianeremtiw, 155.
ásiasmó < siasam, 162.
asimápmor < sicimapor, 155.
asicou < si 3, 4; 120.
asienaw to come together at.
asier < si 3, 4; 155.
asimés < si 3, 4; 144.
asimotep to bring upriver [a group of
people].
asimotepér < asimotep, 155.
ásiocinér < siciin, 155.
asirmeser < sirimes, 155.
asirmamú < sirmasam, 116.
asirinahérès < sirinta, 155.
asirindegérès < sirinateg, 155.
asirinéwátomor < sirinuwawo, 155.
asiripapé < siriapi, 155.
asirmóteper < asirmóteper, 155.
asirmótepera < asirmótepera, 34.
ásiropén, caj — I gave in (283), =
ásisimampés < sisim 1; 152.
ásisimar < sisi, 144.
asisiocinér < sisiociin, 155.
asisimomés < sismomis, 162.
asitemaré < sitem, 165.
asitéwé < sitew, 155.
ásmat human.
ásmot → ásmat.
asmotipic a mortal man, as distinct from
a ghost-man, → nitépic.
asmu < asam, 116.
áso < as 2; 33.
asomitéj < somit, 162.
asormónier < sormoni, 155.
asormonimár < sormoni, 144.
asoróménés < sorom, 125.
ásosomomér < sasomom, 155.
asom, amán — a heavy bow, a bow
which is difficult to bend.
asómamí < sowe, 165.
asomitéj < sowe, 155.
asomémamí < sowe, 165.
asomémamí < sowe, 155.
asóméj < sowe, 155.
asomitéj < sowe, 155.
asómamamom < sowkonaw, 162.
asómamisé < sowish, 155.
astamos to follow someone, coming to-
wards.
astamotak, fa’n — to follow someone
downriver.
astamotei, fa’n — to follow someone
upriver.
astamotewer, fa’n — to kidnap someone
and walk behind him.
asúk caterpillar.
asumó < sun, 155.
asumawewerac < sumawewerac, 165.
asumaweweracém < sumawewerac, 165.
asumawewerací < sumawewerac, 165.
asumutimaram < sumutum, 165.
asumutimaram < sumutum, 155.
asumutimaram < sumutum, 155.
asúñes < sun, 162.
asúw very; par — very wide; fek —
as hard as stone.
asuwacés < sowe, 165.
asuwémamí < sowe, 165.
asuwémamí < sowe, 155.
at 1 urging, ordering, promising; →
etam.
at 2 cemew — to abuse; ja — to move
on [walking, rowing], to cover a dis-
tance; masim — to watch carefully;
per — to have as a wife; sejpa — to
work up with a chopping knife.
atá → atár.
atajamsar < tajamis, 155.
atajumamamom < tajumamamom, 165.
atakajéj < takaj, 162.
atakajfom < takaj, 162.
atakám speech, language, talking, story,
news.
atakamaménémor < takamamen, 155.
atakamamás first, as the first.
atakamamomúnemés < takamamomun-
es, 152.
atakamawerá < takamawerá, 109.
atakéj < tak, 162.
atākjiser < takjis, 155.
atakmár < tak, 144.
atákómères < takom, 155.
atákséaces < takse, 165.
atáktétower < taktitów, 155.
atam 1, jó atomám — to have not yet risen [sun].
atam 2, papis — to have a papis relationship with.
atamapom to put something on something else, to fasten something on, to fix on; to dab on.
atamcáu < atam 1; 125.
atámacokom < atam 2; 125.
atamen, teré ni ám — to row upstream, while dancing for joy.
atamjik, nes — to wrap up meat [mixed with sago] in a nipa leaf to form a long stick — jímín.
atamni, móc am — to go back home while crying.
atamniawer, móc am — to go downriver while wailing all the time.
atamompor, amán — to try a bow.
atamse, móc in — to row while wailing.
atamsi, móc in — to enter a river while wailing.
atamson, ju pu'n — to row into a river with bamboo horns booming.
atántewer, jókmen — to take up something with the tongs.
Atámuc name of a village.
atamurum to shoot arrows, as one is walking.
atápér < tap, 155.
atápmor < tapom 1, 2; 155.
atápmores < tapom 1, 2; 155.
atápmomakmámar < tapomakem, 144.
atápmomcemóm < tapom 1; 136.
atápmomfámores < tapomfam, 155.
atápmomkékémores < tapomkem, 155.
atápmomterémores < tapomterem, 155.
atá there, this, that; 226.
ataríjiser < tarifis, 155.
atáripic personal name.
atáripicá < Atáripic, 34.
atatakajmar < tatakaj 2; 144.
atatámores < tatam 1; 155.
atatewérjes < tatewer, 162.
atatlór < tetam, 155.
atalmores < tetam, 155.
atatwác < taw 1, 2; 165.
atatwatic < tawat, 108.
atáwcémém < taw 1, 2; 136.
atáwcorom < taw 1, 2; 125.
atawer < ja — to move on and on, to go a long way; wukú — to crochet hair all the time.
atáwujirmézom < tawujirmirsem, 155.
atáwunokom < taw 1, 2; 144.
atáwunemém < tawunemes, 144.
atáwor < taw 1, 2; 155.
atáworés < taw 1, 2; 155.
atáwopacaj < tawopacaj, 155.
atáwopacajpor < tawopacajop, 155.
atáwopacamápor < tawopacamapom, 155.
atáwoporés < tawopor, 155.
atáwomatí < tawomat, 162.
atáwatermenápmor < tawtermenapom, 155.
atáwatermonimasé < tawtermonasí, 155.
atáwuz < taw 1, 2; 116.
at to call.
atáenaw to come upstream to call.
atáenawom < atenaw, 144.
atenar < at, 144.
atémétjamémér < temetjamem, 155.
atémétjemor < temetjem, 155.
atémétótápor < temetoap, 155.
atémétowápmor < temetowapom, 155.
atémétowapápor < temetowapap, 155.
atémétowapiémor < temetowapip, 155.
atémétowapiémor < temetowapip, 155.
atémétowapiémor < temetowapip, 155.
atémétowapiémor < temetowapip, 155.
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atémétowapiémor < temetowapip, 155.
atémétowapiémor < temetowapip, 155.
atéteremápmor < teteremapom, 155.
atéwémères < tewem, 155.
atéwemór < tewem 1; 155.
atéwenémoress < tewenem, 155.
atéwer < tewer 2; 155.
atéwérac < tewer 2; 165.
atéwerácás < tewer 2; 165.
atéwerámar < tewerawer 2; 144.
atéweráre < tewer 2; 165.
atéweráres < tewer 2; 165.
atéwércar < tewer 2; 120.
atéwércaw < tewer 2; 125.
atéwércokom < tewer 2; 125.
atéwércom < tewer 2; 125.
atéweréf < tewer 2; 162.
atéwére < tewer 2; 155.
atéwérfén ess < tewer 2; 162.
atéwérfés < tewer 2, 3; 162.
atéwérfin < tewer 2; 162.
atéwérmair < tewer 2; 144.
atéwérmair < tewermair, 34.
atéwéjinwamisí < tewejinwamis, 168.
atéwéjinwartímep < tewejinwartí, 152.
atéwéjinwamom < tewejinwem, 162.
atéweoséver (299), moc — she burst out
wailing [ < twosew ?].
atéwésímor < tewsem, 155.
atéris < at 2; 155.
atí < at 2; 116.
atímsír < timse, 155.
atíteweracáim < titewer, 165.
atítivac < titiv, 165.
atítiver < titive, 155.
atítivamár < títiver, 144.
atítivanac < titivanim, 165.
atítiváfer < titiver, 155.
atítivásímacarámr < titivasim, 144.
atítivémor < títivem, 155.
atítivímanim < titivímin, 165.
atítivakásamor < títivakafum, 155.
atítivákámor < titivukum, 155.
atítivákámores < titivukum, 155.
atítivater < titot, 155.
atítivamamár < titivamawer, 144.
atítivakamámor < titivakamam, 155.
atítivávtíwamamár < titivatíwamawer, 165.
atítivararamár < titivararam, = tititá-
vararamár, 144.
atítivamesémor < titivamesem, 155.
atítivever < titivever, 155.
atítivevérac < titivever, 165.
atítiveveraré < titivever, 165.
awamís < amis, 178.
awámpom < aw 5, 6; 152.
awan 1 to roast sago for a meal.
awan 2 to scrape out sago.
awáhp < ap 2; 178.
awápí < ap 2; 176, 178.
awásé < se 2; 178.
awasé (344) = awasé.
awawer to scrape out much sago, to
scrape out sago continually.
awóm < aw 5, 6; 125.
avè < aw 2; 33.
avémé < em 3; 176, 178.
avemic < em 3; 176, 178.
avémic = æmés < e 4; 144.
avemíc < em 3; 176, 178.
avemit = awemíc.
avér 1 (305) but not [?].
avér 2 a pubic covering worn by the married women. It consists of a plaited
waist-belt made of grasses from which
hangs a fringe of young leaves of the
sago palm. This fringe extends from
hip to hip and is approximately 2 ft
long. When the awér is to be worn
the fringe is gathered together, passed
between the thighs, to rest closely
against the pubes, along the perineum
and up over the top of the belt where
it is tucked in [see sketch p. 365].
awér 3 to sharpen.
aweremitaw to smear a stripe [of paint]
on; to put in a row [bags of sago];
to lay down on supports.
awerjis to go outside by passing close to.
awerjiséf < awerjis, 162.
aves to scrape out sago at night.
awewerémkum to put ashore in a hurry,
just on the edge of the water.
awewerjar to walk across something
narrow, e.g. a duckboard.
awiásmor < wiasam, 155.
awiensfom < wien, 162.
awiéséf < wíwies, 162.
awiéséf < awiésef, 34.
awijsaré < wiwíjs, 165.
awijisér < wíwíjís, 155.
awikundawmar < wiwikanaw, 144.
awiñemorés < wiñem, 155.
awiñíér < wiñi, 155.
awiñíof < wiñi, 162.
awiokópmores < wíwokópm, 155.
áiwiomatámes < iwiamatawer, 144.
áiwisérés < wiwis, 155.
áiwitáparé < iwítep, 165.
áiwitápet < iwítep, 162.
áiwitápet < iwitép, 34.
áiwitawrés < iwítaw, 155.
aquis roasted [?].
áiwkurumorés < awkurum, 155.
aawkurum to scrape out all [pith].
aawkurumdr < awkurum, 155.
aawkurumtsiwi to scrape out sago pith
until it is all out.
aawkurumtsiwi < awkurumtsiwi, 155.
aawkwaw to delay [a departure].
aeónn → atam.
aawetawer to scrape out much sago for
food.
aen < awan 1, 2; 115.
aeni < awan, se'ni — to go downstream,
covered in mud.
avó all right, yes.
awcín to scrape out sago pith in the
direction of the top or the bottom of
the trunk.
Awók name of a jew in the village of
Amánamkaj.
abonsém < omse, 144, 178.
abonsokom < omse, 177, 178.
avón stroke, blow; → mop.
Awók name of a jew in the village of
Suru.
awór 1 kind of fish.
awor 2 to become, to change into.
aworer < awor 2; 162.
avoider to have been changed into.
[subject standing].
aaworem < aworem, 162.
aaworem to change into during the
night [subject standing].
aaworemesí < aworemes, 144.
aaworemí < aworem, 155.
aaworemit < aworem, 168.
aaworemkum to change completely into
[subject standing].
aaworés < aw 5, 6; 155.
aaworse to change into [a fish].
aaworsé < aworse, 116.
aawor to try to scrape out sago, to
know how to scrape out sago.
aaorse 1 < se 2; 176, 178.
aaorse 2, se'ni — to be on the river [in a
canoe], covered in mud.
aawsem, mu — to dig a water-hole.
ausemac < ausem, 165.
avés < se 2; 176, 178.
avtam to scrape out sago for someone.
avtámcar < avtam, 132.
avtever, amás — to get sago.
avtiw 1 to roast and put down, to have finished roasting.
avtiw 2 to scrape sago pith until it is all out, to scrape out sago and put it down.
avtivéřés < avtiw 1, 2; 155.
avtô kind of tree.
avú breast [of a man].
avúmsô < wuamis, 162.
avúmsner < wuamis, 155.
avúmsès < wuamse, 176.
avúmsesmář < wuamses, 144.
avúmpom < wuampon, 155.
avúmré < wu 8; 165.
avúc < wu 5, 6; 116.
avúco < avúc, 33.
avúüf < wu 8; 162.
avúi < wu 5, 6; 155.
avúía exclamation: hey!
avúm to flay.
avúmpom to strip [bark] off a tree.
avúmmem to wrench loose groundwards [the bark of the felled sago palm].
avúmmémôr < avúmmem, 155.
avúmmít to wrench [bark] off [the trunk of the sago palm].
avúm but, however.
avúni < wuni, 155.
avúha exclamation: that’s a hit!
avúl large, big, much [water], many [people], heavy [rain].
avútpíčim < avút, 203.
caj 1 way of doing, customary behaviour; caj curúw unaccountable, mysterious [behaviour].
caj 2 plan, scheme, intention, purpose, idea, pretext, → eme.
caj 3 sexual intercourse, → e 4.
caj 4 not willing, averse from, → sirop.
caj 5, nam — ill; caj pacák calamity, disaster, → capp.
cajaric (309), tow — let him come round first; < jar [?].
cajit to kill [pigs] in the morning.
cajitmar < cajit, 144.
cajkurum to pretend.
cajomat to carry a great quantity of.
cajomatmep < cajomat, 152.
cáka 1 with a splash.
cáka 2 pool.
Cáka name of a river.
cakóm deserted [of a village].
cakámkaj, focó — skinny.
cakás → lakás.
cakokoromse to chase, kill and haul aboard [a fish].
cam 1, ca 1 + am, 233.
cam 2 < car, 217.
cáma < cam 1; 34.
camák ‘behind the house’; path running from the back of the house into the forest along which people go to defeate, or when they are going to the forest.
camán the space under the house.
Cáman personal name.
camár < cawer, 144.
camnìm the right way [as distinct from the wrong way].
camemememem to give someone a sound thrashing.
cámemémémôr < camemememem, 155.
camúw 1 on foot, walking.
cámwé 2 the sound of wood being chopped.
can to kill and eat.
cantés < can, 162.
canúpir pelican.
capakamop to have killed.
cápàkamópëres < capakamop, 155.
capimom to walk while holding [a lance] by the point.
capimomku, océn — to go ashore, holding a lance by its point.
capinmi ground, dry land [in contradiction to jif].
caporsomop to have massacred, to sit with the massacred.
car you, your [pl.], 206-220.
carám < car, 215.
caráp < car, 214.
carmá < car, 213.
carpá < car, 214.
case < to kill whilst on the river.
câsirimtakí < sirimtak, 125.
câtepocóm < têpap, 125.
câtepocómna < câtepocóm, 34.
catéw to kill.
catéwir = catéwér, < catéw, 155.
catéwam to kill [a pig] for someone.
catéwamân < catéwam, 155.
caciap to sit tightly packed [many people together].
cacim to be busy putting in rows [?].
cacít kind of fish.
cawer to kill many [pigs].
câwijsišporin < wijsišpor, 125.
cawenawer to rustle continually [leaves].
cem house; jiwís — a new house, built after having moved to another dwelling place; ow — look-out post: large house, in form similar to a ceremonial house [jew], situated at the mouth of the river on which a village lies. Here the men sit on the look out for enemies, especially when their women are fishing in the neighbourhood.
cémi — ak mát an old woman.
cémakap < cem, 185.
cémakabírwi < cem, 188.
Cemmuców personal name.
cemwén the space in front of the house; the village.
çen vagina; an 3.
çenm 1 ‘that which is inside’: kus — the brain; moomák — the eyeball.
çenm 2, ces — the point of an arrow; amús — the headpiece of the sago scraper.
cenís wife’s parents.
cêpís a wife, wives; a woman, women [but never: the wife, the woman]; çepís apcóm having a wife, wives; çowćc.
Cepezmi name of a river.
cérécajó spurring; eas.
ces 1 arrow.
ces 2 to pour down all night long [rain].
çesmár < ces 2; 144.
çesén < tesén.
çescúw skilled, clever.
çestów long arrow.
cét < cic.
cémén 1 penis.
cémén 2, ci — = ci cimén, cicimén.
Cémenosamic name of a river.
cémew, abuse < at 2.
cêmés below, on the floor; downstream.
cêwí the base of the frond of a sago palm.
ci 1 canoe; jim — a group of women who go out in a canoe to fish with the net; jicop — a group of men who go out in a canoe, e.g. to hunt or to guard the fishing women.
ci 2 kind of tree, used for making canoes.
ci 3 lower part of the midrib of the frond of the sago palm; ci sés the dead fronds of the sago palm.
ci 4 to cut up.
cia (341) = ci 1 [emphatic].
cic contest, match.
cicimpor to make rustling noises in the thatch of houses [said of ghosts].
cicikim to wash off, to clean.
cicikimór < cicikim, 155.
cicikimcem < cicikim, 125.
cicikimtiw to wash, to clean [object lying].
cikim to wash something.
cim to shoot [an arrow].
címén the stern of a canoe; ci — idem.
cimín 1 temple [of the head].
cimín 2 imitation; just as, as though; ci — imitation-canoe; opák — as though nothing were afoot (322); a cimín cowák just as before (271).
cimom to be busy with [?].
cimtewer to take away a part from.
cimtíw to kill by shooting.
cin 1 and, inclusive, both of; 251.
cin 2 to cut up something for eating.
ciomcow to cut up and take indoors, e.g. a pig.
ciomówcumár < ciomówcow, 144.
ciomówcow to cut up much [flesh] and take it indoors.
ciptow dried up sago palm.
cir to snatch at.
ciri snatching, emtewer.
cirim fence, partition; covó — a band of sago leaves; jemés — a wall of shields.
cirín the strip of tidal forest along the coast.
ciromas to cut up in pieces.
ciromásères < ciromas, 155.
cirop, moc — to start to cry, to complain about; purumúc — to begin to
sing dirges to honour a guest [this is done in the ceremonial house].
cirópanem < ciró, 155.

c 0 container; nest, trough; pok — trough with food; an — small trough
used to put sago in; pomó — ‘a nest
of feathered paddles’, said when all the
people in a canoe have feathered
paddles.

cop 1 to plait [subject sitting].
cop 2 to stay hidden.
copér < cop 1, 2; 155.
copérés < cop 1, 2; 155.
copfrás < cop 1, 2; 162.
cocó dashing forward.
cófl spool, unusable [said of sago
palms].
cobó, nam — in high spirits.
com 1 car, 232.
com 2 the headband of a carrying bag.
com 3, monam — to fall in love.
com 4 to hide [someone].
com 5 to kill and take along.
comá < com 3; 109.
comapom (324) to present something to
[].
comíc young sago leaves, used like a
spoon to soak up the water that has
come into the canoe.
comis to go outside, throwing [sago]
about.
cómismár < comí, 144.
comom, fe — to string [fish] on a rope
and hold it.
comopower to keep someone hidden
[indoors].
cop → cop.
copawer to plait without interruption,
continually.
copó with a thud.
copón young sago palm [older than
wasér]; teu — a copón from which the
edible top only is removed. [A copón
is still so small that one can get the
top out of it without cutting the tree
down].
copú a young sago palm [older than a
mikín, but younger than a wasér].
cotau to plait something until it is fin-
ished.
cotuvar < cotuw, 155.
cotuwpor to try to plait something until
it is finished.
cotuwporó < cotuwpor, 162.
cow the sago palm [generic name].
cowák one, only; all; very; forthwith,
straightaway [when cowák follows a
verb]; inim — and so on; opák — not
in the least.
cowáka < cowák, 34.
cowákseré little ones, crumbs, 191.
cowákserle → cowákseré.
cowí → cowó.
Cowó name of a village.
cowhán together.
cowó the side leaves of the frond of the
sago palm.
cowór flat, level, smooth; alike, the
same. mi — among [our] selves, with
only people of the same group.
cowóra < cowór, 34.
coworé the top of the frond of the sago
palm.
cowú 1 the bark of the sago palm.
cowu 2 the place in the forest where
the sago is scraped out.
cowíc woman, girl [s.] fa — chief
wife; así — co-wife; cowíc apcóm
‘being like a woman’, term of abuse,
used with regard to men.
cowúca < cowúc, 34.
cowút → cowúc.
cowútnakap < cowúc, 185.
Cowútpacak woman’s name.
cukem to be hidden [subject standing].
cumán a burn.
cumassam to let go freely [shit, piss].
cumatom to take someone away se-
cretely, to kidnap.
cumatómites < cumatom, 168.
curufís to slither to the outside [fish].
cufús < curufís, 109.
curútw secretly.
cucum to make noise.
cuwúc at that moment, at that time.
cuwút → cuuwíc.

e 1 interjection: oh!, no!.
e 2 → er.
e 3 leaf; amás — the side leaves of the
frond of the sago palm.
e 4 to say, to do; anám — to work up
the inner part of the pith of the sago
palm; ajpamá — to be known (324); atów — to play; caj — 1) to intend, to think of, to have an idea, 2) to have sexual intercourse; jan — to hear; jec — to carry a heavy load, to go forward with difficulty [e.g. across the mudbanks]; jinamúc — to be very busy with; jipis — to dart to and fro [fish]; jiwá — to surround; ju — to shout, to yell; karém — to cause someone to be quiet; makán — to leave behind; njonjonjo — to screech [ghosts]; njernjer — to devour [said of maggots]; tosów — to make a gift in return; tow — to rustle [leaves].

e 5 — so 1.
e a interjection: oh!
eacóm < e 4; 165.
eacóm < eacóm, 34.
emis, mokóp — to lie on the stomach.
eap to do while sitting, to speak while sitting; amín pu — to be busy with [preparations for departure]; cáj pacák — to be in a hopeless situation; ják seré — to become enamoured of; jíná ji — to crawl on hands and knees; mé jipí — to have the mouth chockfull.
ea Pam — to do mutually while staying somewhere.
eaPI < eap, 176.
eaPmor < eapom 1, 2; 155.
eaPmorés < eapom 1, 2; 155.
eaPom 1 to speak about [object sitting].
eaPom 2, cem — to build a house.
eaPomhekem — to build a house, tying it firmly.
eaas, cérécafó — to spurt out [of juice]
eaasam to do all the time: jinamúc in — to be busy all the time, until completion.
eaaver to do continually, all day long, always; caj — always to be averse from; em — to beat the drums all day long; jipis — always to dart to and fro [fish].
eaaveri < eaver, 125.
eaavéromom < eaver, 136.
eaavirí < eaver, 116.
eaaviria < eavirí, 34.
eaavéromokom < eaver, 136.
ecem < e 4; 125.
ecemánokom < e 4; 136.
ecemé < écem, 33.
écemés < e 4; 136.
écén < e 4; 116.
écéna < écén, 34.
écés < e 4; 125.
écí < e 4; 125.
écó revenge.
écó kind of frog.
écóom < e 4; 125.
ecóom to speak while standing up.
ecó 1 to do at night.
ecó 2, mormor — to come towards crawling in great numbers; manmák cenám wu — to come towards with shining eyes.
èlsèri < ees 1; 125.
et 1 twig; man — finger.
et 2 < e 4; 162.
et 2 quickly.
efamuc [do it] quickly!
efamúca < efamúc, 34.
efamút → efamuc.
efém < e 4; 162.
efís < e 4; 162.
efókóm < e 4; 162.
efóm < e 4; 162.
eit to do in the morning
eišeri < eit, 125.
eitum to do in the afternoon.
eitumcémokóm < eitum, 136.
eitumci < eitum, 125.
eitumcom < eitum, 125.
ej 1 interjection: hey! ay!
ej 2 < e 4, 155.
ekJ stone, fruit; maj — toe; tinak — the fruit of the sago palm.
ekJó → ekJó; ekJó jiná ‘arise child’, misbegotten brat [term of abuse].
ekJó knot in wood, arse.
èknakap one [numeral].
ekurum, jiran — to become squashed.
em 1 wife [s.].
em 2 drum.
em 3 to be [subject standing], to stand, to wait.
em 4 to do, to make, to work up [sago pith], to apply to; mar atów — to play football; mer — to catch crabs; jim — to fish with the net.
em 5 you [s., pl.] are. Only in the set expressions: nor mó em, no mitóis em, see 236, note 41.
emá 1 < e 4; 144.
emá 2 < em 4; 144, 183.
emá 3 < em 5; 34.
emápurúv < em 4; 114.
emápurúva < emápuruv, 34.
emák bone.
emákpatútúvom < kaputútuv, 162.
emamár < emawer 2; 144.
emámci < om 7, 8; 125, 179.
emamis to lie down.
emamóp < emawer 1; 152.
emamópa < emamop, 34.
emamós < em 4; 113.
emamósa < emamós, 34.
emamé < emamis, 162.
emamés < emamís, 155.
emamsi < emamís, 155.
emamsto < emamst, 33.
emamísí < emamísí, 168.
emamtevew to meet each other.
eman, amás — to get food.
emanem to store [sago] on, to fill [the
platforms on the collar-beams, with food].
èmaném < em 4; 144, 183.
emap to sit, to sit down, to begin to go
down [sun].
emápágélew (309) < emap, = cémáp-
élew or emápágélew, 130, 167.
emápácis < emap, 165.
emápécma < emap, 136.
emápém < emap, 155 [mood form].
emápérés < emap, 155.
emapi < emap, 155.
emapé < emap, 144.
emapéma, ke — to get stuck [on a
sandbank] at night.
emápémorúv < emapem, 144.
emapanmá < emapom, 155.
emapanorúv < emapom, 155.
emapanom to cause to sit down, to put
down; to hit, strike [with a spear,
harpoon]; cem — to make a house;
žirik — to paint the žirik design on.
emapanórén < porap, 155.
emár indeed not, no; 244.
emár < e 4; 144.
emára 1 < éma, 34.
emára 2 < emár, 34.
emarinumut to man a canoe in the morn-
ing.
emárímútumár < emarinumut, 144.
emárímútumar ≤ emárímútumár, 34.
emáriv to go aboard [a number of
people in one canoe].
emasmawer, jowic — to make jokes all
the time.
emásmerúvom < emasmer, 136.
ematan to go and chop down, to begin
to chop down.
emátepésmar < tepés, 144.
emátepí < tep, 176, 179.
emátevúrüm < atawer, 171.
emátmor < ematan, 155.
emátmom < at 5, 6; 125, 179.
emátmom < at 5, 6; 125, 179.
emawer 1 to stay [subject standing].
emawer 2 always to do.
emcinom < em 4; 125, 179.
emcín 1 < em 3; 176.
emcín 2 < em 4; 125, 179.
émčém < em 4; 136.
émčém < emcém, 34.
émčém < em 4; 136.
émčépém < em 4; 136.
èmci < em 3; 176.
èmci < em 4; 125, 179.
èmci < em 3; 33.
èmcim 1 < em 3; 176.
èmcim 2 < em 4; 125, 179.
èmcim < emcim, 34.
èmcim < em 4; 125, 179.
èmcim < em 4; 125, 179.
èmcim < em 3; 33.
èmcim < em 3; 176.
èmcim 2 < em 4; 125, 179.
èmcim < emcim, 34.
èmcim < em 4; 125, 179.
èmcim < em 4; 125, 179.
èmcim < em 4; 125, 179.
èmcim < em 4; 125, 179.
èmcim < em 4; 125, 179.
èmcim < em 4; 125, 179.
èmcim < em 4; 125, 179.
èmcim < em 4; 125, 179.
èmcim < em 4; 125, 179.
èmcim < em 4; 125, 179.
emémansèrèm (266) 'since you are there'; < emamis, 155.
émèf < emem 1; 162.
emémèmèrèm (269) 'since you are there'; < emem 1, 155.
emèr < emem 1; 155.
emèmes to grow up during the night [tree].
emèmèsmar < ememes, 144.
emèmèrèm < emem 1; 155.
emèmi < emem 1; 155.
emèmòf < emem 1; 162.
emen 1 to walk upstream; to walk to the far end of.
emen 2 < em 4; 144, 183.
èmen < emen 2; 33.
èmenèr < emen 1; 155.
èmenitativipuy < nimativ, 155.
èmenèmetèn rattan calf band.
èmenomèf < onom, 162.
èmèp 1 < e 4; 152.
èmèp 2 < em 4; 152, 183.
èmèpandapokom < nikajap, 155.
èmèpapàran < por, 155.
èmèpapàranèm < por, 155.
èmèpapàranènèm < por, 144.
èmèpasàn < sa, 155.
èmèpè < emèp 1; 33.
èmèporànènèm < por, 155.
èmèpori < por, 155.
èmèpormànènèm < por, 144.
èmèr < em 3; 155.
èmes 1 to come walking towards.
èmes 2 to make something at night.
èmes 3 < e 4; 144.
èmesakajami < sakajaver, 144.
èmesamèp < sa 2; 152.
èmesetajèr < setaj, 155.
èmesi < èmes 1; 155.
èmesamèp < èmes 2; 152.
èmesamèn < èmes 2; 144.
èmesamènèm < èmesmem, 34.
èmesamènèmèm < susu, 144.
èmetawamèn < tawower, 144.
èmetawamèm < èmetawami, 34.
èmetawami < òtawa, 155.
èmetawamò < émetawami, 33.
èmetawamò < òtawa, 12, 155.
èmetawamò < èmetawamò, 34.
èmetawamèmèrèm < òtawa 2; 155.
èmetepakajapates < tepakajap, 168.
èmeururudè < òruru 2; 168.
èmewer → èmawer 2.
èmewerèjimos < èmawer 2; 113.
èmewerèjëpuràwa < èmawer 2; 114.
èmeurirè < èmawer 2; 171.
èmèrèm < òtawa 3; 155.
èmèrèma < èmèrèm, 34.
èmèrènë < òtawa 3; 155.
èmèrèm < òtawa 3; 155.
èmofam, jo'n — to do until the sun rises.
èmofamèf < èmofam, 162.
èmfam, jo'n — to stay until the breaking of the day.
èmfamèf < èmfam, 162.
èmfam < òtawa 4; 162.
èmfè < èmfàs, 162.
èmfè < òtawa 4; 162.
èmfè < òtawa 3, 4; 162.
èmfènèf < òtawa 4; 162.
èmfìnsum to come out of [a hiding place].
èmfìnsu < òtawa 3, 4; 162.
èmfìs to speak while standing.
èmfìs 2 < òtawa 4; 144.
èmfìs 3 < òtawa 4; 144, 183.
èmfìs < òtawa 3; 34.
èmfìs < òtawa 3; 176.
èmfìs < èmfìs, 34.
èmfìsèmà < èmfìs 1; 144.
èmfìsèm < òtawa 4; 144, 183.
èmfìsè < èmfìs, 33.
èmfìsè < òtawa 3; 33.
èmfìs to go outside, to go to the forest.
èmìsèmar < èmis, 136.
èmisìmp < èmis, 152.
èmita → èmic.
èmita < òtawa 3, 168 [?].
èmita < òtawa 3, 168.
èmita < òtawa 3, 168.
èmitàm to be standing during the afternoon, to stay during the afternoon.
èmitàm to go indoors.
èmitàm < òtawa 3, 155.
èmitàm to go, to walk.
èmitàm, go — to row [subject standing];
apim — to squeeze out sago pulp [subject standing].
èmitàmà < èmitàm, 144.
èmitàmà to keep on speaking, shouting [subject standing].
èmitàmà to start to collect up [necessary] implements in the morning.
èmitàmàm < èmitàmì, 144.
èmitàmàm to set out, to go away, walking [subject standing].
enekojėr $<$ emkoj, 155.
enkom to pick [a flower], [subject standing].
enku to go ashore, to step ashore.
enkumár $<$ emku, 144.
énkurmór $<$ emkurum, 155.
enkurum to make all, to make the whole thing.
enmáni, náni — to stand whimpering.
émnanimár $<$ ennami, 144.
énmi 1 to (begin to) walk back home, to walk downstream, to descend.
énmi 2, náj ni — to dangle one’s feet.
énnimár $<$ énmí 1, 2; 144.
enpúp $<$ enmi 1; 155.
enócamár $<$ emocawer, 144.
enocawer, uc — to stand laughing continually.
enóf $<$ em 3, 4; 162.
enóm $<$ em 4; 144, 183.
enóm $<$ ém 4; 144.
enop, tiri — to have left none, to have killed all (337).
énoper $<$ emop, 155.
enór $<$ ém 4; 155.
énórém $<$ ém 4; 155.
enotassimawer $<$ otassimawer.
enpam to hit someone with.
enpám $<$ émpam, 155.
enpépem, nápmák — to be on the lookout.
enpor 1 to try to stand; to want to stay; empor! please, stay!
enpor 2 to try to make something; to be able to do something; to want to do; enám —, pe —, amás — to try to get fish, crabs, sago.
enpór $<$ émpor 1, 2; 109.
énporamár $<$ émporawer, 144.
enporamép $<$ émporawer, 152.
enporawer continually try to do.
enporcej $<$ émpor 1, 2; 116.
enporés $<$ émpor 1, 2; 155.
en porfénés $<$ émpor 1, 2; 162.
enporó $<$ émpor 1, 2; 162.
enpur to be on the river, to row along the river.
enpúčemes $<$ empu, 136.
enpuj $<$ ém 4; 144, 183.
ensajcucuku to flee, everyone individually, to the forest.
ëmsajcucumár $<$ emsajcucuku, 144.
en sajcu ku to flee, everyone individually, to the forest.
en sakamtewerfém $<$ sakamtewer, 162, 179.
en samem to pile up.
en samémamár $<$ ensamem, 144.
en samawer, em — to beat the drums the whole day (328).
en se to be on or in the water.
en seawer always to be in or on the water, to stay in the water.
en séces $<$ émse, 176.
en séères $<$ émse, 155.
en sem, mu fowú — to fill [a trough] to the brim with water.
en semor $<$ ensem, 155.
en sér $<$ émse, 155.
en séres $<$ émse, 155.
en setájérés $<$ setaí, 155, 179.
en sires quickly to come walking towards.
en siresi $<$ émsires, 155.
en sirí to run away.
en sit to grow up [subject standing].
en solomem (323) to spoil [?].
en solomemér $<$ ensolomem, 155.
en solomér $<$ ensolomem, 155.
en solomín $<$ ensolomem, 155.
en solomem to hit, to strike.
en tam, mi waci — to indicate assent by lifting the head.
en tamór $<$ emtam, 155.
en tamop to try to make or to do something for someone.
en taw to speak, to start to speak [subject standing].
en twámepés $<$ emtwawer, 152.
en tawaré $<$ emtaw, 165.
en twawer continually to speak [subject standing].
en twawérwiras $<$ emtwawer, 171.
en twawur $<$ emtaw, 144.
en twawumém $<$ emtaw, 144.
en twawutum, tam pepepe — to draw rattan tight on something in the evening.
en twawutumár $<$ emtwawutum, 144.
emtep to hang.
en tetaméémokón $<$ tetam, 136, 179.
en tewen to go and fetch food.
en tewer to go and fetch; ciri — to grab; kapú — to catch hold of.
en tewerfén $<$ emtewer, 162.
éntewerfés < emtewer, 162.
émtewiníwi all to go on their way.
éntewiñimuar < emtewiñiwi, 144.
émtewíwácm < emtewen, 165.
émtewíwácem < emtewíwácm, 34.
émtewíwum (321) to gather large quantities of [sago] [?].
émtim, ó'n — to stay somewhere until the sun goes down, to walk until the sun goes down [subject standing].
émtimcémari < emtim, 136.
émtimf < emtim, 162.
émtímsf < emtímsf, 34.
émítítw to put [several things] down.
émítítwá < emítítw, 109.
émítíw, wa — to make someone glisten [object lying].
émítíwikum to work up all [sago pulp].
émítíwikumac < emítíwikum, 165.
émítókóm, mokáp — to put upside down [a canoe on the bank of the river].
émítírum to line up [canoes against the bank of the river].
émítírumf < emítírum, 162.
émúj < em 4; 155.
émút 1 to do, to make, in the morning.
émút 2 < em 4; 168.
émutí < énut 1; 144.
émutókóm < em 4; 168.
émutókóma < émutókóma, 34.
émútum to make something in the afternoon.
émue to flee [a crowd of people].
émues to topple over, to fall down with much rustling of leaves [tree].
émueúermar < emweus, 136.
en 1 — an 1.
en 2 kind of fish.
en 3 to go to the extreme end of; to go upriver on or along a large river [see sketch p. 364].
en 4 [?], ie — to put on a string.
énakap small, young.
énakapiríw very small, very young; < énakap, 188.
enám fish; mu — creatures that live in the water.
enámmakap < enám, 185.
enamíc come! let's go!. 
enaré < en 4 [?]; 165.
enaw to come towards [see sketch p. 364].
enawap to come towards and stay, → enaw.
enawapés to come towards and pass the night, → enaw.
enáwapesmóm < enáwapes, 144.
enáwapíom < enawap, 162.
enáwaw < enaw, 125.
enáwacem < enaw, 125.
enáwam to come towards... and run [water] away.
enáwamá < enáwam, 109.
enakapí to come towards and join up with.
enákapanf < enákapan, 162.
enáwe < enaw, 144.
enesamíms to come towards and lie down.
enésamímsí < enésamíms, 162.
enésamíms, samsam... — to come in many canoes close together.
enésamímsí < enésamíms, 162.
enésamí to land with a thud on the ground.
enésjápí < enésjap, 155.
enésmapom, mimi — having come towards... to cause to get stuck [e.g. a canoe on the bank of a river].
enésmit grandmother.
enestewer to come in order to get.
enestúrum to come towards and line up [canoes against the bank of a river].
enésturúmef < enésturum, 162.
enésím and, 250.
enís → enésím.
enímm → mer.
eníf < e 4; 162.
eom to speak while holding something.
eomat to speak while walking around.
eomewer 1 to keep saying to.
eomewer 2, maj mün — always to take someone on the wrong path.
eomit to speak to someone in the morning.
compúwer, tep tep — to sink farther and farther down [in the bog] with.
comse to talk while rowing.
coni, tep tep — to sink farther and farther down.
eos, moc — to come with [someone] while crying.
ep tail; jec — far end of the sump trough; ci — the stern of a canoe; si — a very long axe.
Epém name of a jew in the village of Serëw.
coperák the bottom end of something long; the last one in a series.
cpermák = coperák.
cipic elder sister [s.].
cipicevies older sisters [pl.], 190.
cpmák the upper course of a river.
cpnmá = cpermák.
cpomá = ceponá.
cpomá = cipomá.
epomá = cepomá.
epmá = cepmá.
er 1 that, over there, 223.
er 2 $c 4; 155.
er 3 to come something.
erm 1 night, at night.
er 2 $c 4; 155.
erm 3 to tear something.
ermtev = ermtevew.
ermteuw to split something.
ermteuw = ermteuw.
erm upstream, of a small river, a tributary.
erem to tear something to pieces; to sort out things.
eremamép = erem, 152.
eres = $c 4; 155.
Eréw personal name.
es 1 blood.
es 2 to come towards, from erén or sen [see sketch p. 364].
es 3, is — to sleep.
es name of a side river of the Asewéc.
esców = es 2, 3; 120.
esców = esców, 33.
esé carrying bag plaited of grass or of the fibres of the pandanus tree.
esem to come walking towards = es.
esín name of a village no longer in existence.
esinkom = Esín.
esit, is — to sleep and then set out.
esitá = esit, 109.
esjar, is — to sleep and travel on.
esjarmés = esjar, 144.
eskám red; manmák — bloodshot eyes.
esomí, is — to sleep and then set out with...
esomí = cesomí, 109.
espét young shoot of the sago palm.
espét apák young leaf of the espét. A strip of the midrib of this young leaf is used to fasten the headpiece of the sago scraper onto the handle.
espom, papís is — to sleep with a papís woman.
espomer = cespom, 155.
esumum to pull off [leaves].
etam to do something for someone; at — to point out, to give instructions to do something; cem — to make a house for...; fis — to roast food for someone.
etamén = cetam, 155.
etamérwom = cetamérwom, 33.
etamor = cetam, 155.
etamores = cetam, 155.
etampor = cetampor, 155.
etampor to try to do for someone [but in vain].
etamporáwew, fis — always to try to roast food for someone.
etamporén = cetampor, 155.
etamporni = cetampor, 144.
etamporni = cetampor, 155.
etampeu to take a message to.
etep, jirán — to ripen [fruit on a tree].
ete, orón — to make smooth, to eat clean [object lying].
etiwamá = cetiwawer, 144.
etiwawer, orón — to keep eating clean, continually to make smooth.
etiwir to rub on, to daub, for one's own benefit.
etiwirfiém = cetiwir, 162.
etot to say, to do, each person for himself.
etotomá = cetot, 144.
etom 1 dubitative marker, 255.
etom 2 (311) from.
etom 3 crocodile.
etom 4 to finish plaiting.
etwá = cetwá, 162.
etwówom to pull [someone] away from.
etwówom = cetwówom, 155.
ewcucurum, wasén — to slither down from the bank of the river [said of fish].

ewcucurumorés < ewcucurum, 155.
ewcucurumorés < ewcucurum, 155.
eve, tam — to do from morning.
eveem, jok — to walk from midday, to stand from midday.
éveemôf < eveem, 162.
éveemer < eveem, 155.
éveemères < eveem, 155.
éveemés < eveem, 144.
éveemic < em 3; 176, 178.
éveemit — eveemic.
eveemsires to come quickly from... towards... → es.
eveemsiresi < eveemsires, 155.
eveemsiresiô < eveemsiresi, 33.
Ewén personal name.
evenaw to come from, → en.
evenáwanem < evenaw, 155.
evenáwanenô < evenáwanem, 34.
evenauvât < evenaw, 168.
Ewâr name of a village.
ever — eaver, amás to — always to be hungry; jiw — to live long, to become old.
everdâv — man! that's good! all right!
everémôro < ever, 175.
everémôro < ever, 174.
evees to come from... towards... → es.
evesczokom < eves, 125.
evesf < eves, 162.
evesrôm < ever, 125.
evesis to come outside from.
evesiw to go inside from.
evesiwôr < evesiw, 155.
evevîpûn < evesi, 171.
êvîrîpûnô < evirîpûn, 33.
eves to go out of [a river].
evîsô < evîs, 162.
evîsêrês < evîs, 155.
evít to come from, start out from.
evîtê < evît, 162.
evîtêd < evîtê, 34.
evîkem to sew something up from a particular point; to be sewing from a particular point in time.
evâku to step ashore from the canoe.
evâkuku to dash out of [the forest].
evâkukôf < evâkuku, 162.
evâkôr < evâku, 155.
Ewândô personal name.

evÎ to go downwards from, to descend from, to go back home from.


evînem, jok — to fall down from the middle of the day [rain].
evînemôr < evînem, 155.
evînêrês < evûni, 155.
evînomu to go down from [the house] and go aboard with...; to depart with [something] from [somewhere].
evînomuwfêm < evînomuw, 162.
evîkominuw to finish plaiting and put [the bag] down.


evîkominuw < evîkominuw.
evîmuse to row from... taking [someone] along.
evîpopmes, tam — to be busy with something from early morning [subject sitting].
evôr kind of crab.
evôtoeveer, mo — to retch all the way from [?].
evôtracêm < evwiri, 165.
evôtrôf < evwiri, 162.
evôri to hurry from; asêp — to run towards [someone] behind [him].
evôtrôf < evwiri, 162.
evôwûsesites, tam — to start out early in the morning.
evôwûsesitesmêp < evôwûsesites, 152.
evôtepkoôr < evôtepkoô, 155.
evôtepkoô, op — to fall down from above [ripe fruit].
evôtepsoô, op — to spring down from above.
evôtepsoôô < evôtepsoô, 155.
evîtê to finish, to get ready with [plaiting].
evîtêveer to take something out of [object lying].
evîtôwôpmuêtê, evîtôwôpmôm, 168.
evôtwôpmôm, jok — to put something in a place at midday and keep it there. 
evôtwôpmôsirôm to row strongly from. 
evôtwôpmôsirômôrês < evôtwôpmôsirêm, 155.
evuc younger brother [s.].
evûcôwûcôwes younger brothers [pl.], 190.
evuc < evuc, 34.
evîmumôsit, wasên — to drive away from the shore [fish].
evîmumôsiteôrês < evîmumôsit, 155.
evût — evuc.
evûtênaôkôf < evuc, 185.
é

- onomatopoeia reproducing the screaming of a crowd of people, 35.
- oh, wait, have patience!; yes; in that case; but; 236.
- mother.
- younger sister of father or mother, 195.

f

fa 1 buttocks, the underneath part; behind; os — lowermost part of the trunk of a tree; → icic.
fa 2, enám — spine of a fish.
fa 3 (312), jo — until the breaking of the day.
facinop to prepare [the trunk of the felled sago palm].
facinopčár < facinop, 120.
facintewet to marry again, to take as a co-wife.
facintewetá < facintewet, 109.
facin the skin of the cuscus.
fafa... interjection, used to call tamed pigs.
fafajim to smooth.
fafam → emfafam.
fañam < fañám, 162.
fañisi to turn around and around; purumúc — to sit in a circle and sing in turn.
fañaw to spear [fish], and again, and again.
fañawá < fañaw, 109.
fañem to strip off [bark].
fañemas to peel off.
fañemmem to strip off, wrench off, downwards [bark of a felled tree].
fañemmonas to strip off [bark].
fañemocin to strip off [bark] towards the top or the lower end of a tree trunk.
fañemocinér < fañemocin, 155.
fañemtiv to strip off [bark] and put [it] down.
fañemtivá < fañemtiv, 155.
fañisawer to keep on turning around; purumúc — to sit in a circle and sing in turn, all day long.
fañisaweráw < fañisawer, 125.

fajuj 1 to peel [skin].
fajuj 2, jo wín fañujér day in day out.
fajujér < fañuj, 155.
fait → fawic.
faj 1 to burn.
faj 2, mitán — to be averse to.
fajamis to lie burning; to have just risen [sun].
fajamsér < fajamis, 155.
fajap to sit burning; to shine [the sun, shortly after sunrise]; útis — to smile broadly [subject sitting].
fajasam to glow fiercely.
fajásamamép < fajásam, 152.
fajásamep to fajasamamép.
fajó cocoon.
fajúnc in peace, in good order, undisturbed.
fajupew to slither into the water.
fajum to flay a head by holding it in the fire until the skin can be peeled off with ease.
fak → fak 2.
fakam to break, to damage.
fakán a scream.
fam 1 to run [water] away; to push, to shove.
fam 2 to cause to burn.
famasam 1, joñ — to go on with something until daybreak.
famasam 2 to run all [the water] away.
famop to sit by someone until daybreak.
famsem to run water away.
famtiw to burn up [object lying].
faménakap short.
faptiwe the beams forming the floor of the house.
fasák white.
fasien to return upstream.
fasimap, atákám — to tell the story, to tell what happened.
fasini to turn round and go back home, or downstream.
fasiniér < fasini, 155.
faw to stab repeatedly, to spear [fish].
fawá < faw, 109.
fawampeš < fawamwer, 152.
fawasam to spear to the last one.
fawawer continually to spear [fish].
fawen to go upstream while spearing [fish].
fawes to spear [fish] during the night.
fawesnép < fawes, 152.
fawic joke.
fawjukmapmu < fawjukmapom, 155.
fawjukmapom to spear [fish] and put [them] together.
fawjukumitu to spear [fish] and put [them] in heaps.
fawitew to spear [fish] and put [them] down.
fawitwéy < fawitew, 162.
fawut to spear [fish] during the morning.
fe 1 string made of rattan, rope; man — wrist.
fe 2, onow — to make thatch.
fehemtau to collect, to gather.
fehentaum caves < fehentaauwer, 144.
fehentaauwer to collect much, many.
fen, fek — very large, huge.
kek 1 hard, stiff, solid, firm; jak — a full stomach; man feka! hold tightly!;
po feka! row on strongly!
kek 2 broken, damaged.
kek 3 to fen.
fet 1 fish-trap: kind of screen made of strips of the wood of the pandanus.
The strips, placed parallel to each other, are held together by an inter-twined rattan binding. The trap is put in the entrance of a small river when the tide is high, so that the fish in this river is trapped behind it when the tide ebbs.
fet 2 piled up.
fere quickly.
fero sharp; ci — a fast canoe.
feet kind of fish living in small holes in the mud.
Fet personal name.
fetam, onow — to make thatch for someone, to help someone to make thatch.
fetew, an — to stitch up a trough.
fefje te the sound of the wind.
fi empty.
fic nail.
ifi 'open, free': ifi emem to stand between piled up things [in a house, in a canoe].
fitimkurum (339) to search about everywhere [upstream and downstream] [?].
fitimkurumac < fitimkurum, 165.
fik kind of wading bird.

fikikonaw to waft towards the land [a smell].
fikim to cause to smell.
fin, jec — to make, to put in place, the sump trough.
fini to make ready for use [the sump trough, jec]; to put into place [the support, sis].
finiwer < fini, 155.
jum to cause to go indoors.
jumsum to cause to come inside, or outside.

jin feathers, hair.
jiwomimes < jiwomiw, 136.
firim to turn [upside down].
jiwimitorpor to try to turn over.
jiwimitorporá < jirimitorpor, 109.
jirkah kind of grass.
jiwom long heavy arrow with a bamboo point, used to kill pigs.
jis 1 kind of fish.
jis 2 to come inside, to come outside.
Fiti name of a river.
jiw go inside, indoors.
jiwer < jiw, 155.
jiwum to enter [a house] in the afternoon.
jiwummar < jiwum, 144.
jiwom to take someone inside.
jiwomimes < jiwomitiw, 136.
fo 1 wind, whistling.
fo 2 — jum 2.
fofó thin, lean.
fofofo 'in crowds' — jitiak.
fohos to come inside, or outside, with.
fohos to go inside with, or towards someone.
fohoswer < fohos, 155.
foras upside down.
fowas full, filled to the brim, emsem.
fo bamboo horn.
foam to pass the night, gathered around someone.
foam 1 clear [of water].
foam 2 to disclose, to reveal; fo — to bring out, to pull out.
foamó widow.

H

ha ah! 38.
hehe sign of agreement, 38.
I

i urine, piss.
ic thorn.
icí, fa — [at] a little distance behind.
icím, mu — to begin with a feast.
icímores < icím, 155.
icípic father. 193.
icítnakap < icí, 185.
in 1 quotation marker, 258.
in 2 unidentified element, 259.
in < in 1; 34.
ino < in 1; 33.
inim thus, in this way, like this; when, just as... [when followed by a progressive form of the verb; 144, 152]; inim jipic inim conic this or that man or woman; inim inim maji pak to say nothing about.
inímakap such a little one, 185.
inímakapiríw such a very small one, such a very little bit, 188.
inimípic a certain man; Mr So-and-so.
inímipit → inimipic.
ir year bird.
iríc Spanish pepper [loanword from Malay, = ritja].
irímen to walk upstream [many people] → en.
iríntep to walk upstream [many people] → tep.
iriri. 1 onomatopoeia, imitating the sound produced by many small objects falling down.
iriri 2 → emop.
iririáwer unceasingly to rain down [fruit].
iririáwerína < iririáwer, 136.
iririm to brush small objects off, to scrape small pieces off.
iririmítw to break up small, to scrape out [sago].
iririmítwac < iririmítw, 165.
is sleep; manmák — dizzy.
isíps parents [pl.].
isípsnakás < isíps, 187.
isínenam to throw towards.
isíven to go quickly upstream, to go quickly to the far end of... → en.
isívenau to come quickly towards, → enau.
isíves to come quickly towards, → es., iswíjis 1 to hurry to the forest.
iswíjis 2 quickly to go outside, to go out of a river.
iswíjispor to hurry to the forest and have a look at.
iswíjisporasín < iswíjispor, 120.
iswikuwanaw to come inland in a hurry.
iswinem to throw down.
iswiní to hurry back home, to go quickly downstream.
iswinier < iswiní, 155.
iswionmis to hurry to the forest with.
iswír → iswíjis 1, 2.
iswítak to hurry downstream.
iswitép to hurry upstream.
iswítau to lay on [thatch on the rafters].
iswínim the river’s edge, the side of the river as distinct from the side of the forest.

J

j → ej 2; 182.
ja that, there [with you], 224.
ja ‘movement, going’; mú — current; → at.
ja < e 4; 109.
jac < e 4; 165.
jaces < e 4; 165.
jajmir foolish.
jak 1 → jáka.
jak 2 stomach, belly, heart [as the seat of feeling].
jak 3 charcoal.
jak 4 dark rain cloud.
jáka there, 225.
Jakáj personal name.
Jakajmósismit personal name.
Jákcorew name of a river.
Jákricucim personal name.
Jákricucímá < Jakaricucim, 34.
Jákricucismít < Jakaricucim, 195.
Jáknapak < jak 2, 3, 4; 185.
Jáknapakiríw < jak 2, 3, 4; 188.
Jaktamún < aktam, 162.
Janur < eawer, 144.
Jamer < eawer, 152.
Jamer (302) = emep [?] < e 4; 152.
Jameret joined together [two or more few sharing one ceremonial house].
Jamás < eawer, 144.
Jaméw name of a village.
Jaméwawawer, po — together to come rowing all the way along.
jámkonáwewirám < jamkonawawer, 171.
jamni to go down to the river, of a
large animal, of a crowd of people.
jamnák two.
jamóp < eawer, 152.
jamén < eawer, 152.
jamtep to hang, of a large object, or a
bundle, a bunch of objects.
jamtepít < jamtep, 176.
jan → jen.
japá < eap, 109.
jařpen < eap, 162.
jařjoni, me me — to carry back home,
staggering [a heavy load].
jařjônimár < jařjoni, 144.
jařpón (343) = jampom < eawer, 152.
jařpów (327) big mass of [?].
jar to walk, to go.
jarap to go and to stay; to have gone.
jarjirimo, cem ós — to go and be busy
putting up poles for a house.
jarikъionse to take along [in a canoe]
to a narrow river.
jarjár < jar, 144.
jaró < e 4; 165.
jarom to go and stand working at, being
busy with.
jarap to go and stay by.
jartewer to go and fetch something, to
go in order to fetch something.
jartewerá < jartewer, 109.
jarteweréjipuráw < jartewer, 114.
jarteweréjipuráwa < jarteweréjipuráw,
34.
jaser < eas, 155.
játakam myth.
jawerm < eawer, 125.
je exclamation: fiel
jec the part of the sago washing trough
in which the meal is allowed to settle
down: sump trough [see sketch p. 366].
Jecám personal name.
jéje → éja.
jem the bark of the jiwám tree; used
as a floor covering.
jemám side, region; na jó — our side
of the river.
jemès new, still unknown, unexplored.
jemó salty.
jemér < jiem, 155.
jemés shield.
jemésen landing stage [loan-word from
Malay, = djambatan].
b) the group of people belonging to a ceremoiial house. [This group is always divided into two halves, an "older" one [cête], and a "younger" one [coworè], each of which occupies one half of the ceremonial house].

jewévr kind of tree.

jewérmèro < ewer, 174.
Jewérmakabat personal name.

Jewérmakabat < Jewérmakabt, 34.

jewèw enemy, stranger.

jewèw visit.

jéwesdaniep man, belonging to such-and-such a jew.

jewesèn the space in front of a ceremonial house.

jévi < e 4; 125.

jévu broad, wide [of a house].

jéwò stranger, enemy.

ji 1 onomatopoeia, reproducing groaning.

ji 2 exclamation: ho!

ji 3, ew — trail of a crocodile. jina — crawling on hands and knees.

ji 4 preceding event, former happening, → pu; ji ov the primeval beings, the beings which existed before the earth was peopled.

ji 5 to say, to do; apim — to squeeze out sago pulp; jen — to hear, to listen; makèn — to leave behind; po — to row; purumèc — to sing dirges.

jiè cry of amazement.

jièmèr < jièwer, 144.

jièwer, amàs apim — continually to squeeze out sago pulp.

jièmèu the sea.

jicòp head-hunting party; hunting party, consisting of men only.

jicòr the mouth of a river.

jicuku to flee shouting; tetete — to disappear in a hurry.

jicukufès < jicuku, 162.

jicukù < jicuku, 109.

jièm to speak while standing up; to walk while doing; to be in a condition of... [standing subject]; cofò — to be spoilt, unusable [said of sago palms]; nam kokò — to be in high spirits; jokòn — to be silent; tajtaj... — gradually to stop with [subject standing].

jièmèr < jièm, 155.

jièmic < jièm, 176.

jièmit → jièmic.

jièmkerum, cofò — all to be unusable [sago palms].

jièmkerumòr < jièmkerum, 155.

jies 1, samsam... — to go at night in great numbers.

jies 2, makèn — to leave behind and come towards.

jièwer continually to do.

jewérmèro < jièwer, 174.

jiì marshy ground, bog, as distinct from dry, firm soil → capìmìni.

jiìnut to speak until daybreak.

jiìèm < ji 5; 162, 182.

jiìò → jiìò.

jiìòm < ji 5; 162, 182.

jiìk, manàm — to bind, to tie [up].

jiìkapìmòr < jiìkapòm, 155.

jiìkapòm, manàm — to bind, tie up [object setting].

jiìkem, manàm — to bind, tie up [object standing].

jiìkonaw, fere — to edge quickly towards the land [the rising tide].

jiìkoni to wrap up something and carry it to the river, carry it home.

jiìktamìpor to try to tie something up for someone; jiìmin — to try to make a sago stick for someone [but in vain].

jiìktampòmìn < jiìktampòr, 144.

jiìku to go ashore while saying...; jiìnàf — to crawl onto the land.

jiìkurum 1, apim — to squeeze out all sago pulp.

jiìkurum 2 to urge.

jiìkurumòr < jiìkurum 1, 2; 155.

jiìkurumòrè < jiìkurum 1, 2; 155.

jiìm fish net consisting of a large rattan ring to which a net is attached. It is always handled by two women, who scoop up the fish with it in the shallow water near the seashore or the river bank.

jiìmà child.

jiìmìmac engrossed in.

jiìnap, omèr — to be afraid of (someone).

jiìnasam, omèn — to raise a shout.

jiìnespòm [dialect of Ac] → espòm.

jiìmèrò < ji 5; 174, 182.

jiìmì the fruit of the jiìsìm tree.

jiìmin 'stick of sago'; sago, folded up in a nipa leaf and roasted. The sago can
be mixed with fish [enám nes —], with 
sago grubs [tow —] or edible top of 
the sago palm, [tn —].

jirim content, fond of.
jirim to search for, to look for, to hunt 
for.

jirnis, mus — empty water container → 
mus.
jirimem to pull downwards, to leave 
[the forest] below [said of a growing 
sago palm which rises high above 
the surrounding trees].
jirim 1, pisúwa — to stand with a dag-
ger stuck in the armband or in the 
wristband.
jirim 2 to pull along.
jirnomis, wow — to go outside while 
making patterns [by strewn sago on 
the ground].
jirimomismár < jirimomis, 144.
jirimom to drag towards, to bring 
towards [pulling, dragging].
jirimsem to go out [the tide].
jirimsemamár < jirimsem, 144.
jirimsp door; cem — in front of the 
house.
jirimomcimmes < jirimomkit, 136.
jirimom to pull someone up.
jirimspí stake standing in the water.
jirimteuer to go out [the tide].
jirimtw to pull off [leaves].

jin personal name.
jiná knee.

Jina < Jin, 34.

Jinác personal name.

jináf crawling.

jina to come across the river.

jinausirimku to come, crossing the 
river, and go ashore.

jine [?], amás — to wash sago (295).

jinem to speak to someone who is 
below.

jini to do while going back home, while 
going downstream; makán — to go 
home, leaving [someone] behind; po — 
to row downstream.

Jiníc name of the coworé of the jew 
Majit, → jew.

jiníc slack, limp; nam — numb; is 
— deep sleep.

jiníca → jinícací.

jinícací very beautiful.

jinícacína exceptionally beautiful.

jiními < jini, 144.

jiníma < jiními, 34.

jinintever to fetch many people.

jinini everyone to speak.

jininimar < jinini, 144.

jininame everyone to speak.

jininímemár < jininame, 144.

Jimiot → Jinic.

jinítnakap < jinic, 200.

jinítnakapítw < jinic, 201.

Jinít name of a river.

jiníttenampés < jiníttenaw, 152.

jiníttenaw to come all towards.

jiníttenácémíom < jiníttenaw, 136.

jinítujar to walk [many people toge-
ther].

jinítwi to go to the river, to go home 
[many people together].

jiníwic, — enám shoals of fish.

jip the far end of the house.

jipakajap to speak [many people, stay-
ing together].

jipakajapér < jipakajap, 155.

jipe, makán — to leave behind and 
depart.

jiper < jipe, 155.

jiperes < jipe, 155.

jíp → porap.

jipíc man, boy [s.].

jipin truncated, broken; asé — having 
tiredness in the back.

jípí to clasp [a large object].

jipírom, macír — to hold something in 
both arms [standing subject].

jipíromic < jipírom, 176.

jipírsam to wrestle.

jípis darting to and fro [fish].

jípit → jípic.

jipítnakap < jipíc, 185.

jipímr the far end of the house.

jipor to urge, to ask, to try to persuade 
[without success]; to know.

jipuí, mu cäka — to spring, dive, with 
a splash in the water; tikí — idem.

jipuí < jipú, 109.

jipuíwaver to do usually.

jipumawaver usually to squeeze out sago 
pulp.

jipumawevermóm < jipumawaver, 136.

jir 1 gall, spleen.

jir 2 → jur.

jir 3 to cross to the other side of a 
river.
WORD LIST

jir 4, mu — to scoop up water; móc micic — to cry one's eyes out.

jirá → jiráv.

jiramot afv to enter a house in a hurry.

jiramotamapom to assemble [people in a house] in a hurry.

jirán ripe.

jirap, jumás — to sit with bowed head.

jirapér < jirap, 155.

jiráro < jir 3; 165.

jiráw 'present': a — here it is; e — there it is; a óp — it is up here; a cém — it's here, in the house.

jirawa < jiráv, 34.

jirè → jiráv.

jiréf < ji 5; 162, 182.

jirem, jumás — to walk with bowed head.

jiremev < jirem, 162.

jirév → jiráv.

jirík special kind of design painted on carrying bags [see sketch p. 365].

jirikaj to return with full canoes [from camp].

jirim to send someone away [on an errand].

jirimem to put in the ground [standing object].

jirimku, po — to stick one's paddle in the mud and go ashore.

jirimpor to can (may, try to) send.

jirintapmes to send upstream at night.

jirintapom to send upstream.

jirimí, ci — to put many things in a canoe.

jirírimem, os — to stick stakes in the water.

jirku to cross to the other side of the river and land.

jirkumis to stretch to the opposite side of the river when setting out [row of canoes].

jirkuni to go downstream stretching from side to side [row of canoes].

jirímemamí < jirímem, 144.

jirímemenc < jirímem, 125.

jirmot ep to go upstream with a full canoe.

jirmotepa < jirmotep, 109.

jirmitic 'sending' [on errands], 108.

jirmò half burnt [firewood].

jiròf < ji 5; 162, 182.

jirpor 1 to try to bend, to pull, a bow.

jirpor 2 to try to cross to the other side of the river.

jirporá < jirpor 1, 2; 109.

jirúp angry, furious.

jirse, sínak — to get cracks in the bark [sago palm which has been in the water for a long time].

jirtevver, mu — to fetch water.

jirvitum to jig up and down in the afternoon.

jirvitumá < jirvitum, 109.

jis 1 firewood, fire, roasted; amás — roasted sago; mi — a big fire in which lime is burnt.

jis 2 upper part of the back near the shoulders.

jis 3 to go landwards, to go inland, to go to the forest.

jis 4 to go out of [the river, the house], to rise [sun, moon, stars]; to become clear, to appear; to die.

jisakamtevver to go to the forest and cut off.

jisakamtw, nam ákin — immediately after having gone ashore to fall ill.

jisakapiem to go outside and stand alone.

jisamic 1 to go inland and lie down.

jisamic 2 to go out of a river with many people in many canoes.

jisamá < jisamic 1; 109.

jisap 1 to go to live in the forest.

jisap 2 to go outside and sit down.

jisapcëf < jisap 1, 2; 116.

jisapèfres < jisap 1, 2; 155.

jisas to go away.

jisasmes < jisas, 144.

jisatem to go to the forest to chop down.

jisaver (317) to be got from in great quantity [?].

Jisaworém personal name.

Jisaworémakap personal name, < Jisaworém, 195.

Jisaworémamap personal name, < Jisaworém, 195.

jism 1 to go inland and stay there.

jism 2 to go and stand outside.

jism 3, tes — to be a great warrior, to have much tes.

jisémèfres < jism 1, 2, 3; 155.

jisemic < jism 1, 2, 3; 116.

jisin 1 coconut, coconut tree.
jisín 2 kind of tree with large buttresses.

jisiv to lay claim to.

jisís the edge of the fire.

jisínakápiríw < jisís, 188.

jisít to speak and get up, to cry out and get up; makán — to set out, leaving behind [someone].

jisitères < jisít, 155.

jisítif < jisít, 162.

jisjap to go row out of a river and join up with.

jisjapamár < jisjapuwer, 144.

jisjapuwer to row out of the river and join up with.

jisjakwimtítuw to go landwards and put down something near ..., against ...

jisjakwimtítuwár (329) = jisjakwimtítuwár er [?]; he always went to the bank and put [his canoe] alongside [the jewer tree].

jisimá < jis 3, 4; 144.

jisímák burning wood, fire.

jisnóp; prí jammók — to stay somewhere until two 'months' have elapsed.

jisnóp; tes — to have someone who is tes in one's midst.

jisnómítuw (296) to go to the forest and mourn for [?].

jisnúumis to go to the forest and throw oneself down.

jisnut in the morning to go and stand outside.

jisnutmáp < jisnut, 152.

jisnutum in the afternoon to go and stand outside.

jisnutumáp < jisnutum, 152.

jisokomtítuw, ser — to drive ser fishes against the bank of the river, → wa.

jisokomtítuwéres < jisokomtítuw, 155.

jisom to go outside to meet someone, to do something.

jisomas to go away to the forest with...

jisomasmás < jisomas, 144.

jisow [?], aríwá — to practise magic (322).

Jisápirípí personal name.

Jisápirípíc < Jisápirípí, 34.

Jisápirípit → Jisápirípí.

jispor to go outside to look at.

jisporám to go to the forest to look at, to keep watch on.

jisporémác < jisporém, 165.

jisporám to go outside and throw something into the water.

jisporém to go ashore to get something.

jisporém to go to the forest at night, and fetch.

jisporém to come out partly [said of a fish in its hiding place].

jisporém to jisipse, 109.

jisporém to jisipse, 155.

jisporém to jisopom to go to the forest to plant.

jisporém to jisop to go to the forest to work up [pith of the sago palm].

jit 1 to start out, to set out, to rise [tide]; jicóp — to set out on a (head-) hunting party.

jit 2 to do in the morning.

jit 3, so — to kill, to murder.

jitak, fofof to go downriver in crowds; jop to go downriver drifting on one's back.

jitakám kind of fish.

jitákér < jitak, 155.

jitákító < jitak, 168.

jitam to order, to tell to do.

jitamerném to make cuts across the trunk of the sago palm, marking off sections, → manmák 2.

jitaméntaw to cut away to the top [fronds of the sago palm, in order to make test-holes, → apér].

jitém to grow, to be grown up [subject standing].

jitémémer < jitem, 155.

jitémétes, vorwor... — to rise higher and higher during the night [a growing tree].

jitép, po — to row upriver.

jitépís < jitép, 162.

jitjar, omá — to go forwards caustiously.

jitjarmés < jijjar, 144.

jitjaker kind of bird.

jitjomas to carry away while rising [subject: the water].

jitjáp → jicémáp.

jitjem to mark off [sections] on [the bark of the sago palm] by making cuts across the trunk.

jitjém to jijnotewer.

jitjém to jijnote w, 116.
jimotever to bolt [e.g. a door with a beam].

jitomw, se’n — to lie with one end in the mud [fallen tree].

jitum, pok — to throw things at someone, in the evening.

jitir heavy.

Jitúrcem personal name.

jiw 1 long [of time], long-living; late.

jiw 2 to go inside, to go indoors.

jiw 3 to exchange goods.

Jiw personal name.

jiwó → e 4.

jiwamis, nam — to be sick.

jiwamísyró < jiwamís, 174.

jiwapom, a kó — to cause to sit down cross-legged; cem — to build a house.

jiwapôménémés < jiwapom, 136.

jiwataanap, moc — to stay indoors, waiting.

jiwemapom → jiwapom.

jiwefuem, cem — to come together in a house.

jiwefuemfés < jiwefuem, 162.

jiwefumtoror each person to take food to [the jew].

jiwí 1 child; → mu.

jiwí 2, cem — the walls of a house.

Jiwí name of a jew that was formerly in the village of Jepém.

jiwínakap 1 < jiwí 1; 185.

jiwínakap 2 small, young.

jiwínakapícim < jiwínakap 2; 203, 204.

jiwínakapákáp < jiwínakap 2; 200, 204.

jiwínakapákápíriv < jiwínakap 2; 201, 204.

jiwiri to daub, to rub on.

jiwiri as far as, up to; at the edge of a group of people; ā jiwiri aráw that’s as far as it goes [the story].

jiwirtamtamawer to plait [a huge bag] for someone.

jiwirtamtemewirí < jiwirtamtamawer, 171.

jiwís the moving to another dwelling place.

jiwmesóp to go indoors and sit down beside someone.

jiwpuóp usually to sit indoors, being busy with.

jiwpuópá < jiwpuóp, 109.

Jiwúsimit personal name, 195.

jiwúsiritewer to go indoors and quickly fetch something.

jiwus → e 4.

jiwutsawopom to assemble indoors.

jiwús → jiwús.

jo 1 river; enám — river, abounding in fish.

jo 2 sun, day.

jo 3 space in the house between the front wall and the fireplaces.

joc 1 crazy.

joc 2 kind of bird.

jóca < joc 1; 34.

jócóp → jícóp.

jócor the mouth of a river.

jof hole, gap, passage; maj — path; okám — path between the nipa palms.

jófaj the next day.

jófnakap < jof, 185.

jój exclamation of surprise.

jok the middle part of the day, between tam and porów.

jokmén having supernatural power.

jökmen tongs.

jokón silent.

jokós main-nerve of the side leaf of a palm frond.

jomat to carry.

jomatamá < jomatawer, 144.

jomatawer continually to carry.

jomatmá < comat, 144.

jomatmés < jomat, 144.

jomewéménés < comewer 2; 136.

jom, namós — → temjom.

jomitpen < comit, 152.

jomóf < jom, 162.

jomopán bird of paradise.

Jomót name of a river.

Jomótakap personal name, 195.

Jomótamsit personal name, 195.

jompuamópé < compuawer, 152.

jomsoó < comse, 109.

jop [lying] on one’s back.

jopic < jop, 116.

jopit → jopic.

jopmák the upper course of a river.

jóptom, jóptom — everywhere.

jóró wing.
jow sandbank.
Jow name of a village.
jowmôp to sit coupling with.
jowmônic ashes.
jowôw the people belonging to one's
own jow; the people of one's own
village.
jowôwa < jowôw, 34.
jowôwopic blood kinsman.
jowôwipit → jowôwopic.
jowôspîp baby.
jowin the day after tomorrow; the day
before yesterday.
ju 1 shouting, yelling.
ju 2 (342) head of family [?].
ju 3 tree-trunk in which the rough
shape of the new canoe has been cut
out.
ju 4 to yell, to raise a war cry.
ju 5, wu — to get edible tops of the
sago palm.
jûpî cold.
jûbuî small wooden trough for holding
paint.
jûjukamîs to lie down together.
jûjukumâpomp to put things together.
jûjukumamâpomp to try to or to want
to put down together for someone.
jûjukumumspit to get up after having
been stabbed or spearred [many people
sitting tightly packed].
jûkap to sit with many people together;
to lie together in great quantities [bags
of sago].
jûkumitiw to lay down together.
jûkumitiwâ < jûkumitiw, 109.
jûkurum → jikurum 1.
jun to speak to someone who is in-
doors.
Jum name of a river.
Junam tam to intend [a boy and a girl]
for each other.
jûnamtamêmâwâs < junam tam, 155.
jûnamtamêmawos < jumam tam, 162.
jumár < ju 4; 144.
jumîspîp → jîmsîp.
Jumênaw to come upriver with paddles
thumping [sign of joy after a good
catch].
jûmênawaw < jumênaw, 120.
jumôp, nam — to stay with someone
who has been made ill.
jumûs [with] bowed head.
Jumis, moc — to grizzle the whole
night.
Jur white cockatoo.
Jursawer 1 always to long for.
Jursawer 2 to be always in the wrong.
Jûrsawirî < jursawer 1, 2; 171.
Jursawemawer to act always in the wrong
way towards someone.
Jûrsawewermêmânem < jursawemawer, 174.
Jûrsawemawirî < jursawemawer, 171.
Jursôp [?] to be in the wrong.
Jursôpenn (294) < jursôp, 162 [?].
Jursôpênêm (293) < jursôp, 162 [?].
Jursôgîc long for.
Jursâm to slaughter, to kill.
Jursámôp to have been overtaken by
disaster.
Jursamôpem < jursámôp, 155.
Jursât → jursâc.
Juruµu usually to go along a river.
Jûruµu one after another.
Jûrûsawemawuc personal name.
Jûrus 1 to long for.
Jurus 2 to be in the wrong.
Jûrusêm < jurus 1, 2; 144.
Jûrusêmô < jûrusêm, 34.
Jûrût 1 long.
Jûrû 2 (338) to search for [?].
Jûrûtopic personal name.
Jûrûwawûsaw < jûrûwaw 2, 125.
Jûwa kind of grass.
Juwâm kind of tree.
Juwûw a full-grown sago palm.
Juwum to cause to marry.
Juwûr dog.
Juwûr kind of tree used for making
canoes; canoe made of juwûr wood.
Juwûs name.
Juwût 1 heron.
Juwût 2 between; a Mec — a Sirêc —
between the Mec and the Sirêc.
Juwût to marry, to take as a wife, as
a husband.
Juwûtakap personal name.

K

Kaj to return from camp [many people].
Kajê name of a village.
Kajê < Kajê [in enumeration].
kafum to scrape out sago.
kajkaj... onomatopoeia reproducing the sound made by the paddles thumping against the gunwales of the canoes when they are being rowed at great speed.
kajkurum to be just clear of the horizon [the rising sun].
Kájmo name of a village.
kajnapuesawer to eat at night on the river when on one's way home with many people.
kajni to topple over, broken [a tree].
káju onomatopoeia, reproducing a dull thud, the sound of footsteps, the sound of wood being chopped.
kakajum to knock on something.
kakú running, hurrying.
kan, jakán — to give a scream.
kamák ginger.
kámamóp < kamanwer, 152.
kamanwer, mó kawós — to vomit all the time.
kamém many-pointed spear used to kill large fish and crocodiles.
Kamémemák personal name.
kamiamis to lay after having collapsed; to succumb.
kamies to succumb at night.
kamoni to tear away and carry down-stream.
kamop, po — to sit making a paddle.
kampones to wash ashore during the night.
kamponošmar < kampones, 144.
Kamšopísipí a man belonging to the jëw Kamus, in the former village of Kajè.
kámter the legs, both legs.
kamtewer to split and take away.
kamtewer, mó kawós — to vomit.
kámu loud noise.
kanit young shrimps.
kánpor kind of crab.
kap armpit.
kápák tobacco [loan-word from Dutch = tabak, or Malay = tembakas].
káper ship, boat [loan-word from Malay, = kapal].
kápi closed, shut.
kapim to close.
kápin, jimpip — to sit with the doors shut.
kápinpomcêmes < kapomapom, 136.
kapomápace < kapumop, 165.
kapomáperes < kapumop, 155.
kapom to cover (up).
kapomapom to put on [e.g. clothes].
kápu 1 entewer.
kápu 2 to join up with.
kapuawer to join up with.
kapumanteuer to join each other.
kapumop to be joined to.
kapumteuer to let people join one.
kàréem silent [?] → e 4.
kàrémakap not thickly laid, laid far apart [thatch].
kàréw much, many; po — raft made of canoes placed alongside each other: the paddles are laid across the canoes to keep them together and to keep them stable.
kàréjí work [loan-word from Malay, = kerdja].
karmák kind of snail.
kàrtu playing-cards [loan-word from Malay].
kàrú dangerous, forbidden.
kàrúwe < kàrúwe, 34.
kàrván dagger made of a crocodile's jaw.
kasé, mer — vivid lightning.
kási suddenly, in a flash.
kàwénak human being [as distinct from other beings].
Kawét name of a village.
kàwi 1 strange, not belonging to one's own group or village.
kàwi 2 to add oneself to, to approach to, to get near to.
kàwi 3 kawimtewerawer.
kawim to add to, to join to.
kàwimápmorës < kawimapom, 155.
kawimapom to add [a co-wife].
kawimop to have been added [as a co-wife].
kawimte wer to add [as a co-wife].
kawimtewerawer, kàwi always to want to add [as a co-wife].
kawós, mo — vomiting.
kawumäs (343) to lie down all night [?].
kawumänsmar < kawumäs, 144.
kë stuck [e.g. a canoe on a sandbank].
këkëkë onomatopoeia, reproducing the screaming of the joc bird.
kekem to sew something up.
ken, amás — the implements used for
making sago: axes, digging sticks,
scrapers, small troughs, and strainers.
kená < ken, 34.
kene, amás ken — to collect up the im-
plements for making sago.
kéneď < kene, 162.
Ker personal name.
kiki close together.
kikićukomas to go away with [someone]
to a narrow place.
kikićikikinakás < kiki, 200.
kikim to put close together.
kikinačap < kiki, 200.
kückirakurum to stop up all [holes in a
wall].
kimpom, ćcen — to hold a spear at the
ready.
kimpomica < kimpom, 176.
kirim (138) to carve [?].
ko 1, ko, ko, ... the sound made by
drums.
ko 2 platform; a — cross-legged; cem
— the front gallery of a house.
ko 3 — kor.
kopo onomatopoeia reproducing a thud.
kojir to go to the other side of the
river.
kojiraro < kojir, 165.
kojiri to get loose and fall down [ripe
fruit].
kokoko ... onomatopoeia reproducing the
sound of bamboo horns, of singing, of
the whistling of ghosts.
kokoćiwaćer always to get loose and
fall down [ripe fruit].
kokomtaw to pick, to gather [fruit].
kokomtawmés < kokomtaw, 144.
kokomtawór < kokomtaw, 155.
kokomtawer to break off and take along.
kokomtawi to break off and lay down.
kom, onow — to get sago leaves for
thatch.
kómaptóc < komapot, 108.
komapot, mőc am — to wail [?].
kómę̄n tongue; part of the sump trough,
→ jec; mu — the edge of the water as
it edges towards the land when the tide
rises.
komomse to take along in a canoe.
kometewer to break off and take away.
konaw to come towards the land, to
come inland.
konawamisa to come towards the land in
order to sleep there.
kónawamisa < konawamis, 109.
konawamisés < konawamis, 155.
konawap to come towards the land and
stay there.
konawápérès < konawap, 155.
konawes to come up or upwards during
the night.
konawfův to come to the land and go
indoors.
konawfůvĕrës < konawfův, 155.
konawkaţi, wa — to come landwards
until the forest is reached [the rising
tide].
konawkačumár < konawkaţi, 144.
konawmesëm to come swimming close
to the bank.
konawmesës to come ashore and pass
the night with.
kónawomesëkspëmën < konawomesës, 152.
kor very, to a high degree, plenty of;
too; avút — too large, too big; juvi
— a small child.
korás < kor, 34.
Korë personal name.
Kosăr name of a jëv in the village of
Jepém.
Kosór → Kosër.
kow many, much.
ku, mu — to have dried up, to have
run away [water]; to become dry [by
rising above the water or because the
water has run away].
kuap to go ashore and stay there.
kuaworem to change into [on the land].
kuaworemë < kuaworem, 162.
kuaworemër < kuaworem, 155.
kuawores to change into [on the
land] during the night [subject stand-
ing].
kuaworemsëmi < kuawores, 144.
kuawores to change into during the
night [on the land].
kuaworemar < kuawores, 144.
kujurunap, cem — to go ashore, build
a house and stay there.
kujurunapacaw < kujurunap, 125.
kukár kind of bird.
kukwaš to spread like wildfire [a ru-
mour].
kukuku... onomatopoeia reproducing a) the thumping of paddles against the gunwales of a canoe; b) the call of the opong bird.
kukuramitum to agree upon something in the evening.
kukurámithám < kukuramitum, 144.
kukure to win over.
kumis, amás — roasted ball of sago.
kumis to go ashore and sleep with.
kumisá < kumisí, 109.
kupoporemapmes to roll onto the land at night [object sitting].
kúpoporemapmesmá < kupoporemapmes, 144.
kuri teacher [loan-word from Malay, = guru].
kurkur onomatopoeia reproducing the sound of many people talking together.
Kurúm personal name.
kurumap to sit and beat the drums.
kuruntewer to touch and take, to get hold of.
kus head; now — head of a head-hunted man.
kusvus → kus.

M

m interjection: oh! hey!.
'm interjection, indicating a sudden start to an action.
ma interjection by which disagreement or dissatisfaction is expressed: oh no! really!
Má name of a river.
macatu < calitu, 110, 183, 239.
maci < ci 4; 110, 183, 239.
macintewer < cinmewer, 110, 183 239.
máciir an embrace.
maciw kind of snake.
maciwa < maciw, 34.
mácen < e 4; 125.
macmariwes < emariw, 125.
macmawaw < emsawer, 125.
cémtecpaw < emtew, 125.
cémtecpaw < emaw, 125.
cémtecpaw < macmawaw, 34.
máecs < es 2, 3; 125.
máecsí < máecsí, 34.
máf < af 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
máfè < máf, 33.
máfájícémaw < fajú, 136.
máfám < fam 1, 2; 144.
mait to chop in the morning.
Mait → Majit.
máitmr < mait, 144.
maji 1 foot.
maj 2 roll of sago: a body of sago, cylindrical in shape, ± 12 inch long, formed by putting two pómán together.
Maj name of a river.
majámacaw < amis, 125.
majámésraw < amis, 125.
majápěraw < ap 2; 125.
majawérm < eawer, 125.
maji < ji 5; 110, 183, 239.
majíc < ji 5; 116.
majípor < jipor, 110, 183, 239.
majircaw < jir 3, 4; 125.
majirimpor < jirípor, 110, 183, 239.
majirimporí < jiriporí, 110, 183, 239.
majiríse < jirse, 110, 183, 239.
majísaweraw < jsawer, 125.
majísforí < jisporí, 116.
majísforí < jisporí, 110, 183, 239.
majístevner < jistewer, 110, 183, 239.
majít → majic.
Majit name of a feast in the village of Surú.
majíremém < ajírem, 155.
majíremés < ajíremes, 155.
majíremés < majíremés, 33.
majíreméwer < ajíremewer, 137, note.
majíreméwer < majíreméwer, 33.
majíremic < ajírem, 176.
majíremóméwer < majíremóméwer, 152.
majíremóméwer < majíremóméwer, 34.
majom < eom, 110, 183, 239.
májerá < ap 2; 125.
májeráwa < májeráwa.
májís < jisás, 110, 183, 239.
májísí < jisí, 155.
májísír < májísír, 34.
maji < ji 1, 2; 116.
majú < jíuar, 110, 183, 239.
mak back; amás — layer of sago in the sump trough [jec]; ondú — the roof of a house.
makántewer < kamntewer, 110, 183, 239.
makán 1 → e 4; ji 5.
makán 2 < akan 2; 110, 183, 239.
makanám rack above the fireplace, on which firewood is dried or fish is smoked.
makáp kind of shell fish.
makave < kave 2; 110, 183, 239.
makavéci < kavei 2; 116.
makawiçom < kawiçom, 110, 183, 239.
makih fishline and hook.
makmák piled up.
makmiamismar < kamiamis, 144.
makonwawamsáji < konawamis, 112.
makpin with crossed arms.
mam < am 7, 8; 110, 183, 239.
mamakán < amakan, 110, 183, 239.
mamakó < mámakán, 33.
mamánem < manem, 110, 183, 239.
mamátiw < matíw, 110, 183, 239.
mamíké three; much.
maméseséméroniáwér < mesesesemeroniáwér, 110, 183, 239.
mamis < amis, 110, 183, 239.
mámkomán, < amkomán, 110, 183, 239.
mánkomán < mámkomán, 34.
mamó < mic 2; 110, 183, 239.
mamót → mamó.
mamówáwér < amówáwér, 110, 183, 239.
mamusésinos < amus 3; 113.
man 1 emphasizing word, 247.
man 2 hand.
man 3 < an 3; 110, 183, 239.
manáfakam < naífakam, 110, 183, 239.
mánakap < man 2; 185.
manán 1 < manám pok binding material: rope, string, rattan; → jik, jik-apom.
manán 2 in love with, → of 2.
manán 3 < nam 5; 110, 183, 239.
manamítamis [?] to prick each other, to scratch each other [said of fishes with spines].
manamítanser (279) < manamítamis [?], 155.
manafór < nafor, 110, 183, 239.
manáwer < naíwer, 110, 183, 239.
manáweres < naíwer, 125.
mánawerów < naíwer, 125.
mánawerówé < mánawerów, 33.
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mánacsin < an 3; 120.
mánacsiná < máncasin, 34.
mancén < an 3; 116.
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<tr>
<td>Mapiu</td>
<td>name of a jew in the village of Je phù.</td>
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<td>mapomjim</td>
<td>&lt; apomjim, 110, 183, 239.</td>
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<td>mapomkurućom</td>
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<td>mapapú</td>
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<td>mar</td>
<td>ball [loan-word from Dutch, = bal].</td>
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<td>mariw</td>
<td>ready, finished, done; at last.</td>
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<td>mariwap</td>
<td>&lt; ariwap, 110, 183, 239.</td>
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<td>masjautéw</td>
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<td>maté</td>
<td>rib of the frond of a young sago palm [Malay: gaba-gaba].</td>
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<td>maté</td>
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<td>mätérém</td>
<td>to split by cutting.</td>
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<td>1 to chop down and take away.</td>
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| matir | to cut down; tow — to cut down a sago palm with the object of its being used as a breeding place by the capri-
corn beetle. [After two months the grubs are then full-grown and are eaten].

matómòpor < atómòpor, 110, 183, 239.
matowòf < towòf, 110, 183, 239.
matówomisès < towomisès, 155.
matówomìfaw < towomìfaw, 162.
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matówaswe < towaswe, 110, 183, 239.
mátawaw < towawaw, 110, 183, 239.
maw < aw 5, 6; 110, 183, 239.
mawán < awan 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
mawánò < awanàn, 33.
mawér < awér 2, 3; 110, 183, 239.
mawót star.
máwakam < wakam, 110, 183, 239.
máwakwe < awakwe, 110, 183, 239.
mawánmos < awan 1, 2; 113.
mawánmosò < awanamosò, 34.
mawór < awór, 110, 183, 239.
mawórèmkurum < aworemkurum, 110, 183, 239.
mawór < awór, 110, 183, 239.
mawasémùc < awasemùc, 116.
mawèlewèr < aweiwer, 110, 183, 239.
me 1, me, — staggering (291).
me 2 mouth.
me 3 < e 4; 110, 183, 239.
Mec name of a river [Zuid Eilanden river].

Mecémòp the region on both sides of the mouth of the Mec; the villages lying in this area, i.e. Amsiu, Ac, Ar-Namìm, Atàmuc, Cowéw-Jaméw, Esín-kom [now extinct], Jow, Kowât, Mièm-Sosó [now extinct], Miówár, Omànesep.

mekémèc < kene, 116.
mékùrum < ekurum, 110, 183, 239.
mém àj < em 3, 4; 112.
mémántewèr < emantewèr, 110, 183, 239.
mémántewèrèpokom < emantewèr, 155.
mémán < eman, 110, 183, 239.
mémánmèr < emaném, 155.
mémèp < emáp, 110, 183, 239.
mémawèr < emawèr 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
mémècmìtewèr < emcmìtewèr, 110, 183, 239.
mémém < emem 1; 110, 183, 239.
mémèmèrem 'since you are there', < emem 1; 155.
memic < em 3; 116.
memjàr < emjàr, 110, 183, 239.
memji < emji, 110, 183, 239.
memjìc < emjì, 116.
ménotásimawèr < emotásimawèr, 110, 183, 239.
mènpèpèm < empepèm, 110, 183, 239.
mèmpòr < empor 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
mempòrì < empor 1, 2; 116.
mèmsèmapìmùj < memsemapìmùj, 155.
mèmtamporèn < emtamporèn, 116.
mèntém < metém, 110, 183, 239.
mèntémau < memaau, 110, 183, 239.
mèntémeman < mememenman, 110, 183, 239.
mèntèmètwèr < metémètwèr, 110, 183, 239.
mèntomìm < metomìm, 110, 183, 239.
mèntomìm < metomìm, 110, 183, 239.
mèntòtep < metòtep, 110, 183, 239.
men blade [of a paddle], sharp edge [of an axe, knife, digging stick], point [of a spear, lance, needle]; fer — the space directly behind the fish trap where the fish are caught.

Menák personal name; abbreviation of Menápic.

Menápic man's name.

mendàwin < enaw, 144.
menéstewèr < enestewèr, 110, 183, 239.
mer 1 lightning.

mer 2 a day [period of time], time; to be or to go out on a day's (fishing etc.), thus: amús —; ennmùm —; makik —; os —; wu —; mér cowák one day; all at once.

mer 3, mer — to catch crabs.

meramís to go towards and lie down; to reach towards [subject lying].

merámùr < meramís, 155.
meráp to go upstream and stay there, to go towards and stay there.

meratam to go upstream to chop.

Merauìke name of a town on the south coast of Irian Barat.

merawèr, mer — to fish, to catch crabs, all day long.

merèm to go to the far end of... and stay there.

merèmap to go toward and sit down.

meremsem, mu fà — to make water reach a certain point.

merfàsi to go to the far end of... and
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turn round; to go upstream and turn back.
merjap to go towards and sit down while speaking.
merjapá < merjap, 109.
merni to go downstream to look for food.
merom to go towards and stand by.
merpapuj to head off by going upstream.
mersi to row upstream [on a large river] and enter a side river.
mersuwem to go towards and begin to do.
merwuaapom to go towards and stop up.
mes 1 companions, family; ēnēv — mother and her companions [the women with whom she usually goes out to fish or to scrape out sago]; Sumúj — Sumúj and his family.
mes 2 < es 2; 3; 110, 183, 239.
mesakajipiem to keep close to [subject standing].
mesam, mesám mesám pok trifles.
mesamis, cenēs — to lie down on the floor; 176.
mesari [?] to come alongside [in a canoe].
mēsarimār (273) < mesari [?], 144.
mesasesemeroniauwer to carry back home in stages [e.g. a heavy bag].
mesem to stand near something, along something.
mesenapom to put something against, along...; ōmus — to leave the ōmus in the trunk of the sago palm.
mesemjirmem to put [a paddle] in [the mud] beside [the canoe], [object standing].
mesenaw to come upstream along [the bank of the river].
mesep spittle.
mesēs < ses 2; 110, 183, 239.
mesētak < setak, 110, 183, 239.
mesetopec to go upstream along the bank of the river while doing something.
mesēmpmorēm < mesenapom, 155.
mesim smell.
Mesōk personal name.
Mesōkā < Mesōk, 34.
mesom to stand beside...; to stand guard by.
mesomic < mesom, 176.
mesop to sit by, keeping guard.
mesopé < mesop, 155.
metām < etam, 110, 183, 239.
metamuj < etam, 155.
metem, pok — to take care of the food.
metemaw to scrape out more sago; to scrape out sago in addition to.
metememman to get more food.
metemewer to fetch more; to fetch in addition to.
metēn 1 arm-band.
mēten 2 (319) in addition, moreover.
metēp < tep 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
metētpewer < tepewer, 110, 183, 239.
mētenem < tewenem, 110, 183, 239.
mētwor < tewer 2, 3; 110, 183, 239.
mētewerásmos (322) < tewerasam [?], 113.
mētewerásmosa < métewerásmos, 34.
mēteweri < tewer 2; 116.
mētewerici < tewer 2; 116.
mētewwij < tewwij, 110, 183, 239.
mētij < temat, 110, 183, 239.
mētmeti < temet, 116.
mētoci to take upriver, to accompany upriver, → en.
mētomir to accompany to the other side of the river.
mētōs to accompany someone here [coming along a side river].
mētoopec to take upriver, to accompany upriver, → tep.
mētoopecā < metopec, 120.
mētoonawaw to accompany someone here [coming along a main river].
mētoonawwē < metonaw, 162.
mēw < evw 4; 110, 183, 239.
mēwā (317) < am evā.
Mēteerásakat personal name.
mēwār kind of parrot with bright coloured feathers [red and green].
Mētōwāpic man’s name.
mēwān ‘duckboard’: tree-trunk, fixed between stakes, laid down the bank of the river and across which one can reach the water when the tide is low without getting the feet dirty.
mēwāwaw < eviwaw, 110, 183, 239.
mēwāwāwji < eviwaw, 112.
mi 1 nose, extreme point of; face, outward appearance; 'of the same group':
na mi ow we are among ourselves;
man — the finger tips.
mi 2 lime.
mi 3 (296) the right side [in contra-
distinction to the left side].
míú (286) < mi 2; 34.
mic 1 full-grown sago palm, just about
to flower.
mic 2 → jowomic.
micíc moss, seaweed; moc — a flood of
tears.
Mícım-Sósó name of a village.
míccimpór < cicimpór, 110, 183, 239.
mícuwán groaning, muttering, muffled
sound of voices.
mífan averse to.
mífís < fis 2; 110, 183, 239.
míjímir < jímir, 110, 183, 239.
míjísóm < jísom, 110, 183, 239.
míjísúm < jísum, 110, 183, 239.
míjítúmcéñem < jítum, 125.
míjítúmcéñemó < míjítumcéñem, 33.
míjóm < jóm, 110, 183, 239.
míkín young sago palm; vwu — young
sago palm of which only the edible top
will be removed.
mími 1 filter, consisting of a plug of
scrapped out sago pith which is put at
the entrance of the sump trough, →
jec.
mími 2 pressing on, against; jammed.
mímini to think, thinking.
mímiś, as — soft shit; moc — tears.
mímiwitam < miwitam, 110, 183,
239.
mímkam kind of liana.
mímnáj thinking only of; moc — thinking
only of walling; now — thinking only
of the head-hunting feast; jo — doing
nothing but rowing.
mínakap < mi 1, 2; 185.
Mínimaap name of a river.
mínimar < nimir, 110, 183, 239.
mínáp thought, thinking.
mínkim snout; jo — the land at both
sides of the mouth of a side river.
míno piece, lump.
Mínwúj personal name.
mípacáh chock-full, full with.
mípi < pi 2, 3; 144.
mípipim < pipim, 110, 183, 239.
Mípic name of a mythical giant.
mípici very large.
mípičíjamapmóp < pitjamap, 144.
mípor at random, carelessly.
mírám bundle, small bag.
Míss personal name.
mísá the root of the nose.
mísérín → màsínérín.
mísí < si 3, 4, 5; 110, 183, 239.
Mísiimit < Míis, 195.
mísži sand.
mísí < sit, 110, 183, 239.
Mísmáam common name of the villages
Surú and Ewér.
mistem < sitem, 110, 183, 239.
míst适 < sit, 116.
míssúnd abdomen.
míssár pole, flag-pole.
mít to thrust, to stick.
mílá nasal mucus.
mitapmá < mitapam, 109.
mitapmor < mitapom, 155.
mitapmúj < mitapom, 155.
mitapmúñ < mitapam, 155.
mitapom to stick, to thrust [a spear]
into... [object sitting].
miém to stick, to prick [object stand-
ing].
Mítewer personal name.
Mítewérá < Mítewé, 34.
mítítítúmców < títtúm, 120.
mítítúmców < mítítúmców, 33.
mítítúmíc < títoémic, 116.
mítítúmever < títoémver, 110, 183, 239.
mítítúvumíc < títvum, 116.
mítúr kind of shrub.
Mítúr formerly a jew in the village of
Jepém.
Míturopis the people belonging to the
jew Mítúr.
Mívár name of a village.
Mívárpic personal name.
Mívárpic < Mívárpic, 34.
Mívárpicakáp < Mívárpic, 195.
Mívárpicó < Mívárpic, 33.
Mívárpicómímit < Mívárpic, 195.
mívós husbands [pl.].
mívopom (326) to put down in rows [?].
mívopomór < mitapom, 155.
míwitam to spread [a sleeping mat]
out for...
mó 1 husband [s].
mó 2 hole.
mó 3 vomiting, → kawós.
móa < mo 1; 34.
moaj < oaf, 110, 183, 239.
moapuc < oap, 116.
moaput → moapuc.
moc 1 crying, wailing.
moc 2, moc — to cry, to wail; puru-
muc — to sing dirges.
mocajipurwa < moc 2; 114.
mocajipurwa < mocajipurwa, 34.
mocamark < mocawer, 144.
mocamér < mocawer, 144.
mocampés < mocawer, 152.
mocawer continually to cry, to wail.
mocemén < moces, 152.
mocó wet; wetness, moisture.
mocóap < coap 1, 2; 116.
mocóm < com 3, 4, 5; 110, 183, 239.
mocomever continually to stand wailing.
mocomevermár (300) = mocómamár, < mocomever, 144.
mocómopawer < comopawer, 110, 183, 239.
mócópá < cop, 116.
mód < mo 1; 33.
mofasí < ofasi, 116.
mofasísm < ofasim, 110, 183, 239.
mofasísmtever < ofasimtever, 110, 183, 239.
mokokajmteréji < kokojmawer, 112.
mokokóm < okokom, 110, 183, 239.
mokokómtever < kokomtever, 110, 183, 239.
mokomomás < komomose, 110, 183, 239.
mokómtever < komtever, 110, 183, 239.
mokonaúc < konaw, 116.
mokonaúcica < mokonaúc, 34.
mokóní < kojí, 110, 183, 239.
mokop face downwards, on the stom-
ach; upside down [a canoe].
mokót sago garden: part of the marshy
areas where the sago palms grow;
owned by a specific man.

Momács name of a river [Le Cocq d’
Armandville river].
momajmíc < fim, 116.
momóní < oman, 155.
momoomomómí < momomomomí, 116.
momoomomomít → momoomomómí.
momentepéric < aperèr, 116.
momenteperorémí < aperororémí, 116.
momentepormomíc < apormom, 116.
momas to chop away.
momásienawyúc < asienaw, 116.
momásienawyút → momásienawyúc.
momatóvuc < taw 1, 2; 116.
momatóremúc < matem, 116.
momatóveric < tewer 1; 116.
momatóveriít → momatóveric.
momáwe < awes, 116.
momávnawapmúc < avnapom, 116.
momávnawěrĩ < awnavwer, 116.
momavní < avan 1, 2; 116.
momé < e 4; 116.
moměnsirírc < emsi, 116.
momernawapmuc < merawapom, 116.
moméverí < ewer, 116.
momfjamesamuc < fafemasam, 116.
momjowemí < ewer, 116.
momjikemúc < jikem, 116.
momjinníjic < jini, 116.
momjirmemíuc < jirimen, 116.
momjirmemíc < jinen, 116.
momjirmteřív < jinito, 116.
momjirúmuc < eitom, 116.
momjirútumúc → momjirúmúc, 116.
momfjursoritéérínc < omjursorawer, 171.
momniém < niem, 116.
momniémír → momniémíc.
momnitéamuc < nitam, 116.
momkómitétúc < okotáw, 116.
momóirmítéfokum < omirísem, 162.
momóirmírsefokum < momóirmírse-
fokum, 34.
momónír (325) = omomónír, <
omomoni, 155.
momó < omóp 2; 110, 183, 239.
momoaromítto kill [a pig].
mompúmiténc < pumít, 116.
momsakásmasmuc < sasakumasam, 116.
momsakásmumúc < sasakam, 116.
momsopémír < seaver, 116.
momésmíric < simom, 116.
momtakánjímtínc < takamjintiw, 116.
momtémítemírc < temetem, 116.
momtémítemírc < tetam, 116.
momtémítemírcnú < momtémítemírc, 34.
momtémítemtínc < titiw, 116.
momtémítemírc < titikum, 116.
momtémítemírc < titakasam, 116.
momtémítemírc < titum, 116.
momtémítemírc < titum, 116.
momtémítemírc < tüzüre, 116.
momtémítemírc < tüzüre, 116.
momtémítemírc < tüzüre, 116.
momtémítemírc < tüzüre, 116.
momtémítemírc < tüzüre, 116.
momtémítemírc < tüzüre, 116.
mónorómcen < onorom, 116.

mop, avón — to strike, stab, to give someone a thwack [with].

mopac < mop, 165.

mopáces < mop, 165.

mopán trunk of a tree, especially the lower part of it; kamák — the root of the ginger.

mopánakap < mopán, 185.

mopór < por, 110, 183, 239.

mopórém < porém, 110, 183, 239.

mopores (321) 'so that they wouldn’t see' < por, 125 [?].

mopórí < por, 116.

mopórjar < porjar, 110, 183, 239.

mopórijú < porjú, 110, 183, 239.

mopórom < porom, 110, 183, 239.

mopóromomis < poromomis, 110, 183, 239.

mopóromtewen < poromtewen, 110, 183, 239.

mopórorm < porporom, 155.

mopórpori < porpori, 116.

mopórporia < porporia, 34.

mopórporin < porporin, 171.

mopórtewen < porotewen, 110, 183, 239.

mopów < pow, 110, 183, 239.

mopówpor < powpor, 110, 183, 239.

mormor... interjection, indicating the crawling of a mass of sago grubs.

mormót kind of duck.

Mos name of a jew in the village of Jepém.

mosirimá < osirimak, 110, 183, 239.

moskóm → mosokóm.

mosokóm < sokom, 110, 183, 239.

Mósopis the people belonging to the jew Mos.

mosów < sow, 110, 183, 239.

mot 1 → moc 1, 2.

mot 2 < ot, 110, 183, 239.

motamú broad and flat [said of noses].

motaw < otaw, 110, 183, 239.

motaw to retch.

motawer < motawer, 155.

motjarawer continually to walk round wailing.

motni to go downriver while wailing, to go back home while wailing.

mótowmós < towomse, 162.

mótowmós < towomse, 144.

mow 1 the young prop roots of the pandanus tree; the fibres obtained from these roots.

mow 2, mot se — to throw oneself in the mud while wailing.

Mow name of a river.

mówa (294) → mow 2.

Mówakap name of a river, 195.

mówawer, mot se — continually to throw oneself in the mud while wailing.

mówawerém < mówawer, 125.

mówawerém < mówawerém, 110, 183, 239.

mówewomór < owermor, 110, 183, 239.

mówérmise < owermorse, 110, 183, 239.

mówísé half-way; the middle of the journey.

mówísí (283) → mówísí.

Mówasimit name of a river, 195.

mu 1 water; period; season; enám — the season in which there is an abundance of fish; jíwi — the period in which the tide is low at night and high during the day: ± February and March. Traditionally this is the season for warfare and head-hunting; munú — the period in which the tide rises in the evening and starts to ebb during the night: ± April and May; pir — the period of moonlit nights; pu — high tide; ti — very high water in a river, caused by heavy rainfall; wa — pool of rain water, water-hole.

mu 2 feast; pok — idem.

mu 3 turtle.

mu 4 large, much [?]; ek — a large stone, → anem.

mu 5, mu — to bathe.

muá < mu 1; 34.

muamis 1 to lie down [asleep] after bathing.

muamis (294) to throw oneself down [?].

muamís < towamse, 110, 183, 239.

muamis < towamse, 110, 183, 239.

muem, mu — to go and bathe.

muemis < muem, 116.

muemis < muem, 34.

muán → mián.

muám < fum 2; 110, 183, 239.

muamís cumulus clouds.

muá < ju 5; 110, 183, 239.

Muiká formerly a jew in the village of Jepém.
mukáp < kuap, 110, 183, 239.
mukukúre < kukure, 110, 183, 239.
mukumár < ku, 144.
mukurúntewér < kurntewer, 110, 183, 239.
mumu 1, te — heavy rain, downpour; atú múmu jón the sound made by striking one’s breast [the striking of the breast is a sign of utter amazement].
mumu 2 → ecomewer.
múnakap < mu 1; 185.
mupicin clothes.
mupú < pu 5, 6; 110, 183, 239.
mupuawér < puawer, 110, 183, 239.
mupuawéra < mupuawér, 34.
muri, onób — rafters.
murúntewér < uruntewer, 110, 183, 239.
mus bamboo water container.
musum < sum, 110, 183, 239.
musúntewer < summtewer, 110, 183, 239.
musúntewercár < summtewer, 120.
musúntewercárá < musúntewercár, 34.
musumtevó < summtev, 116.
musumutúm < sumutúm, 110, 183, 239.
musumutumúc < sumutum, 116.
musumutumúca < musumutumúc, 34.
musúxumomís < sunumomís, 110, 183, 239.
mutam to present someone with... to pay for...
múrir octopus.
múritam to pay for.
múritamór < múritam, 155.
múru → mu 1.
nakáp < nak 1, 2; 34.
nakó < nak 1, 2; 33.
nakurum to eat up everything.
nákurmás, mu — having drunk all.
nakurumpor to try to eat up everything.
nakurumsem to drink all up.
nákurmúmcémòp < nakurumsem, 141.
nam 1 → nar, nor, 217.
nam 2 body.
nam 3 ill.
nam 4 → pomán.
nam 5 to feed.
náma < nam 1; 34.
Námesfásimit personal name.
namí in a bunch, with many together.
namicim to take away from above [?].
namicikewer all to disappear always in the forest.
namicikewerméro < namicikewer, 174.
namin white ant.
namir dead, perished, → at 2.
namírfam to cause to die.
Namkáj name of a few in the village of Amónamkáj.
namké ashamed.
namós pleased with, satisfied.
namisón we know it, I know it.
namúj my brother-in-law [term of address and of reference among relatives].
námum on the quiet, secretly.
nasimapom to spread out in, to put [sago] in [a bag] while crumbling it.
nasimapom < nasimapom, 155.
nání 1 heap of objects, not packed together; loose, → am 8.
nání 2, juwár — the whimpering of a dog.
nánínakas < náni 1; 187.
namovís shattered.
nap to eat and sit; to have eaten.
napírës < nap, 155.
nápí white, light-coloured.
napór to taste, to try to eat, to want to eat.
Nápí name of a river.
nar we, us, our; 207-219.
narás → nar, 215.
naráp → nar, 214.
naráu shallow [of a river, when the tide is low].
náriu males of one’s own generation; ‘brothers’.

N

'ñ → in 1, 2; 258, 259.
na 1 → nat, 246.
na 2 → nar, 207.
nafakam, jak — to eat one’s fill.
naitum to eat in the afternoon, evening.
najítípic enormous, gigantic.
najítípicèj enormous [emphatic form].
najítípit → najítípic.
nák 1 true, real, pure.
nák 2 don’t [in sentences containing a mild reproof such as is kor nák don’t sleep so long!; atakám nak now, stop talking].
nas [it's] mine.
nasam to eat up, to eat much.
nási cooked rice [loan-word from Malay].
nat emphasizing word, 246.
natá < nat, 34.
naviour to keep on eating, to eat much.
è → nènèn.
nec raw.
èf → ni 1.
nem to fall down [rain].
nemcén angry, pugnacious.
nemcénakas < nemcén, 200.
neménakap cautious.
nemét (290), nemét emár not so big!
nemší be careful! don't hurry!
neměsnakap slow.
nemso to have disappeared, to have given out.
nemum to let go, to allow to escape.
nemwer to hurry on, to take to one's heels.
nep sun, child.
něnkapíriw < nep, 188.
nés 1 flesh, meat; amás — sago pith; Jepém — jipic a kinsman of people in Jepém.
nés 2 to eat at night.
nésè this side of the river, our side of the river.
nésèn empty, without; without doing harm (320); with only, with nothing else but; just, without more ado; loose (332); in vain (337).
nésěno < nésèn, 33.
něsmín, něsmín asén, just anywhere.
něsnakap < nés 1; 185.
net 1 spirit, ghost.
net 2 to provide for someone, to take care of someone.
Net name of a river.
nětipic spirit-man, ghost-man.
něnkap < nec, 186.
new 1 postposition, 255.
new 2 → nor, 208.
newá < new 1; 34.
newét elder brother [term of address as well as and of reference, used among relatives]; husband [term of address as well as of reference, used by a wife].
newétè < newét, 33.
néwirum < næwer, 171.
ní 1 come!
ní 2 → nívi.
ní 3 dance; fa — kind of dance, performed by women when a child is seriously ill or dying.
ní 4 to descend, to go down [celestial bodies]; to go downriver on or along a large river; to go to the river; to go back home [see sketch p. 364].
ní 5, ni — to dance.
nia < ni, 1; 2; 34.
níkap to descend to and stay near...
nímár < niavé, 144.
nímas 1 to lie down on the floor; to go home to sleep.
nímas 2 to start out with many people in canoes; to row downstream with many people.
nímasì < nímas 1; 116.
nímasía < nímasì 1; 34.
níap to sit down, to go home and stay there; to have gone home.
níapá < niap, 109.
níapér < niap, 155.
níapój < niap, 162.
níapom to put down [object sitting]: to stick [a spear] into...
níasimomis to lie down together under...
níavér always to go downriver, to go to the river, to go back home; to keep on going downriver, to the river, back home.
níavérkap to descend and sit down on the edge of, on the extreme end of.
níavérs to go into the water and change into.
níavérséc < niavérsre, 116.
nícinsem to shoot an arrow into the water.
nícomitiv to hide someone under.
nícomitiviles < nícomitiv, 168.
níem to go below and stand; to have gone below, downstream, home [subject standing].
níemfés < niem, 162.
níes to dance during the night.
níesmár < nies, 144.
nífam, jo — to wait downstream for daybreak.
nífampum to push [a canoe] from the bank into the water.
nífesap to be stuck; having sunk down [e.g. in a bog].
niįseap[i]m < niįseap, 144.

niįseopom [?] to sink down [in a bog]
and be stuck there (302).

niįseopómitē < niįseopom, 168
[7].

niįtōw to go home and go indoors; to go
downstream and enter [a house].

niįtōwa < niįtōw, 109.

niįtowe to go downstream and enter [a
house] at night.

niįtōve < niįtōw, 116.

niį → ni 1.

niįjamamis to lie down on the bottom
[a big thing].

niįjantīw to topple [a large tree] over;
to fall down on something large [?]
(266).

niįjāp to go home and speak; te tep...
— to shrink down.

niįjimentam to fetch from above and
put down for someone [object stand-
ing].

niįjirinuwi all to set out in canoes.

niįjīse, mu wu — to go into the water
and begin to waggle one’s fins [fish].

niįjukum to stretch to the river [a clear-
ing in the forest].

niįjuktumtiwam to put things down
together for someone.

niįjuktumtiw < niįjuktumtiw, 162.

niįkajāp all to have returned [e.g. from
camp].

niįm like, as though; a little in the
direction of: er — a little bit to that
side; arān — a little bit to the up-
stream side.

niįmār < ni 4; 144.

niįmatiwi to go home and chop down.

niįmenerap to begin to go down [sun].

niįmenerapā < niįmenerap, 109.

niįmir to look for.

niįmirsem to search for fish in shallow
water, to feel about for fish.

niįmirsemā < niįmirsem, 109.

niįmomop (336) to fell [a sago palm]
and work on it [?].

niįmu, mu — to descend to the water and
bathe.

niįmuamis to throw oneself down.

niįmuamisēr < niįmuamis, 155.

niįmus to disappear in the forest.

niį daughter-in-law [s.].

niįni, manmāk — presenting a fine sight,
a feast for the eyes.

niįnim name of a river.

niįnikamis to get in the canoe with many
people and set out.

niįniks daughters-in-law [pl.], 190.

niįnom to go down and stand by; to go
home and start to work on.

niįnomaver, ni — to dance in honour of
[a guest].

niįnomewiir < niįnomawer, 171.

niįnomitum, ni — to dance for someone
during the evening.

niįnompuw to go into the water with.

niįnompuwarō < niįnompuw, 165.

niįnomuwiw to go to the river and depart
with .. [in a canoe].

niįnomuwa < niįnomuwiw, 109.

niįnomuwegmes < niįnomuwiw, 136.

niįnomuropom < niįnomuwiw, 155.

niįnomuropomā < niįnomuropom, 34.

niįop to have sunk down with ..; to go
home and sit with [something], by
[someone].

niįopēr < niįop, 155.

niįorsop to have sunk down up to the
chest with.

niįpirim to go to the river and wash.

niįpitamis, is — to go home and go to
sleep.

niįpitamsēr < niįpitamis, 155.

niįporemap to sit down with and have
intercourse with.

niįporomjīwis to get into a canoe in
order to depart [a number of people].

niįsaj to get into the canoes [many
people].

niįsajīrēs < niįsaj, 155.

niįsaranmes to leave scattered at night.

niįsaranmesmā < niįsaranmes, 144.

niįse to be below in the river.

niįsēcēpes < niįse, 141.

niįsēp, ji — to sit stuck in the bog.

niįsēpem < niįsēp, 162.

niįsīcimtiw to put things separate from
each other.

niįsīritewer to hurry back home and
fetch.

niįsmi grandfather.

niįswem to step on .. in order to des-
cend to the river.

niįswaj, cem — to arrive home.
nitam to go downstream and reach; to reach home.
nitamór <$ nitam, 155.
nitamówx (301) to leave things behind on the land while coming here downstream [?].
nitatemip to shrink down, to become short [a tree].
nitawiptimes to fill something down below during the night.
nitawiptimesmar <$ nitawiptimes, 144.
nitawem to put down [object standing].
nitawemtam to put down for someone [object standing].
nitewer to go home and fetch; to pick up.
nitewsem to go to the river and put something in the water.
nitëw to lay something down.
nitëwtempor to try to put down for someone.
nitëwtemporëb <$ nitëwtempor, 162.
nitëwopom to go to the river and put something in [the canoe]; to put something down on the ground.
nitëwopomores <$ nitëwopom, 155.
niwa to go down to the river and set out [in a canoe] → niwëvë.
niwi father [s.].
niwi <$ niwi, 34.
niwiakap younger brother of father or mother, 195.
niwiis → niwiis.
njanjaja... interjection, suggestive of the action of nibbling or gnawing.
njenjer → e 4.
njómo... interjection, suggestive of the action of nibbling or gnawing.
njonto... → e 4.
nor <$ nor, 219.
normá <$ nor, 213.
noromómi interjection; good man! my dear one! 236.
noromóma <$ noromómi, 34.
noromomó<$ noromómi, 33.
noromómi → noromómi.
norów <$ nor, 216.
noróp <$ nor, 214.
nosó wound.
Nosó personal name.
now head-hunting; person whose head is to be taken or has been taken.
Nòwit name of a river.
nover near.
nucór 1 enormous, huge; very, to a high degree: awél — huge; pacák — very bad, most miserable.
nucór 2 ancient; ow — forefathers.
nukumomou to take a number of people to a canoe and depart with them.
nur → nor, 208.
nuw → niwëvë.
nuñumamis to set out in battle-array [canoes].
nuñumi <$ nuñuwë, 144.
nuñumíd <$ nuñumí, 33.
nuñuout to start out [in a canoe] in the morning.
nuñuwë to depart by canoe, to set out by canoe.
nuñuwufom <$ nuñuwe, 162.

O

o 1 → or.
o 2 grandchild [s.].
o 3 pig.
oaf again to kill, to kill also.
oap again to split off, again to work loose [fibres].
ocon spear, lance.
oe again to do.
oerës <$ oe, 155.
of 1 dead wood, corpse; rotten.
of 2 strainer.
oʃaʃis grandparents.
ofasi to return, to go back.
oʃasicëmës <$ ofasi, 136.
ofasim to tell, to inform.
ofasimtewer to take up where one left off [a story].
oʃeʃor blood-kinsmen belonging to a jew different from one’s own.
ofóm small digging stick.
oʃispor to go to the forest again to look at.
oʃisporë <$ oʃispor, 155.
ojum kind of bird; it always begins calling when the night is nearly at an end, thereby heralding daybreak.

ok egg.

okajum (344) also to fly [?].

okap to stick to [e.g. rust to iron].

okomose to follow [aquatic subject and object].

okomoni to carry away downstream [subject = the current].

okomomá < okomoni, 144.

okomorés < okom 1, 2; 155.

okokom 1 < ser — to drive ser fishes against the bank of the river.

okokom 2 to rub with.

okokonisok in great variety.

okom 1, ser — to drive ser fishes against the bank of the river. so — to start a song.

okom 2, mi — to rub someone with lime.

okomá < okom 1, 2; 109.

okometam to roll something up for someone.

okoméntamcin < okometam, 116.

okometewer to fetch something, breaking it off; pe — to catch a crab [breaking off the legs to prevent escape].

okométeweroc < okometewer, 165.

okométeweraré < okometewer, 165.

okomitiw to strike down, to kill [by shooting].

okón jaw, mouth [of a bag]; singing loudly (316); → okmapom, akse.

okonép opposite to, facing.

okor 1 mute.

okor 2 on guard, keeping guard.

okorá rape, adultery.

okořesawaer (293) to be alone the whole night long [?].

Okôrmi name of a river.

okorom 1, okorá — to rape.

okorom 2, manmák — to flirt.

okoromá < okorom 1, 2; 109.

okoromfen < okorom 1; 162.

okós, pe — crab's pincer; pír — crescent; — boar's tusk.

om 1 — or, 217.

om 2 digging stick, made of the wood of the nibung palm [see sketch p. 366].

om 3 to stand by, with; to be busy with [subject standing].

omá 1 binding material made of strips of the midrib of a frond of a very young sago shoot, → espét.

omá 2 cautiously, → fitjar.

omán to walk while eating.

Ománesep name of a village.

omas → momas [?].

omat to move on, working, while busy with; wos — to make a clearing in the forest.

Omawér name of a river.

omén shouting, yelling.

omér afraid.

oméw open space in the forest, overgrown with grass or reed.

omewer, ju — to stand shouting with joy.

omewermés (342) instead of omames, 114 [?]; < omewer.

omi (323), móc — to cry about [?].

omiris (326) to busy oneself with [?].

omís 1 to sleep with, to lie down with, to lie down while doing.

omís 2 to go inland with, to go to the forest with.

omísêres < omís, 1, 2; 155.

omismár < omís, 1, 2; 144.

omít, se mow — to throw oneself in the mud in the morning.

omitmár < omít, 144.

omjursomawaer (296) always to do wrong [?].

omkóc kind of insect.

omku to go ashore with.

omném < om 3; 177.

omnémé < omném, 33.

omócén spear of which the top of the shaft is shaped like a digging stick.

omocin to move upriver with.

omom to stand with, by; to stand while doing; to carry [subject standing].

omomat to accompany someone; to carry around; to visit (318).

omómati < omomat, 116.

omomér < omom, 155.

omómí (311) < omom, 144 [?].

omomirse (322) to be at fault [?].

omomís 1 to go and lie down with, by.

omomís 2 to take along to the forest, to go to the forest with.

omonomi to go on the way home, carrying something.

omoni to carry something back home, to carry something to the river.
omoph 1 a blow.
omop 2 to sit by, with, while busy
with...; to sit in a state of...
omopem < omop 2; 176.
omopēres < omop 2; 155.
omopēs < omop 2; 162.
omopomis (296) to sleep and wake with,
in the company of [?].
omopomismem < nomopomis, 144.
omit kind of fish.
omitaw to go into the water with.
omse to take along in the canoe, to be
in the canoe with, busy with...
omsewem < omse, 177.
omus the outer part of the sago pith;
this is scraped out by people standing
in the trunk when the central part
[anām] has been removed [see sketch
p. 367].
omāsewes → amāsewes.
omānakap < ãmus, 185.
on 1 shark.
on 2 to share [food, tobacco] with.
onēw → onōw.
onēf (302) → tōwoniēf.
onfaw again to enter [a house] down-
stream.
onfawem < onfaw, 155.
onfw to set out again [in a canoe].
onfwew < onfaw, 155.
onmer, ōnmer — quickly to go ahead of.
onmermēn < onmer, 144.
onk beam, support, staff; jinā — on the
knees, kneeling.
onkā < onkā, 34.
onr to carry on the back.
onrom to cause someone to carry
something on the back.
onrēw thatch, made of sago leaves.
op 1 above, on top of, [high] up.
op 2 to sit with, by, busy with...; to be
married to; cem — (283) to make a
house [?].
opemawemem < emawer 2; 144.
opemów < em 4; 155.
opajfēm < faj, 162.
opāk not, without; opāk cowāk abso-
lutely not; opāk wut by no means;
opāk pak really, 240.
opāk < opāk, 34.
opānakap < opāk, 186.
opamawem < nawer, 144.
opēf < op 2; 162.

Opēkātsimit personal name.
opēn question marker, 253.
oppa < opēn, 34.
opē < op 2; 177.
opēnakaw why not, not; 242.
opēw not, without; 241.
or you, your; 207-219.
orām < or, 215.
orāp 1 < or, 214.
orāp 2 → oap.
oremem again to stand up.
orōmis hurriedly to go back to the forest.
orām < or, 213.
orōm clean, smooth.
orom, manmāk — to peer at.
oromes, jah — to empty one’s stomach
at night.
ororōmitti to smooth something.
ororōmitiucem < ororōmitti, 125.
orō < or, 216.
ororōpōt to press repeatedly on [ob-
ject sitting].
ororōpōmēn < ororōpōt, 136.
orōwemem to cause to go downward by
pressing repeatedly, [e.g. a pole in the
mud].
orō < or, 214.
ōs 1 tree, wood. amās — sago palm.
ōs 2 cough.
ōs 3 to come towards with, while doing,
while busy with.
ōsasmatwew, fawic — to come towards
while joking all the time.
ōsasmatuwem < osasmatwer, 136.
ōset cricket.
ōsiāp to have gone back home [many
people].
ōsiāper < osia, 155.
osin → sin.
osiōcin again to move a little towards
the end of something.
osirmtak again to row steadily down-
stream.
osīsamtem again to push [a number of
things] towards someone.
osōp, man — to set to work on.
ōswuč mother, 193.
ōt to touch; mi — to pay a short visit
to.
ōta, jinā onōk — to kneel.
ōtapaw to return with all the people.
ōtašiap all to have returned [in the
village].
otásiapēraw < otasiap, 125.

otasisimaucer to return home again and again, filling the house with.

otaw to tell, to give advice; to ask.

ötawes < otaw, 162.

ótawmëm < otaw, 144.

ötawpor to try to give advice.

ötawporawer continually to try to give advice to someone, to exhort someone.

ötawporēwirn < otawporawer, 171.

ötawporirm < otawpor, 144.

oterespakaj to topple over in the opposite direction to the cut [a tree].

ötewer 1 to tell, to inform.

ötewer 2 (327) again to take [?].

ötewerā < ötewer 1, 2; 109.

ótipic a woman's [classificatory] brother [s].

ötinum again to pour [water] over.

otmá need tide.

otmamis to lie down while touching.

otmamtewer < to mamtewer, 155.

otmenau, wa — to come upstream, brushing along the edge of the forest.

ötom, sir am — to threaten a person with a lance.

ötom < ötomon, 109.

ötomi < sir — to stand with the spears at the ready, pointing at something below.

ötornimop < ötomi, 152.

otfemumumtam to push someone out of the house for someone.

ötuswe again to set out [in a canoe].

ötuswē < ötuswe, 109.

ōw 1 people, men, a man; ērēn — the upstream people = the ghosts; mer — the people who are [were, have been] fishing.

ōw 2 to fill.

ōw 3, at — to tell someone to do; to give orders to do...

ōwā < öw 1, 34.

ōwapām < owapom, 109.

ōwapamti < owapom, 144.

ōwapom to fill [object sitting].

ōwen struggle, fight.

ōwer marriage; husband.

ōwerēs → owerēs.

ōwerēsw → owerēs.

ōwermompor to return regularly to keep an eye on.

ōwerōs husband.

ōwerōw grown-up men, married men.

ōwnop to sit and have coitus with.

ōwnakpiriw < ów 1; 188.

ōwnēs strings of crocheted hair.

ōwnōsauw woman's name.

ōwopīs people of a similar age.

ōwores to change again into... at night.

ōworeşmop < owares, 144.

ōworeşmopā < owareşmop, 34.

ōworse to travel to and fro [by canoe].

ōwōpacā man's name.

ōwōpacākipic man's name.

ōwōpacākipit → Owpacākipic.

ōwpēnem < ów, 155.

ōwpōr, acān — to try to give advice.

ōwpormin < ówpor, 144.

ōwōsē formerly a Jew in the village of Jēpēm.

ōwōtū woman's (classificatory) brothers [pl].

ōwūnapmā < oswuapom, 109.

ōwūnapom again to bury; again to plug up.

pa scale [of a fish].

pacaj to flee in all directions.

pacājekkor < pacajekku, 155.

pacajekku to be scattered about far and near.

pacajekkuas to scatter about [of people].

pacāk bad, unfit; not willing, averse to.

pacākāp < pacāk, 202.

pacākapirē < pacāk, 202.

pacākaserē < pacāk, 202.

pacāko < pacāk, 33.

pacākere → pacākaserē.

pacāscanes < case, 155.

paı peace-making ceremony.

Pajāmpari personal name.

pajen to turn off or away and go upstream, → en.

pajener < pajen, 155.

pajifrap to turn oneself round [subject sitting].

pajifrapā < pajifrap, 116.

pajim to open [e.g. a door].

pajimāces < pajim, 165.

pajimomse, ci mi aran — to turn the nose of the canoe upstream taking [people] along.
pajis all to go outside.
pajivem to stand with the legs wide apart.
pájjaivis to turn downriver and go out to sea.
pajse to turn off [a canoe].
pajteuer to turn towards in order to fetch.
pájteueró < pajteuer, 109.
pajuru (337) not to be seen, to be invisible [?].
pák → opák.
pákam to kick; maj — the stamping of one's foot.
pakajamis all to lie down together, in great numbers.
pákajamser < pakajamis, 155.
pakajap to sit somewhere in great numbers; to sit everywhere; jo sétnakap —
the river is narrow everywhere.
pakajse to be in the water somewhere in great numbers; to be in the water everywhere.
pabás ulcer.
pabé hard and old, stale [food].
pakétnakap crowded with [a river with canoes]; covered with [a tree with flowers].
pakó < pak, 33.
pamá < pawer, 144.
pamitiv to divide a quantity of goods into small portions; to take away small parts from a quantity.
pamusem, mak in — to walk to the forest and turn one's back towards.
pané, mi — nose ornament made of a shell.
papajim to open [plural object].
papcapipi to swing to and fro.
papem < ap 2; 176, 180.
papemop, jen — 'to sit with the ears turned round', i.e. to have forgotten the world of men (314).
papes < ap 2; 176, 180.
papi, ci — broad-based midrib [of a sago palm frond].
papiruimku to turn [the canoe] towards and go ashore.
papis exchange of women [this generally takes place between two as, and occasionally between men who are not each other's as, see 332, note a].
papormem < por, 144, 180.
papuj (337) to make detours [?].
papujkurus all to have succumbed.
papujkurnó < papujkuru, 155.
par wide, broad.
parás 'dune-ridge': low ridge consisting of crushed vegetable matter which has been carried by the rivers to the sea and then washed ashore. Found along the coast near Jepém.
parem to turn something round.
pariem extending in all directions [e.g. a tree with huge buttresses].
pariemi < pariem, 176.
parise to lie stretched out in the water.
parok scattered about, dispersed; disorderly.
parasm to scatter.
parsamukum to scatter about, to cause to flee in all directions.
parsamukumó < parsamukum, 155.
paroís daughter.
pas in vain.
pastés itch; manmák — itching eyes.
pasták kind of grass.
patámburumôs < patamburu, 155.
patamburu to fill right up with, to load full.
Patépo personal name.
pateomcen < tetam, 116.
pateomcená < pateomcen, 34.
pateuer, tow — to work loose the pith of the sago palm in order to gather the sago grubs.
patí < at 2; 116.
Patíem personal name.
paw kind of mangrove.
pawáncasin < awan 1, 2; 120.
pawer, tow — to get many sago grubs.
pawamis all to go away.
pawawer always to go out [to hunt] with people.
pawawavérmar < pawawaver, 136.
pawawum to wobble about.
på 1 kind of crab.
på 2 to depart, to move off [in a canoe].
påc < e 4; 116.
påcr < e 4; 120.
påcu < e 4; 125, 180.
påcém < e 4; 125.
påcemá < pëcem, 34.
påcemu < e 4; 125.
påmanem < em 4; 144, 180, 183.
pémcem < em 3; 176, 180.

pémé → pemos.
pemos < em 4; 162, 180.
pemserawera < merawer, 120.
pemésmar < emes 2; 144, 180.
pemo → pemof.
pemof < em 4; 162, 180.
pemtakom, manmák — to keep a sharp
look-out downstream.
pemtomtompor, manmák — to try to
take a good look above; pemtomtompori please, take a good look above.
pemtomtompori < pemtomtompor, 116.
pen → opén.
penés, o — sow, female pig.
pepe tightly bound; manmák — looking
sharply around.
pepepe:. onomatopoeia, reproducing the
creaking of cane binding as it is pulled
tight.
per 1 mouse.
per 2 → at 2.
Per name of a village.
pere interjection, indicating a sudden
appearing and disappearing; a flash of
light; a quick short movement.
pesè to row off.
pètem → pecém.
petév, aj — the newly wed couple.
petévovanes < tevem, 155, 180.
petokóm → pecokóm.
pèower < power, 109, 175.
pewesanes < ewes, 155, 180.
pènakaw → opnakaw.
pèrem → parem.
pi 1 cassowary.
pi 2 to fly.
pi 3 to fish with the net.
Papipin name of a river.
pičin skin, bark; mi — the skin around
the nose and upper lip.
pičirin, ár — it’s finished; that’s the
story.
pičower to catch many fish with the net.
pičowermi < piewer, 136.
pičinaw < pinau, 136.
pičisassérmohom < jisae, 136, 180.
piči broken [of any binding material].
piči edge, side, brim; jo — the bank of
the river.
pičinakap < piči, 185.
pičip to have left something.
pičisaw < to cut off.

pin, ci jipin — continually to come and
go [e.g. people in a shop].
pinaw to come crossing the river.
pinawmá < pinaw, 144.
pinim 1 the side where…; wasén — the
side where the forest is; iwontm — the
side where the river is [in relation to
the speaker].
pinim 2 smell.
piśch chockfull.
piśipi. interjection, indicating the action
of stabbing.
piśipim to break off, to chop off [plural
object].
piśipimaw to break off and take away
[plural object].
piśipimawá < piśipimaw, 109.
piśipimó < piśipim, 155.
pir 1 moon.
pir 2 → so.
piri downstream [of a main river]; the
coast, the sea.
piri deliberate misinformation.
pirim to wash, to rinse.
pírkaár triton shell.
pis grandchildren [pl.].
Piśim personal name.
pisís kind of grass.
pisnákas < pis, 187.
pisnákaseré < pis, 188.
piswá dagger made of a cassowary’s
bone.
piswánakap < piswá, 185.
pić python.
pitamis to go to sleep.
pitamís < pitamis, 155.
pititamap to be filled to the brim.
pititamem to fill something with water.
pititamémá < pititamem, 109.
pititamémór < pititamem, 155.
pititamemes to fill [a bag] one is carrying
at night.
piv, par — very broad.
piv 1 paddle; rowing.
piv 2 the midrib of the frond of the sago
palm; the trough made of these mid-
ribs that is used for washing the sago
[see sketch p. 366].
piv 3 (302, 343) all.
poomis, is — all to go to sleep, all to
sleep.
poamismár < poamis, 144.
poamis 1 let not, lest, 243.
pok 2 goods, things; edible animals that live in the water; nam — the entrails; jiwis — baggage, taken along when moving to another dwelling place.

Pokás personal name.

poké, jo — the hot sun, the burning sun; the heat of the sun.

póknakap < pok 2; 185.

póknakás < pok 2; 187.

pom 1 harpoon.

pom 2, póm apcóm 'full to overflowing' [said of a heavy-loaded canoe].

Pomáč name of a river [Noordwest river].

pomán the other side, the opposite side; half-roll of sago: body of sago of which one side is curved and one side flat [see 267, note b; two pomán, put face to face on each other, form a maj]; nam — one half of.

pomátevérí < matevérí 1; 116.

pómcem < om 3; 177, 180.

pómót paddle of which the end of the shaft is decorated with a fringe of white cockatoo's feathers.

pomsefau < omse, 162, 180.

Pomáč → Pomáč.

pónakap < po 1; 185.

pónów dirty, dirt.

poperiomatamádr < poperiomataworm, 144.

poperiomataworm to roll over and over [wailing].

poperini to drift downriver, turning around and around slowly.

popomismérén (293) always I was with you < opomis [?].

popomismérén < popomismérén, 33.

popujaramép < popujarawer, 152.

popujarawer continually to walk in a circle.

por to see, to look at, to hear, to smell; to know.

porá < por, 109.

porap, jipí — to have a presentiment.

porem 1 to see [subject standing].

porem 2 to intend to do, to want to do.

poperentewer to choose [something] and take [it] away.

poperentewérí < poperentewer, 109.

porí < por, 116.

poría < porí, 34.

poric < por, 116.

porjar to go around looking for.

porjarawer to go around all the time looking for.

porjít, so — to plan a murder, massacre.

porjursum to plan to kill, to bring disaster upon.

porkasí to take a sly look at.

porkurum (339) to see everything [?].

porom 1 to show someone something; to cause to see.

porom 2, arúv — to practise magic against.

poromtaw to search for until found [plural object].

poromtawer to search for all the time until found [plural object].

poromtevem to look for food, to get food.

poromtewer to look for until found [singular object].

porów afternoon, early evening [the period from ± 3 p.m. until shortly after sunset].

porówner married daughter.

porównakapíriv < porów, 188.

porpor to look around or; to try to see.

porporom to go to [try to] have a look at.

porís → porís.

porsamawer always to thrust aside, always to spill.

porse to see, to look at [aquatic subject].

portewet to be on the look-out for a woman to marry.

potáwwen < otaw, 144, 180.

pototómćen [dialect of Ac] → pate-támćen.

pototómćenō < pototómćen, 33.

pów 1 → opów.

pów 2 → pów.

pów 3 breadfruit tree.

pów 4 to look for.

pówaw < pów 1; 34.

pówič kind of mangrove.

pówpor to look for, to seek [but in vain].

pr interjection, indicating that one finds something very beautiful or impressive.

pu 1, fu — the booming of bamboo horns.

pu 2 'a line running lengthwise over the centre of a flat or curved surface':
jo — [in] the middle of the river; mokot — the path running through the centre of a sago garden.

pu 3 by, near, close to; on, across; ji — identical to a preceding event, according to custom.

pu 4, amin — busy with [said of people occupied in roasting food or firing canoes in preparation for a departure].

pu 5 to come up, to rise [sun]; → mu.

pu 6 to be on the river, to go by the river.

puamis to have just risen [sun].

puamismár < puamis, 144.

puamisá < puamis, 109.

puawer to stay on a visit for some time.

puem, jiru — to be angry, furious [subject standing].

puk clearing.

pum to tread down [grass, reed].

pumap, jo — to stay somewhere until the sun rises.

puamasam to tread down [reeds].

puememawer, minip — always to have in mind, always to think about [subject standing].

pumemévirir < puememawer, 171.

pumokompom (308) to tread [reeds] down, causing them to touch [somebody] [?].

pumom 1, minip — to be thinking about [subject standing].

pumom 2 to stand chopping off [bark of a tree].

pumonêm < pumom 1; 177.

pumonéma < pumonném, 34.

pumop, minip — to be thinking about [subject sitting].

pupopénm < pupom, 177.

pumot spear [puaw] of which the end of the shaft is decorated with a fringe of white cockatoos' feathers.

puuentewer, picin — to chop bark off a tree [before cutting it down].

pupumen, minip — to think about, to ponder [subject standing].

pupumém < pupumen, 162.

pupumes < minip — to think about at night; at night to be under the impression that.

pupupu. onomatopoeia reproducing the sound of air bubbles.

pupurap to be covered with, overgrown with [path with jungle growth].

pupurumomewer, maj — to walk with someone and make him keep walking in a circle.

pupurumomévréménés < pupurumomewer, 136.

pupurumomévréménésá < pupurumomévréménés, 34.

pupurumucumite to fill [e.g. a pit] up with.

puras to lie on [said of a cover, e.g. thatch].

puris daughter.

purpur → e 4.

purpurpur... interjection indicating the assembling of a crowd of people.

purum to cover up.

purumúc a traditional chant in which the subject matter is the event leading to a person's death: lament, dirge. [The purumúc is never sung with drum accompaniment].

purumút → purumúc.

pus → puris.

put to rise in the morning [sun].

putamis → pitamis.

putamismép < putamis, 152.

putéraw < put, 125.

puw kind of spear.

S

s interjection: hey! I say!

sa 1 dry, dried up; dead [of trees].

sa 2 to be dry.

safán, furáw — very long.

Safán personal name.

sajes to come [a group of people as a whole].

sajespés < sajes, 152.

sajis to stick out [of branches generally].

sájismar < sajis, 144.

Sajimós personal name.

sajini to return home [a group of people as a whole].

sajtakawer always to go downstream [a group of people as a whole; any category of people].

sajwut to marry, to take as a wife, a husband [when speaking in general terms].

sakaj to be broken.
sakajawer, asé — to have a tired back.
sakam to cut off, to break, to smash; to scrape out [sago]; to stop [any activity].
sakamúj < sakam, 162.
sakamtam to cut off for someone.
sakamtampor to try or to want to cut off for someone.
sakamteuer to cut off and take away [e.g. a head].
Sakín name of a river.
sakurumawer all to be dried up [of trees, → sa 2].
Sakvís name of a few in the village of Seréw.
sam to dry something.
samát group of people forming the population of a village.
sama < samát, 34.
samóp → asamóp.
samót → samát.
samóspasm.. in great numbers.
samteuer → asamteuer.
Samún name of a river.
sanamikurum all to be dried up completely [sago palms].
sanamikurum < sanamikurum, 155.
sapiamis to have gone out; to be down, [sun].
sapiamisnép < sapiamis, 152.
sapiamisérav < sapiamis, 125.
sapís to go out in the sea [sun].
sapísémár < sapisé, 144.
Sasák personal name.
sasakajes to come towards while passing a number of something [e.g. rivers].
sásakajeséf < sásakajes, 162.
sásakajeséfá < sásakajeséf, 34.
sásakajesf → sásakajeséf.
sasakam to cut into pieces.
sasakamam to cut off, to cut away [plural object].
sasakamtau to cut off [and take along], [plural object].
sasakamtaí to cut off and put down [plural object].
saw → sawnák.
sawé < saw, 33.
sawnák how sad! what a pity!
sawnákha < sawnák, 34.
se 1 mud, clay.
se 2 to be on or in the water.
se 3 to share out, to distribute.
seawer to stay in the water.
sees to come towards [aquatic subject].
seésmepés < sees, 152.
sejasi to turn round and go back [aquatic subject].
sej 1 shoulder.
sej 2 iron.
sejirawer, micic — to lie in the water so long that there is a heavy growth of seaweed on.
séjiréwirúp < sejirawer, 171.
sejór kind of fish.
sejóa chopping knife.
sek shag [loanword]; kapák — idem.
sékakajam < sekakajawer, 144.
sekakajawer to return from camp with many people.
semaram to strike about [aquatic object].
semén rope; long row.
Seménterésimí to personal name.
Seménterésimí < Seménterésimí, 34.
semí (339) quiet.
sensirim (325) to assemble on the river [canaes] [?].
ser downstream [of a tributary river].
serén elbow; the left side (296).
sekor to float by.
sekor < sekor, 109.
sep arm, foreleg; man — idem.
sepé to start out in a canoe.
sepéérés < sepé, 155.
Séper personal name.
ser kind of fish.
seramót, ser fishes [species of].
serápmomém < serápom, 155.
serápmomém < serápmorém, 33.
sерápmum < serápmom, 155.
sépmum < sépmum, 34.
serápmom, fer — to put down a fish-trap.
serápmom | < serápmom, 162.
sere, jak — enamoured of.
serémoñ, jak — to be enamoured of.
serémoñ < serémoñ, 162.
serér, onów — a thin place in the thatch.
Seréw formerly a village on the river Asú.
Seréwawa < Seréw, 34.
ses 1 dry palm leaves; ci sés the firing of canoes, → sow.
ses 2, man — the raising of the hand [a magical gesture, see 308, note a].
ses 3 to stay in the water at night.

dōk black.

dəs to enter a river.

dəsərəs < dəs, 155.

set kind of wading bird.

set to dip something [in water].

setəj to arrive [in a canoe].

setəjəu < setəj, 125.

setəjəkəmes < setəj, 136.

setəjəkəkom < setəj, 125.

setəjəm < setəj, 162.

setək to row downriver.

setən to dip something in [water] and eat it.

Setəmət → Setmət.

Setmət name of a jew in the village of Surú.

setnə < setən, 109.

setnəkəp narrow.

sew smoked.

səsəsəs... onomatopoeia reproducing the hissing of fire as it is put out, or the sound of frizzling.

si 1 stone axe.

si 2 distribution, sharing out.

si 3 to dig.

si 4 to plait.

si 5 to subside [of water].

siənərəmətiw to plait until a certain point is reached and then to stop work (285).

siəpəm, se — to dig a pit.

siəpəməs < siəpəm, 155.

siəsam 1 to dig away.

siəsam 2 to plait until completion.

siəwe, se — to increase in number, to multiply.

siawərəuw < siawər, 125.

sićənəpəm to spread out [object sitting].

sićək kind of grass.

sim to shift something, to shove.

siməm to fill and take along with [subject standing].

siməsə surft.

simiiwəs to wash ashore at night.

simiiwsəmər < simiiwsə, 144.

simiiwətam to push something towards someone.

simiiwətcəmes < simiiwətam, 136.

sin 1 'sister': term of reference used among sisters, among the wives of one husband and by the husband when referring to his wife [s.].

sin 2 [= sin ?] → siawər.

siənə 1 kind of lobster.

siənə 2 crack [in bark, skin].

Sɨnə name of a river.

siənəkap 1 < si 1; 185.

siənəkap 2 < sin 1; 195.

siənəpis 'sisters' [pl.] → sin 1.

siocin to move up towards the far end of.

siənəporəməp < siənəporərəw, 152.

siənəporərəw continually to try to dig out.

siətetemət to plait [a band] onto the top of [a bag].

siətemətamər < siətemətamər, 144.

siətemətamə (302) = siətemətaməp, < siətemətamər, 152.

siətemətamər to plait something onto the top of.

siəteməti < siətemet, 116.

siətemetow < siətemet, 120.

siŋəm collar-beams [weapons and food are kept on these].

siŋər to try to plait.

siŋərərəw continually to try to plait.

siŋərəvwəmes < siŋərərəw, 136.

sir → otoni, otom.

Sɨrəc name of a river [Eiland River].

sir 1 quick, fast.

sir 2 (301), manmək — on the lookout.

sirəi be quick! < sirə, 34.

sirəp, manmək — to sit on the lookout for.

sirifis 1 to come rushing out of.

sirifis 2 quickly to cross over [a sandbank], (339).

sirifisərər < sirifis 1, 2; 120.

sirifisərməs quickly to make a canoe and launch it.

sirifisərməs < sirifisərməs, 155.

sirifisərməs quickly to rowing towards.

sirifisərməs quickly to fit up, to make ready for use.

sirifisərməs < sirifisərməs, 165.

sirifisərməs to row upriver with..., to take along upriver [in a canoe].

sirifisərməs quickly to chop off [ribs of the fronds of a sago palm].

sirifisərməsvə < sirifisərməsvə, 165.

sirifisərməsvə quickly to dry something.

sirifisərməsvə quickly to row downstream.

sirifisərməsvə < sirifisərməsvə, 165.
sirintep quickly to row upstream.
sirákip < síri, 200.
siriruwaw quickly to go down to the river and set out.
siripiáp < quickly to cross a river.
siróp, caj — to give in [to persuasion]
sís tooth; support pole; jiwár — necklace made of dog's teeth.
sísí to exist as a depth [said of a deep place in the bog].
sísím 1 to fill [plural object].
sísím 2 to shift something repeatedly; to shift things.
sísímampés < sísím 1, 2; 152.
sísímakamintiw to wash ashore and leave to die [fish].
sísímakamintiwér < sísímakamintiw, 155.
sísímonis to fill [troughs] and bring them outside.
sísíocin to draw towards.
sísirí, sísirí pak it was serious! (319).
sísí kind of shellfish.
Sisím personal name.
sít to get up.
síem to stand up, to have got up.
sét to plait and put down; to plait something until it is finished.
Síeimak name of a river.
so 1 song, generally sung with drum accompaniment; e — kind of song; pír — song, sung during the feast for the new jëw; tesín — song sung outside the new jëw during the feast on its completion.
so 2 killing, murdering, in order to take heads.
sõh onomatopoeia, reproducing the hissing of water touching a hot object.
sok 1 grandmother [s].
sok 2 bird.
sokmót head decoration consisting of feathers put in the hair.
sokom to break up [and discard]; to kill (344).
Sokorétu personal name.
somil to stand up with, while holding something.
somót → somát.
sóndaw → e 4.
sópt interjection indicating the action of leaping high in the air [of a fish].
sorap to live alone, to stay alone.
sorápères < sorap, 155.
sorom, fa — to follow.
söròmer < sorom, 155.
sörómeri to go with [the current] downstream; to carry downstream [subject = the current].
sörömoniamár < sörömoniawer, 144.
sörömoniawer to carry downriver [subject = the current].
sorom, fa — to follow, to pursue.
Söróusimirt personal name.
sos → ses 1.
sosojis to go towards the land in leaps [fish].
sosójismar < sosojis, 144.
sosót ridge-beam.
sosowom (281) to stand up repeatedly with [?].
sow, ci sès — to fire a canoe; → 328, note c.
sowap → suwap.
sowem, man sès — to raise the hand to [magical gesture].
sowéjew to step on to [the front gallery of a house] and go indoors.
sowenom to come ashore.
sowót saw-fish.
sow pá to launch a canoe.
sowumcém < sowerum, 136.
Su name of a jëw in the village of Amisu.
sukmap, jismák — to stay somewhere, the fires having gone out.
sukmapá < sukmap, 109.
suku < kind of fish.
sun 1 to pull out.
sun 2, jak — to get with child.
sunom to pull out and take along.
sunomér < sunom, 155.
sunomis → suumomis.
sunomis < sunom, 109.
sunop to allow to sit between [people].
sunoperasin < sunop, 120.
sunteew → suneewer.
sunteewer to pull out, to pull up.
Sunúj personal name.
Sumúj (320) = Sumúj [in enumeration].
sunutum to make someone stand up; to allow someone to escape (333).
sunutumem to help someone to stand up.
sun to be worsted.
susu to be boiling.
susir kind of small bat.
suw ← suwuw.
suwap 1 to begin with, to start to work at [subject sitting].
suwap 2 to emerge, to rise up out of the water.
suwapá < suwap 2; 109.
suwem to begin with, to start to work at [subject standing]; maj — to step on to.
suwemnic < suwem, 116.
suwemomis to allow someone to sleep between [people].
suwew to step into a canoe and set out.

takamteswer to pierce through, and remove.
takamtwomse to take along in the canoe for the first time.
takámtowómseféném < takamtwomse, 162.
takás all, everyone.
takawer continually to go downstream.
takawerméro < takawer, 174.
takfiw to go downstream and enter [a house].
takjise to speak while rowing downstream.
takjukumapom to go downstream and put together.
takmatam to accompany someone downstream.
taknap to eat, having gone downstream.
takokojir to go downstream and cross to the other side.
takom to go downstream to meet someone.
takowerom to go repeatedly back downstream to keep an eye on.
takpor to go downstream to look at.
takse to have gone downstream [in a canoe].
taksem well-made [of a canoe].
táktemapom < taktemapom, 109.
taktemapom to row downstream and ram [the canoes of the enemy].
taktitiw to go downstream and put something down.
takwitiw to go downstream and throw something down.
tam 1 morning, from daybreak until ± 10 a.m.
tam 2 rattan, ← tem 1.
tamá < tam 1; 34.
tames, is — to dream.
tamesem ← tawsemem.
tamesmop < tames, 152.
tamesmor < tamesem, 155.
támúcim early in the morning.
tamnakaq < tam 1; 185.
tamnóm kind of duck.
támúasardaj < omses, 132.
tamús ← wu; [loan-word from Malay, = tembus].
tamúv buttress [of a tree].
Tamúw personal name.
tamú nonsense.
tap, acín — to stick on to.
taper < tap, 155.  
tapij̟i̟u to retreat inside.  
tapij̟i̟i̟u < tapij̟i̟i̟u, 109.  
tapin sleeping mat, made of the dried  
leaves of the pandanus tree.  
tapm̟r < tapom, 155.  
tapom 1 to fill, to put into.  
tapom 2 to tapom 1.  
tapomakem, maj ákin — immediately  
after having put a foot on...[to fall  
down].  
tapomákmam̟p < tapomakem, 152.  
tapoman to fill [with food], to put  
[food] into.  
tápm̟m̟r < tapom, 120.  
tápm̟m̟com < tapom, 125.  
tápm̟m̟f̟m̟m̟ to push [a canoe] off the high  
bank to the river.  
tapomkémem, onów — to lay the thatch  
on a house, fastening it firmly.  
tapomn̟m < tapoman, 116.  
tapomerem to cannon into something,  
causing it to split.  
tarásêpes (classificatory) sisters of a  
man [pl.].  
tăráséwnc (classificatory) sister of a man  
[s.].  
tari old, long ago.  
tarifis to come outside by breaking  
through [e.g. a wall].  
tarifipic very old, very long ago.  
taripicim < tari, 203.  
tarowápores < ariwap, 132.  
tas̟m̟s̟m̟ < tes̟m̟.  
tasm̟j̟ipic < tasm̟j̟ipic.  
tatafajimimte to place neatly beside each  
other, 107.  
tatakáj 1 lively, swift-footed; atów —  
playful.  
tatakáj 2 to be lively, swift-footed.  
tatákci to catakci.  
tatam 1 to give [plural object].  
tatam 2 (284), a — to branch; to get  
flowers [said of a sago palm].  
tatamemem, mak ám — to pile [bags]  
up in rows on each other.  
tatámemémor < tatamemem, 155.  
tatapom to put neatly in, to fill neatly;  
filled neatly (107).  
tatów, ja — to go to fetch.  
tatémop to sit tightly packed.  
Tatepí personal name.  
Tatepía < Tatepí, 34.  
tatewer, cet — to win a contest, to win  
the prize.  
tatów to put down, to lay down [plural  
object].  
tatům̟ nonsense.  
tatamín < tetam, 144.  
tatanes to give at night.  
tatmêsmim < tatemes, 144.  
tatmór < tetam, 155.  
tatmorès < tetam, 155.  
taw 1 to take, to seize [plural object].  
taw 2, atakám — to speak; purumúc —  
to sing a dirge.  
tawá < taw 1, 2; 109.  
tawan to take or fetch in order to eat  
[plural object].  
tawanód < tawan, 162.  
tawat to take for oneself [plural ob-  
ject].  
tawawer 1 continually to speak.  
tawawer 2, ukeká — to crochet hair all  
day long.  
tawenem to pile up [plural object].  
Tawenic personal name.  
Tawenic to Tawenic.  
Tawentricmim < Tawenic, 195.  
tawajimimsemen to take [canoes] to the  
river.  
tawamín <taw 2; 144.  
tawenemsem < tawenemem.  
tawenemsem to put things against some-  
thing, along something [e.g. a wall].  
tawenemes to cause to go downriver  
during the night [plural object].  
tawomewer, atakám — continually to  
speak to, to nag at [a person].  
tawomewermór < tawomewer, 136.  
tawow to put into [plural object].  
tawowic < tawow, 116.  
tawpacaj to scatter in all directions, to  
disperse.  
tawpacajop to stay with people, after  
having dispersed from...; to have dis-  
persed to.  
tawpacajop < tawpacajop, 155.  
tawpomapom to scatter [people] a-  
bout.  
tawpomom to stay with people after  
having been driven away; to have  
sought refuge with.  
tawpacapom < tawpacapom, 155.  
tawpor to try to reason with.
tawasim (342) to take a number of people along with one [?].
tawatam to give advice to.
tawatermenapom to put separate from each other [object sitting].
tawaterminomas, amás — to eat sago from then onwards (302).
tawatum to talk all the afternoon.
tawutumcēpokōm < tawatum, 141.
tawutumēp < tawatum, 152.
te 1 rain.
te 2, té mu tea [loan-word from Malay, = teh].
tem 1 rattan.
tem 2, aue — to have breasts, to be marriageable; nemcnē — to be furious.
tenal to fool [someone].
temēr < tem 2, 155.
temat to go upwards, to rise.
tematjāmen to have grown large and high.
tematjēm to pull away from above.
tematjēmores < tematjēm, 155.
tematjōm, e wū — to stand high up with leaves rustling [a tree].
tematotap, pim — to have risen to the brim [e.g. water].
temētovowopmōr < temetovowom, 155.
temētovowom to hang up above, to put down on top of.
temētovowap, wasēr — to grow up into a wasēr.
temetsurum to scratch one’s head.
temetswanic to grow high up [trees].
temētswaniōm < temetswanic, 144.
temētswasiap to have shot up [plants].
temetswanem, e — to stand high up with leaves rustling.
temjom, namōs — to like.
temjomēn < temjom, 177.
temjomēno < temjomēn, 33.
tentapes to have grown during the night [subject sitting].
tentem to climb onto; to be high [subject standing].
tentemes to grow up at night [subject standing].
tentemēsmar < temtesmes, 144.
ten top, upper side of an object; on, on top of.
tenakap < ten, 185.
tenam throat.
tenfōj unaware of.
tentaj, tentaj pōk antidote used in magic.
tep 1 to go upstream on or along a tributary river [see sketch p. 364].
tep 2 to be above, to hang, to be up in the air.
tēpacoapēm < coapēm, 164.
tēpaēmnērēm < emanē, 155.
tēpakajap to have gone upstream and sit there.
tēpakamis, ašin — to lie down [ill] immediately after having gone upstream.
tēpākōjnievermokom < kokojniever, 136.
tēpampiamem < ampiam, 144.
tēpap to go upstream and stay there.
tēpapēm < apēm, 176, 144.
tēpapmēs < tepap, 144.
tēpaporfem < por, 162.
tēpaporcēmen < por, 136.
tēpacēs < tep 1; 165.
tēpates ← tepates.
tēpātsauwār < tuauw, 155.
tēpe to hang in a condition of . . ; mam-māk nini — to hang, presenting a fine sight.
tēpem to have gone upstream [subject standing].
tēpemār < tepe, 144.
tēpes to go upstream at night.
tēpesājikawermmokom < sājikawer, 136.
tēpesmar < tepes, 144.
tēpesmēp < tepes, 152.
tēpeswāvērēm < ewēw, 155.
tēpit to go upstream in the morning.
tēpitēm < tepit, 152.
tēpjomśēames < tepjomseawer, 144.
tēpjomseawer to speak to someone all the time while rowing upstream.
tēpkawē to go upstream and join.
tēpkawērēs < tepkawai, 155.
tēpkaw to go upstream and go ashore.
tēpkuru to shout agreement upstream.
tēpkurērēs < tepkuru, 155.
tēpokojir to go upstream and cross to the other side.
tepom 1 to send upstream, to cause to go upstream.
tepom 2 to go upstream and stand by; to walk upstream to meet someone.
tepomparem to turn upside down [object above eye level].
tepomporsem, op — to let go freely
from above, into the water.
tepomporsëmcèpes < tepomporsem, 141.
tepomporsem → tepomporsem.
tepomporsemá < tepomporsem, 109.
tepomse to take upriver [in the canoe].
tepomser < tepomse, 155.
tepor to go upstream to look at.
teporsi to be shining [sun].
tépserimár < tepseri, 144.
tépsi upstream to enter a side-stream.
tépsiér < tépsi, 155.
tépsirim to row upstream.
tépsowawer to jump from above [from
a great height].
teptaj to row upriver as far as.
tepteptep... interjection, indicating the
action of sinking deeper and deeper,
237.
teptewer to go upstream and take away.
teptowowom < to drop [someone] up-
stream.
teþu to have risen [sun].
teþumar < teþu, 144.
ter → twwer 2, 3.
teré 1 rattan, leaf.
teré 2 joyful, glad.
terémsem to split [aquatic object]; to
push through [canoes on the river].
teréw thin.
termén split.
tes daring, brave, successful, powerful;
→ 328, note a.
tesén outside.
tesmá courageous, successful; beautiful
[of women].
tesmájípic brave warrior, war leader.
tetam to give [something] to.
tetamcin < tetam, 116.
tetamènèm < tetam, 162.
tetamñes < tetam, 162.
teté ‘between’: a Jomót teté, a Ma teté
between the Jomót and the Ma.
teterenapom to put stripes [of paint]
on something.
tetete (320) interjection, indicating a
sudden disappearing; ‘in a flash’...
tew → twewer 2.
tewawer to take, get, catch, much/many.
tewawércem < twewawer, 125.
tewawércemá < twewawércem, 33.
téwawumëmes to put feathers in the hair
at night.
téwawumëmesp < twewumëmes, 152.
tewem 1 to put down [object standing].
tewem 2 to set out [or foot].
tewen to take up, or fetch, in order to
eat.
tewená < twewen, 109.
tewenem 1 to take along with upriver.
tewenem 2 to put something on some-
thing.
tewéř 1 the bright red flowers of a
liana [mucuna Nova Guinensis: Flame
of the Forest].
tewer 2 to take, to seize, to fetch [sin-
gular object]; to rise [of the tide].
tewer 3, cie — to win a contest; atakám
— to speak.
Tewéř → Tewérawuc [abbreviation].
tewerá < twewer 2; 109.
Tewéra < Tewer, 34.
tewerác < twewer 2; 165.
tewéracem < twewer 2; 165.
téwéramés < twewerawer, 144.
teweršam to take much, to get much
[sago].
tewerawer to get much [sago], to catch
many [fish].
Tewérawuc personal name.
Tewérawucakáp < Tewérawuc, 195.
Tewérawutsimit < Tewérawuc, 195.
tewérawere < twewerawer, 174.
teweric < twewer 2; 116.
tewerit → tweweric.
tewérmánènem < twewer 2; 144.
tewérmem < twewer 2; 144.
tewérémnom < twewer 2; 144.
tewértótoramár < twértótorawer, 144.
tewértótorawer all the day long to get
[food], everyone individually.
tewet to take for oneself; to marry.
tewji, po — to start to row.
tewjinim to send on the way [a number
of people].
tewjiniwamis to start to swim [many
fish].
tewjiniwarit to start out in the morning
with many.
tewjiniwejjar to set out with many
[people], with everyone.
tewjípirom (301) to think only of, to
care only for [?]; to stand, embracing
someone.
tewjípiromè < twewjípirom, 162.
tewnem to send someone downstream, to send someone home.
tewénamén < tewnem, 144.
tewsem to put something into water.
teté < tetewet, 109.
twetakam to allow someone to escape.
Tetétén name of a river.
térásèpes => tarásèpes.
térásuwuc => tarásuwuc.
ti 1 => ci 1.
ti 2 => mu.
ti 3 to go down [sun].
tiamis to have gone down [sun].
tiamismór < tiamis, 144.
tiamismép < tiamis, 144.
tiki onomatopoeia reproducing a splash.
timap, jo — to stay somewhere until the sun goes down.
timapër < timap, 155.
timeremap, jo — to sit until the sun goes down.
timeremapá < timeremap, 109.
timse, jo — to row until the sun goes down.
timséacem < timse, 165.
timsér < timse, 155.
tinák the inflorescence of the sago palm.
tipim to cause to be just in front of, just on.
tipuris sons and daughters; children.
tipus => jiwí.
tiríl letter, book, writing; [loan-word from Malay, < tulis — to write].
tise to go down in the sea [sun].
tisér < tise, 155.
titewer to pick up [object lying].
titewerér < titewer, 165.
titiem (319), mák am — to follow someone [?].
titíw lay down [something], to put down [something]; to pile up [of clouds].
titíwmá < titíw, 144.
titíweem < titíw, 125.
titítwam to put [something] down for someone.
titíur row [of men in a canoe].
tiw son.
tiwá < tiw, 34.
tiwanim, amán — to take a bow from the collar-beams on which it is kept.
tiwaper to make a test hole in the trunk of a sago palm, => apér.
tiwapérce < tiwaper, 125.
tiwawer to leave [object lying].
tiwawís < tiwawí, 322 to smear [sago] on [?].
tiwém, jefefé — to rise in squalls [wind]; to flash [lightning].
tiwémá < tiwém, 109.
tiwémor < tiwém, 155.
tiwmí (323) to put down in [corpse in a grave].
tiwmamés < tiwim, 144.
tiwirum to send [e.g. a letter].
tiwirumén < tiwirum, 162.
tiwisim to bring outside [object lying].
tiwjím to pull along [object lying]; to pull a spear, bow or arrows off the collar-beams on which they are kept.
tiwkafum to scrape out [sago pith].
tiwkoj to go on one’s way.
tiwkojér < tiwkoj, 155.
tiwkukum to set out in pursuit; amás — all to go out to look for sago.
tiwot to touch, to nudge [object lying].
tiwotérém < tiwit, 125.
tiwotfén < tiwitot, 162.
tiwótmepen < tiwitot, 152.
tiwémpom (342) to cause to dry up [?].
tiwémporémampes < tiwémporémawer, 152.
tiwémporémawer, maj — to cause to walk in a circle continually [following one’s own footprints].
tiwéskam to start to cut through; to start to scrape out [sago pith].
tiwèrimasam, mamak — to stare at.
tiwèrimasmámes < tiwèrimasam, 144.
tiwèrimawer always to stare at.
tiwèrimawerérípurúw < tiwèrimawer, 114.
tiwèrimawerérípurúwuva < tiwèrimawer-érípurúwuva, 34.
tiwèrítewer quickly to pick up something.
tiwèrítewerac < tiwèrítewer, 165.
tiwatam to put something down for someone.
tiwatem (282) to cause to be hot [?].
tiwatemsem to put [a canoe] into the water.
tiwetewer to take away [object lying].
tiwum, apiim — to wash sago: to pour out water over the sago pulp and squeeze it out.
tiwurum to light a fire.
to 1 yesterday; tomorrow.
to 2, amás — hungry; mu — thirsty;
kapák — longing for a cigarette.
toa < to 1; 34.
tôko onomatopoeia, reproducing the
sound of a thud.
tomtom to stand on top of something
while busy with.
tomtômer < tomnom, 155.
toneón < on 2; 132.
tôp to hang by, with, while holding
something.
toppôm < toppom, 162.
topom to put something on top of . . . ; to
fasten something on top of . . . ; to hoist
[a flag].
torâm ‘support’: pieces of wood or of
the midrib of a frond, laid across the
bottom of a canoe as supports for the
baggage which has to be kept dry
[often small leakages or water washing
over the gunwales make the bottom
of a canoe wet].
tosô, o — tamed pig.
tosôw 1 decoration.
tosôw 2 all edible vegetable things ob-
tained in the forest or out of gardens,
such as fruit, the edible top of the sago
palm, sweet sago pith, and sago. Since
forest products are always given in
return for edible animals [pok], mostly
fish and sago grubs, tosôw also has
acquired the meaning of: ‘gift made in
return’, independent of the things given.
totâpocwar < otapow, 132.
tôtewar, tôtewar as a big part of.
totêpôm wild cucumber.
toto . . (276) interjection, indicating the
steady rising of water.
tow 1 sago grub.
tow 2 (309) vital spirit [?].
towô < tow, 34.
towokôp < towokop, 109.
Tôwoni name of a river.
towcin to take upriver, → en.
towcinêr < towcin, 155.
towô to kill.
towôfô < towôf, 109.
towôfôrês < towôf, 155.
towokôp to eat, to swallow.
towom to take along [subject standing].
towomêr < towom, 155.
towomir → towomîr.
towomis to take outside.
towomirô to take inside.
tôwomiriwér < towomiwî, 155.
tôwomiriwâm to take something inside
for someone.
tôwomiriwâmênas < towomiriwâm, 136.
towomirôkonô to bring onto the land.
tôwomirôkonôwem < towomirôkonô, 144.
towomse to take along in a canoe; to
carry away [subject = the current];
to be full of water [said of a trough].
towoni to take to the river, to take
downriver, to take home.
towonîéf < towoni, 162.
towôp to take and sit with; to have
caught, taken.
towôper < towôp, 155.
towôpôs < towôp, 162.
towôpôm < towôpum, 109.
towôpômin < towôpom, 144.
towôpômes to put something onto some-
thing else at night.
tôwôpômêsêmêm < towôpômes, 144.
towôpômpô (344) to kill [?].
towôpômrô < towôpom, 155.
towôpôm to plant, to put into; to gather
[of clouds].
towos to come here with.
towotak to take along with downriver.
towôtep to take along with upriver.
towow to put into.
towôtopômôc < towôtopom, 116.
tôwôtopômôcê < towôtopômôc, 34.
towôtopom to take upstream.
ts interjection, expressing annoyance.
tunampês < tunawer, 144.
tunawer (324) to be emaciated [?].
turamis to lie down in rows.
turumtîwîw → turumtîwîw.
turumtîwôf < turumtîw, 162.
turum to put in an orderly way; to put
in rows; manmâk cenís turumêf his
eyes nearly popped out of his head
[with amazement] (317).
turumtîwîw to lay down neatly, in rows.
tuw, jîwîs — to depart in order to go
to another dwelling place.
tuwomse to take to another dwelling
place [in a canoe].
tuwomseô < twuomse, 109.
tuwômser < tuwomse, 155.
tuwôp, manmâk — to keep an eye on.
tuwôfôc < towôp, 116.
tuëse, jivós — to go off to another dwelling place [by canoe].

tuësia < tuëse, 109.

tuëséf < tuëse, 162.

tuëwut, jivós — to go off to another dwelling place in the morning [by canoe].

tuëwútmar < tuëwut, 144.

tuëwënu to step in the canoe in order to go to another dwelling place.

U

ä onomatopoeia, reproducing the shouting of a mass of people, 35.

uâl exclamation of surprise, dismay.

uc 1 → ucinak.

uc 2 laughter.

uc 3 iguana.

ucë → ucinak.

ucí → ucinak.

ucë → ucinak.

ucim what, which, how, how many, how much; 232-243.

ucin the skin of the iguana.

ucinak where; 232-234.

ucip → ucim.

ucucumesawer to rage all night long [storm].

ucucumesawëmar < ucucumesawer, 136.

Ufënces personal name [Juventius].

uñit name of a river.

uñű kind of shell-fish.

Ufün formerly a jew in the village of Jepêm.

um to cause to go aboard.

umí name of a feast.

umú the crown of a palm tree.

umûc pools left behind in the beds of small streams when the tide ebbs.

umûnakan full.

un → in 1, 2.

úna < un, 34.

Unir name of a river [Lorentz river].

uój exclamation of surprise.

uñís → pis.

uñí coconut shell.

ur → or.

urummei, wi — to topple a palm tree over in order to get the edible top.

urummi, ci — to return with many people to the canoes.

urumtevw, wi — to get the edible top out of a palm tree.

uru. . .1 interjection indicating the action of something slipping into something else, or people following one after another.

uru 2 (339) all to return, one after another [?].

usawbic banana.

usi, amâs — temporary dwelling place near the sago gardens. Where one stays when large amounts of sago have to be scraped out e.g. for a feast; ‘camp’.

usi a tree fallen over a river.

usir ray.

usis → utsis.

Usuwut personal name.

ut, owút — very large.

ut → uc 2.

utsis [sardonic] smile; → fajap.

uw to go aboard.

uwâ exclamation: oh!

uwoku crochet needle made of a pig’s heel-bone.

Uwûs name of a village.

Uwûsakp personal name.

Uwûsopis people from the village of Uwûs.

W

wa 1 interjection: hey! ow!

wa 2 brother-in-law [s.].

wa 3 forest; os — the trees, with exception of palm trees. → mu.

wa 4, ci — half-circle of canoes, (271, note).

wa 5 shining, glistening.

wac cassowary’s claw.

waci, mi — the lifting of the head as a sign of assent, → entam.

wajimittu to cause to fall out of.

wajir the central fireplace in the jew.

wajotap to go to the farthest point upriver with.

wâka interjection, indicating a scarcely noticeable movement [e.g. with the hand].

wakam to use up.
wakamkurum to use up all.
wakese < akse, 176.
wap = awap, < ap 2; 176, 178.
wapase = awapase, < ap 2; 176, 178.
wapu, wapa mu pool of rain-water.
wardk without pain, feeling fine [rowing] with ease.
wardt kind of bird.
warinomas to go away with a number of people in one canoe.
warinomas < warinomas, 155.
warintemtes to grow right up at night [a tree].
warintemtesmep < warintemtes, 152.
Warse personal name.
was < wase, 34.
wasac middle part, room in between.
wasen the landside, the landward side, the bank of the river, the forest.
waser young sago palm, older than a wu mitkin, younger than a copon.
Was personal name.
water kind of fish.
Water personal name.
we exclamnation: distress: woe! oh!
wempa small stone axe.
wes ‘sons’: the wes appear to be the male members of a family [the head of the family, his brothers, sons, brothers’ sons and sons’ sons] who together form the crew of one or more jicop ci.
wet namesake.
wetakap < wet, 195.
wetsumit < wet, 195.
wi to throw, to shoot [arrows].
wiem < wri, 155.
wiiram to throw away; quickly to put into the water [a canoe] (343).
wiiram < wiiram, 165.
wie father; 193, note.
wies quickly to come towards.
wiesaró < wies, 165.
wind < wri, 144.
win all, one by one; 249.
winem to shoot [arrows] downwards.
winemami < winem, 144.
winemep < winem, 152.
wiokopom (343) to tell [news] to [?].
wiomataver to run away with, to kidnap.
wis sisters-in-law [pl.].
witep quickly to go upriver.
cwo wave.
Wok personal name.
Woksimit < Wok, 195.
womak house.
Wominen personal name.
Wominena < Wominen, 34.
wopis people belonging to the same category, e.g. of the same age, of the same household, of the same jiew.
wor, nucur — very large, huge.
worom large lump of sago.
wortworwot interjection, indicating the steady growing of a tree.
wortwoso marriage, effected by the girl’s eloping to the house where lives the boy she wants to marry.
wos 1 a clearing in the forest.
wos 2 mother; 193, note.
wow 1 exclamation: be careful! [threatening].
wow 2 today.
wow 3 [carved] designs, writing, letters.
wowed (300) < wow 2; 33.
wowie the middle of something.
wowit < wowic.
wu 1 interjection: hey!
wu 2, copo — with a splash, thud.
wu 3 the edible top of the sago- and the nipa palm.
wu 4 sago-leaf bag; bundle wrapped in sago leaves.
wu 5 watercourse forming a connection between two rivers.
wu 7 (308), mamak cenam — with shining eyes.
wu 8, wu — to make a sago-leaf bag.
wua interjection: ah! wu ja — hey there!
wuamis all to depart by canoe.
wuamismes < wuamis, 144.
wuamise [?] (344) to be on the river [many canoes].
wuamises to go out at night with many people.
wuan [the sound of] rustling → wu 6.
wudmor, wuapom, 155.
wuapom to bury.
wumnem 1 to pour [water] out over.
wumnem 2 to wrench off downwards [bark].
wumnem 3 to topple [a tree] over.
wummas to carry away many people
[subject: water].
wun 1 other, others; some, part of; wún
ov other people, some people, part of
the people.
wun 2 (315) moreover.
wunám once more, again; and then,
after that.
wuni all to go to the river.
wunía < wuni, 109.

wur thunder.
wut large, big; many, much; very;
awit nak — enormous; → opák.
wutitopor, wu — to make bags of sago
leaves.
wutitoporá < wutitopor, 109.
wutotor, wu — each person to make for
himself sago-leaf bags.
wuwu → wu 4.
wuwumes, jis — to light a fire at night.
MAP II

- present-day villages
- former situation of villages
- low-water mark
- homeward journey of the refugees of Jepém (text xx)
1. Jaméw
2. Uwús, Majít, Ewér, Surú, Per
3. Kajè, Jepém
4. Serey [100 years ago]
5. Majít [first settlement of M in this area]
6. Jepém [recent past until 1957]
7. Ewér, Surú [40 years ago]

10 KM.
to go upstream/downstream

0. enaw
  1. en
  2. ni
  3. es, enes
  4. tep
  5. tak

to come upstream/downstream
apér

manmák

manmák

anám

ómus

the scraping out of the anám.

the scraping out of the ómus.
42. P. Drabbe, Drie Asmat-dialekten. 1963.
The subject- and object suffixes of categories 10-22, 24

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard list:</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
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<td>-n after V or r</td>
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<td>II -en word-finally, after C</td>
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<td>-en medially, after C ≠ r</td>
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1. -i
2. -en, after w: -om
3. zero
4. -om
5. -okom, after r, w: -kom
6. -es, after p, w: -os; zero

When the deviating suffix is placed between brackets, this means that it alternates with, or is in complementary distribution to, the suffix given in the standard list.