THE FLAMINGO BAY DIALECT OF THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

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C. L. VOORHOEVE

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

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Leiden, *October 1965* C. L. VOORHOEVE

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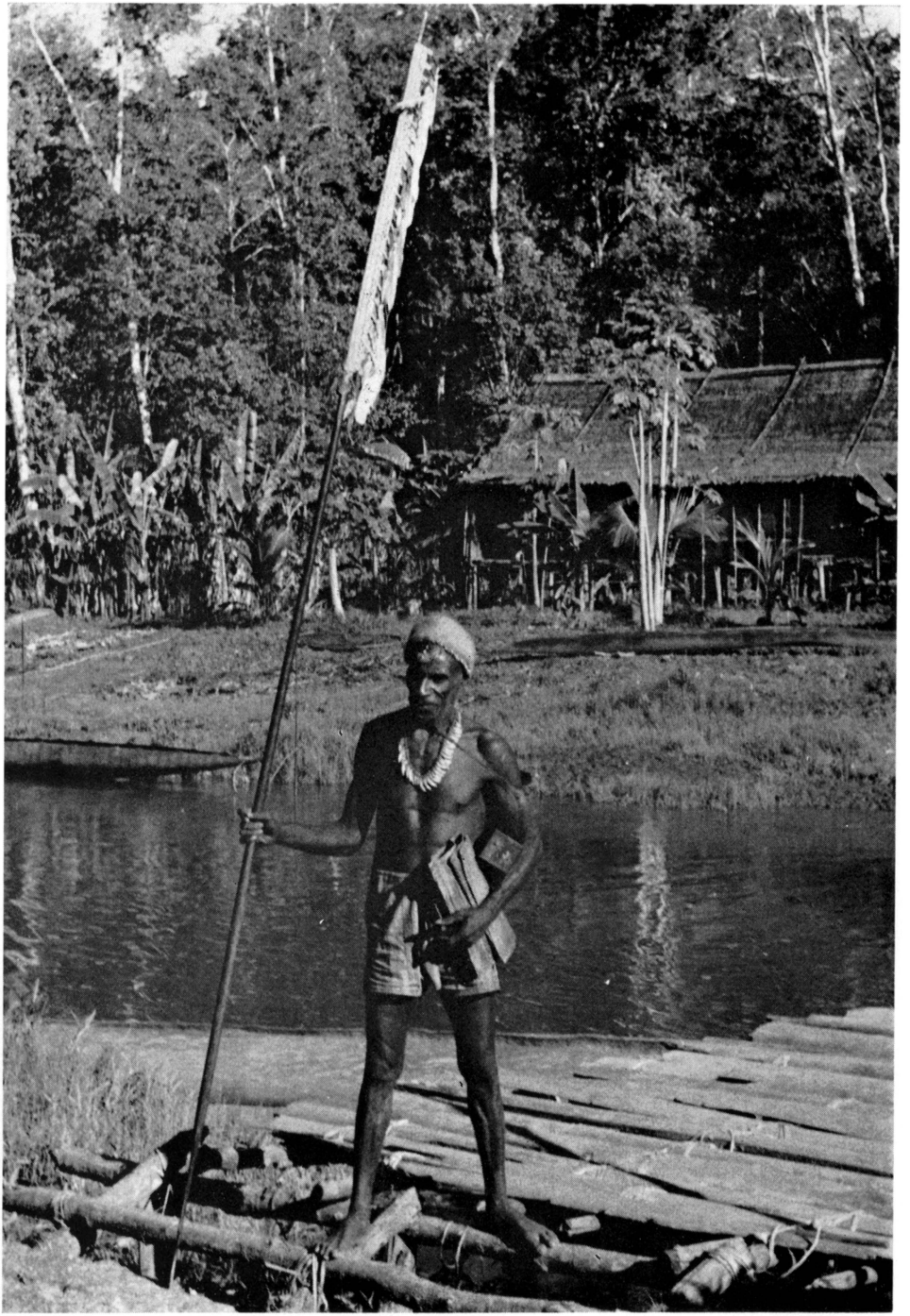
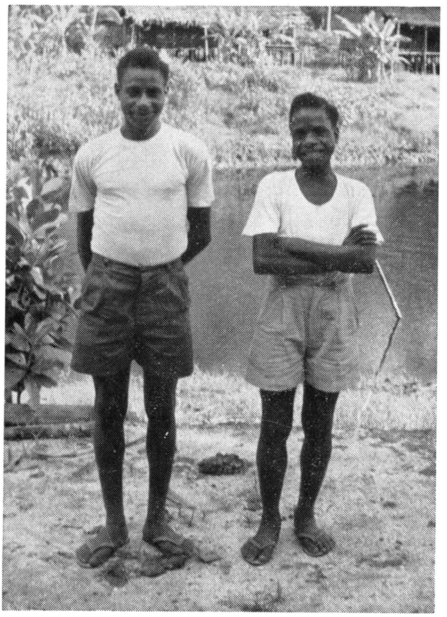


Man holding a paddle decorated with white cockatoo feathers and a pouch made of pandanus leaves. He is wearing a cap made of the skin of the cuscus and a necklace made of dog's teeth. (Safántes, from Jepém).



The informants Mífekpic and Natinák.

The village of Jepém, 1962.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

1 The Asmat language: area, adjacent languages, dialects

The language of the Ásmat Papuans, Ásmat,[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 *terra incognita.* Up to now, Ásmat villages have been encountered inland to a distance of more than 70 miles.

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

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Introductory note

In the notes the following abbreviations have been used:

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

[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 Momác, where the Ásmat language-area begins, there are no villages. Nothing is known about the languages to the north and the north-east of the Ásmat language-area: in the east and the south-east, Ásmat meets up with the Áwju and Jakáj languages, which are probably not related to Ásmat.[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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[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. F. P. M. van Amelsvoort, Early Introduction of Integrated Rural Health into a

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

4 Present research, choice of dialect

The following description of the language is the result of an investigation into the coastal dialect around Flamingo Bay which was carried out from November, 1960, to September, 1962, under the auspices of the Stichting Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek Nieuw-Guinea (W.O.N.G.).[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 Kámoro grammar. Thus a preliminary orientation into the language was not possible. The investigation had to be started from scratch.

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

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

[7] Drabbe, P., M.S.C., Grammar of the Asmat Language, Our Lady of the Lake press, Syracuse, 1959.
Drabbe, P., M.S.C., Dictionary of the Asmat Language, Our Lady of the Lake Press, Syracuse, 1959.
Drabbe, P., M.S.C., Drie Asmat-dialecten, VKI, Vol. 42, 1963.

[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 Papuans who had acquired a reasonable knowledge of Malay in school.

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

5 The Flamingo Bay dialect: area, history

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

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

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

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

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

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

6 Work with informants

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

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

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

where the investigation was later to be carried on. Mífekpic 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 Ágats. The relationship with these informants was a very good and personal one throughout the whole undertaking. They worked with enthusiasm and pleasure, apart from some unavoidable lapses.

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

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

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[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 Agats and Jepem

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

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

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

PART II

PHONOLOGY

I THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

Introduction

9

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

The system used for the phonetic spelling is that followed by the American linguist, K. L. Pike, in his work "Phonemics".[1] 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 /á/. The following signs are also used: $\neq$ = other than; $\sim$ = 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, ĕ; m, n, f, j, k, p, r, s, t, c, w/.
Sets of minimal pairs are:

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[1] Pike, K. L. Phonemics. Linguistics, Vol. III, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1954.
Since the printer did not have some of the symbols, used by Pike, it has been necessary to replace these by other symbols. The following are not Pike's: [â, ŏ, o̧, û, π, ϑ, ĵ, j́, j, r̥, r̲].

/fa/	= bottom	[fa]
/fe/	= string (on which something is threaded)	[fĕ]
/fi/	= empty	[fi]
/fo/	= wind	[fọ]
/fu/	= bamboo horn	[fu]
/cĕmén/	= penis	[čəm′ɛn]
/cimén/	= stem of a canoe	[cim′ɛn]
/am/	= kind of fish	[ɑm]
/an/	= sago trough	[ɑn]
/aj/	= new	[ɑj]
/ak/	= cheek	[ɑk]
/ap/	= kind of tree	[ɑp]
/ar/	= sawfish	[ɑṛ]
/as/	= faeces	[ɑs]
/at/	= urging	[ɑt]
/ac/	= name of a village	[ɑč]
/aw/	= breast (of a woman)	[ɑw]
/em/	= drum	[ɛm]
/en/	= kind of fish	[ɛn]
/ef/	= twig	[ɛf]
/ek/	= stone	[ɛk]
/ep/	= tail	[ɛp]
/es/	= blood	[ɛs]

11

Most phonemes occur in phonetically differing variants (allophones). These can be divided into: positional and alternating allophones.[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, [ĕ] may be called an alternating allophone because of the free alternation with [ɛ] in certain positions, and a positional allophone because in other positions [ĕ] and [ɛ] exclude each other. (§ 14).

The vowel phonemes

12

Diagram of the allophones of the vowel phonemes.

		Front unr.	Front rounded	Central unr.	Central rounded	Back unr.	Back rounded
High	close	i	ü		û		u
	open	ɪ					
Mid	close	ĕ [1]	ö			ë	ŏ [1]
	open	ɛ			ə		
Low	close	æ					ọ
	open	a		*â*,[2] *a*			

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

13

/a/ Allophones: [a], [*a*], [*â*], [æ].

1. [a] occurs in final position: [a] thigh; [fa] bottom; [fiṛ'ka] kind of grass.
2. [*a*] occurs in all other positions: [*a*k] cheek; [b*a*j] foot; [w*a*s'ɛn] forest; [k*a*np'o̤ṛ] kind of crab.
3. [*a*] ∿ [*â*] in initial and medial positions, except before a cluster or a final consonant: [k*a*m'ɛm, kâm'ɛm] many-pointed spear; [*a*s'ɛn, âs'ɛn] place; [*a*w'o̤ṛ, âw'o̤ṛ] kind of fish.
4. In addition, [*a*] ∿ [æ] when the vowel immediately preceding it or the one immediately following is /i/: [jism'*a*k, jism'æk] fire;

[jiṛ'an, jiṛ'æn] ripe; [baw'it, bâw'it, bæw'it] star; [dam'in, dâm'in, dæm'in] white ant.

14

/e/ Allophones: [ĕ], [ɛ], [ö].

1. [ĕ] occurs in final position: [ĕ] leaf; [sĕ] mud; [bat'ĕ] rib of a sago frond (gaba-gaba).

2. [ɛ] occurs before a final consonant ≠ /w/ and before clusters ≠ /wC/: [ɛp] tail; [čɛs] arrow; [ɛsk'am] red; [tɛṛm'ɛn] split.

3. [ö] occurs before a final /w/, and before clusters of the type /wC/: [öw] crocodile; [jöw] ceremonial house; [böws'ɛn] duck-board.

4. [ɛ] ∿ [ĕ] in all other cases: [ĕṛ'ɛn, ɛṛ'ɛn] upstream; [fĕṛ'o, fɛṛ'o] sharp. Here there appears to be a certain tendency towards harmony on the allophone level [ĕ-ĕ; ɛ-ɛ]; the allophone most frequently occurring before /o/ is [ĕ]: [ĕs'ĕ] bag; [tĕṛ'ĕ] rattan leaf; [bɛs'ɛp] spittle; [bɛt'ɛn] armband; [bĕw'oṛ] kind of parrot; [sĕj'oṛ] kind of fish.

15

/i/ Allophones: [i], [ü], [ɪ].

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

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

2. [i] ∿ [ü] before a final /w/, and before clusters of the type /wC/: [tiw, tüw] son; [iwn'im, üwn'im] the water's edge.

3. [i] ∿ [ɪ] occurs in a small number of words, before a final consonant: [bisəṛ'im, bisəṛ'ɪm; mâsiṛ'im, mâsiṛ'ɪm] thereupon; [b'utiṛ, b'utɪṛ] octopus; [in, ɪn] (postposition, see § 258). In these words the [ɪ] allophone generally occurs.

16

/o/ Allophones: [ŏ], [o], [ĕ].

1. [ŏ] occurs in final position, and before /w/: [čŏ] nest; [jŏ] river; [čŏw'ak] one (numeral); [čŏw] 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, [ŏ] and [o] alternate: [ok] egg; [om'ɛn] shouting; [otm'a] neap tide; [pom'an] opposite side; [boṛw'ot] kind of duck: [ŏ, o] pig;

[pŏ, pọ] paddle; [wŏ - wọ] waves; [ŏw, ọw] people; [bŏw, bọw] kind of fibre.

3. In the following cases, [ọ] alternates, moreover, with [ë] 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/: [sës, sọs] dry sago leaf; [sët, sọt] kind of bird; [tës'ŏw, tọs'ŏw] fruit; [tëtəp'ọm, tëtəp'ọm] wild cucumber; [jër'ọ - jọr'ọ] wing; [jëč'ọp, jọc'ọp] head-hunting raid; [jëc'ọr] river mouth. (No form of this with [ọ] was found.) A case standing on its own seems to be the name [Kọs'ër], of which no form with [ọ] was found, while in other words with /o/ between /s/ and /r/, the allophone [ọ] was always found.

17

/u/ Allophones: [u], [û].

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

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

18

/ĕ/ In addition to the vowels /a, e, i, o, u/ there occurs a mid-central vowel [ə]. 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: [f*a*s'*a*k, fəs'*a*k] white; [ɛn'*a*m, ən'*a*m] fish; [pič'in, pəč'in] skin; [pọr'ŏ·w, pər'ŏw] evening; [juw'ur, jəw'ur] dog.

2. in words in context; also in the accented position: [ĵŏ, ĵə] river; [dɛw'ɛt, dəw'ət] elder brother; [dŏ 'n*a*t, dŏ 'nət] I (stressed); [jumb'us, jəm'əs] with bowed head.

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

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

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

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

The following minimal pairs were also found:
[cəm'ɛn] penis; [cim'ɛn] stem of a canoe;
[ənd'öw] mother; [ọnd'öw] thatch;[3]
[âpọr'ɛs] they saw him (from *por* - to see);
[âpəṛ'ɛs] they sat (from *ap* - to sit).
Since [ə] occurs in the accented as well as the unaccented position in those cases in which it alternates with the other vowels, it is not possible to regard it here as an allophone common to /a, e, i, o, u/ which is restricted to unaccented positions. Because [ə] also occurs without alternating with the other vowels, in which cases I found some minimal pairs, it must be regarded as a phoneme /ĕ/. Cases of alternation must be regarded as cases of phoneme alternation. The phoneme /ĕ/ 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 - ĕ - o/; while at the lowest level only /a/ occurs:

i		u
e	ĕ	o
	a	

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

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

The consonant phonemes

20

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

	bilabial		labio-dental	inter-dental	alveolar		alveo-palatal		palat.	velar
	un-voiced	voiced	un-voiced	un-voiced	un-voiced	voiced	un-voiced	voiced	voiced	un-voiced
stop	p, p^{w} [1]	b			t	d	č, t$^{'}$ [2]	*j*		k
fricat.	*π*		f	*ϑ*	s, $^{\bullet}$ [3]		š		j	x
nasal		m				n				
vibrant *flapped* *trilled*						ɾ ɾ				
semi-vowel		w							*ȷ*	

[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^m, t^n, $k^ŋ$].

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], [π], [p^w].

1. [p] occurs in all positions: [ɛp] tail; [pa] scale; [up'u] coconut shell; [apč'ọm] having; [kanp'ọṛ] kind of crab.

2. [π] alternates with [p], it would seem, only in the sequence /VpVpV/ [baπaπ'ajimb'uč] 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^wɛṛ] name of a village; [p^wě] crab.

22

/t/ [t]. No allophones.

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

23

/c/ Allophones: [č], [t^y].

1. [č] occurs in all positions, except as the first consonant of a cluster (§ 51): [čɛm] house; [pač'ak] bad; [apč'ọm] having, supplied with; [uč] iguana.

2. [t^y] was found alternating with [č] in final position in the following cases: [ič, it^y] thorn; [fič, fit^y] nail.

24

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

1. [k] occurs in all positions: [kap] armpit; [ak'at] good; [akm'at] old; [ɛsk'am] red; [pọk] goods.

2. [x] as an alternant of [k] was found only in a few cases; in

the cases noted, [x] always follows a vowel: [*a*km′*a*t, *a*xm′*a*t] old; [*a*tak′*a*m, *a*tax′*a*m] story; [o̤p′*a*k, o̤p′*a*x] not.

25

/f/ [f]. No allophones.

[fi] empty; [uf′u] kind of shell fish; [o̤f] rotten; [*a*fč′in] the crust of roasted sago; [b*a*t′*a*kfiw] to go downstream into (a house).

26

/s/ Allophones: [s], [ˢ], [š], [ϑ].

1. [s] occurs in all positions: [si] stone axe; [ěs′ě] bag; [*ɛ*sp′*ɛ*t] shoot of the sago palm; [dɛms′*â*n*â*k*a*p] slow; [o̤s] tree.

2. [ˢ] alternates with [s] in normal speech, i.e., speech that is neither deliberately slow nor intentionally emphatic. In the cases noted, [ˢ] 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 succcessful in reproducing this allophone: [*a*mb′*a*s, *a*mb′*a*ˢ] sago; [dɛs′*ɛ*n, dɛˢ′*ɛ*n] 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: [r̤], [r̲].

1. [r̤] occurs in all positions except in initial position and as the last consonant of a cluster (§ 48, 53): [těr̤′ě] rattan leaf; [*a*r̤p′uk] far away; [ir̤] year bird.

2. [r̤] ∿ [r̲] 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 [r̲], is their using it now and then in their mother tongue.

28

/w/ [w]. No allophones.

[wu] edible top of the sago palm; [juw′ur̤] dog; [öw] crocodile; [iwn′im] the water's edge; [k′*a*r̤w*a*n] dagger made from a croco-

dile's jaw. [w] is often very weak between two identical vowels: [ju^{w}'uṛ] dog; [ni^{w}'i] father.

29

/j/ Allophones: [j], [*j*], [*ĵ*].

1. [j] occurs in all positions: [joṛ] hole; [*â*j'*a*m] name of a village; [b*a*j] foot; [*a*jk'un] younger brother; [bât'*a*mjɛn] name of a woman.

2. [*j*] and [*ĵ*] alternate with [j] in initial position: [j'ọpəṛɛs, *j*'ọpəṛɛs, *ĵ*'ọpəṛɛs] sweat; [jiw'i, *j*iw'i, *ĵ*iw'i] child; [jŏ, *ĵ*ŏ] river.

30

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

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

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

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; [bɛsn'im] smell; [čâp'inbi] land; [d]: [dɛt] ghost; [dɛw'ɛt] brother; [*a*md'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'imk*a*m, b'imk*a*m] kind of liana; [m'*a*nt*a*m, b'*a*nt*a*m] on the lookout; [*a*m'*a*n] bow; [jims'ip] door; [m*a*nm'*a*k, m*a*nb'*a*k] eye; [jọkm'ɛn] having supernatural power; ['*a*nmọm] we eat; [t*a*m] morning; [ọm] digging stick.

[n]: [n*a*mb'iṛ, d*a*mb'iṛ] dead; [*a*nk'ọs] centipede; [t*a*mn'*a*m] kind of duck; [*a*kn'im] angry; [j*a*mn'ọk, j*a*md'ọk] two; [en'*a*m] fish; [jin'a] knee; [sən'ɛn] elbow.

3. In the following cases, the nasal and the combination nasal + voiced homorgan stop, alternate:

a) between two vowels, when no nasal or final /a/ follows: [mɛm'*a*p, mɛmb'*a*p] to sit down; [ɛm'*a*tmọṛ, ɛmb'*a*tmọṛ] he cut down; [ən'öw, ənd'öw] mother; [min'ọ, mind'ọ] lump.

---

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

b) as second member of a cluster ≠ /nm, mn/ provided no nasal follows: [jitm'up, jitmb'up] the sea; [*t*asm'a, *t*asmb'a] beautiful, powerful.
No cases were found of [n] ∿ [nd], though [n] as well as [nd] was found in comparable environments: [kọk'ọjndiew'ɛṛ] to fall down continually (ripe fruit); as well as: [*â*k'*a*jni'ɛf] it toppled over, broken (of a tree).

31

The consonant system can now be set out as follows:

p	t	c	k
f	s		
m	n		
w	r	j	

II SPECIAL PHONOLOGICAL PHENOMENA

Introduction

32

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

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

---

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

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

33

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

the word [kaj'ɛ] name of a village
two forms of the verb: these will be discussed in § 135 and § 140.
interjections: [wɛ] ouch!
onomatopoeia: [kɛkɛkɛ] the screaming of the *joc* bird;
[āj'ɛ āj'ɛ āj'ɛ] imitating laughter.

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

[ji, ndọ̣r mb'ŏɛ] hey, my husband!
hey my husband

And a man will say:

['ọ̣ nat 'is ɛsčọ̣w'ŏ] now, you go to sleep!
you pp[6] sleep /you must/

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

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

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

Particular phoneme modifications

34

1. *Prolongation* of vowels occurs:

in interjections: [jọ̣·j] exclamation of surprise
[ba·] Oh no! Really!

in onomatopoeia: [sọ̣p'i·, sọ̣p'i·] 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'i·na, jin'iča·] 'exceptionally beautiful' in which the prolongation of the vowel stresses the high degree of beauty.

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

[doṛọm'umŏ·] 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:

[ọ č'ama·] Who are you?
you who

[wu ja č'a jŏw'ŏw mböw'a·] hey there! Who are those people?
hey there which people pp

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

[t'ọwa·] (they gathered continually) sago grubs.
sago grubs....

['amsɛsmb'ɛsə·] they slept and slept....

[ěṛ'ɛn 'âwitɛpɛf'ɛ·]
upstream /he walked quickly/

he walked quickly further and further upstream.

35

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

[ə·] (voiceless) scream of horror;

[ji'a·] (voiceless) cry of amazement;

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

[jiw'i ěfa t'owtọpm'uča·] quickly, bring the child upstream!
child quickly /bring it upstream/

36

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

[ñɛr̥, ñɛr̥], or [ñ'o̤mŏ, ñ'o̤mŏ . .] indicating the gnawing of maggots devouring a corpse, or the gnawing of sago grubs.
[ña ña ña] indicating the murmur when a great crowd of people are talking together.

37

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

['m! 'ŏ nim *j*ak k'*a*ju k'*a*ju 'ĕtëtërmb'*a*r̥ *a*r̥*a*w 'un]
m! pig like heart thump thump /began it of each to do/ pp pp
Then their hearts began to thump like the hearts of wild pigs! (§ 334).

Sounds which stand completely by themselves

38

1. A voiceless glottal fricative [h] which occurs in the stereotyped sign of agreement [hɛhɛ], and in the interjection [ha]! ah!
2. An alveolar click [ts]: an interjection expressing annoyance.
3. A bilabial trill with 'mouth air' [7] [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.[8] 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

[7] I owe this term to: K. L. Pike, Phonetics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1958, p. 93.
[8] Bolinger, D. L., A Theory of Pitch Accent in English, Word 14, 1958, pp. 109-149.

wide departure from a smooth or undulating contour".[9] 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'.[10] 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.[11]

[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:

irirriri	imitating the sound produced by many small objects falling down.
sěsěsěsě	imitating the hissing of fire as it is put out.[12]

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:

mímkam	kind of liana
íric [13]	Spanish pepper
júwa	kind of grass
síkaf	kind of tree
úmu	crown of a palm tree
úsi	a tree fallen over a river

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

[12] More cases will be given in § 237.

[13] Loan-word from Malay (ritja).

mútir	octopus
óset	a cricket
wárat	kind of bird
éco	kind of frog

mújsaw	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*, *pére* — 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 - *ecó* revenge
jókmen tongs - *jokmén* having supernatural power

Words having three vowels:

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

úsawíc	banana
jícěmúp	the sea

An exception is the word *canúpir,* pelican.

42

2. Polymorphematic words.[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:

ó.few	relatives
jó.mopán	bird of paradise.

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

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

No cases were found of the theoretically possible combination:

v.'vv'v

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

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

[14] In the following paragraphs, the signs given below will be used:
v = morpheme with one vowel
vv = morpheme with two vowels
vvv = morpheme with three vowels
'v = accented vowel
. = junction between two morphemes, for example: *wa.sén*, the forest. However, the junction between a verbal core and verbal affixes will be shown by a dash: -, for example: *má-ni.tewer-íc* go home and take it! For the term core, see § 64).

wa.sén	the forest
mi.tá	nasal mucus
facín	the skin of the cuscus (*fac* + *cin*)
ucín	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)
patám.kurúm	to load full
saká.m.tam.pór	to try to cut off something for someone
ó.sirím.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:

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

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

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

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

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

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

úmu.nakáp full
pákaj.amís all to lie together [15]

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

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

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

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

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

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

niwí father - *níwi.á* hey, father!

---

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

Words in context

45

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

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

wún ow nát cem máp emétepákajpítes ín
some people pp houses ahead /had gone upriver and sat together/ pp
some of the people had gone ahead upriver to their houses and sat there together.

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

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

ém-or.ém you made it.

a pó ca ém-or.ém who made this paddle?
this paddle who /you made it/

a pó cá em-or.ém who made this paddle?
this paddle who /you made it/

má.ne.m-or.ém you chopped down.

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

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

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

úsawíc banana

úsawic é 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 /mú anmúc/ make a carrying bag! (§ 284).
bag /make it/

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

47

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

IV THE DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES IN THE WORD

Single vowels and consonants

48

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

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

[15a] For this term, see §§ 64-69.

[15b] 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 *sěsěsě* hissing of fire as it is put out, and *fěfěfěfě* the sound of the wind; b) the words with the long final *ě* mentioned in § 34.

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

Vowel sequences

49

Here, the following rules apply:

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

Maít/Majít the name of a ceremonial house in Surú
faít/fawíc 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-ěr.és* they went on the way down river
ae *a-e-r* he said
ao *a-órow.ap.óm-cěm.és* they repeatedly press
ea *é.ap.óm* to build (a house)
ei *e.itúm* to do in the evening
eo *e-o.f* I said

word-medial:

ae *má-enáw-c.aw* he must come here
ai *na.itúm* to eat in the evening
ao *má-okom.ém.tam-c.í.n* roll it up for me!

ea *móm-se.áwer-í* stay in the water henceforth
ee *até.enáw-m.om* we come here to summon
eě *sé.pe-ěr.és* they started out, rowing
eo *se.okór* to float past (on water)

ia *ní.ap* to return and sit down
ie *tep.si-ér* upstream he went into a side-stream
iě *sé.si-ěr.és* they entered a side-stream
io *ni.om.úw* to go down to the river and depart (with someone)
iu *ní.uw* to go down to the river and set out

oa *po.amís* to sleep with many people together
oe *éw.tep.ko-ér* it fell from above

ua *mu.amís* to lie down after bathing
ue *a-wu-éf* he wrapped it up
uě *tép.kurú-ěr.es* upstream they shouted approval
uo *a-mu-ór* he bathed

word-final:

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

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

The following vowel combinations were not found in this material:

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

Consonant sequences

51

Here, the following rules apply:

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

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

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

tépor to go upstream to look at; from *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:

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

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

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

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

52

The following consonant combinations were found:[16]

pt	*áp.tak*	to go on the way down river
pc	*apcóm*	with, supplied with
	em.áp-cĕm.á	he usually sits
pk	*tép.ku*	to go upstream and land
pm	*epmák*	upper course of a river
	áp.m-or	he planted

[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 *tép.si* upstream to enter a side-stream
pf *áp-f.om* we sat
pj *áp.ji.pú* to stay and do habitually

tp *pór.it-p.és* they looked at it in the morning
tk *jítkakér* kind of bird
tm *tatmá* nonsense
á-sit-m.í I stand up
tn *jím.ot.náw* to drag towards
ts *temét.surum* to scratch one's head
tf *tíw.ot-f.én* he touched me
tw *temét.wani.óc* to grow high (of trees)
tj *temét.jam.ém* to stand high up

kp *akpés* tatoo marks
ták.por to go downstream to look at
kt *ták.ti.tíw* to go downstream and put down
kc *akcá* together
cá-tak-cí first I must go downstream
km *jokmén* having supernatural power
a-sak.m-ór he cut through it
kn *akním* angry
ták.n.ap to go downstream and sit down to eat
ks *ták.se* to row downstream
kf *ták.fiw* to go downstream and go into
kw *ták.wi.tíw* to go downstream and throw down
kj *ták.jukú.m.ap.óm* to go downstream and put together

mp *wémpa* small stone axe
e.m-p.új I did it
mt *kamtér* both legs
sirím.tak to row downstream quickly
mc *mamcúp* three
em.cí I am, I stand (as a man)
mk *omkóc* kind of insect
ám.kawí to join
mn *jamnók* two
ém.ni to go down (walking)

ms *simsá* scurf
ém.se to be on the river
mf *tetám-f.es* they gave him
mw *a-ném.wer-ér* they took to their heels

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

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

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

wp *táw.pacáj* to scatter in all directions
wt *awtó* kind of tree
áw.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
tíw.koj to go on one's way
wm *táw.mes.ém* to put things along the edge of something
wn *iwním* the water's edge
ew.ní to return from
ws *jowsép* baby
Súw.simít Suw senior (proper name)
wf *aréw.faj* to assemble
wj *táw.jimír.se.m* to launch (a number of canoes)

jp *ajpáw* fine!
jt *ajtúr* having a high degree of a particular quality
jc *se.táj-čěm.és* they will arrive (by canoe)
jk *ajkún* younger brother
tép.taj.kú to go upstream and land
jm *ájmir.ém* to be lost
se.táj-m.es they arrive (by canoe)
jn *ajním* 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 *arpúk* far away
mér.papúj to head off by going upstream
rt *pór.tew.ét* to be on the lookout for a woman to marry
rc *arcér* main stream
a-por-c.í if I see him
rk *firká* kind of grass
jír.ku to cross a river and land
rm *karmák* kind of snail
a-por-m.í 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.fasí* to go upstream and return again
rw *karwán* dagger made of a crocodile's jaw
rj *pór.jit* to plan (a murder)

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

V WORD-VARIANTS

Types of variants

53

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

Conditioned variants are variants which:

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

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

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

Free variants

54

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

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

55

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

jifó - *jufó* cold
jiwús - *juwús* name
jimsíp - *jumcíp* door

níuw - *núwuw* to go aboard and depart
jíkurúm - *júkurúm* to squeeze out all (sago pulp)
jir - *jur* white cockatoo

56

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

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

57

Pairs of variants of which the one member has *c*, whereas the other member has *t*:[17]

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

moc crying
arám mot, moc, mot, mot, mot ... he cried and cried and cried ... he crying ....

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

ci - *ti* canoe
cakás - *takás* all
cesén - *tesén* outside
tépacés - *tépatés* when they had gone upstream, ...

58

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

fawíc - *faít* jokes
maríw - *marí* } ready, finished
maréw - *maré* }
fíwomíwcěmés - *fiomícěmés* they go with him inside (the house)

[17] 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*:

kuwús - *kus* head
niwí - *ni* father
nuwúw - *nuw* to go aboard and depart
tewér - *ter* to take

59

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

Majít - *Maít* name of a ceremonial house in Surú
iwijís - *iwís* to go quickly to the forest
éwtepkojér - *éwtepkoér* (the fruit) fell from above

60

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

ájimsomícĕmes - *ájimsomítmes* they pull him up with them
manuwúw - *manwúw* (in order) to go aboard and depart
ajisíc - *ajsíc* go to the forest!
misití - *mistí* stand up!
mápacájkukuás - *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, masirím, misĕrím, masním* then, thereupon.
2. *maríw, marέw*; *marí, maré* ready, finished.

PART III

WORD-CLASSES

I INTRODUCTION: MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

62

The following morphological processes occur:

A. Frequently occurring processes:

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

B. Processes occurring exceptionally:

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

II THE VERB

Introduction

63

From the preceding survey of the morphological processes, it is

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

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

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

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

General survey of the structure of verbal forms

Core and peripheral part

64

Within the verb, two parts can be distinbuished 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

65

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

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

66

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

1. The morphemes that can occur as a core of a verb, for example: *ap* to sit; *tak* to go downstream; *tewér* to take

2. The morphemes that were not found as a core, but which appear to be allomorphs of morphemes that occur as cores, for example:

occurring as a core:	not occurring as a core:
en	*mer* to go upstream
amís	*amés* to lie (down)

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

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

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

67

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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	*ní.ma.tíw* to return and chop down
III.	f-R	*éw.ni* to return from
	fiR	*s.om.ít* to stand up with something (in the hand); from: *sit* to stand up.
	R-f	*pór.om* to show, to cause to see
	f-f-R	*éw.om.sé* to row with something from
	R-f-f	*jík.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; from: *sit* to stand up.
	R-f-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.tíw* to burn a lying object
	RfiR	*jím.s.om.ít* to pull someone up
	Rf-R	*tów.o.ní* to bring something to the river
	R-ff-R	*fá.m.o.p* to sit by someone until the morning
	RR-f-f	*ní.tíw.tam.pór* to try to put down on behalf of someone
	f-Rf-R	*éw.ni.om.úw* to go down from (the house) and go aboard with (something)
	f-R-fR	*ó.fasí.m.tewér* 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.kawí.m.tíw* to go outside and put down something against
	RRR-f	*ní.tew.sé.m* to go to the river and lay something in the water
	f-R-ff-R-fR	*si.sí.m.ka.kamí.m.tíw* to wash ashore many objects (subject = the water).

70

The morphological structure of the peripheral part.

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

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

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

p = prefix
s = suffix
Co = core

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

Core-morphology

Formatives which occur prefixed to a root

71

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

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

óm.óp to go and sit by someone.

óm.o.mís to go and lie with someone.

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

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

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

ém.ap to sit, to sit down.

72

ew- from, out of, since.

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

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

Found in 39 cores.

73

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

tep to go upstream (rowing or walking); *irím.tep* to walk upstream wit many people.

Found in 6 cores.

74

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

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

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

Found in 24 cores.

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[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.

o- alternates with *or-* before a vowel, except when this vowel is followed by another vowel, or if a vowel precedes the formative. In such cases *or-* always occurs:

mow ap to split off pandan fibres
/pandan fibres / to split off,/
mow ó.ap/ór.ap to split off pandan fibres again
mow á-or.ap-ór she split off pandan fibres again.

e to say.
é-o.f I said; *ór-e-ó.f* I said again.
Found in 37 cores.

76

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

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

o- occurs with:

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

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

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

om- occurs with:

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

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

as : *óm.as* to go away with
at : *óm.at* to go with
ku : *óm.ku* to go ashore with, to
puw : *óm.puw* 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 *fíw.om.íw*, 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 *amís, ap, em, tep* and *se* (see § 71).
ap to sit; *pákaj.áp* to sit together with many.

78

tew indicates the beginning of an action.
po ji to row
paddle /to do/
po téw.ji to start to row

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

jiníw.jar to go with everyone (walking); *téw.jiníw.jar* to set out with everyone (walking).
Found in 12 cores.

79

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

Reduplication, or duplication, indicates that the action is repeated a number of times, or that the action is itself repetitive.
erém to tear something; *ér.erém* to tear something to pieces.
si.m to shift something; *sí.si.m* to shift something repeatedly.
cikí.m, cí.cikí.m to wash something.

One case was found in which the non-reduplicated root has initial *a*, whereas the reduplicated root has initial *e*:
apér to make a test hole in the bark of the sago palm
áp.epér to make test holes.

In one case, quadruplication of a CV root was found:
si to dig(in); *á-si.si.sí.si-ác* after he had dug them in (the glowing coals in the ashes)....

80

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

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

	positional roots	directional roots	other roots
ew-	+	+	+
jam-	+	+	+
o/or-	+	+	+
o/om/ot/oc-	+	+	—
tew-	—	+	+
em/om-	+	—	—
pákaj-	+	—	—
irím-	—	+	—
reduplication	—	—	+

+ = found — = not found

Formatives which occur suffixed to a root

81

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

-m occurs:

1. After a vowel:

kawí to add oneself to; *kawí.m* to add something to.
an/na to eat (see § 98); *na.m.* to cause to eat, to give to eat.
Of roots which have two allomorphs, one with and one without final *j* or *w,* the allomorph without *j* or *w* always occurs with this formative:
sakáj to be broken; *saká.m* to break something.
uw to go aboard; *u.m* to cause to go aboard.

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

-Vm occurs:

After a consonant, if no vowel follows the formative.
The vowel of *-Vm,* as a rule, harmonizes with the (last) vowel of the root to which it is added.
tak to go downstream; *ták.am* to cause to go downstream.
onór to carry something on the back; *onór.om* to cause to carry something on the back.

Exceptions to this rule are:
ap to sit; *áp.om* to cause to sit.
tep to go upstream; *tép.om, táp.om* to cause to go upstream.

82

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

sit to get up; *s.úm.ut.úm* to cause to get up.
fiw to go inside; *f.ím.u.m* to cause to go inside.
fis to come inside, to come outside; *f.ím.us.úm* to cause to come inside, or outside.

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

83

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

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

84

-m/Vm has a particular value [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 jís.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.

85

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

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

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

when compared with:

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

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

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

when compared with:

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

86

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

fek, fak (adjective) broken, damaged; *fak.ám* to break, to damage.
kapí (adjective) shut, closed; *kapi.m* to shut, to close.
kikí 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; *iriri.m* to brush small objects off something; to scrape small pieces off.
káju onomatopoeia, indicating a dull thud, the sound of footsteps; *ká.kajú.m* to knock on something.

87

-kurúm 'all, totally'

aw to roast; *áw.kurúm* to roast everything.
jirán ripe; *jirán e* to become ripe; *jirán e.kurúm* to become squashy.
Found in 41 cores.

88

-por 'to try, to be able to'

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

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

Found in 25 cores.

89

-tam 'for, on behalf of'

aw to roast; *áw.tam* to roast for.

onów fe to make thatch

thatch make

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

Found in 76 cores.

90

-totór 'everyone for himself, each individually'

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

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

Found in 10 cores.

91

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

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

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

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

[3] A survey of these categories can be found in § 104, 105.

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

The only exceptions to this rule are the positional roots *em* to stand, and *ap* to sit, after which the allomorph with *i* or *e, ĕ,* always occurs:
atów e to play
play /to do/
atów e.itúm to play in the afternoon.
ém.itúm to stand during the afternoon.
é.m.utúm to make during the afternoon.
taw to talk; *táw.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; *ták.es* to go downstream at night, in the early morning.
purumúc ji to sing dirges
dirge sing
purumúc j.es to sing dirges the whole night.

93

-it/ut indicates that the action or the event takes place in the morning, i.e. in the remaining part of *tam* (see above).
The distribution of *-it* and *-ut* runs parallel to that of *-itúm/utúm.*
tak to go downstream; *ták.it* to go downstream in the morning.
faw to spear (plural object);
enám 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 [3a]

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

ewír occurs in forms of category 22

a occurs in forms of category 14 and 15.

so e to sing (with drum accompaniment)
singing do
to só e.awér-m.om
tomorrow singing /we shall do continually/
tomorrow we shall sing and play the drums continually.

This formative can follow *-itúm/utúm, -es,* and *-it/ut*:
pe ak to catch crabs
crabs catch
pe ák.es.awér to catch crabs continually at night.
jisín ák.it.awér to gather coconuts all the morning.
coconuts

The informants also translated these four formatives as meaning 'many':
jisín ak.ít-m.om we gathered many coconuts (in the morning)
coconuts
jisín ak.á-m.om we gathered many coconuts (during the day)
jisín ak.itúm-om we gathered many coconuts (in the afternoon)
pé ak.eś-m.om we caught many crabs (at night).

Sequences of formatives

95

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

R-ff-R *ká.m.o.ní* to tear away and take downstream
f-R-ff-R-fR *si.sí.m.ka.kamí.m.tiw* to wash ashore many objects.

[3a] A survey of these categories can be found in § 104, 105.

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

o/or-, em/om-, o/om/ot/oc-, Root, or:
o/or-, (re)duplication, Root.

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

The following combinations were found:

o/or- + (re)duplication: *ó.si.si.m.tám* again to push (different objects) towards someone.
o/or- + *em/om-* : *ór.em.ém* again to stand up
em/om- + *o/om/ot/oc-*: *óm.o.p* to sit down by, with

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

R *-m/Vm, -kurúm, -tam, -por,* { *-itúm/utúm* / *-es* / *-it/ut* } *, -awér/ewér/ewír/a*

Here, the following sequences of formatives were noted:

-m/Vm + *-por* : *é.m.por* to try to make
-m/Vm + *-es* : *é.m.es* to make something at night
-tam + *-por* : *jík.tam.pór* to try to tie up something for someone
-por + *-awér* : *otáw.por.awér* continually to try to exhort someone
-itúm + *-awér* : *jisín ak.itúm.awér* to gather coconuts all afternoon
-kurúm + *-awér* : *sa.kurúm.awér* to be dried up all
-kurúm + *-por* : *ná.kurúm.por* to try to eat up everything
-m/Vm + *-tam* + *-por*: *é.m.tam.pór* to try to make for someone.

Root-allomorphs [4]

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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.

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

e occurs in all cases, except between two vowels.

j occurs between two vowels.

é-o.f
á-j-o.f } I said

é.ap.óm to build (a house);

á-j.ap.m-ór he built (a house).

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

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

2. *fis/fus* to come inside
   fiw/fuw 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.o.m* to stand on top of something, and be busy with.

6. *tew/tow* to take, to seize.
   tew occurs in all cases except before the formative *o/om/ot/oc-*: *tów.om.iw* to bring inside; and in the core *tow.okop* to swallow.

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

1. *amís/amés/ams* to lie down; to stream; to swim (a fish).
   ams occurs preceding a vowel.
   Preceding a consonant occur:
   amís, as a core, or core-finally
   amés, in a core, but not core-finally.

   áw-amís it is lying here; *áw-ams-í* I am lying here.
   áms.es to come swimming towards (said of fish)
   kámi.ams-ér he lay after having collapsed
   kámi.amís to lay after having collapsed
   amés.ni to stream downwards.

2. *am/atám/ma/m* to chop.
   am occurs as a core
   atám occurs core-finally
   ma occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before a consonant, or a vowel $\neq a$.
   m occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before *a*.

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

3. *an/na/n/Vn* to eat.
an occurs as a core
na occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before a consonant, or a vowel ≠ *a* or *e*.
n occurs a) in a core, but not core-finally, before *a* and e; b) core-finally, after a vowel.
Vn occurs core-finally after a consonant; the vowel of *Vn* harmonizes with the vowel preceding it.

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

4. *ap/pa/p* to work loose (fibres); to gather (sago grubs).
ap occurs as a core, and core-finally
pa occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before a consonant, and before vowels ≠ *a*.
p occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before *a*.

mow ap to work loose fibres from the roots of the pandan tree. /pandan fibres/
m-o.ap-úc work (the fibres) loose again!
mów p.a-m.ár she was busy working loose the fibres
tow pá.tewér to work loose the pith of the sago palm in order to /sago grubs/ gather the sago grubs.

5. *en/in/mer* to go upstream (on a large river); to go to a specific point.
en occurs a) as a core; b) core-finally, except when it is preceded by the formative *o/om/ot/oc-*; in this case *in* occurs.
mer occurs in a core, but not core-finally.

fáw.en to spear (fish) while going upstream
tów.oc.ín to take upstream
mér.ap to go upstream and stay there.

6. *jis/is/us* to go to the forest; to go outside.
   jis occurs in all cases, except after *m*.
   is occurs after *m*, but not after the formative *-m/Vm*.
   us occurs after *-m/Vm*.

   ém.is to walk to the forest
   tów.om.is to bring to the forest
   ni.m.us 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: *fafajim, tatafajimtiw.*
5. *fiki* to give forth a smell. See: *fikikonaw*; + *-m/Vm*: *fikim.*
6. *firi* to be turned around. See: *merpajfirap, pajfirap*; + *-m/Vm*: *firim, firimtiw.*
7. *jiri* to be fully loaden. See: *jirikaj*; + *-m/Vm*: *jiririm* (reduplicated), *jirmotep, nijirimuw.*
8. *juw* to marry. See: *juwut, sajwut*; + *-m/Vm*: *juwum.*
9. *kaj* to be loose. See: *kajkurum*; + *-m/Vm*: *kam, kamapom, kamoni, kampomes, kamtewer, kamtiw.*
10. *koj, okoj* to break off; to set out. See: *emkoj, kojir, kokojni, takokojir, tepokojir, tiwkoj*; + *-m/Vm*: *kom/okom, amkoman, emkom, jisokomtiw, komtewer, kokomtaw, kokomtiw, okomemtam, okmomse, okmoni, okomtiw, okokom.*
11. *ok* to stick to. See: *okap*; + *-m/Vm*: *okom, okokom.*
12. *pajiw* to be open. See: *pajiwem*; + *-m/Vm*: *pajim.*
13. *papuj* to perish. See: *papujkurum.*
14. *pari, pěri* to turn round. See: *papěrini, popěriomat*; + *-m/Vm*: *parem/pěrem, kupapěremapom, papčrimop, tepomparem, tiwpopěrem.*
15. *patam* to load full. See: *patamkurum.*

16. *pur* to be covered with. See: *puramis, pupurap*; + *-m/Vm*: *purum, pupurumucimtiw.*
17. *su* to be pregnant. See: *jiwsu*; + *-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.*

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

1. *ani* disappeared. See: *anicukas*; + *-m/Vm*: *animcuku, animus.*
2. *anaw* bowed. See: *anawtep*; + *-m/Vm*: *emanam.*
3. *akapi* alone, separate. See: *akapiem, akakapipu.*
4. *as* 'away'. See: *anicukas, nakurumas, eas, jisas, kikicukomas, kukuas, pacajkukuas*; + *-m/Vm*: *nasam, emasam, famasam, fafemasam, fawasam, pumasam, sasakamasam, siasam, tawasam, tewerasam, tiwsiriasam, cumasam, wiasam.*
5. *awer* to be at the edge of something; to be at the extreme part of something. See: *awerfis, niawerap, apawerjotak, awewerjar* (reduplicated); + *-m/Vm*: *aweremtiw, aweweremkum.*
6. *mes* against, close by, along. See: *mesamis, mesakajipirem, mesari, mesem, mesenaw, meses, mesjotep, mesom, mesop, jiwmesop, konawmesem*; + *-m/Vm*: *mesemapom, mesemjirmem, tamesem.*
7. *met* accompanying; in addition to. See: *metos, metotnaw, metotep, metowomis, metocin*; + *-m/Vm*: *metemaw, metememan, metemtewer.*
8. *naw* 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, jiwfuem*; + *-m/Vm*: *jiwfumtotor.*
11. *jiniw* (walking) with many, with all. See: *tewjiniwamis, tewjiniwem, tewjiniwjar*; + *-m/Vm*: *jinimtewer, tewjinim.*

12. *jirim* to stick something in somewhere. See: *jirimem, mesemjirmem, jirimku, jarjirimop, kujirimap*; *jiririmsem* (reduplicated).
13. *juk* together, assembled. See: *jukap, jujukamis*; + *-m/Vm*: *jukumtiw, jujukumapom, jujukumapomtam, jujukumsomit, tajujukumapom.*
14. *kuri, kuru* to agree with. See: *tepkuru, kukuram.*
15. *pakaj* to break. See: *oterespakaj*; + *-m/Vm*: *capakamop.*
16. *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, jiramsimapom.*
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, animcuku, cukem, kikicukomas*; + *-m/Vm*: *parsamcukum.*
22. *wu* with all, with everyone. See: *wuamis, emwu*; + *-m/Vm*: *wumomas.*

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III. Morphemes, not found in combination with formatives.

1. *am* together, with each other. See: *amamew, amakan, ame, amkawi, amkawimapom, amkoman, ampi, amtak, amtewen, amtewer, amtiw, amcirim, amuw*; *apam, emamtewer, jumamtam, kapumamtewer, kukuram, otmamtewer.*
2. *amis* to set out (to seek food). See: *wuamis, tewjiniwamis.*
3. *anim* to take in hand. See: *tiwanim.*
4. *asi* to assemble. See: *asienaw.*
5. *atam* indicates that the subject is doing two things at the same time, or that the subject is using an implement. See: *atamni, atamen, atamjik, atamse, atamsi, atamsiom, atamtewer, atamurum, 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, mutiwtam.*
9. *nuwum, nowom* (rowing) in line of battle. See: *nuwumamis, mesnowomtep.*

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

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

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

WORD-MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

104

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

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

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

Survey of the verbal categories

<table>
<tr><td>I</td><td colspan="6">1. por</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="10">II</td><td colspan="2">2. por-íc</td><td colspan="2">3. á-por-á</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="3"></td><td rowspan="3">1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">4. mó-por</td><td colspan="2">5. mó-por-áji</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">6. mó-por-ájmos</td><td colspan="2">7. mó-por-ájpurúw</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">8. mó-por-íc</td><td colspan="3"></td><td colspan="2"></td><td>2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">9. á-por-ców</td><td colspan="3"></td><td colspan="2"></td><td>3</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">10. a-por-cí</td><td colspan="2">11. ta-por-cáj</td><td colspan="3"></td><td colspan="2" rowspan="3"></td><td rowspan="4">4</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">12. á-por-cěmí</td><td colspan="2">14. á-por-mí</td><td>16. á-por-í</td><td>18. á-por-aci</td><td>20. á-por-ití</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">13. á-por-cěmóp</td><td colspan="2">15. á-por-móp</td><td>17. á-por-óf</td><td>19. á-por-aró</td><td>21. á-por-itó</td><td>22. á-poréwir-í</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">23. á-por-měró</td><td colspan="3">24. ap-í</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">A</td><td colspan="3">B</td><td colspan="2">C</td></tr>
</table>

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

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

A. occurring with all cores

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

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

to form a *non-characterized* category as opposed to to all other categories, which are *characterized.*
In the scheme: I and II.

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

   mo-por-c.én look at me!
   mo-por-c.awúj look at us!

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

   á-por-c.ów do look! (sing.)
   á-por-c.owúj do look! (plur.)

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

   á-por-m.í I see him
   á-por-m.ém you see him
   á-por-m.ĕn.ém you see me (Cat. 14)

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

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

105

The 24 categories given in the scheme are as follows:

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

II.

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

por-íc seeing (?)

3. A category of repetitive forms:

á-por-á to look at time and again.

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

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

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

[5] Nida, E. A. Morphology, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1956, p. 168.

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

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

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

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

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

á-por-měró I saw him again each day.

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

ap-í I am (sitting).

106

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

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

1 The core category

107

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

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

a Wók tetám, a Mís tetám, é a niwí tetám, inim a-e-f
here Wok give here Mis give there his father give /that's what / he did/
He gave (the fish) to Wok, and to Mis, and to his father (§ 318).

onów amapóm ará it must be covered with thatch.
thatch /to cover / it is/

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

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

cí jicěmúp a pájnijís
canoe sea there /to turn downstream and go out/
the canoe had turned downstream and drifted out on sea (§ 339).

2 The *-ic* category

108

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a hari Minggu[7] *cowák jiwí takás áj mupicín a-távat-ic*
this Sunday one children all new clothes receiving
this very Sunday all the children will get new clothes.

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

[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-*:

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

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

enám faw-á, arásen jukúmtiw-á fáfaw-á, arásen jukúmtiw-á . . . á-mesjótep-éf
fish spearing there /putting together/ spearing there /putting together / so he did going upstream along the bank/

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

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

4 The *m-/mV-* category

110

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

from *por* 'to see': *mó-por* and *má-por*;
from *fis* 'to come inside': always *mí-fis*;
from *ni* 'to return home': always *má-ni*.

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

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

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

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

ěnéw mú m-aw dapur [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-uapóm araw án must we bury him (§ 274)?
we /must bury/ pp pp

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

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

111

I obtained, in addition, *m-/mV-* forms from my informants every time they referred to the action or the happening as such; for example, when I asked them "What's 'to go'", they replied "*ma-jár*". "What's 'to take'?" - "*mé-tewér*".
The question is, how do these forms stand as regards the core which can also indicate an action or a happening as such? It is out of the question that this is an 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 supported by the fact that in categories 12, 14, 16 and 17, forms also occur that are characterized by a prefix *m-/mV-* which seems to differ

[8] loan-word from Malay.
[9] mentioned in the introduction, § 6.
[10] Drabbe does not say this explicitly. That he had the same experience, however, appears from his treatment of the *m/mV*-forms: see § 47 of his "Grammar of the Asmat Language".

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

5 The *m-/mV- -áji/éji* category

112

m- occurs before an initial vowel;
mV- occurs before an initial consonant: the vowel is identical to the first vowel of the core, or *a* (// *m-/mV-* § 111).
-áji occurs in all cases, except when the core ends in the durative formative, which in this category has the allomorph *ewér*; in this case *-éji* occurs. The first vowel of the suffix is always accented.
The forms of this category only differ from those of the preceding category in having a semantic element that can be translated with 'usually; always':

nó capínmi ma-konáwams-áji
I land /usually go to sleep/
I shall make it my custom to go on the land to sleep (says a crocodile).

cár mo-kokójniewer-éji araw án
you /always to fall down/ pp pp
must you always fall down (§ 226)?

ná ínim as m-em-áji pów we don't usually do such a thing (§ 287).
we such /a thing / usually to do/ not

6 The *-ájmos* category

113

The following forms were noted:

m/mV- core *-mos*
m/mV- core *-ájmos*
core *-ámos*
core *-ájmos/éjimos.*

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

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

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

atów, ci ak-ájmosó [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).

Owpacákipíc, 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- core *-ájpurúw*
core *-ájpurúw/-éjipuruw.*

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

[10a] For the final *o* in *akájmosó,* see § 33.

iním as em-ájpurúwa [10b] you mustn't do such a thing!
/like this/ something /you must not do/

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

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

pacákseré ow atakám jeten ín apteterémtaw-ájpurúwa,
unfit people word middle pp /must not sit to talk/
akát ow atakám jeten ín 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.

[10b] 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

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

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

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

[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-í* 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-í*, the form with modal suffix *-c*, *an-íc* then occurs: here, the modal suffix *-c* alternates with zero.

Formal characteristics.

117

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

Object suffixes:

I. a. *-i/-u*; *-i* and *-u* are conditioned allomorphs.
According to the rule formulated in § 91 (*//itúm/utúm*) they are mutually exclusive.
b. *-ej*.

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

III. *-awuj*.

Prefixes:

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

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

Categorial meaning

118

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

mó-por-í, a-por-í look at it!

aj-áf-cen, an-áf-cen hit me!

atów p-e-c go and play!
play /do it/

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

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

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!

pacák pók towós-cěmokóm, 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 *mom-* or *pom-* express a command that does not have to be obeyed immediately:

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

9 The hortative category

119

In this category the following subject categories are distinguished:

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

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

120

Paradigms of the hortative forms:

an to eat; *por* to look at

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

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

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

Formal characteristics

121

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

-c occurs in all cases; after core-final *r*, *-c* alternates with zero.
-er occurs only after core-final consonant $\neq r$.
The modal suffix here occurs before the subject suffix in all cases.

Subject suffixes:

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

Categorial meaning

122

As with the imperative forms, I did not find here a difference in meaning between forms with and without a prefix, and between the forms which each have a prefix.
The hortative forms express an exhortation:

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

iním a-án-cow! eat it up!
/this way / eat it!/

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

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

Subdivision into subject- and object-categories

123

In the next categories to be dealt with, categories 10 to 24, inclusive, there is a division into 3 object-categories, and a division into 6 or 7 subject-categories.
The object-categories are those mentioned in § 115.
The subject-categories are as follows:

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

The 3rd. pers. dual occurs only in categories 14 and 16.
The object- and subject-categories occur in the following combinations:

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

In the paradigms, the verbal forms will be given in the order as above.[12]

124

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

Suffixes indicating the object		
I.	zero	
II.	*-n*	after a vowel or *r*.
	-en	word-finally; and after C.
	-ĕn	medial; and after C ≠ *r*.
III.	*-aw*	

Suffixes indicating the subject	
1st. pers. s.	*-i*
2nd. pers. s.	*-em*; after *w*, however: *-om*
3rd. pers. s.	*zero*
1st. pers. pl.	*-om*
2nd. pers. pl.	*-okom*; after *r* or *w*, however: *-kom*
3rd. pers. pl.	*-es*; after *p* or *w*, however: *-os*. With object-suffix *-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-

[12] 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.

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

Paradigms of the conditional forms:

tetám to give; *por* to see

formal	informal		
1. tetám-ci	tetám-ĕrí	por-í	if I see him [13]
2. tetám-cin	tetám-ĕrín	por-ín	if I see you
3. tetám-cem	tetám-ĕrém	por-ém	if you see him
4. tetám-cĕném	tetám-erném	por-ném	if you see me
5. tetám-cawóm	tetám-ĕrawóm	pór-awóm	if you see us
6/8. tetám-caw [14]	tetám-ĕráw	por-áw	if he sees him, us
7. tetám-cen	tetám-ĕrén	por-én	if he sees me, you; if they see you (pl.)
9. tetám-com	tetám-ĕróm	por-óm	if we see him
10. tetám-cĕnóm	tetám-ernóm	por-nóm	if we see you
11. tetám-cokom	tetám-erkóm	por-kóm	if you see him
12. tetám-cĕnokóm	tetám-ernokóm	pór-nokóm	if you see me
13. tetám-cawkóm	tetám-ĕrawkóm	pór-awkóm	if you see us
14. tetám-ces	tetám-ĕrés	por-és	if they see him
15. tetám-cĕnés	tetám-ernés	por-nés	if they see me, you (sing.)
16. tetám-cawós	tetám-ĕrawós	pór-awós	if they see us
A.	zero, a-		
B.	m-/ma-/maj-		requisitive
C.	p-/pV-, m-/mV-, zero		prohibitive
D.	ca-/ta-		prioritive

[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/-ĕr*/zero.[15]
-c occurs with the formal forms.
The following occur with the informal forms:
-er before C
-ĕr before V; after the core-final *r*, zero always occurs.

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

kártu atów é.it-ĕrí, é.es-ĕrí, é.awer-í, e.itúm-ci
cards play /if I do..../
If I play cards in the morning, at night, at noon, in the evening....

Later, it appeared from the texts that the formal forms can occur with cores ending in *it* and *es* and the informal forms with cores ending in *itúm* (*á-porit-ci, á-pores-ci, á-poritúm-ĕrí*).
After *awér,* however, the modal suffix is always zero so that the contrast formal-informal does not occur:

á-porawer-í 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 *amís* to lie: here, *maj-* occurs.

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

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

Categorial meaning

127

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

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:

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

máj-ap-ěráw he must remain sitting.

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

má-emtép-caw it must remain hanging.

má-tep-ěrés they must go upstream.

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

129

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

imperative and hortative categories, without noticeable difference in meaning:

pók mi-jitúm-cěnemó[15a] don't throw things at me the whole evening!
thing /don't throw at me in the evening/

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

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

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

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

m-owórse p-é-cemá[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:

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

cá-wijíspor-ín[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-cí
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.

131

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

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

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

See also the discussion on interrogatives, § 234.

11 The optative category

132

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

Paradigms:

tetám to give; *por* to see

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

Formal characteristics

133

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

Object suffixes: no peculiarities.

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

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

Categorial meaning

134

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

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

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

nórap áj nat a jéw t-ámses-aráj
/I alone/ pp pp here /ceremonial house / I would sleep/
If I were alone (unmarried) I would stay and sleep here in the ceremonial house.

ó a-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-faw-óf
yesterday here /to come/ pp /I speared them already/
had they come here yesterday, I would have speared them

jó pu inim emse-res áj nat, mú namir eme-áf-ores ín
sea on /like this / they were/ pp pp water dead /they were already/ pp
had they been on the sea, then they would by now have met their deaths in the water.

12 The habitual category

135

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

136

(Paradigms: see pp. 94-95)

I noted the following interrogative forms:

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

Formal characteristics

137

Aspect suffixes: *-cěm/-cě/-cu/-m*; *-erm* (informal).
1. only with cores not ending in the formative *awér*:

[17] For the discussion on this, see § 252.

-cĕm in all non-mood forms, and in mood-form 6 (before mood suffix *-op*).
-cĕ 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 *awér*: *-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: *-ĕraw* 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-*:

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[18] Here I noted only one mood-form of a core ending in *awér*: *m-ájmiremewér-punè* = I always go the wrong way, (§ 317).
Here, the aspect suffix is zero. If we compare this form with mood-forms of cores without *awér*, it then becomes apparent that in this series we can expect an aspect suffix *-m* in form 6. (before *-op*):

	before *-op*	before *-p*
without *awér*	*-cĕm*	*-cĕ, -cu*
with *awér*	(*-m*)	zero

The paradigms of these forms would, therefore, probably be as follows:
1. *porawer-puj*; 2. *porawer-pun*; etc.; 6. *porawer-mop*; 7. *porawer-pen*, etc.

Paradigms: *tetám* to give; *por* to see

	formal	informal	
1.	tetám-cĕmí	tetám-ermí	porawér-mi
2.	tetám-cĕmín	tetám-ermín	porawer-min
3.	tetám-cĕmém	tetám-ermém	porawér-mem
4.	tetám-cĕmĕném	tetám-erměném	porawér-mĕném
5.	tetám-cĕmĕrawóm	tetam-érmĕrawóm	porawér-mĕrawóm
6.	tetám-cĕmá(r)	tetám-ermá(r)	porawér-ma(r)
7.	tetám-cĕmén	tetám-ermén	porawér-men
8.	tetám-cĕmaráw	tetám-ermaráw	porawér-maráw
9.	tetám-cĕmóm	tetám-ermóm	porawér-mom
10.	tetám-cĕmĕnóm	tetám-erměnóm	porawér-mĕnóm
11.	tetám-cĕmokóm	tetám-ermokóm	porawér-mokóm
12.	tetám-cĕmĕnokóm	tetám-erměnokóm	porawér-mĕnokóm
13.	tetám-cĕmaráwkom	tetám-ermaráwkom	porawér-maráwkom
14.	tetám-cĕmés	tetám-ermés	porawér-mes
15.	tetám-cĕmĕnés	tetám-erměnés	porawér-mĕnés
16.	tetam-céměrawós	tetam-érměrawos	porawér-měrawos
A.		zero, a-/aj-	
B.		m-/mV-	
C.		tep-/tepa-	

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

B. *m-/mV-*:

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

C. *tep-/tepa-*:

tepa- occurs in all cases, except before *a*

tep- occurs before *a*.

mood forms			
tetám-cupúj	I usually give him	;	I shall give him
tetám-cupún	I usually give you	;	I shall give you
tetám-cĕpém	you usually give him	;	you will give him
tetám-cĕpĕném	you usually give me	;	you will give me
tetm-cĕpawóm	you usually give us	;	you will give us
tetám-cĕmop	he usually gives him	;	he will give him
tetám-cĕpen	he usually gives me, you	;	he will give me, you
	they usually give you (pl.)	;	they will give you (pl.)
tetám-cĕpáw	he usually gives us	;	he will give us
tetám-cĕpom	we usually give him	;	we shall give him
tetám-cĕpĕnóm	we usually give you	;	we shall give you
tetám-cĕpokóm	you usually give him	;	you will give him
tetám-cĕpénokóm	you usually give me	;	you will give me
tetám-cĕpawkóm	you usually give us	;	you will give us
tetám-cĕpés	they usually give him	;	they will give him
tetám-cĕpĕnés	they usually give me, you (sing.)	;	they will give me, you (sing.)
tetám-cĕpawós	they usually give us	;	they will give us
	explicative		
	negative interrogative		

Categorial meaning

138

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

These indicate:

1. that the action or the happening is customary:

   jéw emáp-cĕmá

   ceremonial house / he sits usually/

   he is sitting, as usual, in the ceremonial house (§ 265).

ís a-poáms-ermóm (after the feast) we usually all go to sleep.
sleep /we usually all go to sleep/

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

In addition, they can have a prohibitive meaning:

inim ém-cěmemá [18a] you mustn't do it this way.
/this way / you must not always do it/

inim atakám a-táw-cěmém you mustn't keep saying such things.
/like this/ talking /you mustn't always speak/

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

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

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

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

139

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

na picín ma-fafúj-cěmaráw our skin 'peels'.
our skin /it 'peels us'/

m-ájmiremewér-punè [18b] (mood-form) - I always go the wrong way!

[18a] For final *a* see § 34.
[18b] For final *è* see § 33.

(complains a man who meets spirits when he is looking for food § 317).

Form 2. occurs here because he makes the observation to himself.

140

C. Forms with the prefix *tep-/tepa-*.

All the forms noted belong to the formal series.

The forms with *tep-/tepa-* are distinguished from the forms with zero/*a-/aj-* in that they express a negative question:

tépa-pór-cĕmém why don't you usually look at it?

13 The habitual forms of the mediate past

141

Paradigms:

tetam to give; *e/j* to do

1.	tetám-cĕmóp	j-ermóp	I usually gave him
2.	tetám-cĕmpín	j-erpín	I usually gave you
3.	tetám-cĕmpém	j-erpém	you usually gave him
4.	tetám-cĕmpĕném	j-érpĕném	you usually gave me
5.	tetám-cĕmpawóm	j-erpawóm	you usually gave us
6.	tetám-cĕmép	j-ermép	he usually gave him
7.	tetám-cĕmpén	j-erpén	he usually gave you they usually gave you (pl.)
8.	tetám-cĕmpáw	j-erpáw	he usually gave us
9.	tetám-cĕmpóm	j-erpóm	we usually gave him
10.	tetám-cĕmpĕnóm	j-erpĕnóm	we usually gave you
11.	tetám-cĕmpokóm	j-erpokóm	you (pl.) usually gave him
12.	tetám-cĕmpĕnokom	j-érpĕnokóm	you (pl.) usually gave me
13.	tetám-cĕmpawkóm	j-erpawkóm	you (pl.) usually gave us
14.	tetám-cĕmpés	j-erpés	they usually gave him
15.	tetám-cĕmpĕnés	j-erpĕnés	they usually gave me, you (sing.)
16.	tetám-cĕmpawós	j-erpawós	they usually gave us
A.		-/a-	

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

Formal characteristics

142

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

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

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

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

Categorial meaning

143

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

Forms with *-cĕm*:

erém 'ní' a-jés-cĕmpés, na tapín
night come /they said time and time again/, we /sleeping mats/
/manám a-jík-cĕmpóm/, wunám 'opák' a-jí-cĕmpes
/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-cĕmop, 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 *-cĕpes* occurs instead of *-cĕmpes*:

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

Forms with *-erm/-er*:

"ū" jícuku-á j-ermép shouting, they usually fled.
ooh! /shouting fled / they usually did/

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

14 The progressive forms

144

In this category there occur a series of non-mood forms and one series of mood forms. In addition, a number of interrogative forms was found which appear to be used exclusively in traditional stories. A dual form of the 3rd. pers. occurs in the non-mood series. In contrast to the dual forms of the hortative category, this one appears to be unproductive. Until now, I have only found it in texts which were narrated by a couple of old men who were approximately 50 or 60 years old. In these texts, the dual form was not used consistently by the narrators. The informants knew these dual forms, but in practise they made no distinction between the 3rd. pers. pl. and the 3rd. pers. dual.
In the progressive forms, the durative formative occurs in the allomorph *a* instead of *awér*.

	non-mood forms			mood forms		
1.	por-mí	tetám-amí	tetámutum-í	pór-mupúj	tetám-ampúj	I give it to him
2.	por-mín	tetám-amín	tetámutum-ín	pór-mupún	tetám-ampún	I give it to you
3.	por-mém	tetám-amém	tetámutum-ém	por-mepém	tetám-ampém	you give it to him
4.	por-měném	tetám-aměném	tetámutúm-ěném	pór-mepěném	tetám-ampěnem	you give it to me
5.	pór-měrawóm	tetám-áměrawóm	tetámutúm-ěrawóm	pór-mopawóm	tetám-ampawóm	you give it to us
6.	por-má(r)	tetám-amá(r)	tetámutum-á(r)	por-móp	tetám-amóp	he gives it to him
7.	por-mén	tetám-amén	tetámutum-én	pór-mepén	tetám-ampén	he gives it to me, you they give it to you (pl.)
8.	pór-maráw	tetám-amaráw	tetámutúm-aráw	pór-mapáw	tetám-ampáw	he gives it to us
9.	por-móm	tetám-amóm	tetámutum-óm	pór-mopóm	tetám-ampóm	we give it to him
10.	pór-měnóm	tetám-aměnóm	tetámutúm-ěnóm	pór-mopěnóm	tetám-ampěnom	we give it to you
11.	pór-mokóm	tetám-amokóm	tetámutúm-okóm	pór-mopokóm	tetám-ampokóm	you give it to him
12.	pór-měnokóm	tetam-áměnokóm	tetámutúm-ěnokóm	por-mópěnokóm	tetam-ámpěnokóm	you give it to me
13.	pór-měrawkóm	tetam-áměrawkóm	tetámutúm-ěrawkóm	pór-mopawkóm	tetám-ampawkóm	you give it to us
14.	por-més	tetám-amés	tetámutum-és	pór-mopós	tetám-ampós	they give it to him
15.	pór-měnés	tetám-aměnés	tetámutúm-ěnés	pór-mepěnés	tetám-ampěnés	they give it to me, you (sing.)
16.	pór-měrawós	tetám-áměrawós	tetámutúm-ěrawós	pór-mopawós	tetám-ampawós	they give it to us
17.	pór-mamés	tetám-amamés	—	—	—	they both give it

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

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

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

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

Interrogative suffix: *-an*; follows directly on the aspect suffix.

Prefixes:
A. zero/*a-/aj-*.
a- alternates freely with zero. In addition, *a-* alternates with *aj-* before *a*. Cores having one vowel and with an initial consonant usually have the prefix *a-*.

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

Categorial meaning

146
The progressive forms indicate that the action or the happening is or was still in progress. They relate to the present and the *ultimate past* to which, as I have already mentioned, belongs everything that has occurred on the same day as the speech event, but prior to it, as well as everything that took place so long ago that it is known only from tradition.[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.
coconuts /they are picking/ pp

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

Jamów ís nim póamis-már maré a-nijirímuw-or ín
/people of J./ sleep when /they all slept/, then /they all departed/ pp

[19] See § 105; note 6.

When the people of Jamėw all slept, they (people of Jepém) all departed (§ 344).

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

móc a-móca-már she wailed continually.
wailing /she kept wailing/

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

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

148

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

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

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

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

149

C. Forms with the prefix *em-/eme-*: these are distinguished from the forms with zero/*a-/aj-* by a semantic element of completion which can be translated with 'already'.

mú emé-susu-má pen Is the water boiling already?
water /it is boiling already/ pp

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

150

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

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

151

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

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

Instead of *enám tepámpiamém,* one can also say: [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 $\neq$ *m* when a vowel follows the aspect suffix (forms 1. and 2.).

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[20] For this construction, see § 183.

Paradigms: *tetám* to give; *af* to strike; (*atakám*) *tawutúm* to tell stories the whole evening

I was striking him	1. af-móp	tetám-amóp	táwutum-óp
I was striking you	2. af-pín	tetám-ampín	táwutum-pín
you were striking him	3. af-pém	tetám-ampém	táwutum-pém
you were striking me	4. áf-pĕném	tetám-ampĕném	táwutúm-pĕném
you were striking us	5. áf-pawóm	tetám-ampawóm	táwutúm-pawóm
he was striking him	6. af-mép	tetám-amép	táwutum-ép
he was striking you	7. af-pén	tetám-ampén	táwutum-pén
they were striking you (pl.)			
he was striking us	8. af-páw	tetám-ampáw	táwutum-páw
we were striking him	9. af-póm	tetám-ampóm	táwutum-póm
we were striking you	10. áf-pĕnóm	tetám-ampĕnóm	táwutúm-pĕnóm
you (pl.) were striking him	11. áf-pokóm	tetám-ampokóm	táwutúm-pokóm
you (pl.) were striking me	12. áf-pĕnokóm	tetam-ámpĕnokóm	táwutúm-pĕnokóm
you (pl.) were striking us	13. áf-pawkóm	tetám-ampawkóm	táwutúm-pawkóm
they were striking him	14. af-pés	tetám-ampés	táwutum-pés
they were striking me, you (sing.)	15. áf-pĕnés	tetám-ampĕnes	táwutúm-pĕnés
they were striking us	16. áf-pawós	tetám-ampawós	táwutúm-pawós

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A. zero/a-/aj-

-am occurs after core-final *m*, except after cores ending in the formative *itúm/utúm* 'in the evening'.
zero occurs: a. after core-final C ≠ *m*, when a consonant follows; b. after *itúm/utúm*.

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

Prefix: zero/*a-/aj-*.
a- alternates with zero; in addition, *a-* alternates with *aj-* before *a*.

Categorial meaning

154

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

Owpacákipic ís nim pútamis-mép, parás ten káku a-wíni-ój
O. asleep when /he lay down / dune-ridge/ on quickly /I went away/
when O. lay down asleep, I quickly ran away along the dune-ridge (§ 312).

atakám táwutum-ép in the evening he told of it.
story /he told in the evening/

erén tepit-mép he went upstream in the morning.
upstream /he went in the morning/

kónawomsés-pěnem cém
/you came-slept with me/ house
the house where you came and slept with me (§ 300).

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

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

16 The ultimate past category

155

In these categories there is again a distinction between non-mood forms and mood forms. In addition, there is a series of interrogative forms

non-interrogative					interrogative	
non-mood forms			mood-forms			
1. an-í	tetam-új	por-í	por-púj	I saw him	pór-aní	have I seen him?
2. an-ín	tetam-ún	por-ín	por-pún	I saw you	pór-anín	have I seen you?
3. an-ĕrém	tetám-orém	por-ém	por-pém	you saw him	pór-aném	have you seen him?
4. an-ĕném	tetám-ĕném	por-ném	por-pĕném	you saw me	pór-anĕném	have you seen me?
5. án-ĕrawóm	tetám-ĕrawóm	por-awóm	por-pawóm	you saw us	pór-anawóm	have you seen us?
6. an-ér	tetam-ór	por	por-óp	he saw him	por-án	has he seen it?
7. an-én	tetam-én	por-én	por-pán	he saw me, you	por-anén	has he seen me, you?
				they saw you (pl.)		have they seen you (pl.)
8. an-aráw	tetám-araw	por-áw	por-páw	he saw us	pór-anáw	has he seen us?
9. an-ĕróm	tetám-oróm	por-óm	por-póm	we saw him	pór-anóm	have we seen him?
10. an-ĕnóm	tetám-ĕnóm	por-nóm	por-pĕnóm	we saw you	pór-anĕnóm	have we seen you?
11. an-erkóm	tetám-orkóm	por-kóm	por-pokóm	you saw him	pór-anokóm	have you seen him?
12. án-ernokóm	tetám-ornokóm	por-nokóm	pór-pĕnokóm	you saw me	pór-anénokóm	have you seen me?
13. án-ĕrawkóm	tetám-ĕrawkóm	por-awkóm	por-pawkóm	you saw us	pór-anawkóm	have you seen us?
14. an-ĕrés	tetám-orés	por-és	por-pós	they saw him	pór-anés	have you seen him?
15. an-ĕnés	tetám-ĕnés	por-nés	por-pĕnés	they saw me, you (sing.)	pór-anĕnés	have they seen me, you (sing.)
16. án-ĕrawós	tetám-ĕrawós	por-awós	por-pawós	they saw us	pór-anawós	have they seen us?
17. án-ermamés	tetám-ormamés	por-mamés	—	both of them saw it	—	—
A.	zero/a-/aj-/an-					
B.	m-/mV-		—		—	explicative
C.	em-/eme-					completive
D.	op-/opa-		—		—	interrogative (causal)
E.	tep-/tepa-		—		—	negative interrogative

characterized by the suffix *-an*. The forms of this category, in contrast to those of categories 12 and 14, do not occur in combination with the question marker *en/an* (§ 252).
As in category 14, a dual form of the 3rd. pers. occurs but it does not appear to be productive. I found it in the same texts as the dual form of category 14.

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

(Paradigms: see p. 107)

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

1.	a-titi/titij-i	a-fé-j	amó-j	a-wú-j
3.	a-titi-rém/ĕrém	a-fe-rém/ĕrém	amo-rém	a-wú-orém
6.	a-titi-r/ér	a-fé-r/er	amó-r	a-wu-ór
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Formal characteristics

156
Tense suffix: from a comparison with the forms of category 17, it appears that the tense suffix is zero.

Mood suffix: final: *-op*; medial: *-p*.
Interrogative suffix: *-an*, suffixed directly to the core.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:
I. zero: in form 1.; after core-final *r*; [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:
-ĕr before a vowel; between two vowels *-ĕr* 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. *-ĕn* alternates with *-n* between two vowels.

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

Subject suffixes: peculiarities:

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

Prefixes:

A. *a-/aj-/an-*/zero:

a- alternates freely with zero. In addition, *a-* alternates with *aj-* before *a*.
an- was only found in the form *an-e-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).

158

B. The forms with the prefix *m-/mV-*.
These have a semantic element of explanation, clarification:

anám ajpím new, ómus néw, me-msémapm-új
anam /extreme end/ perhaps omus 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 *ómus* (outside sago pith) (§ 299).

ts! m-émamtewér-pokóm! (mood-form) So. you've just met each other!
(Here the speaker deduces a fact and remarks upon it testily to himself.)

159

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

emé-setaj-ér he has already arrived (by canoe).

emé-pa-nikájap-ánokom[22] *ewá*
pp
have all of you perhaps returned? (from getting sago).

amás nes emé-awkurúm-puj
sago pith /I have already scraped out all/
I have already scraped out all the sago pith! (§ 297).

160

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

a nát a cí mátuwuw pák opá-em-ór
he pp his canoe go off not why does he
why doesn't he go in his own canoe?

161

E. Forms with *tep-/tepa-*.
These are negative interrogative forms translatable with why not:

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[22] For *pa-*, see § 180.

a nát a cí tepá-tuwuw-ór
he pp his canoe /why doesn't he go/
why doesn't he go in his own canoe? (This is an alternative used instead of the previous example).[23]

amás tepa-émn-ĕrém why haven't you fetched sago?
sago /why haven't you fetched it/

17 The mediate past category

162
A division into non-mood forms and mood forms does not occur here. I did find a number of informal forms: these, however, do not form a complete paradigm. In addition, I found in the texts a few cases of informal interrogative forms characterized by the suffix *-an*. My informants, however, always used a construction with the question marker *en/an* in interrogative sentences.

(Paradigms: see p. 112)

The verb *e/j* -to do, when linked with a form of category 3 (core-á), has *-erof, eref* as endings instead of *-of* and *-ef* (form 1., 6.):

tetam-á j-erófˊ time and again I gave it to him
tetam-á j-eréfˊ time and again he gave it to him.[24]

Formal characteristics

163
Tense suffix: *-f*; in the informal forms: zero.

Interrogative suffix: *-an.*

Object suffixes; peculiarities:
III. In the informal forms, *-eaw* occurs instead of *-aw.*

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

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[23] Compare § 151.
[24] See also § 182.

Paradigms:

tetám to give

formal	informal	interrogative	
1. tetám-of	tetám-o		I gave it to him
2. tetám-fin			I gave it to you
3. tetám-fem			you gave it to him
4. tetám-fěném			you gave it to me
5. tetám-fawóm			you gave it to us
6. tetám-ef	tetám-è	tetám-anè	he gave it to him
7. tetám-fen			he gave it to me, you they gave it to you (pl.)
8. tetám-faw			he gave it to us
9. tetám-fom			we gave it to him
10. tetám-fěnóm			we gave it to you
11. tetám-fokóm	tetám-okóm		you gave it to him
12. tetám-fěnokóm			you gave it to me
13. tetám-fawkóm			you gave it to us
14. tetám-fes	tetám-es	tetám-anés	they gave it to him
15. tetám-fěnes			they gave it to me, you (sing.)
16. tetám-fawós	tetám-eawós		they gave it to us
A.	zero/a-/aj-		
B.	m-/mV-		explicative
C.	em-/eme-		completive
D.	op-/opa-		interrogative
E.	tep-/tepa-		negative interrogative

1st. pers. s.: *-o* (form 1)
3rd. pers. s.: *-è* (form 6).[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 § 110.

C. *em-/eme-*; D. *op-/opa-*; E. *tep-/tepa-*: Here, the rules of distribution apply as for the corresponding prefixes of category 14 and category 16.

Categorial meaning

164

A. The forms with zero/*a-/aj-* relate exclusively to the mediate past, i.e. the period which begins with yesterday and goes as far back as the generations still alive can recall from their own experience.

B. Forms with *m-/mV-*: these have a semantic element of explanation or clarification:

Taweric enim Jiw ma-táwsim-fawós
Taweric and Jiw /took us with them/
Taweric and Jiw took us with them (on their flight) (§ 342).

C. Forms with *em-/eme-*: these have a semantic element of completion, translatable with already:

amás emé-kafúm-anés had they already scraped out sago?
sago /had they already scraped out/

D. Forms with *op-/opa-*: these have a semantic element of interrogation, translatable with why:

ěnéw nat mifán opá-faj-fém why were you averse to mother?
mother pp averse /why were you/

E. Forms with *tep-/tepa-*: these are negative-interrogative forms:
tepá-por-fém why didn't you see it?

[25] Here, a special allophone of the *e* phoneme occurs: see § 33.

18/19 The anterioritive forms

165

The anterioritive forms are those verbal forms which indicate that the action or happening is anterior to another action or happening. They can be translated with: after . . . . ; first . . . . .

Paradigms:

tetám to give

ultimate past	mediate past	
1. tetám-ací	tetám-aró	after I had given it to him
2. tetám-acín	tetám-arín	after I had given it to you
3. tetám-acém	tetám-arém	after you had given it to him
4. tetám-acěném	tetám-arném	after you had given it to me
5. tetám-acawóm	tetám-arawóm	after you had given it to us
6. tetám-ac	tetám-aré	after he had given it to him
7. tetám-acén	tetám-arén	after he had given it to me, you after they had given it to you (pl.)
8. tetám-acáw	tetám-aráw	after he had given it to us
9. tetám-acóm	tetám-aróm	after we had given it to him
10. tetám-acěnóm	tetám-arnóm	after we had given it to you
11. tetám-acokóm	tetám-arkóm	after you had given it to him
12. tetam-ácěnokóm	tetám-arnokóm	after you had given it to me
13. tetám-acawkóm	tetám-arawkóm	after you had given it to us
14. tetám-acés	tetám-arés	after they had given it to him
15. tetám-acěnés	tetám-arnés	after they had given it to me, you (s.)
16. tetám-acawós	tetám-arawós	after they had given it to us
A.	zero/a-/aj-	

Formal characteristics

166

Tense - aspect suffixes: ultimate past forms: *-ac*; mediate past forms: *-ar*.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:
mediate past: 1st. pers. s.: *-o* (form 1); 3rd. pers. s.: *-e* (form 6).

Prefix: zero/*a-/aj-*.
a- alternates with zero; in addition, *a-* alternates with *aj-* before *a*.

Categorial meaning

167

The forms of category 18 relate to the ultimate past; those of category 19, to the mediate past:

ci sés a-sów-aci, mú a-nifámpum-ací, anpíw a-pesé-j
canoe firing /I did first/ water /I pushed it first into/ immediately /I rowed off/
First I fired the canoe, then I pushed it into the water, and immediately rowed off.

tapín a-jík-aró ci á-nuwuw-óf
/sleeping mat / I packed it up and/ canoe /I go into it/
I packed up the sleeping mat and got into the canoe.

The anterioritive forms of the mediate past were never found as the last verb in a sentence; they were always followed by at least one verb. The anterioritive forms of the ultimate past can occur as the last verb of a sentence. They then have a conditional meaning. I do not know in how far their meaning is then identical to that of the forms of category 10 with the prefix *ca-* (§ 130) and whether they are interchangeable with those forms:

már atów e-acóma! let us first play football.
ball play /let us first do/

tó amás emtewn-ácema
tomorrow sago /you must first fetch/
tomorrow you must first fetch sago (before we go on our way).

20/21 **The perfective forms**

168

In the course of working on the material it became clear that the verbs with the suffix *-it/ut* form a separate category. It was, therefore, not possible to obtain a complete paradigm from my informants. It is, however, possible, on the basis of the cases noted, to deduce the complete paradigm with rather great certainty. The forms not found in the material are put between brackets in the paradigm that follows. All these forms appear to have a semantic element of completion.

I have therefore termed them *perfective* forms. They relate to the past; a division inlo ultimate past and mediate past only occurs, however, in forms 1 and 6.

Paradigm:

por to see; *tetám* to give

	ult. past | med. past	ult. past | med. past
1.	pór-ití | pór-itó	tetám-utí | tetám-utó
2.	pór-itín	tetám-utín
3.	por-itém	tetám-utém
4.	[por-itěnem]	[tetam-utěnem]
5.	[por-itawom]	[tetam-utawom]
6.	por-ít | pór-itè	tetám-ut | tetám-utè
7.	[por-iten]	[tetam-uten]
8.	pór-itáw	tetám-utáw
9.	pór-itóm	tetám-utóm
10.	[por-itěnom]	[tetam-utěnom]
11.	pór-itokóm	tetám-utokóm
12.	[por-itěnokom]	[tetam-utěnokom]
13.	[por-itawkom]	[tetam-utawkom]
14.	pór-ités	tetám-utés
15.	[por-itěnes]	[tetam-utěnes]
16.	[por-itawos]	[tetam-utawos]

A.	zero/a-	
B.	em-/eme-	completive

Formal characteristics

169

Tense - aspect suffix: *-it/ut*. *-it* and *-ut* are distributed according to the rule given in § 91 (*// itúm/utúm*).

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

mediate past forms: 1st. pers. s.: *-o* (form 1); 3rd. pers. s.: *-è* (form 6).[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:

no asén akatés cowák emáms-ití
I place good very /I have lain/
I have lain in a very good place! (§ 314).

jóp nim jítak-itó a mú,
/on the back / like this / I had gone downstream/ there water
I had gone downstream, laying on my back in the water (§ 313).

jéw éwenaw-út he has come from the ceremonial house (§ 315).
/ceremonial house / he has come from/

B. The only form with *em-/eme-* I noted, occurs in the following sentence:

wún ow nát cem máp emé-tepákajap-ítes 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 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 *ewír*.
As in categories 12, 14 and 16, there is a series of mood forms.

(Paradigms: see p. 118)

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[26] Here, a special allophone of the *e* phoneme occurs: see § 33.

Paradigms:
por to see, to look at

non-mood forms	mood forms	
1. pórewir-í	pórewír-ipúj	I always looked at him
2. pórewir-ín	pórewír-ipún	I always looked at you
3. pórewir-ím	pórewír-ipém	you always looked at him
4. pórewír-iném	pórewir-ípěném	you always looked at me
5. pórewir-írawóm	pórewir-ípawóm	you always looked at us
6. pórewir-ír	pórewir-úp	he always looked at him
7. pórewir-ín	pórewír-ipán	he always looked at me, you they always looked at you (pl.)
8. pórewír-iráw	pórewir-ipáw	he always looked at us
9. pórewir-úm	pórewír-ipóm	we always looked at him
10. pórewír-inúm	pórewir-ípěnóm	we always looked at you
11. pórewír-ikúm	pórewir-ípokóm	you always looked at him
12. pórewir-ínokóm	pórewir-ípěnokóm	you always looked at me
13. pórewir-írawkóm	pórewir-ípawkóm	you always looked at us
14. pórewir-ís	pórewí-ipós	they always looked at him
15. porewír-inés	pórewir-ípěnés	they always looked at me, you (s.)
16. pórewir-írawós	pórewir-ípawós	they always looked at us
A. zero/a-		
B. em-/eme-		completive

Formal characteristics
172

Tense suffix: *-i* in all cases, except in form 9 of the non-mood series where it is zero.

Mood suffix: *-p/-up*. *-up* occurs word-finally, *-p* medially.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:
III. In the non-mood forms: *-raw*.
Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

1st. pers. s.: in the non-mood forms: zero. In the mood forms: *-uj/-u*. *-uj* occurs word-finally, *-u* medially (forms 1 and 2).
2nd. pers. s. : *-m* when the tense suffix immediately precedes it.
3rd. pers. s. : *-r* in form 6 of the non-mood series.
1st. pers. pl.: *-um* in the non-mood series.
2nd. pers. pl.: *-kum* when the tense suffix immediately precedes it.
3rd. pers. pl.: *-s* when the tense suffix immediately precedes it.

Prefixes:
A. *zero/a-*: *a-* was only found before cores having one vowel and with initial consonant.
B. *em-/eme-*: *eme-* occurs in all cases, except before *e*. *em-* occurs before *e*.

173

A. Forms without a prefix; or with *a-*:

inim émtawéwir-is that's what they always said.
/like this / they always said/

pé amás néwir-um néwa
crabs food /we always ate/ perhaps
what we always ate before was perhaps crabs! (§ 302).

mú micíc sejiréwir-úp
water seaweed /he lay in it so long that it grew over him/
he lay in the water so long that the seaweed grew over him!

B. Forms with *em-/eme-* have a semantic element of completion, translatable with 'already; have':

cí emé-akéwir-ipúj I have always made canoes!
canoe /I have always made/

23 The *-měr* forms

174

A category about which meagre data were obtained is that of the forms characterized by the suffix *-měr*. 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 *-měr* 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-měró*	every day I saw him again
2.	*a-pór-měrén*	every day I saw you again
3.	*a-pór-měrém*	every day you saw him again
6.	*a-por-měro/měre*	every day he saw him again
11.	*a-pór-měrkóm*	every day you (pl.) saw him again.
14.	*a-pór-měrés*	every day they saw him again

súntik[27] *a-empór-měró opák*
injection / gave him every day / but not/
I gave him an injection every day but it didn't help.

camúw ci ákarawér-měrkóm a-por-óf
/on foot/ canoe /you went each day again / I saw/
I saw that you (pl.) went each day on foot instead of by canoe.

The *-měr* forms can also indicate that an action or a happening takes place over a long time, from a point in the past up to the present:

núr epíc nam tarí jiwamís-měró, wow /namír af-ór/
my sister sick long /she lay/ today /she died/
my sister has been sick for a long time, today she died.

175

I found an ending *-erměro* with the verb *e/j* - to do, when it was linked with a form of category 3 (core *-á*). The forms with *-erměro* were only found in a text, narrated by an old man (between 50 and 60 years old). The suffix of the forms of cat. 3 in these cases is *-e* instead of *-á*.

Taweríc nat /ów cem/ inim apéwer-e j-érměro
T. pp /lookout house / like this / he sat there each day/
each day Taweric again remained in the lookout post (§ 340).

enám /teweréwer-e j-érměro/, tów /péwer-e j-érměro/
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*:

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[27] *suntik*: loan-word from Malay.

jók apawer-érměro each day they spent the day in idleness (§ 326).
/during the day / they just sat, each day/

wasén namícukewer-érměro
forest /they all went each day/
each day they all went to the forest (§ 326).

These forms are probably contractions of forms of category 3 and *j-erměro*. I think it not impossible that the forms with *-erměro* are archaic. When I ran the text after the recording, the informants repeated it word for word, and they always used in these cases forms with *-měro* instead of these with *-erměro*: *jók apawér-měro*; *wasén namícukewér-měro*.
Finally, a form with *-maměro* was found:

Surú áwemic aráw, juwúr fék wut ak-máměro
Suru /is there/ pp /juwur wood/ big very /he makes (a canoe) each day/
Surú is there, he is busy every day making a very big canoe of juwur wood.

In this case, the daily activity is seen as a process that is still unfinished. Perhaps the *-měr* forms are divided into a category of past tense forms and another category of present tense forms.

24 The unproductive category of the positional verbs

176
When the positional roots occur as a core or as the last morpheme of a core with the meaning 'to be' (in a specific position), the forms of category 14 do not occur. Instead of them we find:

I. With *amís* (to lie), *ap* (to sit), and *se* (to be in the water):

1.	ams-í	ap-í	a-sé-j	I am
3.	ams-ém	ap-ém	a-sé-m	you are
6.	amís	ap	a-sé	he is
9.	ams-óm	ap-óm	á-se-óm	we are
11.	áms-okóm	áp-okóm	á-se-okóm	you (pl.) are
14.	ams-és	ap-és	a-sé-s	they are
17.	?	ap-més	?	both of them are

II. With *em* (to stand), and *tep* (to be above):

1.	em-cí	á-tep-cí	I am
3.	em-cém	á-tep-cém	you are
6.	em-íc	á-tep-íc	he is
9.	em-cóm	á-tep-cóm	we are
11.	ém-cokóm	á-tep-cokóm	you (pl.) are
14.	em-cés	á-tep-cés	they are

Once in a text I found a dual form of *ap* (see above).

With *amis, ap,* and *se,* interrogative forms occur which are characterized by a suffix *-an*:

1.	áms-aní	áp-aní	á-se-aní	am I?
3.	áms-aném	áp-aném	á-se-aném	are you?
6.	ams-án	ap-án	á-se-án	is he?
9.	áms-anóm	áp-anóm	á-se-anóm	are we?
11.	áms-anokóm	áp-anokóm	á-se-anokóm	are you (pl.)?
14.	áms-anés	áp-anés	á-se-anés	are they?

The construction with the question marker *en/an* occurs with *em* and *tep*:

em-cém en are you?
á-tep-íc en is it (above)?

177

The complete paradigm occurs when the positional root is combined with the formative *o/om-* (see § 76).

1.	op-í	om-cí	I am with him
2.	op-ín	om-cín	I am with you
3.	op-ém	om-cém	you are with him
4.	óp-ěném	óm-cěném	you are with me
5.	óp-awóm	óm-cawóm	you are with us
6.	op	om-íc	he is with him

7.	op-én	om-cén	he is with me, you they are with you (pl.)
8.	op-áw	om-cáw	he is with us
9.	op-óm	om-cóm	we are with him
10.	óp-ĕnóm	óm-cĕnóm	we are with you
11.	óp-okóm	óm-cokóm	you are with him
12.	óp-ĕnokóm	óm-cĕnokóm	you are with me
13.	óp-awkóm	óm-cawkóm	you are with us
14.	op-és	om-cés	they are with him
15.	óp-ĕnés	óm-cĕnés	they are with me, you (s.)
16.	óp-awós	óm-cawós	they are with us

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When the positional verbs are preceded by the deictic words *a* here, or *e* there,[28] a *w* occurs between these words and the verb:

a w sé - á w amís - a w áp - á w emíc - á w atepíc it is here
é w asé - é w amís - e w áp - é w emíc - é w atepíc it is there

Morphonologically, these word-groups behave as one word: it is not *á wamís* etc., because *a wsé* is impossible: a consonant cluster cannot occur at the beginning of a word; it is not *ew asé* because in that case the [ö] allophone of the *e* phoneme would occur in *ew,* whereas the [ĕ] allophone occurs.
Therefore I shall write *awsé, áwamís, éwasé* etc.

The prefixes *em-* and *p-/pV-*

179

There are two prefixes of which the occurrence appears to be exclusively dependent upon syntactical factors. These prefixes are *em-* and *p-/pV-*.
em- occurs only when the verb is linked with the interrogative word *ucím* - how, how many. It does not, however, occur with the verb *em* - to make.
em- was found in forms of categories 10, 12, 16, 17 and 24 with the prefix *a-/aj-* or zero; it precedes *a-/aj-*.

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[28] See §§ 197, 198.

Cat. 10: *a amás ucím em-áw-cem* [29] how will you cook this sago?
this sago how /will you cook it/
But:
sájer [30] *ucím em-cém* how will you prepare the vegetables?
vegetables how /you make them/

Cat. 12: *sej sí ucím em-tetám-cěmokóm*
iron axes /how many / you usually give/
how many iron axes do you usually give for it?

Cat. 16: *ów ucím em-setáj-ěrés* how many people have arrived?
people /how many / they arrived/

Cat. 17: *kús ucím em-sakámtewer-fém*
heads /how many / you cut off and took/
how many heads have you taken?

Cat. 24: *jisín ucím éma-tep-íc*
coconuts /how many / are there/
how many coconuts are hanging there?

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p-/pV-: *p-* occurs before vowels; *pV-* before consonants.
The vowel of *pV-* is identical to the vowel immediately following it. *p-/pV-* is prefixed to the verb when it is immediately followed by the postposition *ew/aw* (§ 255).
It was found in forms of categories 10, 12, 14, 16, 17 and 24 with the prefix *a-/aj-*/zero, or with *em-/eme-*. It is noteworthy that *p-/pV-* precedes *a-/aj-*, but is preceded by *em-/eme-*.

Cat. 10: *ucím cáj p-e-caw éw* what is he thinking of (§ 282).
which plan /has he/ pp

Cat. 12: *ucím asén pí-jisas-érmokom* where will you go?
which place /will you travel to/ pp

Cat. 14: *pá-por-mem éw* did you or did you not see it?

Cat. 16: *emépa-sá-n ew* is it perhaps dry already (§ 284).

Cat. 17: *ucím p-em-of éw* how could I have done it? (§ 326).
how /did I do it/ pp

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[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- -áji*) can form word-groups with negations.

Cases in which all these verbal word-groups occur will not be given here; they can be found in paragraphs 182 and 183 (verb + verb; verb + negation); 192 (substantive + verb); 198 (proper name + verb); 219 (pronoun + verb); 234 (interrogative + verb) and in 235-243 (verb + negation).

Summary of the forms of the verbs *e/j* and *ji* 'to do',[31a] which were found linked to a form of category 3 (core-á)

182

Cat. 10: *a-por-á j-ěrí/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-mi* etc.: time and again I see him.

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[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-fém : time and again you saw him.
a-por-á j-eréf : time and again he saw him.
a-por-á e-fóm etc.: time and again we saw him.

If the core of the form preceding ends in the durative formative (*ewér*), then the suffix is *-e*, and instead of *e* or *j, ji* occurs:

a-poréwer-é ji-rój : I saw him time and again, over a long period;
etc.
a-poréwer-é ji-fém
a-poréwer-é ji-réf
a-poréwer-é ji-fom
etc.

Cat. 23: *á-por-a j-érměro/jiměro* 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 *iním* 'in this way':

Cat. 8: *tám masěrím wunám otuwsé-a iním 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 iním e-rasín*
middle /let lie with repeatedly / this way / let us both do/
let us always sleep on either side of him! (§ 282).

The forms of category 3 can also be linked with verbal forms the core of which contains the root *ji,* or *e/j*:

a-por-á jes-mí time and again I see him at night (cat. 14).

"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-cěmí,* etc. I shall want to see it.

Cat. 14: Here, instead of *em-amí,* etc., the forms *em-í, em-ém,* etc. are found (see § 145).
mó-por em-í, 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-óf,* etc. I wanted to see it (mediate past).

I also noted here a form *e-óf,* instead of *em-óf.*

Only once did I find a *m-/mV-* form followed by a form of the verb *ji* - to do, of category 23:

o mo-pórtewét jiewér-měró
you /want to marry / he always did/
he has always wanted to marry you (§ 281).

II. Indirectly linked: this is the negative construction with *pak* - not. This construction has no volitive meaning.

Cat. 12: *mó-por pák em-cěmí,* etc. I shall not see it.
/to see/ not /I shall do/

Cat. 14: *mó-por pák em-í,* etc. I don't see it.
mó-por pák emut-mí, 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-óf,* etc. I didn't see it (mediate past).

Cat. 22: *mó-por pák émewir-í,* etc. I never saw it.

III SUBSTANTIVES

Definition

184

I will term *substantives* those words from which derivatives can be formed by adding the following suffixes:

- *nakáp* - *nakás*	primary derivatives
-iríw/-eré	secondary derivatives

Primary derivatives

185

-nakáp is a diminutive suffix indicating 'smallness + singular number'. The diminutive value of *-nakáp* has four aspects:

1. 'smallness': *cem* house, houses; *cémnakap* small house.

2. 'small part of a whole':

a. *mopán* trunk;
mopánakap ám awamís
/piece of the trunk/ also /it lies there/
there is also a piece of the trunk lying there (§ 299).

si axe;
sínakap mítapmúj I thrust the axe into it, but not deeply (§ 278).
/little bit of the axe/ I thrust into it/

písuwá dagger;
písuwánakap mafáw
/little bit of a dagger / to strike repeatedly/
to strike repeatedly, but not deeply, with a dagger.

b. Suffixed to names of substances, and generic names, *-nakáp* indicates a 'small quantity of':

amás sago; *amásnakáp* a little bit of sago
mu water; *múnakáp* a little water
enám fish; *enámnakáp* a little bit of fish.

3. Suffixed to the words *tam* morning; *jok* noon; *porów* afternoon; and *erém* night, *-nakáp* indicates that the time of day or night in question has just begun or has almost passed: [32]

támnakap ów /ucím ar' am/ éw enáwmes aráw
/early in the morning/ people various pp /they are coming/ pp
early in the morning various people come.

támnakap nítamor ín, jok
/late in the morning / she arrived/ pp, noon
she arrived (at home) towards the end of the morning, at noon (§ 301).

4. In the following cases the suffix *-nakáp* indicates a closeness to:

úmu top;
esé umúnakap apítmoméśmar ín
bag /almost to the top / he filled it at night/ pp
at night he filled the bag he had with him almost to the top.

pim edge;
amás a pímnakap átemetótaper ín
sago there /almost to the rim / it rose and stayed/ pp
the sago (meal) rose until it had almost reached the rim (§ 289).

186

One case was noted in which *-nakáp* was suffixed to the last word of a word-group; here it refers to the whole group:

amás nec raw sago; *amás nétnakap* a little bit of raw sago.

Similar cases are probably:

pók kow opáknakap not enough to eat.
food much not-

---

[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
átojowún	:	in three days' time / three days ago
átojofáj	:	in four days' time / four days ago
átomér	:	in five days' time / five days ago.

ténam jóf opáknakap [33] *áemémer 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 *-iríw/-eré* can be added to form secondary derivatives. The forms of this suffix have a distribution parallel to that of *-nakáp* and *-nakás*: *-iríw* is suffixed to derivatives with *-nakáp,* and *-eré* is suffixed to derivatives with *-nakás.* Derivatives with *-iríw/-eré* indicate something very small, a very small quantity of, etc.:

jak rain cloud; *jáknakápiríw* a tiny rain cloud
amás sago; *amásnakápiríw* very little sago
ow people; *ównakápiríw* very few people

porów afternoon;
porównakápiríw masním maré atakám afasmapéf
evening- then /at last/ story /he told/
Finally, when it was still evening, he told them the story (§ 320).

jisís the edge of the fire;
jisísnakápiríw fa amnú aotmámsĕres 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;
jépnakapiríw máokomémtamcín
side- /roll it up for me/
roll up for me a tiny part of the side (of the fish trap) (§ 269).

No cases parallel to *sínakap mítapmúj* were found.

---

[33] The negation *opák* will be dealt with in § 240.

A secondary derivative with *-eré* is:

pis grandchildren; *car písnakaseré* all your small grandchildren. See also: *cowákaseré*, § 191.

Words with which derivatives are formed only with *-nakáp*, or only with *-nakás*

189

1. In the following words, diminutive forms were found only with *-nakáp*:

cowúc woman;	*cowútnakáp* little woman, girl
jipíc man;	*jipítnakáp* little man
ewúc younger brother;	*ewútnakáp* little younger brother.

It can therefore be assumed that only *-nakáp* can be suffixed to the following kinship terms denoting a particular person:

o	grandchild
mo	husband
em	wife
ótipíc	brother (said by a sister)
těráswuc	sister
wa	brother-in-law
epúc	older brother
epíc	older sister
amús	younger sister
nin	daughter-in-law

2. In the following words, diminutive forms were found only with *-nakás*:

ísipís parents, mothers or fathers; *ísipísnakás* little fathers
pis grandchildren; *písnakás* little grandchildren.

It can also be assumed that only *-nakás* can be suffixed to the following kinship terms denoting a number of persons:

miwís	husbands
ófajís	grandparents
ófew	blood kinsmen belonging to a ceremonial house different from one's own

ówopís	people of a similar age
tĕrásĕpés	sisters
típurís	children of both sexes
cenwís	parents-in-law
wes	'sons'
epúcĕwes	older brothers
epícĕwes	older sisters
amúsĕwes	younger sisters
ninwís	daughters-in-law

A non-productive plural category

190

A non-productive plural category occurs with six kinship terms. The derivative suffix is *-ĕwes* in four cases, *-wis* in two cases:

A.		B.	
epúc	older brother	*epúcĕwes*	older brothers
epíc	older sister	*epícĕwés*	older sisters
ewúc	younger brother	*ewúcĕwés*	younger brothers
amús	younger sister	*amúsĕwes*	younger sisters
nin	daughter-in-law	*ninwís*	daughters-in-law
mo	husband	*miwís*	husbands

The possibility of suffixing *-nakáp* to the words under A, and *-nakás* to the words under B, has already been discussed in § 189.

Cases of transposition

191

The one definite case of transposition I found is the word *jiwínakap,* which occurs as a substantive with the meaning 'small child' (from *jiwí,* child), and as an adjective with the meaning 'small". This case will be dealt with when the adjective is discussed.
Transposition to the class of substantives probably occurs in the following cases:

1. The adjectives *awút* large, and *jiwínakap* small, occur in the following sentence in positions in which one would expect substantives to occur:

takás awakámkurúmor in, awút am, jiwínakap am, takás in
all /he killed them all/ pp, large also, small also, all pp
He killed them all, large and small, all of them (// *owerów am, cepés am* - men and women).

2. *cowák* 'one, very, forthwith' > *cowákaseré* 'little ones' (substantive). *cowák* is a word of which it is not yet clear to which word-class it belongs. It can form groups with substantives, adjectives, and verbs, as in: *cem cowák* one house; *akát cowák* very good; *átepfés cowák* they forthwith rowed upriver.
The irregular derivative with *-aseré* instead of *-nakásere* (see § 202) I found once, as a substantive:

cowákaseré pen éw menéstewer empúj
/little ones/ pp pp /come to get/ I do (mood form)
I come here and would like to get some [sago] if perhaps there are still some crumbs left! (§ 324).

Syntactical valence

192
Substantives can form groups with:

1. other substantives:
amás esé a bag with sago.
sago bag

2. adjectives:
áj cem a new house;
new house

cem awút a large house.
house large

3. deictic words:
no cém my house; *a cém* this house; *cém ar* to the house; *cá cem (ám)* whose house; *ucím cem (ám)* what kind of house.

4. verbs:
fét aworséc change into a fet fish! (§ 270).
/fet fish / change into/

amás ancĕmés they usually eat sago.
sago /they usually eat/

no mémtomir ów
me /accompany to the other side/ people
people who (want to) accompany me to the other side (of the river).

5. the postpositions *aráw, nat, am* (see §§ 245, 246, 248).

193

There are a number of kinship terms which are always linked to a personal-possessive pronoun. They are:

(nor) amús(ĕwés)	(my) younger sister(s)
(nor) as, asakáp	„ *papis*-partner
(no) miwís	„ husbands
(nor) mó	„ husband
(no) nep	„ child
(nor) em	„ wife
(nur) epíc(ĕwés)	„ older sister(s)
(nor) epúc(ĕwés)	„ older brother(s)
(nor) ewúc(ĕwés)	„ younger brother(s)
(nur) ísipís	„ parents
(nur) ícipíc	„ father [34]
(nor) ó	„ grandchild
(nor) ófajís	„ grandparents
(nor) ófew	„ kinsmen belonging to another *jew* than one's own
(nor) óswuc	„ mother [34]
(nor) ótipíc	„ brother (said by a sister)
(nor) ówtiw	„ brothers (said by a sister)
(no) pús, purís, parwís	„ daughter
(nur) upís, pis	„ grandchildren
(no) sín(opís)	„ wife (wives) (said by a husband)
(no) sók	„ grandmother
(nor) wá	„ brother-in-law
(nor) wés	„ sons
(nor) wét	„ namesake
(nur) wís	„ sisters-in-law

(nur) wíc	„ father [34]
(no) wopís	'the people of my age'
(no) wós	(my) mother [34]

IV PROPER NAMES

Grouping

194

Proper names fall into two groups:

1. one group consisting of names of persons and names of rivers;
2. one group consisting of names of villages and names of ceremonial houses (*jew*).

Names of persons and names of rivers

195

Derivatives can be formed from names of persons and names of rivers by adding the suffixes *-akáp* or *-simít*.
When *-akáp* is suffixed to a person's name, it indicates that that person is the younger of two namesakes; when *-simít* is suffixed to a person's name, it indicates that that person is the elder of two namesakes:

Tewérawuc	(women's name)
Tewérawúcakáp	small T. (T. junior)
Tewérawutsimít	big T. (T. senior).

When *-akáp* and *-simít* are suffixed to names of rivers, they serve to distinguish two identically names rivers from each other. The name of the smaller of the two acquires the suffix *-akáp*, that of the larger, the suffix *-simít*:

Mow	(name of a river)
Mówakáp	the small Mow
Mówsimít	the big Mow.

[34] The current terms for father and mother are *niwí* and *ěnéw*; *ícipíc*, *óswuc*, *wic* and *wos* I found in texts only. The difference in meaning between *ícipíc* and *wic*, *óswuc* and *wos*, is not clear to me. From the texts I get the impression that *wic* and *wos* are used only when referring to persons belonging to one's own family.

196

The following kinship terms link up with the proper names:

ĕnéw mother — *ĕnéwakáp* younger sister of father or mother; *enésmit* (< *ĕnéw-simít*) grandmother

niwí father — *niwíakáp* younger brother of father or mother; *nísmit* (< *niwí-simít*) grandfather

wet namesake: *wétakáp/wétsimít* 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:

village	the ceremonial houses (*jew*) belonging to the village
Jepém	*Jepém, Apoków, Kosér, Mos.*
Surú	*Surú, Setmót, Ar, Awór, Majít.*
Amanamkáj	*Amán, Namkáj, Awók.*
Amísu	*Amíw, Su.*

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 Tewérawúc I am Tewérawuc; *ná Jepém* we are from Jepém.
   já Matámjen that Matámjen (persons name); *e Jepém* over there, in Jepém.
   Tewérawuc ár in the direction of Tewérawuc.
   Jepém a to Jepém.
   ca Miwirpic ar'áma! who is this Miwírpic! (§ 273).
   who M. pp pp

4. verbs:
   Jispáripic ájmirímtiwér It was the fault of Jispáripic.
   Jomót ajíser He rowed out of the Jomót.

5. postpositions:
   aráw, am, enĕrím, 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, -iríw
-nakás, (-eré)
-picím

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(iríw)* and *-picím* (see § 204).

Morphological valence

200

The suffix *-nakáp* has here the semantic value of 'much, to a high degree':

jiníc slack	*jinítnakáp* very slack, weak
sirí quick	*sirínakáp* very quick
kikí close together	*kikínakáp* very close together.

The suffix *-nakás,* similarly, has the semantic value of 'much, to a high degree':

nemcén angry, pugnacious	*nemcénakás* furious, very pugnacious
jepén recent	*jepénakás* very recent.

The material is not decisive in respect of the distribution of *-nakáp* and *-nakás*; a distinct correlation with singular and plural, respectively, such as occurs in parallel formations with the substantive, was only found with *pacák* - bad (discussed below). In all other cases, this does not occur:

emák kikínakáp having a quantity of bones (said of fish).
bones /very close together/

onów kikikikikikínakás
thatch
pieces of thatch laid very, very close together.

jepénakáp; *jepénakás* in the recent past, still very new.

The material is, however, too limited to allow of a decision whether *-nakáp* and *-nakás* are interchangeable in these cases and are thus alternants. Bearing in mind the case of *pacák* (§ 202), they will be provisionally regarded as two separate suffixes.

201

On the basis of the derivatives with *-nakáp,* secondary derivatives can be formed with the suffix *-iríw,* which serves to emphasize the semantic value of *-nakáp*:

jiníc slack; *jinítnakáp* very slack; *jinítnakápiríw* 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*:

	pácakáp	*pacákapiríw*
pacák		
	(not found)	*pacákaseré*

These derivatives express intensity of feeling. *Pácakáp* is used to express compassion, for example:

newét pacakáp! my poor man! (said by a wife about a deformed husband).

Pacákapiríw and *pacákaseré* can be translated by: worthless, miserable, deuced. This is the only case in which the derivative with *-apiríw* indicates the singular number, in contrast to the derivative with *-aseré* which here indicates the plural number:

a acír pacákapiríw!
that *acir* bad
that confounded *acir* (store for sago on the collar beams of the house).

a juwús pacákaseré /miníp manimcĕmí/!
those names bad /I always forget/
those deuced names, I always forget!

203

The suffix *-picím* indicates a relative degree:

awút large	*awútpicím* rather large
jiwínakáp small	*jiwínakápicím* rather small
tarí long ago	*taripicím* rather long ago

Cases of transposition

204

The case of *jiwínakáp* small, of which the derivatives *jiwínakápnakáp* very small, *jiwínakápnakápiríw* 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*):

nemsánakáp slow
nemsá: I only came across this word as an exhortation:
nemsá! don't hurry!, be careful!

I do not know if *sétnakáp* narrow, and *karésnakáp* thin, laid out far apart (of atap) are derivatives: I did not find an underlying form *set* and *kares*.

Syntactical valence

205

Adjectives can form groups with:

substantives: *aj* young, new, is the only adjective that always precedes a substantive:

áj cem a new house
áj jipíc a beginner, newcomer.

The other adjectives can precede as well as follow a substantive.
An adjective precedes the substantive when a certain emphasis falls on the former:

ów akát good people
akát ow good people (in contrast to bad people)
ów tarí old people
tarí ow people from the distant past, ancestors.

proper names:

Natinák omér N. is afraid.

verbs:

ew áj 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 jiwínaká́p 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:

tarí 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
sirí 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

cakámkaj ?, in:

focó cakámkaj skinny

ut very, in:

awút ut very large

cowák 'totally', in:

akát cowák very good

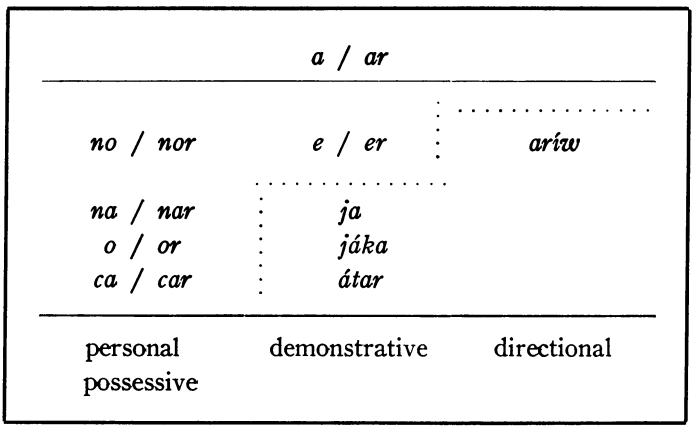
VI DEICTIC WORDS

Introduction

206

Asmat has a number of deictic words which fall into two main groups: I. non-interrogative pronouns; II. interrogative pronouns.

I. The non-interrogative pronouns, if we set aside the derivative forms, can be set out in the following scheme:



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.[36]

II. The interrogative pronouns are *ca/com, ucím* and *ucínak/ucí/uc.* In this group the neutral deictic word *a/ar* does not occur, nor do word-variants with and without final *r.* The reasons for treating them as one group will be given in § 232.

The non-interrogative pronouns

1. *The personal possessive class*

207

This class consists of four personal possessive pronouns, to which the neutral deictic word *a/ar* is added:

A	B	
no	*nor*	I
na	*nar*	we
o	*or*	you (s.)
ca	*car*	you (pl.)
. . . . .	. . . . .	
a	*ar*	he, they

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, -ĕma/-ĕmar,* and *-ma/-mar.* See §§ 120, 136, 144.

Distribution of variants.

208

When a personal possessive pronoun is linked to a substantive, we find the B variant before a substantive beginning with a vowel; the A variant before a substantive beginning with a consonant:

nor amás my sago; *no 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:

no ém my drum; *o ó* your pig;

Besides these, however, one always finds:

nor ém my wife; *or ó* your grandchild.

It is possible that here the homonymy has led to a need for differentiation.

nas 'it is mine', occurs as well as the regular construction *nor ás* 'it is mine'.

2. when the personal possessive pronoun is linked to one of the following substantives, all of which belong to the group of kinship terms that occur exclusively linked to one of these pronouns (see § 193): Here, the B variant occurs before substantives beginning with *m* or *w*:

1.	*mo*	husband	*nor mó, or mó,*	etc.
2.	*wa*	brother-in-law	*nor wá, or wá,*	„
3.	*wes*	sons	*nor wés, or wés,*	„
4.	*wet*	namesake	*nor wét, or wét,*	„
5.	*wopís*	'people of the same age'	*no wopís,* but: *or wopís,*	„
6.	*wos*	mother	*no wós,* but: *or wós,*	„

In one case has the personal possessive pronoun 1st. pers. sing. a variant *new,* in four cases a variant *nur*; in all these cases, the personal possessive pronoun 2nd. pers. sing. has a variant *ur*. These variants occur when these pronouns are linked to the following substantives:

1.	*ísipís*	parents	*new ísipís, ur ísipís*
2.	*ícipíc*	father	*nur ícipíc, ur ícipíc*
3.	*pis*	grandchildren	*nur pís, ur pís*

4. *epíc*	elder sister	*nur epíc, ur epíc*
5. *wis*	sisters-in-law	*nur wís, ur wís*

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 *aráw* (§ 245):
nór aráw, "...." *inim eóf* I then said: "...."
I pp so /I spoke/

e. the postposition *aw* (§ 257):
nór aw (yes) it is only I (reassuringly).

4. in sentences like:

ór enakáp nór enakáp, júmamtámfawos
you small I small /they intended us for each other/
when we were both very small, they intended us for each other (§ 280).

ór a /jó ajpím/ inim mapí, nór a /jó ajpím/ 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 cám; ó com ám who are you?
you who; you who pp

211

For the remaining cases, it was not possible to establish a constant difference in distribution between the A variant and the B variant. The A variant was found in the vast majority of cases. Both forms occur in identical or similar environments in which no difference in meaning is discernible and it is thus probable that in these cases the two variants can alternate freely:

o/or cowák aráw an are you the only one? (§ 290).
you one pp pp

no/nor pók memtém emín I shall take care of the food
I food /take care off / I shall/

no/nor áwapi aráw here I am; here I sit.
I /sit here/ pp

Only in one isolated case, namely, when they are linked to the word *omér,* was a difference in meaning found between the A and the B variant:

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.

212

no/nor points to the speaker of the sentence in which *no/nor* occurs:

nó or ěnéw aráw I am your mother.
I your mother pp

na/nar points to a group of persons to which the speaker of the sentence in which *na/nar* occurs belongs, or to which he considers himself to belong:

ná Jepém ow we are people of Jepem.
we Jepem people

o/or points to the person to whom the sentence in which *o/or* occurs is directed:

ó Miwír en are you Miwir(pic)?
you M. pp

ca/car points to a group of persons to whom the sentence in which *ca/car* occurs is directed, or to whom the person spoken to belongs or is considered to belong at the time of speaking:

car arásen ememíc you must remain here!
you here remain

a/ar points to a person or persons other than those, indicated by *no/nor, na/nar, o/or* and *ca/car*:

ár enakáp, nór enakáp, jumamtáměrawós
he small I small /they intended us for each other/

when he and I were still small, they intended us for each other (§ 280).

When these pronouns are linked to a substantive, they can have a possessive meaning:

nor ĕnéw no niwí my mother and father (see also § 208).

Morphological valence.

213

Derivatives can be formed by suffixing *-ma, -ap/-pa, -ow, -am,* and *-m* to the B variant.

The forms with the suffix *-ma* have a semantic element in common which can be translated by: self, oneself, of one's own accord, or reflexively by: myself, etc. In the cases noted, the derivatives with *-ma* are always linked to a verb:

normá mací emi I myself will cut it up.
/I myself / cut up / I will it/

normá atewérfin I have fetched you of my own accord (§ 283).
I- /fetched you/

sej sí normá sakamóf I cut myself with an axe.
iron axe myself /I cut/

armá mápjit ás pow it is not something that will grow by itself.
self /to grow/ thing not

se armá wuápmor ín he himself buried him (§ 274).
ground self /he buried him/ pp

214

The derivatives with the suffix *-ap/-pa* all have a semantic element which can be translated by: alone, secluded.

Distributionally, the forms with *-ap* and with *-pa* exclude each other: the derivatives with *-pa* occur only when linked to a verb; derivatives with *-ap* are never linked to a verb:

orpá mempór pow! only you won't do it! (§ 283).
/only you / will do/ not

nám a norpá emapí cowák
I here alone /I sat/ continually
I have sat here the whole time on my own.

wasén arpá sorápĕres ín they lived quite alone in the forest.
forest /they alone / they lived/ pp

naráp /ow somót/ emcóma! we are an independent group (§ 320).
/we alone/ group /we are/

op aráp sipám un, cenés aráp sipám un
above /it alone / row of collar-beams/ pp below /it alone/ row pp
(in the house) there was a separate row of collar-beams above, and a separate row of collar-beams below (§ 321).

When these derivatives are linked to a substantive, they can have a possessive meaning:

noráp tapín my own sleeping mat, mine alone.

One exception to the above mentioned rule of distribution was found: the derivative with *-ap* as well as that with *-pa* occurs linked to an element *min,* which appears to be an emphasizing element:

caráp min; *carpá min* you alone (with emphasis).

215

The derivatives with the suffix *-am* have a semantic element which can be translated by: in (his) turn, on the other hand, however:

náram ám naráp /ow somót/ emcóma
we too /we alone/ group /we are/
we, too, are an independent group (§ 320).

arám ja atmár araw ún, arám 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).

Fét am arám, "...." iním aer ín Fet, in his turn, said.... "...."
Fet and /he in his turn/ ....so /he spoke/ pp
(§ 270).

216

The derivatives with the suffix *-ow* have a semantic element which can be circumscribed as emphasis on the person or persons in question, to the exclusion of others:

norów aporóf I saw it (not you).

cowúc akát norów tetámfĕnem áw
wife beautiful me /you gave me/ pp
you have indeed given me a beautiful wife (and not to others).

cepés manám arów maf, owér masájwut opów
women /in love / they only/ are, husbands choose not
women do fall in love, but the choice of a husband is not theirs (§ 283).

217

The derivatives with *-m* are:

nam (1st. pers. sing. & pl.)
om (2nd. pers. sing.)
cam (2nd. pers. pl.)
am (3rd. pers. sing. & pl.)

Unlike the orther derivatives, it is impossible in these cases to decide which variant is the underlying form. Is *-m* suffixed to the A variant or does it replace the *r* of the B variant? Furthermore, here both *no/nor* and *na/nar* have a derivative *nam.*
The semantic element common to these derivatives can be translated by: also, concerning; often it can only be circumscribed as slight emphasis on the person or persons in question.

náma! I, too!

nam asén akát emámsió I lie in a good place, I do! (§ 314).
I place good /I lie/

nam ám namsón pak I don't know it either!
I either /I know not/

When a personal possessive pronoun is linked to a substantive and is preceded by an *-m* derivative, it lays stress on 'possession':

nám no ci (its) my canoe!
I my canoe

óm or as (its) yours!
you your thing

ám a papís cowúc (she is) his own *papís*-woman!
he his papís woman

In fact, the *-m* derivatives *om, cam* and *am* were found almost exclusively in this construction; *nam,* on the other hand, occurs frequently in other contexts, see the previous examples.

218

Summing up, we can say that all these derivatives refer to relations between persons. If we call the persons concerned A and B, then we can set out the following scheme:

derivatives	meaning
-ap/-pa	A only
-ma	A without (assistance of) B
-ow	A excluding B
-am	A as opposed to B
-m	A as well as B A, as distinct from B

Syntactical valence.

219

The personal possessive pronouns can form groups with:

substantives:	*no cém*	my house
proper names:	*no Téawuc*	I am Teawuc
adjectives:	*no omér*	I am afraid
verbs:	*nó matewét*	I will have it
	wów, car áfĕri	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*

220

This class consists of the demonstrative pronoun *e/er,* the neutral pronoun *a/ar* and the three demonstrative pronouns without variants: *ja, jáka* and *átar.*

A		B
a	/	ar
e	/	er
	ja	
	jáka	
	átar	

221

The A variant was always found, except in the following cases; in these, the B variant occurred exclusively:

1. as the single word in a sentence:
   ar here; *er* there.

2. linked to the directional pronouns:
   ár ar this way; *ér ar* that way, over there.

3. linked to:

   aráw (§ 245) *ár aráw* this is it; here it is.
   ér aráw that is it.

masěrím	*ár masěrím*	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: *éra!* hey, there!

222

a/ar points to:

1. that which is by, or in the direct neighbourhood of the speaker:
   a fér ca serápmorémè
   this /fish trap/ who /you put it down/
   who are you, who have put down this fish trap? (§ 269).

jismák, a pér afámtiwít fire, burn up this mouse! (§ 266).
fire, this mouse /burn it/!

2. the locality of the events told of (in a tale):

a nesén /os wá [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 mupicín atáwatic*
this Sunday one children all new clothes receiving
this very Sunday, all the children will get new clothes.

The demonstrative pronoun *a/ar* often occurs without its pointing to anything definite. I got the impression that this is the case when something is mentioned which has already been spoken of, or is presumed to be known to the listener:

Majít nucúr moporóm pak ín, a cém os
Majít ancestors /to show/ not pp the house poles
the house poles [already mentioned], they did not let the ancestors of the Majít people see them (§ 274).

a Watér nat "...." iním aer ín Watér then said: ....
- Watér pp so /he said/ pp

a amás jis akát, a pók jis akát étampormí a jím a enám
- sago roasted well - fish roasted well /I make for him/ - /fish net/ - fish

piewérmi, mán opów
/I catch many/ [but] eat not
I prepare tasty roasted sago, tasty roasted fish for him, I scoop up many fish with the net, but eat he does not! (§ 280).

---

[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.

223

e/er points to:

1. that which is distant from the speaker:

e cá ci ám whose is that canoe over there?
that whose canoe pp

2. to a point in time, neither simultaneous, nor almost so, with the time of the speech-event:

e asép enáwcaw /hari Rabu/ [39] *ará no karji* [39] *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 kapí cuwuc áp aw ún
/fish trap/ there closed /was present/ sitting pp pp
there in the distance stood the fish trap (in the river) closing it (§ 269).

4. *e/er* can also indicate a point that, in relation to another, is seen by the speaker as being the farther removed; or as the last one of a series: the distance is not then relevant.

esé jép er ár, jép er ár
bag side there to, side there to
a bag whose sides reach from there to there (the speaker stretches out his arms on either side) (§ 285).

e/er can occur without pointing to anything definite, // *a/ar*:

enám a Wok tetám, a Mís tetám, é a niwí tetám, iním aéf
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 ísipís aráw siriá, arásen momásiénawút
- your parents pp quickly here /presently you must come together/
as regards (you and) your parents, presently you must come together here quickly! (§ 275).

---

[39] Hari Rabu; karji: loan-words from Malay. *karji* = kerdja.

224

ja points specially to the person spoken to: (that) there with you:

ja ucím pok tówomkonáwmem
that what thing /you bring with you here/
what is that thing you bring with you?

ja émorem ánam aráw
that /you work up/ middle pp
that part you have been working on is the *ánam* (middle part of the pith of the sago palm) (§ 299).

no já or mó /manám maf/ páka!
I that your husband like not
I don't like that husband of yours! (§ 281).

225

jáka points to everything that is not at too great a distance from the speaker.
Before a word beginning with a vowel, sometimes *jak* is found instead of *jáka*:

jak ápori look there (beside: *ar áporí,* look here! and *er ápori* look over there!)

jáka jowówa! hey, you there!
there people

cí jáka erén a! (let's go) a length upstream with the canoe! (§ 269).
canoe there upstream to

226

átar was only found in a few cases in the texts. It seems to me that *átar* only differs in meaning from the demonstrative *a/ar* by a certain emphasis:

átar enám amás néwirum néwa!
that fish food /we ate always/ perhaps
perhaps it was fish we always ate formerly! (§ 302).

a cí nat átar jís ci nim makmák araw ún
his canoe pp there firewood canoe like /piled up/ pp pp
in his canoe, now, there they lay piled up high (the corpses) like a canoe with firewood in it.

227

The demonstrative pronouns form groups with:

substantives: *a esé* this bag; *ja esé* that bag (with you); *jáka esé* that bag there; *e esé* that bag over there.

proper names: *a Jepém* here in Jepém; *e Kájmo* the village of Kájmo, away over there; *ja Matámjen* Matámjen there, near you.

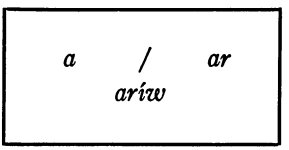
directional pronouns: *ar á* this way; *er á* that way. (not found with *ja, jáka, átar*).

with *aráw, masěrim, nim, picirim* (§ 221).

3. *The directional class*

228

This class consists of only two members: the directional pronoun *aríw*, and the neutral pronoun *a/ar*:



229

a/ar points in a certain direction:

wásen á to the forest
nor á to me

The B variant was always found before the question markers *en, pen*, before the 'quotative' marker *in/un*, and before the final *a, o* or *è* which were mentioned in § 33 and § 34.

ár ará this way!
here to!

ó nor ár pen are you going for me?
you me to pp

o mokót ar en are you going to the sago garden?
you /sago garden / to it/

no mokót aró yes, I am going to the sago garden.
I /sago garden / to it/

e jowów mokót ar ín
those people /sago garden / to it/ pp
they are on their way to the sago garden, so it is said.

In the other cases, the A and the B variant seem to alternate freely.

230
aríw indicates that the point to which the movement is directed has been reached:

e jowów mokót aríw they are at the sago garden.
those people /sago garden / to it/

káper[40] *Merauke aríw*
boat Merauke /to it/
the boat (which left here) has arrived at Merauke.

Syntactical valence
231
Directional pronouns can form groups with substantives, personal possessive pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Examples were already given in § 229.

Interrogative pronouns

Characteristics

232
There are three interrogative pronouns:

ca/com	who, whose
ucím	what, which, how, how many, how much
ucínak/ucí/uc	where.

These will here be treated as a group for the following reasons:

1. they can occur in combination with a postposition *am,* which only occurs in combination with interrogatives;
2. they can only occur with particular forms of the verb.

ca/com: *ca* occurs in all cases except immediately preceding the postposition *am*: in this case *com* occurs.

[40] *káper*: loan-word from Malay, = kapal.

ucím: only once in a text a form *ucíp* was found instead of *ucím*.

ucínak/ucí/uc: *ucínak* is probably a compound formed with *ucí* and *nak* true, actual; *ucínak* occurs in all cases except those given below. *ucí* was found only once in a context in which one would expect *ucínak*: this case is given in § 233 under *ucínak*.
uc occurs before the directional pronouns *a/ar* and *aríw*.
In addition, *ucí* and *uc* occur in the two alternating forms *uciè* and *ucè*, which occur in contexts in which the speaker expresses annoyance or uneasiness. These forms have the final *è*, dealt with in § 33.
The syntactical valence of the interrogatives is still not fully known to me. The structure of the sentences in which they occur is not always clear. It can only be said with certainty that they can form groups with substantives and verbs.
I shall deal first with those cases in which the interrogatives occur in combination with *am*; then I shall discuss those in which they occur without *am*.

Interrogatives occurring in combination with am:

233

am only occurs in combination with interrogatives in non-verbal word-groups.
There are two exceptions: a. *uciè/ucè*, with which *am* never occurs; b. the word-group *ucínak* + positional verb, after which *am* does occur.

ca/com

a cá jipic ám who is this man?
this who man pp

cá Miwírpic ar' ám who is Miwirpic?
who Miwirpic pp pp

o cóm am who are you?
you who pp

Instead of *ó com ám, o cám* who are you, also occurs.

jírpu com ám who is angry?
angry who pp

awút jiwí com ám which is the biggest child?
big child which pp

ucím

a ucím pok ám what's this thing?
this what thing pp

ucím as ám what is it, what do you want?
what something pp

In the contexts in which *ucím* means how, how many, *am* is always preceded by the postposition *ar'* (see § 245):

ók ucím ar' ám how many eggs are there?
egg how many pp pp

ná ucím ar' ám what must we do now?
we how pp pp

o cí par ucím inim ar' ám how wide is your canoe?
you canoe wide /how much / like this/ pp pp

ucínak/ucí/uc

The postposition *am* is always preceded by the postposition *ar'*, when *am* occurs in combination with *ucínak*.

niwí ucínak ar' ám where is father?
father where pp pp

nó juwúr sis ucí 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. *niwí 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

234

am does not occur in verbal word-groups. The only exception is the word-group *ucínak* + positional verb + *ar am* as mentioned in the preceding.

The interrogatives can form groups with the verbal forms of Cat. 10 (conditional forms), Cat. 12 (habitual forms), Cat. 14 (progressive forms), Cats. 16 and 17 (ultimate- and mediate-past forms), and Cat. 24 (unproductive category of the positional verbs). The forms of category 10 always occur when the question relates to the future.

ca

a kanít ca cepés apíĕrés
these shrimps who women /they caught/
who are the women who have caught these shrimps?

no cá amkawícen who will go with me there.
me who /will go with me/

ucím

ucím emésmemá how did you do it tonight?
how /you did it tonight/

tiríf[40a] *ucím emamís*[41] how many letters are lying there?
letters /how many / lie there/

makík ucim ématamcém[41] 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] *tiríf*: loan-word from Malay: tulis - to write.
[41] For the prefix *em-* see § 179.

Usually, however, one finds before a verb the circumscription *ucím asén* which place, instead of *ucinak*:

tiríf ucím asén tiwirúmfem 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 *ĕ* 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!
uwú!	oh! alas!
je	fie!
jōj	an exclamation of surprise
ěmá	wait! be patient!
atów	come!
ajpáw	fine!
enamúc	come on!
ts	a sign of annoyance
'm	indicates a vigorous start to an action
s!	hey! I say!
noromúm [42]	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:

ekcá jimá	monster! misbegotten brat! (arse child!)
nés minó	weakling! (piece of meat)

Onomatopoeic interjections and words of command to animals

237

The rules of accentuation are only broken in this group. A phenomenon frequently occurring in this group is the repetition of the same element, usually one having one vowel. In this case the alternation of accented and unaccented vowels does not occur.

Examples of onomatopoeia:

sěsěsěsě	hissing of fire as it is put out
fěfěfěfěfě	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 cowak ém* - you are my only husband, or: *no miwis em* - you are my husbands, when one addresses more than one person.

ko,ko,ko,ko,ko	sound made by drums
kukuku	call of the *ojúm* 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:

njanjanjanjanja 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)
pére	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:

tepteptептep	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)
sopī, sopī	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
fafafafafa	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.[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:

I. The negations: *opák/pak, opów/pow*; *ópnaków/pěnaków, pok, čmár.*

II. The postpositions: on the basis of their function, these can be divided into:

1. emphasizing words: *aráw, nat, man*
2. conjunctions: *am, win, enčrím/ením, cin*[44]
3. question markers: *en/an, opén/pen, am*[2]
4. the dubitative marker: *ew*
5. the irrealis marker: *aj*

---

[43] The only exception to this is *enčrím/ením* which is always placed between proper names.

[44] There are still three other conjunctions: *másinerím/masnerim/maserím/miséřím/masním* then; *wunám* again; *maríw/maréw/marí/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: *aw*
7. the quotative marker: *in/un/n.*

Lastly, I will discuss three elements of which the function is still not clear to me: *in/un/n*[2], *am*[3], and *aw.*

Negations

239

Only the following forms of the verb can precede negations:

1. the *m-/mV-* and the *m-/mV-áji* forms:
2. the tense and tense-aspect categories of verbs of which the core contains the formative *por* = to wish, to try to. These verbal forms only occur in combination with *opák/pak, opów/pow* and *ópnaków/ pěnaków.* These negations then express a contrariness which can be translated by: but no, but in vain.

240

opák/pak not, without

opák and *pak* alternate freely, except after verbs with the formative *por,* where *opák* always occurs. *pak* was usually found after the *m-/mV-* and the *m-/mV-áji* forms of the verb; in other cases *opák* was usually found.

opák/pak can form groups with:

the *m-/mV-* forms of the verb: *mópor pák emóf* I did not see it;
see not /did I/

substantives: *amás opák* there is no sago
adjectives: *akát opák* it is not good
personal possessive pronouns: *or pák* not you
cowák one, all: *opák cowák* absolutely not
wut much, many: *opák wut* by no means
pak not: *opák pak* really! positively!
not not

Cases in which *opák* is preceded by the verbal forms mentioned in § 239, 2. are:

Serέw matowój un arewfájporamár opák in
/people of Serέw / in order to kill/ pp /they assembled/ not pp
the people of Serέw gathered to kill her, but in vain (§ 338).

"manίc" ajípor 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:

Sajít 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).

otáwporéwirín opów
/continually I gave you advice/ not
I 've always given you advice, but you won't listen!

242

ópnaków/pěnaków

ópnaków, or *pěnaków*, 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.

ópnaków/pěnaków was found linked with the *m-/mV-* forms of the verb, and with adjectives:

manapór pěnaków 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 jimín pěnaków 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, cí tarí 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*[2].
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:

ajiníwnimés ará there they are, all coming back.
atawfém aráw you said it.

The group: *m-/mV-* form of the verb + *ará/aráw* expresses requirement:

mósirimták araw án is it necessary to row down the river again? (§ 269).

substantives:

cowúc cém ará the woman is at home (§ 265).
woman house pp

maré, atów ará then, there is play (§ 264).
then play pp

proper names:

Watér aráw, mú aníser ín then, Watér went into the water (§ 270).
W. pp water /he went into/ pp

personal possessive pronouns:

nór aráw, ó matewér emín I want to take you with me (§ 280).
I pp you /take with / I want to/

demonstrative pronouns:

ár aráw here is it, this is it.
ér aráw there it is, that's it.

the postposition *man*:

aráw man naturally, certainly.

246

nat/na

nat and *na* alternate freely.
nat/na places a slight emphasis on the word or the word-group preceding it.

nat/na can form groups with:

substantives:

cowút nat jiwínakap ín the girl (in contrast) was quite small.
girl pp small pp

proper names:

a Watér nat "...." iním aer ín
Watér pp so he spoke pp
Watér (in his turn) said: .... (§ 269).

personal possessive pronouns:

no nát o jimín emcío I am fond of you.
I pp you /fond of / I am/

When the pronoun *a/ar* is the subject of a sentence it is always linked to *nat*:

a nát, ó mopórtewét emenè
he pp you /to take / he wants you/
he wants to take you (as a wife) (§ 281).

directional pronouns:

ér na over there.

In the following cases, *nat/na* emphasizes the word-group preceding it:

amás os nát opák in then there were no sago palms (§ 289).
sago palm pp not pp

mitúr wut nát, pasték wut nát, 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 *aráw,* see § 245.

A few other cases are:

no pók araw mán it's mine!
my thing pp pp

ér araw mán that's it! that's right!
that pp pp

2. *Conjunctions*

248

am also, and.

am can be linked to substantives, proper names and personal possessive pronouns:

onów am, ós am thatch and wood.
thatch pp wood pp

púw atéwer ín firkóm am amán am
spear /he took/ pp, /heavy arrow/ pp bow pp
he took a spear, and also a heavy arrow and a bow, . . (§ 277)

nám am, namsóm pak I also don't know.
I also /I know/ not

nor ám, or ám you and I.
I pp you pp

249

win all, one by one.

win can only be linked to substantives:

cí win, cí win, cí win all the canoes, one after the other.
canoe pp canoe pp canoe pp

mokót win ásasakájesef ín, mokót win ásasakájesefē
/sago garden/ pp /she passed, coming/ pp /sago garden/ pp /she passed, coming/
she passed one sago garden after another, on her way here .... (§ 307).

250

eněrím/ením and.

eněrím, freely alternating with *ením,* only occurs between proper names:

Pisím eněrim Wasí	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.

cín 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 cín he and his son, Juwútakap.
his son pp Juwútakap pp

When linked to personal possessive pronouns *cin* is translatable with 'both':

ná cin both of us; *cá cin* or *ó cin* both of you.

With the interrogative *ca*:

o cá cin ám who is with you?
you who pp pp

A few other cases:

Taweríc, ar ewúc Jíw cin Taweríc and his brother Jiw (§ 336).
Taweríc his brother Jiw pp

But: *Taweríc, eněrim Jíw* Taweríc and Jiw (see § 250).

no sínakap cin anijíc go home now, you and my little wife § 292).
my /little wife/ pp /go home/

ar ém cin, ar mó cin the man and his wife.
his wife pp her husband pp

3. *Question markers*

252

en/an

en and *an* appear to alternate freely; *en* occurs most frequently. After *aráw,* however, *an* always occurs.
en/an occurs in interrogative sentences in which an inquiry is made regarding the identiy of a person or a thing, or about the nature of something. It can be linked to verbs, substantives and adjectives:

apórmem én	are you looking at it?
enám en	is it fish?
awút en	is it big?

A few other cases are:

játakám jurúw en is the story long?
story long pp

tó nuwúwfokom én did you set out yesterday?
yesterday /you set out/ pp

ó Tewér en are you Tewér(awuc)?
you Tewér pp

253

opén/pen

opén, freely alternating with *pen,* occurs in sentences in which: a. an inquiry is made about the presence of something or the occurrence of something:

enám pen is there any fish?

mú emésusumá pen is the water already boiling?
water /it boils already/ pp

no mémtomir ów opén is there someone who can take me across?
me /to take across/ people pp

b. an inquiry is made about the possibility of something happening, or permission is requested to do something. In these cases *opén/pen* always occurs after the *m-/mV-* form of the verb:

nó a cém mifís 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

am[2]

This *am* which is not identical with the conjunction *am,* occurs only at the end of word-groups containing an interrogative. Since it has been discussed in paragraphs 232 and 233, it will not be dealt with again here.

4. *The dubitative marker ew*

255

With some exceptions which will be mentioned later, *ew* always occurs in combination with either the interrogative form of the verb, with an interrogative, or with one of the question markers *en/an* and *opén/pen.* Sentences with *ew* express a doubt or an assumption:

with the interrogative form of the verb:

ěnéw niwí pacáseánes éwa! [45a]
mother father /did they kill them/ pp!
have they perhaps killed mother and father (on the river)?

mów emépasán ew are the pandanus fibres already dry? (§ 284).
/pandanus fibres / are they already dry/ pp

with an interrogative:

já ucím pemof éw well, how should I have done it? (§ 327).
that how / did it/ pp

na ucím jo ár' am éw by which river are we? (§ 340).
we which river pp pp pp

[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 néw perhaps (he had) a big ulcer (§ 331).
ulcer big pp

ucím o amítěrém, jipít new, penés new
/what kind/ pig /you speared/, male pp female pp
what kind of pig did you spear, a boar or a sow?

Exceptions are the verbs of which the core consists of or ends in a positional root: *ew* then occurs instead of *new* and alternates with *aw*:

namúj pámis aw is my brother-in-law perhaps (lying) there?
/brother-in-law / does he lie/ pp

pápes ew are they perhaps at home?
/they sit/ pp

amán pómcem éwa! [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*

257

aw is used to express delicate differences in the feelings of the speaker, e.g.:

reassurance: *nór aw* it's only I.

disappointment: *wasén cow opák aw!*
forest /sago palms/ not pp
there are no (good) sago palms in the forest (§ 279).

anxiety: *niwí nat áw* where has father got to?
father pp pp

querulousness: *a esé awút kor new áw*
this bag big too pp pp
this bag is perhaps too big! (§ 285).

7. *The quotation marker in/un/n*

258

in/un/n occurs in sentences containing a quotation in direct or in indirect speech, or containing a statement made from hearsay.
It's noteworthy that the rule of distribution obtaining for *in/un* is parallel to that which applies to the verbal formatives *itúm/utúm, it/ut* and to a number of verbal suffixes (see § 91): *un* occurs after word-final *m* (except after *em,* to stand), and after word-final *p, w* or *f* preceded by *a, o* or *u,* except after *ap* to sit. *in* occurs in the other cases. *n* [46] 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]

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[46] With exception of a few interjections, and n^2 (§ 259), *n* is distinguished from all other words by the absence of vowels. In order to indicate that in *n* a vowel has been dropped, I shall write *'n*. The same applies to n^2.

[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, Miwírpic /jiwís tuwséf/ aráw new ín, cí napí
hey, upstream Miwirpic /who moved away / it is/ perhaps pp canoe white

é nimár araw ún, e jó pu /mu ján/ asórmonimár
there /comes downstream/ pp pp there river on current /it follows downstream/
araw ún
pp pp
"Hey, they say that there upstream — perhaps its Miwirpic who moved away — a white canoe comes floating down, it follows the current there in the middle of the river!" (§ 301).

An abundance of cases can be found in the texts.

Elements of which the function is not clear

259
in/un/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:

(per), am ék man ín jisapcéj
(mouse), am fruit /to eat/ pp /come outside and sit/
mouse, come outside and sit down to eat up the am fruit! (§ 266).

pó mipipím un ámeremer ín
midribs /to cut off/ pp /he went there/
he went there to cut off midribs (of the sago palm) (§ 267).

The *m-/mV-* forms of the verb do, however, occur in comparable constructions without *in/un/n²*.

sér matáw ajisápĕres ín
/set fish / to catch / they went onto land and sat/ pp
they went onto the land to sit down and catch the ser fishes (§ 272).

I was not able to discover a difference in meaning between this construction and that with *in/un/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:

jipít, /mán fe'n/ ajimómcĕmés
boy wrist /they drag him along/
they drag the boy along by the wrist (§ 265).

e akát ow, e akát cepés ín porerémteweră, pacáksere ów pacák cepés,
the fit men the fit women pp /choose repeatedly/, unfit men unfit women
towofá, inim aer ín
/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:

/se'n/ ajáwniámar ín 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 jíremóf I walked with bowed head (§ 309);
/bowed head/ pp /I went/

as well as:

júmus jiremé́f
/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-ěrés
/peace-making ceremony/ good undisturbed pp /they did/
they held their peace-making ceremony properly, without disturbance.

móc am ajatámniamár she returned, wailing all the time.
wailing pp /she returned/

But, in a comparable case, *in* instead of *am* occurs after *moc*:

móc in ajatámsiěres ín 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 eněrím Jitúrcem cuwúc opef áw
Patépo and Jitúrcem /at that time / he sat with/ pp
at that time he lived with Patépo and Jitúrcem (§ 311).

PART IV

TEXTS

INTRODUCTION

Recording and presentation

262

The ten stories presented here are only a selection of those recorded on tapes. Eight of the stories were narrated by youths of 14 to 17 years of age and the recordings were made either at my house in Ágats or in my house in Jepém. One story, (VI), was told by a woman and was recorded in her own house and one, (X), narrated by an older man, was recorded in the ceremonial house.

During the narration, the speaker sat cross-legged on the ground on a sleeping mat, according to Ásmat custom. And, since the stories were being told to an audience, the hand microphone, on its holder, was placed on the ground in front of the narrator. A number of listeners were always present during the recording sessions. The speaker was only interrupted during the telling of the story when a new tape had to be put on.

The recorded stories were later transcribed and translated with the help of my informants. For the transcripts, they repeated the stories word by word, and the translating of each story was only done when the transcription had been completed.

The stories have been presented — as far as it has been practicable to do so — as they were told by the narrators: recapitulations, anacolutha, corrections made by the speakers, sudden changes of theme, and asides have been retained. Any errors of speech which, in my opinion, were a hindrance to the understanding of the texts have been deleted. The transcripts given here are based on the word-by-word repetition of the stories by my informants, who sometimes deviated from the original by using another word-variant, or another word, or by using an Ásmat word instead of a Malay word used by the narrator. In these cases the word used by the latter is given in a note.

To facilitate the reading of the texts these have been divided into relatively short paragraphs. One paragraph of the Ásmat text corresponds to one paragraph of the translation. If any notes occur in a

paragraph, these have been put at the end of it. For technical reasons the notes to the Ásmat text as well as the notes to the translation have been added to the Ásmat text.

The spelling of the texts is phonematic; the special phonological sounds are written as shown in § 32, note. The accent is always indicated. The *x* indicates the sound made by striking the cupped hand with the fist. The narrators sometimes did this when the passage dealt with chopping, striking, spearing, or when they wanted to indicate a thud or a crack, or a sudden start of an action. Since the striking of the cupped hand with the fist often wholly or partly took the place of a verbal description, it seemed advisable to indicate this sound in the transcription. A sentence such as: *Tawerîc amás* ... 'Tawerîc sago' ... cannot be understood unless the accompanying sounds made by the narrator are represented: *Tawerîc amás x x x x* 'Tawerîc chopped down sago palms'.

In addition, the following punctuation-marks will be used:

the comma, to indicate a non-final pause in the speech of the narrator;

the full stop, to indicate a final pause, after a non-exclamatory sentence;

the exclamation mark, to indicate a final pause after an exclamatory sentence;

the dash, to indicate a sudden change of theme;

quotation marks, to indicate statements in direct speech.

No capital letters will be used, except for proper names.

Individual details about the texts

263

I. (§ 264). Narrator: the informant *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 *watér* fish by its many bones. (Children are not allowed to eat the *watér* fish because it has so many bones).

V. (§§ 271 - 279). Narrator: *Warsé*. This story of *Owpacák* and

Cowútpacák is part of the history of the origin of the Majít group in Surú. The locale of the story is the Sepér, a sidestream of the Siréc (see map II). In the past, the people of Majít lived for some time on the Sepér.

VI. (§§ 280 - 302). Narrator: *Asépar*, the mother of my informant, *Natinák*. This story is about the origin of sago — the only story told by a woman. It differs in various details from the story of the origin of sago told to me later by *Warsékomen*, the chief of the ceremonial house Ar in Surú. Because this is the origin myth of the most important food of the Ásmat people, I shall give a short summary of both versions:

In *Asépar*'s version, 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 *kawaré* 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: *Simní*, 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 Serew, and how the majority of them were slain there. The story is a *tarí atakám*, a story regarded by the Ásmat people as historical. The happenings described in this story must have taken place at least a century ago.[2]

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[1] The only description of the *kawaré* 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 Fimiríw, and Tónjenap and Mújenap. The first story tells of the origin of mankind, the second, of a number of plants. In my opinion, various parts of the *kawaré* 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 Miwírpic.

In view of the preceding, the Kámoro word *kawaré* 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

264

ná amás mér, wásen á. amás mamánem, amás mawán. amás awcóm, amás esé atápomcĕmóm. amás esé tapómcom [1] misĕrím, ánicĕmóm. cém misĕrim ásetájcĕmom. amás áncom, marí atów ará. atów ecóm, wunám, porów, már atów me, arásen ajíniwenáwcĕmóm. már atów eitúmcom, ánicom, cém amás ancóm, marí is ápoamíscĕmóm.

[1] capómcom.

[a] i.e., from Surú to Ágats.

II

265

jipít, jéw emápcĕmá. cowút, cém ará. ájimsomícĕmés cowút jimsomít, jipít jímsomit écĕmes. jímsomícĕmés, cowút, jís atopómcĕmes jipít, mán fe'n ajimómcĕmés. ár ĕnéw, a niwí cém misĕrím áfiwomíwcĕmés.[1] fíwomíwcĕmes [2] masĕrím, marí, á ko iním ajíwemapómcĕmés. á ko jíwapómcĕmes, jókmen simtiwtámcĕmés.[3] amás án co símtiwtámcĕmés. marí, amás áncĕmés. amás, sí amamtámcĕmés. á pakajápcĕmes ów si amamtámcĕmes misĕrím marí, misit écĕmes misĕrím, séj in órowapómcĕmés awér kápmapómcĕmés. jófaj mísĕrim, marí amás mer jisomásmes. wasén, fawíc emásmewérmes. fawíc [4] emásmewérmes. cí niomúwcĕmés.[5] fawíc ésasmewérmes. cém setájcĕmés. wun jófaj amás mer jisásmes. ófasícĕmés. porów misĕrím, amás, cowúc, ár isipís, cém atówomiwtámcĕmés. tówomiwtámcĕmes pók am ámutámcĕmés. marí opák.

[1] fíomícĕmes; [2] fiomíwcĕmes; [3] simtitámcĕmes; [4] faít; [5] niomúcĕmes.

[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 *awér,* (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.

I

264

We go to the forest to get sago. To cut down a sago palm; to scrape out the sago. When we've scraped out the sago, then we put the sago in the bags. When we've filled the bags we go back. Then we arrive home. When we've eaten, there'll be play. When we've played then, in the afternoon, we all come here [a] to play football once more. When we've played football in the afternoon, and when we've gone back and have eaten at home, then we all go to sleep.

II

265

The boy sits in the ceremonial house. The girl is at home. They [a] 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.[b] 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 [c] push the bamboo tongs towards her. They push a basket with sago in it towards her. Then they [d] eat the sago. They [e] 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.[f] The *awér* is put on her.[g] The following day, they [e] 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.[h] 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.[i]

III

266

Macíw, mú amuámser ín. Ám ek arám op jirán aetéper ín. "Macíwa, ó na arpúka,[1] nó marí jirán mékurum mokójni[1] emí" ajípor opák in. a nát, "carpá min nát tepákokójniewérmokom. a ów mamís masĕrím cár mokokójnieweréji araw án" iním aer ín. "á, emémamsĕrém" iním aer ín. Ám ek óp ewtépkojér[2] cowák mísa namí anijámtiwer ín. "uwú mia uwú mia" iním aer ín. "pér, ase éwsiracém Am ék man ín jisapcéj" iním aer ín per ápsirér cowák, Am ék man in ájisaper ín. "wá, jismák, a pér afámtiwít" iním aer ín. jismák pér sĕsĕsĕ aómomáter ín. "té mumú anemúca" iním aer ín. té mumú anémor ín. marí, opák.

[1] mokóni; [2] éwtepkoér.

IV

267

Fét, amás mér, támiwcím[1] atíwkojer ín. amás mer támiwcím tiwkojér, jó atépsier ín, erén. jó tepsiér, wasén áiwísĕres ín. wasén áiwisĕrés, amás anímatíer ín ar mó. ar mó Fét.[2] apér ajáperer ín. apér aperér, anúk akér,[3] picin ám afafémor ín. picín afafémomasér, ar mó, amús átewerac ín. amús, cenám ájatmápmac ín amús atewérer ín, nés asákmor ín. nés áwkurmorés, — wunám ar ém atátmor ín a amús aráw. ar ém amús tatmór, ar ém amás nes ajáwor ín. ar mó aráw wunám, úmu áiwiénac[4] ín, pó mipipím un ámerémer ín. pó pipmór, po ámtawkenémtiwér misĕrím, émkurmór misĕrím, ar ém ará maré, "apím majít" iním aer ín. ar ém amás apím jiamár, amás apím ajiámar in tám ewemés. ar mó arám amás nes áwamar ín. awamár, amás apím jikurumorés,[5] amás am, ar mó amás nes áwkurumór, marí, amás nes áwkurumór masĕrím, mú afámsemáces ín. amás masirím esé atápmores ín.

[1] támjiwcím; [2] Watér; [3] akór; [4] ajénac; [5] júkurumores.

[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).

[b] Water is poured out over the pith that has been scraped out of the trunk and the pith is then squeezed in the hand to separate the sago which then runs down with the water into the sump trough, where it sinks to the bottom. As soon as the sump trough fills up with the water, the plug at the end is removed and the water flows away, leaving the sago. The process is repeated until the sump trough is full of sago. The caked mass of sago is then cut crosswise into pieces approximately 12 inches long. These pieces, which are flat on the top and convex at the bottom, are called *pomán* -half; often two *pomán* are put face to face thus forming a roll of sago; this is called *maj* -foot.

III

266

A Macíw snake lay asleep after bathing. A [bunch of] ripening Am fruit hung above it. "Macíw, 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.[a] 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[b] and put the sago meal in the carrying bag.

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ar mó cowó mokokómtewér, cowó eméner ín. cowó emenér, cowé kokómtawór, ar ém, cowé esé atówopmor ín. cowé esé towopmór, ar ém aráw, "wú copón pomátewerí,[1] cem, wú matáknap" iním aer ín. ar mó wú copón emátmor ín. wú aématmac ín, wú copón mátewér, wú asumór masĕrim, — ar ém am arám, amás esé tatapóm akát. pók am tatáfajimtíw akát. marí ar mó wu ámerátmor ín. wú sumomér, tówocinér masĕrím, "enamúc ánica" iním aer ín. a amás apím ará, átewerac ín, mirám ajíkonier [2] ín. mirám ajíkoniac [3] ín, cí anítitíwer ín a amás esé am cí nitowópmorés, ar ém mú amuór ar mó cin mú amuorés masirím cí asúwuwóres [4] ín. — wasén éwniĕrés mu ánimurés. mu ámuores [5] ín ci ásuwaces ín. marí aséperes ín. sépeĕrés, áptakĕres ín.

[1] pomáterít; [2] ajúkoniér; [3] ajúkoniác; [4] asúwores; [5] mu ámores.

269

Watér am arám, mú iním jímsemamár marí asírmeser ín fér maserapóm. fér masirím, a Fét ar ém cin sésiĕres jó, áserápmor ín. fer áserápmac ín wasén ajisémer ín. arám ásirímtakĕrés cowák ar ém cin, Fét am, ásirímtakĕrés cowák ar ém cin. sén, ar mó manmak ápemtakmór.[1] fér e kapí cuwuc áp aw ún a jó. "á, a fér ca serápmorémè" iním atákjiser ín. Watér wasén cuwuc emic aw ún, "ja fér nó serápmujá", iním ajinémor ín. "ĕmá fér serápmorém new, é wasén piním jépnakápiríw máokomémtamcín nor, — cí ara wasén piním mesétak" ajípor opák in. a Watér nat, "carpá min nat tépesájtakawérmokóm. wúnam a fér serapmúj masirím, mósirimták araw án" iním aer ín. iním ajiémer ín a capínmi. "á, ĕmá awút akát pak é jep ín okomémtamcín no cásirímtakcí", ajípor ópak ín. Watér nat, "carpá min nat tépesájtakawérmokóm" iním ajiémer ín. "á, emémeměrém" ájac in, "enamúc ci jáka erén a" iním aer ín. éren ásirímtepĕrés, ar ém cin éren ásirímtepĕrés cowák. e erén ewtopómsirímorés pó ji. éren

[1] ápemór.

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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.

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Then Watér came, just as the water began to go down, to put down a fish trap. And he put down the fish trap in the river which Fet and his wife had entered. When he'd put down the fish trap, he went ashore and stayed there. Now they came down the river; Fet and his wife came rowing quickly down the river. The man kept a sharp lookout downstream; there, in the distance, was the fish trap in the river, closing it. "Hey, who are you who've put down the fish trap?" he cried out from where he rowed downstream. Watér, who stood in the forest, said: "I've put that fish trap down there." "Oh, maybe you 're the one who's put the fish trap there, then roll up a little of the end that's on your bank, then I — the canoe, can go along by the bank," he said, but to no purpose. Watér said: "Why don't you go down the river when you're alone? Must you travel down the river just as I've put down a fish trap?" so he shouted out, standing on the land. "Oh, come, only a little gap; roll up the end for me, let me get through first!" he said, but in vain. Watér said: "Why don't you go down the river when you're alone?" "Since you are there...," (Fet) said. "Come, let's take the canoe upstream a bit," he said. They quickly

éwtopómsirímorés cowák marí fér jeten ín atapómterémores ín a jó pu. fér jo pú jeten ín atapómterémores ín.

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Watér am arám apán efa tíwsiritewerac [1] ín, Fét cuwúc emíc, maré mi picín, mitápmor ín. mí picin [2] ámitápmac ín, Fét am "á, nemcén emétemĕrém" iním aer ín. ásefasíac ín, amás apím, atíwtewerac [3] ín cuwúc emíc maré nám empámor ín. nám empamór misĕrim, mare owén ajípirsámores ín. owén amorés amorés amorés, "apán mitapmún aráw, Fét, Fet májawérnes. Fét aworséc" iním aer ín. Fét am arám, "amás apím emsokmún aráw, mú enám niáworséc Watéra. Watér emák kikínakap mómseawerí", iním aer ín. maré, Watér aráw, mú aníser ín. mu tíki ajípuor ín. fér am musúmtewér pak ín, mú wu ánijíser ín. Fét am arám, cí ewtépsowor cowák, mo mi'n ajístipser ín. mo mi'n jistipsér misĕrím, ów porá er,[4] mó amán tapíjiwá, ów opák aporá er,[4] mi'n jistipseá, iním aer ín. Watér am arám, ów porá er,[4] mú tiki jípuá ów opák aporá er,[4] súwapá, mú jipuá afún pupupu iním ajípuor ín. iním aémor ín. maré.

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[1] tiwsiterác; [2] mí pcín; [3] atíterac; [4] aporĕr.

[a] The *fet* is a fish that lives in small holes in the mud.

V

271

Ówpacák, Cowútpacák. a tíw Miwírpic. Majít nucur ín. sé caka jésmar jíwi mú. Majít nucur ín. sé caka jésmar ci sér mokokóm sen, cowák awuámsesmar ín. Ówpacák Cowútpacák, a tíw Miwírpic [1] ám, maré erém ajámuwésmar ín. erém amtakesmár, sé caka jésmar, sé pe mákan maré, sé ajiémĕres ín. pé akítmes ín. pé akitmés, pú mu am ákonawor ín. "maréwa, pú mu átewermára,[2] jáka erén mátetapmúca, erén máescésa",[3] iním aeres ín. erén jipít cowák ajírimtápmores ín, ów maté. erén tépkuruĕrés, cí anisájĕres ín. cí nisajĕrés, 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.

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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.[a] He stuck his nose up through a hole, and whenever he saw anybody, he went back into the hole, and whenever he saw that there was nobody, he stuck his nose up through the hole. That's what he did. Watér, in his turn, dived below with a splash when he saw anybody, and whenever he saw that there was nobody, he came above the water, and when he dived he blew air bubbles. That's what he did. That's all.

V

271

Ówpacak and Cowútpacak. Their son was Miwírpic. They were forefathers of the Majít people.[a] At night the mud banks lay dry, it was *jiwí mu*.[b] They were forefathers of the Majít people. At night, when the banks lay dry, the whole village went down the river to catch *ser* fish. And Miwírpic, the son of Ówpacak and Cowútpacak, went at night with them. At night, he too went downriver; the banks lay dry, and they went onto the banks to catch the crabs in the mud. The whole morning they caught crabs, and while they were catching the crabs

ún. áokómorés. wasén, ajísokómtiwĕres [4] ín. sér atáworés, wunám, áokomorés cí wa. a cimín cowák araw wunám wasén ajísokómtiwĕres ín.

[1] Mírpit; [2] átermára; [3] máesésa; [4] ajísokómtires.

[a] See the details, given in § 263, V.

[b] *jiwí 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.

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wunám ci wá kor óeres ín. a sér najítipít, cí wa iním emés maré wasén sopī sopī sopī ajíser ín. Miwírpitsimít [1] arám, ów a tasmájipic ín, "tíwa, é sosójismar nás korá, atewércokom ów mómtetámciná", iním aer ín. maré wá omisĕrés, wasén jisokómtiwĕrés misĕrím, maré sér mataw ajisjápĕres ín. ar ás kor nat e wasén ewcúcurumorés cowák. wasén ewcúcurúmorés cowák, ár apnáf [2] a, cúrujisá, ájamesjínier ín iwním piním. Ówpacák Cowútpacák, a tíw Miwírpic [3] apnáf [2] masirím maré mimí aniáper ín. maré, átewérac ín, cí atówonier ín. mú apirímac ín, fé acomómor ín. a Miwírpitsimít [1] aráw, Miwírpitsimít [1] aráw, curúw jírpu apuémer ín. "á, ja mátetamúca,[4] májsiréra" ajípores opák in. "á, nám nor ĕnéw no niwi ásа, cĕmew atmokóma", iním ajómer ín.

[1] Mírpitsimít; [2] apnéf; [3] Mírpit; [4] mátamúca.

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wunám, ar erén piním, cí ser áokomorés. ajísokómtiwĕres [1] ín. a Miwírpicakáp ará, a Miwírpitsimít, cí, ak, iním mésarimár, pó men awón mopac ín x, sé okon ín ajakmápmor ín. á emsér jícop cí ow, "maréwa", áemwúor ín. wún ow nát cem máp, emétepákajapítes [2] in. mánmak ín tiwsírimasmámes ín. ar ásakap Mewórpic. Mewórpic aráw, "manmák in tíwsirmeweréjipurúwa" ájac ín, átewerac ín, mú, é nam mú cicikimór e sé, mú cicikimór,[3] cí atitíwer ín. átepá jamés, "Ówpacák Cowútpacáka, ca tíw aráw, Miwírpitsimít [4] pó men, sé okon ín akmapmór. sér aráw, arów ajsirér sér omót nak, omót kor cowór. arów ajsirér, ca tíw masĕrím atéwer ín, matetám [5] pak emór", iním tepjomséames ín. ar ĕnéw a niwí misĕrím, "á, ja cá Miwírpic ar' amá", iním japá james ín. ar mó 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.[c] They drove them against the (downstream) bank. They caught the *ser* fishes. Again they drove them, with the canoes in a half circle. Then, as before, they drove them to the bank.

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Again they made a big half circle. While they were busy doing that, a gigantic *ser* fish rushed to the bank, leaping high out of the water. The old Miwírpic, the men's war leader, cried: "Children, that one that's leaping onto the shore yonder is mine! If you catch it you must give it to me." And they pushed the canoes towards the shore. When they'd driven them against the land, they went onto the land to sit down and catch the *ser* fishes. The huge ones forthwith slithered from the bank. They (the fishes) slithered down from the bank, towards the wide apart stretched legs (of the men). They broke through to the water's edge. The son of Ówpacak and Cowútpacak, Miwírpic, sat down, his legs stretched wide apart close to the ground. He was the one who caught it, and he took it to the canoe. He washed it in the water, and he strung it on a rope. Now, the old Miwírpic was furious, but he didn't show it. "Hey, give him that fish, he's laid claim to it," they cried, but to no purpose. "No, it's for my mother and father; you won't rile me," he said, keeping it.

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Once again they drove the *ser* fishes up but then to the upstream bank. They drove them up onto the shore. As to the small Miwírpic; the old Miwírpic went alongside him with the canoe; he gave him a thwack with the blade of his paddle and toppled him into the mud with his mouth open.[a] 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.[b] His *papís* partner was Mewórpic. Mewórpic then said: "Don't sit there as usual, just staring!" He took him up, and washed the body with water; he washed off the mud with water, and he laid him in the canoe. Again and again the people went up the river: "Ówpacak, Cowútpacak, the old Miwírpic struck your child with the blade of the paddle and

Cowútpacáka, ca tíw aráw. pó men sé okon ín akmápmorés, é asep móc ajósmes ará" iním eres ín.

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[1] ajísokómtires; [2] emétepakajpítes; [3] cikimór; [4] Mírpitsimít; [5] matám.

[a] An open mouth (with the tongue hanging out) is a sign of death: the young man is therefore dead.

[b] The people who are looking on behave in a manner which is customary in the Ásmat country: they don't meddle with things concerning others.

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Miwírpic, ásirmotéperā, cém atepómser ín. cém tepomsér, ar ĕnéw a niwí móc mamóc [1] pak ín, ar ĕnéw a niwí móc mamóc [1] pak. múapom ámamewámes ín. "a, na iním pacákseré ow, ów cepés na jimá, ná muapóm araw ána", iním já james ín. Miwírpic masĕrím wunám, sé armá awuápmor ín. sé armá wuápmor ín. jófaj apamés, jófaj am ápamés, jófaj misĕrím amás mér araw ún. amás mér, amás cem áwtiwĕrés, a cí towopmór jipít,[2] Mewórpic, maré Miwírpic mi aókmores ín. amás aworés, wunám, os mér araw ún, cém os. cém os, curúw ámores ín. Majít nucúr moporóm pak ín a cém os. curúw amápuĕres ín ar ém cin ar mó cin. cém am curúw, ájapómkekémores ín. cém am curúw, curúw. jóf opák in, takás akikirákurúmores ín. jimsíp, ákamápmores ín. wasén, pók cem, ajápmores ín.

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[1] mot mót; [2] ipít.

[a] i.e., Mewórpic.

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wunám, amás araw ún. amás, amás, aworés, aworés, aworés. cém, amás patámkurmorés, "má" jaces ín, mú enám [1] araw ún, sen ásirimtákĕres ín. súku átewer ín. fét atéwer ín. fís atéwer ín. pé atéwer ín. kanpór atéwer ín. sinák atéwer ín. én atéwer ín mu enám.[1] é pakajsé, pók, e pákajamís pok, takás áfefémtawor ín. wasén, ców ek átewer ín. ci ék átewer ín. os ék, átewer ín. jíf atewérer ín. pirí misín átewer ín. sé atewérer ín. emór, jófaj apamés jófaj, erám pok, afefémtawores ín. erám pok fefémtawamés, acíc acíc pok, fefémtawamés, jófaj, masĕrím, a tíw, Mewórpic a Miwírpic mí okmorés jipít, aótawores ín. " "pirí mu ajítmar" ecés aráw, e ur ísipís 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 Miwírpic?" So they sat, asking it again and again. All the time (people) came up the river: "Ówpacak, Cowútpacak, it's your child! He struck him with the blade of his paddle and tumbled him dead in the mud; and there behind, they come with him here, crying," they said.

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He rowed with Miwírpic upriver; he took him upriver to the house. He took him home, but his mother and his father didn't cry. They didn't cry. Everyone was telling everybody else to bury him. "Must we bury the child of such a bad man and woman," they said over and over again. In the end he himself[a] buried Miwírpic. The following day they stayed at home and the day after, and the day after that they went to get sago. They got the sago; they put the sago down at the house and Mewórpic, the youth who had laid him in the canoe, they took as a son in place of Miwírpic by rubbing him with lime. They scraped out the sago and then they went to fetch wood for the poles for a house. They chopped down the poles for the house in secret. They didn't let the forefathers from the Majít people see those house poles. They chopped them secretly, the man and his wife. The house, too, they built in secret and tied it firmly. They built the house in secret, too; there were no holes in it. They stopped them all up. They made a door in it. In the forest they put up a hut to store food.

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Once more, they went to get sago, and sago, and sago; they scraped and scraped and scraped; they filled the hut right up with sago. "That's still not enough," they said, and they went downstream to get the things that live in the water. He got a small *ewór* crab, a *súku*, a *fet* and a *fis* fish, a *pe* and a *kanpór* crab, a *sinák* lobster, an *en* fish. Everything that swam or crawled in the water he collected. From the forest he fetched a sago fruit, a fruit of the *ci* tree, and other fruits. He fetched humus, and from the seashore he fetched sand. That's what he did. The next day they rested, and the day after that they gathered magic herbs. The whole day they gathered magic herbs; they

asiénawút", iním ajitámor ín. ájitamac ín jófaj aráw maré, erém atíwkojer ín. Majít nucur arám se cáka jésmar, pók memán, sén fofofó jitaker ín. arám efá sirímtakáces ín, e jó naraw atákseaces [2] ín, "jáka jícĕmup múā, máenawcáwa", iním aer ín, Ówpacák. iním emtawmár jóc ara "kèkèkèkèkè" iním aer ín. ar ém cin ar mó cin, "á, ĕmá síri kór naká. cém cátepapcóma",[3] iním aer ín.

[1] eném; [2] atáksaces; [3] tátepapcóma.

[a] The call of the *joc* bird is considered as an augury in that when its call is heard one may ask the bird a question. If the call stops, the answer is in the affirmative. In this story, the screaming of the *joc* bird is a sign that the magic practised by Owpacák and Cowútpacak will take effect immediately.

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cém iním tepapmés, jicĕmúp [1] sesák jáknakapiríw atowópmor ín. Siréc jo pú. sésak jáknakáp atowópmor ín. mú komén fére ajíkonáwor ín maré. é po mén emsokmór jipit nát, cém metép pak ín maré jócor átakamás, mú namir átakamás in. "sen mú ajter ína" iním emés, Mewórpic,[2] ar ísipís, e asé ar ísipis, a tĕrásĕpés, asé a tĕrásĕpés, átawac ín, Ówpacák Cowútpacák, cém cowák maré ajirámsimápmor ín. "jimsíp mápapájimút" iním aer ín. jimsíp pajimáces ín ar ísipis e cém amán cowák. maré jimsíp in akápmaper ín. Majít nucúr cém emápĕres ów, pó karéw araw ún. pó karéw emápaces ín, cém eápmores ín. mú nat iním emór cowák, tototototo. Majít nucúr, maré mú atowómser ín. pó karéw apĕrés ow, maré mu, ajítmomáser ín. pók mer, amás mer pacájcukor ów, mú namír takas ín. erém nat, maré mú nat, 'm, jímtewer [3] ín. Majít nucúr wun ów, pó karéw apĕrés ow, té cesmar wó, afésmar, namír nim e cí amán, júmus ín jinítnakapiríw nesén acacíapĕres [4] ín.

[1] jitmúp; [2] Mowórpit; [3] jiémtewer; [4] atatiápĕres.

[a] *asé ar ísipís, asé a tarásĕpés*: his *asé* "side" parents and sisters. It is not clear which kinship group is meant here.

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a Ówpacák enim Cowútpacák aráw, "jáka iwním emséces ów aráw, já ur ísipís, nesén momníemít, nesén momátewerít", inim áeres ín. anakátipic aráw, "awó", iním aer ín. púw atéwer ín, firkóm 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 Mewórpic about it, the one they had taken in place of Miwírpic by rubbing him with lime. "When the people say that the water's rising downstream, then be quick and come here with your parents," so they said to him. The day after they had told him that, he [Ówpacak] started out at night; the forefathers from the Majít people went downriver in crowds to find food because at night the mud banks were dry. They also went quickly down the river; when they had gone downstream on the shallow river he, Ówpacak, cried: "That sea water there, may it come here!" While he was saying that, a *joc* bird screamed: "kèkèkèkè".[a] "Hey, wait a bit," said the man and his wife, "not so fast! Let's first reach our house."

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When they'd arrived home a tiny dark cloud gathered above the sea; above the Siréc. A tiny dark cloud gathered itself. The fingers of water edged quickly towards the land. The man who had struck with the paddle did not come to the village. He was the first to perish in the water at the mouth of the river. When the people cried: "Hey, they say that there below the water's rising!", Mewórpic fetched all his blood kin and all his distantly related kin[a] and took them all inside the house of Ówpacak and Cowútpacak. "Open the doors", he said. When they had opened the doors, all his family went into the house. After that, they stayed there with the doors shut. The forefathers from the Majít people, who were in the village, made a raft of canoes. When they'd got onto it, they built a house on it. Higher and higher rose the water and in the end it carried away the forefathers from Majít. The rising water carried away the raft with the people on it. The people who were scattered everywhere looking for fish and sago all perished in the water. But at night, all at once, the water began to go down. Those of the forefathers from the Majít people who were sitting on the raft, — the rain poured down on them all night, the waves buffeted them all night long. They just sat in the canoes, packed together, as though dead, completely numbed, their heads bowed.

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Ówpacak and Cowútpacak said: "The people there on the water in front of the house, your parents, by and by go down to them and fetch them and do them no harm." "All right" he said [Mewórpic]. He took a spear, he took a heavy arrow and a bow and went down quickly to

apĕrés ow cuwúc [1] asés aw ún. ów manmák mempepém pak. té afesmár, nám jiníc, cí amán of ním cuwút [2] pakajamís aw ún. jefé aniómac ín, ócen ín asemármor ín. anakátow mopór pak ín. a ócen in mítapmá er, ájujukúmsomítĕres ín. ájafac ín, — ar ĕnéw a niwí mofasím pak néw —, maré nesén ajísemer ín. a mú kampomésmar enám, capínmi nát, máj memém asén pak ín. usír wut, ón wut, sowót wut, ár wut, capínmi, ókokonísok ín. a mú emór, as wá maré, sá takas ín. ców, sá takas, sánamíkurúmor ín. á seokorá eres, é akát ow é akát cepes ín pórerémtewerá inim aer ín. — cém, arám, cém eápmorés, mú am aráp cem etámores ín. wá mu áwsemac ín, ewór atewsémor in súku átewsémor ín fét atewsémor ín, e wá mu.

[1] cu; [2] cut.

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emór, á emséĕres, é akát ow e akát cepes ín pórerémtewerá, pacáksere ów pacák cepés, tówofá, iním aer ín. á cemsén pakajámser enám, cém aciómiwĕres ín. mú sisímkakamímtiwér enám. Cowútpacák, Ówpacák ar ém cin, wasén aiwijísĕres [1] ín. "amás pawáncasín, amás sa sákurum-awér ará" iním eres ín. Ówpacák amás ajisátmor ín. amás amor ín. mocó nat si mén acín atáper ín. "má, iním pak" ájaces in, áfasíniĕres ín. wú aurúmteweres [2] ín. wú nat, mú afemór, asesá kamák mopan ín. cém niápĕrés, "wasén, ców opák aw, amás jemé. sínakap mítapmúj cérecafó jasér aw", iním anijáper ín. "ma" jac ín, tínak ek átewer ín. wasén ajístowópmor ín. ci ék atéwer ín, wasén ajístowópmor ín. os ék, átowópmor ín. sen fét atáktitíwer [3] ín, súku atáktitíwer [3] ín, fís atáktitíwer [3] ín. ewór, pé, atáktitíwer [3] ín. mú enám anítewsémor ín. "má" jac ín jisín akán atowópmor ín. wasén, amás, átemétwasiáper ín, copú. mówerompór pak ín. arám a cém amás cowák ajapáněres ín. sén matákoweróm pak ín. arám a cém enám cowák ájapáněres ín.

[1] aiwísĕres; [2] aurúmteres; [3] atáktier.

[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. Ówpacak and his wife went quickly to the forest. "Let's both scrape out sago before all the sago palms are dead," they said. Ówpacak went to cut down a sago palm. He cut it down and there was fluid sticking onto the blade of the axe.[a] "No, it can't be done," they said and they turned back. They got out the edible top of a sago palm. The water had ruined it; it was as hot as ginger. They went home. "There are no (good) sago palms in the forest, the sago is salty. I thrust the axe into it a bit and the juice spurted out," he said when he had returned. "So, it's no good," he said, and he took the fruit of the sago palm and planted it in the forest. The fruit of the *ci* tree, he took it and planted it in the forest. He planted the seeds of the trees in the forest. Downstream, he put the *fet* fish, the *súku* and the *fis* fish, the *ewór* and the *pe* crab. He put back again into the water all things that live in the water. "That's still not good enough", he said, and he planted coconut shoots. In the forest the sago palm was beginning to grow; it was already *copú*.[b] He didn't go back again to keep an eye on them; they only ate the fish that were in the house.

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Ówpacák Cowútpacák ar ém cin aráw, amás mer áiwijísĕres [1] ín. amás aráw, aworés, curúw un mufúm pak ín. curúw aniópĕres ín. "wasén, ców opák aw" iním anijápĕres ín. sen ásirímtakĕrés, wasén pe okós jan ájamestámor ín. mú enám arám fá armá manámitámser ín. wasén arám, amás, maré atemétwaniócer ín. iním temétwaniótma, a tíw Mewórpic aráw maré, é jipmúr ewapómjimorés cowák, áw apcóm kor, maré emápmores ín. áj petéw amás mer másirím maré wasén, áiwijísĕres [1] ín. amás awamés, jófaj amás. jófaj am awamés amás misĕrím, cowúc ar ĕnéw a niwí atatámores ín. "ma" jaces ín pirí enám araw ún. pirí enám, ájapáněres ín. wasén amás mu emporá, mú enám emporá, wasén, pé emporá, iním ajápĕres ín. mú wumomáser ów, wún e jopmák, átawpácamápmor ín. wún ow misĕrím e Kájmo ará. maré.

[1] aiwísĕres.

VI

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Miwírpic, Tewérawúc, tátmores ín. ar epíc Tewérawúc, atátmores ín. Tewérawuc á amás jís epórawér. Miwírpic jís etámporawér a enám akát, tów jimín akát enám nes jimín akát. a ná manapór pak ín. a nát, e ár amús matewét, cenés awamís [1] araw ún. a amás jis akát a pók jis akát etamór, Miwírpit na mán pak ín "m, or amás man. orám o pók mán. iním aáncow",[2] iním er ín. "e, Miwírpic, amás jis akátè, pók jis akátè etámpormínè. enám akát, píewérmi, enám akát píewérmi, ám ep omót ep akátè. enám nes jimín akat jíktampormín, manapór pĕnakáw. ór enakáp nór enakáp júmamtámfawos áw", iním merjápa iním er ín. "má" jac ín, ar amús áw temér, ájapómiwer ín. cém, cuwuc áp ar amús, ajíwmesóper ín. "á Tewérawúc, o ucím as ám" iním er ín. "á, 'o ucím as ám' pak! á newét aráw, ár enakáp, nór enakáp, júmamtámĕrawós. á amás jis akát, a pók jis akát, étampormí. a jím a enám piewérmi. ám ep omót ep, áwjis étampormí, mán opów! mán opák. cenés nesén mesamís. nór aráw, ó matewér emín, nó makawímop emín", iním er ín.

[1] wamís; [2] ánáncow.

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Ówpacak and his wife went to the forest to get sago. They scraped out the sago in secret, they told nobody about it; they returned and hid it. "There's no sago in the forest," they said after they'd returned. They went downriver. On the bank the crabs were making a great noise with their pincers, the fishes were scratching each other with their spines. In the forest, the sago palm grew right up. When it had grown fine and high, they then took for their son, 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 Siréc); another part of them now forms the village of Kájmo. That's all.

VI

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They gave Tewérawuc to Miwírpic (as a wife). They gave the elder sister, Tewérawuc, to him. Tewérawuc always roasted sago; for Miwírpic, 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 Miwírpic wouldn't eat. "It's your sago, and it's also your fish, you must eat it," he said. "Oh, Miwírpic, I prepare tasty roasted sago, delicious roasted fish for you. I always catch many fine fish, fine *am* and *omót*; I make tasty sticks of sago and fish for you, now why won't you eat them? When you were still small and I was still small, they intended us for each other," so she spoke, sitting down (beside him) every now and then. "All right, have it your own way!" she cried, and she went to her younger sister who already had breasts (was marriageable). She went inside and sat down beside her sister who was at home. "Hey, Tewérawuc, what's the matter?" she said. "Bah, don't ask 'what's the matter with you'! My husband, when he was still small and I was still small, they intended us for each other. I

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"á, Tewérawucá, no já or mó manám maf páka! iním as kor ám naká", ajípor opák ín. "á, iním nat ucíè! a nát, ó mopórtewét emenè, nór amás jis akát, no pók jis akát etámpormí opów. nór amás nat no pók nat, paké nesen atíwamár aráw", iním ajíkurúmor [1] ín, ar epíc. ásosówomér cowák ar amús matewér, ásosówomér cowák. ásosówomer. maré, ár amus áteweráces ín, ar epíc akáwimápmores [2] ín. ar epíc káwimapmorés,[2] anakácowúc, cáj in. a nát caj ín. ar mó, nám makawí pak ín. nám makawí'n empór opák in. jumús iním jirapér cowák araw ún. amás pok, mán pak ín. manmák moc mimís acín taper ín. ár epíc "á, newét aráw, ó mopórtewét jiewérměró. a nór amás aráw no pók aráw, mopórsaméwirír. nór masinĕrím, nám, normá makawímop, ajúrsewirín. mare ákawímtewérmin aráw. amás pok jís metamúj e jísis pájfirapí", ájiporá jipór opák in. "á, no nát ja or mó nat manám afaní. manám mafè, e nór amás jis no pók jis arów metám arawá", iním japá iním er ín. "á, manám maf pák am iním aráw! manám maf pák am iním aráw nó sinopís, néw isipís, manám maf pák owér iním aráw owerów armá, manám [3] armá comá [3] emes ám. fácimtewtá emes ám ám amás jis ín, pók jis ín jíwpuopá iním emés. oráp cowák mémpor pák", ajípor opák in.

[1] ajúkurumór; [2] akáimápmores; [3] *suka*: loan-word from Malay.

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anakátipíc, nám makawi pák apór, "Tewérawúc, jiwís pok cí a" iním aer ín. jiwís atúwor ín — tuwútmar ín. anakácowútnakáp ep áni-aweráper ín. ar epíc wowúc in ar mó cimén in. jiwís tuwómser ín maré. é Siréc arán, ápajimómser ín ci mí. Siréc ametóciner ín. mówsec ís, ésomitá er, nám makawí pak ín. cémnakapiríw awút opak ín, inímnakapiríw emapmá jipór, cowkán mopóromomís. a nát, erásenakápiríw, fá icítnakap nésen [1] jisamsá. a ár epíc aráw "á, ní newét, mótowóm-sefáw, wowúc sumomsá iním erasín", ájiporá jipór opák in. ar amús nat "á, nó or mó manám afániè. no or mó manám afaní. nór masíněrím,

prepare nice roasted sago for him, and tasty roasted fish, I always catch fish with the net. I roast *am* and *omót* for him, but eat he will not! He just lies on the ground doing nothing. Now I'll take you with me, I'll put you beside him," she said.

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"Oh, Tewérawuc, I don't like that husband of yours, so don't do that," she said, but to no purpose. "Come, why do you say that; he wants to have you as his wife. I've prepared nice roasted sago, nicely roasted fish for him; it's all in vain. He just lets my sago and my fish get hard and old," she said, urging her, that elder sister. Again and again she got up to take her with her, again and again she got up, and yet again. In the end, they took the younger sister with them and added her to her elder sister. They added her to her elder sister, but the girl was not willing. She didn't want to. She wouldn't go near her husband; he tried to approach her but failed. She just sat with her head bowed; she wouldn't eat the sago or the fish; her eyes were full of tears. "Come, my husband has always wanted to marry you, he has always thrust aside my sago and my fish. And I, I've always wanted to add you to myself, that's why I take you now. Roast sago and fish for him, turn yourself towards the fire," so she tried again and again to win her over, but without success. "Oh, am I then to love this husband of yours! I'd roast sago and fish for him if I loved him," so she kept on repeating as she sat there. "Come now, although you don't love him, you must. Love or no love, it makes no odds! My sisters, my mothers, were married without being in love, that's the way of it. It's only the men who fall in love and marry again; they (the women) always sit indoors and roast the sago and the fish. You're the only one who won't do it!" so she tried to persuade her, but without avail.

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When the man saw that she wouldn't go to him, he said: "Tewérawuc, take everything to the canoe that we need to move house," and off he went — in the morning he went off. The younger wife went and sat in the stern, her sister was in the middle, their husband stood in the bows. Then he departed with them to another dwelling place. He turned the nose of the canoe towards the upper reaches of the Siréc, and he went up the Siréc with them. During the journey, he took them every night to sleep with him. She wouldn't go near him. Every time he made a small house, not a big one — one about this size —, to force

já or mó wowúc no musúwumomís atakám ájapotáwmaněném", iním ja iním er ín. tam jó puamsá er, cí niómuwá, Siréc arán átowomsér cowák. jó iním nimémerapá er, wasén kuomsá, cémnakap inímnakap ín, áomocíner ín. iním cowák, tám tuwomséa, jók, pó mináf un. tám, cí niómuwá, e jók jo jurúw, pó mináf un. é ar epíc kor, "á, Tewérawucakáp, cepés métiw atakám motáw pak emár aráw. atakám otáwpormín opów. otáwporéwirín opów! newét, nám makawí atakám otáwporewirín opák. ucím cáj pomséfaw éw. jók mukáp opák, op jó poké animár, na mák atíwtarémar aráw. ucím cáj pecaw éw newét, acán owpormín opák mówsec omsénom", iním jomséa iním aer ín anakácowútnakápiriw, e cí ep móc mimís pu ín. "é, ó jurúsmemá, ěmá, newét matowómsefáw, jiwís cem armá kújurumápcaw apórserár", ar epíc iním jomséa iním aer ín.

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[1] nè.

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maré Siréc épmak nák ákikícukómaser ín. ajárkikiómser [1] ín maré. cém wos ín ajarómer ín. cém wos ín ajarómer ín. Siréc epmák. cém, eapmór, ar epíc, "néj, newét cowkán wowút sumóperasín, newét a cém, tapín a jumcíp iním mimíwtiwtám, ór a jó ajpím iním mapí nór a jó ajpím iním memáp", ajípor "ā, no nát manám afaní, jáka or mó manám afaní!" "ā, orpá mempór pow! nó sinopís néw isipís am, a tíw jak ín jiwsú emár, iním aráw! ówerów, cepés iním manmák armá okoromá emés, tewtá iním emés cepés manám arów maf. owér masájwut opów! newét arám iním minip púmeméwirír [2] o matewét, nó masěrím aráw, cáj asiropén, normá atewérfin", ajípor opák in. "mowsécè, po jámkonáwewirúm [3] aráw maríw, cém os ín ajárjirimópmar aráw, ní nám makawíc", ajípor opák in. "no nát, o nám makawí cowút memáp pow, óm or atakám matáw emápem áw" iním

her to sleep with him. But no, every time she moved a little to one side and slept by herself. Her sister tried to win her over. "Come, our husband has brought us along with him, let's sleep on either side of him!" But no, everytime her sister said: "Do you think I love that husband of yours? Are you asking me to let your husband sleep between us?" Each time, just as the sun had risen, he got into the canoe with them and started out and he took them right to the upper course of the Siréc. Each time, just as the sun sank down towards the horizon, he went ashore with them to sleep, and he made a small house — one about this size — and so he moved upriver. And so it went on: in the morning he started out with them and during the day they just rowed. In the morning he got into the canoe with them and started out, and during the day they did nothing else but row, a long way upriver. During the journey, the big sister said continually: "Oh, little Tewérawuc, an older woman should not fail to give advice. Well, I give you advice, but you won't listen. I've always given you advice, but you wouldn't listen! All the time I've told you to go to my husband, but you won't hear of it! Why is he taking us along with him? During the day he doesn't go to the shore. The hot sun up there is going down; it makes our backs hot! What's my husband thinking of? I've tried to give you good advice, but in vain, all the time -ou're with us," so she spoke repeatedly during the journey. The girl sat at the stern, crying all the time. "It's your fault, but since our husband has taken us with him, let's wait and see whether he lands to build a permanent house" so spoke the elder sister again and again.

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Finally, he arrived with them at the narrow upper course of the Siréc; forward he went with them into the narrow stream and then (went ashore and) cleared an open space for a house. There, on the upper reaches of the Siréc. When he'd made the house, the elder sister said: "Come, let's allow our husband to sit between us. Spread a sleeping mat out here, near the door; you go and sit on one side and I'll go and sit on the other." "Oh, do you think I love him? Do you think I love that husband of yours?" "Oh, only you won't do it! My sisters and my mothers always have children in their bellies; that is the way it is. It's only the men who flirt with the women, who take them to wife; women do fall in love, but they don't do the marrying. My man has always had it in his mind; he's wanted to take you, and I've finally given in. I, of my own accord, I fetched you," so she tried to

aer ín. jó puamsá er, mopór pak a cimín cowák araw ún. cém in aópac ín, e jók jo jurúw, jo tí merémapá, iním aer ín.

[1] ajárkikuómser; [2] púmemewirúp; [3] jomkanawewirím.

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"Tewéra, esé mú anemúc" iním aer ín. é wasén anakátipíc e wasén erém anímcuká er. a wú mikin wút cowák araw ún, ców na opák in. a wú mikin wút cowák, cí papí nesén aémsiter ín. á nesén os wá cowak ín, a Siréc.[1] amás opák in, ców opák in. anakátipíc áomatmár araw ún, wós wos áomatmár araw ún. cí aésumtúmor in wú ci. iním porá er, "nor mó wut ém", mi wút nim nesén afmár araw ún. maré waser kór atemétsowáper ín. copón atemtémer ín. anakátipic mésomíc araw ún.[2] maré op átemétjamémer ín. ar ém, esé at áetamor ín. mów esé, mow, anakátipic mów ajáker [3] ín. mów akamár, ar ém aníjukmapómtamor ín. "Tewéra, a mów esé masi mów akamí, mów masamúc jo poké asirímsamúc" iním aer ín. ar ém aráw, "hè hè" jac ín, a mów aráw jo poké aturúmamár, jo poké aturúmtiwer ín. "e esé, mócopí maríw, mów emépasán ew" "á, mow tó emésamep áw. jowún emésamep áw" "á maré mocóapí, mów mapúc" iním er ín. amás na maré míc atémtemer ín. míc wut ín. "pok wút cowák, á matatám [4] pok éfamúc" iním er ín. "esé siriá, ácopáwerém cowák, mér cowáka". ar ém masním, "ā, esé a mér cowák méwtiwají pák! pisís esé ĕmá a mér cowák mewtíw aráw mów esé síporewérmes opák. mā, émtawmém aráw an" [5] iním er ín.

[1] Sirát; [2] in; [3] ajákar; [4] matawtám; [5] en.

[a] 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).
[b] *wasér* and *copón* are two stages in the growth of the sago palm.
[c] When a sago palm begins to flower, the pith becomes unusable.

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esé, mów pamár, acóaper ín. coapér, esé nat najítipicēj, cótiwer ín. "Miwírpicá, e esé awút kor new áw", iním er ín. anakátipic iním apór, "á, ja wún mow ám moapút! já esé nat, énakapiríw misí atakám táwmanín, esé jép er ár, jép er ár", iním er ín. "ā, Miwírpic é esé nat ucím caj écemè. esé awút nák wut mempór pow no nát a esé najítipic

persuade her, but in vain. "The whole way we've rowed together and now he's busy putting up the poles for the house. Come," she said, "go to him". "I'm not the one to add to you (as co-wife), so don't go on about it," she said. Every day, as the sun rose, she carried on as though it didn't concern her. So she did all day long, until the sun set, after he had made the house.

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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.[a] Finally it grew into a *wasér*; (then) it became a *copón*.[b] 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,[c]" 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. "Miwírpic, 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. "Miwírpic, what are you

nak áw", ajípor opák in. "ése mów moapúc, ja esé jiwínakap", iním er ín. anakácowuc "hèhè" jac ín, wunám, áorápor ín, mów mamcúp.[1] manmák atewerámar jep é merámser ín. esé jep a emámser ín. ar ém, womák pasés in átemétsurúmor ín "á, néw isipís, nó sinopís, esé asimés iním esé masiporáji pów, iním esé at nak ówpenem áw" iním er ín. acópomít cowák, acópomít cowák, acópomít cowák, acópomít cowák. méw asén kor iním asíanerémtiwer ín. "ĕmá, Miwírpic, asé emésakajámi maré asé jipín wut. esé awút kor maré ĕmá, to méwtiw" iním er ín.

[1] mamcip.

[a] The translation is uncertain: my informants translated 'she plaited the *manmák*', but no one knew what the *manmák* of a carrying bag was.

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jófaj jó fajamsér, anakátipíc, amán in átiwanímac in wasén ar ín. iním apór, míc wut ním é cuwuc émecĕmár araw ún. "jí, nor mó kor em! cem mémotásisímawér emín", iním aer ín. anakácowuc tám ewópomis, tám ewopomís, tám ewopomís, maré éwokómtiwer ín a pók fek. ten ásiac ín, com ám ajámtiwer ín. é esé jép wut araw ún jép wut araw ún. amás jísporméмac ín, fasíniér, ó penés wut, firkóm acímtiwer ín. tosó nim amómorómtiwer ín. átowóniér cowák, capínmi anítitíwer ín. "Tewéra, o pápem áw". "no apí". "a ó penés korá, firkóm acimúj". "é, mapnawérè" iním er ín. "esé tepéwtiwĕrém". "é, e jámtepit wút aráw. cóm wut eméamúj". "á, esé tosów asmúc, waséa, mía" iním er ín. wasé atéteremápmor ín. e jírik emapmór, mí, manmák níni tepemár araw ún. e ó cíomíwamár, e ar amús, "á, mapájfirapí, newét, ó kor cátiwír, ó nam pók jis awúc", ajípor. "ā, orám o ó omópem áw or mó catíwtamán, inim mánawerowè", iním aer ín. "ó, no okón, asé, nó momóp, a kús kor, á no sínakap á, wun á am sép am", inim aer ín. "é, mititíwtamcówè", iním aer ín. atíwtamor ín á am sép am, kús[1] kor ám. ájujúkumapómtampór ar mó, opák in. ar epíc, atakám táwomewermár jó'n apótimór, anakácowuc aráw, o nésnakap mawán apájfiráper ín.

[1] kuwús.

[a] See § 284, note a.

[b] Tamed pigs are (traditionally) fatter than wild pigs.

[c] For the jírik design, see sketch p. 365. Zegwaard remarks in his unpublished notes that the origing of woman is said to be a *jírik* bag.

going to do with the bag? I can't make an enormous bag. I . . this bag is too terribly large," she said, but to no purpose. "Work loose still more fibres for the bag, this bag is much too small," he said. "All right," said his wife, and she again worked loose many fibres, a huge quantity of them. She plaited the eye design;[a] — 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, Miwírpic, my back is so tired; my back's breaking; the bag 's too big, wait! I'll finish it tomorrow," she said.

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The following day, just as the sun had risen, the man took his bow and went into the forest. He looked at it: there it stood, looking as usual, like a huge cloud of ashes![a] "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.[b] 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 *jiríḱ* design on it;[c] and white lime. It hung there, a fine sight. He cut up the sow and took it inside. To her sister she said: "Come, turn yourself round (towards the fire), my husband 's killed a large sow. You must roast the entrails of the sow." "Oh, it's your sow, your husband killed it for you, so you eat it yourself," she said. "I want the jaw of the pig and the back part," he said, "the head is for my little wife, and a foreleg and a hindleg". "Go on, put it down for her," she said. He put them down for her, a hindleg, a foreleg and the head. He put everything together for her, but to no purpose. Her sister nagged her,

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jó fajamsér, "Tewéra, amás ken mekenéc", iním aer ín. ar ém amás ken émkeneítmar ín. anakátipíc, amús afímtiwer ín. amús cenám, afímtiwer ín. ar ém, óf asítiwer ín. án afétiwer ín. amás ken esé aówor ín. "Miwírpicá, ná amás kená, a amás nat ucím emáwcom". "ā, ĕmá, a wasén, pók armá jis árawá, masím atí", iním er ín. a nát amás mawpór pak ín. amás opák in. a pók amás cowák araw ún. a enám amás cowák araw ún, nawér araw ún. ar amús arám, amás ken átewer ín. áomómisér, áomómisér, "Miwírpic na nát ucím pok émcomè, na nát amás nat pók ánmom aráw. na iním as memáji pów", iním aer ín, ar ém. "ĕma ní, ĕma ní, ĕma ní". iním apór, "Tewéra, a óp manmák pémtomtómporí" iním er ín. ar ém iním apór, "ā, Miwírpica, ucím as ám", iním er ín. "ĕmá, amás aráw new, amás aráw new ĕmá, ní jaka sí ar á" iním aer ín. aématámor ín. a amás wut, aématamor ín. apúmomer ín, jówomic wút nim, nesén awajímtiwer ín. máitmár, máitmár, ánijámtiwer ín.

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[a] See § 284, note a.

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ájaperér, om ténakap ín. "Tewéra, amás aráw. amás om amás in ajámtewérmi aráw" iním aer ín. "ā, ja amás pen éwa, na nát amás nat ánmom aráwa" iním aer in. — a nát a pók amás cowák araw ún. aósiocinér, ténakap ín aósiócinér ténakap ín aósiócinér ténakap ín. "á, maríw, amás jurúw kor úmu mopán májamsĕráw ní wowúc in fácimopcár" inim aer ín. anúk atemtémer ín. anúk, aktiwér,[1] ájitámernémor ín. fafémtiwer ín, manmák mamcúp ajítnemor ín. awúmnemor ín. "jáka amús ará amús cenám a éspet musúmtewí. a éspet apák asúmteweracém iním erémtewí manám masnim ájikapmúc" iním er ín. "ā, nomsóm pow". "hè" iním aer ín. anakátipíc espét apák asúmtewerac ín, espét apák asúmtewerac ín, áeremtéwerac ín amús cenám manám armá jikápmor ín. amús cenám a amús ak ájatmápmor ín. a amás nes atíwsakámor ín. amás nes atíwsakamór cowák, ajáwtiwer

as usual, until the sun set, and then the girl turned round to roast a little bit of the pig's flesh and to eat it.

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When the sun had risen, he said: "Tewér, collect up the implements for getting sago." His wife collected up the sago-making implements. The man made the handle of the sago scraper, and the head of the sago scraper. His wife plaited the strainer for the sago and stitched up a trough for the sago. She filled the bag with the implements for getting sago. "Miwírpic, 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. "Miwírpic, 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, Miwírpic, 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:[a] 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;[a] 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.[b] He wrenched the bark off downwards. "The head of this sago scraper, you must pull out a young sago palm shoot for it, and when you've pulled out the young shoot, you must split it and then tie it (the head) with it," he said. "Oh, I

ín. ájawócinér umú, ájawócinér mopán. po ámersuwémer ín. "a mú mawsemúc, amás po mú majírcaw.[2] mú mawsemúc" iním aer ín. ar ém mú ajawsémor ín. anakátipit pó, ásasakámtiwer ín. jéc mifím un áomómer ín. "Tewéra, jéc afímtiwmí", iním aer ín. jéc fimtiwér,[3] sís ajírmemor ín. "a sís jírmemamí" iním aer ín. apím atitíwer ín. jec átitiwer ín ep átitiwer ín. cowó átewerac ín, "já omá makámtewér pen", iním aer ín "ā, nar omá makámtewer namsóm pow". ar mó oma kámtewer ín. manám ajikémor ín.

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[1] aktiwír; [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 mitíwumúc" iním aer ín. "á, ĕmá atow mémtamporén, namsóm pak", iním er ín. anakátipíc "hè hè" jac ín, apím atíwtewérac[1] ín a án, a pó atitíwac ín mú ajírtewérac ín awúmnemor ín. "apím jirè iním memjíc" iním aer ín. apím, apím, amás nak nesén ajamésnier ín. "Tewéra, a pó moporí amás nak ájamésnimár, amás aráw! ja enám amás, pé amás néwirum. já amás jáka majípor pak, a amás aráw amas ánawérmom", inim er ín. ar ém iním apór "ēj, Miwírpic, iním mopórem ún, jiwís átuwomséfĕnem newá. a amás moporómtewer pémanem éwa" iním er ín. — amás os nát opák in a cowák wut jitémer ín —. mú pitímsemór, afámasmór, "a mú mafámamí", iním aer ín. amás mák wut ín aníjamámser ín. "Tewéra, amás aráw. marí majíc, amás mak in ániamismár aráw a mú pitímsemá jawerém, a ép mú iním enáwfamá wunám owuapmá iním mómjawirí" iním aer ín. "ē Miwírpic, cáj akát nak émem áw", iním er ín. ar ém arám, atíwumor ín. arám, arám, arám, mú apitímsemor ín, afámasmór, jéc wut, ép wut komén wut, jec mák am aniámser ín amás. aótiwumór, aótiwumór, a pímnakap átemetótaper ín. "á, Tewéra, amás po awút kor ní esé tápomcár", iním aer ín. "á, mariw", iním aer ín. "nó cowó mokóm-

don't know how to do it!" "All right," he said. The man pulled out the young shoot, split it, and he himself tied the head on the sago scraper.[c] 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.[d] "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.[e]

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"Come, pour water over the scraped out pith," he said. "Give me time. do it for me, I don't know how to do it," she said. "All right," said the man. He took the scraped out pith in a trough, put the sago in the washing trough, fetched water and poured it over it. "The pulp here, you must squeeze it out like this," he said. [He squeezed out] pulp, more and more pulp. The pure sago flowed downwards. "Tewér, take a look in the washing trough, the pure sago is flowing down: that's sago. We always ate fish and crabs for food. This sago we didn't know. This is sago, sago we'll eat henceforth," he said. His wife looked at it. "Hey, Miwírpic, maybe you moved house with me because you wanted to do this. Maybe you wanted to look for this sago!" she said. — There were no sago palms, there was only this big one growing. He let it [the sump trough] fill up with water; he let the water run away. "Now, I let the water run away," he said. A thick layer of sago lay at the bottom. "Tewér, this is sago! Now you must squeeze out the sago. There's a layer of sago in it. You must keep filling it up with water and then you must let the water run away at the end, and then you must plug it up again, and this you must do again and again," he

tewér", iním aer ín. "cowó nat ucím emcómè" "ā, ĕmá jokón jiemít", iním aer ín.

[1] atúwtewerac.

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— má, amás mi mopór pak ín, á pirí atúwomsér a enám amás cowák a pé amás cowák araw ún. á Siréc, a ós wa cowák araw ún. amás opák in —. cowó efá okómtewerac ín, "ní a esé okón akmomíc" iním aer ín. esé okón ajákmomac ín, anakátipic cowó, atówopmor ín. "cowó iním ará iním owápma[1] iním moméc, cowó owápmamí" iním aer ín. amás átewerác, esé amas armá, nanasímapmor ín. "maré atowópmamí aráw amás aráw esé tawowúc" iním aer ín. amás esé, ar ém, amás esé, amás esé, "Miwírpicá, a amás esé kor maré mipitíjamapmóp!" "á, cowó cirím siotémtow! amás nat nani ín mam émaném", iním aer ín. ese jép araw ún, jép araw ún, a mów esé nucúr. "cowó cirím siotemtí! é cowák wut mámesasesémeroniawér". "á, Miwírpicá, iním paká, amás esé awút nák wutá esé nemét emára. er á cowák wut cowó cirím masiótemet máji aráwa amás wun esé am ára" ajípor. "ó cowák aráw an. o nát cowó cirím asícow", iním aer ín. a cowó cirím siotém-tamár, a esé najítipit, aníjnakáp nim áemápmor ín, a wún cowúc am arám ar amás esé atápmor ín.

[1] omómowápma.

[a] *or cowák aráw an*; Literally: are you alone, are you the only one?

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"a esé ucím ar' áma, Miwírpic, a esé ucím ar' ám" iním er ín. "á, máp omóni emí, mónorómcen" iním er ín. á esé najítipíc, mónor in émporamár, ar ém masúmutum ún émporamár, a cenés nesén apáwuwúmar

said. "Oh, Miwírpic, this is a good idea you have," she said. And his wife began to pour water [over the scraped out pith] and kept on doing it. She filled up the trough with water, then she let it run away. There was much sago in the sump trough; from the one end to the other there was a thick layer of sago. And again she poured water over it, and again. It rose almost to the edge. "Hey, Tewér, there's an awful lot of sago in the washing trough, come, let's fill up the carrying bag," he said. "Yes, let's do that," she said. "I'll go and get sago leaves," he said. "What do we do with sago leaves?" "Have patience and be quiet," he said.

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— No, they'd never seen sago. On the coast from which he'd departed with them the only food they'd had was fish and crabs. By the Siréc there was only the ordinary forest. There were no sago palms. When he had quickly fetched sago leaves, he said: "Come, hold the top of the bag wide open." She held the bag open and the man lined the inside with sago leaves. "That's what the sago leaves are for. You must always put the sago leaves in like this. Now I'm lining it with sago leaves," he said. He took the sago and he himself spread it out in the bag. "Now that I've put it in for you, you must put the sago in the bag," he said. His wife put the sago in the bag, and more sago, and still more sago. "Miwírpic, the huge bag is already filled to the brim with sago!" "Is that so! Now you must plait a band made of sago leaves onto the top of it. Do you want to waste sago!" he said, — the bag stretched from here to there, the enormous fibre bag — "Plait a band made of sago leaves onto the top of it! Such a big one,I'll carry back in stages." "But, Miwírpic, that's not possible, the sago bag is much too big, a smaller one would be better. It's easy for you to say that a sago leaf band must be plaited onto the top of it! Another bag would do as well!" so she said. "Are you giving the orders ª ?" he said. "You must plait a sago leaf band." She plaited a sago leaf band onto the top of the enormous bag, the sago which she then put in the bag was like a morsel! The other wife also put her sago in the bag.

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"What do we do now with this bag, Miwírpic, what do we do with the bag?" she said. "I'll go ahead and walk back with it; hang it on my back," he said. He tried to carry the enormous bag on his back; his wife tried to help him to stand upright but it only wobbled about

araw[1] ún. "Miwírpicá, emétawamía amás esé asép nim matápom atakám emétawamía!" "a ĕmá, camním caemápci jiná onók" iním aer ín. jiná onók iním aótapac ín ar ém a esé macír jipíromíc araw ún. asúmutumémor ín. anakácowuc máp aemémer ín. ar mó a fá sormómer ín. é ar amús masĕrim asép nak ín. fá icíc ín. áomóniĕrésē, mé, me japjónimár[2] araw ún a pók fek fén. ániĕrés aniĕrés aniĕrés aniĕrés aniĕres, maré e iwním, "a pów asisímar aráw arán nim suwemíc" iním aer ín ar ém. "ós a jírew" iním aer ín. ós pu iním manísuwem ín máj akín atapómakmamár, maré a esé wut apcóm 'm! Miwírpic maré copó nesen níapér cowák. "ā, Tewérawucá, masúmutumcén! no jíf maníorsópmi amás esé awút", iním aer ín "ā! esé awút moc ciropánem áw" iním aer ín esé mípor efá wiásmac ín a ómomer esé, mátewer ín, émporámar "ā, ĕmá matewer pák a jíf masiasmúc" iním aer ín. a jíf, a jíf, a jíf anakátipit nát a esé apcóm tep tep jónimár araw ún. a jíf, mátewer ín emá jipór, masómit ín emá jipór. a nát esé apcóm tep tep jónimár araw ún. a jíf, a jíf, masómit ín emá jipór, a nát tep tep jónimár araw ún.

[1] aw; [2] wapjónimar.

[a] Contrary to custom, Miwírpic himself carries the bag with the sago in it. Normally, it is the women who always carry these bags. Moreover, Miwírpic is carrying a *jirík* bag (see § 286, note b), which is synonymous with woman. The situation is, in my opinion, significant: Miwírpic is already carrying the woman who is to be put on his head when he later becomes a sago palm.

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maré manmák in anífesáper ín, jif. "á, Tewérawucá, maré manmák in nifesapmí, anijíc" iním aer ín. ar ém maré mót se mów arów pu anímuámser ín. mót se mów poperíomatamár, poperíomátamár, poperíomátamár, ofóm efa tíwsirítewerac ín, ar amús cuwúc emíc empámor ín. ar amús, "e, anáfcená, no júrsewirí arawá, newét aw, iním ajáfcen", iním aer ín. ar amús. ar amús cámemerémemór, wunám, mót se mów, mót se mów, "á, Tewéra, maré no sínakap cín anijíc! jó manímemerápma cém jok ním nifiwíc, cáj pacák eapí", iním aer ín. "e jimsíp onoká, ónok mómjitnótewí",[1] iním aer ín. aémniĕrés moc ám ajatámniĕrés, ajatámniĕrés. máj se mu ánipirímac ín, cem móc am ajiwátmaper ín. op ják atitíwer ín, "Tewérawút, jimsíp, ónok jítnotewí, newét májmiremíc. jo úcucúmesawérmar a óp aporí ják titiwmá" iním er ín. ar amús e jimsíp ónok ájitnótewer ín. ónok, tám pepepepe emtáw-

on the ground. "Miwírpic, 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.[a] 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 Miwírpic with the huge bag, right to the bottom, with a heavy thud. "Hey, Tewérawuc, help me out, I've sunk up to my chest in the bog, with the huge sago bag," he said. "Huh, so now it's you complaining about the huge bag!" she said, and she flung down the bag, the bag that she carried, and tried to haul him out. "No! Wait, don't haul me out, dig the ground away!" he said. Earth, earth, and more earth [she dug away] but the man sank farther and farther down with the bag. More earth . . . again and again she tried to haul him out; again and again she tried to stand up with him, but he sank farther and farther down with the bag. Earth, earth, and more earth [she dug out]; again and again she tried to stand up with him, but he sank farther and farther down with the bag. Earth, more earth [she dug out], again and again she tried to stand up with him, but he sank farther and farther down.

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At last he had sunk down up to his eyes in the bog. "Hey, Tewérawuc, I've sunk up to my eyes now, go home!" he said. His wife threw herself in the mud near him, wailing. Wailing, she rolled over, and over, and over. She quickly picked up a small digging stick and struck her sister who stood there. She, her sister, said: "Go on, hit me, I've always been in the wrong! Oh, husband! Go on, hit me." She thrashed her sister soundly and after that she threw herself wailing into the mud, as before. "Come, Tewér, go home now you and my little wife! The sun has just passed its highest point, you should arrive home early in the afternoon. My situation is hopeless," he said. Wailing, she went home. "Get a beam for the door. Presently shut it with a beam," he said. They walked back; wailing, they walked back. After she had washed the mud off her feet, she stayed in the house, wailing. High

utumár, anakácowút nat móc mináf. anakácowut nat móc.

[1] momjitnótewerí.

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porów jó inim tíamismár, fó fěfěfěfěfěfěfě tiwémor ín. maré mér kasé atiwémor ín. wúr a capínmi nesén aniámser ín marí. anakácowuc "a, Miwírpic, Miwírpic, Siréc, jó pirí popomísměrénè, Tewérawuc káwi kawímtewerawér iním, ó jursómewérměrénem áw newét akát, ár awún ájmirémic áw". maré móc mamóc pak ín. te 'm! jók ewníemér cowák. mér kasé tiwemá jesmar wúr. anakátipíc, a amás esé niopér jipít, 'm, maríw in amás os, e óp worworworworworwor ájitemtésmar. iním áemesmár, iním áemesmár e Siréc piri atáwnemesmár e arán e wasén, é mu pú nak am ánitáwpiptímesmar ców. tam jó iním apumár tajtajtajtajtajtaj ajiémer ín. a amás e wuán wut cáwuawer araw [1] ún Siréc, pirí wut arán wut, é pomán wut, é wasén wut. anakátipit nát, a os wá nat cenés ajímnemor ín. anakácowúc, jimsip ápajimór, arán manmák, pirí manmák, pomán manmák, wasén manmák, "ji, Tewéra, majíspori, newét, orów jursópěném aráw, maré amás kúaworésmar. ar ápo, Siréc [2] os wá cowák okorésawér ará amás ucím pemésmar éw, ców ar áporí", iním ajífamútmar ín.

[1] aw; [2] Sirát.

[a] The sago palm is still acting as a human being.

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ar amús iním apór "é, Miwírpic noromómè nó jursópen awá, cáj nak éwiripunè" iním er ín. "ní, newét iwijísporasín ucím pemésmar éw", iním aer ín. áiwiómisér, áiwiómisér, á cenés aporpór opák in. anakátipic úsis ín afajáper ín a óp. míc wut ín. míc maworémkurúm pak ín, iním atémtapésmar ín. "á, tó arásen aráw a uciè, a uciè!" "á, o Tewér ená" iním aer ín a óp. "ā, Miwírpic o ucím emésmemá! Miwírpic tó a jíf nisiápfem áw ucím emésmemá" iním er ín "á, noromóm, nor

in the sky dark clouds piled up. "Tewérawuc, fix the door tightly with the beam, a calamity has overtaken our husband. A violent storm is going to rage all night. Look at the clouds piling up there in the sky!" she said. Her sister fixed the door firmly with the beam. In the afternoon, she drew tight the rattan on the beam. The woman only thought of wailing; she kept on wailing.

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In the evening just when the sun had gone down, the wind rose in squalls, vivid lightning flashed, the thunder was so heavy it seemed to lay on the earth. "Oh," cried the wife, "Miwírpic, Miwírpic, wasn't I always with you on the coast, near the Siréc! By always wanting Tewérawuc as a second wife the way you did, you did me a wrong! My good man, now he's in trouble," and she stopped wailing. The rain, my! it fell down continually from the middle of the day, the terrible lightning flashed constantly that night, and it thundered. The man, the one who had sunk down with the sago bag, lo! he became a sago palm; higher and higher he 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, Miwírpic, my dear husband, I've done the wrong thing by you. I would never have anything to do with you!" she said. "Come, let's both hurry to the forest to see what he has done during the night," she said. Quickly she hurried with her to the forest; she looked around below, but did not see him. The man up above smiled broadly. He had become a great sago palm, just about to flower, — no, he had not then completely changed into a full grown sago

áwapi araw. áwemci nó emcí no amás áworémesmí". maré a mopán amuámser ín. — á, ar amús memtomís pak cém makán takámjiser ín. anakácowuc aráp in. — se mów omitmár, ómitmár, amás, akáw opák in, pó opák in nesén, ócen témtemésmar ín. é opák in. nesén é in. "ĕmá atów, nó sinakap ám, masím caátĕrén, arów jursómiwirín, manítewí" iním aer ín. "hè" ájac ín, áiwínier ín. "á, Tewér noromóm, Tewéra, nor mó cowák emá" iním aer ín. áemnierā, "Tewéra, newét ucím pemésmar éw ní, orám masím patí" iním aer ín. ar amús in ánisirítewerac ín aómomíser ín. áomomíserā, wunám, mót se mów ajísmuámser ín. mót se mówa, mót se mówa. anakátipíc, "á, noromóma maréwa mú muemíca" iním aer ín. ar amús cin mót se mów. "mú muemíc, ánicím, maré no amás kuáworémesmí. Miwírpic, Siréc arán, amás kuáworémer ín. iním májawérnes".

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[a] He has as yet no crown, as will be clear from what follows.

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"amás ajáworemésmi aráw. ców araw ún aemésmi aráw. sín siawéraw ám, amás am manáwĕrés" iním aémjitmar ín. "nó akáw opák é opák, pó opák, nesén orom ákonawésmupúj" iním aer ín. "á, nej manítatepíapí", iním aer ín. "manítatepíapí nó sinakáp matewí", iním aer ín. "a, nó sinakáp sawnáka", ajípor opák in. "ā, iním nat ucíè, a nát aráw ajurusé aw", iním aer ín. anakátipic kór teptepteptepteptep ánijáper ín. ánitátepiápac ín a ár amús, kús [1] a anakát iním ajátmapmor ín. fop. a kamtér jamnók masinĕrím, óp inim atemétowópmor ín. a mán sep jamnók maserím, iním aemápmor ín. a mán ef —, a amás a akáw a pó ajínemóm. Tewérawút, ar amús Tewérawucakáp, á iním akmapmár araw ún. a á sájismar másinĕrím. a sép iním apmár araw ún man éf in, Tewérawucakáp man éf in, man éf iním asícimápmor ín. atáwtermenápmor ín. a pó, pipímtawá emom amás jipumewermom pó

palm, when he grew during the night. "Hey, yesterday he was here, where is he, where is he?" "Hey, is that you Tewér?" he said, high up above. "Oh, Miwírpic, 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. 'Miwírpic 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 atáwtermenápmor ín. a amás é masirím a man éf araw ún.

[1] kuwús.

[a] Here, the speaker indicates with her arms how Tewérawuc was sitting.

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"maré, nó sinakap átowopmamín aráw, métmetí",[1] iním aer ín. anakátipic kór 'm, maré os wá cenés ajímnemor ín. amás po marí, e wú atemétjomer íí "aráw manè, orpá memém pok awér, nó sinakáp aráw mómjursómiwirín maré inim áememców"[2] iním aer ín. maré amás pó araw ún e átemetwúemer ín. anakácowút wunám mót se mów amuámser ín. moc, moc, moc, "ā, marí nor mó cowak ém anijíca" iním aer ín. "Miwírpicá, no maré aníci, no jiwís matúwse, ów apcóm emár aráw noráp, nó sinakap ám marí jáka tówópmamin aráw" iním aer ín "ā, nor mó cowak ém ĕmá, jáka cém jimsíp ememésmar amás, tó amás mómawnáwirí, jowún am amás momawní, ĕmá" iním aer ín. "hè" iním aer ín. "mí na ó mot ow pów", iním er ín. móc in ájatámnierē, cém aniáper ín. móc am, mócamár, mocamár jo tímapér, porów ojísporér, móc ajísmotiwér[3] ar mó, is ín nipitamsér, tam áiwijíser ín. "Miwírpicó, nó amás mawanó" iním aer ín. "á, amás jaka cém jimsíp ja omópomísmem amás, iním amúc" iním er ín. "amás nat ucím emamcí". "amás ja sí ará mopán anúk iním aknémacém, á momapómkomúc" iním aer ín. "picín púmtewercém masnĕrím, é senén momás, e mí momás a ás am mómsasákamúc armá emwúsermár" iním aer ín. "hè" iním aer ín.

[1] mátmetí; [2] ánemémcow; [3] ajísmotiwír.

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aémnierá, si'n ajíwsirítewer ín. sí efá tewérac ín, amás cuwúc emíc anúk efá aknémac ín (—).[1] picín apúmomer ín. mí, mapmór senén, ás, maré awúmnemor ín. áwijisér, "amás emenímatiwpúj!" "á, mom-

this way ª —, they are the branches which stick out; she sits with her arms — this way ª —. 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. "Miwírpic, 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. "Miwírpic, 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 —ª. She chopped off the bark, she chopped at her right

ápeperíc, ja wowúc tiwapércem, já om mén, amás nec apcóm nesen émisérmar. e úmu am momápeperóciní e mopán am momápeperóciní" iním aer ín. "amás, apepéracem anúk momtémtemíc anuk akcém, pím ororómtiwcem, e úmu am mómjitnemúc a mopán am mómjitnemúc a wowúc, e nám poman áfafémnemacém a nám pomán masirím amús maw nám pomán masirím á momáwmapmúc. amús misĕrím a mómtiwkáfumúc", iním aer ín. "hè" iním aer ín. áwiniér, wowúc atíwaperer ín. ténakap átewémor ín. "m, amás aráw new" iním aer ín. úmu ásiocinér, ténakap in ásiocinér ténakap ín. mopán, anúk in atémtemer ín. anúk akérē.[2] úmu ájitnémor ín, fafémocinér, mopán, manmák jamnók wut ájitnemor[3] ín, ájawumnémor ín. amús atíwkafumór cowák, amas nés, amas nés, amas nés, áwkurumtiwér,[4] wunám wasén aiwijíser ín. "Miwírpicó, amás nes eméawkurúmpuj ucím emcí".

[1] Here one word is unintelligible; [2] akárē; [3] ájitmomer; [4] áwkurumtiwír.

[a] Here a word is not clear enough on the tape for it to be understood.

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"á, a pó atówopmésmĕnem[1] pó aráw, ja pó anísicímtiwĕrem pó, é coworé momsasakámasmúc, e cĕwí masním sakámtewerá, sakámtewerá, mamcúp[2] iním mompímtiwíc. a wún jec a mómafimúc. a wún, sís aémteweracém a mómjirmemúc, e mómtakamjímtiwíc. sís jirmémcem apím a mómtitiwíc, jéc titíwcem ep, maré manám mómjikemúc, cowú momáteremúc. cicikímcem masirím ép a mómerwuápmuc mími am atíteweracém óf ajátmapmacém, á momtíwumúc", iním aer ín. "hè" iním aer ín. áiwiniér, pó mipipím un aniómer ín. pó, efá sirímpipímtiwac ín jec efá sirímfimac ín, é ajímtiwer ín. sís ajírmemor ín. sís afímtiwac ín, ájirmémac ín apím atitíwer ín. ácicikímtiwer ín manám ajíkemac ín, óf ajátmapmor ín mimí atitíwer ín. atíwumór cowak. atíwumor cowák. mu fá amerémsemor ín, wunám, wunám,

side, and at her left side, the pith, and finally she toppled it over. She hurried to the forest. "I went back and I've chopped down the sago palm!" "Fine! Now you must make the test holes. When you've made a test opening in the middle, then the digging stick will come out with nothing but raw sago sticking to the edge; then make the test holes towards the top, and after that, towards the end of the trunk," he said. "When you've made the test holes in the sago palm, then you must climb onto the trunk. When you've chopped off the growth and have made the surface smooth, then make cuts across the trunk on the upper surface, at the top end, the bottom end and the middle. When you've stripped the bark off the one half towards the bottom, then strip the bark off that half, which is the one that has to be scraped out. Then begin to loosen the pith with the sago scraper," he said. "All right," she said. She hurried back and began to make a test hole in the middle. She thrust it [the digging stick] into it a little bit. "Ho, this is probably sago," she said. She moved up towards the top, testing — just under the surface was the sago —; she moved down, testing, towards the lower end — it was just under the surface! She climbed onto the growth on the trunk. She chopped off the growth. She made a cut across the trunk on the upper side. She stripped the bark off towards the top; at the lower end [she did the same]; she divided it into two large sections. She wrenched the bark loose towards the bottom. Immediately she began to work loose the pith with the scraper. She scraped out more and more sago pith, until it was all out. Then she hurried to the forest. "Miwírpic, I've scraped out all the sago pith. What do I do now?"

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"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 [a]. 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 jíkurumór, po mú fowu émsemor ín. anám, anám, anám, — opák a úmu anám mé pak ín — "amás po motowómsemém" iním aer ín.

[1] atówopmésměrawóm; [2] mamcíp.

[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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áiwisér, "Miwírpicó, amás, pó matowómser". "á, noromúm esé tápomní. máj momátawúc, máj ses mómtiwúrumúc. ja pó, apít tewéracem, máj, tatíwacem e sés mómtiwurumúc [1] áfcin terέw momfáfemasmúc. amás maj matáwacem". "no nát ucím emcí amás awúj natá". "á, ěmá, tó am, amás nat takás emaném" iním aer ín. "amás takás opák, anám ajpím new, ómus new é wun, memsémapmúj". "á, ja ómus mesmápmorém! já, émorem ánam aráw" "mopánakap ám awamís" "á, ěmá tó emtewnácema noromóm" iním aer ín. esé tapmór, esé tapmór, máj atewér, máj atewér, máj atewér, cém ajujúkumápmor ín. amsesmár, jófaj tám, ánam ájisuwáper ín ánam ajpím, ómus, mopan ájawúmtiwac ín nes nes, émtiwkurúmac in, apím, asúwaper ín. apím, apím, apím jíkurumór, mopán, anám, takás, omúsnakap ririmtiwac ín. apím takas júkurumór, amás esé atájujukumápmac in máj am, cem ájujúkumápmac ín ar mó ákin ajákomiser ín. "o émcem én". "no emcí". móc in atéwoséwer ín. mót se mów ajísmuámser ín. "noromómo, maré mót se mówawerémo", iním er in. "amás tepaémněrém", "amás eméemanpúj, esé takás tájujúkmapmúj [2] tó am ese tájujúkmapmó [3] maj, cém mipacák nesén fer wáp. maní pen éw". "tó momtuwséc, mu já'n másormonicén. é konawamsá efom cém, níapá. jó timséacem, ís esitá. tám tuwséa iním momjínijíc" iním aer ín.

[1] mómtiwúrurumúc; [2] tájukumapmúj; [3] tájukmapmó.

[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 [b].

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She hurried to the forest. "Miwírpic, 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) [a]?" "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,

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móc mocómewermár mocómewermár, "noromúmo jó matimár anijíca. cém niamsía" iním aer ín. móc am ajatámnier ín. cém anífiwer ín. moc jó'n afamásmor ín. tám aráw, aóriwiser ín. mót se mów ajítmar, ajítmar, "o ucíè". "no maré manwúwo" [1] iním aer ín. "á, noromóm maré anijíc. tó atáwtamfín aráw, já mowséc akónawamsá [2] efom cém, nífiwá iním moméc. tám masĕrím wunám otuwseá iním moméc. or ówtiw, ur ísipis, cém a mómnitamúc", iním aer ín. jiwís atúwor ín. móc am, kómapmúc araw ún jiwís pok cí, jiwís pok cí, jiwís atúwser ín. jiwís atúwser in mú ja'n asormónier ín móc am amótnier ín. móc am ájatámniamár, móc am ájatámniamár, móc am ajatámniamár. jó tisér apór, arów konawámsĕres cém ánifiwer ín. ámsesmárā. jó iním apumár, aóniuwor ín. mú ja'n asormónier ín, mu já, sórmoniamár, niamár, niamár, wunám, jó atímser ín. jó timseér, arów konáwfiwĕrés [3] cem, eápmorés cem, wunám onífiwer ín. ámsesmár, jó apuer ín. jó iním tepumár, wunám cí oniúwor ín. mu já'n sormóniamár, niamár, niamár, jó tisér wunám, máp nak konawápĕres [4] cém, ánifiwésmar ín — fiwitúmar ín. ámsesmár, jó inim tépserimár "á, Miwírpicèj, maré takámtowómsefĕném néw isipis náriw, nó sinopís, capínmi ewniómuwfĕnem, kónawomséspĕnem [5] cém amsésmupúj. cí nuwumíè, cém norpá manitájè, wówè", iním aer ín. moc ín ajatámser ín. mót se mów ajitmár ajitmár cí aníuwor in sé'n ajáwniámar ín.

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[1] maníuw; [2] kánawamsá; [3] kanáwfiwĕres; [4] kanawápĕres; [5] kánawomséspĕnem.

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, Miwírpic, Miwírpic, 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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ar ówtiw ar ísipis arám, manmák sirí cuwuc áp. "cí napí cowák ápopĕrínimokómè" iním aeres ín. "á, arána, Miwírpic, jiwís tuwséf aráw new ín, cí napi é nimár araw ún, e jó pu mú ja'n asórmonimár araw ún" iním eres ín. awúnier ín. anakácowut sé'n cuwuc awsé aw ún. "m, á, Tewérawuc arpá asé aw, maré Miwírpic sonów emé, jópmak ów emécanes! á ar amús am opák arpá asé. sé'n ajáwse aráw" iním eres ín. wuniá jamár, támnakap, nítamor ín jok. "Tewéra, o ucím emfem, ja or mó ucè ja or amús ucè" inín eres ín. "ā, arán makán jinimía, norow ún tewnémamén namké mot se mów, sé ajáwnimía", iním aer ín. "no mufán am ar ém un téwjipiromè", iním er ín. amás cém cowák, ar ĕnéw a niwí, cém cowák. cém purpurpurpurpurpurpur ówerow wút cepés wut típus jiwí wut, atakám mapor ín. e Miwírpic a jowów a típuris e ar epúcĕwes e ar ewúcĕwés, e a tĕrásĕpes, "a nát ucím as ám" iním eres ín. "a ná amás aráw! já anmokóm nat amás majipór pow a nát enám aw pé aw, ánmopokóm. á amás aráw" iním aer ín. "ánimár ara! Siréc epmák wow ám é wuan wú emá, é jo pím nak am, mú nak ám cakás, tínak ek mú iriríawérma, akámonimár aráw. ánitápowesmár", iním aer ín. awú mumu ján araw ún.

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"newét, ucím peme éw, newét ucím pemef éw newétè". "cáj pacák emé, áwamis ás aráw, áwamis ás aráw newét ar ás. esé at étamén mow armá jaktamfén. esé nam pomán aráw nám pomán aráw énakap ním cotíwporó opák. cowák wut jíwirtámtamewirí. esé asiasmó com ám topmóf, "amas kén mekenéc" iním jomítpen. amás ken kéneóf, amás anítitíwitè amás awámpom. a esé najítipic, asép matápom emporó opák. "cowó cirím síotemtí" inim jampén. cowó cirím siotémtamó. mónor in émporamép, onór asomitéf akát, tówoniéf, oniéf, oniéf,[1] maré iwním, os máj masúwem ín, akín tapomákmamép a amás esé apcóm, esé najítipíc, jíf copo wú jamép, manmák in nífesopómitè. mátewer ín a jíf sioníporamóp. tepteptep jómpuamép. newét maré

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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 Miwírpic, 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! Miwírpic 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 Miwírpic, his sons and daughters, his older and younger brothers, his sisters, said: "What have you got there?" "That's sago. What you eat is not real sago, fish and crabs are what you eat. This is sago," she said. "It comes downriver; now there is a great rustling of sago leaves on the upper course of the Siréc; on the banks, over the water, everywhere. Continually the fruit of the sago palm is raining down into the water which carries them to the sea, leaving them on the land on its way here," she said. The people struck themselves on their breasts with amazement.

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"Just what has happened to your husband? Just what has happened to your husband?" they said. "A calamity overtook him. This stuff that lies here, is his! He got me to make a bag for it. He himself fetched the roots for me. I plaited a bag, wide from there to there, not so big, but that wasn't any good. Only one, a huge one, I made for him. I plaited the bag and fastened the headband onto it. "Get the implements ready," he said to me in the morning. I got the implements ready. We scraped out the sago palm he'd felled. I only wanted partly to fill the gigantic bag, but no! "Plait a band of sago leaves on top of it" he said to me. I plaited a band of sago leaves onto the top. He tried and tried to carry it on his back; [at last] he succeeded in carrying

amás kúaworéme Siréc arán. erém a mér cowak wáritemtesmép. nó sinakáp akáwimopé maré". mu pó aniáper in móc. mót se mów ajámar ín. ar ísipís ar epúcĕwes ar ewúcĕwes a típurís, a tĕrásĕpés, mót semén araw ún awér opák semén, aémit ín. móc mocamés mocamés, "amás awamís aráw an", "a amás aráw, amás aráw" iním aer ín. a amás jis tówopmá eres, amás acín iním tówkopá eres mó kawós in. ná eres "áw, átar enám amás pók amás pé amás néwirum néwa, amás aráw newá amás akatés aporía", ajámes ín. amás atáwtomínomaser [2] ín. Siréc, Miwírpic amás kúaworémer ín. ár picirim áw.

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[1] towoniof, oniof, oniof; [2] táwtomúnomaser.

[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 Ásmat stories the people always vomit as a reaction to: a) contact with the supernatural (see also § 311), and b) their first acquaintance with something entirely new to them, as is the case here. In the myth about the origin of fire, which is not given in this work, the people vomit when they first see fire.

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net, Mis, Mísimit a erén éweséf. erén, erén eweséf masním, Pajámparí am arám, Fití, fér serapómfes ín. fér serapómfes masním, éren éwemef cowák, a Pajámpari am arám ar mó cin, fér serapómfes ín. Pajámparí am arám, ar mó Safán cin fér serapómfes ín. fér serapómfes masním, áserápmarés maré eren átepfes ín. éren átepfes cowák. ar mó makán ajiésef ín, a Safán atéptowópmare 'n. a nát, a tíw am, á purís am, — a tíw makán ef ín. Mesók, ámetosef ín. a mí nat, a níwi mi nim ájaworémef [1] ín. anakácowuc aráw, a cenés ajapésfes ín. á, Mesók cin ájapesfes ín. Mesók cin ájapesfés cowakā, fér enám am arám, mú awút kor ín. mú awút kor. "Mesókā, fér men mú misi páka, mér amércasína" iním aef ín. "mér amércasína" iním aef ín. a níwi am arám, a jó minkúm, pisúwa'n ájimomare'n, mákpin iním cuwuc [2] émef áw un. mákpin iním cuwuc [2] émef áw un. Pajámparí am arám, á Mesok ám, póman in. Pajámparí nesé in. Mís am arám, níwi mí nim ajáworemef ín. níwi mí nim áworeméf, iním aporéf, Pajámpari pé okómteweraré'n, júmus, jireméf jireméf jireméf pé mokómtewer

the heavy load on his back; he went back with it, farther and farther [he went]. Then, at the river, he tried to step onto a tree trunk, but as soon as he set foot on it, splash! there he sank into the bog with the bag, the gigantic bag. There he stuck, after he had sunk down up to the eyes. I dug away the ground to try to haul him out, but he sank farther and farther down. Now he's been changed into a sago palm, on the upper course of the Siréc. He grew right up during that one night; my sister was joined to him. That's what happened." The people went in a crowd to the water, wailing. Wailing, they threw themselves into the mud, his parents, his older and his younger brothers, his sons and his daughters, his sisters — in a long row they stood [the women] and wailed, without their *awér* [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 Miwírpic changed into a sago palm. That's the story.

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A spirit, Mis [a], Mísimít [b], came here [c] from upstream. When he came from upstream — also Pajámpari — on the Fití [d] — 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 [f]. 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 [g] was also there, at the mouth of the river; he stood there with his arms crossed, a

júmus jireméf jireméf, iním aporéf, "ā, Manéfakat o ucím miníp pumomnéma, á, Jomót ewenáwanemá" iním aef ín.

[1] ajorèmef; [2] cuc.

[a] 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 Fití, *Antásimit*.

[b] Names of mythological and historical personages often have the suffix *-simit*. I get the impression that this suffix has an honorific value in these cases.

[c] here = downstream, towards the coast.

[d] See map, p. 363.

[e] Towards the coast.

[f] i.e., Manéfakat, Wominén's father.

[g] i.e., Mis, in the form of Manéfakat.

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iním aporéf Pajámparí "áw, nó nat ó moporómtewer, pók mer nór a pók mer ajákakapipúmupújè" [1] iním ef ín. "ó moporómtewer ajakakapípumía, cáj ecéna" iním ef ín. anakátipíc aráw "á, nám pok mer emémi, no ó mopor pák", iním ef ín. anakácowuc aráw, "efamúc" a juwúr nani nim emnánimár araw ún. "efamúca, efamúca!" "sawnáka, ĕmá memíc" ajíporéf. "sawnák ĕmá memíc" ajíporéf, "á, meméměrém" iním aef ín. ániporémapef ín. m, ásumtúmare'n, anakátipic aráw, "no ów asmótipic opák, no nétipic emcí, no nétipic emcí Manéfakat mí nim áworemí" iním aef ín. "eā, eméajmirámpunè, eméajmiramíno! Manéfakat mí nim áworemitém awè!" anakácowuc aráw, námun áemémef ín. "Mesókā", iním aef ín, a Mesók "á" iním ef ín. "maréā, fér musúmtewercára mú akumára" iním ef ín. fér na enám pak ín. fér enám pak ín. asúmtewerarés,[2] mare mér amer pák, a umúc nimírsemá nimírsemá nimírsemá, enám, fo mufúm pak ín. enám ep nám mukurúmtewér pak in. "á, maré enám ep nám mukurúmtewer pák maré, atépca" iním ef ín. "mú mukumár" iním aef ín.

[1] ajákapipúmupújè; [2] asúmterarés.

[a] Coitus is effected in a sitting position.

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"mú akumára", fér in asúmtewerares [1] ín maré eren atówotépfes ín. átepfes ín. átepfes cowákā, pó jitepfés, pó jitepfés, ar mó "enám kor ním, fér in áserapmácokom, mínimir kór norpá aptákasameweréjipurúwa enám jó kor awer áw, enám kor awer áw fér masúmtewer fér atakám kor táwutúmcĕpokom porów aporérmokom" iním aef ín. "enám kor awer áw enam jó wut awer áw" iním ef ín. maré, enám nat, Safán nat, Safán inim émtawaré, "enám nat jipís eawérmokom

dagger stuck in his armband. With his arms crossed, he stood there. Pajámpari and Mesók were on the opposite bank — no, Pajámpari was on this side. And also Mis, who had changed himself into father. He had changed his face into that of father. He saw her: Pajámpari was catching crabs, she continually stooped to catch crabs. She caught sight of him. "Hey, Manéfakat, what are you thinking about me? Have you come here from the Jomót?" she said.

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When Pajámpari saw him, she said: "Oh, just to look for you I'm out catching crabs, I always go out alone to catch crabs. To look for you, I always go out on my own; come and couple with me," she said. "Well, I'm also out hunting. I wasn't looking for you," said the man. "Do it quickly," said the woman, and she stood there whimpering like a bitch! "Quickly, now; quickly, now!" Please, stay where you are, stay where you are," he pleaded. "Well, since you are there," he said and he went and sat [a] by her — mmmm — When he'd helped her up, he said to the woman: I'm not a man, I'm a spirit, a spirit man. I've changed my face into that of Manéfakat." "Oh, and I've just committed adultery with you; I've just committed adultery with you. But you'd changed your face into that of Manéfakat!" The woman kept her secret. "Hey, Mesók, she called. "Yes," Mesók replied. "It's time now, let's take away the fish trap, there's no more water," she said. But there were no fish in the trap. There were no fish in the trap. When they'd pulled it up, they didn't catch more crabs but looked for fish in the pools that had been left. They searched, and searched, but they didn't pull out any fish; not a fish's body or a fish's tail did they touch. "Enough of this, we can't get hold of any fish, let's go upstream," she said. "There's no more water," she said.

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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 [a], 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 eitúmcĕmokóm ara, jipís efokóm ar masním aserapómfĕnom áw. enám caj curúw nakó", iním aef ín. "enám caj curúw nakó" iním aef ín. anakácowuc am aram nám, akín atépakámsef ín. nám Fití opés opés opés opés, maré, ámetótnawfés. metótnawfés masirím, metótnawfés, jófaj, ápampés, jófaj apampés, jófaj maserím maré ju ájamép. jú emépē emép emép emép emép emép. jófaj jófaj jófaj maserim maré, erém ákamiamséf. erém ákamíamséf maré.

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[1] asúmterares.

[a] 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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a Jiníw eren ów am arám arów matewér, 'm, pomót wut, sokmót wut, Jiníw eren ów ajítare Fití eren ów ajítare, Fití enáwkapuéf. Fití akápuaré, Jómot énawkapuéf. Jomót epmák. a Jomót masním, Píapipín aráw, wú, Jomót ap ín. Jomót, tákajap ín e Jiníw Píapipín [1] atakajéf cowák a Jomót, tamús emef ín. ów nat ájurupumés. á Jomótsimít masním, a Píapipín [1] minkúm, a okór emic ín. á okór emic ín. — pomót wut, mí pané wut, sokmót sok fín wut, sok fín wut téwawumésmep. Jomót nat samsamsamsamsamsamsamsam ájiesmép. enésjamséf, enésjamsef ín. Sajmós a tíw, — juwús namsóm pakó —, po sé'n ajirímkuare'n majístewer masním áiwisef ín. áwijisaré, cuwúc amséf maré atíwsirítweraré, mare cí aniómuwfes ín. cí aniómuwares ín maré, x, e Jomót erén po so'n awájotepfes [2] ín maré. iním emfés cowák, Jiníw erén, Jomót acirá, Mow acirá, Jiníw acirá, Fití acirá, Mów acirá. Mów eren ów, mare círi émtewerfes ín. Pajámparí Mow, Mów awáp in. Mów atewérfes [3] ín. Mów ow cét atewérfes ín. Mów eren ów, Uwúsakap cém awáp in. a Jiníw eren ów asúnfes ín. Jiníw eren ów asúnfes masirím, Mów ow masním cet átatewérfes [4] ín.

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[1] Píapin; [2] awájotepes; [3] atérfes; [4] atatèrfes.

[a] 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 [b]. 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 Jiníw [a] then wanted to take her. "Oh, [they had] many feathered paddles, many feathers in their hair; the ghosts from the upper Jiníw set out for the Fití, the ghosts from the upper Fití set out; the Jiníw ghosts set out and arrived at the Fití where they joined up with them; they joined up with the Fití ghosts and arrived here so that they could join [those from] the Jomót, at the upper course. — There, on the Jomót, is the Píapipín, the short cut to the Jomót. It goes across to the Jomót; the Píapipín runs from the Jomót to the Jiníw. It forms a link with the Jomót. The people usually go along it. Jomótsimit keeps guard on the bank where the Píapipín branches off —. [They had] many feathered paddles, many nose shells, many bird's feathers stuck in their hair; great numbers of feathers they put in their hair that night. In rows close together they came that night over the Jomót; they all came here. The son of Sajmós — I don't know his name — stuck his paddle in the mud and landed. He went ashore quickly so that he could get her. Quickly he went ashore, picked her up where she lay, and they carried her off in the canoe; and, singing, they took her right to the end of the upper course of the Jomót. Like this they all did: the ghosts from the Jiníw snatched at her; the ghosts from the Jomót snatched at her. The ghosts from the Mow snatched at her, the ghosts from the Jiníw snatched at her, those from the Fití snatched at her, those from the Mow snatched at her [b], 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 anímcukóf, pók mer wú mer aríwtepfom. wú mujú aríwtepfóm, wú mujú aríwtepfóm. no jowów nat, a iwním pim nim ámesemfés. awún, nór masirím a wasén pim nór awun ájisakápiemof. wasén pim nór awun ájisakápiemóf. e, Jomótakap a purís am arám, a purís am arám, áw apcóm un. áw apcóm, émemef ín. a owér, porów tetamfés. anakácowut maserím, "ā, iním owér no pú naká, nam ásmat ów owéros pen éw mopórjar emía, emára", iním aef ín. nám, wú mujú, a wú mujú cuwúc emóf. arám, a niwí kor am arám, firkóm mawér, firkóm mawér, cuwúc apef. séj awérfisef ín. séj awérfiséf maré, "nía no owéros pen éw mapórjarawér [1] emío" iním ef ín. "owerós pen éw mapórjarawer émi" iním ef ín. é eren éwemef cowák. mokót win ásasakájesef ín. mokót win sásakajeséfē, sasakajséf sasakajséf, ásasakájesef ín. no ná, Tówmi á, — e, Tówmi emí ara —, Siwínmak á, Siwínmak. wú aurúmteweraró, — wú asér awáp aráw. a wú asér, murúmtewer, áurúmnemaró a cenés masním musúm cuwúc emóf.

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[1] mapórarawér.

[a] *jowów*, here translated with 'people' refers primarily to people belonging to one and the same ceremonial house; it can also mean people who are of the same village.

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musúm cuwúc emóf masním, arám, anakácowuc ám arám, a wu ján, aporéf maré, manmák cenam wú ájesef ín "no namós araw mané, nó namós aráw mané", iním aef ín. awiesef cowák awiesef cowák. iním aporéf, mijisóm pak ín, manmák in aorómef [1] ín. "ów mi akát nak áw! ów mi akát nak áw", iním ef ín. "Jomót eren ów nat, mí motamú kor win, mí motamú kor win", iním aef ín. "nor mó araw mán" iním aef ín. anakácowuc aráw, mán ses ín asowemaré, erén áwitepef ín. erén áwitepefē, "níwiá, nor, — cém cuwuc apéf, a niwí atepómef ín "ó ucè" iním ef ín. "níj, jipít cowák man sés sowemúj, awemít. wú musum óp tomtómer, aemíc. ow mí akatés cowák, aporí" iním ef ín. "ā, ĕmá, ja owerów, am pók mer, amás, pók mer wú mer, páwuawér-

the Jiníw were worsted. The ghosts from the Jiníw lost, and the ghosts from the Mow won the contest.

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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 Tówmi, — the Tówmi, I say... the Siwínmak, the Siwínmak. I got an edible top and, — there stood a young palm, a *wú asér*. In order to pull out the edible top, I toppled it over and I stood there pulling it out.

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As I stood there pulling it out, the girl heard the noise and with shining eyes she came there. "That's fine, that's fine," she said. She came quickly towards me and looked at me. She didn't come out of the forest to meet me, she just peered at me. "What a handsome man this is! What a good looking young man," she said. "The ghosts of the upper reaches of the Jomót have broad flat noses, every one of them," she said. "That's my husband," she said. The girl simply raised her hand* 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!" iním ef ín. anakátipic firkóm mirám un atíwjimare'n, átowoséf, a fa'n ajastámosef ín. fa'n ajastámosefē. iním aporéf, "a émesí" iním ef ín. iním aporéf "awemíc aráw. épnam áj ap, áj ap" iním aef ín. á waséc kor masirím, nesén, omów ten ín, amúw omew ín. ápumasméf cowák, anakácowuc iním aporéf, arám, arów aporéf, — jimámuc ín emí ara emí ara —, iním aporéf, ápumef cowák maré nam ápumokopomfén.

[1] aorémef; [2] *suka*: loan-word from Malay.

[a] 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.

[b] 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 ápumokopómfĕnes nor aráw, maré mér nim "ā" cenés inim ájamsóf. maré, "a ĕmá arpúka, arpúka ĕmá, man mí tiwotĕrém. ĕmá, a tów cajaríc" [1] iním aef ín. ĕmá ĕmá ĕmá ĕmá ĕmá ĕmá ĕmá ĕmá, anakátipic aráw, ják asé eméomoméf, tíwotfén. "ā" ajamsóf. "ā, ucím omnémè, no ucím ar' amè, no ucím ar' amè, ucím eminè" iním ajóf. "ĕmá, man mí tiwotĕrém" iním aef ín. man mí iním tiwótmepen ják, ják asé'n aráw, ájatmapóm ájatmapóm, a kús ajátmapóm iním aef. "ā" jísitóf. jisitóf masním, nor, "o cá jipic ám". no nát atakám mataw pák, atakám mataw pák. maré, átakam pák cowák. "Jomót áwse aráw, a Jomót teté, a Má teté, Júwotep pú awamís aráw, maré no mokot pú aráw", iním aéf. fa'n ájastámteweréf cowák, Jomót erén. "maré ja matawér pak, já matawér pak maré, pú amis aráw", iním aéf. á camák, wos kór iním eméf cowák, Má mu aníjukumef ín. é a mokót pu masĕrím, cém onow mák kor omów cuwuc apéf. iním aporóf, "cém onow mák áwamis aráw, cém onow mák áwamis aráw" iním aéf. iním aporóf, júmus in ajíremóf. arám, a cepés am arám amás wut, tów wut, wú jimín wut, áj amás akát amás, án co sisímampés, ásisímampés ásisímampes ásisímampes. cém ko níapóf. cém amán iním aporóf pok có maré cepés pok có asisímomséf. ar mó aráw "ā, 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] tájarít; [2] owerów; [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 [b], I dislike the married men," he said. The man took a bundle of large arrows and took it with him, following her. He followed her. She looked round. "It was here that I walked a moment ago," she said. "A young pandan tree stands there on either side," she said. In between there was a wide open space, overgrown with hanguana reeds. She trod them down; the girl looked, he looked also: I continued to work busily. She looked. She trod them down, and caused them to touch me on the body.

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They trod it down and, doing so, they caused them to hit me, and I, "ah!" I cried, and like a flash of lightning, I fell to the ground. "Wait, stand aside, keep off! Wait, don't touch him with your fingers! Wait! Let him come round first," he said. They waited and waited, and waited. The man had a magic piece of charcoal with him. He touched me with it. "Oh," so I lay, calling out. "Oh, why are you here with me? What's happening to me, what's happening to me?" so I cried. "Wait, don't touch him," he said. And he touched me with the tips of his fingers, and dabbed me here and there and there, and on the head, with the magic charcoal. "Ah," I cried, standing up. When I stood up, I said: "Who are you?" — No, I said nothing, I didn't speak, I said not a word. — "Here's the Jomót. Between the Jomót and the Ma lies the path along the Júwotép, that's the path through my sago garden," he said. And he took me with him, walking behind me, to the upper course of the Jomót. "It's not so far, it's not so far. Here's the path," he said. There, behind the house, he'd made a large clearing which reached to the river Ma. And there, near the sago garden, lay the house, with a big roof, in an open space. I looked up. "There's the roof of the house, there's the roof of the house," he said. I looked up. I was walking with bowed head. They, his wives, were busy filling one trough after another with much sago, many sago grubs, many sago sticks, mixed with the edible top of the sago palm; with new, fine sago. I went to sit on the front gallery. I took a look inside: there were the wives filling troughs with food and they brought them out-

[a] 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 pók jimamúc in ajámpes, ajásmampés. no emcí akat ním. "ẽ", — a purís nat cém amán, mot micíc ajirmár araw ún —. "níwiá, no owér jursúc[2] ememía maréwa, owér jursúc[2] ememí marè májperáwa". "á, ur ísipisnakás" "o ucím as ám, o cá jipic ám, o cá jewmopánipic ám, o cá a tíw, o niwí com ám" emár aráw. no nát, atakám mataw pák cowák, iním apitóf. jó, aémapef[3] masním, "tá, ná Wominén anícukasít cowák arawá, sí jen, óm jen opáka", iním aéfes ín. nám, ci, — "pó metewerí, matákmatám. nesén omómatí, nesén omómati" iním ef. anakácowuc nat móc, matákmatam maré, jók nim ámetosfén. ná jowów am arám cí anínukámsĕres mí amnú. memámtewer ín. a pó na pó a pó na pó, cí piním iním aporéf, nesmín asén ajáwewerémkumfĕnés.[4] nesmín asén ajáwewerémkumfĕnes.[4] a nát, x jo amánakapiríw teteté jicúkufés. a nát maré, iním aporfés "ā, na Wominén ewemíc araw! e jipíc ucim ás emút! uā". a cowút ownés asakámtamfén, úwku átetamfén. "o á uwkú aráw, nór, a uwkú tatmamín, a ownés tatmanín, paras tén aráw, mómwiénawút. or epút Sumúj, or epúc Sumúj aráw, jewéw[5] canfés jipíc aráw, a Jiníw erén aráw, a Jiníw ewáp ara sé minakap. nó a cém matákfiw worwós nim matákfiw emí. a uwkú masním, o jófaj enáwcem uwkú am matawér emín", iním aéf.

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[1] jow; [2] *tjari*: loan-word from Malay; [3] aómaper; [4] ajáwerémkumfĕnés; [5] jew.

[a] In the silence of the forest, the sounds of chopping, among others, carry over a great distance.

[b] 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, pók mu. án pok mú omopfés. án pok mú, níwi am arám enmúm mer, e píri a. Ówpacákipit máj nosó, — jók akát emamópā, jók akát akát porów masním, a úwku aráw ajásamopóf, a fín am. á na jowów jiwí araw iním aporfés, "apák, jáka jowówa, Wóminen, ájakápiemíc araw, Wóminen uwkú am fín

side [a]. "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 [a]!" 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 [b] 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. Ówpacákipic [was at home] with a wound in his foot. During the day everything went well for me, the whole day, and in the afternoon I brought out the crochet

am, ownés am tátmorés, kapák sek esé am óp aráw", iním efes ín. "ā, Wominéna karúwa, iním as mempór pak! fín, nét fin masakámtampór pak" iním aefés. nór aráw, "nám omómi" eóf eóf porów masním, x mó kawós, x mó, x jak ám aóromésmop. níwi nát moc, mócesmép. 'm, mó kawós nim kámamóp jok, porów kawós nim kamamóp kamamóp kamamóp kamamóp kamamóp. — níwi aráw Patépo cuwuc opéf aráw. Patépo enim Jitúrcem cuwúc opéf aw. a, Patiém nat jepnakasá. ĕnéw nat, Patiém. Jitúrcem enim Patépo móc amócampés. nór aráw, apóf apóf apóf apóf apóf apóf apóf apóf maré manmák is ajápmeof. niwí maré pók masakám, iním emép. "á ĕmá, o népnakapiríw, net, áwiomatámes. na, ná majsás pak, iním emitóm. jisín jimí atawór masním, a jisín capínmi akát masním, atémtemér. á jisin óp ara néw, nét e jisin óp ara néw, arásen ew pewesánes éw, a erén éw pewesánes éw. nét aráw, á eren éw pewesánes éw. á jisin óp ara néw asúk new, jisín asúk new, nét, Jomót eren ów ara néw", inim aefés.

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* The breaking of one's possessions is a means of warding off a calamity. (See also § 328, note b).

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na jowów jiwí, nó mapór a cém jiwfuemfés. "ĕmá, o népnakápiríw, ĕmá, cúomatómités. nám mopor pák, nár emíc akát nim, tí mu, cí jiwirí nat arów ememér, na nát wasén, nám pomán iním ĕmĕrom", iním aefés. Menákpic a cém ewiséf "á, jáka jipíc araw, fín am, úwku ám inim tátmores ín. porów jépnakas ájasamópmar aráw, iním asamópmar masnim iním ajísmar mó kawós inim akámtiwmar aráw. mó, a jemésten éwotewér, e jew masním cowák motiwér, ár masnim áwikunáwmar", iním aef, Menákpic. "atów tatakáj jiwi ín, tatakáj jiwí, pok mér jirmúc majirímpor pák, átatakájmar, jen ín jopít, jen ín jopít!" inim aéf. amsóf amsóf amsóf, ufu amúp inim émfĕnes, ufú amúp empórfĕnes empórfĕnes, "ā", — nór aráw, Menákpic aráw, cemsén, tesén ewsiréf cowák. "Wominén, nó o niwí aráw, no Menák", iním aef. "ó", jísitóf, a nát Mípic, a miníp nat Mipíc miníp, ápupúmesmóp. jo fá omér ajesmóp ájesmop ájesmop ájesmop ájesmop, jo fá, ájamsof níwi am ís mes pák, ĕnew am ís mes pák. jo'n áfamópfĕnes. cem áfuamséspes á na jowów jiwi ám. wunám, jófaj, arów metmát emóf, is. niwí am arám enám fawesmép, omót kus, enám nes jimín

hook and the hair. When the children of our people saw that, they said: "Hey, folks, Wominén is standing there on his own; they gave him a crochet hook and hair; a knitted tress! And he also has a parcel of shag in his bag," they said. "Oh, Wominén, that's dangerous! You mustn't do that! The ghosts should not cut off their hair for you," they said. "No," I said, "I'll keep it," said I, again and again. When it was evening I began to vomit, and vomit. The whole night I emptied my stomach! Father cried, all night long. Lo! all the day I wanted to vomit, all the afternoon I wanted to vomit. Father was at that time married to Patépo; to Patépo and Jitúrcem. Patiém has only recently come, Patiém, [my present] mother. Jitúrcem and Patépo wailed the whole day, and I just sat there, and sat, and sat. Finally, I became dizzy. Father wanted to break everything we had [a]. "Hey, wait, your small son has been kidnapped by ghosts! We didn't go away, we have been there all the time. And he searched for the fruit of the *jisín* tree. He gathered the *jisín* fruit, and he went to the high hard ground on which the *jisín* trees grow. Up there, in the *jisín* tree, there might have been ghosts; perhaps it was from here that they'd come there, perhaps they went there from the upper course. Perhaps it is the caterpillars up there in the *jisín* tree, the caterpillars of the *jisín* tree, which are ghosts! Perhaps they're the ghosts from the upper Jomót!" they said.

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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 [a], 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,[b] 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 Mípic! The whole night I was afraid; I lay until the morning, afraid. My father didn't sleep

nítiwtámporfĕnés, nó man pák. Ówpacákipic máj noso cém makan aefés. ĕnéw am jím maré sén atakéf ĕnéw mes. no nát, arów metmát emóf. ís, jiníc acájkurumóf. Ówpacakipic ís nim pútamismép, x parás ten káku aiwínióf.

[a] 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.

[b] 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.

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parás ten káku iním winíamop, Mítewer aráw asép ewsiríef [1] cowák. mácir kápu émtewerfén.[2] "ō, Mitewéra ĕmá no, jitakám mijimír emí, jitakám mijimír emí", ajiporóf. a nát ájimotnawfén, ájimotnáwaren, á jowów am maré jím takás, cepés am ówerow ám maré, pók mer takás píri á. no nát arásen efá wiesaró, jew kór ará Jepémcĕwi am Apoków am Mapíw am, jáměret e sén cuwuc ámsef áw. iním aporóf a cém afiwá, a cém afiwá a cém afiwá a cém afiwá, amás tewená tewená tewená, amás masním maré tawanóf amás masním, mú efá niómpuwaró, mú am setná, jóp nim jítakitó a mú. mé, a amás nat mé pipí jap aráw, jáp aráw jáp aráw jáp aráw jáp aráw maré sén jewsén, Menákpic cúwuc apéf "ā, mókonawúca, nía mókonawúca, noromóma, pók cowák a óp jirá mancasína", iním aef. nór aráw, nór aráw, "óm or áso nám amás emétawnío" iním eóf. "nám amás emétawnío" iním eof. "amás matáwni" ájaró, túan [3] kúri [3] a mewsén, Ufénces cuwúc emef áw. Ufénces cuwúc eméf ásep tuan kúri aráw. jemésten óf nim inim áparísearó jináf jináf jináf ajukóf. maré, tuan kúri wápu mú masním, már atów emfes asén, wápu mú masním, mé anásmamóp. "ā", — tuan kúri — "ā, Wominén, nor mó cowák em ní, a cém mú a jiráw, té mu maní, násí a jiráw, maníc".

[1] ewsirif; [2] èmterfèn; [3] loan-word from Malay (tuan guru = Mission teacher).

[a] In 1960 Jepémcĕwi again had its own ceremonial house: Apoków and Mapíw still shared a ceremonial house.

[b] A Papuan assistant attached to the Roman Catholic Mission who only gives religious instruction. A village such as Jepém had only a *penolong*. Villages where Christianization had progressed further and where a beginning had been made with schooling, also had a teacher (*guru*). Here, Wominén calls the penolong *kuri* (*guru*) in error.

either, my mother didn't sleep either. They sat with me until the morning. And also the children of our people slept round me in the house. Then, on the following day, I fooled them and acted as though I were still asleep. During the night, father had speared fish and they put down beside me the head of an *omót* fish, and a stick of sago mixed with fish, but I didn't eat. They left Ówpacákipic 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 Ówpacákipic 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 *jitakám* 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 Jepémcĕwi, Apoków and Mapíw [a] 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* [b] stood by the landing place. Juventius stood there, the former *penolong*. I lay stretched out, like a dead man, by the landing stage; crawling, I went ashore. After that, I drank from the rain-water pools near the house of the *penolong*, the pools of water on the football field. "Oh," cried the *penolong*, "oh, Wominén, good boy, come, there's water here in the house, drink some tea! Here's rice, eat it!"

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"ā, óm or ás pacákap mán! óm or ás pacákap man nó nat akát pok momaní", ájamop. 'm! wapú mu mé, 'm, wá mu nákurumsémcĕmop wunám wun ás, "wuá ja ják awút aporía" ájamép. Ówpacákipit nát no mót, cém amán ájamesmumújaramép, máj noso. "wuá, ja Tatépia mopórporía Wóminen" jamép jamép. "o nát ís escowó o nát nosó" ájumá jamóp. "nám asén akát emámsió, no iním, ja ponów [1] asén pacáko, nám a ponów [1] opák asen áwamsi aráwo", iním eof. 'm, nákurumás masním, jím ci iním sajespés masním, mare cém ajiwóf se apcóm kor. "níwi, no asén akatés cowák emámsití, asén pacák nucúr wor!" "uá" emés ará. jófaj, ámsesmóp, jófaj masnim wunám, Jiníw awiniófo. Jiníw a parás ten, mú efá kojíraro ów mapor pók ajaró, — no nát jéw amsésmop, ów mopor pók efá jaró, pomán mu cáka efá jiraró, Sumúj mes, cuwúc emfés, Sumúj cuwúc eméf aw. a purís, — net, Sumúj, nor epúc, Uwúsopis [2] ájmirimfés jipíc ará, Uwúsopis ájmirimfés, iním aporéf, "ā, níwi mánam ow opák, mofasíc! ucím as emémĕrem" iním aef. a nát més pak ín. a pó cuwúc ajimép nór masnim, ániemóf un. pó cuwúc ajimép nór masnim ániemof ún. a nát, a Sumúj, a purís [3] jamnók "níwia, maréa, or ewúca, or ewút maré jén in mápaperimóp [4] ará maré nor mó aráwo", iním aéf, Júrurúmawúc enim Owófawúc. cowút pak atá jínicací jamnók. "maréwa, nor mó arawá", iním aefés.

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[1] *kotor* loan-word from Malay; [2] Usopis; [3] típuris; [4] máperimop.

[a] Wominén is the only living son of Manéfakat 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.

[c] A woman is beautiful in the eyes of the Ásmat people when her body is free of any deformity, but especially if she has an unblemished and rather light colored skin.

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a Sumúj araw "má, jajmír naká, ca nísmit aráw, ca nísmit, mánet ow opák. nó ememóf aráw, nó ememóf ér aráw, cá niwíakap aráp, wún ca niwíakap am jiwí, jiwínakap. ca nísmit mánam ow opák. jók apáweraw, arám porów metewénem emí", iním aéf. maré cém ko masním ájapamóp. á na jowów am arám, a jéw jem mopów emfes ów jícop ci pé makán, Jiníw a. Jiníw, pé makán jicóp ci kó ajaríwtepfés. iním aríwtepmepés, nám wasén ewkukuóf cowák, x Jiníw mú caka ajípuóf. "ā", sír ow otonímop ow, "ā, a jipíc ucím emór, a jipíc ucím emor" iním aporfés, "uá, á jipít a jéw éwenawút jitakám mijimír,

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"Oh, keep your bad food, keep that nasty food of yours! I'm just eating nice food," I said. And I drank the water out of the pools. As soon as I'd drunk one dry, I began on another. "Ha, look at his swollen belly," he cried. Ówpacákipic, with the wound in his foot, cried over me, shuffling around the house. "Oh, Tatepí, come, and look at Wominén," he cried. "Go to sleep you, you've a wound in your foot," I said again and again to him inside. "I'm lying here in a good place, I don't want to lie in such a dirty place! I'm lying in a nice clean place," I said. When all the rain water had been drunk, and the canoes with the fish nets returned, I went into the house covered in mud. "Father, I've been in a lovely place. This is the nastiest of places!" "Ha!" they cried. The following day, — at night, I slept —, the following day I went to the Jiníw, along the dune-ridge. I crossed the river [Jiníw] 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[a]! 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[b]". They were Jururúmawúc and Owófawúc, they were too beautiful[c] to be true! "Come, let him be my husband!" they said.

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But Sumúj said: "Oh, no! you fools! Your grandfather, your grandfather, no one shall care for him. Were I still there, were I still there, then all would be well, but your little father is alone, moreover, your little father is still a child. He's too young. Your grandfather has no one to give him food! Today, he can stay, but in the evening I'll take him home." And I stayed sitting on the front gallery. Now, our people, who'd fetched the bark for the floor covering for the ceremonial house also went to the Jiníw in a large war canoe to catch crabs. They went up the Jiníw in a large war canoe to catch crabs. When they went

iním er erém emkojér". e wun ow aráw, Sasák aráw, "s! a jipíc aráw ar epúc apóref ín Sumúj. Sumúj apóref ín". iním aef. "mā, nám, jím ci awsés aráw jím mampíawér emi, cí mapsapú emí", iním eóf. wunám, na jowów jiwí am arám, no jursút no jursút, cuwúc jiníwenampés, nór ara pów mopán, mokóp ájamsaró, éw ji nim ámesjenóf. wún ow pów mopán, pé mopor ín, cuwúc emfés, iním aporfés "jiā", iním ajisitfés, "jáka jowówa Wominén a jiráwa", atewérfĕnes cowák maré atówomfĕnés. átowómfĕnes cowák, maré, á wun ów, Jiníw parás ten ániapfés na nát, maré áwienfóm Sokorέw aráw nór aráw, Ewén aráw, áwienfóm. cém masním maré enáwapfom. iním emóf, maré opák.

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á niwí aráw, jinwíc enám, Maní mopór aniéf. níwi jinwíc enám mopór, ánief. amás man pák maré tám ewsówsitesmép. é Sinak wú inim ániémare, á jinwíc enám am arám, mú opák cowák, jinwíc enám am arám, atéwjiniwámsitè, x áfawásmamep x áfawásmamep x áfawásmamep, á Sinak wú emniéf maj jóf, póman, Sinák wu aémnief maj jóf, níjukúmtiwef ín. ájukúmtiwaré [1] masnim erén masním awítepéf. erén awiteparé, átewjíniwarítmep ás, x x átewjíniwarítmep ás x. — Jiníw eren ów am arám, Mis, Wok, jícop cí, pomán am ájirkuámsaré'n a nét aráw. a jó afó — jó setnakáp pakajáp aráw, ápumés araw afó apumés, afó apumés aráw, pár asúw un e Ásewec ním iním empúcĕmes ín — arám pomán am ájirkuámsaré, Cepésmi enim Okórmi nát, púrumuc mamót, okón jo cuwúc seésmepés aw ún. a níwi am arám, enám fawá, arásen jukúmtiwá, fáfawá arásen jukúmtiwá, arasén afáfawá jukúmtiwá, ámesjótepef ámesjótepef ámesjótepef. maré, a Napú masním atépeméf in. Napú masnim x áfawútmep x áfawútmep x áfawútmep x áfawútmep maré. á erén púrumuc kokó cuwúc amésjesmép iním aporéf, "uój, nét jicóp ajtéra" iním aef ín. "ucím ar' ámè" iním aef ín. — arám manmák apcóm —. á Napu jisín

upriver, I dashed straight out of the forest and sprang with a splash into the waters of the 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 upstream and arrived home here. That's what I did. That's all.

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Father[a] 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[b]. 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, jisín, tamúw kor jemés kor nim iním paríemíc. á jisín tamúw masním, iním amésakájipirémef in.

[1] ajukúmtiare.

[a] i.e., Manéfakat, the father of the speaker.
[b] The Sinák is a small stream that joins the Jomót and the Jiníw together.

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arám, jícop cí sen maták pak ín. 'm, Napú enésturúmef ín. "ē" fík nim, emturuméf cowák. Napú turuémtiwef ín. "ucím ar' am éw efamúc, ucím ar' am éw" iním efes ín. "á, Nápu pé wut, makáp wut, sisít wut, májisaweráw enám wut májisaweráw umúc enám wut májisaweráw", iním efes ín. "maré man, púrumuc aráw Napú, a Napú púrumuc, fáfsiaweraw" iním efes ín. arám, Wóksimit ám arám, camúw asuwémare'n wasén, iním aesémef in, iním aporéf maré niwí cuwuc eméf, maré apórmef ín. iním aporéf, "á, jipíc cowák awemcém" iním aef ín. maré, a niwí aráw manmák pasés, "ts, majmíreméspunè iním májmiremewérpunè" iním aef ín. arám, makáp cuwut áp cájomatmép. a niwí aráw maré, "á, ní, ów puk kór a Napú minkúm afáfasimar wut aráw" iním aef ín. átewérare'n maré iním aporfés, "a, ja Jísaworémakap á emíca" iním efes ín. — a juwús ara Jísaworém. "awúja cá jowow méwa ū, ájā, iním memjár akát aráwa". a niwí Jísaworémsimit, arów aporéf, iním aporéf maré manmák cenám cenés atúrumef ín. "a, no tíw aráw man! ucím emítem éw, majmíremánem éw" iním aef ín. áteweráres in cenés anítowopómfes ín. "ó ucè" iním efes ín. atakám otáwfes in. "nó, erém ewémsirésió, car písnakaseré, enam mót mocampés aw tó, jinwíc enam fáwampés. móc mocámpes aw. enám mapór erem éwemsirésió. enám fáwjukmapmúj, Sinák wu emnípuj Sinák wu, enám mapór aníempuj. Jiníw aráw, erém aémsirésió" iním aef ín.

[a] A kind of shell-fish.
[b] The Ásmat people believe that they live in the spirit world before they are born and that they return to it after they die. *Jísaworém* is the name by which Wominén's father is known in the spirit world; Manéfakat is the name he bears in the world of men.

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"ā, noromúm". á wun ów nat, erén memtótep ín. a Jísaworémsimit, ar wétsimit nát, "aw! á no tíw emít no á jipít ámomatmí" iním aef ín. maré, jím ci ám arám, akát cepés, mú pakénakap ámsesef ín. "jím

Napú, and that morning he speared fish near the Napú. Then he heard it: there, upstream, they were all coming in his direction, singing. "Ho, the ghosts are abroad! What am I to do now!" he said. — He has second sight —. On the Napú, there was a *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* [a], many *sisít* [a], many fish out of the remaining pools," they said. "Fine, then here by the Napú we'll sing, by the Napú; [sitting in a circle] we'll sing in turn," they said. Wóksimit then set out on foot, in the forest, and came towards him. He looked [about him] and there he saw father, standing there. "Hey, people," — no, when he saw him, he said: "Hey, someone's standing there!" Father's eyes began to itch. "Ho, tonight I took the wrong path; I always take the wrong path!" he said. — Father carried with him a great quantity of the *makáp* that were there. "Hey, come, the people are sitting there in a circle in a huge clearing on the bank of the Napú, singing," he said. He took him with him, and when they saw him, they said. "Hey, there's the young Jísaworém! — Father's name is Jísaworém [b]. — "Ahoy! Who are you? oh yes, you've done right to come here!" His father, the old Jísaworém, looked at him, and when he saw him, his eyes nearly popped out of his head. "Hey, that's my son; what's happened to you? Are you dead perhaps!" so he said. They took him and made him sit on the ground. "What do you want?" they asked him. "From early this morning I've been walking here; your little grandchildren were wailing for fish. Yesterday they [the others] speared fish; they [the children] cried for fish. I set out on my way here early today to search for fish. I speared many fish and put them down together. I went along the Sinák, looking for fish. Along the Jiníw, I came here in the early morning," he said.

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"Ho, my good man!" The others wanted to take him upriver with them. But Jísaworémsimit, his elder namesake, spoke: "No, he's my son, usually, I visit him." Then the canoes with the fish nets arrived;

ci aráw" iním aefes ín. iním aporfés Jésircém, níwi mí iním aporéf "ā" — Jésircém — "níwia Manéfakatá, Manéfakat noromúma ucím eměréma!" "nam, pók meró erém éwsiresí, típuris enám mot mocámpes. enám moc amocámpesá, enám mapór masnim erém émsiresí" iním aef ín. anakátipic aráw, a Mís aráw, Wóksimit ám, "ni, tíw eren métotepcá, tíw erén a" iním efes ín. "má, erén pak, maré. enám, pók mer emémer, atakám un atawúc" iním efes ín. anakátipic aráw, afáwjukúmtiwef enám, a Wók tetám a Mís tetám é niwí ko tetám, iním aef ín. jó'n aémtiméf. jó'n emtiméfā, arám, máj, tíwpoporémampes ín. arám, popújaramép popújaramép popújaramép popújaramép. jó iním sapíamismép masním, tíamismép masnim enám, fé enaré, wúwu. e fáwtiwef enám, tewerá tewerá tewerá ajamesjótakef ájamesjótakef ájamesjótakef ájamesjótakef. Sinák wu masním, wú awuéf in, ców, ájisakámteweraré wú awuéf in.

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[a] Jesírcem is the name of a deceased daughter of Manéfakat.

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wú awuéf, áwuaré'n, maré, a niwí kor Jísaworém "apák no á jipíc, jó'n emtímcěmar, kawí net máj mumu jómewérmes" iním ef ín. arám asúwemaré'n akcá iwítak. cuwúc emismép aw ún, iním aporéf, mák in apámusmef ín "á, nor mó, o ucím emitém! kawí net máj mumu jómewérměnesá, máj pupurúmomewérměnesá", iním aef ín. "wuá, emétawúja nor móa", iním aef ín. anakátipic a enám wuwú kor atéweref ín. amás to méten emitè. 'm "jó ucím asén sapiámsěráw, jó ucím asén sapiámsěráw, ucím asén sapiámsěráw, ucím asén sapiámsěráw!" Fití aniémfes ín. Fití niemfés, Jomót iním emfés cowak, maré Jomót masním, Jomót jó pim masním maré, na jéw ajpím kor masním anímatámef ín. "no porów aráw, porów aráw ja ájmirmómewérměnes nét mopórporemí, orpá maniómcěmnés nór masirím, mák am matitiemi" iním aef ín, niwí am arám manmák is maré kási aníamséf. móc ajuómispés maré sisíri pák cowák. 'm, móc ajuomíspes ájuomíspes. camán a fó kokokó emár aráw, a fó kokokó emár aráw. jo'n émfafamfés, jó'n fafamfés, jófaj aráw, jófaj ápamép. porów, jók nim emár masním, mapór cepés púrpur ájamep. a nát mistém nim iním ásitemaré, pók éreremamép éreremamép éreremamép éreremamép asámtiwá asámtiwá 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 women," they said. They looked — Jesírcem[a] saw her father's face, — "Oh," cried Jesírcem, "father, Manéfakat, Manéfakat, dear father, what's happened to you?" "I've been fishing. Early in the morning I took the path here. The children cried all day long for fish. They cried all day long for fish. Early in the morning, I came here to look for fish," he said. Mis and Wok said: "Come, let's take your son upstream, our son must go upstream!" "No, not upstream; but he's been fishing, take his fish first," [the others] said. He gave the fish he'd speared and put together; to Mis, to Wok, and to his father. He stayed there until the sun went down, he . . . — they made him walk in a circle, he was always coming back on his own tracks; he walked in a circle, in a circle. When the sun had nearly gone down, he put the fishes on a string; he packed them in sago leaves. — Again and again he picked up the fish he'd speared and put down; doing this he went downstream along the bank, farther and farther. Finally, at the Sinák, he packed them in a basket made of sago leaves; he went into the forest, cut a frond from a sago palm and made a basket.

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He made a basket of sago leaves, when he'd done this, his father Jísaworém [there upstream] said: "No, this young man of mine, he'll walk until the sun goes down and strange ghosts will take him on the wrong path!" He, too, went on his way, to go with him downriver. He [father] was walking there, going to the forest. He saw him: he [father] turned his back on him, going to the forest. "Oh, my good man, what have you done? Strange ghosts will take you on the wrong path, they'll make you walk round in a circle!" he said. "Ah, it's just as I said, my poor man!" he said. He [father] carried a heavy basket with fish, he was also feeling hungry. "Where shall I be when the sun goes down, where shall I be when the sun goes down . . .?" They walked to the Fití, and then they walked straight to the Jomót. He [Jísaworém-simit] went with him to the Jomót, to the shore of the Jomót, at the far end of our ceremonial house. "This evening I wanted to see whether the ghosts were taking you on the wrong path; if you're alone, they'll join you, so I followed you," he said. Father became dizzy and suddenly fell down. They [the ghosts] grizzled all night; it was serious. They grizzled, and grizzzled, and grizzled. Under the house, the ghosts whistled; wheeyee! they whistled, until the sun rose. The following

are [1] maré anítewemḗf. manítewer nim iním títeweraré a jismák, atíwteweraré,[2] áj iwénam áj iwénam, "ū" émar ará, "ū", tesén, apájisef.

[1] áteraré; [2] atíteweraré.

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anakátipic ócen átiwsirítewerare maré erén, x "wuā, jak áporía ja Manéfakat jóca, tó majmírimomewérpesā" iním aefés. cepés wut ówerow wút, jiwí wut ás mimís acumásmamép! 'm, jiwí a mú nisécĕpes ás, i op tepómporsémcĕpés. i op tepómporsomá iním cowák ajásmampés. póman ákojiréf, póman ákojiraré, áwieséf, áwiesefē. cém masnim áemamséf. cém masnim, mánmak ís, enésamséf. arám, mot, moc, mot, mot, porównakapiríw masním maré atakám afásmapéf. nét nat camán njonjonjonjo emár araw ún njonjo emár araw ún. porów jo iním tiamísmep maré maré fó aráw. ar ewút Mewerósakát am arám, ék mu jók ewtowópmutè, ék jis towópfes. ék mu jók ewtowópmutè, x x fajásmep, áfajásmamep. arám ar epúcĕwés, arów metéwer ín. Afújè, Wók aráma, Sumújè, Jópakipícè, Nokópè, cí iním ariwésfes ín. arów metéwer ín. 'm, a cí kor ajaríwesfés cowák camán mimí, anésmapomfés maré. "ĕmá maré Manéfakat metewér emóm" iním aefés. "maré Manéfakat mitíwismúc maré Manéfakat metewér emóm" iním aefés. "narám am naráp ow somót emcóma" iním efés. ar ewúc Mewerósakat aráw iním emtáwamepés, ek masámtewer ním iním asámteweraré, jismák jokmén iním ájatámteweraré, cí, Nokóp emíc aráw, Jópakipíc emíc aráw, e Afúj emíc aráw Jópakipíc ewemíc aráw títur asép, maré ci ák 'sōh!' emésmep. 'm, maré opák cowák. opák cowak ín maré. maré eméf masním mare jó'n, nét opák jó'n emfaméf. iním eméf maré.

[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 enĕrím Jepém, Maní cowkán aemápĕres ín. Ajkúm a tíw Acúwnam, arúw [1] aporómores ín. Maní nám Maní ájumópĕres cowák.

day, he stayed at home, and just when the afternoon had begun the women crowded together to see him. He got up as though he wanted to go away, and started sorting out things [in the house], pushing them all over the place; he picked up the things that lay there and put them down again casually; then he picked up pieces of burning wood and threw them to both the ends [of the house]. "Lo!" they cried. "Lo!" they all fled outside.

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Quickly he picked up a lance and dashed upstream. "Ho, look there now, Manéfakat is mad! Yesterday they made him loose his way!" they said. The many women, men and children, they let their shit go freely. The children, who, as usual, were [playing] in the water, just let their shit and piss go, they just let their piss go; so they all did. He swam to the other side. When he'd gone to the other side, he came here quickly. He came ... and he lay down in the house to sleep, he lay down in the house, dizzy. They [the women] cried and cried and cried. Finally, when it was nearly night, he told them what had happened. The ghosts screeched under the house, they were continually screeching there. In the evening, when the sun had gone down, they whistled. Now, in the middle of the day, his younger brother Mewerósakát, had put down a large stone. They laid it in the fire, at the middle of the day they'd put it in the fire. It glowed fiercely, fiercely it glowed [a]. 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 [a]. They [the people of Jepém] then practised magic against Acúwnam, the son of

Jómot am ájaróp̆eres ín. Jomót, "Ajkúm a tíw, Acúwnam músumútum-úca! Jépema, Acúwnam músumútumúca!" amésfacamár araw ún. ar ĕnéw nat curúw moc fá ni animár araw ún. moc awút mamóc pak ín, curúw moc fá ni animár araw ún. Jépem nát tenfoj ín. Jepém mopores ín curúw moc fá ni animár araw ún. curúw moc fá ni animár araw ún. maríw, Tawerít nat inim áporac ín, aj cém mu atakámanémor ín. Acúwnam, Ajkúm a tiw Acúwnam nám awamís araw ún áj cem. cém jĕró kor araw ún. cém jĕró kor araw ún. sipám, op aráp sipám un cenés aráp sipám un amás memánemér. cém akat ájiwapmór masním maré amás, x aémtewtúmor in. a nát, Jépem nát, ár amás, pók man okonép in jáp araw ún. Tawerít nat, Tawerít nat amás, Tawerít nat x amás maré e óp jukáp. e óp acír, e óp acír, e óp acír. "má" aner ín wú, wu, wu, e cenés acír worém wút, worém wút, mesám mesám amás nat ópak ín worém wút, mípor emsamemamár araw ún máj kor, póman kór. wú am wútiwpára emár araw ún.

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[1] arów; used everywhere in place of *arúw*.

[a] See map, p. 363. From the story, it appears that the people of Jepém also had houses on the Jomót.

[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 tenfój. a nát a cém wut, cem jóf opák in! á cenés matáw [1] memsém acáciomér cowák. é cenés, matáw memsém ácimomér cowák. é wasén jĕró kor, é wasén jĕró kor, worém wut póman wút máj wut, makámtatiw [2] emár araw ún. esé cówo apcóm, esé cówo apcóm mapómjim acáciomér cowák. tén matáweném, tén matáwenem, tén matáweném, tén mataweném, tén matawenem, tén matáweném. nám cokó nesén jiemér cowák opák cimin ním. mare Acúwnam akámiésmar in maré. "ē, Jépemá, maré Ajkúm a tíw Acúwnama, curúw moc fa ní niómewirír [3] emékamiésmar in" iním eres ín. "haháh! a Jépemá, Jepém, Jómot amás carpá manáwer, no tíw arúw, tés nak ajísowpénokom" áner in, mót. mót nak ópak in úc in emócamár araw ún. ar omúsĕwes, a típuris mót, arpá amotmés araw ún. "á, ow nák anisá, mót mocájipurúwa", emár araw ún. amás, x worém kor cuwúc

Ajkúm. They [his mother and his father, Taweríc] were staying with him on the Maní when they made him ill. They went with him to the Jomót. "You," cried the men on the Jomót, "hey, make Acúwnam, the son of Ajkúm, well again [make him able to stand up]. Hey, men of Jepém, make Acúwnam well again!" He just lay there becoming emaciated. His mother wailed in secret and danced the buttock dance [b]. She didn't cry loudly; secretly she wailed and danced the buttock dance. The people of Jepém didn't know about it. His mother, Ajkúm, wailed and danced the buttock dance in secret, so that the people of Jepém wouldn't see. In secret she wailed and danced the buttock dance. When Taweríc saw that, he first built a new large house. A new house for the son of Ajkúm, Acúwnam, who lay sick. It was a very wide house, it was a very wide house; there were a separate row of collar-beams above, and a separate row of collar-beams below; — he stored the sago on them. When he'd built a well-made house, he began to gather large quantities of sago. And they, the people of Jepém, they just sat there, right opposite, and went on eating their sago and their fish! Taweríc — Taweríc [fetched sago], Taweríc [fetched] sago; it lay there above in large quantities, on the platforms there above on the top set of collar beams. "That's not enough," he said. Sago in sago leaf bags, more and more [he put] there on the lower platforms; and large lumps of sago, large lumps of sago. There were no small lumps of sago. Large lumps of sago, he piled them up at random, and *maj* of sago, and *pomán* of sago [c]; and again, and again, he packed sago in sago leaf bags.

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The people of Jepém knew nothing about it. There was no space left in his large house. He went on, putting them on the floor, along the sides, neatly in rows. He heaped them up along the wide back-wall of the house: many lumps, *pomán,* and *maj*. Carrying bags lined with sago leaves, he put them neatly in rows, and on top of them, he put other rows, and on those, and on those, and on those, and on those — he was in high spirits, as though nothing were afoot. Then Acúwnam died, at night. "Hey, men of Jepém, Acúwnam, the son of Ajkúm, over whom she wailed secretly and for whom she secretly danced the buttock dance, died last night," they said. "Hey, men of Jepém, you're not the only ones who eat the fish and the sago from the Jomót! [a] You've dared to practise magic against my son!" she said, weeping. — She didn't really cry, she stood there laughing. Only all his younger

amís, Acúwnam nám, átiwáwsimamár [4] araw ún! amás mí, ci mí wut ním, ci mí wut nim, ci mí wut nim, Acúwnam mewór wut nim wá aémtiwer ín. "no namós aráw manè" aner ín. apín, ár takas [5] ín, tákas [5] ín. mi cí mi e cí wut nim iním amsít cowák. "Ajkúma, atów nesén pok emamós na ucím emcawóm aw" jininímar araw [6] ún. "Jépem ów poric amás metewerásmosá, jaka ním as emutokóma! Acúwnam nám amséwirir amás mawnámosá jak ápori" áněres ín. "ā, cá momómirsefokóma" aner ín.

[1] matá; [2] makámtati; [3] aniomirír; [4] átiwájsimamár; [5] cakás; [6] aw.

[a] It is not clear to me what is meant by this expression.

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sé asimés araw ún. se, se, se, se, siápmorés, amás worém kor atíwtewer cowák, x a sé amán, x a sé aman, x a sé amán, a sé amán, a sé amán, a sé akápmores sé. "eweráw man" áner ín. matówomísěres ám aráp amás, mí nim cómismár araw ún. wów jimómismár araw ún wów jimómismár araw ún wów jimómismár araw ún wunám a sé amán wunám a sé amán wunám a sé amán. Acúwnam iním tiwímamés, wunám ten wunám ten wunám ten wunám ten, maré a amás se amán, apcóm apupúrumucúmtiwěres [1] ín maré. sé apcóm aápterémtiwěres ín maré. amás, x x Jépem, x x arúw pok emamár, x jófaj amás atíwkukúmor ín. amás amás amás amás amás, arám, afín am njénjer emár araw ún. maré amás afín ásowaper ín. njómo njómo njómo njómo, afín oróm nim étiwamár nat, amás nat maré, anémsoper ín maré. amás mer emporés, "wè, na ucím ar'ám na ucím ar'ám" awemés araw ún. Tawerít nat emsókmemér, máj ni'n anímar araw ún. emporés, x x émporés, x x émporés, x x maré wú makanám atéwenémores [2] ín, enám sew ám. jiwí kor ajismár araw ún, cémi ákmot cepes kór ajismár araw ún. mot jóptom jóptom emár araw ún. iním jipít iním cowúc a purís a tíw amás to'n maré manmírafmor ín. moc áomimés araw ún. mot jóptom jóptom emár araw ún.

[1] apupúrumucímtiwěres; [2] atéwtewémores.

[a] 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 apórkasiáces ín. Tawerít a cém. jípi emáporápěrés. si áteweráces ín, Tawerít acomápmores ín

sisters and his children cried. "Oh, you mustn't cry, he wasn't much of a man," she said. Sago, — a large lump that lay there — she smeared on the body of Acúwnam. Sago meal — as much as the lime for [painting] a canoe. She made him glisten like a large *mewór* cockatoo. "Now I'm satisfied," she said. His thighs — here and here — [she smeared] every part with sago meal; as much as the lime for a canoe, he lay there like a large canoe. "Ajkúm, please practise magic which isn't harmful! What are you going to do to us?" everyone said. "Think of the people of Jepém! You should have got sago! And now you have done a thing like this. All the time that Acúwnam lay sick, you should have got sago; and look now! [at the waste]" said the people. "Oh! it's your fault," she said.

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They dug a pit; they dug out more and more earth. Straight away she fetched a large lump of sago and strewed it in the pit, and more of it, and more, until she covered the mud with it. "That's all right," she said. They took their own sago outside and she strewed it about like lime; making patterns, she went with it outside, and again [she strewed] it in the pit, and again, and yet again. Then they put Acúwnam in it, and thereupon [they put] sago on top of him, and more, and more, and still more, and finally they filled the whole pit with sago. They covered it up with mud. [They were getting] sago — the people of Jepém — while she was practising magic, and the next day, too, they all went out to get sago. Sago, sago, sago, sago — as for Acúwnam: the maggots were devouring him, and they also began to eat the sago. They ate, and ate, and ate, and ate — when the maggots had eaten him clean, all the sago had disappeared [a]. They tried to get sago, but in vain. "Oh, what must we do, what must we do, what must we do?" they said. Taweríc, 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 Taweríc; they had a feeling about

maré. sí jurúw, fanénakap sí matewér pak ín si ép araw ún. "a ucím as ám! sí akát nak áw". "a típuris, amás to, cíptow nim túnampés, cowákseré pen éw menéstewer empúj". "aw, aw, aw, miníp pacák nakō. na nát neséno, máwtewer asén emár aráwo, opów", iním aer ín. ar mó mí wací emtámor ín. worém ko cuwúc amís, námun áemtámor in. atówotákĕres ín. jófaj, curúw akakanímomséĕres cowák. Jépem a jéw mamcúp nat mapór pak ín. Mós nat, amán in ajpamá emár araw ún. Mós nat, mesám mesám pok opák in enám teweréwere jímĕro,[1] tów pewere jímĕro[2] si ám araw ún. curúw, póman apámtiwĕres ín. mí, tótewar ás emár araw ún. mí nesen asámteweres ín. "wè", — inímpit, amás to nák, maré makmiámismar ín, — "wè, Ajkúm ĕmá, atówa téntaj pók nim emámosá", emporés, emporés. Maní, Mow, Jómot, cofó ajiemér cowák, Jépem wut Kajé kor, Mismám, Éwer kór, Súru kor Majít Jinít Pér kor Uwús kor, "na ucím ar'ám, wè na ucím ar'ám, wè, na ucím ar'ám, wè, na ucím ar'ám". Tawerít, atakám ajisémer in maré. ów pomán jiwí pomán cepés pomán pápujkurumór apor maré atakám ajisémer ín. atakám jok éwemit cowák. atakám jok éwemit cowák, "tóa, to cépes ám, ówerow[3] ám, ówerów enmúm mer ará, cépes jím ará" ajítamor ín maré.

[1] téweréwere jérmĕro; [2] péwere jérmĕro; [3] *owerów*; used everywhere in place of *owerów*.

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"na nát amás to ucím ar'am, pó memjí pow ják nat, or wés am, o niwís am o porówer ám, o tarásĕpes ám, a sé jec ewĕrom ucím pok tewawércomè" ajitúmes ín. "enám at etámĕrawómè" iním eres ín. "sén ewéscokóm jicóp ci ám jím ci ám, ca cemsén setájcokom cí mi'n, no cemsén cowáka" iním aer ín. pók tewértotoramár, enám tewértotoramár, juwúr ó camár, amésnowomóteper[1] ín. "tó nawíc wut atakám jismutmép, — jismútumep atakám tawútumép, ucím, miníp pupúmemé ew" iním eres ín. cemsén asémsirímor ín. amás cém a wasén etámor ín. cem nák tári cém nat nesén ememer ín, kawénak iním emer ín. amás aráp cem etámor in. já matatáw emár araw ún, awamís taríjipic mómoniér e camák. erén Jiséw metéptewerawér. á cemsén cowák atépsirimamár armá emkúmar araw ún ám wut omót wut, usír wut sowót wut. o kór, pé kor juwúr ó cajítmar.

it. They fetched a stone axe and presented it to Taweríc. It was a long axe, they didn't take a short one. It was quite a long axe. "Hey, what's that? What a splendid axe!" "The children — are like dried up sago palms through hunger. I come here and would like to get some [sago] if there are still some crumbs left." "Oh, ho, you're quite wrong! We've nothing, there's really no place to get sago from, there's nothing," she said. Her husband gave her a sign by lifting his head; a large lump of sago lay there, she gave it to them on the quiet. They took it downstream [to their house]. Again on the following day they got it and secretly took it away. The people of the many ceremonial houses of Jepém did not notice it; it was only known in Mos. The people of Mos [gave] no mere trifles; they caught many fish every day, they got many sago grubs every day, and [they gave] axes also: they took away a part [of the sago], not a big part, only a very small part of it. "Woe," — a man had already died of hunger — "Woe, Ajkúm, please do something about it," they asked, and asked. On the Maní, the Mow and the Jomót, all the sago was spoilt. The numerous people of Jepém, the many from Kajé, the Mismám people: [those from] Ewér, Surú, and Majít-Jiníc; the many people of Per and Uwús [they all cried]: "What must we do, what must we do, oh, what's to be done, what's to be done?" Then Taweríc went outside to speak. When he saw that a part of the men, women and children had died, he went outside to speak. From midday he stood [there] calling out. "Tomorrow, tomorrow, the men and the women must go out to fish, every man in his own canoe, the women with the fish nets," he told them.

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"We're hungry, how can we? We can't row because of hunger; [we] your sons, your sisters-in-law, your married daughters, your sisters, if we have to walk through the mud to look for fish, how can we catch them?" they said all the evening. "Well, you've told us to get the fish," and they gave in. "When you come here from the sea with the war canoes, and with the canoes with the fish nets, and arrive in front of your houses, then direct all the canoes towards my house," he said. The whole day everyone looked for food, everyone caught fish; the whole day they hunted pigs with dogs; in battle array they rowed upriver with everything. "Yesterday evening our father came out and spoke; what did he have in mind?" so they spoke. They assembled on the river in front of his house. He'd made a house for the sago in the forest. The real house, the old house, was empty, only the people were

"á, no nát ucím pok émcinè, nó ucím pok tetámcin no ucím tosów ecĕmánokom" emár araw ún utsís nat fajáp araw ún. "ĕma cí maurúmni ará pak ĕma iním memporí" iním aer ín. "Jépem cĕwí, cár amás awamís aráw matewí" iním er ín. cí jomátamár, á jomátamár, á jomátamár a cí win cí win cí win cí win cepés ci ám owerów ci ám, maj jófnakap nesén fifí emémer ín.

[1] amèsnomóteper.

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"éwamis, Apoków car amás asi éwamis aráw matewí" iním aer ín. "éwamís Mapíw ow amás asi éwamis aráw", iním aer ín. "ér, Ufún enĕrím Jiwín car amás e jiráw" iním aer ín. "Muká car amás éwamis aráw, Kosér car amás éwamis aráw, Mós car amás éwamis aráw. ér, Míturopís car amás éwamis aráw. ér, Ówse cár amás éwamis aráw". cí nat, maj jóf opák in. e mínakap nesén asámteweres ín á par píw nat, mémcimtewér [1] pak ín. op wút nat, mémcimtewér pak ín. amás tó ewerérměro,[2] e sí araw ún, e porów sí ajíwmar ín. porów si, jók apawérměro [3] sí ajiwmár araw ún. wasén namícukewérměro [4] tów mirám ajiwmár araw ún. sén takawérměro,[5] enám ajiwmár araw ún. máwkam un émporés, "ja ucím pemo éw jak áporwúj", émimár araw ún. op wút nat macímtewér pak ín. ĕmá a cenés fapíw miwpomór. cí mi jipín apinmár araw ún moporómtewen asén emár, amás mer ajísasér [6] máwtewer asén emár araw ún, cófo jiémkurumór cowák. x máwkam ún, x empór, máwkam un, máwkam un, máwkam un. a cenés aómirismár araw ún. á cenés aómirismár araw ún. a cenés aómirismár araw ún, a cenés aómirismár araw ún. "no miwís em, no ja ucím pemof éw, carmá porí!" emár araw ún. "wè, Tawerít noromóm, Tawerít noromóm jiw ná momèwerí" jininímemár araw ún cépes ám ówerow ám.

[1] mómcimtewér; [2] ewere jérměro; [3] apawerémĕro; [4] namícukewerérměro; [5] takewere jérměro; [6] jisasár.

[a] Jepémcĕwi, Apoków, Mapíw, Kosér, Muká, Mitúr, Owsé, Ufún and Jiwín were at that time *jew* in Jepém. The last four are no longer in existence. Mapíw now shares a ceremonial house with Apoków, Muká with Kosér. The people of Jepém told me that this was due to a lack of people.

in it. He made a separate house for the sago. He kept going to it; the sago, which had lain there a long time, he brought it back home along the path behind the house. He didn't go upstream to get sago at the Jisέw [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. "Jepémcěwi', your share of the sago lies over here, take it," he said. They took it to the canoes, to one after another, to those of the women as well as those of the men. [In the canoes] there was only very little room for them to stand.

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"Apokόw, your share of the sago lies over there, take it," he said. "That part there, Mapíw, is yours," he said. "Over there, — Ufún and Jiwín, 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 jipín apinmár araw ún. máwkam ún empór, máwkam ún empór, ĕmá cenés, a jo wín fafujér a cenés, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór. worém mak ám tatámenemór worém omirísmar ín esé apcóm mapomtewér pak ín. esé japúw apómjimór mapómtewér pak ín. "e worém tákamómirisíc, e máj tákamomirisíc" iním aer ín. maré a cenés awakámkurumor ín maré, worém wut máj wut áwakámkurumor ín maré esé apcóm cuwuc áp. ájapómcimores ín maré, esé máwkam un empór, esé máwkam un empór, esé máwkam un empór, esé máwkam un empór, esé máwkam un empór. "carmá porí ja ucím pemof éw" emár araw ún. ar amótipíc nat máj ni'n emnimár araw ún. ar amótipíc nat máj ni'n emnimár araw ún. máwkam un empór, máwkam un empór, máwkam un empór. maré esé apcóm awakámkurúmores [1] ín maré. maré a cenés sipám anamícimór, a jimsíp aóteweres ín. x x x x awakámkurúmores ín maré. wowút nat mémcimtewér pak in. emporés, ják manáfakam ún emporés, — wasén amás memtém aw, jak fék mawór ará —, áj nat ajismár araw ún, x x x óp acír, worém wut máj wut, póman wut, mak ám tatámenemór áwakamkúrmores ín. e óp, sosót temétowtopmór acír atemetjímores [2] ín. e óp x e óp e óp x e óp x e óp e óp e óp, maríw, wú cowak ápimópĕres ín maré.

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[1] *bikin apis* emorés. *bikin apis* = Malay: *bikin habis*; [2] atapómjimores.

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maré, Seréw, pirí amás cofó jemér atakám maré Mecĕmúp kawénak nim ákukúaser ín maré. Pisím enĕrím Wasí, Jépem nés jipíc jamnók in, tés jiséměres [1] ín. "Písím ením Wasía, cá jowów amás to jís nim jómatmés aw úna! amás namír afmés aw úna!" iním eres ín. — Sisnám cowút akátipic a Sakán jep, jipít tes ním ajismópĕres in —. tám anuwútmames ín, Wasí enĕrím Pisím. Áw araw néw Niním araw néw arewsámores ín. pómot có'n eámar ín. Jómot móc in ajatámsiĕres ín, cemsén mimís jen in áemamar ín. Jépem nát jiwís pok "pok manám ajkíc" jí nak ním. mot ámotjáramámes ín. porów purumúc, acíropĕres ín. purumút ni ániomitúmes ín. jisín animár araw ún, pók manám ajikmés araw ún. ci sés mosów amún pu jáp araw ún. "tó em máemsawĕráw, car wíc jamnók newét jamnók jowún mápecés" iním eres ín. tam jó inim púamismár nat, jiwís pok nat cí aówonier ín. Pisím enim Wasí nat cém wapés araw ún. "á ja 'tó em' iním efom áwa!" "á, ca nát em éawiría" aneres ín. tam júruru ániámser ín maré. Maní

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There was a coming and a going of people. He couldn't use it up, he couldn't use it up. Day in, day out, he put [sago] on the floor, along the walls, more, and more, and more, and more. He only bothered with the large lumps, which he'd piled up; he didn't take the full bags, he didn't draw on the big mass of bags of sago he'd stored. "First deal wit the rolls of sago, first deal with the large lumps, first deal with the *maj*," he said.

Finally, he'd used up the sago below; the many lumps of sago and *maj* of sago were used up. But the full bags still lay there. They began to take some of those, he tried to use up the bags, continually, he tried to use them up. "Look for yourself, how can I have done it!" he said. The rich man dangled his feet, he dangled his feet. Again, and again, and again, he tried to use it up — Finally, they'd used up all the bags of sago. Then they began to fetch it from the lowermost collar-beams. They took it away from near the door. They used up all of it, but the middle part he'd not yet removed. They tried to eat their fill, but in vain — [only] when you go to the forest to get [fresh] sago, [will] your belly be satisfied —. Part of the people died. The many lumps, rolls, half rolls he'd put down in rows on each other, there on the platforms above, they used them all. They took away the sago from the platforms he'd hung up on the ridge beam: more, and more, and more — finally, only the bags made from sago leaves were left.

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In Serew — 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 Serew] there were two men, Pisím and Wasí, blood kinsmen of people in Jepém; they were great warriors. "Pisím and Wasí, they carry [the dead] of your family like firewood! It's said they die of hunger because of the famine," the people said. — Sisnám was a very beautiful woman living at the mouth of the Sakán. She had as much *tes* as a man [a]! — In the morning, Pisím and Wasí 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 Jinít, Per, Uwús át etám nak ním, arám jiwís po kukuku ániamser ín. Jómot, ajíser ín. Maní nat akápuamár nat, Siréc asier ín. Mów am, Mów samát [2] manmák win manmák win jiskápuamár nat. mú pakénakap ín. Jépem wún, Asewéc apájser ín. Kajè wun Asewéc apájser ín. wún Unír ar ín, wún Pomúc ar ín. wún Momác ar ín. Amorép apájser ín, Ác apájser ín, Miwár apájser ín, Esín apájser ín, Amísu apájser ín Jów apájser ín. Kawét, Cowéw, Jaméw, Micím Sosó, Ar-Naním Atámuc. Sérew apcóm ajápteremóteper ín. memáp ow opák in.

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[1] íseměrés; [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, approximately 1/8 in. thick has formed. This is then scraped off with shells. Canoes that have been in the water for a long time are also subjected to this process in order to remove the growth of weed. Canoes are also fired before a long journey. According to the Ásmat people, firing makes a canoe light and fast.

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Jómot, Ewnápo araw ún, Cemnácuw araw ún, iním aerwápěres ín. Maní, Minwúj enim Erák, makán ajíperes ín. Mów, — Séper, ja Mów makan jípěres ów, ucím ow ám —. Maní Amánpitsimít ám araw ún, Mów Jakajmówsimít, Kurúm, makán ajíperes ín. Korè, Jinác, makán ajíperes ín Jómot ám arám ów kow ún Maní nat, Minwúj enim Erák cowák aráp in. amás nat, á makán eres ów jisítěres ów, amás, e óp jurúw nat amás opák in. apí e inímnakapiriw. iním amásnakápiríw ajápněres ín. Mów a jismák sukmapá eres ów, a Maní jismák jártewerá, Maní a jismák sukmapá eres ów, a Mów jismák tewerá, Jómot a jismák sukmapá eres ów, Maní jismák pájtewerá, Kajè a jismák sukmapá eres ów Jomót jismák tewerá iním ajapámeres ín. — iním emorés nat á cowák jó cowák a tárwápcares áw —, arám iním aemápěres ín jir cómic ín. mokót tewerít mokót memáp pak. Minímap, wasén jisápěres ín. Jiníw aníakápěres ín. Minwúj nat, apácinakáp ajapkámtakawérměro [1] cowák Maní jaká, Cěmenosamín, minkúm sé in ajitómiwmár

people fetched coconuts and packed up their things. They were busy firing the canoes [c]. "Tomorrow the drums must be beaten, your two fathers, your two elder brothers must depart on the day after tomorrow," they said. In the morning, just when the sun had risen, they took the baggage to the canoes. Pisím and Wasí, who sat in the house [of their kinsmen], said: "Hey, there, 'tomorrow the drums must be beaten' so we said yesterday!" "Beat them yourselves, then," the people said, and that morning they all started out, one after another. On the Maní, it was the same: the people of Kajé, as though they had been ordered, all went down the river, with paddles thumping. And on the Mow, also, the people of Ewér, Surú, Majít-Jiníc, Per and Uwús were also on the move as though they had been ordered; they all rowed down the river with paddles thumping. They rowed out of the Jomót; the people from the Maní joined them, and they set out on the Siréc. The people from the Mow, one group after another, came out and joined them. The water swarmed [with the canoes]. Some of the people of Jepém broke away and went to the Asewéc; some from Kajé broke away and went to the Asewéc; some went to the Unír, some to the Pomác, some to the Momác. Some went to Amorép, to Ac, Miwár, Ésin, Amísu, and Jow; to Kawét, Cowéw, Jamów, Micím, Sosó, Ar-Naním and Atamúc. The great mass of people went on their way to Serów. 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 [a], the people they left on the Mow, who were they? — On the Maní, Amánpitsimít also stayed behind. On the Mow, they left Jakajmówsimít and Kurúm, Koré and Jinác behind. On the Jomót, also, there were still many people. On the Maní, only Minwúj and Erák were left behind. The sago, the sago of the people whom they'd left behind — up there [in the house] there was no sago. Look, such a little bit, only such a small piece did they have to eat. — The people on the Mow whose fires had gone out, went to the Maní to get fire; when the fires of the people on the Maní went out, they fetched fire from the Mow. When the fires of the people on the Jomót went out, they turned to the Maní to fetch fire; when the fires went out in Kajé, the people went to the Jomót to get fire: so the give and take went on. — So they went on, but they would have done better had they come together on one river — so they stayed there, their spleens like sponges [b]. The

aráw jewér kor, cí e jewér ak, iním jiskawímtiwawér cowák. a nát jewér, éw nim iním átajámser [2] ín. enám iním akónawmesmá jermep, kámem sé maniapóm pak ín. iním atakámtewerá ci, mípor émtitiwá, iním jewérměro [3] 'n Maní. porów maserím jírmotepá jipuawér araw ún.

[1] ajakámtakéwere jérměro; [2] átajamsár; [3] jéwere jérměro.

[a] *Sepér*: one of the listeners; he came from the village of Uwús, on the Mow.
[b] i.e., life was very difficult for them.
[c] He didn't miss once.

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Sérew jéw mu aicímores ín. Jispáripic ám arám, Kajè, Kamsópisipít Jispáripít, Serów, Jewérnamakát, jipít nim tés ajismópěres ín. — a Sisnám tesmá cowut, Sisnám nat, mocóm opák. akát cepés mocómopawér. Sisnám ar mó Jíw in —. Jewérnamakát nat, cowúc akát apóres ín. a Serów, papís matam ów opák in. Mecěmúp, Ác in, Jakaríwcimsimít, "já Jewérnamakát, Serów papís atámcokom já no papís cowút akát" iním eápmor in papís is arpá espómer ín. maré Jispáripit nát, ci éwkuor cowák a Jewérnamakát manmák asamápmor ín. a papís manmák wasé aráw, maré ten ájawerémtiwer ín maré. áomiser ín papís. jéw, apómkekemés araw ún. jéw, apómkekemés araw ún. jew, jew, jew, maré onów [1] atapómkekémores ín maré. onów iním akómamés maré amás usí awuámser ín. amás usí. "Jispáripicá, já Jewérnamakát Serów, papís matám ow pák! e Jákaríwcim ar ém, Jákaríwcim manmák eskám ar omér! cemsén cowkán in, omér ajímap aráw. ám a papís arpá omismár". "jó cowkán emár aráwo" iním aer ín. amás usí awuámser ín.

[1] onéw; 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 *papís* relationship when she is not the wife of his *ésakap*, i.e., his official *papís* partner.
[b] Bloodshot eyes are a sign of a vicious nature.
[c] Here the listeners make the comment that one must effect *papís* with a woman of one's own village.

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— á, atakám mófasímtewer emín —, jaká, Sepér jep, cacíw kor wasén éwumsomítěres ín maré. Atáripic x ci éwtiwtewér cowák,

sago palm gardens which had been passed down to them were no longer there. They went to live in the forest by the Minímap; they went to the Jiníw 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 [c] 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 Serέw, they began the feast for the new ceremonial house. Now, Jispáripic, Jispáripic of the ceremonial house Kamús at Kajé — in Serέw, there was Jewérnamakát: full of *tes* she was, like a man. And Sisnám, the beautiful woman — they didn't hide Sisnám; you should keep beautiful women indoors. Sisnám's husband was Jiw. The people noticed that Jewérnamakát was beautiful. She didn't have a *papís* man in Serέw. He [her *papís* man] was Jakaríwcimsimít, from Ac in the Mecěmúp. "You, of Serέw, are not allowed to enter into a *papís* relationship with Jewérnamakát, she's my *papís* woman," so he spoke, and he alone went to lie with her as her *papís* man. Now, Jewérnamakát caught the eye of Jispáripic as he stepped from the canoe onto the land. And forthwith he daubed the red *papís* sign above her eyes [a]. — At that time, they were making the new ceremonial house, making it strong. They worked constantly at it — at last they put the thatch on it and fastened it firmly. While they were getting the thatch, they all moved to a temporary dwelling place to scrape out sago. "Jispáripic, this Jewérnamakát has no *papís* man in Serέw. She's the *papís* woman of Jakaríwcim, Jakaríwcim with the bloodshot eyes [b], 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] [c]!" — They'd all gone to a temporary dwelling place to scrape out sago.

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— Now I'll take up the story again — There, at the mouth of the Sepér, they drove a huge *caciw* fish away from the shore. Atáripic

emápmor ín. ci kajkajkajkajkajkaj e jícĕmúp, mak émseres ów ci, acákokorómseres ín. átewéraces ín Wasí enim Pisím ci awínemores ín. Atáripít nat nám. akín ajisakámtiwĕres ín maré. pakás kor néw. "Jakaríwcimá, o papís cowúc Jewérnamakatá, Jispáripicá, piri éwitéa, papís manmák wasé ajíwiref ín, papís omísmar ína" iním aeres ín. "a jó cowkán emár aráw, ám a papís cowuc áw" iním aer ín. emér emér emér emér emér emér "á, no pirí, Áw mu puawéra, Áw mu puawéra", iním er ín. jícop cí kor ájarímutmar ín. cém cakám un. cém cakám cuwúc amís, sén apém omén kor ajimásmores ín. "Ác a cí korá!" "e cá omén am" "a Ac cí korá, Jákaríwcim emárimútmará" iním aeres ín. Jispáripít nat pónakap ákamóper ín. "Jispáripít, majtí! 'Jakaríwcim' iním emés, a papís cowút, ó ajiwírfem. mistí, manmák eskám" ajíporés. á na pó sejpá'n ápatmár araw ún. ów nat opák in cém nat ów opák in. a jéw omópĕres ów atáwporés atáwporés atáwporés.

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anakátipíc, pomót kor, inim ámesémjirmémac ín, jeníwpa kór, wác apcóm kukár mi, éperak sé ar in mén in acápmomkúer ín a wác in ajímomer ín. Jispáripít nat pó sejpá atmár araw ún, ápatmár araw ún. asówfiwer ín. jéw ko pó sejpá cuwuc[1] ápatmár, "Jispáripít, sínakap pototómcenó,[2] Jewérnamakát papís manmák wasé ó etjiwírfĕnem inó" iním aer ín. "no Serέw jaká cowúc papís manmák wasé majwír pakó, ja papís norpá ajiméspomío" iním er ín. "Jakaríwcim sínakap patetámcená" iním aer ín anakátipic, áj pim éwfiwer cowák áj pim áeméner ín. a jeníwpa kór nat, épermák nesén apápcapípimar a mén in acápmomér cowák. áj pim amérfasíac ín, iním emór, pó sejpá cuwuc ápatmár, mán am ápomosómor ín. átewéraces ín a jéw, kámu nim ájarimópĕres ín. maré a jéw amán út nim, út nim uc ájè ájè ájè ájè, nesén círomásĕres cowák marέw in. maré a jéw, tesén a míjispúm pak ín maré, o ním piním un áfikmámes in mufúm pak in. nów kus nat átewéraces ín. Ac cí aniómuwores ín. Jispáripit tówofĕrés mají pak ín curúw anápĕres in maré.

took one [a harpoon] out of the canoe and hit it. Quickly the canoes of the people who'd stayed behind, in the middle of the river, pushed on — they chased and killed the fish and hauled it aboard. When they seized it, they threw it in the canoe of Wasí and Pisím. Immediately after they'd put it ashore, Atáripic became ill. Perhaps he had a big ulcer. "Jakaríwcim, your *papís* woman, Jewérnamakát, Jispáripic came from the coast and put the red *papís* sign above her eyes; he has a *papís* relationship with her!" they said. "Oh, she's not from the same river [as I am], let her be his *papís* woman," he said. He waited, and he waited, and waited — "Well, I'm going to the coast, to pay a visit to the Aw, to pay a visit to the Aw," he said. In the morning, he manned a big war canoe. At that time the village [of Seréw] was deserted. At the downstream end [of the village] they raised a shout. "A big canoe from Ac!" — "Who's shouting there?" — "It's a big canoe from Ac that Jakaríwcim manned this morning," they said. Jispáripic, Jispáripic sat making a small paddle. "Jispáripic, get away from here, it's Jakaríwcim! You've daubed his *papís* woman [with red paint], get up! He's bloodshot eyes," so they urged him. But he just sat there making the paddle with a chopping knife. There were no [other] people there; there was nobody in the houses. The men who sat in the ceremonial house tried to reason with him again and again, but in vain.

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He [Jakaríwcimsimít] 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 [a]. He pulled it along, holding the cassowary's claw. Jispáripic just sat there working the paddle with the chopping knife. He went inside — he sat on the gallery in front of the ceremonial house working with the chopping knife. "Jispáripic, give me a small stone axe; it's said that you daubed the *papís* red above the eyes of Jewérnamakát, instead of me," he said. "Jakaríwcim, do give me a little axe!" he said [Jispáripic]. The man at once went inside, at the far end of the ceremonial house, and walked to the other end. The end of his big lance swung to and fro; he held it only by the point. When he'd gone to the other end and had turned round, this is what he did: with both hands, he thrust the lance into the body of the man who sat working the paddle with the chopping knife. They picked him up; in the ceremonial house, they all made a terrible noise. It was as though

[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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Atáripít, a cém tówomiwér,[1] jipíc am, ar mó, asé cepes ín wárimomáser ín a fá cowúc, cém makán ajíper ín. "newét, no sín arám ám aráw, nam cáj. cém manmák iním tuwopíc" iním aer ín. cém jok ów pok mer armá wuamísmes maré, a Atáripic, cém fomiwér [2] jipíc,[3] makán jipér fá cowút tasmá, Atáripit manám afor ín. a ar ém cuwuc áp, á apómkurer ín. "iním cowucá", — Soréwsimít ara néw Opekátsimít ara néw —, "iním cowucá, nór, a newét, ják serémopóf, jemcés cĕmén akát. cáj máecén", iním aer ín. ásisiócinér, ásisiócíner ar mó cuwuc amís atíwoter ín. "no sín ucím atakám potáwmen éw" "atakám cowák ótawmen aráw, asówkonawfóm, ják seré japfen ín. "át etámporén" iním er". "m, no ucím apí!" iním aer ín. "atakám miníp pacák nak púmopĕném" iním aer ín. "á, efamút! cén man pák aporcí aráw, newét setájcaw, "no Atáripic ókora ókoromfén", iním mají! Serew áwuamsé, o pok mú amás pak, o nés matámjik ín, amás usí wuamsé! cén mancén, musúmutúm emín", ajómewérmar Atáripit omér eporamár, omér eporamár, omér eporamár, omér eporamár, "á, musumutúm emín, cén man pák aporcín aráw" iním er in. a Atáripíc ar ém kor, e jíp ámeráper ín. maríw, Atáripit maré a cowút tasmá, cém ajówmoper ín. anér anér anér anér am ásumutúmor ín. "ór aráw, porów manémum emín. usí wów akájcĕma, erém manémum emín" iním aer ín.

[1] tówomiwír; [2] fomiwír; [3] ipít.

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usí ajaréwkajámar in cém. Jispáripit nát curúw nesén napĕres cowák marew in. amás cowú curúw aetámtewerés cowák. a Serew, kurkurkurkurkurkurkurkurkur, '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 [b]. 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 Soréwsimít, or Opekátsimít? — "hey, woman, I've taken a fancy to your husband. He has a beautiful young penis, let him couple with me!" she said. She drew towards him and nudged her husband, who lay there. "What has my sister to say to me?" "She's something to say to you. [She says] that when we arrived here, she took a fancy to you. She said [to me]: 'tell him that for me,' " so she spoke. "Oh, what can I do? What you say and what you're thinking of with regard to me is very bad," he said. "Be quick! If I see that you don't want to couple with me, then I'll say to my husband when he comes home: 'Atáripic has raped me!' All the people of Serew are away getting sago, but [there'll be] no feast sago for you, your flesh will be packed in bundles! They're all away getting sago; if you couple with me, I'll let you go." She kept on saying that, and Atáripic became more and more afraid. "Come, I'll let you go; but if I see that you won't couple with me, then . . .," she threatened him. At least, the wife of Atáripic went to sit at the far end [of the house] and Atáripic and the beautiful woman sat together in the house. He coupled with her . . . he raised her. "You, I'll let you go this evening. Today the people return from camp, and tonight I'll let you go away," she said.

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The people came home from camp in great numbers. Concerning Jispáripic, they had just eaten him in secret. Straightaway, they'd secretly brought the news to the place where the sago was being scraped out. The news flew from mouth to mouth amongst the people

ún maré. "apák, maré amás, ków nak, maré na, maré ajníma ajníma" áněres in maré. ájarewfájpurtámar ín sékakajámar ín. amás cem fá asen opák in. "maré jew, tó jem ám, onók muri ám tó, onów jowún mápurámsĕráw" iním aer ín. jéw nat tów mamátiw pak ín. cáj eméĕrés, piri só mopórjit, jéw aj icímores ín. jéw amán mapórjursúm, jéw aj icímores ín. jófaj, onók murí jém ci atáwjimirsémor ín, onók muri kór aámjiwápmores ín. jófaj masním, tesén so niesmár niesmár niesmár, tám onów un awítiwĕres ín. tám, onów awítiwĕrés, maré pir só, jok ákurumápĕres ín. pir só, ĕmá porów jirwútumá jirwútumá jirwútumá jirwútumá, maré, a Atáripic a cén anér cowút, "newét, a cepés am, a típuris ám erém mátepĕrés" iním aer ín. maré ar mó kor ám arám, amán asów mípici, cuwúc amís jirporá jirporá jirporá jirporá akátipít. máj pakám wut ním anítewemtámor [1] ín. omócen kór aníjimémtamor ín. ceswén mirám kor aníjimémtamor ín "po fá asorómcĕnes ów, ánijimémtamamín, mómokómtiwíc" iním aer ín. maré Atáripic, erém, Áw erén ajirímtapmésmes ín maré.

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[1] anijimèmtamor.

[a] When a new ceremonial house is completed, its strength is tested by all the men who take part in the feast, jumping up and down to a rythm beaten out by the drums. Should the house settle as a consequence, then great is the humiliation of the group to which it belongs: their strenght is as that of their house.

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niesmár niesmár niesmár niesmár niesmár niesmár maríw, jó'n afamásmores ín tam ásakámores ín. "maréa, amás tamā, e píri aréwfaj ówa jéw cowák ará" áněres ín. Jépem, Kajè, Per Uwús Mismám, Ewer Surú Majít Jinít, jéw cowák, jéw cowák jóf opák in. Tawerít nat cém apitmar ín. Jakáj enĕrim Máspic a niwí Tawerít. "ja Tawerít ucè". amás, amás, e jéw jurúw, pirí nat a jóf opák in, ajíwtuwápmor ín. Tawerít manmák siriáp araw ún. Tawerít manmák siríap araw ún. Tawerít, jemís jemís jemís asówsiter ín. a wajír [1] fiwér aw ún, áj aríw áj aríw jarmár araw ún e óp manmák. e óp manmák onów serér mopór. a óp ara, maré e erén pim jipmúr onów karésnakap, iním apór, amán am omócen am, makpín in iním amerómer ín. e jipmúr. wasén nat tów wut nim mormormormormor ajesmár. Sérew

of Serew. Then, their hearts began to thump like the hearts of wild pigs! "Hey! there's sago in abundance. Now it's our turn, now it's our turn [to take heads]" they cried. They came together from all directions and reached the village. Because of the sago, there was no room in the houses to sit down. "All right, tomorrow the floor covering for the ceremonial house and also the rafters — the day after tomorrow the thatch must be on," they said. For [the feast for] the ceremonial house they didn't cut down sago palms to get the sago grubs. They wanted an excuse to murder the men from the coast, so they began the feast. They began the feast for the new ceremonial house in order to kill them in the ceremonial house. The next day, they took the canoes to the water so that they could fetch the rafters and the floor covering. They laid many large rafters on it. The following day, they danced the whole night and sang the *tesén* song. In the morning, they laid the thatch. They laid the thatch in the morning and then, at noon, they sat and sang the *pir* song — no, in the afternoon they sang the *pir* song — and they jigged up and down, up and down, up and down [a]. 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 Majít-Jiníc, all went to the ceremonial house. There was no room left! Taweríc, however, just stayed in the house that morning. — Taweríc, the father of Jakáj and Máspic. — "Where's Taweríc!" 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 Taweríc. Finally, after a long wait, Taweríc stood up. He entered the ceremonial house in the middle; he

wut Epém wut Sakwús wut.[2] á amás masé mapór, a Tawerít nat manmák pepe emár araw ún, pepe emár araw ún. maré, awón mopáces ín, x "á Seréwa no só ajitmi ca pacák pén!" a wasén kor iním niamár 'm x x x Tawerít nat marέw, Jiw cin ar ewúc, 'm á onow mák jéten in átarífiser in marí. Tawerít arám ócen apcóm amán apcóm atép-sowamár cowák ar ewúc cin maríw, a jéwsen tóko, énesjápĕres ín marí. a nát maríw, a jéw nat pipipipipipi tatakáj ow émsajcúcukumár araw ún, tatakáj ow emsájcucukumár araw ún. maré erén cowák, airímteper ín, maré.

[1] wojír; [2] A listener interrupts: "e Tawerít nat atakám mataw an ew" — Did they tell Tawerít about it? Simní answers: "a ná amsóm un! a ná erám apcóm, or epúc kor na!" — He knew it! He had a magical power, that great-grandfather of yours!

[a] Serέw, Epém and Sakawús: the three *jew* of the village of Serέw.
[b] They crawl through the forest, so that when the killing begins, they will catch those who flee.

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Atáripít nat maríw x, amás, "já mokót pu amás, mómaókmomít, erém momáwesí! e amás am, amás kumís jisá, amás kumís jisá, momawesí, amás kumís esé kor masním a momsímomít. amás maj atáwcokom máj esé a, jismák am mí jis nim mómwuwumesí" iním ajitámor in, a cém towomír jipíc.[1] jismák kor ám mús jimís átowówac in, maré amás juwrέw kor cuwúc emíc át etamór, erém anímomópĕres ín erém x erém x, a Atáripic asímotéper ów, x x amás x erém x erém x erém. maré a Tawerít am arám, Atáripit, erén emátepésmar ow, jí nak ním jitám nak ním, maré erém airímteper ín maré. a cepés, iním cuwuc émtewjiníwmar, maríw, x Tawerít ar ewúc cin Jíw, Jíw cin, cococó aémfimsúmores[2] ín maré. "Atáripicā, — Áw mifís pak áemutmár a Atáripic maré a cém jipíc erém akserémtapmésmar ín, Áw erén tepésmar ín" anĕres ín. maré atíwkukúmores in maré. a jowówpic ám arám anúwuwor ín. "Atáripicā, o pémcem éwa, já tatmésmin amána, pómcem éwa, Sérew wut Epém wut ájumar áwa ór ar ína" iním er ín. "já, newét car wíc já atemár aráw, ca nát ajsí, ca ná ajsí" iním aer ín. ajsér ajsér ajsér ajsér ajsér ajsér, maré, — Tawerít, ar ewúc Jíw cin ám, tépkawiĕrés —, "ca nát ér nim jisemíc, nór, amán matmómpor" iním er ín. Atárpic apín asé iním atówopmor ín. "wú Atáripicā, wú ja wuā ja Serέw já jumar aráwa" iním aer ín. masirífis ín, a ná mesopér, x "wā" nesén mapmór cowák! omócen

walked to one end and then to the other, looking up. He looked above, looking for a thin place in the thatch. At least, at the upstream end, he saw a place where the thatch had not been laid on so thickly, and he went and stood there, with his lance and his bow, his arms crossed. There, at the far end. Many people from Serέw, from Epém, from Sakawús [a] approached through the forest, crawling like a mass of sago grubs [b]. Taweríc watched the sago being given out, looking sharply around him. There the killing started! "Hey, you from Serέw, do you want me to kill you!" [Taweríc shouted]. Those in the forest then came back; they stabbed and stabbed. But Taweríc and his younger brother Jiw, crash! they broke straight through the thatch, to the outside. Taweríc sprang with his lance and his bow, right down from above, he and his younger brother, and with a thud they landed on the ground. In the ceremonial house the killing went on; the fleetest men all fled to the forest. The fleetest men all fled to the forest. Then they all fled to the upper course of the river.

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Now, Atáripic had cut down a sago palm. "Presently, you must chop down a sago palm near the path through [my] sago garden. You must scrape out the sago at night, and the sago, the balls of sago, you must roast; roast them tonight. Then put them into a big bag and take them with you. When you've fetched the *maj* of sago, put them in bags. A big fire, as for burning lime, you must light tonight," so he was ordered by the man who had brought him to his house. And he put a large piece of burning wood into an empty bamboo water container. That night, they felled the big, full grown sago palm which stood there, the one he'd pointed out to him. The people whom Atáripic had brought upriver scraped out sago all night long. And also Taweríc — Atáripic had already gone upriver at night — fled, as though someone had indeed ordered him to, upriver. Just as all the women went on their way [after they'd washed the sago], there Taweríc and his brother Jiw dashed out of the forest. — "Where's Atáripic? He didn't leave the Aw this morning. The man who had him in his house, sent him upriver tonight, by a devious path. This night he went to the upper course of the Aw," they [the people of Serέw] 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 Serέw and Epém are on their way to you, yelling," he cried. "Hey, your brother,

aómosiromer cowák. Serew nát, — "wu Jepéma wú awúpa" "ū" émjiamar Jepém. Serew jiná ji araw ún. jiná ji ajáper ín maré.

[1] ipít; [2] aémfumúsmores.

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a nát maríw, anémwerer ín maré. kuwús in ásakámteweres ín maré. tówoper ów kor marí ririrí nesen émoper cowák maré. maré aemtéwjiniwer ín. Siréc arán áiriméner ín. a nát jíwa nesén jíwa emár araw ún wunám a wasén parsámcukumór ow moáf un. arán, e, Nówit jép, Máj jep Cáka jep amérpapújer ín. a nát, a nát omá nesén jitjarmés araw ún á Serew nat jú emar araw ún. a nát mapájuru pák. "ĕmá mápapúj ará pak é ci sés amán, é ci sés amán". Siréc jo pím maniém pak ín. a Méc juwút, a Siréc juwút, óma nesén jitjarmés araw ún. Serew nat a jó pim, matakáj inim apor. wásen ís esjarmés araw ún. Jíw nat ar ém moc, mícuwan mm emár araw ún ar epút, "o nát Jomót tepapém" aemár araw ún karem emá. a nát micuwán,[1] púrumut mícuwan ī emár araw ún. Tawerít na " 'm" aemár araw ún. marew, atáwpacájer ów, Ac, Micím Sosó, Esínkom, Ar-Nanim, Amíw Su, Atámuc, Kawét, Cowéw Jamew, táwpacamóper ów, Esínkom, "Seréwa, tó apómjirsómamep ína", ajípores "á, am aráp samáta, nó, Mecĕmúp, jokmén no apesawéra no cém micicimpór paká! ám aráp samát pacákap mán!" jípakajapér cowák atáwpacajóper ów now opák in. maré a Serew cowák, arpá acáporsomóper ín. ám Jispáripic ájmirímtiwér.[2] — a nát amás awtámcar áw, wunám pirí fajmúc am totápowcar. Jewérnamakát ájmirímor —.

[1] A listener says: "Sisnám micuwán!"; [2] ajímirimtiwír.

[a] 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.

[b] 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]. Taweríc 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 Serέw are pursuing you [his kinsman] cried. They [the people of Serέw] 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 Serέw 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 [Serέw] 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 Nowít, the Maj, and the Cáka. They [Atáripic, etc.] went forward cautiously, while the people of Serέw started yelling. They couldn't be seen. "Don't make detours, go straight on, beneath the dead ribs of the sago palm fronds" [Taweríc 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 Serέw 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 Taweríc, again and again. The people who dispersed to Ac, Micím, Sosó, Esínkom, and Ar-Naním, to Amísu, Atámuc, Kawét, Cowέw and Jamέw, — concerning those refugees — the people of Esínkom tossed up a small ball: "Yesterday, it was the people of Serέw who killed them, it's said..." "They, the people of Serέw, are an outside group; I, of the Mecĕmúp, am powerful [a], I have no need of the rustling [of ghosts] in my house [b]. They, the people of Serέw, are an outside group, they are weak!" so spoke everybody, and the refugees were not slaughtered. Only the people of Serέw killed them. — It was the fault of Jispáripic! They would have scraped out sago for them, and after that they could

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wasén ajarmés araw ún, e cí ses amán. Siréc efá maniém pak ín. "ĕmá jurwúcaw jurwúcaw jurwúcaw cém otásiápĕraw masirim, Siréc jo pim ániemcowúj" iním er ín. Amorép, Warsé, Sumúj, Jamów, táwpacájoper ów, Méc ow, táwpacámoper ów, nów opák in. ja Úswut a niwí, Jurúwpitsimít, Jín enĕrim Nosó, a jowówpít jamnók in, cém camán nicomtíwites ín. Serów matowóf un arewfájporamár opák in. "no Jína, no Nosó" ajémites cowák. Úswut a niwí Jurúwpitsimít ará. cowúc, Cáman aráw, Jecám aráw, e camán aniásimomsĕres ín. Pokás aráw, Erów ar ĕnów Pokás. Kamémemak a niwí, ĕ, ar ĕnów, Námewfáksimit. Sisnám cém nesén towópĕres ín. pér nesen átĕres ín cápakamópĕres ín. Amíw, Jámew, Sisnám matowóf er, pírkawór araw ún, juwúr sis, tarí si, mútiwtamór. pírkawór akát apor juwúr sis akát apór, cesén aótpemusúmtamor ín a cowút tesmá. téwer nim aémkomámes ín Sisnám. Amíw cowak ámtewénĕres ín. Sisnám, Sisnám cowút akát amí amésfajer ín.

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cém osiáper ururu apórkurumór masním, maríw, "semí emár nów mináf amopmár maré, tajú emár" iním aéres ín. maré a Niním cakám, Tawerítsimít nat, cí moporómtewer ónmer iním onmermár araw ún map. Siréc akám jokós kor ámitémer ín, maré juwúr kor, ep wút címen wút araw ún, mokóp in emtópmores ín. jĕwí, ci, pacákseré ci mosokóm, — emár araw, cí tarí moskóm pak. a cí jipín firímtiwporá firímtiwporá firímtiwporá firímtiwporá a erén a se tén maré a juwúr kor cuwúc atepíc atapomfámores ín. "er aráw man, a cowák wut, a maémaríwces mán" iním aer ín. pó jipín aporómtawamár, "no miwís em". omócen wút nat mán kipmomíc araw ún. akám akám akám, wu, wu, "Siréc, ákajnapuésawirí no miwís em" iním aer ín. Jíw nat mót micuwan jī emár araw ún. a nát, a omócen kor sir [1] ám otomá emár araw ún. "o cém arásen emémaném! o nát tépacoapém! micuwan jī

all have gone back to the coast in peace. He was to blame, because of Jewérnamakát.

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Meanwhile, they went through the forest, under the dead ribs of the sago palms. They didn't go down to the Siréc straightaway. "Wait, first let them search, first let them search, and when they're all gone back to the village, then you can go down to the bank of the Siréc," said Taweríc. The people of Amorép, Warsé, Sumúj, Jaméw and the people from the Mec didn't kill those who had taken refuge with them. — The father of Úswut, Jurúwpitsimít, 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, Jurúwpitsimít, 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 Amíw 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 Amíw who got her, to eat her. Sisnám, the splendid woman, like a flame, she lay there.

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At last, when the pursuers had all gone back to the village, one after another, they said: "It's quiet now, now they're only thinking of the head-hunting feast, it's over." And Tawerítsimit went quickly ahead of the others to the old deserted village [of Seréw] on the Niním, to look for a canoe. A long rib from a nipa palm leaf pricked him, by the Siréc. [And lo and behold!] a huge canoe of *juwúr* wood, from stem to stern huge, had been turned upside down. A canoe of the enemy, a useless canoe, broken up — no, they didn't break up the old canoe — they tried to turn the truncated [a] canoe over, they tried and tried again, and finally they turned it over and pushed the *juwúr* wood canoe off the high bank on which it was lying, at the upstream end of the village. "That's fine! In this big one here, everyone must go aboard," he said. They searched for broken paddles. "My good people;" he stood with

iním ja ewérměro, wów!" jomatmár araw ún. erén, wasén apamés apamés apamés maré jó iním sapísemar, cí aníporómjiwísěres ín maré. Tawerít nat máp atakmár araw ún, Tawerít nat máp, Tawerít nat máp, Tawerít nat máp. arán am pirí am fifímkurúmac ín, "maré ów opák, maré". Áw jo pím aniémac in maríw, "eméururútes nów mináf aámopmár aráw" iním aer ín. maré Siréc apíjináwores ín maré. cí nat póm apcóm un pó metéwji pak in cepés wut owerów wut mak ám tatemáp [2] araw ún. Mow jép, Mow jép, cí jicěmúp a pájnijís, "jów sirífisěrár" mají pas in maré misín ké aemápmesmar ín maré.

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[1] sur; [2] tátemamáp.

[a] 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 cá jo ápfamútmanomè, maré Siréc, pomán omér ja emátewirúm maré, na jó jemám enáwapesmóm ěmá ucím jo ar'am éw! tam jó putěráw apórca" iním eres ín. tam aráw jó'n apumápěres ín. "na Mówakap jép arawá" iním eres ín. "Mówakap jép apóma" iním eres ín. tám masním, muwú mu a enám nisarámesmár, misín ten enám áfawútmes ín. mu wá konáwkapumár maserím maré, ámsenáwores ín. wá aotmenáwores ín. Jómot, cém ateptájěres ín. Jíwsimít "Jómota misí no jawerá ajimiáji jú cafá anafiriáji mací ju cafa anafiriè" ajíkuer ín marí, Jíw ara. Tawerít nat maré cemsén x cí kor cuwúc emíc, ákin ájakómer in maré. maríw, Ewnápo, Cemnácuw, coápěres ow am arám, ja Nét wasén jaráp ara, Samún emáp ara Ufít tepáp ará iním apjipúěres ín. maré a Nét wasén cuwúc apés, á, Tawerít, Jomót asésier ín. maré a cí jan káju káju erés, curúw apawerjótakěres ín. curúw atakóměres ín. otmámtewerés masnirím, akapmámteweres ín. Mów am arám táwpacamóper ów, arám Mow apcóm ajaptérsier ín. Kajè arám Maní ajáptersier ín. a Jepém cowák, arpá jursumóper ín. á, Kajèa, a Jurúwpic, ar wés am a cepés am arpá amkawíěres ín. a tarásěpes ám. ów nat ám Esín, cém cowák ar ín Ac cém cowák ar ín, Amíw Su Micím Soso Ár-Nanim, cém ar ín. a cí jipín kor, éren ów kapmópaces ín a cí jipín kor, jocór ajápewere jérměro'n, Tawerít nat

the long lance in his hand. Nipa palms [they chopped open], edible tops [they took]. "Eat them tonight on the Siréc when we're on our way, homeward bound, my good people," he said. Jiw cried under his breath. Again and again he threatened him with the long lance. "Is your house here? Why don't you hide yourself? Day in, day out, you're crying under your breath, be careful!" so he spoke, walking round. During the day they stayed in the forest, and when the sun went out in the sea they all got into the canoe to move off. Taweric went ahead downriver. When he'd searched about everywhere downstream and upstream, [he said:] "Fine, there are no people." After he'd also gone to the side of the Aw, he said: "They've all returned, they're only thinking of the head-hunting feast." Then they crossed the Siréc to this side. The canoe was full to overflowing; they couldn't row. Many men and women sat there, packed tight. When the canoe had drifted downstream and out to sea near the mouth of the Mow, they said: "Let's cross quickly over the sandbank," but they couldn't do it, they stuck on the sandbank that night.

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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. Jíwsimit 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 Cemnácuw had kept themselves hidden there; usually they stayed either in the forest near the Net, or near the Samún, or upstream, near the Fití. At that time, when 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

ów cem iním apéwere jérměro'n. "ów mapcájkukuasé, ów mantám, pirí emseawér cowák ará" inim aer ín.

[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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Jamév am arám, Jamév kapmópěres ów am arám, Jum éwisěrés, — És aráw new Júm ara néw —, És awisěrés "pirí mér pemerawéra" iním eres ín maré a Ómawer jép, Jákarew jép Akámjow jép jím eměres aw ún. cí emséěres ów am arám, a Má nesé, ájinawsirímkuěres ín. camúw masnirím, — cí new camúw new, a Jómot ów camúw a petéwmanes éw —, á Asewet éwnières [1] ów ci'n, Jómot éweměres ów, camúw un. pówo mopán cirín enám áfawéner a Jómot éwemer jipít. á, Asewéc éwisěrés, jipít, ci, cí emseres jipíc jamnók arám animés araw ún. arám ja atmár araw ún, arám ja atmár araw ún, arám po ájinimés araw ún. jaká, akám jof, jitakám ser, apán ájatámurumór cowák. maré a ci cěmén anicímsemor ín. a cí jipíc jamnók okón waksés aw ún. "á com ám, á apán cá wimá, ja apán a ép ow wianém" iním aer ín. maré ememér jipít, "á, ja apán nor apán winémamí" [2] maré ci ám apapirómkuěres ín maré. — cí akát kor in, a cí kor mán aósmoper ín Tawerít. cía, ákin ákomer cía, ajáksemor ín sirimáksemor ín, cí taksém akát.

[1] éwněrés; [2] jimí.

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maríw, ak mí komén cómic aámewermés. a Ásewec éwnières jipíc jamnók am á Jomot éwemer jipíc cowák am. jú omewermés, "na ucím atakám atéwercóm, na ucím inim ar'am, ca ucím emfokóm!" "nar maríw, Serév akpufóm ow, Pisím enerim Wasí jokmén nim

from the Mow all entered the Mow together, in battle array. And all the people from Kajé entered the Maní in a line. Only the people of Jepém were overtaken by the disaster. Of the people of Kajé, only Jurúwpic and the male members of his family, as well as his wives and his sisters [all of whom had stayed behind] joined them. The people of Kajé had gone to Esín, Ac, Amísu, Micím-Sosó and Ar-Naním. In the large truncated canoe, — when the people from the upper reaches had joined them, Taweríc went each day in the large truncated canoe to the river mouth. Each day he stayed there in the lookout post. "When people scatter themselves about, there must always be someone on the look-out at the sea," he said.

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The people from Jamém, the people who had joined up at Jamém, went out of the Jum — was it the Es, or the Jum? — they went out of the Es. "Let's go to the sea and fish," they said. And they fished with the nets at the mouth of the Ómawer, the Jákarew and the Akámjow. The men in the canoes crossed over to our side of the river, and went to land near the Ma. Then they went farther on foot. — By canoe, or was it on foot? Or was it the men from the Jomót who set out on foot? — The people who came from the Asewéc went by canoe; the people who came from the Jomót went on foot. The man who came from the Jomót was spearing fish in the strip of mangrove along the coast, and the men who came from the Asewéc — by canoe — two men in a canoe, rowed downstream. The one just walked and walked, while the others rowed. There, from the path between the nipah palms, he shot at *jitakám* and *ser* fishes with a many-pointed arrow, until he shot it [an arrow] into the water near the stem of the canoe. The men in the canoe stood gaping in wonder! "Hey, who is that who shot that arrow? Did you shoot that arrow from behind," he said [the foremost man]. The man who stood there [on the shore] said: "Hey, I shot that arrow!" They turned the canoe round and went ashore to meet him. — A very beautiful canoe it was, the large canoe on which Taweríc set to work, the canoe he immediately began to make. He finished it quickly. It was a beautifully made canoe.

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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

jártewereéjipurúwa maré eméjursúmeawós, maré, mátakam pák! ná atakajfóm ównakapiríw, Atáripít, erém atakámsomcúkmespés, nár masním, jéw amán so ájteawós, ápacájfom. Tawerít enim Jíw, matáwsimfawós, Atárpic, erém tepésmep, atépkawifóm, atéwjiníwemom ówerow ám cepés am, cakás. ów nat maré matakám pak, jú mamcúp kor setajóm.[1] Jómot áapom. maré erén coapfés jipic mámcup ám, emákapúmtewfom awapóm. cá nat ucím ar'am éw", iním aámeres ín. "ā, nar, ĕma mimínip nat mapíc. á om mén, mú asetácokóm, amás a om mén arámtiwíc. porów masnirím, a Jépem ótewerá otewerá otewerá momjítumút "nar, mú amás kor, Má jep, simtiwésmár, tó, usí tapín in átewércar jowún, amás ajáwcar, átojowún júmenáwcar" iním moméc. óm men amás armapmúc, "mu amás kor, pó sasakámtaw ním, mapepértaw emóm" iním momjítumúc" iním er ín maré. a amás óm men ájaramáces in toróm ten ájawerémtiwĕres ín, jó poké atíwpomámar ín.

[1] setajém.

[a] i.e., as though we had nothing to fear from them (see § 337, note a).

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téweramés, á mer ów, áfasiéněres ín. jimín am aéněres ín, pó maji nát warák opák in. "tó cowáka máwkuw pák! nar, Tawerít iním atakám apómkurucóm". "a Jép jep cuwúc asecaw nák aráw Tewtén jep". iním ajitámores ín. a cí ow, mér jim émores ów am iním iním mají pak ín. "á, amás akát nak ucím amás am!" "á, ja mú amás kor, fá apcóm kor juwréw nucúr! áj ci mi nim nesén jismá paw kor iním cowór! máwkuw pák, amás sinák majirsé pok nár, usí tapín in memtémtewer enám memtémemán, atéenáwmom" iním eres ín. "na pók atakám akát naká nor mó jamnók emá" aemés araw ún. teré ni am ájataméněres ín. Es ámersiĕres ín. cém apĕres ów, porów poknakáp ánapaces ín marí iním iním mukukúre atewéměres ín. mukukúre a cém towómiwer ów, "na tó, amás mú amás kor, Má jep, kúpoporemápmesmár, pó jitamértaw ním, amás óm apcóm nesén kawuámsesmar néc apcóm! tó, nec ápomáwsimá japom, ós májiririmsemorom tó, náriw am nó sinopis ám usí tapín mitíwtewér", iním eres ín. Jamew "á, amás awúc, amás awúco" iním eres ín. "erém ara a jó awnám atamcáw aráw, jó, pirí manífam Jép jep", iním eres

people from Serew — Pisím and Wasí came to fetch us, as though they were *jokmén* men [a], 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 [a]. It's as large as a mangrove tree. Don't wait! The palm mustn't get cracks [in the bark]. We've come here to tell [everyone] to get the sleeping mats as well, [so that we can make] camp; and also to bring fish as food." "This one is ours! That's good news! You're two fine fellows," they said. Dancing for joy, they rowed up river. They entered the Es. At night, after they'd had a bite to eat, they went on their way so that they could tell the people. They went into the houses and said to the people: "Yesterday, we . . . a sago palm, there's a huge sago

ín. Jómot am arám, maríw, Tawerít cuwuc áp áwiokópmores ín maré. "a marí enamúc po sís man ám", iním aer ín. "atépcar" iním aer ín. pok cém jis awní" iním er ín. Taweríc am arám jó iním sapísemár, marí asírinuwuwor [1] ín cí mu awiásmor ín, op átepomparémor ín, apipís jiwí nim, atíwtemsémor ín. Jép jep acicín in.

[1] asírinuwur.

[a] See § 284, note a.
[b] i.e., a sago palm of which the trunk has farinaceous pith well up to the top.

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kukurámitumár, kukurámitumár kukurámitumár, Jamέw ís nim póamismár marí aníjirímuwor ín marí. mariwáp [1] ow opák in. Jamέw jipít, Seménterésimit ám arám, "nam nám ar a pé mámkomána" iním aer ín. "á, mapí, mapío, mapío, narpá, na mí cowóra" ajípores. nám pe mámakanó", iním aer ín. Asewét mu pakénakap ajísamser ín póman ájirkúnier ín, apcóm kor in. póman kor pájener ín. muwú mu eamár, mu'n cuwúc okmónimár maré, Jép jep. Tawerít nat maré, asirípiaper ín. "já Tawerít pináwma néw, ájinawmá o cáma" áneres ín. "á, no Tawerita" iním aer ín. "o ucè" "caráp an, éknakáp mokómomsé ow opéna" iním aer ín. "ów opów, na mí owá, a newét wutá, Seménterésimitá, arpá niomúwpoma, áwomsémar áwa" iním aeres ín. "uc'áwase uc'áwomséokom!" "áwaséc jiráwa" iním eres ín. cí awuamsés araw ún, jeten ín inim áterémsemac ín, cuwúc emíc x, ci pím atówopmóper ín. "ā Tawerita a newét wut sawnáka", ajípores. "ja mósókom ów opáka" ajípores opák in. "á, ca nát mapí!"
Jómot fu pú'n ajatámsiómer ín. Sérew am átowofĕrés, a Serέw acóměres, nów kus ám arám, ós mopán afajúmores ín. wunám a Jamέw aókajúmores ín. Sisnám purumúc ámocĕmés.

[1] merwáp.

[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 Jepém 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 [b]. 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 Jamém 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 Taweríc. "All right, let's go," he said. "But, first, all take a rest," he said. "Let's go upstream," he said. "Roast food in the houses," he said. Now, when the sun went out in the sea, Taweríc went quickly to the canoe to set out. He put the canoe in the water; he turned it the right way up on the high bank, the canoe, slim as a young *gaba-gaba* stalk, and put it in the water, so that he should be at the mouth of the Jep before the others.

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The whole evening they were telling each other, and when all the people of Serém were asleep, they all set out in the canoes. Nobody stayed behind. A man from Serém, Seménterésimit, also went with them. "I, also, want to go and catch crabs," he said. "Oh, stay at home, stay at home! We want to go alone, only with our people," they said, but in vain. "I, also, want to catch crabs," he said. They all went out to the Asewéc, the river was full of canoes. They covered it from side to side, going down, the main mass of canoes. A part went more upstream. It was night and the ebb, and the current carried them to the sea, to the mouth of the Jep. Then Taweríc quickly crossed the river. "Here comes Taweríc, perhaps! He's coming here! Who are you," they called out. "I'm Taweríc," he said. "What do you want!" "Are you alone? Is there someone with you," he said. "There are no other people, only our great brother Seménterésimit came with us," they said. Where is he? Where have you put him?" "Here he is," they said. He pushed forward between the canoes that lay there to where he [Seménterésimit] stood, and — thud — he killed him on the edge of the canoe. "Oh, Taweríc! have pity on our great brother," they cried. "He's not a bad man," they said, but in vain. "Stay you!" With the bamboo horns booming, they rowed into the Jomót. The head of the man of Serém whom they'd killed, they flayed under a tree [a], and after that they also flayed the head of the man of Jamém. They still sing the lament of Sisnám [b].

WORD LIST

This list is a complete record of the Ásmat words that occur in the texts and in the grammar. The words are arranged alphabetically: *ĕ* follows *e*.

When a word has been discussed in the grammar, reference is made to the relevant paragraph or paragraphs. The number following the verbal forms belonging to categories 8—24 denotes the paragraph where the paradigm can be found.

Occasionally, the paragraph of the text where a word occurs is shown by quoting the number of the paragraph in brackets. This has been done when: 1. a word has a form which deviates from the one that would be expected according to the rules given in the grammar; 2. a doubt exists with regard to the correctness of the word-form given; 3. a word has a specific meaning in a particular context; 4. there is incertainty about the correctness of the meaning given.

In the few cases in which a substantive only denotes one thing or person, or a number of things or persons, [s.] and [pl.] respectively are used. In the other cases, as a rule only the translation of either the singular or the plural aspect of the meaning of the substantive is given.

The following terms are used:

singular; *plural.*
subject, = verbal subject; *object,* = verbal object.
aquatic, lying, sitting, standing, above eye level: these terms refer to the five position-classes as discussed in § 71, note. *Aquatic* and *above eye level* are preferred here to *swimming* and *flying*. Thus e.g. '*aquatic* subject' means: the subject of the verb belongs to the *aquatic* class of things.

The following signs are used:

→ see.
< from.
= the same as.
— stands for the catchword.
[?] indicates that the correctness of the word-form or the meaning can be doubted.

A

a 1 exclamation: hey, oh, ah!
a 2 → *ar* 2.
a 3 branch, thigh, hind leg [of a pig].
aámcej < *am* 7; 116.
aáměres < *ame*, 155.
aámewérmes < *amewer*, 136.
aámjiwápmores < *amjiwapon*, 155.
aámopmár < *amop*, 144.
aáncow < *an* 3; 120.
áapom → *áwapom*.
aápterémtiwěres < *apteremtiw*, 155.
Ac name of a village on the *Mec*.
acaciápěres < *caciap*, 155.
acáciomér < *caciom*, 155.
acájkurumój < *cajkurum*, 162.
acákokorómseres < *cakokoromse*, 155.
acán advice.
acápmomér < *capimom*, 155.
acápmomkúer < *capimomku*, 155.
acáporsomóper < *caporsomop*, 155.
acíc, acíc — all kinds of.
ácicikimtiwer < *cicikimtiw*, 155.
acicín beforehand, in advance, ahead.
ácimomér < *'cimom*, 155.
acímtiwer < *cimtiw*, 155.
acimúj < *cim*, 155.
acín 1 → *tap*.
acín 2 baked crust of sago.
áciomíwěres < *ciomiw*, 155.
acír small platform on the collar beams of a house, used for storing sago.
acirá < *ciri*, 109.
ácíropěres < *cirop*, 155.
acóaper < *coap* 1, 2; 155.
acomápmores < *comapom*, 155.
acóměres < *com*, 155.
acomómor < *comom*, 155.
ácopáwerém < *copawer*, 125.
acópomit (285) she was continually busy with plaiting < *cop* [?].
acumásmamép < *cumasam*, 152.
Acúwnam personal name.
Acúwnama < *Acúwnam*, 34.
áemamár < *emawer* 1, 2; 144.
áemamséf < *emamis*, 162.
aémapef < *emap*, 162.
aemápěres < *emap*, 155.
áemápmor < *emapom*, 155.
aématámor < *ematam*, 155.
aématmac < *ematam*, 165.
áemémcow < *emem* 1; 120.
áemémef < *emem* 1; 162.
áemémer < *emem* 1; 155.
áeménen < *emen* 1; 155.
aemés < *e* 4; 144.
áemesmár < *emes* 1, 2; 144.
aemésmi < *emes* 1, 2; 144.
aémfimsúmores < *emfimsum*, 155.
aemíc → *awemíc*.
aemít → *awemíc*.
aémjitmar < *emjit*, 144.
aémkomámes < *emkom*, 144.
aémnier < *emni* 1, 2; 155.
aémnierá < *aémnier*, 34.
aémniěrés < *emni* 1, 2; 155.
aémor < *em* 4; 155.
aempórměro < *empor* 2; 174.
aémsiresí < *emsires*, 155.
aémsiresió < *aémsiresí*, 33.
aémsiter < *emsit*, 155.
áemtámor < *emtam*, 155.
aémteweracém < *emtewer*, 165.
aemtéwjiniwer < *emtewjiniw*, 155.
aémtewtúmor < *emtewtum*, 155.
aémtiméf < *emtim*, 162.
aémtiwer < *emtiw*, 155.

áemutmár < *emut* 1; 144.
aémwuor < *emwu*, 155.
aéněres < *en* 3; 155.
aef < *e* 4; 162.
aefés < *e* 4; 162.
aer < *e* 4; 155.
áeremtéwerac < *eremtewer*, 165.
aerés < *e* 4; 155.
aerwápěres < *ariwap*, 155.
aesémef < *esem*, 162.
aésumtúmor < *esumtum*, 155.
áetamór < *etam*, 155.
aetámtewerés < *etamtewer*, 155.
aetéper < *etep*, 155.
af 1 to strike, to kill.
af 2 *manám* — to like, to take a fancy to, to be in love with; *mi* — to throw lime; *namír* — to die; *omóp* — to beat.
afáfasimar < *fafasi*, 144.
afáfawá < *fafaw*, 109.
áfafémnemacém < *fafemnem*, 165.
afafémomasér < *fafemomas*, 155.
afafémor < *fafem*, 155.
afajáper < *fajap*, 155.
áfajásmamép < *fajasam*, 152.
afajúmores < *fajum*, 155.
afámasmór < *famasam* 1, 2; 155.
afamásmores < *famasam* 1, 2; 155.
áfamopfěnes < *famop*, 162.
afámsemáces < *famsem*, 165.
afámtiwít = *afámtiwíc* < *famtiw*, 116.
afán < *af* 1, 2; 155.
afáni < *af*, 1, 2; 155.
afánie < *afáni*, 33.
áfasiéněres < *fasien*, 155.
afásmapéf < *fasimap*, 162.
áfawásmamép < *fawasam*, 152.
áfawenér < *fawen*, 155.
afáwjukúmtiwef < *fawjukumtiw*, 162.
áfawutmép < *fawut*, 152.
áfawútmes < *fawut*, 144.
afcín skin or crust of roasted sago.
afefémtawor < *fefemtaw*, 155.
afefémtaworés < *fefemtaw*, 155.
afem (278) to ruin, to make inedible.
afemór < *afem*, 155.
afes to buffet all night long.
afésmar < *afes*, 144.
afétiwér < *fetiw*, 155.
aféri < *af* 1, 2; 125.
áfikmámes < *fikimawer*, 144.
afímtiwac < *fimtiw*, 165.
afímtiwer < *fimtiw*, 155.
afímtiwmi < *fimtiw*, 144.
afín maggot.
afiwá < *fiw*, 109.
afiwomiwcěmes < *fiwomiw*, 136.
afmár < *af* 1, 2; 144.
afmés < *af* 1, 2; 144.
afó broad, wide.
afór < *af* 1, 2; 155.
afse to die in the water.
áfuamséspes < *fuamses*, 152.
Afúj personal name.
Afújè (320) = *Afúj* [in an enumeration of personal names].
afún air bubbles.
aicímores < *icim*, 155.
áiriméner < *irimen*, 155.
airímteper < *irimtep*, 155.
áiwiénac < *iwien*, 165.
áiwijíser < *iwijis*, 155.
áiwijíséres < *iwijis*, 155.
áiwínier < *iwini*, 155.
áiwíniof < *iwini*, 162.
áiwiómisér < *iwiomis*, 155.
áiwiséf < *iwis*, 162.
áiwisér < *iwis*, 155.
áiwíséres < *iwis*, 155.
aj 1 irrealis marker, 256.
aj 2 new, young, the other day; *jew* — the feast for the new ceremonial house.
aj 3 side, half.
ajā exclamation: hey!
ájac < *e* 4; 165.
ájaces < *e* 4; 165.
ájafac < *af* 1, 2; 165.
ajáfcen < *af* 1, 2; 116.
ajákakapípumí < *akakapipu*, 144.
ajákakapípumía < *ajákakapípumí*, 34.
ajákakapípumupúj < *akakapipu*, 144.
ajákakapípumupújè < *ajákakapípumupúj*, 33.
ájakápiemíc < *akapiem*, 176.
ajáker < *ak* 2; 155.
ajakmápmor < *akmapom*, 155.
ajákmomac < *akmom*, 165.
ájakómer < *akom*, 155.
ajákomisér < *akomis*, 155.
ajáksemor < *aksem*, 155.
ajámar < *eawer*, 144.
ájamép < *eawer*, 152.
ajámes < *eawer*, 144.
ajamésmumújaramép < *amesmumujar*, 152.
ajamésnier < *amesni*, 155.

ájamésnimár < *amesni*, 144.
ájamesjínier < *amesjini*, 155.
ájamesjótakef < *amesjotak*, 162.
ájamestámor < *amestam*, 155.
ájamop < *eawer*, 152.
ájampes < *eawer*, 152.
ájamsaró < *eamis*, 165.
ájamsóf < *amis*, 162.
ajámtewérmi < *amtewer*, 144.
ajámtiwer < *amtiw*, 155.
ajámuwésmar < *amuwes*, 144.
ajapáměres < *apam*, 155.
ájapamóp < *apawer*, 152.
ájapáněres < *apan* 2; 155.
ajáper < *eap*, 155.
ájaperér < *aper* 2; 155.
ajápĕres < *eap*, 155.
ájapésfes < *apes* 1; 162.
ajápewere < *apawer* 1; 175.
ajapkámtakawérměro < *apkamtakawer*, 174.
ajápmeóf < *apme*, 162.
ajápmores < *eapom*, 155.
ajápněres < *apan* 2; 155.
ájapómiwer < *apomiw*, 155.
ájapómkekémores < *apomkekem*, 155.
ájapómcimorés < *apomcim*, 155.
ájapotáwmaněném < *apotaw*, 144.
ajápteremóteper < *apteremotep*, 155.
ajaptérsier < *aptersi*, 155.
ájarámaces < *aram* 2; 165.
ájarewfájpurtámar < *arewfajpurtawer*, 144.
ajarérwkajámar < *arewkajawer*, 144.
ájarimópĕres < *arimop*, 155.
ájarímutmar < *arimut*, 144.
ajaríwesfes < *ariwes*, 162.
ajaríwtepfés < *ariwtep*, 162.
ajárjirimópmar < *jarjirimop*, 144.
ajárkikimómser < *jarkikimomse*, 155.
ajarmés < *jar*, 144.
ajaró < *e* 4; 165.
ajarómer < *jarom*, 155.
ájaropĕres < *jarop*, 155.
ájasamópmar < *asamop*, 144.
ájasamopóf < *asamop*, 162.
ajásmampés < *easam*, 152.
ajastámosef < *astamos*, 162.
ajastámosefē < *ajastámosef*, 34.
ájastámteweréf < *astamtewer*, 162.
ájataméněres < *atamen*, 155.
ájatámniamár < *atamniawer*, 144.
ajatámnier < *atamni*, 155.
ájatámnierĕ· < *ajatámnier*, 34.
ájatámniĕrés < *atamni*, 155.
ajatámser < *atamse*, 155.
ajatámsiĕrés < *atamsi*, 155.
ajatámsiomér < *atamsiom*, 155.
ajatámteweraré < *atamtewer*, 165.
ájatámurumór < *atamurum*, 155.
ájatmápmac < *atamapom*, 165.
ájatmapmór < *atamapom*, 155.
ájatmapóm (309) < *atamapom*, 107 [?]. Possibly: *áj atmopóm*, i.e. a core, preceded by a demonstrative pronoun *aj*, < *a* 2.
ajáwcar < *aw* 6, 7; 120.
ájawerémtiwer < *aweremtiw*, 155.
ájawerémtiwĕres < *aweremtiw*, 155.
ajáwewerémkumfĕnés < *awewеremkum*, 162.
ajáwniámar < *awniawer*, 144.
ajáwnimí < *awni*, 144.
ajáwnimía < *ajáwnimí*, 34.
ájawócinér < *awocin*, 155.
ajáwor < *aw* 6, 7; 155.
ájaworémef < *aworem*, 162.
ajáworemésmi < *aworemes*, 144.
ajáwse < *awse* 2; 176.
ajáwsemor < *awsem*, 155.
ajáwtiwer < *awtiw* 1, 2; 155.
ájawumnémor < *awumnem*, 155.
ajawúmtiwac < *awumtiw*, 165.
ájè interjection reproducing laughter.
ajémites < *cem*, 168.
ájcsef < *ees* 1; 162.
ajesmár < *ees* 1, 2; 144.
ájesmóp < *ees* 1, 2; 152.
ajiámar < *jiawer*, 144.
ajícĕmpés < *ji* 5; 141.
ajiémer < *jiem*, 155.
ajiéměres < *jiem*, 155.
ájiesmép < *jics*, 152.
ajifamútmar < *jifamut*, 144.
ajíkapmúc < *jikapom*, 116.
ajíkaró < *jik*, 165.
ajíkcĕmpóm < *jik*, 141.
ajíkemac < *jikem*, 165.
ajíkemór < *jikem*, 155.
ajikmés < *jik*, 144.
ajikonáwor < *jikonaw*, 155.
ajíkoniac < *jikoni*, 165.
ajíkoniér < *jikoni*, 155.
ajíkuer < *jiku*, 155.
ajíkurúmor < *jikurum* 1, 2; 155.
ajimásmores < *jimasam*, 155.

ajimép < *ji* 5; 152.
ajímespomío < *ajímespomí*, 33.
ajímespomí (332) I sleep with her [dialect of Ac], < *jimespom.*
ajímnemor < *jimnem*, 155.
ájimómare < *jimom*, 165.
ajimómcĕmes < *jimom*, 136.
ajímomer < *jimom*, 155.
ájimotnáwarén < *jimotnaw*, 165.
ájimotnawfén < *jimotnaw*, 162.
ájimsomícĕmes < *jimsomit*, 136.
ájimsomítmes a. < *jimsomit*, 144; b. = *ájimsomícĕmes*, 51, 60.
ajímtiwer < *jimtiw*, 155.
ájinawmá < *jinaw*, 144.
ájinawsirímkuĕres < *jinawsirimku*, 155.
ajínemóm < *jine*, 144.
ajinémor < *jinem*, 155.
ájinimés < *jini*, 144.
ajiníwnimés < *jiniwni*, 144.
ajíper < *jipe*, 155.
ajíperes < *jipe*, 155.
ajípirsámores < *jipirsam*, 155.
ajípor < *jipor*, 155.
ajíporá < *jipor*, 109.
ajíporéf < *jipor*, 162.
ajíporés < *jipor*, 155.
ajíporóf < *jipor*, 162.
ajípuóf < *jipu*, 162.
ajípuor < *jipuw*, 155.
ajíremóf < *jirem*, 162.
ajirímkuaré < *jirimku*, 165.
ajirímtapmésmes < *jirimtapmes*, 144.
ajirímtápmorés < *jirimtapom*, 155.
ájirkuámsaré < *jirkuamis*, 165.
ájirkuníer < *jirkuni*, 155.
ajírmár < *jir* 3, 4; 144.
ájirmémac < *jirimem*, 165.
ajírmemor < *jirimem*, 155.
ajírtewérac < *jirtewer*, 165.
ájisakámteweraré < *jisakamtewer*, 165.
ájisakámtiwĕres < *jisakamtiw*, 155.
ájisakápiemóf < *jisakapiem*, 162.
ajísamser < *jisamis*, 155.
ájisáper < *jisap*, 155.
ajísasér < *jisas*, 155.
ajisátmor < *jisatam*, 155.
ajisémer < *jisem* 1, 2, 3; 155.
ajíser < *jis* 3, 4; 155.
ajísitfés < *jisit*, 162.
ájisjápĕres < *jisjap*, 155.
ajismár < *jis* 3, 4; 144.
ajismópĕres < *jismop*, 155.
ajísmotiwér < *jismotiw*, 155.
ajísmuámser < *jismuamis*, 155.
ajísokómtiwĕrés < *jisokomtiw*, 155.
ajísowpénokom < *jisow*, 155.
ajístipsér < *jistipse*, 155.
ajístowópmor < *jistowopom*, 155.
ájisuwáper < *jisuwap*, 155.
ájitámac < *jitam*, 165.
ajitámernémor < *jitamernem*, 155.
ájitámor < *jitam*, 155.
ajitámores < *jitam*, 155.
ajítaré < *jit* 1, 2, 3;165.
ájitemtésmar < *jitemetes*, 144.
ajítmar < *jit* 1, 2, 3; 144.
ajítmi < *jit* 1, 2, 3; 144.
ájitnémor < *jitnem*, 155.
ájitnótewer < *jitnotewer*, 155.
ajitómiwmár < *jitomiw*, 144.
ajitúmes < *eitum*, 144.
ájiwapmór < *jiwapom*, 155.
ajiwátmaper < *jiwatamap*, 155.
ajíwemapómcĕmes < *jiwemapom*, 136.
ajíwiref < *jiwir*, 162.
ajiwírfem < *jiwir*, 162.
ajíwmar < *jiw* 2, 3; 144.
ajíwmesóper < *jiwmesop*, 155.
ajiwóf < *jiw* 2, 3; 162.
ajíwsiritewer < *jiwsiritewer*, 155.
ajíwtuwápmor < *jiwtuwapom*, 155.
ajkíc < *jik*, 116.
Ajkúm personal name.
Ajkúma < *Ajkúm*, 34.
ajkún younger brother (term of address).
ajmirawer to be wrong, guilty; to commit adultery (304).
ajmirem to have lost one's way, to be in trouble; to be dead (317).
ajmiremes to take the wrong path here [the place where the speaker is].
ajmiremewer to take always the wrong path.
ájmiremíc < *ajmirem*, 176.
ajmirim to kill, to bring disaster upon; to be to blame (377).
ájmirimfés < *ajmirim*, 162.
ájmirimór < *ajmirim*, 155.
ajmirimtiw to have killed, to have brought disaster upon.
ájmirímtiwer < *ajmirimtiw*, 155.
ajmirmomewer to accompany someone and make him loose his way.
ájmirmómewérmĕnes < *ajmirmomewer*, 136.

ajním now.
ajníma < *ajním*, 34.
ajóf < *e* 4; 162.
ajómer < *com*, 155.
ajómewérmar < *eomewer* 1; 136.
ajówmoper < *owmop*, 155.
ajpamá (324) known.
ajpáw fine!
ajpím the far end [of a house].
ajsér < *jis* 3, 4; 155.
ajsí < *jis* 3, 4; 116.
ajsíc < *jis* 3, 4; 116.
ajsirér < *jisir*, 155.
ájteawós < *jit* 3; 162;
ajtér < *jit* 1, 3; 155.
ajtéra < *ajtér*, 34.
ajtúr having a high degree of a particular quality, e.g.: *atów* — playful; *aknim* — hot-tempered.
ájujúkumápmac < *jujukumapom*, 165.
ajujúkumápmor < *jujukumapom*, 155.
ájujúkumapómtampór < *jujukumapomtampor*, 155.
ájujukúmsomítěres < *jujukumsomit*, 155.
ajukóf < *jiku*, 162.
ájukúmtiwaré < *jukumtiw*, 165.
ájumá < *jum*, 109.
ájumar < *ju* 4, 5; 144.
ájumópěres < *jumop*, 155.
ájuómispés < *juomis*, 152.
ajúrsewirín < *jursawer*, 171.
ájurúpumés < *jurupu*, 144.
ájurusè < *jurus* 1, 2; 162.
ak 1 'curved side-surface', cheek, beside; *amús* — the handle of the sago scraper; *ci* — side of the canoe, beside the canoe.
ak 2 to chop or strip off along a curved surface, to scoop up; *anúk* — to chop the growth off a tree; *ci* — to make a canoe; *ókon fín* — to shave; *pe* — to catch crabs.
akájcěma < *kaj*, 136.
akajmós < *ak* 2; 113.
akájmosó < *akajmós*, 33.
akájnapuésawirí < *kajnapuesawer*, 116.
akájniéf < *kajni*, 162.
akakanimomse (324) to get [sago] and take it away in the canoe [?].
akakanímomseěrés < *akakanimomse*, 155.
akakapipu always to go out alone.
akám nipa palm.
ákamápmores < *kamapom*, 155.
akamár < *akawer*, 144.
akámci < *kam*, 125.
akamí < *akawer*, 144.
ákamiamséf < *kamiamis*, 162.
akámiésmar < *kamies*, 144.
Akámjow name of a river.
akámonimár < *kamoni*, 144.
ákamóper < *kamop*, 155.
akámtiwmár < *kamtiw*, 144.
Akámumú personal name.
akán shoot of a palm or tree; progeny, offspring.
akan, pe — to catch crabs for food.
akapiem to stand on one's own.
akapmámtewerés < *kapumamtewer*, 155.
akápmaper < *kapimap*, 155.
akápmores < *kapim*, 155.
akápuamár < *kapuawer*, 144.
akápuaré < *kapu* 2; 165.
akát good, fine; *awút* — very large (269).
akatés very nice, very good.
akátipic very beautiful, excellent.
akáw frond of a palm tree.
akawer, camúw ci — always to go on foot in stead of by canoe; *ci* — always to make canoes; *jisín* — to gather many coconuts; *mow* — to chop off many roots of the pandanus tree.
ákawérměrkóm < *akawer*, 174.
akáwimápmores < *kawimapom*, 155.
akawímopé < *kawimop*, 162.
ákawímtewérmin < *kawimtewer*, 144.
akcá together.
akcém < *ak* 2; 125.
akér < *ak* 2; 155.
akérě· < *akér*, 34.
akes, pe — to catch crabs at night.
akesawer, pe — all night long to catch crabs.
ákikícukómaser < *kikicukomas*, 155.
ákikirákurúmores < *kikirakurum*, 155.
akin immediately after, as soon as [always preceding a verb of which the core contains an element *ak*].
akirímcupuj < *kirim*, 136.
akit, jisín — to gather coconuts in the morning; *pe* — to catch crabs in the morning.
akitawer, jisín — to gather coconuts all the morning.
akítmes < *akit*, 144.

akitum, jisín — to gather coconuts in the afternoon.
akmáměro < *ak* 2; 175.
akmap, a — to sit with spread-out thighs.
akmapmár < *akmap*, 144.
akmapmór < *akmapom*, 155.
akmápmorés < *akmapom*, 155.
akmapom to cause to sit with open mouth = to kill someone.
akmát old.
akmom to hold open [a bag].
akmomíc < *akmom*, 116.
akmót → *akmát*.
aknem to chop off downwards [growth of a tree].
aknémac < *aknem*, 165.
aknémacém < *aknem*, 165.
aknim cross, bickering.
ákojiraré < *kojir*, 165.
ákojiréf < *kojir*, 162.
akom, akin — immediately after [having arrived] to start to work on something.
akómamés < *kom*, 144.
ákomer < *akom*, 155.
akomis < *akin* — immediately after [having got up] to go to the forest to meet somebody.
akónawamsá < *konawamis*, 109.
ákonawésmupúj < *konawes*, 144.
akónawmesmá < *konawmesem*, 109, 182.
ákonawór < *konaw*, 155.
akpés tatoo-mark.
akpufóm < *kapu* 2; 162.
akse, okón — to gape in wonder [aquatic subject].
aksem, ci — to make a canoe until it is finished.
akseremtapmes to send someone upstream at night by a devious path.
akserémtapmésmar < *akseremtapmes*, 144.
aktam, mow — to fetch roots of the pandanus tree for someone.
aktiw, anúk — to chop off the growth until it is al off.
aktiwér < *aktiw*, 155.
ákukúaser < *kukuas*, 155.
ákurumápěres < *kurumap*, 155.
am 1 unidentified element, 260.
am 2 question marker, 254.
am 3 also, and; 248.
am 4 < *ar* 2; 217.
am 5 kind of tree.
am 6 kind of fish [Malay: kakap].
am 7 to chop, 99.
am 8, *com* — to fasten the headband to a carrying bag; *naní in* — to waste; *onów* — to cover [a house] with thatch.
áma (273, 291) < *am* 2; 34.
amakan also to catch crabs.
amamewawer to keep on telling each other to do something.
ámamewámes < *amamewawer*, 144.
amamtam, si — to share out [sago].
amamtámcěmés < *amamtam*, 136.
amán 1 bow.
amán 2 the inside; inside, in, during, beneath; *em* — the inside of the drum; *ccm* — in the house; *ci* — in the canoe; *pok mú* — during the feast; *ci sés* — beneath the dry sago palm fronds (377).
amán 3, *jo* — side stream.
Amán name of a ceremonial house in *Amánamkáj*.
amána (336) < *amán* 1; 34.
amánakapiríw < *aman* 3; 188.
Amánamkáj name of a village.
Amánpitsimít personal name.
amapom to cover [with thatch].
amápuěrés < *mapu*, 155.
amás sago, food, sago palm; *enám* — fish for food; *pe* — crabs for food; *mu* — sago palm, washed ashore by the sea.
amásnakap < *amás*, 185.
amásnakapiríw < *amás*, 187.
amè (309) < *am* 2; 33.
ame to say to each other.
amer, mer — to catch crabs.
ámeráper < *merap*, 155.
ámerátmor < *meratam*, 155.
amércasín < *amer*, 120.
amércasína < *amércasín*, 34.
ámerémer < *merem*, 155.
amerémsemor < *meremsem*, 155.
amérfasíac < *merfasi*, 165.
amerómer < *merom*, 155.
amérpapújer < *merpapuj*, 155.
ámersíěres < *mersi*, 155.
ámerswwémer < *merswwem*, 155.
amesakájipirémef < *mesakajipirem*, 162.
ámesemfés < *mesem*, 162.
ámesémjirmémac < *mesemjirimem*, 165.
amesfac to become emaciated [a sick person].
amésfacamár < *amesfacawer*, 144.

amesfacawer to become more and more emaciated [a sick person].
amesfaj to lie burning.
amésfajer < *amesfaj*, 155.
amesjen, éw ji — to crawl upstream like a crocodile.
ámesjenóf < *amesjen*, 162.
amesjes to come in great numbers which/who are doing something else at the same time [e.g. singing].
amésjesmép < *amesjes*, 152.
amesjini to go to the river in great numbers, which/who are doing something else at the same time.
amesjotak → *mesjotak*.
ámesjótepef < *mesjotep*, 162.
amesmumujar to shuffle around [subject lying].
amesni to flow downwards, to crawl downwards.
amesnowomotep to bring upstream in many canoes in battle array.
amésnowomóteper < *amesnowomotep*, 155.
amestam, jan — to make noise [subject lying].
ametóciner < *metocin*, 155.
ámetoséf < *metos*, 162.
ámetosfén < *metos*, 162.
ámetótnawfes < *metotnaw*, 162.
amewer, ak mí komén cómic — continually to lick each others faces.
amí all, without exception, nothing but, only; *akát* — splendid.
amís to lie down.
Amísu name of a village.
ámitápmaci < *mitapom*, 165.
ámitápmaces < *mitapom*, 165.
ámitémer < *mitem*, 155.
amítěrém < *mit*, 155.
Amíw one of the *jew* of the village of *Amísu*.
amjiwapom, onók murí — to put the rafters on a house.
amkawi to join.
amkawícen < *amkawi*, 116.
amkawimapom to join someone to..; to marry a woman to a man.
amkoman, pe — also to go to catch crabs for food.
amnu turned to each other; *mi* — face to face; *mak* —, *ja* — back to back.
amo, owén — to fight with each other.
amócamár < *mocawer*, 144.
amócampés < *mocawer*, 152.
amocámpesá < *amócampés*, 34.
amócěmes < *moc* 2; 136.
ámomatmí < *omomat*, 144.
amómorómtiwer < *momoromtiw*, 155.
amop, mináf — to be engrossed.
amopmár < *amop*, 144.
amór < *am* 7; 155.
Amorép name of a village.
ámorés < *am* 7; 155.
amorés < *amo*, 155.
amotmés < *moc* 2; 144.
amótnier < *motni*, 155.
ámotjáramámes < *motjarawer*, 144.
ampiawer also to go fishing [with a net].
amsawer to lie down all the time.
amséf < *amis*, 162.
ámsenáwores < *amsenaw*, 155.
amses 1 to sleep [at night].
amses 2 to come towards, swimming [fish].
amses 3 with many people in canoes to come towards.
ámsesef < *amses* 1, 2, 3; 162.
amsesmár < *amses* 1, 2, 3; 144.
ámsesmárā < *amsesmár* 34.
ámsesmésĕ· < *amsesmés*, 34.
amsesmés < *amses* 1, 2; 144.
ámsesmóp < *amses* 1; 152.
amsésmupúj < *amses* 1; 144.
amséwirir < *amsawer*, 171.
amsit (322) he was lying down.
amsóf < *amis*, 162.
amtakes also to go downriver at night.
ámtakesmár < *amtakes*, 144.
amtawkenemtiw to fit up [the trough for washing the sago].
ámtawkenémtiwér < *amtawkenemtiw*, 155.
amtewen also to get food.
ámtewénĕres < *amtewen*, 155.
amtewer, amás om — to pull a digging stick out of the sago pith, with sago meal sticking to it → *apér*.
amtiw, com — to fasten the headband to a carrying bag.
amuámser < *muamis* 1, 2; 155.
amúc < *am* 7; 116.
amún vapour, steam, smoke, haze.
amuór < *mu* 4; 155.
amuorés < *mu* 4; 155.
amúp hot; *nam* — having fever.

amús 1 younger sister [s.].
amús 2 sago scraper [see sketch p. 366].
amus 3 also to go to the forest.
amúsĕwes younger sisters [pl.], 190.
ámutámcĕmes < *mutam*, 136.
amúw kind of reed [Hanguana Malayana], growing in and along rivers where there is little or no current. Its roots intertwine, forming a floating layer so that a river can be wholly overgrown by this plant. Traditionally this is the place where the children of the ghosts play.
amuwes also to depart at night [by canoe].
an 1 question marker, 252.
an 2 small trough made of the leaf-case of the frond of the sago palm.
an 3 to eat, 99; *cĕmén* — to have sexual intercourse with a man [said of a woman]; *cen* — to have sexual intercourse with a woman [said of a man]; *mu* — to drink; *sis* — to take a rest.
ána < *an* 1; 34.
anáfcen < *af* 1, 2; 116.
anakácowúc the said woman, she [anaphoric].
anakácowútnakápiríw < *anakácowúc*, 188.
anakát 1 very, really: *akmát* — really old; *fum* — clear as cristal [said of water]; *mocó* — wet through.
anakát 2 trunk [of a man or an animal].
anakátipíc the said man, he [anaphoric].
anakátow 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].
anamícimór < *namicim*, 155.
ánapacés < *nap*, 165.
anápĕres < *nap*, 155.
anásmamóp < *nasam*, 152.
ánawérmom < *nawer*, 136.
anawtep to be bent upstream [top of a tree].
áncĕmés < *an* 3; 136.
áncom < *an* 3; 125.
anem, mu — to make a quantity of anything, to make a large object.
anémor < *nem*, 155.
anémsopir < *nemsopi*, 155.
anemúc < *anem*, 116.
anémwerer < *nemwer*, 155.
anér < *an* 3; 155.
anér < *e* 4; 155.
áneres < *e* 4; 155.
anésmapomfés < *enesmapom*, 162.
aníakápĕres < *niakap*, 155.
ániamismár < *niamis* 1, 2; 144.
aníamséf < *niamis* 1, 2; 162.
ániámser < *niamis* 1, 2; 155.
aniáper < *niap*, 155.
ániapfés < *niap*, 162.
aniásimómsĕres < *niasimomis*, 155.
ániáweráper < *niawerap*, 155.
ánica < *ni* 4, 5; 120.
aníci < *ni* 4, 5; 125.
ánicím < *ni* 4, 5; 116.
anicímsemor < *nicimsem*, 155.
ánicom < *ni* 4, 5; 125.
anícukasít < *anicukas*, 168.
aniéf < *ni* 4, 5; 162.
aniémac < *niem*, 165.
ániémare < *niem*, 165.
ániémcowúj < *niem*, 120.
aniémfes < *niem*, 162.
ániemóf < *niem*, 162.
aníempuj < *niem*, 155.
anifámpumací < *nifampum*, 165.
anifesáper < *nifesap*, 155.
ánifiwér < *nifiw*, 155.
ánifiwésmar < *nifiwes*, 144.
anijamámser < *nijamamis*, 155.
anijámtiwer < *nijamtiw*, 155.
ánijáper < *nijap*, 155.
ánijápĕres < *nijap*, 155.
anijíc < *ni* 5; 116.
anijíca < *anijíc*, 34.
ánijimémtamamín < *nijimemtam*, 144.
anijimémtamor < *nijimemtam*, 155.
anijirímuwor < *nijirimuw*, 155.
anijnakáp a morsel, mouthful.
anijukmef < *nijukum*, 162.
anijukumapómtamor < *nijukumapomtam*, 155.
animár < *ni* 4, 5; 144.
animár (328), *jisin* — they fetched coconuts.
animatámef < *nimatam*, 162.
animatiér < *nimatiw*, 155.
animcukóf < *animcuku*, 162.
animcuká < *animcuku*, 109.
animcuku to disappear into the forest, to flee into the forest.
animés < *ni* 4, 5; 144.

anímomópĕres < *nimomop*, 155.
ánimurés < *nimu*, 155.
animus to disappear into the forest.
anínukámsĕres < *ninukamis*, 155.
aniómac < *niom*, 165.
aniómer < *niom*, 155.
ániomitúmes < *niomitum*, 144.
aniómuwarés < *niomuw*, 165.
aniómuwfes < *niomuw*, 162.
aniómuworés < *niomuw*, 155.
aniópĕres < *niop*, 155.
ánipirímac < *nipirim*, 165.
ánipóremapef < *niporemap*, 162.
aniporómjiwísĕres < *niporomjiwis*, 155.
anís not what it seems; similar to but not quite..
anisá < *anís*, 34.
ánisájĕres < *nisaj*, 155.
aníser < *nise*, 155.
anísicímtiwĕrém < *nisicimtiw*, 155.
anísirítewerác < *nisiritewer*, 165.
ánitápowesmár < *nitapowes*, 144.
ánitátepiápac < *nitatepiap*, 165.
anítewemef < *nitewem*, 162.
anítewémtamor < *nitewemtam*, 155.
anítewsémor < *nitewsem*, 155.
anítitíwer < *nititiw*, 155.
anítitíwité < *nititiw*, 168.
anítowopómfes < *nitowopom*, 162.
aníuwor < *niuw*, 155.
ankós centipede.
anmokóm < *an* 3; 144.
ánmom < *an* 3; 144.
anmopokóm < *an* 3; 144.
anpíw within reach; straight away, without delay.
anúk growth of mosses, ferns and prickles on the bark of the sago palm; layer of charcoal on the bottom of a canoe when it has been fired, → *ses*.
anuwútmames < *nuwut*, 144.
ánuwuwóf < *nuwuw*, 162.
ánuwuwór < *nuwuw*, 155.
aókajúmores < *okajum*, 155.
aókmores < *okom* 1, 2; 155.
aokómorés < *okom* 1, 2; 155.
áomatmár < *omat*, 144.
áomimés < *omi*, 144.
aómirismár < *omiris*, 144.
áomisér < *omis* 1, 2; 155.
áomocíner < *omocin*, 155.
aómomáter < *omomat*, 155.
áomómer < *omom*, 155.
áomómisér < *omomis* 1, 2; 155.
áomomíserā < *áomómisér*, 34.
áomóniĕrés < *omoni*, 155.
áomóniĕrésē < *áomóniĕrés*, 34.
aómosiromér < *omosirom*, 155.
aóniuwor < *oniuw*, 155.
aópac < *op* 2; 165.
aorápor < *orap*, 155.
aóriwíser < *oriwis*, 155.
aorómef < *orom*, 162.
aóromésmop < *oromes*, 152.
aósiocinér < *osiocin*, 155.
aósmoper < *osomop*, 155.
aótapac < *otap*, 165.
aótaworés < *otaw*, 155.
aótewerés < *otewer* 1, 2; 155.
aótiwumór < *otiwum*, 155.
aótmamsĕrés < *otmamis*, 155.
aótmenáwores < *otmenaw*, 155.
aótpemusúmtamór < *otpemusumtam*, 155.
aówoniér < *owoni*, 155.
aówor < *ow* 2, 3; 155.
ap 1 kind of tree.
ap 2 to sit; to be, to move [of a sitting subject].
ap 3 to work loose, to split, [fibres off the pandanus tree]; *tow* — to get sago grubs by breaking up the pith of the sago palm with digging sticks.
ápacájfom < *pacaj*, 162.
apáci small one-man canoe.
apácinakáp < *apáci*, 185.
apájfiráper < *pajfirap*, 155.
ápajimómser < *pajimomse*, 155.
ápajimór < *pajim*, 155.
apájisef < *pajis*, 162.
apájser < *pajse*, 155.
apák 1 interjection, expressing discontent: no! oh!
apák 2 the raw core of a ball of roasted sago; budding leaf.
ápamép < *apawer* 1, 2; 152.
ápamés < *apawer* 1, 2; 144.
ápampés < *apawer* 1, 2; 152.
apámtiwĕrés < *pamtiw*, 155.
apámusméf < *pamusum*, 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.
apápcapípimar < *papcapipi*, 144.
apapirómkuĕrés < *papiromku*, 155.
áparísearó < *parise*, 165.

apat to sit working something up with a chopping knife.
ápatmár < *apat*, 144.
apawer 1 to sit all the time, to sit the whole day.
apawer 2, *mow* — to work loose many fibres of the pandanus tree.
apáweraw < *apawer* 1, 2; 125.
apawerjotak, curúw — to walk quietly downriver keeping close to the bank [but out of sight], in order to meet someone.
ápawerjótakěrés < *apawerjotak*, 155.
apawérměro < *apawer* 1, 2; 174.
apáwuwumár < *pawuwu*, 144.
apcóm with, supplied with, having; totally, wholly, the bulk, the main mass [of canoes, people]; *aw* — having breasts, marriageable; *manmák* — having second sight; *esé* — filled bag.
apéf < *ap* 1, 2; 162.
apém the upstream or downstream end of a village.
ápemtakmór < *pemtakam*, 155.
apeper, apér — to make test holes in the trunk of a sago palm → *apér* 1, 2.
apepéracém < *apeper*, 165.
apeperocin to make test holes towards one of the ends of the trunk of the sago palm, starting in the middle → *apér* 1.
apepértaw to make test holes in the trunk of a sago palm.
apér 1 small hole made in the trunk of a felled sago palm in order to find out whether the pith is farinaceous. A digging stick is pushed through the hole into the pith and if there is sago there it will be adhering to the stick when it is pulled out. Here translated with: test hole [see sketch p. 367].
aper 2, *apér* — to make a test hole in the trunk of a sago palm.
aperér < *aper* 2; 155.
apěres < *ap* 2; 155.
apes 1 to come rowing towards.
apés 2 < *ap* 2; 176.
apesawer, jokmén — to be powerful.
ápesawéra < *apesawer*, 34.
apeséj < *pese*, 155.
apéwere < *apawer* 1; 109, 175.
apfamut to stay until the morning.
ápfamútmanóm < *apfamut*, 144.
ápfamútmanomè < *ápfamútmanóm*, 33.
apí 1 look! listen! Interjection, used to draw attention.
apí 2 < *ap* 2; 176.
ápiěrés < *pi* 2, 3; 155.
apíjináwores < *pijinaw*, 155.
apím scraped out pith, sago pulp; the part of the sago-washing trough in which the pulp is squeezed out.
ápimópěres < *pimop*, 155.
apín the back of the thigh.
apinmár < *pin*, 144.
apipís the soft inner part of the midrib of a sago palm frond. *apipís jiwí* the midrib of a young sago palm frond.
apirímac < *pirim*, 165.
apít 1 old, dry frond of the sago palm; *po* — old, dry rib of a frond.
apit 2 to remain sitting [?].
apit 3 to sit, stay, during the morning.
apitímsemor < *pitimsem*, 155.
apítmar < *apit* 3; 144.
apítmomésmar < *pitimomes*, 144.
apitof < *apit* 2; 162.
apjipu to do habitually during one's stay.
apjipúěres < *apjipu*, 155.
apjit to grow [subject sitting].
apkamtakawer always to row downstream alone.
apmár < *ap* 2, 3; 144.
apme, manmák is — to become dizzy.
apnaf the wide apart stretched legs.
apnawer to have plenty to eat, to sit, eating continually.
ápo, ar — look here! = *ar áporí*.
ápoamíscěmom < *poamis*, 136.
apoámsermóm < *poamis*, 136.
apóf < *ap* 2, 3; 162.
Apoków name of a *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.
apóm 1 to cause to sit, to plant.
apóm 2 < *ap* 2; 176.
apóma < *apóm* 2; 34.
apomawsim to thrust [a digging stick] into [the pith of the sago palm] and cause [the sago meal] to fly out.
ápomawsimá < *apomawsim*, 109.
apomcim to take away bits of, parts of.
apomiw to go inside to someone.
apomjim to pull, drag [object sitting]; to store [bags of sago].
apómjimór < *apomjim*, 155.

apomjirsom to kill, to bring disaster upon.
apómjirsómamep < *apomjirsom*, 152.
apomkekem, cem — to make a house, tying everything firmly.
apómkekemés (330) = *apómkekémamés* < *apomkekem*, 144.
apomkom to start to chop down [a tree].
apómkurer < *apomkuru*, 155.
apomkuru to agree upon.
apomosom, man — to thrust [a lance] with both hands into.
ápomosómor < *apomosom*, 155.
apomtewer to take [object sitting].
ápopěrínimokóm < *popěrini*, 144.
ápopěrínimokómè < *ápopěrínimokóm*, 33.
apór < *por*, 155.
aporá < *por*, 109.
áporác < *por*, 165.
apórca < *por*, 120.
aporcí < *por*, 125.
aporcín < *por*, 125.
aporérmokom < *por*, 136.
aporés < *por*, 155.
apóreweré < *porawer*, 182.
aporí < *por*, 116.
aporía < *aporí*, 34.
apórkasiáces < *porkasi*, 165.
apórkurumór < *porkurum*, 155.
aporéf < *por*, 162.
apórmef < *porem*, 162.
aporóf < *por*, 162.
aporómarés < *porom* 1; 165.
aporómtawamár < *poromtawawer*, 144.
aporómtawór < *poromtaw*, 155.
aporpór < *porpor*, 155.
apórserár < *porse*, 120.
áporwúj = *aporí*, < *por*, 116.
apotaw, atakám — to ask, to tell someone.
apotim, atakám — to sit talking until the sun sets.
apótimór < *apotim*, 155.
apsapu, ci — to guard the canoes of the women when they are fishing. [Generally this is done by children].
ápsirér < *apsiri*, 155.
apsiri to break into a run.
aptak to go on the way downriver.
aptakasamawer to set out and go down the whole length of the river.
aptákasámeweréjipurúw < *aptakasamawer*, 114.
aptakasámeweréjipurúwa < *aptákasámeweréjipurúw*, 34.
áptakěrés < *aptak*, 155.
aptemet to climb into a tree.
aptereмotep to go on one's way upstream to.
aptereмtiw to cover up.
aptersi to enter a river with the canoes in line of battle.
apteteremtaw to sit discussing with other people.
áptetерémtawájpurúw < *apteteremtaw*, 114.
áptetерémtawájpurúwa < *áptetерémtawájpurúw*, 34.
áptetерémtawmós < *apteteremtaw*, 113.
áptetерémtawmósa < *áptetерémtawmós*, 34.
apuér < *pu* 5; 155.
apumápěres < *pumap*, 155.
apumár < *pu* 5; 144.
ápumasméf < *pumasam*, 162.
ápuméf < *pum*, 162.
ápumés < *pu* 6; 144.
ápumfés < *pum*, 162.
ápumokópomfén < *pumokopom*, 162.
ápumokopómfěnes < *pumokopom*, 162.
apúnomer < *pumom* 1, 2; 155.
ápupúmesmóp < *pupumes*, 152.
apupúrumucúmtiwěrés < *pupurumucumtiw*, 155.
ar 1 → *aráw*.
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 *Surú*.
ará 1 → *aráw*.
ará 2 < *ar* 2c; 34.
arám 1 < *ar* 2a; 215.
aram 2 to rub in with.
aráma (320) = *arám* 1 [in enumeration].
aramapom to smear with, rub with [object sitting].
aramtiw to smear with [object lying].
arámtiwic < *aramtiw*, 116.
arán upstream, the upper reaches [of a large river].

arána < *arán*, 34.
aráp < *ar* 2a; 214.
arásen here, this place.
aráw emphasizing word, 245.
aráwa < *aráw*, 34.
aráwo < *aráw*, 33.
arcér main stream.
arewfaj to assemble [many people].
arewfájporamár < *arewfajporawer*, 144.
arewfajporawer to come together in great numbers to try to.
arewfajpurtawer to come together from all directions.
arewkajawer to come home from camp in great numbers.
arewsam to start out from.
arewsámores < *arewsam*, 155.
arim to man a canoe.
arimop, kámu- to sit together, making a terrible noise.
arimut to man a canoe in the morning.
ariw 'arrived at', 230.
ariwap to stay together with a number of people.
ariwes to come towards in a canoe full of people.
ariwésfes < *ariwes*, 162.
ariwtep to go upriver in a canoe full of people.
aríwtepfóm < *ariwtep*, 162.
aríwtepmepés < *ariwtep*, 152.
armá < *ar* 2a; 213.
armapmúc < *aramapom*, 116.
armótipic the owner, rich man [s.].
Arnanim name of a village.
aró < *ar* 2c; 33.
arów < *ar 2a;* 216.
arpá < *ar* 2a; 214.
arpúk out of the way, at a distance from.
arúw magic.
as 1 call, used to urge on dogs at a pig hunt.
as 2 something, a thing; beast (272); *wun* — another.
as 3 soft inner part of a stalk or stem; the pith.
as 4 faeces, shit.
as 5 'friend': when an Ásmat child is still young, its parents will show it its *as*, another child or a youth of the same sex. [I don't know how this relation is established]. The two boys or girls are expected to become close friends; in childhood they are playmates and regularly exchange food. In puberty, a homosexual relationship seems to have been regularized. After marriage, the *as* relationship ends as far as the girls are concerned; with the boys, the relationship from then on involves the exchange of women. This is called *papís*. When one of the *as* dies, the other takes his place in his family and also takes his name.
ása < *as* 2; 34.
ásakámores < *sakam*, 155.
asakámtamfén < *sakamtam*, 162.
ásakámtewerés < *sakamtewer*, 155.
ásakap < *as* 5; 196.
asákmor < *sakam*, 155.
asam, tosów — to decorate.
asamápmor < *asamapom*, 155.
asamapom, manmák — to cast a look at, to catch sight of.
asamop to bring something out and sit with it.
asamópmar < *asamop*, 144.
asamtewer to take away, to take out of, to pick up from.
asámteweraré < *asamtewer*, 165.
asámtewerés < *asamtewer*, 155.
asamtiw to push away [object lying].
asámtiwá < *asamtiw*, 109.
ásasakájesef < *sasakajes*, 162.
ásasakámtiwer < *sasakamtiw*, 155.
asawtam, tosów — to decorate oneself for.
asé 1 the side of the small of the back, lumbar region; *o* — the loins of a pig; *apín* — the legs wide apart; → *cowúc*.
asé 2 undergrowth.
asé 3 *jak* — piece of charcoal which is used in the practising of magic.
ase 4 < *se* 2; 176.
asécaw < *se* 2; 125.
ásefasíac < *sefasi*, 165.
asemármor < *semaram*, 155.
asémsirímor < *semsirim*, 155.
asén place; *fa* — place to sit down, room to sit down.
asép 1 at the back [of a row], next [of a date].
asép 2 half full.
aséperes < *sepe*, 155.

asér, wu — young sago palm of which the edible top is taken for food.
áserápmac < *serapom,* 165.
áserapmácokóm < *serapom,* 165.
áserápmarés < *serapom,* 165.
áserápmor < *serapom,* 155.
áserapómfěnom < *serapom,* 162.
asés < *se* 2; 176.
asesá hot to the taste, painful.
asésier < *sesi,* 155.
asetácokóm < *set,* 165.
ásetájcěmom < *setaj,* 136.
Asewéc name of a river.
Asewét → *Asewéc.*
así share.
asíac < *si* 3, 4, 5; 165.
asianerémtiwer < *sianeremtiw,* 155.
ásiasmó < *siasam,* 162.
asícimápmor < *sicimapom,* 155.
asícow < *si* 3, 4; 120.
asienaw to come together at.
asíer < *si* 3, 4; 155.
asimés < *si* 3, 4; 144.
asimotep to bring upriver [a group of people].
asímotepér < *asimotep,* 155.
ásiocinér < *siocin,* 155.
asírmeser < *sirimes,* 155.
asirímsamúc < *sirimsam,* 116.
ásirímtakěrés < *sirimtak,* 155.
ásirímtepěrés < *sirimtep,* 155.
asírinuwúwor < *sirinuwuw,* 155.
asirípiáper < *siripiap,* 155.
ásirmóteper < *sirimotep,* 155.
ásirmóteperā < *ásirmóteper,* 34.
asiropén, caj — I gave in (283), = *siropfen* [?] < *sirop.*
ásisímampés < *sisim* 1; 152.
asisímar < *sisi,* 144.
ásisiócinér < *sisiocin,* 155.
asisímomséf < *sisimomis,* 162.
ásitemaré < *sitem,* 165.
asítiwer < *sitiw,* 155.
ásmat human.
ásmot → *ásmat.*
asmótipic a mortal man, as distinct from a ghost-man, → *nétipic.*
asmúc < *asam,* 116.
áso < *as* 2; 33.
asomitéf < *somit,* 162.
asormónier < *sormoni,* 155.
asórmonimár < *sormoni,* 144.
asorómcěnes < *sorom,* 125.
ásosówomér < *sosowom,* 155.
asów, amán — a heavy bow, a bow which is difficult to bend.
asówaci < *sow,* 165.
ásowáper < *sowap,* 155.
asowémaré < *sowem,* 165.
asowemúj < *sowem,* 155.
asówfiwer < *sowfiw,* 155.
asówkonawfóm < *sowkonaw,* 162.
asówsiter < *sowsit,* 155.
astamos to follow someone, coming towards.
astamotak, fa'n — to follow someone downriver.
astamotep, fa'n — to follow someone upriver.
astamtewer, fa'n — to kidnap someone and walk behind him.
asúk caterpillar.
asumór < *sum,* 155.
asúmtewérac < *sumtewer,* 165.
asúmtewéracém < *sumtewer,* 165.
asúmtewerarés < *sumtewer,* 165.
ásumtúmare < *sumutum,* 165.
asúmutumémor < *sumutumem,* 155.
asúmutúmor < *sumutum,* 155.
asúnfes < *sun,* 162.
asúw very; *par* — very wide; *fek* — as hard as stone.
ásuwacés < *suw,* 165.
asuwémaré < *suwem,* 165.
asúwuwóres < *suwuw,* 155.
at 1 urging, ordering, promising; → *etam.*
at 2 *cemów* — to abuse; *ja* — to move on [walking, rowing], to cover a distance; *masim* — to watch carefully; *per* — to have as a wife; *sejpá* — to work up with a chopping knife.
atá → *atár.*
átajámser < *tajamis,* 155.
atájujukumápmac < *tajujukumapom,* 165.
atákajéf < *takaj,* 162.
atakajfóm < *takaj,* 162.
atakám speech, language, talking, story, news.
atakámanémor < *takamanem,* 155.
átakamás first, as the first.
atakámsomcúkmespés < *takamsomcukumes,* 152.
atakámtewerá < *takamtewer,* 109.
atakéf < *tak,* 162.

atákjiser < *takjis*, 155.
atakmár < *tak*, 144.
atakómĕres < *takom*, 155.
atákseáces < *takse*, 165.
atáktitíwer < *taktitiw*, 155.
atam 1, *jó awnám* — to have not yet risen [sun].
atam 2, *papís* — to have a *papís* relationship with.
atamapom to put something on something else, to fasten something on, to fix on; to dab on.
atamcáw < *atam* 1; 125.
atámcokom < *atam* 2; 125.
atamen, teré ni ám — to row upstream, while dancing for joy.
atamjik, nes — to wrap up meat [mixed with sago] in a nipa leaf to form a long stick → *jimín*.
atamni, móc am — to go back home while crying.
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.
atamsiom, fu pu'n — to row into a river with bamboo horns booming.
atámtewer, jókmen — to take up something with the tongs.
Atámuc name of a village.
atamurum to shoot arrows, as one is walking.
atáper < *tap*, 155.
atápmor < *tapom* 1, 2; 155.
atápmores < *tapom* 1, 2; 155.
atapómakmámar < *tapomakem*, 144.
atápomcĕmóm < *tapom* 1; 136.
atapomfámores < *tapomfam*, 155.
atapómkekémores < *tapomkekem*, 155.
atapómterémores < *tapomterem*, 155.
átar there, this, that; 226.
átarífiser < *tarifis*, 155.
Atáripic personal name.
Atáripicā < *Atáripic*, 34.
átatakájmar < *tatakaj* 2; 144.
atatámores < *tatam* 1; 155.
átatewérfes < *tatewer*, 162.
atatmór < *tetam*, 155.
atátmores < *tetam*, 155.
átawác < *taw* 1, 2; 165.
átawatíc < *tawat*, 108.
atáwcĕmém < *taw* 1, 2; 136.
atáwcokom < *taw* 1, 2; 125.
atawer < *ja* — to move on and on, to go a long way; *uwkú* — to crochet hair all the time.
atáwjimirsémor < *tawjimirsem*, 155.
atáwmopokóm < *taw* 1, 2; 144.
atáwnemesmár < *tawnemes*, 144.
atawór < *taw* 1, 2; 155.
atáworés < *taw* 1, 2; 155.
atáwpacájer < *tawpacaj*, 155.
atáwpacajóper < *tawpacajop*, 155.
átawpácamápmor < *tawpacamapom*, 155.
atáwporés < *tawpor*, 155.
atáwtamfín < *tawtam*, 162.
atáwtermenápmor < *tawtermenapom*, 155.
atáwtomínomasér < *tawtominomas*, 155.
atawúc < *taw* 1, 2; 116.
ate to call.
atcenaw to come upstream to call.
áteenáwmom < *ateenaw*, 144.
atemar < *ate*, 144.
átemétjamémer < *temetjamem*, 155.
atemétjomer < *temetjom*, 155.
átemetótaper < *temetotap*, 155.
atemétowópmor < *temetowopom*, 155.
atemétsowáper < *temetsowap*, 155.
átemétsurúmor < *temetsurum*, 155.
atemétwaniócer < *temetwanioc*, 155.
átemétwasiáper < *temetwasiap*, 155.
átemetwúemer < *temetwuem*, 155.
atémtapésmar < *temetapes*, 144.
atémtemér < *temetem*, 155.
atepá < *tep* 1; 109.
atépakámsef < *tepakamis*, 162.
atépca → *atépcar*.
atépcar < *tep* 1; 120.
atépeméf < *tepem*, 162.
átepfés < *tep* 1; 162.
atepíc < *tep* 2; 176.
atépkawifóm < *tepkawi*, 162.
atepómef < *tepom* 1, 2; 162.
atepómser < *tepomse*, 155.
atépsier < *tepsi*, 155.
atépsirímamár < *tepsirim*, 144.
atépsowamár < *tepsowawer*, 144.
ateptájĕres < *teptaj*, 155.
atéptowópmare < *teptowopom*, 165.
áterémsemac < *teremsem*, 165.
átetamfés < *tetam*, 162.
atetapom to send someone upriver to call people.

atéteremápmor < *teteremapom*, 155.
atewéměres < *tewem*, 155.
átewemór < *tewem* 1; 155.
atéwenémores < *tewenem*, 155.
átewér < *tewer* 2; 155.
átewérac < *tewer* 2; 165
átewerácas < *tewer* 2; 165.
átewerámar < *tewerawer* 2; 144.
atewéraré < *tewer* 2; 165.
átewerárəs < *tewer* 2; 165.
átewércar < *tewer* 2; 120.
atewércaw < *tewer* 2; 125.
atewércokom < *tewer* 2; 125.
atewércom < *tewer* 2; 125.
atéwerəf < *tewer* 2; 162.
atewérer < *tewer* 2; 155.
atewérfěnes < *tewer* 2; 162.
atewérfes < *tewer* 2, 3; 162.
atewérfin < *tewer* 2; 162.
atewérmar < *tewer* 2; 144.
átewermára < *atewérmar*, 34.
atéwjiniwámsitè < *tewjiniwamis*, 168.
átewjiniwarítmep < *tewjiniwarit*, 152.
atéwjiníwemom < *tewjiniwem*, 162.
atewoséwer (299), *moc* — she burst out wailing [< *tewosew* ?].
atewsémor < *tewsem*, 155.
atěrés < *at* 2; 155.
atí < *at* 2; 116.
atímser < *timse*, 155.
atíteweracém < *titewer*, 165.
atitíwac < *titiw*, 165.
átitíwer < *titiw*, 155.
atíwamár < *tiwawer*, 144.
átiwanímac < *tiwanim*, 165.
atíwapérer < *tiwaper*, 155.
átiwáwsimamár < *tiwawsim*, 144.
atiwémor < *tiwem*, 155.
atíwjimaré < *tiwjim*, 165.
atíwkafúmor < *tiwkafum*, 155.
atíwkukúmor < *tiwkukum*, 155.
atíwkukúmores < *tiwkukum*, 155.
atíwoter < *tiwot*, 155.
atíwpomamár < *tiwpomawer*, 144.
atíwsakamór < *tiwsakam*, 155.
átiwsiríteweraré < *tiwsiritewer*, 165.
atíwtaremár (282) < *tiwtarem*, = *atíwtarémamár*, 144.
atíwtemsémor < *tiwtemsem*, 155.
atíwtewer < *tiwtewer*, 155.
atíwtewérac < *tiwtewer*, 165.
atíwteweraré < *tiwtewer*, 165.
atíwumór < *tiwum*, 155.
atmár < *at* 2; 144.
atmokóm < *at* 2; 144.
atmokóma < *atmokóm*, 34.
átojofáj in four days' time, four days ago.
átojowún in three days' time, three days ago.
átomér in five days' time, five days ago.
atopómcěmes < *topom*, 136.
atów 1 interjection, expressing an earnest appeal: wait, please.
atów 2 play; → *e* 4.
atówa < *atów* 1; 34.
atówof < *towof*, 107.
átowóféres < *towof*, 155.
átowómfěnés < *towom*, 162.
atówomiwtámcěmes < *towomiwtam*, 136.
átowomsér < *towomse*, 155.
átowóniér < *towoni*, 155.
atowópmamí < *towopom*, 144.
átowopmamín < *towopom*, 144.
atówopmóper < *towopom*, 155.
atówopmór < *towopom*, 155.
átowoséf < *towos*, 162.
atówotákěres < *towotak*, 155.
atówotépfes < *towotep*, 162.
átowówac < *towow*, 165.
aturúmamár < *turum*, 144.
atúrumef < *turum*, 162.
aturúmtiwer < *turumtiw*, 155.
átuwomséfěnem < *tuwomse*, 162.
atúwomsér < *tuwomse*, 155.
atúwor < *tuw*, 155.
atúwser < *tuwse*, 155.
áurúmnemaró < *urumnem*, 165.
aurúmteweraró < *urumtewer*, 165.
aurúmtcwéres < *urumtewer*, 155.
aw 1 → *aráw*, 261.
aw 2 subjectivity marker, 257.
aw 3 interjection: oh!
aw 4 breast [of a woman].
aw 5 to roast, to cook, to boil water.
aw 6 to scrape out sago.
Aw name of a river.
áwa < *aw* 1, 2; 34.
awajímtiwer < *wajimtiw*, 155.
awájotépfes < *wajotep*, 162.
áwakámkurumór < *wakamkurum*, 155.
awakámkurúmores < *wakamkurum*, 155.
awamár < *awawer*, 144.
awamés < *awawer*, 144.

awamís < *amis*, 178.
awámpom < *aw* 5, 6; 152.
awan 1 to roast sago for a meal.
awan 2 to scrape out sago.
awáp < *ap* 2; 178.
áwapí < *ap* 2; 176, 178.
áwasé < *se* 2; 178.
áwaséc (344) = *áwasé*.
awawer to scrape out much sago, to scrape out sago continually.
awcóm < *aw* 5, 6; 125.
awè < *aw* 2; 33.
awemcém < *cm* 3; 176, 178.
áwemci < *em* 3; 176, 178.
awemés = *aemés* < *e* 4; 144.
awemíc < *em* 3; 176, 178.
awemít → *awemíc*.
awér 1 (305) but not [?].
awér 2 a pubic covering worn by the married women. It consists of a plaited waist-belt made of grasses from which hangs a fringe of young leaves of the sago palm. This fringe extends from hip to hip and is approximately 2 ft long. When the *awér* is to be worn the fringe is gathered together, passed between the thighs, to rest closely against the pubes, along the perineum and up over the top of the belt where it is tucked in [see sketch p. 365].
awer 3 to sharpen.
aweremtiw to smear a stripe [of paint] on; to put in a row [bags of sago]; to lay down on supports.
awerfis to go outside by passing close to.
awérfiséf < *awerfis*, 162.
awes to scrape out sago at night.
áwewerémkum to put ashore in a hurry, just on the edge of the water.
awewerjar to walk across something narrow, e.g. a duckboard.
awiásmor < *wiasam*, 155.
áwienfóm < *iwien*, 162.
awiéscf < *iwics*, 162.
áwiéseféˉ < *awiésef*, 34.
áwijisaré < *iwijis*, 165.
áwijisér < *iwijis*, 155.
áwikunáwmar < *iwikunaw*, 144.
awínemorés < *iwinem*, 155.
áwiniér < *iwini*, 155.
awíniof < *iwini*, 162.
áwiokópmores < *iwiokopom*, 155.
áwiomatámes < *iwiomatawer*, 144.
áwiséréś < *iwis*, 155.
awitéparé < *iwitep*, 165.
áwitépéf < *iwitep*, 162.
áwitépefēˉ < *áwitepéf*, 34.
awítiwérés < *iwitiw*, 155.
awjis roasted [?].
áwkurumorés < *awkurum*, 155.
awkurum to scrape out all [pith].
áwkurumór < *awkurum*, 155.
awkurumtiw to scrape out sago pith until it is all out.
áwkurúmtiwér < *awkurumtiw*, 155.
awkuw to delay [a departure].
awnám → *atam*.
awnawer to scrape out much sago for food.
awní < *awan* 1, 2; 116.
awniawer, se'n — to go downstream, covered in mud.
awó all right, yes.
awocin to scrape out sago pith in the direction of the top or the bottom of the trunk.
Awók name of a *jew* in the village of Amánamkáj.
áwomsémar < *omse*, 144, 178.
áwomséokom < *omse*, 177, 178.
awón stroke, blow; → *mop*.
Awór name of a *jew* in the village of *Surú*.
awór 1 kind of fish.
awor 2 to become, to change into.
aworéf < *awor* 2; 162.
aworem to have been changed into. [subject standing].
áworeméf < *aworem*, 162.
aworemes to change into during the night [subject standing].
áworémesmí < *aworemes*, 144.
áworemí < *aworem*, 155.
áworémitem < *aworem*, 168.
aworemkurum to change completely into [subject standing].
awórés < *aw* 5, 6; 155.
aworse to change into [a fish].
awórséc < *aworse*, 116.
awpor to try to scrape out sago, to know how to scrape out sago.
áwse 1 < *se* 2; 176, 178.
awse 2, *se'n* — to be on the river [in a canoe], covered in mud.
awsem, mu — to dig a water-hole.

áwsemac < *awsem*, 165.
awsés < *se* 2; 176, 178.
awtam to scrape out sago for someone.
awtámcar < *awtam*, 132.
awtewer, amás — to get sago.
awtiw 1 to roast and put down, to have finished roasting.
awtiw 2 to scrape sago pith until it is all out, to scrape out sago and put it down.
áwtiwĕrés < *awtiw* 1, 2; 155.
awtó kind of tree.
awú breast [of a man].
áwuamsé < *wuamis*, 162.
awuámser < *wuamis*, 155.
awuamsés < *wuamse*, 176.
awuámsesmár < *wuamses*, 144.
awuápmor < *wuapom*, 155.
áwuaré < *wu* 8; 165.
awúc < *aw* 5, 6; 116.
awúco < *awúc*, 33.
awué́f < *wu* 8; 162.
awúj < *aw* 5, 6; 155.
awúja exclamation: hey!
awum to flay.
awumapom to strip [bark] off a tree.
awumnem to wrench loose groundwards [the bark of the felled sago palm].
awúmnemór < *awumnem*, 155.
awumtiw to wrench [bark] off [the trunk of the sago palm].
awún but, however.
awúnier < *wuni*, 155.
awúpa exclamation: that's a hit!
awút large, big, much [water], many [people], heavy [rain].
awútpicím < *awút*, 203.

C

ca 1 who, whose, 232.
ca 2 → *car*.
caátĕren < *at* 2; 125.
cácmapcí < *emap*, 125.
caj 1 way of doing, customary behaviour; *caj curúw* unaccountable, mysterious [behaviour].
caj 2 plan, scheme, intention, purpose, idea, pretext, → *emc*.
caj 3 sexual intercourse, → *c* 4.
caj 4 not willing, averse from, → *sirop*.
caj 5, *nam* — ill; *caj pacák* calamity, disaster, → *cap*.
cajaríc (309), *tow* — let him come round first; < *jar* [?].
cajit to kill [pigs] in the morning.
cajítmar < *cajit*, 144.
cajkurum to pretend.
cajomat to carry a great quantity of.
cajomatmep < *cajomat*, 152.
cáka 1 with a splash.
cáka 2 pool.
Cáka name of a river.
cakám deserted [of a village].
cakámkaj, focó — skinny.
cakás → *takás*.
cakokoromse to chase, kill and haul aboard [a fish].
cam 1, *ca* 1 + *am*, 233.
cam 2 < *car*, 217.
cáma < *cam* 1; 34.
camák 'behind the house'; path running from the back of the house into the forest along which people go to defecate, or when they are going to the forest.
camán the space under the house.
Cáman personal name.
camár < *cawer*, 144.
camním the right way [as distinct from the wrong way].
camemeremem to give someone a sound thrashing.
cámemerémemór < *camemeremem*, 155.
camúw 1 on foot, walking.
cámuw 2 the sound of wood being chopped.
can to kill and eat.
canfés < *can*, 162.
canúpir pelican.
capakamop to have killed.
cápakamópĕres < *capakamop*, 155.
capimom to walk while holding [a lance] by the point.
capimomku, océn — to go ashore, holding a lance by its point.
capínmi ground, dry land [in contradistinction 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.

cásirímtakcí < *sirimtak*, 125.
cátepapcóm < *tepap*, 125.
cátepapcóma < *cátepapcóm*, 34.
catiw to kill.
catiwír = *catiwér*, < *catiw*, 155.
catiwtam to kill [a pig] for someone.
catiwtamán < *catiwtam*, 155.
caciap to sit tightly packed [many people together].
caciom to be busy putting in rows [?].
cacíw kind of fish.
cawer to kill many [pigs].
cáwijísporín < *iwijíspor*, 125.
cawuawer 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 [*jow*], situated at the mouth of the river on which a village lies. Here the men sit on the look out for enemies, especially when their women are fishing in the neighbourhood.
cémi — *akmát* an old woman.
cémnakap < *cem*, 185.
cémnakápiríw < *cem*, 188.
Cemnácuw personal name.
cemsén the space in front of the house; the village.
cen vagina; → *an* 3.
cenám 1 'that which is inside': *kus* — the brain; *manmák* — the eyeball.
cenám 2, *ces* — the point of an arrow; *amús* — the headpiece of the sago scraper.
cenwís wife's parents.
cepés a wife, wives; a woman, women [but never: the wife, the woman]; *cepés apcóm* having a wife, wives; → *cowúc*.
Cepésmi name of a river.
cérecafó spurting; → *cas*.
ces 1 arrow.
ces 2 to pour down all night long [rain].
cesmár < *ces* 2; 144.
cesén → *tesén*.
cescúw skilled, clever.
ceswén long arrow.
cet → *cic*.
cĕmén 1 penis.
cĕmén 2, *ci* — = *ci cimén*, → *cimén*.
Cĕmenósamín name of a river.
cĕmew, abuse → *at* 2.
cĕnés below, on the floor; downstream.
cĕwí 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; *jícop* — 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.
cía (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.
cicikímccm < *cicikim*, 125.
cicikímtiw to wash, to clean [object lying].
cikim to wash something.
cim to shoot [an arrow].
cimén the stern of a canoe; *ci* — idem.
cimín 1 temple [of the head].
cimín 2 imitation; just as, as though; *ci* — imitation-canoe; *opák* — as though nothing were afoot (*322*); *a cimín cowák* just as before (*271*).
cimom to be busy with [?].
cimtewer to take away a part from.
cimtiw to kill by shooting.
cin 1 and, inclusive, both of; 251.
cin 2 to cut up something for eating.
ciomiw to cut up and take indoors, e.g. a pig.
ciomíwamár < *ciomiwawer*, 144.
ciomiwawer to cut up much [flesh] and take it indoors.
cíptow dried up sago palm.
cir to snatch at.
círi snatching, → *emtewer*.
cirím fence, partition; *cowó* — 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.
ciromásĕres < *ciromas*, 155.
cirop, *moc* — to start to cry, to complain about; *purumúc* — to begin to

sing dirges to honour a guest [this is done in the ceremonial house].
cirópanem < *cirop*, 155.
co container; nest, trough; *pok* — trough with food; *an* — small trough used to put sago in; *pomót* — 'a nest of feathered paddles', said when all the people in a canoe have feathered paddles.
coap 1 to plait [subject sitting].
coap 2 to stay hidden.
coapér < *coap* 1, 2; 155.
coapĕrés < *coap* 1, 2; 155.
coapfés < *coap* 1, 2; 162.
cococó dashing forward.
cofó spoilt, unusable [said of sago palms].
cokó, nam — in high spirits.
com 1 → *car*, 232.
com 2 the headband of a carrying bag.
com 3, *manam* — to fall in love.
com 4 to hide [someone].
com 5 to kill and take along.
comá < *com* 3; 109.
comapom (324) to present something to [?].
comíc young sago leaves, used like a sponge to soak up the water that has come into the canoe.
comis to go outside, throwing [sago] about.
cómismár < *comis*, 144.
comom, fe — to string [fish] on a rope and hold it.
comopawer to keep someone hidden [indoors].
cop → *coap*.
copawer to plait without interruption, continually.
copó with a thud.
copón young sago palm [older than *wasér*]; *wu* — a *copón* from which the edible top only is removed. [A *copón* is still so small that one can get the top out of it without cutting the tree down].
copú a young sago palm [older than a *mikín*, but younger than a *wasér*].
cotiw to plait something until it is finished.
cótiwér < *cotiw*, 155.
cotiwpor to try to plait something until it is finished.
cotíwporó < *cotiwpor*, 162.
cow the sago palm [generic name].
cowák one, only, all; very; forthwith, straightaway [when *cowák* follows a verb]; *inim* — and so on; *opák* — not in the least.
cowáka < *cowák*, 34.
cowákaseré little ones, crumbs, 191.
cowáksere → *cowákaseré*.
cowé → *cowó*.
Cowéw name of a village.
cowkán together.
cowó the side leaves of the frond of the sago palm.
cowór flat, level, smooth; alike, the same. *mi* — among [our] selves, with only people of the same group.
cowóra < *cowór*, 34.
coworé the top of the frond of the sago palm.
cowú 1 the bark of the sago palm.
cowu 2 the place in the forest where the sago is scraped out.
cowúc woman, girl [s.] *fa* — chief wife; *asé* — co-wife; *cowúc apcóm* 'being like a woman', term of abuse, used with regard to men.
cowúca < *cowúc*, 34.
cowút → *cowúc*.
cowútnakap < *cowúc*, 185.
Cowútpacak woman's name.
cukem to be hidden [subject standing].
cumán a burn.
cumasam to let go freely [shit, piss].
cuomatom to take someone away secretly, to kidnap.
cúomatómites < *cuomatom*, 168.
curujis to slither to the outside [fish].
cúrujisá < *curujis*, 109.
curúw secretly.
cucum to make noise.
cuwúc at that moment, at that time.
cuwút → *cuwúc*.

E

e 1 interjection: oh!, no!.
e 2 → *er*.
e 3 leaf; *amás* — the side leaves of the frond of the sago palm.
e 4 to say, to do; *anám* — to work up the inner part of the pith of the sago

palm; *ajpamá* — to be known (324): *atów* — to play; *caj* — 1) to intend, to think of, to have an idea, 2) to have sexual intercourse; *jan* — to hear; *jec* — to carry a heavy load, to go forward with difficulty [e.g. across the mudbanks]; *jimamúc* — to be very busy with; *jipís* — to dart to and fro [fish]; *jiwá* — to surround; *ju* — to shout, to yell; *karém* — to cause someone to be quiet; *makán* — to leave behind; *njonjonjo* — to screech [ghosts]; *njernjer* — to devour [said of maggots]; *tosów* — to make a gift in return; *wu* — to rustle [leaves].

e 5 → *so* 1.

ea interjection: oh!

eacóm < *e* 4; 165.

eacóma < *eacóm*, 34.

eamis, mokóp — to lie on the stomach.

eap to do while sitting, to speak while sitting; *amún pu* — to be busy with [preparations for departure]; *cáj pacák* — to be in a hopeless situation; *ják seré* — to become enamoured of; *jiná ji* — to crawl on hands and knees; *mé pipí* — to have the mouth chockfull.

eapam to do mutually while staying somewhere.

eapí < *eap*, 176.

eápmor < *eapom* 1, 2; 155.

eápmorés < *eapom* 1, 2; 155.

eapom 1 to speak about [object sitting].

eapom 2, *cem* — to build a house.

eapomkekem to build a house, tying it firmly.

eas, cérecafó — to spurt out [of juice]

easam to do all the time: *jimamúc in* — to be busy all the time, until completion.

eawer to do continually, all day long, always; *caj* — always to be averse from; *em* — to beat the drums all day long; *jipís* — always to dart to and fro [fish].

éawerí < *eawer*, 125.

eawérmom < *eawer*, 136.

éawirí < *eawer*, 116.

éawiría < *éawirí*, 34.

eawérmokom < *eawer*, 136.

écem < *e* 4; 125.

ecěmánokom < *e* 4; 136.

écemè < *éccm*, 33.

écěmés < *e* 4; 136.

ecén < *e* 4; 116.

ecéna < *ecén*, 34.

ecés < *e* 4; 125.

ecí < *e* 4; 125.

ecó revenge.

éco kind of frog.

écom < *e* 4; 125.

eem to speak while standing up.

ees 1 to do at night.

ees 2, *mormor* — to come towards crawling in great numbers; *manmák cenám wu* — to come towards with shining eyes.

eésěrí < *ees* 1; 125.

ef 1 twig; *man* — finger.

ef 2 < *e* 4; 162.

éfa quickly.

efamúc [do it] quickly!

efamúca < *efamúc*, 34.

efamút → *efamúc*.

efém < *e* 4; 162.

efés < *e* 4; 162.

efokóm < *e* 4; 162.

efóm < *e* 4; 162.

eit to do in the morning

eítěri < *eit*, 125.

eitum to do in the afternoon.

eitúmcěmokóm < *eitum*, 136.

éitúmci < *eitum*, 125.

eitúmcom < *eitum*, 125.

ej 1 interjection: hey! ay!

ej 2 < *e* 4, 155.

ek stone, fruit; *maj* — toe; *tínak* — the fruit of the sago palm.

ekcá → *ekcó; ekcá jimá* 'arse child', misbegotten brat [term of abuse].

ekcó knot in wood, arse.

éknakap one [numeral].

ekurum, jirán — to become squashy.

em 1 wife [s.].

em 2 drum.

em 3 to be [subject standing], to stand, to wait.

em 4 to do, to make, to work up [sago pith], to apply to; *mar atów* — to play football; *mer* — to catch crabs; *jim* — to fish with the net.

em 5 you [s., pl.] are. Only in the set expressions: *nor mó em, no miwís em*, see 236, note 41.

emá 1 < *e* 4; 144.

emá 2 < *em* 4; 144, 183.

emá 3 < *em* 5; 34.
emájpurúw < *em* 4; 114.
emájpuruwá < *emájpuruw*, 34.
emák bone.
emákapúmtewfom < *kapumtew*, 162.
emamár < *emawer* 2; 144.
emámci < *am* 7, 8; 125, 179.
emamis to lie down.
emamóp < *emawer* 1; 152.
emamópā < *emamop*, 34.
emamós < *em* 4; 113.
emamósa < *emamós*, 34.
emamséf < *emamis*, 162.
emamsér < *emamis*, 155.
emamsi < *emamis*, 155.
emamsío < *emamsí*, 33.
emámsiti < *emamis*, 168.
emamtewer to meet each other.
eman, amás — to get food.
emanem to store [sago] on, to fill [the platforms on the collar-beams, with food].
émaném < *em* 4; 144, 183.
emap to sit, to sit down, to begin to go down [sun].
emápacáw (309) < *emap*, = *cáemapcáw* or *emapác*, 130, 167.
emápaces < *emap*, 165.
emápcěma < *emap*, 136.
emápem < *emap*, 155 [mood form].
emápěres < *emap*, 155.
emapí < *emap*, 155.
emapmá < *emap*, 144.
emapmés, ke — to get stuck [on a sandbank] at night.
emápmesmár < *emapmes*, 144.
emapmór < *emapom*, 155.
emápmores < *emapom*, 155.
emapom to cause to sit down, to put down; to hit, strike [with a spear, harpoon]; *cem* — to make a house; *jírik* — to paint the *jírik* design on.
emáporápěrés < *porap*, 155.
emár indeed not, no; 244.
emár < *e* 4; 144.
emára 1 < *ěma*, 34.
emára 2 < *emár*, 34.
emarimut to man a canoe in the morning.
emárimutmár < *emarimut*, 144.
emárimútmará < *emárimutmár*, 34.
emariw to go aboard [a number of people in one canoe].
emasmawer, fawic — to make jokes all the time.
emásmewérmes < *emasmawer*, 136.
ematam to go and chop down, to begin to chop down.
emátepésmar < *tepes*, 144.
ématepíc < *tep*, 176, 179.
emátewirúm < *atawer*, 171.
emátmor < *ematam*, 155.
emáwcem < *aw* 5, 6; 125, 179.
emáwcom < *aw* 5, 6; 125, 179.
emawer 1 to stay [subject standing].
emawer 2 always to do.
emcawóm < *em* 4; 125, 179.
emcém 1 < *em* 3; 176.
emcém 2 < *em* 4; 125, 179.
émcěmém < *em* 4; 136.
émcěmemá < *émcěmém*, 34.
émcěmi < *em* 4; 136.
émcěpem < *em* 4; 136.
emcí 1 < *em* 3; 176.
emcí 2 < *em* 4; 125, 179.
emcimtewer to take away parts from.
emcín < *em* 4; 125, 179.
émcinè < *emcín*, 33.
emcío < *em* 3; 33.
emcóm 1 < *em* 3; 176.
emcóm 2 < *em* 4; 125, 179.
emcóma < *emcóm*, 34.
eme, caj — to look for a pretext; *mic wut nim* — to be like a huge cloud of ashes [subject standing].
emé < *em* 4; 162.
emeáfores < *af* 1, 2; 155.
eméajmiramín < *ajmirawer*, 144.
eméajmiramíno < *eméajmiramín*, 33.
eméajmirámpun < *ajmirawer* [?], 144.
eméajmirámpunè < *eméajmirámpun*, 33.
eméakéwiripúj < *akawer*, 171
eméamúj < *am* 8; 155.
eméawkurúmpuj < *awkurum*, 155.
emécanés < *can*, 162.
émecěmár < *eme*, 136.
eméemanpúj < *eman*, 155.
eméf < *em* 3, 4; 162.
eméfawóf < *faw*, 162.
eméjistewéresmi < *jisteweres*, 144.
eméjursúmeawós < *jursum*, 162.
emékafúmanes < *kafum*, 162.
emékamiésmar < *kamies*, 144.
emem 1 to stand up, to start to walk.
émem 2 < *e* 4; 144.

émémamsěrém (266) 'since you are there'; < *emamis*, 155.
émemef < *emem* 1; 162.
émémeměrém (269) 'since you are there'; < *emem* 1, 155.
ememér < *emem* 1; 155.
ememes to grow up during the night [tree].
ememésmar < *ememes*, 144.
eméměrém < *emem* 1; 155.
emémi < *emem* 1; 155.
ememóf < *emem* 1; 162.
emen 1 to walk upstream; to walk to the far end of.
emen 2 < *em* 4; 144, 183.
émenè < *emen* 2; 33.
emenér < *emen* 1; 155.
emenímatiwpúj < *nimatiw*, 155.
eménmetén rattan calf band.
eméomoméf < *omom*, 162.
emép 1 < *e* 4; 152.
emép 2 < *em* 4; 152, 183.
emépanikajapánokom < *nikajap*, 155.
emépapórán < *por*, 155.
emépapóranem < *por*, 155.
emépapóráněnem < *por*, 155.
emépapormáněnem < *por*, 144.
emépasán < *sa*, 155.
emépè < *emép* 1; 33.
eméporáněnem < *por*, 155.
emépori < *por*, 155.
emépormáněnem < *por*, 144.
emér < *em* 3; 155.
emes 1 to come walking towards.
emes 2 to make something at night.
emés 3 < *e* 4; 144.
emésakajámi < *sakajawer*, 144.
emésamep < *sa* 2; 152.
emésetajér < *setaj*, 155.
émesi < *emes* 1; 155.
emésmep < *emes* 2; 152.
emésmem < *emes* 2; 144.
emésmemá < *emésmem*, 34.
emésusumá < *susu*, 144.
emétawami < *tawawer*, 144.
emétawamía < *emétawami*, 34.
emétawní < *tawan*, 155.
emétawnío < *emétawní*, 33.
emétawúj < *taw* 1, 2; 155.
emétawúja < *emétawúj*, 34.
emételměrém < *tem* 2; 155.
emétepakájapítes < *tepakajap*, 168.
eméururútes < *ururu* 2; 168.
emewer → *emawer* 2.
emewerérjimos < *emawer* 2; 113.
emewerérjipuruúwa < *emawer* 2; 114.
émewiri < *emawer* 2; 171.
eměrém < *em* 3; 155.
eměréma < *eměrém*, 34.
eměrés < *em* 3; 155.
eměróm < *em* 3; 155.
emfafam, jo'n — to do until the sun rises.
émfafamfés < *emfafam*, 162.
emfam, jo'n — to stay until the breaking of the day.
emfaméf < *emfam*, 162.
emfém < *em* 4; 162.
emfés < *em* 3, 4; 162.
emfěnés < *em* 4; 162.
emfimsum to come out of [a hiding place].
emfokóm < *em* 3, 4; 162.
emi 1 to speak while standing.
emí 2 < *e* 4; 144.
emí 3 < *em* 4; 144, 183.
emía < *emi* 3; 34.
emíc < *em* 3; 176.
emíca < *emíc*, 34.
emimár < *emi* 1; 144.
emín < *em* 4; 144, 183.
eminè < *emín*, 33.
emío < *emi* 3; 33.
emis to go outside, to go to the forest.
émisérmar < *emis*, 136.
emismép < *emis*, 152.
emít → *emíc*.
emitè < *em* 3; 168 [?].
emitém < *em* 3; 168.
emitóm < *em* 3; 168.
emitum to be standing during the afternoon, to stay during the afternoon.
emiw to go indoors.
emiwer < *emiw*, 155.
emjar to go, to walk.
emji, po — to row [subject standing]; *apím* — to squeeze out sago pulp [subject standing].
émjiamár < *emjiawer*, 144.
emjiawer to keep on speaking, shouting [subject standing].
emkencit, ken — to start to collect up [necessary] implements in the morning.
émkencítmar < *emkencit*, 144.
emkoj to set out, to go away, walking [subject standing].

emkojér < *emkoj*, 155.
emkom to pick [a flower], [subject standing].
emku to go ashore, to step ashore.
emkumár < *emku*, 144.
émkurmór < *emkurum*, 155.
emkurum to make all, to make the whole thing.
emnani, nani — to stand whimpering.
émnanimár < *emnani*, 144.
emni 1 to (begin to) walk back home, to walk downstream, to descend.
emni 2, *maj ni* — to dangle one's feet.
emnimár < *emni* 1, 2; 144.
emnípuj < *emni* 1; 155.
emócamár < *emocawer*, 144.
emocawer, uc — to stand laughing continually.
emóf < *em* 3, 4; 162.
emóm < *em* 4; 144, 183.
emóm < *e* 4; 144.
emop, iriri — to have left none, to have killed all (337).
émoper < *emop*, 155.
emór < *em* 4; 155.
émorém < *em* 4; 155.
emotasisimawer → *otasisimawer*.
empám to hit someone with.
empámor < *empam*, 155.
empepem, manmák — to be on the lookout.
empor 1 to try to stand; to want to stay; *emporí*! please, stay!
empor 2 to try to make something; to be able to do something; to want to do; *enám* —, *pe* —, *amás* — to try to get fish, crabs, sago.
emporá < *empor* 1, 2; 109.
émporamár < *emporawer*, 144.
émporamép < *emporawer*, 152.
emporawer continually to try to do.
empórcej < *empor* 1, 2; 116.
emporés < *empor* 1, 2; 155.
empórfěnes < *empor* 1, 2; 162.
emporó < *empor* 1, 2; 162.
empu to be on the river, to row along the river.
empúcěmes < *empu*, 136.
empuj < *em* 4; 144, 183.
emsajcucuku to flee, everyone individually, to the forest.
émsajcúcukumár < *emsajcucuku*, 144.
emsajcuku to flee, everyone individually, to the forest.
emsakámtewerfém < *sakamtewer*, 162, 179.
emsamem to pile up.
emsamémamár < *emsamem*, 144.
emsawer, em — to beat the drums the whole day (328).
emse to be on or in the water.
emseawer always to be in or on the water, to stay in the water.
emséces < *emse*, 176.
emséěres < *emse*, 155.
emsem, mu fowú — to fill [a trough] to the brim with water.
émsemor < *emsem*, 155.
emsér < *emse*, 155.
émseres < *emse*, 155.
emsetájěrés < *setaj*, 155, 179.
emsires quickly to come walking towards.
émsiresí < *emsires*, 155.
emsiri to run away.
emsit to grow up [subject standing].
emsokmem (323) to spoil [?].
émsokmemér < *emsokmem*, 155.
emsokmór < *emsokom*, 155.
emsokmún < *emsokom*, 155.
emsokom to hit, to strike.
emtam, mi wací — to indicate assent by lifting the head.
emtámor < *emtam*, 155.
emtampor to try to make or to do something for someone.
emtaw to speak, to start to speak [subject standing].
emtáwamepés < *emtawawer*, 152.
émtawaré < *emtaw*, 165.
emtawawer continually to speak [subject standing].
émtawéwiris < *emtawawer*, 171.
emtawmár < *emtaw*, 144.
emtawmém < *emtaw*, 144.
emtawutum, tam pepepe — to draw rattan tight on something in the evening.
emtáwutumár < *emtawutum*, 144.
emtep to hang.
emtetámcěmokóm < *tetam*, 136, 179.
emtewen to go and fetch food.
emtewer to go and fetch; *círi* — to grab; *kapú* — to catch hold of.
émtewerfén < *emtewer*, 162.

émtewerfés < *emtewer*, 162.
emtewjiniw all to go on their way.
émtewjiniwmar < *emtewjiniw*, 144.
emtewnácem < *emtewen*, 165.
emtewnácema < *emtewnácem*, 34.
emtewtum (321) to gather large quantities of [sago] [?].
emtim, jo'n — to stay somewhere until the sun goes down, to walk until the sun goes down [subject standing].
emtímcĕmar < *emtim*, 136.
emtiméf < *emtim*, 162.
émtimefā < *emtiméf*, 34.
emtitiw to put [several things] down.
emtitiwá < *emtitiw*, 109.
emtiw, wa — to make someone glisten [object lying].
emtiwkurum to work up all [sago pulp].
émtiwkurúmac < *emtiwkurum*, 165.
emtópmores < *emtopom*, 155.
emtopom, mokóp — to put upside down [a canoe on the bank of the river].
emturum to line up [canoes against the bank of the river].
emturuméf < *emturum*, 162.
emúj < *em* 4; 155.
emut 1 to do, to make, in the morning.
emut 2 < *em* 4; 168.
emutmí < *emut* 1; 144.
emutokóm < *em* 4; 168.
emutokóma < *emutokóm*, 34.
emutum to make something in the afternoon.
emwu to flee [a crowd of people].
emwus to topple over, to fall down with much rustling of leaves [tree].
emwúsermar < *emwus*, 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 [?], *fe* — to put on a string.
énakap small, young.
énakapiríw very small, very young; < *énakap*, 188.
enám fish; *mu* — creatures that live in the water.
enámnakap < *enám*, 185.
enamúc come! let's go!.
enaré < *en* 4 [?]; 165.
enaw to come towards [see sketch p. 364].
enawap to come towards and stay, → *enaw*.
enawapes to come towards and pass the night, → *enaw*.
enáwapesmóm < *enawapes*, 144.
enáwapfom < *enawap*, 162.
enáwecaw < *enaw*, 125.
enáwecem < *enaw*, 125.
enáwfam to come towards and run [water] away.
enawfamá < *enawfam*, 109.
enawkapu to come towards and join up with.
énawkapuéf < *enawkapu*, 162.
enáwmes < *enaw*, 144.
enesamis to come towards and lie down.
enésamséf < *enesamis*, 162.
enesjamis, samsam — to come in many canoes close together.
enésjamséf < *enesjamis*, 162.
enesjap, tóko — to land with a thud on the ground.
énesjápĕres < *enesjap*, 155.
enesmapom, 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.
enesturum to come towards and line up [canoes against the bank of a river].
enésturúmef < *enesturum*, 162.
enĕrím and, 250.
ením → *enĕrím*.
enmúm → *mer*.
eóf < *e* 4; 162.
eom to speak while holding something.
eomat to speak while walking around.
eomewer 1 to keep saying to.
eomewer 2, *maj mumú* — always to take someone on the wrong path.
eomit to speak to someone in the morning.
eompuawer, tep tep — to sink farther and farther down [in the bog] with.
eomse to talk while rowing.
eoni, tep tep — to sink farther and farther down.
eos, moc — to come with [someone] while crying.
ep tail; *jec* — far end of the sump trough; *ci* — the stern of a canoe; *si* — a very long axe.

Epém name of a *jew* in the village of *Serew*.
eperák the bottom end of something long; the last one in a series.
epermák = *eperák*.
epíc elder sister [s.].
epícĕwes older sisters [pl.], 190.
epmák the upper course of a river.
epnám young pandanus tree.
eporamár < *eporawer*, 144.
eporawer, omér — to become more and more afraid; *jis* — always to try to roast [but in vain].
epúc elder brother [s.].
epúcewes older brothers [pl.], 190.
epút → *epúc*.
er 1 that, over there, 223.
er 2 < *e* 4; 155.
Erák personal name.
erám magic, → pok.
erásen there, that place.
erásenakapiríw < *erásen*, 188.
erasín < *e* 4; 120.
erém 1 night, at night.
erém 2 < *e* 4; 155.
erem 3 to tear something.
eremtew → *eremtewer*.
eremtewer to split something.
erémtewí < *eremtew*, 116.
erén upstream, of a small river, a tributary.
ererem to tear something to pieces; to sort out things.
érerémamép < *ererem*, 152.
erés < *e* 4; 155.
Erew personal name.
es 1 blood.
es 2 to come towards, from *erén* or *sen* [see sketch p. 364].
es 3, *is* — to sleep.
Es name of a side river of the *Asewéc*.
esców < *es* 2, 3; 120.
escowó < *esców*, 33.
esé carrying bag plaited of grass or of the fibres of the pandanus tree.
esem to come walking towards → *es*.
Esín name of a village no longer in existence.
Esínkom = *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.
esomit, is — to sleep and then set out with..
esomitá < *esomit*, 109.
espét young shoot of the sago palm. *espét apák* young leaf of the *espét*. A strip of the midrib of this young leaf is used to fasten the headpiece of the sago scraper onto the handle.
espom, papís is — to sleep with a *papís* woman.
espómer < *espom*, 155.
esumtum to pull off [leaves].
etam to do something for someone; *at* — to point out, to give instructions to do something; *cem* — to make a house for..; *jis* — to roast food for someone.
étamén < *etam*, 155.
etáměrawóm < *etam*, 155.
etáměrawómè < *etáměrawom*, 33.
etamór < *etam*, 155.
etámores < *etam*, 155.
etampor to try to do for someone [but in vain].
etamporawer, jis — always to try to roast food for someone.
etámporén < *etampor*, 155.
etámpormi < *etampor*, 144.
étampormín < *etampor*, 144.
étampormínè < *étampormín*, 33.
etamtewer to take a message to.
etep, jirán — to ripen [fruit on a tree].
etiw, oróm — to make smooth, to eat clean [object lying].
étiwamár < *etiwawer*, 144.
etiwawer, oróm — to keep eating clean, continually to make smooth.
etjiwir to rub on, to daub, for one's own benefit.
etjiwírfĕnem < *etjiwir*, 162.
etotor to say, to do, each person for himself.
étotormár < *etotor*, 144.
ew 1 dubitative marker, 255.
ew 2 (311) from.
ew 3 crocodile.
ew 4 to finish plaiting.
éwa < *ew* 1; 34.
ewáp < *ap* 2; 176, 178.
ewapomjim to pull [someone] away from.
ewapómjimorés < *ewapomjim*, 155.

ewcucurum, wasén — to slither down from the bank of the river [said of fish].
ewcúcurumorés < *ewcucurum*, 155.
ewe, tam — to do from morning.
ewem, jok — to walk from midday, to stand from midday.
éweméf < *ewem*, 162.
éwemer < *ewem*, 155.
ewéměres < *ewem*, 155.
ewemés < *ewe*, 144.
ewemíc < *em* 3; 176, 178.
ewemít → *ewemíc*.
ewemsires to come quickly from.. towards.. → *es*.
ewémsiresí < *ewemsires*, 155.
ewémsiresió < *ewémsiresí*, 33.
Ewén personal name.
ewenaw to come from, → *en*.
ewenáwanem < *ewenaw*, 155.
ewenáwanemá < *ewenáwanem*, 34.
éwenawút < *ewenaw*, 168.
Ewér name of a village.
ewer → *eawer, amás to* — always to be hungry; *jiw* — to live long, to become old.
eweráw — *man*! that's good! all right!
ewerérměro < *ewer*, 175.
ewérměro < *ewer*, 174.
ewes to come from.. towards.., → *es*.
ewéscokom < *ewes*, 125.
eweséf < *ewes*, 162.
ewěróm < *ewer*, 125.
ewfis to come outside from.
ewfiw to go inside from.
ewfiwér < *ewfiw*, 155.
éwiripún < *eawer*, 171.
éwiripunè < *éwiripún*, 33.
ewis to go out of [a river].
ewiséf < *ewis*, 162.
éwiséres < *ewis*, 155.
ewit to come from, start out from.
éwitè < *ewit*, 162.
éwiteá < *éwitè*, 34.
ewkekem to sew something up from a particular point; to be sewing from a particular point in time.
ewku to step ashore from the canoe.
ewkuku to dash out of [the forest].
ewkukuóf < *ewkuku*, 162.
ewkuór < *ewku*, 155.
Ewnápo personal name.
ewni to go downwards from, to descend from, to go back home from.
ewniem, jok — to fall down from the middle of the day [rain].
ewniemér < *ewniem*, 155.
éwniěrés < *ewni*, 155.
ewniomuw to go down from [the house] and go aboard with..; to depart with [something] from [somewhere].
ewniomúwfěnem < *ewniomuw*, 162.
ewokomtiw to finish plaiting and put [the bag] down.
éwokómtiwer < *ewokomtiw*.
ewomse to row from.. taking [someone] along.
ewopomis, tam — to be busy with something from early morning [subject sitting].
ewór kind of crab.
ewotewer, mo — to retch all the way from [?].
éwsiracém < *ewsiri*, 165.
ewsiréf < *ewsiri*, 162.
ewsiri to hurry from; *asép* — to run towards [someone] behind [him].
ewsiriéf < *ewsiri*, 162.
ewsowsites, tam — to start out early in the morning.
ewsówsitesmép < *ewsowsites*, 152.
ewtepkoér < *ewtepkoj*, 155.
ewtepkoj, op — to fall down from above [ripe fruit].
ewtepsow, op — to spring down from above.
ewtépsowor < *ewtepsow*, 155.
ewtiw to finish, to get ready with [plaiting].
ewtiwtewer to take something out of [object lying].
ewtowópmutè, ewtowopom, 168.
ewtowopom, jok — to put something in a place at midday and keep it there.
ewtopomsirim to row strongly from.
ewtopómsirimorés < *ewtopomsirim*, 155.
ewúc younger brother [s.].
ewúcěwes younger brothers [pl.], 190.
ewúca < *ewúc*, 34.
ewumsomit, wasén — to drive away from the shore [fish].
éwumsomítěres < *ewumsomit*, 155.
ewút → *ewúc*.
ewútnakap < *ewúc*, 185.

ĕ

ĕ· onomatopoeia reproducing the screaming of a crowd of people, 35.
ĕmá oh, wait, have patience!; yes; in that case; but; 236.
ĕnéw mother.
ĕnéwakap younger sister of father or mother, 195.

F

fa 1 buttocks, the underneath part; behind; *os* — lowermost part of the trunk of a tree; → *icíc.*
fa 2, *enám* — spine of a fish.
fa 3 (312), *jo* — until the breaking of the day.
facimop to prepare [the trunk of the felled sago palm].
fácimopcár < *facimop,* 120.
facimtewet to marry again, to take as a co-wife.
fácimtewtá < *facimtewet,* 109.
facín the skin of the cuscus.
fafafa.. interjection, used to call tamed pigs.
fafajim to smooth.
fafam → *emfafam.*
fafamfés < *fafám,* 162.
fafasi to turn around and around; *purumúc* — to sit in a circle and sing in turn.
fafaw to spear [fish], and again, and again.
fafawá < *fafaw,* 109.
fafem to strip off [bark].
fafemasam to peel off.
fafemnem to strip off, wrench off, downwards [bark of a felled tree].
fafemomas to strip off [bark].
fafemocin to strip off [bark] towards the top or the lower end of a tree-trunk.
fafémocinér < *fafemocin,* 155.
fafemtiw to strip off [bark] and put [it] down.
fafémtiwer < *fafemtiw,* 155.
fafsiawer to keep on turning around; *purumúc* — to sit in a circle and sing in turn, all day long.
fáfsiaweráw < *fafsiawer,* 125.
fafuj 1 to peel [skin].
fafuj 2, *jo win fafujér* day in day out.
fafujér < *fafuj,* 155.
faít → *fawíc.*
faj 1 to burn.
faj 2, *mifán* — to be averse to.
fajamis to lie burning; to have just risen [sun].
fajamsér < *fajamis,* 155.
fajap to sit burning; to shine [the sun, shortly after sunrise]; *útsis* — to smile broadly [subject sitting].
fajasam to glow fiercely.
fajásmamép < *fajasam,* 152.
fajásmep → *fajásmamép.*
fajfó cocoon.
fajmúc in peace, in good order, undisturbed.
fajpuw to slither into the water.
fajum to flay a head by holding it in the fire until the skin can be peeled off with ease.
fak → *fek* 2.
fakam to break, to damage.
fakán a scream.
fam 1 to run [water] away; to push, to shove.
fam 2 to cause to burn.
famasam 1, *jo'n* — to go on with something until daybreak.
famasam 2 to run all [the water] away.
famop to sit by someone until daybreak.
famsem to run water away.
famtiw to burn up [object lying].
fanénakap short.
fapíw the beams forming the floor of the house.
fasák white.
fasien to return upstream.
fasimap, atakám — to tell the story, to tell what happened.
fasini to turn round and go back home, or downstream.
fasiniér < *fasini,* 155.
faw to stab repeatedly, to spear [fish].
fawá < *faw,* 109.
fáwampés < *fawawer,* 152.
fawasam to spear to the last one.
fawawer continually to spear [fish].
fawen to go upstream while spearing [fish].
fawes to spear [fish] during the night.
fawesmép < *fawes,* 152.

fawíc joke.
fáwjukmapmúj < *fawjukumapom*, 155.
fawjukumapom to spear [fish] and put [them] together.
fawjukumtiw to spear [fish] and put [them] in heaps.
fawtiw to spear [fish] and put [them] down.
fawtiwéf < *fawtiw*, 162.
fawut to spear [fish] during the morning.
fe 1 string made of rattan, rope; *man* — wrist.
fe 2, *onów* — to make thatch.
fefemtaw to collect, to gather.
fefémtawamés < *fefemtawawer*, 144.
fefemtawawer to collect much, many.
fen, *fek* — very large, huge.
fek 1 hard, stiff, solid, firm; *jak* — a full stomach; *man féka*! hold tightly!; *po féka*! row on strongly!
fek 2 broken, damaged.
fek 3 → *fen*.
fer 1 fish-trap: kind of screen made of strips of the wood of the pandanus. The strips, placed parallel to each other, are held together by an intertwined rattan binding. The trap is put in the entrance of a small river when the tide is high, so that the fish in this river is trapped behind it when the tide ebbs.
fer 2 piled up.
fére quickly.
feró sharp; *ci* — a fast canoe.
fet kind of fish living in small holes in the mud.
Fet personal name.
fetam, *onów* — to make thatch for someone, to help someone to make thatch.
fetiw, *an* — to stitch up a trough.
fěfěfě.. the sound of the wind.
fi empty.
fic nail.
fifi 'open, free': *fifi emém* to stand between piled up things [in a house, in a canoe].
fifimkurum (339) to search about everywhere [upstream and downstream] [?].
fifímkurúmac < *fifimkurum*, 165.
fik kind of wading bird.
fikikonaw to waft towards the land [a smell].
fikim to cause to smell.
fim, *jec* — to make, to put in place, the sump trough.
fimtiw to make ready for use [the sump trough, → *jec*]; to put into place [the support, → *sis*].
fimtiwér < *fimtiw*, 155.
fimum to cause to go indoors.
fimusum to cause to come inside, or outside.
fin feathers, hair.
fiomícěmes < *fiwomiw*, 136.
firim to turn [upside down].
firimtiwpor to try to turn over.
firímtiwporá < *firimtiwpor*, 109.
firká kind of grass.
firkóm long heavy arrow with a bamboo point, used to kill pigs.
fis 1 kind of fish.
fis 2 to come inside, to come outside.
Fití name of a river.
fiw to go inside, indoors.
fiwér < *fiw*, 155.
fiwitum to enter [a house] in the afternoon.
fiwitúmar < *fiwitum*, 144.
fiwomiw to take someone inside.
fiwomíwcěmes < *fiwomiw*, 136.
fo 1 wind, whistling.
fo 2 → *fum* 2.
focó thin, lean.
fofofo 'in crowds' → *jitak*.
fomis to come inside, or outside, with.
fomiw to go inside with, or towards someone.
fomiwér < *fomiw*, 155.
fop upside down.
fowú full, filled to the brim, → *emsem*.
fu bamboo horn.
fuamses to pass the night, gathered around someone.
fum 1 clear [of water].
fum 2 to disclose, to reveal; *fo* — to bring out, to pull out.
fusmá widow.

H

ha ah! 38.
hèhè sign of agreement, 38.

I

i urine, piss.
ic thorn.
icíc, fa — [at] a little distance behind.
icim, mu — to begin with a feast.
icímores < *icim*, 155.
ícipic father, 193.
icítnakap < *icíc*, 185.
in 1 quotation marker, 258.
in 2 unidentified element, 259.
ína < *in* 1; 34.
íno < *in* 1; 33.
iním thus, in this way, like this; when, just as.. [when followed by a progressive form of the verb; 144, 152]; *iním jipíc inim cowúc* this or that man or woman; *inim inim maji pak* to say nothing about.
inímnakap such a little one, 185.
inímnakapiríw such a very small one, such a very little bit, 188.
inímpic a certain man; Mr So-and-so.
inímpit → *inímpic*.
ir year bird.
íric spanish pepper [loanword from Malay, = ritja].
irimen to walk upstream [many people] → *en*.
irimtep to walk upstream [many people] → *tep*.
ririri..1 onomatopoeia, imitating the sound produced by many small objects falling down.
ririri 2 → *emop*.
irириawer unceasingly to rain down [fruit].
irириawérma < *irириawer*, 136.
riririm to brush small objects off, to scrape small pieces off.
ririrmtiw to break up small, to scrape out [sago].
ririrmtiwac < *ririrmtiw*, 165.
is sleep; *manmák* — dizzy.
isipís parents [pl.].
ísipisnakás < *isipís*, 187.
iwenam to throw towards.
iwien to go quickly upstream, to go quickly to the far end of.., → *en*.
iwienaw to come quickly towards, → *enaw*.
iwies to come quickly towards, → *es*.,
iwijis 1 to hurry to the forest.
iwijis 2 quickly to go outside, to go out of a river.
iwijispor to hurry to the forest and have a look at.
iwijísporasín < *iwijispor*, 120.
iwikunaw to come inland in a hurry.
iwinem to throw down.
iwini to hurry back home, to go quickly downstream.
iwínier < *iwini*, 155.
iwiomis to hurry to the forest with.
iwis → *iwijis* 1, 2.
iwitak to hurry downstream.
iwitep to hurry upstream.
iwitiw to lay on [thatch on the rafters].
iwním the river's edge, the side of the river as distinct from the side of the forest.

J

j → *ej* 2; 182.
ja that, there [with you], 224.
ja 'movement, going'; *mú* — current; → *at*.
ja < *e* 4; 109.
jac < *e* 4; 165.
jaces < *e* 4; 165.
jajmír foolish.
jak 1 → *jáka*.
jak 2 stomach, belly, heart [as the seat of feeling].
jak 3 charcoal.
jak 4 dark rain cloud.
jáka there, 225.
Jakáj personal name.
Jakajmówsimít personal name.
Jákarew name of a river.
Jákaríwcim personal name.
Jakaríwcimá < *Jakaríwcim*, 34.
Jakaríwcimsimít < *Jakaríwcim*, 195.
jáknakap < *jak* 2, 3, 4; 185.
jáknakapiríw < *jak* 2, 3, 4; 188.
jaktamfén < *aktam*, 162.
jamár < *eawer*, 144.
jamép < *eawer*, 152.
jamép (302) = *emép* [?] < *e* 4; 152.
jáměret joined together [two or more *jew* sharing one ceremonial house].
jamés < *eawer*, 144.
Jamew name of a village.
jamkonawawer, po — together to come rowing all the way along.

jámkonáwewirúm < *jamkonawawer*, 171.
jamni to go down to the river, of a large animal, of a crowd of people.
jamnók two.
jamóp < *eawer*, 152.
jampén < *eawer*, 152.
jamtep to hang, of a large object, or a bundle, a bunch of objects.
jamtepit < *jamtep*, 176.
jan → *jen*.
japá < *eap*, 109.
japfén < *eap*, 162.
japjoni, me me — to carry back home, staggering [a heavy load].
japjónimár < *japjoni*, 144.
japóm (343) = *jampom* < eawer, 152.
japúw (327) big mass of [?].
jar to walk, to go.
jarap to go and to stay; to have gone.
jarjirimop, cem ós — to go and be busy putting up poles for a house.
jarkikiomse to take along [in a canoe] to a narrow river.
jarmár < *jar*, 144.
jaró < *e* 4; 165.
jarom to go and stand working at, being busy with..
jarop to go and stay by.
jartewer to go and fetch something, to go in order to fetch something.
jartewerá < *jartewer*, 109.
jarteweréjipurúw < *jartewer*, 114.
jarteweréjipurúwa < *jarteweréjipurúw*, 34.
jaser < *eas*, 155.
játakam myth.
jawerém < *eawer*, 125.
je exclamation: fie!
jec the part of the sago washing trough in which the meal is allowed to settle down: sump trough [see sketch p. 366].
Jecám personal name.
jéfe → *éfa*.
jem the bark of the *juwám* tree; used as a floor covering.
jemám side, region; *na jó* — our side of the river.
jemcés new, still unknown, unexplored.
jemé salty.
jemér < *jiem*, 155.
jemés shield.
jemésten landing stage [loan-word from Malay, = djambatan].
jemís, jemís — after a long wait (335).
jen sound, ear; → *ji, jop*.
jeníwpa kind of spear.
jenmák ear.
jep side of an object [*ese, jer*]; part of the bank of a river where a tributary river flows into it.
Jep name of a river.
Jepém name of a village.
Jépemá < *Jepém*, 34.
Jepémcéwi name of one of the *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.
jepén recent.
jepénakap < *jepén*, 200.
jepénakas < *jepén*, 200.
jépnakapiríw < *jep*, 188.
jépnakasá → *jepénakas*.
jeréf < *e* 4; 162, 182.
jérměro < *e* 4; 175, 182.
jermép < *e* 4; 141, 182.
jermí < *e* 4; 136, 182.
jermóp < *e* 4; 141, 182.
jeróf < *e* 4; 162, 182.
jerpóm < *e* 4; 141, 182.
jesmár < *ees* 1, 2; 144.
jesmí < *ees* 1, 2; 144.
Jésircém personal name.
jéten [through] the centre of; straight through.
jew a) ceremonial house, belonging to a group of people who claim descent from a common forefather. [The *jew* is a large oblong building in which every family has its own fire place. These are situated near the back wall; to every fire place there is a corresponding door in the front of the house. In the middle of the row of fire places is the *wajír*, the ceremonial fire place, which plays an important role in the social life of the group: here the guests are received, and the drums are beaten. All the feasts given by a group are held in its ceremonial house. During the day the *jew* is the regular meeting place for men and boys; during the night the boys, the unmarried youths and any man who for some reason does not stay at home, sleep in it. Women are only allowed to enter it on some specific occasions during the feast for the new *jew* and the head-hunting feast. See sketch p. 365].

b) the group of people belonging to a ceremonial house. [This group is always divided into two halves, an "older" one [*cĕwí*] and a "younger" one [*coworé*], each of which occupies one half of the ceremonial house].

jewér kind of tree.

jewérměro < *eawer*, 174.

Jewérnamakát personal name.

Jewérnamakatá < *Jéwernamakát*, 34.

jewéw enemy, stranger.

jewír visit.

jéwmopánipic man, belonging to such-and-such a *jew*.

jewsén the space in front of a ceremonial house.

jěri < *e* 4; 125.

jěró broad, wide [of a house].

jěwí stranger, enemy.

ji 1 onomatopoeia, reproducing groaning.

ji 2 exclamation: ho!

ji 3, *ew* — trail of a crocodile. *jina* — crawling on hands and knees.

ji 4 preceding event, former happening, → *pu*; *ji ow* the primeval beings, the beings which existed before the earth was peopled.

ji 5 to say, to do; *apím* — to squeeze out sago pulp; *jen* — to hear, to listen; *makán* — to leave behind; *po* — to row; *purumúc* — to sing dirges.

jiā cry of amazement.

jiamár < *jiawer*, 144.

jiawer, amás apím — continually to squeeze out sago pulp.

jicĕmúp the sea.

jicóp head-hunting party; hunting party, consisting of men only.

jicór the mouth of a river.

jicuku to flee shouting; *tetete* — to disappear in a hurry.

jicúkufés < *jicuku*, 162.

jicukuá < *jicuku*, 109.

jiem to speak while standing up; to walk while doing; to be in a condition of.. [standing subject]; *cofó* — to be spoilt, unusable [said of sago palms]; *nam cokó* — to be in high sprits; *jokón* — to be silent; *tajtaj*.. — gradually to stop with [subject standing].

jiemér < *jiem*, 155.

jiemíc < *jiem*, 176.

jiemít → *jiemíc*.

jiemkurum, cofó — all to be unusable [sago palms].

jiémkurumór < *jiemkurum*, 155.

jies 1, *samsam*.. — to go at night in great numbers.

jies 2, *makán* — to leave behind and come towards.

jiewer continually to do.

jiewérměro < *jiewer*, 174.

jif marshy ground, bog, as distinct from dry, firm soil → *capínmi*.

jifamut to speak until daybreak.

jifém < *ji* 5; 162, 182.

jifó → *jufó*.

jifóm < *ji* 5; 162, 182.

jik, manám — to bind, to tie [up].

jikapmór < *jikapom*, 155.

jikapom, manám — to bind, tie up [object sitting].

jikem, manám — to bind, tie up [object standing].

jikonaw, fere — to edge quickly towards the land [the rising tide].

jikoni to wrap up something and carry it to the river, carry it home.

jiktampor to try to tie something up for someone; *jimín* — to try to make a sago stick for someone [but in vain].

jiktampormín < *jiktampor*, 144.

jiku to go ashore while saying..; *jináf* — to crawl onto the land.

jikurum 1, *apím* — to squeeze out all sago pulp.

jikurum 2 to urge.

jikurumór < *jikurum* 1, 2; 155.

jikurumorés < *jikurum* 1, 2; 155.

jim fish net consisting of a large rattan ring to which a net is attached. It is always handled by two women, who scoop up the fish with it in the shallow water near the seashore or the river bank.

jimá child.

jimamúc engrossed in.

jimap, omér — to be afraid of (someone).

jimasam, omén — to raise a shout.

jimespom [dialect of Ac] → *espom*.

jiměró < *ji* 5; 174, 182.

jimí the fruit of the *jisín* tree.

jimín '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, [*wu* —].
jimín content, fond of.
jimir to search for, to look for, to hunt for.
jimís, mus — empty water container → *mus*.
jimnem to pull downwards, to leave [the forest] below [said of a growing sago palm which rises high above the surrounding trees].
jimom 1, *pisúwa* — to stand with a dagger stuck in the armband or in the waistband.
jimom 2 to pull along.
jimomis, wow — to go outside while making patterns [by strewing sago on the ground].
jimomismár < *jimomis*, 144.
jimotnaw to drag towards, to bring towards [pulling, dragging].
jimsem to go out [the tide].
jimsemamár < *jimsem*, 144.
jimsíp door; *cem* — in front of the house.
jimsomícěmes < *jimsomit*, 136.
jimsomit to pull someone up.
jimsúr stake standing in the water.
jimtewer to go out [the tide].
jimtiw to pull off [leaves].
Jin personal name.
jiná knee.
Jína < *Jin*, 34.
Jinác personal name.
jináf crawling.
jinaw to come across the river.
jinawsirimku to come, crossing the river, and go ashore.
jine [?], *amás* — to wash sago (295).
jinem to speak to someone who is below.
jini to do while going back home, while going downstream; *makán* — to go home, leaving [someone] behind; *po* — to row downstream.
Jiníc name of the *coworé* of the *jew Majít*, → *jew*.
jiníc slack, limp; *nam* — numbed; *is* — deep sleep.
jinícā → *jinícací*.
jinícací very beautiful.
jinícacína exceptionally beautiful.
jinimí < *jini*, 144.
jinimía < *jinimí*, 34.
jinimtewer to fetch many people.
jinini everyone to speak.
jininímar < *jinini*, 144.
jininime everyone to speak.
jininímemár < *jininime*, 144.
Jinít → *Jiníc*.
jinítnakap < *jiníc*, 200.
jinítnakapiríw < *jiníc*, 201.
Jiníw name of a river.
jiníwenampés < *jiniwenaw*, 152.
jiniwenaw to come all towards.
jiníwenáwcěmóm < *jiniwenaw*, 136.
jiniwjar to walk [many people together].
jiniwni to go to the river, to go home [many people together].
jinwíc, — enám shoals of fish.
jip the far end of the house.
jipakajap to speak [many people, staying together].
jipakajapér < *jipakajap*, 155.
jipe, makán — to leave behind and depart.
jipér < *jipe*, 155.
jipěres < *jipe*, 155.
jipí → *porap*.
jipíc man, boy [s.].
jipín truncated, broken; *asé* — having tiredness in the back.
jipir to clasp [a large object].
jipirom, macír — to hold something in both arms [standing subject].
jipiromíc < *jipirom*, 176.
jipirsam to wrestle.
jipís darting to and fro [fish].
jipít → *jipíc*.
jipítnakap < *jipíc*, 185.
jipmúr the far end of the house.
jipor to urge, to ask, to try to persuade [without success]; to know.
jipu, mu cáka — to spring, dive, with a splash in the water; *tíki* — idem.
jipuá < *jipu*, 109.
jipuawer to do usually.
jipumawer usually to squeeze out sago pulp.
jipumewérmom < *jipumawer*, 136.
jir 1 gall, spleen.
jir 2 → *jur*.
jir 3 to cross to the other side of a river.

jir 4, *mu* — to scoop up water; *móc micíc* — to cry one's eyes out.
jirá → *jiráw*.
jiramfiw to enter a house in a hurry.
jiramsimapom to assemble [people in a house] in a hurry.
jirán ripe.
jirap, jumús — to sit with bowed head.
jirapér < *jirap*, 155.
jiraró < *jir* 3; 165.
jiráw 'present': *a* — here it is; *e* — there it is; *a óp* — it is up here; *a cém* — it's here, in the house.
jiráwa < *jiráw*, 34.
jirè → *jiráw*.
jiréf < *ji* 5; 162, 182.
jirem, jumús — to walk with bowed head.
jiremép < *jirem*, 162.
jiréw → *jiráw*.
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.
jirimtapmes to send upstream at night.
jirimtapom to send upstream.
jiririm, ci — to put many things in a canoe.
jiririmsem, os — to stick stakes in the water.
jirku to cross to the other side of the river and land.
jirkuamis to stretch to the opposite side of the river when setting out [row of canoes].
jirkuni to go downstream stretching from side to side [row of canoes].
jirmemamí < *jirimem*, 144.
jirmémcem < *jirimem*, 125.
jirmotep to go upstream with a full canoe.
jirmotepá < *jirmotep*, 109.
jirmúc 'sending' [on errands], 108.
jirnó half burnt [firewood].
jiróf < *ji* 5; 162, 182.
jirpor 1 to try to bend, to pull, a bow.
jirpor 2 to try to cross to the other side of the river.
jirporá < *jirpor* 1, 2; 109.
jirpú angry, furious.
jirse, sinák — to get cracks in the bark [sago palm which has been in the water for a long time].
jirtewer, mu — to fetch water.
jirwutum to jig up and down in the afternoon.
jirwutumá < *jirwutum*, 109.
jis 1 firewood, fire, roasted; *amás* — roasted sago; *mi* — a big fire in which lime is burnt.
jis 2 upper part of the back near the shoulders.
jis 3 to go landwards, to go inland, to go to the forest.
jis 4 to go out of [the river, the house], to rise [sun, moon, stars]; to become clear, to appear; to die.
jisakamtewer to go to the forest and cut off.
jisakamtiw, nam ákin — immediately after having gone ashore to fall ill.
jisakapiem to go outside and stand alone.
jisamis 1 to go inland and lie down.
jisamis 2 to go out of a river with many people in many canoes.
jisamsá < *jisamis* 1; 109.
jisap 1 to go to live in the forest.
jisap 2 to go outside and sit down.
jisapcéj < *jisap* 1, 2; 116.
jisápěres < *jisap* 1, 2; 155.
jisas to go away.
jisásmes < *jisas*, 144.
jisatam to go to the forest to chop down.
jisawer (317) to be got from in great quantity [?].
Jísaworém personal name.
Jísaworémakap personal name, < *Jísaworém*, 195.
Jísaworémsimit personal name, < *Jísaworém*, 195.
jisem 1 to go inland and stay there.
jisem 2 to go and stand outside.
jisem 3, *tes* — to be a great warrior, to have much *tes*.
jiséměres < *jisem* 1, 2, 3; 155.
jisemíc < *jisem* 1, 2, 3; 116.
jisín 1 coconut, coconut tree.

jisín 2 kind of tree with large buttresses.
jisir to lay claim to.
jisís the edge of the fire.
jisísnakapiriw < *jisís*, 188.
jisit to speak and get up, to cry out and get up; *makán* — to set out, leaving behind [someone].
jisítěres < *jisit*, 155.
jisitóf < *jisit*, 162.
jisjap to go on to the land and sit down to do something.
jiskapu to row out of a river and join up with.
jiskápuamár < *jiskapuawer*, 144.
jiskapuawer to row out of the river and join up with.
jiskawimtiw to go landwards and put down something near.., against...
jiskawímtiwawér (329) = *jiskawimtiwá er* [?]: he always went to the bank and put [his canoe] alongside [the *jewér* tree].
jismá < *jis* 3, 4; 144.
jismák burning wood, fire.
jismap, pír jamnók — to stay somewhere until two 'months' have elapsed.
jismop, tes — to have someone who is *tes* in one's midst.
jismotiw (296) to go to the forest and mourn for [?].
jismuamis to go to the forest and throw oneself down.
jismut in the morning to go and stand outside.
jismutmép < *jismut*, 152.
jismutum in the afternoon to go and stand outside.
jismútumép < *jismutum*, 152.
jisokomtiw, ser — to drive *ser* fishes against the bank of the river, → *wa*.
jisokómtiwěrés < *jisokomtiw*, 155.
jisom to go outside to meet someone, to do something.
jisomas to go away to the forest with..
jisomásmes < *jisomas*, 144.
jisow [?], *arúw* — to practise magic (322).
Jispáripic personal name.
Jispáripicá < *Jispáripic*, 34.
Jispáripit → *Jispáripic*.
jispor to go outside to look at.
jispormem to go to the forest to look at, to keep watch on.
jispormémac < *jispormem*, 165.
jispum to go outside and throw something into the water.
jistewer to go ashore to get something.
jisteweres to go to the forest at night, and fetch.
jistipse to come out partly [said of a fish in its hiding place].
jistipseá < *jistipse*, 109.
jistipsér < *jistipse*, 155.
jistowopom to go to the forest to plant.
jisuwap 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, fofofo — to go downriver in crowds; *jop* — to go downriver drifting on one's back.
jitakám kind of fish.
jitáker < *jitak*, 155.
jitakitó < *jitak*, 168.
jitam to order, to tell to do.
jitamernem to make cuts across the trunk of the sago palm, marking off sections, → *manmák* 2.
jitamertaw to cut away to the top [fronds of the sago palm, in order to make test-holes, → *apér*].
jitem to grow, to be grown up [subject standing].
jitémer < *jitem*, 155.
jitemtes, worwor.. — to rise higher and higher during the night [a growing tree].
jitep, po — to row upriver.
jitepfés < *jitep*, 162.
jitjar, omá — to go forwards caustiously.
jitjarmés < *jitjar*, 144.
jítkaker kind of bird.
jitmomas to carry away while rising [subject: the water].
jitmúp → *jicěmúp*.
jitnem to mark off [sections] on [the bark of the sago palm] by making cuts across the trunk.
jitnotew → *jitnotewer*.
jítnotewí < *jitnotew*, 116.

jitnotewer to bolt [e.g. a door with a beam].
jitomiw, se'n — to lie with one end in the mud [fallen tree].
jitum, pok — to throw things at someone, in the evening.
jitúr heavy.
Jitúrcem personal name.
jiw 1 long [of time], long-living; late.
jiw 2 to go inside, to go indoors.
jiw 3 to exchange goods.
Jiw personal name.
jiwá → *e* 4.
jiwamis, nam — to be sick.
jiwamísměró < *jiwamis*, 174.
jiwapom, a kó — to cause to sit down cross-legged; *cem* — to build a house.
jiwapómcěmés < *jiwapom*, 136.
jiwatamap, moc — to stay indoors, wailing.
jiwemapom → *jiwapom*.
jiwfuem, cem — to come together in a house.
jiwfuemfés < *jiwfuem*, 162.
jiwfumtotor each person to take food to [the *jew*].
jiwí 1 child; → *mu*.
jiwí 2, *cem* — the walls of a house.
Jiwín name of a *jew* that was formerly in the village *of Jepém*.
jiwínakap 1 < *jiwí* 1; 185.
jiwínakap 2 small, young.
jiwínakapicim < *jiwínakap* 2; 203, 204.
jiwínakápnakáp < *jiwínakap* 2; 200, 204.
jiwínakapnakápiríw < *jiwínakap* 2; 201, 204.
jiwir to daub, to rub on.
jiwirí as far as, up to; at the edge of [a group of people]; *á jiwirí aráw* that's as far as it goes [the story].
jiwirtamtamawer to plait [a huge bag] for someone.
jiwirtámtamewirí < *jiwirtamtamawer*, 171.
jiwís the moving to another dwelling place.
jiwmesop to go indoors and sit down beside someone.
jiwpuop usually to sit indoors, being busy with.
jiwpuopá < *jiwpuop*, 109.
Jíwsimit personal name, 195.
jiwsiritewer to go indoors and quickly fetch something.
jiwsu → *e* 4.
jiwtuwapom to assemble indoors.
jiwús → *juwús*.
jo 1 river; *enám* — river, abounding in fish.
jo 2 sun, day.
jo 3 space in the house between the front wall and the fireplaces.
joc 1 crazy.
joc 2 kind of bird.
jóca < *joc* 1; 34.
jocóp → *jicóp*.
jocór the mouth of a river.
jof hole, gap, passage; *maj* — path; *akám* — path between the nipa palms.
jófaj the next day.
jófnakap < *jof*, 185.
jōj exclamation of surprise.
jok the middle part of the day, between *tam* and *porów*.
jokmén having supernatural power.
jókmen tongs.
jokón silent.
jokós main-nerve of the side leaf of a palm frond.
jomat to carry.
jómatamár < *jomatawer*, 144.
jomatawer continually to carry.
jomatmár < *eomat*, 144.
jomatmés < *jomat*, 144.
jómewérměnes < *eomewer* 2; 136.
jom, namós —, → *temjom*.
jomítpen < *eomit*, 152.
jomóf < *jom*, 162.
jómopán bird of paradise.
Jomót name of a river.
Jomótakap personal name, 195.
Jomótsimit personal name, 195.
jómpuamép < *eompuawer*, 152.
jomseá < *eomse*, 109.
jop [lying] on one's back.
jop, jen — to listen [subject sitting].
Jópakipíc personal name.
Jópakipícè < *Jópakipíc* [in enumeration].
jopěrés sweat.
jopíc < *jop*, 116.
jopít → *jopíc*.
jopmák the upper course of a river.
jóptom, jóptom — everywhere.
joró wing.

jow sandbank.
Jow name of a village.
jowmóp to sit coupling with.
jowomic ashes.
jowów the people belonging to one's own *jew*; the people of one's own village.
jowówa < *jowów*, 34.
jowówpic blood kinsman.
jowówpit → *jowówpic*.
jowsép baby.
jowún the day after tomorrow; the day before yesterday.
ju 1 shouting, yelling.
ju 2 (342) head of family [?].
ju 3 tree-trunk in which the rough shape of the new canoe has been cut out.
ju 4 to yell, to raise a war cry.
ju 5, *wu* — to get edible tops of the sago palm.
jufó cold.
jufúj small wooden trough for holding paint.
jujukamis to lie down together.
jujukumapom to put things together.
jujukumapomtampor to try or to want to put down together for someone.
jujukumsomit to get up after having been stabbed or speared [many people sitting tightly packed].
jukap to sit with many people together; to lie together in great quantities [bags of sago].
jukumtiw to lay down together.
jukumtiwá < *jukumtiw*, 109.
jukurum → *jikurum* 1.
jum to speak to someone who is indoors.
Jum name of a river.
jumamtam to intend [a boy and a girl] for each other.
júmamtámĕrawós < *jumamtam*, 155.
júmamtámfawos < *jumamtam*, 162.
jumár < *ju* 4; 144.
jumcíp → *jimsíp*.
jumenaw to come upriver with paddles thumping [sign of joy after a good catch].
júmenáwcar < *jumenaw*, 120.
jumop, nam — to stay with someone who has been made ill.
jumús [with] bowed head.
juomis, moc — to grizzle the whole night.
jur white cockatoo.
jursawer 1 always to long for.
jursawer 2 to be always in the wrong.
júrsewirí < *jursawer* 1, 2; 171.
jursomawer to act always in the wrong way towards someone.
jursómewerměrénem < *jursomawer*, 174.
jursómiwirín < *jursomawer*, 171.
jursop [?] to be in the wrong.
jursópen (294) < *jursop*, 162 [?].
jursópĕnem (293) < *jursop*, 162 [?].
jursúc longing for.
jursúm to slaughter, to kill.
jursumop to have been overtaken by disaster.
jursumóper < *jursumop*, 155.
jursút → *jursúc*.
jurupu usually to go along a river.
júruru one after another.
Júrurúmawuc personal name.
jurús 1 to long for.
jurus 2 to be in the wrong.
jurúsmem < *jurus* 1, 2; 144.
jurúsmemá < *jurúsmem*, 34.
jurúw 1 long.
jurúw 2 (338) to search for [?].
Jurúwpic personal name.
Jurúwpitsimit personal name, < *Jurúwpic*, 195.
jurwúcaw < *juruw* 2; 125.
júwa kind of grass.
juwám kind of tree.
juwréw a full-grown sago palm.
juwum to cause to marry.
juwúr dog.
juwúr kind of tree used for making canoes; canoe made of *juwúr* wood.
juwús name.
juwút 1 heron.
juwút 2 between; *a Mec — a Siréc* — between the *Mec* and the *Siréc*.
juwut to marry, to take as a wife, as a husband.
Juwútakap personal name.

K

kaj to return from camp [many people].
Kajè name of a village.
Kajéa < *Kajè* [in enumeration].

kafum to scrape out sago.
kajkaj.. onomatopoeia reproducing the sound made by the paddles thumping against the gunwales of the canoes when they are being rowed at great speed.
kajkurum to be just clear of the horizon [the rising sun].
Kájmo name of a village.
kajnapuesawer to eat at night on the river when on one's way home with many people.
kajni to topple over, broken [a tree].
káju onomatopoeia, reproducing a dull thud, the sound of footsteps, the sound of wood being chopped.
kakajum to knock on something.
káku running, hurrying.
kam, fakán — to give a scream.
kamák ginger.
kámamóp < *kamawer*, 152.
kamawer, mó kawós — to vomit all the time.
kamém many-pointed spear used to kill large fish and crocodiles.
Kamémemák personal name.
kamiamis to lay after having collapsed; to succumb.
kamies to succumb at night.
kamoni to tear away and carry downstream.
kamop, po — to sit making a paddle.
kampomes to wash ashore during the night.
kampomésmar < *kampomes*, 144.
Kamsópisipíc a man belonging to the *jew Kamús*, in the former village of *Kajè*.
kámter the legs, both legs.
kamtewer to split and take away.
kamtiw, mo kawós — to vomit.
kámu loud noise.
kanít young shrimps.
kanpór kind of crab.
kap armpit.
kapák tobacco [loan-word from Dutch = *tabak*, or Malay = *tembakau*].
káper ship, boat [loan-word from Malay, = *kapal*].
kapí closed, shut.
kapim to close.
kapimap, jimsíp — to sit with the doors shut.
kápmapómcěmes < *kapomapom*, 136.
kapmópaces < *kapumop*, 165.
kapmópěres < *kapumop*, 155.
kapom to cover (up).
kapomapom to put on [e.g. clothes].
kápu 1 → *emtewer*.
kápu 2 to join up with.
kapuawer to join up with.
kapumamtewer to join each other.
kapumop to be joined to.
kapumtew to let people join one.
karém silent [?] → *e* 4.
karésnakap not thickly laid, laid far apart [thatch].
karéw much, many; *po* — raft made of canoes placed alongside each other: the paddles are laid across the canoes to keep them together and to keep them stable.
karjí work [loan-word from Malay, = *kerdja*].
karmák kind of snail.
kártu playing-cards [loan-word from Malay].
karúw dangerous, forbidden.
karúwa < *karúw*, 34.
karwán dagger made of a crocodile's jaw.
kasé, mer — vivid lightning.
kási suddenly, in a flash.
kawénak human being [as distinct from other beings].
Kawét name of a village.
kawí 1 strange, not belonging to one's own group or village.
kawi 2 to add oneself to, to approach to, to get near to.
kawí 3 → *kawimtewerawer*.
kawim to add to, to join to.
káwimápmorés < *kawimapom*, 155.
kawimapom to add [a co-wife].
kawimop to have been added [as a co-wife].
kawimtewer to add [as a co-wife].
kawimtewerawer, kawí — always to want to add [as a co-wife].
kawós, mo — vomiting.
kawuamses (343) to lie down all night [?].
kawuámsesmar < *kawuamses*, 144.
ke stuck [e.g. a canoe on a sandbank].
kèkèkè onomatopoeia, reproducing the screaming of the *joc* bird.

kekem to sew something up.
ken, amás — the implements used for making sago: axes, digging sticks, scrapers, small troughs, and strainers.
kená < *ken*, 34.
kene, amás ken — to collect up the implements for making sago.
kéneóf < *kene*, 162.
Ker personal name.
kiki close together.
kikicukomas to go away with [someone] to a narrow place.
kikíkikíkikínakás < *kiki*, 200.
kikim to put close together.
kikínakap < *kiki*, 200.
kikirakurum to stop up all [holes in a wall].
kipmom, ócen — to hold a spear at the ready.
kipmomíc < *kipmom*, 176.
kirim (138) to carve [?].
ko 1, *ko, ko, ..* the sound made by drums.
ko 2 platform; *a* — cross-legged; *cem* — the front gallery of a house.
ko 3 → *kor*.
kófo onomatopoeia reproducing a thud.
kojir to go to the other side of the river.
kojíraro < *kojir*, 165.
kojni to get loose and fall down [ripe fruit].
kokoko.. onomatopoeia reproducing the sound of bamboo horns, of singing, of the whistling of ghosts.
kokojniawer always to get loose and fall down [ripe fruit].
kokomtaw to pick, to gather [fruit].
kokómtawmés < *kokomtaw*, 144.
kokómtawór < *kokomtaw*, 155.
kokomtewer to break off and take along.
kokomtiw to break off and lay down.
kom, onów — to get sago leaves for thatch.
kómapmúc < *komapom*, 108.
komapom, móc am — to wail [?].
komén tongue; part of the sump trough, → *jec*; *mu* — the edge of the water as it edges towards the land when the tide rises.
komomse to take along in a canoe.
komtewer to break off and take away.
konaw to come towards the land, to come inland.
konawamis to come towards the land in order to sleep there.
kónawamsá < *konawamis*, 109.
konawámsěres < *konawamis*, 155.
konawap to come towards the land and stay there.
konawápěres < *konawap*, 155.
konawes to come up or upwards during the night.
konawfiw to come to the land and go indoors.
konáwfiwěrés < *konawfiw*, 155.
konawkapu, wa — to come landwards until the forest is reached [the rising tide].
konáwkapumár < *konawkapu*, 144.
konawmesem to come swimming close to the bank.
konawomses to come ashore and pass the night with.
kónawomsésp̌nem < *konawomses*, 152.
kor very, to a high degree, plenty of; too; *awút* — too large, too big; *jiwí* — a small child.
korá < *kor*, 34.
Korè personal name.
Kosér name of a *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.
Kosór → *Kosér*.
kow many, much.
ku, mu — to have dried up, to have run away [water]; to become dry [by rising above the water or because the water has run away].
kuap to go ashore and stay there.
kuaworem to change into [on the land].
kuaworemè < *kuaworem*, 162.
kuáworémer < *kuaworem*, 155.
kuaworemes to change into [on the land] during the night [subject standing].
kuáworémesmí < *kuaworemes*, 144.
kuawores to change into during the night [on the land].
kúaworésmar < *kuawores*, 144.
kujurumap, cem — to go ashore, build a house and stay there.
kújurumápcaw < *kujurumap*, 125.
kukár kind of bird.
kukuas to spread like wildfire [a rumour].

kukuku.. onomatopoeia reproducing a) the thumping of paddles against the gunwales of a canoe; b) the call of the *ojúm* bird.
kukuramitum to agree upon something in the evening.
kukurámitumár < *kukuramitum*, 144.
kukure to win over.
kumís, amás — roasted ball of sago.
kuomis to go ashore and sleep with.
kuomsá < *kuomis*, 109.
kupoporemapmes to roll onto the land at night [object sitting].
kúpoporemápmesmár < *kupoporemapmes*, 144.
kúri teacher [loan-word from Malay, = *guru*].
kurkur.. onomatopoeia reproducing the sound of many people talking together.
Kurúm personal name.
kurumap to sit and beat the drums.
kurumtewer to touch and take, to get hold of.
kus head; *now* — head of a head-hunted man.
kuwús → *kus*.

M

m interjection: oh! hey!.
'm interjection, indicating a sudden start to an action.
ma interjection by which disagreement or dissatisfaction is expressed: oh no! really!
Ma name of a river.
macatíw < *catiw*, 110, 183, 239.
mací < *ci* 4; 110, 183, 239.
macímtewer < *cimtewer*, 110, 183 239.
mácir an embrace.
macíw kind of snake.
macíwa < *macíw*, 34.
máecen < *e* 4; 125.
maémariwces < *emariw*, 125.
máemsáweráw < *emsawer*, 125.
máemtepcaw < *emtep*, 125.
máenawcáw < *enaw*, 125.
máenawcáwa < *máenawcáw*, 34.
máescés < *es* 2, 3; 125.
máescésa < *máescés*, 34.
maf < *af* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
mafè < *maf*, 33.
mafafújcěmaráw < *fafuj*, 136.
mafámamí < *fam* 1, 2; 144.
mait to chop in the morning.
Mait → *Majit*.
máitmár < *mait*, 144.
maj 1 foot.
maj 2 roll of sago: a body of sago, cylindrical in shape, ± 12 inch long, formed by putting two *pomán* together.
Maj name of a river.
májamíscaw < *amis*, 125.
majámsěraw < *amis*, 125.
majápěraw < *ap* 2; 125.
májawérnes < *eawer*, 125.
mají < *ji* 5; 110, 183, 239.
majíc < *ji* 5; 116.
majípor < *jipor*, 110, 183, 239.
majírcaw < *jir* 3, 4; 125.
majirímpor < *jirimpor*, 110, 183, 239.
májiriríimsemoróm < *jiririmsem*, 155.
májirporím < *jirpor* 1, 2; 120
majirsé < *jirse*, 110, 183, 239.
májisaweráw < *jisawer*, 125.
majíspori < *jispor*, 116.
majístewer < *jistewer*, 110, 183, 239.
majít → *majíc*.
Majít name of a *jew* in the village of Surú.
majmíremaném < *ajmirem*, 155.
majmíreméspun < *ajmiremes*, 155.
májmireméspunè < *májmireméspun*, 33.
májmirémewérpun < *ajmiremawer*, 137, note.
májmirémewérpunè < *májmirémewérpun*, 33.
májmiremíc < *ajmirem*, 176.
májmirimómewérpes (320) instead of *májmirimómampes*, < *ajmirimomewer*, 152.
májmirimómewérpesá < *májmirimómewérpes*, 34.
majom < *eom*, 110, 183, 239.
májperáw < *ap* 2; 125.
májperáwa < *májperáw*.
majsás < *jisas*, 110, 183, 239.
májsirér < *jisir*, 155.
májsiréra < *májsirér*, 34.
majtí < *jit* 1, 2; 116.
majwír < *jiwir*, 110, 183, 239.
mak back; *amás* — layer of sago in the sump trough [*jec*]; *onów* — the roof of a house.
makámtewer < *kamtewer*, 110, 183, 239.

makán 1 → *c* 4; *ji* 5.
makán 2 < *akan* 2; 110, 183, 239.
makanám rack above the fireplace, on which firewood is dried or fish is smoked.
makáp kind of shell fish.
makawí < *kawi* 2; 110, 183, 239.
makawíc < *kawi* 2; 116.
makawímop < *kawimop*, 110, 183, 239.
makík fishline and hook.
makmák piled up.
makmiámismar < *kamiamis*, 144.
makonáwamsáji < *konawamis*, 112.
mákpin with crossed arms.
mam < *am* 7, 8; 110, 183, 239.
mámakán < *amakan*, 110, 183, 239.
mámakanó < *mámakán*, 33.
mamánem < *manem*, 110, 183, 239.
mamátiw < *matiw*, 110, 183, 239.
mamcúp three; much.
mamésasesémeroniawér < *mesasesemeroniawer*, 110, 183, 239.
mamís < *amis*, 110, 183, 239.
mámkomán, < *amkoman*, 110, 183, 239.
mámkomána < *mámkomán*, 34.
mamóc < *moc* 2; 110, 183, 239.
mamót → *mamóc*.
mámpiawér < *ampiawer*, 110, 183, 239.
mamusájmos < *amus* 3; 113.
man 1 emphasizing word, 247.
man 2 hand.
man 3 < *an* 3; 110, 183, 239.
manáfakam < *nafakam*, 110, 183, 239.
mánakap < *man* 2; 185.
manám 1 < *manám pok* binding material: rope, string, rattan; → *jik*, *jikapom*.
manám 2 in love with, → *af* 2.
manám 3 < *nam* 5; 110, 183, 239.
manamitamis [?] to prick each other, to scratch each other [said of fishes with spines].
manámitámser (279) < *manamitamis* [?], 155.
manapór < *napor*, 110, 183, 239.
manáwer < *nawer*, 110, 183, 239.
manáweres < *nawer*, 125.
mánawerów < *nawer*, 125.
mánawerowè < *mánawerów*, 33.
mánca < *an* 3; 120.
máncasín < *an* 3; 120.
máncasína < *máncasín*, 34.
mancén < *an* 3; 116.
manè < *man* 1; 33.
Manéfakat personal name.
Manéfakatá < *Manéfakat*, 34.
maném to chop down, to cut down.
manémorém < *manem*, 155.
manémum < *nemum*, 110, 183, 239.
mánet < *net* 2; 110, 183, 239.
maní < *ni* 4, 5; 110, 183, 239.
maní < *an* 3; 116.
manic < *an* 3; 116.
maniém < *niem*, 110, 183, 239.
manífam < *nifam*, 110, 183, 239.
manim, *minip* — to forget.
maníma < *ni* 4, 5; 144.
manímcěmi < *manim*, 136.
manímemerápma < *nimemerap*, 144.
maniómcěmnés < *niom*, 136.
maniorsópmi < *niorsop*, 144.
manísuwem < *nisuwem*, 110, 183, 239.
manítaj < *nitaj*, 110, 183, 239.
manitájè < *manítaj*, 33.
manítatepíapí < *nitatepiap*, 116.
manítewer < *nitewer*, 110, 183, 239.
manítewí < *nitew*, 116.
manmák 1 eye; 'looking'.
manmák 2 section [marked off on the trunk of the felled sago palm; of the roof of the *jew*: the owner of a fireplace in the *jew* is also the owner of the section of thatch right above it. Hence probably: group, family (328) [see sketch p. 367].
manmírafmor < *namirafam*, 155.
mantám look-out post; *ow* — a look-out.
manwúw < *nuwuw*, 110, 183, 239.
manwúwo < *manwúw*, 33.
maokmom to chop down and start to work on [a sago palm].
máokomémtamcín < *okomemtam*, 116.
map ahead, first, foremost.
mapájfirapí < *pajfirap*, 116.
mapájuru < *pajuru*, 110, 183, 239.
mapapájimúc < *papajim*, 116.
mapapájimút → *mapapájimúc*.
mápaperimóp < *paperimop*, 110, 183, 239.
mapápuj < *papuj*, 110, 183, 239.
mapcájkukuás < *pacajkukuas*, 110, 183, 239.
mapcájkukuasè < *pacajkukuas*, 162.
mápecés < *pe* 2; 125.
mapepértaw < *apepertaw*, 110, 183, 239.

mapí < *ap* 2; 116.
mapíc < *ap* 2; 116.
mapío < *mapí*, 33.
Mapíw name of a *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.
mápjit < *apjit*, 110, 183, 239.
mapmór < *mapom*, 155.
mapnawér < *apnawer*, 110, 183, 239.
mapnawérè < *mapnawér*, 33.
mapom to chop, to hit.
mapomjim < *apomjim*, 110, 183, 239.
mapómkurucóm < *apomkuru*, 125.
mapómtewér < *apomtewer*, 110, 183, 239.
mapór < *por*, 110, 183, 239.
mapórjarawer < *porjarawer*, 110, 183, 239.
mapórjursúm < *porjursum*, 110, 183, 239.
mapsapú < *apsapu*, 110, 183, 239.
mapu (274) usually to chop [?].
mapúc < *ap* 3; 116.
mápurámsěráw < *puramis*, 125.
mar ball [loan-word from Dutch, = bal].
maré → *maríw*.
maréa < *maré*, 34.
maréw → *maríw*.
maréwa < *maréw*, 34.
marí → *maríw*.
maríw ready, finished, done; at last.
mariwáp < *ariwap*, 110, 183, 239.
masájwut < *sajwut*, 110, 183, 239.
masakám < *sakam*, 110, 183, 239.
masakámtampór < *sakamtampor*, 110, 183, 239.
masam to chop away.
masámtewer < *asamtewer*, 110, 183, 239.
masamúc < *sam*, 116.
masé < *se* 2, 3; 110, 183, 239.
máserapóm < *serapom*, 110, 183, 239.
masěrím → *másiněrím*.
masí < *si* 3, 4, 5; 110, 183, 239.
masiasmúc < *siasam*, 116.
masím → *at* 2.
másiněrím then, thereupon.
masiótemet < *siotemet*, 110, 183, 239.
másiporáji < *sipor*, 112.
masirífis < *sirifis* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
masirím → *másiněrím*.
masněrím → *másiněrím*.
masním → *másiněrím*.
masnirím → *másiněrím*.
masomít < *somit*, 110, 183, 239.
másormonicén < *sormoni*, 116.
Máspic personal name.
musúmtewer < *sumtewer*, 110, 183, 239.
masúmutum < *sumutum*, 110, 183, 239.
masúmutumcén < *sumutum*, 116.
masúwem < *suwem*, 110, 183, 239.
maták < *tak*, 110, 183, 239.
matakáj < *takaj*, 110, 183, 239.
matakám < *takam* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
matákfiw < *takfiw*, 110, 183, 239.
matákmatam < *takmatam*, 110, 183, 239.
matáknap < *taknap*, 110, 183, 239.
matákoweróm < *takowerom*, 110, 183, 239.
matam < *atam* 2; 110, 183, 239.
Matámjen personal name.
matámjik < *atamjik*, 110, 183, 239.
matápom < *tapom* 1; 183, 239.
matátam < *tatam* 2; 110, 183, 239.
matatáw < *tataw*, 110, 183, 239.
matátiw < *tatiw*, 110, 183, 239.
matáw < *taw* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
matáwacem < *taw* 1, 2; 165.
matáwenem < *tawenem*, 110, 183, 239.
matawér < *atawer*, 110, 183, 239.
matáwmemsém < *tawmemsem*, 110, 183, 239.
matáwni < *tawni*, 110, 183, 239.
matáwsimfawós < *tawsim*, 162.
maté rib of the frond of a young sago palm [Malay: gaba-gaba].
maté < *ate*, 110, 183, 239.
mátepěres < *tep* 1; 125.
máterem to split by cutting.
matctám < *tetam*, 110, 183, 239.
mátetamúc < *tetam*, 116.
mátetamúca < *mátetamúc*, 34.
mátetapmúc < *atetapom*, 116.
mátetapmúca < *mátetapmúc*, 34.
matewer 1 to chop down and take away.
mátewér 2 < *matewer*, 155.
matewét < *tewet*, 110, 183, 239.
matewí < *tew*, 116.
matéwtakám < *tewtakam*, 110, 183, 239.
matimár < *ti* 3; 144.
matitíemi < *titiem*, 155.
matiw to cut down; *tow* — to cut down a sago palm with the object of its being used as a breeding place by the capri-

corn beetle. [After two months the grubs are then full-grown and are eaten].

matmómpor < *atmómpor,* 110, 183, 239.
matowóf < *towof,* 110, 183, 239.
matówomisĕrés < *towomis,* 155.
matowómsefáw < *towomse,* 162.
matowómser < *towomse,* 155.
matúwse < *tuwse,* 110, 183, 239.
mátuvuw < *tuwuw,* 110, 183, 239.
maurúmni < *urumni,* 110, 183, 239.
maw < *aw* 5, 6; 110, 183, 239.
mawán < *awan* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
mawáno < *mawán,* 33.
mawér < *awer* 2, 3; 110, 183, 239.
mawít star.
mávkam < *wakam,* 110, 183, 239.
mávkuw < *awkuw,* 110, 183, 239.
mawnámos < *awan* 1, 2; 113.
mawnámosá < *mawnámos,* 34.
mawór < *awor,* 110, 183, 239.
maworémkurúm < *aworemkurum,* 110, 183, 239.
mawór < *awor,* 110, 183, 239.
mawsemúc < *awsem,* 116.
mávtewer < *awtewer,* 110, 183, 239.
me 1, *me,* — staggering (291).
me 2 mouth.
me 3 < *e* 4; 110, 183, 239.
Mec name of a river [Zuid Eilanden river].
Mecĕmúp the region on both sides of the mouth of the *Mec;* the villages lying in this area, i.e. *Amísu, Ac, Ar-Naním, Atámuc, Cowéw-Jamów, Esín-kom* [now extinct], *Jow, Kawét, Micím-Sosó* [now extinct], *Miwár, Ománesep.*
mekenéc < *kene,* 116.
mékurum < *ekurum,* 110, 183, 239.
memáji < *em* 3, 4; 112.
memámtewer < *emamtewer,* 110, 183, 239.
mémamtewérpokom < *emamtewer,* 155.
memán < *eman,* 110, 183, 239.
memánemér < *emanem,* 155.
memáp < *emap,* 110, 183, 239.
memawér < *emawer* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
mémcimtewér < *emcimtewer,* 110, 183, 239.
memém < *emem* 1; 110, 183, 239.
memémĕrem 'since you are there', < *emem* 1; 155.
memíc < *em* 3; 116.
memjar < *emjar,* 110, 183, 239.
memjí < *emji,* 110, 183, 239.
memjíc < *emji,* 116.
mémotásisimawér < *emotasisimawer,* 110, 183, 239.
mémpepém < *empepem,* 110, 183, 239.
mempór < *empor* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
memporí < *empor* 1, 2; 116.
mémsemapmúj < *mesemapom,* 155.
mémtamporén < *emtampor,* 116.
memtém < *metem,* 110, 183, 239.
memtémaw < *metemaw,* 110, 183, 239.
memtémeman < *metememan,* 110, 183, 239.
memtémtewer < *metemtewer,* 110, 183, 239.
memtomír < *metomir,* 110, 183, 239.
memtomís < *metomis,* 110, 183, 239.
memtótep < *metotep,* 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 *Menákpic.*
Menákpic man's name.
menáwmi < *enaw,* 144.
menéstewer < *enestewer,* 110, 183, 239.
mer 1 lightning.
mer 2 a day [period of time], time; to be or to go out on a day's (fishing etc.), thus: *amás* —; *enmúm* —; *makík* —; *os* —; *wu* —; *mér cowák* one day; all at once.
mer 3, *mer* — to catch crabs.
meramis to go towards and lie down; to reach towards [subject lying].
merámser < *meramis,* 155.
merap to go upstream and stay there, to go towards and stay there.
meratam to go towards to chop.
Merauke name of a town on the south coast of Irian Barat.
merawer, mer — to fish, to catch crabs, all day long.
merem to go to the far end of.. and stay there.
meremap to go toward and sit down.
meremsem, mu fá — to make water reach a certain point.
merfasi to go to the far end of.. and

turn round; to go upstream and turn back.
merjap to go towards and sit down while speaking.
merjapá < *merjap*, 109.
merni to go downstream to look for food.
merom to go towards and stand by.
merpapuj to head off by going upstream.
mersi to row upstream [on a large river] and enter a side river.
mersuwem to go towards and begin to do.
merwuapom to go towards and stop up.
mes 1 companions, family; *ěnéw* — mother and her companions [the women with whom she usually goes out to fish or to scrape out sago]; *Sumúj* — Sumúj and his family.
mes 2 < *es* 2, 3; 110, 183, 239.
mesakajipirem to keep close to [subject standing].
mesam, mesám mesám pok trifles.
mesamis, cenés — to lie down on the floor; 176.
mesari [?] to come alongside [in a canoe].
mésarimár (273) < *mesari* [?], 144.
mesasesemeroniawer to carry back home in stages [e.g. a heavy bag].
mesem to stand near something, along something.
mesemapom to put something against, along..; *ómus* — to leave the *ómus* in the trunk of the sago palm.
mesemjirmem to put [a paddle] in [the mud] beside [the canoe], [object standing].
mesenaw to come upstream along [the bank of the river].
mesép spittle.
mesés < *ses* 2; 110, 183, 239.
mesétak < *setak*, 110, 183, 239.
mesjotep to go upstream along the bank of the river while doing something.
mesmápmorém < *mesemapom*, 155.
mesním smell.
Mesók personal name.
Mesókā < *Mesók*, 34.
mesom to stand beside.., to stand guard by.
mesomíc < *mesom*, 176.
mesop to sit by, keeping guard.
mesopér < *mesop*, 155.
metám < *etam*, 110, 183, 239.
metamúj < *etam*, 155.
metem, pok — to take care of the food.
metemaw to scrape out more sago; to scrape out sago in addition to.
metememan to get more food.
metemtewer to fetch more; to fetch in addition to.
metén 1 arm-band.
méten 2 (319) in addition, moreover.
metép < *tep* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
metéptewer < *teptewer*, 110, 183, 239.
metewénem < *tewenem*, 110, 183, 239.
metewér < *tewer* 2, 3; 110, 183, 239.
métewerásmos (322) < *tewerasam* [?], 113.
métewerásmosá < *métewerásmos*, 34.
meteweri < *tewer* 2; 116.
métewerıc < *tewer* 2; 116.
metéwji < *tewji*, 110, 183, 239.
métiw the elder of two people; term of address to an elder brother or sister; *cepés* — an elder woman, wife.
metmát < *temat*, 110, 183, 239.
métmeti < *temet*, 116.
metocin to take upriver, to accompany upriver, → *en*.
metomir to accompany to the other side of the river.
metos to accompany someone here [coming along a side river].
metotep to take upriver, to accompany upriver, → *tep*.
métotepcá < *metotep*, 120.
metotnaw to accompany someone here [coming along a main river].
metótnawfés < *metotnaw*, 162.
mew < *ew* 4; 110, 183, 239.
mewá (317) < *am ewá*.
Mewerósakat personal name.
mewór kind of parrot with bright coloured feathers [red and green].
Mewórpic man's name.
mewsén 'duckboard': tree-trunk, fixed between stakes, laid down the bank of the river and across which one can reach the water when the tide is low without getting the feet dirty.
méwtiw < *ewtiw*, 110, 183, 239.
méwtiwáji < *ewtiw*, 112.
mi 1 nose, extreme point of; face, outward appearance; 'of the same group':

na mí ow we are among ourselves; *man* — the finger tips.
mi 2 lime.
mi 3 (296) the right side [in contradistinction to the left side].
mía (286) < *mi* 2; 34.
mic 1 full-grown sago palm, just about to flower.
mic 2 → *jowomíc*.
micíc moss, seaweed; *moc* — a flood of tears.
Micím-Sosó name of a village.
micicimpór < *cicimpor*, 110, 183, 239.
mícuwán groaning, mumbling, muffled sound of voices.
mifán averse to.
mifís < *fis* 2; 110, 183, 239.
mijimír < *jimir*, 110, 183, 239.
mijisóm < *jisom*, 110, 183, 239.
mijispúm < *jispum*, 110, 183, 239.
mijitúmcěnem < *jitum*, 125.
mijitúmcěnemó < *mijitúmcěnem*, 33.
mijóm < *jom*, 110, 183, 239.
mikín young sago palm; *wu* — young sago palm of which only the edible top will be removed.
mimí 1 filter, consisting of a plug of scraped out sago pith which is put at the entrance of the sump trough, → *jec*.
mimí 2 pressing on, against; jammed.
miminíp to think, thinking.
mimís, as — soft shit; *moc* — tears.
mimíwtiwtam < *miwtiwtam*, 110, 183, 239.
mímkam kind of liana.
mináf thinking only of; *moc* — thinking only of wailing; *now* — thinking only of the head-hunting feast; *jo* — doing nothing but rowing.
mínakap < *mi* 1, 2; 185.
Minímap name of a river.
minimír < *nimír*, 110, 183, 239.
miníp thought, thinking.
minkúm snout; *jo* — the land at both sides of the mouth of a side river.
minó piece, lump.
Minwúj personal name.
mipacák chock-full, full with.
mipimá < *pi* 2, 3; 144.
mipipím < *pipim*, 110, 183, 239.
Mípic name of a mythical giant.
mípici very large.
mipitíjamapmóp < *pitijamap*, 144.
mípor at random, carelessly.
mirám bundle, small bag.
Mis personal name.
misá the root of the nose.
miserím → *másinerím*.
misí < *si* 3, 4, 5; 110, 183, 239.
Misimít < *Mis*, 195.
misín sand.
misí < *sit*, 110, 183, 239.
Mismám common name of the villages Surú and Ewér.
mistém < *sitem*, 110, 183, 239.
mistí < *sit*, 116.
misún abdomen.
misúr pole, flag-pole.
mit to thrust, to stick.
mitá nasal mucus.
mitapmá < *mitapom*, 109.
mitápmor < *mitapom*, 155.
mitapmúj < *mitapom*, 155.
mitapmún < *mitapom*, 155.
mitapom to stick, to thrust [a spear] into.. [object sitting].
miem to stick, to prick [object standing].
Mítewer personal name.
Mítewéra < *Mítewér*, 34.
mititíwtamców < *titiwtam*, 120.
mititíwtamcówè < *mititíwtamców*, 33.
mitíwismúc < *tiwisim*, 116.
mitíwtewer < *tiwtewer*, 110, 183, 239.
mitiwumúc < *tiwum*, 116.
mitúr kind of shrub.
Mitúr formerly a *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.
Míturopís the people belonging to the *jew Mitúr*.
Miwár name of a village.
Miwírpic personal name.
Miwírpicá < *Miwírpic*, 34.
Miwírpicakáp < *Miwírpic*, 195.
Miwírpicó < *Miwírpic*, 33.
Miwírpitsimít < *Miwírpic*, 195.
miwís husbands [pl.].
miwpom (326) to put down in rows [?].
miwpomór < *miwpom*, 155.
miwtiwtam to spread [a sleeping mat] out for..
mo 1 husband [s.].
mo 2 hole.
mo 3 vomiting, → *kawós*.
móa < *mo* 1; 34.

moáf < *oaf*, 110, 183, 239.
moapúc < *oap*, 116.
moapút → *moapúc*.
moc 1 crying, wailing.
moc 2, *moc* — to cry, to wail; *purumúc* — to sing dirges.
mocájipurúw < *moc* 2; 114.
mocájipurúwa < *mocájipurúw*, 34.
mocamár < *mocawer*, 144.
mocamés < *mocawer*, 144.
mocampés < *mocawer*, 152.
mocawer continually to cry, to wail.
mócesmép < *moces*, 152.
mocó wet; wetness, moisture.
mocóapi < *coap* 1, 2; 116.
mocóm < *com* 3, 4, 5; 110, 183, 239.
mocomewer continually to stand wailing.
mocómewermár (300) = *mocómamár*, < *mocomewer*, 144.
mocómopawér < *comopawer*, 110, 183, 239.
mócopi < *cop*, 116.
móè < *mo* 1; 33.
mofasíc < *ofasi*, 116.
mofasím < *ofasim*, 110, 183, 239.
mófasímtewer < *ofasimtewer*, 110, 183, 239.
mokokójnieweréji < *kokojniawer*, 112.
mokokóm < *okokom*, 110, 183, 239.
mokokómtewer < *kokomtewer*, 110, 183, 239.
mókomomsé < *komomse*, 110, 183, 239.
mokómtewér < *komtewer*, 110, 183, 239.
mókonawúc < *konaw*, 116.
mókonawúca < *mókonawúc*, 34.
mokóni < *kojni*, 110, 183, 239.
mokóp face downwards, on the stomach; upside down [a canoe].
mokót sago garden: part of the marshy areas where the sago palms grow; owned by a specific man.
Momác name of a river [Le Cocq d'Armandville river].
mómajimúc < *fim*, 116.
momaní < *oman*, 155.
mómaokmomíc < *maokmom*, 116.
momáokmomít → *momáokmomíc*.
momápeperíc < *apeper*, 116.
momápeperócini < *apeperocin*, 116.
momapómkomúc < *apomkom*, 116.
momas to chop away.
momásiénawúc < *asienaw*, 116.
momásienawút → *momásienawúc*.
momátawúc < *taw* 1, 2; 116.
momáteremúc < *materem*, 116.
momátewerìc < *tewer* 1; 116.
momátewerít → *momátewerìc*.
momáwesí < *awes*, 116.
momázwmapmúc < *awumapom*, 116.
mómawmáwiri < *awnawer*, 116.
momawní < *awan* 1, 2; 116.
moméc < *e* 4; 116.
mómemsiríc < *emsiri*, 116.
mómerwuápmuc < *merwuapom*, 116.
moméweri < *ewer*, 116.
momfáfemasmúc < *fafemasam*, 116.
mómjawiri < *eawer*, 116.
mómjikemúc < *jikem*, 116.
momjinijíc < *jini*, 116.
mómjirmemúc < *jirimem*, 116.
mómjitnemúc < *jitnem*, 116.
mómjitnótewí < *jitnotew*, 116.
momjítumúc < *eitum*, 116.
momjítumút → *mómjitumúc*, 116.
mómjursómiwirín < *omjursomawer*, 171.
mómniemíc < *niem*, 116.
mómniemít → *mómniemíc*.
mómnitamúc < *nitam*, 116.
mómokómtiwíc < *okomtiw*, 116.
momómirsefokóm < *omomirse*, 162.
momómirsefokóma < *momómirsefokóm*, 34.
mómoniér (325) = *omómoniér*, < *omomoni*, 155.
momóp < *omop* 2; 110, 183, 239.
momoromtiw to kill [a pig].
mompúmtiwíc < *pumtiw*, 116.
momsasakámasmúc < *sasakamasam*, 116.
mómsasákamúc < *sasakam*, 116.
mómseáwiri < *seawer*, 116.
momsímomíc < *simom*, 116.
mómtakamjímtiwíc < *takamjimtiw*, 116.
momtémtemíc < *temetem*, 116.
momtetámcin < *tetam*, 116.
mómtetámciná < *mómtetámcin*, 34.
mómtitiwíc < *titiw*, 116.
mómtiwkáfumúc < *tiwkafum*, 116.
mómtiwumúc < *tiwum*, 116.
momtiwúrumúc < *tiwurum*, 116.
momtuwséc < *tuwse*, 116.
mómwiénawúc < *iwienaw*, 116.
mómwiénawút → *mómwiénawúc*.
mómwuwumesí < *wuwumes*, 116.
mónor < *onor*, 110, 183, 239.

mónorómcen < *onorom*, 116.
mop, awón — to strike, stab, to give someone a thwack [with].
mopac < *mop*, 165.
mopáces < *mop*, 165.
mopán trunk of a tree, especially the lower part of it; *kamák* — the root of the ginger.
mopánakap < *mopán*, 185.
mopór < *por*, 110, 183, 239.
mopórem < *porem*, 110, 183, 239.
mopores (321) 'so that they wouldn't see' < *por*, 125 [?].
moporí < *por*, 116.
mopórjar < *porjar*, 110, 183, 239.
mopórjit < *porjit*, 110, 183, 239.
moporóm < *porom*, 110, 183, 239.
mopóromomis < *poromomis*, 110, 183, 239.
moporómtewen < *poromtewen*, 110, 183, 239.
mopórporemí < *porporem*, 155.
mopórporí < *porpor*, 116.
mopórporía < *mopórporí*, 34.
mopórsamáwirír < *porsamawer*, 171.
mopórtewét < *portewet*, 110, 183, 239.
mopów < *pow* 4; 110, 183, 239.
mopówpor < *powpor*, 110, 183, 239.
mormor.. interjection, indicating the crawling of a mass of sago grubs.
morwót kind of duck.
Mos name of a *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.
mósirimták < *osirimtak*, 110, 183, 239.
moskóm → *mosokóm*.
mosokóm < *sokom*, 110, 183, 239.
Mósopis the people belonging to the *jew Mos*.
mosów < *sow*, 110, 183, 239.
mot 1 → *moc* 1, 2.
mot 2 < *ot*, 110, 183, 239.
motamú broad and flat [said of noses].
motaw < *otaw*, 110, 183, 239.
motiw to retch.
motiwér < *motiw*, 155.
motjarawer continually to walk round wailing.
motni to go downriver while wailing, to go back home while wailing.
mótowómsefaw < *towomse*, 162.
motowómsemém < *towomse*, 144.
mow 1 the young prop roots of the pandanus tree; the fibres obtained from these roots.
mow 2, *mot se* — to throw oneself in the mud while wailing.
Mow name of a river.
mówa (294) → *mow* 2.
Mówakap name of a river, 195.
mowawer, mot se — continually to throw oneself in the mud while wailing.
mówawerém < *mowawer*, 125.
mówawerémo < *mówawerém*, 33.
mówerompór < *owerompor* 110, 183, 239.
mowórse < *oworse*, 110, 183, 239.
mowséc half-way; the middle of the journey.
mowsécè (283) → *mowséc*.
Mówsimit name of a river, 195.
mu 1 water; period, season; *enám* — the season in which there is an abundance of fish; *jiwí* — the period in which the tide is low at night and high during the day: ± February and March. Traditionally this is the season for warfare and head-hunting; *muwú* — the period in which the tide rises in the evening and starts to ebb during the night: ± April and May; *pir* — the period of moonlit nights; *pu* — high tide; *ti* — very high water in a river, caused by heavy rainfall; *wa* — pool of rain water, water-hole.
mu 2 feast; *pok* — idem.
mu 3 turtle.
mu 4 large, much [?]; *ek* — a large stone, → *anem*.
mu 5, *mu* — to bathe.
muā < *mu* 1; 34.
muamis 1 to lie down [asleep] after bathing.
muamis 2 (294) to throw oneself down [?].
muapóm < *wuapom*, 110, 183, 239.
mucucúm < *cucum*, 110, 183, 239.
muem, mu — to go and bathe.
muemíc < *muem*, 116.
muemíca < *muemíc*, 34.
mujáη → *mifáη*.
mufúm < *fum* 2; 110, 183, 239.
mújsaw cumulus clouds.
mujú < *ju* 5; 110, 183, 239.
Muká formerly a *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.

mukáp < *kuap*, 110, 183, 239.
mukukúre < *kukure*, 110, 183, 239.
mukumár < *ku*, 144.
mukurúmtewér < *kurumtewer*, 110, 183, 239.
mumu 1, *te* — heavy rain, downpour; *awú mumu ján* the sound made by striking one's breast [the striking of the breast is a sign of utter amazement].
mumu 2 → *eomewer*.
múnakap < *mu* 1; 185.
mupicín clothes.
mupú < *pu* 5, 6; 110, 183, 239.
mupuawér < *puawer*, 110, 183, 239.
mupuawéra < *mupuawér*, 34.
murí, onók — rafters.
murúmtewer < *urumtewer*, 110, 183, 239.
mus bamboo water container.
musúm < *sum*, 110, 183, 239.
musúmtewer < *sumtewer*, 110, 183, 239.
musúmtewercár < *sumtewer*, 120.
musúmtewercára < *musúmtewercár*, 34.
musumtewí < *sumtew*, 116.
musúmutúm < *sumutum*, 110, 183, 239.
musumútumúc < *sumutum*, 116.
musumútumúca < *musumútumúc*, 34.
musúwumomis < *suwumomis*, 110, 183, 239.
mutam to present someone with..; to pay for..
mútir octopus.
mutiwtam to pay for.
mútiwtamór < *mutiwtam*, 155.
muwú → *mu* 1.

N

'n → *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.
najítipic enormous, gigantic.
najítipicèj enormous [emphatic form].
najítipit → *najítipic*.
nak 1 true, real, pure.
nak 2 don't [in sentences containing a mild reproof such as *ís kor nák* don't sleep so long!; *atakám nak* now, stop talking].
naká < *nak* 1, 2; 34.
nakó < *nak* 1, 2; 33.
nakurum to eat up everything.
nákurumás, mu — having drunk all.
nakurumpor to try to eat up everything.
nakurumsem to drink all up.
nákurumsémcěmop < *nakurumsem*, 141.
nam 1 → *nar, nor*, 217.
nam 2 body.
nam 3 ill.
nam 4 → *pomán*.
nam 5 to feed.
náma < *nam* 1; 34.
Námewfáksimit personal name.
namí in a bunch, with many together.
namicim to take away from above [?].
namicukewer all to disappear always in the forest.
namícukewérměro < *namicukewer*, 174.
namín white ant.
namír dead, perished, → *af* 2.
namirafam to cause to die.
Namkáj name of a *jew* in the village of *Amánamkáj*.
namké ashamed.
namós pleased with, satisfied.
namsóm we know it, I know it.
namúj my brother-in-law [term of address and of reference among relatives].
námun on the quiet, secretly.
nanasimapom to spread out in, to put [sago] in [a bag] while crumbling it.
nanasímapmor < *nanasimapom*, 155.
naní 1 heap of objects, not packed together; loose, → *am* 8.
naní 2, *juwúr* — the whimpering of a dog.
nanínakas < *naní* 1; 187.
nanwís shattered.
nap to eat and sit; to have eaten.
napěres < *nap*, 155.
napí white, light-coloured.
napor to taste, to try to eat, to want to eat.
Napú name of a river.
nar we, us, our; 207-219.
narám → *nar*, 215.
naráp → *nar*, 214.
naráw shallow [of a river, when the tide is low].
náriw males of one's own generation; 'brothers'.

nas [it's] mine.
nasam to eat up, to eat much.
nási cooked rice [loan-word from Malay].
nat emphasizing word, 246.
natá < *nat*, 34.
nawer to keep on eating, to eat much.
nè → *nesén*.
nec raw.
nej → *ni* 1.
nem to fall down [rain].
nemcén angry, pugnacious.
nemcénakas < *nemcén*, 200.
nemésnakap cautious.
nemét (290), *nemét emár* not so big!
nemsá be careful! don't hurry!
nemsánakap slow.
nemsop 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.
népnakapiriw < *nep*, 188.
nes 1 flesh, meat; *amás* — sago pith; *Jepém* — *jipíc* a kinsman of people in *Jepém*.
nes 2 to eat at night.
nesé this side of the river, our side of the river.
nesén empty, without; without doing harm (320); with only, with nothing else but; just, without more ado; loose (332); in vain (337).
neséno < *nesén*, 33.
nesmín, *nesmín asén*, just anywhere.
nésnakap < *nes* 1; 185.
net 1 spirit, ghost.
net 2 to provide for someone, to take care of someone.
Net name of a river.
nétipic spirit-man, ghost-man.
nétnakap < *nec*, 186.
new 1 postposition, 255.
new 2 → *nor*, 208.
newá < *new* 1; 34.
newét elder brother [term of address as well as and of reference, used among relatives]; husband [term of address as well as of reference, used by a wife].
newétè < *newèt*, 33.
néwirum < *nawer*, 171.
ni 1 come!
ni 2 → *niwi*.
ni 3 dance; *fa* — kind of dance, performed by women when a child is seriously ill or dying.
ni 4 to descend, to go down [celestial bodies]; to go downriver on or along a large river; to go to the river; to go back home [see sketch p. 364].
ni 5, *ni* — to dance.
nía < *ni* 1, 2; 34.
niakap to descend to and stay near..
niamár < *niawer*, 144.
niamis 1 to lie down on the floor; to go home to sleep.
niamis 2 to start out with many people in canoes; to row downstream with many people.
niamsí < *niamis* 1; 116.
niamsía < *niamsí* 1; 34.
niap to sit down, to go home and stay there; to have gone home.
niapá < *niap*, 109.
niapér < *niap*, 155.
niapóf < *niap*, 162.
niapom to put down [object sitting]; to stick [a spear] into..
niasimomis to lie down together under..
niawer always to go downriver, to go to the river, to go back home; to keep on going downriver, to the river, back home.
niawerap to descend and sit down on the edge of, on the extreme end of.
niaworse to go into the water and change into.
niáworséc < *niaworse*, 116.
nicímsem to shoot an arrow into the water.
nicomtiw to hide someone under.
nicomtíwites < *nicomtiw*, 168.
niem to go below and stand; to have gone below, downstream, home [subject standing].
niemfés < *niem*, 162.
nies to dance during the night.
niesmár < *nies*, 144.
nifam, *jo* — to wait downstream for daybreak.
nifampum to push [a canoe] from the bank into the water.
nifesap to be stuck; having sunk down [e.g. in a bog].

nífesapmí < *nifesap*, 144.
nífesopom [?] to sink down [in a bog] and be stuck there (302).
nífesopómitè (302) < *nifesopom*, 168 [?].
nifiw to go home and go indoors; to go downstream and enter [a house].
nifiwá < *nifiw*, 109.
nifiwes to go downstream and enter [a house] at night.
nifiwíc < *nifiw*, 116.
nij → *ni* 1.
nijamamis to lie down on the bottom [a big thing].
nijamtiw to topple [a large tree] over; to fall down on something large [?] (266).
nijap to go home and speak; *teptep* . . — to shrink down.
nijimemtam to fetch from above and put down for someone [object standing].
nijirimuw all to set out in canoes.
nijise, mu wu — to go into the water and begin to waggle one's fins [fish].
nijukum to stretch to the river [a clearing in the forest].
nijukumapomtam to put things down together for someone.
nijukumtiw to lay down together.
nijukúmtiwéf < *nijukumtiw*, 162.
nikajap all to have returned [e.g. from camp].
nim like, as though; a little in the direction of: *er* — a little bit to that side; *arán* — a little bit to the upstream side.
nimár < *ni* 4; 144.
nimatiw to go home and chop down.
nimemerap to begin to go down [sun].
nimémerapá < *nimemerap*, 109.
nimir to look for.
nimirsem to search for fish in shallow water, to feel about for fish.
nimírsemá < *nimirsem*, 109.
nimomop (336) to fell [a sago palm] and work on it [?].
nimu, mu — to descend to the water and bathe.
nimuamis to throw oneself down.
nímuamsér < *nimuamis*, 155.
nimus to disappear in the forest.
nin daughter-in-law [s.].
niní, manmák — presenting a fine sight, a feast for the eyes.
Ninim name of a river.
ninukamis to get in the canoe with many people and set out.
ninwís daughters-in-law [pl.], 190.
niom to go down and stand by; to go home and start to work on.
niomawer, ni — to dance in honour of [a guest].
niómewirír < *niomawer*, 171.
niomitum, ni — to dance for someone during the evening.
niompuw to go into the water with.
niómpuwaró < *niompuw*, 165.
niomuw to go to the river and depart with . . [in a canoe].
niomuwá < *niomuw*, 109.
niomúwcěmes < *niomuw*, 136.
niomúwpom < *niomuw*, 155.
niomúwpomá < *niomúwpom*, 34.
niop to have sunk down with . . ; to go home and sit with [something], by [someone].
niopér < *niop*, 155.
niorsop to have sunk down up to the chest with.
nipirim to go to the river and wash.
nipitamis, is — to go home and go to sleep.
nípitamsér < *nipitamis*, 155.
niporemap to sit down with and have intercourse with.
niporomjiwis to get into a canoe in order to depart [a number of people].
nisaj to get into the canoes [many people].
nísajěrés < *nisaj*, 155.
nisarames to leave scattered at night.
nisarámesmár < *nisarames*, 144.
nise to be below in the river.
nisécěpes < *nise*, 141.
nisiap, jif — to sit stuck in the bog.
nisiápfem < *nisiap*, 162.
nisicimtiw to put things separate from each other.
nisiritewer to hurry back home and fetch.
nísmit grandfather.
nisuwem to step on . . in order to descend to the river.
nitaj, cem — to arrive home.

nitam to go downstream and reach; to reach home.
nitamór < *nitam*, 155.
nitapowes (301) to leave things behind on the land while coming here downstream [?].
nitatepiap to shrink down, to become short [a tree].
nitawpiptimes to fill something down below during the night.
nitáwpiptímesmar < *nitawpiptimes*, 144.
nitewem to put down [object standing].
nitewemtam 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.
nititiw to lay something down.
nitiwtampor to try to put down for someone.
nitiwtámporfĕnés < *nitiwtampor*, 162.
nitowopom to go to the river and put something in [the canoe]; to put something down on the ground.
nitowópmores < *nitowopom*, 155.
niuw to go down to the river and set out [in a canoe] → *nuwuw*.
niwí father [s.].
niwiá < *niwí*, 34.
niwiakap younger brother of father or mother, 195.
niwís → *ninwís*.
njanjanja . . interjection, suggestive of the action of nibbling or gnawing.
njenjer → *e* 4.
njómo . . interjection, suggestive of the action of nibbling or gnawing.
njonjo . . → *e* 4.
no → *nor*.
Nokóp personal name.
Nokópè (320) → *Nokóp* [in enumeration].
nomsóm I know it.
non mistress, Mrs. [loan-word from Malay, = njonja].
nor I, me, my; 207-219.
normá < *nor*, 213.
noromóm interjection; good man! my dear one! 236.
noromóma < *noromóm*, 34.
noromómè < *noromóm*, 33.
noromúm → *noromóm*.
norów < *nor*, 216.
norpá < *nor*, 214.
nosó wound.
Nosó personal name.
now head-hunting; person whose head is to be taken or has been taken.
Nówit name of a river.
nowón near.
nucúr 1 enormous, huge; very, to a high degree: *awút* — huge; *pacák* — very bad, most miserable.
nucúr 2 ancient; *ow* — forefathers.
nukumomuw to take a number of people to a canoe and depart with them.
nur → *nor*, 208.
nuw → *nuwuw*.
nuwumamis to set out in battle-array [canoes].
nuwúmi < *nuwuw*, 144.
nuwúmiè < *nuwúmi*, 33.
nuwut to start out [in a canoe] in the morning.
nuwuw to depart by canoe, to set out by canoe.
nuwúwfokom < *nuwúw*, 162.

O

o 1 → *or*.
o 2 grandchild [s.].
o 3 pig.
oaf again to kill, to kill also.
oap again to splitt off, again to work loose [fibres].
ócen spear, lance.
oc again to do.
oerés < *oc*, 155.
of 1 dead wood, corpse; rotten.
of 2 strainer.
ófajís grandparents.
ofasi to return, to go back.
ófasicĕmés < *ofasi*, 136.
ofasim to tell, to inform.
ofasimtewer to take up where one left off [a story].
ófew blood-kinsmen belonging to a *jew* different from one's own.
ofóm small digging stick.
ojispor to go to the forest again to look at.
ojísporér < *ojispor*, 155.

ojúm kind of bird; it always begins calling when the night is nearly at an end, thereby heralding daybreak.
ok egg.
okajum (344) also to flay [?].
okap to stick to [e.g. rust to iron].
okmomse to follow [aquatic subject and object].
okmoni to carry away downstream [subject = the current].
okmonimár < *okmoni*, 144.
okmorés < *okom* 1, 2; 155.
okokom 1 < *ser* — to drive *ser* fishes against the bank of the river.
okokom 2 to rub with.
ókokonísok in great variety.
okom 1, *ser* — to drive *ser* fishes against the bank of the river. *so* — to start a song.
okom 2, *mi* — to rub someone with lime.
okomá < *okom* 1, 2; 109.
okomemtam to roll something up for someone.
ókomémtamcín < *okomemtam*, 116.
okomtewer to fetch something, breaking it off; *pe* — to catch a crab [breaking off the legs to prevent escape].
okómtewerác < *okomtewer*, 165.
okómteweraré < *okomtewer*, 165.
okomtiw to strike down, to kill [by shooting].
okón jaw, mouth [of a bag]; singing loudly (316); → *akmapom, akse.*
okonép opposite to, facing.
okór 1 mute.
okór 2 on guard, keeping guard.
okorá rape, adultery.
okoresawer (293) to be alone the whole night long [?].
Okórmi name of a river.
okorom 1, *okorá* — to rape.
okorom 2, *manmák* — to flirt.
okoromá < *okorom* 1, 2; 109.
ókorómfen < *okorom* 1; 162.
okós, pe — crab's pincer; *pir* — crescent; *o* — boar's tusk.
om 1 → *or*, 217.
om 2 digging stick, made of the wood of the nibung palm [see sketch p. 366].
om 3 to stand by, with; to be busy with [subject standing].
omá 1 binding material made of strips of the midrib of a frond of a very young sago shoot, → *espét.*
omá 2 cautiously, → *jitjar.*
oman 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), *moc* — to cry about [?].
omiris (326) to busy oneself with [?].
omis 1 to sleep with, to lie down with, to lie down while doing..
omis 2 to go inland with, to go to the forest with.
omiséres < *omis*, 1, 2; 155.
omismár < *omis* 1, 2; 144.
omit, se mow — to throw oneself in the mud in the morning.
omitmár < *omit*, 144.
omjursomawer (296) always to do wrong [?].
omkóc kind of insect.
omku to go ashore with.
omném < *om* 3; 177.
omnémè < *omném*, 33.
omócen spear of which the top of the shaft is shaped like a digging stick.
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.
omómi (311) < *omom*, 144 [?].
omomirse (322) to be at fault [?].
omomis 1 to go and lie down with, by.
omomis 2 to take along to the forest, to go to the forest with.
omomoni to go on the way home, carrying something.
omoni to carry something back home, to carry something to the river.

omóp 1 a blow.
omop 2 to sit by, with, while busy with..; to sit in a state of..
omópem < *omop* 2; 176.
omópĕres < *omop* 2; 155.
omopfés < *omop* 2; 162.
omopomis (296) to sleep and wake with, in the company of [?].
omópomísmem < *omopomis*, 144.
omót kind of fish.
ompuw to go into the water with.
omse to take along in the canoe, to be in the canoe with, busy with..
omsénom < *omse*, 177.
ómus the outer part of the sago pith; this is scraped out by people standing in the trunk when the central part [*anám*] has been removed [see sketch p. 367].
omúsĕwes → *amúsĕwes*.
omúsnakap < *ómus*, 185.
on 1 shark.
on 2 to share [food, tobacco] with.
onéw → *onów*.
oniéf (302) → *tówoniéf*.
onifiw again to enter [a house] downstream.
onífiwer < *onifiw*, 155.
oniuw to set out again [in a canoe].
oniúwor < *oniuw*, 155.
onmer, ónmer — quickly to go ahead of.
onmermár < *onmer*, 144.
onók beam, support, staff; *jiná* — on the knees, kneeling.
onoká < *onók*, 34.
onór to carry on the back.
onorom to cause someone to carry something on the back.
onów thatch, made of sago leaves.
op 1 above, on top of, [high] up.
op 2 to sit with, by, busy with..; to be married to; *cem* — (283) to make a house [?].
opáemamem < *emawer* 2; 144.
opáemór < *em* 4; 155.
opáfajjém < *faj*, 162.
opák not, without; *opák cowák* absolutely not; *opák wut* by no means; *opák pak* really, 240.
opáka < *opák*, 34.
opáknakap < *opák*, 186.
opánamár < *nawer*, 144.
opéf < *op* 2; 162.
Opekátsimít personal name.
opén question marker, 253.
opéna < *opén*, 34.
opés < *op* 2; 177.
ópnakaw why not, not; 242.
opów not, without; 241.
or you, your; 207-219.
orám < *or*, 215.
oráp 1 < *or*, 214.
orap 2 → *oap*.
oremem again to stand up.
oriwis hurriedly to go back to the forest.
ormá < *or*, 213.
oróm clean, smooth.
orom, manmák — to peer at.
oromes, jak — to empty one's stomach at night.
ororomtiw to smooth something.
ororómtiwcem < *ororomtiw*, 125.
orów < *or*, 216.
orowapom to press repeatedly on [object sitting].
órowapómcĕmes < *orowapom*, 136.
orownem to cause to go downward by pressing repeatedly, [e.g. a pole in the mud].
orpá < *or*, 214.
os 1 tree, wood. *amás* — sago palm.
os 2 cough.
os 3 to come towards with, while doing, while busy with.
osasmawer, fawíc — to come towards while joking all the time.
ósasmewérmes < *osasmawer*, 136.
óset cricket.
osiap to have gone back home [many people].
osiáper < *osiap*, 155.
osín → *sin*.
osiocin again to move a little towards the end of something.
osirimtak again to row steadily downstream.
osisimtam again to push [a number of things] towards someone.
osmop, man — to set to work on.
óswuc mother, 193.
ot to touch; *mi* — to pay a short visit to.
otap, jiná onók — to kneel.
otapow to return with all the people.
otasiap all to have returned [in the village].

otásiapěráw < *otasiap*, 125.
otasisimawer to return home again and again, filling the house with.
otaw to tell, to give advice; to ask.
otáwfes < *otaw*, 162.
otawmém < *otaw*, 144.
otawpor to try to give advice.
otawporawer continually to try to give advice to someone, to exhort someone.
otáwporéwirín < *otawporawer*, 171.
otáwpormín < *otawpor*, 144.
oterespakaj to topple over in the opposite direction to the cut [a tree].
otewer 1 to tell, to inform.
otewer 2 (327) again to take [?].
ótewerá < *otewer* 1, 2; 109.
ótipic a woman's [classificatory] brother [s.].
otiwum again to pour [water] over.
otmá neap tide.
otmamis to lie down while touching.
otmamtewer to meet each other.
otmámtewerés < *otmamtewer*, 155.
otmenaw, wa — to come upstream, brushing along the edge of the forest.
otom, sír am — to threaten a person with a lance.
otomá < *otom*, 109.
otoni < *sir* — to stand with the spears at the ready, pointing at something below.
otonímop < *otoni*, 152.
otpemusumtam to push someone out [of the house] for someone.
otuwse again to set out [in a canoe].
otuwseá < *otuwse*, 109.
ow 1 people, men, a man; *erén* — the upstream people = the ghosts; *mer* — the people who are [were, have been] fishing.
ow 2 to fill.
ow 3, *at* — to tell someone to do; to give orders to do..
owá < *ow* 1, 34.
owapmá < *owapom*, 109.
owápmamí < *owapom*, 144.
owapom to fill [object sitting].
owén struggle, fight.
owér marriage; husband.
owerés → *owerós*.
oweréw → *owerów*.
owerompor to return regularly to keep an eye on.
owerós husband.
owerów grown-up men, married men.
owmop to sit and have coitus with.
ównakapiríw < *ow* 1; 188.
ownés strings of crocheted hair.
Owófawuc woman's name.
owopís people of a similar age.
owores to change again into.. at night.
oworésmop < *owores*, 144.
oworésmopá < *oworésmop*, 34.
oworse to travel to and fro [by canoe].
Owpacák man's name.
Owpacákipic man's name.
Owpacákipit → *Owpacákipic*.
ówpěnem < *ow*, 155.
owpor, acán — to try to give advice.
owpormín < *owpor*, 144.
Owsé formerly a *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.
ówtiw a woman's (classificatory) brothers [pl.].
owuapmá < *owuapom*, 109.
owuapom again to bury; again to plug up.

P

pa scale [of a fish].
pacaj to flee in all directions.
pacájcukor < *pacajcuku*, 155.
pacajcuku to be scattered about far and near.
pacajkukuas to scatter about [of people].
pacák bad, unfit; not willing, averse to.
pacakáp < *pacák*, 202.
pacákapiríw < *pacák*, 202.
pacákaseré < *pacák*, 202.
pacáko < *pacák*, 33.
pacáksere → *pacákaseré*.
pacáseancs < *case*, 155.
paj peace-making ceremony.
Pajámpari personal name.
pajen to turn off or away and go upstream, → *en*.
pájener < *pajen*, 155.
pajfirap to turn oneself round [subject sitting].
pájfirapí < *pajfirap*, 116.
pajim to open [e.g. a door].
pajimáces < *pajim*, 165.
pajimomse, cí mi arán — to turn the nose of the canoe upstream taking [people] along.

pajis all to go outside.
pajiwem to stand with the legs wide apart.
pájnijís to turn downriver and go out to sea.
pajse to turn off [a canoe].
pajtewer to turn towards in order to fetch.
pájtewerá < *pajtewer*, 109.
pajuru (337) not to be seen, to be invisible [?].
pák → *opák*.
páka < *pak*, 34.
pakám to kick; *maj* — the stamping of one's foot.
pakajamis all to lie down together, in great numbers.
pákajámser < *pakajamis*, 155.
pakajap to sit somewhere in great numbers; to sit everywhere; *jo sétnakap* — the river is narrow everywhere.
pakajse to be in the water somewhere in great numbers; to be in the water everywhere.
pakás ulcer.
paké hard and old, stale [food].
pakénakap crowded with [a river with canoes]; covered with [a tree with flowers].
pakó < *pak*, 33.
pamár < *pawer*, 144.
pamtiw to divide a quantity of goods into small portions; to take away small parts from a quantity.
pamusem, mak in — to walk to the forest and turn one's back towards.
pané, mi — nose ornament made of a shell.
papajim to open [plural object].
papcapipi to swing to and fro.
pápem < *ap* 2; 176, 180.
paperimop, jen — 'to sit with the ears turned round', i.e. to have forgotten the world of men (314).
papes < *ap* 2; 176, 180.
papí, ci — broad-based midrib [of a sago palm frond].
papiromku to turn [the canoe] towards and go ashore.
papís exchange of women [this generally takes place between two *as*, and occasionally between men who are not each other's *as*, see 332, note a].
pápormem < *por*, 144, 180.
papuj (337) to make detours [?].
papujkurum all to have succumbed.
pápujkurumór < *papujkurum*, 155.
par wide, broad.
parás 'dune-ridge': low ridge consisting of crushed vegetable matter which has been carried by the rivers to the sea and then washed ashore. Found along the coast near *Jepém*.
parem to turn something round.
pariem extending in all directions [e.g. a tree with huge buttresses].
pariemic < *pariem*, 176.
parise to lie stretched out in the water.
parsá scattered about, dispersed; disorderly.
parsam to scatter.
parsamcukum to scatter about, to cause to flee in all directions.
parsámcukumór < *parsamcukum*, 155.
parwís daughter.
pas in vain.
pasés itch; *manmák* — itching eyes.
pasték kind of grass.
patámkurmorés < *patamkurum*, 155.
patamkurum to fill right up with, to load full.
Patépo personal name.
patetámcen < *tetam*, 116.
patetámcená < *patetamcen*, 34.
patewer, tow — to work loose the pith of the sago palm in order to gather the sago grubs.
pati < *at* 2; 116.
Patiém personal name.
paw kind of mangrove.
pawáncasín < *awan* 1, 2; 120.
pawer, tow — to get many sago grubs.
pawuamis all to go away.
pawuawer always to go out [to hunt] with people.
páwuawérmar < *pawuawer*, 136.
pawuwu to wobble about.
pe 1 kind of crab.
pe 2 to depart, to move off [in a canoe].
pec < *e* 4; 116.
pecár < *e* 4; 120.
pecaw < *e* 4; 125, 180.
pecém < *e* 4; 125.
pécemá < *pécem*, 34.
pecokóm < *e* 4; 125.
pémanem < *em* 4; 144, 180, 183.

pémccm < *em* 3; 176, 180.
pemé → *pemef.*
pemef < *em* 4; 162, 180.
pemerawéra < *merawer,* 120.
pemésmar < *emes* 2; 144, 180.
pemo → *pemof.*
pemof < *em* 4; 162, 180.
pemtakam, manmák — to keep a sharp look-out downstream.
pemtomtompor, manmák — to try to take a good look above; *pemtomtómporí* please, take a good look above.
pémtomtomporí < *pemtomtompor,* 116.
pen → *opén.*
penés, o — sow, female pig.
pepe tightly bound; *manmák* — looking sharply around.
pcpepe.. onomatopoeia, reproducing the creaking of cane binding as it is pulled tight.
per 1 mouse.
per 2 → *at* 2.
Per name of a village.
pére interjection, indicating a sudden appearing and disappearing; a flash of light; a quick short movement.
pese to row off.
petém → *pecém.*
petéw, aj — the newly wed couple.
petéwmanes < *tewem,* 155, 180.
petokóm → *pecokóm.*
péwere < *pawer,* 109, 175.
pewesánes < *ewes,* 155, 180.
pěnakáw → *opnakáw.*
pěrem → *parem.*
pi 1 cassowary.
pi 2 to fly.
pi 3 to fish with the net.
Píapipin name of a river.
picín skin, bark; *mi* — the skin around the nose and upper lip.
picirím, ár — it's finished; that's the story.
piewer to catch many fish with the net.
piewérmi < *piewer,* 136.
pijinaw → *pinaw.*
pijisasérmokom < *jisas,* 136, 180.
piki broken [of any binding material].
pim edge, side, brim; *jo* — the bank of the river.
pímnakap < *pim,* 185.
pimop to have left something.
pimtiw < to cut off.
pin, ci jipín — 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; *iwním* — the side where the river is [in relation to the speaker].
pinim 2 smell.
pipí chockfull.
pipipi.. interjection, indicating the action of stabbing.
pipim to break off, to chop off [plural object].
pipimtaw to break off and take away [plural object].
pipímtawá < *pipimtaw,* 109.
pipmór < *pipim,* 155.
pir 1 moon.
pir 2 → *so.*
pirí downstream [of a main river]; the coast, the sea.
pirí deliberate misinformation.
pirim to wash, to rinse.
pirkawór triton shell.
pis grandchildren [pl.].
Pisím personal name.
pisís kind of grass.
písnakas < *pis,* 187.
písnakaseré < *pis,* 188.
pisuwá dagger made of a cassowary's bone.
pisuwánakap < *pisuwá,* 185.
pit python.
pitamis to go to sleep.
pitamsér < *pitamis,* 155.
pitijamap to be filled to the brim.
pitimsem to fill something with water.
pitimsemá < *pitimsem,* 109.
pitimsemór < *pitimsem,* 155.
pitmomes to fill [a bag] one is carrying at night.
piw, par — very broad.
po 1 paddle; rowing.
po 2 the midrib of the frond of the sago palm; the trough made of these midribs that is used for washing the sago [see sketch p. 366].
po 3 (302, 343) all.
poamis, is — all to go to sleep, all to sleep.
póamismár < *poamis,* 144.
pok 1 let not, lest, 243.

pok 2 goods, things; edible animals that live in the water; *nam* — the entrails; *jiwís* — baggage, taken along when moving to another dwelling place.
Pokás personal name.
poké, jo — the hot sun, the burning sun; the heat of the sun.
póknakap < *pok* 2; 185.
poknakás < *pok* 2; 187.
pom 1 harpoon.
pom 2, *póm apcóm* 'full to overflowing' [said of a heavy-loaded canoe].
Pomác name of a river [Noordwest river].
pomán the other side, the opposite side; half-roll of sago: body of sago of which one side is curved and one side flat [see 267, note b; two *pomán*, put face to face on each other, form a *maj*]; *nam* — one half of.
pomáteweri < *matewer* 1; 116.
pómcem < *om* 3; 177, 180.
pomót paddle of which the end of the shaft is decorated with a fringe of white cockatoos' feathers.
pomsefaw < *omse*, 162, 180.
Pomúc → *Pomác*.
pónakap < *po* 1; 185.
ponów dirty, dirt.
poperiomatamár < *poperiomatawer*, 144.
poperiomatawer to roll over and over [wailing].
popĕrini to drift downriver, turning around and around slowly.
popomisměrén (293) always I was with you < *opomis* [?].
popomisměrénè < *popomisměrén*, 33.
popújaramép < *popujarawer*, 152.
popujarawer continually to walk in a circle.
por to see, to look at, to hear, to smell; to know.
porá < *por*, 109.
porap, jípi — to have a presentiment.
porem 1 to see [subject standing].
porem 2 to intend to do, to want to do.
porereмtewer to choose [something] and take [it] away.
porerémteweрá < *porereмtewer*, 109.
porí < *por*, 116.
poría < *porí*, 34.
poríc < *por*, 116.
porjar to go around looking for.
porjarawer to go around all the time looking for.
porjit, so — to plan a murder, massacre.
porjursum to plan to kill, to bring disaster upon.
porkasi to take a sly loot at.
porkurum (339) to see everything [?].
porom 1 to show someone something; to cause to see.
porom 2, *arúw* — to practise magic against.
poromtaw to search for until found [plural object].
poromtawawer to search for all the time until found [plural object].
poromtewen to look for food, to get food.
poromtewer to look for until found [singular object].
porów afternoon, early evening [the period from ± 3 p.m. until shortly after sunset].
porówer married daughter.
porównakapiríw < *porów*, 188.
porpor to look around for; to try to see.
porporem to go to [try to] have a look at.
porsá → *parsá*.
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.
potáwmen < *otaw*, 144, 180.
pototómcen [dialect of Ac] → *patetámcen*.
pototómcenó < *pototómcen*, 33.
pow 1 → *opów*.
pow 2 → *powó*.
pow 3 breadfruit tree.
pow 4 to look for.
powá < *pow* 1; 34.
powó kind of mangrove.
powpor to look for, to seek [but in vain].
pr interjection, indicating that one finds something very beautiful or impressive.
pu 1, *fu* — the booming of bamboo horns.
pu 2 'a line running lenghtwise over the centre of a flat or curved surface':

jo — [in] the middle of the river; *mokót* — the path running through the centre of a sago garden.
pu 3 by, near, close to; on, across; *ji* — identical to a preceding event, according to custom.
pu 4, *amún* — busy with [said of people occupied in roasting food or firing canoes in preparation for a departure].
pu 5 to come up, to rise [sun]; → *mu*.
pu 6 to be on the river, to go by the river.
puamis to have just risen [sun].
púamismár < *puamis*, 144.
puamsá < *puamis*, 109.
puawer to stay on a visit for some time.
pucm, jírpu — to be angry, furious [subject standing].
puk clearing.
pum to tread down [grass, reed].
pumap, jo — to stay somewhere until the sun rises.
pumasam to tread down [reeds].
pumemawer, miníp — always to have in mind, always to think about [subject standing].
púmemẃirír < *pumemawer*, 171.
pumokopom (308) to tread [reeds] down, causing them to touch [somebody] [?].
pumom 1, *miníp* — to be thinking about [subject standing].
pumom 2 to stand chopping off [bark of a tree].
pumomném < *pumom* 1; 177.
pumomnéma < *pumomném*, 34.
pumop, miníp — to be thinking about [subject sitting].
púmopěném < *pumop*, 177.
pumót spear [*puw*] of which the end of the shaft is decorated with a fringe of white cockatoos' feathers.
pumtewer, picín — to chop bark off a tree [before cutting it down].
pupumem, miníp — to think about, to ponder [subject standing].
pupúmemè < *pupumem*, 162.
pupumes < *miníp* — 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.
pupurúmomewérměnés < *pupurumomewer*, 136.
pupurúmomewérměnésá < *pupurúmomewérměnés*, 34.
pupurumucumtiw to fill [e.g. a pit] up with.
puramis to lie on [said of a cover, e.g. thatch].
puris daughter.
púrpur → *e* 4.
purpurpur.. interjection indicating the assembling of a crowd of people.
purum to cover up.
purumúc a traditional chant in which the subject matter is the event leading to a person's death: lament, dirge. [The *purumúc* is never sung with drum accompaniment].
purumút → *purumúc*.
pus → *puris*.
put to rise in the morning [sun].
putamis → *pitamis*.
pútamismép < *putamis*, 152.
putěráw < *put*, 125.
puw kind of spear.

S

s interjection: hey! I say!
sa 1 dry, dried up; dead [of trees].
sa 2 to be dry.
safán, jurúw — very long.
Safán personal name.
sajes to come [a group of people as a whole].
sajespés < *sajes*, 152.
sajis to stick out [of branches generally].
sájismar < *sajis*, 144.
Sajmós personal name.
sajni to return home [a group of people as a whole].
sajtakawer always to go downstream [a group of people as a whole; any category of people].
sajwut to marry, to take as a wife, a husband [when speaking in general terms].
sakaj to be broken.

sakajawer, asé — to have a tired back.
sakam to cut off, to break, to smash; to scrape out [sago]; to stop [any activity].
sakamóf < *sakam*, 162.
sakamtam to cut off for someone.
sakamtampor to try or to want to cut off for someone.
sakamtewer to cut off and take away [e.g. a head].
Sakán name of a river.
sakurumawer all to be dried up [of trees, → *sa* 2].
Sakwús name of a *jew* in the village of *Seréw*.
sam to dry something.
samát group of people forming the population of a village.
samáta < *samát*, 34.
samop → *asamop*.
samót → *samát*.
samsamsam . . in great numbers.
samtewer → *asamtewer*.
Samún name of a river.
sanamikurum all to be dried up completely [sago palms].
sanamikurúmor < *sanamikurum*, 155.
sapiamis to have gone out; to be down, [sun].
sapiámismép < *sapiamis*, 152.
sapiámsĕraw < *sapiamis*, 125.
sapise to go out in the sea [sun].
sapisemár < *sapise*, 144.
Sasák personal name.
sasakajes to come towards while passing a number of something [e.g. rivers].
sásakajeséf < *sasakajes*, 162.
sásakajeséfā < *sásakajeséf*, 34.
sásakajséf → *sásakajeséf*.
sasakam to cut into pieces.
sasakamasam to cut off, to cut away [plural object].
sasakamtaw to cut off [and take along], [plural object].
sasakamtiw to cut off and put down [plural object].
saw → *sawnák*.
sawè < *saw*, 33.
sawnák how sad! what a pity!
sawnáka < *sawnák*, 34.
se 1 mud, clay.
se 2 to be on or in the water.
se 3 to share out, to distribute.
seawer to stay in the water.
sees to come towards [aquatic subject].
seésmepés < *sees*, 152.
sefasi to turn round and go back [aquatic subject].
sej 1 shoulder.
sej 2 iron.
sejirawer, micíc — to lie in the water so long that there is a heavy growth of seaweed on.
séjirẽwirúp < *sejirawer*, 171.
sejór kind of fish.
sejpá chopping knife.
sek shag [loanword]; *kapák* — idem.
sékakajámar < *sekakajawer*, 144.
sekakajawer to return from camp with many people.
semaram to strike about [aquatic object].
semén rope; long row.
Seménterésimit personal name.
Seménterésimitá < *Seménterésimit*, 34.
semí (339) quiet.
semsirim (325) to assemble on the river [canoes] [?].
sen downstream [of a tributary river].
senén elbow; the left side (296).
seokor to float by.
seokorá < *seokor*, 109.
sep arm, foreleg; *man* — idem.
sepe to start out in a canoe.
sépeĕrés < *sepe*, 155.
Séper personal name.
ser kind of fish.
seramót, ser fishes [species of].
serápmorém < *serapom*, 155.
serápmorémè < *serápmorém*, 33.
serapmúj < *serapom*, 155.
serápmujá < *serapmúj*, 34.
serapom, fer — to put down a fish-trap.
serapómfes < *serapom*, 162.
sere, jak — enamoured of.
seremop, jak — to be enamoured of.
serémopóf < *seremop*, 162.
serér, onów — a thin place in the thatch.
Seréw formerly a village on the river *Aw*.
Seréwa < *Seréw*, 34.
ses 1 dry palm leaves; *ci 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.
sesák black.
sesi to enter a river.
sésiĕrés < *sesi*, 155.
set kind of wading bird.
set to dip something [in water].
setaj to arrive [in a canoe].
setájcaw < *setaj*, 125.
setájcĕmes < *setaj*, 136.
setájcokom < *setaj*, 125.
setajóm < *setaj*, 162.
setak to row downriver.
seten to dip something in [water] and eat it.
Setmát → *Setmót*.
Setmót name of a *jew* in the village of *Surú*.
setná < *seten*, 109.
sétnakap narrow.
sew smoked.
sĕsĕsĕ.. onomatopoeia reproducing the hissing of fire as it is put out, or the sound of frizzling.
si 1 stone axe.
si 2 distribution, sharing out.
si 3 to dig.
si 4 to plait.
si 5 to subside [of water].
sianeremtiw to plait until a certain point is reached and then to stop work (285).
siapom, se — to dig a pit.
siápmorés < *siapom*, 155.
siasam 1 to dig away.
siasam 2 to plait until completion.
siawer, sin — to increase in number, to multiply.
siawéraw < *siawer*, 125.
sicimapom to spread out [object sitting].
síkaf kind of grass.
sim to shift something, to shove.
simom to fill and take along with [subject standing].
simsá scurf.
simtiwes to wash ashore at night.
símtiwesmár < *simtiwes*, 144.
simtiwtam to push something towards someone.
simtiwtámcĕmes < *simtiwtam*, 136.
sin 1 'sister': term of reference used among sisters, among the wives of one husband and by the husband when referring to his wife [s.].
sin 2 [= *si'n* ?] → *siawer*.
sinák 1 kind of lobster.
sinák 2 crack [in bark, skin].
Sinák name of a river.
sínakap 1 < *si* 1; 185.
sínakap 2 < *sin* 1; 195.
sínopis 'sisters' [pl.] →*sin* 1.
siocin to move up towards the far end of.
sioníporamóp < *sioniporawer*, 152.
sioniporawer continually to try to dig out.
siotemet to plait [a band] onto the top of [a bag].
siotémtamár < *siotemtawer*, 144.
siotémtamó (302) = *siotemtamóp*, < *siotemtawer*, 152.
siotemtawer to plait something onto the top of.
síotemtí < *siotemet*, 116.
siotémtow < *siotemet*, 120.
sipám collar-beams [weapons and food are kept on these].
sipor to try to plait.
siporawer continually to try to plait.
siporewérmes < *siporawer*, 136.
sir → *otoni, otom*.
Siréc name of a river [Eilanden river].
sirí 1 quick, fast.
siri 2 (301), *manmák* — on the lookout.
siriá be quick! < *sirí*, 34.
siriap, manmák — to sit on the lookout for.
sirifis 1 to come rushing out of.
sirifis 2 quickly to cross over [a sandbank], (339).
sirífisĕrár < *sirifis* 1, 2; 120.
sirimaksem quickly to make a canoe and launch it.
sirímaksemór < *sirimaksem*, 155.
sirimes to come rowing towards.
sirimfim quickly to fit up, to make ready for use.
sirímfimac < *sirimfim*, 165.
sirimotep to row upriver with.., to take along upriver [in a canoe].
sirimpipimtiw quickly to chop off [ribs of the fronds of a sago palm].
sirímpipímtiwac < *sirimpipimtiw*, 165.
sirimsam quickly to dry something.
sirimtak quickly to row downstream.
sirímtakacés < *sirimtak*, 165.

sirimtep quickly to row upstream.
sirínakap < *siri*, 200.
sirinuwuw quickly to go down to the river and set out.
siripiap < quickly to cross a river.
sirop, caj — to give in [to persuasion]
sis tooth; support pole; *juwúr* — necklace made of dog's teeth.
sisi to exist as a depth [said of a deep place in the bog].
sisim 1 to fill [plural object].
sisim 2 to shift something repeatedly; to shift things.
sisímampés < *sisim* 1, 2; 152.
sisimkakamimtiw to wash ashore and leave to die [fish].
sisímkakamímtiwér < *sisimkakamimtiw*, 155.
sisimomis to fill [troughs] and bring them outside.
sisiocin to draw towards.
sisíri, sisíri pak it was serious! (319).
sisít kind of shellfish.
Sisnám personal name.
sit to get up.
sitem to stand up, to have got up.
sitiw to plait and put down; to plait something until it is finished.
Siwínmak name of a river.
so 1 song, generally sung with drum accompaniment; *e* — kind of song; *pir* — song, sung during the feast for the new *jew*; *tesén* — song sung outside the new *jew* during the feast on its completion.
so 2 killing, murdering, in order to take heads.
soh onomatopoeia, reproducing the hissing of water touching a hot object.
sok 1 grandmother [s].
sok 2 bird.
sokmót head decoration consisting of feathers put in the hair.
sokom to break up [and discard]; to kill (344).
Sokoréw personal name.
somit to stand up with, while holding something.
somót → *samát*.
sonów → *e* 4.
sopī interjection indicating the action of leaping high in the air [of a fish].
sorap to live alone, to stay alone.
sorápĕres < *sorap*, 155.
sormom, fa — to follow.
sormómer < *sormom*, 155.
sormoni to go with [the current] downstream; to carry downstream [subject = the current].
sórmoniamár < *sormoniawer*, 144.
sormoniawer to carry downriver [subject = the current].
sorom, fa — to follow, to pursue.
Sorówsinit 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 sés — to fire a canoe; → 328, note c.
sowap → *suwap*.
sowem, man sés — to raise the hand to [magical gesture].
sowfiw to step on to [the front gallery of a house] and go indoors.
sowkonaw to come ashore.
sowót saw-fish.
sowpum to launch a canoe.
sówpumcĕmí < *sowpum*, 136.
Su name of a *jew* in the village of *Amísu*.
sukmap, jismák —to stay somewhere, the fires having gone out.
sukmapá < *sukmap*, 109.
súku < kind of fish.
sum 1 to pull out.
sum 2, *jak* — to get with child.
sumom to pull out and take along.
sumomér < *sumom*, 155.
sumomis → *suwumomis*.
sumomsá < *sumomis*, 109.
sumop to allow to sit between [people].
sumóperasín < *sumop*, 120.
sumtew → *sumtewer*.
sumtewer to pull out, to pull up.
Sumúj personal name.
Sumújè (320) = *Sumúj* [in enumeration].
sumutum to make someone stand up; to allow someone to escape (333).
sumutumem to help someone to stand up.
sun to be worsted.

susu to be boiling.
susúr kind of small bat.
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.
suwemíc < *suwem*, 116.
suwumomis to allow someone to sleep between [people].
suwuw to step into a canoe and set out.

T

ta hey!; interjection expressing surprise.
tajamis to lie down on a slope.
tajtajtaj interjection, indicating a gradual ceasing [e.g. of rain].
tajú over, stopped, finished.
tájujúkmapmó < *tajujukumapom*, 162.
tájujúkmapmúj < *tajujukumapom*, 155.
tajujukumapom, amás ese — to fill bags right up with sago.
tak to go downstream on or along a small river [see sketch p. 364].
takaj to be pierced through; to be holed; to make a break for something; to form the connection between [said of a connecting river, → *wu*].
takajap to form the connection with, → *wu*.
taká ko onomatopoeia, reproducing the sound made by feet squelching in the mud.
takam 1 to send downstream, to cause to go downstream.
takám 2 to pierce through; to allow someone to escape.
takamanem, cém mu — to build a large house first.
takamjimtiw to pull off first.
takamjis to go to the forest for the first time.
takamnem to cause to go below through an opening.
takamsomcukmes to let [someone] flee in advance at night.
takamtewer to pierce through, and remove.
takamtowomse to take along in the canoe for the first time.
takámtowómseʃěném < *takamtowomse*, 162.
takás all, everyone.
takawer continually to go downstream.
takawérměro < *takawer*, 174.
takfiw to go downstream and enter [a house].
takjise to speak while rowing downstream.
takjukumapom to go downstream and put together.
takmatam to accompany someone downstream.
taknap to eat, having gone downstream.
takokojir to go downstream and cross to the other side.
takom to go downstream to meet someone.
takowerom to go repeatedly back downstream to keep an eye on.
takpor to go downstream to look at.
takse to have gone downstream [in a canoe].
taksem well-made [of a canoe].
táktetémapmá < *taktetemapom*, 109.
taktetemapom to row downstream and ram [the canoes of the enemy].
taktitiw to go downstream and put something down.
takwitiw to go downstream and throw something down.
tam 1 morning, from daybreak until ± 10 a.m.
tam 2 rattan, → *tem* 1.
tamā < *tam* 1; 34.
tames, is — to dream.
tamesem → *tawmesem*.
tamesmóp < *tames*, 152.
tamesmór < *tamesem*, 155.
támiwcím early in the morning.
támnakap < *tam* 1; 185.
tamnám kind of duck.
támsesaráj < *amses*, 132.
tamús → *wu*; [loan-word from Malay, = tembus].
tamúw buttress [of a tree].
Tamúw personal name.
tanmá nonsense.
tap, acin — to stick on to.

taper < *tap*, 155.
tapijiw to retreat inside.
tapijiwá < *tapijiw*, 109.
tapín sleeping mat, made of the dried leaves of the pandanus tree.
tapmór < *tapom*, 155.
tapom 1 to fill, to put into.
tapom 2 → *tepom* 1.
tapomakem, maj ákin — immediately after having put a foot on.. [to fall down].
tapomákmamép < *tapomakem*, 152.
tapoman to fill [with food], to put [food] into.
tápomcár < *tapom*, 120.
tapómcom < *tapom*, 125.
tapomfam to push [a canoe] off the high bank to the river.
tapomkekem, onów — to lay the thatch on a house, fastening it firmly.
tapomní < *tapoman*, 116.
tapomterem to cannon into something, causing it to split.
tarásépes (classificatory) sisters of a man [pl.].
taráswuc (classificatory) sister of a man [s.].
tarí old, long ago.
tarifis to come outside by breaking through [e.g. a wall].
tarípipic very old, very long ago.
tarípicim < *tari*, 203.
tarwápcares < *ariwap*, 132.
tasmá → *tesmá*.
tasmájipic → *tesmájipic*.
tatafajimtiw to place neatly beside each other, 107.
tatakáj 1 lively, swift-footed; *atów* — playful.
tatakáj 2 to be lively, swift-footed.
tatakcí → *catakcí*.
tatam 1 to give [plural object].
tatam 2 (284), *a* — to branch; to get flowers [said of a sago palm].
tatamenem, mak ám — to pile [bags] up in rows on each other.
tatámenemór < *tatamenem*, 155.
tatapom to put neatly in, to fill neatly; filled neatly (107).
tataw, ja — to go to fetch.
tatemap to sit tightly packed.
Tatepí personal name.
Tatepía < *Tatepí*, 34.
tatewer, cet — to win a contest, to win the prize.
tatiw to put down, to lay down [plural object].
tatmá nonsense.
tatmamín < *tetam*, 144.
tatmes to give at night.
tatmésmin < *tatmes*, 144.
tatmór < *tetam*, 155.
tatmorés < *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].
tawanóf < *tawan*, 162.
tawat to take for oneself [plural object].
tawawer 1 continually to speak.
tawawer 2, *uwkú* — to crochet hair all day long.
tawenem to pile up [plural object].
Taweríc personal name.
Tawerít → *Taweríc*.
Tawerítsimit < *Taweríc*, 195.
tawjimirsem to take [canoes] to the river.
tawmanín <*taw* 2; 144.
tawmemsem → *tawmesem*.
tawmesem to put things against something, along something [e.g. a wall].
tawnemes to cause to go downriver during the night [plural object].
tawomewer, atakám — continually to speak to, to nag at [a person].
táwomewermár < *tawomewer*, 136.
tawow to put into [plural object].
tawowúc < *tawow*, 116.
tawpacaj to scatter in all directions, to disperse.
tawpacajop to stay with people, after having dispersed from..; to have dispersed to.
táwpacájoper < *tawpacajop*, 155.
tawpacamapom to scatter [people] about.
tawpacamop to stay with people after having been driven away; to have sought refuge with.
tawpacámoper < *tawpacamop*, 155.
tawpor to try to reason with.

tawsim (342) to take a number of people along with one [?].
tawtam to give advice to.
tawtermenapom to put separate from each other [object sitting].
tawtominomas, amás — to eat sago from then onwards (302).
tawutum to talk all the afternoon.
táwutúmcěpokóm < *tawutum*, 141.
táwutumép < *tawutum*, 152.
te 1 rain.
te 2, *té mu* tea [loan-word from Malay, = teh].
tem 1 rattan.
tem 2, *aw* — to have breasts, to be marriageable; *nemcén* — to be furious.
temat to fool [someone].
temér < *tem* 2, 155.
temet to go upwards, to rise.
temetjamem to have grown large and high.
temetjim to pull away from above.
temetjímores < *temetjim*, 155.
temetjom, e wú — to stand high up with leaves rustling [a tree].
temetotap, pim — to have risen to the brim [e.g. water].
temétowopmór < *temetowopom*, 155.
temetowopom to hang up above, to put down on top of..
temetsowap, wasér — to grow up into a *wasér*.
temetsurum to scratch one's head.
temetwanioc to grow high up [trees].
temétwaniótma < *temetwanioc*, 144.
temétwasiap to have shot up [plants].
temetwuem, e — to stand high up with leaves rustling.
temjom, namós — to like.
temjomén < *temjom*, 177.
temjoméno < *temjomén*, 33.
temtapes to have grown during the night [subject sitting].
temtem to climb onto; to be high [subject standing].
temtemes to grow up at night [subject standing].
témtemésmar < *temtemes*, 144.
ten top, upper side of an object; on, on top of.
ténakap < *ten*, 185.
tenám throat.
tenfój unaware of.
téntaj, téntaj pók antidote used in magic.
tep 1 to go upstream on or along a tributary river [see sketch p. 364].
tep 2 to be above, to hang, to be up in the air.
tépacoapém < *coap*, 176, 144.
tepaémnĕrém < *eman*, 155.
tepakajap to have gone upstream and sit there.
tepakamis, akin — to lie down [ill] immediately after having gone upstream.
tepákokójniewérmokom < *kokojniawer*, 136.
tépampíamem < *ampiawer*, 144.
tepap to go upstream and stay there.
tepapém < *ap* 2; 176, 144.
tepapmés < *tepap*, 144.
tépaporfem < *por*, 162.
tépapórcěmem < *por*, 136.
tépaces < *tep* 1; 165.
tépates → *tépaces*.
tepátuwuwór < *tuwuw*, 155.
tepe to hang in a condition of..; *manmák niní* — to hang, presenting a fine sight.
tepem to have gone upstream [subject standing].
tepemár < *tepe*, 144.
tepes to go upstream at night.
tépesájtakawérmokom < *sajtakawer*, 136.
tepésmar < *tepes*, 144.
tepésmep < *tepes*, 152.
tepéwtiwĕrém < *cwtiw*, 155.
tepit to go upstream in the morning.
tepitmép < *tepit*, 152.
tepjomséames < *tepjomseawer*, 144.
tepjomseawer to speak to someone all the time while rowing upstream.
tepkawi to go upstream and join.
tépkawiĕrés < *tepkawi*, 155.
tepku to go upstream and go ashore.
tepkuru to shout agreement upstream.
tépkuruĕrés < *tepkuru*, 155.
tepokojir 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.
tepómporsémcĕpes < *tepomporsem*, 141.
tepomporsom → *tepomporsem*.
tepomporsomá < *tepomporsom*, 109.
tepomse to take upriver [in the canoe].
tepomsér < *tepomse*, 155.
tepor to go upstream to look at.
tepseri to be shining [sun].
tépserimár < *tepseri*, 144.
tepsi upstream to enter a side-stream.
tepsiér < *tepsi*, 155.
tepsirim to row upstream.
tepsowawer to jump from above [from a great height].
teptaj to row upriver as far as..
tepteptep.. interjection, indicating the action of sinking deeper and deeper, 237.
teptewer to go upstream and take away.
teptowopom < to drop [someone] upstream.
tepu to have risen [sun].
tepumár < *tepu*, 144.
ter → *tewer* 2, 3.
teré 1 rattan, leaf.
teré 2 joyful, glad.
teremsem to split [aquatic object]; to push through [canoes on the river].
terĕw thin.
termén split.
tes daring, brave, successful, powerful; → 328, note a.
tesén outside.
tesmá courageous, successful; beautiful [of women].
tesmájipic brave warrior, war leader.
tetam to give [something] to.
tetámcin < *tetam*, 116.
tetámfĕnem < *tetam*, 162.
tetámfes < *tetam*, 162.
teté 'between': *a Jomót teté, a Ma teté* between the *Jomót* and the *Ma*.
teteremapom to put stripes [of paint] on something.
tetete (320) interjection, indicating a sudden disappearing; 'in a flash'..
tew → *tewer* 2.
tewawer to take, get, catch, much/many..
tewawércom < *tewawer*, 125.
tewawércomè < *tewawércom*, 33.
tewawumes to put feathers in the hair at night.
téwawumésmep < *tewawumes*, 152.
tewem 1 to put down [object standing].
tewem 2 to set out [on foot].
tewen to take up, or fetch, in order to eat.
tewená < *tewen*, 109.
tewenem 1 to take along with upriver.
tewenem 2 to put something on something.
tewér 1 the bright red flowers of a liana [mucuna Nova Guinensis: Flame of the Forest].
tewer 2 to take, to seize, to fetch [singular object]; to rise [of the tide].
tewer 3, *cic* — to win a contest; *atakám* — to speak.
Tewér → *Tewérawuc* [abbreviation].
tewerá < *tewer* 2; 109.
Tewéra < *Tewér*, 34.
tewerác < *tewer* 2; 165.
tewéracem < *tewer* 2; 165.
téweramés < *tewerawer*, 144.
tewerasam to take much, to get much [sago].
tewerawer to get much [sago], to catch many [fish].
Tewérawuc personal name.
Tewérawucakáp < *Tewérawuc*, 195.
Tewérawutsimit < *Tewérawuc*, 195.
tewerĕwere < *tewerawer*, 174.
tewerĭc < *tewer* 2; 116.
tewerit → *tewerĭc*.
tewérmanĕném < *tewer* 2; 144.
tewérmem < *tewer* 2; 144.
tewérmĕnóm < *tewer* 2; 144.
tewértotoramár < *tewértotorawer*, 144.
tewertotorawer 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.
tewjiniwjar to set out with many [people], with everone.
tewjipirom (301) to think only of, to care only for [?]; to stand, embracing someone.
téwjipiromè < *tewjipirom*, 162.

tewnem to send someone downstream, to send someone home.
tewnémamén < *tewnem*, 144.
tewsem to put something into water.
tewtá < *tewet*, 109.
tewtakam to allow someone to escape.
Tewtén name of a river.
těrásěpes → *tarásěpes*.
těrásɨwuc → *tarásɨwuc*.
ti 1 → *ci* 1.
ti 2 → *mu*.
ti 3 to go down [sun].
tiamis to have gone down [sun].
tíamismár < *tiamis*, 144.
tíamismép < *tiamis*, 144.
tíki onomatopoeia reproducing a splash.
timap, jo — to stay somewhere until the sun goes down.
timapér < *timap*, 155.
timeremap, jo — to sit until the sun goes down.
timeremapá < *timeremap*, 109.
timse, jo — to row until the sun goes down.
timséacem < *timse*, 165.
timseér < *timse*, 155.
tinák the inflorescence of the sago palm.
tipim to cause to be just in front of, just on..
tipurís sons and daughters; children.
típus → *jiwí*.
tirí letter, book, writing; [loan-word from Malay, < tulis — to write].
tise to go down in the sea [sun].
tisér < *tise*, 155.
titewer to pick up [object lying].
títeweraré < *titewer*, 165.
titiem (319), *mák am* — to follow someone [?].
titiw to lay down [something], to put down [something]; to pile up [of clouds].
titiwmá < *titiw*, 144.
titíwcem < *titiw*, 125.
titiwtam to put [something] down for someone.
títur 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*.
tiwapércem < *tiwaper*, 125.
tiwawer to leave [object lying].
tiwawsim (322) to smear [sago] on [?].
tiwem, fěfěfě — to rise in squalls [wind]; to flash [lightning].
tiwemá < *tiwem*, 109.
tiwémor < *tiwem*, 155.
tiwim (323) to put down in [corpse in a grave].
tiwimamés < *tiwim*, 144.
tiwirum to send [e.g. a letter].
tiwirúmfen < *tiwirum*, 162.
tiwisim to bring outside [object lying].
tiwjim 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].
tiwótěrém < *tiwit*, 125.
tiwotfén < *tiwot*, 162.
tiwótmepen < *tiwot*, 152.
tiwpom (342) to cause to dry up [?].
tíwpoporémampes < *tiwpoporemawer*, 152.
tiwpoporemawer, maj — to cause to walk in a circle continually [following one's own footprints].
tiwsakam to start to cut through; to start to scrape out [sago pith].
tiwsirimasam, manmák — to stare at.
tiwsirimasmámes < *tiwsirimasam*, 144.
tiwsirimawer always to stare at.
tiwsirímeweréjipurúw < *tiwsirimawer*, 114.
tiwsirímeweréjipurúwa < *tiwsirímewerejipurúw*, 34.
tiwsiritewer quickly to pick up something.
tíwsiritewerac < *tiwsiritewer*, 165.
tiwtam to put something down for someone.
tiwtarem (282) to cause to be hot [?].
tiwtemsem to put [a canoe] into the water.
tiwtewer to take away [object lying].
tiwum, apím — 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.
toá < *to* 1; 34.
tóko onomatopoeia, reproducing the sound of a thud.
tomtom to stand on top of something while busy with.
tomtómer < *tomtom*, 155.
toncán < *on* 2; 132.
top to hang by, with, while holding something.
topmóf < *topom*, 162.
topom to put something on top of . . ; to fasten something on top of . . ; to hoist [a flag].
toróm 'support': pieces of wood or of the midrib of a frond, laid across the bottom of a canoe as supports for the baggage which has to be kept dry [often small leakages or water washing over the gunwales make the bottom of a canoe wet].
tosó, o — tamed pig.
tosów 1 decoration.
tosów 2 all edible vegetable things obtained in the forest or out of gardens, such as fruit, the edible top of the sago palm, sweet sago pith, and sago. Since forest products are always given in return for edible animals [*pok*], mostly fish and sago grubs, *tosów* also has acquired the meaning of: 'gift made in return', independent of the things given.
totápowcar < *otapow*, 132.
tótewar, tótewar as a big part of.
totěpóm wild cucumber.
tototo . . (276) interjection, indicating the steady rising of water.
tow 1 sago grub.
tow 2 (309) vital spirit [?].
towā < *tow*, 34.
towkopá < *towokop*, 109.
Tówmi name of a river.
towocin to take upriver, → *en*.
towocinér < *towocin*, 155.
towof to kill.
towofá < *towof*, 109.
tówoférés < *towof*, 155.
towokop to eat, to swallow.
towom to take along [subject standing].
towomér < *towom*, 155.
towomír → *towomér*.
towomis to take outside.
towomiw to take inside.
tówomiwér < *towomiw*, 155.
tówomiwtám to take something inside for someone.
tówomiwtámcěmes < *towomiwtam*, 136.
towomkonaw to bring onto the land.
tówomkonáwmem < *towomkonaw*, 144.
towomse to take along in a canoe; to carry away [subject = the current]; to be full of water [said of a trough].
towoni to take to the river, to take downriver, to take home.
tówoniéf < *towoni*, 162.
towop to take and sit with; to have caught, taken.
tówoper < *towop*, 155.
towópfes < *towop*, 162.
tówopmá < *towopom*, 109.
towópmamin < *towopom*, 144.
towopmes to put something onto something else at night.
tówopmésměnem < *towopmes*, 144.
towopmop (344) to kill [?].
towopmór < *towopom*, 155.
towopom to plant, to put into; to gather [of clouds].
towos to come here with.
towotak to take along with downriver.
towotep to take along with upriver.
towow to put into.
towtopmúc < *towtopom*, 116.
tówtopmúca < *towtopmúc*, 34.
towtopom to take upstream.
ts interjection, expressing annoyance.
tunampés < *tunawer*, 144.
tunawer (324) to be emaciated [?].
turamis to lie down in rows.
turuemtiw → *turumtiw*.
turuémtiwef < *turuemtiw*, 162.
turum to put in an orderly way; to put in rows; *manmák cenés turuméf* his eyes nearly popped out of his head [with amazement] (317).
turumtiw to lay down neatly, in rows.
tuw, jiwís — to depart in order to go to another dwelling place.
tuwomse to take to another dwelling place [in a canoe].
tuwomseá < *tuwomse*, 109.
tuwómser < *tuwomse*, 155.
tuwop, manmák — to keep an eye on.
tuwopic < *tuwop*, 116.

tuwse, jiwís — to go off to another dwelling place [by canoe].
tuwséa < *tuwse*, 109.
tuwséf < *tuwse*, 162.
tuwut, jiwís — to go off to another dwelling place in the morning [by canoe].
tuwútmar < *tuwut*, 144.
tuwuw to step in the canoe in order to go to another dwelling place.

U

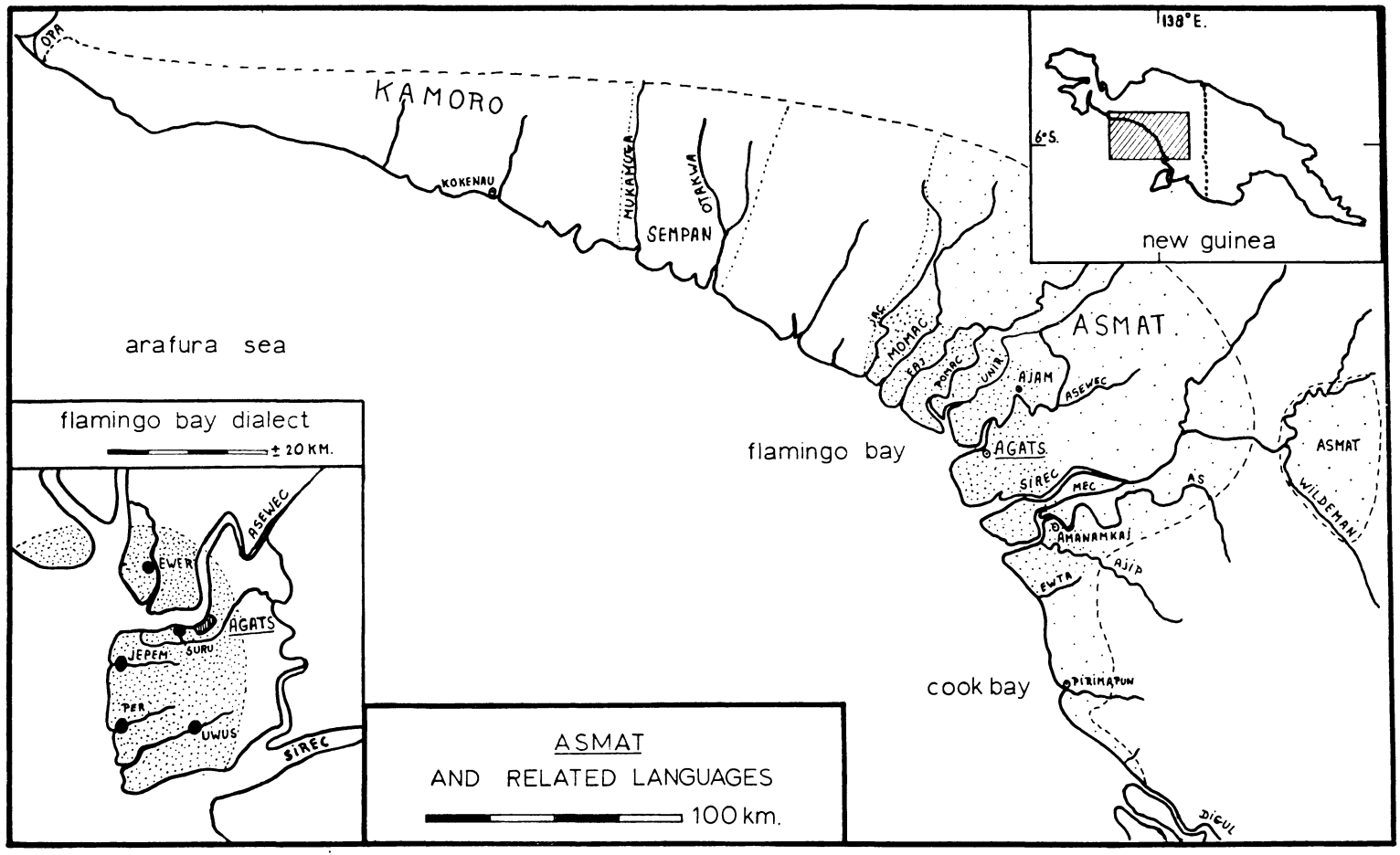
ū onomatopoeia, reproducing the shouting of a mass of people, 35.
ūā exclamation of surprise, dismay.
uc' 1 → *ucínak*.
uc 2 laughter.
uc 3 iguana.
ucè → *ucínak*.
uci → *ucínak*.
uciè → *ucínak*.
ucím what, which, how, how many, how much; 232-243.
ucín the skin of the iguana.
ucínak where; 232-234.
ucíp → *ucím*.
ucucumesawer to rage all night long [storm].
úcucúmesawérmar < *ucucumesawer*, 136.
Ufénces personal name [< Juventius].
ufít name of a river.
ufú kind of shell-fish.
Ufún formerly a *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.
um to cause to go aboard.
umú name of a feast.
úmu the crown of a palm tree.
umúc pools left behind in the beds of small streams when the tide ebbs.
umúnakap full.
un → *in* 1, 2.
úna < *un*, 34.
Unír name of a river [Lorentz river].
uój exclamation of surprise.
upís → *pis*.
upú coconut shell.
ur → *or*.
urumnem, wu — to topple a palm tree over in order to get the edible top.
urumni, ci — to return with many people to the canoes.
urumtewer, wu — to get the edible top out of a palm tree.
ururu.. 1 interjection indicating the action of something slipping into something else, or people following one after another.
ururu 2 (339) all to return, one after another [?].
usawíc banana.
usí, amás — temporary dwelling place near the sago gardens. where one stays when large amounts of sago have to be scraped out e.g. for a feast; 'camp'.
úsi a tree fallen over a river.
usír ray.
úsis → *útsis*.
Uswut personal name.
ut, awút — very large.
ut → *uc* 2.
útsis [sardonic] smile; → *fajap*.
uw to go aboard.
uwú exclamation: oh!
úwku crochet needle made of a pig's heel-bone.
Uwús name of a village.
Uwúsakap personal name.
Uwúsopis people from the village of *Uwús*.

W

wa 1 interjection: hey! ow!
wa 2 brother-in-law [s.].
wa 3 forest; *os* — the trees, with exception of palm trees. → *mu*.
wa 4, *ci* — half-circle of canoes, (271, note).
wa 5 shining, glistening.
wac cassowary's claw.
wací, mi — the lifting of the head as a sign of assent, → *emtam*.
wajimtiw to cause to fall out of.
wajír the central fireplace in the *jew*.
wajotep to go to the farthest point upriver with.
wáka interjection, indicating a scarcely noticeable movement [e.g. with the hand].
wakam to use up.

wakamkurum to use up all.
waksés < *akse*, 176.
wap = *awáp*, < *ap* 2; 176, 178.
wapés = *awapés*, < *ap* 2; 176, 178.
wápu, wápu mu pool of rain-water.
warák without pain, feeling fine [rowing] with ease.
warát kind of bird.
warimomas to go away with a number of people in one canoe.
wárimomáser < *warimomas*, 155.
warimtemtes to grow right up at night [a tree].
wáritemtesmép < *waritemtes*, 152.
Warsé personal name.
wasé red ochre.
waséa < *wasé*, 34.
waséc middle part, room in between.
wasén the landside, the landward side, the bank of the river, the forest.
wasér young sago palm, older than a *wu mikín*, younger than a *copón*.
Wasí personal name.
watér kind of fish.
Watér personal name.
wè exclamation of distress: woe! oh!
wémpa small stone axe.
wes 'sons': the *wes* appear to be the male members of a family [the head of the family, his brothers, sons, brothers' sons and sons' sons] who together form the crew of one or more *jícop cí*.
wet namesake.
wétakap < *wet*, 195.
wétsimit < *wet*, 195.
wi to throw, to shoot [arrows].
wianém < *wi*, 155.
wiasam to throw away; quickly to put into the water [a canoe] (343).
wiásmac < *wiasam*, 165.
wic father; 193, note.
wies quickly to come towards.
wiesaró < *wies*, 165.
wimá < *wi*, 144.
win all, one by one; 249.
winem to shoot [arrows] downwards.
winémamí < *winem*, 144.
winímop < *iwini*, 152.
wiokopom (343) to tell [news] to [?].
wiomatawer to run away with, to kidnap.
wis sisters-in-law [pl.].
witep quickly to go upriver.
wo wave.
Wok personal name.
Wóksimit < *Wok*, 195.
womák louse.
Wominén personal name.
Wominéna < *Wominén*, 34.
wopís people belonging to the same category, e.g. of the same age, of the same household, of the same *jcw*.
wor, nucúr — very large, huge.
worém large lump of sago.
worworwor.. interjection, indicating the steady growing of a tree.
worwós marriage, effected by the girl's eloping to the house where lives the boy she wants to marry.
wos 1 a clearing in the forest.
wos 2 mother; 193, note.
wow 1 exclamation: be careful! [threatening].
wow 2 today.
wow 3 [carved] designs, writing, letters.
wowè (300) < *wow* 2; 33.
wowúc the middle of something.
wowút → *wowúc*.
wu 1 interjection: hey!
wu 2, *cópo* — with a splash, thud.
wu 3 the edible top of the sago- and the nipa palm.
wu 4 sago-leaf bag; bundle wrapped in sago leaves.
wu 5 watercourse forming a connection between two rivers.
wu 6 rustling, waving [of leaves] → *e* 4; waggling [of fins] → *nijise*.
wu 7 (308), *manmák cenám* — with shining eyes.
wu 8, *wu* — to make a sago-leaf bag.
wua interjection: ah! *wú ja* — hey there!
wuamis all to depart by canoe.
wuamísmes < *wuamis*, 144.
wuamse [?] (344) to be on the river [many canoes].
wuamses to go out at night with many people.
wuán [the sound of] rustling → *wu* 6.
wuápmor, wuapom, 155.
wuapom to bury.
wumnem 1 to pour [water] out over.
wumnem 2 to wrench off downwards [bark].
wumnem 3 to topple [a tree] over.

wumomas to carry away many people [subject: water].
wun 1 other, others; some, part of; *wún ow* other people, some people, part of the people.
wun 2 (315) moreover.
wunám once more, again; and then, after that.
wuni all to go to the river.
wuniá < *wuni*, 109.
wur thunder.
wut large, big; many, much; very; *awút nak* — enormous; → *opák*.
wutiwpor, wu — to make bags of sago leaves.
wútiwporá < *wutiwpor*, 109.
wutotor, wu — each person to make for himself sago-leaf bags.
wúwu → *wu* 4.
wuwumes, jis — to light a fire at night.


OTA
KAMORO
KOKENAU
MUKAHKOA
SEMPAN
OTAKWA
arafura sea
flamingo bay
ASMAT
AJAM
ASEWEC
AGATS
SIREC
MEC
AS
AMANAMKAI
AJIP
EWTA
PIRIMAPUN
cook bay
DIGUL
WILDEMAN
new guinea
138°E.
6°S.
flamingo bay dialect
± 20 KM.
EWER
JEPEM
SURU
PER
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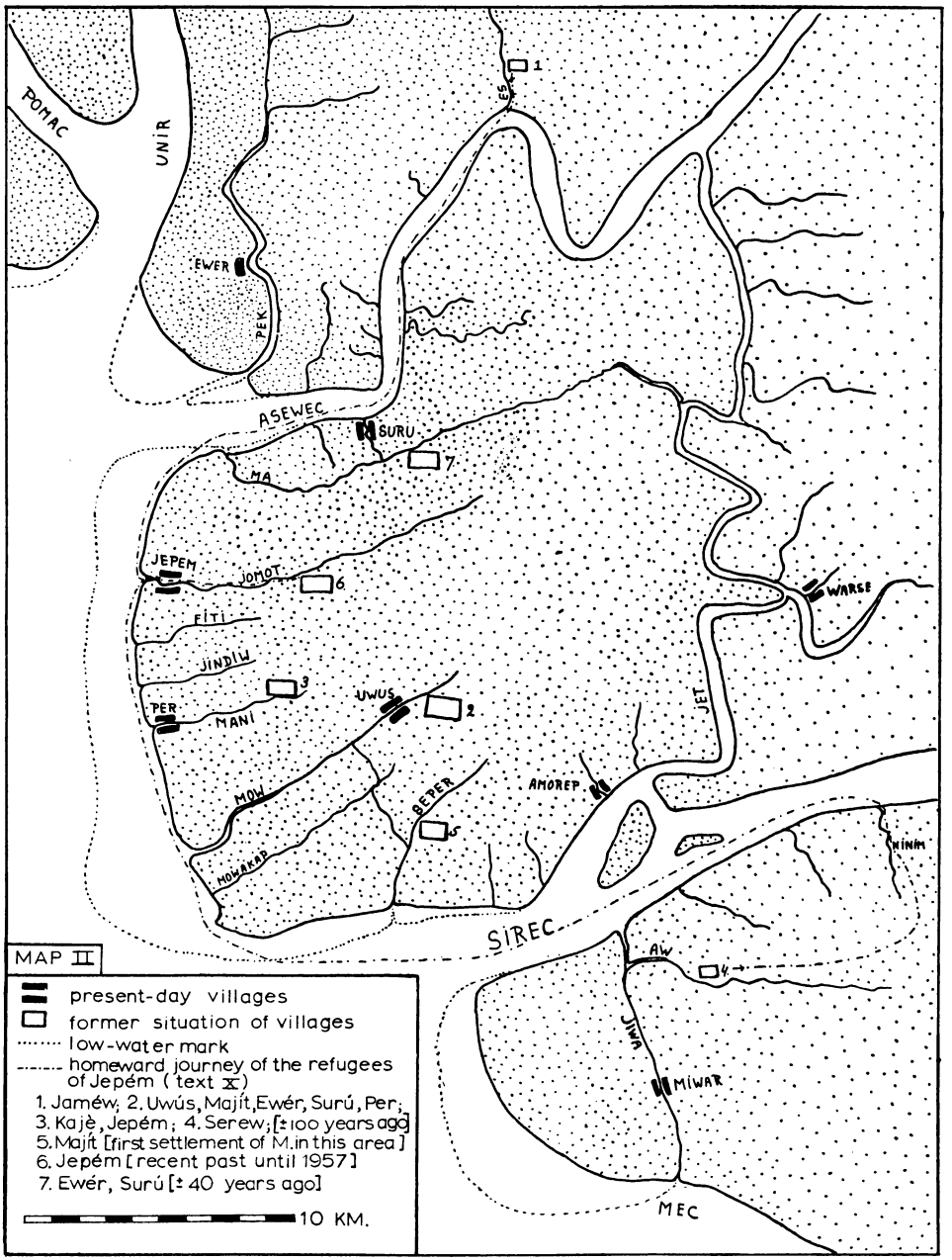
ASMAT
AND RELATED LANGUAGES
100 km.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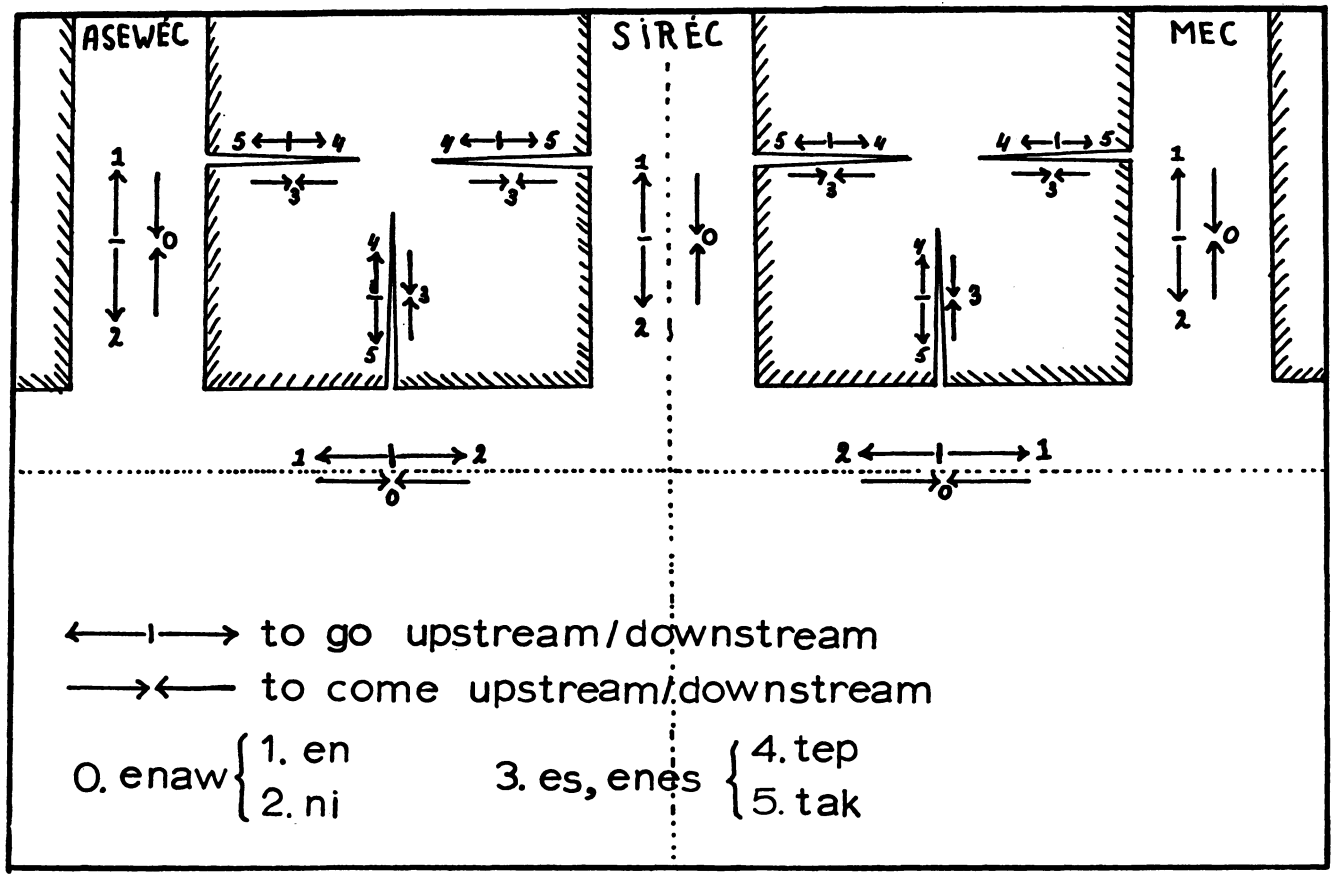
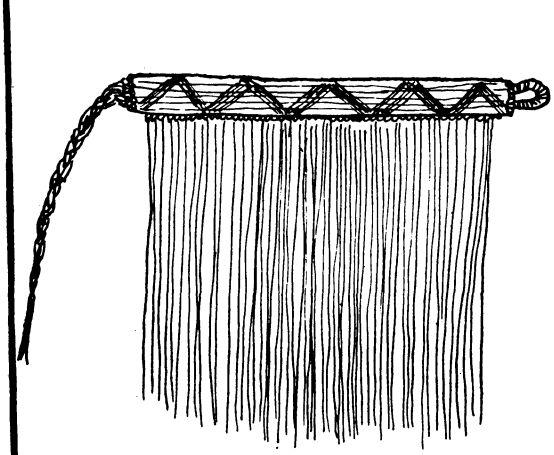
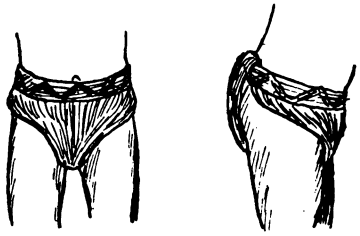
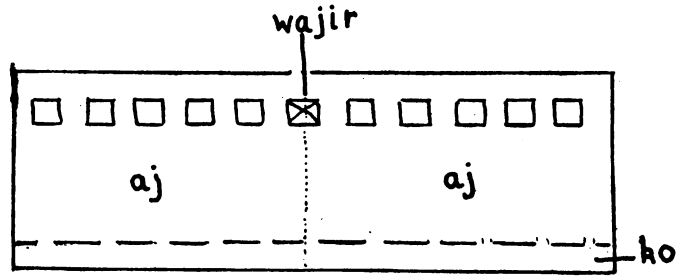
MANI
UWUS
2
MOW
MOWAKAP
BETER
5
AMOREP
JET
WARSE
WINAM
SIREC
AW
4
JIWA
MIWAR
MEC
MAP II
present-day villages
former situation of villages
low-water mark
homeward journey of the refugees of Jepém (text X)
1. Jamèw; 2. Uwús, Majít, Ewér, Surú, Per;
3. Kajè, Jepém; 4. Serew; [± 100 years ago]
5. Majít [first settlement of M. in this area]
6. Jepém [recent past until 1957]
7. Ewér, Surú [± 40 years ago]
10 KM.

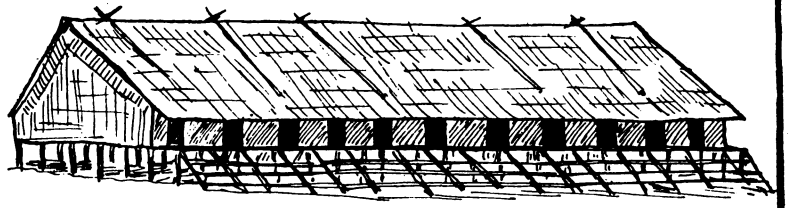

ASEWÉC
SIRÉC
MEC
1 ⟷ 2 to go upstream/downstream
1 ⟷ 2 to come upstream/downstream
0. enaw { 1. en 2. ni
3. es, enes { 4. tep 5. tak



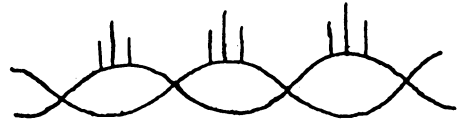
AWÉR



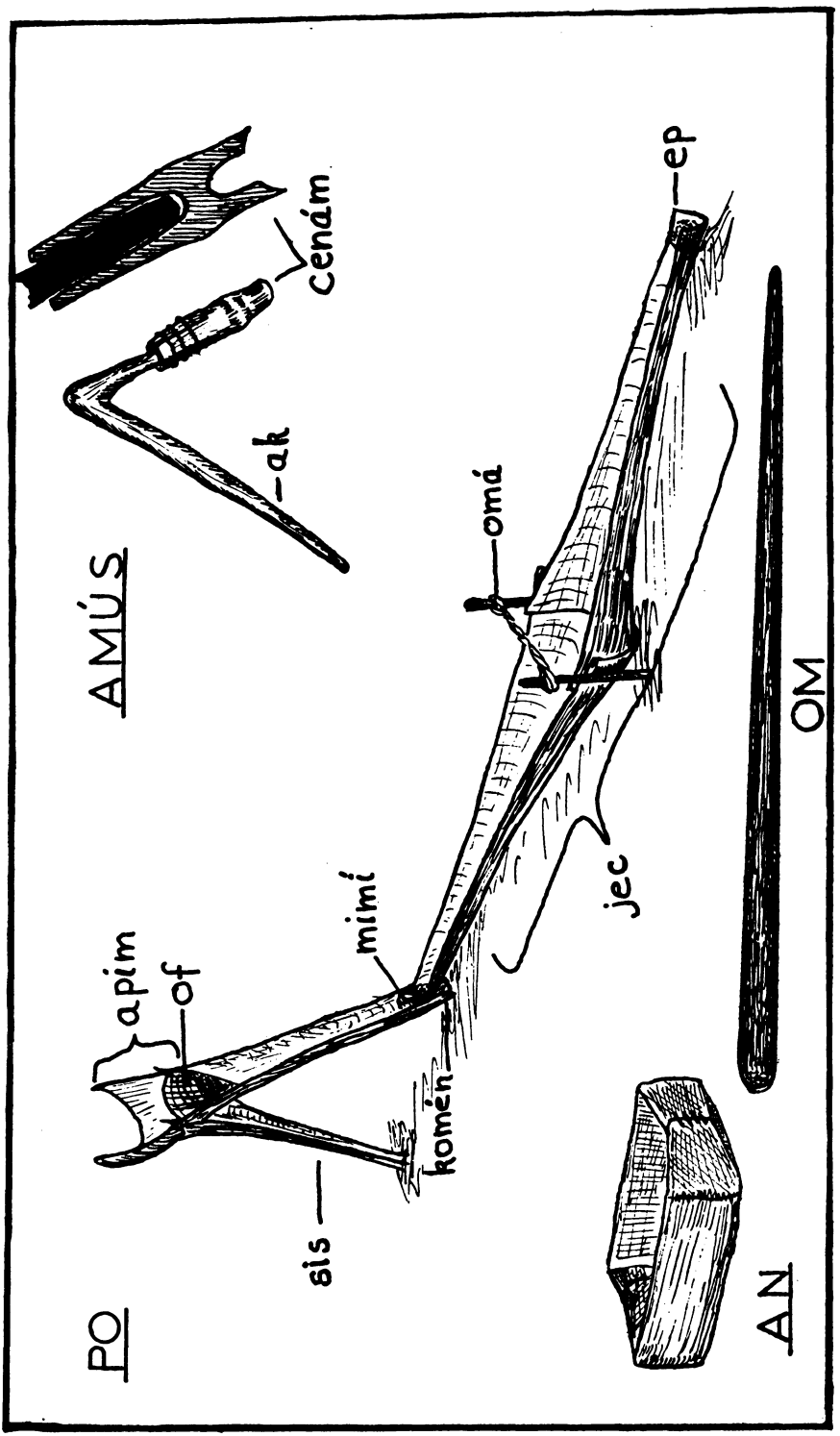




JEW



JÍRIK design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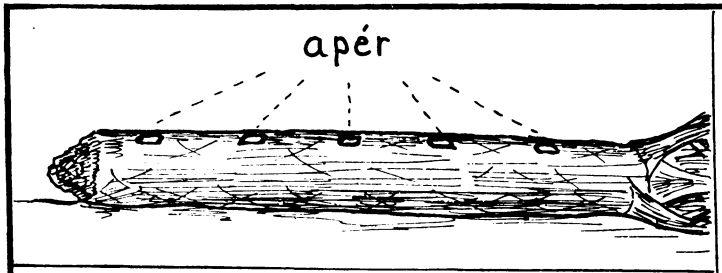

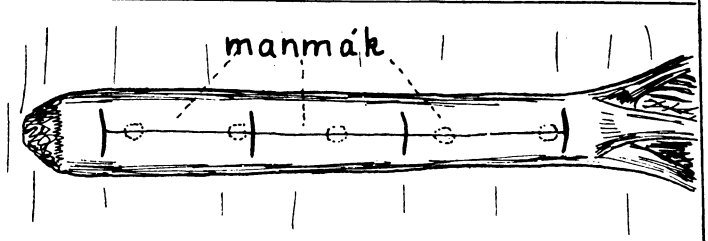

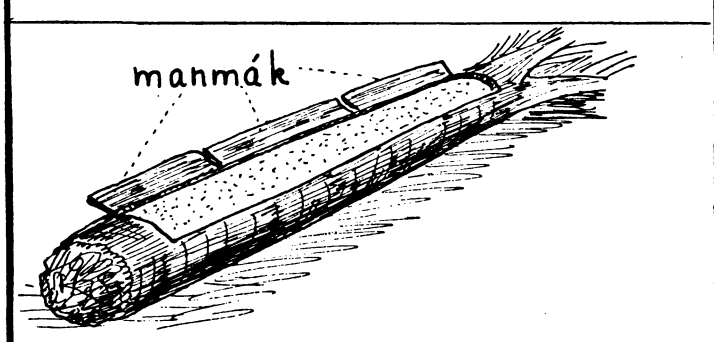

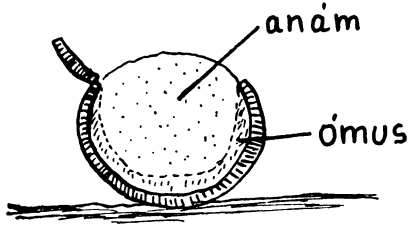

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KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

VERHANDELINGEN

29. *E. M. Uhlenbeck,* met medew. van *J. Soegiarto,* Aantekeningen bij Tjan Tjoe Siem's vertaling van de lakon Kurupati rabi. 1960.
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33. *H. J. de Graaf,* De regering van Sunan Mangku-Rat I Tegal-Wangi, Vorst van Mataram, 1646—1677. I. De ontbinding van het rijk. 1961.
34. *H. Myron Bromley,* The Phonology of Lower Grand Valley Dani. 1961.
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36. *G. W. J. Drewes,* De Biografie van een Minangkabausen Peperhandelaar in de Lampongs. 1961.
37. *J. P. K. van Eechoud,* Etnografie van de Kaowerawédj (Centraal Nieuw-Guinea). 1962.
38. *Tapan Raychaudhuri,* Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605—1960. 1962.
39. *H. J. de Graaf,* De regering van Sunan Mangku-Rat I Tegal-Wangi, Vorst van Mataram, 1646—1677. II Opstanding en ondergang. 1962.
40. *C. Skinner,* Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar (The Rhymed Chronicle of the Macassar War) by Entji' Amin. 1963.
41. *Silvia W. de Groot,* Van isolatie naar integratie. De Surinaamse Marrons en hun afstammelingen. Officiële documenten betreffende de Djoeka's (1845—1863). 1963.
42. *P. Drabbe,* Drie Asmat-dialecten. 1963.
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The subject- and object suffixes of categories 10-22, 24

Standard list:			deviations										
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20/21	22	24
I zero	—	—	(a/ar)	—	(a/ar)	—	(or/er/ĕr/r)	—	—	—	—	—	—
-n after V or *r*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
II *-en* word-finally, after C	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	(an)	—
-ĕn medially, after C ≠ *r*	—	—	—	—	—	—	(n)	—	—	—	?	—	—
III *-aw*	(zero)	—	(araw/ĕraw)	—	(araw/ĕraw)	—	(araw/ĕraw raw)	—	—	—	—	(raw)	—
1. *-i*	—	j, zero	(uj/u)	(o)	(uj/u)	(o)	(j/u/uj/ zero)	(o)	—	(o)	(o)	zero/uj/u	—
2. *-em*, after *w*: *-om*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(m)	—
3. zero	(aw)	—	—	(e)	—	(e)	—	(e)	—	(e)	(e)	(r)	—
4. *-om*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(um)	—
5. *-okom*, after *r*, *w*: *-kom*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(kum)	—
6. *-es*, after *p*, *w*: *-os*; zero	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(s)	—

When the deviating suffix is placed between brackets, this means that it alternates with, or is in complementary distribution to, the suffix given in the standard list.