THE FLAMINGO BAY DIALECT OF THE ASMAT LANGUAGE
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OF THE ASMAT LANGUAGE
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Now that this book is finished the time has come for me to express my indebtedness to those who have made it possible. My first acknowledgement is to the Stichting Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek van de Tropen (WOTRO), formerly the Stichting Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek Nieuw-Guinea (WONG), The Hague, for making available to me the money to enable me to carry out fieldwork in linguistics for a period of two years in West New Guinea and, in addition, for making it possible for me to devote myself exclusively on my return to working on the material I had assembled. I owe a particular debt to the Treasurer of the Stichting, Dr J. H. Westermann for his continued and stimulating interest in the progress of the work.

I am grateful to the Board of Directors of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, The Hague, for their kindness in publishing this thesis as one of the Verhandelingen of the Instituut.

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

The translator, Miss Jeune Scott-Kemball, has been painstaking in the difficult task of translating this work and her critical observations have frequently led to a clearer formulation of the facts. Her efforts deserve great praise.

It is not possible to name every person who was so helpful to my wife and me during our stay in New Guinea and who made our sojourn one of great pleasure, but they are remembered with gratitude.

I will, however, mention those who were directly concerned with my work. Foremost among them were Dr A. A. Gerbrands and Mr D. B. Eyde who were carrying out anthropological fieldwork in the Asmat country. Their friendship and their continued interest was a stimulus to my own work and their knowledge of Asmat culture enabled me to catch a glimpse of the inner working of this remarkable society. Here the name of Pater G. Zegwaard, M.S.C. at Merauke must not pass without comment. By placing his own field notes at the disposal of the fieldworkers in the Asmat country, he made accessible
to them an inexhaustible source of valuable data on the Asmat people.

I am also grateful for the support and co-operation I was fortunate enough to receive from the Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions at Agats, in particular from Father Pitka, with whose help I obtained my informants and Mr W. Hekman who was kind enough, after I had left the Asmat country, to send me some additional data that I needed.

That I can recall with so much pleasure our stay in the Asmat country is not least due to the friendship and hospitality of Mr J. W. Kroon [District Officer], Mr J. Watrin [Chief of Police], and Dr V. F. P. M. van Amelsvoort, M.D.

Our thoughts frequently go out to the friends in Surú and Jepém whose hospitality we so often enjoyed and who many times acted as my informants: in Surú, there was Warsékomen, the great warrior; the astute Simní; his brother Pókakat and his wife Mísínmaj who adopted my wife as their daughter; the old Oscowák, and Asépar, the mother of my informant Natinák. In Jepém there was Erémnet, my ‘father’, and the old Poc, my wife’s ‘mother’; Manéfakat the seer; our neighbours, the story-teller Makór, the vain Joperák and the good-natured, if testy, Jojpir and last but not least the youths Wominén and Átmer. All of them made the time my wife and me spent among them unforgettable.

In particular, however, is this book the book of my adopted sons and informants Mífekpic and Natinák. With endless forbearance and with great enthusiasm these youths, with such simple Malay as they knew, endeavoured to teach me something of their difficult language, and it is especially due to them that the year and a half of productive research has resulted in this book.

Leiden, October 1965

C. L. VOORHOEVE
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONTENTS</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART I: INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The Ásmat language: area, adjacent languages,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dialects</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The terrain, the people, the concept of their world</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Establishment of Government and the Missions;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first linguistic research</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Present research, choice of dialect</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Flamingo Bay dialect; area, history</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Work with informants</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tape recording</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Research in Ágats and Jepém</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART II: PHONOLOGY</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9—11. Introduction</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12—19. The vowel phonemes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20—31. The consonant phonemes</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. SPECIAL PHONOLOGICAL PHENOMENA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Introduction</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. The occurrence of an allophone in a position in which it occurs not otherwise</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34—37. Particular phoneme modifications</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Sounds which stand completely by themselves</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE ACCENT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Introduction</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. The general principle of accentuation</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41—44. Words in isolation:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Monomorphematic words</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42—44. Polymorphematic words</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45—47. Words in context</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VIII THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

IV. THE DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES IN THE WORD

48. Single vowels and consonants
49-50. Vowel sequences
51-52. Consonant sequences

V. WORD-VARIANTS

53. Types of variants
54-61. Free variants

PART III: WORD-CLASSES

I. INTRODUCTION

62. Morphological processes

II. THE VERB

63. Introduction
64-70. General survey of the structure of verbal forms:
64. Core and peripheral part
65-69. The morphological structure of the core
70. The morphological structure of the peripheral part
71-103. Core-morphology:
71-80. Prefixed formatives
81-94. Sufixed formatives
95. Sequences of formatives
96-99. Root-allomorphs
100-103. Lists of unidentified morphemes and of residual forms
104-180. Word-morphology:
104-106. Introduction
107. The core category
108. The -ic category
109. The -a category
110-111. The m-/mV- category
112. The m-/mV- -áji/éji category
113. The -ájmos category
114. The -áfpurúw category
115-118. The imperative category
119-122. The hortative category
123-124. Subdivision into subject- and object-categories
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>125—131</td>
<td>The conditional category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132—134</td>
<td>The optative category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135—140</td>
<td>The habitual category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141—143</td>
<td>The habitual forms of the mediate past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144—151</td>
<td>The progressive forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152—154</td>
<td>The progressive forms of the mediate past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155—161</td>
<td>The ultimate past category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162—164</td>
<td>The mediate past category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165—167</td>
<td>The anterioritive forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168—170</td>
<td>The perfective forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171—173</td>
<td>The past tense category of cores with durative formative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174—175</td>
<td>The -mēr forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176—178</td>
<td>The unproductive category of the positional verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179—180</td>
<td>The prefixes em- and p-/pV-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>Syntactical valence of the verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>Summary of the forms of the verbs e/j and ji 'to do', which were found linked to a form of the -a category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Summary of the forms of the verb em 'to do, to make', which were found linked to the m-/mV- form of the verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### III. SUBSTANTIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185—187</td>
<td>Primary derivatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188—189</td>
<td>Secondary derivatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Words with which derivatives are formed only with -nakāp, or only with -nakās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>A non-productive plural category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>Cases of transposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192—193</td>
<td>Syntactical valence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IV. PROPER NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>Grouping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195—196</td>
<td>Names of persons and names of rivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>Names of villages and names of ceremonial houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>Syntactical valence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
V. ADJECTIVES

199. Characteristics
200—203. Morphological valence
204. Cases of transposition
205. Syntactical valence

VI. DEICTIC WORDS

206. Introduction
207—231. The non-interrogative pronouns:
207—219. The personal possessive class
220—227. The demonstrative class
228—231. The directional class
232—234. Interrogative pronouns:
232. Characteristics
233. Interrogatives occurring in combination with am
234. Interrogatives without am

VII. INTERJECTIONS

235. Characteristics
236. Exclamations
237. Onomatopoeic interjections and words of command to animals

VIII. NEGATIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

238. Introduction
239—244. Negations
245—261. Postpositions:
245—247. Emphasizing words
248—251. Conjunctions
252—254. Question markers
255. The dubitative marker ew
256. The irrealis marker aj
257. The 'subjectivity' marker aw
258. The quotation marker in/un/n
259—261. Elements of which the function is not clear
**CONTENTS**

**PART IV: TEXTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>262-263</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>Recording and presentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263</td>
<td>Individual details about the texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264</td>
<td>TEXT I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265</td>
<td>TEXT II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>TEXT III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267-270</td>
<td>TEXT IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271-279</td>
<td>TEXT V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280-302</td>
<td>TEXT VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303-306</td>
<td>TEXT VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307-315</td>
<td>TEXT VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316-320</td>
<td>TEXT IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321-344</td>
<td>TEXT X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PART V: WORD LIST**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>MAP I: ASMAT AND RELATED LANGUAGES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>362</td>
<td>MAP II: THE FLAMINGO BAY AREA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363</td>
<td>SKETCHES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DIAGRAM:** Survey of the subject- and object suffixes of categories 10-22, 24.
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. (Safântes, from Jepém).
The informants Mítékpié and Natinák.

The village of Jepém, 1962.
PART I

INTRODUCTION

1 The Asmat language: area, adjacent languages, dialects

The language of the Asmat Papuans, Asmat,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 Opá in the north-west to the mouth of the River Digul in the south-east.2

The Asmat 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, Asmat 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 Asmat 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, Asmat villages have been encountered inland to a distance of more than 70 miles.

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

Introductory note
In the notes the following abbreviations have been used:
BKI — Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, of the Kon. Inst. TLV.
VKI — Verhandelingen van het Kon. Inst. TLV.
MBA — Micro-Bibliotheca Anthropos.

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

2 See map at back.
to Ásmat, Kámoro and Sémpan, are spoken. These two languages cover the whole coastal area between the Rivers Ópa and Otákwa. Between the Otákwa and the 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), Unir (Lorentz) and Siréc, and the dialect of the Casuarinen Coast.

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

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

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

3 The data on the Kámoro and Sémpan languages are taken from P. Drabbe, M.S.C., Spraakkunst van de Kámoro-taal, Kon. Inst. TLV., Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1953.

The first studies of the Awju and Jakaj languages, also by the same author, are:
3) Kaeti en Wambon, twee Awju-dialecten, Kon. Inst. TLV., The Hague, 1959; and
(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 capinmi, 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 Mimika Coast (where Kámoro is spoken). And one can do the ‘journey round the world’ by setting out from the Casuarinen Coast, crossing the stretch of water between it and the Mimika Coast, landing there, and then returning to the Casuarinen Coast. Through the middle of this world flows the great River Siréc, rising far away, somewhere at the top of the coconut, close to the holy entrance to the upper world (the outside world). From this opening, in prehistoric times, the heavenly beings descended to earth, in order to populate the world with their descendants.

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

It was only in the recent past that the Ásmat region was brought under control — the area was notorious for head-hunting. Only in 1954 did the Government finally set up its seat there, at 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

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 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. The TEAM linguist, C. Roesler, is still working on the Ajám dialect, and Mrs. Dresser, the wife of the TEAM doctor at Pirimapún, 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.).

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 Kámaro 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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4. 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.

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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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ewér</td>
<td>686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surú</td>
<td>697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jepém</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uwús</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2653</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
because its inhabitants dispersed to different villages after the death in battle of their foremost warrior. Some of the Kajé people went to live at Surú. The inhabitants of 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.

6 Work with Informants

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

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

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

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

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

Because the boys were still rather young, their knowledge of their
mother tongue, of tradition and of mythology was sometimes inadequate
for the translating of the folk tales I collected. The help of an older
man was then enlisted for the interpretation of mythological matters
and special usage. In addition, all the Asmat people with whom I con­
versed 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 some­
times it then became clear that they held differing opinions regarding
the pronunciation of particular words, or their meaning.

\(^\text{12}\) 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 Āsmat 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 Āgats 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 Āsmat 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 Āsmat 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 /â/. The following signs are also used: ≠ = other than; ∼ = alternating with; C = consonant; V = vowel.

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

10

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

---


Since the printer did not have some of the symbols, used by Pike, it has been necessary to replace these by other symbols. The following are not Pike’s: [â, ö, ū, ë, ŋ, ņ, j, j, r, r].
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, [ē] may be called an alternating allophone because of the free alternation with [ε] in certain positions, and a positional allophone because in other positions [ē] and [ε] exclude each other. (§ 14).

The vowel phonemes

12
Diagram of the allophones of the vowel phonemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front unrounded</th>
<th>Central unrounded</th>
<th>Back unrounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>close</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>open</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>close</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>open</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>close</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>open</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

13 /a/ Allophones: [a], [a], [ã], [vae].
1. [a] occurs in final position: [a] thigh; [fa] bottom; [fiɾ'ka] kind of grass.
2. [a] occurs in all other positions: [ak] cheek; [baj] foot; [was'en] forest; [kanp'ɔɾ] kind of crab.
3. [a] ∼ [ã] in initial and medial positions, except before a cluster or a final consonant: [kam'em, kâm'em] many-pointed spear; [as'en, əs'en] place; [aw'ɔɾ, əw'ɔɾ] kind of fish.
4. In addition, [a] ∼ [æ] when the vowel immediately preceding it or the one immediately following is /i/: [jism'ak, jism'æk] fire;
[jir’an, jir’ēn] ripe; [baw’it, bāw’it, bæw’it] star; [dam’īn, dām’īn, dæm’īn] white ant.

14
/e/ Allophones: [ē], [ɛ], [ö].
2. [ɛ] occurs before a final consonant /w/ and before clusters /wC/: [ɛp] tail; [čes] arrow; [esk’am] red; [teř’m’en] split.
4. [ɛ] in all other cases: [ɛf’ēn, ɛf’ēn] upstream; [fēf’o, fer’o] sharp. Here there appears to be a certain tendency towards harmony on the allophone level [e-e; e-e]; the allophone most frequently occurring before /o/ is [ē]: [ēs’ē] bag; [tēr’ē] rattan leaf; [bēs’e] spittle; [bēt’é] armbr; [bēw’ō] kind of parrot; [sēj’ōr] kind of fish.

15
/i/ Allophones: [i], [ü], [i].
1. [i] occurs in all positions: [i] urine; [ič] thorn; [fič] nail; [pi] cassowary.
2. [i] before a final /w/, and before clusters of the type /wC/: [tiw, tīw] son; [iwn’im, üwn’im] the water’s edge.
3. [i] occurs in a small number of words, before a final consonant: [bisɛ’im, bisɛ’im; mâsir’im, māsir’im] thereupon; [b’utir, b’ubr] octopus; [in, un] (postposition, see § 258). In these words the [i] allophone generally occurs.

16
/o/ Allophones: [ö], [o], [ē].
1. [ö] occurs in final position, and before /w/: [ō] nest; [jō] river; [čōw’ak] one (numeral); [čōw] the sago palm.
2. [o] occurs in all other cases. In addition, it occurs in final position, unless preceded by /c/ or /j/, and before /w/, unless preceded by /c/ or /j/. In the lastnamed cases, therefore, [ö] and [o] alternate: [ok] egg; [om’en] shouting; [ōtm’a] neap tide; [pōm’an] opposite side; [bōrw’ot] kind of duck: [ō, o] pig;

3. In the following cases, [ʊ] alternates, moreover, with [ê] when the environment is formed by a specific combination of consonants from the alveolar and alveopalatal set. These combinations are:
   /s - s, s - t, t - s, t - t, j - r, j - c/: [sës, sʊs] dry sago leaf; [sët, sʊt] kind of bird; [tës'ōw, tʊs'ʊw] fruit; [tëtəp'ʊm, tʊtəp'ʊm] wild cucumber; [jër'o - jor'o] wing; [jëc'op, jec'op] head-hunting raid; [jëc'or] river mouth. (No form of this with [ʊ] was found.)
   A case standing on its own seems to be the name [Kʊs'er], of which no form with [œ] was found, while in other words with /o/ between /s/ and /r/, the allophone [ʊ] was always found.

/ʊ/

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

/œ/

In addition to the vowels /a, e, i, o, u/ there occurs a mid-central vowel [œ]. 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: [fás'ak, fós'ak] white; [en'am, ən'am] fish; [pić'ın, pəć'ın] skin; [por'o, por'o] evening; [juw'ur, jow'ur] dog.
2. in words in context; also in the accented position: [jʊ, jə] river; [dəw'et, dəw'ət] elder brother; [dō'nat, dʊ'nat] I (stressed); [jumb'us, jəmb'əs] with bowed head.
   In the second place, it does not alternate with one of the other vowels, for example in [çəm'ən] penis; [sən'ən] elbow; [çəmb'əw] abuse; [j'opərəs] heat; [ənd'əw] mother.
   It also occurs in a number of verbal suffixes, such as: [-ən, -əɾ].
The possibility of this \( \text{[a]} \) occurring only in a consonantal environment in which the other vowels do not occur, is excluded by the occurrence of word pairs, like the following:

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

The following minimal pairs were also found:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[čen]} & \text{ penis; [cin]} \text{ stem of a canoe; [\text{nd'}öw]} \text{ mother; [\text{nd'}öw]} \text{ thatch;}^3 \\
\text{[ıpôr'es]} & \text{ they saw him (from por - to see);} \\
\text{[ıpôr'es]} & \text{ they sat (from ap - to sit).}
\end{align*}
\]

Since \( \text{[a]} \) 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 \( \text{[a]} \) also occurs without alternating with the other vowels, in which cases I found some minimal pairs, it must be regarded as a phoneme /ë/. Cases of alternation must be regarded as cases of phoneme alternation. The phoneme /ë/ is then distinguished from the other vowels by its different behaviour, and because it is the only vowel phoneme without allophones.

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 - è - o/; while at the lowest level only /a/ occurs:

\[
\begin{align*}
i & \quad u \\
e & \quad è \\
o & \quad a
\end{align*}
\]

---

^3 According to my informants, the word \( \text{[\text{nd'}öw]} \) 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 \( \text{[\text{nd'}öw]} \).
From the foregoing it is clear that a rounded allophone of /i/ and /e/ occurs in analogous cases, while a rounded and an unrounded allophone of /u/ and /o/, respectively, occur in analogous cases. Later it will become clear that there is a close connection between /i/ and /u/, and between /e/ and /o/ which manifests itself in their occurrence in word variants (see § 55, 56) and in allomorphs (see § 91, 98).

The consonant phonemes

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labio-dental</th>
<th>inter-dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>alveo-palatal</th>
<th>palat.</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>un-voiced</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>un-voiced</td>
<td>un-voiced</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>un-voiced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>p, pʰ¹</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>č, tʰ²</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricat.</td>
<td>π</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>s, *³</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vibrant flapped</td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trilled</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[ [p^\text{m}, t^\text{m}, k^\text{m}] \].

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-homorganic nasal.

21
/p/ Allophones: [p], [\textipa{\textashine{p}}], [p^\text{\textashine{p}}}].
1. [p] occurs in all positions: [\textipa{\textashine{ep}}] tail; [\textipa{pa}] scale; [\textipa{up'\textashine{u}}] coconut shell; [\textipa{ap'\textashine{\textashine{om}}}] having; [\textipa{kanp'\textashine{\textashine{r}}}] kind of crab.
2. [\textipa{\textashine{p}}] alternates with [p], it would seem, only in the sequence /VpVpV/ [\textipa{ba\textashine{\textashine{p}}\textashine{\textashine{a}}\textashine{\textashine{p}}} ajimb'\textashine{\textashine{u}}\textashine{\textashine{c}}] open it!
3. [p^\text{\textashine{p}}}] 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^*\textashine{\textashine{er}}] name of a village; [p^*\textashine{\textashine{c}}] crab.

22
/t/ [t]. No allophones.
[\textipa{tem}] rattan; [\textipa{bat'\textashine{\textashine{c}}}] gaba-gaba; [\textipa{pit}] python; [\textipa{tatm'a}] nonsense; [\textipa{ajt'\textashine{ur}}] having a high degree of a particular quality.

23
/c/ Allophones: [\textipa{\textashine{c}}], [t'].
1. [\textipa{\textashine{c}}] occurs in all positions, except as the first consonant of a cluster (§ 51): [\textipa{\textashine{cem}}] house; [\textipa{pa\textashine{\textashine{c}}'ak}] bad; [\textipa{ap\textashine{\textashine{c}}'\textashine{om}}] having, supplied with; [\textipa{u\textashine{c}}] iguana.
2. [t'] was found alternating with [\textipa{\textashine{c}}] in final position in the following cases: [\textipa{i\textashine{c}}, it'] thorn; [\textipa{\textashine{fi}c}, fit'] nail.

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

25

/f/  [f]. No allophones.

[fi] empty; [uf'u] kind of shell fish; [of] rotten; [afč'in] the crust of roasted sago; [bat'akfiw] to go downstream into (a house).

26

/s/  Allophones: [s], ['], [š], [θ].

1. [s] occurs in all positions: [si] stone axe; [šs'ę] bag; [esp'et] shoot of the sago palm; [dems'ānākap] slow; [os] tree.

2. ['] alternates with [s] in normal speech, i.e., speech that is neither deliberately slow nor intentionally emphatic. In the cases noted, ['] always occurs after a vowel. The phonetic quality of this allophone is difficult to define by ear. I found it markedly similar to a voiceless glottal fricative [h]. When, however, I deliberately pronounced an [h] in such cases, my informants thought it ridiculous. It is probably a weak alveolar fricative. Regrettably, I have not been successful in reproducing this allophone: [amb'as, amb'a'] sago; [des'en, de'ven] none.

3. [š] and [θ] occur especially in the speech of older people. I got the impression that they are not alternants of [s], but that [č] and [θ] are distributed throughout the vocabulary in a way which varies from person to person.

27

/r/  Allophones: [ɾ], [r].

1. [ɾ] occurs in all positions except in initial position and as the last consonant of a cluster (§ 48, 53): [tēɾ'č] rattan leaf; [arp'uk] far away; [ir] year bird.

2. [ɾ] ~ [r] was found only in the speech of small children and in the speech of the regular informants. It is not beyond question that a consequence of the latter regularly speaking Malay with [ɾ], is their using it now and then in their mother tongue.

28

/w/  [w]. No allophones.

[wu] edible top of the sago palm; [juw'ur] dog; [öw] crocodile; [iwn'im] the water's edge; [k'arwan] dagger made from a croco-
dile's jaw. [w] is often very weak between two identical vowels: [ju"ur] dog; [ni"i] father.

29

/j/ Allophones: [j], [j], [j].

1. [j] occurs in all positions: [jof] hole; [âj'am] name of a village; [ba] foot; [aj'k'un] younger brother; [bât'amjen] name of a woman.

2. [j] and [j] alternate with [j] in initial position: [j'opâres, j'opâres, j'opâres] sweat; [jiw'i, jiw'i, jiw'i] child; [jö, jö] river.

30

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

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

1. The **voiced stop** occurs in initial position, and as second member of the clusters /nm, mn/; in the latter case only if no nasal follows: [b]: [bi] nose; [besn'im] smell; [çap'înbi] land; [d]: [det] ghost; [dew'et] brother; [amd'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'imkam, b'imkam] kind of liana; [m'antam, b'antam] on the lookout; [am'an] bow; [jims'ip] door; [manm'ak, manb'ak] eye; [joqm'en] having supernatural power; ['anm'om] we eat; [tam] morning; [ên] digging stick.

[n]: [namb'îr, damb'îr] dead; [ank'os] centipede; [tamn'am] kind of duck; [akn'im] angry; [jamn'ok, jamd'ok] two; [en'am] fish; [jin'a] knee; [san'en] 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:
   [mem'ap, memb'ap] to sit down; [em'atmôr, emb'atmôr] he cut down; [ên'ôw, and'ôw] mother; [min'ô, mind'ô] 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; [tas'm'a, tasmb'a] beautiful, powerful.

No cases were found of [n] ∼ [nd], though [n] as well as [nd] was found in comparable environments: [kŏk'qjndiew'er] to fall down continually (ripe fruit); as well as: [âk'ajni'ef] it toppled over, broken (of a tree).

31

The consonant system can now be set out as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
p & t & c & k \\
f & s & & \\
m & n & & \\
w & r & j & \\
\end{array}
\]

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: \(\breve{e}\): ê.
prolongation of the vowel by a macron: \(\breve{a}\)
laryngalization by a broken underlining.
the alveopalatal nasal: \(nj\)
the voiceless glottal fricative: \(h\)
\([\acute{m}] : \acute{m}; [ts] : ts; [pr] : pr.\)
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: [we] ouch!
- onomatopoeia: [kekeke] the screaming of the joc bird;
  [äj'ɛ äj'ɛ äj'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 [o], unless they are mimicking a woman. So, a woman will say:

[ji, ndɔr mb'oɛ]  hey, my husband!

And a man will say:

['o nat 'is esçow'ô]  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:

[nɔn 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: [jo:j] exclamation of surprise
  [ba:]  Oh no! Really!

- in onomatopoeia: [sɔp'i', sɔp'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.
22 THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

[ə́] (laryngalized, see § 35) reproducing the screaming of a crowd of people.

In addition, I found the forms [jin'ičáč'ína, jin'ičá] ‘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 [õ], already mentioned in § 33:

[dõrom'umo:] 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:

[ɔ č'ama:] Who are you?
you who
[wu ja č'a jöw'öw mböw'a:] hey there! Who are those people?
hey there which people pp

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

[t'owa:] (they gathered continually) sago grubs.
sago grubs . . . .
['amsėm'b'ese] they slept and slept . . . .
[èr'ën 'dźitepef'e:] upstream /he walked quickly/
he walked quickly further and further upstream.

35

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

[ə́] (voiceless) scream of horror;
[ji'ə́] (voiceless) cry of amazement;
[ú] (voiceless, rising to voiced) war cry;
[jiw'ĩ ěfa t'owtopm'uçə́] quickly, bring the child upstream!
child quickly /bring it upstream/
4. **Palatalization** of the alveolar nasal [n] occurs sometimes in onomatopoeia, in initial position only:

[ŋɛɾ, ŋɛɾ], or [ŋ’omô, ŋ’omô] indicating the gnawing of maggots devouring a corpse, or the gnawing of sago grubs.

[na ŋa ŋa] indicating the murmur when a great crowd of people are talking together.

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

[’m! ō nim jak k’aju k’aju ’čtētērm’h’ar araw ’un]

m! pig like heart thump thump /began it of each to do/ pp pp

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

**Sounds which stand completely by themselves**

1. A voiceless glottal fricative [h] which occurs in the stereotyped sign of agreement [hehe], and in the interjection [ha]! ah!
2. An alveolar click [ts]: an interjection expressing annoyance.
3. A bilabial trill with ‘mouth air’ 7 [pr]: an interjection indicating that one finds something very beautiful or impressive.

**III THE ACCENT**

**Introduction**

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

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7 I owe this term to: K. L. Pike, Phonetics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1958, p. 93.

wide departure from a smooth or undulating contour". By 'departure' Bolinger means a deviation in a contour which then continues in the same pitch — — or — —, as well as a sudden rise — — or fall — —, after which it continues on a higher or a lower level.

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

1. The accented vowel has a higher tone than the rest of the contour:
   
2. The accented vowel has a higher tone than the contour preceding it:
   
3. The accented vowel has a lower tone than the contour preceding it:
   
4. The accented vowel has a higher tone than the contour following it:

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

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

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

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:

- *iririri* imitating the sound produced by many small objects falling down.
- *sēsēsē* imitating the hissing of fire as it is put out.\(^\text{12}\)

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:

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:

- *mimkam* kind of liana
- *iric*\(^\text{13}\) Spanish pepper
- *júwa* kind of grass
- *sīkaf* kind of tree
- *ūmu* crown of a palm tree
- *ūsi* a tree fallen over a river

---

\(^{12}\) 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
náríw  brothers
mácir  an embrace
jípir  to clasp (a large object)
cámwuw  sound of wood being chopped

kófo
káju
cóka
pére

jáka
átar

onomatopoeia indicating a slap, splash or flash.

déctic words (§§ 225, 226).

A number of minimal pairs were found in which the accent appears to be distinctive:
cámwuw 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
jicémúp  the sea

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

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

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

1. The accent falls on the first vowel when the first morpheme has only one vowel:
   \begin{itemize}
   \item \textit{ó.few} relatives
   \item \textit{jó.mopán} bird of paradise.
   \end{itemize}

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):

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

No cases were found of the theoretically possible combination:
\textit{v.'vv'v}

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

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

\textsuperscript{14} In the following paragraphs, the signs given below will be used:
\begin{itemize}
   \item \textit{v} = morpheme with one vowel
   \item \textit{vv} = morpheme with two vowels
   \item \textit{vvv} = morpheme with three vowels
   \item \textit{'v} = accented vowel
   \item \textit{.} = junction between two morphemes, for example: \textit{wa.sén}, the forest.
   \end{itemize}

However, the junction between a verbal core and verbal affixes will be shown by a dash: -, for example: \textit{má-ni.tewer-ic} go home and take it! For the term core, see § 64).
28

THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

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:

jipir.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.

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.

Sequences of two unaccented vowels occur in the following cases:

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

\[ \text{tůw.om.iw.tám} \] to bring something inside for someone;
\[ \text{tůw.om.iw.tám-cemés} \] they will bring it inside for someone.

But: \[ \text{á-mít.áp.m-ac.és} \] when they had stabbed him;

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

\[ \text{pór.jar.awér} \] 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: \( \text{vv.vv} \), in which the first morpheme belongs to the exceptions which always have the accent on the first vowel (see § 41):

\[ \text{úmu.nakáp} \] full
\[ \text{pákaj.amís} \] all to lie together\(^{15}\)

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

\[ \text{mé-tewér} \] to take  - \[ \text{mé-tewer-ic} \] take it!
\[ \text{Tewér.awúc T.} \] - \[ \text{Tewér.awuc.á} \] hey, T! (woman’s name).

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

\[ \text{niwi} \] father  - \[ \text{niwi.á} \] hey, father!

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\(^{15}\) \( \text{pákaj} \) 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:

\[
\text{wun ow nát cem máp emétépákajpites in}
\]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

   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:

   \[
   \text{úsawic banana}
   \]

   \[
   \text{úsawic é banana leaf}
   \]
pomán ‘the other side’

póman cém, póman cém  the houses on both sides (of the river).

/other side/ house, /other side/ house

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 arāw  here lies the (river) Jomót (§ 309).

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

jimsip ónoká  bolt the door! (§ 292).

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 given in §§ 100-103, and in the verbal cores, given in the word list.

IV THE DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES IN THE WORD

Single vowels and consonants

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

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

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15 For this term, see §§ 64-69.
- 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.
poetic words *sēsēsē* hissing of fire as it is put out, and *fēfēfē* the sound of the wind; b) the words with the long final *ē* mentioned in § 34.

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

**Vowel sequences**

49

Here, the following rules apply:

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

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

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

50

The following combinations of vowels were found:

**word-initial:**

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
  aa & a-áp.tak-čr.ěs \quad \text{they went on the way down river} \\
  ae & a-e-r \quad \text{he said} \\
  ao & a-órov.ap.óm-cěm.ěs \quad \text{they repeatedly press} \\
  ea & é.ap.óm \quad \text{to build (a house)} \\
  ei & e.itům \quad \text{to do in the evening} \\
  eo & e-o.f \quad \text{I said}
\end{array}
\]

**word-medial:**

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
  ae & má-enáw-c.aw \quad \text{he must come here} \\
  ai & n.aiům \quad \text{to eat in the evening} \\
  ao & má-okom.čm.tam-ci.n \quad \text{roll it up for me!} \\
  ea & móš-se.áwer-i \quad \text{stay in the water henceforth} \\
  ee & atē.enáw-m.om \quad \text{we come here to summon} \\
  eē & sē.pe-čr.ěs \quad \text{they started out, rowing} \\
  eo & se.okór \quad \text{to float past (on water)}
\end{array}
\]
PHONOLOGY

\[ ia \ ní.ap \] to return and sit down
\[ ie \ tep.si-ér \] upstream he went into a side-stream
\[ iě \ sé.si-čr.ēs \] they entered a side-stream
\[ io \ ni.om.ūw \] to go down to the river and depart (with someone)
\[ iu \ ni.ūw \] to go down to the river and set out
\[ oa \ po.amis \] to sleep with many people together
\[ oe \ ēw.tep.ko-ér \] it fell from above
\[ ua \ mu.amis \] to lie down after bathing
\[ ue \ a-wu-ěf \] he wrapped it up
\[ uě \ tép.kurů-čr.ēs \] upstream they shouted approval
\[ uo \ a-mu-ôr \] he bathed

word-final:
Here, the second vowel is always one of the three vowels: \( a, o \) and \( ě \) which are discussed in § 33 and 34.

\[ ea \ marě.a \] enough!; stop!
\[ eo \ marě.o \] it’s done now
\[ ia \ níwi.á \] father!
\[ iě \ uci.ě \] what’s the matter!
\[ io \ ēm.ams-i.o \] 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: \( ae, ai, au; ě, eu; ĕV; iV; uV. \)
word-medial: \( aČ, au; ei, eu; ĕV; ĕi; oČ, oi, oo, ou; ui, uu. \)
word-final: \( VČ; aV; ei, eu, ee; ĕV; ĕi, ii; oi, oo, ou. \)

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.

The following consonant combinations were found: ¹⁶

- **pt** áp.tak to go on the way down river
- **pc** aϝcóm with, supplied with
  - em.áp-cémá 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  tóp.si  upstream to enter a side-stream
pj  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.i  I stand up
tn  jím.ot.náw  to drag towards
ts  temét.surum  to scratch one’s head
tf  tiw.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  tattoo marks
     ták.por  to go downstream to look at
kt  ták.ti.tiw  to go downstream and put down
kc  akcá  together
     cá-tak-ci  first I must go downstream
km  jokmén  having supernatural power
     a-sak.m-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.tiw  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.ci  I am, I stand (as a man)
mk  omkóc  kind of insect
     ám.kawi  to join
mn  jammók  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  nanwis  shattered

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

fc  afcin  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  taw.pacáj  to scatter in all directions
wt  ażtwó  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
ti.w.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
ev.ni to return from
ws jousép baby
Súw.simit Suw senior (proper name)
wf aréw.faj to assemble
wj táw·jimir.se.m to launch (a number of canoes)
jp aǰpáw fine!
jt aǰtiřr having a high degree of a particular quality
jc se.taj·cêm.ēs they will arrive (by canoe)
jk aǰkún younger brother
tép.taj.kú to go upstream and land
jm ájimir.ēm to be lost
se.taj·m.ēs they arrive (by canoe)
jn aǰnim now
sáj.ni to return (many people)
js mí+jaw cumulus cloud
páj.se to turn off (in a canoe)
jj faj jot cocoon
páj.fir.áp when sitting to turn round
rp arpjuk far away
mér.papúj to head off by going upstream
rt pór.tew.ēt to be on the lookout for a woman to marry
rc arcér main stream
a-poř-cí if I see him
rk jirká kind of grass
jir.ku to cross a river and land
rm karmák kind of snail
a-poř-m.i I see him
rn jirnó half burnt (of wood)
mér.ni to go downstream to look for food
rs parsá scattered, dispersed
áp.ter.si 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

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

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.

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

\[
jifó - jufó \quad \text{cold}
\]
\[
jiwús - juwús \quad \text{name}
\]
\[
jimsíp - juncíp \quad \text{door}
\]
\textbf{PHONOLOGY}

\textit{nùw} - \textit{nùwùw} to go aboard and depart
\textit{jikurûm} - \textit{jûkûrûm} to squeeze out all (sago pulp)
\textit{jir} - \textit{jur} white cockatoo

56

Pairs of variants of which the one member has \textit{e}, whereas the second has \textit{o}, are:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Kosér} - \textit{Kosór} name of a ceremonial house in Jepem
\item \textit{onéw} - \textit{onôw} thatch
\item \textit{oweréw} - \textit{owerôw} adult males
\item \textit{owerós} - \textit{owerôs} husband
\item \textit{ses} - \textit{sos} dry palm leaves
\end{itemize}

57

Pairs of variants of which the one member has \textit{c}, whereas the other member has \textit{t}:\footnote{The phonemes \textit{c} en \textit{t} were probably differentiated rather late in the history of this dialect. This is suggested by the close relationship between \textit{c} and \textit{t}, which appears from their distribution and their role in word-variation and also from the fact that the phoneme \textit{c} does not occur in the dialects spoken in the interior and along the Casuarinen Coast.}

Words which in isolation always have a final \textit{e}, in context alternate freely with a form with final \textit{t}; for example:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{moc} crying
\item \textit{arám mot, moc, mot, mot, mot} . . . he cried and cried and cried . . .
\item he crying . . .
\end{itemize}

Variants with non-final \textit{c} and \textit{t} are:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ci} - \textit{ti} canoe
\item \textit{cakás} - \textit{takás} all
\item \textit{cesén} - \textit{tesén} outside
\item \textit{tépacés} - \textit{tépatés} when they had gone upstream, . . .
\end{itemize}

58

Pairs of variants of which the one member has \textit{w}, which is absent in the other, are:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{fawic} - \textit{fait} jokes
\item \textit{maríw} - \textit{marí} \{ \textit{ready, finished}
\item \textit{marèw} - \textit{maré}
\item \textit{fiwomiwèmés} - \textit{fiomicèmès} they go with him inside (the house)
\end{itemize}
When \( w \) occurs in the one variant between two identical vowels, the other variant has \( V \) instead of \( VwV \):

- \( kwu\acute{u}s \) - \( kus \) head
- \( ni\acute{w} \) - \( ni \) father
- \( nuw\acute{u}w \) - \( nuw \) to go aboard and depart
- \( te\acute{e}r \) - \( ter \) to take

59

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

- \( Majit \) - \( Ma\acute{a}t \) name of a ceremonial house in Surú
- \( iw\acute{j}is \) - \( iw\acute{i}s \) to go quickly to the forest
- \( \acute{e}wtepko\acute{e}r \) - \( \acute{e}wtepko\acute{e}r \) (the fruit) fell from above

60

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

- \( \acute{a}jimsomic\acute{e}mes \) - \( \acute{a}jimsomitmes \) they pull him up with them
- \( manuw\acute{u}w \) - \( manuw\acute{u}w \) (in order) to go aboard and depart
- \( a\acute{j}s\acute{i}c \) - \( a\acute{j}\acute{s}ic \) go to the forest!
- \( mis\acute{a}ti \) - \( misti \) stand up!
- \( m\acute{a}pac\acute{a}jku\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{a}s \) - \( m\acute{a}pc\acute{a}jku\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{a}s \) (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.

61

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. \( m\acute{a}sinerim, m\acute{a}snerim, masirim, mis\acute{e}rim, m\acute{a}sni\acute{m} \) then, thereupon.
2. \( mar\acute{i}w, mar\acute{e}w; mari, mar\acute{e} \) ready, finished.
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

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

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

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

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

General survey of the structure of verbal forms

Core and peripheral part

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. The morphemes that can occur as a core of a verb, for example:
   
ap to sit;  \( t\)ak to go downstream;  \( t\)ew\( \varepsilon \)r 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:  \( e\)n  \( m\)er  \( a\)m\( \acute{e}\)s
   not occurring as a core:  \( e\)n  \( m\)er  \( a\)m\( \acute{e}\)s
   to go upstream  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:
siri quick (adjective)  áp.siri to break into a run
kiki close together (adjective)  kiki.m to put close together.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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:

\[ \text{co 'hidden' in cores as: } \text{có.ap to sit hidden;} \]
\[ \text{co.m to hide something (co + formative -m/Vm, cf § 81).} \]

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 \textit{naw 'coming'} and \textit{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:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{I. } & \text{Those, consisting of a root} \\
\text{II. } & \text{Those, consisting of more than one root} \\
\text{III. } & \text{Those, consisting of a root + one or more formatives} \\
\text{IV. } & \text{Those, consisting of more than one root + one or more formatives.}
\end{align*} \]

The following symbols will be used here:

- \( \text{R} \) = root
- \( \text{f-} \) = prefixed formative
- \( \text{-f} \) = suffixed formative
- \( \text{fi, placed before R} \) = infixed formative.
I. R  
   *ap* to sit; *onór* to carry something on the back

II. RR  
   *tęp.ap* to go upstream and stay
   RRR  
   *ni.matiw* to return and chop down

III. f-R  
   *éw.niw* to return from
   fiR  
   *s.om.it* 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  
   *jik.tam.pór* to try to tie something up for someone
   f-R-f  
   *sák.sáká.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  
   *fám.tiw* to burn a lying object
   RfiR  
   *jim.s.om.it* to pull someone up
   Rf-R  
   *tów.o.ni* to bring something to the river
   R-ff-R  
   *fá.m.o.p* to sit by someone until the morning
   RR-f-f  
   *nitéiw.tam.pór* to try to put down on behalf of someone
   f-Rf-R  
   *éw.ní.om.íw* to go down from (the house) and go aboard with (something)
   f-R-fR  
   *ó.fasi.m.tewér* to take up where one left off (a story)
   R-fR-f  
   *takám.né.m* to cause to go below through an opening
   f-RR-f  
   *ó.wu.ap.óm* to bury something again
   RR-fR  
   *jís.kái.m.tiw* 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-RR  
   *si.sí.m.ka.kámí.m.tiw* 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
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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Co} & \quad \text{tewér} \quad \text{to take} \\
p \text{Co} & \quad \text{mé-tewér} \quad \text{in order to take} \\
\text{Co} \ s & \quad \text{tēwer-ic} \quad \text{take it!} \\
\text{Co} \ ss & \quad \text{tewér-m.ēm} \quad \text{you take it} \\
\text{Co} \ sss & \quad \text{tewér-m.ēm.ōm} \quad \text{we take you} \\
\text{Co} \ ssss & \quad \text{tewér-m.ēm.ēm} \quad \text{are you taking me?}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Co} & \quad \text{por} \quad \text{to see} \\
p \text{Co} \ s & \quad \text{emē-por-i} \quad \text{I have seen him (today)} \\
p \text{Co} \ ss & \quad \text{emē-por-n.ēm} \quad \text{you have seen me (today)} \\
p \text{Co} \ sss & \quad \text{emē-por-ān.ēm.ēm} \quad \text{have you seen me (today)?} \\
p \text{Co} \ ssss & \quad \text{emē-por-m.ān.ēm.ēm} \quad \text{can you see me now?} \\
\text{pp} \text{ Co} \ s & \quad \text{emē-pa-porr-an (ēw)} \quad \text{has he perhaps seen it (today)} \\
\text{pp} \text{ Co} \ ss & \quad \text{emē-pa-porr-an.ēm (ēw)} \quad \text{have you seen him perhaps (today)} \\
\text{pp} \text{ Co} \ sss & \quad \text{emē-pa-porr-ān.ēm.ēm (ēw)} \quad \text{have you seen me perhaps? (today)} \\
\text{pp} \text{ Co} \ ssss & \quad \text{emē-pa-porr-m.ān.ēm.ēm (ēw)} \quad \text{can you perhaps see me now?}
\end{align*}
\]

**Core-morphology**

*Formatives which occur prefixed to a root*

71

\( \text{em/om-} \) This formative was only found with the roots \( \text{amīs, to lie;} \)
\( \text{ap, to sit;} \) \( \text{em, to stand;} \) \( \text{tep, to be above;} \) \( \text{se, to be on or in the water.} \)
\( \text{om-} \) only occurs in combination with the formative \( o/om/ot/oc-(\text{§ 76}) : \)
\( \text{om.ōp} \) to go and sit by someone.
\( \text{om.o.mis} \) 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, 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.

*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.

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

*tep* to go upstream (rowing or walking); *irim.tep* to walk upstream with many people.

Found in 6 cores.

*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.

---

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.

- occurs before a consonant.
- 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.

- occurs with:

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

The following roots, after o-, have an allomorph without initial vowel:
ap  : o.p  to sit with, by; or, busy with something
em  : o.m  to stand with, by; busy with
amis  : o.mis  to lie with, by; busy with
es  : o.s  to come here with; busy with

om-  occurs with:
jir/ir  : óm.ir  to cross the river with; towards someone
jis/is/us  : óm.is  to go landwards with; towards someone
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 : jón.is to come outside with
fiw : jón.iw to go inside with
sit : són.it to stand up with
(There occurs also a form fiw.öm.iw, which has the same meaning as fóm.iw; 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
téw 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.
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; ēr.erém to tear something to pieces.
- si.m to shift something; si.si.m to shift something repeatedly.
- ciki.m, ci.ciki.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
- āp.epér to make test holes.

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

- si to dig(in); ā-si.si.si.si-āc after he had dug them in (the glowing coals in the ashes).

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. amis, 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.
52  THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>positional roots</th>
<th>directional roots</th>
<th>other roots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ew-</strong></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jam-</strong></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>o/or-</strong></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>o/om/ot/oc-</strong></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tew-</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>em/om-</strong></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pákaj-</strong></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>irim-</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>reduplication</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ = found  — = not found

**Formatives which occur suffixed to a root**

81

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

-**m** occurs:

1. After a vowel:
   
   *kawi* to add oneself to; *kawi.m* to add something to.

   *an/na* to eat (see § 98); *na.m* to cause to eat, to give to eat.

   Of roots which have two allomorphs, one with and one without final *j* or *w*, the allomorph without *j* or *w* always occurs with this formative:

   *sakáj* to be broken; *saká.m* to break something.

   *uw* to go aboard; *u.m* to cause to go aboard.

2. After a consonant, when a vowel follows the formative:

   *ap* to sit; *áp.om* to cause to sit; *ap.m-ór* he made him sit.

-**-Vm** occurs:

   After a consonant, if no vowel follows the formative.

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

   *tak* to go downstream; *ták.am* to cause to go downstream.

   *onór* to carry something on the back; *onór.om* to cause to carry something on the back.
Exceptions to this rule are:
ap to sit; áp.om to cause to sit.
tep to go upstream; têt.om, tâp.om to cause to go upstream.

In three cases suffixation of \(-Vm\) occurs simultaneously with infixation of \(-Vm\):
sit to get up; s.ûm.ut.ûm to cause to get up.
fiw to go inside; f.ûm.ûm to cause to go inside.
jis to come inside, to come outside; f.ûm.us.ûm to cause to come inside, or outside.

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

Two positional roots cannot be combined with \(-m/Vm\):
em can mean ‘to stand’ as well as ‘to cause to be stood up, to put down’ (of a ‘standing’ object)
amis, to lie, does not occur with the meaning ‘to lay, to put down’ (a ‘lying’ object); in place of it, another root is used: tiw, to lay, to put down.

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

(ja) 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 pû.m.em to stay somewhere until the sun rises.

(jis to go outside):
pîr jamnôk jis.m.ap
moon two
to stay somewhere until two ‘months’ have elapsed.

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

\[ ni.ta.m, \] having apparently the same meaning as the underlying form \[ ni.ta.j \] 'to return and reach', in:

\[ támnakap \ ni.ta.m-or \]

/morning-a-bit / she arrived/

she arrived (home) towards the end of the morning,

when compared with:

\[ cém norpá ma.ni.táj \]

I 'Il 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.

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:

\[ fék, fak (adjective) broken, damaged; fak.ám to break, to damage. \]

\[ kapi (adjective) shut, closed; kapi.m to shut, to close. \]

\[ kiki close together (adjective); kiki.m to put closely together. \]

\[ parsá, parsá disorderly, scattered about here and there (adjective?); parsá.m to scatter. \]

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

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

\[-kurúm \] 'all, totally'

\[ auw to roast; áuw.kurúm to roast everything. \]

\[ jirán ripe; jirán e to become ripe; jirán e.kurúm to become squashy. \]

Found in 41 cores.
88
-\textit{por} ‘to try, to be able to’
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{an/na} to eat; \textit{ná.por} to try to eat, to taste.
    \item \textit{e.m} to make something; \textit{é.m.por} to try to make something; to be able to make something.
  \end{itemize}
  Found in 25 cores.

89
-\textit{tam} ‘for, on behalf of’
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{aw} to roast; \textit{áw.tam} to roast for.
    \item \textit{onów je} to make thatch
      \begin{itemize}
        \item \textit{thatch make}
      \end{itemize}
    \item \textit{onów je.tam} to make thatch for someone; to help to make thatch.
  \end{itemize}
  Found in 76 cores.

90
-\textit{totór} ‘everyone for himself, each individually’
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{wu} bundle, wrapped in sago leaves; \textit{wu wu} to make a bundle, wrapping it in sago leaves; \textit{wu wú.totór} each person to make for himself sago leaf bundles.
    \item \textit{e} to say; \textit{é.totór} to say, each person for himself.
  \end{itemize}
  Found in 10 cores.

Finally, there are four suffixed formatives, -\textit{itum}, -\textit{es}, -\textit{it}, and -\textit{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.\footnote{3 A survey of these categories can be found in §104, 105.}

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

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

  The allomorph containing \textit{u} instead of \textit{i} or absence of vowel, or \textit{o} instead of \textit{e, ē}, occurs only:
— after p, w, or f, when these consonants are preceded by a con-
sonant, 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, ē, always occurs:
atów e to play
play /to do/
atów e.itúm to play in the afternoon.
é.m.itúm to stand during the afternoon.
é.m.utúm to make during the afternoon.
taw to talk; táw.utúm to talk in the afternoon.

-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.

-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.
fáw to spear (plural object);
énám 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.

-auér/ewér/ewir/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:

- **awèr** occurs in forms of category 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 23.
- **ewèr** occurs in forms of category 5, 6, 7 and 23.
- **ewir** 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.awèr-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.awèr** to catch crabs continually at night.
  - **jisín ak.it.awèr** to gather coconuts all the morning.

The informants also translated these four formatives as meaning ‘many’:

- **jisín ak.it-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.es-m.om** we caught many crabs (at night).

**Sequences of formatives**

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 always 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.

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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.čm 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, -awér/ewér/ewir/a
\{-it/ut

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

**Root-allomorphs**

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

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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.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
e-o.f & \quad \{ \quad \text{I said} \\
j-o.f & \quad \{ \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
é.ap.óm & \quad \text{to build (a house)}; \\
á-j.ap.m-ór & \quad \text{he built (a house)}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

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
- fis/fuw to go inside
- sit/sut to stand up

fis, fis, 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.tw* to bring inside; and in the core *tow.okop* to swallow.

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-i* I am lying here.
   *áms.es* to come swimming towards (said of fish)
   *kámi.ams-ér* he lay after having collapsed
   *kámi.amis* 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 ≠ 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.
á.n-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.

mów ap  to work loose fibres from the roots of the pandan tree.
/pandan fibres/
m.o.ap-úc  work (the fibres) loose again!
mów p.a-m.ár  she was busy working loose the fibres
tow pá.téwér  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.in  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
   *ní.m.us* to disappear into the forest.

Lists of unidentified morphemes, and of residual forms

[100]

1. 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: *fajpw*; + -m/Vm: *fam, famasam, famsem, enawfam*.

4. *fajim* to put in order; to arrange neatly. See: *fajim, tatafajim-tiw*.

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 laden. See: *jirikaj*; + -m/Vm: *jirim* (reduced), *jirmotep, nijirimuw*.

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

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

10. *kaj, oko* to break off; to set out. See: *emkoj, kojir, kokojni, takokojir, tepokojir, tiwkoj*; + -m/Vm: *kom/okom, amkoman, emkom, jisokomtiw, komtewer, kokomtaw, okomtewam, okomentumam, okomse, okmoni, okotew, okkom*.

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, pêri* to turn round. See: *papêrini, popêriomat*; + -m/Vm: *parem/pêrem, kupapêremapom, papêrimop, tepomparem, tiwpopêrem*.

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

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*.

101

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, akakapihu*.

4. *as* ‘away’. See: *anicukas, nakurumas, eas, jisas, kikicukomas, kukuas, pacajkukuas*; + -m/Vm: *nasam, emasam, famasam, jalimasam, jawasan, pumasam, sasakamasam, siasam, tawasan, tewerasam, tiwiriasam, cunasam, wiasam*.

5. *awer* to be at the edge of something; to be at the extreme part of something. See: *awerfis, niawerap, apawerjotak, awawerjar* (reduplicated); + -m/Vm: *awermtiw, awaweremkum*.

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, metotecin*; + -m/Vm: *metenaw, meteneman, metemtewer*.

8. *naw* coming. See: *enaw, enawap, konaw/kunaw, konawamis, konawap, konawmesem, konawjim, 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, jiawuem*; + -m/Vm: *jiawumtotor*.

11. *jiniw* (walking) with many, with all. See: *tewjiniwamis, tew-jiniwem, tewjiniwejar*; + -m/Vm: *jinimtimewer, tewjiniim*.

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

14. *kuri, kuru* to agree with. See: *tepkuri, 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, cotiwpop, comom.*

21. *cuk, cuku* to disappear, to go out of sight, to he out of sight. See: *anicukas, namicuku, jicuku, pacaucuku, animcuku, cukem, kikicukomas; + -m/Vm: parsamcukum.*

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

102

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, jumamtap, kapumamtepor, kikuram, omamtepor.*

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, atamisom, atamtepor, atamum, atamompor, jiwatamap.*

6. *awum* to stick something in the hair. See: *teawum.*

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

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

11. *fes* to stick fast; to be unable to get free. See: *nifesap, nifesop-omit.*
12. *jinimin* all around. See: *jininame.*
13. *jir* to bend; to stretch (a bow); to split. See: *jirap, jirem, jirpor, jirse.*
15. *jirw* jigging up and down. See: *jirwutum.*
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.*
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.*
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.*

103

*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: *mes-akajipirem, 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, emastam-tewer*.
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*.
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, akakapi pu, 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*.
WORD-CLASSES

35. suw  A. See: suwap, suwem, suwomis, jisuwap, nisuwem, suwumomis/sunomis, suwumop/sunop, mersuwem.
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: evtopomsirim.
44. caj  AB. See: cajkurum, cajomat.
45. caci  AB. (tightly packed). See: caciap, caciom.
46. urum  AB. See: atamurum, urumni.
47. ucim  AB. See: pururumucintiw.
48. wani  AB. See: temetwanioc.
49. vari  A. (all at once). See: varitemet.
50. warim  AB. See: warimomas.

WORD-MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

104

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>1. por</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. por-ic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. mó-por</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. mó-por-ájmos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. mó-por-ic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. á-por-ców</td>
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<td></td>
<td>10. a-por-cí</td>
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<td></td>
<td>12. á-por-cěmí</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13. á-por-cěmóp</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16. á-por-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17. á-por-óf</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20. á-por-iti</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22. á-poréwir-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23. á-por-měró</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24. ap-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</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-characterised category as opposed 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.awúj 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.i  I see him
   á-por-m.ém you see him
   á-por-m.én.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.
The 24 categories given in the scheme are as follows:

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

II.

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

   *por-*ic seeing (?)

3. A category of repetitive forms:

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

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

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

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

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-*ic look!

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

   á-*por-*ców do look!

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

   á-*por-*cī if I see him.

11. A category of optative forms:

   tá-*por-*cāj had I but seen him.

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

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

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

12. á-por-cēmi I shall see, I am accustomed to look at
13. á-por-cēmóp I was accustomed to look at
14. á-por-mi 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-ōf I saw him (med. past)
18. á-por-aci After I had seen it (ult. past)
19. á-por-arō After I had seen it (med. past)
20. á-por-iti I had seen him (ult. past)
21. á-por-ītó 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 ēwir occurs.

á-porēwir-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-mērō I saw him again each day.

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

ap-i 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/į 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 Mis tetám, ē a niwi tetám, iním 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 amapôm 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:

\[ \textit{pók tatáfajimtìw akát} \] the things were neatly put down (§ 268).

\[ \text{things /neatly put down/ properly} \]

\[ \textit{ci jicëmùp a pànijnìs} \] canoe sea there /to turn downstream and go out/

\[ \text{the canoe had turned downstream and drifted out on sea (§ 339).} \]

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:

\[ \textit{jurs-úc} \] longing for : \textit{jurùs} to long for.

\[ \textit{mokót tewer-ic} \] an inherited sago garden (§ 329).

\[ \text{sgo garden / having acquired} \]

\[ \textit{Jépem ów por-ic} \] thinking of the people of Jepem (§ 322).

\[ \text{Jepém people 'seeing'} \]

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

\[ \text{sending on / to send on} \]

\[ \textit{cowúc mòc am komapm-úc araw un} \]

\[ \text{woman wailing pp /was doing/ pp pp} \]

\[ \text{the woman was wailing continually (§ 300).} \]

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

\[ \textit{a hari Minggu} \] 7 cowák jiwi takás áj mûpicîn a-táwat-ic

\[ \text{this Sunday one children all new clothes receiving} \]

\[ \text{this very Sunday all the children will get new clothes.} \]

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

\[ ^7 \text{hari Minggu: loan-word from Malay.} \]
3 The -a category

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, /inim cowák, / inim 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 jukúmtiaw-á fáfaw-á, arásen jukúmtiaw-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

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 mi-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/

\(\text{Ac ma-ja}s\ s\ \text{opén}\)
Ac /want to go to/ people pp
are there people who want to go to (the village) Ac?

\(\text{énéw mú m-aw daprū}^8 \ emi\text{w-ér}\)
mother water /to boil/ kitchen /she went into/
mother went into the kitchen to boil water.

2. to have to, to be necessary to:

\(\text{akát ceps mo-cmopawér}\)
comely women /must be kept hidden/
you must keep comely women hidden (in the house) (§ 330).

\(\text{nā m-uapóm arow án}^8 \ emi\text{w-ér}\)
we /must bury/ pp pp

3. ‘to be able to, to be allowed to’, if the postposition \text{pen} follows:

\(\text{nó a cém mi-fís pen}\)
may I come inside this house?
I this house /can come in/ pp

111

I obtained, in addition, \(\text{m-}/\text{m}\text{v-}\) 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 “\text{ma-jár}”. “What’s ‘to take’?” - “\text{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 \(\text{m-}/\text{m}\text{v-}\) 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 \(\text{m}/\text{m}\text{v-}\)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':

\[
\begin{align*}
nó & \text{ capinmi ma-} \text{konáwams-áji} \\
& \text{I land /usually go to sleep/} \\
& \text{I shall make it my custom to go on the land to sleep (says a crocodile).} \\
cár & \text{ mo-} \text{kójniewer-éji araw án} \\
& \text{you /always to fall down/ pp pp} \\
& \text{must you always fall down (§ 226)?} \\
ná & \text{ inim as m-em-áji pów} \quad \text{we don’t usually do such a thing (§ 287).} \\
& \text{we such /a thing / usually to do/ not}
\end{align*}
\]

6 The -ájmos category

113

The following forms were noted:

\[
\begin{align*}
&m/mV- \text{ core } -\text{mos} \\
&m/mV- \text{ core } -\text{ájmos} \\
&\text{core } -\text{ámos} \\
&\text{core } -\text{ájmos/éjimos}.
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[ \text{é wasén m-amus-ájmos o cépés akát} \]
\[ \text{yonder forest /go with/ your wives comely} \]
\[ \text{now, you go with your comely wives to the forest! (as is usual).} \]

\[ \text{atów, ci ak-ájmosó}^{10*} \text{ Come, now make a canoe!} \]
\[ \text{come, canoe /make it now/} \]

(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).

\[ \text{Owpacákipic, ci jén inim émewer-éjimos} \]
\[ \text{O. canoe sound /like this / you should always have been making!/} \]
\[ \text{Owpacákipic, you should always have been making canoes for us!} \]

7 The -ájpurúw category

114

The following forms were noted:

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

Like the forms of the -ájmos category, I could not find any difference in meaning between forms with and without a prefix. -éjpurúw 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:

\[^{10*}\text{For the final } o \text{ in } akájmosó, \text{ see § 33.}\]
inim as em-ájpuruwa you mustn't do such a thing!
/like this/ something /you must not do/

pók piri emewer-éjipuruwa
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 -ájpuruw and forms with -ájmos stands out clearly in the following case:

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

8 The imperative category

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

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

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

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

10b For the final a in all these examples see § 34.
Paradigms of the imperative forms: 11

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

| I.  | a.   | an-ic/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 |

|    |     | zero, a-, m-/mV-, p-/pV- | direct imperative |
| A. |     |                         |                  |
| B. |     |                         | postponed imperative |


| I.  | a.   | iwi-c  | por-ic/i  | look!     |
|     | b.   | iwi-cej | pór-cej  | you should look at it |
| II. |     | iwi-cen/cin | pór-cen/cin/en/in | look at me |
| III. |     | iwi-cawúj | pór-cawúj/awuj | look at us |

|    |     | zero, a-/aj-/an-, m-/mV-, p-/pV- | direct imperative |
| A. |     |                         |                  |
| B. |     |                         | postponed imperative |

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

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

Formal characteristics.

117
Modal suffix: -c.
-c occurs after the suffix of object category I, and alternates freely with zero;
-c occurs before the suffix of object categories II and III. In these cases, -c alternates freely with zero, when the core ends in r.

Object suffixes:
I. a. -i/-u; -i and -u are conditioned allomorphs. According to the rule formulated in § 91 (/iitum/utum) 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.
Category 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-i, a-por-i 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/

- jewir 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-cémokóm, akát pok tòwos-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-ic (pomáteweric) chop it down soon and take it!

9 The hortative category

119
In this category the following subject categories are distinguished:
THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

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.

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-casin | pór-casin | 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 ≠ 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- ów-car! let us scrape out sago!
  sago /let us scrape it out!/
- inim a- án-cow! eat it up!
  /this way / eat it!/
- m-án-ca! let us eat it!
- atów p-ó-car! let us play!
  play /let us!/
- má-jirpor-im both of you cross now (to the other side of the river).
Subdivision into subject- and object-categories

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

The object-categories are those mentioned in § 115.

The subject-categories are as follows:

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subj. cat.</th>
<th>obj. cat.</th>
<th>no.</th>
<th>I - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers. s.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>I - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>I - you, you (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. pers. s.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>you - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>you - me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>you - us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers. s.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>he - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>he - me, you, you (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>he - us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers. pl.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>we - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>we - you, you (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. pers. pl.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>you - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>you - me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>you - us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers. pl.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>they - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>they - you, you (pl.), me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>they - us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers. dual</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>both of them - him, them, etc., or: absence of object</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the paradigms, the verbal forms will be given in the order as above.\textsuperscript{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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes indicating the object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes indicating the subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. pers. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. pers. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers. pl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-

\textsuperscript{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>formal</th>
<th>informal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tetám-ci</td>
<td>tetám-cki</td>
<td>if I see him¹³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tetám-cin</td>
<td>tetám-cri</td>
<td>if I see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tetám-cem</td>
<td>tetám-cerim</td>
<td>if you see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. tetám-ceném</td>
<td>tetám-erinem</td>
<td>if you see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. tetám-cawóm</td>
<td>tetám-erawom</td>
<td>if you see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/8. tetám-caw</td>
<td>tetám-eraw</td>
<td>if he sees him, us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. tetám-cen</td>
<td>tetám-cerên</td>
<td>if he sees me, you;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>if they see you (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. tetám-com</td>
<td>tetám-crom</td>
<td>if we see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tetám-cenóm</td>
<td>tetám-cernóm</td>
<td>if we see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. tetám-cokom</td>
<td>tetám-erkóm</td>
<td>if you see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. tetám-cenkóm</td>
<td>tetám-erkom</td>
<td>if you see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tetám-cawkóm</td>
<td>tetám-erawkóm</td>
<td>if you see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. tetám-ces</td>
<td>tetám-erés</td>
<td>if they see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. tetám-cenés</td>
<td>tetám-ernés</td>
<td>if they see me, you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. tetám-cawós</td>
<td>tetám-erawós</td>
<td>if they see us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

128

Modal suffixes: -<i>c</i>; -<i>er</i>/-<i>ër</i>/zero.\textsuperscript{15}

-<i>c</i> occurs with the formal forms.

The following occur with the informal forms:

-<i>er</i> before C

-<i>ër</i> before V; after the core-final <i>r</i>, zero always occurs.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:

III. in forms 6/8 zero occurs instead of -<i>aw</i>.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

3rd. pers. s. in forms 6/8: -<i>aw</i> 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 -<i>es</i> of the 3rd. pers. pl., the object suffix -<i>en</i> only relates to the speaker and the person spoken to:

<i>tetám-cēnēs</i> 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:

<i>tetám-cen</i>  

a. if he gives it to me, you, you (pl.)

b. if they give it to you (pl.).

Prefixes

A. zero, <i>a-</i>:

<a>-</a> was only found before cores having one vowel and beginning with a consonant. An exception is the core <i>tewēr</i> to take, of which forms were found with and without prefix <i>a-</i>.

\textsuperscript{15} For reasons unknown to me the informants always used the informal forms with cores ending in <i>es</i>, <i>it</i> and <i>awēr</i>, and the formal forms with cores ending in <i>itūm</i>:

\texttt{kārtu atōw ē.it-ērī, ē.es-ērī, ē.awēr-i, ē.itūm-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 <i>it</i> and <i>es</i> and the informal forms with cores ending in <i>itūm</i> (ā-<i>pores</i>-<i>ci</i>, ā-<i>pori</i><i>ūtūm</i>-<i>ērī</i>).

After <i>awēr</i>, however, the modal suffix is always zero so that the contrast formal-informal does not occur:

ā-<i>porāwer-i</i> if I continually look at..... (formal & informal).
B. \textit{m-/ma-/maj-}: 
\textit{ma-} occurs before C and V \( \neq a \). 
\textit{m-} occurs before \( a \), except with the positional roots \( ap \) to sit, and \( amis \) to lie: here, \textit{maj-} occurs.

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

D. \textit{ca-/ta-}: only in one case did I note \textit{ta-} occurring instead of \textit{ca-}.

\textit{Categorial meaning}

\textbf{127}
A. Forms with prefix \textit{a-}, or without prefix:
these have a conditional meaning:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{fakán a-kám-ci, móm-emsiri-c} if I scream, then run away quickly!
  \item \textit{scream /if I give / run away quickly/!}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{128}
B. Forms with prefix \textit{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:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{inim atakám m-apómkuru-cóm} we must tell him about it (§ 343).
  \item \textit{this story /we must tell him/}
  \item \textit{máj-ap-čráw} he must remain sitting.
  \item \textit{máj-ams-čráw, máj-amis-caw} it must remain lying.
  \item \textit{má-emtěp-caw} it must remain hanging.
  \item \textit{má-tep-črěs} they must go upstream.
\end{itemize}

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.

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

\[ \text{pók mi-} \text{jitúm-} \text{cēnemó}^{15a} \text{ don't throw things at me the whole evening!} \]
thing /don't throw at me in the evening/

\[ \text{mót se m-òwawer-} \text{ém} \]
wailing mud /don't you always roll in it/
don't continually roll in the mud, wailing (§ 299).

\[ \text{papis a-} \text{tám-} \text{cokóm} \]
/exchange women / do not do/
you cannot make an exchange of women with her (§ 330)!

\[ \text{man mi tiwot-} \text{çrém} \]
/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:

\[ \text{m-òwórse p-} \text{é-} \text{cemá}^{15b} \]
/to travel to and fro / you must not/

\[ \text{mu-} \text{cúcúm p-} \text{e-} \text{tém, p-} \text{e-} \text{tokóm} \]
to make noise / don't do it!/
you (sing., pl.) must not make such a noise!

180

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

\[ \text{camním ca-} \text{emáp-} \text{ci} \]
/in the proper way / I must first go and sit/
first, I must go and sit down in the proper way (§ 291).

\[ \text{cá-} \text{wijispor-} \text{ín}^{16} \]
let me first go quickly to the forest to look at it.

There was one case in which \( ta- \) occurred instead of \( ca- \):

\[ \text{no tá-} \text{tak-} \text{ci} \]
/I must first go down the river/
I must first go down the river (before you close it off).

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

```
ucim caj è-cem  what are you going to do?
which scheme /you do?/

cá a-tewér-cau  who will take it?
who /will take it?/
```

See also the discussion on interrogatives, § 234.

11 The optative category

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

Paradigms:

*tetám* to give; *por* to see

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>formal</th>
<th>informal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tetám-caj</td>
<td>tetám-aráj</td>
<td>por-áj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-can</td>
<td>tetám-aran</td>
<td>por-án</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-carém</td>
<td>tetm-ararém</td>
<td>por-arém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-carném</td>
<td>tetám-ararném</td>
<td>por-arném</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-carawóm</td>
<td>tetám-arárawóm</td>
<td>por-árawóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-car</td>
<td>tetám-arár</td>
<td>por-ár</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-carén</td>
<td>tetám-ararén</td>
<td>por-arén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-caraw</td>
<td>tetám-araráw</td>
<td>por-aráw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-carnó</td>
<td>tetám-ararnó</td>
<td>por-arnó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-carkó</td>
<td>tetám-ararkó</td>
<td>por-arkó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-carnokó</td>
<td>tetám-arárñokó</td>
<td>por-árñokó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-carawkó</td>
<td>tetám-araráwkom</td>
<td>por-aráwkom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-carés</td>
<td>tetám-ararés</td>
<td>por-arés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-carnés</td>
<td>tetám-ararnés</td>
<td>por-arnés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-carawós</td>
<td>tetám-araráwos</td>
<td>por-aráwos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. t-/ta-
**Formal characteristics**

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**

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.

\[ ó a-tówof áj, néš t-on-cán \]
- 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 ense-res áj nat, mú namir eme-áf-ores in
sea on /like this / they were/ pp pp water dead /they were already/ pp
had they been on the sea, then they would by now have met their
deaths in the water.

12 The habitual category

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

Paradigms: see pp. 94-95
I noted the following interrogative forms:

1. tetám-cêmaní shall I give him
3. tetám-cêmaném will you give him
6. tetám-cêmán will he give him
9. tetám-cêmanóm shall we give him
11. tetám-cêmanókóm will you give him
14. tetám-cêmanés will they give him

Formal characteristics

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

17 For the discussion on this, see § 252.
WORD-CLASSES

-čem in all non-mood forms, and in mood-form 6 (before mood suffix -op).
-če before mood suffix -p when -p is followed by a vowel ≠ u.
-ču 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.
-čp 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: -čraw occurs before vowels; -araw occurs word-finally and before consonants.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:
1st. pers. s.; after the mood suffix -p: final -uj, medial -u.
3rd. pers. s.; in the formal and informal series: when the object suffix is zero: -ar alternating with -a. -ar and -a alternate freely, except when, in context, the form is followed by a word with initial vowel. In that case, this suffix is always -ar.

Prefixes:
A. zero/a-/aj-:

\(^{18}\) Here I noted only one mood-form of a care 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>before -op</th>
<th>before -p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>without awér</td>
<td>-čem</td>
<td>-če, -cu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with awér</td>
<td>(-m)</td>
<td>zero</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>formal</th>
<th>informal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tetám-cěmí</td>
<td>tetám-ermí</td>
<td>porawér-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tetám-cěmín</td>
<td>tetám-ermín</td>
<td>porawér-min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tetám-cěmém</td>
<td>tetám-ermém</td>
<td>porawér-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. tetám-cěměném</td>
<td>tetám-erměném</td>
<td>porawér-měném</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. tetám-cěměráwóm</td>
<td>tetám-erměráwóm</td>
<td>porawér-měráwóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. tetám-cěmá(r)</td>
<td>tetám-ermá(r)</td>
<td>porawér-ma(r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. tetám-cěmín</td>
<td>tetám-ermín</td>
<td>porawér-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. tetám-cěmaráw</td>
<td>tetám-ermaráw</td>
<td>porawér-maráw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. tetám-cémóm</td>
<td>tetám-ermóm</td>
<td>porawér-mom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tetám-cěměnóm</td>
<td>tetám-erměnóm</td>
<td>porawér-měnóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. tetám-cěmokóm</td>
<td>tetám-ermokóm</td>
<td>porawér-mokóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. tetám-cěměnokóm</td>
<td>tetám-erměnokóm</td>
<td>porawér-měnokóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tetám-cěmaráwkom</td>
<td>tetám-ermaráwkom</td>
<td>porawér-maráwkom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. tetám-cěmés</td>
<td>tetám-ermés</td>
<td>porawér-mes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. tetám-cěměnés</td>
<td>tetám-erměnés</td>
<td>porawér-měnés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. tetám-cěměráwós</td>
<td>tetam-ěrměráwos</td>
<td>porawér-měráwos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>zero, a-/aj-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>m-/mV-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>tep-/tepa-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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. *tepa-:*  
*tepa-* occurs in all cases, except before *a*  
*tep-* occurs before *a.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mood forms</th>
<th>I usually give him</th>
<th>I shall give him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cupuj</td>
<td>I usually give you</td>
<td>I shall give you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cupún</td>
<td>you usually give him</td>
<td>you will give him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cēpēm</td>
<td>you usually give me</td>
<td>you will give me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetm-cēpēněm</td>
<td>you usually give us</td>
<td>you will give us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cēpawóm</td>
<td>he usually gives him</td>
<td>he will give him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cēmop</td>
<td>he usually gives me, you</td>
<td>he will give me, you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cēpen</td>
<td>they usually give you (pl.)</td>
<td>they will give you (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cēpāw</td>
<td>he usually gives us</td>
<td>he will give us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cēpom</td>
<td>we usually give him</td>
<td>we shall give him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cēpěnōm</td>
<td>we usually give you</td>
<td>we shall give you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cēpokóm</td>
<td>you usually give him</td>
<td>you will give him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cēpěnokóm</td>
<td>you usually give me</td>
<td>you will give me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cēpawkóm</td>
<td>you usually give us</td>
<td>you will give us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cēpés</td>
<td>you usually give him</td>
<td>they will give him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cēpěněs</td>
<td>they usually give me, you (sing.)</td>
<td>they will give me, you (sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-cēpawōs</td>
<td>they usually give us</td>
<td>they will give us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Explanatory**

**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:

   *jēw emáp-cēmā*

   ceremonial house / he sits usually/

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

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

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

In addition, they can have a prohibitive meaning:

Inim ém-cèmemá you mustn’t do it this way.
/this way /you must not always do it/

Inim atakám a-táw-cèném you mustn’t keep saying such things.
/like this/ talking /you mustn’t always speak/

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

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

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

Ós kor am ém-cëpém
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).

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-fašúj-cèmaráw our skin ‘peels’.
our skin /it ‘peels us’/

M-ájmiremenéwé-punè (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-cémém* why don't you usually look at it?

13 The habitual forms of the mediate past

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

| 1. tetám-cěmób | j-ermób | I usually gave him |
| 2. tetám-cěmpín | j-erpín | I usually gave you |
| 3. tetám-cěmpém | j-erpém | you usually gave him |
| 4. tetám-cěmpěném | j-érpěném | you usually gave me |
| 5. tetám-cěmpawóm | j-erpawóm | you usually gave us |
| 6. tetám-cěměp | j-ermép | he usually gave him |
| 7. tetám-cěmpén | j-erpén | he usually gave you |
| 8. tetám-cěmpaw | j-erpaw | they usually gave you (pl.) |
| 9. tetám-cěmpóm | j-erpóm | he usually gave us |
| 10. tetám-cěmpěnóm | j-érpěnóm | we usually gave him |
| 11. tetám-cěmpokóm | j-erpokóm | we usually gave you |
| 12. tetám-cěmpěnokom | j-érpěnokom | you (pl.) usually gave him |
| 13. tetám-cěmpawkóm | j-erpawkóm | you (pl.) usually gave me |
| 14. tetám-cěmpés | j-erpés | you (pl.) usually gave us |
| 15. tetám-cěmpěnés | j-érpěnés | they usually gave him |
| 16. tetám-cěmpawós | j-erpawós | they usually gave me, you (sing.) |
| 17. tetám-cěmpawóz | j-erpawóz | they usually gave us |

A. -/a-
It will be seen from the paradigms that a series of forms occurs with an aspect suffix \(-cëm\), 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-\(d\)); they occur here instead of the forms with \(-cëm\). The two series appear to be mutually exclusive.

*Formal characteristics*

**142**

Aspect suffixes: \(-cëm\); \(-erm/-er\).

\(-erm\) 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 \(-cëm\):
erém ‘ni’ a-jés-cémpés, na tapín
night come /they said time and time again/, we /sleeping mats/
/manám a-jik-cémpóm/, wunám ‘opák’ a-ji-cémpes
/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-cémp, 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 -cëpes occurs instead
of -cémpes:

jìwi a mú nìsé-cëpes, ás i op tepómponsém-cëpes
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:

“á” jìcuku-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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-mood forms</th>
<th>mood forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| por-mí tetám-ami tetámutum-i | pór-mupúj tetám-ampúj | I give it to him  
| por-mín tetám-amin tetámutum-in | pór-mupún tetám-ampún | I give it to you  
| por-mém tetám-amém tetámutum-ém | pór-mepém tetám-ampém | you give it to him  
| por-méném tetám-amëném tetámutum-ëném | pór-mepëném tetám-ampënem | you give it to me  
| pó-merawóm tetám-ämërawóm tetámutum-ërawóm | pó-merawóm tetám-ampawóm | you give it to us  
| por-má(r) tetám-amá(r) tetámutum-á(r) | por-móp tetám-ampóp | he gives it to him  
| por-mén tetám-amén tetámutum-én | pór-mepén tetám-ampén | he gives it to me, you they give it to you (pl.)  
| por-maráw tetám-amaráw tetámutum-aráw | pór-mapáw tetám-ampáw | he gives it to us  
| por-móm tetám-amóm tetámutum-óm | pór-mopóm tetám-ampóm | we give it to him  
| pó-meromóm tetám-amórnóm tetámutum-órnóm | pór-mopêmóh tetám-ampêmóh | we give it to you  
| por-mókóm tetám-amókóm tetámutum-ókóm | por-mopókóm tetám-ampókóm | you give it to him  
| por-mókóm tetám-amókóm tetámutum-ókóm | por-mópókóm tetám-ampókóm | you give it to me  
| por-merawókóm tetam-ämërawókóm tetámutum-ërawókóm | por-merawókóm tetám-ampawókóm | you give it to us  
| por-mes tetám-amës tetámutum-ës | por-mopës tetám-ampës | they give it to him  
| por-menës tetam-ämënes tetámutum-ënes | por-mepënes tetám-ampënes | they give it to me, you (sing.)  
| por-merawós tetám-ämërawós tetámutum-ërawós | por-merawós tetám-ampawós | they give it to us  
| por-mamës tetam-ämamës | | they both give it  
  
A. zero/a-/j- | explicative |  
B. m-/mV- | completive |  
C. em-/eme- | interrogative |  
D. op-/opa- |  
E. tep-/tpe- | negative-interrogative |
Paradigms:

tetámu to give; tetámutúum to give in the evening; por to see
(Paradigms: see p. 100)

The following interrogative forms were found:

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

Formal characteristics

145

Aspect suffix: -m/-am/zero.

-m occurs in all cases, except when the core ends in m.

-am occurs when the core ends in m, except after the formative itúm/utúm 'in the evening', and after the core em 'to do, to make' when the verb forms a word-group with a form of category 4 (see § 183).

zero occurs after itúm/utúm, and with em 'to do, to make' in the case mentioned above.

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


-Vp occurs after aspect suffix -m. The vowel is identical with the (last) vowel of the subject suffix.

-op final, when the aspect suffix is -am or zero.

-p medial, when the aspect suffix is -am or zero.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:

1. when the subject suffix is zero -a alternates freely with -ar, except in context if the word following has an initial vowel: in that case, only -ar occurs.

III. In the non-mood series: final -araw; medial -čraw.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

1st pers. s.: after the mood suffix: final -u (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).

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. 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.

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

_jisin kokómtaw-més aráw_ they are picking coconuts.
coconuts /they are picking/ pp

_no atakám a-táw-mópakó_ (hey!) you're talking about me!
me talking /you do/ (mood-form)

_Jaméw is nim póamis-már maré a-nijirímuw-or in_ /people of J./ sleep when /they all slept/, then /they all departed/ pp

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

*tám a-nuwit-mames in* they both departed in the morning (§ 328).

*móc a-móca-már* she wailed continually.

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-cēmí aráw, a cí wunám jú

I always launch/ the canoe again trunk

\textit{oswórés-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 \textit{m-}/\textit{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/ \textit{“ó uciè!”} — “ó uciè \textit{pak áw; nám m-enáw-mi}”. you what — you what not pp; I /I come/ \textit{“What do you want!”} — “Don’t say ‘what do you want’; I’m just coming”.

\textit{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 \textit{em-}/\textit{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.

D. Forms with the prefix op-/opa-: these are distinguished from the
forms with zero/a-/aj- by a semantic element of interrogation, trans­
latable 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?

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

enám tep-ámpiá-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

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

Aspect suffix:  -m/-am/zero.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. af-móp tétám-amóp tawutum-óp</th>
<th>2. af-pín tétám-ampín tawutum-pín</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I was striking him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was striking you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you were striking him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you were striking me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you were striking us</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he was striking him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he was striking you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they were striking you (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he was striking us (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we were striking him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we were striking you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (pl.) were striking him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (pl.) were striking me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (pl.) were striking us</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they were striking him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they were striking me, you (sing.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they were striking us</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. zero/a-/aj-
-am occurs after core-final m, except after cores ending in the formative itúm/útúm ‘in the evening’.
zero occurs:  
a. after core-final C ≠ m, when a consonant follows;  
b. after itúm/útúm.
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 is nim pútamis-mép, parás ten káku a-wini-óf  
O. asleep when /he lay down / dune-ridge/ on quickly /I went away/  
when O. lay down asleep, I quickly ran away along the dune-ridge  
(§ 312).

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

a jif 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Mood Forms</th>
<th>Mood-Forms</th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>an-í tetam-új por-i</td>
<td>por-púj</td>
<td>I saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>an-ín tetam-ún por-in</td>
<td>por-pún</td>
<td>I saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>an-érém tetam-ørém por-ém</td>
<td>por-pém</td>
<td>you saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>an-čném tetam-čném por-ném</td>
<td>por-péném</td>
<td>you saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>án-érawóm tetam-érawóm por-awóm</td>
<td>por-pawóm</td>
<td>you saw us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>an-ér tetam-ór por</td>
<td>por-óg</td>
<td>he saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>an-én tetam-én por-én</td>
<td>por-pán</td>
<td>he saw me, you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>an-aráw tetam-aráw por-áw</td>
<td>por-páw</td>
<td>they saw you (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>an-éróm tetam-øróm por-óm</td>
<td>por-póm</td>
<td>we saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>an-čnóm tetam-čnóm por-nóm</td>
<td>por-pénóm</td>
<td>we saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>an-érkóm tetam-orkóm por-kóm</td>
<td>por-pokóm</td>
<td>you saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>án-ernokóm tetam-ornokóm por-nokóm</td>
<td>por-pokóm</td>
<td>you saw us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>án-érawkóm tetam-érawkóm por-awkóm</td>
<td>por-pawóm</td>
<td>you saw us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>an-érés tetam-ørés por-és</td>
<td>por-pós</td>
<td>they saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>an-čnés tetam-čnés por-nés</td>
<td>por-pénés</td>
<td>they saw me, you (sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>án-érawós tetam-érawós por-awós</td>
<td>por-pawós</td>
<td>they saw us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>án-ermamés tetam-ormamés por-mamés</td>
<td></td>
<td>both of them saw it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A. Zero/a-/aj-/an-

### B. M-/mV-

### C. Em-/eme-

### D. Op-/opa-

### E. Tep-/tepa-
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:

\(\text{por to see; tetám to give; an to eat; wu to shout}\)

\(\text{(Paradigms: see p. 107)}\)

\(\text{tití to tremble; fe to string together; (owén) amo to fight with}\)

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>a-titi/titij-i</td>
<td>a-fé-j</td>
<td>amó-j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>a-titi-rém/èrém</td>
<td>a-fe-rém/èrém</td>
<td>amo-rém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>a-titi-r/ér</td>
<td>a-fe-r/ér</td>
<td>amó-r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\text{etc. etc. etc. etc.}\)

**Formal characteristics**

**158**

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:

- \(-ër\) before a vowel; between two vowels \(-ër\) 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. -än alternates with -n between two vowels.

III. -aw occurs in the mood forms, and after core-final r.
-ëraw occurs medially, after core-final C ≠ r. After core-final V -ëraw alternates with -raw.

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

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

\[ \text{anám ajpím new, ómus néw, me-msémapm-új} \]
\[ \text{anam } /\text{extreme end/ perhaps omus perhaps /I've left there/} \]
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).

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

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

\[ \text{emé-setaj-ér he has already arrived (by canoe).} \]
\[ \text{emé-pa-nikáap-ánokom } \]
\[ \text{pp} \]
have all of you perhaps returned? (from getting sago).

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

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

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

E. Forms with $tep-/tepa$.
These are negative interrogative forms translatable with why not:
A nát a ci tepá-tuwuw-ór
he pp his canoe /why doesn't he go/
why doesn't he go in his own canoe? (This is an alternative used instead of the previous example).\(^{23}\)

\[\text{amás tepa-émn-črém} \quad \text{why haven't you fetched sago?}\]
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 \(ej\) -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.):

- \(tetam-á j-eróf\) time and again I gave it to him
- \(tetam-á j-eréf\) 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:

\(^{23}\) Compare § 151.
\(^{24}\) See also § 182.
Paradigms:

*tetám* to give

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>formal</th>
<th>informal</th>
<th>interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tetám-of</td>
<td>tetám-o</td>
<td>I gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tetám-fin</td>
<td></td>
<td>I gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tetám-fem</td>
<td></td>
<td>you gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. tetám-féném</td>
<td></td>
<td>you gave it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. tetám-fawóm</td>
<td></td>
<td>you gave it to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. tetám-ef</td>
<td>tetám-è</td>
<td>he gave it to him, you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. tetám-fen</td>
<td></td>
<td>they gave it to you (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. tetám-faw</td>
<td></td>
<td>he gave it to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. tetám-fom</td>
<td></td>
<td>we gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tetám-fénóm</td>
<td>tetám-okóm</td>
<td>we gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. tetám-fokóm</td>
<td></td>
<td>you gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. tetám-fenokóm</td>
<td></td>
<td>you gave it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tetám-fawkóm</td>
<td></td>
<td>you gave it to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. tetám-fes</td>
<td>tetám-es</td>
<td>they gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. tetám-fënes</td>
<td></td>
<td>they gave it to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. tetám-fawes</td>
<td>tetám-eawós</td>
<td>they gave it to us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

THE ASMAT LANGUAGE
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

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-tawsim-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-kafum-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:

ënèw 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.
The anterioritive forms

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

Paradigms:

tetám to give

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ultimate past</th>
<th>mediate past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tetám-ací</td>
<td>tetám-aró</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acín</td>
<td>tetám-arín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acém</td>
<td>tetám-arém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acéném</td>
<td>tetám-arném</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acawóm</td>
<td>tetám-arawóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-ac</td>
<td>tetám-aré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acén</td>
<td>tetám-arén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acáw</td>
<td>tetám-aráw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acóm</td>
<td>tetám-aróm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acénóm</td>
<td>tetám-arnóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acenóm</td>
<td>tetám-arkóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acokóm</td>
<td>tetám-arnokóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acawkóm</td>
<td>tetám-araawkóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acés</td>
<td>tetám-arés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acénés</td>
<td>tetám-arnés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetám-acawós</td>
<td>tetám-arawós</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. zero/a-/aj-

Formal characteristics

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-aci, 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-jik-aró ci á-nuwuw-ój
/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 ea- (§ 130) and whether they are interchangeable with those forms:

már atów e-ácóma! 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 into ultimate past and mediate past only occurs, however, in forms 1 and 6.

Paradigm:

*por* to see; *tetám* to give

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ult. past</th>
<th>med. past</th>
<th>ult. past</th>
<th>med. past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>pór-ití</td>
<td>pór-itó</td>
<td>tetám-uti</td>
<td>tetám-útó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>pór-itín</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>pór-itém</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>[por-iténem]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[tetam-útěm]</td>
<td>[tetam-útěm]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>[por-itawom]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[tetam-utawom]</td>
<td>[tetam-utawom]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>por-ít</td>
<td>pór-ité</td>
<td>tetám-út</td>
<td>tetám-útě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>[por-iten]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[tetam-uten]</td>
<td>[tetam-uten]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>pór-ítaw</td>
<td></td>
<td>tetám-útaw</td>
<td>tetám-útaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>pór-ítém</td>
<td></td>
<td>tetám-útém</td>
<td>tetám-útém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>[por-iténom]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[tetam-útěnom]</td>
<td>[tetam-útěnom]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>pór-itokóm</td>
<td></td>
<td>tetám-utokóm</td>
<td>tetám-utokóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>[por-itěnokom]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[tetam-útěnomkokom]</td>
<td>[tetam-útěnomkokom]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>[por-itawkom]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[tetam-utawkom]</td>
<td>[tetam-utawkom]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>pór-ité</td>
<td></td>
<td>tetám-útés</td>
<td>tetám-útés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>[por-itěnes]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[tetam-útěnes]</td>
<td>[tetam-útěnes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>[por-itawos]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[tetam-utawos]</td>
<td>[tetam-utawos]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).
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 asên akatês cowák emáms-itì
I place good very /I have lain/
I have lain in a very good place! (§ 314).

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

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 in
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 ewir.
As in categories 12, 14 and 16, there is a series of mood forms.

(Paradigms: see p. 118)

26 Here, a special allophone of the e phoneme occurs: see § 33.
Paradigms:
por to see, to look at

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-mood forms</th>
<th>mood forms</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-i</td>
<td>pórewir-ipúj</td>
<td>I always looked at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-in</td>
<td>pórewir-ipún</td>
<td>I always looked at you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-im</td>
<td>pórewir-ipém</td>
<td>you always looked at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-iném</td>
<td>pórewir-ipéném</td>
<td>you always looked at me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-irawóm</td>
<td>pórewir-ipawóm</td>
<td>you always looked at us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-ir</td>
<td>pórewir-úp</td>
<td>he always looked at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-in</td>
<td>pórewir-ipán</td>
<td>he always looked at me, you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-iraw</td>
<td>pórewir-ipáw</td>
<td>(pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-úm</td>
<td>pórewir-ipóm</td>
<td>we always looked at us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-inúm</td>
<td>pórewir-ipénóm</td>
<td>we always looked at you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-ikúm</td>
<td>pórewir-ipokóm</td>
<td>you always looked at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-inokóm</td>
<td>pórewir-ipenokóm</td>
<td>you always looked at me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-irawköm</td>
<td>pórewir-ipawköm</td>
<td>you always looked at us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-is</td>
<td>pórewi-ipós</td>
<td>they always looked at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-inés</td>
<td>pórewir-ipénés</td>
<td>you (s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pórewir-irawós</td>
<td>pórewir-ipawós</td>
<td>they always looked at us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

Forms without a prefix; or with a-:

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

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

*mú micic sejiréwir-up*
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 -mèr forms

A category about which meagre data were obtained is that of the forms characterized by the suffix -mèr. 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 -mèr relate to the past. In addition, they have a semantic element of repetition which is translatable with 'each day again'.
The following forms were noted:
1. *a-pór-méró* every day I saw him again
2. *a-pór-mérén* every day I saw you again
3. *a-pór-mérém* every day you saw him again
6. *a-pór-měrem* every day he saw him again
11. *a-pór-mėrkóm* every day you (pl.) saw him again.
14. *a-pór-mérés* every day they saw him again

*suntik* 27 *a-empór-méró opák*
injection / gave him every day / but not/
I gave him an injection every day but it didn’t help.

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

The *-mér* 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:

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

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

*énám /towéwer-e j-ěrméro/, tów /péwer-e j-ěrméro/
fish /they fetched each day/, /sago grubs / they fetched/
each day they again fetched fish and sago grubs (§ 324).

In addition, this ending occurs in the same text, suffixed to cores ending in *awér* or *ewér*:

27 *suntik*: loan-word from Malay.
jök apawer-érméro each day they spent the day in idleness (§ 326).
/during the day they just sat, each day/

wasén namicukewer-érméro
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-erméro. I think it not impossible that the forms with -erméro 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 -méro instead of these with -erméro: jök apawér-méro; wasén namicukewér-méro.

Finally, a form with -maméro was found:

Suru áwemic aráw, juwir fék wut ak-náméro
Suru /is there/ pp /juwur wood/ big very /he makes (a canoe) each day/

Suru 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 -mér forms are divided into a category of past tense forms and another category of present tense forms.

24 The unproductive category of the positional verbs

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

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

| 1. ams-í | ap-í  | a-sé-j | I am       |
| 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>em-ci</th>
<th>á-tep-ci</th>
<th>I am</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>em-cém</td>
<td>á-tep-cém</td>
<td>you are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>em-ic</td>
<td>á-tep-ic</td>
<td>he is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>em-cóm</td>
<td>á-tep-cóm</td>
<td>we are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ém-cokóm</td>
<td>á-tep-cokóm</td>
<td>you (pl.) are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>em-cés</td>
<td>á-tep-cés</td>
<td>they are</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>áms-aní</th>
<th>áp-aní</th>
<th>á-se-aní</th>
<th>am I?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>áms-aném</td>
<td>áp-aném</td>
<td>á-se-aném</td>
<td>are you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>áms-án</td>
<td>ap-án</td>
<td>á-se-án</td>
<td>is he?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>áms-anóm</td>
<td>áp-anóm</td>
<td>á-se-anóm</td>
<td>are we?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>áms-anokóm</td>
<td>áp-anokóm</td>
<td>á-se-anokóm</td>
<td>are you (pl.)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>áms-anés</td>
<td>áp-anés</td>
<td>á-se-anés</td>
<td>are they?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>op-í</th>
<th>om-cí</th>
<th>I am with him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>op-in</td>
<td>om-cín</td>
<td>I am with you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>op-ém</td>
<td>om-cém</td>
<td>you are with him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>óp-ëném</td>
<td>óm-ëném</td>
<td>you are with me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>óp-awóm</td>
<td>óm-cawóm</td>
<td>you are with us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>op</td>
<td>om-ic</td>
<td>he is with him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. op-én  om-cén  he is with me, you
     he is with me; you

8. op-áw  om-cáw  they are with you (pl.)

9. op-óm  om-cóm  he is with us

10. óp-énóm  óm-oénóm  we are with you

11. óp-okóm  óm-cokóm  we are with him

12. óp-énokóm  óm-cénokóm  you are with me

13. óp-awkóm  óm-cawkóm  you are with us

14. óp-és  om-cés  they are with him

15. óp-énés  óm-cénés  they are with me, you (s.)

16. óp-awós  óm-cawós  they are with us

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

   a w sé - á w amis - a w áp - á w emic - á w atePic in here
   e w asé - é w amis - e w áp - é w emic - é w atePic in there

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

28 See §§ 197, 198.
Cat. 10:  \( a \ amás \ ucim \ em-áw-cem \) \(^{29}\) how will you cook this sago?
this sago how /will you cook it/

But:
\( sájer \) \(^{30}\) ucim em-cém how will you prepare the vegetables?
vegetables how /you make them/

Cat. 12:  \( sej \ si \ ucim \ em-tetám-cêmokôm \) iron axes /how many / you usually give/
how many iron axes do you usually give for it?

Cat. 16:  \( ów \ ucim \ em-setáj-črérs \) how many people have arrived?
people /how many / they arrived/

Cat. 17:  \( kús \ ucim \ em-sakámtewer-fém \) heads /how many / you cut off and took/
how many heads have you taken?

Cat. 24:  \( jisin \ ucim \ éma-tep-íč \) coconuts /how many / are there/
how many coconuts are hanging there?

\( p-/pV-: \) \( p- \) 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:  \( ucim \ cáj \ p-e-caw \ éw \) what is he thinking of (§ 282).
which plan /has he/ pp

Cat. 12:  \( ucim \ asén \ pí-jisas-érmokom \) 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:  \( ucim \ p-em-of \ éw \) how could I have done it? (§ 326).
how /did I do it/ pp

\(^{29}\) See § 234.
\(^{30}\) Loan-word from Malay, = sajur.
Cat. 24: o p-áp-em áw are you at home? you /you sit/ pp

**Syntactical valence** 31 of the verbs

181

Provisionally, the following can be said about the syntactical valence of the verbs:
1. it would appear that all verbs can be linked with substantives, proper names, personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns;
2. it would appear that the only time that there can be a linkage verb + verb is in the verbal word-groups which are to be discussed in paragraphs 182 and 183;
3. the word-group interrogative + verb was only found with forms of the categories 10, 12-17 inclusive, 20, 21, 22 and 24;
4. only the forms of categories 4 and 5 (m-/mV-; m-/mV- -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’, 31* which were found linked to a form of category 3 (core-á)

182

Cat. 10: a-por-á j-èrì/e-ci etc.: Everytime I see him /to see repeatedly / if I do/

Cat. 12: a-por-á j-ermi 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.

---

31 By the **syntactical valence** of a word is meant: the possibility of the word forming word-groups with other words.
31* 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:  \textit{a-por-á e-móp} etc.: time and again I saw him (mediate past).

Cat. 16:  \textit{a-por-á ej} etc.: time and again I saw him (ultimate past).

\textit{a-por-á e-rém} etc.: time and again you saw him.
\textit{a-por-á e-r} etc.: time and again he saw him.

Cat. 17:  \textit{a-por-á j-eróf} : time and again I saw him (mediate past).

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

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

\textit{a-poréwer-é ji-róf} : I saw him time and again, over a long period;
\textit{a-poréwer-é ji-fém}
\textit{a-poréwer-é ji-réf}
\textit{a-poréwer-é ji-fóm}

\textit{etc.}

Cat. 23: \textit{á-por-a j-érmëro/jimëro} 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 \textit{-a} by \textit{inim} 'in this way':

Cat. 8: \textit{tám masërim wunám otwusé-a inim mom-é-c} 
morning then again /depart again / this way / do it!/
and when it is morning, you must start out again (§ 300).

Cat. 9: \textit{wowuc sumoms-á inim e-rasin} 
middle /let lie with repeatedly / this way / let us both do/
let us always sleep on either side of him! (§ 282).

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

\textit{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

188

I. Directly linked: this construction has a volitive meaning.
Cat. 12: mó-por ém-cěmi, etc. I shall want to see it.
Cat. 14: Here, instead of *em-ami*, etc., the forms *em-i*, *em-ém*, etc. are found (see § 145).
   mó-por em-i, etc. I want to see it.
   mó-por em-aném, etc. do you want to see it?
Cat. 16: mó-por em-új, etc. I wanted to see it (ultimate past).
   mó-por em-púj, etc. I wanted to see it!
Cat. 17: mó-por em-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 pak em-cěmi, etc. I shall not see it.
   /to see/ not /I shall do/
Cat. 14: mó-por pak em-i, etc. I don’t see it.
   mó-por pak emut-mi, etc. I didn’t see it this morning.
Cat. 16: mó-por pak em-új, etc. I didn’t see it (ultimate past).
Cat. 17: mó-por pak em-óf, etc. I didn’t see it (mediate past).
Cat. 22: mó-por pak émewir-i, etc. I never saw it.
III SUBSTANTIVES

Definition

184

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>- nakáp</th>
<th>primary derivatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- nakás</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iriw/-eré</td>
<td>secondary derivatives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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;

   *sinakap mitapmúj* I thrust the axe into it, but not deeply (§ 278).
   
   /little bit of the axe/ I thrust into it/

   *pisuwá* dagger;

   *pisuwánakap mařáw*
   
   /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:

\[\text{támnakáp ów /ucím ar' am/ étv enáwmes aráw}\]
\[/\text{early in the morning/ people various pp /they are coming/ pp}\]
\[\text{early in the morning various people come.}\]

\[\text{támnakáp nitamor ín, jok}\]
\[/\text{late in the morning / she arrived/ pp, noon}\]
\[\text{she arrived (at home) towards the end of the morning, at noon (§ 301).}\]

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

- *úmu* top;
- *esé umúnakap apítmomésmar ín*
  \[/\text{bag /almost to the top / he filled it at night/ pp}\]
  \[\text{at night he filled the bag he had with him almost to the top.}\]
- *pim* edge;
- *amás a pímnakap átemetótaper ín*
  \[/\text{sago there /almost to the rim / it rose and stayed/ pp}\]
  \[\text{the sago (meal) rose until it had almost reached the rim (§ 289).}\]

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:

\[\text{amás nec raw sago; amás nétnakap a little bit of raw sago.}\]

Similar cases are probably:

\[\text{pók kow opáknakap not enough to eat.}\]
\[\text{food much not-}\]

---

32 A similar semantic symmetry is found in the following words which also denote periods of time:

- *to* : tomorrow / yesterday
- *jowún* : the day after tomorrow / the day before yesterday
- *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
nani heap/heaps; naninakas 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 -iriw/-eré can be added to form secondary derivatives. The forms of this suffix have a distribution parallel to that of -nakáp and -nakás: -iriw is suffixed to derivatives with -nakáp, and -eré is suffixed to derivatives with -nakás. Derivatives with -iriw/-eré indicate something very small, a very small quantity of, etc.:

jak rain cloud; jáknakápiriw a tiny rain cloud
amás sago; amásnakápiriw very little sago
ow people; ównakápiriw very few people

porów afternoon;
porównakápiriw masnim maré atakám afasmapéf
evening- then /at last/ story /he told/

Finally, when it was still evening, he told them the story (§ 320).

jisis the edge of the fire;
jisisnakápiriw fa amnú aotmámséres 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;
jépnakápiriw máokomémtamcin
side- /roll it up for me/
roll up for me a tiny part of the side (of the fish trap) (§ 269).

No cases parallel to sinakáp mitapmúj were found.

33 The negation opák will be dealt with in § 240.
A secondary derivative with -eré is:

pis grandchildren; car pisnakaseré all your small grandchildren.
See also: 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:

\begin{align*}
\textit{cowúc} & \text{ woman; } \textit{cowúnakáp} \text{ little woman, girl} \\
\textit{jipíc} & \text{ man; } \textit{jipítnakáp} \text{ little man} \\
\textit{ewúc} & \text{ younger brother; } \textit{ewúnakáp} \text{ little younger brother.}
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
o & \text{ grandchild} \\
\textit{mo} & \text{ husband} \\
\textit{em} & \text{ wife} \\
\textit{ótipíc} & \text{ brother (said by a sister)} \\
\textit{tērāswuc} & \text{ sister} \\
\textit{wa} & \text{ brother-in-law} \\
\textit{epúc} & \text{ older brother} \\
\textit{epíc} & \text{ older sister} \\
\textit{amús} & \text{ younger sister} \\
\textit{nin} & \text{ daughter-in-law}
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
isipís & \text{ parents, mothers or fathers; } isipisnakás \text{ little fathers} \\
pis & \text{ grandchildren; } pisnakás \text{ little grandchildren.}
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
\textit{miwis} & \text{ husbands} \\
\textit{ófajís} & \text{ grandparents} \\
\textit{ófēw} & \text{ blood kinsmen belonging to a ceremonial house different from one's own}
\end{align*}
A non-productive plural category

190

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>B.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>epúc</td>
<td>older brother</td>
<td></td>
<td>epúcëwes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epic</td>
<td>older sister</td>
<td></td>
<td>epícëwes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ewúc</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
<td></td>
<td>ewúcëwes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amús</td>
<td>younger sister</td>
<td></td>
<td>amúsëwes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nin</td>
<td>daughter-in-law</td>
<td></td>
<td>ninwís</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td></td>
<td>miwís</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 jiwinakap, which occurs as a substantive with the meaning ‘small child’ (from jiwi, 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 jiwinakap small, occur in the following sentence in positions in which one would expect substantives to occur:
tokása avakámkurúmor in, awút al, jiwínakap al, tokása in all /he killed them all/ pp, large also, small also, all pp
He killed them all, large and small, all of them (/>. owerów al, cepés al - 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: cém cowák one house; akát cowák very good; átepés cowák they forthwith rowed upriver.
The irregular derivative with -aseré instead of -nakásere (see § 202)
I found once, as a substantive:

\[
\text{cowákaseré pen éw menéstewer empúj}
\]
/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:
\[
\text{amás esè a bag with sago.}
\]
\[
\text{sago bag}
\]

2. adjectives:
\[
\text{áj cem a new house;}
\]
\[
\text{new house}
\]
\[
\text{cem awút a large house.}
\]
\[
\text{house large}
\]

3. deictic words:
\[
\text{no cém my house; a cém this house; cém ar to the house; cá cém (ám) whose house; ucim cém (ám) what kind of house.}
\]

4. verbs:
\[
\text{fét aworséè change into a fet fish! (§ 270)}. 
\]
\[
\text{/fet fish / change into/}
\]
amás ancêmés they usually eat sago.
sago /they usually eat/

no mémtonim 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).

188

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

(nor) amús(éwés) (my) younger sister(s)
(nor) as, asakáp ,, papis-partner
(no) miwis ,, husbands
(nor) mó ,, husband
(no) nep ,, child
(nor) em ,, wife
(nur) éptic(éwés) ,, older sister(s)
(nor) epúc(éwés) ,, older brother(s)
(nor) éwúc(éwés) ,, younger brother(s)
(nur) isipis ,, parents
(nur) icipic ,, father ³⁴
(nor) ó ,, grandchild
(nor) ófajís ,, grandparents
(nor) ófew ,, kinsmen belonging to another jew
,, than one’s own
(nor) óswuc ,, mother ³⁴
(nor) ótipic ,, brother (said by a sister)
(nor) ówitw ,, brothers (said by a sister)
(no) pus, purís, parwis ,, daughter
(nur) upíis, pis ,, grandchildren
(no) sin(opís) ,, wife (wives) (said by a husband)
(no) sók ,, grandmother
(nor) wá ,, brother-in-law
(nor) wés ,, sons
(nor) wét ,, namesake
(nur) wis ,, sisters-in-law
IV PROPER NAMES

Grouping

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 (jeq).

Names of persons and names of rivers

Derivatives can be formed from names of persons and names of rivers by adding the suffixes -akáp or -simit.

When -akáp is suffixed to a person's name, it indicates that that person is the younger of two namesakes; when -simit is suffixed to a person's name, it indicates that that person is the elder of two namesakes:

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

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

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

34 The current terms for father and mother are nivi and ënëw; icipic, öswuc, wic and wos I found in texts only. The difference in meaning between icipic and wic, öswuc 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.
The following kinship terms link up with the proper names:

- **ěněw** mother
- **ěněwakáp** younger sister of father or mother
- **eněsmit** (< **ěněw-simit**) grandmother

- **niwi** father
- **niwiakáp** younger brother of father or mother
- **nismit** (< **niwi-simit**) grandfather

**wet** namesake: **wétakáp/wétsimit** younger/elder namesake.

*As* partner in the exchange of women; **asakáp** the younger of the two partners.

No derivative with **-simit** is known to me of the last term.

**Names of villages and ceremonial houses**

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**, Setmó, Ar, Awór, Majít.

**Amanamkáj**

**Amán**, Namkáj, Awók.

**Amísu**

**Amís**, Su.

**Syntactical valence**

Proper names can form groups with:

1. **substantives**:

   **Warsé ci** the canoe of Warsé; **Jepém ow** people of Jepém.

---

35 A word has morphological valence when derivatives can be formed from it by means of one or more of the morphological processes, mentioned in § 62.
2. adjectives:
   Natinák omér Natinák is afraid; Jepém wut many people of Jepém.

3. deictic words:
   no Tewérawuc I am Tewérawuc; ná Jepém we are from Jepém.
   já Matámjen that Matámjen (persons name); e Jepém over there, in Jepém.
   Tewérawuc ár in the direction of Tewérawuc.
   Jepém a to Jepém.
   ca Miwirpic ar'áma! who is this Miwirpic! (§ 273).
   who M. pp pp

4. verbs:
   Jispáripic ájmiritiwér It was the fault of Jispáripic.
   Jomót ajiser He rowed out of the Jomót.

5. postpositions:
   árów, am, enérím, 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 -picim, a productive process, that does not occur with the substantives;

3. the word jiwinakáp 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 jiwinakáp 'small', derivatives can be formed with -nakáp(iriw) and -picim (see § 204).

**Morphological valence**

200

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

- jinic slack   jinitnakáp very slack, weak
- sirí quick   sirinakáp very quick
- kiki close together   kikinakáp 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 kikinakáp having a quantity of bones (said of fish).
- bones /very close together/

- onów kikikikikikinakás
- 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 -iriw, which serves to emphasize the semantic value of -nakáp:

jinic slack; jinitnakáp very slack; jinitnakápíriw 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:

pacákáp pacákaptoríw
pacák (not found) pacákaseré

These derivatives express intensity of feeling. Pácakáp is used to express compassion, for example:

newét pacákáp! my poor man! (said by a wife about a deformed husband).

Pacákaptoríw and pacákaseré can be translated by: worthless, miserable, deuced. This is the only case in which the derivative with -apíriw indicates the singular number, in contrast to the derivative with -aseré which here indicates the plural number:

a acir pacákaptoríw!
that acir bad
that confounded acir (store for sago on the collar beams of the house).

a juwús pacákaseré /miníp manímcëmí/!
those names bad /I always forget/
those deuced names, I always forget!

203
The suffix -picim indicates a relative degree:

awút large awútPicim rather large
jiwínakáp small jiwínakápíciim rather small
tari long ago taríPicim rather long ago
Cases of transposition

204

The case of jiwinakáp small, of which the derivatives jiwinakápnakáp very small, jiwinakápnakápíriv very, very, small, and jiwinakápicim 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 jipic 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 tari old people
tari ow people from the distant past, ancestors.

proper names:

Natinák omér N. is afraid.

verbs:

eww 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 jiwinakáp you are small

nó pacák I will not, I won’t do it (Pacák can have the meaning ‘averse to, not willing’ when linked with personal names or personal pronouns).

Adjectives, in addition, can be linked with words which express ‘a great degree of’. I got the impression that these words cannot be linked to all adjectives. Thus I found:

kor very, too, in:

tari kor very long (ago)
afó kor very very wide, too wide
awút kor very very large, too large
akát kor very very beautiful
jícó 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:

juruíw 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a / ar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no / nor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na / nar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o / or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca / car</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form of this scheme rests on the following considerations:

1. the non-interrogative pronouns fall into three classes:
   personal possessive pronouns; demonstrative pronouns; and directional pronouns;
   Of these, only the personal possessive pronouns have morphological valence;
2. there is one 'neutral' deictic word, a/ar, which links up with all three classes;

3. In all three classes we find pairs of word-variants: one variant ending in a vowel, the other in r.

The scheme makes it clear that there is a certain formal connection between the classes: 1) because the deictic word a/ar belongs to all three classes; 2) because the same type of word-variants occurs in all three classes.

Only with these deictic words do word-variants with and without final r occur systematically: outside the deictic words, only a few isolated cases were found.36

II. The interrogative pronouns are ca/com, ucím and ucínak/uci/uc.

In this group the neutral deictic word a/ar does not occur, nor do word-variants with and without final r. The reasons for treating them as one group will be given in § 232.

The non-interrogative pronouns

1. The personal possessive class

This class consists of four personal possessive pronouns, to which the neutral deictic word a/ar is added:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>nor</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>nar</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>you (s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca</td>
<td>car</td>
<td>you (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he, they</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, -cěma/-cěmar, and -ma/-mar. See §§ 120, 136, 144.
Distribution of variants.

208

When a personal possessive pronoun is linked to a substantive, we find the B variant before a substantive beginning with a vowel; the A variant before a substantive beginning with a consonant:

\[ \text{nor amás } \text{my sago; no cém } \text{my house.} \]

Deviations from this regularity are found:

1. when the personal possessive pronoun is linked to a substantive having one vowel, which is initial:

\[ \text{no ém } \text{my drum; o ó } \text{your pig;} \]

Besides these, however, one always finds:

\[ \text{nor ém } \text{my wife; or ó } \text{your grandchild.} \]

It is possible that here the homonymy has led to a need for differentiation.

\[ \text{nas 'it is mine', occurs as well as the regular construction nor ás 'it is mine'.} \]

2. when the personal possessive pronoun is linked to one of the following substantives, all of which belong to the group of kinship terms that occur exclusively linked to one of these pronouns (see § 193):

Here, the B variant occurs before substantives beginning with \( m \) or \( w \):

\begin{align*}
1. \text{mo} & \quad \text{husband} & \text{nor mó, or mó, etc.} \\
2. \text{wa} & \quad \text{brother-in-law} & \text{nor wá, or wá, } \\
3. \text{wes} & \quad \text{sons} & \text{nor wés, or wés, } \\
4. \text{wet} & \quad \text{namesake} & \text{nor wét, or wét, } \\
5. \text{wopís} & \quad \text{'people of the same age'} & \text{no wopís, but: or wopís, } \\
6. \text{wos} & \quad \text{mother} & \text{no wós, but: or wós, } \\
\end{align*}

In one case has the personal possessive pronoun 1st. pers. sing. a variant \textit{new,} in four cases a variant \textit{nur;} in all these cases, the personal possessive pronoun 2nd. pers. sing. has a variant \textit{ur.} These variants occur when these pronouns are linked to the following substantives:

\begin{align*}
1. \text{isipís} & \quad \text{parents} & \text{new isipís, ur isipís} \\
2. \text{icipíc} & \quad \text{father} & \text{nur icipíc, ur icipíc} \\
3. \text{pis} & \quad \text{grandchildren} & \text{nur pis, ur pis} \\
\end{align*}
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, júmam támfawos
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 mapi, 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 cáma; ó com án 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nó omér} & \quad \text{I am afraid} \\
\text{nór omér} & \quad \text{afraid of me} \\
\text{ar omér} & \quad \text{afraid of him} \\
\text{a nát omér} & \quad \text{he is afraid} \quad (\text{For nat, see § 246}).
\end{align*}
\]

The meaning of the personal possessive pronouns.

212

\[\text{no/nor}\]

points to the speaker of the sentence in which no/nor occurs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nó or čnéw aráw} & \quad \text{I am your mother.} \\
\text{I your mother pp}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{na/nar}\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ná Jepém ow} & \quad \text{we are people of Jepem.} \\
\text{we Jepem people}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{o/or}\]

points to the person to whom the sentence in which o/or occurs is directed:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ó Miwir en} & \quad \text{are you Miwir(pic)?} \\
\text{you M. pp}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{ca/car}\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{car arásen ememic} & \quad \text{you must remain here!} \\
\text{you here remain}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{a/ar}\]

points to a person or persons other than those, indicated by no/nor, na/nar, o/or and ca/car:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ár enakáp, nór enakáp, jumamtáměrawós} & \quad \text{he small I small /they intended us for each other/}
\end{align*}
\]

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 enéw no niwi my mother and father (see also § 208).

Morphological valence.

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 si 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 wwuápmor in he himself buried him (§ 274). ground self /he buried him/ pp

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 emápi cowák
I here alone /I sat/ continually
I have sat here the whole time on my own.

wasén arpá sorápères in they lived quite alone in the forest. forest /they alone / they lived/ pp
**WORD-CLASSES**

*naráp /ow somót/ emcóma! we are an independent group (§ 320). /we alone/ group /we are/

*op aráp sipám un, cenés aráp sipám un*  
above /it alone/ row of collar-beams/ pp below /it alone/ row pp  
(in the house) there was a separate row of collar-beams above, and a separate row of collar-beams below (§ 321).

When these derivatives are linked to a substantive, they can have a possessive meaning:

*noráp tapin*  my own sleeping mat, mine alone.

One exception to the above mentioned rule of distribution was found: the derivative with -ap as well as that with -pa occurs linked to an element *min*, which appears to be an emphasizing element:

*caráp min; carpá min*  you alone (with emphasis).

**215**

The derivatives with the suffix -am have a semantic element which can be translated by: in (his) turn, on the other hand, however:

*náram ám noráp /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 tetámsfenem ów
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 other derivatives, it is impossible in these cases to decide
which variant is the underlying form. Is -m suffixed to the A variant
or does it replace the r of the B variant? Furthermore, here both no/nor
and na/nar have a derivative nam.
The semantic element common to these derivatives can be translated
by: also, concerning; often it can only be circumscribed as slight
emphasis on the person or persons in question.

náma! I, too!

nam asén akát emámsió I lie in a good place, I do! (§ 314).
I place good /I lie/ 

nam ám namsón pak I don't know it either!
I either /I know not/ 

When a personal possessive pronoun is linked to a substantive and is
preceded by an -m derivative, it lays stress on 'possession':

nám no ci (its) my canoe!
I my canoe

óm or as (its) yours!
you your thing

ám a papíš cowúc (she is) his own papíš-woman!
he his papíš woman
In fact, the -m derivatives *om, cam* and *am* were found almost exclusively in this construction; *nam*, on the other hand, occurs frequently in other contexts, see the previous examples.

**218**

Summing up, we can say that all these derivatives refer to relations between persons. If we call the persons concerned A and B, then we can set out the following scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derivatives</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ap/-pa</td>
<td>A only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>A without (assistance of) B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ow</td>
<td>A excluding B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-am</td>
<td>A as opposed to B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>A as well as B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 áfěri* take care, or I shall kill you!

Deictic words; only with the directional pronouns: *or ár* in your direction, going for you (see § 209).

The postpositions *am, aráw, aw, nat.* (Examples of these constructions have already been given in § 209).
2. *The demonstrative class*

This class consists of the demonstrative pronoun *e*/*er*, the neutral pronoun *a*/*ar* and the three demonstrative pronouns without variants: *ja*, *jáka* and *átar*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jáka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>átar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The A variant was always found, except in the following cases; in these, the B variant occurred exclusively:

1. as the single word in a sentence:  
   *ar* here; *er* there.

2. linked to the directional pronouns:  
   *ár ar* this way; *ér ar* that way, over there.

3. linked to:
   
   *aráw* (§ 245) *ár aráw* this is it; here it is.  
   *ér aráw* that is it.

   *masérim* *ár masérim* 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!

*a/ar* points to:

1. that which is by, or in the direct neighbourhood of the speaker:  
   *a fér ca serápmoréme*  
   this /fish trap/ who /you put it down/  
   who are you, who have put down this fish trap? (§ 269).
**WORD-CLASSES**

jismák, a péř afámtiwit 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 jiwi takás aj mupícín atáwatic
   this Sunday one children all new clothes receiving
   this very Sunday, all the children will get new clothes.

The demonstrative pronoun a/ar often occurs without its pointing to
anything definite. I got the impression that this is the case when
something is mentioned which has already been spoken of, or is
presumed to be known to the listener:

Majít nucór moporómp pak in, a cém os
Majít ancestors /to show/ not pp the house poles
the house poles [already mentioned], they did not let the ancestors
of the Majít people see them (§ 274).

a Watér nat “....” inim aer in Watér then said: ....
- Watér pp so /he said/ pp

a amás jis akát, a pók jis akát étampormi a jim a enám
- sago roasted well - fish roasted well /I make for him/ - /fish net/ - fish

piéwérmí, 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 enáwcau /hari Rabu/*
   *ará no karji* *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 Mis tetám, é a niwi tetám, inim 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 isipis 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.
ja points specially to the person spoken to: (that) there with you:

   ja ucim pok tówomkonówmem
   that what thing /you bring with you here/
   what is that thing you bring with you?

ja èmorem ánam áraw
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/ pàka!
I that your husband like not
I don’t like that husband of yours! (§ 281).

jáka points to everything that is not at too great a distance from the speaker.
Before a word beginning with a vowel, sometimes jak is found instead of jáka:

jak ápori look there (beside: ar ápori, look here! and er ápori look over there!)

jáka jowówa! hey, you there!
there people

ci jáka erén a! (let’s go) a length upstream with the canoe! (§ 269).

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 névirum néwa!
that fish food /we ate always/ perhaps
perhaps it was fish we always ate formerly! (§ 302).

a ci nat átar jis ci nim makmák áraw 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.
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, masèrim, nim, picirim* (§ 221).

3. The directional class

This class consists of only two members: the directional pronoun *aráw*, and the neutral pronoun *a/ar*:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{a} & \text{ar} \\
\text{aráw} & \\
\end{array}
\]

*a/ar* points in a certain direction:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wásen á} & \quad \text{to the forest} \\
\text{nor á} & \quad \text{to me}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ár ará} & \quad \text{this way!} \\
\text{here to!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ó nor ár pen} & \quad \text{are you going for me?} \\
\text{you me to pp}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o mokót ar en} & \quad \text{are you going to the sago garden?} \\
\text{you /sago garden / to it/}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{no mokót aró} & \quad \text{yes, I am going to the sago garden.} \\
\text{I /sago garden / to it/}
\end{align*}
\]
In the other cases, the A and the B variant seem to alternate freely.

230

\textit{arîw} indicates that the point to which the movement is directed has been reached:

\begin{quote}
\textit{e jowów mokôt arîw} they are at the sago garden.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{káper} \textit{Merauke arîw} the boat (which left here) has arrived at Merauke.
\end{quote}

Syntactical valence

281

Directional pronouns can form groups with substantives, personal possessive pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Examples were already given in § 229.

Interrogative pronouns

Characteristics

282

There are three interrogative pronouns:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ca/com} who, whose
  \item \textit{ucîm} what, which, how, how many, how much
  \item \textit{ucînak/uci/uc} where.
\end{itemize}

These will here be treated as a group for the following reasons:

1. they can occur in combination with a postposition \textit{am}, which only occurs in combination with interrogatives;
2. they can only occur with particular forms of the verb.

\textit{ca/com}: \textit{ca} occurs in all cases except immediately preceding the postposition \textit{am}: in this case \textit{com} occurs.

\footnote{\textit{káper}: loan-word from Malay, = kapal.}
ucim: only once in a text a form ucíp was found instead of ucim.

ucinak/uci/uc: ucinak is probably a compound formed with uci and nak true, actual; ucinak occurs in all cases except those given below. uci was found only once in a context in which one would expect ucinak: this case is given in § 233 under ucinak.

uc occurs before the directional pronouns a/ar and aríw.
In addition, uci and uc occur in the two alternating forms uciè and uce, 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/uce, with which am never occurs; b. the word-group ucinak + positional verb, after which am does occur.

cà/com

a cà jièic ám who is this man?
this who man pp

cà Miwirpic ar' ám who is Miwirpic?
who Miwirpic pp pp

o cóm am who are you?
you who pp

Instead of ó com ám, o câm who are you, also occurs.

jirpu com ám who is angry?
angry who pp

awút jiwi com ám which is the biggest child?
big child which pp
ucim

a ucim pok ám what's this thing?
this what thing pp

ucim as ám what is it, what do you want?
what something pp

In the contexts in which ucim means how, how many, am is always preceded by the postposition ar' (see § 245):

ók ucim ar' ám how many eggs are there?
egg how many pp pp

ná ucim ar' ám what must we do now?
we how pp pp

o ci par ucim inim ar' ám how wide is your canoe?
you canoe wide /how much / like this/ pp pp

ucinak/uci/uc

The postposition am is always preceded by the postposition ar', when am occurs in combination with ucinak.

niwi ucinak ar' ám where is father?
father where pp pp

nó juwür sis uci ar' ám where is my necklace of dog's teeth?
your dog tooth where pp pp

cá uc är' ám where are you going?
you where pp pp

é jowów uc áriw ám where have those people gone to?
those people where /have gone to/ pp

Exceptions, mentioned above:

a. niwi uciè/ucè where is father?
father where

In the following set expression, uciè/ucè has the specific meaning: why.

inim nat uciè why (do you say) this! (§ 281).
/like this/ pp why
b. Surú ow ucinak 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 *ucinak* + 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 apiërés*
these shrimps who women /they caught/
who are the women who have caught these shrimps?

*no cá amkačicen* who will go with me there.
me who /will go with me/

**ucim**

*ucim emésmemá* how did you do it tonight?
how /you did it tonight/

*tirif 40* *ucim emanis 41* how many letters are lying there?
letters /how many / lie there/

*makik ucim ématamcém 41* how will you throw out the fish line?
/fish line/ how /will you throw it/

**ucinak**

/*makik mer/ ucinak em-cém* where will you go to fish?
/go to fish/ where /will you do it/

---

40* *tirif*: 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 *è* can occur word-finally.
The rules of accentuation are broken in that, in specific cases, the regular alternation of accented and unaccented vowels does not occur.

The interjections fall into two groups:

1. exclamations;
2. onomatopoeic interjections, and exclamations used to call animals or to urge them on.

**Exclamations**

236

The rules of phoneme distribution are only broken in this group. Among others, the following cases were noted:
wu!  oh! alas!
wuwú! oh! alas!
je  fie!
jój  an exclamation of surprise
êmá  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  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:

ekcâ jímá  monster! misbegotten brat! (arse child!)
nés mínó  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:

sēsēsē  hissing of fire as it is put out
fēfēfēfē  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

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 mitwis 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 ojüm bird

kèkèkèkèkè  
scream of the joc bird

taká ko, taká ko  
sound made by feet squelching in the mud

The following interjections are suggestive of actions:

*njankanjanjanja* or  
*njómó njómó njómó*  
the action of nibbling or gnawing

*urururururu*  
the action of something slipping into something else; people following one after another

*wàka*  
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:

*teptep*  
the action of going lower and lower down, of sinking deeper (*tep* to be above)

*tajtajtaj*  
the gradual ceasing of rain (*taj* to cease, to stop)

*purpur*  
the assembling of a great crowd of people (*pur* in rows)

*sopí, sopí*  
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

*fafasafa*  
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: opá/pak, opów/pow; ópnákáw/pěnakáw, 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, enčrim/enim, cin 44
3. question markers: en/an, opén/pen, am
4. the dubitative marker: ew
5. the irrealis marker: aj

43 The only exception to this is enčrim/enim which is always placed between proper names.
44 There are still three other conjunctions: másinerim/masnerim/maserim/misčrim/masnim then; wunám again; mariw/maréw/mari/maré - at last, finally. These link word-groups with word-groups. These words will not be discussed here because this is not possible without a previous investigation into the syntax.
6. the subjectivity marker: \textit{aw}
7. the quotative marker: \textit{in/un/n}.

Lastly, I will discuss three elements of which the function is still not clear to me: \textit{in/un/n'}, \textit{am'}, and \textit{aw}.

**Negations**

Only the following forms of the verb can precede negations:

1. the \textit{m-/mV-} and the \textit{m-/mV-áji} forms:
2. the tense and tense-aspect categories of verbs of which the core contains the formative \textit{por} = to wish, to try to. These verbal forms only occur in combination with \textit{opák/pak}, \textit{opów/pow} and \textit{ópnakáw/pénakáw}. These negations then express a contrariness which can be translated by: but no, but in vain.

\textit{opák/pak} not, without

\textit{opák} and \textit{pak} alternate freely, except after verbs with the formative \textit{por}, where \textit{opák} always occurs. \textit{pak} was usually found after the \textit{m-/mV-} and the \textit{m-/mV-áji} forms of the verb; in other cases \textit{opák} was usually found.

\textit{opák/pak} can form groups with:

the \textit{m-/mV-} forms of the verb: \textit{mópor pák emóf} I did not see it;

\begin{itemize}
  \item substantives: \textit{amás opák} there is no sago
  \item adjectives: \textit{akát opák} it is not good
  \item personal possessive pronouns: \textit{or pák} not you
  \item \textit{cowák} one, all: \textit{opák cowák} absolutely not
  \item \textit{wuł} much, many: \textit{opák wuł} by no means
  \item \textit{pák} not: \textit{opák pák} really! positively!
\end{itemize}

Cases in which \textit{opák} is preceded by the verbal forms mentioned in § 239, 2. are:
Seréw matowóf un arewfájporamár opák in
/people of Seréw / in order to kill / pp /they assembled/ not pp
the people of Seréw gathered to kill her, but in vain (§ 338).

"manic" 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:

Sajit masetáj powá  Sajit has not arrived!
Sajit arrived not!

substantives:

amás opów  there is no sago!

personal possessive pronouns:

no opów  I am not there!

Cases in which opów is preceded by one of the verbal forms mentioned in § 239, 2. are:

atakám otawpormín opów
talk I do with you not
I give you advice, but you won’t listen! (§ 282).

pók jis akát etámpormí opów
fish roasted good /I make for him/ not
I prepare nicely roasted fish for him; it’s all in vain! (§ 281).
otáwpórwirin opów
/continually I gave you advice/ not
I 've always given you advice, but you won't listen!

242

ópnakáw/pěnakáw

ópnakáw, or pěnakáw, occurs in negative-interrogative sentences and in sentences containing an emphatic denial and is translatable with: why not, not.
In sentences with this negation the speaker is always expressing a certain uneasiness, vexation, disappointment or dislike.

ópnakáw/pěnakáw was found linked with the m-/mV- forms of the verb, and with adjectives:

manapór pěnakáw why won't you eat them! (§ 280).
/want to eat / why not/

namké ópnakawè now, aren't you ashamed!
as ashamed not

Preceded by a verbal form mentioned in § 239, 2.:

owerós mopórómtewér empórmin ópnakawè
husband /to find / I try / but no/
I am trying to find a husband, but without success.

Other cases:

cár jimin pěnakáw I don't like you at all!
you like not

okorá or owopis pěnakawè
seduce you /people of your own age / why not/
why don't you seduce girls of your own age!

248

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/

mówtever asén emár aráw
/to fetch (sago)/ place not pp
there is really no place to get sago from (§ 324).

pacáksere ci mosokóm, emár aráw, ci tari moskóm pak
useless canoe /break up/ no pp canoe old /break up/ not
a useless canoe, broken up . . . no, they didn’t break up the old canoe (§ 339).

Postpositions

1. Emphasizing words

245

aráw/ará/ar’: aráw and ará appear to alternate freely, except in the following cases:
aráw always occurs before the postpositions an/en, in/un/n, and man.
ará always occurs before the negation pak, and before new (§ 255).
ar’ always occurs before the postposition am³.
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:

ajiníunimés ará  there they are, all coming back.
atawšém aráw  you said it.

The group:  \( m-/mV\)- form of the verb + ará/aráw expresses requirement:

mósirimták aráw án  is it necessary to row down the river again?  

substantives:

cowúc cém ará  the woman is at home (§ 265).
    woman house pp

maré, atówará  then, there is play (§ 264).
    then play pp

proper names:

*Watór aráw, mú aníser in  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.

---

*nat/na*

*nat* and *na* alternate freely.
*nat/na* places a slight emphasis on the word or the word-group preceding it.
nat/na can form groups with:

substantives:

cowút nat jiwinakap in the girl (in contrast) was quite small.
girl pp small pp

proper names:

a Water nat “....” inim aer in
Water pp so he spoke pp
Water (in his turn) said: .... (§ 269).

personal possessive pronouns:

no nát o jimín emció I am fond of you.
I pp you /fond of / I am/

When the pronoun a/ar is the subject of a sentence it is always linked to nat:

a nát, ó mopórtewét 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, mipacák 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:
mácatiw 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 máń  it’s mine!

my thing pp pp

ér araw máń  that’s it! that’s right!

that pp pp

2. Conjunctions

am  also, and.

am can be linked to substantives, proper names and personal possessive pronouns:

onów am, ós am  thatch and wood.

thatch pp wood pp

púw atéwer in firkóm am amán am

spear /he took/ pp, /heavy arrow/ pp bow pp

he took a spear, and also a heavy arrow and a bow, . .  (§ 277).

nám am, namsóm pak  I also don’t know.

I also /I know/ not

nor ám, or ám  you and I.

I pp you pp

249

win  all, one by one.

win can only be linked to substantives:

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 ásasakájesefë
/she passed, coming/ pp /sago garden/ pp /she passed, coming/

she passed one sago garden after another, on her way here . . . .

(§ 307).

250
enǝrim/enim and.

enǝrim, freely alternating with enim, only occurs between proper names:

Pisím enǝrim Wasi Pisím and Wasi (§ 328).
Juwûr enǝrim Ew Dog and Crocodile (as persons in a story).
Cepésmi enǝrim Okórmí (the streams) Cepésmi and Okórmí.

251
cin and, inclusive.

cin occurs after words or word-groups which indicate a person. It is found linked to proper names, personal possessive pronouns and the interrogative ca ‘who’:

a tîw cin, Juwûtakap cin he and his son, Juwûtakap.
his son pp Juwûtakap 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 evûc Jîw cin Taweríc and his brother Jiw (§ 336).
Taweríc his brother Jiw pp

But: Taweríc, enǝrim Jîw Taweríc and Jiw (see § 250).

no sînakap cin anijîc 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**

### en/an

*en* and *an* appear to alternate freely; *en* occurs most frequently. After *aráw*, however, *an* always occurs.

*en/an* occurs in interrogative sentences in which an inquiry is made regarding the identity of a person or a thing, or about the nature of something. It can be linked to verbs, substantives and adjectives:

- *apórmem *én* are you looking at it?*
- *enám *én* is it fish?*
- *awút *én* is it big?*

A few other cases are:

- *játakám jurúw *én* is the story long?*  
  story long pp

- *tó nuwúwufokom *én* did you set out yesterday?*  
  yesterday /you set out/ pp

- *ó Tewér *én* are you Tewér(awuc)?*  
  you Tewér pp

### 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 emésumá *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 mifis pen may I go into this house?
I this house /go into/ pp

no mani 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).

am'

This am which is not identical with the conjunction am, occurs only at the end of word-groups containing an interrogative. Since it has been discussed in paragraphs 232 and 233, it will not be dealt with again here.

4. The dubitative marker éw

255

With some exceptions which will be mentioned later, éw always occurs in combination with either the interrogative form of the verb, with an interrogative, or with one of the question markers en/an and opén/pen. Sentences with éw express a doubt or an assumption:

with the interrogative form of the verb:

čenéw niivi pacáseánies éwa! 45a
mother father /did they kill them/ pp!
have they perhaps killed mother and father (on the river)?

mów emépasán éw are the pandanus fibres already dry? (§ 284).
/pandanus fibres / are they already dry/ pp

with an interrogative:

já ucim pemof éw well, how should I have done it? (§ 327).
that how / did it/ pp

na ucim jo ár' am éw by which river are we? (§ 340).
we which river pp pp pp pp

45a For the final a see § 34.
With *en/an*: here, *new* always occurs instead of *en/an + ev*:

\[\text{amás aráw newá}^{45b}\] is it sago? Perhaps it is sago! (§ 302).
\[\text{sago pp pp}\]

\[\text{pakás kor néw}\] perhaps (he had) a big ulcer (§ 331).
\[\text{ulcer big pp}\]

\[\text{ucím o amítérém, jiptit new, penés new}\]
/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*:

\[\text{namúj pámis aw}\] is my brother-in-law perhaps (lying) there?
/brother-in-law / does he lie/ pp

\[\text{pápes ew}\] are they perhaps at home?
/they sit/ pp

\[\text{amán pómcem éwa!}^{45c}\] have you the bow by you? (§ 336).
bow /you stand with/ pp

with *opén/pen*:

\[\text{o pacák pen éw}\] don’t you want to?
you /don’t want to/ pp pp

\[\text{no jó pen éw mopówpor}\]
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*

*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.

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\[^{45b}\text{For the final }a\text{ see }§\ 34.\]
\[^{45c}\text{For the final }a\text{ see }§\ 34.\]
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: niwi nat áw where has father got to?

father pp pp

querulousness: a esë awût 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.

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).

46 With exception of a few interjections, and n² (§ 259), n is distinguished from all other words by the absence of vowels. In order to indicate that in n a vowel has been dropped, I shall write 'n. The same applies to n'.

47 For the postpositions en/an, opén/pen, am, cw, aw, and in/un/n a relative order could be determined; this order is:

en/an

opén/pen { - ew - aw - in/un/n.

am
á, arána, Miwirpic /jiwis tuwsēf/ aráw new in, ci napi
hey, upstream Miwirpic /who moved away / it is/ perhaps pp canoe white

e nimir araw un, e jō pu /mu jān/ asórmonimár
there /comes downstream/ pp pp there river on current /it follows downstream/
araw un

"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; n⁴⁸ 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 ēk man in jisāpcēj
(mouse), am fruit/to eat/ pp /come outside and sit/
mouse, come outside and sit down to eat up the am fruit! (§ 266).

pō mīpīpīm un āmeremer in
midribs/to cut off/ pp /he went there/
he went there to cut off midribs (of the sago palm) (§ 267).

The m-/mV- forms of the verb do, however, occur in comparable constructions without in/un/n².

sēr matāw ajisāpēres in
/set fish/to catch/ they went onto land and sat/ pp
they went onto the land to sit down and catch the ser fishes (§ 272).

I was not able to discover a difference in meaning between this 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:

\[ jipit, /mán fe'n/ ajimómcemés \]
they drag the boy along by the wrist (§ 265).

\[ e akát ow, e akát cepés in porerémtewerá, pacáksere ow pacák cepés, \]
the fit men the fit women pp /choose repeatedly/, unfit men unfit women

\[ towofá, iním aer in \]
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:

\[ /se'n/ ajáwníamar in \] she returned covered in mud (§ 300);
\[ mud /she returned covered in/ pp \]
as well as:

\[ sé ajáwnimía \] I return, covered in mud (§ 301);
\[ mud /I return covered in/ \]
and:

\[ júmus in jiremóf \] I walked with bowed head (§ 309);
\[ /bowed head/ pp /I went/ \]
as well as:

\[ júmus jiremég \]
\[ /bowed head / she went/ \]
she went with bowed head (looking for crabs) (§ 303).

\[ am' \]
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-čërês
/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 ajatámsières in wailing, they entered the river (§ 328).
wailing pp /they entered the river/ pp

261

aw

This aw is not identical to the aw mentioned in § 257; it probably is an allomorph of aráw/ará/ar'.

Compare:

Patépo cuwúc opéf aráw at that time he lived with Patépo (§ 311);
Patépo /at that time / he sat with/ pp

and:

Patépo enëřim 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

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: *Taweric amás… ‘Taweric sago’…* cannot be understood unless the accompanying sounds made by the narrator are represented: *Taweric amás $x$ $x$ $x$ ‘Taweric chopped down sago palms’.*

In addition, the following punctuation-marks will be used:

- the comma, to indicate a non-final pause in the speech of the narrator;
- the full stop, to indicate a final pause, after a non-exclamatory sentence;
- the exclamation mark, to indicate a final pause after an exclamatory sentence;
- the dash, to indicate a sudden change of theme;
- 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 *Mifekpic* from Surú; approximately 14 years of age. He tells of a day in the life of youths from Surú.

II. (§ 265). Narrator: *Mifekpic*. He gives a brief description of the way in which a marriage is concluded.


IV. (§§ 267 - 270). Narrator: *Warsé*, an elder brother of Mifekpic, 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
Cowùtpacák is part of the history of the origin of the Majît 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 Majît 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, Miwírpc 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 Miwírpc 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, Miwírpc 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 kaware feast held on the Mimika Coast, bear a strong resemblance to some of the events described in
Asépar’s version.¹

VII. VIII. & IX. Narrator: Wominén, a young man from Jepém, approximately 16 years of age. These three stories all have as their subject matter a contact with supernatural beings. These were told to me as true happenings.
In VII. (§§ 303 - 306), he tells about the woman, Pajámpari, and the consequences following intercourse with a spirit from a river which passes itself off as the man she desires.
In VIII. (§§ 307 - 315), Wominén tells how he himself was taken off by a spirit girl who wanted to marry him, and was finally brought back.
In IX. (§§ 316 - 320), he tells how his father once had an encounter with his ancestors when he was searching for fish.

X. (§§ 321 - 344). Narrator: Simni, chief of the ceremonial house Awór in Surú; approximately 55 years of age. This story tells about a famine in the coastal regions which made it necessary for the people living in the area to join villages further inland. It describes in detail the fate of the people of Jepém when they went to the village of Seréw, and how the majority of them were slain there. The story is a tarí atakám, a story regarded by the Asmat people as historical. The happenings described in this story must have taken place at least a century ago.²

¹ The only description of the kaware feast known to me is in the unpublished notes of the Dutch Roman Catholic missionary, Father G. Zegwaard, M.S.C., which date from 1952. Father Zegwaard associates this feast with two origin myths of which the Asmat equivalents are the stories of Fimiriw, and 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 kaware feast clearly relate to happenings in the myth, told by Asépar, i.e.,
the plaiting of a very large basket, followed by the young men carrying very heavy objects;
the ritual chopping down of the tree of which the trunk is to provide the central pole of the house of the feast. When the tree is to be chopped down, the crown foliage is first stripped off and then a man climbs to the top. Here he is discovered by women who are out looking for him. He spits chewed leaves onto those below (= sago fruit?);
the ritual banging end-to-end of the broad ends (called the ‘heads’) of two poles. This could be a re-enactment of the young Tewérawuc being placed, head-to-head, on Miwirpic.
In view of the preceding, the Kámoro word kaware could be connected with the Asmat word coworé, the extreme end of a frond of the sago palm. This view is supported by the fact that Kámoro words often have k where the Asmat words, corresponding to them, have c.

² From Zegwaard’s data, it appears that four generations ago (± 100 years) the villages of Surú, Éwér, Jepém, Per, and Uwús were in the same places as described in this story.
THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

I

264

ná amás mér, wásen á. amás mamánem, amás mawán. amás awcóm, amás esé atápómcémóm. amás esé tapómcém 1 misérim, ánicémóm. cém misérim ásetájcémom. amás áncom, mari atów ará. atów ecóm, wunám, porów, már atów me, arásen ajínwénawcémóm. már atów eitúmcém, áncom, cém amás ancóm, mari is ápoamiscémóm.

1 capómcém.

* i.e., from Surú to Ágats.

II

265

jipít, jéw emápcémá. cowút, cém ará. ájimsoicémés cowút jimsomít, jipít jimsomít écémés. jimsomicémés, cowút, jis atopómcémés jipít, máń fe’n ajímomicémés. ár énêw, a niwi cém misérim áfiwomiwcémés.1 fiwomiwcémés 2 masérim, mari, á ko inim ajiwemapómcémés. á ko jiwpómcémés, jókmen simtiwtámcémés.3 amás án co simtiwtámcémés. mari, amás áncémés. amás, si amamtámcémés. á pakajápcémés ów si amamtačémés misérim mari, misit écémés misérim, séj in órowapómcémés awér kápmapómcémés. jófaj misérim, mari amás mer jisomásmes. wasén, fawic emásmewérmes. fawic 4 emásmewérmes. ci niomúwcémés.5 fawic éasasmewérmes. cém setájcémés. wun jófaj amás mer jisásmes. ófasicémés. porów misérim, amás, cowúc, ár isipís, cém atówomiwtámcémés. tówomiwtámcémés pók am ámutámcémés. mari opák.

1 fiomícemés; 2 fiomíwcémés; 3 simtitámcémés; 4 faít; 5 niomúcémés.

* 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

We go to the forest to get sago. To cut down a sago palm; to scrape out the sago. When we've scraped out the sago, then we put the sago in the bags. When we've filled the bags we go back. Then we arrive home. When we've eaten, there'll be play. When we've played then, in the afternoon, we all come here to play football once more. When we've played football in the afternoon, and when we've gone back and have eaten at home, then we all go to sleep.

II

The boy sits in the ceremonial house. The girl is at home. They pull them up with them; they pull the boy up with them; they pull the girl up with them. They pull them up with them; they put the girl on someone's back; they drag the boy along with them by the wrist. Then they take them inside, into the house of his mother and father. When they've taken them inside, they make them sit down on the floor cross-legged. They make them sit cross-legged and they push the bamboo tongs towards her. They push a basket with sago in it towards her. Then they eat the sago. They share the sago out. They share out the sago among all the people who are gathered there, and after that the latter get up one by one, and gently press her several times on the shoulders. The awér is put on her. The following day, they go away with her to the forest to get sago. In the forest they make jokes all the time; all the time they make jokes. They take her with them in the canoe. Still joking, they come here and arrive home. The next day they go away to the forest to get sago. They come back. Then, when it's evening, they take the sago inside the house of the girl's parents. They take it to them, and they also present them with things of value.
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).

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

A Maciw snake lay asleep after bathing. A [bunch of] ripening Am fruit hung above it. "Maciw, get out of the way, you! I want to fall down to become squashy," it said, but in vain. "Why do you never fall down when you're alone? Why do you always want to fall down when someone's lying here?" [the snake] said. "Well, since you are there," it said. And the whole bunch of Am fruit forthwith fell down from above and hit the [snake's] nose. "Oh, my nose! Oh, my nose!" it cried. "Mouse, run out of the undergrowth and sit down and eat up the Am fruit," it said. The mouse immediately started to run out, and it sat down to eat up the Am fruit. "Hey, fire, burn up this mouse," said [the fruit]. The fire came up to the mouse, frizzling it up. "Downpour fall down!" it said. A downpour fell down. That's all.

IV

Fet went to get sago; early in the morning he started out. Early in the morning he started out to get sago and, having gone upriver, entered a sidestream. When he had rowed into the sidestream, they (Fet and his wife) went quickly into the forest. When they got into the forest, the man began to chop down a sago palm. Fet, the husband. He made the test holes.* When he'd made them, he chopped off the growth from the trunk, and he also stripped off the bark. When the man had stripped off the bark, he first took the sago scraper. He first fixed the headpiece to it. He took the sago scraper and began to scrape out the pith. When they'd scraped out all the pith —, after that, he gave his wife the sago scraper. He gave the sago scraper to his wife, and she began to scrape out the pith. Then the man walked quickly to the crown of the palm; he went there to cut off midribs of the fronds. He cut off midribs of the fronds and then he fitted up the trough for washing the sago, and when he'd made the whole thing, he then said to his wife: "Squeeze out the sago pulp." His wife squeezed out the sago pulp continually; continually she squeezed out the sago pulp. They were doing it from the early morning. The man, on his part, scraped out sago continually. He scraped all the time; they squeezed out all the sago pulp. The man scraped out the pith until it was all out and when he'd scraped out all the pith they let the water run away b and put the sago meal in the carrying bag.
ar mó cowó mokómtewér, cowó eméner in. cowó emenér, cowé kokómtawór, ar ém, cowé esé atówopmor in. cowé esé towopmór, ar ém aráw, “wú copón pomáteweri,¹ cem, wú matáknap” iním aer in. ar mó wú copón emátmor in. wú aématmac in, wú copón mátemewér, wú asumór masėirim, — ar ém am arám, amás esé tatópór akát. pók am tatófajintiw akát. mari ar mó wú ámerátmor in. wú sumomér, tówocinér masėirim, “enamúc ánica” iním aer in. a amás apim ará, átewerac in, mirám ajikoniér ² in. mirám ajikoniac ³ in, ci anititiwer in a amás esé am ci nitówópmorés, ar ém mú amúor ar cóin mú amuorés masirim ci asuwuwóores ⁴ in. — wasén éwniérés mu ánimurés. mu ámuores ⁵ in ci ásuwaces in. mari aséperes in. sépeérés, áptakérés in.

¹ pomáterit; ² ajúkoniér; ³ ajúkoniác; ⁴ asúwores; ⁵ mu ámore.


¹ ápemór.
The man went to the crown to break off side leaves of the fronds of the sago palm. He went to the crown; he broke off side leaves, and his wife lined the bag with them. She lined the bag with them and she said: “By and by, chop down a young sago palm and take the edible top out of it, so that when we arrive home we can eat it.” The man went to chop down a young sago palm. He went to chop it down; then he chopped it open in order to get the edible top out of it, and —. Meanwhile, his wife had put the sago neatly in the bag, and placed all the tools neatly beside each other. The man went to cut out the edible top. He pulled out the edible top, took it back with him and said: “Come, let’s go home.” Then he took the sago pulp, which he wrapped up in a small bag, and went with it to the river. First he wrapped it up and then he went with it to the river; then he put it in the canoe. They also put the bag with the sago in it in the canoe; then the wife went to bathe. When she and her husband had bathed, they stepped into the canoe to start out... They came out of the forest and went to the river to bathe. They bathed; they stepped into the canoe. Then they started out. They started out, and began to row downstream.

Then Watér came, just as the water began to go down, to put down a fish trap. And he put down the fish trap in the river which Fet and his wife had entered. When he’d put down the fish trap, he went ashore and stayed there. Now they came down the river; Fet and his wife came rowing quickly down the river. The man kept a sharp lookout downstream; there, in the distance, was the fish trap in the river, closing it. “Hey, who are you who’ve put down the fish trap?” he cried out from where he rowed downstream. Watér, who stood in the forest, said: “I’ve put that fish trap down there.” “Oh, maybe you’re the one who’s put the fish trap there, then roll up a little of the end that’s on your bank, then I — the canoe, can go along by the bank,” he said, but to no purpose. Watér said: “Why don’t you go down the river when you’re alone? Must you travel down the river just as I’ve put down a fish trap?” so he shouted out, standing on the land. “Oh, come, only a little gap; roll up the end for me, let me get through first!” he said, but in vain. Watér said: “Why don’t you go down the river when you’re alone?” “Since you are there...,” (Fet) said. “Come, let’s take the canoe upstream a bit,” he said. They quickly
THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

éwtopómsirímorés cowák mari fér jiten ín atapómtéromes ín a jó pu. fér jo pú jiten ín atapómtéromes ín.

270
Watér am arám apán efa tiwsiritewera 1 ín, Fét cuwúc emíc, maré mi picín, mitápmor ín. mi picín 2 ámitápmac ín, Fét am “á, nemcén eméteměrém” iním aer ín. áséfasiac ín, amás apím, atiwteferac 3 ín cuwúc emíc maré nám empámor ín. nám empamór misérím, mare owén ajípsámores ín. owén amorés amorés amorés, “apán mitapmún aráw, Fét, Fet májawérnes. Fét aworsée” iním aer ín. Fét am arám, “amás apim emskmún aráw, mú enám niáworséc Watéra. Watér emák kikínakap mómsaweri”, iním aer ín. maré, Watér aráw, mú aniser ín. mu tíki ajipuor ín. fér am musúmtewépak ín, mú wu ánijiser ín. Fét am arám, ci ewtépsowor cowák, mo mi’n ajistpsér ín. mo mi’n jistpsér misérím, ow porá er, 4 mó amán tapíjiwá, ow opák aparó er, 4 mi’n jistpséa, iním aer ín. Watér am arám, ow porá er, 4 mú tíki jipuá ów opák aparó er, 4 súwapá, mú jipuá afún pupupu ínín ajipuor ín. ínym aémor ín. maré.

1 tiwsiteráci; 2 mi pcín; 3 atíteráci; 4 aporér.

* The fet is a fish that lives in small holes in the mud.

271
Ówpacák, Cowútpacák.a tíw Miwírpíc. Majít nucir ín. sé caka jésmar jiwi mú. Majít nucir ín. sé caka jésmar ci sér mokokóm sen, cowák awuámsesmar ín. Ówpacák Cowútpacák, a tíw Miwírpíc 1 ám, maré erém ajámuwésamar ín. erém amtakésmár, sé caka jésmar, sé pe mákan maré, sé ajíémères ín. pé akitmes ín. pé akitmés, pú mu am ákonawor ín. “maréwa, pú mu átewermára, 2 jáka erén mätetapmúca, erén máescésa”, 3 ínín aeres ín. erén jipít cowák ajírimtápmores ín, ów maté. erén tépkuruérés, ci anisájéres ín. ci nisajéres, ci sér araw
rowed up the river; he and his wife forthwith rowed up the river. From there they set off, rowing quickly. They rowed strongly from there — in the middle of the river they drove straight into the fish trap and split it down the centre. There in the middle of the river they drove straight into it and split it down the centre.

270

Then Watér quickly picked up a many-pointed arrow and hit Fet, who stood there, on the nose. When it had hit him on the nose, Fet said: "Oh, so now you are angry!" He turned round, picked up the sago pith and hit Watér, who stood there, on his body. After it had hit him, they began to struggle. They fought, and fought, and fought.... "With a fish spear I struck you; Fet shall they call you from now on. Change into a fet fish," said Watér. Fet, in his turn said: "With sago pulp I hit you. Change into a fish, a water fish. By and by become a fish, a water, full of bones!" Thereupon, Watér went into the water; with a splash he dived in. He did not remove the fish trap. In the water, he began to waggle his fins. Fet, for his part, forthwith sprang off the canoe and stuck his nose up through a small hole. He stuck his nose up through a hole, and whenever he saw anybody, he went back into the hole, and whenever he saw that there was nobody, he stuck his nose up through the hole. That's what he did. Watér, in his turn, dived below with a splash when he saw anybody, and whenever he saw that there was nobody, he came above the water, and when he dived he blew air bubbles. That's what he did. That's all.

271

Ówpacak and Cowútpacak. Their son was Miwirpic. They were forefathers of the Majit people. At night the mud banks lay dry, it was jiwi nu. They were forefathers of the Majit people. At night, when the banks lay dry, the whole village went down the river to catch ser fish. And Miwirpic, 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
The method used to catch the ser fish is as follows: in the shallow water near the bank of the river a number of canoes are placed end to end in a half circle, facing the bank. The canoes are then pushed towards the bank driving before them the fish that have been caught in this trap. The men who have been pushing the canoes then go and sit on the bank, stretch out their legs to the right and left of their bodies, and try to seize the fish as they slither back to the water.

272 wunám ci wá kor óeres ín. a sér najitipit, ci wa iním emés maré wasén sopí sopí ajiser ín. Miwirpitsimit 1 arám, ów a tasmájipic ín, “tiwa, é sosójismar nás korá, atewércokom ów mómtetámíná”, iním aer ín. maré wá omisérés, wasén jisokómtiwerés misérém, maré sér matáw ajisjápěres ín. ar ás kor nat e wasén ewcúcurumorés cowák. wasén ewcúcurúmorés cowák, ár apnáf 2 a, cúrujišá, ájamesjinier ín iwním piním. Ówpacák Cowútpacák, a tiw Miwirpic 3 apnáf 2 masirim maré mimi aniáper ín. maré, atewérac ín, ci atówonier ín. mú apirimac ín, fé acomómor ín. a Miwirpitsimit 1 aráw, Miwirpitsimit 1 aráw, curúw jirpu apuémér ín. “á, ja mátetamúca,4 májsiréra” ajipores opák ín. “á, nám nor ñiwé no niwi ása, céméw atmokóma”, iním ajómer ín.

1 Miwirpitsimit; 2 apnéf; 3 Miwr; 4 mátamúca.


1 Mirpitsimit; 2 apnéf; 3 Mirpit; 4 mátamúca.
the tide came in. “Let’s stop now, the tide begins to rise. Send someone upriver to call the people; they must come here,” they cried. They sent a man upriver to call the people. There upstream they shouted their agreement, and they all got into the canoes. They all got into the canoes, and after that, they drove the ser fishes (before them) with the canoes. They drove them against the (downstream) bank. They caught the ser fishes. Again they drove them, with the canoes in a half circle. Then, as before, they drove them to the bank.

272
Again they made a big half circle. While they were busy doing that. a gigantic ser fish rushed to the bank, leaping high out of the water. The old Miwirpic, the men’s war leader, cried: “Children, that one that’s leaping onto the shore yonder is mine! If you catch it you must give it to me.” And they pushed the canoes towards the shore. When they’d driven them against the land, they went onto the land to sit down and catch the ser fishes. The huge ones forthwith slithered from the bank. They (the fishes) slithered down from the bank, towards the wide apart stretched legs (of the men). They broke through to the water’s edge. The son of Öwpacak and Cowútpacak, Miwirpic, sat down, his legs stretched wide apart close to the ground. He was the one who caught it, and he took it to the canoe. He washed it in the water, and he strung it on a rope. Now, the old Miwirpic was furious, but he didn’t show it. “Hey, give him that fish, he’s laid claim to it,” they cried, but to no purpose. “No, it’s for my mother and father; you won’t rile me,” he said, keeping it.

273
Once again they drove the ser fishes up but then to the upstream bank. They drove them up onto the shore. As to the small Miwirpic; the old Miwirpic went alongside him with the canoe; he gave him a thwack with the blade of his paddle and toppled him into the mud with his mouth open. The men who were in the war canoes (called out): “Let’s go!” and they all fled. Some of the people had already gone ahead upriver to their houses and they sat there just staring. His papis partner was 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: “Öwpacak, Cowútpacak, the old Miwirpic struck your child with the blade of the paddle and
Cowútpacáka, ca tiw aráw. pó men sé okon ín akmápmorés, é asep móc ajósmes ará” iním eres in.

1 ajískómtires; 2 emétepakajpítes; 3 cikimór; 4 Míripitsimit; 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.

274
Miwírpic, ásirmotéperá, cém atepómser ín. cém tepomsér, ar ēnèw a niwi móc mamóc 1 pak ín, ar ēnèw a niwi móc mamóc 1 pak. múapom ánamewámes ín. “a, na iním pacákseré ow, ów cepés na jimá, ná muapóm araw áná”, iním já james ín. Miwírpic masèrim wunám, sé armá awuápmor ín. sé armá wuápmor ín. jófaj amápm, jófaj am ápamés, jófaj misèrim amás mér araw ún. amás mér, amás cem áwtiwërés, a ci towopmór jipit,2 Mewórpíc, maré Miwírpic mi aók-mores ín. amás aworés, wunám, os mér araw ún, cém os. cém os, curúw ámores ín. Majit nucúr moporóm pak ín a cém os. curúw amápuërés in ar ém cin ar mó cin. cém am curúw, ájapómkekémores ín. cém am curúw, curúw. jóf opák ín, takás akikirákurúmores ín. jimsíp, ákamápmores ín. wasén, pók cem, ajápmores ín.

1 mot mó; 2 ipit.

i.e., Mewórpíc.

275
wunám, amás araw ún. amás, amás, aworés, aworés, aworés. cém, amás patámkurmorés, “má” jaces ín, mú enám 1 araw ún, sen ásirim-tákères ín. súku atéwer ín. fét atéwer ín. fis atéwer ín. pé atéwer ín. kanpór atéwer ín. sinák atéwer ín. én atéwer ín mu enám.1 é pakajisé, pók, e pákajámis pok, takás áfémémtawor ín. wasén, ców ek atéwer ín. ci ék atéwer ín. os ék, átewer ín. jif atéwer ín. pirí misín atéwer ín. sé atéwerer ín. emór, jófaj amamés jófaj, erám pok, afefémémtawores ín. erám pok afefémémtawamés, acic acíc pok, afefémémtawamés, jófaj, masèrim, a tiw, Mewórpíc a Miwírpic mi okmorés jipit, 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 Miwirpic?” 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.

274
He rowed with Miwirpic upriver; he took him upriver to the house. He took him home, but his mother and his father didn’t cry. They didn’t cry. Everyone was telling everybody else to bury him. “Must we bury the child of such a bad man and woman,” they said over and over again. In the end he himself buried Miwirpic. 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 Miwirpic by rubbing him with lime. They scraped out the sago and then they went to fetch wood for the poles for a house. They chopped down the poles for the house in secret. They didn’t let the forefathers from the Majit people see those house poles. They chopped them secretly, the man and his wife. The house, too, they built in secret and tied it firmly. They built the house in secret, too; there were no holes in it. They stopped them all up. They made a door in it. In the forest they put up a hut to store food.

275
Once more, they went to get sago, and sago, and sago; they scraped and scraped and scraped; they filled the hut right up with sago. “That’s still not enough,” they said, and they went downstream to get the things that live in the water. He got a small ewór crab, a sûku, 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
THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

asiénawút”, inim ajitámor in. Ájitamac in jófaj aráw maré, erém atiwkojer in. Majit nucur arám se cáka jésmar, pód memán, sén fofófo jitaker in. arám efá siríntakáces in, e jó naraw atáксaces \(^2\) in, “jáka jícémpu múa, máenawcwáwa”, inim aer in, Ówpacák. inim entawmár jóc ara “kékékékéké” inim aer in. ar ém cin ar mó cin, “á, émá síri kór naká. cém cátépapcóma”; \(^3\) inim aer in.

\(^1\) eném; \(^2\) atáksaces; \(^3\) tátepapcóma.

* The call of the jóc bird is considered as an augury in that when its call is heard one may ask the bird a question. If the call stops, the answer is in the affirmative. In this story, the screaming of the jóc bird is a sign that the magic practised by Ówpacák and Cowútpacák will take effect immediately.

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276

cém inim tepapmés, jícémúp \(^1\) sesák jáknakapiriw atowópmor in. Siréc jo pú. sésak jáknakáp atowópmor in. mú komén fére ajikonáwor in maré. é po mén emskomór jipit nát, cém metép pak in maré jócor átakamás, mú namir átakamás in. “sen mú ajter ína” inim emés, Mewórpic, \(^2\) ar isípis, e asé ar isípis, a térásépés, asé a térásépés, átawac in, Ówpacák Cowútpacák, cém cowák maré ajirámsimápmor in. “jímp mapapájímú” inim aer in. jímpíp pajimáces in ar isípis e cém amán cowák. maré jímp in akápmaper in. Majit nucúr cém emápëres ów, pó karéw araw ún. pó karéw emápaces in, cém eápmores in. mú nat inim emór cowák, tototototo. Majit nucúr, maré mú atow-ómser in. pó karéw apërés ow, maré mu, ajítmomáser in. pód mer, amás mer pacájuckor ów, mú namir takas in. erém nat, maré mú nat, 'm, jimtewer \(^3\) in. Majit nucúr wun ów, pó karéw apërés ow, té cesmar wó, afésmar, namir nim e ci amán, júmus in jínítnakapiriw nesén acaciapëres \(^4\) in.

\(^1\) jítmúp; \(^2\) Mowórpic; \(^3\) jiémtewer; \(^4\) atatiápëres.

* asé ar isípis, asé a tarásépés: his asé “side” parents and sisters. It is not clear which kinship group is meant here.

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277

a Ówpacák enim Cowútpacák aráw, “jáka iwínm emséces ów aráw, já ur isípis, nesén momniemit, nesén momatówerit”, inim áeres in. anakátípic aráw, “awó”, inim aer in. púw atéwer in, fírkóm am amán am átewerac in, maré iwínier in. cemsén áwiniér, inim 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 Miwirpic by rubbing him with lime. "When the people say that the water's rising downstream, then be quick and come here with your parents," so they said to him. The day after they had told him that, he [Ówpacak] started out at night; the forefathers from the Majit 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: "kèkèkèkèkè." "Hey, wait a bit," said the man and his wife, "not so fast! Let's first reach our house."

276

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!", Mewórpcic fetched all his blood kin and all his distantly related kin 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 Majit 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 Majit. 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 Majit 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.

277

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 [Mewórpcic]. He took a spear, he took a heavy arrow and a bow and went down quickly to
apërés ow cuwúc ¹ asés aw ún. òw manmák mempepém pak. té afesmár, nám jinic, ci amán of nim cuwút ² pakajamis aw ún. jefé aniómac in, òcen in asemármor in. anakátow mopór pak in. a òcen in mitapmá er, ájujukúmsomitéres in. ájafac in, — ar ènèw a niwi mofasim pak néw —, maré nesén ajísemer in. a mú kampomésmar enám, capínmí nát, màj memém asén pak in. usir wut, ôn wut, sowót wut, är wut, capínmí, ôkokonisok in. a mú emór, as wá maré, sá takas in. ców, sá takas, sánamikurúmor in. á seokorá eres, é akát ow é akát cepes in pórérmtewerá inim aer in. — cém, arám, cém éápmorés, mú am aráp cem etámores in. wá mu áwsemác in, ewór atewsémor in súku átewsémor in fét atewsémor in, e wá mu.

¹ cu; ² cut.

278

emór, à emséères, é akát ow e akát cepes in pórérmtewerá, pacáksere òw pacák cepés, tówofá, inim aer in. á cemésen pakajámser enám, cém aciómiwères in. mú sisímkaamíntiwér enám. Cowútpacák, Ówpacák ar ém cin, wasén aiwjiisères ¹ in. “amás pawáncaisin, amás sa sákuru­­awér ará” inim eres in. Ówpacák amás ajísátmor in. amás amor in. mocó nat si mén acín atáper in. “má, inim pak” ájaces in, áfasínères in. wú aurúmteweres ² in. wú nat, mú afemór, asesá kamák mopan in. cém niápërés, “wasén, ców opák aw, amás jemé. sínakap mitapmúj cérecafó jasér aw”, inim anijáper in. “ma” jac in, tinak ek átewer in. wasén ajístowópmor in. ci ek atéwer in, wasén ajístowópmor in. os ek, átowópmor in. sen fét atáktitiwer ³ in, súku atáktitiwer ³ in, fis atáktitiwer ³ in. ewór, pé, atáktitiwer ³ in. mú enám anítewsémor in. “má” jac in jísín akán atowópmor in. wasén, amás, átemétwasiáper in, copú. mówerompór pak in. arám a cém amás cowák ajápánères in. sén matákoweróm pak in. arám a cém enám cowák ájapánères in.

¹ aiwíšeres; ² aurúmteres; ³ atáktier.

* This is a sign that the sago in the tree has been spoiled.

* 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.

278

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. "No, it can't be done," they said and they turned back. They got out the edible top of a sago palm. The water had ruined it; it was as hot as ginger. They went home. "There are no (good) sago palms in the forest, the sago is salty. I thrust the axe into it a bit and the juice spurted out," he said when he had returned. "So, it's no good," he said, and he took the fruit of the sago palm and planted it in the forest. The fruit of the ci tree, he took it and planted it in the forest. He planted the seeds of the trees in the forest. Downstream, he put the fet fish, the sukú and the fis fish, the ewór and the pe crab. He put back again into the water all things that live in the water. "That's still not good enough", he said, and he planted coconut shoots. In the forest the sago palm was beginning to grow; it was already copú. He didn't go back again to keep an eye on them; they only ate the fish that were in the house.
\[\text{279}\]


dídé wápiwá,

\[\text{280}\]

\[\text{VI}\]

\[\text{1 aïwiisëres.}\]

\[\text{1 wamís; 2 anâncow.}\]
Owpacak 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, Mewóripic, 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

They gave Tewérawuc to Miwirpic (as a wife). They gave the elder sister, Tewérawuc, to him. Tewérawuc always roasted sago; for Miwirpic, she always roasted nice fish, tasty sticks of sago mixed with sago grubs, and tasty sticks of sago mixed with fish. But he wouldn't touch them. He just lay on the floor; he wanted to marry her younger sister. She prepared tasty roasted sago for him, and tasty roasted fish. But Miwirpic wouldn't eat. "It's your sago, and it's also your fish, you must eat it," he said. "Oh, Miwirpic, I prepare tasty roasted sago, delicious roasted fish for you. I always catch many fine fish, fine am and omót; I make tasty sticks of sago and fish for you, now why won't you eat them? When you were still small and I was still small, they intended us for each other," so she spoke, sitting down (beside him) every now and then. "All right, have it your own way!" she cried, and she went to her younger sister who already had breasts (was marriageable). She went inside and sat down beside her sister who was at home. "Hey, 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
"á, Tewérawucá, no já or mó manám maf páka! iním as kor ám naká", ajipor opák in. "á, iním nat uciè! a nát, ó mopórtewét emenè, nór amás jis akát, no pók jis akát etámpormí opów. nór amás nat no pók nat, paké nesen atiwmár aráw", iním ajíkurúmor 1 in, ar épíc. ásosówomér cowák ar amús matewér, ásosówomér cowák. ásosówomer. maré, ár amus áteweráces ín, ar épíc akáwimápmores 2 ín. ar épíc káwimapmorés,2 anakácowúc, cáj in. a nát caj in. ar mó, nám makawi pak ín. nám makawi’n empór opák in. jumús iním jiráper cowák araw ún. amás pok, mán pak ín. manmák moc mimís acín taper ín. ár épíc "á, newét aráw, ó mopórtewét jiewérmëró. a nór amás aráw no pók aráw, mopórsaméwirir. nór masínérím, nám, normá makawímop, ajúrsewirin. mare ákawimtewérmin aráw. amás pok jis metamúj e jísis páfírapí", ajíporá jípor opák ín. "á, no nát ja or mó nat manám afání. manám mafè, e nór amás jis no pók jis arów metám aráwá", iním japá iním er ín. "á, manám maf pák am iním aráw! manám maf pák am iním aráw nó sinopís, new isipís, manám maf pák owér iním aráw owerów armá, manám 3 armá comá 3 emes ám. fácmintewtá emes ám ám mís jis ín, pók jis jíwpupá iním emés. oráp cowák mémpon pák", ajipor opák in.

1 ajíkurumór; 2 akáimápmores; 3 suka: loan-word from Malay.

anakátipíc, nám makawi pák apór, “Tewérawúc, jiwis pok ci a” iním aer ín. jiwis atuwor ín — tuwútmar ín. anakácowútñakáp ep ánía wéréper ín. ar épíc wowúc ín ar mó cimén ín. jiwis tuwómser ín maré. é Siréc arán, ápajímoñser ín ci mí. Siréc ametóciner ín. mówsec ís, ésomíta er, nám makawi pák ín. cémnakapiriw awút opák ín, iním nakapiriw emapíma jípor, cowkán mopóromomís. a nát, érasenakapiríw, fá ícítának nésen 1 jísmásá. a ár épíc aráw “á, ní newét, mótwóm-sefáfaw, wowúc sumomsá iním erásín”, ajíporá jípor opák ín. ar amús nat “á, nó or mó manám afániè. no or mó manám afání. nór masínérím,
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.

281
"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.

282
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 ájapotáwmanëném”, iním ja iním er ín. tam jó puamsá er, cí niómuwá, Siréc arán átowomsér cowák. jó iním nimémerapá er, wasén kuomsá, cémnakap inímnakap ín, áomóciner ín. iním cowák, tám tuwomséa, jók, pó mináf un. tám, cí niómuwá, e jók jo jurúw, pó mináf un. é ar epic kor, “á, Tewér- awucakáp, cepés métiw atakám motáw pak emár aráw. atakám otáw- pormín opów. otáwporéwirín opów! newét, nám makawí atakám otáwporéwirín opák. ucm cáj pomséfaw éw. jók mukáp opák, op jó poké animár, na mák atiwtarémár aráw. ucm cáj pecaw év newét, acán owpormín opák mówsec omsénom”, iním jomséa iním aer in anakácowútnakápiriw, e ci ep móc mimís pu ín. “é, ó jurúsmemá, ñá, newét matowómsefáw, jiwís cem armá kújurumápcaw apórserár”, ar epic iním jomséa iním aer ín.

1 nè.

maré Siréc épmak nák ákikícukómaser ín. ajárrikiómser 1 in maré. cém wos ín ajarómer ín. cém wos ín ajarómer ín. Siréc epmák. cém, eapmór, ar epic, “néj, newét cowkán wowút sumóperasín, newét a cém, tapín a jumcip iním mimíwtiwtám, ór a jó ajpím iním mapí nór a jó ajpím iním memáp”, ajipor “á, no nát manám afání, jáka or mó manám afání!” “á, oprá mempór pow! nó sinopís nów isísíp am, a tiw jak ín jiwsú emár, iním aráw! ówerów, cepés inim manmák armá okoromá emés, newét masájwut opów! newét arám inim minip púmeméwirír 2 o matewét, nó masërín aráw, cáj asiropén, normá atewérfin”, ajipor opák in. “mowséçé, po jámkonáwewirúm 3 aráw maríw, cém os ín ajájjirim- ópmar aráw, ní nám makawíc”, ajipor opák in. “no nát, o nám makawí cowút memáp pow, óm or atakám matáw emápem áw” inim
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.

288

Finally, he arrived with them at the narrow upper course of the Siréc; forward he went with them into the narrow stream and then (went ashore and) cleared an open space for a house. There, on the upper reaches of the Siréc. When he'd made the house, the elder sister said: "Come, let's allow our husband to sit between us. Spread a sleeping mat out here, near the door; you go and sit on one side and I'll go and sit on the other." "Oh, do you think I love him? Do you think I love that husband of yours?" "Oh, only you won't do it! My sisters and my mothers always have children in their bellies; that is the way it is. It's only the men who flirt with the women, who take them to wife; women do fall in love, but they don't do the marrying. My man has always had it in his mind; he's wanted to take you, and I've finally given in. I, of my own accord, I fetched you," so she tried to
aer in. jó puamsá er, mopór pak a cimín cowák araw ún. cém in aópac in, e jök jo jurúw, jo ti merémapá, iním aer in.

1 ajárkikuómser;  2 púmemewirúp;  3 jomkanawewirím.

284

"Tewéra, esé mú anemúc" iním aer in. é wasén anakátipíc e wasén erém animuká er. a wú mikin wút cowák araw ún, ców na opák in. a wú mikin wút cowák, ci papi nesén aémsiter in. á nesén os wá cowak in, a Siréc.1 amás opák in, ców opák in. anakátipíc áomatmár araw ún, wós wos áomatmár araw ún. ci aésúmtúmor in wú ci. iním porá er, "nor mó wut ém", mi wút ním nesén afmár araw ún. maré waser kór atemétswáper in. copón atemétém in. anakátipíc mésomic araw ún.2 maré op atemétjamémer in. ar ém, esé at áetamor in. mów esé, mow, anakátipíc mów ajáker 3 in. mów akamár, ar ém aníjukmapóm-tamor in. "Tewéra, a mów esé mísí mów akamí, mów masamúc jo poké asirímsamúc" iním aer in. ar ém aráw, "hé hé" jac in, a mów aráw jo poké aturúmmamár, jo poké aturúntiwer in. "e esé, mócopí maríw, mów emépasán ew" "á, mów tó emésamep áw. jowún emé-samep áw" "á maré mocóapi, mów mapúc" iním er in. amás na maré mic atemtemer in. mic wut in. "pok wút cowák, á matatám 4 pok éfamúc" iním er in. "esé siriá, ácopáwerém cowák, mér cowáká". ar ém masnim, "á, esé a mér cowák méwtiwájí pák! písís esé émá a mér cowák mewtiw aráw mów esé siporewérmes opák. mà, émtawmé aráw an" 5 iním er in.

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.

285

esé, mów pamár, acóaper in. coapér, esé nat najtípicëj, cótiwer in. "Miwirpiríca, e esé awút kor new áw", iním er in. anakátipic iním apór, "á, ja wúń mow ám moapút! já esé nat, énakapiríw misi atakám tawmanín, esé jép er ár, jép er ár", iním er in. "á, Miwirpirí é esé nat ucím caj écémë. esé awút nák wut mempór pow no nát a esé najtípic
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.

284
"Tewér, make a carrying bag" he said. Each night he disappeared into the forest. There was only one goodly young sago palm; it stood there with broad-based fronds. There was only the ordinary forest by the Siréc. There were no sago palms; there was no sago forest. The man got to work; he made an open space. He pulled off the old fronds from the young palm. Time and again he looked at it: "You're a beauty!" It rose up like lime which is thrown about. Finally it grew into a wasér; (then) it became a copón. The man stood guard by it. At last it had grown large and high. He told his wife to make a bag, a bag plaited with the fibres from the roots of the pandan tree. The man got the roots; he stripped off a great quantity of roots and put them down together for his wife. "Tewér, I've just stripped off a great amount of pandan roots to make the bag with; dry them, put them in the sun to dry quickly!" he said. "All right," said his wife, and she spread out the roots in the sun; she laid them down neatly in the sun. "Now, plait the bag; are the roots dry yet?" "Yes, they were already quite dry yesterday; they were already quite dry the day before yesterday." "Fine, start the plaiting, work loose the fibres," he said. Now, the sago palm had grown into a fully grown palm. A large fully grown palm. "It's huge! Quickly, it mustn't flower," he said. "Get on with the bag, if you plait continually it'll be made in a day." But his wife said: "Huh, a carrying bag can't be plaited in a day! A bag made of grass, yes, that can be plaited in a day, but a fibre bag, even if the plaiting is done without interruption, that can't be done! You don't really mean that," she said.

285
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", ajipor opák in. “ése mów moapúc, ja esé jiwinakap”, iním er in. anakácowuc “hêhê” jac in, wunám, áorápor in, mów mamacúp.\(^1\) manmák atewerámar jep é merámser ín. esé jep a emámser ín. ar ém, womák pasés in átemétsurúmor in “á, néw isipis, nó sinopís, esé asimés iním esé masiporáji pów, iním esé at nak ówpenem áw” iním er in. acópomít cowák, acópomít cowák, acópomít cowák, acópomít cowák. mów asén kor iním asianerémítuwer in. “émá, Miwírpíc, asé emésakajámi maré asé jipin wut. esé awút kor maré émá, to méwitiw” iním er in.

\(^1\) mamacúp.

* 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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\(^{288}\) jófaj jó fajamsér, anakátipíc, amán in átiawanímac in wasén ar ín. iním apór, mic wut ním é cuwuc émcémár araw ún. “jí, nor mó kor em! cem mémotásisimawé emín”, iním aer in. anakácowuc tám ewópomís, tám ewopomís, tám ewopomís, maré éwokómtiwer in a pók fek. ten ásiac in, com ám ajámtiwer in. é esé jép wut araw ún jép wut araw ún. amás jispormémác in, fasímiér, ó penés wut, firkóm acímítuwer in. tosó ním amómorómtiwer in. átowómiér cowák, capínmí anititíwer in. “Tewéra, o pápem áw”. “no apí”. “a ó penés korá, firkóm acímú” “é, mapnawé” iním er in. “ésé tepéwítwérem”.

“é, e jámtepít wút aráw. cóm wut eméamú”. “á, esé tosów asmúc, waséa, mía” iním er in. wasé atéteremápmor in. e jirik emapmór, mí, manmák níni tepémár araw ún. e ó cíomiwamár, e ar amús, “á, mapájférapí, newét, ó kor cátiwir, ó nam pók jis awúc”, ajipor. “á, orám o ó omópem áw or mó cátíwamán, iním múnawerowé”, iním aer ín. “ó, no okón, asé, nó momóp, a kús kor, á no sínakap á, wun á am sép am”, iním aer ín. “é, mititiwamtócwé”, iním aer ín. atíwtamor in á am sép am, kús\(^1\) kor ám. ájújúkmápómtamóp ar mó, opák ín. ar epic, atakám táwomewermár jón apótimór, anakácowuc aráw, o nésnakap mawán apájférapír in.

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\(^{1}\) kувús.

* See § 284, note a.

\(^{2}\) Tamed pigs are (traditionally) fatter than wild pigs.

\(^{3}\) For the jirik design, see sketch p. 365. Zegwaard remarks in his unpublished notes that the origing of woman is said to be a jirik bag.
going to do with the bag? I can't make an enormous bag. I... this bag is too terribly large," she said, but to no purpose. "Work loose still more fibres for the bag, this bag is much too small," he said. "All right," said his wife, and she again worked loose many fibres, a huge quantity of them. She plaited the eye design; — the one side reached to here, the other to there. The wife scratched her head (thoughtfully, as though) she had liee. "Oh, my mothers and sisters plait bags, but such a bag have they never tried to make, and you've told me to make such a bag!" she said. She plaited, and she plaited, and she plaited, and she plaited. She plaited until she reached a place where she could stop, and then she put the bag aside. "Wait, Miwirpic, my back is so tired; my back's breaking; the bag's too big, wait! I'll finish it tomorrow," she said.

The following day, just as the sun had risen, the man took his bow and went into the forest. He looked at it: there it stood, looking as usual, like a huge cloud of ashes! "Ho, my most beautiful one! Many times shall I return home, filling the house (with your sago)". The wife was busy from early morning, continually at it, and finally she finished the huge thing. When she'd completed the top, she fastened the headband to it. From one side to the other the bag was enormous. He went to the forest to look at the sago palm and when he returned he shot a large sow, with a heavy arrow. It was though he'd killed a tamed sow. Immediately he took it to the house and laid it on the ground. "Tewér, are you there?" "Yes, I'm here." "This large sow, I've shot it with an arrow." "Ah, plenty to eat", she said. "Have you done the bag?" "Yes, the huge thing hangs up there. I've already fixed the large headband to it." "Fine, decorate the bag with red and white," he said. She put stripes of red ochre on it, she put the jirik design on it; and white lime. It hung there, a fine sight. He cut up the sow and took it inside. To her sister she said: "Come, turn yourself round (towards the fire), my husband's killed a large sow. You must roast the entrails of the sow." "Oh, it's your sow, your husband killed it for you, so you eat it yourself," she said. "I want the jaw of the pig and the back part," he said, "the head is for my little wife, and a foreleg and a hindleg? "Go on, put it down for her," she said. He put them down for her, a hindleg, a foreleg and the head. He put everything together for her, but to no purpose. Her sister nagged her,
287


* See § 284, note a.

288

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.

287
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. "Miwirpic, 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. "Miwirpic, 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, Miwirpic, what's that?" she said. "Have patience! Perhaps it's sago, perhaps it's sago! Wait a bit! Come, hand me that axe," he said. He began to chop it down; he cut down that huge palm. He chopped the bark off it. He made it (the sago meal) fly out like a great mass of ashes: he chopped, and chopped, and he toppled it over.

288
He made a test hole in it; he stuck the digging stick into it a bit. "Tewér, it's sago! Look, I pull out the digging stick and there's sago on it!" he said. "Hey, is that really sago? Now we'll eat sago!" she said. For food they'd had only things that live in the water. He moved towards the top; it was near the surface; again he moved towards the top; it was near the surface. "That's enough, the palm's very tall, the top and the bottom can wait. Come, let's open up the middle," he said. He climbed up onto the growth (on the trunk). He chopped away the growth, and then he made cuts across the trunk. He began to strip off the bark; he marked off three sections. He wrenched the bark off downwards. "The head of this sago scraper, you must pull out a young sago palm shoot for it, and when you've pulled out the young shoot, you must split it and then tie it (the head) with it," he said. "Oh, I

1 aktiwir; 2 majírtaw; 3 fimtiwir.

• 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.

* 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.

289

don’t know how to do it!” “All right,” he said. The man pulled out the young shoot, split it, and he himself tied the head on the sago scraper. He fastened the head on the handle. Then he began to scrape out the sago pith; he scraped until it was all out. He scraped to the top; he scraped to the bottom. He went to make the washing trough to wash the sago in. “Dig a water-hole here; water for the sago has to be scooped into the trough; dig a water-hole,” he said. His wife dug a water-hole. The man cut midribs of the fronds of the sago palm and went to make the sump trough. “Tewér, I’m making the sump trough,” he said. He finished the sump trough and he put in the support. “Now, I put in the support,” he said. He put in a plug of sago pith, he put it in the sump trough, he put it in the end of it. He fetched sago leaves and said: “Can you split them into binding material?” “Oh, we don’t know how to split them.” Their husband split them into binding material. He bound it.

“Come, pour water over the scraped out pith,” he said. “Give me time. do it for me, I don’t know how to do it,” she said. “All right,” said the man. He took the scraped out pith in a trough, put the sago in the washing trough, fetched water and poured it over it. “The pulp here, you must squeeze it out like this,” he said. [He squeezed out] pulp, more and more pulp. The pure sago flowed downwards. “Tewér, take a look in the washing trough, the pure sago is flowing down: that’s sago. We always ate fish and crabs for food. This sago we didn’t know. This is sago, sago we’ll eat henceforth,” he said. His wife looked at it. “Hey, Miwirpic, maybe you moved house with me because you wanted to do this. Maybe you wanted to look for this sago!” she said. — There were no sago palms, there was only this big one growing. He let it [the sump trough] fill up with water; he let the water run away. “Now, I let the water run away,” he said. A thick layer of sago lay at the bottom. “Tewér, this is sago! Now you must squeeze out the sago. There’s a layer of sago in it. You must keep filling it up with water and then you must let the water run away at the end, and then you must plug it up again, and this you must do again and again,” he

1 atúwtewerac.

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290

— 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 akmomic” inim aer ín. esé okón ajákmomac ín, anakátipic cowó, atówopmor ín. “cowó inim ará inim owápma 1 inim moméc, cowó owápmamí” inim aer ín. amás átewerác, esé amas armá, nanasímapmor ín. “maré atowópmamí aráw amás aráw esé tawowúc” inim aer ín. amás esé, ar ém, amás esé, amás esé, “Miwírpícá, a amás esé kor maré mipitijamaپmóپ!” “á, cowó cirém siotémтов! amás nat nani ín mam émaném”, inim aer ín. ese jép araw ún, jép araw ún, a mów esé nucúr. “cowó cirém siotémti! é cowák wut mámesasesémeroniawér”. “á, Miwírpícá, inim paká, amás esé awút nák wutá esé nemét emára. er á cowák wut cowó cirém masiótemet máji aráwa amás wun esé am ára” ajípor. “ó cowák aráw an. o nát cowó cirém asícow”, inim aer ín. a cowó cirém siotém-tamár, a esé najtípit, anijnakáp nim áemápmor ín, a wún cowúc am arám ar amás esé atápmor ín.

1 omómówapma.

* or cowák aráw an; Literally: are you alone, are you the only one?

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291

“a esé ucím ar’ áma, Miwírpíc, a esé ucím ar’ ám” inim er ín. “á, máp omóni emí, mónorómccen” inim er ín. á esé najtítipic, mónor in émporamár, ar ém masúmutum ún émporamár, a cenés nesén apáwuwúmar
said. "Oh, Miwirpic, this is a good idea you have," she said. And his wife began to pour water [over the scraped out pith] and kept on doing it. She filled up the trough with water, then she let it run away. There was much sago in the sump trough; from the one end to the other there was a thick layer of sago. And again she poured water over it, and again. It rose almost to the edge. "Hey, Tewér, there's an awful lot of sago in the washing trough, come, let's fill up the carrying bag," he said. "Yes, let's do that," she said. "I'll go and get sago leaves," he said. "What do we do with sago leaves?" "Have patience and be quiet," he said.

290

— No, they'd never seen sago. On the coast from which he'd departed with them the only food they'd had was fish and crabs. By the Siréc there was only the ordinary forest. There were no sago palms. When he had quickly fetched sago leaves, he said: "Come, hold the top of the bag wide open." She held the bag open and the man lined the inside with sago leaves. "That's what the sago leaves are for. You must always put the sago leaves in like this. Now I'm lining it with sago leaves," he said. He took the sago and he himself spread it out in the bag. "Now that I've put it in for you, you must put the sago in the bag," he said. His wife put the sago in the bag, and more sago, and still more sago. "Miwirpic, the huge bag is already filled to the brim with sago!" "Is that so! Now you must plait a band made of sago leaves onto the top of it. Do you want to waste sago!" he said, — the bag stretched from here to there, the enormous fibre bag — "Plait a band made of sago leaves onto the top of it! Such a big one, I'll carry back in stages." "But, Miwirpic, that's not possible, the sago bag is much too big, a smaller one would be better. It's easy for you to say that a sago leaf band must be plaited onto the top of it! Another bag would do as well!" so she said. "Are you giving the orders?" he said. "You must plait a sago leaf band." She plaited a sago leaf band onto the top of the enormous bag, the sago which she then put in the bag was like a morsel! The other wife also put her sago in the bag.

291

"What do we do now with this bag, Miwirpic, what do we do with the bag?" she said. "I'll go ahead and walk back with it; hang it on my back," he said. He tried to carry the enormous bag on his back; his wife tried to help him to stand upright but it only wobbled about
araw¹ ún. “Miwirpicá, emétawamía amás esé asép nim matápom atakám emétawamía!” “a ēmá, camním caemápcai jiná onók” iním aer ín. jiná onók iním aótapac ín ar ēm a esé macir jipíromic araw ún. asúmutum-emor ín. anakácowuc máp aemémer ín. ar mó a fá sormómer ín. ē ar amús masérím asép nak in. fá icíc. áomóníërésě, mé, me japjónimár ² araw ún a pók fén fén. áníërés aniërés aniërés aniërés aniërés, maré e ivním, “a pów asísam aráv arán ním suwemic” iním aer ín ar ēm. “ós a jirew” iním aer ín. ós pu iním manisuwe in máj akín atapomak-mamár, maré a esé wut apcóm ’m! Miwirpic maré copó nese niápér cowák. “ā, Tewérawucá, masúmutumcén! no jif maníorsópmi amás esé awút”, iním aer ín “ā! esé awút moc ciropanem áw” iním aer ín esé mípor efá wiásmac ín a ómomer esé, mátewer ín, émpomámar “ā, ēmá matewer pák a jif masiasmuc” iním aer ín. a jif, a jif, a jif anakátípit nát a esé apcóm tep tep jónimár araw ún. a jif, mátewer ín emá jipór, masómit ín emá jipór. a nát esé apcóm tep tep jónimár araw ún. a jif, a jif, masómit ín emá jipór, a nát tep tep jónimár araw ún.

1 aw; 2 wajpínimá.

* Contrary to custom, Miwirpic himself carries the bag with the sago in it. Normally, it is the women who always carry these bags. Moreover, Miwirpic is carrying a jírik bag (see § 286, note b), which is synonymous with woman. The situation is, in my opinion, significant: Miwirpic is already carrying the woman who is to be put on his head when he later becomes a sago palm.

maré manmák in anifesápérí ín, jif. “ā, Tewérawucá, maré manmák in nifesampi, anižic” iním aer ín. ar ēm maré mót se möw arów pu animuámser ín. mót se möw popeiriomamatár, popeiriomátamár, popeiriomátamár, ofóm efa tiwríiterewac ín, ar amús cuwúc emíc empámor ín. ar amús, “e, anáfcená, na jürsewiri arawá, newét aw, iním ajáfcen”, iním aer ín. ar amús. ar amús cámerémemor, wunám, möw se möw, möt se möw, “ā, Tewéra, maré no sinakap cin anižic! jó manínemesér-ámpa cém jok ním nifivic, cáj pacák eapi”, iním aer ín. “e jimsip onoká, ónok mój jímjítötemi”,¹ iním aer ín. aemníërés moc ám ajatámniërés, ajatámniërés. máj se mu ánpirímac ín, cem möc am ajiwátmaiper ín. op ják atitiwer ín, “Tewérawút, jimsip, ónok jítoteñi, newét májimiremic. jo úcúcúmesawérmar a óp aporti ják titiwmá” iním er ín. ar amús e jimsip ónok ájítøtemer ín. ónok, tám pepepepe emtáw-
on the ground. “Miwíripic, I’ve said all along, I’ve said all along that the bag should be only half full!” “Wait, let me get in the right position on my knees,” he said. First he knelt down; his wife stood holding the bag, she helped him to stand upright. The wife set out, walking in front, her husband followed her and her sister walked at the back, a little distance behind them. They walked back with it; staggering he walked back with the huge thing.* They walked, and they walked, and they walked; arriving at the river’s edge, she, his wife, said: “Here’s a deep bog. Go upstream a little. Here’s a tree trunk,” she said. But as soon as he put his foot onto the tree trunk to cross to the river, splash! there sank Miwíripic 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.

292

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, Tewé, 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 momjitmóteweri.

293 porów jó inim tiamismár, fó fēfēfēfēfēfēfē tiwémor in. marié mér kasé atiwémor in. wūr a capinmi nesén aniámser in mari. anakácowuc “a, Miwirpic, Miwirpic, Siréc, jó piri popomismērēnē, Tewérawuc kawi kawintewerawér inim, ó jursōnewermērēnēm āw newēt akāt, ār awūn ājmīrēmic āw”. marié móc mamóc pak īn. te ’m! jōk ewniemer cowāk. mēr kasē tiwemā jesmar wūr. anakātipic, a amās esē niopēr jipīt, ’m, mariw in amās os, e āp worworworworworwor ājītemtēsmar. inim āmesmár, inim āmesmár e Sirēc piri atāwnesmār a arēn e wasēn, ē mu pū nak am ānitāwpiptimesmar ców. tam jó inim āpumār tajtajtajtajtajtaj ajīmer in. a amās e wuān wut cāwuawer āraw 1 ūn Sirēc, piri wut arān wut, ē pomān wut, ē wasēn wut. anakātipit nāt, a os wā nat cēnes ajīmnenmor in. anakācowúc, jimsip āpajimór, arān manmāk, piri manmāk, pomān manmāk, wasēn manmāk, “ji, Tewēra, majispori, newēt, orōw jursōpenēm arāw, mari amās kūaworesmar. ar āpo, Sirēc 2 os wā cowāk okorēawēr arā amās ucīm peṃēsmar ēw, cōw ar āpori”, inim ajīfamūtmār in.

1 aw; 2 Sirāt.

* The sago palm is still acting as a human being.

294 ar amūs inim apōr “ē, Miwirpic noromómē nó jursōpen awā, cāj nak ēwiripunē” inim er īn. “ni, newēt iwījisporasin ucīm pemēsmar ēw”, inim aer īn. āwīomiśēr, āwīomiśēr, ā cenēs aporpōr opāk īn. anakātipic ūsis īn afajāper īn a ōp. mīc wut īn. mīc maworemkurūm pak īn, inim atēmtapēsmar īn. “ā, tō arāsen arāw a uciē, a uciē!” “ā, o Tewēr enā” inim aer īn a ōp. “ā, Miwirpic o ucīm emēsmemā! Miwirpic tō a jif nisiāpfem āw ucīm emēsmemā” inim er īn “ā, 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.

In the evening just when the sun had gone down, the wind rose in squalls, vivid lightning flashed, the thunder was so heavy it seemed to lay on the earth. “Oh,” cried the wife, “Miwirpic, Miwirpic, wasn’t I always with you on the coast, near the Siréc! By always wanting Tewérawuc as a second wife the way you did, you did me a wrong! My good man, now he’s in trouble,” and she stopped wailing. The rain, my! it fell down continually from the middle of the day, the terrible 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.

Her sister took a look. “Oh, Miwirpic, my dear husband, I’ve done the wrong thing by you. I would never have anything to do with you!” she said. “Come, let’s both hurry to the forest to see what he has done during the night,” she said. Quickly she hurried with her to the forest; she looked around below, but did not see him. The man up above smiled broadly. He had become a great sago palm, just about to flower, — no, he had not then completely changed into a full grown sago

* He has as yet no crown, as will be clear from what follows.
palm, when he grew during the night. "Hey, yesterday he was here, where is he, where is he?" "Hey, is that you Tewér?" he said, high up above. "Oh, Miwirpic, what have you done during the night? Yesterday you sat here stuck in the ground; what have you done during the night?" she said. "Ah, my dear girl, here I sit, here I stay, I'm here. During the night I've changed into a sago palm." Thereupon she threw herself down beside his trunk. — No, she didn't take her sister to the forest; she left her at home, the first time she went. She was alone. — She threw herself down in the mud, she threw herself down in the mud. — The sago palm had no fronds, no ribs, it had nothing. Just like a spear it had risen up during the night. It had no leaves, without leaves it was. — "Wait, first my little sister must see me, she's always acted in the wrong way towards me. Go back and fetch her," he said. "All right," she said, and she hurried back. "Oh Tewér, my dear girl, you're the only one for me," he said. And she ran back. "Tewér, come! You, too, must see what our husband's done during the night," she said. After she'd hurried back and had fetched her sister, she took her to the forest. There she threw herself down into the mud and the water, wailing. Again and again she fell into the mud. "Now, that's enough, my good girl, go and bathe," he said. She and her sister threw themselves into the mud. "Go and bathe, and both go home. During the night I've changed into a sago palm. 'Miwirpic changed into a sago palm on the upper course of the Siréc', that's what people must say about me from now on'.

"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 —
masirim, a á jamnók iním emór araw ún, a máj ek, pó atáwterenámorm in. a amás é masirim a man éf araw ún.

1 kwús.

* Here, the speaker indicates with her arms how Tewérawuc was sitting.

296
“maré, nó sinakap átowopmamin aráw, métmeti”, 1 inim aer in. anakátipic kór ’m, maré os wá cenés ajinnemor in. amás po mari, e wú atemétjomer i “aráw mané, orpá memém pok awér, nó sinakáp aráw mómjursómiwirín maré iním áememców” 2 iním aer in. maré amás pó araw ún e átemetwúemer in. anakácowút wunám mó’t se mów amuámser in. moc, moc, moc, “ä, mari nor mó cowak ém anijica” iním aer in. “Miwírpícá, no maré anici, no jiwís matúwse, ów apcóm emár aráw noráp, nó sinakap ám mari jáka tówópmamin aráw” iním aer in “ä, nor mó cowak ém émá, jáka cém jimsíp ememésmar amás, tó amás mómwavnáwirí, jowún am amás momawni, émá” iním aer in. “hé” iním aer in. “mi na ó mot ow pów”, iním er in. múc in ájatámnieré, cém aniáper in. múc am, mócamár, mócamár jo tímapér, porów ojísoporér, móc ajísmotiwér 3 ar mó, is in nipitamsér, tam àwiwijiser in. “Miwírpícó, nó amás mawanó” iním aer in. “á, amás jaka cém jimsíp ja omópomismem amás, iním amúc” iním er in. “amás nat ucím emamci”. “amás ja sí ará mopán anúk iním akmémácem, é momapómkomúc” iním aer in. “picín púmtewercém masnérim, é senén momás, e mí momás a ás am mómsasákamúc armá emwušermár” iním aer in. “hé” iním aer in.

1 mátmetí; 2 áenémémcow; 3 ajísmotiwir.

297
aémnierá, si’n ajíwísırítewer in. si efá tewérac in, amás cuwúc emic anúk efá akmémác in (—). 1 picín apúmomer in. mí, mapmór senén, ás, maré awúmnemor in. àwiwijísér, “amás emenimatiwpúj!” “á, mom-
this way —, they are the branches which stick out; she sits with her arms — this way —. Her fingers, the fingers of the small Tewérawuc, she spread out — like this — she put them separate from each other. — The ribs we always break off, the ribs in which we squeeze out the sago, are her two thighs; that was how she put her, and her toes, she put them separate from each other, as the ribs. The small leaves of the sago palm, those are her fingers.

296

"It's done, I've put my sister there onto you, go upwards" she said. Lo! the huge man left the forest below him. The sago palm then had fronds. High up it stood, with leaves rustling. "That's fine, you must not stay alone. My sister always did the wrong thing by you. Now keep her," she said. Then the sago palm had ribs, with rustling leaves it stood there. Once more, the wife threw herself, wailing, into the mud, and into the water. She wailed, and wailed, and wailed — "Now, that's enough, you're a good girl, go home," he said. "Miwirpic, if I go back home, — I'll leave here, since there's no one with me. I'm alone, I've already put my sister on you there," she said. "Oh, you're a good girl, wait! Tomorrow you must scrape out the sago from the sago palm which has grown in front of the house during the night, and the next day also, you must scrape out the sago. Be patient!" he said. "All right", she said. "No one will come to look for you here," she said. Continually wailing, she returned, and stayed in the house. She wailed and wailed, until the sun went down. In the afternoon, she went again to the forest to look at him. There, she mourned again for her husband. She returned and went to sleep; in the morning she went to the forest. "Miwirpic, I am going to scrape out sago," she said. "Oh, that sago palm there in front of the house, the sago palm beside which you sleep and wake, cut down that one," he said. "How do I cut it down?" "When you've chopped off the growth round the trunk with that axe, then start to chop it down," he said. "When you've chopped off the bark — chop it away at the left side and at the right side, — then chop through the pith, and it will topple over of its own accord," he said. "All right," she said.

297

She went back, inside she quickly got an axe. After she'd quickly got the axe, she quickly chopped the growth off the sago palm that stood there, and —. She chopped off the bark, she chopped at her right
ápeperic, ja wowúc tiwapércem, já om mén, amás nec apcóm nesen émisérmar. e úmu am momápeperócini e mopán am momápeperócini" inim aer in. “amás, apezpracem anúk montémtemic anuk akcém, pim ororómtiwcem, e úmu am mömtjtnemúc a mopán am mömtjtnemúc a wowúc, e nám poman afáfémnemacém a nám poman masirím amús maw nám poman masirim á momáwmapmúc. amús misérim a mömtiwkáfumúc”, inim aer in. “hê” inim aer in. áwiniér, wowúc atiwaperer in. ténakap átewémor in. “m, amás aráw new” inim aer in. úmu ásiocínér, ténakap in ásiocínér ténakap in. mopán, anúk in atémtemer in. anúk akérê.1 úmu ájitnémor in, fáfémocínér, mopán, manmák jamnók wut ájitnémor in, ájawumnémor in. amús atiwkaumór cowák, amas nés, amas nés, ámás nés, ákwurumtiwér,4 wunám wasén aiwijísér in. “Miwirpicó, amás nes eméawkurrümuj ucim emci”.

1 Here one word is unintelligible; 2 akárê; 3 ájitmomer; 4 ákwurumtiwir.

* Here a word is not clear enough on the tape for it to be understood.
side, and at her left side, the pith, and finally she toppled it over. She hurried to the forest. "I went back and I've chopped down the sago palm!" "Fine! Now you must make the test holes. When you've made a test opening in the middle, then the digging stick will come out with nothing but raw sago sticking to the edge; then make the test holes towards the top, and after that, towards the end of the trunk," he said. "When you've made the test holes in the sago palm, then you must climb onto the trunk. When you've chopped off the growth and have made the surface smooth, then make cuts across the trunk on the upper surface, at the top end, the bottom end and the middle. When you've stripped the bark off the one half towards the bottom, then strip the bark off that half, which is the one that has to be scraped out. Then begin to loosen the pith with the sago scraper," he said. "All right," she said. She hurried back and began to make a test hole in the middle. She thrust it [the digging stick] into it a little bit. "Ho, this is probably sago," she said. She moved up towards the top, testing — just under the surface was the sago —; she moved down, testing, towards the lower end — it was just under the surface! She climbed onto the growth on the trunk. She chopped off the growth. She made a cut across the trunk on the upper side. She stripped the bark off towards the top; at the lower end [she did the same]; she divided it into two large sections. She wrenched the bark loose towards the bottom. Immediately she began to work loose the pith with the scraper. She scraped out more and more sago pith, until it was all out. Then she hurried to the forest. "Miwirpic, I've scraped out all the sago pith. What do I do now?"

"Oh, the ribs of the fronds you put on me last night, those ribs you put separate from each other, cut them off near the top of the fronds and chop them off at the base. Three of them you must cut off. One pair you must make into the sump trough, but first you must get a supporting pole and stick it in the ground. First you must pull off all the side leaves. When you've put in this supporting pole, rest the end (of the washing trough) on it; when you've put the sump trough in place, you must make it fast. [To do this,] you must split the bark of the sago palm. When you've cleaned it, you must stop up the far end tightly, and when you've also put the filter in place, and the strainer, then you must start to squeeze out the sago in it." "All right" she said. Quickly she returned and went to chop off the ribs of the sago palm.
wunám. amás apím jikurumór, po mú fowu émsemor in. anám, anám, anám, — opák a úmu anám mé pak in — “amás po motowómsemém” iním aer in.

1 atówopmésméravóm;  2 mamcip.

* 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.


1 mómtiwúrumúmc;  2 tájujúkmapmúj;  3 tájujúkmapmó.

* 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.

She hurried to the forest. “Miwirpic, the trough's full of sago.” “Ho, my good girl, put it in the bag; take the rolls of sago and light a fire made of dry sago leaves. Take a dry rib of a frond, place the lumps of sago on it, and set the withered leaves alight. You must then peel off the cooked skin while it is still thin, when you've taken the rolls of sago off [the rib].” “How shall I do it, I have just squeezed out the sago!” “Have you worked up all the sago?” he asked. “Not all the sago; I've left the end of the anám (inner part of the pith), or is it the ómus (the outer part of the pith)?” “What you've worked up is the anám.” “A small piece of the trunk is still to be done.” “Wait! Tomorrow you must do that first, my good girl,” he said. She filled a bag, she filled another bag; she took a lump of sago, and another, and yet another, and she put them all together in the house. At night she slept. The following day, in the morning, she went to the forest and began to work up the inner part of the pith, the last part of the inner pith, and the outer pith. She wrenched off the bark from the trunk; pith — pith — she worked it all up and she began with the pulp. More and more pulp — she squeezed out all the pulp. At the lower end, she first scraped out all the inner pith and a small part of the outer pith. She squeezed out all pulp, and when she'd filled the bags full of sago and had stored away the rolls of sago in the house, she went straight to the forest, to her husband. “Are you there?” “I'm here”. She burst out wailing. Wailing, she threw herself into the mud. “Oh, poor thing, you mustn't be continually wailing and throwing yourself down,” he said. “Have you got the sago out, or not?” “I've got [all] the sago out,
móc mocómewermár mocómewermár, “noromúmo jó matimár anijíca. cém niamsía” inim aer in. móc am ajatámnier in. cém anifiwer in. móc jó’n afamásmor in. tám aráw, aóriwisér in. mót se mów ajitmár, ajitmár, “o ucié”. “no maré manwúwo” ¹ inim aer in. “á, noromóm maré anijíc. tó atáwtamfin aráw, já mowséc akónawamsá ² efom cém, nifiwá inim moméc. tám masémír wunám otúwseá inim moméc. or ótwiw, ur isípis, cém a mómitamúc”, inim aer in. jiwís atúwor in. móc am, kómápmúc arow ún jiwís pok cí, jiwís pok cí, jiwís atúwser in. jiwís atúwser in mú ja’n asormónier in móc am amótnier in. móc am ájatámniamár, móc am ájatámniamár, móc am ájatámniamár. jó tísér apór, arów konáwámsèsères cém anifiwer in. ámsesmárá. jó inim apumár, aóniúwor in. mú ja’n asormónier in, mu já, sórmoniamár, niamár, niamár, wunám, jó atímser in. jó timseér, arów konáwfiwérés ³ cém, eápmorés cém, wunám onifiwer in. ámsesmár, jó apuer in. jó inim tepumár, wunám ci oniúwor in. mú já’n sormóniamár, niamár, niamár, jó tísér wunám, máp nak konawápères ⁴ cém, anifiwésmar in — fiwitúmar in. ámsesmár, jó inim těpserimár “á, Miwírpícèj, maré takámétoómsefëném new isípis náriw, nó sinopis, capínimé ewníóm-uwfénem, kónawomsésèpenem ⁵ cém amésmupúj. ci nwumiè, cém norpá manitájé, wówé”, inim aer in. moc in ajatámser in. mót se mów ajitmár ajitmár ci anúuwor in sé’n ajáwniamár in.

¹ maníuw; ² kánawamsá; ³ kanáwfiwérés; ⁴ kanawápères; ⁵ kánawomsésèpenem.
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.

300

She stood there, wailing, continually wailing. "Oh, poor thing, the sun goes down now, go home to sleep," he said. Wailing, she returned and went into the house. She wailed until the day broke. In the morning, she hurriedly returned to the forest. Wailing, she continually threw herself down. "What do you want?" "I want to set out now," she said. "Oh, my good girl, that's enough now, go home! I told you yesterday what you had to do. You must enter the houses we came to and where we slept, and in the morning you must set out again. That's what you have to do. You must go to the house of your brothers and fathers," he said. She started to depart; wailing she took the baggage to the canoe and set off. She set off. The current carried her to the sea; wailing, she went downriver. She wailed all the time; all the time she wailed. When she saw that the sun was going down, she went into the house where they'd slept. She slept the whole night, and when the sun rose, she set out again. The current carried her down; the whole day long the current carried her. Again she travelled until the sun went down. She travelled until the sun went down, and then again she went into the house in which they'd been; the house they'd built. She slept the whole night, and the sun rose. When the sun had risen, she went to the canoe and set off again. The current carried her down, farther and farther. When the sun went down, at night — no, in the evening, she went into the first house they'd come to and slept in. During the night she slept, and when it was light she cried: "Oh, Miwirpic, Miwirpic, now I've slept tonight in the house where you brought me first; where you came and slept with me when you departed with me from the country of my parents, my brothers and my sisters. Now I'm going to get into the canoe and set out. Today, I'll arrive home, alone." Wailing she rowed on; wailing she threw herself into the mud, again and again. She went to the canoe and set off. She went back covered in mud.

“newét, ucím peme èw, newét ucím pemef èw newétè”. “cáj pacák emé, ãwamis ás aráw, ãwamis ás aráw newét ar ás. esé at étamén mow armá jaktamfén. esé nam pomán aráw nám pomán aráw énakap ním cotiwporó opák. cowák wut jiwirtámtamewirí. esé asiasmó com ám topmóf, “amas kén mekenèc” iním jomítpen. amás ken kéneôf, amás anititiwitè amás awámpom. a esé najtípic, asép matápom emporó opák. “cowó cirím siotemti” iním jampén. cowó cirím siotémtamó. mónor in émporamép, onór asomitéf akát, tówoníef, oníef, oníef,1 maré íwnim, os máj masúwem ín, akín tapomákamémép a amás esé apcóm, esé najtípic, jif copo wú jamép, manmák in nifesopómítè. mátewer ín a jif sioníporamóp. tepteptep jómpuamép. newét maré
Now, her brothers and fathers sat on the lookout. "Hey, you people come floating down the river in a white canoe," they said. "Hey," cried the people, "they say there upstream, — perhaps it's Miwirpic, the one who moved away —, a white canoe comes floating down! It's floating downstream with the current, there on the river!" Everyone went to the river. The woman sat in the canoe, covered in mud. "Hey, Tewérawuc is alone! Miwirpic must have been killed; the people upstream have eaten him! Her sister is not there, either. She's alone. She's covered in mud," they said. All the people went to the river. She arrived towards the end of the morning — at noon [to be precise]. "Tewér, what's happened? Where's your husband? Where's your sister?" they asked. "Oh, I left them upstream; he sent me back alone; ashamed and covered in the mud into which I threw myself, wailing, I return. He took a dislike to me, he only had thought for his [other] wife," she said. They took all the sago into the house, the house of her mother and father. Everybody crowded together into the house, men, women, and children, in great numbers, to hear the news. The family of Miwirpic, his sons and daughters, his older and younger brothers, his sisters, said: "What have you got there?" "That's sago. What you eat is not real sago, fish and crabs are what you eat. This is sago," she said. "It comes downriver; now there is a great rustling of sago leaves on the upper course of the 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.

"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 in. ar ispis ar epúcêwes ar ewúcêwes a típuris, a têrásêpés, mót semén araw ún awér opák semén, aément in. móc mocámés mocámés, “amás awamís aráw an”, “a amás aráw, amás aráw” inim aer in. a amás jis tówopmá eres, amás acín inim tówkopá eres mó kawós in. ná eres “áw, átar enám amás pók amás pé amás néwirum néwa, amás aráw newá amás akatés aporia”, ajámes in. amás atáwtomínomaser 2 in. Siréc, Miwirpic amás kúaworémer in. ár picirim áw.

1 towoniof, oniof, oniof;  2 táwtomínomaser.

a. When a dead man is being buried, it is the custom that the female members of his family who are most closely related to him show that they are in mourning by removing their awér and going about naked.

b. In Asmat stories the people always vomit as a reaction to: a) contact with the supernatural (see also § 311), and b) their first acquaintance with something entirely new to them, as is the case here. In the myth about the origin of fire, which is not given in this work, the people vomit when they first see fire.

VII
net, Mis, Misimit a erén éweséf. erén, erén eweséf masním, Pajámpari am arám, Fiti, fér serapómves in. fér serapómves masním, éren éwemef cowák, a Pajámpari am arám a mó cin, fér serapómves in. Pajámpari am arám, ar mó Safán cin fér serapómves in. fér serapómves masním, áserápmaras maré eren átepóves in. éren átepóves cowák. ar mó makán ajiésef in. a Safán atéptowópmare ’n. a nát, a tiw am, á purís am, — a tiw makán ef in. Mesók, ámetosef in. a mí nat, a niwi mi nim áj- aworémeʃ 1 in. anakácowuc aráw, a cenés ajapésfes in. á, Mesók cin ájapesfes in. Mesók cin ájapesfes cowák, fér enám am arám, mú awút kor in. mú awút kor. “Mesóká, fér men mú misi páka, mér amércasína” inim aef in. “mér amércasína” inim aef in. a niwi am arám, a jó minkúm, pisúwa’n ájimomare’n, mákpin inim cuwuc 2 émeʃ áw un. mákpin inim cuwuc 2 émeʃ áw un. Pajámpari am arám, á Mesok án, póman in. Pajámpari nesé in. Mis am arám, niwi ni nim ajáwomereʃ in. niwi ni nim áwomereʃ, inim aporéʃ, Pajámpari pé okómtewararé’n, júmus, jiremef jiremef jiremef 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 *. They wailed and wailed. "Is this sago, this stuff that lies here?" "That's sago," she said. Every time they put the sago on the fire and every time they ate the baked crust, they vomited b. Every time they ate it, they said: "Oh, what we always ate before was perhaps fish, and crabs! Perhaps this is sago! Look! This is very nice food!" From then on, they ate sago. On the Siréc, was Miwirpic changed into a sago palm. That's the story.

VII

303

A spirit, Mis*, Mísimit*, came here * from upstream. When he came from upstream — also Pajámpari — on the Fiti 4 — 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 *. He [Mis], had changed his face into that of father *. 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 * was also there, at the mouth of the river; he stood there with his arms crossed, a
júmus jiremèf jiremèf, iním aporéf, “à, Manéfakat o ucím miníp pumomnméma, à, Jomót ewenāwanémà” iním aef ín.

1 ajorèmef; 2 cuc.

* Every river is the domain of a supernatural being, a river spirit. **Mis**, or **Misimit**, is the master of the Jiniw (see map p. 363). The master of the Jomót is **Jomótsimit**; of the Fiti, **Antátsimit**.

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.

* here = downstream, towards the coast.

d See map, p. 363.

* Towards the coast.

f i.e., Manéfakat, Wominén’s father.

* i.e., Mis, in the form of Manéfakat.

304


1 ajákapipúmpujé; 2 asumtewerarés.

* Coïtus is effected in a sitting position.

305

“mú akumára”, fér in asúmtewerarés 1 ín maré eren atówotépfes ín. átepfes ín. átepfes cowákã, pó jitepfés, pó jitepfés, ar mò “enám kor ním, fér in áserapmácom, nímir mór norpá áptákasameveréji­purúwa enám jó kor awer áw, enám kor awer áw fér masúmtewer fér atakám kor távutúmčepokom porów aaporérmokom” iním aef ín. “enám kor awer áw enam jó wut awer áw” iním ef ín. maré, enám nat, Safán nat, Safán iním émtaré, “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.

304
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 * 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.

305
“There’s no more water.” They pulled up the fish trap and took it with them upriver. They went upstream; they went straight upstream. They rowed straight up there. “You put down a fish trap as though there were plenty of fish, so that I went down the whole river on my own to feel about for fish *, but this river doesn’t have any fish! There are no fish at all! All the afternoon are you talking about lifting it, and you are always going to have a look at it in the afternoon, but there
araw eitúmćemokóm ara, jipis efokóm ar masnim aserdpómfénom áw. enám caj curúw nakó”, inim aef in. “enám caj curúw nakó” inim aef in. anakácowuc am aram nám, akin atépakámsef in. nám Fití opés opés opés opés, maré, ámetótnawfés. metótnawfés masirim, metótnawfés, jófaj, ápampés, jófaj apampés, jófaj maserím maré ju ájamép. jú emépë emép emép emép emép. jófaj jófaj jófaj maserím maré, erém ákamiamsef. erém ákamiamsef maré.

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1 asúmterares.

* One of the ways of catching fish is to search for them in the pools left in the beds of the small streams as the tide ebbs.

* here = the village of Jepém.

306


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1 Piapin; 2 awájotepes; 3 atérfes; 4 atatérfes.

* 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.

* 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 Fiti; they stayed, and stayed, and stayed, and finally they brought her here. When they'd brought her here, then — they stayed at home the following day; the day afterwards they stayed at home, and the day after she began to scream. She screamed, and screamed, and screamed, and screamed the whole day, and yet another day, and another day, and the day after that, until finally she died in the night. In the night she expired.

The ghosts on the upper course of the Jiniw * then wanted to take her. "Oh, [they had] many feathered paddles, many feathers in their hair; the ghosts from the upper Jiniw set out for the Fiti, the ghosts from the upper Fiti set out; the Jiniw ghosts set out and arrived at the Fiti where they joined up with them; they joined up with the Fiti ghosts and arrived here so that they could join [those from] the Jomót. at the upper course. — There, on the Jomót, is the Piapipin, the short cut to the Jomót. It goes across to the Jomót; the Piapipin runs from the Jomót to the Jiniw. It forms a link with the Jomót. The people usually go along it. Jomótsimit keeps guard on the bank where the Piapipin branches off —. [They had] many feathered paddles, many nose shells, many bird's feathers stuck in their hair; great numbers of feathers they put in their hair that night. In rows close together they came that night over the Jomót; they all came here. The son of Sajmós — I don't know his name — stuck his paddle in the mud and landed. He went ashore quickly so that he could get her. Quickly he went ashore, picked her up where she lay, and they carried her off in the canoe; and, singing, they took her right to the end of the upper course of the Jomót. Like this they all did: the ghosts from the Jiniw snatched at her; the ghosts from the Jomót snatched at her. The ghosts from the Mow snatched at her, the ghosts from the Jiniw snatched at her, those from the Fiti snatched at her, those from the Mow snatched at her, finally, the ghosts from the Mow grabbed her. Pajámpari remains on the Mow; the ghosts from the Mow grabbed her, the ghosts from the Mow won her. She stays with the ghosts from the upper Mow, she's in the house of Uwúsakap. The ghosts from the
net, is tamesmóp a ji pu cowák ara. is tamesmóp a ji pu cowák. nám, wasén animcukóf, pók mer wú mer aríwtepfom. wú mujú aríwtepfóm, wú mujú aríwtepfóm. no jowów nat, a iwím pim ním ámesemfés. awún, nór masirim a wasén pim nór awun ájisakápiemof. wasén pim nór awun ájisakápiemof. e, Jomótakap a purís am arám, a purís am arám, áw apcóm un. áw apcóm, émemef in. a owér, porów tetamfés. anakácowut maserím, “ä, iním owér no pú naká, nam ásmat ów owéros pen éw mopórjar emía, emára”, iním aef in. nám, wú mujú, a wú mujú cuwúc emóf. arám, a niwi kor am arám, firkóm mawér, firkóm mawér, cuwúc apez. séj awérfisef in. séj awérfisef maré, “nía no owéros pen éw mapórjarawér 1 emió” iním ef in. “owerós pen éw mapórjarawér émi” iním ef in. é eren éwemef cowák. mokót win ásasakájesef in. mokót win sásakájesef, sasakájesef sasakájesef, ása- sakájesef in. no ná, Tówmi á, — e, Tówmi emí ara —, Siwínmak á, Siwínmak. wú aurúmteweraró, — wú asér awáp aráw. a wú asér, murúmtewer, aurúnmnamaró a cenés masním musúm cuwúc emóf.

1 mapórjarawér.

* 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.

musúm cuwúc emóf masním, arám, anakácowuc ám arám, a wú ján, aperoréf maré, mannák cenam wú ájesef in “no namós araw manè, nó namós aráw mané”, iním aef in. awíesef cowák awíesef cowák. iním aperoréf, mijisóm pak in, mannák in aorómef 1 in. “ów mi akát nak áw! ów mi akát nak áw”, iním ef in. “Jomót eren ów nat, mí motamú kor win, mí motamú kor win”, iním aef in. “nor mó araw mán” iním aef in. anakácowuc aráw, màn ses in asowemaré, erén áwitépef in. erén áwitépefè, “níwiá, nor, — cém cuwúc apéf, a niwi atepómef in “ó ucè” iním ef in. “nij, jípit cowák man sés sowemúj, awemít. wú musum óp tomtómer, aemíc. ow mí akatés cowák, aporí” iním ef in. “ä, émá, ja owerów, am pók mer, amás, pók mer wú mer, páwuawér-
the Jiniw were worsted. The ghosts from the Jiniw lost, and the ghosts from the Mow won the contest.

VIII

307
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 Siwinmak, the Siwinmak. 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.

308
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,
This gesture is an act of magic. As the girl raises her hand she casts a spell on Wominén which so slows down all his movements — though he still thinks he is working normally — that she can take her time fetching her father knowing that she will find Wominén on her return just where she left him.

Male ghosts are always out to seduce human women. Their favorite haunt are the banks of the rivers when the tide is in. There they lurk in branches of the overhanging trees, on the lookout for canoes with women in them.
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, 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.

They trod it down and, doing so, they caused them to hit me, and I, “ah!” I cried, and like a flash of lightning, I fell to the ground. “Wait, stand aside, keep off! Wait, don’t touch him with your fingers! Wait! Let him come round first,” he said. They waited and waited, and waited. The man had a magic piece of charcoal with him. He touched me with it. “Oh,” so I lay, calling out. “Oh, why are you here with me? What’s happening to me, what’s happening to me?” so I cried. “Wait, don’t touch him,” he said. And he touched me with the tips of his fingers, and dabbed me here and there and there, and on the head, with the magic charcoal. “Ah,” I cried, standing up. When I stood up, I said: “Who are you?” — No, I said nothing, I didn’t speak, I said not a word. — “Here’s the Jomót. Between the Jomót and the Ma lies the path along the Júwotép, that’s the path through my sago garden,” he said. And he took me with him, walking behind me, to the upper course of the Jomót. “It’s not so far, it’s not so far. Here’s the path,” he said. There, behind the house, he’d made a large clearing which reached to the river Ma. And there, near the sago garden, lay the house, with a big roof, in an open space. I looked up. “There’s the roof of the house, there’s the roof of the house,” he said. I looked up. I was walking with bowed head. They, his wives, were busy filling one trough after another with much sago, many sago grubs, many sago sticks, mixed with the edible top of the sago palm; with new, fine sago. I went to sit on the front gallery. I took a look inside: there were the wives filling troughs with food and they brought them out-
When a woman offers a man food, it can be a sign that she wants him as her husband. This is probably the case here.

nó jowów ám arám, a pók jimamúc in ajámpes, ajásmampés. no emći akat ním. “ë”, — a puris nat cém amán, mot mićic ajirmár araw ún —. “niwiá, no owér jursúc ememía maréwa, owér jursúc ememía marè májperáwa”. “á, ur ísipísnakás” “o ucim as ám, o cá jipic ám, o cá jemopáníopic ám, o cá a tíw, o niwi com ám” emár araw. no nát, atakám mataw pák cowák, iním apítóf. jó, aémapef masním, “tá, ná Wominén aníčiakisit cowák arawá, sí jen, óm jen opáka”, iním áefes in. nám, ci, — “pó meteweri, matákmatám. nesén omómati, nesén omómati” iním ef. anakácowuc nat môn, matákmatam maré, jór nim ámetosfén. ná jówów am arám cí anińkámsêres mí amnú. memámtewer in. a pó na pó a pó na pó, cí pinim iním aпорéf, nesím asén ajáwerêmkumfênes.4 nesín asén ajáwerêmkumfênes. a nát, x jo amánakapiríw tetetí jícůkufíw. a nát maré, iním aпорéf “á, na Wominén ewemic araw! e jipíć ucim ás emú! uá”. a cowút owénís asakámtefén, úwku átetamfén. “o á uwkú aráw, nór, a uwkú tátmanín, a owenís tátmanín, paras tén aráw, mómiwnawút. or épú Sumúj, or épúc Sumúj aráw, jéwéw canféj jipíć aráw, a Jiniw érn aráw, a Jiniw ewâp ara sé minakap. nó cí cém matákfiw worwós nim matákfiw emí. a uwkú masním, o jónaj enáwcem uwkú am matawér emín”, iním aéf.

1 jow; 2 tjarí: loan-word from Malay; 3 aómaper; 4 ajáwerêmkumfênes; 5 jêw.

According to the Ásmat people, spirits are not able to see well but they have a particularly good sense of smell.

á na jówów am arám, á na jówów am arám, pók mu. án pok mú omopfé. án pok mú, niwi am arám enmúm mer, e píri a. Ówpacákípit máj nosó, — jór akát emamópá, jór akát akát porów masním, a úwku aráw ajásamopóf, a fin am. á na jówów jïwi araw iním aporte, “apák, jáka jowówa, Wóminen, ájakápiemic araw, Wóminen uwkú am fin
“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.”

310

Now, my people were all busy searching for food, they were all engrossed, as though I were safe and sound. Ah! in the house his daughter cried her eyes out. “Father, I want a man so much, please, I need a man, let him stay!” “No, they are your small fathers [the human men]”. “What do you want? Who are you? Which ceremonial house do you belong to? Whom are you a son of? Who’s your father,” she said. But I said not a word, I just sat there. When the sun began to sink, they [our people] said: “Hey, our Wóminén has disappeared! We can’t hear the sound of his digging stick or his axe!” Now, about me, he [the ghost] said: “Take a paddle and go with him downriver, go with him without doing him harm.” Crying, the girl went with me downriver. It was early in the afternoon when she accompanied me here. My people also had all got in the canoe, and they set out in the opposite direction, so that we should meet. They rowed, and we rowed, they rowed, and we rowed... When she smelt the canoe [of my people] they hastily put me ashore just anywhere. They hastily put me ashore and, flash! disappeared into a small side stream. When they saw me they called out: “Hey, there’s our Wominén! What’s he done! Oh, ho!” — The girl had cut off a piece of her long knitted hair for me and had given me a crochet hook, a crochet hook made from a pig’s bone. “I give this crochet hook, I give you a length of knitted hair. By and by, come to me, along the dune-ridge. Your elder brother, Sumúj, who was eaten by the enemy, lives on the upper course of the Jiniw; there by the Jiniw 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.

311

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. Ówpcákipic [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
THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

am, ownés am tátmorés, kapák sek esé am óp aráw", inim efes ín. "á, Wominéna karúwa, inim as mempór pak! fin, nét fin masakám-tampór pak" inim aefés. nór aráw, "nám omóni" eóf eóf porów masnín, x mó kawós, x mó, x jak ám áromés mop. niwi nát moc, mócesmep. 'm, mó kawós nim kánamóp jok, porów kawós nim kánamóp kánamóp kánamóp. — niwi aráw Patépo cuwuc opéf aráw. Patépo enim Jitúrcem cuwúc opéf aw. a, Patiépm nat jep-nakasá. énew nat, Patiépm. Jitúrcem enim Patépo móc amócampsé. nór aráw, apóf apóf apóf apóf apóf apóf maré manmak is ajáp-meof. niwi maré pók masakám, inim emép. "á émá, o népnakapiríw, net, áwionatámes. na, ná majsás pak, inim emitóm. jísín jímí atawór masnín, a jísín capinmi akát masnín, atémtemér. á jísín óp ara néw, nét e jísín óp ara néw, arásen ew pewesánes éw, a erén éw pewesánes éw. nét aráw, a erén éw pewesánes éw. á jísín óp ara néw asúk new, jísín asúk new, nét, Jomót eren ów ara néw", inim aefés.

* The breaking of one's possessions is a means of warding off a calamity. (See also § 328, note b).

312

na jowów jiwi, nó mapór a cém jiwuemfés. "émá, o népnakápiríw, émá, cuomátomítés. nám mo por pák, nár emic akát nim, ti mu, ci jiwiirí nat arów ememér, na nát wasén, nám pomán inim emerom", inim aefés. Menákpic a cém ewiséf "á, jáka jípic araw, fin am, úwku ám inim tátmores in. porów jépnakas ájasamópmar aráw, inim asam-ópmar masnín inim ajismar mók kawós inim akámítwmar aráw. mó, a jemésten éwotewér, e jew masnín cowák motiwér, ár masnín áwikunáwmár", inim aef, Menákpic. "atów tatakáj jiwi ín, tatakáj jiwi, pok mér jirmúc majirímpor pák, átatakaýmar, jen in jopít, jen ín jopít!" inim aef. amsóf amsóf amsóf, ufu amúp inim émfsénes, ufu amúp empórfénes empórfénes, "á", — nór aráw, Menákpic aráw, cemsén, tesén ewriséf cowák. "Wominén, nó o niwi aráw, no Menák", inim aef. "ó", jísítóf, a nát Mípic, a minip nat Mípic minip, ápupúm- esmóp. jo fá omér ajesmóp ajesmop ajesmop ajesmop ajesmop, jo fá, ajamsof niwi am is mes pák, énew am is mes pák. jo'n áfamópfénes. cem áfuamséspes á na jowów jiwi ám. wunám, jófaj, arów metmát emóf, is. niwi am arám enám fawesmep, omót kus, enám nes jímín
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. "Hey, wait, your small son has been kidnapped by ghosts! We didn't go away, we have been there all the time. And he searched for the fruit of the jisin tree. He gathered the jisin fruit, and he went to the high hard ground on which the jisin trees grow. Up there, in the jisin tree, there might have been ghosts; perhaps it was from here that they'd come there, perhaps they went there from the upper course. Perhaps it is the caterpillars up there in the jisin tree, the caterpillars of the jisin tree, which are ghosts! Perhaps they're the ghosts from the upper Jomót!" they said.

The children of our ceremonial house all came together into the house to see me. "They've taken him with them secretly, we didn't notice it, we thought he was safe and sound, the water was very high," he stood at the extreme end, near the canoes, and we stood on the other side, in the forest," they said. Menákpic came out of his house: "They gave this boy hair and a bone crochet hook. A few moments ago, in the afternoon, he took them out of his bag, and as he took them out, he went outside and began to vomit. He retched all the way from the landing stage until he reached the ceremonial house. And after that he came quickly here," so said Menákpic. "A playful child, a lively child should not always be sent away to search for food. He's very lively! Listen then, listen then!" he said. I lay there, just lay there. They treated me with hot shells, they tried out hot shells on me. Oh! — Menákpic came hurriedly from outside, from the front of the house, and said to me: "Wominén, it's me your father, Menák." "Oh!" I cried, standing up. I thought, he was the giant Mípic! The whole night I was afraid; I lay until the morning, afraid. My father didn't sleep
There are always many ghosts abroad at high water (see § 308, note b). Because it was high water at the time Wominén disappeared, the children assume that it was the ghosts that had taken him away.

When a person is sick heated shells are used as we would use a hot-water bottle and they are placed under the sick person's sleeping mat.

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parás ten káku iním winiamop, Mitewer aráw asép ewsiríef¹ cowák. mácir kápu émtewerfen.² "ō, Mitewéra émá no, jitakám mijimir emí, jitakám mijimir emí", ajiporóf. a nát ájimotnawfén, ájimotnáwaren, á jowów am maré jím takás, cepès am ówerow ám maré, pók mer takás píri á. no nát arásen efá wiesaró, jew kór ará Jepémcéwi am Apoków am Mapíw am, jámëret e sén cuwuc ámsef áw. inímaporóf a cém afiwá, a cém afiwá a cém afiwá a cém afiwá, amás tewená tewená, amás masnim maré tawanóf amás masnim, mú efá niómpuwaró, mú am setná, jóp nim jítakító a mú. mé, a amás nat mé pipi jap aráw, jáp aráw jáp aráw jáp aráw jáp aráw maré sén jewsén, Menákpic cuwuc apéf "á, mókonawúca, nía mókonawúca, noromóta, pók cowák a óp jirá mancasina", iním aef. nór aráw, nór aráw, "óm or áso nám amás emétawníó" iním eóf. "nám amás emé- tawníó" iním eof. "amás matáwni" ájaró, túán³ kúri³ a mewsén, Ufénces cuwúc emef áw. Ufénces cuwúc emef ñsep tun a kúri aráw. jemésten óf nim iním ípárisearó jináf jináf ajukóf. maré, túan kúri wápu mú masnim, már atów emífes asén, wápu mú masnim, mé anásmamóp. "á", — tun a kúri — "á, Wominén, nor mó cowák em ní, a cém mú a jiráw, té mu maní, nási a jiráw, manic".

¹ ewsiríef; ² èmterfen; ³ loan-word from Malay (tuan guru = Mission teacher).

* In 1960 Jepémcéwi again had its own ceremonial house: Apoków and Mapíw still shared a ceremonial house.

* A Papuan assistant attached to the Roman Catholic Mission who only gives religious instruction. A village such as Jepém had only a penolong. Villages where Christianization had progressed further and where a beginning had been made with schooling, also had a teacher (guru). Here, Wominén calls the penolong 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.

313

But when I ran along the dune-ridge Mitewer straightaway came after me and grabbed me. "Oh, Mitewer, 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 Jepémcéwi, Apoków and Mapiw * which, at that time, lay at the downstream end (of the village). I looked around. I went into one house, into another, into still another, and still another, to get sago, to take away sago, and sago. And then I went quickly into the river with the lumps of sago I'd taken away. I dipped them into the water and ate them; drifting on my back I went downriver, my mouth was chock full of sago. There, in front of the ceremonial house downstream, sat Menákpic. "Hey, there, come onto the land, come! come onto the land! You're a good boy. Let's both have a bite to eat up here," he called out, but I said: "It's your food, I've already got sago, I've already got sago, I've already got sago." The penolong 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!"
314

"á, óm or ás pacákap mán! óm or ás pacákap man nó nat akát pok momani", ájamop. 'm! wapú mu mé, 'm, wá mu nákurumsemcemop wunám wun ás, "wuá ja ják awút aporia" ájamép. Ówpacákipit nát no mát, cém amán ájamesmumújaramép, máj noso. "wuá, ja Tatépia mopóporia Wóminen" jamép jamép. "o nát is escowó o nát nosó" ájumá jamóp. "nám asén akát emámíò, 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 apcó m kor. "níwi, no asén akatés cowák emámíti, asén pacáku nucúr wor!" "úa" emés ará. jófaj, ámsesmóp, jófaj masním wunám, Jiniw awiniòf. Jiniw a parás ten, mú efá kojiraro ów mapor pók ajaró, — no nát jéw amsésmop, ów moper pók efá jarió, pomán mu cáka efá jiraró, Sumúj mes, cuwúc emfé, Sumúj cuwúc eméf aw. a purís, — net, Sumúj, nor epúc, Uwúsopis 2 ájmirimfés jipíc ará, Uwúsopis ájmirimfés, iním aporfés, "á, niwi mánam ow opák, mofasíc! ucím as emém-èrem" iním aef. a nát més pak in. a pó cuwúc ajimép nór masním, ánémóf un. pó cuwúc ajimép nór masním ánémóf ún. a nát, a Sumúj, a purís 3 jamnók "níwia, maréa, or ewúca, or ewút maré jén in màpaperimóp 4 ará maré nor mó aráwo", iním aef, Júrirúmawúc enim Owófawúc. cowút pak atá jinicaci jamnók. "maréwa, nor mó arawá", iním aefés.

1 kotor loan-word from Malay; 2 Usopis; 3 tipurís; 4 máperimop.

• Wominén is the only living son of Manéfakat and must look after him when he is old.
• "turn his ears round": let him forget the world of men so that he will stay here.
• A woman is beautiful in the eyes of the Asmat people when her body is free of any deformity, but especially if she has an unblemished and rather light colored skin.

315

a Sumúj araw "má, jajmir naká, ca nísmit aráw, ca nísmit, mánet ow opák. nó ememóf aráw, nó ememóf ér aráw, cá niwíakap aráp, wún ca niwíakap am jíwi, jiwinakap. ca nísmit mánam ow opák. jók apáweraw, aráw parów metewénem emí", iním aef. maré cém ko masním ájapamóp. á na jowów am arám, a jéw jem mopów emfé ów jícóp ci pé makán, Jiniw a. Jiniw, pé makán jícóp ci kó ajaríwtepés. iním ariwtepmpés, nám wasén ewwukuóf cowák, x Jiniw mú caka ajipúóf. "á", sir ow otónimop ow, "á, a jipíc ucín emór, a jipíc ucín emor" iním aporfés, "úa, á jipít a jéw éwenawút jítakám mijimir,
“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. Ówopacákipic, with the wound in his foot, cried over me, shuffling around the house. “Oh, Tatepi, 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 Jiniw, along the dune-ridge. I crossed the river [Jiniw] quickly. I crossed quickly, so that the people shouldn’t see me. — At night I slept in the ceremonial house —. I went quickly, so that they wouldn’t notice it. I went into the water with a splash and swam to the other side. Sumúj and his family were there. Sumúj was there, and his daughters, ghosts. Sumúj, my elder brother, the man who was killed by the men of Uwús. The men of Uwús killed him. When he saw me, he said to me: “Hey, there’s no one to give food to father!* Go back! Why did you come?” — she hadn’t yet arrived. She was still on her way when I arrived. She was still rowing and I’d already arrived. The two daughters of Sumúj each said: “Oh, father, please let your younger brother be my husband. Let him stay with his ears turned round”*. They were Jururúmawúc and Owófawúc, they were too beautiful to be true! “Come, let him be my husband!” they said.

But Sumúj said: “Oh, no! you fools! Your grandfather, your grandfather, no one shall care for him. Were I still there, were I still there, then all would be well, but your little father is alone, moreover, your little father is still a child. He’s too young. Your grandfather has no one to give him food! Today, he can stay, but in the evening I’ll take him home.” And I stayed sitting on the front gallery. Now, our people, who'd fetched the bark for the floor covering for the ceremonial house also went to the Jiniw in a large war canoe to catch crabs. They went up the Jiniw in a large war canoe to catch crabs. When they went

IX

316

á niwi aráw, jinwíc enám, Maní mopór aniéf. niwi jinwíc enám mopór, ánief. amás man pák maré tám ewsówsitesmép. é Sinak wú inim ánìémare, á jinwíc enám am arám, mú opák cowák, jinwíc enám am arám, atéwjiniwámsité, x áfwásmamep x áfwásmamep x áfwásmamep, á Sinak wú emníef maj jós, póman, Sinák wu aémnief maj jós, níjukúmtiwef in. ájukúmtiwaré 1 masnim erén masnim awitétepéf. erén awitéparé, átewjiniwarítmep ás, x x átewjiniwarítmep ás x. — Jiníw eren ów am arám, Mis, Wok, jícop ci, 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 empúcémes in — arám pomán am ájirkuámsaré, Cépsmi ením Okórmi nát, púrumuc mamót, okón jo cuwúc seésmspés aw ún. a niwi am arám, enám fawá, arásen jukúmtiwá, fáfwá arásen jukúmtiwá, arásen afáfwá jukúmtiwá, ámesjótepef ámesjótepef ámesjótepef. maré, a Napú masnim atépeméf in. Napú masnim x áfwútmep x áfwútmep x áfwútmep x áfwútmep maré. á erén púrumuc kokó cuwúc amésjesmep iním aporféf, “úój, nét jicóp ajtéra” iním aef in. “ucím ar’ ámè” iním aef in. — arám manmák apcóm —. á Napú jisin
upriver, I dashed straight out of the forest and sprang with a splash into the waters of the Jiniw. "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 Jiniw, and we went quickly towards the village: Sokoréw, and I and Ewén. We went up-stream and arrived home here. That's what I did. That's all.

IX

316

Father went to the Maní to search for shoals of fish. Father went there to look for shoals of fish. He hadn't eaten; he started out quite early in the morning. First he went along the connecting river, the Sinák. There was very little water in the channel and the shoals of fish had started to swim. He speared, and speared, and speared. He took the path along the Sinák, on the other side, he went along the Sinák, and he put the fishes together in a heap on the path. After he'd put the fish down, he went quickly upriver. He went upriver, and the fishes which swam there in shoals [he speared]. Now the ghosts of the upper Jiniw, 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 paríemic. á jisín tamúw masnim, iním amésakájipiréme in.

1 ajukúmtiare.

* i.e., Manéfakat, the father of the speaker.

b The Sinák is a small stream that joins the Jomót and the Jiniw together.

317


a A kind of shell-fish.

b The Asmat people believe that they live in the spirit world before they are born and that they return to it after they die. Jisaworém is the name by which Wominén’s father is known in the spirit world; Manéfakat is the name he bears in the world of men.

318

“á, noromúm”. á wun ów nat, erén memtótétep in. a Jisaworémsimit, ar wétsimit nát, “aw! á no tiw emit no á jipít âmomatmi” iním aef in. maré, jim ci ám arám, akát cepés, mú pakénakap ámsesef in. “Jim
Napú, and that morning he speared fish near the Napú. Then he heard it: there, upstream, they were all coming in his direction, singing. "Ho, the ghosts are abroad! What am I to do now!" he said. — He has second sight —. On the Napú, there was a jísín tree, a jísín tree with huge buttresses, like shields, stretching on all sides. He kept close to those buttresses of the jísín tree.

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 fík birds, they lined them up. They lined them up by the Napú. "What'll we do, what'll we do, let's get on, what'll we do," they said. "The Napú should provide many crabs, many makáp *, many sisít *, many fish out of the remaining pools," they said. "Fine, then here by the Napú we'll sing, by the Napú; [sitting in a circle] we'll sing in turn," they said. Wóksimit then set out on foot, in the forest, and came towards him. He looked [about him] and there he saw father, standing there. "Hey, people," — no, when he saw him, he said: "Hey, someone’s standing there!" Father’s eyes began to itch. "Ho, tonight I took the wrong path; I always take the wrong path!" he said. — Father carried with him a great quantity of the makáp that were there. "Hey, come, the people are sitting there in a circle in a huge clearing on the bank of the Napú, singing," he said. He took him with him, and when they saw him, they said. "Hey, there’s the young Jisaworém! — Father’s name is Jísaworém b. — ‘Ahoy! Who are you? oh yes, you’ve done right to come here!’" His father, the old Jisaworém, looked at him, and when he saw him, his eyes nearly popped out of his head. "Hey, that’s my son; what’s happened to you? Are you dead perhaps!" so he said. They took him and made him sit on the ground. "What do you want?" they asked him. "From early this morning I’ve been walking here; your little grandchildren were wailing for fish. Yesterday they [the others] speared fish; they [the children] cried for fish. I set out on my way here early today to search for fish. I speared many fish and put them down together. I went along the Sinák, looking for fish. Along the Jiniw, I came here in the early morning," he said.

"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” inim aefes in. inim aorfep Jésircém, niwi ni inim aoréf “ă” — Jésircém — “niwia Manéfakatá, Manéfakat noromúma ucim eméréma!” “nam, pók meró erém éwsiresí, tipuris enám mot mocám-pes. enám moc amocámpesá, enám mapór masnim erém émsiresí” inim aef in. anakátípic aráw, a Mis aráw, Wóksimit ám, “ni, tiw eren métotepcá, tiw eren a” inim efes in. “má, erén pak, maré. enám, pók mer emémer, atakám un atawúc” inim efes in. anakátípic aráw, afáwjúntiwef enám, a Wók tetám a Mis tetám é niwi ko tetám, inim aef in. jón aëmtiméf. jón entiméfá, arám, máj, tiwpoporémampes in. arám, popújaramép popújaramép popújaramép popújaramép. jó inim sapi-anismép masnim, tiamismép masnim enám, fé enaré, wúwu. e fawúntiwef enám, tewerá tewerá tewerá ajamesjótakef ajamesjótakef ajamesjótakef ajamesjótakef. Sinák wu masnim, wú awuuf in, ców, ájisasákánteweraré wú awuuf in.

* Jésircém is the name of a deceased daughter of Manéfakat.

319

wú awuuf, áwuaré’n, maré, a niwi kor Jísaworém “apák no á jipic, jón entímcémar, kawi net máj mumu jómewérmes” inim ef in. arám asúwemaré’n akcá iwítak. cuwuć enismép aw ún, inim aoréf, mák in apámusmef in “á, nor mó, o ucim emitém! kawi net máj mumu jómewéménesá, máj pupúrmomowérménesá”, inim aef in. “wuá, emétawúja nor móa”, inim aef in. anakátípic a enám wuwú kor atéwerek in. amás to méten emité. “m “jó ucim asén sapiámseráw, jó ucim asén sapiámseráw, ucim asén sapiámseráw, ucim asén sapiámseráw!” Fiti aniémfes in. Fiti niémfés, Jómót inim emfés cowak, maré Jómót masnim, Jómót jó pim masnim maré, na jéw ajpim kor masnim animatámef in. “no porów aráw, porów aráw ja ájmirmómowéménes nèt mopórporemi, orgzá maniómcémnés nor masirim, mák am matitiemi” inim aef in, niwi am arám mammák is maré kási aniamséf. móc ajuomispés maré sisíri pák cowák. ’m, móc ajuomíspes ájuomíspes. camán a fó kokokó emár aráw, a fó kokokó emár aráw. jo’n émfafamfés, jón fáfamfés, jófaj aráw, jófaj ápmép. porów, jók nim emár masnim, mapór cepés púrpur ájamep. a nát mistém nim inim ásitemaré, pók éreremamép éreremamép éreremamép éreremamép asámiwá asámiwá asámiwá asámiwá, á emamséf pok inim átewer-
all the beautiful women arrived: the river was covered with canoes. “There are the canoes with the women,” they said. They looked — Jesircem saw her father’s face, — “Oh,” cried Jesircem, “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.

319

He made a basket of sago leaves, when he’d done this, his father Jisaworém [there upstream] said: “No, this young man of mine, he’ll walk until the sun goes down and strange ghosts will take him on the wrong path!” He, too, went on his way, to go with him downriver. He [father] was walking there, going to the forest. He saw him: he [father] turned his back on him, going to the forest. “Oh, my good man, what have you done? Strange ghosts will take you on the wrong path, they’ll make you walk round in a circle!” he said. “Ah, it’s just as I said, my poor man!” he said. He [father] carried a heavy basket with fish, he was also feeling hungry. “Where shall I be when the sun goes down, where shall I be when the sun goes down...?” They walked to the Fiti, and then they walked straight to the Jomót. He [Jisaworém-simit] went with him to the Jomót, to the shore of the Jomót, at the far end of our ceremonial house. “This evening I wanted to see whether the ghosts were taking you on the wrong path; if you’re alone, they’ll join you, so I followed you,” he said. Father became dizzy and suddenly fell down. They [the ghosts] grizzled all night; it was serious. They grizzled, and grizzled, and grizzled. Under the house, the ghosts whistled; wheeyee! they whistled, until the sun rose. The following
are 1 maré aníteweméf. manítewer níím íním títeweraré a jismák, atíw­

1 áteraré; 2 atíteweraré.

320

anakátipic ócen átiwsiríteweraré maré erén, x “wuā, jak áporía ja
Manéfakat jóca, tó majuírimomewérmép” íním aefés. cepés wut
ówerow wút, jiwi wut ás mimís acumásmamép! ’m, jiwí a mú
nisécepes ás, i o tepómporséncépeps. i o tepómporsomá íním cowák
ajásmpampéps. póman ákojiréf, póman ákojiraré, áwieséf, áwiesefé. cém
masnim áemamséf. cém masnim, mánmak ás, enésamséf. arám,
mot, moc, mot, mot, porównakapiriw masnim maré atakám afásmapéf.
nét nat camán njonjonjonjo emár araw ún njonjo emár araw ún.
porów jo íním tiamismpéf maré maré fó aráw. ar ewút Meweróskat
am arám, ék mu jök ewtowópmuté, ék jis towópfes. ék mu jök
ewtowópmuté, x x fajásmpé, áfajásmpamep. arám ar epúcèwés, arów
metéwer in. Afújè, Wók aráma, Sumújè, Jópakipícè, Nkópè, ci
íním ariwépses in. arów metéwer in. ’m, ci kor ajaríwesfés cowák
camán mimí, anésmamomfés maré. “éma maré Manéfakat metewér
emóm” íním aefés. “maré Manéfakat mitiwísimo már Manéfakat
metewér emóm” íním aefés. “narám am naráp ow somót emcóma”
íním efés. ar ewúc Meweróskat aráw íním emtawémpéps, ek masam­
tewer níím íním asámnteweraré, jismák jokmén íním ájatánteweraré,
ci, Nkóp emic aráw, Jópakipíc emic aráw, e Afúj emic aráw Jópakipíc
ewemí aráw titur asép, maré ci ák ‘sóh!’ emésmpé. ’m, maré opák
cowák. opák cowák in maré. maré eméf masnim mare jó’n, nét opák
jó’n emfaméf. íním eméf maré.

* 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.

X

321

Kajè eněrím Jepém, Maní cowkán aemápéres in. Ajkúm a tiw
Acúwnam, arúw 1 aporómore in. Maní nám Maní ájumópères cowák.
day, he stayed at home, and just when the afternoon had begun the women crowded together to see him. He got up as though he wanted to go away, and started sorting out things [in the house], pushing them all over the place; he picked up the things that lay there and put them down again casually; then he picked up pieces of burning wood and threw them to both the ends [of the house]. “Lo!” they cried. “Lo!” they all fled outside.

320
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 Meweróskat, 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, Jópakipic 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, Meweróskat, 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 Jópakipic, and Afúj — Jópakipic 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.

X

321
The people of Kajé and Jepém lived together on the Maní c. They [the people of Jepém] then practised magic against Acúwnam, the son of

1 arów; used everywhere in place of arów.

* 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.

Jépem nát a nát tenfoj. a nát a cém wut, cem jôf opák in! a cenés matáw 1 mensém acáciomér cowák. é cenés, matáw mensém ácimomér cowák. é wasén jëró kor, é wasén jëró kor, worém wut póman wúit máj wut, makámtatiw 2 emár araw ún. esé cówo apcóm, esé cówo apcóm mapómjim acáciomér cowák. tén matáweném, tén matáwenem, tén matáwenem, tén mataweném, tén matáweném. nám cókó nesén jieméj cowák opák ciminn nim. mare Acúwnam akámiésmar in maré. “ë, Jépémá, maré Ajkúm a tíw Acúwnama, curúw moc fa ni niómewirir 3 emékaníesmar in” inim eres in. “haháh! a Jépémá, Jepém, Jómot amás carpá manáwer, no tíw arúw, tés nak ajisowpénokom” áner in, mótt. mótt nak ópak in úc in emócämár araw ún. ar omúšèwes, a típuris mótt, arpá amomákés araw ún. “á, ow nák anísâ, mótt mocájipurúwa”, emár araw ún. amás, x worém kor cuwúc
Ajkúm. They [his mother and his father, Taweric] were staying with him on the Mani when they made him ill. They went with him to the Jomót. “You,” cried the men on the Jomót, “hey, make Acúwnam, the son of Ajkúm, well again [make him able to stand up]. Hey, men of Jepém, make Acúwnam well again!” He just lay there becoming emaciated. His mother wailed in secret and danced the buttock dance. She didn’t cry loudly; secretly she wailed and danced the buttock dance. The people of Jepém didn’t know about it. His mother, Ajkúm, wailed and danced the buttock dance in secret, so that the people of Jepém wouldn’t see. In secret she wailed and danced the buttock dance. When Taweric 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! Taweric — Taweric [fetched sago], Taweric [fetched] sago; it lay there above in large quantities, on the platforms there above on the top set of collar beams. “That’s not enough,” he said. Sago in sago leaf bags, more and more [he put] there on the lower platforms; and large lumps of sago, large lumps of sago. There were no small lumps of sago. Large lumps of sago, he piled them up at random, and maj of sago, and pomán of sago; and again, and again, he packed sago in sago leaf bags.

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! You’ve dared to practise magic against my son!” she said, weeping. — She didn’t really cry, she stood there laughing. Only all his younger

1 matá; 2 makámtatì; 3 aniomirir; 4 átiwájsimamár; 5 cakás; 6 aw.

* It is not clear to me what is meant by this expression.

323

dé asimés araú ún. se, se, se, se, siápmorés, amás worém kor atíwetewer cowák, x a sé amán, x a sé amán, a sé amán, a sé amán, a sé akápmores sé. “eweráw man” ánër in. matówomísëres ám aráp amás, mí nim cómismár araw ún. wów jímóismár araw ún wów jímóismár araw ún wów jímóismár araw ún wów jímóismár araw ún wunám a sé amán wunám a sé amán a sé amán a sé amán a sé amán a sé amán, Acúwnam iním tivíwamés, wunám ten wunám ten wunám ten maré a amás se amán, apcóm apupúrumucúmtiwières 1 in maré. sé apcóm aápterémtiwières in maré. amás, x x Jépem, x x arúw pok emamár, x jófaj amás atíwukúmor in. amás amás amás amás amás, arám, afín am njénjer emár araw ún. maré amás afín áswaper in. njómo njómo njómo, afín oróm nim étiwamár nat, amás nat maré, anémsoper in maré. amás mer emporés, “wè, na ucím ar’ám na ucím ar’ám” awemés araw ún. Tawerít nat emsókmemér, máj ni’n animar araw ún. emporés, x x émporés, x x émporés, x x maré wú makanám atéwenémores 2 in, enám sew ám. jíwi kor ajísmár araw ún. cémi ákmut cепes kór ajísmár araw ún. mot jóptom jóptom emár araw ún. iním jípit iním cowúc a puris a tiw amás to’n maré manmírafímor in. moc áomímés araw ún. mot jóptom jóptom emár araw ún.

1 apupúrumucúmtiwières; 2 atéwtewémores.

* Because the worms in the corpse have eaten the sago in the grave the sago in the sago palms has also disappeared.

324

Mósopís, nát, Tamúw Kér a cepés nat curúw apórkasiácés in. Tawerít a cém. jípi emáporápérs. si átwéwács in, Tawerít acomápmores in
sisters and his children cried. "Oh, you mustn't cry, he wasn't much of a man," she said. Sago, — a large lump that lay there — she smeared on the body of Aeuwnam. 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 Aeuwnam lay sick, you should have got sago; and look now! [at the waste]" said the people. "Oh! it's your fault," she said.

328
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 Aeuwnam 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 Aeuwnam: the maggots were devouring him, and they also began to eat the sago. They ate, and ate, and ate, and ate — when the maggots had eaten him clean, all the sago had disappeared. They tried to get sago, but in vain. "Oh, what must we do, what must we do, what must we do?" they said. Taweric, who had spoilt it, in the meantime, just dangled his feet. They tried, and tried, and tried to get sago but in vain. Finally, they put the edible tops of the sago palms on the racks above the fires, and also smoked fish [they ate]. The very small children died, the very old women died; everywhere there was wailing. A son, a daughter of this or that man or woman had already died of hunger. They mourned over them; everywhere there was wailing.

324
The wives of Tamúw and Ker, men belonging to the ceremonial house Mos, took a sly look at the house of Taweric; they had a feeling about

1 téweréwere jérnìero; 2 péwere jérnìero; 3 owerów; used everywhere in place of owerów.

262 THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

325

“na nát amás to ucim ar’ám, pó memjí pow ják nat, or wés am, o niwís am o porówer ám, o tarásépes ám, a sè jec ewërom ucim pok tewawérer-come” ajítumes in. “enám at etámérawómè” iním eres in. “sèn ewéscokóm jícóp ci ám jím ci ám, ca cemsén setájcokom ci mi’n, no cemsén cowák” iním aer in. pók tewértotora'már, enám tewértotora'már, juwûr ó camár, amésnowomôtéper 1 in. “tó nawic wut atakám jismutmép, — jismutmep atakám tawútumép, ucim, miníp pupúmémé ew” iním eres in. cemsén asémrisimor in. amás cém a wasén etámor in. cem nák tári cém nat nesén ememor in, kawénak iním emer in. amás aráp cem etámor in. já matatáw emár arow ún, awamís taríjípic mómóniér e camák. erén Jiséw metépewer-awér. á cemsén cowák atépsirimamár armá emkúmar arow ún ám wut omót wut, usír wut sowót wut. o kór, pé kor juwûr ó cajitmar.
it. They fetched a stone axe and presented it to Taweric. It was a long axe, they didn't take a short one. It was quite a long axe. "Hey, what's that? What a splendid axe!" "The children — are like dried up sago palms through hunger. I come here and would like to get some [sago] if there are still some crumbs left." "Oh, ho, you're quite wrong! We've nothing, there's really no place to get sago from, there's nothing," she said. Her husband gave her a sign by lifting his head; a large lump of sago lay there, she gave it to them on the quiet. They took it downstream [to their house]. Again on the following day they got it and secretly took it away. The people of the many ceremonial houses of Jepém did not notice it; it was only known in Mos. The people of Mos [gave] no mere trifles; they caught many fish every day, they got many sago grubs every day, and [they gave] axes also: they took away a part [of the sago], not a big part, only a very small part of it. "Woe," — a man had already died of hunger — "Woe, Ajküm, please do something about it," they asked, and asked. On the Mani, 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 Taweric went outside to speak. When he saw that a part of the men, women and children had died, he went outside to speak. From midday he stood [there] calling out. "Tomorrow, tomorrow, the men and the women must go out to fish, every man in his own canoe, the women with the fish nets," he told them.

325

"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

1 amèsnomóteper.

326

“ëwamís, Apoków car amás asi ëwamís aráw matewi” iním aer in. “ëwamís Mapiw ow amás asi ëwamís aráw”, iním aer in. “ér, Ufún enërim Jiwin car amás e jiráw” iním aer in. “Muká car amás ëwamís aráw, Kosér car amás ëwamís aráw, Mós car amás ëwamís aráw. ér, Mituropis car amás ëwamís aráw. ér, Ówse cár amás ëwamís aráw”. ci nat, maj jòf opák in. e mínakap nesén asámteweres in á par piw nat, mémcmintewër 1 pak in. op wút nat, mémcmintewër pak in. amás tó ewerérmëro, 2 e si araw ún, e porów si ajiwmár in. porów si, jók apawérmëro 3 sí ajiwmár aráw ún. wasén namicukewérmëro 4 tów mirám ajiwmár aráw ún. sén takawérmëro, 5 enám ajiwmár aráw ún. máwkam un émporés, “ja ucím pemof éw jak áporwúj”, érimár aráw ún. op wút nat macintewër pak in. ëmá a cenés fapiw miwpomór. ci mi jipín apinmár aráw ún moporómtewen asén emár, amás mer ajsasér 6 mawtewer asén emár ajiwmár aráw ún. cofó jiémkurumór cowák. x máwkam ún, x empór, máwkam un, máwkam un, máwkam un. a cenés aómirisár aráw ún. a cenés aómirisár aráw ún. a cenés aómirisár aráw ún. a cenés aómirisár aráw ún. “no miwis em, no ja ucím pemof éw, carmá porí!” emár ajiwmár aráw ún. “wë, Tawerit noromóm, Tawerit noromóm jiw ná moméweri” jinínmemár ajiwmár aráw ún cépes am ówerow am.

1 mómcmintewër; 2 ewere jérmëro; 3 apawérmëro; 4 namicukewérmëro; 5 takawérmëro; 6 jisasér.

Jepémcéwi, Apoków, Mapiw, Kosér, Muká, Mitúr, Owse, Ufún and Jiwin were at that time jéw in Jepém. The last four are no longer in existence. Mapiw 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 Jisèw [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. "Jepêmèwi', 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.

326

"Apöków, your share of the sago lies over there, take it," he said. "That part there, Mapiw, is yours," he said. "Over there, — Ufún and Jiwin, over there's your share," he said. "Muká, there's your sago; Kosér, yours is there, yonder. Mos, your sago's over there, people of Mitûr, 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.
327
ci mí jipín apimár araw ún. máwkam ún empór, máwkam ún empór, ëmá cenés, a jo win fafujër a cenés, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór.
worém mak ám tatámenemor worém omirismar in esé apcóm mapom-tewér pak in. esé japúw apómjimór mapómtewér pak in. “e worém tákamómirisic, e máj tákamomirisic” inim aer in. maré a cenés awakám-kurumor in maré, worém wut máj wut áwákámkurumor in maré esé apcóm cuwuc áp. ájapómjimores in maré, esé máwkam un empór, esé máwkam un empór, esé máwkam un empór, esé máwkam un empór, esé máwkam un empór. “carmá pori ja ucím pemof éw” emár araw ún. ar amótipic nat máj ni’n emnimár araw ún. ar amótipic nat máj ni’n emnimár araw ún. máwkam un empór, máwkam un empór, máwkam un empór. maré esé apcóm awakámkurúmores ¹ in maré. maré a cenés sipám anaminimór, a jimsip aóteweres in. x x x x awakámkurúmores in maré. wowút nat mémcintewér pak in. emporés, ják manáfakam ún emporés, — wasén amás mentém aw, jak fék mawór ará —, áj nat ajismár araw ún, x x x óp acír, worém wut máj wut, pómán wut, mák ám tatámenemor áwákámkurúmores in. e óp, sosót temétowtopmór acír atemetjimores ² in. e óp x e óp x e óp x e óp x e óp e óp e óp e óp, mariw, wú cowák ápimópères in maré.

¹ bikin apis emorés. bikin apis = Malay: bikin habis; ² atapómjimores.

328
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.

In Seréw — the news that the sago palms on the coast didn’t contain any meal had spread like wildfire around the regions of the Mec — [in Seréw] there were two men, Pisim and Wasi, blood kinsmen of people in Jepém; they were great warriors. “Pisim and Wasi, they carry [the dead] of your family like firewood! It’s said they die of hunger because of the famine,” the people said. — Sisnám was a very beautiful woman living at the mouth of the Sakán. She had as much *tes* as a man!* — In the morning, Pisim and Wasi started out. They went from the Aw — or was it the Ninim? They both had paddles decorated with white cockatoo’s feathers. Wailing, they entered the Jomót. In the village the sound of lime throwing rang out*. 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 nim, arám kukuku ániamser in. Mów am arám, 
Ewér Surú, Majít Jinit, Per, Uwús át etám nak nim, arám jiwis 
po kukuku ániamser in. Jómot, ajísér in. Mani nat akápuamár nat, 
Siréc asier in. Mów am, Mów samát 2 manmák win manmák win 
jiskápuamár nat. mú pakénakap in. Jépem wún, Asewéc apájser in. 
Kajè wun Asewéc apájser in. wún Unír ar in, wún Pomúc ar in. 
wún Momác ar in. Amorép apájser in, Ac apájser in, Miwár apájser 
in, Esín apájser in, Amísu apájser in Jów apájser in. Kawét, Cowéw, 
Jaméw, Micím Sosó, Ar-Naním Atámuc. Sèrew aqcóm apápteremóteper 
in. memáp ow opák in. 

1 ísemérés; 2 somót; used everywhere in place of samát.

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.

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.

A new canoe is 'fired' before it takes to the water. Burning torches, made of 
sago palm leaves are held under its bottom until a layer of charcoal, approxi­
mately 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 Asmat people, firing makes a canoe light and fast.

Jómot, Ewnápo araw ún, Cemnácuw araw ún, inim aërwapères in. Maní, 
Minwúj enim Erák, makán ajíperes in. Mów, — Séper, ja Mów makan 
jíphères ów, ucím ow ám —. Maní Amánpitsimit ám araw ún, Mów 
Jakajmówswimit, Kurúm, makán ajíperes in. Koréc, Jináé, makán ajíperes 
in Jómot ám arám ów ków ún Maní nat, Minwúj enim Erák cowák aráp 
in. amás nat, ál makán eres ów jisítères ów, amás, e óp jurúw nat amás 
opák in. ápí e inimnkapiriw. inim amásnakápinríw ajápñères in. Mów a 
jismák sukmapá eres ów, a Maní jismák jártewerá, Maní a jismák 
sukmapá eres ów, a Mów jismák tewerá, Jómot a jismák sukmapá 
eses ów, Maní jismák pátewerá, Kajè a jismák sukmapá eres ów 
Jomót jismák tewerá inim ajápámeres in. — inim emorés nat á 
cowák jó cowák a tárwapçares áw —, arám inim aemapères in jir 
cómíc in. mokót tewerit mokót memáp pak. Minímap, wasén jisápères 
in. Jiníw aniakápères in. Minwúj nat, apácinakáp ajápántakawérmééro 1 cowák Maní jaká, Cémenosamín, minkúm sé in ajítomiwmár
people fetched coconuts and packed up their things. They were busy firing the canoes. "Tomorrow the drums must be beaten, your two fathers, your two elder brothers must depart on the day after tomorrow," they said. In the morning, just when the sun had risen, they took the baggage to the canoes. Pisinim and Wasi, who sat in the house [of their kinsmen], said: "Hey, there, 'tomorrow the drums must be beaten' so we said yesterday!" "Beat them yourselves, then," the people said, and that morning they all started out, one after another. On the Mani, 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 Ewer, Surú, Majit-Jinic, 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 Mani 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 Unir, some to the Pomác, some to the Momác. Some went to Amorép, to Ac, Miwár, Êsin, Amísu, and Jow; to Kawét, Cowéw, Jaméw, Micín, Sosó, Ar-Nanìm and Atamúc. The great mass of people went on their way to Seriéw. Nobody stayed behind.

Only Ewnápo and Cemnácuw stayed together on the Jomót. On the Maní they left Minwúj and Erák. On the Mow — Sepér *, the people they left on the Mow, who were they? — On the Maní, Amánptisimit also stayed behind. On the Mow, they left Jakajmówsimit 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
arāw jewēr kor, cī e jewēr ak, inim jiskawimtiwawēr cowāk. a nāt
jewēr, ēw nim inim ātajāmser 2 in. enām inim akōnawmesmā jermep,
kāmēm sē maniapōm pak in. inim atakāmtewerā ci, nīpor ēmtitiwā,
inim jewērmēro 3 n Manī. porōw maserim jīrmotepā jipuawēr araw ūn.

1 ajakāmtakēwere jērmēro; 2 ātajamsār; 3 jēwere jērmēro.

a Sepēr: one of the listeners; he came from the village of Uwūs, on the Mow.
b i.e., life was very difficult for them.
c He didn’t miss once.

330
Sērew jēw mu aćimores in. Jispāripic ām arám, Kajè, Kamsōpisipit
Jispāripit, Serēw, Jewērnamakāt, jipit nim tēs ajismōpēres in. — a
Sisnām tesmā cowut, Sisnām nat, mocōm opāk. akāt cepēs mocōmop-
awēr. Sisnām ar mō Jiw in. — Jewērnamakāt nat, cowūc akāt apōres
in. a Serēw, papis matam ōw opāk in. Mecēmūp, Āc in, Jakariwcim-
simīt, “jā Jewērnamakāt, Serēw papis ātāmcokom jā no papis cowūt
akāt” inim ēāpmor in papis is arpā espōmer in. marē Jispāripit nāt,
ci ēwkuor cowāk a Jewērnamakāt manmāk asamāpmor in. a papis
manmāk wasē araw, marē ten ājawerēmtiwēr in marē. āomiser in
papis. jēw, apōmkekemēs araw ūn. jēw, apōmkekemēs araw ūn. jēw,
jew, jew, marē onōw 1 atapōmkekēmores in marē. onōw inim akōmamēs
marē amās usī awuāmser in. amās usī. “Jispāripicā, jā Jewērnamakāt
Serēw, papis matām ow pāk! e Jākariwcim ar ēm, Jākariwcim manmāk
eskām ar omēr! cemsēn cowkān in, omēr ajimap araw. ām a papis
arpā omismār”. “jō cowkān emār arāwo” inim aer in. amās usī
awuāmser in.

1 onēw; used everywhere in place of onōw.

a According to my informants a man only daubs red earth above the eyes of a
woman with whom he has a papis relationship when she is not the wife of his
ēsakəp, i.e., his official papis partner.
b Bloodshot eyes are a sign of a vicious nature.
c Here the listeners make the comment that one must effect papis with a woman
of one’s own village.

331
— ā, atakām mōfasımtewer emīn —, jakā, Sepēr jep, caciw kor
wasēn ēwumsomītēres in marē. Atāripic x ci ēwtiwtewēr cowāk,
sago palm gardens which had been passed down to them were no longer there. They went to live in the forest by the Minímap; they went to the Jiniw and stayed there. Now Minwúj went down to the Maní each day in his small one-man canoe and tied up his canoe to a huge jewér tree which lay with one end in the mud, near the mouth of the Cémenosamin. He always put his canoe alongside this jewér tree. Like a crocodile, he lay down on the trunk. Each time a fish swam close by he didn’t stick the many-pointed spear into the mud but he speared the fish with it; he pulled it in and threw it carelessly into the canoe. Then, in the afternoon, he usually went up the Maní with a full canoe.

In Seréw, they began the feast for the new ceremonial house. Now, Jispáripic, Jispáripic of the ceremonial house Kamús at Kajé — in Seréw, there was 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 Seréw. He [her papís man] was Jakariwcimísinit, from Ac in the Meoêmúp. “You, of Seréw, 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. — 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 Seréw. She’s the papís woman of Jakariwcim, Jakariwcim with the bloodshot eyes, of whom people are afraid! Even the people living in the same village with him are afraid of him. He only lies with her!” He [Jispáripic] said: But she’s not from the same river [as Jakariwcim]! — They’d all gone to a temporary dwelling place to scrape out sago.

— 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

332
anakátipic, pomót kor, inim ámesémjirmémac in, jeníwpa kór, wác apcóm kukár mi, éperak sé ar in mén in acápomkúér in a wác in ajimomer in. Jispáripít nat pó sejpá atmár arow ún, ápatmár arow ún. asówfiwer in. jéw ko pó sejpá cuwuc1 ápatmár, “Jispáripít, sinakap pototómcenó,2 Jewénnamakát papís manmák wasé ó etjíwir-fénem inó” inim aer in. “no Seréw jaká cowúc papís manmák wasé majwir pakó, ja papís norpá ajiméspomio” inim er in. “Jakariwciém sinakap patetámcená” inim aer in anakátipic, áj pim éwfiwer cowák áj pim áeméner in. a jeníwpa kór nat, épermák nesén apápcapipimar a mén in acápommer cowák. áj pim amérfasiac in, inim emór, pó sejpá cuwuc ápatmár, mán am ápomosómor in. áteweráces in a jéw, kámu nim ájarimópères in. maré a jéw amán út nim, út nim uc ájé ájè ájè, nesén ciromásères cowák maréw in. maré a jéw, tesén a mijispúm pak in maré, o ním pinim un áfikmámes in mufúm pak in. nów kus nat áteweráces in. Ac ci aniómuntuores in. Jispáripit tówoférés mají pak in curúw anápères in maré.
took one [a harpoon] out of the canoe and hit it. Quickly the canoes of the people who'd stayed behind, in the middle of the river, pushed on — they chased and killed the fish and hauled it aboard. When they seized it, they threw it in the canoe of Wasi and Pisim. Immediately after they'd put it ashore, Atáripie became ill. Perhaps he had a big ulcer. "Jakariwcim, your papis woman, Jewérnamakát, Jispáripie came from the coast and put the red papis sign above her eyes; he has a papis relationship with her!" they said. "Oh, she's not from the same river [as I am], let her be his papis woman," he said. He waited, and he waited, and waited — "Well, I'm going to the coast, to pay a visit to the Aw, to pay a visit to the Aw," he said. In the morning, he manned a big war canoe. At that time the village [of Seréw] was deserted. At the downstream end [of the village] they raised a shout. "A big canoe from Ac!" — "Who's shouting there?" — "It's a big canoe from Ac that Jakariwcim manned this morning," they said. Jispáripie, Jispáripie sat making a small paddle. "Jispáripie, get away from here, it's Jakariwcim! You've daubed his papis woman [with red paint], get up! He's bloodshot eyes," so they urged him. But he just sat there making the paddle with a chopping knife. There were no [other] people there; there was nobody in the houses. The men who sat in the ceremonial house tried to reason with him again and again, but in vain.

He [Jakariwcimsimit] put his huge feather adorned paddle in the mud beside the canoe, and went ashore with a long lance with a cassowary's claw like the beak of the kukár bird which he held at its point, dragging the end in the mud *. He pulled it along, holding the cassowary's claw. Jispáripie 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. "Jispáripie, give me a small stone axe; it's said that you daubed the papis red above the eyes of Jewérnamakát, instead of me," he said. "Jakariwcim, do give me a little axe!" he said [Jispáripie]. 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
This is a sign that his intentions are bad.

According to custom the corpse should have been dipped in the river.

Atáripit, a cém tówomiwér,1 jipíc am, ar mó, asé cepès in wárimomáser in a fá cowúc, cém makán ajíper in. “newét, no sín arám ám aráw, nam cáj. cém manmák iním tuwopic” iním aer in. cém jok ów pok mer armá wuamismes maré, a Atáripic, cém fomiwér 2 jipíc,3 makán jipér fá cowút tasmá, Atáripit manám afor in. a ar ém cuwuc áp, á apómkerer in. “iním cowucá”, — Sorówsimit ara nèw Opekátsimit ara nèw —, “iním cowucá, nór, a newét, ják serémopóf, jencés cêmén akát. cáj máecén”, iním aer in. ásisiócinér, ásisióciner ar mó cuwuc amis atiwoter in. “no sín ucím atakám potáwmen éw” “atakám cowák ótawmen aráw, asówkonawfóm, ják seré japfen in. “át etámporén” iním er”. “m, no ucím apl!” iním aer in. “atakám miníp pacák nak púmopéném” iním aer in. “á, efamút! cén man pák aparci aráw, newét setájcaw, “no Atáripic ókora ókoromfén”, iním mají! Seréw áwuamsé, o pok mú amás pak, o nès matámjik in, amás usí wuamsé! cén mancé, musúmutám emín”, ajómewérmar Atáripit omér eporamár, omér eporamár, omér eporamár, omér eporamár, “á, musúmutám emín, cén man pák aparci aráw” iním er in. a Atáripic ar ém kor, e jip ámeráper in. mariw, Atáripit maré a cowút tasmá, cém ajówmoper in. anér anér anér anér am ásumútumor in. “ór aráw, porów manémum emín. usí wów akájčema, erém manémum emín” iním aer in.

1 tówomiwir; 2 fomiwir; 3 ipit.
there was laughter in the ceremonial house; — haw, haw, haw; — they simply cut him up in pieces. They stayed in the ceremonial house, and did not go outside to throw him into the water. They made it [his flesh] smell like roasting pork; they kept it a secret. They took the head they’d cut off with them in the canoe to Ac. They told no one that they’d killed Jispáripic; in secret they’d eaten him.

338
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 Sorówsimit, or Opekátsimit? — “hey, woman, I’ve taken a fancy to your husband. He has a beautiful young penis, let him couple with me!” she said. She drew towards him and nudged her husband, who lay there. “What has my sister to say to me?” “She’s something to say to you. [She says] that when we arrived here, she took a fancy to you. She said [to me]: ‘tell him that for me,’ ” so she spoke. “Oh, what can I do? What you say and what you’re thinking of with regard to me is very bad,” he said. “Be quick! If I see that you don’t want to couple with me, then I’ll say to my husband when he comes home: ‘Atáripic has raped me!’ All the people of Seréw are away getting sago, but [there’ll be] no feast sago for you, your flesh will be packed in bundles! They’re all away getting sago; if you couple with me, I’ll let you go.” She kept on saying that, and Atáripic became more and more afraid. “Come, I’ll let you go; but if I see that you won’t couple with me, then . . .,” she threatened him. At least, the wife of Atáripic went to sit at the far end [of the house] and Atáripic and the beautiful woman sat together in the house. He coupled with her . . . he raised her. “You, I’ll let you go this evening. Today the people return from camp, and tonight I’ll let you go away,” she said.

334
The people came home from camp in great numbers. Concerning Jispáripic, they had just eaten him in secret. Straightaway, they’d secretly brought the news to the place where the sago was being scraped out. The news flew from mouth to mouth amongst the people
ún maré. “apák, maré amás, ków nak, maré na, maré ajnima ajnima” ánères in maré. ájarewfájpurímar in sëkakajammar in. amás cem fá asen opák in. “maré jew, tó jem ám, onók muri ám tó, onów jowún mápurámsëráw” iním aer in. jéw nat tów mamátíw pak in. cáj eméërés, piri só mopórjít, jéw aj icimores in. jéw anán mopórjursüm, jéw aj icimores in. jófaj, onók muri jém ci atáwjmírsemor in, onók muri kór aámjíwámpores in. jófaj masním, tesén so niesmár niesmár niesmár tám onów un avitiwërës in. tám, onów avitiwërës, maré pir só, jok akurumpépëres in. pir só, émá porów jirwútmá jirwútmá jirwútmá jirwútmá maré, a Atáripic a cén anér cowút, “newét, a cepés am, a típuris ám erém mátepërës” iním aer in. maré ar mó kor ám arám, amán asów mipici, cuwúc amsís jirporá jirporá jirporá akatípit. máj pakám wut ním anitewém tamor 1 in. omócen kór anijimémëntamor in. ceswén mirám kor anijimémëntamor in “po fá asorómcënes ów, anijimémëntamin, mómkómtwiw” iním aer in. maré Atáripic, erém, Äw erén ajirimtapmésmes in maré.

1 anijimémëntamor.

* 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.

of Seréw. Then, their hearts began to thump like the hearts of wild pigs! “Hey! there’s sago in abundance. Now it’s our turn, now it’s our turn [to take heads]” they cried. They came together from all directions and reached the village. Because of the sago, there was no room in the houses to sit down. “All right, tomorrow the floor covering for the ceremonial house and also the rafters — the day after tomorrow the thatch must be on,” they said. For [the feast for] the ceremonial house they didn’t cut down sago palms to get the sago grubs. They wanted an excuse to murder the men from the coast, so they began the feast. They began the feast for the new ceremonial house in order to kill them in the ceremonial house. The next day, they took the canoes to the water so that they could fetch the rafters and the floor covering. They laid many large rafters on it. The following day, they danced the whole night and sang the tesèn song. In the morning, they laid the thatch. They laid the thatch in the morning and then, at noon, they sat and sang the pir song — no, in the afternoon they sang the pir song — and they jigged up and down, up and down, up and down*. The woman with whom Atáripic had coupled said: “Our brother, his wives, and his children must go upriver tonight.” Then her husband tried to bend a very large strong bow that lay there. He tried it, and again he tried it, — it was fine — and he put the bow down for him [with a thud], as though he stamped his foot. He fetched a large spear from above for him. From above, he fetched a big bundle of arrows for him. “I put them down for you,” he said, “should the men pursue you, you must kill them.” And when it was night they sent Atáripic away to the upper course of the Aw.

The whole night long there was dancing; they went on until daybreak and in the morning they stopped. “Enough, now! This morning the sago [must be handed round], all the people who came from the coast must go to the ceremonial house,” they announced. The people of Jepém, Kajé, Per, Uwús, and Mismám: of Ewér, Surú and Majit-Jiní, all went to the ceremonial house. There was no room left! Taweric, however, just stayed in the house that morning. — Taweric, the father of Jakáj and Máspic. — “Where’s Taweric!” More and more sago [they got together]. In the long ceremonial house they assembled the men from the coast; there was no room left. They waited, and waited, on the lookout for Taweric. Finally, after a long wait, Taweric stood up. He entered the ceremonial house in the middle; he
THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

wut Epém wut Sakwús wut.2 á amás masé mapór, a Tawerít nat manmák pepe emár arow ún, pepe emár arow ún. maré, awón mopáces in, x “á Seréwa no só ajitmi ca pacák pén!” a wasén kor iním niamár ’m x x x Tawerít nat maréw, Jiw cin ar ewúc, ’m á onow mák jéten in átarifiser in mari. Tawerít arám ócen apcóm amán apcóm atépsowamár cowák ar ewúc cin mariw, a jéwse tóko, énesjápêres in mari. a nát mariw, a jéw nat pipipipipi tatakaj ow émsajcúcukumár arow ún, tatakaj ow émsájcúcukumár arow ún. maré erén cowák, airimteper in, maré.

1 wójir; 2 A listener interrupts: “e Tawerít nat atakám matáw an ew” — Did they tell Tawerít about it? Simni answers: “a ná amso m un! a nä erám apcóm, or épic kor na!” — He knew it! He had a magical power, that great-grandfather of yours!

* Seréw, Epém and Sakawús: the three jêw of the village of Seréw.

b They crawl through the forest, so that when the killing begins, they will catch those who flee.

386

Atáripit nat mariw x, amás, “já mokót pu amás, mómaókmomít, erém momáwesì! e amás am, amás kumís jisá, amás kumís jisá, momawesi, amás kumís esé kor masnim a momsímomít. amás maj atáwckom mág esé a, jismák am mì jìs nim mómuwumesi” iním ajitámo in, a cém towomir jipìc.1 jismák kor ám mús jímís átowówac in, maré amás juwréw kor cuwúc emíc át etamór, erém animomópêres in erém x erém x, a Atáripic ñísìmotéper ów, x x amás x erém x erém x erém. maré a Tawerít am arám, Atáripit, erén emátepësì maró ow, jì nak nìm jìtám nak nìm, maré erém airimteper in maré. a cèpês, iním cuwuc émtewjiniwmar, mariw, x Tawerít ar ewúc cin Jiw, Jiw cin, cocóco àémfimsúmores 2 in maré. “Atáripicá, — Aw mífis pak áemutmár a Atáripic maré a cém jipic erém akserémtpémësì maró in, Áw erém tepësmar in” anêres in. maré atiwkukúmores in maré. a jowówpic ám arám anúwuwor in. “Atáripicá, o péncem éwa, já tátëmesmin amána, pómcem éwa, Sërew wut Epém wut ájumar áwa ór ar ina” iním er in. “já, newët ca r wíc já atemár aráw, ca ná ajsì, ca ná ajsì” iním aer in. ajsêr ajsêr ajsêr ajsêr ajsêr ajsêr, maré, — Tawerít, ar ewúc Jiw cin ám, tépkawiërës —, “ca nát ér nim jisemí, nór, amán matmómpor” iním er in. Atáripic apin asé inim atówompor in. “wú Atáripicá, wú ja wuà ja Seréw já jumar aráwa” iním aer in. masirifís in, a ná mesopér, x “wà” nesèn mapmór cowák! omócen
walked to one end and then to the other, looking up. He looked above, looking for a thin place in the thatch. At least, at the upstream end, he saw a place where the thatch had not been laid on so thickly, and he went and stood there, with his lance and his bow, his arms crossed. There, at the far end. Many people from Seréw, from Epém, from Sakawús approached through the forest, crawling like a mass of sago grubs. Taweric watched the sago being given out, looking sharply around him. There the killing started! "Hey, you from Seréw, do you want me to kill you!" [Taweric shouted]. Those in the forest then came back; they stabbed and stabbed. But Taweric and his younger brother Jiw, crash! they broke straight through the thatch, to the outside. Taweric sprang with his lance and his bow, right down from above, he and his younger brother, and with a thud they landed on the ground. In the ceremonial house the killing went on; the fleetest men all fled to the forest. The fleetest men all fled to the forest. Then they all fled to the upper course of the river.

Now, Atáripic had cut down a sago palm. "Presently, you must chop down a sago palm near the path through [my] sago garden. You must scrape out the sago at night, and the sago, the balls of sago, you must roast; roast them tonight. Then put them into a big bag and take them with you. When you've fetched the maj of sago, put them in bags. A big fire, as for burning lime, you must light tonight," so he was ordered by the man who had brought him to his house. And he put a large piece of burning wood into an empty bamboo water container. That night, they felled the big, full grown sago palm which stood there, the one he'd pointed out to him. The people whom Atáripic had brought upriver scraped out sago all night long. And also Taweric — Atáripic had already gone upriver at night — fled, as though someone had indeed ordered him to, upriver. Just as all the women went on their way [after they'd washed the sago], there Taweric and his brother Jiw dashed out of the forest. — "Where's Atáripic? He didn't leave the Aw this morning. The man who had him in his house, sent him upriver tonight, by a devious path. This night he went to the upper course of the Aw," they [the people of Seréw] said, and they set out in pursuit. His blood kinsman also set out. "Hey, Atáripic, are you there? Have you the bow I gave you last night? Many people from Seréw and Epém are on their way to you, yelling," he cried. "Hey, your brother,

1 ipít; 2 aémfumúsmores.

387

a nát mariw, anémwerer ín maré. kuwús in ásakámteweres ín maré. tówoper ów kor mari irirí nesen émoper cowák maré. maré aem-téwjiniwer ín. Siréc arán áiriméner ín. a nát jiwa nesen jiwa emár araw ún wunám a wasén parsámcukumór ow moáf ún. arán, e, Nówit jép, Máj jep Cáka jep amérapújer ín. a nát, a nát omá nesen jitmármés araw ún a Seréw jiná jú emar araw ún. a nát mapájurú pák. “émá mápapúj ará pak é ci sés amán, é ci sés amán”. Siréc jo pím maniém pak in. a Méc juwút, a Siréc juwút, óma nesen jitmármés araw ún. Seréw nat a jó pím, matakáj iním apor. wásen is esjarmés araw ún. Jió nat ar ém moc, micuwan mm emár araw ún ar epút, “o nát Jomót tepapém” aemár araw ún karem emá. a nát micuwán,1 párumut micuwan i emár araw ún. Tawerít na “’m” aemár araw ún. maréw, atáwpcájer ów, Ac, Micím Sosó, Esínkom, Ar-Naním, Amiw Su, Atámuc, Kawét, Cowéw Jaméw, táwpcamóper ów, Esínkom,“Seréwa, tó apómjsómamep ína”, ajípores “á, am aráp samáta, nó, Mecémúp, jokmén no apesawéra no cém micícimpór paká! ám aráp samát pacákap mán!” jipakajapér cowák atáwpcájóper ów now opák in. maré a Seréw cowák, arpá acáporsonóper ín. ám Jispáripic ajímirítiwir.2 — a nát amás awtámacar áw, wunám pirí fajmúc am totápowcar. Jewérnamakát ajímirímor —.

1 A listener says: “Sisnám micuwán!”; 2 ajímirítiwir.

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]. Taweric and his brother, Jiw, joined them, going upstream. “You must wait at a little distance in the forest. I’m going to try the bow,” [Atáripic] said. And he placed his legs wide apart, firmly. “Look out, Atáripic, look out, the people of Seréw are pursuing you [his kinsman] cried. They [the people of Seréw] wanted to rush out [from their cover] but he stood there on his guard. Thump! — “Oooow.” — he’d just struck one with the lance he was holding at the ready. “Ho, Jepém, good oh! That’s a hit!” “Hurrah!” cried the people of Jepém. The people of Seréw crawled [back] on their knees; they fled, crawling.

And the others hurried on; they cut off the head [of the man they’d killed]. — The people they [Seréw] caught, [in the ceremonial house], not one of them was left. — And they went on their way, they all fled in the direction of the upper course of the Siréc. The others tried in vain to surround them, to kill the people still scattered about in the forest. They made a circling movement towards the mouths of the Nowit, the Maj, and the Câka. They [Atáripic, etc.] went forward cautiously, while the people of Seréw started yelling. They couldn’t be seen. “Don’t make detours, go straight on, beneath the dead ribs of the sago palm fronds” [Taweric said]. They didn’t go down to the banks of the Siréc. Between the Mec and the Siréc they went forward cautiously. The people of Seréw peered round to see if they should make a break for the banks of the river, but they went on, passing the night in the forest. Jiw bemoaned his wife. “Ooooh”, he groaned under his breath. “Shsh! why didn’t you stay on the Jomót!” so spoke his elder brother again and again, to keep him quiet. But he just moaned under his breath, crying, oooh, oooh! “Shsh,” said Taweric, again and again. The people who dispersed to Ac, Micim, Sosó, Esinkom, and Ar-Nanim, to Amisu, Atámuc, Kawét, Cowéw and Jaméw, — concerning those refugees — the people of Esinkom tossed up a small ball: “Yesterday, it was the people of Seréw who killed them, it’s said . . .” “They, the people of Seréw, are an outside group; I, of the Mecémúp, am powerful*, I have no need of the rustling [of ghosts] in my house”. They, the people of Seréw, are an outside group, they are weak!” so spoke everybody, and the refugees were not slaughtered. Only the people of Seréw killed them. — It was the fault of Jispáripic! They would have scraped out sago for them, and after that they could

cém osiáper ururu apórkurumór masním, mariw, “semi emár now mináf amopnmár maré, tajú emár” inim aères ín. maré a Niním cákam, Tawerítsimit nat, ci mopórómtewer ónmer inim onmermár araw ún map. Siréc akám jokós kor ámiteémér ín, maré juwúr kor, ep wút címen wút araw ún, mokóp in emtópmore in. jéwi, ci, pacákseré ci mosokóm, — emár araw, ci tari moskóm pak. a ci jipín firímtiwporá firímtiwporá firímtiwporá firímtiwporá a erén a se tén maré a juwûr kor cuwúc atepíc atapomfámores in. “er aráw man, a cowák wut, a maémariwces mán” inim aer in. pó jipín aoporómtawamár, “no miwís em”. omócen wút nat mán kipmomic araw ún. akám akám akám, wu, wu, “Siréc, ákajnapúésawiri no miwís em” inim aer in. Jíw nat móit micuwan jî emár araw ún. a nát, a omócen kor sir 1 ám otomá emár araw ún. “o cém arásen emémaném! o nát tépacoapém! micuwan jî
all have gone back to the coast in peace. He was to blame, because of Jewéronymakát.

338

Meanwhile, they went through the forest, under the dead ribs of the sago palms. They didn’t go down to the Siréc straightaway. “Wait, first let them search, first let them search, and when they’re all gone back to the village, then you can go down to the bank of the Siréc,” said Taweric. The people of Amorép, Warsé, Sumúj, Jaméw and the people from the Mec didn’t kill those who had taken refuge with them. — The father of Úswut, Jurúwpitsimit, was hidden away under the house by Jin and Nosó, his two blood kinsmen. The people of Seréw came to try to kill him, but in vain. “I am Jin; I am Nosó!” they shouted at them. The father of Úswut, Jurúwpitsimit, and a woman, Cáman, as well as Jecám, lay hidden together under the house. And Pokás, Pokás, the mother of Eréw, and the father — no, the mother of Kánémemak, Námewfáksimit. They took Sisnám into the house. They took her to wife; [the others] they’d killed. Then the people of Amiw and Jaméw wanted to kill Sisnám: triton shells, necklaces made of dog’s teeth, old axes, they paid these for her, and because [the people of Seréw] saw that the shells were fine and that the dog’s teeth were fine, they pushed her out of the house, the beautiful woman. They took her as one picks a tevér flower, Sisnám the beautiful woman. It was the people of Amiw who got her, to eat her. Sisnám, the splendid woman, like a flame, she lay there.

339

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 * 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

1 sur; 2 tatemamáp.

*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.*

340

“na cá jo ápfamútmmanomè, maré Siréc, pomán omér ja emátewirúm maré, na jó jemám enáwapesóm ŋmá ucim jo ar’ám éw! tam jó putërárw apórca” inim eres in. tam aráw jó’n apumápères in. “na Mówakap jép arawá” inim eres in. “Mówakap jép apóma” inim eres in. tám masním, muwu mu a enám níssarámesmár, misín ten enám áfawútmes in. mu wá konáwkapumár maseirim maré, ámsenáwores in. wá aotmenáwores in. Jómot, cém ajetájères in. Jiwísmít “Jiómta misí no jawéra ajímiájí jú cafá anafríájí mací ju cafa anafríè” ajikuer in mari, Jiw ara. Tawerít nat maré cemsén x ci kor cuwúc eníc, ákin ájakómer in maré. maríw, Ewnápo, Cemnácw, cóapères ow am arám, ja Nét wasén jaráp ara, Samún emáp ara Ufít tepáp ará inim ajpípúières in. maré a Nét wasén cuwúc apés, á, Tawerít, Jomót asésír in. maré a ci jan káju káju erés, curuíw apawérjótakères in. curuíw atakómères in. otmámtewerés masnírím, akapmámteweres in. Mów am arám tawpacamóper ów, arám Mow apcóm ajapértír in. Kajè arám Maní ajáptersier in. a Jepém cowák, arápá jursumóper in. á, Kajèá, a Jurúwpíc, ar wés am a cepé am arápá amkawères in. a tarásèpes am. ów nat ám Esín, cém cowák ar in Ac cém cowák ar in, Amiw Su Mícm Soso Àr-Naním, cém ar in. a ci jipín kor, éren ów kapmópaces in a ci jipín kor, jocór ajápewere jérmëro’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.

340 "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. Jiwsimit 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 Fiti. At that time, when Taweric went rowing up the Jomót, they were in the forest by the Net. They heard the sound of the ci tree being felled, and they walked quietly downriver, following the river but out of sight. Quietly they went downstream to meet them. When they met each other they joined up. The refugees
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.

341

Jaméw am arám, Jaméw kapmópères ów am arám, Jum éwisérés, — És aráw new Júm ara néw —, És awisérés “piri mér pemerawéra” inim eres in maré a Ómawer jép, Jákaréw jép Akámjow jép jím emères aw ún. ci emséères ów am arám, a Má nésé, ájinawsisirimkuères in. camuíw masnírim, — ci new camuíw new, a Jómot ów camuíw a petéwmanes éw —, á Asewet éwnières 1 ów ci’n, Jómot éwemères ów, camuí un. pówo mopán cirín enám áfawéner a Jómot éwemer jipit. á, Asewéc éwisérés, jipit, ci, ci 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 ájatómrumór cowák. maré a ci oémén anícimsemor in. a ci jipíc jamnók okón waksés aw ún. “á com ám, á apán cá wimá, ja apán a ép ow wianém” inim aer in. maré ememér jipit, “á, ja apán nor apán winémamí” 2 maré ci ám apapirómkuères in maré. — ci akát kor in, a ci kor mán aósmoper in Tawerit. cia, ákin ákomer cia, ajáksemor in sirimáksemor in, ci taksém akát.

1 éwnérés; 2 jimí.

342

maríw, ak mí komén cómic aámewermés. a Asewec éwnières jipíc jamnók am á Jomot éwemer jipíc cowák am. jú omewermés, “na ucim atakám atéwercóm, na ucim inim ar’am, ca ucim emfokóm!” “nar maríw, Seréw akpufóm ow, Pisím eněrim Wasí jokmén nim
from the Mow all entered the Mow together, in battle array. And all the people from Kajé entered the Mani in a line. Only the people of Jepém were overtaken by the disaster. Of the people of Kajé, only Jurúwpic and the male members of his family, as well as his wives and his sisters [all of whom had stayed behind] joined them. The people of Kajé had gone to Esín, Ac, Amisu, Micim-Sosó and Ar-Nanim. In the large truncated canoe, — when the people from the upper reaches had joined them, Taweric went each day in the large truncated canoe to the river mouth. Each day he stayed there in the lookout post. “When people scatter themselves about, there must always be someone on the look-out at the sea,” he said.

The people from Jaméw, the people who had joined up at Jaméw, went out of the Jum — was it the Es, or the Jum? — they went out of the Es. “Let’s go to the sea and fish,” they said. And they fished with the nets at the mouth of the Ómawer, the Jákarew and the Akámjow. The men in the canoes crossed over to our side of the river, and went to land near the Ma. Then they went farther on foot. — By canoe, or was it on foot? Or was it the men from the Jomót who set out on foot? — The people who came from the Asewéc went by canoe; the people who came from the Jomót went on foot. The man who came from the Jomót was spearing fish in the strip of mangrove along the coast, and the men who came from the Asewéc — by canoe — two men in a canoe, rowed downstream. The one just walked and walked, while the others rowed. There, from the path between the nipah palms, he shot at 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 Taweric set to work, the canoe he immediately began to make. He finished it quickly. It was a beautifully made canoe.

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
járteweréjipuruwa maré eméjursúmeawós, maré, mátakam pák! ná atakajfóm ównakapiriw, Atáripit, erém atakámsomcúkmespés, nár masnim, jéw amán so ájteawós, ápacájfom. Tawerit enim Jiw, matáw-simfawós, Atáripic, erém tepésemep, atépkawifóm, atéwjiniwemom ówerow án cepés am, cakás. ów nat maré matakam pák, jú namcúp kor setajóm.¹ Jómot ápom. maré erén coapféj jipic mâmcup ám, emákápúmtewfom awapóm. cá nat ucím ar’am éw", inim áámeres in.

"á, nar, éma mimínip nat mapic. á om mén, mú asétacok ám, amás a om mén arámátiwic. porów masnirim, a Jépem ótewerá ótewerá ótewerá momjítumút “nar, mú amás kor, Má jep, simtiwésmár, tó, usi tapín in átewércar jowún, amás ajáwcar, átojowún júmenáwcar” inim moméc. om men amás armapmúc, “mu amás kor, pósasakámmtaw nim, mapepértaw emóm” inim momjítumúc” inim er in maré. a amás óm men ájaramáces in toróm ten ájawérémtiwiwés in, jó poké atiwjomamá in.

¹ setajém.

* i.e., as though we had nothing to fear from them (see § 337, note a).

348
téweramés, á mer ów, áfasiénères in. jimín am aénères in, pó maji nát warák opák in. “tó cowáka mákucw pák! nar, Tawerit inim atakám apómkkurucóm”. “a Jép jep cuwúc asecaw nák aráw Tewtén jep”. inim ajitámores in. a ci ow, mér jim êmores ów am inim inim maji pák in. “á, amás akát nak ucím amás am!” “á, ja mú amás kor, fá apcóm kor juwrév núcr! áj ci mi ním néséjáwr páw kor inim cowór! mákucw pák, amás sinák majirse pok nár, usi tapín in memtémteser enám memtémman, atéenámwom” inim eres in. “na pók atakám akát naká nor mó jammók emám” aemés araw ún. teré ni am ájaraménères in. Es ámersiérés in. cém apêres ów, porów poknaká ánapeses in mari inim inim mukukúre atewéméres in. mukukúre a cém towómifier ów, “na tó, amás mú amás kor, Má jep, kúpoporemápmesmár, pó jitéamértaw ním, amás óm apcóm nesén kawuámsesmar néc apcóm! tó, nec apomáwsimá jopom, ós májiririm-señorom tó, náriw am nó sinopis ám usi tapín mitiwtewér”, inim eres in. Jaméw “á, amás awúc, amás awúco” inim eres in. “erém ara a jó awnám atamcák aráw, jó, pírí manífam Jép jep”, inim eres
people from Seréw — Pisim and Wasí came to fetch us, as though they were *jokmén* men*, but they slaughtered us! There was no escape, we got away with only a few people. They let Atáripic flee in advance, at night, but they murdered us in the ceremonial house, we fled in all directions. Taweric and Jiw took us with them when they fled, and we joined Atáripic who went upstream at night. We went away, men and women, everybody. The others didn’t escape. Only three heads of family came back [Taweric, Jiw and Atáripic]: we’re on the Jomót. We also let the three men who had hidden themselves on the upper course join us, so we stay there. “How are things with you?” they said to each other. “We... wait, stay here to think up something. First, you must stick the point of the digging stick in the water and then smear it with sago meal. Then, this evening, you must say to all the people of Jepém: ‘Last night the water washed ashore a huge sago palm at the mouth of the Ma. Tomorrow, let’s take the sleeping mats to make a camp and the day after tomorrow let’s scrape out sago, and the day after that let’s return here.’ So you must say presently. Smear the sago meal on the point of the digging stick and in the evening, say: ‘The sago palm which has been washed ashore is huge, we shall make test holes until we have to cut off the fronds!’” So he spoke. After they’d rubbed the point of the digging stick with sago meal, they placed it [in the canoe) on a couple of supports. The heat of the sun dried it.

The people who were out fishing caught many fish; they returned upriver, content they went upriver, they rowed with ease. “It must be tomorrow, don’t delay. We must tell it to Taweric” [the man from the Jomót said]. “He really must wait there at the mouth of the Jep and the Tewtén,” so they urged him. They said nothing about it to the people in the canoes and the women who’d fished with the nets. “Hey, that’s splendid sago. How did you get this sago?” “Oh, there’s a huge sago palm in the water, complete with roots; an enormous full grown sago palm, it [the sago] comes out like lime off a [newly painted] canoe*. It’s as large as a mangrove tree. Don’t wait! The palm mustn’t get cracks [in the bark]. We’ve come here to tell [everyone] to get the sleeping mats as well, [so that we can make] camp; and also to bring fish as food.” “This one is ours! That’s good news! You’re two fine fellows,” they said. Dancing for joy, they rowed up river. They entered the Es. At night, after they’d had a bite to eat, they went on their way so that they could tell the people. They went into the houses and said to the people: “Yesterday, we... a sago palm, there’s a huge sago

1 asirinuwur.

* See § 284, note a.

b i.e., a sago palm of which the trunk has farinaceous pith well up to the top.


Jómot fu pú’n ajatámsiómer in. Sérew am átowofërés, a Seréw acómêres, nów kus ám arám, ós mopán afajúmores in. wunám a Jaméw áokajúmores in. Sisnám purumúc ámocémés.

1 merwáp.

* 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. The digging stick lies there in the house, covered in raw sago. Yesterday, every time we stuck it [in the tree] the raw sago came out; we stuck poles in the water [to prevent it from rolling back]. Tomorrow, our brothers and our sisters will take the sleeping mats to make camp," they said. “Good, go and scrape out sago, get sago,” the men of Jaméw said. “Tonight it must be, before the sun has risen. We’ll wait for day-break downstream, at the mouth of the Jep,” they said. The people from the Jomót in their turn, told Taweric. “All right, let’s go,” he said. “But, first, all take a rest,” he said. “Let’s go upstream,” he said. “Roast food in the houses,” he said. Now, when the sun went out in the sea, Taweric went quickly to the canoe to set out. He put the canoe in the water; he turned it the right way up on the high bank, the canoe, slim as a young gaba-gaba stalk, and put it in the water, so that he should be at the mouth of the Jep before the others.

344

The whole evening they were telling each other, and when all the people of Seréw were asleep, they all set out in the canoes. Nobody stayed behind. A man from Seréw, Seménterésimit, also went with them. “I, also, want to go and catch crabs,” he said. “Oh, stay at home, stay at home! We want to go alone, only with our people,” they said, but in vain. “I, also, want to catch crabs,” he said. They all went out to the 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 Taweric quickly crossed the river. “Here comes Taweric, perhaps! He’s coming here! Who are you,” they called out. “I’m Taweric,” he said. “What do you want!" "Are you alone? Is there someone with you," he said. “There are no other people, only our great brother Seménterésimit came with us,” they said. Where is he? Where have you put him?” “Here he is,” they said. He pushed forward between the canoes that lay there to where he [Seménterésimit] stood, and — thud — he killed him on the edge of the canoe. “Oh, Taweric! have pity on our great brother,” they cried. “He’s not a bad man,” they said, but in vain. “Stay you!” With the bamboo horns booming, they rowed into the Jomót. The head of the man of Seréw whom they’d killed, they flayed under a tree, and after that they also flayed the head of the man of Jaméw. They still sing the lament of Sisnám.
WORD LIST

This list is a complete record of the 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 uncertainty about the correctness of the meaning given.

In the few cases in which a substantive only denotes one thing or person, or a number of things or persons, [s.] and [pl.] respectively are used. In the other cases, as a rule only the translation of either the singular or the plural aspect of the meaning of the substantive is given.

The following terms are used:

* singular; plural.
* subject, = verbal subject; object, = verbal object.
* aquatic, lying, sitting, standing, above eye level: these terms refer to the five position-classes as discussed in § 71, note. Aquatic and above eye level are preferred here to swimming and flying. Thus e.g. 'aquatic subject' means: the subject of the verb belongs to the aquatic class of things.
The following signs are used:

→ see.
< from.
= the same as.
— stands for the catchword.
[?] indicates that the correctness of the word-form or the meaning can be doubted.

\[ \text{Á} \]

\[ a \ 1 \text{ exclamation: hey, oh, ah!} \]
\[ a \ 2 \rightarrow \text{ar 2.} \]
\[ a \ 3 \text{ branch, thigh, hind leg [of a pig].} \]
\[ aâmcej < \text{am 7; 116.} \]
\[ aâmères < \text{ame; 155.} \]
\[ aâmewérmes < \text{amewer; 136.} \]
\[ aâmjütápmores < \text{amjutapom; 155.} \]
\[ aâmopmár < \text{amop; 144.} \]
\[ aâmcow < \text{an 3; 120.} \]
\[ aápmom → \text{awapom.} \]
\[ aápterémítéres < \text{apteremtw; 155.} \]
\[ Ac \text{ name of a village on the Mec.} \]
\[ acaciáperes < \text{caciap; 155.} \]
\[ acáciomér < \text{caciom; 155.} \]
\[ acájkurumóf < \text{cajkurum; 162.} \]
\[ acákokorómseres < \text{cakokoromse; 155.} \]
\[ acán advice. \]
\[ acápmomér < \text{capimom; 155.} \]
\[ acápmomkíwr < \text{capimomku; 155.} \]
\[ acáporomóper < \text{caporomop; 155.} \]
\[ acic, acic → all kinds of. \]
\[ acíckítítíwres < \text{cicikititw; 155.} \]
\[ acícín beforehand, in advance, ahead. \]
\[ acícín < \text{cimom; 155.} \]
\[ acícimwér < \text{cimtw; 155.} \]
\[ acícimwúj < \text{cim; 155.} \]
\[ acín 1 \rightarrow \text{tap.} \]
\[ acín 2 \text{ baked crust of sago.} \]
\[ acíckítítíwres < \text{cicikititw; 155.} \]
\[ acír small platform on the collar beams \]
\[ of a house, used for storing sago. \]
\[ acírá < \text{ciri; 109.} \]
\[ ácropolis < \text{cirop; 155.} \]
\[ acápër < \text{cop 1, 2; 155.} \]
\[ acámopmores < \text{comapom; 155.} \]
\[ acómères < \text{com; 155.} \]
\[ acómór < \text{comom; 155.} \]

\[ \text{ácopátwrém} < \text{copawer; 125.} \]
\[ acápmom (285) \text{ she was continually busy} \]
\[ with plaiting (285) \text{ she was continually busy} \]
\[ acumásmamép < \text{cumasam; 152.} \]
\[ Acúwam personal name. \]
\[ Acúwama < \text{Acúwam; 34.} \]
\[ áémamá < \text{emawer 1, 2; 144.} \]
\[ áémamá < \text{emamis; 162.} \]
\[ aëmápf < \text{emap; 162.} \]
\[ aëmápfes < \text{emap; 155.} \]
\[ aëmápmor < \text{emapom; 155.} \]
\[ aëmatámol < \text{ematam; 155.} \]
\[ aëmatmac < \text{ematam; 165.} \]
\[ áëmémcow < \text{emem 1; 120.} \]
\[ aëmémef < \text{emem 1; 162.} \]
\[ aëmémér < \text{emem 1; 155.} \]
\[ aëméné < \text{emem 1; 155.} \]
\[ acém < e 4; 144. \]
\[ aëmesmár < \text{emes 1, 2; 144.} \]
\[ aëmesmi < \text{emes 1, 2; 144.} \]
\[ aëmísimísmores < \text{emfimsmum; 155.} \]
\[ acemic → awemic. \]
\[ aëmit → awemic. \]
\[ aëmíjímit < \text{emij; 144.} \]
\[ aëmkómamés < \text{emkom; 144.} \]
\[ aëmníer < \text{emni 1, 2; 155.} \]
\[ aëmníer < \text{emni 1; 34.} \]
\[ aëmíniérés < \text{emi 1, 2; 155.} \]
\[ aëmor < \text{em 4; 155.} \]
\[ aëmpórméro < \text{empor 2; 174.} \]
\[ aëmsíresi < \text{emshi; 155.} \]
\[ aëmsíresíó < \text{emshes; 155.} \]
\[ aëmsíter < \text{emsi; 155.} \]
\[ aëmsíter < \text{emsi; 155.} \]
\[ aëmtómor < \text{emtam; 155.} \]
\[ aëmtewacácm < \text{emteuer; 165.} \]
\[ aëmtewjíntí < \text{emtwjinitw; 155.} \]
\[ aëmtewtúmor < \text{emtwtuw; 155.} \]
\[ aëmtínef < \text{emtim 162.} \]
\[ aëmtiw < \text{emtw; 155.} \]
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; namir — to die; omóp — to beat.
afáfasimar < fafasim, 144.
afápawá < fafaw, 109.
áfafémnemacém < fafemnem, 165.
afafémomasér < fafemomas, 155.
afafémor < fafem, 155.
afajáper < fajap, 155.
áfajásmapéf < fasimap, 162.
áfamásmores < famasm, 155.
áfamopfenes < famop, 162.
áfawutmes < fafut, 165.
áfawásmamép < fawasam, 152.
áfawinier < fawini, 155.
áfawiniof < fawini, 162.
áfawiséf < fawis, 155.
áfawiséres < fawis, 155.
áfawiséf < fawis, 155.
áfawísíres < fawis, 155.
áfawísíres < fawis, 155.
áfawísíres < fawis, 155.
asemfémowi < físmiw, 144.
afín maggot.
afíteá < fiw, 109.
afíteámiwémowess < fiwomíw, 136.
afímar < af 1, 2; 144.
afrés < af 1, 2; 144.
afó broad, wide.
afór < af 1, 2; 155.
afré to die in the water.
afrísmépes < frísmes, 152.
Afúj personal name.
Afújë (320) = Afúj [in an enumeration of personal names].
afún air bubbles.
afrísmes < frísmes, 155.
afrísmes < frísmes, 155.
afrísmes < frísmes, 155.
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afrísmes < frísmes, 155.
afrísmes < frísmes, 155.
ájamésnimár < amesni, 144.
ájamésjíner < amesjín, 155.
ájaméjótaik < amesjóta, 162.
ájamesstamír < amestam, 155.
ájamóp < cawer, 152.
ájamóap < cawer, 152.
ájamóap < cawer, 155.
ájamésjúr < amesjúr, 155.
ájamésjírer < amesjírer, 155.
ájamésjírer < amesjírer, 155.
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ájamésjírer < amesjírer, 155.
ájamésjírer < amesjírer, 155.
ájamésjírer < amesjírer, 155.
ajimép < ji 5; 152.
ajimespomio < ajimespomi, 33.
ajimespomi (332) I sleep with her [dialect of Ac], < jimespomi,
ajimenor < jinem, 155.
ajinömare < jinom, 165.
ajimóncèmes < jinom, 136.
a jinomer < jinom, 155.
ájimotnávarén < jimotnaw, 165.
ájimotnawén < jimotnaw, 162.
a jimsomícèmes < jimsmit, 136.
ájimsomités a. < jimsomit, 144; b. =
a jimsomicemes, 51, 60.
ajimitever < jintiw, 155.
a jinawmá < jinaw, 144.
a jinawsirimkueres < jinawsirimku, 155.
a jinémom < jine, 144.
a jinémor < jinem, 155.
a jinímés < jini, 144.
a jinísmimés < jiniwini, 144.
a jíper < jipe, 155.
a jíperc < jipe, 155.
a jípírasmores < jípírsam, 155.
a jípor < jipor, 155.
a jíporá < jipor, 109.
a jíporéf < jipor, 162.
a jíporés < jipor, 155.
a jíporóf < jipor, 162.
a jípúf < jipu, 162.
a jípuxor < jipux, 155.
a jíremóf < jírem, 162.
a jíremerá < jíremku, 165.
a jírintapámésnes < jírintapamés, 144.
a jírintápmorés < jírítamap, 155.
a jírkumár < jírkumais, 165.
a jírkunier < jírkuni, 155.
a jírmár < jir 3, 4; 144.
a jírmémac < jíremsit, 162.
a jírmemor < jiriném, 155.
a jírtewérmé < jírtewer, 165.
a jírsakámteweráre < jírsakamteuer, 165.
a jírsakámtewéres < jírsakamteit, 155.
a jírsakápienóf < jírsakapícm, 162.
a jísmamser < jísamis, 155.
a jíspá < jisp, 155.
a jíspásér < jisap, 155.
a jísmémor < jísmatam, 155.
a jísmémor < jísmatam, 155.
a jíssémor < jisem 1, 2, 3; 155.
a jíser < jis 3, 4; 155.
a jíssitéf < jisit, 162.
a jíssjópér < jísjóp, 155.
a jíssmar < jis 3, 4; 144.
a jísmópéres < jísnap, 155.
a jísmotivér < jísmotiw, 155.
a jísmuámsers < jísmuamis, 155.
a jísokámtiéwér < jísokomitéw, 155.
a jísmotépókorm < jísmow, 155.
a jistipés < jistipce, 155.
a jístotépmor < jístotépom, 155.
a jíswáwer < jíswap, 155.
a jíttámac < jítam, 165.
a jíttárnémor < jíttarnem, 155.
a jíttámor < jítam, 155.
a jíttámores < jítam, 155.
a jíttaré < jí 1, 2, 3; 165.
a jántëtësna < jíntëtses, 144.
a jítmá < jí 1, 2, 3; 144.
a jítnémor < jítnem, 155.
a jíttinéver < jíttinéver, 155.
a jíttomátc < jíttomit, 144.
a jíttumés < jíttum, 144.
a jítwapmá < jítwapom, 155.
a jítwátmáper < jítwámatap, 155.
a jítwemápmécemes < jítwemamom, 136.
a jítwiref < jítwir, 162.
a jítwirém < jítwir, 162.
a jítwemar < jí 2, 3; 144.
a jítwemesépér < jítwemesop, 155.
a jítwó < jítw 2, 3; 162.
a jísositéwéver < jísositéwéver, 155.
a jíswátuwapmá < jíswáuwapom, 155.
a jíkic < jik, 116.

Ajíkúm personal name.
A jíkúm < A jíkúm, 34.
ajkúm younger brother (term of address).
ajmirarêver 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].
ajmiremetever to take always the wrong path.
ajmiremic < ajmirem, 176.
ajmim to kill, to bring disaster upon; to be to blame (377).
ajmirméf < ajmirmé, 162.
ajmimór < ajmirmó, 155.
ajmimítive to have killed, to have brought disaster upon.
ajmimítever < ajmimítev, 155.
ajmirrometever to accompany someone and make him loose his way.
ajnim now.
ajnìna < ajnîm, 34.
ajô < e 4; 162.
ajômer < com, 155.
ajômeuvermar < comever 1; 136.
ajôwmoper < owmop, 155.
ajpamá (324) known.
ajpaw fine!
ajîmr the far end [of a house].
ajÎ < jis 3, 4; 116.
ajîv < jis 3, 4; 116.
ajîll < jis, 34.
ajîmewermar < eomewer, 136.
ajîmoper < owmop, 155.
ajpamâ < jiku, 162.
ajpaw < akawai, 144.
akamâ < akamapom, 155.
akámi < akamap, 155.
akám < akawer, 144.
akámamís < kamiamis, 162.
akamiesmar < kamies, 144.
Akamjow name of a river.
akamónim < kamoni, 144.
akamöper < kamop, 155.
akâmítmâr < kamìtv, 144.
Akâmumâ personal name.
aka shoot of a palm or tree; progeny, offspri ng.
aka, pe — to catch crabs for food.
akaïpem to stand on one's own.
akaïpamânterès < kapumametewer, 155.
akaïpamper < kapimap, 155.
akaïpmores < kapim, 155.
akaïpuamâr < kapuawer, 144.
akaïpuarâ < kapu 2; 165.
akât good, fine; aŭuit — very large (269).
akatês very nice, very good.
akatïpic very beautiful, excellent.
akâw from a palm tree.
akawer, camúw ci — always to go on foot in stead of by canoe; ci — always to make canoes; jisin — to gather many coconuts; mow — to chop off many roots of the pandanus tree.
akaïpumamâs < jukumamop, 155.
akaïpwamâs < jupumop, 155.
akaï71 < akaj, 136.
akaïm < akawer, 144.
akaïmamís < kamiamis, 162.
akaïmítmâr < kamìtv, 144.
Akâmumâ personal name.
akâm < akamapom, 155.
akitum, jisin — to gather coconuts in the afternoon.

akmáméro < ak 2; 175.
akmap, a — to sit with spread-out thighs.
akmapmár < akmap, 144.
akmapmór < akmapom, 155.
akmapom to cause to sit with open mouth = to kill someone.
akmá < akmát.
akmom to hold open [a bag].
akmomc < akmom, 116.
akmapmár < akmapom, 155.
akmápmorés < akmapom, 155.
akmápmor < akmapom, 155.
akmám < akmám, 144.
akmamé < akmám, 144.
akmámtam, si — to share out [sago].
akmáms to cause to sit with open mouth = to kill someone.
akmom to hold open [a bag].
akmomc < akmom, 116.
akmápmor < akmapom, 155.
akmápmorés < akmapom, 155.
akmápmor < akmapom, 155.
akmápmor < akmapom, 155.
akmam < akmám, 144.
akmamé < akmám, 144.
akmámtam, si — to share out [sago].
akmámtam to cause to sit with open mouth = to kill someone.
akmom to hold open [a bag].
akmomc < akmom, 116.
akmápmor < akmapom, 155.
akmápmor < akmapom, 155.
akmám < akmám, 144.
akmamé < akmám, 144.
akmámtam, si — to share out [sago].
akmámtam to cause to sit with open mouth = to kill someone.
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akmomc < akmom, 116.
akmápmor < akmapom, 155.
akmápmor < akmapom, 155.
akmám < akmám, 144.
akmamé < akmám, 144.
akmámtam, si — to share out [sago].
akmámtam to cause to sit with open mouth = to kill someone.
akmom to hold open [a bag].
akmomc < akmom, 116.
akmápmor < akmapom, 155.
akmápmor < akmapom, 155.
akmám < akmám, 144.
akmamé < akmám, 144.
akmámtam, si — to share out [sago].
akmámtam to cause to sit with open mouth = to kill someone.
akmom to hold open [a bag].
akmomc < akmom, 116.
akmápmor < akmapom, 155.
akmápmor < akmapom, 155.
akmám < akmám, 144.
akmamé < akmám, 144.
akmámtam, si — to share out [sago].
akmámtam to cause to sit with open mouth = to kill someone.
akmom to hold open [a bag].
akmomc < akmom, 116.
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.
amésjes to come in great numbers which/who are doing something else at the same time [e.g. singing].
amésjesmép < amésjes, 152.
amésjep to go to the river in great numbers, which/who are doing something else at the same time.
amesjotak — amesjotak.
amésjotakc < amesjotak.
amésjótepef < amesjotakc, 162.
amesmunljar to shuffle around [subject lying].
amésni to flow downwards, to crawl downwards.
amesnowomotep to bring upstream in many canoes in battle array.
amésnowomóteper < amessnowomotep, 155.
améstam, jan — to make noise [subject lying].
ametóciner < metocin, 155.
ametoséf < metos, 162.
ametosfén < metos, 162.
ametóttnawefes < metottnaw, 162.
amewer, ak mi komén cómic — continually to lick each others faces.
ami all, without exception, nothing but, only; akát — splendid.
amis to lie down.
amisu name of a village.
amitáPmaci < mitapom, 165.
amitápmaces < mitapom, 165.
amitémer < mitem, 155.
amitérem < mit, 155.
Amitu one of the Jews of the village of Amisu.
amjítwapom, onók muri — to put the rafters on a house.
amkawo to join.
amkawicen < amkawi, 116.
amkawimapep to join someone to.; to marry a woman to a man.
amkom, pe — also to go to catch crabs for food.
amnu turned to each other; mi — face to face; mak —, fa — back to back.
amo, owen — to fight with each other.
Amús 1 younger sister [s.].
Amús 2 sago scraper [see sketch p.366].
Amus 3 also to go to the forest.
Amus êtes younger sisters [pl.], 190.
Amútimèmes < mutam, 136.
Amáw kind of reed [Hanguana Malay¬
a], growing in and along rivers where
there is little or no current. Its roots
intertwine, forming a floating layer
that a river can be wholly overgrown
by this plant. Traditionally this is the
place where the children· of the ghosts
play.
Amus êtes 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;
eemén — to have sexual
intercourse with a man [said of a
woman];
een — to have sexual inter­
course with a woman [said of a man};
mu — to drink;
mis — to take a rest.
Aná < an 1; 34.
Anácen < af 1, 2; 116.
Anakácowú the said woman, she [an¬
aphoric].
Anakácowúnakápirítu < anakácowúc, 188.
Anaká 1 very, really: akám — really
old; fum — clear as cristal [said of
water]; mocó — wet through.
Anaká 2 trunk [of a man or an animal].
Anakáitiqué the said man, he [anaphoric].
Anakáitou the said people, they [an¬
aphoric].
Anám the inner pith of the sago palm:
the part of the pith which is scraped
out first, by people standing outside
the trunk [see sketch p. 367].
Anamicimór < namicim, 155.
Anapacés < nap, 165.
Anápřeres < nap, 155.
Anásamamop < nasam, 152.
Anáwémrom < náwer, 136.
Anawitép to be bent upstream [top of a
tree].
Anémémés < an 3; 136.
Anémcom < an 3; 125.
Anem, mu — to make a quantity of
anything, to make a large object.
Anémor < nem, 155.
Anémnópínir < némnòpi, 155.
Anemúc < anem, 116.
animomópores < nimomop, 155.
ánimurés < nimu, 155.
animus to disappear into the forest.
aninukámens < ninukamis, 155.
anidóm < niom, 155.
anidóm < niom, 155.
anidóm < niomitum, 144.
anidóm < niomuw, 155.
anidóm < niomuw, 155.
anidóm < niomuw, 162.
anidóm < niomuw, 155.
anidóm < niop, 155.
anidóm < niom, 155.
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anidóm < niom, 144.
anidóm < niomuw, 165.
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anidóm < niomuw, 162.
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anidóm < niom, 155.
apat to sit working something up with a chopping knife.
åpatmär < åpat, 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.
apawcr < åpatmär, 144.
apawer 2, mow — to work loose many fibres of the pandanus tree.
apawcr < apawer 1, 2; 125.
apawerjotak, curiaw — to walk quietly downriver keeping close to the bank [but out of sight], in order to meet someone.
apawerjótakerés < apawerjotak, 155.
apáz('érmero < apawer 1, 2; 174.
apáwuwumár < pawuwu, 144.
apám < with, supplied with, having; to tally, 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.
apém < apém 1, 2; 174.
apém 2 < apém 1; 176.
apém 3 < apém 2; 3; 144.
apé 1 look! listen! Interjection, used to draw attention.
apé 2 < ap 2; 176.
apé 3 < ap 3; 155.
apé 4 < pi 2, 3; 155.
apim scraped out pith, sago pulp; the part of the sago-washing trough in which the pulp is squeezed out.
apimópêres < pimop, 155.
apin the back of the thigh.
apínav < pin, 144.
apípis the soft inner part of the midrib of a sago palm frond. apípis jivi the midrib of a young sago palm frond.
apirimac < pirim, 165.
apir 1 old, dry frond of the sago palm; po — old, dry rib of a frond.
apir 2 to remain sitting [?].
apir 3 to sit, stay, during the morning.
apitimsemor < pitimsem, 155.
apitmar < apit 3; 144.
apitmonesmar < pitimomes, 144.
apitof < apit 2; 162.
apitpu to do habitually during one’s stay.
apitpuhêres < apitpu, 155.
apit to grow [subject sitting].
apitamkawer always to row downstream alone.
apimár < ap 2, 3; 144.
apime, manmák is — to become dizzy. apinaf the wide apart stretched legs.
apinawer to have plenty to eat, to sit, eating continually.
apo, ar — look here! ar ápori.
apoamiscémom < poamis, 136.
apoámsermóm < poamis, 136.
apóf < ap 2, 3; 162.
apomów name of a jew in the village of Jepém.
apóm 1 to cause to sit, to plant.
apóm 2 < ap 2; 176.
apóm 3 < apóm 2; 34.
apomawsim to thrust [a digging stick] into [the pith of the sago palm] and cause [the sago meal] to fly out.
apomawsimá < apomawsim, 109.
apomcin to take away bits of, parts of.
apomín to go inside to someone.
apomjin to pull, drag [object sitting]; to store [bags of sago].
apomjinmór < apomjin, 155.
apomjirsom to kill, to bring disaster upon.
apómjirso-mane < apomjirson, 152.
apomke kem, cem — to make a house, tying everything firmly.
apómke kemés (330) = apómke kámamés < apomke kem, 144.
apomkom to start to chop down [a tree].
apómkur < apomkur, 155.
apomkure < apomkure, 155. apomkosom, man — to thrust [a lance] with both hands into.
apomkosóm < apomkosom, 155.
apomtever to take [object sitting].
apóptérimokóm < popérini, 144.
apóptérimokóm < apóptérimokóm, 33.
apór < por, 155.
apórá < por, 109.
apórác < por, 165.
apórea < por, 120.
apórci < por, 125.
aporic < por, 125.
apórmokom < por, 136.
aporis < por, 155.
apórewer < porawer, 182.
apori < por, 116.
aporia < apori, 34.
apórikusac < porkasi, 165.
apórkurumór < porkurum, 155.
aporéf < por, 155.
aporí < apori, 162.
aporí < por, 162.
aporímar < porom 1; 165.
aporímtawamór < porontawaver, 144.
aporímtawúr < porontaw, 155.
aporí < por, 155.
aporíuc < porawer, 182.
aporíuc < apori, 162.
aporí < por, 162.
aporímar < porom 1; 165.
aporímtawamór < porontawaver, 144.
aporímtawúr < porontaw, 155.
aporí < por, 155.
aporí < por, 155.
aporí < por, 162.
aporímar < porom 1; 165.
aporímtawamór < porontawaver, 144.
aporímtawúr < porontaw, 155.
aporí < por, 155.
aporíuc < porawer, 182.
aporíuc < apori, 162.
aporí < por, 162.
aporímar < porom 1; 165.
aporímtawamór < porontawaver, 144.
aporímtawúr < porontaw, 155.
aporí < por, 155.
aporí < por, 155.
aporímar < porom 1; 165.
aporímtawamór < porontawaver, 144.
arána < arán, 34.
aráp < ar 2a; 214.
arásen here, this place.
arát emphasizing word, 245.
arátva < arátu, 34.
arátvo < arátu, 33.
arcér main stream.
arewúaj to assemble [many people].
arewfajporamár < arewfajporawer, 144.
arewfajporawer to come together in great numbers to try to.
arewfajpurlawer to come together from all directions.
arewkajavawer 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.
arimltt 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.
ariwésjes < ariwes, 162.
ariwtep to go upriver in a canoe full of people.
ariwtepfóm < ariwtep, 162.
ariwtepfom < ariwtep, 152.
armá < ar 2a; 213.
armapmic < aramapom, 116.
armótipic the owner, rich man [s.].
Arnallim name of a village.
aró < ar 2c; 33.
arów < ar 2a; 216.
aró < ar 2a; 214.
arók out of the way, at a distance from.
ariw 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 fleshes, 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 papis. 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.
asakámamfén < sakamtam, 162.
asakámtewerés < sakamtewer, 155.
ásakáp < 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.
asámtewereré < asamtewer, 165.
asámtewerés < asamtewer, 155.
asamte to push away [object lying].
asámteviw < asamtevi, 109.
asasakájesef < sasakajes, 162.
asasakáintiwer < sasakantiw, 155.
asavtam, 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; → cotwúc.
asé 2 undergrowth.
asé 3 jak — piece of charcoal which is used in the practising of magic.
asé 4 < se 2; 176.
asécaw < se 2; 125.
ásefasíac < sefasi, 165.
asemrmor < semarani, 155.
asémirmor < semirin, 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.
ásér, wu — young sago palm of which the edible top is taken for food.
ásérápmac < serapom, 165.
ásérápmáckókórm < serapom, 165.
ásérápmáreás < serapom, 165.
ásérápmárp < serapom, 155.
ásérápmáfnémom < serapom, 162.
asés < se; 176.
asésí < seri, 155.
asxácókó < set, 165.
asxápmácokóm < setaj, 136.
asxápmáreás < serapom, 165.
asxápmárp < serapom, 155.
asxápmárho < serapom, 162.
asxápmárf < serapom, 155.
asxápmármor < serapom, 155.
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atákjis < takjis, 155.
atakmár < tak, 144.
atakóméres < takom, 155.
atákseáces < takse, 165.
atáltatítue < taktitue, 155.
atam 1, jó aavnám — to have not yet risen [sun].
atam 2, papis — to have a papis relationship with.
atamapom to put something on something else, to fasten something on, to fix on; to dab on.
atamcaw < atam 1; 125.
atamcokom < 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 — jimin.
atamni, móc in — to go back home while crying.
atamniawer, móc in — to go down river 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.
atamčewer, jókmen — to take something with the tongs.
atamuc 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.
atápmakmámar < tapomakem, 144.
atápmcemó111 < tapom 1; 136.
atápmfámores < tapomfam, 155.
atápmkekémores < tapomkekem, 155.
atápmetermores < tapometerem, 155.
atápmekkmámar < tapomakem, 144.
atápmcemó111 < tapom 1; 136.
atápomfámores < tapomfam, 155.
atápmekkmámar < tapomakem, 144.
atápmcemó111 < tapom 1; 136.
atápmekkmámar < tapomakem, 144.
atápmcemó111 < tapom 1; 136.
atápmekkmámar < tapomakem, 144.
atéterembérm < teteremapor, 155.
atéwcémérm < tewem, 155.
atéwcémór < tewem 1; 155.
atéwenémerom < tewenem, 155.
atéwém < tewer 2; 155.
atéwémác < tewer 2; 165.
atéwerac < tewer 2; 165.
atéwerám < tewerawr 2; 144.
atéwerár < tewer 2; 165.
atéweráre < tewer 2; 165.
atéweráca < tewer 2; 120.
atéwerácu < tewer 2; 125.
atéwérmokom < tewer 2; 125.
atéwérmom < tewer 2; 125.
atéweréf < tewer 2; 162.
atéwerér < tewer 2; 155.
atéweréfes < tewer 2; 162.
atéweréf < tewer 2, 3; 162.
atéweríj < tewer 2; 162.
atéwémom < tewer 2; 165.
atéwém < tewer (299), moc — she burst out wailing [< tewosew ?].
atéwémor < tewem, 155.
atéres < at 2; 155.
ati < at 2; 116.
atimser < timse, 155.
alitéwérmakém < titewer, 165.
atititéac < titu, 165.
átititéer < titu, 155.
átititéer < titu, 155.
atémamum < tiwawer, 144.
atémamum < tiwawem, 155.
atémawicer < tiwawer, 144.
atémawicer < tiwawem, 155.
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átémawicer < tiwawem, 155.
awamis < 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.
áwápí < ap 2; 176, 178.
áwasé = ze 2; 178.
áwasec (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 < cm 3; 176, 178.
áwes < e 4; 144.
awemic < em 3; 176, 178.
awemit < awem.
awémrc < awemcém.
awémrci < awemci.
awémrci < awemcém.
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awémrci < awemcém.
áwezemac < awsem, 165.
awes < se 2; 176, 178.
awtám to scrape out sago for someone.
awtármar < awtám, 132.
awtextor, amás — to get sago.
awtíw 1 to roast and put down, to have finished roasting.
awtíw 2 to scrape sago pith until it is all out, to scrape out sago and put it down.
áwtiwés < awtíw 1, 2; 155.
awtó kind of tree.
awû breast [of a man].
áwuamsé < wuamis, 162.
awuámser < wIlamis, 155.
awllamse < Wllamse, 176.
awllápmor < wllapom, 155.
áwuaré. < Wl 8; 165.
awzico < awuc, 33.
awuéf < wu 8; 162.
awlÎj < aw 5, 6; 155.
mUllja exclamation: hey!
awumapom to strip [bark] off a tree.
awummem to wrench loose groundwards [the bark of the felled sago palm].
awummemór < awummem, 155.
awumtítu to wrench [bark] off [the trunk of the sago palm].
awun but, however.
awwinier < wuni, 155.
awuípa exclamation: that's a hit!
awuí large, big, much [water], many [people], heavy [rain].
awuípicim < awuí, 203.

C

c 1 who, whose, 232.
c 2 < car.
cátîren < at 2; 125.
cámespi < emap, 125.
caj 1 way of doing, customary behaviour; caj curúw unaccountable, mysterious [behaviour].
caj 2 plan, scheme, intention, purpose, idea, pretext, → ene.
caj 3 sexual intercourse, → e 4.
caj 4 not willing, averse from, → siop.
caj 5, nam — ill: caj pacák calamity, disaster, → cap.
cajaric (309), tow — let him come round first; < jar [?].
cajit to kill [pigs] in the morning.
cajitmar < cajit, 144.
cajkurum to pretend.
cajomat to carry a great quantity of.
cajomatnep < cajomat, 152.
cáka 1 with a splash.
cáka 2 pool.
Cáka name of a river.
cakám deserted [of a village].
cakmkaj, fócó — skinny.
caókas → 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.
Cámân personal name.
camár < cower, 144.
camnim the right way [as distinct from the wrong way].
camememem to give someone a sound thrashing.
cámémemémor < camememem.155.
camúw 1 on foot, walking.
cámúw 2 the sound of wood being chopped.
can to kill and eat.
canfés < can, 162.
canúpir pelican.
capakanwp to have killed.
cápakanópëres < capakanwp, 155.
capimom to walk while holding [a lance] by the point.
capimomku, océn — to go ashore, holding a lance by its point.
capinni ground, dry land [in contradiction to jif].
caporsonomwp 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.
cásirimtakci < sirimtak, 125.
cátepapcóm < terpop, 125.
cátepapcómna < cátepapcóm, 34.
cátiw to kill.
cátiw = cátiwőr, < cátiw, 155.
cátiwam to kill [a pig] for someone.
cátiwamán < cátiwam, 155.
caciap to sit tightly packed [many people together].
caciom to be busy putting in rows [?].
caciw kind of fish.
cawer to kill many [pigs].
cawuawer < cawer, 155.
cawiwfam to kill [a pig] for someone.
cawiwfamán < cawiwfam, 155.
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caciom to be busy putting in rows [?].
caciw kind of fish.
cawer to kill many [pigs].
cawuawer < cawer, 155.
cawiwfam to kill [a pig] for someone.
cawiwfamán < cawiwfam, 155.
caciap to sit tightly packed [many people together].
caciom to be busy putting in rows [?].
caciw kind of fish.
cawer to kill many [pigs].
cawuawer < cawer, 155.
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caciw kind of fish.
cawer to kill many [pigs].
cawuawer < cawer, 155.
cawiwfam to kill [a pig] for someone.
cawiwfamán < cawiwfam, 155.
sing dirges to honour a guest [this is done in the ceremonial house].

cirópanem < cirop, 155.

có container; nest, trough; pok — trough with food; an — small trough used to put sago in; pomôt — ‘a nest of feathered paddles’, said when all the people in a canoe have feathered paddles.

cop 1 to plait [subject sitting].
cop 2 to stay hidden.
copér < cop 1, 2; 155.
copérés < cop 1, 2; 155.
copés < cop 1, 2; 162.
cocó 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 [?].
comic 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.
comismár < comis, 144.
comom, fe to string [fish] on a rope and hold it.
comopawer to keep someone hidden [indoors].

cop copawer to plait without interruption, continually.
copó with a thud.
copón young sago palm [older than wasér]; su — 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 mikin, but younger than a wasér].
cotiw to plait something until it is finished.
cotiwér < cotiw, 155.
cotiwpor to try to plait something until it is finished.
cotiwporó < cotiwpor, 162.
cow the sago palm [generic name].
cowák one, only, all; very; forthwith, straightway [when cowák follows a verb]; inim — and so on; opák — not in the least.
cowáka < cowák, 34.
cowákaséré little ones, crumbs, 191.
cowákasere → cowákaséré.
cowé → cowó.

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.
cúuomatómites < cuomatom, 168.
curujis to slither to the outside [fish].
cúrujuisá < curujis, 109.
curújw secretly.
cucum to make noise.
cuwúc at that moment, at that time.
cuwút → cwúc.

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; jau — to hear; jec — to carry a heavy load, to go forward with difficulty [e.g. across the mudbanks]; jimamúc — to be very busy with; jíjípis — to dart to and fro [fish]; jiwá — to surround; jú — 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.
e 1 interjection: oh!
eacóm < e 4; 165.
eacómá < eacóm, 34.
eamis, mokób — to lie on the stomach.
eaap < eap, 176.
eaapmor < eapmor 1, 2; 155.
eaapmorés < eapmor 1, 2; 155.
eapom 1 to speak about [object sitting].
eapom 2, cem — to build a house.
eaapomkekem to build a house, tying it firmly.
eaas, cérecfó — to spurt out [of juice]
eaasam to do all the time: jimamuc in — to be busy all the time, until completion.
eaawer to do continually, all day long, always; caj — always to be averse from; em — to beat the drums all day long; jípís — always to dart to and fro [fish].
éaweri < eawer, 125.
eaawermom < eawer, 136.
éawiri < eawer, 116.
éawiria < éawiri, 34.
eaawermokóm < eawermom, 136.
écem < e 4; 125.
ecemánokóm < ecem, 136.
ecemè < écem, 33.
écemés < e 4; 136.
ećén < e 4; 116.
egem < ećén, 34.
egés < e 4; 125.
cei < e 4; 125.
ecó — revenge.
éko kind of frog.
écom < e 4; 125.
ecem to speak while standing up.
eces 1 to do at night.
eces 2, mormor — to come towards crawling in great numbers; manmák cemám wu — to come towards with shining eyes.
ésérí < eces 1; 125.
ef 1 twig; man — finger.
ef 2 < e 4; 162.
éfa quickly.
efamúc [do it] quickly!
efamúca < efamuc, 34.
efamút → efamúc.
efém < e 4; 162.
efés < e 4; 162.
efokóm < e 4; 162.
efém < e 4; 162.
èit to do in the morning
eitèri < èit, 125.
etúm to do in the afternoon.
etúmcémokóm < etum, 136.
etúmci < etum, 125.
etúmcém < etum, 125.
ej 1 interjection: hey! ay!
ej 2 < e 4, 155.
egk stone, fruit; maj — toe; tinak — the fruit of the sago palm.
eká → eko; eká jiná ‘arse child’, misbegotten brat [term of abuse].
èkó knot in wood, arse.
èknakap one [numeral].
èkurum, 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 misvis em, see 236, note 41.
emá 1 < e 4; 144.
emá 2 < em 4; 144, 183.
emá 3 < em 5; 34.
emájpuriv < em 4; 114.
emájpurivá < emájpurivé, 34.
emák bone.
emákántewfom < kapuntew, 162.
emamá < emawer 2; 144.
emamá < am 7, 8; 125, 179.
emam to lie down.
emamá < emawer 1; 152.
emampá < emamop, 34.
emamós < em 4; 113.
emamósa < emamós, 34.
emamós < emamís, 162.
emamós < emamís, 155.
emamís < emamís, 155.
emamís < emamís, 33.
emamís < emamís, 168.
emamíte to meet each other.
eman to store [sago] on, to fill [the platforms on the collar-beams, with food].
émamém < em 4; 144, 183.
emap to sit, to sit down, to begin to go down [sun].
emápacáw (309) < emap = cáemapc- cát or emapác, 130, 167.
emápaces < emap, 165.
emápém < emap, 155.
emápém < emap, 155 [mood form].
emáperc < emap, 155.
emap < emap, 155.
emapmá < emap, 144.
emapmés, ke — to get stuck [on a sandbank] at night.
emápmesmá < emápmes, 144.
emapmór < emapom, 155.
emápmores < emapom, 155.
emapom to cause to sit down, to put down; to hit, strike [with a spear, harpoon]; kem — to make a house; jirik — to paint the jirik design on.
emáporápérés < porap, 155.
emá indeed not, no; 244.
emá < e 4; 144.
emáre 1 < éma, 34.
emáre 2 < emár, 34.
emarimu to man a canoe in the morning.
emárimutmá < emarimut, 144.
emárimútmará < emárimutmá, 34.
emariw to go aboard [a number of people in one canoe].
emasmawer, favic — to make jokes all the time.
emásmewermes < emasmawer, 136.
emamat to go and chop down, to begin to chop down.
emátepésmar < tepes, 144.
ématepic < tep, 176, 179.
emátevirúm < atawer, 171.
emámor < emam, 155.
emáwem < 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.
émémém < em 4; 136.
émémém < éméémém, 34.
émém < émé; 136.
émépém < em 4; 136.
emct 1 < em 3; 176.
emct 2 < em 4; 125, 179.
emcitewer to take away parts from.
emcin < em 4; 125, 179.
émicin < émicin, 33.
émicí < émicí; 33.
émicom 1 < em 3; 176.
émicom 2 < em 4; 125, 179.
émicomá < émicóm, 34.
emé, caj — to look for a pretext; mic wut ním — to be like a huge cloud of ashes [subject standing].
emé < em 4; 162.
eméfores < af 1, 2; 155.
eméajmiramin < ajmirawer, 144.
eméajmiramin < eméajmiramin, 33.
eméajmirámpun < ajmirawer [?], 144.
eméajmirámpunj < eméajmirámpun, 33.
emókéviripuj < akawer, 171.
emóamuj < am 8; 155.
eméavkurumpuj < avkurum, 155.
emécanés < can, 162.
émécmém < émé; 136.
eméemdnupuj < eman, 155.
eméf < em 3, 4; 162.
eméfawof < fav, 162.
eméjisteréresni < jistereres, 144.
eméjurnalvavos < jursum, 162.
emékafumanes < kafum, 162.
emékaieméas < kamies, 144.
emem 1 to stand up, to start to walk.
émem 2 < e 4; 144.
emémamsérém (266) 'since you are there'; < emamis, 155.
émemef < emem 1; 162.
emémemém (269) 'since you are there'; < emem 1, 155.
emémér < emem 1; 155.
ememes to grow up during the night.
ememésmar < ememes, 144.
emémémém < emem 1; 155.
emémi < emem 1; 155.
emémof < emem 1; 162.
em 1 to walk upstream; to walk to the far end of.
em 2 < em 4; 144, 183.
émeni < emen 2; 33.
emenç < emen 1; 155.
eménimtänpj < nimitép, 155.
emémctén rattan calf band.
emémomemef < omom, 162.
éméph 1 < ém 4; 152.
éméph 2 < em 4; 152, 183.
emépanikajapanoko < nikanap, 155.
emépapóran < por, 155.
emépapóranem < por, 162.
emep < emep, 1; 155.
emepapóranem < por, 155.
emepapóranë < por, 155.
emepapóranë < por, 155.
emepapóranë < por, 144.
emepapóran < por, 155.
emepapóranë < por, 155.
emepapóranë < por, 144.
emep < emep, 155.
emep < emep, 2; 152.
emésmem < emes, 2; 152.
emésmem < emes, 2; 155.
emésmem < emes, 2; 155.
emésmum to come out of [a hiding place].
emfokóm < em 3, 4; 162.
em 1 to speak while standing.
em 2 < ém 4; 144.
em 3 < em 4; 144, 183.
emia < emi 3; 34.
emic < em 3; 176.
emica < emic, 34.
emimár < emi 1; 144.
emimé < emin, 144, 183.
emid < emin, 33.
emio < emi 3; 33.
emis to go outside, to go to the forest.
emisém < emis, 136.
emismé < emis, 152.
emit < emit.
emité < em 3; 168 [?].
emétém < em 3; 168.
emétém < em 3; 168.
emitém to be standing during the afternoon, to stay during the afternoon.
emitém to go indoors.
emitém to go, to walk.
enf, po - to row [subject standing].
apim - to squeeze out sago pulp [subject standing].
émémar < emjawan, 144.
emjawan to keep on speaking, shouting [subject standing].
émkencit, ken - to start to collect up [necessary] implements in the morning.
enkencitmar < emkencit, 144.
enkoj 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.
ennani, nani — to stand whimpering.
émnamimár < emnni, 144.
enni to (begin to) walk back home,
to walk downstream, to descend.
enni 2, maj ni — to dangle one's feet.
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.
émnimár < emni 1, 2; 144.
emnanimár < emnani, 144.
emni 1 to (begin to) walk back home,
to walk downstream, to descend.
emni 2, maj ni — to dangle one's feet.
émnimár < emni 1, 2; 144.
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emnanimár < emnani, 144.
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emnanimár < emnani, 144.
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emnanimár < emnani, 144.
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to walk downstream, to descend.
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emnanimár < emnani, 144.
emni 1 to (begin to) walk back home,
to walk downstream, to descend.
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émnimár < emni 1, 2; 144.
emnanimár < emnani, 144.
emni 1 to (begin to) walk back home,
to walk downstream, to descend.
emni 2, maj ni — to dangle one's feet.
émnimár < emni 1, 2; 144.
emnanimár < emnani, 144.
emni 1 to (begin to) walk back home,
to walk downstream, to descend.
emni 2, maj ni — to dangle one's feet.
émnimár < emni 1, 2; 144.
emnanimár < emnani, 144.
émfcwcrjés < enewer, 162.
emtecwjinu < all to go on their way.
émtecwjinun < enewer, 144.
enewen < enewen, 165.
enewenacma < enimnewenac, 34.
enewenacum (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].
emtimcénar < enimtim, 136.
emtimén < enimtim, 162.
émtecwjinun < enewer, 165.
enewenom < enewer, 155.
enewenoom, mokôp — to put upside down [a canoe on the bank of the river].
enewitum to line up [canoes against the bank of the river].
enewitum < enewitum, 162.
emú < e 4, 155.
enút 1 to do, to make, in the morning.
enút 2 < enút 4, 168.
enútni < enút 1, 144.
enutokôm < e 4, 168.
enutokôma < enutokôm, 34.
enutum to line up [canoes against the bank of the river].
enutum < enutum, 162.
enúj < e 4, 155.
enut to flee [a crowd of people].
enwus to topple over, to fall down with much rustling of leaves [tree].
enwuscinar < enewus, 136.
en < en 1, 144.
en 2 kind of fish.
en 3 to go to the extreme end of; to go upriver or on along a large river [see sketch p. 364].
en 4 [?], fe — to put on a string.
énakap < small, young.
énakapíriw < very small, very young; < énakap, 188.
enâm < fish; mu — creatures that live in the water.
enúmakap < enâm, 185.
enamic come! let's go!
enaw < en 4 [?]; 165.
enaw to come towards [see sketch p. 364].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Epém</strong></td>
<td>name of a jew in the village of Seréw.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>eperák</strong></td>
<td>the bottom end of something long; the last one in a series.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>epermák</strong></td>
<td>= eperák.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>epic</strong></td>
<td>elder sister [s.].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>epicewes</strong></td>
<td>older sisters [pl.], 190.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>epuc</strong></td>
<td>elder brother [s.].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>epucewes</strong></td>
<td>older brothers [pl.], 190.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>er</strong></td>
<td>1 that, over there, 223.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>er 2</strong></td>
<td>&lt; e 4; 155.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Erák</strong></td>
<td>personal name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>erám</strong></td>
<td>magic, → pok.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>erásen</strong></td>
<td>there, that place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>erasenakapiriw</strong></td>
<td>&lt; erásen, 188.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>erasi”</strong></td>
<td>&lt; e 4; 120.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>erél1l</strong></td>
<td>1 night, at night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>erém</strong></td>
<td>2 &lt; e 4; 155.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>erém</strong></td>
<td>3 to tear something.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eremtew</strong></td>
<td>- eremtewer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eremtewer</strong></td>
<td>to split something.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>erén</strong></td>
<td>upstream, of a small river, a tributary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ererem</strong></td>
<td>to tear something to pieces; to sort out things.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>érerémaméP</strong></td>
<td>&lt; ererem, 152.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>erés</strong></td>
<td>&lt; e 4; 155.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eréw</strong></td>
<td>personal name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>es</strong></td>
<td>1 blood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>es</strong></td>
<td>2 to come towards, from erén or sen [see sketch p. 364].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>es 3</strong></td>
<td>is — to sleep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Es</strong></td>
<td>name of a side river of the Asewéc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>esców</strong></td>
<td>&lt; es 2, 3; 120.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>escówö</strong></td>
<td>&lt; esców, 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>es</strong></td>
<td>carrying bag plaited of grass or of the fibres of the pandanus tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>esem</strong></td>
<td>to come walking towards → es.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Esin</strong></td>
<td>name of a village no longer in existence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Esinkom</strong></td>
<td>= Esin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>esit, is</strong></td>
<td>— to sleep and then set out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>esitá</strong></td>
<td>&lt; esit, 109.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>esjar, is</strong></td>
<td>— to sleep and travel on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>esjarmés</strong></td>
<td>&lt; esjar, 144.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eskám</strong></td>
<td>red; manmák — bloodshot eyes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>esomít, is</strong></td>
<td>— to sleep and then set out with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>esomítá</strong></td>
<td>&lt; esomít, 109.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>espét</strong></td>
<td>young shoot of the sago palm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>espét apák</strong></td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>espom, papís</strong></td>
<td>is — to sleep with a papís woman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>espómer</strong></td>
<td>&lt; espom, 155.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>esumtum</strong></td>
<td>to pull off [leaves].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etam</strong></td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>étamén</strong></td>
<td>&lt; etam, 155.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>étamérawóm</strong></td>
<td>&lt; etam, 155.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>étamérawómè</strong></td>
<td>&lt; étamérawom, 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etamör</strong></td>
<td>&lt; etam, 155.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etómorcs</strong></td>
<td>&lt; etam, 155.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etampor</strong></td>
<td>to try to do for someone [but in vain].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etamporawer, jis</strong></td>
<td>— always to try to roast food for someone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etamporér</strong></td>
<td>&lt; etampor, 155.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etamporém</strong></td>
<td>&lt; etampor, 144.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etamporémè</strong></td>
<td>&lt; etamporém, 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etamitéwer</strong></td>
<td>to take a message to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etep, jirán</strong></td>
<td>— to ripen [fruit on a tree].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eti, oróm</strong></td>
<td>— to make smooth, to eat clean [object lying].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>étiwamár</strong></td>
<td>&lt; etiwawer, 144.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etiwawer, oróm</strong></td>
<td>— to keep eating clean, continually to make smooth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etjëwir</strong></td>
<td>to rob on, to daub, for one’s own benefit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etjëwirfëmen</strong></td>
<td>&lt; etjëwir, 162.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>etotor</strong></td>
<td>to say, to do, each person for himself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>étotormár</strong></td>
<td>&lt; etotor, 144.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ew</strong></td>
<td>1 dubitative marker, 255.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ew 2</strong></td>
<td>(311) from.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ew 3</strong></td>
<td>crocodile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ew 4</strong></td>
<td>to finish plaiting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>éwa</strong></td>
<td>&lt; ew 1; 34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ewáp</strong></td>
<td>&lt; ap 2; 176, 178.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ewapomjim</strong></td>
<td>to pull [someone] away from.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ewapómjimorés</strong></td>
<td>&lt; ewapomjim, 155.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ewucucurum, wasén — to slither down from the bank of the river [said of fish].

ewucucurumroras < ewucucurum, 155.

ewe, tam — to do from morning.

evem, jok — to walk from midday, to stand from midday.

éwemé < ewem, 162.

éwemer < ewem, 155.

evéméretes < ewem, 155.

éwe < ewe, 144.

éwem < ewem, 176, 178.

evemi set to go downwards from, to descend from, to go back home from.

éwemiem < ewem, 155. 

éwienér < ewini, 155.

ewiamotu to go down from [the house] and go aboard with... to depart with [something] from somewhere.

ewiomaisenem < ewiamotu, 162.

ewokomitiw to finish plaiting and put [the bag] down.

éwokomitiwer < ewokomitiw.

ewomse to row from... taking [someone] along.

ewopomis, tam — to be busy with something from early morning [subject sitting].

cwór kind of crab.

cwotewer, mo — to retch all the way from [?].

éwirsiracém < ewirsiri, 165.

ewirsiri to hurry from; asép — to run towards [someone] behind [him].

ewirsirié < ewirsiri, 162.

ewousites, tam — to start out early in the morning.

ewousitesniems < ewousites, 152.

ewtepkoér < ewtepkoj, 155.

ewtepkoj, op — to fall down from above [ripe fruit].

ewtepsow, op — to spring down from above.

ewépsowor < ewtepsow, 155.

ewitw to finish, to get ready with [plaiting].

ekuitwetewer to take something out of [object lying].

ewitowópmuót, ewitowopom, 168.

cwotowopom, jok — to put something in a place at midday and keep it there.

cwotpomisirim to row strongly from.

cwotpomisirim < ewotpomisirim, 155.

cwúc younger brother [s].

cwúcèewes younger brothers [pl.], 190.

cwúc < ewúc, 34.

cwúmsomiti, wasén — to drive away from the shore [fish].

cwúmsomtimésetes < ewúmsomiti, 155.

cwút < ewúc.

éwútnakap < ewúc, 185.
ë

ë- onomatopoeia reproducing the screaming of a crowd of people, 35.
ëmá' oh, wait, have patience!; yes; in that case; but; 236.
ënew mother.
ënewakap younger sister of father or mother, 195.

F

fa 1 buttocks, the underneath part; behind; os — lowermost part of the trunk of a tree; → icic. 
fa 2, enám — spine of a fish. 
fa 3 (312), jo — until the breaking of the day. 
facimop to prepare [the trunk of the felled sago palm]. 
fácimopcár < facimop, 120. 
facimtevet to marry again, to take as a co-wife. 
fácimtevát < facimtevet, 109. 
facin the skin of the cuscus. 
fafafa... interjection, used to call tamed pigs. 
fafajim to smooth. 
fafam to run [water] away; to push, to shove. 
fafasem to strip off [bark]. 
fafasmam to peel off. 
fafasmem to strip off, wrench off, downwards [bark of a felled tree]. 
fafasemmas to strip off [bark]. 
fafasemocin to strip off [bark] towards the top or the lower end of a tree-trunk. 
fafasemocinér < fasemocin, 155. 
fafasemtiw to strip off [bark] and put [it] down. 
fafasemtiwer < fafemtiw, 155. 
fafaw to spear [fish], and again, and again. 
fafawá < fafaw, 109. 
fafem to strip off [bark]. 
fafemasam to peel off. 
fafemmem 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. 
fafesmocinér < fasemocin, 155. 
fafesmem to strip off [bark] and put [it] down. 
fafesemtiw < fafemtiw, 155. 
fafesemtiwer < fafemtiw, 155. 
fafaw to keep on turning around; purumúc — to sit in a circle and sing in turn, all day long. 
fafaweráw < fafawer, 125. 

fafuj 1 to peel [skin]. 
fafuj 2, jo win fajufjér day in day out. 
fafujeř < fafujeř, 155. 
faj 1 to burn. 
fa 2, mifán — to be averse to. 
fajamis to lie burning; to have just risen [sun]. 
faüsmeř < fajamis, 155. 
fajap to sit burning; to shine [the sun, shortly after sunrise]; útis — to smile broadly [subject sitting]. 
faajasam to glow fiercely. 
fajasamęp < fajasam, 152. 
fajásmeř < fajasam, 155. 
fajtó cocoon. 
fajmúc in peace, in good order, undisturbed. 
faipuw 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 → jek 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. 
fam 1, jo'n — to go on with something until daybreak. 
fam 2 to run all [the water] away. 
fam to sit by someone until daybreak. 
famsem to run water away. 
famiw to burn up [object lying]. 
fanénakap short. 
fapiw 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. 
fawampés < 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. 
fawesmęp < fawes, 152. 
fawitc joke.
fawjukmapmûj < fawjukumapom, 155.
fawjukumapom to spear [fish] and put [them] together.
fawjukumîtâ to spear [fish] and put [them] in heaps.
fawitw to spear [fish] and put [them] down.
fawitwêj < fawitw, 162.
fawut to spear [fish] during the morning.

fè 1 string made of rattan, rope; man — wrist.
fè 2, onòw — to make thatch.
fémentav to collect, to gather.
fémentavamêtis < fémentavawer, 144.
fémentavawer to collect much, many.
fen, fèk — very large, huge.
fèk 1 hard, stiff, solid, firm; jak — a full stomach; man fèka! hold tightly!; po fèka! row on strongly!
fèk 2 broken, damaged.
fèk 3 → fen.

fèr 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.
fèr 2 piled up.
fère quickly.
fèrò sharp; ci — a fast canoe.

fèt kind of fish living in small holes in the mud.
Fèt personal name.

fètam, onôw — to make thatch for someone, to help someone to make thatch.
fétiv, an — to stitch up a trough.
fèfèfèj the sound of the wind.
fi empty.
fic nail.
fi fi '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] [?].
fifimkurumac < 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.

fimitiw to make ready for use [the sump trough, → jec]; to put into place [the support, → sis].

fimitiwêr < fimitiw, 155.

fimum to cause to go indoors.

fimusum to cause to come inside, or outside.

fìn feathers, hair.

fìomicêmes < fìwomiw, 136.

fìrim to turn [upside down].

fìrintiwpor to try to turn over.

fìrintiwpórapor < fìrintiwpòpor, 109.

fìrkâ kind of grass.

fìrkóm long heavy arrow with a bamboo point, used to kill pigs.

fìs 1 kind of fish.

fìs 2 to come inside, to come outside.

Fìti name of a river.

fìw to go inside, indoors.

fìwêr < fìw, 155.

fìwitum to enter [a house] in the afternoon.

fìwitúmar < fìwitum, 144.

fìwomiw to take someone inside.

fìwomítecêmes < fìwomiw, 136.

fò 1 wind, whistling.

fò 2 → fum 2.

fòcò thin, lean.

fofofo ‘in crowds’ → jìtak.

fômis to come inside, or outside, with.

fômiw to go inside with, or towards someone.

fômiwêr < fômiw, 155.

fôp upside down.

fôwû full, filled to the brim, → ensem.

fu bamboo horn.

fuamses to pass the night, gathered around someone.

fum 1 clear [of water].

fum 2 to disclose, to reveal; fò — to bring out, to pull out.

fûnsâ widow.

H

ha ah! 38.

hèhè sign of agreement, 38.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>urine, piss.</td>
<td>urin, pis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thorn.</td>
<td>bunga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little distance behind.</td>
<td>0.0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to begin with a feast.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father.</td>
<td>bapa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to begin with a feast.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this or that man or woman;</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to say nothing about.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>such a little one.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>such a very small one,</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>such a very little bit,</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a certain man; Mr So-and-so.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year bird.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[loanword from Malay, = ri[ja].</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to walk upstream [many people]</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to walk upstream [many people]</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onomatopoeia, imitating the sound produced by many small objects falling down.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unceasingly to rain down [fruit].</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to brush small objects off, to scrape small pieces off.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to break up small, to scrape out [sago].</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to hurry to the forest and have a look at.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to hurry to the forest and have a look at.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to hurry back home, to go quickly downstream.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to hurry back home, to go quickly downstream.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to lay on [thatch on the rafters].</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the river's edge, the side of the river as distinct from the side of the forest.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that, there [with you],</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'movement, going'; mū — current;</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to throw down.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to hurry downstream.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to hurry upstream.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to lay on [thatch on the rafters].</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to lay on [thatch on the rafters].</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foolish.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to brush small objects off, to scrape small pieces off.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joined together [two or more jcw sharing one ceremonial house].</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name of a village.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>together to come rowing all the way along.</td>
<td>0.0.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
jámkonáwevirm < jamkonawawer, 171.  
jamni to go down to the river, of a large animal, of a crowd of people.  
jamnók two.  
jamóp < eawer, 152.  
jampeñ < eawer, 152.  
jamtep to hang, of a large object, or a bundle, a bunch of objects.  
jamtepít < jamtep, 176.  
jan → jen.  
japá < eap, 109.  
japáni, me me to carry back home, staggering [a heavy load].  
japán < eap, 162.  
jap6m (343) = jampom < eawer, 152.  
jap6m (327) big mass of [?].  
jar to walk, to go.  
jarap to go and to stay; to have gone.  
jartewer to go and fetch something, to go in order to fetch something.  
jartewerá < jartewer, 109.  
jarteweréjipuruwa < jartewer, 34.  
jasvir myht.  
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.  
jéle → efa.  
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.  
jeméstén landing stage [loan-word from Malay, = djambatan].
b) the group of people belonging to a ceremonial house. [This group is always divided into two halves, an “older” one [cewi] and a “younger” one [coworé], each of which occupies one half of the ceremonial house.

jeuwer kind of tree.

jewerméro < eauer, 174.

Jewernamakát personal name.

Jewernamaká < Jéwernamakát, 34.

jewév enemy, stranger.

jewir visit.

jewir nomadic, wandering.

jewir nomadic, wandering.

jeu'ér kind of tree.

jewérmero < eawer, 174.

Jewérnamakát personal name.

Jewérnamakatá < Jéwernamakát, 34.

jewéw enemy, stranger.

jewir visit.

jewir nomadic, wandering.

jewir nomadic, wandering.

jewir nomadic, wandering.

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; apim — to squeeze out sago pulp; jen — to hear, to listen; makán — to leave behind; po — to row; purumuc — to sing dirges.

jiá cry of amazement.

jiamár < jiáwer, 144.

jiawer, amás apim — continually to squeeze out sago pulp.

jicémíp the sea.

jicép head-hunting party; hunting party, consisting of men only.

jícór the mouth of a river.

jicuku to flee shouting; tetete — to disappear in a hurry.

jicukufés < jicuku, 162.

jicukuná < jicuku, 109.

jím to speak while standing up; to walk while doing; to be in a condition of... [standing subject]; cofó — to be spoilt, unusable [sago palms]; nam cokó — to be in high spirits; jokón — to be silent; tajtaj. — gradually to stop with [subject standing].

jiemir < jiem, 155.

jiemic < jiem, 176.

jiemir to say, to do; apim — to squeeze out sago pulp; jen — to hear, to listen; makán — to leave behind; po — to row; purumuc — to sing dirges.

jiémkurum, cofó — all to be unusable [sago palms].

jiémkurumór < jiémkurum, 155.

jies 1, samsam... — to go at night in great numbers.

jies 2, makán — to leave behind and come towards.

jiéwer continually to do.

jiéwer continually to do.

jiémkurumór < jiémkurum, 155.

jiémkurumór < jiémkurum, 155.

jies 1, samsam... — to go at night in great numbers.

jies 2, makán — to leave behind and come towards.

jierwur continually to do.

jierwur continually to do.

jiémkurumór < jiémkurum, 155.

jies 1, samsam... — to go at night in great numbers.

jies 2, makán — to leave behind and come towards.

jierwur continually to do.

jierwur continually to do.

jif marshy ground, bog, as distinct from dry, firm soil — capinmi.

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].

jikonav, 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; jimin — to try to make a sago stick for someone [but in vain].

jiktampormin < jiktampor, 144.

jikú to go ashore while saying...; jináf — to crawl onto the land.

jikurum 1, apim — 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.

jima child.

jimamúc engrossed in.

jimá to go at night in great numbers.

jimasam, omén — to raise a shout.

jimcspom [dialect of Ac] — espom.

jimèró < ji 5; 174, 182.

jimí the fruit of the jisin 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, [teu —].

Jimin content, fond of.

Jimir to search for, to look for, to hunt for.

Jimis, mus — empty water container → mus.

Jimunem to pull downwards, to leave [the forest] below [said of a growing sago palm which rises high above the surrounding trees].

Jimom 1, pisúva — to stand with a dagger stuck in the armband or in the waistband.

Jimom 2 to pull along.

Jimomis, wow → mus.

Jimomismár < jimomis, 144.

Jimomis, pisuwa — to stand with a dagger stuck in the armband or in the waistband.

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Jimomis, wow → mus.

Jimomismár < jimomis, 144.

Jimomis, pisuwa — to stand with a dagger stuck in the armband or in the waistband.

Jimom 1, pisúva — to stand with a dagger stuck in the armband or in the waistband.

Jimom 2 to pull along.

Jimomis, wow → mus.

Jimomismár < jimomis, 144.

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Jimomis, pisuwa — to stand with a dagger stuck in the armband or in the waistband.

Jimom 1, pisúva — to stand with a dagger stuck in the armband or in the waistband.

Jimom 2 to pull along.
jir á — to scoop up water; môc micic — to cry one's eyes out.
jirá → jiráw.
jiramis to enter a house in a hurry.
jiramsinapom to assemble [people in a house] in a hurry.
jirán ripe.
jirap, jumús — to sit with bowed head.
jirapér < jirap, 155.
jirapér < jirap, 155.
jiraron ripe.
jirap, jumús — to sit with bowed head.
jirapér < jirap, 155.
jiraró < jir 3; 165.
jiraró 'present': a — here it is; é — there it is; a óp — it is up here; a cém — it's here, in the house.
jiraw a — to here it is; e — there it is; a óp — it is up here; a cém — it's here, in the house.
jirawa < jiraw, 34.

jiré — jirau.

jiré < jiri 5; 162, 182.
jirem, jumús — to walk with bowed head.
jireméf < jirem, 162.
jireméf < jirem, 162.
jiré < jir 5; 162, 182.
jiré — jirau.
jiré < jir 5; 162, 182.

jirik 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.
jirintápomes to send upstream at night.
jirintápom to send upstream.
jirim, ci — to put many things in a canoe.
jiririmscem, os — to stick stakes in the water.
jirku to cross to the other side of the river and land.
jirkamis to stretch to the opposite side of the river when setting out [row of canoes].
jirkuní to go downstream stretching from side to side [row of canoes].
jirmcmamí < jirimem, 144.
jirmémém < jirimem, 125.
jirmotepé to go upstream with a full canoe.
jirmotepé < jirmotepé, 109.
jirmúc 'sending' [on errands], 108.
jiró half burnt [firewood].
jirój < 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].
jirvetuer, mu — to fetch water.
jirvutum to jig up and down in the afternoon.
jirvutumá < jirvutum, 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.

jisakamtever 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 inland and stay down.
jisap 2 to go out of a river with many people in many canoes.

jisapcëj < jisap 1, 2; 116.

jisápères < jisap 1, 2; 155.

jisas to go away.

jisásnes < jisas, 144.

jisatam to go to the forest to chop down.

jisáwer (317) to be got from in great quantity [?].

Jisavorém personal name.

Jisavorémakap personal name, < Jisavorém, 195.

Jisavorémsimit personal name, < Jisavorém, 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.

jisémères < jisem 1, 2, 3; 155.

jisemic < jisem 1, 2, 3; 116.

jisin 1 coconut, coconut tree.
jisín 2 kind of tree with large buttresses.
jisir to lay claim to.
jisís the edge of the fire.
jisínakápirú < jisís, 188.
jisit to speak and get up, to cry out and get up; makán — to set out, leaving behind [someone].
jisítés < jisit, 155.
jisító < jisit, 162.
jisitó < jisit, 162.
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jisitó < jisit, 162.
jisitó < jisit, 162.
jitnotever to bolt [e.g. a door with a beam].

jitomíté, se'n — to lie with one end in the mud [fallen tree].

jitum, pok — to throw things at someone, in the evening.

jitúr heavy.

Jiitúrcem personal name.

jiiv 1 long [of time], long-living; late.

jiiv 2 to go inside, to go indoors.

jiiv 3 to exchange goods.

Jiiv personal name.

jiivá — e 4.

jiwamis, nam — to be sick.

jiwamismeró < jiwamis, 174.

jiwapom, a kó — to cause to sit down cross-legged; cem — to build a house.

jiwapómcemés < jiwapom, 136.

jiwatdmap, moe — to stay indoors, wailing.

jiwemapom < jiwapom.

jiwluem, cem — to come together in a house.

jiwluemfés < jiwluem, 162.

jiwlumtotor each person to take food to [the jew].

jiwi 1 child; mu.

jiwi 2, cem — the walls of a house.

Jiwin name of a jew that was formerly in the village of Jepém.

jiwinakap 1 < jiwi 1; 185.

jiwinakap 2 small, young.

jiwinakapíém < jiwinakap 2; 203, 204.

jiwinakápnakap < jiwinakap 2; 200, 204.

jiwinakapnakápiruw < jiwakap 2; 201, 204.

jiwir to daub, to rub on.

jiwiri as far as, up to; at the edge of [a group of people]; á jiwiri aráw that's as far as it goes [the story].

jiwiratamamawer to plait [a huge bag] for someone.

jiwiratámamewiri < jiwiratamamawer, 171.

jiwís the moving to another dwelling place.

jiwumesop to go indoors and sit down beside someone.

jiwpop usually to sit indoors, being busy with.

jiwpopá < jiwpop, 109.

Jiwsimit personal name, 195.

jiwsiritewer to go indoors and quickly fetch something.

jiwusu — e 4.

jiwutwupom to assemble indoors.

jiwús < jiwús.

jo 1 river; enám — river, abounding in fish.

jo 2 sun, day.

jo 3 space in the house between the front wall and the fireplaces.

joc 1 crazy.

joc 2 kind of bird.

jóca < joc 1; 34.

jocóp — jícóp.

jocór the mouth of a river.

jof hole, gap, passage; maj — path; akám — path between the nipa palms.

jófaj the next day.

jónaka < jof, 185.

jój exclamation of surprise.

jok the middle part of the day, between tam and porów.

jokmén having supernatural power.

jókmen tongs.

jókón silent.

jókós main-nerve of the side leaf of a palm frond.

jomat to carry.

jómatamár < jomatawer, 144.

jomatawer continually to carry.

jomatmár < eomat, 144.

jomalmí < jomat, 144.

jónewémén < eowswer 2; 136.

jom, namós — temjom.

jomitpen < eomit, 152.

jomó < jom, 162.

jómapán bird of paradise.

Jomót name of a river.

Jomótakap personal name, 195.

Jomótsimit personal name, 195.

jómpolan < eompawer, 152.

jomseá < eomse, 109.

jóp [lying] on one's back.

jóp, jen — to listen [subject sitting].

Jópakípic personal name.

Jópakípíc < Jópakípíc [in enumeration].

jópérés sweat.

jópic < jop, 116.

jópit — jópic.

jópmák the upper course of a river.

jóptom, jóptom — everywhere.

joró wing.
jow sandbank.
Jow name of a village.
jowmāp to sit coupling with.
jowomic ashes.
jowów the people belonging to one's own jow; the people of one's own village.
jowów < jowów, 34.
jowówpic blood kinsman.
jowówpit → jowówpic.
jowów baby.
jowůn 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 to get edible tops of the sago palm.
juá cold.
juá small wooden trough for holding paint.
juajkamis to lie down together.
juajkumapomtapor to try or to want to put down together for someone.
juajkumsoniit 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].
jujukaktiaw to lay down together.
jujukamwaw < jukumati, 109.
jujukumawu jukumawu 1.
juum to speak to someone who is indoors.
Jum name of a river.
juumamaw to intend [a boy and a girl] for each other.
jujumawatamaw < jumamaw, 155.
jujumawatamaw < jumamaw, 162.
juñá < ju 4; 144.
juñipij < jispip.
juñemaw to come upriver with paddles thumping [sign of joy after a good catch].
juñemawer < jumaw, 120.
juñop, nam — to stay with someone who has been made ill.
juñús [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.
jurseturi < jursawer 1, 2; 171.
jursomawer to act always in the wrong way towards someone.
jursómetuwérem < jursomawer, 174.
jursómetuwirin < jursomawer, 171.
jursóp[?] to be in the wrong.
jursóopen (294) < jursop, 162[?].
jursópénem (293) < jursop, 162[?].
jursúc longing for.
jurúm to slaughter, to kill.
jursunop to have been overtaken by disaster.
jursunóper < jursunop, 155.
jurút → jursúc.
juru usu ally to go along a river.
jururu one after another.
Jürúrámaawuc personal name.
jurús 1 to long for.
jurús 2 to be in the wrong.
jurúsamen < jurús 1, 2; 144.
jurúsamena < jurúsamen, 34.
jurúw 1 long.
jurúw 2 (338) to search for[?].
Jurúwäpic personal name.
Juruspitwamis personal name, < Jurüw-<pic, 195.

juruwánaw < juruv 2; 125.
juwa kind of grass.
juwâm kind of tree.
juwéta a full-grown sago palm.
juwam to cause to marry.
juwûr dog.
juwâr kind of tree used for making canoes; canoe made of juwûr wood.
juwús name.
juwût 1 heron.
juwût 2 between; a Mec — a Siréć — between the Mec and the Siréc.
juwût to marry, to take as a wife, as a husband.
Juwûtakap personal name.

K

kaj to return from camp [many people].
Kajè name of a village.
Kajèa < 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].

Kajmo name of a village.

kajnapusawer to eat at night on the river when on one's way home with many people.

kajni to topple over, broken [a tree].

kajni to be just clear of the horizon [the rising sun].

Kájtno 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].

kajni to be just clear of the horizon [the rising sun].

Kayka 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.

kampones to wash ashore during the night.

kamponés < kampomes, 144.

Kamsópisipic a man belonging to the jew Kamús, in the former village of Kajè.

kánter the legs, both legs.

kamtewew to split and take away.

kantítewe, mo kawós - to vomit.

kámú loud noise.

kanit young shrimps.

kanpor 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, jimisip - to sit with the doors shut.

kápmapómcèmes < kapomapom, 136.

kapmópaces < kapumop, 165.

kapmópères < kapumop, 155.

kapom to cover (up).

kapomapom to put on [e.g. clothes].

kápu 1 → entewer.

kápu 2 to join up with.

kapuawer to join up with.

kapumamtewew to join each other.

kapumop to be joined to.

kapunmawer to let people join one.

karém silent [?] → e 4.

kárésnakap 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.

karji work [loan-word from Malay, = kerdja].

karmák kind of snail.

kártn playing-cards [loan-word from Malay].

karúw dangerous, forbidden.

karúwa < karúwe, 34.

karwón dagger made of a crocodile's jaw.

kasé, mer - vivid lightning.

kásí suddenly, in a flash.

kawénak human being [as distinct from other beings].

Kawét name of a village.

kawi 1 strange, not belonging to one's own group or village.

kawi 2 to add oneself to, to approach to, to get near to.

kawi 3 → kawintewerawer.

kawim to add to, to join to.

kawìmápmorés < kawimapom, 155.

kawimapom to add [as a co-wife].

kawimop to have been added [as a co-wife].

kawintewer to add [as a co-wife].

kawintewerawer, kawi - always to want to add [as a co-wife].

kawós, mo - vomiting.

kaawámses (343) to lie down all night [?].

kaawámsesmar < kawuamses, 144.

ke stuck [e.g. a canoe on a sandbank].

kékéké onomatopoeia, reproducing the screaming of the joc bird.
330

THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

kekem to sew something up.
ken, amás — the implements used for making sago: axes, digging sticks, scrapers, small troughs, and strainers.
kená < ken, 34.
kené, amás ken — to collect up the implements for making sago.
kéné < kene, 34.
kene, amás kéné — to collect up the implements for making sago.
kéneóf < kene, 162.
Ker personal name.
kiki close together.
kikikikomás to go away with [someone] to a narrow place.
kikikikikinakás < kiki, 200.
kikim to put close together.
kikirakurum to stop up all [holes in a wall].
kipmom, ócen — to hold a spear at the ready.
kipmomic < kipmom, 176.
kiririm (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.
kojiraro < kojir, 165.
kojini to get loose and fall down [ripe fruit].
koko .. onomatopoeia reproducing the sound of bamboo horns, of singing, of the whistling of ghosts.
kokojuawer always to get loose and fall down [ripe fruit].
kokomiat to pick, to gather [fruit].
kokómiamés < kokomtaw, 144.
kokómiamó < kokomtaw, 155.
kokomteswer to break off and take along.
kokomtits to break off and lay down.
kom, onów — to get sago leaves for thatch.
komápmuc < komápmom, 108.
komápmom, mác 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.
komómse to take along in a canoe.
komteswer 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.
kónawamás < konawamis, 109.
konawamés < konawamis, 155.
konawap to come towards the land and stay there.
konawápés < konawap, 155.
konawes to come up or upwards during the night.
konawés < konawes, 155.
konawés < konawés, 155.
konawapmam < konawap, 144.
konawuemes < konawuemes. come swimming close to the bank.
konauommeses to come ashore and pass the night with.
kónawuommes < konauommes, 152.
kor very, to a high degree, plenty of; too; awút — too large, too big; jiwi — a small child.
kóra < 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].
kupa to go ashore and stay there.
kua to change into [on the land].
kua < kua, 162.
kua < kua, 155.
kua to change into [on the land] during the night [subject standing].
kua < kua, 144.
kua to change into during the night [on the land].
kúa < kúa, 144.
kuja to go ashore, build a house and stay there.
kúja < kúja, 125.
kukár kind of bird.
kukua to spread like wildfire [rumour].
kukuku. onomatopoeia reproducing a)
the thumping of paddles against the
gunwales of a canoe; b) the call of
the ojum bird.
kukurámítum to agree upon something
in the evening.
kukurámítumár < kukurámítum, 144.
kukurámitum < kukurámítumár, 111.
kukure to win over.
kukuri < kukure, 111.
kukurámitumár < kukurámitum, 144.
kukumís to go ashore and sleep with.
kukumís < kukumís, 109.
kupoporemapmes to roll onto the land
at night [object sitting].
kupoporemapmesmár < kupoporemapmes,
144.
kuri teacher [loan-word from Malay, =
gIru].
kurkur.. onomatopoeia reproducing the
sound of many people talking together.
kurum < 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.
kweús → 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.
macatiw < catiw, 110, 183, 239.
maci < ci 4; 110, 183, 239.
macinemewer < cimemewer, 110, 183 239.
mácir an embrace.
macte kind of snake.
mactea < mactw, 34.
máecen < e 4; 125.
mámáriwes < emariw, 125.
máemáriwes < emariw, 125.
máememep < ememep, 125.
máememep < ememep, 125.
máemewer < emewer, 125.
máenawemewer < enaw, 125.
máenawemewer < enawemewer, 34.
máep < es 2, 3; 125.
máep < es 2, 3; 125.
máep < es 2, 3; 125.
máf < Af 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
máf < maf, 33.
máf < maf, 33.
The Asmat Language

makán 1  →  c 4; ji 5.
makán 2  < akun 2; 110, 183, 239.
makanám rack above the fireplace, on which firewood is dried or fish is smoked.
makáp kind of shell fish.
makawi  < kawi 2; 110, 183, 239.
makawic  < kawi 2; 116.
makawínop  < kaweínop, 110, 183, 239.
makik fishline and hook.
makmák piled up.
makmiánismar  < kamiamis, 144.
makonáswamají  < konatwamis, 112.
mákkin with crossed arms.
mam  < an 7, 8; 110, 183, 239.
mamakán < amakán, 110, 183, 239.
mámkamán < mámkamán, 33.
mamánem  < manem, 110, 183, 239.
mamárió  < marío, 110, 183, 239.
mammúp three; much.
mámásæcémæróniaúér  < mesasæcémæróniaúér, 110, 183, 239.
mamís  < amis, 110, 183, 239.
mámkomán,  < akomán, 110, 183, 239.
mámkománá  < mâmkomán, 34.
mamoc  < moc 2; 110, 183, 239.
mamöt  →  mamoc.
mámúlawer  < amúlawer, 110, 183, 239.
mamúzajños  < amuz 3; 113.
man 1 emphasizing word, 247.
man 2 hand.
man 3  < an 3; 110, 183, 239.
manáfakam  < náfakam, 110, 183, 239.
mánakap  < man 2; 185.
manám 1  < manám pok binding material: rope, string, rattan;  →  jik, jik-apom.
manám 2 in love with,  →  of 2.
manám 3  < nam 5; 110, 183, 239.
manamítamis  (?) to prick each other, to scratch each other [said of fishes with spines].
manamítamser  (279)  < manamítamis  (?), 155.
manafóp  < nápor, 110, 183, 239.
manáver  < náwer, 110, 183, 239.
manáwerc  < náwer, 125.
mánawerców  < náwer, 125.
mánaúterów  < mánaúterów, 33.
mánca  < an 3; 120.
máncasin  < an 3; 120.
máncasina  < máncasin, 34.
mancên  < an 3; 116.
manê  < man 1; 33.
Manéjakat personal name.
Manéjakatā  < Manéjakat, 34.
manêm to chop down, to cut down.
manémorêm  < manem, 155.
manémum  < nemum, 110, 183, 239.
mânét  < net 2; 110, 183, 239.
maní  < ni 4, 5; 110, 183, 239.
maní  < an 3; 116.
maníc  < an 3; 116.
maném  < niem, 110, 183, 239.
manifam  < nifam, 110, 183, 239.
manim, minîp  →  to forget.
manima  < ni 4, 5; 144.
manìmèmi  < manim, 136.
manimenrápma  < nimímenrap, 144.
manimèmèmis  < niem, 136.
maniorsóprimi  < niorsópin, 144.
manísucwem  < nisucwem, 110, 183, 239.
manítaj  < nitaj, 110, 183, 239.
manítajê  < manitaj, 33.
manítatéjapi  < nitatéjapi, 116.
manítewer  < nitewer, 110, 183, 239.
manítewi  < nitewi, 116.
mamák 1 eye; ‘looking’.  
mamák 2 section [marked off on the trunk of the felled sago palm; of the roof of the jëw: the owner of a fireplace in the jëw is also the owner of the section of thatch right above it. Hence probably: group, family (328) [see sketch p. 367].
mamírañmor  < namírañmam, 155.
mantám look-out post; ow  →  a look-out.
mantaw < nantaw, 110, 183, 239.
mantawo  < nantaw, 33.
maoknom to chop down and start to work on [a sago palm].
máokonomémantcín  < okomantam, 116.
man ahead, first, foremost.
mafjirari < pajjarap, 116.
maphjiruri  < pajjuru, 110, 183, 239.
maphjirujic  < pajjum, 116.
maphjirujuc  →  maphjirujic.
maphjeremop  < pâjeremop, 110, 183, 239.
maphjeru  < pâjeru, 110, 183, 239.
maphjerukas < pacajjerukas, 110, 183, 239.
maphjerukasâ < pacajjerukasâ, 162.
mápecès  < pe 2; 125.
mapherteraw  < apepeteraw, 110, 183, 239.
mapi < ap 2; 116.
mapic < ap 2; 116.
mapio < mapi, 33.

Mapiw name of a jcw in the village of Jepém.
mápjit < apjit, 110, 183, 239.
mápmor < mapom, 155.
mápmawer < apnawer, 110, 183, 239.
mápmaweré < mapnawér, 33.
mápm to chop, to hit.
mápmom < apomom, 110, 183, 239.
mápmomkúrcóm < apomkúrcó, 125.
mápmtewér < apomtewér, 110, 183, 239.
mápor < por, 110, 183, 239.
máporjarawer < porjarawer, 110, 183, 239.
máporjursúm < porjursúm, 110, 183, 239.
mápsapù < apsapù, 110, 183, 239.
mápsu (274) usually to chop [?].
mápsú < ap 3; 116.
mápsúrmú_permalinkis < pyramís, 125.
már ball [loan-word from Dutch, = hal].

maré → maríw.
maréa < maré, 34.
maréw → maríw.
maréwa < maréw, 34.
marí → maríw.
maríw ready, finished, done; at last.
maríwá < ariawá, 110, 183, 239.
masjúwút < sajúwit, 110, 183, 239.
masákám < sakam, 110, 183, 239.
masákámtampor < sakántampor, 110, 183, 239.

masam to chop away.
masamtewér < asamtewér, 110, 183, 239.
masamúc < sam, 116.
masé < se 2, 3; 110, 183, 239.
masérápom < serápmom, 110, 183, 239.
masérım → másínérım.
masí < si 3, 4, 5; 110, 183, 239.
masíasamúc < siasam, 116.
masím → at 2.

másínérım then, thereupon.
masiótemet < siotemét, 110, 183, 239.
masíporájí < sipor, 112.
masíríjís < siríjís 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
masírim → másínérım.
masínérım → másínérım.

masním → másínérım.
masnirim → másínérım.
masomít < somit, 110, 183, 239.
másormóniečn < somoni, 116.
Máspic personal name.

musúmtewer < sumtewér, 110, 183, 239.
masúmtum < sumtum, 110, 183, 239.
masúmtumčén < sumtumčén, 116.
masúwém < swém, 110, 183, 239.
maták < tak, 110, 183, 239.
matakáj < takaj, 110, 183, 239.
matakám < takam 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
mataktíw < takíw, 110, 183, 239.
matakmam < takmatam, 110, 183, 239.
mataknap < taknap, 110, 183, 239.
matakoveróm < takoveróm, 110, 183, 239.
matam < atam 2; 110, 183, 239.
Matámjen personal name.
matamjík < atamjík, 110, 183, 239.
matápm < tapom 1; 183, 239.
matátam < tátam 2; 110, 183, 239.
matatáw < tátaw, 110, 183, 239.
matátíw < tátíw, 110, 183, 239.
matáw < taw 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
matáwacém < taw 1, 2; 165.
matáwenem < taweném, 110, 183, 239.
matávér < atávér, 110, 183, 239.
matáxedemsem < tawenedem, 110, 183, 239.
matáwíni < tawíni, 110, 183, 239.
matáx笈íxayówís < tawisim, 162.
maté rib of the frond of a young sago palm [Malay: gaba-gaba].
maté < ate, 110, 183, 239.
mátépérès < tep 1; 125.
mátérem to split by cutting.
matétám < tetám, 110, 183, 239.
matetámuč < tetamúč, 116.
matetámúc < tetamúc, 34.
matetápmúč < atetápmúč, 116.
matetápmúícia < matetápmúć, 34.
matewever 1 to chop down and take away.
matewever 2 < matewever, 155.
matevé < tevé, 110, 183, 239.
matevé < tew, 116.
mátevéram < tevéram, 110, 183, 239.
matimár < ti 3; 144.
matitiemi < tišim, 155.
matíw to cut down; tów — 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].

matmomp < atmomp, 110, 183, 239.
matoj < towof, 110, 183, 239.
matozmisef < towomse, 162.
matozomser < towomse, 155.
mattw < tawe, 110, 183, 239.
mawu < tuaw, 110, 183, 239.
mawimni < urumni, 110, 183, 239.
maw < aw 5, 6; 110, 183, 239.
mawán < awan 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
mawáno < awán, 33.
mawér < awer 2, 3; 110, 183, 239.
mawit star.
máwokam < wakam, 110, 183, 239.
méjakau < awkau, 110, 183, 239.
mawaném < awan 1, 2; 113.
mawaném < awaném, 34.
mawór < awor, 110, 183, 239.
mawór < awor, 110, 183, 239.
mawe's < awem, 116.
mawtewer < 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 Eilandens river].

Merémapi the region on both sides of the mouth of the Mec; the villages lying in this area, i.e. Amisu, Ac, Ar-
Nanim, Atâmuc, Cowêw-Jamêw, Èsîn-
kom [now extinct], Jonu, Katôw, 
Micîm-Sosó [now extinct], Miwár, 
Môneesp.

mekené < kene, 116.
mékurum < ekurum, 110, 183, 239.
memája < em 3, 4; 112.
memámtewer < enamtewer, 110, 183, 239.
mémamtewêpokom < enamtewer, 155.
mémân < enan, 110, 183, 239.
mémánemém < enaném, 155.
mémáp < emap, 110, 183, 239.
mémawór < enamwer 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
mémcmtewer < enmcimtewer, 110, 183, 239.
mémém < emem 1; 110, 183, 239.
mémémém < 'since you are there', < emem 1; 155.
mémic < em 3; 116.
memjar < emjär, 110, 183, 239.
memji < emji, 110, 183, 239.
memjic < emji, 116.
mémotásimawer < emotasisimawer, 110, 183, 239.
mémepépém < emepém, 110, 183, 239.
mempór < empör 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.
memporí < empor 1, 2; 116.
mémemarpémuj < mesenapom, 155.
mémtemporén < emtampor, 116.
memtém < metem, 110, 183, 239.
memtémaw < metemaw, 110, 183, 239.
memtémewan < metemewan, 110, 183, 239.
memtémtewer < metemtewer, 110, 183, 239.
memtomir < metomir, 110, 183, 239.
memtomis < metomis, 110, 183, 239.
memtôtep < 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.

Mènak personal name; abbreviation of 
Mènákipic.

Mènakpic 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 —; enmim —; makik —; os —; wa —; mér cowák one day; 
at all once.

mer 3, mer — to catch crabs.

meramis to go towards and lie down; 
to reach towards [subject lying].

merámser < meramis, 155.
mcrap to go upstream and stay there, 
to go towards and stay there.

meram to go towards to chop.

Merauke name of a town on the south 
coast of Irian Barat.

merawer, mer — to fish, to catch crabs, 
al day long.

merem to go to the far end of.. and 
stay there.

meremap to go toward and sit down.

meremsem, mu fà — to make water 
reach a certain point.

merfasi to go to the far end of.. and
turn round; to go upstream and turn back.

merjapa to go towards and sit down while speaking.

merjapá < merjapa, 109.

merni to go downstream to look for food.

merom to go towards and stand by.

merpapuj to head off by going upstream.

merni < merjapa, 109.

mes to go towards and sit down while speaking.

mes 1 companions, family; énêw — 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.

mesnín smell.

Mesók personal name.

Mesóká < Mesók, 34.

mesom to stand beside... to stand guard by.

mesomíc < mesom, 176.

mesop to sit by, keeping guard.
na mi ow we are among ourselves; man — the finger tips.

mi 2 lime.

mi 3 (296) the right side [in contrast to the left side].

mia (286) "the right side" [in contrast to the left side].

mie 1 full-grown sago palm, just about to flower.

mie 2 jowomie.

mide moss, seaweed; moe a flood of tears.

Midm-Sosó name of a village.

mieimpör < eieimpor, 110, 118, 183, 239.

micuwán groaning, mumbling, muffled sound of voices.

mifán averse to.

mifís < fis 2; 110, 183, 239.

mijimir < jimir, 110, 118, 183, 239.

mijisóm < jisom, 110, 183, 239.

mijísom.< jisom, 110, 183, 239.

mijispûm < jispum, 110, 183, 239.

mijisóm < jisom, 110, 183, 239.

mijisóm < jisom, 110, 183, 239.

mijitém < jitém, 125.

mijitém < jitém, 125.

mijítûmcenemó < mijítûmeenem, 33.

mijóm < jóm, 110, 183, 239.

mikin young sago palm; mít 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.

mimís as — soft shit; moe — tears.

mimísé < mimís, 34.

mimkûm snout; mo — the land at both sides of the mouth of a side river.

minó piece, lump.

Mínúj personal name.

mípaeák chock-full, full with.

mípimá < pi 2, 3; 144.

mípim < pipim, 110, 183, 239.

Mípic name of a mythical giant.

mípicí very large.

mipítjamaûpompré < pipítjama, 144.

mípor at random, carelessly.

mirám bundle, small bag.

Mis personal name.

misá the root of the nose.

misérín → másinérín.

mísí < si 3, 4, 5; 110, 183, 239.

Misimit < Mis, 195.

misin sand.

mísí < sit, 110, 183, 239.

Mismám common name of the villages Surú and Éwèr.

mistém < sitem, 110, 183, 239.

mísí < sit, 116.

misun abdomen.

misúr flag-pole.

mit to thrust, to stick.

mitá nasal mucus.

mitapmá < mitapom, 109.

mitapmór < 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].

Mitéwe personal name.

Mitéwéra < Mitéwer, 34.

mititítam < titítam, 120.

mititítam < titítam, 33.

mititiwismic < titiwsim, 116.

mitiwisewer < titiwewer, 110, 183, 239.

mitiwisumic < tiwum, 116.

mitúr kind of shrub.

Mitúr formerly a jew in the village of Jepém.

Mituropis the people belonging to the jew Mitúr.

Mívár name of a village.

Mívípic personal name.

Mívípic < Mívípic, 34.

Mívípicakáp < Mívípic, 195.

Mitíwirpicó < Mitíwirpic, 33.

Mitíwirpísimít < Mitíwirpic, 195.

miwis husbands [pl.]

miwepom (326) to put down in rows [?].

miwepomór < miwepom, 155.

mitiwisewer to spread [a sleeping mat] out for...

mo 1 husband [s.]

mo 2 hole.

mo 3 vomiting, → kawós.

móa < mo 1; 34.
moaf < oaf, 110, 183, 239.
mociqué < oap, 116.
mocú < oap, 116.
mocuí < oap, 116.
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mocuí < oap, 116.
mocuí < oap, 116.
mónorómencen < onorom, 116. mol, avón — to strike, stab, to give someone a thwack [with]. mopac < mop, 165. mopácés < mopács, 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 < porém, 110, 183, 239. mopores (321) 'so that they wouldn’t see' < por, 125 (?). mopórom < porom, 110, 183, 239. mopóromomis < poromomis, 110, 183, 239. mopóromtewen < poromtewen, 110, 183, 239. mopórporemi < porporem, 155. mopórpor < porpor, 116. mopórporia < mopórpori, 34. mopórsamewir < porSAMAWER, 171. mopórtewét < portewet, 110, 183, 239. mopów < pow, 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. mosirimták < 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. motaw to retch. motiwér < motiw, 155. motjarawer continually to walk round wailing. motni to go downriver while wailing, to go back home while wailing. mótwomsefaw < towomse, 162. mot挽回omsemém < towomse, 144. mow 1 the young prop roots of the pandanus tree; the fibres obtained from these roots. mow 2, mot se — to throw oneself in the mud while wailing. Mow name of a river. mówa (294) → mow 2. Mówakap name of a river, 195. mówawer, mot se — continually to throw oneself in the mud while wailing. mówawerém < mówawer, 125. mówawerémō < mówawerém, 33. mówerompor < owerompor 110, 183, 239. móworse < oworse, 110, 183, 239. mówsec half-way; the middle of the journey. mówsecé (283) → mówsec. MówSIMIt name of a river, 195. mu 1 water; period, season; enám — the season in which there is an abundance of fish; jiwi — 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; muwu — the period in which the tide rises in the evening and starts to ebb during the night: ± April and May; péir — 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. muð < mu 1; 34. muamis 1 to lie down [asleep] after bathing. muamis 2 (294) to throw oneself down (?) . muapóm < wuapom, 110, 183, 239. mucucum < cucum, 110, 183, 239. muem, mu — to go and bathe. muemic < muem, 116. muemic < muemic, 34. muján → michán. muftum < fum 2; 110, 183, 239. mújsaw cumulus clouds. mujú < jú 5; 110, 183, 239. Muká formerly a jew in the village of Jepém.
WORD LIST

mukáp  <  kuań, 110, 183, 239.
mukukire  <  kukuńre, 110, 183, 239.
mukumár  <  ku, 144.
mukurúmméŵer  <  kuruńmewer, 110, 183, 239.
mumu 1, te — heavy rain, downpour; avú 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  <  pit, 5, 6; 110, 183, 239.
mupuawér  <  puawer, 110, 183, 239.
mupuawéra  <  mupuawerá, 34.
mútri, onók — rafters.
músumtewer  <  sumtewer, 110, 183, 239.
músumtewereár  <  Sumtewer, 120.
músumtewercár  <  músumtewercár, 34.
músumtewi  <  músumtewi, 110, 183, 239.
músumurin  <  Slim, 110, 183, 239.
músumtewercár  <  músumtewercár, 120.
músumúfrínm  <  Sumfrínm, 110, 183, 239.
músumúfrínmuca  <  Sumfrínmuca, 120.
mútsúttum  <  to present someone with...; to pay for...
mútir  octopus.
mútiwatam  <  mútiwatam, 155.
múnuí  →  mu 1.

N

'm  →  in 1, 2; 258, 259.
na 1  →  nat, 246.
na 2  →  nar, 207.
najakam, jak — to eat one's fill.
naitum  to eat in the afternoon, evening.
najítipíc  enormous, gigantic.
najítípicj  enormous [emphatic form].
najítípit  →  najítípic.
nak 1  true, real, pure.
nak 2  don't [in sentences containing a mild reproof such as is kor nák don't sleep so long!; akakám nak now, stop talking].
naká  <  nak 1, 2; 34.
nakó  <  nak 1, 2; 33.
nakurum  to eat up everything.
nakurumás, mu — having drunk all.
nakurumpor  to try to eat up everything.
nakurumsem  to drink all up.
nakurumsećemop  <  nakurumsem, 141.
nam 1  →  nar, nor, 217.
nam 2  body.
nam 3  ill.
nam 4  →  pomán.
nam 5  to feed.
nám  <  nam 1; 34.
Námewafkaśimit  personal name.
nami  in a bunch, with many together.
namicim  to take away from above [?].
namicukewer  all to disappear always in the forest.
namicuketvêméro  <  namicukewer, 174.
namín  white ant.
namir  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.
nanasimapmor  <  nasimapom, 155.
naní 1  heap of objects, not packed together; loose, → am 8.
naní 2, juwür — the whimpering of a dog.
nanínakas  <  nani 1; 187.
nanwis  shattered.
nap  to eat and sit; to have eaten.
nápércs  <  nap, 155.
nápí  white, light-coloured.
napór  to taste, to try to eat, to want to eat.
Nápú  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].
nárítu  males of one's own generation; 'brothers'.

mukáp  <  kuań, 110, 183, 239.
mukukire  <  kukuńre, 110, 183, 239.
mukumár  <  ku, 144.
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mupicín  <  pit, 5, 6; 110, 183, 239.
mupuawér  <  puawer, 110, 183, 239.
mupuawéra  <  mupuawerá, 34.
muri, onök — rafters.
murúmméŵer  <  urumewer, 110, 183, 239.
mís  bamboo water container.
musum  <  sum, 110, 183, 239.
musumtewer  <  sumtewer, 110, 183, 239.
musumtewercár  <  sumtewer, 120.
musumtewercár  <  musumtewercár, 34.
musumtewi  <  sumtew, 116.
musumúmúm  <  sumumum, 110, 183, 239.
musumúmúmúc  <  sumumumúm, 116.
musumúmúmúca  <  musumúmúmúc, 34.
musúcmomités  <  sumumomitis, 110, 183, 239.
múta  to present someone with...; to pay for...
mútiwatam  to pay for.
mútiwatam  <  mútiwatam, 155.
múnuí  →  mu 1.

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Nápú  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].
nárítu  males of one's own generation; 'brothers'.
nas [it's] mine.
nasam to eat up, to eat much.
nąsi cooked rice [loan-word from Malay].
nat emphasizing word, 246.
natá < nat, 34.
naver to keep on eating, to eat much.
ne → nesén.
nek raw.
nej → ni 1.
inem to fall down [rain].
inemcén angry, pugnacious.
inemcénakaș <inemcén, 200.
inemésnakap cautious.
inemét (290), némét emár not so big!
inemáš be careful! don't hurry!
inemánakap slow.
inemop to have disappeared, to have given out.
inemum to let go, to allow to escape.
inemwer to hurry on, to take to one's heels.
ep sun, child.
énepakiriw < ep, 188.
nes 1 flesh, meat; amás - sago pith;
 Jepém — jipic a kinsman of people in Jepém.
nes 2 to eat at night.
nésén this side of the river, our side of the river.
nésén empty, without; without doing harm (320); with only, with nothing else but; just, without more ado; loose (332); in vain (337).
néseno < nésén, 33.
nesmin, nesmin 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.
nétpic 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 < newét, 33.
néwirum < naver, 171.
WORD LIST

nifesapmi < nifesap, 144.
nifesopom (?) to sink down [in a bog] and be stuck there (302).
nifesopómitè (302) < nifesopom, 168 (?)
nifítw to go home and go indoors; to go downstream and enter [a house].
nifíted < nifítw, 109.
nifítwo to go downstream and enter [a house] at night.
nifítwic < nifítw, 116.
níj = ni 1.
nijamamis to lie down on the bottom [a big thing].
nijamtíw to topple [a large tree] over; to fall down on something large [?]
(266).
nijap to go home and speak; teptep.
— to shrink down.
nijímentam to fetch from above and put down for someone [object standing].
nijirínuaw all to set out in canoes.
níjíse, 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].
nijukumàpomtam to put things down together for someone.
nijukumtítw to lay down together.
nikajap all to have returned [e.g. from camp].
ním like, as though; a little in the direction of: er — a little bit to that side; arán — a little bit to the upstream side.
nímír < ni 4; 144.
nímatítw to go home and chop down.
nímerap to begin to go down [sun].
nímerarapá < nímerarap, 109.
nímir to look for.
nímirsem to search for fish in shallow water, to feel about for fish.
nímirsemá < nímirsem, 109.
nínomop (336) to fell [a sago palm] and work on it [?].
nímu, mu — to descend to the water and bathe.
nímuamis to throw oneself down.
nímuamisér < nímuamis, 155.
nímus to disappear in the forest.
ním daughter-in-law [s.].
níni, manmák — presenting a fine sight, a feast for the eyes.
nínim name of a river.
nínuamis to get in the canoe with many people and set out.
nínuis daughters-in-law [pl.], 190.
niom to go down and stand by; to go home and start to work on.
níomawer, ni — to dance in honour of [a guest].
níomèbuilt < níomawer, 171.
níomitum, ni — to dance for someone during the evening.
níompréw to go into the water with.
níompréwaró < níompréw, 165.
níomuw to go to the river and depart with... [in a canoe].
níomuwá < níomuw, 109.
níomuwémes < níomuw, 136.
níomuwem < níomuw, 155.
níomuwemá < níomuwem, 34.
níop to have sunk down with...; to go home and sit with [something], by [someone].
níopér < niop, 155.
níorsop to have sunk down up to the chest with.
nípirim to go to the river and wash.
nípitamis, is — to go home and go to sleep.
nípitamisér < nípitamis, 155.
níporémop to sit down with and have intercourse with.
níporomjíwís to get into a canoe in order to depart [a number of people].
nísaj to get into the canoes [many people].
nísajérés < nísaj, 155.
nísarèmes to leave scattered at night.
nísarèmesmá < nísarèmes, 144.
nísce to be below in the river.
nísécépes < nise, 141.
nísiap, jif — to sit stuck in the bog.
nísiápém < nísiap, 162.
nísicimtítw to put things separate from each other.
nísiritewer to hurry back home and fetch.
nísmit grandfather.
nísuwem to step on... in order to descend to the river.
nítaf, cem — to arrive home.
nitam to go downstream and reach; to reach home.
nitamórm < nitam, 155.
nitapóweces (301) to leave things behind on the land while coming here downstream [?].
nitatépiap to shrink down, to become short [a tree].
nitawpiptimes to fill something down below during the night.
nitawpiptimesmar < nitawpiptimes, 144, nitawèm to put down [object standing].
nitcwem to put down [object standing].
nitewer to go home and fetch; to pick up.
nitewcem to go to the river and put something in the water.
nititew to lay something down.
nititawpiptimes, 144.
nitewem to put down [object standing].
nitcwem to put down for someone [object standing].
nitewer to go home and fetch; to pick up.
nitl'wsl'1/! to go to the river and put something in the water.
}
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].

okomose to follow [aquatic subject and object].

okoni to carry away downstream [subject = the current].

okonomimár < okoni, 144.

okomór < okom 1, 2; 155.

okokom 1 < ser — to drive ser fishes against the bank of the river.

okokom 2 to rub with.

ökönisosik in great variety.

ökön, ser — to drive ser fishes against the bank of the river. so — to start a song.

okom, mi — to rub someone with lime.

okoná < okom 1, 2; 109.

okonematam to roll something up for someone.

ökönimatamcin < okonematam, 116.

okonetwer to fetch something, breaking it off; pe — to catch a crab [breaking off the legs to prevent escape].

okértwerác < okonetwer, 165.

okértweraré < okonetwer, 165.

okonitew to strike down, to kill [by shooting].

okón jaw, mouth [of a bag]; singing loudly (316); → akmapom, akse.

okonép opposite to, facing.

ökör 1 mute.

ökör 2 on guard, keeping guard.

ököré rape, adultery.

okoressawer (293) to be alone the whole night long [?].

Okörmi name of a river.

okorom 1, okorá — to rape.

okorom 2, manmák — to flirt.

okoromá < okorom 1, 2; 109.

ökörömfen < 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.

ométv open space in the forest, overgrown with grass or reed.

omever, 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.

omisères < omis, 1, 2; 155.

omismár < omis, 1, 2; 144.

omit, se mow — to cry about [?].

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omis 2 to go inland with, to go to the forest with.

omisères < omis, 1, 2; 155.

omismár < omis, 1, 2; 144.
omóp 1 a blow.
omóp 2 to sit by, with, while busy
with; to sit in a state of.
omópem < omóp 2; 176.
omópar < omóp 2; 155.
omópfés < omóp 2; 162.
omopomis (296) to sleep and wake with,
in the company of [?].
omópomismem < nomopomis, 144.
omóperes < omóp 2; 176.
omopfés < omóp 2; 162.
omopnom < omóp 2, 177.
omópomismem < nomopomis, 144.
omópomismem < nomopomis, 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.
omsew < nomse, 177.
omus 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].
omusnakap < nomus, 185.
on 1 shark.
on 2 to share [food, tobacco] with.
onéw < onów.
oniéf (302) to tówoniéf.
onifün again to enter [a house] down-
stream.
onifix < onifix, 155.
oniúv to set out again [in a canoe].
oniúvor < oniúv, 155.
onmer, omér — quickly to go ahead of.
onmermér < 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 [?].
opémem < emawer 2; 144.
opémor < em 4; 155.
opájiíém < faj, 162.
opák not, without; opák cowák absol-
utely not; opák suw by no means;
opák pak really, 240.
opák < opák, 34.
opákakap < opák, 186.
opámanak < nouner, 144.
opái < op 2; 162.
opái < op 2; 162.
opái to touch; mi — to pay a short visit
to.
opá, jiná onók — to kneel.
opápow to return with all the people.
opasapi all to have returned [in the
village].
ofásiaperáw < otasiap, 125.

totaw to tell, to give advice; to ask.

tonufes < otaw, 162.

tóawmém < otaw, 144.

totaw por to try to give advice.

totawporaver continually to try to give advice to someone, to exhort someone.

totawporéwirîn < totawporawer, 171.

totawpormin < totawpor, 144.

totawporéwirîn < totawporawer, 171.

totawpor < totaw, 162.

totawmém < otaw, 144.

To return home again and again, filling the house with.

totaw to tell, to give advice; to ask.

totawpor to try to give advice.

totawporawer continually to try to give advice to someone, to exhort someone.

totawporawer, 171.

To return regularly to keep an eye on.

P

Owéros husband.

Owerós grown-up men, married men.

Owerós to sit and have coitus with.

Owerós < ow 1; 188.

Owerós strings of crocheted hair.

Owerós people of a similar age.

Owerös to change again into... at night.

Owerós < ow, 144.

Owerós < ow, 34.

Owerös people of a similar age.

Owerös to travel to and fro [by canoe].

Owerös man's name.

Owerös man's name.

Owerös man’s [classificatory] brothers [pl.].

Owerös again to bury; again to plug up.

Pa scale [of a fish].

Pacaj to flee in all directions.

Pacaj to flee in all directions.

Pacaj to flee in all directions.

Pacáku < pacák, 155.

Pacáku to be scattered about far and near.

Pacák bad, unfit; not willing, averse to.

Pacák < pacák, 202.

Pacaká < pacák, 202.

Pacáker < pacák, 202.

Pacáko < pacák, 33.

Pacáko < pacák, 33.

Pacáker < pacák, 202.

Pacáser < pacák, 202.

Pacáser < pacák, 202.

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Pacáser < pacák, 202.
pajis all to go outside.
pajtwe to stand with the legs wide apart.
pájniis 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.
pajruit (337) not to be seen, to be invisible [?].
pák oPák.
páka < pak, 34.
pákajamis all to go down together, in great numbers.
pákajámser < pakajamis, 155.
páka to kick; maj - the stamping of one's foot.
páka to sit somewhere in great numbers; to sit everywhere; jo sétnap the river is narrow everywhere.
páka to be in the water somewhere in great numbers; to be in the water everywhere.
pakós ulcer.
paké hard and old, stale [food].
pakénakap crowded with [a river with canoes]; covered with [a tree with flowers].
pákó < pak, 33.
pámár < pawer, 144.
pámâw to divide a quantity of goods into small portions; to take away small parts from a quantity.
pamâs, mak in - to walk to the forest and turn one's back towards.
pânê, mi - nose ornament made of a shell.
papajim to open [plural object].
papâcâpi to swing to and fro.
pâpém < ap 2; 176, 180.
pâpêrimôp, jen - 'to sit with the ears turned round', i.e. to have forgotten the world of men (314).
pâpes < ap 2; 176, 180.
pâpi ci - broad-based midrib [of a sago palm frond].
pâpiromku to turn [the canoe] towards and go ashore.
pâpis 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.
párs '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].
pâriemic < pariem, 176.
pârise to lie stretched out in the water.
pâsá scattered about, dispersed; disorderly.
parsam to scatter.
parsâmukum to scatter about, to cause to flee in all directions.
pârsâmukumór < parsâmukum, 155.
pâris daughter.
pas in vain.
pasës itch; manmák - itching eyes.
pasték kind of grass.
pâtâmukumór < pâtâmukum, 155.
pâmukum to fill right up with, to load full.
Pâtêpo personal name.
pâtâmëcen < tetam, 116.
pâtâmëcën < patetâmëc, 34.
pâtewer, tow - to work loose the pith of the sago palm in order to gather the sago grubs.
pâtí < at 2; 116.
Pâtîm personal name.
paw personal name.
pawáncaasin < awan 1, 2; 120.
pawer, tow - to get many sago grubs.
pawamis all to go away.
pawuawer always to go out [to hunt] with people.
pâwuawërmor < pawuawer, 136.
pawuwërm, pawuawem to wobble about.
pe 1 kind of crab.
pe 2 to depart, to move off [in a canoe].
pec < e 4; 116.
pecán < e 4; 120.
pecâw < e 4; 125, 180.
pecém < e 4; 125.
pécemâ < pécem, 34.
pécëkôm < e 4; 125.
pêmanem < em 4; 144, 180, 183.
pémcm < em 3; 176, 180.
pemé → pemef.
pemef < em 4; 162, 180.
pemenawera < merawer, 120.
pemésmar < emes 2; 144, 180.
peño → peno.
pemof < em 4; 162, 180.
pentakam, mannak → to keep a sharp
look-out downstream.
pentomtompor, mannak → to try to
take a good look above; pentomtompori
please, take a good look above.
pémésmar < emes 2; 144, 180.
pemo → pemo.
pemotompori < pemotompor, 116.
pen → open.
penh → sow, female pig.
pemake → tightly bound; mannak ← looking
sharply around.
pemake → onomatopoeia, reproducing the
creaking of cane binding as it is pulled
tight.
per → 1 mouse.
per → at 2.
Per name of a village.
père 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.
pétewmanes < tevem, 155, 180.
petokóm → pecokóm.
péwere < pawer, 109, 175.
pewesanes < ewes, 155, 180.
pénakáw → opnakáw.
pérem → parem.
pi 1 cassowary.
pi 2 → at 2.
Per name of a village.
pi 3 → to fly.
pi → to fish with the net.
Piapipin name of a river.
picin skin, bark; mi ← the skin around
the nose and upper lip.
picirim, är ← it's finished; that's the
story.
piever → to catch many fish with the net.
pievermi < piever, 136.
pipinaw → pipinaw.
pipisasérkom < jisas, 136, 180.
piki broken [of any binding material].
pim edge, side, brim; jo ← the bank of
the river.
pimnakap < pipim, 185.
pimak → to have left something.
pimitiw < to cut off.
pin, ci jipin ← continually to come and
go [e.g. people in a shop].
pinaw → to come crossing the river.
pinawmá < pipinaw, 144.
pinım 1 the side where .. ; wasén ← the
side where the forest is; ironim ← the
side where the river is [in relation to
the speaker].
pinım 2 smell.
piji → chockfull.
piipi → interjection, indicating the action
of stabbing.
pipim to break off, to chop off [plural
object].
pipimtaw to break off and take away
[plural object].
pipimtawu < pipimtaw, 109.
pipimör < pipim, 155.
pir 1 moon.
pir 2 ← so.
piri downstream [of a main river]; the
coast, the sea.
piri deliberate misinformation.
pirim to wash, to rinse.
pirkawor triton shell.
pir grandchildren [pl.].
Piirim personal name.
pišis is kind of grass.
pišakas < pis, 187.
pišakaseré < pis, 188.
piswá dagger made of a cassowary's
bone.
piswánakap < piswá, 185.
pit python.
piamas to go to sleep.
pitamsér < pitamis, 155.
pitiyama to be filled to the brim.
pitiyamsem to fill something with water.
pitiyamsemá < pitiyamsem, 109.
pitiyamsemör < pitiyamsem, 155.
pitommes to fill [a bag] one is carrying
at night.
pitw, par ← very broad.
po 1 paddle; rowing.
po 2 the midrib of the frond of the sago
palm; the trough made of these mid­
ribs that is used for washing the sago
[see sketch p. 366].
po 3 (302, 343) all.
poamis, is ← all to go to sleep, all to
sleep.
poamismár < poamis, 144.
pok 1 let not, lest, 243.
348  THE ASMAT LANGUAGE

pok 2  goods, things; edible animals that live in the water; nam — the entrails; jiwis — baggage, taken along when moving to another dwelling place.

Pokás  personal name.

poké, jo — the hot sun, the burning sun; the heat of the sun.

póknakap  < pok 2; 185.

póknakás  < pok 2; 187.

pom 1  harpoon.

pom 2, póm apcóm  ‘full to overflowing’ [said of a heavy-loaded canoe].

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.

pónaw  dirty, dirt.

poperiomamatár  < poperiomatawer, 144.

poperiomatawer  to roll over and over [wailing].

popérini  to drift downriver, turning around and around slowly.

popomismérén  (293) always I was with you < opomis [?].

popomismérén < popomismérén, 33.

popújaramep  < popújarawer, 152.

popújarawer  continually to walk in a circle.

por to see, to look at, to hear, to smell; to know.

porá  < por, 109.

porap, jipi — to have a presentiment.

porem 1  to see [subject standing].

porem 2  to intend to do, to want to do.

poreremtewer to choose [something] and take [it] away.

poreremtewerá  < poreremtewer, 109.

porí  < por, 116.

poría  < pori, 34.

poric  < por, 116.

porjar  to go around looking for.

porjara wer  to go around all the time looking for.

porjít, só — 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].

poromtawaver  to search for all the time until found [plural object].

poromtewer  to look for food, to get food.

poromtewer  to look for until found [singular object].

porów  afterno on, early evening [the period from ± 3 p.m. until shortly after sunset].

porów  married daughter.

porownakafírúw  < porów, 188.

porpor  to look around for; to try to see.

porporem  to go to [try to] have a look at.

porsá  < parsá.

poršawawer  always to thrust aside, always to spill.

porse  to see, to look at [aquatic subject].

poršawet  to be on the look-out for a woman to marry.

potámén  < otaw, 144, 180.

pototómenc  [dialect of Ac] < pate-támenc.

pototómcenó  < pototómenc, 33.

pow 1  < opów.

pow 2  < powó.

pow 3  breadfruit tree.

pow 4  to look for.

powá  < powá, 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, ju — the booming of bamboo horns.

pu 2  ‘a line running lengthwise over the centre of a flat or curved surface’:
jo — [in] the middle of the river; 
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, ac-
cording 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].
pum to tread down [grass, reed].
punap, jo — to stay somewhere until 
the sun rises.
pumasaam to tread down [reeds].
pumemawer, minip — always to have in 
mind, always to think about [subject 
estanding].
pumekwirir < pumemawer, 171.
pumokopom (308) to tread [reeds] down, 
causing them to touch [somebody] [?].
pumom 1, minip — to be thinking about 
[subject standing].
pumom 2 to stand chopping off [bark 
of a tree].
pumonném < pumom 1; 177.
pumonnéma < pumonném, 177.
pumop, minip — to be thinking about 
[subject sitting].
pumopéném < pumop, 177.
pumot spear [paw] 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, minip — to think about, to 
ponder [subject standing].
pupumemé < pupumem, 162.
pupumes < minip — to think about 
at night; at night to be under the 
impression that.
pupuri... 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.
pupurúmoméwéménes < pupurumom-
ewer, 136.
pupurúmoméwéménesá < pupurúmom-
evéménes, 34.
pupurumucumte to fill [e.g. a pit] up 
with.
puramis to lie on [said of a cover, e.g. 
thatch].
puris daughter.
púrurpu... 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].
pitamis → pitamis.
pútamismét < pitamis, 152.
púteredá < put, 125.
paw kind of spear.
S
s interjection: hey! I say!
sa 1 dry, dried up; dead [of trees].
sa 2 to be dry.
sajín, juriw — very long.
Sajín personal name.
sajes to come [a group of people as a 
whole].
sajespēs < sajes, 152.
sajis to stick out [of branches gene-
 rally].
sajismar < sajis, 144.
Sajmós personal name.
sajui to return home [a group of people 
as a whole].
sajtakawer always to go downstream [a 
group of people as a whole; any cate-
gory of people].
sajwut to marry, to take as a wife, a 
husband [when speaking in general 
terms].
sakaj to be broken.
**THE ASMAT LANGUAGE**

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.
sakurtamaowar all to be dried up [of trees, → sa 2].
Sakwus name of a village.
sam to dry something.
samat group of people forming the population of a village.
samta < samát, 34.
samóp → asamóp.
samót → samát.
samsamsam... in great numbers.
samtewer → asamtewer.

Samún name of a river.
sanamikurum all to be dried up completely [sago palms].
sanamikurum < sanamikurum, 155.
sapiamis to have gone out; to be down, [sun].
sapiamismip < sapiamis, 152.
sapiamsēraw < sapiamis, 125.
sapise to go out in the sea [sun].
sapismar < sapise, 144.
Sasák personal name.
sasakajes come towards while passing a number of something [e.g. rivers].
sasakajeséf < sasakajeséf, 34.
sasakajeséf to sasakajeséf.
sasakam to cut into pieces.
sasakamnasam to cut off, to cut away [plural object].
sasakamtauw to cut off [and take along], [plural object].
sasakamtauw to cut off and put down [plural object].
saw → sawnák.
sawō < saw, 33.
sawnák how sad! what a pity!
sawnák how sad! what a pity!
se 1 mud, clay.
se 2 to be on or in the water.
se 3 to share out, to distribute.

sawer to stay in the water.
sees to come towards [aquatic subject].
seēsmēpēs < sees, 152.
sefasī to turn round and go back [aquatic subject].
sej 1 shoulder.
sej 2 iron.
sejirawer, micic — to lie in the water so long that there is a heavy growth of seaweed on.
sējirēwirūp < sejirawer, 171.
sējōr kind of fish.
sejpā chopping knife.
sek shag [loanword]; kapāk — idem.
sékakajamār < sekakajawer, 144.
sekakajawer to return from camp with many people.

semaram to strike about [aquatic object].
semēn rope; long row.
Seménterésimit personal name.
Seménterésimitā < Seménterésimit, 34.
seimi (339) quiet.
sensirim (325) to assemble on the river [canoes] [?].

sen downstream [of a tributary river].
semēn elbow; the left side (296).
sek kor to float by.
sekorkā < sekork, 109.
sep arm, foreleg; man — idem.
sepe to start out in a canoe.

sēprērēs < sepe, 155.
Sēper personal name.
ser kind of fish.

seramōt, ser fishes [species of].
serāmporem < serāmporem, 155.
serāmporemē < serāmporemē, 33.
serāmpomūj < serāmpom, 155.
serāmpomūj < serāmpom, 34.

serāpom, jer — to put down a fish-trap.
serāpomūs < serāpom, 162.
serre, jak — enamoured of.
serrempō, jak — to be enamoured of.
serremōpōf < serremop, 162.
serér, onōw — a thin place in the thatch.

Serēw formerly a village on the river Aw.

Serēwa < Serēw, 34.

ses 1 dry palm leaves; ci sēs 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.
sežák black.
sesi to enter a river.
sésiërês < sesi, 155.
set kind of wading bird.
set to dip something [in water].
setaj to arrive [in a canoe].
setájcaw < setaj, 125.
setájcèmes < setaj, 136.
setájcokom < setaj, 125.
setak to row downriver.
seten to dip something [in water] and eat it.
Setmät → Setmót.
Setmót name of a jew in the village of Surú.
setná < seten, 109.
setsák narrow.
setw smoked.
šěšěšê 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.
siapmorês < siapom, 155.
siasam 1 to dig away.
siasam 2 to plait until completion.
siawer, sin — to increase in number, to multiply.
siawraw < siawer, 125.
sicimapom to spread out [object sitting].
sikaf kind of grass.
sim to shift something, to shove.
sinom to fill and take along with [subject standing].
sinsák scurf.
simitives to wash ashore at night.
simitivesmár < simitives, 144.
simituwtam to push something towards someone.
simituwtámcèmes < simituwtam, 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 [= sín ?] — siawer.
sinák 1 kind of lobster.
sinák 2 crack [in bark, skin].
Sinák name of a river.
sinakap 1 < si 1; 185.
sinakap 2 < sin 1; 195.
sinopis ‘sisters’ [pl.] — sin 1.
siocin to move up towards the far end of.
sioniporamóp < sioniporawer, 152.
sioniporawer continually to try to dig out.
siotemtawer to plait something onto the top of.
siotemtí < siotemtet, 116.
siotemtow < siotemtet, 120.
šipán collar-beams [weapons and food are kept on these].
šipor to try to plait.
šiporawer continually to try to plait.
šiporevěrmes < šiporawer, 136.
sir → otoni, otom.
Siréc name of a river [Eilanden river].
siri 1 quick, fast.
siri 2 (301), manmák — on the look-out.
siría be quick! < siri, 34.
siriašp, manmák — to sit on the look-out for.
sirifis 1 to come rushing out of.
sirifis 2 quickly to cross over [a sandbank], (339).
sirifisérår < sirifis 1, 2; 120.
sirimaksem quickly to make a canoe and launch it.
sirimaksemór < sirimaksem, 155.
sirimes to come rowing towards.
sirimfim quickly to fit up, to make ready for use.
sirimfimac < sirimfim, 165.
sirimotešp to row upriver with..., to take along upriver [in a canoe].
sirimpipintiw quickly to chop off [ribs of the fronds of a sago palm].
sirimpipintiwc < sirimpipintiwi, 165.
sirimsam quickly to dry something.
sirimtak quickly to row downstream.
sirimtakacés < sirimtak, 165.
sirimtep quickly to row upstream.
sirinakap < siri, 200.
sirinuautev quickly to go down to the river and set out.
siriap < quickly to cross a river.
siri, < to give in [to persuasion]
sis 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.
sisimkakamimtiw to wash ashore and leave to die [fish].
sisimkakamwér < sisimkakamimtiw, 155.
sisim to fill [troughs] and bring them outside.
sisiocin to draw towards.
sisiri, sisiri pak it was serious! (319).
sisit kind of shellfish.
sisit 2 ridge-beam.
sisowap < sisowap.
sisowap to live alone, to stay alone.
soráperes < sorap, 155.
sormom, fa — to follow.
sormom 2 < sormom, 155.
sorom to go with [the current] downstream; to carry downstream [subject = the current].
soroniwmâr < soroniwawer, 144.
soroniwawer to carry downriver [subject = the current].
sorom, fa — to follow, to pursue.
Sorôwsimit personal name.
sos < ses 1.
sosoji to go towards the land in leaps [fish].
sosojismar < sosojis, 144.
sosó ridge-beam.
sosowom (281) to stand up repeatedly with [?].
sow, ci sès — to fire a canoe; → 328, note c.
sowap → suwap.
sowap, man sès — to raise the hand to [magical gesture].
sowfíwe 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.
sowpumcêmi < sowpum, 136.
Su name of a jew in the village of Amisu.
sukmap, jismák — to stay somewhere, the fires having gone out.
sukmapá < sukmap, 109.
suku < kind of fish.
sun 1 to pull out.
sun 2, jak — to get with child.
sunom to pull out and take along.
sunomér < sunom, 155.
sunomis → sunumomis.
sunomsá < sunomis, 109.
sunop to allow to sit between [people].
sunóperasín < sunop, 120.
suntew → suntewer.
suntewer to pull out, to pull up.
Suntuw personal name.
Suntuíj (320) = Suntuíj [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.
susir  kind of small bat.
suw  → susuwu.
suwap 1  to begin with, to start to work at [subject sitting].
suwap 2  to emerge, to rise up out of the water.
suwem  to begin with, to start to work at [subject standing]; maj — to step on to.
suwemic  < suwem, 116.
suwumomis  to allow someone to sleep between [people].
suwaw  to step into a canoe and set out.

ta  hey!; interjection expressing surprise.
tajamis  to lie down on a slope.
tajtaj  ... interjection, indicating a gradual ceasing [e.g. of rain].
tajú  over, stopped, finished.
tajújúkumpomó  < tajújukumapom, 162.
tajújúkumpomúj  < tajújukumapom, 155.
tajújukumapom, amás cse — 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.
takam 2  to pierce through; to allow someone to escape.
takamanem, cém mu — to build a large house first.
takamjintiw  to pull off first.
takamjis  to go to the forest for the first time.
takannem  to cause to go below through an opening.
takamsemukmes  to let [someone] flee in advance at night.
takamtewer  to pierce through, and remove.
takamtwomse  to take along in the canoe for the first time.
takámtewomseféném  < takamtwomse, 162.
takás  all, everyone.
takawer  continually to go downstream.
takawérmero  < takawer, 174.
takfíw  to go downstream and enter [a house].
takíse  to speak while rowing downstream.
takjíkumapom  to go downstream and put together.
takmatam  to accompany someone downstream.
taknap  to eat, having gone downstream.
takokojír  to go downstream and cross to the other side.
takom  to go downstream to meet someone.
takotoerom  to go repeatedly back downstream to keep an eye on.
takpor  to go downstream to look at.
taksé  to have gone downstream [in a canoe].
taksem  well-made [of a canoe].
taktemapída  < taktemapom, 109.
taketemapom  to row downstream and ram [the canoes of the enemy].
taktitíw  to go downstream and put something down.
takwitíw  to go downstream and throw something down.
tam 1  morning, from daybreak until ± 10 a.m.
tam 2  rattan, → tem 1.
tamá  < tam 1 ; 34.
tames, is — to dream.
tamesem  → taumesem.
tamesmóp  < tamesem, 152.
tamesmr  < tamesem, 155.
támíwcim  early in the morning.
támnakap  < tam 1 ; 185.
tamnám  kind of duck.
támsesaráj  < tames, 132.
tamus  → wu; [loan-word from Malay, = tembus].
tamúw  buttress [of a tree].
Tamúw  personal name.
tamá  nonsense.
tag, acín — to stick on to.
taper < tap, 155.
tapijw to retreat inside.
tapijwá < tapijw, 109.
tapíu 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].
tapomáknamép < tapomakem, 152.
tapom to fill [with food], to put [food] into.
tapomár < tapom, 120.
tapomócam < 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.
tapom1/.i < tapoman, 116.
tapomterem to cannon into something, causing it to split.
tarásepes (classificatory) sisters of a man [pl.].
taráswuc (classificatory) sister of a man [s.].
tari old, long ago.
tarijipic very old, very long ago.
taripicim < tari, 203.
tarwápcareas < arúwap, 132.
tasmi → tesmá.
tasmajipic → tesmájipic.
tatafañitimw to place neatly beside each other, 107.
tataháj 1 lively, swift-footed; atów — playful.
tatakíj 2 to be lively, swift-footed.
tatakíci → catakíci.
tatam 1 to give [plural object].
tatäm 2 (284), a — to branch; to get flowers [said of a sago palm].
tatatamenem, mak ám — to pile [bags] up in rows on each other.
tatáménemór < tatamemen, 155.
tatapom to put neatly in, to fill neatly; filled neatly (107).
tatav, ja — to go to fetch.
tatemap to sit tightly packed.
Tatepi personal name.
Tatepi < Tatepi, 34.
tatewer, cet — to win a contest, to win the prize.
tatiw to put down, to lay down [plural object].
tatná nonsense.
tatnamin < tetam, 144.
tatnes to give at night.
tatněsmin < tatmes, 144.
tatnór < 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].
tawanó < tawan, 162.
tawat to take for oneself [plural object].
tawatwer 1 continually to speak.
tawatwer 2, wékú — to crochet hair all day long.
tawanem to pile up [plural object].
Taweric personal name.
Tawerit → Taweric.
Taweritsimí < Taweric, 195.
tawjimirsem < tawemen, to take [canoes] to the river.
tawmanín < taw 2; 144.
tawenemsem → tawenesem.
tawemesem to put things against something, along something [e.g. a wall].
tawenesem to cause to go downriver during the night [plural object].
tawomewer, atakám — continually to speak to, to nag at [a person].
tawomewermór < tawomewer, 136.
tawow to put into [plural object].
tawowuc < tawow, 116.
tawpacaj to scatter in all directions, to disperse.
tawpacajop to stay with people, after having dispersed from...; to have dispersed to.
tawpacajoper < 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.
tawtenapom to put separate from each other [object sitting].
tawtomomas, andas to eat sago from then onwards (302).
tawtutum to talk all the afternoon.
tawtumepom < tawtutum, 114.
tawtumép < tawtum, 152.
te 1 rain.
te 2, té mu tea [loan-word from Malay, = teh].
tem 1 rattan.
tem 2, awo to have breasts, to be marriageable; nemcéen — to be furious.
temat to fool [someone].
temér < tem 2, 155.
temet to go upwards, to rise.
temétjemem to have grown large and high.
temétjim to pull away from above.
temétlimores < temétjim, 155.
temétjom, e wúi — to stand high up with leaves rustling [a tree].
temetotap, pim — to have risen to the brim [e.g. water].
temétowopmór < temétowopom, 155.
temétowopom to hang up above, to put down on top of ..
temétwasiap to have shot up [plants].
temétwanioc to grow high up [trees].
temétwaniótma — to stand high up with leaves rustling.
temétwaniotma < temétwanioc, 144.
temétwasip to have shot up [plants].
temétwanioc, e — to stand high up with leaves rustling.
temjom, namós — to like.
temjomén < temjom, 177.
temjomén < 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.
téném throat.
tenfój unaware of.
tentaj, ténataj 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.
tepacoapém < coap, 176, 144.
tepaémnérem < eman, 155.
tepakajap to have gone upstream and sit there.
tepakamis, akin — to lie down [ill] immediately after having gone upstream.
tepákokójniewermomokom < kokojniawer, 136.
tepamiamem < ampiawer, 144.
tepap to go upstream and stay there.
tepapém < ap 2; 176, 144.
tepapmés < tepap, 144.
tepapormém < por, 162.
tepapórcmemen < por, 136.
tépaces < tep 1; 165.
tépates → tépaces.
tepáuwawor < tuuwaw, 155.
tepu to hang in a condition of ..; manmak nini — to hang, presenting a fine sight.
tepom to have gone upstream [subject standing].
tepémár < tepi, 144.
tepes to go upstream at night.
tepésajakawermokom < sajjakawer, 136.
tepésmar < tepes, 144.
tepésmeq < tepes, 152.
tepéveléwém < eviw, 155.
tepit to go upstream in the morning.
tepitép < tepit, 152.
tepjomséames < tepjomseawer, 144.
tepjomseawer to speak to someone all the time while rowing upstream.
tepkawi to go upstream and join.
tépkawiërés < tepkawi, 155.
tepekku to go upstream and go ashore.
tepkuru to shout agreement upstream.
tépkurueres < 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, 0p — to let go freely from above, into the water.
tepomporsemécèpes < tepomporsem, 141.
tepomporsem — tepomporsem.
tepomporsemá < tepomporsem, 109.
tepomse to take upriver [in the canoe].
tepomser < 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].
tepaj to row upriver as far as ...
tepéptep... interjection, indicating the action of sinking deeper and deeper, 237.
tevewer to go upstream and take away.
tewawerom < to drop [someone] upriver.
tew to have risen [sun].
tewmér < tefu, 144.
ter to tewer 2, 3.
téré 1 rattan, leaf.
téré 2 joyful, glad.
teremsom to split [aquatic object]; to push through [canoes on the river].
téréw thin.
termén split.
tes daring, brave, successful, powerful;
tevéwawer get much [sago], to catch many [fish].
tesén outside.
tesmá courageous, successful; beautiful [of women].
tesmájipic brave warrior, war leader.
tetam to give [something] to.
tetámcin < tetam, 116.
tetámféncem < tetam, 162.
tetámfés < tetam, 162.
tété ‘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 ...
tewawercém < teuwawer, 125.
tewawercómè < teuwawercóm, 33.
tewawummes to put feathers in the hair at night.
téwawumésmep < teuwawumes, 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.
tewaném 1 to take along with upriver.
tewaném 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].
tewérá < tewer 2; 109.
Tewéra < Tewér, 34.
tewérác < tewer 2; 165.
téweumamés < tewerawer, 144.
téwerasam to take much, to get much [sago].
tewerawer to get much [sago], to catch many [fish].
Tewérawuc personal name.
Tewérawucakáp < Tewérawuc, 195.
Tewérawuutsinit < Tewérawuc, 195.
téweréwere < tewerawer, 174.
teweric < tewer 2; 116.
tewerit → teweric.
tewérméném < tewer 2; 144.
tewérmem < tewer 2; 144.
tewéménóm < tewer 2; 144.
tewértotorámár < tewértotorawer, 144.
tewértotorawer all the day long to get [food], everyone individually.
tewet to take for oneself; to marry.
tewji, po — to start to row.
tewjini to send on the way [a number of people].
tewjiniwamis to start to swim [many fish].
tewjiniwvarit to start out in the morning with many.
tewjiniwijjar to set out with many [people], with everyone.
tewjipirom (301) to think only of, to care only for [?]; to stand, embracing someone.
téwjipiromè < tewjipirom, 162.
tewnen to send someone downstream, to send someone home.
twenémamén < tewnen, 144.
tewsem to put something into water.
tewoct < tewet, 109.
tewtakam to allow someone to escape.
Tewtén name of a river.
térasëpes to tarásëpes.
teráswuc to taráswuc.
ti 1 → ci 1.
ti 2 → mu.
ti 3 to go down [sun].
tiamis to have gone down [sun].
tiamismár < tiamis, 144.
tiamismép < tiamis, 144.
tiki 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.
timseém < timse, 165.
timseér < timse, 155.
tiri 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].
titewerré < titewer, 165.
titwém (319), màk am — to follow someone [?].
titwot to touch, to nudge [object lying].
titwotfén < titwot, 162.
titwótmepen < titwot, 152.
titwótkuknum to go on one’s way.
titwótoj to touch, to nudge [object lying].
titwótojér < titwótko, 155.
titwótojojim to put down in [corpse in a grave].
titwótojéjipuruwa < titwótojim, 114.
titwótojéjipuruwa < titwótojim, 114.
titwótojéjipuruwa < titwótojim, 114.
titwótojéjipuruwa < titwótojim, 114.
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titwótojéjipuruwa < titwótojim, 114.
titwótojéjipuruwa < titwótojim, 114.
titwótojéjipuruwa < titwótojim, 114.
to 1 yesterday; tomorrow.
to 2, amás — hungry; mu — thirsty;
kapák — longing for a cigarette.
tóá < to 1; 34.
tóko onomatopoeia, reproducing the
sound of a thud.
tomtom to stand on top of something
while busy with.
tomtómér < 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 ob-
tained in the forest or out of gardens,
such as fruit, the edible top of the sago
palm, sweet sago pith, and sago. Since
forest products are always given in
return for edible animals [pok], mostly
fish and sago grubs, 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.
totepóm wild cucumber.
tototo .. (276) interjection, indicating the
steady rising of water.
tow 1 sago grub.
tow 2 (309) vital spirit [?].
towá < tow, 34.
towkopá < towokop, 109.
Tówmi name of a river.
towcin to take upriver, → en.
towcinér < towcin, 155.
towf to kill.
towfá < towf, 109.
towfórés < towf, 155.
towkop to eat, to swallow.
towom to take along [subject standing].
towomér < towom, 155.
towomir → towomér.
towomis to take outside.
towomirw to take inside.
tówomirwér < towomirw, 155.
tówomirwém to take something inside
for someone.
tówomirwémčénmes < towomirwém, 136.
towomkonaw to bring onto the land.
tówomkonawém < towomkonaw, 144.
towonse 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
cought, taken.
tówopér < towop, 155.
tówópfés < towop, 162.
tówópmá < towopm, 109.
tówópmamin < towopm, 144.
tówópmes to put something onto some-
thing else at night.
tówópmésém < towópmes, 144.
tówópmop < towopmop, 344) to kill [?].
tówópmór < towopm, 155.
tówópmo 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.
tówópmuc < towópmu, 116.
tówópmúca < towópmuc, 34.
tówópmo to take upstream.
tówópmok to go along.
tówópmuk to take to another dwelling
place 
[in a canoe].
towomse to take to another dwelling
place [in a canoe].
towomseá < towomse, 109.
towomser < towomse, 155.
towop, manmák — to keep an eye on.
towopic < towop, 116.
tuwese, jiwis — to go off to another dwelling place [by canoe].

\textit{tuwese}a < \textit{tuwese}, 109.

\textit{tuwese}f < \textit{tuwese}, 162.

\textit{tuwut}, jiwis — to go off to another dwelling place in the morning [by canoe].

\textit{tuwútmar} < \textit{tuwut}, 144.

\textit{tuwutw} to step in the canoe in order to go to another dwelling place.

\textbf{U}

\textit{u} onomatopoeia, reproducing the shouting of a mass of people, 35.

\textit{ud} exclamation of surprise, dismay.

\textit{uc} 1 \rightarrow \textit{ucinak}.

\textit{uc} 2 laughter.

\textit{uc} 3 iguana.

\textit{ucè} \rightarrow \textit{ucinak}.

\textit{ucè} \rightarrow \textit{ucinak}.

\textit{ucim} what, which, how, how many, how much; 232-234.

\textit{ucin} the skin of the iguana.

\textit{ucinak} where; 232-234.

\textit{ucip} \rightarrow \textit{ucim}.

\textit{ucucumesawer} to rage all night long [storm].

\textit{ucucumesawèrmar} < \textit{ucucumesawer}, 136.

\textit{Ufénê} personal name [< Juventius].

\textit{ufi} name of a river.

\textit{ufi} kind of shell-fish.

\textit{Ufün} formerly a \textit{juo} in the village of \textit{Jëpnè}.

\textit{um} to cause to go aboard.

\textit{umù} name of a feast.

\textit{umu} the crown of a palm tree.

\textit{umúc} pools left behind in the beds of small streams when the tide ebbs.

\textit{umúnakap} full.

\textit{un} \rightarrow \textit{in} 1, 2.

\textit{una} < \textit{un}, 34.

\textit{Unir} name of a river [Lorentz river].

\textit{uòj} exclamation of surprise.

\textit{upis} \rightarrow \textit{pis}.

\textit{upú} coconut shell.

\textit{ur} \rightarrow \textit{or}.

\textit{urumnem, wu} — to topple a palm tree over in order to get the edible top.

\textit{urumni, ci} — to return with many people to the canoes.

\textit{urumtwewer, wu} — to get the edible top out of a palm tree.

\textit{ururu} 1 interjection indicating the action of something slipping into something else, or people following one after another.

\textit{ururu} 2 (339) all to return, one after another [?].

\textit{usawic} banana.

\textit{usi}, \textit{amá} — 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’.

\textit{úsi} a tree fallen over a river.

\textit{usir} ray.

\textit{úsìs} \rightarrow \textit{úsis}.

\textit{Uswut} personal name.

\textit{ut}, \textit{auint} — very large.

\textit{ut} \rightarrow \textit{uc} 2.

\textit{úsis} [sardonic] smile; \rightarrow \textit{fajap}.

\textit{uw} to go aboard.

\textit{uwù} exclamation: oh!

\textit{uwku} crochet needle made of a pig’s heel-bone.

\textit{Uuwís} name of a village.

\textit{Uuwískap} personal name.

\textit{Uuwísòpís} people from the village of \textit{Uuwís}.

\textbf{W}

\textit{wa} 1 interjection: hey! ow!

\textit{wa} 2 brother-in-law [s.].

\textit{wa} 3 forest; \textit{os} — the trees, with exception of palm trees. \rightarrow \textit{mu}.

\textit{wa} 4, \textit{ci} — half-circle of canoes, (271, note).

\textit{wa} 5 shining, glistening.

\textit{wac} cassowary’s claw.

\textit{waci, mi} — the lifting of the head as a sign of assent, \rightarrow \textit{emtan}.

\textit{wajimtw} cause to fall out of.

\textit{wajir} the central fireplace in the \textit{jew}.

\textit{wajotep} to go to the farthest point up-river with.

\textit{wákà} interjection, indicating a scarcely noticeable movement [e.g. with the hand].

\textit{wakam} to use up.
wakamkurum to use up all.
waksēs < akse, 176.
wap = awāp, < ap 2; 176, 178.
wapēs = awapēs,  < ap 2; 176, 178.
wapu, wpum  pool of rain-water.
varāk without pain, feeling fine [rowing] with ease.
varāt kind of bird.
varimomas to go away with a number of people in one canoe.
varimomāser  < varimomas, 155.
varimtemtes to grow right up at night [a tree].
warāk without pain, feeling fine [rowing] with ease.
warat kind of bird.
Jarimomas to go away with a number of people in one canoe.
warlmomāser  < Jarimomas, 155.
warlmomāse to grow right up at night [a tree].
waritemtesmép  < waritemtes, 152.
Warsé personal name.
wasē red ochre.
wasēa < wasē, 34.
wasée middle part, room in between.
wasën the landside, the landward side, the bank of the river, the forest.
wasēr young sago palm, older than a wu mikin, younger than a copón.
Wasi personal name.
watēr kind of fish.
U? atēr 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 jicop ci.
wet namesake.
wētakap < wet, 195.
wētārim < wet, 195.
wi to throw, to shoot [arrows].
wianēm < wi, 155.
wiasam to throw away; quickly to put into the water [a canoe] (343).
wāsmac < wiasam, 165.
wic father; 193, note.
wies quickly to come towards.
wiesarō < wies, 165.
wimā < wi, 144.
wīn all, one by one; 249.
winem to shoot [arrows] downwards.
winemami < winem, 144.
wīnimop < iwinim, 152.
wiokopom (343) to tell [news] to [?].
wiomatawer to run away with, to kidnap.
wis sisters-in-law [pl.].
witēp quickly to go upriver.
wo wave.
Wok personal name.
Wóksimit < Wok, 195.
womák louse.
Wominèn personal name.
Wominëna < Wominèn, 34.
wopīs people belonging to the same category, e.g. of the same age, of the same household, of the same jek.
wor, nućur — very large, huge.
worēm large lump of sago.
worwovorwor... interjection, indicating the steady growing of a tree.
worwōs marriage, effected by the girl's eloping to the house where lives the boy she wants to marry.
was 1 a clearing in the forest.
was 2 mother; 193, note.
was 1 exclamation: be careful! [threatening].
was 2 today.
was 3 [carved] designs, writing, letters.
wasē (300) < was 2; 33.
wawūc the middle of something.
wawūt → wawūc.
wus 1 interjection: hey!
wus 2, cópo — with a splash, thud.
wus 3 the edible top of the sago- and the nipa palm.
wus 4 sago-leaf bag; bundle wrapped in sago leaves.
wus 5 watercourse forming a connection between two rivers.
wus 6 rustling, waving [of leaves] → e 4; waggling [of fins] → nijise.
wus 7 (308), manmāk cenām — with shining eyes.
wus 8, wu — to make a sago-leaf bag.
wus 1 interjection: ah! wū ja — hey there!
wumis all to depart by canoe.
wunamīses < wunamis, 144.
wunamse (?) (344) to be on the river [many canoes].
wunamses to go out at night with many people.
wunān [the sound of] rustling → wus 6.
wunāpmor, wunapom, 155.
wunapom to bury.
wunmēm 1 to pour [water] out over.
wunmēm 2 to wrench off downwards [bark].
wunmēm 3 to topple [a tree] over.
wumomas to carry away many people
[subject: water].
wun 1 other, others; some, part of; wûn
  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.
wunía < wuni, 109.

wur thunder.

wut large, big; many, much; very;
  awút nak — enormous; → OPÁK.
wutiwpór, wu — to make bags of sago
  leaves.
wùtíwpòrá < wutiwpór, 109.
wutiwpór, wu — each person to make for
  himself sago-leaf bags.

wùwu → wu 4.
wùwùmès, jis — to light a fire at night.
aroqura sea

flamingo bay
dialect

AMAT
AND RELATED LANGUAGES

100 km.

KAMORO
MORO
SEMEX
AGATS
SIREC
EYAC
JEPEN
SIREC

new guinea

138°E.

100 km.
THE FLAMINGO BAY AREA

MAP II

- present-day villages
- former situation of villages
- low-water mark
- homeward journey of the refugees of Jepém (text)

1. Jaméw, 2. Uwús, Majit, Ewér, Surú, Per;
3. Kajê, Jepém; 4. Serew [100 years ago];
5. Majit [first settlement of M. in this area];
6. Jepém [recent past until 1957];
7. Ewér, Surú [40 years ago]

10 KM.
to go upstream/downstream

to come upstream/downstream

0. enaw
   1. en
   2. ni

3. es, enes
   4. tep
   5. tak
the scraping out of the anám.

the scraping out of the ómus.
BARCHELONEN

42. P. Drabbe, Drie Asmat-dialecten. 1963.
The subject and object suffixes of categories 10-22, 24

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard list:</th>
<th>deviations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m after V or r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II -em word-finally, after C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in medially, after C ≠ r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. -i | | j, zero | (uj/u) | (o) | (uj/u) | (o) | (j/u/uj/zero) | (o) | - | (o) | (o) | zero/uj/u |
2. -en, after w:: -om | |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | (m) |
3. zero | | (aw) |    |    | (e) |    | (e) |    | (e) | (e) | (e) | (r) |
4. -en | |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | (nom) |
5. -en, after r, w:: -kom | |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | (kom) |
6. -es, after p, w:: -xo; 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.