#### A GRAMMAR OF MEHEK

by

Adam Hatfield

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Primary Consultants			
Mehek	Tok Pisin	Village	
Name	Name	Home	
Wafukaha	Pius	Wilwil	
Yakwaro	Vero	Sibilanga (Yiminum)	
Nurkuminga	Rosalyn	Sibilanga (Wilwil)	
Komtalmbu	Michael	Wilwil	
Yimansamba	Leo	Wilwil	
	•		

Mehek	Tok Pisin	Village
Name	Name	Home
Afkoi	Judah	Kafle 3
Koule	Sara	Wilwil
Kumbun	Peter	Mansuku
Manbo	Florian	Nuku
Sokoni	Titus	Kafle 3
Wolsauwo	Paul	Wilwil

Abel

Yifkindu

**Secondary Consultants** 

#### **Dissertation Committee**

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Yala

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# **Abbreviations**

Each abbreviation of a linguistic feature used in the glosses of this grammar is listed in the table below. They are alphabetical by abbreviation, along with the full name of the feature and a typical example for which that abbreviation would be used.

Abbreviation	Meaning	Example
1, 2, 3	Person	-
ADV	Demonstrative	-kwra
	Adverb	
CAUS	Causal Marker	rokor
COMP	Complementizer	rokor
COND	Conditional	-na
CONT	Continual	-kla
DIM	Diminutive	=t
DEP	Dependency	yungu
DESD	Desiderative	-kwa
DET	Determiner	di
DISC	Discourse	=yu
	Particle	
DIST	Distal	0-
	Demonstrative	
DU	Dual	<b>=</b> f
EMP	Emphatic	-ra
F	Feminine	=s
FUT1	Future of Today	-kya
FUT2	Remote Future	-ka
GER	Gerundial	-m
IMP	Imperative	-tn
INF	Infinitive	-r
INJ	Interjection	е

Abbreviation	Meaning	Example
INS	Instrumental	=k
INT	Interrogative	=ka
IRR	Irrealis	wa
LOC	Locative	=k
M	Masculine	=r
NEG	Negative	iki
OBJ	Object	re, me
Р	Plural	=m
PAST1	Past of Today	-wa
PAST2	Remote Past	-m
POSS	Possessive	-ko-
PRES	Present	-wa
PROH	Prohibitive	mana
PROX	Proximal	ke-
	Demonstrative	
REAL	Realis	ka
REM	Remote	yal,
	Demonstrative	kasik
REP	Repetitive	-yu
SG	Singular	
SIM	Simultaneous	yombo
SUB	Subordinate	-k
VNEG	Verbal	-nak
	Negator	

# **Citation Convention for Glossed Examples**

Each glossed example used in this grammar is followed by a four digit number or the letters "ELIC" or "OVH". For numbers, the first digit represents which of the seven notebooks the data are recorded in and the last three digits represent the page or story number from that notebook. The letters "ELIC" are short for "elicitation" and represent an example from direct elicitation. The letters "OVH" are short for "overheard" and represent an example heard in natural speech.

Proper names (including those for people, plants and animals) are glossed in English with the same word used in Mehek where an English or Tok Pisin equivalent does not exist.

## **Abstract**

This is a grammar which provides a detailed linguistic description of the phonology, morphology, syntax, discourse, lexicon and cultural environment of the Mehek language and its speakers. Mehek is a language spoken in Papua New Guinea by approximately 6300 people. It belongs to the Sepik language family, Tama branch. The theoretical background employed is Basic Linguistic Theory. Mehek shares general features with many non-Austronesian Papuan languages, including: a relatively simple phonological system; verb-final word order, typically SOV; agglutinative verbal morphology; and the morphology of other word classes is relatively simple.

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

#### 1.0 Overview

Mehek (ISO code *nux*) is a language of the Tama branch of the Sepik family spoken in Sandaun Province of Papua New Guinea. There are approximately 6300 speakers (Gordon 2005) spread out over an area of roughly 65 square miles. The data for this study were gathered in three field trips during the summers of 2010, 2012 and 2014. The total length of the trips was nine months and time was spent in each of the Mehekspeaking villages, though the primary location was the village of Wilwil (see §2.1 below). There is no prior published grammatical information on Mehek, though some neighboring languages have had partial Bible translations done or a grammatical sketch done.

The goal of the present grammar is to provide a detailed linguistic description of the phonology, morphology, syntax, discourse, lexicon and cultural environment of Mehek and its speakers. In the present chapter, information on the language and speakers is given and the following areas will be discussed: linguistic scene and language vitality (§1.1), genetic classification of Mehek (§1.2), previous research (§1.3), dialects (§1.4), fieldwork (§1.5) and theoretical background (§1.6). Chapter 2 will discuss topics relevant to culture and environment. After that, chapter 3 will provide a brief grammatical sketch of the language and its primary features. Chapters 4-11 will discuss linguistic topics of the language, specifically: phonology (chapter 4), word classes (chapter 5), nouns and

noun phrases (chapter 6), verbs and verb phrases (chapter 7), clause types (chapter 8), clausal relations (chapter 9), discourse and paralanguage (chapter 10), and lexical fields (chapter 11). Following these chapters are several appendices of additional information and reference. These include sample texts (Appendix A); multi-lingual dictionaries:

Mehek-English-Tok Pisin (Appendix B), English-Mehek (Appendix C), and Tok Pisin-Mehek (Appendix D); lists of animal and plant Species (Appendix E); thematic vocabulary (Appendix F); personal name index (Appendix G); names, songs and whistles (Appendix H); place and clan names (Appendix I); and garamut drum beats (Appendix J).

### 1.1 The Linguistic Scene and Language Vitality

Papua New Guinea is the most linguistically diverse country in the world (Gordon 2005). There are more than 800 languages spoken in the country, and more than 1000 spoken on the island of New Guinea. These languages are still not well documented and language family groupings are often tenuous and disputed. The primary linguistic grouping in Papua New Guinea is the "Trans-New Guinea" language family, which contains almost 500 languages. With more documentation, many smaller family groupings have been established, though these are often uncertain as well. The Sepik family to which Mehek belongs is one of these smaller families.

Languages of Papua New Guinea have some broad features in common, many of which Mehek shares. These shared features include: a relatively simple phonological system; verb-final word order, typically SOV; complex, agglutinative verbal morphology

(though Mehek verbal morphology is not overly complex); and the morphology of other word classes is usually simpler. Beyond these generalizations, it is difficult to otherwise group all (or even most) languages of Papua New Guinea based on any specific criteria.

The origin of the name of the Mehek language is unknown, though it does follow the naming pattern of many other languages in the immediate geographical area, up to the Torricelli Mountain Range. This is a practice of the Lumi District administration wherein languages are named after their word for 'no'. (Laycock 1968) The name is sometimes pronounced without the /h/ or instead with a glottal stop [mɛɛk] or [mɛʔɛk]. In careful speech, it is sometimes pronounced with both, [mεhε?εk]. The people, for the most part, adhere to this practice and call their own language Mehek or Mehek Suma 'Mehek Language'. According to Ethnologue (Gordon 2005), it is also known as Indinogosima, Driafleisuma and Nuku. The former two names have been attested from some speakers. Suma is a word meaning 'voice' and the words indi numgo are a demonstrative and possessive pronoun meaning 'our'. The term driaflei is an erroneous rendition of dinafle, 'one'. Naming the language Nuku, after the most prominent village where it is spoken, is another common naming practice in the area, though typical of languages that are only spoken in one village (Laycock 1968). This is an exonym rather than a term the speakers use for their own language.

The language is currently still used on a daily basis by most of the adult speakers.

Their attitudes towards the language are good, though it is only irregularly transmitted

to children. Despite this, most children primarily have a passive understanding of the language and do not actively use it except in limited form with adults. Amongst each other, children (roughly, those under the age of about 20), speak Tok Pisin almost exclusively. See §2.4.3 for more information on intergenerational transmission.

Tok Pisin is a creole language spoken by most people within Papua New Guinea. Its lexifier language is primarily English, though many core vocabulary items come from nearby Melanesian languages (primarily Malay and Tolai) as well as German. Tok Pisin is spoken by all but the most elderly and English is spoken only by those who have had schooling beyond the sixth grade. Children (ages approximately <14) do not have as great a command of Mehek as do adults, particularly in the lexical domain. They do not speak it as often or as readily as adults, though they do understand it and can respond to basic utterances. The use of Tok Pisin in the schools is likely the reason that children use Tok Pisin in more situations than adults. Because children seem to be using Tok Pisin more than Mehek, the youngest generation will likely speak Tok Pisin to their children even more than their parents currently do. This may lead to the decline in the vitality of Mehek in the coming generations. See §9.12 for more information on the influence of Tok Pisin on Mehek.

#### 1.2 Genetic Classification of Mehek

Mehek belongs to the Tama branch of the Sepik family. The name Tama is based on the word for 'man' in these languages. Ethnologue lists six languages which are currently classed as Tama languages: Ayi, Kalou, Mehek, Pahi, Pasi, and Yessan-Mayo. Warasai is now listed as a dialect of Yessan-Mayo. See 2.1.1 for a map of Sepik language family branches.

#### 1.3 Previous Research

Not much previous research has been done among the Mehek. There are a few very brief published accounts as well as brief grammatical and lexical sketches gathered. Makwru Suma Buk I by Ignas Wunum, published by University of Papua New Guinea in 1975-76, has been mentioned in one survey (Bugenhagen). I was able to speak with him personally and he has indicated that he does still have a copy of it, though it was not available for inspection at the time. According to Bugenhagen, it is a Gudschinsky-style primer and is 64 pages in length. There is a short dictionary of basic vocabulary items printed by the University of Sydney. It is quite accurate and uses an orthography quite similar to that proposed here. Comparative word lists were gathered by Laycock (1965) for many languages spoken in the surrounding region. It was this survey which placed Mehek in an "Upper Sepik Phylum" and grouped Mehek as a Tama language along with Pahi, Yessan-Mayo, and Warasai. There is also a short dictionary of about 400 words produced by two native speakers in conjunction with researchers from the University of Sydney (Paulon and Kakukra 2002). The orthography used mostly agrees with that used here.

There is quite a bit of published material on Yessan-Mayo, including a tagmemic grammar (Foreman 1974) and several surveys and papers on phonological issues. None of the other Tama languages have a grammatical description or other material, though Pahi and Pasi are briefly covered in an SIL survey article (Hutchinson 1981). As for other languages of the Sepik family (Ethnologue lists 56 languages), there are several in the Ndu branch with grammars and other papers available. These languages are spoken more than one hundred miles to the south of Mehek, and include Manambu, latmul, Ambulas and Boiken.

The Mehek people also tell stories about Westerners coming at different times in the past to "write down the language." One man in particular remembered "an American and an Australian" as the ones who came long ago to collect data. This likely refers to Robert Bugenhagen and Don Laycock, respectively. Additionally, the time period of surveys conducted by each of these men (1980 and late 1960s) coincides well with his recollection. There is otherwise no grammatical information available about Mehek.

#### 1.4 Dialects

There are two primary dialects within Mehek, each of which subdivides into minor varieties. The differences among the sub-dialects are mostly lexical in nature.

Nevertheless, all of the different varieties are quite similar to each other and are mutually intelligible to all speakers. The primary dialect is spoken in every village except

the Kafle villages (see §2.1). Despite a few minor dialectical differences, the Kafle area is still very much a part of the Mehek cultural and linguistic group, and has regular interchange and contact with the other villages.

The primary distinction between the Kafle dialect and the main dialect is lexical. The people themselves acknowledge these differences and Kafle residents and non-Kafle residents alike say that "[Kafle people] they turn their talk". It is difficult for most people to come up with many specific differences, though some people have one or two obvious ones that they mention. There are a variety of words and expressions which are peculiar to the Kafle speakers, but these are, by and large, understood by the rest of the community. Entries in the dictionary are marked with a "K" when they are particular to the Kafle area. The Kafle dialect is completely mutually intelligible and is roughly probably best equated to the difference between (standard broadcast) American and Canadian English. See §6.9 and §10.5 for more on the dialects.

The survey by Bugenhagen also did a lexical similarity analysis of the different dialects. This survey determined that Wilwil and Kafle formed a dialect group opposed to the other several villages. This survey was based on an SIL 106-word list. It is highly likely that this list did not capture the extent of the differences between Kafle and Wilwil, the latter of which shares more in common with Nuku and the other villages than with Kafle. Wilwil is somewhat farther from the other non-Kafle villages than they are from each other, and people in those villages do state that there are some distinct

speech patterns in Wilwil. These are mostly lexical in nature, while the phonology and grammar are virtually identical to those of the other villages.

#### 1.5 Fieldwork

The lack of a recent grammatical description on a Tama language motivated the selection of Mehek as a field site. The particular villages chosen were due to the availability of family homes to stay in for an extended period. The initial contact with Mehek speakers occurred in the village of Sibilanga, a village several miles north in the Torricelli Mountains. This village has an airstrip and available accommodations for visitors. Two Mehek speakers reside in Sibilanga and agreed to be language consultants. After doing preliminary work with them, it was agreed for me to spend time with each of them and their families in their home villages. This enabled me to collect additional data from the active speech community as well as gain a more thorough understanding of their ways of life. The data in this grammar are based on the following material:

Elicited material – These were primarily vocabulary and simple sentence elicitations. The bulk of the elicited sentences were done early on in Sibilanga, after which more complex data was gathered. Vocabulary elicitations, other than initial word lists, were primarily done in the domains of plants, animals, and names (both personal and place names). Elicitation was also used to get complete paradigms or to fill in assumed gaps in some domains (personal names being a particularly notable one).

Descriptions – Once the domains of plants and animals seemed to be fully covered, verbal descriptions of each plant and animal were recorded. These recordings included descriptions of physical characteristics, locations where they could be found, and uses employed by the community.

Stories and myths – These include traditional tales, histories of clans and individual people, family histories, explanations about why the world is the way it is, and explanations of processes, such as scraping sago and house construction.

Written material – Very little native-produced written material was gathered, though some speakers did write short stories or letters for me. The knowledge of writing in Tok Pisin was applied to Mehek and was often very similar to the orthography that I had developed. In addition, some basic educational materials had been created by local primary school teachers and these were shared with me.

Natural speech — by this is meant speech which was spoken in my presence or overheard. These often provided excellent insights into the way the language is actually used and also provided examples of things never encountered in any of the above settings. There were at least a dozen instances of natural speech (often a single word or phrase) that provided the impetus for further documentation. In nearly every case, follow-up yielded fruitful results.

All of the collected data were either written directly in a notebook from the elicited speech or audio-recorded. The recordings were made with a Tascam DR-07 Portable

Digital Recorder. Several brief videos were also recorded. In every case, each recording was later transcribed by me with the help of a consultant (the one who originally made the recording when possible). All of these data were typed and entered into a database of materials. The database contains approximately 105,000 words or 225 pages of single-spaced text. This includes the notebooks and other notes I wroted in the field.

The total of distinct entries in the dictionary is just over 3200 words. All consultants gave their permission for their speech to be used in whatever manner is appropriate for the preservation of the Mehek language. It is my ultimate goal to present a basic grammar, full dictionary, collection of stories, and, possibly, basic educational materials to the Mehek speakers as a gift for their generosity in spending time assisting in this work.

### 1.6 Theoretical Background

The theoretical framework followed in this description is that of Basic Linguistic

Theory (Dixon 2010). That is, there is no formalism necessary to describe the linguistic

features of a given language; plain English is sufficient, along with the standard

descriptive terminology (i.e. grammatical labels) employed by most linguists. To that

end, it is my goal that this grammatical description can be understood and profited from

by anyone, regardless of theoretical persuasion.

## **Chapter 2: People and Culture**

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter details facets of the Mehek people and their way of life. Because of fairly dramatic and recent changes due to contact with the West, traditional ways of life are still within living memory, though many of them have been completely lost. A description of the traditional ways of life is followed by the major changes which have occurred since Western contact. Together, these descriptions provide a fairly complete overview of the Mehek cultural zeitgeist. The topics discussed are the following: geography (§2.1), history (§2.2), people and traditional culture (§2.3), and modern adaptations (§2.4). Except where noted, the information reported here was gathered through my own observations, interactions, and conversations with the local people.

### 2.1 Geography

Mehek is spoken in a mountainous area south of the Torricelli mountain range. It is in the Nuku District, Makru-Klapei Census Division. (Provinces are divided into multiple districts, and each district consists of population-based census areas.) There are eight primary villages, each of which consists of anywhere from a few to several dozen "micro-villages". There are subdivisions within each village by clan, comprising a half to a third each of the village, though these are not strict boundaries and are more notional groupings than physical. A micro-village is a kin grouping of five to twenty houses located relatively close to each other. The speakers have names for each of the micro-villages and call them *kom kandar*, or *liklik ples* (Mehek and Tok Pisin for 'small village').

To people from other villages (Mehek-speaking or otherwise), speakers will identify their home village by the high-level name, but to nearby neighbors, they will identify the *liklik ples* as their primary residence. Aside from scale, this organization is not entirely different from Western metropolitan areas which consist of a series of connected suburbs which are, for the most part, indistinguishable from each other, but nevertheless have different names and identities.

In this region of Papua New Guinea, villages are built along mountain ridges and are therefore long, narrow, and winding. Direct routes between two distant points are often circuitous, so there are also many shortcuts which go down one mountainside, through the jungle, and back up the other mountainside. Five of the villages are clustered in the northern part of the Mehek area and the two end points are about two and a half hours distant by walking. The five northern villages include Nuku (written as such on maps, but pronounced /nuwku/ – see §3.9 for information on orthography and pronunciation), which has a government station, hospital and airstrip. The other villages are Yiminum, Mansuku (sometimes Mantsuku on maps), Yifkindu (sometimes Ifkindu on maps), and Wilwil (not shown on most maps). These four villages do not have many services, though each has a small school and medical aid post. The southern three villages, collectively known as Kafle (also Klapei on maps) are half a day's walk from Wilwil, the southernmost of the northern villages. The Kafle villages are numbered: Kafle 1, Kafle 2, and Kafle 3. Each of these Kafle villages also consists of many micro-villages. (Many place names have interesting meanings: nuwku 'survey', yim inum 'in two days we will

go', *yifki duw* 'salt valley', *wilwil* 'for eyes to roll around in their sockets'. See §9.7 for more information on naming.)

#### 2.1.1 Regional Maps

The following two maps orient Papua New Guinea and the general location of the Mehek language and its speakers. Map (1) orients Papua New Guinea in its region, to the north of Australia. It occupies the eastern half of the island of New Guinea; the western half is part of the archipelago nation of Indonesia.

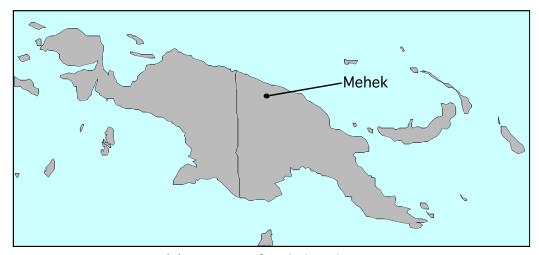


Map (1): Regional Map of Papua New Guinea

<sup>1</sup> Map (1) and Map (3) below were retrieved from Wikimedia Commons and are in the public domain because they contain materials that originally came from the United States Central Intelligence Agency's World Factbook. Map (2) was provided to me by Matthew Dryer.

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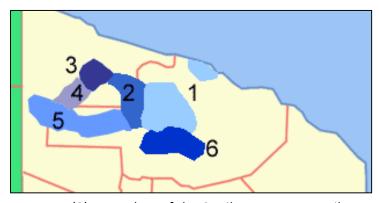
Map (2) shows the location of Mehek on a map of New Guinea. It is spoken in Sandaun Province, about 40 miles south of the northern coast and about 100 miles east of the border with Indonesia. The largest town in the Mehek-speaking area is Nuku, which has an airstrip and a few stores.



Map (2): Location of Mehek within New Guinea

Map (3) shows the locations of different branches of the Sepik family. The area marked with a "2" is the area where Tama languages are spoken, including Mehek.

Mehek is spoken in the central part of that region.



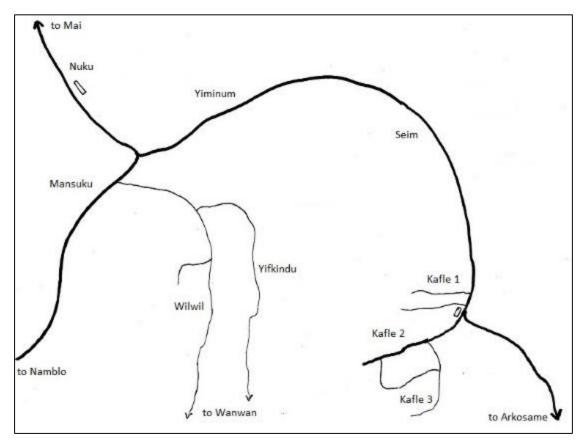
Map (3): Branches of the Sepik Language Family

#### 2.1.2 Village Maps

The following four maps show the main highway, primary roadways and micro-village names and locations of each of the Mehek-speaking villages. These maps were created by hand from travels in all these areas, and oriented with regional maps which are widely available. Map (4) shows the entire area where the Mehek-speaking villages are located. Map (5) shows Yiminum and Mansuku, map (6) shows Wilwil and Yifkindu, and map (7) shows the Kafle villages. See §2.1 for more on each of the villages.

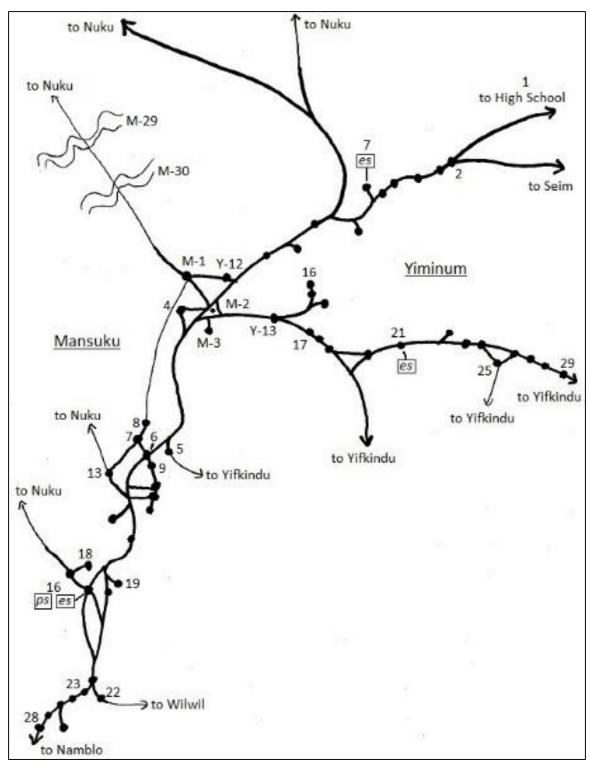
Some general remarks on the contents of the maps are as follows: Darker lines indicate primary roadways, while lighter black lines are secondary roadways. Arrows indicate that the roadways continue on, along with a note as to the next most populous destination. Wavy lines show where river and stream crossings occur, though the full paths of these waterways are not possible to assess without much more extensive exploration. Micro-villages are indicated with numbered dots. In general, numbering occurs from north to south (top of the map to the bottom), following the roads as one might walk them while visiting each micro-village. Not every dot is numbered, so as to avoid cluttering the maps. When not indicated, numbering is continuous along a generally southward trend. Where the numbering becomes discontinuous, numbers will be used. These numbers correspond to the place names listed in Appendix I. Schools are marked on the map as "es" and "ps" for "elementary school" and "primary school", respectively (see §2.4.3).

On map (4), the primary roadway is what is referred to as "the highway" and is generally passable to vehicle traffic. Furthermore, it is the road that is shown on commercially-printed maps. The secondary roadways on map (4) correspond to the main, primary roadways shown on maps (5) through (7). The small rectangles indicate the locations of airstrips. The Nuku airstrip is regularly used, while the Kafle airstrip is often not in a suitable condition for use.

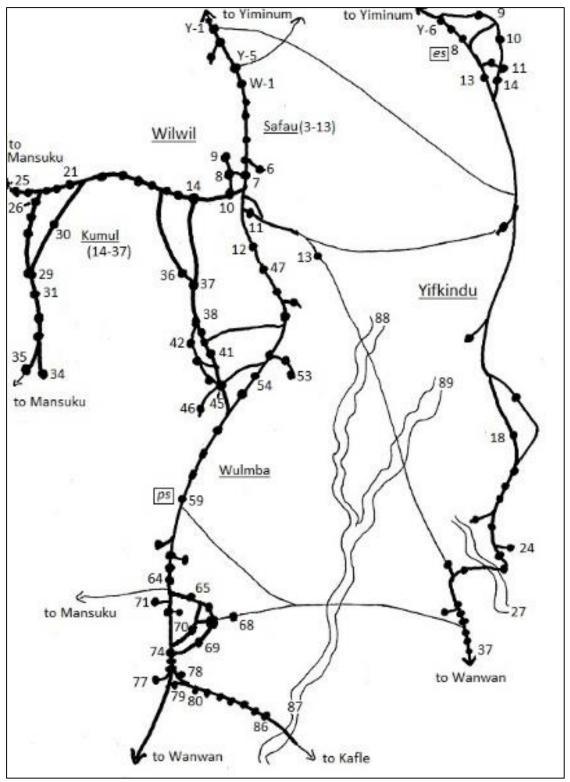


Map (4): Mehek-speaking villages and surrounding areas

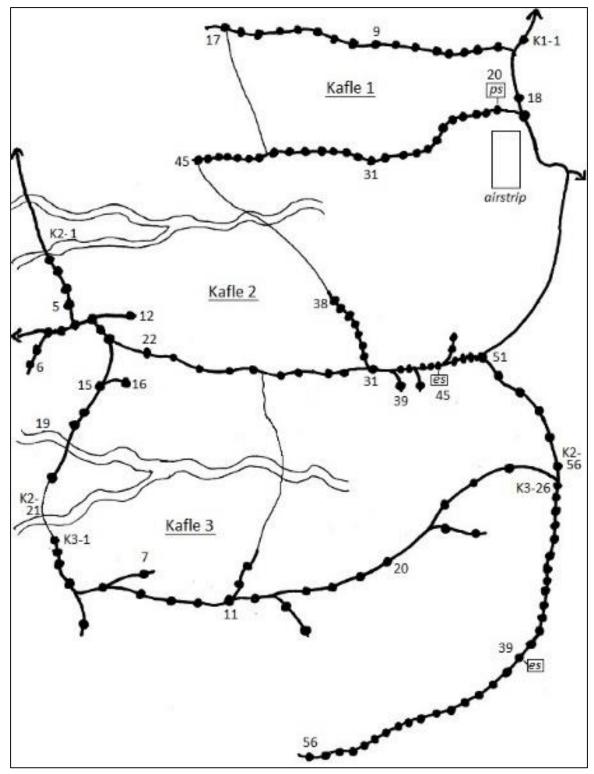
On maps (5) through (7), the primary roadways are mostly walking paths. When the weather has been dry, sometimes vehicles will be able to drive along them, though this is not common. The secondary roadways are jungle paths and are impassible to vehicles.



Map (5): Yiminum and Mansuku



Map (6): Wilwil and Yifkindu



Map (7): Kafle 1, 2, and 3

#### 2.1.3 Map Attributions

These maps were all retrieved from Wikimedia Commons and copied with the following copyright information: Map (2) was created by slawojar with a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. Maps (1) and (3) are in the public domain because they contain materials that originally came from the United States Central Intelligence Agency's World Factbook. All village maps, (4) to (7), have been created by the present author based on data gathered in the field.

### 2.2 History

Not much is known about the history of the Mehek people prior to contact with the West. One elder's recollection suggests that they originated around present-day Lake Sentani in West Papua, Indonesia. This lake was mentioned by name. It is a large lake in northeastern West Papua, not very far from Jayapura and also not far from the western border of Papua New Guinea. The people reportedly came from this area via two different routes to their present locations. The Kafle (southern people) came east along the beach and then headed south, while the northern groups followed the inland river systems until they arrived at their modern-day locations. According to this legend, the area was already inhabited, but the Mehek-speaking people fought them off and took their land. This is corroborated by most traditional stories which involve heavy fighting with neighboring peoples. It has been reported that there was cannibalism at this time, but most people say that this has not been practiced for a very long time. Some people also say that cannibalism was never practiced. It seems likely that if it ever was practiced

by the Mehek people, it was infrequent and not part of any ritual or ceremony. While this is the "historical" recollection of Mehek history, see §2.3.6 for the "mythical" recollection.

There is also a long history of fighting up to relatively modern times with the nearby village of Seim to the northeast (this is a group of people whose language, Mende, belongs to a different branch of the Sepik family). The Mehek people refer to them as wane and as recently as mid-century, there was extensive fighting over land as well as various disputes. The two groups live in relative harmony now, though there is still a large degree of distrust for the wane group. A common sentiment is "they're not like us". Even though there was frequent fighting with the wane, the villages surrounding the Mehek-speaking villages in other directions, all of which speak languages from different language families, got along and still do get along well with the Mehek.

During the time of World War II, the Mehek people assisted the Allies to fight against the Japanese. Older members of society vividly recall these events and still look on the Japanese today with a great deal of suspicion and distrust. They tell stories of alerting the "whites" to the presence of the Japanese by using a variety of whistle calls (see also §9.8 and Appendix H). There are many places that can still be pointed out as locations where there were encounters with the Japanese. A variety of herb, called *siri sau* ('get up faint', Latin name *mimosa pudica*) grows throughout the area (and presumably throughout Papua New Guinea as well). It is interesting because its leaves

fold together when touched and then reopen several minutes later. The Mehek people report that this plant was used by the Japanese around their camps during WWII to serve as a signal of possible intruders. It became widespread as its seeds travelled in their vehicles tires. It is unknown if this is an accurate historical recounting, but it does illustrate that even today, the effect of the Japanese in the people's historical memory remains strong.

# 2.3 People and Traditional Culture

The Mehek speakers are an egalitarian group of gardeners and hunter-gatherers. They practice a sedentary lifestyle without any form of economic specialization. They share and support each other in most endeavors, primarily within the family and clan groupings. However, with larger-scale needs such as house building and marriage, the whole community often will get involved. This way of life is practiced today and is, by most accounts, the same as it has been for a long time. The traditional way of life for Mehek speakers (and truly for all the different cultural groups in the region) is remembered directly by many people who are still living. While the period prior to contact with the West is not, there had not been much dramatic change until perhaps the 1960s or so. Therefore, older members of the community do still remember a time before contact with outsiders. This section details practices which are descriptive of life before contact with the West. Some of the following are still practiced almost unchanged today (hunting with bow and arrow); others are substantially similar but modified (sago preparation with metal tools); while others are falling out of use or only

remembered because they have been made obsolete by Western influence (use of *garamut* drum for communication, see §2.3.5 and §9.10). As a particularly salient example, one area that has changed dramatically is personal dress. Traditional everyday dress for men was limited to a *molkon* 'penis covering' and for women a *waran* 'grass skirt'. However, nowadays people wear Western clothes: shirts, dresses, shorts, and underwear.

#### 2.3.1 Food

The primary means of subsistence are family garden plots, occasional hunting and gathering of food. All people still own and maintain traditional plots of land which contain extensive gardens for food production and land for houses. Most people spend their days working in their gardens. Garden work includes the following: collection of root vegetables (of which there are dozens of species); the collection of edible leaves; weeding and planting new foods; burning overgrown land in preparation for new planting; and the preparation of staple foods. The first, sago, is a starchy powder and is described below. Root vegetables are the other staple crop of this region and are divided into three broad categories based on the way they grow: walndo 'yam', kaku 'mami', and al 'taro'. These require a lot of attention to grow properly, but each unit planted will yield five to ten additional units which themselves can be replanted or eaten. The Tok Pisin term mami is used to describe a type of yam which is widely distinguished from yams throughout Papua New Guinea. There are dozens of different

varieties of both yams and mami. The only noticeable difference between the two broad classes (to me) is that yams grow on slopes, while mami grows on flat land.

All of the garden tasks are very labor-intensive and must be carried out regularly, though many people do take Sunday off, whether they attend church services or not (see §2.4.2). Garden work is generally differentiated by gender and done in family groups; people must work together to plant and collect food. Men will occasionally go hunting for game in the jungle, though this is not a reliable source of food. Hunting trips are carried out over a period of several days in jungle areas distant from the villages. It is also common for small groups or individuals to go hunting at night when the moon is bright enough to hunt by. Hunting is still done by traditional methods, utilizing spears, bows and arrows, and axes. These are constructed with jungle material, primarily bamboo and vines. When they are not hunting, the men work in the gardens with the women, though the particular tasks they do are different from those women do. Other sources of food include yam 'banana', suwa 'coconut', and gulma 'insects' and samdo 'spiders'.

As mentioned above, one of the staple crops in this region is sago palm (*naku*), the production of which it is useful to understand due to the frequency of discussion and large number of terms related to it. When the sago palm is mature (typically several years, depending on species), it is chopped down and a section of the bark not too distant from the base is removed. This area is then hacked at (usually by men) with a

special tool (*naku yalwan*) which pulverizes the wood into small pieces. When a large amount of this pulp is gathered, it is taken by the women to an area with a water supply and a complex system of bedding is built (*naku yofu*) where the pulp is washed. The pulp is hand wrung several times to remove the starch from the wood, which is filtered through a sieve (*suwa sauwa*) and falls to a collection area below. This whole process usually takes about a week – as the man chops, the woman washes. After a week, the tree begins to rot and the pulp is no longer able to be processed. The rotting trunk attracts a species of beetle (*naku owe*) which lays its eggs inside. After about two months, the grubs eat their way out and collect on the surface. The people go back to check on them and then collect and eat them live or cooked; they are considered a delicacy.

#### 2.3.2 The Village and Land

There is a distinction between traditional clan land and common (village) land.

Traditional land is held freely and in perpetuity by clans. Each clan lays claim to different blocks of land which derive from historical first claims. These lands are those that are used for gardens, hunting grounds and as resource stores (i.e. places to plant large numbers of sago palms). Any parcel can become available to any family of the clan; undeveloped land is freely available to anyone in the clan. Once a parcel of clan land is claimed by a given family, it will remain the right of that (extended) family to use it exclusively for as long as they make active use of it. Everyone in the village will know

where everyone else's plots lie, usually with a great deal of precision. Though there is occasionally some disagreement over exact boundaries, there is almost never a dispute over which areas belong to which families. In conjunction with this is the fact that every parcel of land is named. There are not exact boundaries to every named parcel of land, but the names correspond roughly to each garden plot or village location and they are known by most adult members who access them with any regularity. It is a named parcel which is available to be claimed; not just any segment of land.

The village is simply an area that is held in common by all members of the local group; everyone is responsible for its cleaning and maintenance. The exact extent of the village changes slowly over the course of time. It may increase, decrease, shift in one direction or another, or be abandoned. As mentioned in §2.1, the Mehek-speaking villages are located on the tops of mountain ridges and consequently are very long and narrow. Direction-finding is also based on this feature. Rough equivalents of 'north' and 'south' are used: *tol* and *tombo*, respectively. These can also refer to upstream and downstream, as rivers tend to flow in a southerly direction. 'East' and 'west' can be referenced by the position of the sun, though this is not usually done. There are "microvillages" along the extents of the mountain ridges. Each micro-village carries the name of the land it occupies. If a micro-village changes location or is abandoned, the plot of land it occupied keeps that name. If a new site is occupied, even if by the exact same group of people, the name of that new village will correspond to the name of the new plot of land that it occupies, rather than the name of the old village. The high-level

village names (Nuku, Yiminum, etc.), by contrast, are modern names to describe a concatenation of traditional land areas. (See §5.12 for more on place names, as well as Appendix I for a complete list of place names.) When travelling, there are established trails through the villages or shortcuts through the jungle. It is important to make one's presence known when travelling, especially when in the jungle. When near an area that may be occupied (such as a garden plot), the traveler will make noise, call out if the (presumed) occupants are known, or strike trees on the path with the bush knife. The purpose is twofold: to allow the other person to adjust their behavior as necessary (this includes people who may be bathing or having intercourse in the jungle), and to broadcast that the traveler is a good person (because they are not trying to conceal their presence). Groups of travelers typically are talking and do not need to make any further announcements beyond that noise.

Each family has multiple plots of land in different locations that they improve as they see fit. It is in each family's interest to maintain these divergent plots in order to protect against possible calamity (Diamond 2011). Though the weather is quite predictable from year to year, other events outside the norm (such as interlopers, invaders, or wild animals) can adversely affect each plot's food production. By having different foods grown in different areas, these problems are mitigated. If one plot of land is ravaged by wild pigs and the yam harvest is lost, there will be other yams in other plots that can still be harvested. The same is true for different food types. Sago only grows under swampy conditions, but not every plot that a family holds will be suitable

for growing sago. Therefore, it is necessary to localize sago in two or three gardens that are suitable for it, and to grow food that requires more sunlight in other plots.

Furthermore, some foods require a slope to grow properly, while others require flat land. All of these varieties of growing conditions are typically available to a family in their different land holdings.

# 2.3.3 Family and Clan Structure

There are four primary clan groupings in the northern villages, and two in the southern villages. These are, respectively: *Mansuku, Krafo, Makruw,* and *Nukuw* in the north, and *Ende, Wala* in the south. There are also smaller, minor clans in each location. Within each of these main groupings, there are three sub-clans which have the same title in every clan. These are: *ter* 'head', *bor* 'middle' and *kin* 'tail'. These can optionally be preceded by *walndo* 'yam', as the metaphor for clan groups is the growth of a yam over time. An example of a full clan designation would be *makwru walndo kin*. Everyone born or married into a Mehek-speaking family belongs to the clan of the head male of that family. Everyone in the same immediate family will belong to the same sub-clan, though people in the same extended family typically do not. They will, however, usually belong to the same primary clan. Each sub-clan has a single head man who is the oldest man in that sub-clan. This head man is typically very knowledgeable about village life, clan history, and traditional practices. His opinion is highly valued by everyone in the clan and, often, the entire village. As described in §2.2 and as held in local tradition,

ancestors from different family groups came to settle in the current Mehek-speaking area. This first wave of people consisted of different families, and each family corresponds to each of the different modern-day clans. This first wave became the modern sub-clan *ter* 'head' in each of the respective clans. After these people had conquered land and established gardens and villages, they sent for their extended families who were still in the ancestral areas. These families arrived and constituted the second wave of their respective clan and gave rise to the people now called *bor* 'middle'. The third wave, *kin* 'tail' came in the same way as the second. According to the people, clan membership does not play as prominent a role in village life as it did in the past, though all people know which clan they belong to and who is important in each clan. In the past, there were marital restrictions based on clan membership, though this has relaxed quite a bit now. However, it is still taboo to marry within one's own clan.

Gender roles are differentiated from childhood. Aside from the division of labor between men and women, there are different behavioral roles for each. In short, men are in charge of hunting, gathering bush materials for construction, construction of tools for hunting as well as all dwellings, and clearing the ground in the gardens. Women are in charge of all food preparation, carrying of goods, making baskets and implements for cooking, and lighter work in the gardens. Men are the ones who do all the public discussions and long-distance visiting. Women stay home in order to prepare food and typically do not speak in public. In mixed company, women will remain distant from the men and not interact very much with them. It is considered quite forward for a woman

to approach a man or initiate a conversation with him, except that married women with older children do this often without any social objection. When people (men or women) have disagreements, it is often necessary to "broadcast" one's dissatisfaction to the community. Most arguments are not face-to-face, but are initiated by the aggrieved party to walk through the transgressor's home area and loudly and repeatedly declare their misdeeds. It is then the responsibility of the transgressor's family to speak to the aggrieved and help rectify the situation. Often, the broadcast itself is sufficient for minor transgressions such as breaking someone's property. Major transgressions, like stealing or killing another's animals, require compensation payments. These are negotiated between the two families and often require a long time to completely resolve. Major disagreements between two men, particularly younger men, often will escalate to the brink of fighting. This involves the men yelling face to face, accumulating supporters on both sides. One or the other may brandish a bush knife or go to their house to get a spear or bow and arrow. In practice, these fights almost never come to blows. The transgressing party often will walk away slowly, giving an excuse to do so. People almost never hit, punch or kick each other. Heightened altercations always involve weapons, whether or not they come to blows.

### 2.3.4 Marriage and Death

Some basic details of major life events are given below. This is not meant to be an exhaustive description, but rather a brief overview of some areas of interest.

For marriage, the clans of each potential spouse discuss and arrange the match, including the eventual payment of a bride price. Most marriages are within the Mehekspeaking villages. There is not an elaborate ceremony surrounding marriage, but once both parties agree, the woman goes to her husband's family's house. A feast of yams and mami is prepared by the woman, but she does not eat it until after he has eaten. The morning after the first day of marriage, the woman prepares yams again, but this time mixes in her fingernails and hair. This is a tradition that guarantees that the man will remain faithful to her. After a child is born, it is taboo to have sex while there it is a still a newborn. Once the child is independent (able to walk on its own), the couple may resume having sex. There are also other taboos against having sex at certain times, particularly during hunts. After the marriage has been shown to be successful, vis. several children have been born and neither party is dissatisfied with the other, the bride price becomes payable. When this time is reached, a day is agreed upon by the wife's family and the husband's family and the whole community comes together to contribute. A pig is slaughtered and sago is prepared. Many people come from all over and individually pay one to twenty kina (45 cents to eight dollars or so). They receive a share of meat and sago proportional to their contribution. In the past, rather than money, beads were given. If one party is dissatisfied with the other and before any children are born, the wife can run away or be sent away back to her family. They can choose to accept her back or try to arrange a reconciliation. Men of substantial means were able to support multiple wives, and some still do so now.

At the time of death, there is a period of mourning in which the mourners do no work (initially) and do a little bit more as time goes on. The body of the deceased was traditionally wrapped in limbum bark (a type of palm tree) and hung from a tree deep in the jungle in a place reserved for this. Now, bodies are buried in keeping with the Western custom. This period ends after two to three months at which time there is a feast. The extended family goes out hunting for pigs in addition to preparing sago and yams. The feast is presented to the mourners as a symbol that it is time to resume their normal daily duties. If a husband dies, the wife typically does very little, including avoiding bathing. If a wife dies, a husband will wail and refuse to eat. He may leave the village and stay somewhere in the jungle by himself. There is not a substantial amount of mourning for very young children, as death in childhood historically was quite common. If there is an unexpected death of a healthy adult, there is a ritual undertaken to determine the (presumed malevolent) source. The body is placed in its limbum basket and tapped with the stick of the same tree. The people ask questions pursuant to the death, "was it poison?, was it from this or that village?" etc. The basket then starts shaking in response to the questions and moving to point in the direction of the poison. When the culprit is identified, the people confront him and work out a compensatory payment for the death. See also §2.3.6 for the connection between life and death.

#### 2.3.5 Celebrations

There are parties at regular intervals (though nowadays at less frequent scale and frequency) which involve dancing, singing, music, costumes and story-telling. The Tok Pisin term, *singsing*, is widely used throughout Papua New Guinea to refer to such parties, though the exact details differ from region to region and from village to village. In Mehek, there are several different terms used for these parties. They include *minga*, *romo*, and *lom*. These terms can be used in combination with each other and with a 'food', for example, *a romo*, *a minga romo* and *a lom*. Parties are conducted in a designated area. This will be a large, open area in a central location. A pole is erected in the central area and this will be the focus for the dancing. Parties surrounding the harvest will have hundreds of yams or mami laid out in piles, ready for distribution.

The singing and dancing are always accompanied by drum music. A strong, regular beat is kept, though there is no "official" beat. It does not vary much over the course of the party, nor is there is much improvisation in the timing. The tempo is 2-3 beats per second, depending on the energy of the group. Larger parties will include the *mu* (Tok Pisin *garamut*), a large ceremonial drum common throughout Papua New Guinea (see §9.10). As the drum is played, people dance around in a circle, singing (see Appendix A.2 for more information on songs and Appendix J for more on the garamut beats). The tempo will speed up, slow down, and stop for short periods of time, and then resume, all as if by collective agreement. Often, the beat will slow, but someone in the group will

then loudly resume singing the current song, and the group will then take it up and the drum beat will resume.

All parties, including the large ones, will also include the *mengu* (Tok Pisin *kundu*), a small personal drum, also common throughout the country. Many people in the group will be holding one and playing it together with the *mu*, if present. The *mengu* is carved from wood into a distinctive hourglass shape, is hollow, and has a small handle. It is often carved and colored with pigment. The drumhead is made from the dried skin of a particular species of lizard, called *kundu palai* 'drum lizard' in Tok Pisin (*nembe mekte* in Mehek). In order to get the particular timbre of sound that is desired from the drumhead, the eggs and young of small non-biting flies, *momo seya*, are gathered and mixed with ash to make a tacky, gum-like substance. This substance, *wusunal*, is rolled into small balls and pressed into the surface of the drum, altering the timbre. Typically, several balls are added in turn and the positioning depends on the sound produced. The correct sound is quite distinct. It is sharp and crisp, with minimal reverberation, but a slight echo. Everyone recognizes and agrees on this particular sound.

The people make and wear special decorations and costumes for parties. Common decorations involve gathering brightly-colored leaves of specific plants (usually red and yellow-green in color) as well as palm fronds which are split into a particular way to make long fringe, which is hung. Flowers and flower petals are also gathered and distributed throughout the area in pleasing patterns. The people will also dress in

costumes which always include grass coverings which are placed around the ankles.

Bark from a particular tree (*kita*) is soaked in water, the outer skin is removed, the inner part is dried in the sun, and these are then sewn together. This process takes several months. Around the waist, women wear knee-length grass coverings, while men wear a bamboo wrap (*gila dofo*). Additional costume components include feathered headdresses (*marko* and *wasune belmun*), necklaces (*wanga lako*) armbands (*sow*) and bracelets (*wiski*). These sometimes include shells and beads (both referred to as *kul*).

Each individual makes his/her own artifacts and will elaborate them with different patterns, sizes, and colors. The amount of additional artifacts is also dependent on each person's own taste and skill.

In the past, singsings were a powerful way to cement social relationships, to share the spoils of the harvest and/or hunt and to ward off or appease evil spirits. With the widespread adoption of Christianity (see §2.4.2), these parties occur less often and no longer fulfill these roles to the same extent. Nevertheless, the modern community does still gather with regularity for weddings and harvests.

### 2.3.6 Magic and the Spirit World

The world of the Mehek people is full of spirits and magic. There are a variety of spells that can be performed to benefit the performer, to harm the target, or both (huma and welku). These are not incantations, but rather concoctions that are either ingested or buried. There are spells to improve the results of hunting, to bless the new

harvest, to divine the source of a person's death when it is unexpected, to cause a person to forget the recent past or their anger, to make them remember again, or to make a person fall in love. There are likely other achievable results as well. The name for a practitioner of magic is *numba noko* or 'poison gatherer'. The Tok Pisin term *sanguma* 'sorcerer' has also been borrowed into Mehek and is used somewhat more frequently than the native term. The specifics of each type of spell are slightly different, but the basic routine is to gather scraps of food or castings from the body of the intended victim (hair and fingernails in particular) and to mix them with certain plant species. This mixture is consumed and spit onto a stone which is buried near the victim's house. There are also more elaborate spells which involve kidnapping babies and mixing more elaborate concoctions.

Some spells are also not designed to work harm, and therefore not performed by the *numba noko*. Many of these spells are designed to improve the food harvests or the hunt. There is a special flute, *difi*, which is played over the first-planted taro of the season. This guarantees a good taro harvest. At the time of the mami harvest, a large celebration is held. The first mami, however, cannot be eaten. When hunting for wild pigs, a mixture is placed in a coconut shell which is hung, and smoke from a fire dries it out. The hunters then eat this powder with mami, give some to their dogs, and this will aid the men and dogs in the hunt.

While magic is only infrequently called upon, spirits are a much more regular part of people's day-to-day lives. Every time a man or woman dies, their spirit (Tok Pisin tewel) lives on and inhabits the area around which they died. There is no one spot particular to each; they simply dwell in the jungle around their village. This is near their ancestral land to which they belong. In the case of women who marry to another village, they can split their time. There is an area in the jungle where they can congregate, though it is unknown where and is nearly impossible to see them there even if found. They occasionally can appear in human form, though they are most often invisible. When they do appear as humans, they may be like smoke or may be solid. If they appear on the road, they will not speak; that is how you know they are a spirit. In times of trouble, you can call on your deceased parents or grandparents for help. You simply speak aloud to them and they will appear to you when you are alone. They can materialize or come through a wall, though physical appearance is rather uncommon. Typically, they will speak to you in a dream or to a family member in their dream. If one ancestor does not answer, you can try others. Whoever helps you will be the primary one you call on in the future. Women who have allegiances to two different clans can call on either set of ancestors. The spirits are good-natured and want to help for the most part. If you are ill or injured, they may spontaneously speak to you to tell you if you were poisoned or if you had some sort of bad behavior which brought it on. It is unclear if spirits live on eternally or if only a few generations are able to be called upon. If the latter, it is unclear if the others simply can't be called or if they are gone altogether. With the initial

appearance of white-skinned people fifty years ago, it was commonly thought that they were either the ghosts of departed loved ones or ancestor spirits. This belief is less widely held today, though there are still many people who subscribe to it. However, it is still widely believed that it is important to avoid incurring the wrath of spirits or sorcerers while travelling. To avoid the former, one must pay close attention to the path being travelled and to not laugh and be too easy-going, lest one fall prey to being lured to a spirit's home or wander off the path and be taken advantage of. To avoid the latter, it is important to not leave any scraps of food on the roadside. Since sorcerers need a person's personal effects to cast most spells, preventing them from acquiring them is paramount. This is more likely while travelling since sorcerers from one's own village typically will not harm one.

In addition to spirits of the dead, there are also eternal spirits called *maure* (Tok Pisin *masalai*). Each one is particular to a clan and has a particular abode in the jungle near the clan's traditional ground. They are the legendary founders of their clan and have magical powers, particularly the power to appear as different entities, both animate and inanimate. They typically have a particular animal whose form they prefer. They have volition and will interact with humanity. It is forbidden to cross into their land or to make noise or otherwise disrupt their area. Whether intentional or not, these interferences will anger the spirits. Once angered, they will have revenge, typically by causing sickness, injury, or death. When any of these strikes, it is necessary to find out if it was caused by a person who wished you ill (possibly due to some prior behavior of

yours) or if you angered a masalai. Masalai-induced punishments will be fairly immediate; minor transgressions will result in minor punishments. Apologies and offerings to the masalai will appease them and end the punishment. Often a *tewel* can be called upon to determine the source and resolution of the punishment. They are usually invisible and remain in their own areas. They often inhabit artifacts in the jungle, such as trees, lakes, and vines, in addition to appearing as animals. When a person has left the village for an extended period (often for travel), that person will be seen in around the village, but will not speak. This is the masalai of that person's clan appearing as a reminder of his own existence and to not forget him.

The mythical origins of the Mehek-speaking people are two-fold. There is the creation of the world, and then there is the genesis of the Mehek-speaking people themselves. The world was created by *maure sofo*, an ancestor who assumed the shape of a snake. The Mehek speakers themselves initially dwelt underground and were still humans, but resembled pigs. One of their number found a hole to the surface and came outside and explored. After several of these trips, he told his fellows to come with him. As they lived on the surface, experienced the sun and ate the food, they gradually assumed the completely human forms they have now. Those who were afraid to come above ground gradually became what are now pigs and live as pigs to this day.

# 2.4 Modern Adaptations

In brief, the history of Papuan contact with the West is as follows. Starting in the mid-1800s, trading ships from Europe began arriving, particularly from Spain, the Netherlands, and England. Each of these nations established a colony on the island of New Guinea, dividing it amongst themselves. The western half became Dutch territory (now part of Indonesia), and the eastern half was again divided horizontally in half: the northern half going to Germany and the southern half going to England, and transferred to Australia in the early twentieth century. After World War I, Germany lost its claim and the entire eastern half of the island was under Australian administration. In 1973, the nation began self-governance and was granted independence two years later and is now run by its own people, with a great deal of assistance from Australia in the form of financial aid and technical expertise.

During the early twentieth century, exploratory groups of land surveyors, beginning on the coastal regions and moving inwards, made contact with ever more remote tribes. Industrial plantations were established on the coast and people from all over the country came to them to work, the primary industries being extraction of minerals such as gold, oil, and natural gas as well as production of edible commodities such as coffee, oil palm and coconut oil. While there are still tribes today who have little or no contact with outsiders, it is unlikely there are many left who are unaware of the existence of the outside world. The discovery of natural gas in the central mountain ranges (the "Highlands") has brought a huge amount of interest from Western companies who bring

people, materials and technologies to these regions. This development is having a dramatic impact on the cultures and lifestyles of Papua New Guinea.

The advent of foreign-produced goods and technology has begun to change the cultures of Papua New Guinea dramatically, though there is quite a range in the amount of contact different groups have had with the West. For example, there are still cultural groups within the country who have had very limited contact with outside cultures and know very little of different ways of life. This is particularly true in Western Province, a province that is still quite inaccessible and inhospitable to outsiders (due to its swampy conditions, lack of roads, and high mosquito populations). On the other hand, the cultures of the mountainous central highland areas have had extensive contact with the West for a very long time. This is due to primarily to the large deposits of natural gas and other resources that have been discovered there. Many Western companies have entered the area and, with the government's blessing, begun extracting and exporting those resources. The cultural groups south of the Torricelli mountain range (including the Mehek) fall more or less right in the middle of these extremes. They are familiar with Western people, have easy access to a decent selection of Western goods, and many of the men have travelled to the coastal areas to work on various industrial installations. There, they were familiarized with Western people, schedules, technology, and ways of life. Life in the villages remains mostly as it did before Western contact, however. People now know much about the outside world and interact with it in limited ways on a regular basis. The following sections illustrate the changes which have come

specifically to the Mehek speakers since the early 1900s. This information is based on observation of current patterns of daily life as well as memories of elders who have lived through some of the (ongoing) transitions.

#### 2.4.1 Economy and Western Influence

For some people, there is some small reliance on paid work. This includes jobs such as teacher, medical outpost nurse or community representative (see §2.4.4). With the exception of community representatives, these jobs are reserved for people who have completed education beyond high school (see §2.4.3). Nevertheless, the village economy has not changed substantially in modern times, but it is now supplemented with some Western economic principles and practices. Most people, as mentioned in §2.3.2, still engage in subsistence farming along with hunting and gathering on traditional lands. Western interests, however, have influenced some of the crops that are grown and how people spend their time. The largest change in crops is with the prevalence of vanilla, chocolate (cacao), and coffee. The last of these used to be grown more often, but changes in the international market price have made it no longer worthwhile to grow for most people. Coffee plants do still grow wild throughout the area, though. The former two crops are actively grown by many people and are processed by individuals and sold for money. Both vanilla and cacao (the precursor to chocolate) are grown by individuals or families who are dedicated to doing so, as there is quite a lot of work involved in the processing of both to prepare them for sale. This

time takes away from the time available for the other self-supporting activities that are necessary for survival. Often, children must help in these activities to make it feasible for a family to profit from them.

There is a lot of production necessary to prepare vanilla and cacao for sale. Vanilla flowers must be pollinated by hand, and then beans must be harvested and dried in the sun. Once a large enough amount has been dried, they are sold at the market price, usually just a few kina per kilogram (about 25 cents per pound). This is substantially below the price that individual vanilla beans are sold for in Western countries (by as much as a factor of 1000 when calculated per bean), as there are several levels of middlemen involved in these transactions. The process is similarly complex for cacao, as each pod must be removed from its tree, shelled, and the individual beans must be removed. Once removed, the cacao beans must be fermented for several weeks before being sold overseas. There are small locally-operated fermenteries throughout the region that buy the fresh beans from local growers and groups of men spend time monitoring the fermentation process. The fermented beans are then sold to other middlemen, again with a large series of markups as the product gets closer to its destination. Neither vanilla nor cacao is a great source of income for most families who sell them, though they can provide small amounts of cash which families can use to buy Western goods or to save for their children's school fees (see §2.4.3).

Because all members of society are capable of providing for their own ongoing support in all aspects of life (food, housing, transportation, etc.), selling goods for money is purely a supplemental activity; no money is necessary to maintain the lifestyle that most people pursue. However, there are small trade stores in the villages which sell a variety of Western goods. These goods primarily consist of food items (canned meats, rice, cooking oil and crackers); basic kitchen implements (pots, pans, plates and utensils), household goods (sleeping mats, buckets, matches, towels), and other useful tools (bleach and other similar products). These trade stores are stocked either through purchases made from the larger stores in Nuku, or from the well-stocked coastal towns (Wewak and Aitape being the most accessible). Families with financial means often will set up these small trade stores as a way to provide a service to their community as well as to make a small profit and to finance continued stocking of the store.

There are certain manufactured goods that most, if not all, families possess and in many respects cannot live without. That is, they have completely incorporated these products into their daily or regular lives and have forgotten the former ways of doing things that the new goods have made possible. Some examples of this include metal knives (these have been used for many decades now, replacing stone axes), clothes, metal cooking implements (replacing clay pots *garfu* and *au* which are no longer commonly made), cooking oil, salt, radios and flashlights. The latter has also replaced the traditional method of night lighting, burning dried fronds from coconut palms (*suwa tikwasa*), though many people do still practice this technique.

There are several pieces of Western technological concepts that have permeated life, many of them offering only minor improvements. Some of these include windows, door locks, linear time, and scheduling. There is a traditional style of door which involves putting slats crosswise in a frame, but this is only practiced now in temporary jungle camps. Houses and kitchen houses now have doors with hinges and locks, both of which must be purchased. Furthermore, people with more money are able to purchase hammers and nails to build their houses, and this technology has altered the way traditional homes are constructed. Most people still build in the traditional way, however. This method involves constructing three rows of posts, the central row being about 25% taller than the outer rows. Holes for the posts are dug with a knife and then the posts are shoved into them until they remain strong. Crossbeams are attached for the walls and the roof, and then a particular part of the coconut palm is cut to make slats, which form the walls. The roof is made from sago palm leaves which are folded and sewn together into panels, which are staggered like shingles. They are very effective at keeping out the rain. No windows are typically built if a hammer and nails are not available. Houses are long and dark; however, most people do not spend much time during the day inside. Women do stay inside the kitchen house cooking, and the house fills up with smoke and is heavily deposited with soot. This is a primary reason reported for why many people have poor vision in old age.

As for time, people are now aware of dates and use them to varying levels of precision. The day of the week is not greatly relevant to most people, though knowing

when it is Sunday is important for church attendance (see §2.4.2) and most people generally know which day of the week it is. Otherwise, the month and year, while known by some, are not necessary for daily use. Some people do have calendar books and mark off the days, but this is not an important task for most village work. Big celebrations (again, typically related to church) will be scheduled on a particular date which people will be able to recite. But it is only as the date gets close enough to refer to as happening within a week or so, will the majority of people know that the celebration is near.

## 2.4.2 Christianity

Most people are at least nominally religious, always a branch of Christianity. There are five main Christian groups in operation in this region, the Catholic Church and four different Protestant groups. The latter are: Christian Brothers Church (CBC), Nupela Laip bilong Olgeta (New Life for All: an evangelical group developed by a native of the area), Foursquare and Assembly of God (AOG). They are broadly similar, though people are usually quite loyal to the branch they adhere to. This is often an accident of location, as a missionary belonging to one group will settle in one part of a village and evangelize the people nearby, while a different missionary will settle in a different, nearby location at a different time. Nevertheless, though people will often make snide comments about the other groups as not being "true" or "pure", there is not much inter-group animosity

and most people are quite tolerant of divergent beliefs. This includes people who do not attend a church of any kind.

Many people regularly attend Sunday church services, which are led by trained lay people. Sunday is also a day often reserved for community meetings in which the men gather and try to reach consensus on issues of importance. The people greatly desire their language to be written so that a Bible translation can be made. It is a particularly sore point to many Mehek people that there is a translation of the New Testament for Mende, the people of Seim with whom there is some tension.

Pre-Christian beliefs still hold clear influences over most people (see §2.3.6 for a description of these beliefs). The practice of cargo cults (Worsley 1957) is not known in the Mehek-speaking area, though there is a belief that following Western ways is likely to bring about more material benefit. Many people say that they are the "last place" in Papua New Guinea (and by extension, the world) to receive development. They regularly talk about how their houses, roads, etc. are *nogut* or *bagarap* (Tok Pisin for 'bad' and 'ruined', respectively). There is a hope that by worshipping (what is thought to be the primary) Western god, development and material benefit will come in time. In general, Christian beliefs are grafted on top of the old belief system and no inconsistency is perceived; the belief in spirits is alive and well. The Christian god is viewed as a more powerful entity than the native spirits, as being over and above them,

though still a separate entity from them. The native spirits still exist in the same way and with the same powers as they always have.

#### 2.4.3 Education

Education is widely available throughout the Mehek-speaking area. The educational system in Papua New Guinea is divided into elementary (grades 1-3), primary (grades 4-8), and secondary schools (high school). There are also a small number of tertiary institutions in the country; students must live away from home to attend these schools. There are five elementary and two primary schools spread throughout the Mehekspeaking villages. The nearest high school is an hour's walk north of Yiminum, the northernmost village. Students from throughout the region board there during the week and return home on the weekends. There are fees associated with attending school, though these fees are nominal until the eighth grade. In fact, in the last few years, the government has decreed that all grades eighth and below must be free. In practice, however, there is not yet another model to support teachers and the school infrastructure, so schools in more rural areas still must charge fees. Most children attend school regularly for some years and then many attend only sporadically in the upper grades. As children must often help their parents with garden work and other household tasks, school is often less of a priority. People who do continue through the eighth grade must pass a test to be admitted to high school, and again to continue on to the 11<sup>th</sup> grade. High school graduates are eligible for admission to universities and

vocational schools, of which there are only a few in the country. It is the graduates of these post-secondary schools who become teachers and nurses and often return to their own communities.

The government's intention with respect to education is that all elementary courses (grades 1-3) are to be taught in the home language. This is done where possible; however, there are not nearly enough qualified teachers in each of PNG's 800+ languages to accomplish this goal. Community members who achieve teacher certification typically return to their own communities to teach and so can help fulfill this mandate. However, there are many villages and language communities for whom this is impossible. Non-native speakers are often assigned to teach in these communities so native language instruction is impossible. Furthermore, even when a native speaker teacher is available, there are little to no teaching materials available. Some teachers do sometimes take the initiative to create very basic materials, however. In the primary grades (4-8), it is intended to transition student instruction to Tok Pisin and English. In practice, English is not well-spoken, especially in more distant communities (including the Mehek-speaking areas), and Tok Pisin is the sole language of instruction to the exclusion even of Mehek. This fact, along with high parental use of Tok Pisin, are two contributing factors to the break in transmission of Mehek from one generation to the next. (Though there are also additional factors influencing the parents' choice to use Tok Pisin with their children in the first place.)

#### 2.4.4 Local Government and Representation

In the summer of 2012, there was a national election. These take place every five years and I was privileged to observe the process firsthand as it is carried out in the Mehek villages. There were two primary seats being voted on, a provincial and a district representative. Due to widespread illiteracy, the system is set up to maximize participation. Colors, photos, and numbers are used to identify races and candidates. Each candidate was typically endorsed by a more well-known person, whose name and photo also accompanied the candidate's on campaign material. Campaigning often involved a candidate's supporters in each village encouraging them to come by building a small grandstand. The candidate would come to make their speech and a feast would usually be prepared. The candidate would often buy a pig to be slaughtered at the feast or give gifts to people who promised to vote for them. This was not viewed with any cynicism or as in any way "buying" votes; it is in keeping with the cultural practice of reciprocal giving and mutual support.

A team of about ten election officials is assigned to each region, some of whom are for security. Typically, the officials were natives of the region to which they were assigned and were trained and paid for their services. There is a broad timeline for elections, so that each village or group of villages gets a several day window in which elections might take place. When the officials do show up, they set up a polling station in a central area and wait for word of mouth to spread and for the populace to arrive. By early afternoon, elections began. There is an official roll of registered voters, though

there was some contention about the number of people registered. The village of Wilwil had 679 registered voters, though the adult population is likely closer to 1000.

Nevertheless, there was no great tension about this.

An area of about 50 feet around (it was stated to be "100 meters") was cordoned off with yellow tape and four voting stalls were set up inside. They were constructed using available materials, including a metal roofing panel, cardboard and branches cut for the purpose on site. No campaigning or gift-giving was allowed in the area, and bush knives were not allowed in the voting area. Voting was conducted according to the written roll. One of the officials would call out four names and those people, if present, would make their way into the polling stalls. As almost no one has identification, group consensus was relied on by the officials to confirm identity, though no one tried to impersonate another. Men were listed in alphabetical order by their father's name; women were listed under their husband's name. As one or two exited, more names would be called. Absent people would be called again at the end of the list. The entire list took about five hours to read through one time; if needed (i.e. not enough people voted), a second day of voting would take place, though in this instance it was not necessary. The large majority of the village stayed in the area throughout the day; there was a small market on site and informal discussions occurred continually.

There was an official sheet on which three choices for each office would be written in ranked order. Candidates regularly urged people to mark their number "either one or

two." A witness (of the voter's choice) was allowed to accompany each voter into the voting area to assist them if they were completely illiterate; this only happened sporadically. After voting, the voter placed their ballot in a locked container (one of which had an official seal, the other of which was missing its seal and had been locked by one of the security people's own locks), and their left pinkie nail was painted with indelible ink. The tally of votes is done in the national capital and the results are reported a few months later.

At the same time, local elections are also carried out, but at a much more informal level, typically by community consensus. There are five positions decided in this way in the villages throughout the country. They are: council member, magistrate, police officers, and a recorder. The council member is responsible for accepting and distributing government funds for various purposes, including health, education, and infrastructure. The magistrate supervises the local police officers and is responsible for reporting large crimes to higher-level government authorities and taking criminals to jails, which are only available at the district capitals. Police officers are similar to "neighborhood watch" members, and do not have the level of police authority typical of Western countries. They are more akin to mediators and try to resolve disputes before they become intractable. The magistrate and council member also serve as judges in mid-level disputes when necessary. These disputes are those which the police cannot resolve, but which are not criminal in nature. The recorder is responsible for keeping written records on any matters of importance to the community.

The people report stories of corruption at all levels of government, though it does not seem to be endemic. The stories are typically of candidates who keep government funds for themselves and their friends and family (though these accusations are not always based on evidence of wrongdoing). From a Western point of view, this is corruption. However, people with resources are expected to support their extended families who have fewer resources and so some amount of this is tolerated as part of the culture. Only when this happens on a large scale and community development is substantially delayed is there outrage.

# **Chapter 3: Phonology**

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter details the sound system and sound patterns of Mehek. It includes a description of the consonants and vowels ( $\S 3.1 - \S 3.3$ ), their allophones ( $\S 3.4$ ), as well as their phonemic status via a list of minimal pairs ( $\S 3.5$ ). The following sections include information on syllable structure ( $\S 3.6$ ), phonotactics ( $\S 3.7$ ), word stress ( $\S 3.8$ ), phonological rules (throughout), the proposed orthographic system ( $\S 3.9$ ), and onomatopoeia and sound symbolism ( $\S 3.10$ ).

In general, the phonemes of Mehek are consistent with the following articulatory description and do not require much elaboration or explanation beyond those descriptions. The consonant inventory is fairly typical from a typological perspective and in terms of the typical inventory for non-Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea. Furthermore, there is not a lot of allophonic variation at the morpheme or word level, including stress. However, at the utterance level there is some degree of variation. The majority of this variation has to do with the vowels, often their merger or deletion.

There are also some common variant pronunciations of words which are not related to dialectical variation. Often, the same person will pronounce these words in both (or all) of the variant forms within a short time period. There are a few consistent phonological rules which must be observed, though by and large, the phonemes are pronounced as indicated below in almost all environments. Phonetic symbols used throughout are from the International Phonetic Alphabet.

# 3.1 Consonant Phonemes

There are 13 consonant phonemes. They are given in Table 1 below between slashes '/ /' and the allophones of these phonemes (where appropriate) are listed between square brackets '[]'.

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labial-Velar
Stop	/b/	/t/ /d/		/k/ /g/	
Зтор	[mb]	[ <sup>n</sup> d]		[ <sup>ŋ</sup> g]	
Nasal	/m/	/n/			
Fricative	/f/	/s/			
Approximant			/j/		/w/ [v] [ʋ]
Trill		/r/			
11111		[۲]			
Lateral Approximant		/١/		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

Table 1: Consonant Phonemes

For symbols with no allophone listed, the sole pronunciation is that given as the phonemic representation. There are a few other phones which are present in Mehek, see §3.3 for these additional non-phonemic and/or uncommon phones.

### 3.2 Vowel Phonemes

There are six vowel phonemes, shown in Table 2.

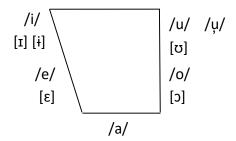


Table 2: Vowel Phonemes

As with the consonants (§3.1), phonemes are shown in slashes '/ /' and any allophones are listed underneath the pertinent phoneme between square brackets '[]'. The vowel system of Mehek is a typical five-vowel system, with one addition. There are two high back vowels /u/; however, one of them has the feature of additional rounding. This is symbolized as /u/, a 'u' with a hook open to the left underneath. In the orthography, the standard high back vowel is written 'u' while the vowel with additional rounding is written as 'uw' (see §3.9).

### 3.2.1 Diphthongs

Table 3 below shows the nine possible diphthongs.

	+ /u/	Example	+ /i/	Example
/a/	/au/	/yau/ 'brother's wife'	/ai/	/gai/ 'white hair'
/e/	/eu/	/bleu/ 'lick'	/ei/	/mei/ 'wait'
/i/	/iu/	/diule/ 'stinging nettle'	-	-
/o/	/ou/	/bou/ 'dry'	/oi/	/toina/ 'long'

Table 3: Diphthongs

All of the vowels except the extra-rounded high back vowel /u/ participate in the formation of diphthongs. The second element of each diphthong is always one of the

high vowels /i/ or /u/. Any of the four other vowels can be the first element. The combinations /ii/ and /uu/ missing from the table are not realized as diphthongs, but rather as sequences of two identical vowels (see §3.3.2). Combinations of these vowels across word boundaries will not result in a diphthong, even in rapid speech, but rather in a sequence of two discrete vowels. Example (1) shows the difference in pronunciation between a sequence of two vowels when they are in two different syllables as opposed to being in the same syllable.

(1) [ama.i] [maifo]
/ama i/ /maifo/
let's go leech

## 3.3 Additional Phones

There are some phones which have predictable or semi-predictable occurrence.

These sounds either have predictable environments; occur in allophonic variation; or occur only in foreign borrowings. For these reasons, the following three sounds are not considered phonemes.

#### 3.3.1 Voiceless Glottal Fricative [h]

There is an epenthetic consonant [h] which occurs in some contexts. It occurs word-initially before vowels in some words, as in [hanganambu] and [anganambu] 'hurry'. Its appearance is typically dependent on the speaker, rather than the phonetic environment or any other syntactic, semantic, or lexical features. Speakers who pronounce the [h] will usually pronounce it in all the words in which it occurs or will only

pronounce it in a subset unique to them, but will do so consistently. No speaker has ever indicated that either variety is preferable or that there is any identifiable group associated with one variant or another (speakers from Kafle, for example). There does not seem to be any particular conditioning environment (careful versus rapid speech, for example).

The epenthetic [h] also appears word-medially between two identical vowels. There are some words where it is pronounced in nearly all contexts, such as *kaha* 'bad', and others where it is only irregularly pronounced, as indicated above. One common example is the name of the language, as discussed in §1.1. Words which have an allophonic variant with initial [h] are indicated in the dictionary.

One possible explanation for the genesis (or ongoing loss) of [h] is that the stress tends to fall on the syllable immediately following the syllable with the [h]. In a two-syllable word, such as *kara*, the stress occurs on the first syllable. However, in a word like *kaha*, the stress is realized on the last syllable instead. See §3.8 for rules of stress placement.

## 3.3.2 Glottal Stop [?]

The description of the phone [h] above also applies the glottal stop. Words which contain the glottal stop vary freely with versions that contain no glottal stop. Stress tends to follow the syllable that (optionally) contains the glottal stop, whether or not it is pronounced. And, in fact, in some words, [h] and [?] contrast with each and with zero.

An example was given in §1.1 with the variant pronunciations of the name of the language (also the word 'no'), repeated below in (2) for convenience.

Other than for purely phonetic reasons, the glottal stop does not occur word-initially. That is, at the beginning of an utterance and upon opening the glottis to pronounce a vowel, it is natural to pronounce a glottal stop. However, unlike with [h], it is not consciously pronounced nor very audible. Words with two identical vowels in sequence will often be pronounced with a glottal stop between them. Words with two different sequential vowels are rare, but they are not pronounced with a glottal stop between them. See §3.7.3 for more on sequences of vowels. The first three examples below in (3) illustrate the presence of glottal stop between identical vowels, while the final example shows there is no glottal stop between a sequence of different vowels.

(3)	[ekaʔa]	[tiʔi]	[beʔena]	[kioman]
	/ekaa/	/tii/	/beena/	/kioman/
	food	remove	mavbe	bird species

### 3.3.3 Voiceless Bilabial Stop [p]

The phone /p/ is not predictable and could reasonably be described as a phoneme. However, it is quite uncommon and only occurs in a small number of loanwords and plant/animal names. This fact, together with the fact that there are no minimal pairs with /p/, indicates that it could be a recent addition to the language. The plant and

animal names with /p/ are either borrowings or onomatopoeic (see §3.10). The attested words are listed in Table 4.

Name	Species Variety
apapul	grasshopper
palo	grass
polpol	mushroom
pro un	grass
pukwa	taro
рири	frog
sape	wallaby, or the tree inhabited by the wallaby
teptep	lizard
welepu	sago

Table 4: Mehek Words with /p/

Not including /p/, Mehek has a three-term stop series. Typologically speaking, languages that are missing a stop will most likely be missing the voiceless bilabial or voiced velar (Maddieson 2013). It is probable that because Tok Pisin also has this sound and most Mehek speakers also speak Tok Pisin, they are easily willing and able to incorporate this sound into borrowings that include it. However, if Tok Pisin did not have /p/ or was not a common lingua franca, it is likely that /p/ would not be pronounced as such, but be replaced with a different Mehek phoneme in those borrowings.

# 3.4 Allophones

The following two sections list the allophones of the consonants and vowels along with their conditioning environments.

#### 3.4.1 Consonants

The phonetic realization of the stop consonants is shown below in Table 5.

Exan	Gloss		
[bau]	/bau/	'loose'	
[su <sup>m</sup> bu]	/subu/	'follow'	
[dana] /dana/		'daybreak'	
[ka <sup>n</sup> da]	/kada/	'thin'	
[gome]	/gome/	'axe'	
[nu <sup>ŋ</sup> gul]	/nugul/	'cold'	

Table 5: Stop Allophones

The pre-nasalized variants of the stops can occur in any environment, though they are most audible between vowels within a word. They are also quite prominent word-initially when following a word which ends in a vowel. In these cases, the nasal component is pronounced as if it is the final consonant of the preceding word, as shown in example (4).

 (4) [sukna ¹dana] → /suknan dana/ sleep dawn.break
 'sleep until the morning'

Another context which occurs somewhat less frequently is that of a word-final nasal being followed by a pre-nasalized consonant. In these cases, the phonemic nasal "overrides" the pre-nasal and the latter is not pronounced. Examples (5) and (6) show this phenomenon.

- (5) [lam ¹groso] → /lam groso/ arrow tip 'arrow tip'
- (6) [a<sup>m</sup>be-m-<sup>n</sup>dun] → /a<sup>m</sup>bemdun/ finish-PAST2-1DU 'we [dual] finished'

The allophones listed in Table 6 are in free variation, with the first-listed variant for each phoneme being the most common.

Phoneme	Allophone	Example		Gloss
/w/ →	[w]	[wafu]	/wafu/	'heart'
	[v]	[sal <sup>ŋ</sup> givi]	/salgiwi/	personal name
	[ʊ]	[jiʊi]	/yiwi/	'father's sister'
/r/ →	[r]	[alr]	/alr/	'taro'
	[r]	[ru]	/ru/	3sg.M

Table 6: Other Consonant Allophones

The [v] and [v] allophones of /w/ only occur between identical vowels. The [r] variant of /r/ occurs most frequently at the beginning of utterances or after a sufficiently long pause. The most heavily-trilled variant [r] is typically heard when it is the second consonant of a final cluster, though most instances of /r/ are trilled to some extent. The degree of trill depends on the speaker, with some speakers consistently trilling more heavily.

#### **3.4.2 Vowels**

The phonetic realization of the vowels is shown below in Table 7. The second-listed allophone of each vowel is realized in the following environment: The vowel is lowered when it immediately precedes a (phonemic) nasal (/m/ and /n/), a liquid (/l/ and /r/) or

a velar stop (/k/) in the same or the following syllable. The [i] allomorph of /i/ occurs only before /r/, and [i] never occurs in this environment.

Phoneme	Allophone	Exar	nple	Gloss
/i/ →	[i]	[si]	/si/	'wash'
	[1]	[gɪnfa]	/ginfa/	'spine'
	[ <del>i</del> ]	[sɨr]	/sir/	'name'
/e/ →	[e]	[wre]	/wre/	'shine'
	[٤]	[tɛrfa]	/terfa/	'head'
/o/ <del>→</del>	[o]	[toso]	/toso/	'remove leaves'
	[c]	[tɔri]	/tori/	'lower'
/u/ →	[u]	[naku]	/naku/	'sago'
	[ʊ]	[wʊr]	/wur/	'stone axe'

Table 7: Vowel Allophones

## 3.5 Minimal Pairs

The following section gives a minimal pair for each of the consonant sets which shares at least one of the features of manner or place. For simplicity, phonemes which do not share any phonological features in common do not have minimal pairs listed. For example, /t/ and /w/ have different features for place, manner and voicing (though a minimal pair does exist for those two consonants). Due to the paucity of words which contain /p/, no minimal pairs are listed for that phoneme.

#### 3.5.1 Consonants

Some minimal pairs showing contrasts for consonants are given in Table 8 below.

/b/ vs.	/t/	/bi/	'tooth'	/ti/	'flood'
	/d/	/bi/	'tooth'	/di/	'some'
	/k/	/bi/	'tooth'	/ki/	'vagina'
	/g/	/bir/	'sago branch'	/gir/	'slither'
	/m/	/bur/	'pluck'	/mur/	'distant from now'
	/f/	/bi/	'tooth'	/fi/	'spear'
	/w/	/bi/	'tooth'	/wi/	'go up'
/t/ vs.	/d/	/ta/	'bite'	/da/	'scrub'
	/k/	/ta/	'bite'	/ka/	REAL
	/n/	/ta/	'bite'	/na/	'and'
	/s/	/ta/	'bite'	/sa/	'dig'
	/r/	/ta/	'bite'	/ra/	'take'
	/I/	/tako/	'shore'	/lako/	'egg'
/k/ vs.	/g/	/kusu/	'chase'	/gusu/	'tie'
	/w/	/kul/	'bead'	/wul/	'squeeze'
/m/ vs.	/n/	/mau/	'dense jungle'	/nau/	'fight'
/f/ vs.	/s/	/fi/	'spear'	/si/	'wash'
/w/ vs.	/y/	/wau/	'stomach'	/yau/	'brother's wife'
/r/ vs.	/١/	/ru/	3sg.м	/lu/	'mountain range'

Table 8: Consonant Minimal Pairs

Each grouping gathers phones with similar features by juxtaposing the first phone with the other phones which share similar features. Each succeeding group is smaller as possible juxtapositions have been given in previous groupings. For example, /b/ is juxtaposed with /t/ in the first group, so /b/ is not listed in the second group (juxtaposed with /t/).

### **3.5.2 Vowels**

Minimal pairs showing contrasts for monophthong vowels are given in Table 9. The organization of the groups in this section is similar to that in the previous section, §3.5.1.

/i/ vs.	/e/	/ri/	'remain'	/re/	3sg.m.obj
	/o/	/kwiyi/	'cut'	/kwiyo/	'firefly'
	/u/	/wi/	'go up'	/wu/	'come up'
	/ụ/	/di/	DET	/dụ/	'bird neck'
	/a/	/afi/	'fight'	/afa/	'father'
/e/ vs.	/o/	/kel/	'fresh'	/kol/	'pit'
	/u/	/me/	3PL.OBJ	/mu/	3PL
	/ụ/	/ne/	2sg.obj	/nụ/	'bottom'
	/a/	/eka/	'want'	/aka/	'house'
/o/ vs.	/u/	/sofo/	'snake'	/sofu/	'blow on'
	/ụ/	/oku/	'water'	/uku/	'sugar cane'
	/a/	/oku/	'water'	/aku/	'go back'
/u/ vs.	/a/	/aku/	'go back'	/aka/	'house'
	/ụ/	/nu/	2sg	/nụ/	'bottom'
/a/ vs.	/ụ/	/na/	'become'	/nụ/	'bottom'

Table 9: Vowel Minimal Pairs

Diphthong contrasts were not given in the above table. Table 10 below gives some contrasts for two of the most common diphthongs. The diphthongs with /a/ as the first element are quite a bit more common than the other five pairs. Because of this, it is difficult to find minimal pairs for every diphthong with the monophthongs. Table 10 is meant to give a sample of these contrasts.

	/ai/	/au/	
/i /	/wi/ 'go up'	/wi/ 'go up'	
/ 1/	/wi/ 'go up' /wai/ ועו	/wau/ 'stomach'	
101	/te/ 3sg.f.OBJ /tai/ 'block with body'	/me/ 3PL.OBJ	
/ = /	/tai/ 'block with body'	/mau/ 'jungle'	
101	/sou/ 'armband' /sai/ 'sago basket'	/lomr/ 'dance'	
/0/	/sai/ 'sago basket'	/laumr/ 'he spread out'	
/11/	/mu/ 3PL	/u/ 'cook'	
/u/	/mu/ 3PL /mai/ 'cassowary bone'	/au/ 'pot'	
/11/	/su̞/ 'coil'	/su̞/ 'coil'	
/ u/	/sai/ 'basket'	/sau/ 'get up'	
/a/	/su/ 'coil' /sai/ 'basket' /sa/ 'dig' /sai/ 'basket'	/na/ 'become'	
	/sai/ 'basket'	/nau/ 'fight'	

Table 10: Some Monophthong and Diphthong Minimal Pairs

# 3.6 Syllabification

The first task is to decide what constitutes a syllable. As Mehek speakers do not talk about syllables or identify them in any way, speaker intuition cannot help (though it is likely that if taught the concept in even a rudimentary fashion, they would easily be able to intuit syllable structure). One principle assumed here is that each peak of sonority constitutes the nucleus of a syllable (Ladefoged 2006). In all cases for Mehek, the nucleus is a vowel or diphthong. Other likely syllable nuclei, nasals and liquids, do not have a high level of sonority in Mehek. In fact, they most often occur word-finally in clusters which are minimally audible and do not prolong the length of the word (see §3.7.2). One possibly confounding issue here is when certain higher-sonority clitics, such as =r 3sg.M and =s 3sg.F, (see §4.2) follow lower-sonority syllable codas at the end of

nouns.<sup>2</sup> However, because these clitics are often not highly audible and do not have as high of sonority as vowels and diphthongs, they do not confuse the issue of where the peak of sonority lies for a given syllable.

The possible word-initial clusters are used as a guide to what possible syllable onsets are permissible. Syllable codas in Mehek are typically rather simple in the absence of morpho-syntactic processes.

Based on the foregoing guidelines, Table 11 shows all the permissible syllable structures in Mehek. Those listed in the leftmost column are the most commonly encountered, with the more complex structures (on the right) being less frequent and/or the result of morphological processes. The glosses give the morphological structure of the word, though, for clarity of syllable structure, the Mehek words themselves are not so divided.

Form	Example	Gloss
>	/a/	'eat'
VC	/er/	'speak'
VCC	/alr/	'taro'
CV	/sa/	'dig'
CVC	/dun/	1DU
CVCC	/komr/	'village'

Form	Example	Gloss
CCV	/wre/	'shine'
CCVC	/klot/	bird species
CCVCC	/wramk/	'when he came in'
CCCV	/kwla/	'have sex'
CCCVC	/gwlait/	flower species
CCCVCC	/kwremr/	'he hung (something)'

Table 11: Possible Syllables

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  This sonority issue also applies to the person/number/gender affixes -r and -s (with similar meanings) on verbs, see §6.1.

### 3.7 Phonotactics

This section lists all the possible consonant sequences in mono-morphemic forms. Sequences of different vowels do not occur, i.e. two vowels will only occur together in a mono-morphemic form if they are the same. As mentioned in §3.3.1, the two vowels will often be separated by an epenthetic [h]. Therefore, this section deals only with the possible combinations of consonants in syllable onsets and codas. Consonant clusters are never separated by an epenthetic element.

#### 3.7.1 Onset Combinations

The following Table 12 lists the possible onset consonant clusters. The horizontal row lists the first member of the cluster, and the vertical column gives the second member. An onset cluster can consist of two or three consonants, with the restrictions given in the table. For onsets with only a single consonant, any phoneme can occur.

	/١/	/r/	/w/
/b/	/bla bla/ 'butterfly'	/bre/ 'landslide'	-
/f/	/fle/ 'find'	/fra/ 'spray'	-
/g/	/glengu/ 'seed pod'	/gra/ plant species	/gwa/ 'fog'
/k/	/klei/ 'and then'	/krou/ 'round'	/kwesu/ 'yellow'
/w/	/wle/ 'flame'	/wra/ 'come in'	-
/kw/	/kwleya/ 'gallbladder'	/kwre/ 'hang'	-
/gw/	/gwlai/ flower species	/gwrara/ lizard species	-

Table 12: Onset Consonant Clusters

There is, in addition to these clusters, a single word which in some dialects of Kafle is pronounced as /stii/. The word in most other dialects is simply *tii* 'remove'. This is the

only known example of a word that begins with a cluster including /s/. The first person singular possessive form /n+go/ (see §5.4.4, note 3) also has an underlying initial cluster. In this case, the cluster is created through a morphological process of prefixing the 1sg form n to the possessive stem go. However, this is realized phonetically simply as the normal prenasalized (see §3.4.1) velar consonant, / $^n$ go/, rather than as a sequence of two consonants.

#### 3.7.2 Coda Combinations

The following Table 13 gives possible consonant clusters in coda position.

	/f/	/k/	/m/	/n/	/r/	/s/	/t/
	(3DU)	(LOC)	(3pl)	(2sg)	(3sg.m)	(3sg.F)	(3sg.dim)
/١/	/alf/	/na <sup>m</sup> bulk/	/alm/	/yowuln/	/alr/	/nu <sup>m</sup> buls/	/nu <sup>m</sup> bult/
	'taros'	'sun'	'taros'	'namesake'	'taro'	'small'	'small'
/m/	/lamf/	/komk/	/amm/	/mamn/	/komr/	/fums/	/fumt/
	'arrows'	'village'	'they ate'	'maternal uncle'	'village'	'hit'	'hit'
/n/	/sufunf/	/bermunk/	/sufunm/		/yenr/	/nans/	/nant/
	'smoke'	fern	'smoke'	*	'child'	'grandchild'	'grandchild'
		species'					
/r/	/orf/	/awark/	/orm/	/narn/	*	/kurkurs/	/kurkurt/
	'bilums'	'later'	sbilums'	'brother's child'	·	'black'	'black'

Table 13: Coda Consonant Clusters

Codas are limited to two consonants, and only certain consonants can occur in either position. Only those that can be in a cluster are given in the table. The horizontal row lists the first member of the cluster, and the vertical column gives the second member. Coda clusters are almost exclusively the result of morphological processes, so

after each consonant in the first horizontal row, its morphological meaning is given in parenthesis. The glosses listed are only the primary lexical meaning without taking the suffix into account. Codas with only a single consonant can consist of any phoneme except the voiced stops /b/, /d/, and /g/. In addition to the table below, there is a first-person singular imperative verbal morpheme ('I will do X now') which itself is a consonant cluster, /tn/ (see §6.5). This is shown in example (7).

(7) haulai ro-ko hokwa=r kute-tn haulai 3sg.M-Poss song=M sing-1sg.IMP I will sing Haulai's song.

#### 3.7.3 Vowel Coalescence

When two vowels occur in sequence, they will either create a diphthong or will coalesce. In the case of coalescence, one vowel in a sequence of two is either reduced or not pronounced at all. Diphthongs occur when a pair of vowels occur within a word (see §3.2.1); a sequence of two different vowels within a word always results in a diphthong. When two vowels occur across a word boundary, there will often be coalescence. The general rule is that the second vowel will be realized, while the first vowel will not be pronounced. That is, when a word that ends in a vowel is followed by a word that begins in a vowel, the word-final vowel is not pronounced in favor of the word-initial vowel. There are three exceptions to this generalization. These are: 1) when two identical vowels occur across word boundaries they are both pronounced fully, in the same manner as when they occur within a word; 2) words ending in /i/ do not participate in coalescence — both vowels are pronounced with an intervening glottal

stop; 3) word-final /u/ is not eliminated, but rather reduced to /w/. (See §3.3.2 for more information about exceptions 1 and 2.) Table 14 gives examples of each of the non-identical two-vowel pairs in both phonemic and phonetic forms, along with a brief gloss.

	/i/	/e/	/o/	/u/	/ụ/	/a/
/i/	*	[biki emek] /biki emek/ 'which place'	[iki ofto] /iki ofto/ 'NEG smoke'	[iki umaka] /iki umaka/ 'NEG ant'	[iki ufu] /iki ufu/ 'NEG sweat'	[iki afi] /iki afi/ 'NEG fight'
/e/	[kufiki] /kufe iki/ 'good think'	*	[sakwofto] /sakwe ofto/ 'plant smoke'	[kufuwar] /kufe uwar/ 'good burnt'	[owuku] /owe uku/ 'bug sugar'	[watafla] /wate afla/ 'tree river'
/o/	[to <sup>m</sup> bo i] /to <sup>m</sup> bo i/ 'end go'	[sauweku] /sauwo eku/ 'work do'	*	[soluwar] /solo uwar/ 'twig burnt'	[mokuku] /moko uku/ 'nut sugar'	[tawa <sup>m</sup> beka] /tawo a <sup>m</sup> beka/ 'turn finish'
/u/	[m <sup>w</sup> ir] /mu ir/ 'tree go'	[ok <sup>w</sup> eme] /oku eme/ 'water place'	[m <sup>w</sup> omra] /mu omra/ '3PL DIST.PL.EMP'	*	[u <sup>m</sup> bųku] /u <sup>m</sup> bu.ųku/ 'bug sugar'	[ok <sup>w</sup> ama] /oku ama/ 'water bamboo'
/ụ/	[gụ iki] /gụ iki/ 'roof think'	[gweku] /gụ eku/ 'roof do'	[gwora] /gụ ora/ 'roof DIST.SG.EMP'	[gụwar] /gụ uwar/ 'roof burnt'	*	[guwambe] /gụ ambe/ 'roof finish'
/a/	[omra ijam] /omra iyam/ 'DIST.PL.EMP go'	[rekums] /ra ekums/ 'get do'	[omrokwra] /omra okwra/ 'DIST.PL.EMP DIST-ADV'	[okwruwar] /okwra uwar/ 'DIST roof'	[kụku] /ka ụku/ 'REAL sugar'	*

Table 14: Vowel Coalescence

#### 3.8 Stress

Most words consist of one or two syllables, the great majority of syllables being V, VC or CV. Some words are tri-syllabic, though this is uncommon. Words longer than three syllables only exist as compound nouns or verbs. Stress is indicated by a higher impressionistic intensity on the stressed vowel. Unstressed vowels are not reduced in any way; they are just not pronounced as prominently as the stressed syllable. Stress in single words almost always falls on the penultimate syllable; there are a few exceptions as detailed in §3.3.1 and §3.3.2. There is also a tendency for words where the final syllable contains a complex coda (i.e. two consonants) to have the primary stress. Examples (8) to (10) have penultimate stress, while (11), with a complex coda, has final stress.

(8) ['ta.ma] (9) ['ta.mam] (10) [rai.ˈja.ndun] (11) [ku.ˈtɛmr] /tama/ /tamam/ /rayadun/ /kutemr/ ra-ya-dun kute-m-r tama tama=m man man=PL get-PRES-1DU cut-PAST2-3SG.M 'man' 'men' 'we two are taking' 'he cut'

Stress placement in two-word compounds varies based on the semantics of the compound. In some two-word compounds with a total of four or more syllables between the two words, the primary stress can be on the antepenultimate. Otherwise, in these compounds, the stress will fall in its natural position on each member of the compound, with the stress on the second member of the compound being a weaker, secondary stress. In noun-adjective compounds (see §5.6), the second element (the

adjective) has primary stress and the preceding noun has weaker stress. In noun-noun compounds (see §5.11), each element has its own full stress, as it would if it were alone. Examples (12) and (13) demonstrate these different stress patterns.

Stress can sometimes shift from the penultimate to the ultimate syllable in lists or when calling someone. This latter example is typically heard with kin terms, such as nawa 'mother' ata 'grandmother', etc. Also, the presence of affixes does not affect stress placement; the stressed syllable prior to affixation in verbs, for example (see Chapter 6) retains the stress after tense and person/number/gender marking is added.

## 3.9 Orthography

Based on the foregoing information, the following orthographic conventions have been adopted in this description and in the dictionary. Most of the conventions follow the expected Roman alphabetic conventions, particularly given that of the people who are literate, they are literate in Tok Pisin and/or English. Both of these languages use the same alphabets as well as similar conventions for punctuation. Therefore, literate and semi-literate people are already quite familiar with the Roman alphabet symbols. Table 15 lists the vowel/diphthong phonemes together with their orthographic forms.

Phonemic		Orthographic	Sample
Representation	Allophone(s)	Symbol(s)	Word(s)
/i/	[ɪ], [ɨ]	i	fi, fik, fir
/e/	[ε]	е	fle, fler
/a/	-	а	sa
/o/	[c]	0	os, or
/u/	[ၓ]	и	fu, fur
/u/	-	uw	nuw
/iu/	-	iu	diule
/ei/	-	ei	klei
/eu/	-	eu	bleu
/ai/	-	ai	sai
/au/	-	au	kau
/oi/	-	oi	toina
/ou/	-	ou	bou

Table 15: Orthographic Vowels and Diphthongs

In Table 15, only the vowels with allophones have a symbol listed in the 'Allophone' column. Because the proposed writing system is phonemic, different allophones are not rendered with different symbols. See §3.4 for more on the different environments for allophones. In the 'Sample Word(s)' column, when multiple words are listed, words with each allophone are listed in the order they are shown from left to right in their row.

For the vowels, the only convention of note is for the diphthong /ai/. When sequences of /a/-/y/ occur, there is a neutralization of /a/ and /ai/. Therefore, whenever /a/ precedes /y/, the pronunciation is [aj]. Examples (14) and (15) show this in the differing pronunciations of the word *na* 'become'. In (14), the suffix –*mr* is added, while in (15), the suffix –*yar* is added, altering the pronunciation of the /a/ to /ai/.

(14) [ru ka jamk namr] /ru ka yamk namr/ ru ka yam=k na-m-r banana=INS become-past2-3sg.m 3SG.M REAL 'He turned into a banana.'

(15) [ru ka jamk najar] /ru ka yamk nayar/ ru ka yam=k na-ya-r banana=INS 3SG.M REAL become-pres-3sg.M 'He turns into a banana.'

Table 16 lists the consonant phonemes together with their orthographic forms.

		Orthographic	Sample
Phoneme	Allophone(s)	Symbol(s)	Word(s)
/p/	[p]	р	рири
/b/	[b], [ <sup>m</sup> b]	b, mb	baye
/t/	[t]	t	tama
/d/	[d], [ <sup>n</sup> d]	d, nd	dau, anda
/k/	[k]	k	klei
/g/	[g], [ <sup>ŋ</sup> g]	g, ng	gan, yungu
/m/	[m]	m	mau
/n/	[n]	n	nu
/f/	[f]	f	fle
/s/	[s]	S	samba
/w/	[w], [v], [ʋ]	w	wuya
/y/	[j]	У	yau
/r/	[r], [ɾ]	r	re
/١/	[1]	1	lei

Table 16: Orthographic Consonants

The conventions of note for the consonants include the voiced stops. When word-initial, they are very often not pre-nasalized and therefore are spelled with the single stop symbol (b, d, g). However, in any word-medial position, particularly following a vowel, the nasalization is quite apparent. Therefore, in those cases the digraphic form is used (mb, nd, ng). An additional reason for this is that the speakers themselves prefer this dual convention. When literate speakers write Mehek, they do not write nasals word-initially and do (sometimes) write them word-medially. It is thought best to respect this native-speaker judgment. An exception to the rule about medial position is when a stop consonant is preceded by another consonant rather than a vowel, or is preceded by a different nasal. In these cases, the prenasalization is minimal or non-existent. The examples in (16) and (17) show an example of each of these cases.

In words where /m/+/r/ occurs word-medially (i.e. with a following vowel), there is often an epenthetic [b] pronounced between them. The most salient examples of this include the personal pronouns with emphatic ra (see §5.4.5) and the distal demonstrative pronouns (see §5.4.6). These are shown in examples (18) and (19). In these cases, because the [b] is a predictable phonetic variant, it is omitted orthographically.

(18) [numbra] (19) [ombra]

/numra/ /omra/

num-ra o-m-ra

1PL-EMP DIST-PL-EMP

'our' 'that one'

# 3.10 Onomatopoeia and Sound Symbolism

Onomatopoeia is not a common process in the language at large; however, a partially onomatopoeic process is commonly found in many animal names. Table 17 lists the animal names known to have an onomatopoeic component.

Frogs	Birds	Other
gwel gwel	gre gre	bombo (fly)
kutul	kombo grauwon	koko (chicken)
naku tombo kri	makwa kursei	teptep (lizard)
рири	yitwou	wro wro (worm)

Table 17: Animal Names with an Onomatopoeic Component

That is, these are the names that speakers will repeat in the tone of the call that the animal makes. There are likely other names which have onomatopoeic components which are no longer consciously known to speakers (particularly reduplicative names that consist of words that are otherwise not found as independent morphemes). The only non-name words that are known to have an onomatopoeic element are *yo* 'a sound made while calling another' and *kra* 'cry'.

Sound symbolism is also not a productive system, though there a few words where one of the vowels can vary in relationship to the size of the object being described. In these cases, the smaller size is associated with a high vowel and the larger size is

associated with a (relatively) lower vowel. The known examples are given in examples (20-22).

- (20) glengu / glongu (21) wandi / wando coconut fruiting body
  - coconut shell
- (22) mili / mele a long time ago

## **Chapter 4: Brief Grammatical Overview**

## 4.0 Introduction

The purpose of this short chapter is to provide a general overview of some aspects of the grammatical system of Mehek. In §4.1, I summarize the morphology, primarily the morphology of verbs, while in §4.2, I discuss one of the more unusual features of Mehek, a set of noun phrase clitics that code the number and gender of noun phrases, plus a similar set of predicate clitics which appear on nonverbal predicates.

## 4.1. Overview of Morphology

Most of the morphology in Mehek occurs on verbs. Possessive and demonstrative pronouns inflect (see §5.4.4 and §5.4.6), but nouns do not, although there are noun phrase clitics that occur in noun phrases that vary for the number and gender of the noun phrase (see chapter 5). In this section, I give a brief summary of the verbal morphology. Chapter 6 discusses the verbal morphology in detail.

Verbs bear suffixes for the person, number, and gender of the subject, with an additional possibility of diminutive inflection; they do not inflect for the object. There are a variety of suffixes which precede the subject suffixes, coding tense, aspect, and mood. There are two past tenses and two future tenses, roughly past today versus past before today and future today versus future after today. Examples (1) and (2) illustrate verbs with tense suffixes followed by subject suffixes.

- (1) su ka re mini nuwa-wa-s ELIC 3SG.F REAL 3SG.M.OBJ betelnut give-PAST1-3SG.F She gave him betelnut.
- (2) du-ra-dun ka yirfi-ka-dun iki a-ka-dun 6092 1DU-EMP-1DU REAL fall-FUT2-1DU NEG eat-FUT2-1DU The two of us will go down, but we [dual] will not eat.

Both of these examples also illustrate a realis mood particle ka, one of the most frequent words in Mehek, discussed in §7.2.1.

In addition to the finite verb forms described in the preceding paragraph, there are a variety of nonfinite verb forms, some of which involve a single suffix that codes neither tense nor subject, like the conditional verb form *suknana* 'sleep-COND' in (3) and the subordinate form *ak* 'eat-SUB' in (4).

- (3) woro ru sukna-na wa re waki-ka-yun ELIC tomorrow 3SG.M sleep-COND IRR 3SG.M.OBJ tie-FUT2-1SG Tomorrow if he's sleeping, I will tie him up.
- (4) num a-k klei ka i=ka al yam a-ya-num 4123 1PL eat-SUB then REAL go=REAL taro banana eat-PRES-1PL We eat it and then go to eat taro and bananas.

The most common nonfinite forms are verb stems without any affixes, either bare verb stems or verb stems combined with the realis particle (§7.2.1), which cliticizes to the verb when it follows it. Example (5) contains five verbs, two of which inflect for tense and subject (*tirims* 'leave' and *rusums* 'sit'), two of which are bare verb stems,

both *feke* 'lay on top', and one of which is a verb stem combining with the realis clitic =ka, namely *tirika* 'leave=REAL'.

(5) re feke tiri-m-s
3SG.M.OBJ lay.on.top leave-PAST2-3SG.F

feke tiri=ka rusu-m-s 2162 lay.on.top leave=REAL sit-PAST2-3SG.F

[She] layed him out and left him. She left him lying there.

Sometimes, a sentence will contain no finite verb forms, as in (6), where there are three uninflected verbs, two of which combine with the realis clitic =ka.

(6) siki=t re ni rete=ka kur nol tiri=ka 7009 hole=DIM 3SG.M.OBJ see put=REAL high hole leave=REAL He saw [the rodent] leave a hole high up.

### 4.2. Nominal and Predicate Clitics

#### 4.2.1 Noun Phrase Clitics

One of the distinctive features of Mehek is the use of clitics that attach to the end of noun phrases, except that they precede a postnominal numeral or demonstrative if there is one. These clitics code the number and gender of the noun phrase, with the additional possibility of a diminutive (§5.2). The masculine, feminine and diminutive forms are all singular; the distinction among these is neutralized in the dual and plural. The forms of these clitics are listed in Table 18. The set also includes a locative/instrumental clitic discussed in §5.10.1.

Clitic Meaning

=r	masculine singular (M)	
=s	feminine singular (F)	
=t	diminutive singular (DIM)	
=f	dual (DU)	
=m	plural (PL)	
=k	locative (LOC), instrumental (INS)	

Table 18: Third Person Noun Phrase Clitics

Some examples illustrating the noun phrase clitics are given in (7) to (22). In (7), the noun nekwa 'moon' bears the feminine clitic =s.

(7) nekwa=s iki tare-ka-s na-nak OVH moon=F NEG shine-FUT2-3SG.F be.at-VNEG
The moon will not shine. [Because it is cloudy.]

In (8), both the subject noun phrase *tawas* 'woman' and the object noun phrase *tamar* 'man' occur with noun phrase clitics.

(8) tawa=s tama=r fu-m-s ELIC woman=F person=M hit-PAST2-3SG.F The woman hit the man.

When the noun is followed by an adjective, the noun phrase clitic appears on the adjective, as in (9), where the masculine clitic =r appears on the adjective wenga 'many' in the noun phrase fer wenga 'many pigs'.

(9) fer iki di=r fu 6069 wenga=r kara on ni-nak 1SG many=M indeed NEG DET=M hit see-VNEG pig There were many kinds of pigs and I could not see to hit any.

In (10), the subject noun phrase *tawa* 'woman' bears a feminine noun phrase clitic while the masculine clitic attaches to the adjective *samba* 'big' in the noun phrase *tama samba* 'big man'.

(10) tawa=s tama samba=r ni-r aku-m-s ELIC woman=F man big=M see-INF go.back-PAST2-3SG.F The woman, going to see the big man, left.

Similarly, when the noun is followed by a possessive pronoun, the noun phrase clitic appears on the possessive pronoun, as in (11), where the dual clitic =f appears on the possessive pronoun roko 'his'.

(11) tawa ro-ko=f kom sukna-m-s 7053 woman 3SG.M-POSS=DU village sleep-PAST2-3SG.F His [two] wives slept in the village.

However, when the noun is followed by a demonstrative, the clitic appears on the word preceding the demonstrative, as in (12), where the plural clitic occurs in *yefa* 'bone' rather than on the demonstrative *omra*, and (13), where the masculine noun phrase clitic appears on the noun *aka* 'house' rather than on the demonstrative *ora*.

- (12) yefa=m o-m-ra su noko ra=ka 6006 bone=PL DIST-PL-EMP 3SG.F gather get=REAL She gathered those bones.
- (13) aka=r o-r-a oku gan=k susu-ya-r 1623 house=M DIST-M-EMP water edge=LOC stand-PRES-3SG.M The house is located near water.

The situation with numerals is more complex. When they precede the noun, the noun phrase clitic attaches to the last word in the noun phrase, as we would expect, as in (14), where the dual noun phrase clitic =f attached to the ningi 'day' in the noun phrase  $lisi\ ningi$  'two days'.

(14) lisi ningi=f fu ambe-m-k nemen tiri rete=ka 4003 two day=DU 3DU finish-PAST2-SUB 1PL.OBJ leave put=REAL After finishing two days [with us], they [dual] left us.

However, when the numeral follows the noun, we normally get a noun phrase clitic on both the numeral and the word preceding the numeral, as in (15), where the dual clitic appears both on the noun *tawa* 'woman' and on the numeral *lisi* 'two'.

(15) tama=r tawa=f lisi=f ra-m-r 4029 person=M woman=DU two=DU get-PAST2-3SG.M A man took two wives.

Similarly in (16), we get two occurrences of the dual noun phrase clitic, one on the noun tama 'man', the other on the numeral *lasi* 'two'.

(16) tama=f lasi=f gra=r o-r-a fu wi-kya-f 1728 man=DU two=DU gra.seed=M DIST-M-EMP 3 DU pick-FUT1-3DU Two men will collect gra (seeds).

The pattern just described applies most clearly to *lasi* ~ lisi 'two'. It is less clear with higher numerals. Example (17) seems to illustrate a plural noun phrase clitic = m on both *nekwa* 'moon, month' and *yokondambe lesu* 'five', though it isn't clear that this

expression for 'five' is actually modifying *nekwa*, rather than being a separate afterthought.

(17) mu sukna-m-m lisifirndim [lisifu lisifu]
3PL sleep-PAST2-3PL three [four]
nekwa=m [yokondambe lesu]=m 6073
moon=PL [five]=PL

They slept three or four months. [Maybe even] five.

The situation is less clear with *lisifirndim* 'three', illustrated in (18).

(18) yen lisifirndim kuw-m-r 7044 child three give.birth-PAST2-3SG.M He had three children.

Example (18) shows no noun phrase clitic on either the noun *yen* 'child' or the numeral *lisifirndim* 'three'. However, I suspect that the final /m/ on *lisifirndim* 'three' is a fossilized form of the plural noun phrase clitic, though note that this final /m/ occurs on the occurrence of *lisifirndim* in (17) preceding the noun, where we do not normally get noun phrase clitics, suggesting that the final /m/ in *lisifirndim* has become part of the form for 'three'. The absence of a noun phrase clitic on *yen* 'child' in (18) reflects a common property of this particular noun and the plural clitic =m is often lost for phonological reasons following the final /n/ in *yen*, although it does show up occasionally, as in (19).

(19) ka yen=m muwku a-m-m, muwku fi=r kufe=k
REAL child=PL breast eat-PAST2-3PL breast milk=M good=INS

a-m-m yen=m 7052
eat-PAST2-3P child=PL

The children ate [at] the breast, the children ate good breast milk.

Nor is there a noun phrase clitic on *lasifu lasifu* 'four' in (20).

(20) tawa=m kuna di aka=k i=ka nekwa=m [lasifu lasifu] 7026 woman=PL self DET house=LOC go=REAL moon=PL [four]
Women go by themselves to a [separate] house for four months.

Nor is there a noun phrase clitic on *lisi* 'two' in (21). The numeral is repeated here, which is a common discourse feature (see §7.11).

(21) wate na=f lisi lisi re nuwa-yu-m-s 4048 breadfruit seed=DU two two 3SG.M.OBJ give-REP-PAST2-3SG.F She often gave him two breadfruit seeds.

It was difficult to get data on numerals higher than 'two' since speakers rarely use them.

Noun phrases that consist of nouns in sequence host only a single plural clitic, rather than each noun hosting a singular clitic, as illustrated by (22). Each of the nouns in *nawa gana nanda* 'mother, younger brother, older brother' denotes one person, but the plural clitic codes the plurality of the set consisting of these three people.

(22) nawa gana nanda=m ekra re
mother younger.brother older.brother=PL in.that.way 3SG.M.OBJ
er-m-k 6106
say-PAST2-SUB
while [his] mother and brothers said this to him

There is also a clitic =k which appears in the same position as noun phrase clitics but functions to mark the noun phrase as a locative or instrumental expression (see §5.10 for further discussion). In (23), for example, it marks the noun wula 'jungle' as a locative expression.

(23) duwngu mu=r wula=k susu=ka 5091
duwngu tree=M jungle=LOC stand=REAL
The Duwngu tree grows in the jungle.

The same clitic can also mark a noun phrase as instrumental, as in (24) and (25).

(24) mu=r oro-r wuwr=k 6097 tree=M chop-INF stone.axe=INS [Long ago] we cut down trees with a stone axe.

There are actually two occurrences of the clitic =k in (25), one marking the noun phrase  $suwa\ sauwa\ 'coconut\ bark'$ , the other on the word  $ale\ 'properly'$ .

(25) su kiri=r suwa sauwa=k
3SG.F fire=M coconut coconut.bark=INS
ru lendo=ka ale=k 6043
3SG.M cover=REAL properly=INS

She covered the fire up the right way using coconut bark.

Note that the clitic =k cannot co-occur with other noun phrase clitics, as illustrated by (26).

(26) \*fi=m=k / \*fi=k=m re fu-m-yun ELIC spear=PL=INS / spear=INS=PL 3SG.M.OBJ hit-PAST2-1SG I killed him with spears.

The noun phrase clitics are not obligatory. For example, the noun phrase *mini* 'betelnut' occurs without a noun phrase clitic in (27).

(27) ru ka te mini nuwa-wa-r ELIC 3SG.M REAL 3SG.F.OBJ betelnut give-PAST1-3SG.M He gave her betelnut.

Similarly, the nouns *oku* 'water' and *lando* 'umbilical cord' appear without noun phrase clitics in (28).

(28) oku wiyi lando kute=ka te rete water wash umbilical.cord cut=REAL 3SG.F.OBJ put tiri-m-s 7011 leave-PAST2-3SG.F

She washed her and cut her umbilical cord. Then she put it away for her.

Additional examples of sentences containing noun phrases without a noun phrase clitic are given in (29) to (33).

- (29) on i=ka nu wa **mu** oro-ta ELIC

  1SG go=REAL 2SG IRR **tree** chop-IMP

  I will go and you go cut **the tree**.
- (30) on **walndo** sa ambe=ka 4001 1SG **yam** dig finish=REAL I finished digging **yams**.
- (31) mu re eloko-yu-m-k **fi** tongo ra=ka 6070 3PL 3SG.M.OBJ say-REP-PAST2-SUB **spear** hold get=REAL When they would tell him, he would grab [his] **spear**.

- (32) **naku** dorko si-num 4115 **sago** scrape wash-PRES.1PL We scrape and wash **sago**.
- (33) iki nu **kaku** a-na=ka ELIC NEG 2SG **mami** eat-COND=2SG.INT Would you not eat mami?

What factors govern the presence versus absence of noun phrase clitics is not entirely clear. However, one factor appears to be animacy: human noun phrases generally occur with noun phrase clitics, while those lacking noun phrase clitics appear to most often be inanimate, as in the examples above illustrating noun phrases lacking noun phrase clitics. Another factor may be specificity; most of the examples above without a noun phrase clitic appear to be nonspecific.

However, while inanimate noun phrases often appear without noun phrase clitics, they do sometimes appear with noun phrase clitics, like *mu* 'tree' in (34).

(34) mu=r oro-r wuwr=k 6097
tree=M chop-INF stone.axe=INS
[Long ago] we cut down trees with a stone axe.

Additional examples illustrating inanimate noun phrases with noun phrase clitics are given in (35) to (40); note that most of these are also specific noun phrases.

(35) di sauwo=r eku-m-yun ELIC

DET work=M do-PAST2-1SG

I did this job.

- (36) haulai ro-ko hokwa=r kute-tn OVH haulai 3SG.M-POSS song=M sing-1SG.IMP I will sing Haulai's song.
- (37) **fi=m** re fu-m-yun ELIC **spear=PL** 3SG.M.OBJ hit-PAST2-1SG I killed him with **spears**.
- (38) makwa=m ka okwe-ka-m kara 4116
  bean=PL REAL become.ripe-FUT2-3PL indeed
  The beans will definitely ripen.
- (39) loko samba=r wate-m-r 3141
  rain big=M rain.fall-PAST2-3SG.M
  A big rain fell.
- (40) or a muwku=m 6065 3SG.M.IMP eat milk=PL Let him have milk.

Conversely, there are cases of human noun phrases appearing without a noun phrase clitic, though these cases seem to be infrequent. For example, the noun *nandasi* 'brother' occurs without a noun phrase clitic in (41).

(41) **nandasi** erka su sauwro ka **brother** want 3SG.F empty.house REAL

> tukta=ka aku-m-r 4053 carry.on.head=REAL go.back-PAST2-3SG.M

[Her] brother wants her to empty the house and carried it all and go back home.

And the noun yen 'child' appears without a noun phrase clitic in (42).

(42) yen me ra er-m-r 4063 child 3PL.OBJ get say-PAST2-3SG.M The child wanted to get something from them.

The noun fer 'pig' does not occur with a noun phrase clitic in (43), but this appears to be phonological: the masculine noun phrase clitic =r is null following a noun ending in /r/.

(43) ana fer sumbu sumbu war ELIC

1SG.IMP pig follow follow go.down

Shall I follow the pig down?

When the noun phrase with the noun *fer* 'pig' is plural, we do get a plural noun phrase clitic, as in (44).

(44) afa=r o-r-a fer=m mu ya-m-k i-m-r 2162 father=M DIST-M-EMP pig=PL 3PL come-PAST2-SUB go-PAST2-3SG.M That father left when the pigs were coming.

The following illustrates a similar pattern with bir 'branch'. In (45), we get this noun in the singular without a noun phrase clitic, while in (46), we get it with the plural noun phrase clitic =m.

(45) nu hamba-na **bir** groro groro 6115
2SG be.present-COND **branch** scratch scratch
If you are alive, scratch the branch [so I can hear].

(46) dinafle nekwa ka=ben lasi nekwa=f same moon REAL=or two moon=DU bow rokor mu naku bir=m mu bringi bringi 6076 sago branch=PL 3PL divide divide 3PL dry CAUS

For one month, or maybe two months they dry [the clay pot] out; then they get sago branches and divide them into pieces.

#### 4.2.2 Predicate Clitics

In addition to the noun phrase clitics, there is a set of predicate clitics which appear on nonverbal predicates. These clitics differ from the noun phrase clitics only in that there are first and second person forms as well. The form of the third person clitics is the same as the corresponding noun phrase clitics, given in Table 18 above. The form of the first and second person predicate clitics is given in Table 19.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	=yun	=dun	=num
2	=n	=fun	=kum

Table 19: First and Second Person Predicate Clitics

Examples illustrating predicative clitics on noun phrases functioning as predicates are given in (47) to (51). In (47), we get a masculine predicate clitic on the nominal predicate *kom fenda yifkir* 'village mosong'.

(47) ru okwe-ya-r wi=ka a-ya-num kom fenda
3SG.M ripen-PRES-3SG.M go.up=REAL eat-PRES-1PL village from

yifki=r 5039
mosong=3sg.M

It ripens and grows, and we eat it. It is village mosong [type of fruit].

In (48), we get a first person singular predicate clitic on the noun *yen* 'child', head of another noun phrase functioning as predicate.

(48) ka tawa mus so-ko yen=yun 4034

REAL wife first.wife F-POSS child=1SG

I am the first wife's child.

Similarly, in (49), we get the same first person singular predicate clitic on *nanda* 'older brother'.

(49) on-da nanda=yun ka indi=k i-n 2170

1SG-EMP older.brother=1SG REAL again=LOC go-PRES.1SG

I am the older brother and I will go back.

In (50), we get a first person plural predicate clitic.

(50) a biki nawa=num=ka 7022

INJ which mother=1PL=INT

Hey! What kind of mothers are we?

In (51), we get the second person singular predicate clitic on the predicate noun *gana* 'younger brother'.

(51) nu-ra gana=n ke-kwra rusu 2170 2SG-EMP younger.brother=2SG PROX-ADV sit You are the younger brother. Rest here.

In the examples above, the clitic attaches to a noun. But as with nominal predicates, the predicate clitic will appear on an adjective if the predicate is a noun phrase consisting of a noun followed by an adjective, as in (52) to (54).

- (52) di=m bungu kasa=m 5007

  DET=PL leaf.spine red=3PL

  Some [leaf spines] are red leaf spines.
- (53) iki num a-r na-nak, baye kaha=r 3120

  NEG 1PL eat-INF be.at-VNEG grass bad=3SG.M

  It is not food for us, it is bad grass.
- (54) mu kufe=r num owe a mu=r 5074 tree good=3SG.M 1PL caterpillar eat tree=M It is a good tree, the tree where we eat caterpillars.

Similarly, it will occur on a possessive pronoun modifying a noun in a predicate noun phrase, as in (55), where the second person singular predicate clitic appears on the possessive pronoun *go* 'my'.

(55) nanda go=n iki ne tiri-kun 6051 older.sister 1SG.POSS=2SG NEG 2SG.OBJ leave-FUT1.1SG You are my older sister and I will not leave you.

In (56), the predicate clitic occurs on the postnominal word *nawe* 'only', marking the noun phrase *wou nawe* 'only a spirit' as predicate.

(56) mu ka ene fu-m-m wou nawe=yun 1622 3PL REAL 1SG.OBJ hit-PAST2-3PL spirit only=1SG They killed me and I am just a spirit now.

Example (57) is similar.

(57) waitalo=r ro-ko yen=m [tama towra] nawe=m 6066 waitalo=M 3SG.M-POSS child=PL [son] only=PL Waitalo's children were all boys.

It is not only nominal predicates which occur with predicate clitics, but also adjectival predicates. In (58), both kufem 'good' and kaham 'bad' are adjectives functioning as predicates, occurring with the plural predicate clitic =m.

As for mosongs from the jungle, some are good and some are bad.

Example (59) contains three adjectival predicates, the first two occurring with the masculine predicate clitic =r, the third with the diminutive clitic =t. The first occurrence of the masculine clitic occurs on the adjective gamur 'white', while the second attaches to the degree word mende 'very', which, along with a second degree word ata, modifies the sequence of adjectives fringi 'long' and samba 'big'.

(59) duwngu mu=r wula=k susu=ka liki ro-ko=r gamu=r duwngu tree=M jungle=LOC stand=REAL skin 3SG.M-POSS=M white=3SG.M samba ata mende=r kulka ro-ko=t fringi kaiembo=t 5091 long big very very=M leaf 3SG.M-POSS=DIM small=DIM The Duwngu tree grows in the jungle. Its skin is white. It is the very tallest

In (60), the dual predicate clitic = f attaches to the relational noun fenda, where the predicate is the phrase iroko fendaf 'from where'.

tree. Its leaves are small.

(60) rusu=ka ni=ka er-m-r ke-f iroko fenda=f=ka 4035 sit=REAL see=REAL say-PAST2-3SG.M PROX-DU where from=3DU=INT He sat watching and asked where the two were from.

Because the predicate clitics and the subject suffixes on verbs are identical in form and because the subject suffixes on verbs appear last on the verb, one might be tempted to analyze the subject suffixes on verbs as instances of the predicate clitics. The reason I do not do so is that there are some places in the verb morphology where the tense suffix and the subject suffix fuse together into a single portmanteau morpheme. Namely, as discussed in §6.2.3, the future suffix -*ka* and the first person singular suffix -*yun* fuse together to form a single morpheme -*kun*, which refers specifically to future today, as in (61).

(61) on wa kuna eku-kun ELIC

1SG IRR self do-FUT1.1SG
I will do it.

This not a simple phonological process since the full form -kayun can be used to refer to future later than today. Second, as discussed in §6.1.1, expression of present tense with a first person singular subject can be expressed by the suffix -n without a tense suffix and this form codes both present tense and a first person singular subject and is distinct from the first person singular predicate clitic =yun. However, apart from these cases, the subject suffixes on verbs could be analyzed as instances of the predicate clitics.

# **Chapter 5: Nouns and Noun Phrases**

### 5.0 Introduction

The primary defining feature of nouns in Mehek is that they possess inherent gender (§see 5.1). Although nouns frequently occur with noun phrase clitics (§4.2), this is a feature of noun phrases, not nouns. There is no inflectional morphology on nouns. Because nouns are not obligatory in noun phrases (see §5.14), the occurrence with noun phrase clitics is not a defining characteristic for nouns. The words that are most like nouns are adjectives. There are a couple of ways in which nouns are different from adjectives. One is that nouns are associated with gender, while adjectives are not. Adjectives can take noun phrase clitics, but only if they happen to be the last word in the noun phrase. A second difference between nouns and adjectives is that if they co-occur in the noun phrase, the noun will always precede the adjective. This chapter does not discuss noun phrase clitics; these are discussed in §4.2.

This chapter considers properties of nouns and the possible constituents of noun phrases. Sections §5.1 to §5.3 discuss three variables associated with nouns and noun phrases: §5.1 discusses gender, §5.2 discusses the diminutive, and §5.3 discusses number. Most of the remaining sections discuss the various possible constituents of noun phrases: §5.4 discusses the various types of pronouns; §5.5 discusses the indefinite determiner *di*; §5.6 discusses adjectives and adjective phrases; §5.7 discusses numerals; §5.8 discusses nominal possession (both pronominal and nominal possessors); §5.9 discusses relative clauses; §5.10 discusses relational nouns and the

locative/instrumental clitic; §5.11 discusses compound nouns; §5.12 discusses place names; §5.13 discusses conjoined noun phrases; and §5.14 discusses the structure of noun phrases, how the various types of constituents discussed in the preceding sections combine with each other.

# 5.1 Gender

There are two genders in Mehek, masculine and feminine. For inanimate nouns and nouns denoting many lower animals, the gender is determined lexically, although most inanimate nouns are masculine and most nouns denoting lower animals are feminine.

For nouns denoting humans and larger animals, the gender is determined by the sex of the referent.

Table 20 lists the five noun phrase clitics which appear on noun phrases, the first two of which code gender. Gender distinctions are not coded in the dual or plural.

Clitic	Meaning
=r	masculine singular (M)
=s	feminine singular (F)
=t	diminutive singular (DIM)
<b>=</b> f	dual (DU)
=m	plural (PL)

Table 20: Third Person Noun Phrase Clitics

Gender is also coded in the subject agreement on verbs, as in (1), and by predicate clitics on nonverbal predicates, as in (2). In (1), feminine gender is coded both by the

noun phrase clitic =s on the subject noun phrase nekwas 'the moon' and by the suffix -s on the verb tarekas 'shine'.

(1) nekwa=s iki tare-ka-s na-nak OVH moon=F NEG shine-FUT2-3SG.F be.at-VNEG
The moon will not shine. [Because it is cloudy.]

In (123), masculine gender is coded both by the noun phrase clitic on the subject noun phrase *Wanikwesur* and by the predicate clitic at the end of the sentence, attaching to *mende* 'very', the last word in the adjective phrase *laka ata mende* 'very old'.

(2) wanikwesu=r laka ata mende=r 7044 wanikwesu=M old very very=3SG.M Wanikwesu is the oldest.

Because subject pronouns are optional, gender is occasionally coded only on the verb, as in (3).

(3) re eloko-m-s ka kaha=m ke-m 4045 3SG.M.OBJ tell-PAST2-3SG.F REAL bad=PL PROX-PL She asked him if these were the bad ones.

In (4), masculine gender is coded on the verb, although because this verb appears to be "zero-intransitive", with a valency of zero, the masculine gender is not really agreeing with anything. It is probably masculine here because masculine is the default gender for inanimates.

(4) ekra dana-m-r 4091in.that.way sunrise-PAST2-3SG.MSo the morning broke.

Gender is syntactically important in verbal agreement in the third person singular only. In cases where the gender is overtly marked, the verb will agree with the noun phrase. However, there are many instances where the gender is not overtly marked or changes to the diminutive in the course of the utterance. In these cases, the agreement on the verb will be with the most recently used gender marking. However, the overwhelming majority of cases of gender-marking in the third person singular are masculine. Only in cases where there is a clear feminine actor will the feminine marker be used.

Most animate nouns with exclusively feminine gender are those which are not easy to identify the sex of, particularly insects and other small creatures. There are some kin terms that are exclusively feminine (though many kin terms can be applied to men and women, see §10.1). There are only six inanimate nouns which have feminine gender.

Table 21 lists all the attested nouns that only appear with feminine gender.

Noun	Meaning	Class
a wiyi	'bee'	animal
bombo	'loud fly', 'buzzing noise'	animal
fame	'large river'	environment
fi	'mosquito'	animal
gasiwa	'sister (spoken by brother)'	kin
li	'sore'	body
mangi fofo	'snail'	animal
mangur kon	'millipede'	animal
тапи тапи	'tadpole'	animal
mu gun	'termite'	animal
mu oku fi	'mosquito'	animal
nambul	'sun'	environment
nawa	'mother', 'maternal aunt'	kin
nekwa	'moon', 'month'	environment
nun	'louse'	animal
oku sofo	'eel'	animal
samdo	'spider'	animal
sangu	'white ant'	animal
sangu tama	'white ant with wings'	animal
sifi	'ant'	animal
tawa yen	'daughter'	kin
wal	'tall ginger'	plant
walingi	'crab', 'turtle'	animal
wiyi	'bee'	animal
yaku	'paternal grandmother'	kin
yau	'brother's wife', 'husband's sister'	kin
yinawe	'earthquake'	environment

Table 21: Exclusively Feminine Nouns

Three of the words in Table 21 have a masculine counterpart with a different meaning but phonologically identical. The three words which have a masculine counterpart are given in Table 22.

	Meaning as	Meaning as
Noun	feminine noun	masculine noun
fi	'mosquito'	'spear' or 'milk'
li	'sore'	'feathers'
nekwa	'moon', 'month'	'tree wallaby'

Table 22: Homophonous Feminine and Masculine Nouns

There are also some nouns denoting environmental features that pattern like animals in that they can take either masculine or feminine gender, though not all speakers will agree with this. Speakers who accept this distinction will allow the feminine gender for weaker or milder versions of these phenomena, as follows: nambul 'sun', gwa 'fog' and loko 'rain'. However, masculine gender is considered the default for these nouns.

#### 5.2 Diminutive

There is also a diminutive category which is in paradigmatic opposition to gender and number. It might be treated as a gender, since it occurs in paradigmatic opposition to masculine and feminine and like masculine and feminine, it is inherently singular. However there are no nouns that are lexically diminutive; any noun can be associated with diminutive, although in practice it is more often nouns denoting humans or animals that are associated with diminutive. The diminutive is used if the speaker wishes to emphasize that an entity is either small, as in (5), or young, as in (6).

(5) gulma wate lako=t di=t kulfo kulfo=t grasshopper wate lako=DIM DET=DIM green green=DIM di=t kasa kasa=t 5082
DET=DIM red red=DIM

The Wate Lako Grasshopper. One [kind] is green and one is red.

(6) re eloko-m-s yen go=t
3SG.M.OBJ tell-PAST2-3SG.F child 1SG.POSS=DIM
tambo ra=ka aku 7069
follow get=REAL go.back

She said to him, take my [small] child with you and go.

Example (7) illustrates the use of diminutive with an inanimate noun, mini 'betelnut'.

(7) ru-ra mini=t ka te nuwa-wa-r ELIC 3SG.M-EMP betelnut=DIM REAL 3SG.F.OBJ give-PAST1-3SG.M He gave her one betelnut.

Example (8) illustrates the use of the diminutive with a body part, suwa 'foot'.

(8) nu suwa kufe no-ko=t on-da suwa kaha=t 4041 2SG foot good 2SG-POSS=DIM 1SG-EMP foot bad=DIM You [have] your good foot and I [have] the bad foot.

The diminutive can be used with mass nouns which denote a singular instance, as in (9).

(9) baye-t o-t-a semra aku 4074 grass-DIM DIST-DIM-EMP pull.out go.back Pull out that (blade) of grass.

The diminutive can also be a way for the speaker to express affection towards the referent of the noun phrase.

Like gender and number, diminutive is also marked on verbs, as in (10), and on nonverbal predicates, like *kaiembo* 'small' in (11).

- (10) grambi di=t on ni-m-t 7028 mango DET=DIM 1SG see-PAST2-DIM A small mango was seen by me.
- (11) ke-t-a sauwo=t kaiembo=t on wa kuna eku-kun ELIC PROX-DIM-EMP work=DIM small=DIM 1SG IRR self do-FUT1.1sG This job is small, I will do it.

Compare the use of a masculine clitic with the noun *kiri* 'fire' in (12) with the use of the diminutive clitic in (13) where the speaker wants to emphasize that it is a small fire.

- (12) ru kiri=r u u u kiri samba=r 6043 3sg.M fire=M burn burn burn fire big=3sg.M He started the fire. [It was] a large fire.
- (13) sukna dana=ka rete=ka kiri kufe=t dun-m-r 7073 sleep dawn.break=REAL put=REAL fire good=DIM start.fire-PAST2-3sG.M He slept until dawn and then started a good little fire.

In (14), the first instance of *kaku* 'mami' occurs with a diminutive clitic since it refers to a single mami that is small, while the second occurs with a masculine clitic since it is referring to mami without referring to a specific one.

(14) kaku=t ru lisi=ka tongo=ka ru ya=ka mami=DIM 3SG.M pull=REAL hold=REAL 3SG.M come=REAL re nuwa-m-r kaku=r ru a ambe rete=ka 6115 3SG.M.OBJ give-PAST2-3SG.M mami=M 3SG.M eat finish put=REAL He cooked the little mami and held it. A [man] came and he gave him some mami. He finished eating it up.

This alternation between diminutive and masculine or feminine can reflect a shifting focus on the properties of the referent of the noun phrase as perceived by the speaker, vis. the size or affection towards the object.

There are a few places in Mehek grammar where there is either no possibility of a diminutive value or the diminutive form is rarely used, although coding of person/number/gender is possible. One situation where there is no possibility of a diminutive value is in the possessive pronouns (§5.4.4), where one must code the possessor as masculine or feminine. A similar situation arises with the object form of personal pronouns (§5.4.2). There is again no diminutive form, though curiously the form of the feminine object pronoun is *te*, the form we would expect if there were a diminutive object pronoun, rather than what would be the expected form *se* (which does not exist). With the subject form of personal pronouns, there is a diminutive form *tu*, but it is rarely used.

Within a text, it is possible for a given referent to be treated as masculine or feminine part of the time but as diminutive part of the time. For example, the text in Appendix 1 (Text A.1), there are two women, both wives of the male character in the

text. The first wife is treated as feminine in sentence (4) and continues as such until sentence (28), where she is treated as diminutive, though this occurs in a direct quotation by the husband. And in sentence (30), she is treated as feminine, though this too occurs in a direct quotation, but by the second wife. In sentence (33), she is treated as diminutive but although this is not a direct quotation, the sentence is saying that the husband feels bad for her, so the choice of diminutive may reflect the husband's feelings. In sentences (36) and (37) and subsequent sentences, she is again treated as feminine. The second wife is initially treated as diminutive in sentence (5). However, in subsequent sentences she is treated as feminine.

It is possible to have alternations between diminutive and feminine or masculine gender or plural number for the same referent within the same sentence. In (15), the subject *aye barmbar* has a coreferential feminine pronoun *su* following it, but the two predicates of this clause, *kandat* 'thin' and *kaiembot* 'small' both bear diminutive predicate clitics (and the verbs of the next two clauses, both *suknat* 'sleep', also bear diminutive inflection). However, this could be attributed to the fact that the diminutive subject pronoun *tu* is rarely used.

(15) aye barmba=r kanda=t kaiembo=t bongo=k su mu aye barba=м 3sg.f thin=3sg.pim small=3sg.pim tree.crotch tree sukna-t kumba=k sukna-t 3809 mu liki=k o-t-a mu sleep=3sg.dim tree skin=loc dist-dim-emp tree leaf=loc sleep-3sg.dim Aye Barbar is thin and small, she lives in the crotch of a branch or tree bark or in leaves.

A similar example is given in (16), where the mosquito is treated as diminutive in the first clause, both by the noun phrase clitic on *fit* 'mosquito' and the predicate clitic on *ata* 'very', while in the next clause the possessive form is *sokom*, which now treats the mosquito as feminine. However, this can be explained by the lack of a possessive pronoun indicating a diminutive possessor.

(16) felnde afu fi=t samba ata=t felnde afu mosquito=DIM big very=DIM suwa lesu so-ko=m fringi=m 5030 leg hand 3SG.F-POSS=PL long=3PL

The felnde afu mosquito is very big; she has long legs.

Another example of this is given in (17). The noun phrase *naku walo* 'walo sago' is the possessor of *kulka* 'leaf' and the possessive pronoun *sokot* bears feminine inflection for the possessor, while in the clause at the end, it is treated as diminutive, as illustrated by the diminutive predicate clitic on *kufet* 'good'.

(17) naku walo kulka so-ko=t kaiembo=t na naku kufe=t 3809 sago walo leaf 3F-POSS=DIM small=3sg.DIM and sago good=DIM The leaves of the walo sago are short and it's a good sago.

A case that is more difficult to explain is given in (18), where the subject is an implicitly conjoined noun phrase, conjoining *liki sokor* 'its skin' with *kulka sokom* 'its feathers'. We might expect the resulting noun phrase to be plural, but instead we get diminutive predicate clitics on the three predicate adjectives.

(18) liki so-ko=r kulka so-ko=m okwe okwe=t skin 3sg.f-poss=M feather 3sg.F-POSS=PL yellow yellow=3sg.DIM kulfo kulfo=t gamu=t 3810 gamu green green=3sg.dim white white=DIM

Its skin and feathers are yellow, green, and white.

An alternative way to express feelings of affection is by means of the word *kaha*, which otherwise means 'bad'. When used this way, it conveys a sense of closeness and intimacy. It is often accompanied by a kin term plus a first person singular possessive pronoun in the order possessed noun plus *kaha* plus possessive pronoun, as in examples (19) to (21).

- (19) yau nandasi kaha go=f brother's.wife brother bad 1SG.POSS=DU di=t kiri wa ene nuwa-ka-fun 6047 fire DET=DIM **IRR** 1SG.OBJ give-FUT2-3DU My brother and wife, [please] give me some fire.
- (20) re er-m-r e nan kaha go=r 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.M INJ grandson bad 1SG.POSS=M biki biki kulu=k 6062 ya-wa=ø how how road=LOC come-PAST1=2SG.INT He said to him, "Hey, my grandson! How did you come here?"
- (21) re er-m-r gana kaha go=n 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.M younger.brother bad 1SG.POSS=2SG 6070 fer ka fu-wa-n pig REAL hit-PAST1-2SG He said to him, "My younger brother, you killed a pig."

When not used in conjunction with the possessive word, *kaha* can be used as a term of reverence, as in (22).

(22) ka kaha=r ya-ya-r=a maure kum kuna i 2177

REAL bad=M go-PRES-3SG.M=INT ancestor 2PL self go
Is that an evil spirit coming? [Said to a friend upon his return.]

# 5.3 Number

There is no marking of number on nouns in Mehek, though the noun phrase clitics serve as an indication of number within the noun phrase. Number is also coded on the verb. The language distinguishes three numbers, singular, dual, and plural. However, though not common, dual number, whether it involves a dual pronoun, a dual noun phrase clitic, or dual agreement on the verb, can be used to indicate a small number of people or items rather than exactly two. While the dual typically literally indicates two of something, in contexts where it is clear that exactly two is not strictly implied, the use of the dual takes on a paucal meaning. In example (23), a group of children was exhorted to each go gather a small amount of edible leaves and then to pool their findings to give away. It was clear that they would not each gather only two leaves each, as a typical collection of leaves would involve more than two leaves. In this case, the dual was meant to indicate a smaller than usual number of leaves.

(23) kum ka kita luwku=f ra [nu di=t ra](repeated 5 times)

2PL REAL tulip greens=DU get [2SG DET=DIM get]

wa re nuwa-ka-kum ELIC

IRR 3SG.M.OBJ give-FUT2-2PL

You [plural] get some tulip leaves. You get some, (repeated 5 times) and you will give [them all] to him.

In (24), the person was asking a group of three if they were still present. The speaker knew there were three people, but the point was being made that it was a small group.

(24) dun rusu-ya-dun kara OVH1DU sit-PRES-1DU indeedWe are still staying [here]? [Referring to a group of three people.]

Example (25) is an instance of the dual being addressed to a small group.

(25) ru ka wra tawul bleu a-m-r come.out tongue 3SG.M REAL lick eat-PAST2-3SG.M kefen 7004 mei leave.alone 2DU.OBJ

He came out and stuck his tongue out [at them]. You people leave me alone!

In this case, the object form of the second person dual pronoun is being used as a

vocative phrase or address pronoun; the object forms of second person object pronouns

can also be used as address pronouns.

### 5.4 Pronouns

There are five sets of personal pronouns, one for subjects, one for objects, one for possessors and two more specialized sets, one that is used in imperative constructions

and one that is used for emphasis. Pronouns show the same gender and number distinctions as nouns (see §5.1 to §5.3): they distinguish singular, dual, and plural number along with a distinction in the third-person singular only between masculine and feminine gender and diminutive. Except for the possessive pronouns, the personal pronouns have unique mono-morphemic forms for each of these distinctions in each set. The possessive pronouns inflect for the person, gender and number of the possessor.

Pronouns are used quite frequently and, after something has been introduced in discourse by a proper or common noun, the noun will often not be repeated again in the discourse. Even if there are two participants both of the same gender in stories, the two participants will not be distinguished with nouns and only pronouns will be used. As most stories are well known to all listeners, it is assumed the listener already understands who is doing which action and therefore disambiguation is unnecessary.

### **5.4.1 Subject Pronouns**

There is a distinct set of pronouns used for subjects. Table 23 lists all of the subject pronoun forms.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	on	dun	num
2	nu	fun	kum
3M	ru		
3F	su	fu	mu
3D	tu		

Table 23: Subject Pronouns

The examples in (26) to (28) exemplify the use of the subject pronouns. Subject pronouns are usually the first word in a clause, and object pronouns immediately precede the verb. Examples (26) and (28) also contain object pronouns.

- (26) on ka me eloko-wa-yun ELIC

  1SG REAL 3PL.OBJ tell-PAST1-1SG
  I told them.
- (27) kum o-kwra rusu-ya-kum 3133
  2PL DIST-ADV sit-PRES-2PL
  You [all] are sitting there.
- (28) mu ka tama nemen [numba noko]-m-m 1126 3PL REAL person 1PL.OBJ [poison]-PAST2-3PL They poisoned us men.

Many of the examples throughout this grammar include a subject pronoun.

Example (29) has no subject pronoun or subject agreement due to the conditional suffix (see §6.3.2), but the subject is understood from context.

(29) ekra ende mesu-na 6094 thus 1DU.OBJ hear-COND So if they hear us two [then something will happen]. The great majority of animate referents in a discourse will be referred to by pronouns, and the great majority of pronouns are in subject form; third person forms make up the majority of those forms in my texts (particularly given that only a very few recordings were conversations). In addition to the masculine/feminine distinction in the third person singular, there is a largely (possibly) obsolete form for the third singular diminutive, which is tu. Though almost never used, it is used occasionally, as in (30).

(30) tu u-na gwini=t ni ni i-num 5099
3SG.DIM glow-COND mushroom=DIM see see go-PRES.1PL
As for the mushroom [which is said to] glow, we come look for it.

The subject form of personal pronouns are used for pronouns serving as "object" of relational nouns (see §5.10), as in (31), where the "object" of *kana* 'with' is the subject form *su*.

(31) su kana su kom sukna-m-s 7054

3sg.F with 3sg.F village sleep-PAST2-3sg.F

She slept in the village with her.

Example (32) is similar, where the emphatic subject form (see §5.4.5) of the third person plural pronoun, namely *mura*, is used before *kana*.

(32) mu-ra kana yam a-r erka na-r ru ka kra kra 2723 3PL-EMP with banana eat-INF want but-M3SG.M real cry cry He wanted to go with them to eat bananas, but he was crying

### 5.4.2 Object Pronouns

Table 24 lists all of the object pronouns forms.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	ene	ende	nemen
2	ne	kefen	kemen
3M	re	fe	(e)me
3F	te	Je	(e)IIIe

Table 24: Object Pronouns

There are two oddities in the forms in Table 24. First the feminine third singular object form is *te*, rather than the expected *se*. The second is the absence of a diminutive form. These two oddities seem to be related, since if there were a diminutive form, the expected form would be *te*, the form we actually find for the feminine. This suggests that *te* was originally a diminutive form.

The object forms of the personal pronouns are used for both direct and indirect object, though with the latter only if the referent is animate. Examples (33) to (35) plus example (29) above show some object pronouns in short utterances.

- (33) nawa=s ene rusu kuna-ya-s ELIC mother=F 1SG.OBJ sit wait-PRES-3SG.F [My] mother is waiting for me.
- (34) fu ya=ka re kuna-m-k 7037 3DU come=REAL 3SG.M.OBJ wait-PAST2-SUB They came while they were waiting for him.
- (35) bu=r ende eku-ka=ø 6088 what=M 1DU.OBJ do-FUT2=2SG.INT What will you do to us [dual]?

(36) ene a ambe-ø 6107 1SG.OBJ eat finish-2SG.IMP Finish it for me.

If there is both a direct and indirect object, as in the case of verbs of communication and the verb *nuwa* 'give', the direct object is always a common noun in my data, as in (37) and (38).

- (37) ru-ra mini=t ka te nuwa-wa-r ELIC 3SG.M-EMP betelnut=DIM REAL 3SG.F.OBJ give-PAST1-3SG.M He gave her one betelnut.
- (38) marsofo ru war naka re sungamba marsofo 3SG.M come.down and 3SG.M.OBJ story

  tolo-ya-num 7042
  tell-PRES-1PL

Marsofo is coming down and we are telling him the story.

Utterances with only a direct object and not an indirect object often do express the direct object with an object pronoun, as in (39). (This example also illustrates the less common alternate form *eme* of the third person plural pronoun *me*.)

(39) mu eme ni-wa-m OVH 3PL 3PL.OBJ see-PAST1-3PL They saw them.

This is true even if the direct object is inanimate, as in (40).

(40) num re tanngu=ka 5008

1PL 3SG.M.OBJ cover=REAL

We covered it.

An object pronoun can be used impersonally in cases of accidental events, as illustrated in (41).

(41) oku=k ene war-wa-r 6067
water=LOC 1SG.OBJ go.down-PAST1-3SG.M
It fell down into the water. [It fell in the water on me.]

### **5.4.3 Imperative Pronouns**

There is a separate set of pronouns used in imperative sentences; these are the imperative pronouns. The forms are shown in Table 25.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	ana	anda	ama
2	(nu)	fun	kum
3M	or		
3F	os	of	om
3D	ot		

Table 25: Imperative Pronouns

The only unique imperative forms are those for first person. The third person forms are identical to the third person demonstrative pronouns (see §5.4.6) while the forms for second person are identical with the second person subject pronouns. Verbal marking for imperative mood is accomplished by use of a bare verb stem, and the use of an imperative pronoun together with the verb stem is otherwise the only way to indicate a command. For second person commands, the dual and plural pronouns are

obligatory with the bare verb, while the second person singular pronoun is optional.

Examples (42) and (43) illustrate this.

- (42) (nu) wra=ø ELIC (2SG.IMP) come.in=2SG.IMP Come in!
- (43) fun wra=Ø ELIC

  2DU.IMP come.in=2SG.IMP

  Come in [you two]!

Examples (44) and (45) illustrate first person imperatives, where a pronoun is required.

- (44) anda kom yoko i 1622 1DU.IMP village towards go Let's [the two of us] go to the village.
- (45) ana fer sumbu sumbu war ELIC 1SG.IMP pig follow follow go.down Shall I follow the pig down?

Third person imperatives have the meaning of 'let him/her/them do x', as in (46).

(46) of ne waki=ka 4046
3DU.IMP 2SG.OBJ tie=REAL
Let the two of them tie it for you.

It is the lack of any verbal morphology and the lack of the obligatory mood particle which distinguishes a command from a statement (see §7.2). Examples (47) and (48) express a similar meaning, the former being a command and the latter being a statement.

- (47) or mau=k i ELIC
  3SG.M.IMP jungle=LOC go
  Let him go to the jungle.
- (48) ru ka mau=k i-wa-r ELIC 3SG.M REAL jungle=LOC go-PAST1-3SG.M He went to the jungle.

Examples (49) and (50) illustrate the possibility of variant word order in third person imperatives. In (50), the object of the imperative is expressed after the verb.

- (49) or muwku a 6065
  3SG.M.IMP milk eat
  Let him have milk.
- (50) or a muwku=m 6065

  3SG.M.IMP eat milk=PL

  Let him have milk.

In (51), the word *tirika* 'let' can be optionally used in third person imperative constructions, but must come first.

(51) tiri=ka or i 6105 let=REAL 3SG.M.IMP go Let him go.

There is also a negative imperative (or prohibitive) word *mana* which can accompany any of the imperative pronouns, as in (52); this is discussed further in §7.8.3.

(52) nanglu ene er-m-s mana ana 7050 greens 1SG.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.F PROH 1SG.IMP [About] greens, she said to me, "I will not [eat any]."

There are also two imperative suffixes on verbs, -tn and -ta, discussed in §6.5.

#### **5.4.4 Possessive Pronouns**

The possessive pronouns are formed by combining a possessive prefix with the stem  $-ko \sim go$ . This is the only morpheme in Mehek that occurs with prefixes. The forms of the possessive pronouns are given in Table 26.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	ongo ~ go	dungo	numgo
2	noko	fungo	kumgo
3M	roko³	foko	moko
3F	soko	JUKU	moko

Table 26: Possessive Pronouns

Example (53) illustrates the 3SG.M possessive pronoun roko.

(53) sir ro-ko=r wasuwarme=r 2094
name 3SG.M-POSS=M wasuwarme=3SG.M
His name is Wasuwarme. [It is his name. It is Wasuwarme.]

Examples (54) and (55) illustrate the first and second person dual possessive pronouns, where the form of the possessive stem is *-go* rather than *-ko*, since the prefix in both cases ends in a nasal consonant.

(54) fun tolo ekaa rusu yungu di fun-go kom=k 6093 2DU tell food sit like DET 2DU-POSS village=LOC You [dual] talk, eat and sit in your [dual] village.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A possible confusion can occur with the form *rokor*, the form that results from combining the 3M.SG possessive pronoun roko occurs with the 3M.SG noun phrase clitic =r. This form resembles a monomorphemic word *rokor* which is a causal marker and frequently occurs at the end of clauses (see §8.2.3).

(55) walingi dun-go=t rete=ka sukna-ya-dun 4079 crab 1DU-POSS=DIM put=REAL sleep-PRES-1DU Put our [dual] crab [away while] we are sleeping.

The two forms *ongo* and *go* of the first person singular possessive pronoun are in free variation, with some speakers preferring the former and some the latter. The form *ongo* is regular in that it combines the first person singular subject pronoun *on* with the stem *-go*, the form of the stem that occurs following a consonant. The first person singular form *go* is more irregular, since it consists only of the stem.<sup>4</sup> Examples (56) and (57) illustrate the two forms.

- (56) re fu-m-r ongo yen=r 4100 3SG.M.OBJ hit-PAST2-3SG.M 1SG.POSS child=M He killed my child.
- (57) embleo go=r wur-m-r ke-m-ra kara 3804 mountain 1SG.POSS=M go.up-PAST2-3SG.M DIST-3PL-EMP indeed He came up onto my mountain, those very [mountains].

When possessive pronouns follow the noun, they normally occur with the noun phrase clitic that codes the number and gender of the possessee, illustrated by the clitic =r in both (56) and (57) above. Although in one sense the possessive pronoun is coding the number and gender of the possessee, this is only because it is coding the number

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> However, one explanation for the form go is that it is formed by using a reduced form of on that is just /n/. This produces a consonant cluster /ng/, which is realized simply as prenasalized [ $^ng$ ], which is the way /g/ is pronounced prenasalized at the beginning of words, so that the full form is simply go. In other words, according to this hypothesis, the prenasalization started out as a morpheme /n/ but was reinterpreted as the prenasalization of the /g/.

and gender of the entire noun phrase, which is equivalent to coding the number and gender of the possessee. However, when the possessive pronoun precedes the noun, it does not occur with a noun phrase clitic, since that clitic always occurs at the end of the noun phrase (though before a postnominal numeral or demonstrative). This is illustrated in (56) above and (58), where the noun phrase clitic occurs on the noun.

(58) yen kum-go=r ka kemen tiri-ka-yun 2110 child 2PL-POSS=M REAL 2PL.OBJ leave-FUT2-1SG I will leave your child with all of you.

Example (59) is similar, except that the noun phrase clitic occurs on a postnominal modifier, *yelnda* 'all'.

(59) ro-ko tama yeInda=r ru eloko=ka 2110 3SG.M-POSS person all=M 3SG.M tell=REAL He told all his men.

Example (60) shows that one can get a predicate clitic on a possessive pronoun if the pronoun follows the noun in a predicate noun phrase.

(60) nanda go=n iki ne tiri-kun 6051 older.sister 1SG.POSS=2SG NEG 2SG.OBJ leave-FUT1.1SG You are my older sister and I will not leave you.

The possessive form of the interrogative pronoun *em* is *emoko*, formed by combining *em* with the possessive stem *-ko*, except that an additional /o/ occurs between *em* and *-ko*. Examples (61) and (62) show the interrogative form of the possessive.

- (61) nu emo-ko yen=ka 7062 2SG who-POSS child=INT Whose child are you?
- (62) ke-f-ra emo-ko tawa=f=ka ELIC DIST-DU-EMP who-POSS woman=3DU=INT Whose wives are these two?

There is also a specialized use of the possessive form *yo* that is only possible in the first person singular, and is only used with kin terms, illustrated in (63) and (64).

- (63) afa yo=r ene fu-ya-r 6025 father POSS=M 1SG.OBJ hit-PRES-3SG.M My father hit me.
- (64) tete yo=r ka fu-wa-m 6050 older.sibling POSS=M REAL hit-PAST1-3PL They hit my older sibling.

### **5.4.5 Emphatic Pronouns**

There are also special set of emphatic pronouns. These are formed by adding the emphatic suffix -ra (see also §5.4.6). The emphatic personal pronouns are listed in Tables 27 and 28.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	onda	dunra	numra
2	nura	funra	kumra
3M	rura	fura	mura
3F	sura	juru	muru

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	enera	endera	nemenra
2	nera	kefenra	kemenra
3M	rera	fera	mera
3F	tera	jeru	meru

Table 27: Emphatic Subject Pronouns

Table 28: Emphatic Object Pronouns

All of the emphatic pronouns are formed transparently by adding -ra except for the first person singular form, which is onda (rather than onra).

For emphatic possessive forms, the emphatic suffix -ra attaches to the possessive morpheme and the noun phrase clitic (if present) attaches to it. Example (65) illustrates the emphatic possessive pronoun rokora (shown in boldface).

(65) fu rusu rusu i i ekaa=m ru er-m yungu 3DU sit sit go go go food=PL 3SG.M say-GER DEP hamba-yu-m-n naku elowo=m iki wula=k be.present-REP-PAST2-2SG sago animal=PL NEG jungle=LOC ra-yu-m-f i=ka ro-ko-ra gasiwa=s get-REP-PAST2-3DU go=REAL 3SG.M-POSS-EMP sister=F maure wulmba ro-ko 6094 gasiwa=s spirit wulmba 3SG.M-POSS sister=F

They [dual] sat for a while and then went away. He said, "you stayed here for the food." They did not get sago or meat from the jungle. They went to his sister [to get food]. That is, Maure Wulmba's sister.

Example (66) contains two occurrences of the emphatic possessive pronoun *mokora* (as well as two emphatic object pronouns).

(66) num ernumba=ka ambe=ka tongo=ka 1<sub>PL</sub> greet=REAL finish=REAL hold=REAL ka aku-m-m na nuwa=ka mu mo-ko-ra ekaa=m go.back-past2-3pl real and give=real 3PL **3PL-POSS-EMP** food=PL me-ra nuwa-m-m mu mo-ko-ra ekaa=m give-PAST2-3PL food=P 3PL.OBJ-EMP 3<sub>PL</sub> **3**PL-POSS-EMP re-ra nuwa-m-m naka ekaa=ka ka 3SG.M.OBJ-EMP give-PAST2-3PL and eat=REAL REAL kufe hiki=ka 6024 rusu=ka i-m-m good think=REAL sit=REAL go-PAST2-3PL

We greeted [each other]. We finished [preparing food], got it and then they went back. And their food, they gave them their food. And they [gave] them their food. They gave him [his] food and [they] ate. They sat and thought good [thoughts] and then left.

There is also a set of emphatic demonstrative pronouns described in §5.4.6 below.

The factors governing the use of the emphatic pronouns are not clear, though they are not used for focus (e.g. for 'her' in 'I saw *her*'). Example (67) contains four emphatic pronouns, shown in boldface.

(67) **o-f-ra** ya auna ra-m-f ekra come claim.land get-PAST2-3DU **DIST-DU-EMP** thus aku-m-f kaha kaha=m o-m-ra ra-m-m go.back-past2-3du bad bad=PL **DIST-PL-EMP** go get-PAST2-3PL kufe=m ra-m-f ifingwa wasaali=f ka fu-ra good=PL **REAL** ifingwa wasaali=DU **3DU-EMP** get-PAST2-3DU o-f-ra aku-m-f 4058 ra tongo ra=ka ka get hold get=REAL **DIST-DU-EMP** REAL go.back-PAST2-3DU

Those two came and took land. They [dual] did bad things. Those [others] went and did good things. Ifingwa and Wasaali, those two took land. They took it and went back.

Example (68) illustrates the emphatic pronoun sura.

(68) ka [tawa mu]=s su-ra ka war-m-s su=yu REAL [first wife]=F **3SG.F-EMP** REAL go.down-PAST2-3SG.F 3SG.F=DISC kana ka wuya-m-s su wuya-m-k with REAL come.up-PAST2-3SG.F come.up-PAST2-SUB ka di=t er-m-s tama i musun **REAL** 3SG.F.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.F INJ man INJ dirt.speck DET=DIM o-t-a lako=k ni-k 4066 ana ne DIST-DIM-EMP eye=LOC 1SG.IMP 2SG.OBJ see-SUB

The first wife, she went down [to the garden].

It was with her she [second wife] went down.

While she [first wife] was coming [back] up, she [second wife] said,

"Hey! You have a speck of dirt in this eye. Let me see you [to get it out]."

There is also a distinct set of emphatic predicate pronouns for first person. These are given in Table 29.

Singular	Dual	Plural
ondayun	durandun / dundura	numranum
on-da=yun	du-ra=dun / dundu-ra	num-ra=num

Table 29: Emphatic Predicate Pronouns for First Person

The full range of functions of these emphatic predicate pronouns is not well understood, but one use is for meanings like 'It's me', where the pronoun stands as a complete utterance. These emphatic predicate pronouns can also be paired with a verb, as in example (69).

(69) ke-r-a du-ra-dun rusu-ya-dun 6077
PROX-M-EMP 1DU-EMP-1DU sit-PRES-1DU
Here we two are, we are staying here.

These emphatic predicate pronouns can also serve as the predicate of a clause, as in (70).

(70) yen kin=yun on-da=yun 4010 child last.born=1SG 1SG-EMP=1SG I am the last-born child.

Finally, emphatic predicate pronouns can be used for a subject that is in focus, as in (71).

(71) lamne akatangu=f num-ra=num mansuku gaien=num lamne akatangu=DU 1PL-EMP=1PL mansuku gaien=1PL 1126 o-kwra mu wuta DIST-ADV tree cut

[With] Lamne and Akatangu, it is we who are [of the clan] Mansuku Gaien. We chopped down trees there.

In contexts where emphatic predicate pronouns for first person would be used, but where the pronoun is second or third person, the subject forms of the emphatic pronouns are used.

#### **5.4.6 Demonstrative Pronouns**

The words I am calling demonstrative pronouns can actually be used either as pronouns (i.e. standing as a complete noun phrase) or as adnominal words. In that sense, they differ from the pronouns discussed above, which are not generally used adnominally (except of course possessive pronouns). Example (72) illustrates the feminine form of the proximal demonstrative pronoun, *kes*.

(72) ke-s bu=m eku-ya-s=ka 6021
PROX-F what=PL do-PRES-3SG.F=INT
What is this one [she] doing?

Demonstratives make a three-way distance distinction, though it is one that is roughly based on person rather than distance *per se*, since they corresond to first, second, and third person. The three types are proximal (close to the speaker), distal (close to addressee, but away from speaker) and remote (far from both speaker and addressee). The proximal and distal demonstratives are formed by combining a demonstrative stem, *ke*- in the case of the proximal, *o*- in the case of the distal, with a suffix coding number/gender/diminutiveness. These suffixes are identical in form to the corresponding noun phrase clitics. The remote demonstrative is really a combination of the distal demonstrative with the word *yal* (examples (102) and (103) below illustrate this word). The proximal and distal demonstratives are listed in Table 30.

		Proximal	Distal
		PROX	DIST
	Masc.	ke-r	o-r
Singular	Fem.	ke-s	o-s
	Dim.	ke-t	o-t
	Dual	ke-f	o-f
	Plural	ke-m	o-m

Table 30: Demonstrative Pronouns

Example (73) illustrates the masculine form of the proximal demonstative ker.

Example (74) illustates the corresponding distal demonstrative *or* functioning as object of the verb *nir* 'see'.

There is also a set of emphatic demonstrative pronouns, listed in Table 31.

		Proximal	Distal
		PROX	DIST
	Masc.	ke-ra	o-ra
Singular	Fem.	ke-sa	o-sa
	Dim.	ke-ta	o-ta
	Dual	ke-f-ra	o-f-ra
	Plural	ke-m-ra	o-m-ra

Table 31: Emphatic Demonstrative Pronouns

These are formed in the singular by adding /a/ to the ordinary demonstrative pronouns and in the dual and plural by adding /ra/ to the ordinary demonstrative pronouns. The emphatic demonstrative pronouns are actually more common in my texts than the ordinary ones. Example (75) illustrates the the masculine form of the emphatic distal demonstrative, *ora*, used adnominally.

(75) afa=r o-r-a fer=m mu ya-m-k i-m-r 2162 father=M DIST-M-EMP pig=PL 3PL come-PAST2-SUB go-PAST2-3SG.M That father left when the pigs were coming.

Example (76) illustrates the masculine form of the emphatic proximal demonstrative *kera* used pronominally.

(76) ke-r-a emo-ko yirkwe=r=ka ELIC PROX-M-EMP who-POSS knife=M=INT Whose knife is this?

Example (77) illustrates the feminine form of the emphatic demonstrative *kesa* used pronominally.

(77) ke-s-a ke-kwra susu-ya-s 4097
PROX-F-EMP PROX-ADV stand-PRES-3SG.F
This one is standing here.

Example (78) illustrates the dual form of the emphatic proximal demonstrative *kefra*.

(78) ke-f-ra emo-ko tawa=f=ka ELIC PROX-DU-EMP who-POSS woman=3DU=INT Whose wives are these two?

Example (79) illustrates the plural form of the emphatic distal demonstrative *omra*.

(79) o-m-ra aka=k rii-kya-s 5055
DIST-PL-EMP house=LOC remain-FUT1-3SG.F
Those ones stay in the house.

As discussed in §5.14, when modifying a noun, the demonstratives either precede or follow the noun, though in my text data they more often follow the noun, as in (38)

above. Example (80) illustrates the emphatic demonstrative *keta* preceding the noun *sauwo* 'work'.

(80) ke-t-a sauwo=t kaiembo=t on wa kuna eku-kun ELIC PROX-DIM-EMP work=DIM small=DIM 1SG IRR self do-FUT1.1SG This job is small, I will do it.

As noted above, the number/gender suffixes on demonstratives are identical in form to the corresponding noun phrase clitics. This might lead one to analyze these suffixes as instances of noun phrase clitics. However, there is evidence that they are not instances of noun phrase clitics in that when the demonstrative precedes the noun, the number/gender suffix still occurs on the demonstrative, as in (80) above, where we get both the diminutive suffix on the demonstrative *keta* and a diminuitive noun phrase clitic on the noun *sauwo* 'work' at the end of the noun phrase. Similarly, in (81), where we get both a masculine suffix on the demonstrative *ker* and a masculine noun phrase clitic on the noun, at the end of the noun phrase.

(81) ke-r aka=r ka owle-wa-r 7041

PROX-M house=M REAL be.full-PAST1-3SG.M

This house was full.

And in (82), we get the masculine form of the emphatic demonstrative *kera* preceding the noun, as well as a masculine noun phrase clitic on the postnominal possessive word *rokor*.

(82) ke-r-a di sauwo samba ro-ko=r
PROX-M-EMP DET work big 3SG.M-POSS=M
iki on eku-nak ELIC
NEG 1SG do-VNEG

I didn't do this big job of his.

In (83), we get a demonstrative preceding an adjective in a noun phrase lacking a noun, and we get both the masculine inflection on the demonstrative and the masculine clitic on the adjective.

(83) klei ke-r afko=r ende ya ni-ya-r 6093 then PROX-M old=M 1DU.OBJ come see-PRES-3SG.M And then this old man came and saw us. [He was the same person.]

Furthermore, when the demonstrative follows the noun, there is both a noun phrase clitic on the word preceding the demonstrative and inflection on the demonstrative itself, as in (84) to (88). In (84) to (86), the noun phrase clitic appears on the noun, preceding the demonstrative.

- (84) yefa=m o-m-ra su me noko noko noko 6006 bone=PL DIST-PL-EMP 3SG.F 3PL.OBJ gather gather They kept on gathering up all those bones.
- (85) yefa=f o-f-ra fu-yu-m-r 4031 bone=DU DIST-DU-EMP hit-REP-PAST2-3SG.M He kept hitting these two bones.
- (86) okwa=t o-t-a kete rusu-yu-m-r 4034 song=DIM DIST-DIM-EMP sing sit-REP-PAST2-3SG.M He would sit and sing that [same] song.

In (87) and (88), the noun phrase clitic appears on a postnominal adjective, but the demonstrative that follows is also inflected for number/gender. In (87), the demonstrative *ora* follows the adjective *welmbe* 'true', which bears the noun phrase clitic.

(87) ekra indi=k siri-m-r
thus back=LOC die-PAST2-3SG.M

tama welmbe=r o-r-a kara 6028
man true=M DIST-M-EMP indeed

So he died again, that honest man.

In (88), the demonstrative *ofra* follows the adjective *solka* 'dry', which bears the noun phrase clitic.

(88) dina-kla-ya-s muwku solka=f o-f-ra a-ya-s 6056 be.quiet-CONT-PRES-3SG.F breast dry=DU DIST-DU-EMP eat-PRES-3SG.F She keeps on being quiet and drinking from those dry breasts.

As discussed in §5.10.1, the locative clitic =k does not co-occur with a noun phrase clitic. However, (89) to (91) show that in a noun phrase bearing the locative clitic, a prenominal demonstrative will still inflect for number/gender. For example, in (89), the locative clitic appears on aka 'house' so there is no noun phrase clitic coding gender and number, but the demonstrative omra does code the plural number of the noun phrase.

(89) o-m-ra aka=k aka kiri sufun wi-k 6006

DIST-PL-EMP house=LOC house fire smoke go.up-SUB

From that house smoke from a fire was rising.

- (90) gasiwa kanda ro-ko=s
   sister small 3SG.M-POSS=F
   o-s-a kewa tenge=k ka wi-m-s 4022
   DIST-F-EMP kewa branch=LOC REAL go.up-PAST2-3SG.F
   His small [young] sister climbed up onto that Kewa branch.
- (91) i tama i musun di=t o-t-a lako=k 4066

  INJ man INJ dirt.speck DET=DIM DIST-DIM-EMP eye=LOC

  'Hey! You have a speck of dirt in this eye.'

The distal demonstrative, when used as pronouns, often serves as a third person pronoun, without exophoric demonstrative meaning, though it can be interpreted anaphorically. The occurrences of the masculine demonstrative *ora* in (92) and (93) are examples of this, as is the feminine demonstrative *os* in (94) and the dual demonstrative *ofra* in (95).

- (92) fer o-r-a ekra ru eku-wa-r 4113 pig DIST-M-EMP in.that.way 3SG.M do-PAST1-3SG.M He did it that way [prepared for cooking] to that pig.
- (93) ke-kwra aku-wa-r kamben o-r-a
  PROX-ADV go.back-PAST1-3SG.M or DIST-M-EMP
  sukna-ya-r kamben 6084
  sleep-PRES-3SG.M or
  He went away or he is sleeping.
- (94) o-s iroko=k na-ya-s=ka ELIC

  DIST-F where=LOC be.at-PRES-3SG.F=INT

  Where is she?

(95) o-f-ra iroko=ka 4051
DIST-DU-EMP where.DU=INT
Where are the two of them?

Demonstratives also sometimes combine with third person personal pronouns, as in (96) and (97). In (96), the feminine pronoun *su* combines with the feminine demonstrative *osa*.

(96) su o-s-a ni di tori-m-s 60553SG.F DIST-F-EMP see DET look.down-PAST2-3SG.FShe saw something and looked down.

Similarly, in (97), the masculine pronoun *ru* combines with the masculine demonstrative *or*.

(97) woro dun aku-na ru o-r wa ya ELIC tomorrow 2DU go.back-COND 3SG.M DIST-M IRR come If you [dual] go tomorrow, he will go.

Analogous to the use of the distal demonstrative as a third person pronoun is the use of the distal demonstrative like a definite article when used adnominally. For example, in (98) from Text A1 in Appendix A, osa yasumbus 'the second wife' is simply referring back to a woman who was referred to previously in the story.

(98) yefa=f fu fu o-sa yasumbu=s ka ya-m-s 4033 bone=DU hit hit DIST-F.EMP second.wife=F REAL come-PAST2-3SG.F He hits the two bones and the second wife comes.

Similarly, ora makwa 'the beans' in (99) from Text A3 is simply referring back to beans referred to in the previous discourse.

(99) nambu nambu=ka o-ra makwa kana 4117 smash smash=REAL DIST-M.EMP bean with [They] smash them into pieces [and mix them] with the beans.

The use of the distal demonstrative like a definite article is not restricted to anaphoric contexts. For example, both (100) and (101) employ a distal demonstrative although in neither case is the reference anaphoric.

- (100) nekwa=s o-s tare-k naka wa i-ka-num 7077 moon=F DIST-F shine-SUB and IRR go-FUT2-1PL When the moon shines, we will go.
- (101) o-s-a nambul=s su fu-ya-s ru ke-r-a 3sg.f hit-pres-3sg.f 3sg.m DIST-F-EMP sun=F PROX-M-EMP 2727 tama liki yungu ni-ya-r man skin like see-pres-3sg.m

The sun shines and his skin looks like a man's, it looks that way.

The remote demonstrative either takes the form *yal* or is formed by combining the distal demonstrative with the word *yal*. The word *yal* does not, however, take any agreement of its own. Examples (102) and (103) show the remote demonstrative with and without an accompanying distal form.

- (102) o-r-a yal yen lili tenge=k ni-m-s 6055

  DIST-M-EMP REM child hang branch=LOC see

  She saw that child hanging on the branch.
- (103) yal susu=ka mesu-m-r 4029

  REM stand=REAL hear-PAST2-3SG.M

  The one standing over there heard.

While one might not analyze the demonstrative system as a three-way contrast, since the remote form combines with the distal and does not itself inflect, one reason for analyzing it this way is that demonstrative adverbs more clearly illustrate the same three-way contrast, as discussed in §7.3.2.2.

# **5.4.7 Interrogative/Indefinite Pronouns**

There are two words that function either as interrogative pronouns or as indefinite pronouns, namely *em* 'who, someone' and *bu* 'what, something', shown in Table 32.

Interrogative words will be described as a group in §7.7.4. I treat the final consonants that occur in the singular, dual and plural forms as instances of noun phrase clitics.

Gloss	No Marking	Singular	Dual	Plural
'who'	em	emr/ems/emt	emf	emm
'what'	bu	bur/bus/but	buf	bum

Table 32: Interrogative/Indefinite Pronouns

Examples illustrating the interrogative use of these pronouns are given in (104) to (106), em 'who' in (104) and (105), bu 'what' in (106).

- (104) em=f ne eloko-wa-f=ka ELIC who=DU 2SG.OBJ tell-PAST1-3DU=INT Who [dual] told you?
- (105) tama=r em ni-ya-r=a ELIC man=M who see-PRES-3SG.M=INT Who does the man see?

(106) ke-s bu=r eku-ya-s=ka 6021
PROX-F what=M do-PRES-3SG.F=INT
What is she doing?

These pronouns sometimes occur with a noun phrase clitic reflecting the number/gender of the assumed referent, when the speaker has an assumption as to what the gender and/or number of the answer will be, as in (107) and (108), as well as (104) and (106) above.

- (107) tama=r bu=r te nuwa-ya-r=a ELIC man=M what=M 3SG.F.OBJ give-PRES-3SG.M=INT The man, what does he give her?
- (108) em=r te ni-wa-r=ka ELIC who=M 3SG.F.OBJ see-PAST1-3SG.M=INT Who saw her?

However, they sometimes occur without a noun phrase clitic, if the speaker does not make any assumption as to what the gender or number of the answer will be, when the gender or number is unknown, as in (109) and (110).

(109) ka er-m-m em wi=ka kur=k
REAL say-PAST2-3PL who go.up=REAL high=LOC
on-da=yun wi-kun 7072
1SG-EMP=1SG go.up-FUT1.1SG

They asked, "Who will go up high [onto the mountain]?" I myself will go up.

(110) ka fe er-m-r bu kufu eku-ya-fun=ka 6093 REAL 3DU.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.M what vine do-PRES-2DU=INT He said to them [dual], "What is it, do you make it with vines?"

Examples illustrating the indefinite use of these pronouns are given in (111) to (114). Note that as with the interrogative use, these pronouns sometimes occur without a noun phrase clitic, as in (111), and sometimes with one, as in (112) to (114).

- (111) sauwo=m em kana eku-ya-r=ka 7036 work=PL someone with do-PRES-3SG.M=INT Is he doing work with someone?
- (112) em=m or te nuwa-ya-m 1614 someone=PL bilum 3SG.F give-PRES-3PL Some people are giving her a bilum (string bag).
- (113) na samba=r iki bu=r eku-r o-r-a and big=м DIST-M-EMP NEG something=M do-INF 3810 na-nak nawe nu nate eku=ka be.at-vneg only 2sg cut do=REAL The big one doesn't have a use, so you must cut it. (i.e. The big one doesn't do anything, so you must cut it.)
- (114) bu=m ra=ka ka i-m-f 3805 some=PL get=REAL REAL go-PAST2-3SG.M They get some things and go.

The pronoun *bu* can also be used adnominally, both in an interrogative sense and in an indefinite sense. In (115), *bu* is used adnominally in an interrogative sense, where it modifies the noun *tombo* 'end point'.

(115) ka ermesu-m-m bu tombo=k siri-wa=ø 6038

REAL ask-PAST2-3PL what end.point=LOC die-PAST1-2SG.INT

They asked, "What part did you die in?"

In (116) and (117), bu is used adnominally in an indefinite sense.

- (116) su-ra mulu bu=m kana fu-m-s 7063 3SG.F-EMP rodent some=PL with hit-PAST2-3SG.F She killed them with some rodents.
- (117) minga gaien bu=r kamben minga gwasi kamben 6074 party gaien some=M or party daka or [at] some clan party or [at] a daka party

Note that when used adnominally, the position of *bu* relative to the noun varies according to whether it is being used in an interrogative sense or an indefinite sense: when used in an interrogative sense, it precedes the noun, as in (115) above, but when used in an indefinite sense it follows the noun, as in (116) and (117) above.

As far as I am aware, *em* is not used adnominally. But there is another word *biki* 'which' which fills this function in an interrogative sense, illustrated in (118) and (119).

- (118) biki tama=r ene eloko-wa-r=ka ELIC which man=M 1sG.OBJ tell-PAST1-3sG.M=INT Which man did you tell me about?
- (119) biki yen nu=ka 4033 which child 2SG=INT Which child are you?

Biki is also used with nonhuman nouns, like bu, as in in (120).

(120) biki kulu=k i-kwa-yun 6025 which road=LOC go-DESD-1SG Which road should I go along? With pronouns, *em* is used with humans and *bu* with nonhumans while with adnominal uses, *biki* is used with humans or nonhumans and *bu* with nonhumans. The word *biki* is also used with the meaning 'how' and combines with other words to form a number of other interrogative expressions (§7.7.4). The indefinite adnominal use with humans is covered by the determiner *di* (§5.5).

The interrogative *bu* is often reduplicated with a plural noun phrase clitic, *bu bum*. In these circumstances, however, it has the meaning 'everything'. This is illustrated in (121) to (123).

- (121) nemen [feta kata]-m-m bu bu=m 4115

  1PL.OBJ [show look.around]-PAST2-3PL some some=PL

  They are showing us everything.
- (122) bu bu=m num-go-ra=m kahakana me nuwa-m-num ELIC som some=PL 1PL-POSS-EMP=PL many 3PL.OBJ give-PAST2-1PL We gave them a lot of things.
- (123) [aye bla bla]=m gulma samdo
  [butterfly]=PL mantis spider

  [bu bu]-m a=ka rii-ya-r 5013
  [what what]-PL eat=REAL remain-PRES-3SG.M

Everything that it eats includes butterflies, mantises and spiders.

### 5.4.8 Reflexive kuna

The reflexive word *kuna* has two uses. The first use is the one most commonly associated with the label "reflexive", to indicate coreference between two participants

in a clause. In (124), for example, *kuna* indicates coreference between the subject and object.

(124) on kuna oku wiyi-kun ELIC 1SG self water wash-FUT1.1SG I will wash myself.

In (125) to (127), *kuna* indicates that the possessor of the object is the same as the subject.<sup>5</sup>

- (125) on kuna lesu=r fu-wa-yun ELIC

  1SG self hand=M hit-PAST1-1SG
  I cut my own hand.
- (126) su kuna oku wou ni-ya-s ELIC 3SG.F self water spirit see-PRES-3SG.F She sees her own reflection.
- (127) ru kuna ro-ko nausu=r wulmbo-m-r 7034
  3SG.M self 3SG.M-POSS glue=M remove.liquid-PAST2-3SG.M
  He removed his own glue.

The second use of *kuna* is one that is sometimes another use of reflexive pronouns in other languages, specifically as a type of focus. Examples (128) to (132) are examples of this use.

(128) ru kuna i-wa-r 6114 3SG.M self go-PAST1-3SG.M He himself went.

n the case of (12E) a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In the case of (125) and perhaps (124), it is actually not clear whether *kuna* is indicating coreference between the subject and possessor rather than the subject and object. In other words, the correct analysis of (125) might be something like 'I cut myself on the hand'. However, this is not a possible analysis for (127).

- (129) ke-t-a sauwo=t kaiembo=t on wa kuna eku-kun ELIC PROX-DIM-EMP work=DIM small=DIM 1SG IRR self do-FUT1.1SG This job is small, I will do it myself.
- (130) yelnda re nuwa-m-m
  all 3SG.M.OBJ give-PAST2-3SG.M

  on kuna re nuwa-m-yun ELIC
  1SG self 3SG.M.OBJ give-PAST2-1SG
- (131) na rusu-wa-f kuna fe i ni-wa-yun 4099 and sit-PAST1-3DU self 3DU.OBJ go see-PAST1-1SG

They gave [things] to him and I gave [things] to him.

And they [dual] themselves rested and I went to see them [dual].

(132) ra war-m-m rokor ka kuna yakuw kuna yakuw 6006 get go.down-PAST2-3PL CAUS REAL self distribute self distribute They went down so they themselves could distribute [the bones].

Note that there need not be a noun phrase antecedent for the reflexive. In (133), the antecedent for the reflexive is expressed only by the subject suffix on the verb.

(133) kuna ekaa-yu-m-m mu au=k kisi kisi a-yu-m-m 6046 self food-REP-PAST2-3PL 3PL pot=LOC boil boil eat-REP-PAST2-3PL They themselves would eat food; they boiled it in a pot and ate it.

The antecedent for the reflexive need not be the subject. In (134), the antecedent is the object pronoun *te*.

(134) su kuna yen=s te ni-m-s ELIC 3SG.F self child=F 3SG.F.OBJ see-PAST2-3SG.F Her own child saw her.

The reflexive word *kuna* is not required to have reflexive meaning, as illustrated by (135).

(135) lesu go=r fu-wa-yun ELIC hand 1SG.POSS=M hit-PAST1-1SG I cut my hand.

The reflexive word is often reduplicated for additional effect, as in (136).

(136) kuna kuna ale=k ru sau fi=r tilse ra-m-r 2803 self self careful=INS 3SG.M stand.up spear=M get.out get-PAST2-3SG.M He stood up carefully and got the spear.

#### 5.4.9 Use of Pronouns

The personal pronouns are used quite frequently in discourse. In a typical discourse, a full noun phrase will be used only once when a primary character is introduced.

Occasionally, a full noun phrase will be used a second time if the story is quite long or new characters come into play which might confuse the situation. Because of this, pronouns do the lion's share of reference in most traditional narratives. Even if there are five characters interacting and they are all male, typically only pronouns will be used to refer to them. Despite this potential for confusion (at least from the perspective of an outsider), full noun phrases are often not used. The same holds true for spontaneous speech as well. Names or kin terms are not frequently used unless the context does not indicate who the referent might be. Often it will be known where an interlocutor has just been, so stating the name of the person being discussed is not necessary to either party. This makes the use of pronouns very important and common.

Occasionally, both a personal pronoun and a demonstrative pronoun will be used to refer to a character, as in (137).

(137) su o-s-a ni di tori-m-s 6055 3SG.F DIST-F-EMP see DET look.down-PAST2-3SG.F She saw something and looked down.

Occasionally both a pronoun and a full noun phrase will be used to refer to a character. For example, in (138), the pronoun ru preceding the realis particle ka and the noun phrase afar 'the father' following ka are coreferential.

(138) ru ka afa=r yen=t er-m-r 7053

3SG.M REAL father=M child=DIM say-PAST2-3SG.M

The father said to the child.

### 5.5 The Determiner di

There is a frequent word *di* that I will refer to as a determiner. With one well-defined exception described below, it marks indefinite noun phrases, as in (139) to (144).

- (139) wa **mu di=r** i oro-ka-yun ekra eloko-yun 6022
  IRR **tree DET=M** go chop-FUT2-1SG in.that.way tell-PRES.1SG
  He ought to go chop **trees** down. So I [always] tell [him].
- (140) **mulu di=t** fu=ka raya=ka o-t-a lisi-m-m 7018 **rodent DET=DIM** hit=REAL bring=REAL DIST-DIM-EMP burn-PAST2-3PL

  [He] killed and brought **some rodents** and cooked them.
- (141) **yengla di=f** eme war sere=ka i-k 6093 **branch DET=DU** place go.down break=REALx go-SUB Go down to that place and break **some branches**.

(142) yau nandasi kaha go=f
brother's.wife brother bad 1SG.POSS=DU

kiri di=t wa ene nuwa-ka-fun 6047

fire DET=DIM IRR 1SG.OBJ give-FUT2-3DU

My brother and wife, [please] give me some fire.

(143) walingi num-go=t=u ka tama di=r crab 1PL-POSS=DIM=DISC person DET=M REAL ka nemen towi-wa-r 4081 ra 1PL.OBJ take stack-PAST1-3sg.M REAL

**Some man** took our crab and stacked [them] up for us.

(144) no-ko-ra sul=k wa **mu di=r** i oro-ka-yun 6022 2SG-POSS-EMP ground=LOC IRR **tree DET=M** go chop-FUT2-1SG I will go a chop a single tree from your land.

It often denotes a member or subset of some previously mentioned set, as in (145) to (147).

- (145) di=r ka siri-m-r 6005

  DET=M REAL die-PAST2-3SG.M

  One of them died.
- (146) di=m bungu kasa=m 5007

  DET=PL leaf.spine red=3PL

  Some [leaf spines] are red leaf spines.
- (147) wula=k wuya-ya yifki=m
  jungle=LOC come.up-PRES mosong=PL
  di=m kufe=m di=m kaha=m 5039
  DET=PL good=3PL DET=PL bad=3PL

As for mosongs from the jungle, some are good and some are bad.

The preceding examples also illustrate the fact that *di* can be the sole word in a noun phrase. It is occasionally used in pairs, such as "one X and then another X", as in (147) and (148).

(148) ru di=r di duwan=k ru di=r di duwan=k 6006 3SG.M DET=M DET limbum=LOC 3SG.M DET=M DET limbum=LOC He put some on one limbum and some on another limbum.

It can even occur with predicative noun phrases, as in (149).

The determiner takes all the same noun phrase clitics that nouns take (see Table 18 in §4.2.1 and Table 19 in §4.2.2). It is sometimes pronounced with an epenthetic vowel when it is the first word in an utterance, as  $[\mathbf{r}^n d\mathbf{i}]$ .

The determiner can precede or follow the noun, as illustrated in (150) and (151), though it more often precedes. In (150), it precedes the noun, while in (151) it follows.

Some of their tail feathers are white and their wings are black.

(151) grambi di=t on ni-m-t 7028 mango DET=DIM 1SG see-PAST2-DIM A small mango was seen by me.

The regular rules of clitic placement apply: when the determiner precedes the noun, as in (152), it will not occur with a noun phrase clitic, but when it follows, at the end of the noun phrase, it takes the noun phrase clitics, as in (153).

- (152) di sauwo samba=r ELIC

  DET work big=M

  A big job.
- (153) sauwo samba di=r ELIC work big DET=M
  A big job.

In other words, unlike the demonstratives, the determiner does not have its own, separate agreement. Thus (154), with marking for number/gender on a determiner preceding the noun, is ungrammatical, as is (155), where there is number/gender marking on both the adjective and the determiner following the noun.

- (154) \*di=r sauwo samba=r ELIC

  DET=M work big=M

  a big job
- (155) \*sauwo samba=r di=r ELIC
  work big=M DET=M
  a big job

While the determiner *di* normally occurs in indefinite noun phrases, there is one type of definite noun phrase that it does occur in. Namely, it is very common in noun phrases containing a possessive pronoun, as in (156) to (160).

- (156) fun tolo ekaa rusu yungu **di fun-go kom=k** 6093

  2DU tell food sit like **DET 2DU-POSS village=LOC**You [dual] talk, eat and sit **in your [dual] village**.
- (157) di ro-ko yen indo=r fu-m-s kara 2723

  DET 3SG.M-POSS child true=M hit-PAST2-3SG.F indeed

  She really killed his true son.
- (158) ru di ro-ko=m gana nanda=m 4112 3SG.M DET 3SG.M-POSS=PL younger.brother older.brother=3PL They are his brothers.
- (159) fu mesu reteka **di dun-go kom mende** kara 7033 3DU hear put=REAL **DET 1DU-POSS village very** indeed They [dual] heard too much [noise] coming from **our [dual] village**.
- (160) di fo-ko sara=k ra tu wi-m-f 4057

  DET 3DU-POSS basket=LOC get drop go.down-PAST2-3DU

  The two of them dropped it into their very own basket.

That the determiner goes with the possessed noun rather than the possessor is reflected by the fact that if the possessive word follows the possessed noun, the determiner precedes the possessed noun rather than the possessive pronoun, as in (161).

(161) ru o-r-a kuna di afa ro-ko=r 7062 3SG.M DIST-M-EMP self DET father 3SG.M-POSS=M he himself, his very own father

# **5.6 Adjectives and Adjective Phrases**

Adjectives do not occur with any morphology, although they host noun phrase clitics when they occur at the end of noun phrases. They differ from nouns in that they lack inherent gender and when they co-occur with a noun in the same noun phrase they always follow the noun. They can also be used either attributively or predicatively. When used attributively, the follow the noun, as in (162) and (163). In (162), the adjective *kulfo* 'cold' follows the noun *oku* 'water' while in (163) the adjective *kufe* 'good' follows the noun *bali* 'aibika (a type of greens)'.

- (162) ka oku kulfo=k su te wiyi=ka 7081

  REAL water cold=LOC 3SG.F 3SG.F.OBJ wash=REAL

  She washed her [daughter] in the cold water.
- (163) bali kufe=r iki yikwa kisi=ka a-num mehek 6121 aibika good=M NEG salt boil=REAL eat-PRES.1PL NEG
  We do not boil good aibika in salt.

When used predicatively, they take predicate clitics, like nouns or noun phrases used predicatively, as in (164) to (166).

- (164) on re nuwa-wa walndo=m kufe=m ELIC 1SG 3SG.M.OBJ give-PAST1 yam=PL good=3PL The yams I gave him are good.
- (165) liki ro-ko=r gamu=r 5091 skin 3SG.M-POSS=M white=3SG.M Its skin is white.

(166) on-da ser=yun 2727

1SG-EMP be.first=1SG

I am the first.

It is possible to form adjective phrases by modifying adjectives with either of two degree words that both mean 'very' or 'most', namely *mende*, illustrated in (167), and *ata*, illustrated in (168).

- (167) al kufe mende=r 5111 taro good very=3SG.M It is the best kind of taro.
- (168) mu=r mu samba ata=r lako kana=r 4006 tree=M tree big very=M seed with=3SG.M

  The tree is the biggest tree. It has seeds.

Both follow the adjective they modify.

The word *ata* is reserved for comparative or superlative meaning, while *mende* has a slightly wider range of meanings in addition to comparatives. *Mende* has a range of meanings including 'all', 'very', 'more' and 'too'. Some further examples are given in (169) to (178). Example (169) illustrates the fact that when it is modifying an adjective which is itself modifying a noun, *mende* will bear the noun phrase clitic if it is the last word in the noun phrase. Comparative constructions are discussed in more detail in §8.5.1.

(169) fer nari mende=r on fu-m-r 6069 pig first very=M 1SG hit-PAST2-3SG.M [His] very first pig was killed. Similarly, if it is modifying an adjective that is modifying a noun that is predicate, the predicate clitic will appear on *mende*, as in (170).

(170) wa raya ni-kwa-m on-da=yun ene ser=yun IRR 1SG.OBJ bring see-DESD-3PL 1SG-EMP=1SG first=1SG tama samba mende=r 2727 man big very=3SG.M

They want to come see me. I am the first. I am an important man in the clan.

And when it is modifying an adjective which is predicate, the predicate clitic appears on *mende*, as in (171) and (172).

- (171) di=r kasa yungu ni-r iki kasa mende=r na-nak 5026 DET=M red like see-INF NEG red very=M be.at-VNEG One looks red. It is not that red, though.
- (172) yumu=s ende fanuku yoko war-m-s
  yumu=F ende fanuku towards go.down-PAST2-3SG.F
  numba mende=r 7039
  last very=3SG.M

Yumu came down to Ende Fanuku. [It is] the last place.

Mende can also modify adverbs or relational nouns, as in (173) and (174) respectively and in this context can bear the locative clitic.

- (173) ke-r ke-kwra mende=k kete-ya 4029
  PROX-M PROX-ADV very=LOC sing-PRES
  This one [child] is singing right here.
- (174) ekra ili mende=k ause-num 6086 thus top very=LOC build.roof-PRES.1P So we build the roof to the very top.

The second word meaning 'very', namely *ata*, has a much more restricted distribution than *mende*, being associated primarily with size or age or importance. It is probably an extension from the homophonous kin term *ata* which means 'paternal grandparent' (the father's father in particular would be the head of the family and clan) or sometimes to any older relative on the father's side (see §10.1). Example (175) illustrates its use as a word meaning 'very'.

(175) mu samba ata=r lako kana=r rusu-m-s 4006 tree big very=M seed with=M sit-PAST2-3SG.F It lives in a very large tree that has seeds.

Examples (176) and (177) have both *ata* and *mende* together modifying the same adjective.

- (176) wanikwesu=r laka ata mende=r 7044 wanikwesu=M oldest very very=3SG.M Wanikwesu is the oldest.
- (177) fringi samba ata mende=r 5091 long big very very=3SG.M It is the very tallest tree.

The combination of *mende* and *ata* strengthen the meaning of 'very' and can have superlative meaning, as in these two examples.

When describing superlative diminutive qualities, it is not possible to use *mende*, or *ata*.

A sequence of two words meaning 'small' are used, *kaiembo* and *kanda*. Example (178) illustrates this. Note the use of the diminutive clitic =t on the verb as well.

(178) aye gil=s kaiembo kanda=s iki samba na-ya-t 4016 bat gil=F small small=F NEG big be.at-PRES-3D

The Gil bat is very small. It does not become big.

### 5.7 Numerals

The numerals from one to four are shown below in Table 33.

Form	Numeral	
dirambu	'one'	
lasi, lisi	'two'	
lasifirndim, lisifirndim	'three'	
lasifu lasifu, lisifu lisifu	'four'	

Table 33: Numerals 1-4

Though the numeral forms are invariant, there are some obvious similarities to each other and some other morphemes. The numeral 'one' seems to include the determiner di (see §5.5) and often hosts the masculine singular clitic =r. The numeral for 'two' is the morpheme lasi or its variant lisi, and often hosts the dual clitic =f. The morpheme lasi 'two' is also found in the forms of the numbers three and four. The numeral for three also seems to have the determiner di along with lasi and the plural clitic =m (see §4.2 for the different clitics). The numeral 'four' is lasif repeated, with each instance possibly ending in the discourse clitic =u (see §9.4).

The numeral system is a base-five system in that expressions of meanings like 'six' take the form 'five plus one' and meanings like 'eleven' take the form 'five plus five plus one'. The counting system of Mehek can be extended up to 20, though in practice it is typically limited to counting objects ten and below. The pattern for numerals five and above is shown in Table 34.

Form	Numeral	Composition
yoko lesu butu, yoko dambe lesu	5	'put hand together'
yoko lesu butu dirambur	6	5 + 1
yoko lesu butu yoko lesu butu	10	5 + 5
yoko lesu butu yoko lesu butu dirambur	11	5+5+1
yoko lesu butu yoko lesu butu	15	10 + 'foot'
yoko suwa butu		
yoko lesu butu yoko lesu butu	20	10 + 'foot' + 'foot'
yoko suwa butu yoko suwa butu		

Table 34: Numerals for 'five' and Above

Following the pattern of morphological combinations does yield numerals above ten, though they become quite unwieldy and difficult to produce on the fly. In practice, Tok Pisin numerals are used for numbers above about five. To create numbers five and above, the forms become structurally complex and are partially based on body part terms. These kinds of restricted counting systems are quite common throughout Papua New Guinea. The numeral for 'five' has two variant forms that are composites of *lesu* 'hand', *dambe* 'fruit species', *butu* 'put hands together' and the relational noun *yoko* (see §5.10.2). Both include the morpheme for 'hand', *lesu*. To generate the numerals fifteen and above, a new form is introduced modeled on the word for 'five', but

replacing *lesu* with the word for 'foot', *suwa*. This gives it a meaning something like 'foot fist'. The form for 'twenty' already includes two instances each of words which refer to hands and feet and so this is the limit of the system. Example (179) gives an example of a numeral for 'five' in use.

- (179) tawa=t ru ra=ka yen woman=DIM 3SG.M take=REAL child
  - [yoko dambe lesu]=m kuw-m-r 6066 [five]=PL give.birth-PAST2-3SG.M

He took a wife and [she] had five children.

Numerals either precede the noun, as in (180), or follow, as in (181).

- (180) ka nambul wre-m-k [lisifu lisifu] ningi=k 2162

  REAL sun shine-PAST2-SUB [four] day=LOC

  While the sun was shining for four days.
- (181) or kasa samba=f lasi nawe=f ni-m-yun ELIC bilum red big=DU two only=DU see-PAST2-1SG I saw two big red bilums (string bags).

But numerals do not normally host noun phrase clitics; the noun phrase clitic will be attached to the word preceding the numeral, as in (181), where the dual clitic =f occurs on the adjective samba 'big' preceding the numeral lasi 'two'. However, a numeral can also be a complete noun phrase and when this happens, the numeral will host the noun phrase clitic; because of its meaning lasi 'two' will always host the dual clitic =f, as in (182) and (183).

- (182) lasi=f ama golo tenge=k wi-m-f 2129 two=DU bamboo bamboo.species branch=LOC go.up-PAST2-3DU The two of them climbed up that golo bamboo.
- (183) fe ni-m-f bi=f kondu yoko=f lasi=f towards=DU 3DU.OBJ see-PAST2-3DU tooth=DU high two=DU ari yoko=f lasi=f 4093 edge towards=DU two=DU

They [dual] saw two teeth, two on the top and two on the bottom.

However, there are some instances in my data of *lisi* ~ *lasi* 'two' hosting the dual clitic, even when it is not the sole word in the noun phrase, in which case, we get two occurrences of the dual clitic, one preceding the numeral and one on the numeral, as in (184) and (185).

- (184) tama=r tawa=f lisi=f ra-m-r 4029 person=M woman=DU two=DU get-PAST2-3SG.M A man took two wives.
- (185) tama=f lasi=f gra=r o-r-a fu wi-kya-f 1728 man=DU two=DU gra.seed=M DIST-M-EMP 3DU pick-FUT1-3DU Two men will collect gra (seeds).

Similarly, in (186), we get the dual clitic on the word *nawe* 'only', which is modifying the numeral *lasi* 'two', so that we get two occurrences of a noun phrase clitic, one on the adjective *samba* 'big', the other on *nawe* 'only'.

(186) or kasa samba=f lasi nawe=f ni-m-yun ELIC bilum red big=DU two only=DU see-PAST2-1SG I saw two big red bilums (string bags).

Examples (187) and (188) illustrates numerals acting adverbially, separated from the nouns they are associated with semantically.

- (187) naku sirka=m fu ta=ka [lisifirndim] nawe=m 7078 sago leaf=PL 3DU dam.river=REAL [three] only=PL They [dual] dammed the river with only three sago leaves.
- (188) felnde aka ki-r lisi lisi na-ya-f 4124 bird house build-INF two two be.at-PRES-3DU

  There are two kinds of bird blind.

#### 5.8 Possession

Nominal possession is expressed with possessive pronouns whose forms are described in §5.4.4. The possessive pronouns can either precede or follow the possessed noun. When they follow the noun, they always host the noun phrase clitic, as in (189) to (190).

- (189) inin ro-ko=r mengu ki-num 5078 sap 3SG.M-POSS=M drum build-PRES.1PL We use its sap to make drums.
- (190) nawa tawa fo-ko=s kom sukna-m-s 7053 mother wife 3DU-POSS=F village sleep-PAST2-3SG.F Their [dual, respective] mother and wife sleeps in the village.

However, as we would expect, when they precede the noun they do not occur with the noun phrase clitic, as in (191) and (192).

(191) na ro-ko mu=r toko-m-m 4110 and 3SG.M-POSS garamut=PL play-PAST2-3PL They played his garamut [drum]. (192) nu kuna no-ko suwa lesu=m ni-wa-n 6041 2SG self 2SG-POSS leg arm=PL see-PAST1-2SG You saw your arms and legs.

Examples (193) and (194) show that noun phrase clitic cannot occur on a possessive pronoun preceding the possessed noun, whether or not a noun phrase clitic occurs on the possessed noun. This shows that when we get coding of the possessed on the possessive pronoun, this is simply the noun phrase clitic and not an affix on the possessive pronoun.

- (193) \*no-ko=f tawa ELIC

  2SG-POSS=DU woman

  your two wives
- (194) \*no-ko-f tawa=f ELIC

  2SG-POSS-DU woman=DU

  your two wives

Possessive pronouns will also host predicate clitics when they follow the noun in a noun phrase functioning as predicate, as in (195).

(195) ningre nawa afa mo-ko=kum ya susu=ka ni=ka 6008 today mother father 3PL-POSS=2PL come stand=REAL see=REAL Today, you [plural] are their fathers and mothers, they came to look.

The examples above illustrate pronominal possessors. When the possessor is nominal (i.e. involves a noun plus possible modifiers), the possessor noun phrase precedes the possessed noun, but a possessive pronoun occurs as well, either between

the possessor noun phrase and the possessed noun, as in (196) to (200), or following the possessed noun, as in (201), though the former seems more common.

- (196) wanirkwesu ro-ko yen=r o-kwra rusu-m-r 7045 wanirkwesu 3SG.M-POSS child=M DIST-ADV sit-PAST2-3SG.M Wanirkwesu's son stayed there.
- (197) haulai ro-ko hokwa=r kute-tn OVH haulai 3SG.M-POSS song=M sing-1SG.IMP I will sing Haulai's song.
- (198) maure marfe so-ko sungamba=r eloko-tn 7010 ancestor marfe 3SG.F-POSS story=M tell-1SG.IMP I will tell Ancestor Marfe's story.
- (199) om merka r-oko ka tembe=k i rusu-m-r fish fish.species 3SG.M-POSS bed=LOC go sit-PAST2-3SG.M REAL rusu ale-m-r 6067 sit properly-PAST2-3SG.M He went to sit on the Merka fish's bed and sat carefully.
- (200) on-da=yun maure fer ro-ko yen=yun 6064
  1SG-EMP=1SG ancestor pig 3SG.M-POSS child=1SG
  I am Ancestor Pig's child.
- (201) felnde gamu=s bi mo-ko=m bi samba=m 5039 bird gamu=F tooth 3PL-POSS=PL tooth big=3PL

  The Gamu bird's beak are big beaks.

An alternative construction for nominal possession involves simply placing the possessor noun phrase before the possessee noun, without use of a possessive

pronoun, as in (202) to (207); the noun phrases containing a nominal possessor are shown in boldface.

- (202) **yen kin** sere-ka-yun 4029 **child tail.bone** break-FUT2-1SG I will break **the child's tailbone**.
- (203) nango=r **fer sir** o-r-a ka ambasu-n 2175
  INJ=M **pig name** DIST-M-EMP REAL forget-PRES.1SG
  Uh, **the pig's name**. I forgot that.
- (204) mundu bi siki=k 5062

  centipede tooth hole=LOC

  In the hole [made by] the centipede's tooth.
- (205) fer kute tama=r wa **fer lesu=r** re rete-ka-m 6085 pig cut man=M IRR **pig hand=M** 3SG.M.OBJ put-FUT2-3PL They will put **the pig's legs** out for the man who cut the pig.
- (206) di no-ko **nanda fi**=r=ka ELIC

  DET 2SG-POSS **older.brother spear**=3SG.M=INT

  Is that your **older brother's spear**?
- (207) isi-m-m yen sir=t 7012 call-PAST2-3PL child name=DIM

  They called the child's name.

Nominal possession can involve embedded possession, when the possessor is itself possessed. The resultant noun phrases involve two possessive pronouns, one within the possessor noun phrase, the other accompanying the higher possessed noun. For example, in (208), the possessive pronoun numgo modifies the noun maure 'ancestor' and bears the noun phrase clitic =s for the noun phrase maure numgo 'our ancestor',

but this noun phrase is itself the possessor of *hokwa* 'song' and the possessive pronoun *sokora* (the emphatic form of *soko*) follows the common pattern of a possessive pronoun occurring between a possessor noun phrase and a possessed noun.

(208) maure num-go=s so-ko-ra hokwa=r 7033 ancestor 1PL-POSS=F 3SG.F-POSS-EMP song=M our ancestor's song

Example (209) is a second example, although here the possessive pronoun *soko* within the possessor noun phrase *di soko yen* 'her child' precedes the possessed noun (yen 'child').

(209) di so-ko yen fo-ko wusu mu sambo=m 4096

DET 3SG.F-POSS child 3DU-POSS play garamut beat=PL

her child's flute [tune] and garamut [drum] beat

It is also possible to have triple-embedded possession, as in (210) and (211).

- (210) nanda num-go=r ro-ko yen so-ko fi=r ELIC older.brother 1PL-POSS=M 3SG.M-POSS child 3SG.F-POSS spear=M our older brother's [female] child's spear
- (211) num-go-ra gasiwa=s so-ko yen ro-ko fi=r ELIC 1PL-POSS-EMP sister=F 3SG.F-POSS child 3SG.M-POSS spear=M our sister's [male] child's spear

Possessive pronouns can take the emphatic morpheme -ra following the possessive stem (see §5.4.5 for details of how these forms are realized), as in (212) to (215).

(212) nu-ra ongo-ra mu=r oro-wa-n 6022 2SG-EMP 1SG.POSS-EMP=M tree=M chop-PAST1-2SG You chopped down my tree!

- (213) kum-go-ra liki=r kel nawe-ya-r 6048

  2PL-POSS-EMP skin=M fresh only-PRES-3SG.M

  Your [plural] very skin is just so fresh looking.
- (214) dun-go-ra yaku=s mu te kwla tongo=ka 6077

  1DU-POSS-EMP grandmother=F 3PL 3SG.F.OBJ have.sex take=REAL

  They raped our [dual] grandmother.
- (215) ru ro-ko-ra gasiwa=t ru-ra ra-m-r 4095
  3SG.M 3SG.M-POSS-EMP sister=DIM 3SG.M-EMP take-PAST2-3SG.M
  He married his [a different man's] sister.

Examples (216) to (218) show that it is possible for possessive pronouns to function as predicates, in which case they occur with predicate clitics.

- (216) yen kum-ko=r 2803 child 2PL-POSS=3SG.M The child is yours.
- (217) nura ongo-ra=n ELIC
  2SG.EMP 1SG.POSS-EMP=2SG
  You are mine.
- (218) on ekra ro-ko-ra=yun ELIC

  1SG in.that.way 3M-POSS-EMP=1SG
  I am his.

## **5.9 Relative Clauses**

Relative clauses in Mehek precede the head noun, as in (219) to (221). There is no marking the clause as a relative clause, either with some word or with some verb morphology.

- (219) sofo girmi **tama ta** sofo=r 5013 snake snake.species **person bite** snake=3SG.M

  The girmi snake is a snake **that bites men**.
- (220) **elowo tongo** tama=f afko=f 6028 **animal hold** person=DU old=3DU The two men holding the animal are old.
- (221) **fer kute tama=r** wa fer lesu=r re rete-ka-m 6085 **pig cut man=M** IRR pig hand=M 3SG.M.OBJ put-FUT2-3PL They will put the pig's legs out for **the man who cut the pig**.

The verb in the relative clause is often a bare verb stem, as in the three preceding examples. However, the verb is sometimes inflected, as in (222) to (224), though only for tense or mood, not for subject.

- (222) ser ser ra-m tama=r indi=k i ni-m-r 6063 first first get-PAST2 person=M again=LOC go see-PAST2-3sG.M

  The man to get [jungle resources] first came back to see it.
- (223) ru susu-wa eme=r war-m-dun mehek 6070
  3sg.m stand-PAST1 place=M go.down-PAST2-1DU NEG
  We [dual] did not go down to the place where he was standing.
- (224) tu **u-na** gwini=t ni ni i-num 5099
  3sg.DIM **glow-conb** mushroom=DIM see see go-PRES.1PL
  As for the mushroom **[which is said to] glow**, we come look for it.

In most of the examples cited so far, the head of the relative clause is functioning as the subject in the relative clause. In (223) above, it is functioning as a locative, as it is in (225) to (227).

- (225) num ki=ka **felnde num fu** mu=r 5069

  1PL build=REAL **bird 1PL hit** tree=M

  We built [on] the tree **where we kill birds**.
- (226) mombu fu kete eme=r o-kwra i war-m-r 4031 tree.species 3DU cut place=M DIST-ADV go go.down-PAST2-3SG.M He went down there to the place where they [dual] cut Mombu trees.
- (227) **naku oro** eme=r naku nawa=r 6082 **sago chop** place=M sago trunk=3sg.M

  The place **for chopping sago** is [at] the sago trunk.

In (228), the head is functioning as a direct object in a clause that contains an indirect object.

(228) on re nuwa-wa walndo=m kufe=m ELIC

1sG 3sg.m.obj give-past1 yam=pl good=3pl

The yams I gave him are good.

In (229), the head is functioning as the object of the first verb in a serial verb construction, though it bears no relation to the second verb *yam* 'come'. See §7.4 for more on serial verbs.

(229) num tirete=ka ya-m tama=r 6077

1PL leave=REAL come-PAST2 person=M

The man we left and came (back).

## 5.10 Relational Nouns and the Locative/Instrumental Clitic

There are two types of morphemes that serve to mark a noun for roles other than subject or object, signalling a semantic relationship between a noun phrase and a verb. These are the locative/instrumental clitic =k, discussed in §5.10.1, and relational nouns, discussed in §5.10.2.

#### 5.10.1 Locative and Instrumental =k

The clitic =k counts as a noun phrase clitic in the sense that it cannot co-occur in a noun phrase with a noun phrase clitic coding number and gender and occurs in the same position in the noun phrase as the other noun phrase clitics, following the noun and following an adjective or possessive pronoun but preceding a demonstrative or numeral. Semantically, however, it functions differently from the other noun phrase clitics in that it does not code number or gender and functions as a case marker covering a variety of meanings, the most common being locative (LOC) or instrumental (INS).

- (230) yen=f o-f-ra **kom=k** sukna-m-f 4078 child=DU DIST-DU-EMP **village=Loc** sleep-PAST2-3DU

  Those two children slept **in the village**.
- (231) mu solka yengla=k o-kwra kur=ka sukna-ya-s 5038 tree dry branch=Loc DIST-ADV go.high=REAL sleep-PRES-3sG.F

  She [a grasshopper] sleeps up high in a dried tree branch.
- (232) kiri talma-m-s **au=k** tenge=ka 6046 fire start-PAST2-3SG.F **pot=Loc** boil=REAL She started a fire; she boiled [the water] **in a pot**.

(233) masi anele o-m-ra rusu-ya-m **kom=k** 4011 masi anele DIST-PL-EMP stay-PRES-3PL **village=Loc**Masi, Anele [and the rest] are staying there **in the village**.

It sometimes occurs on locative expressions where the meaning in context is 'from', as in (234).

(234) ki=k te wra i-m-m 6063 vagina=Loc 3SG.DIM.OBJ go.out go-PAST2-3PL
They [insects] came out of her vagina.

The instrumental use is illustrated in (235) to (237).

(235) re **fu lam arma=k** re fu-wa-n
3SG.M.OBJ **3DU arrow bow=INS** 3SG.M.OBJ hit-PAST1-2SG

fi=k re fu-wa-n 5103
spear=INS 3SG.M.OBJ hit-PAST1-2SG

You hit him with a bow and arrow, you hit him with a spear.

- (236) yikwa nato=ka **o-r-a yikwa=k 4117** salt make.salt=REAL **DIST-M-EMP salt=INS**They make salt **with that salt**.
- (237) **fi=k** re fu-m-yun ELIC **spear=INS** 3sg.M.OBJ hit-PAST2-1sg I killed him **with a spear**.

The instrumental usage sometimes has a meaning more like 'in the manner of', as in examples (238) and (239).

- (238) maure=s ka wi-m-s wala=k 7030 spirit=F REAL go.up-PAST2-3SG.F dog=INS

  The spirit went up [the mountain] like a dog.
- (239)ekra ale=ka worna=k ekra rusu=ka ra in.that.way careful=REAL straight.line=INS in.that.way sit=REAL take 4117 ya-m-m kara come-PAST2-3PL indeed

They come and sit in a straight line.

The locative/instrumental clitic can also mark temporal adjuncts, as in (240), where it occurs on *mande* 'Monday', in (241), where it occurs on *di ningi* 'sometimes', and in (242), where it occurs on *nurku* 'night'.

- (240) mande=k ene rii tiri-ka-f kamben ELIC monday=Loc 1sg.obj remain leave-FUT2-3DU or Will you take me on Monday?
- (241) klei ka **di ningi=k** i ni-wa-n ka samba=k then REAL **some day=Loc** go see-PAST-2sg REAL big=INS na-ya-m 5095 become-PRES-3PL

Then **sometimes** you went to see and they are big.

(242) er-m-f **nurku=k** siri-r-kya-dun ka ambe say-PAST2-3DU **night=Loc** die-R-FUT1-1DU REAL finish ekra er-m-f 1726 so say-PAST2-3DU

They asked each other if they will die in the night, so they discussed this.

This includes durative temporal adjuncts, like lisifu lisifu ningik 'for four days' in (243).

(243) ka nambul wre-m-k [lisifu lisifu] ningi=k 2162

REAL sun shine-PAST2-SUB [four] day=LOC

The sun was shining for four days.

The locative/instrumental clitic also marks the complement of verbs meaning 'become'. In (244), for example, it occurs on the noun *tama* 'man', complement of the verb *na*, which here means 'become' (though elsewhere it can mean 'be at' or 'exist').

- (244) ka **tama=k** na-m-r 6098

  REAL **man=INS** become-PAST2-3SG.M

  He turned (back) into **a man**.
- (245) klei ka **gulmombu=k** na-ka-m 5095 then REAL **gulmombu=INS** become-FUT2-3PL Then they will become Gulmombu [mushrooms].

The two preceding examples illustrate the use of the locative/instrumental clitic on nominal complements of verbs meaning 'become'. It also occurs on adjectival complements of such verbs, like *sambak* 'big' in (246) to (248).

(246) fer ata o-r-a su nuwa-m-r
pig very DIST-M-EMP 3SG.F give-PAST2-3SG.M

samba=k na-m-t 4049

big=INS be.at-PAST2-3SG.DIM

That big pig that was taken care of by her grew large.

(247) nu i ni-k klei ka **samba=k** na-ya-m 5095 2SG go see-SUB then REAL **big=INS** become-PRES-3PL When you go see, then they have [already] grown **big**. (248) yen ra=ka samba=k ka **samba=k** na-m-r 4067 child get=REAL big=INS REAL **big=INS** become-PAST2-3SG.M He got the child and he grew up.

Example (249) is similar, except that here it occurs on the adjective *laka* 'big' and the verb is *wi* 'grow'.

(249) naku gamu=r ekra naku kufe=r wa **laka=k** wi-kya-r 5016 sago white=M thus sago good=M IRR **big=INS** grow-FUT1-3SG.M White sago is good sago. It will grow up tall.

In (250), we get the adjective samba 'big' occurring as a nonverbal predicate with the instrumental clitic.

(250) [mele mele] nawa=m yen=m mu samba=k 7084 [long.ago] wife=PL child=PL 3PL big=INS
A long time ago [when] wives and children were big.

The use of the locative clitic in (251) is more difficult to categorize, though it appears to be a secondary predicate and this use is probably related to its use on complements of verbs meaning 'become'.

(251) kiri ru fe sunngo-m-k **kulfo=k** a-m-f 6001 fire 3SG.M 3D start.fire-PAST2-SUB **uncooked=INS** eat-PAST2-3DU When he started a fire for them [dual], they just ate it **uncooked**.

As discussed on §5.10.1, the locative/instrumental clitic often occurs on adverbs, as in (252) and (253).

(252) ekra re er-m-k oku=r in.that.way 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-SUB water=M

indi=k yiri-m-r 6106

**back=LOC** fall-PAST2-3SG.M

As he was telling him [something], he fell **back** down into the water.

(253) awar=k ka ya-kya-r ELIC
later=LOC REAL come-FUT1-3SG.M
He is on his way. [In a little bit, later today.]

It also occurs on relational nouns, as in (254).

(254) ka tolo eloko-m-r ekra nu i=ka loko=s re REAL 3SG.M.OBJ tell say-PAST2-3SG.M in.that.way 2SG go=REAL rain=F wate-na ari=k 6062 o-r-a ner susu-ø rain.fall-COND DIST-M-EMP go ner.tree **below=LOC** stand-2SG.IMP He told him, "As you go, if it rains, go stand underneath that Ner tree."

And, like nominal clitics, it can occur on postnominal modifiers, as in (255) to (259). In the first four examples, it attaches to the postnominal modifier *nawe* 'only'.

(255) tawa=s ke-t-a biki eku=ka woman=F PROX-F-EMP how do=INT

> kom nawe=k sukna-ya-s=ka 7053 village only=LOC sleep-PRES-3SG.F=INT

What is this woman doing? Does she only sleep in the village?

(256) kulu nawe=k aku-m-r aku=ka wuya-m-r 4053 road only=INS go.back-PAST2-3SG.M go.back=REAL come.up-PAST2-3SG.M He just went back along the road. He went back and came up.

- (257) wa awar nawe=k i-kun ELIC IRR later only=INS go-FUT1.1SG I will just go later.
- (258) kulu nawe=k aku-m-r aku=ka wuya-m-r 4053 road only=LOC go.back-PAST2-3SG.M go.back=REAL come.up-PAST2-3SG.M He just went back along the road. He went back and came up.

In (259), it attaches to the postnominal adjective angur 'new'.

(259) iki nu angur=k bunandi=t ka wuwr tongo-ka-n 4118

NEG garden new=LOC maybe=DIM REAL pitpit hold-FUT2-2SG

If there is none [aibika] in the new garden, you will get some pitpit.

The locative/instrumental clitic is not in general obligatory, though some of its uses, such as instrumental, it is generally used. In (260), however, it does not appear on the instrumental expression *fim* 'spears'.

(260) fi=m re fu-m-yun ELIC spear=PL 3SG.M.OBJ hit-PAST2-1SG I killed him with spears.

Nor does it appear on tawul kin nawel 'only the tip of the tongue' in (261).

(261) re so-m-m tawul kin nawe=t 7075
3SG.M.OBJ lick-PAST2-3PL tongue tail only=DIM
They licked him with just the tip of the tongue.

It is also possible to express a location without using the locative clitic =k. In (262), there is no marking on aka 'house'.

(262) aka rusu-m-s tama=r ya-m-r 4030 house sit-PAST2-3SG.F person=M come-PAST2-3SG.M She sits in the house and the husband comes.

In (263), there is no marking on afla 'medium river'.

(263) afla lisi safungrou ni-ya-m biarna-ya-n ka 4102 medium.river cook safungrou see-PRES-3PL surprise-PRES-2SG REAL They cook at the river and see Safungrou and are thrilled.

In (264), there is no marking on kom meyu terwo, the name of a place.

(264) kom meyu terwo a-m-r kisi naku tawo 4102 kom meyu terwo eat-PAST2-3SG.M boil sago turn.sago
At Kom Meyu Terwo he eats. He boils [water] and turns sago.

And in (265), there is no marking on aka gur 'roof'.

(265) em aka gur ene ya tasu=ka eku-ya=ø 4033 who house apex 1SG.OBJ come step.on=REAL do-PRES=2SG.INT Who is stepping on my roof?

It is also common for noun phrases headed by a relational noun to lack the locative clitic, presumably because the relational noun is itself inherently locative. Examples illustrating this are given in (266) and (267).

- (266) aka fenda fi=r ru ra=ka 6119 house from spear=M 3SG.M get=REAL He got a spear from the house.
- (267) fu oku wiyi-m-f oku nuw i-m-f 6113 3DU water wash-PAST2-3DU water under go-PAST2-3DU They [dual] washed. They went to the bottom of the water [river].

See the next section for discussion of relational nouns.

## 5.10.2 Relational Nouns

There is a group of words which I analyze as relational nouns, listed in Table 35.

Noun	Meaning	
ambe	'end/last point'	
ari	'edge area'	
bor (kirkir)	'middle (center)'	
fenda	'from'	
gan	'edge point'	
grow	'center'	
ili	'on top'	
inba ~ minba	'near'	
kana	'together with'	
kondu	'highest/farthest point'	
maha	'opposite side'	
mena	'inherently possessed'	
nuw	'under/within'	
siki	'hole', 'inside'	
tol	'starting point', 'north'	
tombo	'endpoint', 'south'	
werko	'far edge'	
yoko	'towards'	
yungu <sup>6</sup>	'like'	

Table 35: Relational Nouns

Some of these words function like postpositions, illustrated by yoko 'towards' in (268).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The word *yungu* also occurs as a clausal connection; see §8.2.2.

(268) o-m-ra tongo ra-m-r

DIST-PL-EMP hold get-PAST2-3SG.M

di ro-ko kom yoko aku-m-r 6095

DET 3SG.M-POSS village towards go.back-PAST2-3SG.M

He took them and went back to his own village.

The majority of these relational nouns denote locations and can occur either with a preceding noun phrase or by themselves, though some of them usually have a preceding noun phrase. Some of them, on at least some uses, translate into English as prepositions. Some of them might in fact be analyzed as postpositions and some of them might be analyzed as postpositions in some uses but as relational nouns in others; however, I find no good reasons for distinguishing postpositions from relational nouns.

One reason that I analyze these words as nouns is that many of them, at least those that have locative meaning, can can occur with the locative clitic =k, as in (269) to (274). Example (269) illustrates the relational noun maha 'the opposite side of'.

(269) oku maha=k te wiyi-m-s 7081 water opposite.side=LOC 3SG.F.OBJ wash-PAST2-3SG.F

She washed her on the opposite side of the water.

Example (270) illustrates the relational noun gan 'edge'.

(270) aka=r o-r-a oku gan=k susu-ya-r 1626 house=M DIST-M-EMP water edge=LOC stand-PRES-3SG.M The house is located near water.

Example (271) illustrates minba 'near'.

(271) samdo=s au=r minba=k na-ya-s ELIC spider=F pot=M near=LOC be.at-PRES-3SG.F The spider crawls near the pot.

Example (272) illustrates the relational noun *siki* 'inside'; it also functions as an ordinary noun meaning 'hole'.

(272) samdo=s ke-s-a au siki=k na-ya-s ELIC spider=F PROX-F-EMP pot inside=LOC be.at-PRES-3sG.F The spider is in the pot.

Example (273) illustrates the relational noun tombo 'edge of'.

(273) ru nawa=s kana sunngu tombo=k rusu-kla-m-r 6068
3SG.M wife=F with stove end=LOC sit-CONT-PAST2-3SG.M
He kept on sitting at the end of the stove with his wife.

Example (274) illustrates the relational noun ari 'below'.

(274) ka tolo eloko-m-r ekra i=ka loko=s nu REAL 3SG.M.OBJ tell say-PAST2-3SG.M in.that.way 2SG go=REAL rain=F wate-na ari=k 6062 o-r-a ner susu-ø rain.fall-COND DIST-M-EMP go ner below=LOC stand-2SG.IMP He told him, "As you go, if it rains, go stand underneath that Ner tree."

Example (275) illustrates the relational noun *werko* 'on the far side of', though without a preceding noun phrase.

(275) yefa=m o-m-ra tongo=ka eku rusu-ya-r bone=PL DIST-PL-EMP hold=REAL do sit-PRES-3SG.M kasi=k i rusu=ka eku werko=k 4052 tongo ra=ka hold get=REAL REM=LOC go sit=REAL do side=LOC He took those bones and sat. He took them and went far away. He sat and [carved it] on the side.

However, relational nouns sometimes occur without a locative clitic, as illustrated by the relational noun nuw 'under, bottom' in (276) and fenda 'from' in (277).

- (276) fu oku wiyi-m-f oku nuw i-m-f 6113
  3DU water wash-PAST2-3DU water under go-PAST2-3DU
  They [dual] washed. They went to the bottom of the water [river].
- (277) aka fenda kaku=m ra wra-yun ELIC house from mami=PL get come.out-PRES.1SG
  I took mami from the house.

Some relational nouns appear never to occur with the locative clitic, such as *yoko* 'toward', as in (278) to (281).

- (278) kom yoko aku-ya-num 5003 village towards go.back-PRES-1PL We are going back to the village.
- (279) aka guw mu=r kute=ka ama=r yoko 6086 house roof.apex wood=M cut=REAL bamboo=M towards [He went] on to the roof to cut wood, near the bamboo.
- (280) woro nuku yoko i=ka marasin di=m ene ra ELIC tomorrow nuku towards go=REAL medicine DET=PL 1SG.OBJ get Will you go to Nuku tomorrow to get me some medicine?

(281) aka kulu yoko ru wi aku=ka rusu=ka 7053 house road towards 3SG.M go.up go.back=REAL sit=REAL He went home on the road. He went up and went back and rested.

Example (282) might appear to be an exception to this, but this is a use of *yoko* as a noun meaning 'side' rather 'towards'.

(282) klei yoko=r tasu-ya-num 6086 then side=M step.on-PRES-1PL And then we step on the sides.

The relational noun *kana* 'with' also does not occur with the locative clitic, as illustrated in (283) and (284), though this is probably because it is a non-locative meaning.

- (283) su kana su kom sukna-m-s 7054
  3SG.F with 3SG.F village sleep-PAST2-3SG.F
  She slept in the village with her.
- (284) yen kanda=s kana i-wa-dun 7053 child small=F with go-PAST1-1DU I went with the small girl.

The same applies to yungu 'like', illustrated in (285) to (287).

- (285) takre kufu=r kiri yungu tikwa yungu u-ka-r 5082 takre vine=M fire like coconut.husk like burn-FUT2-3SG.M The Takre vine will burn like fire, like a coconut husk [will burn].
- (286) tama liki yungu ni-r 5047 person skin like see- INF Its skin looks like a person's.

(287) yam waa=r a yungu a-r 5021 banana waa=M eat like eat-INF Eating it is like eating a Waa banana.

As noted above, some of the relational nouns and some uses of other relational nouns might be analyzed as postpositions. For one thing, they often signal a semantic relationship between a noun phrase and a verb (or noun), like adpositions in other languages, rather than denoting something the way noun phrases normally do. This is especially true for some relational nouns, like *kana* 'with' and *yungu* 'like'.

Although relational nouns do not occur with noun phrase clitics when they are functioning as adjuncts of the verb, they do occur with noun phrase clitics when they function as part of a noun phrase. In (288), for example, the masculine noun phrase clitic =r occurs on kana, but in this case lam kana 'with spines' is modifying the noun kufu 'vine' and the noun phrase clitic occurs on kana only because kana is the last word in the entire noun phrase kufu lam kana. That is, it is not marking the relational noun phrase lam kana but rather the entire noun phrase kufu lam kana 'a vine with spines'.

(288) kufu lam kana=r ELIC vine spine with=M a vine with spines

A second example of this is given (289), where we have a noun phrase that lacks a noun, but contains three constituents, the determiner *di*, the demonstrative *ora* and the relational noun phrase *lam fringi kana* 'with long spines'.

(289) di o-r-a lam fringi kana=r ELIC

DET DIST-M-EMP spine long with=M

the one with long spines

Again, the noun phrase clitic in (289) is not marking the relational noun phrase *lam fringi kana* 'with long spines', but the entire noun phrase. A third example is given in (290). It is less obvious that the diminutive noun phrase clitic is not marking the relational noun phrase *kom fenda* 'from the village' since this phrase is not modifying anything.

(290) kom fenda=t iki a-num ELIC village from=DIM NEG eat-PRES.1PL

The one[s] from the village we do not eat.

However, *kom fenda* 'from the village' in (290) is not modifying the verb. Rather it is the subject. More to the point, *kom fenda* denotes people who are from the village, not just some location. In other words, (290) should be viewed as analogous to (289) in that it is a noun phrase that does not contain a noun but only a phrase that functions like a modifier of a noun. To put it another way, *kom fenda* in (290) is a noun phrase lacking a noun that consists of a relational noun phrase, and the noun phrase clitic is marking this higher noun phrase, not the relational noun phrase *per se*.

Although relational nouns do not normally occur with noun phrase clitics coding gender and number (except in the special circumstance just mentioned), they do occur with predicate clitics ( $\S4.2.2$ ), as in (291) to (294). In (291), we get the masculine clitic =r on the relational noun *fenda* 'from', where the predicate is *aitape fenda* 'from Aitape'.

(291) di ongo=r tamalako=r aitape fenda=r ELIC DET 1SG.POSS=M tamalako=M Aitape from=3SG.M He is mine, he is Tamalako, he is from Aitape.

Example (292) is similar, except in this case we get the plural clitic =m on fenda.

(292) same arko=m eme=m oku owlei fenda=m 7025 same arko=PL place=PL oku owlei from=3SG.PL The Same and Arko clans are from many places, like Oku Owlei.

In (293), we get the masculine clitic on the relational noun *kana* 'with', where the predicate is *lako kana* 'with seeds', one way to express the meaning of 'have' in Mehek.

(293) mu=r mu samba ata=r lako kana=r 4006 tree=M tree big very=M seed with=3SG.M

The tree is the biggest tree. It has seeds.

And in (294), we get a dual clitic on kana.

(294) naka fu tawa=f engle kana=f 6097 and 3DU woman=DU spell with=3DU And the two women had a spell.

However, the relational noun yungu 'like' does not occur with a predicate clitic in (295).

(295) tete iki on ne ni-nak iki maure yungu 6050 honorable NEG 1SG 2SG.OBJ see-VNEG NEG spirit like Older [brother] I did not see you; you did not look like a spirit.

On the other hand, yungu does occur with a predicate clitic in (296).

(296) ke-t-a kuna suwa nawa yungu=t 2803

PROX-DIM-EMP self coconut nawa like=3DIM

She is the size of a nawa coconut.

Relational nouns also occur with first or second person predicate clitics, as in (297) to (299). In (297), the relational noun *fenda* 'from' occurs with a first person plural predicate clitic.

(297) fer kana tama=num kana ke-r-a with with man=1PL PROX-M-EMP pig sul fenda=num 6071 war nuw go.down ground under from=1PL

We men, along with the pig came from down there under the ground.

In (298), we get a first person plural predicate clitic on the relational noun kana 'with'.

(298) ke-r-a sofo gamu kana=num ELIC PROX-M-EMP snake white with=1PL We have this white snake.

In (299), kana 'with' occurs with a second person singular predicate clitic.

(299) mowlen kana=n ELIC

anger with=2SG

[You are a] piece of garbage. (literally 'You are with anger')

One way relational nouns are unlike other nouns is that the noun phrases that precede the relational noun lack noun phrase clitics, as in the above examples (see also §4.2). In addition, the fact that relational nouns and a preceding noun phrase can modify a noun, following the noun, as in (288) above, is another way in which they are different from other nouns, since it is otherwise not possible for a noun phrase to follow a noun modifying it. It is possible for noun phrases to modify nouns as possessors, but

these precede the noun and their semantics are different, since relational noun phrases following a noun are not functioning as possessors.

Another way in which relational nouns are different from other nouns is that they do not occur with possessive pronouns before them. For example, in (300), we get an emphatic subject form of a the third person plural personal pronoun rather than a possessive form.

(300) mu-ra kana yam a-r erka na-r ru ka kra kra 2723
3PL-EMP with banana eat-INF want but-M 3sg.M real cry cry
He wanted to go with them to eat bananas, but he was crying.

Two of the relational nouns, *yoko* and *fenda* (pronounced *henda* in Kafle), are unlike the other relational nouns, in that they can follow one of the other relational nouns, while other pairs of relational nouns are not allowed.<sup>7</sup>

The word *yoko* 'towards' indicates movement towards a location. Examples (301) and (302) show *fenda* and *yoko*, respectively, following another relational noun.

(301) fer kana tama=num kana ke-r-a with with man=1PL PROX-M-EMP pig war sul nuw fenda=num 6071 go.down ground under from=1PL

We men, along with the pig came from down there under the ground.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> This is likely because these words indicate motion while the others indicate static position.

(302) fe ni-m-f bi=f kondu yoko=f lasi=f
3DU.OBJ see-PAST2-3DU tooth=DU high towards=DU two=DU

ari yoko=f lasi=f 4093
edge towards=DU two=DU

They [dual] saw two teeth. Two on the top and two on the bottom.

In (303), yoko is being used as a noun in its own right, without following another noun.

(303) klei yoko=r tasu-ya-num 6086 then side=M step.on-PRES-1PL And then we step on the sides.

The word *fenda* 'from' indicates movement away from a location or a person's village of origin. Examples (304) and (305) show the canonical usage of *fenda*, in the sense of place of origin.

- (304) fu wur=ka yamrasi fenda=f 6079
  3DU go.out=REAL yamrasi from=3DU
  The two of them come from Yamrasi.
- (305) iki ke-kwra fenda=m na-nak
  NEG PROX-ADV from=PL be.at-VNEG

  o-r-a ekra ya-m-num 2176
  DIST-M-EMP thus come-PAST2-1PL

Those men were not from here so we came.

In example (306), fenda is used in a temporal sense.

(306) maure yiwara [mele kusa] fenda=r 6077 ancestor ancestor [long.ago] from=M [our] ancestors from long ago There are two words which can be translated as 'with', namely *kana* and *mena*. They are both relational nouns. They have a distinction similar to that of alienable/inalienable possession, though that is not the exact distinction. The word *kana* describes a situation where two or more people or objects are associated with each other, but do not have any inherent or necessary connection. In (307), the seeds grow on the tree, so the tree is seen as possessing the seeds. In (308), the spell (which is a physical substance) is brought along – the people have the spells.

- (307) mu=r mu samba ata=r lako kana=r 4006 tree=M tree big very=3SG.M seed with=3SG.M The tree is the biggest tree. It has seeds.
- (308) o-f-ra indi=k ya-m-f naka fu tawa=f **DIST-DU-EMP** again=INS come-PAST2-3DU and 3DU woman=DU engle kana=f engle kana=r 6097 ru-ra tama=r spell with=DU 3SG.M=REAL man=M spell with=3SG.M Those two came again. The two women had a spell. He, the man, [also] had a spell.

The word *mena*, on the other hand, describes a more inherent connection. While it is used to describe objects that are attached, in a part/whole relation, or some other type of necessary association, it can also describe containment relations. Example (309) includes an example of *mena*. In this case, a longer variety of sago which is described as having a tail, is described. The tail is an inherent part of this sago leaf.

(309) mu [blosu blosu] ka kumba=m mu rete=ka naku=m 3PL [pound flat] REAL leaf=PL 3PL put=REAL sago=PL

o-m-ra kin mena=m tawo-m-m 4112 DIST-PL-EMP tail with=PL turn.sago-PAST2-3PL

They pounded [them] flat. They got leaves.

They turned that long [kind of] sago [the kind "with a tail"].

Examples (310) and (311) contrast *mena* and *kana* with respect to a bag. In the former, *mena* refers to all the contents of the bag, while in the latter, *kana* must be used to include the other items which are coming along with the bag.

- (310) o-r mena ene raya-ø ELIC

  DIST-M with 1SG.OBJ bring-2SG.IMP

  Bring me the bilum (string bag) with all its contents.
- (311) o-r kana uwku kana ene raya-ø ELIC DIST-M with sugarcane with 1SG.OBJ bring-2SG.IMP Bring me the bilum (string bag) with the sugarcane.

The contrast between (312) and (313) show that *kana* but not *mena* is not possible when there is no inherent connection.

- (312) sufali=r anele=s kana i-wa-r kaku sa-r ELIC sufali=M anele=F with go-PAST1-3SG.M mami dig-INF Sufali went with Anele to dig mami.
- (313) \*sufali=r anele=s mena i-wa-r kaku sa-r ELIC sufali=M anele=F with go-PAST1-3SG.M mami dig-INF Sufali went with Anele to dig mami.

## 5.11 Compounds

There are four types of noun compounds that I will discuss here. These are asymmetrical compounds (§5.11.1), symmetrical compounds (§5.11.2), and names for plants and animals (§5.11.3). I will also discuss series compounds, symmetrical compounds consisting of more than two nouns (§5.11.4) and hierarchical compounds, compounds consisting of more than two nouns with an internal constituent structure (§5.11.5).

## **5.11.1 Asymmetrical Compounds**

Asymmetrical noun compounds are ones where one noun is the head and the other noun modifies it. In Mehek, it is usually the second noun that is the head and first that is modifier. Normally, the second noun describes the general kind of an entity while the first noun specifies the specific subtype; this is a reason to say that the second noun is the head and the first noun modifies it. Examples are given in (314) and (315). In the compound *walndo sara* 'a walndo basket' (a type of basket) in (314), the second noun *sara* is the general noun for basket, while the first noun *walndo* specifies a particular type of basket.

(314) sara ru tokmbo=ka walndo sara=r 4002 basket 3sg.m carry.on.shoulder=REAL yam (type of basket) basket=3sg.m He carried a basket. [It was] a yam basket. In the compound *manbo gwasi* 'the pepper that grows by the Manbo tree' in (315), the second noun *gwasi* 'pepper' is the head, while the first noun *manbo* 'a tree species' is modifier.

(315) afa=r manbo gwasi kute-wa-r 6116 father=M tree.species pepper pick.seeds-PAST1-3SG.M Father cut the pepper that grows by the Manbo tree.

The fact that *gwasi* 'pepper' is the head is also clear in this case because *manbo gwasi* is a type of pepper, not a type of tree.

There are exceptions to the normal compound order. In *duwan nawa* 'a large type of basket' in (316), the head of the compound is the first noun *duwan* 'basket' while the second word *nawa* 'mother' specifies a sub-type, the larger basket used by adults.

(316) au sul=r mu sa sa=ka **duwan nawa** mu tukta=ka 6075 pot dirt=M 3PL dig dig=REAL **basket mother** 3PL carry.on.head=REAL They dug dirt for a pot and carried it in a **mother** [large-sized] basket.

The second element of the compound can also metonymically stand in for action accomplished with that noun. The most common usage in this respect is with *lesu* 'hand'. Here, the hand is meant to signify the action done by hand, specifically, planting, as illustrated in (317). In these cases, the second noun is indeed a noun and not a verb, in that it is ungrammatical to use verbal morphology with the noun of the implied action, as illustrated in (318).

- (317) gwini lesu=r ELIC mushroom hand=M hand-planted mushroom
- (318) \*gwini lesu-m-r ELIC mushroom hand-PAST2-3SG.M mushroom planted by hand

In asymmetrical compounds, both nouns have the same primary stress typically associated with that noun, but the stress on the first noun will be somewhat reduced and the stress on the second noun will be somewhat enhanced. That is, differences in stress can help determine whether two nouns are in a compound relationship, or whether they are separate noun phrases. In the case of separate noun phrases, both nouns will have the same relative stress level. Furthermore, in a compound, only one clitic will be present.

## **5.11.2 Symmetrical Compounds**

In the compounds discussed in the last section, there is an asymmetric relationship between the two nouns in that one noun is more head-like while the other is more like a modifier. But there are also symmetrical compounds, where the two nouns play the same role in the compound, where the meaning is similar to conjunction. There is a difference in stress between these compounds and the asymmetric compounds.

Namely, in these symmetric compounds, both nouns carry an equal primary stress.

These symmetric compounds behave like single nouns, rather than conjoined noun phrases, in that they occur with a single noun phrase clitic. In (319) and (320), the two

nouns are both kin terms and the compound denotes the pair of individuals, treating them as a group.

- (319) nanda tawa=f fu tawo=ka rete-m-f 7037 older.sister wife=DU 3DU turn.sago=REAL put-PAST2-3DU [My] sister and wife turned sago and put it [away].
- (320) tawa nanda=fun=ka 7037
  wife older.sister-3DU=INT
  You two are a wife and a sister, now? [You are all grown up.]

Note that the number of the clitic is only appropriate for the totality of the nouns taken in conjunction: in both (319) and (320), the clitic is dual, although in (319) it is a noun phrase clitic, while in (320) it is a predicate clitic.

### 5.11.3 Animals and Plant Names

Animal and plant names are a type of asymmetrical compound, but they are worth separting them out since unlike most asymmetical compounds the head of the compound is the first noun rather than the second one. That is, the type of animal or plant is the first noun and the second noun is the sub-type of the first. This system of naming is not unlike the Linnaean classification system in Western biology, where the more generic genus name precedes the specific species name. There is a limited set of classificatory categories which are all common nouns and can also be used as generic terms for the entire class of individual species within a class. Table 36 lists all these category names for plants and animals.

Category (Animal) Gloss

'fly'
'bat'
'bird'
'mosquito'
'frog'
'mantid'
'firefly'
'millipede'
'rodent'
'centipede'
'tree wallaby'
'lizard'
'louse'
'fish'
'caterpillar'
'spider'
'ant'
'snake'
'worm'
'edible ant'
'beetle'
'crab'
'round beetle'
'bee'

Category (Plant) Gloss

category (Flaint)	riant, Gioss	
al	'taro'	
ama	'bamboo'	
awa	'flower'	
bali	'aibika' (edible green)	
barka	'opa' (edible green)	
baye	'grass'	
duwle	'stinging nettle'	
gwini	'mushroom'	
kaku	'mami' (yam variety)	
kufu	'vine'	
mini	'betelnut'	
mondo	'fruit'	
mu	'tree'	
naku	'sago'	
suwa	'coconut'	
tikwiyi	'ginger'	
walndo	'yam'	
yam	'banana'	

Table 36: Animal and Plant Category Terms

Examples (321) to (324) illustrate some of these animal and plant names in use.

- (321) mulu gra=r kom=r mehek 6121 rodent rodent.species=M village=M NEG Mulu Gra does not live in villages.
- (322) uwku blala=t iki uwku samba=t na-nak 6121 sugarcane cane.species=DIM NEG sugarcane big=DIM be.at-VNEG Blala sugarcane is not a big kind of sugarcane.

(323) gulma kitakwesu=t kufe=t 5082 grasshopper grasshopper.species=DIM good=DIM

The Kitakwesu grasshopper is good.

Other examples include *samdo airewan* 'airewan spider' and *gulma worsute* 'worsute grasshopper'.

With a minority of animal and plant names, the head comes second. For example, the compound *won gulma* 'Won mantis', illustrated in (324) is an exception to the general pattern whereby the head is first; in this case the second noun *gulma* 'mantis, grasshopper' is the head.

(324) won gulma=t gulma samba=t 5082 mantis.species mantis=DIM mantis big=DIM

The Won mantis is a big mantis.

While I have no explanation for the order in won gulma, many instances of animal or plant names in which the head comes second are ones where the modifer is a description of where the animal or plant can be found rather than simply a word for the particular species. Example of this include aka samdo 'house spider' and wuwr gulma 'cane grass grasshopper'. In aka samdo 'house spider', the modifier is the noun for 'house' while in wuwr gulma 'cane grass grasshopper', the modifier is the name for a type of cane grass.

In addition to these compounds, there are some species which do not have a compound name and can only be referred to by a single noun. Due to language loss, the less common species names are being lost by younger speakers, though older speakers

still know them. The generic category terms are also widely used when specificity is not called for or when the specific type was not known. For example, if a bird called out, most speakers would know the specific name by the bird's call and would refer to it by its species-specific name. However, if someone was going hunting for birds, the category name would be used, unless only one species of bird was sought.

## **5.11.4 Series Compounds**

In addition to noun-noun compounds, groups of nouns consisting of more than two nouns listed in series can also be a compound, as in (325) and (326).

- (325) samdo lam lam=s sumalangi suwa lesu so-ko=m kur kur=s 5047 spider lam lam=F mouth leg arm 3SG.F-POSS=PL black black=3SG.F [As for] the Lamlam spider, her mouth, legs and arms are black.
- (326) yen yinsawa gana nanda bu so-ko=m 4026 child cousin's.wife younger.brother older.brother clan 3SG.F-POSS=PL her children, cousin's wife, brothers, and her [whole] clan

These compounds are simply more general instances of the symmetric compounds discussed above in that they have semantics that is more like conjunction. These series compounds are still treated syntactically as a unit and can only host one noun phrase clitic.

## **5.11.5 Hierarchical Compounds**

In series compounds (mentioned in the preceding section), several nouns will be juxtaposed and treated as a single syntactic entity. The series of nouns is a simple list (as

above)and will take dual or plural agreement as appropriate. There are also complex compounds consisting of more than two nouns, which have a hierarchical structure in that they can be broken down into parts, some of these parts being themselves compounds, similar to English *Boston baked beans*, which consists of the noun *Boston* plus the compound *baked beans*. With compounds consisting of three words, there are in fact two possible constituent structures. One possibility is that the first two nouns form a compound which together modify the final noun in the structure (NN)N. This is illustrated in (327). In this case, *mundu* 'centipede' and *bi* 'tooth' combine in a asymmetrical compound with *bi* 'tooth' as head (since *mundu bi* is a type of tooth), and this compound in turn combines with *siki* 'hole' to form a second asymmetrical compound with *siki* 'hole' as head (since the whole compound denotes a kind of hole).

(327) mundu bi siki=k 5062 centipede tooth hole=LOC in the hole [made by] the centipede's tooth.

It is also possible for the final two nouns to form a compound which together combine with the first noun in the structure N(NN). This is illustrated by *fer ama yirkwe* 'pig bamboo knife' in (328).

(328) fer kefu=r ra-wa-m fer ama yirkwe mu ra=ka 6040 pig blood=M get-PAST1-3PL pig bamboo knife 3PL get=REAL They got the pig blood and the bamboo knife for killing pigs.

Note that regardless of the constituent structure, the compound conforms to the general principle that the modifier occurs first and the head second. In (328), fer ama

yirkwe 'pig bamboo knife' denotes a type of bamboo knife and the compound ama yirkwe 'bamboo knife' denotes a kind of knife.

It is also possible for the embedded compound to be a symmetrical compound. For example, in (329), the compound *afa nanda wur*, literally 'father older-brother stone-axe' but meaning 'ancestor stone-axes', the first two words *afa nanda*, literally 'father older-brother' is a symmetrical compound meaning 'ancestor' that in turn modifies *wur* 'stone axe' in an asymmetrical compound.

The opposite situation is also possible: one can have a complex compound where the component parts combine together in a symmetric compound. Example (330) illustrates this possibility, where the the component parts are *suwa fringi* 'leg long' and *lesu fringi* 'arm long' and they combine together symmetrically to denote someone with long legs and long arms. Again, note the single noun phrase clitic at the end of the entire sequence, showing how the entire sequence behaves like a noun.

With all types of compounds, the whole compound behaves like a noun in that one gets a single noun phrase clitic at the end of the entire sequence, as in (330). Note that the number of the noun phrase clitic can be singular or dual or plural depending on the

semantics of the compound. For example in (330) above, the compound is followed by a singular clitic since although the set of long arms and long legs is plural, the compound denotes (or can denote) a single person with long arms and long legs. Contrast this with (331), where the compounds *ari yoko* 'bottom side' and *kondu yoku* 'top side' occur with dual clitics because they each denote pairs of teeth.

(331) bi=f lasi=f ari yoko=f kondu yoko=f 4092 tooth=DU two=DU bottom side=DU top side=DU

There were two teeth [each]: the bottom [had] two and the top [had] two.

## **5.12 Place Names**

Place names are similar compounds in that they are usually composed of two (and sometimes more) morphemes that have independent status. Villages, mountains, rivers, and jungle locations (those that can be cultivated) are given names. The names often describe a physical feature of that area (*oku numbul* 'small water'), something that lives or grows there (*al kom* 'taro village'), or an event that happened there at some time in the past (*siki wi* 'climb up a hole'). A commonly repeated name throughout the villages is *au siki* 'pot hole'. These are areas that have clay that is suitable for making clay pots. The following Table 37 gives a brief sample of place names from throughout the Mehek speaking area. See Appendix I for a complete list of place names.

Place Name	Gloss	Meaning
Al Kom	taro village	'Taro Village'
Arko Kaha Kaha Ekaa	stone bad bad food	'Bad Bad Stone Food'
Au Siki	pot hole	'Pot Hole'
Fawi Oku	fawi water	'Fawi (bird species) Water'
Fer Naku	pig sago	'Pig Sago'
Kita Lako	tulip seed	'Tulip (tree species) Seed'
Koko Kroro	chicken cry	'Chicken Cry'
Kom Arko	village stone	'Stone Village'
Kom Wule	village wule	'Wule (yam species) Village'
Manbi Oku Oule	manbi water full	'Manbi (tree species) Full Water'
Mangi Fle	mangi hunt	'Mangi (rat species) Hunt'
Maure Felnde	spirit bird	'Spirit Bird'
Mu Yen Siri	tree child die	'Sapling Death'
Nawa Muwku	mother breast	'Mother's Breast'
Nuwngu Sa	lime boil	'Lime Boil'
Oku Bor	water middle	'Middle Water'
Oku Falfalti	water twisting	'Twisting Water'
Oku Numbul	water small	'Small Water'
Sara Lili	basket hang	'Hang a Basket'
Siki Wi	hole go.up	'Climb Up a Hole'
Sofo Wambisi	snake wambisi	'Sofo Wambisi (snake species)'
Sul Kasa	earth red	'Red Earth'
Sul Kwesu	earth orange	'Orange Earth'
Tombo	tree.trunk	'Tree Trunk'
Wafu	heart	'Heart'
Wal Kasa	wal red	'Red Wal (tree species)'
Wala Mu	dog tree	'Dog Tree'
Walko	hibiscus	'Hibiscus'
Wate Mulu Kwar	breadfruit rat kwar	'Kwar (caterpillar species) that Lives on
		Mulu Breadfruit (plant species)'

Table 37: Sample Place Names

# **5.13 Conjoined Noun Phrases**

To conjoin noun phrases, it is necessary to use the relational noun *kana* 'with' (see §5.10.2) twice, following each noun phrase, as in (332), where both the pronoun *ondayun* '1SG-EMP=1SG' and the noun phrase *aneles* are followed by *kana*.

(332) on-da=yun kana anele=s kana sauwo=m eku-ya-dun 4005
1SG-EMP=1SG with anele=s with work=PL do-PRES-1DU
Anele and I are doing [our] work.

Addtional examples are given in (333) to (336).

- (333) fer kana tama=num kana ke-r-a with pig with man=1PL PROX-M-EMP sul fenda=num 6071 war nuw go.down ground under from=1PL We men, along with the pig came from down there under the ground.
- (334) or kana uwku kana ene raya-ø ELIC bilum with sugarcane with 1SG.OBJ bring-2SG.IMP

  Bring me the bilum (string bag) with the sugarcane.
- (335) or kana sul kana tisi-yu-m-r 4091 bilum with earth with carry.on.shoulder-REP-PAST2-3SG.M

  He often carried it on the shoulder with a bilum (string bag) and soil.
- (336) tawa=s kana maure=s kana tama=s kahakana fu-m-s 7063 woman=F with spirit=F with person=F many hit-PAST2-3SG.F A woman and a spirit [were going together]; the woman killed many [things].

The relational noun *kana* is also used with noun phrases to indicate that someone is included in a group denoted by another pronoun or a subject suffix on the verb. For

example in (337), instead of saying something that would translate literally as 'you and I', we have what is literally 'Let's go stand over there with me'; i.e. the first person singular reference is not added to the referent of the imperative pronoun anda, but is included in it.

(337) on-da kana anda i susu=ka 7058

1SG-EMP with 1DU.IMP go stand=REAL

Let's you and I go stand over there.

Example (338) is similar, though in this case the referent of the noun phrase that combines with *kana* is included in the referent of the subject suffix, again 3DU.

(338) yen kanda=s kana i-wa-dun 7053 child small=F with go-PAST1-1DU I went with the small girl.

It is also possible to conjoin noun phrases with disjunctive meaning using the same word *kamben* 'or' that is used to express this meaning with clauses (§8.1.3), as in (339).

(339) dinafle nekwa kamben lasi nekwa=f mu bow 6076 same moon or two moon=DU 3PL dry
For one month, or maybe two months they dry [the clay pot] out.

There are also instances of what might be analyzed as conjoined noun phrases where the two noun phrases are simply juxtaposed, illustrated by *al yam* 'taro and bananas' in (340).

(340) num a-k klei ka i=ka al yam a-ya-num 4123

1PL eat-SUB then REAL go=REAL taro banana eat-PRES-1PL

We eat it and then go to eat taro and bananas.

However, I analyze these as symmetrical compounds (§5.11.2). They differ from the conjoined noun phrases discussed above in that they occur with a single noun phrase clitic governing the entire noun phrase, like *nawa gana nanda* 'mother younger.brother older.brother', which is followed by the plural noun phrase clitic =*m*, governing the set of all three people.

(341) nawa gana nanda=m ekra re er-m-k 6106 mother younger.brother older.brother=PL thus 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-SUB while [his] mother and brothers told it to him

Similarly, yau nandasi kaha 'brother's.wife and brother' in (342) is followed by a possessive pronoun go 'my' and the dual noun phrase clitic =f, both of which appear to modify the compound noun yau nandasi kaha.

(342) yau nandasi kaha go=f
brother's.wife brother bad 1SG.POSS=DU

kiri di=t wa ene nuwa-ka-fun 6047
fire DET=DIM IRR 1SG.OBJ give-FUT2-3DU

fire DET=DIM IRR 1SG.OBJ give-FUT2-3DU

My brother and wife, [please] give me some fire.

However, the example in (343) cannot be analyzed as a compound noun since it involves the conjunction of two noun phrases *liki sokor* 'its skin' and *kulka sokom* 'its feathers'.

(343) liki so-ko=r kulka so-ko=m okwe okwe=t skin 3sg.f-poss=M feather 3sg.F-POSS=PL yellow yellow=3sg.DIM kulfo kulfo=t gamu gamu=t 3810 green green-3sg.dim white white=3sg.DIM Its skin and feathers are yellow, green, and white.

Similarly, nawam yenm 'wives and children' in (344) cannot be analyzed as a compound noun, since both nouns occur with the plural noun phrase clitic =m.

(344) [mele mele] nawa=m yen=m mu samba=k 7084 [long.ago] wife=PL child=PL 3PL big=INS A long time ago [when] wives and children were big.

## **5.14 Noun Phrase Structure**

The most frequent order of constituents within simple noun phrases is schematized in (345).8

(345) Noun Phrase = (Det/Dem/Poss/Num/PossNP) + (noun) + (AdjP) + (Poss/Det)+ (noun phrase clitic) + (Dem/[Num + noun phrase clitic])

The formula in (345) does not include relative clauses (see §5.9), which always precede the noun, or relational noun phrase modifiers of nouns, which either precede or follow the noun (see below) or adnominal interrogative words; it is not clear how these are ordered with respect to other modifiers of nouns. All of the constituents in (345) are optional since one can have noun phrases consisting only of nouns and noun phrases lacking nouns. Where possibilities are indicated as alternatives, namely with

Det determiner
Dem demonstrative
Poss possessive pronoun

PossNP nominal possessor plus optional possessive pronoun

Num numeral

Adjp adjective phrase

200

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The formula in (345) and the labels on examples below use the following abbreviation:

'(Det/Dem/Poss/Num/PossNP)', '(Dem/Num)' and '(Poss/Det)', it is not clear whether there is a preferred order.

An example containing many of the constituents in a noun phrase is given in (346).

ke-r-a di sauwo samba ro-ko=r

PROX-M-EMP DET work big 3SG.M-POSS=M

iki on eku-nak ELIC

NEG 1SG do-VNEG

I didn't do this big job of his. I did this job.

Example (347) shows how postnominal demonstratives are different from postnominal possessive pronouns, the latter illustrated above in (346): in (346), the noun phrase clitic attaches to the possessive pronoun, while in (347), it attaches to the adjective rather than the demonstrative.

(347) N + A + noun phrase clitic + Dem

ekra indi=k siri-m-r

thus back=LOC die-PAST2-3SG.M

tama welmbe=r ora kara 6028

man true=M DIST-M-EMP indeed

So he died again, that honest man.

Example (348) shows how numerals are like demonstratives and unlike possessive pronouns in that the noun phrase clitic attaches to the word preceding the numeral.

(348) N + clitic + Num

wate na=f lisi lisi re nuwa-yu-m-s 4048 breadfruit seed=DU two two 3SG.M.OBJ give-REP-PAST2-3SG.F She often gave him two breadfruit seeds.

However, the more common pattern for numerals is for there to be two noun phrase clitics, one on the numeral (or numeral phrase) and one on the word preceding the numeral. Example (349) illustrates the less common pattern, with two noun phrase clitics, one on the adjective *samba* 'big' and one on the numeral, or more accurately the numeral phrase, since the clitic appears on the word *nawe* 'only' modifying the numeral. Example (350) shows a demonstrative followed by a numeral, which is reduplicated (see §7.11)

- (349) N + A + A + noun phrase clitic + Num + 'only' + noun phrase clitic

  or kasa samba=f lasi nawe=f ni-m-yun ELIC

  bilum red big=DU two only=DU see-PAST2-1SG

  I saw two big red bilums (string bags).
- (350) N + Dem + Num

  naka tama o-m-ra lisifirndim lisifirndim numbanoko-m-m 1728
  and man DIST-PL-EMPH three three poison- PAST2-3PL

  And these three men poisoned others.

Whether this is the normal order if there is both a demonstrative and a numeral is not clear. It is also possible that the numeral is a separate noun phrase, since it often bears its own noun phrase clitic in addition to the one preceding it.

Example (351) shows two occurrences of the determiner *di* in its less frequent position following the noun. In both cases, it follows an adjective, but the two occurrences differ in that in the first instance, there are two noun phrase clitics in the noun phrase, one on the adjective *samba* 'big', the other on the determiner, while in the second instance, there is only one occurrence, on the determiner.

(351) N + A + noun phrase clitic + Det + noun phrase clitic & N + A + Det + noun phrase clitic

felnde samba=m di=m nu ene nuwa-na 2SG bird big=PL DET=PL 1SG.OBJ give-COND felnde kaiembo nuwa-kun 6112 on di=m ne 1SG bird small DET=PL 2SG.OBJ give-FUT1.1SG

If you give me some big birds, I will give you some small birds.

Example (352) illustrates a postnominal relational noun phrase modifying a noun.

The fact that the relational noun phrase is followed by a noun phrase clitic shows that such relational noun phrases behave like adjectives and possessive pronouns and unlike demonstratives and numerals in preceding the noun phrase clitic.

(352) N + Relational Noun Phrase + noun phrase clitic

kufu lam kana=r ELIC vine spine with=M a vine with spines

Example (353) illustrates a relational noun phrase preceding a noun that it modifies.

(353) Relational Noun Phrase + N + Adj + noun phrase clitic

ke-kwra fenda tama tawa yelnda=m from all=pL PROX-ADV woman man moni rete-m-m [yelnda oku]=t mehek ELIC [all]=DIM money put-PAST2-3PL NEG

The people from here paid the bride price, but not everyone [else] did.

The next set of examples illustrate multiple modifiers preceding a noun. The part of the formula in (345) that describes the prenominal modifiers as '(Det/Dem/Poss/Num/PossNP)' is so formulated because I do not have much data on which prenominal modifiers can co-coccur if they can, what their relative order is. The only thing that is clear is that the determiner and possessive pronoun can co-occur and when they do, the determiner precedes the possessive pronoun. Both (354) and (355) illustrate this, differing only in that (348) also includes a postnominal adjective.

- (354) Det + Poss + N + noun phrase clitic
  - di fo-ko sara=k ra tu wi-m-f 4057 DET 3DU-POSS basket=LOC get drop go.down-PAST2-3DU The two of them dropped it into their very own basket.
- (355) Det + Poss + N + A + noun phrase clitic

di ro-ko yen indo=r fu-m-s kara 2723 DET 3SG.M-POSS child true=M hit-PAST2-3SG.F indeed She really killed his true son. My data contains very few examples of the determiner co-occurring with a demonstrative when both precede the noun; one is given in (346) above, and in this example, the demonstrative precedes the determiner.

While my data contains very few examples of relative clauses co-occurring with other adnominal expression, (356) contains a demonstrative preceding a relative clause preceding a noun.

ke-t-a suwa sere-k nawa=t 4040 PROX-DIM-EMP foot break-SUB mother=DIM this little broken-footed mother

As noted above, nouns are not obligatory in Mehek and it is in fact common to have noun phrases lacking a noun. A noun phrase can contain just an adjective, illustrated by *kandat* 'the little one' in (357).

Or it can contain just a demonstrative pronoun, illustrated by in (358); these could be treated simply as pronouns or as noun phrases containing a demonstrative word but lacking a noun.

Or it can contain just a determiner as in (359) and (360).

- (359) di=r ka siri-m-r 6005

  DET=M REAL die-PAST2-3SG.M

  One of them died.
- (360) di=m bungu kasa=m 5007

  DET=PL leaf.spine red=3PL

  Some [leaf spines] are red leaf spines.

Or it can contain just a numeral, as in (361).

(361) lasi=f ama golo tenge=k wi-m-f 2129 two=DU bamboo bamboo.species branch=LOC go.up-PAST2-3DU The two of them climbed up that golo bamboo.

Or it can contain just a relational noun phrase, where the meaning is something with the property denoted by the relational noun phrase rather than something denoted by the relational noun. I.e. the noun phrase *yambutu sengaula walkufu fendam* in (362) denotes people with the property of being from Yambutu, Sengaula or Walkufu.

(362) yambutu sengaula walkufu fenda=m wa nambo ya-ka-m 4117 yambutu sengaula walkufu come.from=PL IRR with come-FUT2-3PL They will come with people from Yambutu, Sengaula and Walkufu.

Similarly, kom fendat in (363) is another example.

(363) kom fenda=t iki a-num ELIC village from=DIM NEG eat-PRES.1PL

The one[s] from the village we do not eat.

Similarly yen wauk kanas in (364) means 'the one with a child in her stomach'.

(364) fu ka i=ka tawa mus=u yen wau=k kana=s 4029 3DU REAL go=REAL woman first.wife=FOC child stomach=LOC with=F They [dual] go and the first wife, the pregnant one.

It is possible for a noun phrase to consist of just a possessive pronoun, as long as the context supports the utterance. An example of this would be in an answer to a question about who is the owner of a particular item.

Similarly, it is possible for noun phrases to contain two or more words or constituents that normally serve as modifiers of nouns, without there being a noun in the noun phrase. Some examples are givenin (365) to (369).

(365) Dem + A + noun phrase clitic

ke-r afko=r ende ya ni-ya-r 6093

PROX-M old=M 1DU.OBJ come see-PRES-3SG.M

This old man came and saw us.

(366) Dem + A + noun phrase clitic

o-r-a kanda=r hokwa kete rusu-yu-m-r kara 4034 DIST-M-EMP small=M song sing sit-REP-PAST2-3SG.M indeed The little one who was sitting and singing there.

(367) Det + Poss + noun phrase clitic

klei woro ka **di ro-ko=m** 4106 then tomorrow REAL **DET 3SG.M-POSS=PL** So tomorrow [he will go to] **his** [gardens]. (368) Det + Poss + Adj + noun phrase clitic

di ongo tama=r ya-ya-r ELIC

DET 1SG.POSS big=M come-PRES-3SG.M

My big guy is coming.

(369) Det + Dem + Relational NP + noun phrase clitic

di o-r-a lam fringi kana=r ELIC

DET DIST-M-EMP spine long with=M

the one with long spines

Example (370) contains a noun phrase consisting of a personal pronoun plus an adjective plus noun phrase clitic.

(370) ru kanda=r war yefa=f tongo-m rokor 4032

3SG.M small=M go.down bone=DU hold-GER CAUS

The small one is down there holding two bones [so he can sing].

My data also contains a few examples of what looks like a noun phrase lacking a noun but with two noun phrase clitics, as in (371).

(371) Det + Poss + noun phrase clitic + Adj + noun phrase clitic

di ongo=r samba=r ya-ya-r ELIC

DET 1SG.POSS=M big=M come-PRES-3SG.M

My big [guy] is coming. [Mine, the big one, is coming.]

A possible analysis of this would be two noun phrases, the second in apposition to the first, so that a literal translation would be something like 'My big [guy], the big one, is coming'.

## **Chapter 6: Verbs**

### 6.0 Introduction

This section describes the verbs of Mehek. Verbs are the heads of their clauses and can occur with a variety of marking, in groups, or singly. The various verb forms can be divided into two general types, what I will call finite verbs and nonfinite verbs. The defining feature of finite verbs is that they bear inflection for the person, number, and gender of the subject. A finite verb has tense or mood, aspect, and person/number/ gender marking (though in this group, aspectual marking is infrequent and cannot co-occur with a mood suffix, though it can co-occur with tense). Nonfinite verbs come in a variety of forms. Broadly speaking, these nonfinite forms include (1) bare verb stems, without any inflection (though possibly with the realis clitic); (2) verb stems plus tense or mood affixes that occur in finite verb forms, but without subject inflection; and (3) verbs bearing suffixes that do not co-occur with other suffixes. Sub-sections §6.1 - §6.6 exemplify each of the different suffixes that can occupy the verbal slots.

The general schema of the verb morphology for finite verb forms is given in (1).9

(1) Verb = stem + (aspect) + tense/mood + subject agreement

While (1) shows both tense/mood and subject agreement as obligatory, they are in fact not. Since I define finite forms as those bearing subject suffixes, such suffixes are by

<sup>9</sup> The formula in (1) does not capture the fact that one does not get aspect suffixes with mood suffixes, only with tense suffixes.

definition obligatory for finite forms. However, one occasionally gets forms with tense or mood suffixes without subject suffixes, so in this sense they are optional. However, the use of finite verbs lacking tense/mood or subject suffixes is somewhat exceptional. I discuss the range of possible forms of verbs, including nonfinite forms, in more detail in §6.7.

§6.1 describes the subject suffixes, §6.2 the tense suffixes, §6.3 the mood suffixes and §6.4 the aspect suffixes. §6.5 and §6.6 describe the imperative and negative forms of the verb, respectively, though the latter is discussed more fully in Chapter 7. §6.7 briefly mentions three suffixes associated with subordinate verbs that are described in more detail in Chapter 8 (in §8.3). Finally, dialectal variants that affect the verbal paradigm are discussed in §6.9.

## **6.1 Subject Suffixes**

The final suffix on finite verbs is the subject suffix, which codes the person, number, and gender of the subject, with the additional possibility of diminutive. The subject suffixes distinguishes three numbers (singular, dual and plural), three persons, and two genders, but this latter only in the third-person singular. The diminutive is also restricted to third person singular. In total, there are only 11 different possible person-suffixes that attach to the verb, five in the singular and three each in the dual and plural. These inflections are shown in Table 38.

	Singular (SG)	Dual (DU)	Plural (PL)
1	-yun, -n	-dun	-num
2	-n	-fun	-kum
3M	-r		
3F	-s	-f	-m
3D	-t		

Table 38: Subject Suffixes

Subject suffixes attach directly to the verb stem in negative constructions (see §7.8). Typically, however, person marking follows tense/mood (and if present, aspect) marking. There is one irregularity in the subject suffixes, and this occurs in the first person singular. Namely, there are two different morphemes that indicate first-person singular: -yun, and -n. These involve a tense distinction and will be discussed more fully below in §6.1.1. In addition, a confounding factor in this paradigm is the 2SG suffix -n, which is identical with one of the 1SG suffixes. However, these two subject suffixes can be distinguished in that the first person singular suffix -n does not occur with tense suffixes. The first person subject suffix -n is illustrated in (2) while the second person subject suffix -n is illustrated in (3).

- (2) wa ekra nemen wuya ni-n 2727

  IRR thus 1PL.OBJ go.up see-PRES.1SG

  So I come up and see you.
- (3) ka kom=r ke-r-a susu=ka ni-ya-**n** 3804

  REAL village=M PROX-M-EMP stand=REAL see-PRES-**2SG**You stand and look at the village.

The other subject suffixes are straightforwardly applied in all tenses/moods/aspects and do not vary with tense/mood/aspect. Examples illustrating the subject suffixes are given in (4) to (12).

- (4) nawa=s ka fe ambasu-m-s 4083 mother=F REAL 3DU.OBJ forget-PAST2-**3SG.F**Mother forgot about them [dual].
- (5) mu siki=k sukna-yu-m-**r** 4062 tree hole=LOC sleep-REP-PAST2-**3SG.M** He often slept in a hole in a tree.
- (6) iki [hokwek na]-ka-t wa hanganambu

  NEG [waste time]-FUT2-3SG.DIM IRR fast

  eku aku-ka-t 5103

  do go.back-FUT2-**3SG.DIM**

She will not waste time. She will go back in a hurry.

- (7) war-m-dun mehek ru ka war-m-r 6070 go.down-PAST2-1DU NEG 3SG.M REAL go.down-PAST2-3SG.M The two of us did not go down. He [alone] went down.
- (8) iki hingre na-r-ka-**fun** kehek mehek 7030 NEG joke be.at-R-FUT2-**2DU** VNEG NEG You [dual] don't play around.
- (9) o-r ni-m-f mehek 6095DIST-M see-PAST2-3DU NEGThe two of them did not see it.
- (10) o-t-a wula fenda=t ekra fu-ka-num 5047
  DIST-DIM-EMP jungle from=3DIM thus hit-FUT2-1PL
  She [a lizard] comes from the jungle, so we will kill her.

- (11) kum o-kwra rusu-ya-**kum** 3133

  2PL DIST-ADV sit-PRES-**2PL**You [all] are sitting there.
- (12) tama=m ke-kwra rusu-m-m 2176 person=PL PROX-ADV sit-PAST2-**3PL** The men stayed here.

## **6.1.1 First Person Marking without Present Tense**

As noted above, there are two first person singular forms, -yun and -n. The former is the only form which can be used in any tense and it has the same form as the 1sG predicate clitic (§4.2.2). There are in fact three possible ways to express the first person in the present tense: (1) using the suffix -n without a tense suffix preceding it; (2) using the suffix -yun by itself, without a tense suffix preceding it; and (3) using the suffix -yun, but in combination with the present tense suffix -ya. In other words, the suffix -yun can occur with or without the present tense suffix -ya, while the suffix -n must occur without the present tense suffix. It is not possible to have more than one method of expressing any of the other tenses, as tense and person suffix are obligatory for all other persons and tenses. In the two cases where the present tense suffix -ya is not present, the first person suffixes code both tense and person, PRES.1SG.

The factors governing the choice between these three ways of expressing present tense with a first person singular subject are not entirely clear, though I have identified

some factors that seem to correlate with particular methods. First, the use of -yun by itself correlates with habitual meaning, as in (13) and (14).

- (13) wa mu di=r i oro-ka-yun ekra eloko-yun 6022 IRR tree DET=M go chop-FUT2-1SG in.that.way tell-PRES.1SG He ought to go chop trees down. So I [always] tell [him].
- (14) wosu=k o-m-ra i fu-yun 6071 animal.house=LOC DIST-M-EMP go kill-1SG I kill them in the pig house.

Second, the suffix -n often seems to correlate with telic meaning. (In (16), the context of the story provides the future interpretation for the present tense verb.)

- (15) on o-r ni-r erka re er-n ELIC

  1SG DIST-M see-INF want 3SG.M.OBJ say-PRES.1SG
  I told him I wanted to see it.
- (16) on-da nanda=yun ka indi=k i-n 2170

  1SG-EMP older.brother=1SG REAL again=LOC go-PRES.1SG

  I am the older brother and I will go back.

Examples (17) and (18) employ the suffix -n and show that -yun would be ungrammatical in the same context.

(17) ni=ka er-m-r ka yiri-ya=ø ka see=REAL say-PAST2-3SG.M REAL fall-PRES=2SG.INT REAL yiri-n / \*yiri-yun 6018 fall-PRES.1SG / fall-PRES.1SG

He saw it and said, "Do you fall? I fall [when I see it]."

(18) ka aka=r on kuwsu-n / \*kuwsu-yun

REAL house=M 1SG close-PRES.1SG / close-PRES.1SG

mana kuwsu-na nawe [kwruru suwru] tiri 6058

PROH close-COND only [pretend] leave

She told her, "I [really] close the house [when I leave]. Do not just pretend."

And third -yayun seems always to refer to an ongoing situation in (19) and (20).

- (19) on ka nungul ya-ya-yun 6093 1SG REAL cold come-PRES-1SG I am [have gotten] cold.
- (20) on ka rusu=ka a-ya-yun 6092

  1SG REAL sit=REAL eat-PRES-1SG
  I am sitting and eating.

However, these correlations have exceptions. For example (21) uses -n, but is interpreted habitually.

(21) on ka kaku sa-n ELIC 1SG REAL mami dig-PRES.1SG I dig mami [habitually].

Example (22) employs -n, but seems to be atelic.

(22) aka siki=k rusu-n ELIC house hole=LOC sit-PRES.1SG I am in the house.

The dual and plural first person suffixes -dun 1DU and -num 1PL can also attach directly to the verb stem in the present tense without the present tense suffix -ya. In

these cases, the verbs have a habitual meaning, as in "we typically do this." This is illustrated in examples (23) to (25).

- (23) [wirki wirki] ka wuwr-dun ELIC [always] REAL go.inside-PRES.1DU We [dual] always go inside.
- (24) naku dorko si-num 4115 sago scrape wash-PRES.1PL We scrape and wash sago.

When these suffixes appear with the present tense suffix, the meaning is that the action is currently ongoing, as in (25) to (28).

- (25) naku eku ambe=ka makwa=m ni-num 4115 sago do finish=REAL bean=PL see-PRES.1PL When the sago is finished, we see the beans.
- (26) naku dorko si-ya-num ELIC sago scrape wash-PRES-1PL We are [currently] scraping and washing sago.
- (27) on ka rusu=ka a-ya-yun 6092 1SG REAL sit=REAL eat-PRES-1SG I am sitting and eating.
- (28) [ika aka] dulu-ya-num 5008 [poorly] build.wall-PRES-1P We are making the wall poorly.

# **6.2 Tense Marking**

There are five tenses in Mehek. These are shown in Table 39.

Tense	Meaning	Gloss
-ka	a remote future	
-kya	future today	FUT1
-уа	present	PRES
-wa	past today	PAST1
-m	remote past	PAST2

Table 39: Tense Suffixes

Tense marking, when employed, always attaches directly to the verb stem. Any subject suffixes will then follow it. As mentioned above in §6.1.1 (and also see §7.8), there are some instances where the verb does take agreement, but no tense marking.

## 6.2.1 Present Tense -ya

The present tense is indicated with the tense suffix -ya and roughly indicates the period of time immediately occurring as the speaker speaks or in the very near future. That is, it can indicate an action concurrent with the time of utterance, as well as an action that will be occurring in the very near future or an intended future action. Examples (29) to (38) illustrate the present tense with different subject affixes.

- (29) on-da=yun kana anele=s kana sauwo=m eku-ya-dun 4005 1SG-EMP=1SG with anele=F with work=PL do-PRES-1DU Anele and I are doing [our] work.
- (30) nawa su rusu-ya-s 4011 mother 3SG.F sit-PRES-3SG.F Mother is resting.

- (31) yekle=m ka mesu-ya-m naka ermesu-ya-m 6085 young=PL REAL hear-PRES-3PL and ask-PRES-3PL The young [men] hear and are asking.
- (32) naka fe er-m-r ka nali-ya-fun 6094 and 3DU.OBJ say-PAST-3SG.M REAL laugh-PRES-2PL And he said [it] to you [dual] and you [dual] are laughing.
- (33) on ka felnde afu=t ni-n ELIC

  1SG REAL bird cassowary=DIM see-PRES.1SG
  I see a cassowary.
- (34) fer ka sukna-ya-r ke-r-a ke-kwra 6084 pig REAL sleep-PRES-3SG.M PROX-M-EMP PROX-ADV
  The pig is sleeping right here.
- (35) ka num ke-r-a o-kwra rusu-ya-num 2175

  REAL 1PL PROX-M-EMP DIST-ADV sit-PRES-1PL

  We are staying in this place there.
- (36) ka kaha=r ya-ya-r=a maure kum kuna i 2177

  REAL bad=M go-PRES-3SG.M=INT ancestor 2PL self go
  Is that an evil spirit coming? [Said to a friend upon his return.]
- (37) masi anele o-m-ra rusu-ya-m kom=k 4011 masi anele DIST-PL-EMP stay-PRES-3PL village=LOC Masi, Anele [and the rest] are staying there in the village.
- (38) walingi dun-go=t rete=ka sukna-ya-dun 4079 crab 1DU-POSS=DIM put=REAL sleep-PRES-1DU Put our [dual] crab [away while] we are sleeping.

The use of present tense for intended future action must be one of nearly immediate execution. For times the same day but not immediately in the future, -kya,

the future of today tense, must be used. What constitutes immediately is somewhat inexact. The amount of time in the future that the present tense may be used to describe varies, but in practice does not exceed an hour or so. That being said, there are some complicating factors depending on the mood particle being used. For more on the tense-aspect interaction, see §6.8. For more on the different markings of present tense in the first person singular, see §6.1.1.

#### 6.2.2 Past Tenses -wa and -m

Past time is divided into two time periods: the past of today, and the past prior to today. If an event has occurred in the time period from roughly dawn until just recently, then the past of today -wa is used. It is for events conceived as happening fairly recently or just completed. While the guideline about dawn is perhaps the closest technical boundary that could be drawn, there is some variation with respect to the recency of the event that determines the use of past of today -wa. Upon returning to the village from working in the garden for example, one would describe it by using the past of today. On the other hand, if one returned from a whole-day's walk and had completed some action early in the morning before departing, and it was now evening, it would be possible to use the remoter past. But it is possible to use the past of today to describe an event that happened in the morning even when it is late in the evening the same day. The past prior to today, or the remote past, -m, is used for all events which have taken place longer ago, roughly before dawn of the current day. It is in a way the

"default" past tense since speakers will often use it without necessarily considering when the events described took place. Example (39) illustrates the use of both past tenses within the same sentence.

(39) ru ra=ka ya-m-r su ra=ka ya-wa-r 4072 3SG.M get=REAL come-PAST2-3SG.M 3SG.F get=REAL come-PAST1-3SG.M He got [the fire] and came [yesterday], [The fire] was brought by her [today].

### 6.2.3 Future Tenses -kya and -ka

Like the past, the future is divided into two time periods: the future of today and the future beyond today. Examples (40) to (42) illustrate the future of today tense.

- (40) awar=k ka ya-kya-r ELIC later=INS REAL come-FUT1-3SG.M
  He is on his way. [In a little bit, later today.]
- (41) suwa=r wa kufe rii-kya-r ELIC coconut=M IRR good remain-FUT1-3SG.M Will this coconut [water] be good [to drink] later?
- (42) wa elowo i-kya-m om=t mulu=t IRR animal go-FUT1-3PL fish=DIM rodent=DIM feInde=t fu raya=ka mu ka 4123 bird=DIM 3PL hit bring=REAL REAL

The animals will come: fish, rodents and birds. They will kill and bring them.

There are some similarities between the choice between the two future tenses and the choice between the two past tenses. <sup>10</sup> The speaker's intention is what is important

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> In the Kafle dialect, -na is often used in place of either -ka or -kya. See §6.9 for examples of this.

in the use of the future of today, as its use does not constitute a promise. A speaker intending to do something later in the day who, for whatever reason, cannot or does not follow through, would not be bound by the use of that tense or incur the wrath of his/her fellows. The use of the remote future -ka is the default future: a speaker wishing to remain agnostic about whether or not he/she will do something or about whether something will happen, will use the remote future. This does not mean that the speaker will not perform the act the same day. However, when a speaker does use the remote future with a first person singular subject, it is often because he/she does not wish to commit at that moment and is also likely not to do it soon. Examples (43) and (44) illustrate the remote future -ka.

- (43) wa ne tiri-ka-yun ekra re eloko-m-r 6119
  IRR 2SG.OBJ leave-FUT2-1SG in.that.way 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.M
  "I will leave you alone", he told him.
- (44) ne totori yen kin sere-ka-yun 4029
  2SG.OBJ drop child tail break-FUT2-1SG
  I will drop them [branches] down to you, and will break your child's back.

In the first person singular, there is a an irregular form for future today. Namely instead of -kya plus -yun, we get a single morpheme -kun that codes both future today and first person singular. Formally, this means that there is a contrast in the first person between -kun and -kayun, which resembles the contrast in the present between -yun and -yayun. However, this distinction in the present is a distinction that does not arise in second and third person, while the distinction in the future between -kun and -kayun is

simply a formal difference between the two future tenses in the first person singular. In other words, semantically, there is the same two-way distinction in the first person singular for future that there is for second and third person. Examples (45) and (46) illustrate this first person singular future today suffix –*kun*.

- (45) felnde aka ki-r i-kun 7072 bird house build-INF go-FUT1.1SG I will go build a bird blind.
- (46) [wirki wirki] wa wuwr-kun ELIC[always] IRR go.inside-FUT1.1SGI will always go inside [at this same time].

It is also possible to reference future time without using one of the future tenses at all, though this is only possible in passive constructions (see §7.6). In these clauses, the use of a temporal adverb referring to the future is, in fact, the only way to refer to the future, as the verb can only have person/number/gender marking. This is illustrated in example (47).

(47) woro mulu a-t OVH tomorrow rodent eat-3DIM Tomorrow we will eat [Mangi] rat.

## 6.3 Mood Suffixes

There are two mood suffixes which occupy the tense/mood slot of the verb. Verbs bearing one of these suffixes do not occur with a tense suffix. These are listed below in Table 40.

Suffix	Meaning	Gloss
-kwa	desiderative	DESD
-na	conditional	COND

Table 40: Mood Suffixes

When a mood suffix is present, there not only can be no tense suffix, but no aspect suffix can co-occur either. Both of the mood suffixes normally expresses a future temporal setting. Desiderative –*kwa* is typically (though not necessarily) a wish about a future happening and conditional –*na* is about a future action that is dependent on another action. Because of this future temporality, it explains why aspect suffixes do not co-occur with any future tenses (see §6.4). Each of the mood suffixes is described in a section below along with further discussion in §6.8.

#### 6.3.1 Desiderative -kwa

To describe actions which one should have done, ought to do, or would like to do, the desiderative suffix –*kwa* is used, as in (48).

(48) ekra eku-kwa-num 6096 thus do-DESD-1PL That is what we would like to do.

This suffix represents the desire of the subject of the verb, rather than the speaker, as illustrated by (49) and (50).

(49) o-r-a ni nu rusu-r ka ne a-kwa-r 7065

DIST-M-EMP see garden sit-INF REAL 2SG.OBJ eat-DESD-3SG.M

That one sees you sitting in the garden and wants to eat you.

(50) wa raya ni-kwa-m on-da=yun ene ser=yun 1SG.OBJ bring see-DESD-3PL 1SG-EMP=1SG first=1SG IRR samba mende=r tama 2727 man big very=3SG.M

They want to come see me. I am the first. I am an important man in the clan.

Because this suffix deals with situations which have not been or will not be realized, no tense suffix can accompany it. The appropriate time period is only inferred from context. When the desiderative is used, either in the assertive or in the negative, it implies that the action under consideration was not, or will not be done. But it is not necessarily future. In (51), for example, the meaning is not 'I want to see it' but 'I wish I had seen it' or 'I wish I could have seen it'. In other words, the desiderative can express a wish that something happened but didn't happen.

- (51) on ni-kwa-yun na-r anele=r ni ka ra-wa-r ELIC 1SG see-DESD-1SG but-M anele=M see REAL get-PAST1-3SG.M I wish I could have seen it, but Anele got it.
- (52) nu nate=ka i-kwa-dun mehek 6093 garden cut=REAL go-DESD-1DU NEG We [dual] would have liked to go clear the garden but we didn't.

The desiderative is often used in the first person in a sense of 'should', as in (53).

(53) welmbe=t kara ekra eku-kwa-num kara ELIC true=3DIM indeed in.that.way do-DESD-1PL indeed That's right. We should definitely do it that way.

Similarly, (54) is better glossed as 'Which road should I go along' rather than 'Which road do I want to go along'.

(54) biki kulu=k i-kwa-yun 6025 which road=LOC go-DESD-1SG Which road should I go along?

Sometimes, it is better glossed with 'able' rather than 'should', as is the case with (55).

(55) ama fasu=ka a-ta

1PL.IMP cook.in.leaf=REAL eat-IMP

kulfo=k a-kwa-num 6048

uncooked.food=INS eat-DESD-1PL

Let's cook it in a leaf and eat it. We can eat it uncooked.

The only mood particle that is compatible with the desiderative is the irrealis mood particle wa (see §7.2.2), as in (50) above. Example (56) shows that the desiderative cannot be used with the realis mood particle ka.

(56) \*nu ene ka ni-kwa-yun ELIC 2SG 1SG.OBJ REAL see-DESD-1SG You should have [been able to] see me.

### 6.3.2 Conditional -na

I label the suffix -na as conditional because it is commonly used in conditional sentences, either in the protasis clause, as in (57) to (61), or the apodosis clause, as in (62), or in both clauses, as in (63) and (64). It most often occurs without person marking.

- (57) wa i-na-dun woro elowo fle-r 6049

  IRR go-COND-1DU tomorrow animal search-INF

  If we two were to come tomorrow, we will hunt.
- (58) nu hamba-na bir groro groro 6115
  2SG be.present-COND branch scratch scratch
  If you are alive, scratch the branch [so I can hear].
- (59) iki ne manda-ka-t su ne ta-na 5101 NEG 2SG.OBJ hurt-FUT2-3D 3SG.F 2SG.OBJ bite-COND It will not hurt if it (she) does not bite you.
- (60) nu ene danasu nime-na aku ELIC 2SG 1SG.OBJ wait.for be.unable-COND go.back
  If you wait and I do not come, go back.
- (61) woro ru sukna-na wa re waki-ka-yun ELIC tomorrow 3SG.M sleep-COND IRR 3SG.M.OBJ tie-FUT2-1SG Tomorrow if he's sleeping, I will tie him up.
- (62) nu rii=ka nu ekaa-na 6047
  2SG remain=REAL 2SG food-COND
  If you get it all and carry it, you will eat it.
- (63) ekra kum eku-na iki bunandi wa thus 2<sub>PL</sub> do-COND NEG **IRR** something di=m ni-na-kum mehek 7084 DET=PL see-COND-2PL NEG So if you all were to do this [bad behavior], you would not see anything [positive].
- (64) on ya-na ya-na-yun 6037

  1SG come-COND come-COND-1SG

  If I come, I will come.

It is also used in future when-clauses, as in (65) to (68).

- (65) gwa=r ru namble aku-na wa tare-ka-s ELIC fog=M 3SG.M dissipate go.back-COND IRR shine-FUT2-3SG.F When the fog clears, [the moon] will shine.
- (66) on ka sukna-na ru i-kya-r ELIC 1SG REAL sleep-COND 3SG.M go-FUT1-3SG.M When I sleep, he will go [today].
- (67) felnde gamu=s bi mo-ko=m samba=m mu yengla=k bird tooth 3PL-POSS=PL tooth big=PL tree branch=LOC gamu=F take sere-ka-m 5032 mu rusu-na mu yengla=r wa 3PL sit-COND tree branch=M IRR bite break-FUT2-3PL

The Gamu bird's beak is a big beak. When they sit in tree branches, they will bite them and break them.

(68) on wula i-na yombo-k nu wa ene sumbu ELIC follow 1SG jungle go-COND SIM-SUB 2SG IRR 1SG.OBJ While I go to the jungle, you will come follow me.

However, this suffix is also used in sentences which are non-conditional, where it expresses a meaning like 'maybe, perhaps', as in (69) and (70).

- (69) woro wate kute lisi a-r i-na-dun 7077 tomorrow breadfruit cut burn eat-INF go-COND-1DU Tomorrow maybe we two will go and get and cook and eat breadfruit.
- (70) on-da=yun ana ya dorko-na nu yam lisi 7057 1SG-EMP=1SG 1SG.IMP come scrape.sago-COND 2SG banana cook Shall I scrape sago? You cook bananas.

Examples (71) to (73) are similar, although the effect seems to be to form what functions like a question, but with a second person subject.

- (71) iki nu re eloko-na=ka ELIC

  NEG 2SG 3SG.M.OBJ tell-COND=INT

  You did not talk to him?
- (72) iki kom yoko nu i-na=ka ELIC NEG village towards 2SG go-COND=INT You did not go?
- (73) [aka tenge]=k sukna-n kamben rusu aka=k sukna-na 4033 [boys' house]=LOC sleep-2SG or sit house=LOC sleep-COND Will you sleep in the boys' house or stay in [this] house?

In (74), it occurs in a request.

(74) woro ene mu ta oro-r i-na ELIC tomorrow 1SG.OBJ tree cut chop-INF go-COND Will you go cut the tree for me tomorrow?

Somewhat similarly, it is sometimes used in negative imperative sentences, as in (75) to (78).

- (75) mana a-na nanglu kaha=m OVH
  PROH eat-COND greens bad=3PL
  Better not eat the greens; they are bad.
- (76) waitalo naku ana a mana a-na ongo-ra=r ELIC waitalo sago 1SG.IMP eat PROH eat-COND 1SG.POSS-EMP=3SG.M Waitalo, can I eat some sago? You should not eat it; it is mine.

- (77) mana sukna-na mana i-na ELIC
  PROH sleep-COND PROH go-COND
  You cannot sleep or go.
- (78) fun mana biki iki-na 6091

  2DU PROH how think-COND

  Don't worry so much. [You shouldn't think in that way.]

Because it hypothesizes about future potentialities, the conditional suffix cannot be used with a past meaning or in a past context. For more on conditional sentences, see §8.4.

## **6.4 Aspect Suffixes**

In addition to the obligatory tense suffixes described above, there are two optional aspectual suffixes available to describe various durative aspects of events, whether they be past, present, or future. The aspectual suffixes are given below in Table 41. Each aspectual suffix is described in turn below.

Suffix	Meaning	Gloss	Tense Pairing
-yu	repetitive	REP	PAST2 (-m)
-kla	continual	CONT	non-future

Table 41: Aspectual Suffixes

However, not all aspectual suffixes are compatible with all tense suffixes.

#### 6.4.1 Repetitive -yu

To indicate an action that is done repetitively or frequently, the repetitive -yu is used. This suffix is only possible with the remote past tense -m. An action can be carried out multiple times in rapid succession, can be an action that has a longer duration than is typical, or can be similar actions carried out at intervals. The repetitive will often focus on the duration of telic events, or those that have clear end points. Examples (79) to (85) show the repetitive in use.

- (79) ekra kete kete yefa=f o-f-ra fu-yu-m-r 4031 thus sing sing bone=DU DIST-DU-EMP hit-REP-PAST2-3SG.M So he was singing and singing, and he kept playing on those two bones.
- (80) okwa=t o-t-a kete rusu-yu-m-r 4034 song DIST-DIM-EMP sing sit-REP-PAST2-3SG.M He would sit and sing that [same] song.
- (81) or kana sul kana tisi-yu-m-r 4091 bilum with earth with carry.on.shoulder-REP-PAST2-3SG.M He often carried it on the shoulder with a bilum (string bag) and soil.
- (82) o-m-ra a-yu-m-f ya-yu-m-s 4092
  DIST-M-EMP eat-REP-PAST2-3DU come-REP-PAST2-3SG.F
  They [dual] often ate those [when] she would come.
- (83) wate na=f lisi lisi re nuwa-yu-m-s 4048 breadfruit seed=DU two two 3SG.M.OBJ give-REP-PAST2-3SG.F She often gave him two breadfruit seeds.
- (84) mu siki=k sukna-yu-m-r 4062 tree hole=LOC sleep-REP-PAST2-3SG.M He often slept in a hole in a tree.

(85) kuna ekaa-yu-m-m mu au=k kisi kisi a-yu-m-m 6046 self food-REP-PAST2-3PL 3PL pot=LOC boil boil eat-REP-PAST2-3PL They themselves would eat food. They boiled it in a pot and ate it.

Examples (86) to (88) show that -yu is ungrammatical with other tenses.

- (86) \*ru ka mu toko-yu-ka-r ELIC 3SG.M REAL 3PL play-REP-FUT2-3SG.M He will keep on playing the garamut.
- (87) \*ru ka mu toko-yu-ya-r ELIC 3SG.M REAL 3PL play-REP-PRES-3SG.M He keeps on playing the garamut.
- (88) \*ru ka toko-yu-wa-r ELIC 3SG.M REAL play-REP-PAST1-3SG.M He kept on playing the garamut [today].

#### 6.4.2 Continual -kla

For actions in which the duration or ongoing nature is under focus, then continual -kla is used. This suffix may be used with any non-future tense. While repetitive -ya can also refer to actions of duration, the event itself must be happening repeatedly. With the continual, it is the duration itself that is under focus. Specifically, it focuses on the fact that an event is of longer duration than is typically encountered. The continual is most frequently used for atelic events, that is, those which do not have clearly defined endpoints or goals; the continual cannot be used with verbs that have a punctual meaning. Examples (89) to (94) show the continual with various non-future tenses.

- (89) ru elen=k sukna-kla-wa-r 4062 3SG.M secret=LOC sleep-CONT-PAST1-3SG.M He goes on sleeping in secret.
- (90) elen=k sukna-kla-ya-r ka nemen ni-ka-t 5083 secret=LOC sleep-CONT-PRES-3SG.M REAL 1PL.OBJ see-FUT2-3SG.DIM As [the pig] is sleeping [he] will see us.
- (91) ru rusu-kla-m yungu loko=r re wate-m-r ELIC 3SG.M sit-CONT-PAST2 like rain=M 3SG.M.OBJ rain.fall-PAST2-3SG.M As he was sitting, a big rain fell.
- (92) fi=r ru ra=ka kafta=k rete tiri=ka spear=M 3SG.M get=REAL outside=LOC put leave=REAL rusu-kla-m-r 4081 sit-CONT-PAST2-3SG.M

He got the spear, put it outside, and kept on sleeping.

- (93) dina-kla-ya-s muwku solka=f o-f-ra a-ya-s 6056 be.quiet-CONT-PRES-3SG.F breast dry=DU DIST-DU-EMP eat-PRES-3SG.F She keeps on being quiet and drinking from those dry breasts.
- (94) aka=k rusu-kla-m-yun ELIC house=LOC sit-CONT-PAST2-1SG I kept on staying at home.

Examples (95) and (96) illustrate the continual in an imperative context.

(95) dina-kla-ø ka sukna 6047 be.quiet-CONT-2SG.IMP REAL sleep Keep on being quiet and then sleep. (96) dina-kla-ø ka ama i tama=m nemen ni-ka-m ELIC be.quiet-CONT-2SG.IMP REAL 3PL.IMP go man=PL 1PL.OBJ see-FUT2-3PL Keep quiet and we'll go, people will see us.

## 6.5 Imperative *-ta* and *-tn*

For actions which are to be immediately or nearly immediately completed, one of the imperative suffixes -ta or -tn is used. The suffix -ta is used with second person or first person plural subjects, while -tn is used with first person singular subjects. Examples of are given in (97) to (103).

- (97) kum mesu-ta OVH

  2PL hear-IMP

  You [plural] listen up.
- (98) o-r-a mesu-ta 4051
  DIST-M-EMP hear-IMP
  Listen to that!
- (99) ke-r-a ene ni-ta hele ene kwiyi yomo=r 4088 PROX-M-EMP 1SG.OBJ see-IMP INJ 1SG.OBJ cut testicles=M Look at this. Ah! I cut my testicles!
- (100) o-f nawe waki=ka ra nuwa-ta 4046

  DIST-DU just tie=REAL get give-IMP

  Take a few, tie them up, and give them away.
- (101) ka te er-m-r nalikwarsa=r kiri fornuwa-ta 2803 REAL 3SG.F.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.M nalikwarsa=M fire give-IMP Nalikwarsa said to her, "Get [me] the fire."
- (102) anganambu ene nuwa-ta ELIC fast 1SG.OBJ give-IMP Give it to me quickly!

(103) o-f nawe waki=ka ra nuwa-ta 4046

DIST-DU just tie=REAL get give-IMP

Take a few, tie them up, and give them away.

*Ta*-imperatives can also be used as hortatives, with first person plural subjects, as in (104).

(104) ama mesu-ta OVH

1PL.IMP hear-IMP

Let's listen up.

It is also possible to achieve this effect with a desiderative suffix, as in (105).

(105) kulfo=k a-kwa-num 6048
uncooked.food=INS eat-DESD-1PL
Let's cook it in a leaf and then we'll eat.

There are other ways to express commands other than by using the imperative suffix. These are by using an imperative pronoun with a bare verb stem, or simply a bare verb stem with no pronoun, as in example (106).

(106) (fun) wra ELIC (2DU.IMP) come.in Come in (you two)!

Third person imperative constructions of the form 'he ought to x' typically follow the format given in (107), , where the -r is the infinitival suffix.

(107) Subject pronoun + i 'go' + verb-r.

This is illustrated in example (108).

(108) ru i ra-r ELIC

3SG.M go get-INF

He should get it himself!

I refer to the forms with the suffix -tn as first person singular imperatives, even though the semantics of these forms is rather different from the semantics of first person singular imperative pronouns (and what have been labeled first person singular imperatives in other languages). I do so partly because the suffix -tn is in paradigmatic opposition to the suffix -ta, both suffixes occur on verbs without any other suffix, and because both begin with a /t/. In addition, although different from the first person singular imperative pronoun, the use of the suffix -tn does place the speaker under an obligation to perform the action in question, just as some uses of second-person imperatives place the hearer under an obligation to perform the action in question. Examples illustrating the tn-imperative are given in (109) and (110).

- (109) te eloko-m-r rusu ka i-tn on-da=yun 4100 3SG.DIM.OBJ tell-PAST2-3SG.M sit REAL go-1SG.IMP 1SG-EMP=1SG He told her to sit, and that "I myself will go."
- (110) fer yen fu-tn ekra erka 6069 pig child kill-1SG.IMP in.that.way want So I will kill the baby pig!

The use of the *tn*-imperative means that the speaker is declaring that they intend to or will do something imminently. It does not, however, obligate a person to do something immediately. That is, it is not infelicitous for a person to use this form and

then to fail to immediately do the thing they have mentioned. This is analogous to the use of the future of today (see §6.2.3).

On the other hand, a person who uses this form and then fails to do what they have said at all will incur some social displeasure. The use of this form is in some ways a promise to do the thing spoken of. The implication is that the speaker will perform the act in the near future, though it is possible that events will prevent the person from doing so and they will then complete the action later on.

## 6.6 Negative -nak

One of the ways of expressing negation is by adding a suffix -nak to the verb, as in (111) and (112). This suffix cannot have a person/number/gender suffix following it.

(111) on i rete-wa-m iki mu rii-nak 4093

1SG go put-PAST1-3PL NEG 3PL remain-VNEG

[The things] I put are not there anymore.

(112) on re eloko-wa suma=m 1SG 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST1 voice=PL iki 7070 eloko-nak o-r ene NEG 1SG.OBJ tell-VNEG DIST-M

These things I told him, he did not tell me.

It most commonly occurs on the verb na 'be at', which functions like an auxiliary verb, as in (113) and (114).

- (113) iki a-ka-num na-nak wa awar=k a-ka-num 5048

  NEG eat-FUT2-1PL be.at-VNEG IRR later=INS eat-FUT2-1PL

  We will not eat [it is not customary], we will eat later.
- (114) iki yirkwe tongo-num na-nak 6097

  NEG knife hold-PRES.1PL be.at-VNEG

  We did not have knives.

This suffix is discussed further in §7.8.

## **6.7 Subordinating Suffixes**

There are three suffixes all of which mark a verb as subordinate but for which it is difficult to find a single way to characterize each of them. There are the subordinate suffix -k, the gerundial suffix -m, and the infinitival suffix -r. Each of these is illustrated in (115) to (117) respectively.

- (115) lisi ningi=f fu ambe-m-k nemen tiri rete=ka 4003 two day=DU 3DU finish-PAST2-SUB 1PL.OBJ leave put=REAL After finishing two days [with us], they [dual] left us.
- (116) su ka hiki-m-s ka su eku-m yombo-r 3SG.F REAL think-PAST2-3SG.F REAL 3SG.F do-DEP SIM-INF naka i re eloko-m-s ka ke-m nu-ra and go 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.F REAL PROX-M 2SG-EMP ke-r-a 4102 а ke-r-a a-tn on PROX-M-EMP eat 1SG PROX-M-EMP eat-1SG.IMP

She thought that while she [went to the garden], she would go and say to him, "You eat this [one] and I will eat this [one]."

(117) su oku wiyi-r i-wa-s ELIC 3SG.F water wash-INF go-PAST1-3SG.F She went to go bathe.

Because these suffixes normally occur on verbs in subordinate clauses and hence occur in complex sentences, I postpone discussion of them until §8.3.

## 6.8 Combinations of Verbal Suffixes

In §6.0, I gave the following formula for finite verb forms:

(118) Verb = stem + (aspect) + tense/mood + subject agreement

Examples illustrating verb forms containing a tense/mood suffix and a subject suffix are very frequent throughout this dissertation. Examples illustrating the additional possibility of an aspect suffix following the verb stem are given in (119) and (120).

- (119) mu siki=k sukna-yu-m-r 4062 tree hole=LOC sleep-REP-PAST2-3SG.M He often slept in a hole in a tree.
- (120) aka=k rusu-kla-m-yun ELIC house=LOC sit-CONT-PAST2-1SG
  I kept on staying at home.

While the formula in (118) treats both tense/mood and subject agreement as obligatory, this is not really accurate. Forms with subject suffixes but no tense/mood occur only infrequently, though *sere-num* 'break-1PL' in (121) and *aka-kum* 'go.back-2PL' in (122) are instances.

- (121) selen=r mu nere=r iki anganambu oro sere-num na-nak 5074 selen=M 3PL strong=M NEG fast chop break-1PL be.at-VNEG
  The Selen tree is strong. We cannot chop it quickly.
- (122) wa a-ka-kum ELIC

  IRR eat-FUT2-2PL

  Will you eat it?

Forms with tense but no subject agreement are also not common in my data, but they do exist. All instances in my data are in relative clauses, where the presence of tense suffixes without subject suffixes is very common. For example, (123) contains the form ram 'get-PAST2', which contains the PAST2 suffix but no subject agreement.

(123) ser ser ra-m tama=r indi=k i ni-m-r 6063 first first get-PAST2 person=M again=LOC go see-PAST2-3SG.M

The first man to get [jungle resources], came back to see it.

Example (124) is a second example illustrating the verb in a relative clause bearing tense but not subject agreement.

(124) ru susu-wa eme=r war-m-dun mehek 6070

3SG.M stand-PAST1 place=M go.down-PAST2-1DU NEG

We [dual] did not go down to the place where he was standing.

The absence of subject agreement on verbs in relative clauses is a general property of such verbs, though they frequently occur with no suffix at all, as in (125) and (126).

(125) mangi sukna nembe=r 5047 mangi sleep lizard=3SG.M It is a lizard that sleeps in mangi grass. (126) fer fu tama=r ekra indi=k siri-m-r 6034 pig hit person=M thus again=INS die-PAST2-3SG.M The man who kills pigs thus died again.

When we turn to mood suffixes, the situation is somewhat different. With the desiderative suffix -kwa, I have no examples of verb forms bearing this suffix without a subject suffix following. On the other hand, the conditional suffix -na often occurs without a subject suffix following it, as in (127) to (129).

- (127) mana sukna-na mana i-na ELIC PROH sleep-COND PROH go-COND You cannot sleep or go.
- (128) woro dun aku-na ru o-r wa ya ELIC tomorrow 2DU go.back-COND 3SG.M DIST-M IRR come If you [dual] go tomorrow, he will go.
- (129) on ka sukna-na ru i-ka-r ELIC

  1SG REAL sleep-COND 3SG.M go-FUT2-3SG.M

  When I sleep, he will go [in the future].

But whether a verb bearing the conditional suffix occurs with a subject suffix correlates with the use of the conditional suffix. This suffix is also used as a weak future suffix with the meaning 'maybe' and in this usage it typically occurs with a subject suffix, as in (130). See also §8.4.

(130) woro wate kute lisi a-r i-na-dun 7077 tomorrow breadfruit cut burn eat-INF go-COND-1DU Tomorrow maybe we two will go and cook and eat breadfruit.

It is also tends to occur with a subject suffix when it occurs in the apodosis clause of a conditional sentence, as in the second clause in (131).

(131) on ya-na ya-na-yun 6037

1SG come-COND come-COND-1SG

If I come, I will come.

However, when it occurs in the protasis clause in a conditional sentence, it typically lacks subject agreement in my data, as in the first clause in (131) or (132) or in a future *when-*clause, as in (133).

- (132) [ifi afa] nu re fu-na ka aku-ya-r 4126 [improperly] 2SG 3SG.M.OBJ hit-COND REAL go.back-PRES-3SG.M If you hit it improperly, it will run away.
- (133) gwa=r ru namble aku-na wa tare-ka-s ELIC fog=M 3SG.M dissipate go.back-COND IRR shine-FUT2-3SG.F When the fog clears, [the moon] will shine.

The subordinate suffix ( $\S 8.3.1$ ) -k occurs in the subject agreement slot, which means that it often occurs with a preceding tense suffix, as in (134) and (135).

- (134) nu eku-wa-k aku=ka i=ka na rusu-wa-f 4099
  2SG do-PAST1-SUB go.back=REAL go=REAL and sit-PAST1-3DU
  While you did that, you went back and rested.
- (135) lisi ningi=f fu ambe-m-k nemen tiri rete=ka 4003 two day=DU 3DU finish-PAST2-SUB 1PL.OBJ leave put=REAL After finishing two days [with us], they [dual] left us.

But this suffix also occurs frequently by itself, as in (136) and (137).

- (136) num a-k klei ka i=ka al yam a-ya-num 4123

  1PL eat-SUB then REAL go=REAL taro banana eat-PRES-1PL

  We eat it and then go to eat taro and bananas.
- (137) siki=r sa-k suwa=r ana fiti ELIC hole=M dig-SUB coconut=M 1SG.IMP plant I will dig a hole before I plant the coconut.

The remaining verbal suffixes always occur by themselves without another suffix. This includes the two imperative suffixes (§6.5), -tn and -ta, the negative suffix -nak (§6.6 and §7.8), the infinitival suffix -r (§8.3.2), and the gerundial suffix -m (§8.3.3).

## 6.9 Dialect Variation in the Verbal Paradigm

There are a few dialect variants which affect the verbal paradigm. For the most part, dialect variants are lexical (see §10.5 for other primary differences between the dialects of Mehek). However, in the Kafle villages, most speakers pronounce an /r/ at the end of the verb stem and before agreement suffixes. Some speakers do not pronounce this /r/, but it is a fairly consistent variant throughout the Kafle region, although there is some variation among particular verbs. Examples (138) to (143) illustrate verb stems with /r/. I treat the /r/ as a thematic consonant and gloss it 'R'.

- (138) ne ta a-r-kya-m 4043
  2SG.OBJ bite eat-R-FUT1-3PL
  They are biting you heavily.
- (139) ke-r-a wi aku-r-ka-kun 4044

  PROX-M-EMP go.up go.back-R-FUT2-FUT1.1SG

  I will go back up there.

- (140) [ifi afa] waki-r-kya-f=ka 4046 [poorly] tie-R-FUT1-3DU-INT Will the two of them tie it up badly?
- (141) eku erka me [feta kata] eloko-r-kya-s 7008 do want 3PL.OBJ [show and tell] tell-R-FUT1-3SG.F She wants to show and tell them.
- (142) iki hingre na-r-ka-fun kehek mehek 7030

  NEG joke be.at-R-FUT2-2DU VNEG NEG

  You [dual] don't play around.
- (143) fun a=ka naka ya 2DU come eat=REAL and aku-r-ke-num 4056 wa ene ra=ka go.back-R-FUT-1PL 1SG.OBJ get=REAL IRR

You [dual] come to eat, and then we will go back.

There are also some differences in the Kafle dialect in the pronunciation of the verbal suffixes. Namely, the future suffix -ka is pronounced -ke and the conditional suffix -na is pronounced -ne by many Kafle speakers. Examples (144) and (145) have -ke instead of -ka.

(144) ru sere eku-m-m ka 3SG.M break do-PAST2-3PL REAL

> fe eloko-m-m ka sere-ke-r 4058 3DU.OBJ tell-PAST2-3PL REAL break-FUT2-3SG.M

He broke it so they told them [dual] he would break it [also].

(145) su ya=ka kiri ta-ke-s 2710
3SG.F come=REAL fire bite-FUT2-3SG.F
She will come and pick the fire up in her mouth.

A final difference in the Kafle dialect is that speakers often replace the two future suffixes with the conditional suffix -na (pronounced -ne by many Kafle speakers). Some speakers replace only the future of today, while others replace both future suffixes with the conditional suffix. The conditional suffix, therefore, has a much wider distribution in the Kafle villages, as it is also used as the conditional suffix (see §6.3.2). Examples (146) and (147) illustrate the use of the conditional suffix (in the form -ne) for future reference.

- (146) okwa=r ekra fu re kete-ne-f 4061 song=M in.that.way 3DU 3SG.M.OBJ cut-FUT-3PL So they [dual] will sing him a song.
- (147) ekra ambe-m-r dinamble ambe-ne-m 4062 thus finish-PAST2-3SG.M same finish-FUT-3PL So he finished. [Next time] they will finish at the same time.

# **Chapter 7: Clause Structure**

### 7.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the fundamentals of clause structure. It begins with discussion of subjects and objects (§7.1), and then discusses the mood particles (§7.2), adjuncts and adverbs (§7.3), serial-verb constructions (§7.4), clauses with nonverbal predicates (§7.5), passive clauses (§7.6), interrogative sentences (§7.7), negation (§7.8), clauses with the word *erka* 'want' (§7.9), light verbs (§7.10), and repetition (§7.11). For information on additional clause types which only occur in complex sentences, see Chapter 8. The general structure of clauses is given in (1).

- (1) Clause = subject + (mood particle) + (direct object) + (indirect object) + verbAn example sentence illustrating the formula in (1) is given in (2).
  - (2) afa=r ka mini=r te nuwa-m-r ELIC father=M REAL beteInut=M 3SG.F.OBJ give-PAST2-3SG.M [Her] father gave her beteInut.

Before discussing subjects and objects, it is necessary to briefly discuss the terminology. *Subjects* are those constituents with which the main, finite verb shows agreement (see §6.1 - §6.4). Objecst are those constituents which are (or could be) represented by an object pronominal form (see §5.4.2). The terms *direct object* and *indirect object* are used primarily as semantic labels; there are no clear grammatical differences between the two types of object. I refer to the recipient-like constituents in

a ditransitive clause as *indirect objects* and I refer to objects that are not indirect objects as *direct objects*.

## 7.1 Subjects and Objects

Subjects and objects are not marked for their role in the clause, except for personal pronouns §5.4.1 and §5.4.2; compare the subject form *on* of the first singular pronoun in (3) with the object form *ene* in (4).

- (3) on ka rusu=ka a-ya-yun 6092 1SG REAL sit=REAL eat-PRES-1SG I am sitting and eating.
- (4) wa ene raya ni-kwa-m 2727

  IRR 1SG.OBJ bring see-DESD-3PL

  They should come see me.

Nominal subjects and objects are distinguished when both occur before the verb, in that the subject normally comes first. While the default order is for the verb to occur at the end of clauses, it is possible for various elements to follow the verb. Subjects occasionally follow the verb as in (5) to (8), though this may be a type of afterthought construction.

- (5) yen=t ka rete=ka sukna-m-s maure=s 6058 child=DIM REAL put=REAL sleep-PAST2-3SG.F ancestor=F She put the child to sleep, the spirit did.
- (6) ru aku-m-r afa=r 6072 3SG.M go.back-PAST2-3SG.M father=M He went back, father did.

- (7) mu war susu-m-m ro-ko=r tama=m 6103 3PL go.down sit-PAST2-3PL 3SG.M-POSS=M person=PL They went down and sat, the men.
- (8) wula=k na-ya-t kanda=t 5083 jungle=LOC be.at-PRES-3SG.DIM small=DIM He stays in the jungle, the little one.

It is even possible for a subject pronoun to follow the verb, as in (9), though this seems to be quite unusual.

(9) ka afa=r ni-ya-r ru ELIC REAL father=M see-PRES-3SG.M 3SG.M He sees [his] father.

It is also possible for object noun phrases to follow the verb, as in (10) and (11), though this order also seems to be very uncommon.

- (10) ru ka ni-ya-r afa=r ELIC 3SG.M REAL see-PRES-3SG.M father=M He sees [his] father.
- (11) re fu-m-r ongo yen=r 4100 3SG.M.OBJ hit-PAST2-3SG.M 1SG.POSS child=M He killed my child.

It is not possible for both a subject pronoun and an object to follow the verb, as shown in (12) and (13).

(12) \*ka ni-ya-r ru afa=r ELIC REAL see-PRES-3SG.M 3SG.M father=M He sees [his] father.

(13) \*ka ni-ya-r afa=r ru ELIC

REAL see-PRES-3SG.M father=M 3SG.M

He sees [his] father.

As noted above, both subject and object normally precede the verb and only rarely does the object precede the subject. Sentences where both subject and object are nominal (as opposed to pronominal) and where they are the same in number and gender are considered unambiguous. For example, (14), where both subject and object are masculine singular, is judged to allow only one interpretation, one where the first noun phrase is subject and the second one object.

(14) nanda=r gana=r re eloko-m-r 1622 older.brother=M younger.brother=M 3SG.M.OBJ tell-PAST2-3SG.M

The big brother told the little brother.

not The little brother told the big brother.

On the other hand, if there is little risk of ambiguity, the object will occasionally precede the subject. For example, (15) is a text example employing OSV word order, where there is little chance of ambiguity since it is not likely that the crab took the men.

(15) walingi num-go=t=u ka tama di=r crab 1PL-POSS=DIM=DISC person DET=M REAL ka nemen ra towi-wa-r 4081 stack-PAST1-3SG.M REAL 1PL.OBJ take

Some man took our crab and stacked [them] up for us.

Subject pronouns are optional, but are in fact often present. In the first thirty sentences in the text given in story A.1 in Appendix A, there are twelve clauses with

personal pronouns as subject, one clause with a demonstrative pronoun as subject and twelve clauses where there is no overt noun phrase functioning as subject. However, whether a pronoun occurs or not in these thirty sentences is almost entirely predictable from whether the next verb is finite or not: in most of the examples where the verb is finite (where the verb codes the person, number and gender of the subject), a subject pronoun is not used, while in most of the sentences where the verb is nonfinite (the verb does not bear a subject suffix), the pronoun is used. The examples in (16) and (17) illustrate the two possibilities. In (16), the verb bears a 3DU subject suffix and there is no subject pronoun, while in (17), the verb occurs with only the realis clitic and there is a 3DU subject pronoun fu.

- (16) ka mombu kete-r i-m-f 4029

  REAL mombu cut-INF go-PAST2-3DU

  They [dual] go to cut the mombu tree.
- (17) fu ka i=ka tawa mus=u yen
  3DU REAL go=REAL woman first.wife=DISC child

  wau=k kana=s ... 4029

  stomach=LOC with=F

They [dual] go and the first wife, the pregnant one ...

The only exception to this pattern in these thirty sentences is given in (18), where both clauses contain both subject pronouns and subject suffixes on the verb.

(18) su kuna i-wa-s on kuna i-wa-yun 4030 3SG.F self go-PAST1-3SG.F 1SG self go-PAST1-1SG She went her own way and I went my own. Note, however, that the two clauses are contrastive, which might be a reason for the use of pronouns here, despite the subject suffix on the verb.

### 7.2 Mood Particles

With certain exceptions discussed below, clauses in Mehek frequently contain one of two mood particles, a realis mood particle ka or an irrealis mood particle wa. These are illustrated in (19) and (20) respectively.

- (19) ru ka afa=r ni-ya-r ELIC 3SG.M REAL father=M see-PRES-3SG.M He sees [his] father.
- (20) wa awar=k a-ka-num 5048

  IRR later=LOC eat-FUT2-1PL

  We will eat later.

Most present and past utterances will be marked with the realis particle, while most future and some past utterances will be marked with the irrealis particle. Despite this generalization, it is possible to have any combination of tense/mood and realis/irrealis. Examples illustrating the possibility of combining the realis mood particle with a verb inflected as future and the possibility of combining the irrealis mood particle with a verb inflected as past are given below in (26) and (41).

Single-word clauses or short clauses without any subject suffixes will have the realis particle following the verb and phonologically part of the verb, hence the reason that it

is represented as a clitic. When ka follows the verb, it does not receive main stress and is pronounced as part of the verb it follows; hence I represent it as a clitic, as in (21).

(21) o-f nawe waki=ka ra nuwa-ta 4046
DIST-DU just tie=REAL get give-IMP
Take a few, tie them up, and give them away.

When it precedes a verb, it will have its own stress and be a separate phonological word, as in (22).

(22) mu ka ene fu-m-m wou nawe=yun 1622 3PL REAL 1SG.OBJ hit-PAST2-3PL spirit only=1SG They killed me and I am just a spirit now.

#### 7.2.1 Realis ka

The more common, by far, of the two mood particles is ka.<sup>11</sup> It occurs very frequently and many utterances would be ungrammatical without it. This particle is 'realis' because it only occurs in clauses which are considered by the speaker to involve situations that have really occurred, to be occurring, or to be reasonably certain to occur. Commonly occurring events, expected or inferred events, or events the speaker feels well in control of require the realis. Almost all present and past events fall under this umbrella. Examples (23) and (24) illustrate basic clauses with a realis particle.

(23) on ka suma=m re eloko-wa-yun ELIC

1SG REAL voice=PL 3SG.M.OBJ tell-PAST1-1SG

I told him [some] things.

 $^{11}$  Speakers often jokingly refer to it as the only word in Mehek. "If you just say ka, then you can speak Mehek."

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(24) ke-r ka di tama=r ya-wa-r ELIC PROX-M REAL DET man=M come-PAST1-3SG.M Some man probably came [the one I expected].

Example (25) contains two realis particles. The first occurs as a separate word before the finite verb. The second clause contains its own realis particle suffixed onto a nonfinite verb (see below at (27)), followed by a serial verb construction (see §7.4).

(25) maure=s ka sau-m-s sau=ka tongo ni-m-s 6058 ancestor=F REAL stand-PAST2-3SG.F stand=REAL hold see-PAST2-3SG.F The ancestor stood up. [After she] stood up, she took [it] and looked at [it].

As noted above, it is possible for the realis particle to occur in a clause with a verb inflected as future. This possibility is illustrated by (26); the apparent meaning is that the event denoted by the verb will take place in the near future and the speaker is fairly certain that it will take place.

(26) on ka nu nate-kun ELIC1SG REAL garden cut-FUT1.1SGI will cut the garden [I am preparing to go now].

The realis mood particle ka can either precede the verb, as in (26) above (and many of the examples throughout this grammar), but can follow the verb, in which case it immediately follows the verb and cliticizes onto it, as in (27), where the first two occurrences of ka follow the verb and are cliticized onto it.

(27) fu re rete=ka re tisi=ka ka wi-m-f 4060 3DU 3SG.M.OBJ put=REAL 3SG.M.OBJ carry=REAL REAL go.up-PAST2-3DU The two of them got him, carried him and went up the tree. Examples (28) to (31) illustrate the flexibility of the positioning of the mood particle when it precedes the verb. In (28) it occurs in its default position between the subject and the two objects.

(28) ru-ra ka mini=t te nuwa-wa-r ELIC 3SG.M-EMP REAL betelnut=DIM 3SG.F.OBJ give-PAST1-3SG.M He gave her one betelnut.

In (29), it follows the direct object, though it precedes the indirect object pronoun.

(29) ru-ra mini=t ka te nuwa-wa-r ELIC 3SG.M-EMP betelnut=DIM REAL 3SG.F.OBJ give-PAST1-3SG.M He gave her one betelnut.

And in (30), it precedes the subject.

(30) ka ru te mini nuwa-wa-r ELIC REAL 3SG.M 3SG.F.OBJ betelnut give-PAST1-3SG.M He gave her betelnut.

But the ungrammaticality of (31) shows that it cannot occur between the two objects and the verb.

(31) \*ru te mini ka nuwa-wa-r ELIC 3SG.M 3SG.F.OBJ betelnut REAL give-PAST1-3SG.M He gave her betelnut.

### 7.2.2 Irrealis wa

The irrealis particle is reserved for clauses in which the speaker expresses an opinion about a possible future action, wonders about a possible course of events, or

suggests a course of action for someone to follow. Examples (32) to (34) illustrate the irrealis particle in its most common usage, with the future tense.

- (32) on wa nu nate-kun ELIC

  1SG IRR garden cut-FUT1.1SG
  I will cut the garden [I intend to].
- (33) iki [hokwek na]-ka-t wa hanganambu eku

  NEG [waste time]-FUT2-3SG.DIM IRR fast do

  aku-ka-t 5103

  go.back-FUT2-3SG.DIM

She will not waste time, she will go back in a hurry.

(34) no-ko-ra sul=k wa mu di=r i oro-ka-yun 6022 2SG-POSS-EMP ground=LOC IRR tree DET=M go chop-FUT2-1SG I will go a chop a single tree from your land.

It is also used occasionally with imperatives, as in (35), though, as discussed below, it is usually absent from imperative clauses.

(35) ekaa wa kefen lisi-tn 7062 food IRR 2DU.OBJ cook-1.IMP I will cook you two some food.

It can also be used with a verb marked with the conditional suffix -na, whether the clause is truly conditional, as in (36), or when the conditional suffix is used as a type of future, as in (37), though it does not usually occur in clauses where the verb is marked with the conditional suffix.

- (36) wa i-na-dun woro elowo fle-r 6049

  IRR go-COND-1DU tomorrow animal search-INF

  If we two were to come tomorrow, we will hunt.
- selefe-na **ELIC** (37) na nu klei wa biki na-na wa get.off.track-COND and 2SG then IRR how be.at-COND IRR What will you do? What will become of you? [Said with concern.]

It can also occur in clauses marked with the desiderative suffix (§6.3.1), as in (38).

(38) wa ene raya ni-kwa-m on-da ser=yun 2727

IRR 1SG.OBJ bring see-DESD-3PL 1SG-EMP be.first=1SG

They should come see me. I am the first [man].

And it can occur with a bare verb if the meaning is future, as in (39).

(39) wa [biki rokok] ya kara ELIC

IRR [when] come indeed

When will he come?

Despite its focus on future events, it is not restricted to future time. It can be used with a past tense verb, if the speaker is speculating about what must have happened, as in (40).

(40) ke-r wa di tama=r ya-wa-r 4043

PROX-M IRR DET person=M come-PAST1-3SG.M

Some man probably came [a different one than I expected].

The irrealis particle can also combine with a past tense verb when the meaning is 'should have', as in (41).

(41) ekra mu siri ambe-m-k su wa me danasu-m-s 6006 thus 3PL die finish-PAST2-SUB 3SG.F IRR 3PL.OBJ set.a.time-PAST2-3SG.F While they were dying, she should have set a time for them [others].

When used in a clause with a verb inflected as present tense, the irrealis particle has a meaning of "should", as in (42), or "probably", as in (43).

- (42) beena wa aku-ya-dun 4076enough IRR go.back-PRES-1DUThe two of us should be going back by now [instead of staying here].
- (43) ekra ru re eloko-m-k
  in.that.way 3SG.M 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-SUB

  o-f-ra wa rusu-ya-f 4046
  DIST-DU-EMP IRR sit-PRES-3DU

While he was speaking, they [dual] are likely staying [but it is not certain].

There are some instances in my data where the irrealis particle combines with a present tense verb, where the reason for the use of the irrealis particle is less clear, as in (44).

(44) kuna kuna kulu=k wa i-wa-n 4045 self self road=LOC IRR go-PRES-2SG You are walking around causing trouble.

Unlike the realis particle, the irrealis particle wa always precedes the verb, most commonly following the subject and preceding other clausal constituents (like the realis mood particle ka), as in (45) and (46).

(45) suwa=r wa kufe rii-kya-r ELIC coconut=M IRR good remain-FUT1-3SG.M Will this coconut [water] be good [to drink] later?

(46) on wula i-na yombo-k nu wa ene sumbu ELIC 1SG jungle go-COND SIM-SUB 2SG follow IRR 1SG.OBJ While I go to the jungle, you will come follow me.

Wa occasionally will follow object noun phrases, as in (47) and (48), or adjunct noun phrases, as in (49).

- (47) fer kute tama=r wa fer lesu=r re rete-ka-m 6085 pig cut man=M IRR pig hand=M 3SG.M.OBJ put-FUT2-3PL They will put the pig's legs out for the man who cut the pig.
- (48) ekaa wa kefen lisi-tn 7062 food IRR 2DU.OBJ cook-1.IMP I will cook you two some food.
- (49) no-ko-ra sul=k wa mu di=r i oro-ka-yun 6022 2SG-POSS-EMP ground=LOC IRR tree DET=M go chop-FUT2-1SG I will go a chop a single tree from your land.

#### 7.2.3 Omission of the Mood Particle

There are a number of circumstances where a mood particle is often omitted. I discuss four of these here.

The first circumstance in which the mood marker may be omitted is in commands. In fact, it is generally absent. Short commands are illustrated in examples (50) to (53).

- (50) ama mesu-ta OVH

  1PL.IMP hear-IMP

  Let's listen up.
- (51) yen=r tirika or aku 6105 child=M let 3SG.M.IMP go.back
  Let the child go back.

- (52) or muwku a 6065 3SG.M.IMP milk eat Let him have milk.
- (53) kum mesu-ta OVH
  2PL hear-IMP
  You [plural] listen up.

As noted above, while it is common to find the irrealis mood particle *wa* in longer, imperative sentences, it is common for such sentences to lack a mood particle, as in (54) to (59).

- (54) ene a ambe-ø 6107 1SG.OBJ eat finish-2SG.IMP Finish it for me.
- (55) ke-kwra mende=k susu=n 4029
  PROX-ADV very=LOC stand=PRES.1SGIMP
  ... while I stand right here
- (56) nu i=ka loko=s wate-na o-r-a i ner
  2SG go=REAL rain=F rain.fall-COND DIST-M-EMP go ner.tree

  ari=k susu-ø 6062
  below=LOC stand-2SG.IMP

As you go, if it rains, go stand underneath that Ner tree.

- (57) haulai ro-ko hokwa=r kute-tn OVH haulai 3SG.M-POSS song=M sing-1SG.IMP I will sing Haulai's song.
- (58) anda kom yoko i 1622

  1DU.IMP village towards go
  Let's [the two of us] go to the village.

(59) or a muwku=m 6065 3SG.M.IMP eat milk=PL Let him have milk.

A second type of clause which generally lacks a mood particle is negative clauses, as in (60) and (61); see §7.8 for more on negation.

- (60) selen=r mu nere=r iki anganambu oro sere-num na-nak 5074 selen=M 3PL strong=M NEG fast chop break-1PL be.at-VNEG The Selen tree is strong. We cannot chop it quickly.
- (61) su iki kuna i-ya-s 3SG.F self NEG go-PRES-3SG.F [akwando kwando] nawe su eku-wa-k 5029 only 3SG.F [spider web] do-PAST-SUB

She does not just go herself. She made a spider web [first].

Because negative clauses denote something that did not happen, we might expect an irrealis particle, though except for one circumstance described below, this does not happen. The absence of an irrealis mood particle applies not only to negated past and present clauses but also to negated future clauses, as in (62) and (63).

- (62) nanda go=n iki ne tiri-kun 6051 older.sister 1SG.POSS=2SG NEG 2SG.OBJ leave-FUT1.1SG You are my older sister; I will not leave you.
- (63) du-ra-dun ka yirfi-ka-dun iki a-ka-dun 6092 1DU-EMP-1DU REAL fall-FUT2-1DU NEG eat-FUT2-1DU The two of us will go down, but we [dual] will not eat.

Nor does an irrealis particle occur in negative imperative sentences, as illustrated in (64).

(64) mana kuwsu-na nawe [kwruru suwru] tiri 6058

PROH close-COND only [pretend] leave
I [really] close the house [when I leave]. Do not just pretend.

An exception to the generalization that the irrealis particle does not occur in negative clauses is apodosis clauses in conditional sentences, as shown in (65) to (67).

- (65) ekra kum eku-na iki wa bunandi thus 2PL do-COND NEG something IRR di=m ni-na-kum mehek 7084 DET=PL see-COND-2PL NEG So if you all were to do this [bad behavior], you would not see anything [positive].
- (66) loko wate-na iki on wa ya-r na-nak ELIC rain rain.fall-COND NEG 1SG IRR come-INF be.at-VNEG If it had rained, I would not have come.
- (67) on i-na iki wa selefe na-ka-r ELIC

  1SG go-COND NEG IRR get.off.track be.at-FUT2-3SG.M

  If I go [to the jungle], I will not be unsuccessful in hunting.

A third type of clause that frequently lacks a mood particle is clauses in which the verb bears the conditional suffix (§6.3.2 and §8.4), illustrated in (68) and (69).

- (68) ka on kete tori-na kin ne REAL 1SG cut drop-COND tail 2SG.OBJ 4029 totori yen kin sere-ka-yun drop child break-FUT2-1SG tail I'm cutting [leaves] and if I drop them down to you, your child's back will break.
- (69) woro wate kute lisi a-r i-na-dun 7077 tomorrow breadfruit cut burn eat-INF go-COND-1DU Tomorrow maybe we two will go and cook and eat breadfruit.

Although clauses with verbs bearing the conditional suffix generally lack a mood particle, they occasionally do contain an irrealis particle, as in (36) and (37) above.

The fourth type of clause lacking a mood particle is questions, both polar questions, as in (70) and (71), and content questions, as in (72) and (73).

- (70) tawa nanda=fun=ka 7037 wife older.sister=3DU=INT Are you two are a wife and a sister now?
- (71) di no-ko nanda fi=r=ka ELIC

  DET 2SG-POSS older.brother spear=3SG.M=INT

  Is that your older brother's spear?
- (72) oriko=k rusu-ya=ø 4029 where=LOC stand-PRES=2SG.INT "Where are you standing?"
- (73) ermesu-m-r em siri-wa-r=ka 7079 ask-PAST2-3SG.M who die-PAST1-3SG.M=INT He asked, "Who died?"

My data does contain a few examples of polar questions containing the realis mood particle ka, as in (74) and (75).

- (74) ka yiri-ya=ø 6018

  REAL fall-PRES=2SG.INT

  Do you fall?
- (75) ka kaha=r ya-ya-r=a maure kum kuna i 2177

  REAL bad=M go-PRES-3SG.M=INT ancestor 2PL self go
  Is that an evil spirit coming? [Said to a friend upon his return.]

There are many instances of clauses lacking a mood particle that do not fall into one of the above categories, where it is not clear what is governing the lack of a mood particle. Some examples are given in (76) to (80).

(76) di=m te nuwa-m-r di=m su re kware

DET=PL 3SG.F.OBJ give-PAST2-3SG.M DET=PL 3SG.F 3SG.M.OBJ dry

rete-m-s 4038

put-PAST2-3SG.F

He gave her some [meat]; she dried some for him and set it out.

- (77) maure marfe so-ko sungamba=r eloko-tn 7010 ancestor marfe 3SG.F-POSS story=M tell-1SG.IMP I will tell Ancestor Marfe's story.
- (78) aka rusu-m-s tama=r ya-m-r 4030 house sit-PAST2-3SG.F person=M come-PAST2-3SG.M She sits in the house and the husband comes.
- (79) o-kwra te tuwar-m-s 4030 DIST-ADV 3SG.F.OBJ put.down.in-PAST2-3SG.F She puts her in there.

(80) tama=s yofu rete maure=s yofu rete 7021

person=F barrier put ancestor=F barrier put

A woman placed a barrier, an ancestor placed a barrier. ["Once upon a time."]

## 7.3 Adjuncts and Adverbs

## 7.3.1 Adjuncts

Adjuncts can be noun phrases marked by the locative/instrumental clitic, noun phrases without marking or noun phrases headed by relational nouns. The first of these is illustrated by *fik* 'spear=INS' in (81) and the second and third are both illustrated in (82) (*kom* 'village' as a bare NP adjunct and *su kana* 'with her' as a noun phrase headed by a relational noun).

- (81) o-t-a **fi=k** ru te fu=ka 4053

  DIST-DIM-EMP **spear=INS** 3SG.M 3SG.F.OBJ hit=REAL

  So divorced her [literally: he hit her with a spear].
- (82) **su kana** su **kom** sukna-m-s 7054 **3sg.F with** 3sg.F **village** sleep-PAST2-3sg.F

  She slept in the village with her.

Like subjects and objects, adjuncts normally precede the verb, though they occasionally follow. See §7.3.3 below for more discussion about the position of adjuncts.

### 7.3.2 Adverbs

Adverbs often host the locative/instrumental clitic =k (see §5.10.1), illustrated by *indi* 'again, back' in (83) and *awar* 'later' in (84), though it is not clear what semantic difference exists between an adverb with the clitic and one without.

- (83) on-da nanda=yun ka indi=k i-n 2170
  1SG-EMP older.brother=1SG REAL again=LOC go-PRES.1SG
  I am the older brother and I will go back.
- (84) awar=k ka ya-kya-r ELIC later=INS REAL come-FUT1-3SG.M
  He is on his way. [In a little bit, later today.]

Examples (85) and (86) illustrate the same two adverbs, but without the clitic.

- (85) ru ka aku ru o-r-a ka indi Welfu siki 2723 3SG.M REAL go.back 3SG.M DIST-M-EMP REAL back welfu hole So he went back to the Welfu hole.
- (86) wa awar nawe=k i-kun ELIC

  IRR later only=INS go-FUT1.1SG

  I will just go later.

If the adverb is modified by a word following it, like *nawe* 'only', the clitic will occur on the modifier, as in (87).

(87) wa awar nawe=k i-kun ELIC

IRR later only=INS go-FUT1.1SG

I will just go later.

Some adverbs, however, cannot occur with this clitic. This includes anganambu ~ anganambe ~ hanganambu ~ hanganambe 'quickly', ekra 'in that way', and kahakana 'many in number'.

#### 7.3.2.1 Manner Adverbs

Manner adverbs include anganambu ~ hanganambu ~ anganambe ~ hanganambe 'quickly', awar 'slowly', ekra 'in that way', ale 'properly, carefully' and kufe 'well'. The last of these also functions as an adjective meaning 'good'. Some examples are given in (88) to (90).

- (88) iki anganambu oro sere-num na-nak 5074

  NEG fast chop break-1PL be.at-VNEG

  We cannot chop it quickly.
- (89) ekra eku-kwa-num kara ELIC in.that.way do-DESD-1PL indeed We should definitely do it that way.
- (90) kufe fle-wa-yun ELIC good search-PAST1-1SG
  I hunted well.

Example (91) also involves *kufe* 'good' functioning as an adverb; a literal translation of the second clause would be 'the child ate breast milk well'.

(91) ka yen=m muwku a-m-m muwku fi=r kufe=k
REAL child=PL breast eat-PAST2-3PL breast milk=M good=INS

a-m-m yen=m 7052
eat-PAST2-3P child=PL

The children ate [at] the breast, the children ate good breast milk.

In addition to its use as an adverb meaning 'in that way', the word *ekra* 'in that way' also functions as a clausal connector meaning 'therefore, so', as in (92).

(92) o-t-a wula fenda=t ekra fu-ka-num 5047

DIST-DIM-EMP jungle from=3DIM so hit-FUT2-1PL

She [a lizard] comes from the jungle, so we will kill her.

The word *ale* 'carefully, properly' is somewhat unusual. When used as an adverb, it always occurs with the locative/instrumental clitic =k, as in (93).

(93) kuna kuna ale=k ru sau
self self careful=INS 3SG.M stand.up
fi=r tilse ra-m-r 2803
spear=M get.out get-PAST2-3SG.M
He stood up carefully and got the spear.

However, it also occurs as a verb, with verb morphology, with apparently the same meaning, as in (94) and (95), though in this usage it normally follows the verb that denotes what was done properly or carefully.

- (94) ekra wi tongo ale-m-t 4080 thus go.up hold properly-PAST2-3SG.DIM

  She went up and held them carefully.
- (95) num sa ale=ka eku tiri=ka 60861PL dig properly=REAL do leave=REALWe were digging carefully, [finished] and left it.

#### 7.3.2.2 Locative Adverbs

The most common locative adverbs are demonstratives. In §5.4.6, I discussed the fact that demonstrative pronouns exhibit a three-way contrast of proximal vs. distal vs. remote. The same distinctions are made by the demonstrative adverbs. The three demonstrative adverbs are proximal *kekwra*, distal *okwra*, and remote *kasi*. Note that

the first two of these combine the same stems found with the corresponding demonstrative pronouns, namely ke- for proximal and o- for distal, followed by -kwra. The remote form kasi, however, does not resemble any pronoun. Examples illustrating these demonstrative adverbs are given in (96) to (102). Examples (96) to (98) illustrate the proximal demonstrative adverb while (99) to (101) illustrate the distal adverb and (102) illustrates the remote adverb.

- (96) tama=m ke-kwra rusu-m-m 2176 person=PL PROX-ADV sit-PAST2-3PL The men stayed here.
- (97) ke-kwra susu=ka fu-kwa-n ekra fu-kwa-yun kara ELIC PROX-ADV stand=REAL hit-DESD-2SG in.that.way hit-DESD-1SG indeed Stand here and do it this way. I ought to do it that way.
- (98) naka ya=ka ke-kwra tolo-n ka ekra er-m-r 4053 and come=REAL PROX-ADV say-2SG REAL in.that.way say-PAST2-3SG.M And you come here and say such things, so said [father].
- (99) naka maure al=r o-kwra ru wuya=ka 1125 and ancestor taro=M DIST-ADV 3SG.M come.up=REAL And as for our ancestors' taro, it grew there.
- (100) romo wosu o-kwra rusu=ka 7044 romo wosu DIST.ADV sit=REAL Romo Wosu was there.
- (101) weke ru lisi=ka o-kwra 4091 clay 3SG.M cook=REAL DIST-ADV He cooked the clay there.

(102) naka mu ke-r-a kasi kasi=k aku-m-m susu-m-m 1726 and 3PL PROX-M-EMP REM REM=LOC go.back-PAST2-3PL stand- PAST2-3PL And they all went far far away and stayed.

The remote locative form, *kasi*, actually has a status more similar to that of nouns, as it can host the locative clitic =*k* while the proximal and distal forms cannot. (See §5.10.1 for more on the locative clitic.) In example (103), *kasi* appears without a clitic, while in example (104) it hosts the locative clitic.

- (103) o-r-a ka kasi yungu na-m-r 4032

  DIST-M-EMP REAL REM like become-PAST2-3SG.M

  The same sound comes up from over there again.
- (104) tongo ra=ka kasi=k i rusu=ka 4052 hold get=REAL REM=LOC go sit=REAL [He] got them and went far away to sit.

Example (102) above contains two occurrences of kasi, the first without =k, the second with =ka. It is not clear what difference in meaning there might be between kasi with the locative clitic and kasi without the locative clitic.

The two demonstrative adverbs other than *kasi* cannot host a locative clitic.

However, in (105), the proximal adverb *kekwra* is modified by the degree word *mende*'very' and the locative clitic does attach to *mende*.

(105) ke-r ke-kwra mende=k kete-ya 4029
PROX-M PROX-ADV very=LOC sing-PRES
This one [child] is singing right here.

The demonstrative adverbs often co-occur with the corresponding demonstrative pronoun, with the demonstrative pronoun preceding the demonstrative adverb; together they function adverbially, like the demonstrative adverbs when they occur alone. The most frequent pairing is where the pronouns agree in distance. The most common pairings are *kera kekwra* and *ora okwra*. These are illustrated in (106) and (107). In these examples, *kera* and *ora* are the emphatic forms of *ker* and *or* (see §5.4.6).

- (106) fer ka sukna-ya-r ke-r-a ke-kwra 6084 pig REAL sleep-PRES-3SG.M PROX-M-EMP PROX-ADV

  The pig is sleeping right here.
- (107) klei maure wate=r o-r-a o-kwra wuya-m-r 1726 then ancestor wate=M DIST-M-EMP DIST.ADV go.up-PAST2-3SG.M And then Maure Wate grow there, Maure Wate does.

Each of these pairs agrees in remoteness. In (106), there is a distal demonstrative with a distal pronoun and in (107), both are proximal.

Less common is the pairing *kera okwra*. This pairs a proximal demonstrative with a distal pronoun, as in (108) and (109).

- (108) ka num ke-r-a o-kwra rusu-ya-num 2175

  REAL 1PL PROX-M-EMP DIST-ADV sit-PRES-1PL

  We are staying in this place there.
- (109) ke-r-a o-kwra gana=r ra wi fu-m-r 7015
  PROX-M-EMP DIST-ADV younger.brother=M take go.up hit-PAST2-3SG.M
  He took the younger brother up and hit him right there.

In these cases, a more distant location is being made to seem nearer, either in distance, or in emotional quality, to the listeners. A similar function can be accomplished by pairing two demonstratives, a proximal and a distal.

### 7.3.2.3 Temporal Adverbs

There are six adverbs which refer to specific time periods, mostly specific days.

Table 42 summarizes this system; the interrogative form will be described in §7.7.4.

-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
mur	yaki	yale	ningre	woro	yim	tukur	mur
'distant	'two days	'yesterday'	'today'	'tomorrow'	'two days	'three days	'distant
past'	ago'				from now'	from now'	future'

Table 42: Temporal Adverbs

These temporal adverbs denoting specific days extend two days into the past and three days into the future from *ningre* 'today'. Note that the term *mur* can refer to either past or future time beyond the time periods specified by the rest of the system. Examples illustrating these words are given in (110) to (113).

- (110) woro o-m-ra eku-ka-num 4107 tomorrow DIST-PL-EMP do-FUT2-1PL Tomorrow we will do those [things].
- (111) yale yekle ni-m-dun 6093 yesterday young see-PAST2-1DU Yesterday we [dual] saw a young man.
- (112) ningre mehek woro mehek yim=r
  today NEG tomorrow NEG in.two.days=M
  [ekra rokok] kisi-ka-num ELIC
  [at that time] boil-FUT2-1PL

Not today or tomorrow, but in two days we will cook.

(113) klei woro ka di ro-ko=m yim=r then tomorrow REAL DET 3SG.M-POSS=PL in.two.days=M ka di ro-ko ekra 4106 nu=r REAL DET 3SG.M-POSS garden=M in.that.way

So tomorrow [he will go to] his [gardens]. In two days [he will] go to his [other] garden.

go

Another temporal adverb is awar 'later', illustrated in (114).

**ELIC** (114) wa awar nawe=k i-kun IRR later only=INS go-FUT1.1SG I will just go later.

Note that there are also temporal adjuncts, noun phrases denoting times, sometimes with the locative clitic =k, like nurku=k 'at night' in (115). 12

(115) er-m-f nurku=k siri-r-kya-dun ambe ka say-PAST2-3DU night=LOC die-R-FUT1-1DU REAL finish 1726 ekra er-m-f say-PAST2-3DU SO

They asked each other if they will die in the night, so they discussed this.

## 7.3.2.4 Interrogative Adverbs

Interrogative adverbs are discussed in §7.7.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See §6.9 for an explanation of the epenthetic /r/ glossed 'R' in (115).

### 7.3.2.5 Ideophonic Adverbs

There is a special class of adverbs which express a variety of meanings, but which are identified by the connection between their phonological form and semantics. They are all partially reduplicative and/or have an onomatopoeic component. There are regular rules governing the phonetic connections between each member of the pair. They are ideophonic in nature because they are used to evoke sensory perceptions and have distinctive phonological shapes. An initial example, with *tindu tandu* 'blind' is given in (116).

(116) num kiri timba=ka [tindu tandu] rusu-ya-num 3811

1PL fire not.have=REAL [blind] sit-PRES-1PL

we don't have fire so we are sitting in the dark

Each ideophonic adverb is a pair of words which are reduplicated in some way.

However, while the two parts will be phonologically similar, they are frequently not identical. There are a fixed set of ways in which the two parts differ phonologically.

Table 43 lists these ways and explains the abbreviations listed in the column labelled 'Type' in Table 44, below.

Symbol	Meaning	
С	consonant change	
R	complete reduplication	
V	vowel change (lowering)	
V*	vowel change (back but not lower)	
()	type change of variant form (when extant)	
multiples	multiple changes, order of symbols shows order	

Table 43: Key to Ideophonic Adverb Types

Except in cases of complete reduplication (R), there can be a change of consonant from the first word to the second (C) or of vowel (V and V\*). In the case of a vowel change, in most cases, the second word has a lower vowel than in the first word (V). In a few instances, the second vowel has the same height, but is further back (V\*). The commonality between these is that the vowel which changes is always a high or midfront vowel in the first word and is either lowered or backed in the second. There are also a few forms which have a common variant form which may have a different type of change. These are listed in parenthesis.

Most of the parts of the following ideophonic adverbs do not occur outside these combinations as independent morphemes; these only occur in the combinations listed in Table 44. However, those marked with an asterisk have parts that can appear as independent morphemes. When they do, they are nouns or verbs, but not adverbs.

Form	Meaning	Туре
bango bango	'mixed up', 'crooked'	R
bangol bangol	'coil around'	R
ber bar	'do in the wrong way', 'messed up'	V
beu beu	'shimmy', 'expand'	R
bil bol	'for skin to come off in hot water'	V
bingil bangol	'wound up', 'curvy'	VV
biya saia	'pleasant noise'	CV
blili blala	'light up [esp. from embers]'	V
bliwi blauwo	'part way'	VV
blosu bloso	'pounded flat', 'smack'	٧
brau brau	'stamp feet', 'fan flame', 'up and down'	R
bri bre	'spin around'	V
burnga yarnga	'magical skills or power'	CV
dal dal	'flicker on and off'	R
di wirki di warko	'flail'	VV
diwir diwir	'earthquake'	R
dur dan	'difficult to eat [of leaves]'	VC
engle mangle*	'spell'	CV
fal fal	'come and go'	R
feta kata	'show around [many things]'	CV
filni falna	'change back and forth'	V
fir fir for for	'splotchy with colors [like camoflauge]'	RR
flili flolo	'snore', 'sound of a flute'	٧
fro fro	'rinse off'	R
geu geu	'shiver from cold', 'crackle'	R
glir glor	'noise'	٧
glor glor	'jingle', 'make noise'	R
grisi groso	'try to grab something that runs away', 'feel weak'	VV
groro groro	'scratch'	R
gwru gwru	'shake from nerves'	R
hako hako	'okay'	R
hewe kawe	'trick'	CV
hiki haka	'be confused', 'wrong understanding'	٧
hili hala	'check out'	V

hingre hangre	'joke'	V
hoi hai	'take care of'	V
horke harke	'mixture of food'	V
ifa afa	'walk cautiously'	V
kindi kundu	'in a zigzag fashion'	V*
kio kio	'hang down limply'	R
kitil kotol	'jump', 'hop [like a frog]'	V
kiyi kiyi	'right now', 'as soon as possible'	R
korfi korfi	'writhe [of detached tail]'	R
kri kri	'lean against or lay across'	R
kutol kutol	'up and down [path]', 'hop', 'limp'	R
kwi kwai	'pull feet up with difficulty [as from mud]'	V
kruru suru	'pretend by making noise'	CC
lei lei*	'hanging', 'dangling'	R
lermu sermu	'have sex in an aggressive manner'	С
liwi luwau	'twist or stir up [for planting]'	V*V
lorkwle sorkwle	'have sex with'	С
mili mele (mele mele*)	'a long time ago'	V (R)
miri marau	'turbulent water'	VV
nakir nakir	'at the same time'	R
nambo nambo*	'everyone'	R
nambutu naruku	'begin to fight'	CC
na sau waki a sau waki	'tangled together as a knot'	С
natal atal	'echo'	С
ongo ongo	'show the way'	R
ringi rongo	'rub eye to remove dirt'	V
riwi rewe	'walk with legs spread apart [esp. in pain]'	V
sa sa gul gul	'rolling boil'	RR
singlili senglele	'make a ruckus [birds and bats]'	V
siri sere*	'broken into pieces'	V
siwri sauwro	ri sauwro 'pack up in preparation to leave'	
soko sako	'check out [look up and down]'	V
songo sango	'itchy', 'scratchy'	V
sowur sowur	'move along'	R
sungutu yangutu	'to saw', (also the name of a beetle species)	CV

tikwete takwete	'bright, colorful'	V
tikwlo takwlo	'uncooked food'	V
timran tamran	'split [fabric, limbum, etc.]'	R
timringi tamringi	'ruined', 'about to collapse'	V
tindu tandu	'dark', 'blind'	V
tingir tangir	'rush', 'sled down'	V
tingre tangre	'erupt with light [as in embers]'	V
tinol tanol	'make holes [spear, burn, etc.]'	V
tuku towi*	'hold up a falling object'	VV*
tulei tulei	'tip toe'	R
tumu muna	'kissing noise', 'hissing noise'	CCV
turon tauron	'collapse'	V
uklu maklu	'bruise'	CV
(wafu) boi boi	'full of love'	R
wai wai	'not yet', 'wait'	R
wilti wulte	'wrinkle'	V*
wirki wirki	'always', 'long time'	R
wirngin wurngun	'twisted'	V*
wru wru	'pull'	R
wul wul	'drizzle'	R
yema kufa	'good time [for something]'	
yiflou yiflou	'earthquake' R	
yindi kundu	'stubborn' CV	

Table 44: Ideophonic Adverbs

The meanings conveyed by these adverbs do not fall into one particular semantic domain, but do have broad similarities. They usually describe a very specific, and often uncommon, posture, sound, appearance, or movement. They are not common in speech, but people do tend to enjoy the opportunity to use these words when they are appropriate to a given situation. Many of them are included as necessary details in particular stories. For instance, there is a story about one *maure* 'ancestor spirit' (see

§2.3.6) who has brightly colored skin and the adverb *tikwete takwete* is used. There is no other way to describe 'brightly colored', and so this term is associated particularly with this story.

Unlike other adverbs, though, the ideophonic adverbs can take verbal morphology directly, as in (117) and (118).

- (117) lesu fringi=r suwa ro-ko=m wa [kwi kwai]-ka-r 5082 hand long=M foot 3SG.M-POSS=PL IRR [up.and.down]-FUT2-3SG.M It has long legs, its legs will move up and down.
- (118) su maure=s o-kwra war rusu=ka [bri bre]-yu-m-s 7039
  3SG.F spirit=F DIST-ADV go.down sit=REAL [spin]-REP-PAST2-3SG.F
  The spirit came down there to stay. She was spinning around.

## 7.3.3 Word Order Position of Adjuncts and Adverbs

As mentioned above, adjuncts and adverbs normally precede the verb, as illustrated by most of the examples in the preceding sections (and throughout this grammar). The majority of examples in my data of adjuncts or adverbs following the verb are locative ones. Examples of locative demonstrative adverbs following the verb are given in (119) to (121).

- (119) weke ru lisi=ka o-kwra 4091 clay 3SG.M cook=REAL DIST-ADV He cooked the clay there.
- (120) naka su siri=ka ke-kwra 4033 and 3SG.F die=REAL PROX-ADV And she died here.

(121) fer ka sukna-ya-r ke-r-a ke-kwra 6084 pig REAL sleep-PRES-3SG.M PROX-M-EMP PROX-ADV

The pig is sleeping right here.

One of the more common types of adjuncts following the verb are locative expressions bearing the locative clitic =k. Some examples are given in (122) to (127).

- (122) masi anele o-m-ra rusu-ya-m kom=k 4011 masi anele DIST-PL-EMP stay-PRES-3PL village=LOC Masi, Anele [and the rest] are staying there in the village.
- (123) baye namrafuai su ro-ko=r loko wate-na grass namrafuai bottom 3SG.M-POSS=M rain.fall-COND rain nu i-na tongo-ka-m suwa=k 5042 wa ne hold-FUT2-3PL 2SG go-COND IRR 2SG.OBJ leg=LOC [As for] Namrafuai grass's base, if it rains, [and] if you go [near it], it will stick to your legs.
- (124) fun tolo ekaa rusu yungu di fun-go kom=k 6093

  2DU tell food sit like DET 2DU-POSS village=LOC

  You [dual] talk, eat and sit in your [dual] village.
- (125) nu te tambo ra=ka aku=ka kulu=k 7069
  2SG 3SG.DIM.OBJ bring get=REAL go.back=REAL path=LOC
  You get her and bring her back home along the road.
- (126) ka er-m-m em wi=ka kur=k
  REAL say-PAST2-3PL who go.up=REAL high=LOC

  on-da=yun wi-kun 7072
  1SG-EMP=1SG go.up-FUT1.1SG
  I myself will go up.

(127) [o-ra yal] yen lili tenge=k ni-m-s 6055
[REM] child hang branch=LOC see
She saw the child hanging over there on the branch.

Example (128) is similar, though here the expression marked with the locative clitic is a durational temporal expression.

(128) ka nambul wre-m-k [lisifu lisifu] ningi=k 2162

REAL sun shine-PAST2-SUB [four] day=LOC

while the sun was shining for four days

However, temporal expressions identifying time as opposed to duration seem always to precede the verb, sometimes preceding the subject. For example, in (129), *yale* 'yesterday' occurs in initial position, preceding the negative word *iki*, the subject pronoun *nu*, and the object *kaku* 'mami'.

(129) yale iki nu kaku a-na=ka ELIC yesterday NEG 2SG mami eat-COND=2SG.INT Would you not eat mami?

Examples (130) and (131) illustrate instrumental phrases following the verb.

- (130) on ifi eku=ka rusu=ka ni-m rokor 1SG do=REAL sit=REAL CAUS see-GER trap wa woro koko mo-ko=r fu-ka-r ifi=k **ELIC** IRR tomorrow chicken 3PL-POSS=M hit-FUT2-3SG.M trap=INS I set a trap [intending] to kill their chicken (with the trap).
- (131) yikwa nato=ka o-r-a yikwa=k 4116 salt make.salt=REAL DIST-M-EMP salt=INS They make salt with that salt.

Some adverbs, like ideophonic adverbs, seem to always precede the verb, illustrated by tindu tindu 'blind' in (132).

(132) num kiri timba=ka [tindu tandu] rusu-ya-num 3811

1PL fire not.have=REAL [blind] sit-PRES-1PL

we don't have fire so we are sitting in the dark

When adverbs precede the verb, their most common position is following the subject. Examples (133) to (135) illustrate locative adverbs occurring in this position. If an object is also present, the adverb occurs between subject and object, as in (136).

- (133) kum o-kwra rusu-ya-kum 3133 2PL DIST-ADV sit-PRES-2PL You [all] are sitting there.
- (134) yen=f o-f-ra kom=k sukna-m-f 4078 child=DU DIST-DU-EMP village=LOC sleep-PAST2-3DU

  Those two children slept in the village.
- (135) aka=r o-r-a oku gan=k susu-ya-r 1626 house=M DIST-M-EMP water edge=LOC stand-PRES-3SG.M The house is located near water.
- (136) on-da o-kwra me tirite=ka nuwku ni-m-yun 2727

  1SG.EMP DIST-ADV 3PL.OBJ leave=REAL survey see-PAST2-1SG

  I left them there to look around [the area].

When locative adjuncts precede the verb, they often precede both subject and object, as in (137). They can also occur between subject and object, though, as in (138).

- (137) kom=k num suwa kur=ka kisi=ka a-ya-num 5044 village=LOC 1PL coconut scrape=REAL boil=REAL eat-PRES-1PL It is in the village that we scrape, boil, and eat coconuts.
- (138) on yale o-r-a fangi=k ne ni-m-yun 1608

  1SG yesterday DIST-M-EMP river=LOC 2SG.OBJ see-PAST2-1sG

  I saw you yesterday at the river.

In (139), the temporal expression  $di\ ningi$  'sometimes' occurs after a subject pronoun and before the realis particle ka.

(139) on [di ningi]=k ka re ni-m-yun ELIC

1SG [some day]=LOC REAL 3SG.M.OBJ see-PAST2-1SG
I sometimes [used to] see him.

In (140), the ideophonic adverb *qlir glor* occurs following the subject.

(140) on [glir glor] ka eku-wa-yun ELIC

1sg [make noise] REAL do-PAST1-1sG
I made some noise.

However, the ideophonic adverb in (140) can occur in any preverbal position. In (141), *glir glor* 'some noise' occurs in sentence-initial position, before the subject.

(141) [glir glor] on ka eku-wa-yun ELIC [make noise] 1SG REAL do-PAST1-1SG I made some noise.

And in (142), glir glor occurs between the realis particle ka and the verb, in contrast to (140) above, where it precedes the realis particle.

(142) on ka [glir glor] eku-wa-yun ELIC

1SG REAL [make noise] do-PAST1-1SG
I made some noise.

Examples of adjuncts or adverbs preceding the object are given in (143) to (146).

- (143) oku=k ene war-wa-r 6067
  water=LOC 1SG.OBJ go.down-PAST1-3SG.M
  It fell down into the water. [It fell in the water on me.]
- (144) no-ko-ra sul=k wa mu di=r i oro-ka-yun 6022 2SG-POSS-EMP ground=LOC IRR tree DET=M go chop-FUT2-1SG I will go a chop a single tree on your land.
- (145) bir tombo=k re ka ta-m-r 6113 tooth end=INS 3SG.M.OBJ REAL bite-PAST2-3SG.M He bit him with the tip of his tooth.
- (146) woro wate kute lisi a-r i-na-dun 7077 tomorrow breadfruit cut burn eat-INF go-COND-1DU Tomorrow maybe we two will go and cook and eat breadfruit.

Adjuncts occasionally precede the subject, as in (147) and (148). In (147), the locative phrase *mu yenglak* 'on tree branches' precedes the subject pronoun.

(147) mu yengla=k su [bangol bangol] ka sukna-ya-s 3097 tree branch=LOC 3SG.F [wound.up] REAL sleep-PRES-3SG.F She sleeps wound up on tree branches.

In (148), the locative phrase *oku kulfok* 'in cold water' follows the realis mood particle *ka* but precedes the subject and object pronouns.

(148) ka oku kulfo=k su te wiyi=ka 7081

REAL water cold=LOC 3SG.F 3SG.F.OBJ wash=REAL

She washed her [daughter] in the cold water.

In general, adjuncts and adverbs tend to follow the mood particles or the negative word *iki*. Examples (149) and (150) both illustrate *awar* 'later' following the irrealis particle *wa*.

- (149) iki a-ka-num wa awar=k a-ka-num ELIC NEG eat-FUT2-1PL IRR later=INS eat-FUT2-1PL We will not eat; we will eat later.
- (150) nekwa=s iki tare-ya-s wa awar=k tare-ka-s ELIC moon=F NEG shine-PRES-3SG.F IRR later=INS shine-FUT2-3SG.F The moon is not shining [now]. It will shine later.

Example (151) illustrates the adverb anganambu 'fast' following the negative word iki.

(151) selen=r mu nere=r iki anganambu oro sere-num na-nak 5074 selen=M 3PL strong=M NEG fast chop break-1PL be.at-VNEG The Selen tree is strong. We cannot chop it quickly.

Example (152) illustrates a locative phrase *wulak* 'in the jungle' following the object noun phrase *naku elowom* 'sago or meat', though since objects also generally follow the negative word *iki*, this example is probably more reflecting an atypical position for the object noun phrase rather than an atypical position for the locative phrase.

(152) naku elowo=m iki wula=k ra-yu-m-f 6094 sago animal=PL NEG jungle=LOC get-REP-PAST2-3DU They did not get sago or meat in the jungle.

### 7.4 Serial-Verb Constructions

Mehek frequently uses serial verb constructions, with two or more verbs in what appears to be a single clause. A complete serial-verb utterance itself stands as a single macro-event while certain groups of verbs within the macro-event constitute sub-events. They can be quite complex and often have far more than two verbs. Example (153) contains nine verbs out of thirteen words, though serial constructions are not usually nearly so complex.

(153) fu wi=ka nate o-kwra wi=ka nu=m wuya garden=PL come.down 3DU go.up=REAL cut DIST-ADV go.up=REAL kiri talma tiri=ka war aku-m-f 2162 nate cut fire start leave=REAL go.down go.back-PAST2-3DU We two went up there to clear the garden, came down to cut grass, started a fire, then went back down to go home.

All but the last verb in serial verb constructions is uninflected, though they can host the realis clitic, as in *wi=ka* 'go.up=REAL' in (99). The tense/mood/aspect suffixes on the last verb in the serial verb construction are interpreted as applying to all verbs in the construction. What this means is that they will all share the same subject. They may, however, each combine with other clausal constituents, like object noun phrases and adverbs. For example, the verb *talma* 'start' in (153) is preceded by an object noun phrase *kiri* 'fire', which is object of just this verb, no other verb in the serial verb construction. When there is a sequence of events that have different subjects, however,

it is not possible to use a serial construction. Separate finite verbs must be used, as in (154).

He looked him in the eye and then they hit him with a spear.

It is possible to distinguish different sorts of serial verb constructions in terms of the tightness of the combination. As noted above, it is possible for the realis mood particle ka to occur multiple times within a serial verb construction. However, when ka occurs more than once, the connection between the units marked by ka seems looser, as in (155), where the occurrence of =ka on rusu 'sit' seems to signal a looser connection between the two verbs, due to the fact that both action are possible independent of each other. That is, 'sitting' and 'talking' do not have to co-occur.

Contrast this with (156), where we have a sequence of three bare verbs before the last verb *ekaamm*.

(156) ekra mu sa ra tongo ekaa-m-m 6074 thus 3PL dig get hold food-PAST2-3PL So they dug it up, got a hold of it, and ate. A third type of serial verb construction involves a very tight connection between the two verbs and does not allow individual verbs to combine with their own object or adverb. In fact, these might be considered compound verbs. Examples are given in (157) and (158).

- (157) ru ka afa=r [rusu kuna]-ya-r ELIC 3SG.M REAL father=M [sit wait]-PRES-3SG.M He waits for [his] father.
- (158) num tawa=s ka [susu kuna]-ya-num ELIC

  1PL woman=F REAL [stand wait]-PRES-1PL

  We are waiting for the woman.

With these compound verb serial verb constructions, it is less clear that the two verbs denote separate subevents of a single event. Rather than denote different aspects of a single event. For example, in (158), the standing and waiting are not really different subevents, but rather two aspects of a single event.

Note that the order of the two verbs in these compound verb constructions is not always fixed. Example (159) has the same meaning as (157) above, but with the verbs in reverse order But again, the verbal inflections still occur only on the second verb.

(159) ru ka afa=r [kuna rusu]-ya-r ELIC 3SG.M REAL father=M [wait sit]-PRES-3SG.M He waits for [his] father.

Other possible instances of compound verbs are given in (160) to (163).

- (160) on-da o-kwra [nuku ni]-m-yun 2176
  1SG.EMP DIST-ADV [survey see]-PAST2-1SG
  I was looking around there.
- (161) aku rusu=ka i [afi nau]=ka 6023 go.home sit=REAL go [hit yell]=REAL

  They went and stayed at home and fought.
- (162) su re [tolo erfa]-m-s 6057
  3SG.F 3SG.M.OBJ [tell inform]-PAST2-3SG.F
  She let him know.
- (163) nemen [feta kata]-m-m [bu bu]=m 4115

  1PL.OBJ [show look.around]-PAST2-3PL [everything]=PL

  They are showing us everything.

The example in (164) contains different degrees of tightness in the same serial verb construction. The connection between *afi* 'hit' and *nau* 'yell' is tightest. Conversely, *aku rusu=ka* and *i afi nau=ka* are least tightly bound since each has its own mood particle.

(164) aku rusu=ka i [afi nau]=ka 6023 go.home sit=REAL go [hit yell]=REAL

They went and stayed at home and fought.

Further examples of sentences containing serial verb constructions are given in (165) to (176).

(165) su gasiwa=s susu=ka ni-m-s kufu=r ka
3SG.F sister=F sit=REAL see-PAST2-3SG.F vine=M REAL

ya-m-r 4089

come-PAST2-3SG.M

The cousin stood and watched as he brought the vine.

- (166) re susu=ka ni-m-r ka re fu-m-m 6050 3SG.M.OBJ sit=REAL see-PAST2-3SG.M REAL 3SG.M.OBJ hit-PAST2-3PL He saw him sitting, and they hit him.
- (167) aka sa tu=ka aka re wuta ki-num 5068 house dig put.down=REAL house 3SG.M.OBJ cut build-PRES.1PL We dig and put in [posts]. We cut and place [the other beams] for him.
- (168) ra=ka rii=ka lisi kware=ka a-ya-num 6082 get=REAL remain=REAL cook smoke.fish=REAL eat-PRES-1PL

  We get [the fish], leave it in place to cook and smoke, then we eat.
- (169) te wi wakre=ka sukna-m-r 6016 3SG.F.OBJ go.up carry.on.neck=REAL sleep-PAST2-3SG.M He carried her up on his back and slept.
- (170) afa=r ekra siri=ka sukna-m-r 6116 father=M thus die=REAL sleep-PAST2-3SG.M Thus father layed down and slept.
- (171) tama=r wala tambo=ka fer fle=ka i-m-r 6042 person=M dog follow=REAL pig search=REAL go-PAST2-3SG.M

  The man went [to the jungle] with his dog to find a pig.
- (172) ki=k te wra i-m-m 6063 vagina=LOC 3SG.DIM.OBJ go.out go-PAST2-3PL

  They [insects] came out of her vagina.
- (173) nu=m ka sa ra tongo ambe-wa-k
  garden=PL REAL dig get hold finish-PAST1-SUB
  baye wuya-ya-r 5044
  grass come.up-PRES-3SG.M

When the gardens are dug and [debris] is removed, the grass comes up.

- (174) nu te sa=ka raya=ka kisi=ka wa kufe a-ka-r 5108
  2SG 3SG.F.OBJ dig=REAL bring=REAL boil=REAL IRR good eat-FUT2-3SG.M
  You dig it up, bring it [home] and then boil it. It will be good to eat.
- (175) nu eku=ka aku=ka i=ka rusu-wa-f 4099 garden do=REAL go.back=REAL go=REAL sit-PAST1-3DU They [dual] did garden [work] and went back. They [dual] went and rested.
- (176) nu te tambo ra=ka aku=ka kulu=k 7069

  2SG 3SG.DIM.OBJ bring get=REAL go.back=REAL path=LOC

  You get her and bring her back home along the road.

### 7.5 Clauses with Nonverbal Predicates

There are two types of clauses with nonverbal predicates. In one type, there is a copula verb. In the other, the clause itself is nonverbal, with only the nonverbal predicate. These two types are discussed in the next two sections, §7.5.1 describing clauses with a copula verb, §7.5.2 describing clauses without a verb.

#### 7.5.1 Clauses with the Verb na

Although locative predicates can appear without a verb (as illustrated in the next section), they can also occur with the verb na 'be at', as in (177) and (180).

(177) wula=k na-ya-t kanda=t 5083 jungle=LOC be.at-PRES-3SG.DIM small=DIM He stays in the jungle, the little one. (178) iki ke-kwra fenda=m na-nak

NEG PROX-ADV from=PL be.at-VNEG

o-r-a ekra ya-m-num 2176

DIST-M-EMP thus come-PAST2-1PL

Those men were not from here so we came.

- (179) o-s iroko=k na-ya-s=ka ELIC

  DIST-F where=LOC be.at-PRES-3SG.F=INT

  Where is she? [Where did she get herself off to?]
- (180) samdo=s au=r minba=k na-ya-s ELIC spider=F pot=M near=LOC be.at-PRES-3SG.F The spider is near the pot

This verb can also mean 'exist', as in (181).

(181) felnde aka ki-r lisi lisi na-ya-f 4124 bird house build-INF two two be.at-PRES-3DU There are two kinds of bird blind.

This verb is also used occasionally with adjectival or nominal predicates with the sense 'become', as in (182) to (184).

- (182) klei ka gulmombu=k na-ka-m 5095 then REAL gulmombu become-FUT2-3PL Then they will become Gulmombu [mushrooms].
- (183) aye gil=s kaiembo kanda=s iki samba na-ya-t 4016 bat gil=F small small=F NEG big become-PRES-3D

  The Gil bat is very small; it does not become big.

(184) fer ata o-r-a su nuwa-m-r
pig very DIST-M-EMP 3SG.F give-PAST2-3SG.M
samba=k na-m-t 4049
big=INS become-PAST2-3SG.DIM

That big pig that was taken care of by her grew large.

It is also used occasionally with predicates headed by kana 'with', as in (185).

(185) mu liti tuwar=ka ka te nuwa-m-m 3PL fill pour=REAL REAL 3SG.F.OBJ give-PAST2-3PL 7052 fi naka su a=ka muwku kana na-m-s and 3SG.F eat=REAL breast milk with be.at-PAST2-3SG.F They fill it up and give it to her. And she eats; she is full up with breast milk.

The negative of this verb is also used in negating both clauses with verbal predicates (§7.8), as in (186) and (187).

- (186) iki on rusu-r na-nak nawe susu-kun 4088

  NEG 1SG sit-INF be.at-VNEG only stand-FUT.1SG

  I do not sit, I will only stand.
- (187) iki a-ka-num na-nak wa awar=k a-ka-num 5048

  NEG eat-FUT2-1PL be.at-VNEG IRR later=INS eat-FUT2-1PL

  We will not eat [it is not customary], we will eat later.

It is also used to negate clauses with nonverbal predicates, including nominal predicates, as in (188) and (189), adjectival predicates, as in (190) and (191), and relational noun phrase predicates, as in (192).

- (188) iki naku kaha=t na-nak 3115

  NEG sago bad=3DIM be.at-VNEG

  It is not a bad [kind of] sago.
- (189) uwku blala=t iki uwku samba=t na-nak 6121 sugarcane cane.species=DIM NEG sugarcane big=3DIM be.at-VNEG Blala sugarcane is not a big kind of sugarcane.
- (190) ke-r-a mu=r iki nere=r na-nak 5045
  PROX-M-EMP tree=M NEG strong=M be.at-VNEG
  This tree is not strong. [This particular tree, this type usually is.]
- (191) di=r kasa yungu ni-r iki kasa mende=r na-nak 5026

  DET=M red like see-INF NEG red very=M be.at-VNEG

  One looks red. It is not that red, though.
- (192) iki ke-kwra fenda=m na-nak

  NEG PROX-ADV from=PL be.at-VNEG

  o-r-a ekra ya-m-num 2176

  DIST-M-EMP thus come-PAST2-1PL

Those men were not from here so we came.

Locative predicates also occur frequently with one of the posture verbs, including rusu 'sit', as in (193) to (195), and susu 'stand', as in (196) and (197).

- (193) aka siki=k rusu-n ELIC house hole=LOC sit-PRES.1SG I am in the house.
- (194) mulu ata wula=k rusu-m-s 4006 rodent ata jungle=LOC sit-PAST2-3SG.F

  The Ata rodent lives in the jungle.

- (195) romo wosu o-kwra rusu=ka 7044 romo wosu DIST-ADV sit=REAL Romo Wosu was there.
- (196) duwngu mu=r wula=k susu=ka 5091
  duwngu tree=M jungle=LOC stand=REAL
  The duwngu tree grows in the jungle.
- (197) num i-m-m kulu=r oku sumbu-m-num 1626

  1PL go-PAST2-3PL road=M water follow-PAST2-1PL

  The house is located near water.

### 7.5.2 Nonverbal Clauses

Nonverbal predicates often occur without a verb, with only a predicate clitic on the predicate. This is illustrated in (198) to (201) for nominal predicates. See §4.2 for more examples.

- (198) naka ya=ka ke-r-a num-ra naka and come=REAL PROX-M-EMP 1PL-EMP and

  Yinawe Lakwiyi=num 2725

  Yinawe Lakwiyi=1PL

  And we came and we are Yinawe Lakwiyi.
- (199) on-da=yun maure fer ro-ko yen=yun yen nan=yun 6064 1SG-EMP=1SG ancestor pig 3SG.M-POSS child=1SG child grandchild=1SG I am Ancestor Pig's child. I am his grandchild.
- (200) gana yen yinsawa=kum 7012 younger.brother child wife.of.son=2PL You are the younger brother, child and son's wife.

(201) emo-ko nandasi=r=a ELIC who-poss brother=3sg.M=INT Whose brother is he?

In the preceding examples, the predicate is a noun phrase ending in a noun. In (202) and (203), the predicate is a noun phrase ending in an adjective, so the predicate clitic attaches to the adjective.

- (202) nembe mekte=s nembe samba=s 5014 lizard lizard.species=F lizard big=3SG.F The Mekte lizard is a big lizard.
- (203) yam kufun=r yam kufe=r 5020 banana banana.species=M banana good=3SG.M The Kufun banana is a good banana.

Examples of adjectival predicates are given in (204) to (206).

- (204) num-ra kaha=num ... 2727 1PL-EMP bad=1PL We were bad ...
- kulka so-ko=m (205) liki so-ko=r okwe okwe=t 3sg.f-poss=pl yellow yellow=3sg.DIM skin 3sg.F-Poss=M feather kulfo kulfo=t gamu gamu=t 3810 green green-3sg.dim white white=DIM Its skin and feathers are yellow, green, and white.
- (206) aye barbar su kanda=t kaiembo=t bongo=k mu aye barbar 3sg.f thin=3sg.DIM small=3sg.DIM tree tree.crotch sukna-t mu liki=k o-t-a mu kumba=k sukna-t 3810 sleep-3sg.dim tree skin=loc dist-dim-emp tree leaf=loc sleep-3sg.DIM Aye Barbar is small. She lives in the crotch of a branch or tree bark or in leaves.

Examples of adjective phrases functioning as predicates, where the adjective is followed by a modifier, are given in (207) to (210).

- (207) sofo mar ningli=r samba ata=r fringi ata=r 3809 snake mar ningli=M big very=M long very=M Mar ningli snake is very big and very long.
- (208) samba ata mende=r kulka ro-ko=t kaiembo=t 5093 big very very=M leaf 3SG.M-POSS=DIM small=3DIM Its very biggest leaf is small.
- (209) naku kufe mende=t iki samba=k wi-t na-nak 3809 sago good very=DIM NEG big=INS grow-3SG.DIM be.at-VNEG

  The sago is very good, it doesn't grow big.
- (210) kaku on sa-wa-r samba nawe=m ELIC mami 1SG dig-PAST1-3SG.M big only=3PL The mami I dug were all large.

Example (211) includes both an adjectival predicate, *kaiembot* 'small' and a nominal predicate *naku kufet* 'good sago'.

(211) naku walo kulka so-ko=t kaiembo=t na naku kufe=t 3809 sago walo leaf 3sg.f-poss=dim small=dim and sago good=dim The leaves of walo sago are small and it's a good sago.

Example (212) also includes both a nominal predicate and an adjectival predicate.

(212) mulu ara rengau=r mulu kufe=r samba=r 4126 rodent rodent.species rengau=M rodent good=M big=3SG.M

The Ara Rengau rodent is a good rodent and is big.

Examples of relational noun phrases functioning as predicates in nonverbal clauses are given in (213) and (214)

- (213) ke-t-a kumul yenda=t 2723

  PROX-DIM-EMP kumul from=DIM

  She is from the Kumul (clan).
- (214) ke-r-a sofo gamu kana=num ELIC

  PROX-M-EMP snake white with=1PL

  We have this white snake. (Literally 'we are with this white snake')

Examples of noun phrases bearing the locative/instrumental clitic functioning as predicates in nonverbal clauses are given in (215) and (216).

- (215) mu lom=k 4043

  3PL dance=LOC

  They were in the dance.
- (216) yinawe kom amangolo o-r-a ka lu nawe=k 2723 yinawe village amangolo DIST-M-EMP REAL mountain.range only=LOC Yinawe, Amangolo village, is just near the mountain range.

## 7.6 Passive Clauses

The structure of what I analyze as passive clauses seems, initially, to violate the rules of verbal agreement in the area of person/number/gender agreement (see §6.1). In all other clauses, the verb agrees with the subject noun phrase. In the passive, however, it appears either that it is the object which triggers agreement marking on the verb. However, we can account for this if we analyze such clauses as passive clauses. To describe the structure of passive clauses and how they differ from corresponding active

clauses, it is useful to use the labels 'A' and 'P' for the arguments that are subject and object respectively in an active clause. A passive clause is constructed from the corresponding active clause by three changes: (1) placing the P before the A; (2) using the subject form for the A, which will always be a pronoun (See §5.4); and (3) changing the agreement on the verb so that it agrees with the P. The difference between passive and active clauses is schematized in Table 45.

Active				Passive			
Α	Р	V		Р	Α	V	
su	fer	fu-m-s		fer	su	fu-m-r	
3SG.F	pig(M)	hit-PAST2-3SG.F		pig(M)	3SG.F	hit-PAST2-3SG.M	
She killed the pig.				The pig was killed by her.			
*The pig was killed by her.				*The pig killed her.			

Table 45: Passive Derivation from the Active Clause

There a number of peculiarities of the Mehek passive. One is that the P (the subject of the passive) cannot be a pronoun. Another is that the A (which is not subject as far as verb agreement is concerned) not only has to be a pronoun but occurs in subject form, despite the fact that it does not control subject agreement on the verb. However, the fact that the pronoun A occurs in what I have been calling subject form might be because this form is actually the default form, occurring in all contexts where the pronoun is not an object of the verb or a possessor. For example, as noted in §5.10.2, the subject form is also used for "objects" of relational nouns.

The examples in (164) and (165) further illustrate the passive. Example (217) is an active sentence while (165) is the corresponding passive. We see that in (218), the P precedes the A and controls verb agreement and the A occurs in subject form.

- (217) on ka fer fu-m-yun ELIC

  1SG REAL pig hit-PAST2-1SG
  I hit the pig.
- (218) fer on ka fu-m-r ELIC pig 1SG REAL hit-PAST2-3SG.M

  The pig was hit by me.

It is possible to leave out the subject (the P) if it is recoverable from contexts, as is generally the case with subjects, as in (219) and (220), where the P is coded only by the 3SG.M suffix on the verb.

- (219) sentani bulmu ekra mu isi-ya-r 4060 sentani lake in.that.way 3PL call-PRES-3SG.M So it is called [they call it] Lake Sentani.
- (220) ekra num isi-ya-r 4024 in.that.way 1PL call-PRES-3SG.M That's why it is called that by us.

Some further examples of passive sentences from texts are given in (221) to (224).

- (221) ekaa nu=m num eku-ya-m 4118 food garden=PL 1PL do-PRES-3PL Food gardens are made by us.
- (222) [mar wate]=r ekra num a-ya-r okwe wi a-r 5004 [papaya]=M in.that.way 1PL eat-PRES-3SG.M ripe go.up eat-INF So papaya is eaten by us [when] it comes up and is ripe.

- (223) ningli=m on rete-ya-m mulu=m ekra ene a ambe 6107 cold.food=PL 1SG put-PRES-3PL rodent=PL thus 1SG.OBJ eat finish [When] the cold food is left out by me, the house rats eat it all up.
- (224) wuya-m-s fer nari on fu-m-r 6069 come.up-PAST2-3SG.F pig first 1SG hit-PAST2-3SG.M The first pig was killed by me.

# 7.7 Interrogative Sentences

## 7.7.1 Interrogative Clitic =ka

The primary means of asking a polar question is via the interrogative clitic =ka.<sup>13</sup>
The clitic =ka attaches to the final element in the clause, most often a verb, as in (225) to (227).<sup>14</sup>

- (225) ru kom=k rusu-ya-r=ka ELIC 3SG.M village=LOC sit-PRES-3SG.M=INT Is he staying in the village?
- (226) [ifi afa] waki-r-kya-f=ka 4046 [poorly] tie-R-FUT1-3DU-INT Will the two of them tie it up badly?
- (227) iki nu kaku a-na=ka ELIC

  NEG 2SG mami eat-COND=INT

  Would you not eat mami?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> This clitic should not be confused with the remote future verbal marker (see §6.2.3) or the realis mood marker (see §7.2.1), both of which take the form /ka/ and also attach to verbs.

 $<sup>^{14}</sup>$  It is not clear to me whether ka should be treated as a clitic or a separate word.

The clitic =ka is also used in content questions, as in (228) to (232). The interrogative words used in content questions are discussed below in §7.7.4.

- (228) ermesu-m-r em siri-wa-r=ka 7079 ask-PAST2-3SG.M who die-PAST1-3SG.M=INT He asked, "Who died?"
- (229) tawa=s ke-t-a biki eku=ka 7053 woman=F PROX-F-EMP how do=INT What is this woman doing?
- (230) ka fe er-m-m [biki naka] susu-ya-fun=ka 2710

  REAL 3DU.OBJ say-PAST2-3PL [why] stand-PRES-2DU=INT

  They asked them [dual], "Why are you standing [there]?"
- (231) o-s iroko=k na-ya-s=ka ELIC

  DIST-F where=LOC be.at-PRES-3SG.F=INT

  Where is she?
- (232) te ermesu-m-r [biki naka] kra-ya-r=ka 6065 3SG.F.OBJ ask-PAST2-3SG.M [why] cry-PRES-3SG.M=INT He asked her, "Why is he crying?"

Examples (233) and (234) both include two occurrences of =ka, one on a content question, the other on a polar question.

(233) ke-s bu=r eku-ya-s=ka [hokwek na]-ya-s=ka 6021
PROX-F what=M do-PRES-3SG.F=INT [waste time]-PRES-3SG.F=INT
What is she doing? Is she wasting time?

(234) tawa=s ke-t-a biki eku=ka woman=F PROX-F-EMP how do=INT

> kom nawe=k sukna-ya-s=ka 7053 village only=INS sleep-PRES-3SG.F=INT

What is this woman doing? Does she only sleep in the village?

The interrogative clitic also appears on nonverbal predicates. In (235) it appears on the noun phrase *emoko tawaf* 'whose wives'.

(235) ke-f-ra emo-ko tawa=f=ka ELIC DIST-DU-EMP who-POSS woman=3DU=INT Whose wives are these two?

In (236), the entire sentence is apparently a noun phrase functioning as predicate.

(236) di no-ko nanda fi=r=ka ELIC

DET 2SG-POSS older.brother spear=3SG.M=INT
Is that your older brother's spear?

In (237), it appears on an interrogative pronoun in predicate position.

(237) nu em=ka 7021 2SG who=INT Who are you?

In (238), it appears on a personal pronoun in predicate position.

(238) biki yen nu=ka 4033 which child 2SG=INT Which child are you?

In (239), it appears on the relational noun *yungu*, again with it appearing in predicate position.

(239) biki yungu-t=ka 3097 how like-3DIM=INT What size is it?

In (240), it also appears on a relational noun fenda 'from'.

(240) rusu=ka ni=ka er-m-r ke-f iroko fenda=f=ka 4035 sit=REAL see=REAL say-PAST2-3SG.M PROX-DU where from=3DU=INT He sat watching and asked where the two were from.

In (241), it appears on the word iroko 'where' appearing in predicate position.

(241) o-f-ra iroko=ka 4051
DIST-DU-EMP where.DU=INT
Where are the two of them?

And in (242), it appears on the nonverbal word beena 'enough'.

(242) ru er-m-r beena=yun=ka 6106 3SG.M say-PAST2-3SG.M enough=1SG=INT He asked, "Am I finished [with it]?"

It does not appear, however, on noun phrases following the verb, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (243) and (244).

- (243) \*ru i-wa-r kom=k=ka ELIC 3SG.M go-PAST1-3SG.M village=LOC=INT Did he go to the village?
- (244) \*rusu-ya-r kom=k=ka ELIC sit-PRES-3SG.M village=LOC=INT Is he sleeping in the village?

In other words, it only appears on predicates. It seems that the predicate is always or almost always last in questions; i.e. no other constituents of the sentence will follow the predicate.

When the subject is second person singular, there is generally no overt marking of the sentence as a question; I represent this in the examples by '= $\emptyset$ ', glossed '2SG.INT'. This is illustrated in (245) to (250). Note that when this happens, the form of the verb is still distinct from that in a corresponding declarative sentence in that there will be a tense suffix but no subject suffix on the verb;. This contrasts with clauses with a subject that it not second person singular, where we get both subject suffix and the clitic =ka. For this reason, one might posit a zero interrogative clitic in these sentences with second person singular subjects.

- (245) ka sukna-ya=ø sukna-r ELIC REAL sleep-PRES=2SG.INT sleep-INF Are you sleeping?.
- (246) woro biki yoko wula=k i-ka=ø ELIC tomorrow how towards jungle=LOC go-FUT2=2SG.INT Will you go to the jungle tomorrow?
- (247) ka ermesu-m-m bu tombo=k siri-wa=ø 6038 REAL ask-PAST2-3PL what end.point=LOC die-PAST1-2SG.INT They asked, "What part did you die in?"
- (248) [biki biki] kulu=k ya-wa=ø 6062 [how] road=LOC come-PAST1=2SG.INT How did you come here?

- (249) bu=r ende eku-ka=ø 6088 what=M 1DU.OBJ do-FUT2=2SG.INT What will you do to us [dual]?
- (250) te eloko-m-s nu ene ra er-ya=ø 3SG.F.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.F 2SG 1SG.OBJ say-PRES=2SG.INT get ta 6057 ne a-ka-s wa 2SG.OBJ bite eat-FUT2-3SG.F IRR

She said to her, "What did you say to me? She will bite you."

When the subject is second person dual or plural, =ka is used, as in (251) to (254).

- (251) ka fe er-m-r bu kufu eku-ya-fun=ka 6093

  REAL 3DU.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.M what vine do-PRES-2DU=INT

  He said to them [dual], "What is it, do you make it with vines?"
- (252) tawa nanda=fun=ka 7037
  wife older.sister=2DU=INT
  You two are a wife and a sister, now? [You are all grown up.]
- (253) fe ermesu-m-s biki yen=fun=ka 4078
  3DU.OBJ ask-PAST2-3SG.F which child=2DU=INT
  She asked them [dual], "Whose children are you [dual]?"
- (254) mele iki yirkwe tongo-kum=ka ELIC
  often NEG knife hold-2PL=INT
  Do you [plural] often not carry knives? [Are you often not knife-holders?]

While it is apparently more common not to use =ka with second person singular subjects, examples (255) to (257), as well as (227) and (237) above, show that it is possible to use =ka with second person singular subjects. In all of these examples, however, except for (227), we have either a nonverbal predicate or a verb bearing the

conditional suffix rather than a tense suffix. Hence the absence of =ka with second person singular subjects generally arises if and only if there is a tense suffix on the verb.

- (255) nu emo-ko yen=ka 7062 2SG who-POSS child=INT Whose child are you?
- (256) iki nu re eloko-na=ka ELIC

  NEG 2SG 3SG.M.OBJ tell-COND=INT

  You did not talk to him?
- (257) iki kom yoko nu i-na=ka ELIC NEG village towards 2SG go-COND=INT You did not go?

Content questions occasionally lack =ka, as in (258) and (259). In these examples, the question is similar to those with zero marking with a second person singular subject in that the verb occurs with a tense suffix but no subject suffix.

- (258) or em te nuwa-ya ELIC bilum who 3F.OBJ give-PRESENT Who is giving her a bilum (string bag)?
- (259) iki bu=m ru eku-nak ELIC

  NEG what=PL 3SG.M do-VNEG

  What did he not do?

# 7.7.2 Interrogative Clitic =a

In addition to the interrogative clitic =ka, there is a second interrogative clitic =a. Like =ka, it attaches to the final word of the sentence, typically the verb. It has its own stress in addition to the stress appropriate to the word it attaches to. When it occurs in a polar question, it signals that there is an expected answer 'yes' to the question, as in (260) and (261).

- (260) ka kaha=r ya-ya-r=a 2177

  REAL bad=M go-PRES-3SG.M=INT

  That an evil spirit coming, isn't it?
- (261) fu o-f-ra engle tukta-m-f
  3DU DIST-DU-EMP spell carry-PAST2-3DU

  ru ofto-wa-r mehek=a 6089
  3SG.M blow-PRES-3SG.M NEG=INT

They [dual] carried the spell [a powder]. Did he not blow it [cast the spell]?

When used in a content question, the clitic =a indicates that the speaker is surprised by what is going on. It may be a rhetorical question where the speaker knows the answer, but is surprised by it. Examples of the clitic =a with content questions are given in (262) to (264).

- (262) tama=r bu=r te nuwa-ya-r=a ELIC man=M what=M 3SG.F.OBJ give-PRES-3SG.M=INT The man gives her what? [I am surprised by what he gave her.]
- (263) yirkwe=r [o-r i-r]=a ELIC knife=M [DIST-M go-M]=INT Where is the knife?
- (264) ka lom-ka-r=a mu lom=k
  REAL dance-FUT2-3SG.M=INT 3PL dance=LOC

  ermesu-m-r oriko=k lom-ya-m=a 4043
  ask-PAST2-3SG.M where=LOC dance-PRES-3PL=INT

"There will be a dance?" [He asked. Later, ] they were at the dance site, and he asked, "Where are they [really] dancing?"

### 7.7.3 Use of *kamben* or *=ben* in Polar Questions

§8.1.3 discusses the use of the the word *kamben* or the clitic -*ben* to conjoin clauses with the meaning 'or'. But these words are also used in another way to form polar questions as in (265) and (266).

- (265) suwa glengu=r ser ser ana ra=ben 6098 coconut pod=M first first 1SG.IMP get=or [Perhaps] I will take the coconut pod first?
- (266) ke-kwra aku-wa-r kamben o-r-a 6084

  PROX-ADV go.back-PAST1-3SG.M or DIST-M-EMP

  Did he go back [as opposed to something else]?

## 7.7.4 Interrogative Words in Content Questions

Interrogative phrases in content questions appear *in situ,* in the same position as corresponding noninterrogative phrases. Table 46 lists the question words and their word class. Following that, each word is described and exemplified below in the order that it appears in the table. Those words with hyphens can occur with clitics or suffixes.

Question Word	Form	Word Class(es)
who	em-	Adjective, Pronoun
whose	emoko-	Possessive
what	bu-	Adjective, Pronoun
where (motive)	iroko	Pronoun
where (locative)	0- i-	Pronoun
which	biki	Adjective
how	biki (biki)	Manner Adverb
when	biki rokok	Temporal Adverb
why	biki naka	Manner Adverb
how much/many	biki saima	Adjective

Table 46: Question Words

#### 7.7.4.1 em 'who'

The interrogative pronoun for 'who' is em, illustrated in (267) and (268).

- (267) em wi=ka kur=k 7072 who go.up=REAL high=LOC Who will go up high [onto the mountain]?
- (268) em ne eloko-wa-k 3140 who 2SG.OBJ tell-PAST1-SUB Who told you?

In the two preceding examples, *em* is functioning as subject. In (269), *em* is functioning as object.

(269) ke-r-a ke-kwra i em eku-wa-ø iroko=k ELIC PROX-M-EMP PROX-ADV go who do-PAST1-2SG.INT where=LOC Who did you do this to here? And where?

In (270), em is functioning as predicate, bearing the interrogative clitic =ka.

(270) nu em=ka 7021 2SG who=INT Who are you?

The interrogative pronoun *em* sometimes occurs with a noun phrase clitic, as in (271). In (271), it occurs with the masculine clitic, while in (272) it occurs with the dual clitic.

- (271) em=r te ni-wa-r=ka ELIC who=M 3SG.F.OBJ see-PAST1-3SG.M=INT Who saw her?
- (272) em=f ne eloko-wa-f=ka anele nurkuminga=f ELIC who=DU 2SG.OBJ tell-PAST1-3DU=INT anele nurkuminga=DU Who [dual] told you? Anele and Nurkuminga.

The use of a noun phrase clitic appears to be conditioned by the assumptions the speaker makes about the answer to the question. In (271), the use of the masculine clitic indicates that the speaker is assuming that the answer involves a male. In (272), the use of the dual clitic indicates that the speaker expects a dual answer. If the speaker has no such assumptions, *em* will be used without a noun phrase clitics, as in (272) to (270) above.

The interrogative pronoun *em* has a slightly irregular possessive form *emoko*. The form has the same properties as non-interrogative possessive pronouns. It can host person/number/gender clitics as appropriate. In (273) to (276), it precedes the noun and thus appears without a noun phrase clitic.

- (273) ke-r-a emo-ko yirkwe=r=ka ELIC PROX-M-EMP who-POSS knife=3SG.M=INT Whose knife is this?
- (274) emo-ko eme=r=ka ELIC who-POSS place=3SG.M=INT Whose place [is that]?
- (275) nu emo-ko yen=ka 7062 2SG who-POSS child=INT Whose child are you?
- (276) ke-f-ra emo-ko tawa=f=ka ELIC DIST-DU-EMP who-POSS woman=3DU=INT Whose wives are these two?

In (277), it bears a noun phrase clitic since in this example it is not modifying a noun and is occurring by itself as the predicate.

(277) ke-r-a emo-ko=r ELIC PROX-M-EMP who-POSS=3SG.M Whose is that?

### 7.7.4.2 bu 'what'

The interrogative pronoun for 'what' is bu, illustrated in (278) and (279).

- (278) bu kufu eku-ya-fun=ka 6093 what vine do-PRES-2DU=INT What do you make with vines?
- (279) bu yefa=m o-m-ra tongo=ka eku rusu-ya-r 4052 what bone=PL DIST-PL-EMP hold=REAL do sit-PRES-3SG.M What are those bones that you are sitting there holding?

Like the interrogative pronoun *em* 'who', *bu* sometimes occurs without a noun phrase clitic, as in the two preceding examples, but can also occur with a noun phrase clitic if the speaker makes assumptions about the number and gender of the answer, as in (280) to (285).

- (280) bu=r ende eku-ka=ø 6088 what=M 1DU.OBJ do-FUT2=2SG.INT What will you do to us [dual]?
- (281) ke-s bu=m eku-ya-s=ka 6021
  PROX-F what=PL do-PRES-3SG.F=INT
  What is this one [she] doing?

- (282) tama=r bu=r te nuwa-ya-r=a ELIC man=M what=M 3SG.F.OBJ give-PRES-3SG.M=INT What is the man giving her?
- (283) bu=m ra-wa-r=ka nango=f mulu felnde=f ELIC what=PL get-PAST1-3SG.M=INT INJ=DU rat bird=DU What did he get? Maybe a rat and a bird.
- (284) ai ke-r-a bu=r ka 2095
  INJ PROX-M-EMP what=M REAL
  Ai, what is this?
- (285) bu=m ana ne nuwa-r hiki-ya=ø ELIC what=PL 1SG.IMP 2SG.OBJ give-INF think-PRES=2SG.INT Which one do you think I [will] give you?

Bu can also be used adnominally, as in (286), where it precedes the noun tombo 'end point'.

(286) bu tombo=k siri-wa=ø 6038 what end.point=LOC die-PAST1-2SG.INT What part did you die in?

As discussed in §5.4.7, the interrogative pronouns are also used as indefinite pronouns. In addition, *bu* is reduplicated to mean 'everything'. However, even when reduplicated, it can have interrogative meaning, as in (287).

(287) bu bu=m eku-wa=Ø ELIC what what=PL do-PAST1=2SG.INT What things did you do?

### 7.7.4.3 o- i- and iroko ~ oriko 'where'

There are two expressions for 'where' in Mehek. One is the word iroko  $\sim$  oriko, illustrated in (288); it typically occurs with the locative clitic =k.

The other expression for 'where' consists of a form of the distal demonstrative pronoun o- combined with a word i, that may be a form of the verb i 'go', both bearing a number/gender suffix, as in (289).

Whether or not the word *i* in this construction is a form of the verb for 'go', it always occurs with the same number/gender suffix as the demonstrative *o*-. For example, in (289), both occur with the masculine suffix -*r*, while in (290), both occur with the feminine suffix -*s*.

The factors governing the choice between these two constructions for 'where' are not fully understood. However all instances of *o- i-* in my data involve cases where the

expression is functioning as predicate and the question is asking 'Where is X?' for some X, as in (291), as well as (289) and (290) above.

(291) tawa=s [o-s i-s]=ka ka maprik i-m-s ELIC woman=F [DIST-F go-F]=INT REAL maprik go-PAST2-3SG.F Where is the woman? She went to Maprik.

Conversely, a number of instances of *iroko* involve asking for the goal of some movement, as in (292) to (294).

- (292) iroko=k nemen rete-wa-r=ka ELIC where=LOC 1PL.OBJ put-PAST1-3SG.M=INT Where did he put us?
- (293) nu yen iroko=k rete tiri-wa=ø 6054 2SG child where=LOC put leave-PAST1=2SG.INT Where did you put your child?
- (294) fle-m-m klei kul=m iroko=k eme kwre-wa-r=ka 6017 search-PAST2-3PL then bead=PL where=LOC place hang-PAST1-3SG.M=INT They were searching, then [asked], "Where did he hang the beads?"

However, for some instances, *iroko* is used as the predicate, much like the examples with *o- i-* and motion is not obviously involved, as in (295).

(295) o-f-ra iroko=ka 4051

DIST-DU-EMP where.DU=INT

Where are the two of them?

Examples (296) and (297) are similar, though here *iroko* ~ *oriko* occurs with the verb *na* 'be' and semantically this is similar to being used as a predicate.

- (296) o-s iroko=k na-ya-s=ka ELIC

  DIST-F where=LOC be.at-PRES-3SG.F=INT

  Where is she?
- (297) te ermesu-m-s oriko=k na-ya=ø 4029 3SG.F.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.F where=LOC be.at-PRES=2SG.INT She says [to the first wife], "Where are you?"

Similarly, it occurs in (298) with a posture verb and does not involve motion.

(298) oriko=k rusu-ya=ø 4029 where=LOC stand-PRES=2SG.INT "Where are you standing?"

And while the verb *lom* 'dance' in (299) is a verb that denotes something that involves motion, the meaning is not where they are dancing to, but just where they are dancing.

(299) oriko=k lom-ya-m=a 4043 where=LOC dance-PRES-3PL=INT Where are they dancing?

### 7.7.4.4 biki 'which'

The word *biki* can occur alone or in combination with several other words to form more complex interrogative expressions (see the next four subsections, §7.7.4.5 through §7.7.4.8). When occurring alone, it is an adnominal word that precedes the noun it modifies, with the meaning 'which', as in (300) to (303).

(300) biki tama=r fu-wa-s=ka ELIC which man=M hit-PAST1-3SG.F=INT Which woman hit the man?

- (301) biki tama=r ene eloko-wa-r=ka ELIC which man=M 1SG.OBJ tell-PAST1-3SG.M=INT Which man did you tell me about?
- (302) biki yen nu=ka 4033 which child 2SG=INT Which child are you?
- (303) biki kulu=k i-kwa-yun 6025 which road=LOC go-DESD-1SG Which road do I want to go along?

#### 7.7.4.5 biki ~ biki biki 'how'

The word biki can also function as an adverb meaning 'how', as in (304).

(304) tawa=s biki i-wa-s=ka ELIC woman=F how go-PAST1-3SG.F=INT How did the woman go?

With the meaning 'how', it is often reduplicated, as in (305) and (306).

- (305) [biki biki] ana dorko ELIC [how] 1SG.IMP scrape.sago How shall I scrape the sago?
- (306) [biki biki] eku-wa=ø tasu blena
  [how] do-PAST1=2SG.INT step.on slip

  naka ene fu-wa-r ELIC
  and 1SG.OBJ hit-PAST1-3SG.M

How did you do that? I slipped and cut myself.

*Biki* meaning 'how' also arises with the verb *eku* 'do', to express what English would express by 'what did X do?', as in (307) and (308).

- (307) tawa=s ke-t-a biki eku=ka 7053 woman=F PROX-F-EMP how do=INT What is this woman doing?
- (308) biki ana eku 6020 how 1SG.IMP do What shall I do?

Biki is also occasionally used noninterrogatively to mean 'in that way', as in (309).

(309) fun mana biki iki-na 6091

2DU PROH how think-COND

Don't worry so much. [You shouldn't think in that way.]

Biki is also used occasionally to mean 'where', as in (310) and (311).

- (310) biki biki i-m-f ka meke=f 4031
  where where go-PAST2-3DU REAL body=DU
  [He thinks,] "Where could these two have gotten themselves off to?"
- (311) biki i-ya=Ø ELIC where go-PRES=2SG.INT Where are you going?

### 7.7.4.6 biki rokok 'when'

The meaning 'when' is expressed by the combination *biki rokok*, illustrated in examples (312) and (313).

- (312) [biki rokok] aku-m-n ELIC [when] go.back-PAST2-2SG When did you go back?
- (313) wa [biki rokok] ya kara ELIC IRR [when] come indeed When will he come?

I am not aware of *rokok* occurring outside this combination. This is illustrated in examples (312) and (313). It is also possible to replace *biki* with *ekra* to refer to the time period at the moment of utterance, 'now' or to a time period understood from context 'at that time'. The form *rokok* also occurs in the noninterrogative expression *ekra rokok* 'that time', as in examples (314) and (315).

- (314) [ekra rokok] aku-m-yun 4115
  [at that time] go.back-PAST2-1SG
  So now I came back.
- (315) ningre mehek woro mehek yim=r
  today NEG tomorrow NEG in.two.days=M

  [ekra rokok] kisi-ka-num ELIC
  [at that time] boil-FUT2-1PL

Not today or tomorrow, but in two days we will cook.

The final /k/ in *rokok* may be the locative =k, since the locative =k does occur very occasionally on temporal expressions; however, it never appears without the /k/ and the form may be frozen.

### 7.7.4.7 *biki naka* 'why'

The meaning 'why' is expressed by the combination biki naka, as in (316) to (318).

(316) er=ka [biki naka] yirfi-ya=ø ELIC say=REAL [why] fall-PRES=2SG.INT Hey, why did you fall?

- (317) [biki naka] aka=r eku-ya=ø ELIC [why] house=M do-PRES=2SG.INT Why are you building a house?
- (318) [biki naka] ke-r-a aka=r eku-ya=ø ELIC [why] PROX-M-EMP house=M do-PAST1=2SG.INT Why are you building this house?

I am not aware of the form *naka* occurring outside this expression, except as a word meaning 'and' (§8.1).

## 7.7.4.8 biki saima 'how much/many'

The meaning 'how much' or 'how many' is expressed by the expression *biki saima*. It can express either a count noun sense of 'how many', as in (319), or a mass noun sense of 'how much', as in (320).

- (319) [biki saima] sa-wa-n=a ELIC [how.many] dig-PAST1-2SG=INT How many [yams] did you plant?
- (320) [biki saima] a-m-r=a ELIC
  [how.much] eat-PAST2-3SG.M=INT
  How much [coconut water] did you drink?

I am not aware of the form saima occurring outside this expression.

## 7.8 Negation

Negation is expressed in a number of different ways. The primary negative morpheme is an invariant word *iki*.<sup>15</sup> Most negative non-imperative clauses contain this word, though it occasionally co-occurs with a suffix -*nak* on the verb or a clause-final negative word *mehek*. There is a prohibitive word *mana* that is used in negative imperative sentences (§7.8.3).

## 7.8.1 iki 'not' and the negative verbal suffix -nak

The default non-imperative negative clause involves just the negative word *iki*. It always precedes the final (finite) verb, though not necessarily immediately before the verb. It typically precedes material other than a subject that is not a pronoun. Example (321) illustrates *iki* preceding the adverbial word *anganambu* 'fast'.

(321) iki anganambu wi ambe-ka-num 4120

NEG fast go.up finish-FUT2-1PL

We will not [be able to] go up quickly.

Example (322) illustrates iki preceding an object pronoun.

(322) nanda go=n iki ne tiri-kun 6051 older.sister 1SG.POSS=2SG NEG 2SG.OBJ leave-FUT1.1SG
You are my older sister and I will not leave you.

Example (323) illustrates *iki* preceding both an object pronoun, *re*, and an object noun phrase *aka* 'house'.

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 $<sup>^{15}</sup>$  This is not to be confused with the verb *hiki* (often pronounced *iki*) 'think, feel'.

(323) iki re aka eku-s ELIC

NEG 3SG.M.OBJ house do-F

She does not know how to make a house for him.

Example (324) illustrates iki preceding a subject pronoun.

(324) iki fu mesu-nak 7078

NEG 3DU hear-VNEG

They [dual] did not hear [about it].

Example (325) and (326) both illustrates *iki* preceding both a subject pronoun and an object pronoun.

- (325) tete iki on ne ni-nak 6050 honorable NEG 1SG 2SG.OBJ see-VNEG Older [brother], I did not see you.
- (326) iki nu re eloko-na=ka ELIC

  NEG 2SG 3SG.M.OBJ tell-COND=INT

  You did not talk to him?

Example (327) illustrates iki preceding both a subject pronoun and a nominal object.

(327) iki nu kaku a-na=ka ELIC

NEG 2SG mami eat-COND=2SG.INT

Would you not eat mami?

On the other hand, both (328) and (329) illustrate iki following a nominal subject.

(328) nekwa=s iki tare-ya-s wa awar=k tare-ka-s ELIC moon=F NEG shine-PRES-3SG.F IRR later=INS shine-FUT2-3SG.F The moon is not shining [now]. It will shine later.

(329) uwku blala=t iki uwku samba=t na-nak 6121 sugarcane cane.species=DIM NEG sugarcane big=3DIM be.at-VNEG Blala sugarcane is not a big kind of sugarcane.

Example (330) illustrates a nominal subject preceding *iki*, but it also illustrates a locative preceding *iki* as well.

(330) sofo kur sul iki sukna-r 2727 snake snake.species ground NEG sleep-M
The Kur snake doesn't sleep on the ground.

While nominal objects seem to follow *iki* more often, there are cases like those in (331) and (332) where the nominal object precedes *iki*.

- (331) bali kufe=r iki yikwa kisi=ka a-num mehek 6121 aibika good=M NEG salt boil=REAL eat-PRES.1PL NEG
  We do not boil good aibika in salt.
- (332) kom fenda=t iki a-num ELIC village from=DIM NEG eat-PRES.1PL

  The one[s] from the village we do not eat.

The most frequent negative clause employs the word *iki* and is otherwise like an affirmative clause. However, in one variation on this, tense suffixes are absent from the verb, although the subject agreement suffixes are still used. An example is given in (333), where the verb *sukna* 'sleep' occurs with a masculine agreement suffix but no tense suffix.

(333) sofo kur sul iki sukna-r 2727 snake snake.species ground NEG sleep-M

The kur snake doesn't sleep on the ground ...

Two additional examples are given in (334) and (335).

- (334) iki elowo a-s fer mulu iki a-s 7081

  NEG animal eat-F pig rodent NEG eat-F

  She does not eat meat, she does not eat pig or rodent.
- (335) iki re aka eku-s ELIC

  NEG 3SG.M.OBJ house do-F

  She does not know how to make a house for him.

Another example is given above in (332). It may be relevant that all four of these examples are apparently timeless generic statements, though (335) is an example of this type of negative construction that does not conform to this.

(336) iki re aka eku-num mehek 7085

NEG 3SG.M.OBJ house do-PRES.1PL NEG

We will not build him a house.

The second negative construction is one in which there is both the negative word *iki* and a negative suffix *-nak* on the verb, as in (337).

(337) na-r su iki su duwan lau=ka rusu-nak 6101 but-M 3SG.F NEG 3SG.F limbum spread.flat=REAL stand-VNEG

But she did not put the limbum bed out to sit on.

The suffix -nak attaches directly to the verb stem. There is no person/number/gender or tense/mood/aspect marking permitted on a verb bearing the negative suffix.

(338) iki hanganambu tisi ra=ka i-nak 7072

NEG quickly carry.on.shoulder get=REAL go-VNEG

He did not not carry it too quickly.

(339) iki ru ra=ka tongo-nak 7060

NEG 3SG.M get=REAL hold-VNEG

He did not take it.

Some instances of negative clauses that employ the suffix -nak, such as (339), seem to involve refusal of the subject to perform the action of the verb. On the other hand, there are examples like (340), where this is not the case.

(340) on i rete-wa-m iki mu rii-nak 4093 1SG go put-PAST1-3PL NEG 3PL remain-VNEG [The things] I put are not there anymore.

The third negative construction also involves the suffix -nak, but instead of appearing directly on the verb, it appears on the verb na 'be at', which functions as a kind of auxiliary verb that immediately follows the main verb, which appears in infinitival form, as in (341) to (345).

- (341) iki kur=k bruru=ka i-r na-nak 5008

  NEG sky=LOC fly=REAL go-INF be.at-VNEG

  It [cassowary] does not fly in the sky.
- (342) ende iki nu=k wuya-r na-nak 5197 wild.sago NEG garden=LOC come.up-INF be.at-VNEG Wild sago does not grow in the garden.
- (343) iki on rusu-r na-nak nawe susu-kun 4088

  NEG 1SG sit-INF be.at-VNEG only stand-FUT.1SG

  I do not sit, I will only stand.

- (344) iki num a-r na-nak, kufu kaha=r 5099

  NEG 1PL eat-INF be.at-VNEG vine bad=3SG.M

  We do not eat it; it is a bad vine.
- (345) iki on susu-r na-nak suwa=r ene sere-m-r ELIC NEG 1SG stand-INF be.at-VNEG leg=M 1SG.OBJ break-PAST2-3SG.M I cannot stand. My leg is broken.

A variant of the last construction also employs *na-nak*, but rather than a infinitival form of the verb, it is preceded by a fully inflected verb, as in (346) to (350).

- (346) iki anganambu oro sere-num na-nak 5074

  NEG fast chop break-PRES.1PL be.at-VNEG

  We cannot chop it quickly.
- (347) iki a-ka-num na-nak wa awar=k a-ka-num 5048

  NEG eat-FUT2-1PL be.at-VNEG IRR later=INS eat-FUT2-1PL

  We will not eat [it is not customary], we will eat later.
- (348) nekwa=s iki tare-ka-s na-nak OVH moon=F NEG shine-FUT2-3SG.F be.at-VNEG

  The moon will not shine. [Because it is cloudy.]
- mehek (349) ke-r iki na-nak u-ya-r PROX-M NEG burn-PRES-3SG.M be.at-VNEG NEG ekra iki blengu-ka-r na-nak 5058 u-r wa ne burn-INF 2SG.OBJ bruise-FUT2-3SG.M be.at-VNEG thus NEG IRR That one did not cook. I [tried to] cook it. It will not bruise you[r mouth].
- (350) mu=r oro-r wuwr=k iki yirkwe tongo-num na-nak 6097 tree=M chop-INF stone.axe=INS NEG knife hold-PRES.1PL be.at-VNEG [Long ago] we cut down trees with a stone axe. We did not have knives.

The word *nanak* is replaced by *kehek* in the Kafle dialect area and its distribution is exactly the same. Example (351) illustrates this.

(351) iki hingre na-r-ka-fun kehek mehek 7030 NEG joke be.at-R-FUT2-2DU VNEG NEG You [dual] don't play around.

Examples (352) and (353) are similar, though in these examples, *kehek* is the main verb, rather than a type of auxiliary verb.

- (352) isi-m-m yen sir=t mehek iki sir kana kehek 7012 call-PAST2-3PL child name=DIM NEG NEG name with VNEG They called the child's name. [But] no, he did not have a name.
- (353) yen tawasangu=r iki wanaku=r kehek 7048 child tawasangu=M NEG wanaku=M VNEG
  The child is Tawasangu, not Wanaku.

It is possible for negative clauses to be interrogative, by attaching one of the interrogative clitics to the final word of the negative sentence, as in (354) to (358).

- (354) iki kom yoko nu i-na=ka ELIC NEG village towards 2SG go-COND=INT You did not go?
- (355) iki nu re eloko-na=ka ELIC NEG 2SG 3SG.M.OBJ tell-COND=INT You did not talk to him?
- (356) mele iki yirkwe tongo-kum=ka ELIC
  often NEG knife hold-2PL=INT
  Do you [plural] often not carry knives? [Are you often not knife-holders?]

- (357) iki bu=m ru eku-nak nawe sukna-ya-r ELIC

  NEG what=PL 3SG.M do-VNEG only sleep-PRES-3SG.M

  What did he not do? He just slept. [Question implies that nothing was done.]
- (358) iki nu kaku a-na=ka ELIC NEG 2SG mami eat-COND=2SG.INT Would you not eat mami?

### 7.8.2 mehek 'no'

The name of the language comes from the word *mehek* 'no', as described in §1.1.

This word can be used as a response to a question as the sole answer with the meaning 'no'. But it can also be used to negate a clause, as in (359) and (362). In this use it always occurs at the end of the clause.

- (359) iki re aka eku-num mehek 7085 NEG 3SG.M.OBJ house do-PRES.1PL NEG We will not build him a house.
- (360) tama=m iki ne fu-ka-m mehek 5003 person=PL NEG 2SG hit-FUT2-3PL NEG
  The men will not kill you, no.

When it occurs, it often co-occurs with the preverbal negative word *iki*, as in the two preceding examples. In this case, it is for emphasis and is always optional. It also occurs occasionally as the sole indication of negation, as in (361).

(361) o-r ni-m-f mehek 6095

DIST-M see-PAST2-3DU NEG

The two of them did not see it.

It is also used to negate "clausal fragments", clauses lacking a predicate, as in (362).

(362) fasu=ka a-r kisi-r mehek 6121 cook.in.leaf=REAL eat-INF boil-INF NEG
You have to cook it to eat, not boil it.

### 7.8.3 Negative Imperative mana

To directly command someone to not do something it is necessary to use the negative imperative *mana*, illustrated in (363) to (365).

- (363) mana a-na nanglu kaha=m OVH
  PROH eat-COND greens bad=3PL
  Better not eat the greens; they are bad.
- (364) on mana rete=ka yiminum aku-m-yun 7051

  1SG PROH put=REAL yiminum go.back-PAST2-1SG

  I did not feel like [casting a spell]. I went back to Yiminum.
- (365) waitalo naku ana a mana a-na ongo-ra=r ELIC waitalo sago 1SG.IMP eat PROH eat-COND 1SG.POSS-EMP=3SG.M Waitalo, can I eat some sago? You should not eat it; it is mine.

Thie word *mana* also functions a verb with the meaning 'not want' or 'not feel like', taking verbal inflections, as in (366).

(366) on rusu-r mana-wa-yun ELIC1SG sit-M not.want-PAST1-1SGI do not feel like sitting down. [I do not like to sit down.]

## 7.8.4 Other Words with Negative Meaning

There are a few words that incorporate a negative meaning or are used in a negative context. This includes the verbs *nime* 'not be able' and *mana* 'not want'. The

former is illustrated in examples (367) and (368), while the latter is illustrated in (369) to (371).

- (367) oro-wa-n wa eku nime-ka-n 5065 cut-PAST1-2SG IRR do be.unable-FUT2-2SG You went to cut it, but you will not be able to do it.
- (368) nu ene danasu nime-r 6116
  2SG 1SG.OBJ set.a.time be.unable-INF
  You cannot wait for me.
- (369) on rusu-r mana-wa-yun ELIC

  1SG sit-M not.want-PAST1-1SG

  I do not feel like sitting down. [I do not like to sit down.]
- (370) yifkindu i-r mana-wa-yun ELIC yifkindu go-INF not.want-PAST1-1SG I do not feel like going to Yifkindu.
- (371) on mana-wa-yun 2128

  1SG not.want-PAST1-1SG

  I did not feel like it.

The word *timba* is a negative word that expresses the meaning 'not have'. It occurs in a construction with the possessor as subject and thing possessed a noun phrase before the verb, possibly an object, as in (372) and (373). It behaves like an adjective in that it occurs with person/number/gender clitics in predicate position, but apparently does not occur with verb morphology.

(372) dun yen timba=dun 1614 1DU child not.have=1DU We have no children. (373) num kiri timba=ka [tindu tandu] rusu-ya-num 3811

1PL fire not.have=REAL [blind] sit-PRES-1PL

We don't have fire, so we are sitting in the dark.

The noun phrase denoting the thing not possessed does not occur with a noun phrase clitic, unless it is definite, as in (374).

(374) yirkwe=r timba=yun ELIC knife=M not.have=1SG I do not have my knife.

There is another word, *selefe* 'get off track', that is only licensed by the negative words *iki* and *mehek*. In examples (375), it is shown negated.

(375) elowo feta-ta di=r ene animal DET=M 1SG.OBJ show-IMP iki selefe na-ka-r **ELIC** on i-na wa go-COND NEG IRR get.off.track be.at-FUT2-3SG.M 1SG If I go [to the jungle], I will be successful in hunting.

The only context in which it is permissible to use it in a positive context in a fixed expression which literally implies that the person will indeed meet with ill fate.

Examples (376) and (377) show its use in context.

(376) naka engle=r mu eku-r ka afa=r isi=ka and spell=M 3PL do-INF REAL father=M call=REAL eku-m iki selefe=m mehek 6075 get.off.track=PL NEG do-GER NEG

And they cast a spell. They called the father. They did not fail.

(377) na nu klei wa biki na-na wa selefe-na ELIC and 2SG then IRR how be.at-COND IRR get.off.track-COND What will you do? What will become of you? [Said with concern.]

# 7.9 erka 'want'

The meaning of 'want' is expressed by the noninflecting word *erka*. *Erka* combines with a verb expressing what is wanted, but does so in two different ways. One common construction is for it to follow the verb, which occurs in infinitival form, as in (378) to (381). See also §6.3.1 for the desiderative suffix *-kwa* in expressions of wanting.

- (378) mu o-r i-r erka re er-m-m ELIC 3PL DIST-M go-INF want 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-3PL They wanted to go so they told him.
- (379) on o-r ni-r erka re er-n ELIC 1SG DIST-M see-INF want 3SG.M.OBJ say-PRES.1SG I told him I wanted to see [it].
- (380) mu-ra kana yam a-r erka na-r ru ka kra kra 2723 3PL-EMP with banana eat-INF want but-M 3SG.M REAL cry cry He wanted to go with them to eat bananas, but he was crying
- (381) sanglu kau-r erka eku-wa-yun ka [timba kamba]=yun 3811 letter write-INF want do-PAST1-1SG REAL [blind]=1SG I want to write, but I did it not knowing what to say.

The second way *erka* combines with a verb is to precede the verb, which in this case occurs with normal verbal inflection, as in (382) and (383).

(382) ru ra ra raya-m-k erka a-yu-m-f 7061

3SG.M get get bring-PAST2-SUB want eat-REP-PAST2-3SG.F

They [dual] gathered it all together because they [dual] wanted to eat.

(383) ru ka mu ta oro-r erka i-wa-r 2162 3SG.M REAL tree cut chop-INF want go-PAST1-3SG.M He wanted to go chop down a tree.

Erka can be used in clauses where the one who is wanting is the same as the one who will perform the act they are wanting to so, as in the preceding five examples, or it can be used where it is someone else who will perform the desired act, what English expresses with 'X wanted Y to Verb', as in (384) and (385).

- (384) num re eloko-m-num o-r i-r erka ELIC 1PL 3SG.M.OBJ tell-PAST2-1PL DET.DT-M go-INF want We told him we wanted him to go.
- (385) num te eloko-m-num o-s i-r erka ELIC 1PL 3SG.M.OBJ tell-PAST2-1PL DET.DT-F go-INF want We told her we wanted her to go.

As in many languages, *erka* can only combine with verbs. Hence (386) is ungrammatical.

(386) \*on suwa=r erka ELIC

1SG coconut=M want
I want a coconut.

To express the intended meaning of (386), one must employ a verb, as in (387).

(387) on suwa=r a-r erka OVH

1SG coconut=M eat-INF want
I want to eat a coconut.

# 7.10 Light Verbs

There are two verbs in Mehek which serve in a role of "light verbs". They are full verbs capable of serving as the main verb in a clause and taking the full range of verbal markings, including tense, aspect, and person. They also occur as tenseless verbs in clauses which require them. What sets them apart from other verbs is the following: they are most frequently employed in combination with another verb; they have relatively general meanings which can cover a broad range of cases; and they occur quite frequently. Because of their frequency, these verbs are the most common verbs in Mehek. The two verbs are *eku* 'do' and *rete* 'put', discussed in §7.10.1 and §7.10.2 respectively.

### 7.10.1 eku 'do'

The verb eku can be used as a main verb meaning 'do, make', as in (388) and (389).

- (388) ekaa nu=m num eku-ya-m 4118 food garden=PL 1PL do-PRES-3PL Food gardens are made by us.
- (389) tawa=s ke-t-a biki eku=ka 7053 woman=F PROX-F-EMP how do=INT What is this woman doing?

However, *eku* is often used as a light verb, combining with another verb, as in (390) to (393), where it occurs uninflected and immediately precedes the other verb.

(390) yefa=m o-m-ra tongo=ka eku rusu-ya-r 4052 bone=PL DIST-PL-EMP hold=REAL do sit-PRES-3SG.M He took those bones and sat.

- (391) ka eku fle-m-f 4085

  REAL do search-PAST2-3DU

  The two of them were searching.
- (392) naku eku ambe=ka makwa=m ni-num 4115 sago do finish=REAL bean=PL see-PRES.1PL When the sago is finished, we see the beans.
- (393) iki [hokwek na]-ka-t wa hanganambu eku aku-ka-t 5103

  NEG [waste time]-FUT2-3SG.DIM IRR fast do go.back-FUT2-3SG.DIM

  She will not waste time. She will go back in a hurry.

There is a second way in which *eku* combines with another verb, where it follows the other verb, and this time it is *eku* that inflects while the other verb does not, as in (394) and (395).

- (394) re kwete=ka eku-wa-n
  3SG.M.OBJ cut=REAL do-PAST1-2SG

  iki hanganambu siri=ka mehek 3810
  NEG quickly die=REAL NEG

  When you cut [the grass], it won't die quickly.
- (395) afi nau barna-m-r [mele mele] fi afi eku-m-r 6066 hit yell wander-PAST2-3SG.M [long ago] spear hit do-PAST2-3SG.M He went around fighting. He fought with a spear long ago.

It is not clear exactly what *eku* adds to these sentences, but sometimes it seems to carry a sense of 'make an effort to do X' or 'go about doing X'.

## 7.10.2 rete 'put'

The verb *rete* occurs as a main verb meaning 'put', as in (396), although it often occurs without an explicit identification of the place that something is put, as in (397) to (399).

- (396) fi=r ru ra=ka kafta=k rete tiri=ka spear=M 3SG.M get=REAL outside=LOC put leave=REAL rusu-kla-m-r 4081 sit-CONT-PAST2-3SG.M
  - (397) tama=s yofu rete maure=s yofu rete 7021 person=F barrier put ancestor=F barrier put A woman placed a barrier, an ancestor placed a barrier.

He got the spear, put it outside, and kept on sleeping.

(398) di=m te nuwa-m-r di=m su re

DET=PL 3SG.F.OBJ give-PAST2-3SG.M DET=PL 3SG.F 3SG.M.OBJ

kware rete-m-s 4038

dry put-PAST2-3SG.F

He gave her some [meat]. She dryed some for him and set it out.

(399) fer kute tama=r wa fer lesu=r re rete-ka-m 6085 pig cut man=M IRR pig hand=M 3SG.M.OBJ put-FUT2-3PL

They will put the pig's legs out for the man who cut the pig.

It can also function like a causative verb, as in (400) and (401).

(400) ru re fu siri rete-m-r 6100 3SG.M 3SG.M.OBJ 3DU die put-PAST2-3SG.M He hit him and it caused him to die. (401) yen=t ka rete=ka sukna-m-s maure=s 6058 child=DIM REAL put=REAL sleep-PAST2-3SG.F ancestor=F She put the child to sleep, the spirit did.

However, it also occurs in combination with other verbs in a way that leaves it unclear exactly what it contributes to the meaning of the sentence, as in (402) to (407).

- (402) sukna dana-r rete=ka 6118 sleep dawn-INF put=REAL Morning comes.
- (403) fu mesu reteka di dun-go kom mende kara 7033 3DU hear put=REAL DET 1DU-POSS village very indeed They [dual] heard too much [noise] coming from our [dual] village.
- (404) naka ekra fangi sumbu rete-m-r 2171 and thus river follow put-PAST2-3SG.M And thus he set to following the river.
- (405) lisi ningi=f fu ambe-m-k nemen tiri rete=ka 4003 two day=DU 3DU finish-PAST2-SUB 1PL.OBJ leave put=REAL After finishing two days [with us], they [dual] left us.
- (406) ka re tisi=ka raya rete-wa-yun 6117

  REAL 3SG.M.OBJ carry.on.shoulder=REAL bring put-PAST1-1SG

  I set it on his shoulder to carry.
- (407) ru a ambe rete=ka 6115
  3SG.M eat finish put=REAL
  He finished eating it up.

# 7.11 Repetition

Repetition is a somewhat common method of indicating or emphasizing frequency, intensity, or duration of the action or event. The only productive type of repetition is lexical repetition; there are no examples of a productive phonological means of reduplication. However, ideophonic adverbs (see §7.3.2.5) do incorporate a mix of lexical reduplication with some consistent patterns of phonological reduplication.

However, those adverbs comprise a closed class of set phrases, and the phonological methods employed in those words cannot be applied to other words.

The most frequent use of lexical repetition is lexical doubling. It is most commonly adverbs and verbs that are doubled, as in (408) to (415). In (408) and (409), it is adverbs that are doubled.

- (408) o-r-a indi indi ru ka yiri-m-r 4091

  DIST-M-EMP back back 3SG.M REAL fall-PAST2-3SG.M

  He went back and back.
- (409) di=n nu ser ser 4116

  DET=2SG 2SG first first

  You, you go first.

In (410) and (411), it is verbs that are doubled.

- (410) fer fu fu raya raya naku tawo tawo kisi kisi 4092 pig hit hit bring bring sago turn.sago turn.sago boil boil Go kill pigs, get them, turn sago and boil it.
- (411) fu narete narete ka fu sau=ka 4095 3D debate debate REAL 3DU stand.up=REAL The two of them debated and then stood up.

Occasionally it is nouns that are repeated, as in (412).

(412) ru aka aka aka aku=ka 1127 3SG.M house house house go.back=REAL He runs away home.

For verbs, doubling most often indicates a longer duration of an event than would be conveyed by a single instance of the word. In some cases, the repetition can simply be a way of drawing attention to the word being repeated or of placing the focus on that word without implying any special lengthening or duration, as in (412).

Lexical repetition will occasionally contain three repeated elements, as in (413) to (414) (as well as (412) above).

- (413) eku fle fle fle ka i i nime=ka 4080 do search search search REAL go go go be.unable=REAL [He] went about searching. He went and went, but could not [find it].
- (414) ka ekaa-m-f fu ekaa ekaa ekaa REAL eat.food-PAST2-3DU eat.food eat.food 3DU fu i 6094 rusu rusu rusu i i 3DU sit sit sit go go go

The two of them ate. They are and ate. They rested a long time and then kept on going.

(415) ru war sukna-m-k 3SG.M go.down sleep-PAST2-SUB

re waki waki waki=ka ELIC 3SG.M.OBJ tie tie tie=REAL

When he went down to sleep, he tied him all up.

Even more frequent than lexical repetition is phrasal repetition, repetition of two or three words, immediately in sequence. However, just as it is most often verbs which are reduplicated, phrasal repetition often includes a verb. An example is given in (416) with repetition of the phrase *na mesu* 'and hear'.

(416) ka ekra tolo tolo rii-m-m tell tell remain-PAST2-3PL REAL thus ka 6048 na mesu na mesu REAL and hear and hear

So they stayed and told all about it. [They] listened carefully.

If the repetition includes a verb which takes inflections of any kind, it will only be the last verb in the reduplicated sequence which will take that inflection, as in (417).

(417) mam yo mam yo-ya-r 7057 mother's.brother yo mother's.brother yo-PRES-3SG.M

He calls out to his mother's brother.

Similarly, if the realis clitic appears within a sequence of verbs, it appears only on the last occurrence, as in (418).

(418) au sul=r mu sa sa=ka duwan nawa mu tukta=ka 6075 pot dirt=M 3PL dig dig=REAL basket mother 3PL carry.on.head=REAL They dug dirt for a pot and carried it in a mother [large-sized] basket.

A similar phenomenon is found with repeated noun phrases: the noun phrase clitic will appear only on the last noun phrase, as in (419).

(419) aka kulu aka kulu=k 6009 house door house door=LOC from door to door

Example (420) is a segment from a story with a variety of mostly phrasal repetition.

(420) duwan rete-m rokor yefa=m su kuna duwan rete=ka limbum put-GER bone=PL 3SG.F self limbum CAUS put=REAL noko noko noko yefa=m o-m-ra su me bone=PL DIST-PL-EMP 3SG.F 3PL.OBJ gather gather gather duwan rokor rete-m rokor duwan rete-m limbum put-GER CAUS limbum put-GER **CAUS** ra war-m-m rokor ka kuna yakuw kuna yakuw distribute self distribute get go.down-PAST2-3PL CAUS REAL self ru di=r di duwan=k ru di=r di duwan=k 3SG.M DET=M DET limbum=LOC 3SG.M DET=M DET limbum=LOC ekra su rete ambe=ka me taki=ka thus 3SG.F 3PL.OBJ put finish=REAL bite=REAL o-m-ra aka=k aka kiri sufun wi-k o-kwra DIST-PL-EMP house=LOC house fire smoke go.up-SUB DIST-ADV iiiiii 6006 me rete-m-s o-kwra su me rete=ka 3PL.OBJ put-PAST2-3SG.F DIST-ADV 3SG.F 3PL put=REAL go....

They put some of the bones down on those limbums. They kept on gathering up all those bones. They set them down on the limbum over and over. They went down so they themselves could distribute [the bones]. He put some on one limbum and some on another limbum. So she finished putting them out and took a bite [of the bones]. From that house smoke from a fire was rising. She put them there. There she put them and kept on going.

A similar phenomenon is the lengthening of the final vowel of the word (often one or two seconds), as in (421) and (422).

- (421) fu i=ka gulma samdo=m fuuuu 7063 3DU go=REAL mantis spider=PL kill... The two of them kill lots of spiders and mantises.
- (422) mu aku=ka rusu=ka iiiii 7059

  3PL go.back=REAL sit=REAL go...

  They go back, rest, and then keep on going.

This is more commonly done with atelic events which are ongoing. The length of the vowel is representative of the duration of the event. A duration of approximately one second is the most common, and simply indicates that the action went on for some time. Durations of up to three seconds do occasionally happen (as with multiple repetitions) and are indicative of unusually long durations. In both instances, the pitch of the speaker's voice rises throughout the extension of the vowel. Many times, a verb will be repeated a few times and the final instance of it will have a slightly lengthened vowel. There is almost always a longer-than-normal pause after this lengthened vowel before the speaker begins the next clause.

# **Chapter 8: Complex Sentences**

## 8.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses several types of complex sentences, ones containing more than one clause. These are those types where two clauses have some relationship to each other and have a syntactic means of indicating that relationship. Each of these clause types is described in turn in sections §8.1 to §8.4. Additionally, there are three clausal relationships discussed in §8.5 which do not impose these restrictions on the relationship, but have different relationships altogether. These are: comparative constructions (§8.5.1), perceptual complements (§8.5.2) and reported speech (§8.5.3).

There are six different types of sequential relationships that two clauses can have to each other. These relationship types are summarized in Table 47, and are listed roughly in the order of least restrictive to most restrictive in terms of the relationship the two clauses must have with one another.

Туре	Marker	Temporal Order	Depen- dency	Other Requirements	
conjunction	na-, =ben	any or none	no	-	
subordinate	-k	any	no	-	
simultaneous	yombo	simultaneous	no	-	
dependent	yungu	(nearly) simultaneous	yes	typically different	
				subjects	
causal	rokor	yes (did/will occur)	yes	one common argument	
conditional	-na	yes (but may not occur)	yes	FUT1/2 on second clause	

Table 47: Summary of Clausal Relationships

These restrictions include the temporal sequencing of the two clauses, and the dependency status of the second clause to the first. (This is real-world, rather than grammatical dependency.) The first type listed, conjunction, merely requires the juxtaposition of the two clauses and no further ordering or dependency is implied (though these may both be implied by context). Going down the list, the different clause types impose restrictions, first on the temporal relationship, then on the dependency status of the second clause. The final type listed, conditional, requires not only a temporal sequence and a dependency relationship, but the further requirement that the first clause itself may not actually occur.

The syntax for the clausal particles *yombo* 'simultaneous', *yungu* 'dependent', and *rokor* 'causal' relationships is similar. Unlike the verbal aspectual particles (§7.2), these particles are not affixes, but are instead separate words with their own stress and (in some cases), capable of taking their own agreement markers. As for the syntax of the clauses themselves, in the default, unmarked context, they each require the verb immediately preceding to have no inflection and to end in the gerundial suffix –*m* (see §8.3.3). It is also possible for the preceding verb to have no inflection when imperative, as well as the conditional marker if the speaker wishes to emphasize that the action has not yet happened. The syntax of the two clauses linked by a particle is the same in the case of all three. These cases are summarized in Table 48 below. The abbreviations used include V for verb and INFL for full verbal inflection.

### Particle and Affix

Туре	First Clause	yombo	yungu	rokor	Second Clause
Default	V-m	-r	-r	_	V-INFL
Tensed	V-INFL	-k	-k	_	V-INFL or V
Imperative	V	-	-	-	V

Table 48: Syntax of Linked Clauses

The columns headed "Particle and Affix" show that any of the three particles can be used to link each of the types, though the suffix which appears on a given particle in each case is different. The particle *yombo* can take either of the suffixes -r or -k. The particle *yungu* can take no affix or either -r or -k. The particle *rokor* is invariant in form and cannot takes a suffix (though the final /r/ might be analyzed as a suffix).

# 8.1 Conjoined clauses

There are two words for simple clausal conjunction. One is the word  $naka \sim na$  'and' illustrated in (1).

(1) marsofo ru war naka re sungamba marsofo 3SG.M come.down and 3SG.M.OBJ story

tolo-ya-num 7042
tell-PRES-1PL

Marsofo is coming down and we are telling him the story.

The other is the word *na* but with inflection for the gender and number, but not person, of the noun phrase that follows, as in (2).

(2) mu-ra kana yam a-r erka na-r ru ka kra kra 2723 3PL-EMP with banana eat-INF want but-M 3SG.M REAL cry cry He wanted to go with them to eat bananas, but he was crying.

This second construction is often associated with contrast and is often best translated with 'but'. I discuss the first construction in 9.1.1. and the second in 9.1.2.

#### 8.1.1 naka ~ na 'and'

The most common way to conjoin clauses with an overt marker is with  $naka \sim na$  'and', illustrated by naka in (3) to (5).

(3) mu liti tuwar=ka ka te nuwa-m-m
3PL fill pour=REAL REAL 3SG.F.OBJ give-PAST2-3PL

naka su a=ka 7052
and 3SG.F eat=REAL

They fill it up and give it to her. And she eats.

(4) tolo nambuko tiri=ka naka on oro=ka raya=ka talk debate leave=REAL and 1SG chop=REAL bring=REAL eku=ka 6022 do=REAL

After [we] finished debating, I chopped the tree and brought [the wood] back.

(5) [ber bar] waki-m-r naka wi tongo-m-r 4046 [messed up] wrap-PAST2-3SG.M and go.up hold-PAST2-3SG.M He wrapped [the hook] up badly and he took it up [the tree].

The alternative form na, illustrated in (6) and (7), is less common than naka in my data.

- (6) nu eku-wa-k aku=ka i=ka na rusu-wa-f 4099
  2SG do-PAST1-SUB go.back=REAL go=REAL and sit-PAST1-3DU
  While you did that, you went back and rested.
- (7) ka ekra tolo tolo rii-m-m ka na mesu REAL thus tell tell remain-PAST2-3PL REAL and hear 6048 na mesu and hear

So they stayed and told all about it; and they listened carefully.

The mere juxtaposition of clauses is quite common without the use of *na*-. Because of this, it is not necessary in most cases to connect related clauses or concepts with *na*-. The absence of overt marking is particularly common when the sequence of episodes are clearly related. This is illustrated in (8).

(8) tawa=s kana maure=s kana tama=s kahakana fu-m-s woman=F with spirit=F with person=F many hit-PAST2-3SG.F numbul kanda=f fu-m-s maure=s su spirit=F 3SG.F small small=DU hit-PAST2-3SG.F mulu 7063 su-ra bu=m kana fu-m-s 3SG.F-EMP rodent what=PL with hit-PAST2-3SG.F

A woman and a spirit [were going together]. The woman killed many [animals]. The spirit killed very few. She [the woman] killed them with rodents.

However, naka ~ na is often used at conceptual boundaries. That is, the use of naka ~ na helps to connect different episodes within the discourse and to show that the next utterance follows what came before, even if it seems unrelated. Examples (9) to (11) show this phenomenon.

- (9) mu liti tuwar=ka ka te nuwa-m-m 3PL fill pour=REAL REAL 3SG.F.OBJ give-PAST2-3PL 7052 naka su a=ka muwku fi kana na-m-s and milk with 3SG.F eat=REAL breast be.at-PAST2-3SG.F They fill it and give it to her. And she eats; she is full up with breast milk.
- bu=ka (10) su semra=ka su ama 3SG.F plant=REAL bamboo 3SG.F rub.off.skin=REAL naka tongo=ka ka wi-m-s 4025 hold=REAL and REAL go.up-PAST2-3SG.F She planted [seeds], she rubbed off the bamboo skin. And she took it and
- went up.
- (11) nekwa wuya=ka su sukna-wa-k moon 3SG.F come.up=REAL 3SG.F sleep-PAST1-SUB naka nawa=s ka aka sere wuwr-ya-n rete=ka ni REAL house break go.in-PRES-2SG and mother=F see put=REAL ka afa=r eloko-ya-s yen=s ka aka REAL father=M say-PRES-3SG.F child=F REAL house 7080 sere wuwr-wa-s naka su aka sere wuwr break go.in-PAST1-3SG.F and 3sg.F house break go.in

She was sleeping when the moon came up. Mother saw it and told father, "[our] child broke into [that] house." And she broke into the house.

Note that the use of *na* does not preclude the use of some morphology on the first verb that could be considered as marking the clause as subordinate. For example, in (12), the subordinate suffix occurs on the first verb.

(12) ana i gorngi a-k naka kute wiyi tama liki=k 6020

1SG.IMP go wild.taro eat-SUB and cut wash person skin=LOC

I will eat wild taro, and then I will cut and wash [my] human skin."

#### 8.1.2 na 'but'

The second construction for conjoining clauses is by using the word na with a number/gender suffix. It often has a meaning closer to 'but' in English or at least some contrast, as in (13) and (14).<sup>16</sup>

(13) su sukna-m-s **na-r** tama=r i=ka te

3SG.F sleep-PAST2-3SG.F **but-M** person=M go=REAL 3SG.DIM

eloko-m-r 3140

tell-PAST2-3SG.M

She was sleeping, but the man came and talked to her.

(14) on ni-kwa-yun **na-r** anele=r ni ka ra-wa-r ELIC

1SG see-DESD-1SG **but-M** anele=M see REAL get-PAST1-3SG.M

I wish I could have seen it, but Anele got it.

The number/gender affix often agrees with the subject of the second clause, whether or not there is an overt subject noun phrase in the second clause. This is illustrated by the the masculine suffix -r on na in (13) and (14) above, agreeing with the subject of the second clause. It is also illustrated by the feminine suffix -s on na in (15), agreeing with the feminine subject of the clause that follows na.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Since the same forms occur as clitics on noun phrases, it would also be possible to analyze these occurrence of number/gender as clitics rather than suffixes. My choice of analyzing them as suffixes is somewhat arbitrary.

(15) sofo amblekul=s mu kulka yingu ni-s na-s o-s-a Sofo Amblekul=F tree leaf like see-3SG.F and-F DIST-F-EMP di ningir mu yengla mu bongo waki waki=ka DET day tree branch tree tree tree.fork wrap wrap=REAL ekra sukna-ya-s 1705 thus sleep-PRES-3SG.F

Sofo Amblekul looks like a leaf. And sometimes she rolls herself around the base of a branch and sleeps like that.

And it is illustrated by the dual suffix -f on na in (16) and by the plural suffix -m on na in (17).

(16) su nawa afko=s okwra eme=r sa-m-s tekwle=m 3SG.F mother old=F DIST place=M dig-PAST2-3SG.F worm=PL lisi lisi ams na-f o-f-ra tama=f cook cook eat-PAST2-3SG.F **but-DU** DIST-DU-EMP man=DU indi=k i-m-f ka ka ya te again=INS REAL come go-PAST2-3DU REAL 3SG.F.OBJ ermesu-m-f ke-m kaha=m a-ya-m 7024 ask-PAST2-3DU PROX-PL bad=PL eat-PRES-3PL

The old mother was there digging in that place. She was cooking and eating worms. But those two men went back and asked her, "You are eating these bad things?"

(17) di num-go suma indor o-r-a o-kwra num ya=ka DET 1PL-POSS voice true DIST-M-EMP DIST-ADV 1PL come=REAL ya war rusu-ka ekra tolo-m-num na-m o-m-ra come go.down sit=REAL thus tell-PAST2-1PL and-PL DIST-PL-EMP Nuku Makru di 2727 o-kwra ekra num-go suma=r DIST-ADV thus Nuku Makru DET 1PL-POSS voice=M It's our own language. We came up and that's how we talk. But there, that's how they talk. That's our Nuku Makru language.

However, it is only possible to have third person affixes. What this means is that if the subject of the second clause is first or second person, the affix will only agree with the gender and number of the subject, not the person. So if the subject is first person and male, then the third person singular masculine agreement affix –r will be used. This is illustrated in (18).

(18) yale i-r erka eku-m-yun **na-r** arko mehek ELIC yesterday go-INF want do-PAST2-1SG **but-M** money NEG I wanted to go, but I had no money.

This is also illustrated by the plural suffix -m on na in (19), where the subject of the next clause is first person plural.

(19) eku tolo-m-num o-kwra war rusu=ka na-m num do tell-PAST2-1PL DIST-ADV go.down sit=REALand-PL and-PL 1PL o-kwra na masi=ka naka ekra wiya-m-num 2727 DIST-ADV and go.separate.ways=REAL and thus come.up-PAST2-1PL That's how they talk over there where they stay. But we separated ourselves. And so we went up.

The conjunction *na* sometimes occurs with a masculine clitic despite the fact that the subject of the immediately following clause is not masculine singular. For example, in (20), we get the masculine suffix on *na*, but the subject of the next clause is feminine.

(20) na-r su iki su duwan lau=ka rusu-nak 6101

but-M 3SG.F NEG 3SG.F limbum spread.flat=REAL stand-VNEG

But she did not put the limbum bed out to sit on.

And in (21), we get the masculine suffix, which is always singular, despite the fact that the subject of the next clause is dual.

(21) fe ermesu-m-r na-r re eloko-m-f 4078
3DU.OBJ ask-PAST2-3SG.M but-M 3SG.M.OBJ tell-PAST2-3DU
He asked the two of them [about what they were doing],
but they told him [a lie].

It appears that *nar* is the neutral form of this word and can occur in environments where it is not agreeing with the subject of the next clause.

### 8.1.3 kamben ~ =ben 'either/or'

To express the possibility of alternatives, it is necessary to use either the clausal enclitic =ben 'or' or the word kamben. The enclitic form =ben does not carry its own stress and is pronounced as an unstressed syllable in the word it attaches to. The more common expression is the word kamben. It typically occurs twice, after each of the conjoined clauses, as in (22) and (23).

- (22) ke-kwra aku-wa-r kamben o-r-a
  PROX-ADV go.back-PAST1-3SG.M or DIST-M-EMP
  sukna-ya-r kamben 6084
  sleep-PRES-3SG.M or
  - He went away or he is sleeping.
- (23) ka siri-wa-fun kamben o-r-a
  REAL die-PAST1-2DU or DIST-M-EMP
  hamba-ya-fun kamben 7083
  be.present-PRES-2DU or

"[He asked them] if they were dead or still alive."

It can also follow only one of the clauses. It follows the first clause in (24) and it follows the second clause in (25).

- (24) [aka tenge]=k sukna-n kamben rusu aka=k sukna-na 4033 [boys' house]=LOC sleep-2SG or sit house=LOC sleep-COND Will you sleep in the boys' house or stay in [this] house?
- (25) fu siri-wa-r wou di=m kamben 2177
  3DU die-PAST1-3SG.M spirit DET=PL or
  You died. Or [perhaps you] are some spirit.

The enclitic form =ben attaches to verbs, as in (26) and (27).

(26) ana mu lau=ben ana mu lau=ka tasu=ka

1SG.IMP tree lay=or 1SG.IMP tree lay=REAL step.on=REAL

wuwr=ben ELIC
go.over=or

Shall I put a plank down? Shall I cross over [the river] on the tree trunk?

(27) ana naku ra=ben ana kaku ra=ben ELIC

1SG.IMP sago get=or 1SG.IMP mami get=or

Shall I get sago or mami?

As discussed in §7.7.3, *kamben* and *=ben* is also used in a related construction, for forming polar questions.

## 8.2 Subordinators yombo, yungu and roko

There are three clausal particles: yombo, yungu, and rokor. They indicate the type of relationship that two clauses have with one another. They occur at the end of the first of two clauses within a sentence and signal some sort of relationship between the two clauses. Roughly speaking, yombo is used for simultaneous events, yungu is used for real-world dependent events (one must occur before the other may occur, though not necessarily causing it), and rokor is used for causal events (one event actually causes the other). They share the property that the preceding verb often bears the gerundial suffix -m; this suffix only occurs on verbs preceding one of these three words. The semantic differences among these three words is not always clear and my suggestions here have to be somewhat preliminary. Both yombo and yungu optionally occur with either the infinitival suffix -r or the subordinate suffix -k; it is not clear what conditions these alternate forms.

#### 8.2.1 *yombo*

The clearest of the three words is *yombo*, which signals simultaneity between the events in the two clauses, or more accurately signals that the event denoted by the

second clause took place within the period in which the event denoted by the first clause took place, as in (28). It is often most naturally translated into English by 'while'.

(28) fu i-m yombo-r na-r ru ya-m-r 6094
3DU go-GER SIM-INF but-M 3SG.M come-PAST2-3SG.M
They [dual] were going when he [unexpectedly] came.
(or) While they [dual] were going, he [unexpectedly] came.

In all instances in my data, *yombo* occurs with either the infinitival suffix -r. as in (29), or the subordinate suffix -k, as in (30). These suffixes are discussed further in §8.3, below.

- (29) fu aku-m yombo-r kom yoko tama siri-m-r 7078
  3DU go.back-GER SIM-INF village towards man die-PAST2-3SG.M
  While they [dual] were going back, the man going to the village died.
- (30) su susu-m-k afa=r i-m-r yombo-k
  3SG.F stand-PAST2-SUB father=M go-PAST2-3SG.M SIM-SUB

  su wi ra=ka indi=k yilo-m-s 2710
  3SG.F go.up get=REAL again=INS cover-PAST2-3SG.F

When she was standing and father went away, she went up again and covered it [the fire she was trying to hide].

It is not clear what conditions the choice between these two forms of yombo.

In (31), *yombo* again appears with the subordinate suffix, but this example differs from the three preceding examples in that the verb that precedes it occurs with the conditional suffix rather than the infinitive suffix. This appears to be due to the fact that this example is future.

(31) on wula i-na yombo-k nu ene sumbu **ELIC** wa 1sG jungle go-COND SIM-SUB 2SG **IRR** 1SG.OBJ follow While I go to the jungle, you will come follow me.

The word *yombo* has a second use as an adjectival modifier to indicate a limit on a continuum. It is roughly equivalent to English "this" in "this tall, this long", etc. In this usage, it occurs with the Mehek *kekwra* 'here' or *okwra* 'there'.<sup>17</sup> Examples (32) and (33) illustrate this.

- (32) biki yungu-t=ka ke-kwra yombo kanda=t 3097 how like-3DIM=INT PROX-ADV SIM small=3DIM What size is it? It is about this small. [Used with a gesture]
- (33) ter lako ro-ko=r ekra yombo ni-r ELIC head face 3SG.M-POSS=M in.that.way SIM see-INF His face looks like this.

## 8.2.2 yungu

The meaning of the word *yungu* is less clear than *yombo*. In fact, in some of its uses, there is the same simultaneous relationship associated with *yombo*, as in (34) to (37). Like *yombo*, it can occur with the infinitival or subordinate suffixes, though in my data it more often occurs without a suffix.

(34) ru rusu-kla-m yungu loko=r re wate-m-r ELIC 3SG.M sit-CONT-PAST2 DEP rain=M 3SG.M.OBJ rain.fall-PAST2-3SG.M As he was sitting, a big rain fell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> This usage can be seen as a type of simultaneity, as it unites the location (locative pronoun) with the quality being described (adjective).

- (35) ru er-m yungu hamba-yu-m-m 6094
  3SG.M say-GER DEP be.present-REP-PAST2-3PL
  While he talked [about them], they all started to show up.
- (36) mu=m wi yungu wi-r emta=m 5013 tree=PL grow DEP grow-INF half=PL When trees grow, they grow up half as tall [as the trees].
- (37) loko=r wate ambe-ya-r mu siki=k sukna-ya-m ekra rain=M rain.fall finish-PRES-3SG.M tree hole=LOC sleep-PRES-3PL thus yungu loko wate=ka ru ya-wa-k ni rete=ka 5029 DEP rain rain.fall=REAL 3SG.M come-PAST1-SUB see put=REAL When the rain stops, they sleep in holes in trees. [But] while it is raining, he comes out to see [it].

Example (38) illustrates a case where *yombo* would not be used since the relationship of simultaneity does not hold. Again, the conditional suffix is used on the preceding verb since the time is future.

(38) on i-na yungu naka wa mu oro ELIC

1SG go-COND DEP and IRR tree chop
I will go and then you will cut the tree.

These three pairs of examples in (39) to (44) illustrate contexts where both *yombo* and *yungu* are possible. Examples (39) and (40) illustrate a case where both *yombo* and *yungu* are possible. Note that (40) shows that *yungu* is like *yombo* in that it can take a number/gender suffix agreeing with the subject of the next clause.

(39) su fer fu-m yombo-r mu mulu fu-m-m ELIC 3SG.F pig hit-GER SIM-INF 3PL rat hit-PAST2-3PL She shoots pigs while they shoot rats.

(40) su fer fu-m yungu-r mu mulu fu-m-m ELIC 3SG.F pig hit-GER DEP-INF 3PL rat hit-PAST2-3PL She shoots pigs [to make it easier for them] to shoot rats.

The pair of examples in (41) and (42) and the pair in (43) and (44) also illustrate cases where either *yombo* or *yungu* could be used.

- (41) on wula sumbu **ELIC** i-na yombo-k nu wa ene 1SG jungle go-COND SIM-SUB 2SG **IRR** 1SG.OBJ follow While I go to the jungle, you will come follow me.
- (42) on **ELIC** wula i-na yungu-k sumbu nu wa ene 1SG jungle go-COND **DEP-SUB** 2SG 1SG.OBJ follow IRR While I go to the jungle, you will come follow me.
- (43) nu owete tuya yombo ana sirka fu ELIC 2SG pile.up fold SIM 1SG.IMP leaf hit You pile up and fold [the leaves] and I will break the leaves.
- (44) nu owete tuya yungu ana sirka fu ELIC2SG pile.up fold DEP 1SG.IMP leaf hitYou pile up and fold [the leaves] and I will break the leaves.

The pair of examples in (45) and (46), shows a context where *yungu* is possible, but *yombo* is not. The planting can be seen as dependent on the digging, as in (45). But the two actions cannot be simultaneous so *yombo* is not possible.

(45) siki=r sa-na yungu-k naka suwa=r ana fiti ELIC hole=M dig-COND DEP-SUB and coconut=M 1SG.IMP plant I will dig a hole and then plant the coconut.

(46) \*siki=r sa-na yombo-k naka suwa=r ana fiti ELIC hole=M dig-COND SIM-SUB and coconut=M 1SG.IMP plant I will dig a hole and then plant the coconut.

Note that one could also express the meaning of (45) without *yungu*, but just the subordinate suffix on the verb, as in (47).

(47) siki=r sa-k suwa=r ana fiti ELIC hole=M dig-SUB coconut=M 1SG.IMP plant I will dig a hole before I plant the coconut.

#### 8.2.3 *rokor*

The causal marker *rokor* is used to link two clauses together in a way that indicates that there is a causal connection between them. It is always the final element in the first clause. It is also typically followed by a pause in speech before the next clause is begun. Examples (48) to (53) illustrate this.

- (48) re eku-m rokor weke ru lisi=ka okwra 4091 3SG.M.OBJ do-GER CAUS clay 3SG.M cook=REAL DIST He made it so he could cook the clay there.
- (49) re eku ambe rete-m rokor aku-m-r 6115 3SG.M.OBJ do finish put-GER CAUS go.back-PAST2-3SG.M [They] finished putting it for him so he could leave.
- (50) re fu-m rokor yiri-m-k ru fall-PAST2-SUB 3SG.M.OBJ hit-GER CAUS 3SG.M 4092 wala=m mu kusu-m-m dog=PL 3PL 3SG.M.OBJ chase-PAST2-3PL

They hit him so he would fall and the dogs would chase him.

- (51) ra war-m-m rokor ka kuna yakuw kuna yakuw 6006 get go.down-PAST2-3PL CAUS REAL self distribute self distribute They went down so they themselves could distribute [the bones].
- (52) on ifi eku=ka rusu=ka ni-m rokor 1SG do=REAL sit=REAL CAUS trap see-GER koko mo-ko=r fu-ka-r ifi=k **ELIC** woro wa tomorrow chicken 3PL-POSS=M hit-FUT2-3SG.M IRR trap=INS I set a trap [intending] to kill their chicken (with the trap).
- (53) ru yefa=f ra tongo-m rokor hokwa=t o-t-a 3SG.M bone=DU get hold-GER CAUS song=DIM DIST-DIM-EMP kete rusu-yu-m-r 4034 sing sit-REP-PAST2-3SG.M

He takes the two bones in order to sing that song, when he was sitting.

Rokor is sometimes used without a clause following it, where the meaning is 'A did X in order that Y', where Y is implicit in the context, as in (54) to (56).

- (54) ru kanda=r war yefa=f tongo-m rokor 4032 3SG.M small=M go.down bone=DU hold-GER CAUS The small one is down there holding two bones [so he can sing].
- (55) mu ka kisi mu kisi rokor 4116 3PL REAL boil 3PL boil CAUS They boil it [to prepare].
- (56) fu nanglu fasu tiri=ka naku sokwe-m-f untie-PAST2-3DU 3DU greens cook.in.a.leaf leave=REAL sago rokor 7063 su naku garfu ra-m 3SF bowl get-GER **CAUS** sago

They [dual] cooked it with greens and left it. They untied the sago. She got the sago bowl (in order to prepare the rest of the meal).

It is similar in usage to the subordinate affix — k in that it indicates that there is a connection between the clause containing *rokor* and the one or ones following. The difference here, however, is that the subordinate clitic applies only to the verb of the clause it attaches to and does not imply any syntactic connection to the following clause(s). It only indicates that another action (often left unstated as it is often made clear through context, implication, or speaker world knowledge) will follow or is dependent on the clause it is in (see §8.2). The causal marker *rokor*, on the other hand, has a syntactic requirement that another clause follow it (although the second clause may be implicit, as in (54) to (56) above) and that there be some dependency relationship between the two. The dependency requirement is that the following clause(s) must occur after and as a result of the first clause. It may also indicate the purpose of undertaking the succeeding action(s). That is, the *rokor* clause is a precursor or prerequisite for the succeeding clause(s). Example (57) illustrates it being used multiple times in a sequence of connected events that the subject is undertaking.

(57) su oku si ra=ka wuya-m-s ka 3SG.F water get.water get=REAL REAL come.up-PAST2-3SG.F [di ningi]=k wuya-m rokor klei su 3SG.F come.up-GER CAUS then [sometimes]=INS ekra su oku=m su ra-m rokor au=m thus 3SG.F water=PL 3SG.F get-GER CAUS pot=PL tisi su rokor oku ama=m su ra-m 3SG.F get-GER bamboo=PL 3SG.F CAUS water carry

ra-m rokor ka war-m-s su war=ka get-GER CAUS REAL go.down-PAST2-3SG.F 3SG.F go.down=REAL ekra re eloko-m-s re er-m-s in.that.way 3SG.M.OBJ tell-PAST2-3SG.F 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.F ekra 2803 nawe in.that.way only

She goes up to get water and keeps going up. She goes up to do this. And sometimes, in order to get water, she brings a pot or a bamboo water [carrier]. She carries these things [back] down. She goes down and tells him [about it]. She tells him [about it] just like that.

Example (58) shows that this marker requires the gerundial suffix -m on the verb which immediately precedes it.

(58) re fu-m rokor yiri-m-k ru 3SG.M.OBJ hit-GER CAUS 3SG.M fall-PAST2-SUB wala=m mu re kusu-m-m 4092 dog=PL 3PL 3SG.M.OBJ chase-PAST2-3PL

They hit him so he would fall and the dogs would chase him.

Examples (59) and (60) show that *rokor* used in this context cannot be preceded by an inflected verb, or by the infinitival forms of a verb, respectively. See §8.5.3 for cases where *rokor* can be preceded by an inflected verb.

- (59) \*re fu-m-r rokor ru yiri-m-k ELIC 3SG.M.OBJ hit-PAST2-3PL CAUS 3SG.M fall-PAST2-SUB They hit him so he would fall.
- (60) \*re fu-r rokor ru yiri-m-k ELIC 3SG.M.OBJ hit-INF CAUS 3SG.M fall-PAST2-SUB They hit him so he would fall.

Examples (61) and (62) illustrate the need for causality when using *rokor*. When an event is accidental, it is not appropriate to use *rokor*, as in (61). But when there is a causal link, as in intentional acts with a desired outcome, shown in (62), *rokor* must be used.

- (61) wala go=r no-ko-ra ifi fu-wa-r ELIC dog 1SG.POSS=M 2SG-POSS-EMP trap hit-PAST1-3SG.M Your trap killed my dog [accidentally].
- ifi (62) on eku=ka rusu=ka ni-m rokor 1SG trap do=REAL sit=REAL see-GER CAUS koko mo-ko=r fu-ka-r ifi=k **ELIC** wa woro tomorrow chicken 3PL-POSS=M hit-FUT2-3SG.M trap=LOC IRR I set a trap [intending] to kill their chicken.

# 8.3 Subordinating Suffixes

There are three verbal suffixes, all of which mark a verb as subordinate, but whose uses are rather varied and difficult to characterize semantically. These are the subordinate suffix -k, the infinitival suffix -r, and the gerundial suffix -m. The names I use for these three suffixes are somewhat arbitrary, but it was difficult to find better names, given the lack of clear semantics associated with them. These suffixes were initially discussed in §6.7.

#### 8.3.1 Subordinate Suffix -k

I refer to the suffix -k as the subordinate suffix, since it occurs on verbs that are backgrounded relative to some other verb, but without a specific relationship between the two clauses. The temporal relationship between the two clauses is often one of sequence, as in (63) to (65), where the event of the clause marked as subordinate precedes the event denoted by the other verb.

- (63) mu re eloko-yu-m-k fi tongo ra=ka 6070 3PL 3SG.M.OBJ say-REP-PAST2-SUB spear hold get=REAL When they would tell him, he would grab [his] spear.
- (64) kiri ru fe sunngo-m-k kulfo=k a-m-f 6001 fire 3SG.M 3D start.fire-PAST2-SUB uncooked=INS eat-PAST2-3DU When he started a fire for them [dual], they just ate it uncooked.
- (65) di ningi=r su eku-wa-k
  DET today=M 3SG.F do-PAST1-SUB
  sul o-m-ra bre-ya-m 2727
  ground DIST-PL-EMP landslide-PRES-3PL

Sometimes when she [moves] underground, it causes a landslide.

But in other cases, the relationship is a simultaneous one, or more accurately, the event denoted by the second clause takes place within the period of time taken by the event denoted by the first clause, as in (66) to (68).

(66) nangu fra rete-m-k ru maure=r na urine spirit=M put-PAST2-SUB and 3sg.M spray te ra-m-r 6021 3SG.F.OBJ get-PAST2-3SG.M

As she went to urinate, the spirit took her.

- (67) on ka sukna-wa-k ru i-wa-r ELIC

  1SG REAL sleep-PAST1-SUB 3SG.M go-PAST1-3SG.M

  While I was sleeping, he went.
- (68) ekra re er-m-k oku=r
  in.that.way 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-SUB water=M
  indi=k yiri-m-r 6106
  back=LOC fall-PAST2-3SG.M

As he was telling him [something], he fell back down into the water.

The subordinate suffix occurs in the agreement slot on the verb, following the tense suffix, as in the above examples. However, it sometimes occurs on verbs that lack a tense suffix, where it is the only suffix, as in (69) to (72).

- (69) nekwa=s o-s tare-k naka wa i-ka-num 7077 moon=F DIST-F shine-SUB and IRR go-FUT2-1PL When the moon shines, we will go.
- (70) o-r-a minga=r mu a-k DET.DT-M-EMP party=M 3PL eat-SUB minga [aka tenge]=r mu eku=ka 4105 [boys' house]=M party 3PL do=REAL

When they ate at that party they built a boys' house for the party.

(71) num a-k klei ka i=ka al yam a-ya-num 4123

1PL eat-SUB then REAL go=REAL taro banana eat-PRES-1PL

We eat it and then go to eat taro and bananas.

(72) ana i gorngi a-k 1SG.IMP go wild.taro eat-SUB 6020 naka kute wiyi tama liki=k and cut wash person skin=LOC

I will eat wild taro, and then I will cut and wash [my] human skin."

In (73), the verb *retek* 'put-SUB' contains only the subordinate suffix. But in this case, it is because the form is imperative and would otherwise contain no suffix, like the last verb *nuwa* 'give'.

(73) kumba rete-k naka gwame nuwa ELIC leaf put-SUB and bowl give Put a leaf [underneath first] and then give [him] the bowl.

While the verb marked as subordinate most often precedes the main verb, there are exceptions, like (74) and (75).

- (74) yengla di=f eme war sere=ka i-k 6093 branch DET=DU place go.down break=REAL go-SUB Go down to that place and break some branches. [I want to start a fire.]
- (75) ru sumbu=ka i-m-r loko=s wate yiri-m-k 6062 3SG.M follow=REAL go-PAST2-3SG.M rain=F rain.fall fall-PAST2-SUB He went and followed when it started raining.

But when the verb marked as subordinate follows the main verb, it still must denote an event that precedes the event of the main verb or is simultaneous with it.

It is also possible for the verb marked with the subordinate suffix to be embedded inside the main clause, as in (76), where the clause with the verb marked as subordinate

follows the subject of the main clause *afar ora* 'that father' and precedes the verb of the main clause *imri* 'he went'.

(76) afa=r o-r-a fer=m mu ya-m-k i-m-r 2162 father=M DIST-M-EMP pig=PL 3PL come-PAST2-SUB go-PAST2-3SG.M That father left when the pigs were coming.

The subordinate suffix is used primarily in the non-future tenses. For sequential events in the future, the conditional marker -na (see §8.4) is generally used, as in (77) to (79).

- (77) gwa=r ru namble aku-na wa tare-ka-s ELIC fog=M 3SG.M dissipate go.back-COND IRR shine-FUT2-3SG.F When the fog clears, [the moon] will shine.
- (78) on ka sukna-na ru i-kya-r ELIC

  1SG REAL sleep-COND 3SG.M go-FUT1-3SG.M

  When I sleep, he will go [today].
- (79) mu rusu-na mu yengla=r wa take sere-ka-m 5032

  3PL sit-COND tree branch=M IRR bite break-FUT2-3PL

  When they sit in tree branches, they will bite them and break them.

In (80), the conditional marker is not used, as the events are taking place currently.

(80) fun ya-k fun tongo ra=ka ya-k 7009
2DU come-SUB 2DU hold get=REAL come-SUB
You [dual] come and get [the knives and axe] and come.

Note that the tense on the verb marked with the subordinate suffix will always be the same tense as the tense on the other verb or a tense denoting an earlier time. The examples in (81) to (83) illustrate cases where they are the same tense, the more common situation. In (81), both verbs are remote past.

(81) ru siri-m-k ka re raya rete-m-m 6049 3SG.M die-PAST2-SUB REAL 3SG.M.OBJ bring put-PAST2-3PL When he died they took him and layed him out.

In (82), both verbs are past today.

(82) ende wuron ru sukna-wa-k re tirite=ka
ende wuron 3SG.M sleep-PAST1-SUB 3SG.M.OBJ leave=REAL
ya-wa-yun 4074
come-PAST1-1SG

While Ende Wuron was sleeping, I left him and came.

In (83), both verbs are present tense.

(83) mu oku wiyi-r ya-ya-k ka fu-ya-num 4125 3PL water wash-INF come-PRES-SUB REAL hit-PRES-1PL When they come to bathe, we fight [with them].

In (84), however, the first verb is past today, while the second verb is present; the reverse would not be possible.

(84) di ningi=r su eku-wa-k

DET today=M 3SG.F do-PAST1-SUB

sul o-m-ra bre-ya-m 2727 ground DIST-PL-EMP landslide-PRES-3PL

Sometimes when she [moved] underground, it causes a landslide.

#### 8.3.2 The Infinitival Suffix -r

There is a very common verb form in Mehek that is formed by adding a suffix -r that I refer to as the infinitival suffix and gloss as 'INF' and which lacks other verbal morphology. It is used in a number of different environments.

One use of the infinitival suffix is to mark verbs in purpose constructions, typically when the main (finite) verb is the verb i 'go', as in (85) to (89).

- (85) naku dorko-r i-ya=ø 4050 sago scrape-INF go-PRES=2SG.INT Are you going sago-scraping?
- (86) num oku wiyi-r i-num ELIC 1PL water wash-INF go-PRES.1PL We go to wash.
- (87) fi fer liki ru ra=ka ka afi eku-r i-m-r 6049 spear pig skin 3SG.M get=REAL REAL hit do-INF go-PAST2-3SG.M He took his spear and shield and went to fight.
- (88) [ifi lulu] ni-r i-wa-num OVH [trap] see-INF go-PAST1-1PL We went to see bandicoot a trap(s).
- (89) [ifi lulu]=m ni-r i-wa-num ELIC [trap]=PL see-INF go-PAST1-1PL We went to see bandicoot traps.

This use of the infinitival suffix is also found with other verbs of motion, such as *aku* 'go back', as in (90), and *tirite* 'leave', as in (91).

(90) on ka indi=k me eloko-r aku-n ELIC

1SG REAL again=LOC 3PL.OBJ tell-INF go.back-PRES.1SG

I went back to tell them.

(91) ru afa=r ru re tirite=ka i-r 3SG.M father=M 3SG.M 3SG.M.OBJ leave=REAL go-INF afa ro-ko=r 4034 father 3SG.M-POSS=M

The father leaves him to go to his [own] father.

This construction with a infinitival verb plus a verb of motion need not involve purpose, but can simply involve a infinitival verb denoting something happening simultaneously with the motion, as in (92).

(92) mu oku wiyi-r ya-ya-k ka fu-ya-num 4125 3PL water wash-INF come-PRES-SUB REAL hit-PRES-1PL They bathe while coming and we fight [with them].

A second use is one which is naturally translated into English using a participle, as a type of subordinate clause sharing the same subject as the finite verb, as in (93) to (96).

- (93) felnde felnde aka aka ki-m-num 5091 num ni-r bird house 1PL see-INF bird house build-PAST2-1P Seeing a bird blind, we built one.
- (94) kaku mu sa mu ri-r ka naku oro-m-m 4106 mami 3PL dig 3PL remain-INF REAL sago chop-PAST2-3P The [finished] digging the mami and remained to chop sago.
- (95) yen kanda=m ru fu-r ru fu fu nawe=k 6103 child small=PL 3SG.M hit-INF 3SG.M hit hit only=INS Hitting the small children, he kept on hitting them.
- (96) wangu tenge=k rusu-r na fe er-m-r 6091 wound.around branch=LOC sit-INF and 3DU.OBJ speak-PAST2-3SG.M Wound around a branch, he spoke to them [dual].

Note that the shared subject can be overt in the infinitival clause, as in (94) above, where the third person plural pronoun mu occurs in the infinitival clause, even though it is also subject of the main clause. Note that these infinitival clauses have the internal structure of clauses, with subjects, objects, or locative phrase, as in the above examples. A third use of the infinitival form of verbs is in one of the negative constructions in which the verb na 'be' bears the negative suffix -nak and functions as a type of auxiliary verb while what is semantically the main verb occurs with the infinitival suffix, as in (97). See §7.8 for details.

(97) iki on rusu-r na-nak nawe susu-kun 4088

NEG 1SG sit-INF be.at-VNEG only stand-FUT.1SG

I do not sit, I will only stand.

A fourth use is with the nonverbal word erka 'want', as in (98).

(98) naka aku-r erka eku-m-r kara 6110 and go.back-INF want do-PAST2-3SG.M indeed And he, wanting to go back, did it.

Among other uses, it can be used for what are probably best analyzed as complement clauses, as in (99), where it occurs in the complement of *hiki* 'think'.

(99) bu=m ana ne nuwa-r hiki-ya=ø ELIC what=PL 1SG.IMP 2SG.OBJ give-INF think-PRES=2SG.INT Which one do you think I [will] give you?

Similarly, in (100) it occurs in the complement of ni 'see'.

(100) o-r-a ni nu rusu-r ka ne a-kwa-r 7065

DIST-M-EMP see garden sit-INF REAL 2SG.OBJ eat-DESD-3SG.M

That one sees you sitting in the garden and wants to eat you.

Similarly, it can be used on a verb that is complement to mana 'not want', as in (101).

(101) yifkindu i-r mana-wa-yun ELIC yifkindu go-INF not.want-PAST1-1SG I do not feel like going to Yifkindu.

While the infinitival clause typically precedes the main clause, it occasionally follows, as in (102).

(102) suwa tenge=k wi-m-r coconut branch=LOC go.up-PAST2-3SG.M num suwa wi-r ekra 5097 1PL coconut pick-INF thus We thus are coconut-picking.

Occasionally a verb with the infinitival suffix is the only verb in a sentence, as in (103).

(103) same takna namblo=k rusu-r 6102 same takna namblo=LOC sit-INF He stays in Same Takna Namblo.

### 8.3.3 Gerundial Suffix -m

The dependent suffix -m only occurs on verbs preceding one of the subordinators yombo, yungu, and rokor. See §8.2 for examples.

## 8.4 Conditional Clauses

Conditional expressions are accomplished through the use of the conditional verbal suffix -na on the verb in the protasis clause (see §6.3.2). Conditional clauses with this suffix lack subject agreement. Examples are given in (104) to (107).

- (104) nu hamba-na bir groro groro 6115
  2SG be.present-COND branch scratch scratch
  If you are alive, scratch the branch [so I can hear].
- (105) nu ene danasu nime-na aku ELIC 2SG 1SG.OBJ wait.for be.unable-COND go.back If you wait and I do not come, go back.
- (106) on ya-na ya-na-yun 6037

  1SG come-COND come-COND-1SG

  If I come, I will come.
- (107) nu i=ka loko=s wate-na o-r-a i 2SG go=REAL rain=F rain.fall-COND DIST-M-EMP go ari=k susu-ø 6062 ner ner.tree below=LOC stand-2SG.IMP

As you go, if it rains, go stand underneath that Ner tree.

Except for counterfactual conditionals discussed below, all of the conditional examples in my data are future conditionals, so the apodosis clause will either be imperative, as in (104) and (107), or one of the future tenses, as in (108) to (111).

- (108) nu felnde samba=m di=m ene nuwa-na 2SG bird big=PL DET=PL 1SG.OBJ give-COND felnde kaiembo di=m nuwa-kun 6112 on ne 1SG bird small give-FUT1.1SG DET=PL 2SG.OBJ If you give me some big birds, I will give you some small birds.
- (109) wa i-na-dun woro elowo fle-r 6049

  IRR go-COND-1DU tomorrow animal search-INF

  If we two were to come tomorrow, we will hunt.
- ro-ko=r (110) baye namrafuai su loko wate-na grass namrafuai bottom 3SG.M-POSS=M rain rain.fall-COND 5042 nu i-na tongo-ka-m suwa=k wa ne hold-FUT2-3PL leg=LOC 2SG go-COND IRR 2SG.OBJ [As for] Namrafuai grass's base, if it rains, [and] if you go [near it], it will stick to your legs.
- (111) dun oku nuw i-na ekra eku-ka-dun kara 6113

  1DU water bottom go-COND in.that.way do-FUT2-1DU indeed

  If we [dual] go to the bottom of the river, we will do it [wash ourselves].

Counterfactual statements also use the conditional form of the verb in the protasis clause. If the result is a negative outcome, the verb in the following clause will have the negative –nak (see §7.8.1), as in (112).

(112) loko wate-na iki on wa ya-r na-nak ELIC rain rain.fall-COND NEG 1SG IRR come-INF be.at-VNEG If it had rained, I would not have come.

If the result is positive, both verbs will occur with the conditional suffix, although the verb in the apodosis clause will have both the conditional marker and the appropriate person/number/gender marking, as in (113).

(113) loko wate-na on ya-na-yun ELIC rain rain.fall-COND 1SG come-COND-1SG

If it had rained, I would have come.

Typically, the protasis clause will be the first clause and the apodosis clause will be the second one. However, it is possible to reverse this order, as in (114).

(114) iki ne manda-ka-t su ne ta-na 5101 NEG 2SG.OBJ hurt-FUT2-3D 3SG.F 2SG.OBJ bite-COND It will not hurt if it (she) does not bite you.

One occasionally finds instances of full sentences consisting entirely of protasis clauses, where the apodosis clause is clear in contexts, as in (115).

(115) ekra ende mesu-na 6094 thus 1DU.OBJ hear-COND So if they hear us two [then something will happen].

As discussed in §6.3.2, the conditional suffix also occurs occasionally in nonconditional clauses as a type of future, as in (116).

(116) woro wate kute lisi a-r i-na-dun 7077 tomorrow breadfruit cut burn eat-INF go-COND-1DU Tomorrow maybe we two will go and cook and eat breadfruit.

Example (117) contains two instances of the conditional suffix. The first is in a conditional clause, while the second is simply indicating a type of future.

(117) on ya-na ya-na-yun 6037

1SG come-COND come-COND-1SG

If I come, I will come.

# 8.5 Other Clause Relationships

There are three other clause types discussed below. These are comparative constructions (§8.5.1), perceptual complements (§8.5.2), and reported speech clauses (§8.5.3). These clause types are not connected temporally or by any dependency relationships as are the other clauses discussed in this chapter.

### **8.5.1 Comparative Constructions**

There is no way to directly compare two objects within a single clause. A direct comparison between two objects must occur in two clauses. The first clause contains the noun being compared which has the highest level of the feature being compared (bigger, taller, faster, etc.). In the second clause, that feature is negated for the second noun under comparison. This is illustrated in (118).

(118) yirkwe=r ke-r-a samba=r o-r-a i mehek ELIC knife=M PROX-M-EMP big=M DIST-M-EMP go NEG This knife is bigger than that one.

### **8.5.2 Perception Complements**

Perceptual complement statements consist of two clauses in juxtaposition, each headed by a final, fully inflected verb. The verb of perception (typically *ni* 'see' or *mesu* 'hear') is in its own clause while the event or state that was perceived is in a separate clause. The two clauses can occur in either order with no difference in meaning.

Examples (119) to (122) show several perceptual complements. The two verbs will always have the same tense.

- (119) ka mesu-m-r ru siri-m-r 6040 REAL hear-PAST2-3SG.M 3SG.M die-PAST2-3SG.M He heard him die.
- (120) rusu=ka ni-m-s nandasi=r ka i war-m-r 4089 sit=REAL see-PAST2-3SG.F brother=M REAL go go.down-PAST2-3SG.M She sat and saw as her brother came down.
- (121) yau=t ni-m-s ka kiri talma-m-s 6046 brother's.wife=DIM see-PAST2-3SG.F REAL fire start.fire-PAST2-3SG.F The brother's wife saw [the child] started a fire.
- (122) war ni-m-r oku=r go.down see-PAST2-3SG.M water=M

ka tii-m-r sukna-m-r 4083 REAL remove-PAST2-3SG.M sleep-PAST2-3SG.M

He went down and saw how the water was rising.

When the verb of perception is a clause unto itself and contains no other constituents, it can follow the perception clause, which will normally end in a verb, and so there will be two finite verbs in a row, as in (123). This is the only situation in which two finite verbs can occur in sequence.

(123) wafukaha=r wala mo-ko=r fu-wa-r ni-wa-yun ELIC wafukaha=M dog 3PL-POSS=M hit-PAST1-3SG.M see-PAST1-1SG I saw Wafukaha hit their dog.

## 8.5.3 Reported Speech

In addition to its use as a clausal marker (see §8.2.3), the word *rokor* can also serve as a complementizer in reported speech or thought. These are clauses where a person's speech or thoughts are reported either directly or indirectly. Verbs typically used for this are *eloko* 'tell', *er* 'say', and *hiki* 'think'. The speaking/thinking verb is followed by *rokor* and then the clause that contains the reported speech, as in (124) to (126).

- (124) ru eloko-ya-r rokor ka aku-ka-r kara ELIC 3SG.M tell-PRES-3SG.M COMP REAL go.back-FUT2-3SG.M indeed He said he would go back [later].
- (125) ru eloko-ya-r rokor ka i-kya-r kara ELIC 3SG.M tell-PRES-3SG.M COMP REAL go-FUT1-3SG.M indeed He said he would go [today].
- (126) ru hiki-ya-r rokor su aka=k sukna-ya-s ELIC 3SG.M think-PRES-3SG.M COMP 3SG.F house=LOC sleep-PRES-3SG.F He thinks she is sleeping at home.

It is also possible to give a direct quote of the person's speech. In these cases, it is customary to use a speaking verb and then follow it directly with what was said, matching the person/number/gender marking to what the original speaker said, as in (127) and (128).

(127) re eloko-m-s ka tambo ra=ka ya-ø 4094 3SG.M.OBJ tell-PAST2-3SG.F REAL with get=REAL come-2SG.IMP She told him "Come with it." (128) re er-m-r em ne eloko-wa-k 3140
3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.M who 2SG.OBJ tell-PAST1-SUB
He said to him, "Who told you?"

In (129), *rokor* is used, but the first person subject marking on the subordinate verb reflects the choice of person by the subject of *eloko* 'tell' (rather than the speaker of the sentence).

(129) yale ene eloko-m-r rokor wa i-ka-yun ELIC yesterday 1SG.OBJ tell-PAST2-3SG.M COMP IRR go-FUT2-1SG Yesterday he told me, "I will go."

# **Chapter 9: Discourse and Paralanguage**

### 9.0 Introduction

This section deals with linguistic features at the discourse level, including non-lexical features. The topics covered include interjections (§9.1), greetings (§9.2), expressions of anger and pain (§9.3), the discourse clitic  $=yu \sim =u$  (§9.4), techniques used in discourse (§9.5), common gestures (§9.6), names (§9.7), whistles and other speech sounds (§9.8), songs (§9.9), traditional drum communication (§9.10), sign language (§9.11), and the influence of Tok Pisin (§9.12).

# 9.1 Interjections

Several word forms are used as interjections. These words do not occur in any syntactic position and are typically used at the beginning of the clause in which they appear. They are invariant in form, though *nango* 'maybe' can be the host of a noun phrase clitic. Table 49 lists some of these interjections.

Form	Meaning	Usage
ai, a	'oh!'	surprise
e, e hakum	'hey'	drawing attention
hau	'animal's cry'	descriptive
kemen, kemel	'you all'	address
mehek	'no'	response
nahau	'yes'	response
nango=	'maybe', 'uhh'	place holder
yo=	'mine'	kinship possession

Table 49: Interjections

Example (1) illustrates the interjection ai 'oh'. It almost always appears utterance-initially.

(1) ru er-m-r ai ke-r-a bu=r ka 2095 3SG.M say-PAST2-3SG.M INJ PROX-M-EMP what=M REAL He said "Ai, what is this?"

There are several different interjections which are used to draw a person's attention. These are illustrated in (2) to (5).

- (2) [e hakum] welmbe=m 6088
  [INJ] truth=3PL
  Oh yes, that is right.
- (3) e tama go=s 6088

  INJ person 1SG.POSS=F

  Hey, my friend!
- (4) e awalaki OVH
  INJ awalaki
  Hey, Awalaki!
- (5) kemel yirkwe=r ka tirite=ka ya-m-n OVH
  INJ knife=M REAL leave.put=REAL come-PAST2-2SG
  Hey! You forgot your knife.

There are two interjections which can host person/number/gender clitics. The first is *nango*, illustrated in (6) and (7). The clitic used depends on the speaker's knowledge or expectation of the number and gender of the unknown referent.

- (6) nango=r fer sir o-r-a ka ambasu-n 2175 INJ=M pig name DIST-M-EMP REAL forget-PRES.1SG Uh, the pig's name. I forgot that.
- (7) bu=m ra-wa-r=ka nango=f mulu felnde=f ELIC what=PL get-PAST1-3SG.M=INT INJ=DU rat bird=DU What did he get? Maybe a rat and a bird.

## 9.2 Greetings

The following examples list the most common conventionalized statements that are used to call out to others, as greetings and as part of short dialogues. The primary greetings meaning things like 'good morning' are likely relatively new additions to the language due to the frequency of such greetings in Tok Pisin. They seem to be calques based on the corresponding greetings in Tok Pisin. This is almost always accompanied by hand-shaking on the Western model. This happens at both arrival and departure and is also likely a recent addition to the culture. The typical greeting that many people do still use is to ask each other where they are going or where they have come from. This is not considered rude and is frequently shouted out from houses as one passes by on the main road. Due to the nature of most communication while travelling, mis-hearing or mis-understandings are quite common. Therefore it is often necessary to ask someone if they have heard you. Examples (8) to (18) list these common greetings.

(8) ke-r-a=yu ELIC
PROX-M-EMP=DISC
There he is.

- (9) karwi kufe=r / =m ELIC
   morning good=M / =PL
   Good morning.
- (10) nambul kufe=r / =m ELIC sun good=M / =PL Good afternoon.
- (11) worfa kufe=r / =m ELIC afternoon good=M / =PL Good afternoon.
- (12) nurku kufe=r / =m ELIC night good=M / =PL Good night.
- (13) ka mesu-ya=ø ELIC

  REAL hear-PRES=2SG.INT

  Did you hear?
- (14) biki i-ya=Ø ELIC where go-PRES=2SG.INT Where are you going?
- (15) o-r-a kara ELIC
  DIST-M-EMP indeed
  That's something!
- (16) hako hako ELIC clean clean Okay.
- (17) welmbe=t / =m kara ELIC true=DIM / =PL indeed That is true. Absolutely.

(18) nahau kara / naka=yu ELIC yes indeed / and=DISC Yes, indeed.

## 9.3 Expressions of Anger and Pain

A conventionalized use of metaphor occurs with expressions of anger. As in other cultures, an angry person will accuse the offending party of particular transgressions, express their own emotional state, and demand certain kinds of recompense. However, the kinds of immediate expressions the Mehek people use when angry are specific to them. That is, before the statements which are more specific to the situation at hand occur, there are several conventionalized statements that they are used. These typically accuse the other person of having unflattering physical characteristics, of eating undesirable things, or of wasting time or energy. The following examples (19) to (37) list the attested expressions of anger.

- (19) tekwle mosu / yefa=m a-wa-n ELIC worm dirt / bone=PL eat-PAST1-2SG You ate worm feces.
- (20) tasu gwrusu susu / sukna ELIC step hobble stand / sleep
  You are just standing/lying there.
- (21) mowlen kana=n ELIC anger with=2SG
  [You are a] piece of garbage.

- (22) kaha ni kanda=m ne ELIC bad see small=PL 2SG.OBJ You are worthless.
- (23) lako wlanda=n / bol=n ELIC eye pop.out=2SG / bulge.out=2SG Your eyes are coming out.
- (24) taku banda ELIC jaw spread.out [You have a] flat jaw.
- (25) wilingi blengu ELIC nose squished [You have a] flat nose.
- (26) ter au mu ne ELIC head tree.species tree 2SG.OBJ [You have a] big head.
- (27) namra sinda ne ELIC ear open.wide 2SG.OBJ [You have] big ears.
- (28) su solka=m gwal a-wa-n ELIC feces dry=PL remove.skin eat-PAST1-2SG You ate dried feces.
- (29) su=m a-wa-n (ne) ELIC feces=PL eat-PAST1-2SG (2SG.OBJ)
  You ate (dried) feces.
- (30) su au ata=n ELIC stomach pot very=2SG Your stomach is swollen up.

- (31) tekwle mosu a 6088worm leavings eat[You] eat worm castings.
- (32) fer wala i-m nu eku=ka a-r ELIC pig dog go-PL 2SG do=REAL eat-INF You just hunt; you don't work.
- (33) namra wra ne ELIC ear go.out 2SG.OBJ
  Your ears are coming off.
- (34) ter mombu ne ELIC head tree.species 2SG.OBJ
  You have a hard head.
- (35) yen a-n ELIC

  child eat-2SG

  You eat [your own] child. [When marrying within one's own clan.]
- (36) ke-r-a=ka nangu fra ka ya-wa-r 4100 PROX-M-EMP=INT urine spray REAL come-PAST1-3SG.M He came to pee all over?
- (37) bu sir=t eku-ya=Ø ELIC what name=DIM do-PAST1=2SG.INT What are you doing?

There is also a conventionalized way of expressing pain. It is quite common for people (mostly women) in pain to yell out, cry, and draw a lot of attention to themselves; this is an expected cultural practice. The specifics of when and how to do it vary from person to person. The conventionalized expressions are typically used by

children, because they are calling out to their parents or close kin. The name of the father or mother is followed by one of these interjections: *ye*, *yu*, or *o*. The name of the addressee will be followed by one of these interjections without any gender agreement, and the clause will have a falling pitch. These will be repeated intermittently as long as the child is in pain.

## 9.4 The Discourse Clitic =yu / =u

There is a clitic  $=yu \sim =u$  whose function is unclear, though it seems to have some discourse function; for this reason, I gloss it 'DISC'. It attaches to various word classes, following any other clitics or suffixes. The form =yu attaches to words with a final vowel, while the =u variant attaches to words with a final consonant. The following are examples illustrating this clitic, with the word bearing the clitic in boldface.

(38) su kom aku=ka i=ka ka ra ekaa-m-s 3SG.F village go.back=REAL get eat-PAST2-3SG.F go=REAL REAL tama=r ru te ermesu-m-r na su=yu re and 3sg.F=DISC 3SG.M.OBJ 3SG.M man=M 3SG.F.OBJ ask-PAST2-3SG.M 4067 eloko-m-s mehek iki anda i-nak kana su say-PAST2-3SG.F no NEG 1DU.IMP with 3SG.F go-VNEG

She went back to the village; she went back and ate. The man asked [if he could go with her]. And she said to him, "No, let's not go together."

(39) rusu=ka ni-m-f ka ya-m-r ka re sit=REAL see-PAST2-3DU REAL come-PAST2-3SG.M REAL 3SG.M.OBJ eloko-m-f e tama di=r=u tama yekle kanda di=r say-PAST2-3DU **DET=M=DISC** man young small DET=M INJ man biki yekle=r=ka ke-r-a ende ya ni-ya-r PROX-M. EMP 1DU.OBJ come see-PRES-3SG.M INJ how young=3SG.M=INT naka ekaa rusu-m-m 6094 rusu-m-m and sit-PAST2-3PL food sit-PAST2-3PL

They [dual] were sitting and saw him come. They [dual] said to him, "Hey, my man! [This is] a small young man, this one is coming to see us [dual]. Hmm, who is this young man? And they sat [together] and ate and rested.

(40) yen ra=ka ka samba=k samba=k na-m-r child get=REAL big=INS big=LOC REAL become-PAST2-3SG.M samba=k ru na-m-k ka eloko-m-s re big=INS 3SG.M become-PAST2-SUB REAL 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.F re eloko-m-s ka di nawe=k nu o-m-ra 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.F REAL 2SG DIST-PL-EMP DET only=INS eku-m-dun ni-ka-n su-ra=yu o-m-ra wa do-PAST2-1DU 3SG.F-EMP=DISC see-FUT2-2SG DIST-PL-EMP IRR baye numbu-ya-s o-m-ra nate DIST-PL-EMP tidy-PRES-3SG.F grass cut flo 6068 ka on-da=yun o-m-ra ka na-ya-m become-PRES-3PL REAL 1SG-EMP=1SG DIST-PL-EMP **REAL** overgrow

He got the child and he grew up, he grew up. He grew up and she [his mother] told him, she told him, "You and I did these things once." She said it. You will see them. She cuts grass and tidies the [gardens]. But as for me, [my gardens] are becoming overgrown.

(41) ekra erka kina=ka wane=m wa thus want IRR come.last=REAL wane=PL kana nau-m-num ka sere kana nau-m-num with fight-PAST2-1PL REAL enemy with fight-PAST2-1PL o-m [mele mele] tama ekra susu-m-num DIST-PL [long ago] stand-PAST2-1PL man thus susu=ka fu kusu-m-num num ke-m-ra me ra 1PL stand=REAL PROX-PL-EMP 3PL.OBJ get fight chase-PAST-1PL kara ke-m-ra kusu-m-num kara num kusu=ka ka chase-PAST2-1PL indeed 1PL chase=REAL REAL indeed PROX-PL-EMP ke-r-a kom ke-r-a=yu rusu-m-num sit-PAST2-1PL PROX-M-EMP village PROX-M-EMP=DISC 3804 ke-r-a ka rusu-m-num kom rusu-m-num sit-PAST2-1PL village sit-PAST2-1PL PROX-M-EMP REAL

So we wanted them to come last. We fought with the Wanes. We fought our enemies. We were friends a long time ago. [But] we fought and chased them. We chased them [away]. We chased them and we stayed in this village. Here. We stayed here in this village. We stayed here.

(42) ke-r-a=yu ELIC
PROX-M-EMP=DISC
There he is.

#### 9.5 Discourse Techniques

There are many common tools that speakers employ when telling stories or describing events to others. These are exemplified below. There are two main types of stories. The first is traditional stories, those which are known to the audience and are often considered true events, but which have happened outside of living memory and

can often have elements of the fantastic in them. The other is stories of day-to-day events which have occurred in living memory, usually experienced by the person recounting the events. Most of the techniques listed below occur in both types of stories, though the frequency of each will vary based on the type of story being told.

An expression that only occurs in traditional stories is listed in example (43).

(43) maure yofu rete tama yofu rete 7027 ancestor barrier put man barrier put Once upon a time...

This is equivalent to English "once upon a time", but does not imply a distance in the past. Though speakers know that the setting for traditional stories is long ago in the past, it is usually not stated directly. The literal meaning is that an ancestor (viewed by speakers as a spirit entity, see §2.3.6) placed a barrier in the jungle in the same or nearly the same place as a human. This will be a source of trouble because they both blocked off the same area and the spirit will take some sort of revenge. A barrier is a traditional "do not enter" sign placed by the owner of land near a common trail that alerts casual passers-by not to go beyond that point. It is usually in the form of broken branches in the shape of an "X". They are by no means impossible to cross, but they are simply a notice that others are expected to acknowledge. Only the rightful owner of a parcel of land may place a barrier on it. In traditional stories, it is typically unknown by the human agent that the land is already claimed (if not occupied) by a spirit entity.

Example (44) illustrates another common introductory phrase used in many stories.

(44) na-m-k re eloko-m-s 4044 be.at-PAST2-SUB 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.F It came about that she told him.

#### 9.6 Gesture

There are several gestures which are commonly used among Mehek speakers and which were observed to be consistent from speaker to speaker and from context to context. A fuller study of gesture is needed to determine the full range and usage of gestures, but Table 50 gives a fairly complete summary of the most common gestures observed.

Gesture	Meaning
gentle sweeping away from self, palm in/down	conclusion, result, movement
hand flat, twist up and down	no more, gone, no
point with whole hand	location or distance
side of hand comes down to chop open palm of other	hit with knife, etc.
smack leg	when laughing

Table 50: Mehek Gestures

#### 9.7 Personal Names

The system of personal names in Mehek presents a unique system where each person has, in addition to their given name, additional names uniquely tied to the given name which serve as affective markers of the speaker's attitude toward the addressee, be it happy or upset. These are the so-called "good name" and "bad name". Not only does every person have these names, but the culture provides people with names in

two further modalities: song and whistle. Just as the spoken names indicate the attitude of the speaker, so does the song. However, the purpose of the whistle is long-distance or out-of-sight communication; it is possible to communicate with someone over great distances simply by whistling their unique name. The addressee has a limited repertory of possible responses, as the whistles are mainly a component of the naming system and not a wider method of communication. A full listing of personal names is given in Appendix G. Appendices H and I contain additional information about names.

#### 9.7.1 Given Name sir

The given name, or *sir*, is assigned at birth and the choice ultimately rests with the mother. There is a set of given names from which to choose when a child is born, though it is possible to create a new name for one's child. None of the names is associated with a particular gender. Some of them do have tendencies toward one gender or the other, though this is not a strong tendency, but only a "feeling" on the parts of some speakers. (This is similar to unisex names in English that have gender biases, such as Tony or Kelly.) This means that a female child can be (and often is) named after the *mam* (the maternal uncle).

An important concept in the kin system is that of the *yowul*. A *yowul* is both a kin term for the children of a male's younger siblings (see §10.1), as well as 'namesake'.

Because the *mam* will at least advise (if not direct) his younger sisters on how to name her children, a *mam* will also often become a *yowul* 'namesake' of one of his nieces or

nephews. This type of naming is an honor, and the *mam* will often only be the namesake of one person in the family. Additionally, the *mam* is responsible throughout his life to look after and support his sisters' children and their families, whether or not they are his namesake. This includes helping out with construction, gardening, or financial assistance for school fees. The *mam's* role continues even after his nieces and nephews marry, though in a reduced capacity.

Because of the tendency of most people to have a *yowul* within the family, a certain subset of the total inventory of names tends to stay within families, but there is no social requirement to do this. Furthermore, there are no restrictions on who can take a particular name. Names are not secret or private, nor is there any reluctance for a person to share his name with an outsider on first meeting them.

Names are always polysyllabic and typically bimorphemic. A majority of the names are composed of two morphemes that have independent status and a (relatively) transparent meaning. There are also some names where only part of the name contains an independent morpheme or where the whole name has no identifiable morphemes or meaning. There is no sense in which a name describes a child's characteristics or prescribes a destiny. Some names have negative connotations, but those connotations do not reflect poorly on the child. The examples in (45) are a sample of personal names, but for a full listing, see Appendix G.

(45) namtane ari wula kufe tongo lisi (no meaning) 'underneath' 'jungle' + 'good' 'take' + 'drag' wafu kaha salnaiwi masi ne arko lasi 'heart' + 'bad' (no meaning) 'tree.species' + 2SG.OBJ 'stone' + 'two' masi bor numba noko 'poison' + 'collect' 'tree.species' + 'between'

In addition to a Mehek given name, everyone also receives what is variously called an English name, Pidgin name (after the source language, Tok Pisin), or Christian name. These names are all typical English names which have been incorporated due to extensive contact with the West over the last 100 years (and perhaps the difficulty of foreigners in pronouncing native names).

#### 9.7.2 Bad Name sir kaha

The most commonly used form after the given name is the *sir kaha* which means 'bad name'. The name itself does not have negative connotations, nor is it considered rude to use the name. The name is considered "bad" because it is used when the speaker believes that the addressee has behaved badly. Its use reflects the fact that its owner has violated some social convention. The choice to use the *sir kaha* is a reflection of the speaker's attitude toward the addressee. Typically, however, the speaker will not be angry with the addressee, but will be using this variant to help enforce some social norm which the addressee has violated. In some contexts, the *sir kaha* is similar to nicknames in the English speaking world and can similarly be used affectionately (akin to calling friends by names that highlight negative personal qualities). The *sir kaha* is still

used widely by most speakers and most speakers will know the *kaha* form of most given names, whether or not they know someone who has that name (this is not the case with the other name variants, see §9.7.3 - §9.7.5).

The most common usage of the *sir kaha* is by parents towards their children. As children age, the likelihood that they will be addressed by their *sir kaha* is lessened. The purpose of the *sir kaha*, the speakers say, is to "spoil the name" of someone when they have done something wrong. When the ordinary given name consists of morphemes, the typical method of forming the *sir kaha* is to replace one of the morphemes of the given name with a different morpheme. This has the effect of changing or altogether removing the meaning of that person's name. For any given name, there is a unique *sir kaha*. Therefore, all people with the same given name will always be addressed by the same variant form in the *sir kaha*.

There are a couple of less formal ways to form the *sir kaha* of a name. One is to simply shorten the name by replacing the second morpheme of the name with /ks/, which has the sense of friendly ribbing. Example (46) gives two examples of this.

(46) *nanda timba* becomes *nandeks* solaku becomes solaks 'older.brother not.have' (no meaning)

A more affectionate shortening of the name involves dropping final syllable(s) and stretching out the remaining final vowel. In the case of final /u/, this often transitions to /i/ as in the second example in (47).

(47) *anele* becomes *ane* 'eat choke'

wafu kaha becomes wafui 'heart bad'

#### 9.7.3 Good Name sir nalingi

A lesser used, but still very prominent name variant is the *sir nalingi*. The word *nalingi* by itself does not have a meaning, but it is related to the verb *nali* 'smile, laugh'. This is appropriate as the *sir nalingi* is always used in situations of happiness and joy. An appropriate translation of *nalingi* would be "good name", as it shows it in contradistinction to the *sir kaha*, in both meaning and usage. Just as is the case with the *sir kaha*, the use of this form is an expression of the speaker's attitude towards the addressee. The form of the *sir nalingi* is also a unique form that is associated with a particular given name. Any speakers with a particular given name will have the same *nalingi*. There are fewer distinct forms of the *nalingi* than there are *sir kaha* forms; there are several instances in which an entire set of given names share the same *nalingi*. The *nalingi* is primarily used in greetings and when the addressee has said or done something praiseworthy or pleasing to the speaker. The *nalingi* is not used for most day-to-day greetings, but rather when the addressee has been gone for some time.

#### 9.7.4 Name Whistle isi

There is a whistle associated with every name, called the *isi*. Because the *isi* is still so widely used, most forms are still well-known to most speakers. Other than very small children, all speakers know the *isi* for their own name. Almost without exception, every name has its own unique whistle, though there are a few names that do share a single

whistle call. The whistling is, in contrast to most other instances of whistle languages reported, restricted almost entirely to the domain of names (Busnel and Classe 1996). The speakers report that they are the only group they know of to use such whistles to communicate, though other forms of spoken communication are common over long distances in other areas. Many cases of whistle languages have been reported to be restricted mainly or exclusively to the men in the community (Cowan 1948), but the *isi* has no such restriction; women were observed to use it just as frequently as men and with no reservations in doing so. A list of names and their accompanying whistles can be found in Appendix H.

## 9.7.5 The Name Song hokwa

There is finally a *hokwa*, or name song, that is a short melody that, like the other above-mentioned types of names, are associated with every given name. Each given name has its own unique *hokwa*. This is a phenomenon which is not completely unknown in Papua New Guinea (Niles 1992). As with the *isi*, however, there are a few *hokwa* that are associated with more than one name. Each *hokwa* melody is short, between four and 15 seconds. It will not be sung for common, day-to-day greetings, but on special occasions and after long absences. The use of the *hokwa* is typically associated with one of two taps, the *mambunge fu* or 'forehead tap' and the *taku tongo* or 'chin slap', which are performed on the person to whom the *hokwa* is sung by the singer. These are performed lightly, with about the same amount of pressure as when

applauding. The forehead tap is done with the side of the hand (with fingers extended) in the middle of the forehead and the chin slap is performed with a grasping motion on the underside of the chin. Each of these is usually done two to five times in quick succession after which the other is performed. The *hokwa* is not used outside of the conventionalized greeting scenario. The *hokwa* is the least used of the name variants nowadays (as opposed to the *isi* and *sir kaha*) and consequently is being lost the most quickly amongst most speakers. A list of names and their accompanying songs can be found in Appendix H.

## 9.8 Whistled Speech and Other Sounds

Mehek has a restricted set of whistles which are used for long-distance communication, particularly outside the village and outside of visual contact. The language itself cannot be whistled, as is common in other whistled languages throughout the world, but there are a few set phrases which are whistled and are understood by everyone throughout the community. Because the primary function of the whistled speech is to address individuals by name, this topic is treated more fully under names in §9.7.4 (see also Appendix H). In brief, however, each given name has a unique whistle associated with it and which an individual recognizes as equivalent to their spoken name. There are very few people who know the whistle for every name, but almost every person will know their own whistle and those of their immediate friends and family.

In addition to whistles as a form of communication, there are also some conventionalized noises that speakers make for fixed meanings. An attempt has been made to render these sounds into writing by using some of the typical English spelling conventions. This is not meant to be an official representation, but rather an attempt to accurately convey the sound. The known sounds are listed in Table 51.

Sound	Meaning
iss iss	call to a dog
ho oh (rising)	greeting at a distance
oh oh (falling)	greeting at medium distance
oh (rising)	greeting, call to a pig
pwt	no
ho oh (flat)	no
tsk tsk	sorry, surprise, amazement
hoo, woo (rising)	substitute for whistle pulse, acknowledgement
wo ho ha	yes in regard to questions about travel

Table 51: Conventionalized Speech Sounds

Furthermore, when people see each other at a distance, but will not get close enough to speak in normal tones, there are some conventional ways of yelling. These include lengthening the vowel(s) of each word to make it easier to shout. It is also quite common to end each utterance with a long /o/ vowel sound with a falling intonation. This indicates that a particular segment is over and the listener can then verify that he heard everything and continue listening, ask for repetition, or make his own comment.

## **9.9 Songs**

Songs are an important part of stories and celebrations. Many stories include a song which represents one of the primary characters of the story. Also, many people have a song which they have made up for themselves or a relative has made up for them and which represents them. Typically, it is women who make up, sing and know the songs. These songs usually consist of one to three short stanzas, which are repeated in the pattern AABB or ABAB. Each song usually tells a short story about an event from the character's life. The stanzas are not grammatical sentences per se, but usually a consist of a place or places where important events have happened. There is also often a short phrase which alludes to the event which took place there. The songs are usually sung in a hushed, contralto voice which does not modulate in pitch by much. The sounds oh oh or eh eh are used to hold the melody during parts which do not have words. See Appendix A.2 for a short sample of the texts of these songs. Songs sung at celebrations have a similar structure and composition, but are sung at a faster pace and in a louder voice, to match the speed of, and overcome the volume of, the accompanying drum music. These songs are distinct from the short tunes which accompany a person's sir nalingi (see §9.7.3 as well as Appendix H).

#### 9.10 Garamut Drum Communication

As discussed in §2.3.5, the *garamut* is a large, traditional drum used throughout Papua New Guinea. It is usually made from the wood of particular species of thick trees.

It is approximately six to seven feet long and about three feet wide. It is carved to a point at one end and is flat at the other. It has a slit cut out of the middle along the long axis which creates a cavity that reverberates when the drum is struck. A large, flat, mallet is used to strike the side of the *garamut*. This is usually about two to three feet long and is held with two hands and is rammed into the side of the drum in particular patterns depending on the information to be conveyed. There are dozens of different fixed patterns which a trained drum player can play. These patterns were used to communicate between distant villages or to call out to the members of a particular village who might be scattered in their gardens. The messages were ones of great importance – the *garamut* was not used for idle or commonplace messages. In addition to specific beats for each clan, there are different types of information conveyed by the *garamut*. Categories of beats are given in Table 52; more information is in Appendix J.

Notifications	Short Exchanges	Other
Women	Spirit/White Man has Come	Repeat Message
Men	Marriage/Pay Bride Price	Where Are You?
to Kafle	Someone Died	Hurry
from Makwru (North)	Fighting/ Peace	I'm Coming
from Wanwan (West)	Dogs are wailing	Stop Rain
from Seim (East)	Thief	

Table 52: Garamut Beats

Nowadays, knowledge of the garamut is fading and only a few elderly men still know the different patterns. Due to the encroachment of cell phones and other Western

technology, the *garamut* as a form of communication is becoming obsolete. The garamut drum is also used in celebrations to keep time for singing and dancing.

## 9.11 Sign Language

There is a moderate-sized group of deaf people in the Mehek-speaking communities. The local estimate is around 100, though this may be an overstatement (due to the native unfamiliarity with counting and estimating exact amounts, especially as it pertains to large numbers). I personally encountered two such people in two separate villages. It was stated that certain families have more deaf members and that there are several of these families throughout the Mehek-speaking region.

The deaf members of the community (*wanwanta* 'deaf') and their immediate family and friends are the ones who use the sign language. The vast majority of the community does not know or use the sign language, though many are aware that it exists. Those who interact most frequently with the deaf community are, naturally, those who use the sign language most extensively. Knowledge of the sign language and use of it declines as interactions with deaf people decline. That is, people who only intermittently interact with deaf people only know a few basic signs or only those few which are most relevant to the particular kind of interaction that they typically have with that person. The sign language is used only with those who have (presumed) congenital or early-childhood deafness. Older members of the community and those adults with any degree of hearing loss (including complete hearing loss) do not

communicate with the sign language. With members of the community, people rely on close talking into their ear, louder talking and reading lips along with attempts to discern the spoken language. The deaf people who use sign language typically only interact with people directly for a particular need and do not participate in larger group activities or socialization that require following rapid streams of conversation. Therefore, the only (deaf) users of the sign language are those who cannot, for whatever reason, master the spoken language. There do not appear to be any middle-aged adults who have completely lost their hearing, but who can still speak.

There may be a higher proportion of deaf people in the Mehek communities.

According to Gallaudet Research Institute (Mitchell), fewer than one out of 1000 people in the United States become deaf before age 18. The American Hearing Research

Foundation reports a similar frequency for congenital deafness in America as well (Zhao 2007). If these numbers are reliable and transferable, then in the Mehek-speaking community of approximately 6300, there would be only five to six individuals who are deaf from birth or early childhood. These numbers are quite a bit lower (even allowing for a wide margin of error in native estimates) than stated. It is therefore possible that there is a congenital form of deafness that is endemic to the Mehek-speaking people and that accounts for the seemingly higher percentage of deaf people in the community. Unlike the blind, who are essentially helpless in taking care of their basic daily needs, deaf adults are able to participate in the community life and contribute to group survival. Their participation is necessarily limited, in that they are not able to

participate in complex tasks that require ongoing communication (such as hunting, which is typically done at night) or village meetings. But each person has been able to develop a skill that benefits the community and that is practical to perform. The most stunning example was a deaf woman who had mastered the art of weaving and made very beautiful bilums (traditional string bags, formerly made of jungle material, now made of dyed yarns) which were widely sought after.

As for the details of the sign language, the general rule is that each major concept gets a sign, many of which are standardized, many of which are *ad hoc*. There is a lot of repetition and in particular, a lot of pointing. The repetition often takes a variety of forms and, as in standardized sign languages such as ASL, facial expressions and eye contact are vitally important. Most hearing signers talk as they sign, in either Tok Pisin or Mehek, as they feel comfortable. There is not a reliable one-to-one correspondence between signs and words, so speech is typically at a slower, more deliberate pace. Each sign may be embellished or repeated, and in keeping with that, the spoken equivalent may be slowed down or longer pauses introduced. The deaf signer makes vocalizations as they sign.

There is some degree of standardization of the basic signs. Table 53 below lists all those that have been observed to be consistent from use to use and signer to signer.

# Word/Concept Accompanying Gesture

airplane	flat hand moves around and body follows behind
angry	scrunch up face and point at eyes
bathe	2 hands scoop water and rub on body
bird	hold arms out and flap hands
child/boy	hold hand down low to ground
climb	mimic holding a rope in front of self
come	wave hand in towards self
die	hands at ears move outward then close eyes and tilt head
drink	scoop hand below and pour into mouth
eat	thumb to fingers and towards mouth
fight	slap own face
garden	pluck grass from the ground
girl	child and then sign for woman
go	flick pointer finger or hand in direction
greens/leaf	pointer and thumb together twist at head height
hungry	pat stomach and then sign for no
kina	(currency) fists go together (1), touch fists with feet (2+)
make bilum	open hand held upright twists
mami	rub one pointer finger across the other
man	pat shoulder
no	palms facing away from body at chest height
pig/meat	draw finger down each side of mouth
pronouns	point
rain	wave hands at sky and pat at head
sago	spin fingers around each other
sleep	two palms together and lay ear on top
store/buy	draw circle in open palm and count fingers
time	touch one finger per day (start with pinkie for today)
toea	hold together fingers one for each 10t (currency)
vehicle	turn invisible wheel gregariously
white man	pat skin and sign for no
woman	pat head or make breasts with fists

Table 53: Mehek Deaf Signs

The basic word order of Mehek sign language follows that of spoken Mehek, i.e.

SOV. This must be obeyed as there are not any grammatical signs to connect each sign to its grammatical role. Often, there is a preparatory clause which sets the stage for the specific clause which is to follow. For example, to express the concept: "a man and woman fought", there would be an introductory clause showing the relative heights of the participants. A flat hand parallel to the ground would be held low, then higher to show the heights of the participants. This is a standardized way to indicate a woman and a man. Following that, the signs for man, woman, and fight in that order would be given to give the specifics of the encounter. The very same introductory clause could also serve to precede "a child and her mother went to the garden". In that case, the signs that would follow would be: child, mother, garden, go. No sign for possession is used.

#### 9.12 Tok Pisin

Due to the widespread use of Tok Pisin as a medium of communication (see §1.1), most people freely mix Tok Pisin words into their Mehek speech. In fact, they are often unaware that they have done so if it is pointed out. One salient example of this unawareness of the intrusion of Tok Pisin words is the word *kawil*. This was given as the name for a cross-section of a particular type of bamboo that is hollow but has spoke-like supports which children often play with. It follows the sound patterns of Mehek and could very easily be a native Mehek word. At a later point, however, it became clear

that it was not a Mehek word, but rather the Tok Pisin *ka wil* 'car wheel'. Upon extensive questioning, speakers did acknowledge that it was Tok Pisin, though they had at first insisted that it was indeed a Mehek word.

Children under the age of 18 or so are particularly apt to not only incorporate Tok Pisin extensively, but to speak it almost exclusively. Most people in this age group understand Mehek to varying degrees of proficiency, but for the most part do not speak Mehek actively. There are exceptions to this generalization of course, but most young people are most comfortable with Tok Pisin. This is the language of all school instruction above the primary level (about third grade) and the language used to communicate with all people who are not from the Mehek-speaking villages. There is frequent contact with the Eho-speaking villagers just south of Wilwil (the southernmost non-Kafle village). Also, women who marry into the Mehek-speaking community from outside villages initially communicate in Tok Pisin, but typically learn Mehek to some extent. However, due to the widespread use of Tok Pisin, it is increasingly uncommon for women who marry in to learn to speak Mehek with any degree of proficiency. Some topics are nearly always discussed in Tok Pisin. These include politics and religion in particular, though many topics are discussed in Tok Pisin intermittently. Topics dealing with traditional village life are mostly discussed in Mehek, including planting, hunting, village gossip, and family matters. Tok Pisin words and phrases frequently enter Mehek conversations and most speakers, when asked about this, think it is a bad thing. However, every speaker does use at least some Tok Pisin words in their speech. When children are present, a

primarily Mehek conversation will proceed, but when the children are addressed directly or when their understanding is particularly desired, they will be addressed (and respond) in Tok Pisin. In these cases, people initially make a statement in Mehek and then repeat it in Tok Pisin. If these trends continue, it is likely that Mehek will cease to be the primary means of communication within two generations. Below are some of the main ways that Tok Pisin interacts with Mehek in daily conversation.

#### 9.12.1 Borrowings and Translations

There are two broad categories of Tok Pisin borrowings: those that are for words or concepts that pertain to Western goods and culture and therefore do not have a Mehek equivalent; and those which *do* have a Mehek equivalent, but are very commonly used in Tok Pisin and are either more succinct than the Mehek equivalent, or are perceived as preferable for some reason. Especially with the latter group of words, speakers will be more aware that these words come from Tok Pisin and will sometimes express embarrassment about using them while speaking Mehek. As for the first group, there are some words for Western goods and culture which have been created, calqued, or borrowed into Mehek and which are perceived as Mehek words. Table 54 gives a list of the most common Tok Pisin borrowings for which there is no Mehek equivalent. Of note is the word for 'clan'. The Mehek kinship system does involve a clan structure (see §2.3.3), but there does not seem to be a word meaning 'clan'. The word *sambo* is

sometimes used, but it refers to the garamut beat (see §9.10) pertaining to a person or clan.

Tok Pisin	English
bris	'bridge'
klen	'clan'
mande, tunde	days of the week
nambis	'beach'
painapel	'pineapple'
pusi	'cat'
rais	'rice'
save long	'know how to'
wil	'wheel'

Table 54: Common Tok Pisin Words with no Mehek Equivalent

On the other hand, many Tok Pisin nouns are adopted despite the fact that there are already Mehek words for those concepts. One reason for this is that Mehek makes many finer distinctions in meaning where the Tok Pisin has a more general word. As an example, the Tok Pisin word *kari* (from English 'carry') means more or less the same as its English equivalent. However, in Mehek it is not possible to refer to carrying without specifying the type and manner of carrying from ten different verbs. A different situation arises in the case of the numerals. Tok Pisin numerals come from English and are phonetically quite similar to the English. Mehek, however has a restricted counting system with poly-syllabic numerals. Many speakers have difficulty even remembering the numerals above five. In the past, this was not an issue, as counting was not an important skill. But with the intrusion of Western culture and money, it is often

necessary to refer to specific and large numbers. The Mehek system allows for counting up to approximately 24, but is not easy or practical to use. In practice, numbers above ten are not useful at all.

Tok Pisin is so widely used even by proficient Mehek speakers that it is often simply easier to choose a word from Tok Pisin despite the Mehek equivalent being equally prominent. Table 55 lists the most commonly used Tok Pisin exemplars of this type.

Tok Pisin	Mehek	English
baim	kul fer rete (pertains to bride price)	'buy', 'pay'
bel hevi	kaha mesu	'sad'
kamap	na	'become', 'grow up'
kari	many distinctions	'carry'
kaukau	many distinctions of yam and mami	'potato'
naispela	kufe ('good')	'friendly'
sik	manda ('pain')	'sick'
wan, tu	dirambur, lasif	numerals

Table 55: Mehek Equivalent Which Makes a More Complex Distinction

Although it is possible to suggest reasons why some Tok Pisin words are used, there are many Tok Pisin words or expressions that are common for which there seems to be a natural Mehek equivalent. There are not any obvious reasons why the words listed in Table 56 are commonly employed in place of their Mehek equivalents.

Tok Pisin	Mehek	English
de, mun	ningre, nekwa	time expressions
las	kin	'last'
lukautim	hoi hai	'take care of'
maus pas	suma timba	'mute'
mi, yu	on, nu	personal pronouns
nem	sir	'name'
sol	yikwa	'salt'
stat	tol	'start'
stori	sungamba	'story'
tilim	yakuw	'deal', 'distribute'
tumbuna	maure	'ancestor'

Table 56: Mehek Equivalent Which Makes a Similar Distinction

While most borrowings from Tok Pisin are lexical in nature, there are also several non-lexical borrowings. Most of the borrowings do have Mehek equivalents and are likely borrowed for the reasons listed above. It might seem that the use of personal pronouns would be simpler in Tok Pisin, but there are distinctions made in Tok Pisin which are actually *more* complex than those made in Mehek. Specifically, there is an inclusive/exclusive first person non-singular distinction that Mehek does not make. It is simpler insofar as it does not distinguish between subject and object forms and does not distinguish gender in the third-person singular. Table 57 is a comparison of Mehek and Tok Pisin subject personal pronouns.

	Singular		
	М	TP	
1	on	mi	
2	nu	yu	
3	ru,	em	
	su		

	Dual		
М	TP		
dun	yumitupela [inclusive],		
	mitupela [exclusive]		
fun	yutupela		
fu	tupela		

Plural		
М	ТР	
num	yumi [inclusive],	
	mipela [exclusive]	
kum	yupela	
mu	ol	

Table 57: Comparison of Mehek and Tok Pisin Personal Pronouns

There are a few Tok Pisin words which do not have Mehek equivalents and these are likely borrowed for their utility. As in many languages and cultures around the world, *okay* has also found its way into Mehek speech via Tok Pisin. Some Mehek words have also expanded their meanings to become more roughly equivalent to a similar, but more broadly useful, Tok Pisin word. The best example of this is *beena*. This has become used in all the same situations as the Tok Pisin *maski* 'nevermind'. However, those uses are more likely the original extension of the word. The Tok Pisin *maski* is quite widely used in both Tok Pisin and Mehek speech. Because of its utility, its closest equivalent, *beena* is almost always supplied by speakers as the proper equivalent of *maski*. This has increased its extension to cover both ranges of meaning. Table 58 lists the primary non-lexical borrowings from Tok Pisin.

Tok Pisin	Mehek	English
bilong	-ko-	possessive marker
em nau	ora kara	'that's it'
maski	beena	'nevermind'
oke	era	'okay'
olgeta	yelnda	'all'
olsem	yungu	'like'
orait	era	'alright'
sori	kombo mesu	'sorry'

Table 58: Non-Lexical Borrowings

Though less common (due to the ease of simply incorporating Tok Pisin words),

Mehek speakers often use Mehek words or expressions for meanings associated with

western culture and hence meanings not expressed in traditional Mehek, especially by

metaphorical extension of Mehek words. There are not many common examples, and

even those listed in Table 59 are often simply replaced with the Tok Pisin equivalent.

Tok Pisin	Mehek	Literal Meaning	English
balus	kur bombo	'sky noise'	'airplane'
got	afa sambar	'father big'	'god'
ka	sul bombo	'ground noise'	'car'
lotu	afa sambar roko aka	'father big his house'	'church'
рера	sanglu	'dry leaf'	'paper'
bairo	gala	'twig'	'pen'
mani	arko	'stone'	'money'
su	suwa tasu	'foot step'	'shoe'
tisa	sanglu gala	'dry leaf twig'	'teacher'
waitman	liki gamu, liki okwe	'white skin', 'yellow skin'	'white person'
waitman	koko gamu	'white chicken'	'white person'

Table 59: Mehek Equivalent Developed

Some speakers do prefer having native equivalents and will think at some length about an appropriate Mehek equivalent for a Tok Pisin concept to avoid having too many Tok Pisin words in their speech. This appears to be mainly because they are making a conscious effort to preserve Mehek language and culture.

#### 9.12.2 Code Switching

In addition to the single lexical items that frequently make their way into speech, there are many instances where grammatical particles from Mehek make their way into speech that is primarily Tok Pisin, or where Mehek verbs head phrases which are otherwise completely Tok Pisin. Most of the time, a given conversation will take place mostly in Mehek, with occasional Tok Pisin lexical items sprinkled throughout. The reverse is less common, but does occur, particularly with cultural items or practices which Tok Pisin does not have a word for or has a cumbersome phrase rather than a single lexical item. Code switching, by distinction, is when grammatical elements from one language interact with the other. This mostly happens with verbs and also sometimes discourse particles, such as *klei*. In the case of verbs, if the utterance is primarily Mehek, the Tok Pisin verb will occur at the end of the clause as required by Mehek grammar, despite the fact that Tok Pisin constituent order is usually SVO. However, the reverse does not hold. When an utterance is primarily Tok Pisin, the Mehek verb, which will take the appropriate tense and person agreement for the clause,

still occurs at the end of the clause. In each of the overheard examples below, the Tok Pisin word and its gloss are in bold, to simplify the distinction between the two languages. Examples (48) to (53) are overheard utterances with this kind of code switching.

- (48) hariap klei OVH hurry then Hurry up then!
- (49) lako=m o-m-ra **spoilim** OVH seed=PL DIST-PL-EMP **spoil** You will ruin your eyes.
- (50) tumbuna stori mi-pela ambe-m-m OVH ancestor story 1PL-POSS finish-PAST2-3PL We finished [telling] our ancestor stories.
- (51) hevi fle-ya-r OVHtrouble search-PRES-3SG.MHe is looking for trouble.
- (52) **bus**=k [i gat] OVH jungle=LOC [there.are]
  There are [snakes] in the jungle.
- (53) anda wetim OVH

  1DU.IMP wait

  Let's [dual] wait.

# **Chapter 10: Lexical Fields**

#### 10.0 Introduction

The following sections group together various lexical domains within the language that do not fall consistently under any other grammatical heading. This includes kinship terms (§10.1), color terms (§10.2), lexical patterns, which includes two words for 'small' and expressions for 'everybody' (§10.3), postural verbs (§10.4), and dialect variation (§10.5).

# 10.1 Kinship System

The kinship system in Mehek is somewhat complicated, as many terms are based not only on the gender of the referent, but also on the gender of ego. Table 60 lists all the kin terms in alphabetical order along with summaries of their meanings. Those terms marked with an asterisk are not kin terms *per se*, but are commonly used to refer to deceased relatives.

Kin Term	Meaning(s)
afa	'father',
	'paternal uncle'
ata	'maternal grandparent',
	extended maternal relatives not otherwise labelled
gana	younger, same-sex term:
	'sibling or cousin from parent's same-sex sibling'
gasiwa	male cross-sex term:
	'sibling or cousin from parent's same-sex sibling'
mam	'maternal uncle'
maure*	'recently deceased relative'
namre	'paternal grandfather'
nan	'son's child and spouse'
nanda	older, same-sex term:
	'sibling or cousin from parent's same-sex sibling'
nandasi	female cross-sex term:
	'sibling or cousin from parent's same-sex sibling'
nawa	'mother',
	'maternal aunt',
	'same-sex parent's cross-sex sibling's child'
nawi	'male's sister's husband' (married to gasiwa)
nemna	'husband'
neta	'husband of a female in the next generation',
	'daughter's child', 'daughter's spouse'
tama toura	'son'
tawa	'wife'
tawa yen	'daughter'
wafu	'male cousin's wife' (except paternal aunt),
	'maternal uncle's wife'
yaku	'paternal grandmother'
yau	'female's brother's wife' (married to nandasi)
yen	'child of sibling' (except of a male's younger sibling),
	'cross-sex parent's cross-sex sibling's child'
yinsawa	'wife of a male in the next generation'
yiwara*	'deceased relative many generations removed'
yiwi	'paternal aunt',
	'paternal aunt's husband'
	'child of male's younger sibling'

Table 60: Summary of Kin Terms

A schematic of the system is given in Table 61. It shows the entire system from a male ego's point of view. Boxes that are next to each other horizontally are married, with the genetic descendent always on the left. Boxes stacked vertically are siblings from the same parent, male on top and female underneath. Male kin are in regular type, while females are in italics. In general, the male relation will be on the left; however, in the case of siblings, the male (at left) and his wife will be on top and the female (at left) and her husband will be on the bottom. In the boxes with more than one term listed, the first term is for an older relation and the second is for a younger relation. There are five generations listed, divided by a dotted line. Every member of the same generation appears on the same row of the chart. Ego is referenced by the first singular pronoun on and is in a box with thick lines. Lines connect each generation leaving from the center of the parents' boxes and going to the top of the single box containing the offspring.

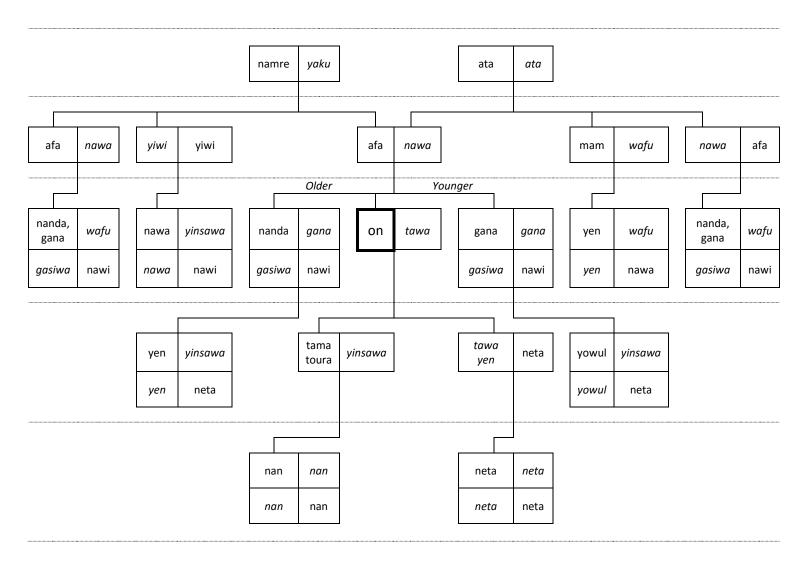


Table 61: Male-Centric Kin Terms

The kin terms which vary based on the gender of ego are almost entirely those in the same generation as ego. Members in generations above and below ego (with one exception) are the same regardless of ego's sex. In addition to this, the gender of the referent with respect to ego is also relevant. However, terms that vary based on ego's gender do not have variant forms for the referent's gender and vice versa. That is, the same term may be used by both a male and a female, but it will refer to a different gendered kin relation for each person. Or, if there is a gender distinction for a particular kin relation, egos of both genders will use the same term for

the same reference. The most common example of an ego-variant gender term is the terms nanda and gana. They refer, respectively, to 'older same-sex sibling' and 'younger same-sex sibling'. Therefore, a female using the term gana will refer to a younger sister, while a male using that term will refer to a younger brother. These terms are also used to refer to cousins of each parent's same-sex sibling. Males and females have unique terms to refer to cross-sex siblings of any age. These are nandasi 'female's brother' and gasiwa 'male's sister'.

As mentioned, the gender of one kin member with respect to another is of importance in the kinship system. This applies particularly to the generation above ego. Each parent's samesex sibling and their spouse is referred to by the same name as 'father' or 'mother'. Therefore afa refers to 'father', 'father's brother', and 'mother's sister's husband'. The children of these aunts and uncles are also referred to by the same terms for 'brother' and 'sister', with the same rules applying to gender of ego and gender of kin relation as described above. Each parent's cross-sex sibling has a unique term, which does not vary for gender of ego. These are mam 'maternal uncle' and yiwi 'paternal aunt'. (The mam has a special role in child-rearing, see §9.7.1). The terms used for the children of each of these relations (cousins), however, do vary by the gender of ego. In fact, they are reversed. That is, for a male ego, the children of the mam (a male relation) are called yen. For a female ego, the children of yiwi (a female relation) are called nawa. (This is not to be confused with nawa 'mother'. In this case, both a male and female child are called *nawa* and can be disambiguated by gender clitics, either *nawa=r* for males or nawa=s for females.) These cousin terms are exactly reversed for males and females, in that male ego calls children of his yiwi (a female), yen and female ego calls children of her mam (a male), nawa.

The second chart, Table 62 is for terms when ego is female. It only lists the same generation as ego, along with one set of children from her younger siblings. The reason for a set of differing terms beyond the same generation is that women cannot have a *yowul* 'namesake' relationship with the next generation. Though women do have a *mam* in the higher generation, women cannot be a *mam* to the next generation. Most of the terms females use for members of the same generation are different from those in the male-centric chart and are listed in bold for ease of comparison. The terms that are the same for a male and a female are listed in non-bold type (but in italics still for female relations). The rest of the chart, that is, the kin terms which are not shown, are the same as those given in the male chart (Table 61).

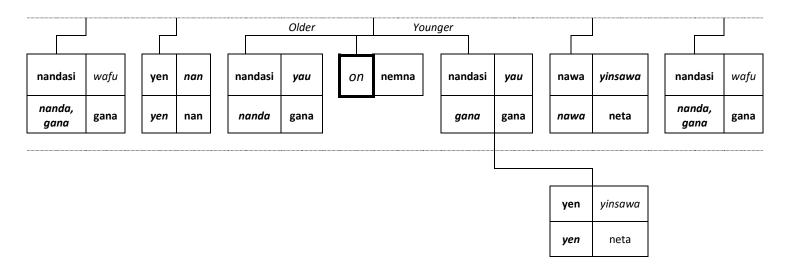


Table 62: Female-Centric Kin Terms

Terms in the kinship system are used both for reference and address. In practice, the terms are quite frequently used as the most basic way to refer to a family member both in their presence and when speaking to others. Personal names (see §9.7) are very infrequently used for address.

### **10.2 Colors**

The most common color terms follow the hierarchy established by Berlin and Kay (1969). In order to qualify as "basic color terms", they must meet the following criteria: be monomorphemic, in common use, apply to many objects, and not be subsumed under another color.

There is a hierarchy proposed for color terms in which terms to the right of the hierarchy will only be present in a language if all the terms to the left are present. Mehek has eight color terms which are given in (1). There are no terms for 'pink', 'purple', or 'gray', though the term solka can be applied to gray hair and certain shades of gray close to brown.

(1) [black, white] > [red] > [green, yellow] > [kur, gamu] > [kasa] > [kulfo, okwe] >

Not all speakers accept the color term *gurmbo* 'blue'. Example (2) below shows another way to describe the color blue without use of the word *gurmbo*.

(2) yikwa kisi yungu ni-ya-r ELIC salt cook like see-PRES-3SG.M
It is blue (literally 'It looks like cooked salt').

The color terms are listed in Table 63 with their typical extension along with any other meanings that are associated with that term.

Color Term	Color(s) in Extension	Other Uses
kur	'black'	'sky'
gamu	'white'	'white skin'
kasa	'red'	-
kulfo	'green'	'edible greens', 'uncooked food'
okwe	'yellow'	'white skin'
gurmbo	'blue'	-
solka	'brown', 'beige', 'gray-brown'	'dead plant material'
kwesu	'orange', 'yellow-brown'	
gweheta	'pink'	'partially cooked food', 'sunset'
gai	'white'	'white hair', 'white of eyes'
kurkurmbo	'gray'	'gray hair'

~..

Table 63: Mehek Color Terms

#### **10.3 Lexical Patterns**

The following are word pairs used in a particular syntactic frame to express a particular meaning, or are common juxtapositions that deserve special mention.

#### 10.3.1 kaiembo versus kanda 'small'

While both *kaiembo* and *kanda* can be translated as 'small', the two words do not mean the same thing. The word *kaiembo* is used for things that are small for the category of the thing, even though the thing itself may be quite large in absolute terms. This is illustrated in (3) and (4).

- (3) samba=m nu=k kaeimbo=m ekra klei ili=k rete 4111 big=PL garden=LOC small=PL thus then top=LOC put The big ones [are in] the garden. The small ones, then, are placed on top.
- (4) nu-ra kaeimbo=r na re eloko-m-r nanda=r 7034 2SG-EMP small=M and 3SG.M.OBJ tell-PAST2-3SG.M older.brother=M "You are the small one", the older brother said to him.

The word *kanda*, in contast, is used for people or things that are inherently small or, in the case of people, young, as illustrated in (5).

(5) gasiwa kanda ro-ko=s sister small 3SG.M-POSS=F

> o-s-a kewa tenge=k ka wi-m-s 4022 DIST-F-EMP kewa branch=LOC REAL go.up-PAST2-3SG.F

His small [young] sister climbed up onto that Kewa branch.

For small objects, the two words are often used together, as in (6) and (7), where the combination means 'very small'.

- (6) aye gil=s kaiembo kanda=s 4016 bat bat.species=F small small=3SG.F The gil bat is very small.
- (7) felnde loko wul wul samba=m na-nak iki bird loko big=PL wul wul NEG be.at-VNEG 5033 kaeimbo kanda=m small small=3PL

The Loko Wul Wul birds are there. They are not big. They are very small.

There is a third word *numbul* that can also be translated 'small', but it refers to a small amount of something or a small number of things, not the size of the object(s). This word is illustrated in (8).

(8) iki numbul kanda wu-ya-r

NEG small.amount small come.up-PRES-3SG.M

kahakana wu-ya-r 5095 many come.up-PRES-3SG.M

It is not a small amount of small ones that will grow, but a large amount will grow.

The Kafle dialect also has the word *waska*, which typically refers to smallness due to youth, as in (9).

(9) felnde waska=m tongo ra=ka 6064 bird small=PL hold get=REAL Take a hold of the young birds.

## 10.3.2 Words relating to 'everybody'

There are three expressions which refer to a group of people. These are *yelnda*, *yelnda* oku, and *dira dira*. The first of these is the default expression when the meaning is 'everybody', illustrated in (10).

(10) yelnda=r ekra hauna ra=ka ama aku ELIC all=M thus come.together get=REAL 1PL.IMP go.back Let's all go back together.

Yelnda is also used adnominally, as an adjective, following the noun, to mean 'all', as in (11).

(11) ro-ko tama yeInda=r ru eloko=ka 2110
3SG.M-POSS person all=M 3SG.M tell=REAL
He told all his men.

The expression *yelnda oku*, on the other hand, is used when one wants to include some larger group of people or to contrast one group with another, larger group, 'absolutely everyone'. This is illustrated in (12).

(12) ke-kwra fenda tama tawa yeInda=m PROX-ADV from man woman all=PL

moni rete-m-m [yelnda oku]=t mehek ELIC money put-PAST2-3PL [all]=DIM NEG

The people from here paid the bride price, but not everyone [else] did.

The final expression, dira dira, can refer to everyone, but it draws attention to the individuality of the group, 'each one'. This is illustrated in (13) and (14).

- (13) di=ra di=ra ra naka anda a ELIC

  DET=EMP DET=EMP get and 1DU.IMP eat

  Take one at a time and we will eat.
- (14) di=ra di=ra ya=ka o-r
  DET=EMP DET=EMP COME=REAL DIST-M

  kemen foto ra ELIC
  2PL.OBJ photo get

Each one [will] come to get a photo one at a time.

### **10.4 Postural Verbs**

There are four main postural verbs, *susu* 'stand', *rusu* 'sit', *sukna* 'sleep' or 'lie', and *tiri* 'lean' or 'leave' (though this latter meaning is not a postural one). They can be used both for being in a position, moving into that position, or causing something to be put into that position. In (15), for example, *susu* 'stand' denotes a standing position.

(15) ka fe er-m-m [biki naka] susu-ya-fun=ka 2710

REAL 3DU.OBJ say-PAST2-3PL [why] stand-PRES-2DU=INT

They asked them [dual], "Why are you standing [there]?"

In (16), however, it involves movement into a standing position, though it combines with *wuya* 'go up' to express this meaning.

(16) bulmu oku=k ekra emefa=k wuya susu-m-r 6017 swamp water=LOC thus clearing=LOC go.up stand-PAST2-3SG.M So he stood up in a clearing in the swamp.

And in (17), it involves causing something to be in a standing position.

(17) o-r-a sul=k susu-ka-n 4125
DIST-M-EMP ground=LOC stand-FUT2-2SG
You will stand that one up on the ground.

To express that someone or something is in a particular location, it is possible to use the verb na 'be', as in (18).

(18) o-s iroko=k na-ya-s=ka ELIC

DIST-F where=LOC be.at-PRES-3SG.F=INT

Where is she?

However, it is more common to use one of the postural verbs, without intending the literal posture. To express that a person is in a location, without specifying their posture, it is normal to use the verb *rusu* 'sit', as in (19) to (24).

- (19) aka siki=k rusu-n ELIC house hole=LOC sit-PRES.1SG I am in the house.
- (20) ke-r-a du-ra-dun rusu-ya-dun 6077
  PROX-M-EMP 1DU-EMP-1DU sit-PRES-1DU
  Here we two are, we are staying here.
- (21) ka num ke-r-a okwra rusu-ya-num 2175

  REAL 1PL PROX-M-EMP DIST sit-PRES-1PL

  We are staying in this place there.
- (22) wanirkwesu ro-ko yen=r okwra rusu-m-r 7045 wanirkwesu 3SG.M-POSS child=M DIST sit-PAST2-3SG.M Wanirkwesu's son stayed there.
- (23) same takna namblo=k rusu-r 6102 same takna namblo=LOC sit-INF Same Takna is staying in Namblo.

(24) ru kom=k rusu-ya-r=ka ELIC 3SG.M village=LOC sit-PRES-3SG.M=INT Is he staying in the village?

The same appears to apply to animals, as in (25), where it occurs twice.

(25) mulu wula=k aka eku=ka ata rusu-m-s rodent ata jungle=LOC **sit-PAST2-3SG.F** house do=REAL 4006 mu samba ata=r lako kana=r rusu-m-s tree big seed with=M sit-PAST2-3SG.F very=M

The Ata rodent lives in the jungle. It makes its house there. It lives in a very large tree that has seeds.

The examples in (26) and (27) reflect the use of rusu with the more specific meaning 'sit'.

- (26) iki on rusu-r na-nak nawe susu-kun 4088

  NEG 1SG sit-INF be.at-VNEG only stand-FUT.1SG

  I do not sit, I will only stand.
- (27) on rusu-r mana-wa-yun ELIC

  1SG sit-M not.want-PAST1-1SG

  I do not feel like sitting down. [I do not like to sit down.]

With inanimate objects, it is more common to use either the verb *susu* 'stand' or the verb *sukna* 'lie, sleep', the choice being apparently determined at least in part by whether the vertical dimension is longer than the horizontal dimension or the reverse. Examples (28) and (29) illustrate the use of *susu* 'stand' with trees.

(28) duwngu mu=r wula=k susu=ka 5091 duwngu tree=M jungle=LOC stand=REAL The Duwngu tree grows in the jungle.

(29) mu=m ke-m-ra kahakana susu-ya-m 1628 tree=PL PROX-PL-EMP many stand-PRES-3PL There are many trees here.

Examples (30) and (31) show how the noun fi 'spear' can occur with either susu 'stand' or sukna 'sleep, lie', depending on its position.

- (30) fi ka susu-ya-r ELIC spear REAL stand-PRES-3SG.M The spear is standing.
- (31) fi sul=k sukna-ya-r ELIC spear ground=LOC sleep-PRES-3SG.M

  The spear is lying on the ground.

The ungrammaticality of (32) shows that this noun cannot be used with *rusu* 'sit', presumably because one dimension is always longer than the other.

(32) \*fi ka rusu-ya-r ELIC spear REAL sit-PRES-3SG.M The spear is sitting.

On the other hand, (33) shows that *susu* 'stand' is used with the noun for 'house', despite the fact that the horizontal dimension is normally longer than the vertical dimension for Mehek houses.

(33) aka=r oku gan=k o-r-a susu-ya-r house=M DIST-M-EMP water edge=LOC stand-PRES-3SG.M kulu=r 1626 num i-m-m oku sumbu-m-num 1PL go-PAST2-3PL road=M water follow-PAST2-1PL

The house is located near water. We go along the road following the water.

### **10.5 Dialect Variation**

Table 64 lists some of the major distinctions between the Kafle dialect and the major, non-Kafle dialect. As stated in §1.4, these distinctions are primarily lexical. The words on the left side are animal and plant names along with their variant name in Kafle. The words on the right side are general lexical items that are different in Kafle. While animal and plant names are typically quite different, lexical items often are quite similar and only vary by a sound.

Plant or Animal	Kafle Variant	Type
aka sumbu male	aka lowe	snake
blafo kute wakre	bumblan lako fan	pod
mafi kre	gal gal asa	mantis
safko yafin	lakwiyi	tree
sifi a	sifi arman	lizard
sil	i	flower
singil sungel	sekel sakel	bird
sungra	same	vine
tawa yekle	nekwa klor	mantis
yefa afta	wamun	snake

Word	Kafle Variant	Meaning
asiri	ahiri	'thirsty'
eme ale	eme nambu	'clean up'
fenda	yenda/henda	'from'
kifal	kilfan/kinfal	'wind'
mei	mai	'leave me alone'
nime	mani	'not able'
oku	ohu	'water'
yal	yau	REM
yale	yele	'yesterday'
yembu	hembu	'hold in arms'

Table 64: Kafle Dialect Variants

There are a few other features of the Kafle dialect of note. One of these is a couple of words that involve metathesis relative to the main dialect, as in (34), where the first form is the form in the main dialect while the second is the form in the Kafle dialect.

A second difference is pairs of words where a /u/ occurs in the main dialect but a /e/ in the corresponding form in the Kafle dialect, as in (35).

(35) muye / meye sure / sere kute / kete
'grow' 'break' 'cough'

# **Appendix A: Sample Texts**

This appendix contains three texts from different genres. The first text (A.1) is an account of events which took place in the past. The second text (A.2) is a collection of personal songs (see 10.4). The third and final text (A.3) is a verbal description of a culturally significant event, harvesting from the garden.

# A.1 Mombu Ketelu Story

This story has a mythical quality in that it has not been experienced in living memory. But rather, it is a story of cultural significance to the Mehek people. The reference for this story is 4029.

- (1) sungamba=t mombu ketelu=t story=DIM mombu ketelu=DIM Mombu Ketelu's story.
- (2) tama=r tawa=f lisif ra-m-r person=M woman=DU two get-PAST2-3SG.M A man took two wives.
- (3) tawa mus kana yasumbu kana woman first.wife with second.wife with The first wife and the second wife.
- (4) na su tawa mus yen wau=k na-m-s and 3SG.F woman first.wife child stomach=LOC become-PAST2-3SG.F The first wife became pregnant.
- (5) yasumbu=t mehek second.wife=DIM no But the second wife was not [pregnant].

- (6) ka mombu kete-r i-m-f

  REAL mombu cut-INF go-PAST2-3DU

  They [dual] go to cut the mombu tree.
- (7) fu ka i=ka tawa mus=u yen wau=k kana=s 3DU REAL go=REAL woman first.wife=DISC child stomach=LOC with=F They [dual] go and the first wife, the pregnant one,
- (8) o-sa sul=k susu-m-s ka war-m-t
  DIST-F.EMP ground=LOC stand-PAST2-3SG.F REAL go.down-PAST2-3DIM
  She stood on the ground and [then] went down.
- (9) yasumbu=s ka wi-m-s mombu kete-r erka second.wife=F REAL go.up-PAST2-3SG.F mombu cut-INF want The second wife goes up to cut the mombu tree.
- (10) su ka wi ka mombu=m su kete kete ra tori=ka

  3SG.F REAL go.up REAL mombu=PL 3SG.F cut cut take drop=REAL

  She goes up and cuts the mombu tree, collects [edible leaves] and drops them.
- (11) te ermesu-m-s oriko=k na-ya=Ø

  3SG.F.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.F where=LOC be.at-PRES=2SG.INT

  She says [to the first wife], "Where are you?"
- (12) oriko=k rusu-ya=ø
   where=LOC stand-PRES=2SG.INT
   "Where are you standing?"
- (13) ka on kete tori-na kin ne totori yen kin sere-ka-yun

  REAL 1SG cut drop-COND tail 2SG.OBJ drop child tail break-FUT2-1SG

  "I'm cutting [leaves] and if I drop them down to you, your child's back will break."
- (14) na te eloko-m-s ke-kwra mende=k susu=n and 3SG.F.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.F PROX-ADV very=LOC stand=2SG.IMP And she said, "Stand right here [to collect the leaves]."

- (15) su te eloko mesu=ka
  3SG.F 3SG.F.OBJ say hear=REAL
  She [first wife] said she understood.
- (16) su mombu=r kete ra-m-s o-ra susu-m eme=k
  3SG.F mombu=M cut take-PAST2-3SG.F DIST-M.EMP stand-PAST2 place=LOC
  She cuts mombu and [first wife] collects them standing at that spot.
- (17) tu tori-m-s ekra te yen fu kin sere-m-s
  3SG.DIM fall-PAST2-3SG.F thus 3SG.F.OBJ child 3DU tail break-PAST2-3SG.F
  So she throws [branches] down, and hits the child and breaks her backbone.
- (18) ekra su siri ka sukna-m-k thus 3SG.F die REAL sleep-PAST2-SUB So she dies while lying there.
- (19) su te yiri ni=ka
  3SG.F. 3SG.F.OBJ fall see=REAL
  She comes down and sees.
- (20) siki=r o-ra wuwr mombu tombo lowe=k su sa rumba=ka hole=M DIST-M.EMP go.in mombu trunk edge=LOC 3SG.F dig clear=REAL She digs and clears dirt for a hole there inside the mombu trunk.
- (21) o-kwra te tuwar-m-s
  DIST-ADV 3SG.F.OBJ put.down.in-PAST2-3SG.F
  She puts her in there.
- (22) mu=r su te oro tasu tiri=ka tree=M 3SG.F 3SG.F.OBJ chop step.on leave=REAL She cuts the tree, stamps down on it covers it and leaves it.
- (23) mombu kumba nanglu o-m-ra su ra-m-m mombu leaf greens DIST-PL-EMP 3SG.F get-PAST2-3PL She collects the mombu leaves, greens, and other things.

- (24) mombu lako bu=m tukta ra=ka ka aku-m-s mombu seed what=PL carry.on.head get=REAL REAL go.back-PAST2-3SG.F She carries the mombu seeds and things and goes back.
- (25) kom aku=ka ya=ka
  village go.back=REAL come=REAL
  She goes back to the village.
- (26) mombu wuta kisi nanglu bu=m kisi naku tawo=ka a rusu-m-s mombu cut.up cook greens what=PL boil sago turn.sago=REAL eat sit-PAST2-3SG.F She breaks the seeds, cooks the greens and things, turns sago and sits to eat.
- (27) aka rusu-m-s tama=r ya-m-r house sit-PAST2-3SG.F person=M come-PAST2-3SG.M She sits in the house and the husband comes.
- (28) na ke-s=u [tawa mu]=t ya ermesu-m-r and PROX-F=DISC [first wife]=DIM come ask-PAST2-3SG.M "Now this first wife?" He asks.
- (29) na=m su yasumbu=s re eloko-m-s and=PL 3SG.F second.wife=F 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.F And the second wife said to him,
- (30) su kuna i-wa-s on kuna i-wa-yun
  3SG.F self go-PAST1-3SG.F 1SG self go-PAST1-1SG
  "She went her own way and I went my own."
- (31) ka ekaa=m su re nuwa-m-s

  REAL food=PL 3SG.F 3SG.M.OBJ give-PAST2-3SG.F

  And she gives him food.
- (32) iki ru a-nak

  NEG 3SG.M eat-VNEG

  He doesn't eat.

- (33) tawa=t [tawa mu]=t o-ta te iki soro ka woman=DIM [first.wife]=DIM DIST-DIM.EMP 3SG.F.OBJ feel feel.bad REAL The wife the first wife, he feels bad about her.
- (34) iki ru a-nak

  NEG 3SG.M eat-VNEG

  He will not eat.
- (35) ekra ru wuwr=ka ru rusu dana=ka thus 3SG.M go.in=REAL 3SG.M sit daybreak=REAL So he goes in and sits until morning.
- (36) ru ka klei i ru te i-m-s
  3SG.M REAL then go 3SG.M 3SG.F.OBJ go-PAST2-3SG.F
  He goes to look for her [first wife].
- (37) eku fle=ka i nime=ka ka rusu dana=ka do search=REAL go be.unable=REAL REAL sit daybreak=REAL He cannot find her. He waits until morning.
- (38) naka rusu ka i...
  and sit REAL go...
  And he sits and then goes [to search].
- (39) biki biki i-m-f ka meke=f
  where where go-PAST2-3DU REAL body=DU
  [He thinks,] "Where could these two have gotten themselves off to?"
- (40) naka o-ra fu mombu kete=m-f yoko i-m-r and DIST-M.EMP 3DU mombu cut=PAST2-3DU side go-PAST2-3SG.M And he goes to the mombu tree. The two of them cut.
- (41) mombu kete yoko mombu fu kete eme o-kwra i war-m-r mombu cut side mombu 3DU cut place DIST-ADV go go.down-PAST2-3SG.M He goes down to the place where they [dual] cut the mombu tree.

- (42) susu=ka mesu-m-r su yen kanda so-ko=r stand=REAL hear-PAST2-3SG.M 3SG.F child small 3SG.F-POSS=M He stands there and hears her little child.
- (43) o-ra ka kuwa oku a=ka ka samba=k na-m-r
  DIST-M.EMP REAL foul water eat=REAL REAL big=INS be.at-PAST2-3SG.M
  [The child] drank the foul water [from the corpse] and grew up.
- (44) naka nawa so-ko yefa=f ru ra=ka and mother 3SG.F-POSS bone=DU 3SG.M take=REAL And he gets his mother's two bones.
- (45) o-f-ra doi doi rusu-m-r fu-m-r

  DIST-DU-EMP bang bang sit-PAST2-3SG.M hit-PAST2-3SG.M

  He sits and bangs the two of them together. He hits [them].
- (46) nawa so-ko yefa=f ra=ka fu rusu-m-r mother 3SG.F-POSS bone=DU take=REAL 3DU sit-PAST2-3SG.M He gets the mother's two bones.
- (47) hokwa kete kete hokwa=t ekra kete-m-r song sing sing song=DIM in.that.way sing-PAST2-3SG.M And he sings the song. He sings.
- (48) nawa yu=s kana mombu kete-r i-wa-dun mother 1SG.POSS=F with mombu cut-INF go-PAST1-1DU "My mother and I came to cut mombu.
- (49) loko loko kifal kifal sul sul sukna rain rain wind wind ground ground sleep Rain rain, wind wind, earth earth sleep."
- (50) ekra kete kete yefa=f o-f-ra fu-yu-m-r thus sing sing bone=DU DIST-DU-EMP hit-HAB-PAST2-3SG.M So he sings, playing her two bones.

- (51) ru afa=r i susu=ka mesu-m-r3SG.M father=M go stand=REAL hear-PAST2-3SG.MThe father stands there and hears.
- (52) oriko mende ka
  where very REAL
  "Where could that be coming from?"
- (53) o-kwra mesu nime rete
  DIST-ADV hear be.unable put
  He hears it, but can't figure it out.
- (54) klei ka ke-kwra yoko susu=ka mesu-m-r mehek then REAL PROX-ADV side stand=REAL hear-PAST2-3SG.M no And so he goes to another place and listens, but [he doesn't hear].
- (55) o-ra ru tirite=ka wi-m-r eme=k mesu-m-r

  DIST-M.EMP 3SG.M leave=REAL go.up-PAST2-3SG.M place=LOC hear-PAST2-3SG.M

  So he leaves there and goes up to another place to listen.
- (56) klei ka indi=k yiri-m-r then REAL again=LOC fall-PAST2-3SG.M And then in the same way he goes down.
- (57) indi=k yiri=ka mesu-m-r again=LOC fall=REAL hear-PAST2-3SG.M He goes back down to listen.
- (58) o-ra ka kasi yungu na-m-r
  DIST-M.EMP REAL REM DEP become-PAST2-3SG.M
  The same sound comes up from there again.
- (59) klei ka ekra yungu yal susu=ka mesu-m-r then REAL thus DEP REM stand=REAL hear-PAST2-3SG.M So he stands over there to hear.

- (60) klei o-ra indi=k ke-r ke-kwra mende=k kete-ya then DIST-M.EMP again=LOC PROX-M PROX-ADV very=LOC sing-PRES [He comes] back to that same place where [the child] sings.
- (61) ru okwa=r ke-ra=yu
  3SG.M song=M PROX-M.EMP=DISC
  This song here.
- (62) ru kanda=r war yefa=f tongo-m rokor

  3SG.M small=M go.down bone=DU hold-GER CAUS

  The small one is down there holding two bones [so he can sing].
- (63) nawa yu=s kana mombu kete-r i-wa-dun mother 1SG.POSS=F with mombu cut-INF go-PAST1-1DU "My mother and I came to cut mombu.
- (64) loko loko kifal kifal sul sul sukna rain rain wind wind earth earth sleep."
- (65) ekra er er yefa=f [doi doi]-m-r thus say say bone=DU [bang bang]-PAST2-3SG.M So he says while banging the two bones.
- (66) mesu towur=ka er-m-r ke-kwra mende=k hear throw.down=REAL speak-PAST2-3SG.M PROX-ADV very=LOC He [father] listened and went back to the sound.
- (67) naka wuwr tasu-m-r sul=f ni-m-r and go.outside step.on-PAST2-3SG.M earth=DU see-PAST2-3SG.M And he went down and stepped on the ground and saw.
- (68) ka bre=ka war-m-r ru tasu eku-m-k

  REAL break=REAL go.down-PAST2-3SG.M 3SG.M step.on do-PAST2-SUB

  It broke and fell down when he stepped.

- (69) em aka gur ene tasu=ka eku-ya=ø ya who house apex 1SG.OBJ come step.on=REAL do-PRES=2SG.INT ekra er in.that.way say "Who is stepping on my roof?" [The child] said.
- (70) er tuya mesu=ka mu=m ru tanngu [lu lako] stii=ka
  3SG.M put.inside hear=REAL tree=PL 3SG.M cover [clean] clear.ground=REAL
  [Father] hears [something] and cuts the trees. He clears the area.
- (71) sul o-ra rumba-m-r
  earth DIST-M.EMP scrape.away-PAST2-3SG.M
  He levels the ground.
- (72) sul=r rumba rumba tii ka re ni=ka earth=M remove remove throw.away REAL 3SG.M.OBJ see=REAL He removes the dirt and sees him [the child].
- (73) ermesu-m-r na nu biki yen nu ka ask-PAST2-3SG.M and 2SG what child 2SG REAL He asks, "And [as for] you, what kind of child are you?"
- (74) na re eloko-m-r ka and 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.M REAL And he said,
- (75) nawa yu=s afa=r ru nawa fu lisi lisi ra-m-r mother 1SG.POSS=F father=M 3SG.M mother 3DU two two take-PAST2-3SG.M "As for my mother and father, he took two wives.
- (76) ka tawa mus so-ko yen-yun

  REAL wife first.wife F-POSS child-1SG

  I am the first wife's child.

- (77) na-m su mombu kete-r ra=ka su te fu=ka but-PL 3SG.F mombu cut-INF get=REAL 3SG.F 3SG.F.OBJ hit=REAL She cut the mombu and hit her.
- (78) naka su siri=ka ke-kwra and 3SG.F die=REAL PROX-ADV And she died here
- (79) te siki sa fiti tirite=ka aku-m-s
  3SG.F.OBJ hole dig cover leave=REAL go.home-PAST2-3SG.F
  She dug a hole for her, left her here and went home.
- (80) naka on nawa so-ko kuwa oku a=ka and 1SG mother F-POSS foul water eat=REAL And I drank mother's foul [corpse] water.
- (81) naka ke-ra rusu-n kara ekra eloko-m-r and PROX-M.EMP sit-PRES.1SG indeed in.that.way say-PAST2-3SG.M And here I stay." So he said.
- (82) ka ru rumba=ka re tambo ra=ka

  REAL 3SG.M remove=REAL 3SG.M.OBJ bring.along get=REAL

  So he [father] digs the ground and takes the child with him.
- (83) re er-m-r beena wuya-k
  3SG.M say-PAST2-3SG.M enough come.up-SUB
  And he said, "It's over now," when they were coming up.
- (84) wuya=ka ru oku wiyi ru oku wiyi ka come.up=REAL 3SG.M water wash 3SG.M water wash REAL [They] come up and they wash themselves.
- (85) re a=ka aku-m-r
  3SG.M.OBJ eat=REAL go.home-PAST2-3SG.M
  He eats and goes back to the house.

- (86) oku maha=k tenge oku wiyi water hot=LOC boil water wash He washes in hot water.
- (87) re ra=ka aku=ka ya=ka
  3SG.M.OBJ get=REAL go.home=REAL come=REAL
  He [father] gets him and takes him back.
- (88) o-ra kanda=r hokwa kete rusu-yu-m-r kara

  DIST-M.EMP small=M song sing sit-HAB-PAST2-3SG.M indeed

  The little one who was sitting and singing there.
- (89) ru afa=r ru re tirite=ka i-r afa rokor 3SG.M father=M 3SG.M 3SG.M.OBJ leave=REAL go-INF father CAUS The father leaves him to go to his [own] father.
- (90) ru yefa=f ra tongo rokor hokwa=t o-ta kete
  3SG.M bone=DU get hold CAUS song=DIM DIST-DIM.EMP sing
  rusu-yu-m-r
  sit-HAB-PAST2-3SG.M

He takes the two bones in order to sing that song, when he was sitting.

- (91) yefa=f fu fu o-sa yasumbu=s ka ya-m-s bone=DU hit hit DIST-F.EMP second.wife=F REAL come-PAST2-3SG.F He hits the two bones and the second wife comes.
- (92) ya=ka re er-m-s mesu-ya come=REAL 3SG.M.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.F hear-PRES She comes and says, "Hey!
- (93) ene namra samba gun-ya-n ke-m-ra ke-kwra nu 1SG.OBJ ear big block.ear-PRES-2SG PROX-PL.EMP PROX-ADV 2SG eku-ya-m do-PRES-3PL

You're filling my ears with this thing they did to you?

- (94) bu yefa=m o-m-ra tongo=ka eku rusu-ya-r what bone=PL DIST-PL-EMP hold=REAL do sit-PRES-3SG.M What are those bones that you are sitting there holding?"
- (95) tongo ra=ka kasi=k i rusu=ka hold get=REAL REM=LOC go sit=REAL [I] got them and went far away to sit.
- (96) eku werko=k ekra er-m-sdo far.away=LOC in.that.way say-PAST2-3SG.F[I] did it far away, so she said.
- (97) na ru afa=r mesu=ka te er-m-r and 3SG.M father=M hear=REAL 3SG.F.OBJ say-PAST2-3SG.M Father heard and asked her [second wife],
- (98) na biki yombo na yen=r and where SIM be.at child=M "Whose child is that?"
- (99) on raya ekaa nuwa kom towur a=ka
  1SG bring food give village throw.down eat=REAL
  I got [him], gave him food and brought him to the village.
- (100) towur war na-r ke-kwra eku-ya throw.down go.down but-M PROX-ADV do-PRES [I did this], brought him down and you are doing this?"
- (101) yen [a nuwa]-r ka tawa=t ke-ta child [adopt]-INF REAL woman=DIM PROX-DIM.EMP The adopted child and this woman.
- (102) nu-ra ene fu-m-n kara

  2SG-EMP 1SG.OBJ hit-PAST2-2SG indeed

  You killed me.

- (103) mombu [kete tuka] naka nu te fu=ka mombu [jump.out] and 2SG 3SG.F.OBJ hit=REAL You cut mombu and threw it and you hit her.
- (104) naka su siri=ka and 3SG.F die=REAL And she died.
- (105) naka yen=r o-kwra siki=k re ni=ka and child=M DIST-ADV hole=LOC 3SG.M.OBJ see=REAL And I saw the child in that hole.
- (106) rumba ka ra-wa-yun remove REAL get-PAST1-1SG I cleared the dirt and took him.
- (107) naka ya=ka ke-kwra tolo-n ka ekra er-m-r and come=REAL PROX-ADV say-2SG REAL in.that.way say-PAST2-3SG.M And you come here and say such things, so said [father].
- (108) o-ta fi=k ru te fu=ka

  DIST-DIM.EMP spear=INS 3SG.M 3SG.F.OBJ hit=REAL

  So he hit her with a spear [divorced her].
- (109) su afa nandasi erka su sauwro ka
  3SG.F father brother want 3SG.F remove.possessions REAL
  He gathered all his things and wanted to go back to his family.
- (110) tukta=ka aku-m-r
  carry.on.head=REAL go.home-PAST2-3SG.M
  He carried it and went home.
- (111) ru o-ra yen kanda kana ekra rusu-m-f
  3SG.M DIST-M.EMP child small with in.that.way sit-PAST2-3DU
  The little child came with him and the two stayed there.

(112) naka ambe and finish And that's all.

## A.2 Songs

These songs are various personal songs. People often make up songs for themselves or for their loved ones. They can also be about historical events, such as those recounted in the previous story. The reference for all of these songs is 4102.

### A.2.1 Safungrow

- (1) wane wane tambo tambo wate seim seim bring bring breadfruit
  - afla lisi safungrou ni-ya-m biarna-ya-n ka medium.river cook safungrou see-PRES-3PL surprise-PRES-2SG REAL

At the last place of all the Seims, they cook breadfruit. They cook at the river and see Safungrou and are thrilled.

(2) awa awa yekle kanda-n fi okto lam okto awa awa young small-2SG spear wash spine wash

kiri gle nonglo nambi fa gumbo=r sere sere kiri gle nonglo nambi plant new.growth=M break break

An Awa Awa youth washes his spear and arrow. At Kiri Gle and Nonglo Nambi he goes to fight.

#### A.2.2 Wulmba

(3) oku tombo tombo nali oku tombo tombo nali

el marko=r [kio kio] [kio kio]
penis headdress=M [up.and.down] [up.and.down]

At Oku Tombo Tombo Nali, he has a good penis, he goes up and down.

(4) kom meyu terwo a-m-r kisi naku tawo kom meyu terwo eat-PAST2-3SG.M boil sago turn.sago

> lomandi wate musun kwata yen geu geu lomandi wate musun rub child chatter chatter

At Kom Meyu Terwo he eats. He boils [water] and turns sago. At Lomandi Wate Musun, he fights and kills all the children.

#### A.2.3 Kafle

(5) naku nuku=r nambe nambe wiya-n naku nuku=M check.out check.out go.down-2SG

wasutenge=r nambe nambe wiya-n

wasutenge=M check.out check.out go.down-2SG

wongle oku gale fi tori wol tori

wongle oku gale spear throw.down frond throw.down

or nungu tawa-n [hewe kawe]

bilum lime.powder woman-2sG [trick]

At Naku Nuku you look and go down. At Wasutenge you look and go down. At Wongle and Oku Gale you throw your spear and shield down. A bilum (string bag) and lime powder, you trick a woman.

### A.2.4 Kitalako Story

(6) kin gaiyen tawa wanembukwa tawa kin gaiyen woman wanembukwa woman

kitalako mulu gra tirite=ka aku=ka kitalako rodent fern leave=REAL go.back=REAL

Kin Gaiyen women and Wanembuka women leave Kitalako and his food and greens.

### A.2.5 Felnde Afu Story

- (7) nawa yu=s mokomele=s ka fer fer ka te fu-wa-yun 1SG.POSS=F mokomele=F REAL pig REAL 3SG.F.OBJ hit-PAST1-1SG mother pig ka sambu sambu ka fu-wa-yun te ka REAL cassowary cassowary REAL 3SG.F.OBJ hit-PAST1-1SG **REAL** My mother Mokomele. I killed pigs for you. I killed cassowaries for you.
- (8) nawa afa kom sere hauwa aku-ya mother father village break move.house go.back-PRES kra aka aku ya-yun=a kra aka ya-yun=a kra aka go.back come-1SG=INT kra aka come-1SG=INT Mom and dad leave the village and move to another. Do they come to Kra Aka? Do they come to Kra Aka?
- (9) nawa nawa mini kom aku betelnut village mother mother go.back mokomele=s suwa kom aku nawa vu=s coconut village go.back mother 1SG.POSS=F mokomele=F [diwir diwir] nawa kom [diwir diwir] sul nawa [earthquake] earth [earthquake] mother mother

Mother mother, I'm going to Betelnut Village. I'm going to Coconut Village. My mother Mokomele. The village shakes, the earth shakes. Mother mother.

### A.2.6 Personal Songs (Gasiwatimba and her Children)

(10) fi=k fu ambe numba siri ambe finish spear=INS hit finish poison die flou wari tawa wari=m basi flou yen orphan woman widow=PL tree.species tree.variety tree.variety Killed with a spear, poisoned and died. Widows and orphans in the deep jungle.

- (11) mini glengu yiri-wa-n glengu yiri-wa-n suwa betelnut pod fall-PAST1-2SG coconut pod fall-PAST1-2SG kom tombo nemna no-ko=r [wafu boi boi] village end husband 2SG-POSS=M [full of love]
  - Betelnut seeds fall down, coconut seeds fall down. She thinks of her husband in the end of the village.
- (12) nanda=s so-ko kita mende=r older.sister=F 3SG.F-POSS tree.species very=M gana=s toto kur-ya-s ka younger.sister=F pull.down pick-PRES-3SG.F REAL Big sister's own Kita. Little sister lowers it to pick.

### A.3 Garden and First Harvest Description

This text is about the process that is undergone when the first mami is ready to be harvested. Mami, a type of yam, is culturally quite significant to the Mehek speakers and the surrounding cultural groups. It is a time to come together and celebrate. This text describes the important aspects connected to the mami harvest. The reference for this description is 4115.

- (1) [mele mele]=r kaku okwe meke ningi=r [long ago]=M mami ripe body now=M A long time goes by and then the mami is ripe.
- (2) luwku makwa eku ningi=r greens bean do now=M Greens and beans are ready now.
- (3) na-r=u makwa=m mu ekra mu ka lei-r ni rete=ka but-M=DISC bean=PL 3PL REAL thus 3PL hang-INF see put=REAL And when we see beans hanging, they are ready.

- (4) di=m om duma eku-num di=m naku dorko si-num

  DET=PL fish trap do-PRES.1PL DET=PL sago scrape wash-PRES.1PL

  We set traps for fish and scrape and wash sago.
- (5) ka makwa=m ka okwe-ka-m ka makwa kisi-ka-num eku eloko-m-m REAL bean=PL REAL fresh-FUT2-3PL REAL bean boil-FUT2-1PL do say-PAST2-3PL When the beans are ready we will boil them, it is said.
- (6) felnde aka ki fu-num bird house build hit-PRES.1PL We build bird blinds and hunt.
- (7) [ifi lako]=r eku-m-num nausu kwata-num [bandicoot.trap]=M do-PAST2-1PL gum apply-PRES.1PL We make bandicoot traps and apply glue (for bird traps).
- (8) felnde num ra-r rokor bird 1PL get-INF CAUS We do this to get birds.
- (9) mulu fu ka ra-ya=ka kware tiri tiri rodent 3DIM REAL take-PRES=REAL dry.on.fire leave leave We kill and take rodents and leave them on the fire to dry, then go again.
- (10) naku dorko si-num sago scrape wash-PRES.1PL We scrape and wash sago.
- (11) naku eku ambe=ka makwa=m ni-num makwa okwe meke rokor sago do finish=REAL bean=PL see-PRES.1PL bean ripe body CAUS When the sago is finished and we see the [individual] beans, the beans are ripe.
- (12) ka nimba rete-m kara ekra rokor PRT agree put-GER indeed thus CAUS Then we agree to set them out.

- (13) ka makwa=m ka okwe-ya-m kara

  REAL bean=PL REAL ripen-PRES-3PL indeed

  [At that time] the beans are ripe.
- (14) ka [ekra rokok] ka luwku makwa kisi-ka-num REAL [when] REAL greens bean boil-FUT2-1PL At this time we boil greens and beans.
- (15) ekra mu nimba rete=ka in.that.way 3PL agree put=REAL This is how we inform each other.
- (16) ka elowo=m kara elowo i=ka raya rete tiri=ka

  REAL animal=PL indeed animal go=REAL bring put leave=REAL

  They go for animals, they go to get animals and leave them.
- (17) ka er-m-m kara

  REAL say-PAST2-3PL indeed

  And they say,
- (18) di=n nu ser ser okwe-ka-m kete-r er

  DET=2SG 2SG first first ripen-FUT2-3PL cut-INF say

  "If your beans are getting ripe, cut them first."
- (19) dungwa dungwa ka o-m-ra gwasifran salwan mu ra=ka shell shell REAL DIST-PL-EMP gwasifran salwan 3PL take=REAL They shell the beans and get Gwasifran and Salwan [edible plants].
- (20) gulma nembe=r wa ra=ka raya=ka rokor mantis lizard=M IRR take=REAL bring=REAL CAUS
  They get grasshoppers and lizards.
- (21) makwa=r mu dungwa dungwa=ka yikwa=r mu nato=ka bean=M 3PL shell shell=REAL salt=M 3PL make.salt=REAL They shell the beans and they make salt.

- (22) o-kwra kisi-m-m om=t owe=t mulu=t wa kute
  DIST-ADV boil-PAST2-3PL fish=DIM caterpillar=DIM rodent=DIM IRR cut
  They boiled the fish, caterpillars and rodents there and cut them.
- (23) nambu nambu=ka o-ra makwa kana smash smash=REAL DIST-M.EMP bean with [They] smash them into pieces [and mix them] with the beans.
- (24) suwa kur kur rokor coconut scrape scrape CAUS
  They scrape coconuts.
- (25) yikwa nato=ka o-ra yikwa=k salt make.salt=REAL DIST-M.EMP salt=INS They make salt with that salt.
- (26) mu ka kisi mu kisi rokor 3PL REAL boil 3PL boil CAUS They boil it [to prepare].
- (27) wa yeInda mu wafu titimbin wa ya-ka-m
  IRR all 3PL wafu titimbin IRR come-FUT2-3PL
  Everyone from Wafu and Titimbin will come.
- (28) au siki wolkai fenda=m wa ya-ka-m au siki wolkai come.from=PL IRR come-FUT2-3PL They will come from Au Siki and Wolkai .
- (29) yambutu sengaula walkufu fenda=m wa nambo ya-ka-m yambutu sengaula walkufu come.from=PL IRR with come-FUT2-3PL They will come with people from Yambutu, Sengaula and Walkufu.
- (30) o-ra wa ya=ka dinamble=k dinamble mu kisi=ka
  DIST-M.EMP IRR come=REAL be.one=LOC be.one 3PL boil=REAL
  They all come together and cook together.

- (31) mu kisi rokor mu kisi ambe rokor 3PL boil CAUS 3PL boil finish CAUS They cook so they can finish.
- (32) yelnda ekra kumba mu suw suw naka rusu-m-m kara all in.that.way leaf 3PL set.out set.out and sit-PAST2-3PL indeed They set out leaves [on the ground] and everyone sits on them.
- (33) ekra ale=ka worna=k ekra rusu=ka in.that.way careful=REAL straight.line=INS in.that.way sit=REAL ra ya-m-m kara take come-PAST2-3PL indeed

  They come and sit in a straight line.
- (34) di=m yoko=k di=m yoko=k

  DET=PL side=LOC DET=PL side=LOC

  Some on this side, some on that side.
- (35) naka makwa=m suwla and bean=PL share And they share beans.
- (36) elowo=m o-kwra naku=r gal ra ra yen kanda=m animal=PL DIST-ADV sago=M sago.ball take take child small=PL They take meat and sago and little children take them.
- (37) [kuna yaku]=m ke-m ke-m-ra yen oku=m wa [kuna yena] [one's own]=PL PROX-PL PROX-PL-EMP child all=PL IRR [one's own] Each one sits on his own side.
- rusu ambe=ka (38) tawa=m kumba=m rokor mu rusu=ka rokor mu woman=PL 3PL sit=REAL CAUS leaf=PL 3PL sit finish=REAL CAUS The women set out leaves, they finish setting them out.

- (39) naku=m gwal ra ra rete rii=ka sago=PL pick.up.sago take take put remain=REAL [They set them out so] they pick up sago and put it [on the leaves].
- (40) a-m-m o-kwra suwla suwla rii ambe=ka eat-PAST2-3PL DIST-ADV share share remain finish=REAL They go on sharing food there until it is gone.
- (41) ka sau=ka ta-m-m

  REAL stand.up=REAL bite-PAST2-3PL

  They stand up and bite it.
- (42) mu sombo tii sombo tuya=ka

  3PL spit remove spit drop=REAL

  [Some men] spit it out here and there [to prevent disaster from coming].
- (43) di o-ra nambo wra timba-wa-r

  DET DIST-M.EMP with come.in be.without-PAST1-3SG.M

  Some men may not come.
- (44) wa re tongo-ka-m

  IRR 3SG.M.OBJ take-FUT2-3PL

  They [may] save some for him.
- (45) wa re waki=ka rii nuwa-ka-m=ka

  IRR 3SG.M.OBJ tie=REAL remain give-FUT2-3PL=REAL

  They will tie it up and give it to him [so that he will not eat in secret].
- (46) or o-ra nawe sombo-ka-m ekra rokor 3SG.M.IMP DIST-M.EMP only spit-FUT2-3PL thus CAUS So you must just spit out [the first bite].
- (47) iki a-ta a-num

  NEG eat-IMP eat-1PL

  We can't eat it. [Or the spirits will get angry]

- (48) num luwku makwa eku timba=r

  1PL greens bean do be.without=3SG.M

  When we are out of beans or greens, we [eat] nothing.
- (49) iki a-num kaku ata=m

  NEG eat-1PL mami very=PL

  We don't eat the old mami [with the new or we get sick].
- (50) o-m-ra ka siki fenda=m a-ka-num kara naka DIST-PL-EMP REAL hole from=PL eat-FUT2-1PL indeed and We eat the old mami from other holes [from later garden harvests].
- (51) ekra num rusu rokor makwa=m thus 1PL sit CAUS bean=PL And so we stay to eat the beans.
- (52) mu eme saki nuwa ambe=ka rii raya=ka 3PL place share give finish=REAL remain bring=REAL They share and give these things out.
- (53) ekaa=ka rii num kara food=REAL remain 1PL indeed We go along eating.
- (54) naka ka ta-m-m sombo tii sombo tuya and REAL bite-PAST2-3PL spit remove spit drop=REAL And we bite it and spit it out here and there.
- (55) sombo stii=ka ambe kara ka a-num kara spit clear.away=REAL finish indeed REAL eat-PRES.1PL indeed When we finish spitting it out, then we eat.
- (56) ka kaku rusu=ka ni-num ru okwe meke rokor REAL mami sit=REAL see-PRES.1PL 3SG.M ripe body CAUS We see the mami sitting there and it's fresh.

- (57) iki nu angur=k bunandi=t tongo-ka-num

  NEG garden new=LOC maybe=DIM hold-FUT2-1PL

  And so you can't touch anything from the new garden (until you eat the first mami).
- (58) wa ekra nu nambu sombo=ka

  IRR thus 2SG pacify.spirits spit=REAL

  You pacify the spirits when you spit them [beans].
- (59) makwa kisi sombo=ka o-ra wa sakwe kulfo sere-ka-n bean boil spit=REAL DIST-M.EMP IRR smoke fresh cut-FUT2-2SG You cook the beans, spit and the same with the first tobacco.
- (60) bali wa kur-ka-n aibika IRR pick-FUT2-2SG You will pick aibika.
- (61) bali o-ra ekra wa [timringi tamringi] ka yiri kara aibika DIST-M.EMP thus IRR [ruined] REAL fall indeed If that aibika falls, it is ruined.
- (62) iki nu angur=k bunandi=t ka wuwr tongo-ka-n
  NEG garden new=LOC maybe=DIM REAL pitpit hold-FUT2-2SG
  If there is none [aibika] in the new garden, you will get some pitpit.
- (63) bondi bongu=r iki wa tongo-ka-n cucumber.variety cucumber.variety=M NEG IRR hold-FUT2-2SG You will not get bondi or bongur [cucumbers].
- (64) makwa=r o-ra kisi sombo-na ka tongo-ka-n kara bean=M DIST-M.EMP boil spit-COND REAL hold-FUT2-2SG indeed Boil those beans. If you spit them, then you will get them.
- (65) nu makwa kisi-r o-kwra na-ya-r2SG bean boil-INF DIST-ADV be.at-PRES-3SG.MThen you will boil the beans. That's how it is.

# **Appendix B: Mehek-English-Tok Pisin Dictionary**

This appendix is a trilingual dictionary with Mehek words listed alphabetically along with their English and Tok Pisin glosses. Included below in the KEY are two main lists: a schematic representation of each entry showing what information is included and the formatting of each section. Below that, abbreviations used in each section are explained.

# KEY

Mehek Word [variant/extended forms] (part of speech) English Gloss. Tok Pisin Gloss. --notes--

## Abbreviations used in Variant/Extended Forms section:

+word	the extended form occurs after the main entry
word+	the extended form precedes the main entry
1	precedes the stressed syllable in words that do not follow regular stress patterns
K	the Kafle variant follows
RDP	entry can be reduplicated

## **Abbreviations used for Parts of Speech:**

adj	adjective	n.b.	either masculine or feminine
adv	adverb		(based on natural gender)
cnj	conjunction	n.f.	feminine noun
grm	grammatical particle	neg	negative
int	interrogative	num	numeral
intj	interjection	phr	phrase (greeting, utterance)
loc	locative	rel.n	relational noun
n	(masculine) noun	pro	pronoun
		ν	verb

#### **Abbreviations used in Notes section:**

ONOM	onomatopoeic word
TP	likely a Tok Pisin borrowing

# Α

a (v) eat, drink. kaikai, dring.

a afe (v) full (from eating). pulap.

a belna (v) drink. dring.

a durna (v) eat until full. kaikai na pulapim.

a nu (n) food garden. kaikai bilong gaden.

a nuwa (v) feed. givim kaikai.

a siri [K = ahiri, asi'ri] (v) be hungry. hangri.

a suwa (n) food cooked with coconuts. kaikai na ol samting bilong kaikai.

a wiyi (n.f.) bee. bi, binen.

**afa** (n.m.) father, paternal uncle. papa, brata bilong papa.

afa nanda (n) ancestors. ol tumbuna.

afa samba (n) god. god.

afa samba roko aka (n) church. lotu.

**afa samba roko suma** (n) word of god. wot bilong god.

afi (v) hit. paitim.

afi nau (v) fight. paitim.

afko (adj) old (person). lapun.

**afko toto** (n) leaf of wild sago. lip bilong wel saksak.

afla (n) river (medium). wara.

**afla tak** (n) name of river near hole in creation story. nem bilong wara klostu long hul long as stori. --near Sepik river--

afla taku (n) shore. nambis.

**afrete** (v) cross, step over. kalapim.

aka (n) house. haus.

**aka ari** (n) space under house. hap aninit long haus.

**aka bam** (n) support beam for bottom of roof. bim i stap aninit long rup.

aka dulu (n) fence. banis.

**aka ekaa** (n) kitchen house. haus bilong kuk.

**aka galwo** (n) weaving pattern for walls. flain.

**aka gu takwlulu amam** (n) bamboo weights for roof. mambu long banisim rup. -- hold down additional panels on roof apex to keep rain out--

aka guw (n) roof (apex). rup.

aka kaha (n) toilet house. haus pekpek.

**aka krorongo** (n) center roof support beam. bim bilong namel long rup.

**aka kulu** (n) door, area in front of house. dua, arere long haus.

**aka kusu** (n) bark used to close door on outside. skin diwai long pasim dua (ausait). --made from galwo--

aka late (n) key. ki.

**aka lau** (n) floor crossbeams in raised house. bim aninit long plua.

aka lewe (n) wall. banis.

aka lowe (n) woman's period. taim sik mun.

**aka masi** (n) house for menstruation. haus long sik mun.

**aka solo** (n) house frame. bun bilong haus.

**aka ta bringi** (n) threshold, jamb. dua, bun bilong dua.

**aka take** (n) porch roof. rup long pes bilong haus.

**aka tasu** (v) tie roof support beams to each other. pasim ol bim bilong rup.

aka tenge (n) boys' house. haus boi.

aka u (n) house fire, burn house down. haus i pairap. --light coconut leaves and set them on roof--

**aka yurmu** (n) bark used to close door on inside. diwai long pasim dua (insait).

**aka yurmu kusu** (n) door side frame. bun bilong dua.

**aku** [haku] (v) go home, go back. go long haus, go bek.

**akum welmbem** (intj) really?!. trupela?!.

**akuma gramba** (n) Orion's belt. tripela sta i mekim lain. --when seen just after sunset, time to harvest yam (June)--

**akwa** (n) bee hive or home of insect. haus bilong ol bi o arapela kain binatang.

**akwando kwando** (n) spider web. umben bilong spaida.

al (n.m.) taro (kind of tuber). taro.

ale [+ka warnak = level surface, K = alek, numbu]
 (adv) properly. gutpela, stretpela.

algan [angal] (n) fly. lang.

alingi (n) grassy area at edge of village. gras long arere bilong ples.

**alingi** (n) small internal organs, intestines. insait bilong bel.

ama (n) bamboo. mambu.

**ama** (pro) let's (plural). bai yumipela o mipela mekim sampela samting. --1PL.IMP--

ama gwalsa (n) tongs. stik long holim kaikai.

ama wungusu (n) promise rope, knot, crossbeam. rop long wokim promis, buk, bim bilong morota. --made from awa kufu--

ama wusilele (n) flute. mambu.

**amba** [hamba, 'amba] (v) have, exist, be present. stap (sampela samting i stap).

**ambasu** (v) forget. *lusim tingting*.

ambe [K = hako] (v) finish. pinisim.

**ambombo** (intj) word said while applauding (at story's end). wot ol i tok taim i paitim han (stori i pinisim).

ambu tongo (v) agree, contract. orait long, agri.

ana (pro) I'm going to. bai mi mekim sampela samting. –1SG.IMP--

anda (pro) let's (dual). yumitupela mekim sampela samting. --1DU.IMP--

anda manda (v) stumble. klostu pundaun.

angla (v) say good things, be happy. ol gutpela toktok, stap belgut.

angulma (n) cricket. binatang bilong kaikai mami. --eats mami--

anuwa (v) adopt. lukautim.

ara fasu (v) boil. boilim.

arawan (n) fence. banis.

ari (post) below. ananit.

**arko** (n) rock, shell, money, file. ston, sel, mani.

arko rete (v) pay bride price. baim meri.
arko sunngu (n) stove stones. ol ston bilong stov.

arma (n) bow. banara.

arma bol bol (n) stone/seed used in bow tips. ston o sit long het banara.

arma ginfa (n) bow shaft, outside part. ausait bilong banara.

**arma sou** (n) coverlet to strengthen bow shaft. *liklilk rop long strongim banara*.

arma terfa [suwa kin = top of coconut] (n) top of bow. het bilong banara.

**arma wako** (n) inside of bow shaft. insait bilong banara.

**armu** (n) scar. mak.

asama [asa'ma] (n) type of edible leafy green. kain kumu.

asanga (n) leaf used to tie mami. lip long pasim mami. --multiple, curled, green leaves--

asi (v) remove bark. rausim skin diwai.

asiri mende kara [K = lukte makte] (v) starving.
hangri tumas.

ata (grm) oldest, most important. bikpela antap tru. --very--

**ata** (n.b.) maternal grandparent. bubu tumbuna. --used in superlatives: 'first'--

**au** (n.m.) small clay pot, metal pot, dirt used to make clay pot. sospen, liklik sospen graun, graun bilong wokim.

au kumba (n) plant species. kain diwai. au mal (n) flying mud particles. liklik hap graun i pairap. --from production of clay pot--

**au tembe** (n) shelf. liklik bris, bet long ol plet.

auna (v) claim, mark as one's own. kisim, bilong man yet. --used when taking land--

aungu (adj) new growth. nupela sayor.

aungwa (n) hook. huk.

ausana [ausa] (n) noise. nois.

ause [yam kumba +, duwan +] (n) umbrella, cover up. ambrela, karamapim.

**auwrara** (n) brace (in roof). sapot bilong rup. --to prevent leaks--

awa [awa su] (n) flower. plaua.

**awa kumba** (n) cordyline plant variety (green). tanget (grin).

**awa kumba nomro** (n) cordyline plant variety (red). tanget (ret).

awangu [nekwa+, nambul+] (n) halo. lait i raunim san o mun.

awar [+k] (adj) after, later, slow. behain.

awar kanda eloko (v) whisper. tok isi. awark kandak (adv) cautiously. isi isi.

ave (n.b.) bat. blak bokis.

**ayum** (n) a long time ago. longpela taim i go pinis.

### В

balan (v) break (rope). brukim (rop).

**bali** (n) edible leaves from various shrubs. aibika.

**banda** [RDP] (adj) spread out, large. i go long planti hap, bikpela.

**bane** (v) plant a stick in the ground. planim stik i go insait long graun. --when making a bed--

bango [K = lomo] (adj) curvy, crooked, greedy. i no stret, krum, mangal.

bango bango (adj) mixed up. tanim wantaim.

bangol bangol (adj) coil. raun.

**bangramen** (n) budding site of Kita branch. ol plaua blong tulip i kamap bikpela.

bangu (n) kwar seeds. sit bilong kwar.

**bansi** (adj) open of mushroom or leaf. opim (talinga o lip).

bar bar (adj) in a circle. raunpela.

barka (n) type of edible leafy green. opa.

**barna** [sa+ = dig around a rock, +eku] (v) wander. wokabaut nating.

**bau** (v) loosen (of skin), scrape off. mekim i lus (skin), sikarapim. --for mami or a tree--

baye (n) grass. gras long arere bilong ples.

**beena** (intj) it's okay, I don't mind, enough. mi orait, maski, inap.

**bein** (n) pot holder. samting long holim sospen.

**bela** (n) stick with skin removed. stik i no gat skin.

belmun (n) bush species. kain liklik diwai.

**belna** [RDP, a+] (n) throat. nek.

belo (adj) angry. belhat. --TP--

**belo** (adj) crazy. longlong.

belo barna (adj) light-headed. ai i raun.

**ben** (adv) either, or. wanpela bilong tupela.

**ber bar** [a+ = eat bad food] (adj) do in the wrong way, messed up. wokim nogut.

**bermun** (n) ferns used to decorate spear. ol pulpul i go antap long spia.

**berso** [aku+] (adj) completely free of debris. i no gat pipia.

**beu beu** (adj) shimmy, expand. surik, i kamap bikpela.

**bi** [bi a] (n) tooth (incisors). tit (long kaikai).

**bi bi nindi yombo** (intj) what kind of thing?. wanem kain samting?.

**bi luku** (n) gums. antap long tit (insait maus).

bi mel (n) tooth (fang). tit (sap).

**bi na tufrasi wuyar** (n) overbite/underbite. tit i qo ausait long maus. --bad teeth--

**bi sambaf** (n) front teeth. tit (bikpela tupela).

**bi tasuku** (n) toothpick. stik long rausim ol samting long tit.

**biarna** (n) dance and make noise with feathers on. danis na mekim nois wantaim gras pisin. --ONOM--

bihi (n) soupy sago. saksak i gat wara.

biki (int) which. we.

biki biki (int) how. olsem.

**biki naka** (int) why. watpo?, bilong wanem?.

**biki nawarka** [nawatka] (int) what happened?. wanem samting i kamap?.

biki rokok (int) when. wanem taim.

biki saima (int) how many. hamaspela.

**bil bol** [u+] (adj) for skin to come off in hot water. skin i lus long hot wara.

**bilau** (v) slip away or through. abrusim.

bilau alau (adj) slippery. wel.

**bingil bangol** [K = rewe dewe] (adj) wound up, curvy. tantanim olgeta, i no stret.

**bir** [naku+] (n) dry frond shaft. han saksak.

**bir ber** (adj) do in your own way. mekim sampela wok long pasin bilong yu yet. -unpretentiously--

**bisisi** [+na, K = takul(na)] (adj) cold. kol.

**bisisu bususu** (n) steam from water on hot object. smok bilong wara i hat.

**biya** (v) finish altogether. pinisim olgeta.

**biya saya** (v) run away in a hurry. ranawe hariap.

**blafo kute wakre** (n) slippery ground, rust. graun malumalu, ros.

blala (adj) colorful. kala kala.

**blala** [+na] (v) strike (lightning). lait i pairap.

**blauwo** [a+] (n) leftovers. kaikai i no kaikai pinis.

**ble** (adj) slippery. i gat wara.

**blele ka i** (v) spread along the ground, go everywhere. *surik i karamapim graun, qo long olgeta hap.* --inanimates only--

blena aku (v) slippery. wel.

**blengu** (v) bruise, squish, soup. *liklik buk,* sup, memeim. --of fruit--

bleu (v) lick. klinim long tang.

**blili blala** (adj) light up (esp. from embers). i gat lait long paia.

**bliwi blauwo** (adj) part way. liklik (wokim samting).

**blo oku** (n) small pond. liklik raunwara.

**blofu kutu wakre** (n) dirt gathered on water's surface. pipia i stap antap long raunwara.

**blolo** (v) wipe on. putim i go antap.

bloso (v) pound flat, roll flat. mekim i slet.

**blosu** (v) pound with stick. paitim wantaim stik.

**bo** (v) remove kunai grass to prepare ground, peel banana. stretim hap na rausim ol kunai, rausim lip banana.

boi [boi boi] (adj) straight. stretpela.

**bol** (v) remove seeds, pop out. rausim ol sit, kamautim.

**bol bol** (n) decorative vine made of linked rings. bilas long rop i mekim wantaim ring i bung pinis.

**bombo** (*n.f.*) loud fly, buzzing, loud noise. bikpela lang, bikpela nois.

**bona** (v) remove fruit-bearing banana stem, yank branch to cut it. katim han i gat banana long en.

**bondi** (n) cucumber species. kukamba.

**bongo** (n) place where branch emerges from trunk. han i kam ausait long diwai.

**bongur** (n) cucumber species. kukamba.

**bor** (post) between, in the middle. namel.

**bor kir kirk** (adv) exactly in the middle. namel stret.

**boro boro** (v) pull up, rope used to lift. pulim i go antap, rop long apim.

bou (adj) dry. drai.

bou (v) emerge. kam ausait.

**bra** (n) cover (over a hole). karamapim (hul).

**bran** (n) rip in strips (as of leaf), tear. brukim lip.

**brau brau** (adj) stamp feet, fan flame, up and down. krungutim, wokim paia, i go antap na daunbilo.

**bre** [RDP] (n) landslide. graun i pundaun.

**bre** [K = tehena] (v) break loose, run away. i lus, ranawe.

**bre du** [bre = landslide] (n) landslide. graun i pundaun.

**brena aku** [prina aku] (v) fly away, scatter. plai, tromoim nabaut.

**bri bre** (adj) spin around. raun raun.

**bri i bre ya ni** (adj) seeing double. olgeta samting yu lukim tupela i stap.

bringi (v) divide in half. hapim.

**brongo** (v) break a leaf for food. brukim lip long kaikai.

**broro** (v) yank out, remove pig entrails with bamboo. rausim i kamaut, rausim bel bilong pik wantaim mambu.

**bruru** [RDP] (v) fly. plai.

**bu** (int) what. wanem.

**bu** (v) break. brukim.

**bu bum** (n) everything. olgeta samting.

**buku** (v) rub skin off seeds, pull feathers off a bird. rausim skin bilong ol sit o gras pisin.

**bul** (v) shatter. brukim olgeta.

**bulmba aka** (n) cantilievered bed for building a large (non-cooking) fire. *liklik* bet bilong wokim paia.

bulmu (n) lake, swamp. raunwara, ples tais.

**bulnu** (n) sap of vines used as fuel. blut bilong rop i kisim long kuk.

**bumblan** (n) small limbum. liklik limbum.

bumbu sauwom ene eku tamar (n) slave. man i mekim wok bilong arapela man.

**bunandi** (n) something. sampela samting.

**bundu** [embleo+] (n) slope, ridge. liklik maunten, kilrot.

**bungro a** (v) smash, crunch, chew up completely. *memeim*.

**bungu** (n) main shaft of leaf/frond/mushroom. bun bilong lip o talinga.

**bur** (v) pluck (feathers). rausim (ol gras bilong pisin).

**bur kana** (int) what is that?. em wanem?.

**bur kuw** (v) crunch, twist off. brukim, rausim.

**burnga yarnga** (n) special/magical skills or power. i yusim puripuri.

bursu [tongo+] (v) grind. wilwilim.

**busu** (v) fold leaf without breaking. hapim lip i no bruk.

**buta** (v) break bamboo. brukim mambu. -- when building roof--

**butu** [fu+ = punch] (v) make a fist, punch, put hands together. brukim han, paitim.

**buwsu** (v) break without severing. brukim tasol i yet no bruk olgeta.

### D

da (v) scrub: wash or dry (self). rabim (waswas, draim).

dal dal (v) flicker on and off. paia o lait i laitim na indai. --of a fire or firefly--

**dama** (v) fold up into bowl shape. brukim i go long plet.

dambi (n) grass species (kunai). kunai gras.

damen (v) roll (of cigarettes). tanim smok.

dana (n) daybreak. san i kamap.

**dana kute** (v) for morning to break. moning i stat.

danasu (v) set a time. makim taim.

danda (v) rub. rabim.

**dangwen** [a+ = partially chewed] (adj) chewy, tough (of food). strongpela (kaikai).

**der** (v) cut open lengthwise. katim longpela.
--used for snakes, spine is also removed--

**di** [K = o] (grm) one, some. wanpela, sampela. --DEM--

di delko i (v) take a secret route (to avoid detection). wokabaut hait.

di ningi (adv) sometimes, often, rarely, one day. planti taim, no gat planti.

**di wirki di warko** (adj) flail. surik i go i kam. - - up on alternating sides--

**di yoko fendam** (n) people from other places. ol manmeri bilong arapela hap.

difi (n) lower wing. daun long pul.

**difi** [ama difi] (n) instrument used to help taro grow. mambu long helpim taro i kamap.

**difi el** (n) central part of difi instrument. ples namel bilong mambu.

difor [+ka sau] (v) wake up. kirap.

**dil** (v) slide down. pundaun. --ending in death-

**dil dol** (adj) fall straight down and stick straight up in ground. pundaun na sanap stret long graun.

dimingi (n) chest. bros.

**dina** (v) be quiet, don't cry, enough. pasim maus, maski krai, inap.

**dinafle** [dinamble, K = dinafu] (adj) same. wankain.

**dinafler hiki** (v) decide. mekim wanpela tingting.

dingei tii (v) push. sakim.

dira dira [K = wolo wolo] (adv) a few. sampela.

dirambu (num) one (1). wan (1).

**diwir diwir** (n) earthquake. *guria*. --Kafle only, cf. yiflou yiflou--

**diwle** (n) stinging nettle. salat. --leaf rubbed on skin to kill pain--

dofo [gila+ = fabric covering (sauwa) under male
 genitals] (n) tie a knot (in fabric). mekim
 buk.

**doi doi** (v) bang together (like drumsticks). paitim wantaim.

**dol au** (n) fan leaf which grows on tree trunks. okit.

dombe (v) break. brukim.

**dondo** (v) slide. rasusim longpela.

**donsuna donsuna** (intj) tsk tsk. tok bilong sori.

**dorko** (v) scrape sago, pound ground (with stick). sikarapim saksak, paitim graun (wantaim stik).

**du** [bre+ = landslide] (n) valley, side of a mountain. maunten i go daun.

du (n) neck of bird. nek bilong pisin.

**dufu** (n) leaf for festival house. lip bilong singsing.

**dulsan** (n) basket made from bamboo. basket long mambu.

**dulu** (n) wall. banis (skin bilong haus).

dumbai (v) make noise. wokim nois.

dumbu (v) lean. slip.

**dumbu a** [K = dumbu dambu] (n) white spot (skin). waitpela hap skin.

**dumu muna** (v) kiss. kis. --action and sound-**dun** (pro) we two. yumitupela, mitupela. --1DU--

**dun** (v) go into ground, probe at. putim i go insait long graun.

**dungwa** (v) remove individual items from a pod or shell. rausim liklik bin.

**dunsu** (n) valley. ples daun.

**dur dan** [+si] (adj) rubbery, tough to eat (leaves). strongpela kaikai.

**durkun** [durkun kumba] (n) cordyline plant variety. bikpela lip.

**durna** (v) strengthen, dry up. mekim strong, mekim drai.

**duw basi** (n) cassowary head ridge. kap bilong muruk.

**duw walko** (n) rooster comb and waddle. kap bilong kakaruk man.

**duwan** (n) limbum (palm used for construction). limbum.

**duwan nawa** (n) limbum basket. *limbum* basket.

**duwan yenbun** (n) limbum (palm bark) bucket. basket long limbum.

duwarko na (v) sprain. lus (bilong skru).

duwlolo (n) shallow stream. liklik wara.

**duwn** [+go = start a large fire for cooking] (v) ignite a large fire. laitim bikpela paia.

duwn (v) join together. bungim.

duwye (v) lower head. putim het i go daun.

# Ε

e hakum (intj) oh sorry, oh yes. sori, yes.
ekaa (n.m.) food. kaikai. --ekaam = different
kinds of food--

ekaa wangu (v) starve. hangri tumas.

ekaa wau (v) be hungry. hangri.

ekra na [+kara] (adj) similar to. klostu wankain.

**ekra nawe** (adv) just in this way. olsem.

ekra ni (adv) just like that. olsem.

eku (v) do, make, use. mekim banis. --many--

eku barna (v) wander. wok nabaut.

eku tii (v) get rid of. tromoi.

**ekun** (intj) that one there. dispela i go long hap.

**el** (n) penis. kok.

el fan (n) erection. sanap stret.

el kulwa tama (adj) angry. belhat. -- statement of anger--

el oku (n) semen. wara bilong kok.

el tongo kul (v) masturbate. pilim kok.

elen (n) secret. hait (tok).

**elkwai** [ifi+] (n) trip line. rop long mekim i pundaun.

eloko (v) tell, say. tokim.

eloko barna (v) humiliate. bagarapim nem. elombo (n) lips. arere bilong maus. elombo tafra (n) cleft palate. arere bilong maus i bruk.

**elowo** (n) animal. abus.

elowo fle (v) hunt. painim abus.

elowo fu (v) hunt. painim abus.

em (int) who. husat (man).

embensini ['embensini, emben'sini] (intj)
maybe, I don't know. ating, mi no save.

embleo (n) mountain. maunten.

embleo kahamender (n) cliff, rough mountain. hap maunten i go daun.

**eme** (n) place. hap.

eme ale [K = eme nambu] (v) clean a place up.
klinim graun.

eme fa (adj) clearing, in public, naked. ples klia, as nating.

**eme wil** (n) sitting area. hap long sindaun. -- where leaf etc. has been placed--

emoko (int) whose. bilong husat.

emta (n) half. hap.

**endon** (n) truth. trupela.

ene (pro) me. long mi. --1SG.OBJ--

**eneku** (v) improve, develop. kamapim, mekim moa gut.

**engle** (n) love spell, ingredients for a spell. malira, ol samting bilong poisin.

**engurka** (n) fuzz, prickles. mosong.

er [K = eloko] (v) speak. tok.

er aku (v) be afraid of. pret long.

er kombo fa kombo (phr) happy behavior on arrival or departure of another. ol pasin long amamasim man i kam o go.

er mesu (v) ask. askim.

**er numbu** (phr) greeting, goodbye. salut. -- used with Nalingi--

er rete (v) send. salim.

er sokom (n) and all the rest (of her family). olgeta famili. --Kafle only--

er wawa [+ isi] (v) summon spirits. singautim ol masalai. --Kafle only--

er wawa isi (v) pray to spirit for help in killing. singautim ol masalai long kisim help. --Kafle only--

era (intj) okay. orait.

erete (v) send. salim. --er + rete--

erewe naweka rii tamar (n) liar. giaman man.

**erewe tama** (n) hypocrite. man bilong tok aiaman.

**erfa** [tolo + = explain] (v) inform. tok save.

erka (v) want, be ready to. laik, redi.

erka kemen (intj) what the...?. wanem samting?.

ese kur [K = ese] (n) ringworm, tinea. grile. esoko [esko] (n) dew. wara long gras. esunguna (adj) now, just now. nau.

#### F

fa (v) swim. swim.

**fa** (v) plant two sticks in an 'X'. planim tupela stik olsem 'X'. --to make a bed--

**fa** (v) full growth, ready to eat (pitpit or sago). kamap pinis, redi long kaikai (pitpit o saksak).

**faina** [tongo+] (v) drop, miss (a shot). larim em pundaun, abrusim.

fal (n) long feathers. longpela gras pisin.

**fal fal** [+ta] (v) come and go, back and forth. kam na go.

fal na [K = bou] (v) turn, turn into, rotate
 (cooking food), twist. krungutim, tanim
 i go long, tanim kaikai (i kuk).

**fame** (n.f.) river (large). bikplela wara.

**fana** (v) carry a child in a sling. karim pikinini long rop.

**fanga** (n) leaf of wild sago. lip bilong wel saksak.

fangi (n) river (small). liklik wara.

**fasu** (v) cook on a fire wrapped in a leaf. kukim insait lip long paia.

fe (pro) them two. tupela. -- 3DU.OBJ--

**feke** [terfa+] (v) lay out on top, carry on top of head. karim antap long het. -- especially of house beams--

**fel mango** (n) center of singsing area or of swamp. namel long singsing o ples tais.

**felmbu** (v) huddle up (as in fetal position). holim bodi bilong yu yet.

felnde (n.b.) bird. pisin.

**felnde afu mai** (n) cassowary bone used as a needle. bun bilong muruk long wokim hul.

**feInde aka** (n) bird blind. haus long painim ol pisin. --house built in trees to hunt for birds--

**felnde bi** (n) beak. maus bilong pisin.

felnde kulka (n) feather. gras bilong pisin.

**felnde lako** (n) egg. kiau.

**felnde wosu** (n) nest. haus bilong pisin.

**fenda** [K = yenda, henda, hena] (post) from, be from. long (kam long, kamaut long).

**fendo** (v) reinforce. sapotim.

**fendumbu** (v) carry under arm, carry in crook of elbow. holim aninit long han o skru bilong han.

**fer** (n) pig, horse. pik, hos.

**fer** (v) mold, rub (clay). wokim (graun), rabim.

**fer klulu** (v) feel with back of hand. *pilim* long baksait bilong han.

**fer mir** (n) brown pig. braun pik.

fer nawek i (v) crawl. wokabaut long bel.

**fer oku sul** (n) pig watering hole. wara bilong ol pik long waswas. --filthy water at roadside--

**fer tasu i** (v) go hunt/chase pig. ranim pik. **fer waa** (n) domesticated pig. pik bilong ples.

**fer wosu** (n) pig bush home, mosquito net. haus bilong pik, moskito net.

**fer youre** (n) trail used for driving pigs. rot long bus long ol pik.

**feta** (v) show (s.o.). soim sampela man.

**feta kata** (v) show around (many things). soim planti samting.

**fi** (*n.f.*) mosquito. *natnat*.

**fi** [naku+ = sago water, muku+ = breast milk, suwa+ = coconut water] (n) milk. susu.

**fi** (n) spear. spia.

**fi fi** (v) make dirty (of water). i kamap doti (wara).

**fi kusa** [ku'sa] (n) spear without a tip (shaft sharpened). mambu i sap olsem spia.

**fi sul** (n) land taken by force. kisim graun bilong arapela.

fi tombo (n) spear shaft. bodi bilong spia.

**filni falna** [K = bri bre] (v) change back and forth. senisim pes.

fingri [fin'gri, fringi] (adj) tall. bikpela.

**fir fir for for** (adj) splotchy with colors (like camoflauge). kala kala.

**fir mango** [kefur+] (n) blister. buk i gat wara.

**fisi** [lesu+ = right hand] (adj) right. raithan sait.

**fiti** (v) cover a hole with dirt. karamapim, planim kokonas. --when planting a coconut, yam, or mami--

**fiwol** (n) shield. samting long banisim ol spia. --made from pig skin--

**fla** (adj) shred. katim i go long planti hap. -- of a leaf when making decorations--

**flate** (v) break a vine. brukim rop. --used when making portable coconut--

**fle** (v) find. painim pinis.

**flen** (adj) small (of grass and leaves). liklik (gras na lip).

**flili flolo** [flili flulu] (adj) snore, sound of a flute. pulimnus, nois bilong mambu.

**flo** (v) overgrow with weeds. i gat planti gras no gut.

**foko** (n) muddy water. wara i gat graun. --in road--

**foku** (n) young plant (sapling). liklik sayor (taim i planim pinis).

**for** (v) collect or sweep away (embers). hiphipim o klinim liklik paia.

for nuwa (v) give fire (embers). givim liklik paia.

forna (v) pull up (of a plant). rausim (sayor).

fra [susu ka+ = stand and pee] (v) spray, split
 apart, pass out (coins). haphapim, tilim,
 kapsaitim wara.

fri fro [K = fro fro] (adj) rinse off. waswas
 liklik.

fru eme (n) valley. ples daun.

fu (pro) they two. tupela. --3DU--

**fu** (v) sew. samap.

**fu ambo** (v) be covered, be surrounded. i karamap, i raunim olgeta. --e.g. swarm of flies, spiderweb--

fu blala na nuwa (v) slap. solapim.

fu griri (v) scrape. skrapim.

**fu gun** [tongo gun] (n) dent. beng.

**fu gurmba** (n) itch, scratch. skrap.

**fu kwiyi** [+ka wuya] (n) early morning, late afternoon. moning o apinun i gat liklik lait. --as sun rises/sets, enough light to see--

**fu wangora** (v) stamp foot to protect one's spirit. daunim fut long lukautim spirit.

fu wunsondo nuwa (n) whip. wip.

**ful** [RDP] (v) plant by inserting with hand (esp. a stick). planim long putim stik i go insait.

fun (pro) you two. yutupela. --2DU--

**fun** (v) grow up and blossom (of yam/mami). kamap wantaim plaua.

**furku** (v) for a lizard's tail to break off. *tel* bilong palai i bruk pinis.

**furndu na** [K = ungwre] (v) startle, jump in surprise. kirap nogut.

**fuwol** [aku+] (v) break a shoot. brukim liklik diwai.

# G

gai [+wuya] (n) hair (white). gras (waitpela).
gaie (n) feathers. gras bilong pisin.
gaima [lesu+ = left hand] (adj) left. lephan sait.

gal (n) sago jelly ball. susu saksak.

gala (n) twig, thin stick. liklik stik.

gali (n) testicle. bol.

**galmbon** (n) sago bark. skin long saksak. -- board made from naku galwo--

**galo** (v) raise, pull or peel back (lid etc.). rausim (tuptup).

**galwo** (n) bark from live sago. pangal saksak. --used to make sago bed (naku yofu)--

galwo a (n) sago bark used in bulmba aka.

pangal saksak bilong bulmba aka.

galwo kuwsu (v) lock (door). lokim dua.

galwo wama (n) kindling and bottom supports of bulmba aka. liklik hap diwai na hap i stap aninit bilong bulmba aka.

galwo wuta (n) top layers of bulmba aka.

hap i stap antap bilong bulmba aka.

gam (n) beetle (flat and round). binatang
bilong kaikai lip. --any small hard insect--

gam [+nuwa = give food] (v) pour. kapsaitim.

gam tii (v) spill, wipe away. larim em pundaun.

**gamba** [oku+] (n) reflection, mirror. glas bilong lukluk.

gamu (adj) white. wait.

gan (post) edges. arere.

gana (n.b.) younger same-sex sibling or cousin (from parent's same-sex sibling). liklik brata bilong man o susa bilong meri.

gara (n) driftwood. diwai i kamap long nambis.

gasiwa (n.f.) sister (as spoken by her brother), female cousin (from parent's same-sex sibling). susa (bilong man), pikinini meri bilong brata bilong papa o susa bilong mama.

gaso (v) remove inner shell (papery covering) from nut. skin bilong kapiak.

**gau** (v) remove bark (in sheets). rausim skin diwai.

gausa [lesu+] (n) shoulder. sol.

**gel** (n) branch (with a fork). han bilong diwai (i gat tupela hap).

**gelna** (v) remove an unripe banana. rausim banana i no mau yet.

**gen** (n) sound. belo.

gerere (v) growl. tok kros.

**geu geu** (adj) murmur, crackle, shiver. saun bilong seksek. --ONOM--

**gil** (n) ceremonial pole used for payment of bride price. longpela diwai long bikpela bung i mekim long baim meri.

**gila** (n) large stick (often for stirring sago jelly). bikpela stik (long miksim saksak).

**gila gungwa** (v) stick to hold up bark covering. *stik long holim laplap*.

ginfa (n) back. baksait.

ginfa yefa (n) spine. bun bilong baksait.

**gir gir** (v) slide, slither. surik olsem snek. --of snakes and worms--

**gira burka** (int) what's this. dispela em wanem?.

**girfi towi** (v) hop. kalap. --two feet-**giri guro** (v) fall apart, snort, oink.

bagarap(im), nois olsem pik.

girsi (n.b.) frog. prok.

**glengu** (n) failed fruiting body (small). *liklik* prut i no kamap bikpela pinis. --mango, coconut, betelnut, etc.--

**glir glor** [glor glor] (adj) noise, jingle. nois. -- shaking or jingling--

**glou** [+a] (adj) good to eat. gutpela kaikai.

gloulo (adj) very tall. longpela tru.

**go** (v) ignite fire for cooking. *laitim paia* bilong kuk. --small fire, 2-3 logs--

**golo** (n) beginning, first time, now. stat, pastaim, nau.

golo mende (adj) brand new. nupela.

**gome fa mu** (n) axe handle. stik bilong tamiok.

gome faa (n) metal axe. tamiok long ain.

gorngi (n) wild taro. wel taro.

**gorso** (v) stick to. putim i go pas.

gou (v) pile up. hiphipim.

- **gowe** [isi+] (v) broadcast. toktok bikpela.
- **gowen** (n) bark from old sago. pangal bilong olpela saksak.
- **gra** (n) fern-like plant. aran.
- **grafa** (n) rubbish. pipia. --sticks left over from fire--
- **gramba** (n) stick for planting. stik long brukim graun.
- **gramba saku** (n) walking stick. *stik bilong* wokabaut.
- **gramba sarsar** (n) large digging stick. bikpela stik long brukim graun.
- gramba warmona (n) small digging stick for yam and mami. liklik stik long brukim graun bilong yam mami.
- **grambi** (n) mango. mango.
- **grato** (v) flay. katim long tupela hap.
- gre (v) scrape to start fire. sikarapim long statim paia.
- **gre gre** (v) fine abrasive dust. *liklik das ii* sikarapim.
- **grembu** (n) frond branch (hard interior portion). han bilong diwai.
- grewe [RDP, yoko+ = other side] (n) edge, bank.
   sait (bilong wara, maunten).
- grisi greso (v) try to grab something that runs away, feel weak. traim long kisim abus i ranawe pinis, pilim wik.
- **grom** (v) shatter (esp. bamboo). brukim i go long planti hap (mambu).
- groro groro (v) scratch. skrapim.
- **grou** (n) in the middle. namel. --cf. krou--
- **grou** [RDP = shake] (v) make noise. mekim nois.
- gru (v) pile up dirt. hiphipim graun.
- **gru fiti** (v) pile dirt over, remove topsoil. karamapim wantaim graun, rausim graun.

- gru ou ako ou (v) sweep. brumim.
- **gruru** (v) shake, shiver, snore. sekim o guria. --as of chills--
- gu (n) young leaf or frond. kru.
- **gu** (v) cut out, split sago. katim na rausim, katim saksak.
- gu taku (n) facial hair. gras bilong pes.
- **gul** (adj) short. sot. --not necessarily small--
- gul busa [bul gusa] (v) spit. spetim.
- **gulfu** (v) cut in half, chop repeatedly. hapim, katim planti taim.
- **gulma** (n.b.) mantis or grasshopper. grashopa.
- **gulmombu** (v) ready to flower (of mushroom). redi long kamap (talinga).
- **gumbo** (n) new growth. nupela rop. --not ready to harvest--
- **gun** (n) dent. beng.
- **gun** (v) stuff in to block ears. putim i go insait long pasim yau.
- **gungwa** (n) giant beetle species. bikpela binatang bilong kaikai lip. --wate, busu, some become gungwa--
- **gur** (v) tie, wrap around. pasim gut. --esp. large objects--
- **gur gur nangur sa** (v) full of sores. i gat planti sua.
- **gurmba** (v) scrape or scratch, shave off wood bits. skrapim, rausim diwai.
- **gurmbo** (adj) blue. blupela. --cf. (terfa) kurkurmbo--
- gursu (v) cough, sneeze. kus.
- **gusa** (v) glue inside tubers. *ol lain bilong* yam mami.
- **gusu** (n) joint in bamboo. han bilong mambu.
- **gusu** (v) tie, bend in half. pasim, krungutim long hap.
- **guw** (v) loosen and fall. i lus na pundaun.

guwsu (n) razor. resa.

**guwsu** (n) horizontal slab in bamboo which divides sections. slet insait long mambu i pasim hap.

gwa (n) fog. sno.

gwa [mu+ = hard] (v) punch (lesu+), kick (suwa+). paitim (han o put).

**gwai** (v) puzzle out, discuss. bung long toktok.

**gwal** (v) pick up sago, remove skin. kisim saksak, rausim skin.

**gwal aku** [K = fengrako] (v) come loose and fall. lus na pundaun.

**gwal gwal** (intj) call of mammal. nois bilong rat.

**gwalsa** [gila+] (n) clothespin. samting long pasim klos.

**gwame** (n) bowl. plet. --made of limbum or limbum-like substance--

**gwarlako** [wafu] (n) heart. hat, klok.

gwasi (v) peel (banana), remove skin (yam).

rausim skin (bilong banana, yam,
mami).

**gwehe** (n) partially uncooked food. kaikai i no kuk pinis.

gwehe sayi (n) decorations. bilas.

**gwehe ta** (adj) red, pink or gold color at sunset. retpela o yelopela kala taim sandaun.

gwesai i (n) dressings. ol laplap.

gweu (v) lift. apim i go antap.

gwini (n) mushroom. talinga.

gwiyo (n.b.) firefly. komkom, paiaplai.

**gwiyo yen yen keteka akuyar** (n) shooting star. *sta i paia na suruk.* 

**gwlar gwlar** (n) shell noise maker. sel bilong mekim nois.

**gwoho** (v) shout, animal noise. bikmaus, nois bilong abus.

gwoho i gwoho ya (v) shout. bikmaus.

gwre (v) jump up. kalap kalap.

gwru gwru (adj) shake from nerves. guria.

#### Н

**hako** (v) wipe away debris. rausim pipia. -- ancestors would use mangas leaves to wipe away sickness--

hako hako (v) sure, okay. orait.

**haku** (v) divide mami. tilim mami. --some to plant and some to eat--

hanganafu [(h)anganafe, K = (h)anganambu/-be/, somra] (adv) fast, quickly, hurry. hariap.

**hau** (intj) dog's cry. krai bilong dok. --on catching an animal--

hauna (v) come together. bungim.

hauwa aku (v) move house. senisim haus.

**hele** [hele ya] (intj) hurry up, don't dawdle. hariap, no ken westim taim.

hema kama (v) mimic words. behainim tok.

**hema ni** (v) check (if something fits, etc.). skelim.

**hembu** [K = yembu] (v) hold tucked or cradled in arms. holim aninit o insait long of han.

hewe kawe (v) trick. giaman.

**hiki** [iki] (v) remember, think, know. ting.

**hiki haka** (v) be confused, wrong understanding. paulim tingting.

hili hala [hili hala] (adj) try but fail. traim tasol nogat.

**hingre hangre** (adj) joke, play around. giaman na lap.

**hingre hangre yoko ekur** (n) joker. man bilong lap.

**ho ho ho** (intj) sound of drumbeats. belo (bilong kundu o garamut).

**hoi** (v) hold tight. holim gut.

**hoi hai** (v) take care of, organize. *lukautim,* stretim.

**hoi hoi** (*intj*) sound used when hunting pigs. saun bilong painim pik.

hokwa kete (v) sing. sing.

**hokwek na** [hokwek tombo na] (v) waste time. westim taim.

hol (v) loose. i lus.

holei (adj) dangerous. samting nogut.

holo wafu (adj) be upset. bel hat.

**hongo** (v) put into a hole/loop to carry, set in a frame. putim insait long hul long karim. --needle hole--

**horke harke** (adj) mixture of food. kain kain kaikai.

**huma** (n) mami skin added to sago to increase the amount. skin mami long apim saksak.

**huma fa tu** (n) spell to get sick, forget, lose emotion, etc.. sanguma. --cast on stone which is planted near recipient's home--

**humbo** (v) slacken. mekim i lus.

**humondu** (n) spell to forget. poisin long lusim tingting. --use person's leavings, burn in fire or wrap around stone and bury--

### ı

i (intj) vocative marker. wot bilong singautim man.

i (v) go away. *qo*.

i tama i [K = hangor] (intj) hey you. yupela!.

ifa afa [K = bir ber] (v) walk cautiously.

wokabaut isi isi.

ifi (n) trap (for animals). trap long abus.

ifi finsi (v) drop a log, for a tree to fall. larim diwai i pundaun, diwai i pundaun.

**ifi lako** (n) log trap for bandicoot (trip line and crush). trap long mumut.

ifi lulu (n) system of connected log traps to catch rats. bikpela trap long mumut long ples daun. --walled off area between hills--

iki (neg) no, not. no, nogat.

iki ale (v) pay attention. lukluk gut.

iki di ningik (adv) never. i no gat wanpela taim.

iki namra mesu (v) disobey. sakim tok.

iki naweyan re fur erka (n) grudge. kros na i laik bekim.

ili (post) top. antap.

inba [minba] (post) beside, near (KF). klostu long.

indi [in'dik] (adv) go back. go bek. --often with -k--

indor (adj) true, legitimate. trupela.

inin ['inin] (n) sap (thick). blut bilong diwai.

ir erka hikin (v) wish/desire. laik. --to go somewhere--

ir oku (n) tears. aiwara.

iroko [eriko] (intj) where (motive). we (i go long we).

is is [es es] (intj) call to dogs (esp. while hunting). singaut long dok (long painim abus).

**isi** (n) whistle call. singaut long arere long maus.

**isi** (v) animal vocalization, call out. abus i singaut.

isuku [K = usku] (n) sneeze, cough, cold (sick).
kus.

# K

**ka** (grm) realis. wot i got mining "nau".
--REAL--

**ka afinau ambe** (v) make peace. mekim kol bel.

**ka kahar yayar a** *(phr)* greeting upon return of a friend. *wot long tok halo long poro.*--literally: "So the bad one comes?"--

**ka mesuya** [kama'seya] (int) did you hear?. yu harim?. --to confirm with listener--

**ka wula aku** [gre gre ta + aku] (v) evaporate. wara i go olgeta.

kamben (cnj) or. o

**kafta** (n) outside. ausait.

kafu (v) count. kaunim.

**kafu nakir** (v) count out exactly. *kaunim* stret.

kaha [ka'ha] (adj) bad. nogut.

kaha (n) in-law. famili bilong man o meri.

**kaha kana** [ka'hakana] (adj) many (in amount). planti. --cf. wengam--

**kaha kuna** (n) accident, messed up. bagarap o paul pinis.

kaha ni (adj) ugly, dirty. i no naispela.

**kahaiembo** [kaimbow, +kanda, K = biki it] (adj) small, young. liklik, yangpela.

kahar (v) sorry. sori.

kai [yen+] (n) newborn. nupela pikinini.

kaka (intj) so, all right. orait.

**kaku** (n) mami (tuber similar to yam). mami.

kaku sa ra tongo (v) harvest (mami). taim bilong kamautim mami.

kana (post) with. wantaim. --together with--kanda (adj) thin, narrow, small (child). bun nating, i no brait liklik, liklik (pikinini).

**kara** *(intj)* therefore, truly, indeed (after verb). *trupela*.

karwi [karni] (n) morning. moning.

kasa [ka'sa] (adj) red. ret.

kasak nakar (adj) very bright red. ret i tulait.

**kasi** [kasik, kasi sambak] (loc) over there. long hap. --REM--

**kau** (v) write, paint on, make designs on. raitim, bilasim.

**ke** (grm) this. dispela. --PROX--

**kefen** [kefel] (pro) you two (obj.). long yutupela. --2DU.OBJ, used to address group--

**kefu** (n) blood. blut.

**kehek** (neg) cf. nanak. lukim nanak. --Kafle only--

**kekra yombo** (adv) this (tall, heavy, etc.). (bikpela) olsem. --use with gesture--

kekwra [kera okwra] (loc) here. hia. --PROX--

kel (adj) fresh, young-looking. yangpela.

kelembu (n) container (cup). kap.

**kemela** (*intj*) hey!, you people. *olaboi, yupela*.

**kemen** (pro) you all (obj.). long yupela. -- 2PL.OBJ, used as address to group--

**ken** (n) sound of eating/drinking. nois bilong kaikai.

**keso** [K = tawu] (n) remove skin (yam, limbum). rausim skin (yam, limbum).

**kete tuka** (v) jump out, come down. kalap, kam daunbilo. --Kafle only--

ki (n) vagina. bokis bilong meri. --"enclosure"-

**ki** (v) build a house. wokim haus. -- "enclosure"--

**ki mel** (n) vulva. bokis bilong meri.

**ki oku** (n) vaginal secretions. wara bilong bokis bilong meri.

**kifal** [K = kilfan, kinfal] (n) wind. win.

kin (n) tail. tel.

**kin** (n) last, end, youngest child, top of banana. diwai i pundaun pinis.

**kin gala bundu** (n) backbone, spine. bun bilong baksait.

kin menam (adj) long. longpela.

**kina** [RDP] (v) come after, behind. kam behain.

**kindi kundu** (adj) in a zigzag fashion. i go i go kam.

**kio kio** (adj) up and down. i go antap na daunbilo.

**kirau** (n) party or feast held occasionally. singsing i kamap sampela taim.

**kirfi** [oku+ = cross water] (v) cross. brukim (wara).

**kiri** (n) fire, firewood. paia, paiawut. -- metaphorically = problem--

**kiri meke** (n) portable fire. paia i stap long stik. --embers on a stick--

kiri nawek wuya (v) get angry. bel hat.

**kiri sefu** (n) weak fire. liklik paia.

**kiri sufun** (n) smoke (fire). sumuk (long paia).

**kirio** (intj) hooray ('ho ho ho ho'). tok bilong amamas.

kirkir (adj) middle. namel.

**kisi** (v) boil (trans). boilim.

**kitil kutol** [kutol kutol, kitil kotol] (v) jump, hop. kalap kalap.

**kiyi kiyi** (adj) right now, as soon as possible. nau stret, kwiktaim.

**kla** (v) clean area to prepare to cut down a tree. klinim graun long redim long katim diwai.

**klei** (inti) and then. nau, orait.

kofo (adj) muddy. graun malumalu.

**kofon** (n) steam. smok bilong wara.

**koko gamu** (n) white skin, white person. waitman.

**kokoma** (n) stick, short and thick for throwing. stik, liklik long tromoi. --used to knock down galip nuts--

**kokul** (n) firewood piece split lengthwise. katim paiawut long longpela hap.

kokumbu (n) neck. nek.

kokwre (v) jump. kalap.

**kol** [lesu+ = armpit, suwa+ = crotch] (n) pit. hul.

kolma (n) sore. sua.

kom (n) village. ples.

**kom ale** [K = kom kla] (v) prepare area. stretim ples.

**kom kom** (n) all over the place. long olgeta hap.

**kombo** (n) sorrow. sori. --particularly at departure--

**kombo mesu** (v) be sorry, "it's okay". pilim sori, "em orait". --same as "beena"--

**kombo ni** [K = kombo kombo] (v) be poor. tarangau.

kon (v) sharpen knife. sapim naip.

**kondu** (post) top, top of mountain. antap (bilong maunten).

**korfi korfi** (adj) writhe (of detached tail). tel i surik surik.

kormo (adj) orange decorative fruit. muli.

**kormo kulfo** (n) green decorative fruit. grinpela muli.

**kou** (v) file (knife etc.). naip long sapim.

**koukre** (v) roll over. tanim olgeta.

**kowe** (n) steep (of mountain). i go daun tumas (long maunten).

kra (v) cry. krai.

**krafo** (n) only child. pikinini i no gat brata susa.

**krafo kute** (v) have a child. karim pikinini.

**kre** (v) pound. paitim.

**kre sul** (n) colored dirt. graun i gat kala.

**kri** (v) make bridge. wokim bris.

**kri kri** (adj) lean against or lay across. slip long.

**kroro** [RDP] (v) crawl (centipedes, snails...). wokabaut long bel. --TP--

**kroro guw** (n) support bamboo for roof apex. bim (mambu) i stap antap long rup.

**krorongo** [aka+] (n) support beam. bim.

**krou** [RDP] (adj) round. raun.

**kruru suru** (adj) pretend by making noise. mekim nois long giaman.

ku (intj) noise of rain. nois bilong ren.

**ku** (v) give birth, father. karim pikinini.

ku aku (v) pull a limb out. rausim han o lek.

**kufe** [kuˈfe] (adj) good, happy. gutpela, amamas.

kufe iki (adj) happy. amamas.

kufe sumba (adj) tasty. swit.

**kufeni** (adj) pretty, clean, smart. klin, nais, i gat save.

**kufu** (n) rope, vine, lineage. rop, lain.

**kufu nele** (v) hang. hangamap.

**kufu yuwklu** (n) vine prepared for use (skinned and dried). rop redi long wokim (i no gat skin).

**kukumbu** (n) neck. nek.

**kukumbu yefa** (n) back of neck. baksait bilong nek.

kukwe (n) fat, cooking oil. qris.

**kukwe** [mulu+, sofo+, fer+] (n) fat (used as cooking oil). gris bilong kuk (olsem wel).

kukwi (adv) hurry. hariap.

**kul** (n) bead, money. bis, smolbis, mani.

**kul fer rete** (n) compensation (related to bride price). mani i givim long baim

*meri.* --traditionally an exchange of beads and pigs--

kul okwa (n) bead with hole. bis i gat hul.kul soto (v) remove (sheet from stack).rausim lip long hip.

kulfo (adj) green, uncooked. grin, amat.

**kulka** [kul'ka] (n) hair, leaf, insect wing. gras bilong het, lip, han bilong binatang.

**kulko** [kul'ko] (v) scrape wood (as in sandpaper). sikarapim diwai. --used to sharpen knife as well as work wood--

**kulu** (n) path, road, behavior (ways). rot, pasin.

**kulu taku** [K = kulu sumbu] (n) side of road. sait bilong rot.

**kulu tenge** (n) junction. ol rot i bung.

kum (pro) you all. yupela. --2PL--

kumba (n) leaf. lip.

kumba okwe (n) dead leaf. lip i drai pinis.

**kuna** (grm) emphatic, self. wot long strongim tok, man yet. --self--

kuna (v) wait for. wetim.

**kuna kuna** [K = gan gan] (adj) different. narapela kain.

**kuna noko sauwo** (phr) that's your business/responsibility. em samting bilong yu.

kuna susu (v) guard. was long.

kuna yaku (grm) one's own. bilong man yet.

**kuna yena** (grm) to each his own share. wanwan hap bilong wanwan man.

**kundu** (n) stump. liklik diwai.

**kunsu tuku** (n) mold. mau pinis na i gat mosong.

**kur** [+si = very black] (adj) black. blak.

kur (adj) sky, high. skai, antap tru.

kur (v) pick (bali). kisim (aibika).

**kur bombo** (n) airplane. balus.

kur su [kur kur] (n) ash. sit bilong paia.

**kurfa** (v) grate. skrapim. --strong scratch--

kurna (n) dusk. klostu tudak.

**kurna** (v) for dusk to arrive. klostu tudak i kamap.

**kursei** [RDP] (n) raspy noise. nois olsem skrapim. --ONOM--

kursi (adj) very black. blakpela tru.

**kursu walaman ya** (v) dark clouds when a big rain is coming. ol klaut tudak taim bikpela ren i kam.

**kuso** (n) decorations in singsing area. bilas bilong singsing.

kusu [+tikte, +tii] (v) chase. ranim.

**kute** [kete, K = sara] (v) slice, cut (grass, flowers). katim (gras, plaua).

**kute** (v) pick leaf, cut animal or grass. *kisim lip, katim abus o gras*.

kute wiyi (v) burp. traut.

**kutu** (v) splash, scoop out (water). wara i kamap taim sampela i kalap long en, rausim wara.

**kuw** [K = na] (v) collect (Mini or Same). kisim na bungim (buai o ton).

**kuwa** (adj) soft (esp. of fruit), smell. malumalu (prut), smel.

kuwa mesu (v) sniff. smelim.

**kuwr** (v) scrape, shave, fashion garamut. *sikarapim, wokim qaramut.* 

kuwsu (v) close (door). pasim dua.

**kwai kwai** [RDP] (n) small sticks for turning sago jelly. *liklik stik long tanim saksak*.

**kwande** (n) bird feathers used to decorate cap. gras pisin long bilasim.

kwar bar lu (adj) dizzy. ai i raun.

**kwaramba** (n) snake bone. bun bilong snek.

**kware** (v) smoke or dry fish. pis i smokim o draim pinis.

**kwasi** (n) peel (of banana). rausim skin banana.

**kwata** (v) rub, spread glue. rabim, laimim. -- tree branches on which glue is placed--

**kwaya** (n) yellow Same seeds. yelopela sit bilong ton.

kwaya (v) smell. smelim.

**kwesu** (adj) yellow, orange, yellow-brown. yelopela, orens, yelo na braun.

**kwesu kwiyo** (adj) dark brown color.

braunpela kala tudak. --color of coconut shell (kulau)--

**kwete** (n) vomit, clear throat. traut, rausim pipia long nek.

**kwi kwai** (adj) up and down. i go antap na daunbilo.

kwini (v) chop firewood. katim paiawut.

kwiyau (v) lean down. brukim bek.

**kwiyi** (v) cut (esp. deeply), cut cane grass. katim (bikpela), katim pitpit. --while preparing animals for cooking--

**kwla** (v) have sex. koapim.

**kwlele** (n) sinewy insides (of wild fruit). strongpela lain bilong ol prut.

**kwleya** (adj) bad/strong taste, stinging sensation. kaikai hat, pait. --bitter, spicy, etc.--

kwleya wafu (n) gallbladder. lewa.

**kwre** (v) hang something. hangamapim. -- used when suspended over a fire, also with hands--

**kwresu** (v) place leaf-holding bamboo in roof. wokim rup wantaim mambu long holim ol lip. --important part of roof-building process--

**kwro kwro** (v) collect mud. hipimapim malumalu.

#### L

laka (adj) big, oldest child. bikpela, namba wan pikinini. --SPL--

laka (v) weave together. flain.

laka bol (v) stare. lukim strong.

lako (n) eye. ai.

lako bu (v) shut eyes. pasim ai.

**lako bur bur fele fele** (v) blink quickly.

brukim ai hariap. --done when making a joke--

**lako bur tanngur** (v) blink. brukim ai. --done to express romantic interest--

lako felnde (n) eyelash. gras bilong ai.

lako gai (n) white of eye. waitpela hap ai.

lako gaima (n) sidelong glance. lukim long sait bilong ai.

lako golwa [lako kaha] (n) one eye. man i gat wanpela ai.

lako kur (n) pupil. blakpela hap bilong ai.

**lako mir** (v) look straight in eyes. *lukim* strong long ai.

lako musuka (n) eyebrow. gras antap long ai.

lako timba (n) blind person. man aipas.

lako wando (n) pupil, iris. hap tudak insait long ai.

lako yen [+meke] (n) iris. hap ai i gat kala.

**lakwiyi** (n) first-born child. namba wan pikinini.

lam (n) arrow, thorn. spia (bilong banara).

lam bendu (n) sago arrowtip. spia long saksak.

lam bendu (n) arrow with many spears (6-7). spia i gat planti hap. --sago--

lam gwroso (n) arrow with four spears. spia i qat foapela hap. --bamboo--

**lam gwroso** (n) arrow tip. het bilong spia. -- some have hooks, some don't--

**lam opei** (n) arrow with one spear. spia i gat wanpela hap. --bamboo--

**landu** (n) bellybutton, umbilical cord, placenta. hul bilong bel, bilum (doti bilong pikinini).

lasi [K = lisi] (num) two (2). tu (2).

lasifirndi [K = lisifirndin] (num) three (3). tri (3).

**lasifu lasifu** [K = lisifu lisifu] (num) four (4). foa (4).

late (v) open a door or window. opim dua o windo.

lau (v) spread flat, lay out. slipim long graun.

leferko (v) fold. hapim.

**lei** (v) hang (from vine), ready to eat (with seeds). hangamapim (long rop), redi long kaikai.

**lendo** (v) hide, cover (esp. with a leaf). hait, karamapim (wantaim lip).

**lermu sermu** (adj) have sex in an aggressive manner. koapim pait.

**lesu** (n) hand, arm, finger, handle. han, pinga. --in a compound: gwini lesu(r) = hand planted gwini--

lesu afa (n) thumb. bikpla pinga.

**lesu arma fuyau** (n) middle finger. bikpela pinga namel.

**lesu bela** (n) forearm. han.

lesu bombo (v) clap. paitim han.

**lesu bor** (n) pointer finger, ring finger. namba wan na tri pinga.

**lesu bouna** (n) crack knuckles. brukim pinga.

**lesu du** (n) elbow (back). baksait bilong skru bilong han.

lesu gaien (n) pinkie. liklik pinga.

lesu gausa (n) shoulder. sol.

lesu gilombo (n) forearm. han.

**lesu gisi** [+sere = cut fingernails] (n) fingernail. kapa bilong pinga.

**lesu gisi tombo** (n) cuticle. hap long kapa i kamaut.

**lesu gul na tongo** (v) link arms. bungim han. **lesu gusu** (n) joint. skru.

**lesu guwl** (n) elbow. skru bilong han (namel).

lesu lako [lesu lauko] (n) hand. han.

lesu na tongo (v) hold hands. holim han.

**lesu om** (n) upper arm. han antap.

**lesu om gumbul** (n) wrist. skru i stap antap long han.

lesu tongo (v) shake hands. sekan.

lesu wafu (n) palm. insait bilong han.

**lesu wol** (n) upper wing. antap long pul.

lesu yokondambe (n) fist. han i pas.

**lesuk feta** (n) sign language. tok bilong yaupas.

**lete** (v) remove leaf, shuck (cane grass). rausim lip (bilong pitpit).

li (n.f.) sore. sua.

**li** (n) tail feathers of bird used as decorations. gras pisin long bilasim.

**lifir mango** (n) pus. waitpela blut.

**liki** (n) skin (person or fruit). skin (bilong man o prut).

liki bau (v) scrape skin off. sikarapim i lus.

**liki gamu** (n) white skin, white person. waitman.

**liki kasa** (n) light black skin. man i gat skin blak liklik.

**liki kur** (n) dark black skin. man i gat skin blak tudak.

**liki manngra** (n) goose bump. skin i kirap nogut.

liki mena (v) with skin. i gat skin.

liki tombo (n) food scraps. ol hap kaikai.

lili (v) hang. hangamapim.

**lisi** (v) burn, cook in or over fire. kukim long paia.

lisi (v) drag, pull. pulim long graun.

**lisi lisi hikiyan** (v) be indecisive. i no inap tok yes o nogat.

**lisi lisi rusu** [K = namblo kir rusu] (v) sit side by side. sindaun sait sait.

**liti** [+rete] (v) fill with water. pulapim wantaim wara.

**liwi luwau** (v) twist or stir up. krungutim o tanim. --of gramba when planting--

**lofor** (v) distribute, take a share from group mami pile. *tilim mami*. --during singsing--

**loko** (n.b.) rain. ren.

**loko** [+rete] (v) open bag (bilum). opim bilum.

**loko baye** [+eku] (v) do garden work. wokim gaden.

loko fi (n) rain drop. wanpela hap wara.

loko fi boule (n) rain drop (large). bikpela hap wara.

loko kifal (n) storm. bikwin.

**lolo** (v) remove pelt, bark, or skin. rausim skin abus.

**lom** [a+] (v) dance. singsing raun. --garamut and singsing only--

**loma** (v) remove sago bark. rausim skin saksak.

**lombo** (n) dry banana spine. bun bilong lip banana.

**lorkwle** (v) make a mess, spoil. bagarapim, mekim nogut.

**lorkwle sorkwle** (adj) have sex with. koapim.

losu na (v) loosen and fall. i lus na pundaun.
lotu (v) be in church, go to church. stap o
 go long lotu. --TP--

**lowe** (n) edge. arere.

lu (n) mountain (range). planti maunten.

**lu** (v) mix (into sago powder,) roll together, rotate. tanim sampela samting i go long saksak, tanim.

**lu gaso** (v) force feed. givim kaikai long wanpela i no laik kaikai. --usually with a stick--

**lu lako** [+tori = slip and fall] (v) clear ground (remove overgrowth). rausim ol pipia long graun.

**lufau** (v) float. drip.

**lufu** (n) sliver, small pieces as a result of cutting. *liklik hap diwai*.

**luku grafa** [+eku] (n) yard or garden waste. pipia bilong gaden. --Kafle only--

**luku luku nawek** [+na] (n) nauseous. bel i tantanim.

**luma** (v) remove spine of leaf. rausim ton bilong lip.

**lun** (n) shoot of grass. wanpela hap gras.

lungutu [K = lumbu kanda] (n) dry leaves. lip i
 drai pinis.

lungwa [+aku] (v) loose (of teeth). ol tit i lus.

lunsu [tongo+] (v) pinch. pulim skin namel
long tupela pinga.

luwku (adj) new, new (green) growth,
 seeds. nupela, nupela (grinpela) lip, sit.
luwnguya (n) itch. skrap.

### M

**ma i** (n) magic stone. stong bilong puripuri. -supposedly fell from sky--

maha [ma'ha] (adj) hot. hat.

**mahak** [yoko+] (n) opposite side. arapela hap.

**maifo** [oku+] (n) leech. snek bilong dringim blut.

**maindi** (v) put head down. daunim het i stap.

maku (n) dull side of a blade. hap bilong naip i no sap. --cf. mel--

makwa (n) green bean. bin.

mala (v) wipe butt. rausim pekpek.

male (v) decorate. bilasim.

mam (n.m.) maternal uncle. brata bilong mama.

mambunge (n) forehead. poret.

mambunge fu (v) forehead tap, used as a greeting. salut (paitim isi long poret).

mana (neg) don't.... maski. --Kafle only, cf.

mana (v) not want, not feel like, divorce. no laik, brukim marit.

manda [terfa+ = headache] (v) hurt. nogutim, i pen.

manda timba (phr) don't worry, it's okay, thank you. no ken wori.

mangi fofo (n.f.) snail. demdem.

mangle [engle+] (n) spell. poisin.

**mango** (n) support stick for plants. stik long apim diwai, sayor.

mangrangra (n) guria's head feathers. gras bilong pisin guria.

**mangru** [u+] (adj) incompletely cooked. i no kuk pinis.

mangur kon [mangre kon] (n) millipede. plantihan.

manu manu (n.f.) tadpole. liklik pis. -- becomes girsi naku tombo kri--

mar wate (n) papaya. popo.

mar wate melon (n) watermelon. watamelon.

marko (adj) headdress. bilas bilong het. masai (n) comb. kom. --made from ama yolo-- masi (v) go to one's own/appropriate place, say goodbye (ai yo). go bek long ples.

**masi dondo** (n) broom. brum. --made from duwan branch--

mau [wula+] (n) thick jungle. bikbus.

mau (n) stomach. insait bilong bel.

mau liki (n) cloth. laplap.

maure (n.b.) ancestor (+3 generations). ol tumbuna.

**maure maure** (n) make a face. senisim pes. - fingers in nose, stick out tongue, open eyes--

maure tongo raka i (v) possess. spirit i go insait long man.

me (pro) them all. long ol. --3PL.OBJ--

mehe na (v) deep sleep (unaware). slip olgeta.

**mehek** [K = uhu] (neg) no. nogat.

mei [K = mai] (v) leave me alone. larim mi.

meke (n) body. bodi.

mel (adj) sharpen. sapim.

**mel** (n) sharp blade (cutting surface). naip i sap.

**mele** (adj) long time ago. longtaim bipo. -- more than 2 days--

**mele kusa** [ku'sa] (adj) long time ago. longtaim bipo.

mena (post) with (inherent possession/contents). wantaim (bilong sampela tru).

**mende** (adj) all, very, too. olgeta, tumas. -- used in comparative/superlative--

mengu (n) small, traditional drum. kundu.

mera (v) mark, set aside. makim.

mesu (v) touch, feel, hear. harim, pilim.

**meye** [muye] (v) grow, fat person. kamap bikpela, grisman.

**mili mele** [K = mele mele] (adj) a long time ago. longtaim bipo.

milifa [+yefa = ribs] (n) side of body. sait bilong bodi.

minba [inba] (post) approaching, near. kam klostu, klostu.

minga [+romo, a+, and both] (n) dance (with food). kain singsing (wantaim kaikai).

**minga aka** (n) house built in preparation for a dance. haus long singsing. --built to store food, each family builds one--

minga gaien (n) party without meat. singsing i no gat abus.

minga gwasi (n) party where pepper is exchanged and consumed. singsing bilong daka.

minga kufu (n) friends who exchange food, same family/clan line. poro i tilim kaikai, wanpela lain.

mini (n) betelnut. buai.

**minwun** (v) break into pieces. brukim i go long planti hap.

**miri marau** (n) turbulent water. wara i ran hariap.

**mofi** (n) vine sap used as medicine. blut bilong rop i gat marasin.

**mol** (v) for fire to burn out. paia i dai.

**molkon** [K = morkon] (n) penis sheath (shell). sel long karamapim kok.

momoseya [mumusuya] (n) small fly. liklik lang. --used to make tacky glue--

**mondo** *(n)* fruiting body. *prut.* --often inedible--

mongur (n) crocodile. pukpuk.

**mororo a** (v) strong or chewy food. kaikai i strongpela.

mosu (v) chip at. brukim liklik.

moulen [+kaham] (adj) angry. bel hat.

**mu** (n) tree, wood, branch. diwai, han diwai.

mu [toko+ = play garamut] (n) garamut (large traditional drum). garamut.

mu (pro) they all. ol (tripela o moa). --3PL--

**mu duko** (v) break sago powder. brukim paura bilong saksak.

**mu duw** (n) big roots. bikpela as bilong sayor.

mu gun [tama sangu] (n.f.) termite. wait anis. mu gwa (n) hard. strong.

**mu gwra** (n) small branches. liklik han diwai.

mu lau (n) bridge. bris. --fallen tree--

mu liki (n) tree bark. skin diwai.

**mu mango** (n) branch used as support for mami vines. stik long sapotim mami.

mu nambi (n) root. as, rop.

**mu oku fi** (n.f.) mosquito. natnat.

**mu sermba** (n) stick used to play garamut. skik long paitim garamut.

mu tenge (n) branch. han diwai.

mu toklo wosu (n) strangler vine. rop i kilim diwai.

mu yen (n) bush (shrub). liklik diwai.

mu yengla (n) branch. han diwai.

mulu (n.b.) small rodent, rat. rat.

**mundu** (n) centipede. plantihan.

mundu fa (n) antenna. ai gras bilong ol binatang.

**mungwa** (n) hard (surface). stongpela antap.

**mur** (n) three days from now, three days ago. behain long tripela de, tripela de i go pinis.

**musun** (n) hole in tree where water collects. hul i gat wara (ol pisin save long dring long en). --birds drink from these--

**musun** (n) piece of dirt, dust (from cutting wood). *liklik hap graun*.

musun kana na (adj) impure. doti pinis.

musun lako ene golwar (n) eye resin. pipia bilong ai.

muwku [a+] (n) breast. susu.

**muwku** (n) dead man's effects, mourning. haus krai.

muwku fi (n) milk. susu.

**muwku masi** (n) end of mourning. krai sori pinis. --marked by a feast--

muwngu (adj) small. liklik.

**muwor** (n) pole used to carry (esp. pigs). stik bilong karim (ol pik).

#### N

**na** (n) seed. sit.

na (v) go by, be at, become, to function. go long, stap long, wokim.

na- (grm) but. tasol.

**na fu na fu** [K = na tu na tu] (v) shoot at each other. sutim wanwan.

na nuwa (v) reciprocal giving. givim bilong mipela yet.

na sau waki a sau waki (adv) tangled up as a knot. paul pinis.

na sumbu na sumbu (v) back and forth. i go na i kam.

na tawi na tawi i (v) race. resis.

nahau (intj) yes. yes.

naka (cnj) and. na

**nakir** [RDP] (adv) at the same time. wantaim. --1,2,3, go!--

nakir tirika (v) to have the same amount. wanwan i gat wankain hap.

naku (n) sago. saksak.

naku ama yalwun [naku ama wur] (n) sago hammer. skrap bilong saksak.

- **naku bir** (n) dry sago branch. han saksak i drai. --outside of gowen, used in yofu frame-
- naku bitki (n) sago bark. pangol bilong saksak.
- **naku bormborsa** (n) sago stem, used for decorations. bilas long saksak.
- naku bungu (n) young/small sago palm. nupela diwai saksak.
- naku fer kisi (n) boiled sago. saksak i boil pinis.
- naku fraim (n) sago pancake. saksak fraim. -
- naku indi mu (n) half sago trunk (unscraped). hap diwai saksak (i no skrap yet).
- naku kwainda kasa (n) red (fresh) sago. retpela saksak. --newest sago--
- naku ormo okwe (n) red (fresh) sago. retpela saksak. --darker red--
- naku sun (n) sago powder. paura bilong saksak.
- naku sun kuwa (n) washed sago powder, cast off. saksak i was pinis.
- **naku wursa** (n) sago trunk that has been scraped. diwai saksak i sikarap pinis.
- **naku yofu** (n) sago bedding, for strained sago. bet long saksak (taim i was pinis).
- **nakwel** (n) blood brother. poro tru.
- nalafau (v) refuse to do useful work. i no laik mekim gutepela wok. --RDP--
- nalfa (v) stare. lukluk strong.
- **nali** (v) laugh, smile. lap.
- nalu [tongo+, suka+] (v) pinch. holim strongpela wantaim tupela pinga.
- namasi (v) separate. tilimaut.
- nambe [+ na] (v) check out, deny. skelim, tok
  nogat.

- namble [+aku] (v) disappear, lose, scatter, wander. i lus olgeta, lusim ples, wok nabaut.
- **nambo** (n) one of a set. wanpela i go long planti.
- **nambo nambo** (adj) go along together. go wantaim.
- namra (n) ear. ia.
- namra mesu (v) listen up. harim gut.
- namra su (n) ear wax. pipia bilong yau.
- **namre** (n.m.) paternal grandfather. papa bilong papa.
- nambu [tongo+] (v) placate spirits (when entering their land). tok sori long masalai. --apologize and make an offering--
- **nambu** (v) pulverize, break into pieces. paitim i go long planti hap.
- **nambuko** [tolo+] (n) angry yelling. singaut belhat.
- nambul (n.f.) sun. san.
- **nambul gwa ki** (v) covered in fog. sno karamapim pinis.
- nambul lako okto (n) light rain/fog that portends a clear day. liklik sno na san behainim.
- nambul okwe (n) morning sun. san hat (long moning).
- nambul war [+ya = to set] (n) west. sandaun.
- nambul wou (n) shadow. tewel.
- nambul wuya [+ya = to rise] (n) east, sunrise. is (hap san i kamap).
- nambutu naruku (v) fighting (initial). pait (i stat).
- nan (n.b.) son's child or spouse. pikinini bilong pikinini man, meri bilong em.
- nanak [K = kehek] (neg) negative marker. wot
  bilong tok nogat.

nanda (n.b.) older same-sex sibling or cousin (from parent's same-sex sibling). bikbrata bilong man o biksusa bilong meri.

nandasi (n.m.) brother (as spoken by sister), male cousin (from parent's same-sex sibling). brata (bilong meri), pikinini man bilong brata bilong papa o susa bilong mama.

**nandu** (v) put (back) together, huddle together. stretim, bung wantaim.

nanglu [+eku = to prepare greens] (n) greens.
kumu.

nango (intj) sound made when
thinking/unsure. wot ol i tok taim ol i
tingting.

nangu (n) urine. pispis.

nangu fra (v) urinate. go long pispis.

**narete** [RDP] (v) discuss back and forth, argue. bung long toktok.

nari (adj) first. pastaim.

narun [same+] (n) red seeds of Pacific Maple
 tree. sit bilong ton.

natal atal (v) echo. krai i kam bek long maunten.

nate (v) pull up grass, weed with knife. pulim gras, katim gras.

**nato** (v) make salt. mekim sol. --made from burnt sago frond filtered through water--

nau [angrily: tolo+ = scream, fu+ = fight] (v) yell, bark (any animal call). singaut, abus singaut.

**nausu** (n) gum. blut bilong diwai, gam. -made from dried breadfruit sap, often used to trap birds--

nausu tanngu [+a] (v) delicious, chewy. swit, strongpela kaikai.

nawa (n.f.) mother, maternal aunt, cousin of cross-sex aunt/uncle. mama, susa bilong mama, pikinini bilong brata bilong mama o susa bilong papa.

**nawa** (n) trunk of tree, heart of fruit. diwai, insait long prut.

nawe [ne (in fast speech)] (v) empty, alone, still, always, just, only. stap nating, wanpela, yet, olgeta taim.

**nawi** (n.m.) husband of gasiwa. man bilong gasiwa.

**ne** (pro) you (obj.). long yu. --2SG.OBJ-**nekna** (v) be full of. em i pulap.

nekwa (n) tree kangaroo. sikau antap.

**nekwa** (n.f.) moon, month. mun.

**nekwa bi** (n) sliver moon. liklik mun.

**nekwa glengu** (n) crescent moon. liklik mun.

nekwa mekek na (n) half moon. hap mun. nekwa sukna (n) new moon. nupela mun. nekwa tawa laka meye (n) full moon. bikpela mun.

**nekwas famek suknayas** (v) moonset. mun i pundaun.

**nele** [a+, re+] (v) become lodged in throat. pasim win.

nembe (n.b.) lizard. palai.

**nemen** (pro) us all. long yumipela o mipela.
--1PL.OBJ--

nemna (n.m.) husband. man.

**nende** (pro) us two. long yumitupela. -- 1DU.OBJ--

**ner yikwa** (n) salt water at base of Ner trees where birds drink. solwara bilong ol pisin long dring.

nere (adj) strong, hard. strongpela.neta (n.b.) husband of child or nephew,daughter's child and spouse. man

bilong pikinini meri, pikinini bilong pikinini meri.

**ni** (v) see. lukim.

**ni** (v) try, attempt. traim.

ni hiki kufem hamba (v) wish. laik.

nimba [+rete] (n) news, come to an agreement (on a date). tok save, tok na wanbel.

**nimre** (v) exorcise, douse. rausim spirit, tromoim wara. --get water from masalai ground and sprinkle--

**nime** (v) not be able to. no inap long.

nindi [+oku] (n) snot. kus.

**nindi** [bor+] (n) central area. hap namel.

nindi kursu tii (v) blow nose. rausim kus long nus.

nindi su (n) booger. pipia bilong nus.

ningi [K = nurkuk] (n) date. taim.

**ningle** (v) shout in surprise. singaut taim i kirap noqut.

**ningli** (adj) cold (food). kol (kaikai).

**ningre** (n) today, day. tude.

**ningre nawe** (adv) right now. nau.

**nisuku** [+ni = to dream] (n) dream. driman.

**noko** (v) collect or gather small objects. kisim na bungim ol liklik samting.

**noko rete** (v) return st to its place. surikim.

**noko wafu** (*intj*) you agree?, you think so?. wanbel?, yu ting olsem?.

nokorar (phr) it's yours, keep it. bilong yu

**nol** (n) hole that renders useless (as in a bowl). hul (i brukim plet). --used as a verb too--

**nu** (n) garden. gaden.

**nu** (pro) you. yu. --2SG--

**nu angur** (n) garden that has been planted. qaden i planim pinis. nu asama [+warem] (n) year. yia.

**nu bor** (n) garden that has been harvested. olpela gaden. --some food may be left--

**nu kursu** (n) garden that has been burned for planting. gaden i kuk pinis.

nul (n) sky, cloud. skai, klaut.

nul sikik wur aku [nambul+ or nekwa+] (n) eclipse. san i karamap pinis.

**num** (pro) we all. yumipela, mipela (tripela o moa). --1PL--

**numa** [nurku+, typically + -k] (n) many nights (1 to 2 weeks). planti nait (1 o 2 wik).

**numba** (adj) last (in series and remaining). la, behain tru.

numba (n) poison. gip, poisin.

**numba noko** (n) person who poisons others (poisoner). man i poisinim. --literally "poison gather"--

**numblangan** [kumblangan] (n) thunder, lightning. lait bilong klaut, klaut i pairap.

**numboto** [RDP] (v) shiver. seksekim. --as in sickness--

numbu [K = nambu] (v) tidy, straighten up, fall
 (leaves). stretim, klinim, pundaun (ol
 lip).

**numbul** (adj) small amount. liklik hap. --not small in size--

**nun** (n.f.) louse. laus.

**nungrou** (v) snatch (with talons). rausim wantaim han.

**nungu** (n) rattan, stem with fruit (banana, Same). kanda, stik i gat prut (banana, ton).

**nungul** (adj) cold. kol.

**nurku** (n) night, darkness. nait, tudak. --used in counting days--

**nuw** (post) inside (hole or pile). insait (bilong hul o hip).

- nuwa (v) give. givim.
- nuwku [take+ = spy on] (v) survey, look
  around. lukluk.
- **nuwngu** (n) lime powder. kambang. --eaten together with betelnut and pepper--

# 0

- o (grm) that. dispela (longwe). --DIST--
- o [call a pig: [name, oh!] (rising on both)] (intj) greeting. gude, halo. --falling intonation--
- o nir u (phr) 'get a load of him'. 'lukim em'.
- **oe** [K = o el] (intj) angry exclamation (used to get attention). singaut bilong tok belhat.
- **ofol** [bi+ = gap in teeth] (n) gap, small hole. liklik hul.
- **ofto** [+tii = blow dirt from eye, K = tafa] (v) blow, play flute, smoke. winim (mambu), smokim (brus).
- **okana** [+rete] (v) put together, mix together. putim i go wantaim, taintainim.
- okto [oto] (v) wash hands. wasim ol han.
- **oku** [K = ohu] (n) water, watery sap. wara, wara bilong diwai.
- **oku ama** (n) bamboo for carrying water. mambu long karim wara.
- **oku blo** (n) pond. liklik raunwara.
- **oku brara** (n) waterfall. wara i kalap. -- manmade or natural--
- **oku dangi** (n) beetle that lives under water. binatang i stap aninit long wara.
- **oku kulfo** (adj) cold water. kol wara. --PR: okufol--
- oku siki (n) water well. hul wara.
- **oku sofo** (n.f.) eel. mario, snek blong wara.
- oku tasu tiri (v) soak. putim i go daun long wara.
- **oku tenge** (v) boil water. boilim wara.

- **oku tol** (n) upstream. long hap wara i stat.
- **oku tombo** (n) downstream. hap wara i pinis. --also "kom tombo"--
- oku warme (n) bucket. baket.
- **oku yefa** (n) gourd for carrying water. sel long karim wara.
- okusa [kin+] (n) fish tail. tel bilong pis.
- **okwe** (adj) yellow, white (of skin). yelo, wait (skin).
- **okwe** [+kuwa = almost rotten] (v) ripe, sapling/shoot. kamap mau, liklik diwai.
- **okwe tambo na** [okwe na] (v) waste time. westim taim.
- okwra (loc) there. long hap. -- DIST--
- **okwre** (v) carry child on back, legs around neck. karim pikinini long baksait, ol lek bilong em raunim nek.
- **olfo** [K = nale gongon] (v) hole that spoils for use. hul i brukim samting pinis.
- om (n.b.) fish. pis.
- **om gursu** (n) scale (of fish), mole, pimple. hap skin bilong pis, mak long skin.
- on (pro) I. mi. --1SG--
- **ongo ongo** (adj) show the way. soim rot.
- ongwa (n) clearing. ples klia long bus.
- ongwa aka (n) bush camp. haus long bus.
- **ongwa al oku** (n) area of medium growth. ples i gat sampela sayor.
- ongwa bor (n) garden where all food is gone. olpela gaden. --must lie fallow 3-4 years--
- **or** (n) traditional net bag, neck pouch. bilum, bilum bilong nek.
- or waa (n) big bilum for filling with beads.

  bikpela bilum i pulap wantaim bis.
- **or wosu** (n) uterus. bilum bilong meri.
- ora kara (phr) that's all, that's right. orait, em tasol.

orira (int) where (locative). we (i stap long we).

**ormbein** (*intj*) funny nonsense word. *wot i* no gat mining.

oro (v) chop (break in half), cut bananas.
katim (haphapim), katim banana. --large objects (tree trunks, etc.)--

**osai** (n) dressings for singsing. ol laplap bilong singsing.

**osna** [+rete] (v) to a certain point, but no further. i kamap long wanpela hap, tasol i no pinisim.

ou (v) swallow. daunim.

**ou** (v) gather solids (esp. sago). bungim sampela samting (olsem saksak). --large amounts (cf. ra)--

oule (adj) full. pulap.

owe (n) caterpillar. katapila.

**owe** (v) pile up, raise up. hipim, apim.

owe ne (v) pile up. hipim.

owete (v) support, lift. apim, sapotim.

### R

ra (v) collect, gather, get. kisim na bungim. -a small amount of objects--

ra [K = tongo] (v) take to marry. kisim na maritim.

ra falna [+ ka indik iyan] (v) turn around. tanim.

ra tanngur (v) cover. karamapim.

ra tii ra ti ya (v) divide up. hapim.

ra towi ra tori (v) toss up and down. tromoim i go antap.

ra war (v) drown. lus long wara.

ra wra (v) pull out, draw bow. rausim, pulim banara.

raka anuwa (v) adopt. lukautim.

raya (v) bring. kari i kam. -- 'get come'--

re (pro) him. long em (man). --3SG.M.OBJ-re i nika furndu na (v) run into. lukim man
yu no wetim.

rengongo (n) natural pool (in rock). liklik raunwara (i stap long ston).

rete (v) put. putim. --many--

rete sukna (v) watch. was.

rii (v) remain, usually (do st). stap long wanpela hap, save long (mekim ss).

ringi rongo (v) rub eye to remove dirt. rausim ol pipia long ai.

ringi si [ringi ringi si] (n) cocoon. liklik haus bilong ol katapila.

riwi rewe (v) walk with legs spread apart (esp. in pain). wokabaut lek abrus.

**rokor** (grm) when, as a consequence, in order to. wanem taim. --CAUS--

rombo (n) rotten wood, stump. diwai sting.

romo [minga+] (n) dance. danis.

romo (v) rub (sago). rabim (saksak).

romo kau [romo wele] (v) tattoo, carving.
katim mak.

rondo (v) drill. boaim.

roto (v) rub flat. rabim i go stret.

ru (pro) he. em (man). --3SG.M--

**ruku** [+ra] (v) pick ripe bananas individually. kisim wanwan ol banana mau.

rumba (v) remove st with hands (esp. dirt), scrape away. rausim ss wantaim ol han (graun).

**rusu** [K = songo, kwande, towi towi] (v) Sit, Settle. sindaun.

**ruwku** [RDP] (n) in tatters, full of holes (fabric). i gat planti hul, bagarap pinis (laplap).

# S

- **sa** (v) for water to begin to boil. wara i stat long boilim.
- sa (v) dig (yam). kisim (yam).
- sa sa gul gul (adj) rolling boil. wara i boilim hariap.
- **safko** (n) post from deep jungle. pos bilong bikbus.
- safko waa (n) large post from deep jungle. bikpela pos bilong bikbus.
- **safko yafin** [K = safko lakwiyi] (n) small post from deep jungle. liklik pos bilong bikbus.
- safran (n) ring on a stem where fruit emerges (banana or Same). raunpela hap bilong stik i gat prut (banana o ton).
- **safran** (n) shoot (of seed). liklik diwai (long sit).
- safu (n) yam vines. rop bilong yam.
- **sai** (n) basket for storing sago. basket long holim saksak. --made from galmbon--
- **saki** (v) share. *tilim*. --used when offering directly--
- **saku** (n) walking stick. kanda.
- **sakwe** [sakwe mu] (n) tobacco-like plant.

brus. --grown in gardens to smoke leaves--

- **sal** (n) scrap of bark. liklik hap skin diwai.
- salai (adj) wild (of dogs). wail (olsem dok).
- **salwan** (n) small decorative colorful leaf.

  liklik lip i gat kala long bilasim. --used to make traditional bilum--
- **samba** (adj) big, loud, difficult, etc.. bikpela, bikpela nois, hatwok.
- sambla (v) open up, unfold. opim.
- **sambo** (n) personal signal (esp. of garamut). pisin bilong man (long garamut).
- samra (n) noise. nois.

- **samre** (v) imitate, guide, try to dance. makim, stat long danis.
- sambu tii (v) erase. rausim.

samdo (n.f.) spider. spaida.

sana su (v) wait a minute. wet liklik.

sanak [sana] (v) wait. wetim.

- sanglei (n) vine loop (to raise logs or help in climbing a tree). rop long apim diwai o go antap long diwai.
- **sanglu** (n) dry banana leaf, paper, book. banana lip i drai pinis, pepa, buk.
- sanglu gala (n) teacher. tisa.
- sangra fai (n) flying ant. anis i gat pul.
- sangu [tama sangu] (n.f.) termite. wait anis.
- **sangu tama** (n.f.) white ant with wings. wait anis i gat pul.
- **sangwa yamba** (n) stick used for fighting. stik long pait. --serrated at the top--
- sar bambu (n) dragonfly. binatang i gat 4 pul.
- **sara** (n) basket. basket. --made from coconut leaf--
- **saro** (v) arrange, sort, organize. redim, stretim.
- **satawi** (n) type of dance or song. kain danis o singsing.
- sau (v) get up (from sleep). kirap (long slip).
- sau susu (v) stand up. sanap.
- **sauwa** (n) coconut bark used as seive. skin diwai long mekim strena.
- sauwo (n) work. wok.
- **sauwro** (v) remove everything from a house. rausim olgeta samting long haus. --said of a woman when she moves to her husband's house--
- **sawe** (v) lean. slip long.
- **seklem** (n) smile with teeth clenched. lap na soim tit.

sel (n) lungs. wait lewa, banis win.

**selefe** (v) get off track. abrus.

**selmbo** (n) frothy water (bubbly). wara i surik.

**selwando** [aka+] (n) side wall post of ground house. pos bilong sait long haus.

**semra** (v) pull up (plants). kamautim (ol sayor).

sen (n) powder. paura.

**sengeta** ['sengeta, a+] (n) skin of yam etc.. skin yam.

**sengu** (v) be angry, frown. *mekim pes tudak, belhat.* 

ser (v) go first. qo pastaim.

ser kuta (n) spear. spia.

**sere** (n) trading partner. poroman bilong tret. --person who was formerly an enemy--

sere [sure, +aku = break in half, K = bri] (v) break
into pieces. brukim i go long planti hap.

**sere aku** (v) break in half. brukim i go long hap.

**seseme** (n) stick used to support growth of mami vines. *stik long sapotim mami*.

si (v) fetch water. kisim wara.

si (v) wash sago. wasim saksak.

sifi (n.f.) ant. anis.

**sifingi** (n) garbage pile. hip rabis.

siki (n) hole (small). liklik hul.

**siki termu** (n) grave, cemetery. matmat, hul bilong matmat.

sili (v) line up, lay out. lainim.

**simba** (n) post. pos.

**simba bor** (n) central house post. bikplela pos long haus.

**simba nawa** (n) large inner support posts for roof. bikpela pos long sapotim rup.

simba selwando (n) short outer wall posts for roof overhang. liklik pos bilong ausait long sapotim rup.

**sinda** (v) open wide, spread out wide. *opim* olgeta.

**singlili senglele** (v) make a rucus (birds and bats). pairap (ol pisin).

sir (n) name. nem.

**sir kaha** (n) bad variant name (used as reprimand). nem nogut.

**sir nalingi** (n) good variant name (used as greeting). *qutpela nem*.

**sir ra towi** [nokora +] (v) brag. bikmaus.

**sirfako** (adj) nauseous. bel i tantanim. -- about to throw up--

**siri** (v) for jelly to harden. saksak i kamap strong.

**siri** [K = yufuka yiri] (v) die, kill, faint, be sick. dai, kilim i dai, sik, pundaun.

siri gru gru (n) malaria. malaria.

siri sau (n) sensitive plant. mamosa.

**siri sere** (v) break into pieces. brukim long planti hap.

**siri sure** (v) feel weak. pilim wik. --cf. siri sere-**sirka** (n) leaf or frond. lip.

**sirka bungu** (n) spine of large leaf. nil bilong bikpela lip.

**sirka melulu** (n) thorn on frond. ton long lip.

**sirki** (n) trivet for clay pot (Garfu). plet bilong sospen graun (Garfu). --made from aran leaves--

sisi [+i] (v) poop. pekpek.

sisi humbu (n) diarrhea. pekpek wara.

sisi ki okwe nuwa (v) stick butt out. putim beksait i qo aut.

sisi ki tombo (n) anus. as pekpek.

siti (v) remove garbage. rausim pipia.

**siwoku** (v) trick, pretend, act as if. *trik,* giaman.

**siwri sauwro** (adj) pack up in preparation to leave. kisim ol samting long wokabaut.

**so** (v) lick. klinim long tang.

sofo (n.b.) snake. snek.

**sofu** [K = sufu] (v) blow on as part of spell. winim wantaim poisin.

**soko sako** (adj) check out, inspect, evaluate. skelim (lukim antap na daunbilo).

**sokwe** (v) untie, unstring bow. *lusim* (rop, banara).

**sokwro** (v) stir hardened sago jelly. taintainim saksak i strong pinis.

**solka** [K = sol] (v) light brown, beige, gray, old (plant material). braun, olpela lip.

**solo** (n) twigs, small branches. liklik han diwai.

**sombo** (v) spit. spetim.

sombu (adj) empty. stap nating.

**somo** (n) small piece. liklik hap.

**somo baye** (n) small tuft of grass. *liklik hap* gras.

**songo sango** (adj) itchy/scratchy. skrap.

**sorflo** (n) big hole to shoot arrow through. hul long sutim banara.

sorna (v) become untied. kamap lus pinis.

**sorndo** [K = kuw] (v) cut or slice quickly. katim hariap.

**soro** (v) regret, be upset. sori.

**sou** (n) band for holding tight, also armband. bilas bilona han.

**sowe** (v) loosen. i lus.

**sowe tii** (v) loosen and throw away. i lus na rausim.

**sowur sowur** [K = kinnglu kinnglu] (adj) stagger, slither, stretch out. wokabaut krungut, suruk, taitim.

**su** (n) entrails, feces, bottom. bel, beksait, pekpek.

**su** (n) flower. plaua.

su (pro) she. em (meri). --3SG.F--

**su aka** (n) toilet house. haus pekpek.

su aye (n) buttocks. as.

su baya (n) waist, kidney. bel, kidni.

su boro emefa (adj) naked. as nating.

**su fur** (v) fart. kapupu.

**su gumbo** (n) tailbone. bun bilong as bilong kakaruk.

**su gumbu** (n) stomach (internal). bel (insait).

**su kur** (n) large intestine. bikpela bel (insait).

**su sumbu** (n) tail feathers. *gras bilong as* pisin.

su tombo (n) feces. pekpek.

**sufongo** (v) put clothes on. putim klos.

**sufuw** (v) stir sago liquid. tainim saksak.

**sukna** (v) sleep, lie down, placed in a flat position. *silip, sindaun, putim i go olsem*.

**sukrate** (v) trip. pundaun.

**sukwle** (n) mortar. malu malu long banisim haus. --often mud--

**sul** (n) ground, brown. graun, braun.

**sul au** (n) clay pot. sospen graun.

**sul awa** [+tuku] (n) boundary marker. tanget long makim graun.

**sul bombo** (n) motor vehicle. ka.

**sul dil** (n) mud, mushy ground. *supgraun*.

**sul dinglan** (n) small flying ant. liklik anis i plai.

**sul fi** (v) root around. *lukluk long ol samting*.

**sul fiki** (n) boundary marker. tanget long makim graun. --usually a plant--

- **sul foko** (n) mud, dust, dirt. graun malumalu, dus, graun.
- sul foko mambu ningi [sul foko+] (n) muddy water (from digging). graun malu malu long digim. --kasa/kwesu to describe color--
- **sul fra wunsondo** (v) angry. bel hat. --beat at the ground as an expression of anger--
- sul kre (n) colored dirt. graun i gat kala.
- **sul kulfo kur** [kur] (n) millipede species. kain binatang.
- sul kurkur (n) dirt. graun.
- **sulfo** (n) small yam. liklik kaku.
- **sulu** (n) dirt rubbed on a surface. graun i putim long skin o limbum. --skin or limbum--
- **suma** [su'ma] (n) voice, sound, question. nek, nois, askim.
- suma bango (n) lies. giaman.
- **suma kaha yoko rumbo** [+tamar] (n) behavior. pasin.
- **suma kute** (n) stomach noise. bel i pairap. **suma langi** (n) mouth. maus.
- **suma timba** (adj) quiet, mute. no gat nois, maus pas.
- **sumba** [+tii = wipe self off] (v) clean things, naked. samting i klin, as nating.
- **sumraya** (intj) pay attention, "look what happened". lukim gut.
- **sumbu** (v) follow. behainim.
- **sumbu kumba** (n) plant species. kain sayor.
- **sun** (n) powder. paura.
- sun go (v) extinguish, go out. mekim paia i dai, paia (yet) i dai.
- **sungamba** [sun'gamba] (n) legend, story. stori.
- sungel (n) hip joint. bun antap bilong lek.
  sungre (n) embers (esp. mixed with ashes).
  liklik paia i stap long ol sit.

- sungutu (v) saw. so. -- of bamboo--
- **sungutu yangutu** (adj) giant beetle species. bikpela binatang bilong kaikai lip.
- sungwal (v) snap. nois long tupela pinga.
- sunngu [sunngu tombo] (n) stove. stov.
- **sur nu ene aka** (n) good time feelings/talk. gutpela tok. --literally: "You ate my feces."--
- sur sur (adj) long, heavy rain. bikpela rain.
- **sure** (v) break, fall (of a tree). katim, diwai pundaun.
- surmun (adj) brittle. klostu i bruk.
- **surna** (n) coldness of morning (dew etc.). kol long moning.
- **suru** (v) turn around and go back, mix up in pot. tanim na go, tanim wantaim.
- **susu** (v) be standing up. sanap.
- **susu** [kufu+] (v) weave rope. wokim rop.
- **susu sowur** (v) stand and stretch. sanap na taitim.
- suw (v) set out on leaf (as a placemat).
   putim samting long lip. --of flat objects-suw (v) coil. raunim.
- **suwa** (n) leg, bottom (bow, kundu drum). *lek, aninit (long banara, kundu)*.
- suwa (n) coconut. kokonas.
- suwa aku tombo (n) ankle. skru bilong lek.
- **suwa ama** (n) pole for hanging dry coconuts. *stik long hangamapim drai*.
- **suwa bela** (n) calf (of leg). baksait bilong lek.
- **suwa bli** (n) large, open sore. bikpela sua i gat wara.
- **suwa bow turari** (n) partially ripe coconut (beginning to dry). kokonas (drai).
- **suwa dika** (v) sit on egg (as bird). putim kiau (sindaun long).
- **suwa du** (n) knees (back). skru bilong lek (baksait bilong em).

suwa fan (n) coconut sapling. kuru.suwa fi (n) coconut milk. wara bilong kokonas.

suwa fli fle [lesu+] (v) swing feet. surik ol lek.
suwa fol (n) footprint. mak bilong fut.
suwa gaia (n) small intestine. liklik bel
 (insait).

**suwa gilombo** (n) thigh. antap bilong lek. **suwa gisi** (n) toenail, bird's foot. kapa bilong pinga bilong put, put bilong pisin.

**suwa glongu** (n) failed fruiting body (large). prut i no kamap bikpela pinis.

**suwa gumbo** (n) green coconut. kulau. -- ready to drink--

suwa guwl (n) knee. skru bilong lek.

**suwa kulko lendo** (n) coffin. bokis bilong daiman.

**suwa kwaina ra** (v) lift feet when sitting. apim lek taim sindaun.

**suwa lako** (n) toe. put.

**suwa lombo** (n) foot. fut.

**suwa meke** (n) coconut meat. kopra.

**suwa om** (n) thigh. antap bilong lek.

**suwa roho** (n) ulcer, foot callous. bikpela

**suwa solka** (n) dry coconut, used in cooking. *drai kokonas*.

suwa tasu (n) shoe. su. --novel creation--

**suwa tongo** [lesu re sirimr] (n) one leg. i gat wanpela lek tasol.

suwa wafu (n) heel. baksait bilong lek.

**suwa wangalambo** (n) half green/half dry coconut. kokonas drai. --used for cooking only--

**suwa wangwarama** (n) coconut stem. *stik* bilong lip bilong kokonas.

**suwa wurngen** (n) ankle bone. bun bilong skru bilong lek.

**suwa yel** (n) shoot of coconut. kuru, pikinini kokonas (long planim).

**suwa yomo** (n) solid interior of coconut after shoot has emerged. insait bilong kokonas taim liklik diwai i kam ausait.

**suwku** (n) upper body (chest, back, stomach). bun bilong baksait.

suwla (v) share food. tilim kaikai.

**suwri sauron** (adj) pack up. bungim ol samting.

**suwruw** (v) mix together. tanim wantaim.

### T

ta (v) bite. kaikaim.

ta [oku tol+] (v) dam river. pasim wara.

ta ar [tama+] (v) cannibalize. kaikai man.

**ta grambi a** (v) split bamboo lengthwise. brukim mambu.

tafa (v) break, cut open coconut. brukim, opim kokonas. --used with garamut--

tafa ki (v) hug. amamas na raunim man.

tafirsa (v) remove sago/coconut leaves.

kisim ol lip bilong diwai kokonas o
saksak.

tahu (v) remove a section of wood. rausim hap diwai.

**tai** (v) block with body, inhale smoke. pasim wantaim bodi, smuk.

take (v) lift or tear out with mouth, insert in roof. kisim wantaim maus, putim i go insait long rup.

take miti (v) pray to masalai (ask leinency from trespass). toktok long ol masalai.

**take nuku** (v) trail someone. behainim hait. **take tiri** (v) insert in roof. putim i go insait

long rup.

taki [+tukta/tokmbo = carry rolled up] (v) tie to carry. pasim (rop) long karim.

takorko tiri (v) get snagged. i pas.

takra (v) break open. brukim.

takre (v) prepare self for singsing. redim man yet long singsing. --abstain from meat and large yams, no garden work--

taku [oku+ = water's edge, kom+ = village
boundary] (n) chin, jawbone, bill of bird,
edge. wasket, tit bilong pisin, arere.

**taku tongo** (v) chin slap, used as a greeting. salut, ol i paitim wasket.

taku wango (n) cheek. sait bilong pes.

**takwlu** (v) stretch out (string, etc.), string bow. *taitim* (banara).

**takwruwru** (v) scoop (small objects). savolim.

talma (v) light a fire with kindling. laitim paia wantaim ol liklik stik.

**talo** (v) remove skin in sections. rausim skin haphap.

tam (v) chew, cut branch. kaikaim, katim han diwai.

tama (intj) greeting. halo.

tama (n) man, person. man.

tama algan (n) fly. lang.

tama amba (n) crazy person. longlong man o meri.

tama kaha mender (adj) stubborn. bikhet.

tama lakar (n) head man. hetman.

tama likir kau aku (n) wart. buk.

tama meke (n) upper body (chest, back, stomach). bros na bel na baksait.

tama mu kuwar [ka tama mu kuwak nawar] (n) corpse. man i dai pinis.

tama nuwar (n) generous. man bilong qivim.

tama tawa [K = wolom] (n) people. ol manmeri.

tama tombo (n) bachelor. man i no marit. -tawa tombo--

tama toura (n.m.) son. pikinini man.

tama yeIndam kana ekuka i tawas (n) prostitute. pamuk meri.

taman (phr) you're a good man. boi stret.

**tambangi** (v) hold on (in tree etc.). holim qut.

tambenge (v) cut open top to drink. katim long dring.

tamblakan (n) small bush. liklik diwai.

tambo (v) bring (a person) along, together. kisim (man) i kam, wantaim.

tanenger a (v) clear throat. kliaim nek.

tangel (v) draw a bow. pulim rop banara.

tangor (v) track quietly. behainim hait.

tanku [+lisi] (v) cut a rope, chop, break down a house. katim rop, brukim haus olgeta.

tanku a (v) bite (a piece off). kaikaim (liklik hap).

tanngu [K = gram] (v) cover with lid. karamapim wantaim tuptup.

tare (v) shine, be bright in color. i lait, kala kala. --esp. moon and stars--

tarmbe (adj) wild (of pigs). wail (olsem pik).

**tarmbo** [K = tikin] (v) sharpen bone or spear. sapim bun o spia.

tasu (v) step on, lower into. sanap antap long, putim i go daun.

tasu burku (v) step on (dry leaves, etc.). daunim fut.

tasu gwrusu (v) hobbled walk. no inap long wokabaut gut.

tate (v) remove from fire. rausim long paia.

tati (v) listen carefully/closely. harim gut.

tausi (v) bite (not chew). kaikaim.

tawa (n.f.) woman, wife. meri.

tawa laka atas meyeyas (v) moonrise. mun i kamap.

tawa mus (n) first wife (in plural marriage).

namba wan meri (bilong man i gat
planti meri).

tawa ya sumbu (n) second wife (in plural marriage). namba tu meri (bilong man i gat planti meri).

tawa yen (n.f.) daughter. pikinini meri.

tawi [+ rete = escape] (v) get out of the way.
 klirim rot.

tawo (v) turn sago. taintainim saksak.

tawul (n) tongue. tang.

**tawul bleu a** (v) stick tongue out at s.o.. givim tang. --rapidly, as a snake--

te (pro) her. long em (meri). --3SG.F.OBJ--

te hema kama tolo nali (v) ridicule. *aiamanim.* 

**tei** (n) platform for drying meat over fire. bet bilong mekim abus i drai.

tekwle (n) worm. liklik snek.

tekwle waki (n) bruise. liklik buk.

telako si (v) spit. spet.

**tele** (n) outcropping, sheer rock. hap ston i kamaut long maunten.

**tele** (v) divine via tapping. skelim long paitim liklik. --ancestor or dead person--

**tele ari** (n) foot of mountain. as bilong maunten.

**tele sumbu** (n) space or declivity at foot of mountain. arere long maunten.

**tembe** (n.m.) bed, bench, table. bet, bens, tebol.

ten (v) braid rope, repair damaged vine. mekim rop, stretim rop i bruk pinis.

tenge (n) branch. han diwai.

**tengle** (v) split in long object (river, branch, etc.). stretpela samting i gat tupela hap bilong em (diwai, wara).

tengur (n) wild cane grass. wail pitpit. --like

ter gila (n) clothes, dressing. ol laplap.

ter so (adj) bald. kela.

ter wando (n) skull. bun bilong het.

**terfa** (n) head, highest point (bow, kundu drum). het, antap (bilong banara, kundu).

**terfa duwyeyan** (n) bow down. baut. --ene kufe ikiyan--

terfa kurkurmbu (n) hair (gray). gras (klostu waitpela).

terfa manda (n) headache. pen bilong het.

terfa sal (n) dandruff. pipia sking long het.

terfa tisi (v) comb. komim.

**terfa yefa** (n) back of neck. baksait bilong nek.

**teri lako** (v) change face (magic, etc.). senisim pes.

termu (n) pile. hipim.

**ternngu** (v) cut small trees or branches, slice quickly. katim ol liklik han diwai.

**tete** (n.b.) term of respect for an older sibling (esp. first born). wot long belgutim bikbrata o biksusa.

**ti** [oku+] (n) flood. haiwara.

ti wuta ta wuta (v) bite and break skin. kaikaim na brukim skin.

**tii** [sti i, ra+] (v) throw away, brush away. tromoi.

**tii tu ya** (v) put here and there. putim i go long planti hap.

**tikin** [suwa+ = remove sliver] (v) remove rind. rausim skin.

- **tikir na** (v) move quickly out of the way. i go hariap.
- **tikorfo** (n) sweep away (esp. with foot). brumim. --ashes, etc.--
- tikorko (v) hiccup, burp. liklik kus.
- **tikorko** (v) insert in roof (bones from food).

  putim insait long rup (ol bun bilong kaikai).
- **tikte** [tite] (v) cover, hide. karamapim, haitim.
- tikwa [+ama] (n) dry coconut frond used as a torch (small). bombom (liklik). --made from burning bamboo--
- **tikwasa** [K = sara] (n) dry coconut frond used as a torch (large). bombom (bikpela).
- **tikwete takwete** (adj) bright, colorful. i gat lait o kala.
- tikwiyi (n) ginger root. kawar.
- **tikwlo takwlo** (adj) uncooked food. kaikai i no kuk.
- tilse (v) fall, drop, pull out. larim em pundaun, rausim.
- **timba** (v) not have, not be here, empty. no stap, no inap long painim.
- **timba kamba** (adj) unable to do something, blind. noken, aipas.
- timran tamran (adj) split (fabric, limbum). ripim (laplap, limbum).
- **timringi tamringi** (adj) ruined, about to collapse. bagarap.
- tindu tandu (adj) dark, blind. tudak, aipas.
- **tingil** [tin'gil, +na] (n) water for cooking sago that is too cold. kolwara bilong kukim saksak.
- **tingir tangir** (adj) rush, sled down. ran, go daunbilo hariap.
- **tingre tangre** (adj) erupt with light (as in embers). lait, pairap.

- tingwara [+tii] (v) push a person down or out (esp. hard). sakim man i go daun.
- tinol tanol [u+] (v) burn a hole. wokim hul long paia.
- **tiri** [[cut]+ = not cut all the way] (v) leave alone, let, allow. larim em i stap.
- tiri lako (n) face. pes.
- tirite (v) leave (someone). larim em (man o meri). --contraction of tiri rete--
- **tisi** (v) carry on top of shoulder/in mouth (animals). karim antap long sol/long maus (ol abus).
- **tisi lom** (n) song while carrying (pig etc.). singsing long holim pik.
- **tisoro** (v) wake someone up. kirapim.
- titi (v) run. ran.
- tofun (v) huddle up, wrap around. raunim.
- **toina** (adj) remove quickly from pain, long. pulim hariap bilong pen, langpela. --Kafle only--
- **tokmbo** (v) carry around shoulder (like a bilum/net bag). karim long sol (olsem bilum).
- **toko** (v) dig with a stick (esp. to plant pitpit, taro, banana). digim wantaim stik (long plainim pitpit, taro, banana).
- **toko** [K = tuwar] (v) play garamut (large traditional drum). paitim garamut.
- **tokundu** (v) stunted growth, body part that is asleep. i no kamap olgeta, han o fut i slip.
- tol (n) headwater, north. not.
- tolo (v) say, tell. tok, spik.
- **tolo eloko barna tamar** (n) good behavior. gutpela pasin.
- tolo eloko tamar (n) judge. skelim.
- tolo erfa [K = tolo tu] (v) explain, inform. tok klia.

- **tolo nambuko** (v) argue heatedly. resis long toktok.
- tolo sengu [+ginfa yoko, K = tarndo] (v) gossip.
  tok baksait.
- tolo sengu barna (v) humiliate. tok nogut long arapela.
- **tombo** (adj) short, dull blade, tree trunk, broken limb, etc.. liklik naip, as bilong diwai. --incomplete or partial main part--
- tombo [+mender = beginning] (adj) end point
   (beginning, end, bottom, back,
   downstream, south). pinis, daunbilo,
   baksait.
- tombo lakam (n) family. famili.
- tomre (v) say goodbye. tok gutbai.
- tongo (v) hold. holim.
- tongo bango (v) change one's mind. tanim bel.
- tongo burku (v) crack open (betelnuts etc.). opim (buai).
- tongo durna (v) hold tight. holim strong.
- tongo lisi [tongo lisi tuya] (v) drag away. pulim long graun.
- **tongo nele** (v) strangle. pasim nek bilong arapela.
- tongo sere (v) break with hands. brukim wantaim ol han.
- **tori** (v) look down, throw down, lower. *lukim daun, tromoim daun, daunim.*
- toro (v) lift from fire (pot, etc.). apim long paia (sospen).
- **toto** (v) pull down tree to collect leaves. pulim daun.
- **totori** (v) put down. putim i go daun. -- contraction of toto tori--
- toura (n) male animal. abus man.

- **touso** (v) remove frond from stem, split frond in half. rausim ol lip bilong sakak o kokonas, hapim lip.
- towi (v) stack, hold up. hipim, holim.
- **towur** [towi, K = tisi, wur] (v) throw down/back. tromoi daun.
- **tu** (pro) she, diminuitive (obsolete). em (liklik meri), (ol i no tok olsem nau). --3SG.DIM--
- **tu** (v) put inside (hole, etc.), swing axe. putim i go insait (hul), holim tamiok.
- **tu** [suwa/lesu+ = stretch] (v) throw. tromoim.
- tu tii (v) throw away. rausim.
- tu tiri (v) put in. putim i go insait.
- **tufa** (v) remove caterpillars (from tree bark). rausim ol katapila (long skin diwai).
- **tufarna** [wafu+] (v) change mind. senisim tingting.
- **tufrasi** (v) stop in the middle of something, change plans. *brukim namel*.
- **tufu** [+ra] (v) for a tree to be completely uprooted and fall. diwai i pundaun olgeta.
- tuka (v) go down. qo daunbilo.
- **tukarka** (n) leaf used as a marker when distributing food. *lip long makim man taim bilong tilim kaikai*.
- **tukta** [tuta] (v) carry around head (suspended from forehead by rope). karim long het (long rop i hangamap long poret).
- **tuku** (v) plant stick-like object (esp. sago). planim stik (olsem saksak).
- **tuku towi** (v) hold up something that is falling. sapotim sampela samting i klostu pundaun.

**tuku tuku** (n) support crossbeam under floor. bim long sapotim aninit. --in bird blind--

**tukur** (n) four days from now, four days ago. behain long foapela de, foapela de i go pinis.

**tukwra** (v) scratch (like chicken), rake up. skarapim (olsem kakaruk), rekim.

**tul** (v) plant by inserting directly in ground. planim i go long graun.

**tulei tulei** (adj) tip toe. wokabaut long finga bilong fut.

tulku (v) pluck (fruit/seeds). kisim prut.

tulna [+aku] (v) run away. ranawe.

**tumu muna** (v) kiss noise, hiss noise. *nois* bilong kis o bilong snek.

tunbu (v) shake. seksekim.

turku (v) become loose. i lus.

turon tauron (adj) collapse. pundaun.

**tuwra** [ra+] (v) throw down, throw out. tromoi i go daun, rausim.

tuyal (v) throw straight. tromoim stret.

## U

**u** (v) cook, begin to boil (intr), glow. kukim, wara i boil.

**u** (v) swollen (when used with body part). solap.

u groto (v) burnt. i paia pinis.

uhu [oho] (intj) acknowledgement, yes. mi
harim, yes. --intonation = rising, falling--

uhunta (intj) okay. orait.

**uhwu** (intj) acknowledgement, no. mi harim, nogat. --rising, falling/rising--

**uklu maklu** (adj) flower of taro, bruise. plaua bilong taro, liklik buk.

**umaka** (n) edible ant species. karakum. -lives in a leaf pouch attached to a tree,
edible, sm rd--

umbu [naku umbu] (n) sago grub variety.
waitpela snek bilong saksak. --2 in, bl,
has wings, edible--

uwfu (n) sweat. swet.

uwku (n) sugar cane. suga.

### W

wa (grm) irrealis. wot i gat mining "taim bipo". --IRR--

wa kwre ya (v) vomit. trautim.

waa (adj) cultivated, domestic. bilong ples.

wafu [+toura, K = kiri] (n) central body part
 (heart, lungs, liver, palm, sole). hap i
 stap namel (klok, banis win, lewa, han,
 fut).

wafu boi boi (adj) full of love. laikim olgeta.
wafu hiki (v) love. laikim. --wafu RDP for
intensity--

wafu kana (adj) smart. i gat save.

wafu kau (n) good notion. gutpela tingting. wafu toura (n) spleen. lewa.

wafu wendu (v) short of breath. sotwin. wafu wuya (v) short of breath. sotwin.

wafuw (n.f.) male cousin's wife, maternal uncle's wife. meri bilong pikinini bilong smolpapa, meri bilong pikinini bilong brata.

wahai (v) clear, clean, completely. klia, klin, olgeta.

wai wai [wai] (intj) wait, not yet. wet, i no yet. --"I'm not sure."--

waingu (v) flap (wings), blow, twirl, make noise, signal to come. winim, raunim, tok kam. --signal is hand back towards addressee, fingers down--

- waki [K = yama, tuku] (v) cover (dress a wound, build a fence, wrap small things). karamapim, karamapim sua, wokim banis, raunim.
- wako bor bor (n) underwater. aninit long wara.
- wakre (v) wear around neck (child with arms around neck, necklace), climb on (inan.). werim i go long nek (pikinini long baksait, bis), kalap long.
- wakre busu busu (n) pull down leaves. rausim ol lip.
- waku (n) leftovers. hap kaikai.
- **wal** (n.f.) tall ginger. gorgor. --stick used in battle, light citrus--
- wal aka dumbu (n) sago shed. liklik haus bilong saksak. --built near sago site for protection from rain, no walls--
- wala (n.b.) dog. dok.
- wala gusu (n) back of neck. baksait bilong nek.
- wala gusu [K = wakimba] (v) climb on back. go
  antap long baksait.
- wala kwiyi (n) beetle with large front pincers. binatang (i gat bikpela tit).
- walanga (v) make a path. mekim rot.
- walingi (n.f.) crab, turtle. kuka bilong wara, trausel. --large variety (2ft) lives in rivers, edible--
- walko (n) rooster comb, red in color, hibiscus. plaua bilong kakaruk, retpela, kain plaua.
- walma (n.b.) beetle. binatang (bilong kaikai lip). --sm and not flat, lives in wood--
- walndo (n) yam. yam.
- wan gala (n) dry skin of coconut. drai skin bilong kokonas. --used for fires--
- wan gre (v) ripe from sun. mau long san.

- wanda (v) open a basket or net bag. opim basket o bilum.
- wanda lako (n) potato species. kaukau.
- wandi [K = si] (n) thin shell (small coconut, egg), lay an egg. liklik sel (kokonas, kiau), putim kiau.
- wando (n) thick shell (beetle, cap on insect, coconut, egg). bikpela sel (binatang, kokonas, kiau).
- wanembuka ['wane'mbuka] (n.b.) greatgrandchild. bubu pikinini, tumbuna.
- wanga lako (n) necklace. bis. --made from wanga seeds--
- wangorama (n) outer spine of coconut frond spine. ausait hap bilong bun bilong lip bilong kokonas.
- wangu [fu+ = make a promise] (v) surround,
   wind around. raunim.
- **wangul** (n) pointy end of garamut. as bilong garamut.
- wani [wanims dir] (n.b.) second spouse (after death of first). namba tu man o meri (taim namba wan i dai pinis).
- wansinango (n) stem of Same leaf. han bilong lip ton.
- wanwanta (n) deaf. yau pas.
- war [K = ko] (v) go down, rub (on skin). go daun, rabim (long skin).
- war saklo (n) cockroach. kokoros, kakalak. -2 varieties: bl, stinks when killed; sm in
  house--
- war susu (v) sun to set. san i go daun.
- wara (n) father's mother's father or spouse's father's father. bubu.
- wara (n) great- (greatgrandfather, etc.). bik-(olsem bikpapa).
- waran (n) grass skirt. purpur.
- ware (n) star. sta.

ware nembe gwrara (n) Milky Way. ol liklik sta.

wari (n) orphan, widow. wanpis. --single parent as well--

waska (adj) little. liklik. --Kafle only--

wasune ['wasune] (n) bush species. kain liklik diwai.

wasune belmun (n) headdress. bilas bilong singsing (i go long het). --made from seeds and flowers of these two plants--

wate (v) for rain to fall. ren i pundaun.

wate blangi (n) breadfruit cone. kon bilong kapiak.

watefa (n) pit (of seed). ston bilong sit.

wau (n) stomach (external). bel (ausait).

wauk na (v) be pregnant. karim pikinini.

waye (v) stack, insert leaves into roof, decorate armband. haphapim, putim lip i go insait long rup, bilasim han.

**weinbeni** (n) similar to limbum (palm bark). olsem limbum.

**weke** (n) clay. strongpela graun.

weke somo (n) clay shards. liklik hap strongpela graun.

wele (v) wear, dress, add color, decorate.
werim, pasim klos. --mud used as decoration--

welku [suma+] (n) bark used in spell or to protect a barrier. skin diwai long poisin o long banisim tanget. --cf. huma fatu, causes sickness--

welku fa tu (v) SEE welku. LUKIM welku. welmbe (n) truth, agreed. tru, trupela. wendu (adj) heavy. hevi.

wenga (adj) many in kind. planti. --cf. kaha kana--

**wera** (adj) poor. tarangu. --not having possessions or land--

werko (post) far side of something, far away. sait, longwe.

werngu (v) pull apart. brukim namel.

**wi** (v) go up, pick a coconut. go antap, kisim kokonas.

**wi** (v) drop into a hole (to plant yam or mami). planim yam o mami.

wi nuwa (v) give birth. karim pikinini.

wil (n) mark, footprint. mak bilong fut.

wilingi ['wilingi] (n) nose. nus.

wilingi siki (n) nostril. hul bilong nus.

wilti wulte (adj) wrinkle. baret.

wir (v) roll (make thread for clay pot). rabim (wokim liklik rop long sospen graun).

wira (n) enemy, non-wantok. birua.

wirki [RDP] (adv) always. oltaim.

wirngin wurngun (adj) twisted. krumgut (long han).

wisiki [wiski] (n) armband. bilas bilong singsing (i go long han). --made from vine, leaves, and flowers--

wiyi (n.f.) bee. bi.

wiyi (v) wash face or body. wasim pes o bodi.

wla (v) pop out. kamaut.

wle [RDP] (n) flame. tang bilong paia.

wo ho ha (phr) yes in response to statement or question regarding where one is going. tok yes taim sampela i askim yu long yu go we.

wokra wokra (n) spikes on an animal. ton bilong abus.

wol (n) sago frond, shoulder joint. *lip bilong* saksak, hap bilong sol. --used as a shield when placed crossways--

**wol gu** (n) cover self with shield. karamapim wantaim banis.

wondo (v) burn off animal's fur. kukim gras bilong abus.

wor (v) tie on (to a stick or spear). pasim (long stik o spia).

worfa (n) afternoon. apinun.

worna (n) in a straight line. stretpela.

woro (n) tomorrow. tumora.

wosu [fer+ = mosquito net, felnde+ = nest] (n)
 small house for insects or animals. liklik
 haus bilong binatang o pik. --umaka
 (ants)--

wosu (v) pull, pull down (of vines). kisim ol rop.

**wou** (n) spirit, shadow, reflection. spirit, tewel.

wra (v) come in, go out. kam insait, go ausait.

wra ni (v) deliver a baby. karim pikinini.

wre (v) shine (of sun), heat up. san i lait, i hat.

**wro** (v) pluck. kisim.

wru wru (v) pull. pulim.

wul (v) squeeze, wring out, churn (earth).rausim wara, holim tait.

wul dondo (v) express fluid from animal intestines. rausim wara long bel bilong abus.

wul wul (v) drizzle. liklik ren.

wula [K = mandika akat] (n) jungle (bush). bus.

wule nungusa (n) Pleiades. yar. --when you see it, it's the new year (November)--

wulmbo (v) remove liquid from a long skinny object (finger, etc.). rausim wara long longpela samting.

**wungusu** (v) tie a knot. pasim. --used when making portable coconut--

**wur** (n) stone axe. tamiok long ston.

wur kon (n) small corn. liklik kon. --wur (Mehek) + kon (TP)--

wur susu (n) sunset. sandaun.

wur wra (v) evade in circular pattern.
ranawe raun raun.

wur yen (n) shavings. ol liklik hap ston. -- stone or metal--

wurfoto (v) small scratch (of skin). liklik skrap (long skin).

wurmu (v) make level ground (break rocks). stretim graun (brukim ol ston).

wurngen [lesu+] (n) vein. rop long han.

wurngun (adj) tangled. paul pinis.

wuron (v) pull down (vines from above). rausim rop i go daun.

wursa (n) bark of sago palm. skin saksak.wurso (v) stab into to carry. karim wantaim stik.

wursu [K = fusur] (n) fence. banis.

wuskwra [+tama] (n) thief. stilman.

wusor [RDP] (v) shake, dump out (as to empty). surikim hariap, kapsaitim.

wusu (v) play (flute etc.). winim mambu.

wusu wusu (v) rope burn. skin i bagarap long rop. --as in limbum basket--

wusukwa [+ra] (v) steal. stilim.

wusunal (n) glue for kundu drum. laim bilong kundu.

wuta [K = buku buku] (v) cut in pieces, split lengthwise. katim long planti hap, ripim.

wutu (n) sago chute (for washing sago), sago branch. bet long wasim saksak, han bilong saksak.

wutu (n) felled sago stump. diwai saksak i pundaun pinis.

wuwr (n) edible cane grass. pitpit.

wuwr (v) go outside. go ausait.

wuya (v) come up. kam antap.

# Υ

ya (v) come. kam.

yaki (n) two days ago. tu de i go pinis.

yaku (n.f.) paternal grandmother. bubu meri bilong papa.

yal [K = yau] (v) go flat, go straight. go stret.

**yale** [K = yele] (n) yesterday. asde.

yalwun [K = yalwan] (n) sago scraping tool.
 skrap bilong saksak.

yam (n) banana. banana.

yam blafo (n) petals which cover banana heart. kep bilong banana. --pinkish-red color--

yam kino (n) banana heart, infloresence.
hat bilong banana.

yam landu (n) earwig. binatang i gat bikpela tit.

yam lombo kufu (n) dry spine of banana leaf which falls down. stik bilong lip banana i pundaun.

yam ter kamba (n) highest ring of banana growth. hap banana i kamap antap tru.

yam wanafa (n) bare stem connecting to banana heart. stik i go long hat bilong banana i no gat prut.

**yama** (v) sew together. samapim. --thorn and vine--

yar taka (n) double leaf split apart. lip i gat tupela hap. --used when making an arrow head--

yau (n.f.) wife of nandasi. meri bilong nandasi.

yawo [+kawo] (v) look up. lukim antap.

yefa (n) bone, muscle, firm support (as in plants). bun, mit, strongpela sapot (bilong ol diwai).

yefa kana (adj) strong. strongpela. yefa timba (adj) weak. wik. yefane (adj) thin. bun nating.

**yekle** (adj) young. yangpela. --often with connotations of energetic or adventurous--

yekle amba (n) empty headed young person. yangpela man o meri i no gat senis.

yel (n) sapling (ready for planting). liklik diwai redi long planim. --ready to plant--

yelnda (adj) all, many. olgeta, planti.

yelnda oku [K = yelnda ohu] (n) everybody.
 olgeta manmeri.

yema (v) measure. metaim.

yema kufa [nambe+] (adj) good time (for something). gutpela taim (long wokim sampela samting).

**yema kufa nambe** (v) a really good time. gutepla taim tru.

yembu [K = hembu] (v) cradle in hands. holim long tupela han.

**yen** (n.b.) child, niece or nephew. pikinini, pikinini bilong brata o susa.

**yen kufu** (n) sling to carry child. rop long karim pikinini.

yen timba tawas (n) barren. i no gat pikinini.

yen/gasiwa rokot rar (v) incest. tanim plet.

**yiflondo** (v) breathe heavily, be out of breath. *sotwin*.

yiflou yiflou (n) earthquake. guria.

**yikte** (v) remove s.t. which is hanging. rausim ol samting i hangamap.

yikwa (n) salt. sol.

yikwa gan (n) beach. nambis.

yikwa oku (n) ocean water. solwara.

yikwa sun (n) salt made with water. sol i wokim wantaim wara. --eaten with greens--

- yikwa tate (n) salt made without water. sol i wokim i no gat wara. --eaten with fruit--
- yilo (v) cover (self). karamapim (man yet).
- **yim** (n) two days from now. behain long tupela de.
- yimau (v) rotate or flip (food while cooking). tanim kaikai.
- **yinal** [RDP] (adj) slanted, at an angle. i no stret.
- yinawe (n.f.) earthquake. guria.
- yindi kundu (adj) stubborn. bikhet.
- **yingwe** (n.m.) coconut shell (large), plate, bowl. sel kokonas (bikpela), plet.
- yinsawa (n.f.) son's wife, grandson's wife. meri bilong pikinini man o bubu pikinini.
- virfi (v) fall. pundaun.
- yiri (v) come down, fall. pundaun, kam daun.
- yiri butu (v) fall on one's face. pundaun antap long pes.
- **yirkwe** (n) bush knife. busnaip.
- yiwara (n) ancestor. tumbuna.
- yiwi (n.b.) paternal aunt or her husband. susa bilong papa, man bilong em.
- yofo (v) cover. karamapim.
- yofu [+rete = block off] (n) sign (esp. to mark
  forbidden territory). mak (putim
  tanget).
- **yofu rete emek wuryan** (v) trespass. brukim tanget.
- **yoko** (n) other place, opposite side. hapsait.

- yoko (post) towards. long (go long).
- yoko yoko (n) every side. olgeta sait.
- yokondambe lesu [yokolesumbutu, yokondafe lesu] (num) five (5). faiv (5).
- yokwle (v) spoil. bagarap.
- yokwro (v) cover up. karamapim.
- yomar (v) yawn, be tired. han i pas.
- yombo (grm) while. taim (sampela wss).
  --SIM--
- yombo mesu [[verb]+] (v) feel like. tingting strong (long samting).
- yomne (v) finish (food, work etc.). pinisim (kaikai, wok).
- **yomo** [tama+] (n) scrotum. basket bilong man.
- yomo lako (n) testicle. bol bilong man.
- yoso (v) pluck out (spear, taro). rausim (spia, taro).
- **yowul** [K = yen nawar] (n.b.) namesake. wan
- yowul (n.b.) maternal uncle's wife, child of husband's sister. meri bilong brata bilong mama, pikinini bilong man bilong susa.
- yu (v) bend down. baut long.
- yungu (grm) in the manner of. olsem. -- DEP--
- yungu bangol [K = wendu sum] (v) wrap around. raunim.
- yuwklu [kufu+] (n) vine with outer shell removed and dried. skin rop i rausim pinis. --in preparation for use--

# **Appendix C: English-Mehek Dictionary**

This appendix is a bilingual dictionary with the English glosses of all Mehek words listed alphabetically along with their Mehek glosses. This dictionary contains less information than the main Mehek dictionary in appendix B. To see full information for a Mehek word, it is necessary to look it up in Appendix B. Included below in the KEY are a schematic representation of each entry showing what information is included and the formatting of each section, as well as the abbreviations used for parts of speech.

# **KEY**

English Word (part of speech) Mehek Word.

# **Abbreviations used for Parts of Speech:**

adj	adjective	n.b.	either masculine or feminine
adv	adverb		(based on natural gender)
cnj	conjunction	n.f.	feminine noun
grm	grammatical particle	neg	negative
int	interrogative	num	numeral
intj	interjection	phr	phrase (greeting, utterance)
loc	locative	rel.n	relational noun
n	(masculine) noun	pro	pronoun
		ν	verb

# Α

a few (adv) dira dira. a long time ago (n) ayum. a long time ago (adj) mili mele. a really good time (v) **yema kufa nambe.** accident, messed up (n) kaha kuna. acknowledgement, no (intj) uhwu. acknowledgement, yes (intj) uhu. adopt (v) anuwa. adopt (v) raka anuwa. after, later, slow (adj) awar. afternoon (n) worfa. agree, contract (v) ambu tongo. airplane (n) kur bombo. all over the place (n) kom kom. all, many (adj) yelnda. all, very, too (adj) mende. always (adv) wirki. ancestor (n) **yiwara**. ancestor (+3 generations) (n) maure. ancestors (n) afa nanda. and all the rest (of her family) (n) er sokom. and then (inti) klei. angry (adj) belo. angry (adj) el kulwa tama. angry (adj) moulen. angry (v) sul fra wunsondo. angry exclamation (used to get attention) (intj) oe. angry yelling (n) nambuko. animal (n) elowo. animal vocalization, call out (v) isi. ankle (n) suwa aku tombo. ankle bone (n) suwa wurngen. ant (n) sifi. antenna (n) mundu fa. anus (n) sisi ki tombo.

approaching, near (post) minba.

area of medium growth (n) ongwa al oku.
argue heatedly (v) tolo nambuko.
armband (n) wisiki.
arrange, sort, organize (v) saro.
arrow tip (n) lam gwroso.
arrow with four spears (n) lam gwroso.
arrow with many spears (6-7) (n) lam
bendu.
arrow with one spear (n) lam opei.
arrow, thorn (n) lam.
ash (n) kur su.
ask (v) er mesu.
at the same time (adv) nakir.

axe handle (n) gome fa mu.

## В

bachelor (n) tama tombo.
back (n) ginfa.
back and forth (v) na sumbu na sumbu.
back of neck (n) kukumbu yefa.
back of neck (n) terfa yefa.
back of neck (n) wala gusu.
backbone, spine (n) kin gala bundu.
bad (adj) kaha.
bad variant name (used as reprimand) (n) sir kaha.
bad/strong taste, stinging sensation (adj) kwleya.

bald (adj) ter so.

bamboo (n) ama.

bamboo for carrying water (n) oku ama.

bamboo weights for roof (n) aka gu

takwlulu amam.

banana (n) yam.

banana heart, infloresence (n) yam kino.

band for holding tight, also armband (n)

sou.

bang together (like drumsticks) (v) doi doi.

bare stem connecting to banana heart (n) yam wanafa.

bark from live sago (n) galwo.

bark from old sago (n) gowen.

bark of sago palm (n) wursa.

bark used in spell or to protect a barrier (n) welku.

bark used to close door on inside (n) aka yurmu.

bark used to close door on outside (n) aka

barren (n) yen timba tawas.

basket (n) sara.

basket for storing sago (n) sai.

basket made from bamboo (n) dulsan.

bat (n) aye.

be afraid of (v) er aku.

be angry, frown (v) sengu.

be confused, wrong understanding (v) hiki haka.

be covered, be surrounded (v) **fu ambo.** 

be full of (v) **nekna**.

be hungry (v) a siri.

be hungry (v) ekaa wau.

be in church, go to church (v) lotu.

be indecisive (v) lisi lisi hikiyan.

be poor (v) kombo ni.

be pregnant (v) wauk na.

be quiet, don't cry, enough (v) dina.

be sorry, "it's okay" (v) kombo mesu.

be standing up (v) susu.

be upset (adj) holo wafu.

beach (n) yikwa gan.

bead with hole (n) kul okwa.

bead, money (n) kul.

beak (n) felnde bi.

become lodged in throat (v) nele.

become loose (v) turku.

become untied (v) sorna.

bed, bench, table (n) tembe.

bee (n) a wiyi.

bee (n) wiyi.

bee hive or home of insect (n) akwa.

beetle (n) walma.

beetle (flat and round) (n) gam.

beetle that lives under water (n) oku dangi.

beetle with large front pincers (n) wala

# kwiyi.

beginning, first time, now (n) golo.

behavior (n) suma kaha yoko rumbo.

bellybutton, umbilical cord, placenta (n)

### landu.

below (post) ari.

bend down (v) yu.

beside, near (KF) (post) inba.

betelnut (n) mini.

between, in the middle (post) bor.

big bilum for filling with beads (n) or waa.

big hole to shoot arrow through (n) sorflo.

big roots (n) mu duw.

big, loud, difficult, etc. (adj) samba.

big, oldest child (adj) laka.

bird (n) **felnde**.

bird blind (n) felnde aka.

bird feathers used to decorate cap (n)

### kwande.

bite (v) ta.

bite (a piece off) (v) tanku a.

bite (not chew) (v) tausi.

bite and break skin (v) ti wuta ta wuta.

black (adi) kur.

blind person (n) lako timba.

blink (v) lako bur tanngur.

blink quickly (v) lako bur bur fele fele.

blister (n) fir mango.

block with body, inhale smoke (v) tai.

blood (n) kefu.

blood brother (n) nakwel.

blow nose (v) nindi kursu tii.

blow on as part of spell (v) sofu.

blow, play flute, smoke (v) ofto.

blue (adj) gurmbo.

body (n) meke.

boil (v) ara fasu.

boil (trans) (v) kisi.

boil water (v) oku tenge.

boiled sago (n) naku fer kisi.

bone, muscle, firm support (as in plants) (n)

yefa.

booger (n) nindi su.

boundary marker (n) sul awa.

boundary marker (n) sul fiki.

bow (n) arma.

bow down (n) terfa duwyeyan.

bow shaft, outside part (n) arma ginfa.

bowl (n) gwame.

boys' house (n) aka tenge.

brace (in roof) (n) auwrara.

brag (v) sir ra towi.

braid rope, repair damaged vine (v) ten.

branch (n) mu tenge.

branch (n) mu yengla.

branch (n) tenge.

branch (with a fork) (n) gel.

branch used as support for mami vines (n)

mu mango.

brand new (adj) golo mende.

breadfruit cone (n) wate blangi.

break (v) **bu**.

break (v) dombe.

break (rope) (v) balan.

break a leaf for food (v) brongo.

break a shoot (v) fuwol.

break a vine (v) flate.

break bamboo (v) buta.

break in half (v) sere aku.

break into pieces (v) minwun.

break into pieces (v) sere.

break into pieces (v) siri sere.

break loose, run away (v) bre.

break open (v) takra.

break sago powder (v) mu duko.

break with hands (v) tongo sere.

break without severing (v) buwsu.

break, cut open coconut (v) tafa.

break, fall (of a tree) (v) sure.

breast (n) muwku.

breathe heavily, be out of breath (v)

yiflondo.

bridge (n) mu lau.

bright, colorful (adj) tikwete takwete.

bring (v) raya.

bring (a person) along, together (v) tambo.

brittle (adj) surmun.

broadcast (v) gowe.

broom (n) masi dondo.

brother (as spoken by sister), male cousin

(from parent's same-sex sibling) (n)

nandasi.

brown pig (n) fer mir.

bruise (n) tekwle waki.

bruise, squish, soup (v) blengu.

bucket (n) oku warme.

budding site of Kita branch (n) bangramen.

build a house (v) ki.

burn a hole (v) tinol tanol.

burn off animal's fur (v) wondo.

burn, cook in or over fire (v) lisi.

burnt (v) u groto.

burp (v) kute wiyi.

bush (shrub) (n) mu yen.

bush camp (n) ongwa aka.

bush knife (n) **yirkwe.** bush species (n) **belmun.** 

bush species (n) wasune.

but (grm) nar.

buttocks (n) su aye.

# C

calf (of leg) (n) suwa bela.

call of mammal (intj) gwal gwal.

call to dogs (esp. while hunting) (intj) is is.

cannibalize (v) ta ar.

cantilievered bed for building a large (non-cooking) fire (n) **bulmba aka.** 

carry a child in a sling (v) fana.

carry around head (suspended from forehead by rope) (v) tukta.

carry around shoulder (like a bilum/net bag) (v) tokmbo.

carry child on back, legs around neck (v) okwre.

carry on top of shoulder/in mouth (animals) (v) tisi.

carry under arm, carry in crook of elbow (v) fendumbu.

cassowary bone used as a needle (n) **felnde afu mai.** 

cassowary head ridge (n) duw basi.

caterpillar (n) owe.

cautiously (adv) awark kandak.

center of singsing area or of swamp (n) fel mango.

center roof support beam (n) aka krorongo. centipede (n) mundu.

central area (n) nindi.

central body part (heart, lungs, liver, palm, sole) (n) wafu.

central house post (n) simba bor.

central part of difi instrument (n) difi el.

ceremonial pole used for payment of bride price (n) gil.

change back and forth (v) filni falna.

change face (magic, etc.) (v) teri lako.

change mind (v) tufarna.

change one's mind (v) tongo bango.

chase (v) kusu.

check (if something fits, etc.) (v) hema ni.

check out, deny (v) nambe.

check out, inspect, evaluate (adj) soko sako.

cheek (n) taku wango.

chest (n) dimingi.

chew, cut branch (v) tam.

chewy, tough (of food) (adj) dangwen.

child, niece or nephew (n) yen.

chin slap, used as a greeting (v) taku tongo.

chin, jawbone, bill of bird, edge (n) taku.

chip at (v) mosu.

chop (break in half), cut bananas (v) oro.

chop firewood (v) kwini.

church (n) afa samba roko aka.

claim, mark as one's own (v) auna.

clap (v) lesu bombo.

clay (n) weke.

clay pot (n) sul au.

clay pot (large size for sago) (n) garfu.

clay shards (n) weke somo.

clean a place up (v) eme ale.

clean area to prepare to cut down a tree (v)

clean things, naked (v) sumba.

clear ground (remove overgrowth) (v) lu lako.

clear throat (v) tanenger a.

clear, clean, completely (v) wahai.

clearing (n) ongwa.

clearing, in public, naked (adj) eme fa.

cleft palate (n) elombo tafra.

cliff, rough mountain (n) embleo kahamender.

climb on back (v) wala gusu.

close (door) (v) kuwsu.

cloth (n) mau liki.

clothes, dressing (n) ter gila.

clothespin (n) gwalsa.

cockroach (n) war saklo.

coconut (n) suwa.

coconut bark used as seive (n) sauwa.

coconut meat (n) suwa meke.

coconut milk (n) suwa fi.

coconut sapling (n) suwa fan.

coconut shell (large), plate, bowl (n) yingwe.

coconut stem (n) suwa wangwarama.

cocoon (n) ringi si.

coffin (n) suwa kulko lendo.

coil (adj) bangol bangol.

coil (v) suw.

cold (adj) bisisi.

cold (adj) nungul.

cold (food) (adj) ningli.

cold water (adj) oku kulfo.

coldness of morning (dew etc.) (n) surna.

collapse (adj) turon tauron.

collect (Mini or Same) (v) kuw.

collect mud (v) kwro kwro.

collect or gather small objects (v) noko.

collect or sweep away (embers) (v) for.

collect, gather, get (v) ra.

colored dirt (n) kre sul.

colored dirt (n) sul kre.

colorful (adj) blala.

comb (n) masai.

comb (v) terfa tisi.

come (v) ya.

come after, behind (v) kina.

come and go, back and forth (v) fal fal.

come down, fall (v) yiri.

come in, go out (v) wra.

come loose and fall (v) gwal aku.

come together (v) hauna.

come up (v) wuya.

compensation (related to bride price) (n) kul

fer rete.

completely free of debris (adj) berso.

container (cup) (n) kelembu.

cook on a fire wrapped in a leaf (v) fasu.

cook, begin to boil (intr), glow (v) u.

cordyline plant variety (n) durkun.

cordyline plant variety (green) (n) awa

kumba.

cordyline plant variety (red) (n) awa kumba

nomro.

corpse (n) tama mu kuwar.

cough, sneeze (v) gursu.

count (v) kafu.

count out exactly (v) kafu nakir.

cover (v) ra tanngur.

cover (v) **yofo**.

cover (dress a wound, build a fence, wrap

small things) (v) waki.

cover (over a hole) (n) bra.

cover (self) (v) yilo.

cover a hole with dirt (v) fiti.

cover self with shield (n) wol gu.

cover up (v) yokwro.

cover with lid (v) tanngu.

cover, hide (v) tikte.

covered in fog (v) nambul gwa ki.

coverlet to strengthen bow shaft (n) arma

sou.

crab, turtle (n) walingi.

crack knuckles (n) lesu bouna.

crack open (betelnuts etc.) (v) tongo burku.

cradle in hands (v) yembu.

crawl (v) fer nawek i. dark brown color (adj) kwesu kwiyo. crawl (centipedes, snails...) (v) kroro. dark clouds when a big rain is coming (v) crazy (adj) belo. crazy person (n) tama amba. crescent moon (n) nekwa glengu. cricket (n) angulma. crocodile (n) mongur. cross (v) kirfi. cross, step over (v) afrete. crunch, twist off (v) bur kuw. cry (v) **kra.** cucumber species (n) bondi. cucumber species (n) bongur. cultivated, domestic (adj) waa. curvy, crooked, greedy (adj) bango. cut (esp. deeply), cut cane grass (v) kwiyi. cut a rope, chop, break down a house (v) tanku. cut in half, chop repeatedly (v) gulfu. cut in pieces, split lengthwise (v) wuta. cut open lengthwise (v) der. cut open top to drink (v) tambenge. cut or slice quickly (v) sorndo. cut out, split sago (v) gu. cut small trees or branches, slice quickly (v) ternngu. cuticle (n) lesu gisi tombo. D dam river (v) ta. dance (v) lom. dance (n) romo.

dance (with food) (n) minga. dance and make noise with feathers on (n) biarna. dandruff (n) terfa sal.

dangerous (adi) holei.

dark black skin (n) liki kur.

kursu walaman ya. dark, blind (adj) tindu tandu. date (n) ningi. daughter (n) tawa yen. daybreak (n) dana. dead leaf (n) kumba okwe. dead man's effects, mourning (n) muwku. deaf (n) wanwanta. decide (v) dinafler hiki. decorate (v) male. decorations (n) gwehe sayi. decorations in singsing area (n) kuso. decorative vine made of linked rings (n) bol bol. deep sleep (unaware) (v) mehe na. delicious, chewy (v) nausu tanngu. deliver a baby (v) wra ni. dent (n) fu gun. dent (n) gun. dew (n) esoko. diarrhea (n) sisi humbu. did you hear? (int) ka mesuya. die, kill, faint, be sick (v) siri. different (adj) kuna kuna. dig (yam) (v) sa. dig with a stick (esp. to plant pitpit, taro, banana) (v) toko. dirt (n) sul kurkur. dirt gathered on water's surface (n) blofu kutu wakre. dirt rubbed on a surface (n) sulu. disappear, lose, scatter, wander (v) namble. discuss back and forth, argue (v) narete. disobey (v) iki namra mesu. distribute, take a share from group mami

pile (v) lofor.

divide in half (v) bringi. divide mami (v) haku. divide up (v) ra tii ra ti ya. divine via tapping (v) tele. dizzy (adj) kwar bar bar lu. do garden work (v) loko baye. do in the wrong way, messed up (adj) ber bar. do in your own way (adj) bir ber. do, make, use (v) eku. dog (n) wala. dog's cry (intj) hau. domesticated pig (n) fer waa. don't worry, it's okay, thank you (phr) manda timba. don't... (neg) mana. door side frame (n) aka yurmu kusu. door, area in front of house (n) aka kulu. double leaf split apart (n) yar taka. downstream (n) oku tombo. drag away (v) tongo lisi. drag, pull (v) lisi. dragonfly (n) sar bambu. draw a bow (v) tangel. dream (n) nisuku. dressings (n) gwesai i. dressings for singsing (n) osai. driftwood (n) gara. drill (v) rondo. drink (v) a belna. drizzle (v) wul wul. drop a log, for a tree to fall (v) ifi finsi. drop into a hole (to plant yam or mami) (v) wi. drop, miss (a shot) (v) faina. drown (v) ra war. dry (adj) bou. dry banana leaf, paper, book (n) sanglu.

dry coconut frond used as a torch (large) (n)
tikwasa.

dry coconut frond used as a torch (small) (n)
tikwa.

dry coconut, used in cooking (n) suwa solka.
dry frond shaft (n) bir.
dry leaves (n) lungutu.
dry sago branch (n) naku bir.
dry skin of coconut (n) wan gala.
dry spine of banana leaf which falls down
(n) yam lombo kufu.
dull side of a blade (n) maku.
dusk (n) kurna.

Ε ear (n) **namra**. ear wax (n) namra su. early morning, late afternoon (n) fu kwiyi. earthquake (n) diwir diwir. earthquake (n) yiflou yiflou. earthquake (n) yinawe. earwig (n) yam landu. east, sunrise (n) nambul wuya. eat until full (v) a durna. eat, drink (v) a. echo (v) natal atal. eclipse (n) nul sikik wur aku. edge (n) lowe. edge, bank (n) grewe. edges (post) gan. edible ant species (n) umaka. edible cane grass (n) wuwr. edible leaves from various shrubs (n) bali. eel (n) oku sofo. egg (n) **felnde lako**. either, or (adv) ben. elbow (n) lesu guwl.

elbow (back) (n) lesu du.

embers (esp. mixed with ashes) (n) sungre.

emerge (v) bou.

emphatic, self (grm) kuna.

empty (adj) sombu.

empty headed young person (n) yekle amba.

empty, alone, still, always, just (v) nawe. end of mourning (n) muwku masi.

end point (beginning, end, bottom, back, downstream, south) (adj) tombo.

enemy, non-wantok (n) wira.

entrails, feces, bottom (n) su.

erase (v) sambu tii.

erection (n) el fan.

erupt with light (as in embers) (adj) tingre tangre.

evade in circular pattern (v) wur wra.

evaporate (v) ka wula aku.

every side (n) yoko yoko.

everybody (n) yelnda oku.

everything (n) bu bum.

exactly in the middle (adv) bor kir kirk.

exorcise, douse (v) nimre.

explain, inform (v) tolo erfa.

express fluid from animal intestines (v) wul dondo.

extinguish, go out (v) sun go.

eye (n) lako.

eye resin (n) musun lako ene golwar.

eyebrow (n) lako musuka.

eyelash (n) lako felnde.

# F

face (n) tiri lako.

facial hair (n) gu taku.

failed fruiting body (large) (n) **suwa glongu.** failed fruiting body (small) (n) **glengu.** 

fall (v) yirfi.

fall apart, snort, oink (v) giri guro.

fall on one's face (v) yiri butu.

fall straight down and stick straight up in ground (adj) dil dol.

fall, drop, pull out (v) tilse.

family (n) tombo lakam.

fan leaf which grows on tree trunks (n) dol au.

far side of something, far away (post) werko.

fart (v) su fur.

fast, quickly, hurry (adv) hanganafu.

fat (used as cooking oil) (n) kukwe.

fat, cooking oil (n) kukwe.

father, paternal uncle (n) afa.

father's mother's father or spouse's father's

father (n) wara.

feather (n) felnde kulka.

feathers (n) gaie.

feces (n) su tombo.

feed (v) a nuwa.

feel like (v) yombo mesu.

feel weak (v) siri sure.

feel with back of hand (v) fer klulu.

felled sago stump (n) wutu.

fence (n) aka dulu.

fence (n) arawan.

fence (n) wursu.

fern-like plant (n) gra.

ferns used to decorate spear (n) **bermun**.

fetch water (v) si.

fight (v) afi nau.

fighting (initial) (v) nambutu naruku.

file (knife etc.) (v) kou.

fill with water (v) liti.

find (v) **fle.** 

fine abrasive dust (v) gre gre.

fingernail (n) lesu gisi.

finish (v) ambe.

finish (food, work etc.) (v) yomne.

finish altogether (v) biya.

fire, firewood (n) kiri.

firefly (n) gwiyo.

firewood piece split lengthwise (n) kokul.

first (adj) nari.

first wife (in plural marriage) (n) tawa mus.

first-born child (n) lakwiyi.

fish (n) **om.** 

fish tail (n) okusa.

fist (n) lesu yokondambe.

five (5) (num) yokondambe lesu.

flail (adj) di wirki di warko.

flame (n) wle.

flap (wings), blow, twirl, make noise, signal to come (v) waingu.

flay (v) grato.

flicker on and off (v) dal dal.

float (v) **lufau**.

flood (n) ti.

floor crossbeams in raised house (n) aka

lau.

flower (n) awa.

flower (n) su.

flower of taro, bruise (adj) uklu maklu.

flute (n) ama wusilele.

fly (n) algan.

fly (v) bruru.

fly (n) tama algan.

fly away, scatter (v) brena aku.

flying ant (n) sangra fai.

flying mud particles (n) au mal.

fog (n) **gwa.** 

fold (v) leferko.

fold leaf without breaking (v) busu.

fold up into bowl shape (v) dama.

follow (v) sumbu.

food (n) ekaa.

food cooked with coconuts (n) a suwa.

food garden (n) a nu.

food scraps (n) liki tombo.

foot (n) suwa lombo.

foot of mountain (n) tele ari.

footprint (n) suwa fol.

for a lizard's tail to break off (v) furku.

for a tree to be completely uprooted and

fall (v) tufu.

for dusk to arrive (v) kurna.

for fire to burn out (v) mol.

for jelly to harden (v) siri.

for morning to break (v) dana kute.

for rain to fall (v) wate.

for skin to come off in hot water (adj) bil

bol.

for water to begin to boil (v) sa.

force feed (v) **lu gaso.** 

forearm (n) lesu bela.

forearm (n) lesu gilombo.

forehead (n) mambunge.

forehead tap, used as a greeting (v)

mambunge fu.

forget (v) ambasu.

four (4) (num) lasifu lasifu.

four days from now, four days ago (n) tukur.

fresh, young-looking (adj) kel.

friends who exchange food, same

family/clan line (n) minga kufu.

frog (n) girsi.

from, be from (post) fenda.

frond branch (hard interior portion) (n)

grembu.

front teeth (n) bi sambaf.

frothy water (bubbly) (n) selmbo.

fruiting body (n) mondo.

full (adj) **oule.** glue for kundu drum (n) wusunal. full (from eating) (v) a afe. glue inside tubers (v) gusa. full growth, ready to eat (pitpit or sago) (v) go along together (adj) nambo nambo. fa. go away (v) i. full moon (n) nekwa tawa laka meye. go back (adv) indi. full of love (adj) wafu boi boi. go by, be at, become, to function (v) na. full of sores (v) gur gur nangur sa. go down (v) tuka. funny nonsense word (intj) ormbein. go down, rub (on skin) (v) war. fuzz, prickles (n) engurka. go first (v) ser. go flat, go straight (v) yal. G go home, go back (v) aku. go hunt/chase pig (v) fer tasu i. gallbladder (n) kwleya wafu. go into ground, probe at (v) dun. gap, small hole (n) ofol. go outside (v) wuwr. garamut (large traditional drum) (n) mu. go to one's own/appropriate place, say garbage pile (n) sifingi. goodbye (ai yo) (v) masi. garden (n) **nu**. go up, pick a coconut (v) wi. garden that has been burned for planting god (n) afa samba. (n) nu kursu. good behavior (n) tolo eloko barna tamar. garden that has been harvested (n) **nu bor.** good notion (n) wafu kau. garden that has been planted (n) nu angur. good time (for something) (adj) yema kufa. garden where all food is gone (n) ongwa good time feelings/talk (n) sur nu ene aka. bor. good to eat (adj) glou. gather solids (esp. sago) (v) ou. good variant name (used as greeting) (n) sir generous (n) tama nuwar. nalingi. 'get a load of him' (phr) o nir u. good, happy (adj) kufe. get angry (v) kiri nawek wuya. goose bump (n) liki manngra. get off track (v) selefe. gossip (v) tolo sengu. get out of the way (v) tawi. gourd for carrying water (n) oku yefa. get rid of (v) eku tii. grass (n) baye. get snagged (v) takorko tiri. grass skirt (n) waran. get up (from sleep) (v) sau. grass species (kunai) (n) dambi. giant beetle species (n) gungwa. grassy area at edge of village (n) alingi. giant beetle species (adj) sungutu yangutu. grate (v) **kurfa**. ginger root (n) tikwiyi. grave, cemetery (n) siki termu. give (v) **nuwa**. great- (greatgrandfather, etc.) (n) wara. give birth (v) wi nuwa. great-grandchild (n) wanembuka. give birth, father (v) ku. green bean (n) makwa.

give fire (embers) (v) for nuwa.

green coconut (n) suwa gumbo.

green decorative fruit (n) kormo kulfo.

green, uncooked (adj) kulfo.

greens (n) nanglu.

greeting (intj) o.

greeting (intj) tama.

greeting upon return of a friend (phr) ka

# kahar yayar a.

greeting, goodbye (phr) er numbu.

grind (v) bursu.

ground, brown (n) sul.

grow up and blossom (of yam/mami) (v)

#### fun.

grow, fat person (v) meye.

growl (v) gerere.

grudge (n) iki naweyan re fur erka.

guard (v) kuna susu.

gum (n) nausu.

gums (n) bi luku.

guria's head feathers (n) mangrangra.

### Н

hair (gray) (n) terfa kurkurmbu.

hair (white) (n) gai.

hair, leaf, insect wing (n) kulka.

half (n) emta.

half green/half dry coconut (n) suwa

### wangalambo.

half moon (n) nekwa mekek na.

half sago trunk (unscraped) (n) naku indi mu.

halo (n) awangu.

hand (n) lesu lako.

hand, arm, finger, handle (n) lesu.

hang (v) kufu nele.

hang (v) lili.

hang (from vine), ready to eat (with seeds) (v) lei.

hang something (v) kwre.

happy (adj) kufe iki.

happy behavior on arrival or departure of another (phr) er kombo fa kombo.

hard (n) mu gwa.

hard (surface) (n) mungwa.

harvest (mami) (v) kaku sa ra tongo.

have a child (v) krafo kute.

have sex (v) kwla.

have sex in an aggressive manner (adj)

#### lermu sermu.

have sex with (adi) lorkwle sorkwle.

have, exist, be present (v) amba.

he (pro) ru.

head man (n) tama lakar.

head, highest point (bow, kundu drum) (n) terfa.

headache (n) terfa manda.

headdress (adj) marko.

headdress (n) wasune belmun.

headwater, north (n) tol.

heart (n) gwarlako.

heavy (adj) wendu.

heel (n) suwa wafu.

her (pro) te.

here (loc) kekwra.

hey you (intj) i tama i.

hey!, you people (intj) kemela.

hiccup, burp (v) tikorko.

hide, cover (esp. with a leaf) (v) lendo.

highest ring of banana growth (n) yam ter kamba.

him (pro) re.

hip joint (n) sungel.

hit (v) afi.

hit, kill, sound out (bell, thunder) (v) fu.

hobbled walk (v) tasu gwrusu.

hold (v) tongo.

hold hands (v) lesu na tongo.

hold on (in tree etc.) (v) tambangi.

hold tight (v) hoi.

hold tight (v) tongo durna.

hold tucked or cradled in arms (v) hembu.

hold up something that is falling (v) tuku towi.

hole (small) (n) siki.

hole in tree where water collects (n) musun.

hole that renders useless (as in a bowl) (n) nol.

hole that spoils for use (v) olfo.

hook (n) aungwa.

hooray ('ho ho ho ho') (intj) kirio.

hop (v) girfi towi.

horizontal slab in bamboo which divides sections (n) guwsu.

hot (adj) maha.

house (n) aka.

house built in preparation for a dance (n) minga aka.

house fire, burn house down (n) aka u.

house for menstruation (n) aka masi.

house frame (n) aka solo.

how (int) biki biki.

how many (int) biki saima.

huddle up (as in fetal position) (v) felmbu.

huddle up, wrap around (v) tofun.

hug (v) tafa ki.

humiliate (v) eloko barna.

humiliate (v) tolo sengu barna.

hunt (v) **elowo fle.** 

hunt (v) elowo fu.

hurry (adv) kukwi.

hurry up, don't dawdle (intj) hele.

hurt (v) manda.

husband (n) nemna.

husband of child or nephew, daughter's child and spouse (n) **neta.** 

husband of gasiwa (n) nawi.

hypocrite (n) erewe tama.

### ı

I (pro) on.

ignite a large fire (v) duwn.

ignite fire for cooking (v) go.

I'm going to (pro) ana.

imitate, guide, try to dance (v) samre.

improve, develop (v) eneku.

impure (adj) musun kana na.

in a circle (adj) bar bar.

in a straight line (n) worna.

in a zigzag fashion (adj) kindi kundu.

in tatters, full of holes (fabric) (n) ruwku.

in the manner of (grm) yungu.

in the middle (n) grou.

incest (v) yen/gasiwa rokot rar.

incompletely cooked (adj) mangru.

inform (v) erfa.

in-law (n) kaha.

insert in roof (v) take tiri.

insert in roof (bones from food) (v) tikorko.

inside (hole or pile) (post) nuw.

inside of bow shaft (n) arma wako.

instrument used to help taro grow (n) difi.

iris (n) lako yen.

irrealis (grm) wa.

itch (n) luwnguya.

itch, scratch (n) fu gurmba.

itchy/scratchy (adj) songo sango.

it's okay, I don't mind, enough (intj) beena.

it's yours, keep it (phr) nokorar.

#### ı

join together (v) duwn.

joint (n) lesu gusu.

joint in bamboo (n) gusu.

joke, play around (adj) hingre hangre.

joker (n) hingre hangre yoko ekur.

judge (n) tolo eloko tamar.

jump (v) kokwre.

jump out, come down (v) kete tuka.

jump up (v) gwre.

jump, hop (v) kitil kutol.

junction (n) kulu tenge.

jungle (bush) (n) wula.

just in this way (adv) ekra nawe.

just like that (adv) ekra ni.

# K

key (n) aka late.

kindling and bottom supports of bulmba aka (n) galwo wama.

kiss (v) dumu muna.

kiss noise, hiss noise (v) tumu muna.

kitchen house (n) aka ekaa.

knee (n) suwa guwl.

knees (back) (n) suwa du.

kwar seeds (n) bangu.

### L

lake, swamp (n) **bulmu**.

land taken by force (n) fi sul.

landslide (n) bre.

landslide (n) bre du.

large digging stick (n) gramba sarsar.

large inner support posts for roof (n) simba nawa.

large intestine (n) su kur.

large post from deep jungle (n) safko waa.

large stick (often for stirring sago jelly) (n) gila.

large, open sore (n) suwa bli.

last (in series and remaining) (adj) numba.

last, end, youngest child, top of banana (n)

kin.

laugh, smile (v) nali.

lay out on top, carry on top of head (v) feke.

leaf (n) kumba.

leaf for festival house (n) dufu.

leaf of wild sago (n) afko toto.

leaf of wild sago (n) fanga.

leaf or frond (n) sirka.

leaf used as a marker when distributing

food (n) tukarka.

leaf used to tie mami (n) asanga.

lean (v) dumbu.

lean (v) sawe.

lean against or lay across (adj) kri kri.

lean down (v) kwiyau.

leave (someone) (v) tirite.

leave alone, let, allow (v) tiri.

leave me alone (v) mei.

leech (n) maifo.

left (adj) gaima.

leftovers (n) blauwo.

leftovers (n) waku.

leg, bottom (bow, kundu drum) (n) suwa.

legend, story (n) sungamba.

let's (dual) (pro) anda.

let's (plural) (pro) ama.

liar (n) erewe naweka rii tamar.

lick (v) bleu.

lick (v) so.

lie, trick (n) ere.

lies (n) suma bango.

lift (v) gweu.

lift feet when sitting (v) suwa kwaina ra.

lift from fire (pot, etc.) (v) toro.

lift or tear out with mouth, insert in roof (v) take.

light a fire with kindling (v) talma.

light black skin (n) liki kasa.

light brown, beige, gray, old (plant material) (v) solka.

light rain/fog that portends a clear day (n) nambul lako okto.

light up (esp. from embers) (adj) blili blala.

light-headed (adj) belo barna.

limbum (palm bark) bucket (n) duwan yenbun.

limbum (palm used for construction) (n) duwan.

limbum basket (n) duwan nawa.

lime powder (n) nuwngu.

line up, lay out (v) sili.

link arms (v) lesu gul na tongo.

lips (n) **elombo.** 

listen carefully/closely (v) tati.

listen up (v) namra mesu.

little (adj) waska.

lizard (n) **nembe.** 

lock (door) (v) galwo kuwsu.

log trap for bandicoot (trip line and crush)

(n) ifi lako.

long (adj) kin menam.

long feathers (n) fal.

long time ago (adj) mele.

long time ago (adj) mele kusa.

long, heavy rain (adj) sur sur.

look down, throw down, lower (v) tori.

look straight in eyes (v) lako mir.

look up (v) yawo.

loose (v) hol.

loose (of teeth) (v) lungwa.

loosen (v) sowe.

loosen (of skin), scrape off (v) bau.

loosen and fall (v) guw.

loosen and fall (v) losu na.

loosen and throw away (v) sowe tii.

loud fly, buzzing, loud noise (n) bombo.

louse (n) nun.

love (v) wafu hiki.

love spell, ingredients for a spell (n) engle.

lower head (v) duwye.

lower wing (n) difi.

lungs (n) sel.

# M

magic stone (n) ma i.

main shaft of leaf/frond/mushroom (n)

## bungu.

make a face (n) maure maure.

make a fist, punch, put hands together (v)

### butu.

make a mess, spoil (v) lorkwle.

make a path (v) walanga.

make a rucus (birds and bats) (v) singlili

# senglele.

make bridge (v) kri.

make dirty (of water) (v) fi fi.

make level ground (break rocks) (v) wurmu.

make noise (v) dumbai.

make noise (v) grou.

make peace (v) ka afinau ambe.

make salt (v) nato.

malaria (n) siri gru gru.

male animal (n) toura.

male cousin's wife, maternal uncle's wife (n)

# wafuw.

mami (tuber similar to yam) (n) kaku.

mami skin added to sago to increase the

amount (n) huma.

man, person (n) tama.

mango (n) **grambi.** 

mantis or grasshopper (n) gulma.

many (in amount) (adj) kaha kana.

many in kind (adj) wenga. many nights (1 to 2 weeks) (n) numa. mark, footprint (n) wil. mark, set aside (v) mera. masturbate (v) el tongo kul. maternal grandparent (n) ata. maternal uncle (n) mam. maternal uncle's wife, child of husband's sister (n) yowul. maybe, I don't know (intj) embensini. me (pro) ene. measure (v) yema. metal axe (n) gome faa. middle (adj) kirkir. middle finger (n) lesu arma fuyau. milk (n) fi. milk (n) muwku fi. Milky Way (n) ware nembe gwrara. millipede (n) mangur kon. millipede species (n) sul kulfo kur. mimic words (v) hema kama. mix (into sago powder,) roll together, rotate (v) **lu**. mix together (v) suwruw. mixed up (adj) bango bango. mixture of food (adj) horke harke. mold (n) kunsu tuku. mold, rub (clay) (v) fer. moon, month (n) nekwa. moonrise (v) tawa laka atas meyeyas. moonset (v) nekwas famek suknayas. morning (n) karwi. morning sun (n) nambul okwe. mortar (n) sukwle. mosquito (n) fi. mosquito (n) mu oku fi. mother, maternal aunt, cousin of cross-sex aunt/uncle (n) nawa.

motor vehicle (n) sul bombo.
mountain (n) embleo.
mountain (range) (n) lu.
mouth (n) suma langi.
move house (v) hauwa aku.
move quickly out of the way (v) tikir na.
mud, dust, dirt (n) sul foko.
mud, mushy ground (n) sul dil.
muddy (adj) kofo.
muddy water (n) foko.
muddy water (from digging) (n) sul foko
mambu ningi.
murmur, crackle, shiver (adj) geu geu.
mushroom (n) gwini.

## Ν

naked (adj) su boro emefa. name (n) sir. name of river near hole in creation story (n) afla tak. namesake (n) yowul. natural pool (in rock) (n) rengongo. nauseous (n) luku luku nawek. nauseous (adj) sirfako. neck (n) kokumbu. neck (n) kukumbu. neck of bird (n) du. necklace (n) wanga lako. negative marker (neg) nanak. nest (n) felnde wosu. never (adv) iki di ningik. new growth (adj) aungu. new growth (n) gumbo. new moon (n) nekwa sukna. new, new (green) growth, seeds (adj) luwku. newborn (n) kai.

news, come to an agreement (on a date) (n)
nimba.

night, darkness (n) nurku.

no (neg) mehek.

no, not (neg) iki.

noise (n) ausana.

noise (n) samra.

noise of rain (intj) ku.

noise, jingle (adj) glir glor.

nose (n) wilingi.

nostril (n) wilingi siki.

not be able to (v) nime.

not have, not be here, empty (v) timba.

not want, not feel like, divorce (v) mana.

now, just now (adj) esunguna.

# 0

ocean water (n) yikwa oku. oh sorry, oh yes (intj) e hakum. okay (intj) era. okay (intj) uhunta. old (person) (adj) afko. older same-sex sibling or cousin (from parent's same-sex sibling) (n) nanda. oldest, most important (grm) ata. one (1) (num) dirambu. one eye (n) lako golwa. one leg (n) suwa tongo. one of a set (n) nambo. one, some (grm) di. one's own (grm) kuna yaku. only child (n) krafo. open a basket or net bag (v) wanda. open a door or window (v) late. open bag (bilum) (v) loko. open of mushroom or leaf (adj) bansi. open up, unfold (v) sambla. open wide, spread out wide (v) sinda.

opposite side (n) mahak. orange decorative fruit (adj) kormo. Orion's belt (n) akuma gramba. orphan, widow (n) wari. other place, opposite side (n) yoko. outcropping, sheer rock (n) tele. outer spine of coconut frond spine (n) wangorama. outside (n) kafta. over there (loc) kasi. overbite/underbite (n) bi na tufrasi wuyar. overgrow with weeds (v) flo. Ρ pack up (adj) suwri sauron. pack up in preparation to leave (adj) siwri sauwro. palm (n) lesu wafu. papaya (n) mar wate. part way (adj) bliwi blauwo. partially ripe coconut (beginning to dry) (n) suwa bow turari. partially uncooked food (n) gwehe. party or feast held occasionally (n) kirau. party where pepper is exchanged and consumed (n) minga gwasi. party without meat (n) minga gaien. paternal aunt or her husband (n) yiwi. paternal grandfather (n) namre. paternal grandmother (n) yaku. path, road, behavior (ways) (n) kulu. pay attention (v) iki ale. pay attention, "look what happened" (intj) sumraya. pay bride price (v) arko rete. peel (banana), remove skin (yam) (v) gwasi. peel (of banana) (n) kwasi.

penis (n) el.

penis sheath (shell) (n) molkon. plant by inserting with hand (esp. a stick) (v) ful. people (n) tama tawa. people from other places (n) di yoko plant species (n) au kumba. fendam. plant species (n) sumbu kumba. person who poisons others (poisoner) (n) plant stick-like object (esp. sago) (v) tuku. numba noko. plant two sticks in an 'X' (v) fa. personal signal (esp. of garamut) (n) sambo. platform for drying meat over fire (n) tei. petals which cover banana heart (n) yam play (flute etc.) (v) wusu. blafo. play garamut (large traditional drum) (v) pick (bali) (v) kur. toko. pick leaf, cut animal or grass (v) kute. Pleiades (n) wule nungusa. pluck (v) wro. pick ripe bananas individually (v) ruku. pick up sago, remove skin (v) gwal. pluck (feathers) (v) bur. piece of dirt, dust (from cutting wood) (n) pluck (fruit/seeds) (v) tulku. musun. pluck out (spear, taro) (v) yoso. pig bush home, mosquito net (n) fer wosu. pointer finger, ring finger (n) lesu bor. pig watering hole (n) fer oku sul. pointy end of garamut (n) wangul. poison (n) numba. pig, horse (n) fer. pile (n) **termu**. pole for hanging dry coconuts (n) suwa pile dirt over, remove topsoil (v) gru fiti. ama. pile up (v) gou. pole used to carry (esp. pigs) (n) muwor. pond (n) oku blo. pile up (v) owe ne. pile up dirt (v) gru. poop (v) sisi. pile up, raise up (v) owe. poor (adj) wera. pinch (v) lunsu. pop out (v) wla. pinch (v) nalu. porch roof (n) aka take. pinkie (n) lesu gaien. portable fire (n) kiri meke. possess (v) maure tongo raka i. pit (*n*) **kol**. pit (of seed) (n) watefa. post (n) simba. placate spirits (when entering their land) (v) post from deep jungle (n) safko. nambu. pot holder (n) bein. place (n) eme. potato species (n) wanda lako. place leaf-holding bamboo in roof (v) pound (v) kre. kwresu. pound flat, roll flat (v) bloso. place where branch emerges from trunk (n) pound with stick (v) blosu. bongo. pour (v) gam. plant a stick in the ground (v) bane. powder (n) sen. plant by inserting directly in ground (v) tul. powder (n) sun.

pray to masalai (ask leinency from trespass) (v) take miti. pray to spirit for help in killing (v) er wawa isi. prepare area (v) kom ale. prepare self for singsing (v) takre. pretend by making noise (adj) kruru suru. pretty, clean, smart (adj) kufeni. promise rope, knot, crossbeam (n) ama wungusu. properly (adv) ale. prostitute (n) tama yelndam kana ekuka i tawas. pull (v) wru wru. pull a limb out (v) ku aku. pull apart (v) werngu. pull down (vines from above) (v) wuron. pull down leaves (n) wakre busu busu. pull down tree to collect leaves (v) toto. pull out, draw bow (v) ra wra. pull up (of a plant) (v) forna. pull up (plants) (v) semra. pull up grass, weed with knife (v) nate. pull up, rope used to lift (v) boro boro. pull, pull down (of vines) (v) wosu. pulverize, break into pieces (v) nambu. punch (lesu+), kick (suwa+) (v) gwa. pupil (n) lako kur. pupil, iris (n) lako wando. pus (n) lifir mango. push (v) dingei tii. push a person down or out (esp. hard) (v) tingwara. put (v) rete. put (back) together, huddle together (v) nandu. put clothes on (v) sufongo. put down (v) totori.

# Q

quiet, mute (adj) suma timba.

R race (v) na tawi na tawi i. rain (n) loko. rain drop (n) loko fi. rain drop (large) (n) loko fi boule. raise, pull or peel back (lid etc.) (v) galo. raspy noise (n) kursei. rattan, stem with fruit (banana, Same) (n) nungu. razor (n) guwsu. ready to flower (of mushroom) (v) gulmombu. realis (grm) ka. really?! (intj) akum welmbem. reciprocal giving (v) na nuwa. red (adj) kasa. red (fresh) sago (n) naku kwainda kasa. red (fresh) sago (n) naku ormo okwe. red seeds of Pacific Maple tree (n) narun. red, pink or gold color at sunset (adj) gwehe reflection, mirror (n) gamba. refuse to do useful work (v) nalafau. regret, be upset (v) soro. reinforce (v) fendo. remain, usually (do st) (v) rii.

remember, think, know (v) hiki. remove (sheet from stack) (v) kul soto. remove a section of wood (v) tahu. remove an unripe banana (v) gelna. remove bark (v) asi. remove bark (in sheets) (v) gau. remove caterpillars (from tree bark) (v) tufa. remove everything from a house (v) sauwro. remove from fire (v) tate. remove frond from stem, split frond in half (v) touso. remove fruit-bearing banana stem, yank branch to cut it (v) bona. remove garbage (v) siti. remove individual items from a pod or shell (v) dungwa. remove inner shell (papery covering) from nut (v) gaso. remove kunai grass to prepare ground, peel banana (v) bo. remove leaf, shuck (cane grass) (v) lete. remove liquid from a long skinny object (finger, etc.) (v) wulmbo. remove pelt, bark, or skin (v) lolo. remove quickly from pain, long (adj) toina. remove rind (v) tikin. remove s.t. which is hanging (v) yikte. remove sago bark (v) loma. remove sago/coconut leaves (v) tafirsa. remove seeds, pop out (v) bol. remove skin (yam, limbum) (n) keso. remove skin in sections (v) talo. remove spine of leaf (v) luma. remove st with hands (esp. dirt), scrape away (v) rumba. return st to its place (v) noko rete. ridicule (v) te hema kama tolo nali.

right (adj) fisi. right now (adv) ningre nawe. right now, as soon as possible (adj) kiyi kiyi. ring on a stem where fruit emerges (banana or Same) (n) safran. ringworm, tinea (n) ese kur. rinse off (adj) fri fro. rip in strips (as of leaf), tear (n) bran. ripe from sun (v) wan gre. ripe, sapling/shoot (v) **okwe**. river (large) (n) fame. river (medium) (n) afla. river (small) (n) fangi. rock, shell, money, file (n) arko. roll (make thread for clay pot) (v) wir. roll (of cigarettes) (v) damen. roll over (v) koukre. rolling boil (adj) sa sa gul gul. roof (apex) (n) aka guw. rooster comb and waddle (n) duw walko. rooster comb, red in color, hibiscus (n) walko. root (n) mu nambi. root around (v) sul fi. rope burn (v) wusu wusu. rope, vine, lineage (n) kufu. rotate or flip (food while cooking) (v) yimau. rotten wood, stump (n) rombo. round (adj) **krou.** rub (v) danda. rub (sago) (v) romo. rub eye to remove dirt (v) ringi rongo. rub flat (v) roto. rub skin off seeds, pull feathers off a bird (v) buku. rub, spread glue (v) kwata. rubbery, tough to eat (leaves) (adj) dur dan. rubbish (n) grafa.

ruined, about to collapse (adj) timringi tamringi. run (v) titi. run away (v) tulna. run away in a hurry (v) biya saya. run into (v) re i nika furndu na. rush, sled down (adj) tingir tangir. S sago (n) naku. sago arrowtip (n) lam bendu. sago bark (n) galmbon. sago bark (n) naku bitki. sago bark used in bulmba aka (n) galwo a. sago bedding, for strained sago (n) naku yofu. sago chute (for washing sago), sago branch (n) wutu. sago frond, shoulder joint (n) wol. sago grub variety (n) umbu. sago hammer (n) naku ama yalwun. sago jelly ball (n) gal. sago pancake (n) naku fraim. sago powder (n) naku sun. sago scraping tool (n) yalwun. sago shed (n) wal aka dumbu. sago stem, used for decorations (n) naku bormborsa. sago trunk that has been scraped (n) naku wursa. salt (n) yikwa. salt made with water (n) yikwa sun. salt made without water (n) yikwa tate. salt water at base of Ner trees where birds drink (n) ner yikwa. same (adj) dinafle.

sap (thick) (n) inin.

sap of vines used as fuel (n) bulnu.

saw (v) sungutu. say good things, be happy (v) angla. say goodbye (v) tomre. say, tell (v) tolo, eloko. scale (of fish), mole, pimple (n) om gursu. scar (n) armu. scoop (small objects) (v) takwruwru. scrap of bark (n) sal. scrape (v) fu griri. scrape or scratch, shave off wood bits (v) gurmba. scrape sago, pound ground (with stick) (v) dorko. scrape skin off (v) liki bau. scrape to start fire (v) gre. scrape wood (as in sandpaper) (v) kulko. scrape, shave, fashion garamut (v) kuwr. scratch (v) groro groro. scratch (like chicken), rake up (v) tukwra. scrotum (n) yomo. scrub: wash or dry (self) (v) da. second spouse (after death of first) (n) wani. second wife (in plural marriage) (n) tawa ya sumbu. secret (n) elen. see (v) **ni.** seed (n) **na.** seeing double (adj) bri i bre ya ni. semen (n) el oku. send (v) er rete. send (v) erete. sensitive plant (n) siri sau. separate (v) namasi. set a time (v) danasu. set out on leaf (as a placemat) (v) suw. sew (v) **fu**.

sapling (ready for planting) (n) yel.

sew together (v) yama.

shadow (n) nambul wou.

shake (v) tunbu.

shake from nerves (adj) gwru gwru.

shake hands (v) lesu tongo.

shake, dump out (as to empty) (v) wusor.

shake, shiver, snore (v) gruru.

shallow stream (n) duwlolo.

share (v) saki.

share food (v) suwla.

sharp blade (cutting surface) (n) mel.

sharpen (adj) mel.

sharpen bone or spear (v) tarmbo.

sharpen knife (v) kon.

shatter (v) bul.

shatter (esp. bamboo) (v) grom.

shavings (n) wur yen.

she (pro) su.

she, diminuitive (obsolete) (pro) tu.

shelf (n) au tembe.

shell noise maker (n) gwlar gwlar.

shield (n) **fiwol**.

shimmy, expand (adj) beu beu.

shine (of sun), heat up (v) wre.

shine, be bright in color (v) tare.

shiver (v) **numboto**.

shoe (n) suwa tasu.

shoot (of seed) (n) safran.

shoot at each other (v) na fu na fu.

shoot of coconut (n) suwa yel.

shoot of grass (n) lun.

shooting star (n) gwiyo yen yen keteka

akuyar.

shore (n) afla taku.

short (adj) gul.

short of breath (v) wafu wendu.

short of breath (v) wafu wuya.

short outer wall posts for roof overhang (n) simba selwando.

short, dull blade, tree trunk, broken limb, etc. (adj) tombo.

shoulder (n) gausa.

shoulder (n) lesu gausa.

shout (v) gwoho i gwoho ya.

shout in surprise (v) ningle.

shout, animal noise (v) gwoho.

show (s.o.) (v) feta.

show around (many things) (v) feta kata.

show the way (adj) ongo ongo.

shred (adj) fla.

shut eyes (v) lako bu.

side of body (n) milifa.

side of road (n) kulu taku.

side wall post of ground house (n)

selwando.

sidelong glance (n) lako gaima.

sign (esp. to mark forbidden territory) (n)

yofu.

sign language (n) lesuk feta.

similar to (adj) ekra na.

similar to limbum (palm bark) (n) weinbeni.

sinewy insides (of wild fruit) (n) kwlele.

sing (v) hokwa kete.

sister (as spoken by her brother), female cousin (from parent's same-sex sibling)

(n) gasiwa.

sit on egg (as bird) (v) suwa dika.

sit side by side (v) lisi lisi rusu.

sit, settle (v) rusu.

sitting area (n) eme wil.

skin (person or fruit) (n) liki.

skin of yam etc. (n) sengeta.

skull (n) ter wando.

sky, cloud (n) nul.

sky, high (adj) kur.

slacken (v) humbo.

slanted, at an angle (adj) yinal.

slap (v) fu blala na nuwa.

slave (n) bumbu sauwom ene eku tamar.

sleep, lie down, placed in a flat position (v) sukna.

slice, cut (grass, flowers) (v) kute.

slide (v) dondo.

slide down (v) dil.

slide, slither (v) gir gir.

sling to carry child (n) yen kufu.

slip away or through (v) bilau.

slippery (adj) bilau alau.

slippery (adj) ble.

slippery (v) blena aku.

slippery ground, rust (n) blafo kute wakre.

sliver moon (n) nekwa bi.

sliver, small pieces as a result of cutting (n)

lufu.

slope, ridge (n) bundu.

small (adj) muwngu.

small (of grass and leaves) (adj) flen.

small amount (adj) numbul.

small branches (n) mu gwra.

small bush (n) tamblakan.

small clay pot, metal pot, dirt used to make clay pot (n) au.

small corn (n) wur kon.

small decorative colorful leaf (n) salwan.

small digging stick for yam and mami (n)

gramba warmona.

small fly (n) momoseya.

small flying ant (n) sul dinglan.

small house for insects or animals (n) wosu.

small internal organs, intestines (n) alingi.

small intestine (n) suwa gaia.

small limbum (n) bumblan.

small piece (n) somo.

small pond (n) blo oku.

small post from deep jungle (n) safko yafin.

small rodent, rat (n) mulu.

small scratch (of skin) (v) wurfoto.

small sticks for turning sago jelly (n) kwai

kwai.

small tuft of grass (n) somo baye.

small yam (n) sulfo.

small, traditional drum (n) mengu.

small, young (adj) kahaiembo.

smart (adj) wafu kana.

smash, crunch, chew up completely (v)

bungro a.

smell (v) kwaya.

smile with teeth clenched (n) seklem.

smoke (fire) (n) kiri sufun.

smoke or dry fish (v) kware.

snail (n) mangi fofo.

snake (n) **sofo**.

snake bone (n) kwaramba.

snap (v) sungwal.

snatch (with talons) (v) nungrou.

sneeze, cough, cold (sick) (n) isuku.

sniff (v) kuwa mesu.

snore, sound of a flute (adj) flili flolo.

snot (n) nindi.

so, all right (intj) kaka.

soak (v) oku tasu tiri.

soft (esp. of fruit), smell (adj) kuwa.

solid interior of coconut after shoot has

emerged (n) suwa yomo.

something (n) bunandi.

sometimes, often, rarely, one day (adv) di ningi.

son (n) tama toura.

song while carrying (pig etc.) (n) tisi lom.

son's child or spouse (n) nan.

son's wife, grandson's wife (n) yinsawa.

sore (n) kolma. spleen (n) wafu toura. split (fabric, limbum) (adj) timran tamran. sore (n) li. sorrow (n) kombo. split bamboo lengthwise (v) ta grambi a. split in long object (river, branch, etc.) (v) sorry (v) kahar. sound (n) gen. tengle. sound made when thinking/unsure (intj) splotchy with colors (like camoflauge) (adj) fir fir for for. nango. sound of drumbeats (intj) ho ho ho. spoil (v) yokwle. sound of eating/drinking (n) ken. sprain (v) duwarko na. sound used when hunting pigs (intj) hoi hoi. spray, split apart, pass out (coins) (v) fra. soupy sago (n) bihi. spread along the ground, go everywhere (v) space or declivity at foot of mountain (n) blele ka i. tele sumbu. spread flat, lay out (v) lau. space under house (n) aka ari. spread out, large (adj) banda. squeeze, wring out, churn (earth) (v) wul. speak (v) er. spear (n) fi. stab into to carry (v) wurso. stack, hold up (v) towi. spear (n) ser kuta. spear shaft (n) fi tombo. stack, insert leaves into roof, decorate spear without a tip (shaft sharpened) (n) fi armband (v) waye. stagger, slither, stretch out (adj) sowur kusa. special/magical skills or power (n) burnga stamp feet, fan flame, up and down (adj) yarnga. spell (n) mangle. brau brau. spell to forget (n) humondu. stamp foot to protect one's spirit (v) fu spell to get sick, forget, lose emotion, etc. wangora. (n) huma fa tu. stand and stretch (v) susu sowur. spider (n) samdo. stand up (v) sau susu. spider web (n) akwando kwando. star (n) ware. spikes on an animal (n) wokra wokra. stare (v) laka bol. spill, wipe away (v) gam tii. stare (v) **nalfa**. spin around (adj) bri bre. startle, jump in surprise (v) furndu na. spine (n) ginfa yefa. starve (v) ekaa wangu. spine of large leaf (n) sirka bungu. starving (v) asiri mende kara. spirit, shadow, reflection (n) wou. steal (v) wusukwa. steam (n) kofon. spit (v) **gul busa**. spit (v) sombo. steam from water on hot object (n) bisisu spit (v) telako si. bususu. splash, scoop out (water) (v) kutu. steep (of mountain) (n) kowe.

stem of Same leaf (n) wansinango. step on (dry leaves, etc.) (v) tasu burku. step on, lower into (v) tasu. stick butt out (v) sisi ki okwe nuwa. stick for planting (n) gramba. stick to (v) gorso. stick to hold up bark covering (v) gila gungwa. stick tongue out at s.o. (v) tawul bleu a. stick used for fighting (n) sangwa yamba. stick used to play garamut (n) mu sermba. stick used to support growth of mami vines (n) seseme. stick with skin removed (n) bela. stick, short and thick for throwing (n) kokoma. stinging nettle (n) diwle. stir hardened sago jelly (v) sokwro. stir sago liquid (v) sufuw. stomach (n) mau. stomach (external) (n) wau. stomach (internal) (n) su gumbu. stomach noise (n) suma kute. stone axe (n) wur. stone/seed used in bow tips (n) arma bol bol. stop in the middle of something, change plans (v) tufrasi. storm (n) loko kifal. stove (n) sunngu. stove stones (n) arko sunngu. straight (adj) boi. strangle (v) tongo nele. strangler vine (n) mu toklo wosu. strengthen, dry up (v) durna. stretch out (string, etc.), string bow (v) takwlu.

strike (lightning) (v) blala.

strong (adj) yefa kana. strong or chewy food (v) mororo a. strong, hard (adj) nere. stubborn (adj) tama kaha mender. stubborn (adj) yindi kundu. stuff in to block ears (v) gun. stumble (v) anda manda. stump (n) kundu. stunted growth, body part that is asleep (v) tokundu. sugar cane (n) uwku. summon spirits (v) er wawa. sun (n) **nambul.** sun to set (v) war susu. sunset (n) wur susu. support bamboo for roof apex (n) kroro guw. support beam (n) krorongo. support beam for bottom of roof (n) aka bam. support crossbeam under floor (n) tuku tuku. support stick for plants (n) mango. support, lift (v) owete. sure, okay (v) hako hako. surround, wind around (v) wangu. survey, look around (v) nuwku. swallow (v) ou. sweat (n) uwfu. sweep (v) gru ou ako ou. sweep away (esp. with foot) (n) tikorfo. swim (v) **fa.** swing feet (v) suwa fli fle. swollen (when used with body part) (v) u. system of connected log traps to catch rats (n) ifi lulu.

# T

tadpole (n) manu manu.

tail (n) kin.

tail feathers (n) su sumbu.

tail feathers of bird used as decorations (n)

tailbone (n) su gumbo.

take a secret route (to avoid detection) (v)

di delko i.

take care of, organize (v) hoi hai.

take to marry (v) ra.

tall (adj) fingri.

tall ginger (n) wal.

tangled (adj) wurngun.

tangled up as a knot (adv) na sau waki a sau waki.

taro (kind of tuber) (n) al.

tasty (adj) kufe sumba.

tattoo, carving (v) romo kau.

teacher (n) sanglu gala.

tears (n) ir oku.

tell (v) eloko.

term of respect for an older sibling (esp.

first born) (n) tete.

termite (n) mu gun.

termite (n) sangu.

testicle (n) gali.

testicle (n) yomo lako.

that (grm) o.

that one there (intj) ekun.

that's all, that's right (phr) ora kara.

that's your business/responsibility (phr)

## kuna noko sauwo.

them all (pro) me.

them two (pro) fe.

there (loc) okwra.

therefore, truly, indeed (after verb) (intj) kara.

they all (pro) mu.

they two (pro) fu.

thick jungle (n) mau.

thick shell (beetle, cap on insect, coconut,

egg) (n) wando.

thief (n) wuskwra.

thigh (n) suwa gilombo.

thigh (n) suwa om.

thin (adj) yefane.

thin shell (small coconut, egg), lay an egg (n) wandi.

thin, narrow, small (child) (adj) kanda.

this (grm) ke.

this (tall, heavy, etc.) (adv) kekra yombo.

thorn on frond (n) sirka melulu.

three (3) (num) lasifirndi.

three days from now, three days ago (n)

### mur.

threshold, jamb (n) aka ta bringi.

throat (n) belna.

throw (v) tu.

throw away (v) tu tii.

throw away, brush away (v) tii.

throw down, throw out (v) tuwra.

throw down/back (v) towur.

throw straight (v) tuyal.

thumb (n) lesu afa.

thunder, lightning (n) numblangan.

tidy, straighten up, fall (leaves) (v) numbu.

tie a knot (v) wungusu.

tie a knot (in fabric) (n) dofo.

tie on (to a stick or spear) (v) wor.

tie roof support beams to each other (v) aka

# tasu.

tie to carry (v) taki.

tie, bend in half (v) gusu.

tie, wrap around (v) gur.

tip toe (adj) tulei tulei.

to a certain point, but no further (v) osna.

to each his own share (grm) kuna yena.

to have the same amount (v) nakir tirika.

tobacco-like plant (n) sakwe.

today, day (n) ningre.

toe (n) suwa lako.

toenail, bird's foot (n) suwa gisi.

toilet house (n) aka kaha.

toilet house (n) su aka.

tomorrow (n) woro.

tongs (n) ama gwalsa.

tongue (n) tawul.

tooth (fang) (n) bi mel.

tooth (incisors) (n) bi.

toothpick (n) bi tasuku.

top (post) ili.

top layers of bulmba aka (n) galwo wuta.

top of bow (n) arma terfa.

top, top of mountain (post) kondu.

toss up and down (v) ra towi ra tori.

touch, feel, hear (v) mesu.

towards (post) yoko.

track quietly (v) tangor.

trading partner (n) sere.

traditional net bag, neck pouch (n) or.

trail someone (v) take nuku.

trail used for driving pigs (n) fer youre.

trap (for animals) (n) ifi.

tree bark (n) mu liki.

tree kangaroo (n) nekwa.

tree, wood, branch (n) mu.

trespass (v) yofu rete emek wuryan.

trick (v) hewe kawe.

trick, pretend, act as if (v) siwoku.

trip (v) sukrate.

trip line (n) **elkwai**.

trivet for clay pot (Garfu) (n) sirki.

true, legitimate (adj) indor.

trunk of tree, heart of fruit (n) nawa.

truth (n) endon.

truth, agreed (n) welmbe.

try but fail (adj) hili hala.

try to grab something that runs away, feel

weak (v) grisi greso.

try, attempt (v) ni.

tsk tsk (intj) donsuna donsuna.

turbulent water (n) miri marau.

turn around (v) ra falna.

turn around and go back, mix up in pot (v)

suru.

turn sago (v) tawo.

turn, turn into, rotate (cooking food), twist

(v) **fal na**.

twig, thin stick (n) gala.

twigs, small branches (n) solo.

twist or stir up (v) liwi luwau.

twisted (adj) wirngin wurngun.

two (2) (num) lasi.

two days ago (n) yaki.

two days from now (n) yim.

type of dance or song (n) satawi.

type of edible leafy green (n) asama.

type of edible leafy green (n) barka.

## U

ugly, dirty (adj) kaha ni.

ulcer, foot callous (n) suwa roho.

umbrella, cover up (n) ause.

unable to do something, blind (adj) timba

### kamba.

uncooked food (adj) tikwlo takwlo.

underwater (n) wako bor bor.

untie, unstring bow (v) sokwe.

up and down (adj) kio kio.

up and down (adj) kwi kwai.

upper arm (n) lesu om.

upper body (chest, back, stomach) (n) suwku. upper body (chest, back, stomach) (n) tama meke. upper wing (n) lesu wol. upstream (n) oku tol. urinate (v) nangu fra. urine (n) nangu. us all (pro) nemen. us two (pro) nende. uterus (n) or wosu. V vagina (n) ki. vaginal secretions (n) ki oku. valley (n) dunsu. valley (n) fru eme. valley, side of a mountain (n) du. vein (n) wurngen. very black (adj) kursi. very bright red (adj) kasak nakar. very tall (adj) gloulo. village (n) kom. vine loop (to raise logs or help in climbing a tree) (n) sanglei. vine prepared for use (skinned and dried) (n) kufu yuwklu. vine sap used as medicine (n) mofi. vine with outer shell removed and dried (n) yuwklu. vocative marker (intj) i. voice, sound, question (n) suma. vomit (v) wa kwre ya. vomit, clear throat (n) kwete. vulva (n) ki mel.

# W

waist, kidney (n) su baya.

wait (v) sanak. wait a minute (v) sana su. wait for (v) kuna. wait, not yet (intj) wai wai. wake someone up (v) tisoro. wake up (v) difor. walk cautiously (v) ifa afa. walk with legs spread apart (esp. in pain) (v) riwi rewe. walking stick (n) gramba saku. walking stick (n) saku. wall (n) aka lewe. wall (n) dulu. wander (v) barna. wander (v) eku barna. want, be ready to (v) erka. wart (n) tama likir kau aku. wash face or body (v) wiyi. wash hands (v) okto. wash sago (v) si. washed sago powder, cast off (n) naku sun kuwa. waste time (v) hokwek na. waste time (v) okwe tambo na. watch (v) rete sukna. water for cooking sago that is too cold (n) tingil. water well (n) oku siki. water, watery sap (n) oku. waterfall (n) oku brara. watermelon (n) mar wate melon. we all (pro) **num.** we two (pro) dun. weak (adj) yefa timba. weak fire (n) kiri sefu. wear around neck (child with arms around

neck, necklace), climb on (inan.) (v)

wakre.

wear, dress, add color, decorate (v) wele. weave rope (v) susu. weave together (v) laka. weaving pattern for walls (n) aka galwo. west (n) nambul war. what (int) bu. what happened? (int) biki nawarka. what is that? (int) bur kana. what kind of thing? (intj) bi bi nindi yombo. what the...? (intj) erka kemen. what's this (int) gira burka. when (int) biki rokok. when, as a consequence, in order to (grm) rokor. where (locative) (int) orira. where (motive) (inti) iroko. which (int) biki. while (grm) yombo. whip (n) fu wunsondo nuwa. whisper (v) awar kanda eloko. whistle call (n) isi. white (adj) gamu. white ant (n) sangu. white ant with wings (n) sangu tama. white of eye (n) lako gai. white skin, white person (n) koko gamu. white skin, white person (n) liki gamu. white spot (skin) (n) dumbu a. who (int) em. whose (int) emoko. why (int) biki naka. wife of nandasi (n) yau. wild (of dogs) (adj) salai. wild (of pigs) (adj) tarmbe. wild cane grass (n) tengur. wild taro (n) gorngi.

wind (n) kifal.

wipe away debris (v) hako.

wipe butt (v) mala. wipe on (v) blolo. wish (v) ni hiki kufem hamba. wish/desire (v) ir erka hikin. with (post) kana. with (inherent possession/contents) (post) mena. with skin (v) liki mena. woman, wife (n) tawa. woman's period (n) aka lowe. word of god (n) afa samba roko suma. word said while applauding (at story's end) (inti) ambombo. work (n) sauwo. worm (n) **tekwle**. wound up, curvy (adj) bingil bangol. wrap around (v) yungu bangol. wrinkle (adj) wilti wulte. wrist (n) lesu om gumbul. write, paint on, make designs on (v) kau. writhe (of detached tail) (adj) korfi korfi. Υ

yam (n) walndo.
yam vines (n) safu.
yank out, remove pig entrails with bamboo
(v) broro.
yard or garden waste (n) luku grafa.
yawn, be tired (v) yomar.
year (n) nu asama.
yell, bark (any animal call) (v) nau.
yellow Same seeds (n) kwaya.
yellow, orange, yellow-brown (adj) kwesu.
yellow, white (of skin) (adj) okwe.
yes (intj) nahau.
yes in response to statement or question
regarding where one is going (phr) wo

ho ha.

yesterday (n) yale.
you (pro) nu.
you (obj.) (pro) ne.
you agree?, you think so? (intj) noko wafu.
you all (pro) kum.
you all (obj.) (pro) kemen.
you two (pro) fun.
you two (obj.) (pro) kefen.

young (adj) yekle.
young leaf or frond (n) gu.
young plant (sapling) (n) foku.
young/small sago palm (n) naku bungu.
younger same-sex sibling or cousin (from parent's same-sex sibling) (n) gana.
you're a good man (phr) taman.

# Appendix D: Tok Pisin-Mehek Dictionary

This appendix is a bilingual dictionary with the Tok Pisin glosses of all Mehek words listed alphabetically along with their Mehek glosses. This dictionary contains less information than the main Mehek dictionary in appendix B. To see full information for a Mehek word, it is necessary to look it up in Appendix B. Included below in the KEY are a schematic representation of each entry showing what information is included and the formatting of each section, as well as the abbreviations used for parts of speech.

# **KEY**

Tok Pisin Word (part of speech) Mehek Word.

# Abbreviations used for Parts of Speech:

adj	adjective	n.b.	either masculine or feminine
adv	adverb		(based on natural gender)
cnj	conjunction	n.f.	feminine noun
grm	grammatical particle	neg	negative
int	interrogative	num	numeral
intj	interjection	phr	phrase (greeting, utterance)
loc	locative	rel.n	relational noun
n	(masculine) noun	pro	pronoun
		ν	verb

# Α

abrus (v) selefe.

abrusim (v) bilau.

abus (n) elowo.

abus i singaut (v) isi.

abus man (n) toura.

ai (n) lako.

ai gras bilong ol binatang (n) mundu fa.

ai i raun (adj) kwar bar bar lu.

ai i raun (adj) belo barna.

aibika (n) bali.

aiwara (n) ir oku.

amamas (adj) kufe iki.

amamas na raunim man (v) tafa ki.

ambrela, karamapim (n) ause.

ananit (post) ari.

aninit long wara (n) wako bor bor.

anis (n) sifi.

anis i gat pul (n) sangra fai.

antap (post) ili.

antap (bilong maunten) (post) kondu.

antap bilong lek (n) suwa gilombo.

antap bilong lek (n) suwa om.

antap long pul (n) lesu wol.

antap long tit (insait maus) (n) bi luku.

apim i go antap (v) gweu.

apim lek taim sindaun (v) **suwa kwaina ra.** 

apim long paia (sospen) (v) toro.

apim, sapotim (v) owete.

apinun (n) worfa.

aran (n) gra.

arapela hap (n) mahak.

arere (n) lowe.

arere (post) gan.

arere bilong maus (n) **elombo.** 

arere bilong maus i bruk (n) elombo tafra.

arere long maunten (n) tele sumbu.

as (n) su aye.

as bilong garamut (n) wangul.

as bilong maunten (n) tele ari.

as nating (adj) su boro emefa.

as pekpek (n) sisi ki tombo.

as, rop (n) mu nambi.

asde (n) yale.

askim (v) er mesu.

ating, mi no save (intj) embensini.

ausait (n) **kafta.** 

ausait bilong banara (n) arma ginfa.

ausait hap bilong bun bilong lip bilong

kokonas (n) wangorama.

# В

bagarap (adj) timringi tamringi.

bagarap (v) yokwle.

bagarap o paul pinis (n) kaha kuna.

bagarap(im), nois olsem pik (v) giri guro.

bagarapim nem (v) eloko barna.

bagarapim, mekim nogut (v) lorkwle.

bai mi mekim sampela samting (pro) ana.

bai yumipela o mipela mekim sampela

samting (pro) ama.

baim meri (v) arko rete.

baket (n) oku warme.

baksait (n) ginfa.

baksait bilong lek (n) suwa bela.

baksait bilong lek (n) suwa wafu.

baksait bilong nek (n) kukumbu yefa.

baksait bilong nek (n) terfa yefa.

baksait bilong nek (n) wala gusu.

baksait bilong skru bilong han (n) lesu du.

balus (n) kur bombo.

banana (n) yam.

banana lip i drai pinis, pepa, buk (n) sanglu.

banara (n) **arma.** 

banis (n) aka dulu.

banis (n) arawan.

banis (n) wursu.

banis (n) aka lewe.

banis (skin bilong haus) (n) dulu.

baret (adj) wilti wulte.

basket (n) sara.

basket bilong man (n) yomo.

basket long holim saksak (n) sai.

basket long limbum (n) duwan yenbun.

basket long mambu (n) dulsan.

baut (n) terfa duwyeyan.

baut long (v) yu.

behain (adj) awar.

behain long foapela de, foapela de i go pinis

(n) tukur.

behain long tripela de, tripela de i go pinis

(n) **mur**.

behain long tupela de (n) yim.

behainim (v) sumbu.

behainim hait (v) tangor.

behainim hait (v) take nuku.

behainim tok (v) hema kama.

bel (ausait) (n) wau.

bel (insait) (n) su gumbu.

bel hat (adj) moulen.

bel hat (v) sul fra wunsondo.

bel hat (adj) holo wafu.

bel hat (v) kiri nawek wuya.

bel i pairap (n) suma kute.

bel i tantanim (n) luku luku nawek.

bel i tantanim (adj) sirfako.

bel, beksait, pekpek (n) su.

bel, kidni (n) su baya.

belhat (adj) belo.

belhat (adj) el kulwa tama.

belo (n) gen.

belo (bilong kundu o garamut) (intj) ho ho

ho.

beng (n) fu gun.

beng (n) gun.

bet bilong mekim abus i drai (n) tei.

bet long saksak (taim i was pinis) (n) naku yofu.

bet long wasim saksak, han bilong saksak (n) wutu.

bet, bens, tebol (n) tembe.

bi (n) wiyi.

bi, binen (n) a wiyi.

bik- (olsem bikpapa) (n) wara.

bikbrata bilong man o biksusa bilong meri (n) nanda.

bikbus (n) mau.

bikhet (adj) tama kaha mender.

bikhet (adj) yindi kundu.

bikmaus (v) sir ra towi.

bikmaus (v) gwoho i gwoho ya.

bikmaus, nois bilong abus (v) gwoho.

bikpela (adj) fingri.

bikpela antap tru (grm) ata.

bikpela as bilong sayor (n) mu duw.

bikpela bel (insait) (n) su kur.

bikpela bilum i pulap wantaim bis (n) **or** 

waa.

bikpela binatang bilong kaikai lip (n)

gungwa.

bikpela binatang bilong kaikai lip (adj)

sungutu yangutu.

bikpela hap wara (n) loko fi boule.

bikpela lang, bikpela nois (n) bombo.

bikpela lip (n) durkun.

bikpela mun (n) nekwa tawa laka meye.

bikpela pinga namel (n) lesu arma fuyau.

bikpela pos bilong bikbus (n) safko waa.

bikpela pos long sapotim rup (n) simba

nawa.

bikpela rain (adj) sur sur.

bikpela sel (binatang, kokonas, kiau) (n) wando.

bikpela stik (long miksim saksak) (n) gila. bikpela stik long brukim graun (n) gramba sarsar.

bikpela sua (n) suwa roho.

bikpela sua i gat wara (n) suwa bli.

bikpela trap long mumut long ples daun (n) ifi lulu.

bikpela, bikpela nois, hatwok (adj) samba.

bikpela, namba wan pikinini (adj) laka.

bikpla pinga (n) lesu afa.

bikplela pos long haus (n) simba bor.

bikplela wara (n) fame.

bikwin (n) loko kifal.

bilas (n) gwehe sayi.

bilas bilong han (n) sou.

bilas bilong het (adj) marko.

bilas bilong singsing (n) kuso.

bilas bilong singsing (i go long han) (n)

wisiki.

bilas bilong singsing (i go long het) (n)

wasune belmun.

bilas long rop i mekim wantaim ring i bung pinis (n) **bol bol.** 

bilas long saksak (n) naku bormborsa.

bilasim (v) male.

bilong husat (int) emoko.

bilong man yet (grm) kuna yaku.

bilong ples (adj) waa.

bilong yu nau (phr) nokorar.

bilum bilong meri (n) or wosu.

bilum, bilum bilong nek (n) or.

bim (n) krorongo.

bim (mambu) i stap antap long rup (n) **kroro guw.** 

bim aninit long plua (n) aka lau.

bim bilong namel long rup (n) aka krorongo.

bim i stap aninit long rup (n) aka bam.

bim long sapotim aninit (n) tuku tuku.

bin (n) makwa.

binatang (bilong kaikai lip) (n) walma.

binatang (i gat bikpela tit) (n) wala kwiyi.

binatang bilong kaikai lip (n) gam.

binatang bilong kaikai mami (n) angulma.

binatang i gat 4 pul (n) sar bambu.

binatang i gat bikpela tit (n) yam landu.

binatang i stap aninit long wara (n) **oku** dangi.

birua (n) wira.

bis (n) wanga lako.

bis i gat hul (n) kul okwa.

bis, smolbis, mani (n) kul.

blak (adj) kur.

blak bokis (n) aye.

blakpela hap bilong ai (n) lako kur.

blakpela tru (adj) kursi.

blupela (adj) gurmbo.

blut (n) kefu.

blut bilong diwai (n) inin.

blut bilong diwai, gam (n) nausu.

blut bilong rop i gat marasin (n) mofi.

blut bilong rop i kisim long kuk (n) bulnu.

boaim (v) rondo.

bodi (n) meke.

bodi bilong spia (n) fi tombo.

boi stret (phr) taman.

boilim (v) ara fasu.

boilim (v) kisi.

boilim wara (v) oku tenge.

bokis bilong daiman (n) suwa kulko lendo.

bokis bilong meri (n) ki.

bokis bilong meri (n) ki mel.

bol (n) gali.

bol bilong man (n) yomo lako.

bombom (bikpela) (n) tikwasa.

bombom (liklik) (n) tikwa.

brata (bilong meri), pikinini man bilong brata bilong papa o susa bilong mama (n) **nandasi.** 

brata bilong mama (n) mam.

braun pik (n) fer mir.

braun, olpela lip (v) solka.

braunpela kala tudak (adj) kwesu kwiyo.

bris (n) mu lau.

bros (n) dimingi.

bros na bel na baksait (n) tama meke.

brukim (v) bu.

brukim (v) dombe.

brukim (v) takra.

brukim (rop) (v) balan.

brukim (wara) (v) kirfi.

brukim ai (v) lako bur tanngur.

brukim ai hariap (v) lako bur bur fele fele.

brukim bek (v) kwiyau.

brukim han, paitim (v) butu.

brukim i go long hap (v) sere aku.

brukim i go long planti hap (v) minwun.

brukim i go long planti hap (v) sere.

brukim i go long planti hap (mambu) (v)

# grom.

brukim i go long plet (v) dama.

brukim liklik (v) mosu.

brukim liklik diwai (v) fuwol.

brukim lip (n) bran.

brukim lip long kaikai (v) brongo.

brukim long planti hap (v) siri sere.

brukim mambu (v) buta.

brukim mambu (v) ta grambi a.

brukim namel (v) werngu.

brukim namel (v) tufrasi.

brukim olgeta (v) bul.

brukim paura bilong saksak (v) mu duko.

brukim pinga (n) lesu bouna.

brukim rop (v) flate.

brukim tanget (v) yofu rete emek wuryan.

brukim tasol i yet no bruk olgeta (v) buwsu.

brukim wantaim ol han (v) tongo sere.

brukim, opim kokonas (v) tafa.

brukim, rausim (v) bur kuw.

brum (n) masi dondo.

brumim (v) gru ou ako ou.

brumim (n) tikorfo.

brus (n) sakwe.

buai (n) mini.

bubu (n) wara.

bubu meri bilong papa (n) yaku.

bubu pikinini, tumbuna (n) wanembuka.

bubu tumbuna (n) ata.

buk (n) tama likir kau aku.

buk i gat wara (n) fir mango.

bun antap bilong lek (n) sungel.

bun bilong as bilong kakaruk (n) su gumbo.

bun bilong baksait (n) kin gala bundu.

bun bilong baksait (n) ginfa yefa.

bun bilong baksait (n) suwku.

bun bilong dua (n) aka yurmu kusu.

bun bilong haus (n) aka solo.

bun bilong het (n) ter wando.

bun bilong lip banana (n) lombo.

bun bilong lip o talinga (n) bungu.

bun bilong muruk long wokim hul (n) felnde

afu mai.

bun bilong skru bilong lek (n) suwa

### wurngen.

bun bilong snek (n) kwaramba.

bun nating (adj) yefane.

bun nating, i no brait liklik, liklik (pikinini)

(adj) kanda.

bun, mit, strongpela sapot (bilong ol diwai)

(n) yefa.

bung long toktok (v) narete.

bung long toktok (v) gwai. bungim (v) hauna. bungim (v) duwn. bungim han (v) lesu gul na tongo. bungim ol samting (adj) suwri sauron. bungim sampela samting (olsem saksak) (v) ou. bus (n) wula. busnaip (n) yirkwe. D dai, kilim i dai, sik, pundaun (v) siri. danis (n) romo. danis na mekim nois wantaim gras pisin (n) biarna. daun long pul (n) difi. daunim (v) ou. daunim fut (v) tasu burku. daunim fut long lukautim spirit (v) fu wangora. daunim het i stap (v) maindi. demdem (n) mangi fofo. digim wantaim stik (long plainim pitpit, taro, banana) (v) toko. dispela (grm) ke. dispela (longwe) (grm) o. dispela em wanem? (int) gira burka. dispela i go long hap (intj) ekun. diwai i kamap long nambis (n) gara. diwai i pundaun olgeta (v) tufu. diwai i pundaun pinis (n) kin. diwai long pasim dua (insait) (n) aka yurmu. diwai saksak i pundaun pinis (n) wutu. diwai saksak i sikarap pinis (n) naku wursa. diwai sting (n) rombo. diwai, han diwai (n) mu. diwai, insait long prut (n) nawa. dok (n) wala.

doti pinis (adj) musun kana na.
drai (adj) bou.
drai kokonas (n) suwa solka.
drai skin bilong kokonas (n) wan gala.
driman (n) nisuku.
dring (v) a belna.
drip (v) lufau.
dua, arere long haus (n) aka kulu.
dua, bun bilong dua (n) aka ta bringi.

# Ε

em (liklik meri), (ol i no tok olsem nau) (pro)
tu.
em (man) (pro) ru.
em (meri) (pro) su.
em i pulap (v) nekna.
em samting bilong yu (phr) kuna noko
sauwo.
em wanem? (int) bur kana.

### F

faiv (5) (num) yokondambe lesu.
famili (n) tombo lakam.
famili bilong man o meri (n) kaha.
flain (v) laka.
flain (n) aka galwo.
foa (4) (num) lasifu lasifu.
fut (n) suwa lombo.

# G

gaden (n) nu.
gaden i kuk pinis (n) nu kursu.
gaden i planim pinis (n) nu angur.
garamut (n) mu.
giaman (n) suma bango.
giaman (v) hewe kawe.
giaman man (n) erewe naweka rii tamar.

giaman na lap (adj) hingre hangre. *giamanim* (v) te hema kama tolo nali. gip, poisin (n) numba. givim (v) nuwa. givim bilong mipela yet (v) na nuwa. qivim kaikai (v) a nuwa. givim kaikai long wanpela i no laik kaikai (v) lu gaso. givim liklik paia (v) for nuwa. givim tang (v) tawul bleu a. glas bilong lukluk (n) gamba. go (v) i. go antap long baksait (v) wala gusu. go antap, kisim kokonas (v) wi. go ausait (v) wuwr. go bek (adv) indi. go bek long ples (v) masi. go daun, rabim (long skin) (v) war. go daunbilo (v) tuka. go long haus, go bek (v) aku. go long pispis (v) nangu fra. go long, stap long, wokim (v) na. go pastaim (v) ser. go stret (v) yal. go wantaim (adj) nambo nambo. god (n) afa samba. gorgor (n) wal. gras (klostu waitpela) (n) terfa kurkurmbu. gras (waitpela) (n) gai. gras antap long ai (n) lako musuka. gras bilong ai (n) lako felnde. gras bilong as pisin (n) su sumbu. gras bilong het, lip, han bilong binatang (n) kulka. gras bilong pes (n) gu taku. gras bilong pisin (n) felnde kulka. gras bilong pisin (n) gaie. gras bilong pisin guria (n) mangrangra.

gras long arere bilong ples (n) baye. gras long arere bilong ples (n) alingi. gras pisin long bilasim (n) kwande. gras pisin long bilasim (n) li. grashopa (n) gulma. graun (n) sul kurkur. graun i gat kala (n) kre sul. graun i gat kala (n) sul kre. graun i pundaun (n) bre. graun i pundaun (n) bre du. graun i putim long skin o limbum (n) sulu. graun malu malu long digim (n) sul foko mambu ningi. graun malumalu (adj) kofo. graun malumalu, dus, graun (n) sul foko. graun malumalu, ros (n) blafo kute wakre. graun, braun (n) sul. grile (n) ese kur. grin, amat (adj) kulfo. grinpela muli (n) kormo kulfo. gris (n) kukwe. gris bilong kuk (olsem wel) (n) kukwe. gude, halo (intj) o. guria (n) diwir diwir. quria (n) yiflou yiflou. quria (n) yinawe. quria (adj) gwru gwru. qutepla taim tru (v) yema kufa nambe. gutpela kaikai (adj) glou. qutpela nem (n) sir nalingi. gutpela pasin (n) tolo eloko barna tamar. gutpela taim (long wokim sampela samting) (adj) yema kufa. gutpela tingting (n) wafu kau. gutpela tok (n) sur nu ene aka. gutpela, amamas (adj) kufe. gutpela, stretpela (adv) ale.

# Н

hait (tok) (n) elen.

hait, karamapim (wantaim lip) (v) lendo.

haiwara (n) **ti.** 

halo (intj) tama.

hamaspela (int) biki saima.

han (n) lesu bela.

han (n) lesu gilombo.

han (n) lesu lako.

han antap (n) lesu om.

han bilong diwai (n) grembu.

han bilong diwai (i gat tupela hap) (n) gel.

han bilong lip ton (n) wansinango.

han bilong mambu (n) gusu.

han diwai (n) mu tenge.

han diwai (n) mu yengla.

han diwai (n) tenge.

han i kam ausait long diwai (n) bongo.

han i pas (n) lesu yokondambe.

han i pas (v) yomar.

han saksak (n) bir.

han saksak i drai (n) naku bir.

han, pinga (n) lesu.

hangamap (v) kufu nele.

hangamapim (v) lili.

hangamapim (v) kwre.

hangamapim (long rop), redi long kaikai (v) **lei.** 

hangri (v) a siri.

hangri (v) ekaa wau.

hangri tumas (v) ekaa wangu.

hangri tumas (v) asiri mende kara.

hap (n) emta.

hap(n) eme.

hap ai i gat kala (n) lako yen.

hap aninit long haus (n) aka ari.

hap banana i kamap antap tru (n) yam ter kamba.

hap bilong naip i no sap (n) maku.

hap diwai saksak (i no skrap yet) (n) naku indi mu.

hap i stap antap bilong bulmba aka (n) galwo wuta.

hap i stap namel (klok, banis win, lewa, han, fut) (n) **wafu.** 

hap kaikai (n) waku.

hap long kapa i kamaut (n) lesu gisi tombo.

hap long sindaun (n) eme wil.

hap maunten i go daun (n) embleo

## kahamender.

hap mun (n) nekwa mekek na.

hap namel (n) **nindi.** 

hap skin bilong pis, mak long skin (n) om gursu.

hap ston i kamaut long maunten (n) tele.

hap tudak insait long ai (n) lako wando.

hap wara i pinis (n) oku tombo.

haphapim, putim lip i go insait long rup, bilasim han (v) waye.

haphapim, tilim, kapsaitim wara (v) fra.

hapim (v) bringi.

hapim (v) ra tii ra ti ya.

hapim (v) leferko.

hapim lip i no bruk (v) busu.

hapim, katim planti taim (v) gulfu.

hapsait (n) yoko.

hariap (adv) hanganafu.

hariap (adv) kukwi.

hariap, no ken westim taim (intj) hele.

harim gut (v) **tati.** 

harim gut (v) namra mesu.

harim, pilim (v) mesu.

hat (adj) maha.

hat bilong banana (n) yam kino.

hat, klok (n) gwarlako.

haus (n) aka.

haus bilong kuk (n) aka ekaa.

haus bilong ol bi o arapela kain binatang (n) akwa.

haus bilong pik, moskito net (n) fer wosu.

haus bilong pisin (n) felnde wosu.

haus boi (n) aka tenge.

haus i pairap (n) aka u.

haus krai (n) muwku.

haus long bus (n) ongwa aka.

haus long painim ol pisin (n) felnde aka.

haus long sik mun (n) aka masi.

haus long singsing (n) minga aka.

haus pekpek (n) aka kaha.

haus pekpek (n) su aka.

het bilong banara (n) arma terfa.

het bilong spia (n) lam gwroso.

het, antap (bilong banara, kundu) (n) terfa.

hetman (n) tama lakar.

hevi (adj) wendu.

hia (loc) kekwra.

hip rabis (n) sifingi.

hiphipim (v) gou.

hiphipim graun (v) gru.

hiphipim o klinim liklik paia (v) for.

hipim (n) termu.

hipim (v) owe ne.

hipim, apim (v) owe.

hipim, holim (v) towi.

hipimapim malumalu (v) kwro kwro.

holim (v) tongo.

holim aninit long han o skru bilong han (v)

### fendumbu.

holim aninit o insait long ol han (v) **hembu.** 

holim bodi bilong yu yet (v) felmbu.

holim gut (v) tambangi.

holim gut (v) hoi.

holim han (v) lesu na tongo.

holim long tupela han (v) yembu.

holim strong (v) tongo durna.

holim strongpela wantaim tupela pinga (v) nalu.

huk (n) aungwa.

hul (n) kol.

hul (i brukim plet) (n) nol.

hul bilong bel, bilum (doti bilong pikinini) (n)

landu.

hul bilong nus (n) wilingi siki.

hul i brukim samting pinis (v) olfo.

hul i gat wara (ol pisin save long dring long en) (n) musun.

hul long sutim banara (n) sorflo.

hul wara (n) oku siki.

husat (man) (int) em.

# ı

i gat lait long paia (adj) blili blala.

i gat lait o kala (adj) tikwete takwete.

i gat planti gras no gut (v) **flo.** 

i gat planti hul, bagarap pinis (laplap) (n)

### ruwku.

i gat planti sua (v) gur gur nangur sa.

i gat save (adj) wafu kana.

i gat skin (v) liki mena.

i gat wanpela lek tasol (n) suwa tongo.

i gat wara (adj) ble.

i go antap na daunbilo (adj) kio kio.

i go antap na daunbilo (adj) kwi kwai.

i go daun tumas (long maunten) (n) kowe.

i go hariap (v) tikir na.

i go i go kam (adj) kindi kundu.

i go long planti hap, bikpela (adj) banda.

i go na i kam (v) na sumbu na sumbu.

i kamap doti (wara) (v) fi fi.

i kamap long wanpela hap, tasol i no pinisim (v) **osna.** 

i karamap, i raunim olgeta (v) **fu ambo.** 

i lait, kala kala (v) tare.

i lus (v) turku.

i lus (v) hol.

i lus (v) sowe.

i lus na pundaun (v) guw.

i lus na pundaun (v) losu na.

i lus na rausim (v) sowe tii.

i lus olgeta, lusim ples, wok nabaut (v)
namble.

i lus, ranawe (v) bre.

i no gat pikinini (n) yen timba tawas.

i no gat pipia (adj) berso.

i no gat wanpela taim (adv) iki di ningik.

i no inap tok yes o nogat (v) lisi lisi hikiyan.

i no kamap olgeta, han o fut i slip (v)

### tokundu.

i no kuk pinis (adj) mangru.

i no laik mekim gutepela wok (v) nalafau.

i no naispela (adj) kaha ni.

i no stret (adj) yinal.

i no stret, krum, mangal (adj) bango.

i paia pinis (v) u groto.

i pas (v) takorko tiri.

i yusim puripuri (n) burnga yarnga.

ia (n) namra.

insait (bilong hul o hip) (post) nuw.

insait bilong banara (n) arma wako.

insait bilong bel (n) alingi.

insait bilong bel (n) mau.

insait bilong han (n) lesu wafu.

insait bilong kokonas taim liklik diwai i kam

ausait (n) suwa yomo.

is (hap san i kamap) (n) nambul wuya.

isi isi (adv) awark kandak.

# K

ka (n) sul bombo.

kaikai (n) **ekaa.** 

kaikai bilong gaden (n) a nu.

kaikai hat, pait (adj) kwleya.

kaikai i no kaikai pinis (n) blauwo.

kaikai i no kuk (adj) tikwlo takwlo.

kaikai i no kuk pinis (n) gwehe.

kaikai i strongpela (v) mororo a.

kaikai man (v) ta ar.

kaikai na ol samting bilong kaikai (n) a

### suwa.

kaikai na pulapim (v) a durna.

kaikai, dring (v) a.

kaikaim (v) ta.

kaikaim (v) tausi.

kaikaim (liklik hap) (v) tanku a.

kaikaim na brukim skin (v) ti wuta ta wuta.

kaikaim, katim han diwai (v) tam.

kain binatang (n) sul kulfo kur.

kain danis o singsing (n) satawi.

kain diwai (n) au kumba.

kain kain kaikai (adj) horke harke.

kain kumu (n) asama.

kain liklik diwai (n) belmun.

kain liklik diwai (n) wasune.

kain sayor (n) sumbu kumba.

kain singsing (wantaim kaikai) (n) minga.

kala kala (adj) blala.

kala kala (adj) fir fir for for.

kalap (v) girfi towi.

kalap (v) kokwre.

kalap kalap (v) gwre.

kalap kalap (v) kitil kutol.

kalap, kam daunbilo (v) kete tuka.

kalapim (v) afrete.

kam (v) **ya.** 

kam antap (v) wuya.

kam ausait (v) **bou.** 

kam behain (v) kina.

kam insait, go ausait (v) wra.

kam klostu, klostu (post) minba.

kam na go (v) fal fal.

kamap bikpela, grisman (v) meye.

kamap lus pinis (v) sorna.

kamap mau, liklik diwai (v) okwe.

kamap pinis, redi long kaikai (pitpit o saksak) (v) **fa.** 

kamap wantaim plaua (v) fun.

kamapim, mekim moa gut (v) eneku.

kamaut (v) wla.

kamautim (ol sayor) (v) semra.

kambang (n) nuwngu.

kanda (n) saku.

kanda, stik i gat prut (banana, ton) (n) nungu.

kap (n) kelembu.

kap bilong kakaruk man (n) duw walko.

kap bilong muruk (n) duw basi.

kapa bilong pinga (n) lesu gisi.

kapa bilong pinga bilong put, put bilong pisin (n) **suwa gisi.** 

kapsaitim (v) gam.

kapupu (v) su fur.

karakum (n) umaka.

karamapim (v) ra tanngur.

karamapim (v) **yofo.** 

karamapim (v) yokwro.

karamapim (hul) (n) bra.

karamapim (man yet) (v) yilo.

karamapim wantaim banis (n) wol gu.

karamapim wantaim graun, rausim graun (v) gru fiti.

karamapim wantaim tuptup (v) tanngu.

karamapim, haitim (v) tikte.

karamapim, karamapim sua, wokim banis,

raunim (v) waki.

karamapim, planim kokonas (v) fiti.

kari i kam (v) raya.

karim antap long het (v) feke.

karim antap long sol/long maus (ol abus) (v)
tisi.

karim long het (long rop i hangamap long poret) (v) **tukta.** 

karim long sol (olsem bilum) (v) tokmbo.

karim pikinini (v) wauk na.

karim pikinini (v) wra ni.

karim pikinini (v) wi nuwa.

karim pikinini (v) ku.

karim pikinini (v) krafo kute.

karim pikinini long baksait, ol lek bilong em raunim nek (v) **okwre.** 

karim pikinini long rop (v) fana.

karim wantaim stik (v) wurso.

katapila (n) owe.

katim (bikpela), katim pitpit (v) kwiyi.

katim (gras, plaua) (v) kute.

katim (haphapim), katim banana (v) **oro.** 

katim han i gat banana long en (v) bona.

katim hariap (v) sorndo.

katim i go long planti hap (adj) fla.

katim long dring (v) tambenge.

katim long planti hap, ripim (v) wuta.

katim long tupela hap (v) grato.

katim longpela (v) der.

katim mak (v) romo kau.

katim na rausim, katim saksak (v) gu.

katim ol liklik han diwai (v) ternngu.

katim paiawut (v) kwini.

katim paiawut long longpela hap (n) kokul.

katim rop, brukim haus olgeta (v) tanku.

katim, diwai pundaun (v) sure.

kaukau (n) wanda lako.

kaunim (v) kafu.

kaunim stret (v) kafu nakir.

kawar (n) tikwiyi.

kela (adj) ter so.

kep bilong banana (n) yam blafo.

ki (n) aka late.

kiau (n) felnde lako.

kirap (v) difor.

kirap (long slip) (v) sau.

kirap nogut (v) furndu na.

kirapim (v) tisoro.

kis (v) dumu muna.

kisim (v) wro.

kisim (aibika) (v) kur.

kisim (man) i kam, wantaim (v) tambo.

kisim (yam) (v) sa.

kisim graun bilong arapela (n) fi sul.

kisim lip, katim abus o gras (v) kute.

kisim na bungim (v) ra.

kisim na bungim (buai o ton) (v) kuw.

kisim na bungim ol liklik samting (v) noko.

kisim na maritim (v) ra.

kisim ol lip bilong diwai kokonas o saksak (v) tafirsa.

kisim ol rop (v) wosu.

kisim ol samting long wokabaut (adj) siwri sauwro.

kisim prut (v) tulku.

kisim saksak, rausim skin (v) gwal.

kisim wantaim maus, putim i go insait long rup (v) **take.** 

kisim wanwan ol banana mau (v) ruku.

kisim wara (v) si.

kisim, bilong man yet (v) auna.

klia, klin, olgeta (v) wahai.

kliaim nek (v) tanenger a.

klin, nais, i gat save (adj) kufeni.

klinim graun (v) eme ale.

klinim graun long redim long katim diwai (v)

kla.

klinim long tang (v) bleu.

klinim long tang (v) so.

klirim rot (v) tawi.

klostu i bruk (adj) surmun.

klostu long (post) inba.

klostu pundaun (v) anda manda.

klostu tudak (n) kurna.

klostu tudak i kamap (v) kurna.

klostu wankain (adj) ekra na.

koapim (v) kwla.

koapim (adj) lorkwle sorkwle.

koapim pait (adj) lermu sermu.

kok (n) el.

kokonas (n) suwa.

kokonas (drai) (n) suwa bow turari.

kokonas drai (n) suwa wangalambo.

kokoros, kakalak (n) war saklo.

kol (adj) bisisi.

kol (adj) nungul.

kol (kaikai) (adj) ningli.

kol long moning (n) surna.

kol wara (adj) oku kulfo.

kolwara bilong kukim saksak (n) tingil.

kom (n) masai.

komim (v) terfa tisi.

komkom, paiaplai (n) gwiyo.

kon bilong kapiak (n) wate blangi.

kopra (n) suwa meke.

krai (v) kra.

krai bilong dok (intj) hau.

krai i kam bek long maunten (v) natal atal.

krai sori pinis (n) muwku masi.

kros na i laik bekim (n) iki naweyan re fur erka.

kru (n) gu.

krumgut (long han) (adj) wirngin wurngun.

krungutim o tanim (v) liwi luwau.

krungutim, tanim i go long, tanim kaikai (i kuk) (v) fal na. krungutim, wokim paia, i go antap na daunbilo (adj) brau brau.

kuka bilong wara, trausel (n) walingi.

kukamba (n) bondi.

kukamba (n) bongur.

kukim gras bilong abus (v) wondo.

kukim insait lip long paia (v) fasu.

kukim long paia (v) lisi.

kukim, wara i boil (v) u.

kulau (n) suwa gumbo.

kumu (n) nanglu.

kunai gras (n) dambi.

kundu (n) mengu.

kuru (n) suwa fan.

kuru, pikinini kokonas (long planim) (n)

suwa yel.

kus (v) gursu.

kus (n) isuku.

kus (n) nindi.

# L

laik (v) ni hiki kufem hamba.

laik (v) ir erka hikin.

laik, redi (v) erka.

laikim (v) wafu hiki.

laikim olgeta (adj) wafu boi boi.

laim bilong kundu (n) wusunal.

lainim (v) sili.

lait bilong klaut, klaut i pairap (n)

# numblangan.

lait i pairap (v) blala.

lait i raunim san o mun (n) awangu.

lait, pairap (adj) tingre tangre.

laitim bikpela paia (v) duwn.

laitim paia bilong kuk (v) go.

laitim paia wantaim ol liklik stik (v) talma.

lang (n) algan.

lang (n) tama algan.

lap (v) nali.

lap na soim tit (n) seklem.

laplap (n) mau liki.

lapun (adj) afko.

larim diwai i pundaun, diwai i pundaun (v) **ifi** 

larim em (man o meri) (v) tirite.

larim em i stap (v) tiri.

larim em pundaun (v) gam tii.

larim em pundaun, abrusim (v) faina.

larim em pundaun, rausim (v) tilse.

larim mi (v) mei.

las, behain tru (adj) numba.

laus (n) nun.

lek, aninit (long banara, kundu) (n) suwa.

lephan sait (adj) gaima.

lewa (n) kwleya wafu.

lewa (n) wafu toura.

liklik (adj) waska.

liklik (adj) muwngu.

liklik (gras na lip) (adj) flen.

liklik (wokim samting) (adj) bliwi blauwo.

liklik anis i plai (n) sul dinglan.

liklik bel (insait) (n) suwa gaia.

liklik bet bilong wokim paia (n) bulmba aka.

liklik brata bilong man o susa bilong meri (n) gana.

liklik bris, bet long ol plet (n) au tembe.

liklik buk (n) tekwle waki.

liklik buk, sup, memeim (v) blengu.

liklik das ii sikarapim (v) gre gre.

liklik diwai (n) mu yen.

liklik diwai (n) tamblakan.

liklik diwai (n) kundu.

liklik diwai (long sit) (n) safran.

liklik diwai redi long planim (n) yel.

liklik han diwai (n) mu gwra.

liklik han diwai (n) solo.

liklik hap (adj) numbul.

liklik hap (n) somo.

liklik hap diwai (n) lufu.

liklik hap diwai na hap i stap aninit bilong bulmba aka (n) **galwo wama.** 

liklik hap gras (n) somo baye.

liklik hap graun (n) musun.

liklik hap graun i pairap (n) au mal.

liklik hap skin diwai (n) sal.

liklik hap strongpela graun (n) weke somo.

liklik haus bilong binatang o pik (n) wosu.

liklik haus bilong ol katapila (n) ringi si.

liklik haus bilong saksak (n) wal aka dumbu.

liklik hul (n) ofol.

liklik hul (n) siki.

liklik kaku (n) sulfo.

liklik kon (n) wur kon.

liklik kus (v) tikorko.

liklik lang (n) momoseya.

liklik limbum (n) bumblan.

liklik lip i gat kala long bilasim (n) salwan.

liklik maunten, kilrot (n) bundu.

liklik mun (n) nekwa glengu.

liklik mun (n) nekwa bi.

liklik naip, as bilong diwai (adj) tombo.

liklik paia (n) kiri sefu.

liklik paia i stap long ol sit (n) sungre.

liklik pinga (n) lesu gaien.

liklik pis (n) manu manu.

liklik pos bilong ausait long sapotim rup (n)

simba selwando.

liklik pos bilong bikbus (n) safko yafin.

liklik prut i no kamap bikpela pinis (n)

glengu.

liklik raunwara (n) oku blo.

liklik raunwara (n) blo oku.

liklik raunwara (i stap long ston) (n)

rengongo.

liklik ren (v) wul wul.

liklik sayor (taim i planim pinis) (n) foku.

liklik sel (kokonas, kiau), putim kiau (n)

wandi.

liklik skrap (long skin) (v) wurfoto.

liklik snek (n) tekwle.

liklik sno na san behainim (n) **nambul lako** 

okto.

liklik stik (n) gala.

liklik stik long brukim graun bilong yam

mami (n) gramba warmona.

liklik stik long tanim saksak (n) kwai kwai.

liklik wara (n) fangi.

liklik wara (n) duwlolo.

liklik, yangpela (adj) kahaiembo.

liklilk rop long strongim banara (n) **arma** 

sou.

limbum (n) duwan.

limbum basket (n) duwan nawa.

lip (n) kumba.

lip (n) sirka.

lip bilong saksak, hap bilong sol (n) wol.

lip bilong singsing (n) dufu.

lip bilong wel saksak (n) afko toto.

lip bilong wel saksak (n) fanga.

lip i drai pinis (n) kumba okwe.

lip i drai pinis (n) lungutu.

lip i gat tupela hap (n) yar taka.

lip long makim man taim bilong tilim kaikai

(n) tukarka.

lip long pasim mami (n) asanga.

lokim dua (v) galwo kuwsu.

long (go long) (post) yoko.

long (kam long, kamaut long) (post) fenda.

long em (man) (pro) re.

long em (meri) (pro) te.

long hap (loc) kasi.

long hap (loc) okwra.

long hap wara i stat (n) oku tol.

long mi (pro) ene.

long ol (pro) me.

long olgeta hap (n) kom kom.

long yu (pro) ne.

long yumipela o mipela (pro) nemen.

long yumitupela (pro) nende.

long yupela (pro) kemen.

long yutupela (pro) kefen.

longlong (adj) belo.

longlong man o meri (n) tama amba.

longpela (adj) kin menam.

longpela diwai long bikpela bung i mekim

long baim meri (n) gil.

longpela gras pisin (n) fal.

longpela taim i go pinis (n) ayum.

longpela tru (adj) gloulo.

longtaim bipo (adi) mili mele.

longtaim bipo (adj) mele.

longtaim bipo (adj) mele kusa.

lotu (n) afa samba roko aka.

lukautim (v) anuwa.

lukautim (v) raka anuwa.

lukautim, stretim (v) hoi hai.

lukim (v) ni.

lukim antap (v) yawo.

lukim daun, tromoim daun, daunim (v) tori.

'lukim em' (phr) o nir u.

lukim gut (intj) sumraya.

lukim long sait bilong ai (n) lako gaima.

*lukim man yu no wetim (v)* **re i nika furndu** 

na.

lukim nanak (neg) kehek.

*lukim strong (v)* **laka bol.** 

*lukim strong long ai (v)* **lako mir.** 

LUKIM welku (v) welku fa tu.

lukluk (v) nuwku.

lukluk gut (v) iki ale.

lukluk long ol samting (v) sul fi.

lukluk strong (v) nalfa.

lus (bilong skru) (v) duwarko na.

lus long wara (v) ra war.

lus na pundaun (v) gwal aku.

lusim (rop, banara) (v) sokwe.

lusim tingting (v) ambasu.

# M

mak (n) armu.

mak (putim tanget) (n) yofu.

mak bilong fut (n) suwa fol.

mak bilong fut (n) wil.

makim (v) mera.

makim taim (v) danasu.

makim, stat long danis (v) samre.

malaria (n) siri gru gru.

malira, ol samting bilong poisin (n) engle.

malu malu long banisim haus (n) sukwle.

malumalu (prut), smel (adj) kuwa.

mama, susa bilong mama, pikinini bilong

brata bilong mama o susa bilong papa

(n) nawa.

mambu (n) ama.

mambu (n) ama wusilele.

mambu i sap olsem spia (n) fi kusa.

mambu long banisim rup (n) aka gu

## takwlulu amam.

mambu long helpim taro i kamap (n) difi.

mambu long karim wara (n) oku ama.

mami (n) kaku.

mamosa (n) siri sau.

man (n) nemna.

man (n) tama.

man aipas (n) lako timba.

man bilong gasiwa (n) nawi.

man bilong givim (n) tama nuwar.

man bilong lap (n) hingre hangre yoko ekur.

man bilong pikinini meri, pikinini bilong pikinini meri (n) neta.
man bilong tok giaman (n) erewe tama.
man i dai pinis (n) tama mu kuwar.
man i gat skin blak liklik (n) liki kasa.
man i gat skin blak tudak (n) liki kur.
man i gat wanpela ai (n) lako golwa.
man i mekim wok bilong arapela man (n)

bumbu sauwom ene eku tamar. man i no marit (n) tama tombo. man i poisinim (n) numba noko. mango (n) grambi.

mani i givim long baim meri (n) kul fer rete. mario, snek blong wara (n) oku sofo. maski (neg) mana.

matmat, hul bilong matmat (n) siki termu. mau long san (v) wan gre.

mau pinis na i gat mosong (n) kunsu tuku. maunten (n) **embleo**.

maunten i go daun (n) du.

maus (n) suma langi.

maus bilong pisin (n) felnde bi.

mekim banis (v) eku.

mekim buk (n) dofo.

mekim i lus (v) humbo.

mekim i lus (skin), sikarapim (v) bau.

mekim i slet (v) bloso.

mekim kol bel (v) ka afinau ambe.

mekim nois (v) grou.

mekim nois long giaman (adj) kruru suru. mekim paia i dai, paia (yet) i dai (v) sun go.

mekim pes tudak, belhat (v) sengu.

mekim rop, stretim rop i bruk pinis (v) ten.

mekim rot (v) walanga.

mekim sampela wok long pasin bilong yu yet (adj) **bir ber.** 

mekim sol (v) nato.

mekim strong, mekim drai (v) durna.

mekim wanpela tingting (v) dinafler hiki. memeim (v) bungro a.

meri (n) tawa.

meri bilong brata bilong mama, pikinini bilong man bilong susa (n) **yowul.** 

meri bilong nandasi (n) yau.

meri bilong pikinini bilong smolpapa, meri bilong pikinini bilong brata (n) **wafuw.** meri bilong pikinini man o bubu pikinini (n)

yinsawa.

metaim (v) yema.

mi (pro) on.

mi harim, nogat (intj) uhwu.

mi harim, yes (intj) uhu.

mi orait, maski, inap (intj) beena.

moning (n) karwi.

moning i stat (v) dana kute.

moning o apinun i gat liklik lait (n) fu kwiyi.

mosong (n) engurka.

muli (adj) kormo.

mun (n) nekwa.

mun i kamap (v) tawa laka atas meyeyas.

mun i pundaun (v) nekwas famek suknayas.

# Ν

naip i sap (n) mel.

naip long sapim (v) kou.

nait, tudak (n) nurku.

namba tu man o meri (taim namba wan i dai pinis) (n) **wani.** 

namba tu meri (bilong man i gat planti meri) (n) **tawa ya sumbu.** 

namba wan meri (bilong man i gat planti meri) (n) **tawa mus.** 

namba wan na tri pinga (n) lesu bor.

namba wan pikinini (n) lakwiyi.

nambis (n) yikwa gan.

nambis (n) afla taku.

namel (post) bor. namel (n) grou. namel (adj) kirkir. namel long singsing o ples tais (n) fel mango. namel stret (adv) bor kir kirk. narapela kain (adj) kuna kuna. natnat (n) fi. natnat (n) mu oku fi. nau (adj) esunguna. nau (adv) ningre nawe. nau stret, kwiktaim (adj) kiyi kiyi. nau, orait (inti) klei. nek (n) kokumbu. nek (n) kukumbu. nek (n) belna. nek bilong pisin (n) du. nek, nois, askim (n) suma. nem (n) sir. nem bilong wara klostu long hul long as stori (n) afla tak. nem nogut (n) sir kaha. nil bilong bikpela lip (n) sirka bungu. no gat nois, maus pas (adj) suma timba. no inap long (v) nime. no inap long wokabaut gut (v) tasu gwrusu. no ken wori (phr) manda timba. no laik, brukim marit (v) mana. no stap, no inap long painim (v) timba. no, nogat (neg) iki. nogat (neg) mehek. nogut (adj) kaha. nogutim, i pen (v) manda. nois (n) ausana. nois (n) samra. nois (adj) glir glor. nois bilong kaikai (n) ken. nois bilong kis o bilong snek (v) tumu muna.

nois bilong rat (intj) gwal gwal.
nois bilong ren (intj) ku.
nois long tupela pinga (v) sungwal.
nois olsem skrapim (n) kursei.
noken, aipas (adj) timba kamba.
not (n) tol.
nupela (adj) golo mende.
nupela diwai saksak (n) naku bungu.
nupela mun (n) nekwa sukna.
nupela pikinini (n) kai.
nupela rop (n) gumbo.
nupela sayor (adj) aungu.
nupela, nupela (grinpela) lip, sit (adj) luwku.
nus (n) wilingi.

# 0

okit (n) dol au.

ol (tripela o moa) (pro) mu.
ol gutpela toktok, stap belgut (v) angla.
ol hap kaikai (n) liki tombo.
ol klaut tudak taim bikpela ren i kam (v)
kursu walaman ya.
ol lain bilong yam mami (v) gusa.
ol laplap (n) ter gila.
ol laplap (n) gwesai i.
ol laplap bilong singsing (n) osai.
ol liklik hap ston (n) wur yen.
ol liklik sta (n) ware nembe gwrara.
ol manmeri (n) tama tawa.
ol manmeri bilong arapela hap (n) di yoko fendam.

ol pasin long amamasim man i kam o go (phr) **er kombo fa kombo.** ol plaua blong tulip i kamap bikpela (n)

# bangramen.

ol pulpul i go antap long spia (n) bermun. ol rot i bung (n) kulu tenge. ol ston bilong stov (n) arko sunngu. ol tit i lus (v) lungwa. ol tumbuna (n) maure. ol tumbuna (n) afa nanda. olaboi, yupela (intj) kemela. olgeta famili (n) er sokom. olgeta manmeri (n) yelnda oku. olgeta sait (n) yoko yoko. olgeta samting (n) bu bum. olgeta samting yu lukim tupela i stap (adj) bri i bre ya ni. olgeta, planti (adi) yelnda. olgeta, tumas (adj) mende. olpela gaden (n) nu bor. olpela gaden (n) ongwa bor. olsem (int) biki biki. olsem (grm) yungu. olsem (adv) ekra nawe. olsem (adv) ekra ni. olsem (bikpela olsem) (adv) kekra yombo. olsem limbum (n) weinbeni. oltaim (adv) wirki. opa (n) barka. opim (v) sambla. opim (buai) (v) tongo burku. opim (talinga o lip) (adj) bansi. opim basket o bilum (v) wanda. opim bilum (v) loko. opim dua o windo (v) late. opim olgeta (v) sinda. orait (intj) era. orait (inti) uhunta. orait (intj) kaka. orait (v) hako hako. orait long, agri (v) ambu tongo. orait, em tasol (phr) ora kara. P

paia i dai (v) mol.

paia i stap long stik (n) kiri meke. paia o lait i laitim na indai (v) dal dal. paia, paiawut (n) kiri. painim abus (v) elowo fle. painim abus (v) elowo fu. painim pinis (v) fle. pairap (ol pisin) (v) singlili senglele. pait (i stat) (v) nambutu naruku. paitim (v) afi nau. paitim (v) afi. paitim (v) kre. paitim (han o put) (v) gwa. paitim garamut (v) toko. paitim han (v) lesu bombo. paitim i go long planti hap (v) nambu. paitim wantaim (v) doi doi. paitim wantaim stik (v) blosu. paitim, belo (v) fu. palai (n) nembe. pamuk meri (n) tama yelndam kana ekuka i tawas. pangal bilong olpela saksak (n) gowen. pangal saksak (n) galwo. pangal saksak bilong bulmba aka (n) galwo pangol bilong saksak (n) naku bitki. papa bilong papa (n) namre. papa, brata bilong papa (n) afa. pasim (v) wungusu. pasim (long stik o spia) (v) wor. pasim (rop) long karim (v) taki. pasim ai (v) lako bu. pasim dua (v) kuwsu. pasim qut (v) gur. pasim maus, maski krai, inap (v) dina. pasim nek bilong arapela (v) tongo nele. pasim ol bim bilong rup (v) aka tasu.

pasim wantaim bodi, smuk (v) tai.

pasim wara (v) ta. pasim win (v) nele. pasim, krungutim long hap (v) gusu. pasin (n) suma kaha yoko rumbo. pastaim (adj) nari. paul pinis (adj) wurngun. paul pinis (adv) na sau waki a sau waki. paulim tingting (v) hiki haka. paura (n) sen. paura (n) sun. paura bilong saksak (n) naku sun. pekpek (n) su tombo. pekpek (v) sisi. pekpek wara (n) sisi humbu. pen bilong het (n) terfa manda. pes (n) tiri lako. pik bilong ples (n) fer waa. pik, hos (n) fer. pikinini bilong pikinini man, meri bilong em (n) **nan**. pikinini i no gat brata susa (n) krafo. pikinini man (n) tama toura. pikinini meri (n) tawa yen. pikinini, pikinini bilong brata o susa (n) yen. pilim kok (v) el tongo kul. pilim long baksait bilong han (v) fer klulu. pilim sori, "em orait" (v) kombo mesu. pilim wik (v) siri sure. pinis, daunbilo, baksait (adj) tombo. pinisim (v) ambe. pinisim (kaikai, wok) (v) yomne. pinisim olgeta (v) biya. pipia (n) grafa. pipia bilong ai (n) musun lako ene golwar. pipia bilong gaden (n) luku grafa. pipia bilong nus (n) **nindi su.** pipia bilong yau (n) namra su.

pipia i stap antap long raunwara (n) **blofu** kutu wakre. pipia sking long het (n) terfa sal. *pis* (n) **om.** pis i smokim o draim pinis (v) kware. pisin (n) felnde. pisin bilong man (long garamut) (n) sambo. pispis (n) nangu. pitpit (n) wuwr. plai (v) bruru. plai, tromoim nabaut (v) brena aku. planim i go long graun (v) tul. planim long putim stik i go insait (v) ful. planim stik (olsem saksak) (v) tuku. planim stik i go insait long graun (v) bane. planim tupela stik olsem 'X' (v) fa. planim yam o mami (v) wi. planti (adi) kaha kana. planti (adj) wenga. planti maunten (n) lu. planti nait (1 o 2 wik) (n) numa. planti taim, no gat planti (adv) di ningi. plantihan (n) mundu. plantihan (n) mangur kon. plaua (n) awa. plaua (n) su. plaua bilong kakaruk, retpela, kain plaua (n) walko. plaua bilong taro, liklik buk (adj) uklu maklu. ples (n) kom. ples daun (n) dunsu. ples daun (n) fru eme. ples i gat sampela sayor (n) ongwa al oku. ples klia long bus (n) ongwa. ples klia, as nating (adj) eme fa. ples namel bilong mambu (n) difi el. plet (n) gwame. plet bilong sospen graun (Garfu) (n) sirki.

poisin (n) mangle. pundaun na sanap stret long graun (adj) dil poisin long lusim tingting (n) humondu. dol. pundaun, kam daun (v) yiri. popo (n) mar wate. poret (n) mambunge. purpur (n) waran. poro i tilim kaikai, wanpela lain (n) minga put (n) suwa lako. kufu. putim (v) rete. poro tru (n) nakwel. putim beksait i go aut (v) sisi ki okwe nuwa. poroman bilong tret (n) sere. putim het i go daun (v) duwye. pos (n) simba. putim i go antap (v) blolo. pos bilong bikbus (n) safko. putim i go daun (v) totori. pos bilong sait long haus (n) selwando. putim i go daun long wara (v) oku tasu tiri. pret long (v) er aku. putim i go insait (v) tu tiri. prok (n) girsi. putim i go insait (hul), holim tamiok (v) tu. putim i go insait long graun (v) dun. prut (n) mondo. prut i no kamap bikpela pinis (n) suwa putim i go insait long pasim yau (v) gun. putim i go insait long rup (v) take tiri. glongu. pukpuk (n) mongur. putim i go long planti hap (v) tii tu ya. pulap (adj) oule. putim i go pas (v) gorso. pulap (v) a afe. putim i go wantaim, taintainim (v) **okana.** pulapim wantaim wara (v) liti. putim insait long hul long karim (v) hongo. pulim (v) wru wru. putim insait long rup (ol bun bilong kaikai) pulim daun (v) toto. (v) tikorko. pulim gras, katim gras (v) nate. putim kiau (sindaun long) (v) suwa dika. pulim hariap bilong pen, langpela (adj) putim klos (v) sufongo. toina. putim samting long lip (v) suw. pulim i go antap, rop long apim (v) boro R boro. pulim long graun (v) tongo lisi. rabim (v) danda. pulim long graun (v) lisi. rabim (saksak) (v) romo. pulim rop banara (v) tangel. rabim (waswas, draim) (v) da. pulim skin namel long tupela pinga (v) rabim (wokim liklik rop long sospen graun) (v) wir. pulimnus, nois bilong mambu (adj) flili flolo. rabim i go stret (v) roto. pundaun (adj) turon tauron. rabim, laimim (v) kwata. pundaun (v) yirfi. raithan sait (adi) fisi. pundaun (v) dil. raitim, bilasim (v) kau. pundaun (v) sukrate. ran (v) titi. pundaun antap long pes (v) yiri butu. ran, go daunbilo hariap (adj) tingir tangir.

ranawe (v) tulna. ranawe hariap (v) biya saya. ranawe raun raun (v) wur wra. ranim (v) kusu. ranim pik (v) fer tasu i. rasusim longpela (v) dondo. rat (n) mulu. raun (adj) bangol bangol. raun (adj) krou. raun raun (adj) bri bre. raunim (v) suw. raunim (v) tofun. raunim (v) wangu. raunim (v) yungu bangol. raunpela (adj) bar bar. raunpela hap bilong stik i gat prut (banana o ton) (n) safran. raunwara, ples tais (n) **bulmu**. rausim (v) sambu tii. rausim (v) tu tii. rausim (ol gras bilong pisin) (v) bur. rausim (sayor) (v) forna. rausim (spia, taro) (v) yoso. rausim (tuptup) (v) galo. rausim banana i no mau yet (v) gelna. rausim han o lek (v) ku aku. rausim hap diwai (v) tahu. rausim i kamaut, rausim bel bilong pik wantaim mambu (v) broro. rausim kus long nus (v) nindi kursu tii. rausim liklik bin (v) dungwa. rausim lip (bilong pitpit) (v) lete. rausim lip long hip (v) kul soto. rausim long paia (v) tate. rausim ol katapila (long skin diwai) (v) tufa. rausim ol lip (n) wakre busu busu. rausim ol lip bilong sakak o kokonas, hapim

lip (v) touso.

rausim ol pipia long ai (v) ringi rongo. rausim ol pipia long graun (v) lu lako. rausim ol samting i hangamap (v) yikte. rausim ol sit, kamautim (v) **bol.** rausim olgeta samting long haus (v) sauwro. rausim pekpek (v) mala. rausim pipia (v) siti. rausim pipia (v) hako. rausim rop i go daun (v) wuron. rausim skin (v) tikin. rausim skin (bilong banana, yam, mami) (v) gwasi. rausim skin (yam, limbum) (n) keso. rausim skin abus (v) lolo. rausim skin banana (n) kwasi. rausim skin bilong ol sit o gras pisin (v) buku. rausim skin diwai (v) asi. rausim skin diwai (v) gau. rausim skin haphap (v) talo. rausim skin saksak (v) loma. rausim spirit, tromoim wara (v) nimre. rausim ss wantaim ol han (graun) (v) rumba. rausim ton bilong lip (v) luma. rausim wantaim han (v) nungrou. rausim wara long bel bilong abus (v) wul dondo. rausim wara long longpela samting (v) wulmbo. rausim wara, holim tait (v) wul. rausim, pulim banara (v) ra wra. redi long kamap (talinga) (v) gulmombu. redim man yet long singsing (v) takre. redim, stretim (v) saro. ren (n) **loko**. ren i pundaun (v) wate. resa (n) guwsu.

resis (v) na tawi na tawi i.

resis long toktok (v) tolo nambuko. ret (adj) kasa.

ret i tulait (adj) kasak nakar.

retpela o yelopela kala taim sandaun (adj)

gwehe ta.

retpela saksak (n) naku kwainda kasa.

retpela saksak (n) naku ormo okwe.

ripim (laplap, limbum) (adj) timran tamran.

rop bilong yam (n) safu.

rop i kilim diwai (n) mu toklo wosu.

rop long apim diwai o go antap long diwai (n) sanglei.

rop long han (n) wurngen.

rop long karim pikinini (n) yen kufu.

rop long mekim i pundaun (n) elkwai.

rop long wokim promis, buk, bim bilong morota (n) ama wungusu.

rop redi long wokim (i no gat skin) (n) kufu yuwklu.

rop, lain (n) kufu.

rot long bus long ol pik (n) fer youre.

rot, pasin (n) kulu.

rup (n) aka guw.

rup long pes bilong haus (n) aka take.

# S

sait (bilong wara, maunten) (n) grewe.

sait bilong bodi (n) milifa.

sait bilong pes (n) taku wango.

sait bilong rot (n) kulu taku.

sait, longwe (post) werko.

sakim (v) dingei tii.

sakim man i qo daun (v) tingwara.

sakim tok (v) iki namra mesu.

saksak (n) naku.

saksak fraim (n) naku fraim.

saksak i boil pinis (n) naku fer kisi.

saksak i gat wara (n) bihi.

saksak i kamap strong (v) siri.

saksak i was pinis (n) naku sun kuwa.

salat (n) diwle.

salim (v) er rete.

salim (v) erete.

salut (phr) er numbu.

salut (paitim isi long poret) (v) mambunge

fu.

salut, ol i paitim wasket (v) taku tongo.

samap (v) fu.

samapim (v) yama.

sampela (adv) dira dira.

sampela samting (n) bunandi.

samting i klin, as nating (v) sumba.

samting long banisim ol spia (n) fiwol.

samting long holim sospen (n) bein.

samting long pasim klos (n) gwalsa.

samting nogut (adj) holei.

san (n) nambul.

san hat (long moning) (n) nambul okwe.

san i go daun (v) war susu.

san i kamap (n) dana.

san i karamap pinis (n) nul sikik wur aku.

san i lait, i hat (v) wre.

sanap (v) susu.

sanap (v) sau susu.

sanap antap long, putim i go daun (v) tasu.

sanap na taitim (v) susu sowur.

sanap stret (n) el fan.

sandaun (n) wur susu.

sandaun (n) nambul war.

sanguma (n) huma fa tu.

sapim (adj) mel.

sapim bun o spia (v) tarmbo.

sapim naip (v) kon.

sapot bilong rup (n) auwrara.

sapotim (v) fendo.

sapotim sampela samting i klostu pundaun (v) **tuku towi.** saun bilong painim pik (intj) **hoi hoi.** 

savolim (v) takwruwru.

saun bilong seksek (adj) geu geu.

sekan (v) lesu tongo.

sekim o guria (v) gruru.

seksekim (v) tunbu.

seksekim (v) numboto.

sel bilong mekim nois (n) gwlar gwlar.

sel kokonas (bikpela), plet (n) yingwe.

sel long karamapim kok (n) molkon.

sel long karim wara (n) oku yefa.

senisim haus (v) hauwa aku.

senisim pes (v) filni falna.

senisim pes (v) teri lako.

senisim pes (n) maure maure.

senisim tingting (v) tufarna.

sikarapim diwai (v) kulko.

sikarapim i lus (v) liki bau.

sikarapim long statim paia (v) gre.

sikarapim saksak, paitim graun (wantaim

stik) (v) dorko.

sikarapim, wokim garamut (v) kuwr.

sikau antap (n) nekwa.

silip, sindaun, putim i go olsem (v) sukna.

sindaun (v) rusu.

sindaun sait sait (v) lisi lisi rusu.

sing (v) hokwa kete.

singaut belhat (n) nambuko.

singaut bilong tok belhat (inti) oe.

singaut long arere long maus (n) isi.

singaut long dok (long painim abus) (intj) is

is.

singaut taim i kirap nogut (v) ningle. singaut, abus singaut (v) nau. singautim ol masalai (v) er wawa. singautim ol masalai long kisim help (v) **er** wawa isi.

singsing bilong daka (n) minga gwasi.

singsing i kamap sampela taim (n) kirau.

singsing i no gat abus (n) minga gaien.

singsing long holim pik (n) tisi lom.

singsing raun (v) lom.

sit (n) na.

sit bilong kwar (n) bangu.

sit bilong paia (n) kur su.

sit bilong ton (n) narun.

skai, antap tru (adj) kur.

skai, klaut (n) **nul.** 

skarapim (olsem kakaruk), rekim (v) tukwra.

skelim (v) hema ni.

skelim (n) tolo eloko tamar.

skelim (lukim antap na daunbilo) (adj) **soko** 

sako.

skelim long paitim liklik (v) tele.

skelim, tok nogat (v) nambe.

skik long paitim garamut (n) mu sermba.

skin (bilong man o prut) (n) liki.

skin bilong kapiak (v) gaso.

skin diwai (n) mu liki.

skin diwai long mekim strena (n) sauwa.

skin diwai long pasim dua (ausait) (n) **aka** 

kusu.

skin diwai long poisin o long banisim tanget

(n) welku.

skin i bagarap long rop (v) wusu wusu.

skin i kirap nogut (n) liki manngra.

skin i lus long hot wara (adj) bil bol.

skin long saksak (n) galmbon.

skin mami long apim saksak (n) huma.

skin rop i rausim pinis (n) yuwklu.

skin saksak (n) wursa.

skin yam (n) sengeta.

skrap (n) luwnguya.

skrap (n) fu gurmba. skrap (adj) songo sango. skrap bilong saksak (n) naku ama yalwun. skrap bilong saksak (n) yalwun. skrapim (v) kurfa. skrapim (v) fu griri. skrapim (v) groro groro. skrapim, rausim diwai (v) gurmba. skru (n) lesu gusu. skru bilong han (namel) (n) lesu guwl. skru bilong lek (n) suwa aku tombo. skru bilong lek (n) suwa guwl. skru bilong lek (baksait bilong em) (n) suwa du. skru i stap antap long han (n) lesu om gumbul. slet insait long mambu i pasim hap (n) guwsu. slip (v) dumbu. slip long (v) sawe. slip long (adj) kri kri. slip olgeta (v) mehe na. slipim long graun (v) lau. smelim (v) kwaya. smelim (v) kuwa mesu. smok bilong wara (n) kofon. smok bilong wara i hat (n) bisisu bususu. snek (n) sofo. snek bilong dringim blut (n) maifo. sno (n) gwa. sno karamapim pinis (v) nambul gwa ki. so (v) sungutu. soim planti samting (v) feta kata. soim rot (adj) ongo ongo. soim sampela man (v) feta. sol (n) yikwa. sol (n) gausa.

sol (n) lesu gausa.

sol i wokim i no gat wara (n) yikwa tate. sol i wokim wantaim wara (n) yikwa sun. solap (v) u. solapim (v) fu blala na nuwa. solwara (n) yikwa oku. solwara bilong ol pisin long dring (n) ner yikwa. sori (v) soro. sori (n) kombo. sori (v) kahar. sori, yes (intj) e hakum. sospen graun (n) sul au. sospen graun (bikpela bilong saksak) (n) garfu. sospen, liklik sospen graun, graun bilong wokim (n) au. sot (adj) gul. sotwin (v) yiflondo. sotwin (v) wafu wendu. sotwin (v) wafu wuya. spaida (n) samdo. spet (v) telako si. spetim (v) gul busa. spetim (v) sombo. spia (n) fi. spia (n) ser kuta. spia (bilong banara) (n) lam. spia i gat foapela hap (n) lam gwroso. spia i gat planti hap (n) lam bendu. spia i gat wanpela hap (n) lam opei. spia long saksak (n) lam bendu. spirit i go insait long man (v) maure tongo raka i. spirit, tewel (n) wou. sta (n) ware. sta i paia na suruk (n) gwiyo yen yen keteka akuyar. stap (sampela samting i stap) (v) amba.

stap long wanpela hap, save long (mekim ss) (v) rii.
stap nating (adj) sombu.
stap nating, wanpela, yet, olgeta taim (v)
nawe.

stap o go long lotu (v) lotu. stat, pastaim, nau (n) golo. stik bilong karim (ol pik) (n) muwor. stik bilong lip banana i pundaun (n) yam lombo kufu.

stik bilong lip bilong kokonas (n) suwa wangwarama.

stik bilong tamiok (n) gome fa mu. stik bilong wokabaut (n) gramba saku. stik i go long hat bilong banana i no gat prut (n) yam wanafa.

stik i no gat skin (n) bela. stik long apim diwai, sayor (n) mango. stik long brukim graun (n) gramba. stik long hangamapim drai (n) suwa ama. stik long holim kaikai (n) ama gwalsa. stik long holim laplap (v) gila gungwa.

stik long pait (n) sangwa yamba.
stik long rausim ol samting long tit (n) bi

tasuku. stik long sapotim mami (n) mu mango.

stik long sapotim mami (n) seseme. stik, liklik long tromoi (n) kokoma.

stilim (v) wusukwa.

stilman (n) wuskwra.

ston bilong sit (n) watefa.

ston o sit long het banara (n) arma bol bol.

ston, sel, mani (n) arko.

stong bilong puripuri (n) ma i.

stongpela antap (n) mungwa.

stori (n) sungamba.

stov (n) sunngu.

stretim graun (brukim ol ston) (v) wurmu.

stretim hap na rausim ol kunai, rausim lip banana (v) **bo.** 

stretim ples (v) kom ale.

stretim, bung wantaim (v) nandu.

stretim, klinim, pundaun (ol lip) (v) numbu.

stretpela (n) worna.

stretpela (adj) boi.

stretpela samting i gat tupela hap bilong em (diwai, wara) (v) tengle.

strong (n) mu gwa.

strongpela (adj) yefa kana.

strongpela (adj) nere.

strongpela (kaikai) (adj) dangwen.

strongpela graun (n) weke.

strongpela kaikai (adj) dur dan.

strongpela lain bilong ol prut (n) kwlele.

su (n) suwa tasu.

sua (n) kolma.

sua (n) li.

suga (n) uwku.

sumuk (long paia) (n) kiri sufun.

supgraun (n) sul dil.

surik i go i kam (adj) di wirki di warko.

surik i karamapim graun, go long olgeta hap (v) **blele ka i.** 

surik ol lek (v) suwa fli fle.

surik olsem snek (v) gir gir.

surik, i kamap bikpela (adj) beu beu.

surikim (v) noko rete.

surikim hariap, kapsaitim (v) wusor.

susa (bilong man), pikinini meri bilong brata bilong papa o susa bilong mama (n) gasiwa.

susa bilong papa, man bilong em (n) yiwi.

susu (n) muwku.

susu (n) fi.

susu (n) muwku fi.

susu saksak (n) gal.

sutim wanwan (v) na fu na fu.

swet (n) uwfu.

swim (v) fa.

swit (adj) kufe sumba.

swit, strongpela kaikai (v) nausu tanngu.

# Т

taim (n) ningi.

taim (sampela wss) (grm) yombo.

taim bilong kamautim mami (v) kaku sa ra tongo.

taim sik mun (n) aka lowe.

tainim saksak (v) sufuw.

taintainim saksak (v) tawo.

taintainim saksak i strong pinis (v) **sokwro.** 

taitim (banara) (v) takwlu.

talinga (n) gwini.

tamiok long ain (n) gome faa.

tamiok long ston (n) wur.

tang (n) tawul.

tang bilong paia (n) wle.

tanget (grin) (n) awa kumba.

tanget (ret) (n) awa kumba nomro.

tanget long makim graun (n) sul awa.

tanget long makim graun (n) sul fiki.

tanim (v) ra falna.

tanim bel (v) tongo bango.

tanim kaikai (v) yimau.

tanim na go, tanim wantaim (v) suru.

tanim olgeta (v) koukre.

tanim plet (v) yen/gasiwa rokot rar.

tanim sampela samting i go long saksak, tanim (v) **lu.** 

tanim smok (v) damen.

tanim wantaim (v) suwruw.

tanim wantaim (adj) bango bango.

tantanim olgeta, i no stret (adj) **bingil** 

bangol.

tarangau (v) kombo ni.

tarangu (adj) wera.

taro (n) al.

tasol (grm) nar.

tel (n) kin.

tel bilong palai i bruk pinis (v) furku.

tel bilong pis (n) okusa.

tel i surik surik (adj) korfi korfi.

tewel (n) nambul wou.

tilim (v) saki.

tilim kaikai (v) suwla.

tilim mami (v) lofor.

tilim mami (v) haku.

tilimaut (v) namasi.

ting (v) hiki.

tingting strong (long samting) (v) yombo mesu.

tisa (n) sanglu gala.

tit (bikpela tupela) (n) bi sambaf.

tit (long kaikai) (n) bi.

tit (sap) (n) bi mel.

tit i go ausait long maus (n) **bi na tufrasi** 

wuyar.

tok (v) er.

tok baksait (v) tolo sengu.

tok bilong amamas (inti) kirio.

tok bilong sori (intj) donsuna donsuna.

tok bilong yaupas (n) lesuk feta.

tok qiaman (n) ere.

tok gutbai (v) tomre.

tok isi (v) awar kanda eloko.

tok klia (v) tolo erfa.

tok kros (v) gerere.

tok nogut long arapela (v) tolo sengu barna.

tok save (v) erfa.

tok save, tok na wanbel (n) nimba.

tok sori long masalai (v) nambu.

tok yes taim sampela i askim yu long yu go we (phr) **wo ho ha.** 

tok, spik (v) tolo.

tokim (v) eloko.

toktok bikpela (v) gowe.

toktok long ol masalai (v) take miti.

ton bilong abus (n) wokra wokra.

ton long lip (n) sirka melulu.

traim (v) ni.

traim long kisim abus i ranawe pinis, pilim wik (v) grisi greso.

traim tasol nogat (adj) hili hala.

trap long abus (n) ifi.

trap long mumut (n) ifi lako.

traut (v) kute wiyi.

traut, rausim pipia long nek (n) kwete.

trautim (v) wa kwre ya.

tri (3) (num) lasifirndi.

trik, qiaman (v) siwoku.

tripela sta i mekim lain (n) akuma gramba.

tromoi (v) eku tii.

tromoi (v) tii.

tromoi daun (v) towur.

tromoi i go daun, rausim (v) tuwra.

tromoim (v) tu.

tromoim i go antap (v) ra towi ra tori.

tromoim stret (v) tuval.

tru, trupela (n) welmbe.

trupela (inti) kara.

trupela (adj) indor.

trupela (n) endon.

trupela?! (intj) akum welmbem.

tu (2) (num) lasi.

tu de i go pinis (n) yaki.

tudak, aipas (adj) tindu tandu.

tude (n) ningre.

tumbuna (n) yiwara.

tumora (n) woro.

tupela (pro) **fe.** 

tupela (pro) fu.

# U

umben bilong spaida (n) akwando kwando.

# W

wail (olsem dok) (adj) salai.

wail (olsem pik) (adj) tarmbe.

wail pitpit (n) tengur.

wait (adj) gamu.

wait anis (n) mu gun.

wait anis (n) sangu.

wait anis i gat pul (n) sangu tama.

wait lewa, banis win (n) sel.

waitman (n) koko gamu.

waitman (n) liki gamu.

waitpela blut (n) lifir mango.

waitpela hap ai (n) lako gai.

waitpela hap skin (n) dumbu a.

waitpela snek bilong saksak (n) umbu.

wan (1) (num) dirambu.

wan nem (n) yowul.

wanbel?, yu ting olsem? (intj) noko wafu.

wanem (int) bu.

wanem kain samting? (intj) **bi bi nindi** 

yombo.

wanem samting i kamap? (int) biki nawarka.

wanem samting? (intj) erka kemen.

wanem taim (int) biki rokok.

wanem taim (grm) rokor.

wankain (adj) dinafle.

wanpela bilong tupela (adv) ben.

wanpela hap gras (n) lun.

wanpela hap wara (n) loko fi.

wanpela i go long planti (n) nambo.

wanpela, sampela (grm) di.

wanpis (n) wari. wantaim (adv) nakir. wantaim (post) kana.

wantaim (bilong sampela tru) (post) mena. wanwan hap bilong wanwan man (grm)

kuna yena.

wanwan i gat wankain hap (v) nakir tirika. wara (n) afla.

wara bilong bokis bilong meri (n) ki oku.

wara bilong kok (n) el oku.

wara bilong kokonas (n) suwa fi.

wara bilong ol pik long waswas (n) **fer oku** 

sul.

wara i boilim hariap (adj) sa sa gul gul.

wara i gat graun (n) foko.

wara i go olgeta (v) ka wula aku.

wara i kalap (n) oku brara.

wara i kamap taim sampela i kalap long en, rausim wara (v) **kutu.** 

wara i ran hariap (n) miri marau.

wara i stat long boilim (v) sa.

wara i surik (n) selmbo.

wara long gras (n) esoko.

wara, wara bilong diwai (n) oku.

was (v) rete sukna.

was long (v) kuna susu.

wasim ol han (v) okto.

wasim pes o bodi (v) wiyi.

wasim saksak (v) si.

wasket, tit bilong pisin, arere (n) taku.

waswas liklik (adj) fri fro.

watamelon (n) mar wate melon.

watpo?, bilong wanem? (int) biki naka.

we (int) biki.

we (i go long we) (intj) iroko.

we (i stap long we) (int) orira.

wel (adj) bilau alau.

wel (v) blena aku.

wel taro (n) gorngi.

werim i go long nek (pikinini long baksait,

bis), kalap long (v) wakre.

werim, pasim klos (v) wele.

westim taim (v) hokwek na.

westim taim (v) okwe tambo na.

wet liklik (v) sana su.

wet, i no yet (intj) wai wai.

wetim (v) sanak.

wetim (v) kuna.

wik (adj) yefa timba.

wilwilim (v) bursu.

win (n) kifal.

winim (mambu), smokim (brus) (v) ofto.

winim mambu (v) wusu.

winim wantaim poisin (v) sofu.

winim, raunim, tok kam (v) waingu.

wip (n) fu wunsondo nuwa.

wok (n) sauwo.

wok nabaut (v) eku barna.

wokabaut hait (v) di delko i.

wokabaut isi isi (v) **ifa afa.** 

wokabaut krungut, suruk, taitim (adj) sowur

### sowur.

wokabaut lek abrus (v) riwi rewe.

wokabaut long bel (v) fer nawek i.

wokabaut long bel (v) kroro.

wokabaut long finga bilong fut (adj) tulei

### tulei.

wokabaut nating (v) barna.

wokim (graun), rabim (v) fer.

wokim bris (v) kri.

wokim gaden (v) loko baye.

wokim haus (v) ki.

wokim hul long paia (v) tinol tanol.

wokim nogut (adj) ber bar.

wokim nois (v) dumbai.

wokim rop (v) susu.

wokim rup wantaim mambu long holim ol lip (v) **kwresu.** 

wot bilong god (n) afa samba roko suma.
wot bilong singautim man (intj) i.
wot bilong tok nogat (neg) nanak.
wot i gat mining "taim bipo" (grm) wa.
wot i got mining "nau" (grm) ka.
wot i no gat mining (intj) ormbein.
wot long belgutim bikbrata o biksusa (n)
tete.

wot long strongim tok, man yet (grm) kuna. wot long tok halo long poro (phr) ka kahar yayar a.

wot ol i tok taim i paitim han (stori i pinisim) (intj) ambombo.

wot ol i tok taim ol i tingting (intj) nango.

# Υ

yam (n) walndo.

yangpela (adj) kel.
yangpela (adj) yekle.
yangpela man o meri i no gat senis (n) yekle
amba.

yar (n) wule nungusa.

yau pas (n) wanwanta.

yelo, wait (skin) (adj) okwe.

yelopela sit bilong ton (n) kwaya.

yelopela, orens, yelo na braun (adj) kwesu.

yes (intj) nahau.

yia (n) nu asama.

yu (pro) nu.

yu harim? (int) ka mesuya.

yumipela, mipela (tripela o moa) (pro) **num.** yumitupela mekim sampela samting (pro)

### anda.

yumitupela, mitupela (pro) dun. yupela (pro) kum.

yupela! (intj) **i tama i.** 

yutupela (pro) fun.

# **Appendix E: Animal and Plant Species**

This appendix is a trilingual dictionary including only Mehek names of animal and plant species. Section E.1 includes all the animals, and section E.2 includes all the plants. Within these sections, the names are listed first alphabetically by category, then alphabetically within each category by species name. A generic English and Tok Pisin gloss of each species is listed in most cases, as there are not common names for most Mehek species in these languages. However, in cases where a specific name does exist in either English or Tok Pisin, it is listed. Included below in the KEY are two main lists: a schematic representation of each entry showing what information is included and the formatting of each section, followed by a summary of all the categories used for ease of look up of specific species names.

# **KEY**

**Mehek Word.** gender. [alternate Mehek name] English Word. Tok Pisin Word.

# **E.1 Animals**

# **Categories of Animals:**

Mangur Kon (Millipede/Plantihan)

Algan (Fly/Lang) Mundu (Centipede/Plantihan) Aye (Bat/Blak Bokis) Nekwa (Tree Kangaroo/Sikau) Felnde (Bird/Pisin) Nembe (Lizard/Palai) Fi (Mosquito/Natnat) Nun (Louse/Laus) Girsi (Frog/Prok) Om (Fish/Pis) Gulma (Grasshopper/Grashopa) Owe (Caterpillar/Katapila) Gwiyo (Firefly/Komkom) Samdo (Spider/Spaida) Mulu (Rodent/Rat) Sifi (Ant/Anis)

Tekwle (Worm/Liklik Snek)
Umaka (Ant/Karakum)
Umbu (Beetle/Binatang)
Walingi (Crab/Kuka)
Walma (Beetle/Binatang)
Wiyi (Bee/Binen)
Nambo (Other/Arapela)

Sofo (Snake/Snek)

# Algan (Fly/Lang)

dumbu dumbu fly species. kain lang.
rumbu rumbu fly species. kain lang.
tama p. [tama algan] fly species. kain lang.

# Aye (Bat/Blak Bokis)

afu gwandi bat species. kain blak bokis.
bar bar su bat species. kain blak bokis.
bla bla p. butterfly, moth. bataflai.
dimdim dumdum bat species. kain blak bokis.

gil f. bat species. kain blak bokis.
gra bat species. kain blak bokis.
mandimbol f. bat species. kain blak bokis.
mu [mu kumba] bat species. kain blak bokis.
sar sar bat species. kain blak bokis.

# Felnde (Bird/Pisin)

afu f. cassowary. muruk.
akunderere f. bird species. kain pisin.
akwalo f. eagle. tarangau.
angoro bird species. kain pisin.
ata towe bird species. kain pisin.
dendomo f. ['dendomo] bird species. kain pisin.

fangle bird species. kain pisin.
fawi bird species. kalangar.
foro foro bird of paradise. kumul.
fowe bird species. kain pisin.
gamu f. white cockatoo. koki.
gele au bird species. kain pisin.
gre gre bird species. kain pisin.
gumu wur eagle. tarangau.
guwwol bird species. kain pisin.
hole tawa bird species. kain pisin.
howal bird species. stonhet.
kelwa f. seabird. pisin balus.

**kiofongul** bird species. *kain pisin*. **kioman** f. [K = kiowai] bird species. kain pisin. kiri wowo bird species. kain pisin. klo wild fowl. wel kakaruk. koko b. chicken. kakaruk. kombo grauwon bird species. kain pisin. koro koro bird species. kain pisin. **koule** *f.* bird species. *kain pisin.* kufun white cockatoo. koki. kwarimba f. eagle. tarangau. kwarsai f. bird species. kain pisin. **loko** angla f. bird species. kain pisin. loko wulwul f. bird species. kain pisin. maha wou bird species. kain pisin. makwa kursei [kur'sei] bird species. kain pisin.

mambu grou bird species. kain pisin.
mangi fle bird species. kain pisin.
mangi fofo bird species. kain pisin.
manwasu bird species. kain pisin.
manwi f. bird of paradise. kumul.
mau kelwa bird species. kain pisin.
mekta kiol bird species. kain pisin.
moto bonguwl [bo'nguwl] bird species. kain pisin.

nawa nawa bird species. kain pisin.
ner muwe bird species. kain pisin.
nurku om bird species. kain pisin.
oku wewe bird species. kain pisin.
oku wiyi mau bird species. kain pisin.
okwaa f. bird species. kain pisin.
om sule eagle. tarangau.
om tukwa lala bird species. kain pisin.
romo [romo felnde] bird species. kain pisin.
sambu f. cassowary. muruk.
same sifi bird species. kain pisin.
sauwa futa bird species. kain pisin.

**singil sungel** *f.* [K = sekel sakel] bird species. kain pisin.

**su lako wro** bird species. *kain pisin*. suma lam bird species. kain pisin. **sun sun** f. bird species. kain pisin. suwa sun bird species. kain pisin. tama gre gre bird species. kain pisin. tikwiyi dor bird species. kain pisin. tiwi tiwi bird species. kain pisin. wa lolo bird species. kain pisin. waka tumun f. bird species. kain pisin. wal gowe bird species. kain pisin. wamun hornbill. kokomo. wanda gwal bird species. bikmaus. war bird species. wel faul. ware bai bird species. kain pisin. wasu lo bird species. kain pisin. wate gar f. sun bird. pisin san. wate nuku bird species. kain pisin. wira bird species. kain pisin. wolon bird species. kain pisin. won kroso bird species. kain pisin. yen bruru bird species. kain pisin. yitwou bird species. kain pisin. yoto guria pigeon. quria.

# Fi (Mosquito/Natnat)

**amba amba** *p.* mosquito species. *kain natnat.* 

felnde afu p. mosquito species. kain natnat.fer sambu p. mosquito species. kain natnat.kwesu kwesu p. mosquito species. kain natnat.

mel mel p. mosquito species. kain natnat. mu oku p. [mu oku fi] mosquito species. kain natnat.

# Girsi (Frog/Prok)

afla frog species. kain prok.
ama won frog species. kain prok.
fer youre frog species. kain prok.
glou frog species. kain prok.
gwel gwel f. frog species. apinun prok.
kaumbu f. frog species. kain prok.
kutul frog species. grin prok.
kwaya f. frog species. kain prok.
naku tombo kri frog species. kain prok.
pupu frog species. kain prok.
wan houkur f. frog species. kain prok.

# Gulma (Grasshopper/Grashopa)

**a** [a gulma] grasshopper species. kain grashopa.

ai isi mantis species. kain grashopa.
ama golo mantis species. kain grashopa.
apapul grasshopper species. kain grashopa.
asar bongo grasshopper species. kain grashopa.

**au kumba** *f.* grasshopper species. *kain grashopa*.

**aye muku** *f.* grasshopper species. *kain grashopa*.

**bali toko** grasshopper species. *kain grashopa*.

**bi grou** grasshopper species. *kain grashopa*.

**dendomo** ['dendomo] mantis species. kain grashopa.

ende grasshopper species. kain grashopa.esko wiyi grasshopper species. kain grashopa.

**fer su** grasshopper species. *kain grashopa.* **kiri yengla** grasshopper species. *kain grashopa.* 

**kita kwesu** grasshopper species. *kain grashopa*.

kormo grasshopper species. kain grashopa.kuwa mauwo mantis species. kain grashopa.

lam lam p. [wanimana lam lam] walking stick. binatang stik.

**lando gra** *f.* grasshopper species. *kain grashopa*.

**mafu koko** grasshopper species. *kain grashopa.* 

**mafu krei** [K = gal gal asa] grasshopper species. kain grashopa.

mini grasshopper species. kain grashopa.
naku grasshopper species. kain grashopa.
sanga nambe grasshopper species. kain
grashopa.

**singlo bo** *f.* grasshopper species. *kain grashopa.* 

**sir kwleya** grasshopper species. *kain grashopa*.

sorsor grasshopper species. kain grashopa.suwa grasshopper species. kain grashopa.tawa yekle f. grasshopper species. kain grashopa.

tengu grasshopper species. kain grashopa. ter ter wayo grasshopper species. kain grashopa.

waingu wor mantis species. kain grashopa. waingu wor glama mantis species. kain grashopa.

wani mana mantis species. kain grashopa.
wate lako grasshopper species. kain
grashopa.

wilingi mel namra ['wilingi] grasshopper species. kain grashopa.

won grasshopper species. kain grashopa.

**wor sute** grasshopper species. *kain grashopa*.

wur f. [wur gulma] grasshopper species. kain grashopa.

yambu rere grasshopper species. kain grashopa.

yikwa oku grasshopper species. kain grashopa.

# **Gwiyo (Firefly/Komkom)**

maure kulfo firefly species. kain komkom.

# Mangur Kon (Millipede/Plantihan)

gai millipede species. kain plantihan.mu rombo millipede species. kain plantihan.

**suwa kulfo kur** millipede species. *kain plantihan.* 

# Mulu (Rodent/Rat)

aka gor rodent species. kain rat. aka lisi rodent species. kain rat. arare gau ['arare] rodent species. kain rat. ata b. cuscus. kapul.

batu wa rodent species. kain rat.

beena rodent species. kain rat.

dau f. rodent species. kain rat.

ekrombo rat. kain rat.

gai rodent species. kain rat.

inin f. [in'in] rodent species. kain rat.

kurio man rodent species. kain rat.

kuwa kwaya rodent species. kain rat.

mangi bandicoot. mumut.

mawala rodent species. kain rat.

mese kre rodent species. kain rat.

nekwa bou rodent species. kain rat.

oku sur mundu rodent species. kain rat. same tombo rodent species. kain rat. solyam an rodent species. kain rat. tengur bla rodent species. kain rat. yori rodent species. kain rat.

## Mundu (Centipede/Plantihan)

**kifal** centipede species. *kain plantihan.* **wate** centipede species. *kain plantihan.* 

# Nekwa (Tree Kangaroo/Sikau)

**dir nekwa kufer** tree kangaroo species. *kain sikau.* 

**kwarmbe tenge** tree kangaroo species. *kain sikau.* 

**sape** tree kangaroo species. *sikau bilong graun*.

## Nembe (Lizard/Palai)

aikwa lala [aikwa lolo] lizard species. kain palai.

**arko du** lizard species. *kain palai.* **asa kwai** lizard species. *kain palai.* 

awi f. lizard species. kain palai.

**blafo kute wakre** [K = bumblan lako fan] lizard species. kain nembe.

fel kutu lizard species. kain palai.

fer gir gi lizard species. kain palai.

gorso giti lizard species. kain palai.

grewe lizard species. kain palai.

gwrara lizard species. kain palai.

kita lowe lizard species. kain palai.

kufu lizard species. kain palai.

kukwe kukwe lizard species. kain palai.

kwai kwai lala lizard species. kain palai.

mangi kunai lizard. palai kunai.

mekte f. [mekete] lizard species. kundu palai.

men gra lizard species. kain palai.
mongur crocodile. pukpuk.
munamba lizard species. kain palai.
nambul [nambul nembe] lizard species. kain palai.

nanda f. lizard species. pukpuk palai.
nanda grou lizard species. kain palai.
oku f. lizard species. kain palai.
om sar dango lizard species. kain palai.
same lau wate lau lizard species. kain palai.

sifi a [K = sifi arman] lizard species. kain palai. sul butu lizard species. kain palai. surangi lizard species. kain palai. tep tep f. gecko. palai long haus. wal komblo lizard species. kain palai. wolon lizard species. kain palai. yangi fowe lizard species. kain palai.

# Nun (Louse/Laus)

kukwe lako louse species. kain laus.nawa louse species. kain laus.yen louse species. kain laus.

# Om (Fish/Pis)

ama kulka fish species. dokta pis. arko fish species. kain pis. kino fish species. kain pis. kurmbo fish species. kolpis. lifin fish species. kolpis. mendu fish species. kain pis. merka fish species. girile pis. nawa f. fish species. bikmaus. wange fish species. kain pis.

# Owe (Caterpillar/Katapila)

**bondo wol** caterpillar species. *kain katapila*.

busu caterpillar species. kain katapila.
ende caterpillar species. kain katapila.
glulu caterpillar species. kain katapila.
guma caterpillar species. kain katapila.
kufu caterpillar species. kain katapila.
kuho caterpillar species. kain katapila.
kuho caterpillar species. kain katapila.
kwar [kwar owe] caterpillar species. kain katapila.

makya krai caterpillar species. kain katapila.

manbo caterpillar species. kain katapila.
mandun caterpillar species. kain katapila.
mangi p. caterpillar species. kain katapila.
mele caterpillar species. kain katapila.
morkwre caterpillar species. kain katapila.
naku [naku owe] sago grub species. waitpela snek bilong saksak.

ner caterpillar species. kain katapila.
nungu caterpillar species. kain katapila.
oku ne caterpillar species. kain katapila.
sifi sifi caterpillar species. kain katapila.
sili wangu caterpillar species. kain katapila.
sul ata caterpillar species. kain katapila.
suwa caterpillar species. kain katapila.
wate caterpillar species. kain katapila.
wate caterpillar species. kain katapila.
wolkai kufu caterpillar species. kain katapila.
katapila.

yam caterpillar species. kain katapila.

## Samdo (Spider/Spaida)

airewan f. spider species. kain spaida.
aka [aka samdo] spider species. kain spaida.
lam lam f. spider species. kain spaida.
lingin spider species. kain spaida.

mu kumba spider species. kain spaida.
oku spider species. kain spaida.
sambu toitoi daddy longlegs. spaida i gat longpela lek.
sul f. [sul samdo] spider species. kain spaida.
sumbu f. [sumbumbu yambumbu, K = waiwai] spider species. kain spaida.
suwa f. spider species. kain spaida.
wala [wala samdo] spider species. kain spaida.

## Sifi (Ant/Anis)

bolur ant species. kain anis.
boule ant species. kain anis.
kunsu ant species. kain anis.
nekur ant species. kain anis.
solka ant species. kain anis.
su grenden ant species. kain anis.

# Sofo (Snake/Snek)

**aka sumbu male** [K = aka lowe] snake species. kain snek.

amble kul f. snake species. grin snek.
angu masi snake species. grin snek.
galfa du warko snake species. grin snek.
girmi snake species. poison snek.
girmi wala bi sel snake species. kain snek.
kur snake species. moran.
laimbo tuka wul wul snake species. kain snek.

mangi snake species. kain snek.
mar ningli snake species. kain snek.
masi wilingi snake species. kain snek.
naku tilmba snake species. kain snek.
oku f. [oku sofo] eel species. mario, snek
blong wara.

**oku gir** eel species. *mario, snek blong wara.* **same tombo** snake species. *kain snek.* 

wala yewe snake species. kain snek.

wambisi f. [K = mambisi] snake species. kain snek.

wan solka snake species. kain snek.

wasu f. snake species. moran.

wusu snake species. moran.

yefa afta [K = wamun] snake species. kain
snek.

## Tekwle (Worm/Liklik Snek)

**oku** worm species. *kain liklik snek.* **wro wro** worm species. *kain liklik snek.* 

## **Umaka (Ant/Karakum)**

dunsun edible ant species. *kain karakum.* sar afa edible ant species. *kain karakum.* 

## **Umbu** (Beetle/Binatang)

worofo beetle species. kain binatang.

# Walingi (Crab/Kuka)

oku lake crab. kuka bilong raunwara. wasu tenge land crab. kuka bilong graun.

# Walma (Beetle/Binatang)

**alako** beetle species. *kain binatang.* **grafa tawai** beetle species. *kain binatang.* 

# Wiyi (Bee/Binen)

a [a wiyi] bee species. kain binen.
aka bee species. kain binen.
bir sol bee species. kain binen.
bombo p. bee species. kain binen.
mandura bee species. kain binen.
mu kumba bee species. kain binen.
mu nawa kwla bee species. kain binen.
okuful bee species. kain binen.
wale bombo bee species. kain binen.
yomolu bee species. kain binen.

# Nambo (Other/Arapela)

**a wala wala** [K = wala dala] small blue insect. liklik blupela binatang.

**gam** beetle (flat and round). *binatang* bilong kaikai lip.

momosuya small fly. liklik lang.

mu gun termite. wait anis.

**oku dangi** beetle that lives under water. binatang i stap aninit long wara.

sul dinglan small flying ant. liklik anis i plai.

**sul kulfo kur** [kur] millipede species. kain binatang.

**sungutu yangutu** giant beetle species. bikpela binatang bilong kaikai lip.

#### E.2 Plants

#### **Categories of Plants:**

Al (Taro/Taro) Ama (Bamboo/Mambu) Awa (Flower/Plaua) Bali (Shrub/Aibika-Opa) Baye (Grass/Gras) Diwle (Stinging Nettle/Salat)

Gra (Fern/Aran)

Gwini (Mushroom/Talinga)

Kaku (Mami/Mami) Kufu (Vine/Rope) Makwa (Bean/Bin) Mini (Betelnut/Buai) Mondo (Fruit/Prut) Mu (Tree/Diwai) Naku (Sago/Saksak) Sakwe (Tobacco/Brus) Suwa (Coconut/Kokonas) Tikwiyi (Ginger Root/Kawar) Uwku (Sugar Cane/Suga) Walndo (Yam/Yam) Yam (Banana/Banana) Nambo (Other/Arapela)

# Al (Taro/Taro)

bela namsi taro species. kain taro. gorngi wild taro. wel taro. lombo taro species. kain taro. maure [walndo al taro, maure al] taro species. kain taro.

**namblo** taro species. *kain taro*. **nembe awi** taro species. kain taro. nungusa taro species. kain taro. ofa ai taro species. kain taro. **oku bungwar** taro species. kain taro. pukwa taro species. kain taro. waa taro species. kain taro. wenam taro species. kain taro.

# Ama (Bamboo/Mambu)

blala bamboo species. kain mambu. fi p. bamboo species. kain mambu. golo bamboo species. kawur. kondo bamboo species. kain mambu. kwesu p. bamboo species. kain mambu. pro un [prau un] bamboo species. kain mambu.

suwa ga p. bamboo species. kain mambu.

ter kusu p. bamboo species. kain mambu. wala p. bamboo species. kain mambu. wanda p. bamboo species. kain mambu. waniwer p. [K = golongon] bamboo species. kain mambu.

womgo bamboo species. kain mambu. wulfu p. bamboo species. kain mambu.

# Awa (Flower/Plaua)

amblekul flower species. kain plaua. asama flower species. kain plaua. blala flower species. kain plaua. fi flower species. kain plaua. gwlai flower species. kain plaua. kumba cordyline plant variety. tanget. kumba flower species. kain plaua. kundu flower species. kain plaua. loma di flower species. kain plaua. mansula flower species. kain plaua. nalo flower species. kain plaua. **nomro** cordyline plant. tanget. **sil** [K = i] flower species. *kain plaua*. **yel** *n.* bulb, flower shoot. *pikinini plaua*.

# Bali (Shrub/Aibika-Opa)

kasa shrub species. kain aibika.
kulfo shrub species. kain aibika.
kwainda shrub species. kain aibika.
minga san shrub species. kain aibika.
naku tombo shrub species. kain aibika.
suwa gaien shrub species. kain aibika.
wanngu shrub species. kain aibika.
ba tete shrub species. kain opa.
fawi shrub species. kain opa.
kasa shrub species. kain opa.
kulfo shrub species. kain opa.

## Baye (Grass/Gras)

alembe n. wild cane grass. wel pitpit.
ama fu grass species. kain gras.
dingil dangol grass species. kain gras.
ferwele grass species. kain gras.
gosoka grass species. kain gras.
gumbo grass species. kain gras.
kom sangu grass species. kain gras.
kuwa bo croton grass. kroton.
laimbo tuka grass species. kain gras.
lambu kute flen grass species. kain gras.
lambu kute wurngongo grass species. kain gras.
lambu kute wurngongo grass species. kain gras.

mangi [mangi dau] kunai grass. kunai.
mulu wafu grass species. kain gras.
namra fu ai grass species. kain gras.
nawa grass species. kain gras.
nembe gwrara grass species. kain gras.
oku somo grass species. kain gras.
palo [amerika] grass species. kain gras.
sarkafa grass species. kain gras.
suwa tombo grass species. kain gras.
wani ga grass species. kain gras.

## **Diwle (Stinging Nettle/Salat)**

afla stinging nettle species. kain salat.dendombom stinging nettle species. kain salat.

kulfo stinging nettle species. kain salat.mekta stinging nettle species. kain salat.sel fruru n. stinging nettle species. kain salat.

umran stinging nettle species. kain salat.yam owe stinging nettle species. kain salat.

## Gra (Fern/Aran)

bi tombo fern species. kain aran.wala [wala gra] fern species. kain aran.waa fern species. kain aran.mulu [mulu gra] fern species. kain aran.

## Gwini (Mushroom/Talinga)

ama mushroom species. kain talinga.
duwako mushroom species. kain talinga.
felnde afu mushroom species. kain talinga.
gayafu mushroom species. kain talinga.
hemen mushroom species. kain talinga.
homan mushroom species. kain talinga.
landu gurmbo mushroom species. kain talinga.

mele mushroom species. kain talinga.
mu kulfo mushroom species. kain talinga.
mu kumba mushroom species. kain talinga.
mu kuwa mushroom species. kain talinga.
naku [naku gwini] mushroom species. kain talinga.

nambla kwai mushroom species. *kain talinga*.

**nekwa namra** mushroom species. *kain talinga*.

polpol mushroom species. kain talinga.

sel kwete mushroom species. kain talinga.
somo mushroom species. kain talinga.
su bongo mushroom species. kain talinga.
sul mushroom species. kain talinga.
sumbul mushroom species. kain talinga.
tama kwiyefa mushroom species. kain talinga.

tambe sungu mushroom species. kain talinga.

**uklu maklu** mushroom species. *kain talinga*.

won mushroom species. kain talinga.yam tombo mushroom species. kain talinga.

## Kaku (Mami/Mami)

aktolo mami species. kain mami.
du basi mami species. kain mami.
felnde afu mami species. kain mami.
galwo mami species. kain mami.
hame bongo mami species. kain mami.
hau lulu mami species. kain mami.
masyengla mami species. kain mami.
moko mami species. kain mami.
nekwa mami species. kain mami.
sarsar mami species. kain mami.
suwa bela mami species. kain mami.
wol gu mami species. kain mami.
wule wild yam species. wail mami.

# Kufu (Vine/Rop)

afu gwandi vine species. kain rop.
aka vine species. kain rop.
ala mangi vine species. kain rop.
baya vine species. kain rop.
bur vine species. kain rop.
fawi vine species. kain rop.
fi vine species. kain rop.

gorso vine species. kain rop. **gumo** vine species. *kain rop*. gwasi vine species with edible pepper. daka. gwasi fran small edible plant. kain rop bilong kaikai. korongo vine species. kain rop. mafo vine species. kain rop. mainala [manyala] vine species. kain rop. misa vine species. kain rop. mondo vine species. kain rop. mu songo vine species. kain rop. nungu vine species. kain rop. om auwe vine species. kain rop. senger numba vine species. kain rop. sili wangu vine species. kain rop. **sul** vine species. *kain rop*. **sumbu suran** [sur'an] vine species. kain rop. **sungra** [K = same] vine species. kain rop. takre vine species. kain rop. waimo vine species. kain rop. wal enge vine species. kain rop. wala klekle vine species. kain rop. wanga vine species. kain rop. wani vine species. kain rop. waran vine species. kain rop. wilingi fori vine species. kain rop. wiski vine species. kain rop. wolkai vine species. kain rop.

girmi vine species. kain rop.

# Makwa (Bean/Bin)

won kambu vine species. *kain rop.* yen sunambu vine species. *kain rop.* 

waa bean species. *kain bin.* bin bean species. *kain bin.* 

## Mini (Betelnut/Buai)

kori betelnut species. kain buai.su ba ba betelnut species. kain buai.waa betelnut species. kain buai.wamun betelnut species. kain buai.

## Mondo (Fruit/Prut)

dambe fruit species. *kain prut.*mu kumbla fruit species. *kain prut.*okro fruit species. *kain prut.*tama wulmba fruit species. *kain prut.*tengur fruit species. *kain prut.* 

## Mu (Tree/Diwai)

a [a mu] tree species. kain diwai.

aflu tree species. mangas.

auenim tree species. kain diwai.

aume tree species. kain diwai.

awa sil tree species. kain diwai.

bala wor tree species. kain diwai.

bali tree species. kain diwai.

barka tree species. kain diwai.

basi tree species. kain diwai.

batu wa tree species. kain diwai.

belna rain tree. marmar.

besuka ['besuka] tree species. kain diwai.

blasu tree species. kain diwai.

blasu tree species. kain diwai.

blasu tree species. kain diwai.

bondo gala tree species. kain diwai. bra fungo tree species. kain diwai. bundu wol tree species. kain diwai. busu tree species. malu. dukre tree species. kain diwai. dungu tree species. kain diwai. duwan tree species. limbum. ene su tree species. kain diwai.

fan amblo tree species. kain diwai. fanga tree species. kain diwai. **fatu** tree species. kain diwai. fawi foko fra tree species. kain diwai. **felnde manwi** tree species. kain diwai. fere tree species. kain diwai. foko tree species. kain diwai. fu kusa tree species. kain diwai. fuku bu tree species. kain diwai. gembu tree species. kain diwai. gramba sarsar tree species. kain diwai. grambi mango tree. mango. guma tree species. kain diwai. gumoro tree species. kain diwai. gwangu tree species. kain diwai. gwara tree species. kain diwai. **gwewur** tree species. *kain diwai*. gwlusu tree species. kain diwai. gwurha tree species. kain diwai. homan tree species. kain diwai. kamba wai tree species. kain diwai. kese fu tree species. kain diwai. kewa tree species. kain diwai. kin om sape tree species. kain diwai. kita fir tree with edible leaves. tulip. **kofuya** tree species. mangas. **kormo** tree species. *kain diwai*. **kumru** tree species. *kain diwai*. **kumu rere** tree species. *kain diwai*. **kur** [kur mu] tree species. kain diwai. kwainda tree species. kain diwai. **kwaro** tree species. *kain diwai*. lai tree species. kain diwai. lako wuwr tree species. kain diwai. lamba gwraha tree species. kain diwai. lamdro tree species. kain diwai. lombo si tree species. kain diwai. mainala [manyala] tree species. kain diwai. mambi ango tree species. kain diwai. manbi tree species. kain diwai. manbo tree species. kain diwai. manda bru tree species. kain diwai. mandi tree species. kain diwai. mandun tree species. kain diwai. mangi tree species. kain diwai. masi tree species. kain diwai. mau suwa tree species. kain diwai. maure te lako si tree species. kain diwai. meke ta tree species. kain diwai. **mele** tree species. *kain diwai*. mele kofa tree species. kain diwai. mendongo tree species. kain diwai. mini betelnut tree. buai. **moko** Java almond tree. *galip.* **moli** tree species. *kain diwai*. mombu tree species. kain diwai. **morkwre** tree species. *kain diwai*. nala tree species. kain diwai. nambul tree species. kain diwai. **ner** tree species. bikus. nonglo tree species. kain diwai. **oku fla fla** tree species. *kain diwai*. oku lasi tree species. kain diwai. romara tree species. kain diwai. safko tree species. kamu pos. salwan tree species. kain diwai. **same** island lychee tree. ton. sauwa tree species. kain diwai. **selen** tree species. kain diwai. **sewre** tree species. *kain diwai*. **silfo** tree species. *kain diwai*. sul ata tree species. kain diwai. **sul masi** tree species. *kain diwai*. sun gu tree species. kain diwai. tawa der tree species. kain diwai. tele be [telembehe] tree species. kain diwai.

ter muliki tree species. kain diwai. **tikwre** tree species. *kain diwai*. turmbo tree species. kapok. wa gamun tree species. kain diwai. wa gra gra tree species. kain diwai. wakla tree species. kain diwai. wal tree species. kain diwai. wala yikwa tree species. kain diwai. walafai tree species. kain diwai. walingi ['walingi] tree species. kain diwai. wamun so tree species. kain diwai. wanngu tree species. airima. war kamba tree species. kain diwai. warmona tree species. kain diwai. warsai tree species. kain diwai. wate breadfruit tree. kapiak. welfu tree species. kain diwai. wol oku tree species. kain diwai. wolkai coral tree. palpal. **won** ironwood tree. kwila. wre wre sara tree species. kain diwai. wusala tree species. kain diwai. yam kwatu tree species. kain diwai. yefa tree species. kain diwai. yifki tree species. diwai mosong. **yiri birsi** tree species. *kain diwai*.

## Naku (Sago/Saksak)

afa sago species. kain saksak.
al sago species. kain saksak.
alangai sago species. kain saksak.
bre sago species. kain saksak.
gamu sago species. kain saksak.
gurmbo f. sago species. kain saksak.
gwasu wala wild sago. wel saksak.
lako sago species. kain saksak.
lam sago species. kain saksak.
mu sago species. kain saksak.

nekwa sago species. kain saksak.
sula sago species. kain saksak.
suwa sago species. kain saksak.
tawa yekle [K = nekwa klor] sago species. kain saksak.

tikwiyi sago species. kain saksak. walou sago species. kain saksak. welepu sago species. kain saksak. welfun sago species. kain saksak. wur sago species. kain saksak. yimen sago species. kain saksak.

## Sakwe (Tobacco/Brus)

fasu tobacco species. kain brus.fal tobacco species. kain brus.bumblan tobacco species. kain brus.

# Suwa (Coconut/Kokonas)

akwru coconut species. kain kokonas.kasa coconut species. kain kokonas.kulfo coconut species. kain kokonas.nekwa coconut species. kain kokonas.

# Tikwiyi (Ginger Root/Kawar)

bambu ginger root species. kain kawar.kofuya ginger root species. kain kawar.kumba kasa ginger root species. kain kawar.

**kumba kufun** ginger root species. *kain kawar.* 

waa ginger root species. kain kawar.wal fer nuwngu ginger root species. kain kawar.

# **Uwku (Sugar Cane/Suga)**

ama sugar cane species. kain suga. blala sugar cane species. kain suga.

nawa mu sugar cane species. kain suga.kur sugar cane species. kain suga.kulfo sugar cane species. kain suga.wala [wala uwku] sugar cane species. kain suga.

## Walndo (Yam/Yam)

a yam species. kain yam. amya fi wild yam species. wel yam. **arko** yam species. kain yam. asama yam species. kain yam. **blowu** [K = blowi] yam species. kain yam. bolo yam species. kain yam. fanga yam species. kain yam. felnde gala yam species. kain yam. koko yam species. kain yam. lako sul yam species. kain yam. lando kwiyi yam species. kain yam. nombo bale yam species. kain yam. nungu sa yam species. kain yam. **sofo** yam species. *kain yam.* ter muye yam species. kain yam. wambisi [K = mambisi] yam species. kain yam.

wani we yam species. kain yam. wolka yam species. kain yam. wolo fo yam species. kain yam. wule yam species. kain yam.

## Yam (Banana/Banana)

bukwa banana species. *kain banana*.
glasku banana species. *kain banana*.
gu samra banana species. *kain banana*.
kasa banana species. *kain banana*.
kevieng banana species. *kain banana*.
kita lako banana species. *kain banana*.
kufun banana species. *kain banana*.
kurkur banana species. *kain banana*.

**kwari** banana species. *kain banana*. maure banana species. kain banana. **mombu** banana species. *kain banana*. **mu kumbla** banana species. *kain banana*. namba gorfai banana species. kain banana. nambul banana species. kain banana. **okwendu** banana species. kain banana. sangle bondo banana species. kain banana. simba banana species. kain banana. suw tama banana species. kain banana. ta karka banana species. kain banana. **tokmbo** banana species. *kain banana*. waa banana species. kain banana. wal banana species. kain banana. wane banana species. kain banana. yala banana species. kain banana. yangu samra banana species. kain banana. yawa banana species. kain banana.

# Nambo (Other/Arapela)

au [au kumba] plant species. kain diwai.belmun shrub species. kain liklik diwai.bondi cucumber species. kukamba.

bongur cucumber species. kukamba.dol au fan leaf which grows on tree trunks.okit.

**durkun** [durkun kumba] cordyline plant variety. bikpela lip.

ende n. wild sago. wel saksak. mar wate papaya. popo. mar wate melon papaya, watermelon.

роро.

siri sau sensitive plant. mamosa.
sokwete palm-like flowering plant. kain plaua.

sulfo small yam. *liklik kaku*.
sumbu kumba plant species. *kain sayor*.
tamblakan small shrub. *liklik diwai*.
tengur wild cane grass (wuwr). *wail pitpit*.
wanda lako potato species. *kaukau*.
wasu ne ['wasu] shrub species. *kain liklik diwai*.

wate blangi breadfruit cone. kon bilong kapiak.

weinbeni limbum variety. *limbum.* wur kon small corn. *liklik kon.* 

### **Appendix F: Thematic Vocabulary**

This appendix is a trilingual dictionary including a subset of the Mehek vocabulary grouped by category. This makes it easier to find related words. Included below in the KEY are three main lists: a schematic representation of each entry showing what information is included and the formatting of each section, the abbreviations used for parts of speech, followed by a summary of all the categories used for ease of look up of particular words.

#### **KEY**

Mehek Word (part of speech) English Gloss. Tok Pisin Gloss.

#### Abbreviations used for Parts of Speech:

adj	adjective	n.b.	either masculine or feminine
adv	adverb		(based on natural gender)
cnj	conjunction	n.f.	feminine noun
grm	grammatical particle	neg	negative
int	interrogative	num	numeral
intj	interjection	phr	phrase (greeting, utterance)
loc	locative	rel.n	relational noun
n	(masculine) noun	pro	pronoun
		ν	verb

#### **Categories in the Thematic Section:**

Animals	Feeling	Posture
Body	Food	Put
Carry	Go	Sago
Clean	House	Sharp
Cook	Move	Talk
Cut	Pick	Time
Environment	Plants	Tool

### **Animals**

aye (n) bat. blak bokis.

**difi** (n) lower wing. daun long pul.

elowo (n) animal. abus.

felnde (n) bird. pisin.

felnde bi (n) beak. maus bilong pisin.

**felnde kulka** (n) feather. gras bilong pisin.

felnde lako (n) egg. kiau.

**fer** (n) pig, horse. pik, hos.

fi (n) mosquito. natnat.

gaie (n) feathers. gras bilong pisin.

girsi (n) frog. prok.

gulma (n) mantis or grasshopper. grashopa.

**gwarlako** (n) heart. hat, klok.

kin (n) tail. tel.

kin gala bundu (n) backbone, spine. bun bilong baksait.

kokumbu (n) neck. nek.

kwleya wafu (n) gallbladder. lewa.

**lesu wol** (n) upper wing. antap long pul.

mangur kon (n) millipede. plantihan.

masai (n) comb. kom.

nembe (n) lizard. palai.

om (n) fish. pis.

ringi si (n) cocoon. liklik haus bilong ol katapila.

samdo (n) spider. spaida.

**sifi** (n) ant. anis.

sofo (n) snake. snek.

**su gumbo** (n) tailbone. bun bilong as bilong kakaruk.

**su gumbu** (n) stomach (internal). bel (insait).

**su kur** (n) large intestine. bikpela bel (insait).

**suwa gaia** (n) small intestine. liklik bel (insait).

**suwa gilombo** (n) thigh. antap bilong lek.

tekwle (n) worm. liklik snek.

**umbu** (n) sago grub variety. waitpela snek bilong saksak.

wafu toura (n) spleen. lewa.

wala gusu (n) back of neck. baksait bilong nek.

walko (n) rooster comb, red in color, hibiscus. plaua bilong kakaruk, retpela, kain plaua.

wokra wokra (n) spikes on an animal. ton bilong abus.

### **Body**

**belna** (n) throat. nek.

**bi luku** (n) gums. antap long tit (insait maus).

**bungro a** (v) smash, crunch, chew up completely. *memeim*.

**dimingi** (n) chest. bros.

el (n) penis. kok.

**elombo** (n) lips. arere bilong maus.

gausa (n) shoulder. sol.

ginfa (n) back. baksait.

**ginfa yefa** (n) spine. bun bilong baksait.

gu taku (n) facial hair. gras bilong pes.

gursu (v) cough, sneeze. kus.

**gwoho** (v) shout, animal noise. bikmaus, nois bilong abus.

isuku (n) sneeze, cough, cold (sick). kus.

**kefu** (n) blood. blut.

ki (n) vagina. bokis bilong meri.

kol (n) pit. hul.

**kra** (v) cry. krai.

**ku** (v) give birth, father. karim pikinini.

kukumbu (n) neck. nek.

**kukumbu yefa** (n) back of neck. baksait bilong nek.

**kulka** (n) hair, leaf, insect wing. gras bilong het, lip, han bilong binatang.

**kwete** (n) vomit, clear throat. traut, rausim pipia long nek.

lako (n) eye. ai.

**lako felnde** (n) eyelash. gras bilong ai.

lako musuka (n) eyebrow. gras antap long ai.

lako wando (n) pupil, iris. hap tudak insait long ai.

**landu** (n) bellybutton, umbilical cord, placenta. hul bilong bel, bilum (doti bilong pikinini).

**lesu** (n) hand, arm, finger, handle. han, pinga.

lesu afa (n) thumb. bikpla pinga.

**lesu arma fuyau** (n) middle finger. bikpela pinga namel.

lesu bela (n) forearm. han.

**lesu bor** (n) pointer finger, ring finger. namba wan na tri pinga.

lesu gaien (n) pinkie. liklik pinga.

lesu gausa (n) shoulder. sol.

lesu gisi (n) fingernail. kapa bilong pinga.

lesu gusu (n) joint. skru.

**lesu guwl** (n) elbow. skru bilong han (namel).

lesu lako (n) hand. han.

**lesu om** (n) upper arm. han antap.

**lesu om gumbul** (n) wrist. skru i stap antap long han.

lesu tongo (v) shake hands. sekan.

lesu wafu (n) palm. insait bilong han.

**lesu yokondambe** (n) fist. han i pas.

li (n) sore. sua.

**liki** (n) skin (person or fruit). skin (bilong man o prut).

lunsu (v) pinch. pulim skin namel long tupela pinga.

**mambunge** (n) forehead. poret.

**milifa** (n) side of body. sait bilong bodi.

muwku (n) breast. susu.

nalu (v) pinch. holim strongpela wantaim tupela pinga.

namra (n) ear. ia.

nangu (n) urine. pispis.

nangu fra (v) urinate. qo long pispis.

nau (v) yell, bark (any animal call). singaut, abus singaut.

**nele** (v) become lodged in throat. pasim

ou (v) swallow. daunim.

sel (n) lungs. wait lewa, banis win.

sisi (v) poop. pekpek.

sombo (v) spit. spetim.

**su** (n) entrails, feces, bottom. bel, beksait, pekpek.

**su aye** (n) buttocks. as.

**su baya** (n) waist, kidney. bel, kidni.

**suwa** (n) leg, bottom (bow, kundu drum). lek, aninit (long banara, kundu).

suwa aku tombo (n) ankle. skru bilong lek.

**suwa gisi** (n) toenail, bird's foot. kapa bilong pinga bilong put, put bilong pisin

suwa guwl (n) knee. skru bilong lek.

suwa lako (n) toe. put.

suwa om (n) thigh. antap bilong lek.

suwa wafu (n) heel. baksait bilong lek.

**suwa wurngen** (n) ankle bone. bun bilong skru bilong lek.

ta (v) bite. kaikaim.

take (v) lift or tear out with mouth, insert in roof. kisim wantaim maus, putim i go insait long rup.

**taku** (n) chin, jawbone, bill of bird, edge. wasket, tit bilong pisin, arere.

taku wango (n) cheek. sait bilong pes.

tama meke (n) upper body (chest, back, stomach). bros na bel na baksait.

tanku a (v) bite (a piece off). kaikaim (liklik hap).

tati (v) listen carefully/closely. harim gut.

tausi (v) bite (not chew). kaikaim.

tawul (n) tongue. tang.

telako si (v) spit. spet.

ter wando (n) skull. bun bilong het.

terfa (n) head, highest point (bow, kundu drum). het, antap (bilong banara, kundu).

terfa tisi (v) comb. komim.

**terfa yefa** (n) back of neck. baksait bilong nek.

tikorko (v) hiccup, burp. liklik kus.

tiri lako (n) face. pes.

**tisoro** (v) wake someone up. kirapim.

tongo nele (v) strangle. pasim nek bilong arapela.

uwfu (n) sweat. swet.

wa kwre ya (v) vomit. trautim.

wafu (n) central body part (heart, lungs, liver, palm, sole). hap i stap namel (klok, banis win, lewa, han, fut).

wau (n) stomach (external). bel (ausait). wauk na (v) be pregnant. karim pikinini. wilingi (n) nose. nus.

wilingi siki (n) nostril. hul bilong nus. wurngen (n) vein. rop long han.

yefa (n) bone, muscle, firm support (as in plants). bun, mit, strongpela sapot (bilong ol diwai).

yomar (v) yawn, be tired. han i pas.
yomo (n) scrotum. basket bilong man.

### **Carry**

**fana** (v) carry a child in a sling. karim pikinini long rop.

**feke** (v) lay out on top, carry on top of head. karim antap long het.

hoi (v) hold tight. holim gut.

**okwre** (v) carry child on back, legs around neck. karim pikinini long baksait, ol lek bilong em raunim nek.

tisi (v) carry on top of shoulder/in mouth (animals). karim antap long sol/long maus (ol abus).

**tokmbo** (v) carry around shoulder (like a bilum/net bag). karim long sol (olsem bilum).

tongo (v) hold. holim.

**tukta** (v) carry around head (suspended from forehead by rope). karim long het (long rop i hangamap long poret).

wakre (v) wear around neck (child with arms around neck, necklace), climb on (inan.). werim i go long nek (pikinini long baksait, bis), kalap long.

**yembu** (v) cradle in hands. holim long tupela han.

### Clean

da (v) scrub: wash or dry (self). rabim (waswas, draim).

eme ale (v) clean a place up. klinim graun.

gru ou ako ou (v) sweep. brumim.

kom ale (v) prepare area. stretim ples.

numbu (v) tidy, straighten up, fall (leaves).
stretim, klinim, pundaun (ol lip).

okto (v) wash hands. wasim ol han.

rumba (v) remove st with hands (esp. dirt), scrape away. rausim ss wantaim ol han (graun).

**sumba** (v) clean things, naked. samting i klin, as nating.

wiyi (v) wash face or body. wasim pes o bodi.

#### Cook

a (v) eat, drink. kaikai, dring.

a belna (v) drink. dring.

a nuwa (v) feed. givim kaikai.

**fasu** (v) cook on a fire wrapped in a leaf. kukim insait lip long paia.

gam (v) pour. kapsaitim.

**go** (v) ignite fire for cooking. *laitim paia* bilong kuk.

gwasi (v) peel (banana), remove skin (yam). rausim skin (bilong banana, yam, mami).

kisi (v) boil (trans). boilim.

**kware** (v) smoke or dry fish. pis i smokim o draim pinis.

**lisi** (v) burn, cook in or over fire. kukim long paia.

**okwe** (v) ripe, sapling/shoot. kamap mau, liklik diwai.

**sa** (v) for water to begin to boil. wara i stat long boilim.

si (v) fetch water. kisim wara.

**sun go** (v) extinguish, go out. *mekim paia i* dai, paia (yet) i dai.

talma (v) light a fire with kindling. laitim paia wantaim ol liklik stik.

**u** (v) cook, begin to boil (intr), glow. kukim, wara i boil.

yokwle (v) spoil. bagarap.

**yomne** (v) finish (food, work etc.). *pinisim* (kaikai, wok).

#### Cut

**bona** (v) remove fruit-bearing banana stem, yank branch to cut it. katim han i gat banana long en.

buta (v) break bamboo. brukim mambu.der (v) cut open lengthwise. katim longpela

**flate** (v) break a vine. brukim rop.

**gu** (v) cut out, split sago. katim na rausim, katim saksak.

**gulfu** (v) cut in half, chop repeatedly. hapim, katim planti taim.

**kute** (v) slice, cut (grass, flowers). katim (gras, plaua).

kwini (v) chop firewood. katim paiawut.

**kwiyi** (v) cut (esp. deeply), cut cane grass. katim (bikpela), katim pitpit.

nate (v) pull up grass, weed with knife. pulim gras, katim gras.

**oro** (v) chop (break in half), cut bananas. katim (haphapim), katim banana.

**sere** (v) break into pieces. brukim i go long planti hap.

**siri sere** (v) break into pieces. brukim long planti hap.

**sure** (v) break, fall (of a tree). katim, diwai pundaun.

tafa (v) break, cut open coconut. brukim, opim kokonas.

tahu (v) remove a section of wood. rausim hap diwai.

tanku (v) cut a rope, chop, break down a house. katim rop, brukim haus olgeta.

ti wuta ta wuta (v) bite and break skin. kaikaim na brukim skin.

tongo sere (v) break with hands. brukim wantaim ol han.

**tufa** (v) remove caterpillars (from tree bark). rausim ol katapila (long skin diwai).

wuta (v) cut in pieces, split lengthwise. katim long planti hap, ripim.

#### **Environment**

afla (n) river (medium). wara.

afla taku (n) shore. nambis.

alingi (n) grassy area at edge of village. gras long arere bilong ples.

**arko** (n) rock, shell, money, file. ston, sel, mani.

bre (n) landslide. graun i pundaun.

bre du (n) landslide. graun i pundaun.

**bulmu** (n) lake, swamp. raunwara, ples tais

**bundu** (n) slope, ridge. liklik maunten, kilrot

dunsu (n) valley. ples daun.

embleo (n) mountain. maunten.

**embleo kahamender** (n) cliff, rough mountain. hap maunten i go daun.

esoko (n) dew. wara long gras.

fame (n) river (large). bikplela wara.

fangi (n) river (small). liklik wara.

**fel mango** (n) center of singsing area or of swamp. namel long singsing o ples tais.

fru eme (n) valley. ples daun.

gwa (n) fog. sno.

**kifal** (n) wind. win.

**kin** (n) last, end, youngest child, top of banana. diwai i pundaun pinis.

kurna (n) dusk. klostu tudak.

**loko** (n) rain. ren.

loko kifal (n) storm. bikwin.

**lu** (n) mountain (range). planti maunten.

mau (n) thick jungle. bikbus.

nambul (n) sun. san.

nambul war (n) west. sandaun.

nambul wuya (n) east, sunrise. is (hap san i kamap).

nekwa (n) moon, month. mun.

nul (n) sky, cloud. skai, klaut.

**numblangan** (n) thunder, lightning. lait bilong klaut, klaut i pairap.

oku brara (n) waterfall. wara i kalap.

**oku tol** (n) upstream. long hap wara i stat.

rengongo (n) natural pool (in rock). liklik raunwara (i stap long ston).

rombo (n) rotten wood, stump. diwai sting.

sul (n) ground, brown. graun, braun.

**sul foko** (n) mud, dust, dirt. graun malumalu, dus, graun.

sul kurkur (n) dirt. graun.

**tele** (n) outcropping, sheer rock. hap ston i kamaut long maunten.

tenge (n) branch. han diwai.

ti (n) flood. haiwara.

ware (n) star. sta.

weke somo (n) clay shards. liklik hap strongpela graun.

wula (n) jungle (bush). bus.

yikwa gan (n) beach. nambis.

yikwa oku (n) ocean water. solwara.

**yinawe** (n) earthquake. guria.

# **Feeling**

a siri (v) be hungry. hangri.

ambasu (v) forget. lusim tingting.

er aku (v) be afraid of. pret long.

**hiki** (v) remember, think, know. ting.

mana (v) not want, not feel like, divorce. no laik, brukim marit.

mesu (v) touch, feel, hear. harim, pilim.

**ni** (v) see. lukim.

**nime** (v) not be able to. no inap long.

**sengu** (v) be angry, frown. *mekim pes tudak, belhat*.

soro (v) regret, be upset. sori.

wafu hiki (v) love. laikim.

**yombo mesu** (v) feel like. tingting strong (long samting).

#### **Food**

ekaa (n) food. kaikai.

fi (n) milk. susu.

kukwe (n) fat, cooking oil. gris.

kur su (n) ash. sit bilong paia.

nanglu (n) greens. kumu.

nausu (n) gum. blut bilong diwai, gam.

**nu** (n) garden. gaden.

**oku** (n) water, watery sap. wara, wara bilong diwai.

oku siki (n) water well. hul wara.

**ongwa bor** (n) garden where all food is gone. olpela gaden.

**suwa bow turari** (n) partially ripe coconut (beginning to dry). kokonas (drai).

**suwa fi** (n) coconut milk. wara bilong kokonas.

suwa meke (n) coconut meat. kopra.

yikwa (n) salt. sol.

**yingwe** (n) coconut shell (large), plate, bowl. sel kokonas (bikpela), plet.

#### Go

**aku** (v) go home, go back. go long haus, go bek.

**barna** (v) wander. wokabaut nating.

**blele ka i** (v) spread along the ground, go everywhere. surik i karamapim graun, go long olgeta hap.

**bou** (v) emerge. kam ausait.

i (v) go away. qo.

**kina** (v) come after, behind. kam behain.

na (v) go by, be at, become, to function. go long, stap long, wokim.

**ser** (v) go first. go pastaim.

war (v) go down, rub (on skin). go daun, rabim (long skin).

wate (v) for rain to fall. ren i pundaun.

wi (v) go up, pick a coconut. go antap, kisim kokonas.

wra (v) come in, go out. kam insait, go ausait.

wuwr (v) go outside. go ausait.

wuya (v) come up. kam antap.

ya (v) come. kam.

yiri (v) come down, fall. pundaun, kam daun.

#### House

aka (n) house. haus.

**aka ari** (n) space under house. hap aninit long haus.

**aka bam** (n) support beam for bottom of roof. bim i stap aninit long rup.

aka dulu (n) fence. banis.

aka ekaa (n) kitchen house. haus bilong kuk

**aka galwo** (n) weaving pattern for walls. flain.

aka guw (n) roof (apex). rup.

**aka kulu** (n) door, area in front of house. dua, arere long haus.

aka lewe (n) wall. banis.

arko sunngu (n) stove stones. ol ston bilong stov.

**asama** (n) type of edible leafy green. kain kumu.

**au** (n) small clay pot, metal pot, dirt used to make clay pot. sospen, liklik sospen graun, graun bilong wokim.

**au tembe** (n) shelf. liklik bris, bet long ol plet.

dulu (n) wall. banis (skin bilong haus).

**felnde aka** (n) bird blind. haus long painim ol pisin.

**garfu** (n) clay pot (large size for sago). sospen graun (bikpela bilong saksak).

**kroro guw** (n) support bamboo for roof apex. bim (mambu) i stap antap long rup.

**kukwe** (n) fat (used as cooking oil). gris bilong kuk (olsem wel).

**luku grafa** (n) yard or garden waste. pipia bilong gaden.

simba (n) post. pos.

**simba bor** (n) central house post. bikplela pos long haus.

**simba selwando** (n) short outer wall posts for roof overhang. *liklik pos bilong* ausait long sapotim rup.

**sul awa** (n) boundary marker. tanget long makim graun.

**sunngu** (n) stove. stov.

**tembe** (n) bed, bench, table. bet, bens, tebol.

**tuku tuku** (n) support crossbeam under floor. bim long sapotim aninit.

wal aka dumbu (n) sago shed. liklik haus bilong saksak.

wursu (n) fence. banis.

#### Move

**boro boro** (v) pull up, rope used to lift. pulim i go antap, rop long apim.

dingei tii (v) push. sakim.

eku tii (v) get rid of. tromoi.

**faina** (v) drop, miss (a shot). *larim em pundaun, abrusim*.

gam tii (v) spill, wipe away. larim em pundaun.

**gru fiti** (v) pile dirt over, remove topsoil. karamapim wantaim graun, rausim graun.

gur (v) tie, wrap around. pasim gut.

kirfi (v) cross. brukim (wara).

kusu (v) chase. ranim.

kuwsu (v) close (door). pasim dua.

late (v) open a door or window. opim dua o windo.

**lau** (v) spread flat, lay out. *slipim long graun*.

**lendo** (v) hide, cover (esp. with a leaf). hait, karamapim (wantaim lip).

lisi (v) drag, pull. pulim long graun.

**noko rete** (v) return st to its place. surikim.

rii (v) remain, usually (do st). stap long wanpela hap, save long (mekim ss).

**saro** (v) arrange, sort, organize. redim, stretim.

**sauwro** (v) remove everything from a house. rausim olgeta samting long haus.

**semra** (v) pull up (plants). kamautim (ol sayor).

**sokwe** (v) untie, unstring bow. *lusim* (rop, banara).

taki (v) tie to carry. pasim (rop) long karim. tii (v) throw away, brush away. tromoi.

**tikir na** (v) move quickly out of the way. i go hariap.

tikte (v) cover, hide. karamapim, haitim.

tilse (v) fall, drop, pull out. larim em pundaun, rausim.

tingwara (v) push a person down or out (esp. hard). sakim man i go daun.

tongo lisi (v) drag away. pulim long graun.

**tori** (v) look down, throw down, lower. *lukim daun, tromoim daun, daunim.* 

towi (v) stack, hold up. hipim, holim.

**towur** (v) throw down/back. tromoi daun.

**tu** (v) put inside (hole, etc.), swing axe. putim i go insait (hul), holim tamiok.

tunbu (v) shake. seksekim.

**tuwra** (v) throw down, throw out. *tromoi i* go daun, rausim.

tuyal (v) throw straight. tromoim stret.

wanda (v) open a basket or net bag. opim basket o bilum.

wosu (v) pull, pull down (of vines). kisim ol rop.

wungusu (v) tie a knot. pasim.

**wusor** (v) shake, dump out (as to empty). surikim hariap, kapsaitim.

yilo (v) cover (self). karamapim (man yet).

#### **Pick**

**kur** (v) pick (bali). kisim (aibika). **kuw** (v) collect (Mini or Same). k

**kuw** (v) collect (Mini or Same). kisim na bungim (buai o ton).

**ruku** (v) pick ripe bananas individually. kisim wanwan ol banana mau.

sa (v) dig (yam). kisim (yam).

tulku (v) pluck (fruit/seeds). kisim prut.

yoso (v) pluck out (spear, taro). rausim (spia, taro).

### **Plants**

al (n) taro (kind of tuber). taro.

ama (n) bamboo. mambu.

awa (n) flower. plaua.

**baye** (n) grass. gras long arere bilong ples.

bir (n) dry frond shaft. han saksak.

**bongo** (n) place where branch emerges from trunk. han i kam ausait long diwai

**fiti** (v) cover a hole with dirt. karamapim, planim kokonas.

gala (n) twig, thin stick. liklik stik.

galmbon (n) sago bark. skin long saksak.

**galwo** (n) bark from live sago. pangal saksak.

**gel** (n) branch (with a fork). han bilong diwai (i gat tupela hap).

**grembu** (n) frond branch (hard interior portion). han bilong diwai.

gu (n) young leaf or frond. kru.

kaku (n) mami (tuber similar to yam). mami

**kokoma** (n) stick, short and thick for throwing. stik, liklik long tromoi.

kufu (n) rope, vine, lineage. rop, lain.

**kumba** (n) leaf. lip.

**kumba okwe** (n) dead leaf. lip i drai pinis.

kundu (n) stump. liklik diwai.

**kwasi** (n) peel (of banana). rausim skin banana.

**lungutu** (n) dry leaves. lip i drai pinis.

**mu** (n) tree, wood, branch. diwai, han diwai.

mu gwra (n) small branches. liklik han diwai.

mu liki (n) tree bark. skin diwai.

mu nambi (n) root. as, rop.

mu tenge (n) branch. han diwai.

mu yen (n) bush (shrub). liklik diwai.

mu yengla (n) branch. han diwai.

naku (n) sago. saksak.

safran (n) ring on a stem where fruit emerges (banana or Same). raunpela hap bilong stik i gat prut (banana/ton).

**sauwa** (n) coconut bark used as seive. skin diwai long mekim strena.

sengeta (n) skin of yam etc.. skin yam.

sirka (n) leaf or frond. lip.

**sirka bungu** (n) spine of large leaf. nil bilong bikpela lip.

**sirka melulu** (*n*) thorn on frond. *ton long lip.* **suwa** (*n*) coconut. *kokonas*.

suwa fan (n) coconut sapling. kuru.

suwa gumbo (n) green coconut. kulau.

**suwa solka** (n) dry coconut, used in cooking. drai kokonas.

**suwa wangwarama** (n) coconut stem. *stik* bilong lip bilong kokonas.

**suwa yel** (n) shoot of coconut. kuru, pikinini kokonas (long planim).

**suwa yomo** (n) solid interior of coconut after shoot has emerged. *insait bilong* kokonas taim liklik diwai i kam ausait.

**tikwasa** (n) dry coconut frond used as a torch (large). bombom (bikpela).

**toko** (v) dig with a stick (esp. to plant pitpit, taro, banana). digim wantaim stik (long plainim pitpit, taro, banana).

**tuku** (v) plant stick-like object (esp. sago). planim stik (olsem saksak).

uwku (n) sugar cane. suga.

walndo (n) yam. yam.

wando (n) thick shell (beetle, cap on insect, coconut, egg). bikpela sel (binatang, kokonas, kiau).

wi (v) drop into a hole (to plant yam or mami). planim yam o mami.

wursa (n) bark of sago palm. skin saksak. yam (n) banana. banana.

yam kino (n) banana heart, infloresence. hat bilong banana.

yar taka (n) double leaf split apart. lip i gat tupela hap.

#### **Posture**

**brena aku** (v) fly away, scatter. *plai,* tromoim nabaut.

**bruru** (v) fly. plai.

**butu** (v) make a fist, punch, put hands together. brukim han, paitim.

fa (v) swim. swim.

gir gir (v) slide, slither. surik olsem snek.

**gusu** (v) tie, bend in half. pasim, krungutim long hap.

**hongo** (v) put into a hole/loop to carry, set in a frame. putim insait long hul long karim.

**kla** (v) clean area to prepare to cut down a tree. klinim graun long redim long katim diwai.

**kroro** (v) crawl (centipedes, snails...). wokabaut long bel.

kufu nele (v) hang. hangamap.

**kwre** (v) hang something. hangamapim.

lili (v) hang. hangamapim.

**maindi** (v) put head down. daunim het i stap.

rusu (v) sit, settle. sindaun.

**sau susu** (v) stand up. sanap.

**sukna** (v) sleep, lie down, placed in a flat position. *silip, sindaun, putim i go olsem*.

**sukrate** (v) trip. pundaun.

**sumbu** (v) follow. behainim.

**susu** (v) be standing up. sanap.

titi (v) run. ran.

yirfi (v) fall. pundaun.

#### Put

**liti** (v) fill with water. pulapim wantaim wara.

loko (v) open bag (bilum). opim bilum.

noko (v) collect or gather small objects.kisim na bungim ol liklik samting.ra (v) collect, gather, get. kisim na bungim.rete (v) put. putim.

### Sago

ama gwalsa (n) tongs. stik long holim kaikai.
dorko (v) scrape sago, pound ground (with stick). sikarapim saksak, paitim graun (wantaim stik).

**gila** (n) large stick (often for stirring sago jelly). bikpela stik (long miksim saksak).

**gowen** (n) bark from old sago. pangal bilong olpela saksak.

**kwai kwai** (n) small sticks for turning sago jelly. *liklik stik long tanim saksak*.

**lu** (v) mix (into sago powder,) roll together, rotate. tanim sampela samting i go long saksak, tanim.

naku ama yalwun (n) sago hammer. skrap bilong saksak.

naku bir (n) dry sago branch. han saksak i drai.

**naku bormborsa** (n) sago stem, used for decorations. bilas long saksak.

**naku bungu** (n) young/small sago palm. nupela diwai saksak.

naku fraim (n) sago pancake. saksak fraim.
naku sun (n) sago powder. paura bilong
 saksak.

naku sun kuwa (n) washed sago powder, cast off. saksak i was pinis.

**naku wursa** (n) sago trunk that has been scraped. diwai saksak i sikarap pinis.

naku yofu (n) sago bedding, for strained sago. bet long saksak (taim i was pinis).

**ou** (v) gather solids (esp. sago). bungim sampela samting (olsem saksak).

romo (v) rub (sago). rabim (saksak).

sai (n) basket for storing sago. basket long holim saksak.

si (v) wash sago. wasim saksak.

**siri** (v) for jelly to harden. saksak i kamap strong.

**sokwro** (v) stir hardened sago jelly. taintainim saksak i strong pinis.

**sufuw** (v) stir sago liquid. tainim saksak.

tafirsa (v) remove sago/coconut leaves. kisim ol lip bilong diwai kokonas o saksak.

tawo (v) turn sago. taintainim saksak.

**touso** (v) remove frond from stem, split frond in half. rausim ol lip bilong sakak o kokonas, hapim lip.

wutu (n) sago chute (for washing sago), sago branch. bet long wasim saksak, han bilong saksak.

wutu (n) felled sago stump. diwai saksak i pundaun pinis.

**yalwun** (n) sago scraping tool. skrap bilong saksak.

## **Sharp**

kon (v) sharpen knife. sapim naip.kulko (v) scrape wood (as in sandpaper).sikarapim diwai.

tarmbo (v) sharpen bone or spear. sapim bun o spia.

#### Talk

eloko (v) tell. tokim.

er (v) speak. tok.

hokwa kete (v) sing. sing.

**isi** (v) animal vocalization, call out. abus i singaut.

nali (v) laugh, smile. lap.

tolo (v) say, tell. tok, spik.

#### **Time**

dana (n) daybreak. san i kamap.

karwi (n) morning. moning.

mur (n) three days from now, three days ago. behain long tripela de, tripela de i go pinis.

ningre (n) today, day. tude.

nu asama (n) year. yia.

**nurku** (n) night, darkness. nait, tudak.

**tukur** (n) four days from now, four days ago. behain long foapela de, foapela de i go pinis.

worfa (n) afternoon. apinun.

woro (n) tomorrow. tumora.

yaki (n) two days ago. tu de i go pinis.

yale (n) yesterday. asde.

yim (n) two days from now. behain long tupela de.

#### Tool

arma (n) bow. banara.

**bermun** (n) ferns used to decorate spear. ol pulpul i go antap long spia.

**dofo** (n) tie a knot (in fabric). mekim buk.

**dulsan** (n) basket made from bamboo. basket long mambu.

**duwan** (n) limbum (palm used for construction). limbum.

**duwan nawa** (n) limbum basket. limbum basket.

**duwan yenbun** (n) limbum (palm bark) bucket. basket long limbum.

**felnde afu mai** (n) cassowary bone used as a needle. bun bilong muruk long wokim hul.

fi (n) spear. spia.

gil (n) ceremonial pole used for payment of bride price. longpela diwai long bikpela bung i mekim long baim meri.

**gome fa mu** (n) axe handle. stik bilong tamiok.

gome faa (n) metal axe. tamiok long ain.

**gramba** (n) stick for planting. stik long brukim graun.

**guwsu** (n) razor. resa.

**gwalsa** (n) clothespin. samting long pasim klos.

gwesai i (n) dressings. ol laplap.

kur bombo (n) airplane. balus.

lam (n) arrow, thorn. spia (bilong banara).lam bendu (n) sago arrowtip. spia long saksak.

**mango** (n) support stick for plants. stik long apim diwai, sayor.

masi dondo (n) broom. brum.

mau liki (n) cloth. laplap.

mengu (n) small, traditional drum. kundu.

**molkon** (n) penis sheath (shell). sel long karamapim kok.

**mu sermba** (n) stick used to play garamut. skik long paitim garamut.

**or** (n) traditional net bag, neck pouch. bilum, bilum bilong nek.

osai (n) dressings for singsing. ol laplap bilong singsing.

sanglu (n) dry banana leaf, paper, book. banana lip i drai pinis, pepa, buk.

**sangwa yamba** (n) stick used for fighting. stik long pait.

sara (n) basket. basket.

sul bombo (n) motor vehicle. ka.

**ter gila** (n) clothes, dressing. ol laplap.

wanga lako (n) necklace. bis.

waran (n) grass skirt. purpur.

wisiki (n) armband. bilas bilong singsing (i go long han).

wur (n) stone axe. tamiok long ston.

**yen kufu** (n) sling to carry child. rop long karim pikinini.

**yirkwe** (n) bush knife. busnaip.

### Appendix G: Personal Name Index

The following table lists all the attested names and name forms in alphabetical order (see §9.7). The key below explains the different columns in the table, along with the codes used to show the derivation of forms of both *sir kaha* and *sir nalingi*.

#### <u>KEY</u>

#### Columns in the Table:

Name any form of a name, listed in alphabetical order

Name Type given, kaha or nalingi (along with the given name it belongs to)

Change (see lists below)

Composition a morphological breakdown, when possible

WS a whistle or song exists (only for given names, see Appendix H)

#### Change Types for Sir Nalingi:

FULL the *nalingi* is entirely compositional Only half of the *nalingi* is compositional NONE no part of the *nalingi* has a meaning

RDP the *nalingi* has two identical parts (reduplicated)

? there is not enough information

#### Change Types for Sir Kaha:

CHNG one morpheme of the name is changed to an unrelated morph

PHON the *kaha* is dervied from a phonological change

ADD a morpheme is added to create the kaha

THM one morpheme of the name is replaced with a related morph

RECIP the *kaha* form is identical to a different given name

SUP the *kaha* form is suppletive

Name	Name Type	Change	Composition	ws
Afakra	Given Name		(afa + kra) 'father cries'	
Afatimba	Given Name		(afa + timba) 'fatherless'	W
	Kaha for Nawatimba	RECIP	(nawa → afa)	
Afenumbo	Nalingi for Fingrau	NONE		
	Nalingi for Wafukaha	NONE		
Afkombon	Nalingi for Sulkra	PART	(afko + ?)	
Afkominga	Given Name		(afko + minga) 'old dance'	
Afkosiya	Nalingi for Fawi	PART	(afko + si + ya) 'old come gather'	
	Nalingi for Okwando	PART	(afko + si + ya) 'old come gather'	
	Nalingi for Wasune	PART	(afko + si + ya) 'old come gather'	
	Nalingi for Yuwarho	PART	(afko + si + ya) 'old come gather'	
Aflatawa	Given Name		(afla + tawa) 'river woman'	WS
Aflawosu	Given Name		(afla + wosu) 'pull vines by the river'	
Afunanki	Nalingi for Wolo	PART	(afu + ?)	
Aiklando	Nalingi for Yala	NONE		
Ainambo	Given Name		(? + nambo)	W
Akanawe	Given Name		(aka + nawe) 'always in the house'	W
Akanumba	Given Name		(aka + numba) 'last house'	WS
Akasingla	Given Name		(aka + ?)	WS
Akatanku	Given Name		(aka + tanku) 'break the house down'	
Akayawo	Given Name		(aka + yawo) 'look up at the house'	
Akwleya	Given Name		(a + kwleya) 'spicy food'	WS
Alembe	Given Name		(al + ?)	WS
Alnawe	Kaha for Anawe	THM	(a $\rightarrow$ al) 'just taro'	
Amaama	Nalingi for Wambenga	RDP	(ama + ama) 'bamboo'	
Ambai	Given Name			
Ambamunal	Nalingi for Walakasi	NONE		
Ambasu	Given Name		(ambasu) 'forget'	
Ambongo	Given Name		(a + bongo) 'eat at the branch'	W
Ambou	Given Name		(a + bou) 'dry food'	WS
Ambur	Given Name			
Amekle	Nalingi for Walaka	?		
Amkwandai	Nalingi for Akasingla	?		
Anawe	Given Name		(a + nawe) 'always eating'	WS
Anele	Given Name		(a + nele) 'stuck in the throat'	WS
Angawur	Kaha for Yakawur	CHNG	(yaka → anga) 'come inside quickly'	
Ari	Given Name		(ari + ?) 'underneath'	WS
Ariongo	Kaha for Sirongo	CHNG	(sir → ari) 'be underneath something?'	
Arkulasi	Given Name		(arko + lasi) 'two stones'	W
Asamalaka	Nalingi for Nanduma	FULL	(asama + laka) 'first garden?'	
	Nalingi for Wasei	FULL	(asama + laka) 'first garden?'	

Name	Name Type	Change	Composition	WS
Atamengu	Kaha for Ataminga	PHON	(minga → mengu)	
Ataminga	Given Name		(ata + minga) 'ancestor dance'	W
Atenge	Given Name		(a + tenge) 'eat heated food'	
Au	Given Name		(au) 'pot'	
Awalaki	Given Name		(awa + ?)	WS
Awanal	Nalingi for Mamtimba	PART	(awa + ?)	
	Nalingi for Mawala	PART	(awa + ?)	
Awanoko	Kaha for Numbanoko	CHNG	(numba → awa) 'collect flowers'	
Awasula	Nalingi for Salngiwi	PART	(awa + ?)	
Awele	Nalingi for Anawe	FULL	(a + wele) 'eat everything'	
Bayanuku	Nalingi for Kuwam	PART	(? + nuku)	
Bankufo	Nalingi for Anele	NONE		
Bankufu	Nalingi for Yakawur	PART	(? + kufu)	
Bankusau	Nalingi for Afakra	PART	(? + sau)	
	Nalingi for Komtalmbu	PART	(? + sau)	
	Nalingi for Kufunele	PART	(? + sau)	
Bansu	Given Name			
Bonsiwakra	Kaha for Bonwakra	ADD	(? → + si +)	
Bonwakra	Given Name		(? + kra)	WS
Dauafe	Given Name			
Daundau	Nalingi for Yuhu	RDP	(dau + dau)	
Dosolka	Kaha for Noso	SUP	(? → ?)	
Dotu	Given Name			
Dulembaiye	Given Name		(dule + baiye) 'nettle grass'	
Duro	Given Name	•••••		
Eltengu	Given Name			
Fanangimbai	Nalingi for Akayauwo	PART	(fana + ?)	
Fangaata	Given Name		(? + ata) 'biggest ?'	
Fangitawa	Kaha for Aflatawa	THM	(afla → fangi) 'creek woman'	
Fanuku	Given Name		(fa + nuku) 'swim and search'	
Fawi	Given Name		(fawi + ?) 'Fawi bird'	
Felndekoule	Kaha for Koule	ADD	(? → felnde +) 'Koule bird'	
Felndemanwi	Given Name	•••••	(felnde + manwi) 'Manwi bird'	
Felndewar	Given Name		(felnde + war) 'wild foul'	
Ferfer	Nalingi for Mingayauwo	RDP	(fer + fer) 'pigs'	
Feroku	Kaha for Omoku	THM	(om → fer) 'pig water'	
Fingrau	Given Name		(fi + ?)	WS
Flesuma	Nalingi for Aflatawa	FULL	(fle + suma) 'find your voice'	
Galaklei	Given Name		(gala + klei) 'twig'	W
Gurmbumele	Nalingi for Wanembuka	PART	(? + mele)	
Gurmbusalai	Nalingi for Awalaki	?		

Name	Name Type	Change	Composition	WS
Gwasiyawar	Nalingi for Kahafi	PART	(gwasi + ya + war) 'come for pepper'	
	Nalingi for Namtane	PART	(gwasi + ya + war) 'come for pepper'	
	Nalingi for Wafukaha	PART	(gwasi + ya + war) 'come for pepper'	
Haulai	Given Name			WS
Hauwele	Nalingi for Tamasombo	FULL	(hau + wele) 'yell out about everything?'	
Herngin	Kaha for Yowu	SUP	(? → ?)	
Kahafi	Given Name		(kaha + afi) 'bad fight'	W
Kahangu	Given Name		(kaha + gu) 'split sago poorly'	
Kambaroho	Given Name			
Kewran	Given Name			WS
Kiyanuku	Nalingi for Wangu	PART	(? + nuku)	
	Nalingi for Wangukra	PART	(? + nuku)	
Klaiuku	Nalingi for Wansana	PART	(? + uku)	
Kleitoko	Nalingi for Nurkuminga	FULL	(klei + toko) 'and then plant'	
Kleiwormbo	Nalingi for Arkulasi	PART	(klei + ?)	
Komblau	Given Name		(kom + ?) 'village'	W
Komboman	Nalingi for Masine	NONE		
Komsere	Given Name		(kom + sere) 'village trading partner'	
Komtalmbu	Given Name		(kom + ?)	W
Kondowai	Nalingi for Tawayenbor	PART	(? + wai)	
Kornginal	Nalingi for Wunum	NONE		
Koule	Given Name		(koule + ?) 'Koule bird'	WS
Krafoyen	Nalingi for Ombla	FULL	(krafo + yen) 'clan name'	
Krefukwa	Given Name			
Kufunele	Given Name		(kufu + nele) 'hang by rope'	W
Kumbun	Given Name			WS
Kumbuwon	Given Name		(? + won)	W
Kuwam	Given Name		(kuwam + ?) 'too ripe (pl)'	W
Kwaika	Nalingi for Nawatimba	SUP		
Kwaikamele	Nalingi for Alembe	PART	(? + mele)	
	Nalingi for Komblau	PART	(? + mele)	
	Nalingi for Koule	PART	(? + mele)	
	Nalingi for Wasumande	PART	(? + mele)	
Kwaindayofu	Nalingi for Mirin	FULL	(kwainda + yofu) 'bedding of kwainda'	
Kwalokufka	Nalingi for Ari	SUP	(? → ?)	
Kwalonuku	Nalingi for Wambone	PART	(? + nuku)	
Kwalosu	Nalingi for Wanisoro	NONE		
Kwaraunuku	Nalingi for Kewran	PART	(? + nuku)	
Kwarklofo	Nalingi for Omoku	NONE		
	Nalingi for Yakwaro	NONE		
Kwarnangi	Nalingi for Haulai	NONE		

Name	Name Type	Change	Composition	WS
	Nalingi for Samangal	NONE		
	Nalingi for Ule	NONE		
	Nalingi for Yowu	NONE		
Kwasuma	Nalingi for Wulakufe	NONE		
Lakwiytawa	Nalingi for Akanawe	FULL	(lakwiyi + tawa) 'only child (female)'	
Lamgrau	Kaha for Fingrau	THM	(fi → lam)	
Lamne	Given Name		(lam + ne) 'arrow at you'	
Lesusure	Given Name		(lesu + sere) 'break with hands'	
Lokowai	Given Name		(loko + wai) 'rain!'	W
Lutuwar	Given Name		(lu + tuwar) 'go down the mountains'	WS
Malaai	Kaha for Owai	PHON	(o → mala)	
Mambal	Nalingi for Tamalako	NONE		
Mamtimba	Given Name		(mam + timba) 'no (maternal) uncle'	WS
Manbominga	Given Name		(manbo + minga) 'dance at Manbo tree'	
Mandero	Given Name			WS
Mangamele	Nalingi for Numbanoko	PART	(? + mele)	
Manguryauwo	Kaha for Akayauwo	CHNG	(aka → mangur)	
Manikou	Nalingi for Ainambo	NONE		
	Nalingi for Wanaku	NONE		
	Nalingi for Yimauwun	NONE		
Manwasu	Kaha for Lokowai	SUP	(? → ?)	
Manyofo	Nalingi for Lokowai	SUP	(? → ?)	
Markotuwar	Kaha for Lutuwar	CHNG	(lu → marko)	
Marwle	Kaha for Ule	CHNG	(u → maru?)	
Masi	Given Name		(masi + ?) 'Masi tree'	WS
Masiklei	Nalingi for Mandero	FULL	(masi + klei) 'and then a Masi tree'	
	Nalingi for Sirongo	FULL	(masi + klei) 'and then a Masi tree'	
Masikwesu	Nalingi for Wulakufe	FULL	(masi + kwesu) 'yellow Masi tree'	
Masimbor	Given Name		(masi + mbor) 'in between two Masi	WS
			trees'	
Masinawe	Given Name		(masi + nawe) 'just a Masi tree'	
Masine	Given Name		(masi + ne?)	
Masiowe	Kaha for Masine	CHNG	(ne → owe) 'Masi caterpillar'	
Maurelasi	Kaha for Arkulasi	CHNG	(arko → maure) 'two ancestors'	
Maurenawe	Kaha for Akanawe	CHNG	(aka → maure) 'only an ancestor'	
Maurenele	Kaha for Kufunele	CHNG	(kufu → maure) 'hung by an ancestor?'	
Mauresofo	Given Name		(maure + sofo) 'ancestor snake'	
Maurewule	Nalingi for Wulane	PART	(maure + ?)	
Mawala	Given Name		(? + wala)	
Mehelaka	Nalingi for Yefane	PART	(? + laka)	
Meleroho	Given Name		(mele + ?)	

Name	Name Type	Change	Composition	WS
Mersafo	Nalingi for Waimbango	NONE		
Mesulaka	Nalingi for Yeklene	FULL	(mesu + laka) 'feel important'	
Mingayawo	Given Name		(minga + yawo) 'look up at the party'	
Mirin	Given Name			
Mirlu	Given Name			
Mokomele	Nalingi for Wapai	FULL	(moko + mele) 'many galip nuts'	
Mulai	Kaha for Haulai	CHNG	(hau → mu)	
Mulumawala	Kaha for Mawala	ADD	(? → mulu +) 'Mawala rat'	
Mumbongo	Kaha for Ambongo	THM	(a → mu) 'where branch comes out'	
Muri	Kaha for Ari	CHNG	(a → mu)	
Mute	Given Name		(mu + te?)	
Nakaafi	Kaha for Kahafi	CHNG	(kaha → naka) 'and fight'	
Nakuengle	Kaha for Warengle	CHNG	(war → naku) 'sago spell'	
Nakukaha	Kaha for Wafukaha	CHNG	(wafu → naku) 'bad sago'	
Nakuklei	Kaha for Galaklei	RECIP	(gala → naku)	
Nakukra	Kaha for Sulkra	CHNG	(sul → naku) 'sago cry'	
Nakukufe	Kaha for Wulakufe	THM	(wula → naku) 'good sago'	
Nakulisi	Kaha for Tongolisi	CHNG	(tongo → naku) 'cook sago'	
Nakumande	Kaha for Wasumande	CHNG	(wasu → naku)	
Nakumbenga	Kaha for Wambenga	CHNG	(wa → naku)	
Nakumblau	Kaha for Komblau	CHNG	(kom → naku)	
Nakumbongo	Kaha for Ambongo	THM	(a $\rightarrow$ naku) 'where branch comes out'	
Nakumbukwa	Kaha for Wanembuka	CHNG	(wane → naku)	
Nakune	Kaha for Wambone	CHNG	(wambo → naku)	
	Kaha for Wulane	CHNG	(wula → naku) 'just sago?'	
	Kaha for Yeklene	CHNG	(yekle → naku) 'just sago?'	
Nakusamai	Nalingi for Sametenge	FULL	(naku + sa + mai) 'dig sago w/bone'	
Nakusamba	Kaha for Yimansamba	CHNG	(yiman → naku) 'big sago'	
Nakusingla	Kaha for Akasingla	CHNG	(aka → naku)	
Nakutalmbu	Kaha for Komtalmbu	CHNG	(kom → naku)	
Nakutalo	Kaha for Waitalo	CHNG	(wai → naku)	
Nakutanku	Kaha for Akatanku	CHNG	(aka $ ightarrow$ naku) 'break down the sago'	
Nakutenge	Kaha for Sametenge	CHNG	(same → nuku) 'start sago boiling'	
Nakuyauwo	Kaha for Mingayauwo	CHNG	(minga → naku)	
Nakwando	Kaha for Okwando	CHNG	(oku → naku) 'sago shell'	
Nalafau	Given Name			WS
Nalikwarsa	Given Name		(nali + ?)	
Nalmaakla	Nalingi for Nalafau	CHNG	(? → ?)	
Nalo	Kaha for Wolo	CHNG	(wo? → na?)	
Namdandi	Given Name			
Namtane	Given Name			WS

Name	Name Type	Change	Composition	ws
Namtaori	Kaha for Namtane	CHNG	(ne → ori)	
Nanduma	Given Name			WS
Nandumun	Kaha for Nanduma	PHON	(a → un)	
Nangiafe	Nalingi for Walando	NONE		
Nanguwun	Kaha for Yimauwun	CHNG	(yimau → nangu)	
Nauwumbo	Kaha for Saumbo	CHNG	(sau → nauwu)	
Nawakra	Kaha for Afakra	RECIP	(afa → nawa)	
Nawatimba	Given Name		(nawa + timba) 'motherless'	WS
	Kaha for Afatimba	RECIP	(afa → nawa)	
	Kaha for Mamtimba	RECIP	(mam → nawa)	
Nawun	Given Name			WS
Nembesingla	Given Name		(nembe + ?)	
Noso	Given Name			
Numbanoko	Given Name		(numba + noko) 'a man who poisons'	WS
Numbawin	Nalingi for Ambou	PART	(numba + ?)	
	Nalingi for Wurnawe	PART	(numba + ?)	
Nurkumengu	Kaha for Nurkuminga	PHON	(minga → mengu)	
Nurkuminga	Given Name		(nurku + minga) 'evening dance'	W
Oflende	Nalingi for Afatimba	NONE		
Okufau	Kaha for Nalafau	CHNG	(nala → oku)	
Okumbor	Kaha for Masimbor	CHNG	(masi → oku) 'between the waters'	
Okuroho	Kaha for Mandero	SUP	(? → ?)	
	Kaha for Yuwarho	CHNG	(yu → oku)	
Okuwarho	Kaha for Yakwaro	CHNG	(yak → oku)	
Okwando	Given Name		(okwe? + wando) 'coconut shell'	WS
	Kaha for Walando	CHNG	(wala? → okwe?)	
Olei	Given Name		(olei) 'dangerous'	
Olwun	Kaha for Nawun	PHON	(na → ol)	
Ombla	Given Name			W
Omoku	Given Name		(om + oku) 'fish in water'	
Owai	Given Name			WS
Paulon	Given Name		(bau? + ?)	WS
Pretaso	Given Name			
Pupuwapu	Given Name			
Safungrou	Given Name			
Salai	Given Name			
Salngiwi	Given Name			
Samai	Nalingi for Saumbo	FULL	(sa + mai) 'dig with cassowary bone'	
Samanele	Kaha for Anele	ADD	(? → sam +)	
Samangal	Given Name			WS
Sambai	Nalingi for Tokmbaa	SUP	(? → ?)	

Name	Name Type	Change	Composition	WS
Sambor	Nalingi for	?		
Samdomele	Given Name		(samdo + mele) 'spider for a long time'	
Samelmban	Nalingi for Galaklei	NONE		
Sametenge	Given Name		(same + tenge) 'sit on a Same branch'	W
Sarnol	Kaha for Wunum	SUP	(? → ?)	
Sarpaiya	Kaha for Wapai	SUP	(? → ?)	
Saumbo	Given Name		(sau + bow?) 'stand up straight'	S
Seiyo	Kaha for Weiyo	PHON	$(w \rightarrow s)$	
Sepeyawul	Nalingi for Kumbun	NONE		
Sianal	Nalingi for Akanumba	SUP	(? → ?)	
	Nalingi for Owai	SUP	(? → ?)	
	Nalingi for Tongolisi	SUP	(? → ?)	
Sifi	Nalingi for Weiyo	FULL	(si + fi) 'wash spear?'	
Sikwleya	Kaha for Akwleya	CHNG	(a $\rightarrow$ si) 'spicy water?'	
Simbai	Given Name			
Sirongo	Given Name		(siri + ongo) 'die somewhere'	WS
Sofosofo	Nalingi for Akatanku	RDP	(sofo + sofo) 'snakes'	
	Nalingi for Yimansamba	RDP	(sofo + sofo) 'snakes'	
Sofosoro	Kaha for Wanisoro	CHNG	(wani → sofo) 'worry about a snake'	
Sufali	Given Name			WS
Sufalndo	Kaha for Sufali	PHON	(i → do)	
Sukleaku	Kaha for Wanaku	CHNG	(wan → sukwle)	
Sulkra	Given Name		(sul + kra) 'earth cries'	W
Sungane	Given Name		(su + ?)	
Sungrai	Nalingi for	NONE		
Suwaoku	Given Name		(suwa + oku) 'coconut water'	
Tamaata	Given Name		(tama + ata) 'man's mother'	W
Tamalako	Given Name		(tama + lako) 'man's eye'	WS
Tamasombo	Given Name		(tama + sombo) 'man spit'	WS
Tankisumbai	Nalingi for Tamaata	NONE		
Tantarau	Given Name			
Tawanguma	Given Name		(tawa + ?)	
Tawayenbor	Given Name		(tawayen + bor) 'between daughters '	WS
Telembakai	Nalingi for Akwleya	PART	(tele + ?)	
Tokmbaa	Given Name		(tokmba + a) 'carry food over the shoulder'	WS
Tomboyen	Given Name		(tombo + yen) 'short child'	
Tongolisi	Given Name		(tongo + lisi) 'drag by the hand'	W
Turmbundia	Given Name			
Turmbunuku	Nalingi for Masi	PART	(? + nuku)	
	Nalingi for Nawun	PART	(? + nuku)	

Name	Name Type	Change	Composition	ws
	Nalingi for Warengle	PART	(? + nuku)	
Turwun	Given Name			
Ule	Given Name			WS
Waahei	Given Name			
Wafukaha	Given Name		(wafo + kaha) 'bad heart'	WS
Wafuter	Nalingi for Kumbuwon	FULL	(wafu + ter) 'head and heart'	
Waikomele	Kaha for Samdomele	CHNG	(samdo → waiko)	
Waimbango	Given Name		(wai + bango) 'twisted!'	WS
Waitalo	Given Name		(wai + ?)	W
Wakomele	Nalingi for Lutuwar	PART	(? + mele)	
Walaa	Kaha for Tokmbaa	CHNG	(tokmba → wala) 'dog eats'	
Walaiyowe	Given Name		(wala + ?)	
Walaka	Given Name		(wal + aka) 'duck blind house'	W
Walakasi	Given Name		(wala + kasi) 'dog over there'	WS
Walalaam	Kaha for Wanam	SUP	(? → ?)	
Walando	Given Name			WS
Walane	Kaha for Yefane	CHNG	(yefa → wala) 'just a dog?'	
Walangaso	Kaha for Walakasi	CHNG	(kasi → gaso)	
Walokwe	Kaha for Walaka	CHNG	(aka → okwe) 'fresh ginger'	
Walulu	Given Name			
Walyamba	Nalingi for Masimbor	PART	(wal + ?)	
Wama	Given Name			
Wamape	Given Name			
Wambenga	Given Name			W
Wambone	Given Name			W
Wanaku	Given Name		(? + aku)	WS
Wanam	Given Name			W
Waname	Given Name			
Wanembuka	Given Name		(wanembuka? + ?) 'great-grandchild'	W
Wangu	Given Name		(wango? + ?) 'cheek'	W
Wangukra	Given Name		(wango + kra) 'stem cries'	W
Wangutikrayakra	Kaha for Wangu	ADD	(? $\rightarrow$ + tikrayakra) 'go around crying'	
	Kaha for Wangukra	ADD	(? $\rightarrow$ + tikraya +) 'go around crying'	
Wanisoro	Given Name		(wani + soro) 'worry about 2nd wife'	W
Wansana	Given Name			W
Wansilako	Kaha for Tamalako	CHNG	(tama → wansi)	
Wapai	Given Name			
Warengle	Given Name			WS
Warkyombo	Nalingi for ?	?		
Warmeninga	Given Name			
Warsalai	Nalingi for Awalaki	SUP	(? → ?)	

Name	Name Type	Change	Composition	WS
Wasaaka	Kaha for Tamaata	SUP	(? → ?)	
Wasei	Given Name			WS
Wasukre	Nalingi for Ataminga	NONE		
	Nalingi for Sufali	NONE		
	Nalingi for Waitalo	NONE		
Wasulaki	Kaha for Awalaki	CHNG	(awa → wasu)	
Wasumande	Given Name			W
Wasumbango	Kaha for Waimbango	CHNG	(wai → wasu)	
Wasumbou	Kaha for Ambou	CHNG	(a → wasu)	
Wasunambo	Kaha for Ainambo	CHNG	(ai → wasu)	
Wasune	Given Name		(wasune + ?) 'part of headdress'	W
Wasunumba	Kaha for Akanumba	CHNG	(aka → wasu)	
Wasuwarme	Given Name			
Wasuyenbor	Kaha for Tawayenbor	CHNG	(tawa → wasu)	
Watengle	Nalingi for Samdomele	FULL	(wate + engle) 'spell from Wate tree'	
	Nalingi for Wanam	FULL	(wate + engle) 'spell from Wate tree'	
Watewon	Kaha for Kumbuwon	THM	(kumbu → wate) 'Wate and Won trees'	
Weiyo	Given Name			WS
Welesombo	Kaha for Tamasombo	CHNG	(tama → wele) 'spit on many things'	
Weren	Given Name			
Wolo	Given Name			WS
Wosune	Kaha for Wasune	PHON	(a → o)	
Wowu	Nalingi for Paulon	SUP	(? → ?)	
Wulakufe	Given Name		(wula + kufe) 'good jungle'	WS
Wulane	Given Name		(wula + ne?) 'always in the bush?'	W
Wulaongo	Given Name		(wula + ongo) 'be in the bush'	
Wulmba	Given Name			
Wulongo	Given Name		(wul + ongo) 'squeeze somewhere'	
Wundungwe	Nalingi for Ambongo	NONE		
Wunum	Given Name			WS
Wurnawe	Given Name		(wur + nawe) 'always using a stone axe'	W
Wurnefawi	Given Name			
Wurngal	Kaha for Samangal	CHNG	(sama → wur)	
Wursei	Kaha for Wasei	CHNG	(wa → wur)	
Wursiya	Nalingi for Bonwakra	PART	(wur + ?)	
Wurtombo	Kaha for Wurnawe	CHNG	(nawe → tombo) 'dull axe'	
Wurwau	Kaha for Kuwam	SUP	(? → ?)	
Yakawur	Given Name		(yaka + wur) 'come inside'	WS
Yakwaro	Given Name			WS
Yakwaroho	Given Name			
Yala	Given Name		(yala) 'Yala banana'	WS

Name	Name Type	Change	Composition	WS
Yalembe	Kaha for Alembe	PHON	$(\phi \rightarrow \gamma)$	
Yalngiwi	Kaha for Salngiwi	PHON	(sa → ya)	
Yambun	Kaha for Kumbun	CHNG	(ku → ya)	
Yamkurkur	Given Name		(yam + kurkur) 'kurkur banana'	
Yamyala	Kaha for Yala	ADD	(? → yam +) 'Yala banana'	
Yangroa	Kaha for Kewran	SUP	(? → ?)	
Yansana	Kaha for Wansana	PHON	$(w \rightarrow y)$	
Yarin	Kaha for Mirin	PHON	(mi $ ightarrow$ ya)	
Yasi	Kaha for Masi	PHON	(m → y)	
Yauhu	Kaha for Yuhu	PHON	(u → au)	
Yawai	Given Name			
Yawaro	Given Name			
Yawi	Kaha for Fawi	PHON	$(f \rightarrow y)$	
Yefane	Given Name		(yefa + ne?) 'strong'	WS
Yeklene	Given Name		(yekle + ne?) 'young'	W
Yimansamba	Given Name		(? + samba)	W
Yimauwun	Given Name			WS
Yimlon	Kaha for Paulon	CHNG	(pau → yim)	
Yinauwe	Given Name			
Yinsauwa	Given Name		(yinsauwa) 'son's wife'	
Yiritingen	Kaha for Weiyo	SUP		
Yofurete	Given Name		(yofu + rete) 'mark as forbidden'	
Yombla	Kaha for Ombla	PHON	$(\phi \rightarrow y)$	
Yowu	Given Name			WS
Yuhu	Given Name			
Yuwarho	Given Name			WS

### Appendix H: Names, Songs and Whistles

This appendix lists every given name for which there is an attested whistle tune (*isi*). For those which also have a song (*hokwa*), that is listed as well. Given names are listed alphabetically with the *sir kaha* and *sir nalingi* forms underneath. The next two columns give a notational form to represent the whistle and song (described below). Following the main table, there is a table of whistles with non-name meanings. See §9.7 for more on the Mehek naming system.

The musical notations in the table do not indicate specific pitches, hence the lack of a clef or key signature. The important aspect of the musical notation is the relative pitches and durations of the notes, not the absolute pitch of any given note. As different people will naturally produce whistles of varying pitches and the same person will produce whistles of varying pitches, it is not the absolute pitch which is relevant. In light of this, the main type of adjustment that was made to *AudioScore's* output was to neutralize any reference to specific note pitches. For ease of reading, the first note of each whistle is set to A for the treble clef, as this allows the bulk of the notes to be within the staff itself rather than above or below. However, as mentioned, no specific pitch is to be assumed. The pitch and duration of the succeeding notes are in relation to whatever pitch and duration are chosen for the first note, with almost any initial pitch or length being acceptable as long as the proportions are maintained. In practice, though, the whistler's first pitch will be that which is naturally produced when the lips are in the

least suitably tense position for whistling. It is by increasing the tenseness that changes the pitch.

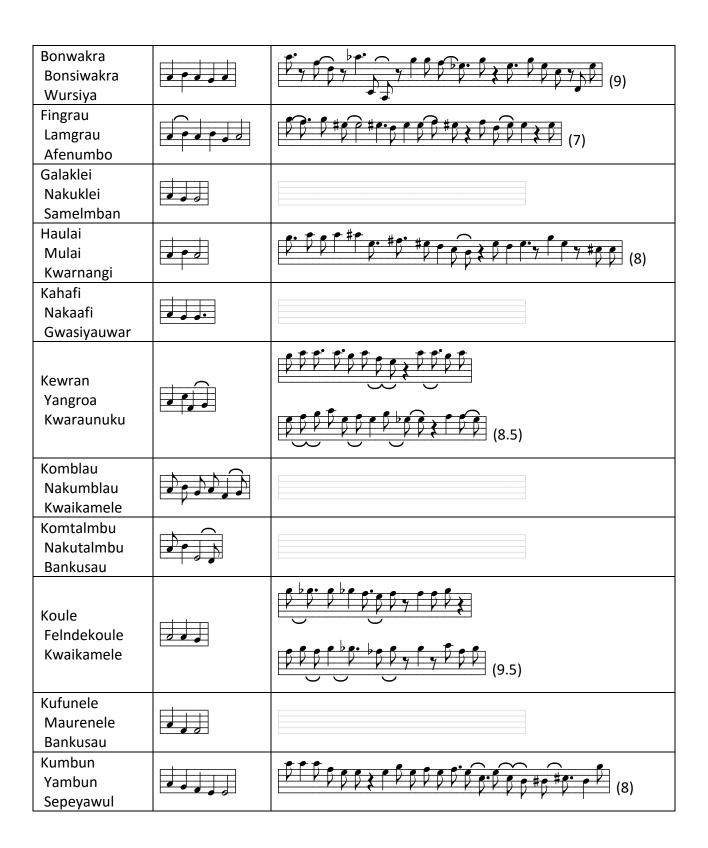
The musical staff notation was produced using the program *AudioScore* by

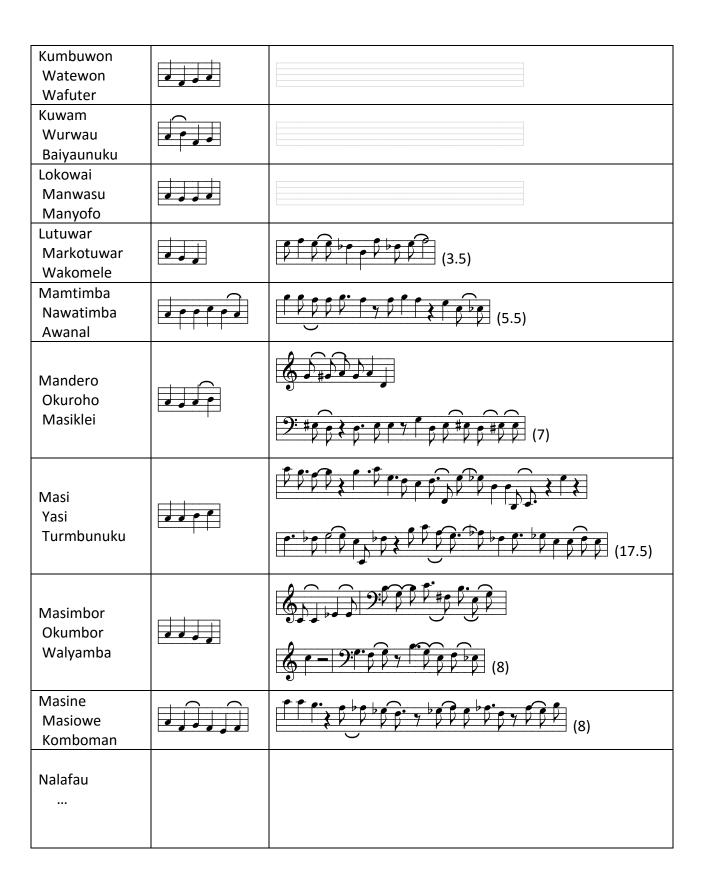
Neuratron. This program analyzes sound clips and is able to produce a musical notation of the recording. From these outputs, the notations were adjusted in concert with the pitch tracings (produced in *Praat*) and by listening to the original audio recordings. The font used to create the staff notation is *Musiqwik* by Robert Allgeyer. Sharps (#) and flats

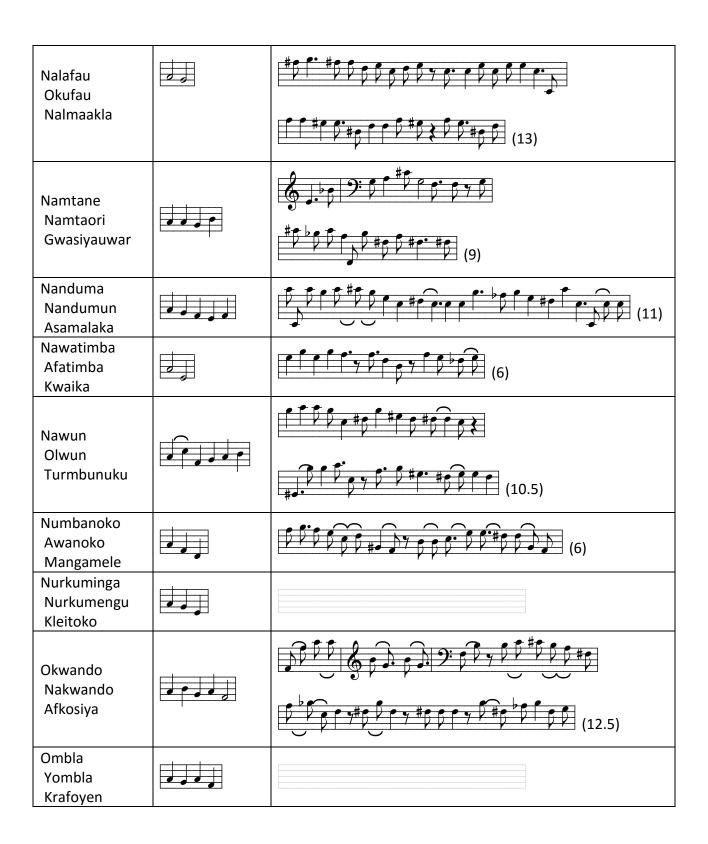
(b) apply only to the note immediately following them. Unless otherwise noted, all songs occur on a bass staff

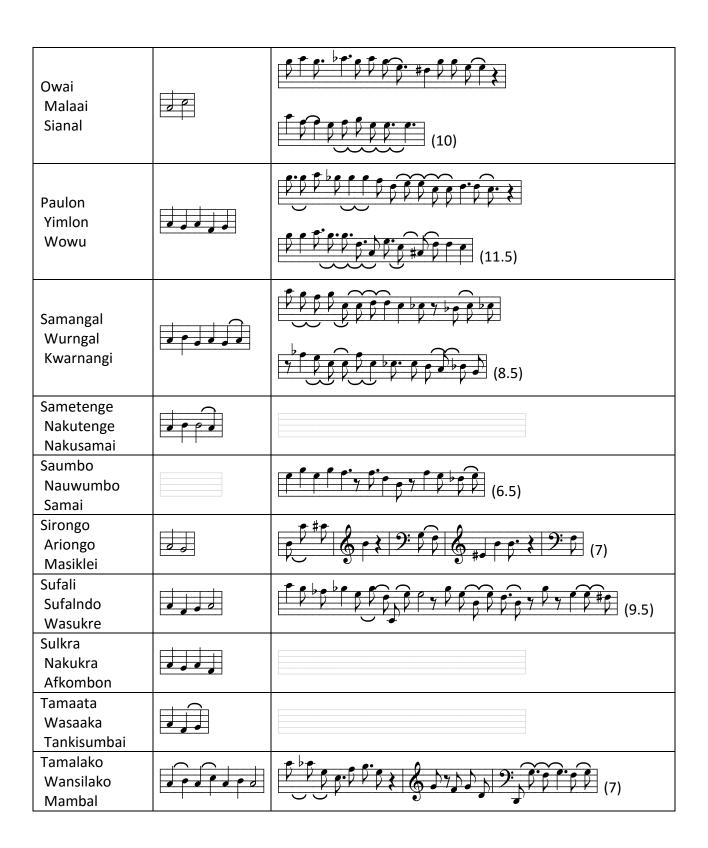
Given Name Kaha Nalingi	Whistle	Song (Approximate Duration in Seconds)
Afatimba Nawatimba Oflende	000	
Aflatawa Fangitawa Flesuma		(8)
Ainambo Wasunambo Manikou		
Akanawe Maurenawe Lakwiytawa		
Akanumba Wasunumba Sianal		(7.5)

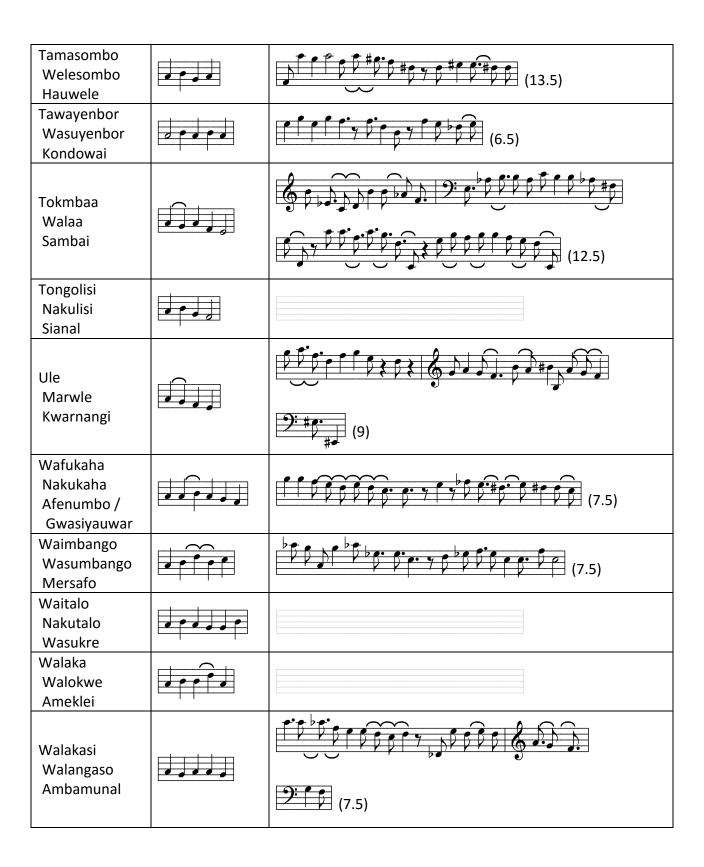






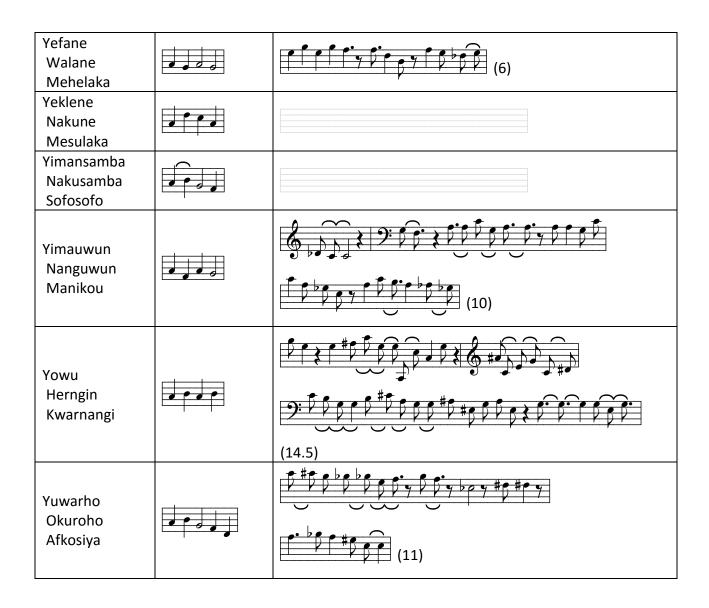












## **Non-Name Tones**

Meaning	Signal
"I'm Going"	
"Hurry"	
"Let's Meet in the Middle"	
"No"	
Whistle to Put Lizards to Sleep	
Whistle to Bring out the Sun	
Whistle to Alert Allies to Enemy Presence	
Song to Greet Whites	9: 1 5 5 5

### **Appendix I: Place and Clan Names**

This appendix lists all the attested names for micro-villages in each of the Mehek villages (section I.1) as well as each attested clan name (section I.2). See §2.1 and §2.3.2 for more on village structure. For a visual representation of the layout of the villages, see §2.1.2. See §2.3.3 for more on clans.

#### I.1 Place Names

The numbering system here corresponds to the maps in §2.1.2. The general principal behind the numbering is ordering from north to south. The main villages are listed in this order and the numbers within each village increase generally from north to south. The physical layout of each village precludes a strictly north-to-south ordering; however, when walking along a particular path, the villages will occur in the order listed. These lists are accurate as of 2014, though due to the practice of abandoning some tracts of land in favor of others, it may not reflect the exact layout at any given time in the future. The micro-villages of Nuku are not numbered because the traditional village of Nuku no longer exists. As it has developed into a larger area with government offices and an airstrip, most of the traditional tracts of land have been lost to these common areas. While there are many people continuing to live at Nuku near their traditional lands, many of the residents are transplants from other areas. Because of this, the traditional layout and naming scheme of the village is being lost. One consultant was able to provide several names of micro-villages which had been occupied in the past. These are listed in simple alphabetical order.

## **Nuku Place Names**

Ambambori	Naku Wur Tombo	Ta La La
Kom Kumbangan	Nuku	Ter Kusu
Kom Sep	Oku Numbul	Tuweimi
Manbi Oku Oule	Same Nambi	Wate Gwama
Mandi Sumbul	Siki Wi	Wonambi
Mangrengrau	Su Wako	Yimbango

## **Yiminum Place Names**

1	Wala Mu	11	Wala Naku	21	Ama Leu
2	Fer Naku	12	Same Aka Miki	22	Manda Bru
3	Naku Masai	13	Wate Leu	23	Oku Ne Leu
4	Wan Suwe	14	Aume Sa	24	Wate Nomro
5	Kom Yilpu	15	Wongo	25	Mangi Kom
6	War Kamba	16	Yiminum	26	Afi Eme
7	Turmbu	17	Kumoro	27	Kur Sumbu
8	Ru Lakem	18	Kom Oku	28	Fer Angla
9	Wal Kasa	19	Kom Arko (Kom Mes)	29	Mangi Lu
10	Kufu Lako	20	Kol Mu		

## **Mansuku Place Names**

1	Suwa Gol	11	Wir Wir	21	Marnu
2	Kom Du	12	Walingi Siki Sa	22	Maure Eme
3	Tama Ongo	13	Arko Lam	23	Surani
4	Wur Wau	14	Wate Si	24	Suwa Gotka
5	Selmbem	15	Kom Wonblo	25	Wal Kasa
6	Turmbu	16	Wati	26	Sol Oku
7	Sangri	17	Bombo Wol	27	Tumanglo
8	Wanwil	18	Kwasu	28	Yemer
9	Iki Mei	19	Weindu	29	Afla Wate Kuwa
10	Same Du	20	Maure Belo	30	Afla Nekwa

## Yifkindu Place Names

1	Naku Lako	14	Masi Wula	26	Mau Tu
2	Wala Fondu	15	Kom Kilfan	27	Afla Wal Numbaia Tongo
3	Yifkindu	16	War Kamba	28	Fi Toko Sai Lu
4	Matawul	17	Tama Buwe	29	Tama War Ako
5	Hambambori	18	Kre Sauwo	30	Loko Faka
6	Kom Arko	19	Felnde Mu	31	Mombo Gala
7	Kom Welfu	20	Fer Arko	32	Sumbu Wafen
8	Maure Bu	21	Kom Meyu	33	Moko Ari
9	Wurko	22	Nakum Yen	34	Womrim
10	Wan Aku	23	Same Du	35	Arko Nekwa
11	Mandun	24	War Kamba Kuwa	36	Duwo
12	Wala Yowe	25	Kom Terwo	37	Au Siki
13	Manbi Du				

# **Wilwil Place Names**

			<u> </u>		
1	Foko Bango	31	Won Ari	61	Wanda
2	Mandu Yalwin	32	Mini Bur	62	Wala Bango
3	Wangangu	33	Kom Du	63	Welfu Bango
4	Maure Fer	34	Walma A	64	Grambi Sunaku
5	Liim	35	Gel Wokro	65	Naku Gurmbo Oku Siki
6	Wate Aumbu	36	Yam Tombo Lufu	66	Mandi Oku
7	Waninga	37	Wal Kufu	67	Naku Lako
8	Hoplem	38	Sengaula	68	Marne Lu
9	Kririri	39	Kom Arko	69	Mahawor
10	Gembu Lisi	40	Yam Butu	70	Wafu
11	Kom Masu	41	Balan	71	Fer Kwiyi
12	Kwarmbe Tongo	42	Kasa Mu	72	Naku Mekem
13	Wurko	43	Wate Koule	73	Naku Gurmbo
14	Warmona Siki	44	Peles Pal	74	Kwarmbel
15	Wilwil	45	Oku Wiyi Da	75	Sewe Der
16	Oku Blou	46	Same Rombo	76	Al Kom
17	Kom San	47	Wangu Tombo	77	Wutuwem
18	Maure Felnde	48	Wate Mu Lako	78	Nawa Muwku
19	Salwun	49	Nala Kom	79	Won Oku
20	Kom Wule	50	Wolkai	80	Titimbin
21	Wate Arko	51	Au Siki	81	Ama Blala
22	Pilpil Pelpel	52	Wate Yefa	82	Sundu Arko
23	Maure Gowen	53	Wate Mulu Kwar	83	Sangrou
24	Turmbunol	54	Wala Kra	84	Wala El Bolo
25	Kom Grambi	55	Naku Kumbo Wro Tori	85	Maure Kom
26	Naku Tuku	56	Yomombu	86	Yumu
27	Tama Wulmba	57	Sufru	87	Afla Or Ou
28	Salma Bru Oku Siki	58	Oku Falfalti	88	Afla Sirmbin
29	Lamba Gul	59	Oku Bor	89	Afla Wala Oku
30	Sul Kasa	60	Wala Nuwa		

## **Kafle 1 Place Names**

1	Masi Kuwa	16	Was Komou	31	Wasulo
2	Oku Barsa	17	Manbi Rombo	32	Kwar Weya
3	Fi Sirki	18	Wate Walko	33	Durmbu Gawo
4	Maure Du	19	War Glafi	34	Gafo
5	Mangi Mu	20	Wombango	35	Ner Du
6	Durmbu	21	Wangu Nalai	36	Yikwa Tu
7	Suwa Lako	22	Wate Nekwa	37	Oku Oulei
8	Wan Solka	23	Gima Tombo	38	Mar Felnde
9	War Kaki	24	Wahakla	39	Al Wuta
10	Morkwre	25	Mahawor	40	Mili Mala
11	Kom Mangi	26	Maure Telako	41	Tembel Gwe
12	Wal Omo	27	Sul Siki	42	Nembe Lako
13	Terfa Lili	28	Felnde Mu	43	Gra Nambu
14	Wate Bumblan	29	Mandi Du	44	Kom Tombo
15	El Blengu	30	Naime	45	Sanga Tombo

## **Kafle 2 Place Names**

1	Afla Fer Wosu	20	Lai	39	Kumoro Kwleiya
2	Naku Ter Tangu	21	Oku Tururu	40	Wala Yikwa
3	Bondi Yefa	22	Kom Blasu	41	Kormo Bango
4	Wur Yefu	23	Kom Sen	42	Kom Au
5	Wanda Difi	24	Engre Siya	43	Felnde Siki
6	Maure Fer	25	Wal Kom	44	Maure Felnde
7	Manga	26	Kom Kwangu	45	Uwmbu Minga
8	Kom Du	27	Mar Kufun	46	Au Siki
9	Wate Basi	28	Kom Grambi	47	Warme Tombo
10	Taka Fe	29	Mahawor	48	Sul Siki
11	Oku Oulei	30	Masi Mambla	49	Sul Kwesu
12	Maure Felnde	31	Marfe	50	Oku Lendu
13	Wangu Du	32	Wate Afla	51	Wate Arko
14	Manbi Rombo	33	Nanglo Rombo	52	Taumbala
15	Gurha	34	Felnde Klousu	53	Somo Gwini Wro
16	Uwku	35	War Kamba Suma Nawe	54	Al Bango
17	Kembu Rombo	36	Kursu Siki	55	Waskormbo
18	Wate Ner	37	Warme Yali	56	Wolkai Rombo
19	Afla Yen Gaiwar	38	Wate Sikiri		

# **Kafle 3 Place Names**

1	Kewa	20	Kumba Yafi	39	Naku Nuku
2	Naku Fa Sere	21	Moko Tenge	40	Masi Mambla
3	Gramba Nau	22	Wala Yefa	41	Wasutenge
4	Wan Afko	23	Kom Silfo	42	Same Du
5	Au Siki	24	Wala Suka	43	Wanda Difi
6	Sul Siki	25	Grambi Solka	44	Nunguwl Kwesu
7	Maure Kulu	26	Ama Gra Gra	45	Nanglo Tombo
8	Simba Lau	27	Kom Mangi	46	Uwku Mari
9	Wate Ner	28	Muwmbu	47	War Meleu
10	Fatu	29	Si Yaki	48	Au Siki
11	Kombonge	30	Kom Arko	49	Wala Germba
12	Wan Gurombo	31	Safku Fu	50	Warme Rombo
13	Sofo Awa Si	32	Oku Wro	51	Fal Erka
14	Kom Amu	33	Kita Yausi	52	Kom Gembu
15	Wate Bongi	34	Sen Daungu	53	Wate Bale
16	Kwar Dako	35	Afko Hongo	54	Fer Angla
17	Wate Mandi	36	Bre Siki	55	Engle Kormbo
18	Maure Rusu	37	Wate Girngwan	56	Wala Yen
19	Warme	38	Warsai Tombo		

## **I.2 Clan Names**

## **Clan Names**

Bor	Lakwiyi	Sofo Walwal
Bor Lakwiyi	Makru	Tawa Tuku
Emka	Makru Lakwiyi	Ter
Fawi Kombom	Mansuku Gaien	Tilifumbol Yowe
Felnde Afu	Maure	Wala
Kin	Nuku Bor	Walulu
Krafo	Nuku Lakwiyi	Wandangwal
Krafo Yen	Nuku Makru	Yinauwe Lakwiyi
Kumul		

### **Appendix J: Garamut Drum Beats**

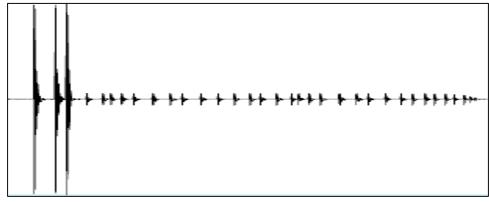
This appendix lists visual schemas of each of the attested garamut drum beats (see §2.3.5). It is broken into two sections: J.1 includes all the beats associated with a clan, and J.2 includes all the beats associated with a message, be it question, command, or response. The beats are listed in alphabetically by title, along with the length of time each beat lasts. Each image is not meant to be used to make an exact replica of the drum beat, but rather to preserve the broad features of each beat in a visual medium. Particularly due to the rapid disappearance of this form of communication, it is important to have a record in a permanent and easily accessible format.

The method for visualizing the garamut beats is as follows: A waveform diagram of each recorded drum beat was created using *Praat*. The vertical axis in each case is the intensity and the horizontal axis is time. Each image helps to provid a visual mnemonic for the overall pattern of the drum beat, including the total number of pulses, the intensity of each, the spacing between them, and the overall duration. Because each image below is the same size while representing beats of different durations, the listing of the total duration is necessary to understand the timing of each beat. Furthermore, the absolute intensity of each pulse is not meant to have an exact value, but rather to represent a relative value with respect to the other pulses within that beat. Those beats which are longer than one minute have been divided into two or more images which are preceded or followed by ellipses to help make the division clear.

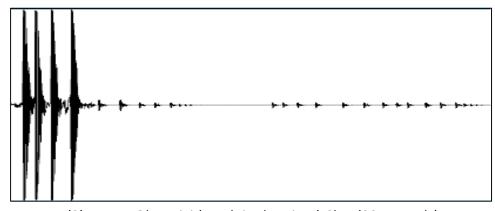
## J.1 Clan Beats

#### **List of Clan Beats in this Section:**

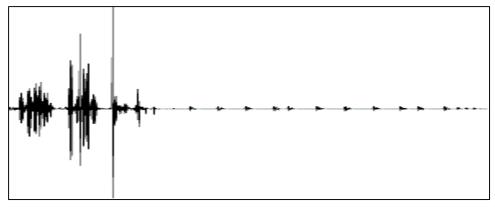
(1)	Ende (Wild Sago) Clan	(35 seconds)
(2)	Fame Oku Wiyi (Wash in the River) Clan	(20 seconds)
(3)	Fer (Pig) Clan	(25 seconds)
(4)	Gra Wuwulo (Wuwulo Aran) Clan	(20 seconds)
(5)	Same Lomyar (Praise Lychee) Clan	(10 seconds)
(6)	Same Tuku (Plant Lychee) Clan	(25 seconds)
(7)	Sofo (Snake) Clan	(60 seconds)
(8)	Tarangau (Eagle) Clan	(60 seconds)
(9)	Wala (Dog) Clan	(30 seconds)
(10)	Wanda Gwal (Open and Remove) Clan	(70 seconds)



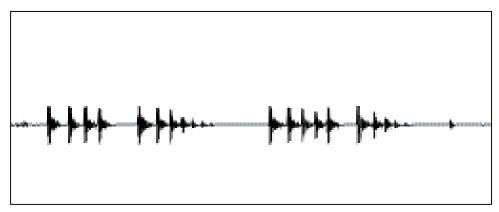
(1) Ende (Wild Sago) Clan (35 seconds)



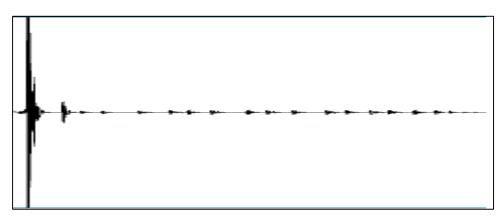
(2) Fame Oku Wiyi (Wash in the River) Clan (20 seconds)



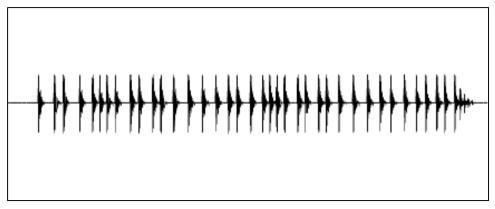
(3) Fer (Pig) Clan (25 seconds)



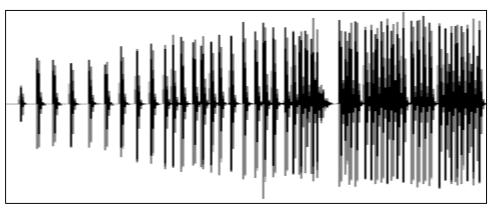
(4) Gra Wuwulo (Wuwulo Aran) Clan (20 seconds)

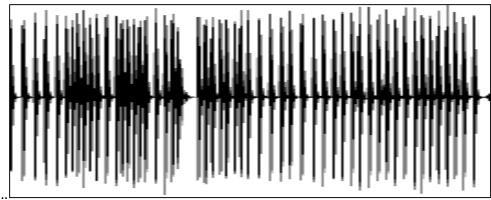


(5) Same Lomyar (Praise Lychee) Clan (10 seconds)

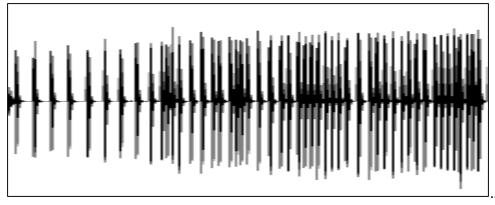


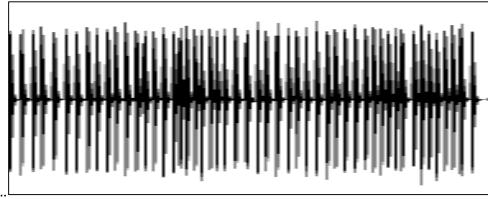
(6) Same Tuku (Plant Lychee) Clan (25 seconds)



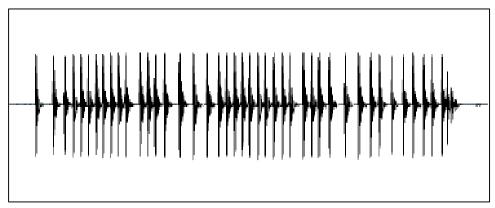


(7) Sofo (Snake) Clan (60 seconds)

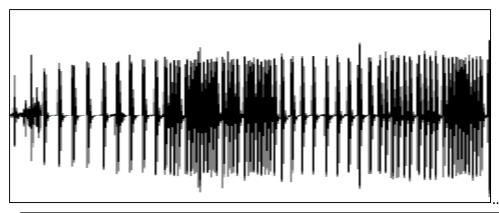


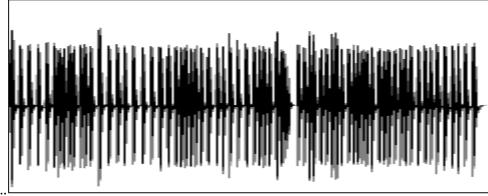


(8) Tarangau (Eagle) Clan (60 seconds)



(9) Wala (Dog) Clan (30 seconds)



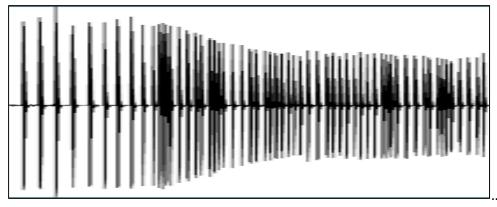


(10) Wanda Gwal (Open and Remove) Clan (70 seconds)

# J.2 Message Beats

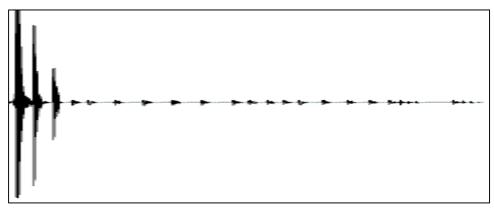
## List of Message Beats:

	<u> </u>	
(11)	Come Pay the Bride Price	(90 seconds)
(12)	Come Back to Kafle	(25 seconds)
(13)	Come Back from Makruw: North	(25 seconds)
(14)	Come Back from Seim: East	(20 seconds)
(15)	Come Back from Wanwan: West	(35 seconds)
(16)	Come Home to Makrwu	(130 seconds)
(17)	Someone Died	(15 seconds)
(18)	The Dogs are Wailing	(20 seconds)
(19)	Fighting has Broken Out	(70 seconds)
(20)	Hurry	(15 seconds)
(21)	I'm Coming	(15 seconds)
(22)	I'm Coming Alternate	(45 seconds)
(23)	A Marriage is Taking Place	(45 seconds)
(24)	Spirits are Coming	(70 seconds)
(25)	Repeat the Message	(50 seconds)
(26)	Beat to Stop the Rain	(70 seconds)
(27)	A Thief is on the Loose	(40 seconds)
(28)	Where are You?	(20 seconds)
(29)	Women Come Back	(30 seconds)

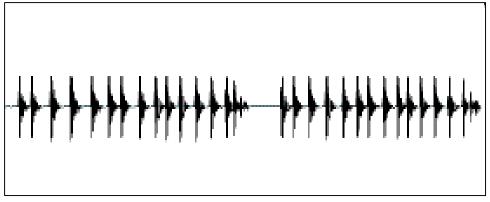




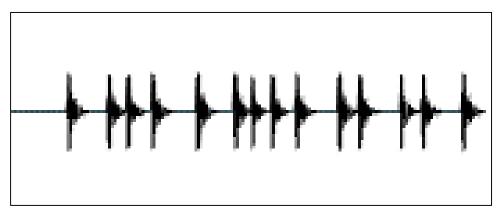
(11) Come Pay the Bride Price (90 seconds)



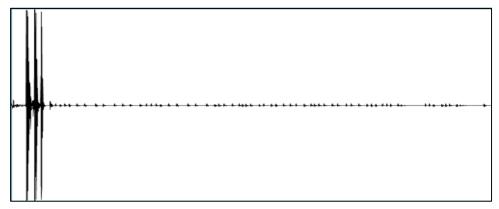
(12) Come Back to Kafle (25 seconds)



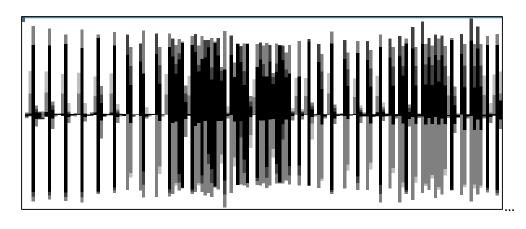
(13) Come Back from Makruw: North (25 seconds)

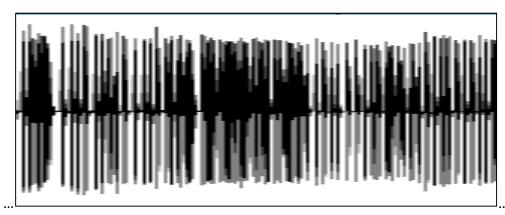


(14) Come Back from Seim: East (20 seconds)



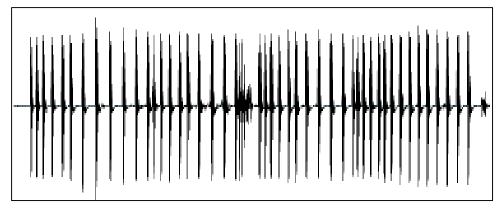
(15) Come Back from Wanwan: West (35 seconds)



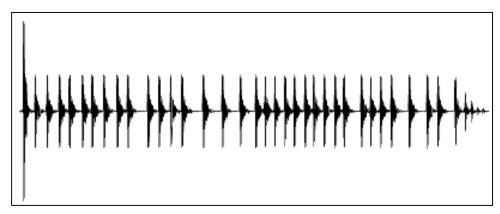




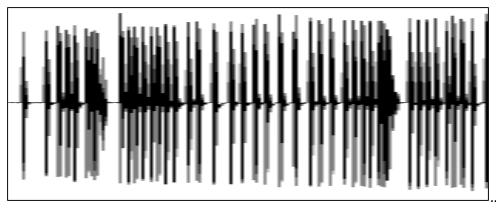
(16) Come Home to Makrwu (130 seconds)

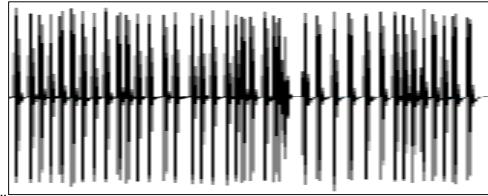


(17) Someone Died (15 seconds)

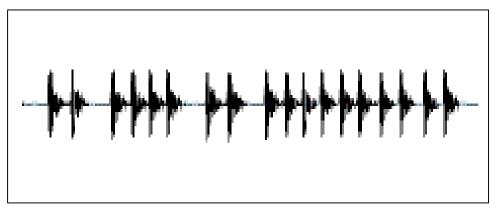


(18) The Dogs are Wailing (20 seconds)

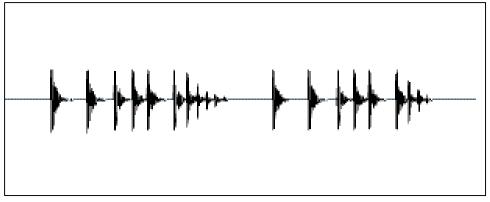




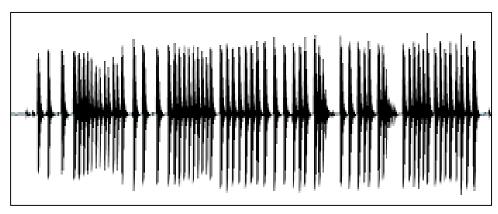
(19) Fighting has Broken Out (70 seconds)



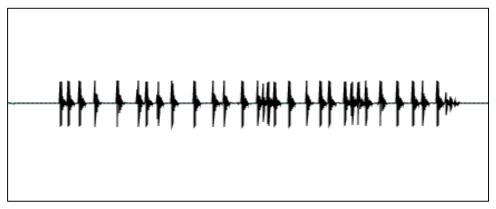
(20) Hurry (15 seconds)



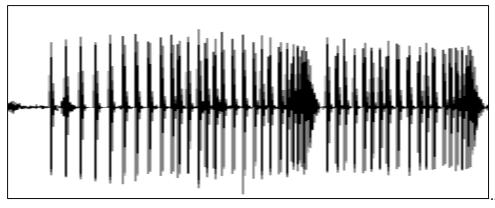
(21) I'm Coming (15 seconds)



(22) I'm Coming Alternate (45 seconds)

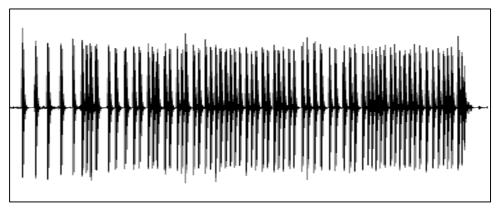


(23) A Marriage is Taking Place (45 seconds)

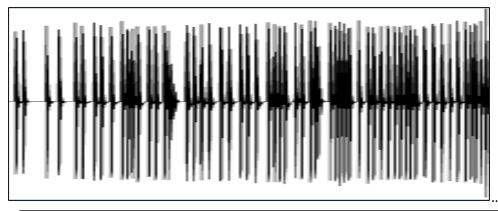


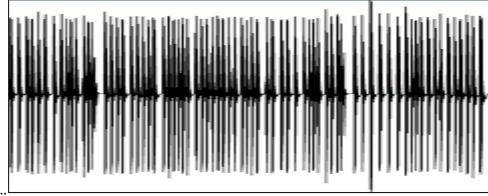


(24) Spirits are Coming (70 seconds)

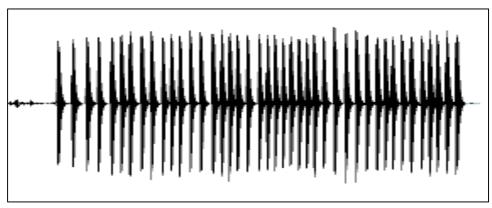


(25) Repeat the Message (50 seconds)

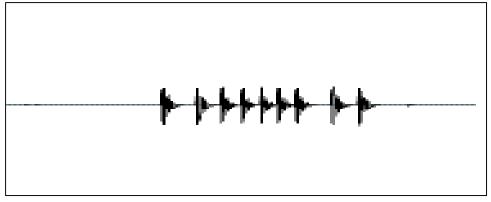




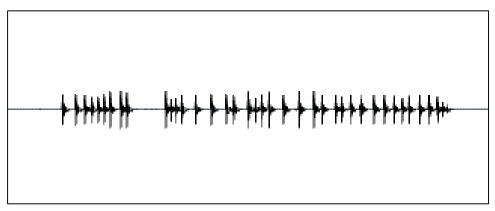
(26) Beat to Stop the Rain (70 seconds)



(27) A Thief is on the Loose (40 seconds)



(28) Where are You? (20 seconds)



(29) Women Come Back (30 seconds)

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