

Don Kulick and Angela Terrill
A Grammar and Dictionary of Tayap

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Don Kulick and Angela Terrill

A Grammar and Dictionary of Tayap

The Life and Death of a Papuan Language

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*ɲayi pendimor aŋgo tayap meɲa tambunkun
ripiɲa munjenumana naŋroana
eneɲa rorsemana
nunukɲa rorsemana*

Saraki

To the people of Gapun, past, present and future

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to help me transform the grammar into publishable form. In 2017, I contacted Angela, who through sheer serendipity happened to be living in Uppsala, the city in Sweden where I am employed. Angela accepted my invitation to work with my manuscript, and remarkably, she managed to acquire a feel for Tayap – its idiosyncrasies and its genius – after only a few months. Angela’s incisive interventions, her continual exhortations that “we need more examples”, her extensive knowledge of Papuan linguistics, and her clear head and good cheer are the reason why this grammar and dictionary is now finally seeing the light of day.

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Authorship of this book

The first person pronoun used throughout this work refers to Don Kulick. I collected all the linguistic and ethnographic data analyzed here over the course of my thirty years' work in Gapun. As mentioned above, I wrote the entire first draft of this grammar and dictionary and submitted it for review at *Pacific Linguistics* in 2011. Shelving the project to complete other work, I took it up again in 2017, when I approached linguist Angela Terrill, who had trained in descriptive linguistics at ANU and written a grammar of the Papuan language, Lavukaleve, to collaborate with me in rewriting the text (Terrill 2003). Angela worked on the morphological and grammatical analysis in preparing the manuscript for publication.

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Appendix 1

English translation of Georg Höltker 1938. Eine fragmentarische Wörterliste der Gapún-Sprache Newguineas. *Anthropos* 33: 279–82 — 482

Appendix 2

Two photographs of Gapun village taken in 1937 by Georg Höltker — 487

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Conventions and abbreviations

Tayap examples in the grammar usually consist of four lines. The first is the Tayap speech written in bounded, unsegmented words.

The second line is the same clause or sentence in which the words have been separated into morphemes.

The third line is the interlinear gloss of the morphemes. The space separating the morphemes in the second and third lines is larger than it is in most grammars for reasons of readability. The usual manner of presentation, in which glosses for morphemes are chained together in long, complicated strings, assumes readers with a great deal of specialized knowledge, experience and patience. Separating the morphemes should make the glosses easier to process. The spacing does admittedly make it a bit harder to see individual words, but those appear in the first line of the examples.

The fourth line is the translation into English.

An example is as follows:

(1) *Merewŋgrogī munje parŋgiro*

<i>Merew</i>	<i>-ŋgro</i>	<i>=gī</i>	<i>munje</i>	<i>par</i>	<i>-ŋgī</i>	<i>-ro</i>
Sanae	-PL	=ERG.PL	man	bury.R	-3SG.M.R.O	-3PL.R.S
'the Sanae villagers buried the man'						

Suffixes are marked by hyphens (-) and clitics are marked with an equal sign (=). In Tayap there are no prefixes, only suffixes, and enclitics rather than proclitics.

Some glossing conventions used throughout this grammar in the interlinear glosses need to be noted. Tayap verbs – and other words – have a broad range of meanings, and an *o*, for example, is consistently glossed as ‘strike’ in the interlinear glosses, but is translated to its context-specific meaning as ‘hit’, ‘stab’, ‘kill’, etc. in the translation. Similarly, the Locative case has a broad range of meanings. It is glossed as LOC when it has a locational meaning but in other contexts it may be glossed as TEMP for temporal, COM for comitative or ALL for allative.

Further conventions need explanation are as follows:

The first is the pipeline symbol | which appears in example 3 below underneath the final morpheme *-n*. This symbol means that the morpheme it glosses has more than one meaning. Disambiguation occurs through the use of pronouns or nouns, or through context.

An S is used in glossing transitive verbs to show features of the subject. With intransitive verbs, the person/number/status of subjects are marked in the language but there is no S in the gloss.

Another convention concerns Tayap's discontinuous subject markers. Some verbs have subject morphemes that occur both before and after the object morpheme. An example is as follows:

(2) *nguyi aram tatiŋgin*

ngu =yi aram ta -ti -ŋgi -n
 3SG.F =ERG.F snake see.R -R.S -3SG.M.R.O -R.S
 'she saw a snake'

In this verb, the combination of *-ti* before the object morpheme and *-n* after the object morpheme encodes either a 2SG OR 3SG.F subject in realis status. The pronoun 'she' disambiguates the subject to be 3SG.F, in this case. Since it is the *combination of the two discontinuous subject morphemes* that produces meaning, the labeling convention adopted here is to gloss the first subject morpheme with 's' ('subject'), and to gloss the combined meaning of the two morphemes under the second morpheme. The object morpheme in verbs like this case occurs between the two subject markers, and is bounded by < > instead of hyphens, to show that it intervenes between the two discontinuous subject markers.

So in this grammar, the example above is written as:

(3) *nguyi aram tatiŋgin*

ngu =yi aram ta -ti -ŋgi -n
 3SG.F =ERG.F snake see.R -S- <3SG.M.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 'she saw a snake'

The abbreviations used in the interlinear glosses otherwise generally follow the Leipzig glossing rules.

Note that the dictionary uses some different terms and abbreviations (see page 351 for those).

XX — Conventions and abbreviations

A	subject of a transitive verb	NF	non-future
ABL	ablative	NFO	non-final object
ADJ	adjective	NRFUT	near future
ADM	admonitive	PERF	perfect
ADV	adverb	PERL	perlative
AFT	afterwards	PL	plural
ALL	allative	POSS	possessive
ATT	attribute	PREP	preposition
BEN	benefactive	PROG	progressive <i>-rik</i>
CF	counterfactual	PROH	prohibitive
COM	comitative	Q	interrogative
CS	surprise counter to expectation	R	realis
DAT	dative	REFL	reflexive/reciprocal
DL	dual	S	subject
DM	discourse marker	SBJ	subjunctive
DX	deictic	SG	singular
ERG	ergative	SIM	simultaneous
EXP	expectation	SUB	subordinate
F	feminine	SUPP	supposition
FUT	future	SVC	serial verb construction
HAB	habitual	TAM	tense, aspect and mood
HYP0	hypothetical	TEMP	temporal
INDEF	indefinite	TP	Tok Pisin
INST	instrumental	V	verb
INTENT	intention	v	vowel that undergoes regressive assimilation to change to match the vowel of the object morpheme that follows it
INTENS	intensifier	X	morphological slot for object morpheme
IRR	irrealis	XD	extended duration
LINK	linker <i>-a(k)</i>	1	first person
LOC	locative	2	second person
M	masculine	3	third person
MANN	manner	<i>italics</i>	Tayap
MIR	mirative	Roman	Tok Pisin
ML	multiplicity		
MOD	modifying dependent verb suffix		
ND	nondesiderative		
NEG	negative		

1 The Tayap language and its speakers

1.1 General overview of Tayap and the linguistic situation in Gapun

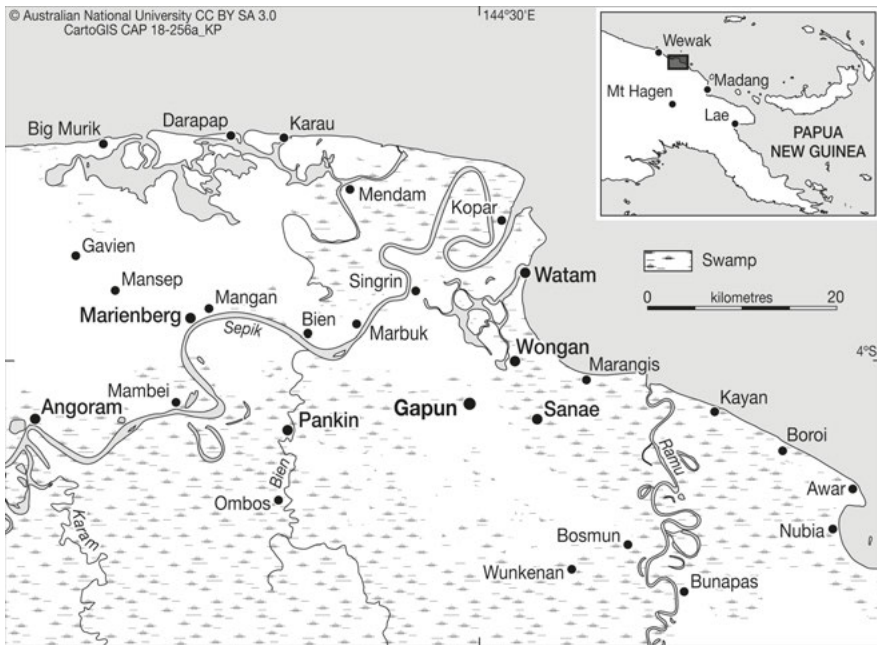
Tayap is the name of a Papuan language spoken by a dwindling number of people, most of whom live in a small village called Gapun (the speakers themselves call the language *Tayap mer*, which means, precisely, ‘Tayap language’). Gapun is located on the Papua New Guinea mainland, between the Sepik and Ramu rivers, about thirty kilometers inland from the northern coast. The village is far from roads of any kind and is difficult to reach. It lies in a mosquito- and leech-infested swamp in the middle of the rainforest (see Map 1.1).

The Tayap language is tiny, even by the extreme standards of Papua New Guinea, where one linguist estimated that thirty five percent of the languages have fewer than five hundred speakers (Sankoff 1980: 96). As far as anyone in Gapun has been able to remember, Tayap has never had more than, at most, just over one hundred speakers. That small number seems to have remained stable for a very long time. By the 1980s, however, children were no longer learning Tayap as their first language. Instead, they were learning Tok Pisin, the most important and widely-spoken national language of Papua New Guinea.

I began my work in Gapun in 1985. At that time, the number of people who actively commanded Tayap – in the sense that they spoke it with other villagers and were able to narrate stories in it – was about ninety, out of a population of about one hundred and thirty (most but not all of whom lived in Gapun). Twenty three years later, in 2009, the population of Gapun had grown to two hundred and eight people. In addition, seventeen people who had been born and raised in Gapun had left the village (mostly because of conflicts over land rights and sorcery accusations) and moved to the village of Wongan, which is a ninety-minute trip from Gapun, by foot and then dugout canoe across a vast mangrove lagoon.

If we were to include those people in a count of Gapuners the total population would be two hundred and twenty five. And if their children, most of whom were born and raised in Wongan, were to be included, the number of people who could reasonably claim to be a Gapuner would be close to three hundred.

Any way Gapuners are counted, it is clear that their numbers have doubled over the past twenty years. However, during that same time, old people have died and children have continued to learn Tok Pisin as their first language. By 2009, fewer than twenty people still living in Gapun had grown up with Tayap as their first language.



Map 1.1: Sepik-Ramu region. After Kulick (1992: 25).

Furthermore, the population of Gapun village is overwhelmingly young: ninety percent of the total population is under forty years old, and only three people in the village are over sixty years old. Today only about sixty people actively command Tayap and only about forty five use the language to any extent in their day-to-day lives.

This grammar and dictionary is an attempt to document and preserve a small part of the linguistic heritage of the Gapun people. Its publication will without doubt have little or no impact on Tayap's impending demise. Gapuners of today have little need for their vernacular. They also have little desire for it – even though no villager ever openly acknowledges this.

Many instances of language death around the world start when adults more or less consciously neglect to teach their home language to their children because they want the children to succeed in school or because the home language is socially stigmatized. This is not the situation in Gapun. No one in Gapun has ever explicitly rejected Tayap, and no one disparages it or suggests that it should be forgotten. On the contrary, Gapuners all express positive sentiments towards their vernacular language. They all say they like it. Older adults occasionally flare up and berate young people and children for not knowing it.

But despite positive sentiments toward Tayap, day-to-day village life is now overwhelmingly conducted in Tok Pisin. Village-wide meetings are in Tok Pisin, church services are in Tok Pisin, gatherings in the men's house are in Tok Pisin, chatter on the field during soccer matches is in Tok Pisin, talk among women visiting new mothers in maternity houses is in Tok Pisin. Informal conversations involving villagers over thirty-five often involve code-switching between Tayap and Tok Pisin, depending on who is present. But most conversations in Gapun, between most people, take place mostly in Tok Pisin. Even private, intimate conversations occur overwhelmingly in Tok Pisin: young men who go off together in groups to engage in secret rituals that make them feel lighter and more attractive speak Tok Pisin to one another. Husbands and wives under thirty, when they are alone together, speak Tok Pisin – a fact I know because when I asked a husband or a wife to give me their opinion on their spouse's competence in Tayap, they usually answered that they couldn't, because they almost never heard their spouse speak Tayap.

When villagers panic – for example when a drunken young man hurls himself through the village swinging a machete at anyone he sees, or when a child is bitten by a death adder in the middle of the village and no one knows where it went – on occasions like those, the overwhelming bulk of everyone's alarmed screams to one another, tellingly, is in Tok Pisin, not Tayap.

Equally tellingly, even senior villagers' admonitions to younger people to speak Tayap tend to be shouted in Tok Pisin. There is never any consistent effort to teach children Tayap; indeed, whenever young people do occasionally attempt to say something in it, any adult who hears them will often dismiss them with a chuckle or a sneer, and loudly bemoan how poorly they speak the vernacular language.

Language loss is inevitably linked to cultural change, and during the past few decades, Gapun has changed dramatically. The changes have not been economic: Gapun villagers of today are not materially much better off than their great-grandparents. Nor are villagers radically different from their post-war predecessors in terms of their understandings of their place in the world: like their grandparents, today's villagers still believe that Papua New Guineans are “the last country” and that one day, hopefully soon, Jesus will return to Earth and bestow upon them all the goods and riches that they believe He has already rewarded white people with, everywhere else in the world. (The complexity of all this is the subject of my two anthropological monographs on the village, Kulick 1992 and Kulick 2019.)

What makes villagers of today very different from the generation born in the 1940s and earlier is that the overwhelming majority of the social, cultural and ritual practices that link them to their history have vanished. The men's house cult, which for generations was the backbone of Gapun culture, is broken.

Previously important social bonds – for example, relations between joking kin, which are inherited relations to certain members of the clans into which one may marry (*njakum* in Tayap, “wanpilai” in Tok Pisin) – are no longer observed and for the most part no longer even known. Traditional healing rites, which depended on knowing, respecting, flattering and sometimes threatening the spirits of ancestors and the powers of the rainforest, are now all regarded as suspicious at best and Satanic at worst. Funerary rituals, which once engaged entire villages and were occasions for important social gatherings, great feasts and the momentous playing of the sacred flutes in the men’s house – these are all moribund.

For the past fifty years, villagers have been much more interested in trying to be good Catholics (villagers began to be baptized by visiting missionaries in the early 1950s), trying to get their children educated, and trying to discover a way to make money so that they can “develop” than they have been in talking about or preserving their traditions.

Like perhaps most people around the world, Gapuners care much more about their future than they do about their past. And a price they seem destined to pay for their enthusiastic orientation towards the future is not only the loss of their traditions and history, but also the loss of their ancestral language.

The death of languages is a phenomenon that linguists, anthropologists and activists for indigenous and ethnic rights have long been aware of, and concerned about. Much early linguistic and anthropological work was devoted to “salvaging” what could be documented of traditions and languages that were fading to extinction in the early decades of the twentieth century. During the past twenty years, however, awareness of language death has turned from concern to alarm.

Linguists have realized that languages are becoming extinct at a rate seemingly unprecedented in history. It is sobering to realize, for example, that ninety percent of the indigenous languages spoken upon Cook’s arrival in Australia are either dead or on the verge of dying. One overview has called the United States “a graveyard for hundreds of languages” (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 5), noting that eighty percent of the indigenous languages that still even exist there are no longer being learned by children. Thirty percent of the languages spoken in South America are thought to be “no longer viable”. And so on. The most widely cited estimate of language death is the ominous prediction that ninety percent of the world’s approximately six thousand languages are endangered (Krauss 1992, Evans 2010). This figure, which at first glance seems hyperbolic and unbelievable, becomes more comprehensible the moment it is realized that most people in the world speak one or more of the one hundred largest languages. Those big languages, linguists claim, are spoken by ninety six percent of the world’s population.

This means that four percent of the world's population speaks the overwhelming majority of the world's languages. And those languages – thousands of them, many of them undocumented – are believed to be in danger of vanishing within the next one hundred years.

Tayap is one of those languages. And in the literature on language death that began burgeoning in the 1990s, it has sometimes been featured as a poignant example. It is discussed, for example, in Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine's comprehensive overview of language extinction around the world. Those linguists cite my earlier work on Gapun (employing the spelling of "Tayap" that I used previously; Kulick 1992) to make the point that:

Tayap is an amazingly rich language in terms of its structural diversity and particularly distinctive vocabulary, unlike any other in the Sepik. It is not clearly related to any other language in the area or indeed to any other language in Papua New Guinea as far as we can tell. (2000:13)

This celebration of Tayap's uniqueness and complexity is a buildup that leads to a somber punchline: "While further research might provide clues about the precise genetic relationship between Taiap and other languages, this is unlikely to happen. Taiap is dying", write Nettle and Romaine, employing a baleful tone that is characteristic of work on language death around the world.

No one could dispute that the disappearance of a human language is a cause for lamentation and mourning. And it would be insensitive and beside the point to critique linguists' attempts to inform a wider public about the widespread language extinction that appears to be occurring across the globe today. But even as we acknowledge and appreciate this, it is still possible to be skeptical of what has emerged as a dominant way in which linguists discuss language death – the likening of endangered languages to endangered animals and endangered plants.

Nettle and Romaine, for example, liken Tayap to a great bird. They write, "if Taiap were a rare species of bird or Ubykh [another endangered language they discuss] a dying coral reef, maybe more people would know of their plight and be concerned". And they continue, asking dramatically, "Should we be any less concerned about Taiap than we are about the passing of the California condor?" (2000: 13–14).

A question like that is difficult to answer, not least because it is far from obvious what "our" concern that Tayap is dying might actually materialize in practice, and what consequences those material expressions of "our" concern might have for anyone living in Gapun. There is also a problem with likening Tayap to a condor because exquisite as languages may be, they really are not like condors or

coral reefs. Condor chicks are not sent to schools where they are taught in a cosmopolitan language they've barely ever heard, and where they learn to devalue their traditional condor ways. Coral reefs are not converted to Christianity and told that their traditional reef ways are Satanic.

To be fair, none of these things happen to languages either. But they do happen to speakers of many of the languages that linguists are so concerned about. Linguists like Nettle and Romaine who use species metaphors understand this, of course. But in the current cultural climate that exhorts people to develop concern for the environment and sustainability, many linguists seem to believe that they can elicit some kind of sympathy and support for dying languages if they talk about them in terms of biodiversity and species loss.

This way of thinking about language death is specious, however, because it directs our attention to the natural world. By encouraging us to think in terms of ecosystems rather than political systems, ecological or species metaphors elide, or at least defer, the simple realization that *language death is anything but a natural phenomenon*. On the contrary, it is a profoundly social phenomenon.

Languages die because people stop speaking them, not because they exhaust themselves in the fullness of time or are killed off by predatory languages of greater phonological scope or syntactic richness.

A better metaphor for language death, instead of seeing languages as animals or organisms, would be to think of them like political movements, philosophies or religions – that is, to consider them as social phenomena that cannot be comprehended apart from history, beliefs, economics, desire, structure and power. And that necessarily change and sometimes even disappear as the material, economic, social and cultural conditions that sustain them shift and transform.

With that in mind, and given the current state and tenor of Gapun village life, I wish to make it clear that this grammar and dictionary of Tayap is not an effort to influence the future. It is, instead, a record that documents what I am convinced soon will be the irrevocable past. Gapun villagers are ceasing to speak their language and if present trends persist, in thirty or forty years, Tayap will be gone forever. While this is inconsolably sad, it is the villagers' choice. It is a choice I have no doubt that their descendants will castigate them for, as always eventually happens with languages that die.

But I do not write this grammar and dictionary with the fantasy that its appearance will somehow change villagers' lives and make them revive their dying language. Indeed, I recognize that the opposite may – and at this point probably will – happen. The appearance of Tayap words printed in a book may

foster resignation and complacency: a sense that, “Well now our language is all there in a book, so we don’t really have to worry about it anymore, our children can learn it from the book when they’re grown up”. Tayap in a book may also solidify a view that the language is an august tongue of the ancestors far too majestic and esoteric for young people to ever even attempt to master.

So why write a book about Tayap? Partly to preserve some small part of the proverbial treasure chest of human knowledge, certainly. But mostly, I have written this grammar and dictionary primarily in the hope that a curious young Gapuner, sometime in the probably distant future, will discover it somewhere and value the fact that the obsolete language of his or her ancestors did not disappear without a trace.

The dictionary that accompanies this grammar is trilingual: Tayap, English and Tok Pisin. A few of the villagers in Gapun have had as many as ten years of schooling, most of it in English. Despite that, though (or, really, *because of that*), none of them currently possesses anything but the most rudimentary command of that language.¹ No villager today will be able to make much sense of this grammar of Tayap, but the dictionary part of this work may be entertaining and useful to them now, as opposed to some distant future. And to facilitate that usefulness, I have included definitions in the language that is replacing Tayap and in which all villagers are fluent: Tok Pisin.

I have also provided many examples of how the words in the dictionary are used in Tayap, and I have purposely included a large number of vulgarities. Gapun villagers are no different from anyone else who has ever scoured a dictionary to see if it dared to list the most obscene terms that one and one’s sniggering friends could dream up. I hope that the shock of seeing some of their most vulgar words and insults immortalized in a book will provide the villagers with a great deal of guilty pleasure.

This grammar and dictionary should be of interest to linguists who study Sepik and Ramu languages and the genealogical relationships of Papuan languages more generally. It should also interest archeologists and historians who study the peopling and linguistic diversity of the Sepik region of Papua New Guinea.

¹ In Kulick 1992: 175–80, I discuss the kind of schooling the villagers received and argue that its sole outcome, aside from teaching some villagers a few rudimentary literacy skills, is to induce dissatisfaction with village life. Since 2009, no villager has received even this dismal minimal education. The teachers in the government-run primary school in the neighboring village of Wongan went on strike and stopped teaching in early 2009. During a brief visit to the village in March 2019, I confirmed that the school remains closed.

Tayap is relevant to both these areas of research, first because the language appears to be an isolate with no known relatives, and second, because the ancestral territory of the villagers includes the highest point in the lower Sepik basin. This territory was an island six thousand years ago, before the sea receded and the Sepik Basin formed.

These geographical and linguistic facts suggest that Tayap may be a particularly ancient, autochthonous language that was already in place before the various waves of migration from the inland to the coast began occurring thousands of years ago (Ross 2005: 46).

1.2 Past research on Tayap

The history of linguistic research on Tayap is very brief. In 1937, Gapun was visited by one of the few white men ever to make it there. This was Georg Höltker, a German S.V.D. (*Societas Verbi Divini*) missionary and anthropologist. Höltker went to Gapun in the company of another missionary based in the coastal village of Watam, and he spent three hours in the village. He took two photographs and collected a word list.

A year later, Höltker published the list of 125 words, together with the weary remark that “it will be awhile before any other researcher ‘stumbles across’ Gapun, if only because of the small chances of worthwhile academic yields in this tiny village community, and also because of the inconvenient and arduous route leading to this linguistic island” (1938: 280). (A translation of Höltker’s short article is included here in Appendix 1, along with the two photographs he took in Appendix 2).

Höltker’s brief squib remained all that was known about Tayap until the early 1970s, when the Australian linguist Don Laycock travelled around the lower Sepik to collect basic vocabulary lists that allowed him to identify and propose classifications of the many languages spoken there. Laycock never visited Gapun, but he did get as far as neighboring Wongan, and he interviewed two Gapun villagers who were staying there at the time, Kawi Waiki and Konjab Akumbi (Laycock 1973: 35).

On the basis of the word list and a few verb paradigms that he gathered from Kawi and Konjab, Laycock classified Tayap (which he called “Gapun”) as a sub-phylum of the Sepik-Ramu language phylum. In the classification terminology used by Laycock and his linguistic colleagues in the 1970s, this meant that Tayap shared less than twelve percent of its basic vocabulary with other members of the phylum, and also that it exhibited marked differences from other members of the phylum – in Tayap’s case, gender pronouns and other differences related

to gender marking were mentioned. (The word list used by Laycock appears as an appendix to his 1973 article. A discussion of the classifying criteria used to sort out Papuan languages is in Wurm 1982: 65–72.)

Laycock included one other language in what he called the “Gapun sub-phylum level family”. This was a language of over two thousand speakers, called Bungain. Bungain is geographically distant from Gapun (off to the north and west of Map 1.2, see page 13), and Gapuners have no social, cultural or economic ties or affinities with – or even knowledge of – Bungain speakers. The relationship that Laycock postulated between Tayap and Bungain was not based on any solid data or analysis – it was based on the basic vocabulary list he used, as well as some rudimentary grammatical information, such as translations of ‘Give me tobacco’, ‘I cannot give you any, I have none’, ‘If I had some I would give it to you’. Laycock himself noted that all his classifications of Sepik languages were “tentative” and “impressionistic” (1973: 2). His description of the supposed similarities between Bungain and Tayap, in its entirety, consists of the following:

The languages show complex verb morphology, after the manner of Nor-Pondo languages (subject marking by prefix in Bungain, and suffix in Gapun); but there is apparently no noun classification, and no indication of number in nouns. Gapun has a third-feminine pronoun; Bungain appears to lack this, but there is apparent gender concordance in verbs.

(Laycock 1973: 35)

Aside from the remark about complex verb morphology – which is a feature shared by many Papuan languages – this description makes Bungain and Tayap sound more *dissimilar* than similar (it also turns out that Tayap, in fact, does mark number on a restricted class of nouns; see Section 3.1.3). In an attempt to assess the feasibility of Laycock’s classification of Tayap and Bungain, I looked through the field data on which he based the classification, namely his field notebooks D7, D26 and D27, which are deposited in the Linguistics Department at the Australian National University, where Laycock worked.²

Unfortunately, the notebooks turned out to be of quite limited use, because Laycock often did not translate the vernacular words he noted down in his field notebooks. He numbered the words, but his numbering does not correspond to

² I am grateful to the collective efforts of Melissa Crowther, Mark Donohue, Nicholas Evans, Ewan Maidment, Doug Marmion, Malcom Ross and Nick Thieberger in helping me track down and obtain scanned copies of these notebooks.

the list he provides in his published article on how he classified them (Laycock 1973: 70–71).

For example, in his Bungain fieldnotes, a word Laycock does translate, as ‘snake’ (*atop*), is numbered 172. But in the published list, ‘snake’ is word number 152. Eight untranslated words follow *atop*, but the ninth, *kwulémbe*, Laycock translates as ‘mosquito’. The problem is that in the word list published in his article, ‘mosquito’ comes eleven words after ‘snake’. These kinds of discrepancies make it impossible to use the word list Laycock provided in his article to identify the untranslated vernacular words he noted down in his field notebooks. This is not a problem with Laycock’s Tayap material, because I know the meaning of all the words he noted down. But since I know no Bungain, much of his list for that language is unrevealing.

As far as I am able to tell, there are no lexical similarities between Bungain and Tayap, beyond a couple of words that are common throughout the Sepik, such as the word for water (Bungain: *wi*; Tayap *awin*). Grammatically and morphologically, I could discern no similarities between Tayap and Bungain, and after examining the fieldnotes I was at a loss to understand the basis for his statement that “their relationship with each other is clear but not close” (Laycock and Z’graggen 1975: 757).

My own suspicion is that Laycock couldn’t easily fit either Tayap or Bungain into the language families he had developed for the Sepik region, and so he simply guessed that they might be related to one another. Later researchers have suggested that Bungain may be a Torricelli phylum language (Sanders and Sanders 1980: 188). Foley (2018) classes Bungain as a member of the Marienberg Hills family, a subgroup of the Torricelli family. He bases the classification of Bungain on morphological criteria gleaned from his own fieldwork data, which he describes as “brief” (Foley 2018: 304). He provides some of this data, including a pronoun paradigm, subject agreement prefixes, morphological description and some sentence material in his major descriptive work on the Sepik-Ramu languages (2018: 197–431). None of this material is suggestive of a relationship between Bungain and Tayap.

To illustrate how different Tayap is from neighboring languages, I have added it to the “Lower Sepik family basic word list” that appears in William Foley’s 1986 book, *The Papuan languages of New Guinea*. To enable the table to appear on a single page, I have omitted one of the languages in the original table (Karawari). The (K) after words in the Murik column indicates forms in the Kopar language.

Lower Sepik family: basic word list (adapted from Foley 1986: 215)

	Yimas	Angoram	Chambri	Murik	Tayap
1 'one'	<i>mba-</i>	<i>mbia</i>	<i>mbwia-</i>	<i>abe</i>	<i>nambar</i>
2 'two'	<i>-rpal</i>	<i>-(li)par</i>	<i>-ri</i>	<i>kompari</i> (K)	<i>sene</i>
3 'three'	<i>-ramnaw</i>	<i>-elim</i>	<i>-ram</i>	<i>kerongo</i>	<i>manaw</i>
4 'person'	<i>narmaŋ</i>		<i>noranan</i>	<i>nor</i>	----
5 'male'	<i>panmal</i>	<i>pondo</i>		<i>puin</i>	<i>munje</i>
6 'female'/ 'mother'	<i>ŋay</i>	<i>nunor</i>	<i>kave</i>	<i>ŋai</i>	<i>nonor/ama</i>
7 'father'	<i>apwi</i>	<i>apa/ano</i>	<i>kanu</i>	<i>apa</i>	<i>omo</i>
8 'water'	<i>arim</i>	<i>alim</i>	<i>arim</i>	<i>arim</i>	<i>awin</i>
9 'fire'	<i>awt</i>	<i>aluŋ</i>	<i>ayir</i>	<i>awr</i>	<i>otar</i>
10 'sun'	<i>timal</i>	<i>mbwino</i>	<i>simari</i>	<i>akin</i>	<i>arawer</i>
11 'moon'	<i>mila</i>	<i>mile</i>	<i>mwil</i>	<i>karewan</i>	<i>karep</i>
12 'star'	<i>awak</i>	<i>arenjo</i>	<i>sunŋkwi</i>	<i>moai</i>	<i>ngudum</i>
13 'canoe'	<i>kay</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>gain</i>	<i>yimbar</i>
14 'louse'	<i>nam</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>kurir</i>	<i>iran</i>	<i>pakind</i>
15 'village'	<i>num</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nomot</i>	<i>num</i>
16 'breast'	<i>niŋay</i>	<i>ŋge</i>	<i>niŋke</i>	<i>niŋgen</i>	<i>min</i>
17 'tooth'	<i>tiriŋ</i>	<i>sisinŋ</i>	<i>sraŋk</i>	<i>asarap</i>	<i>rewi</i>
18 'blood'	<i>yat</i>	<i>ayakone</i>	<i>yari</i>	<i>yanan</i>	<i>and</i>
19 'bone'	<i>tanim</i>	<i>salinŋ</i>	<i>anamp</i>	<i>sariŋjib</i>	<i>niŋg</i>
20 'tongue'	<i>minyiniŋ</i>	<i>miniŋ</i>	<i>tibulaninŋk</i>	<i>meniŋ</i>	<i>malit</i>
21 'eye'	<i>tunŋguriŋ</i>	<i>tambli</i>	<i>sisinŋk</i>	<i>nabrin</i>	<i>ngino</i>
22 'nose'	<i>tikay</i>	<i>nanim</i>	<i>wambusu</i>	<i>daur</i>	<i>raw</i>
23 'hair'	<i>wapwi</i>	<i>mbwikmaley</i>	<i>yawi</i>	<i>dwar</i>	<i>pupur/ kokinŋgrid</i>
24 'ear'	<i>kwanduminiŋ</i>	<i>kwandum</i>	<i>kukunam</i>	<i>karekep</i>	<i>neke</i>
25 'egg'	<i>awŋ</i>	<i>awŋ</i>	<i>awŋk</i>	<i>gaug</i>	<i>naŋa</i>
26 'leaf'	<i>nimbrim</i>	<i>(nam)blum</i>	<i>nimpramp</i>	<i>nabirik</i>	<i>mayar</i>
27 'tree'	<i>yan</i>	<i>lor</i>	<i>yuwan</i>	<i>yarar</i>	<i>nim</i>
28 'yesterday'/ 'tomorrow' ³	<i>nariŋ</i>	<i>nakimin</i>	<i>namasiniŋ</i>	<i>ŋariŋ</i>	<i>ewar/epi</i>
29 'oar'	<i>muraŋ</i>	<i>inap</i>	<i>naŋk</i>	<i>inaŋ</i>	<i>inyaŋ</i>
30 'betel nut'	<i>patn</i>	<i>pariŋ</i>	<i>muntikin</i>	<i>porog</i>	<i>minjike</i>
31 'lime'	<i>awi</i>	<i>awer</i>	<i>ayir</i>	<i>ayr</i>	<i>air</i>
32 'pig'	<i>numbran</i>	<i>imbar</i>	<i>numpran</i>	<i>(nim)bren</i>	<i>mbor</i>
33 'crocodile'	<i>manba</i>	<i>walami</i>	<i>ayi</i>	<i>oramen</i>	<i>orem</i>
34 'snake'	<i>wakin</i>	<i>paruŋ</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>wakin</i>	<i>aram</i>

(continued)

³ Note that 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow' are expressed by the same word in the languages cited here, something which is common also in other Papuan languages. Tayap is exceptional here.

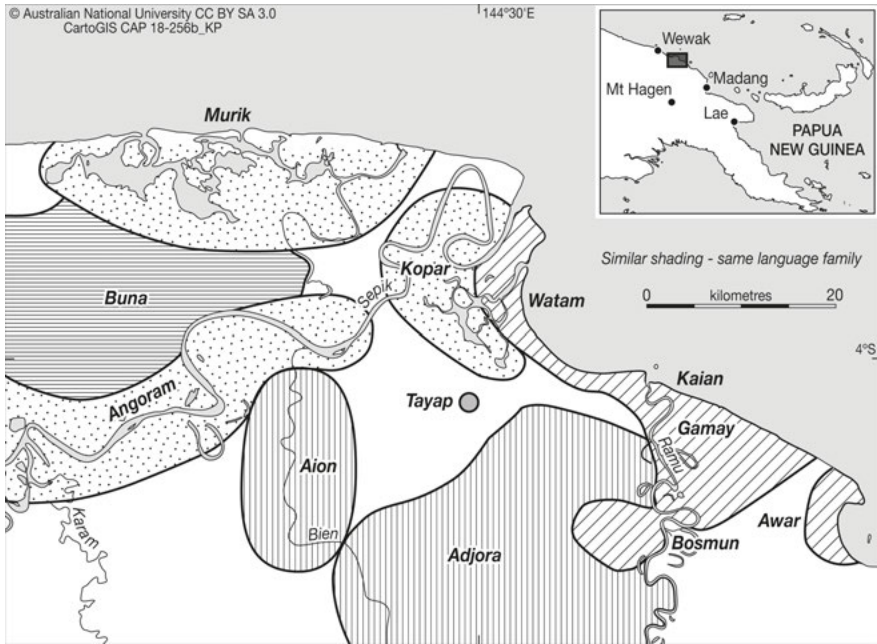
(continued)

	Yimas	Angoram	Chambri	Murik	Tayap
35 'mosquito'	<i>naŋgun</i>	<i>wawarin</i>	<i>naŋgun</i>	<i>nauk/ naŋgit (K)</i>	<i>at</i>
36 'chicken'	<i>nakwan</i>	<i>kilikala</i>	<i>nakwan</i>	<i>goabar</i>	<i>kokok</i>
37 'sago grub'	<i>wun</i>	<i>wurin</i>	<i>wun</i>	<i>kamur</i>	<i>kimirik</i>
38 'sago palm'	<i>tinum</i>	<i>(t)uli(no)</i>	<i>tinum</i>	<i>dun</i>	<i>yam</i>
39 'sago refuse'	<i>tiki</i>	<i>tikir</i>			<i>tawar</i>
40 'pound sago'	<i>pan-</i>	<i>pan-</i>	<i>pun-</i>	<i>pon-</i>	<i>mind-</i>
41 'wash sago'	<i>tuku-</i>	<i>tuku-</i>	<i>tuku-</i>	<i>tokun-</i>	<i>eiw-</i>
42 'hear'	<i>andi-</i>	<i>andi-</i>	<i>andi-</i>	<i>din-</i>	<i>tar-</i>
43 'hit'	<i>tupul-</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>dii-</i>	<i>di-</i>	
44 'eat'	<i>am-</i>	<i>am-</i>	<i>am-</i>	<i>min-</i>	<i>a-</i>
45 'go'	<i>wa-</i>	<i>kal-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>on-</i>	<i>o-</i>
46 'feces'	<i>milim</i>	<i>mind</i>	<i>munjar</i>	<i>mindin</i>	<i>yewir</i>
47 'spine of leaf'	<i>kinin</i>	<i>kinin</i>	<i>kinin</i>	<i>kinin</i>	<i>mbwag</i>
48 'leg'	<i>pamuŋ</i>	<i>namuŋ</i>	<i>namaŋk</i>	<i>namoŋ (K)</i>	<i>ndow</i>
49 'big'	<i>kipa-</i>	<i>kupa-</i>	<i>wupa-</i>	<i>apo-</i>	<i>suman</i>
50 'cold'	<i>tarik</i>	<i>popant</i>	<i>saruk</i>	<i>seripatin (K)</i>	<i>pokemb</i>

There are a few clear cognates between Tayap and some of the other languages listed in this table, such as the words for 'village', 'water', 'lime' (that is, the white powder made of bivalve shells that villagers pulverize and chew together with betel nut) and 'eat'. The Tayap verb meaning 'go' is realized as *wak-* in the habitual progressive aspect and the counterfactual mood (see Sections 8.3 and 9.4.3), thus probably making it cognate with Yimas, Chambri and Murik. The Tayap word for 'woman' is cognate with Angoram's 'female', and the words for 'fire', 'pig', 'one', 'egg', perhaps 'three' and a few others are similar to some of the words in one or more of the other languages.

A few words, such as those for 'canoe' and 'oar' are borrowings – Gapuners only learned to paddle canoes after WWII, when they moved their village from its former site up on a mountain down closer to the mangrove lagoon. They did this so that it would be easier for them to transport the cash crops they heard they should grow – at the time, those were rice and peanuts – out of the village and to waiting buyers (who for the most part never materialized). All words related to canoes, paddles and fishing in the mangrove lagoon are borrowings from the Kopar language.

But despite the cognates that do exist – something that one would expect given that people in the lower Sepik have had various forms of contact with one another for a very long time – it is striking that Tayap is so different from other Lower Sepik languages. Of the fifty words listed, at least thirty five of them, or seventy percent, are unique.



Map 1.2: Some languages of the Sepik-Ramu region. After Foley (2018: 202) and Kulick (1992: 62).

While this lack of cognates, in itself, does not necessarily prove that Tayap is an isolate, in the absence of any other evidence that it is related to other languages, it seems reasonable to classify it as a language isolate at this time (Ross 2005, Foley 2018).

1.3 Material on which this book is based

I first went to Gapun in the mid-1980s, at the suggestion of Don Laycock. I was interested in studying language shift in a place where the accounts usually offered to explain it – urbanization, social class mobility, educational aspirations – might not apply. I wanted to work on language shift in Papua New Guinea because I assumed that the tiny languages spoken there might be undergoing change. Nothing was known about the situation for Tayap, but Don had always remained curious about the language, and he reasoned cheerfully that “it’s so small that something has to be happening to it”. So off I went.

After a one-month reconnaissance trip to Gapun in 1985, I returned a year later and spent fifteen months in the village, gathering data on the language and on language use. During that period, I worked a great deal with senior men,

especially Raya Ayarpa and his older brother, Kruni Ayarpa. Both brothers had been born in the late 1920s. They had been initiated in the traditional men's house cult of the *tambaran*, they were regarded as experts on traditional knowledge and history, and they were fluent and eloquent speakers of Tayap. They were members of the last generation to have had direct contact with the pre-colonial customs of their ancestors, either through their own experiences or through the stories of their fathers, grandfathers and other kinfolk.

I left Gapun in 1987 and wrote my PhD thesis on the social and cultural underpinnings of the language shift that was occurring there. A few years later, the thesis was published (Kulick 1992). I returned in 1991 to systematize my linguistic data with the goal of writing a grammar and dictionary. But that fieldtrip was cut short by a tragedy that occurred two months into the work: late one night, a group of armed bandits (called *ol raskol*, 'rascals', throughout Papua New Guinea) snuck into the village and attacked me in my house. They had been drawn to Gapun by a rumor that I was keeping 40,000 kina (the Papua New Guinean currency; at the time this was worth about the same in US dollars) in a metal patrol box.

In the tumult that occurred during the attack, the raskols shot a man – one of old Kruni Ayarpa's adult sons, Kawri Kruni – and he died shortly afterwards in the arms of the horrified villagers.

After murdering Kawri, the raskols fled Gapun. I left too, partly out of concern for my own safety, but also feeling that my presence in the village had come to be a dangerous liability for the villagers. My own trauma and sorrow regarding the incident led me to abandon my work on Gapun and the Tayap language (this incident and its aftermath is described in detail in Kulick 2019).

I did not return to Gapun again until fifteen years later, in 2006. During a short trip, I determined that the general law and order situation in that part of Papua New Guinea had improved, and also that the villagers were eager for me to come back. I applied for and received several research grants, and in 2009, I returned to Gapun and spent nine months in the village.

By this time, all the senior men with whom I had worked in the 1980s were long dead, and in fact, as I noted above, there remained only a few villagers who were over sixty years old. I began working on the language with one of them, Monei Mbanan, a perceptive and gentle man in his mid-sixties with whom I had done a great deal of transcription work in the 1980s.

Unfortunately, two months after I arrived in Gapun, Monei grew gravely ill with what looked to me like cerebral malaria, and he died several weeks later.

Monei's death turned out to be a devastating blow to Gapun. Everyone in the village mourned the loss of their "last big man", as they all called Monei. But that mourning was riddled with conflict. Monei's adult children openly accused their maternal cousins of having paid a sorcerer to kill their father. Those accusations

reignited long-smoldering hostilities. They led to village-wide brawls between different kin groups, and to uncontrolled drinking by young men, who a few years previously had been taught by men from the Sepik river village of Bien how to ferment and distill alcohol from coconut water or rotten bananas. The village was riven with threats of revenge sorcery, and by almost daily recurring uproar and violence that set everyone on edge. Social control collapsed and villagers' sense of cohesion frayed.

In the months following Monei's death, there was a powder-keg atmosphere in the village, and many villagers came to grow tired of hiding inside their houses while drunken young men strode through the village brandishing machetes, screaming obscenities in Tok Pisin and challenging others to come and fight with them. People began talking of "running away" from Gapun, and some families did actually abandon their houses and leave the village to build small homesteads for themselves in the jungle. By the end of 2009, when I left Gapun, the village was in the process of fissuring.

During this unsettling time, I collected material on Tayap by working with two other speakers. My chief language informant was Samek Wanjo, a pensive man who, in 2009, was about sixty years old. After Monei's death, Samek assumed Monei's place as the village's "biggest" man, and everyone agreed that he was one of the few remaining villagers who possessed any significant knowledge of traditions, land rights and village history.

The other person with whom I worked on Tayap was Ngero Sair, a thirty-five-year-old woman who is the oldest daughter of two Tayap-dominant parents. Ngero is one of the youngest speakers in Gapun to habitually use Tayap in her everyday conversations, and I was eager to work with her, to try to gauge any differences which might exist between her competence in Tayap, and that of older speakers. Samek and Ngero both turned out to be knowledgeable and nimble language informants.

With Samek I worked on vocabulary and grammar. With Ngero, I transcribed most of the recordings I made of naturally occurring speech.

In 1993, my linguist colleague Christopher Stroud and I published a thirty-page sketch grammar of Tayap in a volume honoring Don Laycock, who died suddenly in 1988, and whose passing was a profound loss for Papuan linguistics. Much of the analysis in that short sketch grammar is reasonable, as a first attempt to come to terms with the basic structure of the language (Kulick and Stroud 1993).

But re-reading the paper, I realized that it is an unhappily difficult text to process. Christopher and I wrote the sketch for linguists, and we were interested in facilitating the identification of underlying forms of the grammatical structures we discussed. It strikes me now that this goal – or certainly the way we tried to achieve it – obscures more about the language than it illuminates. For that reason, Angela Terrill and I have completely overhauled the analysis of Tayap presented

in that paper, and we have not concerned ourselves with any attempt to identify or derive underlying forms. Anyone who might be interested in analyzing those forms – for example to determine Tayap’s genetic relationships with other languages – should find sufficient material in this grammar and dictionary to do so.

The data on which this grammar and dictionary are based consists of material elicited during the following visits to Gapun: 1985 (one month), 1986–1987 (fifteen months), 1991 (two months), 2006 (six weeks), 2009 (nine months), 2010 (one month), and 2014 (two and a half months).⁴ The book is also based on transcripts of naturally occurring talk that I made during all those periods of fieldwork. Those transcripts represent over one hundred hours of audio-taped talk in all kinds of situations – interactions between caregivers and children, oratories in the men’s house, domestic arguments, harangues, narratives, village meetings and tuneful weeping over corpses.

All transcribed talk was written down with the help of village informants. I could never have transcribed the language by myself. At its apogee, my passive command of Tayap was respectable, and after about five months in the village in 2009, for example, I was able to follow most of what was said in the vernacular. But like village children and young adults, I never needed to actively speak Tayap – except, that is, when people from other villages came to Gapun to visit. Then, inevitably and to my great exasperation, Gapuners would ignore my

⁴ A brief visit to Gapun in March 2019 determined that there is no longer any there there. The village has been all but abandoned. Fewer than fifty people (of which thirty were adults) were living in Gapun – this, out of total population of more than two hundred people five years earlier, in 2014. Much of the village had been reclaimed by jungle. Eight houses (the entire upper third section of the village) were incinerated in 2018, during a fight, and the victims of this violence have fled into the rainforest and built new houses there. Other villagers have taken their families and relocated to other villages, such as neighboring Wongan, or the coastal villages of Watam and Boroi.

The reason for the village’s dissolution is that the disruptive binge drinking that began in earnest in 2009 has continued, and wrought devastation. Young village men have begun murdering one another in drunken frenzies. In December 2013, a village man was shot in the stomach with an arrow during a drunken brawl. He died an agonizing death a few days later. In August 2018, again during a drunken melee, a young man was shot in the head with a cruelly barbed projectile. Relatives managed to get him to a hospital in the tiny town of Angoram (a twelve hour journey away, paddling in a canoe), and the staff there managed to remove the projectile, but the man suffered severe cognitive impairments and he died a month later.

I am at a loss to imagine how the cycle of drinking and violence might be brought to an end, since murders like the ones that occurred in 2013 and 2018 only intensify the ever-more-destructive spirals of conflict that have steadily been poisoning village life for the past ten years.

In addition to resulting in unnumbered tears and profound tragedy, the dispersion of Gapun village reduces interpersonal contact between individual villagers, and it inevitably will impact on Tayap, undoubtedly hastening its demise.

protestations and insist on exhibiting me like a trained parrot. They took enormous pleasure in showing off their resident white man, and they delighted in the fact that I was able to awe their easily impressed guests with my ability to respond to commands in Tayap and mouth a few simple phrases.

Much of the material on which this description is based is stored on PARADISEC.

1.4 Young people's Tayap

In addition to language recorded through formal elicitation sessions and transcriptions of naturally occurring speech, this grammar and dictionary is also informed by fifty-six narratives from forty five young people aged fourteen to thirty that I collected and transcribed between July and November 2009.

I elicited these narratives primarily to see whether villagers younger than about thirty had any active command of Tayap at all. By mid-2009, after having lived in Gapun twenty-four hours a day for more than three months, I found that I was still unable to accurately judge this. The reason I had trouble assessing younger villagers' active competence in Tayap during this time was because whenever I asked young people if they “save toktok long tok ples” (spoke Tayap), they all told me, sure they did.

The problem was, I never heard any of them doing so. Once in a while I would hear a young person utter a few formulaic phrases in Tayap, but this was usually done to mark a situation as funny, and it was usually accompanied and followed by laughter. It also seemed to me that whenever villagers under twenty-five mouthed even a short formulaic phrase in Tayap, their tone of voice shifted to suggest that they were imitating or quoting someone else, usually to mock them (a big man's Voice of Authority, for example). Much the same happened whenever I pressed the young people who told me that they spoke Tayap, and asked them to tell me exactly what kind of things they said in the vernacular. In response, they would list a few words like *mum* and *tamwai* (sago jelly and sago pancake, respectively) and a few rudimentary formulaic phrases, such as the command to hand over some betel nut or tobacco.

At the same time, however, Tayap does continue to be heard throughout Gapun. Women and men over fifty use it habitually (even if they continually code-switch between Tayap and Tok Pisin), and a few men and women in their mid-thirties and older also use Tayap very frequently, even when speaking to their children. Even small children in the village understand the commands to go and fetch things, hit dogs, get out of the way, stop crying, etc. that adults are continually hollering at them.

Given that it was clear that Tayap was still used throughout Gapun, for a long time I thought that perhaps the young people really were quite competent in the vernacular, as they claimed to be. I fretted that I just never seemed to be in the right place at the right time to hear them when they actually spoke it.

I began to wonder whether the reason I wasn't hearing young people telling each other stories or asking each other questions in Tayap was because maybe they spoke it mostly out of the earshot of older, more fluent speakers. Maybe they felt ashamed that they weren't speaking it completely flawlessly, I conjectured. Or perhaps the vernacular, for them, had become tied to particular social events like same-sex gossip or hanging out in the rainforest – speech situations that only happened when young people were alone in groups and away from nosy and critical parents and elders.

To see whether any of this was in fact the case, I ended up spending a great deal of time with young people of both sexes between the ages of fourteen to twenty-five. I accompanied young men into the rainforest on frequent occasions, to go looking for birds to shoot with arrows or slingshots, and also when they went off together in groups to perform secret rituals that refresh their bodies.

I also spent a lot of time hanging out with young women. One place I made a point of doing this was inside maternity huts. Maternity huts are small, flimsy, hurriedly-constructed little houses on stilts, set on the periphery of the village, often near areas that villagers go off into to urinate or defecate. Women ready to give birth walk to special places in the rainforest, have their baby, then return to these maternity huts, where they are supposed to stay for up to three months (even though most young women these days find excuses to go back into their usual houses after only a few perfunctory weeks). During the entire period a woman is in a maternity hut, no man is supposed to visit her or even set eyes upon her and her newborn baby because villagers believe that the quantities of blood and uterine fluids discharged during childbirth make a woman and her newborn infant “hot” – that is to say, scalding, dangerous. Females are not as vulnerable to the effects of other women's “heat” (since they are, themselves, “hot”), and female visitors drop by a maternity hut throughout the day, usually accompanied by their younger child siblings and their own babies, if they have any. They bring food, water and gossip about the goings-on in the village from which the new mother is temporarily excluded.

It was not gender-appropriate for me to sit in the maternity huts with new mothers and other women, but the villagers regarded my enthusiasm for doing so as just a puzzling, whiteman eccentricity. Everyone in Gapun was convinced that I was going to get a fatal case of asthma from allowing myself to come in such close contact with the heat of women.

With this kind of danger in mind, whenever I wondered aloud in Gapun whether I might be coming down with a cold or a fever, a villager was always on hand to ruefully shake his or her head and remind me how foolish I was to put myself at risk of bronchial collapse by sitting next to a woman who had recently given birth. Sure, I might take special white-people's medicine to protect against the ravages of vaginal heat, they told me (this is how they assumed I could survive the blasts at all), but sooner or later, they just knew, I would start spewing blood.

Despite their expectation that I would soon be coughing out my own lungs, both women and men seemed to enjoy my visits in the maternity huts. Men enjoyed them because I took digital photos of the new babies and willingly showed them to them. Before I began doing this, no adult man had ever seen a newborn, so they were all deeply curious. Women always welcomed me because I brought gossip and stories. They also liked looking at the photos I took of them and their babies. I usually also brought along some kerosene that could be put into a tin lamp, thus sparing the new mother and her baby pitch-black nights in a lonely, wind-rattled hut.

Because I spent so many hours in the company of young women in places like maternity huts, and of young men in places like the rainforest when they performed intimate and lengthy ministrations together, I came to see, over the months, that none of these young people ever used Tayap at all. All conversations between young people under twenty-five, in all situations, were in Tok Pisin. Young people use Tayap words that are common in the villagers' speech, and that often don't have Tok Pisin equivalents (for example, words for various birds and plants in the forest). And they do sometimes use short formulaic phrases, to provoke humor or to "hide talk" from any non-villager who might be in their company or within earshot. But that is all.

Young people do not converse, narrate, gossip, argue, tell jokes, discuss erotic experiences or do anything else at all in Tayap.

Once I understood this, I became better able to make sense of the mutual recrimination that arises whenever the topic of language shift comes up in villagers' conversations. Parents blame their children for not speaking Tayap. They say in voices dripping with irony that their children have all turned white and therefore they only speak the language of white people – Tok Pisin. Young people, when mocked in this way, snap back that it's the parents' own fault their children don't speak Tayap: if they had taught them Tayap, they would be able to speak it.

Young men and women also told me that they don't speak Tayap because they are ashamed. "They laugh at us", said one twenty-one-year-old man, referring to villagers in their forties and older. "They'll say 'Oh, he's someone raised in some other village'. Or, 'Oh! A whiteman child who doesn't know the village language'. They'll make fun of us. So it's hard to answer in the vernacular and we

get mixed up.” (“Ol i save lap long mipela, ol bai kirap tok, ‘Em wanpela mangi bilong narapela hap ia’. O ‘Ye, waitman pikinini i no save long tok ples’. Na bai ol i wokim pani gen. Em nau, hat long bekim long tok ples bai mipela paul ia.”)

I became curious to know if the young people’s lack of Tayap, and their shame about speaking it, was due to the fact that they simply didn’t command it. So to try to assess this, I began asking groups of friends, two to three at a time, to come into my house at night to narrate stories in Tayap. Because I knew by that time that young people didn’t speak Tayap to one another or anyone else, I expected this task to be like pulling teeth.

Instead, to my great surprise, it was like slicing butter.

Not only were young villagers eager to narrate; all but the very youngest of them were also *able* to narrate in Tayap. Many of the narratives were short, and most of them were scaffolded by the narrator’s same-sex friends, who sat on the floor with them and helped the teller remember what things were called and figure out how verbs were inflected. But what emerged in the narrative sessions was that all young people in the village have some active competence in the vernacular, and some of them have excellent active competence – even though they *never* use it.

Those young people who exhibited the highest-level proficiency in their Tayap narratives (defined as speakers who spoke relatively unhesitatingly, used a variety of pronouns, verbal statuses and verbs of motion, and who had a broad vocabulary) constitute a kind of speaker that has not been discussed in the literature on language death. They are not exactly “passive bilinguals”, because they are capable of active production – in a few cases, of relatively advanced active production (Tayap Text 3, narrated by a twenty-five-year-old woman, is an example of just how advanced).

Nor are these young women and men quite the same as what the linguist Nancy Dorian, in her work on language death in Scottish Gaelic communities, once labeled “semi-speakers” (Dorian 1981). The young people of Gapun *are* like the Gaelic semi-speakers that Dorian described in that they have perfect passive competence and perfect communicative competence in the vernacular: they understand everything said to them and they respond in culturally appropriate ways. But unlike Dorian’s semi-speakers (and also unlike the Australian Dyirbal semi-speakers discussed in Schmidt 1985), young people in Gapun do not use the vernacular in conversations with fluent speakers. On the contrary, with the exception of lexical items and a few formulaic phrases like those mentioned above, they never use it at all. The narratives I collected in 2009 are the only times in their lives that the young people I recorded have ever told an entire story in Tayap, and unless I return to Gapun and record some more, or unless some miracle happens and the vernacular experiences a sudden renaissance, those sessions in my house are likely the last time that anyone under twenty five will ever even attempt to narrate an entire story in Tayap.

Rather than calling them “passive bilinguals” or “semi-speakers”, a more accurate name for this category of speaker might be “passive active bilingual”. The convolutedness of that label seems fitting to describe a speaker who possesses sufficient grammatical and communicative competence in a second language to use that language, but who never actually does use it, because social and cultural factors make it unnecessary or undesirable to do so.

Of particular relevance for this grammar is that there is a steady and stage-bound grammatical erosion from passive active bilinguals to increasingly less competent passive bilinguals. Some of this erosion includes the following:

- The five transitive verb classes become collapsed into the morphologically simplest conjugation class, class 5.
- Verbs of motion (all of which have irregular conjugations) are avoided and reduced to ‘go’ and ‘come’.
- TAM distinctions are reduced to the non-future tense and the present progressive aspect, which is over-extended, because it is the morphologically simplest and most regular of all TAM categories. All other aspects, tenses and moods, such as the future, are avoided.
- 2PL, 3PL and dual subjects are avoided, because the suffixes on verbs that encode them have specific forms that differ from the subject suffixes for 1SG, 1PL, 2SG and 3SG – all of which are also specific, but which are similar to one another.
- Gender concordance on verbs and with ergative case marking is often confused.
- Relative clauses and subordinate clause morphology disappear, morphemes that coordinate clauses become reduced to a single morpheme, which is over-generalized on the pattern of Tok Pisin.
- Semantic differences between different Tayap verbs are collapsed on the pattern of Tok Pisin. For example, Tayap has two verbs for ‘turn’: *urek-(p)-e* ‘turn over’ (in the sense of turning an object around or over) and *wanuk-(p)-e* ‘turn around’, ‘turn back’ (in the sense of going somewhere and then turning back to return from the place from which one came). Tok Pisin uses one verb, *tainim*, ‘turn’, for both senses. Young speakers follow Tok Pisin semantics and use only one verb, *urek-(p)-e*, for both senses of ‘turn’.

These tendencies are discussed in the appropriate sections of the grammar and in the commentaries to the Tayap texts (page 289ff).

1.5 Naming practices

Everyone in Gapun has a *numŋa nomb* ‘village name’, which is one of a closed class of names that are recycled every third or fourth generation. When the person who bore the name most recently has died, it becomes available for reuse. All personal names are the property of one of the five different clans to which all Gapuners belong – crocodile (*orem*), dog (*nje*), parrot (*karar*), pig (*mbor*) or flying fox (*njakep*). This means that a name expresses clan membership, which is a crucial and central facet of villagers’ identity, since it regulates access to land rights (different clans have rights to different areas of land) and marriage possibilities (clans are exogamous, so one’s spouse should not be a fellow clan member).

Because names signify clan membership, a person cannot give a child a name that belongs to another clan. Such an act would be a kind of theft and would result, villagers are agreed, in the ensorcellment and death of the child, of the person who named the child or of a matrilineal relative of those persons (see Kulick 1992: 98–99 for a fuller discussion).

A child’s parents have little say in what their child will be called. When a baby is born and has survived a few days, one of the baby’s relatives (normally a matrilineal relative such as the baby’s mother’s mother, the mother’s uncle or one of her siblings) will let it be known that they are going to ‘put a name’ (*nomb ŋgur*) on the child. In due course – several weeks to a month after the child’s birth – the self-appointed bestower of the name will let it be known what the child will be called. If the mother or father doesn’t like the sound of the name that the relative has come up with, they can reject it and ask her or him to think of a better one. Or they can ask another relative to put another name on the child, so that the child has two competing names.

This occasionally happens even if both a child’s parents are satisfied with the name that has given to their new baby: sometimes that name is a taboo name for one of the parents – it may be the name of a deceased in-law, for example, and the names of in-laws are forbidden for villagers to call, even after the in-law bearing the name has died. In a case like that, the parent who is unable to call her or his child by name will either solicit a second name, or else she or he will address the child by a nickname, which will often be a word that draws attention to a defect or disability.

Villagers do not hide or try to disguise people’s physical or intellectual differences from others; on the contrary, they continually foreground such differences with names like *Ŋgino* (Tayap ‘Eye’; the nickname of a woman with strabismus); Kela (Tok Pisin ‘Baldy’, the nickname of a child who fell into a fire at a young age and was left with a large scar, from which hair cannot grow, covering most of his

head); or Sens (Tok Pisin ‘Crazy’, the nickname of a young man who is probably epileptic and who sometimes blanks out of an interaction for several minutes at a time).

Village names are anywhere from one to four syllables, with the majority consisting of two syllables. Some examples are:

SYLLABLES	FEMALE NAME	MALE NAME
1	<i>Mbit, Mbop, Mbup</i>	<i>Kak, Kem, Njab</i>
2	<i>Kanim, Mopok, Yapa</i>	<i>Ngedop, Panap, Sando</i>
3	<i>Karepa, Mbasama, Poniker</i>	<i>Oŋenjar, Sakoko, Tagipa</i>
4	<i>Armambira, Somasoma, Tamgeria</i>	<i>Ajiragi, Antamawri, Kanjirase</i>

Since the 1950s, each villager also has a Christian name (‘kristen nem’ in Tok Pisin, no word in Tayap). In contrast to village names, a person’s Christian name is chosen by his or her parents or by a matrilineal relative whom the parents think can come up with a better name than they can. They choose a name either that they have heard someone from another village being called, or that they have decided is a name from the Bible.

Following the pattern of their traditional naming practices, villagers avoid giving their child the same name that somebody else already has, so there is usually only one Maria, one Joseph, one Paul, etc. in Gapun at any one time.

A child’s Christian name is thought up whenever the Catholic priest from the Marienberg mission station comes to the village to baptize children – an event that occurs about once every two or three years. Villagers who get too creative with Christian names are chastised and corrected by the priest. In 2009, for example, one couple had chosen the name ‘Anunciata’ for their three-year-old daughter, because they liked the sound of the name and they had heard from someone that it was the name of a nun somewhere. As the priest from Marienberg was about to anoint the child, the girl’s godparent told him that the child’s Christian name was to be ‘Anunciata’. The priest stopped the ceremony.

“That’s not a Christian name”, he announced. The parents would have to come up with something different.

The parents were silent.

Getting no response, the priest asked who the father was. When he was identified, he asked him impatiently what other names he had considered for the girl. The father said nothing.

From somewhere in the back of the church, one of the mother’s relatives suggested ‘Tema’.

The priest asked the girl's father if he wanted the name 'Tema' (the girl's mother's wishes or opinions – in keeping with Catholic practice – were not solicited or considered).

The father answered by looking down at his feet and saying softly, "If you want to change it, that's alright" ("Sapos yu laik sensim bai mi bihainim yu").

"No", the priest said to him. "Do you want that name?" ("Nogat, yu laikim despela nem tu?")

The father repeated himself, "If you want to change it, that's alright".

"But do you like the name?" the priest wanted to know. ("Na yu laikim tu?")

"Yeah", said the father reluctantly and barely audibly, "Em i orait" ("It's OK").

Thus did little Anunciata become baptized as Tema, a name that the parents don't like at all, and that, consequently, has never been uttered by anyone since that moment of baptism.

In day-to-day life, most villagers are called by their village names. A handful of people, however, are usually called by their Christian name, either because they want to foreground their Catholic piety, or because their parents never really liked the village names given to their child, so they got around it by always calling the child by his or her Christian name.

For official purposes such as school enrollment or electoral rolls, villagers are identified by their Christian name and the village name of their father. So Ngero, one of my main language informants in 2009, is identified in official contexts as Prisila Sair.

This patrilineal naming practice is contrary to and corrosive of how villagers reckon kinship, which is matrilineally – a villager belongs to the clan of her or his mother, not her or his father. Increasingly, however, as a direct result both of Catholic teaching and government sanctioned conventions such as official naming practices, fathers are asserting rights over their children, and are beginning to "take" their children into their clans with a frequency that far exceeds past practice.

Important mythical ancestors, deities and spirits also have names, as do all the areas of Gapun's vast rainforest. The more esoteric names for the ancestors and deities vanished from Tayap in the 1990s with the last of the village's truly knowledgeable big men. Those men declined to pass on the names to their matrilineal nephews, as used to be happen, because, they told me in the 1980s, the names were powerful elements in sorcery chants and could be used to kill people. The big men who made this decision were all strongly Catholic, and they believed that their traditional knowledge was part of what was preventing Gapuners from changing into white people (Kulick 1992).

Tayap words for commonly visited areas of the rainforest remain known among villagers, because they walk through the forest every day to hunt, gather

food and go to their gardens or sago swamps. The names of places rarely visited by villagers and that are several days' walk from the village are less well known, and only the oldest people in the village can recite them, after long consultations with one another.

1.6 Tayap linguistic profile

Like many Sepik languages, Tayap is a synthetic language. Verbs are the most elaborated area of the grammar. They are complex, fusional and massively suppletive, with opaque verbal morphology including unpredictable conjugation classes, both in terms of membership and formal marking. There are very many suppletive stem forms marking a basic realis-irrealis distinction as well as various other TAM categories. Person/number marking also differs depending on the verb type. This is a language of “baroque accretions” (McWhorter 2001); or what Dahl (2004) calls “mature phenomena”.

There is a fundamental distinction in verbal morphology between realis and irrealis stems and suffixes, but this distinction is overridden by transitivity in the prohibitive and counterfactual forms.

Grammatical relations are marked by verbal suffixes, which distinguish S/A versus O. In some conjugations S/A is marked by discontinuous morphemes. Free pronouns and noun phrases mark the ergative case (A) compared to unmarked forms for the absolutive (S/O). As in many Papuan languages which have an ergative case, the ergative marker is optional and is frequently omitted.

There are two genders, masculine and feminine, marked not on the noun itself but on deictics, the ergative marker, suppletive verbal stems and verbal affixes. The unmarked, generic form of all nouns, including animate nouns, even humans, is feminine: however, a male referent may be masculine. Another criterion is size and shape: long, thin and large referents tend to be masculine; short, stocky and small referents tend to be feminine. Again this type of gender-assignment system is typical of the Sepik region.

Gender is only ever marked in the singular, never in the dual or plural. Nouns generally do not mark number themselves, although there is a small class of largely human nouns which mark plural, and a smaller class which mark dual. These categories, where marked, are largely marked by partial or full suppletion. Oblique cases, largely local, are marked by clitics attached to the end of the oblique NP. Two adjectives also mark number, with partially suppletive forms for singular, dual and plural. A further two adjectives have partially suppletive forms for singular and plural.

Phonologically, the language has a medium-sized consonant inventory with voiceless stops, voiced (prenasalized) stops, nasals, semivowels and a rhotic/lateral flap. There are six vowels, /a/, /i/, /ɛ/, /u/, /ɔ/ and /ə/. Stress is largely predictable, typically word final but occasionally occurring elsewhere in the word.

The expression of possession is relatively simple: a possessor is marked with a clitic, and there are no subcategories of possession.

There are two kinds of complex predicate, which can be distinguished morpho-syntactically: serial verb constructions; and complex predicates formed with the verb ‘to be’, which consist of progressives and habituals. There are three types of complex clause: coordinate, cosubordinate (medial-final clause chains) and subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses consist of relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and perception constructions, as well as finite nominalizations.

2 Phonology and orthography

2.1 Phonology

Tayap forms in this and all chapters are presented in the orthography as outlined below (Section 2.8) except in the consonant and vowel phoneme tables and when cited inside square brackets.

2.1.1 Consonants

Tayap's consonantal phonemes are as follows (orthography where it differs from IPA is written inside parentheses):

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar
stops	p	t				k
voiced stops	^m b (mb/b)	ⁿ d (nd/d)				^ŋ g (ŋg/g)
fricative			s			
affricate				ⁿ dʒ(nj/j)		
rhotic			r (r)			
semivowels	w (labial-velar)				j (y)	
nasals	m	n				ŋ

2.1.1.1 Brief description of some of the consonant phonemes

The voiceless stops are realized as aspirated when syllable initial or medial and optionally unreleased when syllable final. For example:

toto [t^hɔ't^hɔ] 'skin'
ŋgwek [ŋgwek^h] ~ [ŋgwek^ʔ] 'they came'
karep [k^ha'rep^h] 'moon'
tombet [t^hɔ^mbet^h] ~ [t^hɔ^mbet^ʔ] 'shelf'

Note: I wish to acknowledge the work of Caroline Crouch, who ran Tayap recordings through Praat computer software (<http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>) and largely confirmed my analysis of it, but who specified the exact phonetic characteristics of the language's various phonemes.

Voiceless stops have also been heard unreleased when preceding a vowel which is repeated from one syllable to the next. In this case the first instance of the vowel is deleted and the preceding consonant unreleased, e.g.

atikitak [at^hək^hət^hak^h] ~ [afk^hət^hak^h] ‘she will fall’

The voiced stops are always prenasalized word initially, and optionally medially and finally. For example:

mambrag [ma^mbraŋg] ~ [mabrag] ‘spirit’

The affricate is post-alveolar and voiced and usually prenasalized. Some examples:

munje [muⁿdʒɛ] ‘man’
minjike [miⁿdʒi'kɛ] ‘betel nut’

The rhotic is realized most often as the alveolar flap [ɾ] (thus this is considered the basic phoneme), in particular between vowels and word finally:

wuri [wure] ‘up’
wákare [‘wakarɛ] ‘no’
yimbar [ji^mbar] ‘canoe’

However it freely alternates with the rhotic approximant [ɹ] and alveolar lateral approximant [l]. For example:

irokoŋguk [iɾokɔŋguk] ~ [iɹokɔŋguk] ‘they are laughing’
ripam [ɾipam] ~ [lipam] ‘in the olden days’

Stops and the rhotic can be pronounced with a slight central vowel release when word final. The vowel quality is /ə/ after an /ə/ vowel, and otherwise schwa. This vowel is not phonemic. For example:

otar [ɔtar] ~ [ɔtar^ə] ‘fire’
arawer [arawɛɾ] ~ [arawɛɾ^ə] ‘sun’
yimbar [ji^mbar] ~ [ji^mbar^ə] ‘canoe’
karep [k^ha'ɾɛp^h] ~ [k^ha'ɾɛp^{hə}] ‘moon’
nɪŋg [nɔŋg] ~ [nɔŋg^ə] ‘bone’
pakind [pa'k^hiⁿd] ~ [pa'k^həⁿd^ə] ‘louse’

The semivowel /w/ can be realized with slight frication, e.g.

awin [a'win] ~ [a'vin] 'water'

The semivowels /y/ and /w/ are discussed below in Vowel Sequences, Section 2.2.

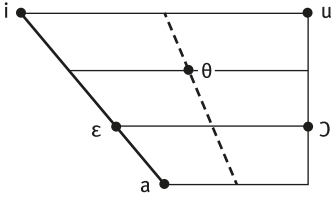
2.1.1.2 Minimal contrasts between the consonant phonemes

Minimal or near-minimal pairs of phonetically close phonemes are as follows:

	INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
p mb/b	<i>pang</i> 'fiber from tar tree' <i>mbarj</i> 'bang against sth'	<i>apu</i> 'burn sth' <i>ambu</i> 'hide sth'	<i>pap</i> 'coconut' <i>tamb</i> 'funeral bier'
t nd/d	<i>tum</i> 'beetle' <i>ndum</i> 'clear undergrowth'	<i>tatak</i> 'traditional decoration' <i>tandarj</i> 'woven screen'	<i>ut</i> 'cane grass' <i>mond</i> 'penis'
k ng/g	<i>kandam</i> 'ass' <i>ngadan</i> 'sore'	<i>mokit</i> 'sacred flutes' <i>mungit</i> 'day before yesterday'	<i>arik</i> 'really' <i>areng</i> 'tree sp.'
k ŋ	<i>kamb</i> 'croton plant' <i>ŋawmb</i> 'large shell ring'	<i>taki</i> 'sleep' <i>taŋa</i> 'insect eggs'	<i>sik</i> 'mouth' <i>siŋ</i> 'peel sth off'
n nd/d	<i>nam</i> 'tell, say' <i>ndam</i> 'cluster of betel nut'	<i>ana</i> 'where?' <i>anda</i> 'miss or go past sth'	<i>pin</i> 'a little' <i>kind</i> 'close sth'
m mb/b	<i>manaw</i> 'three' <i>mbarŋaw</i> 'areca palm sp.'	<i>mámaki</i> 'gnat' <i>mámaki</i> 'net bag'	<i>tam</i> 'bird' <i>tamb</i> 'funeral bier'
m n ŋ	<i>mai</i> 'enough!' <i>nai</i> 'hit someone hard' <i>ŋa</i> 'I/me'	<i>amen</i> 'three days from now' <i>ani</i> 'who?' <i>kaŋan</i> 'Tahitian chestnut'	<i>am</i> 'battle' (n) <i>apran</i> 'poor thing' <i>aŋ</i> 'pump sth'
nd/d nj/j	<i>ndam</i> 'cluster of betel nuts' <i>njam</i> 'hurriedly assembled bush house'	<i>kandaw</i> 'sickness' <i>kanjaŋ</i> 'tree sp.'	<i>kind</i> 'close sth' <i>kinj</i> 'tree sp.'
ŋ ng/g	<i>ŋaŋan</i> 'mine' <i>ngadan</i> 'sore'	<i>taŋa</i> 'insect eggs' <i>taŋgar</i> 'nest, burrow'	<i>aŋ</i> 'pump sth' <i>inaŋg</i> 'oar'
s t	<i>sik</i> 'mouth' <i>tik</i> 'story'	<i>mosop</i> 'small' <i>moto</i> 'debris in water'	<i>pis</i> 'soundless fart' <i>pit</i> 'wash objects'
r t	<i>ramb</i> 'carving on a slit gong drum' <i>tamb</i> 'funeral bier'	<i>arik</i> 'really' <i>atiki</i> 'happen'	<i>rar</i> 'see' <i>tat</i> 'needle/spine'

2.1.2 Vowels

Tayap has six vowels. The vowels are /a/, /i/, /ɛ/, /u/, /ɔ/ and /ə/, a non-back close-mid rounded vowel that can surface either as [ə] or [ø].



In the orthography [ɛ] is written as *e*, [ɔ] as *o* and [ə] as *i*.

These vowels are evidenced by minimal/near-minimal sets like the following:

<i>angode</i> ‘here’	<i>yim</i> ‘1PL’
<i>angide</i> ‘there, a bit further away’	<i>yum</i> ‘3PL’
<i>angude</i> ‘there, still further away’	<i>yam</i> ‘sago palm’
<i>nek</i> ‘ladder’	<i>nam</i> ‘talk’
<i>nok</i> ‘urine’	<i>nim</i> ‘tree’
<i>nikir</i> ‘lap’	<i>num</i> ‘village’
	<i>nom</i> ‘wild taro’
<i>emb</i> ‘morning’	<i>ta</i> ‘small knife’
<i>umb</i> ‘top of sago palm’	<i>ti</i> ‘type of wild sugar cane’
<i>rimb</i> ‘traditional decoration’	<i>ti</i> ‘also’
	<i>tep</i> ‘wooden slit gong support’

The vowel *i* is marginal, in that it does not appear word-initially and it does not form vowel sequences, as other vowels do. However it is a full phoneme in its own right. For example it appears in minimal sets as above, and it appears as the sole vowel in monosyllabic and mono-morphemic words:

- tik* ‘story, narrative’
- wir* ‘watch; guard’
- timir* ‘needle’
- kimirik* ‘sago grub’

In addition to the six vowels that enter into phonemic contrasts, Tayap also has a mid central unrounded schwa [ə] that is inserted epenthetically between

consonants at morpheme boundaries, breaking up otherwise unpermissible consonant clusters. So words like the following are pronounced with a schwa:

(2-1) a. *pwapŋgar munje* is pronounced [pwapəŋgar munje]

pwap -ŋgar munje
 anger -NFN.SG man
 ‘angry man’

b. *okinetke* is pronounced [ɔkənɛtəkɛ]

o -ki -net =ke
 GO.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR =Q
 ‘will he go?’ or ‘will I (M) go?’

Schwa also appears optionally after a word-final rhotic or stop, as mentioned above, Section 2.1.1.1.

Vowel length is non-distinctive. However, Tayap speakers use extended vowels to convey two meanings: (1) that they feel sympathy or that the hearer should feel sympathy and pity for the speaker or someone being spoken about, and (2) temporal duration.

2.1.2.1 Vowel length expressing sympathy and pity

Sympathy and pity is a sentiment that extended vowels are used to both express and elicit. This speech pattern is socialized from the beginning of a child’s life. One of the earliest and most common sounds a baby will hear its mother making is the sound *yo*, uttered in a soft voice with an extended vowel and rising intonation. *Yoooooo*, held over at least three beats, means ‘poor thing’. It is murmured whenever a baby starts to cry and the mother notices it and gently puts her breast in its mouth.

The expression also means ‘feel sorry for X’. When an older sibling doesn’t want to share food or some object with a baby, for example, a mother will elicit the older sibling’s sympathy by saying *yooooo* and telling the child in a soft voice that the baby is crying for the food or object (cf. Schieffelin 1990).

This speech pattern endures in all kinds of social situations throughout life. So an adult man wanting another villager to give him a piglet might convey his desire by first mentioning that people have talked about how the addressee has several piglets, then adding that a piglet that he had been looking after had died. A likely way of saying this is:

(2-2) *ŋaŋaaaaaaan ndi wasowtakara*

ŋaŋaaaaaaan ndi wasow -tak -ara
 1SG.POSS INTENS die.R -2SG.F|3SG.F.R -PERF
 ‘mine died’

Every Gapun villager would immediately understand this utterance to be a request – an indirect and veiled request, to be sure, but a request nevertheless. This understanding is raised by the extended vowel, the rising intonation and the soft voice, all of which invoke *yooooo*.

Like Proust’s famous madeleine, this prosodic package appears intended to induce affect-laden memories from earliest childhood. Its pragmatic force is to try to elicit sympathy for the speaker; sympathy that should ideally produce an action from the addressee that would result in “ending the worry” of the speaker, as villagers say in Tok Pisin (“pinisim wari”). No explicit request need ever be made. The addressee can ignore or deflect the request, but the meaning of the extended vowel and its prosodic form is clear to everyone.

2.1.2.2 Vowel length expressing duration over time

Duration over time can also be expressed through vowel length. To convey that one walked a long way, for example, one can either repeat the verb several times or extend the final vowel of the verb that the speaker wishes to highlight as extended over time. In the first case, the utterance – which is written here as it would be pronounced, with the final consonant /t/ omitted – would look as follows:

- (2-3) *ŋa mbo mbo mbo mbo*
 1SG go.SG.M.R go.SG.M.R go.SG.M.R go.SG.M.R
 ‘I went, went, went, went’; i.e. I walked for a long time (see Tayap Text 1, lines 37, 40 and 45, and Tayap Text 5, lines 71–72 for further examples).

Alternatively, to express the same meaning, a speaker can extend the final vowel of the verb:

- (2-4) *ŋa mboooooo*
 1SG go.SG.M.R
 ‘I weeeeeent’; i.e. I walked for a long time

2.2 Vowel sequences

Vowels may form sequences, most commonly with /i/ or /u/ as either the first or second element. Not all combinations occur, and no vowels form sequences with /ə/. Further, there are no sequences of identical vowels.

Possible vowel sequences are shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Attested vowel sequences (x means unattested, bracketed means rare).

	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>a</i>	x	x	ai	ao	(au)	x
<i>e</i>	x	x	ei	(eo)	(eu)	x
<i>i</i>	ia	ie	x	io	iu	x
<i>o</i>	x	(oe)	oi	x	x	x
<i>u</i>	ua	ue	x	uo	x	x
<i>i</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x

Some examples:

mindia ‘stone axe’
aruat ‘thunder’
pisiek ‘she rubbed her skin’
tuemb ‘the day after tomorrow’
perei ‘say something insulting’
sokoi ‘tobacco’
nao ‘genital flesh’
irioki ‘dive into water’
minuomb ‘round pool of water’
teunietre ‘when I/he ran away’
iurok ‘mosquito sp.’

There are no sequences of more than two vowels. Any possible such sequences always involve /i/ or /u/ as the second element, and are better analyzed as sequences of VyV or VwV respectively.

For example:

ayab [aia^mb] ‘cluster of branches of seeds or fruit’
mayes [maies] ‘ceremonial spear’
ngugrugrayi [ʔgugrugaii] ‘sleepy’
puwuayorom [puuaiorom] ‘beach’
tower [touer] ‘quietly’
yiwir [jiuir] ‘faeces’
arawer [arauer] ‘sun’
awar [auar] ‘wind from north’
karuwa [karuua] ‘fish sp.’

In examples like these, the second segment is analyzed as the semivowel /y/ rather than the vowel /i/, or /w/ rather than /u/ respectively. This analysis preserves the syllable structure rules given below (Section 2.3.1). The name of the language [taiap] is thus therefore now spelt ‘Tayap’ rather than ‘Taiap’, as I spelled it previously (for an additional reason for this spelling change, see below, Section 2.8).

2.3 Syllable structure and phonotactics

2.3.1 Syllable structure

Syllable structure is $(C_1)V(C_2)$ or $C_3C_4V(C_2)$ or $(C_1)VC_5C_6$.

- C_1 is any consonant
- C_2 is any consonant but y
- C_3 is any stop
- C_4 is r
- C_5 is w
- C_6 is any stop
- V is a single vowel

Although words can be generated from this schema with multiple V syllables, in practice sequences of more than two vowels do not occur (see above, Section 2.2).

So under this schema a word like *aruat* ‘thunder’ would be two syllables: V.CVC.

The position C_5 is analyzed as a semivowel /w/ rather than a vowel /u/ for one reason. C_6 is only ever a stop: thus an analysis of C_5 as /u/ would mean that CVC sequences with /u/ as the vowel could only ever be followed by stops. This would be a rather strange situation, so it is avoided here by instead positing a CC cluster with /w/ as the first consonant and any stop as the second.

Some examples of word shapes:

CVC	<i>nak</i>	‘count sth’
VC	<i>am</i>	‘battle’ (n)
V.V	<i>ei</i>	‘cry’ (n)
CV	<i>ndi</i>	‘emphatic particle’
C.VCV	<i>amor</i>	‘yam sp.’
CV.VC.CV	<i>kaikro</i>	‘landing place for canoes’
CCVC	<i>pruk</i>	‘work’
V.CV.CVC	<i>arawer</i>	‘sun’

CVC.CVC	<i>rorsem</i>	‘children’
CCV.CV	<i>Kruni</i>	‘Kruni, personal name’
VC.CV	<i>orma</i>	‘younger sibling’
CVC	<i>tuemb</i>	‘day after tomorrow’
CV.CV	<i>sokoi</i>	‘tobacco’
CVC.CV	<i>mokwa</i>	‘three pronged spear’
CVC.V.CVC	<i>kimirik</i>	‘sago grub’
CV.CV.CV	<i>yamiŋe</i>	‘brush turkey egg’
V.CVC	<i>awin</i>	‘water’
V.CV	<i>ama</i>	‘mama’

Words of the shape VNCV, where NC is a homorganic nasal-stop sequence, can in theory be distinguished from those of the shape V^mCV, where ^mC is a prenasalized stop, on the grounds that prenasalization fluctuates word-medially in Tayap, and thus could be not pronounced, whereas if the segment in question is a nasal consonant it must be pronounced.


They can also be distinguished in other ways. So for example *nam'bar* ‘one’ has stress on the syllable beginning /b/, not on the /mb/ cluster, indicating that the nasal is a full nasal consonant rather than prenasalization belonging to the voiced stop.


This analysis has implications for the orthography, and here the decision is a pragmatic one: while it is possible to distinguish NC from ^mC medially, in the orthography these are not distinguished. Thus, a voiced stop with no accompanying nasal indicates a voiced stop, which could alternatively be pronounced with or without nasalization. But a nasal and homorganic voiced stop cluster may refer to a NC cluster, e.g. as in *nambar*, or it may refer to a prenasalized stop ^mC.

2.4 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony and regressive assimilation are characteristic features of Tayap verbs. The vowel of the object morpheme often influences the vowel of the verb stem or subject morpheme that precedes it.


Compare, for example, the following two forms of the verb ‘set down’:

- (2-5) a. $\eta a=yi$ ηgu ηgun $-nu$ $-ku$ $-n$
 1SG=ERG.F 3SG.F set_down.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.S
 ‘I set her down’
- 




b. $\eta a=yi$ ηi $\eta g\eta n$ $-ni$ $-ng\eta$ $-n$
 1SG=ERG.F 3SG.M set_down.R -S <3SG.M.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.S
 ‘I set him down’

The same process is evident in the subject markers of the following verb, ‘collect’:



(2-6) a. $\eta gu=yi$ $korat$ $-tu$ $-ku$ $-n$
 3SG.F=ERG collect.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘she collected it’



b. $\eta gu=yi$ $korat$ $-ti$ $-mb\eta$ $-n$
 3SG.F=ERG collect.R -S <3PL.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘she collected them’

Note how the vowel immediately preceding the object suffix changes according to whether the object suffix contains a mid vowel or a back vowel. That it is the vowel in the object suffix that influences the vowel in the verb stem, and not vice versa, is clear from the fact that object suffixes are invariant – they are the same for all verb stems (see Sections 3.5, 5.3.1 and 5.3.2).

In (2-6a) and (2-6b), the morpheme preceding the object is the first part of a discontinuous subject morpheme. The vowel in that morpheme, which will always be /u/ or /ə/, is often either reduced to a schwa or is omitted altogether, especially if it occurs after /n/ or medially between /k/ and /r/. For example:

(2-7) a. $\eta \eta i$ $koranukun$ (pronounced $korankun$)
 $\eta i=\eta i$ $kora$ $-nu$ $-ku$ $-n$
 3SG.M=ERG collect.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.S
 ‘he collected it’

b. $ninukun$ (pronounced $ninkun$)
 ni $-nu$ $-ku$ $-n$
 do.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.S
 ‘I (M or F) did it’, ‘he did it’, ‘she did it’, ‘we did it’

The orthography used in this grammar and dictionary reflects the vowel deletion. *Note that in those cases when the vowel was not pronounced, it is not written in the word.*

The only other phonotactic rule involving vowels is that following the bilabial nasal /m/ or a velar stop, a vowel can acquire the semivowel /w/, a case of progressive rounding, as described for Sough by Reesink (2002a); e.g.:

- (2-8) a. *suman* ‘big’ → *sumwan*
 b. *Mukar* (male name) → *mukwar*
 c. *a-ŋgar* → *aŋgwar*
 be.IRR-NFN.SG
 ‘being’

2.5 Stress

Stressed syllables are realized as louder and longer than unstressed syllables. Stress in Tayap is generally not phonemic, and unpredictable stress occurs rarely. In the dictionary, unpredictable stress occurs on roughly two percent of words.

Stress usually falls on the final syllable of an uninflected word (but see below for more information about stress on bound morphemes):

- (2-9) *ambagái* ‘men’s house’ *ndugubár* ‘backbone’
karép ‘moon’ *ŋayár* ‘really’
kemém ‘long’ *piŋín* ‘clitoris’
kongód ‘hour glass drum’ *pokémb* ‘cold’
orímb ‘audible fart’ *puwás* ‘white’
otár ‘fire’ *tongodíp* ‘Malay apple’
makatók ‘green coconut’ *tumbúr* ‘shoulder’
minjiké ‘betel nut’ *wekók* ‘obscenity’

There are a number of non-predictable exceptions to the syllable-final rule. The orthography used in this grammar and dictionary marks stress explicitly on those exceptional words. Examples of two-syllable words with non-final stress:

mbímaŋ ‘leech’
símbu ‘maggot’

Examples of longer words with non-final stress:

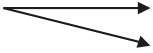




(2-10) <i>arúmbatak</i> ‘fly’	<i>pasákeke</i> ‘frog’
<i>atáwo</i> ‘older sibling’	<i>ndagúni</i> ‘furtively’
<i>mbíongi</i> ‘baby’	<i>supwáspwa</i> ‘badly’
<i>emári</i> ‘ancestral spirit’	<i>tandímirít</i> ‘broom for swatting mosquitoes’
<i>kanjígogo</i> ‘edible bamboo shoot’	<i>uráŋgeba</i> ‘large bullfrog’
<i>nekénduko</i> ‘sharp grass’	<i>wákare</i> ‘no’

Syllables with unpredictable stress are far more common with the vowel *a* than the other vowels. In the dictionary more than three times as many instances occur with *a* as with any other vowel.

In general, stress is a property of a lexical morpheme, not an inflected word, and thus stress placement is retained under affixation. For example:

munjé ‘man’ *munjénum* ‘men’
mírí ‘forest’ *míríni* ‘in the forest’

There are some minimal pairs differentiated only by stress:

(2-11) a. verb stem <i>tar</i> ‘hear’, ‘take’		<i>tánkun</i> ‘I heard it’ <i>tankún</i> ‘I took it’ (also ‘I saw it’, from the transitive class 4 verb stem <i>rar</i> ‘see’)
b. verb stem <i>e</i> ‘hold’		<i>etukún!</i> ‘you hold it!’
verb stem <i>er</i> ‘fasten’		<i>étukun!</i> ‘you fasten it!’ <i>énkurem!</i> ‘you.PL fasten it!’
c. verb stem <i>a-</i> ‘eat’		<i>atukún</i> ‘eat it!’
verb stem <i>ar</i> ‘expel’; ‘urinate’, ‘defecate’, ‘chop’, ‘marry’		<i>nok átukun!</i> ‘pee!’ (lit. ‘pee expel’) <i>átukun!</i> ‘chop it!’ <i>átukun!</i> ‘marry her!’

Reduplicated words retain stress on both forms (reduplication is discussed in Section 5.5):

(2-12) <i>sumúsumú</i> ‘bat’	<i>towótowó</i> ‘four’
<i>ndídíkídídík</i> ‘lumpy’	<i>tomíktomík</i> ‘spider’

Peripheral case morphemes and possessive morphemes are unstressed:

- (2-13) a. *nguyi pitinárni poŋgin*
ngu=yí pitinár=ni po -ngí -n
 3SG.F=ERG.F machete=LOC strike.R -3SG.M.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘she stabbed him with a machete’
- b. *nimárŋa ngomar purkun*
nimár=ŋa ngomar pur -ku -n
 mangrove=POSS fish hook.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘I (M or F) hooked a mangrove fish’ (or ‘he/she/we hooked a mangrove fish’)
- c. compare:
mbór=mat and *mbormát*
 pig=POSS
 ‘the pig’s’ ‘a kind of banana’
- ngí=re* and *ngiré*
 3PL=COM
 ‘with them’ ‘therefore’

Inflected verbs take stress on the final syllable of the word as a whole, with various exceptions, which are conditioned by the conjugation class of the verb, as well as by TAM and other types of affixation.

Other instances of unusual stress include the following:

- (1) In verbs inflected in the perfect aspect and the intentional mood, stress falls on the syllable that precedes the perfect suffix (*-(da)ra*) and the intentional suffix (*-(n)ana*):

- (2-14) a. *kakúndara*
ka -kú -n -dara
 eat.R <3SG.F.R.O> -SG|1PL.R.S -PERF
 ‘I (M or F) ate it’ or ‘he ate it’ or ‘she ate it’ or ‘we ate it’
- b. *wókara*
wók -ara
 go.3SG.F.R -PERF
 ‘she’s gone’
- c. *ŋa prukínétana inda*
ŋa pruk -kí -nét -ana inda
 1SG work.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR -INTENT DX.M
 ‘I (M) am going to work now’

d. *yu mum akrúnanake?*

yu mum a -krú -nana =ke
 2SG sago jelly consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -INTENT =Q
 ‘Would you eat sago jelly?’ (if I offer you some)

(2) In verbs inflected in the counterfactual, stress falls on *-rik*, the counterfactual suffix:

(2-15) *akríknukun*

ak -rík -nu -ku -n
 eat.CF -CF -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘I would have eaten it’

Stress on the counterfactual suffix differentiates it from the progressive suffix *-rik* that occurs in some progressive constructions and is always unstressed (see Sections 8.3.1 and 9.4.3).

(3) In most verbs inflected in the progressive aspect, stress falls on the final syllable of the verb stem for intransitive verbs, and on the BEN object morpheme for transitive verbs:

(2-16) a. *yu anakŋa merni warákakut?*

yu anakŋa mer=ni warák -ak kut
 2SG which language=INST speak.IRR -LINK be.SG.M.R
 ‘which language are you (M) speaking?’

b. *ŋguyi ŋa oiánuk*

ŋgu=yi ŋa o -ián uk
 3SG.F=ERG.F 1SG strike.IRR -1SG.BEN.O be.3SG.F.R
 ‘she is hitting me’

(4) Class 4 verbs in the non-future tense take stress on the last syllable of the verb stem:

(2-17) a. *ŋiji namŋat aŋgi supwáspwa ŋanana nínkun*

ŋi=ŋi nam-ŋat aŋgi supwáspwa ŋa=nana
 3SG.M=ERG.M talk-half DX badly 1SG=DAT

ní -n -ku -n
 make.R -S <3SG.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘he said something nasty to me’, lit. ‘he made a nasty talk to me’

- b. *ngigi koráttimbìro*
ngi=gi korát -ti -mbi -ro
 3PL=ERG.PL collect.R -S <3PL.R.O> -3PL.R.S
 ‘they collected them’

(5) In the subjunctive mood, verb roots ending in /r/ gain the vowel /ε/ before the imperative ending, and that vowel is stressed, as in all imperatives, see (7) below:

- (2-18) a. *rar-* (IRR) ‘look’ → *raré-* (SBJ, so: *raré-tet, raré-tak, raré-nkem*)
 b. *sir-* (IRR) ‘descend’ → *siré-* (SBJ, so: *siré-tet, siré-tak, siré-nkem*)

(6) Intransitive verbs in irrealis dual forms take stress on the IRR morpheme:

- (2-19) a. *ngrag ηayarre okítike*
ngrag ηayar=re o -kí -tike
 afternoon really=TEMP go.IRR -IRR -DL.IRR
 ‘let’s the two of us go in the really late afternoon’
- b. *pereipereikítike!*
pereiperei -kí -tike
 race.IRR -IRR -DL.IRR
 ‘let’s the two of us race!’

(7) With imperative verbs, stress occurs on the final syllable of the imperative stem rather than the word as a whole. For example *moser* ‘buy’ receives stress on the final syllable of the stem rather than the word: *mosé-tukun!* (“buy it”). See Sections 7.1.2.1 and 7.1.2.2.

(8) The subjunctive stems of class 4 verbs lose the final /r/, if they have one, of their irrealis stem and the remaining stem is always stressed. See Section 7.1.2.2.

2.6 Morpho-phonemic rules

Morpho-phonemic rules do not operate universally. For example in (2-24c) rule 3 does not apply. The conditioning factors of these rules are not known, but the rules often do apply.

Morpho-phonemic rules involving consonants frequently involve the rhotic /r/. This is inserted at morpheme boundaries (including affixes and clitics) in the following environments:

(1) Insert /r/ between a vowel and /k/ at a morpheme boundary, e.g.:

(2-19) a. *senerkitak*

sene -r -ki -tak
two -r -IRR -2SG.F|3SG.F.IRR
'it will become two'

b. *aserkruset*

ase -r -kru -net
in_front -r -3SG.F.IRR.O -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S
'he'll put it in front' or 'I (M) will put it in front'

c. *supwáspwarkitak*

supwáspwa -r -ki -tak
badly -r -IRR -2SG.F|3SG.F.IRR
'it will go badly'

(2) Insert /ra/ at morpheme boundary after /k/, e.g.:

(2-20) *ketukraki*

ketuk -ra -ki
cough -ra -ADV
'having coughed...'

Note: this rule is blocked when the morpheme following the /k/ is a morpheme signaling irrealis; so *ketuk-ki* (cough.IRR-IRR) is permitted.

(3) Insert /r/ between a consonant and a vowel at a morpheme boundary, e.g.:

(2-21) *tapratkingiatikinetana*

tap -r -atkingiatikinetana
carry_on_shoulders -r -he_intends_to_carry_him_down
'he intends to carry him down on his shoulders'

(4) Insert /r/ between two vowels at a morpheme boundary, e.g.:

(2-22) a. *mindarakkut*

minda -r -ak kut
tired_of -r -LINK be.SG.M.R
I (M) am fed up or 'you're (M) fed up' or 'he's fed up'

- b. *worekeni pimbiet*
wo -r =ekeni pimbiet
 above -r =PERL fly.3SG.M.R
 ‘it’s flying above’

Other phonotactic rules involving consonants are:

(5) Insert /d/ between /n/ and /r/ at a morpheme boundary, e.g.:

- (2-23) *awindre*
awin -d =re
 water -d =COM
 ‘with the water’

(6) The progressive form is constructed with the fully inflected verb *a* ‘be’ (see Section 8.3.1). The 3SG.F.R form of ‘be’, and the dual form, have word-initial semi-vowels: *wuk* (be.3SG.F.R) and *wuke* (be.DL.R). In the progressive, the semivowel is always deleted, resulting in examples like the following:

- (2-24) a. *ngu akwanwuk* (pronounced [akw'anuk])
ngu a -kwan -wuk
 she eat.IRR <3SG.F.BEN.R.O> -be.3SG.F.R
 ‘she is eating (it)’
- b. *mbor werrikwuk* (pronounced [werø'kuk])
mbor wer -rik wuk
 pig dig.IRR -PROG be.3SG.F.R
 ‘the pig is digging’
- c. *aiakwuk* (pronounced [aia'kuk])
ai -ak wuk
 come.IRR -LINK be.3SG.F.R
 ‘it is coming’
- d. *ruru sene emrariakawkwuke* (pronounced [ɛmrariaku'ke])
ruru sene emrari -ak -awk wuke
 child.DL two play.IRR -LINK -be.HAB be.DL.R
 ‘the two kids are always playing’

(7) The prenasalized object suffix in indirect commands loses its prenasalization. For example:

- ŋgi*- ‘3SG.M.R.O’ is realized as -*gi*-
- mbi*- ‘3PL.R.O’ is realized as -*bi*-

(See Section 7.1.4 for more discussion and examples of indirect commands.)

(8) There is a morpho-phonemic process involving loss of word final stops, for example note the loss of final /t/ in example (2-3).

2.7 Wordhood

Words can be defined phonologically, as “a prosodic unit not smaller than a syllable” (Aikhenvald 2007: 2). Words in Tayap have the following properties:

- Whole words can be pronounced in isolation whereas units smaller than a word, i.e. bound morphemes, cannot.
- Some phonemic properties use words as defining criteria: e.g. the vowel *i* never occurs word-initially.
- Stress usually occurs word-finally on uninflected words.
- Prenasalized stops are obligatorily prenasalized word-initially but only optionally in other environments.
- Vowel harmony operates within words.
- Reduplication only occurs within words or across a word, not across items larger than words.

Grammatical words generally coincide with phonological words in Tayap (however see Section 8.2, example (8–3) for a counter-example). Grammatical words consist of “a number of grammatical elements which (i) always occur together rather than scattered throughout the clause (...); (ii) occur in fixed order; and (iii) have a conventionalized coherence and meaning” (Aikhenvald 2007: 2).

In Tayap, verbs are grammatical words which minimally must always occur with person and/or status marking except in certain restricted morphosyntactic environments. Even the longest and most complex of the complex predicates described in Chapters 8 and 9 consist of single grammatical words, sharing as they do various properties like marking for arguments and/or realis/irrealis status. Thus the example discussed in detail in Chapter 8, *tapratkɪŋiatikitakana*, ‘she intends to carry him down on her shoulders’, is a single phonological and grammatical word.

However grammatical words do not necessarily have to be inflected. Verbs are normally inflected, but nouns, pronouns, particles and other minor classes can occur without inflection.

2.8 Orthography

The Tayap orthography in this grammar and dictionary uses letters of the English alphabet that correspond to the language's phonemes, with two exceptions: *i* and *ŋ*. The phonemes /*ə*/ and /*ŋ*/ would be difficult to render using the letters used to write English or Tok Pisin. Tayap is almost never written, and any villager who does so invents his or her own nonce orthography. In my years of contact with the villagers, I have received many letters from them, always written in Tok Pisin. At the very end of these letters, though, after the writer has finished asking me for money (which is always the sole reason for sending me a letter), he or she often concludes with a line written in Tayap, to add coercive punch to the requests.

A typical example is the phrase *Aowo grac engon yu na na*, which occurred at the very end of a letter that had just instructed me to send the writer the equivalent of \$8,000 (at a time when the yearly income for *the entire village* was about \$500). The interjection *aowo* is an orthographic rendering of a sound used by villagers to convey worry and longing, and the rest, 'good evening to you', is a Tayap calque of Tok Pisin's "gutpela apinun long yu". The unambiguous meaning of the Tayap phrase is: 'I worry about you, so now you worry about me and send me eight thousand dollars'.

The orthography that villagers have come up with to write Tayap varies from writer to writer and from occasion to occasion. However, one convention that has developed over the years regards /*ə*/, which is sometimes written as *h*, and /*ŋ*/, which is often rendered as either *nh* or *ngh*. This convention may be the invention of Amburi Waiki, who was in his late twenties and the village prayer leader in the mid-1980s. Amburi was the only person in Gapun to write anything in Tayap at that time, and his orthography – which he himself applied erratically – was seen by others and perhaps adopted by them. (What Amburi wrote on loose pages and in school workbooks were the names of villagers who had contributed money to the village church, and the names of areas of rainforest that he wanted to note down for various reasons.)

This way of handling Tayap's phonemes results in a sentence like the following, which Amburi wrote down for me in the 1980s: *Ngha nghing ana mbet* ('I have come for them').

The problem with the orthography used to write this sentence is that it is difficult for villagers to parse and read. It makes no distinction between free and bound morphemes (*-ana*, 'for' or 'to', for example, is a bound morpheme that cannot occur on its own), and literate villagers, who have learned to read by being drilled in school with texts in English, have difficulty with the sheer number of letters used to denote simple sounds. (In the orthography used in this grammar and dictionary the sentence would be written *Nā ŋginana mbet*.)

A sentence produced in 2009 by a literate villager who I asked to demonstrate to me how he would write something in Tayap shows that the same problems have persisted: *Nhang nhan patir engon nhayar* ('My house is very nice'). The orthography is internally inconsistent – the word written *engon* is pronounced [ɛŋɔŋ], and thus should be written *enhgon*, if the conventions of this orthography were followed consistently.

This orthography also quickly gets messy. For example, in the sentence just quoted, a common word like *ŋajan* ('my') is written as two words and spelled *nhang nhan*. In other instances, simple pronouns like *ŋi* [ŋə] ('he') and *ŋgi* [ŋgə] ('they') tend to stump village writers, who might write them as *nghi* and *nghgh*, respectively – although they would more likely avoid writing them or give up trying to write them.

Words with the consonant cluster /ŋg/ also pose difficulties. A name like 'Sangi' – which the villagers' orthography should render as something like *Sanhgi* – looks strange to the villagers when they see it written out in this way (they would in this case write 'Sangi'). Worse, a name like 'Sangingi', which might be written something like *Sanhginhgi*, would make villagers who try to use their invented orthography throw up their hands in despair.

Because of those difficulties, which villagers perceive and talk about themselves, I do not adopt their orthographic inventions to write /ə/ and /ŋ/. Instead, I introduce two additional letters, *i* and *ŋ*. These letters are ordered so that *i* follows *n* in the alphabet, and *ŋ* follows *n*.

While I depart from the villagers' attempts to write /ə/ and /ŋ/, I do follow their loose convention of orthographically marking prenasalization on the voiced word-initial stops /b/ and /d/ and on the affricate /dʒ/. Villagers vary on whether or not they orthographically mark word-initial nasalization on the velar stop /g/: a word like 'cassowary', spelled *ŋgat* in this orthography, would probably be written *ngat* by most villagers.

On the other hand, though, some of them write *ŋgrag* 'evening' as *grag* (see above, the example of a villager's letter asking me for \$8,000). Regardless of how they would write a word-initial /g/, however, Tayap speakers consistently prenasalize the phoneme when they pronounce it in this position. Hence, I mark this in the orthography.

This concession to village pronunciation and writing conventions means that the orthography used here is not as economical as it otherwise might have been. I could have omitted the nasalization in words beginning with /b/, /d/, /j/ and /g/ and simply noted that those phonemes are all obligatorily nasalized word-initially (this is what Christopher Stroud and I did in our 1993 sketch grammar).

In the end, though, I decided that since the only people who might conceivably ever actually use the orthography employed here are the speakers of Tayap,

their perceptual biases and already-established habits were more important than an economical orthography. As I just noted, villagers who write anything in Tayap vary in whether or not they mark the prenasalization before a word-initial /g/. But they would find it counter-intuitive and odd to see or write *bor* ‘pig’, *je* ‘dog’ or *der* ‘path’ when they say – and would write – *mbor*, *nje* and *nder*.

I therefore write words the way the villagers pronounce them, with the result that there are no words in the dictionary that begin orthographically with *b*, *d*, *j* or *g*.

Word-medial and word-final prenasalized consonants are written as they are most commonly pronounced, thus the *j* in *munje* ‘man’ is written as prenasalized, as it is normally pronounced, versus *mbubujiram* ‘bubbles from fish, crocodiles, turtles emerging from underwater’, which is written unprenasalized.

This orthographic convention would also logically entail changing the spelling of the villagers’ home, Gapun, to *Ngapun*. However, ‘Gapun’ is not a Tayap word. Senior men in the 1980s told me that they had heard that Germans had given the name Gapun to their village – which is called *Tayap num* ‘Tayap village’ in Tayap.

No one knows why ‘Gapun’ was chosen, but the most likely explanation is that when German cartographers and labor recruiters first appeared in the lower Sepik area in the early decades of the 1900s, they asked coastal villagers the names of inland villages which they could not reach, and they wrote down some version of the names they received in response. The Kopar-language name for Gapun, for example, is *Sangap*.

No great leap of imagination is required to see how a name like that, through various mis-hearings and confusions, could end up as *Gapun*. A significant percentage of the colonial records from the lower Sepik area were destroyed during WWII, so I have been unable to uncover any information that directly sheds light on the question of why Gapun is called Gapun.

But whatever the story behind the German naming of the village may be, the spelling of ‘Gapun’ can remain unchanged, since it is not a Tayap word.

Note that stress is marked where it is a property of a lexical morpheme (for example, *wákare* (‘no’), but in the rest of the grammar it is not marked when it is a product of complex morpho-phonemics e.g. like *kakúndara* in (2-14a) above.

Out of respect for villagers’ writing habits (and also to be consistent with the analysis of the language’s phonology discussed above, where no VVV clusters are permitted), I have also changed the spelling of the name of the language and people from *Taiap* – as I have spelled it in all my previous work on Gapun – to *Tayap*.

Whenever villagers write their name for themselves, they always spell it *Tayap*. And the word is a popular one to write. The front of one house near the

center of the village, for example, is adorned with large letters, painted in black battery acid, that proclaims (tellingly, in Tok Pisin), NIU LUK TAYAP ('New Look Tayap').

Another young man, upping the linguistic ante in the direction of what many villagers have understood is the even more prestigious language, used similar material to paint the words NEW HOME TAYAP on a wall in his house.

A young man with whom I was walking along the beach one day, making the six-hour trip to the village of Watam to see if the local health worker there had any medicine for a bad case of scabies I had acquired in the village (she didn't), paused at one point to scratch the words NICK OUTCAST PERSON K*B*H* ROR TAYAP MUNJE into the sand. Translated, this means 'Nick outcast person K[ambedagam] B[lue] H[ill] child Tayap man' – the K*B*H* part of the message being a name the young villagers have given to their mountain.

Nick's scribble in the sand doesn't make much sense in either of the two languages in which it is written. But that is typical of the way that the word *Tayap* is used in young villagers' writing: it is used more as a marker or a tag than as an attempt to convey referential meaning. Nick's writing is a slightly more elaborate variant of the words *Tayap ror* (Tayap child), which is a popular tag that young men and women like to carve into trees or add after their signature at the end of a love letter. The words are modeled on the Tok Pisin word "mangi", which used to mean 'child', but which during the past thirty years has acquired the sassier meaning of 'young person' or, better, 'kid'.

3 Word classes

Tayap has two open classes of words – nouns (Section 3.1) and verbs (Section 3.2) – and a number of closed classes:

3.3 adjectives	3.8 deictics
3.4 adverbs	3.9 interrogatives
3.5 pronouns	3.10 interjections and affect words
3.6 quantifiers	3.11 intensifiers and discourse markers
3.7 articles	3.12 mood particles

The properties of Tayap’s word classes are discussed in the sections below.

3.1 Nouns

3.1.1 Definition of a noun in Tayap

Nouns in Tayap have the following structural properties:

- they can function as head of a noun phrase, and are the only elements which may be sole element of an NP
- they function as arguments of a verb
- they have masculine or feminine gender

Nouns have three subclasses:

- common nouns
- locational nouns
- nouns with inherent number

These subclasses will each be described in turn.

3.1.1.1 Common nouns

Common nouns function as the heads of NPs and take masculine or feminine gender agreement. Some examples (common nouns in bold):

- (3-1) *aramre menjikan nda wisŋin*
aram=re menjikan nda wis -ŋgi -n
snake=LOC closeby DM set_down.R -3SG.M.R.O -1SG.R.S
'I set him down right near the snake.'

(3-2) *Pepe ngu tiptiek*

Pepe ngu tiptiek
 name 3SG.F lead.3SG.F.R
 ‘Pepe, she was leading’

(3-3) *otar nirkrundak*

otar nir -kru -ndak
 fire make.IRR -3SG.R.O -3PL.IRR.S
 ‘they’ll make a fire’

(3-4) *Mbumjorŋi pin ŋayarni Mbananre Pepere*

Mbumjor=ŋi pin ŋayar-ni **Mbanan**=re **Pepe**=re
 mbumjor=ERG.M ADV true-ADV name=COM name=COM
 ‘A mbumjor (snake) came really close (to biting) Mbanan and Pepe’

(3-5) *aram toto pisukun*

aram toto pisu -ku -n
 snake skin shed.R -3SG.M.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘the snake shed its skin’

Proper nouns do not form a subclass of nouns in Tayap. Like common nouns, they can be modified. For example:

(3-6) *Erapo ŋwab sawir =ŋan apro sakar*
 Erapo hole black =POSS bad INTENS
 ‘Fucking black-holed Erapo!’

3.1.1.2 Locational nouns

Some place names, particularly names of places in the rainforest, function as bare adjuncts, whereas all other nouns must take a peripheral case clitic, either locative, ablative or perlocative. Some examples of locational nouns are as follows:

(3-7) *Kandumsik ndow -kru -nana ainda mbek*
 Kandumsik leg -3SG.F.IRR.O -INTENT DX come.1SG.F|2SG.|1PL.R
 ‘I’m coming to Kandumsik [stream] (to put my legs in the water)’

Note: in this example, the noun ‘leg’ is functioning as a transitive verb (see also example (3-26)).

(3-8) *aro non yim mbok Murar*
 day INDEF 1PL go.1SG.F|2SG.F|1PL.R Murar
 ‘One day we went to Murar.’

(3-9) *Ngasimbara ηgwuk*
 Ngasimbara be.3PL.R
 ‘They were at Ngasimbara’

Not all place names can function as bare adjuncts, for example Turuᅇᅇwad in the following example occurs with a locative clitic (glossed Allative):

(3-10) *mun sene ripim ηgi woke Turuᅇᅇwad =re*
 man.DL two before 3PL go.DL.R Turuᅇᅇwad =ALL
 ‘Once upon a time, two men, the two of them went to Turuᅇᅇwad’

When part of a complex NP, locational nouns can take a location affix. In the following example, Murar stream occurs in a locative-marked NP. The place name Murar is the head of the NP, modified by ‘stream’ which then takes the locative clitic to refer to the whole NP:

(3-11) *naweke ηgoka Murar nuwombni ηgomar tarkwanηgukre sumbwa sinderni emari ηguyam katota mbot*
naw =eke ηgwok -a Murar nuwomb =ni ηgomar
 grassland =PERL go.3PL.R -and Murar stream =LOC fish

tar -kwan -ηguk -re sumbwa sinder=ni
 take.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.R.O -be.3PL.R -SUB ground bare=LOC

emâri Nguyam katot -a mbot
 water_spirit Nguyam go_outside.SG.M.R -and go.SG.M.R
 ‘They went across the grassland to Murar stream and when they were picking up fish on the bare ground, the water spirit Nguyam went out and came’

Nouns functioning as heads of NPs are discussed in Chapter 4. Peripheral cases are discussed there in Section 4.4.

3.1.1.3 Number marking in nouns

The overwhelming majority of nouns in Tayap have only one form. Plurality is expressed through the addition of quantifiers (see Section 3.6). However, there is

a closed subclass of nouns that inflect for plurality and, in a few cases, duality, by suffix and/or partial suppletion.

Nouns that are inflected for number refer to higher animates: humans, pigs and dogs.

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
man	<i>munje</i>	<i>mun</i>	<i>munjenum/munro</i>
woman	<i>noŋor</i>	<i>naŋaw</i>	<i>naŋro</i>
child	<i>ror</i>	<i>ruru</i>	<i>rorsem</i>
mother	<i>maya</i>	<i>mayangre</i>	<i>mayangro</i>
grandmother	<i>keke</i>	<i>kekengre</i>	<i>kekengud</i>
grandfather	<i>neni</i>	<i>neningre</i>	<i>neningud</i>
older sibling	<i>atawo</i>	<i>atawondodi</i>	<i>atawondodo</i>
younger sibling	<i>orma</i>		<i>ormabidib</i>
great-grandparent/ancestor	<i>amasik</i>		<i>amasikndodo/ amasikimb</i>
father	<i>omo</i>		<i>omosew</i>
maternal uncle	<i>awoi</i>		<i>awoingud</i>
grandchild	<i>otan</i>		<i>otinimb</i>
great-grandchild	<i>njanimb</i>		<i>njanimbeda</i>
daughter-in-law (female speaking)	<i>oiŋga</i>		<i>oiŋgabidib/ oiŋndodo</i>
mother-in-law (male speaking)	<i>otre</i>		<i>otrendodo</i>
father-in-law (male speaking)	<i>ombre</i>		<i>ombrendodo</i>
husband of maternal aunt (male speaking)	<i>eŋki</i>		<i>eŋkindodo</i>
in-law	<i>oyeŋg</i>		<i>oyeŋgud</i>
mother's mother's brother	<i>agampi</i>		<i>agampindodo</i>
sister's child	<i>romgar</i>		<i>rurumgri</i>
cross-sex sibling	<i>wand</i>		<i>wanjmeng</i>
spirit of dead person	<i>mambrag</i>		<i>mambigir</i>
forest being	<i>kandap</i>		<i>kandipeŋ</i>

Note: for those words with no dual form, one says 'two X' by using the plural form + *sene* 'two'. So 'two forest beings' is *kandipeŋ sene*.

Most of these kin terms, and certainly their dual and plural forms, are moribund. Several of them – *oiŋga* 'daughter-in-law, woman speaking', *njanimb* 'great-grandchild', *ombre* 'father-in-law, male speaking', *otre* 'mother-in-law, male speaking' – were produced only after several conversations among Gapun's oldest Tayap speakers. There is disagreement about whether one of them – *eŋki*, 'husband of maternal aunt, male speaking' – is even a Tayap word. Several people suggested that it might be a borrowing from the Adjora language spoken in the

nearby village, Sanae. However, since old men in the 1980s told me it was, and since it has a Tayap plural, I include it here.

Villagers under forty all know common words like *munje* ‘man’, *noŋor* ‘woman’ and *ror* ‘child’, and they know their plural forms, but most do not know their dual forms. Most kin terms have been either forgotten or replaced with words from Tok Pisin. So *oyeng* ‘in-law’ has been replaced by Tok Pisin’s “tambu”, *neni* ‘grandfather’ has been replaced with “apa man”, and *keke* ‘grandmother’ with “apa meri”.

Words like *mambrag* ‘spirit of a dead person’ and *kandap* ‘forest being’ are kept alive by mothers who use them to frighten their small children, so everyone knows them. The plural forms, however, are not known by speakers under thirty-five.

The two non-human nouns that have plural forms are:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
dog	<i>nje</i>	<i>njenum</i>
pig	<i>mbor</i>	<i>mboreirum</i>

3.1.2 The animacy/genericness distinction in nouns

The animate-inanimate/generic distinction is fundamental in Tayap, and is marked by two kinds of morphemes that are attached to nouns.

The first are peripheral case clitics, that denote relations like location or dative (see Section 4.4). Several of these clitics have different forms for animate and inanimate/generic referents. Note, for example, the different clitics that express movement towards something or someone – an animate referent takes =*re* and an inanimate referent takes =*ni* (see Section 4.4 for the complexities of the animate/inanimate division):

- (3-12) a. *ŋgu Mairum =re wok*
 3SG.F Mairum =ALL (ANIMATE) go.3SG.F.R
 ‘she went to Mairum (personal name)’
- b. *ŋgu miri =ni wok*
 3SG.F rainforest =ALL (INANIMATE) go.3SG.F.R
 ‘she went to the rainforest’

3.1.2.1 Animacy/genericness marked through possessive morphemes

Animacy/genericness is also marked on NPs by the enclitics that signal possession (see Section 4.5 for discussion of possession). The possessive clitics express animacy/

genericness and number. They have optional consonant-final forms: The conditioning factors between the vowel-final and consonant-final forms are unknown.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
ANIMATE	= <i>ma(t)</i>	= <i>mandama(t)</i>
INANIMATE/GENERIC	= <i>ŋa(n)</i>	= <i>ŋa(n)</i>

Examples are:

- (3-13) a. *mbor =mat ŋagon*
 pig =POSS tail
 ‘pig’s tail’
- b. *Sopak =mat sapwar*
 Sopak =POSS basket
 ‘Sopak’s basket’
- c. *miri =mat mbor*
 rainforest =POSS pig
 ‘wild pig’ – as opposed to a *numŋa mbor*, a domestic pig, of the village
- d. *num sami =mat morasi*
 village many =POSS custom
 ‘the custom of many villages’

The possessive clitics attach to the last word of the noun phrase expressing the possessor. The order between possessor and possessed is free, so both *Sopak=ma(t) sapwar* (Sopak’s basket) and *sapwar Sopak=ma(t)* (basket Sopak’s), or *miri=ŋa mbor* (forest’s pig) and *mbor miri=ŋa* (pig forest’s) are possible. Placing the NP + POSS constituent last emphasizes it.

For animate plurals, the possessive clitic is =*mandama(t)*. For example:

- (3-14) a. *Potow =mandamat morasi*
 Wongan =POSS.PL behavior
 ‘the behavior of the Wongan people’
- b. *mbor rorsema =mandama tawk*
 pig child.PL =POSS.PL plate
 ‘the baby pigs’ plate’ (that they eat from)

When speaking in general terms, =*ŋa(n)* is used even with animate nouns. For example:

- (3-15) a. *munjeŋa morasi*
munje =ŋa morasi
 man =POSS behavior
 ‘the behavior of man’ (as opposed to the behavior of pigs, or dogs)
- b. *njeŋa rewi*
nje =ŋa rewi
 dog =POSS tooth
 ‘dog teeth’, which traditionally were used as a kind of currency
- c. *mborŋa morasi yu nir -kwan -kut*
mbor=ŋa morasi yu nir -kwan -kut
 pig=POSS behavior 2SG do.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.R.O -be.SG.M.R
 ‘you’re acting like a pig’ (lit. ‘you’re doing a pig’s behavior’)
- d. *munjeŋan mirini aku wákare, miri sinderni kut*
munje =ŋan miri =ni a -ku wákare miri
 man =POSS rainforest =LOC be.IRR -IRR NEG rainforest

sinder =ni kut
 empty =LOC BE.3SG.M.R
 ‘he isn’t living in a part of the rainforest that people visit or know;
 he lives in an unpopulated part of the forest’
- e. *nime nirkwanygarke munjeŋa rawni*
nime nir -kwan -nygarke munje =ŋa raw =ni
 thusly do.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.R.O -PROH man =POSS nose =LOC
 ‘you can’t be doing that right in front of a person!’

3.1.3 Gender in nouns

Gender is a ubiquitous feature of Tayap. A common category in Papuan languages in general (Foley 2000: 371), in particular in non-Trans New Guinea languages (Ger Reesink pers. comm.), the pervasiveness of gender in Tayap, and the way it is marked across the grammar, differentiates it from the languages that surround it and gives it a reputation in the area as being a “hard” language.

Non-speakers of Tayap perceive the prominent role that gender marking plays in Tayap because they hear speakers telling one another to do things, and the imperative forms of intransitive verbs are inflected according to the gender (and number) of the addressee(s).

So – to use the example that Gapun villagers themselves inevitably cite whenever they explain the nature of Tayap to anyone – when you talk to a man

you say *wetet* (come), and when you talk to a woman you say *wetak* (come), using gender-marked verbal affixes.

This feature of the language never ceases to astonish any Sepik villager who hears it, and people from other villages who listen to Gapuners explain that they have “two languages” invariably react as though such a language is so bizarre as to stretch the bounds of credulity (see Section 7.1.2; see also Sections 3.5 and 5.3 for gender marking on pronouns and verbal affixes).

3.1.3.1 Gender marking

Gender in Tayap is a property of nouns, but is a morphologically covert category. It is not marked not on the noun itself, but is expressed on the following targets:

- (1) deixis markers (see Section 3.8); and/or
- (2) ergative markers on the subjects of transitive verbs (see Section 4.3); and/or
- (3) suffixes on the verb that encode subject and object (See Sections 3.5 and 5.3); and/or
- (4) suppletive verb stems (see Chapter 6)

For example, compare the following intransitive constructions:

- (3-16) a. *noŋor aŋgi patirni wuk*
noŋor aŋgi patir =ni wuk
 woman DX.F house =LOC be.3SG.F.R
 ‘the woman is in the house’
- b. *munje ainde patirni kut*
munje ainde patir =ni kut
 man DX.M house =LOC be.SG.M.R
 ‘the man is in the house’

Here, the gender of the subjects is expressed by both the deictic words (*aŋgi/ainde*) and the gender of the inflected verb *aku* ‘be’ (*wuk* ‘she is’ versus *kut* ‘he is’).

Transitive verbs mark gender in object suffixes (see Section 3.5). Some classes of transitive verbs (classes 4 and 5) signal gender and number on the subject suffix(es) as well. So compare the following non-future forms of the class 4 verb *ngar* ‘call out to’:

- (3-17) a. *ŋiŋi ŋgu ŋganukun*
ŋi=ŋi ŋgu ŋga -nu -ku -n
 3SG.M=ERG.M 3SG.F call_out.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘he called out to her’

- b. *nguyi ngu ngatukun*
ngu =yi ngu nga -tu -ku -n
 3SG.F =ERG.F 3SG.F call_out.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘she called out to her’

In both examples, the object suffix *-ku* signals a feminine object (a masculine object would be *-ngi*; see Section 5.3.1). But in a class 4 verb like *ngar*, the gender and number of the subject is also obligatorily marked: in this example, gender is encoded in the alternation between *-nu + -n* (combining to signal 1SG OR 3SG.M OR 1PL), and *-tu + -n* (combining to signal 2SG OR 3SG.F).

Notice also the different ergative markers affixed to 3SG.M (= *ni*) and 3SG.F (= *yi*).

Other verbs (conjugation class 3 transitive verbs and some intransitive verbs) also change their stem forms to signal the gender of the subject:

- (3-18) a. *mbori pap okun*
mbor=i pap o -ku -n
 pig=ERG.F coconut consume.R <3SG.F.R.O> -3SG.F.R.S
 ‘the (female) pig ate coconut’
- b. *mborŋi pap kakun*
mbor =ŋi pap ka -ku
 pig =ERG.M coconut consume.R <3SG.F.R.O>
- n*
 -1SG|2SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘the (male) pig ate coconut’

Here, again, the object suffix *-ku* signals a feminine object, ‘coconut’, and thus remains the same in both sentences. But the verb ‘consume’ (*a*) is a conjugation class 3 transitive verb, and in those verbs, the verb stem changes to signal the gender (and number) of the subject, alternating between *o* and *ka* (see Section 6.1.4).

This verb-stem alternation is a source of serious difficulty for young speakers of Tayap, as is discussed in Section 6.1.5.

3.1.3.2 Principles of gender assignment

There are two genders in Tayap: feminine and masculine. Humans have natural gender, even though this can be overridden when the referent is non-particular (see below). The gender classification of all other animate nouns is decided by three criteria.

The first is particularity: the unmarked, generic form of all nouns, including animate nouns, is feminine.¹

The second is sex: a male referent may be specified as masculine and a female referent feminine.

The third criterion is size and shape: long, thin and large referents tend to be masculine; short, stocky and small referents tend to be feminine.

Snakes (long and thin) and cassowaries (tall and imposing), therefore, are prototypically masculine; pigs (fat and stocky) are prototypically feminine. So in a sentence like ‘he speared a pig’, the object ‘pig’ will be designated by the feminine object suffix *-ku* unless the speaker specifically wants to point out that it was male, in which case the masculine object suffix *-ŋgi* would be used.

The difference is as follows:

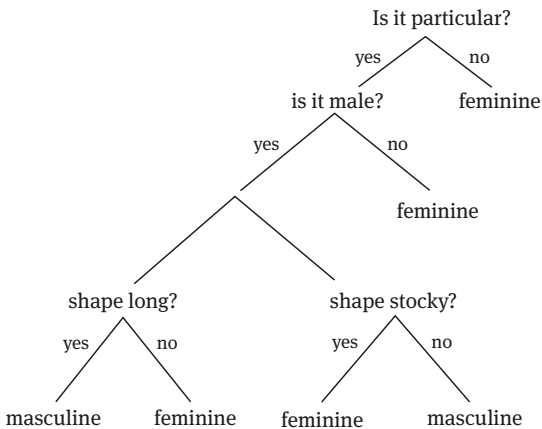
(3-19) a. *ŋiŋi mbor pokun*

<i>ŋi</i>	=	<i>ŋi</i>	<i>mbor</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-n</i>
3SG.M	=	ERG.M	pig	strike.R	-3SG.F.R.O	-SG 1PL.R.S
‘he speared a (female) pig’						

b. *ŋiŋi mbor poŋgin*

<i>ŋi</i>	=	<i>ŋi</i>	<i>mbor</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>-ŋgi</i>	<i>-n</i>
3SG.M	=	ERG.M	pig	strike.R	-3SG.M.R.O	-SG 1PL.R.S
‘he speared a (male) pig’						

The following chart shows the process of gender assignment in Tayap:



Tayap gender decision tree

¹ Foley (2000: 371) notes that among those Papuan languages which have gender, binary contrasts are typical, and feminine is always the unmarked gender.

As the chart suggests, even though snakes and cassowaries are commonly masculine, a short, fat snake or a squat, short-necked cassowary could be referred to using feminine forms.

The shape-based assignment of gender is not entirely predictable, however. A praying mantis is generally masculine, perhaps because its name is homophonous with ‘cassowary’ (i.e. *ngat*). And a millipede (*kakámatik*), even though it is long, is generally feminine, perhaps because it is stubby, fat, and slow moving, at least compared to a centipede (*yandum*), which is sleek and slithering (and generally masculine).

Even though nouns tend to be generally classified as feminine, there are some nouns which are always (in the case of natural phenomena and insects) or tend to be (in the case of animals and birds) masculine.

The nouns in question are:

Natural phenomena	Animals, birds and insects	
<i>arawer</i> ‘sun’	<i>aram</i> ‘snake’	<i>ngararik</i> ‘monitor lizard’
<i>ngudum</i> ‘star’	<i>kakarpwap</i> ‘eagle’	<i>ngat</i> ‘cassowary’; ‘praying mantis’
<i>nekan</i> ‘earthquake’	<i>kamban</i> ‘magpie’	<i>njakep</i> ‘flying fox bat’
<i>aruat</i> ‘thunder’	<i>kekékato</i> ‘worm’	<i>ondom</i> ‘hornbill’
<i>pora</i> ‘wind’	<i>momik</i> ‘guria pigeon’	<i>orem</i> ‘crocodile’
<i>urerngar</i> ‘lightning’	<i>nekan</i> ‘stick insect’, Note: homophonous with ‘earthquake’	<i>pesaw</i> ‘bird of paradise’ <i>yandum</i> ‘centipede’

Examples are:

(3-20) *nekan katot*
 earthquake happen.3SG.M.R
 ‘an earthquake (M) happened’

(3-21) *ɲayi aram taniŋin*
ɲa =yi aram ta -ni -ɲgi -n
 1SG =ERG.F snake see.R -S <3SG.M.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R. S
 ‘I (F) saw a snake (M)’

This gender system shares some similarity with the East Sepik, Ndu family language Manambu, in which gender assignment is determined in part by the size and shape of the referent (Aikhenvald et al. 2008; see also Reesink 2003 on North Papuan languages). Aikhenvald et al. (2008: 112) note that shape-based gender assignment is a feature of languages of the Sepik area, also citing Alambalak (Bruce

1984). Other languages of the Sepik-Ramu region have gender, but very different systems: Foley (2000: 366) notes for instance that Lower Sepik languages have a phonological gender system; that is, gender assignment is based on the phonological form of the noun root.

On the other hand, the situational element to Tayap's gender system – in which gender is partly a matter of the discourse situation rather than a fixed property of a noun – is reminiscent of that of Bilua, a Papuan language spoken on Vella Lavella in the Solomon Islands. In Bilua, masculine gender is used for third-person singular masculine human referents as well as “singulative” non-human nouns. But all other nouns are marked feminine, the default form (Obata 2003: 88, 105–109).

3.1.3.3 Non-particular nouns

Nouns that otherwise could be expected to be masculine can be feminine under two circumstances.

The first is when the subject or referent of a verb is a general class of people rather than a named or known individual. For example, the following utterance is from a harangue by an older Tayap speaker who is chastising younger villagers for behaving badly. In the course of his harangue, the speaker wonders rhetorically which big man (i.e. which old, knowledgeable man) is still alive to teach young people about the good ways of the past. (The answer, he knows, is ‘none’.)

His question was phrased as follows:

- (3-22) *Ani munje suman wuk?*
 who man big be.3SG.F.R
 ‘Which big man is here (i.e. still living)?’

Note that the verb ‘be’ is inflected in 3SG.F, even though the referent is unambiguously a male. The use of the feminine form here conveys generality. It refers to the category or class of ‘big men’ rather than to a specific big man. If the speaker had phrased the question using the 3SG.M form of ‘be’, *kut*, the question would be referring to a specific named or known big man: ‘Which one of the big men we all know is present here right now?’

Another example of the same phenomenon is the following (feminine forms that denote the male referent are in bold):

- (3-23) *ngu munje ngo ngon pawrik tatukundre, nirkwanuk, noni namkru wákare*
ngu munje ngo ngon pawrik ta -tu -ku
 3SG.F man DM 3SG.F.POSS strength get.R -S <3SG.F.R.O>
 -n -dre nir -kwan -uk
 -2SG|3SG.F.R.S -SUB do.IRR <3SG.F.BEN.R.O> -be.3SG.F.R
 non=i nam -kru wákare
 other=ERG.F talk.IRR -3SG.F.IRR NEG
 ‘The man is of course finding his strength and doing it on his own,
 nobody else is telling him to’

This utterance was spoken during a tense discussion about the incessant and disruptive drinking in the village that, by late 2009, had been plaguing Gapun for some time. During a village-wide meeting, the mother of a fifteen-year-old boy shouted angrily that her husband never tried to stop their son from drinking.

In response, a man in his late thirties made the comment above, which is dismissive of the mother and supports the young man’s father by implying that it wouldn’t matter what the father told his son. The son, this man is saying, is old enough and would act according to his own desires anyway: no one is ordering him to drink; he does it because he wants to. But as in the previous example, (3-22), this utterance refers to a male using feminine grammatical forms.

The rhetorical effect is the same: the speaker’s use of feminine grammatical forms when talking about a male conveys a meaning of generality. The speaker is not overtly disputing anything the mother says about her son or her husband, these grammatical forms say; he is making a general observation.

A non-literal but semantically more accurate translation of the man’s remark would be: ‘As young men get older and stronger of course they decide on their own what they want to do, they don’t do things just because other people tell them to’.

3.1.3.4 Gender in young people’s Tayap

Young speakers are aware that Tayap marks gender, and they know how to mark it on verb stems, object suffixes, subject suffixes and through ergative markers.

A problem they have, though, is keeping straight the forms that mark masculine gender from the ones that mark feminine gender. This problem can be exemplified by a short extract from a narrative told by an eighteen-year-old woman.

This young woman is telling a story about a crocodile that she and some other young women caught in the mangrove swamp. The women tied the 1.5 meter-long crocodile’s jaws together, put it in a copra bag and brought it home. It lived for a while, then, the speaker recounts, her father killed it (forms that express gender are in bold):

(3-24) *orem анги wuk embre sasŋi poŋgin*

orem анги wuk emb =re sas =ŋi
 crocodile DX.F be.3SG.F.R morning =TEMP father =ERG.M

po -ŋgi -n
 strike.R -3SG.M.R.O -SG|1PL.S

‘the (*female*) crocodile was there, in the morning (*male*) father killed *him*’

All the words and morphemes that express gender are correctly formed. The masculine ergative case morpheme on ‘father’ is also the correct one. But note that the grammatical gender of the crocodile here changes from feminine to masculine in the course of a single utterance. Crocodiles are generally masculine in Tayap, so the final verb here, *poŋgin*, is exactly what a fluent speaker would say. But the deictic word used by this young speaker, *angi*, as well as the first verb, *wuk*, are semantically incorrect – they are the feminine forms, but what the speaker wants are the masculine forms: *ainde kut*.

If the speaker had been talking about a female crocodile (for example if the crocodile had been found to be carrying eggs), then the deictic *angi* and the verb *wuk* would have been correct. But in that case, the final verb should have had a feminine object morpheme – it should have been *po-ku-n* (kill.R-3SG.F.R.O-SG|1PL.S).

This kind of gender-mixing is characteristic of young speakers. Generally speaking, the younger and less competent the speaker, the more gender will be mixed in haphazard ways like this. As in many other areas of Tayap grammar, it is clear that young speakers know *that* a particular distinction is expressed in the vernacular. They are also capable of producing some of the forms that mark the distinction. What they lack is the capacity to realize the distinction in a grammatically consistent manner.

In Young People’s Dyirbal, a situation of language death in Australia, weaker speakers changed the semantic gender assignment system to a simple animacy/gender system. That is, they kept the morphology and rearranged the class assignment system (Schmidt 1985). That is the opposite situation to what is happening with Tayap: here, the assignment principles remain but what is changed is that the morphological marking has become inconsistent.

3.1.4 Verbalized nouns

Nouns (like adjectives, see Section 3.3.2) can function as verbs, with the full range of verbal morphology, with zero derivation.

(3-25) *Sandetakre priek*

Sande -tak =re priek
 Sunday (TP) -2SG.F|3SG.F.R =TEMP come_up.1SG.F|1PL.R
 ‘It was Sunday when we came up [to the bush camp]’

(3-26) *ngi eiarakngukre Kandumsik ndowkrunana ainda*

ngi eiar -ak nguk -re Kandumsik
 3PL cry.IRR -LINK be.3PL.R -SUB Kandumsik

ndow -kru -nana ainda

leg -3SG.F.IRR.O -INTENT DX.F

‘They [children] are crying so I’m going to Kandumsik [creek] to leg it [i.e. to wade into the water and net some fish].’

In the following example, it is not actually a single noun that is verbalized, but an NP – in this case a possessive NP. Verbalized nouns often carry an inchoative meaning.

(3.27) *ngu kapa weka numŋa noŋortakara*

ngu kapa wek -a num=ŋa
 3SG MIR come.3SG.F.R -and village=POSS

noŋor -tak -ara

woman -2SG|3SG.F.R -PERF

‘She’s really become a village woman’ (said of a woman who moved to Gapun from another village)

3.2 Verbs

The lexical class of verbs is an open class which can be characterized as being able to host realis/irrealis status and transitivity suffixes as well as subject and object suffixes. A fully inflected verb can function as the sole word of a sentence.

There are two major subclasses of verbs: intransitive and transitive. Examples of each are:

Intransitive verb

(3-28) *ngu pirok*

ngu pirok
 3SG.F laugh.SG.F|1SG.PL.R
 ‘she laughed’

Transitive verb

(3-29) *ɲayi yu tanun*

ɲa=yi *yu* *ta* *-n* *-u* *-n*
 1SG=ERG.F 2SG see.R -S <2SG.R.O> -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘I saw you’

There are no ditransitive verbs in Tayap (see also Section 9.1). Semantically three-place predicates express the recipient of giving, for example, with the benefactive morpheme:

(3-30) *is* *-iata* *-n*
 give.SBJ -1SG.BEN.R.O -SG|1PL.R
 ‘(you) give it to me!’

However the recipient can be omitted, indicating that the verb in question is transitive, not ditransitive, and that the benefactive morpheme is an optional oblique argument:

(3-31) *epi* *i* *-kru* *-net*
 tomorrow give.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S
 ‘I (M) will give it (to someone) tomorrow’

Benefactive objects and regular objects cannot coocur in the same clause.

As well as being divided into transitivity classes, every Tayap verb falls into one of nine conjugation classes, based on how verbs form their non-future forms: there are five classes for transitive verbs and four for intransitives (see Chapter 6).

Verb morphology in Tayap is entirely suffixing, with morphemes for object and subject added – in that order, apart from discontinuous subject markers – to verb stems. A characteristic feature of Tayap verbs is that status is marked across the verb multiple times. The stem must occur in either an irrealis or realis form. In addition, the object and subject morphemes that get suffixed to the stem also encode realis/irrealis status.

This can be illustrated with an example from the transitive verb stem *o*, which means ‘strike’ (and covers actions like ‘shoot’, ‘stab’ and ‘hit’). Note how irrealis vs. realis is marked across the verb (in bold):

- (3-32) a. *pokun*
po *-ku* *-n*
 strike.**R** 3SG.F.**R.O** -SG|1PL.**R.S**
 ‘I (M or F)/you/he/she/we shot it’
- b. *okrunet*
o *-kru* *-net*
 strike.**IRR** 3SG.F.**IRR.O** -1SG.M|3SG.M.**IRR.S**
 ‘I (M) will shoot it’ or ‘he will shoot it’
- c. *okru wákare*
o *-kru* *wákare*
 strike.**IRR** 3SG.F.**IRR.O** NEG
 ‘(Any person or number of people) didn’t shoot it’ (or ‘won’t shoot it’)²

The same thing happens with intransitive verbs, exemplified here with the verb *memki* ‘get up’:

- (3-33) a. *pemiet*
pem *-iet*
 get_up.**R** -SG.M.**R**
 ‘he got up’ or ‘I (M) got up’ or ‘you (M) got up’
- b. *memkinet*
mem *-ki* *-net*
 get_up.**IRR** -**IRR** -1SG.M|3SG.M.**IRR**
 ‘I (M) will get up’ or ‘he will get up’
- c. *memki wákare*
mem *-ki* *wákare*
 get_up.**IRR** -**IRR** NEG
 ‘(Any pronoun, person or number of people) didn’t get up’ (or ‘won’t get up’)

Status marking on verbs, while mandatory, does not always occur in predictable ways. Realis morphemes can occur as part of a verb that refers to an unreal event. An example is the counterfactual mood (CF), which is a prototypical irrealis category, because it refers to events that never occurred, such as ‘If he had seen it, he would have shot it’. However in Tayap, on transitive verbs, the counterfactual is

² Note that the negative verb requires irrealis marking, see Section 5.4.2.1.

expressed by a verb stem inflected as counterfactual and suffixed by object and subject morphemes that occur in their *realis* forms, rather than in their irrealis forms, which in the case below would be *-kru-* (3SG.F.IRR.O) and *-net* (for 1SG.M.S; for the appropriate endings for other subjects, see Section 5.3):

- (3-34) *wakrikkun*
wak *-rik* *-ku* *-n*
 strike.CF -CF -3SG.F.R.O - SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘I (M or F)/you/he/she/we would have shot it’

For intransitive verbs, the counterfactual is expressed by a verb stem inflected as counterfactual and suffixed by group I subject morphemes, which in this grammar – for the sake of consistency with the pattern that is clear in transitive verbs – are glossed as *realis*. In reality, though, group I subject morphemes are the same in the *realis* and *irrealis* statuses (see Section 6.2.1).

- (3-35) *memriknet*
mem *-rik* *-net*
 get_up.CF -CF -1SG.M|3SG.M.R
 ‘I (M) would have gotten up’ or ‘he would have gotten up’

Non-serialized independent verb stems can consist of a single vowel, like *a* ‘consume’, or up to four syllables, like *mundumindi* which means ‘hum’.

The morphology of Tayap verbs is the subject of Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

3.3 Adjectives

Tayap has a limited, closed class of adjectives, with the following properties. They:

- modify a noun
- can take a unique plural marker (see Section 3.6.2)
- rarely occur as sole member/head of an NP (if the noun head is elided)
- never function as an argument of a verb
- do not have their own gender

They form a discrete closed class, and can be characterized on the basis of their modificational semantics, as laid out below:

EVALUATION	<i>apro</i> 'bad' <i>eṅgon</i> 'good', 'nice' <i>sua</i> 'stupid', 'rubbish'	
COLOR	<i>karar</i> 'red' <i>kikiw</i> 'yellow' <i>puwas</i> 'white' <i>ṅgidiṅ</i> 'blue/green' <i>sawir</i> 'black'	
AGE	<i>iro</i> 'new' <i>ewir</i> 'young' <i>mambir</i> 'young' (see example 3-43) <i>ṅgop</i> 'young' (used for coconuts and women's breasts) <i>kapar</i> 'senior' <i>kowot</i> 'old' <i>rowe</i> 'old' (for inanimate objects and dead ancestors)	
PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTIC OR DIMENSION	<i>agranarmbir</i> 'hot' <i>pokemb</i> 'cold' <i>mokop/mosop</i> 'small' <i>suman</i> 'big' <i>njawap</i> 'wet' <i>pakas</i> 'dry' <i>naimb</i> 'heavy' <i>tumb</i> 'thick', 'heavy' <i>pasinder</i> 'weightless' <i>saprew</i> 'stuffed' <i>kas</i> 'nearly ripe', 'tough' (used for cooked food) <i>mandig</i> 'unripe' <i>prik</i> 'ripe' <i>pisimb</i> 'rotten' <i>uran</i> 'dirty', 'unkempt' <i>komboj</i> 'dirty' (used for water) <i>mik</i> 'sharp', 'intense' <i>mbutup</i> 'dull', 'blunt' <i>kemem</i> 'long' <i>kitiṅin</i> 'short' <i>awinawin</i> 'runny' <i>kawrik/pawrik</i> 'strong', 'hard' <i>mit</i> 'dense'	<i>ndidikdidik</i> 'lumpy' <i>ṅgado/ṅgadogadi</i> 'bent', 'crooked' <i>pisaipisai</i> 'soft' <i>seṅgrim</i> 'without accompaniment' (used for food) <i>sinder</i> 'empty', 'bare' <i>mbwarpasinder</i> 'without a care' <i>tapraw</i> 'wide' <i>kikak</i> 'raw' <i>kitkit</i> 'muddy' <i>kowmb</i> 'deep' <i>kopik</i> 'streaky' <i>mbabuṅ</i> 'burned' <i>eṅgin</i> 'white' (as in 'European') <i>taman</i> 'inexperienced' <i>yam</i> 'knowledgeable' <i>tower</i> 'quiet' <i>kambinim</i> 'pitiable' <i>miṅan</i> 'male' <i>noṅor</i> 'female' <i>minda</i> 'tired of' <i>nipis</i> 'able'
WORDS FOR ANIMALS AND FOR ANIMAL COATS OR FEATHERS	<i>agrāṅkar</i> 'skinny', 'emaciated' <i>atunṅor</i> 'brown', 'tan' <i>pwap</i> 'large' (used for specific animals such as eagles and lizards) <i>ramborgar</i> 'black and white mottled' <i>mbatāmbati</i> 'white and red mottled'	

NUMBER	all the quantifiers listed in Section 3.6 are adjectives, although in practice the only ones ever actually used by older fluent speakers to modify nouns or noun phrases are the numbers 1–5.
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Adjectives follow their head noun. Some examples:

(3-36) *munje kemem*
 man long
 ‘tall man’

(3-37) *noŋor kitinjin*
 woman short
 ‘short woman’

(3-38) *orak apro*
 thing bad
 ‘bad thing’

(3-39) *arawer mik*
 sun sharp
 ‘hot sun’ (lit. ‘sharp sun’)

Adjectives can function predicatively as well as attributively, although this is less common than in a language like English, because adjectives, like nouns, can become verbs (see below, Section 3.3.2). So rather than saying something like “the sun is hot” – which can be said, as *arawer mik* (lit. ‘sun sharp’), as in (3-39) – speakers of Tayap more readily say *arawer miknet* (lit. ‘sun sharpens’, i.e. ‘sun is hot’).

Examples of adjectives occurring predicatively are as follows:

- (3-40) a. *munjema nam enŋon anŋi*
munje =ma nam enŋon anŋi
 man =POSS talk good DX
 ‘human beings’ talk is good talk’ (said by a man chastising his daughter for swearing, making an implicit contrast with the grunts and howls of animals)
- b. *ŋgu sumanke wekŋan?*
ŋgu suman =ke wek =ŋan
 3SG.F big =Q come.3SG.F.R =POSS
 ‘did she come all grown up?’ (said, with a rhetorical flourish, about a woman who married into Gapun at a young age)

- c. *ŋaŋan ndi nda mbabasak*
ŋaŋan ndi nda mbabasak
 1SG.POSS DM DM ignorant
 ‘mine (i.e. my children) are ignorant’ (said by a father speaking about his children’s knowledge of Tayap)

Adjectives can rarely function alone as the sole member of an NP; this only occurs when the head noun is understood:

- (3-41) *sawir aŋgo wuk*
 black DX be.3SG.F.R
 ‘this black (one) is there’

3.3.1 Number inflection in adjectives

Adjectives can take a plural suffix, as discussed in Section 3.6.2, but they can also inflect for number using partial suppletion. Like nouns, which but for a handful of exceptions do not inflect for number, the overwhelming majority of adjectives have only one form, and they do not change for number or gender. There are four exceptions to this.

Only two adjectives are inflected with partially suppletive forms in the singular, dual and plural: ‘little’ and ‘old’. The dual and plural forms are used only for animate referents – so one says *rorsem mopri* (children little-DL, ‘two little children’), but *patir mokop sene* (house little-SG two, ‘two little houses’).

The dual and plural forms recorded here are moribund: they were given to me in the 1980s by senior men who have since died. Today, only the oldest speakers are able to produce them:

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| (3-42) a. ‘little’ | b. ‘old’ |
| SG <i>mokop</i> | SG <i>kowot</i> |
| DL <i>mopri</i> | DL <i>kotiw</i> |
| PL <i>mopro</i> | PL <i>koto</i> |

In addition to ‘little’ and ‘old’, two adjectives meaning ‘young’ have singular and plural forms, but lack a dual form:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (3-43) a. ‘young’ (used for both males and females) | b. ‘young’ (traditionally used only for females; nowadays used for both sexes) |
| SG <i>eiwir</i> | SG <i>mambir</i> |
| PL <i>eiwiro</i> | PL <i>mambro</i> |

3.3.2 Verbalized adjectives

Like nouns, all adjectives can be zero-derived as intransitive verbs by directly suffixing them with morphemes that encode realis/irrealis status, subject and other verbal categories. The verbs derived in this way are generally inchoatives; they express a change of state:

- (3-44) a. *ngu kararkitak*
ngu karar -ki -tak
 3SG.F red -IRR -2SG.F|3SG.F.IRR
 ‘she/it will turn red’
- b. *ngu mosoptakara*
ngu mosop -tak -ara
 3SG.F small -2SG.F|3SG.F.R -PERF
 ‘she/it shrank’ or ‘she/it got short’
- c. *ikin priktak*
ikin prik -tak
 banana ripe -2SG.F|3SG.F.R
 ‘the banana has ripened’
- d. *arawer kikiwnet, maikinetana*
arawer kikiw -net mai -ki -net
 sun yellow -1SG.M|3SG.M.R enough -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR
 -ana
 -INTENT
 ‘the sun is getting yellow and will soon be gone (i.e. it will set)’
- e. *numbwan aprotak*
numbwan apro -tak
 thought bad -2SG.F|3SG.F.R
 ‘the thought became bad’

Similarly, in the following example, the adjective ‘big’ functions as a medial verb with a medial manner suffix *-kar* (Section 9.8.2):

- (3-45) *ngomar pitkwanngukre awin sumankar puwok*
ngomar pit -kwan -nguk -re
 fish wash.IRR -3SG.F.R.O -3PL.R.S -SUB

awin suman -kar puwok
 water big -MANN ascend.SG.F.R
 ‘While they were washing the fish, the water continued to rise’ (lit.
 ‘became big rising)

Numerals, which are also adjectives, can likewise be verbalized in this way:

(3-46) *yim imin nambartak*
yim imin nambar -tak
 1PL belly one -2SG.F|3SG.F.R
 ‘We’ve agreed’ (lit. ‘our bellies have become one’)

Note, however, that adjectives inflected as progressives express a state, not a change of state:

(3-47) *yum moprukukemre, yumŋi kirawkru wákare*
yum mopro -kukem -re yum =ŋi
 2PL small.PL -be.2PL.R -SUB 2PL =ERG.M

kiraw -kru wákare
 know.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘you were all small (i.e. you were all children) then, so you don’t know’

3.3.3 Verbs as nominal modifiers

Verbs can function as nominal modifiers, using the non-finite suffix *-(ŋ)gar* (see Section 4.2). For example:

(3-48) *prukŋgar noŋor*
pruk -ŋgar noŋor
 work -NFN woman
 ‘hard-working woman’

As well as simple verbs, whole clauses can function in this way:

(3-49) *sokoi angar pendimor*
sokoi a -ŋgar pendimor
 tobacco consume.IRR -NFN paper
 ‘smoking paper’ (i.e. paper to roll a cigarette in’)

- (3-50) *orak apro munje ongar*
orak apro munje o -ngar
 thing bad man strike.IRR -NFN
 ‘bad thing that kills men’
- (3-51) *morasi engon nirngar munje*
morasi engon nir -ngar munje
 behavior good do.IRR -NFN man
 ‘man with good behavior’
- (3-52) *muta utngar orak*
muta ut -ngar orak
 hole dig.IRR -NFN thing
 ‘thing for digging holes’

3.4 Adverbs

Tayap has many closed classes of adverbs: common, *-ki*, temporal, frequency/distributional or ‘not yet’, and elevational/positional adverbs. They will each be described below.

3.4.1 Common adverbs

Tayap has a small closed set of common adverbs that specify the way in which the action expressed by the verb is carried out. The full set is as follows:

<i>aini</i>	‘like this’	<i>ndaguni</i>	‘furtively’, ‘without permission’
<i>aike</i>	‘thusly’		
<i>areini</i>	‘quickly’	<i>ni</i>	‘nothing’
<i>ariuta</i>	‘slowly’, ‘quietly’	<i>ni(me)</i> or <i>ni(ki)</i>	‘thusly’
<i>itrubara(ni)</i>	‘a little’	<i>nipis</i>	‘almost’
<i>itruki</i>	‘slowly’	<i>nunum</i>	‘running’
<i>katkat</i>	‘quickly’	<i>ngayar/ngayor</i>	‘really’
<i>mapira</i>	‘harshly’, ‘roughly’	<i>pin(ini)</i>	‘nearly’, ‘a little while’
<i>mbibi(ni)</i> or <i>mbibik(ni)</i>	‘like’	<i>rit</i>	‘without pausing or stopping’ (used only with verbs of motion)
<i>mengini</i>	‘slowly’		
<i>moti(ni)</i>	‘again’	<i>sapkini</i>	‘for no reason’
<i>nande(n)</i>	‘thusly’	<i>simpakni</i>	‘directly’, ‘straight’

<i>supwáspwa</i>	‘badly’	<i>tawaŋeni</i>	‘ignorantly’, ‘unknowingly’
<i>tandiw</i>	‘well’	<i>wákarereki</i>	‘yet’

Adverbs are normally placed before their head verb. Note that two adverbs can cooccur as in (3-53 f):

- (3-53) a. *yumŋi supwáspwa ninkurem*
yum =ŋi supwáspwa ni -n -ku -rem
 2PL =ERG.M badly do.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2PL.R.S
 ‘you all did it badly’
- b. *Aŋges katkat prukakkut*
Aŋges katkat pruk -ak kut
 Aŋges quickly work.IRR -LINK be.SG.M.R
 ‘Aŋges is working quickly’
- c. *ŋgon mambaki ndagúni tatukurora*
ŋgon mambaki ndagúni
 3SG.F.POSS netbag furtively

ta -tu -ku -ro -ra
 take.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -3PL.R.S -PERF
 ‘they stole her netbag’
- d. *ŋa ni mbet*
ŋa ni mbet
 1SG nothing come.SG.M.R
 ‘I (M) come with nothing’ (i.e. empty-handed)
- e. *yu ni kut*
yu ni kut
 2SG nothing be.SG.M.R
 ‘you (M) are there doing nothing’
- f. *kikriwekar oŋgarke katkat katkat mbara otet*
kikriwe-kar o-ŋgarke katkat katkat mbara o-tet
 dawdle-MANN go.IRR-PROH quickly quickly a little go.SBJ-2SG.M.R
 ‘stop dawdling, go a little more quickly!’ (said to a male)
- g. *Mbasamama patirni urok, rit ŋayarni urok*
Mbasama =ma patir =ni urok, rit
 Mbasama =POSS house =ALL go_inside.3SG.F|1PL.R without pausing

ηayar -ni urok
 really -INTENS go_inside.3SG.F|1PL.R
 ‘she went inside Mbasama’s house, she went inside without pausing’

- h. *kukununumwetet!*
ku -ku nunum we -tet!
 bring -3SG.F.R.O running come.SBJ -2SG.M.R
 ‘bring it running!’ (i.e. bring it right this minute, fast)

Note also that (3-53h) has an adverb occurring between the verbs of a serial verb construction.

Like adjectives, common adverbs can function as verbs (Section 3.3.2). So just as it is possible to inflect an adjective to say something like ‘it will be bad’,

- (3-54) *aprorakitak*
apro -r- -ki -tak
 bad -r- -IRR -2SG.F|3SG.F.IRR
 ‘it will get bad’ (The *r* after *apro* here and after *supwáspwa* in the next example is phonologically motivated; see Section 2.6.)

Adverbs can also be inflected to produce sentences like the following:

- (3-55) a. *supwáspwarkitak*
supwáspwa -r- -ki -tak
 badly -r- -IRR -2SG.F|3SG.F.IRR
 ‘it will go badly’
- b. *ηayartakara*
ηayar -tak -ara
 really -2SG.F|3SG.F.R -PERF
 ‘it became the real thing’

In addition to modifying verbs, adverbs can also modify noun phrases, as in the following, in which *ηayor* ‘really’ modifies the possessive NP ‘illness’:

- (3-56) *kandawηan munje ηayor*
kandaw =ηan munje ηayor
 illness =POSS man really
 ‘a really sick man’

3.4.2 Adverbial functions of the suffix *-ki*

The affix *-ki* (rarely *-ni*) has multiple functions. It is one of the three irrealis affixes for intransitive verbs (see Section 5.4.2). It is also an intensifier (see Section 3.11). In addition, it expresses adverbial meanings when it is affixed to the following components:

(1) *-ki* can be affixed to nouns to express a distributive meaning; that is, that an action or event takes place on more than one individual occasion, involves an undetermined variety of the same kind of referents, or denotes the way in which something is distributed. These are usually reduplicated:

- (3-57) a. *orom -ki orom -ki*
 time -ADV time -ADV
 ‘every now and again’
- b. *munje -ki munje -ki*
 man -ADV man -ADV
 ‘different men’, ‘a variety of men’
- c. *menjikan -ki menjikan -ki*
 nearby -ADV nearby -ADV
 ‘frequently’, ‘constantly’ (cf. Tok Pisin’s “klostu klostu”)
- d. *ambagaiki ambagaiki aku wákare aini*
ambagai -ki ambagai -ki aku wákare ai =ni
 men’s house -ADV men’s house -ADV be.IRR NEG here =LOC
 ‘there aren’t a lot of different men’s houses (from different clans) here’
- e. *seneki seneki isimbatan*
sene -ki sene -ki isi -mbata -n
 two -ADV two -ADV give.SBJ 3PL.BEN.R.O -SG|1PL.R
 ‘give them two each’

(2) *-ki* can be suffixed to adjectives, to convey the meaning of ‘still’:

- (3-58) a. *ror mokop kararki ngu sisiek awinni tuwngwar patirekeni*
ror mokop karar -ki ngu sisiek awin =ni
 child small red -ADV 3SG.F descend.2SG.F|3SG.F.R water =LOC
tuw -ngwar patir =ekeni
 wash -NFN.SG house =ABL
 ‘the baby was still red (i.e. newborn) when she came down from (i.e. left) the maternity house’

b. *orak iroki mbatatukun*

orak iro -ki mbata -tu -ku -n
 thing new -ADV ruin.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘the thing was still new and you bugged it up’

(3) *-ki* can be suffixed to a verb, making that verb function as what in English would be a gerund. The form of this construction is as follows:

TRANSITIVE VERBS	IRR verb stem + REALIS or BEN object morpheme + <i>-ki</i>
INTRANSITIVE VERBS	IRR verb stem + <i>-ki</i>

Examples:

(3-59) a. *ɲaŋan nam tariaki, ŋi Merewre ŋgwok*

ɲaŋan nam tar -ia -ki ŋi Merew =re ŋgwok
 1SG.POSS talk hear.IRR -1SG.BEN.R.O -ADV 3PL Sanae =ALL go.3PL.R
 ‘Having heard my talk, they went to Sanae’

b. *nek urekekuki, Mbowdi katot Potowre*

nek ureke -ku -ki Mbowdi katot
 ladder turn.IRR -3SG.F.R.O -ADV Mbowdi go_down.SG.M.R

Potow =re

Wongan =ALL

‘Having turned the ladder, Mbowdi went down to Wongan’
 (‘Ladders’ are notched poles leading up into a house, and they get turned when people leave their houses so that the notches face inwards. This makes it more difficult for dogs to climb up into a house.)

c. *ketukraki, munje kowot ide orepeyin*

ketuk -ra -ki munje kowot ide orepe -yi -n
 cough.IRR -ra -ADV man old leave.R -1SG.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘Having coughed, the old man left me’

3.4.3 Temporal adverbs

Tayap has several types of temporals, which function adverbially, and which express when an event occurred or will occur:

General temporals:	<i>anombi</i>	'later on in the near future'
	<i>nunuk</i>	'later', 'afterwards'
	<i>nirere</i>	'a moment ago', 'in a minute'
	<i>ripam</i>	'a long time previously', 'in the olden days'
	<i>ripim</i>	'before', 'previously'
	<i>ripimki</i>	'quite a while ago'
	<i>ripimbaraki</i>	'a fair while ago' (not as long ago as <i>ripimki</i>)
Divisions of the day:	<i>embeb</i>	'just before dawn' (4.30–5.30)
	<i>emb</i>	'morning' (5.30–7.00)
	<i>arawer</i>	'daytime, early afternoon' (7.00–16.00)
	<i>ngrag arawer</i>	'late afternoon' (16.00–17.00)
	<i>ngrag</i>	'early evening' (17.00–19.00)
	<i>ikur</i>	'night' (19.00–4.30)

The locative clitic =*re* can be used in its temporal function with these words to specify the time of an action:

(3-60) a. *ikurre yim okitike*

ikur =re yim o -ki -tike
 night =TEMP 1PL go.IRR -IRR -DL.IRR
 'the two of us will go at night'

b. *embre ki ngwokara mirini*

emb =re ki ngwok -ara miri =ni
 morning =TEMP INTENS go.3PL.R -PERF rainforest =ALL
 'they went into the jungle at the break of dawn'

=*re* also carries the adverbial meaning of frequency when the temporal phrase it creates is repeated. See below, Section 3.4.4.

Calendrical time has the following nominal expressions:

aro 'day'
arawer 'day', lit. 'sun'
karep 'month', lit. 'moon'
ngudumɲa kit/ 'year', lit. 'Pleiades'
mbiruɲa kit

=*re* is also attached to these words to specify the time of an action:

- (3-61) *nunukŋa karepre oŋgrinetana oki*
nunuk =ŋa karep =re o -ŋgri
 later =POSS moon =TEMP strike.IRR -3SG.M.IRR.O
-net -ana o -ki
 -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S -INTENT go.IRR -IRR
 ‘next month I’m going to go hit him’

Duration over time – ‘for three days’ and similar – is expressed by adding an intransitive verb ending, inflected for 3SG.F, to the number:

- (3-62) *ŋgi turkar ŋgwoka arawer senetak*
ŋgi tur -kar ŋgwok -a arawer sene-tak
 3PL sing_and_dance -MANN go.3PL.R -and day two-2SG|3SG.F.R
 ‘they sang and danced for two days’

Days in relation to one another are expressed as:

<i>mungit</i>	‘the day before yesterday’ (used generally to mean ‘recently’, ‘in the recent past’)
<i>ewar</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>ene</i>	‘today’, ‘now’
<i>eŋi</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>tuemb</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’
<i>amen</i>	‘3 days hence’
<i>amamar</i>	‘4 days hence’
<i>amandukup</i>	‘5 days hence’
<i>ndukup</i>	‘6 days hence’
<i>ŋgisakup</i>	‘7 days hence’

The above temporals differ from the others listed so far in that unlike them, the words for days in relation to one another are *never* modified by the postposed temporal *-re*.

Some examples of use are:

- (3-63) a. *mungit yim priekŋan ŋgi Ngasimbara patimi ŋguk*
mungit yim priek =ŋan, ŋgi Ngasimbara
 recently 1PL come_up.1SG.F|1PL.R =POSS 3PL Ngasimbara

patir =ni ŋguk
 house =LOC be.3PL.R
 ‘recently, when we arrived Ngasimbara, they were in the house [there]’

- b. *ewar ikurre ŋa mbot sasik amaikrunana*
ewar ikur =re ŋa mbot sasik
 yesterday night =TEMP 1SG go.SG.M.R bandicoot
- amai -kru -nana*
 search_for.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -INTENT
 ‘last night I went to hunt (lit. ‘to look for’) bandicoot’

Speakers younger than about forty know the words in the above list of days up to and including *tuemb* ‘the day after tomorrow’. Some know, but never use, *amen* (three days from now). The words for four and five days in the future are known only by speakers over fifty. I recorded *angisakup* (seven days from now) during elicitation sessions with old fluent speakers in the 1980s. Nowadays the word is obsolete, remembered by only a few of the oldest speakers in the village.

3.4.4 Adverbials of frequency and distribution and ‘not yet’

Two adverbials in Tayap express frequency and distribution (*-re*), and the temporal relationship ‘not yet’ (*ŋgo wákare*). Note the formal parallel with the locative *=re* (see Section 3.4.3 above and Section 4.4); presumably these forms, while having different functions, have the same origin. The suffix *-re* occurs on nouns, and always involves reduplication, as the following examples show.

-re ‘every’

- (3-64) a. *Yu nimenda nirakkut arore arore. Rorsem aikindaka ambukeni nirakkut? Hariap kwik nirakkut.*
- yu nimenda nir -ak kut aro -re*
 2SG thus do.IRR -LINK be.SG.M.R day -ADV
- aro -re rorsem ai -ki -ndak -a ambukeni*
 day -ADV child.PL come.IRR -IRR -3PL.IRR -and what
- nir -ak kut Hariap kwik*
 do.IRR -LINK be.SG.M.R hurry up quick (Tok Pisin)

nir -ak kut
do.IRR -LINK be.SG.M.R

‘You do this all the time: the kids come and what do you always do?
You’re here in a hurry doing it.’

- b. *ŋa patirre patirre ekrukanŋwar noŋor wákare*
ŋa patir-re patir-re ekruk-aŋwar noŋor
1SG house-ADV house-ADV walk_around.IRR-be.NFN.SG woman

wákare

NEG

‘I’m not a woman who walks around every house (gossiping).’

ŋgo wákare ‘not yet’. This occurs on standard negated clauses.

- (3-65) a. *ŋgi ai -ki ŋgo wákare*
3PL come.IRR -IRR yet NEG
‘they haven’t come yet’

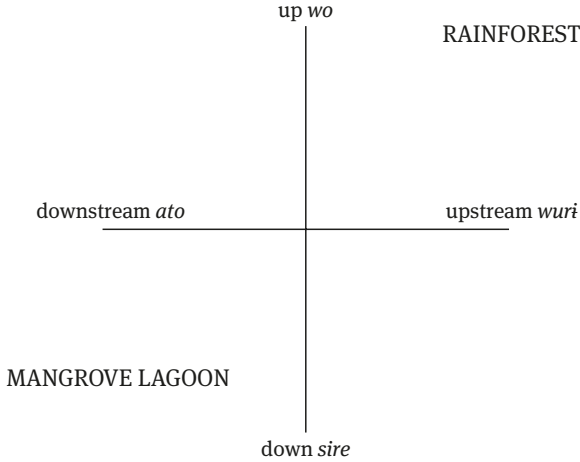
- b. *ŋi warak -ki ŋgo wákare*
3SG.M talk.IRR -IRR yet NEG
‘he hasn’t spoken yet’

3.4.5 Elevational and positional adverbials

The relative geographical position of objects and people is expressed in Tayap much more frequently than it is in a language like English. When leaving someone’s company, for example, one doesn’t just say ‘I’m going’, but rather, ‘I’m going up (in the direction of the rainforest)’ or ‘I’m going down (in the direction of the mangrove lagoon)’. Similarly, if you have just arrived back in Gapun from a trip to the village of Wongan, and someone asks you where you have been, the correct answer is not ‘I was in Wongan’, but ‘I was down in Wongan’.

Elevational and positional relationships are lexically encoded in Tayap’s rich set of verbs of motion, virtually all of which are being lost because of their irregular inflectional patterns (see Section 6.2.3). But Tayap also has a set of two free-standing elevationals and seven positionals that are used to pinpoint the location of an object or a person.

Four of these are oriented according to a spatial array consisting of two axes.



The vertical axis refers to the spatial elevational of 'up' and 'down', for instance being up in a tree or down on the ground.

The horizontal axis refers to the geographical relationship between the rainforest and the mangrove lagoon. The mangrove lagoon that villagers have to cross to get to the neighboring village of Wongan runs to the sea and lies to the north of Gapun. The rainforest, in which the villagers live and into which they walk every day to find sago palms to process and game to hunt, lies all around the village, but most of the vast areas of their traditional land lies roughly south of Gapun. In relation to the mighty Sepik River, which can be seen from the top of the mountain where Gapun village was situated until after World War II, the mangrove lagoon is 'downstream', and the rainforest is 'upstream'. This is the sense in which villagers say they went 'down' to Wongan and then came back 'up' to Gapun. These directionals are relative to one another, so that when one has gone 'up' into the rainforest, one comes 'down' to Gapun village when one returns. Note that the terms also cover all space within the village.

The five other freestanding positionals are:

- ari* 'below', in the sense of 'down below' on a slope
- ase* 'beside', 'on the edge of', 'on the periphery of'
- aro* 'inside', in the sense of 'enveloped in or covered by'
- ato* 'outside', 'on the exterior of'
- osi* 'on the other side'

So, for example, in response to the question 'Where is it?', one might respond in any of the following ways:

- (3-66) a. *wo anġi wuk*
up DX.F be.3SG.F.R
'it's there on top'
- b. *wuri anġi wuk*
up DX.F be.3SG.F.R
'it's there in the upper part
of the village'
- c. *aro anġi wuk*
inside DX.F be.3SG.F.R
'it's there inside'
- d. *ato anġi wuk*
outside DX.F be.3SG.F.R
'it's outside there'
- e. *sire anġi wuk*
down DX.F be.3SG.F.R
'it's there on the bottom/
underneath'
- f. *ari anġi wuk*
below DX.F be.3SG.F.R
'it's down there'
- g. *ato anġi wuk*
down DX.F be.3SG.F.R
'it's there in the lower part of
the village'
- h. *ase anġi wuk*
beside DX.F be.3SG.F.R
'it's there beside
(something)'
- i. *osi anġi wuk*
other side DX.F be.3SG.F.R
'it's on the other side'

These same words are adverbial modifiers, preceding verbs to modify their meaning, as in the difference between the following verbs:

- (3-67) a. *ngritukun!*
ngri -tu -ku -n
put.SBJ -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
'put it!'
- b. *wo ngritukun!*
wo ngri -tu -ku -n
up put.SBJ -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
'put it on top!'

- (3-68) a. *Mbam patirġan pikni inde kut*
Mbam patir =ġan pik =ni inde kut
Mbam house =POSS veranda =LOC DX.M be.SG.M.R
'Mbam is on the veranda of the house'
- b. *Mbam patirġan pikni inde ato kut*
Mbam patir =ġan pik =ni inde ato kut
Mbam house =POSS veranda =LOC DX.M outside be.SG.M.R
'Mbam is outside on the veranda of the house'

They can also be used as verbs in serial verb constructions, indicating motion, for example (see Section 8.2):

- (3-69) *yimbar ŋaŋan mbiukuasetak*
yimbar ŋaŋan mbiu -ku -ase -tak
 canoe mine pull.R -3SG.F.R.O -edge -2SG.F|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘She pulled my canoe outside’ (i.e. she pulled it from inside the rainforest out into the open)

In addition to the freestanding elevationals and positionals, Tayap also has a number of complex positionals, all but one of which (*mborki*) are nouns attached with the locative clitic =*ni*.

<i>imin=ni</i>	‘inside’ or ‘underneath’ (lit. ‘belly’ + LOC)
<i>kandaŋ=ni</i>	‘under’, ‘at the base of’ (lit. ‘base’ + LOC)
<i>mbokak=ni</i>	‘on top of’ (lit. ‘surface’ + LOC)
<i>mborki=ni</i>	‘outside’, ‘visible, out in the open’
<i>mbwar=ni</i>	‘behind’ or ‘on’ (lit. ‘back’ + LOC)
<i>nunuk=ni</i>	‘behind’ (lit. ‘back side’ + LOC)
<i>orom=ni</i>	‘in the middle’ (lit. ‘middle’ + LOC)
<i>raw=ni</i>	‘facing’ or ‘in front of’ (lit. ‘nose’ + LOC)
<i>sek=ni</i>	‘underneath’ (lit. ‘underside’ + LOC)
<i>taw=ni</i>	‘beside’ (lit. ‘side’ + LOC)

The above positionals are nouns that can occur on their own – so one can say:

- (3-70) *raw =ni aŋgi wuk*
 nose =LOC DX.F be.3SG.F.R
 ‘it’s in front’

But speakers also frequently combine locative positionals like *rawni* with the freestanding elevationals and positionals, as well as more complex elements like the possessive-marked noun in (3-71a–c), to specify location. One of the tests I did for positionals was to put a plastic box in the middle of my floor and then put a torch (i.e. a flashlight) in various positions in, under, behind, etc. the box. Some of the positionals I elicited in this way are as follows (Note: *tos* ‘torch’ and *kontena* ‘box’ or ‘container’ are Tok Pisin words):

- (3-71) a. *tos kontena =ŋa mbwar =ni wo wuk*
 torch box =POSS back =LOC up be.3SG.F.R
 ‘the torch is on top of the box’
- b. *tos kontena =ŋa raw =ni ase wuk*
 torch box =POSS nose =LOC beside be.3SG.F.R
 ‘the torch is in front of the box’
- c. *tos kontena =ŋa kandaŋ =ni aro wuk*
 torch box =POSS base =LOC inside be.3SG.F.R
 ‘the torch is underneath the box’

In addition to the elevationals and positionals discussed above, Tayap has two further spatial adverbials that denote relative distance: *kemrak* ‘far away’ and *menjikan* ‘nearby’. Examples are:

- (3-72) a. *ŋi ŋginana kemrak pungot*
ŋi ŋgi =nana kemrak pungot
 3SG.M 3PL =DAT far_away stand.SG.M.R
 ‘he’s standing a long way from them’
- b. *paru angi menjikan angi wuk yuwon ndow =re*
paru angi menjikan angi wuk yuwon ndow =re
 plate DX.F nearby DX.F be.3SG.F.R 2SG.POSS leg =LOC
 ‘the plate is there near your leg’

3.5 Pronouns

Tayap has a single set of pronouns that occur in three different cases: absolutive, ergative and possessive.

The possessive pronouns are formed by adding the possessive clitic =*ŋa(n)* to the absolutive-case pronouns (with some irregularities), and the ergative pronouns are formed by adding the nominal ergative clitics (see Section 4.3) to the absolutive forms, again with some irregularities. Note that bound pronominal forms are listed below and discussed in Section 5.3.

PERSON	ABSOLUTIVE PRONOUNS	POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS	ERGATIVE PRONOUNS
1SG	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>ŋaŋan</i>	<i>ŋayi</i>
1PL	<i>yim</i>	<i>yimon</i>	<i>yimŋi</i>
2SG	<i>yu</i>	<i>yuwon</i>	<i>yuyi</i>

PERSON	ABSOLUTIVE PRONOUNS	POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS	ERGATIVE PRONOUNS
2PL	<i>yum</i>	<i>yumon</i>	<i>yumŋi</i>
3SG.F	<i>ŋgu</i>	<i>ŋgon</i>	<i>ŋguyi</i>
3SG.M	<i>ŋi</i>	<i>ŋan</i>	<i>ŋiŋi</i>
3PL	<i>ŋgi</i>	<i>ŋgan</i>	<i>ŋgiŋi</i>

Note: While there are dual verb suffixes in Tayap, there is no dual free pronoun, see the discussion before examples (3-73) and (3-74) below.

There are also sets of object-marking suffixes, for the benefactive mood (Section 7.5), also used in the transitive progressive (Section 8.3.1.2), and also for non-final verbs (Section 8.2). These forms are as follows, repeated here for convenience (note that these forms are perhaps better organized by number than person, but to parallel other paradigms they are organized here by person):

PERSON	BENEFACTIVE REALIS	BENEFACTIVE IRREALIS	NON-FINAL OBJECT
1SG	<i>-ia(ta)</i>	<i>-iti</i>	<i>-ai</i>
1PL	<i>-ma(ta)</i>	<i>-mati</i>	<i>-am</i>
2SG	<i>-wa(ta)</i>	<i>-wati</i>	<i>-aw</i>
2PL	<i>-ma(ta)</i>	<i>-mati</i>	<i>-am</i>
3SG.F	<i>-kwa(ta)</i>	<i>-kwati</i>	<i>-ak</i>
3SG.M	<i>-ŋga(ta)</i>	<i>-ŋgati</i>	<i>-at</i>
3PL	<i>-mba(ta)</i>	<i>-mbati</i>	<i>-amb</i>
DL	<i>-ma(ta)</i>	<i>-mati</i>	<i>-amb</i>

There is a lack of parallelism between pronouns and verb morphology, in the sense that for all singular subjects, including 1SG, gender is obligatorily marked on verbs through various means that for some verb classes includes changes in the verb stem itself.

For example, note how the imperfective form of the verb ‘go’ (o) changes to express gender for singular subjects:

PERSON	GENDER	PRONOUN	VERB	
1SG	F	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>mbok</i>	‘I went’ (female speaking)
1SG	M	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>mbot</i>	‘I went’ (male speaking)
2SG	F	<i>yu</i>	<i>mbok</i>	‘you went’ (female referent)
2SG	M	<i>yu</i>	<i>mbot</i>	‘you went’ (male referent)
3SG	F	<i>ŋgu</i>	<i>wok</i>	‘she went’
3SG	M	<i>ŋi</i>	<i>mbot</i>	‘he went’

Gender is expressed in the verb here for all singular subjects. The free pronominal system, however, does not manifest a gender distinction in first or second person: feminine and masculine first-person singular are both *ŋa*; feminine and masculine second-person singular are both *yu*. The pronominal system distinguishes gender only in third-person singular (*ŋi* ‘he’ and *ŋgu* ‘she’). For plural subjects, there is no gender distinction, neither in the pronominal system nor in the morphology of verbs.

A further divergence between the pronominal system and verb morphology is that Tayap, as noted above, has no separate dual pronoun, but it does have a dual verb inflection for both transitive verbs (*-re*) and intransitive verbs (*-tike*). This inflection signals ‘we two’ (1DL) or ‘the two of them’ (3DL).

Note, though, that ‘you two’ (2DL) is expressed with the second person plural (*yum*) form of the verb. Compare:

- (3-73) a. DUAL
yim o -ku -re
 1PL consume.R <3SG.F.R.O> -DL.R.S
 ‘the two of us ate it’
- b. PLURAL
yim ka -ku -n
 1PL consume.R <3SG.F.R.O> -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘we ate it’
- c. DUAL
ŋgi wasow -tike
 3PL die.R -DL.R
 ‘the two of them died’
- d. PLURAL
ŋgi wasow -ndak
 3PL die.R -3PL.R
 ‘they died’

But:

- e. *yum ka -ku -rem*
 2PL consume.R <3SG.F.R.O> -2PL.R.S
 ‘you all ate it’ or ‘the two of you ate it’

To specify duality for 2PL subjects, one must be explicit and say the word *sene* ‘two’. So the following sentence means ‘the two of you ate it’:

- (3-74) *yum sene kakurem*
yum sene ka -ku -rem
 2PL two consume.R <3SG.F.R.O> -2PL.R.S
 ‘the two of you ate it’

A further divergence between free pronouns and verb morphology is that free pronouns operate under an ergative/absolutive alignment system whereas verbal morphology operates under a nominative/accusative system (see Section 4.3).

3.6 Quantifiers

3.6.1 Counting

The traditional counting system in Tayap was based on a person’s fingers and toes. This is a well-known areal feature (Laycock 1975). The Tayap system allowed counting up to twenty, although in principle the system could count indefinitely, because after reaching twenty, one could, I was told, begin counting again on the body of another person (so ‘twenty-one’ could be ‘two hands and two legs and one hand one finger on the other side’).

This laborious system, for which there seems to have been no shorthand, disappeared rapidly after villagers began speaking Tok Pisin among themselves in the 1930s and 1940s. Today it is only vaguely remembered, and is regarded as an amusing, cumbersome and primitive curiosity by everyone in Gapun.

Villagers still use the Tayap words for ‘one’ through to ‘five’, and they sometimes combine them to denote a number between five and ten. For example, I once overheard a villager ask another in Tayap how many bags a cocoa buyer who had come to Gapun had filled (this was a typical instance of using Tayap to “hide talk” from non-villagers). The addressee, a thirty-year-old man who is a very weak speaker of Tayap and who under other circumstances never speaks it, responded by saying *manaw towotowo* (literally ‘three four’), which in this context meant seven bags.

Villagers also sometimes use the Tayap word for ‘ten’, but never any of the others, which are always said in Tok Pisin.

The traditional system, as I recorded it from senior men in the 1980s, is as follows:

<i>nambar</i>	‘one’
<i>sene</i>	‘two’
<i>manaw</i>	‘three’

<i>towotowo</i>	‘four’
<i>ndaram nambar</i>	‘one hand’ (i.e. five)
<i>ndaram nambar taw nonni nambar</i>	‘one hand one on the other side’ (i.e. six)
<i>ndaram nambar taw nonni sene</i>	‘one hand two on the other side’ (i.e. seven)
<i>ndaram nambar taw nonni manaw</i>	‘one hand three on the other side’ (i.e. eight)
<i>ndaram nambar taw nonni towotowo</i>	‘one hand four on the other side’ (i.e. nine)
<i>ndaram sene</i>	‘two hands’ (i.e. ten)
<i>ndaram senea³ ndow sikrim nambar</i>	‘two hands and one toe’ (i.e. eleven)
<i>ndaram senea ndow sikrim sene</i>	‘two hands and two toes’ (i.e. twelve)
<i>ndaram senea ndow sikrim manaw</i>	‘two hands and three toes’ (i.e. thirteen)
<i>ndaram senea ndow sikrim towotowo</i>	‘two hands and four toes’ (i.e. fourteen)
<i>ndaram senea ndow nambar</i>	‘two hands and one leg’ (i.e. fifteen)
<i>ndaram senea ndow nambar taw nonni ndow sikrim nambar</i>	‘two hands and one leg one toe on the other side’ (i.e. sixteen)
<i>ndaram senea ndow nambar taw nonni ndow sikrim sene</i>	‘two hands and one leg two toes on the other side’ (i.e. seventeen)
<i>ndaram senea ndow nambar taw nonni ndow sikrim manaw</i>	‘two hands and one leg three toes on the other side’ (i.e. eighteen)
<i>ndaram senea ndow nambar taw nonni ndow sikrim towotowo</i>	‘two hands and one leg two toes on the other side’ (i.e. nineteen)
<i>ndaram senea ndow sene</i>	‘two hands and two legs’ (i.e. twenty)

When numbers occur together with other adjectives, they always occur last (other modifiers can occur in any order; see Section 4.1.1). So:

- (3-75) *nanaw mopri sene*
nanaw mopri sene
 woman.DL little.PL two
 ‘two little women’

There are no ordinal numerals in Tayap, and to express what English expresses as adverbial numerals (‘twice’, ‘thrice’, ‘four times’, etc.), Tayap uses a construction in

3 *senea* is *sene* (‘two’) with the conjunction *-a*; so ‘two-and’

which the number is the main verb and the event that happens a number of times is nominalized by suffixing the irrealis verb stem with the non-finite suffix *-(ŋ)gar* (see Section 4.2). This nominalized event serves as the subject of the number-as-verb.

Examples are:

- (3-76) a. *Kruniŋi rumb oŋgar manawkitak*
Kruni =ŋi rumb o-ŋgar
Kruni =ERG.M slit_gong_drum strike.IRR-NFN.SG
manaw -ki -tak
three -IRR -2SG.F|3SG.F.IRR
 ‘Kruni will hit the slit gong drum three times’
- b. *epi ŋa memkinet tungwar senerkitak*
epi ŋa mem-ki-net
tomorrow 1SG get_up.IRR-IRR-1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR
tungwar sene -r- -ki -tak
bathe.IRR.NFN.SG two -r- -IRR -IRR.2SG.F|3SG.F.IRR
 ‘Tomorrow I will get up and bathe twice’
- c. *ewar ŋan noŋor aikrak ndi, ŋiŋi ŋgu oŋgar samiriktak*
ewar ŋan noŋor aik -rak ndi
yesterday his woman come.CF -3SG.F.CF.S.HYPO DM
ŋi =ŋi ŋgu o -ŋgar sami -rik -tak
3SG.M =ERG.M 3SG.F hit.IRR -NFN.SG many -CF -3SG.F.R
 ‘If his wife had come yesterday, he would have hit her many times’

3.6.2 Plural markers

As was discussed in Section 3.1.1.3, the only nouns in Tayap with non-singular forms are the closed class of nouns denoting some humans, and pigs and dogs. All other nouns have only one form. To indicate plurality in those nouns, the following quantifiers may be used. They immediately follow the noun to which they refer:

- samb* general marker of plurality, most often used with countable nouns
- non samb* used with unquantifiable masses like water or food
- sami* ‘many’, ‘lots of’, ‘plenty’
- ŋgro* used to signify associative plurality on people or place names, pronouns and interrogative words

Examples:

- (3-77) a. *Murarŋan yam samb rarkru wákare*
Murar =ŋan yam samb rar -kru wákare
 Murar =POSS sago_palm PL see.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘we didn’t see the sago palms at Murar’
- b. *nam samb yunana nirkwanŋguk*
nam samb yu -nana nir -kwan -ŋguk
 talk PL 2SG -DAT make.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.R.O -be.3PL.R
 ‘they are talking about you’ (lit. ‘they are making lots of talk about you’)
- c. *ŋi awin sawir non samb kakun*
ŋi =ŋi awin sawir non samb
 3SG.M =ERG.M water black INDEF

ka -ku -n
 consume.R <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|2SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘he drank some black water’
- d. *ŋa sokoi non samb kakun*
ŋa sokoi non samb
 1SG tobacco INDEF

ka -ku -n
 consume.R <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|2SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘I smoked some tobacco’
- e. *aro sami ŋa rarŋgankut, ŋi tutor⁴ ŋayorni awkut*
aro sami ŋa rar -ŋgan -kut
 day many 1SG see.IRR -3SG.M.BEN.R.O -be.SG.M.R

ŋi tuto -r- -ŋayorni -awkut
 3SG.M sit.R -r- -truly -be.SG.M.R.HAB
 ‘I see him all the time, he really just sits there (and does nothing)’

Associative plurals occur: see the following example:

- f. Speaker A: *Ani -ŋgro ŋgwok -ara?*
 who -PL come.3PL.R -PERF
 ‘who all came?’

⁴ This word has an exceptional inserted *r* after the stem in some forms.

Speaker B: *Samek -ŋgro*
Samek -PL
 ‘Samek and the others’

In addition to those markers of plurality discussed above, recall from Section 3.3.1 that there is a handful of adjectives that have separate dual and/or plural forms. Further, Tayap has a marker that attached to adjectives to signify ‘more than one’. This plural marker (*anem*) is moribund; these days it is heard in the speech only of speakers over sixty. From one of those speakers, I elicited sentences such as the following:

- (3-78) a. *numbwan enŋon anem munjenum*
numbwan enŋon anem munjenum
 thought good POSS.PL man.PL
 ‘men with good thoughts’ (lit. ‘good thoughts men’)
- b. *rew suman anem munjenum*
rew suman anem munjenum
 fear big POSS.PL man.PL
 ‘cowards’ (lit. ‘big fears men’)

In naturally occurring speech of older speakers, this marker of plurality was used most productively in the context of abuse. Indeed, I was first alerted to it when transcribing the many “kros-es” (loud public arguments, almost always started and sustained by women) that occurred in the village (Kulick 1993). There, *anem* (shortened to *nem* after the vowel in the preceding word) occurs in abusive phrases like the following:

- (3-79) a. *iminkato sawirŋa nem!*
iminkato sawir =ŋa nem
 lower_intestine black =POSS ADJ.PL
 ‘black assholes!’
- b. *man sumanŋa nem!*
man suman =ŋa nem
 cunt big =POSS ADJ.PL
 ‘big cunts!’

The retraction of what may have been a much more widely used marker of plurality to the context of vituperative abuse is an instructive instance of how particular registers of language (such as abuse) can be repositories of older, obsolescent forms that for various reasons have all but died out in the language otherwise.

3.7 Articles

Tayap has no definite article. The definiteness of a referent emerges either through the context or because it occurs together with a deictic word.

The language does, however, have a word, *non*, which means ‘a’ or ‘some’ – in the sense of ‘some man’ or ‘some child’ – and which can function as an indefinite article. The word does not mean ‘one’: to specify a singularity, the quantifier *nambar* ‘one’ is used (see Section 3.6.1). The word *non* can occur independently, as in the following request, which is heard ubiquitously in Gapun, uttered by someone asking someone else for betel nut:

- (3-80) *non kukukwe*
non ku -ku -we
 INDEF bring -3SG.F.R.O -come.SBJ
 ‘give me one/some’ (lit. ‘bring me one/some’)

When *non* occurs after a noun, it imparts indefiniteness. If *non* does not occur, the referent will likely be interpreted as definite. An example is a sentence like the following:

- (3-81) *rorŋi ŋgat tanŋgin*
ror =ŋi ŋgat ta -n -ŋgi -n
 child =ERG.M cassowary see.R -S <3SG.M.R.O> -SG|1PL.R.S

This sentence would likely be interpreted to mean ‘the child saw the cassowary’, but it can mean both ‘the child saw *the* cassowary’ and ‘the child saw *a* cassowary’. The context of the utterance would usually make it clear if a definite or indefinite noun were meant.

If a speaker wanted to emphasize indefiniteness, he or she could use *non* or *non samb* (Section 3.6.2) after the nominal it modifies:

- (3-82) a. *rorŋi ŋgat non tanŋgin*
ror =ŋi ŋgat non ta -n -ŋgi -n
 child =ERG.M cassowary indef see.R -S <3SG.M.R.O> -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘the boy saw a cassowary’
- b. *ror nonŋi ŋgat non tanŋgin*
ror non =ŋi ŋgat non
 child INDEF =ERG.M cassowary INDEF

ta -n -*ŋgi* -n
 see.R -S <3SG.M.R.O> -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘some (unnamed and possibly unknown) boy saw a cassowary’

3.8 Deictics (dx)

Deictics in Tayap locate a referent in space and time, and can be translated as ‘this’ or ‘that’ and ‘here’ or ‘there’. The language has a word *ai* for ‘here’, and *anini* for ‘there’. These words are used in simple commands to put something or bring something ‘here’ or ‘there’:

- (3-83) a. *ainni wo ŋgritukun*
ai =*ni* *wo* *ŋgri* -*tu* -*ku* -*n*
 here =LOC on_top put.IRR -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘put it here on top’
- b. *anini wo ŋgritukun*
anini *wo* *ŋgri* -*tu* -*ku* -*n*
 there on_top put.IRR -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘put it there on top’

Note: the locative clitic =*ni* on *anini* is optional and frequently omitted (as it is in this example) probably because the word ends with *ni*, which is homophonous with the locative clitic.

Tayap has a six-way distinction for singular referents – three for feminine referents and three for masculine referents. As in other parts of Tayap grammar, the gender distinction collapses in the plural, and here the language maintains a two-way distinction:

SINGULAR			
LOCATION OF REFERENT	FEMININE REFERENT	MASCULINE REFERENT	TRANSLATION
close to speaker	<i>ango(de)</i>	<i>ainde, ai</i>	‘this one’, ‘here’
a bit further from speaker	<i>angi(de)</i>	<i>ainde</i>	‘this one’ or ‘that one’, ‘there’
further still from speaker	<i>angu(de)</i>	<i>aninde</i>	‘that one’, ‘over there’

PLURAL		
LOCATION OF REFERENT	BOTH FEMININE AND MASCULINE REFERENTS	TRANSLATION
close to speaker	<i>ange(de)</i>	'these', 'here'
further from speaker	<i>angi(de)</i>	'those', 'there'

Note that the three-way distance distinction in the singular and two-way in the plural is highly unusual and may in fact be a simplification: the middle term in the singular could in fact be a close-to-addressee term or expressing other pragmatic factors (see e.g. Wilkins 1999).⁵

In addition to the words listed above, Tayap also has a number of slightly different deictic words. They are as follows:

Feminine	Masculine	Plural
<i>angok...ango</i> 'this... here'	<i>aindet....ende</i> ⁶ 'this ...here'	<i>angeb...ange</i> 'these...there'
<i>angudek...angu</i> 'that...there'	<i>aindet...ende/inde/ide/de</i> 'that...there'	<i>angib... angib</i> 'those... there'

The first or second words in these pairs can occur alone functioning as an argument of a verb phrase. During a disagreement between two men, for example, one protagonist responded to the other's threats to come and beat him up with the dismissive snort addressed to everybody who was listening:

(3-84) *aindetjike oyin?*

aindet =*ŋi* =*ke* *o* -*yi* -*n?*
 that_one =ERG.M =Q strike.IRR -1SG.IRR.O -SG|1PL.IRR.S
 'that one there is going to hit me?'

These topicalizing deictic words often co-occur, sometimes multiple times in an utterance.⁷ They can be post-posed to a noun to emphasize it, for example in response to a question like 'Who did it?':

⁵ We thank Anna Margetts for this observation.

⁶ The second word here, *ende*, can also be realized as *inde*, *ide* or *de*

⁷ It is possible that these instances might more felicitously be labeled "focusing", "highlighting" or "emphasizing" rather than topicalizing (Reesink 2014). More information and analysis on the functions of all these deictics is needed.

(3-85) a. *munje aindet ende*
 man DX.M DX.M
 ‘this man’

b. *noŋor anŋok anŋo*
 woman DX.F DX.F
 ‘this woman’

(3-86) a. *aindet munje ide mbábasak ende*
 DX.M man DX.M crazy DX.M
 ‘this man is crazy’

A third set of related deictic words are demonstrative identifiers, which indicate particularity and presence, e.g. ‘it’s me’, or ‘I’m here’ (as opposed to being away somewhere). The term “demonstrative identifiers” comes from Diessel (1999). These words function in a similar way to how an adverb like *ecco* functions in the Italian *eccomi* – ‘it’s me’ or ‘here I am’. So the most common response to a question like ‘Who are you?’ – asked, for example when one hears someone approaching in the pitch blackness of a moonless night – is *Ŋa ainda* (‘it’s me’).

ainda used with *ŋa* (1SG.M AND 1SG.F)
yu (2SG.M AND 2SG.F)
yim (1PL)
yum (2PL)
ainde used with *ŋi* (3SG.M)
anŋo(de) used with *ŋgu* (3SG.F)
anŋe(de) used with *ŋgi* (3SG.PL) and DL

These words are virtually obligatory with many verbs, such as *aku* ‘be’, in the sense that even though it would be grammatically correct to just say *ŋi kut* (‘he’s here’), it is pragmatically awkward. One should say *ŋi ainde kut* (‘he DX.M is here’).

Finally, in addition to all the deictic forms listed above, Tayap also has a quasi-deictic suffix *-me*, which means ‘yes, indeed, that one (or those) as opposed to any other or others’, occurring on pronouns.

-me is also used to emphasize a referent, for example:

(3-87) a. *ŋgime anŋi ŋgwokara*
ŋgi -me anŋi ŋgwok -ara
 3PL -DX DX.PL go.3PL.R -PERF
 ‘they’re indeed the ones who left’ (as opposed to some other people having left)

- b. *ngume morasi oretukun*
ngu -me morasi ore -tu -ku -n
 3SG.F -DX deed leave.SBJ -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘Stop doing that!’

The suffix *-me* occurs just prior to the deictic *angi* in one of the most frequently heard phrases in Tayap: *nguméngi*. This phrase – a contracted form of *ngu-me angi* (3SG.F-*me* + *angi*) – means ‘yes, that way’, ‘that’s right’ (“em nau” in Tok Pisin).

3.9 Interrogatives (Q)

3.9.1 Yes/no questions

Yes/no questions in Tayap are formed with the clitic =*ke*. The part of speech to which =*ke* is cliticized is the focus of the question. So compare:

- (3-88) a. *Amanike okinet?*
Amani =ke o -ki -net?
 Amani =Q go.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S
 ‘Will Amani (as opposed to someone else) go?’
- b. *Amani okinetke?*
Amani o -ki -net =ke?
 Amani go.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S =Q
 ‘Will Amani go?’ (as opposed to ‘will Amani stay?’)

Because it expresses uncertainty, =*ke* can also be used in a context where it would be translated as ‘or’:

- (3-89) a. *epi na Mbowdike Aperke yim okitike Potowre*
epi na Mbowdi =ke Aper =ke yim
 tomorrow 1SG Mbowdi =Q Aper =Q 1PL
o -ki -tike Potow=re
 go.IRR -IRR -DL.IRR Wongan=ALL
 ‘tomorrow I’ll go with either Mbowdi or Aper to Wongan’
 (lit. ‘tomorrow I Mbowdi? Aper? we two will go to Wongan’)
- b. *ni mbaranike kut mirinike*
ni mbara =ni =ke
 3SG.M garden =LOC =Q

kut miri=ni=ke
 be.SG.M.R rainforest=LOC=Q
 ‘he’s either in the garden or in the rainforest’

Note that the interrogative clitic follows the locative clitic when they co-occur, as in example (3-89b).

3.9.2 Information questions

Information questions are formed using one of the following interrogative words, many of which are readily segmentable, e.g. *anire* ‘with whom’ can be segmented as *ani=re* ‘who=COM’; *ani=yi* is who=ERG.F; *ani=mat* is who=POSS, etc.:

<i>ani</i>	‘who?’	<i>ambinŋa/ambukŋa</i>	‘which?’
<i>aniyi</i>	‘who (did it)?’	<i>ambukni</i>	‘how?’
<i>animat</i>	‘whose?’	<i>ambukrani</i>	‘how many?’/ ‘how much?’
<i>anire</i>	‘with whom?’		
<i>ambin</i>	‘what?’	<i>ana(kni)</i>	‘where?’
<i>ambin ana</i>	‘why?’/ ‘what for?’	<i>anakŋa</i>	‘from where?’
<i>ambinekeni</i>	‘from what?’	<i>ana sokop</i>	‘when?’
<i>ambinini/</i>		<i>ambukŋa titimbŋa</i>	‘what color?’/ ‘what appearance?’
<i>ambin orakni</i>	‘with what?’		

Interrogatives usually occur as the second element:

- (3-90) a. *yu ambinana mbet?*
 2SG why come.SG.M.R
 ‘why have you (M) come?’
- b. *yu anakŋa mbet?*
 2SG from_where come.SG.M.R
 ‘where did you (M) come from?’
- c. *ŋgu ambinini poŋgin? Taimbni*
ŋgu ambinini po -ŋgi -ni? Taimb=ni.
 3SG.F with_what hit.R -3SG.M.R.O SG|1PL.R.S stick=INST
 ‘what did she hit him with?’ ‘With a stick’
- d. *kawat ambukrani yu Pasonana pikwan?*
kawat ambukrani yu Paso =nana
 salt how_much 2PL Paso =DAT

pi *-kwa* *-n*
 give.R -3SG.F.BEN.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘how much salt did you give to Paso?’

3.10 Interjections and affect words

Tayap speakers use a number of uninflected words to express emotional states, affirmation or disagreement, as well as affective involvement with, or phatic acknowledgement of, other people. These interjections form an utterance by themselves:

- ore* ‘Yes’. This is a Watam-language borrowing that has all but replaced Tayap’s *awo*.
- awo* The Tayap word for the affirmative ‘Yes’. Since the 1980s, however, it has become replaced by *ore*, and the meaning of *awo* has shifted to express sarcastic agreement that would be translated in English as ‘Yeah, right’ or ‘Like I’m so sure’. The word has also taken on connotations of confrontation and violence. It is shouted at others whom one is prepared to strike. Parents use it frequently to threaten disobedient children, and an adult engaged in a shouting match with another adult might use it to signal that her or his patience is about to give in. When it is shouted with sharp, rising volume and strong stress on the final syllable *awó*, the word is a warning that means: ‘You haven’t listened to my warnings and now I’m about to come and hit you!’
- wákare* ‘No’. This is also the morpheme of negation, often shortened to *wak* when used to mean ‘No’ (as in: ‘Is there any food left?’ ‘No’). When asked as a sharp question with rising intonation, *wákare* signifies a threat, meaning: ‘So you’re not doing what I told you to do? (I’m therefore going to come and hit you)’.
- ario* ‘He/she/it is coming to get you’. This word is used to scare babies and small children. It is uttered preceded by the name of the person or thing that the caregiver wants the child to think is coming to get him or her, and is a vocative call, calling directly to the person or thing to come and get the baby (in order to hit the baby, or devour the baby).
- kapambínana* ‘Exactly’, ‘Of course’

<i>nguméngi</i>	‘That’s it’, ‘Exactly’
<i>yo</i>	‘Poor thing’. Always said in a soft voice with rising intonation, with exaggeratedly extended vowel pronounced over the rise (see also Section 2.1.2.1).
<i>nganokeya</i>	‘Poor thing’. Refers to someone who is not present because he or she has died or left the village and gone away. Always said in a soft voice with rising intonation. It frequently either precedes or follows <i>yo</i> .
<i>aowo</i>	Word to convey longing and care for another, who is usually absent. Always said in a soft voice with rising intonation.
<i>oiyo</i>	‘Poor me’. This is a kind of protest sound, usually growled in a voice verging on tears. It is used frequently by children when a caregiver insists they do something they don’t want to do, or when another child won’t give the speaker something that she or he claims is hers/his.
<i>ey</i>	‘Oh’, ‘That’s right’. Always said over two beats ‘e-y’ with rise-fall intonation, often accompanied by raised eyebrows, which also signifies agreement or affirmation.
<i>ai</i>	‘Hey!’
<i>wai</i>	‘Stop that!’
<i>tse</i>	‘You’ve got to be kidding!’
<i>akápore</i>	‘Oh my’, ‘How can this be?’
<i>akáiya</i>	‘Listen up’, ‘Hold on’, ‘Pay attention’
<i>yakáiya</i>	‘Oh my goodness!’. Said in response to a particularly salty joke, clever riposte or outlandish threat. Said also if one sneezes several times in a row – the sneezer says this him- or herself.
<i>numbwanreki</i>	‘Watch out!’, ‘Be careful!’, ‘Think carefully!’ (lit. ‘with thought’)
<i>ayáta</i>	Two different meanings: (1) when shouted, it means: ‘Enough!’, ‘Stop it!’; (2) when uttered in normal voice and said, for example, in response to someone saying “Poor thing, I have no food to give you”, it means: ‘Don’t worry about it’, ‘Don’t bother’.

<i>ye</i>	Two different meanings: (1) when uttered in a sudden, staccato burst, it means: ‘Oh!’, ‘Oh no!’ This sound is frequently used by caregivers to scare children. At least when children are very young, the alarmed quality of this sound can be an effective way of making them move away from an open fire or put down a sharp butcher knife. If the child is still a baby, this sound is often accompanied by the caregiver wrapping her or his arms around the baby as if to protect the baby; (2) when uttered with an extended vowel and a curled lip, it means: ‘Gross’; ‘Disgusting’; ‘Feel shame’.
<i>amaye</i>	An expression moaned and cried by people experiencing extreme pain or shock, often preceded by the staccato <i>ye</i> .

3.10.1 Sounds used for calling animals and babies

Villagers also have distinctive ways of calling a number of animals and to amuse or distract pre-verbal babies:

to call a pig	close mouth, repeatedly make a sound like clearing the throat
to call a puppy	/ll/ – alveolar lateral click made with rounded lips
to call a grown dog	short brisk whistle held over one beat, repeated many times
to call a cat	<i>wsi-wsi-wsi-wsi</i>
to call a chicken	<i>tu-tu-tu-tu-tu</i> (high pitched)
to get a baby’s attention	repeated kissing sounds
to distract a crying baby	blow air through closed lips

3.11 Intensifiers and discourse markers

A number of words and suffixes in Tayap have no referential meaning. They function to draw attention to or emphasize the word they follow. So an angry shout of *ayáta!* ‘enough!’ followed by the word *kai* expresses stronger disapproval than *ayáta* without the *kai*.

A second group of words function as ways for speakers to do things like plan discourse, stress particular constituents, hedge and change topics.

Tayap’s intensifiers and discourse markers are as follows

3.11.1 Intensifiers

kai intensifier used only with the command *ayáta* ‘stop it’. *Kai* may be a short form of *kaitkait*, which means ‘rotten shit’, and is used in censorious abuse.

- (3-91) *ayáta kai maning imin anem ayáta*
ayáta kai maning imin anem ayáta!
 stop it INTENS bucket belly POSS.PL stop it
 You all better really stop this habit of sitting with stuffed stomachs!
 (*maning imin* is a euphemism for *yiwir imin*, which means ‘shit belly’, i.e. a belly filled up with feces because one has eaten so much. The speaker here is chastising his relatives, saying that they eat well but never feed him, and that such behavior must stop)

arik intensifier used only with *mokop/mosop* ‘little’

- (3-92) *mosop arik ηayí aini ηguratmborinngin andni kararneta mbot inde*
mosop arik ηa =yi aini
 little INTENS 1SG =ERG.F like this

ηgur -at mbori -n -ngi -n
 put.R -3SG.M.DVO flipflop.R -S <3SG.M.R.O> -SG|1PL.R.

and =ni karar -net -a mbot inde
 blood =LOC red -1SG.M|3SG.M.R -and go.SG.M.R DX.M
 ‘when he was really little I knocked him down like this and made him writhe and he went (away) covered red in blood’

mir intensifier used to emphasize the size or quality of the noun or noun phrase that it follows:

- (3-93) a. *yu ambinana otar suman mir ango nitukun?*
yu ambinana otar suman mir ango
 2SG why fire big INTENS DX.F

ni -tu -ku -n?
 make.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘why did you make such a big-assed fire?’
- b. *awin pokemb mir ηayar*
 water cold INTENS really
 ‘the water is really, really cold’

apro negative intensifier used in the context of abuse to mean something like *sakar* English ‘fucking’:

- (3-94) a. *ɲare takwattakwatɲgarke koret ror apro sakar morasi apronja!*
ɲa =re takwat -takwat -ɲgarke koret
 1SG =ALL lie -lie -PROH foreign
ror apro sakar morasi apro=ɲa
 child bad INTENS habit bad=POSS
 ‘Stop lying to me! You’re like a fucking foreigner with bad habits’ (i.e. you don’t treat me like a fellow villager and tell me the truth)
- b. *tokinema manɲa ɲgwab sawir manɲa apro sakar!*
tokine=ma man=ɲa ɲgwab sawir man=ɲa apro sakar
 catfish=POSS cunt=POSS hole black cunt=POSS bad INTENS
 ‘Catfish cunt, fucking black cunt hole!’

This intensifier also appears to have had a plural form: in 1991, I recorded a single instance of the following, in the speech of a woman then in her mid-forties:

- c. *Sakema sumanni ɲɲgurem apri sakrem!*
Sake=ma suman=ni a -ɲgurem apri sakrem
 Sake=POSS big=LOC be.IRR -NFN.2PL bad.PL INTENS.2PL
 ‘You’re all fucking being supported by Sake!’ (lit. ‘being on Sake’s strength/bigness’)

-ki intensifier affixed to adverbs, used to emphasize them (see also Section 3.4.2):

- (3-95) *tandiwki sirétet*
tandiw -ki siré -tet
 well -INTENS descend.SBJ -2SG.M.R
 ‘descend really well’ (said to someone walking down the steep notched poles that lead up into houses)

-ni like *-ki*, but used more rarely, an intensifier affixed to adverbs, used to emphasize them (see also Section 3.4.2):

- (3-96) *aro sami ɲa rarɲgankut ɲi tutorɲayorniawkut*
aro sami ɲa rar-ɲgan-kut ɲi
 day many 1SG see.IRR-3SG.M.BEN.R.O-be.SG.M.R 3SG.M
tuto -r- ɲayor -ni awkut
 sit.R -r- truly -INTENS be.SG.M.HAB
 ‘I see him all the time, he really just sits there (and does nothing)’

3.11.2 Discourse markers

ngo carries the sense of ‘well then’ or ‘in that case’ (cf. Tok Pisin: “pastaim”), e.g.:

(3-97) Speaker A:

ŋa nda okinetana ngo

ŋa nda o -ki -net -ana ngo

1SG DM go.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR -INTENT DM

‘Well, I’m going to go then’

Speaker B:

otet ngo!

o -tet ngo!

go.SBJ -2SG.M.R DM

‘Go, then/in that case’

ndi discourse marker that draws attention to the noun phrase that precedes it. It conveys the gentle nuance that whatever precedes it is known or should be known by the addressee. Its meaning therefore extends from what one might translate as ‘you know’, ‘right’ or ‘so’, to more exasperated nuances like ‘in case you weren’t paying attention’ or ‘you perhaps don’t know, but now I’m telling you’. An example expressing impatience is as follows:

(3-98) *tukur non ndi we -tak*
 rain some DM come.SBJ -2SG.F.R
 ‘Come on rain, come!’

Another typical example that acknowledges previously conveyed information, and that also might be interpreted as displaying some impatience, is the following:

(3-99) Speaker A: *ŋa kebis katipkrunetana*

ŋa kebis

1SG lettuce (TP)

katip -kru -net -ana

cut_up.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S -INTENT

‘I’m going to go cut up lettuce’

Speaker B: *yu ndi katiptukun*
yu ndi katip -tu -ku -n
 2SG DM cut_up.SBJ -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘So cut it then’

When *ndi* occurs in a sentence that has at least one verb inflected in the counterfactual mood, it also functions syntactically as a marker of subordination (see Section 9.4.2).

nda discourse marker that is likely a reduced form of the deictic morpheme *ainda* (see Section 3.8). Used like *ndi* to draw attention to the noun or noun phrase that precedes it, and often carries a sense similar to English ‘then’:

(3-100) *mboka ηa nda numbwan aproyi tatin*
mbok -a ηa nda numbwan apro =yi
 go.1SG.F|1PL.R -and 1SG DM thought bad =ERG.F

ta -t -i -n
 get.R -S <1SG.R.O> -2SG.|.F3SG.F|1PL.R.S
 ‘we went along and then a bad thought occurred to me’ (lit. ‘a bad thought got me’)

In a way that is similar to and probably related to the pragmatic function of Tayap’s deictic words (see Section 3.8), discourse markers frequently occur multiple times in a single sentence, as in the following:

- (3-101) a. *ηa ndi nda namnak Ngemanηi mera*
ηa ndi nda nam -nak Ngeman =ηi mera
 1SG DM DM talk.R -1SG.F|1PL.R Ngeman =ERG.M SUPP
 ‘I thought it was Ngeman (who did it)’
- b. *yum nda mbor ndi ηayi kirawkru ηgo wákare*
yum nda mbor ndi ηa =yi kiraw -kru ηgo wákare
 2PL DM pig DM 1SG =ERG know.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O DM NEG
 ‘Well you all, I really don’t know anything about that pig’

3.12 Mood particles

Tayap has four freestanding words that express expectation (*awa*), supposition (*mera*), mirative (*kapa*) and surprise counter to expectation (*númera*). These are discussed in Section 7.6.

4 Noun phrases: Structure, modifiers, case marking and possession

4.1 Introduction

Noun phrases function as arguments of verbs: A, S, O and peripheral roles. Noun phrase function is expressed with clitics marking A, O and S arguments are unmarked, and oblique arguments are marked by clitics.

This chapter first discusses noun phrase structure, with a discussion of modifiers of the head noun. This is followed by a discussion of each case marker: ergative, locative, ablative, perlocative and dative. After this comes a description of possession in Tayap. Young people's Tayap is discussed in relation to ergativity (Section 4.3.2) and peripheral case markers (Section 4.6).

4.1.1 Noun phrase structure

Noun phrase structure is as follows:

[PossP Part HEAD Mod* Quant]=case

PossP is a possessive phrase and Part is a participle; the head follows these. In the Mod(ifier) slot, either an adjective or a numeral, or both, in that order, can occur, or a relative clause, or alternatively a possessive phrase. Non-numeral quantifiers follow, and the final element of an NP is a case-marking clitic. The head noun itself can be reduplicated.

Noun phrases themselves are readily elided, but if an NP is present, its head is obligatory, or very rarely elided if retrievable from context. The head appears together with any applicable case marking. The head can be a noun, modified or not, or a pronoun. Some examples follow:

Subject NP expressed by free pronoun:

(4-1) *ŋgi nam tankuro*

ŋgi nam ta -n -ku -ro
3PL talk hear.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -3PL.R.S
'they heard the talk'

Numeral following the noun it modifies:

- (4-2) *nimir sene*
 stick two
 ‘two sticks’

Dative-marked noun functioning as oblique:

- (4-3) *ngomar =ana ngwok*
 fish =DAT go.3PL.R
 ‘they went for fish.’

Head noun modified by adjective and numeral:

- (4-4) *patir mokop manaw*
patir mokop manaw
 house little three
 ‘three little houses’

Relative clause in modifier slot:

- (4-5) *ngi ngomar tarkwanngukŋa*
ngi ngomar tar -kwan -nguk =ŋa
 3PL fish take.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.R.O -3PL.R =POSS
 ‘they who were picking up fish’

Possessive modifier preceding and numeral following the head noun:

- (4-6) *ngan nomb sene*
 3PL.POSS name two
 ‘their two names’

The PossP element can be a possessive pronoun, e.g. *yimen nirŋar* ‘our girlfriend’ or a full possessive NP:

- (4-7) *munjenum =mandama kokir*
 man.PL =POSS.PL head
 ‘the heads of men’

The head can be reduplicated, in the following cases to indicate plurality. The first example has a rather complex structure, with ‘spouse’-‘spouse’ modified by ‘two’, all of which is taken up in the possessive pronoun ‘their’:

- (4-8) *ŋan ominde ominde sene ŋgan nomb sene ŋgankun*
ŋan ominde ominde sene ŋgan nomb sene
 3SG.M spouse spouse two 3PL.POSS name two
- ŋga -n -ku -n*
 call_out.R -s <3SG.F.R.O> -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘he called out his two wives’ names’

- (4-9) *ŋgu orak orak rukuotitek*
ŋgu orak orak ru -ku otitek
 3SG.F thing thing throw.IRR -3SG.F.R.O.S fall.3SG.F
 ‘she threw down her things’

Echo pronouns occur frequently with personal names, as well as with common nouns, for example:

- (4-10) *Pepe ŋgu tiptiek*
 Pepe 3SG.F lead.R.3SG.F|1PL.R
 ‘Pepe, she was leading.’

- (4-11) *mbumjor ŋi ti ndereke mbet*
mbumjor ŋi ti nder =eke mbet
 mbumjor_snake 3SG.M too path =PERL come.SG.M.R
 ‘the mbumjor snake he too came along the path’

Note: A *mbumjor* snake is an extremely venomous black snake with shiny black skin and blue stripes, well known to villagers because of the numerous deaths for which they are responsible.

4.2 Participles with the non-finite suffix *-(ŋ)gar*

The suffix *-(ŋ)gar* forms a participle, consisting of a verb stem plus the non-finite suffix *(ŋ)gar* (realized as *-gar* after *nd*, *t* and sometimes *r*). Nouns formed with the *-(ŋ)gar* suffix are attributes: they denote a habitual, stative or agentive quality. Note this suffix is also used in counterfactuals (Section 9.4.3).

(4-12) a. *munje wasowŋgar aram*
munje wasow -ŋgar aram
 man die.IRR -NFN.SG snake
 ‘poisonous snake’

b. *morasi apro nirŋgar munje*
morasi apro nir -ŋgar munje
 habit bad do.IRR -NFN.SG man
 ‘bad man’ (lit. ‘man who does bad things’)

In both the examples above, the participle formed with *-(ŋ)gar* carries the meaning of habituality: the snake is (always) venomous; the man is someone who is known for habitually doing bad things. These constructions also express agentive nominalizations – i.e. expressions like ‘killer of men’ or ‘doer of bad things’. So a sentence like the following:

(4-13) *yu yimbar andurgar*
yu yimbar andur -gar
 2SG canoe carve.IRR -NFN.SG

means both ‘you carve canoes’ (often or habitually) and ‘you are a canoe carver’; that is, the fact that you carve canoes is a characteristic by which other people know you.

The same is true of the following sentence:

(4-14) *ŋa sokoi aŋgar*
ŋa sokoi a -ŋgar
 1SG tobacco consume.IRR -NFN.SG

This can be translated both as the habitual ‘I smoke’ (in the sense of smoking regularly or habitually) and as the stative ‘I am a smoker’ (as opposed to being a non-smoker).

The suffix-*(ŋ)gar* takes no TAM marking, even though it occurs in a position after the verb stem that normally would be filled with an IRR suffix (for intransitive verbs) or an object suffix inflected for TAM (for transitive verbs). The following sentence illustrates:

(4-15) *munje kowot inde ŋi nipis Merew =re o -ŋgar*
 man old DX.M 3SG.M able Sanae =ALL go.IRR -NFN.SG
 ‘the old man is able to go to Sanae’

Even though the NFN suffix does not inflect for TAM, it does inflect to express person and number, according to the following pattern:

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	- <i>ŋgar</i>	- <i>ŋgre</i>	- <i>ŋgar</i>
2	- <i>ŋgar</i>	- <i>ŋgrem</i>	- <i>ŋgrem</i>
3SG.M/F	- <i>ŋgar</i>	- <i>ŋgre</i>	- <i>ŋgro</i>

Thus, one says:

- (4-16) *ŋgi kakau tow -ŋgro*
 3PL cocoa (TP) plant.IRR -NFN.3PL
 ‘they plant cocoa’ (generally, habitually); ‘they are cocoa planters’

- (4-17) *ŋi kakau tow -ŋgar*
 3SG.M cocoa (TP) plant.IRR -NFN.SG|1PL
 ‘he plants cocoa’ (generally, habitually); ‘he is a cocoa planter’

Because these constructions are nominalizations and not verbs, they do not negate like verbs. They are non-verbal predications. All one does to negate them is add the negator *wákare* (see Section 5.2).

So compare:

- (4-18) a. *ŋgi sokoi angro*
ŋgi sokoi a -ŋgro
 3PL tobacco consume.IRR -NFN.3PL
 ‘they smoke’; ‘they are smokers’
- b. *ŋgi sokoi angro wákare*
ŋgi sokoi a -ŋgro wákare
 3PL tobacco consume.IRR -NFN.3PL NEG
 ‘they don’t smoke’; ‘they are not smokers’

4.3 The ergative case (ERG)

Tayap optionally marks the subject (A) of a transitive verb with an ergative case clitic, on noun phrases and free personal pronouns (note that subject and object verbal pronominal suffixes follow a nominative-accusative system, see Section 5.3).

Note the difference in the first word of the following two sentences:

(4-19) a. *Sopak wokara*

Sopak *wok* *-ara*
 Sopak-Ø go.3SG.F.R -PERF
 ‘Sopak has gone’

b. *Sopakyi tarung kratukun*

Sopak =yi *tarung* *kra* *-tu* *-ku* *-n*
 Sopak =ERG.F firewood chop.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘Sopak chopped firewood’

In (4-19a), there is no object, and the subject (S) of the sentence, *Sopak*, is unmarked.

In (4-19b), *Sopak* performs an action on an object. That object, like the subject of the previous sentence, is unmarked. But *Sopak* receives the ergative clitic =*yi*, which identifies her as the subject of the transitive clause.

The ergative clitics that attach to the subject NP of a transitive verb also encode gender and number. The markers that occur on NPs are:

- =*ŋi* masculine ergative
- =*yi* feminine ergative (becomes =*i* when it follows *r*, *t*, *nd*, *w* and often *k*)
- =*gi* plural ergative

Note that as in all other areas of Tayap grammar, gender is not indicated in the plural number, so a word like *rorsem=gi* (‘children=ERG.PL’) can refer to either male or female children.

These ergative clitics are also attached to the personal pronouns in a pattern that maintains the plural meaning of =*gi* but not the gendered meaning of =*ŋi* and =*yi* on 1SG and 2SG. In other words, gender is not marked in 1st and 2nd persons.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	<i>ŋa=yi</i>	<i>yim=ŋi</i>
2	<i>yu=yi</i>	<i>yum=ŋi</i>
3F	<i>ŋgu=yi</i>	<i>ŋgi=gi</i>
3M	<i>ŋi=ŋi</i>	

Ergative clitics attach both to animate referents and to inanimate referents functioning as transitive subjects, as in the experiential constructions below:

(4-20) a. *tati poyin*

tat =**i** *po* -**yi** -**n**
 needle =ERG.F strike.R -1SG.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘the needle pierced me’ (i.e. pierced my skin)

b. *tutukyi nitin*

tutuk =**yi** *ni* -**t** -**i** -**n**
 sweat =ERG.F make.R -S <1SG.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘I am sweating’ (lit. ‘sweat makes me/does me’)

c. *urereŋgari nim pokun*

urereŋgar =**i** *nim po* -**ku** -**n**
 lightning =ERG.F tree strike.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘lightning struck a tree’

d. *ŋa noki imin putiatan*

ŋa **nok** =**i** *imin*
 1SG urine =ERG.F belly

pu -**t** -**iata** -**n**
 cut.R -S <1SG.BEN.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S

‘I’m dying to pee’ (lit. ‘urine is cutting the belly to me’; i.e. ‘my belly’)

As noted above, ergative markers are clitics. They attach to the last element in a noun phrase, and not just to the head noun (cf. Spencer and Luís 2012: 2). An example of how they can attach to deictics and possessive pronouns that together with their head noun compose a noun phrase is the following:

(4-21) *awin sawirŋa ror aindetŋi tik ŋgunukun*

awin sawir =**ŋa** **ror** **aindet** =**ŋi** *tik*
 water black =POSS child DX.M =ERG.M story

ŋgu -**nu** -**ku** -**n**
 put.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.M.R.S

‘that young man from Black Water told a story’ (lit. ‘put a story’)

Ergative morphemes also cliticize to the interrogative word *ani* ‘who’, resulting in

<i>ani=ŋi</i>	‘who=ERG.M’
<i>ani=yi</i>	‘who=ERG.F’
<i>ani-ŋgro=gi</i>	‘who-PL=ERG.PL’.

The unmarked generic form of this question word is the feminine *ani=yi* (see Section 3.9 on interrogatives, and Section 3.1.3.3 on the generic feminine).

4.3.1 Functions of the ergative case

In Tayap, ergative marking is “optional” (Foley 1986: 107; Dixon 1994: 58; McGregor 2010). This is typical in general of those Papuan languages which have an ergative case (Foley 2000: 374; McGregor 2010: 1616). In many of these languages, ergativity tends to be associated with a cluster of features, in particular agentivity, control and animacy – most particularly agentivity, such that a more agentive transitive subject is more likely to receive ergative case marking than a less agentive transitive subject.

However in Tayap, as in many other languages, ergativity seems to be sensitive to rather more factors than just agentivity.

The oldest speakers agree that most utterances that omit the ergative are perfectly fine Tayap. Speakers do not reflect on the grammatical role of the ergative markers; the way they explain them is in terms of utterance length. They say, “if you want to say it the long way, you say ‘*ŋayi*’ [i.e. *ŋa=yi* ‘1SG=ERG.F’]. If you want to say it shorter, you say ‘*ŋa*’” (“Yu laik skulim, em ‘*ŋayi*’. Yu laik sotim, bai yu tok ‘*ŋa*’”).

The functions of the ergative case in Tayap are rather opaque. The following contrastive examples are intended to show that ergativity marking does not equate simply to animacy, agentivity or control.

High animacy of transitive subject argument:

- (4-22) a. *ŋayi namwankuk nda*
ŋa=yi nam -wan -kuk nda
 1SG=ERG.F talk.R -2SG.BEN.R.O -be.1SG.F.R DM
 ‘I’m telling you.’
- b. *ŋa wekokni adimirinakana nda*
ŋa wekok =ni
 1SG-Ø foul_language =LOC
- adi -mri-nak-ana nda*
 break.IRR -2PL.IRR.O-1SG.F|1PL.IRR.S-INTENT DM
 ‘I’m gonna swear at you all.’

Low animacy of transitive subject argument:

- (4-23) a. *awini weka taman pombin*
awin =i wek -a taman po-mbi-n
 water =ERG.F come.3SG.F.R -and all kill.R-3PL.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘The water came and killed all of them’
- b. *numbwan engontimbangan*
numbwan engon -ti -mbata -n
 thought-Ø good.R -S <3PL.BEN.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘the thought made them happy’

High agentivity of transitive subject argument:

- (4-24) a. *Kemŋi ewar poisirŋinre ikurre sapki kut*
Kem =ŋi ewar poisir-ŋgi-n-re
 Kem =ERG.M yesterday magically_spit.R-3SG.M.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S-SUB

ikur =re sapki kut
 night =TEMP good be.SG.M.R
 ‘Kem spit [a magic chant] on him yesterday and he was fine during the night’
- b. *yu tik aŋgi nirkrutet*
yu tik aŋgi nir-kru-tet
 2SG-Ø story DX.F make.IRR-3SG.F.O.IRR-2SG.IRR
 ‘you will tell the story’

Low agentivity of transitive subject argument (unrealized event):

- (4-25) a. *mbumjorŋi pin ŋayarni Mbananŋre Pepere ombrina*
mbumjor =ŋi pin ŋayar-ni Mbananŋ =re
 snake = ERG.M nearly truly-INTENS Mbananŋ =COM

Pepe=re o -mbri -na
 Pepe=COM strike.IRR -3PL.IRR.O -INTENT
 ‘a snake nearly bit Mbananŋ and Pepe.’
- b. *mbumjor pini ŋayarni Mbananŋ ongrinana*
mbumjor pini ŋayar -ni Mbananŋ
 snake-Ø nearly truly -INTENS Mbananŋ

o -ŋgri -nana
 strike.IRR -3SG.M.R.O -INTENT
 ‘the snake really nearly bit Mbananŋ’

High control of transitive subject argument:

- (4-26) a. *ɲayi namwankuk nda*
ɲa =yi nam -wan -kuk nda
 1SG =ERG tell.R -2SG.BEN.R.O -be.1SG.F|2SG.F|1PL.R DM
 ‘I (F) am telling you.’

- b. *ɲa yureke warakakuk? ɲa Erapoke wekokni kadukun?*
ɲa yu =re =ke warak -ak kuk?
 1SG-Ø 2SG =LOC =Q talk.R -LINK be.SG.F.R

ɲa Erapo=ke wekok =ni
 1SG-Ø Erapo=Q foul_language =LOC

kadu -ku -n?
 break.R <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|2SG|3SG.M|1 PL.R.S
 ‘Am I talking to you? Did I swear at Erapo?’

Low control of transitive subject argument:

- (4-27) a. *Monakaiyi tamburni tatiɲin munana saiput kukumbet*
Monakai=yi tambur=ni ta -ti -ɲgi -n
 Monakai=ERG.F dream=LOC see.R -S <3SG.M.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S

muna =ɲa saiput ku -ku mbet
 sago_flour =POSS basket bring -3SG.F.R.O come.SG.M.R
 ‘Monakai dreamed she saw him bringing a sago-flour-making basket’

Sentences involving affectedness – like situations of illness, hunger, thirst and desire – are normally expressed with transitive verbs, generally with the ergative marker:

- (4-28) a. *ɲa kandawi nitin*
ɲa kandaw =i ni -t -i -n
 1SG illness =ERG.F do.R -S <1SG.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘I’m sick’ (lit. ‘illness is affecting me’)
- b. *ɲgu arei tarkru wákare sispok*
ɲgu are =i tarkru wákare sisipok
 3SG.F desire =ERG.F take.IRR NEG tire.3SG.F|1PL.R
 ‘She has no desire [to do anything], she’s tired’ (lit. ‘desire hasn’t taken her’)

c. *ŋgon armbiri tatiminde yim wasowtike*

ŋgon armbir =i
 3SG.F.POSS heat =ERG.F

ta -ti -mi- -n =dre¹ yim wasow -tike
 take.R -S <1PL.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S =SUB 1PL die.R -DL
 ‘her heat got us and we died’ (from a myth about two men who died
 and were resurrected, see Tayap Text 1)

d. *ŋa endekari nitin. Mum ninkurem*

ŋa endekar =i ni -t i -n
 1SG hunger =ERG.F make.R -S <1SG.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S

mum ni -n ku -rem
 sago_jelly make.SBJ -S- <3SG.F.R.O> -2PL.R.S

‘I’m hungry (lit. ‘hunger is affecting me’). You all make some sago jelly’

The ergative is frequently used when the arguments of a verb are both animate, and both present in the clause. In those instances, ergative marking is used to clearly distinguish the subject of a transitive verb from its object.

For example, the following sentence is ambiguous:

(4-29) *ŋi ŋgat pongin*

ŋi ŋgat po -ŋgi -n
 3SG.M cassowary strike.R -3SG.M.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S

‘he speared the cassowary’ or ‘the cassowary stabbed him’ (with its claws)

Speakers would normally interpret the fact that the pronoun ‘he’ occurs in the sentence-initial position as indicating that ‘he’, and not ‘the cassowary’, is the agent in this sentence. But without ergative marking the phrase is ambiguous, and older fluent speakers say that it is poor Tayap.

The reasons for the ambiguity are:

- (a) the class 1 transitive verb *o* means ‘strike’ or ‘shoot’, and here it could mean either ‘penetrate or pierce with a spear’ or ‘penetrate or pierce with a sharp claw’; and
- (b) cassowaries are typically gendered masculine, so the 3SG.M object suffix on the verb can refer to either a male person or a cassowary.

¹ The *=re* appears as *=dre* after *n*.

For those reasons, *ɲi ɲgat poŋgin* can potentially be understood to mean either ‘he speared the cassowary (with a spear)’ or ‘the cassowary struck him’ (that is, pierced his body with the knife-like claws on its feet).

Using the ergative case marker resolves ambiguity by marking the transitive subject who performs the action. So compare:

- (4-30) a. *ɲiɲi ɲgat poŋgin*
 ɲi=ɲi *ɲgat* *po* *-ɲgi* *-n*
 3SG.M=ERG.M cassowary shoot.R -3SG.M.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘he speared the cassowary’
- b. *ɲgatɲi ɲi poŋgin*
 ɲgat=ɲi *ɲi* *po* *-ɲgi* *-n*
 cassowary=ERG.M 3SG.M shoot.R -3SG.M.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘the cassowary speared him’ (with its claws)

Note that it is *not* the case that when two NPs (A and O) are present the ergative marking must be used. The following example contains a verb that is highly transitive with two NP arguments present but there is no ergative:

- (4-31) *ɲgi ɲgomar tarmbrar ɲgwok*
 ɲgi *ɲgomar* *tar* *-mb* *-rar* *ɲgwok*
 3PL fish take.IRR -3PL.R.O -ML go.3PL.R
 ‘They picked up fish as they walked’

However there are also many examples in which there can be no ambiguity, and yet an ergative marker is used:

- (4-32) *mbumjorɲi minjikanki nda kokir kukupemiet*
 mbumjor=ɲi *minjikan* *-ki* *nda* *kokir*
 Mbumjor_snake=ERG.M nearby -INTENS DM head

 ku *-ku* *pemiet*
 bring -3SG.F.R.O rise_up.SG.M.R
 ‘the snake raised his head really close’

One verb that virtually always marks its subject with the ergative clitic is *kiraw* when it conveys the meaning of ‘know’ (this verb also has a range of other meanings, including ‘consider something’, ‘recognize something’ and ‘taste something’); note that this example has the unusual structure of a preposed head, with possessive phrase following.

- (4-33) *orak orak ango sumbwananji ni kirawtingin ainde*
orak orak ango sumbwa =na =ni ni
 thing thing DX.F ground =POSS =ERG.M 3SG.M
kiraw -ti -ngi -n ainde
 know.R -S <3SG.M.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S DX.M
 ‘this thing of the ground knows about him.’

Perception verbs may or may not have subjects carrying the ergative marker. Compare the following: (4-34a), which marks the subject with the ergative clitic, and (4-34b), which doesn’t:

- (4-34) a. *yim noni tarkru wákarejan noni tankun*
yim non =i tar -kru wákare =nan
 1PL INDEF =ERG.F hear.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG =POSS
non =i ta -n -ku -n
 INDEF =ERG.F hear.R -S <3SG.F.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘Some of us didn’t hear it, some did hear it.’
- b. *Akupi ngume ni tankun angude*
Akupi ngu -me ni
 Akupi 3SG.F -DX 3SG.M
ta -n -ku -n angude
 see.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S DX.F
 ‘He saw Akupi [’s spirit]’

4.3.1.1 Ergative clitics on intransitive verbs

The main function of ergative clitics is to mark the subject of a transitive verb. In Tayap, however, the ergative marker can also be attached to the subject of an intransitive verb.

This marked use often carries a particular nuance, which can be illustrated by an example taken from a narrative about a powerful crocodile water-spirit named Ngayam. In telling this story, the narrator uses the ergative with an intransitive verb:

- (4-35) *Ngayamni mbet*
Ngayam =ni mbet
 Ngayam =ERG.M come.3SG.M.R
 ‘Ngayam came’

The ergative here carries the connotation of purposefulness. The implication is that Ngayam didn't just come – he came with a purpose, to do something, to perform some kind of action. And indeed he did: the story tells of how Ngayam flooded the rainforest and drowned an entire kin group as they stood gathering his children – who had the form of fish – in his jungle streams. A version of this story appears at the end of this grammar as Tayap Text 2.

Another telling instance of an ergative marker on an intransitive verb occurred once when men from the neighboring village of Sanae arrived in Gapun unannounced a few days after one of their relatives had been attacked by a Gapuner. Everyone in Gapun was fearful of the Sanae men, because it was assumed that they had come to fatally bewitch the attacker or one of his matrilineal relatives. As the Sanae men arrived in Gapun, villagers whispered to one another:

- (4-36) *Merewηgrogī ηgwek*
Merew -ηgro =gi ηgwek
 Sanae -PL =ERG.PL come.3PL.R
 'the Sanae [men] are coming'

The use of the ergative in this case meant that the Sanae men were not just dropping by Gapun on an innocent visit to socialize. They were coming to accomplish a particular sinister purpose.

This use of the ergative to mark intentionality on intransitive verbs is also apparent in cases where the ergative is used to denote a remarked-upon *lack* of intentionality. The following example was uttered by a woman screaming abuse at her relatives because her nephew littered the ground in front of her house with seeds he blew from a homemade pea-shooter (i.e. in front of the house of the woman having the “kros”, see Kulick 1992: 104–113 and Kulick 1993 for details on these kinds of antagonistic speech events):

- (4-37) *yumηni mburāiakaku wākare!*
yum =ηi mburai -ak aku wākare
 2PL =ERG.M sweep.IRR -LINK be.IRR NEG
 'you all never sweep!'

Here the ergative clitic on an intransitive verb (*mburai* 'sweep') inflected in the negative habitual aspect (see Section 8.3.2) highlights the consistent lack of intention on the part of her addressees to perform an act that she thinks they ought to consider doing occasionally.

Suter's (2010) description of optional ergativity in the Trans New Guinea language Kâte shows that the ergative marker is most likely to be used in clauses with the marked word order of OSV (as opposed to the usual SOV) or when a focus particle is used on the subject (Suter 2010: 435). In other Trans New Guinea languages, factors include animacy, agency and control (Suter 2010: 436).

As we have seen, however, there seems to be no single factor or group of factors which account for the use or absence of the ergative marker in Tayap.

4.3.2 Ergativity in the speech of young people

Young villagers under thirty who narrated stories for me in Tayap produced ergative constructions in their speech, but they had a tendency to overuse the ergative markers on intransitive verbs. The subjects of intransitive verbs like 'be', 'cry', 'stand', 'talk', 'shiver' and 'work' were all marked with ergative case marking in various young people's narratives.

Even when used in transitive verb phrases, the ergative morpheme was sometimes attached to constituents that were not the subjects of the verb. For example, one twenty-three-year-old man narrated a story about how a young girl had accused him of having raped her.

In telling the story, he said the following (note that the ellipsis denotes a series of false starts and repetitions that have been omitted, and the ergative morpheme is highlighted in bold):

(4-38) *Mosi katota namnin, 'Nayarke yu Yengia...morasi aproyi nitukun'?*

Mosi katot -a nam -n -i -n
Mosi go_down.SG.M.R -and tell.R -s <1SG.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S

*nayar =ke yu Yengia morasi apro =**yi***
true =Q 2SG Yengia habit/behavior bad =ERG.F

ni -tu -ku -n
do.R -s <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S

'Mosi went down and told me 'Is it true that you did something bad to Yengia?'

There are semantic and grammatical errors in this sentence,² but of interest here is the ergative clitic, which the speaker attaches to the object noun phrase ‘bad deed’ instead of to the subject of the verb phrase, ‘you’.

I suspect that this error occurred because the speaker seems to know that the verb *nir-* (‘do’ or ‘make’) usually co-occurs with an ergative marker. But his sense appears to be that the marker attaches to the noun or noun phrase that immediately precedes the verb; not necessarily the subject of the verb phrase.

This is a typical error made by speakers under thirty. It indicates that young speakers have parsed the ergative case marker as a formulaic part of a verb phrase involving certain verbs – in particular, the verbs ‘know’, ‘say’ and ‘do’. But these speakers seem to be not entirely aware that the marker does particular syntactic and semantic work. If the ergative case clitic was really a strong marker of agency, control or animacy one might expect speakers to be aware of that, albeit subconsciously, and make mistakes accordingly; however that does not seem to be the case.

In addition to having problems with the placement and the function of the ergative clitic, young speakers also often make mistakes of gender with it. They overextend the feminine form =*yi* and use it when talking about males and plural referents. So they say things like *sas=yi* (‘father=ERG.F’, instead of *sas=ŋi* ‘father=ERG.M’) and *njenum=yi* (dog.PL=ERG.F, instead of the correct *njenum=gi* ‘dog.PL=ERG.PL’).

This overextension of =*yi* probably occurs because =*yi* is the ergative ending on the 1SG and 2SG pronouns (*ŋa=yi* and *yu=yi*). Speakers would have heard the *yuyi* form all their lives, every time an older speaker ordered them to carry or take or fetch or hit something. And since the narratives that people in Gapun tell one another are almost invariably accounts of personal experiences – what the narrator him or herself saw, heard, dreamt, etc. – the *ŋayi* form would also be very salient for speakers. Furthermore, the unmarked gender in Tayap is feminine see Section 3.1.3. That young speakers would overextend the feminine form, rather than the masculine =*ŋi*, is therefore not surprising.

² Semantic error: the verb *nam-* ‘tell’ is incorrect here; the speaker wants *kotar-(p)-e-* ‘ask’.

Grammatical errors: the speaker omits the ergative clitic on the subject of the verb, and also omits a locative case marker on *Yengia*, the undergoer of the verb. The grammatically correct way of phrasing the question is:

ŋayar=ke yu=yi morasi apro Yengia=ni ni-tu-ku-n?
 true=Q 2SG=ERG.F deed bad Yengia=LOC do.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘Is it true that you did something bad to Yengia?’

4.4 Peripheral cases

Tayap has five peripheral cases. Three of the cases mark animate and inanimate referents differently.

The *possessive* case marks possession, association and part-whole relationships, with no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. Possession is discussed in Section 4.5.

The *locative* case has the widest semantic scope of Tayap's peripheral cases. It specifies location in time and space, covering relationships that in other languages are expressed in allative, instrumental, comitative, temporal and durative cases.

The *ablative* case expresses movement away from a person, place or object, or an action of revelation in which something that was hidden becomes visible.

The *perlative* case expresses movement along, through or by means of.

The *dative* case is used to mark recipient, purpose, comparison and a number of other relations.

All these peripheral case markers are clitics, as they occur attached to the last element of an NP with scope over the whole NP: see for example (4-40i), (4-40j), (4-42b), (4-43d), (4-43i), among others. Many of them contain optional material (shown in parentheses), the conditioning factors of which are not known.

Examples (the relevant peripheral case clitics are in bold):

	Animate Referent	Inanimate Referent
possessive (POSS)	=ma(t) (SG) =mandama(t) (PL)	=ŋa(n)
LOCATIVE	Animate Referent	Inanimate Referent
—location of an object (LOC)	=re (if the object is 'with' or 'near' the referent) =ni (if the object is 'on' or if an action or event happens 'to' the referent)	=ni =re (when referent is a village) =∅ (mostly when referent is a named area of the rainforest)
—direction toward (glossed as ALL)	=re	=ni =re (when the referent is a village) =∅ (when referent is a named part of the rainforest or a town)

—instrumental (including marking the language in which one is speaking) (glossed as INST)	= <i>ni</i>	= <i>ni</i>
—companionship, accompanied with (glossed as COM)	= <i>re(ki)</i>	= <i>re(ki)</i>
—‘at the time of’ (glossed as TEMP)		= <i>re</i>
—‘for X amount of time’ (glossed as TEMP)		= <i>ni</i>

	Animate Referent	Inanimate Referent
ABLATIVE (ABL)		
—from a person or place	= <i>re(ηa)</i>	= <i>ηa</i>
—falling from something	= <i>re(ηa)</i>	= <i>ekeni or ηa</i>
—from hidden to visible	= <i>re(ηa)</i>	= <i>ηa</i>
PERLATIVE (PERL)		
movement along, through or by means of	= <i>eke(ni)</i>	= <i>eke(ni)</i>
DATIVE (DAT)		
recipient, ‘for’, ‘about’, ‘for the benefit of’, ‘in relation to’, ‘for the purpose of’, ‘of’, ‘at’, ‘in comparison to’	= <i>(n)ana</i>	= <i>(n)ana</i>

POSSESSIVE

The possessive clitic appears on the possessor (see Section 4.5 below for a discussion of possession):

Animate possessor

- (4-39) a. *ηi nonor angukma min engewengewnukwatan*
ηi nonor anguk =ma min
 3SG.M woman DX.F =POSS breast

engewengew- -nu- -kwata -n
 fondle.R- -S- <3SG.F.BEN.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘he was fondling that woman’s breast’

Inanimate possessor

- b. *awin η a nangatik*
awin = η a nangatik
 water =POSS force
 ‘tide’
- c. *arawer η a aro*
arawer = η a aro
 sun =POSS light
 ‘sunlight’
- d. *yimbar η a imin*
yimbar = η a imin
 canoe =POSS belly
 ‘the inside of the canoe’
- e. *ndaram η a ngino*
ndaram = η a ngino
 hand =POSS eye
 ‘the whitish base of a fingernail’
- f. *toto η a purpur*
toto = η a purpur
 skin =POSS hair
 ‘body hair’

LOCATIVE

Location

- (4-40) a. *paru angi menjikan angi wuk yuwon ndow \mathbf{re}*
paru angi menjikan angi wuk yuwon ndow = \mathbf{re}
 plate DX.F near DX.F be.3SG.F.R 2SG.POSS leg =LOC
 ‘the plate is there near your leg’

Event happens ‘to’ someone

- b. *nyarke yu morasi apro Yengiani nitukun?*
nyar =ke yu morasi apro Yengia = \mathbf{ni}
 true =Q 2SG deed bad Yengia =LOC

ni -*tu* -*ku* -*n?*
 do.R -S <3.SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘is it true that you did something bad to Yengia?’³

Put something ‘on’ someone

c. *hevi sene ηgume ηgi nda yuni rukupuwok*
hevi (TP) *sene ηgume ηgi nda yu =ni*
 burdensome_deed two thusly 3PL DM 2SG =LOC
ru -*ku* -*puwok*
 propel.IRR -3SG.F.R.O -ascend.SG.F.R
 ‘they put the blame for these two things on you’

Inanimate location

d. *ηi patirni inde wo kut*
ηi patir =ni inde wo kut
 3SG.M house =LOC DX up be.SG.M.R
 ‘he’s up in the house’ (houses in Gapun are all on stilts, at least 1.5 meters off the ground)

Inanimate direction

e. Speaker A: *Yum anakni mbokem?*
Yum anak =ni mbokem
 2PL where =ALL go.2PL.R
 ‘Where are you all going?’

Speaker B: *Ŋa Samekre mbot*
ŋa Samek =re mbot
 1SG Samek =ALL go.SG.M.R
 ‘I’m going to (visit) Samek’

Speaker C: *Ŋa mirini mbot*
ŋa miri =ni mbot
 1SG rainforest =ALL go.SG.M.R
 ‘I’m going to the rainforest’

Speaker D: *Ŋa Merewre mbot*
ŋa Merew =re mbot
 1SG Sanae =ALL go.SG.M.R
 ‘I’m going to Sanae village’

³ This is the correct version of example (4-38), see footnote 2.

Direction toward

- f. *Kamayi kinda anjuraktukuna ηare wek*
Kama =yi kinda anjur -ak -tu
Kama =ERG.F tongs throw.R -NFO -S
 -ku -n -a ηa =re wek
 <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S -and 1SG =ALL come.3SG.F.R
 ‘Kama threw the tongs to me’

Language

- g. *yu anakηa merni waraktet?*
yu anakηa mer =ni warak -tet
 2SG which language =INST speak.R -2SG.M.R
 ‘which language are you speaking?’

Instrumental (animacy not marked)

- h. *Sakeyi ndaramni pongin*
Sake =yi ndaram =ni po- -ηgi- -n
Sake =ERG.F hand =INST hit.R- -3SG.M.R.O- -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘Sake hit him with her hand’
- i. *kokir traituwa ta mosopni ango*
kokir trai -tu -wa ta
 head bloodlet.SBJ -2SG -2SG.BEN.R.O knife
mosop =ni ango
 little =INST DX.F
 ‘bloodlet your head [to relieve a headache] with this little knife here’
- j. *ηa ηaηan nekeni tankun*
ηa ηaηan neke =ni ta- -n- -ku
 1SG 1SG.POSS ear =INST hear.R- -S- <3SG.F.R.O>
 -n
 -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘I heard it with my [own] ears’

‘With’ animate (associative plural in this case)

- k. *yim Ngandure Ainsarire woke mirini*
yim Ngandu =re Ainsari =re woke miri =ni
 1PL Ngandu =COM Ainsari =COM go.R.DL forest =ALL
 ‘I went into the rainforest with Ngandu and Ainsari’

Note: the 1SG comitative construction requires the pronoun *yim* ‘we’, not *ηa* ‘I’. So one does not say ‘I and X and Y did Z’; one says ‘we and X and Y did Z’. This is a stylistic detail in Tayap that is not adhered to by most speakers younger than thirty.

'With' inanimate

- l. *oŋgarana kakaureki*
o -ŋgarana kakau =reki
 go.IRR -ND cocoa beans (TP) =LOC
 'you shouldn't go with the cocoa beans'

Time

- m. *ŋgrag ŋayarre okitike*
ŋgrag ŋayar =re o -ki -tike
 early_evening really =TEMP go.IRR -IRR DL.IRR
 'Let's the two of us go in the really early evening'

Duration

- n. *Tamaw ramangni akunet karep nambarni*
Tamaw ramang =ni a -ku -net
 Tamaw enclosure =LOC be.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR

karep nambar =ni
 moon one =LOC
 'Tamaw will stay inside the enclosure for one month' (mourning his wife)

Note that as described in the previous chapter (Section 3.1.1.2), locational nouns are a subclass of nouns which function as bare locatives, i.e. they either do not take case clitics at all or take them only sometimes, typically when they are in a complex NP. Some examples:

Named area of rainforest

- o. *ŋgu Kasimak ato wuk ango*
ŋgu Kasimak ato wuk ango
 3SG.F Kasimak-Ø below be.3SG.F.R DX.F
 'she's down at Kasimak'

Direction toward named area of rainforest

- p. *yim mirini mbok, Ndurur mbok*
yim miri =ni mbok Ndurur mbok
 2PL rainforest =LOC go.1PL|1SG.F.R Ndurur-Ø go.1PL|1SG.F.R
 'we went to the rainforest, we went to Ndurur'

Foreign place names can also occur as zero-marked locational nouns:

Location in town

- q. *ngu Madang angi wuk*
ngu Madang angi wuk
 3SG.F Madang-Ø DX.F be.3SG.F.R
 ‘she’s in Madang’

ABLATIVE

From a person

- (4-41) a. *weteta minjike tarkru hareña*
we -tet -a minjike tar -kru
 come.SBI -2SG.M.R -and betel nut take.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O

ña =reña
 1SG =ABL
 ‘come and take betel nut from me’

From a place

- b. *ña Merewña mbet inde*
ña Merew =ña mbet inde
 1SG Sanae =ABL come.SG.M.R DX.M
 ‘I (M) have come from Sanae’

Falling from

- c. *noñor otitek patirekeni*
noñor otitek patir =ekeni
 woman fall.3SG.F.R house =ABL
 ‘the woman fell off the house’

Inanimate from hidden to visible

- d. *ña tatar sapwarña perkun*
ña tatar sapwar =ña per -ku -n
 1SG spoon basket =ABL hold.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘I took the spoon from my basket’

PERLATIVE

Animate

- (4-42) a. *njakep nambar worekeni pimbiet*
njakep nambar wo -r =ekeni pimbiet
 flying_fox one above -r =PERL fly.SG.M.R
 ‘one flying fox is flying along above’

- b. *mboreirum najan patirjan tawrekeni ekruknguk*
mbor -eirum najan patir =njan taw -r- =ekeni
 pig -PL 1SG.POSS house =POSS side -r- =PERL
ekruk -nguk
 walk_about.R be.3PL.R
 ‘the pigs are walking about along the side of my house’

Inanimate

- c. *tumbeke prike*
tumb =eke prike
 mountain =PERL come_up.DL.R
 ‘the two came up along the mountain’
- d. *mirirekeni ngok*
miri -r- =ekeni ngok
 forest -r- =PERL go.3PL.R
 ‘they walked through the forest’

DATIVE

Recipient

- (4-43) a. *minjike non isngatan Agrananana*
minjike non is -ngata -n
 betel_nut INDEF give.SBJ -3SG.M.BEN.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
Agrana =nana
 Agrana =DAT
 ‘Give some betel nut to Agrana’

‘For’

- b. *na yunana aruoiakkt*
na yu =nana aruoi -ak kut
 1SG 2SG =DAT wait.IRR -LINK be.SG.M.R
 ‘I am waiting for you’
- c. *hayi Samek ngodirpĩngin makorana*
na =yi Samek ngodirpi -ngi -n
 1SG =ERG.F Samek request.R -3SG.M.R.O -SG|1PL.R
makor =ana
 sago_pounder = DAT
 ‘I asked Samek for the sago pounder’

‘About’

- d. *Mambuyi namtukun Mairum awinni tuwŋgwar patirana*
Mambu =yi nam -tu -ku -n
 Mambu =ERG.F tell.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F|1PL.R.S
Mairum awin =ni tuw -ŋgwar patir =ana
 Mairum water =LOC wash -NFN.SG house =DAT
 ‘Mambu was angry at Mairum about the maternity house’

‘Of’

- e. *pwapana minda!*
pwap =ana minda
 argument/anger =DAT tired_of
 ‘[I’m] sick of arguments!’

‘At’

- f. *irŋgarke ŋanana!*
ir -ŋgarke ŋa =nana
 laugh.IRR -PROH 1SG =DAT
 ‘don’t laugh at me!’

Purpose

- g. *yim woke yamana*
yim woke yam =ana
 1PL go.DL.R sago_palm =DAT
 ‘we went for the sago palm’ (i.e. to check to see whether any wild pig was eating the felled sago palm, so that the pig could be ambushed and speared)

In relation to

- h. *ŋi ŋginana kemrak pŋgot*
ŋi ŋgi =nana kemrak pŋgot
 3SG.M 3PL =DAT far_away stand.SG.M.R
 ‘he’s standing a long way from them’

In comparison to

- i. *Amburima mbor ŋi Krunima mborana sumannet*
Amburi =ma mbor ŋi Kruni =ma
 Amburi =POSS pig 3SG.M Kruni =POSS
mbor =ana suman -net
 pig =DAT big -1SG.M|3SG.M.R
 ‘Amburi’s pig, he is bigger than Kruni’s’

4.5 Possession

Possession is marked by a possessive clitic on the possessor. Possessor clitics mark higher animate singular (=ma), higher animate plural (=mandama) and inanimate (=ŋa) possessors. Note also that Tayap has external possession constructions, discussed in Section 7.5 in the section on benefactives.

This clitic is also used to form relative clauses (Section 9.5), finite nominalizations (Section 9.6) and perception clauses (Section 9.7).

Example (4-44) shows the possessive clitic marking an NP consisting of a modified noun ‘cold belly’, thus demonstrating the clitic rather than affix status of these forms:

animate plural inalienable:

- (4-44) *imin pokemŋan munjema tik*
imin pokem =ŋan munje =ma tik
 belly cold =POSS man =POSS story
 ‘the calm man’s story’

For the purposes of possession, animals and humans are considered higher animates, and plants are considered inanimate. Possessive relations expressed with this construction include alienable, inalienable, body part, association and part-whole possession. There is no morpho-syntactic distinction between these categories (but see Section 7.5 for the role of benefactive object suffixes in body part possession).

Some examples:

animate singular body part (human):

- (4-45) *Mbanaŋma tokimot*
Mbanaŋ =ma tokimot
 Mbanaŋ =POSS chest
 ‘Mbanaŋ’s chest’

animate singular body part (animal):

- (4-46) *aramma sik*
aram =ma sik
 snake =POSS mouth
 ‘the snake’s mouth’

inanimate part-whole:

- (4-47) *tumbŋa kandaŋ*
tumb =ŋa kandaŋ
 mountain =POSS base
 ‘the base of the mountain’

inanimate association:

- (4-48) *miriŋa mbor*
miri =ŋa mbor
 forest =POSS pig
 ‘a forest pig’ (i.e. a wild pig)

animate plural inalienable:

- (4-49) *Moipmandama kawsomb*
Moip =mandama kawsomb
 Watam =POSS.PL sailing_canoe
 ‘the Watam people’s sailing canoe’

inanimate part-whole:

- (4-50) *nuwombŋa taw*
nuwomb =ŋa taw
 stream =POSS side
 ‘the side of the stream’

Recursive possession also occurs, using the possessive clitic on each possessor, with the possessee unmarked (see also example 4-44):

- (4-51) *Samekma rorma mbor suman*
Samek =ma ror =ma mbor suman
 Samek =POSS child =POSS pig big
 ‘Samek’s child’s big pig’

The animate possessive clitic can be used on an inanimate noun to highlight that the noun has some kind of relation to humans:

- (4-52) a. *numŋa mbor*
num=ŋa *mbor*
 village=POSS.INANIMATE pig
 ‘village pig’ (as opposed to a wild pig)
- b. *numma mbor*
num =ma *mbor*
 village =POSS.ANIMATE pig
 ‘pig to be eaten by the villagers’ (as part of a funerary feast, for example)
- (4-53) a. *miriŋa mbor*
miri =ŋa *mbor*
 forest =POSS.INANIMATE pig
 ‘wild pig’ (as opposed to a village pig)
- b. *mirima mbor*
miri =ma *mbor*
 forest =POSS.ANIMATE pig
 ‘pig used as payment for an area of forest’

It is possible that this variation represents the remnants of an earlier classification system, but this is all that remains of it now.

4.5.1 =ŋa(n) POSS with adjectives

The possessive clitic =ŋa(n) can also occur in construction with adjectives (see Section 3.3 for more on adjectives). However in these cases the function is clearly not possession but rather modification. For example:

- (4-54) *iminkato sawirŋa*
iminkato *sawir =ŋa*
 lower_intestine black =POSS
 ‘black asshole!’
- (4-55) *ŋgwab mir aproŋan apro sakar*
ŋgwab *mir* *apro =ŋan* *apro* *sakar*
 hole INTENS bad =POSS bad INTENS
 ‘fucking rotten hole!’

- (4-56) *ndagu mir suman*
ndagu mir suman =ηa
 steal INTENS big =POSS
 ‘big thief’

4.5.2 Possessive modification

The possessive clitic can also occur, similarly to the above examples, but on nouns or verbs as well as adjectives, to create modifiers: for example, in (4-57)–(4-58) it occurs on a noun, rendering it a modifier, and in (4-59)–(4-61) it occurs on an adjective which here modifies a verb:

- (4-57) *kandawηa munje*
kandaw =ηa munje
 sickness =POSS man
 ‘sick man’
- (4-58) *sumbwaηa noηor*
sumbwa =ηa noηor
 ground =POSS woman
 ‘ground woman’ (an insult: it means ‘you’re so old you have been around since when the ground emerged’)
- (4-59) *ei suman ror*
ei suman =ηa ror
 cry big =POSS child
 ‘cry baby’ (i.e. a child who cries a lot)
- (4-60) *warak suman noηor*
warak suman =ηa noηor
 talk big =POSS woman
 ‘cross woman’
- (4-61) *munje apro ηgadanηan rukηan*
munje apro ηgadan =ηan ruk =ηan
 man bad sore =POSS smell =POSS
 ‘bad, sore-ridden, smelly man’

In (4-59) the verb *ei* ‘cry’ is modified by ‘big’, the phrase in its turn modifying the noun ‘child’. Example (4-60) has the same structure: the verb is followed by the possessive-marked adjective, together modifying ‘woman’. Example (4-61) is more complex. Here we have a head noun *munje* ‘man’, modified by adjective ‘bad’ and

possessive-marked verbs ‘sore’ and ‘smelly’. Note that these are the only constructions in which verbs can appear without person/status suffixes (see also Section 5.1).

4.6 Peripheral case marking in young people’s Tayap

For the most part, young people retain the ability to produce correct peripheral case marking. They generally uphold the animate-inanimate distinction, and they correctly use the locative case. Locative =*re* sometimes causes problems when speakers have analyzed words to which it attaches as whole constituents. So *emb=re* ‘in the morning’ (morning=LOC) is heard so often that it has been lexicalized by many young speakers to mean ‘morning’, with the result that when they say ‘in the morning’, they add the locative clitic and produce *emb=re=re* (lit. ‘in in the morning’).

Animate referents generally receive correct dative and locative marking. The locative =*ni* on inanimate referents, however, is over-extended, probably because of interference with Tok Pisin’s “long”. “Long” is a preposition that covers all the meanings of Tayap’s various peripheral case markers, including ‘to’, ‘in’ and ‘for’. So speakers say things like:

- (4-62) a. *oyaŋni* subimnakara
oyaŋ =**ni** subim -nak -ara
 clam =LOC dive (TP) -1SG.F|1PL.R -PERF
 ‘we dived for clams’ (lit. ‘we dived to clams’)

instead of

- b. *oyaŋana* amaipikun
oyaŋ =**ana** amaipi -ku- -n
 clam =DAT look_for.R -3SG.F.R.O- -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘we looked for clams’

- (4-63) a. *Mapismat yimbar**ni** yim mbok*
Mapis =mat *yimbar* =**ni** *yim mbok*
 Mapis =POSS canoe =LOC 1PL go.3SG.F|1PL.R
 ‘we went inside Mapis’s canoe’

instead of

- b. *Mapismat yimbare**keni** yim mbok*
Mapis =mat *yimbar* =**keni** *yim mbok*
 Mapis =POSS canoe =PERL 1PL go.3SG.F|1PL.R
 ‘we went by way of Mapis’s canoe’

Tok Pisin also influences the syntax of the case markers. A twenty-two-year-old man produced the following sentence:

- (4-64) **ŋgi nunuk ŋa =ni ŋgwek*
 3PL after 1SG =LOC come.3PL.R
 ‘they came after me’

The individual constituents that compose this sentence are all grammatically correct. The problem is that the young man's sentence is a calque of the Tok Pisin sentence:

- (4-65) *ol i kam bihain long mi*
 3PL PREDICATE come after PREP 1SG
 MARKER⁴
 ‘they came after me’

Notice that the locative clitic in the speaker's Tayap sentence in (4-64) combines with the 1SG pronoun (*ŋani*) – just like the preposition in the Tok Pisin sentence “long mi”. But while correct in Tok Pisin, the speaker's Tayap is ungrammatical. What he wants is as follows:

- (4-66) *ŋgi ŋaŋan nunuk =ni ŋgwek*
 3PL 1SG.POSS after =LOC come.3PL.R
 ‘they came after me’

A final consistent error made by speakers under thirty is that they use the locative clitic to refer to named areas of the rainforest, whereas in Tayap convention these nouns are bare adjuncts. So instead of saying *yim mbok Konjamoran* (‘we went to Konjamoran’ – with no clitic added to Konjamoran, which is a named area of the rainforest), young speakers consistently add a locative clitic, and say either *yim mbok Konjamoran=re*, or *yim mbok Konjamoran=ni*, using the case marker for villages (=re) or for unnamed places (=ni).

Young speakers may be doing this on the pattern of Tok Pisin, where such marking, by the preposition “long”, is obligatory – in Tok Pisin, ‘we went to Konjamoran’ would be “mipela i go long Konjamoran”.

But they may also be using locative markers because it is logical to do so in Tayap: that fluent speakers do not use the locative endings on named areas of the rainforest is a marked feature of this system. An alternative explanation of why young speakers use the locative clitic here is thus that they are regularizing Tayap's case marking system.

⁴ Mihalic (1971: 23).

5 Basic verb morphology

5.1 General properties of Tayap verbs

In Tayap a single complex predicate can express the equivalent of an entire sentence in English. This is most apparent in its serial verb constructions, which can express a complex action like ‘she intends to carry him down on her shoulders’ in a single predicate (*tapratkiŋiatikitakana*). Serial verb constructions like this are discussed in Chapter 8. For basic sentence structure, see Section 9.1.

Transitivity, TAM (tense, aspect and mood) and realis/irrealis status are morphologically encoded in verbs by suffixes, with the object suffix preceding the subject suffix.

In transitive verbs, this occurs in the following manner:

(5-1) a. *pongro*

<i>po</i>	- <i>ŋg</i>	- <i>ro</i>
verb stem ‘strike’	-object/undergoer ‘him’	-subject/actor ‘they’
in realis	in realis	in realis

‘they hit him’

b. *ongrindak*

<i>o</i>	- <i>ŋgri</i>	- <i>ndak</i>
verb stem ‘strike’	-object/undergoer ‘him’	-subject/actor ‘they’
in irrealis	in irrealis	in irrealis

‘they will hit him’

Intransitive verbs, too, signal both subject and status, but many of them tend to do so in a more fusional manner than is the case for transitive verbs, especially in the non-future tense (which expresses events or actions that are occurring in the present or that have occurred in the past).

An example of intransitive verbs is the verb *poror* ‘sing’. Some of the forms that this verb takes in the non-future and the future tenses are as follows:

(5-2) a. <i>poror-net</i>	<i>poror-nak</i>	<i>poror-ŋguk</i>
sing.R-1SG.M 3SG.M.R	sing.R-1SG.F 1PL.R	sing.R-3PL.R
‘I (M) sang’ or ‘he sang’	‘I (F) sang’ or ‘we sang’	‘they sang’

b. <i>poror-ki-net</i>	<i>poror-ki-nak</i>	<i>poror-ki-ndak</i>
sing.IRR-IRR- 1SG.M 3SG.M.IRR	sing.IRR-IRR-1SG.F 1PL.IRR	sing.IRR-IRR-3PL.IRR
‘I (M) will sing’ or ‘he will sing’	‘I (F) will sing’ or ‘we will be’	‘they will sing’

Verbs in Tayap are constructed around verb stems, which never occur alone (except in certain modification constructions, see Sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2), and which also never occur without being marked for status, either realis or irrealis (although some verbs, e.g. *poror* above have the same stem for both). The root forms of these stems – that is, the forms that are available for derivational processes like nominalization, and the citation forms that are entered in the dictionary as the lexical entry for a verb – are the irrealis forms of the stem.

A note is in order on the terms “roots” and “stems” as they are used here. Roots are the lexical parts of a word, the unanalyzable part left once the affixes are all taken off. Stems are involved when inflectional affixes apply to different forms of a root (Aikhenvald 2007: 38–40). So Tayap verb roots have inflectional stems: that is, for instance, there are separate inflectional stems for realis and irrealis. In this grammar, “stem” refers to the inflectional possibilities of a verb root, and “root” designates the basic underlying lexical part of the verb.

Verbs in Tayap have the following structure:

$$\begin{array}{c} V - O - (A) \\ V - (S) \end{array}$$

Note that verbal morphology, unlike clausal relations, follows a nominative-accusative alignment system.

Verbs in Tayap mark the following elements:

Status

Has the action of the verb happened or is happening? Has it not happened?

Tense, aspect and mood (TAM)

Is the action described by the verb occurring now? Is it completed? Has it happened or will it happen? Did it not happen? Temporal and modal relations like these must be marked on the verb.

In *transitive* verbs, TAM is marked on the verb root, the object suffix and, if there is one, on the subject suffix as well.

In *intransitive* verbs, TAM is marked on the verb root and the subject suffix, when there is one. In certain situations, such as when an intransitive verb is negated, subject suffixes disappear. Modality is marked by one of the three irrealis suffixes *-ki*, *-ki* or *-ku* (see Section 5.2.2).

Subject (S/A)

With the exception of negated verbs, verbs inflected with certain mood endings (see Section 5.2 and chapter 7) and non-finite forms like participles (Section 4.2) as well as verbs in certain modification constructions (Section 4.5.1 and 4.5.2), every verb must be marked for subject (S/A).

Note that in this grammar, the subject suffixes in *transitive* sentences include S in their gloss to clearly differentiate them from the object suffixes. The subject suffixes in *intransitive* sentences do not include this S, since there is no possibility of such confusion.

The forms of the subject suffixes are discussed in Section 5.3.2.

Object (O)

Transitivity in verbs is signaled by the presence of an object suffix that either directly follows the verb stem, or, for certain verbs, that occurs between two discontinuous subject suffixes. Tayap has a number of distinct object suffixes that signal person, number and TAM. These are discussed in Section 5.3.1.

Generally speaking, verbs are formed by suffixing TAM, object (for transitive verbs) and subject morphemes onto verb stems. The system is complicated by the fact that many verbs express TAM partly or wholly through suppletion. This feature of Tayap grammar is illustrated in example (5-1). In that example, note how the verb stem alternates between *po*, when it expresses an action that has actually occurred, and *o*, when it expresses an event that has not yet happened.

As was mentioned above, main predicate verb stems never occur independently, and they never occur without being inflected for status (realis/irrealis). Despite this, though, it is easy to identify the root form of a verb. All one has to know is the verb's negated form. For this reason, let us examine verbs by looking at negation first.

5.2 Standard negation in transitive and intransitive verbs

5.2.1 Negation of transitive verbs

In order to understand what happens to a Tayap verb when it is negated, compare the following forms of the transitive verb 'consume' in the non-future and future tense:

- (5-3) a. *ɲiɲi mborsip kakun*
 ɲi =ɲi mborsip ka -ku -n
 3SG.M =ERG.M pork consume.R <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|2SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘he ate pork’
- b. *ɲiɲi mborsip akrunet*
 ɲi =ɲi mborsip a -kru -net
 3SG.M =ERG.M pork consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S
 ‘he will eat pork’
- c. *ɲguyi mborsip okun*
 ɲgu =yi mborsip o -ku -n
 3SG.F =ERG.F pork consume.R <3SG.F.R.O> -3SG.F.R.S
 ‘she ate pork’
- d. *ɲguyi mborsip akrutak*
 ɲgu =yi mborsip a -kru -tak
 3SG.F =ERG.F pork consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -2SG.F|3SG.F.IRR.S
 ‘she will eat pork’
- e. *ɲgigi mborsip okuro*
 ɲgi =gi mborsip o -ku -ro
 3PL =ERG.PL pork consume.R <3SG.F.R.O> -3PL.R.S
 ‘they ate pork’
- f. *ɲgigi mborsip akrundak*
 ɲgi =gi mborsip a -kru -ndak
 3PL =ERG.PL pork consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -3PL.IRR.S
 ‘they will eat pork’

Leaving aside everything else that is happening with this verb, look at the verb stem. Note that the stem changes between the non-future tense, where it appears as both *ka* (for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M and for 1PL subjects) and *o* (for 3SG.F and 3PL subjects), and the future, where the stem is realized as *a* for every subject.

This being the case, how does one know whether the verb root of ‘eat’ is *ka* or *o* or *a*, or something else entirely?

This becomes clear when the verb is negated. Negation strips a verb of everything but its irrealis stem and an irrealis object suffix (for transitive verbs), or its irrealis stem and a marker of status (for intransitive verbs).

This means that the various forms of ‘eat’ are all negated in the same way:

- (5-4) a. *ɲiɲi mborsip akru wákare*
 ɲi =ɲi mborsip a -kru wákare
 3SG.M =ERG.M pork consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘he didn’t eat pork’
- b. *ɲiɲi mborsip akru wákare*
 ɲi =ɲi mborsip a -kru wákare
 3SG.M =ERG.M pork consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘he won’t eat pork’
- c. *ɲguyi mborsip akru wákare*
 ɲgu =yi mborsip a -kru wákare
 3SG.F =ERG.F pork consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘she didn’t eat pork’
- d. *ɲguyi mborsip akru wákare*
 ɲgu =yi mborsip a -kru wákare
 3SG.F =ERG.F pork consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘she won’t eat pork’
- e. *ɲgiɲi mborsip akru wákare*
 ɲgi=gi mborsip a -kru wákare
 3PL=ERG.PL pork consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘they didn’t eat pork’
- f. *ɲgiɲi mborsip akru wákare*
 ɲgi =gi mborsip a -kru wákare
 3PL =ERGPL pork consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘they won’t eat pork’

Note that ‘didn’t eat’ (i.e. an event that did not occur in the past) and ‘won’t eat’ (an action that will not occur in the future) are expressed with the same form, *a*, in Tayap. This is the reason this form is classified as irrealis: both the future and the negated forms of verbs are unreal events. The actions they express have either *not yet happened* (the future) or they *have not happened* or *will not happen* (the negated forms).

This invariant form of the verb stem in negation is a verb’s root form.

Note that the negator *wákare* usually appears clause finally (but see e.g. examples (8-27d and 9.14b)). This feature of Tayap is common to many Papuan and Austronesian languages (Reesink 2002b).

5.2.2 Negation of intransitive verbs

Just like transitive verbs, intransitive verbs also reveal their root forms when negated. To see this, look at the full conjugation in the non-future and future tenses of the irregular verb of motion ‘go’:

Table 5.1: The verb *o* ‘to go’

NON-FUTURE		FUTURE			
SUBJECT	VERB	SUBJECT	VERB		
<i>ηa</i> 1SG ‘I (male) went’ or ‘I’m going’	<i>mbot</i> go.SG.M.R	<i>ηa</i> 1SG ‘I (male) will go’	<i>o</i> go.IRR	<i>-ki</i> -IRR	<i>-net</i> -1SG.M 3SG.M.IRR
<i>ηa</i> 1SG ‘I (female) went’ or ‘I’m going’	<i>mbok</i> go.1SG.F 2SG.F 1PL.R	<i>ηa</i> 1SG ‘I (female) will go’	<i>o</i> go.IRR	<i>-ki</i> -IRR	<i>-nak</i> -1SG.F 1PL.IRR
<i>yu</i> 2SG ‘you (male) went’ or ‘you’re going’	<i>mbot</i> go.SG.M.R	<i>yu</i> 2SG ‘you (male) will go’	<i>o</i> go.IRR	<i>-ki</i> -IRR	<i>-tet</i> -2SG.M.IRR
<i>yu</i> 2SG ‘you (female) went’ or ‘you’re going’	<i>mbok</i> go.1SG.F 2SG.F 1PL.R	<i>yu</i> 2SG ‘you (female) will go’	<i>o</i> go.IRR	<i>-ki</i> -IRR	<i>-tak</i> -2SG.F 3SG.F.IRR
<i>ηgu</i> 3SG.F ‘she went’ or ‘she’s going’	<i>wok</i> go.3SG.F.R	<i>ηgu</i> 3SG.F ‘she will go’	<i>o</i> go.IRR	<i>-ki</i> -IRR	<i>-tak</i> -2SG.F 3SG.F.IRR
<i>ηi</i> 3SG.M ‘he went’ or ‘he’s going’	<i>mbot</i> go.SG.M.R	<i>ηi</i> 3SG.M ‘he will go’	<i>o</i> go.IRR	<i>-ki</i> -IRR	<i>-net</i> -1SG.M 3SG.M.IRR
<i>yim</i> 1PL ‘we went’ or ‘we’re going’	<i>mbok</i> go.1SG.F 2SG.F 1PL.R	<i>yim</i> 1PL ‘we will go’	<i>o</i> go.IRR	<i>-ki</i> -IRR	<i>-nak</i> -1SG.F 1PL.IRR

(continued)

Table 5.1 (continued)

NON-FUTURE		FUTURE			
SUBJECT	VERB	SUBJECT	VERB		
<i>yum</i> 2PL 'you PL went' or 'you PL are going'	<i>mbokem</i> go.2PL.R	<i>yum</i> 2PL 'you PL will go'	<i>o</i> go.IRR	<i>-ki</i> -IRR	<i>-nkem</i> -2PL.IRR
<i>ngi</i> 3PL 'they went' or 'they're going'	<i>ngwok</i> go.3PL.R	<i>ngi</i> 3PL 'they will go'	<i>o</i> go.IRR	<i>-ki</i> -IRR	<i>-ndak</i> -3PL.IRR
<i>yim sene/</i> <i>ngi sene</i> we two/ they two 'we two/they two went' or 'we two/they two are going'	<i>woke</i> go.DL.R	<i>yim sene/</i> <i>ngi sene</i> we two/ they two 'we two/they two will go'	<i>o</i> go.IRR	<i>-ki</i> -IRR	<i>-tike</i> -DL.IRR

The negated form of *all* these verbs is:

(5-5) *oki wákare*
o *-ki* *wákare*
 go.IRR -IRR NEG

In other words, 'I didn't go', 'they didn't go', 'we won't go', 'she will not go', etc. – all this becomes *oki wákare*.

As in transitive verbs, the form of the verb that appears in negation is the verb root.

An intransitive verb takes no object suffix. In negation, however, intransitive verbs exhibit a morphological structure that parallels the transitive object suffix. A negated intransitive verb signals irrealis status in both the verb stem and in the suffix that follows it. This irrealis suffix suffixed to the verb stem further marks it as irrealis.

The irrealis suffix suffixed to the verb stem is the same for all subjects, regardless of person, gender or number. Note that it occurs in contexts apart from just negation, see for example (5-9a).

The suffix occurs in one of three forms: *-ki*, *-ki* or *-ku*. There is some phonetic regularity in the patterning of which verb stems take which suffixes: verb stems that contain or end in front vowels tend to take *-ki* or *-ki*, and verb stems that

contain or end in back vowels tend to take *-ku*. All the verbs that take *-ki* are verbs of motion or end in the same stem form as the verb *ai* ‘come’. But like much else in Tayap, none of this is entirely predictable. All verbs suffixed by irrealis *-ki*, for example, may be verbs of motion or verbs that end with *-ai*. But not all verbs of motion take *-ki*. And there are many exceptions to the front vowel/back vowel pattern.

Examples of intransitive verb stems that take *-ki*:

<i>ar</i>	‘go inside’	<i>ŋgawŋ</i>	‘bark’
<i>ati</i>	‘appear’	<i>ŋgawriŋ</i>	‘growl like a dog’
<i>ear</i>	‘cry’	<i>ŋguru</i>	‘snore’
<i>emrari</i>	‘play’	<i>o</i>	‘go’
<i>ir</i>	‘laugh’	<i>paindak</i>	‘prevent pregnancy’
<i>isuwok</i>	‘sneeze’	<i>piŋ</i>	‘jump’
<i>kawr</i>	‘howl’	<i>poror</i>	‘sing’
<i>korar</i>	‘assemble to meet’	<i>pruk</i>	‘work’
<i>mem</i>	‘stand’	<i>rar</i>	‘look around’
<i>mind</i>	‘growl like a pig’	<i>ta</i>	‘sleep’
<i>mur</i>	‘work sago’	<i>warak</i>	‘talk’
<i>nam</i>	‘tell’	<i>wur</i>	‘go up to a place’

Examples of intransitive verb stems that take *-ki*:

<i>ai</i>	‘come’
<i>as</i>	‘come down from a place’; ‘come outside’
<i>pereipereiki</i>	‘race’
<i>raraiki</i>	‘become visible’
<i>sir</i>	‘go down from a house or tree’
<i>wi</i>	‘rise’

Examples of intransitive verb stems that take *-ku*:

<i>a</i>	‘be’	<i>turu</i>	‘dance’
<i>ambru</i>	‘bellow like a cassowary’	<i>tutu</i>	‘sit’
<i>ambu</i>	‘hide’	<i>tuw</i>	‘bathe’
<i>andru</i>	‘meow, moan, chirp’	<i>wuw</i>	‘ascend’ e.g. a tree or up into a house
<i>mungu</i>	‘stand’		

Of all the irrealis modal markers for intransitive verb stems, the most productive is *-ki* (which in addition to being a modal marker also has a range of other functions in Tayap; see Section 3.4.2).

In the dictionary, intransitive verbs are listed with *-ki/ -ki / -ku* attached.

5.3 Object (o) and subject (s/A) suffixes

5.3.1 Object suffixes

Before going on to discuss the range of TAM distinctions made in Tayap, it will be useful to distinguish the various forms of the object and subject suffixes that, together with the verb stems, encode TAM on a verb.

Taking the object suffixes first, note how their forms in irrealis are simply the realis forms with an *r* inserted before the vowel in all cases except 1SG, which retains the same form in both statuses. Interestingly, only the 3PL is distinguished from the other non-singular suffixes in both paradigms:

REALIS OBJECT SUFFIXES				IRREALIS OBJECT SUFFIXES			
	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL	
1	<i>-i</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-mri</i>	<i>-mri</i>	
2	<i>-u</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-ru</i>	<i>-mri</i>	<i>-mri</i>	
3F	<i>-ku</i>			<i>-kru</i>			
		<i>-mi</i>	<i>-mbi</i>		<i>-mri</i>	<i>-mbri</i>	
3M	<i>-ŋgi</i>			<i>-ŋgri</i>			

Example:

(5-6) a. *ewar ŋgiŋi ŋi poŋgro*

ewar *ŋgi* =*gi* *ŋi* *po* -*ŋgi* -*ro*
 yesterday 3PL =ERG.PL 3SG.M strike.R -3SG.M.R.O -3PL.R.S
 ‘yesterday they hit him’

b. *epi ŋgiŋi ŋi oŋgrindak*

epi *ŋgi* =*gi* *ŋi* *o* -*ŋgri* -*ndak*
 tomorrow 3PL =ERG.PL 3SG.M strike.IRR -3SG.M.IRR.O -3PL.IRR.S
 ‘tomorrow they will hit him’

5.3.2 Subject (S/A) suffixes

Tayap's subject (S/A) suffixes can be compared in Tables 5.2 and 5.3 below. Irrealis subject suffixes only mark gender for singular subjects, and realis subject suffixes do not mark gender at all. Both paradigms collapse second person non-singular, they distinguish third person plural, and they collapse first and third person dual. Note that these complex syncretisms are different in different paradigms (see Section 3.5 for other pronoun paradigms, including the free pronouns and benefactive suffixes).

Table 5.2: Subject suffixes on transitive verbs

IRREALIS SUBJECT SUFFIXES FOR TRANSITIVE VERBS			REALIS SUBJECT SUFFIXES FOR TRANSITIVE VERBS		
SG	DL	PL	SG	DL	PL
1F	<i>-nak</i>				
	<i>-tike</i>	<i>-nak</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-re</i>	<i>-n</i>
1M	<i>-net</i>				
2F	<i>-tak</i>				
	<i>-nkem</i>	<i>-nkem</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-rem</i>	<i>-rem</i>
2M	<i>-tet</i>				
3F	<i>-tak</i>				
	<i>-tike</i>	<i>-ndak/tuko</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-re</i>	<i>-ro</i>
3M	<i>-net</i>				

Examples:

- (5-7) a. *ŋi epi ŋgakreŋan pupur arkrinet*
ŋi epi ŋgakre =ŋan pupur
 3SG.M tomorrow jaw =POSS hair

ar -kru -net
 shave.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S
 'tomorrow he will shave off his beard'
- b. *ŋi ewar ŋgakreŋan pupur karkun*
ŋi ewar ŋgakre =ŋan pupur
 he yesterday jaw =POSS hair

kar *-ku* *-n*
 shave.R <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|2SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘yesterday he shaved off his beard’

For *intransitive* verbs, the irrealis subject markers are the same as those for transitive verbs. The *realis* subject markers vary depending on the group to which the verb root belongs, and many are irregular. These subject markers are discussed in Section 6.2.

Table 5.3: Subject suffixes on intransitive verbs

IRREALIS SUBJECT SUFFIXES FOR INTRANSITIVE VERBS			REALIS SUBJECT SUFFIXES FOR INTRANSITIVE VERBS				
	SG	DL	PL		SG	DL	PL
1F	<i>-nak</i>						
		<i>-tike</i>	<i>-nak</i>			see 6.2.1	
1M	<i>-net</i>						
2F	<i>-tak</i>						
		<i>-nkem</i>	<i>-nkem</i>			see 6.2.1	
2M	<i>-tet</i>						
3F	<i>-tak</i>						
		<i>-tike</i>	<i>-ndak/tuko</i>			see 6.2.1	
3M	<i>-net</i>						

Examples:

- (5-8) a. *kaimwa imbikitak*
kaimwa imbi -ki -tak
 cockatoo fly.IRR -IRR -2SG.F|3SG.F.IRR
 ‘the cockatoo will fly’
- b. *kaimwa pimbiek*
kaimwa pimb -iek
 cockatoo fly.R -1SG.F|3SG.F|1PL.R
 ‘the cockatoo flew’

In addition to the object and subject suffixes listed in the tables above, Tayap also has a set of benefactive object suffixes and a set of counterfactual subject suffixes.

These are listed in Section 3.5 and discussed in Section 7.5. Counterfactuals are discussed in Section 9.4.3. Non-final object markers are discussed in Section 8.2.2.

5.4 Tense, aspect and mood in Tayap

5.4.1 Overview of Tayap verbal morphology

It should be clear by now that the fundamental distinction in Tayap's verbal morphology system is between real and unreal events. Verb stems marked as realis or irrealis combine with other suffixes that also are marked for TAM to make tense distinctions, to express the progressive and habitual aspect, and to encode modal notions like desire and prohibition.

The basic combinations, which can be modified by verbal suffixes and compounding to produce more tenses and aspects, are as follows:

Table 5.4: Overview of verbal morphology

TRANSITIVE VERBS						
<i>Verb stem</i>	<i>Object suffix</i>	<i>Modal marker</i>	<i>Subject suffix</i>	<i>Verbal suffix or Negation</i>	→	<i>TAM</i>
IRR	IRR		∅	NEG	→	NEG
IRR	IRR		IRR	∅	→	FUT
IRR	IRR		IRR	-(n)ana	→	NRFUT
IRR/CF	R	(-rik-)	R (discontinuous subject suffixes optional)	∅	→	CF
IRR/SBJ	R		R	∅	→	SBJ
R	R		R	∅	→	NF
R	R		R	-(da)ra	→	PERF

INTRANSITIVE VERBS					
<i>Verb stem</i>	<i>Modal marker</i>	<i>Subject suffix</i>	<i>Verbal suffix or Negation</i>	→	<i>TAM</i>
IRR	IRR	∅	NEG	→	NEG
IRR	IRR	IRR	∅	→	FUT
IRR	IRR	IRR	-(n)ana	→	NRFUT

(continued)

Table 5.4 (continued)

INTRANSITIVE VERBS					
Verb	Modal marker	Subject suffix	Verbal suffix or Negation	→	TAM
CF	(-rik-)	IRR OR CF	∅	→	CF
SBJ	∅	R	∅	→	SBJ
R	∅	R	∅	→	NF
R	∅	R	-(da)ra	→	PERF

Notice in the above table that irrealis and realis suffixes do not always combine in expected ways. While some verb forms (like verbs in the non-future or the future) are composed of verb stems, object suffixes and subject suffixes that all are marked for either realis or irrealis, other verb forms (the prohibitive (Section 7.2) and counterfactual (Section 9.4.3)) mix these suffixes, and have, for example, intransitive verb stems marked for irrealis, but object and subject suffixes inflected in their realis forms.

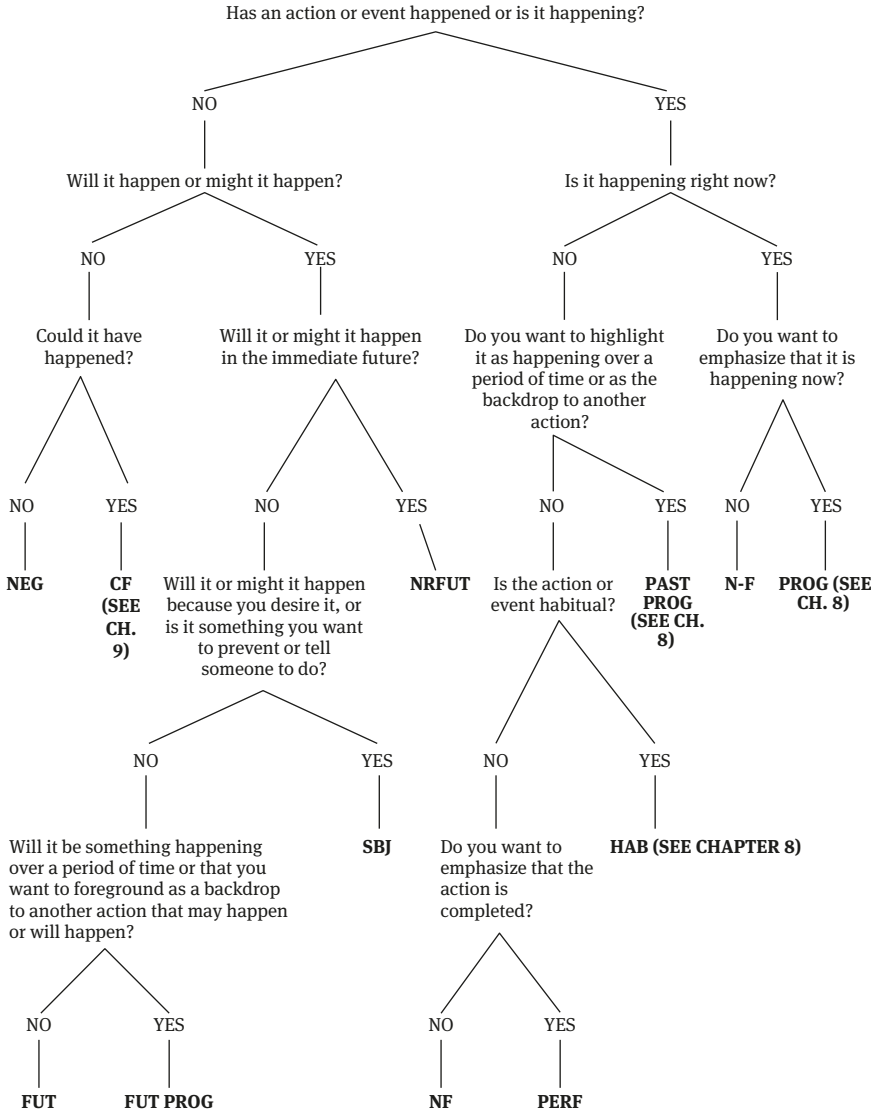
If an action or event has occurred, is occurring or occurs regularly, Tayap encodes the following distinctions:

- Perfect* (PERF) actions or events that are completed; e.g. ‘He died’; ‘They have finished the work’ (see Section 5.4.3.2).
- Non-future* (NF) actions or events that are occurring at the moment of speaking or that have occurred but are either ongoing or unmarked in terms of their termination or completedness; e.g. ‘She is in the house’; ‘They ate the pig meat we gave them’. This is also the form used to make gnomic statements like ‘Birds fly’ (see Section 5.4.3.1).
- Progressive* (PROG) actions or events that are not fully realized because they are occurring at either the moment of speaking or they were occurring at the same time some other action happened; e.g. ‘I am sitting here eating sago jelly’; ‘He was eating sago jelly when they arrived’. The progressive can also express events that recur regularly (discussed in Section 8.3.1).
- Habitual* (HAB) actions or events that occur all the time; e.g. ‘She is always smoking’ (discussed in Section 8.3.2).

If an action or event (a) has not occurred or won't occur; (b) has not yet occurred but may occur or is expected to occur, or (c) might have occurred but didn't, Tayap marks the following distinctions:

- Negative* (NEG) actions or events that have not occurred or will not occur; e.g. 'I didn't spear the pig', 'He won't go to Wongan' (see Section 5.2).
- Future* (FUT) actions or events that are anticipated to occur in the future; e.g. 'He will go hunting tomorrow' (see Section 5.4.2.2).
- Near future* (NRFUT) actions or events that are anticipated to occur in the immediate future; e.g. 'They're going to leave now' (see Section 5.4.2.3).
- Counterfactual* (CF) actions or events that might have occurred but didn't, e.g. 'If they had seen me, they would have beaten me up'; or that are impossible, e.g. 'if you were young I would marry you' (expressed by a subordinate construction: see Section 9.4.3)
- Subjunctive* (SBJ) speaker's desire that something happen (or not happen), or that another person do something (or not do something); e.g. 'You go!' or 'May X not happen' (see Section 7.1).

The following is a schematic representation of Tayap's TAM system.



5.4.2 Irrealis

5.4.2.1 Negative (NEG)

The formation and scope of the negative has been discussed in Section 5.2.

5.4.2.2 Future (FUT)

Like the negative, the future is formed on the basis of the (irrealis) verb stem. Compare:

	NEGATIVE		FUTURE	
INTRANSITIVE	<i>o-ki</i>	<i>wákare</i>	<i>o-ki</i>	<i>-net</i>
	go.IRR-IRR	NEG	go.IRR-IRR	-1SG.M 3SG.M.IRR.S
	'X (any subject) didn't/ won't go'		'He will go' or 'I (M) will go'	
TRANSITIVE	<i>a-kru</i>	<i>wákare</i>	<i>a-kru</i>	<i>-net</i>
	consume.IRR-	NEG	consume.IRR-	-1SG.M 3SG.M.IRR.S
	3SG.F.IRR.O		3SG.F.IRR.O	
	'X(any subject) didn't/ won't consume it'		'He will consume it' or 'I (M) will consume it'	

With *intransitive* verbs, the future is formed by suffixing an irrealis subject suffix to the irrealis modal suffix that follows the verb stem.

With *transitive* verbs, the irrealis subject suffix (Section 5.2.2) is added after the irrealis object suffix.

So future is formed in Tayap according to the following patterns:

INTRANSITIVE VERBS	IRR verb stem + IRR suffixes <i>-ki</i> , <i>-ki</i> or <i>-ku</i> + IRR subject
TRANSITIVE VERBS	IRR verb stem + IRR object + IRR subject

Examples:

INTRANSITIVE

(5-9) a. *yim epi mindikitike*

yim epi mindi -ki -tike
1PL tomorrow work_sago.IRR -IRR -DL.IRR
'tomorrow the two of us will work sago'

b. *tukur aikittakre, ŋa patirni arkinet*

tukur ai -ki -tak -re ŋa patir =ni
 rain come.IRR -IRR -2SG.F|3SG.F.IRR -SUB 1SG house =LOC

ar -ki -net
 go_inside.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR
 ‘if it rains, I (M) am going inside the house’

c. *epi ŋa embre ki memkinak*

epi ŋa emb =re =ki
 tomorrow 1SG morning =TEMP =INTENS

mem -ki -nak
 get_up.IRR -IRR -1SG.F|1PL.IRR
 ‘tomorrow I (F) will get up right at dawn’

TRANSITIVE

(5-10) a. *Maiwaŋi mbarani yu aruonet*

Maiwa=ŋi mbara=ni yu
 Maiwa=ERG.M garden=LOC 2SG

aruo -ru -net
 wait.IRR -2SG.IRR.O -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S
 ‘Maiwa will wait for you in the garden’

b. *yim Mbur rarkrutikeya muna ŋgon urakkukuaikitike*

yim Mbur rar -kru -tike -ya
 1PL Mbur see.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -DL.IRR.S -and

muna ŋgon
 sago_flour 3SG.F.POSS

urak- -ku -ku ai -ki -tike
 carry_on_shoulder.IRR -bring -3SG.F.R.O come.IRR -IRR -DL.IRR.S
 ‘the two of us are going to help Mbur carry her sago (and come to the village)’

c. *epi ŋayi yum ombrinet*

epi ŋa=yi yum
 tomorrow 1SG=ERG.F 2PL

o- -mbri- -net
 strike.IRR -2PL.IRR.O- -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S
 ‘tomorrow I (M) am going to hit you all’

The future encodes an unreal event, but also locates an event in time. It contrasts with the near future in terms of the action's expected occurrence in relation to the moment of speaking: the near future is expected to occur soon in relation to the moment of speaking; the future is expected to occur at some other point in the future – a time that may or may not be specified by a temporal adverb like 'this evening', 'tomorrow' or 'later'.

5.4.2.3 Near future (NRFUT)

The near future is formed by suffixing morpheme *-ana* (*-nana* after a vowel) to a verb inflected for future tense:

INTRANSITIVE VERBS	IRR verb stem + IRR <i>-ki</i> , <i>-ki</i> or <i>-ku</i> + IRR subject + <i>-(n)ana</i>
TRANSITIVE VERBS	IRR verb stem + IRR object + IRR subject + <i>-(n)ana</i>

Examples:

INTRANSITIVE

- (5-11) a. *ŋa prukkinetana inda*
ŋa pruk -ki -net -ana inda
 1SG work.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S -INTENT DX.M
 'I (M) am going to work now' (which is why I am getting up to go)

TRANSITIVE

- b. *yu mum akurutetanake?*
yu mum a -kru -tet -ana =ke
 2SG sago_jelly eat.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -2SG.M.IRR.S -INTENT =Q
 'Are you (M) going to eat sago jelly?' (if I fix a plate of it for you?)

The suffix *-(n)ana* expresses intention (see Section 7.4). But Tayap distinguishes between a near future tense and an intentional mood. Pure intentionality, with no morphological marking for time, is signaled on both transitive and intransitive verbs by omitting the subject suffixes in the inflected future verb and affixing *-(n)ana* directly to the irrealis object marker (for transitive verbs) and directly to the irrealis modal marker (for intransitive verbs). So compare:

INTENTION

(5-12) a. *yu mum akrunanake?*

yu mum a -kru -nana =ke
 2SG sago_jelly eat.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -INTENT =Q

‘Would you eat sago jelly?’ (if I offer you some)

Note: The gender of ‘you’ here is unspecified, since there is no subject suffix on the verb.

NEAR FUTURE

b. *yu mum akrutetanake?*

yu mum a -kru -tet -ana =ke
 2SG sago_jelly eat.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -2SG.M.IRR.S- -INTENT =Q

‘Are you (M) going to eat the sago jelly?’ (that is sitting in front of you getting cold)

The only difference between these two questions is that in the first example (5-12a) there is no subject suffix on the verb.

In practice, it can be difficult or meaningless to try to distinguish between the near future and intention. Just as an English expression like ‘I’m going to leave now’ conflates the desire or intention to leave with an action that is about to occur, so does a Tayap sentence inflected in the near future tense imply a desire or intention.

However, the difference between English and Tayap here is that unlike English, Tayap can also clearly morphologically distinguish between an action that is intended or desired and one that is about to occur.

5.4.2.4 Subjunctive

The subjunctive mood is discussed in detail in Section 7.1.

5.4.3 Realis**5.4.3.1 Non-future (NF)**

The non-future signifies that the action denoted by the verb is either ongoing or has already happened. Because the non-future can refer to both the present and the past, and also to express general truths, it is the most frequently occurring verb form in Tayap. Unhappily for younger speakers, it is also the most irregular and unpredictable verb form. Transitive verbs in the non-future can be separated into five distinct conjugation classes. Intransitive verbs are less regular, but fall into four conjugation classes that contain several subgroups and exceptions.

It is not possible to predict – for example, on the basis of the phonological shape of a verb root – the class of a transitive verb or the inflectional pattern of an intransitive verb. The only way to know the non-future inflection of a verb is by hearing it inflected by a fluent speaker.

The formation of verbs in the realis status is a feature of Tayap grammar that requires lengthy explanation. It is the subject of Chapter 6.

5.4.3.2 Perfect (PERF)

The perfect is used to mark an action as having been completed. It is formed by adding the following suffixes to a verb inflected in the non-future tense:

- da(ra)* after *n*. Conditioning factors between *-da* and *-dara* are unknown
- (*a*)*ra* after all other phonemes (*-ra* if the verb ends in a vowel; *-ara* otherwise)

The perfect foregrounds the difference between an action or event in process and one that is completed; the difference between being on one's way and having arrived:

- (5-13) a. *ŋi mbet*
 3SG.M come.SG.M.R
 'he is coming' or 'he came'
- b. *ŋi mbet -ara*
 3SG.M come.SG.M.R -PERF
 'he has come', 'he has arrived'

Perfect tense is used to foreground the completedness of an action or event, e.g.

- (5-14) *karep wokara aro seneni ŋa yu aropowun* Wewak
karep wok -ara aro sene =ni ŋa yu
 moon go.3SG.F.R -PERF day two =LOC 1SG 2SG
- aropo -wu -n* Wewak
 wait.R -2SG.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S Wewak
 'last month (lit. 'moon has gone') I waited for you for two days in [the town of] Wewak'

The perfect also marks relations of completedness between different events. For example, a young mother telling the story of how she thought a death adder had

bitten her son said the following (see Tayap Text 3, from which this sentence is extracted):

(5-15) *ŋa nda namnak aramŋi nda poŋgindara wasowkinetana*

ŋa nda nam -nak aram =ŋi nda
1SG DM talk.R -1SG.F|1PL.R snake =ERG.M DM

po -ŋgi -n -dara
strike.R -3SG.M.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S -PERF

wasow -ki -net -ana
die.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR -INTENT

‘I thought the snake had bitten him and that he was going to die’ (lit. ‘I thought the snake had bitten him and he will die in the near future’).

Another example of how the perfect is used to distinguish different kinds of completedness is an extract from a conversation in which a man in his fifties was commenting to others about how young people no longer speak Tayap. This man says that if young Gapuners go to another village and the people there want to attack them and beat them up, they won’t be able to communicate with one another to organize their defense. “What language will you speak to one another?”, he asks rhetorically:

(5-16) *enġin merni namkitak, ŋgiġi tatukrora*

enġin mer =ni nam -ki -tak ŋgi=gi
white_people language =LOC talk.IRR -IRR -2SG.F|3SG.F.IRR 3PL=ERG.PL

ta -tu -ku -ro -ra
perceive.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -3PL.R.S -PERF

‘If one speaks Tok Pisin, they’ve already understood your plans’ (lit. ‘You will speak in Tok Pisin, they’ve already understood it’). (Note the use of the feminine subject ending *-tak* to denote a non-specific, general referent; see Section 3.1.3.3.)

Notice here that the use of the perfect here carries the meaning of ‘already’ – the foreign villagers will have understood the unfortunate Tok Pisin-speaking Tayap villagers’ plans before they are even finished being articulated.

There are significant differences in how the perfect is used in the speech of fluent speakers and how it is used by speakers younger than thirty. For fluent speakers of Tayap, the perfect combines elements of tense (time in the past) and aspect (relevance to now) and is used to mark an action as having been completed.

For young speakers, the scope of the perfect suffix has been expanded. In addition to functioning grammatically to express temporal relations, it also functions syntactically to coordinate clauses.

Tayap has several clause coordinating suffixes, including the suffix *-api*, which means ‘afterward’ (see Section 9.3.2). This suffix is not used by speakers younger than thirty. Instead, one of the ways those speakers coordinate clauses is with the use of the perfect suffix.

Here are the two ways a fluent speaker might say ‘After she talked to Akep, Mbopai left’:

- (5-17) a. *Akepre waraktakapi, Mbopai wok*
Akep =re warak -tak -api Mbopai wok
Akep =LOC talk.R -2SG.F|3SG.F.R -AFT Mbopai go.3SG.F.R
 ‘after she talked to Akep, Mbopai left’
- b. *Akepre warakrapi, Mbopai wok*
Akep =re warak -r- -api Mbopai wok
Akep =LOC talk.IRR -r- -AFT Mbopai go.3SG.F.R
 ‘after she talked to Akep, Mbopai left’

The perfect is not used in either of these two sentences. The sentences do not foreground the completedness of the action of talking; they foreground the temporal relationship between the actions expressed in the clauses. They mark the subordinate clause (‘after she talked’) as the background or condition for the main clause (‘she left’).

Here is how a nineteen-year-old speaker of Tayap formulated (5-17):

- (5-18) *Akepre waraktakara, ngu wok*
Akep =re warak -tak -ara ngu wok
Akep =LOC talk.R -2SG.F|3SG.F.R -PERF 3SG.F go.3SG.F.R
 ‘she finished talking to Akep, she left’

In this speaker’s Tayap, what should be the coordinating suffix *-api* is instead realized as the perfect suffix *-ara*. That such a substitution can occur is partly because the younger speaker calques on Tok Pisin while speaking Tayap.

In Tok Pisin, the word “pinis”, which derives from English ‘finish’, is both an aspect marker and a clause-coordinating adverbial. As a marker of aspect, it follows a verb to indicate completed action. So compare:

- (5-19) mi go vs. mi go pinis
 ‘I am going’ or ‘I went’ ‘I have gone’
- ol i toktok vs. ol i toktok pinis
 ‘they talk’ or ‘they talked’ ‘they’ve finished talking’

As a clause-coordinating conjunction, “pinis” forms an utterance in itself and is said with rising intonation:

- (5-20) Mipela toktok igo igo. Pinis, mipela i go nambaut
 we talk DURATION ‘finished’ we go around
 ‘we spoke for a while and when we were finished talking, we went our separate ways’

Young speakers of Tayap model their use of the perfect on these dual functions of Tok Pisin’s “pinis” and they use the perfect suffix to signify both a completed action and clause coordination. They even pronounce verbs onto which they have suffixed the perfect suffix as they would the Tok Pisin equivalent with “pinis”, i.e. they use the same rising intonation that they use when speaking Tok Pisin.

5.5 Reduplication

The reduplication of verbs is another way of expressing temporality and epistemic stance (usually disapproval). The repetition or iteration of an action, for example, is expressed by repeating the verb stem:

- (5-21) a. *ketukketukkwankut*
ketuk ketuk -kwan -kut
 cough.IRR cough.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.O -be.SG.M.R
 ‘he is coughing and coughing’
- b. *mbarow sene mborimborikar woke awin motoreke*
mbarow sene mbori mbori -r- kar woke
 mbarow_fish two flipflop.IRR flipflop.IRR -r- -MANN go.DL.R
awin moto =reke
 water dirty =PERL
 ‘two mbarow fish flipflopped flipflopped along puddles of water’

In the following example part of the benefactive suffix is reduplicated:

- c. *ŋa omoŋi namsamb piapiabatan nam ŋgume namwankuk*
ŋa omo =ŋi nam -samb pi -ia
 1SG father =ERG.M talk -PL give.R -1SG.BEN.R.O

pi -ia pi -iata -n nam ŋgume
 give.R -1SG.BEN.R.O give.R -1SG.BEN.R.O -SG|1PL.R talk thus

nam -wan -kuk
 talk.IRR -2SG.BEN.R.O -be.1SG|2SG.F.R
 ‘The talk that father gave, gave, gave me [i.e. the talk that he imparted to me repeatedly], I (F) am telling you that talk’
- d. *ŋare takwattakwatŋgarke koret ror apro sakar morasi aprona*
ŋa =re takwat takwat -ŋgarke koret ror apro sakar
 1SG =LOC lie.IRR lie.IRR -PROH foreign child bad INTENS

morasi apro=ŋa
 habit bad=POSS
 ‘You can’t keep telling lies to me! You’re like a fucking foreigner with bad habits’

The following example has reduplication of an inflected verb:

- e. *trausis ŋaŋan isiriisiriwok*
trausis ŋaŋan isiri isiri wok
 trousers (TP) 1SG.POSS fall_off.IRR fall_off.IRR go.3SG.F.R
 ‘My trousers keep falling down’

Reduplication of a verb can also carry the meaning that the action expressed by the verb happens over a length of time.

- (5-22) a. *yu weteta wetukwar wetukwar kukuwe tumbekeni*
yu we -tet -a wetu -kwar wetu -kwar
 2SG come.SBJ -2SG.M.R -and wank.IRR -MANN wank.IRR -MANN

ku -ku we tumb =ekeni
 bring -3SG.F.R.O come.SBJ mountain =PERL
 ‘you (M) come and wank wank your way up the mountain’
 (hollered by a woman in anger about a man she said always cheated her. The meaning is something like ‘come and jerk yourself off all the way up the mountain’)

5.5.1 Repeated action

There are a number of ways of showing an action is repeated. The following example shows repetition, rather than reduplication strictly speaking, of a verb:

- b. *ngi amkwar ngwoka ngwoka ηayi ngi orepemin*
ngi am -kwar ngwok -a ngwok -a
 3PL fight -MANN go.3PL.R -and go.3PL.R -and
- ηa =yi ngi orepe -mi -n*
 1SG =ERG.F 3PL leave.R -3PL.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘they were fighting for a long time and I (gender unspecified) left them’

In addition to simply repeating a verb to convey that an action or event occurred several times or extended over a period of time, Tayap has a verbal suffix (*-ítŋo*) that marks an action or event as occurring repeatedly and exaggeratedly over a continuous, extended period of time. The meaning of this form corresponds to the durative “igo” construction in Tok Pisin – e.g. “em i kra i go i go i go”; ‘he cried and cried and cried’. The suffix only occurs on intransitive verbs and this restricted usage may have limited the form’s transmission.

Speakers under forty understand the meaning of verbs that have the *-ítŋo* suffix, but they never produce the forms themselves. In 2009, even speakers over fifty had trouble thinking of examples. Perhaps the forms occurred mainly in ritual narrative and singing or tuneful weeping over corpses – verbal skills that for the most part have become moribund in Gapun.

In the 1980s, I recorded the suffix *-ítŋo* for verbs that were repeated over an extended period of time, for example in the following verbs:

<i>emrar-ítŋo</i>	<i>poror-ítŋo</i>
play.IRR-XD	sing.IRR-XD
<i>ketuk-ítŋo</i>	<i>simber-ítŋo</i>
cough.IRR-XD	chew_betel_nut.IRR-XD
<i>warak-ítŋo</i>	
talk.IRR-XD	

I was also told that an alternative form that meant the same thing was the irrealis verb stem + *-ít-* + *ηayar*, which is an adverb meaning ‘really’. Senior men told me that both forms below express the same meaning – perhaps because the first form may be a contraction of the second:

emrar-ítŋo or *emrar-it* *ŋayar*
 play.IRR-XD play.IRR-XD? really

The *-ítŋo* suffix that I recorded in the 1980s no longer occurs in the speech of anyone in Gapun.

Today, to the very limited extent that the idea of repeated actions over an extended period is encoded by a verbal suffix at all, this is done by adding the suffix *-ŋo*, or its variants *-eŋo*, *-erŋo* and *-irŋo* directly to the irrealis stem of an intransitive verb. The suffix is the same for all subjects; a verb with this suffix takes no subject endings, and the verb is always repeated.

- (5-23) a. *pororŋo pororŋo ŋakre mbidtak*
poror -ŋo poror -ŋo ŋakre mbid -tak
 sing.IRR -XD sing. IRR -XD jaw hurt.R -2SG.F|3SG.F.R
 ‘X (i.e. any subject) sang and sang so much that X’s jaw hurt’
- b. *rarerŋo rarerŋo emb otitek*
rar -erŋo rar -erŋo emb otitek
 look.IRR -XD look.IRR -XD morning fall.3SG.F.R
 ‘X (i.e. any subject) looked and looked (for example, in a dream) until morning came’
- c. *ketukŋo ketukŋo potak mbidtiatan*
ketuk -ŋo ketuk -ŋo potak
 cough.IRR -XD cough.IRR -XD throat
- mbid- -ti -iata -n*
 pain.IRR -S <1SG.BEN.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘I (gender unspecified) coughed and coughed so much that my throat hurt’
- d. *indirŋo indirŋo man mbidtukwatan*
indi -rŋo indi -rŋo man
 fuck.IRR -XD fuck. IRR -XD vagina
- mbid -tu -kwata -n*
 pain.IRR -S <3G.F.BEN.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘She (or ‘they’ or ‘we’) fucked and fucked so much that her vagina hurt’

5.6 Reflexive and reciprocal constructions

Reflexive and reciprocal constructions are formed by adding the suffix *-ano* (*-ηano* after a vowel) to the subject pronoun.

In reflexive constructions, the valency of a verb is decreased, so a verb that normally takes two arguments – a subject and object – instead only takes one. There is no explicit grammatical marking of this decreasing valency other than in the fact that a verb in a reflexive construction is always intransitive.

- (5-24) a. *awin nanukni ηηano taniet*
awin nanuk =ni ηa -ηano ta -niet
 mirror =LOC 1SG -REFL see.R -1SG.M|3SG.M.R
 ‘I saw myself in the mirror’

Non singular subjects in this construction convey reciprocity:

- b. *yimano yim tatike*
yim -ano yim ta -tike
 1PL -REFL 1PL see.R -DL.R
 ‘the two of us saw ourselves’ or ‘saw each other’
- c. *ηγιηano amurukuke*
ηγι -ηano amuru -kuke
 3PL -REFL fight.R -DL.R
 ‘the two of them are fighting each other’

This construction can also be used for emphasis, to convey that the subject does the action alone:

- (5-25) a. *yηano nitukun!*
yu -ηano ni -tu -ku -n!
 you -REFL do.SBJ -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘Do it yourself!’
- b. *ηγιηanoki kirawtukuro*
ηγι -ηano -ki kiraw -tu -ku -ro
 3PL -REFL -EMPH know.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -3PL.R.S
 ‘they realize it themselves’

6 The formation of realis and irrealis verbs

Perhaps the single most complex feature of Tayap's grammar is the formation of verbs in the realis status. The realis stem forms are only used in forming the non-future tense and the perfect aspect. However, because the realis status is what speakers use to refer to actions and events that have occurred in the past or are occurring in the present – as well as to make gnomic statements like 'birds fly' – it is the single most frequently occurring inflectional form in the speech of fluent Tayap speakers.

In the speech of younger, less fluent speakers, the non-future tense is still used, but the weakest speakers do their best to get around it as much as they can. To manage this, they overextend the progressive aspect, which is easier to inflect, partly because the verb stem inflects in its irrealis form and thus remains consistent, and partly because the suffixes that encode person and number that follow the verb stem have minimal variation (see Section 5.3).

The realis status is another kettle of fish. Its inflectional forms are irregular both in terms of the kinds of changes that occur in verb stems, and also in terms of their relative predictability. Transitive and intransitive verbs have very different inflectional patterns.

The following section (Section 6.1) discusses transitive verbs; intransitive verbs are discussed separately in Section 6.2.

6.1 Transitive verb classes

All transitive verbs belong to one of five conjugation classes. Class 1 and 5 have the biggest membership: in the dictionary there are 76 class 1 verbs and 73 class 5 verbs, with the other classes smaller: class 2 with 23, class 3 with 21 and class 4 with 38 verbs.

The classes are distinguishable by two interrelated patterned changes that occur on the verb stem:

1. the pattern of alternation between the stem's form in the non-future tense and its form in the irrealis status (for example when it is negated or when it denotes the future);
and
2. the nature of the stem changes that occur in the non-future

In addition to these two kinds of patterned changes to the verb stem, three of the five conjugation classes – classes 3, 4 and 5 – also mark the subject twice with a discontinuous subject marker.

It was demonstrated in Section 5.2 how the root of a verb can be deduced from knowing the form it takes when it is negated. With that in mind, notice once again how the root of a verb like *o* ‘strike’ changes between the irrealis and the realis stem forms, seen here in the contrast between future and non-future tenses:

(6-1) a. FUTURE *nguyi okrutak*

		VERB STEM	OBJECT	SUBJECT
<i>nguyi</i>	= <i>yi</i>	<i>o</i>	- <i>kru</i>	- <i>tak</i>
3SG.F	=ERG.F	strike.IRR	-3SG.F.IRR.O	-2SG.F 3SG.F.IRR.S
‘she will hit it/her’				

b. NON-FUTURE *nguyi pokun*

		VERB STEM	OBJECT	SUBJECT
<i>nguyi</i>	= <i>yi</i>	<i>po</i>	- <i>ku</i>	- <i>n</i>
3SG.F	=ERG.F	strike.R	-3SG.F.IRR.O-	-SG 1PL.R.S
‘she hit it/her’				

Now look at another transitive verb class, this one exemplified by the verb root *wuw* ‘carry on shoulder’:

(6-2) a. FUTURE *nguyi wuwkrutak*

		VERB STEM	OBJECT	SUBJECT
<i>nguyi</i>	= <i>yi</i>	<i>wuw</i>	- <i>kru</i>	- <i>tak</i>
3SG.F	=ERG.F	carry_on_	-3SG.F.IRR.O	-2SG.F 3SG.F.IRR.S
shoulder.IRR				
‘she will carry it/her on (her) shoulder’				

b. NON-FUTURE *nguyi puwkun*

		VERB STEM	OBJECT	SUBJECT
<i>nguyi</i>	= <i>yi</i>	<i>puw</i>	- <i>ku</i>	- <i>n</i>
3SG.F	=ERG.F	carry_on_	-3SG.F.R.O	-SG 1PL.R.S
shoulder.R				
‘she carried it/her on (her) shoulder’				

Once again, note the way the verb stem alternates.

This kind of alternation is patterned and consistent, and it provides the basis for distinguishing class 1 verbs (that alternate between the \emptyset form of the verb stem in irrealis and *-p-* in realis), and class 2 verbs, which consist of verb stems

that alternate between *-w-* in irrealis and *-p-* in realis (the hyphens indicate that both phonemes can occur word-initially or word-medially, depending on the verb in question).

Contrast both of those verb classes with conjugation class 3, which is characterized by a stem alternation between irrealis *a* and realis *ka* and *o* (depending on the subject of the verb).

- (6-3) a. FUTURE *ɲguyi akrutak*
- | | | VERB STEM | OBJECT | SUBJECT |
|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|
| <i>ɲgu</i> | = <i>yi</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>-kru</i> | <i>-tak</i> |
| 3SG.F | =ERG.F | consume.IRR | -3SG.F.IRR.O | -2SG.F 3SG.F.IRR.S |
- ‘she will eat it’
- b. NON-FUTURE *ɲguyi okun*
- | | | VERB STEM | OBJECT | SUBJECT |
|------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>ɲgu</i> | = <i>yi</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>-ku</i> | <i>-n</i> |
| 3SG.F | =ERG.F | consume.R | <3SG.F.R.O> | -SG 1PL.R.S |
- ‘she ate it’
- c. FUTURE *ɲiɲi akrunet*
- | | | VERB STEM | OBJECT | SUBJECT |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|
| <i>ɲi</i> | = <i>ɲi</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>-kru</i> | <i>-net</i> |
| 3SG.M | =ERG.M | consume.IRR | -3SG.F.IRR.O | -1SG.M 3SG.M.IRR.S |
- ‘he will eat it’
- d. NON-FUTURE *ɲiɲi kakun*
- | | | VERB STEM | OBJECT | SUBJECT |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>ɲi</i> | = <i>ɲi</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>-ku</i> | <i>-n</i> |
| 3SG.M | =ERG.M | consume.R | <3SG.F.R.O> | -SG 1PL.R.S |
- ‘he ate it’

Verb stems in the fourth class of transitive verbs, class 4 verbs, alternate between *r* in irrealis and *t* in realis. They also have an extra subject morpheme in the non-future that alternates between *-n^v-* and *-t^v-* and that marks person, gender and number. An example is *rar* ‘see’:

(6-4) a. FUTURE *nguyi nje rarkrutak*

			VERB STEM	OBJECT	SUBJECT
<i>nguyi</i>	= <i>yi</i>	<i>nje</i>	<i>rar</i>	- <i>kru</i>	- <i>tak</i>
3SG.F	=ERG.F	dog	see.IRR	-3SG.F.IRR.O	-2SG.F 3SG.F.IRR.S
'she will see the dog'					

b. NON-FUTURE *nguyi nje tatukun*

			VERB STEM	SUBJECT	OBJECT
<i>nguyi</i>	= <i>yi</i>	<i>nje</i>	<i>ta</i>	- <i>tu</i>	- <i>ku</i>
3SG.F	=ERG.F	dog	see.R	-S-	<3SG.F.R.O>
SUBJECT					
- <i>n</i>					
-2SG 3SG.F.R.S					
'she saw the dog'					

c. FUTURE *niŋi nje rarkrutak*

			VERB STEM	OBJECT	SUBJECT
<i>niŋi</i>	= <i>ni</i>	<i>nje</i>	<i>rar</i>	- <i>kru</i>	- <i>net</i>
3SG.M	=ERG.M	dog	see.IRR	-3SG.F.IRR.O	-1SG.M 3SG.M.IRR.S
'he will see the dog'					

d. NON-FUTURE *niŋi nje tanukun*

			VERB STEM	SUBJECT	OBJECT
<i>niŋi</i>	= <i>ni</i>	<i>nje</i>	<i>ta</i>	- <i>nu</i>	- <i>ku</i>
3SG.M	=ERG.M	dog	see.R	-S	<3SG.F.R.O>
SUBJECT					
- <i>n</i>					
-1SG 1PL 3SG.M.R.S					
'he saw the dog'					

The final class of transitive verbs, class 5, is the simplest verb class. In class 5 verbs, the stem remains the same and does not change between the irrealis and realis statuses. This regularity and simplicity is certainly one reason why all foreign verbs that get incorporated into Tayap become inflected as class 5 verbs.¹ It is also why speakers younger than thirty tend to conjugate all transitive verbs as though they belonged to this verb class.

¹ The single exception to this generalization is the verb *mwanambrir* 'be jealous of'. This is a Kopar-language verb that has become incorporated into Tayap as a class 4 verb, undoubtedly because of its phonetic form (its root ends in an *r*).

Like class 4 verbs, class 5 verbs are inflected in the non-future tense with discontinuous subject morphemes. Together these mark the subject of a verb. An example of a class 5 transitive verb is *ep* ‘return’ or ‘give back’:

(6-5) a. FUTURE *nguyi pande epkrutak*

			VERB STEM	OBJECT	SUBJECT
<i>ngu</i>	<i>=yi</i>	<i>pande</i>	<i>ep</i>	<i>-kru</i>	<i>-tak</i>
3SG.F	=ERG.F	axe	give_back.IRR	-3SG.F.IRR.O	-2SG.F 3SG.F.IRR.S
‘she will return the axe’					

b. NON-FUTURE *nguyi pande eptukun*

			VERB STEM	SUBJECT	OBJECT
<i>ngu</i>	<i>=yi</i>	<i>pande</i>	<i>ep</i>	<i>-tu</i>	<i>-ku-</i>
3SG.F	=ERG.F	AXE	give_back.IRR	-S	<3SG.F.R.O>
SUBJECT					
-n					
-2SG 3SG.F.R.S					
‘she returned the axe’					

c. NON-FUTURE *niŋi pande epnukun*

			VERB STEM	SUBJECT	OBJECT
<i>ni</i>	<i>=ŋi</i>	<i>pande</i>	<i>ep</i>	<i>-nu</i>	<i>-ku-</i>
3SG.M	=ERG.M	AXE	give_back.IRR	-S	<3SG.F.R.O>
SUBJECT					
-n					
-1SG 3SG.M					
1PL.R.S					
‘he returned the axe’					

All transitive verbs can be assigned to one of the five verb conjugation classes based on:

- the pattern of alternation that occurs between the realis and irrealis verb stems;
- the phonetic shape of the verb stem in its realis forms.

What makes this system difficult for young speakers of the language is that there is little predictability about which verbs fall into which conjugation classes. For example, most verb stems that begin with *a* are class 3 verbs. However, some, like *and-(p)-o* ‘awaken’, and *amai-(p)-i* ‘search for’ are not (they are both class 1 verbs).

Another example: it is impossible to know, if one only hears the non-future form of a verb like *parkun* ‘I filled it up’, whether the verb is a class 1 verb (in which case

the stem would be *ar*), a class 2 verb (in which case the stem would be *war*) or a class 5 verb, in which case the stem would be *par*. (It turns out that ‘fill up’ is a class 2 verb.)

A similar problem presents itself with a verb like ‘let go’, ‘release’. Even if one knows that a future form of this verb is *orekrutak*, ‘she will release it’ (or ‘you (F) will release it’), one can only guess as to whether its non-future form will be *porekun* (class 1) or *oretukun* (class 5), both of which are entirely possible – but both of which are wrong. It turns out that the verb is a class 1 verb, but the expected *p* appears *after* the *e*, rather than before the *o*, thus rendering *orepekun* (‘she released it’).

What follows below is detailed discussion of the five classes for transitive verbs.

6.1.1 Class 1: Verb stems that alternate between *p* and \emptyset

Verbs in this class consist of roots that contain the vowels *o*, *e*, *i* and *u* – in other words, every vowel except *a* and *i*. Verb roots frequently contain several of those vowels, and it is not predictable which of the vowels will appear with the *p*.

In the realis stem, one of the above vowels in the root appears with a *p*. In the irrealis, the *p* and the vowel that follows it does not appear. An example of a class 1 verb is ‘strike’, which has already been mentioned above (6-1a and b).

In the presentation that follows, the non-future forms are given first as examples of the realis stem, and they are followed by future forms of the same verb as examples of the irrealis stem, in order to clearly illustrate the contrasts that define the different verb classes.

(6-6) a. *o* ‘strike’ (REALIS)

<i>ŋa</i>	= <i>yi</i>	<i>po</i>	- <i>ku</i>	- <i>n</i>
1SG	=ERG.F	strike.R	-3SG.F.R.O	-SG 1PL.R.S
‘I (M or F) hit it/her’				

<i>yuyi</i>	<i>po-ku-n</i>	‘you (M or F) hit it/her’
<i>ŋguyi</i>	<i>po-ku-n</i>	‘she hit it/her’
<i>ŋiŋi</i>	<i>po-ku-n</i>	‘he hit it/her’
<i>yimŋi</i>	<i>po-ku-n</i>	‘we hit it/her’
<i>yumŋi</i>	<i>po-ku-rem</i>	‘you PL hit it/her’
<i>ŋgigi</i>	<i>po-ku-ro</i>	‘they hit it/her’
<i>yim seneyi</i>	<i>po-ku-re</i>	‘we two hit it/her’

b. *o* ‘strike’ (IRREALIS)

<i>ŋa</i>	= <i>yi</i>	<i>o</i>	- <i>kru</i>	- <i>net</i>
1SG	=ERG.F	strike.IRR	-3SG.F.IRR.O	-1SG.M 3SG.M.IRR.S
‘I (M) will hit it/her’				

<i>ŋayi</i>	<i>o-kru-nak</i>	'I (F) will hit it/her'
<i>yuyi</i>	<i>o-kru-tet</i>	'you (M) will hit it/her'
<i>yuyi</i>	<i>o-kru-tak</i>	'you (F) will hit it/her'
<i>ŋguyi</i>	<i>o-kru-tak</i>	'she will hit it/her'
<i>ŋiŋi</i>	<i>o-kru-net</i>	'he will hit it/her'
<i>yimyi</i>	<i>o-kru-nak</i>	'we will hit it/her'
<i>yumyi</i>	<i>o-kru-nkem</i>	'you PL will hit it/her'
<i>ŋgigi</i>	<i>o-kru-ndak</i>	'they will hit it/her'
<i>yim seneyi</i>	<i>o-kru-tike</i>	'we two will hit it/her'

The negated form of this verb is *o* + IRR object + *wákare*.

- (6-7) a. *o* *-kru* *wákare*
hit.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
'X [i.e. any subject] didn't hit it/her' (or 'won't hit it/her')
- b. *o* *-mbri* *wákare*
hit.IRR -3PL.IRR.O NEG
'X [i.e. any subject] didn't hit them' (or 'won't hit them')
- c. *o* *-ru* *wákare*
hit.IRR -2SG.IRR.O NEG
'X [i.e. any subject] didn't hit you' (or 'won't hit you')

Examples of other class 1 verbs are:

verbs with a root containing an e

andei-(p)-e 'step on'
e 'hold'
er 'close', 'braid'
ke-(p)-e 'pull out', 'extract'
kotar-(p)-e 'ask', 'request'
mbur-(p)-e 'bend'
ore-(p)-e 'let go', 'release'
urek-(p)-e 'turn over'
wawar-(p)-e 'hang up'; 'suspend'
wemb-(p)-e 'chase'

verbs with a root containing an i

amai-(p)-i 'search for'
i 'think'

verbs with a root containing an o

and-(p)-o 'awaken', 'rouse from sleep'
aru-(p)-o 'await'
kind-(p)-o 'close', 'block'
njaw-(p)-o 'peel'
o 'strike', 'shoot'
trar-(p)-o 'boil meat'
tu-(p)-o 'plant'

verbs with a root containing a u

undu 'dig away dirt in search of'
(e.g. a brush turkey egg)

(continued)

ir ‘laugh at’
mamanj-(p)-i ‘show’
mburai-(p)-i ‘sweep’
ruwond-(p)-i ‘smoke’ (i.e. cure)
wit-(p)-i ‘string’
wos-(p)-i ‘throw away’

A glance through the above examples should make it apparent that it is not possible to predict which vowel in a verb stem will be preceded by a *p* in the realis form.

In the dictionary, verbs are listed under their root forms; that is, in the barest irrealis forms they take when they are negated. A verb like ‘strike’, therefore, is listed under *o*, along with an entry defining it as a class 1 transitive verb. That ‘class 1’ means that the verb listed, in its realis form, has a *p* either preceding it, or following it (this position is specified in the entry). If the *p* appears in the middle of the stem, this is indicated by parentheses. For example, the root form of ‘ask’ is written *kotar-(p)-e*.

Note that this convention is used for citing verbs as *lexemes* in citation form; it is not used in the example sentences.

6.1.1.1 Exceptions to class 1 inflection

There are only five class 1 verbs which have exceptional inflection, and three of these are highly similar. Those three exceptions are:

ngadir ‘pass by’
ngadir ‘defeat’
ngodir ‘request’

These three verbs all have a realis stem with ends in *pi*; however in the irrealis stem, not only is the *p* absent, there is also no *i*. So for example:

(6-8)	NON-FUTURE		FUTURE		
	<i>ngadirpi</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-ro</i>	<i>ngadir</i>	<i>-mri</i> <i>-ndak</i>
	pass_by.R	-1PL.R.O	-3PL.R.S	pass_by.IRR	-1PL.IRR.O -3PL.IRR.S
	‘they passed by us’			‘they will pass us by’	

Note that if this verb had followed the conventions of class 1, the root would be *ngadir-(p)-i*, and the future inflection would be *ngadirimrindak*. Instead, there is a \emptyset where the vowel would be in a class 1 inflection.

The fourth exception is the verb *mbudji* ‘send’ or ‘sell’. This verb root has the stem form *mbuspi* in realis, rendering the following:

(6-9)	NON-FUTURE	FUTURE
	'X sent it'	'X will send it'
<i>ɲayi</i> (1SG.M)	<i>mbuspi-ku-n</i>	<i>mbudji-kru-net</i>
<i>ɲayi</i> (1SG.F)	<i>mbuspi-ku-n</i>	<i>mbudji-kru-nak</i>
<i>yuyi</i> (2SG.M)	<i>mbuspi-ku-n</i>	<i>mbudji-kru-tet</i>
<i>yuyi</i> (2SG.F)	<i>mbuspi-ku-n</i>	<i>mbudji-kru-tak</i>
<i>ɲguyi</i> (3SG.F)	<i>mbuspi-ku-n</i>	<i>mbudji-kru-net</i>
<i>ɲiɲi</i> (3SG.M)	<i>mbuspi-ku-n</i>	<i>mbudji-kru-tak</i>
<i>yimɲi</i> (1PL)	<i>mbuspi-ku-n</i>	<i>mbudji-kru-nak</i>
<i>yumɲi</i> (2PL)	<i>mbuspi-ku-rem</i>	<i>mbudji-kru-nkem</i>
<i>ɲgigi</i> (3PL)	<i>mbuspi-ku-ro</i>	<i>mbudji-kru-ndak</i>
DL	<i>mbuspi-ku-re</i>	<i>mbudji-kru-tike</i>

Negated verb:

(6-10)	<i>mbudji -kru</i>	<i>wákare</i>
	send.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O	NEG
	'X [any subject] didn't send it' (or 'won't send it')	

The final exception is the verb *wos-(p)-i* 'get rid of', 'throw away'. This verb is exceptional because in its *irrealis* form, it does not retain the final vowel of the stem (so instead of the predicted *wosi* in IRR, we just have *wos*) this is similar in fact to the first three exceptions:

(6-11)	NON-FUTURE	FUTURE
	'X got rid of it'	'X will get rid of it'
<i>ɲayi</i> (1SG.M)	<i>wospi-ku-n</i>	<i>wos-kru-net</i>
<i>ɲayi</i> (1SG.F)	<i>wospi-ku-n</i>	<i>wos-kru-nak</i>
<i>yuyi</i> (2SG.M)	<i>wospi-ku-n</i>	<i>wos-kru-tet</i>
<i>yuyi</i> (2SG.F)	<i>wospi-ku-n</i>	<i>wos-kru-tak</i>
<i>ɲguyi</i> (3SG.F)	<i>wospi-ku-n</i>	<i>wos-kru-net</i>
<i>ɲiɲi</i> (3SG.M)	<i>wospi-ku-n</i>	<i>wos-kru-tak</i>
<i>yimɲi</i> (1PL)	<i>wospi-ku-n</i>	<i>wos-kru-nak</i>
<i>yumɲi</i> (2PL)	<i>wospi-ku-rem</i>	<i>wos-kru-nkem</i>
<i>ɲgigi</i> (3PL)	<i>wospi-ku-ro</i>	<i>wos-kru-ndak</i>
DL	<i>wospi-ku-re</i>	<i>wos-kru-tike</i>

Negated verb:

- (6-12) *wos* *-kru* *wákare*
 get_rid_of.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘X [any subject] didn’t/won’t get rid of it’

6.1.2 Class 2: Verb stems that alternate between *p* and *w*

Class 2 verbs consist of verbs that begin with or contain the semivowel *w*. In the realis, this semivowel is replaced by a *p*.

A typical class 2 verb is *woi* ‘sweep’.

- (6-13) a. *woi* ‘sweep’ (NON-FUTURE)

ŋa =*yi* *poi* *-ku* *-n*
 1SG =ERG.F sweep.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘I (M or F) swept it’

yuyi *poi-ku-n* ‘you (M or F) swept it’
ŋguyi *poi-ku-n* ‘she swept it’
ŋiŋi *poi-ku-n* ‘he swept it’
yimŋi *poi-ku-n* ‘we swept it’
yumŋi *poi-ku-rem* ‘you swept it’
ŋgigi *poi-ku-ro* ‘they swept it’
yim seneyi *poi-ku-re* ‘the two of us swept it’

- b. *woi* ‘sweep’ (FUTURE)

ŋa =*yi* *woi* *-kru* *-net*
 1SG =ERG.F sweep.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S
 ‘I (M) will sweep it’

ŋayi *woi-kru-nak* ‘I (F) will sweep it’
yuyi *woi-kru-tet* ‘you (M) will sweep it’
yuyi *woi-kru-tak* ‘you (F) will sweep it’
ŋguyi *woi-kru-tak* ‘she will sweep it’
ŋiŋi *woi-kru-net* ‘he will sweep it’
yimŋi *woi-kru-nak* ‘we will sweep it’
yumŋi *woi-kru-nkem* ‘you PL will sweep it’
ŋgigi *woi-kru-ndak* ‘they will sweep it’
yim seneyi *woi-kru-tike* ‘the two of us will sweep it’

The negated form of this verb is *woi* + IRR object + *wákare*.

- (6-14) a. *woi* *-kru* *wákare*
 sweep.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘X [i.e. any subject] didn’t sweep it’ (or ‘won’t sweep it’)
- b. *woi* *-mbri* *wákare*
 sweep.IRR -3PL.IRR.O NEG
 ‘X [i.e. any subject] didn’t sweep them’ (or ‘won’t sweep them’)

Examples of other class 2 verbs are:

- utir-(p/w)-or* ‘cut into small pieces’, ‘slice up’
war ‘bury’; ‘put inside e.g. a basket’; ‘scrape or grate, e.g. coconut’
wi-(p/w)-o ‘put on top of something’
woi ‘roll up’
wur ‘dislodge’; ‘strain sago’; ‘braid a grass skirt’; ‘catch something
 by hooking it’
wuw ‘dig a hole’

Just because a verb begins with a semivowel in its root form does not mean that it is a class 2 verb. The following verbs, for example, all begin with *w*, but are not class 2 verbs:

- wawar-(p)-e* ‘hang up’, e.g. on a hook (class 1)
wemb-(p)-er ‘chase’ (class 1)
wure ‘worry about’; ‘be concerned about’ (class 5)

For that reason, the entries in the dictionary make it clear (a) which verbs are class 2 verbs and (b) where in the verb the *p/w* alternation occurs. The verbs are entered in their root form, so a verb like ‘sweep’ (*p/w*)-*oi* is entered as *woi* (again, because the negated form of the verb is *woi* + IRREALIS OBJECT). The designation as a ‘class 2’ verb means that it displays *p/w* alternation.

If the alternation is *word initial*, this isn’t marked. If it is *word internal*, this is shown, as it is in the above examples in parenthesis (see *utir-(p/w)-or* and *wi-(p/w)-o* above as examples).

6.1.3 Class 1 and 2 verbs in young people’s Tayap

All verbs that have different stems in their irrealis and realis forms pose problems for young speakers of Tayap. What generally happens whenever young speakers are unsure of a form is that they take the irrealis stem (which is the same as the verb root) and inflect that stem with realis morphology – that is, with object and subject morphemes marked for realis status.

So a class 2 verb like *war* ‘fill’ will be inflected as

- (6-15) a. **war* -*ku* -*n*
 fill.IRR -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘I filled it’

instead of the correct form, which is:

- b. *par* -*ku* -*n*
 fill.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘I filled it’

An incorrect form like **warkun* indicates that the speaker is using the verb root, *war*, as the basis for inflection. All young people do this, and this kind of error demonstrates a central feature of how young speakers produce Tayap verb morphology: they clearly perceive the morphological structure of verbs but they are unable to produce them correctly.

The speaker who produced **warkun* possibly had a sense that the verb she wanted is associated with both the semivowel *w* and the plosive *p*. Having heard *parkun* (‘I filled it’), *warkrutak* (‘she will fill it’, or ‘you (F) will fill it’) and *warkru wákare* (‘X won’t fill it’) all her life, the speaker who produced this utterance probably intuitively knew the different forms that this verb can take. She has not analyzed the different sounds as signifying different tenses and statuses, and so what she ends up producing is a verb that mixes together realis and irrealis forms and results in an ungrammatical neologism.

Young speakers who attempt to inflect class 1 or 2 verbs that they do not automatically know do one of three things:

The first thing they can do is illustrated by the above example: they include both the irrealis and realis forms in the same verb. Other examples are **wurpukun* (instead of *puwkun*; from *wuw* ‘carry on shoulder’) and **woipokun* (instead of *poikun*; from *woi* ‘roll’).

The second strategy is to conjugate the class 1 or 2 verb as though it were a class 5 verb. This means treating the verb root as though it is invariant, and also using a discontinuous subject marker in the non-future. So a class 1 verb like *kotar-(p)-e* ‘ask’ becomes **kotar* and is inflected as:

- (6-16) a. **kotar* -*tu* -*ku* -*n*
 ask.IRR -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘she asked her’

instead of the correct form:

- b. *kotarpe -ku -n*
 ask.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘she asked her’

The ungrammatical verb **kotar-tu-ku-n* is a perfectly correctly formed class 5 verb (see below, Section 6.1.7). The problem is that the verb in question, *kotar-(p)-e-*, is a class 1 verb, not a class 5 verb.

At the same time, however, it is important to note that anyone hearing the ungrammatical verb **kotar-tu-ku-n* will have no trouble understanding its meaning. The verb root *kotar* means ‘query’. It derives the noun ‘question’ (as *kotarŋgar*) and the intransitive verb ‘ask’, *kotarki*. Because this basic meaning of the verb root is known to everyone, it does not make a great deal of difference for comprehension if the verb is conjugated as a class 1 verb or as a class 5 verb.

This kind of separable relationship between the meaning of a verb root and the details of its inflection will likely lead to the attrition of class 1 and 2 verbs. When it doesn’t matter is if a verb is inflected as *mbuspingin* (class 1, *mbus-(p)-i* ‘send’) or *mbustingin* (‘send’ inflected as a class 5 verb), the less regular inflection will inexorably decline in use in the speech of young speakers who have not learned it.

At the same time as young speakers simplify Tayap verbal morphology in this way – that is, treating verbs of other classes as though they were all class 5 verbs – there is also a competing tendency to insert a *p* in verbs that do not take one. So some young speakers produce forms like the following:

- (6-17) a. **moserpi -ku -n*
 buy.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘I bought it’

instead of

- b. *mose -nu -ku -n*
 buy.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG.M|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘I bought it’
 verb root *moser* (class 4)

- (6-18) a. **andpi -ku -n*
 follow.R <3SG.F.R.O> -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘I followed her’

instead of

- b. *kandu* *-ku* *-n*
 follow.R <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|2SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘I followed her’
 verb root *andu-* (class 3)

Both (6-17a and 6-18a) are inflected as class 1 verbs in the non-future tense, despite the fact that *moser* ‘buy’ is a class 4 verb and *andu* ‘follow’ is a class 3 verb. These cases exhibit the *opposite* of the tendency just discussed: instead of collapsing class 1 and 2 verbs into class 5 verbs, verbs from other classes become incorporated into class 1 and 2 verbs.

There may have always been some free variation in Tayap on this count. In the speech of the oldest Tayap speakers, for example, I recorded two words for the verb ‘sweep’; one *mburai* (class 5) and the other *mburai-(p)-i* (class 1). The difference in non-future inflection between these two verbs is the element that directly follows the stem: in the first verb that is *n* or *t* plus a vowel, in the second verb it is a *p*.

So using the first verb, one would say that a woman *mburaitukun* her house; using the second, one would say she *mburaipikun*.

When I asked if these two forms meant anything different the oldest speakers in the village told me no, they were exact synonyms. And that they were both correct.

The co-existence of two different forms of the same verb suggests that there may have always been some accepted variation in the classification of verbs as class 5 or class 1 verbs. If this is the case, then it seems that some young speakers have honed in on that variation and exploited it. They inflect verbs as class 1 verbs (i.e. inserting a *p* in the non-future) much less frequently than they simply collapse all verbs into class 5 verbs. But the fact that they can create class 1 verbs out of verb roots from other classes shows, once again, that young speakers possess a broad repertoire of grammatical competence in Tayap. What they lack is productive ability.

The third strategy that young speakers use when they are unsure of how to conjugate a class 1 or 2 verb in the non-future is to inflect it in the progressive aspect. This often makes little semantic sense. But as is discussed in Section 8.3.1, the progressive aspect is an “easy” inflectional form – all one needs to know is three things: (1) the irrealis stem form of the verb; (2) the benefactive object (which in most cases will be *-kwan* ‘3SG.F.BEN.R.O’); and (3) the correct form of the verb ‘be’. This relative morphological transparency appeals to younger speakers and allows them to use verbs they otherwise would have a hard time inflecting.

Thus, rather than tackling the class 2 verb *war* ‘grate’, to generate the correct non-future form *parkun* ‘I grated it’, or the class 1 verb *o* ‘shoot’, to generate the correct non-future form *pokun* ‘I shot it’, young speakers telling stories about their actions and adventures say things like the following:

- (6-19) a. *war* *-kwan* *-kuk*
 grate.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.R.O -be.1SG.F.R.S
 ‘I (F) was grating it’
- b. *o* *-kwan* *-kut*
 strike.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.R.O -be.SG.M.R.S
 ‘I (M) was shooting it’

These are perfectly formed progressives. However, the context in which they occurred demanded the non-future tense. But by inflecting the verbs in the progressive aspect, the speakers who needed them were at least able to use them. This phenomenon illustrates a general rule of grammatical decay in Tayap, namely: the weaker the speaker, the more instances of the progressive aspect that speaker will use (see also Section 8.3.1).

6.1.4 Class 3: Verb roots that begin with or contain *a* and alternate between *ka* and *o* in the realis

The majority of the verbs in this class begin with *a*, but some do not, although they all contain an *a* in the verb root. In the realis status, these verbs have suppletive or partially suppletive stems:

<i>ŋa</i> ‘I’	}	<i>a</i> in the root becomes <i>ka</i>
<i>yu</i> ‘you’		
<i>ŋi</i> ‘he’		
<i>yim</i> ‘we’		
<i>yum</i> ‘you PL’		
<i>ŋgu</i> ‘she’	}	<i>a</i> in the root becomes <i>o</i>
<i>ŋgi</i> ‘they’		
DL		

In the irrealis status, the *a* is unaltered.

An example of a class 3 verb is *a* ‘consume’.

- (6-20) a. *a* ‘consume’ (NON-FUTURE)
ŋa =*yi* *ka* *-ku* *-n*
 1SG =ERG.F consume.R <3SG.F.R.O> -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘I (M or F) ate it’

<i>yuyi</i>	<i>ka-ku-n</i>	‘you ate it’ (M or F subject)
<i>nguyi</i>	<i>o-ku-n</i>	‘she ate it’
<i>niŋi</i>	<i>ka-ku-n</i>	‘he ate it’
<i>yimŋi</i>	<i>ka-ku-n</i>	‘we ate it’
<i>yumŋi</i>	<i>ka-ku-rem</i>	‘you PL ate it’
<i>ngigi</i>	<i>o-ku-ro</i>	‘they ate it’
<i>yim seneyi</i>	<i>o-ku-re</i>	‘we two ate it’

b. *a-* ‘consume’ (FUTURE)

<i>ŋa</i>	<i>=yi</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>-kru</i>	<i>-net</i>
1SG	=ERG.F	consume.IRR	-3SG.F.IRR.O	-1SG.M 3SG.M.IRR.S
‘I (M) will eat it’				

<i>ŋayi</i>	<i>a-kru-nak</i>	‘I (F) will eat it’
<i>yuyi</i>	<i>a-kru-tet</i>	‘you (M) will eat it’
<i>yuyi</i>	<i>a-kru-tak</i>	‘you (F) will eat it’
<i>nguyi</i>	<i>a-kru-tak</i>	‘she will eat it’
<i>niŋi</i>	<i>a-kru-net</i>	‘he will eat it’
<i>yimŋi</i>	<i>a-kru-nak</i>	‘we will eat it’
<i>yumŋi</i>	<i>a-kru-nkem</i>	‘you PL will eat it’
<i>ngigi</i>	<i>a-kru-ndak</i>	‘they will eat it’
<i>yim seneyi</i>	<i>a-kru-tike</i>	‘we two will eat it’

The negated form of this verb is *a* + IRR object + *wákare*.

- (6-21) a. *a* *-kru* *wákare*
 consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘X didn’t eat it’ (or ‘won’t eat it’)
- b. *a* *-mbri* *wákare*
 consume.IRR -3PL.IRR.O NEG
 ‘X didn’t eat them’ (or ‘won’t eat them’)
- c. *a* *-ŋgri* *wákare*
 consume.IRR -3SG.M.IRR.O NEG
 ‘X didn’t eat him’ (or ‘won’t eat him’)

Examples of other class 3 verbs are:

<i>adu</i>	‘break’
<i>apu</i>	‘burn’; ‘scorch’
<i>ambu</i>	‘hide’

<i>andu</i>	‘roof a house’; ‘gather vegetables’
<i>angu</i>	‘pull’
<i>ar</i>	‘marry’; ‘cut’; ‘urinate’; ‘defecate’
<i>wirar</i>	‘put inside’

6.1.4.1 Exceptions to class 3 inflections

One exceptional class 3 verb is *amira* ‘bite’. This verb contains two instances of *a*. In a way that is diagnostic of this verb class, one of them (the second *a*) alternates between *ka* and *o*.

What is exceptional is that for 3SG.F, 3PL and DL, the first *a* also changes, as follows:

(6-22)	<i>ηayi</i>	<i>amir-ka-ku-n</i>	‘I (M or F) bit it’
	<i>yuyi</i>	<i>amir-ka-ku-n</i>	‘you (M or F) bit it’
	<i>ηiŋi</i>	<i>amir-ka-ku-n</i>	‘he bit it’
	<i>ηguyi</i>	<i>omir-o-ku-n</i>	‘she bit it’
	<i>yimŋi</i>	<i>amir-ka-ku-n</i>	‘we bit it’
	<i>yumŋi</i>	<i>amir-ka-ku-rem</i>	‘you PL bit it’
	<i>ηgigi</i>	<i>omir-o-ku-ro</i>	‘they bit it’
	<i>yim seneyi</i>	<i>omir-o-ku-re</i>	‘we two bit it’

There are two possible reasons for this exception. One is that *amira* might be a compound verb consisting of two morphemes: the verb *a* ‘consume’ prefixed with *amir*. *Amir* does not occur by itself, but Tayap does have an adverbial particle, *mir*, which is an intensifier (see Section 3.11.1). So the verb ‘bite’ might mean something like ‘consume with intensity’, ‘chomp down on’, and that word may have acquired a prothetic *a* at some point.² This would explain why the word-initial *a* is not consistently treated as part of a verb – one would expect *kamir-ka-*

² This analysis has wider implications for the way that verbs generally have been analyzed throughout this grammar. Both William Foley and Ger Reesink have suggested that Tayap verbs may be similar in structure to the verbs in a language like Kalam, which are constructed around semantic cores that often consist of one or two phonemes (for example, *d-* ‘hold’, *g-* ‘make/happen’, *ŋ-* ‘transfer’, *pk-* ‘hit’) and that classify the event as being of a certain type. These verb roots are modified by verb adjuncts that specify features like manner or effect (see Pawley 2006 for a concise summary). A Tayap verb like *amira* ‘bite’ certainly suggests a similar structure, as do class 1 transitive verbs like *e* ‘hold’ and *ore-(p)-e* ‘let go/release’, which suggest a root like *e* ‘possess’ that is modified by verbal adjuncts (see the examples of verbs after example 6-7). We have not pursued this line of enquiry principally because of the difficulty in applying a semantic core to the apparent generic verbs in Tayap: it isn’t clear how one might decide on a semantic

ku-n. It would also explain the reason for the *o* forms: they would be motivated by phonetics (they undergo regressive assimilation with the *o* forms of the inflected verb *a*) rather than morphology.

The second reason could be morphological. The intransitive verb *adioki* ‘trip’ behaves like ‘bite’, in that the initial *a* changes to *o* for 3SG.F, 3PL and dual, but it does not change to *ka*. Like ‘bite’, ‘trip’ seems to consist of two conjoined verbs – the initial *adi* and the final *oki*, which is the verb ‘go’. So we get *ŋa adimbot* ‘1SG.M tripped’, but *ŋgu odiwok* ‘she tripped’. This suggests that the *ka/o* alteration manifests differently on some complex verb combinations.

Whatever the explanation for a verb like ‘bite’ may be, it is one that gives speakers trouble. Many quite competent speakers, even if they inflect the second *a* correctly (that is, even if they alternate between *ka* and *o* when inflecting that part of the verb), will often not inflect the initial vowel on *amir*. So they will say *ŋguyi amir-o-ku-n* ‘she bit it’ instead of the correct *ŋguyi omir-o-ku-n*. Older speakers condemn this as poor Tayap, even if some of them sometimes use this form themselves in unmonitored speech.

In the dictionary, class 3 verbs, like all other verbs, are entered under the form they take when negated.

Thus, a verb like ‘consume’ is entered as *a*. And ‘bite’ is *amira*.

6.1.5 Class 3 verbs in young people’s Tayap

In general, realis forms of class 3 verbs present significant problems to speakers under thirty, who have not acquired the sense of how to pattern the *ka/o* variation. These young speakers tend to correctly identify the stem of these verbs as containing an *a*. But when conjugating those verbs in the non-future tense, they often bypass the *ka/o* alternation and produce a form using the irrealis stem, such as the following:

- (6-23) a. **a-ku-re*
- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>a</i> | <i>-ku</i> | <i>-re</i> |
| IRR verb stem ‘consume’ | <3SG.F.R.O> | - DL.R.S |
- ‘the two of us ate it’ (the correct form is *o-ku-re*; from the verb stem *a* ‘eat’)

core wide enough to include verbs like ‘await’ and ‘strike’, or ‘bury’ and ‘strain sago’ but narrow enough to exclude those verbs that do not fall into these classes.

(6-26) B (trying to help A but also unable to conjugate the verb): *kapu...*

A: *kapu...*(laughs, giving up)

B: *kapu...*

A: *apotukun* (laughs, guessing)

This process of arriving at the conjugation of class 3 verbs is common among speakers under thirty, and it is illustrative of how they produce morphology in Tayap. It is clear that the root form of the verb is salient to this speaker, as is the fact that the verb changes its stem in the non-future. The process of transforming *apu* to *kapukun*, however, is beyond the reach of these two speakers. What they jointly produce is a series of verbal forms that interestingly contain fragments of all possible permutations of a class 3 verb: the root form *a*; the *ka* inflection; and even the *o* inflection (realized here as the *o* in the made-up verb **apotukun*).

These speakers' passive competence in Tayap clearly gives them possession of all the morphological elements that constitute these verbs. But they lack the means to produce them themselves.

6.1.6 Class 4: Verb roots that alternate between *t* and *r*

Verb roots in this class all begin and/or end with *r*.

In the realis, the *r* of the root changes to a *t*, if it is verb-stem initial. If the *r* occurs at the end of the stem, it is deleted.

Class 4 verbs also do something that the transitive verbs in classes 1–3 do not do: they mark the subject of the verb twice: once with the final subject morphemes that we have already seen in verbs from classes 1–3, and again with a second set of morphemes that occur directly after the verb stem:

<i>ŋa</i> 'I' (M and F)	}	- <i>n</i> ^v -
<i>ŋi</i> 'he'		
<i>yim</i> 'we'		
<i>yum</i> 'you PL'		
<i>yu</i> 'you' (M and F)	}	- <i>t</i> ^v -
<i>ŋgu</i> 'she'		
<i>ŋgĩ</i> 'they'		
DL		

Note: The vowel denoted by the raised ^v after *n* and *t* is frequently realized as a schwa [ə] or is omitted entirely, see Section 2.4.

The realis stems of class 4 verbs are formed in the following way (note that when glossing the two discontinuous subject morphemes, the first subject morpheme is glossed simply with ‘s’ and the second morpheme with the combined meaning of the two discontinuous morphemes):

VERB STEM.R + SUBJECT.R + OBJECT.R + SUBJECT.R

The object appears in between the two subject markers. This is glossed in angle brackets to show that it intervenes between the discontinuous subject markers. An example of a class 4 verb with a root-initial *r* is *rambu* ‘mark’ (in the sense, for example, of ‘carve a pattern into an hourglass drum’):

(6-27) a. *rambu*- ‘mark’ (NON-FUTURE)

ŋa =*yi* *tambu* -*nu* -*ku* -*n*
 1SG =ERG.F mark.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘I (M or F) marked it’

yuyi *tambu-tu-ku-n* ‘you (M or F) marked it’
ŋguyi *tambu-tu-ku-n* ‘she marked it’
ŋiji *tambu-nu-ku-n* ‘he marked it’
yimŋi *tambu-nu-ku-n* ‘we marked it’
yumŋi *tambu-nu-ku-rem* ‘you PL marked it’
ŋgigi *tambu-tu-ku-ro* ‘they marked it’
yim seneyi *tambu-tu-ku-re* ‘we two marked it’

b. *rambu*- ‘mark’ (FUTURE)

ŋa =*yi* *rambu* -*kru* -*net*
 1SG =ERG.F mark.R -3SG.F.IRR.O -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S
 ‘I (M) will mark it’

ŋayi *rambu-kru-nak* ‘I (F) will mark it’
yuyi *rambu-kru-tet* ‘you (M) will mark it’
yuyi *rambu-kru-tak* ‘you (F) will mark it’
ŋguyi *rambu-kru-tak* ‘she will mark it’
ŋiji *rambu-kru-net* ‘he will mark it’
yimŋi *rambu-kru-nak* ‘we will mark it’
yumŋi *rambu-kru-nkem* ‘you PL will mark it’
ŋgigi *rambu-kru-ndak* ‘they will mark it’
yim seneyi *rambu-kru-tike* ‘we two will mark it’

The negated form of this verb is *rambu* + IRR object + *wákare*.

- (6-28) a. *rambu -kru wákare*
 mark.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘X didn’t mark it’ (or ‘won’t mark it’)
- b. *rambu -mbri wákare*
 mark.IRR -3PL.IRR.O NEG
 ‘X didn’t mark them’ (or ‘won’t mark them’)

An example of a class 4 verb with a root-final *r* is *nir* ‘do’ or ‘make’:

- (6-29) a. *nir* ‘do’ (NON-FUTURE)
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|
| <i>ŋa</i> | = <i>yi</i> | <i>ni</i> | - <i>nu</i> | - <i>ku</i> | - <i>n</i> |
| 1SG | =ERG.F | do.R | -S | <3SG.F.R.O> | -1SG 3SG.M 1PL.R.S |
- ‘I (M or F) did it’
- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>yuyi</i> | <i>ni-tu-ku-n</i> | ‘you (M or F) did it’ |
| <i>ŋguyi</i> | <i>ni-tu-ku-n</i> | ‘she did it’ |
| <i>ŋiŋi</i> | <i>ni-nu-ku-n</i> | ‘he did it’ |
| <i>yimŋi</i> | <i>ni-nu-ku-n</i> | ‘we did it’ |
| <i>yumŋi</i> | <i>ni-nu-ku-rem</i> | ‘you PL did it’ |
| <i>ŋgigi</i> | <i>ni-tu-ku-ro</i> | ‘they did it’ |
| <i>yim seneyi</i> | <i>ni-tu-ku-re</i> | ‘we two did it’ |
- b. *nir* ‘do’ (FUTURE)
- | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|------------|--------------|--------------------|
| <i>ŋa</i> | = <i>yi</i> | <i>nir</i> | - <i>kru</i> | - <i>net</i> |
| 1SG | =ERG.F | do.IRR | -3SG.F.IRR.O | -1SG.M 3SG.M.IRR.S |
- ‘I (M) will do it’
- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| <i>ŋayi</i> | <i>nir-kru-nak</i> | ‘I (F) will do it’ |
| <i>yuyi</i> | <i>nir-kru-tet</i> | ‘you (M) will do it’ |
| <i>yuyi</i> | <i>nir-kru-tak</i> | ‘you (F) will do it’ |
| <i>ŋguyi</i> | <i>nir-kru-tak</i> | ‘she will do it’ |
| <i>ŋiŋi</i> | <i>nir-kru-net</i> | ‘he will do it’ |
| <i>yimŋi</i> | <i>nir-kru-nak</i> | ‘we will do it’ |
| <i>yumŋi</i> | <i>nir-kru-nkem</i> | ‘you PL will do it’ |
| <i>ŋgigi</i> | <i>nir-kru-ndak</i> | ‘they will do it’ |
| <i>yim seneyi</i> | <i>nir-kru-tike</i> | ‘we two will do it’ |

The negated form of this verb is *nir* + IRR object + *wákare*.

- (6-30) *nir -kru wákare*
 do.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘X didn’t do it’ (or ‘won’t do it’)

Other examples of class 4 verbs are:

<i>korar</i>	‘collect’
<i>krar</i>	‘chop’
<i>kundar</i>	‘cover’
<i>mbar</i>	‘plant’ (e.g. house posts into the ground)
<i>moser</i>	‘buy’
<i>ningar</i>	‘distribute’
<i>ngar</i>	‘call out to’
<i>ngur</i>	‘put’
<i>rar</i>	‘see’
<i>rongu</i>	‘extract from inside the ground or from a hole in a tree’
<i>ru</i>	‘wash something’
<i>rungu</i>	‘pluck’
<i>rupu</i>	‘put on a traditional loincloth or skirt’
<i>rur</i>	‘sharpen’
<i>sisir</i>	‘sew’
<i>tar</i>	‘hear’ or ‘fetch’
<i>teter</i>	‘desire’
<i>wiwir</i>	‘blow on’

6.1.6.1 Exception to class 4 inflection

There is a single exception to the class 4 inflection: the verb *ru* ‘propel’, ‘expel’, ‘throw’. This verb does not take the first part of the discontinuous subject marker:

- (6-31) a. *yir tukun*
yir tu -ku -n
 spear propel.R <3SG.F.R.O> -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘he threw the spear’
- b. *munjenum anje tewtukoya nok tukuro*
munjenum anje tew -tuko -ya
 man.PL DX.PL fear.R -3PL.R -and
- nok tu -ku -ro*
 urine propel.R <3SG.F.R.O> -3PL.R.S
 ‘the men were so afraid they peed themselves’

In the dictionary, class 4 verbs, like all other verbs, are entered under the form they take when negated. This means that verbs with word-initial *r*- are entered under that letter. So a verb like ‘see’ is *rar*.

6.1.7 Class 5: Verb stems that are identical in realis and irrealis

This is the largest class of verbs in Tayap. It is the least complex class, because verb stems in this class do not change in the realis status. Foreign verbs – which these days means Tok Pisin verbs – are incorporated into this class.

For example, the Tok Pisin verb “winim” (‘blow’) would appear in a Tayap sentence as follows:

- (6-32) *nguyi otar winimtukun*
ngu =*yi* *otar* winim -*tu* -*ku* -*n*
 3SG.F =ERG.F fire blow -s <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘she blew on the fire’

Nothing in the verb stem changes in the non-future. But like class 4 verbs, the subject of the verb is marked twice, once at the end of the inflected verb, and once in the middle, between the verb stem and the object morpheme, with the following morphemes:

<i>ŋa</i> ‘I’ (M and F)	}	- <i>n</i> ^v -
<i>ŋi</i> ‘he’		
<i>yim</i> ‘we’		
<i>yum</i> ‘you PL’		
<i>yu</i> ‘you’ (M and F)	}	- <i>t</i> ^v -
<i>ŋgu</i> ‘she’		
<i>ŋgi</i> ‘they’		
DL		

Note: The vowel denoted by the raised ^v after *n* and *t* is frequently realized as a schwa [ə] or is omitted entirely, see Section 2.4.

An example of a class 5 verb is *nam*- ‘tell’:

- (6-33) a. *nam* ‘talk’ (NON-FUTURE)
ŋa =*yi* *nam* -*nu* -*ku* -*n*
 1SG =ERG.F talk.R -s <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘I (M or F) told her’

<i>yuyi</i>	<i>nam-tu-ku-n</i>	‘you (M or F) told her’
<i>nguyi</i>	<i>nam-tu-ku-n</i>	‘she told her’
<i>ɲiji</i>	<i>nam-nu-ku-n</i>	‘he told her’
<i>yimɲi</i>	<i>nam-nu-ku-n</i>	‘we told her’
<i>yumɲi</i>	<i>nam-nu-ku-rem</i>	‘you PL told her’
<i>ngigi</i>	<i>nam-tu-ku-ro</i>	‘they told her’
<i>yim seneyi</i>	<i>nam-tu-ku-re</i>	‘we two told her’

b. *nam* ‘tell’ (FUTURE)

<i>ɲa=yi</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>-kru</i>	<i>-net</i>
1SG=ERG.F	talk.R	-3SG.F.IRR.O	-1SG.M 3SG.M.IRR.S
‘I (M) will tell her’			

<i>ɲayi</i>	<i>nam-kru-nak</i>	‘I (F) will tell her’
<i>yuyi</i>	<i>nam-kru-tet</i>	‘you (M) will tell her’
<i>yuyi</i>	<i>nam-kru-tak</i>	‘you (F) will tell her’
<i>nguyi</i>	<i>nam-kru-tak</i>	‘she will tell her’
<i>ɲiji</i>	<i>nam-kru-net</i>	‘he will tell her’
<i>yimɲi</i>	<i>nam-kru-nak</i>	‘we will tell her’
<i>yumɲi</i>	<i>nam-kru-nkem</i>	‘you PL will tell her’
<i>ngigi</i>	<i>nam-kru-ndak</i>	‘they will tell her’
<i>yim seneyi</i>	<i>nam-kru-tike</i>	‘we two will tell her’

The negated form of this verb is *nam* + IRR object + *wákare*.

(6-34) a.	<i>nam</i>	<i>-kru</i>	<i>wákare</i>
	talk.IRR	-3SG.F.IRR.O	NEG
	‘X didn’t tell her’		

b.	<i>nam</i>	<i>-mbri</i>	<i>wákare</i>
	talk.IRR	-3PL.IRR.O	NEG
	‘X didn’t tell them’		

Other examples of class 5 verbs are:

<i>mbibiu</i> ‘stretch’, ‘elongate’	<i>ndok</i> ‘decorate’
<i>mburai</i> ‘sweep’	<i>riri</i> ‘roll vigorously between hands’
<i>adádadi</i> ‘break off’	<i>simb</i> ‘organize’
<i>ep</i> ‘return an object’	<i>takwat</i> ‘lie’
<i>katip</i> ‘cut into small pieces’	<i>tik</i> ‘suppress’
<i>krakri</i> ‘break, tear or fold into small bits’	<i>tumbu</i> ‘capture’

nak ‘count’
ndede ‘roll off’

trai ‘blood let’

6.1.8 Class 4 and 5 verbs in young people’s Tayap

The tendency for young speakers to collapse all of Tayap’s verb classes into class 5 verbs has already been mentioned several times. The reason for this tendency is simple: the stems of class 5 verbs always remain the same. There is no stem alternation between the realis and the irrealis – no *p* insertion, no *ka/o* alternation, no changes at all.

Class 4 verbs, of course, do undergo stem change between realis and irrealis; indeed, this alternation is what distinguishes them from class 5 verbs. Young people have a difficult time with those changes, and they predictably deal with them by simply ignoring them.

In other words, the *t/r* alternation is overlooked and verbs in the non-future tense are inflected using their irrealis stem forms. This renders verbs like the following:

- (6-35) a. **ru* -*nu* -*ku* -*n*
 sharpen.IRR -s <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘I sharpened it’

instead of

- b. *tu* -*nu* -*ku* -*n*
 sharpen.IRR -s- <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘I sharpened it’

verb root *ru* (class 4)

- c. **mbar* -*tu* -*ku* -*n*
 stand.IRR -s <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘she stood it up’

instead of

- d. *mba* -*tu* -*ku* -*n*
 stand.IRR -s <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘she stood it up’

verb root *mbar* (class 4)

When young speakers inflect class 4 and class 5 verbs, they sometimes omit the first part of the discontinuous subject morpheme (that is, the $-n^V$ - or $-t^V$ - segment of the verb) and they produce verbs like the following:

- (6-36) a. **nam* *-gi* *-n*
 talk.R -3SG.M.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘I told him’

instead of

- b. *nam* *-ni* *-ŋgi* *-n*
 talk.R -S <3SG.M.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘I told him’
 verb root *nam* (class 5)

More commonly, though, speakers retain the form of the discontinuous subject marking. But the weakest speakers collapse the distinction between $-n^V$ (1SG, 1PL, 2PL, 3SG.M) and $-t^V$ (2SG, 3SG.F, 3PL, DL) in one of two ways:

- (1) they replace both $-n^V$ and $-t^V$ with $-p^V$.

So *namtukun*, which means ‘You/she told her’, and *namnukun* ‘I/he/we told her’ both become *nampukun*;

or else

- (2) they collapse the distinction between $-n^V$ and $-t^V$ such that $-n^V$ disappears completely and all forms take $-t^V$.

So *namnukun* becomes *namtukun*. This is what the young speaker quoted in example (6-25) does – he uses a $-t^V$ form when what is wanted is a $-n^V$ form.

The reason for this is that the imperative verb forms that are most often addressed to children and young people – and to which they need to pay attention if they are not to be chastised, threatened or hit by the older person telling them to do something – are forms that contain $-t^V$. So children and young people will hear older speakers telling them *yu namtukun* (‘you tell her!’) or *yu ŋgritukun* (‘you put it!’).

When young speakers struggle to inflect a verb, this imperative form often ends up being the one they produce. It is as though they wrack their brains for the proper form, and come up with the form by which they are addressed. The problem, of course, is that that form denotes particular subjects, and ‘I’ is not one of them.

6.2 Intransitive verbs in the realis

Intransitive verbs in the realis status display many of the same kinds of stem changes as characterize transitive verbs. For example, some verb stems alternate between *p* and \emptyset , like class 1 transitive verbs, between *p* and *w*, like class 2 transitive verbs, between *a* and *ka* or *o*, like class 3 transitive verbs, or between *t* and *r*, like class 4 transitive verbs.

Other alternations exist only for intransitive verbs – for example an alternation between *m* in the irrealis and *p* in the realis, as in *memkinet* → *pemiet* (‘I will get up’ → ‘I got up’).

As is the case with transitive verbs, none of these variations are predictable, and there are many verbs, especially verbs of motion, that are irregular. In these verbs, stem changes between irrealis and realis do not adhere to any of the conventions discussed above.

Intransitive verbs in Tayap do not group into distinct conjugation classes as neatly as transitive verbs do. Recall that transitive verbs, whatever changes their verb stems may undergo, all take the same object morphemes. Their subject morphemes also remain largely the same; the only difference being that class 4 and 5 verbs take discontinuous subject morphemes. But even those discontinuous subject morphemes have regular and predictable forms.

Intransitive verbs are different. There is little or no patterned correspondence between how a verb stem alters between irrealis and realis – say, for example the *m/p* alternation just mentioned – and the subject endings taken by that verb. Compare, for example, the following two verbs, ‘get up’ and ‘stand’:

FUTURE

(6-37) a. *memkinet*

mem *-ki* *-net*
 get_up.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR
 ‘I (M) will get up’ or ‘he will get up’

NON-FUTURE

b. *pemiet*

pem *-iet*
 get_up.R -SG.M.R
 ‘I (M) got up’, ‘he got up’ ‘you (M) got up’

FUTURE

(6-38) a. *mungukunet**mungu* *-ku* *-net*

stand_up.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR

'I (M) will stand up' or 'he will stand up'

NON-FUTURE

b. *pungot**pung* *-ot*

stand_up.R -SG.M.R

'I (M) stood up', 'he stood up', 'you (M) stood up'

Notice that even though both of these verb stems alternate between *m* in irrealis and *p* in the realis, their final subject endings in the non-future are different from one another: *-iet* in one case and *-ot* in the other. This lack of patterned relation between stem alternation and subject endings is the reason intransitive verbs are not classified here into “conjugation classes”.

Instead, they are labeled with the looser term “conjugation groups” and identified here and in the dictionary by the variation in endings that they exhibit in the 1SG masculine and feminine.

6.2.1 Four basic groups of intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs have four basic sets of suffixes used on the realis stem to encode the person, gender and number of the subject. They are as follows:

INTRANSITIVE VERB REALIS SUBJECT ENDING WITH EXAMPLE				
	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV
	<i>-net/-nak</i>	<i>-iet/-iek</i>	<i>-pet/-pek</i>	<i>-ot/-ok</i>
	<i>ketukki</i>	<i>eiwki</i>	<i>waruk-(p)-eki</i>	<i>irki</i>
	'cough'	'wash sago'	'turn back'	'laugh'
<i>ŋa</i> 1SG	<i>ketuk-net</i> (M) <i>ketuk-nak</i> (F)	<i>peiw-iet</i> (M) <i>peiw-iek</i> (F)	<i>waruk-pet</i> (M) <i>waruk-pek</i> (F)	<i>pir-ot</i> (M) <i>pir-ok</i> (F)
<i>yu</i> 2SG	<i>ketuk-tet</i> (M) <i>ketuk-tak</i> (F)	<i>peiw-iet</i> (M) <i>peiw-iek</i> (F)	<i>waruk-pet</i> (M) <i>waruk-pek</i> (F)	<i>pir-ot</i> (M) <i>pir-ok</i> (F)

(continued)

INTRANSITIVE VERB REALIS SUBJECT ENDING WITH EXAMPLE				
	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV
	<i>-net/-nak</i>	<i>-iet/-iek</i>	<i>-pet/-pek</i>	<i>-ot/-ok</i>
	<i>ketukki</i>	<i>eiwki</i>	<i>waruk-(p)-eki</i>	<i>irki</i>
	'cough'	'wash sago'	'turn back'	'laugh'
<i>ŋi</i> 3SG.M	<i>ketuk-net</i>	<i>peiw-iet</i>	<i>waruk-pet</i>	<i>pir-ot</i>
<i>ngu</i> 3SG.F	<i>ketuk-tak</i>	<i>peiw-iek</i>	<i>waruk-pek</i>	<i>pir-ok</i>
<i>yim</i> 1PL	<i>ketuk-nak</i>	<i>peiw-iek</i>	<i>waruk-pek</i>	<i>pir-ok</i>
<i>yum</i> 2PL	<i>ketuk-nkem</i>	<i>peiw-kem</i>	<i>waruk-pekem</i>	<i>pir-kem</i>
<i>ngi</i> 3PL	<i>ketuk-tuko</i>	<i>peiw-ko</i>	<i>waruk-peko</i>	<i>pir-ko</i>
DL	<i>ketuk-tike</i>	<i>peiw-ke</i>	<i>waruk-peke</i>	<i>pir-ke</i>

Note: In this grammar and in the dictionary, the root form of the intransitive verb is *usually* (see 8.2.1) written with its irrealis marker (*-ki*, *-ki* or *-ku*), for two reasons: (a) in order to make it easier to tell the difference between intransitive verbs and transitive verbs, which do not have irrealis markers; and (b) to indicate which of the three irrealis morphemes is used on specific intransitive verbs. In addition, note that the various stem alternations such as (*p/∅*), (*p/w*), (*p/m*), etc. are indicated in the dictionary, under the proper entry. So the entry for *eiwki*, for example, looks like this: *eiwki* *v.i.* (*peiwiet/peiwiek, ŋgi peiwko*), wash sago pith; *wasim saksak*.

It is evident that all the endings in the four groups listed above are variants of the following endings:

1SG.F, 2SG.F, 1PL	→	<i>k</i>
1SG.M, 2SG.M	→	<i>t</i>
2PL	→	<i>kem</i>
3PL	→	<i>ko</i>
DL	→	<i>ke</i>

Most intransitive verbs in Tayap fall into one of the above conjugation groups of verbs. Below are some examples of verb roots that are inflected according to the patterns listed above:

Group I, -net/-nak

Most verbs that have been zero-derived from nouns are inflected according to this pattern.

eiarki 'cry'
isuwokki 'sneeze'

Group II, -iet/-iek

Many, but not all, verbs with roots that begin with *p* in the realis are inflected according to this pattern.

indiki 'fuck'
imbiki 'fly'

mbabuŋki ‘scorch’
ŋgrukki ‘snore’
pisimbki ‘rot’
prukki ‘work’
punatki ‘mourn’
pwapki ‘get angry’
waiki ‘walk around’
warakki ‘converse’

ipiki ‘burn’
osiki ‘cross over’
memki ‘get up’
papku ‘pierce’
tuwku ‘wash’
warki ‘net’
wawku ‘stick to’, ‘adhere’

Group III, -pet/-pek

emrarki ‘play’
ke-(p/w)-eki ‘remove’, ‘extract’
kotarki ‘ask’
mbur-(p)-eki ‘bend’
urek-(p)-eki ‘turn’
wawar-(p)-eiki ‘hang up’

Group IV, -ot/-ok

aru-(p)-oki ‘wait’
erki ‘intertwine’
munguku ‘stand’
nunum-(p)-oki ‘run’
rir-(p)-orki ‘kick legs about’, e.g. in a
 tantrum
wuwku ‘ascend’

6.2.2 Subgroups of intransitive verbs

In addition to the basic inflectional patterns outlined above, there are also subgroups and exceptions. The subgroups are as follows:

6.2.2.1 Group IIa, verb stems that begin with *a*

If the verb takes the group II *-iet/-iek* endings and the root begins with *a*, the following alternations occur in the realis, exemplified by *arki-* ‘go down’.

<i>ŋa</i> ‘I’	}	<i>a</i> in the root becomes <i>ka-</i>	<i>kar-iet</i> (M) / <i>kar-iek</i> (F)
<i>yu</i> ‘you’			<i>kar-iet</i> (M) / <i>kar-iek</i> (F)
<i>ŋi</i> ‘he’			<i>kar-iet</i>
<i>yim</i> ‘we’			<i>kar-iek</i>
<i>yum</i> ‘you PL’			<i>kar-kem</i>
<i>ŋgu</i> ‘she’	}	<i>a</i> in the root becomes <i>o-</i>	<i>or-iek</i>
DL			<i>or-ke</i>
<i>ŋgi</i> ‘they’	}	<i>a</i> in the root becomes <i>ŋgo-</i> and the ending is <i>-iek</i>	<i>ŋgor-iek</i>

Several of the verbs in this subgroup have two equally possible forms in the 3PL form: either the above form with *ngo-* + *-iek*, or *o-* + *-ko*.

Consider for example *amuku* ‘fight’:

(6-39)	<i>ŋa</i> ‘I’	<i>kam-iet</i> (M) / <i>kam-iek</i> (F)
	<i>yu</i> ‘you’	<i>kam-iet</i> (M) / <i>kam-iek</i> (F)
	<i>ŋi</i> ‘he’	<i>kam-iet</i>
	<i>ŋgu</i> ‘she’	<i>om-iek</i>
	<i>yim</i> ‘we’	<i>kam-iek</i>
	<i>yum</i> ‘you PL’	<i>kam-kem</i>
	<i>ŋgi</i> ‘they’	<i>ŋgom-iek</i> or <i>om-ko</i>
	DL	<i>om-ke</i>

6.2.2.2 Group IIb, verb stems that alternate between *t* and *r*

Like class 4 transitive verbs, some intransitive verb stems that begin with *r* change to *t* in the realis. The subject part includes an element that varies between *t* and *n*. For example:

(6-40)	<i>rewki</i> ‘be afraid’	
	<i>ŋa</i> ‘I’	<i>tew-niet</i> (M) / <i>tew-niek</i> (F)
	<i>yu</i> ‘you’	<i>tew-niet</i> (M) / <i>tew-niek</i> (F)
	<i>ŋi</i> ‘he’	<i>tew-niet</i>
	<i>ŋgu</i> ‘she’	<i>tew-tiek</i>
	<i>yim</i> ‘we’	<i>tew-niek</i>
	<i>yum</i> ‘you PL’	<i>tew-nkem</i>
	<i>ŋgi</i> ‘they’	<i>tew-tuko</i>
	DL	<i>tew-tike</i>

6.2.2.3 Group IVa, verb stems that begin with *a*

Here the alternation is the same as in group IIa, above, with the difference that those forms of the verb that there are realized as *o* (i.e. the inflections for 3SG.F and DL) are here realized as *u*, with some other variations. For example:

	<i>arki</i> ‘go inside’	<i>atiki</i> ‘appear’, ‘go down’
<i>ŋa</i> ‘I’	<i>kar-ot</i> (M) / <i>kar-ok</i> (F)	<i>kat-ot</i> (M) / <i>kat-ok</i> (F)
<i>yu</i> ‘you’	<i>kar-ot</i> (M) / <i>kar-ok</i> (F)	<i>kat-ot</i> (M) / <i>kat-ok</i> (F)
<i>ŋgu</i> ‘she’	<i>ur-ok</i>	<i>ut-ok</i>
<i>ŋi</i> ‘he’	<i>kar-ot</i>	<i>kat-ot</i>
<i>yim</i> ‘we’	<i>kar-ok</i>	<i>kat-ok</i>

<i>yum</i> 'you PL'	<i>kar-kem</i>	<i>kati-kem</i>
<i>ngi</i> 'they'	<i>ngur-ok</i>	<i>ngut-ok</i>
DL	<i>ur-ke</i>	<i>uti-ke</i>

6.2.2.4 Exceptions to the above classes

Exceptions that do not fit any of the above patterns are as follows:

	<i>aiki</i> 'come'	<i>oki</i> 'go'	<i>aku</i> 'be'	<i>aski</i> 'come outside'/'come down'
<i>na</i> 'I'	<i>mb-et</i> (M) <i>mb-ek</i> (F)	<i>mb-ot</i> (M) <i>mb-ok</i> (F)	<i>ku-t</i> (M) <i>ku-k</i> (F)	<i>kas-et</i> (M) <i>kas-ek</i> (F)
<i>yu</i> 'you'	<i>mb-et</i> (M) <i>mb-ek</i> (F)	<i>mb-ot</i> (M) <i>mb-ok</i> (F)	<i>ku-t</i> (M) <i>ku-k</i> (F)	<i>kas-et</i> (M) <i>kas-ek</i> (F)
<i>ngu</i> 'she'	<i>w-ek</i>	<i>w-ok</i>	<i>wu-k</i> ³	<i>us-ek</i>
<i>ni</i> 'he'	<i>mb-et</i>	<i>mb-ot</i>	<i>ku-t</i>	<i>kas-et</i>
<i>yim</i> 'we'	<i>mb-ek</i>	<i>mb-ok</i>	<i>ku-k</i>	<i>kas-ek</i>
<i>yum</i> 'you PL'	<i>mb-ekem</i>	<i>mb-okem</i>	<i>ku-kem</i>	<i>kas-kem</i>
<i>ngi</i> 'they'	<i>ng-wek</i>	<i>ng-wok</i>	<i>ng-wuk</i>	<i>ngus-ek</i>
DL	<i>we-ke</i>	<i>wo-ke</i>	<i>wu-ke</i>	<i>us-ke</i>

	<i>sirki</i> 'descend'	<i>taki</i> 'sleep'	<i>tutuku</i> 'sit'	<i>wurki</i> 'go up'
<i>na</i> 'I'	<i>si-niet</i> (M) <i>si-niek</i> (F)	<i>ta-t</i> (M) <i>ta-k</i> (F)	<i>tut-ot</i> (M) <i>tut-ok</i> (F)	<i>pr-iet</i> (M) <i>pr-iek</i> (F)
<i>yu</i> 'you'	<i>si-siet</i> (M) <i>si-siek</i> (F)	<i>ta-t</i> (M) <i>ta-k</i> (F)	<i>tut-ot</i> (M) <i>tut-ok</i> (F)	<i>pr-iet</i> (M) <i>pr-iek</i> (F)
<i>ngu</i> 'she'	<i>si-siek</i>	<i>ta-k</i>	<i>tut-ok</i>	<i>pr-iek</i>
<i>ni</i> 'he'	<i>si-niet</i>	<i>ta-t</i>	<i>tut-ot</i>	<i>pr-iet</i>
<i>yim</i> 'we'	<i>si-niek</i>	<i>ta-k</i>	<i>tut-ok</i>	<i>pr-iek</i>
<i>yum</i> 'you PL'	<i>si-nkem</i>	<i>ta-kem</i>	<i>tutu-kem</i>	<i>pr-ikem</i>
<i>ngi</i> 'they'	<i>si-siko</i>	<i>ta-ko</i>	<i>tutu-ko</i>	<i>pir-ko</i>
DL	<i>si-sike</i>	<i>ta-ke</i>	<i>tutu-ke</i>	<i>pir-ke</i>

³ This form is always realized as *-uk* in e.g. progressive constructions. See e.g. (8-27c, 8-29b and 8-30b).

6.2.3 Intransitive verbs in young people's Tayap

Intransitive verbs present young speakers with even greater problems than transitive verbs. The unpredictable nature of the subject endings, as well as many of the stem changes between the irrealis and the realis forms, leave increased scope for uncertainty and mistakes.

Many of the mistakes that young speakers make when inflecting intransitive verbs are similar to the errors they make when they try to inflect transitive verbs. Verb stem alternations are often disregarded, and young speakers inflect verbs by mixing irrealis stems with realis subject endings. Examples are:

- (6-41) a. **mʊŋ* *-ot*
 stand.IRR -SG.M.R
 'he stood'

instead of

- b. *pʊŋ* *-ot*
 stand.R -SG.M.R
 'he stood'
 verb root *mʊŋguku* 'stand'

- (6-42) a. **rip* *-tike*
 go_first.IRR -DL.R
 'they two went first'

instead of

- b. *tip* *-tike*
 go_first.R -DL.R
 'they two went first'
 verb root *ripki* 'stand'

- (6-43) a. **amb* *-tak*
 hide.IRR -2SG|3SG.F.R
 'she hid'

instead of

- b. *ombiek*
 hide.R.3SG.F.[1PL.R
 ‘she hid’
 verb root *ambuku* ‘hide’

Looking at the verb stems in the (b) examples here and comparing them to the forms that young speakers produce in the corresponding (a) examples, it is clear that the young speakers have a strong sense of the root forms of the verbs they want to inflect. Once again, though, they lack the ability to produce the correct inflections. In many cases, the forms they produce are intelligible – anyone hearing *mungot* or *riptike* in the context of a story would have little difficulty understanding it. Other verbs that undergo both stem changes and less common inflectional forms, like *ambuku* ‘hide’, present greater challenges to comprehension.

Example (6-43) above with *ambuku* ‘hide’ illustrates another feature of how young speakers inflect intransitive verbs. Just as these speakers show a strong tendency to collapse all classes of transitive verbs and inflect them as though they were class 5 verbs, so do they tend, when they inflect intransitive verbs, to treat them all as though they belonged to group I (see Section 6.2.1).

So an irregular verb like *taki* ‘sleep’ will be realized as *tatet* ‘you (M) slept’ instead of the correct *tat*, and a verb with a regular but non-transparent inflectional pattern like the one above, *ombiek* ‘she hid’, will be regularized to *ambtak*.

Group I intransitive verbs take subject endings that are the most common ones for intransitive verbs. Three characteristics of the subject endings in this group make them particularly salient for young speakers. The first is that they are, precisely, the most common subject endings that affix to intransitive verbs.

The second reason for their salience is the fact that they are identical in form to the subject endings that affix to verbs in the future tense. So compare the following:

Pronoun	Subject endings for group I intransitive verbs in realis	Subject endings for all verbs (both intransitive and transitive) inflected in irrealis (see Table 5.2 and 5.3)
<i>ŋa</i> ‘I’	- <i>net</i> (M) - <i>nak</i> (F)	- <i>net</i> (M) - <i>nak</i> (F)
<i>yu</i> ‘you’	- <i>tet</i> (M) - <i>tak</i> (F)	- <i>tet</i> (M) - <i>tak</i> (F)

(continued)

Pronoun	Subject endings for group I intransitive verbs in realis	Subject endings for all verbs (both intransitive and transitive) inflected in irrealis (see Table 5.2 and 5.3)
<i>ŋgu</i> 'she'	- <i>tak</i>	- <i>tak</i>
<i>ŋi</i> 'he'	- <i>net</i>	- <i>net</i>
<i>yim</i> 'we'	- <i>nak</i>	- <i>nak</i>
<i>yum</i> 'you PL'	- <i>nkem</i>	- <i>nkem</i>
<i>ŋgi</i> 'they'	- <i>tuko</i>	- <i>tuko/-ndak</i>
DL	- <i>tike</i>	- <i>tike/-nkem</i>

That these endings occur so frequently in Tayap makes them readily available for young speakers to access when they are trying to conjugate a verb with the correct subject ending.

The third reason why the subject endings listed above are particularly salient for young speakers is because several of the forms are also identical to the imperative endings of intransitive verbs – even those verbs that have other subject endings in the realis.

So in the imperative mood, even a verb as irregular as *oki* 'go' takes a regular ending and becomes *o-tet* ('go.SBJ-2SG.M.R') or *o-tak* ('go.SBJ-2SG.F.R') or *o-nkem* ('go.SBJ-2PL.R').

Following this pattern, the imperative command telling a female to hide is *amb-tak* (from the verb root *ambuku*). This is exactly the form that the speaker who wanted to say 'she hid' produced in a narrative. The form is incorrect, but the reason she chose it, and not some other form, is clear.

Intransitive verbs of motion present special problems for young speakers of Tayap. A language like English uses a wide range of prepositions to encode various kinds of motion. So English speakers say 'go up', 'go down', 'go across', 'go around', 'go first', 'go inside' and so on. Tayap has separate verbs for all of those motions (and many more): *wurki* 'go up in a direction', *wuwku* 'ascend', *aski* 'go down in a direction', *sirki* 'descend', *utak-(p)-oski* 'go across', *ripiki* 'go first', *arki* 'go inside'. All those verbs either change their stem form – often dramatically – in the realis status and/or they have irregular and unpredictable inflections. An example is the common verb 'go', which has a stem form of *oki* in the irrealis, but which in the realis becomes *mbot* 'he goes' (or 'I (M) go' or 'you (M) go'), *wok* 'she goes', *ŋgwok* 'they go', etc.

The unpredictability and irregularity of verbs of motion has resulted in their becoming relatively scarce in the speech of speakers under thirty. The weakest speakers get by with just two verbs of motion: *oki* 'go' and *aiki* 'come'. The nature of speakers' narratives sometimes forces them to attempt other verbs, like *sirki* 'descend' (if the narrator has someone up a tree) or *arki* 'go inside' (if the narrator

is talking about going inside a particular area of rainforest where a pig has been speared or a venomous snake spotted). But young speakers' attempts to inflect those verbs are often either not correct or are arrived at only after discussion with friends.

Even the common verbs 'go' and 'come' present many young speakers with problems as soon as they have to inflect the verb for a person other than the singular 'I', 'you', 'he', 'she' or 'we' (whose subject ending is always the same as the 1SG.F ending). The inflections for 2PL, 3PL and dual – all of which are quite different from the other subject endings – tend to be avoided, and when they do occur they tend to be either wrong or the result of much back-and-forth negotiation among the narrator and his or her friends.

The dual form, in particular, seems moribund. It should have occurred in many of the narratives I collected, because many young people talked about how they did something in the rainforest or the mangrove swamp together with one close friend. The overwhelming tendency in those narratives, though, was to use the 1PL 'we' form of the verb instead of the dual – so speakers said *yim mbok* 'we went' or *yim kuk* 'we were', when what they wanted was *yim woke* 'we two went' and *yim wuke* 'we two were'.

A final strong tendency in regards to intransitive verbs is phonological. Young speakers frequently reduce the number of vowels that occur in a verb. Particularly vulnerable is word medial *i*, which often gets eliminated, and the vowel cluster *ie*, which often gets reduced to *e*. So for example a verb with a vowel cluster like *tewtiék* 'she ran away' becomes *tewtek* or *tetwek*. *Priek* 'she went down' becomes *prek*, and so on.

This is a phonological process that probably has been going on in Tayap for some time. In the 1980s, I recorded senior men who consistently said things like *katititet* 'he fell'. In other words, their versions of these verbs had *more* word-medial vowels than are present in the speech of even the oldest speakers today. What seems to have happened in Tayap is that medial syllables have undergone a steady process of reduction.

(6-44)	'he fell'	<i>katititet</i>	→	<i>katitet</i>	→	<i>katet</i>
		senior men's		fluent		young
		Tayap in the		speakers'		people's Tayap
		1980s		Tayap in 2009		in 2009

7 Mood

Mood is the name given to the ways a language grammatically encodes a speaker's attitude toward an utterance. How does a speaker issue a command or express a wish? Voice a doubt or assert a fact? English accomplishes many of these kinds of speech acts with modal verbs like 'can', 'will' and 'must'. Tayap expresses them with particular kinds of verbal morphology. The declarative or indicative mood (i.e. making a statement) has been presented this grammar. It is not morphologically marked in Tayap. The interrogative mood is expressed with the interrogative clitic =*ke*, discussed in Section 3.9.

Other moods that are indicated through particular morphology on a verb are as follows:

- Subjunctive (including imperative, jussive, indirect commands and wishes) (Section 7.1)
- Prohibitive (Section 7.2)
- Admonitive (Section 7.3)
- Intentional (Section 7.4)
- Benefactive (Section 7.5)

Other free-form mood particles are also discussed (Section 7.6).

Note that the realis/irrealis distinction which is fundamental to so much of Tayap's verbal morphology is considered in this work to be a status distinction rather than a mood distinction, and as such is discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 rather than here. Note also that the realis/irrealis distinction is not available to non-indicative moods apart from the benefactive.

7.1 Subjunctive (SBJ)

Tayap has a distinct set of verb forms that encode a speaker's desire that another person do something. The underlying syntactic structure in which a subjunctive appears is a subordinate clause (i.e. 'I want that X do Y'), but a separate set of subjunctive forms can also occur in a main clause. Since those forms only occur in indirect commands, they are discussed below in Section 7.1.5.

The inflectional pattern for intransitive and transitive verbs in the subjunctive mood is as follows:

TRANSITIVE VERBS	subjunctive verb stem inflected as class 5 verb + realis subject and object endings
INTRANSITIVE VERBS	subjunctive verb stem + realis subject ending

Below are the subjunctive inflections for the intransitive verb *aiki* ‘come’ and the class 3 transitive verb *a* ‘eat’. To clearly see the difference between the subjunctive and the indicative, the indicative inflections of those verbs appear in the two right-hand columns:

(7-1)	SUBJUNCTIVE		INDICATIVE	
	INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE
Pronoun	<i>aiki</i> ‘come’ ‘...that X come’	<i>a</i> ‘eat’ ‘...that X eat it’	<i>aiki</i> ‘come’ ‘X came’	<i>a</i> ‘eat’ ‘X ate’
<i>ŋa</i> (M) ‘I’	<i>we-net</i>	<i>a-nu-ku-n</i>	<i>mbet</i>	<i>ka-ku-n</i>
<i>ŋa</i> (F) ‘I’	<i>we-nak</i>	<i>a-nu-ku-n</i>	<i>mbek</i>	<i>ka-ku-n</i>
<i>yu</i> ‘you’	<i>we-tet</i>	<i>a-tu-ku-n</i>	<i>mbet</i>	<i>ka-ku-n</i>
	<i>we-tak</i>		<i>mbek</i>	<i>ka-ku-n</i>
<i>ŋgu</i> ‘she’	<i>we-tak</i>	<i>a-tu-ku-n</i>	<i>wek</i>	<i>o-ku-n</i>
<i>ŋi</i> ‘he’	<i>we-net</i>	<i>a-nu-ku-n</i>	<i>mbet</i>	<i>ka-ku-n</i>
<i>yim</i> ‘we’	<i>we-nak</i>	<i>a-nu-ku-n</i>	<i>mbek</i>	<i>ka-ku-n</i>
<i>yum</i> ‘you PL’	<i>we-nkem</i> →	← <i>a-nu-ku-rem</i>	<i>mbekem</i>	<i>ka-ku-rem</i>
<i>ŋgi</i> ‘they’	<i>we-ndak</i>	<i>a-tu-ku-ro</i>	<i>ŋgwek</i>	<i>o-ku-ro</i>
DL	<i>we-tike</i>	<i>a-tu-ku-re</i>	<i>weke</i>	<i>o-ku-re</i>

A verb like *aiki* ‘come’ notwithstanding, the subjunctive stem form of most verbs has the same realization as the verb’s irrealis stem form. The exceptions to this pattern are discussed in Sections 7.1.2.1 and 7.1.2.2 below.

The subjunctive in Tayap is used to express the following speech acts:

- (a) direct imperatives (‘Take this food to Kapiru!’)
- (b) jussive imperatives (‘Let her go’);
- (c) indirect commands (‘Tell them to hit him’; ‘Make them go away’);
- (d) wishes (‘I want you all to go to Sanae’)

Each of these four uses of the subjunctive involves different grammatical and syntactic components. A direct imperative can, by itself, constitute a sentence. Jussive imperatives involve the fixed expression *ŋganokaw*, which does not change for person or number. Indirect commands can be expressed in two ways, one using the subjunctive in both the main clause and the subordinate clause; and one just juxtaposing two independent clauses in the declarative mood. The expression of a wish, similarly, has several forms, only one of which involves the subjunctive.

7.1.2 Imperative

The imperative mood expresses a command that is directly addressed to one person ('you come!') or to several people ('you all come!'). In Tayap there are two kinds of imperatives: positive imperatives – commands to do something – and negative imperatives, commands to *not* do something.

Negative imperatives have a particular morphology and are discussed under prohibitives and admonitives (see Sections 7.2 and 7.3).

Positive imperatives – a command that an addressee perform some action – are realized differently for intransitive and transitive verbs.

7.1.2.1 Intransitive imperatives

The imperative forms of intransitive verbs are the single most salient grammatical feature of Tayap, both for the speakers of Tayap and for everyone else in the lower Sepik area who has ever heard of the language. Whenever Tayap speakers talk about their vernacular, they merrily tell anyone who is willing to listen that Tayap “is broken into a woman’s language and a man’s language” (“i bruk long tok ples bilong ol meri na tok ples bilong ol man”). If you want to talk to a woman, they explain patiently, you have to use the “women’s language” (“tok ples bilong ol meri”). If you want to talk to a man, you have to use the “tok ples bilong ol man”.

Anyone who has followed this grammar this far knows that Tayap does indeed have a number of gender-specific forms, such as the difference in first-person forms for intransitive verbs inflected in the non-future tense (a male says *ŋa mbot* ‘I went’; a female says *ŋa mbok*; see Section 6.2). But this particular gendered distinction is not primarily what the villagers have in mind when they talk about how their language is broken in two.

Instead, the villagers who describe Tayap in that way are referring to a single feature of grammar, namely the different forms that the imperative of an intransitive verb takes when it is addressed to a woman or to a man. The dramatic way villagers describe this feature of their grammar, however – that you have to speak to men and women using their specific “languages” – makes it seem as though the entire Tayap language is “broken” in two.

The villagers’ exegesis carries the unspoken implication that even parts of speech like nouns have female and male forms, and that both those forms must be mastered in order to be able to talk at all. Non-Gapuners who listen to Gapun villagers describe Tayap in this way always react with understandable dismay, and they inevitably shake their heads in wonder that a human language could possibly be so complex. Some of them then go off and augment the complexity

further, informing others that, in fact, Tayap is “broken” into four languages: one for women, one for men, one for girls and one for boys.

Gapuners’ story about Tayap’s difference from other vernacular languages must have arisen because no other language in the area marks gender on the imperative forms of intransitive verbs. This is a salient feature of language because whenever villagers from different places meet, one way many of them enjoy spending time is to quiz one another on what one calls common objects – ‘betel nut’, ‘lime’ (for chewing betel nut), ‘tobacco’, ‘pig’, ‘dog’ and ‘sago jelly’ are the inevitable ones – in their respective vernaculars.

Once these words have been exchanged, many people then go on to ask about simple verbs: “How do you tell someone to come?”, they ask each other; “How do you say ‘go’?”. Anyone asking a Tayap speaker that question will receive the spiel about the vernacular being “broken in two” in response, and so the story about the bizarreness of the little language that really is two – or is it four? – separate languages gets perpetuated and spread throughout the lower Sepik area.

Despite the hype, however, the imperative form of an intransitive verb is a simple construction. All it involves is (a) a verb stem inflected to express a speaker’s wish that another person do something – in other words, a verb stem inflected in the subjunctive mood – and (b) a subject ending that marks gender and number. So the imperative for any intransitive verb is formed in the following way (recall that 2nd person dual uses the plural form; see the discussion that precedes example (3-73)):

subjunctive verb stem	}	+ <i>-tet</i> (2SG.M.R)
		+ <i>-tak</i> (2SG.F.R)
		+ <i>-nkem</i> (2PL.R DL)

The subjunctive stem of a verb is almost always the same as the form that verb takes in the irrealis status. Examples are:

(7-2) a.	MALE	<i>o-tet</i>	<i>mungo-tet</i>	<i>pruk-tet</i>
	ADDRESSEE	go.SBJ-2SG.M.R	stand.SBJ-2SG.M.R	work.SBJ-2SG.M.R
		‘You go!’	‘You stand!’	‘You work!’
b.	FEMALE	<i>o-tak</i>	<i>mungo-tak</i>	<i>pruk-tak</i>
	ADDRESSEE	go.SBJ-2SG.F.R	stand.SBJ-2SG.F.R	work.SBJ-2SG.F.R
		‘You go!’	‘You stand!’	‘You work!’

c. PLURAL	<i>o-nkem</i>	<i>munjo-nkem</i>	<i>pruk-nkem</i>
ADDRESSEES	go.SBJ-2PL.R	stand.SBJ-2PL.R	work.SBJ-2PL.R
	'You all go!'	'You all stand!'	'You all work!'

In all the examples above, the stem form of the verb in the subjunctive is identical to the stem form of those verbs in the irrealis status. There are exceptions to this pattern (for intransitive verbs; transitive verbs have exceptions discussed in 7.1.2.2), however, such as the following, where the verbs have a subjunctive-specific form:

- (7-3) a. *ai* (IRR) 'come' → *we-* (SBJ, so: *we-tet, we-tak, we-nkem*; see example 7-1 above)
 b. *tutu* (IRR) 'sit' → *tuto-* (SBJ, so: *tuto-tet, tuto-tak, tuto-nkem*)

Verb roots ending in *r* gain the vowel *e* before the imperative ending, which is also stressed:

- (7-4) a. *rar* (IRR) 'look' → *raré-* (SBJ, so: *raré-tet, raré-tak, raré-nkem*)
 b. *sir* (IRR) 'descend' → *siré-* (SBJ, so: *siré-tet, siré-tak, siré-nkem*)

If these exceptions only occurred in the imperative mood, it would be possible to simply classify them as exceptions and maintain that the stem form of an imperative verb is its irrealis form. However, the stem forms of verbs in the imperative mood are also the forms that occur for verbs inflected to express an indirect command (see below 7.1.4). This fact indicates that the underlying form for imperative forms is a subjunctive wish – in other words, 'You go!' takes the grammatical form of '(I want that) you go!'.

For that reason, the stem forms of verbs inflected in the imperative are classified as subjunctive rather than irrealis, even though their realization in speech is most often identical with the irrealis forms.

7.1.2.2 Transitive imperatives

The command form of a transitive verb does not mark the gender of the subject – so villagers' claims that Tayap is "broken in two" doesn't even extend to the imperative forms of transitive verbs. But transitive imperatives do mark the number of the subject and the usual person, number and gender of the object of the verb. They are formed according to the following pattern:

When the addressee is singular:

SUBJUNCTIVE VERB STEM + *-tʷ* + REALIS OBJECT + *-n*

Examples:

(7-5) a. *atukun!*

a *-tu* *-ku* *-n!*
 consume.SBJ -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘eat it!’

b. *ngritukun!*

ngri *-tu* *-ku* *-n!*
 put.SBJ -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘put it!’

c. *ngritiŋgin!*

ngri *-ti* *-ŋgi* *-n!*
 put.SBJ -S <3SG.M.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘put him!’

d. *otin!*

o *-t* *-i* *-n!*
 strike.SBJ -S <1SG.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘hit me!’

When the addressee is plural:

SUBJUNCTIVE VERB STEM + *-nʷ* + REALIS OBJECT + *-rem*

Examples:

(7-6) a. *ankurem!*

a *-n* *-ku* *-rem!*
 consume.SBJ -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2PL.R.S
 ‘you PL eat it!’

b. *munje ide omŋgirem!*

munje ide o *-n* *-ŋgi* *-rem!*
 man DX.M strike.SBJ -S <3SG.M.R.O> -2PL.R.S
 ‘you PL hit that man!’

c. *oniyem!*

o -n -i -yem!
 strike.SBJ -S <1SG.R.O> -2PL.R.S
 'you PL hit me!'

Note: After the 1SG object morpheme, *-rem* → *-yem*

An exception to the pattern above is that the subjunctive stems of class 4 verbs lose the final *r*, if they have one, of their irrealis stem. The remaining stem is always stressed. This renders forms such as the following:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
(7-7) a. <i>korar</i> 'collect' →	<i>korá-tukun!</i> 'you collect it!'	<i>korá-nkurem!</i> 'you PL collect it!'
b. <i>nir</i> 'do' →	<i>ní-tukun!</i> 'you do it!'	<i>ní-nkurem!</i> 'you PL do it!'
c. <i>ngar</i> 'call out' →	<i>ngá-tukun!</i> 'you call out to her!'	<i>ngá-nkurem!</i> 'you PL call out to her!'
d. <i>krar</i> 'chop' →	<i>krá-tukun!</i> 'you chop it!'	<i>krá-nkurem!</i> 'you PL chop it!'
e. <i>moser</i> 'buy' →	<i>mosé-tukun!</i> 'you buy it!'	<i>mosé-nkurem!</i> 'you PL buy it!'

There are three further exceptions among class 4 verbs.

- (1) The first is the verb *rar* ('look'). Like its intransitive equivalent (see above example 7-4) this verb retains the final *r* of its irrealis stem and gains the vowel *e* on the end of the subjunctive stem, before the imperative ending, rendering *rarétukun* 'look at it!' and *rarénkurem* 'you PL look at it!'.
- (2) The second is the verb *tar*, which means both 'listen, hear' and 'take, fetch'. This verb has the same form for both meanings in all other forms. But in the subjunctive mood, the verb has two different forms. One behaves like class 4 verbs ending in *r* (that is, the *r* disappears), and the other behaves like *rar* (i.e. the *r* stays and gains the vowel *e* before the imperative endings):

(7-8) <i>tar</i> 'listen/hear'	<i>tar</i> 'take, fetch'
<i>tá-tukun!</i>	<i>taré-tukun!</i>
'you listen (to it)!'	'you take it!'
<i>tá-nkurem!</i>	<i>taré-nkurem!</i>
'you PL listen (to it)!'	'you PL take it!'

- (3) The third exception is the verb *ngur* ('put'). This verb stem undergoes both metathesis and its vowel becomes fronted, rendering *ngri*. Thus, the imperative forms are *ngritukun* 'you put it!' and *ngrinkurem* 'you PL put it!'.

7.1.2.3 The verb 'give'

The imperative form of the transitive verb *i* 'give' takes the form of *is* in the singular and *in* in the plural. 'Give' optionally but usually takes the BEN object forms (see Section 3.2). Examples of some of the imperative forms of 'give' are:

(7-9) SINGULAR ADDRESSEE	PLURAL ADDRESSEE
<i>is-iata-n</i>	<i>in-iat-rem</i>
give.SBJ-1SG.BEN.O.R-SG 1PL.R	give.SBJ-1SG.BEN.O.R-2PL.R
'you give it to me!'	'you PL give it to me!'
 <i>is-kwata-n</i>	 <i>in-kwat-rem</i>
give.SBJ-3SG.F.BEN.O.R-SG 1PL.R	give.SBJ-3SG.F.BEN.O.R-2PL.R
'you give it to her!'	'you PL give it to her!'
 <i>is-mbata-n</i>	 <i>in-mbat-rem</i>
give.SBJ-3PL.BEN.O.R-SG 1PL.R	give.SBJ-3PL.BEN.O.R-2PL.R
'you give it to them!'	'you PL give it to them!'

7.1.3 Jussive imperatives

The jussive imperative 'Let X do Y' is formed with a fixed expression *nganokaw*, used for both singular and plural addressees. This expression consists of two parts: the word *nganok*, which seems to have no independent meaning but which also occurs in another fixed expression *nganokeya* ('poor thing'; see Section 3.10), and the subjunctive stem form of the verb 'be' (*aw*).

Nganokaw can be followed by a verb in the subordinate clause inflected in either the subjunctive mood (7-10 a-c) or the future tense (examples 7-10 d-e):

- (7-10) a. *nganokaw Ndair ambaigaini awnet*
nganokaw Ndair ambagai =ni aw -net
 let Ndair men's_house =LOC be.SBJ -1SG.M|3SG.M.R
 'let Ndair stay in the men's house'

- b. *nganokaw ηiji amainukun*
nganokaw ηi =ηi
 let 3SG =ERG.M
amai -nu -ku- -n
 look_for.SBJ -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘let him look for it’
- c. *nganokaw Mbananja minjike isngatan*
nganokaw Mbananj =ana minjike is -ngata
 let Mbananj =DAT betel_nut give.SBJ -3SG.M.BEN.O.R
 -n
 -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘let (him or her) give betel nut to Mbananj’
- d. *nganokaw and atikitak ηan*
nganokaw and ati -ki -tak ηan
 let blood fall_down.IRR -IRR -2SG.F|3SG.F.R 3SG.M.POSS
 ‘let him bleed’ (lit. ‘let his blood flow’)
- e. *nganokaw ndugubar mbidkwatitak*
nganokaw ndugubar mbid -kwati -tak
 let backbone pain.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.O.IRR -2SG.F|3SG.F.R
 ‘let her backbone hurt’ (i.e. ‘I don’t care’)

7.1.4 Indirect commands

An indirect command is a command to tell somebody else to do something, for example, ‘Tell Kasek to go to Wongan’ or ‘Send them home’. The corresponding direct form of these commands – i.e. ‘Go to Wongan!’ or ‘Go home!’ – is discussed above in Section 7.1.2.

In Tayap, indirect commands can be formed in two ways. The first is a paratactic structure: two fully inflected independent clauses, a command clause followed by a future clause, are juxtaposed with no conjunctive morpheme connecting them. For example:

	TELL CLAUSE	COMMAND CLAUSE
(7-11)	‘Tell Kasek	to go’
a.	<i>Kasek nam-ti-ηgi-n</i>	<i>ηi ηgo o-ki-net</i>
	Kasek talk.SBJ-S<3SG.M.R.O>	3SG.M DM go.IRR-IRR-1SG.
	2SG 3SG.F.R.S	M 3SG.M.R
	lit. ‘tell Kasek...’	...he will go’

- b. ‘You all tell Mbowdi to hit them’
Mbowdi nam-ni-ηgi-rem ηi o-mbri-net
 Mbowdi talk.SBJ-S<3SG.M.R.O> 3SG.M strike.IRR-3PL.IRR.O-1SG.M|
 2PL.R.S 3SG.M.R.S
 lit. ‘you all tell Mbowdi... ..he will hit them’

The second way of formulating an indirect command involves inflecting both the verb in the “tell” clause and the verb in the “command” clause in the subjunctive mood. Contrast example (7-11a) above with the following:

- (7-12) *Kasek nam -gi o -net*
 Kasek talk.SBJ -3SG.M.R.O go.SBJ -1SG.M|3SG.M.R
 ‘Tell Kasek to go’

Notice that the verb ‘talk/tell’ in the main clause of (7-12), has no subject morpheme. Comparing ‘tell’ in (7-11a) with ‘tell’ in (7-12), we see the following differences:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| (7-13) FULL FORM | REDUCED FORM |
| <i>nam-ti-ηgi-n</i> | <i>nam-gi</i> |
| talk.SBJ-S<3SG.M.R.O>2SG 3SG.F.R.S | talk.SBJ-3SG.M.R.O |
| ‘tell him’ | ‘tell him’ |

Not only does the reduced form in (7-13) take no subject morpheme; the object morpheme suffixed to the verb stem is realized without prenasalization. This means that what is normally realized as *-ηgi* ‘3SG.M.R.O’ → *-gi* and what is normally realized as *-mbi* ‘3PL.R.O’ → *-bi*. All other object morphemes retain their regular realis forms.

Now look at the verb in the subordinate clause in (7-12). This form – *o-net* – is what is discussed above in Section 7.1 as the subjunctive form of a verb.

Indirect commands are normally introduced with a verb such as *nam* ‘talk/tell’. So, again, to express an indirect command, one usually says either (7-14) or (7-15):

- | | |
|---|--------|
| IMPERATIVE | FUTURE |
| (7-14) <i>Kasek nam-ti-ηgi-n ηi ηgo o-ki-net</i> | |
| Kasek talk.SBJ-S<3SG.M.R.O> 3SG.M DM go.IRR-IRR-1SG.M 3SG.M.R | |
| 2SG 3SG.F.R.S | |
| ‘tell Kasek to go’ (lit. ‘tell Kasek he will go’) | |

This construction using an expression of cognition in the main clause and a subjunctive in the subordinate clause is unusual – examples (7-19a) and (7-19b) are from elicitation sessions with senior men in the 1980s. I have not encountered this construction in any of the conversations or speeches that I have transcribed. Instead, desire predicates are constructed in one of two ways, none of them involving the subjunctive.

The first way of forming a desire predicate is with the verb phrase ‘*arei + ergative + tar*’, which literally means ‘desire takes’. This is a moribund construction: like examples (7-19a-b) above, my only recorded instances of it are in elicitation sessions in the 1980s with senior informants.

The construction is realized without overt marking on the main clause, and the verb in the subordinate clause is inflected for future tense:

- (7-20) *ŋi areiyi tatiŋgin ŋa okinet Potowre*
ŋi arei =yi ta -ti -ŋgi -n
 3SG.M desire =ERG.F take.R -S <3SG.M.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
ŋa o -ki -net Potow =re
 1SG go.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.R Wongan =ALL
 ‘he wants me to go to Wongan’ (lit. ‘desire takes him, I will go to Wongan’)

The most common way to express the desire that someone or something else do something that you want is to use the verb *nam*, which has the primary meaning of ‘talk’ or ‘tell’, but which is also used to mean ‘think’ (this kind of semantic conflation between verbs like “talk”, “tell”, “think” and “desire” is common in Papuan languages; Reesink 1993).

Desire predicates with *nam* are constructed the same way as the example above, that is to say with the verb in the subordinate clause inflected in the future tense. Speakers also often use the adverb *nande* ‘thusly’ to draw attention to the verb of desire, producing sentences like the following:

- (7-21) *ŋa nande namnet yu okitet Ombágire*
ŋa nande nam -net yu o -ki -tet
 1SG thusly talk.R -1SG.M|3SG.M.R 2PL go.IRR -IRR -2SG.M
Ombági=re
 Pankin=ALL
 ‘I want you to go to Pankin’ (lit. ‘I say/think thusly: you will go to Pankin’)

7.2 Prohibitive (PROH)

In contrast to the imperative mood, which expresses the speaker's command for the addressee to perform a particular action, the prohibitive is a command to *not* perform an action. It can be translated as 'Don't do X', 'Don't dare do X' or 'X is prohibited'. The prohibitive cannot be negated. It is formed as follows:

PERSON	}	IRR verb root + (BEN R object) + <i>-ngarke</i>
<i>ŋa</i> 'I'		
<i>yu</i> 'you'		
<i>ŋgu</i> 'she'		
<i>ŋi</i> 'he'		
<i>yim</i> 'we'		
<i>yum</i> 'you PL'	→	IRR verb root + (BEN R object) + <i>-ngremke</i>
<i>ŋgi</i> 'they'	→	IRR verb root + (BEN R object) + <i>-ŋgroke</i>
DL	→	IRR verb root + (BEN R object) + <i>-ŋgreke</i>

If a speaker includes the benefactive object in this construction, the action is marked as ongoing, in the progressive aspect, so it means 'Don't be doing X!'

- (7-22) a. *emarar -ngarke!*
 play.IRR -PROH.SG|1PL
 'you can't play!' or 'it's forbidden to play!'; said for example to a child during a church service
- b. *minjike tar -ŋgroke!*
 betel_nut take.IRR -PROH.3PL
 'they can't take the betel nut!'
- c. *numbwan mbabasak -ngarke!*
 thought crazy.IRR -PROH.SG|1PL
 'don't forget!'
- d. *nime nirkwanngarke munjeŋa rawni!*
nime nir -kwa -ngarke munje =ŋa
 thusly do.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.R.O -PROH.SG|1PL man =POSS
raw =ni
 nose =LOC
 'you can't be doing that right in front of a person!'

- e. *ai =ni a -ngwarke!*
 here =LOC be.IRR -PROH.SG|1PL
 ‘you can’t be here!’

7.3 Admonitive (ADM)

A structure that is morphologically almost identical to the prohibitive occurs in the modal construction that expresses the non-desirability of an action.

This modality in Tayap has its exact equivalent in the Tok Pisin expression “nogut X”, where X denotes an action that the speaker doesn’t want to happen, regrets happening, is uncertain has happened or will happen, or when the speaker anticipates or senses that something undesirable will ensue from the action’s occurrence. This is a difficult expression to translate, because it can be a warning, as in ‘X better not happen/have happened’; a negative hope, as in ‘I hope X doesn’t happen’ (or, ‘I hoped X wouldn’t happen’); a concern, as in ‘May X not happen’; or a meditation, like ‘What if X should happen?’. The admonitive cannot be negated.

In Tayap, this construction differs from the prohibitive only in that the final *-ke* of the prohibitive markers is *-ana* in the admonitive, and that there is no benefactive in it:

PERSON		
<i>ŋa</i> ‘I’	}	IRR verb root + <i>-ngarana</i>
<i>yu</i> ‘you’		
<i>ŋgu</i> ‘she’		
<i>ŋi</i> ‘he’		
<i>yim</i> ‘we’		
<i>yum</i> ‘you PL’	→	IRR verb root + <i>-ngremana</i>
<i>ŋgi</i> ‘they’	→	IRR verb root + <i>-ngroana</i>
DL	→	IRR verb root + <i>-ngreana</i>

Examples:

- (7-23) a. *ror angu eiar -ngarana*
 child DX.F cry.IRR -ADM.SG|1PL
 ‘that girl better not cry’ (or else!) or ‘let’s hope that girl doesn’t cry’
- b. *yum awin tar -ngremana*
 2PL water take.IRR -ADM.2PL
 ‘you all better not take away the water’ or ‘let’s hope you all don’t take away the water’

- c. *numbwan reki yu ngon ning adi -ngarana*
 thought with 2SG 3SG.F.POSS bone break.IRR -ADM.SG|1PL
- angi*
 DX.F
 ‘look out, be careful you don’t break her bone’

The difference between the prohibitive and the admonitive can be illustrated by the following examples:

- (7-24) a. *wasow* ‘die’
- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>wasow-ngarke</i>
die.IRR-PROH
‘Don’t die!’, said in anguish to
someone who is dying | <i>wasow-ngarana</i>
die.IRR-ADM.SG 1PL
‘May you not die’; said to someone
who is sick |
|---|---|
- b. *warak* ‘converse’
- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>warak-ngarke</i>
converse.IRR-PROH
‘Don’t talk!’, said to someone
who is talking | <i>warak-ngarana</i>
converse.IRR-ADM.SG 1PL
‘Let’s hope you don’t talk’ or ‘You
better not talk’; said to someone who
knows a secret about another person
and is going to visit that person; the
speaker is expressing the hope that
the person addressed won’t open his
or her mouth and spill the beans |
|--|--|

7.4 Intentional (INTENT)

The intentional mood expresses two kinds of events. The first is actions that are or were intended or desired but that have not been completed or that didn’t occur or won’t occur. The second kind of event expressed by the intentional mood is an inevitable action: an action that often, in retrospect, ended in a foreseeable way.

An example of this latter sense is the response of a woman seeing a photograph I had taken of a gravely ill Monei Mbanar; he had been sick for weeks and I photographed him as he was about to be carried to a canoe and taken to a hospital, where he died a few days later. Upon seeing this photograph months after Monei had died, looking at a desiccated and paralyzed Monei, this woman murmured *waso-ki-nana* (die.IRR-IRR-INTENT) ‘he’s about to/intending to die’, in a soft, rising voice expressing sorrow.

The intentional mood was mentioned earlier in the section on the near future tense (5.4.2.3) because it is constructed in a similar way, with the bound morpheme

-ana (*-nana* after a vowel; this form is often reduced and realized as *-na*) affixed directly to the irrealis object marker (for transitive verbs) or directly to the irrealis marker *-ki-*, *-ki-* or *-ku-* (for intransitive verbs). So the structure is as follows:

TRANSITIVE VERBS	IRR verb stem + IRR object + <i>-(n)ana</i>
INTRANSITIVE VERBS	IRR verb stem + IRR morpheme + <i>-(n)ana</i>

Examples of the intentional mood are:

- (7-25) a. *ewar ŋa sokoi akrunana, sokoi wákare*
ewar ŋa sokoi a -kru -nana
 yesterday 1SG tobacco consume.IRR -3SG.F.R.O -INTENT
sokoi wákare
 tobacco NEG
 ‘yesterday I (M or F) wanted to smoke, but there was no tobacco’
- b. *ripim ŋa nanro manaw armbrinana, ŋa numbwan pikun pruk mik, ŋa mndanet*
ripim ŋa nanro manaw ar -mbri -nana
 earlier 1SG woman.PL three marry.IRR- -3PL.IRR.O INTENT
ŋa numbwan pi -ku -n pruk mik
 1SG thought realize.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S work intense
ŋa minda -net
 1SG tired_of.R -1SG.M|3SG.M.R.S
 ‘before, I (M) wanted to marry three woman, but I realized that that would be hard work, so I changed my mind’ (lit. ‘I became fed up/ tired’; *ŋa mindanet* translates as “mi les” in Tok Pisin)
- c. *Anġara mum akrunana, ŋginana mindiki wokara*
Anġara mum a -kru -nana ŋginana
 Anġara sago_jelly consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -INTENT therefore
mindiki -ki wok -ara
 work_sago.IRR -IRR go.3SG.F.R -PERF
 ‘Anġara wanted to eat sago jelly, that’s why she went to go work sago’

The fact that a meaning of intention or desirability is foregrounded in this construction means that it can also be translated as ‘in order to’ or ‘with the intention of’, as in the following, consisting of two juxtaposed main clauses:

- (7-26) a. *ɲi mbet ɲa rarɪnana*
ɲi mbet ɲa rar -i -nana
 3SG.M come.3SG.M.R 1SG see.IRR -1SG.IRR.O -INTENT
 ‘he has come to see me’
- b. *ɲgi kotarɲgrɪnana ɲgwok*
ɲgi kotar -ɲgrɪ -nana ɲgwok
 3PL ask.IRR -3SG.M.IRR.O -INTENT go.3PL.R
 ‘they went to ask him’

Like the prohibitive and the admonitive, verbs inflected with the intentional suffix cannot be negated. Instead negative intention is expressed by negating another verb of the sentence (7-27), or by a word like *minda* ‘tired of’, ‘sick of’ that expresses negative affect (7-28):

- (7-27) a. *ɲa aiki wákare ɲi rarɲgrɪnana*
ɲa ai -ki wákare ɲi rar -ɲgrɪ -nana
 1SG come.IRR -IRR NEG 3SG.M see.IRR -3SG.M.IRR.O -INTENT
 ‘I haven’t come to see him’
- (7-28) a. *ɲgi minda mum a -kru -nana*
ɲgi minda mum a -kru -nana
 3PL tired_of sago jelly eat.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -INTENT
 ‘they don’t want to eat sago jelly’ (lit. ‘they’re tired of eating sago jelly’)

The intentional suffix is also used in negative indirect commands (see Section 7.1.4).

7.5 Benefactive (BEN)

Tayap has a set of benefactive object morphemes that denote

- (a) that the action or event denoted by the verb has direct relevance to or consequences for the participant encoded in the benefactive object morpheme.
 and/or
- (b) external possession – that is, the morphemes encode the relationship of possessor-possessed as a core relation of the verb, and they treat the possessor of what is semantically the object of the verb as, itself, the object of the verb, in this case the benefactive object (Payne and Barshi 1999).

Note that the benefactive object suffixes are also used in progressives, see Section 8.3.1.2.

Possession in general is discussed in Section 4.5. Ditransitive verbs are discussed in Section 3.2, where it is shown that they are not a structural class of verbs but rather are transitive verbs with an optional oblique argument.

The difference between benefactive object morphemes and non-benefactive object morphemes can be illustrated with the following examples, both of which can be translated to mean ‘he speared my pig’:

- (7-29) a. *ɲiɲi ɲaɲan mbor pokun*
 ɲi =*ɲi* *ɲaɲan* *mbor* *po* -*ku* -*n*
 3SG.M =ERG.M 1SG.POSS pig strike.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘he speared my pig’
- b. *ɲiɲi ɲaɲan mbor poia(ta)n*
 ɲi =*ɲi* *ɲaɲan* *mbor* *po* -*ia(ta)* -*n*
 3SG.M =ERG.M 1SG.POSS pig strike.R -1SG.BEN.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘he speared my pig’

Note: The morpheme (*ta*) marks the benefactive object morpheme as realis. It is shown in parentheses to indicate that it is optional and frequently omitted in speech. In fact, it is not unusual that everything after the first part of the benefactive object morpheme is omitted. So the verb in (7-29b), for example, will often occur as [poia].

Even though these two sentences can be translated the same way in English, they are not synonymous in Tayap. The first example is the unmarked construction: it is a simple declarative sentence consisting of a transitive class 1 verb stem (*po*) suffixed by a 3SG.F object morpheme denoting the pig (*-ku*) and a subject ending (*-n*) denoting ‘he’, all inflected for realis.

The second example is marked. It contains the same verb stem inflected for realis, but instead of the object morpheme that refers to the pig that was shot, what follows is a morpheme that means ‘mine’, ‘the one belonging to me’ or ‘the one whose being shot had consequences for me’. Morphemes that encode this relation often also encode the notion of benefit, and in keeping with other linguistic work on Papuan languages (e.g. Foley 1991: 307–11), here they are labeled “benefactive”, even if the label is not entirely satisfying, because the actions encoded by the verb do not necessarily entail benefit. In (7-29a)–(7-29b) above, for example, the spearing of my pig may be *malefactive*, and it may have happened contrary to the speaker’s knowledge, will or desire.

The BEN morphemes highlight a relationship of possession and/or the consequences that an action or event have on the person or thing denoted by the morphemes. In (7-29a) and (7-29b) above, a relation of possession is expressed

in both examples, by means of the possessive pronoun *ŋaŋan* ‘my’. But while possession is *evident* in the first example, it is *emphasized* in the second, partly through the possessive pronoun (which can be omitted in this construction) and partly through the benefactive morphology affixed to the verb stem.

Benefactive morphemes often occur on a transitive verb like ‘give’. Here the possessive meaning of ‘what belongs to me’ or ‘what should belong to me’ is evident.

- (7-30) *isia(ta)n*
is **-ia(ta)** -n
 give.SBJ -1SG.BEN.R.O SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘give it to me’

Benefactive object morphemes also appear when one talks about possessed items such as body parts:

- (7-31) a. *kokir mbidtia(ta)n*
kokir mbid -t **-ia(ta)** -n
 head pain.R -S <1SG.BEN.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘my head hurts’ (lit. ‘head pains me’)
- b. *kokir mbidtukwa(ta)n*
kokir mbid -tu **-kwa(ta)** -n
 head pain.R -S <3SG.F.BEN.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘her head hurts’ (lit. ‘head pains her’)
- c. *ŋan niŋg odiŋga(ta)n*
ŋan niŋg odi **-ŋga(ta)** -n
 his bone break.R <3SG.M.BEN.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘she broke his bone’
- d. *ŋaŋan niŋg kadia(ta)n*
ŋaŋan niŋg kadi **-ia(ta)** -n
 my bone break.R <1SG.BEN.R.O> -2SG|3SG.M.R.S
 ‘he broke my bone’
- e. *munje ninde ngugubar mbidtinga(ta)n*
munje ainde ndugubar mbid -ti
 man DX.M spine pain.R -S

-ŋga(ta) -n
 <3SGR.M.BEN.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘the man’s spine hurts’

Note: *adu* ‘break’ is a class 3 transitive verb; hence the verb stem variation in these examples (7-31c and d; see Section 6.1.4)

Although as already noted, the benefactive morphemes do not necessarily carry a positive meaning of benefit (something that is apparent from examples (7-31c – 7-31d) about bone-breaking), they often do express the meaning of doing something for the benefit of someone, even though it is often difficult in practice to separate the sense of beneficiary from that of possession.

A command like the following means both ‘Get rid of the rubbish that is in her house’ and ‘Get rid of the house’s rubbish for her benefit’:

- (7-32) *patir̩a pipia aŋgo wostukwa(ta)n*
patir̩ =*ŋa* *pipia* *aŋgo*
 house =POSS rubbish (TP) DX.F

wos *-tu* *-kwa(ta)* *-n*
 get_rid_of.SBJ -S <3SG.F.BEN.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘get rid of this rubbish in her house’; ‘get rid of this house’s rubbish for her’

The following command is similar: it means both ‘Light my cigarette’ and ‘Light my cigarette for me’.

- (7-33) *ŋaŋan sokoi wototia(ta)n*
ŋaŋan *sokoi* *woto* *-t* *-ia(ta)* *-n*
 1SG.POSS cigarette light.IRR -S <1SG.BEN.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘light my cigarette’; ‘light my cigarette for me’

Because they foreground a relationship of possession or one in which an agent has been affected by an action or event, benefactive object morphemes can be affixed to any verb stem – even an intransitive, stative verb like ‘be’.

One old woman once told a story of how she upbraided her teenage son for taking money out of her net bag without her permission. “Yesterday you cried for me to give you money”, she recounted herself saying, “and I gave you two kina to buy biscuits, which you bought and ate”¹.

After having established her prior generosity, the woman continued, saying in a self-pitying voice:

¹ The kina, from the Tok Pisin word for ‘clam’, is Papua New Guinea’s main unit of currency.

- (7-34) *ηaηan tri kina ηayar aηgi wuiatan*
ηaηan tri kina ηayar aηgi wu -iata -n
 1SG.POSS three kina really DX.F be.R.3SG.F -1SG.BEN.R.O -SG|1PL.R
 ‘my 3 kina is there’; i.e. it’s all I have left

Here the benefactive morphemes foreground the speaker as both possessing and being directly affected by the presence of the three kina. Not only are her three kina there; they are three kina that are there specifically for her benefit and use.

Earlier, this same speaker, also talking about herself, said:

- (7-35) *saki tutor ηayar kuka nda ikur sisiatan*
saki tutor ηayar kuk -a nda ikur
 nothing sitting truly be.1SG.F|2SG.F|1PL.R -and then evening

sis -iata -n
 fall.R -1SG.BEN.R.O -SG|1PL.R
 ‘I (F) sat there doing nothing at all and the evening fell on me’

Verbs constructed with the benefactive morphemes are formed according to the following pattern:

(7-36)

	VERB STEM INFLECTED FOR STATUS	FIRST PART OF DIS- CONTINUOUS SUBJECT MORPHEME WHERE APPROPRIATE*	BENEFACTIVE OBJECT MORPHEME	SUBJECT MORPHEME INFLECTED FOR STATUS
REALIS				
a.	<i>po</i> strike.R		<i>-iata</i> -1SG.BEN.R.O	<i>-n</i> -SG 1PL.R.S
b.	<i>wos</i> throw_away.R	<i>-tu</i> -S	<i>-kwata</i> <3SG.BEN.R.O>	<i>-n</i> -2SG.3SG.F.R.S
c.	<i>sis</i> descend.R		<i>-iata</i> -1SG.BEN.R.O	<i>-n</i> -SG 1PL.R
IRREALIS				
d.	<i>mose</i> buy-IRR		<i>-wati</i> -2SG.BEN.R.O	<i>-ndak</i> -3PL.IRR.S
e.	<i>i</i> give.IRR		<i>-mbati</i> -3PL.BEN.R.O	<i>-ke</i> -DL.IRR.S
f.	<i>adik</i> break.CF	<i>-ti</i> -S	<i>-ηga</i> <3SG.M.BEN.R.O>	<i>-n</i> -2SG.3SG.F.R.S

*For example, in class 4 and class 5 transitive verbs inflected in the non-future tense, and in verbs inflected in the counterfactual (see Sections 6.1.6–6.1.7 and 9.4.3)

Because benefactive morphemes are object/undergoer-like morphemes, they occur in the expected object slot in a verb's architecture, thus precluding the appearance of the object marker. Note that a coreferential NP can appear with the object marker: see for example (7-37a) below. And like the other object morphemes that have been discussed and exemplified throughout this grammar, the benefactive object morphemes are marked as either realis or irrealis.

The forms of the benefactive object marker can be compared to those of the (non-benefactive) object morphemes:

	NON-BENEFACTIVE OBJECT		BENEFACTIVE OBJECT	
	MORPHEMES		MORPHEMES	
	REALIS	IRREALIS	REALIS	IRREALIS
1SG	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ia(ta)</i>	<i>-iati</i>
2SG	<i>-u</i>	<i>-ru</i>	<i>-wa(ta)</i>	<i>-wati</i>
3SG.F	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-kru</i>	<i>-kwa(ta)</i>	<i>-kwati</i>
3SG.M	<i>-ngi</i>	<i>-ngri</i>	<i>-nga(ta)</i>	<i>-ngati</i>
1PL	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-mri</i>	<i>-ma(ta)</i>	<i>-mati</i>
2PL	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-mri</i>	<i>-ma(ta)</i>	<i>-mati</i>
3PL	<i>-mbi</i>	<i>-mbri</i>	<i>-mba(ta)</i>	<i>-mbati</i>
DL	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-mri</i>	<i>-ma(ta)</i>	<i>-mati</i>

As mentioned above, the realis markers in parenthesis (*ta*) are optional and frequently omitted.

Examples of how these morphemes appear in various TAM categories are as follows:

(7-37) a. *Njabŋi Kruni engune engune nginngatan*

Njab=ŋi Kruni engune engune

Njab=ERG Kruni flattery flattery

ngi -n -ngata -n

put.R -S <3SG.M.BEN.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S

'Njab buttered up Kruni'

b. *pitiŋar isian epi motini iwatinet*

pitiŋar is -ia -n epi motini

machete give.SBJ -1SG.BEN.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S tomorrow again

i -wati -net

give.IRR -2SG.BEN.IRR.O -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S

'give me the machete, tomorrow I (M) will give it back to you'

- c. *ŋi nipis wákare okiya yuwon ongab moserwatinana*
ŋi nipis wákare o -ki -ya yuwon ongab
 3SG.M able NEG go.IRR -IRR -and 2SG.POSS pot
moser -wati -nana
 buy.IRR -2SG.BEN.IRR.O -INTENT
 ‘he’s not able to go and buy a pot for you’
- d. *ŋa rewki wákare pi, Mbupyi ning adiktian*
ŋa rew -ki wákare pi Mbup =yi ning
 1SG flee.IRR -IRR NEG HYPO Mbup =ERG.F bone
adik -t -ia -n
 break.CF -S <1SG.BEN.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 ‘If I (M or F) hadn’t run away, Mbup would have broken my bone’
- e. *Angara awkrak pi, ŋa korot iknukwatan*
Angara awkrak pi ŋa korot
 Angara be.3SG.F.CF HYPO 1SG net
ik -nu -kwata -n
 give.CF -S <3SG.F.BEN.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘If Angara had been here, I would have given her the net’

7.6 Mood particles

Tayap also has four freestanding particles – *awa*, *mera*, *kapa* and *nímera* – that express expectation, supposition and surprise. Two of these particles – *awa* and *mera* – occur with both verbs and other parts of speech. *Kapa* modifies only nouns and adjectives and *nímera* occurs with only verbs.

7.6.1 Expectation and impatience (EXP)

The particle *awa*, which occurs initially or in the case of (7-39), after the subject, carries a connotation of expectation tinged with slight or potential impatience or disapproval. In the 1980s, senior men translated some occurrences of *awa* for me with the Tok Pisin word “watpo” (‘what for’). “Watpo” is a demand that one can easily imagine being shouted at black plantation workers by white colonial overseers. In the speech of the senior Gapun men, it was an interrogative that retained an aggressive or exasperated tone that didn’t so much mean ‘why?’ as it meant, ‘Why in the world...?’ or ‘Why the hell...?’.

By 2009, *awa* was rarely heard in Tayap speech, and the instances of the word I heard in the speech of senior villagers did not express overt disapproval. However, they did seem to indicate that what was being referred to was anticipated or overdue. So note the difference in meaning between two sentences, one of which uses the simple interrogative, and the other which uses the modal particle *awa*:

- (7-38) a. Speaker A: *wek-ara*
 come.3SG.F.R-PERF
 ‘she has arrived’
- Speaker B: *Ndamor=ke?*
 Ndamor=Q
 ‘who, Ndamor?’
- b. Speaker A: *wek-ara*
 come.3SG.F.R-PERF
 ‘she has arrived’
- Speaker B: *Ndamor awa?*
 Ndamor EXP
 ‘it must be Ndamor?’

Another example occurred when an old woman was waiting for a piece of meat to be heated on a fire. At one point during a conversation about other things, she asked a girl who was looking after the meat:

- (7-39) *ngu awa mborsip tandiu pipiek?*
 3SG.F EXP pork well cook.3SG.F.R
 ‘is the pork cooked enough?’

Once again, this question is not simply a request for information; it expresses an expectation. In the next example, given to me by a senior man in the 1980s, men in Gapun were ready to fight men from the neighboring village of Sanae. All prepared to fight, the Gapun men could ask one another in anticipatory excitement:

- (7-40) *awa ŋgi ai -ki -ndak?*
 EXP 3PL come.IRR -IRR -3PL.IRR
 ‘Will they come?’, i.e. ‘Do you think they’ll really come?’

When it occurs together with a negated verb, the sense of expectation is heightened. Contrast the following two sentences:

- (7-41) a. **awa** *mbet*
 EXP come.R.1SG.M|3SG.M.R
 ‘he should come’ (i.e. ‘I expect he will come’)
- a. **awa** *ai-ki wákare*
 EXP come.IRR-IRR NEG
 ‘he must have arrived’

Because it carries a sense of expectation, this construction is similar in meaning to the admonitive mood discussed in Section 7.3. For example, the following two sentences both mean something similar:

- (7-42) a. **awa** *Kemma orasambgi nirru wákare*
awa *Kem =ma ora samb =gi*
 EXP Kem =POSS thing PL =ERG.PL

nir -ru wákare
 make.IRR -2SG.IRR.O NEG
 ‘it must be Kem’s things [i.e. his connections with the spirit world] that are making you sick’ (in Tok Pisin: “Nogut ol samting bilong Kem i mekim yu”)
- b. *Kemma orasambgi nirngarana*
Kem =ma ora samb =gi nir -ngarana
 Kem =POSS thing PL =ERG.PL make.IRR -ADM.SG|1PL
 ‘it wouldn’t be good if it’s Kem’s things [i.e. his connections with the spirit world] that are making you sick’ (same Tok Pisin translation as above).²

² This example is marked by non-agreement between the plural noun (*orasamb*, ‘things’) and the plural ergative morpheme (=gi) affixed to the noun, and the singular inflection (-ngarana) on the verb ‘make’ (*nir*). One would expect the plural ending -ngroana (so ‘nirngroana’ see Section 7.3).

It is probable that this example takes the form it does because the plural noun *orak samb* (‘things’) is usually treated as a singular entity. So speakers say:

ngan orasamb wuk angi
ngan orak samb wuk angi
 3PL.POSS thing PL be.3SG.F.R DX
 ‘their things are there’ (lit. ‘their things is there’)

Although they clearly are not identical in meaning, sentences like these two both express an anxiety in relation to, or an expectation about, an event.

7.6.2 Supposition (SUPP)

Another particle, *mera*, marks the epistemic status of an action or event as something that has been assumed but that the speaker believes does not correspond to what actually happened. In other words, it is what Tayap speakers use to convey a meaning like ‘I thought Paita had gone to Wongan’. A statement like that in English conveys a belief that regardless of whether or not Paita did go to Wongan, the speaker expected him to but believes that he did not.

The modal particle *mera* that carries this meaning follows whatever part of speech is the focus of the assumption. So it can occur after a noun, as in the following:

- (7-43) *ŋa ndi nda namnak Ngemannji mera*
ŋa ndi nda nam -nak Ngeman =ŋi mera
 1SG DM DM talk.R -1SG.F|1PL.R Ngeman =ERG.M SUPP
 ‘I (F) thought it was Ngeman’ (who did it, but it wasn’t)

Most commonly, *mera* follows a verb, thereby reframing what would have been a statement as a supposition. For example:

- (7-44) *ŋa namnet ŋi Potore okinet mera*
ŋa nam -net ŋi Poto =re
 1SG talk.R -1SG.M|3SG.M.R 3SG.M Wongan =ALL

o -ki -net mera
 go.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR SUPP
 ‘I (M) thought he would go to Wongan’ (but he didn’t)

Without the modal particle, this sentence would mean ‘I thought: he will go to Wongan’. *Mera* turns the statement into an assumption that, moreover, the speaker believes did not come to pass. Note that these constructions always involve the use of a phrase like ‘I thought’ or ‘I lied’ as exemplified here.

The particle is also to express the action of having been fooled or lied to. So ‘they lied to us that you were dead’ is:

- (7-45) *ngigi yim takwattimiro yu wasowtet mera*
ngi=gi yim takwat-ti-mi-ro yu wasow-tet mera
 3PL=ERG.PL 1PL lie.R-S<1PL.R.O>3PL.R.S 2SG die.R-2SG.M.R SUPP
 ‘they lied to us that you (M) were dead’ (lit. ‘they lied to us, you were dead we thought’)

7.6.3 Mirative (MIR)

Kapa encodes surprise. It follows nominals and the closest colloquial English translation would be the expression ‘that damned X’ in both its positive and negative valences; so both ‘That damned kid really did well’ and ‘That damned cat peed on my sofa’. *Kapa* follows pronouns, nouns and noun phrases, as in the following examples:

- (7-46) a. *ngu kapa weka numnan nohortakara*
ngu kapa wek -a num =na
 3SG.F MIR come.3SG.F.R -and village =POSS
nohor -tak -ara
 woman -2SG|3SG.F.R -PERF
 ‘she came to our village and really turned into a village woman’ (said about a woman from Pankin village who married into Gapun forty years ago and is the only foreigner in memory ever to learn absolutely flawless Tayap)
- b. *na mbot kuta emb kapa otitek katkatki*
na mbot -a kut -a emb
 1SG go.SG.M.R -LINK be.SG.M.R -and morning
kapa otitek katkat -ki
 MIR fall.3SG.F.R quickly -INTENS
 ‘I (M) went and was there (waiting for a wild pig to wander into a trap) and the damned morning came really quick’ (before a pig could come)
- c. *na kapa markar mbot, yu marki wákare*
na kapa mar -kar mbot yu mar -ki wákare
 1SG MIR row.IRR -MANN go.SG.M.R 2SG row.IRR -IRR NEG
 ‘I (M or F) am the only damned one who rowed, you didn’t row’

7.6.4 Surprise counter to expectation (cs)

Nímera expresses surprise that a situation has turned out contrary to one's expectations. It is a combination of the adverb, *ni*, which expresses a negative state – the state of doing nothing or having nothing (see Section 3.4.1) – with the suppositional particle *mera* (see above Section 7.6.2).

An example that senior speakers used to explain the particle is as follows: You tell another person to complete some work and then you leave them, thinking that the person will not do the work. When you return, you find that the person actually *has* done the work, at which point you might say:

- (7-47) *ɲa ndi yu nímera kut inda*
 1SG DM 2SG CS be.R.SG.M.R DX.M
 'I thought you (M) just were here' (doing nothing, but you weren't, you actually worked) (lit: 'I was like, you just were here')

Another example is that people have come to your house and you expect them to help you do some work, but they don't. You might say:

- (7-48) *yum nímera a -ku -nana mbekem?*
 2PL CS be.IRR -IRR INTENT come.2PL.R
 'So you've all come just to be here?' (and do nothing even though I expected you to work?)

A final example is that you are carving something and you want to make it look like an object you have seen before – perhaps a small statue with a traditional pattern. In the course of carving the piece, though, it ends up looking very different from what you expected. *Nímera* here expresses the surprise you feel at this:

- (7-49) *ɲa ndi nímera nirkrunana wákare ɲa ninukun*
ɲa ndi nímera nir -kru -nana
 1SG DM CS make.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -INTENT
wákare ɲa ni -nu -ku -n
 NEG 1SG make.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 'I thought it would turn out differently than the way it turned out' (lit. 'I intended to make it [one way], no, I made it [another way]')

8 Complex predicates

8.1 Complex predicates and complex clauses

In Tayap, the major division in complex structures is between combining verbs versus combining clauses. Verb combining in Tayap is accomplished through complex predicates, which can be serial verb constructions or complex predicates involving the verb ‘to be’. Clause combining is of three types: Coordinate, subordinate and cosubordinate constructions.

This chapter deals with complex predicates, and the following chapter (Chapter 9) deals with clause combining.

8.2 Serial verb constructions (svc)

From the previous chapters, it should be amply evident that Tayap has an exuberance of verb forms. Until now, the presentation of Tayap verb forms has for the most part concentrated on what we might somewhat understatedly call ‘simple verbs’: single, independent verbs that can take the full range of TAM marking, as well as the full range of subject and object affixes, and function as sole predicates.

In addition to these ‘simple’ verbs, though, Tayap has the possibility of joining together verb stems in serial verb constructions (svcs) or complex predicates with the verb ‘to be’ in habituals and progressives (discussed below, Section 8.3).

Tayap svcs are sequences of verb stems that encode a complex series of actions. An example is *tapratkingiatikitakana*, a single complex predicate that means ‘she will carry him down on her shoulders’:

(8-1) *tapr* *-at* *-ki* *-ŋgi*
carry_on_shoulders.IRR -3SG.M.NFO -bring -3SG.M.R.O

-ati *-ki* *-tak* *-ana*
-go_down.IRR -IRR -3SG.F.IRR -INTENT
‘she will carry him down on her shoulders’

is permeable, and can be interrupted by question morphemes and even separate words, as in the following:

- (8-3) *kopi tarak masinni ngakrawokwankuk*
 kopi tar -ak masin=ni
 coffee (TP) take.IRR -3SG.F.NFO machine (TP)=LOC

ngakrawo -kwan kuk
 shell.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.R.O be.SG.F|1PL.R
 ‘we used to take the coffee to a machine and shell it’

In this situation the form is no longer a single phonological word but still a single predicate.

Serial verb constructions are composed of one or more non-final verb(s) and a final verb. The non-final verbs are always formally irrealis, but the final verb can take the full range of Tayap’s TAM inflections. TAM and subject marking occurs once across the construction, on the final verb, and the non-final verb(s) are marked only for their object, if transitive.

According to Haspelmath (2016: 296), a serial verb construction is “a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between the verbs”. It is important to make clear that non-final and final verbs are both independent, and there is not a relationship of syntactic dependency between the verbs of a serial verb construction. Instead, there is a sharing of features (TAM, subject marking and negation). The differences between non-final and final verbs are positional, a factor of where they fall in the clause, rather than related to dependency.

8.2.1 Non-final verbs in serial verb constructions

Intransitive verbs used as non-final verbs take their irrealis stem (while not taking an irrealis suffix *-ki*, *-ki* or *-ku*), and do not take any further marking. In the next example, the non-final verb *rar* ‘see’ appears in its irrealis stem form, with no further marking, and is immediately followed by the final verb of the serial verb construction. Note that in this example, together these two verbs form a complex predicate, which is then marked with a conjunction ‘and’, forming a coordinated clause (see Section 9.3):

- (8-4) *rarmboka tankun*
rar mbok -a
 see.IRR go.1SG.F|1PL.R -and

ta -n -ku -n
 see.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘... I was looking and I saw it ...’ (lit. ‘seeing go and seeing it...’)

On transitive verbs used as non-final verbs, again the irrealis stem is used, and the object is marked using a realis form, regardless of the status marking on the final verb to follow. For example (non-final verb in bold):

(8-5) *manja ngwab nambar **krarkuotike***
*man =ŋa ngwab nambar **krar** -ku otike*
 cunt =POSS hole one break.IRR -3SG.F.R.O fall.DL.R
 ‘the two of them broke open the same cunt hole and fell out’ (i.e. they are brothers)

Note that these non-final verbs are not truncated forms of full verbs. Compare the form of the class 4 transitive verb ‘break’, in bold print in the following example (this is a coordinated construction, see Section 9.3) with its non-final form above in example (8-5):

(8-6) *manja ngwab nambar kratukureya otike*
man =ŋa ngwab nambar
 cunt =POSS hole one

***kra** -tu -ku -re -ya otike*
 break.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -DL.R.S -and fall.DL.R
 ‘the two of them broke open the same cunt hole and fell out’

Examples (8-5) and (8-6) have more or less the same meaning. But notice that the only element that is the same in both verbs is the realis object suffix *-ku*. The stem of the fully inflected verb (8-6) *kra* ‘break’ has a TAM-appropriate stem (in this case, since it is expressing an event that occurred in the past, the stem appears in its realis form).

The non-final forms in serial verb constructions (8-5) will always appear in irrealis form, and TAM will be carried by the verb that follows it. The final verb has the full range of possibilities of any normal verb outside of serial verb constructions.

8.2.2 Non-final object morphemes (NFO)

The object suffixes that can affix to non-final verbs have two forms: they are either the regular forms that occur on independent transitive verbs (see Section 5.3.1), or

they are drawn from a particular set of object forms that only occur on non-final verbs. This set of non-final object suffixes is as follows; note that there is no distinction between dual and plural forms in this paradigm:

	SINGULAR	DUAL/PLURAL
1	-ai	-am
2	-aw	-am
3SG.F	-ak	-amb
3SG.M	-at	

Example:

- (8-7) *tandiwki rar**amb**otimbin*
tandiw -ki rar -amb o -ti -mbi -n
 well -EMPH look.IRR 3PL.NFO shoot.SBJ -S <3PL.R.O> -2SG3SG.F.R.S
 ‘aim well and shoot them!’

These non-final object morphemes are the functional equivalent of the object suffixes used with the final verbs of serial verb constructions or indeed any verb outside of serial verb constructions. They are also more or less interchangeable with them. Looking again at example (8-7), above, it is possible to substitute *-amb* (3PL.NFO) with *-mbi* (3PL.R.O), the regular object suffix used in independent verbs:

- (8-8) *tandiwki rarm**bi**otimbin*
tandiw -ki rar -mbi o -ti -mbi -n!
 well -EMPH look.IRR 3PL.R.O shoot.SBJ -S <3PL.R.O> -2SG3SG.F.R.S
 ‘aim well and shoot them!’

It is not possible, however, to substitute *-mbi* with *-amb* in other clauses. There are two main differences between the non-final and other forms of the object morphemes:

- (1) Whenever one occurs, a non-final verb object suffix always occurs in the first object position of a complex predicate. Another non-final object can occur in the second or subsequent object slot, but a non-final object suffix is blocked from appearing after an independent object morpheme has occurred.
- (2) Non-final object morphemes do not inflect for realis and irrealis. Unlike the forms used with independent verbs – where *-ku*, for example, expresses 3SG.F.R.O and *-kru* expresses 3SG.F.IRR.O – the non-final object forms *always*

8.2.3 Verbs that always or usually occur only in svc

8.2.3.1 svc with the grammaticalized verb *k^v* ‘bring’, ‘take’

The verb stem *k^v* only ever occurs as a non-final verb within a svc. It expresses that an object will be brought to the deictic center or taken away from the deictic center in a way that is specified by the verb of motion that follows it.

Tayap has a number of verbs that express different ways of carrying objects. They include:

- andruwe* ‘carry on head’
- erorar* ‘carry on back’
- ser-(p)-e* ‘carry in hand’
- tap* ‘carry on shoulders’
- wuw* ‘carry on one shoulder’

Verbs like these express specific ways of carrying an object. The verb stem *k^v*, on the other hand, does not specify how an object is carried. It simply means ‘bring’ or ‘take’ in both the narrow sense of physically carrying something, and in the more extended sense of, for instance, ‘bringing the visitors down (or taking them down) to the end of the village to send them off’. Tayap speakers use the Tok Pisin word “kisim” as a more or less exact equivalent.

Unlike all other verbs in the language, *k^v* never functions as a final verb of a serial verb construction, nor indeed any other verb type:

- it never occurs without another verb following it in a serial verb construction;
- it is not marked for tense;
- it does not take subject morphemes (although it does take object marking);
- and it cannot be independently negated.

Whenever it is used, *k^v* must occur as part of a serial verb construction, in construction with other non-final verbs and/or fully inflected final verbs.

K^v ‘bring’ is one of the most commonly occurring verbs in Tayap, since villagers are constantly telling children and others to bring them things (*k^v* + object morpheme + *aiki* ‘come’) or take things away (*k^v* + object morpheme + *oki* ‘go’).

Examples of its use are as follows (*k^v* in bold):

(8-11) *k^v* ‘bring’, ‘take’

- a. *ŋaŋan sapwar kukuwe!*
ŋaŋan *sapwar* ***ku*** *-ku* *we*
 1SG.POSS basket bring -3SG.F.R.O come.SBJ
 ‘bring my basket!’

- b. *Njime kingiwe!*
Njime ki -ngi we
 Njime bring -3SG.M.R.O come.SBJ
 ‘Bring Njime!’ (i.e. carry him over here)
- c. *ɲaɲan sapwar kukungwokara*
ɲaɲan sapwar ku -ku ɲgwok -ara
 1SG.POSS basket take -3SG.F.R.O go.3PL.R -PERF
 ‘they took my basket’ (lit. ‘they left taking my basket’)

As the only obligatorily non-final verb in the language, it is likely that *k^v* has been grammaticalized from an earlier independent verb stem. Note that according to Haspelmath (1995), constructions like those described here for Tayap with *k^v* should not be considered svcs since *k^v* is not an independent verb. However, while *k^v* is indeed not an independent verb, it is useful to consider it with other verbs functioning in svcs. It takes object marking like a normal verb; it also has verbal semantics. Further, *k^v* can form part of longer sequences of verbs in a complex predicate, like in example (8-1) in which *k^v* is the second of three predicates functioning together as a complex whole: here it is functionally identical to the other non-final verb of the svc, clearly acting equivalently to other verbs in the language.

Alternatively, the morpheme *k^v* could be thought of as a converb, or an auxiliary. However with a converb one would expect a situation of adverbial subordination (Haspelmath 2005: 3), and with an auxiliary one would expect tense, aspectual, modal, voice or polarity semantics (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 41), all of which are lacking here.

K^v could also be thought of as an incorporated adverb. The best analysis, however, would seem to be to regard *k^v* as a grammaticalized non-final verb.

8.2.3.2 Verbs which normally occur in svcs

With the exception of the grammaticalized verb *k^v* (‘bring’, ‘take’), just discussed, all Tayap verbs can be used independently, outside of serial verb constructions. A number of verbs associated with motion, however, almost always appear as non-final verbs in serial verb constructions.

The most commonly occurring verbs of this type are the following (all verbs in the svc are in bold):

- (8-12) *ru* ‘propel’, ‘expel’
- a. *Raya moɲar rukuotitek numatni*
Raya moɲar ru -ku otitek numat =ni
 Raya stone propel.IRR -3SG.F.R.O fall.3SG.F.R ground =ALL
 ‘Raya threw the stone on the ground.’

b. *ringiwotet!*

ri -*ngi* **wotet**
 propel.IRR -3SG.M.R.O go_up.2SG.M.R
 ‘throw him up!’

c. *nambirni ringiwokingimbet*

nambir =*ni* **ri** -*ngi* *wo* **ki** -*ngi*
 breast =LOC propel.IRR -3SG.M.R.O up bring -3SG.M.R.O

mbet

go.SG.M.R

‘he lifted him onto his chest and brought him’ (or ‘I (M) or you (M) lifted him onto my/your chest and brought him’)

d. *rukuaritak!*

ru -*ku* **aritak**
 propel.IRR -3SG.F.R.O go_down.SBJ.3SG.M.R
 ‘throw it away!’

(8-13) *Moip nanro kosepyi manna iru utipormbatannan rorseme ngime*

weramb otitek *nan* *yiwirgwabekeni*

Moip nanro kosep =yi man =na iru
 Watam women crab =ERG cunt =POSS clitoris

utipor -mbata -n =nan rorseme ngi -me
 slice_up.R -3PL.BEN.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S =POSS children 3PL -DX

wer -amb otitek =nan yiwirgwab =ekeni
 pull_out.IRR -3PL.NFO fall.3SG.F.R =POSS asshole =PERL

‘They pulled those two kids out the assholes of Watam women whose clits have been sliced up by a crab’ (lit, ‘the crab sliced the women, (someone) pulled out the children, they fell’)²

² It isn’t entirely clear why the verb *otitek* ‘fall’ here is inflected in 3SG.F (one might expect *ngotitek* ‘fell.3PL.R’). One reason may be that the speaker, who was shouting angrily in affect, produced an ungrammatical utterance. Another reason may be that the verb ‘fall’, when it is used as part of a svc, as it is here, has become a formulaic expression, and is realized as *otitek* for all subjects, regardless of gender or number. In example (8-13), the plural meaning of the verb is conveyed by the NFO (-*amb*). Compare examples (8-12a) and (8-22).

(8-14) *ɲayi awin worerkuwok*

ɲa =*yi* *awin* **worer** -*ku* **wok**
 1SG =ERG.F water capsize.IRR -3SG.F.R.O go.3SG.F.R
 ‘I poured the water’ (lit. ‘I capsized the water, it went’)

(8-15) *oremɲi mbor motikkuwok*

orem =*ɲi* *mbor* **motik** -*ku* **wok**
 crocodile =ERG.M pig swallow.IRR -3SG.F.R.O go.3SG.F.R
 ‘the crocodile swallowed the pig’

war ‘put into’(8-16) *embatotoni warakkukumbet*

embatoto =*ni*
 cloth =LOC

war -*ak* **ku** -*ku* **mbet**
 put_into.IRR -3SG.F.NFO bring -3SG.F.R.O come.3SG.M.R
 ‘he put her in a piece of cloth and brought her’

While the final verb is commonly a verb of motion, it does not have to be. Examples are as follows (all verbs in bold):

(8-17) a. *sapwar yuwon krarkuwawarpekun*

sapwar *yuwon* **krar** -*ku*
 basket 2SG.POSS break.IRR -3SG.F.R.O

wawarpe -*ku* -*n*
 hang_up.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘she tore up your basket and hung it up’

b. *epi ɲgi tapitak towoikunirkundak*

epi *ɲgi* *tapitak* **towoi** -*ku*
 tomorrow 3PL baked_sago try.IRR -3SG.F.R.O

nir -*kru* -*ndak*
 make.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -3PL.IRR.S
 ‘tomorrow they will try to make baked sago’

c. *ewar yu bisket moserkukakun*

ewar *yu* *bisket*
 yesterday 2SG biscuit (TP)

moser -ku **ka** -ku -n
 buy.IRR -3SG.F.R.O consume.R <3SG.F.R.O> -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘yesterday you bought biscuits and ate them’

(8-18) *sapwar yuwon krarkuwawarekru wakare*

sapwar yuwon **krar** -ku
 basket your break.IRR -3SG.F.R.O

waware -kru *wakare*
 hang_up.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘she didn’t rip up your basket and hang it up’

It is possible to think of these non-final/final sequences, here described as serial verb constructions, as cosubordinate (medial-final) clause chaining constructions, but an analysis of SVCs reflects better the fact that they occur within single clauses rather than across clauses. The SVC as a whole generally forms a single grammatical word, and NP arguments and negation are shared across the construction. Also, medial verbs have overt linking morphology, which verbs in serial verb constructions do not (see Section 9.8 for a discussion of medial-final clause chaining, i.e. cosubordinate constructions).

8.2.4 Switch-function serial verb constructions

Switch-function serial verb constructions (the term is from Aikhenvald 2006), in which the object of the non-final verb is shared with the subject of the final verb are common in Tayap.

Examples are:

(8-19) *ŋayi awin worerkuwok*

ŋa =*yi* *awin* **worer** -ku **wok**
 1SG =ERG.F water capsize.IRR -3SG.F.R.O Go.3SG.F.R
 ‘I (F or M) poured water’ (lit. I capsized water, it went)

(8-20) *ewar ŋgi yimbar worerkuwok*

ewar *ŋgi* *yimbar* **worer** -ku **wok**
 yesterday 3PL canoe capsize.IRR -3SG.F.R.O go.3SG.F.R
 ‘Yesterday they capsized the canoe’ (lit. I capsized the canoe, it went)

(8-21) *ewar ŋiŋi marasin mitikuwok*

ewar *ŋi* =*ŋi* *marasin* *miti* -*ku*
 yesterday 3SG.M =ERG.M medicine (TP) swallow.IRR -3SG.F.R.O

wok

go.3SG.F.R

‘Yesterday he swallowed the medicine’ (lit. He swallowed the medicine, it went)

So these are constructions in which the subject marking on the final verb agrees with the object of the preceding transitive verb (in other words: in example (8-21) it agrees with the *-ku* ‘3SG.F.R.O’ of the first part of the SVC); both refer to the ‘medicine’, the object of ‘swallow’ and the subject of ‘go’. Other examples of these types of constructions are (8-12a), (8-14) and (8-15) above.³

These constructions occasion confusion in speakers (even older, fluent speakers) when they are brought to their attention. When I asked speakers whether an example like (8-21) ought not to be *miti-ku-mbot* (that is, with a final verb that agrees with the masculine subject of the previous verb, so go.3SG.M.R), they would pause, consider and agree. But then they would produce sentences like (8-21), where the final verb agrees with the object of the previous verb and not its subject. Occasionally during elicitation sessions, they would become flustered and contradict themselves when producing gender agreement. An example is:

(8-22) *ŋayi munje inde awinni riŋgotitek*

ŋa =*yi* *munje* *inde* *awin* =*ni*
 1SG =ERG.F man DX water =LOC

ri -*ŋgi* *otitek*
 propel.IRR -3.SG.M.R.O fall.3SG.F.R

‘I (M or F) threw the man in the water’

In this example the man, masculine, is marked as such in the object affix on the verb ‘propel’. But the same argument is marked as feminine in the subject of the second verb ‘fall’.

³ These constructions are not uncommon in the languages of the world (Haspelmath 2016), as well as in Papuan languages (Roberts 1997). Note that they are regular serial verb constructions rather than switch reference constructions.

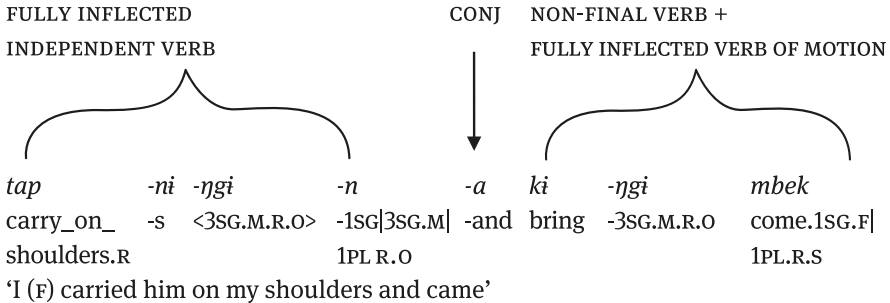
8.2.5 Serial verb constructions in young people's Tayap

The general rule for serialized verbs in young people's Tayap, unsurprisingly, is: the more complex the verb, the less likely it is that it will appear in the speech of young people.

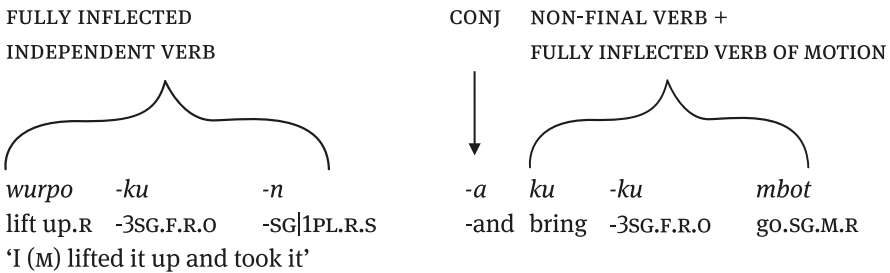
The first casualties, on that rule, are complex predicates like *tapratkingiatikitakana*, which require mastery of numerous derivational and morphological processes that are beyond the reach of young speakers.

A handful of the most fluent passive active speakers under thirty produced impressively complex forms like the following:

(8-23) a.



b.



Both (8-23a) and (8-23b) consist of an independent verb + the coordinating suffix *-a* followed by a non-final + final verb in a serial verb construction. Even these most complex forms, however, are always built around the grammaticalized verb *k'* and the simple verbs of motion 'go' and 'come' – in other words, they are built around the verbs 'bring' and 'take away'.

Even the weakest speakers can produce SVCs like *ku-ku-we* ('bring it and come') or *ku-ku-priek* ('she brought it up [to the village, from the mangrove swamp]')

because they have heard them numerous times every day since they were born, as imperatives directed at them and others, and as important parts of narratives.

8.3 Progressives and habituals

Progressive and habitual constructions are formed by means of complex predicates with the verb ‘to be’. They are formed in a similar fashion to each other. Intransitive progressives and habituals use the linking morpheme *-a(k)* ‘LINK’ to join the predicates, while transitive progressives and habituals combine the two predicates directly.

These complex predicates are not analyzed as serial verb constructions because of the use of the linker morpheme in intransitive constructions (cf. Haspelmath 2016: 296). Further, they are not coordinated clauses since they are more closely grammaticalized than that analysis would suggest.

They are therefore considered to be complex predicates in their own right.

8.3.1 Progressives

The progressive marks events that are occurring either at the moment of speaking (as in ‘I am eating a sago pancake’) or as a backdrop to another action in narration (for example ‘he was eating a sago pancake when they arrived’ or ‘she will be cooking when they come’). It can also express a recurring event or action, as in ‘I used to see Sopak in Wongan, but now I don’t anymore’.

The progressive is a complex predicate. It consists of two separate verb stems: an irrealis verb stem + linker (in the case of intransitives) + the verb ‘be’, which is inflected for person, number, TAM and status.

8.3.1.1 Intransitive progressive

The progressive aspect for the majority of intransitive verbs is formed as follows:

irrealis verb stem
+
*-a(k)*⁴ ‘LINK’
+
verb ‘be’⁵, inflected for TAM, status and subject

⁴ Realized as *-ak* before a vowel, *-a* elsewhere.

⁵ Note that in the progressive and habitual the verb ‘be’ has forms *wuk* realized as *uk* and *wuke* realized as *uke*.

Examples:

- (8-24) a. *yim prukakuk*
yim pruk -a kuk
 1PL work.IRR -LINK be.1PL.R
 ‘we are working’
- b. *yu anakŋa merni warakakut?*
yu anakŋa mer =ni warak -a kut
 2SG which language =INST speak.IRR -LINK be.SG.M.R
 ‘what language are you (M) speaking?’
- c. *kambromtukur suman aiakuk*
kambromtukur suman ai -ak uk
 huge rain big come.IRR -LINK be.3SG.F.R
 ‘a massive rainstorm is coming’

Intransitive verb roots that end in *-i* or *-w*, such as *mindī* ‘work sago’, *imbi* ‘fly’, *ipi* ‘burn’, *eiw* ‘wash sago’, *tuw* (bathe), as well as a few verbs with roots that both end in *r* and that exhibit class 2 (*p/w*) alternation in their realis-irrealis stems, form the progressive as follows:

irrealis verb stem
 +
-rik/-ruk ‘PROG’
 +
 verb ‘be’, inflected for TAM and subject

Examples:

- (8-25) a. *mindirikkút*
mindī -rik kút
 pound sago pith.IRR -PROG be.SG.M.R
 ‘he is pounding sago pith’
- b. *tam aŋgu imbirikúk aŋgu*
tam aŋgu imbi -rik úk aŋgu
 bird DX.F fly.IRR -PROG be.3SG.F.R DX.F
 ‘that bird is flying’

- c. *rewrikkút inde*
rew -rik kút inde
 fear.IRR -PROG be.SG.M.R DX.F
 ‘he’s afraid’
- d. *warríkúk*
war -rik úk
 net.IRR -PROG be.3SG.F.R
 ‘she’s netting (fish)’
- e. *mbor werrikkúk*
mbor wer -rik úk
 pig dig.IRR -PROG be.3SG.F.R
 ‘the pig is digging’
- f. *ngu tuwrukúk*
ngu tuw -ruk úk
 3SG.F bathe.IRR -PROG be.3SG.F.R
 ‘she is bathing’
- g. *yim amrukkúk*
yim am -ruk kúk
 1PL fight.IRR -PROG be.1SG.F|2SG.F|1PL.R
 ‘we are fighting’

The progressive morpheme *-rik* has the same form as the counterfactual morpheme (see Section 9.4.3). The counterfactual morpheme, however, is always stressed, whereas the progressive *-rik* is always unstressed.

Progressive verbs formed with *-rik* also have a different stress pattern from progressive verbs formed with *-ak*. Verbs with *-ak* take stress on the final syllable of the verb stem. Progressive verbs formed with *-rik* or *-ruk* take stress on the final syllable of the inflected verb.

Temporality on progressive verbs is expressed by the fully inflected final verb ‘be’. Thus, a future progressive is formed as follows:

- (8-26) *ngi pororakakundak*
ngi poror -ak akundak
 3PL sing.IRR -LINK be.3PL.IRR
 ‘they will be singing’

8.3.1.2 Transitive progressive

The progressive aspect for transitive verbs is formed in the same manner as for intransitive verbs, except that in the place of the progressive morpheme, a benefactive object morpheme appears. The pattern is as follows:

irrealis verb stem
+
benefactive object
+
verb ‘be’, inflected for TAM, status and subject

Benefactive object morphemes are a distinct set of object morphemes that normally foreground possession or the fact that the action expressed by the verb impacts on a particular entity. They are discussed in Section 7.5.

In the progressive, these morphemes always occur with a final *n*. They encode the features of the transitive object, and have none of the associations with possession or that the verb impacts particularly upon the entity. Their forms are:

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	-ian	-man	-man
2	-wan	-man	-man
3F	-kwan		
		-man	-mban
3M	-ŋgan		

Examples:

(8-27) a. *ŋa mum akwankut*

ŋa *mum* *a* *-kwan* *kut*
1SG sago jelly consume.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.O be.SG.M.R
‘I (M) am eating sago jelly’

b. *oremŋi munjenum ambankut*

orem *=ŋi* *munjenum* *a* *-mban* *kut*
crocodile =ERG.M man.PL consume.IRR -3PL.BEN.O be.SG.M.R
‘the crocodile is eating the men’

c. *ŋguyi ŋa oianuk*

ŋgu *=yi* *ŋa* *o* *-ian* *uk*
3SG.F =ERG.F 1SG strike.IRR -1SG.BEN.O be.3SG.F.R
‘she is hitting me’

- d. *ripim ŋa Sopak rarkwankut Potore, ene wákare rarkru*
ripim ŋa Sopak rar -kwan kut Potow =re
 before 1SG Sopak see.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.O be.SG.M.R Wongan =LOC
ene wákare rar -kru
 nowadays NEG see.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O
 ‘I (M) used to see (lit. ‘am seeing’) Sopak in Wongan, but now I
 don’t anymore’

Transitive and intransitive progressive verbs are favored by the weakest speakers of Tayap, and they are over-extended to express temporal relationships that more correctly would be expressed by the non-future tense. As was discussed in Chapter 6, the non-future forms of Tayap verbs are irregular and complicated to construct. In comparison, the progressive is easy: all one needs to know in order to form it is the following:

- (1) the irrealis verb stem (which doesn’t change for speaker or referent);
- (2) the object (which will frequently be *-kwan*, the 3SG.F.BEN.O form); and
- (3) the correct form of the verb ‘be’, which would be heard hundreds of times every day in the village.

This means that if you know the IRR verb stem and the object (which, again, will usually be the 3SG.F.BEN.O form, *-kwan*), you have two-thirds of the verb formed. All you need to complete it is the correct form of the verb ‘be’.

The weaker a speaker is, the more she or he will avoid talking about any subject other than ‘I’, ‘you’, ‘he’, ‘she’ or ‘we’ – which means that there are only three endings to choose from: *-kuk* (which expresses 1SG.F, 2SG.F and 1PL), *-kut* (1SG.M, 2SG.M and 3SG.M) and *-(w)uk* (3SG.F).

8.3.2 Habituals (HAB)

The habitual aspect marks an action as one that occurs all the time. To signal habituality, speakers can use the progressive aspect, which has just been discussed above. However, if they want to *emphasize* the habitually recurring nature of an action or event, they use the habitual aspect.

An example of the habitual in use is the following comment, made about a three-year-old child who loved to eat and who always managed to be on hand when meals in several households were being served:

- (8-28) *ŋi mum akwanawkkut*
ŋi mum a -kwan awk kut
 3SG.M sago_jelly consume.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.O be.HAB be.SG.M.R
 ‘he is always eating sago jelly’

This habitual form can also carry the implication that the person who ‘is always eating sago jelly’ doesn’t readily eat other forms of sago, such as sago pancakes.

The habitual is formed in exactly the same way as the progressive, except that ‘be’ at the end of the verb is inflected with a specific form that expresses habituality, *awk-*, followed by an inflected form of ‘be’. Thus, intransitive verbs that express the habitual progressive are formed as follows:

irrealis verb stem
+
linker *-a(k)*⁶
+
HAB ‘be’, inflected for TAM, status and subject
+
verb ‘be’, inflected for TAM, status and subject

Examples:

(8-29) a. *arore arore ruru sene emrariakawkuke*

aro-re aro-re ruru sene
day-ADV day-ADV child.DL two

emrari -ak awk uke
play.IRR -LINK be.HAB be.DL.R
‘every day all those two kids do is play’

b. *arore arore noŋor aŋgu sapkini pororakawkuk*

aro-re aro-re noŋor aŋgu sapkini
day-ADV day-ADV woman DX.F for_no_reason

poror -ak awk uk
sing.IRR -LINK be.HAB be.3SG.F.R
‘every day that woman is always singing for no reason’

⁶ Realized as *-ak* before a vowel, *-a* elsewhere.

With transitive verbs, the habitual is formed as follows:

irrealis verb stem
+
benefactive object morpheme
in its progressive form (i.e. ending in *n*)
+
HAB ‘be’, inflected for TAM, status and subject
+
verb ‘be’, inflected for TAM, status and subject

Examples:

(8-30) a. *n̄īnī ndagro sisirkwanawkkut inde*

n̄ī =*n̄ī* *ndagro* *sisir* *-kwan* *awk*
3SG.M = ERG.M palm leaf sew.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.O be.HAB

kut *inde*
be.SG.M.R DX.M

‘he is always sewing palm leaves’ (to make roofing shingles)

b. *Ōnarān̄yī orákān̄gar apukwanawkkuk*

Ōnarān̄ =*yí* *orákān̄gar* *apu* *-kwan* *awk*
Ōnarān̄ =ERG.F food cook.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.O be.HAB

uk
be.3SG.F.R

‘Ōnarān̄ is always cooking food’

Besides ‘be’, only two other verbs in Tayap – ‘come’ and ‘go’ – have suppletive habitual stem forms:

ai → *aiak*
come.IRR come.HAB

o → *wak*
go.IRR go.HAB

These habitual stems combine directly with the habitual form of ‘be’, as follows:

- (8-31) a. *aro sami yim wakawkkuk’ Potore*
aro sami yim wak awk kuk Potow =re
 day many 1PL go.HAB be.HAB go.1SG.F|3SG.F|1PL.R Wongan =LOC
 ‘we go to Wongan every day’
- b. *ngi arore arore nare sokoy aiakawkwuk⁸ moserkrunana*
ngi aro -re aro -re na =re soki
 3PL day -ADV day -ADV 1SG =LOC tobacco
- aiak awk ngwuk*
 come.HAB be.HAB be.3PL.R
- moser -kru -nana*
 buy.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -INTENT
- ‘they come to me every day to buy tobacco’

Habituality can also be expressed not using a complex predicate like those discussed above, but by using an inflected form of the verb ‘to be’ as a simple predicate. Habitual verbs can express habituality in a variety of temporalities. It is possible to say that an action will always be happening in the future, for example. This is done by taking the habitual stem *awk-* and inflecting it for future tense. So compare:

- (8-32) a. *a-ku-tak* b. *awk-ku-tak*
 be.IRR-IRR-3SG.F.IRR be.HAB-IRR-3SG.F.IRR
 ‘it will be’ ‘it will habitually be’

⁷ often shortened to *wakuk*

⁸ Often shortened to *aiaknguk*

9 Simple and complex sentences

This final chapter of the grammar describes simple and complex sentences, tail-head linkage, and the way in which young speakers typically form complex clauses.

Complex sentences are of three main types: coordinated clauses, cosubordinate clauses and subordinate clauses.

Coordinated clauses are independent clauses joined by various conjunctions.

Cosubordinate clauses themselves are of two types: modifying and manner structures.

Subordinate clauses are also of three types: adverbial clauses (including counterfactual clauses), relative clauses and perception constructions.

Tayap also has finite nominalizations, and these are discussed after the discussion of relative clauses.

9.1 Simple sentences

A simple sentence in Tayap may consist of no more than an inflected verb. Thus, a complex predicate like the serial verb construction discussed throughout the previous chapter, *tapratkiŋiatikitakana* ‘she intends to carry him down on her shoulders’ is a fully formed sentence in Tayap. A simpler example is:

- (9-1) *puko*
come_up.3PL.R
‘they came up’

Word order is relatively flexible, since the grammatical relations of core constituents and other elements are expressed through morphology and potentially marked on NPs by case clitics like the ergative. However, Tayap is a verb-final language and the unmarked order of elements in a declarative intransitive sentence is Subject-Verb (SV), and in a declarative transitive sentence Subject-Object-Verb (AOV):

- | | SUBJECT | VERB |
|----------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| (9-2) a. | <i>prerikin</i> | <i>pipiek-ara</i> |
| | sweet_potato | burn.3SG.F 1PL.R-PERF |
| | ‘the sweet potato burned’ | |

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|--|
| | SUBJECT | OBJECT | VERB | |
| b. | <i>Merew-ηgro=gi</i> | <i>munje</i> | <i>par-ηgi-ro</i> | |
| | Sanae-PL=ERG.PL | man | bury.R-3SG.M.R.O-3PL.R.S | |
| | ‘the Sanae villagers buried the man’ | | | |

In transitive clauses that contain a subject, an object, and an oblique argument, the order of object and oblique is fairly free, with the caveat that the object never follows the verb, while the oblique argument can. Also, the subject normally occurs in the sentence-initial position. Some examples of various word orders follow:

- | | | | | |
|----------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| | SUBJECT | DIRECT
OBJECT | VERB | OBLIQUE |
| (9-3) a. | <i>Sopak=yi</i> | <i>orákaŋgar</i> | <i>ni-tu-ku-n</i> | <i>yim=ana</i> |
| | Sopak=ERG.F | food | make.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG 3SG.F.R.S | 1PL=DAT |
| | ‘Sopak made us food’ | | | |

- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|
| | SUBJECT | DIRECT
OBJECT | OBLIQUE | VERB |
| b. | <i>Sopak=yi</i> | <i>orákaŋgar</i> | <i>yim=ana</i> | <i>ni-tu-ku-n</i> |
| | Sopak=ERG.F | food | 1PL=DAT | make.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG 3SG.F.R.S |
| | ‘Sopak made us food’ | | | |

- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------------------------|
| | SUBJECT | OBLIQUE | DIRECT
OBJECT | VERB |
| c. | <i>Sopak=yi</i> | <i>yim=ana</i> | <i>orákaŋgar</i> | <i>ni-tu-ku-n</i> |
| | Sopak=ERG.F | 1PL=DAT | food | make.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG 3SG.F.R.S |
| | ‘Sopak made us food’ | | | |

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| (9-4) | OBJECT | VERB | SUBJECT | |
| | <i>pom̩ŋ</i> | <i>ta-tu-ku-re</i> | <i>omindeominde</i> | <i>sene ŋan</i> |
| | conch | hear.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>DL.R.S | spouse.PL | two 3SG.M.POSS |
| | ‘his two wives heard the conch shell’ | | | |

Verbless clauses also exist. The subject precedes the complement. For example:

- | | |
|-------|-----------------|
| (9-5) | <i>ŋa aında</i> |
| | 1SG DX |
| | ‘It’s me’ |

- (9-6) *omindeominde yum=ke?*
 spouse.PL 2PL=Q
 ‘Are you my lovers?’

Negated verbless clauses use the general negator *wákare*, which occurs finally:

- (9-7) *ŋa tam ror wákare*
ŋa tam ror wákare
 1SG bird child NEG
 ‘I’m not a baby bird’

9.2 Complex sentences: Coordinate, subordinate and cosubordinate clauses

Complex sentences consist of coordinate, cosubordinate or subordinate structures. The following suffixes and free morphemes function to express these clause types.

Clause-coordinating suffixes (conjunctions): Sections 9.3.1, 9.3.2	<i>-(y)a</i> ‘and’ <i>-api</i> ‘then’, ‘afterwards’
Clause-coordinating words: Sections 9.3.3, 9.3.4	<i>ŋgi(na)napi</i> ‘therefore’, ‘for that reason’ <i>ayáta</i> ‘never mind that’, ‘even though’, ‘it doesn’t matter that’
Clause-subordinating suffix and words: Section 9.4	<i>-re</i> ‘if’, ‘when’, ‘while’, ‘because’ <i>pi</i> } <i>pime</i> } hypothetical <i>ndi</i> }
Clause-cosubordinating suffixes (medial-final chains) Section 9.8	<i>-ra</i> ‘modifier’ <i>-kar</i> ‘manner’
Other complex clause combining (see Section 9.10)	<i>-rar</i> ‘multiplicative’

9.3 Coordinated clauses

9.3.1 Coordinated clauses with conjunctive *-(y)a* ('and')

The simplest way to link verbs in Tayap is to add a conjunctive morpheme *-a* (realized as *-ya* after a vowel) glossed as 'and' to fully inflected verbs that occur in a series. Verbs linked in this manner express sequentiality: X happened, then Y happened, then Z happened, and so on.

For example:

- (9-8) a. *Konjab adimbota sindineta turoni siniet*
Konjab adimbot -a sindi -net -a
 Konjab trip.SG.M.R -and slip.R -1SG.M|3SG.M.R -and
- turo =ni siniet*
 slope =LOC go_down.SG.M.R
 'Konjab tripped, lost his footing and slid down the slope'
- b. *yu urekteta raretet!*
yu urek -tet -a rare -tet
 2SG turn.SBJ -2SG.M.R -and look.SBJ -2SG.M.R
 'turn around and look!'

All the clauses linked together in this way are independent clauses. For example:

- (9-9) *mbuspimbroya nda ŋgi prike*
mbuspi -mb -ro -ya nda ŋgi prike
 send.R -3PL.R.O -3PL.R-S -and DM 3PL come_up.DL.R
 'They sent them off and the two came [back] up [to Gapun].'
- (9-10) a. *yum aikiya ŋanana orákangar apukru wákare*
yum ai-ki -ya ŋa =nana orákangar
 2PL come.IRR-IRR -and 1SG =DAT food
- apu -kru wákare*
 cook.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 'you all didn't come and cook any food for me'
- b. *ŋiŋi okiya minjike moserkruya aikiya ŋare mbudjikru wákare*
ŋi =ŋi o -ki -ya minjike moser -kru
 3SG.M =ERG.M go.IRR -IRR -and betel_nut buy.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O

-*ya ai -ki -ya ŋa =re mbudji -kru wákare*
 -and come.IRR -IRR -and 1SG =ALL sell.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 ‘he didn’t go and buy betel nut and come and sell it to me’

Note that in both examples in (9-10), even though the negating word *wákare* appears only once, the scope of negation covers all verbs, and all verbs appear in the irrealis form that they take when negated:

<i>ai-ki</i>	}	
come.IRR-IRR		
<i>apu-kru</i>		
cook.IRR-3SG.F.IRR.O		
<i>o-ki</i>		
go.IRR-IRR		
<i>moser-kru</i>		
buy.IRR-3SG.F.IRR.O		
<i>ai-ki</i>		
come.IRR-IRR		
<i>mbudji-kru</i>		
sell.IRR-3SG.F.IRR.O		
		<i>wákare</i>
		NEG

However, the scope of negation can also cover just the final independent clause: see below, example (9-11c).

Note that these structures are considered to be series of independent coordinated clauses. It is possible to consider them as single complex predications, particularly as the scope of negation can cover the whole coordinated series. But an analysis of coordinated clauses is preferred here, since each of the verbs is a fully inflected independent verb, which can take its own overt NP arguments as individual clauses do, and which can stand on its own. In addition, there is an overt linker joining the clauses, making an analysis of a single predicate less viable (Haspelmath 2016: 296).

It is also possible to consider these sequences as medial-final chaining (cosubordinate) constructions (Longacre 2007: 398). However, the non-final verbs receive the full range of inflections, as do the final verbs. In medial-final chains the non-final verbs are cosubordinate (see below, Section 9.8). For those reasons it seems best to treat these sequences as independent coordinated clauses.

Coordinate clauses do not have to share subjects, and as examples (9-11c and d) show, they can be independently negated:

- (9-11) a. *ngigi na utawtioya na katitet awinni*
ngi =gi na utaw -t -i -o -ya
 3PL =ERG.PL 1SG push.R -S <1SG.R.O> -3PL.R.S -and
na katitet awin =ni
 1SG fall.1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R water =ALL
 ‘they pushed me and I fell in the water’
- b. *nojoryi tatingina mbor wemperkureya munjeri pokun*
nojor =yi ta -ti -ngi -n -a mbor
 woman =ERG-F see.R -S <3SG.M.R.O> -2SG.F|3SG.F.R.S -and pig
wemper -ku- -re -ya munje =ni
 chase.R -3SG.F.R.O DL.R.S- -and man =ERG.M
po -ku- -n
 strike.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘the woman saw him and the two of them chased the pig and the man speared it’
- c. *Kamayi awin andrupekuna non worerraatiki wákare*
Kama =yi awin andrupe -ku -n -a
 Kama =ERG.F water carry_on_head.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S -and
worer -ra ati -ki wákare
 capsized.IRR -MOD fall.IRR -IRR NEG
 ‘Kama carried some water and none of it spilled’
- d. *ngigi na utawi wakarere na katitet awinni*
ngi =gi na utaw -i wákare -re
 3PL =ERG.PL 1SG push.IRR -1SG.IRR.O NEG -SUB
na katitet awin =ni
 1SG fall.1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R water =ALL
 ‘they didn’t push me and I fell in the water’

All these examples contain separate clauses, each one headed by fully inflected independent verbs. The first two examples express a sequential relationship between the actions: they pushed me *and then* I fell (9-11a); the woman saw the man, *and then* the two of them chased the pig, *and then* the man speared the pig (9-11b). This relationship of sequentiality is the most common implication of clauses joined with *-a*.

But as (9-11c) shows, *-a* can also coordinate clauses that express a simultaneous rather than sequential relationship between the actions: Kama carried the water *and while she was carrying it*, none of it spilled.

9.3.2 Coordination with *-api* ‘afterward’ (AFT)

The suffix *-api* links clauses that encode actions that occur consecutively, one after the other. It is affixed to a verb that is fully inflected for person, number and TAM and takes its own arguments. The suffix marks that verb as an action that was or will be completed before the action in the clause that follows it occurred or will occur.

Like *-a*, *-api* can link clauses that involve either the same subject or different subjects. Again, it joins full independent clauses.

Examples are:

- (9-12) a. *ŋa tuwkunetapi aikinet yure*
ŋa tuw -ku -net -api
 1SG wash.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR -AFT
- ai -ki -net yu =re*
 come.IRR -IRR -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR 2SG =ALL
 ‘I’ll wash first, then I’ll come to you’
- b. *ŋgomiek -api karep pwiek*
 fight.3PL.R -AFT moon rise.3SG.F.R
 ‘after they fought, the moon rose’

9.3.3 Coordination with *ŋgi(na)napi* ‘therefore’, ‘for that reason’

Some speakers pronounce this form *ŋgu(na)napi*, which indicates that it might be analyzed as *ŋgu* (3SG.F)+ the coordinating suffix *-api*. So: ‘after it’.

Ŋginanapi (or *ŋginapi*) is a freestanding word. It introduces a clause that expresses cause or reason, thereby combining two main clauses:

- (9-13) a. *ŋgiŋi Kama ŋgarkwannŋuk ŋgarkwannŋuk, ŋginapi ŋgu wek*
ŋgi =gi Kama ŋgar -kwan -ŋguk
 3PL =ERG.PL Kama call_out.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.O -be.3PL.R.S

ngar -kwan -nguk nginapi ngu wek
 call_out.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.O -be.3PL.R.S therefore 3SG.F come. 3SG.F.R
 ‘They kept calling out to Kama and that’s why she came’

- b. *ewar ngadan utok, nginapi ni waiki wákare*
ewar ngadan utok nginapi ni wai
 yesterday sore appear.3SG.F.R therefore 3SG.M walk.IRR

-ki wákare

-IRR NEG

‘Yesterday a sore appeared [on his leg] and therefore he didn’t walk’

9.3.4 Coordination with *ayáta* ‘although’, ‘it doesn’t matter that’, ‘never mind that’

Ayáta is a word most familiar to the villagers as an interjection of impatience or dismissal, in its meaning of ‘Stop it!’ or ‘Never mind’ (see Section 3.10). It is this latter sense of dismissal that is expressed when the word is used in a sentence as a clause-coordinating conjunction.

- (9-14) a. *ayáta ni munje suman, nime na namngarke*
ayáta ni munje suman na nam -garke
 although 3SG.M man big thusly 1SG talk.IRR -PROH
 ‘It doesn’t matter that he’s a big man, he can’t talk to me like that’

Note the position of the negative in the following sentence, and note also that its scope covers both ‘go’ and ‘see’ verbs, which are both in their negative stripped down form.

- b. *ayáta ni aikinana waraknet, na wákare inda oki rarŋri*
ayáta ni ai -ki -nana warak -net
 although 3SG.M come.IRR -IRR -INTENT talk.R -1SG.M|3SG.M.R

na wákare inda o -ki rar -ŋri

1SG NEG DX.M go.IRR -IRR see.IRR -3SG.M.IRR.O

‘Never mind that he talked about coming, I’m not going to go see him’

- c. *ayáta ŋi aiki wákare, yim orákangar nirkrunak*
ŋgi ayáta ai -ki wákare yim orákangar
 3PL although come.IRR -IRR NEG 1PL food

nir *-kru* *-nak*
 make.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -1SG.F|1PL.IRR.S
 ‘Even though they didn’t come, we’ll make food’

Sentences with *ayáta* can also occur in construction with the verb in the clause that follows *ayáta* in the prohibitive mood. For example:

- (9-15) a. ***ayáta*** *tukur aɨŋgarke, yim okitikenana*
ayáta *tukur ai* *-ŋgarke* *yim o* *-ki* *-tike*
 although rain come.IRR -PROH 1PL go.IRR -IRR -DL.IRR

-nana
 -INTENT
 ‘Even if it rains, we’ll go’
- b. ***ayáta*** *ikur katkat sirŋgarke, ŋgi aikindakana aŋgi*
ayáta *ikur katkat sir* *-ŋgarke* *ŋgi*
 although evening quickly go_down.IRR -PROH 3PL

ai-ki-ndak-ana *aŋgi*
 come.IRR-IRR-3PL.IRR-INTENT DX
 ‘Even if night comes quickly, they’re going to come’

9.4 Adverbial subordinate clauses

9.4.1 Adverbial subordination with *-re* ‘when’, ‘if’, ‘while’ (SUB)

The suffix *-re* (realized as *-de* after *n*) attaches as a suffix to fully inflected verbs and marks a verb as expressing the background condition in relation to which the action indicated in the main clause occurs. This backgrounding nature of subordination is emphasized by the order of the subordinate and main clauses in Tayap: the subordinate clause always precedes the main clause.

In English, these are clauses that would be expressed with the subordinating conjunctions ‘if’ and ‘when’. Unlike English, though, Tayap makes no distinction between ‘if’ and ‘when’, at least when referring to unreal events; both are expressed by *-re*.

These clauses are semantically subordinate in that they specify a precondition for the action of the main clause to occur. They are not considered medial-final (cosubordinate) constructions, as the non-final verbs are structurally quite different, for instance they are not obligatorily irrealis (Section 9.8).

Examples are as follows:

- (9-16) a. *ña angok akrunetre, kambwan ambukrunet*
ña angok a -kru -net -re
 1SG DX.F consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S -SUB
kambwan ambu -kru -net
 vomit throw_up.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S
 ‘If I (M) eat that I will vomit’
- b. *pongrore, wasownet*
po -ng -ro -re wasow -net
 strike.R -3SG.M.R.O -3PL.R.S -SUB die.R -1SG.M|3SG.M.R
 ‘when they shot him, he died’
- c. *ñiji namñat angi supwáspwa ñanana ninkunde, ña ñgunana maikarpet*
ñi =ñi nam -ñat angi supwáspwa ña =nana
 3SG.M =ERG.M talk -half DX.F badly 1SG =DAT
ni -n -ku -n -de ña ñgu =nana
 do.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG.M|3SG.M|1PL.R.S -SUB 1SG 3SG.F =DAT
maikar-pet
 shame.R-SG.M.R
 ‘when he said that bad thing to me, I (M) became ashamed’

When verbs in both subordinate and main clauses are constructed in the progressive (see Section 8.3.1) the meaning of *-re* is ‘while’ and the actions indicated by the verbs occur simultaneously, not sequentially.

- (9-17) a. *ña prukakutre, ñi pororakut*
ña pruk -ak kut -re ñi
 1SG work.IRR -LINK be.3SG.M.R -SUB 3SG.M
poror -ak kut
 sing.IRR -LINK be.3SG.M.R
 ‘when I (M) am working, he sings’
- b. *ña mindirikutre, tukur aiki wákare*
ña mindiri kut -re tukur ai -ki
 1SG pound_sago.IRR be.3SG.M.R -SUB rain come.IRR -IRR

wákare

NEG

‘While I (M) was pounding sago, it didn’t rain’

- c. *ngatɲi awin akwankutɹe, ɲa poŋgin*

ngat =*ɲi* *awin* *a* -*kwan*
cassowary =ERG.M water consume.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.O.R

kut -*re* *ɲa* *po* -*ɲgi* -*n*
be.SG.M.R -SUB 1SG strike.R -3SG.M.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S

‘the cassowary was drinking water when I (M or F) speared him’

Negative conditionals occur paratactically without *-re*, perhaps because the negation word *wákare* already ends in *re*:

- (9-18) *yu ɲaɲan nam tariati wákare, ɲayi yu adrunet*

yu ɲaɲan nam tar -iati wákare
2SG 1SG.POSS talk listen.IRR -1SG.BEN.O.IRR NEG

ɲa =yi yu adu -ru -net
1SG =ERG.F 2SG hit.IRR -2SG.IRR.O -1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR

‘If you (M or F) don’t listen to my talk, I (M) am going to hit you’

9.4.2 Adverbial subordination with the hypothetical particles *pi*, *pime*, *ndi* (HYPO)

Counterfactual events are expressed by a main clause (‘I would have killed the snake’) and a subordinate clause (‘if I had seen it in time’). As discussed in the following section, Section 9.4.3, counterfactual constructions, in addition to being formed with a particular inflectional morphology, also obligatorily take a particle that can be glossed as ‘hypothetical’.

This particle, which can be either *pi*, *pime* or *ndi* marks the clause in which it appears as the subordinate clause. These particles all have their own stress.

Like the previous clauses, these clauses are semantically subordinate.

For example:

- (9-19) a. *pipingabu aŋgwar pime, oŋgab wawarwekrikrukun*

pipingabu a -aŋgwar pime, oŋgab
hook be.IRR -NFN.SG HYPO pot

wawarwek -rik -nu -ku -n
 hang_up.CF -CF -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG.M|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘If there had been a hook, I would have hung up the pot’

- b. *ŋi mbid tarkru wákare ndi, mindiriknet*
ŋi mbid tar -kru wákare ndi
 3SG.M pain get.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG HYPO
- mindí -rik -net*
 work_sago.CF -CF -1SG.M|3SG.M.R
 ‘If he hadn’t gotten a pain, he would have worked sago’

Unlike the clause-linking constituents *-a*, *-api* and *-re*, the hypothetical particles *pi*, *pime* and *ndi* are not bound morphemes. They are free morphemes that tend to be clause final, as the following examples show:

- (9-20) a. *Mbanuŋ ewar awknet pi, wakŋin*
Mbanuŋ ewar awk -net pi
 1SG yesterday be.CF -1SG.M|3SG.M.R HYPO
- wak- -ŋgi -n*
 -strike.CF- -3SG.M.R.O- -1SG.M|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘If Mbanuŋ had been here yesterday, I would have hit him’
- b. *yu noŋor mambir pi, arriknun*
yu noŋor mambir pi
 2SG woman young HYPO
- ar -rik -n -u -n*
 marry -CF -S <2SG.R.O> -1SG.M|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘If you were young, I would marry you’

When appearing with a verb inflected in the intentional mood (see Sections 5.4.2.3 and Section 7.4), *pi* (or *ndi*, which is also sometimes used in this context) means ‘If X want(s) to do Y...’. For example:

- (9-21) a. *Kiki Potowre atikinana pi, namku wetak*
Kiki Potow =re ati -ki -nana pi
 Kiki Wongan =ALL go_down.IRR -IRR -INTENT HYPO
- nam -ku we -tak*
 talk.SBJ -3SG.F.R.O come.SBJ -3SG.F.R.S
 ‘If Kiki wants to go down to Wongan, tell her to come’

- (9-22) a. *Yu mum akrunana pi, oteta Sopakyi mum iwatitak*
yu mum a -kru -nana pi
 2SG sago_jelly consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -INTENT HYPO
o -tet -a Sopak =yi mum
 go.SBJ -2SG.M -and Sopak =ERG.F sago_jelly
i -wati -tak
 give.IRR -2SG.BEN.O.IRR -2SG.F|3SG.F.IRR.S
 ‘If you want to eat sago jelly, go and Sopak will give you some sago jelly’

Ndi behaves slightly differently to *pi* and *pime*. *Ndi* is also a discourse marker that highlights the noun phrase that it follows in ongoing talk (see Section 3.11.2). However, when it occurs in a clause with a verb inflected in counterfactual mood, *ndi* conveys a hypothetical meaning.

Ndi is also the particle that usually follows the negation *wákare* in a negative counterfactual sentence, for example:

- (9-23) *ewar tukur aiki wákare ndi yim patir andikrikkun*
ewar tukur ai -ki wákare ndi
 yesterday rain come.IRR -IRR NEG HYPO
yim patir andik -rik -ku -n
 1PL house roof.CF -CF -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘If it hadn’t rained yesterday, we would have roofed the house’

9.4.3 Counterfactual (cf)

The counterfactual expresses an action or event that could have happened but did not or cannot happen, as in ‘If he had gone hunting yesterday, he would have speared a cassowary’, or ‘If you had been young, I would marry you’. Some of the ways of constructing the counterfactual have become moribund in Tayap. There are a number of morphologically rather complex subtypes. The counterfactual has the largest degree of variation documented for any verb form in Tayap. Already in the 1980s, I was told by senior men that a clause like ‘would have gone’ could be expressed as *wakret*, *waknet*, *wakriknet* or *wakrikret*, and that all of those verbs meant exactly the same thing.

By 2009, the oldest fluent speakers were constructing counterfactual sentences differently from what I had recorded in the 1980s. Those oldest speakers

were still able to produce counterfactual morphology, but they only inflected one of the verbs in a counterfactual construction consisting of two clauses. Most speakers under fifty, however, could not do even this. Those speakers constructed counterfactual sentences without using any counterfactual morphology.

And even relatively fluent Tayap speakers younger than forty have stopped using Tayap in the main clause of a counterfactual construction.

Senior men in the 1980s expressed the counterfactual as follows:

IF-CLAUSE	THEN-CLAUSE
verb inflected with counterfactual morphology + hypothetical particle <i>pi, pime</i> or <i>ndi</i>	verb inflected with counterfactual morphology

Example:

- (9-24) *njenum Mbowdireki munɡit wakndak pi, ɲɡi ɲɡat non wakɲgro*
njenum Mbowdi =reki munɡit wak¹ -ndak pi,
 dog.PL Mbowdi =COM recently go.CF -3PL.IRR HYPO
- ɲɡi ɲɡat non wak -ɲɡ -ro*
 3PL cassowary INDEF strike.CF -3SG.M.R.O -3PL.R.S
- ‘If the dogs had gone with Mbowdi the other day, they would have speared a cassowary’

By 2009, the oldest fluent speakers were expressing counterfactuality by nominalizing the verb in the if-clause with the non-finite suffix *-(ɲ)gar* (see Section 4.2):

IF-CLAUSE	THEN-CLAUSE
irr verb stem affixed with <i>-ɲgar</i> + hypothetical particle <i>pi, pime</i> or <i>ndi</i>	verb inflected with counterfactual morphology

Example:

- (9-25) *Mairumyi ɲanana sokoi mokir iɲgar pime, tuwakriknukun*
Mairum =yi ɲa =nana sokoi mokir i -ɲgar pime
 Mairum =ERG.F 1SG =DAT tobacco seedling give.IRR -NFN.SG HYPO

1 Note that the counterfactual form of *oki* (‘go’) is exceptional. See Section 9.4.3.1.

tuwak -rik -nu -ku -n
 plant.CF -CF -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘If Mairum had given me a tobacco seedling, I would have planted it’ (lit.
 ‘Mairum hypothetically a giver of a tobacco seedling, I would have planted it’)

Counterfactual morphology is still used in the example above, but unlike the senior men in the 1980s, the oldest speakers of Tayap in 2009 only used it for the verb of the then-clause. In this case, the counterfactual meaning of the if-clause is borne by the hypothetical particle *pi*, *pime* or *ndi*, not by verb morphology. Constructing a counterfactual sentence like this was a possibility earlier, and I have a few recorded examples of this form from the 1980s. But they are rare. The overwhelming majority of the examples I recorded in the 1980s inflected the verbs in both the if-clause and the then-clause with the counterfactual morphology.

Counterfactual morphology is completely absent in the language of fluent speakers between the ages of forty and fifty-five in 2009. They consistently express counterfactuality without using any counterfactual morphology at all:

IF-CLAUSE	THEN-CLAUSE
IRR verb stem affixed with <i>-ngar</i> for all subjects + hypothetical particle <i>pi</i> , <i>pime</i> or <i>ndi</i>	verb inflected in future tense

Example:

(9-26) *ngigi Mbanan rarngar pi, wemberngrindak*
ngi =gi Mbanan rar -ngar pi,
 3PL =ERG.PL Mbanan perceive.IRR -NFN.SG HYPO
wember -ngri -ndak
 chase.IRR -3SG.M.IRR.O -3PL.IRR.S
 ‘If they had seen Mbanan, they would have chased him’ (lit. ‘Those hypothetically who are see-ers of Mbanan, *they will chase him*’)

This trend continues in the speech of speakers in their early forties and younger. On the few occasions when these speakers formulate a counterfactual statement, the entire then-clause is in Tok Pisin, not Tayap:

IF-CLAUSE	THEN-CLAUSE
IRR verb stem affixed with <i>-ngar</i> for all subjects + hypothetical particle <i>pi</i> , <i>pime</i> or <i>ndi</i>	entire clause in Tok Pisin, with verb inflected in the present or future tense

Example:

(9-27) *ŋaŋano aŋgwar ndi, yu kisim bikpela bagarap long moning*

ŋa -ŋano a -ŋgwar ndi,
1SG -REFL be.IRR -NFN.SG HYPO

yu kisim bikpela bagarap long moning
2SG get big damage PREP morning (all Tok Pisin)

‘If I had been there myself, you would have gotten hurt in the morning’
(lit. ‘Me myself hypothetically present, you get big damage in the morning’; i.e. I would have beaten you up)

It is possible that the counterfactual has been on its way out of Tayap for quite some time. That, at any rate, may be one explanation for the fact that already in the 1980s it exhibited the widest variation of any verbal morphology.

Another explanation could be that the various forms, even if they had the same literal meaning, had different stylistic nuances. If so, those nuances had already been lost even in the speech of senior men in the 1980s.

9.4.3.1 How to form a counterfactual verb

Counterfactual morphology is quite specific. Intransitive verbs use their irrealis stems, and transitive verbs their realis stems.

The actual stem form of many intransitive verbs is the same as their irrealis form. But other verb stems have suppletive forms. They change in regular ways, but most of the forms occur nowhere else in Tayap (an exception is the counterfactual form for *o* ‘go’, which is the same as that verb’s habitual stem, see Section 8.3.2). The changes to the verb stems are as follows:

class 1 & class 2 verb stems that contain *e* → *wek*

class 1 & class 2 verb stems that contain *o* → *wak*

class 1 & class 2 verb stems that contain *i* → *ik*

class 3 verb stems, *a* → *ak*

EXCEPTIONS: (1) the verb ‘be’, *a-*, becomes *awk* in CF

(2) the verb ‘marry’, *ar-*, remains the same and does not change to *ak* in CF

The following is a full list of how counterfactual intransitive verbs are formed.

SUBJECT PRONOUN	VERB STEM	COUNTERFACTUAL AFFIX	SUBJECT ENDING
<i>ŋa</i> 'I'			- <i>ret</i> (CF) or - <i>net</i> (IRR) (M speaker) - <i>rak</i> (CF) or - <i>nak</i> (IRR) (F speaker)
<i>yu</i> 'you'	VERB STEM INFLECTED FOR COUNTERFACTUAL (IN MOST CASES THIS IS THE SAME AS THE STEM IN IRREALIS)	+ (- <i>rik</i>) +	- <i>ret</i> (CF) or - <i>net</i> (IRR) (M referent) - <i>rak</i> (CF) or - <i>nak</i> (IRR) (F referent)
<i>ŋi</i> 'he'			- <i>ret</i> (CF) or - <i>net</i> (IRR)
<i>ŋgu</i> 'she'			- <i>rak</i> (CF) or - <i>tak</i> (IRR)
<i>yim</i> 'we'			- <i>nak</i>
<i>yum</i> 'you PL'			- <i>nkem</i>
<i>ŋgi</i> 'they'			- <i>ndak</i>
DL			-(<i>ti</i>) <i>ke</i>

Note that the counterfactual *-rik* is always stressed, in which point it differs from the formally identical progressive marker also *-rik* (see Section 8.3.1.1).

The counterfactual affix *-rik* is optional in those cases where the form of the verb stem in the counterfactual differs from its form in the irrealis. So, for example, a verb like 'be' is realized as *a* in its irrealis form, but in the counterfactual, it becomes *awk*. This partially suppletive stem change makes the counterfactual morpheme *-rik* redundant. Therefore, it can be omitted. But it doesn't have to be omitted.

The phrase 'she would have been' can thus be expressed in any of the following four ways:

awk-rik-rak
awk-rik-tak
awk-rak
awk-tak

Transitive verbs display a similar range of variation. They can be formed in ways that either include or exclude the following morphemes in parentheses. Note the realis forms of the subject and object affixes:

verb stem.CF	+ (-rik)	+ (-n ^v /-t ^v)	+ object.R	+ subject.R
	counterfactual suffix	subject suffix for transitive classes 4 and 5 (see Section 6.1.6)		

So a verb like ‘I would have eaten it’ has the following forms, all of which senior speakers insist mean the same:

verb stem.CF	+ (-rik)	+ (-n ^v /-t ^v)	+ object.R	+ subject.R	
<i>ak-</i>	<i>-rik</i>	<i>-nu-</i>	< <i>ku</i> >	<i>-n</i>	→ <i>akriknukun</i> ²
<i>ak-</i>	<i>-rik</i>		<i>-ku</i>	<i>-n</i>	→ <i>akrikkun</i>
<i>ak-</i>		<i>-nu-</i>	< <i>ku</i> >	<i>-n</i>	→ <i>aknukun</i>
<i>ak-</i>			<i>-ku</i>	<i>-n</i>	→ <i>akkun</i>

As with intransitive verbs, all these options for variation only apply to verbs that alter their stems in the counterfactual. They don’t apply to a verb like *moser* ‘buy’, for example, because that verb has the same stem form in both the irrealis and the counterfactual (since *moser* isn’t a class 1, 2 or 3 verb; see the discussion above about which verbs change their stem form in the counterfactual).³ In this case, where the stem does not change to express the counterfactual, the counterfactual morpheme *-rik* is needed – even if the *-n^v/-t^v* subject morphemes are optional.

So the full range of inflectional options listed above applies to verbs like *o* ‘hit’ or *wawar-(p/w)-e* ‘hang up’, because to express counterfactuality, those verb stems change and become *wak* and *wawarwek* respectively. In those instances, once again, the counterfactual affix *-rik* is redundant, since the stem change already signals counterfactuality.

Negative counterfactual actions are expressed by simply negating the relevant subordinate verb as in a main clause, and following this with one of the hypothetical particles (most commonly *ndi*), then expressing the main clause in the counterfactual as usual:

² In the morphological combination *-riknukun*, the morpheme-medial *n* and *u* undergo metathesis, resulting in [rəkunkun]

³ To lessen the risk for confusion, the verb stem of such verbs is glossed as CF in counterfactual constructions, even though the stem is identical with its IRR form. An example is (9-23).

- (9-28) a. *ɲayi rarŋgri wákare pi, aramɲi amiraknin*
ɲa=yi rar-ŋgri wákare pi, aram=ɲi
 1SG=ERG.F perceive.IRR-3SG.M.IRR.O NEG HYPO snake=ERG.M
amirak- -n -i -n
 bite.CF- -S- <1SG.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘If I hadn’t seen it, the snake would have bitten me’
- b. *Kono wasowki wákare ndi, ɲayi ɲgu arriknukun*
Kono wasow -ki wákare ndi ɲa =yi ɲgu
 Kono die.IRR -IRR NEG HYPO 1SG =ERG.F 3SG.F
ar -rik -nu -ku- -n
 marry.CF -CF -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 ‘If Kono hadn’t died, I would have married her’

9.5 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a clause which modifies a noun phrase, which “delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the [relative clause]” (Andrews 2007: 206). Relative clauses in Tayap are nominalized, marked with the inanimate possessive clitic =*ɲa(n)* which appears on the verb of the relative clause. This possessive clitic =*ɲa(n)* is added to a fully inflected verb, which then functions as a subordinate relative clause. The common argument or head (“domain nominal” in Andrews’ 2007 terms) of a relative and a main clause can be in S, A, O or oblique function in the relative clause and in the main clause.

Tayap relative clauses are external. The relative clause generally directly follows the common argument in the main clause. This is the position held by a nominal modifier (e.g. adjective) as well (see Chapter 4).

The common argument may also be expressed with a deictic (Section 3.8) functioning resumptively with respect to the head noun, and typically following the common argument directly: for example, consider (9-29a-b). In both examples there are two resumptive pronouns, in (9-29a) following the relative clause and as the final part of the main clause and in (9-29b) following the common argument and as the final part of the main clause. Note that these resumptive pronouns agree in gender and number with the common argument. They are not an obligatory part of relative clauses: see for example (9-29c) and (9-29f), which do not have them.

Note that the verb of the relative clause is fully inflected, and the relative clause contains all the usual components of a clause. The relative clause may

even contain a complex predicate: see for example (9-29f) which has a relative clause with a serial verb construction involving *k'* 'bring' in construction with a verb (see Section 8.2.3.1).

Relative clauses would appear to always be restrictive. No non-restrictive relative clauses have been found in the data. In the following example the possessive marker is in bold and the head noun in the main clause underlined.

- (9-29) a. *nim pʊŋgokawuk**ŋan** aŋgi kopi aŋgi*
nim pʊŋgok -a wuk =**ŋan** aŋgi kopi aŋgi
 tree stand.3SG.F.R -LINK be.3SG.F.R =POSS DX.F coffee (TP) DX.F
 'the tree which is standing there is coffee'
- b. *mum aŋgi ewar yim**ŋi** kakun**ŋan** eŋgon aŋgi*
mum aŋgi ewar yim =**ŋi**
 sago_jelly DX.F yesterday 1PL =ERG.M
*ka -ku -n =**ŋan** eŋgon aŋgi*
 eat.R <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S =POSS good DX.F
 'the sago jelly that we ate yesterday was good'
- c. *yu ato kut**ŋa** nirku wakare?*
yu ato kut =**ŋa** nir -ku wákare
 2SG down be.SG.M.R =POSS do.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG
 'you who were down there didn't do it?'
- d. *ŋayi kirawŋgar munje ainde tam **ŋan** ndagúni tatingatron**ŋan***
*ŋa =yi kiraw -ŋgar munje ainde tam **ŋan***
 1SG =ERG.F know.IRR -NFN.SG man DX.M bird 3SG.M.POSS
*ndagúni ta -ti -ŋgat -ro =**ŋan***
 furtively take.R -S <3SG.M.BEN.O.R> -3PL.R.S =POSS
 'I know the man whose bird they stole'
- e. *munje ainde Sopaki mámbakir piŋgat**ŋan** ainde mbet inde*
munje ainde Sopak =yi mámbakir pi -ŋgata -n
 man DX.M Sopak =ERG.F netbag give.R -3SG.M.BEN.O.R -SG|1PL.R.S
 =**ŋan** ainde mbet inde
 =POSS DX.M come. SG.M.R DX.M
 'the man to whom Sopak gave the netbag is coming'
- f. *ŋgigi Ayarpa pongro sawáran**ga** ŋan kukun**ŋwek**ŋani*
*ŋgi =gi Ayarpa po -ŋg -ro sawáran**ga***
 3PL =ERG.PL Ayarpa strike.R -3SG.M.R.O -3PL.S mace

ngan ku -ku ngwek =ɲa =ni
 3PL.POSS bring -3SG.F.R.O come.3PL.R.S =POSS =INST
 ‘they hit Ayarpa with their mace that they brought’

Note in the above example that the relative clause clearly appears inside the NP, with the instrumental clitic coming after the relative clause.

- g. *ɲayi kirawɲgar nonɔr aɲgu munjeɲi pokunɲa*
ɲa =yi kiraw -ɲgar nonɔr aɲgu munje =ɲi
 1SG =ERG.F know.IRR -NFN woman DX.F man =ERG.M
po -ku -n =ɲa
 strike.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S =POSS
 ‘I know the woman whose husband hit her’
- h. *ngume nunuk pokroɲan ɲayi kirawkru wákare anakɲan tatukro*
ngume nunuk po -k -ro =ɲan ɲa =yi
 DX later strike.R -3SG.F.R.O -3PL.S =POSS 1SG =ERG.F
kiraw -kru wákare anak =ɲan ta -tu
 know.IRR -3SG.F.R.O NEG where =ABL take.R -S
-ku -ro
 <3SG.F.R.O> -3PL.S
 ‘I don’t know where they got the one they killed later from’
 Ie, ‘the one they struck later, I don’t know where they got it from’

Relative clauses are not very common and the corpus contains few examples to show whether the common argument is syntactically a part of the relative clause or part of the main clause. However the main clause of (9-29d) can be negated using *wákare* before *munje* (and changing the verb *kiraw* to *kirawɲgrɪ*). This suggests that *munje* belongs syntactically in the relative clause rather than the main clause. However more examples are needed to be certain.

Tayap used to have another relativizing suffix: the morpheme *-gin* (or perhaps it was a clitic *=gin*, there is not enough evidence to show). This morpheme seems to be synonymous with, and occurs in exactly the same morphological slot as, *=ɲa(n)*. For example:

- (9-30) *patir aɲgu ɲaɲan omoɲi perkunɲgin otitekara*
patir aɲgu ɲaɲan omo =ɲi per -ku
 house DX.F 1SG.POSS father =ERG.M build.R -3SG.F.R.O

-n -gin otitek-ara
 -SG|1PL.R.S -REL fall.3SG.F.R-PERF
 ‘the house there that my father built has collapsed’

The morpheme appears both in naturally occurring talk and in elicitation sessions that I recorded in the 1980s. By 2009, however, it was no longer used by anybody.

9.6 Finite nominalizations with consequence clitic =*ŋa(n)*

Finite nominalizations are constructed, like relative clauses, with the possessive clitic, and carry the meaning of consequence; that a particular state has been brought into existence because of an action. For example:

(9-31) *kokir mbidtia ŋaŋan noŋor kokir kratianŋa*
kokir mbid -t -ia⁴ ŋaŋan noŋor kokir
 head pain.R -S <1SG.BEN.R.O> 1SG.POSS woman head

kra -t -ia -n =ŋa
 break.R -S <1SG.BEN.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S =POSS
 ‘my head hurts because my wife hit me on the head’

9.7 Perception constructions

Sentences that describe an act of perceiving, like seeing or smelling, can be expressed in two ways in Tayap: either paratactically as two separate clauses, or with a nominalized construction.

In the perception construction, the perceiver is subject of the main clause, and the person or thing perceived is object. In the subordinate (nominalized) clause, always placed after the main clause, the action expressing the circumstances of the perception is indicated. Coreferential with the main clause object is the thing perceived, which may be subject or object in the subordinate clause.

The two possibilities are exemplified below:

⁴ This is a reduced form of *mbid-t-iata-n* (pain.R-S<1SG.BEN.O.R>2SG|3SG.F.R.S). See the note that directly follows example (7-29) in Chapter 7.

Paratactically combined clauses:⁵

- (9-32) a. *ewar Njimeŋi noŋor sene tanmbin ŋgi mirini woke*
ewar Njime =ŋi noŋor sene ta -n -mbi
 yesterday Njime =ERG.M woman two see.R -S <3PL.R.O>
-n ŋgi miri =ni woke
 -1SG.M| 3SG.M|1PL.R.S 3PL rainforest =ALL go.DL.R
 ‘yesterday Njime saw two women go into the rainforest’
 (lit. ‘yesterday Njime saw two women⁵, they went into the rainforest’)

Perception construction:

- b. *ewar Njimeŋi noŋor sene tanmbin ŋgi mirini wokenja*
ewar Njime =ŋi noŋor sene ta -n -mbi
 yesterday Njime =ERG.M woman two see.R -S <3PL.R.O>
-n miri =ni woke =nja
 -1SG.M| 3SG.M|1PL.R.S rainforest =ALL go.DL.R =POSS
 ‘yesterday Njime saw two women going into the rainforest’
 (lit. ‘yesterday Njime saw the two women, their going into the rainforest’)

As (9-32b) shows, the main verb of perception is inflected for the perceiver of the action, and the verb expressing the perceived action is inflected for the actor who performs that action. That action is nominalized with the possessive clitic =*nja(n)*.

- (9-33) *ambagaiyi tatukun maya wopikunjan*
ambagai =yi ta -tu -ku -n maya
 men’s house =ERG.F see.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S mother
wopi -ku -n =jan
 eject.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S =POSS
 ‘The men’s house saw [i.e. it witnessed] the old woman being ejected.’
 (lit: the men’s house saw her, our ejecting the mother’)

⁵ Note that number agreement is not consistent in examples (9-32a) and (9-32b): the speaker uses the form ‘woman (SG) two’ rather than the dual form *naŋaw* or the plural *naŋro*, and the object agreement is plural rather than dual. These two examples were from an elicitation session and the inconsistency was noticed too late to be queried directly.

One argument, the subject or the object of the main clause, is coreferent with either the subject or object of the nominalized clause. The verb of the nominalized clause is fully inflected. These clauses, while marked with the possessive clitic (as relative clauses are), are structurally different from relative clauses.

Relative clauses modify NPs, and they occur in the modifier slot within an NP. These nominalized clauses, on the contrary, while they share an argument with their main clause, do not modify an NP but rather modify an entire main clause, within the specific semantic domain of perception. The shared argument of the clauses is expressed only once, in the main clause, while the nominalized clause consists only of the nominalized predicate and any arguments.

These are not complement clauses either, as the nominalized clause does not function as an argument of the main clause, but rather as a modifier. This can clearly be seen for example in (9-32b), in which it can't be the case that the nominalized clause is functioning as an argument of the main clause. The main clause verb has 3PL object marking, so the object must be the women, not the clause describing them going into the forest.

Other potential candidates for complement clauses, including constructions of saying and telling, are expressed with verbal morphology involving indirect commands (see Section 7.1.4).

Further examples:

(9-34) a. *Sopakyi Nik tatŋgin mbor pokunŋa*

<i>Sopak</i>	=yi	<i>Nik</i>	<i>ta</i>	-t	-ŋgi	-n	
<i>Sopak</i>	=ERG.F	<i>Nik</i>	perceive.R	-S	<3SG.M.R.O>	-2SG 3SG.F.R.S	
<i>mbor</i>	<i>po</i>	-ku	-n	=ŋa			
<i>pig</i>	strike.R	-3SG.F.R.O	-SG1PL.R.S	=POSS			
‘Sopak saw Nik spearing the pig’							

b. *ŋayi ŋgu tankun patirni urokŋa*

<i>ŋa</i>	=yi	<i>ŋgu</i>	<i>ta</i>	-n	-ku	-n	
1SG	=ERG.F	3SG.F	see.R	-S	<3SG.F.R.O>	-1SG 3SG.M 1PL.R.S	
<i>patir</i>	=ni	<i>urok</i>			=ŋa		
house	=ALL	go_inside.3SG.F 1PL.R			=POSS		
‘I saw her going inside the house’							

In (9-34a) the main clause is *Sopakyi Nik tatŋgin* ‘Sopak saw Nik’, and the subordinate perception clause *mbor pokunŋa* ‘[Nik] spearing the pig’. Thus the clause structure as a whole is ‘Sopak saw Nik [spearing the pig]’. The clause is not modifying Nik, as it would be in a relative clause, but rather the perception clause predicates what is perceived.

In negative perception clauses like ‘I didn’t see X doing Y’, the perception verb is negated and the verb that expresses the perceived action is inflected in its realis form and relativized with =*ŋa*(*n*):

- (9-35) a. *Tamboŋyi Mbume rarkru wákare yiwír wospikunŋa*
Tamboŋ =yi Mbume rar -kru wákare yiwír
 Tamboŋ =ERG.F Mbume see.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG shit
wospi -ku -n =ŋa
 get_rid_of.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S =POSS
 ‘Tamboŋ didn’t see Mbume getting rid of the shit’
- b. *Mburi Mairum rarkru wákare ŋgon patír poikunŋa*
Mbur =i Mairum rar -kru wákare ŋgon
 Mbur =ERG.F Mairum see.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O NEG 3.SG.F.POSS
patír poi -ku -n =ŋa
 house sweep.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S =POSS
 ‘Mbur didn’t see Mairum sweeping her (Mairum’s) house’
- c. *ŋayi kirawru wákare yu mbetŋa*
ŋa =yi kiraw -ru wákare yu mbet =ŋa
 1SG =ERG know.IRR -2SG.IRR.O NEG 2SG come.SG.M.R =POSS
 ‘I didn’t know you (M) had come’

9.8 Cosubordinate constructions

A further type of clause combining construction in Tayap consists of medial verbs appearing with modifying suffixes and then linked to independent final verbs, which are always verbs of motion. These are cosubordinate constructions, also called clause chaining constructions: the terms are used interchangeably here.

In these clauses, a medial verb appears in its irrealis or realis stem form, without a subject marker, with an object marker if transitive, and one of three linking suffixes: *-ra* (modifier), *-kar* (manner), or *-rar* (multiple), followed by an independent verb. These structures form medial-final chains (Longacre 2007). Van Valin and La Polla (1997) call this type of clause linkage cosubordination, i.e. dependency without embedding.

Nothing can occur between the medial verb and the final verb. Also such clauses cannot contain cataphoric pronominal reference (i.e. cannot refer forward to something in a later clause). So medial chains are not subordinate, but neither are they coordinate as their medial verbs are dependent on the final verb of the chain for status marking.

In all three types of clause chains, negation occurs once and has scope over the whole construction.

Tayap cosubordinate constructions differ from serial verb constructions in that medial verbs have an obligatory linking suffix, whereas non-final verbs in serial verb constructions do not, and serial verb constructions generally form a single phonological word whereas cosubordinate constructions do not (see Section 8.2 for discussion of serial verb constructions).

One unusual facet of Tayap's medial-final constructions is that they do not typically form the long chains that Papuan languages in general are so famous for. The majority of medial-final chains in Tayap consist of a single medial verb followed by a final verb. This might be in part because the final verb has to be a verb of motion.

An alternative analysis of these constructions, in particular *-r* and *-kar*, is that they are adverbial suffixes, rendering an adverb from a verb. However a cosubordinate analysis is preferred here as negation operates across clause boundaries to cover the whole construction rather than negating the putative adverb directly (see below, Section 9.8.2).

9.8.1 Cosubordinate constructions with modifying suffix *-ra* (MOD)

Consider the *-ra*⁶ construction first, in comparison with two independent clauses linked by a conjunction:

Coordinated construction:

- (9-36) a. *ŋi piŋneta katot*
ŋi piŋ -net -a katot
 3SG.M jump.R -SG.M.R.S -and go_down.SG.M.R
 'he hopped and went down'

Cosubordinate construction:

- b. *ŋi piŋra katot*
ŋi piŋ -ra katot
 3SG.M jump.R -MOD go_down.SG.M.R
 'he jumped down'

Coordinated construction:

⁶ Two verb roots realize *-ra* as *-wa*. Those roots are *ke-(p/w)-eki* 'fall out' (realized in the MOD form as *ke-wa*) and *adioki* 'trip' (realized as *adi-wa*).

- (9-37) a. *ŋgu mamrartaka wok*
ŋgu mamrar -tak -a wok
 3SG.F shake.R -2SG.F|3SG.F.R.S -and go.3SG.F.R
 ‘she shook and went/as she went’

Cosubordinate construction:

- b. *ŋgu mamrara wok*
ŋgu mamrar -ra wok
 3SG.F shake.R -MOD go.3SG.F.R
 ‘she shivered’

The difference in meaning between these two forms is subtle. Speakers say that the fully inflected forms – those in (9-36a) and (9-37a) above – are synonymous with the *-ra* forms – those in (9-36b) and (9-37b). Some verbs – ‘jump’ for example – regularly occur in both forms. At the same time, however, it is clear that the morpheme *-ra* does not just link two verbs in a temporal sequence like the conjunction *-(y)a* does (Section 9.3.1). Instead, *-ra* modifies both the verb to which it affixes and the verb of motion that follows it, creating a new lexical predicate out of two independent verbs.

In an important sense, all complex predicates create new lexical verbs by linking together a series of different verbs. But the difference in this case is this: other kinds of sequences in Tayap create complex predicates by conjoining verbs that retain their separate lexical meaning even as they link together in sequences with other verbs. Their meaning is additive – each verb contributes its particular meaning to the final compound construction. So a sequence like *tapratkingiatiki-takana* (Section 8.1ff) that was discussed in the previous chapter is composed of separate constituents that each add their own meaning to the action being expressed, resulting in a verb that means ‘she will carry him down on her shoulders’.

Complex clauses created with the *-ra* suffix, on the other hand, are not additive, they are transformative. A complex clause created with *-ra* is not so much the sum of its parts as it is a new semantic entity. Although many verbs formed with *-ra* do retain a transparent relation to the independent verbs that derive them, others have meanings that are completely different from the two verbs that compose them. So ‘faint’, for example, is *wasowra aiki-* (*wasow* ‘die’ + *-ra* + *aiki* ‘come’).⁷

Another way in which the *-ra* suffix transforms verbs is that it reduces their valency. Compare the verb *worer* ‘capsize’ in constructions formed with *-ra*, and

⁷ This suffix occurs on at least one noun: the way to express that a body part has ‘fallen asleep’, as one says in English, is to use the derived verb *siwididimra oki*, which comes from the word for small black ants; so *siwididim* ‘ants’ + *-ra* + *oki* ‘go’.

in serial verb constructions formed with a non-final verb + a final verb like those discussed in Section 8.2:

- (9-38) a. *ewar yimbar worerara wok*
ewar yimbar worer -ara wok
 yesterday canoe capsize.IRR -MOD go.3SG.F.R
 ‘yesterday the canoe tipped over’
- b. *ewar ŋgi yimbar worerkuwok*
ewar ŋgi yimbar worer -ku wok
 yesterday 3PL canoe capsize.IRR -3SG.F.R.O- go.3SG.F.R
 ‘yesterday they tipped over the canoe’
- (9-39) a. *awin worerara wok*
awin worer -ara wok
 water capsize.IRR -MOD go.3SG.F.R
 ‘the water spilled’
- b. *ŋayi awin worerkuwok*
ŋa =yi awin worer -ku wok
 1SG =ERG water capsize.IRR -3SG.F.R.O go.3SG.F.R
 ‘I poured the water’

Notice how the first sentences in these pairs (9-38a) and (9-39a) only has one argument – the subject, ‘canoe’ in (9-38a) and ‘water’ in (9-39a). The second sentences have two arguments – subject (‘they’ and ‘I’) and object (‘canoe’ and ‘water’).

Negation on verbs marked with *-ra* is only marked on the independent verb that carries TAM, but its scope is both/all verb stems. So the negation of a verb like ‘jump’ is:

- (9-40) *ŋi piŋ -ra ati -ki wákare*
 3SG.M jump.R -MOD go_down.IRR -IRR NEG
 ‘he didn’t jump down’ or ‘he won’t jump down’

9.8.2 Cosubordinate constructions with manner suffix *-kar* (MANN)

Like clause chains constructed with *-ra*, those formed with *-kar* also add a morpheme directly onto the irrealis stem of a verb that precedes a verb of motion, thus creating a medial verb. Unlike the *-ra* forms, however, constructions formed with *-kar* or its allophonic variant *-kwar* (the environment triggering the alternation

is unknown) maintain the separate meanings of the modified verb and the verb of motion that follows it. The suffix *-kar* creates a manner medial verb, one that answers the question ‘How or in what manner did X go/come, etc.?’

Verbs constructed with *-kar* are constructed in the following way:

IRR verb stem + *-kar/-kwar* + fully inflected verb of motion

Verbs formed with *-kar* encode the simultaneity of both actions for the duration of both actions. In English, this temporal relationship would be rendered with the adverbial ‘as’, as in ‘They were laughing as they washed the dishes’, or participle clauses, as in ‘Laughing, they washed the dishes’. In other words, the first action, laughing, occurred simultaneously with, and continued for the same length of time as, the second action, washing the dishes.

This foregrounding of duration and simultaneity results in awkward literal translations, as in the following example:

- (9-41) *nda mbid non reki ai -kar wek*
 DM pain INDEF with come.IRR -MANN come.3SG.F.R
 ‘she came feeling pain as she came’

A more idiomatic translation would be with an English adverbial phrase; something that highlighted the experience of pain as during travel, like ‘In pain, she made her way here’.

Cosubordinate constructions created with the *-kar* suffix also highlight an action or process that has begun and is continuing, especially when the construction is used with an inanimate subject. In English, this kind of phrase would use a verb of inception, like ‘begin’ or ‘start’, or a verb of intensification or process, like ‘growing’ or ‘becoming’; for example: ‘his anger was growing’.

The verb of motion that follows the medial verb created with the *-kar* suffix is most commonly either ‘go’ (*oki*) or ‘come’ (*aiki*), although any verb of motion may occur in this slot. Examples are:

- (9-42) a. *ngu warak -kar wek*
 3SG.F talk.IRR -MANN come.3SG.F.R
 ‘she came talking’
- b. *ni ngar -kwar mbot*
 3SG.M call_out.IRR -MANN go.SG.M.R
 ‘he called out as he went along’

The sense of development and process means that these verb forms can co-occur with other chained forms, such as the *-ra* forms, for example:

- (9-43) *minjike =ŋa mbatep pwak -ra o -kar wek*
 betel_nut =POSS unit drop.IRR -MOD go.IRR -MANN come.3SG.F.R
 ‘the flowers on the betel nut (palm) are in the process of opening’

This suggests that the *-ra* clause and the *-kar* clause are syntactically equivalent, both equally dependent on the final verb *wek* ‘come’.

The directionality of the verb of motion (‘go’ or ‘come’) can express a difference in meaning, as in the following:

- (9-44) a. *toto andi -kar wek*
 skin swell.IRR -MANN come.3SG.F.R
 ‘(my) skin is swelling up’ (in various places because bees have stung me)
- b. *toto andi -kar wok*
 skin swell.IRR -MANN go.3SG.F.R
 ‘(my) skin is swelling up’ (from a central point and spreading outwards)

This kind of semantic difference encoded by different verbs of motion may have been more productive in the past, and subtle nuances may have been eroded and lost over the course of the last few decades. Today, senior speakers insist that with only a few exceptions, such as (9-44a) and (9-44b) above, verbs formed with ‘go’ and ‘come’ have the same meaning and can be used interchangeably.

Chains with *-kar* are negated by placing the negative marker after the independent verb. So the negated form of example (9-42a) is:

- (9-45) *ŋgu warak -kar ai -ki wákare*
 3SG.F talk.IRR -MANN come.IRR -IRR NEG
 ‘she was not talking as she came’

The scope of negation in manner constructions has to include the medial verb. Thus, the negated sentence means that the woman probably still came (the sentence probably would not have been uttered if she hadn’t come); she just didn’t come talking.

This seems to indicate that *-kar* (and in fact *-ra*) are complex verbal constructions rather than adverbials, since negation of adverbials would be expressed with the negator directly after the adverbial, not as here at the end of the clause.

9.9 Tail-head linkage

Tayap makes extensive use of tail-head linkage, a phenomenon in which the last verb of one sentence is repeated as the first verb of the next sentence. It is a coherence device for structuring discourse and is very common among Papuan languages (de Vries 2005). In de Vries's terms, Tayap's tail-head linkage is the chained type, utilizing the basic complex clause structures of the language, namely coordination and subordination.

Some examples, which are taken from the Tayap Texts at the end of this grammar, are presented below (see those texts for many more examples of this phenomenon).

The following excerpt is a continuous stretch of speech taken from a narrated story that is presented in its entirety in Text 1. The repeated inflected verbs are in bold.

(9-46) a. *mbuspimbroya nda ŋgi prike.*

*mbuspi -mb -ro -ya nda ŋgi **prike***
 send.R- 3PL.R.O 3PL.R.S -and DM 3PL come_up.DL.R
 'They sent them off and the two came [back] up [to Gapun].'

b. *Prikeya wekeya nawni Kirmar.*

Prike *-ya weke -ya naw =ni Kirmar*
 come_up.DL.R -and come.DL.R -and grassland =LOC Kirmar
 'They came (back) up and came to the Kirmar grassland.'

Further examples:

(9-47) a. *Noŋor ti wasowtaka ŋgon mambrag noŋor aŋgo wok. Woka ainimengi nambirni puko.*

Noŋor ti wasow -tak -a
 woman too die.R -2SG.F|3SG.F.R -and

ŋgon mambrag noŋor
 3SG.F.POSS spirit woman

aŋgo wok. Wok -a aini -me -ŋgi
 DX.F go.3SG.F.R go.3SG.F.R -and here -DX -DX.F

*nambir =ni **puko***
 chest =LOC come_up.3PL.R

'The woman too had died, and her spirit was going. It was going and thus they came up towards it.'

- b. *Kirmar nambirni pukoya⁸ ngu kotarpembin:*

Kirmar nambir =ni **puko** -ya ngu
 Kirmar chest =LOC come_up.3PL.R -and 3SG.F

kotarpe -mbi -n
 ask.R -3PL.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S

‘They came up towards (lit. ‘to the chest’) Kirmar and she asked them:’

The next sequence is a continuous stretch of speech taken from Tayap Text 3, which describes a walk through the rainforest in which a young boy is nearly bitten by a snake. Note the tail-head linkage at (9-48 b-c), and (9-48 c-d). In both cases the verb of the previous clause is repeated, with different inflections.

- (9-48) a. *Nda Abramji nimjat tankun*

Nda Abram =*ni* *nim* =*ɲa* *at*
 DM Abram =ERG.M tree =POSS piece

ta -nu -ku -n
 take.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|2SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S

‘Then Abram [Masito’s husband] took a stick’

- b. *aram nime poŋgin.*

aram nime po -ŋgi -n
 snake thus strike.R -3SG.M.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S

‘hit the snake with that.’

- c. *Poŋgina, wasonet.*

Po -ŋgi -n -a waso-net.
 strike.R -3SG.M.R.O- SG|1PL.R.S -and die.R-1SG.M|3SG.M.R

‘He hit it, and it died.’

- d. *Wasowneta ainimende*

Waso -net -a aini -me -nde
 die.R -1SG.M|3SG.M.R -and here -DX -DX.M

‘It died and there...’

In most cases of tail-head linkage, only the verb is repeated. The second instance of the verb usually occurs with a conjunction marker to connect it to the clause that follows. However, other material can be repeated too: an example is the oblique NP repeated with the verb in lines (9-47 a-b).

9.10 Complex constructions with the suffix signifying multiplicity *-rar* (ML)

The final suffix occurring on complex sentences is *-rar*. This suffix signifies that the action denoted by the verb occurred in relation to multiple objects – so ‘look at many things’ instead of just ‘look’, or ‘shoot at many things’ instead of just ‘shoot’. The suffix *-rar* is always used on transitive verbs. The object morpheme is always in the realis form. TAM is marked on the final, independent verb of motion that follows the medial verb. Even though the action of the verb happens multiple times, the object is still singular. So the structure of this form is as follows:

transitive verb stem IRR + object R + *-rar* + verb of motion inflected for subject, TAM and status

Examples are as follows:

- (9-49) a. *tar -ku -rar mbet*
 take.IRR -3SG.F.R.O -ML come.SG.M.R
 ‘he collected several as he came’ (or ‘I (M)’ or ‘you (M)’)
- b. *o -ku -rar mbot*
 shoot.IRR -3SG.F.R.O -ML go.SG.M.R
 ‘he shot various things as he went’ (or ‘I (M)’ or ‘you (M)’)

If the object slot is filled by a BEN object rather than a direct object, then *-rar* is realized as *-tar* (see examples 9-49c and d below):

transitive verb stem IRR + BEN object R + *-tar* + verb of motion inflected for subject, TAM and status

- c. *kokir krar -mba -tar weke*
 head break.IRR -3PL.BEN.R.O -ML come.DL.R
 ‘the two of them cracked open all their heads’
- d. *ɲi =ɲi noɲor ɲan mbid*
 3SG.M =ERG.M woman 3SG.M.POSS pain
i -kwa -tar mbet
 give.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.R.O -ML come.3SG.M.R
 ‘he beat up his wife’ (lit. ‘he gave his woman pain multiple times’)

Verbs constructed with *-rar* are negated by negating the final, fully inflected verb in the series. And like *-kar* verbs, the scope of negation covers the whole construction. So the negated form of (9-49a), above, is:

- (9-50) *tar* *-ku* *-rar ai-ki* *wákare*
 take.IRR -3SG.F.R.O -ML come.IRR-IRR NEG
 'he didn't come collecting several'

9.11 Complex sentences in young people's Tayap

Young people use a great deal of tail-head linkage in their narratives. The narrator of Text 4, for example – a twenty-year-old man with good passive Tayap but limited active command of the language – uses tail-head linkage in fifty percent of his clause conjunctions. Compare this with between roughly ten to twelve percent in Texts 1–3, which were narrated by more fluent speakers.

Subordinate and cosubordinate clauses are beyond the capability of most Tayap speakers younger than thirty. A few of the most skilled passive active speakers (such as the twenty-five-year-old narrator of Tayap Text 3) can use the subordinating morpheme *-re* to produce 'when' clauses (see lines 26 and 51 in Tayap Text 3). But hypothetical morphemes – like the counterfactual mood that often accompanies it – are mostly dead, and in fifty five of the fifty six narratives by young people that I collected in Gapun, there is not a single instance of relativization.⁸

Young people's narratives are strings of events presented paratactically – X did Y, Z happened, Q did P. Sometimes, the events are narrated with no clause-linking morphology, as in the following extract, from a narrative told by a twenty-three-year-old man (hesitations, false starts and interruptions and encouragements by another speaker have been edited out of this extract):

⁸ The single exception is a complex narrative in flawless Tayap told by a twenty-nine-year-old young woman named Mbonika Amburi (the same Mbonika who features as a six-year-old girl in the opening vignette of Kulick 1992). Mbonika is the paradigm example of the passive active speaker. She never speaks more than a few formulaic phrases of Tayap to anyone, and knowing her well and seeing her every day, I had come to assume that her command of the vernacular was minimal. After being astonished by the fluency of her Tayap narrative, I asked her why she never spoke the language. She is ashamed, she told me. She feared that if she spoke Tayap and said something wrong, the old people in the village would laugh at her. "They'll criticize", she told me. "They'll say, 'You all speak Tok Pisin too much and so you don't know the vernacular'. For that reason, I'm ashamed to speak the vernacular" ("Ol bai wokim koments, 'Tok Pisin i planti na yupela i no save long tok ples'. Na olsem na mi save sem long tok ples.")

- (9-51) ...*Yim kuk. Yim kuk, ŋa embre, ŋa mbot. Paita ŋi mbet. ŋa taina, yim mbok. Yim mbok, Mbasamayi mum nirkwankuk. ŋa mbot tutotakut...*
Yim kuk. Yim kuk ŋa emb =re ŋa
 1PL be.1SG.F|1PL.R 1PL be.1SG.F|1PL.R 1SG morning =TEMP 1SG
*mbot, Paita ŋi mbet ŋa *ta-ina⁹*
 go.SG.M.R Paita 3SG.M come.SG.M.R 1SG see.R-??
yim mbok. Yim mbok, Mbasama =yi mum
 1PL go.1SG.F|1PL.R 1PL go.1SG.F|1PL.R Mbasama =ERG.F sago_jelly
nir -kwan -kuk
 do.IRR -3SG.F.BEN.O.R- be.1SG.F.R ('I (F) was making');¹⁰
ŋa mbot tutot -ak -kut
 1SG go.SG.M.R sit.SG.M.IRR -LINK -be.SG.M.R
 'We were (there). We were (there), in the morning, I went, Paita he came, he saw me [or I saw him], we went. We went, Mbasama was making sago jelly. I went was sitting down...'

Leaving aside the morphological and TAM errors made by this speaker (all of which are typical of the kinds of errors made by young speakers), note that he does not use a single coordinating, cosubordinating or subordinating morpheme throughout this entire stretch of speech. The verb phrases that make up the narrative are simply placed one after the other with no linkage between them. (The final *a* of the nonce word *taina* could be a coordinating morpheme, but this is hard to know since the word doesn't mean anything.)

Much more commonly than simply listing verb phrases one after the other, young speakers link clauses with the coordinating conjunction *-(y)a*. Here is an extract from a narrative about a pig hunt by a twenty-six-year-old man who is one of the more advanced younger speakers in the village:

- (9-52) ... *Ŋa motini warukpeta mbet. Mbema mborma ndow tankuna anpekuna mbot. Ŋa mbot yiwir rar/yiwir tankun, mbot, yiwirki and. Na ŋa ŋganet...*
Ŋa motini waruk -pet -a mbet
 1SG again turn_back.R -SG.M.R -and come. SG.M.R

⁹ The correct form is either *tanin* 'he saw me' or *tanŋin* 'I saw him'.

¹⁰ The speaker wants a non-future verb here – *nitukun* 'she made'. But even the progressive verb he uses is incorrectly inflected. The form he wants is *nirkwanuk* 'she was making'.

Mbet *-a* *mbor* =*ma* *ndow*
 come.SG.M.R -and pig =POSS leg

ta *-n* *-ku* *-n* *-a*
 see.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M.R.S -and

**anpe* *-ku* *-n* *-a*
 follow.R <3SG.F.R.O> -SG|1PL.R.S -and

mbot *ŋa* *mbot* *yiwir* *rar/yiwir*
 go.SG.M.R 1SG go.SG.M.R shit see.IRR/shit

ta *-n* *-ku* *-n* *mbot* *yiwir-ki* *and*
 see.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M.R.S go.SG.M.R shit-INTENS blood

Na *ŋa* *ŋga* *-net*
 and (TP) 1SG call_out.R -1SG.M|3SG.M.R
 ‘...I turned back and came. I was coming and I saw the pig’s tracks and I followed them. I came shit I see/I saw shit, I went and there was lots of shit, blood. And [Tok Pisin] I called out...’

This speaker has the typical problem with the class 3 transitive verb *andu* ‘follow’ (see Section 6.1.5). The form he wants is *kandukun*, not the nonce form he creates by using the verb root as the basis for the non-future inflection. But regardless of his difficulty inflecting some verbs, he nevertheless is able to link verb phrases into a coherent narrative. He does this with a single morphological tool, however: the coordinating conjunction *-(y)a*.

This morpheme has been over-extended in the speech of most young speakers to do the work of all coordinating, cosubordinating and subordinating morphemes. The reason for this over-extension is probably twofold.

First, *-a* occurs frequently in Tayap, as a way to link coordinated clauses (see Section 9.3.1).

Second, the suffix *-a*, especially when it appears in speech after verbs ending in *n* – verbs like *tankun* and **andpekun* in the narrative above – sounds a lot like (and behaves syntactically a lot like) Tok Pisin’s conjunction “na”, which means ‘and’. That Tok Pisin is never far from the minds of young Tayap speakers is evident at the end of the above narrative, when the speaker briefly code-switches into Tok Pisin, precisely to link two clauses.

Cosubordinate verbs formed with the multiple suffix, *-rar*, do not appear in the narratives I collected from speakers younger than thirty, and verbs formed with the modifying *-ra* suffix only occur when they have become lexicalized, in verbs like *worer-ara wok* ‘pour’ or *wasow-ra wek* ‘faint’.

The only kind of cosubordinate construction that young speakers do sometimes use is verbs formed with the medial manner suffix *-kar*. A small number of verbs recur in the different narratives. These verbs always encode motion, never process or development, and they are verbs that have probably been lexicalized, like *rar-kar mbot* ('I looked and came'), *mar-kar ngwok* ('they rowed away'), and *amai-kwar wek* ('I was searching as I came').

However, the *-kar* form remains productive for at least some speakers, who produced verbs like the following:

- (9-53) a. *miri adu -kwar *weske*
 forest break.IRR -MANN come_outside.DL
 'the two of us came crashing out of the forest'; **weske* has no meaning; the speaker wants *uske*, from the verb root *aski*.
- b. *naw apu -kwar ngwek*
 grassland burn.IRR -MANN come.3PL.R
 'they burned and came'; a morphologically correctly formed but semantically incorrect verb – the speaker was talking about men lighting fire to a grassland to drive game out towards men waiting with spears, and she wants *otar war-kwar ngwek*: 'fire light.IRR-MANN come'; lit. 'they lit fire while coming'.
- c. *ngat sene am -kwar ngwek*
 cassowary two fight.IRR -MANN come.3PL.R
 'the two cassowaries were fighting with one another as they came'; the speaker wants the dual form of 'come', *weke*.

Even though each one of the examples in (9-53 a-c) contains a grammatical error of one sort or another, they indicate that at least some young speakers can derive medial verbs and form complex predicates with the *-kar* suffix.

A few speakers over-extend the subordinating suffix *-re* to coordinate clauses. The following is an example of this, from a narrative told by an eighteen-year-old woman (hesitations, false starts and interruptions by other speakers have been edited out, and the name in the example has been changed):

- (9-54) *...yim taman sumbwani katek. Sumbwani katekre, ani, Sopak pemiekre nande namtak...*
- | | | | | | | | |
|------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------------|--|---------------|------------|
| <i>yim</i> | <i>taman</i> | <i>sumbwa</i> | <i>=ni</i> | <i>katek</i> | | <i>sumbwa</i> | <i>=ni</i> |
| 1PL | all | ground | =ALL | fall.1SG.F 1PL.R | | ground | =ALL |

katek -re *ani* *Sopak* *pemiek* -re *nande*
 fall.1SG.F|1PL.R SUB who Sopak get up.SG.F|1PL.R -SUB thusly

nam -tak

talk.R -2SG.F|3SG.F

'we all fell to the ground. When we fell to the ground, who (was it), Sopak, when she got up she said...

This speaker's use of the clause subordinating morpheme *-re* (Section 9.4.1) is morphologically correct – that is, it is placed correctly after the main verb in a clause that thus becomes marked as subordinate. But it is semantically awkward. A more fluent speaker would tell the story using the coordinating morpheme *-a* (Section 9.3.1) in all instances where this speaker uses the subordinating morpheme. This particular speaker uses *-re* more than all other young speakers combined. It seems that she has identified the morpheme as a synonym for the coordinating suffix *-a*.

Three other kinds of clause linkage appear in young people's narratives. The first is the use of the perfect suffix to coordinate clauses, discussed in Section 5.4.3.2.

The second is linkage accomplished with the word 'okay', which has become part of Tok Pisin (as "oke") via English.

Here is an example from the narrative of a twenty-one-year-old man telling a story about buying alcohol:

- (9-55) *piatana ŋa mbot ŋgireki oke Jastinŋi botol nambar mosenkun oke Simbiranji non mosenkun oke ŋa ŋaŋan nambar kukumbota ŋgireki akruna*
pi *-iata* *-n* *-a* *ŋa* *mbot* *ŋgi* = *reki* **oke**
 give.R -1SG.BEN.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S -and 1SG go.SG.M.R they =COM okay
- Jastin =ŋi* *botol* *nambar* *mose* *-n* *-ku*
 Jastin =ERG.M bottle (TP) one buy.R -S <3SG.F.R.O>
- n* **oke** *Simbira* = *ŋi* *non* *mose* *-n* *-ku*
 -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S okay Simbira =ERG.M one buy.R -S <3SG.F.R.O>
- n* **oke** *ŋa* *ŋaŋan* *nambar* *ku* *-ku*
 -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S okay 1SG 1SG.POSS one bring -3SG.F.R.O
- mbot* *-a* *ŋgi* = *reki* *a* *-kru* *-na*
 go.SG.M.R.S- -and 3PL =COM consume.IRR -3SG.F.IRR.O -INTENT
 '...he gave me and I went with them, OK Jastin bought one bottle, OK Simbira bought one, OK I took mine and went with them to drink...'

Note that ‘okay’ here performs the role of both *-a* (which this speaker uses proficiently, as can be seen in lines 1 and 4 of this extract) and the clause coordinating suffix *-api*, which links clauses that encode actions that occur one after the other (Section 9.3.2).

The third way young villagers sometimes link clauses is with the Tayap word *mai*, which means ‘enough’, and the discourse marker *nda*. For many young speakers, these two words have replaced the *-api* suffix as a way of indicating that one action was completed before the next action began.

This usage can be exemplified with an extract from a narrative told by a nineteen-year-old woman:

(9-56) ...*ηayi wakuna wakuna mai, nda sowor ninkun. Sowor nitukuna mai, amayi mum nitukuna nda yim kakun uretreki.*

*ηa =yi pap *wa -ku -n -a*
1SG =ERG.F coconut grate.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S -and

**wa -ku -n -a mai nda *sowor*
grate.R -3SG.F.R.O -SG|1PL.R.S -and enough DM little boiling

*ni -n -ku -n *Sowor*
do.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S little boiling

ni -tu -ku -n -a mai
do.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S -and enough

ama =yi mum
mama =ERG.F sago_jelly

ni -tu -ku -n -a nda yim
do.R -S <3SG.F.R.O> -2SG|3SG.F.R.S -and DM 1PL

ka -ku -n uret =reki
eat.R <3SG.F.R.O> -1SG|1PL.R.S bamboo shoots =COM

‘...I grated the coconut and, I grated it and enough, I made a boiling. She made a boiling, enough, then mama made sago jelly then we ate it with bamboo shoots’

There are several grammatical errors in this short extract: the class 2 transitive verb *war* ‘grate’ is inflected in a way typical of young speakers (see Section 6.1.3). The expression *sowor ninkun* doesn’t exist – the speaker wants a verb, *sowor-pokun* (‘I boiled a little’, from the verb root *sowor-(p)-o* ‘boil a small amount’). And the speaker produces two different inflections for her **sowor* construction:

'I did it' (*ninkun*) and 'she did it' (*nitukun*), so it is never clear exactly who boiled the small amount of bamboo shoots she talks about.

As far as syntax is concerned, note how the speaker uses *mai* ('enough') to express the completion of one action before the following action begins, and how the discourse marker *nda* marks the beginning of the following action. This is precisely the kind of clause coordination done by the Tayap suffix *-api*, and in the speech of a fluent speaker, the young woman's sentence would look like this:

(9-57) *ηayi pap parkunapi, uret soworpokun*

<i>ηa</i>	= <i>yi</i>	<i>pap</i>	<i>par</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-api,</i>
1SG	=ERG.F	coconut	grate.R	-3SG.F.R.O	-SG 1PL.R.S	-AFT

<i>uret</i>	<i>soworpo</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-n</i>
bamboo_shoot	boil_small_amount.R	-3SG.F.R.O	-SG 1PL.R.S

'I grated the coconut, after I had grated it, I boiled a little bamboo shoots'

That the utterance that this young woman actually produces in (9-56) is so far removed from correct Tayap – in terms of vocabulary, verb inflection and morphology – is sobering.

It is a chill reminder that a tenacious and unique little language spoken by very few people for a very long time is now on its way to oblivion.

Tayap Texts

Tayap Text 1: Two men are chased by their lover's ghost

Narrated by Raya Ayarpa in 1987

English translation

I am going to tell the story of the old ancestors of Mbwadum. Once upon a time (lit. before, in the old days) two men went to the Turungwad clan. Kanjan village. For mangrove slugs. They were going to go and they went to their lover and asked her: "Are you OK? We're going to go for mangrove slugs at the Turungwad clan".

She told them, "The two of you go. I'm not a baby bird who is going to swallow a seed and die".

Hearing her talk, they went. With their best dog, they went to the Turungwad clan. In Kanjan village. Thus they went and the people of the Turungwad clan gave them gifts. They gave them the gift of two sticks of dried slug meat and they sent them on their way and the two of them came back up [home].

The two came up and went and came up to the Kirmar grassland.

The woman too had died and her ghost went there. She went they came up. They came up toward the grassland. They came up toward the Krimar grassland and she asked them, "So the two of you come now, do you?"

The two answered, "Yes". They asked her, "Where are you going?"

"I have children who are crying, so I'm going to Kandumsik stream to try and net some fish".

"OK. You go on then, in that case".

She passed by them and put down her things, turned and cleared her throat and said, "Who are you? Are you my lovers? It's me".

They threw down their two sticks of slugs and then she chased them. She chased them and brought them [towards the village]. She chased them and brought them.

The dog stood and was fighting with the spirit woman while the two ancestors picked up speed and came. The dog was fighting, fighting, fighting with the spirit woman. Leaving her, he then came to the two ancestors. He came, came, came, came, came, he came down to them.

The spirit woman came close to them and he [the dog] stood and fought. He was fighting with the spirit as the two ancestors came [towards the village]. They continued in that way [i.e. the dog and woman fighting, the men fleeing] for a long

time in the forest far away from the village, and finally they came and appeared at the bottom of Mbwadum mountain. They came up along the mountain.

Children were below playing on the slope, they were shooting arrows at little coconuts. They were shooting arrows at little coconuts when the two men came up to them. They told them: “Call out to us!”. The children called out to them: “O! O! O! O! O! O!”

They [the men] fell and rolled down and died, their two bodies lay there below. Their dog died together with them.

The spirit woman, she had brought them thusly and she stood there and then she turned and left them.

Leaving them, she went away. The two men were laying there and they [other men], thinking this must have something to do with ghosts, got a branch and spit magic chants on it and as they were trying to bring them back, the two men got up.

The others asked them: “What did this to you?”

“The ghost, our girlfriend, chased us and came and her heat [i.e. her power] affected us and so we died”.

“OK”, said the others, “Come on then [back to the village]”.

Tayap Original

1. *Na Mbwadum arumandama tik*

Na Mbwadum aru=mandama tik
1SG Mbwadum ancestor=POSS.PL story

2. *ngurkrunetana angi.*

ngur-kru-net-ana angi
put.IRR-3SG.F.IRR.O-1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR.S- INTENT DX
I am going to tell the story of the old ancestors of Mbwadum.

3. *Mun sene ripim ngi woke Turungwadre.*

Mun sene ripim ngi woke Turungwad=re
man.DL two before 3PL go.DL.R Turungwad=ALL
Once upon a time, two men went to the Turungwad (clan) (in) Kanjan village.

4. *Kanjan num.*

Kanjan num
Kanjan village
In Kanjan village.

5. *Kandipana. Ngi okinana wokeya ngan*
Kandip=ana Ngi o-ki-nana wokeya ngan
 mangrove_slugs=DAT 3PL go.IRR-IRR-INTENT go.DL-and 3PL.POSS
 For mangrove slugs. They were about to go and they went to their
6. *nirengar kotarpekure: “Yu sapkike? Yim nda okitikenana*
nirengar kotarpe-ku-re Yu sapki=ke Yim nda
 lover ask.R-3SG.F.R.O-DL.R 2SG good=Q 1PL DM
 lover and asked her: “Are you OK? We’re going to go
7. *okitikenana kandipana Turuᅇgwadre*
o-ki-tike-nana kandip=ana Turuᅇgwad=re.
 go.IRR-IRR-DL.IRR-INTENT mangrove_slugs=DAT Turuᅇgwad =ALL
 to get mangrove slugs in Turuᅇgwad”.
8. *Ngu namtimbin,*
Ngu namtimbin
 3SG.F tell.R-S<3PL.R.O>2SG.F|3SG.F.R.S
 She told them,
9. *“Yum onkem. Na tam ror wákare nim iru*
Yum o-nkem Na tam ror wákare nim iru
 2PL go.SUB-2PL.R 1SG bird child NEG tree seed
 “You go. I’m not a baby bird that I will
10. *motikuokire wasowki”*
motik-ku-o-ki-re wasow-ki
 swallow.IRR-3SG.F.R.O-go.IRR-IRR-SUB die.IRR-IRR
 swallow tree seeds and die”.
11. *Ngi nam tarkwaki, woke.*
Ngi nam tar-kwa-ki woke
 3PL talk hear.IRR-3SG.F.BEN.R.O-ADV go.DL.R
 Hearing her talk, the two left.
12. *Ngan nje nambarreki woke. Turuᅇgwadre. Kanjan num.*
Ngan nje nambar-reki woke Turuᅇgwad=re. Kanjan num.
 3PL.POSS dog one-COM go.DL.R Turuᅇgwad=ALL Kanjan village
 The two went with their best dog. To the Turuᅇgwad (clan). (In) Kanjan village.

13. *Ngi ainimengi wokeya,*
Ngi aini-me-ŋgi woke-ya
 3PL here-DX-DX.F go.DL.R-and
 Thus they went and
14. *Turungwadgi oraitimbro.*
Turungwad=gi orai-t-imb-ro
 Turungwad=ERG.PL bestow.R-S<3PL.R.O>3PL.S
 the Turungwad people gave them gifts.
15. *Oraitimbroya kandipŋa nimir senereki*
Orai-t-imb-ro-ya kandip=ŋa nimir sene=reki
 bestow.R-S<3PL.R.O>3PL.S-and mangrove_slug=POSS stick two=COM
 They gave them a present of two sticks strung full of mangrove slugs
16. *mbuspimbroya nda ŋgi prike.*
mbuspi-mb-ro-ya nda ŋgi prike
 send.R-3PL.R.O-3PL.R-S-and DM 3PL come_up.DL.R
 They sent them off and the two came [back] up [to Gapun].
17. *Prikeya wekeya nawni Kirmar.*
Prike-ya weke-ya naw=ni Kirmar
 come_up.DL.R-and come.DL.R-and grassland=LOC Kirmar
 They came (back) up and came to the Kirmar grassland.
18. *Nonor ti wasowtaka ŋgon mambrag nonor aŋgo*
Nonor ti wasow-tak-a ŋgon mambrag nonor
 woman too die.R-2SG.F|3SG.F.R-and 3SG.F.POSS spirit woman

aŋgo
 DX.F
 The woman too had died, and her spirit
19. *wok. Woka ainimengi nambirni puko.*
wok. Wok-a aini-me-ŋgi nambir=ni puko
 go.3SG.F.R go.3SG.F.R-and here-DX-DX.F chest=LOC come_up.3PL.R
 was going. It was going and thus they came up towards it.

20. *Kirmar nambirni pukoya ngu kotarpembin:*
Kirmar nambir=ni pukoya ngu kotarpe-mbi-n
 Kirmar chest=LOC come_up.3PL.R-and 3SG.F ask.R-3PL.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S
 They came up towards (lit. 'with their chest facing') Kirmar and she
 asked them:
21. “*Yum mbekemke?*” *Ngi namtike: “Awo”.*
Yum mbekem=ke Ngi nam-tike: “Awo”.
 2PL come.2PL.R=Q 3PL talk.R-DL.R yes
 “Have you come?” The two said, “Yes”.
22. *Ngi gi ngu kotarpekure: “Yu anakni?”*
Ngi=gi ngu kotarpe-ku-re: “Yu anakni?”.
 3PL=ERG.PL 3SG.F ask.R-3SG.F.O-3PL.R.S 2SG to_where
 The two asked her: “Where are you going?”
23. “*Ngi eiarakngukre Kandumsik ndowkrunana ainda*
Ngi eiar-ak-nguk-re Kandumsik ndow-kru-nana
 3PL cry.IRR-LINK-be.3PL.R-SUB Kandumsik leg-3SG.F.IRR.O-INTENT
ainda
 DX.F
24. *mbek*. “*Ey Nda otak ndi ngo*”.
mbek. Ey Nda o-tak ndi ngo
 come.1SG.F.R alright DM go.SBJ-3SG.F.R DM DM
 “They [children] are crying so I’m going to Kandumsik [creek] to leg it [i.e.
 to net some fish]”. “Alright then, you go”.
25. *Ngadirmbiutoka orasamb*
Ngadir-mbi-utok-a orasamb
 pass.R-3PL.R.O-go_down.3SG.F.R-and thing.PL
 She passed them and went down,
26. *orewirukuwoka urekpeka*
orewiru-ku-wok-a urekpek-a
 throw_down.IRR- 3SG.F.R.O-go.3SG.F.R-and turn.3SG.F|1PL.R-and
 threw down her things, turned,

27. *kakrartimbina namtak: “Yum aningro?”*
kakrar-ti-mbi-n-a *nam-tak:* “Yum
 clear_throat.R-S<3PL.R.O>SG|1PL.R.S-and talk.R-2SG.F|3SG.F.R 2PL
ani-ningro?”
 who-PL
 cleared her throat and said: “Who are you?”
28. “*Omindeominde yumke? Na ainda*”
Omindeominde yum=ke? Na ainda
 spouse.PL 2PL=Q 1SG DX
 “Are you my lovers? It’s me”
29. *Ngi ti ainimengi kandipnja sene*
Ngi ti aini-me-ngi kandip=nja sene
 3PL too here-DX-DX.F mangrove_slugs=POSS two
30. *anguraktukureya nda nguyi ngi*
angurak-tu-ku-re-ya nda ngu=yi ngi
 throw.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>DL.R-and DM 3SG.F=ERG.F 3PL
31. *wempermbin.*
wemper-mbi-n
 chase.R-3PL.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S
 They threw down their two [sticks] of mangrove slugs and she chased them.
32. *Nguyi ngi wempermbin kimbivek.*
Ngu=yi ngi wemper-mbi-n ki-mbi-wek
 3SG.F=ERG.F 3PL chase.R-3PL.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S bring-3PL.R.O-come.3SG.F.R
 She chased them and brought them [towards the village]
33. *Nguyi ngi wempermbin kimbivek*
Ngu=yi ngi wemper-mbi-n ki-mbi-wek
 3SG.F=ERG.F 3PL chase.R-3PL.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S bring-3PL.R.O-come.3SG.F.R
34. *kimbivek. Nje pungota*
ki-mbi-wek Nje pungot-a
 bring-3PL.R.O-come.3SG.F.R dog stand.1SG.M|3SG.M.R-and

35. *mambrag noŋorre amurukutre, omoŋew sene*
mambrag noŋor=re amuru-kut-re omoŋew sene
 spirit dog=COM fight.R-be.SG.M.R-SUB father.PL two
 She chased them and brought them, brought them. The dog stood and
 while he was fighting with the ghost, the two ancestors
36. *ŋgi ŋgurun tatukureya weke.*
ŋgi ŋgurun ta-tu-ku-re-ya weke
 3PL speed take.R-S<3G.F.R.O>DL.R.S-and come.DL.R
 they picked up speed and came.
37. *Nje ŋi amuruku amuruku amuruku*
Nje ŋi amuru-ku amuru-ku amuru-ku
 dog 3SG.M fight.R-be.SG.M.R fight.R-be.SG.M.R fight.R-be.SG.M.R
38. *mambrag noŋor.*
mambrag noŋor
 spirit woman
 The dog, he was fighting for a long time with the ghost.
39. *Orekuki nunuk omoŋew senere mbet.*
Ore-ku-ki nunuk omoŋew sene=re mbet
 leave.IRR-3SG.F.R.O-ADV behind father.PL two=COM come.SG.M.R
 Leaving her, he [the dog] came behind the two ancestors.
40. *Mbe mbe mbe mbe mbe,*
Mbe mbe mbe mbe mbe
 come.SG.M.R come.SG.M.R come.SG.M.R come.SG.M.R come.SG.M.R
 He came over a long distance
41. *ŋgire kaset.*
ŋgi=re kaset
 3PL=COM come_out.SG.M.R
 He came out [of the rainforest] with them.
42. *Mambrag noŋor ŋgu ŋgire menjikantak,*
Mambrag noŋor ŋgu ŋgi=re menjikan-tak
 spirit woman 3SG.F 3PL=ALL close-2SG.F|3SG.F.R
 The ghost got close to them,

43. *pungota kamiet.*
pungot-a kamiet
 stand.SG.M.R-and fight.SG.M.R
 he [the dog] stood and fought.
44. *Amurukutre mambragre [pause] na omo sew sene*
Amuru-kut-re mambrag=re na omo sew sene
 fight.R-be.SG.M.R-SUB spirit=COM and (TP) father.PL two
 While he was fighting with the dog [pause] and the two ancestors
45. *aikar weke. Nime nirkar nirkar nirkar*
ai-kar weke. Nime nir-kar nir-kar
 come.IRR-MANN come.DL.R thus do.IRR-MANN do.IRR-MANN

nir-kar
 do.IRR-MANN
 continued to come. Thus did they do it,
46. *nirkar, miri kemem angokeke, ngweka*
nir-kar miri kemem angok=eke ngwek-a
 do.IRR-MANN forest long DX=PERL come.3PL.R-and
 a big rainforest they came through and
47. *nda ngusek tumbɲa kandaŋni Mbwadum.*
nda ngusek tumb=ɲa kandaŋ=ni Mbwadum
 DM appear.3PL.R mountain=POSS base=LOC Mbwadum
 they appeared at the base of Mbwadum mountain.
48. *Tumbeke prike. Rorsem ŋgi ari emrariakŋguk*
Tumb=eke prike Rorsem ŋgi ari
 mountain= PERL come_up.DL.R child.PL 3PL below

emrari-ak-ŋguk
 play.IRR-and -be.3PL.R
49. *tokroni, papkrim ondirkwanŋguk.*
tokro=ni papkrim ondir-kwan-ŋguk
 slope=LOC little_coconut shoot.IRR-3SG.BEN.R.O-be.3PL.R
 They came up along the mountain. Children were playing below on the
 slope, they were [playing a game] shooting [arrows at] a little coconut.

50. *Papkrim ondirkwannguk, ngi ngire uske.*
papkrim ondir-kwan-nguk. ngi ngi=re uske
 little_coconut shoot.IRR-3SG.BEN.R.O-be.3PL.R 3PL 3PL=ALL appear.DL.R
 They were shooting a little coconut, and the two appeared to them.
51. *Namtimbre: “Rorseml Yimana sandaw onkurem!”*
Nam-ti-mb-re: Rorseml yim=ana sandaw o-nkurem!
 talk.R.S<3PL.R.O>DL.R.S child.PL 1PL=DAT shout strike.SBJ-2PL.R
 They told them: “Children, shout for us!”
52. *Rorseml sandaw pokuro: “O! O! O! O! O! O!”*
Rorseml sandaw po-ku-ro “O! O! O! O! O! O!”
 child.PL shout strike.R-3SG.F.R.O-3PL.R.S
 The children shouted, “O! O! O! O! O! O!”
53. *Ngil ti adiwamborirkara orkeya*
Ngil ti adi-wa-mborir-kar-a orke-ya
 3PL too trip.IRR-MOD-roll.IRR-MOD-and go_down.DL-and
54. *wasowtikeya pisimb sene aini ari wuke.*
wasow-tike-ya pisimb sene ai=ni ari wuke
 die.R-DL.R-and corpse two here=LOC below be.DL.R
 The two fell down and rolled down [the slope] and they died and their
 corpses lay there below.
55. *Ngan nje ti ndakop wasownet. Mambrag*
Ngan nje ti ndakop wasow-net Mambrag
 3PL.POSS dog too together die.R-1SG.M|3SG.M.R spirit
 Their dog too died together with them.
56. *nonor ngu kimbiweka ainimengi*
nonor ngu ki-mbi-weka aini-me-ngi
 woman 3SG.F bring-3PL.R.O-come.3SG.F.R here- DX-DX.F
57. *pungoka nda warukpek, orepemin.*
pungok-a nda warukpek orepe-mbi-n.
 stand.SG.F.R-and DM turn.SG.F.R leave.R-3PL.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S
 The ghost woman she brought them and she thus stood and turned and
 left them.

58. *Orembiki, nda ngu wok.*
Ore-mbi-ki, nda ngu wok
 leave.R-3PL.R.O-ADV DM 3SG.F go.3SG.F.R
 Leaving them, she went.
59. *Ngi nda wurkeya ngi nda mambrag tawni*
Ngi nda wurke-ya ngi nda mambrag taw=ni
 3PL DM be.DL.R-and 3PL DM spirit side=LOC
60. *ngutukuroya nimnduko*
ngu-tu-ku-ro-ya nimnduko
 put.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>3PL.R.S-and tree_branch
61. *poisirtukroya tawaitimbrore,*
poisir-tu-ku-ro-ya tawai-ti-mb-ro-re
 spit_chant.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>3PL.R.S-and try.R-S<3PL.R.O>3PL.R.S-SUB
 The two were there and they [the men who saw them lying there dead]
 decided that this was a spirit matter, they spit magic chants on a tree
 branch and tried [to waken] them and
62. *ngi pemke. Kotarpembro: “Yum ambini*
ngi pemke. Kotarpe-mb-ro: Yum ambini
 3PL get_up.DL.R ask.R.3PL.R.O-3PL.R.S 2PL what-ERG.F
 they got up. They asked the two:
63. *“Yum ambini nitimin?”*
Yum ambini=i ni-ti-mi-n
 3PL what=ERG.F make.R-S<2PL.R.O>2SG|3SG.F.R.S
 “What happened to you?”
64. *“Yim mambrag nonjori yimen nirengari*
Yim mambrag nonjor=i yimen nirengar=i
 1PL spirit woman=ERG.F 1PL.POSS lover=ERG.F
 We, our spirit lover
65. *wempermina wekeya ngon*
wemper-mi-n-a weke-ya ngon
 chase.R-1PL.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S-and come.DL.R-and 3SG.F.POSS
 chased us and we came, her

66. *armbiri tatminde yim wasowtike*”.

armbir=i ta-ti-mi-n-de yim wasow-tike
 heat=ERG.F take.R-S<1PL.R.O>SG|1PL.R.S-SUB 1PL die.R-DL.R
 heat got us and we died”

67. “*Sapki nda. Wenkem nda*”.

Sapki nda we-nkem nda
 good DM come.SBJ-2PL.R DM
 “OK. Come on then”

Tayap Text 2: The water-spirit Ngayam kills the flying-fox clan

Narrated by Samek Wanjo in 2010

English translation

Long ago the ancestors of Kokokane together with the ancestors of Mbwadum were in Kokokane village and they went for fish. They went across the grassland to Murar stream and they picked up fish – on the bare ground they were picking up fish. The water-spirit Ngayam had left [and took the water in the stream with him]. He went outside to destroy the Watam people’s sailing canoe. He destroyed it in the ocean. They were going to Manam. When they were going across he broke their sailing canoe in the middle and took a piece of it and brought it – he brought it inside to his home in the middle of the water, he put it.

The people from Kokokane and Mbwadum were picking up fish when he came back. His two wives who were hanging up from a branch of a wild ball tree [they had the shape of turtles and the villagers had captured them and hung them up].

They [the villagers] picked up fish as they walked on the bare ground. Two mbarow fish flipfopped and went along in puddles of water they jumped along and fell into the big water and they went with news. They went, and telling their father [i.e. Ngayam], the two of them came back, they all came back together.

He [Ngayam] came with the water and came inside [the rainforest]. He came and ascended. He ascended the stream – the water grew more massive. They were picking up fish, the men and women ancestors. They saw good water [coming] and this made them happy, [they said:] “Oh, we’ll bathe in this good water, we’ll wash the fish.”

They were washing dirt from the fish. While they were washing the fish, the water was rising.

The water was rising, the water-spirit was coming closer. The sound of a conch shell rose up. He blew a conch shell, and [the beating of] an hourglass drum he came up. He came close and the two women left their wild ball branch and came down and with their two small machetes – machetes made of the bark of a sago palm tree. With them, they cracked open the heads of the ancestors. They killed them. They went and killed all of them. They killed them all, all of them died. Not a single one was left.

The ones [i.e. the ancestors] who [had collected fish and] were walking back along the grasslands, their basket of fish [came alive] and killed them all. They all died in the grassland as they came. A few who came back up to the village remained alive. The water came and killed all of them [i.e. the ones who hadn't yet come back to the village].

The water-spirit came and together with his children they killed them all [i.e. they killed all the ancestors]. There were no more left of the ancestors of Kokokane and Mbwadum. His [i.e. Ngayam's] two wives, as they called their two names they cut up [the ancestors] with their machete, the machete of sago palm bark: “Tutup, Tutup, Kaioka, Kaioka”, [they called out, saying their own names], “Tutup, Tutup, Kaioka, Kaioka”.

Tayap original

1. *Ripim aru munjenum Kokokanereki Mbwadum ngwuka,*
Ripim aru munjenum Kokokane=reki Mbwadum ngwuk-a
 long_ago ancestor man.PL Kokokane=COM Mbwadum be.3PL.R-and
 Once upon a time, ancestors from Kokokane, together with ancestors from
 Mbwadum were and
2. *Kokokaneŋa numni ngwuka ŋomarana ngwok.*
Kokokane=ŋa num=ni ngwuk-a ŋomar=ana ngwok
 Kokokane=POSS village=LOC be.3PL.R-and fish=DAT go.3PL.R
 they were in Kokokane village and they went to fish
3. *Naweke ngoka, Murar nuwombni ngomar*
Naw=eke ngok-a Murar nuwomb=ni ngomar
 grassland=PERL go.3PL.R-and Murar creek=LOC fish
 They went across the grassland and in Murar creek,

12. *kukukarota ŋan numni.*
ku-ku-karot-a ŋan num=ni
 bring-3SG.F.R.O-go_inside.SG.M.R-and 3SG.M.POSS village=LOC
 He brought a side of their sailing canoe, he brought it inside to his village.
13. *Awin oromni, ŋgunkuna wuk.*
Awin orom=ni ŋgu-n-ku-n-a wuk
 water middle=LOC put.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S-LINK be.3SG.F.R
 In the middle of the water, he put it and it was there.
14. *Kokokanereki Mbwadum ŋgomar tarkwanguka moti mbetre.*
Kokokane=reki Mbwadum ŋgomar tar-kwa-ŋguk-a
 Kokokane=COM Mbwadum fish take.IRR-3SG.F.BEN.O-be.3PL.R.S-and
15. *moti mbetre. Njan nonjor sene*
moti mbet-re Njan nonjor sene
 again come.3SG.M.R-SUB 3SG.M.POSS woman two
 The villagers from Kokokane and Mbwadum were taking fish when he came back. His two wives
16. *wawarpembreya wuke tamrona ndukoni wukenja.*
wawarpe-mb-re-ya wuke tamro=ŋa nduko=ni wuke=ŋa.
 hang.R-3PL.R.O- be.DL.R wild_ball=POSS branch=LOC be.DL.R=POSS
 DL.R.S-and
 were hanging from the branch of a wild ball tree [the wives had the form of turtles and the villagers had captured them and hung them up]
17. *Ngi ŋgomar tarmbrar ŋgwoka, sumbwa sinderni.*
Ngi ŋgomar tar-mb-rar ŋgwok-a sumbwa sinder=ni.
 3PL fish take.IRR-3PL.R.O-ML go.3PL.R-and ground bare=LOC
 They [the villagers] collected the fish from the bare ground.
18. *Mbarow sene mborimborikar woke awin motoreke woke*
Mbarow sene mborimbori-kar woke awin moto=reke woke
 mbarow_fish two flipflop.IRR-MANN go.DL.R water dirty=PERL go.DL.R
 Two mbarow fish flipflopped through the dirty water
19. *piŋkar wokeya awin sumanni woke otikeya*
piŋ-kar woke-ya awin suman=ni woke otikeya
 jump.IRR-MANN go.DL.R-and water big=ALL go.DL.R fall.DL.R-and

20. *namreki woke. Woke omo namgiki, namgiki*
nam=reki woke. Woke omo nam-gi-ki
 talk=COM go.DL.R go.DL.R father talk.R-3SG.M.R.O-ADV
 they jumped and went to the big water with the news. Telling their father,
21. *namgiki motini weke ndakop ngwek.*
nam-gi-ki motini weke ndakop ngwek
 talk.R-3SG.M.R.O-ADV again come.DL.R together come.3PL.R
 telling him, they came back together [with *Ngayam*].
22. *Awinreki mbeta karot. Karota*
Awin=reki mbet-a karot Karot-a
 water=COM come.SG.M.R-and go_inside.SG.M.R go_inside.SG.M.R-and
 He went with water, he came inside [the creek]. He came inside and
23. *puwot. Puwota nuwombni awin sumantaka*
puwot Puwot-a nuwomb=ni awin suman-tak-a
 ascend.SG.M.R ascend.SG.M.R-and creek=LOC water big-2SG.F|3SG.F.R-and
 he rose. He rose and the water in the creek began to rise and
24. *ngi ngomar tarkwanngukŋa aru munjenumreki nanro.*
ngi ngomar tar-kwan-nguk-ŋa aru munjenum=reki
 3PL fish take.IRR-3SG.F.BEN.R.O-be.3PL.R-REL ancestor man.PL=COM
 the ancestor men and women who were collecting fish.
25. *nanro. Awin engon tatukroya numbwan*
nanro Awin engon ta-tu-ku-ro-ya numbwan
 woman.PL water good see.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>3PL.R.S-and thought
26. *engontimbangan: “O yim awin*
engon-ti-mbata-n O yim awin
 good-S<3PL.BEN.R.O>2SG|3SG.F.R.S Oh 1PL water
 They saw the good water and had good thoughts, “Oh, we’ll
27. *tuwkunak engonni,*
tuw-ku-nak engon=ni
 wash.IRR-IRR-1SG.F|1PL.IRR good=LOC
 bathe in the good water,

28. *ngomar pitmbrinak sumbwanana.*
ngomar pit-mbri-nak *sumbwa=nana*
 fish wash.IRR-3PL.IRR.O-1SG.F|1PL.IRR ground=DAT
 we'll wash the dirt from the fish”.
29. *Ngomar pitkwanngukre awin sumankar puwok*
Ngomar pit-kwan-nguk-re *awin suman-kar puwok*
 fish wash.IRR-3SG.F.R.O-3PL.R.S-SUB water big-MANN ascend.SG.F.R
 While they were washing the fish, the water continued to come in
30. *Awin sumankar woka munje emári mbeta*
Awin suman-kar wok-a *munje emári*
 water big-MANN go.3SG.F.R-and man water_spirit

munje mbet-a
 man come.SG.M.R-and
31. *menjikannet. Pomìng pemiek.*
menjikan-net *Pomìng pemiek*
 close-1SG.M|3SG.M.R conch get_up.1SG.F|3SG.F.R
 The water got bigger and the water spirit got closer. The [sound of a] conch shell rose up.
32. *Pomìng ninkun.*
Pomìng ni-n-ku-n
 conch do.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 He blew a conch shell.
33. *Pomìng tatukure omindeominde sene ñan.*
Pomìng ta-tu-ku-re *omindeominde sene ñan*
 conch hear.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>DL.R.S-SUB wives two 3SG.M.POSS
 His two wives heard the conch shell.
34. *Pomìngreki kongodreki ñgureki piet.*
Pomìng=reki kongod=reki *ñgu=reki piet*
 conch=COM hourglass_drum=COM 3SG.F=COM come_up.SG.M.R
 With the [sound of] a conch shell and [the beating of] an hourglass drum, he came up.

35. *Mbeta menjikan. Noŋor sene tamroŋa nduko*
Mbet-a menjikan noŋor sene tamro=ŋa nduko
 come.SG.M.R-and close wife two wild_ball=POSS branch
 He came closer. His two wives
36. *orekusikeya ŋgan pitinarna at*
ore-ku-sisike-ya ŋgan pitinar=ŋa at
 leave.IRR-3SG.F.R.O-descend.DL.R-and 3pl. POSS machete=POSS half
 descended from the wild ball tree and
37. *senereki karamna pitinjar ŋuni aru*
sene-reki karam=ŋa pitinjar ŋgu=ni aru
 two-COM sago_palm_bark=POSS machete 3SG.F=INSTR ancestor
 with their machetes their sago-palm-bark machetes
38. *munjenummandama kokir krakrirmbatar weke*
munjmenum=mandama kokir krakrir-mba-tar weke
 man.PL=POSS.PL head break.IRR-3PL.O.R-ML come.DL.R
 the two split open the heads of the ancestors. The two killed them.
39. *Pombre. Pombreya weke.*
Po-mb-re Po-mb-re-ya weke
 strike.R-3PL.R-DL.R strike.R-3PL.R-DL.R-and come.DL.R
 The two killed them. The two killed them and came.
40. *Taman pombro. Taman waswituko. Moti non*
Taman po-mb-ro Taman waswi-tuko Moti non
 all strike.R-3PL.R-3PL.R all die_like_flies.R-3PL.R again one/some
 They killed them all. They all died like flies. There wasn't a single one left.
41. *aku wákare. Non nawŋa oromni waikar ŋgwekŋan,*
a-ku wákare Non naw=ŋa orom=ni wai-kar
 be.IRR-IRR NEG one/some grassland=POSS middle=LOC walk.IRR-
 MANN
 There wasn't a single one left. The ones who were walking in the middle of
 the grassland
42. *ŋgwekŋan, ŋgomarŋa kondewi ombrar*
ŋgwek=ŋan ŋgomar=ŋa kondew=i o-mb-rar
 come.3PL.R=POSS fish=POSS container=ERG.F strike.IRR-3PL.R.O-ML
 the containers of fish [came alive and] killed

43. *wek. Nawni waswirkar ḡgwek.*
wek Naw=ni waswir-kar ḡgwek
 come.3SG.F.R grassland=LOC die_like_flies.IRR-MANN come.3PL.R
 them all. They died like flies in the grassland.
44. *Non numni ḡgwekḡa, ḡḡi purko*
Non num=ni ḡgwek=ḡa ḡḡi purko
 one/some village=ALL come.3PL.R=POSS 3PL.R come_up.3PL.R
 The ones who went to the village, they came up
45. *numni ḡgwuk. Awini weka taman*
num=ni ḡgwuk Awin=i wek-a taman
 village=LOC be.3PL.R water=ERG.F come.3SG.F.R-and all
 the village, they remained alive. The water came and
46. *pombin. Emári munje mbeta ḡan*
po-mbi-n Emári munje mbet-a
 strike.R-3PL.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S water_spirit man come.SG.M-and
 killed them all. The water spirit came and
47. *ḡan rorsemreki taman pombina*
ḡan rorsem=reki taman po-mbi-n-a
 3SG.M.POSS children=COM all strike.R-3PL.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S-and
 together with his children killed them all and
48. *wákaretuko Kokokanereki*
wákare-tuko Kokokane=reki
 NEG-3PL.R Kokokane=COM
 there were no more [people] of Kokokane
49. *Mbwadum. Njan omіндеomінде sene ḡgan nomb sene*
Mbwadum Njan omіндеomінде sene ḡgan nomb sene
 Mbwadum 3SG.M.POSS wives two 3PL.POSS name two
 and Mbwadum. His [i.e. Ngayam's] two wives,
50. *ḡgarkuki pitḡjami karamḡa*
ḡgar-ku-ki pitḡjar=ni karam=ḡa
 call_out.IRR-3SG.F.R.O-ADV machete=INSTR sago_palm_bark=POSS
 as the two called their two names,

- 51.
- pitiŋarni utimbrar weke:*

pitiŋar=ni uti-mb-rar weke
 machete=INSTR slice.IRR-3PL.R.O-ML come.DL.R

sliced up everyone with their machetes made of sago palm bark:

52. “
- Tutup, Tutup, Kaioka, Kaioka. Tutup, Tutup, Kaioka, Kaioka*
- ”

“Tutup, Tutup, Kaioka, Kaioka. Tutup, Tutup, Kaioka, Kaioka”

Tayap Text 3: 2-year-old boy has a close call with a deadly snake

Narrated by Masito Monei in 2009

The following narrative is an example of the Tayap spoken by a high-proficiency passive active bilingual. The narrator, Masito Monei, was 25 years old when she told this story, and she is the youngest relatively fluent speaker in Gapun.¹

Words in Tok Pisin are in italics in the English translation below. Commentary follows the Tayap text.

English translation

One day we went to Murar. We went and Kama and her kids and her husband [did too] *and* us. We were there and we came back [i.e. we came up to Gapun]. It was *Sunday* and we came up. We came and on the path. On the path Kama and her family went first, they went first. They came and they were [already] at Nŋasimbara. *And* we with the two kids the two of us [narrator and her husband] came later.

We came and a mbumjor [a deadly venomous snake] was closeby – a snake, a mbumjor – it was like that in front of us. *And* I was carrying Mbanarj [narrator’s 2 year old son] and coming, and I put him down right near the snake. I set him down and I told him, “You walk and go. “Walk on your own”.

Me and Pepe [narrator’s 6 year old daughter]. Pepe was walking in the lead. He [Mbanarj] was behind her. The two of them walked and walked, and were close to the mbumjor. The mbumjor too was coming on the path. *And* he had been inside the forest and was coming outside [onto the path]. The two of them were walking along the path. They came and the mbumjor raised its head really close and he was going to strike them. He stood up like this....

¹ This is the same Masito, in 2010 a mother of four, whose language socialization as a baby I discussed in Kulick 1992.

When Pepe saw the snake, she ran away. *And* Mbanan̄ was standing there. He was standing there looking for the snake. And the thing it was doing – it was really close to Mbanan̄’s chest, it was going to strike him right there. It was that close. I was looking around and I saw it. I thought that the mbumjor had struck him. I threw down my things. I ran and snatched him away from the snake’s mouth.

The mbumjor really nearly struck Mbanan̄. It had its head up and it was about to strike Mbanan̄. I went and saw Mbanan̄. I was going to leave him there and run away, but I didn’t. I went and with my hand I snatched him away. I told him, “The snake is about to bite you!” I thought that it had bitten him and that he was going to die. It was a terrible thought. I *checked* his leg, and there was no bite. Abram [narrator’s husband] took a stick and killed the snake. He struck it and it died. It died and he left it there and we came.

We came and at Ngasimbara we saw Kama and her family. I told them, “A mbumjor nearly bit Mbanan̄ and Pepe. They were a hair’s breath away from dying”. Then we came back again to the village. *That’s all.*

Tayap original

1. *Aro non yim mbok Murar.*

Aro non yim mbok Murar
 day one 1PL go.1SG.F|1PL.R Murar
 One day we went to Murar.

2. *Yim mboka Kamare ŋgon rorsemreki*

Yim mbok-a Kama=re ŋgon rorsem=reki
 1PL go.1SG.F|1PL.R-and Kama=COM 3SG.F.POSS child.PL=COM
 We went and Kama and her children

3. *Kamare ominre na yim.*

Kama=re omin=re na yim
 Kama=COM spouse=COM and (Tok Pisin) 1PL
 with Kama, her husband and (Tok Pisin) us.

4. *Yim kuka priek.*

Yim kuk-a priek
 1PL be.1SG.F|1PL.R-and come_up.1SG.F|1PL.R
 We were there [in Murar] and we came up [back to the village]

5. *Sandetakre priek. Mbeka*
Sande-tak=re priek Mbek-a
 Sunday-2SG.F|3SG.F.R=TEMP come_up.1SG.F|1PL.R go.1SG.F|1PL.R-and
 It was Sunday when we came up. We went and
6. *nderŋa oromni. Nderŋa oromŋa Kamaŋgro*
nder=ŋa orom=ni Nder=ŋa orom=ŋa Kama-ŋgro
 path=POSS middle=LOC path=POSS middle=POSS Kama-PL
 in the middle of the path. The middle of the path, Kama and her family
7. *tuptukro / ŋgi tuptukoya ŋgwek*
**tuptukro ŋgi tuptuko-ya ŋgwek*
 lead.3PL.R 3PL lead.3PL.R-and come.3PL.R
 *lead / they came first. (Note: the / indicates a false start)
8. *Ngweka Ngasimbara ŋgwuk.*
Ngwek-a Ngasimbara ŋgwuk.
 come.3PL.R-and Ngasimbara be.3PL.R
 They came and were [already] at Ngasimbara
9. *Na yim ruru senereki nunuk wekeya.*
 Na yim ruru sene=reki nunuk weke-ya
 And (Tok Pisin) 1PL child.DL two=COM behind come.DL.R-and
 And (Tok Pisin) the two of us came behind them with our two kids and
10. *Yim mbeka nda mbumjorre*
Yim mbek-a nda mbumjor=re
 1PL come.1SG.F|1PL.R-and DM mbumjor_snake=LOC
 We were coming and a mbumjor snake
11. *menjikan menjikan aram, mbumjor ide, ŋi nanden*
menjikan menjikan aram mbumjor ide ŋi nanden
 closeby closeby snake mbumojor DX 3SG.M thus
 closeby, closeby the snake, a mbumjor, he was there
12. *rawni. Na Mbanaj tapningina*
raw=ni Na (Tok Pisin) Mbanaj tap-ni-ŋgi-n-a
 nose=LOC and Mbanaj carry.R-S<3SG.M.R.O>-SG|1PL.R.S-and
 in front. And I carried Mbanaj

13. *kingimbeka,aramre menjikan nda*
ki-ŋgi-mbek-a *aram=re menjikan nda*
 bring-3SG.M.R.O- come.1SG.F|1PL.R-and snake=LOC closeby DX
 brought him, and while the snake was close,
14. *wisŋgin.*
wis-ŋgi-n
 set_down.R-3SG.M.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S
 I set him down.
15. *Sireŋginŋgina*
Sire-ŋgi-n-ŋgi-n-a
 down-put.R-S<3SG.M.R.O>SG|1PL.R.S-SG|1PL.R.S-and
 I put him down and
16. *namningin “Waiteta*
nam-ni-ŋgi-n *wai-tet-a*
 talk.R-S<3SG.M.R.O>SG|1PL.R.S walk.SBJ-2SG.M|3SG.M.R-and
 I told him, “Walk and
17. *otet. Neker otet”. Na Pepe-re...*
o-tet *Neker o-tet* *Na Pepe=re*
 go.SBJ-2SG.M|3SG.M.R alone go.SBJ-2SG.M|3SG.M.R 1SG Pepe=COM
 go. Walk by yourself”. Me and Pepe [speaker’s 6-year old daughter]...
18. *Pepe ŋgu tiptiek. Ni nunuk.*
Pepe ŋgu tiptiek *Ni nunuk*
 Pepe 3SG.F lead.2SG.F|3SG.F.R 3SG.M behind
 Pepe she was in front. He was [walking] behind [her].
19. *Weke, weke menjikan mbumjorre. Mbumjor ŋi ti*
Weke weke menjikan mbumjor=re Mbumjor ŋi ti
 come.DL.R come.DL.R closeby mbumjor=LOC mbumjor 3SG.M too
 The two of them came, the snake closeby. The mbumjor too, he
20. *ndereke nanden mbet. Na ŋi mirini*
nder=eke nanden mbet *Na ŋi*
 path=PERL thus come.SG.M.R And (Tok Pisin) 3SG.M
 came along the path. And he

21. *mirini kuta kaset. Ngi ndereke*
miri=ni kut-a kaset Ngi nder=eke
 forest=LOC be.SG.M.R-and come_outside.SG.M.R 3PL path=PERL
 came outside [on the path] from the forest. The two of them [i.e. the two children]
22. *waitike weke. Wekeya mbumjorji menjikanki*
wai-tike weke Weke-ya mbumjor=ji menjikan-ki
 walk.R-DL.R come.DL.R come.DL.R-and mbumjor=ERG.M closeby-INTENS
 walked along the path. They came and the mbumjor was really close
23. *nda kokir kukupemieta*
nda kokir ku-ku-pemiet-a
 DM head bring-3SG.F.R.O-get_up.SG.M.R-and
 his head raised and
24. *ombrina ninbin.*
o-mbri-na ni-n-bi-n
 strike.IRR-3PL.IRR.O-INTENT do.R-S<3PL.R.O>SG|1PL.R.S
 and was about to strike.
25. *Nande inde punggota...Pepe ngu*
Nande inde punggot-a Pepe ngu
 thus DX stand.R.SG.M.R-and Pepe 3SG.F
 He was standing like this and...Pepe she
26. *aram tatinginre tewtiék*
aram ta-ti-ŋgi-n-re tewtiék
 snake see.R-S<3SG.M.R.O>2SG|3SG.F.R.S-SUB flee.SG.F|1PL.R
 saw the snake and she ran away
27. *Na Mbanan punggotakut.*
Na (Tok Pisin) Mbanan punggot-a-kut.
 and Mbanan stand.SG.M.R-LINK-be.SG.M.R
 And Mbanan was standing there.
28. *Punggota rarngankut aram inde...*
Punggot-a rar-ŋgan-kut aram inde
 stand.SG.M.R-and look.IRR-3SG.M.BEN.R.O-be.SG.M.R snake DX
 He stood there and was looking for the snake

29. *aŋguk orak aŋgu ambin nirkwan/*
aŋguk orak aŋgu ambin nir-kwan/
 DX thing DX what do.IRR-3SG.BEN.IRR.O
 the thing, what it was doing/
30. *ŋi nda menjikan Mbanan̄ma tokimot*
ŋi nda menjikan Mbanan̄=ma tokimot
 3SG.M DM closeby Mbanan̄=POSS chest
 on Mbanan̄'s chest
31. *oŋgatinana aini stret*
o-ŋgati-nana ai=ni stret (Tok Pisin)
 strike.IRR-3SG.M.BEN.IRR.O-INTENT here=LOC
 it really almost bit him right here.
32. *Nande nende menjikan, Ŋa nda*
Nande nende menjikan Ŋa nda
 thus thus closeby 1SG DM
 It was so close I
33. *rarmboka tankun.*
rar-mbok-a ta-n-ku-n
 see.IRR-go.1SG.F|1PL.R-and see.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 was looking and I saw it.
34. *Ŋa namnak mbumjor̄ŋi*
Ŋa nam-nak mbumjor=ŋi
 1SG talk.R-1SG.F|1PL.R mbumjor=ERG.M
 I thought the mbumjor
35. *poŋginara. Orak orak*
po-ŋgi-n-ara Orak orak
 strike.R-3SG.F.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S-PERF thing thing
 had bitten him. I
36. *rukuotitek, nunumpuwok*
ru-ku-otitek nunum-puwok
 propel.R-3SG.F.R.O-fall.3SG.F.R.S running-ascend.SG.F|1PL.R
 threw down my things, ran up

37. *sakini aramma sikni mbiuningin*
sakini aram=ma sik=ni mbiu-ni-ŋgi-n
 nothing snake=POSS mouth=LOC stretch.R-S<3SG.M.R.O>-SG|1PL.R.S
 pulled him from the snake's mouth.
38. *Mbumjor pini ŋayarni Mbanaj oŋgrinana.*
Mbumjor pini ŋayar-ni Mbanaj o-ŋgri-nana
 mbumjor ADV true-ADV Mbanaj strike.IRR-3SG.IRR.O-INTENT
 The mbumjor was this close to biting Mbanaj.
39. *Ŋi nda kokir pemieka nda Mbanaj*
Ŋi nda kokir pemiek-a nda Mbanaj
 3SG.M DM head get_up.SG.M.R-and DM Mbanaj
 His head was raised and
40. *oŋgrinana menjikan. Ŋa mboka*
o-ŋgri-nana menjikan Ŋa mbok-a
 strike.IRR-3SG.IRR.O-INTENT closeby 1SG go.1SG.F|1PL.R-and
 he wanted to strike Mbanaj. I went
41. *Mbanaj taniŋin.*
Mbanaj ta-ni-ŋgi-n
 Mbanaj see.R-S<3SG.M.R.O>SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 and I saw Mbanaj.
42. *Namniŋin: “Aram aŋgidekmeŋgi*
Nam-ni-ŋgi-n aram aŋgidek-me-ŋgi
 talk.R-S<3SG.M.R.O>SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S snake DX.F-DX-DX.F
 I said, “The snake there
43. *orunetana”. Ŋa nda namnak*
o-ru-net-ana Ŋa nda nam-nak
 strike.IRR-2SG.IRR.O-1SG.M|3SG.M.R.S-INTENT 1SG DM talk.R-1SG.F|1PL.R
 is going to strike you”. I thought
44. *ŋi nda poŋginara*
ŋi nda po-ŋgi-n-ara
 3SG.M DM strike.r-3SG.M.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S-PERF
 it had bitten him and

45. *wasowkinetana. Numbwan aprotak.*
wasow-ki-net-ana. Numbwan apro-tak
 die.IRR-IRR-1SG.M|3SG.M.IRR-INTENT thought bad-2SG.F|3SG.F.R
 he was going to die. A bad thought arose.
46. *Ŋa ndow sekimkwankuk, wákare*
Ŋa ndow sekim-kwan-kuk wákare
 1SG leg check (TP)-3SG.F.BEN.R.O-be.1SG.F|1PL.R NEG
 I was checking his leg, no [the snake hadn't bitten Mbanan]
47. *Nda Abramŋi nimŋat tankun*
Nda Abram=ŋi nim=ŋa-at ta-n-ku-n
 DM Abram=ERG.M tree=POSS-piece take.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 Then Abram [Masito's husband] took a stick
48. *aram nime poŋgin.*
aram nime po-ŋgi-n
 snake thus strike.R-3SG.M.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S
 hit the snake with that.
49. *Poŋgina, wasonet.*
Po-ŋgi-n-a waso-net.
 strike.R-3SG.M.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S-and die.R-1SG.M|3SG.M.R
 He hit it, and it died.
50. *Wasowneta ainimende*
Waso-net-a aini-me-nde
 die.R-1SG.M|3SG.M.R-and here-DX-DX.M
 It died and there
51. *ŋratkutre, yim mbek*
ŋgra-t-kut-re yim mbek.
 put.IRR-3SG.M.NFO-BE.SG.M.R-SUB 1PL come.1SG.F|1PL.R
 he put it, we came.
52. *Mbeka Ŋgasimbara Kamare*
Mbek-a Ŋgasimbara Kama=re
 come.1SG.F|1PL.R-and Ŋgasimbara Kama=COM
 We came to Ŋgasimbara,

53. *tanimbin. Namnimbin,*
ta-ni-mbi-n. Nam-ni-mbi-n
 see.R-S<3PL.R.O>SG|1PL.R.S talk.R-S<3PL.R.O>SG|1PL.R.S
 we saw Kama and everyone. I told them,
54. “*Mbumjorŋi pin ŋayarni Mbananŋre Pepere*
Mbumjor=ŋi pin ŋayar-ni Mbananŋ=re Pepe=re
 mbumjor=ERG.M ADV true-ADV Mbananŋ=COM Pepe=COM
 “A mbumjor came really close to biting Mbananŋ and Pepe
55. *ombrina. Pin ŋayarni wasowtike*”.
o-mbri-na Pin ŋayar-ni wasow-tike
 strike.IRR-3PL.IRR.O-INTENT ADV true-ADV die.R-DL.R
 The two of them came really close to dying”.
56. *Motini nda ainime mbek numni.*
Motini nda aini-me mbek num=ni
 again DM here-DX come.1SG.F|1PL.R village=ALL
 Then we came back to the village.
57. Em tasol (Tok Pisin)
 Em tasol
 3SG just
 That’s all.

Commentary

The narrator of this story is an example of a young passive active speaker, a villager who never speaks more than a few formulaic phases of Tayap. She speaks Tok Pisin to everyone: her children, her husband, her old mother, her siblings, and even her mother-in-law, with whom she interacts every day, and who is a Tayap-dominant woman in her late fifties. Despite the fact that this young woman never speaks Tayap, she not only possesses solid grammatical competence in the language; she is also able to activate that competence to produce narratives of relatively great complexity. She is the youngest villager able to do this; her husband, who is 6 years older, was able to produce a coherent narrative only with her active intervention.

Gapuners would judge this narrative to be a good story in terms of structure, content and performance. It adheres to the village narrative convention of having the protagonist or protagonists go off into the rainforest, have something happen

there, and then return, at the end of the story, back to the village. It contains detail and a variety of perspectives. It is dramatic.

Grammatically, the narrative is complex. It contains a number of different verbs of motion besides ‘go’ and ‘come’ (lines 4–5, 16, 21, 22, 36), serial verbs (lines 13, 15, 23, 36) and clauses coordinated with the clause subordinating morpheme *-re* (lines 26, 51). All verbs but one are correctly inflected for subject – this speaker makes none of the errors that most other young speakers make, discussed throughout the grammar. The one inflectional error she does make is *tuptukro* ‘they went first’ in line 7; but she corrects herself and produces the correct form a few words later. Her pronunciation of the word, /tuptuko/, deviates a bit from the more usual *tiptuko*, but it is within the range of acceptable variation.

The only grammatical mistakes made by the speaker both occur with regard to the gender of the snake. For most of the narrative, the snake is correctly gendered masculine. But three times, in lines 29, 33, and 42, it becomes feminine (even if line 29 is ambiguous, because it isn’t entirely clear what the speaker is referring to).

Tayap Text 4: Young men kill a cassowary

Narrated by a 20-year-old young man in 2009

The following text is an example of the kind of young people’s Tayap that has been discussed throughout the grammar. The narrator, a twenty-year-old young man, is one of the youngest of ten children. His mother is one of the most Tayap-dominant speakers in the village, and his father, who died several years ago, also spoke Tayap just as much as, if not more than, he spoke Tok Pisin.

This young man has flawless passive competence in Tayap, but his ability to actively speak the language is limited. He is still able to narrate the broad outlines of a story, but the story he tells is difficult to follow. Referents are jumbled, verbs are inflected incorrectly and the narrative is punctuated with nervous laughter and hesitations, as the young man plans out what he will say. At several points, the speaker is simply unable to inflect a verb, and he is prompted by his 30-year-old brother-in-law, who was sitting with us, listening to the young man’s story.

The following English translation of the young man’s story reflects its disfluent nature. (All the names of people in this story have been changed).

Commentary follows the Tayap text.

English translation

We went into the forest. We went and it was getting dark. We went and Waiki [laughs] (fight?) [laughs]. Waiki and Mbini (fight?) eh...ssss [sound of frustration].

Speaker B, speaker's thirty-year-old brother-in-law: The two of them fought.

The two of them fought [laughs]. Waiki, Mbini hand here on the chest pounded him. He pounded him and tree/tree/tree branch [laughs] with a tree branch. *Wait* [said in Tok Pisin]...he fell. He fell and he got up and Konjab/Konjab Konjab... Konjab...Konjab...he got up and Konjab [whispers to himself, for 15 seconds, rehearsing the words] pounded Konjab. Pounded him. Konjab cried. He cried and he...he...hand...[meaningless]/eh/ssss...[16 second hesitation, laughs]. He shook hands [laughs]. He shook hands and they enough...[laughs] enough...

Speaker B: The two had enough [i.e. they finished fighting]

The two had enough. And we were there. We were there and in the morning we went with the dogs. We went with the dogs and the dog...the dog chase/chased a cassowary/cassowary. He chased/he was and we brought her, we brought her and we brought her [12 second hesitation] and (get up??)/the dogs [laughs]. The dogs, the dogs, *wait* [in Tok Pisin]...The dogs [whispers to himself, rehearsing] they got up/they got up. They got up, we went and we went and speared the cassowary. We speared him and we/we/we we two tied his legs with a rope and then we they [meaningless] came. They came, they came, we came. We came and at the stream we/we will put [quietly to himself, rehearsing] at the stream/the stream's will put...will put...the stream we brought him and the stream's side will put...will put [laughs, 6 second pause].

Speaker B: Just [inaudible]

[laughs] We...[laughs] on the stream's side burn...we brought him and on the stream's side

Speaker B: We burned him [i.e. singed the feathers off the dead cassowary]

We burned him. We burned him and chop/will chop...[laughs] We chopped him...we chopped him [laughs]. We chopped him and we came. We came to Ngarmembag. That's enough.

Tayap original

KEY TO TRANSCRIPTION

<i>Italics</i>	Tayap	*	ungrammatical or incorrect Tayap
roman	Tok Pisin	??	nonce morpheme or word
/	false start or self-correction	[]	author's comments
...	pause or hesitation		

1. *Yim mbok mirini. Yim mboka ikur nda sisiek nda.*

Yim mbok miri=ni. Yim mbok-a ikur nda sisiek
 1PL go.1PL.R forest=ALL 1PL go.1SG.F night DM fall.3SG.F.R
 |1PL.R-and

We went into the forest. We went and night fell.

2. *nda. Yim mboka Waikire* [laughs] *amini...*[laughs].
*nda Yim mbok-a Waiki=re *amini*
 DM 1PL go. 1SG.F|1PL.R-and Waiki=COM fight?
 We went and Waiki [laughs] fi...[laughs].
3. *Waikire Mbinire amini...eh...ssss...*
*Waiki=re Mbini=re *amini*
 Waiki=COM Mbini=COM fight?
 Waiki and Mbini fi...eh...ssss [sounds of frustration]
4. Speaker B, a thirty-year-old brother-in-law listening to this story:
Amurukuke
Amuru-kuke
 fight.R-DL.R
 The two had a fight.
5. *Amurukuke* [laughs]. *Waiki Mbini ndaram aini nambirni*
Amuru-kuke Waiki Mbini ndaram ai=ni nambir=ni
 fight.R-DL.R Waiki Mbini hand here=LOC chest=LOC
 The two had a fight [laughs]. Waiki hand
6. *tawaitingin.* *Tawaitingina*
**tawai-ti-ŋgi-n* **Tawai-ti-ŋgi-n-a*
 hit.R-S<3SG.M.R.O>2SG|3SG.F.R.S hit.R-S<3SG.M.R.O>2SG|3SG.F.R.S-and
 She hit him and she hit Mbini in the chest here [Waiki is a young man,
 as is Mbini]
7. *nim/nim/nimŋa* [laughs] *ndukoni nimŋa ndukoni wet...*
nim/nim/nim=ŋa nduko=ni nim=ŋa nduko=ni wet
 tree/tree/tree=POSS branch=INSTR tree=POSS branch=INSTR wait (Tok Pisin)
 with a tree branch [laughs] with a tree branch wait...
8. na (Tok Pisin) *Konjab/Konjab katet. Kateta ŋi pemieta*
na (Tok Pisin) Konjab/Konjab katet. Katet-a ŋi pemiet-a
 and (Tok Pisin) Konjab/Konjab fall. fall.SG.M.R-and 3SG.M get_up.SG.M.R-and
 SG.M.R
 ... and Konjab/Konjab He fell down. He fell down and he got up and

9. *Konjab/Konjab...Konjab...Konjabyi...ŋi pemieta Konjab* [speaker whispers to himself for 15 seconds]
Konjab/Konjab Konjab Konjab=yi ŋi pemieta Konjab*
 Konjab/Konjab Konjab Konjab=ERG.F 3SG.M get_up.SG. Konjab
 M.R.-and
 Konjab/Konjab...Konjab...Konjab he got up and Konjab [speaker whispers to himself for 15 seconds]
10. *Konjab kadigin. Kadigin.*
Konjab kadi-gi-n
 Konjab hit.R<3SG.M.R.O>1SG|2SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
Kadi-gi-n
 hit.R<3SG.M.R.O>1SG|2SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
11. *Kadigin. Konjabyi eiarnet.*
Kadi-gi-n Konjab=yi eiarnet*
 hit.R<3SG.M.R.O>1SG|2SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S Konjab=ERG.F cry.R-1SG.M|3SG.M.R
 Konjab hit him. He hit him. He hit him [the three ‘hit’ verbs are repeated in a soft tone that suggests the speaker is trying them out to hear whether they sound correct]. Konjab cried.
12. *Eiarneta, ŋi...ŋi ndaram...sit/eh/ssss...* [16 second hesitation]
Eiar-net-a ŋi ŋi ndaram sit/eh/sss
 cry.R-1SG.M|3SG.M.R-and 3SG.M 3SG.M hand ?/eh/ssss
 He cried and he...he...hand..sit/eh/ssss... [16 second hesitation]
13. [laughs] *ndaram pekuna* [laughs] *ndaram pekuna...*
*ndaram *pe-ku-n-a ndaram *pe-ku-n-a*
 hand hold.R-3SG.F.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S hand hold.R-3SG.F.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S-and
 [laughs] he held hand and he held hand and [laughs]
 [Speaker means to say that Konjab and his antagonist shook hands]
14. *ŋgi mai...* [laughs] *mai...*
ŋgi mai mai
 3PL enough enough
 they enough... [laughs] enough
15. Speaker B: *Maitike*
Mai-tike
 enough-DL.R
 The two of them had enough [i.e. they finished fighting]

16. *Maitike. Nda yim kuk. Yim kuka*
Mai-tike. Nda yim kuk yim kuk-a
 enough-DL.R DM 1PL be.1SG.F|1PL.R 1PL be.1SG.F|1PL.R-and
 The two of them had enough. Then we were there. We were there and
17. *embre yim mbok, njereki mbok.*
emb=re yim mbok nje=reki mbok
 morning=TEMP 1PL go.1SG.F|1PL.R dog=COM go.1SG.F|1PL.R
 in the morning we went, we went with dogs [to hunt]
18. *Njereki mboka, nje...nje ngat/ngat*
Nje=reki mbok-a nje nje ngat/ngat
 dog=COM go.1SG.F|1PL.R-and dog dog cassowary/cassowary
 We went with dogs, dogs...dogs cassowary/cassowary
19. *wem/werpekun. Werpeki/kuta*
*wem/*werpe-ku-n. *Werpe-ki/kut-a*
 chas/chase.R-3SG.F.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S chase.R-IRR??/be.SG.M.R-and
 he chased it. He was chasing it
20. *kuku/kukumbok, kukumboka*
**ku-ku/ku-ku-mbok *ku-ku-mbok-a*
 bring-3SG.F.R.O/bring-3SG.F.R.O-go.1SG.F|1PL.R bring-3SG.F.R.O-go.1SG.F|1PL.R-and
 we brought her, we brought her and
21. *kukumboka* [12 second hesitation] *penj/*njenunyi* [laughs]
**ku-ku-mbok-a penj *njenun-yi*
 bring-3SG.F.R.O-go.1SG.F|1PL.R-and get_up?? dog.PL-ERG.F
 we brought her and [12 second hesitation] *penj*/the dogs [laughs]
22. *nejnumyi njenunyi...wet...njenunyi*
**nejnum=yi *njenun=yi wet *njenun=yi*
 dog.PL=ERG.F dog.PL=ERG.F wait (Tok Pisin) dog.PL=ERG.F
 dogs dogs...wait...dogs [all these mix the plural noun with the feminine singular ergative suffix]
23. [whispers to himself, rehearsing] *pemko/pemko. Pemko. Yim mboka*
pemko/pemko Pemko Yim mbok-a
 get_up.3PL.R/get_up.3PL.R get_up.3PL.R 1PL go.1SG.F|1PL.R-and
 [whispers to himself, rehearsing] they got up/they got up. They got up. We went and

24. *yim mboka ngat pongin.*
yim mbok-a ngat po-ŋgi-n.
 1PL go.1SG.F|1PL.R-and cassowary strike.R-3SG.M.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S
 we went and speared a cassowary.
25. *Pongina yim/yim/yim ndow ŋan ngripni*
Po-ŋgi-n-a yim/yim/yim ndow ŋan ngrip=ni
 strike.R-3SG.M.R.O- 1PL/1PL/1PL leg 3SG.M.POSS rope=INSTR
 SG|1PL.R.S-and
26. *perkure nda yim urk/urk/ŋgwek.*
**per-ku-re nda yim urk/urk//*ŋgwek*
 tie.R-3SG.F.R.O-DL.R DM 1PL ??/??/come.3PL.R
 We speared him and we/we/we two tied his legs and then we ??/??/they came.
27. *Ŋgwek, ŋgwek yim mbek.*
**Ŋgwek *ŋgwek yim mbek*
 come.3PL.R come.3PL.R 1PL come.1SG.F|1PL.R
28. *Mbeka nuwombni yim/yim [quietly to himself] ngir-ki ssss [sound of frustration]*
*Mbek-a nuwomb=ni yim/yim *ngir-ki*
 come.1SG.F|1PL.R-and stream=LOC 1PL/1PL put?-IRR
 We went and at the stream we/we [quietly to himself, rehearsing] pu sssssss
 [sound of frustration]
29. *nuwombni/nuwombŋa tawni ngri...ngri...nuwomb*
nuwomb=ni/nuwomb=ŋa taw=ni ngri ngri nuwomb
 stream=LOC/stream=POSS side=LOC put.IRR put.IRR stream
 at the stream/on the side of the stream will put...will put...stream
30. *kingimbeka tawni ngri...ngri...[6 second pause]*
ki-ŋgi-mbek-a taw=ni ngri ngri
 bring-3SG.M.R.O-come.1SG.F|1PL.R-and side=LOC put.IRR put.IRR
 we brought him and on the side will put...will put...[6 second pause]
31. Speaker B: *sakini* [inaudible]
sakini
 just
 Just [inaudible]

32. [laughs] *yim*...[laughs]...*nuwombŋa tawni apru*...
*yim nuwomb=ŋa taw=ni *apru*
 1PL stream=POSS side=LOC burn
 [laughs] we...[laughs]...at the side of the stream will bu...
33. *kiŋimbeka nuwombŋa tawni*
ki-ŋgi-mbek-a nuwomb=ŋa taw=ni
 bring-3SG.M.R.O-come.1SG.F|1PL.R-and stream=POSS side=LOC
 we brought him and came and at the side of the stream
34. Speaker B: *Kapŋgin*
Kap-ŋgi-n
 burn.R<3SG.M.R.O>1SG|2SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 We burned him [i.e. singed off the cassowary's feathers]
35. *Kapŋgin. Kapŋgina*
Kap-ŋgi-n Kap-ŋgi-n-a
 burn.R<3SG.M.R.O>1SG|2SG|3SG. burn.R<3SG.M.R.O>1SG|2SG|3SG.
 M|1PL.R.S M|1PL.R.S-and
 We burned him. We burned him and
36. *yim krar/krara/...*
yim krar/krar-a/ [laughs]
 1PL chop.IRR/chop.IRR-and
 we will chop/will chop and [laughs]
37. *krarpŋg...krarpŋg...[laughs] krarpŋgna,*
**krar-p-ŋg *krar-p-ŋg *krar-p-ŋg-n-a*
 chop.IRR-R-3SG.M.R.O chop.IRR-R-3SG.M.R.O chop.IRR-R-3SG.M.R.O-
 SG|1PL.R.S-and
 will/do chop him...will/do chop him...[laughs]..(we) will/do chop him and
38. *yim mbek. Yim mbek Ngarmembag. Nda mai.*
yim mbek Yim mbek Ngarmembag Nda mai
 1PL come.1SG.F|1PL.R 1PL come.1SG.F|1PL.R Ngarmembag DM enough
 we came. We came to Ngarmembag. That's enough.

Immediately after they finished telling their story in Tayap, I always asked young speakers to re-tell the story in Tok Pisin. I did this for two reasons. First, I did it in order to compare the fluency and complexity of the narratives – in order

to check, for example, whether a speaker told a brief, simple narrative in Tayap because she or he was someone whose narrative style was brief and simple in any language, or whether a brief and simple story in Tayap was an artefact of limited active competence in the language.

The second reason I elicited the same story in Tok Pisin was to be able to make educated guesses about what a speaker had attempted to say in Tayap in those instances where the forms she or he used were far from the grammatically correct ones.

Here is the story this speaker told immediately after he concluded his Tayap narrative:

Yumi go long bus. Yumi go long bus nau apinun wantaim tudak i godaun. Tudak i godaun nau, Pita, Waiki. Em Konjab taitim han bilong em ia na em i tok, "Yu kam. Traim paitim bros bilong mi". Em kirap i kam tasol, putim han long bros bilong man na em pundaun i godaun long [no ken harim] bilong settri. Em pundaun i godaun nau, em kirap nau na em tok, "Spirit nogut hatim bel bilong mi". Em kirap paitim Mbini. Em paitim Mbini, tupela kirap, sekhan pinis, moning ia mipela i go long bus. I go long bus tasol ol dok raunim muruk. Ol dok raunim muruk, kisim em i go, ol sanapim em. Yumi go, Sando i go sutim em. Sutim em, mipela karim em i kam long Umba, baret ia. Em mipela pasim em, hangamapim em, pinis, yumi kukim em pinis, brukim em pinis, yumi kam gen long ples.

We went into the forest. We went into the forest in the afternoon as it was getting dark. It was getting dark. Pita – Waiki [Pita's Tayap name]. Konjab raised his fists and said, "Come on. Try to hit me on the chest". He got up and put his hands on his chest and he fell down on the [unintelligible] of a shade tree. He fell down and then he got up and said, "A bad spirit is making me angry". He got up and hit Mbini. He hit Mbini, the two of them shook hands, and in the morning we went into the forest. We went into the forest and the dogs found and chased a cassowary. They chased the cassowary, brought it [i.e. chased it towards the young men] and they cornered it. We went, Sando went and speared it. He speared it and we carried it to the Umba stream. We tied it up, hung it up, burned off its feathers and butchered it, then we came back again to the village.

Commentary

The narrator of the cassowary story, like most of his peers, avoids any tense or status besides the imperfective. To a certain extent, this limitation is an artefact of the kinds of stories speakers tell – a story in Gapun ("stori" in Tok Pisin, *tik* in Tayap) is definitionally a telling of some event that happened in the past. 'Stories' are not about future plans or actions. They are highly conventionalized narratives that are always about what the teller or someone else did – almost always in the rainforest – and they conclude with the protagonist(s) returning to the village after the adventure is over. The story told by this young speaker adheres to those conventions.

However, good story-tellers can also include different actor perspectives and they can refer to events that have happened or may happen outside the temporal frame established by the narrative. That Masito Monei does this in Tayap Text 3 is one of the qualities that would make her story a satisfying one in the opinion of villagers.

Young speakers like the young man who narrated the cassowary hunt are unable to do this. They never use verbs inflected for the future or the counterfactual; instead, everything is in the imperfective and occasionally the perfective. The problem for these speakers, as is discussed in Chapter 6, is that the imperfective in Tayap is a difficult aspect, full of irregular and unpredictable inflections.

These problems are evident in this narrative. The narrator does an impressive job inflecting some of the verbs he chooses. He correctly inflects intransitive verbs like *memki* ‘get up’ (lines 8–9, 23) and transitive verbs like the class 3 verb *adi-* ‘pound’ (lines 10–11) that would stump many other young speakers.

But with other verbs, the narrator’s story demonstrates the same kinds of errors that are common in the speech of young speakers of Tayap. He has a tendency, for example, to inflect verbs of other verb classes as though they were all class 5 verbs. In line 5, for example, *tawai-(p)-i* ‘hit’/ ‘pound’ is a class 1 verb. This means that the correct inflection in the imperfective is:

tawaipingin
tawai-pi- -ŋgi- -n
 hit.R- 3SG.M.R.O- -SG|1PL.R.S
 ‘Any singular subject hit him’, or ‘we hit him’

Instead, the speaker produces the verb as a class 5 verb:

tawaitingin
tawai- -ti -ŋgi -n
 hit.R- -S <3SG.M.R.O > -2SG|3SG.F.S
 ‘You hit him’, or ‘she hit him’

In addition to inflecting the verb in the wrong verb class, the speaker also mixes up the subject morphemes. If the verb were a class 5 verb, the first segment of its discontinuous subject marker would be *-n^v-* (which denotes 3SG.M) not *-t^v-* (which denotes 3SG.F; see Section 6.1.7).

Other verbs simply stump him. ‘Chase’ – the class 1 verb *wemb-(p)-er* (line 19) – is inflected unsuccessfully. The class 3 verb *apu* ‘cook’, ‘singe’ (lines 32–35) gives this speaker the same problems it gave the young speaker quoted in Section 6.1.5).

The class 4 verb *krar* ‘chop’ (lines 36–37) is inflected, after several attempts, as though it were a class 1 verb (see Section 6.1.3). This verb is, furthermore, semantically incorrect. The speaker wants the class 2 verb *wuw* ‘butcher’. He chooses *krar* on the pattern of Tok Pisin, where one could use the verb “brukim”, ‘chop’, to describe the butchering of a carcass. “Brukim” is also what one does with firewood – and this is the link to *krar*, which is the verb in Tayap used to denote the chopping of firewood. Through this series of associations: Tok Pisin’s ‘chop’ (“brukim”) → Tayap’s ‘chop’ (*krar*), the narrator ends up choosing a verb that is semantically appropriate in Tok Pisin but not in Tayap. We will see another example of this same error in Tayap Text 5, lines 27–30.

This is an example of one of the processes of lexical reduction that Tayap is undergoing in the speech of young villagers.

Another feature of this speaker’s narrative that is common in the narratives of young people is the avoidance of plural verb inflections. As noted in Section 5.3.2, speakers do inflect verbs with the 1PL (an inflection that is identical to the 1SG.F form). But they avoid inflecting verbs in the 2PL, 3PL and dual forms, because these forms have specific inflections that differ quite markedly from the inflections for the other persons and numbers.

The verb in line 13 for example, *er* ‘hold’, should be in the dual form, since it refers to two people shaking hands (it is correct to use this verb to denote this action; so in Tayap one doesn’t ‘shake hands’, one ‘holds hands’ to signal reconciliation). Thus, narrator should say:

<i>pe-ku-re</i>		<i>pe-ku-n</i>
hold.R-3SG.F.R.O-DL.R	<i>instead of</i>	hold. R-3SG.F.R.O-DL.SG 1PL.R.S
‘the two held hands’		‘he held hand’

That the speaker does not produce this form is typical. Another dual form is given to him by his brother-in-law (line 4). While he clearly recognizes this form and repeats it immediately, he produces no other dual forms himself.

The one instance in which the speaker does attempt a plural verb inflection, he inflects it correctly (line 23, *pemko* ‘they got up’). However, this verb is incorrect. It is a substitute for what the speaker wants – as evidenced partly by the verb he does use (which has phonetic, semantic and inflectional similarities to second part of the serial verb he should have used), and partly by the verb he uses in the Tok Pisin version of his story, which is “sanapim”, ‘corner’.

The verb the speaker was searching for is a serial verb, *weX-(p/m)-unguku* ‘corner’. This is a complicated verb to inflect because it requires both a dependent object morpheme and an understanding of the *p/m* alternation undergone by the verb stem. What the speaker wanted in this instance was the following:

wetpunguko

wet- *-t-* *-punguko*
 corner.IRR- 3SG.M.NFO- -stand.3PL.R

‘they cornered him’ (i.e. the dogs cornered the cassowary)

A serial verb like this is not in the repertoire of most young speakers of Tayap. Some young men did produce it automatically in stories about hunting, but those who did produce it had clearly absorbed it as a fixed construction. Anyone who hesitated and tried to actively construct this verb always failed.

The last thing to note about the way this speaker uses verbs is the phonological reduction of the verb ‘fall’ (line 8). This reduced form, *katet*, is the form used by younger speakers. It differs from what older speakers say, which is *katitet* ‘he fell’. For more on this, see Section 6.2.3.

Apart from difficulties with verbs, this speaker also evidences common problems that young people have with Tayap’s ergative construction. Like many other young speakers, the narrator of the cassowary story uses the ergative hapazardly; and the gender and number distinctions encoded by Tayap’s three different ergative morphemes are lost. The narrator uses a single form of the ergative morpheme, the feminine singular form, *-yi*. This speaker affixes this morpheme both to masculine referents (for instance, in lines 9 and 11, *Konjab-yi*) and plural referents (*njenum-yi* in lines 21–22 should be *njenum-gi*).

The final observation to make about this speaker’s Tayap is that he is stronger than many of his peers when it comes to gender concordance. As I noted above, he does have a problem with the gender of ergative morphemes. But he correctly inflects intransitive verbs for gender (e.g. lines 1, 8–9, 11–12), and most of the object morphemes he uses in transitive verbs are the correct ones. The single error he makes is in the gender of the cassowary, which starts out as feminine (lines 19–21; *-ku* is the feminine object morpheme; the speaker wants *-ngi*, the masculine morpheme), but then switches to the correct masculine form (lines 24, 25, 30, 33, 35, 37; recall that cassowaries are generally masculine in Tayap, see Section 3.1.3).

Tayap Text 5: Girls have an adventure in the rainforest

Narrated in 2009 by

Speaker A, 14 years old

Speaker B, 15 years old

Speaker C, 17 years old

The narrative in Text 5 represents the end of the line for the Tayap language. It was told by a fourteen-year old girl (speaker A), assisted by her friend (speaker B) and her older sister (speaker C).

I knew all three of these girls well. I knew, therefore, that their passive competence in Tayap was highly developed: the mother of the two sisters, and both parents of speaker B, use a great deal of Tayap in day-to-day life, and all three girls have no trouble understanding orders and following narratives in the language. Despite this, the girls had little active competence in Tayap. The only things they ever regularly uttered in Tayap were curse words like *kwem petiek* (wanker) or *ngwab* (hole), which they delighted in hurling at each other and other children numerous times during the course of a day.

To spare the girls what I feared might be the embarrassment of trying to speak in Tayap and failing, I had not considered asking them to try to narrate a story. They, however, had other ideas.

They knew that young women and men in their twenties regularly came up into my house at night to tell stories in Tayap, and caught up in the excitement of that, the three girls announced to me one afternoon that they, too, intended to come and tell a story. And so they did. Each speaker told a short story, in the collaborative and argumentative manner that characterizes the story below.

The stories produced by these young speakers are a glimpse into the future of Tayap. The Tayap spoken by these girls is what the language will look like at the very end of its life, when verb classes have imploded, when inflections for person and number are jumbled, and when Tayap's vocabulary has been more or less completely replaced with Tok Pisin.

The speakers collectively make many of the errors discussed in the grammar, including:

- overextension of the present progressive (lines 22, 26, 32–35, 45–46)
- inability to inflect class 2 and 3 verbs (lines 11–12, 31–36, 42, 61–65)
- semantic reduction of Tayap verbs on the model of Tok Pisin (lines 26–29)
- Tok Pisin verbs inflected with Tayap morphology (lines 11, 13, 23, 57)
- inability to correctly inflect verbs for subject (lines 13–15, 17, 21–22, 29, 35, 42, 61)
- loss of verbs of motion (lines 43–44)
- insecurity about the ergative (line 9)

In addition to those grammatical errors, this story is told disfluently and incoherently. In order to make any sense of it at all, I present, first, the same story told by Speaker A in Tok Pisin.

As I mentioned in my commentary on Tayap Text 4, I always asked young speakers to re-tell in Tok Pisin what they had just narrated in Tayap, so that I could be reasonably certain of what it is they had wanted to say in Tayap, even if the forms they used were incorrect or incomprehensible.

Here is fourteen-year-old speaker A's narrative in Tok Pisin, followed by an English translation. All the names in the narrative have been changed:

Mi, Nensi, Mbabe, Marai. Mipela go, Nensi holim susu bilong Mbabe. Nensi kirap, sakim Mbabe i godaun. Mbabe kirap kra. Nensi wantaim Marai kirap laitim smok. Tupela smok i go, Mbabe kam. Mbabe kam mipela i go brukim kanjigogo istap, kanjigogo i katim han bilong mi. Brukim pinis, mipela i kam. Kam kukim pinis, katim, Marai wantaim Mbabe putim long Andon na mi go antap long kokonas. Mi go antap long kokonas na mi tokim Nensi, lukluk na kam lukim wara long Kombirum. Mi tokim Nensi, Nensi kam autsait lukim pinis mipela i godaun nau na mipela i go. Andon tokim mipela yupela i go brukim kru pankin. Nensi i go brukim kru pankin. Mi, Mbabe, Marai, mipela i go brukim aibika. Brukim i kam, Marai i giamanim mitupela Mbabe. Mitupela kirap ron i kam. Ron i kam nau mipela i kam long ples.

Me, Nensi, Mbabe, Marai. We went, Nensi held Mbabe's tit. Nensi got up and pushed Mbabe and she fell. Mbabe got up and cried. Nensi and Marai lit cigarettes. The two of them were smoking and Mbabe came. Mbabe came and we went to collect *bamboo shoots*. We were collecting them and a *bamboo shoot* cut my hand. We collected them and we came back. We came and cooked them, and when we did that, Marai and Mbabe put some aside for Raimon and I went up a tree to get some coconuts. I went up and I told Nensi, "Look and come and see the water at Kombirum". She came out and looked at it and then we left. Raimon told us to go and pluck some pumpkin greens. Nensi went and plucked pumpkin greens. Me, Mbabe, Marai, we went to pluck *aibika*. We plucked it and Marai tricked me and Mbabe. We ran and came back. Ran and came back and we came back to the village.

This narrative is the kind of story that villagers of all ages tell each other all the time, concerning actions and adventures in the rainforest. Like other narrators, the girl telling this story assumes that the listener knows the protagonists and can fill in, or subsequently ask about, the details not made explicit in the telling – for example, why the man, Raimon, was in the same part of the rainforest as the girls, and what kind of trick Marai played on the speaker and her friend Mbabe.

The speaker told her story in Tok Pisin fluently and without hesitation. Even including laughter and a few interruptions by the other girls present, which I have edited out, the Tok Pisin narrative took the speaker 1 minute and 10 seconds to tell.

In contrast, the following story she told in Tayap took her 5 minutes and 30 seconds – 5 times as long – to tell.

KEY TO TRANSCRIPTION

bold	Tayap	...	pause or hesitation
<i>italics</i>	Tok Pisin	*	ungrammatical or incorrect Tayap
/	false start or self-correction	??	nonce morpheme
=	simultaneous talk; i.e. talk that follows the equal sign is spoken at the same time as the next speaker's talk that is preceded by =	()	implied but unexpressed meaning
		[]	author's comments
		between	grammatically correct Tayap
		thick lines	

	TAYAP-TOK PISIN ORIGINAL	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1	A: Na, Nensi, Mbabe, Marai. Yim Maprinum [lap] <i>wet...</i>	A: Me, Nensi, Mbabe, Marai. [Marai is the speaker's older sister, speaker C, and Mbabe is her friend, speaker B] We Maprinum [laughs] <i>wait...</i>
2	B: <i>Yu no ken lap na toktok</i>	B: <i>You can't laugh and talk at the same time.</i>
3	A: Yim tumb ... <i>olsem wanem mi</i> 1PL mountain <i>paul ia.</i>	A: We mountain... <i>what, I'm getting it wrong.</i>
4	B: tumb=ni o/ mountain=ALL ?? [perhaps some form of oki 'go']	B: to the mountain o/
5	C: Yim tumb=ni 1PL mountain=ALL	C: We to the mountain
6	B: pri/priek go_up.1SG.F 1PL.R	B: we went/went up
7	A: Yim tumb=ni priek...wet... 1PL mountain=ALL go_up.1SG.F 1PL.R	A: We went up to the mountain...wait...
8	B: Kanjigo amai.eh...Raimon bamboo shoots find	B: Bamboo shoots find...eh...Raimon
9	A: Nensi=yi/ Nensi/ Mbabe=yi Nensi=ERG.F/Nensi Mbabe=ERG.F min/Nensi breast/Nensi	A: Nensi (did) / Nensi/ Mbabe (did) breast/ Nensi
10	B: <i>Yu katim, yu katim. Raimon, Raimon. Raimon =pastaim</i>	B: <i>You're shortening it, you're shortening it. Raimon. Raimon, Raimon =first</i>
11	A: = <i>holim-tu-ku-n.</i> hold- s<3SG.F.R.O>2SG 3SG.F.R.S <i>Eh! Yu inap yu. Nensi=yi</i> Nensi=ERG.F Mbabe Mbabe <i>sakim-tu-ku-n,</i> push-s<3SG.F.R.O>2SG 3SG.F.R.S Mbabe eiar-tak [lap]. Mbabe Mbabe cry.SG.F.R Mbabe eiar-tak. Yim Marai=re cry.SG.F.R 1PL Marai=COM Nensi=re sokoi Nensi=COM tobacco *o-tu-ku-n hit.SBJ-S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG 3SG.F.R.S	A: = held it. <i>Hey! you stop it</i> [to B]. Nensi pushed Mbabe, Mbabe cried [laughs]. Mbabe cried. Me and Marai and Nensi *hit [speaker means 'rolled'] tobacco <hr/> The Tayap verb for 'hold' here would be: per-ku-n hold.R-3SG.F.R.O-SG 1PL.R.S 'she held it' The Tayap verb for 'push' here would be: utak-tu-ku-n-a push.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG 3SG.F.R.S-and otitek fall.3SG.F.R. <hr/> The verb otukun is the imperative form of 'hit.'

- 12 C: ***woipo-ku-n**
roll.R-3SG.F.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S
- C [correcting A]: ***we rolled it**
-
- Note:** the correct inflection for the class 2 verb **woi** ‘roll’ is:
- poi-ku-n**
roll-3SG.F.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S
‘we rolled it’
-
- 13 A: **Yim kanjigo**
1PL bamboo shoots
- painim-tu-ku-n*
look for-S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG|3SG.F.R.S
- A: **We** looked for **bamboo shoots**
- 14 B: ***Amai-ru-ku-n**
look_for-2SG.IRR.O-3SG.F.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S
- B: ***we look for**
-
- Note:** speaker wants
- amai-kru-nana**
look_for.irr -3SG.F.IRR.O-INTENT
- priek**
go_up.1SG.F|1PL.R
-
- 15 A: **Amai-tak** [lap]
look_for.R-SG.F.R
- A: **She looked for** [laughs]
-
- Note:** speaker wants
- amai-nak**
look_for.R-1SG.F|1PL.R
‘we looked for’
-
- 16 B: *Eh [i no ken harim]*
- B: *Eh* [inaudible].
- 17 A: **yim amai-tak.** *Em tasol [lap]*
1PL look_for.SG.F.R
- A: **We she looked for.** *That’s all* [laughs]
-
- The correct Tayap form is either:
- yim amai-nak**
1PL look_for.R-1SG.F|1PL.R
‘we looked for’
- or
- yim amaipi-ku-n**
1PL look_for.R-3SG.F.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S
‘we looked for it’
-
- 18 B: *Em tasol ah? Yopla.*
- B. *That’s all ah? You’ve got to be kidding.*
- 19 A: *Wet, mi paul ia.*
- A: *Wait, I’m getting it wrong.*
- 20 B: *Yu no ken lap na toktok.*
- B: *You can’t laugh and talk.*
-

21 A: **Yim *amai-tak...**
1PL look_for.SG.F.R
eh, olsem wanem?

22 C: **Amai-kwan-uk-a,**
look_for.IRR-3SG.F.BE.R.O-3SG.F.S-and
amai-kwan-nguk-a,
look_for.IRR-3SG.F.BE.R.O-3SG.F.S-and
=kanjigogo wákare
bamboo shoots NEG

23 A: **=Kanjigogo=yi/**
bamboo shoot=ERG.F
Kanjigogo najan
bamboo shoot 1SG.POSS
ndaram katim...eh...[lap]
hand

24 B: **Ni-tu-ku-n,**
do.SBJ-S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG| 3SG.F.R.S
ni-tu-ku-n
do.SBJ-S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG| 3SG.F.R.S

25 A: **Kanjigogo=yi**
Bamboo shoot=ERG.F

26 C: **najan ndaram**
1SG.POSS hand
***krar-kwan-uk**
chop.IRR-3SG.F.BEN.R.O-3SG.F.R.S

27 A: **najan ndaram kat**

A: **We she looked for...eh, what?**

C: **She looked for and they looked for and there were no bamboo shoots**

Note: speaker wants

amaipi-ku-n-a,
look_for.R-3SG.F.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S-and
amaipi-ku-n,
look_for.R-3SG.F.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S
wákare
NEG

'we looked and looked for it but there was none'.

A: **Bamboo shoot did/Bamboo shoot cut my hand...eh...[laughs]**

B: **Do it, do it** [i.e. tell the story]

A: **Bamboo shoot (did)**

C: **She *was cutting my hand**

Note: the correct 3SG form of this verb would be

krar-kwan-uk
chop.IRR-3SG.F.BEN.R.O-be.3SG.F.S
'it was chopping it'

However, both the verb 'chop' and the progressive status are incorrect here.

Speaker wants:

pu-tu-ku-n
cut.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG|3SG.F.R.S
'it cut it [my hand]'

A: **my hand cut**

-
- 28 C: ***krar-tu-ku-n**
chop.IRR-S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG|3SG.F.R.S
- 29 A: *Wet, yu no ken/*
krar-tu-ku-n.
chop.IRR-S-<3SG.F.R.O>-2SG| 3SG.F.R.S
Yim *wek,
1PL come.3SG.F.R
- 30 C: **Mbek**
come.1SG.F.|1PL.R
- 31 A: *O em inap. Yim mbek...wet...kanjigogo apwar...apwar...eh, olsem wanem?*
- 32 B: ***ap-ran-kuk**
cook.IRR-??-BE.3SG.F.R
- 33 A: *Uh huh [em laik tok yes].*
***Ap-war...wet pastaim mi paul.**
cook-??
Kanjigogo *ap-wan...eh...
bamboo shoots cook-??
- 34 B: ***Ap-wa...a...**
cook-??
- 35 C: ***Ap-waj-kuk-a**
cook-??-be.SG.F|1PL.R-and
- 36 A: *Eh, kanjigogo*
bamboo shoots
***apwar...[lap]**
cook-??
- 37 C: **Raimon=re Teresia=re**
Raimon=COM Teresia=COM
- 38 A: *Wet. Tsk.*
- 39 Don: *Larim em stori*
- 40 C: *Bai mi helpim em nau, klostu klostu.*
- 41 Don: *Larim em stori.*
- C: ***it will has cut it**
- A: *Wait, you can't/ *it will has cut it.*
We *came
- C: **We came**
- A: *Oh that's enough. We came...wait... bamboo shoots *cook...*cook...eh, what (should I say)?*
- B: ***we cooking**
- A: *Yeah [affirmative sound], *cooking...wait a minute, I'm mixed up. Bamboo shoots *cooking...eh...*
-
- Note:** speaker wants *either*
- apu-kwan-kuk**
COOK.IRR-3SG.F.BEN.R.O-be.SG.F|1PL.R
'we are/were cooking it'
or
- kapu-ku-n**
cook.R-3SG.F.R.O-1SG|2SG|3SG.M|1PL.S
'We cooked it'
-
- B: ***Cook...co...**
- C: **We were *cooking** [you (?)/for you (?)]
- A: *Eh, bamboo shoots *cook...[laughs]*
- C: **with Raimon and Teresia**
- A: *Wait. Tsk.*
- Don: *Let her tell the story*
- C: *I'm gonna keep helping her, everything she says.*
- D: *Let her tell the story.*
-

42 A: **Na...ssss... yim kanjigogo**
 1SG 1PL bamboo shoot
ap-wan...ke...eh, husat ia... yim
 cook-??...?? 1PL
Nensi-re Mbabe otar nambar,
 Nensi-COM Mbabe fire one
na otar nambar, Marai
 1SG fire one Marai
nambar. Na *mai-tak,
 one 1SG enough-SG.F.R
kokonas/ pap=ni ata/eh!
 coconut=LOC ??

43 C: **wo-kuk.**
 above-be.SG.F.R

44 A: **Eh, wokuk. Wokuk. Wara...eh...olsem wanem?**

45 C: **awin rar-kwan...**
 water see.IRR-3SG.F.BEN.R.O

46 A: **awin *rar-kwan...kuk**
 water see.IRR-3SG.F.BEN.R.O...
 be.SG.F.R

47 B: **awin potak=i**
 water throat=ERG.F

48 A: **Na Nensi=yi/ Nensi...eh...**
 1SG Nensi=ERG.F
olsem wanem? Yu wet, mi paul. Wet mi paul ia. Marai=re Mbabe=re
 Marai=COM Mbabe=COM
kanjigo
 bamboo shoots

49 C: **Raimon**

A: I...sss [sound of impatience and frustration] **we *cook bamboo shoots..??... eh, who ... Nensi and Mbabe had [or lit] a fire, I had [or lit] a fire, Marai had [or lit] one. I *had enough [or 'was finished'], coconut/ cononut...??/eh!**

C: **it was above.**

Note: speaker wants

puwok
 go_up.SG.F|1PL.R
 'I went up' [the tree]

A: **Eh, it was above. It was above. Water... eh...what?**

C: ***was looking at water**

Note: speaker wants

awin ta-n-ku-n
 water see.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>
 1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
 'I saw water'

A: ***we...were looking at water**

B: **thirsty**

A: **I Nensi did/Nensi...eh...what? You wait, I'm mixed-up. Wait, I'm mixed-up. With Marai and Mbabe bamboo shoots**

C: **Raimon**

-
- 50 A: *Raimon* [lap]. *Wet mi paul ia. Wet, yu stop. Wet pastaim.* A: *Raimon* [laughs]. *Wait, I'm mixed-up. Wait* [to C, who is laughing]. *Stop it. Wait a little.*
- 51 B: *Eh! Yu no ken lap na toktok!* B: *Eh! You can't laugh and talk!*
- 52 A: **Kanjigo** *Raimon olsem wanem? Ssss.* A: **Bamboo shoots** *Raimon, what? Ssss.*
- 53 B: [ino ken harim] B: [inaudible]
- 54 A: **Mbabe=re Marai Raimon-mat**
Mbabe=COM Marai Raimon-POSS
[lap]. *Wet pastaim.* A: **With Mbabe Marai Raimon's** [laughs].
Wait a minute.
- 55 C: *Don, meri bilong sem ia [lap].* C: [sarcastically about her sister] *Don, she's*
such a bashful girl [laughs].
- 56 B: [lap] B: [laughs]
- 57 A: *Yu no ken lap. Wet. Kanjigogo*
bamboo shoots
Raimon givim-tu-ku-n...[lap]
give.S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG|
3SG.F.R.S
A: *Don't laugh. Wait. Bamboo shoots.*
*Raimon *gave it* [laughs, 7 second pause]
Note: speaker wants
pi-ngata-n
give.R-3G.S.M.BEN.R.O-SG|1PL.R.S
'we gave him'
-
- 58 Don: *Yu wokim, yu brukim bus. Wokim tasol.* D: *Tell it, you tell it however you can. Just*
tell it.
- 59 A: [lap] **kanjigo** *Raimon [lap]. Inap, mi les lok*
toktok. A: [laughs] **Bamboo shoots** *Raimon*
[laughs]. *Enough, I'm tired of talking.*
- 60 B: *Pasim maus na em bai toktok isi tasol.*
Yu stori! B: *Shut up [said to C] and she'll speak slowly.*
You tell the story!
- 61 A: **Raimon=rji Nensi**
Raimon=ERG.M Nensi
nam-tu-ku-n
talk.S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG| 3SG.F.R.S
kru pankin ada...ah...
plu... A: **Raimon told Nensi to plu... pumpkin vine**
Note: the subject of the verb 'say' is
Raimon, a male, so the speaker wants
nam-nu-ku-n
talk.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>1SG|3SG.M|1PL.R.S
'he told her'
-
- 62 C: ***and-tu-ku-n.**
pluck-s<3SG.F.R.O>2SG| 3SG.F.R.S
C: ***pluck it**
- 63 A: *Eh,*and-tu-ku-n*
pluck-s<3SG.F.R.O>2SG| 3SG.F.R.S
yim aibika
1PL
A: *Eh, *you pluck it off, we aibika* [a
spinach-like vegetable]
Note: speaker wants
andu-tu-ku-n
pluck.SBJ-S<3SG.F.R.O>2SG| 3SG.F.R.S 'Pluck it!'
-

64 B: ***and-tu-ku-n**
pluck-s<3SG.F.R.O>2SG| 3SG.F.R.S

65 A: *Uh huh*,
***and-tu-ku-n**.
pluck-s<3SG.F.R.O>2SG| 3SG.F.R.S

Marai=yi takwat
Marai=ERG.F lie/trick

66 C: **-ti-mi-n**
S<1PL.R.O>2SG| 3SG.F.R.S

67 A: **-ti-mi-n**.
S<1PL.R.O>2SG| 3SG.F.R.S

Na yim
1PL

68 C: **motini**
again

69 Don: *Larim em stori*.

70 A: **Yim motini**
1PL again

71 B: **mbek**
come.1SG.F|1PL.R

72 A: **mbek. Mbek**
come.1SG.F|1PL.R come.1SG.F|1PL.R
na [lap]. **Yim**
1PL

kasek
come_down. SG.F|1PL.R

num=ni. *Em tasol.* [lap]
village=ALL

Note:

The Tayap word for *aibika* (a spinach-like vegetable) is **ngat**.

B: You pluck it

Note: **andu-** ‘pluck’/‘collect vegetables’ is a class 3 verb, so speaker wants

kandu-ku-n

pluck.R-3SG.F.R.OSG|1PL.R.S
‘we plucked (leaves of *aibika*)’

A: Yeah, ***you pluck it**.
Marai trick

C: **-ed us**

A: **-ed us**. *And we*

C: **again**

Don: [to C] *Let her tell the story*.

A: **We again**

B: **we came**

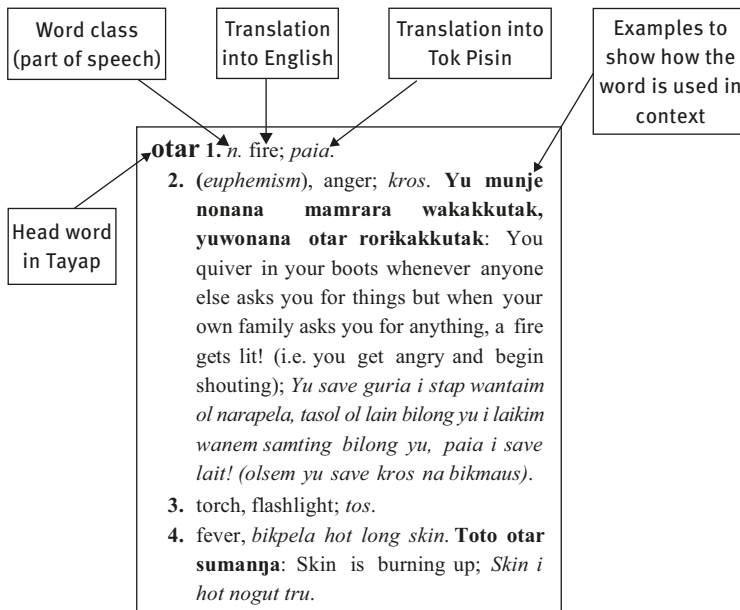
A: **we came back. We came** and [laughs]
We came down to the village. *That’s all.* [laughs]

Tayap-English-Tok Pisin Dictionary

How to read the dictionary

The Tayap alphabet has 21 letters: a, b, d, e, g, i, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, o, p, r, s, t, u, w, y. No words begin with i, and words underlyingly beginning with b, d, g and j are prenasalized and pronounced as [mb], [d], [ŋg] and [nj]. As explained in Section 2.8 of the *Grammar*, this prenasalization is marked orthographically, with the result that there are no words that begin with the letters b, g, or j, beginning instead with mb, ŋg and nj. Only one word – a loan word from the neighboring Adjora language – begins with d.

A dictionary entry contains the following information:



Only unbound, freestanding words are listed in the dictionary. Tayap's bound morphemes are discussed in the relevant sections of the *Grammar*.

Tayap verbs are identified as transitive or intransitive. Verbs also commonly occur in serial verb constructions. Those that almost exclusively occur in such constructions are marked as such (see below; see also Chapter 8).

Verbs appear in the dictionary alphabetized according to the form the verb stem takes when it is negated (See Section 5.2).

Transitive verbs

The entries for transitive verbs identify them by their verb class, as those are distinguished in Chapter 6 of the *Grammar*. In terms of how they appear in the dictionary, this means the following:

- (a) Class 1 transitive verbs that alternate between **ø** in irrealis and **p** in realis are listed in their **ø** form *if that form is word initial*.

So a verb like ‘hit’, which in realis/irrealis alternates between **p** and **ø** word-initially (**po-ku-ro** ‘strike.R-3SG.F.R.O-3PL.R.S’ [they hit it], but **o-kru-ndak** ‘strike.IRR-3SG.F.IRR-3PL.IRR’ [they will hit it]) appears in the dictionary as **o**, because that is the negated form of this verb (so **o-kru wákare** ‘strike.IRR-3SG.F.IRR.O NEG’ [X (any subject) didn’t/won’t hit her or it’], **o-ŋgri wákare**, ‘strike.IRR-3SG.M.IRR.O NEG’ [X (any subject) didn’t/won’t hit him], and so on). The realis/irrealis alternation undergone by the stem is noted in the entry that follows the verb.

If the alternation between **p** and **ø** occurs at the end of the verb stem, the entry notes the **p** in parentheses. So **ruwond-(p)-i** ‘smoke something’ (in the sense of putting it over a hearth and letting smoke dry it) should be read to mean that **p** only occurs in the realis form of the verb. Thus: ‘they smoked it’ is **ruwondpi-ku-ro** (smoke.R-3SG.F.R.O-3PL.R.S), but ‘they will smoke it’ is **ruwondi-kru-ndak** (smoke.IRR-3SG.F.IRR.O-3PL.IRR.S) – note, no **p**.

The negated form of this verb is **ruwondi-kru wákare** [X (any subject) didn’t/won’t smoke it], **ruwondi-mbri wákare** [X (any subject) didn’t/won’t smoke them], and so on.

- (b) Class 2 transitive verbs that alternate between **w** in irrealis and **p** in realis are listed in their **w** form *if that form is word initial*.

So a verb like ‘sweep’ (**poi-ku-ro** ‘sweep.R-3SG.F.R.O-3PL.R.S’ [they swept it], but **woi-kru-ndak** ‘sweep.IRR-3SG.F.IRR.O-3PL.IRR.O’ [they will sweep it]) appears as **woi**, because that is the negated form of this verb (so **woi-kru wákare**). The realis/irrealis alternation undergone by the stem is noted in the entry that follows the verb.

If the alternation between **w** and **p** occurs at the end of the verb stem, the entry notes this alteration in parentheses. So **utir-(p/w)-or** ‘cut into small pieces’, should be read to mean that **p** occurs in the realis form of the verb, and **w** occurs in that same slot in irrealis. So ‘they cut it into small pieces’ is **utirpor-ku-ro** (cut_into_small_pieces.R-3SG.F.R.O-3PL.R.S), ‘they will cut it into small pieces’ is **utirwor-kru-ndak** (cut_into_small_pieces.IRR-3SG.F.IRR.O-3PL.IRR.S).

The negated form of this verb is the irrealis verb stem + irrealis object: **utirwor-kru wákare**, **utirwor-ŋgri wákare**, and so on.

- (c) Class 3 transitive verbs that begin with or contain **a** and alternate between **ka** and **o** in realis are listed in their **a** form and their class is noted. So ‘eat’ appears as **a**, because the negated form is **a-kru wákare** [X (any subject) didn’t/won’t eat it], **a-ngri wákare** [X (any subject) didn’t/won’t eat him], and so on).
- (d) Class 4 transitive verbs that alternate between **r** in irrealis and **t** in realis are listed in their **r** form *if that form is word initial*.
 So a verb like ‘make’ (**ni-tu-ku-ro** ‘make.R-S<3SG.F.R.O>3PL.R.S’ [they made it], but **nir-kru-ndak** ‘make.IRR-3SG.F.IRR.O-3PL.IRR.S’ [they will make it]) appears as **nir-**, because that is the negated form of this verb (so **nir-kru wákare** [X (any subject) didn’t/won’t make it], and so on).
 If the alternation between **r** and **t** occurs at the end of the verb stem, the word is listed with an **r** ending, but the realis/irrealis alternation undergone by the stem is noted in the entry. So the entry for **ngar** ‘call out to’ notes that the verb is class 4 verb, which means that the **r** undergoes the alternation discussed in Section 6.1.6 of the *Grammar*.
- (e) Class 5 transitive verbs do not undergo any changes in the verb stem between realis and irrealis. Hence, the verb stem appearing as the dictionary entry is the same regardless of whether the verb is realis or irrealis.

Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are alphabetized according to their irrealis stem form + the irrealis ending (**-ki**, **-ki** or **-ku**) that affixes to the stem when it is negated.

If the verb stem itself changes between realis and irrealis, the stem change is noted in parentheses after the main entry.

For example, the entry for ‘laugh’ looks like this:

irki v.i. (**pirot/ pirok**), laugh; *lap*.

This entry should be read to mean the following:

- (1) The irrealis form of this intransitive verb is **irki**, consisting of the verb stem **ir** + the irrealis suffix **-ki**. This is the form the verb takes when it is negated – so one says **irki wákare** ‘X (any subject) didn’t/won’t laugh’.

The irrealis suffix **-ki** is a morpheme separate from the verb stem, but it is provided in the dictionary entry because, as discussed in Section 5.2.2 of the *Grammar*, there is no way of knowing what the suffix is unless one hears it (or sees it here).

The form of the verb stem that appears in negation is also the form that constitutes the basis of all non-realis status and mood inflections; for example, **ir-ki-ndak** ‘laugh.IRR-IRR-3PL.IRR’ [they will laugh], and **ir-ngarana** ‘laugh.IRR-ND’ [X (any subject) better not laugh].

- (2) The forms in the parentheses following the entry are the verb’s realis forms. If the forms are regular, only a few will be listed, in order to allow a reader to identify them by looking at Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 of the *Grammar*. In the case of ‘laugh’, a glance at Section 6.2.1 reveals that the endings **-ot** and **-ok** indicate that ‘laugh’ is a Group IV intransitive verb, and that **pirot** means ‘I (M) laughed’, ‘you (M) laughed’, or ‘he laughed’; **pirok** means ‘I (F) laughed’, ‘you (F) laughed’, ‘she laughed’ or ‘we laughed’. The forms that verbs that belong to this Group take for all other persons are found in that Section.

If the intransitive verb is irregular in realis, the irregular forms will be listed in the parentheses following the entry.

Another example of an entry for an intransitive verb, this time for one whose stem form does *not* change between realis and irrealis, is ‘say’, ‘talk’. The entry for this verb looks like this:

namki v.i. (**-net/-nak**), say, talk; *tok*.

This entry should be read to mean the following:

- (1) The irrealis form of this intransitive verb is **namki**, consisting of the verb stem **nam** + the irrealis suffix **-ki**. This is the form the verb takes when it is negated – so one says **namki wákare** ‘X (any subject) didn’t/won’t talk’.

Once again, the irrealis suffix **-ki** is a morpheme separate from the verb stem, but it is provided in the dictionary entry because there is no way of knowing what the suffix is unless one sees it here.

The form of the verb stem that appears under negation is also the form that constitutes the basis of all non-realis status and mood inflections; for example, **nam-ki-ndak** ‘talk.IRR-IRR-3PL.IRR’ [they will talk], and **nam-ng rana** ‘talk.IRR-ND’ [X (any subject) better not talk].

- (2) In those cases where all that follows an entry for an intransitive verb is parentheses with endings like (**-net/-nak**), this means that the verb stem remains the same between realis and irrealis. The realis person-endings of these verbs can be reckoned through the following steps:
- (a) remove the irrealis suffix **-ki**, **-ki** or **-ku** (in the case of ‘say’ or ‘talk’, it is **-ki**). This leaves only the verb stem (**nam**);
 - (b) suffix the appropriate subject endings to that stem.

The endings (**-net/-nak**) provided in the entry for ‘say, ‘talk’ indicate what those appropriate subject endings are. The parentheses indicates that **nam** takes the endings (**-net/-nak**) in realis. These endings are detailed in Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 of the *Grammar*. In this case, (**-net/-nak**) indicate that **nam** is a Group I intransitive verb. Checking Section 6.2.1, one sees that the full realis conjugation of **nam** is as follows :

1SGM	ŋa	nam	-net (M)	‘I (M) said’
1SGF	ŋa	nam	-nak (F)	‘I (F) said’
2SGM	yu	nam	-tet (M)	‘you (M) said’
2SGF	yu	nam	-tak (F)	‘you (F) said’
3SGF	ŋgu	nam	-tak	‘she said’
3SGM	ŋi	nam	-net	‘he said’
1PL	yim	nam-	-nak	‘we said’
2PL	yum	nam	-nkem	‘you <i>pl.</i> said’
3PL	ŋgi	nam	-tuko	‘they said’
DL	yim sene/ ŋgi sene	nam	-tike	‘we two said’/ ‘they two said’

Note: for a discussion of how the dual forms are used in Tayap, see Section 3.5 and the discussion of examples (3-73) and (3-74).

Another example would be an intransitive verb in the dictionary followed by the endings (**-iet/-iek** – for example **papku** ‘pierce’. These endings show that the verb inflects like a Group II intransitive verb (see Section 6.2.1).

Complex predicates and non-final verb objects

The dictionary also lists forms frequently occurring in complex predicates. These consist of cosubordinate verbs suffixed occurring with either **-ra** (‘modifier’) or **-kar** (‘manner’), and often followed by a verb of motion (see Section 9.8). The verb of motion that follows these verbs in the dictionary entry is either **oki** ‘go’ or **aiki** ‘come’, depending on which one would most be most common in village speech. However, these verbs of motion can be substituted by any other.

Several entries are for commonly-occurring serial verbs constructed with non-final object suffixes. Those suffixes change for the object of the verb; it is therefore not possible to write them in non-specified form. In those cases, the capital ‘X’ indicates that the morphological slot represented by X must be filled with an object suffix – unless otherwise specified, this will be a non-final object suffix.

An example is the entry for the following verb, which means ‘humiliate’, ‘embarrass’, ‘defeat’:

timbraXoki *v.i. irr.* (serial verb construction conjugated like **oki**, **Note:** the X is a non-final object suffix).

This entry should be read as follows:

- (a) this intransitive verb is irregular, and is conjugated like **oki** (see the dictionary entry for **oki** for the pattern);
- (b) the X slot will be filled with the appropriate non-final object suffix when the verb is inflected (these are discussed in Section 8.2.2 of the *Grammar*).

So ‘we defeated him’ would be **timbratwok** (non-final object suffix underlined) but ‘we defeated her’ would be **timbrakwok**. ‘We defeated them’ would be **timbrambwok**, and so on.

Parentheses appearing in an entry that is not a verb

If a Tayap word that is *not* a verb contains any letters inside parentheses, this means that the word occurs both with or without those elements, and that the meaning of the word remains the same regardless of whether the full form or the shorter form is used. So **ana(kni)** ‘where?’ occurs in both the full form **anakni** and also as **ana**. **Angu(de)** ‘there’ occurs as both **angude** and **angu**.

Stress

Stress is marked only on words that deviate from the general rule that stress falls on the final syllable of a word (see Section 2.5 of the *Grammar*).

Synonyms

Where no example or explanation is given between two cross-referenced words that mean the same thing, I have been unable to elicit any difference in meaning. Examples are **ngakraw** and **ndadab**, both of which mean ‘peel’, i.e. the skin of a fruit or vegetable that has been removed. My questions about difference in meaning were consistently answered with a version of the following: “If you want to say **ngakraw**, you’ll say **ngakraw**. If you want to say **ndadab** you’ll say **ndadab**. They mean the same” (“Yu laik tok **ngakraw** bai yu tok **ngakraw**. Na yu laik tok **ndadab** bai yu tok **ndadab**. Em wankain mining tasol”). Or I would sometimes be told “wanpela mining na tok i bruk”: there’s one meaning but the talk (i.e. the language) is broken, or fractured.

In some cases – for example, two different verbs that mean ‘sweep’: **mburai** (class 5) and **mburai-(p)-i** (class 1) – the words are true synonyms (although in this case, it is clear that the verb is **mburai**; in the class 1 form it is constructed with **i-** ‘give’).

In other cases, the difference in the meaning of two words may have been lost. I suspect, for example, that the two words for ‘bridge’, **kongrik** and **nimirkokir**, at one time referred to different kinds of bridges – made of different material, spanning different bodies of water or constructed in different ways. However, I was unable to elicit any difference in meaning from the most senior speakers in the village. Whatever difference may have existed is now forgotten.

Obsolete words

The same is true of some of the other vocabulary items included here. I have labeled ‘obsolete’ a few words that I recorded in the 1980s but that in 2009 were either unknown or no longer used. Other words have been retained without comment, but their meaning today is hazy. For example, there are four named winds in Tayap: **awar**, **ngamai**, **mbunim** and **mbankap**. On this all older villagers are agreed. They are also agreed that the winds are differentiated primarily by the directions of their origin. What they absolutely could not agree upon, however, was what those directions of origin are. One senior speaker was adamant that the **ngamai** wind, for example, came from the mountain to the south of Gapun. Another senior speaker was equally adamant that the wind came from the sea, which lies to the north of Gapun. Likewise, the **awar** wind was held by some speakers to come from the mountain (i.e. the south) and others to come from the mangrove lake (i.e. the north). Speakers argued vigorously with one another whenever this topic came up, but they never resolved it.

By sheer luck, the four winds are listed and defined in Georg Höltker’s 1938 wordlist. For having been gathered in three hours by someone who had never before heard Tayap (and who would never hear it again), Höltker’s list of 125 words is impressively accurate. So in the end, I decided to base the definition I give here on the definitions listed by Höltker, partly because he would have spoken to language informants who still lived in a completely Tayap-speaking village, and also because one of the oldest speakers still alive in Gapun defined the winds as Höltker does in his wordlist.

Villagers’ debates and language shift

Something similar to the ‘wind problem’ occurred with a word that I would have thought was common and uncontroversial – the word for ‘rainbow’. One morning

after a night of heavy rain, a large rainbow appeared in the sky. On my way to wash my clothes in one of the village waterholes, I saw the rainbow and realized that I didn't know what it was called in Tayap. So I asked the first person I saw – a fluent speaker of Tayap in his late thirties – what one calls a rainbow in Tayap.

“Renbo”, he responded, without missing a beat.

Um, no, I told him, that must be the Tok Pisin word – the Tayap word had to be something else. The man told me that in that case, he didn't know, and that I should go ask his father, sixty-five-year-old Monei Mbanan, who was my main language informant at the time. I went off to find Monei and thus did my innocent query launch a month of acrimonious debate from one end of the village to the other.

I found Monei sitting on his veranda and I asked him the word for rainbow. He pondered for awhile. He told me he couldn't remember the word offhand; he needed to think about it. He thought for several days. Finally, he told me that 'rainbow' had no single word in Tayap; instead, 'rainbow' was expressed by the verb phrase **akin tamtiak**, 'cloud is marked with color'. This sounded reasonable to me, and I duly recorded it. But when I repeated it to other speakers to check their reactions, I was universally met with disdain. “Em giaman” – ‘He's lying’, everyone sneered, using their favorite expression to dismiss another speaker's expertise in Tayap. Even though no one could think of the correct term themselves, they all told me they knew that the phrase Monei had volunteered was wrong.

Days went by and no one could come up with 'rainbow'. Older villagers explained to me that their parents and older relatives had warned them about rainbows, saying they should never walk underneath one, because if they did, their minds would become clouded and confused. But even though they remembered these cautions, no senior speaker could recall the word for 'rainbow' that their parents and relatives had used while articulating them. The word for 'rainbow', villagers told me, “i hait” – it was hiding. (In the villagers' defense, I should note that rainbows are not exactly common occurrences in Gapun – I only saw that one the entire eight months I was there in 2009).

Eventually Monei's old wife, Sopak Waiki, told me that she had a dream in which the true word for 'rainbow' had been whispered to her by a dead ancestor. The word, she revealed, was **minuomb** – a word that otherwise means 'large round lake'. Sopak said that the way to say 'rainbow' in Tayap was to say **akinni minuomb utok**, 'a round lake appeared in the clouds'.

I told other senior speakers of Sopak's revelation. They were unmoved. “Em giaman”, they all pronounced, impassively.

A few days later, one of the oldest men in the village told me that he had remembered the word – it was **wagurmos**.

The other speakers' judgement fell predictably: “Em giaman”, they all said. They explained that **wagurmos** meant the white film one sees in the sky at night

– that is, the Milky Way. It doesn't mean 'rainbow' at all. Many older speakers also took the opportunity to disparage the linguistic knowledge of the old man who had offered **wagurmos**. That speaker may be old, they said belittlingly, but he's "lapun nating" – he's grown old without having learned anything. All he has, people said, is "bebi sens" – the sense of a baby.

Weeks passed and frustration grew. But finally, having heard about the senior speakers' search for 'rainbow', a young man in his 30s one day came and told me that he had once heard his grandfather, Kruni Ayarpa, say the word for 'rainbow'. Kruni had been one of my language informants in the 1980s; he died in the early 1990s. For the last few decades of his life, Kruni had been universally respected and vaguely feared as an elder who knew everything about Gapun's history and who spoke flawless and eloquent Tayap. The young man reported that as a child, he had once been together with Kruni when women from the neighboring village of Wongan mentioned rainbows, which are called *mamor* in their Kopar language. They asked Kruni what the word in Tayap was. Kruni told them that it was **mamar**.

Rather than being a breakthrough, this word, too, was rejected. "It means 'banana'", all the old people responded dryly when, without telling them why, I asked them to define **mamar**. And indeed, it does mean a kind of banana. But in the end, unable to come up with a word or expression that satisfied them all, and undoubtedly growing annoyed at my persistence in questioning them, the older villagers begrudgingly agreed that **mamar** must be the word for 'rainbow' too, since Kruni apparently had claimed it was.

My own conclusion is that **mamar** probably was the Tayap word for 'rainbow'. Tayap and Kopar share quite a few nouns, because speakers of the two languages have been in contact with one another for a very long time. The kind of slight phonetic variation between *mamor* and **mamar** are common in the words shared by the two languages. For example:

	<u>Tayap</u>	<u>Kopar</u>
crocodile	orem	<i>oreo</i>
cockatoo	kaimwa	<i>keimwa</i>
turtle	pawp	<i>pup</i>
lorikeet	njijerik	<i>njijerin</i>
hook	pipingabu	<i>bibigabu</i>

For those all those reasons, I have entered 'rainbow' as one of the definitions of **mamar**. I recount the little epic of finally getting that word, though, in order to illustrate the fact that not all of the entries contained in this dictionary will satisfy all the current speakers of Tayap.

In fact, this inability to satisfy all the current speakers of a Tayap is a feature of the language that may be contributing to its demise. I was continually struck by how vigorously (and, to my mind, how gratuitously) senior speakers of Tayap discounted and ridiculed one another's linguistic competence. Early on, I stopped trying to discuss Tayap in groups of old people because any discussion of any aspect of the language would inevitably result in bickering. Speakers might eventually grouchy agree on whatever it was I was asking them about, but later on, they would always arrange a private moment with me to heartily dismiss the knowledge and opinions of their fellow speakers.

While it escapes no one's attention that Tayap is a tiny language spoken nowhere else but in Gapun (and by Gapun villagers living in the neighboring village of Wongan), knowledge about language is regarded as a private, rather than a communal, possession. This way of thinking about language is an extension of the villagers' more general ethos of ownership. Gapun villagers would shake their heads in absolute bewilderment at the persistent Western stereotypes about how a rainforest-dwelling people like themselves supposedly eschew ownership and share their natural resources in a kind of prelapsarian socialist ecological bliss.

On the contrary. In Gapun, *nothing* is communal, nothing is equally owned and shared by everyone. Everything – every area of land, every sago palm, every coconut palm, every mango tree, every pot, plate, axe, machete, discarded spear shaft, broken kerosene lamp, and every anything else one can think of – is owned by someone (including people's names and the right to bestow them, as well as knowledge of myths, songs, and curing chants). Villagers guard their rights of ownership energetically and they defend them loudly (see Kulick 1992 for an extended discussion of this that is as relevant today as it was twenty years ago).

This understanding of possession and ownership has consequences for language: it means that the sociolinguistic truism of a common “shared” language has little purchase in Gapun. In their own view, villagers don't “share” a language. Instead, each speaker *owns* his or her own version of the language. And the older those speakers become, the more they regard their version as the proper one and everyone else's as “giaman” (false, a lie; **takwat** in Tayap). This absence of a language ideology that regards a common language as something “shared” means that speakers are predisposed to not regard the loss of Tayap as particularly traumatic. Fluent elder speakers still have ‘their’ Tayap; if younger speakers don't possess a version of it as, well, “wari bilong ol”. That's their problem.

Terms for plants and trees

This dictionary would have been much longer if I had been able to include the vernacular's extensive lexicon for plants and trees. Unfortunately, I am not a

botanist and even with the help of specialist books like *Handbooks of the Flora of Papua New Guinea* (Womersley 1978; Henty 1985) I was never able, for the most part, to distinguish between – let alone identify or describe – the numerous plants, vines, bushes, roots, trees and grasses that exist in the villagers' rainforest. Walking through the forest, villagers would often point in the distance and mention the name of whatever tree or vine they happened to notice. I usually had no idea what they were pointing at – to the untrained eye, vegetation in a rainforest looks an awful lot alike.

After telling me the name of whatever it was they had pointed at, villagers would often then add that the thing they had drawn my attention to was similar to another kind of plant they had gestured towards on some previous occasion, but “not too much” (i no tumas). This is the equivalent of taking a Gapun villager who perhaps has never seen an automobile to a busy Los Angeles freeway interchange, waving in its general direction and saying, “We call that one a Honda. It's like a Toyota, but not too much”.

Needless to say, the information imparted on those rainforest promenades was almost invariably lost on me. Even when I was sure that I was looking at the same tree or vine or bush that the speaker was pointing at, I was usually unable to distinguish it in any meaningful way from most other trees, vines, and bushes growing around it. And it seemed unhelpful to include entries in this dictionary like “tallish tree with long leaves and smooth bark”.

Where the plant or tree is culturally, socially, medicinally or gustatorily salient, or is used for a specific purpose – or when even a layperson like myself was able to identify it (a fern, for instance) – I have included it, defining it usually by its salient characteristic, use or purpose rather than by its appearance. An exception to this are the words used by the villagers for the nine kinds of sago palms they pound and wash to extract their staple food from.

Many of the less commonly-used words for plants and trees, like the vernacular words for birds (listed separately), are disappearing. At the same time, however, quite a few of those words will be retained for the foreseeable future, because the language that is replacing Tayap, Tok Pisin, has no equivalent terms.

Bird names

A separate list of words for birds appears at the end of this dictionary. For the sake of completeness, however, the words for birds are also listed in the appropriate places in the dictionary. See the note in the section on words for birds at the end for an explanation of those entries.

Vulgarity (tok nogut)

I have purposely included numerous examples of what the villagers usually refer to by the Tok Pisin words “tok nogut”, which means ‘bad talk’, or ‘vulgarity’ (the Tayap equivalent is **wekok**).

One reason I do this is for the pure entertainment value of such talk – as I mention at the beginning of the grammar, Gapun villagers are no different from anyone else who has ever scoured a dictionary to check to see which scandalous words have been enshrined in print.

But in addition to this more purient consideration, there is also the issue of linguistic preservation. ‘Bad talk’ is disappearing in the Tayap language, not because people don’t swear anymore (they swear all the time: one of a child’s first phrases these days is “kaikai kan”, ‘eat cunt’, to express opposition or dissatisfaction), but because the majority of the swearing, even by people who otherwise speak excellent Tayap, now is in Tok Pisin.

The gist of this swearing is the same – in Tayap, most swearing involves some variation of ‘cunt’, ‘asshole’ or ‘prick’, and so it does also in Tok Pisin. The difference is that swearing in Tayap can be poetic, consisting of complex verbal constructions, like ‘His mother gave birth to him through her asshole together with a pile of shit, while lightning flashed!’ (**Nan mayayi yiwirnan ngwabekeni pomborreki tatinginan mamraireki!**), or ‘Your big cunthole is fucking sagging!’ (**Ngwab mir rumbrutak otitekna apro sakar!** – the image the verb phrase **rumbrutak otitekna** conjures for the villagers is loose mud on a riverbank sagging down towards the water).

Swearing in Tok Pisin consists of relatively unimaginative noun phrases (“kan pekpek” ‘cunt shit’ and “wul pekpek” ‘shit hole’ are favorites). These words have the same affective force as the Tayap curses, but from a linguistic perspective, they are boring.

My inclusion of so much swearing is to remind the villagers that Tayap has an impressive, lyrical arsenal of vulgarity at its disposal. The loss of imaginative swearing is as lamentable as the loss of any other domain of language use and linguistic creativity.

Words excluded from the dictionary

The only words that have been intentionally excluded from this dictionary are words relating to practices that men do not want women to know about. If I had included the words referring to those practices, I would have had to define them, and doing so would have involved revealing information that men want to keep

hidden. As far as I have been able to determine, there is little that men do that women do not in fact know everything there is to know about. But neverminding that, I respect the wishes of the men in Gapun to maintain a sphere of mystery, and so words pertaining to their secret practices shall remain secret here.

On the other hand, I have included the few ‘secret’ words that villagers use to ‘hide talk’ from those very few foreign villagers who have ever learned any Tayap. Those secret words may be remnants of a more extensive secret code register that has fallen into disuse. The words refer to commonplace objects like betel nut and tobacco that village men and women request from each other, using codewords that they think no foreigner who might be present will understand. I decided to include the few words that villagers still use in this register because they otherwise are very likely to disappear soon without leaving any trace at all.

Tok Pisin words and expressions

Tok Pisin expressions and orthography in this dictionary sometimes differ from the two standard sources, Francis Mihalic’s 1971 *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin*, and the more recent, less comprehensive, *Oxford Tok Pisin-English Dictionary* (Volker, Jackson, Baing and Deutrom 2008). Those differences reflect village idioms and pronunciation and I include them here simply to document some of the variation that exists in Papua New Guinea in relation to Tok Pisin. So, for instance, I write “gorngorn” instead of Mihalic’s gorgor (a type of ginger).

Sometimes the words in the Tok Pisin dictionaries are not used in Gapun. An example is the word given in both dictionaries for “centipede” – “plantihan” (lit. ‘plenty-hand’). I have never heard any villager use this word, which is not surprising, since the Tayap name for those much-feared venomous insects, **yandum**, is known by even the smallest child. If a Tok Pisin word included in the *Jacaranda* or *Oxford* dictionaries is not used in Gapun, I have not included it here. Instead, I have either used a word that at least some villagers recognize, or I have supplied a description in Tok Pisin that should be intelligible to the villagers.

Foreign words in Tayap

Several commonly used nouns, adjectives and verbs stems have been incorporated into Tayap from two nearby vernaculars, which are called Kopar and Adjora in the linguistic literature. The Kopar language is spoken in three villages: in neighboring Wongan and in the Sepik river villages of Kopar and Singrin.

Today, the language is in bad shape and is disappearing even more quickly than Tayap. Young men and women in their twenties seem not even to understand much Kopar, let alone speak it. But it is still spoken by adults, though, especially women over forty.

Adjora, in contrast, is a much more robust language. This is partly undoubtedly due to the fact that the population of Adjora-speaking villages is large. Already in the 1970s, Adjora had about 2,347 speakers, according to Laycock and Z'graggen (1975:739). This population has no doubt grown exponentially since then.¹ In addition to sheer numbers, the persistence of the Adjora language is also surely linked to the fact that the people of Adjora-speaking villages, such as the nearby Sanae, consciously and proudly maintain key components of their traditional culture, such as parts of the men's house cult and many of the practices relating to mortuary rituals. (Partly for this reason, the villagers of Gapun regard Adjora-speaking villages as the source of all sorcery and the cause of every death in Gapun). While my informal observations indicate that Adjora may be losing ground among young people in Sanae village, and perhaps also in the villages of Tarengi and Wunkenan, the language is still spoken by probably several thousand people in villages to the east of Gapun extending to the Ramu river.

It was not always clear which words in Tayap are of foreign origin because (a) the words are fully integrated into the Tayap grammar, so foreign verb roots, for instance, are with few exceptions declined as class 5 Tayap verbs, and (b) speakers under sixty tended not to be aware that a particular word was not of Tayap origin. I know that a certain word is of foreign origin only because either its phonetic shape struck me as unusual and I specifically queried people about it (one of the words for mushroom, **ongisu**, is an example), or because an older villager brought it to my attention (an example is the verb for being jealous, **mwanambri**).

¹ I checked Laycock's list of villages speaking Adjora (1973: 38) against the official PNG Census from 2000, which is the most recent census for the country. Six of the twenty one villages listed by Laycock do not appear in that census, presumably because they have changed their names since the early 1970s, they have become absorbed into other villages, or they no longer exist. The remaining fifteen villages list a total population of 3,271. This is much lower than I would have expected. Gapun's population has more than doubled since the 1970s, and the population of Sanae, the only Adjora-speaking village I have personal familiarity with, has certainly grown substantially since I first went to the area in the mid-1980s. The problem is that the data on which Laycock based his speaker estimates is not reliable – he himself comments on the difficulty of estimating speaker numbers in areas that had either never been censused, or had been censused many years previous to his work. “The figures”, he wrote, “cannot represent with complete accuracy the number of native speakers of any of the languages, except those that are very small” (1973:56).

Whenever I tried to confirm the foreignness of a word with other older speakers, I frequently encountered the problem that those speakers disagreed among themselves. Whenever the disagreements remained unresolved, I have based my entry in this dictionary on the judgement of Samek Wanjo.

A note on the Tayap examples

Because this text is likely to be the only documentation that will ever appear of the Tayap language, I have taken care to supplement many definitions with illustrative sentences in Tayap. Those sentences are drawn from my elicitation sessions and from the recordings of naturally occurring talk that I have made over the course of the past thirty years. They will be of interest primarily to Gapun villagers, but any linguist interested in Tayap should be able to segment them and understand their morphology and grammar by referring to the grammar section of this book.

Abbreviations and terms used in the dictionary

<i>adj.</i>	adjective	<i>lit.</i>	literally
<i>Adjora</i>	word of Adjora-language origin	<i>masc.</i>	masculine
<i>adv.</i>	adverb	<i>mood part.</i>	mood particle
<i>dir.</i>	directional	<i>n.</i>	noun
<i>dl.</i>	dual	<i>part.</i>	particle
<i>d.v.</i>	dependent verb	<i>per. case</i>	peripheral case
<i>dx.</i>	diectic word	<i>pl.</i>	plural
<i>emph.</i>	emphatic	<i>pos.</i>	positional
<i>fem.</i>	feminine	<i>pro.</i>	pronoun
ERG	ergative clitic	<i>temp.</i>	temporal
<i>excl.</i>	exclamation	<i>v.i.</i>	intransitive verb
<i>intens.</i>	intensifier	<i>voc.</i>	vocative
<i>interj.</i>	interjection	<i>v.t.</i>	transitive verb
<i>interrog.</i>	interrogative	<i>Watam</i>	word of Watam-language origin
<i>irr.</i>	irregular		
<i>inv.</i>	invariant form; i.e. a form that remains the same regardless of person, number or TMA.	X	morphological slot to be filled with an object morpheme
<i>Kopar</i>	word of Kopar-language origin	†	moribund form

A

a v.t. (class 3), consume by eating, drinking or smoking; *kaikai, dring, smok*. **Yu orakangar kakunda?**: Have you eaten (*lit.* 'have you eaten food?'); *Yu kaikai pinis?*; **Ngi sokoi angwar wákare**: They don't smoke (*lit.* 'they don't smoke tobacco'); *Ol i no save smok*.

abambi¹ n. ex-wife (used by the ex-in-laws of the woman) (*obsolete*); *man i lusim meri bai mama na papa bilong man kolim ex-meri long despela nem*.

abar n. overgrown rainforest, *tik bus*. See also **mbarmit**.

abarki v.i. (-tet/-tak), become overgrown with bush; *kamap bus*. **Nder abartak**: The path is overgrown; *Rot i kamap bus*.

adádadi v.t. (class 3), **1.** fold something, e.g. a sheet or piece of cloth; *poltim olsem wanpela bedsit o wanpela laplap*.

2. break something into small bits, e.g. a biscuit; *brukim liklik liklik, olsem wanpela biskit*. **Ning adaditigatan!**: Break his bones! *Brukim brukim ol bun bilong em!*

3. hit something or someone several times, pummel; *paitim*. **Adadaditigin!**: Pummel him!; *Paitim em gut!*

adadit n., joint; join. **Akanja adadit**: crook of arm; *join bilong han*; **Ndaramja adadit**: wrist, *join bilong han*; **Ndownja adadit**: ankle; *join bilong lek*.

adaiki v.i. irr. (ja adibet/adibek; yu adibet/adibek; ni adibet, ngu adiwek, yim adibek, yum adibekem, ngi adigwek, yim sene adibeke), remain, *stap*. **Ja ongar nipis wákare ja adibet inda, yum neker onkem**: I'm not able to go, I'm remaining, you all go by yourselves; *Mi no nap igo, mi bai stap, yupela wan i go*.

adioki v.i. (conjugated like **oki**): **ja adimbot/adimbok; yu adimbot/adimbok; ni adimbot; ngu odiwok; yim adimbok; yum adimbokem; ngi odingwok; yim sene odiwoké**, **1.** fall down, collapse; *pundaun*. **Ni adimbota tat**: He collapsed

and slept; *Em (man) pundaun na slip*; **Ngu odiwok**: She fell; *Em (meri) pundaun*.

2. trip, be tripped up; *pundaun*. **Nimja itawni ndow kadukuna, adimbot**: I tripped on the roots of the tree and I fell; *Rop bilong diwai bampim leg bilong mi na mi pundaun*.

adu v.t. (class 3), **1.** hit something; *paitim*.

2. intoxicate someone; *spakim*. **Minjikeyi ni odigin**: The betel nut intoxicated him; *Buai spakim em*.

3. snap finger; *pairapim pinga*. **Ni ndaram adukwankut**: He is snapping his fingers; *Em pairapim pinga bilong em*.

4. kneel; *brukim skru*. **Ewar ngu mingip odukun**: Yesterday she kneeled (*lit.* 'she kneeled on her knees'); *Asde em i brukim skru*.

5. swear at; *tok nogutim*. **Ngu wekokni odukun**: She swore at her; *Em tok nogutim em*.

6. laugh at; *lap long*. **Na ironi kadigin**: I laughed at him; *Mi lap long em*.

7. hang up; *hangamapim*. **Embatoto adantukun!** Hang up the piece of cloth! *Hangamapim laplap!*

adur v.t. (class 5), smash through something; *brukim*. **Ja ti memkinaka sapkini miri adurkrunak**: I'll also make an attempt, even though I have no knowledge of what to do (*lit.* I will get up and smash through the undergrowth); *Mi tu bai kirap brukim bus tasol*.

adurioki v.i. (conjugated like **oki**), be smashed, shattered; *brukbruk*. **Ongab anggi aduriwok**: That pot is smashed; *Kanaka sosbin i brukbruk*.

aduwari v.t. (class 5), smash up against something; *brukim*. **Tarungnat anggi aduwaritukun!** Smash the piece of firewood against something to make it smaller! *Brukim hap paiwut!*

agampi n.; voc. (pl. agampindodo), mother's mother's brother; *brata bilong mama bilong mama*.

agídada *n.* [Adjora], an exceptionally good and true friend; *poroman i save pas tru long yu.*

agin *n.* gecko; *geko, liklik palai bilong haus.*

agránkar *adj.* [Adjora], skinny, emaciated, usually used to describe pigs; *bun nating, ol man i save toktok long ol pik.* The Tayap equivalent is **ning sinder** (*lit.* ‘bone nothing’; just bones).

agu *n.* large termites that make mounds rising from the ground (**kwaw**); *waitpela anis a save wokim ol bikpela haus bilong ol long ol long kunai o insait long bus.*

ai 1. *n.* here, *long ia.* **Aini wuk:** It is here; *Em i stap long ia.* **Aini ase ngritukun:** Put it here on the outside; *Putim long arrere.* **Yu ainja wákare:** You aren’t from here; *yu no bilong despela hap.*
2. *interj.* Hey!, *Yu harim!*

aiamb *n.* cluster of branches with fruit, betel nut or anything that has large seeds that grow in clusters; *han diwai i gat buai o wanem kain prut:* **Minjikeŋa aiyamb suman:** large cluster of betel nut; *bikpela han buai.*

aianj-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), singe leaves to make them pliable; *boinim.* See also **aranj-(p)-e-**.

aiawang *n.* placenta; *bilum i stap insait long bel bilong ol meri o ol animol.*

aiawangar *n.* Anopheles mosquito; *bilakpela natnat i gat makmak long ol pinga.*

aike *adv.* this way, like this; *olsem.* **Aike wetak:** Come this way; *I kam olsem.* **Aike etukun:** Hold it like this; *Holim olsem.*

aikesim *n.* a kind of tree with soft bark that attracts sago grubs and mushrooms; *diwai i nogat strong ol binatang bilong saksak na ol talinga i save kamap long en.*

aikeitam *n.* Black Bittern (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 3, #1–2, 5, 7, 10).

aiki *v.i. irr.* (**ŋa mbet/mbek; yu mbet/mbek; ŋi mbet; ŋgu wek; yum mbekem; yim mbek; ŋgi ŋgwek; yime sene weke**): come, *kam.*

ainde *dx. masc.* here, close to speaker; *em ia, samting i stap klostu long husat i toktok i stap.*

aini *adv.* like this; *olsem.* **Aini we(tak/tet):** Come this way; *I kam olsem.*

aingar *n.* arrival; *ikam bilong wanpela man o meri, o bilong wanpela samting (pik o dok o wanem wanem samting).*

air *n.* 1. powder that looks like pulverized white chalk that is made from baked clamshells. One dips a ginger pepper in it and chews it, together with a betelnut; *kambang.*

2. unattractive white film on skin or other living object; *waitpela das long skin o long wanpela samting.* **Toto airŋan:** unhealthy skin covered in white, chalky color; *skin i gat das.*

airkut *n.* the gourd into which **air** (lime powder) used to be put, not grown in Gapun anymore, and last used by senior men in the 1980s. These gourds have been replaced by plastic jars; *skin kambang bilong ol tumbuna bilong putim kambang, ol Gapun i no save growim nau, na nogat man i save usim.*

airuramb *n.* the day after a funerary feast, when all the work and rituals are completed and all the visitors from other villages have departed; *de bilong malolo, bihain long wanpela pati, olgeta wok i pinis na ol manmeri bilong ol narapela hap ol i go pinis.*

aiyo *n.* small minnow-like fish with many sharp bones, caught in forest streams and eaten; *liklik bunpis i save stap insait long ol baret.*

akan *n.* 1. arm; *han;* **Akanŋa imin:** underside of arm; *baksait bilong han.*

2. front leg of an animal; *lek bilong pik, dok, mumut, na ol kainkain animol.*

akan suman *n.* upper arm; *bikpela mit bilong han.*

akanbir *n.* forearm; *han.*

akandam *n.* crook made in arms bent to carry e.g. firewood; *han olsem yu brukim long en long karim paiwut i kam;* **Tarung akan-damni warakkukuotet:** Put the firewood in your arms and bring it; *Kisim paiwut na karim i kam.*

akanŋa sokop *n.* elbow; *join bilong han.*

akápore *interj.* how can this be?; *aiye, olsem wanem?*

akatrik *n.* boil that develops in the armpit; *strongpela buk i save kamap long sangana bilong han.*

akirónda *n.* [*Adjora*], a kind of small green ground lizard; *wanpela kain liklik palai bilong graun.* Same lizard as **ngurbewat**.

akijim *n.* [*Kopar*], raincloud; *klaut bilong ren.*

akín *n.* 1. cloud; *klaut.*

2. sky; *antap.* **Akin tambutieik:** The sky is colored; e.g. at sunset; *Klaut i gat kalakala.*

akok *n.* spearshaft made of **wamb** (a strong *limbom* palm). Abandoned in the 1950s when iron became more accessible to villagers and the shafts of spears started to be made of bamboo; *spia bipo ol i wokim long strongpela limbom. Bihain long wo, ol tumbuna i lusim despela pasim long wanem ol i wokim spia long ain, na mambu ol i wokim long mambu.*

aku *v.i. irr.* be, stay; *stap.* (**ña kut/kuk; yu kut/kuk; ñi kut; ngu wuk; yim wuk; yum kukem; ñgi ñgwuk, yim sene wuke**). **Ewar ña numni kut:** Yesterday I was in the village; *Asde mi stap long ples.* **Epi ña numni akunet:** Tomorrow I will remain in the village; *Tumoro bai mi stap long ples.*

am *n.* battle, fight; *paít.*

am *v.t.* (class 3), call out to summon a dog or pig; *singautim dok o pig.* **Ewar ña njenum kammbin mirini kimbokinana, ñgi mndatuko okinana.** Yesterday I called out to my dogs to go into the forest (to hunt), but they didn't come; *Asde mi singautim ol dog long igo ong bus tasol ol i les.*

ama *n.;* *voc.* mother; *mama.* See also **maya**.

amaye *interj.* expression used when speaker feels intense pain or shock; *hap tok ol man i save tok taim ol i karim bikpela pen.*

amai-(p)-i *v.t.* (class 1) search for something; *painim.*

amakato *n.* plant that grows in swamplands, traditionally used during divination rituals; *wanpela hap diwai ol saveman bilong bipo i save usim taim ol i holim stik bilong spia i gat powa bilong em.* See also **maies**.

ama kowot *n.;* *voc.* maternal aunt who is older than one's mother; *bikpela susa bilong mama.*

amamar *temp.* four days from now; *i go inap popela de.*

ama mosop *n.;* *voc.* maternal aunt who is younger than one's mother; *liklikpela susa bilong mama.*

amandukup *temp.* five days from now; *i go inap paipela de.*

amanep *n.* ground lizard; *palai bilong graun i gat kalakala.*

amasik[†] *n.* (*pl.* **amasikndodo** or **amasikimb**), ancestor; *tumbuna man o meri.*

amb *n.* 1. place where pigs wallow; *hap bilong ol pik i save sindaun na slip long graun.*

2. goiter; *buk long nek.*

ambagai *n.* men's house; *haus boi.*

ambin *interrog.* what?; *wanem?* **Ngu ambin orak?:** What is that? *Em wanem samting?*

ambin ana *interrog.* why?; *bilong wanem?*

ambiki *v.i. irr.* (*obsolete*), (**ña kambet/kambek; yu kambet/kambek, ñi kambet, ngu ombak, yim kambek, yum kambikem; ñgi omboko** or **ngombak, yim sene ombike**): be inside any kind of house; *stap insait long wanpela haus o haus boi.* **Munjenum ongarni ngwoka aro ngombak:** The men have gone to the ceremonial house and are there inside; *Ol man i go istap insait long haus tambaran.*

ambirdadab *n.* small parrots; *liklik karangal* (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 21).

ambnor *n.* 1. jowls of a male pig; *hap nek bilong pik man i save pundaun i godaun.*

2. coil; *hip.*

ambonor *n.* large black python-like snake; *moran.*

ambrim *n.* [*Kopar*], 1. basket sling; *han bilong basket ol meri i save wokim long maior.*

2. wire on pot used to hang it up above fire; *waia bilong pot.* See also **numun**.

ambu *v.t.* (class 3), 1. hide something; *haitim.*

2. vomit something; *trautim.* **Ñi kambwan kambukun:** He vomited vomit; *Em i traut;* **Ngu and ombukun:** She vomited blood; *Em i trautim blut.*

3. hang around neck; *hangampim long nek*.
- ambukeni** *interrog.* how?; *olsem wanem?*
- ambukŋa** *interrog.* which?; *wanem?* **Ambukŋa nim otitek?** Which tree fell? *Wanem diwai i pundaun?*
- ambukŋa nanunkŋa** *interrog.* what did it look like? (*lit.* ‘what was its face?’); *em i luk olsem wanem?*
- ambukŋa titimbŋa** *interrog.* what color?; *wanem kala?*
- ambukrani** *interrog.* how many?; how much?; *haumaspela?*, *haumas?* **Kawat ambukrani yu ŋgunana pikwatan?** How much salt did you give her? *Yu givim haumas sol long em?*
- ambruni** *adv.* hiding, disguised; *i hait.* **Ŋgu ripim ambruni wuk, ene mborkini utok:** Before it was hiding, but now it has been revealed; *Bipo samting i hait na nau i kamap ples klia.*
- ambuwamki** *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), cook; *kuk.*
- amen** *temp.* three days from now; *haptumoro gen.*
- amira** *v.t. irr.* (class 3, **ŋi amirkakun, ŋgu omirokun**), bite something; *kaikaim.* **Ror angu nderekeni waikar woka aramŋi amirkakun:** The child was walking along the path and a snake bit her; *Pikinini meri i wakabaut long rot i go na snek i kaikaim em.*
- amku** *v.i.* (group Ila intransitive verb; **ŋa kamiet/kamiek; ŋgu omiek; yum kamukem; ŋgi ŋgomiek** or **omko**), fight, *pait.*
- amoiawin** *n.* armpit; *sangana bilong han; amoiawinŋa pupur:* armpit hair; *gras bilong sangana bilong han.*
- amor** *n.* yam, several varieties of which have sharp needles; *mami, sampela i gat nil olsem redpela mami. Ol waitpela na ol pinkpela nogat nil.*
- amurák(amurík)ku** *v.t.* (class 5; the reduplicated part **amurík** isn’t necessary but it often occurs with this verb as a kind of intensifier), **1.** swish something; *noisim.* **Sik amuráktukun awinni:** Swish the water around in your mouth; *noisim wara long maus.*
- 2.** sway; *troimwe troimwe.* **Pongrom mir amurákamuríkkurar ekrukakutet!** You walk around with your big dick swaying to and fro! (*vulgar*); *Yu troimwe troimwe draipela kok bilong yu! (tok nogut).*
- amwaw** *n.* Twelve-wired Bird of Paradise, *kumul (Birds of New Guinea plate 51, #8–9).*
- ana sokop** *interrog.* when?; *wanem taim?*
- ana(kni)** *interrog.* where?; *long we?* **Ŋanan minjike ana?** Where is my betel nut? *Buai bilong mi we?* **Yu anakni mbot?** Where are you going? *Yu go we?* **Anakni iawni?** Where exactly? (*Istap/i kamap*) *we?*
- and** *n.* blood; *blut.*
- and-(p)-o** *v.t.* (class 1), wake somebody up; *kirapim.* **Ŋa ruru sene andpombinda:** I’ve woken up the two kids; *Mi kirapim pinis tupela pikinini.*
- anda-(p/w)-o** *v.t.* (class 2), **1.** miss or go past something or someone, without the object seeing the thing that missed it (e.g. two people go past one another in the bush without seeing one another); *abrisim, olsem tupela man i abris long bus na tupela i no lukim tupela yet,*
- 2.** miss, in the sense of failing to hit something; *abrisim.* **Iryi mbor andapokun:** The spear missed the pig; *Spia i abrisim pik.*
- anda-(p/w)-oki** *v.i.* (**andapuwot/ andapuwok**): duck; *abrisim.* **Yunana ngigi taimb-tukro, andawotet!** They’re throwing a stick at you, duck! *Ol i troimwe wanpela hap diwai ia, abrim!*
- andadiki** *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), yawn; *opim maus nating taim yu les.* **Andadikitet:** You’ll yawn; *Bai yu opim nating maus bilong yu.*
- andei-(p)-ev.t.** (class 1), step on something; *krung-utim.* **Kakámatik andeingarke, ndrikjan apro anŋi.** Don’t step on a millipede, they are poisonous; *I no ken krungutim ol kakámatik, i gat marasin nogut bilong em.*
- andi** *n.* **1.** crown of palm tree; *tel bilong kokonas, buai o saksak.*
- 2.** palm tree seedling; *kru bilong kokonas, buai o saksak.*

- andik** *v.t.* (class 5), roof a house; *pasim haus*; **Ewar tukur aiki wákare ndi yim patir andikrikkun:** If it hadn't rained yesterday we would have roofed the house; *Sapos asde ren i no bin pundaun inap mipela pasim haus pinis.*
- andiki** *v.i.* (**ñi kandiet/ñgu ondiek**), swell, grow fat; *kamap patpela.* **Noñor ondiek supwáspwa:** The woman is too fat; *Meri i pat nogut tru.*
- andir** *n.* cat's cradle; *pilai bilong rop ol mangi i save mekim.*
- andñan** *adj.* raw, bloody (*lit.* 'has blood'); *i gat blut.*
- androp** *n.* thin white and green sugar cane; *suga i waitpela na grinpela na i no bikpela.*
- andru-(w/p)-e** *v.t.* (class 2), carry something on head; *karim long het.* **Mopokyi maning andrupekun:** Mopok carried the bucket on her head; *Mopok karim baket long hed.*
- andruku** *v.i.* (group IIa intransitive verb: **ñi kanduriet; ñgu onduriek; yum kandikrem; ñgi ñgonduriek**), yelp, exclaim; *singaut.*
- andu** *v.t.* (class 3), 1. follow a path; *bihainim rot.* **Ñgu ewar ndereke ango ondukuna wok:** Yesterday she followed this path; *Asde em i bihainim rot i go.*
2. gather leaf vegetables; *kisim tulip o aibika.*
3. roof a house; *pasim wanpela haus.* **Yim patir kandukun:** We roofed the house; *Mipela i pasim haus.*
4. follow someone else's advice; *bihainim tok bilong narapela man o meri.* **Ña ñan nam kandukuna mbot:** I followed his talk and went; *Mi bihainim tok bilong em na mi go.*
- andugur** *v.t.* (class 4), 1. squeeze out something, e.g. a boil, a banana, grated coconut; *bengim;* **Pap andugritukun!** Squeeze the water out of the grated cocount! *Bengim kokonas!*
2. tie together the two sides of sago palm thatch on roof of a house at the top post running across the house; **Eirumña kokir kokarku andugrinkurem!**

Close the roof of the house!; *Bungim hed bilong marota na pasim wantaim.*

- andugur** *v.t.* (conjugated like **ñgur**) pump something; *pamim.*
- ani** *interrog.* (*pl.* **aningro**), who?; *husat?*
- animat** *interrog.* whose?; *bilong husat?*
- anire** *interrog.* with whom?; *wantaim husat?*
- aninde** *dx. masc.* there, a bit further from speaker; *em ia, samting i no stap klostu tumas long husat i toktok i stap.*
- anini** *n.* there, long hap; **Anini ñgritukun:** Put it there; *Putim long hap*
- anininde** *dx. masc.* over there, far away from speaker; *em ia long hap, samting i no stap klostu tumas long husat i toktok i stap.*
- anomb** *n.* 1. groin; *sangana.* **Anombña pupur:** pubic hair; *gras bilong sem.*
2. lower belly; *hap bel man i save pilim pispis long en.*
- anombi** *temp.* later, afterwards; *bihain.* Cannot be used when narrating past events (there one would use **nunuk**); can only be used in present to designate a future occurrence. In addition, **anombi** highlights that the future action will be performed by the speaker(s) him/herself or themselves; *I no nap usim despela hap tok taim yu laik toktok long wanpela samting i bin kamap long asde o long taim bipo – yu laik toktok long taim bipo yu mas tok nunuk. Na tu anombi i miningim olsem husat man o meri yu toktok long en em yet bai mekim samting. Anombi ñgu aikitaka namrutak:* Later on she herself will come and tell you; *Larim em yet bai kam tokim yu.*
- antur** *n.* human-like beings that look after particular areas of land. These beings are like **emári**, but less powerful, and they live on the ground and not in the water. The two most well-known in Gapun materialize in a two-headed snake, each head of which has a name, **Tarengéna** and **Matángéna**; *ol liklik masalai bilong graun, long Gapun olgeta i save long Tarengéna na Matángéna, em snek i gat tupela hed.*
- anturña kandaw** *n.* illness caused by **antur**, *sik ol antur i save giving long man.*

anumb *n.* sago palm with long fronds that are often used to make **iko** (funnel for leaching sago). It has short leaves, short needles and a very wide trunk. It produces a great deal of sago flour. *Saksak i gat ol bikpela pangal ol meri i save usim long wokim iko. Lip bilong em sotpela, i gat sotpela nil na namel bilong em bikpela. I gat bikpela muna.*

anj *v.t.* (class 3), pump something; *pulim*. **Awin kan kundara:** I pumped water; *mi pulim wara pinis.*

angamgu-(p/w)-uku *v.i.* (**angamgupuwoot/angamgupuwok**), bump into, collide with; *bamp*. **Balni emrarikar wokeya angamgupukeya odiwoke:** The two men were playing soccer and they bumped into one another and fell down; *Tupela i pilai soka i stap na tupela i bamp na pundaun*; **Nim mbwar nderni wapakini otiteka wukna ni rarkru wákare mbota angamngupuwota adimbot:** He didn't see the tree trunk that was lying across the path and he bumped into it and tripped; *Em i no lukim diwai i stap long rot na em wakabaut i go na em bamp long em na em pundaun.*

ange(de) *dx. pl. obj.* those, a bit further from speaker; *em ia, ol samting i no stap klostu long husat i wok long toktok i stap.*

angeb *dx. pl.* these or those; *despela ol*. **Angeb nje sene:** Those two dogs; *Despela tupela dok ia.*

angi(de) *dx. fem. obj.* here, further from speaker; *em ia, samting i no stap klostu long husat i wok long toktok i stap.*

angisukup *temp.* seven days from now; *i go inap sevenpela de.*

angib *dx. pl.* those; *despela ol.*

ango(de) *dx. fem.* here, close to speaker; *em ia, samting i stap klostu long husat i toktok i stap.*

angok *dx. fem.* that; *despela.*

angu *v.t.* (class 3), 1. pull something; *pulim*.

2. drag something; *pulim*. **Mingip ango odieknan angukwar kukumbot:** He dragged along his swollen knee and

came; *Skru bilong lek i solap na em i pulim em na i kam.*

3. dry something, absorb liquid from something; *draim wara o pulim wara long wanpela samting*. **Ngigi awin ongukuro:** They dried it; *ol i draim pinis.*

angu(de) *dx. fem.* there, a long way from speaker; *em ia, samting i stap longwe liklik long husat i toktok i stap.*

angudek *dx. fem.* that; *despela.*

anguraji *v.t.* (class 5), lure someone further on, e.g. further and further into the forest or up a tree; *grisim man i kam.*

angurak *v.t. irr.* (class 5), throw something; *troimwe*. This verb can be inflected like a class 5 verb, but it is usually part of a complex construction. In such a construction, some speakers segment the final **-ak** as a dependent verb object and inflect it; others segment it as a fixed part of the verb and do not inflect it. **Nguyi aram anguraktingen** (some speakers say **angurattingen**): She threw the snake away from her; *Em troimwe snek*. **Ror ainde nimnat angurakrukankut:** That child is throwing a stick; *Pikinini ia i sut long hap diwai i stap*. **Kinda angurakwel:** Throw the tongs over here! *Troimwe kinda i kam!*

angwar *n.* a kind of lethal sorcery carried out in the following way: a victim is ambushed in the rainforest by sorcerers who have often disguised themselves as flying foxes (**njakep**) or birds such as eagles (**kakar pwap**) or hornbills (**ondom**). These sorcerers hypnotize the victim, then disembowel him or her and replace the vital organs with leaves. They then resurrect the victim and whisper in his/her ear the exact time when he or she will die. Unaware of what has happened, the victim carries on his or her daily life, only to collapse and die at the time appointed by the sorcerers; *sanguma*.

angwar munje *n.* man who enacts **angwar**; *sanguma man*.

apik *v.t.* (class 5), open mouth in a yawn; *opim maus long taim skin bilong yu i les*. **Ngu sik apiktukun**: She yawned (*lit.* ‘she yawned mouth’); *Skin bilong em les na em opim nating maus*.

apirit *n.* waistbelt made from thread from a **pandim** tree; *let bilong ol tumbuna, ol i save wokim long pandim*.

apran *n.* poor thing, used when someone performs an act that one doesn’t believe he or she had been capable of doing; *tarangu*.

Apran kawrikneta mbornja pisikimb urakukumbet numni: The poor thing summoned his strength and carried the pig back to the village; *Tarangu em i strong na kisim pik i kam long ples*.

apro *adj.* bad, *nogut, rabis*.

apro mir *intens.* really, incredibly; *nogut tru*. **Arawer mik apro mir**: The sun is incredibly intense; *San i hot nogut tru*.

apro sakar *vulgar intens.* (*pl.* **apri sakrem** (*obsolete*)), fucking; *blari pakin*. **Tokinema manja ngwab sawir manja apro sakar!**: Catfish cunt, fucking black hole cunt!; *Kan bilong yu i olsem wanpela bikmaus pis blari pakin bilakhul kan!*; **Mayama man kakunja apro sakar!**: Fucking eater of your mother’s cunt! *Bastad kaikai kan bilong mama bilong yu!*

apu *v.t.* (class 3), **1.** burn something; *kukim*.

2. cook something by putting directly on fire or embers; *kukim long paia*.

apukor (also **akukor**) *n.* elves, little men and women of the forest who can capture the spirit (**mbunor**) of people who die. They can also capture the spirit of living people, who in that case soon die. They live in the tops of trees deep in the rainforest where people seldom travel. People know of their existence because the **apukor** whistle when they walk about; *ol liklik man i save kisim devil bilong ol sampela man long taim bilong indai*. *Ol i ken kisim devil bilong husat man i gat sik*. *Ol i kisim devil bilong yu long nait, moning bai yu pinis na devil bilong yu bai stap wantaim ol*.

apwisom *n.* fan; *win bilong winim paia*.

ar *v.t.* (class 3), **1.** chop down something; *katim i pundaun*. **Ngigi nim orkuro**: She chopped down the tree; *Em katim diwai i pundaun*.

2. marry someone; *maritim*. **Nguyi nji orngin**: She married him; *em (meri) maritim em (man)*; **Niji ngu karkun**. He married her; *em (man) maritim em (meri)*.

3. emit urine; *pispis*. **Ngu nok orkun**: She urinated; *Em pispis*.

4. emit feces; *pekpek*. **Ni yiwir karkun**: He defecated; *Em pekpek*.

5. shave something; *sehim*. **Ni ngakreña purpur karkun**: He shaved his beard; *Em sehim mausgras bilong em*.

aram *n.* snake (*generic*); *snek (biknem)*.

arambwar *n.* small snake; *liklik snek*.

aramngor *n.* long, python-like snake; *draipela snek*.

aranj-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1): singe leaves to make them pliable; *boinim*. See also **aianj-(p)-e**.

arawer *n.* **1.** sun; *san*.

2. a kind of small blue beetle with black markings; *liklik blupela binatang i gat ol bilakpela makmak*.

arawer sirngar taw *n.* west (*lit.* ‘sun goes down side’); *hap san i save godaun long en*.

arawer wingar taw *n.* east (*lit.* ‘sun rising side’); *hap san i save kam antap long en*.

arei *n.* **1.** ginger root eaten to make a person angry and eager to fight; *kawawar bilong hatim bel*.

2. desire; *laik*. **Na arei tari wákare, sisipot**: I had no desire (*lit.* ‘desire didn’t take me’), I was tired; *Laik i no kisim mi, mi les*; **Arei sumani tatin mum akrunana**: I have a huge desire to eat sago jelly; *Mi gat bikpela laik long kaikai mum*.

areini *adv.* quickly, hurriedly; *hariap*. **Yu nja areini namgarke**: Don’t hurry me (*lit.* ‘Don’t tell me to hurry up’); *Yu no ken hariapim mi*.

areng *n.* a kind of tree from which floor supports are cut; *diwai ol i save katim long wokim tékduan*.

ari *pos.* below; *taunbolo*.

arik *intens.* really; *tru*. Can only be used with the word for 'little', 'small'; *taim yu laik tok olsem samting i liklik tru bai yu usim despela hap tok*. **Mokop arik ango yu piatan:** You gave me a really small piece; *Yu givim mi liklik hap tru*.

arimb *n.* exhaustion; *bikpela les*. **Arimbi nitin:** I am exhausted (*lit.* 'exhaustion makes/does me'); *Bikpela les i mekim mi*.

ario *interj.* word used to scare small children into thinking that something is coming to get them. Uttered as a loud vocative to some threatening person or thing (a spirit, a pig), the word means 'Come now, come and get him/her'; *hap tok ol mama i save usim long mekim pret ol liklik pikinini*.

arimindai *n.* a betel nut with a watery nut; *buai i no mit tumas, mit bilong em i gat wara*.

aringadew *n.* plant with large round leaves, put into sago jelly and fed to dogs, in order to get them to kill cassowaries; *diwai i gat bikpela raunpela lip, ol tumbuna i save tainim mum wantaim despela na givim long ol dok, bai ol i kaikai na kisim strong long kilim muruk*. See also **pap**.

arit *n.* 1. saliva drooling from mouth, or slime from a vegetable like **ngat**; *spet i pundaun long maus o spet bilong aibika*.

2. wing; *win*.

3. part of a house: the **koti** that extends on from where the roof meets the walls of the house; *win bilong haus*.

ariuta *adv.* quietly, without noise or fuss; *isi, nogat kros*. **Ariutaki orak isiatan!** Give it to me without making a fuss!; *Givim samting long mi long isipela we, i no ken kros*.

ariw *n.* spear thrower made of bamboo; *hap mambu bilong troimwe spia*.

arkar-(p)-eki *v.i.* (**arkarpet/arkarpek; ngi arkarpeko**): have a fever, a chill; *skin i kol*. **Toto arkarpek kadawi niritakana**. My skin is cold, I'm going to be sick; *Skin bilong mi kol, bai mi sik ia*.

arki *v.i.* (group IIa intransitive verb: **na kariet/kariiek; yu kariet/kariiek; ni kariet; ngu**

oriek; yim kariiek; yum kariiek; ngi ngoriek; yim sene orke), 1. go down by means of a waterway, e.g. to a village downriver; *godaun; Ewar ngi Moipre ngoriek*: Yesterday they went down to Watam; *Asde ol i godaun long Watam*.

2. go inside; *go insait*. **Yim ewar Onai karieka pruknja pin ninkun**. Yesterday we went inside the forest to Onai and did a bit of work; *Asde mipela i go insait long Onai na wokim liklik wok*.

arki *v.i. irr.* (**na karot/karok; yu karot/karok; ni karot; ngu urok; yim karok; yum karkem; ngi ngurok; yim sene urke**), go inside, for example inside a mosquito net; *go insait, olsem long karambu*. **Ewar rorsew ewandni nguroka sapki sapki tako**: Last night the kids went into the mosquito net and slept all over the place; *Asde ol pikinini i go insait long karambu na ol i slip nambaut*.

arki *v.i. irr.* (**na krit/krik; yu krit/krik; ni krit; ngu uruk; yim krik; yum krikem; ngi nguruk; yim sene uruke**), remain; *stap longpela taim*. **Ni mbota nan numni kritapi mbet**: He went and remained in his village a long time, then he came back; *Em i go istap longpela taim long ples bilong em, na em i kam*.

armbir *adj.* 1. hot; *hat, hatpela*.

2. *n.* heat, *hot*. **Armbir wuk ngon totona, ngure minjikan angwarke**: Heat is on her skin, you can't go close to her (i.e. heat generated a woman's blood, harmful and debilitating to everyone, but especially to men); *Hot i stap long skin bilong meri, i no ken go klostu long em*. See also **samba**.

aro 1. *n.* light; *lait*; **Arawernja aro**: Sunlight; *Lait bilong san*.

2. day; *de*. **Arore arore ambukeni nirakut?** Every single day what is it you'll do?; *Olgeta de yu bai mekim olsem wanem?*

3. *pos.* inside, enveloped in or covered by; *insait*; **arona nam**: hidden, unexpressed talk; *insait tok*.

arong-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), carry something inside an object such as a bag or a basket; *karim insait long wanpela samting olsem wanpela bilum o basket.*

aru *n.* ancient ancestor; *tumbuna bilong bipo bipo tru*. **Ripim ŋa arumandama tik tarengar wákare. Ene awoingud ŋajan ŋgi tik ŋgurkwangukre ŋa tankun.** Previously I didn't hear the stories of the ancestors. But my mother's brothers told them often and now I know them; *Bipo mi no save harim ol stori bilong ol tumbuna bilong bipo. Tasol ol kandere bilong mi i save stori na nau mi save pinis.*

aru-(p)-oi *v.t.* (class 1), wait for something or someone; *wetim*. **Ŋa yu aruoiakkut:** I'm waiting for you; *Mi wetim yu i stap.*

aruat *n.* thunder, *pairap bilong ren.*

arúmbatak *n.* fly, *rang.*

arúmbatak kunemb *n.* a kind of small bee; *liklik bi.*

arúmbatak wasow *n.* blue fly (*lit.* 'fly death'); *bhurang.*

aru-(p)-oki *v.i. irr.* (**ŋa arupot/arupok; ŋi arupot; ŋgu arupok; yum arupokem; yim arupok; ŋgi arupoko; yim sene arupoke**), wait; *wet.*

asak-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), hop over something; *kalapim*. **Bal i nuwomb asakpekuna taw nonni otitek:** The ball hopped over the creek and landed on the other side; *Bal i kalapim baret na pundaun long narapela sait.*

asángo *n.* a tree whose leaves, which are red veined on the underside, are boiled and used to dye string and rope red; *diwai i gat lip na long baksait bilong despela lip i gat ol redpela rop. Boilim despela ol lip bai wara i kamap redpela, na despela wara ol manmeri save usim long putim redpela kala long ol samting bilong wokim pulpul o basket.*

asapoi *n.* close friend; *poro.*

ase *pos.* beside, on the edge of, on the periphery of; *klostu, long pron.*

aski *v.i.* (**ŋa kaset/kasek; yu kaset/kasek; ŋi kaset; ŋgu usek; yim kasek; yum**

kaskem; ŋgi ŋgusek; yim sene uske),

1. come down from a place upstream to a place nearer the sea; *ikam daun, olsem yu stap long Sambaiaŋ na yu kam daun long ples Gapun.*

2. appear, come outside, e.g. from inside the rainforest to outside on a path; *kam autsait.*

at *n.* **1.** mosquito (*generic*), *natnat (biknem).*

2. half, part of; *hap*. **Nimŋat:** stick; *hap diwai*. **Tamwaiŋat:** bit of a sago pancake; *hap praim*; **At kut:** He's still alive (*lit.* 'half is there'); *Em i gat laip yet, i no indai.*

atarum *n.* forehead; *poret.*

atawo⁺ *n.* (*dl.* **atawondodi**; *pl.* **atawondodo**) (*obsolete*), older sibling; *bikpela brata o susa*. See also **tata**.

atemb *n.* small tree python, can be yellow, green or brown; the one kind of snake that villagers used to eat; *snek bilong diwai, i gat yelopela, grinpela, braunpela. Bipo ol man i save kaikai.*

átiáti *n.* sudden intake of breath characteristic of babies. This is a sign that they are growing stronger and their liver is gaining strength; *liklik win ol nupela pikinini i save pulim long en, ol i wok long kisim strong, strongim lewa bilong ol.*

atiatir *v.t.* (class 4), hurry someone up; *hariapim narapela man*. **Atiatitingen!** Make him go faster! *Hariapim em!*

atiki *v.i.* (**ŋa katitet/katiek; yu katitet/katitek; ŋi katitet, ŋgu otitek; yim katitek; yum katikem; ŋgi ŋgotitek; yim sene otike**), **1.** fall down; *pundaun*.

2. be completely without something; *lus long wanpela samting*. **Ŋa nda katitet, orak angar wákare payar.** I'm completely without anything, I really have no food; *Mi pundaun nau, mi nogat wanpela kaikai, nogat tru.*

3. be defeated; lose, *i no win*; **Yim katitek:** We lost [the soccer match]; *Mipela i no win [long soka], ol i winim mipela.*

atiki *v.i.* (**ŋa katot/ŋa katok; yu katot/yu katok; ŋi katot; ŋgu utok; yim katok;**

- yum katikem; ngi ngutok; yim sene utike**, 1. happen; *kamap*; **Nekan katot**: An earthquake happened (i.e. there was an earthquake); *Graun i guria*.
2. go outside; *igo autsait*.
3. go down; *igo daun*. **Ewar yim Potowre katok**: Yesterday we went down to Wongan; *Asde mipela i godaun long Wongan*.
- atim** *n.* spike made of bamboo that villagers insert into the ground in front of betel nut palms or other areas they want others to stay away from. If one steps on these spikes, they go up into the foot, causing injury and pain; *nil long mambu, ol manmeri i save haitim long as bilong buai o long ol rot ol i tambuim ol long en. Nogut husat i brukim despela tambu krungutim despela ol nil. Man i krungutim bai kisim bikipela pen. See also manda-mandap*.
- atir** *n.* caterpillar; *binatang i save kamapim bataplai*.
- ato** *n.* 1. outside; *autsait*. **Atoŋa nam**: talk that is out in the open; *autsait tok*.
2. *dir.* down in the sense of downstream; *taunbolo*.
- atokrim** *n.* carbuncle; *strongpela skin long bel bilong leg, i save pen*.
- ator-(p)-orki** *v.i.* (*atorporiet/atorporiek*), appear in patches (used to describe e.g. rashes, mushrooms); *kamap nambaut (olsem bukuk long skin, na ol talinga)*.
- atunung** *n.* tree whose inner bark is processed to make basket slings and the fringed decorations on the sides of baskets; *diwai ol meri i save wokim long mekim ol han bilong basket na ol bilas bilong basket*.
- atungor** *adj.* brown coat of animals; *kala bilong gras bilong ol pik o ol sampela narapela ol animol*.
- awa** *mood part.* word expressing expectation; *hap tok bilong tok olsem yu wetim wanpela santing. Ngu awa borsip tandiu pipiek? Is the pork cooked well?; Hap abus i tan ah? Ndamor awa?: It must be Ndamor; Nogut Ndamor. See Section 7.6.1 of the grammar*.
- awaj** *n.* owl; *taragau bilong nait (Birds of New Guinea plate 26, #1–10 and #17–18)*. Villagers believe owls, which they say have the faces of men, to be the spirits of the dead, and they fear them accordingly. A favorite way of scaring a small child into submission is to point into the distance, clutch the child closer as though protecting him or her, and say urgently, “**Awaŋ! Awaŋ! Awaŋ i kam nau. Ye, lukim ai bilong em, em i kam nau!**” (Owl! Owl! The owl is coming! Ye look at its eyes, it’s coming!)
- awa-(p/w)-ar** *v.t.* (class 4), be jealous about someone; *jelesim*. **Mbumeyi ngon omin awapangin**. Mbume is jealous about her husband; i.e. she worries that he has affairs; *Mbume jelesim man bilong em. See also mwanambrir*.
- awar** *n.* wind from the swamp and the Sepik river, i.e. from the north; *win i kamap long tais na long Sepik wara*.
- awar-(p)-e** *v.t.* (class 1), decline to avenge someone’s transgression, for example a person steals something from you and you do nothing about it; *ol manmeri i rongim yu, na yu no krosim ol o bekim. Ngigi ŋajan minjike ndaguni tatukrora, ŋayi ŋgi awarpembin*: They stole my betel nut and I did nothing to avenge the theft; *Ol i stilim buai bilong mi na mi no krosim ol o bekim bek rong bilong ol*.
- awawarŋgar morasi** *n.* jealousy (*lit.* ‘jealous habit’); *jeles pasin*.
- awesak** *n.* fern (*generic*), *kumugras (biknem)*.
- awin awin** *adj.* watery, runny (*lit.* ‘water water’); *i gat wara*. **Mum awin awin**: The sago jelly is runny; *saksak i wara wara*.
- awin eiwir** *n.* high tide; *haiwara*.
- awin kapur** *n.* well; *hulwara*.
- awin** *n.* 1. water; *wara*
2. liquid; *olsem wara*.
3. alcohol; *yawa*. **Awin okroya ngar angide nirkwanguk**: They’ve drunk alcohol and now they’re making a lot of noise; *Ol i dring yawa na ol i wok long singaut i stap*.

4. a kind of tree like the **ngawro** tree, with very long leaves; *kain diwai olsem ngawro i gat longpela longpela lip.*

awin nanuk *n.* 1. reflection (*lit.* ‘water face’); *piksa bilong pes i save kamap long wara o long wanpela glas bilong lukluk.*

2. mirror; *glas bilong lukluk.*

3. eyeglasses; *aiglas.*

awin ngorok *n.* traditional grass skirt covering the entire leg that was worn when women went into the water to fish, and also during mourning; *longpela pulpul ol meri bilong bipo i save putim long taim bilong ol long go insait long wara long umbenim pis. Na tu ol i save putim taim man indai na ol i save stap insait long banis.* See also **ngorok**.

awin poming *n.* water energized by calling on the spirits of the dead, and then dipping the fingers of everyone present into it, then it will be spit into a circle; *wanbel wara.*

awin potaki *v.i.* be thirsty (*lit.* ‘water throat + ERG.F’). A fixed verbal construction that remains the same regardless of pronoun or temporality, so **Nja awin potaki** (1SG + water + throat + ERG.F) means ‘I am/was/will be thirsty’. **Yu awin potaki** (2SG + water + throat + ERG.F) means ‘You are/was/will be thirsty’, etc.; *laik dring. Ngi awin potaki:* They are thirsty; *Ol i laik dring.* See also **potak**.

awin tuwku *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), give birth (*lit.* ‘water bathe’); *karim. Yu mbadani okitak awin tuwkutak na yuni pruk-kinakana inda:* You will go into the bush and give birth and I will have to

work hard for you; *Yu bai go long bus na karim na mi bai wokhat long yu ia.* See also **tuwku**.

awin(ni) tuwngar patir *n.* maternity house (*lit.* ‘water-bathing house’); *haus karim.*

awinni tuwku *v.i.* (-**iet/-iek**), give birth; *karim. Ngu awinni tutiekara?:* Has she given birth? *Em karim pinis?*

awinna nangatik *n.* tide; *tait. Awinna nangatiki yimbar kukupuwok:* The tide lifted the canoe; *Tait i kisim kanu i go antap.*

awin *n.* Great-billed Heron (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 3, #3) and Egret (plate 3, #6–15).

awo *interj.* 1. expression of affirmation. Since the 1980s, this Tayap word has increasingly become replaced by the Kopar-language word **ore**. Now **awo** is most commonly used as an exaggerated or sarcastic affirmative, meaning something like ‘Yeah, right’ or ‘Like I’m so sure’; *em tasol, em trupela, em nau.*

2. *emph.* when suddenly shouted, not in response to a question, the meaning is: I’m coming to hit you now; *Bai mi kam paitim yu nau.*

awoi *n.* mother’s brother; *kandere (obsolete).* See also **wow**.

ayáta *interj.* 1. never mind; *maski. Ayáta yu kandawngan, memteta otet:* Never mind that you are sick, get up and go; *Maski yu sik, kirap na i go.*

2. *excl.* stop it; *inap. Ayáta!:* Stop it! *Inap!*
3. *excl.* forget it; *maski.*
4. *excl.* don’t worry about it; *maski.*

D

du *n.* [*Adjora*], coil; *hip. Aramña du:* coiled up snake; *snek i hip i stap; Sokoi(ña) du:* cigarette (i.e. a rolled up piece of paper with tobacco in it); *smok.* In Tayap one would

say: **Aram ambnor ngunkuna kut:** The snake is coiled up; *Snek i raunim em yet na istap.*

E

- e** *v.t.* (class 1), **1.** hold something or someone; *holim*; **Ndaram enkurem:** You all shake hands; *Yupela sekhan nau.*
- 2.** net fish; *umbenim pis.* **Nguyi ngomar sami pekun:** She netted a lot of fish; *Meri i kisim planti pis.*
- 3.** (*euphemism*), have sex with someone; *kwapim (tok bokis).* **Njini Mborakema nonor pekun:** He had sex with Mborake's wife; *Em kwapim meri bilong Mborake.*
- ei** *n.* tearful cry; *krai.*
- ei** *v.t.* (class 1), **1.** peel something, e.g. bark from sago tree, the husk from a betel nut; *tekewe olsem skin bilong saksak o skin bilong buai.*
- 2.** scrape skin; *tekewe hap skin.* **Na katiteta, toto peikun:** I fell and scraped my skin; *Mi pundaun na skin bilong mi tekewe*
- 3.** wank, i.e. expose the glans penis or the inside of one's vagina; *skinim kok o skinim kan.* **Ni toto peikunjan inde:** He's a wanker; *Em i save sikinim kok tasol.*
- 4.** skin an animal e.g. a lizard (**ngararik**) or cuscus (**enamb**); *tekewe sin bilong wanpela palai o kapul.*
- eiakatiki** *v.i.* (conjugated like **atiki**), pull away; *pulim na rausim.* **Otaka top angi papna mbwareke puwoknja eiakatetak manjar utakkukuwe:** You go and pull away the betel ginger that is growing up the middle of the coconut palm and cut it and bring it; *Yu go na daka ia i go antap long namel long kokoas ia yu rausim na katim lip bilong em na ikam.*
- eiamb** *n.* large cluster of betel nut; *bikpela rop buai.* See also **aiamb.**
- eiarki** *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), cry, *krai.*
- eiki** *v.i.* (**peiet/peiek**), **1.** become clear; *kamap klia.* **Ikur mit wuk ango akin eiki wákare:** It's really dark, the sky isn't clear; *Bikpela tudak istap na klaut i no klia yet.*
- 2.** peel off, e.g. after a severe burn; *tekewe.* **Ngon toto eieira wok:** Her skin peeled off; *Skin bilong em tekewe.*
- 3.** wank (a calque of the Tok Pisin *sikinim kok/kan*, which means 'rub your prick/cunt skinless'); *tekewe.* **Kwemnja toto peieknja:** Wanker; *Skin bilong kok i tekewe long en.* See also **wetiki.**
- eikuoki** *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), pay no attention; *i no tingim, lusim.* **Ni njanan nam tankun, eikuwok:** He heard my talk and ignored it; *Em harim tok bilong mi tasol em i no bihainim, em lusim nating.* See also **utak**
- eiro** *n.* Paradise Kingfisher (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 24, #1-5).
- eirum** *n.* sago leaf shingle; *morota.*
- eirumjat kokir o** *v.t.* exchange siblings in marriage (lit. 'pierce the head of sago palm leaf shingle'); *sens marit.* **Yim eirumjat kokir pokure:** We are the exchanges for our siblings; *Mitupela i sens marit.* Refers to the Gapun tradition of exchanging males and females between groups so that when man A from one clan marries a woman B from another, a man C from the woman B's clan should marry man A's real or classificatory sister.
- eitasiki** *v.i.* (conjugated like **atiki**), peek, *stil lukluk.* **Ngogrodak eitatikar puwok angi:** The frog is peeking around; *Prok i stil lukluk i go antap;* **Ni eitatikar rariar mbet:** He's following me and peeking at me; *Em bihainim mi na em stil lukluk long mi.*
- eiwa** *n.* a kind of sickness in which the stomach swells up and the body becomes emaciated; *splin.*
- eiwir** *adj.* **1.** young (referring to people). There is a plural form, **eiwiró**, but it is used only in reference to people, it cannot be used in speaking about fruit or trees; *yangpela (taim yu toktok long ol manmeri).*
- 2.** unripe (referring to fruit or trees); *i no mau (taim yu toktok long ol laulau o popo o wanem samting bilong kaikai).*

eiwireiwr *n.* immature, stupid act, as when a child defecates under the house even though he or she is old enough to go into the bush to defecate; *longlong, olsem pikinini i pekpek ananeat long haus taim em i kamap bikpela liklik na em i save go long long bus long wokim pekpek bilong em.*

eiwki *v.i.* (**peiwiet/peiwiek, ngi peiwko**), wash sago pith; *wasim saksak.*

eiwngar yimbar *n.* small canoe used since the 1990s to capture the water and sago flour that runs out from the **waris** (cocount fiber strainer) when women leach sago pith; *kanu bilong wasim pipia saksak.*

egon *adj.* reduced form **engon**

ekop *n.* a hopscotch-like children's game; *wanpela kain pilai bilong ol pikinini.*

ekruka *v.i.* (conjugated like a 'be'; also pronounced **ikruka**), walk around; *wakabaut.*

Ŋa patirre patirre ekrukanwar nonor wákare: I'm not a woman who walks around visiting people (to gossip); *Mi no meri bilong raun raun nating long olgeta haus.*

emári *n.* 1. powerful ancestral spirit of the rainforest, lives in rivers, swamps, large creeks and lakes; *masalai.*

2. bone made of cassowary thighbone inserted through the septums of men in traditional times; *bun bilong muruk ol tumbuna man i save putim long hul long nus bilong ol.*

emárima ngino *n.* round scales on a crocodile near its head, these are eyes it uses to see underwater (*lit.* 'emári's eyes'); *ai bilong ol pukpuk ol i save lukluk long ol aninit long wara.*

emb *n.* morning; *moning.* **Embegon:** Good morning; *Gutpela moning.* **Note:** **egon** is a reduced form of **engon**, 'good'.

emb *v.t.* (class 5), wave something away; *rausim.* **Arumbatak embtimbin!:** Wave away the flies! *Rausim ol rang!*

embátoto *n.* cloth; *laplap.* This word is derived from the Kopar word for 'white' (**embar**) and the Tayap word for 'skin' (**toto**) and reflects the fact that woven cloth was

introduced to Papua New Guinea by white colonizers. *Em despela haptok i miningim olsem 'waitskin'. Em ol Wongan i laik tok long wanpela samting i wait bai ol i tok 'embar', na long Tayap toto em olsem skin. Em ol waitskin man i bin kisim ol laplap i kam long Papua Niugini – bipo nogat despela samting – na ol i putim despela nem i go long samting.*

embebre *n.* almost at the break of dawn; *klostu tulait.*

emra *n.* play; *pilai.* **Yu ambinja emra nirkwankut?** What kind of play are you making? *Yu mekim wanem kain pilai i stap?*

emrarki *v.i.* (**-pet/-pek**), play; *pilai.*

Emuto *n.* Mabuk village; *ples Mabuk.*

enamb *n.* cuscus; *kapul.*

endekar *n.* hunger; *hangre.* **Ŋa endekari** (*lit.* 'I hunger+ERG'), I'm hungry; *Hangre i mekim mi;* **Yu endekari:** You're hungry; *Hangre i mekim yu;* **Ŋgi endekari:** They are hungry; *Hangre i mekim ol.*

endekarja imin *n.* empty stomach (*lit.* 'hungry stomach'); *bel i nogat kaikai long en.*

endo *n.* traditional male waistbelt made from rattan; *tumbuna let bilong pasim malo.* See also **kapwasak.**

endurama *n.* Bowerbird (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 50).

ene *n.* 1. today; *nau, despela de.*

2. now; *nau.*

3. nowadays; *nau.* **Ripim ŋa Sopak rarkwankut Potore, ene wákare rarkru:** Before, I used to see Sopak in Wongan, but now I don't anymore; *Bipo mi save lukim Sopak long Wonag, nau nogat.*

eno *n.* [Kopar], creek; *baret.*

engewengew *v.t.* (class 5), 1. fondle something; *holim holim.* **Ŋi nonor angukma min engewengewnukwatan:** He was fondling that woman's breasts; *Em i holim holim susu bilong mer ia.*

2. tickle; *holim sait bilong bel na mekim lap i kamap.* **Iminja taw engewengewŋagrke!** Don't tickle me! *I no ken holim holim sait bilong mi!*

engin 1. *adj.* white, as pertaining to white people; *waitpela i miningim olsem ol waitman*. **engin munje:** white man; *waitskin man*; **enginmandama morasi:** the habits and ways of white people; *pasin bilong ol waitskin man na meri*.

2. *n.* mythical founding ancestor; *kuskus*.

3. *n.* ginger root eaten to make men aggressive and successful in fights; *kawawar bilong pait na belhat*.

Engin mer *n.* Tok Pisin (*lit.* 'white language'); *Tok Pisin*.

enginmandama mbatambur *n.* papaya (*lit.* 'white man's breadfruit'), *pawpaw*.

engon (sometimes shorted to **egon**) 1. *adj.* good, *gutpela*. **Ikur engon:** Good evening; *Gutpela apinun*. **Emb egon:** Good morning; *Gutpela moning*.

2. *adj.* healthy, well; *gutpela*. **Ŋa engon wákare:** I am not in good health; *Mi no gutpela*.

3. *n.* right (opposite of left), *i no kais*, *gutpela*; **Akan engon:** right hand; *gutpela han, han sut*; **Ndow engon:** right leg; *gutpela lek*; **Akan engonŋa taw:** right hand side; *sait bilong gutpela han*. Compare **ngamgit**.

engune engune *n.* flattery, cajoling, persuasion; *gris*. **Epi angí engune engune ngirgatinet:** Tomorrow I'm going to try to persuade him (through flattery and cajoling); *Tumoro bai mi grisim em*.

enguramat *n.* a spicy, chili-like leaf that men chew after they have performed various rituals to strengthen and heat up their bodies; *wanpela kawawar bilong ol man i save kaikai long strongim na hotim bodi bilong ol*.

enki' *n.* (*pl.* **enkindodo**), [*possibly Adjora*] (*obsolete*), husband of maternal aunts and nieces (male speaking); *man bilong kandere meri*.

ep *n.* long necklace of shells; *bilas, bis bilong ol liklik kina*.

ep *v.t.* (class 5), 1. return an object; *bekim bek*.

2. give something in exchange for an object or service; *bekim*. **Ŋgigi mbor**

epiati wákare: They haven't given me anything in exchange for my pig; *Oli no bekim pik bilong mi*.

3. respond to a letter, a threat or an insinuation; *bekim wanpela pas o bekim toktok o maus bilong nara-pela*. **Yu ambinana ngon sik eptuk-watan?:** Why did you respond to her shouts by arguing back? (*lit.* 'why did you answer her mouth?'); *Yu bilong wanem bekim maus bilong em?* See also **sik ep**.

epi *n.* tomorrow; *tumaro*.

epingar *n.* 1. a returned object or favor; *bekim*.

2. a thing given in exchange for something that one has already received; *bekim*. **Epingar ŋan ŋayi rarkru wákare:** I haven't received the thing he should have given me in exchange for what I gave him; *Mi no lukim bekim bilong em*.

eporan *n.* 1. large clam found in mangrove; *bikpela kina ol meri save kisim long mangoro*.

2. (*euphemism*) vagina; *sem bilong meri*.

epwaw *n.* a kind of grass that has a pleasant smell and is used to decorate armbands or necklaces; *gras i gat gutpela smel bai yu putim long ol bilas*.

er *v.t.* (class 1), 1. tie something; *pasim*.

2. build a house; *kirapim haus*. **Yimŋi awin tuwngwar patir erkru wákare noŋor awinni tuwkutakana ango:** We didn't build a maternity house but the woman is going to give birth now; *Mipela i no kirapim haus karim na meri bai karim nau*.

3. braid something, e.g. hair, *pasim gras*.

Noŋor angu kokirgrid perkunŋa patirni wuk: The woman with the braided hair is in the house; *Meri i pasim gras long en i stap long haus*.

4. fasten something, e.g. a traditional bucket made of **kondew** (sago palm sheaths); *pasim kondew*.

5. close something, e.g. a door; *pasim dua*.

erinerin̄ki *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), rot; *sting*. **Kwem apronnan erinerintaknan, tumjan ango!** (vulgar): Bad rotten, maggot-eaten dick!
Rabis sting kok bilong yu i gat binatang!

erik-(p/w) *v.t.* (class 2), agree; *pasim tok*. **Yim ewar erikputukun epi naw aprukru okinak:** Yesterday we agreed that tomorrow we would go put fire to the grassland; *Asde mipela i pasim tok olsem tumoro mipela i go kukim kunai.*

erki *v.i.* (**periet/periek; sene perke; ngi perko**), encoil, *raunim na pas wantaim olsem snek*. See also **woi**.

eroro-(p/w)-ar *v.t.* (class 2), carry in sling or in bag on back; *karim long baksait*. **Pasoyi**

Kirin erorowarakkukuutok Potore: Paso carried Kirin on her back down to Wongan; *Paso i karim Kirin i godaun long Wongan*

erum *n.* leaves of several kinds of palm trees (*generic*); *morota (biknem)*. **Yamja erum epi utukrunaka, patir andukrunak:** Tomorrow we'll cut sago leaves and roof the house; *Tumaro bai yumi katim marota na pasim haus.*

erumo *n.* Fruit-Dove (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 17, all except #5).

et-(p)-o *v.t.* (class 1), imitate; *makim*. **Ni Kanako inde etongankut:** He is imitating Kanako; *Em makim Kanako i stap.*

ewar *n.* yesterday; *asde*.

I

i *v.t.* (class 1), **1.** give something; *givim*. **Nunuk iwatinet:** I'll give it to you later; *Bihain bai mi givim yu* (**Note:** when the meaning of the verb is 'give', the usual object morpheme is a BEN object morpheme; see Section 7.5 of the grammar).

2. realize something; *tingim*. **Na numbwan pikunda ni aini ende kut:** I realized that he is there; *Mi tingim nau em i stap long ia.*

3. emit a fart; *kapupuk*. **Kasekji pis pikun:** Kasek farted silently; *Kasek i kapupuk ia.*

4. (*euphemism*), hit someone; *paitim*. **Na nda iwatinetana:** I'm gonna give it to you (i.e. hit you); *Bai mi paitim yu nau.*

ia *n.* poor thing; *tarangu*. **ni mbota ia orakangar kakuna supwáspanet:** The poor thing came and he ate the food and he fell sick; *Em i kam na tarangu i kaikai na em i kamap sik.*

iam *v.t.* (class 5), possess a skill; *save*. **Ni numja munjenetara, mer iamnukun, yimen angwar morasi iamnukun:** He's become a villager, he knows our language and our ways; *Em i kamap pinis man bilong ples, em i save long tok ples na em i save long pasin bilong istap bilong mipela.*

iamir *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**) **1.** be sad about the loss of something; *wari*.

2. rumble (as in the sound of thunder rumbling); *pairap*. **Aruat patorneta iamirnet mbot:** Thunder is rumbling; *Klaut i pairap i go.*

iapir *n.* fat; *gris*.

iar *v.t.* (class 5), shut someone up; *pasim maus bilong narapela*. **Nguyi mbiongi iartukuna min pikwatan:** She shut the baby up by giving it a breast (to suckle); *Em pasim maus bilong liklik bebi, em givim susu long em.*

ikin *n.* **1.** banana (*generic*); *banana (biknem)*

2. egg yolk; *yelopela bilong kiau.*

ikinjan yandum *n.* a small, black earwig-like insect that lives in bananas (*lit.* 'banana centipede'); *liklik binatang i gat liklik kangajin i save stap insait long ol rop banana.*

iko *n.* [*Kopar*], the palm leaf funnel into which the **tawar** is put to be leached and onto which the **waris** is nailed; *pangal bilong wasim pipia*. See also **ndadum**.

ikower-(p)-or *v.t.* (class 1), panicked sound pigs make when fighting or when they are speared or cornered by dogs; *singaut bilong pik taim dok i raunim em; Njei marngoni*

- mbor ponɣina ikowerporkun.** The dog hit the pig and the pig cried out; *Dok i kaikaim pik long tit na pik i singaut.*
- ikruka** see **ekruka**
- ikur** *n.* night; *tudak, nait.* **Ikur engon:** Good night; *Gut nait.*
- imbiki** *v.i.* (**pimbiet/pimbiek**), fly; *plai.*
- imikato** *n.* lower intestine with feces in it, asshole; *hap bel i gat pekpek.* Frequently used in abusive language. e.g.: **Imin kato sawirŋa apro sakar!**, Fucking black asshole! *Pakin bilakpela as pekpek!*
- imin** *i v.t.* (class 1, this verb is i 'give'), impregnate someone or something (*lit.* 'give stomach'); *givim bel.* **Imin pikwatan:** He got her pregnant; *Em givim bel long em.*
- imin** *n. 1.* stomach, belly; *bel*
2. pregnancy; *bel.* **Noŋor imin wospikun:** The woman got rid of her pregnancy (i.e. she aborted her pregnancy); *Meri i rausim bel.* **Noŋor imin putukun:** The woman performed an abortion (*lit.* 'cut her pregnancy'); *meri i rausim bel.*
 3. seat of emotion; *as bilong tingting.* **Ŋi imin pokembŋa munje:** He is a calm, restrained man (*lit.* 'cold-bellied man'); *Em bel isi man.*
 4. apology; *tok sori.* **Imin isingatan!** Tell him you're sorry (*lit.* 'Give him stomach'); *Tok sori long em.*
 5. interior; *insait.* **Yimbarŋa imin:** The interior of the canoe; *Bel bilong kanu;* **Maranŋa imin:** The interior of the sea (i.e. under the surface); *Insait long solwara;* **Iminŋa nam:** hidden talk; *insait tok.*
- imin sukumŋa grip** *n.* umbilical cord; *rop long bel bilong ol nupela bebi, ol mama save katim em.*
- iminni** *pos.* inside, underneath; *insait, aninit.*
- imisukum** *n.* belly button; *beli batan.*
- inang** *n. 1.* oar; *pul.* **Inangŋa marit:** base of oar; *brait bilong pul;* **Inangŋa marngop:** handle of oar; *handel bilong pul;* **Inangŋa kokir:** top of oar; *hed bilong pul.*
2. shin; *bun bilong liklik lek.*

- indagawr** *n.* large white mosquito with a long proboscis, its bite hurts because its proboscis is splayed, not straight; *bikpela wait-pela natnat.* *Em i gat longpela nus olsem supsup na em kaikaim yu bai yu pilim pen.*
- Indam** *n.* Singrin village; *ples Singrin.*
- indiki** *v.i.* (**pindiet/pindiek**), fuck (*vulgar*); *kwap (tok nogut).* **Yu pindietke mbet?** You just finished fucking and you've come here ah? *Yu kwap pinis na yu kam ah?*
- indu** *n.* depth, dip. **Ŋi patir mapitak kukupuwok, akin induni:** He's built the house too high, it's up in the clouds; *Em wokim haus i go antap tumas, em i go antap na insait long ol klaut.*
- indu** *v.t.* (class 1), fuck someone (*vulgar*); *kwapim (tok nogut).* **Ŋiŋi ngu pindukun:** He fucked her; *Em (man) kwapim em (meri);* **Ŋguyi ŋi pindigin:** She fucked him; *Em (meri) kwapim em (man);* **Manke pindukro yiwirgwabke pindukoya priek?** Did they all fuck your cunt or maybe your asshole before you arrived? *Ol i kwapim kan bilong yu o hulpekpek bilong yu na yu kam, ah?* **Maya pindukronan:** Mother fuckers! *Ol i save kwapim mama bilong ol!*
- indurek-(p)-e** *v.t.* (class 1), mix together, *miksim.* **Indurekpekoya ngwok:** They all mixed together (i.e. socialized together) and left; *Ol i miks na igo.*
- indub** *n. 1.* seedling, shoot; *kru.*
2. sacred paraphernalia of the men's house; *ol samting bilong haus boi.* **Orak indub:** the things of the men's house; *ol samting bilong haus boi.*
- induw** *n.* the inner bark of a sago palm that is nearest to the outer bark, what is left when the **yamŋa mis** is pulverized; *insait bilong skin bilong saksak, skin nating.*
- ipipir** *n. 1.* fruit fly; *prut plai.*
2. (*obsolete*), small, nearly invisible gnats; *liklik bilakpela binatang i save kaikaim man.* This word to designate gnats has become replaced by the Kopar-language word **mámaki.**
- ipiki** *v.i.* (**pipiet/pipiek**), burn; *kuk, kamap bilakpela long paia.*

ir *v.t.* (class 1), **1.** laugh at someone or something, *lap igo long wanpela man o long wanpela samting*. **Nayi ngu pirkun:** I laughed at her; *Mi lap long em.*

2. roll fibers against leg to bind them into rope; *wokim rop*. **Ewar nguwi tarja pangni merom pirkun:** Yesterday she rolled tar fibers into thread against her leg; *Asde em wokim rop.*

irar *v.t.* (class 4; **ni iranukun/ngu iratukun**), teach something; *lainim*. **Yu poror anggi nanana iratiatan!** Teach me that song! *Yu lainim mi long singsing!*

irik-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), twist something, wring something; *tainim*. **Kokokma potak irikétingatan!** Wring the chicken's neck! *Tainim nek bilong kakaruk ia!* **Ndow irikra woka adimbot:** My foot twisted and I tripped; *Lek bilong mi tainim na mi pundaun*. **Papja batep irikirikétukuna rukuatet!** Twist the coconut and throw it down! *Tainim tainim kokonas na troimwe i godaun.*

iroki *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), be submerged in water; *i godaun ananeat long wara*. **Munje kowot inde awinni katiteta irmbota sinieta wasownet.** The old man fell into the water and drowned (*lit.* 'sank and died'); *Lapun man i pundaun long wara na em i daun na em indai*. **Orem ainde purara ukar irokar mbet:** The crocodile is coming, bobbing its head up and down; *Pukpuk i apim na daunim hed bilong em na i kam.*

irki *v.i.* (**pirot/ pirok**), laugh; *lap*.

iro **1.** *adj.* new; *nupela*.

2. *n.* laughter, *lap*.

iru *n.* **1.** seed; *pikinini bilong pawpaw, brus, gras, olgeta kain diwai*.

2. the point of anything, such as a spear, or a breast; *nus bilong olgeta samting i gat poin, olsem spia; Yirja iru:* point of a spear; *taget poin bilong spia; Minja iru:* nipple, *nus bilong susu*.

3. urethral opening; *nus bilong kok na nus bilong kan*.

4. clitoris; *hap nus bilong kan*.

iruiru *n.* **1.** fuzz; *mosong*. **Iruiruja:** fuzzy (*lit.* 'has fuzz'); *i gat mosong*. **Iruiruyi nitin, ja okinet tuwkunana:** The fuzz is making me (itchy), I'm going to go bathe; *Mosong i mekim mi, bai mi go waswas*.

2. male strength and power; *strong bilong man*. **Iruiru andakwakangwarke:** Don't allow them (i.e. women) to crush your male strength (for example by letting them get close to you when they are menstruating); *Ol (meri) i no ken krungutim strong bilong yu*.

is *v.t.* (class 1), **1.** rub something or someone, *rabim*. **Na sopni pisingin ror ainde;** I rubbed the boy with soap; *Mi wasim piki-nini long sop*.

2. remove something, e.g. clothing; *rausim koros*. **Trausis isitukun!** Take off your trousers! *Rausim trausis!*

3. shed something, e.g. skin; *sensim skin*. **Aram toto pisukun:** The snake shed its skin; *Snek i sensim skin*.

4. slide out from a container or pouch; *kamautim*. **Yir pisukun mambirja:** I removed the spear from runner of the roof; *Mi kamautim spia long morota*. See also **ke-(p)-e**.

isiaiki *v.i.* (conjugated like **aiki**), be full; *pulap*. **Na isimbet:** I (male) am full; *Mi pulap ia*. **Ngu isiwek:** She is full; *Em pulap ia*. **Mámbakir isiwek:** The netbag is full; *Bilum i pulap*. **Baket isiwek awinni:** The bucket is full of water; *Baket i pulap long wara*.

isirai *n.* a croton plant with a pleasant smell traditionally used as a decoration when people sing and dance; *gorngon bilong bilas long taim bilong singsing, i gat gutpela smel*.

isiraiki *v.i.* (conjugated like **aiki**), crouch; *lindaun*. **Na kakatki isirimbeta siniet:** I quickly crouched down; *Mi hariap sindaun i godaun long lek*.

isirioki *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), **1.** deflate; *slek*. **Imin isiriwok, enderkari nitin, imin sindertak:** My stomach is empty I am hungry, I have no food in my stomach; **Munjestik isiriwok:** The boil has gone down; *Buk i slek*.

2. fall off or come off because the object is too large; *slek i pundaun*. **Pande isiri-woka nangir sindertak**: The axe fell off its handle; *Trausis isirisiriwok*: My trousers keep falling down (because they are too big); *Trausis i wok long slek i punduan pundaun*.

isiki v.i. (**pisiet/pisiek**), **1**. rub on skin; *rabim o bilasim skin*. **Sopni pisiet**: He washed with soap; *Em i waswas wantaim sop*. **Makatni pisiek**: She decorated himself with red paint; *Em bilasim em yet wantaim redpela pen*; **Sumbwani pisiet**: I rubbed dirt on my body (to decorate it); *Mi bilasim skin bilong mi long graun*.

2. be soiled with fluid, sap, or anything runny; *bagarap long wara o pen o pekpek o wanem samting i gat wara long en*. **Biongi yiwirni pisiet**: The baby was messy with feces; *Pikinini i bagarap long pekpek*.

iskuoki v.i. (conjugated like **oki**), **1**. cut diagonally into a smaller piece; *katim long namel i go liklik*.

2. flatten grass; *krungutim gras*. **Ngwokara angude ngusikrim isuku-woka ngwok**: They have gone, they went flattening the grass; *Ol i go na gras i ia ol i krungutim na i go*.

isuk n. **1**. personal belongings of a deceased person; *ol deti samting bilong wanpela man o meri indai long en*. Traditionally these items, which usually consisted of the deceased's netbag and the possessions it contained, were burned after the funerary feast for the person had been held, signifying that the spirit of the deceased no longer hovered around the village, but was released into the rainforest forever.

Orak isuk(ɲan): intimate possessions of a deceased person or someone who is to be ensorcelled; *deti samting*

2. sorcery, *posin*. **Isuk werngar**: tie sorcery, i.e. tie and knot the leaves and other objects used to shoot sorcery into a victim's body (the verb is **er** but is pronounced [wɛr] here); *wokim posin*.

Isuk werngar munje: sorcerer; *posin man* (lit. 'man who ties/knots sorcery'). The other word for sorcery in Tayap (**poisir**) is clearly derived from the Tok Pisin word *posin*, or *poisin* (pronunciation varies). **Isuk** is less used today in Gapun because it has for all intents and purposes been replaced by **poisir**, but it is likely the original pre-contact Tayap word for sorcery. **Toto isuk(ɲan)**: a body (lit. 'skin') that has been ensorcelled, which means that if you are bitten by a venomous snake or spider, you will die; *skin nogut, olsem sapos snek i kaikaim yu bai yu indai*. See also **poisir**.

isumbo n. horizontal runner supporting roof thatch; *sparen*.

itaw n. **1**. vein; *rop*.

2. root of trees, plants; *ol rop bilong diwai*.

itrubarani adv. sometimes, occasionally; *liklik*. **Yuwon maya prukaku itrubarani?**

Wákare ɲayor: Does your mother do some work occasionally? Not a bit; *Mama bilong yu i save work liklik? Nogat tru*.

itruki adv. silently; *isi*. **Itruki itruki waikar ngusek**: They came down silently; *Ol i kamdaun isi isi*.

iu v.t. (class 1), **1**. put liquid into a container; *pulamapim*. **Na awin piukun**: I filled the container with water; *Mi pulamapim wara*.

2. use coconut shell to 'cut' (i.e. separate) sago jelly in the big pot in which it has coagulated and put it into smaller plates; *katim saksak long sel bilong kokonas long putim long ol plet*.

iurok n. a species of mosquito, yellow and bigger than **indagawr** mosquitoes; *wanpela kain mosquito, i yelopela na em i bikipela long indagawr*.

itum n. flea; *laus bilong dok*.

iwong n. a kind of tree whose sap is collected and stored for a month. It eventually produces oil that rises to the surface. This oil is used to oil the point of a spear to lubricate it so that it doesn't remain in a pig that has

been speared. The hope is that the spear will slide out of the pig's body and thus not be broken, and the pig will die from its wounds; *wanpela kain diwai ol man i save kisim wara bilong em na putim i stap. Wel*

K

kai[†] *emph. part. (obsolete)*, really – used only with the word **ayáta** 'enough!'; *olgeta, bai yu tok wantaim ayáta. Ayáta kai!* Stop it! *Inap olgeta!*

kaiknumb *n.* box; *bokis*. **Kaiknumbna nam:** talk that hides its true meaning (*lit.* 'box talk'); *tok bokis*.

kaikro *n.* [*Kopar*], landing place, where canoes are kept; *kastan*. The Tayap would be **yimbar worngar iaw:** place to go ashore; *ples bilong kanu igo asua*.

kaimwa *n.* Sulfur-crested Cockatoo; *koki (Birds of New Guinea plate 20, #12)*.

kaindki *v.i.* (**-pet/-pek**), miss, in the sense of fail to hit; *abris*.

kaind-(p)e *v.t.* (class 1), miss hitting or shooting something or someone; *abrisim*. **Ebiananji Saraki kaindpengin sarepni:** Ebiyana missed Saraki with the grass knife; i.e. when he swung the grass knife to cut him; *Ebiyana abrisim Saraki long grasnaip*.

kainj *n.* a tree pod that looks like a very large cashew. The pod is cooked on a fire, and then broken open and eaten like a bread-fruit seed. The meat is firm and white and tastes like yam. Standing in the smoke from the fire will result in blisters on skin; *wanpela bikpela pikinini bilong diwai, olsem bikpela mot. Yu laik kaikai bai yu kukim long paia, tasol nogut yu sanap long smok bilong paia long wanem smok i pas long skin bilong yu bai bukuk i kamap*.

kaisar *n.* back of a canoe; *stia bilong kanu*.

kaitkait *n.* rotten shit (used to describe behavior one thinks is offensive); *pasin nogut*.

bai kamap na ol man i save usim despela wel long welim spia bilong kilim pik.

iwongikin *n.* four-sided banana with yellow flesh, eaten boiled; *banana i gat yelopela mit, ol man i save boylim na kaikai*.

Kaitkait nirngarana, ayata!: You can't do that shit, enough!; *I no ken wokim despela rabis pasin, inap!*

kaitut *n.* Nightjars (*Birds of New Guinea plate 27*).

kaiw *n.* a type of ginger whose leaves are used in sorcery and curing rituals; *smel gorn-gorn*.

kakámatik *n.* millipede; *longpela yelopela binatang i gat planti ol lek na skin bilong em i gat marasin. Sapos yu krungtim em na skin bilong yu i gat sua, despela marasin bai go insait long sua na givim bikpela pen long yu*.

kakarwap *n.* Gurney's Eagle; *taragau (Birds of New Guinea plate 8, #2–3)*.

kakrar *v.t.* (class 5), clear throat; *klirin nek. Krakrartimbina namtak: "Yum aningro?"; She cleared her throat and asked, "Who are you?"; Em klirim nek na askim, "Yupela husat ia?"*

kamb *n.* croton plant; *plowa*.

kambagawr *n.* large round yam; *bikpela raunpela yam*.

kamban *n.* Australian Magpie (*Birds of New Guinea plate 55, #9–10*).

kambike *n.* area of chest around the collar bone; *hap bros bilong man klostu long bun kola*.

kambikena ning *n.* collar bone; *bun bilong kola*.

Kambim *n.* Bien village; *ples Bien*.

kambobai *n.* black biting ants that build their nest in the middle of a tree; *ol bilakpela anis i save wokim haus bilong ol long namel long diwai, ol i save kaikai man*.

kambok *n.* seeds of a tree that villagers chew as a betel nut substitute when betel nut is

scarce; *ol pikinini bilong diwai ol man i save kaikai taim ol i save lus long buai.*

kambrom *n.* small sticks inserted along the length of the **tandor** to secure it in place; *hap limbom bilong subim antap long pongan bilong haus.* See also **kapir**.

kambromtukur *n.* huge rainstorm; *bikpela ren tru.* **Kambromtukur suman aiakuk:** A massive rainstorm is coming; *Bikpela ren nogut tru i wok long kam.*

kambukar *n.* space between two vertical objects, e.g. the space between two legs or two poles; *spes namel long tupela samting i sanap, olsem namel long tupela lek o tupela pos.* **Kambukar sumanna munje:** a bow-legged man; *man i wakabaut na tupela lek bilong em i stap longwe longwe;* **Ewand seneja kambukarni anji wuk:** It's in the space between the two mosquito nets; *Samting i stap namel long tupela taunamb ia.*

kambwan *n.* vomit, *traut.* **Ewar ngu kambwan ombukun:** Yesterday she vomited (*lit.* 'vomited vomit'); *Asde em i traug; Nje kambwanja nanukja munje ide namgi tower inde awnet:* Tell that man with the dog's vomit face there to shut up! (*vulgar*); *Tokim man i gat pes bilong traug bilong dok long stap isi! (tok nogut).*

Kamor *n.* a traditional deity to whom boys were introduced by way of short bamboo flutes, and prodigious cutting and scraping of their skin. The initiation rituals associated with this deity were celebrated for the last time in the early 1960s; *tamabaran bilong sikarap sikarapim skin bilong ol pikinini man.*

kamus *n.* 1. small termites; *ol liklik waitpela anis i save wokim haus bilong ol insait long kona bilong haus bilong man.*

2. termite mound in which these termites live; men use them to lure bandicoots close to blinds they hide in to shoot them and women put them in baskets that trap fish; *haus bilong despela ol anis ol i save wokim long ol pos bilong*

haus. Ol man i save putim long banis mumut na ol meri i save putim igo insait long basket bilong kalabusim pis.

kandam *n.* ass, buttocks; *as.* **Kandam sinder:** naked; *as nating.*

kanakai aramngor *n.* red, pythonlike snake; *snek i gat redpela kala.*

kandap *n.* 1. clan; *klen, pamili.* **Orem kandanja munje:** man of the crocodile clan; *man bilong pamili pukpuk.*

2. base, foundation; *as.* **Papnja kandap:** the base of the coconut palm; *as bilong kokonas.*

kandapni *pos.* under, at the base of; *ananeat, long as.*

kandap ongab (*lit.* 'pots of the **kandap**') *n.* a vine that produces massive brown seeds whose covering is the size and shape of pith helmets. This vine is notorious because it is used to make poison by collecting juice that has been caused to rot by perforating it, and mixing it with the liver of a **poketak** fish and a millipede; *wail rop ol man i save wokim posin long en.; rop i kamapim ol bikpela braunpela pikinini i luk olsem ol hat bilong ol kiap bilong bipo. Ol man nogut i save wokim wul long en na bihain em i sting pinis bai kisim wara na miksim wantaim lewa bilong poketak na kakamatik. Em nau em bai usim despela long kilim man.*

kandap *n.* (*pl.* **kandipen**), 1. forest spirit, can be male or female, even though most villagers talk most commonly of them as females; *ol spirit bilong bus, i gat ol man na ol meri, tasol ol Gapun i save toktok planti long ol kandap meri.*

2. mite; *liklik liklik redpela binatang i save go insait long skin bilong han na leg na skin i save sikarap.*

3. large red ants that live in dry wood and can draw blood if they bite one; *bikpela redpela anis, ol i kaikaim yu bai blut i kamap, ol i save stap insait long diwai i drai.*

kandapat *n.* wild ginger pepper chewed with betel nut; *waildaka.*

kandapɲa ning *n.* a short bone that cassowaries have between the thigh bone and the hip; *sotpela bun bilong ol muruk i stap klostu long join bilong ngedik bilong em.*

kandaw *n.* illness; *sik.* **Kandawi nitin:** I am sick (*lit.* ‘illness is affecting me’); *Sik i mekim mi.*

kandibwan *n.* carving of a traditional figure; *kabing.*

kandip *n.* 1. mangrove slug; *wanpela samting olsem pisik tasol nogat pinga bilong en i save stap long mangoro na ol meri i save kisim long wokim kaikai.*

2. Forest Kingfisher (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 24, #12).

kandiwara *n.* [*Kopar*], jellyfish; *samting i save stap long mangoro i luk olsem ol liklik njalat.* In Tayap one would say **toto tiwarngar orak awinɲa:** A thing in the water that hurts your skin; *Samting bilong wara i save bagarapim skin bilong man.*

kandigit *n.* a kind of wild ginger with long leaves that is used to make men aggressive and ready to fight, and dogs ready to kill pigs; *kawawar bilong hatim bel bilong ol man na ol dok.*

kandum *n.* 1. a kind of tree with wide yellow leaves in which black ants live; *diwai i gat braitpela yelopela lip na ol bilakpela anis i save stap insait.*

2. the black ants that live inside the **kandum** tree; *ol bilakpela anis i save stap insait long kandum.*

kanimbit *n.* baldness, *kela.* **Kanimbitɲa munje:** bald man; *kela man.* See also **kokir.**

kanjan *n.* tree whose leaves are dried and used as sandpaper and as a way of cleaning blackened pots; *mosong diwai ol man i save drain lip bilong en na usim olsem sandpepa long klinim skin bilong ol kabing na ol pot.*

kanjigogo (also **kanjigo**) *n.* a kind of bamboo whose shoots are frequently gathered and eaten; *wanpela kain mambu ol meri i save kisim kru bilong em na wokim kaikai long ol.*

kanung-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), make a fork out of two sticks; *wokim pok.*

kanung *n.* tree kangaroo; *sikau.*

kanj *n.* [*Kopar*], clam from the Sepik river; *kina bilong Sepik.*

kanjan *n.* Tahitian chestnut; *galip.*

kangajin *n.* 1. pincers of crustaceans like crabs or shrimp; *sapela pinga bilong ol kuka na kindam.*

2. the up-rounded tusks of boars; *tupela bikpela tit bilong pik.*

kanjior *n.* Spangled Drongo (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 54, #1).

kangonase *n.* [*Kopar*], shark; *sak.* In Tayap, the name would be **rewinjan ngomar nimarna:** mangrove fish with teeth, but this phrase is never used; *long Tayap bai yu inap tok rewinjan ngomar nimarna, olsem pis i gat tit, tasol ol man i no save usim despela hap tok.*

kanjir *n.* 1. dish made out of Areca palm sheath; *dis bilong limbun.*

2. one of the three species of trees which men use to make the floors of a house; *wanpela long tripela kain diwai ol man i save katim paitim long en na wokim ol plo bilong haus.* See also **kondew, serek.**

kap *v.t.* (class 5), gather together in arms; *hipim long tupela han.* **Pap samb kapnukuna kukumbet:** I gathered up the coconuts and carried them to the village; *Asde mi kisim ol kokonas i kam.*

kapa *mood part.* a word that encodes surprise, both positive and negative; *hap tok bilong tok long samting olsem yu no tingim na em i kamap.* **Ŋa kapa markar mbot, yu marki wákare:** I’m the only damned one who rowed, you didn’t row; *Mi tasol i pul i go, yu no pul liklik.* See Section 7.6 of the grammar.

kapambinana *interj.* of course; *em tasol.*

kapar *adj.* mature, older; *bikpela.* **Kapar mir:** You’re really mature (ironic, the meaning is: you’re not mature, you’re not growing up); *yu no kamap hariap.* **Omokaparma ror inde:** He’s smart – he’s the child of

a man who had knowledge (opposite of **omосуama ror**); *Em i gat save – em pikinini bilong papa i gat save, em i no omосуama ror*. See also **sua**.

kapir *n.* small sticks used to support garden fence or inserted along the length of the **tandor** to secure it in place; *hap limbom bilong wokim banis bilong gaden o bilong subim antap long pongan bilong haus*. See also **kambrom**.

kapwakapi *n.* traditional axe used to carve wood; *ainsap ol tumbuna i save usim long makim ol kabing*.

kapwasak *n.* traditional girdle put around the **síw** (traditional loincloth). It was painted with **makat**, and also with blood from the wearer's penis; *let bilong síw ol tumbuna i save pasim*. *Ol tumbuna i save penim long makat na bilasim long blut bilong kok bilong ol*.

kar *n.* funerary feast to send a dead person's spirit on its way to the afterlife, usually conducted several months after a person's death; *pati*.

karam *n.* 1. debt; *dinau*. **Karam nambar wuk анги, yu epiati wákare**: There's a debt that you haven't paid me back; *Dinau i stap na yu no bekim bilong mi*.

2. bark of sago tree; *skin bilong saksak*. **Njini karam krankun**: He split the bark of the sago palm (to begin pulverizing it); *Em brukim skin bilong saksak*.

karamki *v.i.* (-net/-nak), present joking kin (**njakum**) with goods and decorations at the time of a funerary feast to decorate the corpse, as a kind of repayment for the life of the deceased; *hipim ol samting long ol njakum long taim bilong pati*.

karar *n.* 1. parrot, *karangal* (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 20).

2. *adj.*, *n.* red, *redpela*.

karar ror *n.* newborn baby (*lit.* 'red child'); *nupela bebi*. **Ewarnja karar ror ene анги nda ongabni timbrak wiararkrunak**: I'm going to stuff this newborn baby in a cooking pot! (said by a mother in

frustration when her 3-year-old daughter – whom she sarcastically refers to here as a newborn – wouldn't stop crying); *Bai mi holim pasim despela nupela bebi mi karim long asde na pulampaim em long pot!*

karat *n.* rattan; *kanda*.

karatukumb *n.* bowstring; *kanda bilong taitim banara*.

karep *n.* 1. moon; *mun*; **Noŋor karep tatukun**:

The woman is seeing the moon (i.e. the woman is menstruating); *Meri i lukim mun*.

2. a small tree that grows in grasslands with white flowers; *liklik diwai i save kamap long kunai i gat ol waitpela plowa*.

karewa *n.* a kind of small, non-poisonous snake; *wanpela kain liklik snek*.

karuwa *n.* a large silver fish caught in the mangrove swamp; *pis bilong mangoro i waitpela, gutpela kaikai bilong em*.

kas *n.* sago palm leafstalk; *pangal bilong saksak*. See also **marŋorŋa kas**.

katam *n.* dog-teeth decoration tied to forehead; *paspas bilong putim long poret, ol tumbuna i save wokim long tit bilong dok*.

katáwa *n.* scorpion; *skopion*.

katip *n.* Lowland Peltops (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 39, #2–3).

katip *v.t.* (class 5), 1. cut something into small pieces; *katim liklik liklik*.

2. be angry (*lit.* 'be with a cut-up stomach'); *i stap kros*. **Ni ewar imin katipra wok**: Yesterday he got angry; *Asde bel bilong em hat*.

katkat *usually pronounced* [kakat]; *adv.* quickly; *hariap*. **Katkat!** Hurry up! *Hariap!*

kato *n.* many colors; *kala kala*. **Ner katoŋa**: The grass skirt is colorful; *Pulpul i kalakala*.

katom *n.* a kind of rattan with small spines; *kanda i nogat strongpela nil*.

katurip *n.* Triller (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 33, #10–12).

kawat *n.* 1. salt; *sol*.

2. a kind of palm without spines that used to be burned in large heaps to produce ashes that were filtered for salt; *diwai ol tumbuna i save kukim sol long en*.

kawrik *adj.* tough, resistant, powerful, unashamed; *strongpela*; **Kokitok kawrik**: strong headed; *strongpela het*; **Nam kawrik**: direct, unashamed talk; *strongpela tok*.

kawrki *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), howl; *singaut olsem dok*.

kawsomb *n.* [*Watam*], sailing canoe; *selkanu*.

kawt *n.* a painted cone-like hat made of rattan, habitually worn by adult men prior to WWII; *kanda kep bilong ol tumbuna*. See also **kokirat**.

ke-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), pull out or dig out something, e.g. **nono** (yams), **manduwar** (taro), **tat** (splinters embedded in skin); *kamautim long graun o long skin*. **Mborake kawadwi nitingina kut, Antamawri mbeta totonjan orak isuk kepengatan**. Mborake was sick and Antamawri came and removed ensorcelled objects from his skin; *Mborake sik i stap, Antamawri i kam na kamautim ol posin long skin bilong em*.

ke-(p/w)-eki *v.i.* (**kepet/kepek**), fall out; *kamaut na pundaun*. **Mbor ainde amkwar mbot yirreki yir kepek**: The pig shook the spear [that had pierced it] and it fell out; *Pik i pait wantaim spia na em i kamaut na pundaun*.

keke *n.* (*dl. kekengre; pl. kekengro*), grandmother; *apa meri*.

kekékato *n.* 1. worm; *liklik snek bilong graun*.
2. Maggi-brand noodles, or other kinds of dried manufactured noodles; *nudel*.

kemb *n.* 1. carved front of a canoe; *poret bilong kanu*.

2. the two carved handles of a traditional plate (**paru**); *tupela handel bilong tumbuna plet*.

kembatik *n.* 1. bow; *banara*.

2. gun (secret code); *gan (hait tok)*.

kemem *adj.* long; *longpela*.

kememni *adv.* lengthwise; *longpela*. **Ewand kememni ritukun**: Tie the mosquito net lengthwise; *Bihainim haus na taitaim taunamb*.

kengej *n.* tantrum; *krai na bikhed bilong ol pikinini taim ol i save les na ol i no harim tok*.

kengeŋki *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), throw a tantrum; *krai na bikhed bilong ol pikinini taim ol i save les na ol i no harim tok*.

kerkwar *n.* horizontal roof support that rests on the tall **kóndrik**; *pongan*.

kewa oki *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), loosen; *kamaut*. **Yir kewa wok**: The blade of the spear is loose; *Ain i lus long mambu*.

keymare *n.* freshwater lobster; *draipela kinda i save stap insait long ol baret, i gat bigpela pinga bilong en*.

kik *n.* toy top made out of small coconut shell, traditionally spun with a string and played with by children; *sel bilong liklik kokonas, ol pikinini i save raunim long rop na troimwe, em bai raunraun*.

kikai *n.* Ground Robin (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 31, #3–4).

kikak *adj.* raw, uncooked; *i no tan*.

kikik *n.* small cicada whose cry signals the fall of evening; *liklik binatang i save singaut taim san i godaun*.

kimb *n.* Kingfisher (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 24, #6–9, #12–15).

kikiw *adj.* yellow; *yelopela*.

kikri *n.* large wasp that burrows in house posts; *bikpela bi i save drilim hul long ol hauspos*.

kikri-(p/w)-e *v.t.* (class 2), 1. tickle the throat, like a bone stuck in the throat; *sikarapim long insait bilong nek*. **Ŋa mum akurar mbota, pinpin potakni krikripeatande, mum werku wek**: I was eating sago jelly and a piece of something got stuck in my throat and I expectorated it; *Mi kaikai saksak i go na wanpela pipia i pas long nek bilong mi na mi rausim*.

2. gently rub a sore or a cut; *giaman sikarapim wanpela sua*.

kikriki *v.i.* (-**pet/-pek**), 1. move around in a way that produces itching, like when a louse walks around in one's hair; *laus i wakabout long hed*. **Pakind sami kikiripeko kokirmi**: Lots of lice are walking around on my head; *Planti laus i wakabout long hed*.

2. dawdle; *wakabaut isi isi*. **Kikriwekar ongarke katkat katkat mbara otet:** Stop dawdling, hurry up a little! *Yu no ken wakabaut isi isi, i go hariap liklik.*
- kim** *n.* comb; *kom.*
- kimirik** *n.* sago grub; *binatang bilong saksak.*
Kutam kimirik kwarkwanuk: Kutam is finding sago grubs (*lit.* ‘Kutam is chopping sago grubs to extract them from the sago palm’); *Kutam brukim binatang bilong saksak i stap.*
- kimitak** *n.* floor of a house; *limbom.* Cut from one of three trees called **kondew**, **kanjir** and **serek**; *ol man i save katim long despela tripela kain diwai: kondew, kanjir na serek.*
- kindit** *n.* wall of house; *banis bilong haus.*
- kind-(p)-o** *v.t.* (class 1), **1.** close something; *pasim*; **Nek kindpokun:** I closed the door; *Mi pasim dua.*
- 2.** block something; *pasim.* **Ewar ngino kindpoiatan:** Yesterday he blocked my vision; *Asde em pasim ai bilong mi.*
- kinda** *n.* tongs; *sisis.*
- kindip** *n.* base of trees in mangrove swamp; *as bilong mangoro.*
- kindit** *n.* woven screen used as a wall, woven of bamboo and sago palm leafstalk; *blain ol i wokim long mambu na pangal.* See also **tandarj.**
- kinj** *n.* a tree with pleasant smelling bark; *diwai i gat gutpela smel.*
- kinj** *n.* ring; *ring.*
- kip** *n.* a kind of tree whose bark was traditionally used by women as a contraceptive. Consuming too much of this bark is believed to sterilize women, and this is the reason given in Gapun for female infertility; *kain diwai ol meri i save kaikai long pasim bel.*
- kir** *n.* heart; *lewa.*
- kirat** *n.* tobacco (*secret code*); *brus (hait tok).* This is a secret word used in front of villagers from nearby villages who know **sokoi**, the usual word for tobacco. *Em wanpela hait tok ol Gapun i save usim long haitim tok long husat ol man na meri bilong narapela hap ol i save long sokoi tasol ol i no save gut long tok ples Gapun.*
- kirawki** *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), be in a state of ritual seclusion, for example after one’s spouse dies or when one has given birth, *tambu.*
- Ngu kirawtaka wuk:** She’s in ritual seclusion; *Meri tambu i stap.* See also **konimki-kiraw** *v.t.* (class 5), **1.** know something; *save.*
- Nayi kirawkru wákare:** I don’t know; *Mi no save*; **Nayi kirawmbri wákare:** I don’t know about them (i.e. I don’t know where they are or where they went); *Mi no save long ol*; **Nayi kirawngar munjema nomb yuwon mbor pokunjan:** I know the name of the man who killed your pig; *Mi save long nem bilong man i kilim pik bilong yu.* This first meaning of the word requires the use of ergative (see Section 4.3.1 of the grammar), other meanings do not; *Yu laik tok long save bai yu mas tok long nayi o njini olsem, i no ken tok long na o ni tasol.*
- 2.** consider something; *skelim.* **Yu nam ango kirawtukun ngo:** Consider this talk; *Yu skelim despela tok pastaim.*
- 3.** recognize something; *luksave.*
- 4.** feel, taste, or perceive something; *pilim, testim.* **Ni tomiktomik kirawnu-kun nan atarumeke ekrukukjan:** He felt the spider that was crawling across his forehead; *Em i pilim olsem spaida i wakabaut long hed bilong em.*
- kiskiski** *v.i.* (-**tet/-tak**), fly in a downward arc or spiral; *plai i go na pundaun.* **Nayi tam tamangani pokuna kiskistaka woka aini kemrak otitekara anggi:** I shot the bird with a slingshot and it must have soared and fallen somewhere over there; *Mi sutim pisin long katapel na em i mas land i go pundaun long sampela hap.*
- kitkit** *n.* mud; *graun.* **Sumbwa kitkit:** The ground is muddy; *Graun i warawara.*
- kit** *n.* pile, heap; *bung.* See also **sumbun.**
- kitinj** *adj.* short; *sotpela.*
- kitip** *n.* tree stump; *ol i katim diwai pinis na as tasol i sanap yet.* **Papna kitip:** stump of coconut tree; *as bilong kokonas.*

koi *n.* a kind of tree with large flat seeds that can be spun like tops; *diwai i gat ol bikipela pikinini ol mangi i save spinim ol long pilai bilong ol.*

koimbup *n.* a fuzzy tree with many seeds like coffee beans that birds frequent to eat. The tree is a popular place to build a bird blind, in order to shoot birds with arrows; *diwai i gat mosong na i save karim planti pikinini olsem ol sit bilong kopi. Ol pisin i save kam na kaikai, na olsem ol man i save wokim banis klostu long despela diwai.*

kokiparaj *n.* 1. egg-cup shaped mortar used by old people without teeth to crush betel nut so that they can put it in their mouths and suck it; *liklik pilo bilong paitim paitim buai. Ol tumbuna man na meri bilong bipo i nogat tit long ol, ol i save paitim buai olsem;* 2. headrest, traditionally made of wood, often **sanamb**; *pilo.* 3. seat made of sticks on which men used to sit to pulverize sago pith; *liklik sia o pilo ol tumbuna bilong bipo i save wokim long sindaun paitim saksak.*

kokir *i v.t.* (class 1, the verb is **i**, 'give'): make someone do something they don't want to do, (*lit.* 'give head'); *pusim. Tambon Nanjam kokir ikwatanuk wukinana Monei kotarengri minjikenana:* Tambon is trying to coax Nanjam come down and ask Monei for betel nut; *Tambong i pusim Nangam long kam daun askim Monei long buai.*

kokir *n.* 1. head; *hed*; **Kokir tuwtiek:** bald head (*lit.* 'head bathes'); *kela.* See also **kanimbit.**

2. willfulness, stubbornness; *hed*; **Yu kokir sumanja ror anjo!** You're a stubborn, willful girl! *Yu wanpela bikhed mangi stret!*

3. upper part of a location; *hed. Numja kokir:* the upper part of the village; *hed bilong ples.* See also **kokitok.**

kokirat *n.* a cone-like hat used by adult men prior to WWII; *kep bilong ol papa tumbuna.* See also **kawt.**

kokirja ror *n.* first born child (*lit.* 'head child'); *pesborn.* See also **mambirja ror.**

kokirjan tawk *n.* skull (*lit.* 'head shell'); *sel bilong hed.*

kokirngrit *n.* head hair; *gras bilong hed.*

kokitok *n.* head; *hed.* Synonymous with **kokir**, but refers solely to the body part without any of the implications of willfulness and stubbornness invoked by that word.

kokok *n.* chicken; *kakaruk.*

kokokaraw *n.* long tailfeathers of rooster; *bilpela asgras bilong kakaruk man.*

kokosawir *n.* bad ways; *pasin nogut.*

kokosik *n.* medium-sized rat; *rat i bikipela tasol i no bikipela tumas.*

kokosuwar *n.* Common Scrubfowl; *wailpaul (Birds of New Guinea plate 1, #9a).*

kokot *v.t.* (class 5), finish work; *pinisim wok.*

Pruk taman kokotnukundara: He finished all the work; *Em pinisim wok pinis.*

Pruk kokotkru wákare, ŋa at orepekun: I didn't finish the work, some is left; *Mi no pinisim wok, mi lusim hap i stap.*

Kokraja kup (or **Kokramat kup**) *n.* testicles, alluding to a myth about a man named Kokra; *bol bilong man.*

kokri *n.* sago jelly made with sago flour that has been mixed with with cane grass (*pitpit*) and shredded coconut; *saksak ol meri i tainim wantaim pitpit na kokonas.*

kokrow *n.* a kind of grass that resembles corn, the seeds of which are used in traditional decorations; *wanpela kain gras i luk olsem kon ol tumbuna i save kisim pikinini bilong em na wokim bilas long en.*

komand *v.t.* (class 5), disperse fire by removing burning firewood and embers one piece at a time, e.g. when people keep coming and taking firewood to go home and ignite their own fires; *kisim nambaut na pinisim paia. Ewar nanjan otar komandtiatroya kukungwuk turo sindetia:* Yesterday they all came and took bits of my burning fire and left me with an empty hearth; *Asde ol i kam na pinisim paia bilong mi na turo bilong mi i stap nating.*

komb *adj.* deep; *i godaun*.

kombam *n.* group of four shelled coconuts tied together and put in men's house and distributed during meetings or food distributions; *ol hip long popela popela kokonas ol man i save putim long haus boi long givim long ol man bilong ol narapela hap. Ol inap dringim wara bilong despela ol kokonas long selekim nekdrai bilong ol long taim bilong bung o long taim bilong pati.*

kombin *n.* death adder, one of the two most venomous and feared snakes in the rain-forest; *posin snek i save kilim man*. See also **mbumjor**.

kombobo *n.* clutter; *pipia nambaut*. **Patir komobobo sumanjan**: The house is really cluttered and messy; *Haus i bagarap i gat ol pipia nambaut*.

komboj *adj.* dirty (used for water); *deti (taim yu laik toktok long wara)*. **Komboj awin**: dirty water; *wara i no klinpela*.

komi *n.* a large edible larva found in rotten sago or **ndekik** palms; *bikpela binatang i save stap insait long drai saksak na long ndekik, ol man i save kaikaim em*.

kondew *n.* 1. areca palm; *diwai limbom*.

- areca palm frond material used to make traditional buckets, mats, brooms and covers for various objects to protect them from the rain; *limbum i pundaun long graun. Ol meri i save samapim long kisim wara na mekim ol narapela kain ol wok*. **Najan kondew putiatan?** Have you cut up my plate? (i.e. is this why you haven't brought me any food – said by a man to his wife or female relatives); *Yu katim plet bilong mi ah? Em olsem miningim bilong wanem yu kaikai pulap na mi stap hangre?*
- traditional bucket into which water is poured and in which the sago flour settles; *limbom*.

kondew yar *n.* thick red sugar cane; *bikpela redpela suga*.

kondikki *v.i.* (-net/-nak), become flaccid or soft; *kamap malomalo*.

kondikra oki *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**; the **di** syllable can be reduplicated for emphasis), soft; *nogat strong, malomalo*. **Kirinmat mbiongi kondidikra wakuk, kawrik wákare**: Kiring's baby is soft, it isn't hard (i.e. it is helpless and easily injured); *Pikinini bilong Kiring i malomalo i stap, nogat strong*. **Kwem yuwon kondidikra ongar!**: Your penis is flaccid! (*vulgar*); *Kok bilong yu nogat strong! (tok nogut)*.

kondin *n.* 1. scrotum; *rop bilong bol i han-gamap*. **Ngaweiw kondin sumanja!** Big testicles! (*vulgar*); *Draipela bol bilong yu! (tok nogut)*.

2. vine on which coconuts grow; *rop bilong bilong kokonas*: **Papja kondin**.

3. curved adze used to hollow out logs for canoes; *liklik eds ol man i save usim long sapim kanu*.

kondit *n.* ear lobe; *hap skin bilong yau*. See also **ndrig**.

kondrik *n.* 1. tallest post or posts holding up roof; *kingpost*.

- euphemism for penis; *wanpela we bilong toktok long sem bilong man*. **Erum otiteka kondrik nayar pungokawuk**: The thatch has fallen off but the king post is still standing (euphemism for 'He may be old and bald but his prick can still stand up'); *Marota i pundaun na kingpos i sanap i stap (olsem mining bilong em i olsem maski man i kela kok bilong em tait i stap yet)*.

konemba *n.* sago palm with short fronds *pangal (ndadum)* and short leaves. It has no needles and has characteristic white fronds. *Saksak i gat sotpela pangal na sotpela lip. Nogat nil na pangal bilong em i waitpela*.

konenjarki *v.i.* (-net/-nak), float; *trip*. **Nimjat konenjarkar wek**: The branch is floating towards us (*lit.* 'floating and coming'); *Hap diwai i trip i kam*. See also **purara oki**.

konimki *v.i.* (-net/-nak), be in a state of ritual seclusion, for example after one's spouse

- dies or when one has given birth, *tambu*.
Ngu konimtaka wuk: She's in ritual seclusion; *Meri tambu i stap*. See also **kirawki**.
- kongod** *n.* hand-held hourglass drum; *kundu*.
kongon *n.* belongings; *kago, ol samting bilong wanpela man o meri*. **Kaiknumja kongon:** All one's boxes; *Ol bokis nambaut bilong man*.
- kongrik** *n.* bridge; *bris*. See also **nimirkokir**.
- kopik 1.** *adj.* streaky; *i gat makmak*. **Kopikja mum:** sago jelly with streaks of raw sago in it; *hotwara i gat ol haphap muna; Nguwur kopik kopik wokuk:* The rising smoke is black and white; *Waitpela na bilakpela smok i go antap*.
- 2.** *n.* the liquid produced when **muna** (sago flour) is mixed with a little water to dissolve it, before a pot of boiling water is added to make the sago turn into **mum** (sago jelly); *wara i save kamap taim ol meri i save kapsaitim liklik wara long muna long redim em long wokim mum*.
- kopiwok** *n.* Palm Cockatoo; *koki (Birds of New Guinea plate 20, # 14)*.
- ko-(p)-o** *v.t.* (class 1), extinguish something; *kilim olsem kilim paia*. **Na otar kopokun:** I put out the fire; *Mi kilim paia; Ngan pwap kokru wakare:* His anger is not extinguished; *Kros bilong em i no indai*.
- Koporot** *n.* Kopar village; *ples Kopar*.
- korar** *v.t.* (class 4), gather together things; *bungim*. **Orasamb korankurem!** Everyone gather your things! *Yupela bungim ol samting!*
- korarengar** *n.* meeting; *bung*.
- korarengar rumb** *n.* slit-gong drum summons; *belo*.
- korot** *n.* foreign, not of Gapun village; *bilong narapela ples*. **Koretmandama morasi:** a foreign custom (*lit.* 'other people's custom'); *we bilong ol narapela; Yim koretja merni warakakuk:* We're speaking a foreign language; *Mipela i toktok long tok ples bilong narapela hap*.
- korot** *n.* net; *umben*.
- kosep** *n.* crab; *kuka*.
- kosimb** *n.* ash; *sit bilong paia*.
- kosowak** *n.* Oriole (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 33, #1–5; also plate 47, #15–20).
- kotar-(p)-e** *v.t.* (class 1), ask something; *askim*
- kotar-(p)-e-ki** *v.i.* (**-pet/-pek**), ask; *askim*.
- kotarngar** *n.* question; *askim*. **Na kotarngar non yu kotarerunet:** I have a question to ask you; *Mi gat wanpela askim long askim yu*.
- kotiw** *n.* vertical runner supporting roof; *sapnil*.
- kotring** *n.* a kind of tree with fuzzy branches, its new leaves are boiled and eaten; *diwai i gat mosong olsem ngawro, ol man i no save kaikai kiao bilong em tasol ol nupela lip ol man i save boilim na kaikai*.
- kowe** *n.* **1.** the spongy white interior of a coconut that has begun to sprout. This is sweet and eaten; *kru bilong kokonas*.
2. the spongy core of a tree; *insait bilong diwai i no strong*.
- kowir** *n.* a tree pod that is cooked on a fire, and then broken open and eaten like a breadfruit. Tastes like corn; *wanpela kain pikinini bilong diwai ol man i save kukim long paia, brukim na kaikai olsem kapiak*.
- kowmb** *adj.* deep; *daun*. **Ngu numbwan pikun awin kowmb mera:** She thought that the water would be deep; *Em i ting olsem wara i mas daun*.
- kowot** *adj.* (*dl.* **kotiw**; *pl.* **koto**), mature, old. Used for people and animals. Can be used either to denote absolute age or in talking about someone who is older than the speaker or referent, for example in **ama kowot**, which literally means 'old mother', but which actually means 'mother's older sister'; i.e. older aunt – this contrasts with **ama mosop**, 'little mother', or 'younger aunt' (i.e. younger than the referent's own mother); *lapun ol manmeri na ol animol, na tu, bikipela susa bilong mama bilong yu bai yu kolim long ama kowot. O sas kowot bai yu kolim bikipela brata bilong papa bai yu. Nonor kowot ango ror non tatukunke?* Has that old woman ever had any children? *Despela lapun meri ia i bin karim sampela pikinini o?* See also **rowe**.

krakri *v.t.* (class 5), break, tear or fold something into small bits; *brukim brukim*.

krar *v.t.* (class 4), 1. chop something; *brukim*.

Tarung kratukun!: Chop the firewood! *Brukim paiwut!*

2. tear something; *brukim*. **Pendimorja pin kratukun njanana**: Tear off a piece of newspaper for me (to smoke); *Brukim hap pepa long mi*.

3. break something open; *brukim*. **Nam kratukun!** Talk openly; i.e. say what you mean!; *Brukim tok!*

4. look after something or someone; *lukautim*. **Nayi yu krarwankuta, sumantet**: Thanks to my care, you've grown (*lit.* 'I have looked after you and you have become big'); *Mi lukautim yu na yu bikpela*.

krar *v.t.* (class 4), care for domestic animals, making sure they have food; *lukautim ol pik o wanem kain ol animol bilong yu*.

krarara oki *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), break; *bruk*. **Tawk krarara wok**: The plate broke; *Plet i bruk*.

krimb *n.* 1. small hard pellets; *ol liklik liklik kiau*. **Airja krimb**: small pellets in lime powder that pregnant women like to eat; men discourage this by saying that the women's babies will be born with sores; *kiaw bilong kambang, ol meri i gat bel save kaikai, ol man save krosim ol long wanem bebi bilong ol bai igat planti sua*.

2. hard round objects; *hatpela raunpela ol liklik samting*. **Papja krimb**: small hard coconuts without any water; *ol liklik liklik kokonas nogat wara long em*. **Monja krimb**: pebbles, money; *ol liklik ston; moni*.

krirkemb *n.* Tiger Parrot (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 21, #13-14).

kroi *v.t.* (class 5), completely consume something so that nothing is left; *pinisim olgeta*. **Mbor eirumgi yam kroitukurora**: The pigs ate all the sago; *Ol pik i pinisim olgeta saksak*.

krururki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), buzz of mosquitoes; *pairap bilong natnat*. **Nekeni**

kururutak: There's a mosquito buzzing in my ear; *natnat i pairap long iao bilong mi*; **At krururakuk anggi**: The mosquito is buzzing; *Natnat i wokim pairap bilong em*.

kukutawan *n.* hollowed out coconut shell attached to a stick, used to draw water from a well; *sel kokonas bilong rausim wara long hulwara*.

kum *n.* grave; *hul bilong planim bodi bilong man*.

kumb *n.* 1. lethargy caused by sorcery or sadness; *bikpela les i kamap long wanem posin i mekim yu, o long indai bilong narapela*. **Kumbi nitingina tata**: Lethargy affected him and he slept; *Bikpela les i mekim em na em i slip*.

2. sadness and atmosphere of gravity caused by a serious illness or death; *hevi bilong indai*. **Maiwama kumb anggi woskru wakare**: The burden and sadness of Maiwa's death has not been resolved; *Hevi bilong indai bilong Maiwa ol i no rausim yet*. Compare **naimb**, which is a less serious kind of burden or sadness.

kumund *n.* 1. a type of bamboo; *wanpela kain mambu*.

2. torch, flashlight; *tos*.

kumundat *n.* traditional pipe made out of bamboo; *paip bilong ol tumbuna*. **Kumundat angikni sokoi waritukun!**: Fill the pipe with tobacco! *Pulamapim paip long brus!*

kunda *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), disappear from view; *karamap, hait*. **Embatotoni ja kundanet**: I disappeared from view under a piece of cloth sheet; *Mi karamap long laplap*.

kundabebek *n.* Black Kite (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 8, #6-7).

kundar *v.t.* (class 4), cover something or someone up; *karamapim*. **Kundatinjin embatotoni!**: Cover him with a piece of cloth!; *Karamapim em long laplap!*

kunemb *n.* a kind of little bee; *wanpela kain liklik bi*.

kungun *n.* wave, in the sense of rough water; *si*. **Kunguni nim kepekun sumbwa kapurja**:

The waves dislodged a tree from the beach; *Si i kamautim diwai long nambis*; **Maranja kungun**: waves on the sea; *si long si*.

kup *n.* 1. cluster of something; *han*.

2. a cluster of betelnut with some tobacco leaves, paper and leaves of a croton plant tied to it, given to people as part of a conflict settlement, during which the two shake hands, or given to ask someone to do something for you; *buai, brus, pepa na plowa ol man i save givim long taim bilong sekhan, o long taim yu laik askim narapela man long wokim sampela wok long yu*.

kurbi *n.* small green lizard that can stand on hind legs and run after people. This lizard is carved on slit gong drums and makes a characteristic chirping cry at night; *liklik grinpela palai i save sanap na ronim man. Ol man i save wokim kabing bilong em long ol garamut, na em i gat singaut bilong em bai yu harim long bus long nait*.

kurin *n.* King Bird of Paradise; *kumul (Birds of New Guinea plate 53, 10)*.

kurom *n.* 1. back leg of a pig, *lek bilong pik* (see also **mburkow**).

2. thighbone of cassowary, traditionally sharpened to make a knife used to kill people; *lek bilong muruk ol tumbuna i save wokim naip long en*.
3. the knife made from a **kurom**; *naip ol i save wokim long kurom*.
4. thighbone; *bikpela bun bilong lek. Kurom kememja*: a tall man; *longpela man*.

kuruk *n.* Kingfisher and Kookaburra (*Birds of New Guinea plate 24, #13–21*).

kutukutu *n.* the fork on which the **iko** stands; *pok bilong putim iko antap long en*.

k^v non-final *v.* (^v is a vowel that changes to harmonize with the vowel of the object). 1. bring, *kisim i kam. Kukuwe!* Bring it! *Kisim i kam!* **Kingiwe!** Bring him! *Kisim em (man) i kam!* **Kimbiwe!** Bring them! *Kisim ol i kam!* 2. take, *kisim i go. Nanjan sapwar kukung-wokara*. They left with my basket; *Ol i kisim basket bilong mi igo pinis*.

k^v-X-(p/m)-emki *v.i.* (serial verb construction in which X is an object suffix and ^v is a vowel that changes to harmonize with the vowel of the object suffix): build; *kirapim. Mbanu patir iro kukupemiekara*: Mbanu built a new house; *Mbanu wokim pinis nupela haus*.

kwai *n.* murder and the taking of heads during the pre-colonial era; *birua. Kwaija orom*: the time of never-ending battle and murder (i.e. pre-colonial times, when clans were engaged in perpetual feuds, when people were killed in ambushes and raids, and their heads ‘fed’ to the spirits of the men’s house); *taim bilong birua. Kwai kokir*: heads taken in ambush or battle in pre-colonial times and ‘fed’ to the **mirip** in the men’s house; *hed bilong birua ol mirip i save kaikai insait long haus boi. Kwai ombri ngok*: They have gone to kill people and take heads in battle; *Ol i go kilim birua*.

kwaw *n.* termite mound rising from the ground, made by **agu** (big termites). They are collected and put in fish traps and used to lure fish into them; *haus bilong ol waitpela anis i save stap long graun; ol meri na pikinini i save putim i go insait long ol banis bilong pis bai pis i go insait na kaikai*.

kwem *n.* 1. penis; *kok. Kwem kememjan!* Long prick! *Longpela kok!* **Kwem sawirjan!** Black prick! *Bilakpela kok!* **Kwemja nawja!** Useless prick! *Mit nating! (all vulgar; olgeta i tok nogut)*.

2. penis-like central root of some kinds of trees (such as papaya trees, **aikesim, tip, mayor, noni**) that grows straight down into the ground; *draipela rop bilong diwai i save grodaun long graun: Nimja kwem*.

kwem taro *n.* genital area of male pig, one of the few parts of a pig, along with the eyes and the gall bladder, that is not eaten; *kok bilong ol pik ol man i kilim long en, ol man i save rausim na troimwe*.

kwemja iru *n.* urethra; *nus bilong kok*.

kwemja toto *n.* skin of penis, including foreskin; *skin bilong kok*.

M

mambir *n.* large horizontal roof supporting beams that rest across the **towond**; *pilo*.

mai *interj.* Enough!, Stop it!; *Inap!*, *Maski!*

maies *n.* ceremonial, enchanted spear decorated with cassowary feathers traditionally used in men's house to ask spirits about sickness or deaths or inability to hunt. **Amakato**, a plant that grows in the swamps, then is brought to the men's house. The diviner spits on this plant with a chant connecting him to the spirits of the dead, and he calls to the spirits to enter into the spear, which will then act like a Ouija board, shaking in answer to yes-no questions. The last man to know how to use a **maies** was Yuki Saragum, who died an old man in the 1990s; *spia i gat pawa*. *Ol tumbuna i save bilasim em long gras bilong muruk, na ol i save spetim amakato na singautim ol spirit bilong ol indai man. Ol spirit i save go insait long spia na husat man i gat save long askim bai holim spia na kisim save long ol sik o long sampela indai o bilong wanem ol sampela i no save painim abus. Nau nogat man i save long holim maies. Las man i gat save long despela em Yuki Saragum na em indai pinis. Yuki maies pekun, kotarpekun*: Yuki held the ceremonial spear and asked it; *Yuki holim spia na askim em*.

maikar *n.* shame; *sem*. **Ngu maikarngar wákare**: She is shameless; *Em i no save sem*.

maikarki *v.i.* (-**pet**/**pek**), be ashamed; *sem*. **Njini namjat anggi supwáspwa nanana ninkunde, ŋa ŋgunana maikarpet**: He said something bad to me and I became ashamed; *Em i tokim mi long wanpela hap tok na mi sem*.

maiki *v.i.* (-**net**/**nak**), be finished; run out; *i pinis*. **Muna maitakara**: There is no more sago; *Saksak i pinis*.

maimbog *n.* water that has run into the palm sheaths or canoe in which sago flour is settling. *Wara bilong saksak ol meri wasim long en*.

Mainamb *n.* Manam island; *ples Manam*.

mainrye *n.* vine with stiff fuzz used by males until WWII to rid themselves of bad blood. It was dried and inserted into the urethra, then twisted and pulled out to cause copious bleeding; *rop i gat mosong ol tumbuna bilong bipo save putim i go insait long hul bilong kok, tainim tainim na rausim. Ol man i save kisim bikpela pen na rausim bikpela blut*. See also **ndabe**.

maisare *n.* comic act; *pani*. **Maisare ngunkun**: He performed a comic act; *Em wokim pani*. **Maisare ngrigar munje**: comic, funny man; *man i save wokim pani*.

makarki *v.i.* (-**net**/**nak**; **r** → Ø; so **makanet**/**makanak**), fall, used when referring to darkness, time or season; *tainim*. **Ikur orom makatak**: It's the middle of the night; *Biknait nau. Tukur orom makarki wákare*: It's not the rainy season; *I no tainim bilong ren*.

makat *n.* 1. a tree that produces red, rambutan-like seedpods in which the seeds inside are embedded in a reddish sap used to paint the skin on festive occasions; *pen diwai i save karim redpela pikinini ol man i save brukim na bilasim skin long en*.

2. red earth dried in fire and made into a paint used to decorate skin; *redpela graun ol man i save kukim na wokim pen bilong bilasim skin*.

3. the red paint made from the seedpods and the earth; *redpela pen*. **Sumbwana makat**: red paint from earth; *redpela pen bilong graun*; **Nimnja makat**: red paint from seeds; *redpela pen bilong pikinini diwai*

makatok *n.* stage three (of five) in coconut formation, a young green coconut full of water and ready to drink and eat; *kulau*.

makemake *n.* a kind of vine used to make **toriw** (arm bracelet); *rop ol man i save kisim na wokim paspas bilong han*.

makor *n.* implement made by village men to pulverize the inner bark of sago palm; *wanpela kain samting olsem tamiok o hama*

ol man i save wokim na usim long paitim saksak. See also **yasuk**.

makorŋa rewi *n.* piece of iron at the head of a **makor** or **yasuk** that scrapes away the inner bark of the sago palm (*lit.* ‘**makor**’s teeth’); *ain bilong paitim saksak.*

malit *n.* tongue; *tang.*

malit mosop *n.* uvula (*lit.* ‘little tongue’). This is what causes one to swallow, it pushes it into the throat to swallow. When a sick person can no longer eat, this is a sign that the ‘little tongue’ is not longer doing its work, and that the person will likely die; *liklik tang.*

mámaki *n.* [*Kopar*], gnat; *ol liklik liklik bilak-pela binatang i save kaikai man.* This word is replacing Tayap **ipipir**.

mamanj-(p)-i *v.t.* (class 1), show something; *soim.*

mamar *n.* 1. small banana with yellow interior, usually eaten boiled; *wanpela kain banana i sotpela i gat yelopela mit, ol man i save boilim na wokim sup long en.*

2. (*obsolete*), rainbow, *renbo.*

mamba *v.t.* (class 3), lick something; *klinim long tang.* **Nje ango toto mambokunda maritni:** The bitch licked its skin with its tongue; *Dok meri ia i klinim skin bilong em long tang.*

mambadiki *v.i.* (**ŋj**) **mambakadiet/ŋgu mambaodiek**), lick; *klinim long tang; lik.* **Nje ide mambadikut:** The dog is licking itself; *Dok i putim tang long em yet.*

mámbakir *n.* 1. netbag; *bilum.*

2. (*euphemism*) uterus, placenta; *bilum.*

mambir *adj.* (*pl.* **mambró**), young person, traditionally referred only to women, now it refers to both women and men; *yangpela man o meri.* **Noŋor mambirtak:** The woman has become young, (This is a euphemism meaning ‘she is menstruating’); *Meri i lukim mun (tok bokis).*

mambirŋa ror *n.* first born, *pesbon pikinini.* See also **kokirŋa ror.**

Mambokor *n.* Marangis village; *ples Marangis.*

mambrag *n.* (*pl.* **mambigir**), spirit of dead person, ghost; *dewil.*

mambragegak *n.* a kind of vine used to affix the point of a spear or arrow to the shaft. Women use it as a contraceptive; *rop ol man i save usim long wokim paspas bilong wokim spia bilong sutim pisin.* *Ol meri i save usim long pasim bel.* **Ŋa toriwni wot adukrunet:** I’m going to make a sling for the arrow; *Mi bai wokim paspas bilong wot;* a vine used as a contraceptive by women; *rop ol meri i save kaikai long stopim bel.*

mambragma num (also **mambigirma num**) *n.* cemetery (*lit.* ‘village of ghosts’); *matmat.*

mamrai *n.* [*Kopar*], lightning; *laitning.* **Ŋan mayayi yiwirŋan pomborreki tatinginŋan mamraireki:** His mother gave birth to him together with a pile of shit, as lightning flashed (*vulgar*); *Mama bilong em i karim em wantaim pekpek na laitning i pairap (tok nogut).* The Tayap word, rarely used, is **urengar.**

mamrarara oki *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), shake, shiver; *guria.*

mamrarki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), flash; *lait.* **Aruat mamrartaka wok:** The lightning flashed (*lit.* ‘the thunder flashed’); *laitning i lait.* See also **ureki.**

man *n.* vagina; *kan.* **Man sawir!:** Black cunt!; *Bilakpela kan!; Man suman!:* Big cunt!; *Bikpela hull!; Man apro!:* Bad cunt; *Hul nogut!; Man pisimbŋa!:* Rotten cunt! *Kan i sting pisin!* (all vulgar terms of abuse; *olgeta i tok nogut).*

manaw *n.* three; *tripela.*

mandamandap *n.* [*Kopar*], barb of a sting-ray. In the past, people used to camouflage these and place them at the base of their betel nut palms, so that if anyone attempted to steal the betel nut by climbing the palm, the barb would lodge in their foot; *nil bilong nakanaka.* *Bipo ol papa tumbuna i save putim despela long as bilong ol buai bilong ol, olsem stilman bai krungutim na kisim bikpela pen.* See also **atim.**

mandig *adj.* unripe; *i no mau.*

mandimep *n.* Ground Dwelling Pigeon (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 15, #1–7; plate 16. #1–3).

manduwar *n.* taro; *taro*.

mangim *n.* water rat; *rat i save kaikai pis na stap klostu long wara*.

manimbomo *n.* shelf fungus, sometimes used as a way of healing sores; *talinga i save kamap long pangal bilong kokonas o bilong saksak, ol tumbuna i save putim long sua bilong draim em*. See also **njogrob**.

maning *n.* 1. traditional bucket made out of sago palm leaf; *baket bilong ol tumbuna ol i save wokim long kondew*.

2. urethra; *insait bilong kok o bilong kan*.

Na oruneta, nok maning patorkitak:

If I hit you, you'll explode with piss; *Mi paitim yu olsem bai pispis i paitarap*.

manja iru *n.* clitoris; *nus bilong kan*.

manumbi *n.* a kind of tree, the leaves of which are boiled and used as a medicine to treat the illness **eiwa**; *diwai ol mama i save boylim lip bilong em na givim long husat pikinini i gat eiwa*.

manjemanjar *n.* grille; *gereray*.

mangat *n.* tiny white shells like small cowries sewn into traditional decorations; *liklik ol kina ol tumbuna i save wokim bilas long en*.

mar *n.* 1. sago palm flowers; *plowa bilong saksak*.

2. crown or top of felled sago palm; *tel bilong saksak ol man i wok long paitim em*.

mara *n.* ocean; *bikpela solwara*.

marangap *n.* plant similar to **munjuko**, used to cover up sago flour and protect it from rain; *hap diwai olsem munjuko*.

markiya oki *v.i.* (each verb conjugated separately; the first with the endings **-net/-nak**: **ni maneta mbot/ngu mataka wok/ngi matukoya ngok**), row; *pul i go*.

marngo *n.* a dog's sharp, canine teeth; *popela sapela tit bilong dok*.

marngop *n.* shaft of spear or oar; *as bilong spia o bilong pul*. **Yirja marngop wurotukun:** Raise the shaft of the spear (so that the spear doesn't stab me); *Apim as bilong spia*.

marngoram *n.* dog's teeth traditionally used as money; *ol tit bilong dok ol tumbuna i save usim olsem mani*.

marngorja kas *n.* sago frond that has been cut in a particular way (most leaves trimmed with only four left untrimmed, and the bottom leaf tied in a knot at the base) and decorated with dog's teeth arranged in a line along the spine in ten groups of three. Prepared as part of a conciliatory meal (i.e. a meal that is offered to resolve a fight or conflict) and carried by someone who stands at the head of the procession of food; *pangal saksak ol man i wokim long sekhan kaikai*. *Husat i go pes long sekhan kaikai bai katim lip bilong pangal na lainim tit bilong dok long bun bilong em*. *Despela pangal bai go wantaim kaikai long husat man ol man i laik stretim*.

marow *n.* short, narrow banana in two varieties, red and green; *liklik banana i gat tupela kain, redpela na grinpela*.

masipkaki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), (*obsolete*), resist, not want to do something; *nogat laik long wokim wanpela samting*. **Ngi Kono namtuko orakangar nirkrui, ngu masipkatak:** They told Kono to make food but she refused; *Ol i tokim Kono long wokim kaikai tasol em i no laik*.

masukondep *n.* small dark brown and blue lizard associated with mothers and newborn babies. Referred to as "mothers" by women in their maternity houses, and it is believed that they watch protectively over newborn babies. If you kill one, the baby will cry. *Ol liklik palai i save was long ol nupela bebi*. *Yu kilim wanpela bai bebi i krai*. **Mayangro angi bioginana was-aknguk:** The mothers are watching over the baby; *Ol mama i was i stap long liklik bebi*.

matatak *n.* 1. dew; *wara i save stap long gras o long ol diwai long moning aua*.

2. rain remaining on grass, tree branches and plants after a rainfall; *wara i save stap long gras o long ol diwai taim ren i pinis*.

maya *n.*; *vela*. (*dl.* **mayanre**, *pl.* **mayangro**), mother; *mama*. See also **ama**.

mayar (also **manjar**) *n.* leaf; *lip*.

mayor *n.* a tree whose bark is used to make the slings of a basket (**sapwarŋa numun**) and the fringed decorations on the sides of baskets; also used as a way of ‘cooling’ certain kinds of sorcery; *gomba ol meri i save katim na putim i go long wara long wokim ol sapwarŋa numun bilong ol basket na tu yu ken usim despela diwai long kolim sampela kain posin.*

mbába *n.* [*Kopar*], wooden pins used to hold the **waris** (coconut fiber strainer) in place; *nil bilong nilim laplap bilong kokonas.* See also **pandinj**.

mbababi *v.t.* (class 5; reduplicated form of **mbar**, used with plural objects), raise up to a standing position; *sanapim ol.*

mbábasak *n.* silly, crazy, disturbed; *longlong, paul.*

mbábasak *v.t.* (class 5), 1. misuse of something e.g. money; *paulim wanpela samting, olsem mani.*

2. confuse or ‘bugger up’; *bagarapim.*

Munje ide numbwan mbabasaknukun orákangarana: The man forgot to eat (*lit.* ‘his thought about the food buggered up’); *Man ia i lus ting long kaikai.*

mbábasakki *vi.* (**-net/-nak**), confuse, mislead; *paul.* **Njanan numbwan mbabasaktak:** I forgot; *Tingting bilong mi paul.*

mbabunj *adj.* burned, scorched; *bilakpela long paia.*

mbabunŋi *vi.* (**-net/-nak**), burn, scorch; *kukim i go bilakpela long paia.*

mbada *n.* 1. rainforest; *bus.*

2. (*euphemism*), toilet; *toilet.* **Ŋa mbadani mbot:** I’m going into the rainforest. If one is alone, this can mean that one is going to the toilet. If one is accompanied by dogs, this means that one is going hunting; *Mi go long bus. Em wanpela mining i olsem yu go long toilet tasol sapos yu go wantaim ol dok em minin-gim olsem yu go long painim abus.*

mbadaŋa patir *n.* euphemism for toilet and also for maternity house (*lit.* ‘bush house’); *smolhaus o haus karim.*

mbadiŋ *n.* bee; *bi.*

mbag *n.* riverbank; bank of creek; *sait bilong baret.*

mbainononj *n.* [*Kopar*], casuarina trees on beaches near sea; *diwai yar.* The Tayap would be **sumbwakapirŋa nim**, *lit.* ‘beach tree’.

mbaiski *vi.* (**-tet/-tak**), become tough and inedible, refers to taro; *kamap strong, em toktok bilong taro.*

mbákbak *n.* three-sided banana; *banana i gat tripela sait.*

mbakinono *n.* large, apple-shaped fruit; *bikpela laulau.*

mbankap *n.* cold wind in the morning, from the direction of Sanae village, i.e. rainforest wind; *kolpela win i save kamap long taim bilong moning i save kamap long bus.*

mbanj *v.t.* (class 5), bang against something; *bampim.* **Ŋa pande mbanjkrinet kawrikkitik isuroki wákare:** I’ll knock the axe against something so that the handle fastens and it won’t loosen; *Bai mi bampim tamiok (long wanpela diwai o pos) long strongim em na em i no nap lus; Mbanju arotak! Bang it (against the post) and it will go inside; *Bampim em na em bai go insait.**

mbanjaw *n.* a kind of areca palm with large red seeds, used to make spear shafts, arrows. It is also used to make poison. One cuts the bark so that it forms a little bowl. After it rots, one collects the water in it, mixes it with a crushed millipede and uses it to poison someone; *wanpela limbum diwai i gat ol bikpela redpela pikinini, ol man i save katim long wokim banara o wot. Na tu. Ol man nogut i save usim despela diwai long posinim ol narapela man. Ol i save katim skin bilong diwai na larim em sting. Bihain bai miksime wanpela kakamatik na kilim ol man ol i paitim long en.* See also **pandinj**.

mbar *v.t.* (class 4), make stand vertically; *sanapim.* **Sakind wurotukuna mbatukun!** Lift the house post and stand it up! *Apim pos na sanapim!*

mbara *n.* garden where one grows food; *gaden.*

mbara(ni) *adv.* a little; *liklik*. **Pendimor kemem mbarani utitukun:** Cut the paper so that it is a little bit long; *Katim pepa i longpela liklik*.

mbarmit *n.* thick, difficult to penetrate jungle; *bus i tik, hat long go insai long em*. See also **abar**.

mbarow *n.* a small blue, white and red fish that lives in forest streams. This fish is the one that went to tell the water-deity **Ngayam** that villagers were gathering his children in the dry creekbeds (see Tayap Text 2); *wanpela kain liklik pis bilong baret, blu, red na wait. Em despela pis i go tokim masalai Ngayam long ol man i wok long kisim ol pikinini bilong em*.

mbata *v.t.* (class 5), ruin or destroy something; *bagarapim*.

mbatak *n.* a kind of breadfruit in which only the seeds (**mot**) are eaten; *kapiak*.

mbatámbati *adj.* white and red mottled coat of an animal; *wait na redpela gras bilong kaskas o dok o kainkain animol*.

mbatambur *n.* a kind of breadfruit in which the interior fiber (**minj**) is eaten; *kapiak*.

mbatembatep *n.* 1. small seeds; *ol pikinini bilong diwai*.

2. coins; *ol koins*.

mbatenj *n.* club used by the ancestors to beat their loincloths out of bark; *stik bilong paitim malo*.

2. Nightjar (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 27).

mbatep *n.* [*Kopar*], one, one unit; *wanpela, Papŋa mbatep:* one coconut; *wanpela kokonas; Minjikeŋa mbatep:* one betel nut; *wanpela buai; Nonŋa mbatep:* one yam; *wanpela yam*.

mbatim *n.* rivulet; *liklik hanwara*.

mberig *n.* one of several trees from which **tékduan** (floor runners) are cut; *wanpela diwai ol man i save katim long wokim tékduan*.

mberowok *n.* bamboo used to make a knife that, in pre-colonial times, severed the heads of murdered enemies. This bamboo was first planted by Ombarŋ, a mythological ancestor; *mambu ol man bilong bipo i*

save wokim naip long rausim hed bilong ol birua, Ombarŋ i planim.

mbibikni see **mbikni**.

mbidomo *n.* (*euphemism*), intercourse, *pasin nogut*. **Mbidomo nitukure:** The two of them had sex; *Tupela i wokim pasin nogut*.

mbikni (also **mbini** and **mbibikni**) *adv.* 1. similar to, like; *olsem*. **Yarawin mbikni:** It's like sugar water; *Em olsem wara bilong suga*. **Ni mbor mbikni kakun:** He ate like a pig; *Em i kaikai olsem pik*; **Sopak munje ketukŋan mbibikni warakakuk:** Sopak is talking like a man who coughs a lot; *Sopak toktok olsem man i save kus*.

2. like this; *olsem*. **Angok mbikni nitukun:** Do it like this; *Mekim olsem*.

mbímaŋ *n.* leech; *liklik snek i save stap long bikbus na i save pas strong long man na dring blut bilong em*.

mbin *n.* steam; *smok, hat bilong wara o wanem samting i boil long en*. **Mbin wokuk:** Steam is rising; *Hat bilong wara o wanem samting i go antap*.

mbini see **mbikni**.

mbiodki *v.i.* (**-tet/-tak**), flutter slowly; sputter; throb without pain; any weak recurring movement, such as the repeated clenching of a dog's anus while it engages in intercourse, the ticking of the second hand of a watch; *wok, pamp*. **Ni nok karkuna, kwem mbiodakuk:** He peed and is pumping out the last drops of urine; *Em pispis na em pampim liklik pispis i stap*.

mbióŋgi *n.* baby, until it laughs and sits, at which point it becomes a **ror** or **ror mokop**; *liklik nupela pikinini, i go inap em inap sindaun na lap, bihain long despela bai yu kolim em ror o ror mokop*.

mbirkraw onko *n.* big sago beetle; *bikpela binatang bilong saksak*.

mbiruŋa kit *n.* Pleiades; *yar*. See also **ngudumŋa kit**.

mbirupa *v.t.* (class 3), 1. suck or slurp something; *pulim long maus*. **Mum awin awin aŋgi utingarke tatarni, mbirupatukun sikni:** The sago jelly is too watery, don't cut it with your spoon, slurp it up with your

mouth; *Saksak i wara wara i no ken katim putim tasol long maus na kaikai*;

2. inhale something; *pulim long maus*. **Yu ngo sokoiŋat isiatan, ŋa ngo pinni mbirupakrunet**: Give me your cigarette, I'll take a puff; *Givim hap smok long mi bai mi pulim liklik*.

mbibiu *v.t.* (class 5), to stretch something, e.g. a net, some material, talk; *pulim pulim*. See also **mbiu**.

mbid *n.* pain, ache; *pen*. **Aindet ror ainde mbid tarkrunet**: That boy is going to receive pain (i.e. I am going to hit him); *Despela mangi ia bai kisim pen*.

mbidki *vi.* (most often takes beneficiary object forms): pain, ache; *pen*. **Ndow mbidtiatan**: My leg pains; *Lek bilong mi pen*; **Rewi mbidtukwatan**: Her teeth ache; *Tit bilong em pen*.

mbij *n.* copse; cluster of trees standing very close to one another; *hap long bus i gat ol as bilong diwai i bung klostu klostu*. **Yamŋa mbij**: a group of sago palms that grow very close together; *saksak ol i sanap grup*. See also **ngib**.

mbim *n.* Frogmouth and Nightjar (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 26, #11–18). The word is onomatopoeic, imitating the cries made by these birds.

mbin *n.* [*Kopar*], mud that appears in the mangrove and in creeks when water recedes; *graun i save kamap long mangoro o long ol baret long taim bilong drainwara*. The Tayap expression for this, not used by anyone but that I elicited specifically, would be the sentence **Awini odiwoka sumbwa sinder-takara**: The water fell and the ground appeared uncovered.

mbir *n.* short piece of wood or short tree; *sotpela hap diwai o sotpela diwai*.

mbirat *n.* short stick; *sotpela hap diwai*.

mbiu *v.t.* (class 5), to stretch something, e.g. a fishnet, cloth, talk; *pulim olsem wanpela laplap o wanpela wumben o sampela tok*. See also **mbibiu**.

mbodan *n.* 1. gill; *maus i staplong sait bilong pis*.

2. fin; *win bilong pis*. See also **naning**.

mbodibodi *n.* Robin (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 37, #10; plate 39, #11–21). Being replaced by the Kopar-language word **mbodinjene**.

mbokak *n.* surface, *antap*.

mbokakni *pos.* on top of; on the surface of; *antap long*. **Mbokakŋani inde namak-kut**: He's just talking on the surface (i.e. he's not saying what he really thinks); *Em tok i stap tasol, em i no brukim tok*.

mbókokir *n.* tadpole; *ol liklik ol pis i save kamapim ol prog*.

mbominj *n.* 1. fetus or stillborn child; *pikinini i no pinisim gut taim bilong em insait long bel bilong mama na em indai*.

2. newborn human, animal or bird; *nupela pikinini bilong man, na tu ol nupela pikinini bilong pik o dok o sasik o pisin o wanem kain ol animol*. **Man mbominjja!**: Hairless cunt! (vulgar); *Kan nating! (tok nogut)*.

mbonir *n.* Mannikin (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 48).

mbor *n.* (*pl.* **mboreirum**), pig; *pik*.

mbor mir *n.* boar; *pik man*.

mbor onko *n.* young, fertile female pig; *yangpela pik meri inap karim ol pikinini*.

mbor yam *n.* sago palm felled and cut open in order to lure a pig to eat it, so that one might spear it; *saksak bilong pik bai kaikai na bai yu inap sutim em long banis saksak*.

mborabaw *n.* wallow; place where pigs dig and sleep; *hap ol pik i save dikim long em na slip long em*.

mborbwaj *n.* large bamboo used to make walls; *bikpela mambu ol man i save wokim blain long em*.

mborgi *n.* large, salt-water shell that used to be draped around dancers at feasts, and around the neck of a corpse; *bikpela skin kina ol tumbuna save hangamapim long nek bilong ol long taim bilong singsing, na taim man indai bai putim long nek bilong bodi na planim wantaim*.

mbori *v.t.* (class 5), knock down so hard that the object of the punch writhes on the ground; *dropim*. **ŋayi aini ŋgratboriningin andni**

- kararneta mbot inde:** I knocked him down so hard that he writhed on the ground and was covered in blood; *Mi dropim em na em tainim tainim na em red long blut igo.*
- mboririki** v.i. (-net/-nak), flipflop; *tainim tainim. Mbarow sene mborimborikar woke awin motoreke:* The two fish were flipflopping along in the small puddles; *Tupela pis i tainim tainim igo long ol liklik wara.*
- mboripki** v.i. (-net/-nak), 1. swell up as a result of sickness or sorcery; *solap; Munjema imin mboriptaka puwok patorkitakana:* The (dead) man's stomach has swollen up, it's about to break open; *Bel bilong man i solap i go antap pinis, em bai bruk nau.*
2. satiate, be filled up; *solap. Ndamori mum nitukuna kukuweka piatana, ɲa kakuna imin mboriptak:* Ndamor made the sago jelly and brought it and I ate it and was filled up; *Ndamor tainim saksak kisim i kam nau na mi kaikai na bel bilong mi pulap.*
- mborkini** pos. out in the open, unconcealed; *ples kliā. Mborkini nam ngurkrundak:* They're going to talk openly; *Ol bai tokaut kliā; Njanan man ewar mborkini ngutukro:* Yesterday they talked openly about my cunt (said about drunken men who cursed the female speaker); *Asde ol i putim kan bilong mi long ples kliā (ol spakman toknogutim meri i makim despela toktok); Ngu mborkini utok, ripim ambruni wuk:* Now it's out in the open, before it was hidden; *Em kamap ples kliā, bipo em i hait.*
- mborna muna** n. raw sago presented in a large palm sheath bucket to one's joking kin during a funerary feast, it is so large that it needs to be carried on a pole like the carcass of a pig (*lit.* 'pig's sago'); *saksak bilong pati bilong i go long ol wanpilai. Em bikpela tru na ol man bai putim insait long wanpela bikpela limbom na karim em i go long wanpela stik olsem ol i karim bodi bilong pik.*

- mbormat** n. kind of thick banana with red skin, eaten when ripe; *banana i gat redpela skin ol man i save kaikai mau.*
- mbororki** v.i. (-net/-nak), agree to murder someone; *pasim tok long kilim man.*
- mborsip** n. pork; *abus bilong pik.*
- mbrat** n. bare vine left when betel nut and other cluster fruit drop off, used by women as a broom; *ol rop bilong buai o bilong kondew o bilong kokonas taim ol buai i pundaun pinis, ol meri i save usim long brumin haus o graun. Minjikeɲa mbrat:* broom made of betel nut vine; *brum bilong buai; Kondewɲa mbrat:* broom made of kondew vine; *brum bilong kondew.*
- mbren-(p)-e** v.t. (class 1), stir something; *tainim.*
- mbua** n. a kind of vine given to snakebite victims to eat raw, as a way of "cooling" the venom; *wanpela rop bilong gaden, ol man i save givim long husat man snek i bin kaikaim em. Em sapos long kolim posin bilong snek.*
- mbubow** n. a new shoot on a betel nut tree and several other kinds of trees that produce clusters of seeds or nuts. The shoot emerges covered with a **kondew** (sheath), which later opens, releasing the cluster of seeds or pods; *kru bilong buai na sampela ol narapela kain diwai.*
- mbubujiram** n. bubbles from fish, crocodiles, turtles emerging from underwater; *win bilong ol samting i stap ananeat long wara, i kam antap na ol man save lukim olsem wara i boil.*
- mbubuk** n. pouch-like sheath made from the tender offshoot of betel nut palms; *liklik kontaina bilong putim ol sampela samting, ol i save wokim long limbom bilong buai. Sokoɲa mbubuk:* pouch for storing tobacco leaves; *liklik kontaina bilong putim ol lip brus ol i drain pinis.*
- mbuga** n. a type of banana; *wanpela kain banana.*
- mbumjor** n. extremely venomous black snake with shiny black skin and blue stripes; *bilakpela posin snek. See also kombin.*

mbun *n.* 1. air, breath; *win*. **Mbun angukwankut**: He's breathing; *Em pulim win i stap*; **Mbun tarkru wákare**: He's stopped breathing; *Em i no pulim win*.

2. remains, *bun, samting i bagarap pinis*.

Patirŋa mbun: abandoned, collapsed house; *ol pos na ol narapela samting bilong haus i bruk na pundaun*. **Nawŋa mbun**: burnt grassland; *kunai bihain long paia i kukim long em*. See also **pora**; **war**.

mbunbun *n.* mosquito with bluish coloring and long legs that are especially active in the late afternoon; *mosquito i blupela na i gat ol long-pela pinga, em save kamap long apinun*.

mbunim *n.* wind from the mangrove swamp, i.e. north wind; *win i save kamap long mangoro*.

mbunonŋ *n.* a banana similar to **oremai ikin** except it is bigger; *banana i olsem oremai ikin tasol em i bikpela long en*.

mbunor *n.* 1. spirit; *spirit, dewil*.

2. power; *pawa*. **Ambagai mbunorŋan**: men's house with power – i.e. a men's house that retains its connections to ancestral spirits and forest deities, and can therefore cause illness and channel power to succeed in hunting or battle; *haus boi i gat powa*.

mbur-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), bend something; *taitim, krungutim*. **Ewar kembangatik mburpekunde, ŋgu odiwok**: Yesterday he bent his bow (to shoot it), and it broke; *Asde em i taitim banara bilong em, na banara i bruk*.

mburai *v.t.* (class 5), sweep something; *brunim*. Synonymous with **mburai-(p)-i**.

mburai-(p)-i *v.t.* (class 1), sweep something, *brunim*. Synonymous with **mburai**.

mburarakki *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), rot to the point of being completely decayed; *sting olgeta*.

mburko *n.* 1. foot of bird; *pinga bilong pisin*.

2. hoof; *pinga bilong lek na han bilong pik*. **Mborma mburkow**: pig's footprints; mark *bilong lek bilong pik*. See also **sikrim**.

mburuw *n.* stomach; *namba wan bel*.

mbus-(p)-i *v.t. irr.* (class 1, conjugated as class 1 verb in realis, but the irrealis stem form is **mbudji**), 1. send someone or something; *salim*. **Ewar ŋayi síw sene mbus-pikwatan**: Yesterday I sent her two pieces of skin; *Asde mi salim em tupela hap skin*.

Epi ŋayi síw sene mbudjikwatinet: Tomorrow I will send her two pieces of skin; *Tumaro bai mi salim em tupela hap skin*; **Yu mbustimbina Potore ondak, nunuk yu wetet ŋaŋan patirni**: Send them on their way to Wonga, then come to my house; *Salin ol i go long Wongan, bihain yu kam long haus bilong mi*.

2. sell something; *salim*.

mbutak *n.* large skink; *bikpela palai i save pait*.

mbutup *adj.* blunt; *i no sap*.

mbutupki *v.i.* (-**tet/-tak**), become blunt; *kamap olsem nogat sap*.

mbwag *n.* 1. spine of a leaf; *bun bilong brus o aibika o banana*.

2. braid to which the strands of a traditional skirt are attached; *hap bilong pulpul ol meri i save pasim tar long en*.

3. an old sago palm that has lost all its leaves; *lapun saksak nogat moa lip: yam mbwag*.

4. long, sharp black quills on cassowary wings; *pinga bilong liklik win bilong muruk*.

mbwagki *v.i.* (-**tet/-tak**), shed leaves; used only when talking about sago palms; *saksak i plowa olgeta, nogat lip*.

mbwaj *n.* bamboo (*generic*); *mambu (biknem)*.

mbwajorom *n.* gun; *gan*. **Engin mandama mbwajorom patorngar**: White men's guns make an explosive noise. *Gan bilong ol waitman i save pairap*.

mbwak-(p)-o (class 1), smush together two vaginas; *tupela meri i kwap na mekim pairap*. **Iru mir sapkini mbwakoku ekrukakutak!**: You walk around with your big clitoris banging against other cunts! (*vulgar*); *Draipela nus bilong kan wakabaut bengim nating ol kan! (tok nogut)*.

mbwantaw (from **mbwajŋa taw** ‘bamboo’s side’) *n.* 1. bamboo razor; *tumbuna reza ol isave wokim long mambu.*

2. (euphemism) grass knife; *grasnaip (tok bokis).*

mbwar *n.* 1. back; *baksait.* **Mbor mbwarŋan:** Pig with meat on it (*lit.* ‘pig with a back’); *Pik i gat bikpela mit.*

2. tree trunk; *namel bilong diwai.*

Makatok papŋa mbwarŋa ofitek:

The young coconut fell down from the coconut tree-trunk; *Kulau i stap antap long diwai kokonas na i pundaun.*

3. surface of body of water, *antap bilong wara.* **Yimbar awinŋa mbwarni pur-arapuwok:** The canoe is floating on the water; *Kanu i trip antap long wara.*

4. surface of ground, *graun.* **Ngritukun ainini sumbwarŋa mbwarni:** Put it here on the ground; *Putim long ia long graun.*

mbwarni *pos.* behind; *baksait.*

mbwarpasinderni *adj.* content, without worry, happy (*lit.* ‘back light’); *hamamas.*

mbwarpasinderki *vi.* (-**net/-nak**), be worry free, happy; *i stap hamamas.* **Ŋa mbwarpasinderki wákare, imin naimbtiatan:** I’m not content, I’m weighed down with worry (*lit.* ‘my belly has been made heavy’); *Mi no hamamas bel bilong mi i hevi.*

memki *vi.* (**ŋa pemiet/pemieki, yu pemiet/pemieki, ŋi pemiet, ŋgu pemieki, yim pemieki, yum pemkem, ŋgi pemko, yim sene pemke**), 1. get up, stand up; *kirap.*

2. start, for example when talking about a fire or an outboard motor; *kirap, olsem paia o moto o wanem samting yu laik statim.* **Tukur aiki wákare ndi, otar memrikrak:** If it hadn’t rained, the fire would have started; *Sapos ren i no bin i kam, paia i mas kirap pinis.*

menjikan *pos.* nearby, close to; *klostu.*

menemeŋe *n.* 1. itch; *samting i sikarap.*

2. sexual desire, orgasm; *pilings, sikarap.*

menemeŋeki *vi.* (-**net/-nak**), awaken sexual desire, turn on; *kisim pilings.* **Ŋgu menemeŋera wek:** Her sexual desire

was awakened; *Pilings bilong em i strong na i kam.* **Yu menemeŋetke?:** Are you turned on? *Yu sikarap o?*

menegini *adv.* slowly; *isi.* **Ŋi menegini ŋayar prukakkut:** He is working really slowly; *Em i wok i stap isi tru ia.*

mer *n.* language; *tok ples.* **Tayap mer:** Tayap language; *tok ples Gapun;* **Engin mer:** Tok Pisin; *Tok Pisin.*

mera *mood part.* a word that marks the epistemic status of an action or event as something that has been assumed but that the speaker or the referent believes did not correspond to what actually happened; *hap tok i laik tok olsem yu ting olsem wanpela samting bai kamap, tasol i no kamap.* **Ŋa namnet ŋi Potore okinet mera:** I thought he would go to Wongan (but he didn’t); *Mi ting olsem em bai go long Wongan (tasol nogat).* See Section 7.6.2 of the grammar

Merew *n.* Sanae village; *ples Sanae, Mangum.*

merom *n.* thread; *tret.*

meruk *n.* sago and scraped coconut, boiled in a banana leaf; *saksak na kokonas ol i save putim i go insait long wanpela lip banana na boilim.*

met *n.* braided rope; *rop.*

metawr *n.* wasps or bees that make honey; *ol bi i save wokim switpela wara.*

metawrŋa nanarŋa awin *n.* honey (*lit.* ‘the water of the eggs of metawr’); *wara bilong ol kiau bilong ol metawr.*

mimb *n.* coconut cream; *wara bilong kokonas i sikarapim na bengim long en.*

min *n.* breast of women and female animals, including cassowaries; *susu.* See also **ŋgatma min.**

mindia *n.* stone axe; *ston tamiok bilong ol tumbuna.* See also **pongrom.**

minj *n.* the meat of a breadfruit; *mit bilong kapiak.* **Batamburŋa minj.**

minjia *v.t.* (class 3), chew something; *krungu-tim long tit.*

minjike *n.* betel nut; *buai.*

minjinai *n.* pancreas; *laplap bilong kara-mapim bikpela bel.*

minja iru *n.* nipple (*lit.* ‘breast’s point’); *nus bilong susu.*

mintumb *n.* chest muscle; *bros.*

mipat *n.* 1. fleshy rear parts of birds, crustaceans or other animals that do not have tails; *as bilong pisin na ol sampela narapela samting.* **Ngatma mipat:** cassowary tail; *as bilong muruk;* **Pisikma mipat:** hermit crab tail; *as bilong pisik;* **Kanipma mipat:** flesh of mangrove slug; *mit bilong kandip.*

2. bottom; *as. Kontainanja mipat:* Bottom of the container; *As bilong kontaina.*

mis *n.* 1. meat; *abus.*

2. meaning; *as.*

3. inner bark of sago palm that is pounded and leached for sago flour; *mit bilong saksak.*

misikap *n.* wisdom, good sense, good knowledge learned from ancestors (i.e. how to be generous, how to fulfill social obligations, etc.); *skul, gutpela pasin bilong ol tumbuna bilong bipo.* **Koto taman waswituko, omosew, neningro, ngigi misikap taman kukungwok:** All the old ones have died, the fathers, the grandfathers and they took all their wisdom with them; *Olgeta lapun indai pinis, ol papa na ol tumbuna na ol i kisim ol gutpela save bilong ol na i go wantaim.*

misising *n.* breast milk of women or animals; *susu.* **Mising kikiu** (*lit.* ‘yellow milk’) and **misising apro** (*lit.* ‘bad milk’): colostrum, which is expressed and discarded by most women; *yelopela susu i save kamap pes, planti ol meri i save bengim na rausim.*

miw *n.* ground cuscus; *kuskus bilong graun.*

mik *adj.* 1 sharp; *sapela.*

2. intense, hard; *strongpela, hatpela.* **Awarer mik:** The sun is intense; *San i hot.* **Pruk mik:** intense, hard work; *hatpela wok.* **Nim mik:** hard wood; *strongpela diwai;* **Imin mikja:** furious (*lit.* ‘stomach sharp’); *belhat.*

min *n.* 1. the chewed husk of **minjike** (betel nut), **yar** (sugarcane) or **kanjigogo**

(bamboo shoots); *meme bilong buai, suga o kru mambu.*

2. grated coconut once all the milk has been squeezed out of it; *pipia bilong kokonas bihain long yu bengim em na rausim olgeta wara.*

minda *n.* be tired or sick of something, or unwilling to do something; *les.* **Na minda!** I don’t want to! *Mi les ia!* **Na mindarakkut yumon pindjana!** I’m sick of listening to your noise! *Mi les long pairap bilong yupela!*

mindiki *v.i.* (**pindiet/pindiek**), 1. work sago; *wok saksak;* **Yum mindikinana mbokem?:** Are you all going to work sago? *Yupela i go wok saksak ah?*

2. pulverize sago pith; *patim saksak.*

minimbki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), wrinkle, *skin i slek.*

minjikki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), make a ‘tsk’ sound; *tok olsem ‘tsk, mi les’.*

minjurup *n.* kissing sound; *nois olsem tupela man i kis.*

minjurupki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), make a kissing sound; *pairapim maus olsem yu laik kis long wanpela pikinini.*

minuomb *n.* round pool of water in the swamp where **emari** (water deities) may live; *raun wara i gat masalai.*

mijan *adj.* male; *man.* **Mijanke? Nojor?:** Is (the newborn baby) a boy or a girl? *Pikinini man o meri?*

mijandor *n.* a contraction of **mijan ror**, ‘male child’, the word is used to designate a newly born male child in response to the question: “**Mijanke? Nojor?**”: “Is it a boy or a girl?”. However, mostly it is used by parents and other caregivers to shame girls who don’t obey or do things of which the caregivers disapprove. The message, phrased as an assertion (**Mijandor!**) or an upbraiding question (**Mijandorke?!**) is that the girl is acting gender inappropriately; *pikinini man (em narapela we long kolim mijan ror: pikinini man).* *Ol man na meri i save kolim taim ol i laik toktok long nupela pikinini man o taim ol sampela i askim “Pikinini man o meri” na yu laik tok*

- “pikinini man”. *Tasol planti taim ol man na meri i save usim long givim sem long ol pikinini meri. Taim ol pikinini meri i save wak-about as nating, o taim ol i no save harim tok, husat i laik givim sem long ol bai tok*
Mijandor! *o bai askim: Mijandorke?!*
- mijanra kup** *n.* small intestine; *bel.*
- ming** *n.* a knife tied to a stick to cut fruit or something else in a tree that one can't reach; *naip ol man i save pasim i go antap long diwai long katim buai o wanem saming i stap antap long diwai. Ming nitukuna mbatambur uritukun:* Tie a knife to a stick and cut down the breadfruit! *Pasim naip antap long diwai na sakim kapiak!*
- mingip** *n.* knee; *skru. Ewar ngu mingip odukun:* Yesterday she kneeled; *Asde em i brukim skru.* See also **adu.**
- mingipna sokop** *n.* knee cap; *sel bilong skru.*
- mingna bwar** *n.* long piece of bamboo that used to be laid on the grave of a recently buried body. After several hours, the spirit of the deceased enters it, and it is carried around the village and asked questions about who killed the person; *hap mambu bipo ol tumbuna i save putim antap long hul ol i bin planim man long en. Spirit bilong man bai go insait long despela hap mambu na ol man inap kisim em bek na askim em long indai bilong papa bilong spirit.*
- minminjki** *v.i. (-net/-nak),* speak indistinctly, to murmur; *toktok isi tru olsem guria.*
- mir** *intens.* really; *bikpela. Suman apro mir:* really huge; *bikpela nogut tru; Naimb apro mir:* really heavy; *hevi nogut tru; Arawer mir:* huge, hot sun; *bikpela hotpela san; Kandap mir apro sakar:* [You're a] big fucking elf! [Yu] *wanpela blari spirit nogut ia!*
- miri** *n.* rainforest; *bus.*
- mirinmirin** *n.* noise; *pairap. Nare mirinmirin nirkwanarwarke!* Stop making noise here! *I no ken mekim nois long hap bilong mi!*
- mirija** *at n.* tiny black mosquitoes endemic to the rainforest; *ol liklik liklik bilakpela natnat i save stap insait long bus. Mirija*

ati mbatati: The little mosquitos in the jungle made me miserable; *Ol liklik natnat bilong bus i bagarapim mi.*

mirija awin *n.* (euphemism), secret male rituals in the rainforest (*lit.* 'rainforest water'); *wara bilong bus ol man i save waswas long en. Mirijan awinni tuwku okinak:* Let's go wash in rainforest water; *Mipela i go waswas long wara bilong bus.*

mirija munje *n.* uneducated, rural hillbilly (*lit.* 'rainforest's man'); *buskanaka.*

mirijan toto puwas *n.* (*lit.* 'rainforest's skin white'), albino; *wait skin man o meri bilong Papua Niugini, i no waitskin man bilong ol kantri.*

mirip *n.* traditional men's cult deities, embodied in flutes and other sacred objects; *tambaran.* The names of the most important of the deities are **Empantur, Sopak, Kairaban, Esawan, Ogarbi, Ogarpa, Akrontsim;** *Ol nem bilong ol bikpela tambaran Empantur, Sopak, Kairaban, Esawan, Ogarbi, Ogarpa, Akrontsim.* See also **mokit; timbar nonor.**

mit *adj.* dense, thick; *bikpela. Ni ewar ikur mitni mbet:* Yesterday he came in the middle of the night; *Asde em i kam long biknait.*

mitimap *n.* Zoe Imperial Pigeon (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 19, #2-3).

moimbir *n.* white mushroom. This word is increasingly rarely used, villagers call the mushroom by the Adjora name **tambawa;** *talinga, planti long Gapun i no save long despela hap tok na ol i save kolim long tok ples Sanae, tambawa.* Whenever one spots a patch of mushrooms, if one chants the following (non-Tayap) words, more patches will appear close by: **tambawano ramawano tawi tawi tawi tawi tawi tawi.** *Taim yu lukim sampela talinga yu mas wokim despela singsing na bai yu lukim planti talinga i kamap klostu long yu.*

Moip *n.* Watam village; *ples Watam.*

mokir *n.* seedling; *kru.*

mokit *n.* sacred flutes, *tambaran.* See also **mirip.**

mokop *adj.* (*dl.* when referring to people: **mopri**; *pl.* when referring to people: **mopro**), little, small; *liklik*. Used interchangeably with **mosop**.

mokwa *n.* **1.** multi-pronged spear used to shoot birds, bandicoots and fish; *supsup*.

2. whistle; *wisil*. **Mokwa ninkun:** He whistled (*lit.* ‘made a whistle’); *Em wisil*.

mom *n.* a popular kind of banana that one can eat ripe, as opposed to cooking it like a plantain. Newly introduced to Gapun, the name is from an unknown Sepik language; *wanpela kain banana i swit long kaikai mau. Nau tasol em i kam long Gapun, nem bilong em bilong wanpela tok ples long Sepik*.

mbombi *n.* a kind of tall grass that has no sharp edges; *wanpela kain kunai i no save katim skin bilong man*.

momik *n.* Western Crowned Pigeon; *guria* (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 15, #8–11).

momor *n.* [*Kopar*]. **1.** sago grub; *binatang bilong saksak*.

2. euphemism for penis; *kok* (*tok bokis*). **Momor utingatindak:** They’ll cut off his prick; *Ol bai katim katim kok bilong em*.

momorik *n.* **1.** sago pancake made on a **pambram** (pot shard); *praim ol i wokim long wanpela hap kanaka sosbin*.

2. flour mixed together with scraped coconut and smoked in banana leaves, made for funerary feasts; *mixim saksak wantaim kokonas. Putim i go insait ol lip bilong banana na smokim long paia. Ol man i save wokim despela kaikai long taim bilong pati*. See also **tapak**.

mond *n.* penis; *kok*. **Mond sumanja!** Big cock! (*vulgar*); *Bikpela kok bilong yu!* (*tok nogut*).

mondki *v.i.* (*-net/-nak*), become hard; *kamap strong*. **Kwem nim mbibikni mondtak:** His penis became as hard as a tree; *Kok bilong em i kamap strong olsem diwai*.

mondra oki *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), become hard; *taim i go*. **Ror ende kwem mondra**

wok nok arkunetana: The child’s penis is getting hard, he wants to pee; *Kok bilong pikinini i tait i go na em i laik pispis*.

monjuko *n.* plant with long green leaves with a core that can unravel like sheets of paper; used to make different kinds of decorations; *hap diwai i gat longpela lip ol man i save usim long wokim bilas*.

monjapat *n.* **1.** kidney; *tupela kiao i stap insait long bel*.

2. shooting star; *suting star*.

3. hard black stone used as a hammer; *strongpela bilakpela ston*.

monjar krimb *n.* **1.** pebbles, *ol liklik ston*.

2. money (specifically ‘coins’, but is also used to refer to money more generally); *ol koins, moni*.

monjom *n.* a species of wild yam; *wanpela kain wailyam*.

moprindag *n.* rash; *bukbuk long skin*.

Moprindag atorporiek sami njayar: A rash appeared all over; *Bukbuk i kamap nambaut*.

mor-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), force or coerce someone; *pusim*. **Njni morpeinde, njanim karkun:** He forced me to chop the tree; *Em pusim mi long katim diwai*.

moramori *n.* **1.** twins; *tuins*.

2. anything double, such as two bananas inside one skin or two nuts inside one shell; *tupela samting i pas wantaim, olsem tupela banana i stap insait long wanpela skin banana*. **Moramori ngirkar weknan:** There are two of them, like twins; *Tupela olsem tuwins i stap*. See also **takrot**.

moramorik *n.* bud; *kru*. **Moramorik utok:** A bud appeared; *Kru i kamap*. **Nim moramorik ngutukun:** The tree flowered (*lit.* ‘put buds’); *Ol kru i kamap long diwai*.

morasi *n.* **1.** habit, way of doing things; *pasin*.

2. deed, action; *pasin*. **Yuwon morasi apro:** It’s your fault; *Asua bilong yu*.

Moreng *n.* Murik village; *ples Murik*.

morip *n.* Pigeon; *balus* (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 18, all except #2–3).

moser *v.t.* (class 4), buy something; *baim*.

mosop *adj.* little, small; *liklik*. Used interchangeably with **mokop**.

mot *n.* 1. the seed of breadfruit tree; *pikinini bilong kapiak*: **mbatakja mot**.

2. knot. Before the advent of the Western calendar, meetings between people who resided in different, far-way villages were arranged by sending a string of knots to the person with whom one wanted to meet and exchange items (say, sago for fish). At the beginning of each day, that person would cut off a knot. When the last knot was cut, the person would know that the meeting was to take place on the following day. This tradition no longer exists, but it is retained in the third meaning of **mot**; *Long taim bilong ol tumbuna sapos yu laik makim de wantaim narapela man o meri i save stap long narapela ples bai yu taitim wanpela rop na salim igo long despela narapela. Olgeta de bai despela narapela i katim wanpela hap rop, na taim em katim las hap rop em bai save olsem tumoro bai mi go bung wantaim man ia i bin salim rop long mi.*

3. an agreed upon day of exchange with another village or people from another village; *de ol i makim long en long ol man o meri long narapela ples long bung na sensim ol samting, olsem ol Singrin bai makim de wantaim ol Gapun na bai ol i kisim kina na pis na ol Gapun bai sensim long kru mambu o abus bilong pik. Mot ngunkundara*: We marked a day for our exchange to take place; *Mipela putim de pinis.*

motikXoki *v.i.* (serial verb construction conjugated like **oki**. **Note**: X here stands for an object suffix), swallow; *daunim long mau.*

Ngi awin motikkuwok: They swallowed the water; *Ol i daunim wara.*

motini *adv.* again; *gen. nji motini ninkun angu*: He's doing it again. *Em wokim gen nau.*

moto *n.* debris in water that makes the water dirty; *ol detipela samting i stap insait long*

wara. Awin moto: puddle; *liklik pipia wara.*

mow *n.* 1. meat of coconut; *mit bilong kokonas*: **pap mow**.

2. white of egg, *waitpela wara bilong kiau* (also **pap mow**).

3. flesh of a young animal; *mit bilong yangpela pik o kapul o mumut o muruk. Njenungi mowana kekepenrora*: the dogs stripped the flesh (off the young pig or cassowary); *Ol dok i kamautim pinis olgeta mit (bilong yangpela pik o muruk).*

muk *n.* clot; *strongpela samting olsem ston o wanem samting i strongpela liklik.*

Nengirja muk: hard snot; *kus i kamap strongpela*; **Andrja muk**: blood clot; *blut i go hatpela*; **Ketukja muk**: phlegm; *strongpela spet bilong man i kus.*

mukuki *n.* a man or woman who doesn't say much and doesn't get angry often; *daunpasin man o meri i save stap isi tasol na i no save krosim ol narapela o toktok planti.*

mum *n.* sago jelly, the staple food of Gapun, served in basins with something boiled placed on top, such as a small piece of **mborsip** (pork), or **kimirik** (sago grubs), or, at last resort, only a few leafy greens. On top of this will be poured a **wawan** (soup), which is the liquid, usually made of milk squeezed from grated coconut, in which the pork, sago grubs or vegetables has boiled; *saksak ol meri i save tainim long en.*

mumuk *n.* butterfly or moth; *bataplai.*

muna kokir *n.* ball of raw sago flour put on a fire and eaten (*lit.* 'sago head'); *hap saksak yu brukim long muna na kukim long paia.*

muna *n.* sago flour; *saksak.*

munakatar *n.* a cake of sago flour; *wanpela hap saksak.*

munakumund *n.* sago flour cooked in bamboo; *saksak ol i putim i go insait long wanpela hap mambu na kukim long paia.*

mundumindiki *v.i.* (-**net**/-**nak**) 1. hum; *singsing Mundumidini pororkar mbet*: He is coming humming a tune; *Em singsing i kam.*

2. murmur; *toktok isi* **Mun sene mundumindirakkukem**: The two men are murmuring; *Tupela man i wok long toktok isi istap*.
- munjar** *n.* [*Kopar*], handle of **makor** (sago pounder); *stik bilong makor*.
- munje** *n.* (*dl.* **mun** or **munro**; *pl.* **munjenum**),
1. man; *man*.
 2. husband; *man meri i maritim em*. **Ngon munje kut inde**: Her husband is here; *Man bilong em i stap*.
- munjeki** *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), become a man; *kamap man*. **Ene yu munjetet**: Today you've become a man; *Yu kamap man pinis*.
- munjesik** *n.* 1. boil; *buk*.
2. banana frond/seedling that has not yet sprouted leaves that one plants to grow a new banana plant; *kru bilong banana i nogat lip yet*. See also **oraw**.
- munjewatki** *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), become extremely cold; *igo kol olgeta*. **Toto munjewattak**: The skin is really cold (i.e. the person will soon die or is already dead); *Skin i go kol olgeta*. **Awin munjewattak**: The water is really cold; *Wara i kol olgeta*.
- munji** *n.* pointing motion; *makim*. **Munji ango nirkwankut**: He is pointing; *Em makim wanpela samting i stap*.
- munjuko** *n.* plant similar to **marangap**, used to cover up sago flour and protect it from rain; *hap diwai olsem marangap*.
- muntatak** *n.* Hanging and Pygmy Parrot (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 21, #1–5).
- munap** *n.* sling made of vines, for carrying firewood; *sling bilong karim paiwut*.
- mungit** *n.* 1. the day before yesterday, *hap asde*.
2. recently; *i no longtaim*.
- mungit orom** *n.* 3 days ago; *hap asde bipo*.
- munguku** *v.i.* (**pungot/pungok**, **yim sene punguke**, **ngi pungwok**), stand; *sanap*.
- murki** *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), low humming growl made by wild pigs who smell a hunter; *paiarap bilong ol wailpik taim ol i smelim skin bilong man*.
- muta** *n.* 1. hole dug by a crab; *hul kuka i dikim long em*.
2. narrow hole dug to accommodate a house post; *hul bilong putim hauspos*.
- mwanambri** *v.t.* (class 4), [*Kopar*], be jealous about someone; *jelesim*. **Mbumeyi ngon omin mwanambritingin**: Mbume is jealous about her husband; i.e. she worries that he has affairs; *Mbume jelesim man bilong em*. See also **awa-(p/w)-ar**.
- mwanambri** *gar morasi* *n.* [*Kopar*], jealousy (*lit.* 'jealous habit'); *jeles pasin*.
- mwaninj** *n.* yaws; *sik yaws*, *strongpela sua*.
- mwarmbwam** *n.* bark of tree chewed as substitute for wild ginger; *rop daka*.

N

- nai-(p)-i** *v.t.* (class 1), hit someone hard; *solapim*.
- naimb** *adj.* 1. heavy; *hevipela*.
2. *n.* sorrow, worry; *hevi*. See also **kumb**.
 3. *n.* trouble or conflicts resulting in anxiety and fear of death, *hevi*. **Num naimbjan**: The village is wracked by conflicts that may result in people's deaths through sorcery or violence; *Ples i stap long hevi*.
- nak** *v.t.* (class 5), count something; *kauntim*.
- nakanaka** *n.* [*Kopar*], stingray; *pis i gat win na i gat nil long tel bilong em*.
- nam** *v.t.* (class 5), 1. tell or say something, *tokim*.
2. shout something, be angry; *krosim*. **Sopakyi Mairum namtukun awinni tungwar patirana**: Sopak yelled at Mairum about the maternity house; *Sopak krosim Mairum long haus karim*.
- namasapi** *n.* whisper; *isipela toktok*.
- namasapiki** *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), whisper; *tok isi*. **Yum ambinana namaspirakkukem?**: Why are you all whispering? *Bilong wanem yupela i toktok isi i stap?*
- nambar** *n.* 1. one; *wanpela*.

2. alone; *wan*.
- nambarki** v.i. (-*net/-nak*), become as one; agree; *kamap olsem wanpela*. **Yim imin nambartak**: We've become in agreement (*lit.* 'our stomachs have become one'); *Mipela i kamap wanbel*.
- nambe** n. [*Kopar*], small, silver-dollar like fish caught in the mangrove swamp and eaten; *liklik waitpela pis bilong mangoro*.
- nambir** n. 1. chest; *bros*.
2. towards; *pesim*. **Naw nambini ngunkuna mbot**: I'm going in the direction of the grassland (*lit.* 'I've put my chest towards the grassland and am going'); *Mi pesim kunai i go nau*.
- namki** v.i. (-*net/-nak*), 1. say, talk; *tok*. **Na yunana namki wákare**: I wasn't talking about you; *Mi no tok long yu*.
2. think; *tinting*. **Na ndi namnak Ngemanji mera**: I thought Ngeman did it; *Mi ting olsem Ngeman i wokim*.
- nande(n)** adv. thus; *olsem*. **Nande nitukun**: Do it like this; *Wokim olsem*.
- naning** n. [*Kopar*], 1. fin; *win bilong pis*.
2. fish or crocodile scale; *gereray bilong pis o bilong pukpuk*. See also **mbodan**.
- nanjag** n. traditional body decoration made out of dog's teeth; *bilas ol tumbuna i save wokim long tit bilong dok*.
- nanuk** n. 1. face; *pes*; **Nje kambwanja nanukja munje ide namgi tower inde awnet**: Tell that man with the dog's vomit face there to shut up! (*vulgar*); *Tokim man i gat pes bilong traud bilong dok long stap isi!* (*tok nogut*).
2. appearance; *luk*. **Ambukja nanukja?**: What did it look like? (*lit.* 'what face did it have?'); *Em i luk olsem wanem?* **Yir njanan yuwon nanuk nambarja**: My spear looks like yours; *Spia bilong mi i luk olsem wankain bilong yu*.
3. shadow; *devil*. **Samak njanano nanuk tankun**: Samak saw his own shadow; *Samak lukim devil bilong em yet*.
- nana** n. egg; *kiau*.
- nangak** n. wild sago palm. This kind of sago plam has not been planted, as most other

kinds of palms are, and it has many needles. *Wailsaksak i gat planti nil*.

- ngangatik** n. 1. flow, force, power; *powa*. **Kwemja ngangatik utingarke**: You shouldn't cut your male power (by sleeping with women); *I no ken katim powa bilong kok bilong yu, i no ken prenim ol meri*.
2. virginity; *pestaim yu stap wantaim meri pestaim tru, o yu merit pestaim yu stap wantaim man*. **Nangatik utukrunet**: he is going to lose his virginity (*lit.* 'cut his flow').
3. length of skin on the underside of the penis that determines growth. If this is severed, one will not grow (this may be a new meaning of this word, older men do not know this meaning, it seems to have originated with a man now in his mid-40s); *rop i stap long baksait bilong kok bilong man. Yu katim despela rop bai gro bilong yu i stop*.
4. hymen (probably a novel meaning of the word, cited only by some male speakers in their twenties and thirties); *rop i stap insait long sem bilong meri, despela rop i bruk na blut i kamap bai gro bilong meri i stop*.
5. tide; *tait*. **Awinja ngangatik**: tide; *tait*.
- ngangatikku** v.t. (class 5), extract a sliver from a coconut husk in order to make a sling to carry it; *sutim skin bilong kokonas, apim hap skin bilong wokim rop na ropim*.
- ngangir** n. 1. handle of axe or **makor** (sago pounder).
2. frame of a net; *hap mambu bilong umben: korotja ngangir*.
- nango** n. 1. large wooden hook to hang things on inside a house; *bikpela wuk ol man i save hangamapim ol samting long em i go insait long haus*.
2. a kind of marking carved into hour-glass drums and slit-gong drums; *mak ol man i gat save bai makim long kundu na long garamut*.
- nao** n. 1. genital flesh; *skin bilong sem*; **Kwemja nao**: penis flesh; *skin bilong kok*; **Manja nao**: vulva; *skin bilong kan*.

2. clam meat; *mit bilong kina*. **Eporanja nao:** clam meat or vulva; *mit bilong kina o mit bilong kan*. **Nao sumanja!** Big genitals! (*vulgar*); *Bikpela sem bilong yu!* (*tok nogut*).

napo *n.* camouflaged blind in which men hide to shoot wild pigs, *banis bilong sutim pik*. **Yamja napo:** Blind made by men to wait for pig that will eat at a sago palm that has been cut and stripped to lure the pig; *Banis saksak*.

naw *n.* grasslands; *kunai*.

naw o *v.t.* (class) trample the grass on the periphery of a grassland before setting fire to it, to make a path that the fire-setters can walk on to set the fire to the grassland; *krungutim kunai*.

ndabai-(p)-i *v.t.* (class 1), help or support someone; *helpim, givim sapot*. **Ndabaitukun!** Help her! *Helpim em!* **Ewar Agranaŋi Kwaŋa dabaipingina rumb tambungatan:** Yesterday Agrana helped Kwaŋa carve his (Kwaŋa's) slit-gong drum; *Asde Agrana i helpim Kwaŋa makim garamut bilong em (bilong Kwaŋa)*.

ndabaiki *v.i. irr.* (**yim ndabaipiek, yum ndabaipikem, ŋgi ndabaipiko, yim sene ndabaipiké**), disperse; *go nambaut*. **Yim nda ndabaipiek:** Let's go our own ways now; *Mipela i go nambaut nau*. **Ndabainkem!** Break it up! *Igo nambaut nau!*

ndabe *n.* a tree with branches that have short thorns. Until the early part of the 1900s, was used during female initiation, placed on the ground and inserted into a young woman's vagina, causing her to bleed profusely (compare **mainye**); *diwai i gat ol liklik nil. Ol tumbuna meri bilong bipo tru save putim ol liklik han bilong despela diwai insait long sem bilong ol nupela meri, long wanem ol i laik rausim blut nogut long bodi bilong em (em wankain olsem mainye)*.

ndabo *n.* cheek; *sait bilong wasket*.

ndaburak *n.* tree with red sap, used to make frames for blinds in houses; *diwai i gat redpela blut, ol han bilong em i no hevi na ol*

man save putim long haus na nilim ol blain antap long ol.

ndadab n. 1. peel; *skin bilong wanem samting ol man i bin tekewe long en*.

2. bark of tree; *skin bilong diwai*. See also **ngakraw**.

ndadar *n.* a piece of limbum palm the size and shape of a large dustpan used to pick up what one has swept into a pile; *hap pangal ol man na meri i save usim long rausim ol pipia*.

ndadibwanj *n.* lip, *skin bilong maus*.

ndadum *n.* sheath cut from the base of a sago palm leaf, used to carry things like sago flour in, and also used as a funnel for washing sago pith; *pangal bilong saksak, ol man i save yusim long karim muna na ol meri i save usim long wokim iko*.

ndag *n.* top-middle part of felled sago palm; *namel i go antap bilong saksak ol man i paitim mit bilong en*.

ndagro *n.* roof shingle made of sago palm leaf; *morota*.

ndagu *n.* theft; *stil*. **Ŋgume ndagunjan nam ayata.** Enough of that talk about stealing; *Despela totok bilong stil inap nau*.

ndaguni *adj.* furtively; *stil*.

ndaguni tar *v.t.* (class 4), steal something; *stilm*. **Ŋnan ta ndaguni tatiatro:** They stole my knife. *Ol i stilm naip bilong mi*.

ndagurai *n.* Dollarbird (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 25, #3)

ndagurgar munje/nonor *n.* thief (*lit.* 'steal man/woman'); *stilm an o stilmeri*.

ndagurki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak; r** → Ø in realis, so **ŋgu ndagutak; ŋi ndagunet; yum ndagunkem**): steal; *stil*. **Ndagutuko:** They stole; *Ol i stil*.

ndagurni *adv.* without permission; *stil*.

ndadrar *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), swim; *swim*.

ndakin *n.* package, envelope; *karamap*.

ndakin-(p)-o *v.t.* (class 1), wrap up something in a container or package; *karamapim*.

ndakop *n.* together; *wantaim*. **Ndakop okitike:** Let's go the two of us. *Mitupela wantaim bai go. Ndakop onkem!* Go together! *Igo wantaim!*

ndakruk *n.* Hooded Butcherbird (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 55, #6).

ndakur *n.* large, green olive-like seeds of the **ngimraw** tree, boiled and eaten; *ol pikinini bilong tulip ol man i save boilim na kaikai.*

ndam *n.* cluster on one vine of betel nut or betel nut substitute like **ndekik**; *han buai o ndekik.*

ndamir *n.* 1. food remains, i.e. crumbs and stains and bits of food on plates or clothes; *pipia bilong kaikai.*

2. dirty in the sense of poor personal hygiene; *deti olsem man i no save waswas gut.* **Munje ainde ndamir sumanna, tuwngar wákare:** That man is really dirty, he doesn't bathe; *Man ia skin bilong em save deti, em i no save waswas.*

ndar *n.* bird's beak; *nus bilong pisin.*

ndaram bwar *n.* back of hand; *baksait bilong han.*

ndaram *n.* 1. arm; *han.*

2. hand; *han.* **Orakangar ninkurema ndaram enkurem:** They made food and shook hands (in conciliation); *Ol i wokim kaikai na sekhan.* **Ndaram tawainukurem!:** You all applaud! *Yupela paitim han!*

ndaramnja adadit *n.* wrist, *join bilong han.*

ndaramnja imin *n.* palm of hand (*lit.* 'belly of hand'); *insait bilong han.*

ndarúpadigar *n.* (secret code), the word used by women to name a freshwater fish called **kut** when they see one and want to net it. If they say the word **kut**, it will elude them; *hait tok bilong ol meri taim ol i lukim wanpela kut. Ol i kolim nem tru bilong pis em bai bikhet na ol i no inap wumbenim em.*

ndaw *v.t.* (class 5), stir or shake something; *noisim.*

ndedej *n.* bedbug, *liklik binatang i save stap insait long bedsit na kaikaim ol man long taim bilong slip.*

ndebodam *n.* Rail (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 10).

ndebom *n.* Purple Swampphen (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 10, #14).

ndederki *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**; /t/ → Ø in realis, so **ndedenet/ ndedenak**): roll; *tainim tainim i go.* **Pap otiteka ndedetaka oriek tokroni:** The coconut fell and rolled down the slope; *Kokonas i pundaun na tainim tainim i godaun long ples daun.*

ndegib *n.* rib, side; *bun bilong sait.*

ndekik *n.* 1. tree from which **tak** (supporting floorboard runners) are cut; *diwai ol man save usim long katim tak.*

2. the nut of this tree, eaten as betel nut substitute; *pikinini bilong despela diwai, ol man i save kaikai taim ol i lus long buai.*

nder *n.* path, road; *rot.* **Ndernja nonor:** promiscuous woman (*lit.* 'road woman'); *pamuk meri*; **Ndernja ror:** out-of-wedlock child; (*lit.* 'road child'); *bastad pikinini.*

ndidi yam *n.* a kind of **yam** sago palm with few needles and a very hard interior. *Saksak i nogat planti nil na mit bilong em i strong tru.*

ndirmar *n.* river; *wara Sepik.*

ndi *emph. part.* particle that emphasizes or focuses attention on the word that precedes it; *hap tok bilong strongim narapela hap tok.* See Section 3.11 of grammar.

ndidik *n.* 1. hiccup. Believed to make children grow faster; *win ol man i pulim hariap hariap; ol pikinini i pulim win olsem ol man i tok bai grow hariap.*

2. scar, *sua i drai pinis tasol mak long skin i stap yet.*

ndidik *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), hiccup; *pulim win hariap hariap.*

ndidikdidik *adj.* lumpy, bumpy; *kiao kiao, i gat ol liklik bukbuk.*

ndidimanj *n.* eel-like fish with hard shell on head; *pis i luk olsem malio tasol i gat hatpela sel long het bilong em.*

ndidínonjko *n.* Wampoo Fruit Dove (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 17, #5).

ndiriri-(p/w)-ar *v.t.* (class 2), stick together with someone or something; *pas wantaim.*

Mun sene anje mbwar ndiririparkureya tutukeya wuke: The two men are sitting back to back; *Tupela man i givim baksait na tupela pas na i stap.*

ndiriri-(p/w)-arki v.i. (**ndiriripariet/ndiriripariek, sene ndiririparke**), copulate; *kwap*. **Nje sene ndiririparkeya wuke**: The two dogs are copulating; *Tupela dok i pas wantaim na istap*.

ndok n. decoration; *bilas*.

ndok v.t. (class 5), decorate; *bilasim*.

ndokdok n. chisel; *sisel*.

ndokop n. Meliphagas and Honeyeaters (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 46).

ndokopndokop v.t. (class 5), make clicking sound to call puppies; *singautim ol pikinini dok*.

ndow kawrik n. bunion (*lit.* 'tough foot'); *skin i kamap strongpela long lek*.

ndow n. 1. leg; *lek*.

2. foot; *lek*.

3. shoe; *su*.

ndowbir n. ankle; *join bilong lek*.

ndowbwar n. top of foot; *skin i stap antap long lek*.

ndowni o v.t. (class 1), kick something (*lit.* 'strike with foot'); *kikim*.

ndownja imin n. sole of foot (*lit.* 'foot+POSS belly'); *ananeat long lek*.

ndownja ku n. heel; *as bilong lek*.

ndownjan sokop n. ankle; *join bilong lek*.

ndrik n. venom; *marasin bilong bagarapim man*. **Kakámatikma ndrik**: millipede venom; *marasin bilong kakámatik*; **Kainja ndrik**: venom in the smoke produced when a **kainj** nut is burned, that affects human skin like poison ivy; *marasin bilong kainj*. **Tatakutre ikurre kakámatik ewandni uroka pepeika puwoka ngingonja tawni wospikunde ngon ndrikyi ngino opiatan**: Last night as I was sleeping in my mosquito net a millipede slithered in and crawled up to the side of my eye; I brushed it away but its venom burned my eye; *Asde mi slip istap na wanpela kakámatik i go insait long taunamb na igo insait na wakabaut i go antap long sait bilong ai, mi rausim em na marasin bilong em i kukim ai bilong mi*.

ndrig n. lobe, cartilage; *hap skin, hap bun*. **Nekerja ndrig**: earlobe; *hap skin bilong*

yau. **Rawnja ndrig**: nostril or septum; *sait bilong nus o bun bilong nus*. See also **kondit; rawnja sokop**.

ndugubar n. spine; *bun bilong baksait*.

nduko n. branch; *han bilong diwai*.

ndukup temp. six days from now; *nau i go inap s taxpela de*.

ndum v.t. (class 5), clear undergrowth, e.g. to prepare a garden; *brasim*.

ndúmdum n. poison; *posin*.

ndumki v.i. (**-net/-nak**), clear undergrowth; *brasim*.

nek n. 1. ladder, i.e. notched pole used to go up into houses, which are always raised at least 1.5 meters off the ground; *lada*.

2. door; *dua*.

nekan n. 1. earthquake; *guria*.

2. walking stick insect; *binatang i luk olsem han bilong diwai*.

neke n. ear; *iau*.

nekénduko n. tall grass found in **naw** (grasslands). Avoided because its three-cornered, sharp stems slice skin like razors; *trikona*.

nekenekeki v.i. (**-tike**), divorce; *stap wanwan*.

Omindeominde ndakopke wuke?

Wákare, nekeneketikera: Is the couple still together? No, they're divorced. *Tupela marit i stap wantaim yet? Nogat, tupela i stap wanwan*. The verb is a reduplication of **neker** 'alone'.

nekeni warakki v.i. (**-net/-nak**), talk on mobile phone (*lit.* 'talk against ear'); *toktok long mobail*.

neker adv. alone, by oneself; *wan*. **Yu neker otet!**: You go by yourself!; *Yu wan i go!*. See also **nayar**.

neni n. 1. (*dl.* **neningre; pl.** **neningro**), grandfather; *apa man*.

2. ancestor; *tumbuna man*.

nengib n. genital fluids of both sexes; *wara bilong kok o bilong kan*. **Nengib utok**: Genital fluid appeared; *Wara bilong kok o bilong kan i kamap*; **Nengib kwemnja apro!**: Runny dick! (*vulgar*) *Kok bilong yu i pulap long wara! (tok nogut)*. **Yu aini enda aikitak nengib rukrutak!** You dare come

- here, your cunt juice will fly out all over the place (because I will hit you)! (*vulgar*); *Yu kam bai wara bilong kan bilong yu sut i go!* (*tok nogut*).
- nenginiki nenginiki** *adv.* very slowly, gradually; *isi isi*. **Awin wek nenginiki nenginiki**: The water came (i.e. the tide came in) very slowly; *Wara i kam isi isi*.
- ner** *n.* 1. short traditional grass skirt that went down to above the knee. Cut in layers (**patirki patirki**) like the stepladder to a house; *pulpul. Ol i save katim patirki patirki*.
2. long tail feathers of bird of paradise; *pulpulbilong ol kumul*. See also **ngorok**; **pesaw**.
- níme** *adv.* thus, like this; *olsem*. **Na níme teunietre ngu oki wákare Merewre**. I'm afraid of that, that she didn't go to Sanae; *Mi pret olsem em i no bin i go long Mangum*.
- nímera** *mood part.* expression of surprise that something occurred contrary to expectation; *hap tok bilong tok olsem yu ting wanpela samting bai kamap na i no kamap tu*. **Yum nímera akunana mbekem**: So you've all come to do nothing, is it?; *Yupela kam long istap nating, ah?* See Section 7.6.4 of the grammar.
- nimña pap** *n.* love magic; *marira, pupuru*. **Na nimña pap apukrunet**: I'm going to make some love magic; *Mi bai kukim marira*.
- ninjan** *adj.* like; *olsem*. **Ewar yim aram taningin. Aram Ndairnji penginjan, ninjan me nipisña kemem**: Yesterday we saw a snake as long as the one that Ndair caught; *Asde mipela i lukim snek i bikpela olsem narapela snek ia Ndair i bin holim em*. **Ninjan nonor ango engon wákare**: This kind of woman isn't good; *Despela kain meri i no gutpela*.
- nirki** *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**; **r** → Ø in realis, so **ninet/ninak**), 1. do; *mekim*. **Ni ninet** (sticks out tongue): He went (sticks out tongue); *Em mekim olsem (soinim tang)*.
2. have sex with; *mekim samting wantaim man o meri*. **Ni ngunana ninet**: He had sex with her (*lit.* 'he with her made');

Em (man) i mekim em (meri). **Ngu njinana nitak**. *Em (meri) i mekim em (man)*.

nir *v.t.* (class 4), 1. do something; *wokim*.

2. make something; *mekim*.

3. signal something; *mekim*. **Nginoni ninin**: He signalled to me with his eyes; *Em i mekim mi long ai*.

4. say something, *tok*. **Ni pemietre niniet, "Tsk"**. He got up and went "Tsk" to me; *Em kirap i tokim mi olsem, "Tsk"*.

5. look after; *lukautim*. **Eneke nirmankuenejan?** Is it only now you've been looking after us? (wailed over an old woman's corpse, meaning "You've looked after us for many years"); *Nau tasol yu save lukautim mipela?*

nirengar munje *n.* boyfriend; *pren man*.

nirengar nonor *n.* girlfriend; *pren meri*.

nirere *temp.* a little while ago; *nau tasol*. **Nirere ngwok**: They just left; *Nau tasol ol i go*.

nikir *n.* lap; *lek ol pikinini i save sindaun long en*.

nim iru *n.* 1. seeds of tree; *sit bilong diwai; pikinini bilong diwai*.

2. rice; *rais*.

3. cocoa beans; *kakau*.

nim *n.* 1. tree (*generic*); *diwai (biknem)*.

2. wart; *liklik buk long skin*.

nimaniadi *v.t.* (class 3: **nimanikadingin** 'he beat him'/ **nimaniodingin** 'she beat him'), hit, strike or slap someone; *kilim*. **Ror mosok anguky air woreku woka mayayi nimaniodukun**: The little child spilled the lime and her mother hit her; *Liklik pikinini i kapsaitim kambang na mama i paitim em*.

nimaniadiki *v.i.* (group IIa intransitive verb: **njan nimanikadiet/nimanikadiek**; **ngu nimaniodiek, yum nimanikadikem, ngi nimanigodiek**), hit, slap; *pait*. **Njanano nimanikadiet**: He hit himself; *Em i paitim em yet*.

nimar *n.* mangrove swamp; *mangoro*.

nimbija *n.* [*Kopar*], a person or animal who is extremely skinny; *man o pik i bun nating*.

nimbisim *n.* lemongrass; *smel kunai*.

nimbup *n.* 1. rotten log or tree; *diwai i sting pinis na i go malomalo*.

2. corpse of person; *bodi bilong man indai long en*.

3. phosphorescent fungus that grows on rotten trees; *wanpela kain mosong o talinga i save stap long ol diwai na i save lait long nait*.

nimbup kotar-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), ask a corpse; *askim bodi*. A tradition, last practiced in the mid-1980s, of carrying a corpse on a bier just before burial and whispering in its ear, asking it to reveal who killed it through sorcery. The corpse then moves its bearers to walk to various houses and people, bumping against them, leaving villagers to interpret the message; *wanpela we bilong painim aut husat i kilim man o meri long poison*. *Ol man bai askim bodi husat i poisonim em na em bai mekim ol man i karim em i go nambaut na bamp long ol haus na long ol man o meri*. *Em nau, ol man bai lukim na tingim*. *Ol man i lusim despela we bilong askim bodi long ol yia long 1986 nambaut*.

nimir *n.* stick for carrying things such as bananas, coconuts, the carcass of a dead pig or cassowary; *hap diwai ol man i wokim long karim ol samting olsem banana, kokonas, bodi bilong pik man i kilim long en*.

nimirkokir *n.* bridge; *bris*. See also **kongrik**.

nimnimki *v.i.* (-net/-nek), be taut; *tait*. **Ngrip**

nimnimitak: The rope is tight; *Rop i tait*.

Ror ango oraki asakpekuna nimnimitak: The child was frightened by a spirit and was paralyzed; *Wanpela samting i kalapim pikinini ia na skin bilong em i tait olgeta*.

nimnat *n.* branch, stick; *hap diwai*.

ning *n.* bone; *bun*. **Yu ningnake amugar?** Are you strong enough (*lit.* 'do you have the bones') to fight? *Yu gat bun bilong pait ah?*;

Njing sinder: skinny, without fat; *bun nating*.

ningar *v.t.* (class 4), portion out; *skelim, dilim*. **Ewar orakanjar ningatukuro**: Yesterday they portioned out the food; *Asde ol i dilim kaikai*.

ningasin *n.* furry caterpillar; *pikinini bilong bataplai i gat gras, yu holim em bai skin bilong yu bai pen*.

ningir *n.* snot; *kus*. **Ningir rawna!** Snotty nose! *Kus nus yu!*

ningirnan *adj.* sticky, *bai pas long skin*.

ningirarik *n.* stage two (of five) in coconut formation, the coconut has meat, but it is watery, like egg white; *yangpela kokonas i gat mit tasol mit bilong em i warawara*.

niñir *n.* 1. sap; *blut bilong diwai*.

2. glue; *glu*.

niñir aram *n.* species of smallish snake said to omit a sticky fluid when touched or held (*lit.* 'glue snake'); *snek i gat glu long skin bilong em na bai pas long skin bilong yu*.

niñirnan *adj.* sticky (*lit.* 'has sap'); *i gat glu na i save pas long han o long wanem samting*.

nipis 1. *adv.* enough; *inap*. **Yu nipis wákare njanan nam epengar**: You don't have it in you (i.e. you aren't strong enough or clever enough) to respond to my talk; *Yu no inap bekim maus bilong mi*. **Na nipis enda**: I'm up to it, I can do it; *Mi pitman, mi inap*; **Yuwon patir nipiske?** Is your house big enough? *Haus bilong yu inap ah?*

2. *adv.* almost; *mak*. **Na nipis wasowngar, wákare**: I was ready to die but I didn't; *Mi kisim mak bilong indai tasol mi no indai*.

3. *adv.* the same, *wankain*. **Yu nipis nambar inde kut**: You're still the same; *Yu stap wankain yet*.

4. *n.* sufficiency; *inap*. **Nipis wákare**: There isn't enough; *I no inap*.

5. *n.* imprint; *mak bilong han o lek*. **Ndownjan nipis**: footprint; *mak bilong lek*.

nir *n.* 1. clump; *strongpela samting*. **Kawatnja nir**: a clump of salt; *sol i go strongpela*.

2. tree with hard wood; *diwai i strongpela na hat long katim*.

3. the remains of a tree when it is stripped of branches, leaves and bark and made into a housepost; **Sakindnja nir**: bare house post; *bun diwai ol i wokim long pos bilong haus*.

nja-(p)-o *v.t.* (class 1), **1.** peel or shave off something; *sapim, tekewe, rausim skin, olsem long taro.*

2. remove spine from tobacco leaf; *rausim bun bilong ol lip brus.*

njajak *n.* brown grasshopper; *braunpela gra-shopa.*

njakep *n.* flying fox; *bilak bokis.*

njakep oraw *n.* a kind of flying fox, big with white and red fur on its neck; *bikpela bilak bokis i gat waitpela na redpela gras long nek.*

njakep ror *n.* poor thing, someone who has nothing (*lit.* 'flying fox child'); *tarangu man, rabis man.*

njakepma arit *n.* small black mosquitoes that appear in the late afternoon and early evening; *ol liklik liklik bilakpela natnat i save kamap long apinun klostu tudak.*

njakum *n.* traditional 'joking' kin, which are inherited kin relations to members of the clans into which one may not marry; *wan-pilai.*

njalat *n.* a kind of tree with soft bark that has leaves like poison ivy that inflame the skin. The red shoots of the tree are gathered and mixed with bamboo fuzz and meat, put in a bamboo tube and roasted. This mixture, when cooled is given to dogs to eat, to 'heat' their stomachs so that they can fight successfully with and kill pigs. Men use this same mixture to 'heat' their own stomachs in preparation for fighting; *kain diwai i gat ol lip bilong em man i tasim bai pen i kamap bihain. Ol man i save kisim redpela kru bilong em wantaim mosong bilong mambu na mixim wantaim wanpela abus, putim igo insait long wanpela hap mambu na kukim, na givim long dog bilong hatim bel bilong em long pait wantaim pik. Man tu i ken wokim na kaikai long hatim skin bilong em.*

njam *n.* hurriedly-assembled bush house with only one half of a roof; *bus haus ol man i save wokim hariap na i gat hap marota tasol antap. Yu njam waksiretak!* Make a bush house! *Wokim wanpela bus haus!*

njame *n.* the dregs of the **tawar** that remain in the **iko**; *pipia saksak olsem das i stap long iko.*

njanimb' *n.* (*pl.* **njanimbeda**) (*obsolete*), great-grandchild; *pikinini bilong pikinini bilong pikinini.*

njapar *n.* an edible green vegetable with leaves that look like large mint leaves and that when boiled tastes like spinach; *aupa.*

njawap *adj.* wet, *i gat wara.*

njawap *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), become wet; *wara i wasim.*

nje *n.* (*pl.* **njenum**), dog; *dok.*

njegagip *n.* tree from which the handle of an axe is carved; *diwai ol man i save wokim pandeja nangir long en.*

njem *n.* **1.** spittle; *spet.*

2. magical chant; *singsing i gat pawa bilong em.*

3. foam; *spet.*

njem ru *v.t.* (class 4), spit on something; *troimwe spet. Mbeka njem tunkun:* I came and spit; *Mi kam na mi troimwe spet.*

njemni andu *v.t.* (class 3), spit magic chant on; *spetim.*

njemuk *n.* metal scraper the size and shape of serrated spoon affixed to a small stool used to grate coconut; *sikarap bilong kokonas.*

njeja rewi *n.* dog's teeth, traditionally used as a kind of money; *tit bilong dok ol tumbuna i save usim olsem moni.* See also **marngoram.**

njeyewir at *n.* mosquito with red coloring (*lit.* 'dogshit mosquito'); *redpela mosquito.*

njjerik *n.* Lorikeet (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 19, #8–18). Being replaced by the Koper-language word **njjerin**.

njijirin *n.* bubble, *babol. Njijirin wukar wok:* Bubbles are rising; *Babol i go antap.*

njim *n.* **1.** haze; *smok.*

2. water made of scraped base of the **arit** tree, used to wash carvings before they are painted; *wara bilong kil bilong diwai arit ol man i save boinim long paia, sikarapim, na putim long laplap bilong kokonas na wasim. Wara bilong em bai yu usim long wasim ol kabings, bihain*

bai yu putim pen long ol. Ajiragini kandibwan njimni pokun: Ajiragi washed the carvings in **njim**; *Ajiragi i wasim ol kabings long njim.*

njinai *n.* soft stone; *wanpela kain ston i no hat tumas.*

njip *n.* mouse; *liklik rat.*

njogrob *n.* shelf fungus that grows on **mberig** trees; boiled and eaten; *talinga i save kamap long ol diwai mbergig, ol man i save boilim na kaikai wantaim mum.* See also **manimbomo**.

njojok *n.* green grasshopper; *grinpela gra-shopa.*

nkinkim *n.* [*Adjora*], fatty, end part of a cassowary's tail; *as bilong muruk.* The Tayap equivalent is **ngatma mipat**.

nkirkir *n.* [*Adjora*], sorcery that has been rubbed on something a person ingests; *poisin ol man nogut i rabim long wanpela samting na narapela man i kaikaim em. Nkirkir kakun:* He ingested an ensorcelled object; *Em i kaikai o em i smok wanpela samting i gat poisin long en.*

nok *n.* urine, *pisipis.*

nok nder *n.* bladder (*lit.* 'urine path'). Sometimes removed from the bodies of animals killed in a hunt and blown up like a balloon for children to play with; *insait long bodi pisipis i save kamap long en; ol man i save rausim na winim long ol pikinini bai hamamas long pilai wantaim em.*

nom *n.* a kind of wild taro; *wanpela kain wait-aro.*

nomb *n.* name; *nem. Anima nomb?* What is (your) name? (*lit.* 'Whose name [is yours]?'); *Wanem nem bilong yu?*

noni *n.* small tree with yellow inner bark, people dig up the roots, mix them with coconut and make oil that they use to oil their skin; *liklik diwai i gat yelopela mit bilong en, ol man na ol meri save dikim ol rop bilong em na wokim wel bilong welim skin.*

nono *n.* yam; *yam.*

nonódadáb *n.* dragonfly. Children capture these in nets and tie them to a string and play with them; *binatang i save kamap*

planti long apinun. I gat bikpela win na ol pikinini save kisim na taitim long string na pilai long en.

nonge *n.* white clay that pregnant women often crave to eat; *waitpela graun ol meri i gat bel i save laikim long kaikai.*

nonor *n.* (*dl. nanjaw; pl. nanro*), **1.** woman; *meri.*

2. wife; *meri bilong man.*

3. *adj.* female; *meri. Nje nonor:* female dog, bitch; *dok meri.*

nonorki *v.i.* (*-net/-nak*), become a woman; *kamap meri. Ngu kapa weka numnja nonortakara:* She's really become a village woman (said of a women who moved to Gapun from another village); *Em kamap meri bilong ples pinis.*

nonorŋa kup *n.* lower intestine, *bel.*

nop *n.* boil; *sua. Nop utok:* A boil appeared; *Sua i kamap.*

num *n.* **1.** village; *ples. Tayap num:* Gapun village; *ples Gapun.*

2. Great-billed Heron (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 3, #3–4).

numat *n.* **1.** ground, *graun. Mbaso bal rukotitek numatni:* Mbaso threw the ball on the ground. *Mbaso i troimwe bal i godaun long graun.*

2. area around one's house; *hap bilong man long arrare long haus. Nanjan numwatja oromni emrariakangremke!* You can't play in the area around my house! *Yupela i no ken pilai long hap bilong mi!*

numbutik *n.* small cockroach; *liklik kokros.*

numbwan i *v.t.* (class 1, the verb is **i**, 'to give'),

1. think something; *tingim.*

2. realize something, *tingim. Na ndi numbwan pikun yu mbotmera:* I thought you had gone; *Mi ting olsem yu go pinis.*

numbwan mbabsakki *v.i.* (*-net/-nak*), forget; *lus ting. Numbwan mbabsakgarke!* Don't forget! *I no ken lus ting!*

numbwan *n.* **1.** thought; *tinting.*

2. desire; *laik. Ngu ngon numbwanni wok:* She went because she wanted to; *Em i go long laik bilong en.*

3. knowledge, sense; *save*. **Yu numbwan wákare**: You have no sense; *Yu nogat save*.
4. intention; *laik*. **Ŋa numbwan wákare tawk krarngar**: I didn't mean to break the plate; *Mi no brukim plet long laik*.
5. happiness, contentedness; *skin i hamamas*; **Numbwan memki wákare, totoŋan naimb suman**. My thoughts aren't getting up, my skin is really heavy (i.e. I am unhappy); *Mi no hamamas, skin bilong mi i hevi tru*.

numbwan reki interj. watch out, be careful (lit. 'with thought'); *lukaut*. **Numbwan reki adigarana ŋaŋan orak**: Be careful not to break my thing; *Lukaut long brukim samting bilong mi*.

num-(p)-o *v.t.* (conjugated like **o**). Usually followed by the conjunction **-a** or **-ya** and a fully inflected verb of motion): appear in a group; *ikam o igo grup*. **Numokruya aiki wákare**: They didn't come in a group; *Ol i no kam grup*.

numun *n.* 1. basket sling; *sling bilong basket*: **sapwarŋa numun**.

2. wire on pot used to hang it up above fire; *handel bilong pot*: **ongabŋa numun**. See also **ambrim**.

nunuk 1. *temp.* later, afterwards; *bihain*.

2. *n.* behind, *baksait*.

nunukni *adv.* 1. behind; *baksait*; **Mukar ŋaŋan nunukni tutotakut**: Mukar is sitting behind me; *Mukar i sindaun long baksait bilong mi*.

N

ŋa *pro.* 1. I; *mi*.

2. me; *mi*.

ŋan *pro.* his; *bilang em (man)*.

ŋano *pro.* oneself or itself; *yet*. **Ŋa ŋano taniet awin nanukni**: I see myself in the mirror; *Mi lukim mi yet long glas*. **Ŋgi ŋano rarekutikeya tutukeya wuke**: They are sitting looking at each other; *Tupela i sindaun lukluk pes tu pes na istap*. **Ŋa ŋanoki okineta tarkrunet**: I myself will go and get it; *Mi yet bai mi go kisim*.

2. *adv.* after; *bihain*. **Ŋgu woka Wewak wukre, ŋgon nunukni omin wasownet**: She went to Wewak and while she was there, after she had gone, her husband died; *Em i go istap long Wewak na man bilong em indai bihain long igo bilong em*.

nunukŋa orom *n.* future; *bihain taim*.

nunukŋa ror *n.* last born (lit. 'afterwards child'); *lasbon, las pikinini*.

nunum *adv.* go quickly, *ron*. Inserted into commands to emphasize the need for speed; *hariap*. **Kukununumwetet!**: Bring it right now, fast! (lit. 'bring it running'); *Kisim i kam hariap!*

nunum-(p)-oki *v.i.* (**ŋa nunumpot/-pok; yu nunumpot/-pok; ŋi nunumpot; ŋgu nunumpok, yim nunumpok; yum nunumpokem; ŋgi nunumpoko; yim sene nunumpoke**). Usually followed by the conjunction **-a** or **-ya** and a fully inflected verb of motion): go quickly; *ron*. **Ŋi nunumpota mbet**: He came running; *Em ron i kam*. **Ŋgi nunumoki wákare**: They didn't run; *Ol i no ron i go*. **Aram inde nunumpota mbot**. The snake went quickly; *Snek i ron i go*.

nunŋa orom *n.* dry season; *draisisen*.

nuruw *n.* ironwood tree from which slit-gong drums and **ngúnbara** (house posts) are cut; *diwai garamut*. See also **sakind**.

nuwomb *n.* creek; *baret*.

ŋaŋan *pro.* mine; *bilang mi*.

ŋat *n.* piece; *hap*. **Mborsipŋat kukuwe**: Give me a piece of pig meat; *kisim hap abus i kam*; **Tamwainat kukuwe**: Give me a piece of sago pancake; *Hap praim i kam ia*.

ŋaumb *n.* large shell ring traditionally hung around neck as decoration during singing and dancing; *bikpela sel kina ol tumbuna i save hangamap long nek long taim bilong singsing*.

ngawmb *n.* rings that decorated **toriw** (traditional bracelets); *ol liklik ring i save hangamap long ol paspas.*

ngawmbi *n.* large white stone ring with hole in the middle, traditionally used both as decoration and as valuable object; *bikpela waitpela ston ring bilong ol tumbuna.*

ngayar (also **ngayor**) *adv.* 1. really, truly; *tru.*
Suman nayar: really big; *bikpela tru.*

2. by oneself; *tasol.* **Na ngayar okinet:** I'm going alone; *Mi tasol bai go.* See also **neker.**

ngayor See **ngayar**

ngabugar *n.* the biggest kind of rat; *bikpela rat.*

ngabugrip *n.* a large brown or black beetle that lives in breadfruit trees, its larvae are **urukuruk** and both the larvae and the adults are eaten; *mama bilong ol urukuruk i save stap long ol kapiak. Ol man i save kaikai despela ol mama na ol pikinini tu.*

ngadan *n.* sore; *sua.*

ngadir-(p)-i *v.t. irr.* (class 1; behaves like a class 1 verb in realis, but has no **i** in irrealis; so **ngadirpikun** 'he passed by her', but **ngadirkrū wákare** 'he didn't pass by her'): pass someone or something by; *abrisim.*

ngadir-(p)-i *v.t. irr.* (class 1; behaves like a class 1 verb in realis, but has no **i** in irrealis; so **ngadirpimro** 'they defeated us', but **ngadirmri wákare** 'we were not defeated'): defeat someone; *winim.*

ngado *adj.* bent, crooked; *krungut.* **Man ngado!** Crooked cunt! (*vulgar*); *Kan i krungut! (tok nogut).*

ngadogadi *adj.* really bent, really crooked; *krungut tru.* **Ngadogadiŋa munje:** Stooped over old man who cannot stand up straight; *Man i krungut.*

ngadogadi *v.t.* (class 5), twist or bend something; *tainim na krungutim.*

ngadoki *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**) bend; *krungut.*

ngaga-(p/w)-eki *v.i.* (-**pet/-pek**), tip; *i sait.*
Ongab anŋi ngagapek, Tarakwetak! The pot is tipping over, put it right! *Pot i sait, stretim em!*

ngagar *n.* side; *sait.* **Yimbarŋa ngagar:** side of a canoe; *sait bilong kanu;* **Turoŋa ngagar:** side of the hearth; *sait bilong hap ol meri i*

save sindaun i kuk long en; **Kumŋa ngagar:** the side of a grave; *sait bilong hul ol i save planim bodi bilong man long en.*

ngagaweni *pos.* on its side; *sait.* **Ongab anŋi ngagaweni pungok anŋi wuk, tarakme-mebatukun!** The pot is lying on its side, take it and right it! *Pot is em i sait i stap, yu stretim na sanapim!*

ngagit *n.* smallest digit on hand or foot; *liklik pinga bilong han o bilong lek.* **Ndaramŋa ngagit:** little finger, *liklik pinga bilong han.*
Ndowŋa ngagit: little toe; *liklik pinga bilong lek.*

ngagobit *n.* the cut of pork around the tail. This is the choice cut that usually goes to the men who helped the hunter carry the dead pig from the rainforest into the village. It can also be given to the man who speared the pig, if it was speared in someone else's **napo** (sago palm pig trap); *as bilong pik. Ol man i save laikim despela hap abus, na papa bilong pik i save dilim despela long ol man i helpim em karim bodi bilong pik ikam long ples. Sapos wanpela man i sutim pik long banis saksak bilong wanpela narapela man, papa bilong despela banis saksak i save givim despela hap abus long husat man i bin sutim pik long en.*

ngagon *n.* tail of all animals, including fish; *tel bilong olgeta animol na bilong pis tu.*

ngagrini *adv.* out of the corner of one's eye; *lukim long hap ai.* **Ngagrini taningŋin:** I saw him out of the corner of my eye; *Mi lukim em tasol long hap ai.*

ngagwak *n.* [*Kopar*], crack, crevice; *wul.*
ngagwak mir, njemat man nimŋat ngagwak mbini nitakŋa! You big hole, your dog's cunt makes like a hole in a tree! (*vulgar*); *Wul yu, hul bilong yu olsem bilong dok, i save mekim olsem wul bilong diwai! (tok nogut).*

ngaibo *n.* 1. the tough skin around the jawbone of a pig once one has removed the jawbone; *strongpela skin bilong pik bilong wosket.*

2. (*vulgar*) cunt; *kan.* **Ngaiboŋa taw suman!** Big cunt! *Draipela kan bilong yu!*

ngagir *v.t.* (class 4), enumerate; *kolim ol samting*. **Yu ngo ngagitimbin!** You enumerate! *Yu kolim ol!*

ngakraw *n.* peel; *skin bilong ol samting bilong tekewe*. See also **ndadab**.

ngakraw-(p)-o *v.t.* (class 1), **1.** peel something, e.g. bananas, sugar cane, bread-fruit seeds, eggs, sores; *tekewe skin long banana, suga, pikinini bilong kapiak, kiao, ol sua*.

2. shell something, such as coffee beans; *selim kopi na ol kain bin olsem*. **Kopi tarak masinni ngakrawokwankuk:** We used to take coffee to the machine to shell it; *Mipela i save kisim kopi na putim long masin long selim*.

ngakrawmunjik *n.* **1.** a newly formed coconut with no meat, stage one (of five) in coconut formation; *nupela kokonas tru i nogat mit*.

2. vine with sharp spines. Before WWII, this vine was dried and wrapped into bundles. It was used to beat male initiates in the men's house; *rop i gat nil. Ol tumbuna save paitim ol yangpela man insait long haus boi wantaim despela rop*.

ngakre *n.* jaw; *wisiket*.

ngakreŋa pupur *n.* beard (*lit.* 'jaw hair'); *mausgras*.

ngamai *n.* wind from the mountain, i.e. south wind; *win i save kamap long maunten*.

ngamamb *n.* **1.** upper back; *antap bilong baksait*; **Ror inde njanan ngamambni kut, yim weke nimirkokirni otitike awinni:** The child was (being carried) on my back, we went and on the bridge we fell into the water; *Pikinini ia i stap long baksait bilong mi, mitupela i go na long bris mitupela i pundaun long wara*.

2. the spaces in the front and back of a house under the pinnacles of the roof; *kona bilong haus*.

ngamambat *n.* the cut of pig meat that is on either side of the bone that connects the head to the spine; *abus bilong bun bilong nek bilong pik*.

ngamamber *n.* a green and brown acorn-like nut that is cooked and eaten; *pikinini bilong diwai i gat grinpela na braunpela kala ol man i save kukim na kaikai*.

ngamgit *n., adj.* left; *kais*. **Ngamgitja munje:** left-handed man; *kaisman*; **Ngamgitja akan:** left hand, *kaishan*; **Ngamgitja ndow:** left leg; *kaislek*; **Akan ngamgitja taw:** left side; *sait bilong kaishan*. Compare **enŋon**.

ngan *pro.* theirs; *bilong ol*.

nganakaw *v.t.; inv.* let or allow someone do something; *larim*. **Nganakaw warakakawndak:** Let them keep talking; *Larim ol toktok i stap*. **Nganakaw Sunum atotak Potore:** Let Sunum go down to Wongan; *Larim Sunum i godaun long Wongan*.

nganokeya *n.* poor thing; *tarangu*.

ngapar *n.* handle of **kongod** (hour-glass drum); *han bilong kundu*.

ngaptaw *n.* small coconut that has fallen to the ground because a cockatoo has chewed a hole in it to drink and eat; *kokonas i stap long graun ol koki i drilim wul long en long dring wara bilong en*.

ngar *n.* call, shout; *singaut*.

ngar orom *n.* windpipe, *nek*.

ngar *v.t.* (class 4), call or shout out something to someone or something; *singautim*.

Ndamor ngatukun!: Call out to Ndamor; i.e. shout her name to get her attention; *Singautim Ndamor!*

ngararik *n.* large black and white monitor lizard. Its skin is used to make hourglass drums and its flesh is eaten; *bikpela palai ol man i save tekewe skin bilong ol na wokim kundu long en. Abus bilong despela palai ol manmeri i save kaikai*.

ngaratgarat *n.* cicada; *binatang i save pas long diwai na i save singaut taim san i laik godaun*.

ngarir *n.* burp, belch; *win i pas long bel i kamap*; **Ngarir puwok:** He burped (*lit.* 'a burp came up'); *Em i rausim win i pas insait long bel*.

ngarorak *n.* yellow land crab; *yelopela kuka i save stap long graun*.

ngat *n.* 1. Northern Cassowary; *muruk* (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 1, #1).

2. commonly eaten plant with edible green leaves that becomes slimy when boiled; *aibika*.

3. praying mantis; *bikpela grinpela binatang*.

ngat ndow *n.* cuts under the foot where the toes meet the sole of the foot, a condition similar to athletes' foot that afflicts people during the dry season (*lit.* 'cassowary foot'); *ol liklik liklik sua i save kamap long lek long taim bilong draisisen*.

ngat ner *n.* (*lit.* 'cassowary grass skirt'), feather-duster like implement made out of the feathers of cassowaries, carried by big men and used to swat away mosquitos and flies; *liklik brum ol bikman i save wokim long gras bilong muruk na ol i save usim long rausim ol natnat na ol rang*.

ngat tuwaw *n.* immature cassowary whose feathers have not yet turned black; *yangpela muruk i nogat bilakpela gras yet*.

ngatma min *n.* small nipple on the throat of a cassowary through which cassowaries are believed to feed their young with breast milk. The number of young determines the number of nipples; *susu bilong muruk*.

ngatnimnja pupur *n.* stiff bristles on the back of a pig; *strongpela gras i sanap long baksait bilong pik*.

ngatwaw *n.* baby cassowary; *liklik pikinini muruk* (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 1, #2b-c).

ngaweiw *n.* testicles; *bol*.

ngawgarak *n.* Golden Myna (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 49, #1-2).

ngawŋki *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), bark; *singaut bilong ol dok*.

ngawrinŋki *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), growl; *mekim nois olsem dok i laik pait*.

ngawro *n.* a nut-like fruit eaten with salt; *kombi*.

ngawrokukum *n.* immature fruits of the **ngawro** tree; *ol liklik pikinini bilong ngawro*.

ngem *n.* large eel; *malio*.

ngesine *n.* flying squirrel, one of the few mammals in the rainforest not eaten,

because of its unpleasant smell; *wailpusi, ol man i no save kaikai, i gat smel nogut*.

ngido *n.* white pus-like secretion from eyes; *waipela susu nogut i save kamap long ai*.

ngimraw *n.* a kind of edible tree leaves; *ol lip diwai olsem tulip*.

ngino mbod *n.* bone above eyes; *bun bilong ai*.

ngino mbodnja pupur *n.* eyebrow; *gras bilong bun bilong ai*.

ngino *n.* 1. eye; *ai*. **Nginoni ninin**: He signaled to me with his eyes; *Em tokim mi long ai*. **Nginoni tikwankut ŋanana**: He is winking at me; *Em i mekim mi long ai*.

2. head or tip of something, *ai*; as in **ngadanna ngino**: head of boil; *ai bilong sua*.

3. be alive; *i gat laip*. **Aram nginonanke?** Is the snake alive? *Snek i gat ai o?*

4. base of fingernail; *as biling kapa bilong pinga*: **ndaramnja ngino**.

ngino rerem *n.* eyeball; *waitpela long ai*.

Ngino rerem sumannan apro mir!: Big eyeballs! *Draipela ai bilong yu!* Said to children to shame them.

nginonja toto *n.* eyelid (*lit.* 'eye's skin'); *skin bilong ai*.

nginonja totonja pupur *n.* eye lash; *gras bilong ai*.

ngi pro. 1. they; *ol*

2. them; *ol*.

ngib *n.* immature plant, sapling; *kru bilong ol diwai*. **Minjikeŋa ngib**: betel nut sapling; *kru bilong buai*; **Papnja ngib**: coconut sapling; *kru kokonas*.

ngidik *n.* hips; *bun bilong baksait*.

ngidin *adj.* blue, *blupela*.

ngiginŋki *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), walk without being able to see; *wakabout long bikpela tudak*.

Ŋa ewar ikur mitni ngiginŋkar mbota nimni angangupuwot: Yesterday in the pitch darkness I walked along and bumped into a tree; *Asde long bikpela tudak mi wakabout i go na mi bamp long diwai*.

ngigregoki *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), turn and look around, for example when searching for something; *tainim tainim na lukluk*. **Ŋgu ngigregoyakuk**: She's looking around; *Em wok long lukluk long sait sait i kam*; **Ŋi ewar**

- ngigregokar mbot:** He looked around him as he went; *Em luk luk i go long pron, long sait sait na igo.*
- nginana** (also **nginjana**) *adv.* therefore, for that reason; *long despela.* **Yim ngume nam nirkwankukre, pirok. Nginana pirok.** We were talking about that and we laughed. For that reason we laughed. *Mipela mekim toktok olsem na mipela i lap. Long despela mipela i lap.*
- ngir** *n.* stick framework of sago palm leafstalk that holds the limbom sheath buckets upright; *bet bilong pangal bilong putim limbom.*
- ngire** *adv.* therefore; *na olsem.* **Ewar ŋa prukni kuta, ngiré yure tutuku wákare:** Yesterday I was at work, so therefore I didn't sit down with you; *Asde mi stap long wok na olsem mi no sindaun wantaim yu.*
- ngit-(p)-o** *v.t.* (class 1), **1.** tie tightly; *taitim strong.*
2. strangle someone; *taitim nek.* **Yu kokir nirngar ror potak ngitowatinet!** You disobeyed child, I'm going to strangle you! *Yu bikhed pikinini bai mi taitim nek bilong yu!*
- ngiti-(p/w)-ar** *v.t.* (class 2), tie two or more pieces of rope into a knot; *joinim sampela hap rop.* **Ngitiwaritukun!** Tie the knot! *Joinim rop!*
- ngo** *dm.* then, in the sense of 'in that case'; *pastaim.* **Yu ngo otet:** You go then (i.e. you've said you are going to go, so it's OK, you can leave now); *Yu go pastaim.*
- ngo wákare** *adv.* yet; *yet.* **Ŋa oki ngo wákare:** I haven't gone yet; *Mi no go yet.*
- ngodir-(p)-u** *v.t. irr.* (class 1; behaves like a class 1 verb in realis, but has no *i* in irrealis; so **ngodirpukun** 'he requested it', but **ngodirkru wákare** 'he didn't request it'): request something; *askim.*
- ngogrodak** *n.* small bright green lizard that lives inside houses; *grinpela palai i save stap insait long ol haus.*
- ngogrok** *n.* a kind of bamboo like **ying**, traditionally eaten, but not eaten any more; *wanpela kain mambu olsem ying, ol tumbuna i save kaikai tasol nau ol man i no save kaikai.*
- ngoijam** *n.* morning star; *star i save kam antap klostu long tulait.*
- ngomákokir** *n.* small freshwater minnow; *ol liklik liklik pis i save stap insait long baret.*
- ngomar** *n.* fish (generic); *pis (biknem).*
- ngomarongar** *n.* index finger; *pinga bilong han ol man i save usim long poinim ol samting.*
- ngomkokirŋa** *adj.* white hair; *waitpela gras.* **Munje ide ngomkokirŋa mbet inde.** The man with the white hair is coming; *Man i gat waitpela gras i kam ia.*
- ngon** *pro.* hers; *bilong em (meri).*
- ngop** *adj.* young, used for plants and breasts; *yangpela – ol man i save usim long toktok long ol diwai na long susu bilong meri.*
- Minjike ngop:** a young, small betel nut tree; *yangpela, sotpela buai;* **Pap ngop:** a young coconut palm; *yangpela kokonas;* **Min ngopŋa:** young, firm erect breasts; *susu i sanap.*
- ngoram** *n.* Sacred Ibis (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 2, #6–9).
- ngorinsua** *n.* tree, the leaves and shoots of which are boiled and used to cure colds; *diwai ol man i save boilim kru bilong em na kru bilong em long pinisim kus.*
- ngoriw** *n.* shredded sago pancakes mixed with coconut water to form a kind of cold, sweet soup. Eaten on special occasions, such as the night before setting fire to a grassland plain; *brukim brukim ol praim na putim i go insait long wara bilong kokonas. Ol man i save kaikai despela long taim bilong bung long wokim sampela wok, olsem taim bilong pasim tok long kukim kunai.*
- ngorok** *n.* long traditional grass skirt that went down to about the calf, all the strands were one length; *longpela pulpul.* See also **awin ngorok; ner.**
- ngoromai** *n.* Ecletus Parrot (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 20, #4, female).
- ngot** *n.* yellow cartilage inside cassowary hip socket where the leg connects to the hip; *join bilong lek bilong ol muruk.*
- ngow** *n.* taste, sweetness; *swit.* **Ngow engonke?** Is it tasty? (lit. "is the taste good?"); *Swit*

ah?; **lkin ngowŋa**: The bananas are sweet, *banana i switpela*. **Ngow urok**: It was sweet (*lit.* ‘sweet went inside’); *Swit ia*.

ngrag *n.* early evening, from about 5–7 pm.; *apinun*. **Nrag engon**: Good afternoon; *Apinun*.

ngrag arawer *n.* late afternoon, from about 4–5 pm.; *apinun*.

ngrukki *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), snore; *pulim nus*.

ngu *pro.* **1.** she; *em (meri)*.

2. her; *em (meri)*.

ngudum *n.* **1.** star; *star*.

2. firefly, considered to be a messenger of the dead. If a **ngudum** falls straight into the fire, a future death is foretold. If it flies around you, goes to the top of the house, then disappears thought a crack in the floor, someone is going to die; *star. Ol man i save tok olsem despela ol liklik binatang i gat save long ol indai man. Sapos wanpela star i raunim yu pastaim na bihain em pundaun long paia, em nau bai wanpela indai i kamap. O sapos em raunim yu, plai i go antap long haus, na bihain em i go daun na i go lus ananeat long haus, em tu bai wanpela indai i kamap.*

ngudumŋa kit *n.* Pleiades (*lit.* ‘heap of stars’); *yar*. See also **mbiruŋa kit**.

ngugrub *n.* large red biting ants; *bikpela redpela anis i save kaikai man*.

ngugugrai *n.* sleepiness; *slip. Na ngugrugaii (ngugugrai + ERG)*: I’m sleepy; *Slip i kam nau*.

ngume *adv.* thusly, such; *despela kain*.

Ngume morasi oretukun! Stop always doing that! *Lusim despela kain pasin!*

nguméŋgi *interj.* (contraction of **ngume anŋi**), that’s right, that’s it, of course; *em tasol*.

ngúnbara *n.* short, squat vertical post on which the floor runners rest; *sotpela belpos*.

O

o *v.t.* (class 1), **1.** strike someone or something; *paitim*. **Rumb pokun**: He beat the slit-gong drum; *Em paitim garamut*.

ngur *v.t.* (class 4), put or set something down; *putim*. **Note**: the vowel in this verb stem undergoes vowel harmony to harmonize with the vowel in the object morpheme that follows it; so **Nayi sapwar ngunkun**: I put down the basket, but **Nayi Njime ngingin**: I put down [the male baby] Njime; **Nayi ngurkru wákare**: ‘I didn’t put her down’, **Nayi ngirgri wákare**: ‘I didn’t put him down’, **Nayi ngimbri wákare**: ‘I didn’t put them down’.

ngurbewat *n.* green ground lizard, *liklik grinpela palai i save stap long graun*.

ngurpan *n.* black mosquito, smaller than **aiawangar**; *bilakpela natnat, liklik bilong aiawangar*.

ngurub *n.* a kind of plant with big tough leaves that are used as parcels into which sago can be put and roasted directly on a fire; *wanpela kain hap diwai i gat strongpela lip bilong kukim pangip*.

ngurum *n.* speed; *spit. Ngi ngurum tatukreya weke*: The two of them picked up speed and came; *Tupela i spit i kam*.

ngusikrim *n.* grass; *gras*.

nguwur *n.* smoke; *smok bilong paia*.

ngwab *n.* **1.** hole, *hul*.

2. cave; *hul bilong ston*;

3. (*vulgar*) vagina; *sem bilong meri (tok nogut)*.

4. (*vulgar*) anus; *hul pekpek (tok nogut)*.

ngwar *n.* **1.** marsupial pouch; *bilum bilong ol kapul na mumut*.

2. kind of tree whose sap is used as a glue; *kain diwai ol man save kisim blut bilong em na usim olsem glu*.

ŋi *pro.* **1.** he; *em (man)*. **ŋi mbet inde**: Here he comes; *Em i kam*.

2. him; *em (man)*. **ŋgui ŋi pongin**: She hit him; *Em (meri) paitim em (man)*.

2. spear, stab, or shoot something; *sutim*. **Ŋiŋi mbor pokun**: He speared a pig; *Em sutim wanpela pik*.

3. strike (for example when talking about snakes); *snek i sutim man*. **Aramñi Sakanup pongin**: The snake bit Sakanap; *Snek i sutim Sakanup*.
4. kill someone or something; *kilim indai*.
5. weed a garden or plot of land by hand, cut away grass with grass knife; *widim gras long han*.
6. make a sago pancake or **ngoriw**; *wokim praim o wokim ngoriw*.
7. tramp on grassland grass; *slipim kunai: naw pokun*.
- obiman**⁺ *n.* ex-husband (used by the ex-in-laws of the man) (*obsolete*); *meri i lusim man bai mama na papa bilong meri kolim ex-man long despela nem*.
- oike** *n.* mango; *mango*.
- ombatak** *n.* ring of rattan that surrounds the lizard skin on an hourglass drum; *kanda ol i save putim long kundu long pasim skin bilong palai*.
- oinga**⁺ *n.* (*pl.* **oingabidib** or **oingandodo**) (*obsolete*), daughter-in-law (female speaking); *meri bilong pikinini man (mama bilong man bai tok)*.
- oiraraoki** *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), go missing; *igo lus*. **Yu ŋa namgar pime yuwon pitinjar oirarawokŋa tumbni, nipis yim amairiknuwanak**. If you had told me that your bush knife had gone missing on the mountain, we would have been able to find it for you; *Sapos yu bin tokim mi olsem busnaip bilong yu i bin go lus long maunten, inap mipela i painim long yu*.
- ojirror** *n.* [Adjora], small piglet; *liklik pikinini pik*.
- okemki** *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), screw, in the sense of 'have sex'; *pamuk nambaut*. **Niñi nguŋana okemkinet**: He will just have sex with her, he has no desire or plans to marry her; *Em i laik kwap wantaim meri tasol, em i no gat tingting long maritim em*. **Okemngar nonor**: Promiscuous woman; *Pamuk meri*.
- oki** *v.i.* *irr.* (**ŋa mbok/mbot; yu mbok/mbot; ŋi mbot; ŋgu wok; yim mbok; yum mbokem; ŋgi ngwok; yime sene woke**), go, igo.
- Ombági** *n.* Pangin village; *ples Pankin*.
- ombare**⁺ *n.* nephew's wife (male speaking) (*obsolete*).
- ombre**⁺ *n.* (*pl.* **ombrendodo**) (*obsolete*), father-in-law (male speaking); *man bai kolim papa bilong meri bilong em*.
- ombuto** *n.* a tree from which the bark to make traditional waistbelts is cut; *diwai ol man i save katim skin bilong em long wokim ol kapwasak*.
- omgande omgande**⁺ *n.* (*obsolete*) **1.** two or more wives of one man; *tupela meri bilong wanpela man*. **2.** two or more female-in-laws; *tupela tambu meri*.
- omin** *n.* spouse; *man bilong meri o meri bilong man*.
- ominde-ominde** *n.* married couple; *tupela marit*.
- omo** *n.* (*pl.* **omosew**), father; *papa*. See also **sas**.
- onaw** *n.* **1.** Brush-turkey; *bikpela wailpaul (Birds of New Guinea plate 1, #4-6)*. **2.** egg of this bird; *kiau bilong despela pisin*.
- ondar** *v.t.* (class 5), collect or gather together something, e.g. fruit that falls at the base of a tree or things scattered about the house; *bungim*. **Ondanukuna kukumbeta kit parkun**: I collected my things and brought them together to make a pile; *Mi kisim ol samting bilong mi na bungim long wanpela hip*.
- ondir** *v.t.* (class 4), pierce or shoot something many times; *sutim sutim*. **Mbornji munje odingin, ngadan samijan**: The pig pierced the man many times (with its tusks), he has many wounds; *Pik i sutim sutim man na em i gat planti sua*.
- ondim** *v.t.* (class 5), delay or procrastinate to do something; *wokim isi isi*. **Yum patir ondimmukurem**: You've all built the house really slowly; *Yupela i wokim haus isi isi tru*.
- ondir** *n.* **1.** hostility, refers to the time before the arrival of white people in Papua New Guinea, when villagers were engaged in never-ending warfare; *birua*. **Ondirŋa orom**: the pre-colonial time of eternal warfare; *taim bilong birua*.

2. custom of murdering a child of one's own matrilineal kin (for example a niece or nephew), last practiced in the 1920s. A murder of this kind was committed if a man's wife left him for another man. In retaliation, the wronged husband could kill a child belonging to one of his own siblings, or some other matrilineal kin (in a matrilineal society like Gapun and neighboring Sanae, these children are regarded as a man's true kin, unlike the man's own children, which belong to his wife's clan). Killing one's own matrilineal relative forced the man who married one's wife to compensate by killing one of *his* matrilineal relatives. If this happened, the matter was regarded as settled. If the man did not kill one of his own matrilineal relatives, then he could legitimately be killed, either by sorcery or by being murdered with a spear; *pasin bilong kilim indai wanpela kandere bilong yu. Sapos man i kisim meri bilong yu bai yu kirap kilim wanpela kandere bilong yu. Em nau, man i kisim meri bilong yu ia bai i mas kilim bilong em long stretim rong bilong em. Em kilim bilong em pinis bai samting i pinis. Nogat, em bai yu kilim em long poisen o long spia. Las taim ol man i wokim despela pasin em long taim bilong Amani, long taim bilong ol waitman i kam pinis long Papua Niugini.*
- ondir ror** *n.* (lit. 'ondir child') poor thing; *tarangu.*
- onjanonjon** *n.* a kind of small black lizard with different colored markings that lives at base of trees; *liklik bilakpela palai i gat makmak i save stap long ol as bilong diwai.*
- ondom** *n.* Blyth's Hornbill; *kokomo* (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 25, #8).
- ongab** *n.* traditional pot made of clay; *kanaka sosbin.*
- ongar** *n.* departure; *igo. Nan ongar kirawkru wákare: I don't know when he left; Mi no save long igo bilong em.*
- ongarna patir** *n.* traditional men's cult house that was situated outside the village in the rainforest. Not built in Gapun since the 1950s; *haus tambaran bilong bipo ol man i save kirapim insait long bus. Ol papa i kirapim wanpela long taim bilong istap long Sambaiaig, tasol long taim bilong lusim Sambaig na kirapim nupela ples ol i nomoa wokim wanpela haus tambaran.*
- ongisu** *n.* [*Adjora*], large white mushroom; *bikpela waitpela talinga.*
- onki** *n.* small bamboo with fuzz, used as a tube into which raw sago is inserted and cooked on the fire; *liklik mambu i gat mosong ol man i save pulamapim em long saksak na kukim munakumund.*
- onko** *n.* fattest digit of hand or leg; *bikpela pinga bilong han o bilong lek. Ndaramna onko: thumb; bikpela pinga bilong han; Ndownna onko: big toe; bikpela pinga bilong lek.*
- ongwan** [†] *n.* (pl. **ongwabidig**) (*obsolete*), sister in-law (female speaking); *tambu meri em meri i tok.*
- okinokin** *n.* a palm sheath container onto which one attaches a handle, used to pour water into the **iko**; *liklik limbom ol meri samapim bilong kisim wara.*
- opam** [†] *n.* (pl. **opamndodo**) (*obsolete*), son-in-law; *man bilong pikinini meri.*
- orai** *n.* state of readiness; *redi. Na orai nirkruset: I'm going to get ready; Mi bai redi.*
- oraiki** *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), be ready; *redi. Na nda okinana orainetakut: I'm ready to go; Mi redi i stap long igo.*
- orai** *v.t.* (class 5), present someone with gifts, bestow; *givim ol sampela samting. Turungwadgi oraitimbroya kandipnja nimir sene reki buspimbroya nda ngi prike. The people of Turungwad presented them with gifts and sent them on their way with two sticks of (dried and smoked) hermit crabs; *Ol Turungwad i givim tupela stik i gat kandip long tupela na ol i salim tupela i go.**
- orak** *n.* (pl. **orasamb**), thing, object; *samting.*
- orákangar** *n.* food (lit. 'thing for eating'); *kaikai.*

oraw *n.* banana frond/seedling that has sprouted leaves that one plants to grow a new banana plant; *kru bilong banana i gat lip*. See also **munjesik**.

orma[†] *n.* (pl. **ormabidib**) (*obsolete*), younger sibling; *liklik brata o susa*.

oré [*Watam*], **1.** *n.* yes, yes.

- adv.* that's right; *em nau*. This word is replacing Tayap **awo**. *Ol Gapun i nomoa save tok awo olsem ol papa tumbuna. Ol i save tok long despela hap tok long ol man bilong nambis*.

ore-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), **1.** let go of something; *lusim*.

- leave something behind; *lusim*.
- forget something; *lus ting*. **Na yunana numbwan orepekun:** I forgot all about you; *Mi lus ting long yu*.

orem *n.* crocodile; *pukpuk*.

oremai ikin *n.* green banana with white interior most often eaten roasted in skin directly on fire, *banana i gat waitpela mit ol man i save putim long paia na kaikai*.

orewir^v-X-oki *v.i.* (serial verb construction conjugated like **oki**. **Note:** the X is an independent object suffix and ^v is a vowel that changes to harmonize with the vowel of the object morpheme), throw down; *troimwe i godaun*. **Na orak ango orewirukuokitak:** I'm going to throw this stuff down; *Bai mi troimwe despela samting*.

orikatirki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**; **r** → ∅ in realis, so **orikatinet/orikatinak**). be insane; *stap longlong*.

orimb *n.* loud audible fart; *kapupu i pairap*.

Yuyi orimb pikun: You farted an audible fart; *Kapupu bilong yu i pairap*.

orimb *n.* **1.** agemate, i.e. someone born near the same time you were; *wanlain*. **Na orimbjan yu niri wákare:** I'm not your agemate; *Mi no wanlain bilong yu*.

- men initiated at the same time; *ol lain bilong lukim tambaran o pasim síw long sem taim*. **Siwnja orimb:** fellow initiate; *ol lain bilong pasim síw long sem taim*.

orind *n.* long, eel-like fish; *longpela pis i luk olsem maliau*.

orinjárak *n.* large vine that, when cut, drips copious amounts of drinkable water. Looked for while walking through the rain-forest during the dry season when one is far from water. It is also drunk as a cure for snake venom; *rop i gat bikpela wara. Ol man i save painim despela taim ol i waka-baut long bus long draisisen. Sneki kaikaim yu bai yu dring wara bilong despela rop*.

orka sene *n.* two guys; *tupela man*. **Ngí namtuko orka sene ngwokara.** They said the two guys had gone; *Ol i tok olsem tupela i go pinis*. Can be used for either gender, but always in this idiomatic form, so **orka manaw** (three guys) is not possible.

orom *n.* **1.** time; *taim*. **Na yu aruoiwankuta orom kementak:** I've waited for you for a long time; *Mi wetim yu longpela taim pinis*; **Emraringar oromki ngo wákare!** It isn't time to be playing! *I no taim bilong pilai!*; **nunuknja orom:** the future; *taim bihain*; **tangar orom:** time to sleep; *taim bilong slip*.

- middle; *namel*. **Nimnja orom:** the middle of the tree, *namel bilong diawai*.
- lower back; *baksait*. **Orom bidiatan:** My lower back hurts; *Baksait bilong mi i pen*.
- amongst; *namel*. **Na nambar inda yumon oromni kut:** I'm all alone amongst you all; *Mi wan istap long namel long yupela*.
- near, in the vicinity of, around; *klostu long*. **Wotnja orom:** the section of a felled sago palm just above the base section; *hap i stap klostu long as bilong saksak ol man i laik paitim long en*.

oror *v.t.* (class 4), **1.** surround something or someone; *raunim*.

- stir something; *raunim raunim*.

ororngar *adj.* round; *raunpela*.

orwo *n.* **1.** tiny spines on the two sides of sago palm leaves; *liklik ol nil i save stap long sait bilong ol lip bilong saksak*.

- boil resulting from burn; *sua i save kamap sapos yu kukim skin bilong yu long paia o long hotpela wara*.

osi *adv.* the other side, the opposite side; *hapsait*.

osiki v.i. (**ŋa posiet/posiek, yu posiet/posiek, ŋi posiet, ŋu posiek, yim posiek, yum posukem, ŋi posuko; yim sene posuke**):

1. cross over to other side; *katim i go long hap. Ŋgi nuwombjan taw nonni posuko*:

They've gone over to the other side of the creek; *Ol i go long hapsait long baret.*

2. be obstructed; *pas. Nder posiek*: The path is blocked; *Rot i pas.*

3. spread, in the sense of catching something from someone else; *kalap long. Toto apro ŋani posiek*: The bad skin (e.g. grille) has spread to me; *Skin nogut i kalap long mi*; **Kandaw angi ŋani osingarana**: I hope that illness doesn't spread to me; *Nogut despela sik i kalap long mi.*

4. dry out; *drai. Ngadan posiek*: The sore is dry; *Sua i pas nau; Awin kapur posiekara*: The well is dry; *Hulwara i drai pinis.*

osingir n. pig tusks that are so developed and upward-turned that they form a circle, valued for traditional decorations; *bikpela tit bilong piki go raunpela olgeta.*

osos n. Hook-billed Kingfisher (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 24, #17–18)

otan[†] n. (pl. **otinimb**) (*obsolete*), grandchild; *pikinini bilong pikinini.*

otar kut n. piece of wood (usually from the **koimbup, ngawro, kotrin,** or **awin** trees) used as a lighter. It is lit and carried around to light fires and cigarettes; *hap paiawut bilong laitim paia o bilong laitim smok.*

P

paindakki v.i. (**-net/-nak**), become barren, unable to become pregnant. Can be used for dogs and pigs too; *pasim bel, stopim bel. Ol pik na dok tu yu ken tok paindaktak. Nonjor anju paindaktak, motini awinni tuwku wákare*. That woman is barren, she'll never have another child; *Meri ia i pasim bel na em i no nap karim moa.*

pakas adj. dry; *drai, nogat wara. Mum pakasgarana, anjode wawan*: Don't let your sago jelly get dry; here's some soup; *Nogut mum i drai, sup ia.*

Husat i nogat wanpela geslaita bai karim despela taim yu wakabaut.

otar n. 1. fire; *paia.*

2. (*euphemism*), anger; *kros. Yu munje nonana mamrara wakakkutak, yuwonana otar rorikakkutak*: You quiver in your boots whenever anyone else asks you for things but when your own family asks you for anything, a fire gets lit! (i.e. you get angry and begin shouting); *Yu save guria i stap wantaim ol narapela, tasol ol lain bilong yu i laikim wanem samting bilong yu, paia i save lait! (olsem yu save kros na bikmaus).*

3. torch, flashlight; *tos.*

4. fever, *bikpela hot long skin. Toto otar sumanja*: Skin is burning up; *Skin i hot nogut tru.*

otingar n. a kind of light or lightning that is said to come up and make a thunderous sound when a man or woman dies; *lait i save kamap taim man o meri i laik indai.*

otre[†] n. (pl. **otrendodo**) (*obsolete*), mother-in-law (male speaking); *nem man bai kolim mama bilong meri bilong em.*

oyan n. [*Kopar*], 1. small clam in mangrove with red meat; *liklik kina bilong mangoro i gat redpela mit.*

2. (*euphemism*), vagina; *sem bilong meri.*

oyeng[†] n. (pl. **oyengud**) (*obsolete*), in-law (in the widest sense, including brother-in-law, sister-in-law, etc.); *tambu.*

pakaski v.i. (**-net/-nak**), dry out; *i go drai.*

pake n. python; *draipela snek.*

pakind n. louse; *laus.*

pakras n. noise, like the sound of rustling leaves or far-off approaching rain; *pairap, olsem win i save pas long ol diwai o ren i stap longwe na pairap i stap.* See also **pindin**.

palusemb n. Swallow (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 29).

pambram n. part of broken **ongab** (clay pot) used as a kind of frying pan on which to make **tamwai** (sago pancakes); *hap*

kanaka sosbin ol meri i save usim long kukim praim.

pambram sikrim turtle (*secret talk*); *paup* (*hait tok*).

pamingap *n.* top part of a **makor** (sago pounder); *hap i stap antap long makor.*

panap (or **panapanap**) *n.* large green grasshopper; *bikpela grinpela grasshopa.*

pande *n.* axe; *tamiok.*

pandij *n.* 1. a kind of large needle made out of **sekund**. Used to pierce a hole in bundles of sago palm leaves in order to fasten them to a frame to make roof shingles; *nil ol i save wokim long sekund. Ol man i save usim long samapim morota long pasim haus.*

2. wooden pins used to hold the **waris** (coconut fiber strainer) in place; *nil bilong nilim laplap bilong kokonas. See also mbába*

pandim *n.* a kind of *limbom* tree, the seeds of which are gathered and used by children as ammunition for slingshots. It is also used to make poison. One cuts the bark so that it forms a little bowl. After it rots, one collects the water in it, mixes this with a crushed millipede and then uses it to kill someone; *wanpela kain limbom ol mangi i save kisim ol pikinini bilong em long sut long katapel. Na tu ol man nogut i save wokim posin long despela diwai. Ol i save katim skin bilong diwai na larim em sting. Bihain bai miksim wanpela wanpela kakámatik na kilim ol man. See also mbanjaw.*

pandiripij *n.* stringy fiber in yams or sago palms; *strongpela pipia i stap insait long saksak o long taro.*

pandiri(pi)ŋ war *v.t.* (class 2), provoke someone; *sikarapim nating bel bilong narapela man o meri. Ambin orakana Kruniŋi Sakre sapkini pandiriŋ parkun?: Why did Kruni provoke Sake?; Bilong wanem Kruni sikarapim nating bel bilong Sake?*

pang *n.* fiber from **tar** tree that women roll into thread; *tret bilong tar ol meri i save wokim tret long em. See also ping.*

pangip *n.* sago wrapped in a leaf and cooked on a fire. Usually mixed with something,

such as sago grubs, fat or the membrane enclosing the inner organs of a pig; *saksak ol i save karamapim long lip na kukim long paia.*

pap *n.* 1. coconut; *kokonas.*

2. coconut palm; *diwai bilong kokonas.*

3. earwax; *pekpek bilong iao; Nekeŋa pap wostukun!* Get rid of your ear wax! *Rausim pekpek bilong iao!*

4. another kind of tree, the seedling of which is shredded and added to sago jelly and fed to dogs to get them to kill cassowaries; *narapela kain diwai ol man i save sikarapim kru bilong em na putim i go insait long mum. Bai ol i givim despela mum i go long ol dok na ol dok bai kaikai na igo kilim muruk. See also aringadew.*

papo *n.*; *voc.* maternal uncle's wife; *meri bilong kandere.*

pap law *n.* the final stage (of five) of coconut formation, a coconut that has fallen to the ground; *drai kokonas.*

papakndam *n.* a kind of tree, the leaves of which are used to tie together brooms bristles and tobacco leaves; *wanpela kain diwai ol man i save usim lip bilong em long ropim ol brum na ol lip bilong brus.*

papembir *n.* dry coconut palm leaves used to light fires or as a torch at night; *drai bombom. Yu papembir rungrakkukuwetak ŋanana:* You pull off some dry coconut palm leaves and bring them to me; *Rausim sampela bombom na kisim i kam long mi.*

papetraw *n.* coconut husk fiber, used to get fires started, to wipe things up from floor, and as toilet paper; *skin bilong drai ol man i save usim long statim paia o long rausim samting i pundaun long graun insait long haus, o long klinim as.*

papkrim *n.* small coconut; *liklik kokonas.*

papku *v.i.* (-iet/-iek) pierce; *sut.*

papndaw *n.* wild coconut, a palm tree with very large, round leaves that can be used like big umbrellas to hide from the rain. The wood is strong and used to make bows; *wail kokonas i gat bikpela raunpela ol lip, ol man i save usim long wokim kembang.*

paru *n.* traditional long canoe-shaped plate for eating, carved out of wood. By the early 1990s, these had all been replaced by plastic or tin store-bought plates and basins and are no longer made; *plet bilong ol tumbuna.*

pasákeke *n.* frog (*generic*); *prok (biknem).*

pasinder *adj.* light (in the sense of weightless); *i no hevipela.* **Tarung pasinder, naimb wákare:** The firewood is light, it isn't heavy; *Paiawut i no hevipela.*

pasuwer *n.* Great Cuckoo Dove (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 16, #4)

patarik *n.* Swift (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 28).

patirki patirki *adv.* method of cutting a **ner** (grass skirt) in layers; *we bilong katim pulpul olsem bai luk olsem ol step bilong lada bilong haus.*

patorki *v.i. (-net/-nak),* explode, make an explosive sound; *pairap.* **Mbwaj pator-tak:** The bamboo made an explosive sound (when it was burned in the fire); *Mambu i pairap.* **Na oruneta, nok maning patorkitak:** If I hit you, you will explode with piss; *Mi paitim yu olsem bai pispis i pairap bai yu sutim pispis i go autsait.*

pawkpaw *n.* horizontal roof support placed on top of the **kerkwar**; the highest point of the roof; *namba tu pongan.*

pawp *n.* turtle (*generic*); *trausel (biknem).*

pawrik 1. *n.* strength; *strong.*

2. *adj.* strong, tough, resistant, unbending; *strongpela.* **Nan numbwan pawrik njime ongrinana:** His mind is made up, he's going to kill that man; *Em i gat strongpela tingting long kilim despela man.*

pendimor n. 1. a kind of tree with wide leaves; *wanpela kain diwai i gat ol braitpela lip.*

2. the leaves of this tree, traditionally used to roll tobacco and smoke; *mangas, ol lip bilong despela diwai ol tumbuna i save usim long wokim smok bilong ol.*

3. sheet of newspaper to smoke; *wanpela hap pepa bilong wokim smok.*

4. book; *buk.*

pendo *n.* a kind of taro with a sacklike base, with large flowers that smell like rotting

flesh when they decay; *wanpela kaim waitaroi gat bikpela lip na taim despela lip bilong em i save sting wanpela smel nogut olsem bilong man indai i save kamap.*

peiki *v.i. (-tet/-tak),* boil; *boil.* **Awin peitak-ara:** The water has boiled; *Wara i boil pinis.*

perei *v.t. (class 5), 1.* say something insulting; *tok bilasim.* **Na yu pereiru wákare:** I didn't say anything to insult you; *Mi no tok bilas long yu.*

2. oppose someone; *egensim.* **Yu njan nam pereingarke:** Don't oppose my talk; i.e. don't argue against me; *I no ken egensim tok bilong mi; Pereingar nam:* insult; *tok bilas.*

pereipereiki *v.i. (-net/-nak),* race; *resis.* **Pereiperekitike!** Let's race!; *Resis!*

perumb *n.* tree with soft bark used for carvings, traditional plates (**paru**) and canoes, two kinds, one white and one yellow; *diwai ol tumbuna i save usim long wokim kabing o paru o kanu, i gat tupela kain, wanpela i waitpela na narapela i yelopela.*

perumb orem *n.* yellow freshwater crocodile; *pukpuk i gat yelopela skin i save stap insait long ol baret.*

pesaw *n.* Lesser and Greater Birds of Paradise, *kumul* (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 51, #2–8 and #1–6 in the lower plate are females). **Pesawma ner:** long tailfeathers of bird of paradise; *pulpul bilong kumul; Pesawma sind:* two extended tail feathers of some species of bird of paradise; *tupela longpela gras i godaun long pulpul bilong sampela kain ol kumul.*

piar *n.* a kind of grass that makes one itch. Used to reanimate the ability to hunt: if a man has hunted unsuccessfully a number of times, he can eat a **pangip** made with the seeds of this grass in order to “heat” his skin and make him able to hunt again; *wanpela kain gras i save sikarapim skin bilong man. Sapos wanpela man i save go long banis saksak o em i save go wantaim ol dok na em i no save painim abus, em bai kaikai wanpela pangip ol i wokim long pikinini bilong despela gras. Olsem bai skin bilong em kamap hotpela gen na em bai go painim abus.*

pinumb *n.* snout, muzzle of animal, including crocodiles; *nus bilong olgeta kain animol*. See also **pongip**.

piñin *n.* 1. clitoris; *liklik hapnus bilong kan*.

2. urethral opening. Speaker opinions differ on whether or not there is a **kwemña piñin**; a urethral opening in the penis. Some say this opening cannot be referred to with **piñin**; *hul bilong kan na hul bilong kok. Sampela i tok olsem yu ken toktok long kwemña piñin. Na sampela i tok olsem em despela i kranki, piñin em bilong meri tasol*.
3. red sores that appear on the genitals of dogs; *redpela sua i save kamap long sem bilong ol dok*.

piokpiokki *v.i.* (-tet/-tak), throb; *pamp. Itaw piokpiokakuk*: The vein (in my head) is throbbing; *Rop bilong hed i pamp i stap*.

piñingabu *n.* hook; *wuk*.

pirinj *n.* the two protrusions at the two ends of a slit-gong drum on which a **mirip kokir** (carving of a traditional deity) is carved above and a **kurbi** lizard below; *hed bilong garamut i gat mak*.

pis *n.* soundless fart; *kapupu i nogat pairap. Yuyi pis pikun*: You farted silently; *Yu kapupu na nogat pairap*.

pisaisaisai *adj.* [*Kopar*], soft; *malomalo*. This word is replacing the Tayap complex construction **kondikra oki**.

pisik *n.* hermit crab; *guma*.

pisikimb *n.* corpse of a person or animal; *bodi bilong man indai long en, o bilong pik o mumut o wanem kain animol indai long en*.

pisimb *n.* 1. rot, decay; *sting*.

2. pus; *susu i kamap long sua*.

pisimbki *v.i.* (-net/-nak), rot; *sting*.

pit *n.* Sunbird and Honeyeater (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 45).

pitatak *n.* small branches; *ol liklik liklik han bilong diwai*.

piwiuki *v.i.* (-net/-nak), chirp; *singaut olsem pikinini pisin*.

pik *n.* 1. traditionally: veranda of house or men's house that projects from head of

house; *bipo em miningim veranda bilong haus boi*.

2. now: any veranda; *nau em miningim olgeta kain veranda*.

pin *n.* a little; *liklik*.

pindij *n.* noise, louder than **pakras** and intentional, for example children laughing and talking; *pairap. Bai yu harim strongpela liklik olsem ol mangi i lap na toktok wantaim*. See also **pakras**.

pinni *adv.* just a little while; just a minute; *liklik. Aruotak pinni*: Wait just a little while; *Wet liklik*.

pinimb *n.* lemon, grapefruit, citrus fruit; *muli*. **pinjirip** *v.t.* (class 5), 1. throw something away, *rausim. Ngu awin moto pinjiriptukun*: She threw away the dirty water; *Em rausim wara i gat pipia*.

2. spurt something; *sut. Nok pinjiriptukun*: Urine shot out; *Pispis i sut i go*.

pinpin *n.* rubbish; *pipia*.

ping *n.* thread; *tret. Tarna ping*: thread taken from the pandanus tree; *tret bilong tar*. See also **pang**.

pingrim *v.t.* (class 5), scrape off something, e.g. the skin of a corpse of a pig or other animal that has been singed by fire to burn off its fur, sap from a breadfruit from your hands, sago from inside a pot; *sikarapim, olsem skin bilong pik taim ol i kukim bodi bilong em long rausim gras, blut bilong kapiak i pas long han, saksak i pas insait long wanpela sosbin*.

pinjki *v.i.* (-net/-nak), jump up; *kalap. Ndamor pintaka warakitak*: Ndamor is going to jump up and talk; *Ndamor bai kalap na toktok; Samek pwinra posieta pombin*: Samek jumped up and went over and hit them; *Samek kalap i go long hapsait na paitim ol*.

pirimat *n.* rag; *hap koros o malo o pulpul i brukbruk. Siwna pirimat*: a ragged loin-cloth; *malo i brukbruk long en*.

pit *v.t.* (class 5), wash objects like dishes, pots or clothes; *wasim ol samting*.

pitinjar *n.* machete, bush knife; *busnaip*.

pokemb *adj.* cold; *kolpela*.

pokembki v.i. (-tet/-tak), become cold; *kamap kolpela*.

poketak n. [*Kopar*], a little fish with a large stomach and sharp teeth; poisonous, not eaten. Its venom is supposedly used by people to poison others; *bikbel pis ol man i no save kaikai. Ol man i save draim marasin bilong en na putim long kaikai o long buai bilong ol narapela ol man long bagarapim ol*. The Tayap, which no one ever uses, would be **ngomar imin suman**: big-stomach fish; *bikbel pis*.

pom n. handle of knife or machete; *handel bilong naip o busnaip*.

pombor n. heap of shit; *hip pekpek. Nan mayayi yiwirnan ngwabekeni pombor-reki tatinginan mamraireki*: His mother gave birth to him through her asshole with a pile of shit, while lightning flashed (*vulgar*); *Mama bilong em i karim wantaim pekpek long hul pekpek taim laitning i pairap (tok nogut)*.

poming n. conch; *taur*.

pomingsua n. snail; *liklik taur bilong graun*.

ponjame n. 1. maturity and strength in late puberty. For men this is the appearance of a beard and hair on chest; for women breasts. Traditionally associated with maturity enough to marry; *strong bilong man na meri i save kamap taim mausgras i kamap long ol man na susu i kamap long ol meri. Ponjame sisiiek*: He (or she) is strong and mature; *em kisim strong*.

2. maturity and strength in pigs, made visible by growth of tusks; *pik i gat kangajin (draipela tit). Mbor ango ponjame sisiiekja*: This pig is tusked and mature; *Pik ia i bikpela na strong bilong em i kamap pinis*.

3. orgasm (probably a novel meaning of the word, cited only by some male speakers in their 20s and 30s); *kap-saitim wara bilong kok o bilong kan (em ol sampela yangpela man tasol i toktok long despela mining)*.

pongip n. crocodile snout; *nus bilong pukpuk*. See also **pinumb**.

pongrom n. 1. stone axe; *ston tamiok bilong ol tumbuna*. See also **mindia**.

2. (*vulgar*) penis, *kok (tok nogut)*. **Pongrom sumannan!** Big dick! (*vulgar*); *Bikpela kok! (tok nogut)*. **Nenima ponromnan amasik pongromnan apro sakar!** Fucking grandfather dick, ancestor prick! (*vulgar*); *Yu paken bastad lapun kok, kok bilong ol tumbuna! (tok nogut)*.

popro n. 1. lungs; *namba tu lewa*.

2. early evening star; *star i save kam antap long apinun*.

por v.t. (class 5), 1. beat something, as in beating a drum; *paitim olsem man i paitim garamut o kundu*.

2. the cooing sound made by crowned pigeons; *singaut ol guria i save mekim: Momik rumb porkwankut*: The crowned pigeon is cooing (*lit.* 'beating the slit-gong drum'); *Guria i singaut i stap*.

pora n. 1. wind, breath; *win. Pora tarkru wakare*: He's not breathing; *Em i no pulim win*.

2. rest, *malolo*. **Yim ngo pora tarkunak ngo**: Let's take a rest; *Yumi malolo pastaim*. See also **bun**.

poisir n. sorcery; *posin. Poisirja munje*: sorcerer; *posinman*. This is certainly a borrowing from Tok Pisin, but it has been thoroughly incorporated into Tayap. See also **isuk**.

porimb n. [*Kopar*], floor support that runs cross-wise, from **ngunbara** to **ngunbara**; *rola*. See also **tekdwán**.

poror v.i. (-net/-nak), sing; *singsing*.

potak n. 1. neck, throat; *nek*.

2. meat of wild animal, *abus. Potak tombetnan sekni angi wuk*: The meat is under the shelf; *Abus i stap ananeat long bet*.

potaki v.t. *inv.* crave something to drink, eat or smoke; *nek i bagarap long dring o smok o kaikai wanpela samting. Yu awin potaki?* Are you thirsty? *Nek bilong yu i bagarap long dring ah?*; **Ngu sokoi potaki**: She wants to smoke; *Nek bilong em i bagarap tru long smok*; **Na mum angar potaki**: I'm craving sago jelly; *Nek bilong mi i bagarap tru long kaikai mum*.

potakir n. small talk, conversation; *toktok nambaut*.

Potow 1. n. Wongan village; *ples Wongan*.

2. *adj.* Wongan, *Wongan*. **Potow mer:** Wongan language; *tok ples Wongan*.
- powow** *n.* whistle loudly with fingers in mouth, wolf whistle; *strongpela wisil*. **Powow nitukun!:** Wolf whistle! *Wisil strong!*
- prak** *v.t.* (class 5), untie something, *lusim*.
- pramat** *n.* small cluster of betel nut; *liklik rop buai*.
- prerikin** *n.* sweet potato; *kaukau*.
- prik** *adj.* ripe; *mau*.
- prik** *v.t.* (class 5), clear undergrowth; *brosim*.
ŋa mbara prikkru wákare: I haven't cleared my garden; *Mi no brosim gaden*.
- pruk** *n.* work; *wok*. **Yum prukŋa pinpin nirk-wankukem ŋgo:** Finish the little bit of work you have left; *Yupela wokim liklik wok bilong yupela pastaim*.
- prukki** *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), work; *wok*.
- punatki** *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), mourn, miss; *wari*.
Munje kowot ainde ŋan nonjorana punatnet: The old man is mourning his wife. *Lapun man ia i wari long meri bilong em*. See also **wur-(p)-eki**.
- punat** *v.t.* (class 5), mourn, miss; *wari*. **ŋayi ŋi punatingena eiarte:** I missed him and I cried; *Mi wari long em na mi kra*. See also **wure**.
- pundidip** *n.* 1. pea shooter; *mambu ol pikinini i save kisim sit bilong diwai na sut long en*.
2. bamboo pipe that used to be inserted into grave, to act as a tunnel to allow the spirit of the dead person to emerge from the grave; abandoned as a practice in the 1990s; *hap mambu ol tumbuna i save planim antap long kum*. *Hap i stap antap long graun, na hap ol i save subim i godaun insait long hul*. *Em olsem lada na dewil bilong man i indai long en inap go ikam long despela lada*.
- punim** *n.* Greater Black Coucal (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 23, #12, 14–19).
- pung** *n.* New Guinea Flightless Rail (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 10, #16).
- pungup** *n.* large metal dish that people keep on their verandas. Filled with earth and used to hold **otar kut** (slow-burning lighted branches or pieces of firewood) so that people can easily light their cigarettes. In houses with no hearths, women suspend pots over these, light firewood and cook on them; *bikpela dis bilong putim paia*.
- punjun** *n.* wild Malay apple tree; *wail laulau*.
- pura** *n.* blind for killing birds that come to drink water or eat seeds on ground; *banis pisin*.
- puraraoki** *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), float; *trip*. **Yimbar awinŋa mbwar purara-puwok:** The canoe floated on top of the water; *Kanu i trip antap long wara*. See also **konenjarki**.
- puriki** *v.i.* (-**tet/-tak**), splatter, splash; *kapsait olsem man i spetim wara long haus boi*.
Pap taw otitek sumbwani awin puritaka puwok: The coconut fell on the ground and its water splattered out; *Drai kokonas i pundaun long graun na wara bilong em i kapsait olsem man i dring wara long awin poming na spetim man*.
- purki** *v.i.* (**ŋa punet/punak, yu purtet/purtak; ŋi punet; ŋgu putak; yim punak; yum punkem; ŋgi putuko; yim sene putuke**), rest; *malolo*. **ŋa nda purkinet-ana.** I'm going to rest; *Mi laik malolo nau*.
- purpur** *n.* feather, *gras bilong pisin*.
- puwai** *n.* 1. dust; *das, olsem kar i ron na kamapim das*.
2. sand; *welsan*.
- puwaiorom** *n.* beach; *welsan*. See also **sumbwa kapir**.
- puwas** *adj.* white; *waitpela*.
- pwak-(p)-o** *v.t.* (class 1), open up something, e.g. a box, basket, netbag; *opim wanpela bokis o basket o bilum*.
- pwap** 1. *n.* anger; *kros*. **Pwapngar nonjor:** a woman who is always cross; *meri bilong kros*.
2. *adj.* large, used only with certain animals, such as **enamb pwap** (cuscus); **kakar pwap** (Gurney's Eagle), **kanung pwap** (tree kangaroos) and **ngargarik pwap** (lizards); *bikpela, taim yu toktok long kapul, taragau, kanung o ol palai*.
3. *n.* skinned, exposed flesh; *mit nating*.
Pwap sinder: a skinned corpse; *mit nating*.
- pwapki** *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), get angry; *kros*.
Yukire pwapakkut: He's angry with Yuki; *Em kros wantaim Yuki*.

pwapwag *n.* tip of nose; *poin bilong nus.*

pwar *v.t.* (class 4), sprout a shoot or blossom; *kamapim kru. Minjike pwatukun:* The betel nut sprouted a new vine; *Nupela rop buai i kamap.*

R

ramang *n. 1.* enclosure erected outside the men's house to seal it off from view when the sacred flutes are played inside; *banis tambaran.*

2. a fence made to seal off an area so that only people who pay can go inside to dance or watch DVDs; *geit.*

ramb *n.* carving on a slit gong drum, hour-glass drum, or on a **kandibwanj** (traditional carving); *makmak.*

ramborgar *adj.* white and black mottled coat of an animal; *kalakala gras bilong kaskas o pik o wanem kain animol.*

rambu *v.t.* (class 4), mark something by carving or painting it, *makim.*

ramu *n.* small banana, eaten when ripe; *liklik banana ol man i save kaikai mau.*

rar *v.t.* (class 4, both *r*'s change in realis), **1.** see; *lukim. Njayi yu raru wákare:* I can't see you; *Mi no lukim yu.*

2. help someone, *sapotim, helpim. Rurumgri ngweka na tatioya patirmi pruktuko:* My nephews came and helped me with the work on my house; *Ol liklik kandere i kam na helpim mi long wok bilong haus.*

3. (*euphemism*), have sex; *kwapim (tok bokis). Nonjori aindet munje ainde tatngin:* The woman had sex with that man; *Meri i kwapim man ia.*

4. *v.i.* look. As part of a serial verb construction with any verb of motion, this means 'look in X direction'. So **rarpuwot** (**rar** + realis form of **wurku**, 'go up') means 'he looked up'. **Rarosikinet** (**rar** + the future form of **osiki** 'go across') means 'he will look across'; **rarposiet** (**rar** + realis form of the same verb, **osiki**, means 'he looked across'; *lukluk olsem yu putim despela haptok long wanem narapela haptok i miningim*

pwiki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), roll around, as in a child who rolls around in a mosquito net while sleeping; *tainim tainim olsem pik-inini i tainim tainim insait long taunamb taim em i slip i stap.*

olsem i go long wanpela hap o i go antap o kain mining olsem, em bai yu tok long husat ia i lukluk i go antap, o em bai lukluk i go long hapsait, despela kain mining.

raraiki *v.i.* (conjugated like **aiki**), become visible; *kamap. Karep rarwek:* The new moon has appeared; *Nupela mun i lait.*

rarer *n.* appearance, sight; *luk. Rarer engon wákare:* It doesn't look good; *I no luk smart.*

rarekurki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), support, provide help; *sapot.*

rarki *v.i.* (**-pet/-pek**), keep an eye out, look around; *lukluk. Na yunana rarpet yu aiki wákare:* I was keeping my eye out for you but you never came; *Mi lukluk long yu na yu no kam.*

raw *n.* nose; *nus.*

rawmitki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), be serious, stoic, without reaction; *pes drai.*

rawni 1. *adv.* first, previous; *pes.*

2. *pos.* in front of; *pron long Angude turoja rawni wuk:* It is there in front of the fireplace; *Samting i stap long pron bilong hap bilong kukim kaikai.*

rawna sokop *n.* septum; *bun bilong nus. Rawna sokop timirbirni rowandparkro:* They pierced the septum; *Ol i drilim bun bilong nus. See also ndrig.*

re(ki) *per. case.* with; *wantaim. Yu anireki mbet?* Who did you come with? *Yu kam wantaim husat?*

rembow *n.* a kind of seashell, sometimes used to make traditional spoons; *sel ol man i save usim sampela taim long wokim spun bilong tumbuna.*

rerem n. 1. ember; *sit bilong paia: otar rerem. 2.* eyeball; *waitpela bilong wanpela ai: ngino rerem.*

rew *n.* fear, *pret.*

rewki *v.i.* (**ŋa tewniet/tewniek, yu tewtiet/tewtiek; ŋi tewniet; ŋgu tewtiek; yim tewniek; yum tewnkem; ŋgi tewtuko; yim sene tewtike**), 1. fear; *pret.* **Ŋanana tewtuko**: They are afraid of me; *Ol i pret long mi.*

- run away, get out of here, piss off; *ranawe, pisop.* **Yu makatni iskitetre, ŋa rewkinet**: If you decorate yourself with that red paint, I'll run away (or: I'll be afraid); *Yu putim despela redpela pen bai mi ranawe (o bai mi pret).* Note that this verb in this meaning of 'get out of here' has a regular, intransitive Group I imperative form: **rewtet** (to a male), **rewtak** (to a female), **rewnkem** (to more than one addressee). All mean "Get out of here!", "Piss off!".

rewi *n.* tooth, teeth; *tit.*

rewingun *n.* gums; *skin bilong tit.*

rewitoto *n.* black ants (*lit.* 'teeth-skin'), smaller than **kambobai**. They live in the ground and are encountered when people cut grass. They deliver painful bites; *Ol bilakpela anis i liklik long kambobai i save stap long graun. Taim man i katim gras sapos yu distebim haus bilong ol bai ol i kam outsait na bai yu kisim pen.*

riri *v.t.* (class 5), roll something between hands vigorously, for example clothes one is washing; *wiruwuim.*

rimb *n.* traditional decoration made of fragrant leaves and hung around neck and back during times of singing and dancing; *tumbuna bilas ol i save wokim long ol lip na ol plowa igat smel, ol man i save hangamapim long nek long taim bilong singsing.*

ripam *temp.* before, in olden times; *bipo.*

ripamŋa orom *n.* past; *taim bipo.*

ripiki *v.i.* (**tipniet/tipniek**), lead, in the sense of walking first in a line; *go pas.*

ripim *temp.* previously; *bipo.* **Ripim ŋa nanro manaw armbrinana, ŋa numbwan pikun pruk mik, ŋa mndanet**: Previously I wanted to marry three women but I realized that it would be hard work and so I changed my mind; *Bipo mi laik maritim*

tripela meri tasol mi save olsem hatwok tumas na olsem mi les.

rir-(p)-or *v.t.* (class 1), throw a spear or shoot an arrow; *sut long ain o long banara.*

rir-(p)-orki *v.i.* (**rirporiet/rirporiek**), kick legs in all directions, like what a child does during a tantrum or what a cassowary does when it throws itself on its back to fend off dogs and hunters; *sutim sutim lek olsem pikinini i kengen o muruk i laik sutim dok o sutim man.*

rit *adv.* used only with verbs of motion: without pausing; *hariap.* **Ŋgu rit ŋayarni puwoka patirni otar kukusisiek**: She rushed up into the house and brought down some fire; *Em hariap tru i go antap long haus na kisim paia i karim i godaun.*

riwind *n.* surprise, start; *kirap nogut.* **Riwind isukwa!** Give her a start! *Mekim em kirap nogut!*

riwindra aiki *v.i.* (conjugated like **aiki**), be startled; *kirap nogut.* **Ŋi riwindra mbet, pemieta, rarikut**: He got startled, got up and was looking around; *Em kirap nogut em sanap na em i lukluk i stap.*

romb *n.* Starling (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 54, #5-7).

romgar[†] *n.* (**pl. rorumgri**) (*obsolete*), sister's child; nephew or niece; *pikinini bilong susa.*

rongiki *v.i.* (**tonginiet/tonginieki**), be blocked; *pas.* **Yimbar tongitiek**: The canoe is unable to pass (because a tree has fallen into the creek); *Kanu i pas.*

rongur *v.t.* (class 4; both **r**'s change in realis, so **tongunkun**), 1. remove yams from ground; *kamautim yam o mami.*

- prevent, constrain; *pasim.* **Orak sene angikmengi ŋan rongrikutŋan**: Those two things are his constraints; i.e. they are what is preventing him from doing what he wants; *Em despela tupela samting em i save pas long em.*

ror *n.* (**dl. ruru; pl. rorsem**), child; *pikinini.*

rorki *v.i.* (**toriet/toriek**), ignite; *lait.*

rorŋa ning *n.* back leg joint of pig; *join bilong lek bilong pik.*

rowand-(p/w)-ar *v.t.* (class 2), pierce something; *sutim.*

rowe *adj.* old, used for inanimate objects; *olpela ol samting*. **Num rowe**: the old village; *olpela ples*; **Nder rowe**: the old path; *olpela rot*. See also **kowot**.

ru *v.t. irr.* (class 4 but does not take the first part of the discontinuous subject marker),
1. throw or propel something; *sutim*. **Yir tukun**: He threw a spear; *Em i sut long spia*.
2. eject or expel something; *sutim*. **Munjenum ange tewtukoya nok tukro**: The men were so afraid they peed themselves; *Ol man i pret na sutim pispis*.

ruX-ariki *v.t. irr.* (conjugated like **arki**. X here stands for the BEN object markers. The vowel in the first part of the verb undergoes assimilation to harmonize with the vowel in the object morpheme that follows it, so **rukuariki wákare** [feminine object not thrown out], **ringariki wákare** [masculine object not thrown out]), **1.** throw something away, empty something; *rausim*. **Pinpinja kondew rukuaritak!** Empty that rubbish bucket!; *Rausim ol pipia i stap insait long kondew*.

ruk *n.* **1.** smell; *smel*. **Njan totoja ruk psikmat ruk mbibikja**: His skin smells fishy, like a hermit crab; *Skin bilong em i gat smel olsem wanpela psik*.
2. crown of tree; *tel bilong diwai*.
3. anal glands in possums and bandicoots; see also **warning**.

rukana tar *v.t.* (class 4), smell something; *smelim*. **Mbawi ruakana orakangar tankunde, endekari nitingin**: Mbawi smelled the food and became hungry; *Mbawi smelim kaikai na hangre i mekim em*.

rumb *n.* slit-gong drum; *garamut*.

S

saim *n.* basket with one string that women put on their heads to carry things like vegetables, or fish that they catch; *liklik basket igat wanpela han tasol*. *Ol meri save hangamapim long hed na pulampim long ol kumu bilong bus o long pis*.

rumbuku *v.i.* (-**tet/-tak**), sag; *pundaun*. **Ngwab mir rumbrutak otitekja apro sakar**: Your big cunthole is fucking sagging! (*vulgar*); *Draipela hul bilong yu i pundaun i godaun olgeta!* (*tok nogut*).

rungu *v.t.* (class 4), pluck something, e.g. a leaf, the feathers from a chicken; *rausim olsem lip o rausim gras bilong kakaruk*. **Na kokokma pupur tungunukun**: I plucked the feathers off the chicken; *Mi rausim gras long kakaruk*.

rupu *v.t.* (class 4), tie a grass skirt, piece of cloth or traditional waistbelt around the body. To specify a part of the body other than the waist, you would say, e.g. **potakni** (around the neck); *pasim pulpul, siket, laplap o malo*.

rur *v.t.* (class 4, both r's change in realis, so **nja tunukun/ngu tutukun**): sharpen something; *sapim*.

rurur-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), crumple or fold something up; *brukim*. **Ewand rurueku sapwarni parkun**: I crumpled up the mosquito net and put it in the basket; *Mi brukim taunamb na putim i go insait long basket*.

rurur-(p)-eki *v.i.* (-**pet/-pek**), adhere; *pas na i strong*.

ruwond-(p)-i *v.t.* (class 1), smoke (i.e. cure) something; *smokim*.

ruX-(p)-osiki *v.i.* (conjugated like **osiki**. **Note**: X here stands for a non-final object suffix. The vowel in the first verb in this series, **ru**, undergoes vowel harmony to harmonize with the vowel in the object morpheme that follows it), hang up on two forks pitched into ground; *hangamapim long pok*. **Mbor ringosikitike**: Let's hang up the boar; *Yumi hangamapim pik*.

saiput *n.* basket that until the 1970s used to be used wash and leach sago pith; *basket ol mama bilong bipo i save usim long wasim saksak*.

sak *n.* earring; *ring bilong putim long yau*

sak *v.t.* (class 5), embrace, kiss; *kis*.

saki(ni), see **sapki(ni)**.

sakind *n.* a kind of ironwood tree; *kwila*. See also **nuruw**.

samba (also **sambaŋa kandaw**) *n.* illness caused by women's vaginal heat. Everyone is susceptible, especially men, but also women who have recently given birth themselves; they must eat their food using tongs or a spoon to avoid ingesting their own heat and giving the illness to themselves. Symptoms are shortness of breath, coughing, pain in skin and joints, especially the knees, and especially in the afternoon. If one eats just a little one's stomach swells up. One boils the leaves of the **manumbi** or **ngoriŋsua** tree as part of a cure; *sik i save kamap long hot bilong ol meri. Bai sotwin, kus, bun bai pen, skin bai pen, yu bai kaikai liklik na skin bai solap. Bai yu kisim ol lip bilong ol manumbi or ngoriŋsua na dring.*

samba mir *n.* ignorant person, stupid person; *man o meri i nogat save*. Compare **sua mir**.

sambai oremai ikin *n.* same kind of banana as **oremai ikin**, except that it is half the size and has a yellow interior; *wanpela kain banana olsem oremai ikin, tasol em i gat yelopela mit bilong em.*

sambaŋa njem *n.* a magic chant sung to help pregnant women who are having difficulty giving birth. It involves calling the names of other women who have recently given birth, and swearing at them; *singsing bilong helpim husat meri bel bilong em i pas na em i no go insait long bus tasol i no karim. Bai yu kolim nem bilong ol nupela mama na bai yu tok nogutim ol.*

sambap *n.* 1. pointed stick used to remove the husk from coconuts; *stik bilong selim kokonas.*

2. digging stick; *stik bilong dikim graun long gaden.*

3. molar; *bikpela tit i stap long baksait bilong bun bilong maus.*

4. (*euphemism*) penis; *kok (tok bokis).*

sambi *n.* a small tree that has leaves that smell pleasantly; *liklik diwai i gat gutpela smel.*

sambo *n.* a sago palm that has a watery interior, containing little sago starch; *saksak i nogat strongpela mit, warawara tasol. Yam sambo, muna wákareŋan:* The sago palm is **sambo**, it has no sago starch; *Sakasak i warawara, nogat muna.*

sambona *interj.* [*Kopar*], never mind, stop it; *maski.*

sambwanmond *n.* Cormorant (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 2, #1-4).

sami *n.* many; *planti.*

sanamb *n.* a tree with soft wood like cork that floats when put in water. It used to be used for making traditional carvings, plates, headrests and sometimes canoes, also used in secret male rituals to stay healthy and grow tall; *trip diwai ol man bilong bipo i save usim long wokim ol kabing o ol pelet na sampela taim ol i save usim long sapim kanu; ol man tu i save usim long wok bilong ol long kamap strongpela na longpela.*

sandaw *n.* false shout of happiness that is repeated over several beats, like 'o-o-o-o'. The shout is given when to announce a laudible or desirable act, such as spearing a pig or cassowary, carrying a large house post, catching sight of someone one hasn't seen in a long time, or glimpsing a new moon; *gutpela singaut bilong hamamas. Rorseŋgi sandaw pokure:* The two children shouted **sandaw**; *Tupela mangi i wokim sandaw.*

sangriwat *n.* noose, trap made of rope to capture birds; *rop i redi long taitim samting.*

sangudam *n.* a wrack made of sago palm leaf-stalk for smoking fish; *samting ol i wokim long pangal bilong smokim pis.*

sapki *adv.* 1. good, agreed; *gutpela, em tasol.*

Sapki yu ngume orak piatan: It's good you gave me this thing; *Gutpela na yu givim despela samting long mi.*

2. happy; *hamamas. ŋa sapki anŋi:* I am happy (*lit.* 'I good here'); *Mi hamamas ia.*

sapki(ni) (also **saki(ni)**) *adv.* 1. just; *nating, tasol. Sapkini utok:* It just appeared; *Em*

i kamap nating; **Na sapkini nam angi aroni ngunkun**: I'm just saying (lit. 'I'm just putting the talk outside'); *Mi putim nating tok i go outsait*; **Yu saki tarngar aku wákare**: You didn't just sit there and listen; *Yu no laik harim na istap tasol*.

2. for no reason; *nating*. **Arore arore nonjor angu sapkini pororakawuk**: Every day that woman is always singing for no reason; *Oltaim oltaim despela meri i save singsing nating*.

3. haphazardly, without goal or purpose; *nambaut*. **Sapki sapki rirporkun**: He's just shooting randomly with no purpose; *Em i sut nambaut*.

saprew *n.* belly stuffed full of food or shit; *bel i pulap long kaikai o long pekpek*. **Yiwir saprew sumanna mbor ango**: That pig shits everywhere; *Pik i save pekpek long olgeta hap*.

sapwar *n.* basket (*generic*); basket (*biknem*). **Simbergar sapwar**: everyday basket for carrying around one's belongings, such as one's supply of betel nut and lime; *liklik basket bilong putim ol liklik samting bilong yu olsem ol samting bilong kaikai buai*; **Mirina sapwar**: large basket for carrying supplies and food to and from the rainforest; *bikpela basket long karim i go long bus*; **Karatum sapwar**: basket with traditional decorations belonging to the crocodile clan; *basket i gat makmak bilong ol pukpuk*; **Manjai sapwar**: basket with traditional decorations belonging to the dog clan; *basket i gat makmak bilong ol pik*.

sarep *n.* grass knife; *grasnaip*.

sas *n.* [Adjora], father, *papa*. In the speech of most villagers, this word has replaced the Tayap equivalent **omo**.

sasápoke *n.* black land crab; *bilakpela kuka bilong graun*.

sasawranj *n.* large cockroach; *kokros*.

sasik *n.* bandicoot; *mumut*.

sasma ror interj. my goodness (lit. 'father's child'); *oyo*. Expression used to convey surprise or dismay.

sasu *n.* shrimp, small lobster; *kinda*.

sasupat *n.* small shrimp; *ol liklik kinda*. This word is being replaced by the Kopar-language word **nap**.

sawáranga *n.* traditional fighting mace; *bikpela tumbuna naip bilong pait na kilim man*.

sawrek-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), mix something together; *miksim*. **Munareki papreki sawrekekuk**. We are mixing the sago and the coconut; *Mipela miks saksak na kokonas i stap*.

sawir *adj.* black; *bilakpela*.

sek *n.* underside; *ananeat*.

sekni *pos.* below, *long ananeat*. **Patir sekni sirewuk**: It's under the house; *Em i stap ananeat long haus*.

sekund *n.* a kind of palm tree similar to a betel nut palm; *wanpela kain diwai i wankain olsem buai*.

semaya *n.* Tagula Butcherbird (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 55, #4).

semb *n.* eel larva; *liklik pikinini malio*.

send *n.* banyan tree; *pikus*.

sendam *n.* name of song that used to be played and sang by men when they arrived in the village bearing the severed heads of their enemies (**kwai kokir**); *singsing ol man i save wokim taim ol hed bilong birua i kam long haus tambaran*.

sene *n.* two; *tupela*.

sengrim *adj.* without accompaniment; describes for example sago jelly with nothing on it; *nogat abus o kumu long mum*. See also **sinder**.

serek *n.* one of the three species of trees which men use to make the floors of a house; *wanpela long tripela kain diwai ol man i save katim paitim long en na wokim ol plo bilong haus*. See also **kondew**, **kanjir**.

ser-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), 1. hold something in one hand; *holim long wanpela han*.

2. hold something by cradling it in arms or supporting it, as in holding up person who is drunk or has fainted; *Holim long han, olsem yu sapotim wanpela man i hap indai long en*

seser-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), 1. hold several things in one hand; *holim long wanpela han*.

2. hold several things by cradling in arms or supporting, as in holding up person who is drunk or has fainted; *Holim long han, olsem yu sapotim wanpela man i hap indai long en.*
- sesu** *n.* mossy green plant with sharp herbal smell, placed on corpses during the night of mourning to disguise the smell of decay; *liklik hap diwai i gat gutpela smel, ol man i save putim long bodi bilong man indai long karamapim smel nogut bilong bodi.*
- sik ep** *v.t.* (class 5), respond to or answer to accusations; *bekim maus. Nja Wandima sik epkwatinet:* I'm going to answer Wandi's accusations; *Mi bai bekim maus bilong Wandi.* See also **ep**.
- sik** *n.* mouth; *maus. Awinja sik:* bullshit (*lit.* 'water mouth'); *mauswara.*
- sikesike** *n.* tiny betel nut; *liklik liklik buai. Yu njanana sikesikeja mbatep non isiatan, na simberkinet:* Give me a little betel nut, I want to chew betel nut; *Yu givim liklik buai long mi bai mi kaikai buai.*
- sikin** *n.* 1. brain; *kru.*
2. sharp scraper attached to the end of a **makor** or **yasuk** (sago pounder), traditionally made of bamboo, now made of a sawn-off pipe; *sapela hed bilong makor o bilong yasuk.*
- sikip** *n.* large lump of sago pith that has not been pulverized; *bikpela hap hap mit bilong saksak. Tawar ango sikipjan tandiw tawaitukun ngo!* The **tawar** has a lot of unpounded bits, pulverize it better!; *Tawar i gat planti bikpela hap i stap, paitim gut pastaim!*
- sikrim** *n.* 1. finger; *pinga bilong han.*
2. toe; *pinga bilong lek.*
3. finger or toenail; *kapa bilong pinga bilong han o bilong lek. Ndaramja sikrim:* fingernail; *kapa bilong pinga bilong han; Ndownja sikrim:* toenail; *kapa bilong pinga bilong lek;*
4. insect leg; *lek bilong ol liklik binatang. Pakindma sikrim:* louse's leg; *lek bilong laus.*
5. hoof; *pinga bilong lek na han bilong ol sampela animol. Mborma sikrim:*
- pig's hoof; *lek bilong pik.* See also **mburkow**.
- simb** *v.t.* (class 5), 1. organize something; *stretim. Orasamb simbtukun!* Get your things together! *Stretim ol samting!*
2. settle or agree on something; *stretim. Nam simbtukroyapi, ndabaituko:* They settled the talk (i.e. they agreed on their plans), and they went their separate ways); *Ol i stretim tok na go nambaut; 3* smooth out, *stretim.*
- simbébi** *n.* Quail (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 1; #12–15).
- simberki** *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), 1. chew betel nut; *kaikai buai.*
2. (*euphemism*), menstruate; *karim blut, lukim mun (tok boks). Nojor Njari simbertak:* The woman is menstruating; *Meri i karim blut.*
- simber** *n.* the wad of masticated red betel nut that betel nut chewers spit out after it has exhausted its usefulness; *buai i stap long maus.*
- símbu** *n.* 1. vein that connects the testicles to the body; *rop bilong bol.*
2. maggot; *liklik binatang i gat longpela tel olsem liklik snek i save stap insait long hul bilong toilet na long as bilong saksak.*
- simpak** *v.t.* (class 5), stretch something, straighten something out; *stretim. Orom simpaknukun mbid utok nunuk:* I stretched my back and later it began to hurt; *Mi stretim baksait na pen i kamap bihain.*
- simpakni** *adv.* directly, straight; *stret. Yu simpakni otaka wetak:* You go straight there and come back! *Yu go stret na i kambek.*
- sind** *n.* 1. needle, spine, quill; *nok.*
2. antenna; *nok bilong ol binatang o wanem ol narapela ol samting. Sasuma sind:* shrimp's antenna; *nok bilong kinda.*
3. two long tail feathers of some species of bird of paradise, for example the **kurinj**; *tupela longpela gras bilong pesaw.*
- sinder** *adj.* 1. empty, bare; *nogat samting. Num sinder:* empty village; *ples nating. Kandam sinder:* bare-assed, naked; *as nating; Muna wákare patir sinder najar:* There's

no sago in the house, it's completely empty; *Nogat saksak, haus nating olgeta.*

2. without the expected or appropriate accompaniment; *nating*. **Mum sinder:** sago jelly without any meat, insects or vegetables on top of it; *saksak nating*. **Kap sinder:** an empty cup; *kap nating*. See also **sengrim**.

sindibam *n.* (contraction of **sind** + **yimbam**: 'quill' + 'bundle'), broom; *brum*.

sindip *v.t.* (class 5), stretch something; *stretim, taitim*. **Na ngo orom sidipkrunet:** I'm going to stretch out my back; *Mi bai stretim baksait bilong mi*.

sindir *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**; **r** → **Ø** in realis, so **sindinet/ sindinak**), slip; *wel*. **Pande sinditakre mingip wakaipngatan:** The axe slipped as he was chopping and struck his knee; *Tamiok i wel na paitim skru bilong em*.

sinj *v.t.* (class 5), peel something off, strip away; *brukim, tekewe*. **Yum munjenum koto wenkem karat sinjrunana!:** All you old men come and peel away rattan (to make rope in order to roof a house); *Yupela ol lapun man i kam na brukim kanda!*

sinjki *v.i.* (-**net/-nak**), be pleased, happy; *hamamas*. **Ngu sinjki wakare:** She isn't pleased; *Em i no hamamas*.

sip *n.* meat, usually only used in the collocation **mborsip**: pig meat; *abus, ol man i save kolim abus bilong pik mborsip*.

sire *pos.* down, below, under; *taunbolo*. **Sire angi wuk:** It's down there; *Em i stap taunbolo*.

sirej *n.* Cuckoo Shrike (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 32).

sirki *v.i.* irr. (**na siniet/sinieki; yu siniet/sinieki; ni siniet; ngu sisieki; yum sinkem; yim sinieki; ngi sisiko; yim sene sisike**).

1. go down, descend; *godaun*. **Na aruowan-kuta kuta kuta arawer siniet:** I waited for you for such a long time that the sun set; *Mi wetim yu igo igo igo na san i godaun*.

2. step into; *kalap*. **Ngu sisieki yimbarni:** She got into the canoe; *Em i kalap long kanu*.

sisir *v.t.* (class 4), sew something; *samapim*.

sisiw *n.* 1. laziness; *les*. **Munje ainde sisiw sumanja:** That man there is really lazy; *Man ia wanpela lesman stret*.

2. fatigue, stupor; *hap indai, nogat rot bilong kisim win*. **Nimanikadukuna sisiw ninkun:** He beat her until she was completely spent; *Em kilim em hap indai*.

sisiwoki *v.i.* irr. (**na sisiopot/sispok; yu sisiopot/sispok; ni sisiopot; ngu sisiopot; yim sisiopot; yum sisiopokem; ngi sisiopoko; yim sene sisiopoke**), tire, be lethargic; *les*. **Kruni kandawna wakare, ni sapkini sisiopot:** Kruni isn't sick, he's just tired; *Kruni i no sik, em les tasol*; **Na sisiopot ewar prukakutna arimbi nitin:** I'm worn out, yesterday's work exhausted me; *Mi les, asde mi wok na skin bilong mi les*.

siw *n.* 1. strips of skin of butchered large game, such as pigs or cassowaries; *skin bilong ol pik o ol muruk man i katim na dilim*.

2. traditional loincloth; *malo*.

3. ground possum; *kapul bilong graun*.

siwididimra oki *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), have a body part fall asleep; *hap bodi inda long eni*. **Ndow siwididimra wok:** My leg is asleep; *Lek bilong mi indai ia*.

siwir *n.* ant (generic); *anis (biknem)*.

siwirdidim *n.* tiny red ants; *liklik liklik redpela anis*.

siwir kararkarar *n.* red ants that live in **koí** trees at the end of the grasslands; *redpela anis i save stap insait long ol koí diwai long sait bilong kunai*.

sokoi *n.* tobacco; *brus*.

sokoidu *n.* cigarette; *smok*.

sonai *n.* (*obsolete*), first pubic hair; *nupela gras bilong sem i save kamap long ol nupela man na meri*. **Sonai manja!** Hairy cunt! (*vulgar*); *Kan i gat gras! (tok nogut)*.

Songodo *n.* Mangan village; *ples Mangan*.

sorong *n.* cowrie shell; *liklik kina i gat makmak*.

sowo *n.* Pitohui (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 42, #7-13).

sowor-(p)-o *v.t.* (class 1), boil a small amount of something; *boilim liklik samting*.

soworongab *n.* little soup pot; *liklik sosbin bilong boilim sup*.

sua *n.* 1. ignorance (antonym of *yam*), without skill, without power; *nogat save*, *nogat powa*. **Omosuama ror**: You are the son of a man with no knowledge, i.e. your father was stupid and so are you!; *Yu pikinini bilong wanpela man i nogat save!*; **Mayasuama ror**: You're the child of a stupid woman i.e. your mother was stupid and so are you!; *Yu pikinini bilong wanpela stupid meri stret!*; **Aram sua**: a poisonous snake whose venom doesn't have the power to kill, for example because one has blocked this power by reciting a magic spell or a prayer, or a non-venomous snake); *Snek i nogat poisin*.

2. *adj.* useless, rubbish; *rabis*. **Yuwon pruk sua anggi kakat nitukun!** Hurry up and finish your stupid work! *Pinisim hariap despela rabis work bilong yu!* See also **kapar**.

sua mir *n.* person without any skills or talents; *man o meri i nogat save long wokim wanpela samting*. **Sua mir!**: You have no skills or knowledge, you are stupid!; *Yu nogat save olgeta!* Compare **samba mir**.

suawuk *n.* a tree whose bark is peeled off and given to snakebite victims to eat raw, as a means of "cooling" the venom; *wanpela kain diwai ol man i save givim skin bilong em long husat man o meri snek i bin kaikaim em*. *Skin diwai bilong despela diwai bai kolim poisin bilong snek*.

T

ta *n.* knife; *naip*.

taimb *n.* club; *hap diwai bilong paitim samting*.

Sura taimb: bowling pin shaped club used to beat **sura** (reeds) flat in order to be able to make them into baskets; *hap diwai ol meri i save usim long paitim sura*. See also **nimjat**.

tak *n.* floor support that runs lengthwise, placed on top of the **porimb**; the bark floor (**kimitak**) is placed on top of these; *limbom*.

taki *v.i. irr.* (**na tat/tak, yu tat/tak, ngu tak, ni tat, yim tak, yum takem, ngi tako, yim sene také**), sleep; *slip*.

suk *n.* accusation; *sutim tok*. **Yu njanana sapkini suk ngitiatan**: You're accusing me without reason; *Yu saspektim mi nating*.

sum-(p)-or *v.t.* (class 1), chop something into small pieces; *katim liklik liklik*.

suman 1 *adj.* big; *bikpela*.

2. *n.* the first inhabitants of the ground, such as the mythical ancestors **Karatum** and **Yamdar**; *kukurai, kuskus olsem Karatum na Yamdar*.

sumbuu *n.* [*Kopar*], pile, heap; *hip*. See also **kit**.

sumbwa kapir *n.* beach; *nambis*. See also **puwaiorom**.

sumbwa n. 1. ground, dirt, mud; *graun*.

2. sago flour (*secret code*); **muna** (*hait tok*).

sumusumu *n.* bat; *liklik bilakbokis*.

supwáspwa *adv.* badly; *kranki*. **Ni supwáspwa pruknet**: He is working badly; *Em i wok kranki*.

sura *n.* reeds used to make baskets; *gras bilong mangoro ol meri i save usim long wokim ol basket*.

suwir *n.* sago palm with long leaves and needles. Its leaves are not tough and are not used for house thatch. This kind of sago palm is easy to pound because its interior is not hard and it produces a lot of sago flour. *Saksak i gat longpela lip na longpela nil*. *Lip bilong em i no strong na ol man i no save usim ol long pasim haus*. *Mit bilong em i no strong na i gat bikpela muna*.

takrot *n.* [*Kopar*], twins, double, e.g. a betel nut with two seeds, a banana with two bananas in one skin; *tuins, tupela samting i stap insait long wanpela karamap, olsem tupela banana i stap insait long wanpela skin bilong banana o tupela buai i stap insait long wanpela skin buai*. See also **moramori**

takwat *n.* lie, *giaman*.

takwat *v.t.* (class 5), lie to someone; *giamanim*.

takwatki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**) lie, *giaman*.

tam *n.* bird (*generic*); *pisin (biknem)*.

taman 1. *n.* all, everything, everyone; *olgeta*. **Taman waswituko**: They all died; *Olgeta indai pinis*.

2. *adj.* inexperienced; *nogat save*. **Akan taman**: inexperienced hand, said of someone who doesn't know how to carve or perform some other skill with his or her hands; *Han i nogat save*; **Ndow taman**: inexperienced leg, said of a person who tires or gets lost as they walk somewhere; *Lek i no save gut long wakabout*; **Raw taman**: face without experience, unknown face – this expression is used in the context of preventing **kandap**, tree spirits from stealing the souls of babies. Women carrying small children may call out to the tree beings and say “**Ŋa koret wákare, ŋa raw tamanŋa wákare**”: I am not a foreigner, I don't have an inexperienced face, i.e. a face that doesn't know this jungle and that you haven't seen before; *Pes i nogat save – em bai yu tok long ol kanap i laik kisim pikinini bilong yu bai yu singaut olsem: “Ŋa koret wákare, ŋa raw tamanŋa wákare”: Mi no bilong narapela ples na i no namba wan taim mi kam long despela hap, yupela lukim pinis pes bilong mi planti taim*.

tamanki *v.i.* (-**tet/-tak**), 1. become closed, blocked; *pas*. **Nuwomb tamantak**: The creek is blocked; *Baret i pas*; **Neke tamannan**: deaf (*lit.* ‘ears blocked’); *iaopas*.

2. become certain; *tingting i pas*. **Mbowdima numbwan tamantak Arut wokmera Merewre**: Mbowdi is certain that Arut went to Sanae; *Tingting bilong Mbowdi i pas strong long Arut i mas i go pinis long Sanae*.

tamanga *n.* slingshot; *katapel*.

tamb *n.* bier on which a corpse is carried to the graveyard and buried; *bet bilong putim bodi bilong man*.

tambar *n.* group of people, team; *grup, tim*. **Yim rumbŋa tamarni kuk**: We were part of the group working on the slit-gong drum; *Mipela i stap insait long grup bilong wokim garamut*.

tambawa *n.* [*Adjora*], mushroom; *talinga*. This word is replacing the Tayap **moimbir**. *Planti*

ol Tayap i no save toktok long moimbir moa, ol i save kolim long despela nem.

tambrak *n.* shelf, platform, table; *bet, tebol*.

Waw tambrak: raised platform of floor material outside a house where people sit to socialize; *haus win*.

tambuno *n.* temporary makeshift house made to protect one from a sudden downpour of rain; *liklik haus ol man i save kirapim long bus taim ren i pundaun*.

tambur *n.* dream; *driman*. **Tamburni tak**: She dreamed (*lit.* ‘she slept on a dream’); *em i driman*.

tamburni taki *v.i.* (conjugated like **taki**): dream; *driman*. **Ŋa tambuni tata yu tanun**: I dreamt of you (*lit.* ‘I dreamed and I saw you’); *Mi driman long yu*.

tambiroro *n.* Yellow-billed Kingfisher (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 24, #10).

tamburni tar *v.t.* (class 4, conjugated like **tar**), perceive something in a dream; *driman*. **Mokakaiyi tambuni tatŋgin munana saiput kukumbet**: Monakai dreamed that he came carrying a sago basket; *Monakai i drimanim olsem em i kam wantaim liklik basket bilong saksak*

tamriware *adv.* first time; *pestaim*. **Ngandu tamriware akan tamanni mbor pokun**: Ngandu shot his first pig; *Em namba wan taim long Ngandu sutim pik*.

tamro *n.* 1. orange fruit, the size and shape of a tennis ball, traditionally hung in the men's house to signify the number of pigs given during a funerary feast; *wailbal, bipo ol tumbuna i save ropim na hangampaim long haus boi long makim ol pik i bin igo long haus boi long taim bilong pati*.

2. crest of cassowary or rooster; *redpela bilas i stap antap long hed bilong ol muruk na bilong ol kakaruk man*.

3. vaginal fistula; *waipela sua i save kamap long sem bilong meri*.

tamroŋa kup *n.* wattle; *redpela samting i save hangamapa long nek bilong ol muruk na ol kakaruk*.

tamropirup *n.* chili pepper; *lombo*.

tamwai *n.* sago pancake; *praim*.

tandan *n.* woven screen used as a wall, woven of coconut leaves and sago palm leaves; *blain ol i wokim long lip bilong kokonas na bilong saksak*. See also **kindit**.

tandimirit *n.* small broom for swatting mosquitos; *liklik brum bilong rausim ol rang*.

tandiw *adv.* **1.** well; *gut*. **Tandiw siretak!** Descend well (i.e. be careful not to fall)! *Godaun gut!*

2. correctly, *gut*. **Ni tandiw namnet:** He said it right; *Em i tok gut*.

tandor *n.* braided mat of palm leaves placed across the **pawkpawk**, to seal the crown of the house from rain; *kapa bilong marota*.

tanja *n.* **1.** insect eggs such as lice eggs in hair; *ol liklik kiao bilong ol binatang olsem ol kiao bilong ol laus*.

2. tiny seeds inside certain fruits (the seeds inside a kiwi fruit would be **tanja**); *ol liklik kiao i save stap insait long sampela ol prut*.

tangar *n.* **1.** nest, burrow, or dwelling of any sort of animal or insect; *haus bilong ol pisin, ol binatang o wanem kain ol animol*.

2. home; *haus bilong man em i save stap long en*.

tap *v.t.* (class 5), **1.** carry something or someone on shoulders, e.g. a child sitting on one's neck; *karim long sol, olsem piki-nini i sindaun antap long sol*.

2. carry something by hanging from head, as in a basket or a netbag carried by draping the sling across the forehead and letting the load rest on one's back; *karim long hed, olsem hangamapim long poret han bilong basket o bilong bilum*.

tapak *n.* [*Kopar*], flour mixed together with scraped coconut and smoked in banana leaves, made for funerary feasts; *mixim saksak wantaim kokonas. Putim i go insait ol lip bilong banana na smokim long paia. Ol man i save wokim despela kaikai long taim bilong pati*. This word has replaced the Tayap equivalent, **momorik**, in the speech of most villagers.

tapetak *n.* large green gecko with white stripes on tail; *bikpela grinpela geko i gat makmak long tel bilong em*.

tapiam *n.* a kind of vine used to ease headaches by twisting it so that the sap emerges. It is then put on the forehead. Its sap is also inhaled as a decongestant; *rop ol man i save putim long hed bilong daunim hed i pen o ol i save pulim marasin bilong em long daunim kus*.

tapran *n.* fork; *pok*. **Ndernan tapran:** fork in path; *pok long rot*.

tapraw *adj.* broad, wide; *braitpela*.

tapraw *v.t.* (class 5) **1.** open up or widen something; *opim*. **Taprawtukun ndow!** Open your legs! *Opim lek!*

2. unfold or unravel something; *opim*. **Embatoto taprawtukun!** Unfold the cloth!; *Opim laplap!*

tapur *n.* foam; *spet*. **Nok tapurreki werambotitekna!** You were pulled out of your mother's cunt along with the foam of her piss! (vulgar); *Mama bilong yu i karim yu long pispis bilong em!* (*tok nogut*).

tapurmanj *n.* **1.** bubbles that appear on the surface of water when it rains; *spet i save kamap long wara taim ren i pundaun long en*.

2. bubbles that appear when an oar pulls the water; *spet i save kamap long wara taim man i pul igo*.

3. bubbles blown by children from soap water; *bal ol piki-nini i save winim long wara bilong sop*.

tar *n.* pandanus tree; *diwai ol meri i save brukim na wokim rop long wokim bilum*.

tar *v.t.* (class 4) **1.** take something, get something; *kisim*.

2. have sex with someone, *kwapim*. **Nguyi munje ainde tatingin:** She had sex with that man; *Meri i kisim man ia*.

tar *v.t.* (class 4), **1.** hear or listen to something or someone; *harim*.

2. smell something, *smelim*. **Ngu ngomarma ruk tatukun:** She smelled the smell of the fish; *Em i smelim smel bilong ol pis*.

3. believe something; *bilipim*. **Nayi nan nam tarngati wakare:** I didn't believe his talk; *Mi no bilipim toktok bilong em*. Differentiated from the verb 'take' by

stress in realis forms (**tánkun** = I heard it; **tankún** = I took it) and by different imperative forms (**tatukun!** = you listen!; **taretukun!** = you take it!). See Sections 2.5 and 7.1.2.2 in the grammar.

tarmbwar *n.* pendulous areal roots of the pandanus tree, the interior of which is used to make thread; *ol rop bilong tar i save hangamap, ol meri i save brukim despela na wokim tret.*

tarung *n.* firewood; *paiwut.*

tat *n.* spine, splinter; *nil.*

tata *n.* voc. older sibling; *bikpela brata o susa.* See also **atawo.**

tataimang *n.* boil that can develop in the tender part of the inner thigh where it meets the groin; *buk i save kamap long sangana bilong lek.*

tatak *n.* traditional decoration made of rattan tied around forehead during singing and dancing; *bilas long kanda ol tumbuna bilong bipo i save taitaim long poret long taim bilong singsing.*

tatar *n.* 1. finger or toenail; *kapa bilong pinga bilong han o bilong lek. Ndaramnja tatarni sind urok:* A splinter went into my fingernail; *Nok i go insait long kapa bilong pinga.* 2. traditional spoon; *spun bilong ol tumbuna.*

tatikem (*secret code*) *n.* small betel nut; *liklik buai (hait tok).* Used in the company of foreigners who know the Tayap word **minjike** in contexts where Tayap speakers want to hide the fact that they are talking about betel nut. See also **sikesike.**

taw *n.* 1. half or part; *hap.*

2. pieces, sips or spoonfuls; *hap. Na wawanja taw sene tarkrunakana ngo:* I'm just going to take two spoonfuls of soup; *Bai mi kisim tupela hap sup pastaim.*

3. side; *sait, arere. Man taw:* Side or part of vulva (vulgar); *Hap kan (tok nogut). Baso patirnan tawni tutotakut:* Baso is sitting on the side of the house; *Baso i sindaun i stap long arere bilong haus.*

4. behind one's back; *baksait. Njan ongwan nambar tawnjan warakengar wákare:* You're my only relative who

never talks behind my back; *Yu wanpela tambu bilong mi i no save tok baksait.*

tawai *v.t.* (class 5), 1. thump someone or something; *paitim. Njini ndaramni nambir tawainingatan:* He thumped him on the chest with his hand; *Em paitim bros bilong em long han.*

2. pound or hammer something; *paitim. Ngu sura tawaikrutakana:* She is going to pound the reeds (to make a basket); *Em bai paitim rop bilong wokim basket.*

tawangeni *adv.* 1. be minding one's own business, *stap nating. Na tawangeni kut:* I'm minding my own business; *Mi stap nating.*

2. be ignorant; *nogat save long samting i kamap. Tawangeni inde mbota prukkar mobotara inde.* He went off to work and wasn't aware [of what had happened]; *Em i go wok na em i no save long samting i kamap.*

tawar *n.* pulp or pith of sago palm once it has been pounded into what looks like sawdust. This is what one washes to leach it of sago flour. *Mit bilong saksak ol man i paitim long en.*

tawar mbup *n.* the washed and leached pith of the sago palm; what **tawar** is called once it is washed and all the sago flour has been extracted from it; **tawar** *ol i wasim na nogat moa saksak long en.*

tawaromo *n.* mushrooms that grow on the washed and discarded **tawar** of sago; *ol talinga i save kamap long tawar mbup.*

tawek-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), knead something, *miksim.*

tawk *n.* 1. coconut shell; *sel kokonas.*

2. plate, dish; *pelet o dis.*

3. any breakable outer shell; *sel inap bruk long en. Kokirja tawk:* cranium; *sel bilong hed. Nginonja tawk:* top of a coconut; *ai bilong kokonas.*

tawki *v.i.* (-**tet/-tak**), become dried out; *igo drai. Minjike tawtakara:* The betel nut is all dried out; *Buai i drai pinis. Awin tawakuk:* The tide is out and the water is receding; *Draiwara nau.*

tawni *pos.* beside; *long sait.*

Tayap mer *n.* Tayap language; *tok ples Gapun.*

tayap *n.*; *adj.* villagers' name for themselves; *nem bilong ol Gapun ol yet ol i kolim long tok ples*. **Tayap munjenum nanro**: Gapun men and women; *Ol man na meri bilong Gapun*.

Tayap num *n.* Gapun village; *ples Gapun*.

tékduan *n.* floor support that runs cross-wise, from **ngúnbara** to **ngúnbara**; *rola*. See also **porimb**.

teming *n.* 1. stick with which slit-gong drum is hit; *stik bilong paitim garamut*.

2. euphemism for penis; *kok (tok bokis)*.

tep *n.* the wooden support on which a slit-gong drum rests; *pilo bilong garamut*.

tete-(p)e *v.t.* (class 1), desire or want something; *mangalim*. **Nayi sapwar angi tetepekun**: I desire that basket; *Mi mangalaim despela basket*.

tetei *n.* biting horsefly; *binatang i luk olsem draipela rang i save kaikai man*.

ti *n.* a kind of narrow bamboo used to make a **mokwa** (multi-pronged spear); *mambu bilong wokim supsup*.

titi *n.* the inner shoots of sago or **papakdam** saplings that are peeled open and made into festive decorations; *ol lip bilong saksak o bilong papakdam ol man i save opim na wokim bilas long en*.

ti *adv.* too, also; *tu*. **Na ti okinetana ide**: I too intend to go; *Mi tu bai go ia*.

ti-(p/w)-ar *v.t.* (class 2), sting someone or something, used for jellyfish and stinging caterpillars; *pas long skin bilong yu na givim pen, bai yu tok long ningasin na kandiwara*.

tik ngur *v.t.* (class 4), tell a story; *stori*.

tik *n.* story, narrative; *stori*.

tik *v.t.* (class 5), 1. suppress something, such as anger; *daunim*. **Imin yuwon tiktukuna siretak!** Suppress your anger (*lit.* 'suppress your stomach and go down'); *Daunim bel bilong yu!*

2. step on something; *krungutim*. **Nayi sasawraŋ tiktukuna wasotak!** I stepped on the cockroach and it died; *Mi krungutim kokros na em indai*.

3. blink or wink an eye; *pasim pasim ai*. **Nginoni tikkwankut!** He is blinking; *Ai bilong em i op op*.

timbar *n.* swamp; *tais*.

timbar noŋor *n.* (euphemism), swamp woman, i.e. **mirip** (men's cult deity); *tambaran (sait tok)*.

timbi/tumbu *v.t.* (class 5; **Note**: the vowels in this verb stem undergo vowel harmony to harmonize with object morpheme that follows it), 1. Capture someone or something; *holim pasim*; **Timbitingin!** Capture him! *Holim pasim em!*; **Na mbor ror wemperkuna kukumbota tumbunkun!** I chased the small pig captured it; *Mi ronim pikinini pik na mi holim pasim em*; **Nginonja aram timbitinjin!** She captured the snake alive; *Em holim pasim snek i gat ai*.

2. arrange or spread something out on a flat surface, as in lay a floor or lay a mattress flat on a floor; **Kimitakni timbitukun!** Spread it out on the floor!; *Putim i godaun long gran!*

timbraXoki *v.i. irr.* (serial verb construction conjugated like **oki**, **Note**: the X is a non-final object suffix), 1. Humiliate or embarrass someone or something; *daunim*. **Yu numŋa nomb timbrakwok yuwon morasi aproni!** You're giving the village a bad name with your bad ways; *Yu daunim nem bilong ples long despela ol pasin nogut bilong yu*.

2. defeat; *winim*. **Yim kamieka ngigi yim timbramwok!** We fought and they defeated us; *Mipela i bin pait na ol i winim mipela*.

3. inhibit, restrain; *daunim*. **Ndaguni morasi timbrakotak!** Stop stealing!; *Daunim pasin bilong stil!*

timbrioki *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), bend over, lean down; *godaun, lindaun*. **Timbrioteta arotet!** Lean down and go inside! *Igo daun na go insait!* **Timbrotet kadam pituwatinak!** Bend over and I'll wipe your ass (said to a small child); *Lindaun bai mi klinim as bilong yu (mama i tok long liklik pikinini bilong em)*.

timir *n.* 1. needle traditionally made of cassowary bone to sew a netbag, bracelet or arm decoration, and traditional buckets made of sago fronds; *nil bilong wokim bilum, paspas o limbom, ol tumbuna i save wokim long bun bilong muruk*.

2. any kind of sharp needle or wire; *waia*.
Timiri pongro: They shot him with an ensorcelled needle; *Ol i sutim em long waia*.
- timirbim** *n.* needle used to make a basket or a fan, traditionally made out of the bone of a flying fox; *nil bilong wokim basket o win bilong winim paia, ol tumbuna i save wokim long bun bilong bilak bokis*.
- tindra** *n.* wooden steps leading up into a house; *lata i go antap long wanpela haus*.
- ting** *n.* small fence around a garden, or to fence in pigs; *liklik banis i save raunim gaden o bilong putim ol pik i go insait*.
- tip** *n.* tall tree with hard wood with few branches, used for different kinds of house posts; *longpela diwai nogat han ol man i save usim long wokim kerkwar o mambir*.
- tiriri-(w/p)-ar** *v.t.* (class 2), join something together; *joinim*. **Otarjat at anji tiriri-warkurarwe, otar wasongarana:** Join together the two pieces of firewood so that the embers don't go out. *Joinim despela tupela hap paiwut i kam, nogut paia indai*.
- tirki** *v.i.* (-*net/-nak*), blossom, bear fruit; *karim, olsem diwai i save karim*.
- tirki** *v.i.* (*ŋa tiniet/tinie; yu titiet/titiek, ŋgu titiek, ŋi tiniet, yim tiniek, yum titiekem, ŋgi titukó; yim sene titieke*), itch; *sikarap*. **Toto tirikuk:** My skin is itchy; *skin bilong mi sikarap*.
- tit** *n.* shoot or tip of plant, e.g. coconut or bamboo; *kru bilong kokonas o mambu o kanjigogo i nogat strong*.
- titimb** *n.* 1. color or pattern; *i gat kalakala o i gat makmak*.
 2. tattoo; *makmak*. **ŋgu titimb totoni ŋgututkun.** She put a tattoo on her skin; *Em makim skin bilong em*.
- titipreŋ** *n.* wood louse; *liklik binatang i save stap insait long ol sting diwai*.
- toki** *v.i.* irr. (**ŋgu tok, ŋgi toko**), give birth, used only for animals; *karim, bai yu usim despela hap tok taim yu laik toktok long ol animol tasol i karim, i no bilong toktok long ol meri*.
- tokine** *n.* catfish; *bikmaus*.
- tokimot** *n.* breast bone; *bun bilong bros*.
- tokro** *n.* 1. shortness of breath; *sotwin*.
 2. slope; *hap mounten o baret o wanem samting i godaun*.
3. a small amount of food for your **njakum** (joking kin), given as an immediate return for the larger amount of food you have received from them; *liklik kaikai yu givim long wanpilai bilong yu long wanem ol i bin putim bikpela kaikai bilong ol long yu; Orak tokroengar ninkurem:* They made the little joking kin food; *Ol i wokim liklik kaikai bilong wanpilai*.
4. a kind of tree that has fuzz and seeds that stick to the skin. One can remove these seeds from their husk, wash them and eat them with betel nut; *wanpela kain diwai i gat mosong na ol pikinini i save pas long skin bilong man. Sapos yu laik kamautim despela ol yu ken wasim ol na kaikai wantaim buai*.
- tombet** *n.* shelf; *bet*.
- tombirki** *v.i.* (-*net/-nak*; *r* → ∅ in realis, so **tombinet/ tombinak**), stay awake; *i stap na i no slip*.
- tombtomb** *n.* plant like a pineapple that grows in the middle of tree with long green leaves. Women used to rub this plant on the bodies of their newborn babies to strengthen their bones, and then hang it in their maternity house; *diwai olsem painapel i gat longpela lip i save kamap long namel bilong diwai, bipo ol mama i save usim long strongim bun bilong ol nupela bebi*.
- tomiktomik** *n.* spider; *spaida*.
- tomiktomik sumbwarja** *n.* large tarantula-like spider that lives in tunnels in the ground (lit. 'spider of the ground'). These spiders are poisonous and are known to result in the deaths of children they bite; *bikpela spaida i save stap insait long wul bilong graun. Marasin bilong em inap kilim man indai*.
- tomir** *n.* base of tree; *kil bilong diwai*.
- ton** *n.* 1. joint connecting two sections of bamboo; *join bilong mambu*.
 2. (*vulgar*) scrotum; *bol bilong man*. **Ton sawirjan!** Black scrotum! *Bilakpela bol bilong yu!*

tongeb *n.* upper Sepik; *Sepik antap*. **Tongeb munjenum ange ngwek:** Men from somewhere in the upper Sepik are coming; *Ol man bilong Sepik antap i kam nau*. **Tongeb kokir:** source of the Sepik river; *hed bilong Sepik antap*.

tongodip *n.* Malay apple tree and fruit; *laulau*.

top *n.* ginger to chew with betel nut (*generic*); *daka (biknem)*.

tosemb *n.* individual slit-gong drum signal; i.e. a specific beat, like a Morse code signal, used to call to specific individuals when they are far away; *waris bilong garamut, bipo ol man i gat pairap bilong garamut bilong em stret*. **Tosemb ngon nitukwatan!:** Hit her garamut signal!; *Paitim garamut bilong em!*

tori *n.* traditional bracelet; *paspas*.

toromb *n.* green vegetable (*generic*) *kumu (biknem)*.

toto *n.* 1. skin; *skin*.

2. shame; *sem*. **Toto mir ango nitukun:** You are shameful; *Yu wokim sem pasin*. **Toto ango atitiki wákare:** You are shameless (*lit.* ‘shame doesn’t arise on you’); *Yu no save sem*.

3. the part of a cake of sago immediately under the ashes that are poured on it so that it will dry. This is eaten; *skin bilong saksak*.

totrik *n.* traditional decoration made with small shells and dogs’ teeth, worn on forehead above **tatak**; *bilas bilong singsing ol man i save putim long poret antap long tatak*.

tower *adv.* quietly; *isi*. **Yum tower awnkem! Na yumon pindišana mndarakkut!:** You all be quiet (*lit.* ‘be quietly’)! I’m tired of hearing your noise! *Yupela i stap isi! Mi les long pairap bilong yupela!*

towerki *v.i.* (-*net/-nak*), shut up, be quiet; *pasim maus*. **Yum townkem!** You all shut up! *Yupela pasim maus!*

towoi *v.t.* (class 5), 1. try to do something; *traim*. **Towoitukun!** Try it! *Traim!*

2. test or challenge someone; *testim*. **Towoingrinet:** He will challenge him; *Em bai traim testim e*.

3. make a sexual advance to someone; *traim*. **Ewar ikurre Kakipani Sombaŋ**

towoinukun. Yesterday evening Kakipa tried to have sex with Sombaŋ; *Asde long nait Kakipa traim Sombaŋ*.

towond *n.* large post on each of the four corners of a house; *saitpos*.

towotowo *n.* four; *popela*.

tra *v.t.* (class 5), blood let; *rausim blut*. Villagers cut themselves to bleed frequently for many reasons, for example to ease pain – so a prolonged headache will be treated by cutting the temples and letting blood flow. Mothers also have female specialists cut the faces and bodies of children who cry too often, in the belief that ‘bad blood’ is making them cry and that releasing it will stop them from crying. *Ol man na meri i save rausim blut long kamap gutpela, olsem hed bilong yu i pen yu ken katim skin long said bilong hed bilong yu na rausim blut. Ol mama tu i save tokim ol meri i gat save long katim skin bilong pikinini bilong ol i save kraikrai tasol, long wanem blut nogut i save mekim despela ol mangi na taim ol i rausim ol mangi bai pinisim kra bilong ol*.

trar-(p)-o *v.t.* (class 1), boil a large amount of something; *boilim bikpela samting olsem planti abus*.

triri-(p/w)-ar *v.t.* (class 2), join something together; *joinim*. **Tririwaritukun tarungnat sene!** Join together the two pieces of fire (i.e. move the two pieces of firewood so that their ends butt up against one another); *Joinim tupela hap paiwut*.

tromtrimb *n.* Fantail (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 37).

tu *v.t.* (class 5), 1. Sharpen something, e.g. a knife; *sapim naip, tamiok, grasnaip*.

2. scratch something, e.g. an itch; *sikarapim*. **Ngadan njanan menemenjera wekre, na tunkun:** My sore kept itching, and I scratched it; *Sua bilong mi sikarap na mi sikarapim*.

truku *v.i.* *irr.* (**ŋa tuniet/tuniek; yu tutiet/tutiek, ŋgu tutiek, ŋi tuniet, yim tuniek, yum tunkem, ŋgi tutuko; yim sene tutuke**), dance; *singsing long lek*.

tu-(p)-o (or **tutu-(p)-o**) *v.t.* (class 1), plant something; *planim*. **Ngi ikin tutupokrore, ŋa nunukni kaset:** They had planted the bananas when I arrived; *Ol i planim pinis ol banana taim mi kamap.*

tuemb *n.* the day after tomorrow; *haptumaro.*

tukur *n.* rain; *ren*. **Tukur aikitakke?** Will it rain? (*lit.* ‘will rain come?’); *Ren bai kam o?*

tukursim (also **tukursum**) *n.* drizzle; *liklik ren.*

tum *n.* beetle; *wanpela kain binatang igat strong-pela sel na i gat win tu*. **Tum kwemŋa apro sakar!** Maggot prick! (*vulgar*); *Kok bilong yu i sting na i gat binatang! (tok nogut).*

tumb 1. *n.* mountain; *maunten.*

2. *adj.* thick; *tik.*

tumb(ŋa) bwar *n.* peak (*lit.* ‘back’) of a mountain; *tel bilong mounten.*

tumbigir *n.* a type of wild cane grass with white flowers; *pitpit nogat strong long en na i gat ol waitpela plowa.*

tumbinye *n.* mold; *das olsem mosong.*

Tumbinye mbatatukun: it’s moldy (*lit.* ‘Mold has ruined it’); *das i bagarapim.*

tumbuno *n.* makeshift house built in a hurry to protect one from rain; *liklik haus ol manmeri i save wokim hariap long hait long ren.*

tumbur *n.* shoulder; *sol.*

tur *n.* traditional song and dance; *tumbuna singsing.*

tur *v.t.* (class 4), **1.** remove husk; *selim.*

2. empty something; *kapsaitim.*

3. have sex with someone; *kwap*. **Ngu okitaka pap turkrutak ŋan sambapni:** She is going to go remove a coconut husk on his sharp stick (i.e. she is going to go have sex with him); *Em bai go selim kokonas long stik bilong em (em minin-gim olsem: em bai go kwap wantaim em).*

turara oki *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), empty something out, e.g. out of a basket; *kapsait i godaun.*

turaw *n.* coconut husk; *skin bilong kokonas.*

turaw pakas *n.* stage four (of five) in coconut formation, an old **makatok** that has begun to dry out; *kulau i wok long drai.*

turkopki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), miss one’s step or lose one’s grip; *wel.*

turo *n.* fireplace inside house, hearth; *hap bilong kaik.*

turuw *n.* scale of fish, snake, lizard, or person afflicted with grille; *gereray bilong pis o snek o palai na tu bilong husat man gereray i kamap long bodi bilong em*. **Muna turuw:** old sago; *olpela saksak.*

tutuk *n.* sweat; *tuhat*. **Tutuki nitin:** I am sweating (*lit.* ‘sweat makes me’); *Mi tuhat ia.*

tutuku *v.i.* *irr.* (**ŋa tutot/tutok, yu tutot/tutok, ŋgu tutok, ŋi tutot, yim tutok, yum tutukem, ŋgi tutuko, yim sene tutuke**), sit; *sindaun*. **Tutungarke!** Don’t sit! *I no ken sindaun!*

tutumb *n.* beetle (*generic*); *bikpela binatang.*

tutuw *n.* opening, where something opens; *maus bilong wanpela samting*. **Nuwombŋa tutuw:** place where creek meets the mangrove lake; *maus baret*. **Saimŋa tutuw:** opening of a little basket; *maus bilong liklik basket*. **Kwemŋa tutuw:** urethral opening on penis; *maus bilong kok.*

tuw *v.t.* (class 5), wash a person or animal; *wasim man o wanpela samting i gat ai olsem dok o liklik pik.*

tuwku *v.i.* (**tuwniet/tuwniek; ŋgi tuwtuko**), bathe; *waswas*. **Ewar Njimerji noŋor sene tanimbin tuwrukukerŋa:** Yesterday Njime saw two women bathing; *Asde Njime lukim tupela meri i waswas i stap*. See also **awin tuwku**.

U

um *n.* crumb, *liklik pipia*. **Munaŋa um:** crumbs from sago; *ol pipia muna*; **Mborsipŋa um:** tiny bits remaining from pig meat; *ol pipia abus bilong pik.*

umb *n.* **1.** crown of sago palm; *tel bilong saksak.*

2. young shoot of papaya, tobacco, sago or pumpkin, *kru bilong popo, brus, saksak o pankin*. **Waruŋa umb adigarke:** Don’t break off the pumpkin shoot! *I no ken brukim kru bilong pankin!* See also **indub**.

undiki v.i. (**pundiet/pundiek**), dig for brush turkey eggs; *dik long yamiŋe*.

undir-(p)-o v.t. (class 1), dig for brush turkey eggs; *dikim yamiŋe*. See also **undu**.

undu v.t. (class 1), **1.** dig away dirt to find a **yamiŋe** (brush turkey egg); *painim kiao bilong waipaul*.

- 2.** pulverize sago palm pith; *paitim saksak*. **Ŋa yamŋa orom kemem pundukun:** I pulverized a large section of the sago palm; *Longpela hap saksak mi paitim*. See also **undir-(p)-o**.

uran adj. dirty; *deti*.

uráŋgeba n. bullfrog; *bikpela prok*.

urar v.t. (class 4; final **r** changes in realis), shake water off skin like a wet dog; *skin olsem ol dok save wokim long rausim wara long skin*. **Awinŋa toto urariruku wok:** The dog shook its skin to get rid of the water; *Dok i noisim skin long rausim wara*.

urek-(p)-e v.t. (class 1), **1.** turn something around; *tainim*.

- 2.** turn an object, for example a **nek** (house ladder) so that people either can or can't walk up it, because the notches to walk up are either turned outwards or inwards, or turn something over (earth; a piece of wood that is upside down); *tainim*.
- 3.** translate something; *tainim tok*. **Mer ureketukun:** Translate! (*lit.* 'turn language'); *Tainim tok!*
- 4.** change one's mind; *sensim tingting*. **Ŋi numbwan urekpekun:** He changed his mind; *Em i sensim tingting bilong em*.

urerki v.i. (**-tet/-tak**), flash lightning, *pairap long klaut*. **Aruat urerakut:** Lightning is striking (*lit.* 'the thunder is lightning-ing'); *Laitning i lait*. **Yewirreki ureruotitekŋa:** You fell out (of your mother's ass) with shit and lightning (*vulgar*); *Mama bilong yu karim yu long as wantaim laitning (tok nogut)*.

urerŋgar n. lightning, *pairap long klaut*. See also **mamrai**.

uretikimb n. spearshift; *mambu bilong spia*. **Uretikimbni yir waptukun:** Put the point of the spear into the spearshaft; *Putim spia i go insait long mabu*.

urukuruk n. large edible larva of the **ngabugrip** beetle; *pikinini bilong ngabugrip ol man i save kaikai*. This word is being replaced by the Kopar-language word **wanuwanu**; *despela hap tok ol Gapun i wok long lusim, ol yangpela i save kolim wanuwanu long tok ples Wongan*.

usik n. shushing sound; *hap toktok bilong stopim man long toktok o singsing*. **ŋinji usik ninkun:** He made a shushing sound; *Em tok 'shhhh'*.

usikki v.i. (**-net/-nak**), shush, *tok 'shhh' long stopim man long toktok o singsing*. **Yu ambinana usiktet?:** Why are you shushing?; *Yu bilong wamen tok 'shhhh'?*

ut n. cane grass; *pitpit*.

utak v.t. (class 5), **1.** ignore or disobey someone; *sakim*. **Nam utakŋgarke!:** Don't disobey (this talk)! *I no ken sakim tok!*

- 2.** push someone; *sakim*. See also **eikuoki**.

utakatiki v.i. (conjugated like **atiki**), loosen something, e.g. the top of a container; *slekim kontena ŋa ŋgino utakatotaka ketukun!*: Take off the lid! *Opim ai bilong kontena!*

utak-(p)-osiki v.i. (**utakposiet/utakposiek**), move across; *katim i go long hapsait*.

utaroror v.t. (class 5), block something or someone by surrounding it or them; *banisim long ring*.

utaw v.t. (class 5), dislodge coconuts and fruits like papayas from their trees; *sakim*.

utaXru v.t. (serial verb construction with class 4 final verb. **Note:** the X is a non-final object morpheme, and final vowel of stem undergoes vowel harmony to harmonize with the vowel in the object morpheme that follows it): push someone; *sakim*. **Sopakyi Waiki utatrinŋri wákare:** Sopak didn't push Waiki; *Sopak i no sakim Waiki*. **Ewar Masitoyi Sopak utaktukuna awinni otitek:** Yesterday Masito pushed Sopak into the water; *Asde Masito sakim Sopak i pundaun long wara*.

utiki v.i. (**putiet/putiek**), become pure, purified, clear; *kamap klinpela*. **Papŋa yapir**

putiek: The coconut oil became free from impurities; *Wel bilong kokonas i kamap klinpela.*

utir-(p)-or *v.t.* (class 1), cut something into small pieces; *katim liklik.*

W

wa-(p/w)-ar *v.t.* (class 2), tuck something in or under; *putim i go ananeat*: **Ngu ewar ewand waparkun:** Yesterday she tucked in the mosquito net; *Asde em i putim taunamb i go ananeat long mat.*

wagurmos *n.* Milky Way; *waitpela smok i save kamap long skai long nait.*

wai 1. *n.* sago swamp where people go to work sago; *hap tais i gat saksak.*

2. *excl.* exclamation used to convey disapproval and that the addressee should stop doing whatever he or she is doing; *singaut long tokim narapela olsem inap o no ken mekim olsem.*

wai-(p)-e *v.t.* (class 1), make threatening move to hit someone; *mekim eksen long paitim man o pikinini*. **Mayayi ror ango okrunana waipekunde, riwindra wek:** The mother pretended to hit the child and the child became startled; *Mama i wokim eksen long paitim pikinini na pikinini i kirap nogut.*

waiki *v.i.* (**wainet/wainak**; **ngi wiatuko** or **waindak**), walk around; *wokabaut.*

waingriki *v.i.* (**-niet/-niek**), conceal talk, lie; *hait tok, giaman*. **Yu nda waingrikut inde:** You are concealing something you know; *Yu wok long giaman na haitim tok*; **Ngu waingitiek:** She lied; *Em giaman*; **Yuwi waingurkwankut:** You're hiding talk; *Yu wok long haitim tok.*

wak-(p)-eki *v.i.* (**-pet/-pek**), lodge, become jammed; *pas*. **Ngomar kakunde, ning potakni wakpekre, werak wek:** I was eating fish and a bone lodged in my throat and I expectorated it. *Mi kaikai pis na bun i pas long nek bilong mi na mi kamautim.*

utitioki *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), be angry; *belhat*. **Na imin utitikitak:** I'm going to be angry; *Mi bai belhat ia.*

utukutuk *v.t.* (class 5); shake something insistently; *noisim strong.*

wakai-(p)-i *v.t.* (class 1), smack; *paitim*. **Nayi ror anji ndaramni wakaipikuna ngu eiarkar wok:** I smacked that kid and she's crying; *Mi paitim pikinini ia na em krai i go.*

wákare 1. *interj.* *no*; *nogat*. **Yu mum akurutetke? Wákare, ŋa inda mai inda:** Will you eat some sago jelly? No, I've had enough; *Yu laik kaikai saksak? Nogat, mi kaikai inap pinis.*

2. negation word, the word used to negate a statement; *we bilong tok nogat*. **Ngi aku wákare:** They are not here; *Ol i no istap*. **Na sokoi angar wákare:** I don't smoke; *Mi no save smok*. **Ngu aiki wákare:** She isn't coming; *Em i no inap kam.*

wákareki *v.i.* (**-tet/-tak**), run out, be finished; *nogat, pinis*. **Wákaretakara:** It's all finished, there is no more; *Em pinis, nogat moa.*

wákare reki *adv.* still, yet; *yet*. **Na mum akru wákare reki ngi ngwek:** I still hadn't eaten sago jelly and they arrived; *Mi no kaikai mum yet na ol i kam*. **Ni aiki wákare reki ngi ngok.** He still hasn't arrived and they have left; *Em i no kam yet na ol i go pinis.*

wak-(p/w)-uwku *v.i.* (conjugated like **wuwku**), raise; *putim i go antap*. **enamb non tutoka wuk nimni ŋa rarkrunana tos wakpuwok:** A possum was sitting in the tree and to see it, I raised the torch/flashlight; *Kapul i sidaun i stap long diwai na mi putim tos i go antap long lukim em.*

waksirki *v.i.* (conjugated like **sirki**), **1.** turn something upside down; *tainim*; **Paru ango waksiretak!** Turn the plate over! (said to male or female); *Tainim pelet!*

2. lower something; *putim i go taunbolo*. **Tos waksiniek**: I lowered the torch/flashlight; *Mi bengim tos taunbolo*.
3. put on a shirt; *putim siot*. **Siot waksirkitak**: I'm going to wear the shirt (male or female speaker); *Mi bai werim siot ia*.

wakwik *v.t.* (class 5), shake; *seksekim*. **Towond angi wakwiknukurema kekuwotak!** Shake the housepost back and forth and lift it out! *Noisim noisim pos na kamautim!*

wakwikki *v.i.* (-net/-nak), tremor, shake; *seksek*.

wakwikngar kandaw *n.* a hereditary disease that since the 1960s has affected one specific kin group of villagers, causing them to shake, stumble and have slurred speech, ultimately resulting in incapacitation and death. The reason for this illness (which in Tok Pisin is called *sik muruk*, 'cassowary illness'), is because a man in this kin group shot and killed another village man in the 1960s. He later used the same gun to shoot a cassowary, and the illness was transmitted when he then ate the meat of the cassowary. Probably Huntington's disease; *sik muruk*.

wamar *n.* sago palm similar to the **konemba**, except that its fronds are long and green. *Saksak em wankain olsem konemba, tasol pangal bilong em i longpela na grinpela*.

wamb *n.* 1. fontanelle; *hap bilong sel bilong het i malomalo long en*.

2. a kind of tree with strong wood that used to be used to make bows; *strongpela diwai ol tumbuna i save sapim na workim banara*.
3. a betel nut substitute that looks like a betel nut but has a beige and nut-like interior; *wanpela samting ol man i save kaikai taim ol i lus long buai*. *I luk olsem buai*.

wamb kosowak *n.* Helmeted Friarbird (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 33, #1–5).

wand *n.* (*pl.* **wanjmeng**), cross-sex sibling; *susa bai kolim brata bilong em wand na brata bai kolim susa wand*.

wap *v.t.* (class 2), insert something; *putim i go insait*.

wapaki-(p/w)-arkru *v.t.* (class 2), put or lay something across; *putim akros*.

wapakini *adv.* cross-wise; *akros*. **Yu wapakini tatet**: Sleep crosswise (i.e. at the head or base of the mosquito net, at other sleepers' heads or feet); *Yu slip akros*.

wapatungro *n.* swarm of lightning bugs that live in treetops; *ol ngudum i save stap antap long tel bilong diwai na troimwe lait long nait*.

war *n.* thigh; *lek*.

war *v.t.* (class 2), 1. bury something; *graunim*. Traditionally this verb was only used to refer to the burial of human bodies and yams; *Long taim bilong ol tumbuna ol i save usim despela hap tok long toktok long graunim ol bodi bilong man na graunim ol yam tasol*.

2. put something inside, e.g. a basket; *pulamapim long basket o long narapela samting*. **Ngu tatar parkun sapwarni**: She put the spoon in her basket; *Em putim spun i go insait long basket*; **Ndadumnike waratkingikatot Potowre?** Did he put him in a sago palm leaf sheath and carry him down to Wongan? *Em i putim em i go insait long wanpela pangal na karim em i godoun long Wongan?*
3. scrape or grate something, e.g. coconut; *sikarapim kokonas*.
4. fill something up; *pulamapim* **Awin waritukun onabni**: Fill up the pot with water; *Pulamapim wara long pot*.
5. breathe air; *pulim win*. **Ngu mbun warkru wakare**. She's not breathing; *Em i no pulim win*.

warakki *v.i.* (-net/-nak), talk, converse; *toktok*.

waram *n.* traditional shield; *hap pangal ol tumbuna i save holim long abrisim ol spia long taim bilong birua*.

waramki *v.i.* (-net/-nak), shield; *banis*.

waram taw *n.* the layer of sago left close to the bark of the palm when one is almost done pulverizing it; *liklik hap mit bilong saksak i stap klostu long skin bilong saksak*.

waris *n.* screen made of coconut fiber; *laplap bilong kokonas*.

waris orim *n.* membrane covering the inner organs; *bilum i karamapim lewa na ol*

narapela samting i stap insait long pik o mumut o wanem kain ol animol.

warki v.i. (**pariet/pariek**), fish by setting a net; *umben*.

warmis mokop n. calf (*lit.* ‘thigh little’); *mit bilong baksait bilong lek.*

warmis n. thigh muscle; *mit bilong lek.*

warning n. (*obsolete*), 1. anal glands in arboreal possums and bandicoots that have a strong, unpleasant fishy smell if accidentally cut while butchering the carcass. This word is no longer known by most speakers, who call these glands **ruk** (*lit.* ‘smell’); *tupela liklik bol i save stap long as bilong ol kapul na mumut. I gat smel nogut. Ol bikipela man na meri bilong nau i no save gut long despela hap tok, ol i laik kolim samting bai ol i tok long smel. Warningnja man!*: Smelly cunt! (*vulgar*); *Kan bilong yu sting ia! (tok nogut bilong bipo).*

2. genital fluid from both women and men; no longer known by most speakers; *wara bilong sem bilong meri na bilong sem bilong man tu.*

waru n. pumpkin; *pankin.*

waruk-(p)-eki v.i. (**-pet/-pek**), turn back; *tainim bek.*

wasowki v.i. (**-net/-nak**), die; *indai. Njni munje ide pongina wasownet*: He shot the man and he died. *Em sutim man na em indai.*

wasowra aiki v.i. *irr.* (conjugated like **aiki**), faint; *hap indai.*

waswirki v.i. die *en masse*, die like flies; *indai nambaut. Ngi taman waswirtuko* or **waswindak**: They all died; *Olgeta indai pinis. Waswirkinkemana taman*: You’re all going to die like flies; *Bai yupela indai nambaut ia.*

watakep n. a kind of wild taro with tough, long leaves that one can use as an umbrella to shelter from the rain; *wanpela kain waitaro i gat ol bikipela lip. Long taim bilong ren ol man i save usim despela ol lip long hait long ren.*

waw n. 1. fog, morning mist; *smok. Waw otitek*: The fog came in (*lit.* ‘fell’); *Kol i kam.*

2. coldness caused by weather, like fog in the morning or rain, *kol. Wawi nitin*: I’m cold (*lit.* ‘cold+ERG does me’); *Kol i kisim mi. Wawnja tambrak*: raised platform of floor material outside a house where people sit to socialize; *haus win.*

3. web; *haus bilong spaida. Tomiktomikma waw*: spiderweb; *haus bilong spaida.*

wawan n. [*Kopar*], soup; *sup*. This word has replaced the Tayap **kawatja awin** (*lit.* ‘water with salt’). *Long tok ples Gapun bai yu kolim sup olsem kawatja awin tasol ol man i no save tok olsem, ol i save kolim long tok ples Wongan.*

wawar-(p)-ei v.t. (class 1) hang up something, for example an **ongab** (pot) or **potak** (butchered meat); *hangamapim, olsem sosbin o abus. Nja yu wawareirunet nimni*: I’m going to hang you up in a tree; *Bai mi hangamapim yu long diwai.*

wawar-(p)-eiki v.i. (**wawarpet/wawarpet**), hang; *hangamap.*

wawar-(p)-oski v.i. (conjugated like **oski**), climb, *hangamap long ol diwai na go nambaut olsem kapul. Nonjor anju enambbi wawaroskar ekrukuk munjenum sami aramb orembanuk*: That woman is like a cuscus, she hangs from many trees (i.e. many men), she’s married and left many men; *Meri i olsem kapul, i wok long kalap kalap (long planti diwai), em maritim planti man na lusim ol.*

wawku v.i. (**pawiet/pawiek**), 1. stick to, adhere; *pas long. Mbimang njanan ndowni pawiek*: The leech stuck to my leg; *Liklik snek bilong bus i pas long lek bilong mi; Ror ainde pawiet totoni!*: This boy is sticking to me; i.e. is sitting pressed right up against me! *Pikinini ia i pas long skin bilong mi!*

2. fasten in or be caught in e.g. a net; *pas long. Ngomarsam pawko korotni*: The fish were caught in the net; *Ol pis i pas long wumben.*

wekangu v.t. (class 3), pull in, *pulim i go insait. Paup kokir wekongukuna odukun*: The turtle pulled its head and hid it;

- Trausel i pulim hed bilong em i go insait na haitim.*
- wekang-(p)-or** *v.t.* (class 1), stretch something out, e.g. when one is tired; *taitim skin*. **Toto wekangorkru wákare:** I didn't stretch out; *Mi no taitim skin*
- wekok** *n.* obscenity, vulgarity; *tok nogut.*
- wekokni adi** *v.t.* (class 3), swear at or curse someone (*lit.* 'break obscenity'); *tok nogutim*. **Nguyi ngi wekokni odibin:** She cursed them; *Em tok nogutim ol.*
- wekwarengar** *adj.* narrow; *i no braitpela.*
- wemb-(p)-er** *v.t.* (class 1), chase something; *ronim.*
- wepiki** *v.i.* (**pepiet/pepiek**), creep, used to describe the locomotion of snakes, centipedes, millipedes, spiders, crabs; *wakabaut bilong ol yandum, kakámatik, kuka na snek.*
- wer** *v.t.* (class 2), pull out, remove or extract something; *pulim*. **Nyai tatar sapwarnja perkun:** I took the spoon from my basket; *Mi kamautim spun long basket*; **Nyai ta ewandja werkru wákare, aro wuk ango:** I didn't take the knife out of the mosquito net, it's there inside; *Mi no kamautim naip long taunamb, em i stap insait.*
2. castrate an animal; *kamautim bol.*
- Mborma gaweiw krimb perkrora:** They removed the pig's testicles; *Ol i kamautim bol bilong pik.*
- werki** *v.i.* (**periet/periek; ngi perko**), dig around, snuffle (most commonly used for pigs); *dikim graun long nus (ol man i save tok long ol pik)*. **Mbor periek:** The pig snuffled around; *Pik i dikim graun long nus bilong em*; **Mbor werikuk:** The pig is snuffling around; *Pik i dik i stap.*
- werki** *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), look good, be in order; *luk gut, istap gut* **Nder werki wákare:** the road isn't in order; *rot i no gutpela*; **Yum tandiw wernkem, ŋa mborsip wákare:** You're all fine but I have no pig meat; *Yupela i stap git, tasol mi nogat abus.*
- wepokki** *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**), crawl; *wakabaut long skru*. **Ewar ngu wepoktaka wok:** Yesterday she crawled; *Asde em wakabaut long skru*; **Ror ainde wepokkar katot inde ŋgwabre minjikannet inde,**

atitingarana!: The child is crawling out and is close to the hole (in the floor), watch out that he doesn't fall (through the hole)! *Pikinini i wakabaut long skru i kam autsait klostu long hul, nogut em i pundaun!*

werki *v.i.* (**-net/-nak**): 1. be straight; *stap stret*. **Ngu wertaka angi wuk:** It's straight (referring to a line, or a post that has been raised); *Em stret i stap.*

2. look good, be comfortable, have enough to satisfy one; *kamap gut*. **Yum tandiw wernkem, ŋa mborsip wákare.** You all are content and have enough, but I don't have anything to eat (*lit.* 'I don't have any pig meat'); *Yupela i kamap gut, mi tasol nogat bilong kaikai.*

werandru *v.t.* (class 3), dig ground to plant things; *dikim graun long planim ol samting*. **Nguyi ewar sumbwa werondrukun sambapni:** Yesterday she tilled the ground with a digging stick; *Asde em dikim graun long stik bilong dikim graun.*

weri-(p/w)-uku *v.i.* (**weripuwot/weripuwok**), dry up; *drai*. **Nuwomb weripuwok:** The creek is almost dry; *Baret i no moa dip.*

weraXoki *v.i.* (conjugated like **oki**), pull something loose or pull something out, like when a strong wind uproots a tree; *kamaut na pundaun*. **Nanro kosepyi manja iru utipormbatanjan rorsementime werambotiteknan yiwirgwabekeni!:** They were pulled out the assholes of women whose clits are snipped at by crabs! (*vulgar*); *Ol i pulim rausim ol long hul pekpek bilong ol meri husat ol kuka i save katim nus bilong kan bilong ol! (tok nogut).*

wetiki *v.i.* (**petiet/petiek**), wank; *skinim kok o skinim kan*. **Kwem petieknan munje:** Wanker; *Man i save sikinim kok*. See also **weiki**.

weu *v.t.* (class 2), lay in hiding and wait for a pig to eat at a sago trap, so that one can spear it; *was long saksak long sutim pik*. **Nanan omo weukrunana wakut:** My father used to go lay in hiding to kill pigs at a sago trap; *Papa bilong mi i save go was long saksak long sutim pik.*

weX-(p/m)-unguku *v.i.* (conjugated like **munguku**), corner something or someone; *sanapim*. **Njenj mbor wempengina kingimbota wetpungot**: The dog chased a boar and cornered him; *Dok i ronim pik man igo na sanapim em*. **Njenj mbor wemperkuna kukumbota wekpungot**: The dog chased a female pig and cornered her; *Wanpela dok i ronim pig igo na sanapim em*.

wiki *v.i. irr.* (**ŋa pwiet/pwiek**; **yu pwiet/pwiek**, **ngu pwiek**, **ŋi pwiet**, **yim pwiek**, **yum piukem**, **ŋgi piuko**, **yim sene piuke**), rise, come up (e.g. from Wongan); *kam antap*. **Karep pwiek**: The moon rose; *Mun i kam antap*. **Arawer pwiet**: The sun rose; *San i kam antap*; **Awin pwiek**: The water is rising; *Haiwara nau*; **Arawer wikinetre**, **am atikitak**: When the sun rises, a fight is gonna break out; *San i kam antap bai pait i kirap*.

wi-(p/w)-o *v.t.* (class 2), 1. put something up; *putim i go antap*. **Mumŋa paru wiwokru wákare tombetni, yu sapki oreku wuka mbokre njei okun**: You didn't put the plate of sago jelly above on the shelf, you left it and went away and the dog ate it; *Yu no putim plet bilong saksak i go antap long bet, yu lusim nating igo na dok i kaikai*;

2. wear clothes; *putim koros o su*. **Ŋgi ndow wiwkru wákare**: They weren't wearing shoes; *Ol i no putim su*.

wind *n.* tree whose grated bark is used to try to cure an ensorcelled person whose stomach swells to alarming proportions; *diwai bilong kolim posin bilong bel i solap*. *Bai yu sikarapim skin bilong despela diwai na givim long husat man i gat despela sik*.

wir *n.* watch; guard; *was*. **Ewar ŋi mbot yam wir ngurkrunana**: Yesterday he went to watch the sago palm (that he had prepared for a wild pig to come and eat it); *Asde em i go long putim was long saksak*.

wira *n.* Lorikeet (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 19, the word refers to the larger ones).

wirar *v.t.* (class 3; **ŋi wirkarkun/ŋgu wirorkun**): put something inside; *putim i go isait*.

wis *v.t.* (class 5), put something down, lower something; *putim i godaun*. **Ror ango wis-nukun subwani**: I put down the child on the ground; *Mi putim pikinini ia i godaun long graun*.

wiswis *n.* 1. . Goshawk and Falcon (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 5, plate 6). This word is an onomatopoeic rendering of the sound made by the beat of these birds' wings.

2. euphemism for sorcerer; *poisin man*.

Wiswis inde mbet: A sorcerer is coming; *Poisin man i kam ia*.

wit-(p)-i *v.t.* (class 1), string something together, e.g. **sokoi** (tobacco leaves), **tongodip** (*laulau* fruits), **tamro** (big orange seeds used to signify how many pigs were given at a funerary feast and hung in the men's house); *ropim, olsem brus, laulau, wailbal*.

wiwir *v.t.* (class 4), blow on, fan or inflate something; *winim*.

wo *pos.* above; *antap*. **Wo angi wuk**: It's there above you; *Em i stap antap*.

woi *v.t.* (class 2), 1. sweep; *brumim*.

2. roll; *rolim*. **Ŋanana sokoiŋa pin kukuwe, ŋa sokoidu woikrunet**: Bring me a bit of tobacco, I'm going to roll it into a cigarette; *Kisim brus i kam long mi bai mi rolim smok*.

woiki *v.i.* (**poiet/poiek**; **yim sene poike/ŋgi poiko**), intertwine; *raunim*: **Aram sene poikeya angi wuke**: The two snakes are intertwined; *Tupela snek i raunim tupela yet na istap*. See also **erki**.

wor *v.t.* (class 2), 1. put a canoe aground; *pasim kanu*. **Yimŋi yimbar porkure**: the two of us put the canoe aground; *Mitupela pasim kanu*.

2. forbid something; *tambuim*. **Ŋa nanjan minjike porkun. Ndaguni ekwangukre ŋginana porkun**. I've forbidden people to take my betel nut. People have been stealing it and for this reason I've forbidden it; *Mi tambuim buai bilong mi. Stil i kisim na long despela mi tambuim*.

worer *v.t.* (class 5), spill something; *kapsait*. **Aindet ror ainde awin worerkr wákare**: That child can't pee (*lit.* 'can't spill water'); *Pikinini i no inap rausim wara*.

worerXoki v.i. (serial verb construction conjugated like **oki**. **Note:** X here stands for an object suffix), capsize something, pour something out, *kapsaitim*.

worki v.i. (**poriet/poriek; ngi porko**), 1. go ashore; *go asua*. **Yim ngo aini workinak ŋa noki imin putiatan:** Let's go ashore here, I'm dying for a piss (*lit.* 'urine is cutting my stomach'); *Yumi pas long ia, pispis i kilim mi*.

2. engage in certain secret male activities; *wokim ol sampela wok bilong kamap strong na skin i lait*. **Worki okinak?:** Shall we go do the secret activities? *Bai mipela i go long bus wokim samting?*

3. be blocked, as in water that won't go through a strainer; *pas*. **Ewar ŋa mboka peiwieka awin worki wákare:** Yesterday I went and washed sago and the water wouldn't go through the strainer; *Asde mi go wasim saksak na wara i no godaun long waris*.

wormbit n. socket into which the back leg joint fits, in pigs, bandicoots, possums and dogs. Cassowaries don't have this, they have a **ngot** and a **kandapŋa ning**; *join bilong ol pik, sasik, kapul na dok. Ol muruk nogat despela, ol i gat ngot na kandapŋa ning*.

wos-(p)-i v.t. (class 1; irregular in that the irrealis verb stem is **wos**, not **wosi**), throw something away, get rid of something; *rausim*. **Pinpin ango wostukun!** Throw away that rubbish! *Troimwe pipia!*; **Pinpin ango wosngarke!** Don't throw away the rubbish! *I no ken rausim pipia!* **Ange rowesamb ange wosmbi ondak:** Get rid of those old people and make them go away; *Rausim despela ol lapun i go*.

wot n. 1. arrow; *spia bilong sutim long banara*.

2. base of a felled sago palm; *as bilong saksak ol man i katim long en*.

wow n.; voc. maternal uncle; *kandere*. See also **awoi**.

wu n. liver; *namba wan lewa*.

wuŋa nok n. gall bladder; *hap lewa i gat marasin*.

wupitapiki v.i. (**-net/-nak**), warp to look rippled or waved like a swell on the sea;

taim wanpela samting olsem diwai i lapun na brukbruk na i go 'ap and daun'. **Kimitak wupitapitakara:** The floor is warped; **Kimitak i ap and daun**.

wur v.t. (class 2), 1. dislodge something, e.g. when one goes up a coconut palm and kicks the coconuts down with one's feet; *sakim*.

2. remove or extract something; *kamautilim*. **Tat wuritukun!** Extract the splinter! *Kamautilim nil!*

3. hook something with a hook, e.g. a fish, a coconut, a breadfruit; *wukim, olsem pis o kokonas o kapiak*.

4. strain sago; *wasim muna wantaim wara long wokim mum*: **Ŋu kopik purkun:** She strained the water mixed with sago flour; *Em strenim saksak na wara*.

5. name something; *kolim nem*. **Tayap merni nomb wuritukun!** Say the name of this in Tayap! *Kolim nem bilong despela long tok ples Gapun!*

6. braid a grass skirt; *wokim pulpul*. **Ŋayi ner purkun:** I braided a grass skirt; *Mi wokim wanpela pulpul*.

wur-(p)-eki v.i. (**wurpet/wurpek**), worry, miss, be concerned about; *wari*. **Ŋa yunana wurekinet:** I'm going to miss you and worry about you; *Mi bai wari long yu*. See also **punatki**.

wur-(p)-o v.t. (class 1), lift something up; *apim*. **Wurotin!** Lift me up! *Apim mi!*

wure v.t. (class 5), worry about something, be concerned about something; *sore long o wari long wanpela man o long sampela lain*.

Ŋa wurembri wákare: I'm not worried about them; *Mi no wari long ol*.

wurengar n. worry; *wari*. **Ŋi wurengar suman pikwatan maya ŋanana:** He makes his mother very worried; *Em i givim bikpela wari long mama bilong em*.

wuri dir. up, in the sense of upstream; *antap*.

wurki v.i. irr. (**ŋa priet/priek, yu priet/priek, ŋu priek, ŋi priet, yim priek, yum priekem, ŋgi pirko, yim sene pirke**), go up; *go antap*. **Yum prikema mbokemre, ŋguwur pemiek:** You all went up (the

mountain) and had gone when the smoke started rising; *Yupela i go antap i go pinis taim smok i kirap.*

- wuw** *v.t.* (class 2), **1.** carry something on one shoulder; *karim long sol. Na munja ndadum puwkuna kukumbet:* I came carrying the sago flour in a palm sheath on my shoulder; *Mi karim saksak long pangal na mi kam*
- 2.** butcher something; *katim. Aionnji ewar mbor non pokuna, puwkun.* Yesterday

Aion killed a pig and butchered it; *Asde Aion sutim wanpela pik na katim.*

- 3.** cut slices out of coconut meat in its shell; *katim kokonas. Pap mow wutukun!* Slice the coconut! *Katim kokonas!*
- 4.** dig a hole; *dikim wul.*
- wuwku** *v.i. irr. (nja puwot/puwok, yu puwot/puwok, nji puwot, ngu puwot, yim puwok, yum pukem, ngi puko, yim sene puke),* ascend, *go antap.*
- wuwur** *n.* charcoal; *bilakpela sit bilong paia.*

Y

yakaiya *interj.* oh my goodness; *aiye.*

yakua *n.* Catbird (*Birds of New Guinea* plate 49, #6).

- yam 1.** *n.* sago palm. Used as the generic, but it is also a specific kind of sago palm with short fronds and long spikes. One of the most desirable palms to pound for sago; its leaves are used as thatch for houses; *saksak. Em despela em biknem, tasol yam tu em wanpela kain saksak i gat sotpela pangal na longpela nil. Gutpela saksak long paitim na pangal bilong em ol man i save kisim long pasim haus.*
- 2.** *adj.* knowledge of a skill; *igat save long wokim wanpela wok. Na yam: I am skilled; Mi gat save long wokim samting; Ngi yam: They are skilled; Ol i gat save long wokim samting.*

yam mbatim yam *n.* a kind of **yam** sago palm characterized by being short, having short needles, and an interior that is soft and easy to pound. *Saksak i sotpela na i gat sotpela nil. Mit bilong em i no strong.*

yamiŋe *n.* egg of **kokosuwar** (Common Scrubfowl) or **onaw** (brush turkey), a local delicacy; *kiao bilong waipaul, ol man i save laikim nogut tru.*

yamiŋe tumb *n. 1.* nest of brush turkey; *haus bilong wailpaul.*

- 2.** mound of dirt prepared to plant **pre-rikin** (sweet potato) or **nono** (yam); *hip graun bilong planim kaukau o yam.*

yamŋa mis *n.* pale inner bark of sago palm before it is pulverized; *mit bilong saksak.*

yam siw *n.* a kind of **nangak** sago palm that grows to great heights and has long fronds. It has needles, but in very tall ones the needles will fall off and leave a bare palm. *Wanpela kain nangak i save gro na kamap longpela moa. I gat nil tasol long ol longpela longpela ol nil i save pundaun na namel bilong em bai stap nating.*

yandum *n.* centipede; *sentipit.*

yandumtit *n.* a small centipede-like insect that secretes a liquid that sticks to skin and glows at night; *wanpela liklik binatang olsem yandum i gat ninjir, na sapos yu krungutim em samting bai pas long skin bilong yu na long nait em bai lait olsem sta.*

yangaro *n.* carved representation of a man costumed to represent a spiritual deity (**mirip**); *tumbuan.*

yar *n.* sugar cane; *suga.*

yasuk *n.* sago pounder that villagers traditionally used to chip away at and pulverize the interior bark of the sago palm while sitting down. It is made out of a single piece of wood, as opposed to a **makor** which is made of two pieces; *ain bilong paitim saksak ol man bilong bipo i save wok long en. Ol man i save wokim em long wanpela hap diwai.*

yaw *n.* place; *hap.*

yim *pro. 1.* we; *mipela.*

- 2.** us; *mipela.*

yimbam *n.* bundle; *mekpas.*

yimbram *n.* clove tree; *kain diwai ol man i save kaikaim skin bilong em.*

yimen *pro.* ours; *bilong mipela.*

yio *n.* fence around a garden; *kain banis olsem i save raunim wanpela gaden.*

yir *n.* 1. spear; *spia.*

2. matrilineal kin group; *lain.*

3. group of people in a line; *ol lain bilong man.* **Munjeŋa yir anŋe ŋwok naw okrunana:** A line of men has gone to stamp down the grassland (to light fire to it); *Ol lain man i go long krungutim kunai.*

yir pwap *n.*, claw of a cassowary or chicken (*lit.* ‘spear anger’); *sapela pinga bilong muruk o bilong ol kakaruk.*

yit *n.* 1. base of tree; *as bilong diwai.*

2. mouth of stream, where it enters the swamp, *tel bilong baret.* **Sangiwar**

yitni wurkitike: Let’s go up to the mouth of the stream; *Mipela i go antap long tel bilong Sangiwar baret.* **Manna yit sumanna!** Big cunt mouth! (vulgar) *Draipela hul kan! (tok nogut).*

yiwir ar *v.t.* (class 3), defecate feces; *pekpek.*

yiwir aring *n.* diarrhea; *pekpek wara.*

yiwir aring pinjirip *v.t.* (class 5), expel diarrhea; *pekpek wara.*

yiwir *n.* feces; *pekpek.* **Yiwir iminŋa apro!** Shit ass! (vulgar); *Bel bilong yu i pulap long pekpek! (tok nogut).*

yiwirgwab *n.* asshole (vulgar; *lit.* ‘shit hole’); *hul pekpek (tok nogut).*

yum *pro.* 1. you all (subject); *yupela.*

2. you all (object); *yupela.*

yumon *pro.* yours (*pl.*); *bilong yupela.*

Animals, insects, fish and birds

Note: With the exception of the words for some fish, all Tayap words below for animals, insects and fish are listed and defined separately in the Tayap-English-Tok Pisin dictionary.

Tayap has relatively few names for the various species of wildlife found in the rainforest. This paucity is partly explained by the fact that the Papua New Guinean rainforest is not particularly rich in mammal species. Pigs are the largest mammals, there are no monkeys or apes, and few species of deer (none of which live in the area around Gapun). The mammals named by the villagers are pigs (**mbor**), domesticated dogs (**nje**), tree possums and cuscus (**enamb**), ground possums (**śiw**), bandicoots (**sasik**), rats and mice (**ngabugar**, **kokosik**, **njip**, **mangim**), sugar gliders (**ngesine**), flying foxes (**njakep**) and bats (**sumusumu**). The name of a species of tree kangaroo that used to be hunted is remembered (**kanung**), but those animals have not been encountered by villagers for two generations.

Some villagers these days have cats. They want their cats to catch the rats that happily make their homes in the thatched roofs of the village houses. More often than not, however, cats find it easier to steal meat and fish that villagers leave to smoke above hearths. For that reason, for every villager who likes cats, there are many more who hate them and kill them and sometimes eat them if they find them prowling in or around their house. There is no word for ‘cat’ in Tayap. They are called by the Tok Pisin name *pusi*. They were introduced to the area by white missionaries, colonial officials and businessmen, and they came to Gapun so recently that the oldest villagers in 2009 still remembered the first village cat: it was a big black cat named Kanḡrámse. The cat came from Watam village and was brought into Gapun in the late 1950s by Masambe Njagur.

There is a generic word for crocodiles (**orem**) and snakes (**aram**), and snakes are further differentiated into a variety of species: **ambonor**, **aramwar**, **aramḡor**, **atemb**, **karewa**, **kanakai aramḡor**, **ninjir aram**, **pake**, and the two feared venomous species **mbumjor** and **kombin**. At least eleven species of lizard are distinguished (**agin**, **akirónda**, **amanep**, **mbutak**, **ḡgararik**, **ḡgogrodak**, **ḡgurbewat**, **kurbi**, **masukondep**, **onjaḡnonḡor**, **tapetak**). The generic word for frog, **pasákeke**, refers to all frogs except one, a large brown water bullfrog called **uráḡgeba**. Tadpoles are **mbókokir**, a word derived from **kokir**, which means ‘head’.

There are certainly more insect names than I know. My knowledge is limited mostly to the insects that children and others brought me to see while I was living in the village. Undoubtedly there are some I missed because no one found any, thought to bring them to me, or could think of them when I asked them to name insects (*ol binatang* in Tok Pisin).

The insect names I did collect are as follows. Mosquitoes, unsurprisingly in swampy Gapun, have both a generic word (**at**) and the most named species (**aiawangar**, **indagawr**, **iurok**, **mbunbun**, **mirinja at**, **njakepma arit**, **njeyewir at**, **ngurpan**). Ants have both a generic name (**siwir**) and six named species (**kandap**, **ngugrub**, **kambobai**, **rewitoto**, **siwirdidim**, **siwirkararkarar**). Termites are **agu** and **kamus**. Spiders are abundant in the village and the surrounding rainforest both in numbers and varieties (I had at least 6 different species living in my out-house toilet at any one time), but there are few names for them. Spiders are called by the generic reduplicated form **tomiktomik**, which can be compounded with a noun to specify it. So for example, **tomiktomik sumbwaŋa** (*lit.* ‘spider of the ground’) is the name of the poisonous, tarantula-like spider that lives in burrows. One of these spiders is believed to have caused the death of a village teenager in 2005. **Tomiktomik patirŋa** (*lit.* ‘spider of the house’) is the name given to the hairy, outstretched-hand-sized brown spiders that live in the walls and roofs of people’s houses and that scuttle around on the walls noisily at night.

Butterflies and moths are all **mumuk**. Caterpillars are divided between those without fur, **atir**, and those with fur, **ningasin** (there is disagreement among older speakers about whether this latter word was Tayap or a borrowing from the Kopar language). Several beetles, the largest of which are eaten, are named: **tutumb** (which is also the generic), **arawer**, **mbirkraw onko**, and **ngabugrip**. Beetle grubs, all of which are eaten, are **kimirik**, **komi** and **urukuruk** (this last word increasingly being replaced by the Kopar-language **wanuwanu**).

Other insects with names in Tayap are the feared and despised centipedes (**yandum**), the beloved fireflies (**ngudum**), which are considered to be avatars of dead villagers, bees (**mbadiŋ**, which is the generic word, also **kunemb**, **arumbatak kunemb**, **metawr**), wasps (**kikri**), flies (**arumbatak**), biting horseflies (**tetei**) and blue flies (**arumbatak wasow**; which literally means “fly death”, in recognition of their rapid appearance at the death of an animal or person), fruit flies and gnats (**ipipir**), scorpions (**katáwa**), millipedes (**kakámatik**), walking sticks (**nekan**), praying mantises (**ngat** – the same word as ‘cassowary’), worms (**kekékato**), earwigs (**ikinŋan yandum**), wood lice (**titipren**); cicadas (**ngarat-garat**, **kikik**); grasshoppers (**njojok** and **njajak**), cockroaches (**sasawraŋ** and **numbutik**), bedbugs (**ndeden**), fleas (**itum**), lice (**pakind**), leeches (**mbíman**) and mites (**kandap**).

Villagers name a number of shellfish and fish. Unlike fish (**ngomar**), shellfish have no generic name. Shellfish include shrimps (**sasu**), small shrimp (**sasupat**), freshwater lobster (**keymare**), crabs (**kosep**, **ngarorak**, **sasápoke**), hermit crabs (**pisik**), shelled slugs (**kandip**) and two varieties of clams (**eporaŋ** and **oyaŋ** – both these words are also euphemisms for ‘vulva’). While shrimp and crabs are found in the freshwater creeks that flow through the rainforest, the clams, slugs

and hermit crabs live in the large mangrove swamp that lies between Gapun and Wongan. Their names, like the names of all fish caught in the mangrove swamps, are probably Kopar language borrowings, and for that reason, the words used by villagers to identify most of the fish caught in those waters are not included in the dictionary. Before WWII, villagers would have acquired these foodstuffs by trading pork, cassowary meat and other “bush” items with villagers from Wongan. After WWII, Gapuners began making canoes and venturing into the mangrove swamps themselves.

Tayap also has names for several species of small freshwater fish that women and children catch with hooks and nets (**aiyo**, **ndidiman**, **ngomákokir**, **orind**, **semb**). There are also large fish in the rainforest streams, and men and women fish for these with hooks and nets during the dry season. With the exception of catfish (**tokine**) and large eels (**ngem**), I never saw an intact specimen of those fish, and villagers’ descriptions of them were not enlightening – when I asked people to tell me what the named varieties looked like, I would receive some version of “It’s big. (Pause). But really not so big” (*em i bikpela. Tasol i no bikpela tumas*) or “It’s brown. (Pause). But some of them are white” (*Em i braunpela. Tasol sampela i waitpela*).

Here are the names I collected, but they are not included in the dictionary because I never managed to identify them: **irawr**, **kambinjen**, **kandapongap**, **konop**, **kut**, **mbaimat**.

Bird names

Names for birds are an important exception to Tayap’s otherwise relatively modest wildlife vocabulary. The extent of Tayap’s bird vocabulary is surprising. The rainforest is full of birds, certainly. But it is also full of other kinds of wildlife, such as frogs, bats, spiders, and insects that the villagers do not distinguish lexically. Even large mammals such as the different species of tree possums and cuscus look very different from one another in terms of size and fur-color, but Tayap classifies them all with the same word, **enamb**.

Birds (**tam**) do not make up any particularly noticeable percentage of the villagers’ diet. Boys kill small birds with slingshots or arrows and roast them to eat as snacks. During the dry season, young men set traps or build blinds (**pura**) in which they hide at dawn and dusk, hoping to shoot large birds like the turkey-sized crowned pigeon (**momik**) when those fly down to drink at the few streams and ponds that retain water. Villagers eat cassowary (**ngat**) meat with gusto, but those big birds are elusive and fierce, and they were killed only rarely until about 2012, when one village man learned to set rope traps for cassowaries

and has subsequently killed scores of the birds – so many, in fact, that they are now becoming increasingly rare throughout the area.

Cassowary eggs are boiled and eaten whenever they are found, and women and girls regularly dig into the mounds made by scrubfowls (**kokosuar**) and brush-turkeys (**onaw**), searching for their large red eggs (**yamine**), which are prized as a delicacy, regardless of what stage of development the egg happens to be in when it is eaten. Some villagers raise a few domestic chickens (**kokok**), but those leathery fowl are only killed on special occasions to impress and honor visitors, or as part of a conciliatory or funerary feast.

With a few exceptions (cassowaries, eagles and a few small birds), birds do not feature in the village's myths and traditional stories. Nor is the plumage of birds collected, at least nowadays, to make into decorations to wear on festive occasions.

Despite their relative lack of importance in the villagers' diet, myths or daily life, many birds have names in Tayap. I collected more than 70 words for different bird species. I was able to do this thanks to the marvelous book, *Birds of New Guinea*, by Bruce M. Beehler, Thane K. Pratt and Dale A. Zimmerman, illustrated by Dale A. Zimmerman and James Coe (Princeton University Press, 1986). This invaluable field guide contains 55 illustrated plates, most in color, depicting every species of bird known to exist in New Guinea.

Villagers of all ages loved this book. I had others that I used to help me elicit words for animals, such as *Mammals of New Guinea* by Tim Flannery (Cornell University Press, 1995). Those books, though, had photographs of animals, rather than drawings. Villagers turned out to be much less interested in the photographs than they were in drawings. My impression was that villagers had a hard time recognizing many animals from their photographs. Many of the photos in a book like *Mammals of New Guinea*, it must be said, are not particularly clear. They are taken from angles, or from distances – for example, in extreme close up – from which villagers would normally not ever view the animals. There were also numerous photographs of animals like small bats that villagers call by the same word, and have little interest in differentiating. Villagers quickly became bored looking at this book.

The plates in *Birds of New Guinea* elicited a completely different response. Older men and women repeatedly returned to the drawings to recognize and name different kinds of birds. Younger people and children used the drawings to test each others' knowledge of bird names.

The following is a list of all the names of birds I was able to elicit from villagers. The English names are from *Birds of New Guinea*, and for easy identification, the relevant plate number and drawing number in that book is given in parentheses after the English translation (anyone wishing to know the classificatory Latin

name of the birds will find it there). If no drawing number is given, the Tayap word refers to all birds depicted on that plate.

The overwhelming majority of the birds with names in Tayap have no names in Tok Pisin, which means that the most convenient way to talk about them is to use a vernacular language name. Villagers under thirty, especially females, who do not hunt birds like boys and young men do, generally do not know the names of birds that are rarely encountered. But for commonly seen birds, the vernacular names are still known, even by children. Because there are no Tok Pisin equivalents, many of the words for birds are likely to endure long after many other parts of the language have been forgotten.

On the rare occasions when the bird has a name in Tok Pisin, that is also noted in the entry.

- aikeitam** : Black Bittern (plate 3, #1–2, 5, 7, 10).
ambirdadab: small parrots; *liklik karangal* (plate 21).
amwaw: Twelve-wired Bird of Paradise, *kumul* (plate 51, #8–9).
awanj: Owl; *taragau bilong nait* (plate 26, #1–10 and #17–18). Villagers believe owls, which they say have the faces of men, to be the spirits of the dead, and they fear them accordingly. A favorite way of scaring a small child into submission is to point into the distance, clutch the child closer as though protecting him or her, and say urgently, “**Awanj! Awanj! Awanj i kam nau. Ye, lukim ai bilong em, em i kam nau!**” (Owl! Owl! The owl is coming! Yes, look at its eyes, it’s coming!)
awin: Great-billed Heron (plate 3, #3) and Egret (plate 3, #6–15).
eiro: Paradise Kingfisher (plate 24, #1–5).
endurama: Bowerbird (plate 50).
erumó: Fruit-Dove (plate 17, all except #5).
kaimwa: Sulfur-crested Cockatoo; *koki* (plate 20, #12).
kaitut: Nightjars (plate 27).
kakarpwap: Gurney’s Eagle; *taragau* (plate 8, #2–3).
kamban: Australian Magpie (plate 55, #9–10).
kandip: Forest Kingfisher (plate 24, #12).
kangior: Spangled Drongo (plate 54, #1).
karar: Parrot, *karangal* (plate 20).
katip: Lowland Peltops (plate 39, #2–3).
katurip: Triller (plate 33, #10–12).
kikai: Ground Robin (plate 31, #3–4).
kimb: Kingfisher (plate 24, #6–9, #12–15).
kokok: Common Domesticated Chicken; *kakaruk*.
kokosuar: Common Scrubfowl; *wailpaul* (plate 1, #9a).
kopiwok: Palm Cockatoo; *koki* (plate 20, #14).
kosowak: Oriole (plate 33, #1–5; also plate 47, #15–20).
krirkemb: Tiger Parrot (plate 21, #13–14).
kundabebek: Black Kite (plate 8, #6–7).
kurij: King Bird of Paradise; *kumul* (plate 53, 10).
kuruk: Kingfisher and Kookaburra (plate 24, #13–21).
mandimep: Ground Dwelling Pigeon (plate 15, #1–7; plate 16, #1–3).
mbatej: Nightjar (plate 27).
mbim: Frogmouth and Nightjar (plate 26, #11–18). The word is onomatopoeic, imitating the cries made by these birds.
mbodibodi: Robin (plate 37, #10; plate 39, #11–21). Being replaced by the Kopar-language word *mbodijene*.
mbonir: Mannikin (plate 48).
mitimap: Zoe Imperial Pigeon (plate 19, #2–3).
momik: Western Crowned Pigeon; *guria* (plate 15, #8–11).
morip: Pigeon; *balus* (plate 18, all except #2–3).

muntatak: Hanging and Pygmy Parrot (plate 21, #1–5).

ndagurai: Dollarbird (plate 25, #3)

ndakruk: Hooded Butcherbird (plate 55, #6).

ndebodam: Rail (plate 10).

ndebom: Purple Swamphen (plate 10, #14).

ndidi nonko: Wampoo Fruit Dove (plate 17, #5).

ndokop: Meliphagas and Honeyeaters (plate 46).

njijerik: Lorikeet (plate 19, # 8–18). Being replaced by the Kopar-language word *nji-jerij*.

num: Great-billed Heron (plate 3, #3–4).

ngat: Northern Cassowary; *muruk* (plate 1, #1).

ngatwaw: baby cassowary; *liklik pikinini muruk* (plate 1, #2b-c).

ngawgarak: Golden Myna (plate 49, #1–2).

ngoram: Sacred Ibis (plate 2, #6–9).

ngoromai: Ecletus Parrot (plate 20, #4, female).

onaw: Brush-turkey; *bikpela wailpaul* (plate 1, #4–6).

ondom: Blyth's Hornbill; *kokomo* (plate 25, #8).

osos: Hook-billed Kingfisher (plate 24, #17–18).

palusemb: Swallow (plate 29).

pasuwer: Great Cockoo Dove (plate 16, #4).

patarik: Swift (plate 28).

pesaw: Lesser and Greater Birds of Paradise, *kumul* (plate 51, #2–8 and #1–6 in the lower plate are females).

pit: Sunbird and Honeyeater (plate 45).

punim: Greater Black Coucal (plate 23, #12, 14–19).

pung: New Guinea Flightless Rail (plate 10, #16).

romb: Starling (plate 54, #5–7).

sambwanmond: Cormorant (plate 2, #1–4).

semaya: Tagula Butcherbird (plate 55, #4).

simbébi: Quail (plate 1; #12–15).

sirej: Cuckoo Shrike (plate 32).

sowo: Pitohui (plate 42, #7–13).

tam: bird (*generic*); *pinin* (*biknem*).

tambiroro: Yellow-billed Kingfisher (plate 24, #10).

tromtrimb: Fantail (plate 37).

wamb kosowak: Helmeted Friarbird (plate 33, #1–5).

wira: Lorikeet (plate 19, the word refers to the larger ones).

wiswis: Goshawk and Falcon (plate 5, plate 6).

This word is an onomatopoeic rendering of the sound made by the beat of these birds' wings.

yakua: Catbird (plate 49, #6).

Kin terms

Obsolete kin terms are marked with †.

The dual and plural forms of those kin terms still in use are not generally known by speakers under 50.

abambi† *n.* ex-wife (used by the ex-in-laws of the woman); *man i lusim man bai mama na papa bilong man kolim ex-meri long despela nem.*

agampi *n.*; *voc.* (*pl.* **agampindodo**), mother's mother's brother; *brata bilong mama bilong mama.*

ama *n.*; *voc.* mother; *mama.* See also **maya**.

ama mosop *n.*; *voc.* maternal aunt who is younger than one's mother; *liklikpela susa bilong mama.*

ama kowot *n.*; *voc.* maternal aunt who is older than one's mother; *bikpela susa bilong mama.*

amasik† *n.* (*pl.* **amasikndodo** or **amasikimb**), ancestor; *tumbuna man o meri.*

atawo† *n.* (*dl.* **atawondodi**; *pl.* **atawondodo**), older sibling; *bikpela brata o susa.* See also **tata**.

awoi† *n.* mother's brother; *kandere.* See also **wow**.

enki† *n.* (*pl.* **enkindodo**), [possibly *Adjora*], husband of maternal aunts and nieces (male speaking); *man bilong kandere meri.*

keke *n.* (*dl.* **kekengre**; *pl.* **kekengro**), grandmother; *apa meri.*

maya *n.* (dl. **mayanre**, pl. **mayangro**), mother; *mama*. See also **ama**.

neni *n.* (dl. **neningre**; pl. **neningro**), grandfather; *apa man*.

njanimb[†] *n.* (pl. **njanimbada**), great-grandchild; *pikinini bilong pikinini bilong pikinini*.

obiman[†] *n.* ex-husband (used by the ex-in-laws of the man); *meri i lusim man bai mama na papa bilong meri kolim ex-man long despela nem*.

oinga[†] *n.* (pl. **oingabidib** or **oingandodo**), daughter-in-law (female speaking); *meri bilong pikinini man (mama bilong man bai tok)*.

ombare[†] *n.* nephew's wife (male speaking).

ombre[†] *n.* (pl. **ombrendodo**), father-in-law (male speaking); *man bai kolim papa bilong meri bilong em*.

omgande omgande[†] *n.* 1. two or more wives of one man; *tupela meri bilong wanpela man*.

2. two or more female-in-laws; *tupela tambu meri*.

omin *n.* spouse; *man o meri bilong em*.

ominde ominde[†] *n.* married couple; *tupela marit*.

omo *n.* (pl. **omosew**), father; *papa*. See also **sas**.

ongwan[†] *n.* (pl. **ongwabidig**), sister in-law (female speaking); *tambu meri em meri i tok*.

opam[†] *n.* (pl. **opamndodo**), son-in-law; *man bilong pikinini meri*.

Parts of a house

arit *n.* the **kotiw** that hang as extensions from where the roof meets the walls of the house; *win bilong haus*.

isumbo *n.* horizontal runner supporting roof thatch; *sparen*.

kambrom *n.* small sticks inserted along the length of the **tandor** to secure it in place; *hap limbom bilong subim antap long pongan bilong haus*. See also **kapir**.

kapir *n.* small sticks inserted along the length of the **tandor** to secure it in place; *hap*

orma[†] *n.* (pl. **ormabidib**), younger sibling; *liklik brata o susa*.

otan[†] *n.* (pl. **otinimb**), grandchild; *pikinini bilong pikinini*.

otre[†] *n.* (pl. **otrendodo**), mother-in-law (male speaking); *nem man bai kolim mama bilong meri bilong em*.

oyeng[†] *n.* (pl. **oyengud**), in-law (in the widest sense, including brother-in-law, sister-in-law, etc.); *tambu*.

papo *n.*; *voc.* maternal uncle's wife; *meri bilong kandere*.

romgar[†] *n.* (pl. **rurumgri**), sister's child; nephew or niece; *pikinini bilong susa*.

sas *n.*; *voc.* father; *papa*. See also **omo**.

tata *n.* *voc.* older sibling; *bikpela brata o susa*. See also **atawo**.

wand *n.* (pl. **wanjmeng**), cross-sex sibling; *susa bai kolim brata bilong em wand na brata bai kolim susa wand*.

wow *n.*; *voc.* maternal uncle; *kandere*. See also **awoi**.

The adjectives **mokop/mosop** (little) and **kowot** (senior) are used with many of the most common terms both in reference and address to modify the kin term, on the pattern of **ama mosop** and **ama kowot** above; **mokop/mosop** designating 'younger', **kowot** meaning 'elder'. The point of reference is the speaker or the person whose kin the speaker is talking about.

limbom bilong subim antap long pongan bilong haus. See also **kambrom**.

kerkwar *n.* horizontal roof support that rests on the tall **kondrik**; *pongan*.

kimitak *n.* bark floor of house; *limbom*.

kindit *n.* wall of house; *banis bilong haus*.

kondrik *n.* 1. tallest post or posts holding up roof; *kingpost*.

2. euphemism for penis; *wanpela we bilong toktok long sem bilong man*. **Erum otiteka kondrik njayar**

- pungokawuk:** The thatch has fallen off but the king post is still standing (euphemism for ‘He may be old and bald but his prick can still stand up’); *Marota i pundaun na kingpos i sanap i stap (olsem mining bilong em i olsem maski man i kela kok bilong em tait i stap yet).*
- kotiw** *n.* vertical runner supporting roof; *sapnil.*
- mambir** *n.* large horizontal roof supporting beams that rest across the **towond**; *pilo.*
- ngúnbara** *n.* short, squat vertical post on which the floor runners rest; *sotpela belpos.*
- pawkpawk** *n.* horizontal roof support placed on top of the **kerkwar**; the highest point of the roof; *namba tu pongan.*
- porimb** *n.* [*Kopar*], floor support that runs cross-wise, from **ngúnbara** to **ngúnbara**; *rola.* See also **tékdwan.**
- tak** *n.* floor support that runs lengthwise, placed on top of the **porimb**; the bark floor (**kimitak**) is placed on top of these; *limbom.*
- tandor** *n.* braided mat of palm leaves placed across the **pawkpawk**, to seal the crown of the house from rain; *kapa bilong marota.*
- tékdwan** *n.* floor support that runs cross-wise, from **ngúnbara** to **ngúnbara**; *rola.* See also **porimb.**
- towond** *n.* large post on each of the four corners of a house; *saitpos.*

Words pertaining to sago processing

Sago is the staple food of Gapun. It is eaten every single day of the year, ideally at least twice a day; once in the morning and once in the late afternoon. Its raw form is a flour that resembles compacted corn starch. This flour (**muna**) can be made into a kind of rubbery pancake (**tamwai**) by heating it on a broken pot shard (**pambram**) or a frying pan, it can be tossed onto the fire raw in a tennis ball-sized chunk (**muna kokir**, which literally means ‘sago head’), it can be wrapped in a leaf and cooked in on a fire (**pangip**), or it can be crumbled into a bamboo tube and thrown onto a fire to congeal (**munakumund**). Its most common and most appreciated form, though, is as what, in English, is usually misleadingly called ‘sago pudding’ or ‘sago jelly’. Both designations are misleading because they imply (a) that said food item that has the consistency of pudding or jelly, and (b) that said food item is appetizing.

Both these implications are false. In fact, the texture of sago referred to by ‘sago jelly’ is much closer to slime or phlegm than it is to jelly or pudding. Its consistency is such that some of a mouthful will be in your mouth; at the same time some of it will be hanging down into your throat, like a long thick sputum. And appetizing, alas, ‘sago jelly’ is not – unless, of course, one happens to be a Sepik villager raised on it from birth (villagers in Gapun start feeding their babies sago jelly only a few days after they are born). The color of ‘sago jelly’ varies from light pink to dark red or even black, depending on the quality and character of the water in which it was leached.

‘Sago jelly’ (**mum**) is served in plates or washbasins in big viscous globs. On top of such a glob, women will place a few leaves of some vegetable, or a small piece of fish or tiny chunk of meat – like a cherry on top of an ice cream sundae

(although, again, that image is deceptive because it suggests something tasty). On top of that, a few spoonfuls of ‘soup’ (**wawan**) will be poured. ‘Soup’ consists of coconut milk (i.e. the liquid produced when a coconut is grated and squeezed in cold water) in which the vegetables or meat served on top of the **mum** has been boiled. If the villagers have salt, they will use copious amounts of it to flavor the soup. Aside from salt, no flavorings, spices or herbs of any kind are used in Gapun’s cuisine.

Villagers produce sago in a process so complicated that it makes one wonder how human beings could possibly ever have discovered it. Most sago palms, to begin with, are far from inviting: they have long sharp needles covering their trunks and their leaves. Nevertheless, people somehow, at some point in the distant past, discovered that an edible starch can be wrested from the inner bark of those spine-covered palms, according to the following steps.

First, men fell the sago palm and use bush knives to strip it of its needles. The outer bark of the palm is then slit open with an axe, lengthwise down the palm. This outer bark is pried open on both sides of the cut with axes and bush knives, producing a gash which men widen until the outer bark lies open like a shell. Men then begin chipping away at the exposed pale inner bark with an instrument that looks like a cross between an axe and a large chisel (**makor** or **yasuk**). They start at the base of the tree (**wot**) and work their way upwards towards the crown of the palm (**mar**). The scraped-away inner bark looks like coarse pink sawdust.

This sawdust (**tawar**) is taken away by women to a place from which they can draw water – usually a rough well dug somewhere near the sago palm (because sago palms grow in swamps, there is usually plenty of water on hand). Women take the sawdust and put handfuls of it into a long funnel (**iko** or **ndadum**) that they make out of the base of one of the sago palm leaves. They attach a coconut fiber strainer (**waris**) to the end of this funnel and they pour water into it. They then squeeze and knead the sago pith in the funnel, thereby releasing the flour it contains. The flour runs through the strainer along with the water, and is collected in buckets made of palm fronds (**kondew**) placed on the ground below the funnel. The sago pith, once it has been leached of its flour in this manner, is tossed away. Each handful of sago pith is washed 4–5 times to ensure that it has been completely leached.

The sago flour that has run through the strainer with the water settles on the bottom of the palm frond buckets and the water rises to the top. When this settling process is completed, the water that has risen to the top of the sago is poured off, and what remains are firm cakes of wet flour. These are dried by covering them with leaves and putting hot ashes on top. The heat generated by these ashes extracts the remaining water. The cakes of sago flour (**munakatar**) are then carried to the village and used to prepare the villagers’ meals.

‘Sago jelly’ is made from this raw sago by breaking off a mound of sago flour, putting it in a pot and diluting it in a small amount of cold water. This produces a watery paste that is strained so that most of the remaining impurities (insects, twigs, ashes) are removed. Next, the cook pours a large amount of boiling water onto the paste, stirring vigorously all the while. The boiling water and the stirring cause the sago paste to coagulate and become the viscous mass so beloved by villagers. This pot of gummy mucous is twisted like taffy onto people’s basins, it is topped with the requisite few leaves or small chunk of meat and fish, and *voilà*, *Bon Appetit*.

The sago-processing work described above is prototypically done by a married couple. In practice, both men and women can and do perform all steps in the process by themselves or with same-sex friends or same-sex kin. This might happen, for example, if a mother sends her teenage girls or boys off to work sago, or if a person’s spouse is ill and the household supply of sago has run out. But despite the fact that sago processing can be done alone or in same-sex groups, it is strongly associated with conjugal couples. In Gapun, there is no ceremony surrounding marriage – nothing is exchanged, bought or given by anyone involved in a marriage. The only surefire sign that a couple is married is that they go off together to work sago. This time in the rainforest producing sago is also the time when a married couple often have sex. In their house, a husband and wife are seldom alone – and if they have children they are never alone. And what goes on in the house is audible to anyone walking by, as well as visible to anyone stopping to peek through the braided bamboo or sago palm leaves that villagers use as walls.

The entire sago-production process, from felling the sago palm to producing the cakes of sago flour, takes an entire day, from about 8 am to 3 or 4 o’clock in the afternoon, for two people to complete. And this day’s work will usually only result in half the sago palm being processed – the other half remains for the following day. One day’s work produces between 5–8 large cakes of sago. Depending on how much of that sago one distributes to relatives, this amount of sago will last a family of eight 2–4 days.

Traditionally, Gapuners processed sago like their Adjora-speaking neighbors to the east. Men pulverized sago pith in a seated position, sitting on small benches made of branches (**kokiparan**) and using a short sago-pounder made of a single piece of wood (**yasuk**). Women leached sago in a basket (**saiput**) that they hung from a frame and squeezed with both hands. In the mid-1960s, Gapuners moved their village from its former site on top of a small mountain down to its present site in a swampy clearing in the rainforest. At the same time, they began to adopt the sago-processing methods used by the villagers of Wongan and other people who

live near the coast. Women abandoned the sago-leaching basket and men started to stand up to pound the pith. This method of sago processing has remained the one used by all villagers. The only innovation since the 1960s occurred in the 1990s, when villagers began to abandon the sago frond buckets into which the water containing the sago flour settled after the pith had been washed. Again copying the villagers of Wongan, Gapuners began to carve large canoe-shaped receptacles and using those instead of the sago-frond buckets. They did this because the wooden canoes are more durable than the buckets, which fall apart after only a few weeks' use.

Kinds of sago palms

anumb *n.* sago palm with long fronds that are often used to make **iko** (funnel for leaching sago). It has short leaves, short needles and a very wide trunk. It produces a great deal of sago flour. *Saksak i gat ol bikipela pangal ol meri i save usim long wokim iko. Lip bilong em sotpela, i gat sotpela nil na namel bilong em bikipela. I gat bikipela muna.*

konemba *n.* sago palm with short fronds *pangal* (**ndadum**) and short leaves. It has no needles and has characteristic white fronds. *Saksak i gat sotpela pangal na sotpela lip. Nogat nil na pangal bilong em i waitpela.*

nangak *n.* wild sago palm. This kind of sago palm has not been planted, as most other kinds of palms are, and it has many needles. *Wailsaksak i gat planti nil.*

ndidi yam *n.* a kind of **yam** sago palm with few needles and a very hard interior. *Saksak i nogat planti nil na mit bilong em i strong tru.*

suwir *n.* sago palm with long leaves and needles. Its leaves are not tough and are not used for house thatch. This kind of sago palm is easy to pound because its interior is not hard and it produces a lot of sago flour. *Saksak i gat longpela lip na longpela nil. Lip bilong em i no strong na*

ol man i no save usim ol long pasim haus. Mit bilong em i no strong na i gat bikipela muna.

wamar *n.* sago palm similar to the **konemba**, except that its fronds are long and green. *Saksak em wankain olsem konemba, tasol pangal bilong em i longpela na grinpela.*

yam mbatim yam *n.* a kind of **yam** sago palm characterized by being short, having short needles, and an interior that is soft and easy to pound. *Saksak i sotpela na i gat sotpela nil. Mit bilong em i no strong.*

yam *n.* 1. sago palm (*generic*); *diwai saksak* (*biknem*).

2. specific kind of sago palm with short fronds and long spikes. One of the most desirable palms to pound for sago; its leaves are used as thatch for houses; *kain saksak i gat sotpela pangal na longpela nil. Gutpela saksak long paitim na pangal bilong em ol man i save kisim long pasim haus.*

yam siw *n.* a kind of **nangak** sago palm that grows to great heights and has long fronds. It has needles, but in very tall ones the needles will fall off and leave a bare palm. *Wanpela kain nangak i save gro na kamap longpela moa. I gat nil tasol long ol longpela longpela ol nil i save pundaun na namel bilong em bai stap nating.*

- eiwki** *v.i.* (**peiwiet/peiwiek**, **ngi peiwko**), wash and leach sago pith; *wasim saksak*.
- eiwngar yimbar** *n.* canoe used since the 1990s to capture the water and sago flour that runs out from the **waris** (cocount fiber strainer) when women leach sago pith; *kanu bilong wasim pipia saksak*.
- iko** *n.* [*Kopar*], the palm leaf funnel into which the **tawar** is put to be leached and onto which the **waris** is nailed; *pangal bilong wasim pipia*. See also **ndadum**.
- induw** *n.* the inner bark of a sago palm that is nearest to the outer bark, what is left when the **yamja mis** is pulverized; *insait bilong skin bilong saksak, skin nating*.
- karam** *n.* bark of sago tree; *skin bilong saksak*.
Niji karam krankun: He split the bark of the sago palm (to begin pulverizing it); *Em brukim skin bilong saksak*.
- kokiparanj** *n.* small bench that men used to use to sit on and pulverize sago pith; *pilo bilong sindaun na paitim saksak*.
- kondew** *n.* sheath of limbom tree, used to make buckets into which water is poured and in which the sago flour settles; *limbom*.
- kutukutu** *n.* the fork on which the **iko** stands; *pok bilong putim iko antap long en*.
- maimbog** *n.* water that has run into the palm sheaths or canoe in which sago flour is settling. *Wara bilong saksak ol meri wasim long en*.
- makor** *n.* [*Kopar*], sago pounder with long handle; *ain bilong paitim saksak*. See also **yasuk**.
- makorja rewi** *n.* piece of iron at the head of a **makor** or **yasuk** that scrapes away the inner bark of the sago palm; *ain bilong paitim saksak*.
- mar** *n.* crown or top of felled sago palm; *tel bilong saksak ol man i wok long paitim em*.
- mbába** *n.* [*Kopar*], wooden pins used to hold the **waris** (coconut fiber strainer) in place; *nil bilong nilim laplap bilong kokonas*. See also **pandinj**.
- mindiki-** *v.i.* (**pindiet/pindiek**), pulverize sago pith; *wok saksak*. **Yu mindikinana mbotke?:** Are you going to work sago? *Yu go wok saksak ah?*
- muna** *n.* sago flour; *saksak*.
- munakatar** *n.* a cake of sago flour; *wanpela hap saksak*.
- munjar** *n.* [*Kopar*], handle of **makor** (sago pounder); *stik bilong makor*. See also **nangir**.
- nangir** *n.* handle of axe or **makor** (sago pounder); *stik bilong makor*. See also **munjar**.
- ndadum** *n.* long, hard palm frond used to make **iko** (funnel) and also to carry sago once it is dried into sago flour; *pangal bilong wokim iko na bilong karim munakatar*.
- ndag** *n.* top-middle part of felled sago palm; *namel i go antap bilong saksak ol man i paitim mit bilong en*.
- njame** *n.* the dregs of the **tawar** that remain in the **iko**; *pipia saksak olsem das i stap long iko*.
- ngir** *n.* stick framework of that holds the limbom sheath buckets upright; *bet bilong pangal bilong putim limbom*.
- okinokin** *n.* a palm sheath container onto which one attaches a handle, used to pour water into the **iko**; *liklik limbom ol meri samapim bilong kisim wara*.
- pamingap** *n.* top part of a **makor** (sago pounder); *hap i stap antap long makor*.
- pandinj** *n.* wooden pins used to hold the **waris** (coconut fiber strainer) in place; *nil bilong nilim laplap bilong kokonas*. See also **mbába**.
- saiput** *n.* basket that until the 1970s used to be used wash and leach sago pith; *basket ol mama bilong bipo i save usim long wasim saksak*.
- sambo** *n.* a sago palm that has a watery interior, containing little sago starch; *saksak i nogat strongpela mit, warawara tasol*. **Yam sambo, muna wákarejan:** The sago palm is **sambo**, it has no sago starch; *Sakasak i warawara, nogat muna*.
- sikin** *n.* sharp scraper attached to the end of a **makor** or **yasuk** (sago pounder), traditionally made of bamboo, now made of a sawed-off pipe; *sapela hed bilong makor o bilong yasuk*.

sikip *n.* large lump of sago pith that has not been pulverized; *bikpela hap hap mit bilong saksak*. **Tawar ango sikipnan tandiw tawaitukun ngo!**: The **tawar** has a lot of unpounded bits, pulverize it better!; **Tawar i gat planti bikpela hap i stap, paitim gut pastaim!**

tawar *n.* pulp or pith of sago palm once it has been pounded into what looks like sawdust. This is what one washes to leach it of sago flour. *Mit bilong saksak ol man i paitim long en.*

tawar mbup *n.* the washed and leached pith of the sago palm; what **tawar** is called once it is washed and all the sago flour has been extracted from it; **tawar ol i wasim na nogat moa saksak long en.**

unduku *v.t.* (class 1), pulverize sago palm pith; *paitim saksak*. **Ŋa yamŋa orom kemem pundukun:** I pulverized a large section of the sago palm; *Longpela hap saksak mi paitim.*

wai *n.* sago swamp where people go to process sago; *hap tais i gat saksak.*

waram taw *n.* the layer of sago left close to the bark of the palm when one is almost done

pulverizing it; *liklik hap mit bilong saksak i stap klostu long skin bilong saksak.*

waris *n.* screen made of coconut fiber; *laplap bilong kokonas.*

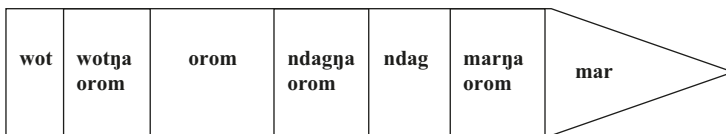
worki *v.i.* (**poriet/poriek**), be blocked, e.g. water that doesn't drain through the **waris** (coconut fiber strainer); *i pas*. **Ewar ŋa mboka peiwieka awin worki wákare:** Yesterday I went and washed sago and the water wouldn't go through the strainer; *Asde mi wasim saksak na wara i no godaun.*

wot *n.* base of a felled sago palm; *as bilong saksak ol man i katim long en.*

yamŋa mis *n.* pale inner bark of sago palm before it is pulverized; *mit bilong saksak.*

yasuk *n.* sago pounder that villagers traditionally used to chip away at and pulverize the interior bark of the sago palm while sitting down. It is made out of a single piece of wood, as opposed to a **makor** which is made of two pieces; *ain bilong paitim saksak ol man bilong bipo i save wok long en. Ol man i save wokim em long wanpela hap diwai.*

Processing sago



Parts of a felled sago palm from the base (**wot**) to the crown (**mar**). The word **orom** means ‘in the vicinity of’, so **wotŋa orom** is ‘the part near the **wot**’, **ndagŋa orom** is ‘the part near the **ndag**’, and so on.

English-Tayap finder list

This list is intended to assist English-speakers who wish to find a particular word in Tayap.¹ It lists all the words associated with a particular topic, usually without providing any closer definition of the words. The definitions are found under the Tayap entry in the Tayap-English-Tok Pisin section of the dictionary.

A

aborn: **imin wuw**

above: **wo**

wuri

absorb v.: **anġu**

ache n.: **mbid**

accompaniment (without): **sengrim**

sinder

adhere v.: **wawku**

rurur-(p)-eki

adorn v.: **ndok**

adornment: **atunung**

emári

ep

isiki

isirai

kapwasak

kokrow

maies

makat

mangat

monjuko

nanġag

ndok (generic)

rimb

tatak

titi

totrik

affirmation: **awo**

ore

after: **nunukni**

afternoon: **nġrag**

afterwards: **nunuk**

again: **motini**

age mate: **orimb**

agree v.: **nambarki**

simb

agreed: **sapki**

air: **mbun**

a little: **mbara**

alcohol: **awin**

alive: **nġinoġa**

all: **taman**

allow: **nġanokaw**

almost: **nipis**

alone: **nambar**

neker

also: **ti**

amongst: **oromni**

anal gland: **warning** (possums and bandicoots)

ancestor: **aru**

enġin

anger: **otar**

pwap

angry v.: **nam**

pwapki

utitio

animal coat: **atunġor**

mbatibati

ramborgar

animal hide n.: **siw**

ankle: **ndowbir**

ndowġan sokop

answer back v.: **sik ep**

ant: **siwir** (generic); *see special section on "Animals, insects, fish and birds"*

antenna: **sind**

¹ I am grateful to Ahmad Qadafi, who helped me by preparing the first draft of this wordlist, which I then edited.

anus: **yiwirgwab**
 apology: **imin**
 appearance: **nanuk**
 applaud: **ndaram**
 arm: **akan suman** (upper arm)
 akanbir (forearm)
 ndaram
 armpit: **amoiawin**
 amoiawinŋa pupur (armpit hair)
 arrival: **aingar**
 arrow: **wot**
 ash: **kosimb**
 ask v.: **kotar-(p)-e**
 kotar-(p)-e-ki
 ass: **kandam**
 assemble v.: **korar**
 asshole: **yiwirgwab**
 assumption: **awa**
 athletes' foot:
 ngat ndow
 awhile ago: **nirere**
 axe: **mindia**
 pande

B

baby: **átiáti**
 isiki
 krimb
 masukondep
 mbiongi
 miŋan
 taman
 tombtomb
 back: **mbwar**
 ngamamb (upper)
 orom (lower)
 backbone: **ndugubar**
 backside: **nunuk**
 bad ways: **kokosawir**
 bad: **apro**
 badly: **supwaspwa**
 bald head: **kokir tutiek**
 baldness: **kanimbit**
 bamboo: **kanjigogo**
 mberowok
 mbwaj (generic)
 mbwantaw
 mingŋa bwar
 oŋki
 ti
 banana earwig: **ikinŋan yandum**
 banana: **ikin** (generic)
 iwoŋgikin
 mamar
 marow
 mbákbak
 mbuga
 mbormat
 mbunon
 mom
 munjesik (frond)
 oraw (seedling)
 oremnai ikin
 ramu
 sambai oremai ikin
 bandicoot: **sasik**
 bang against: **mbaŋ**
 bank of stream: **mbag**
 barb: **mandamandap**
 bark v.: **ngawŋki**
 barren v.: **paindakki**
 base of tree: **tomir**
 base: **kandaŋni**
 basket sling: **ambrim numun**
 basket: **Karatum sapwar** (crocodile clan)
 Manjai sapwar (dog clan)
 miringa sapwar (for carrying supplies and
 food)
 saim (carried on head)
 saiput (for sago processing)
 sapwar (generic)
 simbergar sapwar (for carrying one's
 belongings)
 bastard child: **nder**
 bat: **sumusumu**
 bathe v.: **tuwku**
 beat v.: **por**
 be careful: **numbwan reki**
 be full: **isioki**
 be happy v.: **siŋki**
 be v.: **adaiki**
 aku

- ambki**
arki
 beach: **puwaiorom**
sumbwa kapir
 beak: **ndar**
 bean sprout: **mbua**
 beard: **ngakreŋa pupur**
 become a man v.: **munjeki**
 become a woman v.: **noŋork**
 become one: **nambarki**
 become overgrown v.: **abarki**
 become purified v.: **utiki**
 bedbug: **ndedenj**
 bee: **kunemb** (generic); *see special section on “Animals, insects, fish and birds”*
 beetle: **tutum** (generic); *see special section on “Animals, insects, fish and birds”*
 before: **rawni**
ripam
 behind: **mbwarni**
nunukni
 believe v.: **tar**
 belly button: **imin sukum**
 belly: **imin**
 belongings: **konŋon**
 below: **ari**
sekni
sire
 bend over v.: **timbrio**
 bend v.: **mbur-(p)-e**
ngadogadiki
 bent: **ngado**
 beside: **ase**
tawni
 bestow v.: **orai**
 betel nut smasher: **kokiparanj**
 betel nut: **adu-**
aiamb
arimindai
atim
ei
eiamb
kambok
kandapat
kokiparanj
kup
mandamandap
- mbatep**
mbrat
mbubow
mbubuk
minjike (generic)
minjikenja ngib
min
moramori
ndam
ndekik
ngib
ngop
pramat
sapwar
sikesike
simberki (v. chew betel nut)
takrot
tatikem
top
wamb
 bier: **tamb**
 big toe: **ndownja oŋko**
 big: **mir**
suman
 bird: **tam** (generic)
 bitch (female dog): **nje noŋor**
 bite v.: **amira**
 black: **sawir**
 bladder: **nok nder**
 blink v.: **ngino**
tik
 block v.: **kind-(p)-o**
oski
rongiki
utaroror
 blocked: **taman**
 blood clot: **muk**
 blood let v.: **tra**
 blood: **and**
 bloody: **andŋan**
 blossom v.: **pwar**
 blow on v.: **wiwir**
 blue: **ngidinj**
 blunt: **mbutup**
 boar tusk: **kaŋgajin**
osingir

boil *n.*: **munjesik**
nop
orwo
boil *v.*: **peiki**
sowor-(p)-o
trar-(p)-o
bone: **adaradi**
emári
kambikenja ning
kandapŋa ning
kurom
ndugubar
ning (generic)
ŋgaibo
ŋgakre
ŋgamambat
ŋgino mbod
timir
timirbim
tokimot
tombtomb
bottom: **yit**
bow *n.*: **kembatik**
bow-legged: **kambukar**
bowstring: **karatukumb**
box: **kaiknumb**
boyfriend: **nirengar munje**
bracelet: **timir**
toriw
braid *n.*: **met**
braid *v.*: **wur**
er
brain: **sikin**
branch: **nduko**
nimŋat
pitatak
breadfruit: **mbatak**
mbatambur
minj
break open: **kra**
break *v.*: **adádadi**
adur
adurioki
krakri
krarara oki
breast bone: **tokimot**
breast milk: **misising**

breast: **min**
min ngopŋa
breath: **mbun**
pora
tokro
breathe *v.*: **mbun**
war
bridge: **kongrik**
nimirkokir
bring *v.*: **kʷ**
bristles: **ŋgatnimŋa pupur** (on pig's back)
broad: **tapraw**
broom: **sindibam**
tandimirit
brush turkey: **onaw**
bubble: **njijirin**
mbubujiram
tapurmanj
bucket: **maning**
bud: **moramorik**
build: **er**
bullfrog: **uráŋgeba**
bullshit: **awinŋa sik**
bumpy: **ndidikdidik**
bundle: **yimbam**
bunion: **ndow kawrik**
burn *v.*: **apu**
ipiki
mbabuŋki
burned: **mbabuŋ**
burp *n.*: **ngarir**
burrow *n.*: **taŋgar**
bury *v.*: **war**
bush knife: **pitinjar**
butcher *v.*: **wuw**
butterfly: **mumuk**
buy *v.*: **moser**
buzz *v.*: **krururki**

C

cajoling *n.*: **engune engune**
cake of sago flour: **munakatar**
calf of leg: **warmis mokop**
call *n.*: **ngar**
call out *v.*: **ngar**

- call v.: **ngar**
ndokopndokop (call puppies)
 calm person: **mukúki**
 cane grass: **tumbigir**
ut
nekénduko
 canoe: **kaikro**
kaisar
kemb
yimbar
 capture v.: **tumbu**
 carbuncle: **atokrim**
 care for domestic animals v: **krar**
 carry v.: **wuw** (on one shoulder)
andru-(w/p)-e (on head)
arong-(p)-e (inside something)
eraro-(p/w)-ar (in sling on back)
tap (on shoulders)
 cartilage: **ndrig**
ngot
 carve v.: **rambu**
 carving: **kandibwan**
tumbuan
 cassowary: **emári**
kurom
maies
mbwag
mipat
nkinkim
ngat (cassowary)
ngat ndow
ngatma min
ngatwaw
ngot
rir-(p)-orki
tamro
tamrona kup
timir
yir pwap
 castrate v.: **ke-(p)-e**
 catch v.: **wuru** (with hook)
 caterpillar: **atir**
ningasin
 cave: **ngwab**
 cemetery: **mambrag num**
 centipede: **yandum**
yandumtit
- challenge v.: **towoi**
 change mind v.: **urek-(p)-e**
 chant n.: **njem**
sambana njem
 charcoal: **wuwur**
 cheek: **ndabo**
 chest: **kambike**
mintumb
nambir
 chestnut: **kanan**
 chew v.: **minjia**
 chew betel nut: **simberki**
 chicken: **kokok**
 child: **nder**
ror
 chili leaf: **enguramat**
 chili pepper: **tamropirup**
 chirp v.: **piwiuki**
 chisel n: **kapwakapi**
ndokdok
 chop down: **ar**
 chop v: **kra**
sum-(p)-or
 cicada: **kikik**
ngaratgarat
 cigarette: **sokoidu**
 citrus fruit: **pinimb**
 clam: **eporan**
kaŋ
oŋaŋ
 clan: **kandaŋ**
 claw: **yir pwap**
 clay: **nonge**
 clear undergrowth v.: **ndum**
ndumki
prik
 climb v.: **wawaroski**
 clitoris: **iru**
pinjin
 close to: **minjikan**
 close v.: **er**
kind-(p)-o
 closed: **taman**
 clot: **muk**
 cloth: **embátoto**
 cloud: **akijim** (raincloud)
akin

- clove tree: **yimbram**
 club: **mbaterj**
 sawáranġa
 taimb
 clump: **nir**
 cluster: **kup**
 mbij
 ndam
 pramat
 clutter: **kombobo**
 cockroach: **numbutik**
 sasawraġ
 coconut cream: **mimb**
 coconut formation: **makatok** (stage three)
 niġirarik (stage two)
 ngakrawmunjik (stage one)
 pap taw (final stage)
 turaw pakas (stage four)
 coconut palm: **andi**
 pap
 papembir
 coconut shell : **kukutawan**
 tawġ
 coconut shredder: **njemuk**
 coconut: **meruk**
 min
 mow (meat)
 pap
 papetraw (husk fiber)
 papkrim (small)
 papndaw (wild)
 papġa ngib (sapling)
 turaw (husk)
 coerce v.: **kokir i**
 mor-(p)-e
 coil: **ambnor**
 du
 coin: **mbatembatep**
 cold: **arkar-(p)-eki**
 imin
 mbankap
 pokemb
 pokembki
 munjewatki
 waw
 collapse: **adioki**
 collarbone: **kambikenġa niġ**
- collect v.: **ondar**
 colorful: **titimb**
 comb: **kim**
 come v.: **aiki**
 come off v.: **isiri oki**
 come up v.: **wiki**
 wurki
 comedian: **maisare nġrigar munġe**
 comic act: **maisare**
 complete v.: **kokot**
 concealed talk: **wai**
 conch shell: **pomiġ**
 cone hat: **kawt**
 kokirat
 confuse: **mbábasakki**
 consider: **kiraw**
 constrain v.: **ron**
 construct: **er**
 consume: **a**
 kroi
 conversation: **potakir**
 coo v.: **por**
 cook v.: **ambwamki**
 apu
 copulate: **ndiriri-(p/w)-arki**
 corner of eye: **ngagrini**
 corner v.: **weX-(p/m)-ungu**
 corpse: **nimbup**
 pisikimb
 correctly: **tandiw**
 count v.: **nak**
 couple n.: **ominde-omninde**
 cover up v.: **kundar**
 cover: **pura**
 crab: **kosep** (generic)
 kaġaġiġ
 nġarorak
 sasápoke
 crack: **ngagwak**
 crave v.: **potaki**
 crawl v.: **wepiki**
 wepoki
 crazy: **mbábasak**
 creek: **eno**
 nuwomb
 crest: **tamro** (of cassowary or rooster)
 crevice: **ngagwak**

crocodile: **orem**
perumb orem
crooked: **ngado**
ngadogadi
cross v.: **osiki**
crosswise: **wapakini**
croton plant: **kamb**
crouch down v.: **isisraiki**
crown: **ruk**
mar
umb
crumb: **um**
crumple up v.: **ruru-(p)-e**
crush v.: **ririr**
cry n.: **ei**
cry v.: **eiarki**
cult house: **ongarna patir**
ambagai
cunt: *see* vagina
curse v.: **adu**
cut across v.: **utak-(p)-oski**
cut v.: **katip**
imin
iskuo
tra
utir-(p)-or
wuw

D

dance v.: **truku**
dawdle v.: **kikriki**
day after tomorrow: **tuemb**
day before yesterday: **mungit**
day of exchange: **mot**
day: **aro**
deaf: **tamanki**
debris: **moto**
debt: **karam**
decorate: **isiki**
ndok
decoration: **katam**
nanjag
ndok (generic)
rimb

tatak
totrik
deed: **morasi**
deep: **kouwmb**
defeat v.: **ngadir-(p)-i**
timbrXoki
defecate v.: **yiwir ar**
departure: **ongar**
descend v.: **sirki**
descendant: **otan**
njanimb
desire n.: **arei**
meremeje
numbwan
tete-(p)e
destroy: **mbata**
dew: **matatak**
diarrhea n.: **yiwir aring**
die v.: **wasowki**
waswi
diety: **mirip**
dig out v.: **ke-(p)-e**
dig v.: **werki** (snuffle)
undiki (for eggs)
unduku (for eggs)
wuw (a hole)
werandru (plant things)
digging stick: **sambap**
directly: **simpakni**
dirt: **kitkit**
sumbwa
dirty: **komboj**
ndamir
uran
disappear v.: **kunda**
dish: **kanjir**
pungup
tawk
dislodge: **wur**
disobey: **utak**
disperse: **ndabaiki**
disturbed: **mbabasak**
dive in: **iroki**
do v.: **nir**
dog: **marngoram**
nje
njerja rewi

door: **nek**
 double *n.*: **moramori**
 takrot
 down: **ato**
 sire
 dragonfly: **nondadab**
 dream *n.*: **tambur**
 dream *v.*: **tamburni ta**
 drink *v.*: **a**
 drizzle *n.*: **tukursim**
 drool *n.*: **arit**
 drum: **kongod** (hourglass drum)
 rumb (slit-gong drum)
 dry *adj.*: **pakas**
 dry season: **nungŋa orom**
 dry *v.*: **pakas**
 dust: **puwai**
 dwelling: **tangar**

E

eagle: **kakar**
 ear: **neke**
 pap (earwax)
 earlobe: **ndrig**
 earring: **sak**
 earthquake: **nekan**
 east: **arawer sirngar taw**
 eat: **a**
 eel: **ngem**
 semb
 egg white: **mom**
 egg yolk: **ikin**
 egg: **naŋa** (generic)
 onaw
 taŋa
 yamiŋe
 eject *v.*: **ru**
 elbow: **mingip**
 mingipŋa sokop
 elf: **apukor**
 elves: **apukor**
 embarrass: **timbrXoki**
 ember: **rerem**
 embrace *v.*: **sak**
 emotion: **imin**

enclosure: **ramang**
 enough: **ayáta**
 nipis
 nipis wákare
 envelope: **ndakin**
 enveloped: **aro**
 evening star: **popro**
 everyone: **taman**
 everything: **taman**
 exchange *v.*: **ep**
 exclaim: **andruku**
 exhaustion: **arimb**
 explode: **patorki**
 exposed: **mborkini**
 extinguish: **ko-(p)-o**
 extract *v.*: **ke-(p/w)-eki**
 er
 wur
 eye: **ngino**
 eyeball: **ngino rerem**
 eyebrow: **ngino mbod**
 eyeglasses: **awin nanuk**
 eyelid: **nginoŋa toto**

F

face: **nanuk**
 facing: **rawni**
 faint *v.*: **wasowra aiki**
 falcon: **wiswis**
 fall down *v.*: **atiki**
 fall off *v.*: **isiri oki**
 fall out *v.*: **ke-(p/w)-eki**
 false accusation: **suk**
 fan *n.*: **apwisom**
 fan *v.*: **wiwir**
 fart *n.*: **pis** (soundless)
 orimb (explosive)
 fart *v.*: **i**
 fasten *v.*: **er**
 fat: **iapir**
 father: **omo**
 sas
 fatigue *n.*: **sisiw**
 fault *n.*: **morasi**
 fear *n.*: **rew**

- fear v: **rewki**
 feather: **purpur**
 feces: **yiwir**
 feel v.: **kiraw**
 fence: **ramang**
 ting
 yio
 fern: **anumb**
 awesak
 fetch v.: **k^v**
 tar
 fetus: **mbominj**
 fiber: **pang**
 fight v.: **amku**
 fight: *n.* **am**
 fill up v.: **war**
 mboripki
 fill v.: **iu**
 filter v.: **utiki**
 fin: **mbodan**
 naning
 finger: **ngagit** (little)
 ngomar ongar (index)
 onko (thumb)
 fingernail: **ndaramña ngino**
 sikrim
 finish v.: **kokot**
 komand
 kroi
 maiki
 wákareki
 fire: **otar**
 firefly: **ngudum**
 waptungro (swarm)
 firewood: **tarung**
 first born: **kokirña ror**
 mambirña ror
 first: **rawni**
 tamriware
 fish: **ngomar** (generic); *see special section on*
 “Animals, insects, fish and birds”
 flaccid: **kondikki**
 kondikra oki
 flash: **mamrarki**
 flatten grass: **iskuoki**
 naw o
 flattery: **engune engune**
- flea: **itum**
 flee: **rewki**
 flesh: **mow**
 pwap
 toto
 float v.: **konenjarki**
 purara oki
 floor: **kimitak**
 flow: **nangatik**
 flute: **mokit**
 fly *n.*: **arúmbatak** (generic)
 arúmbatak wasow (blue fly)
 ipipir (fruit fly)
 fly v.: **imbiki**
 flying fox: **njakep**
 njakep oraw
 flying squirrel: **ngesiņe**
 fly swatter *n.*: **tandímirit**
 foam: **njem**
 tapur
 fog: **waw**
 fold v.: **adádadi**
 krakri
 follow advice v.: **andu**
 follow v.: **andu**
 fondle: **engewengew**
 fontanelle: **wamb**
 food: **orákangar**
 tokro
 foot: **ndow**
 ndowbwar
 ndowna imin (sole)
 ndowna ku (heel)
 footprint: **ndonjan nipis**
 force *n.*: **nangatik**
 force v.: **mor-(p)-e**
 forehead: **atarum**
 foreign: **koret**
 forget: **numbwan mbabsakki**
 fork: **tapran**
 four: **towotowo**
 frame: **nangir** (of net)
 friend: **agidada**
 asapoi
 frog: **pasákeke**
 frond: **kondew**
 mbanaw

ndadam
pandim
 front: **rawni**
 frying pan: **pambran**
 fuck v.: **indiki**
indu
 funerary feast: **kar**
airuramb
 fungus: **manimbomo**
nimbup
njogrob
tombtomb
 funnel: **iko**
 fur: **atungor**
mbatibati
ramborgar
 furious: **mik**
 fuzz: **iruiru**
 fuzzy: **iruiruŋa**

G

gall bladder: **wuŋa nok**
 Gapun: **Tayap num**
 gather : **andu-** (leaf vegetables)
 gather together v.: **ondar**
 gecko: **agin**
tapetak
 genitals: **iru**
kwem
kwem taro
man
nao
nengib
ngaibo
pinjin
 get into: **sirki**
 get stuck: **waku**
 get up: **memki**
 ghost: **mambrag**
 gill: **mbodan**
 ginger pepper: **kandapat**
top (generic)
 ginger root: **arei**
engin
kaiu

girdle: **kapwasak**
 girlfriend: **nirengar nonor**
 give birth v.: **awinni tuwku** (humans)
toki (animals)
 give: **i**
 glue: **ninir**
 gnat: **ipipir**
mamaki
 go across: **oski**
 go ahead: **ripiki**
 go ashore: **worki**
 go down v.: **arki**
aski
sirki
 go inside v: **arki**
arki
 go outside v.: **atiki**
 go up v.: **wurki**
rar
 go: **oki**
 good sense: **misikap**
 good: **engon**
émb egon (good morning)
ikur engon (good evening)
ngrag engon (good afternoon)
sapki
 gossip: **ikruk**
 gradually: **nenginiki nenginiki**
 grandfather: **neni**
 grapefruit: **pinimb**
 grass knife: **sarep**
 grass skirt: **awin gorok**
ner
ngorok
 grass: **mombi**
nekénduko
nimbisim
piar
tumbigir
ut
 grasshopper: **njajak**
njojok
panap
 grassland: **nawŋa mbun**
naw
 grate v.: **war**
 grave: **kum**

grease: **iapir**
 grille: **maŋemaŋar**
 groin: **anomb**
 ground cuscus: **miw**
 ground: **numat**
 sumbwa
 group: **tambar**
 growl v.: **murki**
 grub: **kimirik**
 guard v.: **wir**
 gums: **rewiŋgun**
 gun: **mbwajorom**

H

habit: **morasi**
 half: **at**
 taw
 hammer v: **tawai**
 hand: **ndaram**
 ndaramŋa adadit
 ndaram bwar
 ndaramŋa imin
 handle: **munjar**
 naŋgir
 ngapar
 pom
 hang up v.: **wawar-(p)-ei**
 hang v.: **adu**
 wawar-(p)-ei
 wawar-(p)-eiki
 haphazardly: **sapki(ni)**
 happen: **atiki**
 happy *adj.*: **sapki**
 hard: **mik**
 hard-headed: **kokirŋan**
 hat: **kawt**
 kokirat
 have sex: **mbidomo**
 okemki
 haze: **njim**
 he: **ŋi**
 head hair: **kokirŋgrit**
 head: **kokir**
 kokitok

kokirŋgrit
ngino
 headrest: **kokiparan**
 healthy: **enŋon**
 heap: **kit**
 pombor (of shit)
 sumbuŋ
 hear v.: **tar-**
 heart: **kir**
 hearth: **turoŋa ŋgagar**
 heavy: **naimb**
 heel *n.*: **ndowŋa ku**
 help v.: **ndabai-(p)-i**
 rarekurki
 rar
 her: **ŋgu**
 here: **ai**
 ainde
 aŋgo(de)
 hermit crab: **pisik**
 hers: **ŋgon**
 hiccup *n.*: **ndidik**
 hiccup v.: **ndidik**
 hide v.: **ambu**
 high tide: **awin eiwir**
 hillbilly: **miriŋa munje**
 him: **ŋi**
 hips: **ŋgidik**
 his: **ŋan**
 hit v.: **adu**
 o
 nai-(p)-i
 nimaniadi
 nimaniadiki
 hold v.: **e**
 ser-(p)-e
 hole: **ngagwak**
 ngwab
 muta
 home: **tangar**
 honey: **metawŋa nanarŋa awin**
 hoof: **mburko**
 sikrim
 hook: **pipiŋgabu**
 hopscotch: **ekop**
 horsefly: **tetei**

hostility: **ondir**
 hot: **armbir**
 hourglass drum: **koŋgod**
 hourglass drum: **oimbatak**
 house post: *see special section on 'Parts of house'*
 house: **ambagai** (men's house)
ambagai mbunorŋan (with power)
kimitak (floor)
njam (hurriedly assembled)
oŋgarŋa patir (mens cult house situated in rainforest)
patirŋa mbun (abandoned, and collapsed)
tambuno (makeshift for protection from rain)
 how many: **ambukrani**
 how: **ambukeni**
 howl v.: **kawrki**
 huge: **mir**
 hum v.: **mundumindiki**
 humiliate: **timbrXoki**
 hunger: **endekar**
 hunting blind : **napo**
pura
 hurriedly: **areini**
 hurry: **katkat**
nunum
 husband: **munje**
 husk: **min**
turaw
 hygiene: **ndamir**

I

I: **ŋa**
 ignite: **rorki**
 ignorance *adj.*: **sua**
 ignorant: **samba mir**
 ignore: **eikuoki**
utak
 illness: **kandaw**
 imitate v.: **et-(p)-o**
 immature *n.*: **eiwireiwir**
tuwaw
 impregnate: **imin i**

imprint: **nipis**
 incredibly: **apro mir**
 index finger: **ŋgomar oŋgar**
 inexperienced: **taman**
 inflate v.: **wiwir**
 in-law *n.*: **oyeng**
 insect: *see special section on "Animals, insects, fish and birds"*
 inside: **aro**
iminni
 insult *n.*: **perei**
 insult v.: **perei**
 intense : **mik**
 intension: **numbwan**
 intercourse: **mbidomo**
 intertwine v.: **erki**
woiki
 intestine: **imikato**
miŋanŋa kup
noŋorŋa kup
 intoxicate: **adu**
 itch *n.*: **meŋemeŋe**
 itch v.: **tiriki**

J

jaw: **ŋgakre**
 jealous v.: **awa-(p/w)-ar**
mwanambri
 jealousy: **mwanambriŋgar morasi**
 jellyfish: **kandiwara**
 join v.: **tiriri-(p/w)-ar**
 joint: **adadit**
rorŋa niŋg (back leg of pig)
ton (connects two sections of bamboo)
 jump up v.: **piŋki**
 jump v: **piŋra oki**
 just: **sapki(ni)**

K

kick v.: **ndowni o**
rir-(p)-orki
 kidney: **moŋapat**
 kiss v.: **sak**

kissing sound v: **minjurupki**
 kissing sound: **minjurup**
 kneelace: **ep**
 knee cap: **mingipna sokop**
 knee: **mingip**
 kneel: **adu**
 knife: **kurom**
 mbwantaw
 ming
 pom
 sarep
 ta
 knock v.: **mban**
 knot n.: **mot**
 knot v.: **ngiti-(p/w)-ar**
 know: **kiraw**
 knowledge: **misikap**

L

lack v.: **atiki**
 ladder: **nek**
 pundidip
 tindra
 ladle: **kukutawan**
 lake: **minuomb**
 landing place for canoes: **kaikro**
 language: **mer**
 lap: **nikir**
 large: **mir**
 pwap
 suman
 larva: **kimirik**
 komi
 urukuruk
 later: **nunuk**
 laugh v: **ir**
 adu
 irki
 laughter: **iro**
 lay out v.: **tumbu**
 laziness: **sisiw**
 lead v.: **ripiki**
 leaf spine: **mbwag**
 leaf: **mayar**
 leaf: **ngimraw** (edible)
 papakndam
 sokoi (tobacco)
 lean down v.: **timbrio**
 leave behind: v.: **ore-(p)-e**
 leech: **mbiman**
 left: **ngamgit**
 leg: **akan**
 ndow
 mburkow
 lemon : **pinimb**
 lemon grass: **nimbisim**
 let go v.: **ore-(p)-e**
 lethargic v: **sisiwoki**
 lethargy: **kumb**
 lick: **mamba**
 mambadiki
 lie n.: **suk**
 takwat
 wai
 lie v.: **takwat**
 waingriki
 lift up v.: **wur-(p)-o**
 wure
 light n: **aro**
 light v.: **ror**
 lightning n: **mamrai**
 otingar
 lightning v.: **mamraiki**
 urerki
 like: **mbikni**
 nime
 ninjan
 lime (for chewing betel nut): **air**
 line: **yir**
 lip: **ndadibwan**
 listen v.: **tar**
 little: **mokop**
 liver : **wu**
 lizard: *see special section on "Animals, insects, fish and birds"*
 lobe: **ndrig**
 lobster: **sasu**
 lodge v.: **wak-(p)-eki**
 log: **nimbup** (rotten)
 loincloth: **siw**
 long: **kemem**

look after: **krar**

look v.: **ngigregoki**

rarki

rar

look for v.: **amai-(p)-i**

loosen v.: **utakatiki**

lose grip v.: **turkopki**

lose v.: **atiki**

óiraraoki

louse: **kikriki**

pakind

low tide v: **tawki**

lower intestine: **noŋoŋa kup**

lumpy: **ndidikdidik**

lung: **popro**

M

machete: **pitiŋar**

maggot: **simbu**

make plans to kill someone: **mbororki**

make v.: **nir**

Malay apple tree: **puŋun**

tongodip

male: **miŋan**

man: **munje**

mango: **oike**

mangrove swamp: **nimar**

kindip

many: **sami**

mark v.: **rambu**

married couple: **ominde-omninde**

marry: **ar**

marsupial pouch: **ngwar**

maternal uncle: **atawo**

wow

maternity house: **awin(ni) tuwŋgar patir**

mature: **kapar**

kowot

ponjame

me: **ŋa**

meat: **mborsip** (pig)

minj (breadfruit)

mis

mow (coconut)

potak (wild animal)

sip

meeting: **korareŋgar**

mot

men's house: **ambagai**

ongarŋa patir

pik

menstruate: **karep**

simberki

mess up v.: **isiki**

middle: **orom**

Milky Way: **wagurmos**

millipede: **kakámatik**

mine: **ŋaŋan**

mirror: **awin nanuk**

mislead v.: **mbábasakki**

misstep v.: **turkopki**

miss v.: **anda-(p/w)-oki**

kaind-(p)-e

ngadir-(p)-i (pass by)

punatki

wur-(p)-eki

wure

misuse v.: **mbábasaki**

mite: **kandap**

molar: **sambap**

money: **marŋoram** (dog teeth)

moŋar krimb

moon: **karep**

morning star: **ŋgoijam**

morning: **emb**

mortar: **kokirparan**

mosquito: *see special section on Animals,*

Insects, Fish and Birds

moth: **mumuk**

mother: **ama**

mountain: **tumb**

mourn: **punatki**

mouse: **njip**

mouth: **sik**

mud: **kitkit**

mbin

sumbwa

murder: **kwai**

murmur v.: **miŋmiŋki**

muscle: **mintumb** (chest)

warmis (thigh)

mushroom: **moimbir**
ongisu
tambawa
tawaromo
mushroom: **moimbir**
tambawa
muzzle: **pinumb**

N

nail: **tatar**
naked: **kandam sinder**
name *n.*: **nomb**
name *v.*: **wur**
narrate *v.*: **tik ngur**
narrative: **tik**
narrow *adj.*: **wekwarengar**
nearby: **minjikan**
neck: **potak**
necklace: **ep**
rimb
needle: **pandin**
sind
timir
timirbim
nest: **tangar**
yamiŋe tumb
net *n.*: **korot**
nanŋir
net *v.*: **warki**
netbag: **mambakir**
never mind: **ayáta**
new: **iro**
newborn *n.*: **karar ror**
mbominj
night: **ikur**
makarki
nipple: **minŋa iru**
ngatma min
no: **wákare**
noise: **mirin**
pakras
pandin
noodle: **kekékato**
noose: **sanŋriwat**
nose: **raw**

now: **ene**
nowadays: **ene**
nut: **kain**
ndekik
ngamamber
ngawro
wamb

O

oar: **inang**
obscenity: **wekok**
obstructed *v.*: **oski**
ocean: **mara**
of course: **kapambánana**
nguméngi
old: **kowot**
rowe
on top: **mbokakni**
wo
one : **nambar**
mbatep
oneself: **neker**
ŋano
ŋanoki
open *v.*: **kra**
pwak-(p)-o
siŋ
tapraw
opening: **tutuw**
oppose *v.*: **perei**
opposite side: **osi**
organize *v.*: **simb**
orgasm *n.*: **menjemeŋe**
ponjame
ours: **yimen**
out of wedlock: **nder**
outside: **ato**

P

package *n.*: **ndakin**
package *v.*: **ndakin-(p)-o**
pain *n.*: **mbid**
pain *v.*: **mbidki**

paint v.: **rambu**
 palm of hand: **ndaramŋa imin**
 palm frond: **kondew**
 mbanjaw
 pandim
 pancake: **momorik**
 tamwai
 pancreas: **minjinai**
 pandanus: **tar**
 papaya: **enginmandama batambur**
 parrot: **karar**
 part n.: **at**
 taw
 pass by v.: **ngadir-(p)-i**
 patterned: **titimb**
 peak: **tumb(ŋa) bwar**
 peek: **eitatiki**
 peel n.: **ndadab**
 ŋgakraw
 peel v.: **ei**
 ŋjaw-(p)-o
 ŋgakraw-(p)-o
 penis: **Kokranja kup**
 kondikra oki
 kóndrik
 kwem
 momor
 mond
 mondki
 nao
 ŋgaweiw
 piŋin
 sambap
 temiŋ
 tutuw
 perceive v.: **kiraw**
 persuasion: **engune engune**
 phlem: **muk**
 pierce v.: **ondir**
 papku
 rowand-(p/w)-ar
 pig: **agránkar** (skinny)
 akan (front leg)
 amb (place where they wallow)
 ambnor (jowls)
 ikower-(p)-or- (sound they make when
 panicked)

kangajin (tusks)
kurom (back leg)
kwem taro (genitals)
mbor (pig)
mborabaw (wallow)
mbor mir (male)
mbor onko (young, fertile, female)
mborsip (meat)
mbwar (fat)
murki (growl)
nimbija (skinny)
ŋgaibo (skin around jawbone)
ŋgamambat (cut of meat)
ŋgatnimŋa pupur (back bristles)
ojirror (small pig)
osingir (tusks)
ponjame (maturity)
sip (meat)
werki (snuffle)
 pile: **kit**
 sumbuŋ
 pillow: **kokiparan**
 tep
 pincers: **kangajin**
 pine tree: **mbainonon**
 pipe : **kumundat**
 pundidip
 place: **yaw**
 placenta: **aiawang**
 mambakir
 plant v.: **tu-(p)-o**
 werandru
 plant n.: **amakato**
 aringadew
 amakato
 isirai
 kamb
 njalat
 ŋgat
 ŋgib
 ŋgop
 ŋgurub
 sambi
 sesu
 tit
 tombtomb
 yamiŋe tumb

plate: **paru** (traditional wooden)

tawk

platform: **tambrak**

play v.: **emrarki**

pleased v.: **siŋki**

Pleiades: **mbiruŋa kit**

ngudumŋa kit

pluck v.: **rungu**

plunge v.: **mbar**

point v.: **munji**

poison: **ndumdum**

poor thing: **apran**

njakep ror

nganokeya

ondir ror

pork: **mborsip**

ngagobit

ngamambat

portion v.: **ningar**

possessions: **kongon**

possum: **enamb**

warning (anal glands)

pot: **ongab** (made of clay)

soworongab

pouch: **mbubuk**

ngwar (marsupial)

pour v.: **worera oki**

power: **mbunor**

powerless: **sua**

praying mantis: **ngat**

pregnancy: **imin**

prevent v.: **rongur**

previous: **rawni**

previously: **ripim**

prick: *see* penis

promiscuous: **nder**

okemki

puberty: **ponjame**

pubic hair: **anombŋa pupur**

sonai

pull out v.: **ke-(p)-e**

ke-(p/w)-e

wer

pull v.: **angu**

pummel v.: **adádadi**

pump v.: **andugur**

aŋ

pumpkin: **waru**

purposeless: **sapki(ni)**

pus: **ngido** (from eyes)

pisimb

push v.: **utak**

utaXru

put v.: **ko-(p)-o** (put out)

moramorik (buds)

ngur (generic)

tumbu (put down)

waksirki (put on)

wapaki-(p/w)-arkru (put across)

war (inside)

war (put inside)

waraX (inside)

wi-(p/w)-o (put above)

wis (put down)

wirar (put inside)

wor (put aground)

wor(aground)

python: **pake**

Q

question: **kotarŋar**

quickly: **areini**

katkat

quietly: **ariutani**

tower

quill: **mbwag**

sind

R

race v.: **pereipereiki-**

rain storm: **kambromtukur**

rain: **matatak**

tukur

rainbow: **mamar**

rainclouds: **akijim**

rainforest: **mbada**

miri

raise up: **mbababin**

rash: **moprindag**

rat: **kokosik**
 mangim
 ngabugar
 rattan: **karat**
 katom
 oimbatak
 raw: **andŋan**
 kikak
 ready *v.*: **orai**
 really: **ŋayar**
 recently: **mungit**
 recognize *v.*: **kiraw**
 reconsider *v.*: **urek-(p)-e**
 reed: **sura**
 reflection: **awin nanuk**
 refuse *v.*: **masipkaki**
 mnda
 remain: **arki**
 remains: **mbun**
 remove *v.*: **is** (clothing)
 wer (pull out)
 wur (extract)
 ke-(p/w)-e (extract)
 nja-(p)-o (spine from tobacco leaf)
 rongur (yams)
 sambap (husk)
 tur (remove husk)
 request *v.*: **ngodir**
 resist *v.*: **masipkaki**
 resistant: **kawrik**
 respond *v.*: **ep**
 sik ep
 response: **ep**
 rest *v.*: **purki**
 restrain *v.*: **timbraXoki**
 return *n.*: **epiŋgar**
 rib: **ndegib**
 right hand side: **akan engonŋa taw**
 right hand: **akan engon**
 right leg: **ndow engon**
 right(direction): **engon**
 ring: **kiŋ**
 ŋawmb
 ŋawmbi
 ripe: **prik**
 rise *v.*: **wiki**
 river: **ndirmar**

riverbank: **mbag**
 rivulet: **mbatim**
 road: **nder**
 roll *v.*: **ndederki**
 riri
 woi
 roll around *v.*: **pwiki**
 roll fibers: **ir**
 roll up *v.*: **woi**
 roof *v.*: **andu**
 roof shingle: **ndagro**
 rooster: **tamro** (crest)
 kokoaraw
 root: **itaw**
 rot *v.*: **eriŋeriŋki**
 mburarakaki
 pisimbki-
 rotten: **nimbup** (tree or log)
 round *adj.*: **ororŋgar**
 row *v.*: **markiya oki**
 rub *v.*: **kikri-(p/w)-e**
 isiki
 is
 tombtomb
 rubbish: **pinpin**
 ruin *v.*: **mbata**
 run out: **maiki**
 wákareki
 run *v.*: **nunumoki**
 runny: **awin awin**

S

sadness: **naimb**
 sago flour: **muna**
 muna kokir
 munakatar
 sago frond: **kondew**
 sago grubs: **kimirik**
 komi
 sago jelly: **kopikŋa mum**
 mum
 sago palm sheaths: **kondew**
 sago palm: *see special section on “Words pertaining to sago processing”*

sago pancake: **momorik**

pangip

tamwai

tamwainat

sago swamp: **wai**

sago: *see special section on “Words pertaining to sago processing”*

salt: **kawat**

saltwater shell: **mborgi**

sand: **sumbwa kapir**

sap: **ninjir**

sapling: **ngib**

titi

say v.: **nam**

scale: **туруw**

scar: **ndidik**

scorch v.: **mbabuŋki**

scorpion: **katáwa**

scrape off v.: **pingrim**

scrape v.: **war**

e

scratch v.: **tu**

scrotum: **kondin**

ton

search for v.: **amai-(p)-i**

secret talk: **kirat** (tobacco)

sumbwa (sago flour)

tatikem (betel nut)

secretion: **ngido** (from eyes)

see v.: **anda-(p/w)-o** (not see something or someone)

rar-

seed: **iru**

mbatembatep

mot (breadfruit)

pinjin

taja

seedling: **andi**

indub

mokir

munjesik

oraw

send: **mbus-(p)-i**

Sepik river: **ndirmar**

septum: **rawŋa sokop**

serious v.: **rawmitki**

settle v.: **simb**

sew: **sisir**

sexual desire: **menemeŋe**

shaft: **marnogop** (oar)

uretikimb (spearshaft)

shake v.: **ndaw**

wakwikki

utukutuk

shake hands: **ndaram**

shake water off like a do v.: **urar**

shallow: **mbokakni**

pwai

shame v.: **maikar**

shap needle: **timir**

shark: **konganase**

sharp: **mik**

sharpen v.: **zur**

tu

shave v.: **ar**

mbwantaw (razor)

njaw-(p)-o

she: **ngu**

sheath: **kondew**

mbubuk

ndadum

shed v.: **is**

shelf: **tambrak**

tombet

shell: **mborgi**

poming

tawk (coconut)

shield v.: **waramki**

shield: **waram**

shin: **inang**

shit: **yiwir**

shiver v.: **arkar-(p)-eki**

mamrarara oki

shiver: **mamrarara oki**

shoe: **ndow**

shoot n.: **indub**

mbubow

tit

titi

shoot v.: **mbwajorom** (gun)

o

ondir

rir-(p)-or

shooting star: **momorik**

short: **kitinɨŋ**
 shortness of breath: **tokro**
 shoulder: **tumbur**
 shout *n.*: **ngar**
 shout *v.*: **nam**
 ngar
 show *v.*: **mamanj-(p)-i**
 shrimp: **sasu**
 shut up *v.*: **towerki**
 sick of: **mnda**
 side: **ndegib**
 ngagar
 taw
 signal *n.*: **tosemb** (by slit-gong drum)
 signal *v.*: **nir**
 silly: **mbábasak**
 similar: **mbikni**
 sing *v.*: **poror**
 singe *v.*: **ainaj-(p)-e**
 sip *n.*: **taw**
 sit *v.*: **tutuku**
 skill: **yam**
 skin *n.*: **air** (white, unhealthy skin)
 síw (strips of animal skin)
 toto
 skin *v.*: **ei**
 wetiki
 skink: **mbutak**
 skinned: **pwap**
 skinny: **agrankar**
 nimbija
 ɲiŋ sinder
 skull: **kokirɲan tawk**
 sky: **akin**
 slap *v.*: **nimaniadi**
 nimaniadiki
 sleep *v.*: **taki**
 sleepiness: **ngugrugai**
 slide out *v.*: **is**
 slingshot: **tamanga**
 slip *v.*: **sindir**
 slit gong drum: **korarengar rumb**
 (summons)
 piriŋ
 rumb (drum)
 temiŋ

tep
tosemb
 slope: **tokro**
 slowly: **ariutaki**
 mengini
 nenginiki nenginiki
 slurp: **mbirupa**
 smack *v.*: **wakai-(p)-i**
 small intestine: **miɲanna kup**
 small talk: **potakir**
 smear *v.*: **undiki**
 smell *n.*: **ruk**
 smell *v.*: **rukana tar**
 smoke *n.*: **nguwur**
 smoke *v.*: **a**
 ruwond-(p)-i
 smooth out *v.*: **simb**
 snail: **pomingsua**
 snake: *see special section on 'Animals, insects,*
 fish and birds'
 snap fingers *v.*: **adu**
 snore *v.*: **ngrukki**
 snot: **muk**
 niŋgir
 snout: **pinumb**
 snuffle *v.*: **werki**
 socket: **wormbit**
 soft: **pisaiapisai**
 soften: **kondidikra oki**
 soiled: **ndamir**
 sorcerer: **isuk werngar munje**
 poisirna munje
 wiswis
 sorcery: **angwar**
 isuk
 isuk werngar
 mayor
 nkirkir
 poisir
 sore: **ngadan**
 piŋin
 sorrow : **naimb**
 soup pot: **soworongab**
 soup: **ngoriw**
 wawan
 speak *v.*: **miŋmiŋki** (indistinctly)
 namki

spear *n.*: **maies**

marn̄gop

mokwa

yir

spear *v.*: **o**

spearshaft: **akok**

spearthrower: **ariw**

speech: **nam**

speed: **ngurun̄**

spider: **tomiktomik**

spike: **atim**

spill *v.*: **worer**

spine: **sind**

tat

orwo

spirit beings: **emári**

kandap

mambrag

mbunor

spit *v.*: **njem ru**

njemni andu

spittle: **arit**

njem

spleen: **eiwa**

splinter: **tat**

spouse: **omin**

spread out *v.*: **tumbu**

spread *v.*: **oski**

sprinkle *v.*: **risriski**

sprout *v.*: **pwar**

sputter: **mbiodki**

squeeze out *v.*: **andugur**

stand *v.*: **mbababi**

mbar

munguku

star: **ngudum**

ngoijam

popro

start (as in 'startle'): **riwind**

startle: **riwindra aiki**

stay awake *v.*: **tombirki**

stay *v.*: **arki**

steal *v.*: **ndagúni tar**

steam: **mbin**

step on *v.*: **andei-(p)-e**

step on *v.*: **tik**

stick for beating slit-gong drum: **teming**

stick out tongue: **nirki**

stick to: **wawku**

stick: **mbir**

nimir

nimjat

sambap

teming

sticky: **ninjir̄nan**

still born: **mbominj**

still: **reki**

sting *v.*: **ti-(p/w)-ar**

stingray: **mandamandap**

nakanaka

stir *v.*: **ndaw**

oror

stomach: **endekar̄na imin**

imin

mburuw

stone axe: **mindia**

stone: **monapat**

njinai

ṅawmbi

stone-faced *v.*: **rawmitki**

stop it: **ayáta**

storm: **kambromtukur**

story *n.*: **tik**

straight: **simpakni**

straighten *v.*: **simpak**

strain *v.*: **wur**

strangle: **ṅgit-(p)-o**

streaky: **kopik**

strength: **ning**

pawrik

ponjame

stretch *v.*:

wekang-(p)-or

string together *v.*: **wit-(p)-i**

strip away *v.*: **sin**

strongheaded: **kokitok kawrik**

stubbornness: **kokir̄nan**

stump: **kitip**

stupid: **eiwireiwir**

samba mir

sua

stupor: **sisiw**

suck *v.*: **mbirupa**

sufficient: **nipis**

sugarcane: **yar**
 sun: **arawer**
 sunlight: **arawerŋa aro**
 support v.: **rarekurki**
 suppress v.: **tik**
 surface n.: **mbokakni**
mbwar
 surround v.: **oror**
 swallow v.: **malit mosop**
motikXoki
 swamp: **nimar**
timbar
wai (sago swamp)
 swarm: **waptungro** (fireflies)
 swear v: **wekokni adu**
 sweat: **tutuk**
 sweep v.: **woi**
mburai
mburai-(p)-i
 sweet potato: **prerikin**
 sweetness: **ngow**
 swim: **ndarar**

T

table: **tambrak**
 tadpole: **mbokokir**
 tail: **mipat**
ngagon
 talk n.: **aroŋa nam**
 (unexpressed talk)
atoŋa nam (out in the open talk)
kaiknumbŋa nam (talk that hides its true meaning)
potakir (small talk)
wai (concealed talk)
 talk v.: **nekeni warakki** (talk on a mobile phone)
namki-
waiŋriki
warakki
 tantrum n.: **kengen**
 tantrum v.: **kengenki**
 taro: **manduwar**
nom

pendo
watakep
 taste n.: **ngow**
 taste v.: **kiraw**
 tattered: **pirimat**
 tattoo: **titimb**
 teach v.: **irar**
 team: **tambar**
 tear v.: **kra**
krakri
 teeth: **njeŋa rewi** (dog teeth)
rewi
 termite: **agu**
kamus
 termite hill: **koaw**
 termite mound: **kamus**
kwaw
 test v.: **towoi**
 testicle: **momor**
ngaweiw
pongrom
simbu
 that's right: **ore**
 theirs: **ŋgan**
 them: **ŋgi**
 then: **ngo** (in that case)
 there: **ainde**
aninde
anininde
ango(de)
angi(de)
angu(de)
 therefore: **ŋginana**
ngire
 these/those: **angeb**
 they: **ŋgi**
 thick: **tumb**
 thief: **ndagurgar munje/nonor**
 thigh: **tataimang**
warmis
 thigh: **war**
 thighbone: **kurom** (cassowary)
 thing: **orak**
 think v.: **namki**
numbwan i
 thirsty: **awin potaki**

thought: **numbwan**
 thread: **merom**
 ping
 threatening action v.: **wai-(p)-e**
 three: **manaw**
 throat: **potak**
 throb v.: **piokpiokki**
 throb without pain: **mbiodki**
 throw away v.: **pinjirip**
 wos-(p)-i
 throw v.: **angurak**
 ariw (spear thrower)
 rir-(p)-or (a spear)
 ru
 thumb : **ndaramŋa oŋko**
 thump v.: **tawai**
 thunder: **aruat**
 thus: **nime**
 nande(n)
 thusly: **aike**
 tickle v.: **kikri-(p/w)-e**
 tide: **awinŋa nangatik**
 tie v.: **andugur**
 er
 isuk
 ming
 ngit-(p)-o
 ngiti-(p/w)-ar-
 papakndam
 rup
 tighten v.: **nimnimki**
 time: **orom**
 tip n.: **iru**
 ngino
 tit
 tire v.: **sisiwoki**
 tired: **mnda**
 tobacco: **sokoi**
 kirat
 today: **ene**
 toe: **mburko**
 ndownŋa gagit
 ndownŋa oŋko
 sikrim
 together: **ndakop**
 toilet: **mbadaŋa patir**

Tok Pisin: **enjin mer**
 tomorrow: **epi**
 tongs: **kinda**
 tongue: **malit**
 too: **ti**
 tooth: **rewi**
 top n.: **kik**
 koi
 torch: **papembir**
 tough: **kawrik**
 traditional knowledge: **misikap**
 trample v.: **naw o**
 naw oki
 translate v.: **urek-(p)-e**
 trap: **sangriwat**
 tree bark: **aikesim**
 atunung
 ei
 induw
 karam
 kimitak
 kinj
 mayor
 mbanaw
 mis
 mwarmbwam
 ndadab
 njalat
 noni
 ombuto
 pandim
 perumb
 suawuk
 waram taw
 wind
 yimbram
 tree kangaroo: **kanung**
 tree pod: **kain**
 kowir
 tree: **areng**
 asango
 atunung
 awin
 itaw
 kandum
 karam

karep
kindip
kinj
kitip
koi
kondew
kotriŋ
kowe
maior
mayor
mbanjaw
mberig
mbij
mbwar
ndabe
ndaburak
ndadab
ndekik
nim (generic)
nimbup
nir
njegagip
nuruw
ŋgimraw
ŋgoriŋsua
ombuto
orom
pandim
pap
pendimor
ruk
sanamb
send
serek
suawuk
tar
tokro
tomir
tongodip
wamb
wind
yit

tremor v.: **wakwikki**

trip v.: **adioki**

truly: **ŋayar**

ŋayor

try v.: **towoi**

tuck v.: **wa-(p/w)-ar**

turn back v.: **waruk-(p)-eki**

turn upside down: **waksirki**

turn v.: **urek-(p)-e**

turtle: **pawp**

tusk: **kangajiŋ**

osingir

twin n.: **moramori**

takrot

twist v.: **irik-(p)-e**

ŋgadogadi

two: **sene**

U

umbilical cord: **imin sukumŋa grip**

uncle: **atawo**

wow

unclean: **ndamir**

unconcealed: **mborkini**

uncooked: **kikak**

under: **kandaŋni**

sire

underneath: **iminni**

underside: **sek**

uneducated: **miriŋa munje**

unexpected *adj*: **sinder**

unit: **mbatep**

unripe: **eiwir**

mandig

unskilled: **sua**

untie: **prak**

up: **wuri**

upper back: **ŋgamamb**

urethra: **iru**

kewmŋa iru

kwemŋa tutuw

maniŋ

piŋin

urinate: **nok ar**

urine: **nok**

us: **yim**

useless: **sua**

uterus: **mambakir**
 uvula: **malit mosop**

V

vagina: **eporan**

man
mbominj
ndabe
ngado
ngaibo
ngwab
nao
pinin
oyan
sambaŋa kandaw
sonai
warning
yit

vaginal fistula: **tamro**

vegetable: **andu** (gather)

njapar
ngat
saim (basket for carrying)
toromb (generic)

vein: **itaw**

símbu

veranda: **pik**

village: **Emuto**

Indam
Kambin
Koporot
Mambokor
Merew
Moip
Moreŋg
num
Ombági
Potow
Songodo

vine: **kandap ongab**

mainye
makemaka
mambragegak
munap

ngakrawmunjik

orjarak

vomit *n.*: **kambwan**

vomit *v.*: **kambwan ambu-**

vulgar language: **eporan**

eriŋeriŋki

kondikra oki

kwem

man

mbominj

nao

nengib

ngado

ngaibo

ngwab

oyan

patorki

eiki

wetiki

pinin

sambaŋa njem

sonai

tutuw

warning

yit

vulva: **ngado**

man taw

manŋa nao

W

waistbelt: **apirit**

endo

wait *v.*: **aru-(p)-oi**

aru-(p)-oki

wake someone *v.*: **and-(p)-o**

walk around *v.*: **ikruk**

waiki

walking stick: **nekan**

wall: **kindit**

tandan

wallow *n.*: **amb** (where pigs wallow)

wank: **eiki**

wetiki

- want *v.*: **arei**
tete-(p)e
- warp *v.*: **wupitapiki**
- wart: **nim**
- wash *v.*: **pit**
tuw
tuwku
- wash sago *v.*: **eiwki**
- wasp: **kikri**
- watch *n.*: **wir**
- watch out: **numbwan reki**
- water deity: **emári**
minuomb
- water: **awin**
awin poming (energized by the spirits of the dead)
- wattle: **tamrona kup**
- wave away: **emb**
- wave on sea: **kungun**
- way of doing things: **morasi**
- we: **yim**
- wear *v.*: **wi-(p/w)-o**
- well *adv.*: **tandiw**
- well for drawing water: **awin kapur**
- west: **arawer sirngar taw**
- wet *adj.*: **njawap**
- wet *v.*: **njawapki**
- what: **ambin**
ambukna nanunkna (what does it look like?)
ambukna titimbna (what color?)
- when: **ana sokop**
- where: **ana(kni)**
- which: **ambukna**
- whisper *n.*: **namasapi**
- whisper *v.*: **namasapiki**
- whistle *n.*: **mokwa**
powow
- whistle *v.*: **mokwa nir**
- white hair: **ngomkokirna**
- white man: **engin munje**
- white people: **embátoto**
engin
- white: **puwas**
- who: **ani**
- whose: **animat**
- why: **ambin ana**
- wide: **tapraw**
- widen *v.*: **tapraw**
- wild ball: **tamro**
- willingfulness: **kokir**
- wind: **awar**
mbankap
mbunim
ngamai
pora
- windpipe: **ngar orom**
- wing: **arit**
- wink *v.*: **ngino**
tik
- wire: **ambrim**
numun
timir
- wisdom: **misikap**
- with: **anire**
- wolf whistle: **powow**
- woman: **nonor**
- wood louse: **titipren**
- wood: **mbir**
otar kut
- work *n.*: **pruk**
- work *v.*: **prukki**
- worm: **kekékato**
- worry *n.*: **naimb**
wurengar
- worry *v.*: **wur-(p)-eki**
wure
- wrap up *v.*: **ndakin-(p)-o**
- wring *v.*: **irik-(p)-e**
- wrinkle *v.*: **minimbki**
- wrist: **ngomar onggar**

Y

- yam: **amboban**
amor
mojom
nono

yawn v.: **andadiki**

apik

yellow: **kikiuw**

yelp v.: **andruku**

yes: **awo**

ore

yesterday: **ewar**

yet: **ŋgo**

wakare reki

you: **yu**

you PL: **yum**

young person: **mambir**

yours SG: **yuwon**

yours PL: **yumon**

Appendix 1

English translation of Georg Höltker 1938. **Eine fragmentarische Wörterliste der Gapún-Sprache Newguineas.** *Anthropos* 33: 279–82

Translated by Agnes Brandt, edited by D. Kulick

EDITOR'S NOTE:

In his transcriptions of Tayap words, Höltker used “the Anthropos alphabet”, which was a catalogue of phonetic symbols employed by German missionaries and anthropologists at the time Höltker was writing. This alphabet is handily summarized in an article by Kirschbaum and von Führer-Haimendorf (1934: I-IV).¹ The symbols have not been used for over 40 years, but with the exception of one symbol – *ǣ*, which denotes what the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) would render /*ɛ/* – they should be intelligible to anyone familiar with the IPA. The lavish diacritics denote phonetic phenomena such as place of articulation, stress and vowel length.

The numbering of the examples in this translation corresponds to the numbering in the original article.

A fragmentary word list of the Gapún language of New Guinea

In August-September 1937, when I was spending some time with the missionary P. Josef Much, S.V.D., in the village of Wátam, the first coastal village South of the Sepik outlet in New Guinea, in order to collect ethnographic and anthropographic observations, we also had the opportunity to go on a day trip to the village of Gapún. On 6 September, we first travelled in a dugout canoe across the big Wátam lagoon from Wátam to the village of Wánggan (approximately three hours travelling time). Wánggan shares the same language as the villages of Kópar and Síngrin located at the lower Sepik river, a language completely different to the Wátam language. The next morning (7 Sept.), we crossed the lagoon towards the

¹ Kirschbaum, Franz J., and Christoph von Führer-Haimendorf 1934. *Anleitung zu ethnographischen und linguistischen Forschungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verhältnisse auf Neuguinea und den umliegenden Inseln.* Mödling bei Wien: Verlag der internationalen Zeitschrift Anthropos. I-IV.

Note: I gratefully acknowledge the director of the Anthropos Institut, Prof. Dr. Joachim Piepke, for granting me permission to publish a translation of Höltker's article as well as his two photographs of Gapun, and also for kindly providing me with the above text on the Anthropos alphabet.

Southern side and went on a good two-hour, rather arduous hike through forest and marshland until we reached Gápun.

Gapún is situated on top of a hill-crest, which on this side rises almost unexpectedly from the low-lying sago marshland up to a height of some 500 m. From the hill-crest the eye has a free view over the lower Sepik lowlands. One can also see the Marienberg [mission] station. According to the official census, Gápun has only 33 inhabitants. The few and poor village houses are randomly scattered across the hill-top, wherever the bare rock offers a couple of square meters of building ground. The building structure, which makes skilful use of the existing rock-formations as “stairs” or “house posts”, reminds me of similar conditions in the villages on the island of Ubrúb.

Unfortunately, we only had that one day (7 Sept.) for our Gapún trip, since we wanted to be back in Wánggan by evening. We went to the “spirit cave” famous among all the local natives, which is situated a good one-hour walk Southwest of Gapún. Apparently, no Kanaka [Ed. note: ‘no native’] has set foot inside this cave out of fear of the spirits who are supposed to dwell there in snake form. We found a small cave measuring a couple of square metres of ground area and of approximately 1.5m of height. It seems to have been formed by washouts. The walls consist of clay-coloured sedimentary rock. We did not find any traces of artefacts or human settlement. Supposedly, it used to be bigger in the past and it used to have a second opening, as P. F. J. Kirschbaum, S. V. D., told me recently, who years ago also visited the cave, something that all Kanakas still talk about with admiration. Our visit will probably become similarly famous among the natives in the foreseeable future, for even our relatively enlightened black carriers and cook boys did not dare to enter the cave with us.

As the above details imply, P. Much and I unfortunately only had time for a rest of some three hours in the village of Gapún itself. During this rest, we recorded the following word list of the Gapún language with the help of some older men. Consequently, we are not only aware that this list is of fragmentary coverage; we also know that the individual words lack the desired level of certitude. Even though we made every effort to record and write down the data, as any fieldworker knows, speech recordings are hardly ever free from fault at first transcription and unless they are frequently counter-checked at a later point in time. Nevertheless, it appears to me that the publication of this short word list is not without value. According to the natives, the Gapún language is spoken only in Gapún and has no relation whatsoever with other languages. With the necessary reservations, the word list may thus provide comparative linguistics with substantial research material, which may provide some clues, even if only a hint, as to the classification of this language. What is more, it seems unlikely that another researcher will “stumble across” Gapún any time soon, if only because of

the small chances of worthwhile academic yields in this small village community, and also because of the inconvenient and arduous route leading to this linguistic island. The publication of the word list at this point and in this form is thus reasonable and justified. The reproduction of the stock of phonemes follows the conventions of the Anthropos Alphabet.

Word list of the Gapún language.

World.

1.	sky	<i>ǰim</i>	3.	moon	<i>karéb</i>
2.	sun	<i>aráveř²</i>	4.	star	<i>gudúm</i>

Elements.

5.	fire	<i>otár</i>	13.	northwester	<i>ávár³</i>
6.	firewood	<i>tarúŋ</i>	14.	southeaster	<i>gamař⁴</i>
7.	hearth	<i>turór</i>	15.	north wind	<i>buním⁵</i>
8.	sea	<i>makás</i>	16.	forest wind	<i>báŋkap</i>
9.	water	<i>avín</i>	17.	cloud	<i>akún</i>
10.	rain	<i>tukúr</i>	18.	lightning	<i>uręráku⁶</i>
11.	river	<i>nuóm</i>	19.	thunder	<i>ǎrúǎř⁷</i>
12.	wind	<i>porá</i>			

Time.

20.	day	<i>aró</i>	23.	yesterday	<i>evár</i>
21.	night	<i>ikúr</i>	24.	tomorrow	<i>epí</i>
22.	today	<i>ěné</i>			

Numbers.

25.	one	<i>nambár</i>	30.	six	<i>daram-nambar-táunę-nambár</i>
26.	two	<i>seŋǎ</i>	31.	seven	<i>daram-nambar-táunę-seŋǎ</i>
27.	three	<i>manáŋ</i>			
28.	four	<i>tovořtovó</i>			
29.	five	<i>daram-nambár⁸</i>			

² Cf. Nubia language: *ra^u*, *ra^v*; Bosngun language: *táŋ* .

³ Cf. Nubia-Bosngun: *var*; Wátam language: *qár*.

⁴ Cf. Nubia: *gémi*; Bosngun: *gáme*; Wátam: *gamej*.

⁵ Cf. Pidgin: *punim*; Nubia: *bunúm*; Wátam; *bunim*.

⁶ Verb.

⁷ Verb.

⁸ "Hand-one".

32. eight	<i>daram-nambar-táũņę-manáũ</i>	35. eleven	<i>daram-sęńą-nambár</i>
33. nine	<i>daram-nambar-táũņę-tovotóvo</i>	36. twenty	<i>daram-sęńą-ndo-sęńą</i> ¹⁰
34. ten	<i>daram-sęńą</i> ⁹		

Plants.

37. garden	<i>mbará</i>	47. coconut palm	<i>pab</i>
38. digging stick	<i>nanjár</i>	48. coconut (ripe)	<i>ntáũ</i>
39. fence	<i>nyor</i>	49. coconut (unripe)	<i>makátok</i>
40. tree	<i>ņam</i>	50. banana	<i>ikín</i>
41. trunk	<i>ņam-oróm</i>	51. yam	<i>nonór</i>
42. root	<i>ņam-tomót</i>	52. taro	<i>măndũár</i> ¹¹
43. branch	<i>ņam-ņgan-dukór</i>	53. sago palm	<i>nyam</i>
44. twig	<i>ņam-dukor-motsóp</i>		
45. leaf	<i>ņam-ayár</i>		
46. flower	<i>ņam-ĩnú</i>		

Fauna.

54. pig	<i>mbor</i>	60. kangaroo	<i>kanúnę</i>
55. boar	<i>mbor-mür</i>	61. rat	<i>kokótsik</i>
56. sow	<i>mbor-ņonęór</i> ¹²	62. bird	<i>tam</i>
57. dog	<i>ņđžar</i>	63. cassowary	<i>ņgad</i>
58. dog tooth	<i>máņęęor</i>	64. crocodile	<i>orém</i>
59. dog's-tooth necklace	<i>máņęęor-am</i>	65. fish	<i>ņęomár</i>

Body Parts.

66. head	<i>kokér</i>	70. cheek	<i>ndabór</i>
67. brain	<i>zikin</i>	71. scalp hair	<i>kokér-ņęri</i>
68. forehead	<i>atárum</i>	72. body hair	<i>pupúr</i>
69. temple	<i>ginómbot</i>	73. hair shaft	<i>káũt</i> ¹³

⁹ "Hand-two".

¹⁰ "Hand-two-foot-two".

¹¹ Cf. Wátam; *mandún*. – It should be noted that the designation of crop plants etc. remained inconclusive insofar as it could not be determined whether collectives or varieties were given. The Kanakas often distinguish an alarming wealth of individual varieties.

¹² "Pig-female".

¹³ Melanesian loan word; cf. Manam language: *káũta*; Biem language: *káũt*; also e.g. in Nubia and Bosngun: *kóũt* as loan word.

74. eye	<i>ŋgino</i>	94. palm of hand	<i>darām-imin</i> ¹⁴
75. eyelid	<i>ŋgino-mbórt</i>	95. back of hand	<i>darām-bqár</i> ¹⁵
76. eyebrow	<i>ŋgino-mbórt-pupúr</i>	96. finger	<i>darām-sikrím</i>
77. eyeball	<i>ŋgino-ręřēm</i>	97. arm	<i>akán</i>
78. eyelash	<i>ŋgino-ręřēm-na-pupúr</i>	98. elbow	<i>akan-burnād-</i> <i>tsokórb</i>
79. mouth	<i>ⁿsik</i>	99. shoulder	<i>tumbúr</i>
80. lip	<i>daděmbqan</i>	100. foot	<i>ndo</i>
81. tongue	<i>maríd</i>	101. leg	<i>bqár</i>
82. tooth	<i>ndévi</i>	102. knee	<i>muŋgíp</i>
83. throat	<i>garoróp</i>	103. lower leg	<i>bqar-mosóp</i>
84. chin	<i>ŋgakra</i>	104. toe	<i>ndo-sikrím</i>
85. neck	<i>potá^k</i>	105. chest	<i>nambúr</i>
86. nose	<i>ráuⁿ</i>	106. breast	<i>min</i>
87. nasal wing	<i>rau-ndērík</i>	107. belly	<i>imin</i>
88. nasal septum	<i>rau-nakúr</i>	108. back	<i>bqár</i>
89. nostril	<i>rau-ŋqóáb</i>	109. buttocks	<i>kāndám</i>
90. ear	<i>nekéi</i>		
91. earhole	<i>nekéi-ŋqóáb</i>		
92. earwax	<i>nekéi-napab</i>		
93. hand	<i>darām</i>		

Some Other Words.

110. man	<i>mundžar</i>	119. spirit house	<i>oŋgár</i>
111. old man	<i>mundžar-kovót</i>	120. door	<i>naq</i>
112. boy	<i>mundžar-ŋrórę</i>	121. roof	<i>patēr-gámur</i>
113. woman	<i>ŋoŋgór</i>	122. saucepan	<i>oŋgáb</i>
114. old woman	<i>ŋoŋgór-kovót</i>	123. wooden	<i>parú</i>
115. girl	<i>ŋoŋgór-ŋrórę</i>	bowl	
116. child	<i>ŋrórę</i>	124. limbum	<i>kāngēr</i>
117. house	<i>patēr</i>	container	
118. men's house	<i>āmbágei</i>	125. club	<i>tsauváranga</i>

GEORG HÖLTKER, currently Bogia (New Guinea)

¹⁴ “Hand-belly”.¹⁵ Cf. numbers 101, 103, 108.

Appendix 2

Two photographs of Gapun village taken in 1937 by Georg Höltker



Figure 1: Gapun village in 1937, photograph by Georg Höltker.

Note: Many thanks to Harald Grauer for finding these two photographs in Höltker's archived papers and alerting me to their existence.



Figure 2: Gapun village in 1937, photograph by Georg Höltker

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