

From mountain talk to hidden talk: Continuity and change in Awiakay registers

Darja Hoenigman

The Australian National University

When the Awiakay of East Sepik Province in Papua New Guinea left their village or bush camps and went to the mountains, they used a different linguistic register, ‘mountain talk’, in which several lexical items are replaced by their avoidance terms. In this way the Awiakay would prevent mountain spirits from sending sickness or dense fog in which they would get lost on their journeys. Over the last decade people’s trips to the mountain have become more frequent due to the eaglewood business. However, Christianity caused a decline in the use of ‘mountain talk’. Yet a linguistic register similar in its form and function has sprung up in a different setting: *kay menda*, ‘different talk’, or what people sometimes call ‘hidden talk’, is used when the Awiakay go to the town to sell eaglewood and buy goods.

Like other cultural phenomena, linguistic registers are historical formations, which change in form and value over time. This paper aims to show how although in a different social setting, with an expanded repertoire and a slightly different function, *kay menda* is in a way a continuity of the ‘mountain talk’.

1. INTRODUCTION. This paper will look at two linguistic registers practiced by the Awiakay people.¹ One of these, which we can refer to as ‘mountain talk’, was originally used when travelling to the mountains, but is now more or less obsolete. The other, newly developed register, which we can name ‘hidden talk’, is used when Awiakay people travel to town. Both are referred to as *kay menda* ‘different language’ or *kay momba* ‘different talk’ by the Awiakay. I will explore the ways in which ‘hidden talk’ can be viewed as a continuation of ‘mountain talk’.

It is not uncommon for languages of the New Guinea Highlands to have special linguistic registers characterised by lexical substitutions and used in particular social contexts. In Kewa, for example, the use of a special speech variety is associated with notions of high mountains being inhabited by wild dogs and spirits from whom one must protect oneself. Similarly, Huli use a special vocabulary when travelling through country inhabited by demons (Franklin 1972). Other ‘hidden languages’ are used in ritually restricted contexts: while hunting (Telefol trapping rats; *ibid.*), or on pandanus harvesting expeditions when cooking and eating cassowary (Pawley 1992), etc. However, some of these registers have declined (Franklin & Stefaniw 1992).

While several authors have looked into lexical substitution registers, few have attempted to trace the diachronic changes. This paper will show how the use of a register is adapted to new socio-economic circumstances. The example of ‘hidden talk’ provides us with the rare opportunity of analysing this process while it unfolds.

2. THE AWIAKAY AND THEIR LANGUAGE. Awiakay is a Papuan language spoken by 300 people living in Kanjimei village in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea (see map 1).² The village itself is located on the Konmei River, which is a tributary of the Karawari, while the major part of the Awiakay land stretches south into the mountains.

¹ This paper was originally presented at Workshop on the Languages of Papua 2: *Melanesian Languages on the Edge of Asia: Past Present and Future* in Manokwari, Indonesia, 8-12 February 2010. I would like to thank Nick Evans for inviting me to participate at the conference and for suggestions on how to improve the paper. For valuable comments on earlier drafts I wish to thank Christian Döhler, Bethwyn Evans, Andrew Pawley, Alan Rumsey, Lila San Roque and Borut Telban. The accompanying films would be but mere cuts without the expertise and artistic eye of Gary Kildea who was generous with his time and patience in helping me edit the footage and subtitle the edited segments. *Tenkyu tumas, Masta G!* I am also grateful to the two referees, Rupert Stasch and Lourens DeVries, for their detailed reviews of the paper and helpful suggestions for further work on this subject. My greatest debt, however, lies with the Awiakay people for sharing their lifeworld with me.

² Awiakay is not only how the speakers refer to their language, but it is also used by the inhabitants of Kanjimei to refer to themselves.



MAP 1. Kanjimei - Wewak route

The Awiakay economy remains largely a subsistence one. People supplement their sago diet by hunting, fishing and gathering. Gardening is of minor importance.³



FIGURE 1. Tikinjao washing sago

Nowadays, all Awiakay adults are bilingual in Tok Pisin and Awiakay. Multilingualism in other local languages is less common, but it occurs in the few families where one spouse is from the neighbouring Asangmut village. Among adult Awiakay, the use of Tok Pisin is confined mainly to situations where it functions as a language of authority. Code-switching between Tok Pisin and Awiakay occurs in public speeches, in quarrels and in other situations where a speaker (of any gender and age) wants to take an authoritative position in the communicative act. All children are fluent in Awiakay, but acquire Tok Pisin at a very early stage. They are addressed primarily in Awiakay, while Tok Pisin is used for scolding.

Words from Tok Pisin – particularly ones denoting items and concepts which have entered the village from the outside – do enter Awiakay and are used in everyday speech. Many of them are nativised, that is, adapted to the rules of Awiakay phonology and morphology. Moreover, Tok Pisin verbs which are borrowed into Awiakay acquire a special suffix, *-bapo-*, which is attached to the borrowing and precedes the normal Awiakay verb ending (cf. Hoeningman 2007: 209). For example, Tok Pisin verb ‘buy’ gets adapted by

³ There is both linguistic and cultural evidence that gardening has been adopted relatively recently (Hoeningman 2007: 102-4).

adding the ‘Awiakayser’ *-bapo-*, as well as Awiakay tense, number and person endings.⁴

- (1) *baim* → *baim-bapo-pali-k*
 (TP) buy (TP) buy-LA-PRES-1SG

As we shall see, Awiakay words have also been coined for many of these borrowings, but are only used in specific situations.

3. AWIAKAY ‘MOUNTAIN TALK’. The Awiakay employ four basic terms to describe their landscape: *andaj* ‘swamp’, *mip* ‘flood plain’, *palakay* ‘flat ground’, and *pondonj*, which denotes land of significantly higher elevation than its surroundings and can be translated as ‘mountain’. The Awiakay consider their mountainous land to begin above ~70m above sea level, with the highest mountain on Awiakay land, Injaij, being 1,331m above sea level.

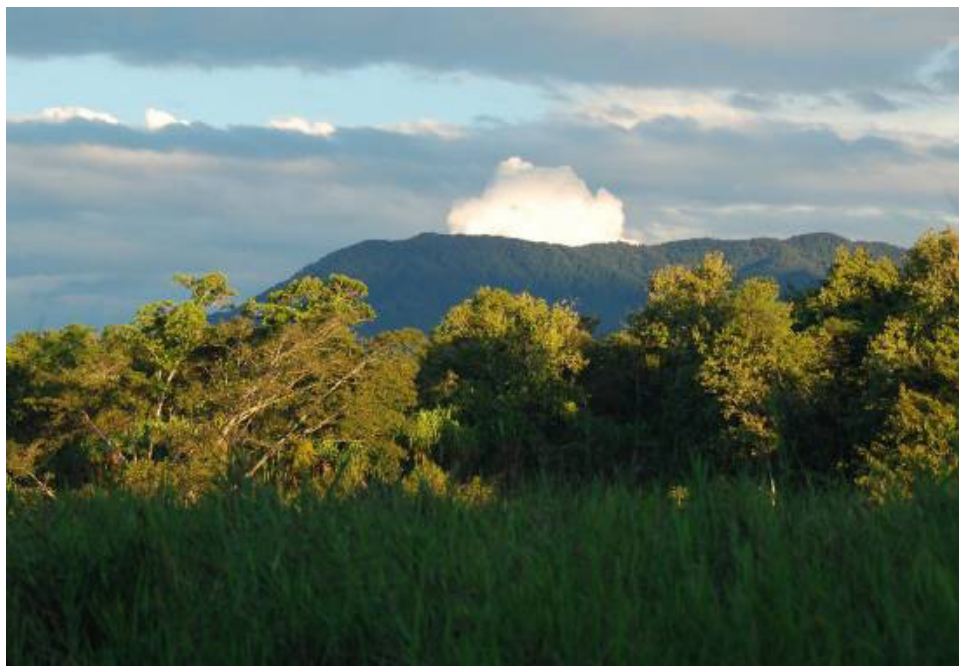


FIGURE 2. Injaij

⁴ Nonstandard abbreviations to be found in this paper: (TP) for Tok Pisin; LA for loan adaptation.



FIGURE 3. Drawing Awiakay mountains and creeks

Before the commercial eaglewood⁵ trade, which started in the Awiakay region just before 2000, the Awiakay went to the mountains mainly in search of *kanuŋ isa* ‘blackpalm’, which they used for making bows, or for short hunting trips. Such trips were restricted to some mountains only, as others were perceived to be heavily populated by both *endemban* ‘mountain spirits’ and *tangia* ‘spirits of the dead’, the latter being particularly malevolent. On these trips people used to employ a different linguistic register, which I refer to as ‘mountain talk’, in which certain lexical items are replaced by avoidance terms. There is a myth about a man who became lost in the mountains and met a female mountain spirit. This spirit hid him and taught him the avoidance terms for animals, plants and foods which people should use while in the mountains. Some of these lexical prohibitions and their replacements are mentioned in the myth. Today Awiakay people remember no more than some 20 avoidance terms.

⁵ Eaglewood (*Gyrinops ledermannii*) or Tok Pisin *garu*, from Indonesian *gaharu*, is known for its fragrant resin, which Awiakay call *is-kamia* (literally ‘tree-meat’/‘wooden meat’). It is produced as the tree’s response to an injury and is thus found only in a small percentage of eaglewood trees. This black resinous wood is highly sought after by traders because of its commercial value, and is sold to Middle Eastern countries and Japan “for religious, medical, ceremonial and domestic activities by Asian Buddhists and Moslems” (Gunn et al. 2004:1).

Ordinary Awiakay	Mountain Awiakay
<i>aisia</i> 'eel'	no term should be used at all
<i>ayngwan</i> 'flying fox'	<i>apuria</i> 'type of bee'
<i>kamdok</i> 'cloud'	<i>kandukya</i> 'white'
<i>kawin</i> 'mountain bird – spirit of a dead man'	<i>tiñe pawiakay</i> 'red bird'
<i>kayma</i> 'cassowary'	<i>tumanjingoy</i> 'the hairy one' OR <i>kondamin panba</i> 'two legs'
<i>kongonon</i> 'a tall type of ginger (<i>Alpinia sp.</i>)' (= name of a mountain spirit)	<i>is kanga</i> 'tree leaf'
<i>momok (tawa)</i> 'spine of a type of cane which the Awiakay use in circular roof building' (= name of a mountain spirit)	<i>injam kanja</i> 'cane tooth'
<i>munguma</i> 'termites' nest'	<i>nam tapuka</i> 'old woman'
<i>tao</i> 'sago spines'	<i>andangamgoy kolokot</i> 'something belonging to swamp' OR no term should be used at all
<i>tay</i> 'sago'	<i>kandukya kolokotay</i> 'white food'
<i>umbun</i> 'slit drum' OR 'garamut tree (<i>Vitex confossus</i>)' from which slit drums are made	no term should be used at all
<i>yaki</i> 'tobacco'	<i>emwi kolokolay</i> 'the smoking thing'
<i>yambuka</i> 'leaves of a type of ginger' (= name of a mountain spirit)	<i>is kanga</i> 'tree leaf' OR no term should be used at all
name of any fish found in the upper parts of Awiakay creeks	no term should be used at all

TABLE 1. Avoidance terms in mountain Awiakay

By using this linguistic register, the Awiakay would satisfy the demands of mountain spirits and prevent them from carrying out malevolent acts, such as sending sickness or

dense fog in which they would get lost.

Over the last decade, people's trips to the mountains have become more frequent due to the commercial eaglewood trade. This wood grows mainly at altitudes between 70 and 850m. On Awiakay land this is the region south of Kanjimei, where the land starts rising into the mountains (see map 1).

As people spent more time in the mountains, one might expect that 'mountain talk' would thrive (at least I did). However, a Catholic charismatic movement, which the Awiakay accepted in 1995, demanded of people that they radically cut their traditions and break their relationships with the spirits (Telban 2008a, b, 2009) – and therefore with their land.⁶ Sickness (and even death) caused by not thoroughly implementing the expected practices would now no longer be inflicted by the spirits for *not* following their demands, but rather by God for following them. In order to protect themselves from God's anger, people were now forced to abandon the very practices which used to protect them from spirits, which has meant a gradual decline in the use of 'mountain talk'.



FIGURE 4. Searching for eaglewood at Umbim

4. AWIAKAY 'HIDDEN TALK'. While 'mountain talk' has declined, a new linguistic register rather similar in its form and function has sprung up in a different setting. *Kay menda*

⁶ The Awiakay gradually accepted Christianity in the 1960s. Catholic missionaries who occasionally visited the village put most effort into uprooting initiation rites, while many of the customary practices connected with spirits continued to coexist with the nominal Christianity.

‘different language’, or what I will refer to as ‘hidden talk’ is used when the Awiakay go to the town to sell the eaglewood which they have harvested, and to buy goods.

Wewak is the provincial capital and has in recent years become frequently visited by people from remote areas who come to sell eaglewood and small quantities of gold. In the early years of the eaglewood trade Indonesian buyers would themselves travel around the province to buy the aromatic wood. However, this became dangerous, as it was known that they were carrying huge amounts of money, and they were often robbed (reportedly two of them were even killed in early 2004 in an attack on the Sepik River). When the initial boom in the eaglewood trade declined, these foreign buyers did not earn enough to be willing to take the risks and so they gave up their field trips. On the other hand, people whose land is rich in eaglewood earned enough to buy outboard motors and started travelling to Wewak themselves, to sell their eaglewood and also to buy goods which can only be obtained in town.⁷ This increase in visitors with money who are not used to town has coincided with an increase in crime. It is not uncommon for visitors to town to be robbed of all their possessions.

Being aware of these dangers, the Awiakay people try to be extremely cautious when in Wewak, and have (among other things, such as carrying cassowary bone daggers) started practising ‘hidden talk’. Hidden talk is a register of lexical substitution, in which all Tok Pisin borrowings, which are used in everyday Awiakay in the village – and may therefore be understood by outsiders – are replaced by newly-coined Awiakay terms. Coining new words for newly introduced items and concepts is a common practice in many languages of New Guinea. But what makes this phenomenon different from similar processes in other languages is the special function that the Awiakay attribute to these newly-coined expressions in their vernacular (namely concealing the meaning of commonly used Tok Pisin borrowings), and the special social setting in which this is done (not in the village, but when going to the town). In other words, it is important to note that Tok Pisin terms – particularly ones denoting items and concepts which have entered the village from the outside – *do* enter everyday Awiakay as it is used in the village. Even though many of these borrowings have been nativised by adapting them to the rules of Awiakay phonology and morphology, they are nonetheless parts of the Awiakay language (which is not spoken by people from other villages and even less so by anyone in the town) that could be understood by other people. Awiakay words have therefore been coined for many of these loans, but they are primarily used in situations requiring *kay menda*, while Tok Pisin terms continue to be used in Kanjimei.⁸

To illustrate how *kay menda* works, consider how people refer to a 44-gallon drum. In Tok Pisin this is *fotifo*. A traditional item with the most similar function to a drum was a bucket made from a large bamboo, used for carrying water. In Awiakay it is called *yomoy*,

⁷ Out of six outboard motors in Kanjimei four were bought with people’s earnings from selling eaglewood.

⁸ In certain situations, when the Awiakay people want to conceal their talk from visitors from other villages, they will resort to *kay menda* even at home in Kanjimei, but typically this register is used whenever they go to town.

and people adopted this term to replace *fotifo*. However, while at home (on their land), the Awiakay would continually use *fotifo*, but leaving their land, particularly when going to town, they would call it *yomoy* when speaking Awiakay to each other.

So far I have collected about 120 Awiakay creations used in *kay menda* in place of Tok Pisin terms (see Appendix). We can divide these terms into five groups according to the way in which they were created:

1 – terms which denote objects with similar functions

- wallet: (TP) hanpaus → *kundambi* ‘coconut fibre for storing tobacco’

2 – terms which denote objects similar in form (they look similar)

- petrol: (TP) petrol → *yom* ‘water’
- balloon: (TP) balun → *mumba* ‘bladder’
- gold: (TP) gol → *kiŋim* ‘sand’

3 – descriptive terms

- store: (TP) stoa → *kolokot yawa* ‘things house’
- bra: (TP) susu kalabus → *isik ulakaplakay* ‘(something that) covers breasts’

4 – lexical calques

- toilet: (TP) haus pekpek → *eneŋ yawa* ‘shit house’

5 – absurdly incongruous terms (a word denoting something that people find disgusting is used for something they find delicious on the basis of physical resemblance)

- noodles: (TP) nudols → *kundam enga* ‘earthworm shit’
- chocolate cream: (TP) soklit krim → *eneŋ mola* ‘diarrhoea/rotting shit’
- tinned (mushroom) sauce: (TP) (?) → *mengwak* ‘vomit’

Although coining new words for newly introduced items and concepts is a common practice in many languages of New Guinea, it is the special function that the Awiakay have attributed to using these newly-coined expressions in their vernacular (i.e. concealing the meaning of commonly used Tok Pisin borrowings) and the special social setting in which this is done (i.e. not in the village, but when going to the town) which makes this phenomenon different from similar processes in other languages.

Some of the examples of how *kay menda* is used can be drawn from a video recorded eaglewood selling trip to Wewak in September 2009.

In spite of a fortnight without any rain in the mountains, which would fill up the creeks that would send water to the Karawari river, the Kangrimei passage was still navigable, which saved Desmon Asuk, Dicson Tumak, Sailus Kaim, Justin Pupi and me a whole afternoon’s journey down the Karawari River. Apart from shortening the long journey, using this shortcut also means that the Awiakay can save about five gallons of petrol (and a bit more on the way back when going upriver), trade for food with the people from

Karawari-speaking Kaiwaria and Masandanai villages along the channel and overnight in one of their camps. Kangrimei was very low though, so we had to turn off the motor so as not to hit the branches and tree trunks lying at the bottom. While paddling, Asuk, who is more experienced in travelling to town, started a conversation in which he repeated for the younger boys and me how we should behave when we come to Wewak.⁹

KAY MENDA – FILM 1 transcript

- Asuk: *Noŋ omgusanda aŋ kak pekeŋgoy enduŋ opiangombemgoy* 1
olukunja taŋan aka paŋgumbem iskamia salim bapoŋgapekeŋbop.
 When you meet somebody in the town, don't tell them that we
 came down to sell tree meat [eaglewood].
Aunda yameŋga pekeŋ. Taŋan paŋgumbem.
 We just came down for a trip. Tell them that.
Ya noŋ kele koŋ kakanua: "Aka aunda, aunda yameŋga pekua."
 And they will say: "True, they just came for a trip."
- Sailus: *Yo. Aŋ opepaluŋ.* 5
 Yes. We know [what to do].
- Asuk: *Taŋan ponua.*
 That's what they'll think.
Ya elak kele emepanda ulakapep pakayamenanŋ aŋgumgoy kolokot
kele.
 That's how we will be able to hide what it is we are carrying.
- Sailus: *Emepanda tok.*
 That's good.
- Asuk: *Mawia tok kele.*
 It's great.
- Sailus: *Mawia.* 10
 Great.

⁹ In the transcript lexical substitutes are bolded and underlined. In translation, original Awiakay meanings are underlined, while their 'hidden', *kay menda* meanings follow in square brackets, e.g. *iskamia* (lexical substitute) is translated tree meat [eaglewood]. Tok Pisin expressions are *blue and underlined like this*. In the transcripts the translations are more faithful to the original Awiakay text, while they had to be slightly modified (shortened) for subtitling purposes. The transcripts come first so that the reader can become familiar with the meaning of avoidance terms before watching the films, which are an integral part of this paper. In the subtitles lexical substitutes are in yellow. In order to illustrate how *kay menda* works, I have glossed Awiakay terms using their original Awiakay meanings, rather than their *kay menda* meanings, e.g. I have glossed *ikakapan* as 'carving' (ordinary Awiakay) instead of 'writing' (*kay menda*).

- Asuk: *Koŋgotmay an anda aka yañaŋgunay elañ an. An aka yañaŋgunay.*
Koŋgotmay [Darja] will not tell them either. She won't tell.
- Pupi: *An opepon.*
She knows.
- Darja: *Niŋ ... niŋ anda opepalik.*
I ... I know.
- Asuk: *M-m. Anda opepon. Aka yañaŋgunay.*
M-hm [agrees]. She knows. She won't tell.
- Darja: *Andoposa opepalik.* 15
I know that very well.
- Asuk: *Elak tok aŋgumgoy kunja kolokota elakay paypmanga epaluŋgoy tok.*
This is the only thing we get stones [money] for.
- Darja: *Yo.*
Yes.
- Asuk: *Akanja olukunjan mokongunuam epop emayn, emay kunjanjan.*
Bad people can mug us. Sorcerers [rascals] or sorcerer children [pickpockets].
- Darja: *Emay wakon. Kumbi akanja Wewak.*
There are many sorcerers [rascals] there. Wewak is a bad place.
- Asuk: *Elaŋ anduŋ ... Elaŋ anduŋ koŋ aka kakapaluŋ.* 20
That stuff [of ours]... let's not talk about it at all.
Aŋ anda tui mambipep, pakambaluŋña, s-salimbapopaluŋña, ya koŋ wambopaluŋ.
We'll just hide it, bring it there, sell it and come back upriver.

The reader is now invited to watch a film excerpt from our trip to the town, which is available at <http://youtu.be/tLzLCpwz6Aw> [1:22].

The Awiakay are afraid of being held by rascals and robbed, so eaglewood selling trips are always permeated with secrecy. No one ever discusses their business with people whom they meet on the river or in the camps where they overnight, let alone with anyone in the town. Wewak is perceived to be a dangerous place, yet one where the Awiakay can get all the goods they desire. Young boys already learn that by listening to the conversations of the more experienced men in the village, but Asuk repeats it in order to make sure that it is clear to all of us. As I had travelled to town to sell eaglewood with other men before, all the boys knew that I had learned how important it was to keep our business secret (line 11). In line 16 Asuk explains that selling eaglewood is the only way in which they can get money. This, however, attracts robbers and pickpockets, for whom he uses *kay menda* terms, *emay*, (TP *sanguma*) '(assault-)sorcerer', and *emay kunjanja*, '(assault-) sorcerer children' in the

meaning of ‘pickpockets’ (line 18). Calling names of dangerous entities is often avoided,¹⁰ so although the five of us are alone in the canoe on the Kangrimei, and there is no danger of anyone else overhearing our conversation, he chooses to use *kay menda* terms for rascals.

As it started getting dark we decided to spend the night at Kambatiman, a Masandanai camp in the middle of the Kangrimei passage, about halfway to Angoram (see map 1). We were not alone there – a family from a nearby Kaiwaria village stayed in another shelter. That is why Tumak and I used *kay menda* to replace Tok Pisin terms which could reveal Tumak’s plans in town.

KAY MENDA – FILM 2 transcript

- Darja: *Tumak, o!* 1
 Hey, Tumak.
Amba... amba im... amba momba ikakapan?
 What... what are you do... what are you carving [writing]?
- Tumak: *Amba ...? Ey!*
 What ...? Oh [looks up in surprise]!
Paypmanda... paypmanda George sakay mamgoy ba! emba tike mimbia ikakapalik.
 Stones [money] ... stones ... I am carving [writing] the name of the stones [amount of money] George’s [wife] gave me to take [buy] a ball.
- Darja: *Yo. M-m. Kaykay olukunja givi! paypmanda. Yo.* 5
 Yes. M-hm. Many people gave stones [money] to you. Yes.
- Tumak: *Ponde ba! epep pakinakoy Tanday sakay.*
 Tomorrow I will take [buy] a ball for Tanday [George’s son] and take it back upriver [to the village].

Now please watch <http://youtu.be/D4I3SijASw8> [0:37].

When asked what he was doing, Tumak was taken by surprise when he saw me with a video camera. As he was aware of the presence of people from another village (a Kaiwaria woman was sitting in a nearby wind house and approached when we started speaking), and possibly reminded by myself using a ‘hidden’ term for writing, he knew that he had to replace the expressions like ‘money’ and ‘buy’, with their *kay menda* terms. However, we could hear him hesitating, carefully thinking how to formulate his sentences.

Arriving in Angoram in the early afternoon of the following day and storing the canoe with the Imanmeri people, we managed to find an early ‘backload’ truck that was going to

¹⁰ Even in the village people would often avoid using a word for e.g. a harmful spirit. Instead of saying *nungum* ‘gigantic python’ when describing a picture where a speaker believed this creature was threatening a man depicted in the drawing, he would say *kalak ambam* ‘this what’ or *kolokolay* ‘this thing’.

take us to Wewak. The major part of the journey was over and although the ride along the dirt road to Wewak is a rough one, the men who were in charge of the canoe could now take some rest. There were only a couple of other people sitting on the truck and waiting with us, and the leisurely conversation that took place did not involve anything that would demand secrecy, but the closer to Wewak the Awiakay get, the more urge they feel to speak among themselves in a way that other people do not understand them.¹¹

KAY MENDA – FILM 3 transcript

Asuk:	<i>Mawia tok.</i> Great.	1
Sailus:	<i>Pekepiaŋ, pekepiaŋ, ya ambuŋ.</i> We came downriver and we are going now. <i>Kumap mandan</i> <i>koloŋ. Tom...</i> We're in the <u>coconut shell</u> . Later...	
Asuk:	<i>Aka <i>kumap manda. Yomgoŋ manda!</i></i> [interrupts] Not <u>coconut shell</u> . <u>Turtle shell</u> [car/truck]!	
Sailus:	<i>Yomgoŋ manda. Yomgoŋ mandan</i> <i>koloŋ ya. Ambopalun.</i> <u>Turtle shell</u> . We're in a <u>turtle shell</u> [car/truck]. We're going. [we're on our way.]	5
Asuk:	<i>Ambopalun ya...</i> Yep, we're going. [we're on our way.]	
Tumak:	<i>Ambembapopalun ya, <i>taunun.</i></i> Now we are going to town.	
Asuk:	<i>Yomgoŋ mandan</i> <i>koloŋep onga kolopalun ya.</i> We're sitting together in our <u>turtle shell</u> [car/truck] now. <i>Unja tok keke Wapiak yomonan.</i> Now [tonight] we will sleep in Wewak.	
	<i>Mawia.</i> Great.	10

Now please watch <http://youtu.be/rvZaC41ZPKc> [0:48].

Individuals first become acquainted with *kay menda* in the village, but only put it into practice when travelling to town. Every trip to the town is therefore a training for the boys who are not yet fully competent in this register. They are taught *kay menda* by the more experienced men. These also correct the boys when they make mistakes. Film 3 shows how Asuk corrects Sailus, who calls car 'coconut shell' instead of 'turtle shell'.

¹¹ After one of the internal village fights Pupi's brother Namay said: "*Gutpelaq taŋ buŋ aka ambaluŋ. Taunun aninangoy tok pukuninan.*" 'We never get together at good times. When we go to the town, we think of each other.' [In the village we tend to quarrel and fight. But when we go to the town we stick together as one and take care of each other.]

When they are in Wewak, the Awiakay normally overnight with people in Masandanai camp at Kria (Kreer market), a settlement of the Karawari-speaking communities. Although they are on friendly terms with Karawari people (albeit not their wantoks), they find it very important to conceal their business and plans from them. The boy we see sitting and writing in film 4 after we arrive in Wewak is a Masandanai boy who goes to school in town, the others are Awiakay, discussing their plans for the following day.

KAY MENDA – FILM 4 transcript

Asuk:	<i>Noŋ amba kolokota mae enamin nan?</i>	1
	What will you <u>take</u> [buy].	
Sailus:	<i>Niŋ aninakoy ... amba ... enjaninak ...</i>	
	I will go ... what... go and <u>take</u> [buy] ...	
Asuk:	<i>Pisikanda, pisikanda kakaym.</i>	
	Quickly [come on] tell me.	
Sailus:	<i>Ya, amba oŋga enjaninak?</i>	
	Yes, what is it I'm <u>taking</u> [buying]?	
	<i>Amba endeplakay.</i>	5
	What ... they strain [stuff] with it.	
Pupi:	<i>Tay munga ...</i>	
	Sago starch ...	
Sailus:	<i>Tay munga endeplakay.</i>	
	They strain sago starch [with it].	
Tumak:	<i>Streina.</i>	
	A strainer.	
Asuk:	<i>Aka pukupan.</i>	
	You don't remember.	
Sailus:	<i>Iss! Elak an aka koŋim. Numbinman!</i>	10
	Iss, don't call its name. You fucker!	
Tumak:	[laughs]	
Asuk:	<i>Aunda endañ aka tapuka yaŋinak.</i>	
	No other way of telling him.	
	<i>Kak.</i>	
	Tell us.	
Sailus:	<i>Kak mom agalon ...</i>	
	Nothing more to tell ...	
Asuk:	<i>[Niŋ ponde anakoy + coughing in the background]. Kamboy kondamin</i>	15
	<i>enakoy, eŋa kunjakanta, taŋan enak.</i>	
	[Tomorrow I will go] and <u>take</u> [buy] two <u>stone axes</u> [axes] and a bushknife.	

- Sailus: *Amba tok **yom eṅambongoy**.*
 And what else, she [Darja] will take [buy] water [petrol].
Ya tok wakonduy okokoaninaṅ.
 We'll all go with her.
- Asuk: *Elak tok. Wakonduy anay.*
 That's it. We'll all go [together].
- Tumak: ***Yom epep** embepenaṅ...* 20
 We'll go and take [buy] the water [petrol] ...
- Asuk: ***Yom** omgusanda eṅambopep, kaṅ embepenaṅ.*
 We will all go to get the water [petrol] and bring it here.
- Tumak: *... kaṅ embepenaṅ.*
 ... we'll put it here.
- Sailus: *Mae anamgoy ambaṅ anayke **tasia yawan**. Amba pondanayke*
 First she'll go to her what... spirit house. To take out ... what?
- Asuk: ***Paypmanga** eṅanambop.*
 She will go and take stones [money].
- Sailus: ***Paypmanda** enayke ...* 25
 When she takes the stones [money] from ...
- Asuk: *... **paypmanga yawa** ...*
 ... the house of stones [bank] ...
- Sailus: *... anamgoy kolokot **enayke**, pakapukundinaṅ mae.* 27
 ... and takes [buys] her things, we'll load them [onto the truck].

Now please watch <http://youtu.be/INnBhGApTxc> [1:52].

Asuk asks Sailus what he is going to buy, and Sailus hesitates with his answer, not knowing what to call 'the thing for straining sago flour' in *kay menda*. He avoids using the Tok Pisin term by calling it 'what for straining' (line 5), 'what' standing for 'that thing' (cf. fn. 3). Both Pupi and Sailus are searching for the right term (lines 6 and 7) when Tumak gives up and calls a Tok Pisin word *streina* 'strainer' (line 8) at the same time when Asuk says that they cannot remember. Tumak is instantly reprimanded by Sailus who calls him 'fucker' (line 10), which makes them all laugh, but Asuk defends him by saying that there was no other way of telling this (line 12), as he himself, as the most competent speaker of *kay menda* and the leader of this trip to Wewak, cannot think of a suitable avoidance term. The conversation continues by Asuk telling what he will buy the next day and turns to how they are all going to go with me to buy petrol and bring it to Masandanai camp. Sailus is stuck again when he wants to say that I first need to go to the bank to take out my money. By calling the bank a 'spirit house' (line 23) he is confused again, and uses *amba* 'what' even when he wants to refer to money. Asuk helps him out by reminding him of both terms, *paypmanga* 'stones' for money and *paypmanga yawa* 'stone-house' for bank (lines 24 and 26). Sailus corrects himself by using an alternative term for money, *paypmanda*, saying that when I take out my money and buy all the goods, we will load it all onto a truck (for Angoram).

In situations like this *kay menda* becomes a kind of a mind game which all participants enjoy, even though its primary purpose is to make the Awiakay feel safer while in town. The next day we went shopping. As Asuk wanted to put some of the money he earned with eaglewood in the bank, he and Pupi went to do this business, while Sailus, Tumak and I went to the shops.

KAY MENDA – FILM 5 transcript

- Tumak: *Wakon. Skulun pakayamenakpokoy bag kalakiay enapok.* 1
So many. If I could take [buy] this bag I could carry it to school.
- Sailus: *Aka anda. Skulun pakayamenakpokoy bag kalakiay enapok.*
True. If I could take [buy] this bag I could carry it to school.
- Tumak: *Aka kolokot. Paypmanda tonaypeke wakon aka kiay enapok.*
What a thing! If I had lots of stones [money], I would take [buy] many.
- Sailus: *Kandikak. Andangun yaka yamblakay. Andangun.*
Here. [Something for] wandering around in swamps [gum boots].
For swamps.
Andangun yaka yamblakay... 5
[Something for] wandering around in swamps [gum boots] ...
- Tumak: *Bag, o!*
Oh, bag!
Mawiakay kalak.
This is a great one.
- Sailus: *Emay kalak yambongoy, poka pukulakana pokoy anda kaykay wakakanaype.*
If this sorcerer [rascal] keeps tailing us, I will bash his face till he screams.
- Sailus: *Amba pia kandikakay?*
Is this a piece of something?
- Tumak: *Kolokot munayambla.* 10
[See], they are wandering around and looking at things.
Apiay sakay amba pisipmgoy, tawel pisip.
This is like Apiay's what ... like a towel.
- Sailus: *Amgam? Wakon.*
How much? A lot.
- Tumak: *Pokonun pasiplakay.*
Something to clean your face with [towel].
Kujanja amgoy tananim?
Is it for children?
- Sailus: *Tom kele elokiay oponanak.* 15
I'll look at that later.

- Tumak: *Ange ya.*
Let's go.
- Sailus: *Ange.*
Let's go.
- Tumak ***Emay** nanday okokaim yambon.*
(to *A sorcerer [rascal] is following you.*
me): ***Emay** nanday okokaim yambon, yo kon yambon.*
A sorcerer [rascal] is following you, he's walking just there. 20
Nij mae mae anij.
Let me go first.
- Sailus: *Aka ... aka mokoinay. Tawa pokombakanak.*
He won't ... he won't touch you. I'll break his bones.

Now please watch <http://youtu.be/14rblIjE1EA> [2:41].

While wandering around the store and looking at articles such as gum boots – which he does not know what to call in *kay menda*, and therefore uses a descriptive term ‘something for wandering around in swamps’ (lines 1 and 2) – Sailus got a feeling that the men behind him were not just eye-shopping. In line 8 he boasts how he will bash the rascal's face, which is at the same time a warning for Tumak and me to be careful. Finding a small towel he wonders what it is, while Tumak's attention is with the alleged pickpockets. He then answers Sailus, attempting to remember an avoidance term for towel, but in the end uses the Tok Pisin word *towel*. Later he corrects himself, using a descriptive term, ‘something to clean your face with’ (line 13). If people do not know or do not remember an already established *kay menda* term, they often try to create one on the spot, and in such cases they would frequently resort to description. However, Tumak is alert and anxious because of the alleged rascals and he suggests that we leave. He calmly warns me that a (potential) rascal is following me and suggests that he goes ahead (line 20). Being nervous himself, Sailus boasts again, assuring me that he can protect me if somebody wanted to rob me (line 21). Having experienced some troubles themselves, and hearing stories about people being attacked and robbed, the Awiakay are always tense when in town. Many of them, particularly young boys, release this uneasiness by boasting how mean they will turn if anyone dares attack them. While this can be a meaningless, even jocular, everyday practice in the village (though also employed during fights), it becomes a means of reassuring one another when in town.

We were just about to leave the store when Asuk and Pupi, who had finished their business and were already looking for us, came in. As a group of five we were a less attractive target for the robbers or pickpockets, so we stayed there to take a look at tapes with popular music, torches and knives. Tumak and I were looking for a lamp for his *pap* ‘maternal uncle’ (and my ‘father’) Aymakan.

KAY MENDA – FILM 6 transcript

- shop *Bilong diŋla bateri ŋave stap insait. Narapela kain em i stap.* 1
 assistant: *lɔŋ hapsait long narapela glaŋ.*
 These ones have batteries inside. The other ones are over there.
Yu minim wanemplakain?
 What kind do you want?
- Tumak: *Narapela. Glaŋ taŋol em i go daun olsem... Diŋla em nogat?*
 Another kind where the lamp folds down. You don't have them?
- Darja: *Em olsem bikpela lait liklik. Em nogat?* 5
 With the slightly bigger lamp. You don't have it?
- shop *Nogat.*
 assistant: No.
- Tumak: *Kay yawan wakanjin aninan kolokot kaykoy ŋalim bapoplaka.*
 We'll look for it in another house [store], they sell different ones [there].
Elaŋ tok ton kak agalon.
 Here they don't have it.
Aunda wakanjin.
 We'll keep looking.
- Darja: *Kay kolokot yawa.* 10
 Another house of things [store].
- Tumak: *Mm. Kay kolokot yawa.*
 M-hm [agrees]. Another house of things [store].
Kalak kay kon tola.
 There are different things here.
- Darja: *Paypmanga kandenge?*
 Big stones [is it expensive]?
- Tumak: *Paypmanga wamonan.*
 The stones have gone upriver [the price has gone up].
- Darja: *A, wamonan?* 15
 Ah? Gone upriver [gone up]?
- Tumak: *Wamonan.*
Gone upriver [gone up].
- Darja: Yo.
 Yes.
- Tumak: *K 39.90 kak. Akanja. Wamonan.*
 This is 39.90 Kina. Crap. It's gone upriver [the price has gone up].

- Darja: ***Kondamin isapasa?***
 By two sticks [By 20 Kina]?
- Tumak: ***Kondamin isapasa ...*** 20
 By two sticks [By 20 Kina] ...
Kay... kay yawan wakanjin aninaj.
 Another... we'll go and search for it in another house [store].
OK, kay ya... Angoram wakanjinaj.
 OK, we'll go and search for it in another h[ouse]... in Angoram.

Now please watch http://youtu.be/tNlxwOv9z_0 [1:20].

As it turns out that they do not have the kind of lamps that Aymakan asked for, Tumak suggests that we search in another store, for which he uses a shortened version of *kay menda* term, *yawa* 'house', instead of *kolokot yawa* 'house of things' (line 7). People tend to shorten words in ordinary Awiakay all the time, and this practice is sometimes applied to *kay menda* as well.

Tumak then looks at other lamps and torches they sell in this store and says that the prices went up since he was last in the town a few months ago. For the price going up he uses the verb *wam-*, which originally means 'go/come up' in the sense 'in the upriver direction' or 'up to the house' (but not 'up to the mountain'). As Aymakan expected that the lamp he wanted would cost around K20, I ask whether the price was doubled, and Tumak confirms that it went up by 'two sticks', one tree stick equalling K10. This term comes from the colonial days in PNG when the first money was introduced to the Awiakay and they devised their own naming system for the coins and notes.

Most registers are not "sociologically homogeneous formations" (Agha 2004: 38), which means that not everyone is equally competent in them, and Awiakay 'hidden talk' is no exception. While every Awiakay person can speak at least a little bit of *kay menda*, the most competent speakers are the men who travel most frequently to town. However, we could see that even in this group the level of fluency varies and depends on several factors, not excluding an individual speaker's skills such as cunning, which is an essential part of 'hidden talk'.¹²

At the moment *kay menda* is still in the making and we can witness its on-going development. Women, who normally stay in the village, do not have many chances of using *kay menda* in practice; however, many of them take an active part in creating it. With a huge influx of material goods from Indonesia, shops in town are full of items previously unknown to the Awiakay, which means that they borrow terms for them from Tok Pisin. When such an item is brought to the village, its form and function is eagerly studied and discussed, and sooner or later somebody comes up with an Awiakay term for it. It takes some time before the speakers adopt such a term or create a new one, which they find more appropriate. The usage of a number of terms varies, and one can either (a) use the same avoidance term for several different Tok Pisin expressions, e.g. (TP) *kemera* 'camera', (TP)

¹² Having the ability to skilfully deceive other people is highly valued by the Awiakay.

skrin ‘television screen’, (TP) *gras* ‘mirror’ are all referred to as *memek* ‘lightning’ in *kay menda*, or (b) use different *kay menda* expressions for the same thing, e.g., *map kulamba yomba* ‘water from ground hole’ or *payp kulamba yomba* ‘water from stone shelter’ for ‘shower’. The latter usually happens when a term has not been adopted by all speakers.

5. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN AWIAKAY LINGUISTIC REGISTERS. I would argue that *kay menda* as it is spoken today in town is not a completely new register, but a continuation of the *kay menda* which used to be spoken in the mountains. There appear to be many functional and social, as well as some structural/linguistic similarities in their use. There is, however, no overlap in vocabulary, as ‘mountain talk’ used to ‘hide’ the meaning of Awiakay terms denoting people’s immediate environment, while ‘hidden talk’ creates avoidance terms for Tok Pisin borrowings denoting recently introduced items and concepts.

Parallels between the two varieties of <i>kay menda</i>	‘mountain talk’ past; nowadays obsolete	‘hidden talk’ present; register in the making
used in unfamiliar territory; far from the village or camps	mountains (inhabited by spirits)	Wewak, all stops on the way there where the Awiakay encounter unfamiliar people
people go there to get something they need	<i>kanuj isa</i> (wood for bows), hunting (nowadays harvesting eaglewood)	selling eaglewood, buying goods
dangerous entities	<i>endembarj</i> ‘mountain spirits’	<i>emay</i> , ‘assault sorcerer’ = rascals, pickpockets
possible dangers	sickness caused by spirits, getting lost, death	robbery, theft, physical injury
prevention of dangers	possible by implementing the expected practices, i.e. using <i>kay menda</i> , nowadays praying	possible by using <i>kay menda</i> and praying
persons who engage in relevant social practices (going to mountains/town) and are proficient in this register	men	men
others familiar with the register	women, teenagers	women, teenagers
created by	‘mountain spirit’ taught people how to protect themselves	all Awiakay; in the making

TABLE 2. Parallels between the two varieties of *kay menda*

For instance, both varieties of *kay menda* employ descriptive terms for their substitutes, e.g. ‘cassowary’ becomes *tumanjinge*, ‘the hairy one’ in mountain talk, while ‘store’ becomes *kolokot yawa* ‘things-house’ in hidden talk. Both varieties are used when people venture into the ‘unknown’ territory, far away from the village or camps in order to get

something they need. The mountains, which are not empty, but are – just like the rest of Awiakay land – inhabited by spirits, are a place where men go hunting, get black palm for their bows and nowadays harvest eaglewood, while the town, with all the unfamiliar people they meet, is the place where the Awiakay sell their eaglewood and buy the goods they need. In both settings they may encounter dangerous entities – *endembanj* ‘mountain spirits’, or the rascals and pickpockets in the town – which may damage them or their possessions. In both cases the dangers can be prevented by using *kay menda*, just that due to the changed relationship with spirits ‘mountain talk’ is nowadays replaced by praying, while in the town prayer is only supplementary to ‘hidden talk’. In both contexts it is men who venture to these faraway places and use *kay menda* there, while women, even if they accompany their husbands or brothers, stay behind – either in bush camps, waiting for the men to return from the mountain, or in Angoram, waiting for the men to return from Wewak. In both cases women and teenagers are nevertheless familiar with the register. While ‘mountain talk’ is seen as a gift a spirit gave to the people to protect themselves, it must originally have been a fairly conscious creation, in which people chose to modify certain elements of ordinary Awiakay in order to arrive at a different code (cf. Pawley 1992: 315 on Kalam ‘pandanus language’). ‘Hidden talk’, however, is being continually and actively created by all Awiakay.

In some socio-linguistic contexts the introduction of new commercial trades leads to increased exposure to and use of regional languages and a decline of local languages. However, in this instance it has also created circumstances in which the local language has developed a new dimension. The eaglewood trade seems to have re-strengthened people’s relationship with their land, which had otherwise been weakened.



FIGURE 5. Continuity and change in the varieties of *kay menda*

By interpreting their environment through the same cosmology, with their actions being strongly influenced by the Catholic charismatic movement (Telban 2008b), and by the rules and changes it brought, the Awiakay have transferred the same practice (namely a lexical substitution register) with a similar function (hiding the meaning in order to protect themselves from being harmed) from their mountains to a different social setting of town.

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Darja Hoenigman
darja.hoenigman@anu.edu.au

Appendix: GLOSSARY OF KAY MENDA TERMS

English	Tok Pisin loan	<i>kay menda</i>	gloss
44 gallon drum	fotifo	<i>yomoy</i>	bucket made of a big bamboo
airplane	balus	<i>naim tandonga</i>	eagle-canoe
amount of money	hamas moni	<i>paypman̄ga mimb̄ia</i>	name of money
axe	tamiok	<i>mundum</i>	stone axe
bag	bek	<i>yambam</i>	grass basket
ball	bal	<i>papukay man̄ga</i>	orange tree fruit
ball	bal	<i>yupim</i>	wild pandanus ball
balloon	balun	<i>mumba</i>	bladder
bank	benk	<i>paypman̄ga yawa</i>	house of stones
basin	bikpela dis	<i>yakaopay</i>	earthen dish (large)
beer	bia	<i>o yomba</i>	water mixed with bark ashes (traditionally made salt)
big dish, boat	dis	<i>mondan̄</i>	dish made of the soft part of the Arecoid palm (<i>Rhopaloblaste sp.</i>) petiole
big sturdy bag	renbo bag	<i>yambam</i>	basket
book, paper, anything for reading	buk, niuspepa	<i>kasanga</i>	dry banana leaf
bra	susu kalabus/bra	<i>isik ulakaplakay</i>	[something that] covers breasts
bullet	bulit	<i>tasia tamanda</i>	spirit arrow
bush knife, machete	busnaip	<i>malay engaya</i>	sago machete
buy	baim	<i>e-</i>	take
camera television screen mirror	kemera skrin gras	<i>memek</i>	lightning
candle	kendol	<i>yandom endia</i>	tree sap
cap	kep	<i>koponun̄ tia</i>	head skin
chewing gum	big boy / P.K.	<i>kamba endia</i>	breadfruit sap
chocolate cream	soklit krim	<i>ener̄ mola</i>	diarrhoea /rotting shit
cigarette (bought in town)	Spia, Pal Mal	<i>kandukya yakia</i>	white [man] cigarette
clothes things	klos ol samtink	<i>kolokot</i>	things
computer	bikpela (save) man	<i>kanden̄ olukunja</i>	big man / person

English	Tok Pisin loan	<i>kay menda</i>	gloss
cup, mug	kap	<i>palendem</i>	coconut shell
cup, mug	kap	<i>wauna</i>	carnivorous plant (<i>Nepenthes ampullaria</i> <i>sp.</i>)
eaglewood	garu	<i>is kamia</i>	tree meat
Eucharist	yukarist	<i>pamben</i>	a kind of a nut
firelighter	masis	<i>pat</i>	stick for making fire
fishing hook	huk	<i>tao</i>	sago thorn
fishing net	net	<i>ewey</i>	net made of bark rope
frying pan		<i>epay</i>	earthen 'frying pan' or flat stone used for cooking sago
gaol	kalabus	<i>wanday yawa</i>	chickens' house
glasses, sunglasses, diving goggles	(ai) glas, gogols	<i>nokomgunuŋ tia</i>	eyelids
gold	gol	<i>kinjim</i>	sand
guitar	gita	<i>tasia punjimba</i>	spirit hand drum
gum boots	gam but	<i>andanguŋ yaka</i> <i>yamblakay</i>	[something with which to] walk in the swamps
gun	gan	<i>tasia kanuŋga</i>	spirit bow
gun	gan	<i>yambuŋ kunda</i>	tree species having buttress roots (buttress roots can be kicked with the heel or struck with an ax or other tool to make a gun-like booming sound)
hard biscuits	biskit	<i>tasia taya</i>	spirit sago
house with a tin roof / town house	haus kapa	<i>tasia yawa</i>	spirit-house
instant noodles	nudols	<i>kundam en(en)ga</i>	earthworm shit
iron post	ain	<i>makam</i>	main post in a house
K10	ten kina	<i>isapasa</i>	stick
knife	naip	<i>yombay (kapaya)</i>	bamboo (small knife)
lamp	lem	<i>yambat</i>	sago stem torch
learned man	saveman/ savemeri	<i>nokomga pawī</i>	red-eyed
lighter / torch / lamp	masis / tos / lem	<i>tasia yamba</i>	spirit fire
loudspeaker	spika	<i>tepuŋ</i>	bamboo / wooden 'loudspeaker'
marble	marbol	<i>imaŋ manga</i>	tree nut
medicines	marasin	<i>tasia pamyamba</i>	spirit ginger

English	Tok Pisin loan	<i>kay menda</i>	gloss
money	mani	<i>payp manŋa / payp manda</i>	stone
mosquito net	taunam	<i>aiŋ</i>	basket for sleeping
necklace	neklis	<i>tokombonoŋ tia</i>	neck skin
oat/nut/dried fruit bar	??	<i>koña taya</i>	honey(comb)-sago
oil / gear oil	wel / giawel	<i>tomba / tasia tombaya</i>	oil of native tree <i>Camptosperma brevipetiolata</i> (TP wel diwai)
outboard motor	moto	<i>tasia monanŋa</i>	spirit-paddle
outboard motor	moto	<i>wao ayma</i>	beetle family <i>Rhynchophoridae</i> (sago beetle)
paint (for grass/sago)	pen	<i>kunakumbuŋ</i>	leaves for producing paint for <i>kuna</i>
pencil	pensil	<i>kaway tiñiplakay</i>	paint drawing
pencil / biro	pensil / bairo	<i>yambao</i>	ember
petrol / kerosene / beer / soft drinks	petrol / kerosin / bia / sop drink	<i>yom</i>	water
pillow	pilo	<i>tasia kumunda</i>	spirit wooden pillow
plate	pleit	<i>tane</i>	earthen plate
policeman	polis	<i>tam</i>	dog
pot		<i>aŋgas</i>	earthen pot
powder milk	Sunshine	<i>isik (yomba)</i>	breast (milk)
price went up	prais em i go antap	<i>paypmanŋa wamoŋan</i>	stones went upriver
radio	redio	<i>emuŋ kunda</i>	buttress roots
radio car	redio kar	<i>yomgoŋ manda</i>	turtle shell
rascal, bandit	sanguma	<i>emay</i>	assault sorcerer
rice	rais	<i>kauŋwa waya</i>	seeds of Arecoid palm <i>Rhopaloblaste sp.</i>
rope nail	rop nil	<i>awam</i>	vine/ thorns of a vine
rubber gloves	glav	<i>kolonoŋ tia</i>	hand skin
salt	sol	<i>tasia oua</i>	spirit 'salt'
serving spoon	kumu spun	<i>ipikapa</i>	halved coconut shell for pressing sago flour
serving tongs	??	<i>kula</i>	bamboo tongs (for holding hot items or ritual use)

English	Tok Pisin loan	<i>kay menda</i>	gloss
ship	sip	<i>mondaŋ kandenje</i>	big dish made of the soft part of the Arecoid palm (<i>Rhopaloblaste sp.</i>) petiole
shoes	su	<i>panben tia</i>	leg skin
shovel	sawel	<i>siŋgayan</i>	??
shower	sawa	<i>map kulamba yomba / payp kulamba yomba</i>	water from ground hole / - stone shelter
soap body spray	sop bodi spre	<i>tomba</i>	tree (oil)
soap	sop	<i>yom enjap</i>	water spit
soap	sop	<i>yom karay</i>	water foam
spoon	spun	<i>kap</i>	spoon made of coconut shell
store	stoa	<i>kolokot yawa</i>	house of things
string	string	<i>pipisimba</i>	pandanus string
sugar lollies, candies	suga loli	<i>imat / tasia imata</i>	sugar cane/spirit sugar cane
sunglasses	sanglas	<i>tem nokomga</i>	sun-eye
tabernacle	tabernakol	<i>yao</i>	house
telephone	telipon	<i>tasia umbunja</i>	spirit <i>garamut</i> (TP for 'slit-drum')
tin roof	kapa	<i>waknga</i>	sago thatch shingles
tinned (mushroom) sauce	??	<i>mengwak</i>	vomit
toilet	toilet	<i>enep yawa</i>	shit house
trousers	trausis	<i>kumbayn tia</i>	tree bark skin
trousers	trausis	<i>wasipi tia</i> [<i>> wai pia</i> 'part of a torn string bag']	string bag skin
T-shirt	singlis	<i>omunup tia</i>	body skin
umbrella	ambrela	<i>ayngwan tia</i>	skin of a flying fox
umbrella	ambrela	<i>embum</i>	grass hood
wallet	hanpaus	<i>kundambi</i>	coconut fibre for storing tobacco
watch	hanwas	<i>tem manja</i>	sun/time 'fruit'
write	raitim	<i>ikak-</i>	carve