

5 *Mansim, a lost language of the Bird's Head*

GER P. REESINK

1	Introduction	278
1.1	History	278
1.2	Fieldwork and presentation of data	279
2	Phonology	280
2.1	Stress	282
3	Word order in clause and noun phrase	283
4	Pronouns and verb affixation	283
5	Verbaliser <i>we-</i>	285
6	Possessive phrases	287
7	Demonstratives and spatial orientation	288
7.1	Demonstratives	288
7.2	Spatial orientation	290
8	Prepositions	291
9	Content questions	293
10	Verb sequences	294
11	Correspondences between Mansim and Hatam	295
12	Resemblances between Numfor and Mansim	300
13	Conclusion	304
	Appendix 1: Some songs	305
	Appendix 2: Origin story of Mansim	306
	Appendix 3: Mansim–English–Indonesian dictionary	322
	References	339

1 Introduction

In this chapter I give a sketch of the nearly-extinct language Mansim or Borai. This language used to be spoken in the coastal area around Manokwari, on the Bird's Head Peninsula of Irian Jaya.¹ Earlier information on this language can be found in Voorhoeve (1975:49, 119), where a language called Borai with its alternative name Mansim is mentioned. On the basis of a short wordlist, Borai could be classified as belonging to a family with Hatam as the only other member of the larger language group. In later publications, for example Voorhoeve (1987, 1989), Borai is no longer mentioned, presumably because no speakers could be located. In Silzer and Heikkinen *Clouse's index of Irian Jaya languages* (1991), the names Borai and Mansim are given with a few Hatam dialects as alternative names for Hatam.

The Mansim data presented here are, of course, suspect for a variety of reasons, the main one being that the language is no longer used as a medium for communication. Just a few people still know some of the language and have to search their memory even to find the words for certain concepts. It is, nevertheless, worthwhile to record what could be recovered of the language, even though many aspects of the language cannot be described with any degree of certainty.

1.1 History

The process leading to the extinction of Borai is broadly sketched by Pans (1960) in his thesis *De Arfakkers: een volk in beweging*. With reference to many reports from explorers, administrators and missionaries, Pans gives an account of the movements of various ethnolinguistic groups in the eastern Bird's Head.

At least since the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Doreh Bay was one of the areas along the Bird's Head coast and the Cenderawasih Bay, where the sultans of Tidore exercised their authority through the Raja of Salawati. Pans (1960:6) surmises that a visit from the Raja of Salawati in 1705 concerned the *Arfakkers*, if at that time the Numforese had not yet settled along the Doreh Bay.

The village Ossy, mentioned by Forrest in 1775, is identified by Pans (p.7) as Andai, mentioned by d'Urville in 1823. It was situated at the mouth of the River Saowi. Forrest had reported that the coastal people living there had no gardens of their own. They provided the mountain dwellers with iron tools in return for all the food they needed.

Later in the nineteenth century the mission arrived in the area. Ottow and Geisler established a station on the island of Mansinam in 1855 and in 1863 a second station was opened at Andai. Around that time, in 1858, members of the Etna expedition visited Ajambori (just north of present-day Manokwari) and Manzéman, in the foothills of the Arfak mountains, along the River Maruni. Their report stated that the *Arfakkers* obtained their iron tools from the McCluer Gulf in the south. It also mentioned that the *Arfakkers* of Ajambori showed more Numforese influences (tools, clothing, housing) than the 'less

¹ Research for this paper was conducted in the framework of the NWO (Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research) priority programme ISIR (Irian Jaya Studies: a Programme for Interdisciplinary Research), financed by WOTRO (Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research). The programme is carried out in cooperation with LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia). This research has been made possible through the sponsorship of Dr Hasan Alwi, head of the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa in Jakarta.

developed' *Arfakkers* of Manzéman. Pans assumes that the southern trade route must have become less significant by that time due to the dominant presence of the Numforese, at least since the beginning of the nineteenth century, probably even much earlier.

In 1870, just after the establishment of the mission station in Andai, the government administrator Von Rosenberg wrote a report on the area, which Pans considered very important, because comparison of Von Rosenberg's wordlist with his own data allowed him the conclusion that the *Arfakkers* must have been 'identical to the now virtually extinct tribe known as Borai' (p.13). They formed the population of a number of villages along the coast, around present-day Manokwari: Ajambori, Andai, Manzéman, Faandoe and Mabo (pp.13, 19, 20).

In Andai, the Borai had at first been quite affluent, due to the lucrative bird trade and friendly relationship with the Numforese (p.20), but the population suffered a certain lethargy, according to reports from the missionary Woelders. Because the bird trade took all their energy, gardens were neglected which caused a food shortage, there was an intentionally very low birth rate, and sickness, such as the smallpox epidemic along the Geelvink Bay, took many casualties (pp.22, 23). Although the information Pans gathered from the various reports is not very systematic, it is clear that in Ajambori as well as in Andai (and nearby Wosi) the *Arfakkers* (read Borai) lived in good harmony with the Numforese.

In the late 1870s groups of Meyah and Hatam moved down from the Arfak mountains to the lower coastal areas (p.19). Some of them settled at Pokembo, near Ajambori. At first, apparently, the original coastal people (read Borai and Numforese) lived in reasonably good harmony with the newcomers (p.33). But a mysterious death of a Hatam woman triggered a major fight, in which the Meyah and Hatam killed a number of Borai men, and chased the rest away from Ajambori (pp.33, 34). More Hatam and Meyah people came down from the mountains, so that by the end of the last century, 'the whole area north of the Andai river had been vacated by the Borai and Moiree and taken over by the Hatam and Meyah' (p.35).

Pans mentions that in the 1920s there was still a strong Borai presence in Manzéman, but after they had moved to the coast, some epidemic decimated the population (p.44). The survivors moved in a northern direction to Mansim villages, such as Anggressi on the River Mupi, where in the 1950s the population of Borai counted no more than about 100 people (p.13). A few more lived in Maripi and Andai.

The coastal areas where the Borai and a related group, the Waraan (or Uran) lived, had been taken over by the Hatam and their relatives, the Moiree (pp.44, 45), who intermarried with the few remaining Borai and Uran people.

Thus, the main factors leading to the decline of the Borai seem to have been: intermarriage with dominant Numforese since the end of the eighteenth century, encroachment of Meyah and Hatam groups who both killed many Borai and intermarried with survivors, and various epidemics.

1.2 Fieldwork and presentation of data

At the end of one of my fieldwork periods in the eastern Bird's Head, I asked a few Hatam speakers if they had ever heard of a language called Borai. They wondered if I meant the *Moibrai*, which would be a Hatam dialect mixed with Biak. A few people in Arfai and Maripi, villages along the coast, south of Manokwari, would still know this language. In an earlier paper (Reesink 1996) I reported the findings of just two hours of fieldwork with two women, Marice Mansim and her aunt Eva in the village Arfai II.

In 1998 I had a better opportunity to meet with them. They also directed me to Jonathan Mansim at Maripi who would be able to tell me an origin story of the Borai. They said there were two other men, one in Mupi, one at Jembatan Acemo, who still knew the language. A few younger people in Arfai II still knew some words, and short phrases. It became clear that of the hundred or so Borai speakers Pans claimed to be alive in 1960, just a handful was left.

While Pans (1960:44) seems to distinguish Borai and Mansim, his statement (p.13) that Mansim was another name for the same group seems to be correct. When Jonathan or Marice spoke Indonesian (read local Malay) they referred to their language as *bahasa Mansim*. In their own language they called it *mor Moi*. The term *mor* means 'language', as in expressions like *mor Pin* 'Numforese language', *mor Atam* 'Hatam language', *mor Brer* 'Indonesian language'. The term *Mansim* seems to be related to the ancestral parents in Jonathan Mansim's account of Borai history, the man *Insum* and the woman *Insim*. The term *Borai*, I assume, is a rendering of the second part of the Hatam term *moi-brai*, with an epenthetic vowel. Although the term *Borai* has already been in use to refer to this ethnolinguistic group, I have decided to adopt the endonym *Mansim* for the rest of this paper.

The actual time I spent with the few people who still know Mansim was rather limited due to transportation problems, their availability and the strain the elicitations apparently put on the memory of my main consultant, Marice from Arfai II. During the few sessions I was able to have in February and April 1998, I collected some 360 lexical items plus some short phrases and sentences. Obviously, on the basis of some 360 words no serious attempt at a phonological analysis can be made. Some observations on the morphology and syntax are presented. These data are presented in rather rough form, since I obtained conflicting evidence on possessive phrases and the inflection of verbs and nouns. Also, certain items I noted with different vowels, or one time with prenasalised consonants, the next day without a nasal. Following the presentation of some morphological features and syntactic data, clear evidence of a genetic relationship between Mansim and Hatam is given in §11, followed by evidence for mutual influence between the three languages, Mansim, Hatam and Numfor in §12.

Marice and Eva were eager to sing a few traditional songs, which I recorded. A transcription is given in Appendix 1.

Jonathan Mansim graciously received me in his home, where he showed me some beautiful wall paintings depicting the origin story of the Mansim. They had been painted by a young Biak artist at his directions. His account of the Mansim origin took the form of a commentary on the paintings. A transcription of his comments, alternating in Mansim and local Malay is given in Appendix 2.

Since the evaluation of my Hatam consultants, namely that Mansim was a mix of Hatam and Biak, proved not unsubstantiated, I present the list of words I obtained in the form of a small dictionary with Hatam and Numfor equivalents in Appendix 3. The Numfor equivalents are taken from van Hasselt and van Hasselt (1947), the Hatam items are from my own fieldwork.

2 Phonology

Mansim seems to have sixteen consonants: *p, b, t, d, c, j, k, g, m, n, ng, r, s, h, w, y*; and five vowels: *i, e, a, o, u*. The status of the palatal consonants /c/ and /j/ and the laryngeal fricative /h/ is doubtful, given the single instances in this corpus.

There appears to be a contrast between the voiced and voiceless stops, word-initially, as in:

- (1) /p/ versus /b/:
- | | | | |
|--------|-------|-------|------------|
| [par] | from | [bar] | carry; not |
| [payi] | shoot | [baw] | string |
- (2) /t/ versus /d/:
- | | | | |
|-------|--------|--------|----|
| [tan] | afraid | [danu] | I |
| [tar] | four | [dar] | go |
- (3) /k/ versus /g/:
- | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|---------|
| [kar] | three | [gas] | to tear |
| [kek] | skin | [get] | chest |

But I recorded both [prot] and [brot] for 'to fall', and [dugwot] for 'I tie' as well as [kwot] for 's/he ties'. In word-final position there are no instances found of voiced stops.

Mansim appears to have three nasals:

- (4) /m/ versus /n/ versus /ng/:
- | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|--------|-------|---------|---------|
| [min] | die | [nenu] | s/he | [nang] | girl |
| [num] | smell | [mun] | smoke | [nguwo] | crushed |

Possibly a phonemic distinction has to be recognised between alveolar and palatal grooved fricatives /s/ and /sy/:

- (5)
- | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|
| [sam] | bite | [syam] | light a fire |
| [sem] | 2/3PL.eat | [sye(nu)] | 2/3PL (free pronoun) |

Mansim resembles Hatam and Sougb (and most other Papuan languages) in lacking a phonemic distinction between the two liquids [r] and [l]. Various items I recorded with either liquid, although [r] was the more frequent one.

Further questions which remain are the status of the high vowels /i/ and /u/ vis-à-vis the consonantal approximants /y/ and /w/. In the word list I have listed items beginning with approximants, such as *war* 'water, river' and *yai* 'father', but also with initial high vowels, such as *uwam* 'sit' and *iyari* 'run, flee', which I spelt with a following approximant. The spelling reflects a rather broad phonetic transcription, trying to do justice to pronunciations like [wapu] 'nose (third person possessor)' which has the citation marker -u attached, [duwap] 'my nose' and [buwapu] 'your nose'.

Clearly, it may well be the case that Mansim should be analysed as having high vowels adjacent to other vowels, which may be realised as consonantal approximants under certain conditions. At the moment, I am not clear whether Mansim would maintain a contrast between, say, *yan* 'two' and *iyari* 'run', or *uwam* 'sit' and *wamap* 'sky'.

The five vowels are contrasted in the following items:

- (6)
- | | |
|-------------|----------|
| <i>min</i> | die |
| <i>mer</i> | door |
| <i>mor</i> | language |
| <i>mun</i> | suck |
| <i>nang</i> | girl |

I will not venture any statements regarding consonant or vowel clusters on the basis of this limited data.

When verbs with initial consonants are inflected with a subject prefix, either a schwa or a reduced copy of the stem vowel is realised, as in [dəkraw] 'I hold' and [dənwok] 'I see'. A number of other words contain a schwa, such as [mænding] 'knife', [mənər] 'string bag', but whether these are epenthetic to break up consonant clusters or represent reduced phonemic vowels in unstressed syllables is not clear. In the word list I have left the consonant clusters.

During elicitation both verbs and nouns often receive a final vowel, which I have labelled CIT for 'citation marker'. Verbs invariably end on *-o*, and when an utterance is repeated, the vowel may be dropped. The same holds for the vowel *-u*, attached to nouns. These vowels seem to convey some emphatic speech, used to present the data to a foreigner. For example:

(7) *Də-temi-o imur-u.*
1SG-sell-CIT cassava-CIT
I sell cassava.

(8) *Də-temi mu brer.*
1SG-sell taro foreign
I sell taros.

In a few cases I have also indicated what seems to be an epenthetic schwa between words to break up CC clusters, or to accommodate a metrical stress pattern. This schwa I glossed as LNK for 'linkage'.

2.1 Stress

If the segmental units leave many questions, this is even more the case with regard to suprasegmental features. It is possible that Mansim has a tonal difference between what I recorded as homophones. For example, the various instances of *bar* 'something; carry; not' and *tan* 'inside; far; afraid' could require different pitch, but on the basis of my restricted data, this could not be ascertained.

Stress seems to be distributed according to an iambic pattern over the clause, pretty much like in Hatam. That is, person prefixes do not receive stress, nor do other first syllables in polysyllabic words, with the exception of full personal pronouns. What I identified as citation markers can be stressed, as can possessive pronouns, while major categories like nouns or verbs do not necessarily attract main stress. Consider the stress on the verb *kew* 'know' in (9) and its absence in (10), where it has shifted to *bar* 'not', and the main stress on the modifier in the noun phrase, rather than on the head noun in (11).

(9) *'Danu də-'kɛ-wo.*
I 1SG-know-already
I know (it) already.

(10) *'Danu də-kə-'bar.*
I 1SG-know-not
I don't know (it).

(11) *'Nanu nu-'nwok kwa 'dun a?*
You 2SG-see dog 1SG-POS Q
Have you seen my dog?

3 Word order in clause and noun phrase

Before the various word classes are illustrated with their morphological and syntactic features, I would like to give a general idea of the structure of the Mansim clause and noun phrase. As can be seen in (11), Mansim has SVO as the basic word order of the clause, while the possessive pronoun in the NP is in post-nominal position. Similarly, the attributive adjective follows the modified noun, as illustrated in (12). In this example, the temporal adverbial is positioned between the pronominal subject and the verbal predicate.

- (12) *Danu momin du-nwok kaw boi bānas.*
 I yesterday 1SG-see pig big very
 Yesterday I saw a very big pig.

Later on we will see examples with extensions of these basic structures, such as oblique constituents and verb sequences.

4 Pronouns and verb affixation

The free pronouns I have been able to elicit do not distinguish second and third person plural. The bound pronominal forms distinguish a dual form as opposed to plural for second and third person, but not for first person.

- | | | | |
|------|-------|--------------|-----------------|
| (13) | | Free pronoun | Subject prefix |
| | 1SG | <i>danu</i> | <i>dV-</i> |
| | 2SG | <i>nanu</i> | <i>nV-/mb-</i> |
| | 3SG | <i>nenu</i> | – |
| | 1PL | <i>niwap</i> | <i>nV-/ngV-</i> |
| | 2/3PL | <i>syenu</i> | <i>sV-</i> |
| | 2/3DU | <i>syenu</i> | <i>kV</i> |

The alternative bound forms seem to be phonologically conditioned:

- (i) second person singular is *n(V)-* before consonants, while *mb-* is found before a (back) vowel, as in (13).

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| (14) | <i>nə-kwot</i> | <i>n-dar</i> | <i>mb-ung</i> | <i>mb-un</i> |
| | 2SG-tie | 2SG-go | 2SG-sleep | 2SG-possess |
| | you tie | you go | you sleep | your |

- (ii) first person plural is *n(V)-* before alveolar stop, and *ng-* elsewhere:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| (15) | <i>ng-kwot</i> | <i>n-dar</i> | <i>ng-ung</i> | <i>ng-un</i> |
| | 1PL-tie | 1PL-go | 1PL-sleep | 1PL-possess |
| | we tie | we go | we sleep | our |

The status of the subject prefixes and verb stems is not clear, however. I suspect some interferences are present from Numfor (or general Austronesian (AN) features from the Cenderawasih Bay). The main difficulty was that both speakers with whom I could work had problems with shifters, when I tried to elicit a paradigm for verbs or possessed nouns (whether alienable or inalienable). For example, the data in (16) and (17) suggest that the verb stem for 'to go, walk' is *kar*. But when forms like *dar* for 'I go' and 'she goes' are also

obtained, next to *ndar* for 'you go' and *niwap ndar* for 'we all go', it would seem the verb stem is *dar*.

- (16) *Danu də-kar-ə den.*
 I 1SG-walk-LNK now
 I am just walking around. (In response to *Saya berjalan saja*.)

When I tried to get this phrase again, now through the medium of Hatam, which Marice claimed to speak as well (in fact a lot of people in Arfai II do speak Hatam), the response was:

- (17) *Danu də-kar sak.*
 I 1SG-walk just
 I'm just walking (with no purpose). (In response to *Dani dəmbunbun nyen*.)

Similar observations hold for responses to phrases with 'come': *dir*, *kir*, *ndir*, etc. Thus, in analogy to *niwap n-dar* 'we all go', I recorded *niwap ng-kir* for 'we all come', not **n-dir*. I have instances of *n-ir* for '2SG-come' instead of *n-dir*.

The data I obtained for body parts is even more confusing. For 'leg' I recorded (18), which suggests inalienable possession, marked by the same prefixes as those operating on verbs.

- (18) *də-kiru* my-leg
nanu nə-kiru you your-leg
nenu də-kiru he his-leg

The responses to my elicitation of 'eye' were a general term *duwowu* 'eye', followed (19) or preceded (20) by person specifications, but not **mbuduwo* or **mbuwo* (which I had expected, and I still suspect one of them may be the correct form):

- (19) *danu duwow d-un*
 I eye 1SG-POS
 my eye
- (20) *nanu b-un duwow*
 you 2SG-POS eye
 your eye (Could this mean 'you have eyes'?)

In short, the exact stems of inalienable nouns (and some verbs) cannot be established on the basis of the restricted data.

The most reliable forms seem to be found in the following paradigms:

(21)	Pronoun	'sleep'	'tie'	'come'	'go'	Possessive pronoun
1SG	<i>danu</i>	<i>d-ung</i>	<i>du-kwot</i>	<i>dir</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>d-un</i>
2SG	<i>nanu</i>	<i>mb-ung</i>	<i>nu-kwot</i>	<i>n-dir</i>	<i>n-dar</i>	<i>mb-un</i>
3SG	<i>nenu</i>	<i>ung</i>	<i>kwot</i>	<i>dir</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>d-en</i>
2/3DU	? <i>syenu</i>	<i>k-ung</i>	<i>ng-(k)wot</i>	<i>ng-kir</i>	<i>ng-kar</i>	<i>k-un</i>
1PL	<i>niwap</i>	<i>ng-ung</i>	<i>ng-kwot</i>	<i>ng-kir</i>	<i>ng-kar</i>	<i>ng-un</i>
2/3PL	<i>syenu</i>	<i>s-ung</i>	<i>su-kwot</i>	<i>s-ir</i>	<i>s-ar</i>	<i>s-un</i>

But notice that there are forms like *m-wam* for '2SG-sit' or '1PL-sit', apparently assimilating the nasal to the bilabial approximant of the verb stem (as in (*m*)*b-ung* 'you sleep'), and *n-ir* '2SG-come', instead of *n-dir*.

In combination with numeral 'one' the pronouns express exclusivity, much like Hatam *dangkom* 'I alone', *nangkom* 'you alone', etc. The forms *kə-da-wom* and *kə-na-wom* in (22) and (23) appear to be prefixed with a velar stop, which I label as a NOMinaliser, biased by my experience with Hatam.

- (22) *Nan dirap monen kə-na-wom.*
 you go garden NOM-2SG-one
 You go to the garden by yourself.

When checking this sentence, Jonathan supplied as evidence:

- (23) *Dan kə-da-wom dirap monen.*
 I NOM-1SG-one go garden
 I go to the garden by myself.

I don't have similar data for other person categories, but I suspect *kə-ne-wom* would be '3SG by her/himself', and similar ones for other persons.

5 Verbaliser *we-*

Mansim employs the prefix *we-* ~ *wo-* ~ *wa-* to incorporate loan words, such as Indonesian *ajar* 'to learn', which becomes *w-ajar* and *tutup* 'close', as in:

- (24) *Wo-tutup war de.*
 VBL-close water 3SG-POS
 She covers the glass of water.

It also verbalises nouns, as in:

- (25) *Nanu wo-guru awo?*
 you VBL-teacher where
 Where are you teacher?

There are many more instances of *we-* prefixed to Indonesian items, which are given when my consultant could not think of a true Mansim equivalent for the item I tried to elicit. A few examples are given in (26).

- (26) *we-kupas* do-peel
we-tutup do-close
we-ricin do-slippery
we-doron do-push
we-kesasar do-be.lost
we-bage do-divide

The last item of (26) is illustrated in one of the few full sentences I elicited:

- (27) *Danu du-we-bage watu mai sye swo s-em.*
 I 1SG-VBL-divide banana to 2/3PL 2/3PL.also 2/3PL-eat
 I divide the bananas among you that you also can eat.

A similar form can be attached to indigenous verbs, conveying a sense of command, as in:

- (28) *Atai b-wo-dir bar-o sabon-u danu d-iyumwar.*
 boy 2SG-VBL-come carry-CIT soap-CIT I 1SG-bathe
 Boy, come bring me the soap, I want to bathe.
- (29) *Nanu b-wo-dir mb-ung.*
 you 2SG-VBL-go 2SG-sleep
 Come and sleep.

While in the examples above *wo-* seems to be positioned between the subject prefix and the verb stem, in case of a plural subject, the main verb carries its own subject prefix:

- (30) *Sye s-wo s-ung.*
 2/3PL 2/3PL-VBL 2/3PL-sleep
 Come on, you go to sleep.

This form could be confused with *suwo* (also realised as [swo]), meaning 'also', when for example, in a paradigmatic elicitation the form (31) occurs:

- (31) *Ne-swo kwot-o baw.*
 3SG-also tie-CIT rope
 He also ties the rope.

But this confusion is solved in the light of other person forms of *suwo*, as in:

- (32) *Danu də-suwo du-wasi nan.*
 I 1SG-also 1SG-follow you
 I also go with you.
- (33) *Nanu na-suwo ni-miyan a?*
 you 2SG-also 2SG-dislike Q
 You also don't want to, right?

In other words, the imperative sense is conveyed by the prefix *wo-*, while the inclusive sense is expressed by the verb *suwo*. And it could well be that the form *s-wo* in (30) is ambiguous, representing homophones, one meaning 'you.PL-also', the other one 'you.PL-should'. For second person singular, there seems to be a clear distinction. The imperative mode has the prefix *b-* in (33), while the verb *suwo* requires *nV-*, as in (34).

- (34) *B-wo-dir!*
 2SG-VBL-come
 Come!
- (35) *Na-suwo n-dirapo Mənukwari.*
 2SG-also 2SG-go.to Manokwari
 You also go to Manokwari.

Yet another prefix, *kwa-*, occurs. This seems to express a completive aspect. Since I don't have evidence for other persons, the form is not certain. It could be a third person variant of *wo-* which is found on second person singular and plural, but that would suggest another third person prefix *k-*. Another hypothesis would identify *k-* as some nominal marker, which operates in Hatam, and which seems to occur on the exclusive personal pronouns, see *kə-na-wom* 'you by yourself' in (22). In that case (36) and (37) could be analysed as nominalised clauses, with some sense of 'It is a fact that he has gone'. Yet another possible source is Numfor *kwari* 'already', although that normally occurs in clause-final position. Obviously, these options are not more than speculations.

- (36) *Kwa-bar-o kwet-u dar wim ow.*
 COMP-carry machete go fell tree
 He has already taken his machete and gone to fell a tree (= cut wood).
- (37) *Kwa-dar den.*
 COMP-go now
 S/he has already gone.

6 Possessive phrases

Although I have not been able to obtain full paradigms for terms for body parts and kinship relations, Mansim seems to distinguish between inalienably possessed nouns and alienable nouns. On inalienable nouns possession is marked by prefixes. These are identical to subject prefixes, as illustrated in (38):

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------|----------------|----------|
| (38) | <i>du-pwoda</i> | 1SG-head | <i>du-wapu</i> | 1SG-nose |
| | <i>nu-pwoda</i> | 2SG-head | <i>bu-wapu</i> | 2SG-nose |
| | <i>∅-pwoda</i> | 3SG-head | <i>∅-wapu</i> | 3SG-nose |

Alienable nouns are possessed by the forms given in (21). They are repeated here:

- | | | |
|------|-------|--------------|
| (39) | 1SG | <i>d-un</i> |
| | 2SG | <i>mb-un</i> |
| | 3SG | <i>d-en</i> |
| | 2/3DU | <i>k-un</i> |
| | 1PL | <i>ng-un</i> |
| | 2/3PL | <i>s-un</i> |

Although functioning much like pronouns, these forms actually seem to be verbs, which can be used as main predicates, the clause having the order SVO, as in (40).²

- (40) *Ni-wap ng-un munggwem.*
 1PL-all 1PL-POS child
 We all have children.

These possessive pronouns can also be used with inalienable nouns, in addition to the possessive prefix. It then follows the possessed item. A free pronoun may precede the head noun, as (41) and (42) illustrate:

- (41) *danu d-urwep d-un*
 I 1SG-husband 1SG-POS
 my husband

² The construction below, already given in (20), may be an artifact of elicitation, when I tried to obtain a paradigm for inalienable nouns. The elicitation of personal pronouns caused problems, as shifters often do in an initial elicitation session. Instead of a phrase with the meaning 'our eye' I probably obtained 'you have eyes':

Nanu mb-un duwow.
 you 2SG-POS eye
 You have eyes.

- (42) *danu dunim d-un*
 I 1SG.wife 1SG-POS
 my wife

The free pronoun preceding the head noun clearly is not required, as the following examples illustrate:

- (43) *Munggwem k-un k-irop pukor-en.*
 child 3DU-POS 3DU-go school-inside
 Their two children go to school.

- (44) *Danu də-srew mənar d-un də-bar.*
 I 1SG-hang bag 1SG-POS 1SG-carry
 I carry my string bag from the shoulder. (lit. 'I hang my bag (and) I carry',
 given as verbalisation of the action 'carrying a bag from the shoulder'.)

These examples seem to reflect the canonical order of head noun and possessive pronoun in Mansim, agreeing with the order found in Biak and Numfor (see Steinhauer 1985 and van Hasselt 1905), and which is available as an alternative order in Hatam (Reesink 1999).

The third person possessive pronoun *den* (or a homophonous form) is used in a clause-final position to convey a kind of aspectual meaning, 'right now', as illustrated in:

- (45) *Danu də-bar mənar-u dar-ə den.*
 I 1SG-take string.bag-CIT go-LNK now
 I take the string bag and go now.

7 Demonstratives and spatial orientation

7.1 Demonstratives

The exact forms of the demonstratives cannot be ascertained, due to the uncertainty of the presence of nasals, schwas and possibly reduced vowels. The basic forms seem to be *ni* 'near the speaker' and *nu* 'away from the speaker', as in:

- (46) *Kwa ni kənai.*
 dog this bad
 This dog is bad.
- (47) *Kwa nu mom en.*
 dog that uncle his
 That dog belongs to uncle.

When the same forms occur in adverbial function, we find an initial vowel and final nasal:

- (48) *Nanu m-wam anun.*
 You 2SG-sit there
 You are sitting there.
- (49) *Danu du-wam anin.*
 I 1SG-sit here
 I am sitting here.

The vowel /a/ in the examples above seems to be reduced to schwa in the following non-verbal predicates, which I assume is made up of the personal pronoun *nen* '3SG' and the deictic elements *anun* and *anin*.

(50) *Mundong nenənun.*
stone there.is
There's a stone.

(51) *Brung nenənin.*
ground here.is
Here is the ground.

But when I held up a knife and asked 'What is this?', I was instructed to say (52), which I recorded both with and without the final nasal on the deictic.

(52) *Inu(n) ame?*
this what
What is this?

To which the answer was given:

(53) *Mənding nenəni.*
knife it.is
That's a knife.

The answer could be: *nen(u) ini*, or *nenu ni* '3SG this', but in the following examples the schwas could also be reduced instances of *i* (Numfor has *ine* or *orne* 'this' and *orya* 'that', see van Hasselt 1905:39)

(54) *Rar əne asmen ai den?*
house this who REL 3SG-POS
This house, whose is it?

(55) *Asmen ai d-en rar ənu?*
who REL 3SG-POS house that
Whose house is that?

Another element in such presentative constructions is *na*. And it is not clear how this interacts with *ni* and *nu*. It appears to have some copula-like function, compare (56) and (57).

(56) *Mbu-yai na-nun-a?*
2SG-father ?-there-Q
Is your father there?

(57) *Ne-na-w meja ir.*
3SG-?-CIT table under
It is under the table.

Finally, there are indications that also forms without a nasal exist:

- (58) *Ne-na-w wondi yu.*
 3SG-?-CIT behind there
 It is behind the house.³
- (59) *Kwa yari utu.*
 dog run there
 The dog is running there.

The form [yariyutu] in (59) may consist of (*i*)*u* + *tu* (from Indonesian *itu* 'that'). In short, the various forms of the spatial deictics in attributive, predicative and adverbial positions are not clear, but the basic distinction between 'near' and 'far' (from deictic centre) is indicated by *ni* versus *nu*, with *ne* being a neutral third person reference.

7.2 Spatial orientation

Spatial orientation is marked by items in post-nominal position. Rather than analysing such locative markers as postpositions, I interpret them as spatial nouns (in analogy to similar items in many Papuan and Austronesian languages), even though there is no evidence of original possessive constructions (as, say, in Hatam, Sougb, Maybrat). Admittedly, with the available evidence both analyses are possible. But since there are other prepositions, some of them in combination with the post-nominal elements, I favour the analogy with spatial nouns in related Hatam. Consider:

- (60) *Syenu su-wam meja ap.*
 2/3PL 2/3PL-sit table on.top
 They are sitting on the table.

A related meaning seems to be expressed by *-am* (but see also 'in front of', below):

- (61) *New ton par-o wow-am den.*
 3SG descend from-CIT mountain-up now
 She is coming down from the mountain.

'Under' the table, or a tree is expressed by *ir*:

- (62) *Ne-na-w meja ir.*
 3SG-is-CIT table under
 It is under the table.
- (63) *Ni-wap m-wam-o ow ir.*
 1PL-all 1PL-sit-CIT tree under
 We are all sitting under the tree.

'Under' the ground or water (i.e. inside the water) is expressed by *tan*, illustrated by (64) and (65). This spatial term collocates also with a string bag, as in (66). In all three utterances a schwa serves as transition between the noun and the spatial element. What this vowel signifies is not clear.

³ The free translation expresses what I asked for. The response makes use of the term *wondi*, which is Numfor, given by van Hasselt (1905) as 'outside'.

- (64) *Danu du-nwok-o mwaw warə tan.*
 I 1SG-see-CIT fish water inside
 I see the fish in the water.
- (65) *Hantaw gwem ne-na-w brungə tan.*
 snake small 3SG-is-CIT ground under
 The worms are under the ground.
- (66) *Danu də-ken siep timur-u mənara tan.*
 I 1SG-fill potato east-CIT bag inside
 I put the cassava in the string bag.

'Inside' a house is *en*:

- (67) *Syenu su-wam rar en.*
 2/3PL 2/3PL-sit house inside
 They are sitting in the house.

The element *en* is also found on various nouns, signalling a sense of 'inside', or more generally, 'pertaining to the head noun':

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|--------|-----------------|------------|
| (68) | <i>wot</i> | sick | <i>wot-en</i> | wound |
| | <i>krong</i> | ear | <i>krong-en</i> | deaf |
| | <i>brung</i> | ground | <i>brung-en</i> | the ground |
| | <i>mwon</i> | place | <i>mon-en</i> | the place |

And possibly it is present in the items of (69) with the same semantic function:

- (69) *iyuten* mouth
kwoboren fly (i.e. the insect)

'In front' and 'behind' are expressed by post-nominal elements as well:

- (70) *rar-ə por-am*
 house front-up
 in front of the house (compare *porop* 'mouth')
- (71) *rar-ə biyai*
 house behind
 behind the house (also given for 'beside the house')

8 Prepositions

So far a few prepositions have been recorded. No clear instance of a locative or directional 'to(wards)' has been found. Perhaps what I recorded as a verb *dirap* 'go to' is in fact a preposition or contains it in the form of *ap* (homophonous then with the spatial noun *ap*), when *dir* proves to be a generic motion verb. The sentence in (72) was given as equivalent of Hatam *Di-kui nunguw* 'I go up the mountain', which does not need a preposition. The same form, *dirap(o)*, is used for 'going to Manokwari, the garden, etc.'.

- (72) *Danu də-tai dirap-o wow-am.*
 I 1SG-ascend go-CIT mountain-up
 I go up the mountain.

The antonym is *dir* 'come', which does require the preposition *par* 'from', as in (72). It would be quite possible, therefore, that Mansim has one motion verb *dir*, with directions specified by *ap* 'up' or 'away from deictic centre' or *par* 'towards deictic centre'. The verb *dar* 'go, walk', which I discussed earlier, could be a verb denoting less purposeful motion than is referred to by *dir*.

- (73) *Danu dir par-o Mnukwar-ə den.*
 I 1SG.come from-CIT Manokwari now
 I've come from Manokwari.

Some other verbs which collocate with *par* 'from' are *ton* 'descend' in (61), and *uruwo* 'originate' in (74).⁴

- (74) *Danu pupianu d-uruwo par-o Mnukwar.*
 I day-before-yesterday 1SG-come.from from-CIT Manokwari
 The day before yesterday I came from Manokwari.

While in the following example *sei* appears to be a preposition, it could also be a form of the verb *iyei* 'enter'.⁵

- (75) *S-as-o sə-bar ow sei rar en.*
 2/3PL-stand-CIT 2/3PL-carry wood to house in
 They carry the wood to the village.

Whatever the final verdict on *sei* is, it does provide a possible correspondence with Hatam *ei* 'to(wards)', which does function as a true preposition, in conjunction with post-nominal spatial nouns. The Hatam verb corresponding to *iyei* 'enter' is *coi*. Compare the invitation to enter someone's house in both languages, Mansim (75) and Hatam (76).

- (76) *N-iyei-ə n-ir.*
 2SG-enter 2SG-come
 Come in.
- (77) *A-coi kwei.*
 2SG-enter come
 Come in.

One other preposition is *mai* 'to', only recorded with the verb *eri* 'take' to express the concept of 'giving':

- (78) *D-eri-o kaw mai-o mkoras ni.*
 1SG-take-CIT pig to-CIT child this
 I gave some pork to this child.

⁴ The verb *uruwo* ~ *urwo* ~ *urow* expresses 'originate'. Its exact form is not certain, since I have recorded various pronunciations.

K-urow par Upwet.
 2/3DU-originate from Maruni
 The two (i.e. my parents) are from Maruni..

⁵ This is the only instance in my data. If the form *sei* should be analysed as an inflected verb, it would imply an elision of the stem-initial palatal vowel/approximant.

9 Content questions

The question words that have been attested in my data are simply listed in (79), before I discuss their form and position.

- | | | |
|------|------------------|---------------------|
| (79) | <i>ame(n)</i> | what |
| | <i>asme(n)</i> | who |
| | <i>awo</i> | where |
| | <i>dəpwi</i> | how, why |
| | <i>paru</i> | how many, much |
| | <i>paparow</i> | when |
| | <i>bwoṭpinai</i> | why (= what cause) |
| | <i>turame</i> | why (= what reason) |

The question words *ame* 'what' and *asme* 'who' are used in object position, as in (80) and (81). When they occur in 'subject position' they both receive a suffix *-n*, and are followed by what I have labelled as a relative marker (REL), as illustrated in (82) and (83).

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|--|
| (80) | <i>Nanu nə-temi ame?</i> | |
| | you 2SG-sell what | |
| | What are you selling? | |
| (81) | <i>Nanu n-wo-ijin mai asme?</i> | |
| | you 2SG-VBL-permission to who | |
| | Who did you ask for permission? | |
| (82) | <i>Amen ai pwei nu?</i> | |
| | what REL smell this | |
| | What is this smell? | |
| (83) | <i>Asmen ai den rar ninu?</i> | |
| | who REL 3SG.POS house this | |
| | Who built this house? ⁶ | |

Given the position of the possessive (verbal) pronoun, the structure of (83) might be something like 'Who is it that owns this house?'.⁶

Location is questioned by *awo* 'where', as in:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|--|
| (84) | <i>Nan nə-sup waai awo?</i> | |
| | you 2SG-buy betelnut where | |
| | Where do you buy betelnut? | |
| (85) | <i>Syenu s-ir awo?</i> | |
| | 2/3PL 2/3PL-go where | |
| | Where are you/they going? | |

Other question words are *dəpwi* 'how, why', *paru* 'how many' and *paparow* 'when', as in:

⁶ I have no satisfying explanation yet for what looks like a combination of near and far deictics, which itself is not so strange, but in some questions, see (86) below, a particle (*n*)*u* seems to function as a question marker.

- (86) *Nu-kwot rar ni dəpwi?*
 2SG-tie house this how
 How did you build this house?
- (87) *Dəpwi nə-wot a?*
 how 2SG-sick Q
 Why are you sick?
- (88) *Munggwem mb-un paru?*
 child 2SG-POS how.many
 How many children do you have?
- (89) *Paparow tuan we-berangkat nu?*
 when mister VBL-leave that
 When do you leave? (see footnote 6)

Finally, I obtained two forms expressing 'why', which seem to be polymorphemic. The form *bwotpinai* in (90) could begin with *b-wo-* '2SG-VBL' plus some verb and other material. The question word *ame* 'what' is clearly present in *tur-ame* (91), and its first member points to the Hatam preposition *tut* 'along with, for', as in the Hatam 'why' form *tut mindei* 'for what'. Both questions, of course, ask more for a reason or purpose, whereas *dəpwi* 'how, why' in (87) questions a cause.

- (90) *Nanu bwotpinai nə-bur-o kwa nu?*
 you why 2SG-hit-CIT dog that
 Why do you hit that dog?
- (91) *Nanu nə-temi siep-u tur-ame?*
 you 2SG-sell potato-CIT for-what
 Why are you selling sweet potatoes?

Apparently *dəpwi* 'how' may occur in final or initial position in the clause. I have no evidence whether this option holds for the other question words as well.

10 Verb sequences

Since I have not been able to obtain a full Mansim narrative, not much can be said about sentence structure. The account Jonathan Mansim gave of the Mansim history was more in the form of some staccato comments on his wall paintings. And my other consultants, Marice and her aunt Eva, could give me some isolated short sentences. More complex sentences could not be elicited. There are a few examples, however, which suggest that Mansim, just as its relative Hatam, allows rather tight verb sequences, which are reminiscent of serial verb constructions. A few have already been given to illustrate other points, and some example sentences in the lexicon provide other instances. Here follow just a few:

- (92) *Nenu bar-o kwet-u dar wim ow.*
 he carry-CIT machete-CIT go fell tree
 He takes his machete to go cut wood.⁷

⁷ The free translation is but one of many alternative renderings.

- (93) *Danu d-uweng mənar-u dirap-o wow ap.*
 I 1SG-carry string.bag-CIT go.to-CIT mountain up
 I carry my stringbag going up the mountain.
- (94) *D-iyani nan nə-prot wayi monen.*
 1SG-push you 2SG-fall hit ground
 I push you to the ground.

The clitic *e*, sometimes together with the preposition *par* 'from' seems to indicate an anterior event, translated by Malay *dulu* 'first':

- (95) *Pədasin dir du-nwok sye par e niyo ntungwang*
 today 1SG.come 1SG-see you from first then day.after.tomorrow
dir si.
 1SG.come again
 Today I've come to see you, so the day after tomorrow I'll come again.
- (96) *Sə-tum e danu də-prap wit-o tungwotow nini*
 2/3PL-wait first I 1SG-speak with-CIT man this
par e.
 from first
 You wait, I'll talk with this man first.

11 Correspondences between Mansim and Hatam

As I presented some morphological features and syntactic structures of Mansim, I have already illustrated some similarities with neighbouring Hatam and Numfor. In this section I show that Mansim and Hatam are rather closely related languages. Even on the basis of a few hundred words, some clear sound correspondences can be established. Some of the adduced evidence, in particular the correspondence between Mansim *a* and Hatam *i*, will actually strengthen some analyses I proposed for Hatam in Reesink (1999).

(i) Items which show labialisation in Mansim, which is lost in Hatam:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| (97) | lift up | <i>kwon</i> | <i>kon</i> |
| | roast | <i>nuong</i> | <i>non</i> |
| | heart | <i>ngwon</i> | <i>ngon</i> |
| | tie | <i>kwot</i> | <i>ngot</i> |
| | pull (fish) | <i>pwos</i> | <i>pos</i> |
| | see | <i>nwok</i> | <i>ngat</i> |
| | hide | <i>kworan</i> | <i>ku</i> |

(ii) Mansim has final /-Vr/, where Hatam has /-Vi/:

- | | | | |
|------|------------|--------------|--------------|
| (98) | ascend | <i>kur</i> | <i>kui</i> |
| | string bag | <i>mənar</i> | <i>mənai</i> |
| | foreign | <i>brer</i> | <i>mbrei</i> |
| | hit | <i>bur</i> | <i>bui</i> |
| | four | <i>tar</i> | <i>bətai</i> |
| | give | <i>eri</i> | <i>yai</i> |

There is also one item where the *r ~ i* alternation occurs in a different position:

(99) knee *braw* *biaw*

(iii) Other items show Mansim /r/ corresponding to its elision in Hatam:

(100) laugh *pra* *pa*
 fly *prar* *mba*
 sing *prim* *pim* (Hatam meaning is 'cry')

But Numfor *bor* 'much' seems to correspond to Hatam *babor* 'very' and *boi* 'big' in Mansim. This would suggest the same correspondence in reversed direction. As we will see below, this phenomenon applies to some other correspondences as well.

(iv) A few items in my data suggest that Mansim /s/ or /θ/ corresponds to Hatam /h/, similar to the corresponding /s/ and /h/ in Hatam dialects Miriei (Moile) and Tinam (Reesink 1999:2).

(101) ask *sar* *hara*
 bite *sam* *ham*
 just, only *sak* *hak*⁸
 pull out *suom* *hom*
 star *am* *ham*
 fire *om* *hum*

Note that medial and final /s/ and /θ/ show reverse directions:

(102) nettle leaf *bos* *bu*
 tail *pos* *pu*
 carry on back *uwep* *usap*

(v) As already shown by some items above, Mansim *o* corresponds to Hatam *u*, corroborated by the following:

(103) drink *dot* *dut*
 heavy *bon* *buhun*
 canoe *ot* *ud*
 pound *tow* *tug*

(vi) Mansim bilabial approximant /w/ corresponds to Hatam velar stop /g/, with or without labialisation:

(104) one *wom* *gom*
 sit *uwam* *gwam*
 sky *wamap* *gwamti*

(vii) Mansim palatal approximant /y/ corresponds to Hatam palatal stops /c/ or /j/:

(105) call *yem* *jem*
 two *yan* *can*
 2/3PL *syenu* *jeni/yoni*
 enter *iyei* *coi*

⁸ Hatam also has *he* and *nyen* with similar meanings.

Possibly, a bilabial approximant in Mansim has a similar correspondence:

(106) long *wai* *jei*

(viii) A few miscellaneous parallels are:

(107) rope *baw* *bab*
 name *bwem* *nyeng*
 head *pwoda* *bou*
 sleep *ung* *bong*
 eat *dem* *yem*
 bird *waw* *hab*
 fish *mwaw* *waw*

(ix) A number of items are exactly identical in Mansim and Hatam (i.e. the Tinam dialect). What this evidence signifies is not clear, however. Since the few people who could give me Mansim data are in no position to use this language in daily communication, they do communicate in local Malay, some Biak variety or in Hatam. Thus, the Hatam equivalents may well be just that, unconscious loans from Hatam (other than the conscious loans from Indonesian which are Mansim-ised with the verbaliser *we-* ~ *wo-* ~ *wa*). Just some examples are given here:

(108) draw water *taw*
 fell *wim*
 hang *srew*
 hold *kraw*
 hornbill *undow*
 scrape *srip*

But, of course, these items may well be both canonical Mansim and Tinam, as could also be said of *prow* 'sun'. Present-day Hatam would use *mpiab* for 'sun', but when I told my main consultant for Hatam, Hans Iwou, that the expression for 'the sun sets' is *prow rok* in Mansim, with *rok* meaning 'to push' in Hatam, he remarked that indeed *prow* was the original lexeme for 'sun' in Hatam also. *Mpiab*, he said, means something like *keadaan* 'a happening'. In other words, the two languages are clearly closely related, as evidenced by identical lexical items and a number of regular sound changes.

(x) Other items suggest a vowel correspondence: Mansim /a/ ~ Hatam /i/. These can be divided into two classes, a set of straightforward *a* ~ *i* alternation, given in (109), and a second set which shows in addition an alternation *r* ~ *g*, as shown in (110).

(109) cry *pam* *pim*
 jump *prapi* *pri*
 on top *ap* *dip*
 banana *wat* *wiT*
 fear *tan* *ttin*
 far *tan* *ting*

But notice that Mansim *i* shows a similar correspondence with Numfor *a*, as in 'enough': Mansim *mānas* ~ Numfor *mānis*.

- (110) not⁹ *bar* *big*
 how many *paru* *pig*
 house *rar* *ig*
 headwaters *brar* *nibrig*
 ask *sar* *hig* (in addition to *s ~ h*, given in (101))

These items not only present evidence for the *a ~ i* correspondence, they also suggest that Mansim final /r/, at least when following /a/, corresponds to Hatam velar plosive (which is often realised as a palatal fricative or subject to apocope).

It seems plausible to analyse the words for 'finished' (Malay *habis*), in (111), as a nasal prefixed to the words for 'not': Mansim *bar* and Hatam *big*, in which the bilabial stop is lenitioned to an approximant.

- (111) finished *mwar* *ngwig*

The nasal then probably signifies something like 'it is', which looks suspiciously like the AN **mang-* as opposed to **pang-*, reflected in Biak-Numfor as *m(a)-* versus *f(ar)-*. The former expresses a process or involuntary action, the latter a causative or voluntary action, as illustrated by *mkak* 'to be afraid' versus *fkak* 'to frighten'.

The *a ~ i* alternation between Mansim and Hatam is seen in other instances as well, with some consequences for the analysis of Hatam's morphophonology. For example, given the regular correspondence between Mansim /a/ and Hatam /i/, and given the few instances of what seems to qualify as some relator, namely *da* in (112)–(114), then what is written in Hatam as *di*, which I felt I had to analyse as /dV/ with the vowel often schwa-like (Reesink 1999:47), could well be just another reflex of an ancient relator in Proto Hatam-Mansim. In analogy to the other *a ~ i* correspondences, the Hatam element could indeed be argued to be *di*, with its vowel reduced, since it almost always occurs in unstressed position.

- (112) *Danu də-kraw rukem da wom kwai.*
 I 1SG-hold *langsat*.fruit REL one only
 I am holding only one *langsat* fruit. (*Saya pegang langsats yang satu saja.*)
- (113) *Danu də-ran da wot.*
 I 1SG-tooth REL sick
 I have toothache. (*Saya punya gigit yang sakit.*)
- (114) *Danu du-ngwon da wot.*
 I 1SG-heart REL sick
 I feel for him. (*Saya sayang anak.*)

This last example would be literally 'I (have) a heart that aches'. Obviously, I don't have enough Mansim data to make this hard, but *da* seems to hold a similar function as the Hatam relator *di* when adjectives are marked by it, in contrast with a bare adjective in attributive position. Compare the Mansim examples (112)–(114), with the following Hatam contrasts.

- (115) *sop kei pima*
 woman good that
 that good (pretty) woman (*perempuan cantik itu*)

⁹ The standard orthography as used in the Hatam New Testament differs somewhat from the items given here. In Reesink (1999:7) I argued that *bi* 'not' has a similar phonological structure as the other items with final (weakened) velar plosive. The question word *pig* is phonetically either [ɸi] or [ɸiyi], the latter presumably with an additional question marker.

But when the relator appears, the meaning seems to change slightly:

- (116) *sop di kei pima*
 woman REL good that
 that woman which is good (pretty) (as singled out from others)
 (*perempuan yang cantik itu*)

To clinch this argument we would need to find similar contrastive pairs for Mansim, which I do not have available. In the light of the well-established *a ~ i* correspondence, it does seem to be a plausible hypothesis, especially since there are other indications for the *a ~ i* correspondence.

Besides the correspondences Mansim *tan* 'to fear' ~ Hatam *tiin* and *tan* 'far' ~ Hatam *ting*, there is a third form *tan* 'inside', which corresponds to Hatam *ti*. The three instances of *tan* in Mansim may not be homophonous. There may be other differences. But on the basis of the restricted data I cannot determine whether, for example, Mansim has word-initial geminates, as Hatam does.

In Reesink (1999:44, 91) I indicated a form of 'areal nominalisation', with allomorphs *ti ~ si*, the latter following high vowels. This form nominalises adjectives and verbs, while adding a sense of location, as in *-bong-ti* 'sleep-NOM', which can be prefixed to indicate possessor for 'X's sleeping place', or in the prepositional phrase *ei minyei-si* 'at water-NOM' with generic *ei* 'at, to, in' for 'being in the area near the water'. However, there is a context in which the 'areal nominalisation' does not conform to the fricativisation rule. A schwa appears to be required between words like *minyei* 'water' or *minai* 'string bag' and the 'areal nominaliser' *ti*, when not just an area is referred to, but the concept 'inside' is expressed, as in:

- (117) *Noni bong ei minyei-ə ti.*
 3SG sleep in water-CIT NOM
 He is lying in the water.
- (118) *Dani di-puoi sieb ei minai-ə ti.*
 I 1SG-put.in potato in string.bag-CIT NOM
 I put the sweet potatoes in the string bag.

When we compare the Mansim equivalents in (119) and (120), we can see that Hatam *ti* is not just an 'areal nominaliser', but in fact functions just like other spatial nouns in post-nominal position. It seems significant that the Hatam examples (117) and (118) require a preposition, which is absent in Mansim.

- (119) *Danu du-nwok-o mwaw war-ə tan.*
 I 1SG-see-CIT fish water-LNK inside
 I see the fish in the water.
- (120) *Danu də-ken siep-u mənar-ə tan.*
 I 1SG-put.in potato-CIT string.bag-LNK inside
 I put the sweet potatoes in the string bag.

Yet another instance of the Mansim ~ Hatam correspondence *a ~ i* is found in the general question marker. For Hatam I identified *i* as a general question marker, as opposed to *e*, which seemed to presuppose a positive answer (Reesink 1999:68), as in:

- (121) *A-yai bi-dani mem di-ngat i?*
 2SG-give to-me for 1SG-see Q
 Would you give it to me so I (can) see it?

The Mansim general question marker seems to be *a*, as in:

- (122) *Nanu nu-nwok kwa d-un a?*
 you 2SG-see dog 1SG-POS Q
 Have you seen my dog?

Thus, the Mansim ~ Hatam correspondence *a ~ i* is well established, and could even help to determine the phonemic vowel qualities in Hatam forms which at first seemed to be questionable. Whether this would also work for the form of the pronominal prefixes in both languages is not clear at the moment.

I would expect a great number of other correspondences if more data became available, for example, in the light of the *-ar ~ -ig* correspondence, the following items may well be cognates as well, where Mansim *br-* seems to correspond to Hatam palatal *j-*:

- (123) hole *bror juig*
 crown pigeon *ubrot bijut*

12 Resemblances between Numfor and Mansim

In spite of the limited data I have on Mansim, and the mixed data on Numfor (various dialects of Biak seem to be represented in van Hasselt and van Hasselt's dictionary, which also does not give adequate information on the shape of some phonemes), a sizeable number of resemblances between Numfor and Mansim can be identified. In the list of lexical items which show how these languages are linked, I also include Hatam items. In some cases Mansim and Numfor items are clearly the same, or similar, as opposed to Hatam (124). In other cases Hatam is closer to Numfor than Mansim (125). In yet other instances all three languages share an item (126).

(124)		Numfor	Mansim	Hatam
	rain	<i>porem</i>	<i>brem</i>	<i>biged</i>
	angry	<i>msor</i>	<i>mwor</i>	<i>gga</i>
	good	<i>pum</i>	<i>pom</i>	<i>kei</i>
	carry	<i>bar</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>ttei</i> (Hatam has <i>ba</i> for 'to take, use')
	not	<i>ba</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>big</i>
	outside	<i>wondi</i>	<i>wondi</i>	<i>(ni-)sai</i>
	coconut	<i>sra</i>	<i>sraw</i>	<i>duig</i>
	cassowary	<i>manswar</i>	<i>muswar</i>	<i>handingad</i>
(125)		Numfor	Mansim	Hatam
	don't	<i>awer</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>au</i>
	wet	<i>dok, sior</i>	<i>tor</i>	<i>ndot</i>
	die	<i>mar</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>mai</i> (Numfor <i>min</i> means 'to hit, affect')
	shy, embarrassed	<i>ma</i>	<i>ames</i>	<i>mmai</i>
	sick; pain(ful)	<i>duf</i>	<i>wot</i>	<i>dut</i>

(126)	Numfor	Mansim	Hatam
	human	<i>snunkaku</i>	<i>tungwotow tungwatu</i>
	tail	<i>purari</i>	<i>pos pu</i>
	wash (clothes)	<i>pap</i>	<i>tep tot/piap</i>
	cut	<i>suf</i>	<i>sut sut</i>
	break	<i>msof</i>	<i>kok dahat</i>
	all	<i>kam</i>	<i>igom hagom</i>
	hornbill	<i>wando</i>	<i>undow undou</i>
	grab	<i>krau</i>	<i>kraw krau</i>
	island	<i>meos</i>	<i>mios mios</i>

Numfor *krau* is glossed as 'to steal'. In Mansim and Hatam *krau* is given for 'to grab' and 'to hold'. 'To steal' in Mansim is *kworan*, also given for 'to hide', and in Hatam *nggimang*.

Besides this list of lexical items there are other features that illustrate the contact between Numfor and Mansim: (i) pronominal forms, (ii) position of possessive pronouns, (iii) clause-final aspect marker, and (iv) the verbaliser.

(i) When we compare the free pronominal forms of the three languages (127), it seems obvious that Mansim and Hatam are related and quite separate from Numfor.

(127)	Numfor	Mansim	Hatam
	1SG	<i>(a)ya</i>	<i>danu da(ni)</i>
	2SG	<i>au ~ w a~ awe</i>	<i>nanu na(ni)</i>
	3SG	<i>i</i>	<i>new ~ nenu no(ni)</i>
	1PL	<i>ko ~ inko</i>	<i>ni(wap) nye(ni)</i>
	2PL	<i>mgo ~ imgo</i>	<i>sye(nu) je(ni)</i>
	3PL	<i>si</i>	<i>sye(nu) yo(ni)</i>

Whereas Numfor has a set of free pronouns for dual number, in which the first person has the opposition inclusive-exclusive: 1DU.INC *ku*, 1DU.EXC *nu*, 2DU *mu*, 3DU *su*, I have no evidence for free dual pronouns in Mansim, and only for first person (inclusive) dual in Hatam, which is *sa(ni)*. Presumably, the ending *-nu* on Mansim pronouns is a deictic form, just as Hatam *ni*, which is not obligatory.

When we consider the verbal prefixes on consonant-initial stems (128), Mansim basically agrees with Hatam, opposed to Numfor. Numfor *ker* is 'to plant' (taken from van Hasselt 1905:23), Mansim *kwot* 'tie, weave', Hatam *kon* 'to lift up':

(128)	Numfor	Mansim	Hatam
	1SG	<i>ya-ker</i>	<i>du-kwot də-kon</i>
	2SG	<i>wa-ker</i>	<i>nu-kwot a-kon</i>
	3SG	<i>i-ker</i>	<i>θ-kwot θ-kon</i>
	1DU.EXC	<i>nu-ker</i>	
	1DU.INC	<i>ku-ker</i>	<i>ng-kwot sə-kon</i>
	2DU	<i>mu-ker</i>	
	3DU	<i>su-ker</i>	
	1PL.EXC	<i>ko-ker</i>	<i>ng-kwot nə-kon</i>

1PL.INC ¹⁰	<i>nko-ker</i>	<i>ng-kwot</i>	<i>i-kon</i>
2PL	<i>mgo-ker</i>	<i>su-kwot</i>	<i>ji-kon</i>
3PL	<i>si-ker</i>	<i>su-kwot</i>	<i>i-kon</i>

In the case of vowel-initial verbs, Numfor has just *w-* for '2SG', which agrees with *b- ~ mb-* in Mansim, while Hatam retains the *a-*, even on vowel-initial verbs like *a-ug* 'you-go': 'you are lying down, sleeping' is then Numfor *w-enef*, Mansim (*m*)*b-ung* and Hatam *a-bong*. But the few instances in my Mansim data *wa-srew* 'hang' and *wa-dar* 'go' may well contain the Numfor second person prefixes, which I at first took to be instances of the verbaliser *wo ~ we*. Third person singular in Numfor may be zero too, given that the free pronoun is *i*. A few forms in Jonathan Mansim's comments (see Appendix 2) have a prefix *k-*, apparently meaning both 'first person dual' and 'third person plural': *k-irap monen* '1DU.INC-go garden' = 'the two of us go to the garden' and *tungwatow wap kə-mwep mor brer* 'people all 3PL-hear language foreign' = 'All the people understand Indonesian'. This form may be adopted from Mansim *ko ~ ku* figuring in first person plural and dual and second person plural. Both Mansim and Hatam may have adopted Numfor *si/su* '3PL/DU', for *su* '2/3PL' and *sa ~ sə* '1DU.INC', respectively.

(ii) The possessive pronoun in Mansim employs the same subject prefixes, as mentioned above. Whereas the form of possessive pronouns in Numfor is more complicated (it indicates gender and number of the possessed noun, yielding four different forms for each person-number category of the possessor), the position is what has been claimed the diagnostic one for Austronesian, namely postnominal. This agrees with the structure found in the Mansim data, whereas Hatam has the prenominal position as the more frequent one in natural text, allowing the postnominal position as well. This data suggests that Mansim has adopted the Numfor feature more definitely than Hatam. Compare:

Numfor:

- (129) *Rumgun ye-di i duf.*
 child 1SG-SG.ANIM 3SG sick
 My son is sick.

Mansim:

- (130) *Munggwem d-un wot.*
 child 1SG-POS sick
 My child is sick.

Hatam:

- (131) *Dit-de munggwom nggwen.*
 1SG-POS child sick
 My child is sick.

(iii) Van Hasselt (1905:16) states that Numfor *kwar* signals not only past tense, but also perfect past, as in (132) and (133), which I gloss in both instances as 'already'.

¹⁰ Van Hasselt (1905) does not distinguish inclusive-exclusive for plural, only for dual. I assume that Numfor had the distinction just as present-day dialects of Biak, which would be *nko*, which I have used here.

(132) *I mar kwar.*
 3SG die already
 He is dead.

(133) *Ya su wa kwar i rama.*
 1SG pull canoe already 3SG come
 I had already pulled up the canoe when he came.

Numfor *kwar* may well have Mansim *kwai* as its equivalent, glossed as *saja* 'just, only', as in:

(134) *Də-kraw rukem da wom kwai.*
 1SG-hold *langsət*.fruit REL one only
 I have just one *langsət* fruit.

Or would it be the unidentified preverbal completive aspect *kwa-*, as noted above in (38) and repeated here:

(135) *Kwa-dar den.*
 COMP-go now
 S/he has already gone.

But if Mansim *kwai* is related to Numfor *kwar*, it has another item *uo* (also *wa*), glossed with 'already', corresponding to *tu ~ su* in Hatam. These items are invariably glossed by their speakers as *sudah* 'already'.

Mansim:

(136) *Nenu min uo.*
 3SG die already
 He has already died. (= He is dead.)

Hatam:

(137) *Noni mai su.*
 3SG die already
 He has already died. (= He is dead.)

(iv) Finally, the Mansim verbaliser *we ~ wo* as used on loan words is clearly related to Hatam *bV-*, and both resemble Numfor *we-*, which most likely has a voiced bilabial fricative as its initial element. Van Hasselt (1905:11) quotes Kern who had suggested that Numfor *bə* is a reflex of Malay *ber*, in its function on adjectives and numerals, *bə-sam* 'being warm', *bə-rim* 'being the fifth', *bə-war* 'being watery'. Van Hasselt then continues to state that *be* (apparently with front open vowel in contrast to the schwa) in *bε-sansun* 'to dress' probably has another origin, namely *bε ~ buk* 'give' in related dialects. It is this latter form, then, which has probably been borrowed from Bird's Head languages, such as Hatam and Mansim, because it is the Numforese from the Doreh Bay who still use *be* as 'to give', while other Numforese use *buk* (van Hasselt 1905:11). Hatam has the verbal prefix *bV-* to mark instruments, but it is also used to incorporate loanwords. A similar morpheme *ebe* is found in Meyah (Gravelle, pers. comm.) and in Sougb. Only in this last language can it be related to an indigenous verb *eba* with the generic meaning 'to do', as in *ar-ebe-d* 'thing-do-me' = 'I am sick'.

It is quite possible that Numfor has two (similar) forms, one of which is of AN origin, as in *bə-pirpir* 'having knots (said of wood)', while the other one, presumably *bε*, is adopted from the Bird's Head languages immediately from Mansim *we*, ultimately going back to

what can still be observed in Sougb as a verb *eb(a)* 'to do' (see also Chapter 1, §4.4.5). Thus, there may have been some borrowing in the reverse direction.

13 Conclusion

What really is the position and/or name of this lost language? The name Mansim has been used in the title and throughout this paper, except for the introduction where I related the historical references to the Borai as collected by Pans (1960). At one point Pans equates the Mansim with Borai, at other places the Mansim appear to be a different group. But as stated in the introduction, Jonathan Mansim and the two women in Arfai II refer to *bahasa Mansim*, when they speak Malay, which they equate with *Mor ~ Mon Moi*.¹¹ The Hatam people refer to this ethnolinguistic group as *Moibrai*, while the Sougb people, whom I met at Sururei on the western Anggi lake in 1998, call the language *morei mer* (Sougb *mer* '3SG-voice, speech'), which sounds suspiciously like *Moile* or *moiree*, which is the term in various sources for the Hatam dialect Miriei. The term *moi*, then, appears a true endonymic element. As we have seen, there is a regular sound correspondence Mansim -*Vr* ~ Hatam -*Vi*, which suggests that *mor* might be related to *moi*.

As stated in the introduction, the name *mansim* is obviously derived from the names of the two ancestors in Jonathan's account: *Insim* 'the woman' and *Insum* 'the man'. In the comments to the pictures in his house he mentions that the island of *Mansinam* (the name is a corruption according to him of *Mansim*) had broken off from the highest top of the Arfak mountains, *Umsini* (in Hatam called *Umcena*). He claims that his ancestors inhabited a wide area, from near Ransiki, via the River Prafi, inland as far as the Kebar plains.

Pans (1960:45) equates this group with the original *Arfak* people. The name *arfak* is claimed by Pouwer (1958:49) to be of Biak origin, meaning 'inlander'. Van Hasselt and van Hasselt (1947) have *ar* 'shout, cry' and *fak* 'inlander of Biak', which they equate with *Arfak*.

I would like to offer a further conjecture. It may not be accidental that *kak* as root in Numfor means 'fear': *fa-kak* 'to frighten', *mkak* 'to be afraid'. And the form *ar* may well have another etymology than the verb 'to shout' in Numfor. In my restricted Mansim data (see Appendix 3), there are a few items with *ar*:

- (138) *ar-pon* male
 ar-maran female

These forms suggest that *ar* means something like 'person, people', which is also found in Jonathan's account, when he refers to *ar moi* 'the Mansim people'. If the final *r* of *ar* is subject to apocope, the item *a-boi-kwai* given for 'parents' could have the composite meaning 'person-big-just', which is a near calque of Hatam *a-ndig-poi*, in which are found the same *a* plus *ndig* 'big' and *poi* 'a little'. Such an analysis would make sense of the name of another Hatam dialect group, referred to as *adihup*, who live more inland from the Tinam and Moire. Now that we can identify *di* as a Hatam relator, corresponding to Mansim *da*, and we have seen that Hatam *hup* corresponds to Mansim (and Numfor) *sup* 'high (mountainous) land', *a-di-hup* can be explained as 'people who (are) from the high land'. And whatever the direction of *sup* ~ *hup* (borrowed by the mainland groups Mansim and Hatam from Numfor, or vice versa), the name *Ar-fak* may well have the etymology of *ar-f(k)ak* 'people that cause

¹¹ I noted one other alternation *n ~ r* in Jonathan's speech: where Marice and Eva had *brungen* for 'ground' he had *brunger*.

fear', when various sources mention that the mountain dwellers instilled fear in the encroaching island dwellers.

What has become clear from these limited data, is that the evaluation given by some Hatam speakers seems to be correct. Mansim is indeed a mix of Hatam and the Biak dialect Numfor. I will not enter the debate whether mixed languages exist or not (see for example Dixon 1997:67–73). If one wants to assign a basic type to Mansim, it would be a language related to Hatam. Yet there are a number of lexical items and structural properties that link it to Biak-Numfor.

Whatever the verdict on some of my guesses in this short sketch will be, the linguistic evidence (even if restricted) adduced in this sketch of Mansim suggests that it is closely related to Hatam, and that both of these mainland languages have absorbed a great number of features from the Numfor (Biak) language, due to the centuries-old contacts, already mentioned in the historical sources, summarised by Pans (1960) and corroborated by the terse comments I recorded from my contacts in Arfai II and Maripi, the women Marice and Eva, and the recognised leader Jonathan Mansim.

Appendix 1

Some songs

Marice and her aunt Eva, and Marice's daughter Albertina sang five traditional songs, which were recorded in Arfai II, 26 February 1998.

The precise meaning of many morphemes eludes me. The women who told me what they had sung would give general meanings. I had to guess the words, and their boundaries. The result, of course, is a rather crude approximation of forms and their meanings.

- (1) *Mien mien mee / yai yai e / s-ir s-eri-o*
 mother mother mother father father LNK 2PL-come 2PL-give-CIT
- ampwop d-un-i d-iar də-payi-o na usi gwem*
 arrow 1SG-POS-LNK 1SG-run 1SG-shoot-CIT ART kangaroo small
- sirumbui na usi gwem.*
 follow.slope ART kangaroo small (4x)
 Mother(s) and father(s), come and give (me) my arrow, I'll go (and) shoot the small kangaroo, which follows the mountain slope.
- (2) *Ee / yaiyaiy-e s-ung pe / sə-pras-o sə-nwok ram-o*
 LNK fathers-LNK 2PL-sleep don't 2PL-get.up-CIT 2PL-see there-CIT
- Munggewa nganap kurere amen ai ung kukwor /*
 name.of.place cape over.there what REL 3SG.sleep block
- na kapar-o / ungkukwor na Umsin-o.*
 ART ship-CIT 3SG.block ART Umsin-CIT (4x)
 Mother(s) and) father(s), don't sleep, get up, look back to Cape Munggewa over there, that which blocks it is a ship, it is blocked by the Umsini. (*Ungkukwor* is explained as *melintang* 'lie across, block off'; it clearly contains the verb *ung* 'to lie down, sleep'. *Umsin* is explained as the name of a ship, which apparently is named after the highest mountain of the Arfak range.)

- (3) *Mee / yai-yai-e / s-ung pe / sə-pras-o # s-eri-o*
 mother father-RED-LNK 2/3PL-sleep don't 2/3PL-get.up-CIT 2/3PL-give-CIT
ampwop d-un-i ria də-payi-o na inasman inasman /
 arrow 1SG-POS-LNK run 1SG-shoot-CIT ART k.o.fish k.o.fish
nas Udai na inasman.
 ? Andai ART k.o.fish(4x)
 Mother(s) and father(s), don't sleep, get up, (and) give me my arrows, that I may run and shoot the *inasman* fish (probably *ikan bulan* 'kind of herring'), at Andai.
- (4) *Myem myem e / ayai-e s-ung pe / sə-pras-o /*
 mother mother-LNK father-LNK 2/3PL-sleep don't 2/3PL-get.up-CIT
s-uper sye s-ir ngwok-o Momor nganap-e tep
 2/3PL-turn 2/3PL 2/3PL-come see-CIT Momor cape-LNK like
ot-e tep ot-e yar purnir.
 canoe-LNK like canoe-LNK run to.here
 Mother(s) and father(s), don't sleep, get up, turn around and look at Cape Momor over there, where something like a canoe is moving in (with repetition of last line three times).
- (5) *Myee yai-yai-e / s-ung pe su-pras-o # su-nwok*
 mother father-RED-LNK 2/3PL-sleep don't 2/3PL-get.up-CIT 2/3PL-see
ram-o Munggewa nganap kurire amen ai dorei /
 there-CIT Munggewa cape over.there what REL ascend
prow rok # Uyim nir na prow dor / lewat prow
 sun sets Uyim come that sun come.up go.beyond sun
rok Uyimnir #
 set name.village
 Mothers and fathers, don't sleep, get up and look at Cape Munggewa over there. That which is coming up there, the sun is setting behind the Uyim mountain, the sun comes up (at Cape Munggewa) goes on and sets behind the Uyim mountain (repetition as a canon of the last two lines).

Appendix 2

Origin story of Mansim

This story is told by Jonathan Mansim, 28 March 1998, at Maripi. It is told as a commentary on the wall paintings in Jonathan's house. Most of it is told in local Malay, with some words and phrases in Mansim. The Malay is given in **bold type**. Minor pauses, which are accompanied with a rising pitch are indicated by a slash, corresponding with a comma in the free translation. Major pauses, following a descending pitch are indicated by #, which corresponds to a full stop in the free translation.

- (1) *Jadi in nama-nya / ini / tanah sejarah # dagup # dagup #*
 thus this name-its this ground history ancestor ancestor
 So then, the name is, the history of the land. (Our) ancestors.

- (2) *Itu nenemoyang # nenemoyang dādəgup #*
 that ancestors ancestors ancestor
 That is our ancestors. Ancestors (are called) *didigup*.
- (3) *Trus paitua in nama ini / Insum # Mansim # Insum-o # Mansim #*
 so old.man this name this Insum Mansim
 So this old man's name was Insum, Mansim (repeated).
- (4) *Batas / ini tanah sejarah #*
 border this ground history
 The border, this is original land.
- (5) *Sejarah Mansim # dəbubat dəgup # brung #*
 history Mansim REL-clear ancestor ground
 The origin of Mansim. It was cleared by (our) ancestors, the land.
- (6) *Ya, ini burung / uyaki # uyaki # ya #*
 yes this bird black.cockatoo yes
 Yes, this bird is the *Uyaki* (Indonesian *burung kakatua raja* = black cockatoo), yes.
- (7) *Uyaki wəp-o mundong-ap # wəp mundong-ap #*
 black.cockatoo sit-CIT stone-on.top sit stone-on.top
 The black cockatoo was sitting on stones. He was sitting on stones (*wəp* means 'sitting on egg').
- (8) *Nuong yan / tu teror dua #*
 egg two that egg two
 Two eggs, that means two eggs.
- (9) *Dampat pica # nuong / yaikwar /*
 happen break egg burst
 It happened that (the eggs) broke. The eggs broke.
- (10) *Wa gwem wom / tungwatow wom #*
 bird small one human one
 (Out came) one small bird and one human.
- (11) *Itu / anak bayi dengan / burung kecil #*
 that child baby with bird small
 That is, one baby and a young bird.
- (12) *Sekarang / tungwatow nengow / mbriw kwon #*
 now human that old.man lift.up
 Now, the human, that, the old man took it.
- (13) *Anak kecil ini / bayi ini / paitua # Insum #*
 child small this baby this old.man Insum
 This little child, this baby, the old man, Insum.
- (14) *Wam kep pes dot /*
 sit near juice drink
 He was sitting at the sugar palm and drinking. (*Pes* seems to refer to both the palm and the wine tapped from it.)

- (15) *Pes / ini rumah # muep #*
sugar.palm this house hear
The sugar palm, this is the house. [Jonathan points to the house in the painting.]
He heard (something).
- (16) *Ada suara # anak bayi / tungwato #*
be voice child baby human
There was a voice. (It was) the baby, the human.
- (17) *Bung mundong-ap sinai-en #*
sleep stone-on.top sword.grass-inside
He was lying on the rock in the field of sword grass.
- (18) *Ini sinai / sinai-en #*
this sword.grass sword.grass-inside
This is sword grass, a field of sword grass.
- (19) *Wa-dar midi / di d-as inin e / nwok wa min # uyaki #*
VBL-go ? REL stand here LNK see bird fly black.cockatoo
He went, and when he stood here, he saw a bird flying. (It was) the black cockatoo.
- (20) *Wa di kraw ninew e / dar nir dir / wa nu mwerdi #*
bird REL hold here LNK go come come bird that ?
The bird he took there, he went and came, the bird showed him.
- (21) *Səmanta ini / n-wa-dar nir #*
girl this 2SG-VBL-go come
This girl, he brought back.¹²
- (22) *Dar-o / we-sini / nip / dinimu / dinimu tu maitua / isteri #*
go-CIT VBL-here ? wife wife that old.woman wife
He went, was there, (?), his wife, his wife was that old woman, his wife.
(I think *nip* is a mistake, the beginning of *nipmem* 'his mother' in Hatam.)
- (23) *Dia tanya / munggwem-a? arman-a?*
she ask child-Q female-Q
She asked: That child? Is it a girl?
- (24) *Munggwem to / itu anak perempuan?*
child that that child female
That child, is it a girl?
- (25) *Munggwem # Tapi / dia punya paitua bilang tidak #*
child but she POS old.man say no
A boy. But, her old man said: no.
- (26) *Perempuan # arman #*
female female
No, a girl, a girl.

¹² Instead of being a verbaliser, the item *wa* could also be a realisation of *bar* 'carry'.

- (27) *Eh arman / du-pun da dup də-də bwemə ma #*
 eh girl 1SG-POS I ? ?-? name her
 Eh, the girl, I named her.¹³
- (28) *Saya kasi nama sama dia #*
 I give name to her
 I gave her a name.
- (29) *Ah / trus dia kasi nama # dubwem # Insim # Mansim #*
 ah so he give name name Insim Mansim
 So he gave her the name Insim. Insim (means) Mansim.
- (30) *Yadi / trungan Mansim tri ... # sudah #*
 so descendant Mansim ? already
 So the descendants of Mansim are ... [voice is inaudible because of a hard
 knock by his pointing stick on the wall.] That's it.
- (31) *Sekarang / nəmaf # sekarang ini / jambu #*
 now ? now this rose.apple
 Now, (nəmaf is not clear) now there is the rose-apple tree.
- (32) *Jambu ini satu pohon # ngwow wom # tapi braw yan #*
 rose.apple this one tree tree one but branch two
 This rose-apple tree is one tree. It is one tree, but it has two branches.¹⁴
- (33) *Ngwow wom tu satu pohon #*
 tree one that one tree
 One tree that means one tree.
- (34) *Mos # dia punya nama itu mos # mosu #*
 jambu 3SG POS name that jambu jambu
 Jambu. Its name is jambu. Jambu.
- (35) *Braw da-map war-en # sebelah timur #*
 branch go-to water-inside side east
 The branch that goes towards the coast. To the east.¹⁵
- (36) *Dia punya buah merah #*
 3SG POS fruit red
 It has red fruits.
- (37) *Mos wow babayu da-map war-en # syen # mus syen #*
 jambu fruit ? go-to water-inside red rose.apple red
 The fruit of the jambu towards the coast is red. The red rose-apple.¹⁶

13 The morphemes in this line are not clear. The speaker appears to stutter before he finally says in Manism 'I gave her a name' and then explains the meaning in the next line (28). While *bwem* has been obtained as 'name' in other sessions, it is not clear what the material preceding *bwem* represents.

14 In elicitation *ow* was given for 'tree' or 'wood'. Jonathan explains *ngwow* as *buah*; I take it that *ngwow* means 'trunk'.

15 The stretch [dama'puwa'ren] could also consist of a relator *da* plus other material; *waren* is explained as 'coast'.

16 There is variation between *mus* ~ *mos* for 'rose-apple tree'.

- (38) *Yang sebelah barat / mus pow #*
REL side west rose-apple white
The one towards the west is the white rose-apple.
- (39) *Ini sebelah barat / ini sebelah timur #*
this side west this side east
This one is the one in the west, the other one in the east.
- (40) *Satu pohon tapi / cabang-nya / kesana merah / sebelah barat putih #*
one tree but branch-its over.there red side west white
There is one tree, but its branch over there is red, the one in the west is white.
- (41) *Mus syen mus pow #*
rose.apple red rose.apple white
A red rose-apple and a white rose-apple (branch).
- (42) *Trus / mwowu # sukun # mwow # sukun #*
then breadfruit breadfruit
Then, the breadfruit tree. (2x in Mansim and Indonesian)
- (43) *Sukun ini / mwow ini # wouk wow / itu buah # wow-a #*
breadfruit this breadfruit this fruit fruit that fruit fruit-CIT
The breadfruit tree, the breadfruit. Its fruit, *wow* (means) fruit.¹⁷
- (44) *Sekarang / s-o s-in k-an ng-or #*
now 2/3PL-VBL 2/3PL-come 1PL.INC-go 1PL-ascend
Now(adays), you come and we go climb.¹⁸
- (45) *Ng-or itu naik # ng-or #*
1PL-ascend that ascend 1PL-ascend
Ng-or means 'to ascend'. We ascend.
- (46) *Ng-kwot-o mendingu # srowi broto brung-er pung #*
1PL-tie-LNK knife stab fall ground-on POS
We tie a knife (to a stick) and cut (the fruit) (so) it falls down to the ground.
- (47) *Brot brung-en / mǎ-syam om # api #*
fall ground-on FUT-light fire fire
(When) it falls down, we light a fire. A fire.¹⁹
- (48) *Syam om # mǎ-nuong kep om # bakar di api #*
light fire FUT-bake hold fire bake in fire
We light a fire and then we roast them in the fire. Bake (them) in the fire.

17 'Fruit' is realised as both [wouk] and [wow].

18 As Jonathan commented on my transcription he gave in slow speech:

S-uo s-ir ng-kar nwok.
2/3PL-also 2/3PL-come 1PL-go see

with *kemari keton lihat* as translation, which is 'come, let's go (and) see'.

19 Notice that Jonathan pronounces [brot] where Marice has [prot]; he also seems to alternate final [n] and [r]: *brungen* as well as *brung-er*. I suspect the verb *syam* 'light a fire' is prefixed with an element *mǎ-* that indicates sequence, similar to Hatam *mV-* 'posterior'.

- (49) *Nuong kep om / ni-srip bar #*
 bake hold fire 1PL-scrape not
 We roast them in the fire, we don't scrape them.
- (50) *Bakar di api / tidak boleh kupas #*
 bake in fire not allowed peel
 We bake them in the fire, it's not allowed to peel them.
- (51) *Tidak boleh bikin bersiku #*
 not allowed make clean
 It is not allowed to clean them.
- (52) *Tidak ini # makan inen arang itu # yem-em toro #*
 not this eat this charcoal that eat-eat whole
 That's not allowed. When you eat them, (you eat) the charred bits, (we) eat them whole (i.e. the fruit with its charred parts).
- (53) *Onomu # mm makan dengan arang #*
 charcoal mm eat with charcoal
 Charcoal, mm, (we) eat them with charred bits.
- (54) *Tidak bisa bikin bersih # mwow # nuong keh om #*
 not can make clean breadfruit bake in fire
 (You) cannot make them clean. The breadfruit. (We) bake them in the fire.²⁰
- (55) *Gwon / yem / eh dem tram / tram itu makan antero #*
 cook eat eh eat corn corn that eat whole
 Cooking and eating, eh, as for eating corn, the corn, we eat it completely.²¹
- (56) *Tidak berkikis # ini #*
 not scrape this
 We don't scrape it, that's it.
- (57) *Trus / bapa-bapa yang ikot-e # katoran / mindow #*
 then father-RED REL follow-LNK descendants mosquito
 Next, the ancestors that come later, his descendants, are the mosquitoes.
- (58) *Mindow itu / nyamuk #*
 mosquito this mosquito
 The *mindow* means mosquito.
- (59) *Sam nggin / tidak boleh ba-pak ... [hitting sound] bagini #*
 bite if not allowed do thus
 When they bite, (you)'re not allowed to hit (the voice is covered by a hitting sound) like this.²²

²⁰ In slow speech, as comment on the transcription the final clause was given as:

Nə-nuong kep om.
 1PL-bake keep fire
 We bake (them) in the fire.

²¹ The first instance of 'eat' has the Hatam form *yem*.

²² The form obliterated by the hitting sound looks like a Hatam construction with Indonesian loan word *ba-pakai* 'do-use'.

- (60) *Tra boleh #*
not allowed
That's not allowed.
- (61) *Kalau pukul begitu / saya baru potong koh # cara masing #*
if hit like.that I just cut older.brother manner reciprocal
If we hit it like that, it is as if I am just cutting my older brother. As a retribution.
- (62) *Jadi / mǎndow sam s-or / gosong dia saja / pros [yanitaputi] dia*
so mosquitobite 2/3PL-ascend rub it just rub (?) it
So, when mosquitoes bite you, you just rub it, rub [not clear] it.
- (63) *Jadi nyamuk tidak boleh / pukul # harus* [strokes his leg]
so mosquito not allowed hit must
So, a mosquito you're not allowed to hit. You must (non-verbal expression of 'softly rubbing his leg').
- (64) *Sela / orang tua bila itu obat # supaya / bosu #*
? person old say that medicine in.order.to nettle.leaf
Our parents called it a medicine, in order that, nettle leaf.²³
- (65) *Macam daun gatal # bos # itu isap dara kotor # ya / itu #*
kind.of leaf itch nettle.leaf that suck blood dirty yes that
It is a kind of nettle leaf, *bos* (this time the final /s/ is drawn out). It sucks out the dirty blood. Well, that's that.
- (66) *Sekarang / sukun dengan nyamuk / sudah #*
now breadfruit with mosquito already
Now, enough about the breadfruit and the mosquito.
- (67) *Sekarang / itu raw-raw / niwan # niwanu #*
now that swamp swamp
Now, here [Jonathan points to another scene of the wall painting.] is a swamp, a *niwan*.
- (68) *Nir rar-en / tikus / tikus rumah #*
rat house-in rat rat house
That's the habitat of the rat(s). *Nir raren* means rat's nest. [Jonathan repeats this sentence.]
- (69) *Ubrot # mambruk # burung mambruk / ubrot #*
crown.pigeon crown.pigeon bird crown.pigeon crown.pigeon
[While pointing to the picture of a bird] *Ubrot* means crown pigeon (repeated).
- (70) *Trus / mǎswar-u # kasuari # kaw # kaw #*
then cassowary-CIT cassowary pig pig
Next [while pointing to the picture], there is the cassowary. (And there is) the pig.
- (71) *Ini sukun kayu # sukun #*
this breadfruit tree breadfruit
Here is the breadfruit.

²³ The pronunciation of *bos* is drawn out: [boosu].

- (72) *Ini / beringin ini / urow # urow #*
 this raintree this raintree raintree
 This, the raintree here (we call) *urow*.
- (73) *Ini məsuwong / kayu / dulu Belanda bilang kayu dar.*
 this k.o.tree tree before Dutch say tree dar
 This *məsuwong* tree, this tree, the Dutch used to call it *kayu dar*.²⁴
- (74) *Ya / jadi muswong # dar #*
 yes from k.o.tree k.o.tree
 Yes, so that's the *muswong* tree.
- (75) *Ini kayu cedana / di gunung situ # upar-o #*
 this tree sandalwood at mountain over.there k.o.tree
 This is the sandalwood tree, on the mountain over there. (We call it) *upar*
 (explained as *kayu pemari* = a taboo tree).
- (76) *Pes # pes # minuman # pes # jadi minuman inaw #*
 sugar.palm palm drink palm so drink palm.wine
ini mənarbur
 this sugar.palm
 The palm, the *pes*, so what they drink is this round (species).²⁵
- (77) *Karna mənarbur itu / dia punya buah yang bulat #*
 because palm that it possess fruit REL round
 Because this *mənarbur*, it is the one which has round fruits.
- (78) *Kalau buah yang panjang itu / yang dong pakai / minum #*
 if fruit REL long that REL they use drink
 As for the species with long fruits, that's the one they use for drinking.
- (79) *Ini rar-u # rumah # rar # lar-u # kwaw #*
 this house-CIT house house house-CIT dog
 This [Jonathan points out other sections of the wall painting] is the house.
Rar (means) house. (And that's the) dog.²⁶
- (80) *Undow / burung tahun #*
 hornbill bird year
 The *undow* (that's) the hombill.
- (81) *Ini / kakatua raja / apa kakatua biru # unyir # unyir #*
 this cockatoo king what cockatoo blue k.o.bird k.o.bird
 This is the King cockatoo, that's the blue cockatoo, (we call it) *unyir*.

²⁴ The name was explained to me as a kind of tree which is good for building. Dr W. Vink of the Rijksherbarium of Leiden gave me the scientific name as *Dracontomelum dao*.

²⁵ In all three instances the final /s/ of *pes* is drawn out. Jonathan's comments here explain that from the nipah palm the people obtain their palm wine, which in Irianese Malay is *inaw*. But the following lines suggest that the species with long fruits yields the palm wine, while *mənarbur* is identified as the species with the round fruit.

²⁶ In this line two realisations of 'house' are given: [rar] and [lar].

- (82) *Trus burung kecil nama (mwawarnyen) langit itu manimar #*
 then bird small name (?) sky that k.o.bird
 Then, the small birds are called (meaning of *mwawarnyen* is not clear), in the sky they are called *manimar*.
- (83) *Karaw ini / uyaki # burung kakatua raja # uyaki #*
 if this black.cockatoo bird cockatoo king black.cockatoo
 As for this one, this is the King cockatoo, (we call it) *uyaki*.
- (84) *Utubwow # burung kuning #*
 bird.of.paradise bird yellow
 The *utubwow* is the Lesser bird of paradise (= *cenderawasih*).
- (85) *Burung kuning ini / mwa /*
 bird yellow this (?)
 The Lesser bird of paradise ...
- (86) *Jadi daerah Irian Jaya hanya / binatang kuat tidak ada #*
 so area Irian Jaya only animal strong not are
 So these are the only (important ones) in the area of Irian Jaya. Large animals are not found here.
- (87) *Hanya / ini yang tinggal dalam Irian #*
 only this REL live in Irian
 It's only these (birds) that live in Irian.
- (88) *Ap harimau tidak ada / kera tidak ada / monyet tidak ada #*
 what tiger not be ape not be monkey not be
 Tigers, apes, monkeys (and so on) are not found here.
- (89) *Trus / manas uo # tetap masin # ya ini #*
 then enough already exact ? yes this
 Then, that's enough now.
- (90) *Intonya dini alang-alang / sinai / sinai-u #*
 ? this sword.grass sword.grass
 This [Jonathan points at another section of the paintings] here is the area of sword grass, (we call it) *sinai*.
- (91) *Sinai-u Arbok # ini Arbok # di Maruni di-atas #*
 sword.grass Arbok this Arbok at Maruni at-above
 The sword grass area on Arbok (= name of mountain), there above Maruni.
- (92) *Maruni / Warbederi situ / ada girihan batu itu #*
 Maruni Warbederi there be mill stone that
 Maruni, near Warbederi there, where a stone mill is.²⁷
- (93) *Ini wow # Arbok # batan dua # Arbok #*
 this mountain Arbok bridge two Arbok
 This is the mountain. Arbok. There are two bridges. (Near) Arbok.

²⁷ Indonesian *gilingan batu* is pronounced as [giriħanbatu].

- (94) *Gunung Umsini # Umsini ni bahasa Mansim # Umsini #*
 mountain Umsini Umsini this language Mansim Umsini
 That's Mount Umsini, in the Mansim language it is *Umsini*.
- (95) *Umsin # kalau bahasa Hatam woideito Umcena #*
 Umsin if language Hatam ? Umcena
 Umsin, in the Hatam language they say *Umcena*.
- (96) *Umcena # tapi bahasa Mansim Umsini #*
 Umcena but language Mansim Umsini
 Umcena, but in the Mansim language it is Umsini.
- (97) *Umsini / das-o Mar-en du-nwok Umsini # tu berarti /*
 Umsini stand-CIT Warmare-in 1SG-see Umsini that mean
 Umsini, if I stand at Warmare, I can see Umsini, that means,
- (98) *kau berdiri d-uarmare tunjuk Umsini begini #*
 you stand at-Warmare point Umsini like.this
 if you are in Warmare, you can see Umsini.
- (99) *Warmare dua atau Warmare satu / tunjuk Umsini # ya #*
 Warmare two or Warmare one point Umsini yes
 At Warmare two or Warmare one, you can see Umsini. Yes.
- (100) *Trus ini / kali Maruni # Urpwep # waru # war # Urpwep #*
 then this river Maruni Urpwep water water Urpwep
 Next this, is the River Maruni, (called) Urpwep, (in Mansim it is) water, river,
 Urpwep.
- (101) *War bem-Urpwep / bomo Urpwep tan # Ungmanu #*
 water ?-Urpwep meet Urpwep inside Ungman
 The river that joins with the Urpwep, that's the Ungman.²⁸
- (102) *Kari kecil yang tembus di Maruni ini # Ungman #*
 river small REL emerge at Maruni this Ungman
 The small river that branches off the Maruni, this is the Ungman.
- (103) *Ah / ini / Urpwep brar den-i # dya pu kepala # Maruni #*
 ah this Urpwep headwater 3SG.POS-LNK it POS head Maruni
 Ah, this is the headwaters of the Maruni, its headwaters. (Of the) Maruni.
- (104) *Trus / ogu # usi / usi ir dor-o # war yapap #*
 then cuscus k.o.tree k.o.tree come ascend water bank
 Next, the cuscus (?), the *usi* tree, it comes up along the river bank.²⁹
- (105) *Itu pinggir kali # war yapap # mwaw # mut # mut #*
 that side river water bank fish mut mut
 That means river bank, (in Mansim) *war yapap*, there is a fish, the *mut* (repeated).

²⁸ I am not sure what the material preceding *Urpwep* signifies; it could be a realisation of *gwem* 'small'.

²⁹ It is not quite clear what *ogu* and *usi* in this line refer to. From one of the songs in Appendix 1 it is clear that *usi* means '(a kind of) kangaroo'; but in his comments on the transcription Jonathan simply told about a tree that was growing at the river bank. So, I took it that *usi* referred to some tree. The next lines, however, suggest that it was a fish *mut* that climbed the tree, confused with (or changed into) a cuscus *usi*. *Ogu* remains unexplained.

- (106) *Sor par Urpwep-e di dur ow #*
ascend from Urpwep-LNK come ascend tree
It flies up from the River Urpwep and then climbs the tree.
- (107) *Usi ni rem wow #*
tree this eat fruit
The *usi* tree, and it eats its fruit.³⁰
- (108) *Briw-u dir / duapak war-en / paitua dari lau /*
old.man-CIT come ? water-in old.man from sea
pantai ke gunung #
coast towards mountain
The old man (= ancestor) comes from the water, the old man comes from the sea, [repairs his mistake] from the coast towards the mountains.
- (109) *Dia jalan ke / bulan terang # dia pikir / kuskus #*
he travel to moon bright he think cuscus
He travels to, [repairs his mistakes] it is full moon. He thinks that there is a cuscus.
- (110) *Dia pegang senjata bambu turu senjata bambu #*
he hold weapon bamboo descends weapon bamboo
He is holding a rifle, he takes down a rifle.
- (111) *Dia pakai hagir # dia tembak jatu ke bawah #*
he use shot he shoot fall towards down
He uses shot, and he shoots it down.
- (112) *Bukan-ni kuskus / ikan # mwaw # mut #*
not-this cuscus fish fish k.o.fish
But it is not a cuscus, it is a fish, a mut.
- (113) *Ah / dia isi / bawa ke rumah #*
ah he fill carry towards house
Ah, he puts it in his bag and takes it home.
- (114) *Dia tanya ipar / mbrofa / mwaw lik-em-a?*
he ask brother.in.law brother.in.law fish 3PL-eat-Q
He asks his brother-in-law: Brother-in-law, do you want to eat fish?³¹
- (115) *Trus dia pu-ipar bilang / ah / mwaw mu-k-em*
then he POS-brother.in.law say ah fish for-DU-eat
Then his brother-in-law said: Ah, when fish want to eat,³²

³⁰ Rather confusing, cf. footnote 29. But the story seems to be that the fish *mut* flew up out of the water and climbed the tree as a cuscus to eat from its fruit.

³¹ I have no explanation for the form *lik-em*. The verb 'to eat' is given as *dem*, Hatam form is *yem*, but it is not clear what *lik* is. Commenting on the transcription, Jonathan gave *mwaw kwem-a?* explained as 'fish, eating, right?', which did not help me to sort out the person morpheme.

³² Here again, as in line (116), the Malay translations were not such that I could determine what the prefix *mu-* signifies. The glosses indicate what was given as equivalents: *mukem* 'untuk makan' = 'for eating'; *mupwep* in (116) was explained as *di kali* = 'in the river'.

- (116) *mu-pwep biasa # biasa mwaw / kep #*
 in-river normal normal fish hold
 (they live) normally in the river, usually fish stay there.
- (117) *Selap munyam ənunya dulu s-ar tangaw ow wow rek #*
 when hungry ? first 3PL-go search tree fruit eat
 When they are hungry, then they go and search the trees for food.³³
- (118) *Dia lapar # itu yang dia keluar /*
 he hungry that REL he go.out
 He was hungry, that's why he comes out (of the water),
- (119) *cari buah # kayu buah dia makan #*
 search fruit tree fruit he eat
 ... and looks for fruit. The tree fruits he eats.
- (120) *Jadi / ikan punya nama /mwaw# mwaw bwem ini / bwem / mut #*
 so fish possess name fish fish name this name k.o.fish
 So, the name of the fish, (in Mansim it is) *mwaw*, the name of the fish is *mut*.
- (121) *Mbriw əni / bwem nia / Sərupwet #*
 old.man this name this Sərupwet
 The old man's name is *Sərupwet*.
- (122) *Paitua ini nama Sərupwet # ikan punya nama mut #*
 old.man this name Sərupwet fish possess name k.o.fish
 The old man (ancestor) is called *Sərupwet*, the fish is called *mut*.
- (123) *Ya / jadi / yang / apa / ini / mor uo # diwo #*
 yes so REL what this night already moon
 Yes, so, this, [Jonathan points to the same painting which depicts a night scene, in black and grey tones], what, this is, it is already night, (there's the) moon.³⁴
- (124) *Itu bulan terang jadi gelap-gelap begini / satu bulan yang terang ini #*
 that moon bright so dark-dark like.this one moon REL bright this
 That's when there is full moon, so it is darkish like this, and there's a full moon.
- (125) *Sepuntut ikan yang cari buah yang makan # tu sudah #*
 so.that fish REL search fruit REL eat that already
 So that's the fish that is searching for fruit that he eats. That's it.

Jonathan Mansim on the language

Following the comments on the wall paintings, Jonathan provided some more language material. Many elements present problems for a thorough morphological analysis at this stage. Jonathan's pronunciation seems to diverge somewhat from what I recorded in slow

³³ While the original recording gave *rek* as final element, in slow speech commenting on it, Jonathan supplied for this line:

... *munyam tangau ow wow rem.*

hungry search tree fruit eat

When he is hungry, he searches tree fruits to eat.

³⁴ *Diwo* is probably *diyū* 'moon' + *uo* 'already'.

speech from Marice. He also seems to fluctuate with respect to the person marking of verbs. In response to my questions, meant to check if, for example, my pronunciation of a word or phrase was correct, he would give some general comment or give a fast delivered new sentence, whose components are not always transparent. In spite of these limitations, I believe it is worthwhile to include some of this material since it does provide some evidence of Mansim's relation to Hatam and Numfor.

(126) *Macam saya tanya / maitua mau kemana?*
 manner I ask old.woman want to.where
 For example, when I ask: Mother, where are you going?

(127) *Nanu n-dirapo we?*
 you 2SG-go where
 Where are you going?

(128) *An-dirap monen kə-na-wom?*
 2SG-go garden SPEC-2SG-one
 You are going to the garden by yourself?

The person marker in (128) could be the prefix *n-* as in (127) augmented with a vowel. None of the other material I obtained exhibits a vowel in this case. Following (128), Jonathan explains the form *kə-na-wom* with the material of line (129).

(129) *Kə-na-wom itu pu-sendiri # tra bisa # harus dua orang #*
 SPEC-2SG-one that POS-self not can must two person
 Alone, means by oneself. That's not possible, one has to go with someone else.

(130) *Nok / kə-non war # do-wasi-ma # saya iko ko #*
 like SPEC-you not 1SG-follow-you I follow you
 Like, you don't go by yourself, I'll go with you.

It looks like *kə-non* is a contraction of *kə-na-wom*. Lines (131) and (132) provide evidence for a dual marker, which is *k-* in one instance, *kang-* in another. Possibly it should be parsed as Malay *ka* 'if' and 1PL *ng-*.

(131) *Ka na kə-na-wom na da-wit nan # k-irap monen #*
 if you SPEC-2SG-one you 1SG-follow you 1DU-go garden
 If you go by yourself, I'll go with you. We two go to the garden.

(132) *Kang-ar-i mon / d-ar-i mon-o / nə-bar-u kwon ta-uo #*
 1DU-go-LNK garden 1SG-go-LNK garden-CIT 1PL-carry-CIT lift ?-already
 We will go to the garden, I'll go to the garden and we will carry stuff.

It is possible that the unidentified element *ta* is in fact a verb, since Hatam has the verb *ta* 'to plant', because this line is directly followed by (8) which lists a number of plants.

(133) *Siep-poto iimur-(p)oto makeso ma məkeso wat*
 sweet.potato-seedling cassava-seedling k.o.taro that k.o.taro banana
kəmwonone kag-ərow monen #
 all.that 1DU-plant garden
 Sweet potato seedlings, cassava seedlings, taros, bananas, we plant in the garden.

Line (133) was explained as *saya tanam di kebun* 'I plant in the garden'. I suspect that *kəmwonone* is a form equivalent to Hatam *gi-ma-yok* 'NOM-that-they' expressing

something like 'and all such things', rather similar to 'and so on'. The person marker on the verb *kag-* occurs also in line (134). It remains unexplained.

- (134) *Kag-ərow monen # monen awi? Kram #*
 1DU-plant garden garden which Kram
 We plant the garden. Which garden? At the Kram mountain.

At first, *kram* was simply explained as 'above, on the mountain', later it became clear that it is the name of a limestone mountain near Maripi.

- (135) *Macam ko / mkoras ni kə-sar / amey n-dirapo wo?*
 like you child this 3PL-ask mother 2SG-go where
 For example when you, the children ask: Mother, where are you going?

The person marker *k-*, which I labelled as 'first person dual', above, appears to be used for third person plural (or dual) in (135). In other words, its exact reference is not at all clear.

- (136) *Sekarang / də-prap-ə nina mungkun / turow #*
 now 1SG-speak this true true
 Now, I speak truly.
- (137) *Dəgubat ni / dəgubat ni turow brung ini #*
 ancestor this ancestor this come.from ground this
 My ancestors are from this land.

The form *dəgubat ni* clearly contains *dəgup*, given earlier for 'parent, ancestor'. The composite looks very similar to what Hatam has as *digup-bat-nya* 'grandfathers' in which *bat* is a morpheme analysed as 'collective' and *nya* as plural marker, only applicable to human nouns.

When commenting on (136), the form *tur* was explained as *betul* 'true'. I suspect Jonathan's comment in fact pertains to the whole utterance, including line (137), namely that it is true that his ancestors originated from this area. In that case *turow* is a form of the verb *urow* 'originate, come from' in both (136) and (137).

- (138) *Brung ini supaya ng-w-atur mukun # muswar ini #*
 ground this in.order 1PL-VBL-order well cassowary this
 This ground in order that we arrange it well. The cassowary.
- (139) *Kamar e fa-ambos b-un-iyu # ambos d-un eni # begitu #*
 room LNK CAUS-room 2SG-POS-that room 1SG-POS this like.that
 That room is your room, (another) room is mine. That's how it is.

The terse comments of (139) seem to express that the division of land is like the division of rooms in a house, as explained in line (140). The word *ambos* is Numfor 'room', prefixed with Numfor causative *fa-*. In (139) two deictics can be isolated, *iyu* 'that, there' and *eni* 'this, here'.

- (140) *Jadi / macam / rumah ini ko pi kamar sana / sa pi kamar e #*
 so like house this you POS room there I POS room this
 So, it is for example, with this house, your room is there, my room is here.
- (141) *Də-bo-campurə d-u(n) pe #*
 1SG-VBL-mix 1SG-POS don't
 We shouldn't mix.

The general meaning of (141) is clear from the Malay explanation *jangan campur saya* 'Don't mix with me', or 'I shouldn't mix (with others)'. This allows the identification of the Indonesian loan *campur* 'mix' and possibly the Mansim prefix *wo-*, but now with a plosive, which turns it into a Mansim verb and the prohibitive adverb *pe* 'don't'. The other material is less certain.

- (142) *Jadi / kə-ton k-urwa k-a Mansim tənun*
 so 3DU-descend 3DU-originate 3DU-go Mansim continuing
mancatəruma / tapi som bahasa #
 ?? but one language
 So, they originated and became Mansim and for a long time (?they divided into various groups?) but they (spoke) one language.

It is not certain whether *k-* on the verbs in (142) should be analysed as 'dual' or 'plural'. The form *som* seems to mean 'one' but the numeral one is in fact *wom*. See also (157) below.

- (143) *Du-mwot tənun #*
 1SG-child continuing
 My children continue.
- (144) *Ini da-mwe-sup Ungmop # batasir # mesur Mop #*
 this 1SG-do-border Mupi border border Mupi
 This we have our border as far as Mupi.

Ungmop is explained as the small River Mupi; why it is *batasir* and not *batas* is not clear, neither is the form *mesur*.

- (145) *Nə-mwe-sup Urur # ini da-mwe-sun Mar en #*
 1PL-do-border name.of.river this REL-do-border Warmare in
 Our border is the Urur Creek, our border is Warmare.
- (146) *Brung eni #*
 land this
 This (is our) land.
- (147) *Nane də-gubat ni # deduran / apa /*
 those 1SG-ancestor this in.the.past what
 Those were my ancestors, in the past, how was it again ...
- (148) *depo tong bar uo #*
 gospel descend not already
 Before the gospel came down.

Line (148) is explained by the Malay (149), which is repeated, before the sentence is continued by the Mansim material of (149)–(151).

- (149) *Itu injil belum turun /*
 that gospel not.yet descend
 Before the Gospel came down,
- (150) *aboikwai d-un-i #*
 parents 1SG-POS-LNK
 my parents.

- (151) *Aboikwai d-un-i (kro) k-ruwo par urpwet-o*
 parent 1SG-POS-LNK (stutter) 3DU-originate from Maruni-CIT
 My parents came originally from Maruni. (There is no pause between this and the following line.)
- (152) *noni-e k-irapo Udaya / k-wo-pake ubasa / ubasaikwotop #*
 he-LNK 3DU-go.to Andai 3DU-VBL-use language ??
 and when they went to Andai, they used the language. (*Ubasaikwotop* is not explained.)
- (153) *Kalau sita / saya tidak pakai baasa / susa #*
 if there I not use language difficult
 While there, I don't use the language, it's too difficult.
- (154) *D-urwo par Urpwet dirapo Udaya #*
 1SG-from from Maruni go.to Andai
 I came originally from Maruni and went to Andai.
- (155) *Esijara itu begitu #*
 history this like.that
 That's our history.

Following this closure, there followed more material, most of it in isolated Malay phrases with some Mansim, which in most cases presents so many uncertainties that its presentation would be fruitless. There are just a few utterances, however, that allow some parsing. These actually show that the person prefix *k-* is indeed also used to indicate third person plural.

- (156) *Prang kes / sudah # wom-wom / tungwotow -o- mwep mor*
 war left already one-one people one hear language
brer wa
 foreign already
 When the war was over, it was already (developed). A few people knew Indonesian.

The verb *kes* in (156) occurs also in Hatam with the meaning 'let go', here obviously meaning 'finished'. The Mansim noun *pran* (here with a velar nasal preceding the initial velar of the following word) is a loan word from Malay *perang* either directly, or through Numfor. The transitional vowel between *tungwotow* and *mwep* is perhaps the remnant of the numeral *wom*, whose consonants have fused with those of the adjacent words. That would also explain the lack of a person marker on *mwep*.

In (157), the person marker is clearly *k-*, but it could not possibly indicate a dual number, given the quantifier *wap* on the subject noun phrase. Notice that Jonathan pronounces 'now(adays)' *pədasin* (as taken from Eva and Marice) with lenition of both stops, and apocope of the final nasal.

- (157) *Barasi / sudah # tungwatow wap kə-mwep mor brer #*
 now already people all 3PL-hear language foreign
 Now it is already, all the people know Indonesian.

Appendix 3

Mansim–English–Indonesian dictionary

This short dictionary was formatted by Shoebox software. It gives English and Indonesian (i.e. the Irianese or Papuan variant of it) equivalents, both for the lemmas and the illustrative sentences. As much as possible, I have also tried to find the equivalents in van Hasselt and van Hasselt's Numfor dictionary (1947), even though it appears to contain various dialectal variants of the language Biak-Numfor, without consistent orthographical indications of phonemic contrasts in that language. Hatam equivalents are from my own fieldnotes. The spelling I used represents a broad phonetic description. Word-initial consonant clusters in general are broken up by a schwa, which I did not use in the dictionary.

A

- a** *Q-word*. Q; *Tanya*. Ref: I:19: **Ameiu, bung uo a?** Mother, are you already sleeping? *Bu, sudah tidur kah?* **Hatam:** *i*. **Numfor:** *o*.
- aboikwai** *n.* parents; *orangtua*. Ref: I:54: **Aboikwai dun ni kruwo par Upwet.** My parents came from Maruni. *Saya punya orangtua berasal dari Maruni.* **Hatam:** *andigpoi*. **Numfor:** *sinan, bebarara*.
- ai** *rel.* REL; *yang*. Ref: I:18: **Amen ai pwei nu** What's that smell? *Apa yang busuk?* Ref: I:18: **Ai bar!** No! *Itu tidak!* Ref: I:23: **Asmen ai den rar enu?** Whose house is that? *Rumah itu siapa punya?* Note: cf. Sougb *ai* and Meyah.
- ame** *Q-word*. what; *apa*. Ref: III:5: **Nanu nkinging ame?** What are you making? *Kau bikin apa?* **H a t a m:** *mindei*. **Numfor:** *ro mundi; rosei*.
- amei** *n.* mother; *mama; ibu*. **Hatam:** *amei*. See **mem** 'mother'. Note: Used as vocative.
- amen** [alternative: *ame*] *Q-word*. what; *apa*. Ref: I:18: **Amen ai pwei nu?** What is that smell? *Apa yang busuk?* Ref: I:18: **Inu(n) ame** What's this? *Itu apa?* **Hatam:** *mindei*. **Numfor:** *rosei; ro mundi*.
- ames** *v.* embarrassed; *malu*. Ref: I:79: **Nan names pe.** Don't be shy. *Jangan malu.* **Hatam:** *mmai*. **Numfor:** *ma*.
- ampwop** *n.* bow, arrow; *busur, anak panah*. Ref: I:67, 79. **Hatam:** *hampiab*. **Numfor:** *marya*. Note: **Ampwop** is also translated as *anak panah* and *kalaway*. (*kalaway* is local Malay for 'barbed arrow').
- amu** *n.* star; *bintang*. Ref: I:5. **Hatam:** *ham*. **Numfor:** *mak*.
- ani** [alternative: *ni*] *dem.* here; *disini*. Ref: I:14: **Niwap muam ani.** We are all sitting here. *Kita semua duduk disini.* **Hatam:** *sini*. **Numfor:** *ine*. See **anu** 'there'.
- anu** [alternative: *nu*] *dem.* there; *disana*. Ref: I:14: **Syenu suwam anun.** They are sitting there. *Mereka duduk disana.* **Hatam:** *sima*. **Numfor:** *orya*. See **ani** 'here'.
- ap** *spat.n.* on top; *diatas*. Ref: I:20: **Syewap suwamo meja ap.** They all are sitting on top of the table. *Mereka semua duduk diatas meja.* **H a t a m:** *dip*. **Numfor:** *bo(ri)*.
- ar** [alternative: *dar; kar*] *v.* go, walk; *berjalan*. Ref: I:18: **Nanu bwodir ngkar den.** Come, we're going now. *Mari, kita jalan.* Ref: I:22: **Danu pdasin dar.** I'm going now. *Saya pergi sekarang.* **Hatam:** *mbut, ug*. **Numfor:** *bran*. [Etym: panaw > pana; ba; fa; ha; lakaw > la(k)o.]
- arap** *v.* pull; *tarik*. Ref: I:28: **Nan narap da pe.** Don't pull me. *Jangan tarik saya.* Ref: I:28: **Dan darap nan baro monen nprod en.** I pull you lest you fall to the

ground. *Saya tarik kau supaya tidak jatuh.* **Hatam:** *brim.* **Numfor:** *sarap.*

armaran *v.* woman; *orang perempuan..* Ref: I:30; III:3: **Danu munggwem dun armaran.** My daughter. *Saya punya anak perempuan.* **Hatam:** *sop.* **Numfor:** *bin.* See **arpon** 'man'.

arpon *n.* man; *orang lakilaki.* Ref: I:30. **Hatam:** *pinai.* **Numfor:** *man; baroi.* See **armaran** 'woman'.

aru *n.* sugar; *tebu.* Ref: I:7. **Hatam:** *nghai.* **Numfor:** *kob.*

as *v.* stand; *berdiri.* Ref: II:3: **Syenu sasarar poram.** They are standing in front of the house. *Mereka berdiri dimuka rumah.* **Hatam:** *ya.* **Numfor:** *ores.* See **pras** 'get up'.

asar¹ *n.* brideprice; *maskawin.* Ref: I:64. **Hatam:** *mimbron.* **Numfor:** *ararem.*

asar² *n.* banyan; *beringin.* Ref: I:7. **Hatam:** *asar.* **Numfor:** *asar.* See **urow** 'banyan'.

asme *Q-word.* who; *siapa.* Ref: II:5: **Mwoijin mai asme?** Who did you ask for permission? *Kamu minta ijin sama siapa?* **Hatam:** *tou.* **Numfor:** *mundi(ri)si.*

asmen *Q-word.* who; *siapa.* Ref: III:7: **Asmen ai kwoto rar ninu?** Who built this house? *Siapa yang ikat rumah ini?* **Hatam:** *tou.* **Numfor:** *mundi(ri)si.*

asran *n.* patience; *sabar.* Ref: I:28: **Asran asran.** Wait a moment. *Sabar sabar.* **Hatam:** *arimman.*

atai *n.* boy; *anak lakilaki.* **Hatam:** *pinai.* **Numfor:** *rom.* See **nang** 'girl'.

aw *v.* cut; *potong.* Ref: I:10, 21: **Danu dkraw mnding da daw ow kaw.** I take a knife and cut the leaf. *Saya pakai pisau potong daun pohon.* **Hatam:** *tot.* **Numfor:** *papk; suf.*

awi *Q-word.* which; *mana.* Ref: I:52: **Monen awi?** Which garden? *Kebun mana?* **Hatam:** *tou.* **Numfor:** *ro sei.*

awo *Q-word.* where; *dimana.* Ref: III:7: **Syenu sir awo?** Where are they going? *Mereka pergi kemana?* **Hatam:** *hantou.* **Numfor:** *mob-o.* Note: Numfor *mob* 'place' + *o* 'question marker'.

B

bar *v.* carry, bring; *bawa, ambil.* Ref: I:2, 21: **Danu dbar ow.** I carry the wood. *Saya bawa kayu.* Ref: I:27: **Danu dbar mnar dar den.** I carry the bag and go now. *Saya bawa noken mau pigi.* **Hatam:** *ttei.* **Numfor:** *bar.*

bar¹ *adv.* not; *tidak.* Ref: I:18: **Nanu mbung bar a?** You're not sleeping? *Kau tra tidur kah?* **Hatam:** *big.* **Numfor:** *ba.* See **baro** 'lest'.

bar² *n.* something; *apa.* Ref: II:7. **Hatam:** *mun.* **Numfor:** *ino; ker.*

baro³ *conj.* lest; *supaya tidak.* Ref: I:27: **Nkraw kiem, baro prot.** Hold it tight, lest it falls. *Pegang kuat supaya tidak jatuh.* Ref: I:28: **Dan darap nan baro monen nprod en.** I pull you lest you fall to the ground. *Saya tarik kau supaya tidak jatuh.* See **bar** 'not'.

barwo *adv.* not yet; *belum.* Ref: I:26: **Nenu wadir barwo.** She has not come yet. *Dia belum datang.* **Hatam:** *bigyo.* **Numfor:** *ba-im.* See **bar** 'not'. [Etym: bar + uo.]

baw *n.* string; *tali.* Ref: I:7; III:1: **Danu dukwoto baw ininu.** I roll up this cord. *Saya bergelung tali ini.* **Hatam:** *bab.* **Numfor:** *kabray.*

bawro *v.* carry from head; *bawa di kepala.* Ref: I:76: **Danu dbawro mnar dun.** I carry my string bag from my head. *Saya bawa noken di kepala.*

biyai *spat.n.* behind; *dibelakang.* Ref: II:3: **Syenu sasarar biyai.** They are standing behind the house. *Mereka berdiri dibelakang rumah.* **Hatam:** *ninghim.* **Numfor:** *warpur.* See **poram** 'in front of'.

boi [alternative: umboi] *adj.* much; *banyak*. Ref: I:17: **Dprap boi**. I talk a lot. *Saya bicara banyak*. Ref: I:24: **Om boi bnas**. A very big fire. *Api besar sekali*. **Hatam:** *mang*. **Numfor:** *bor*. Note: cf. *Hatam bibor* 'very'.

bom *v.* join; *ketemu*. Ref: I:47: **War bomo Urpwep tan**. River that joins the Maruni. *Kali yang tembus di Maruni*. **Hatam:** *bam*. **Numfor:** *uk; dor*.

bon *adj.* heavy; *berat*. Ref: III:4: **Ow ni bon**. This tree is heavy. *Kayu ini berat*. **Hatam:** *buhun*. **Numfor:** *merbak*. See *ngwak* 'light'.

bos *n.* nettle leaf; *daun gatal*. Ref: I:42. **Hatam:** *bu*. **Numfor:** *saraken*.

brar *n.* headwater; *kepala air*. Ref: I:47: **Urpwep brar deni**. The headwaters of the Maruni River. *Maruni dia punya kepala*. **Hatam:** *nibrig*.

braw *n.* knee; *lutut*. Ref: I:17, 38: **Ngwow wom, braw yan**. One tree with two branches. *Satu pohon, tapi dua cabang*. **Hatam:** *biau*. **Numfor:** *we-pur*.

brem *n.* rain; *hujan*. Ref: I:5: **Bremu ton uo**. It's already raining. *Sudah hujan*. **Hatam:** *biged*. **Numfor:** *porem*.

brer *n.* foreign; *asing*. Ref: I:9: **Mor brer**. Indonesian. *Bahasa Indonesia*. **Hatam:** *mbrei*. **Numfor:** *amber*. See *pumbrer* 'foreigner'.

bror *n.* hole; *kolam*. Ref: I:23: **Bror tan**. Inside the hole. *Didalam lobang*. **Hatam:** *juig*. **Numfor:** *dore*.

brung *n.* ground; *tanah*. Ref: I:5. **Hatam:** *dihai*. **Numfor:** *saprop*. See *brungen*.

brungen *n.* inside the ground; *tanah*. Ref: I:23: **Ndeiyo brungen**. It goes into the ground. *Masuk tanah*. See *brung*.

bur [alternative: bor] *v.* hit; *pukul*. Ref: I:10: **Mbor pe**. Don't hit (me). *Jangan pukul*. **Hatam:** *bui*. **Numfor:** *waprer; mun*.

bwem *n.* name; *nama*. Ref: II:5,7: **Ot mbun bwem enu uo?** What was the name of the ship? *Proa itu nama apa?*

Ref: I:30: **Nubwem ame?** What's your name? *Namamu siapa?* **Hatam:** *nyeng*. **Numfor:** *snon*.

bwer *n.* cooking pot; *belanga*. Ref: I:77. **Hatam:** *yeng*. **Numfor:** *bako; uren*.

bwotpinai *Q-word* why; *kenapa*. Ref: I:19: **Nanu bwotpinai nburo kwa nu?** Why do you hit that dog? *Kenapa engkau pukul anjing itu?* **Hatam:** *nggon rino*.

C

cagwemu *n.* grandchild; *cucu*. Ref: I:31. **Hatam:** *digai; digup*. **Numfor:** *kepu*. See *iyutu* 'grandmother'.

D

danu *pron.* I; *saya*. **Hatam:** *dani*. **Numfor:** *(a)ya*.

dem *v.* eat; *makan*. Ref: I:3: **Nanu ndem mwaw**. You eat fish. *Engkau makan ikan*. **Hatam:** *yem*. **Numfor:** *an*.

den¹ *adv.* now; *sekarang*. Ref: I:20: **Dem rukem den**. I am eating a *langsat* now. *Sekarang saya makan langsung*. Ref: I:27: **Danu dbar mnar dar den**. I carry the bag and go now. *Saya bawa noken mau pigi*.

den² *poss.* POS; *punya*. Ref: I:23: **Rar ne asmen ai den?** Whose house is this? *Rumah ini siapa punya?* **Hatam:** *-de*. **Numfor:** *-di; -si; -da; -na*. See *dun* 'my'.

dgup *n.* ancestor; *nenemoyang*. Ref: I:33, 35. **Hatam:** *pung*. **Numfor:** *apuy*. Note: It is explained as equivalent to *Hatam pung*, which means *fam* 'family'; cf. *Hatam digup* 'great-grandfather'; *Numfor apuy* is 'grandfather'.

dir *v.* come; *datang*. Ref: I:19: **Kwa ne nanu nir**. Dog, you come. *Anjing datang kesini*. Ref: I:19: **Nanu bwodir!** Come in! *Silahkan masuk!* **Hatam:** *kwei*.

Numfor: *rama*. See **iyei** 'enter'; **dirap** 'go'. [*Erym*: ma(R)i > mari > mai > ma.]

dirap [alternative: *direpo*] *v.* go; *pergi*. Ref: I:18, 22, 31; III:6: **Dirap Mnuwar den**. I am going to Manokwari now. *Saya pergi ke Manokwari*. Ref: I:19: **Danu direpo Mnuwar**. I go to Manokwari. *Saya pergi ke Manokwari*. Ref: I:19: **New dirapo wow uo**. She has gone to the mountain. *Dia sudah naik gunung*. **Hatam:** *ug ei*. Note: The relation to **dir** 'come' is not clear.

dit *v.* unintentionally hit or touch; *kena*. Ref: I:27: **Nmow dit dan dkwai dprot**. Your arm hit me and I almost fell. *Kau punya tangan kena saya, saya hampir jatuh*. **Hatam:** *ndei*. **Numfor:** *jiur*; *min*. See **tug** 'touch'. Note: Exact meanings are uncertain.

diyu¹ *n.* moon; *bulan*. **Hatam:** *beda*. **Numfor:** *paik*.

Diyu² *n.* bamboo; *bambu*. Ref: I:7. **Hatam:** *hambuig*. **Numfor:** *amen*.

dor *v.* ascend; *naik*. Ref: I:5,16: **Prow dor**. The sun comes up. *Matahari naik*. **Hatam:** *pri*. **Numfor:** *daber*. See **rok** 'descend'; **kur** 'climb'. Note: Hatam *dor* means 'to run'; Numfor *dor* means 'to meet', 'to find'.

dot [alternative: *dut*] *v.* drink; *minum*. Ref: I:44: **Ndut boi pes menan**. When you drink a lot of palm wine you get drunk. *Kalau minum banyak, jadi mabuk*. **Hatam:** *dut*. **Numfor:** *inem*.

dpwi *Q-word*. how; *bagaimana*. Ref: III:8: **Nanu nukwot rar ni dpwi?** How did you build this house? *Bagaimana kau ikat rumah ini?* Ref: III:8: **Dpwi na wot a?** Why are you sick? *Bagaimana kau sakit?* **Hatam:** *notou*. **Numfor:** *raris*.

dun *poss.* my; *saya punya*. Ref: I:23: **Kungwoto rar dun**. We build my house. *Kita bangun saya punya rumah*. See **den** '3SG.POS'.

dunim *n.* wife; *ibu*. Ref: I:23, 30: **Danu dunim dun**. My wife. *Saya punya isteri*. **Hatam:** *ditnem*. **Numfor:** *swa(ri)*. See **urwep** 'husband'. Note: 1SG **dunim**, 2SG **mbunim**.

duwew *n.* tongue; *lidah*. Ref: I:9: **Dudwew**. My tongue. *Saya punya lidah*. Ref: I:9: **Budwew**. Your tongue. *Kau punya lidah*. **Hatam:** *dweba*. **Numfor:** *kaprer*; *ramar*.

duwow *n.* eye; *mata*. Ref: I:16: **Nanu bun duwow**. Your eye(s). *Engkau punya mata*. Ref: I:16: **Danu duwow dun**. My eye(s). *Saya punya mata*. **Hatam:** *yai*. **Numfor:** *mg*.

E

en *spat.n.* inside; *didalam*. Ref: II:3: **Niwap mwamo rar en**. We are all sitting in the house. *Kita semua duduk didalam rumah*. **Hatam:** *bei*. See **tan** 'inside'; **ir** 'under'.

ena *v.* speak; *bilang*. Ref: II:6, 7: **Kena baro?** What are they saying? *Mereka bilang apa?* **Hatam:** *pai*. **Numfor:** *faya*.

eri *v.* give; *kasih*. Ref: I:21: **Danu derio mai ataiu**. I give it to the boy. *Saya kasih kepada anak lakilaki*. **Hatam:** *yai*. **Numfor:** *be*; *buk*.

G

ga *adj.* dry; *kering*. Ref: III:5: **Sansun dun ga uo**. My clothes are already dry. *Pakaian sudah kering*. **Hatam:** *ngga*. **Numfor:** *sior*. See **tor** 'wet'. Note: Numfor *sior* is **tor** in Mansim; a switch?

gas *v.* tear; *robek*. Ref: I:28: **Danu dgaso kertaso**. I tear the paper. *Saya robek kertas*. **Hatam:** *rik*. **Numfor:** *(m)sap*.

get *n.* chest; *dada*. **Hatam:** *ngged*. **Numfor:** *ander*.

gwem *adj.* small; *kecil*. Ref: I:4: **Raru gwem**. A small house. *Rumah kecil*. Ref: III:4: **Kwa gwem**. Young dog. *Anak anjing*. **Hatam:** *mien*. **Numfor:** *mgun*. See **munggwem** 'child'. Note: Also given for 'narrow'.

H

hantaw *n.* snake. Ref: II:3: **Hantaw gwem**. Worm. *Ular*. **Hatam:** *wou*. **Numfor:** *ikak*.

I

igom *all;* *semua*. Ref: I:73: **Igom kprim**. Many (children) are singing. *Banyak menyanyi*. Ref: I:73: **Igom kpmam**. They're all crying. *Semua menangis*. **Hatam:** *yahagom*. **Numfor:** *kam; kaim*.

ir *spat.n.* under; *dibawah*. Ref: I:20, II:3: **Ow ir**. Under the tree. *Dibawah pohon*. **Hatam:** *behei*. **Numfor:** *wabni; bab*. See **tan** 'inside'.

iyani *v.* push; *dorong*. Ref: I:28: **Diyani na nprot wayi monen**. I push you to the ground. *Saya dorong kau jatuh kena tanah*. **Hatam:** *rok*. **Numfor:** *ponsar*.

iyari *v.* run; *lari*. Ref: I:19: **Kwa nen iyari utu**. The dog is running there. *Anjing lari kesana*. **Hatam:** *dor*. **Numfor:** *frar; sror*.

iyei *v.* enter; *masuk*. Ref: I:19, 24: **Niyei nir!** Come in! *Silahkan masuk!* **Hatam:** *coi*. **Numfor:** *rafrun*. See **dir** 'come'.

iyumwar *v.* bathe; *mandi*. Ref: I:78: **Atai, bwodir, baro sabonu, diyumwar**. Boy, come, bring the soap, I want to bathe. *Anak, mari bawa sabun, saya mau mandi*. **Hatam:** *kek minyei*. **Numfor:** *ban*.

iyuten *n.* mouth; *mulut*. Ref: I:21: **Rukem prot paro diyuten si**. The *langsat* fruit is falling from my mouth. *Langsat jatuh geser saya punya mulut lagi*. **Hatam:** *huig*. **Numfor:** *sba*. Note:

Probably final **en** means 'inside', leaving **iyut** as 'mouth'.

iyutu *n.* grandmother; *nenek*. Ref: I:31: **Diyutu wakraw cagwemu**. His grandmother is holding her grandchild. *Dia punya nenek pegang dia punya cucu*. **Hatam:** *drot*. **Numfor:** *apuy; kepu*. See **nyenu** 'grandfather'.

J

jep *adj.* new; *baru*. Ref: I:73. **Hatam:** *njep*. **Numfor:** *abo*.

K

kak [alternative: *ukak*] *n.* sibling; *saudara*. Ref: III:3: **Dukak mboi**. My older sibling. *Saya punya kakak*. Ref: III:3: **Dukak igwem**. My younger sibling. *Saya punya adik*. **Hatam:** *kindig, kinjoi*. **Numfor:** *srar*. Note: It is not clear whether the vowel **u** belongs to the stem.

kamas *n.* food; *makanan*. Ref: I:77: **Dan derio kamas mai syeni sem**. I give them food to eat. *Saya kasi makanan untuk kamu makan*. **Hatam:** *njinta*. **Numfor:** *anan*.

kar *num.* three; *tiga*. Ref: I:20: **New kraw rukem da kar kwai**. He's got only three *langsat* fruits. *Dia pegang tiga langsung saja*. **Hatam:** *ningai*. **Numfor:** *kior*. [Etym: *toru*.]

kat *v.* close; *tutup*. Ref: I:75: **Nkato meru!** Close the door! *Tutup pintu!* **Hatam:** *nggam*. **Numfor:** *bekop; parium*.

kaw¹ *n.* pig; *babi*. Ref: I:24. **Hatam:** *nab*. **Numfor:** *ro man*.

kaw² *n.* leaf; *daun*. Ref: I:21: **Ow kaw**. Tree leaf. *Daun pohon*. **Hatam:** *mmeng*. **Numfor:** *ai-ke*.

- kek** *n.* skin; *kulit*. Ref: I:7, 21: **Ow kek**. Tree bark. *Kulit kayu*. **Hatam:** *ngkeg*. **Numfor:** *rib*.
- ken** *v.* put in; *mengisi*. Ref: II:3: **Danu dken siepu timoro mnar tan**. I put the cassavas in the string bag. *Saya mengisi ubi didalam noken*. Ref: I:49: **Danu duwaken mwaw mnar en**. I put the fish in the string bag. *Saya isi ikan dalam noken*. **Hatam:** *puoi*. **Numfor:** *ew*.
- kew** *v.* know; *tahu*. Ref: I:18: **Danu dkew uo**. I already know. *Saya sudah tahu*. Ref: II:6: **Danu dkew bar**. I don't know. *Saya tidak tahu*. Ref: I:20: **Danu dkewo demo rukem bar**. I have never eaten *langsat yet*. *Saya belum pernah makan langsung*. **Hatam:** *kan*. **Numfor:** *fawi*.
- kiem** *adj.* strong; *kuat*. Ref: I:27: **Nkraw kiem**. You hold it tight. *Pegang kuat*. **Hatam:** *ngkiem*. **Numfor:** *pok; sambrab*.
- kiew** *n.* shoulder; *bahu*. Ref: I:27: **Wasrew mnar nkiew**. Hang the bag on your shoulder. *Gantung noken dari bahu*. **Hatam:** *nghad; nyihe*. **Numfor:** *erdai*. See **uweikap** 'shoulder'.
- kinding** *v.* make; *bikin*. Ref: III:5: **Nkinding ame?** What are you making? *Kau bikin apa?* **Hatam:** *kinding*. **Numfor:** *frur*.
- kir** *n.* foot; *kaki*. Ref: I:9: **Dikir**. My leg. *Kaki saya*. **Hatam:** *mig*. **Numfor:** *we(si)*. See **dir** 'come'.
- knai** *adj.* bad; *tidak baik*. Ref: I:30. **Hatam:** *kinei*. **Numfor:** *barbor; bieba*.
- kok** [alternative: *kuk*] *v.* break; *patah*. Ref: I:28: **Danu dukuk ow na kuk uo**. I have broken the wood. *Saya patah kayu sudah patah*. Ref: I:28: **Wakapu kok**. (My) back is broken. *Punggung patah*. **Hatam:** *dahat*. **Numfor:** *kar; wef; msof*. Note: This verb apparently can be used both transitively and intransitively.
- kow** *n.* faeces; *tahi*. Ref: I:27: **Nanu daso kow pe**. Don't step in the shit. *Jangan menginjak tahi*. **Hatam:** *agoi*. **Numfor:** *kapu*.
- Kram** *n.* name of mountain; *nama gunung*. Ref: I:58, 68: **Kram ton e dar uo, war soren iyu**. The mountain (near Maripi) has broken off and is now in the sea. *Gunung ini dia putus tinggal di laut*.
- kraw** *v.* hold; *pegang*. Ref: I:20: **Dkraw rukem dawom kwai**. I hold just one *langsat* fruit. *Saya pegang satu langsung saja*. **Hatam:** *krau*. **Numfor:** *kin; wufi*.
- krong** *n.* ear; *telinga*. **Hatam:** *tingou*. **Numfor:** *kna*.
- krongen** *adj.* deaf; *tuli* Ref: I:17: **Nenu krongen**. She is deaf. *Dia tuli*. **Hatam:** *tingou nnam*. **Numfor:** *knasi pro*. See **krong** 'ear'.
- krow** *n.* thunder; *guntur*. Ref: I:5. **Hatam:** *krow*. **Numfor:** *kadadu*. Note: *c f*. Wandamen *kruya*.
- kuber** *v.* pour; *menuang*. Ref: I:75. **Hatam:** *siber*. **Numfor:** *wek*.
- kun** *poss.* their; *dong punya*. Ref: II:8: **Mansim kun**. It belongs to the Mansim. *Mansim punya*. See **den**²; **dun**.
- kur** *v.* climb; *panjat*. Ref: I:74: **Dkur owu niyo dprapi**. I climb the tree and then I jump down. *Saya panjat pohon baru loncat*. **Hatam:** *kui*. **Numfor:** *aber*. See **dor** 'ascend'; **tai** 'ascend'.
- kwai**¹ *adv.* only; *saja*. Ref: I:20 **Dkraw rukem da wom kwai**. I have just one *langsat* fruit. *Saya pegang satu langsung saja*. **Hatam:** *he*. **Numfor:** *yer; wauerik*. See **kwai** 'almost'.
- kwai**² *v.* almost; *hampir*. Ref: I:27: **Nmow dit dan dkwai dprot**. Your arm hit me and I almost fell. *Kau punya tangan kena saya, saya hampir jatuh*. See **kwai** 'only'.
- kwaw** [alternative: *kwa*] *n.* dog; *anjing*. Ref: I:30: **Kwa inu knai**. That dog is bad. *Anjing itu tidak baik*. **Hatam:** *nsien*. **Numfor:** *rofan*.
- kwet**¹ *v.* unroll; *membuka, lepaskan*. Ref: III:1: **Danu dukwet baw**. I unwind the string. *Saya membuka tali*. **Hatam:** *kwek; pas*. **Numfor:** *riwer*.

kwet² *n.* machete; *parang*. Ref: I:24, 76.
Hatam: *hamboi*. **Numfor:** *sumber*.

kwoboren [alternative: *mkwoboren*] *n.*
fly; *lalat*. Ref: I:66. **Hatam:** *kros*; *awab*.
Numfor: *kwaw*.

kwon *v.* lift up; *angkat*. Ref: I:36: **Mbriw kwon**. The old man lifted it up. *Paitua angkat (dia)*. **Hatam:** *kon*. **Numfor:** *ban*; *ow*.

kwondei *v.* throw; *buang*. Ref: I:21:
Danu dukwondei rukem kek. I throw
the *langsat* skin away. *Saya buang
langsat kulit*. **Hatam:** *com*. **Numfor:** *so*.

kwop *n.* sago; *sagu*. Ref: I:7. **Hatam:** *kob*.
Numfor: *bariam*.

kworan *v.* hide; steal; *bersembunyi*;
mencuri. Ref: I:76: **Danu dukworan
dan**. I hide. *Saya bersembunyi*. Ref:
I:76: **Dukworano mumpow**. I hide the
money. *Saya menyembunyikan uang*.
Hatam: *ku*. **Numfor:** *afof*; *yafyof*.

kwot [alternative: *gwot*] *v.* tie, weave;
ikat. Ref: III:1: **Danu dugwot baw
ininu**. I wind up this string. *Saya
bergelung tali ini*. **Hatam:** *ngot*.
Numfor: *amar*; *sas*; *nek*. See **kwet**
'unwind'.

M

mai *prep.* to; *kepada*. Ref: I:21: **Danu
derio rukem maio atai**. I give a *langsat*
fruit to the boy. *Saya kasi langsak kpd
anak lakilaki*. **Hatam:** *bak*. **Numfor:** *be*.

makes [alternative: *mngkes*] *n.* k.o.taro;
keladi, *kiya*. Ref: I:52; III:1. **Hatam:**
mino.

mangkruwep *n.* son-in-law; *menantu*.
Ref: I:32: **Mangkruwep dun**. My son-
in-law. *Saya punya menantu*. **Hatam:**
mang. **Numfor:** *manbukbin*; *nyo*.

mbriw *n.* old man; *paitua*. Ref: I:36.
Hatam: *andigpoi*. **Numfor:** *mansar*.
Note: Hatam *mbrei* 'foreigner'.

mem [alternative: *miyem*] *n.* mother; *ibu*.
Ref: III:3: **Dmem**. My mother. *Saya pu
mama*. Ref: I:32: **Miyem boi dun**. My
aunt. *Saya punya mama tua*. **Hatam:**
mem. **Numfor:** *awini*. See **amei**
'mother'.

menan *v.* drunk; *mabuk*. Ref: I:44.
Numfor: *mser*.

mer *n.* door; *pintu*. Ref: I:27. **Hatam:**
dimbou. **Numfor:** *kerwa*. See **toki**
'knock'.

min *v.* die; *mati*. Ref: III:8: **Syenu smin
uo**. They are dead. *Mereka sudah
meninggal*. **Hatam:** *mai*. **Numfor:** *mar*.
Note: cf. Numfor *min* 'affect'. [Etym:
matay > *mati* > *mta*.]

mios *n.* island; *pulau*. Ref: I:58. **Hatam:**
mios. **Numfor:** *meos*.

Misyeren *n.* Lord; *Tuhan*. Ref: I:58.
Numfor: *Mansren*.

miyan *v.* dislike; refuse; *menolak*. Ref:
I:78: **Nanu nimiyan a?** You don't want
to? *Kau tidak mau kah?* **Hatam:** *kou*.

mkoras *n.* child; *anak*. Ref: I:17: **Mkoras
ni krongat**. The children are playing.
Ananak bermain. **Hatam:** *munggwom*.
Numfor: *rungun*. See **munggwem**
'child'; **atai** 'boy'; **nang** 'girl'.

mnar *n.* string bag; *noken*. Ref: I:27:
Mnar tow. Small bag. *Noken kecil*.
Wasrew mnar tow. Hang the small bag.
Gantung noken kecil. **Hatam:** *minai*.
Numfor: *manguwab*.

mnas *adv.* enough; *cukup*. Ref: I:22:
Mnas uo. That's enough. *Cukup sudah*.
Hatam: *dem*; *co bi*. **Numfor:** *mnis*.

mnding *n.* knife; *pisau*. Ref: I:40:
**Ngwoto mndingu, srowi broto
brunger pung**. We tie the knife (to a
stick) and then stab (the breadfruit) to the
ground. *Kami ikat pisau ke kayu, potong
dia jatuh kebawah*. **Hatam:** *singau*.
Numfor: *ino*.

mndow *n.* mosquito; *nyamuk*. Ref: I:41:
Mndow sam ngin. If the mosquito bite.
Kalau nyamuk gigit. **Hatam:** *amihiba*.
Numfor: *mumes*; *afnof*.

- mngkrei** *adv.* moment; *sebentar*. Ref: I:28: **Mwam e mngkrei si**. Let's rest a little. *Kita duduk dulu, sebentar lagi*. Ref: I:32: **Mngkrei ngkar Urmapi**. In a while we go to Maripi. *Sebentar kita pergi ke Maripi*. Ref: III:2: **Danu dumwor syenu mngkrei dpayi sye den**. When I'm angry with them, then I'll shoot them. *Kalau saya marah dengan mereka lalu saya panah mereka*. **Numfor:** *kuro*. Note: cf. Sougb *mougrei* 'little'.
- mnjayu** *n.* mango; *mangga*. Ref: I:74. **Hatam:** *kwei ngat*. **Numfor:** *awa*.
- mntar** *n.* ashes; *abu*. Ref: I:5. **Hatam:** *atriem*. **Numfor:** *pafen*.
- mobe** *conj.* but; *tapi*. Ref: I:74: **Danu dkar mobe duwepake sandar bar**. I walk but don't use sandals. *Saya jalan kaki kosong*. **Hatam:** *noro*. **Numfor:** *bape*.
- mom** *n.* uncle; *om*. Ref: I:24. **Hatam:** *mum*. Note: Probably 'mother's brother', as the Hatam equivalent.
- momim** *adv.* yesterday; *kemarin*. Ref: I:23. **Hatam:** *annani*. **Numfor:** *ras o winda*.
- monen** *n.* ground; *tempat*. Ref: I:28: **Nprot wayi monen**. You fall on the ground. *Kau jatuh kena tanah*. **Hatam:** *diheisi; minu*. **Numfor:** *mob; menu*. See **brungen** 'ground'; **mwon** 'place'.
- mor**¹ [alternative: *mon*] *n.* language; *bahasa*. Ref: I:23: **Danu duwajar mon moi**. I want to learn the Mansim language. *Saya mau belajar bahasa Mansim*. **Hatam:** *nihyet*. **Numfor:** *wos*.
- mor**² *adj.* black; *hitam*. Ref: III:4. **Hatam:** *rom*. **Numfor:** *pasem*. See **pow** 'white'.
- mos**¹ *v.* die, said of cigarette, fire; *mati*. Ref: III:2: **Sabaku mos uo**. My cigarette has died. *Rokok saya su mati*. **Hatam:** *umu*.
- mos**² *n.* rose-apple tree; *jambu*. Ref: I:39. **Hatam:** *bitugwa*. See **ruwoyu** 'rose-apple tree'.
- mow**¹ *n.* hand; *tangan*. Ref: I:20: **New kraw rukem par tuan mow en**. He got a *langsat* out of mister's hand. *Dia pegang langsung geser tuan punya tangan*. **Hatam:** *ndab*. **Numfor:** *rwa; bra*.
- mow**² *n.* taro; *bete*. Ref: I:7; II:1: **Mow brer**. Taro. *Keladi*. **Hatam:** *ntigud*.
- moyut** *n.* afternoon; *sore*. Ref: I:6, 73. **Hatam:** *mmunti*. **Numfor:** *mandira nufur*.
- msekaswom** *num.* six; *enam*. Ref: I:32. **Hatam:** *muhwindagom*. **Numfor:** *onem*.
- mseksiyon** *num.* seven; *tujuh*. Ref: I:32. **Hatam:** *muhwindacan*. **Numfor:** *fik*.
- msekar** *num.* eight; *delapan*. Ref: I:32. **Hatam:** *muhwindaningai*. **Numfor:** *war*.
- msestar** *num.* nine; *sembilan*. Ref: I:32. **Hatam:** *muhwindatai*. **Numfor:** *siw*.
- mumpow** *n.* money; *uang*. Ref: I:24: **Mumpow bar**. I don't have money. *Tidak ada uang*. **Hatam:** *mitiei*. **Numfor:** *kupang; pipi*. Note: Both Mansim and Hatam items mean 'something white'. [Etym: *mun* + *pow*.]
- mun**¹ *v.* suck; smoke; *isap*. Ref: I:28: **Numuno sabaku**. We smoke a cigarette. *Kita merokok*. **Hatam:** *muhun*. **Numfor:** *as*.
- mun**² *n.* grass; *rumput*. Ref: I:77. **Hatam:** *mintab*. **Numfor:** *abris*.
- mundong** *n.* stone; *batu*. Ref: I:35: **Uyaki wepo mundong ap**. The black cockatoo was sitting on a stone. *Burung kakatua raja bertelur diatas batu*. **Hatam:** *tig*. **Numfor:** *kar*.
- munggom** *n.* sorcery; *suangi*. Ref: I:60, III:2. **Hatam:** *nunga*.
- munggwem** *n.* child; *anak*. **Hatam:** *munggwom*. **Numfor:** *rumgun*. See **mkoras** 'child'; **gwem** 'small'.
- mungkokow** *n.* chicken; *ayam*. Ref: I:8. **Hatam:** *guri*. **Numfor:** *makoko*. Note: Same as Numfor and Meyah.

munyam v. hungry; *lapar*. Ref: I:19:
Nanu nmunyam uwa? Are you already
 hungry? *Kamu sudah lapar kah?*
Hatam: *nggum*. **Numfor:** *yabiser*.

muswai num. five; *lima*. Ref: I:13, 32.
Hatam: *muhui*. **Numfor:** *rim*. Note:
 Also given for 'ten'.

muswar n. cassowary; *kasuari*. Ref: I:43.
Hatam: *handigad*. **Numfor:** *manswar*.

mut n. k.o. fish; *sj.ikan*. Ref: I:48.

mwar v. finished; *habis*. Ref: I:60: **Ar
 moi wap mwar**. The Moi language is
 finished. *Bahasa Mansim semua habis*.
Hatam: *ngwig*. **Numfor:** *war*.

mwaw n. fish; *ikan*. Ref: I:2, 3, 8.
Hatam: *wau*. **Numfor:** *in*.

mwep v. hear; *dengar*. Ref: II:1, 3, 34:
Danu dumwep bar. I cannot hear. *Saya
 tidak dengar*. **Hatam:** *miap*. **Numfor:**
mnaf. See *krongen* 'deaf'.

mwon n. place; *tempat*. Ref: III:4: **Mwon
 tan**. A far away place. *Tempat jauh*.
Hatam: *minu*. **Numfor:** *menu*; *mob*. See
monen 'ground'.

mwor v. angry; *marah*. Ref: III:2: **Danu
 dumwor syenu mngkrei dpayi sye
 den**. When I'm angry with them, then I'll
 shoot them. *Kalau saya marah dengan
 mereka lalu saya panah mereka*.
Hatam: *gga*. **Numfor:** *msor*.

mwow n. breadfruit; *sukun*. Ref: I:39.
Hatam: *mbo*; *kinaga*. **Numfor:** *ur*.

N

naat adv. true; *betul*. Ref: I:4; II:7: **Nena
 ninu nmnaat**. You spoke truly. *Engkau
 bilang itu betul*. **Hatam:** *ngat*. **Numfor:**
naps; *kaku*.

namai n. hello; *selamat*. Ref: I:22.
Hatam: *acemo*.

namwon v. cough; *batuk*. Ref: I:17:
Dnamwon. I cough. *Saya batuk*.
Hatam: *nggin*. **Numfor:** *ses*.

nang n. daughter, girl; *anak perempuan*.
 Ref: II:7: **Nang, nmekera**. Daughter,
 tell us. *Nona, ceritera*. See *atai*.

nanu pron. you; *engkau*. **Hatam:** *nani*.
Numfor: *au*; *wa*.

nanun dem. be there; *ada*. Ref: I:11:
Mbu yai nanun a? Is your father there?
Kau punya bapak ada kah? See
nengow 'that'.

nap adj. dry; *kering*. Ref: I:4: **Sansun
 nap uwo**. The clothes are already dry.
Pakaian sudah kering. **Hatam:** *ngga*.
Numfor: *angen*; *mias*; *pnas*. See *ga*
 'dry'.

nengow dem. that; *itu*. Ref: I:36:
**Sekarang tungwatow nengow, mbriw
 kwon**. Now, there was a human (baby),
 the old man took it. *Sekarang ada bayi
 manusia, paitua angkat*. See *nanun*
 'there'.

new [alternative: *nenu*] pron. 3SG; *dia*.
 Ref: I:16. **Hatam:** *noni*. **Numfor:** *i*.

ngarmaw n. wind; *angin*. Ref: I:5.
Hatam: *hou*. **Numfor:** *wam*.

ngknam v. chew; *mengunyah*. Ref: I:16:
Nanu nengknam bar a? You are
 chewing something? *Kau gigit apa?*
Hatam: *ham*. **Numfor:** *warek*. Note: cf.
kimam 'front of neck' in *Hatam*.

nguwo [alternative: *ngwo*] v. crushed;
hancur. Ref: III:7: **Dtow trem nguwo uo**.
 I crush the corn. *Saya menghancurkan
 jagung*. Ref: III:7: **Watu nu nguwo**.
 That banana is crushed. *Pisang itu
 hancur*. **Hatam:** *nem*. **Numfor:** *pef*. See
tow 'pound'.

ngwa n. hair; *rambut*. Ref: I:16:
Dupwongao. My hair. *Rambut saya*.
Hatam: *ntab*. **Numfor:** *snonburiam*.

ngwak adj. light; *ringan*. Ref: III:4.
Hatam: *nggan*. **Numfor:** *manan*. See
bon 'heavy'. Note: cf. *Hatam ngwag*
 'empty'.

ngwon [alternative: *ngon*] n. heart; *hati*.
 Ref: I:78: **Danu dungwon da wot**. I
 feel (sorry) for him. *Saya sayang anak*.

Hatam: *ngon*. Numfor: *sne(ri)*. Note: Notice the use of **da** with **ran da wot**.

ngwot v. build; *ikat*. Ref: I:23: **Swo sir kungwoto rar dun**. You come, let's build my house. *Kamu juga datang, kita bangun rumah saya*. **Hatam:** *ngot*. Numfor: *yabek*. See **kwot** 'tie'.

ngwow n. tree trunk; *pohon*. Ref: I:39. See **ow** 'tree'.

nikwar adj. tall; *tinggi*. Ref: III:4. **Hatam:** *njan*. Numfor: *kaki*. See **wai** 'long'.

nir n. rat; *tikus*. Ref: I:8: **Nir gwem**. Cuscus. *Kuskus*. **Hatam:** *ncub*. Numfor: *kapa; wangar*.

niwan n. swamp; *lawalawa*. Ref: I:43. **Hatam:** *igkrob*. Numfor: *dufri*.

niwap pron. we (all); *kami (semua)*. **Hatam:** *nyeni*. Numfor: *ko; inko*. [Etym: ni + wap.]

niyo conj. then; *baru*. Ref: I:74: **Dkur ow niyo dprapi**. I climb the tree and then I jump down. *Saya panjat pohon baru loncat*. **Hatam:** *lene*. Numfor: *reseri*.

nom [alternative: *onomu*] n. charcoal; *arang*. Ref: I:41. **Hatam:** *ngum*. Numfor: *aduref*.

ntungwang adv. day after tomorrow; *lusa*. Ref: I:22: **Danu pdasin dir dunwok sye par e, amio ntungwang dir si**. Today I've come to see you, then the day after tomorrow I'll come again. *Sekarang saya datang lihat kamu dulu, hari lusa saya kembali lagi*. **Hatam:** *cane*. Numfor: *meser wendi*.

num v. smell; *mencium*. Ref: I:18: **Danu dunum: amen ai pwei nu?** I smell: what's that smell? *Saya mencium: apa yang bau itu?* **Hatam:** *tinip*. Numfor: *nasem*.

nuong v. roast; *bakar*. Ref: I:40: **Syom om mnuong kep om**. We light a fire and roast (the breadfruit) in the fire. *Bikin api dan bakar di api*. **Hatam:** *non*. Numfor: *apen*. Note: same phrase as in **Hatam non kep**.

nwok v. see; *lihat*. Ref: I:18: **New nwoko mone bar**. He cannot see. *Dia tidak bisa lihat*. Ref: I:79: **Danu dunwok nanu pom**. I smile at you. *Saya tersenyum*. **Hatam:** *ngat*. Numfor: *mam*. See **uwow row** 'blind'.

nyenu n. grandfather; *tetek*. Ref: I:31. **Hatam:** *ngyon*. See **iyutu** 'grandmother'.

O

ogu n. cuscus; *kuskus*. Ref: I:48. **Hatam:** *miei*. See **usi** 'cuscus'. Note: cf. **Sough ugwodi**.

om n. fire; *api*. Ref: I:24: **Danu monin dunwoko om boi bnas**. Yesterday I saw a very big fire. *Kemarin saya lihat api besar sekali*. **Hatam:** *hum*. Numfor: *for*.

osu n. nipple; *susu*. **Hatam:** *do mpiam*. Numfor: *sus*.

ot n. canoe; *proa*. Ref: II:5. **Hatam:** *ud*. Numfor: *wa*.

ow n. tree; wood; *kayu*. **Hatam:** *biei*. Numfor: *ai(knam)*. See **ngwow** 'tree trunk'.

P

pam v. cry; *menangis*. Ref: I:22: **Ataiu pam**. The boy is crying. *Anak menangis*. **Hatam:** *pim*. Numfor: *kanes*.

pan v. shoot with bow; *panah*. Ref: I:24: **Pdasin new pan kaw den**. Today he shoots his pig. *Sekarang dia panah dia punya babi*. **Hatam:** *pilei; prindei*. Numfor: *kfo*. See **payi** 'shoot'. Note: **Pan** is probably a (recent) loanword from Malay *panah*.

paparow *Q-word*. when; *kapan*. Ref: III:8: **Paparow tuan weberangkat nu?** When are you leaving? *Kapan mister mau berangkat?* **Hatam:** *pig*. Numfor: *ras mundi*. See **paru** 'how many'. Note: Numfor *ras mundi* is 'what day?'.

par *prep.* from; *dari*. Ref: I:21: **Rukem prot paro diyuten si**. The *langsap* falls from my mouth again. *Langsap jatuh geser saya punya mulut lagi*. Ref: III:1: **Kurow par Upwet**. They come from Maruni. *Dong berasal dari Maruni*. **Hatam: leu**. **Numfor: ro**.

paru *Q-word*. how many; *berapa*. Ref: III:8: **Nanu ntemi watu paru?** How many bananas have you sold? *Kau jual berapa pisang?* Ref: III:8: **Amei, munggwem mbun paru?** Mother, how many children do you have? *Mama, kau punya anak berapa?* **Hatam: pig**. **Numfor: beso**. See **paparow** 'when'.

pas *adj.* warm; *panas*. Ref: III:4: **War ini pas**. This water is hot. *Air ini panas*. **Hatam: dut**. **Numfor: sam**. See **tas** 'cold'.

payi *v.* shoot arrow; *panah*. Ref: I:79. **Hatam: pilei; prindei**. **Numfor: kfo**.

pdasin *adv.* today; *sekarang*. Ref: I:22: **Danu pdasin dar si**. I am leaving now. *Sekarang saya pulang*. **Hatam: nogindini**. **Numfor: ras ine**.

pe *adv.* don't; *jangan*. Ref: I:28: **Nan narap da pe**. Don't pull me. *Jangan tarik saya*. **Hatam: au**. **Numfor: awer**.

pes *n.* nipah palm; *nipah*. Ref: I:36. **Hatam: awig**. **Numfor: pupu; sanenem**. Note: Also used for the palm wine, which is *swan* in Numfor.

pis *adj.* sweet; *manis*. Ref: I:20: **Rukem ni pis uo**. This *langsap* is sweet. *Langsap ini sudah manis*. **Hatam: nyop**. **Numfor: pre**.

pom *adj.* good; *baik*. Ref: I:4: **Pom bnas**. Very good. *Baik sekali*. Ref: I:79: **Danu dunwok nanu pom**. I smile at you. *Saya tersenyum*. **Hatam: kei**. **Numfor: pum; be**.

por *n.* lid; *pantutup*. Ref: I:77: **Bwer poru**. The lid of the pot. *Belanga pu pantutup*. **Hatam: beng; tugwa**. **Numfor: bori**.

poram *spat.n.* in front of; *dimuka*. Ref: II:3: **Syenu saso rar poram**. They are

standing in front of the house. *Mereka berdiri dimuka rumah*. **Hatam: noho**. **Numfor: aundi**. See **biyai** 'behind'.

porop *n.* lip; *bibir*. **Hatam: hungkeg**. **Numfor: sba(r)dip; sbaru pey**.

pos *n.* tail; *ekor*. Ref: I:8: **Kwa pos**. Dog's tail. *Ekor anjing*. **Hatam: pu**. **Numfor: purari**. Note: Also given as **osu**; **pos** agrees with list in Voorhoeve (1975).

potu *n.* seedling; *bibit*. Ref: II:1: **Siepp potu**. Sweet potato seedling. *Bibit batatas*. Ref: II:1: **Wat potu**. Banana seedling. *Bibit pisang*. **Hatam: ngad**. **Numfor: biw**.

pow *adj.* white; *putih*. Ref: III:4: **Nanu mungkek pow**. You have a white skin. *Kau punya kulit putih*. **Hatam: tiei**. **Numfor: oper**. See **mor** 'black'.

pra *v.* laugh; *tertawa*. Ref: I:28: **Npra tnun e wakapu kok**. We laughed until our back broke. *Tertawa sampe belakang patah*. **Hatam: pa**. **Numfor: mbrif**.

pran *adj.* left; *kiri*. **Hatam: prak**. **Numfor: sar**. See **tow** 'right'. Note: Although **pran** was given in response to *kanan* 'right' and **tow** for 'left', it is probably the other way round.

prap *v.* speak; *bicara*. Ref: I:3: **Nanu nprap mor brer**. You speak a foreign language. *Kau bicara bahasa Indonesia*. **Hatam: mbrap**. **Numfor: awes; faya**.

prapi *v.* jump; *loncat*. Ref: I:74. **Hatam: pri, kinyon**. **Numfor: oper**.

prar¹ *v.* fly; *terbang*. Ref: II:3: **Waw prar isyunu uo**. The bird is flying above the tree. *Burung terbang diatas pohon*. **Hatam: mba**. **Numfor: rob**. See **syu** 'high'.

prar² *v.* pull; *tarik*. Ref: I:75: **Nprar baw**. Pull the string. *Tarik tali*. **Hatam: brim**. **Numfor: sarap**. See **arap** 'pull'.

pras *v.* get up; *berdiri*. Ref: III:3: **Npras uwa?** Are you up already? *Sudah bangun kah?* **Hatam: ya**. **Numfor: ko; kain**. See **as** 'stand'. Note: Although **pras** had been given as equivalent for

berdiri it is more likely to mean *bangun* 'get up'. [Etym: keDeng > kere-k > kele ; ma-diRi > ri(h)i ; tuqud > tuu(r).]

prim v. sing; *menyanyi*. Ref: I:67: **Nprim tor mon moi**. We'll sing in Mansim. *Kami menyanyi bahasa Mansim*. **Hatam**: *biwim*. **Numfor**: *disen*; (*wa*)*wor*. Note: Hatam *pim* 'cry'.

pros v. rub; *gosok*. Ref: I:42. **Hatam**: *prios*. **Numfor**: *pau*; *is*.

prot¹ [alternative: *brot*] v. fall; *jatuh*. Ref: I:2: **Nenu prot wai monen**. He falls. *Dia jatuh kena tanah*. **Hatam**: *cut*. **Numfor**: *kbas*; *mbrur*. [Etym: taktak > data-k.]

prot² v. sweat; *keringat*. Ref: I:74: **Duprot bnas**. I'm sweating a lot. *Saya keringat sekali*. **Hatam**: *hanggwab*. **Numfor**: *domes*.

prow n. sun; *matahari*. **Hatam**: *mpiab*. **Numfor**: *ori*. Note: According to Hans Iwou *prow* is the original word in Hatam also.

pruon [alternative: *pron*] v. forget; *lupa*. Ref: I:10, 18: **Danu dungwon pruon**. I forget. *Saya lupa*. **Hatam**: *bbwe ser*. **Numfor**: *fanander*; *brin*. See **ngwon** 'heart'.

puknaw v. thirsty; *haus*. Ref: I:19. **Hatam**: *nggobiau*. **Numfor**: *mbro*.

pukor n. school; *sekolah*. Ref: I:31: **Munggowm den wom kwai direpo pukor en**. One child only goes to school. *Satu anak saja pigi sekolah*. **Hatam**: *pikor*. **Numfor**: *farkor*.

pumbrer n. mister; *mister*. Ref: I:23. **Hatam**: *mbrei*. **Numfor**: *amber*. See **brer** 'foreign'.

pupianu adv. day before yesterday; *kemarin dulu*. Ref: I:23. **Hatam**: *acan*. **Numfor**: *ras ponda*.

putap n. neck; *leher*. Ref: I:17. **Hatam**: *kimam*. **Numfor**: *sasu(kor)*.

pwei n. smell; *bau*. Ref: II:2: **Amen ai pwei nu?** What's that smell? *Apa yang*

busuk itu? **Hatam**: *mpiei*. **Numfor**: *yoren*.

pwoda n. head; *kepala*. Ref: I:16: **Nanu nupwoda wot**. You have a headache. *Kamu kepala sakit*. **Hatam**: *bou*. **Numfor**: *b(r)ukor*.

pwos v. pull, fish; *memancing*, *timba air*. Ref: I:79: **Dupwos mwaw**. I am fishing. *Saya memancing*. Ref: I:79: **Dupwos war**. I draw water. *Saya timba air*. **Hatam**: *pos minyiei*. **Numfor**: *sarfer*.

R

ran [alternative: *randaw*] n. tooth; *gigi*. Ref: I:16: **Dran da wot**. My teeth are hurting. *Saya gigi sakit*. **Hatam**: *kwai*. **Numfor**: *nakor*. See **ngknam** 'chew'. Note: cf. **ngwon da wot**.

rar n. house; *rumah*. Ref: I:20, 23: **Raren**. In the house. *Didalam rumah*. **Hatam**: *ig*. **Numfor**: *rum*; *ker*.

ritap n. forehead; *testa*. **Hatam**: *boungwag*. **Numfor**: *andar*.

rok v. descend; *turun*. Ref: I:5: **Prow rok**. The sun sets. *Matahari turun*. **Hatam**: *cut*. **Numfor**: *kanden*; *sun*. See **dor** 'ascend'; **ton** 'descend'. Note: cf. Hatam *rok* 'push'.

rongat [alternative: *krongat*] v. play; *bermain*. Ref: I:17, 26; II:2: **Mkoras ni krongat**. The children are playing. *Anak masih main*. **Hatam**: *kek*. **Numfor**: *fnak*. Note: I assume that the initial **k** is a person marker, and the verb is **rongat**.

rop n. in-law; *ipar*. Ref: I:32, 49: **Mbrofa, mwaw likem a?** Brother-in-law, do the fish eat? *Ipar, ikan makan kah?*

row adj. blind; *buta*. Ref: I:18: **New duwow row**. He is blind. *Dia mata buta*. **Hatam**: *tu*. **Numfor**: *praf*. See **nwok** 'see'.

ruwoyu n. rose-apple tree; *jambu*. Ref: I:74. See **mos** 'rose-apple tree'.

S

sabaku *n.* tobacco; *tembakau*. Ref: I:77: **Nenu webungus sabakao den.** He wraps his tobacco. *Dia bungkus dia punya tembakau.* **Hatam:** *sigu*. **Numfor:** *sambaku*.

sai *v.* dig; *gali*. Ref: I:23: **Nanu bwodir wasi dan nsaio broru.** You come with me, we're going to dig a hole. *Mari, ikut saya, kita gali lobang.* **Hatam:** *tig*. **Numfor:** *ba*.

sak *adv.* just; *saja*. Ref: I:74: **Danu dkar sak.** I'm just walking around. *Saya berjalan-jalan.* **Hatam:** *hak; nyen*. **Numfor:** *yer*.

sam *v.* bite; *menggigit*. Ref: I:41: **Mndow sam ngin.** If the mosquito bite. *Kalau nyamuk gigit.* Ref: III:3: **Kwa samo munggwem dun, niyo dumwor.** If the dog bites my child then I'll be angry. *Anjing gigit saya punya anak, lalu saya marah.* **Hatam:** *ham*. **Numfor:** *ark*.

sar *v.* ask; *tanya*. Ref: I:52: **Mkoras ni ksar.** The (two) children asked. *Anak dong tanya.* **Hatam:** *hig; hara*. **Numfor:** *or*. Note: Windesi *saw*.

satem *adj.* short; *pendek*. Ref: III:4. **Hatam:** *cun*. **Numfor:** *kwaim ba*. See **wai** 'long'. Note: Numfor means 'not long'.

sei *prep.* to; *ke*. Ref: I:23: **Sasu sbar ow sei raren.** They bring the wood to the village. *Mereka bawa pohon ke kampung.* **Hatam:** *ei*. **Numfor:** *faro; be*.

sepron *v.* spit; *ludah*. Ref: III:5: **Danu dumwor nan, desepron nanu.** I'm angry at you, I spit at you. *Saya marah. ludah kau.* **Hatam:** *ndug; trai*. **Numfor:** *aninef*.

si *adv.* again; *lagi*. Ref: I:21, 28: **Danu dem rukem wom si.** I eat another *langsat* fruit. *Saya makan langsung lagi.* **Hatam:** *hanyen; bu*. **Numfor:** *wer*.

siep [alternative: *siepu*] *n.* generic for tubers. **Siep timor.** Cassava. *Kasbi*. Ref: I:7; II:3. **Hatam:** *sieb*. **Numfor:** *farkia*.

sinai *n.* sword grass; *alang-alang*. Ref: I:37: **Sinai-en.** Field of sword grass. *Alang-alang.* **Hatam:** *sinai*. **Numfor:** *ampu*. Note: Numfor *ampu* is *serai* 'lemongrass'.

sor *v.* fly, skirt; *melayap*. Ref: I:48: **Sor par Urpwep dir dor ow.** He flew up from the Maruni River and climbed a tree. *Dia melayap kali Maruni naik pohon.*

soren *n.* ocean; *lauhutan*. Ref: III:2. **Hatam:** *mug, soren*. **Numfor:** *soren*. Note: Hatam gloss for *soren* is 'effluent from river into larger body of water' (Griffiths 1994:70).

sraw *n.* coconut; *kelapa*. Ref: I:7. **Hatam:** *duig*. **Numfor:** *sra*.

srew *v.* hang; *gantung*. Ref: I:27: **Wasrew mnar tow.** Hang the small bag. *Gantung noken.* **Hatam:** *sreu*. **Numfor:** *sawer; sas; aryor*.

srip *v.* scrape; *kikis*. Ref: I:21, 40: **Danu disripo ambap enu.** I'm scraping the board. *Saya kikis papan ini.* **Hatam:** *srip*. **Numfor:** *is*.

srow *v.* stab; *potong*. Ref: I:40: **Nukwoto mndingu srowi broto brunger pung.** We tie a knife (to a stick) and stab (the breadfruit) so that it falls to the ground. *Kami ikat pisau (ke kayu) potong akang dibawah tanah.* **Hatam:** *srop*. Note: Hatam *srop* glossed as 'detach, as corn from stalk' in Griffiths (1994:71) is likely the equivalent.

suan *v.* go outside; *keluar*. Ref: I:16, 24: **Diu suan uo.** The moon has come out. *Bulan baru sudah keluar.* **Hatam:** *tau*. **Numfor:** *sasiar*.

suk *v.* order; *suruh*. Ref: I:32: **Dsuk nan mai asme?** I order you (to wait) for someone. *Saya suruh kau untuk siapa.* **Hatam:** *cuk*.

suom *v.* pull out; *cabut*. Ref: I:77: **Danu dusuom munu.** I pull out the weeds. *Saya cabut rumput.* **Hatam:** *hom*. **Numfor:** *pas*. Note: cf. Sougb *ohoma*.

sup¹ v. buy; *beli*. Ref: I:29: **Nerio mumpow ai mdar dsup waai**. Give me money so I can buy betelnut. *Kasih uang sama saya untuk saya pergi membeli pinang*. **Hatam**: *pek*. **Numfor**: *kobes*.

sup² n. border; *batas*. Ref: I:54. **Hatam**: *hup*. **Numfor**: *sup*. Note: Numfor *sup* is 'land', 'forest', referring to the mainland; similarly Hatam *hup him* means the higher hinterland.

sus n. abandoned garden; *bekas kebun*. Ref: III:1: **Susu sup uo**. The garden is already growing. *Kebun yang sudah babat*. **Hatam**: *susti*. Note: Not quite clear whether **sus** refers to a new garden which is starting to yield or an abandoned garden, which is the meaning of *bekas* and the Hatam equivalent.

sut v. cut; peel; *potong*; *kupas*. Ref: I:21, 22: **Danu dsuto rukem kek**. I cut the *langsat* skin. *Saya potong kulit langsung*. **Hatam**: *sut*. **Numfor**: *suf*. Note: Peel a fruit or potato.

suwo v. also; *juga*. Ref: III:6: **Nasuwo ndir**. You also come. *Kamu juga datang*. Ref: III:6: **Sye suwo sgwoto baw**. You also tie the rope. *Kamu juga ikat tali*. **Hatam**: *cem*. **Numfor**: *kako*.

swom v. rub; *gosok*. Ref: I:78: **Danu dswomo dmow**. I wash my hands. *Saya gosok saya pu tangan*. **Hatam**: *dip*; *prios*. **Numfor**: *sfu*.

syam v. light a fire; *bikin api*. Ref: I:40: **Brot brung-en msyam om**. After it has fallen to the ground, we make fire. *Setelah jatuh dibawah, kami menyala api*. Ref: I:40: **Dsyam om umpi uo**. I light a fire. *Saya bikin api menyala sudah*. **Hatam**: *tin*; *ndig*. **Numfor**: *pam*.

syen¹ adj. red; *merah*. Ref: III:4: **Danu mrandau syen**. I have red teeth. *Saya punya gigit merah*. **Hatam**: *ngwoi*. **Numfor**: *rik*.

syen² v. sharpen; *gosok*. Ref: I:76: **Danu disyeno mnding dun**. I sharpen my knife. *Saya gosok saya punya pisau*. **Hatam**: *sien*. **Numfor**: *yas*.

syenu pron. they, you; *mereka, kamu* Ref: II:6. **Hatam**: *yoni, jeni*. **Numfor**: *si*.

syeri v. wait; *tunggu*. Ref: III:4: **Dpras syeri nan**. I'm standing waiting for you. *Saya berdiri tunggu kau*. Ref: I:73: **Danu duam syeri nan**. I'll wait for you. *Saya tunggu engkau*. **Hatam**: *ser*. Note: Equivalent to Hatam *diya ser nani*.

syu v. high above; *diatas*. Ref: II:3: **Waw prar siyun uo**. The bird is flying above the tree. *Burung ternabg diatas pohon*. **Hatam**: *gau*. **Numfor**: ?. See **prar** 'fly'. Note: Meaning is not certain.

T

tai v. ascend; *naik*. Ref: I:2: **Danu dtai dirapo wow am**. I'm climbing the mountain. *Saya naik gunung*. **Hatam**: *kui*. **Numfor**: *wek*; *wasrab*. See **dor** 'ascend'; **kur** 'climb'.

tan¹ *spat.n.* inside; *didalam*. Ref: I:23: **Bror tan**. In the hole. *Didalam lobang*. Ref: II:3: **Hantaw gwem nenaw brung tan**. Worms are under the ground. *Cacing ada didalam tanah*. **Hatam**: *ti*. **Numfor**: *ndi*. See **en** 'inside'.

tan² *spat.n.* far; *jauh*. Ref: III:4: **Pdasin ma dir mwon tan**. Today I go far away. *Sekarang saya pergi tempat jauh*. **Hatam**: *ting*. **Numfor**: *bingwan*; *kwaim*. See **tan** 'inside'.

tan³ v. afraid; *takut*. Ref: I:79: **Ntan pe**. Don't be afraid. *Jangan takut*. **Hatam**: *tiin*. **Numfor**: *kak*.

tanga [alternative: *tangaw*] v. hunt; *cari*. Ref: I:3: **Danu dtanga kaw**. I hunt pig. *Saya cari babi*. Ref: I:49: **Munyam tangaw ow wow rem**. He's hungry (so) looks for fruit to eat. *Dia lapar, cari kayu buah untuk makan*. **Hatam**: *nggok*. **Numfor**: *sam*. Note: Numfor *sam* is 'hunt with dogs'.

tar num. four; *empat*. Ref: I:13. **Hatam**: *bitai*. **Numfor**: *fiak*.

tas *adj.* cold; *dingin*. Ref: III:4: **Danu mon tas**. I am cold. *Saya merasa dingin*. **Hatam:** *hem*. **Numfor:** *prim; syuf*. See **pas** 'warm'.

taw *v.* draw water; *timba*. Ref: I:75: **Dtaw waru**. I draw water. *Saya timba air*. **Hatam:** *tau*. **Numfor:** *pos*.

temi *v.* sell; *jual*. Ref: III:7: **Nanu ntemi ame?** What do you sell? *Kau jual apa?* **Hatam:** *tri*. **Numfor:** *bab; farbean*. See **sup** 'buy'.

tep *v.* wash; *cuci*. Ref: I:78: **Danu detep sansun**. I wash the clothes. *Saya cuci pakaian*. **Hatam:** *tot, piap*. **Numfor:** *pap*.

tibwow *n.* bird of paradise; *cenderawasih*. Ref: I:8. **Hatam:** *habouhim*. **Numfor:** *manbesak*.

tnun [alternative: *tunun*] *adv.* continuing; *terus*. Ref: II:6: **Suwam tnun tnun tnun**. They stayed for a long a time. *Mereka tinggal terus*. **Hatam:** *kikau*. **Numfor:** *apepen; berawer*.

toki *v.* knock; *ketuk*. Ref: I:27: **Bwotoki meru**. Knock on the door. *Ketuk pintu*. **Hatam:** *tug*. **Numfor:** *nuk*. See **mer** 'door'; **tow** 'pound'.

ton *v.* descend; *turun*. Ref: II:3: **Nanu ton paro wow ap syerin**. You descend from the mountain. *Engkau turun dari gunung kebawah*. **Hatam:** *juk*. **Numfor:** *adu; kanden; sabu*. See **rok** 'descend (of sun)'. Note: Meaning of *syerin* is not clear. [*Etyim:* tuRun > toho > tulu.]

tone [alternative: *tonen*] *n.* descendant; *keturunan*. Ref: II:2, 5, 7: **Syewap tnun Mansinam tonen nu, prap bwem nu**. They all are still like that, descendants of Mansinam, mention their names. *Mereka semua begitu, Mansinam putus, sebut mereka punya nama*. Note: Translated as *putus* 'broken', probably referring to the fact that Mansinam was broken off from the mainland.

tor *adj.* wet; *basah*. Ref: III:5: **Sansun dun tor**. My clothes are wet. *Pakaian saya basah*. **Hatam:** *ndot*. **Numfor:** *dok*. See **ga** 'dry'.

toro *adv.* completely; *anteru*. Ref: I:40: **Yem-em toro**. (We) eat it completely. *Makan antero*.

tow¹ *adj.* right; *kanan*. **Hatam:** *com*. **Numfor:** *kaku*. See **pran** 'left'. Note: Although **tow** was actually given as 'left' it is probably reversed: **pran** 'left'; **tow** 'right'.

tow² *v.* pound; *menghancurkan*. Ref: I:27: **Ntow trem ngwow uo**. Crush the corn completely. *Hancurkan jagung*. **Hatam:** *tug*. **Numfor:** *pef*. See **nguw** 'crushed'. Note: Notice that **ngwow** translates **Hatam binem** 'crushed'.

trem *n.* corn; *jagung*. Ref: I:27. **Hatam:** *trem*. **Numfor:** *ka(s)tera*.

tug *v.* touch; *sentuh*. Ref: I:27: **Nmow tug danu**. Your hand touches me. *Kau punya tangan kena saya*. **Hatam:** *tug*. **Numfor:** *bior; kiur*. See **dit** 'hit'; **wayi** 'hit'.

tum *v.* wait; *tunggu*. Ref: I:19: **Stum e dprap wit tungoto nini par e**. You wait, I talk to this man first. *Kamu tunggu, saya bicara dengan orang ini dulu*. **Hatam:** *tum; mem ser*. **Numfor:** *fakwo; kur*.

tungwatow *n.* human; *manusia*. Ref: I:36: **Tungwatow nengow mbriw kwon**. The human (child) the old man took. *Anak manusia paitua angkat*. **Hatam:** *tungwatu*. **Numfor:** *snun(kaku)*.

tur *prep.* for; *dengan apa*. Ref: III:8: **Nanu ntemi siepu tur ame?** Why do you sell sweet potatoes? *Kau jual ubi dengan apa?* **Hatam:** *tut mindei*. **Numfor:** *kuker*.

U

ubrot *n.* crown pigeon; *mambruk*. Ref: I:43. **Hatam:** *bijut*. **Numfor:** *mambruk*.

ukak *n.* sibling; *kakak*. Ref: I:31: **Dukak**. My (younger) sibling. *Saya punya adik*. Ref: I:13: **Dukak boi arpon**. My older

- brother. *Saya punya kakak lakilaki.*
Hatam: *kinjoi, kindig.* See **kak** 'sibling'.
- umpi** v. burn; *menyala.* Ref: I:40. **Hatam:** *mpiang.* **Numfor:** *nanem.* See **syam** 'light'.
- undow** n. hornbill; *burung tahun.* Ref: I:45. **Hatam:** *undou.* **Numfor:** *wando.*
- ung** v. sleep; *tidur.* Ref: I:1: **Danu dung mor wap.** I was sleeping. *Saya tidur (sudah malam).* **Hatam:** *bong.* **Numfor:** *enef; barek.* [Etym: *tiduR > tiru > toro > tiura; qinep > enef.*]
- unggor** n. crocodile; *buaya.* Ref: I:8. **Hatam:** *wonggor.* **Numfor:** *wonggor.*
- Ungmop** n. name of river; *Kali besar Mupi.* Ref: I:54.
- unyir** n. k.o. bird; *burung.* Ref: I:45.
- uo** adv. already; *sudah.* Ref: I:3: **Danu dunwok uo.** I already see it. *Saya sudah lihat.* **Hatam:** *su.* **Numfor:** *rape.*
- uper** v. turn around; *balik.* Ref: I:69: **Danu duper dan dunwoko otu.** I turn around to see the canoe. *Saya balik untuk lihat proa.* **Hatam:** *kiek.* **Numfor:** *kaber; kiwer.*
- Urmap** n. name of place; *Maripi.* Ref: I:32.
- urow** n. banyan; *beringin.* Ref: I:43. **Hatam:** *asar.* **Numfor:** *asar.*
- Urpwep** [alternative: *urpwet*] n. name of river; *Kali Maruni.* Ref: I:47.
- urwep** n. husband; *suami.* Ref: I:30. **Hatam:** *ceb.* **Numfor:** *swa.* See **dunim** 'wife'.
- urwo** [alternative: *uruwo; urow*] v. originate; *dari.* Ref: I:23: **Danu pupianu durwo paro Mnukwar.** The day before yesterday I came from Manokwari. *Kemarin dulu saya datang dari Manokwari.* Ref: III:1: **Duruwo man moi Mansim.** I am originally Moibrai. *Saya berasal dari Moibrai.* **Hatam:** *ntun; mbut leu.* **Numfor:** *bur.*
- urwok** [alternative: *urwot*] v. alive; *hidup.* Ref: I:18: **Danu durwo tnun.** I am still alive. *Saya masih hidup.* **Hatam:** *yai jo.* **Numfor:** *(kan)kenem.* See **duwow** 'eye'.
- urwow** v. plant; *tanam.* Ref: I:52, 79: **Ka gurwo monen.** We go to plant the garden. *Kita pergi tanam kebun.* **Hatam:** *hu; ndim; ta.* **Numfor:** *(kar)ker; mom; swan.* Note: Used for sweet potatoes, bananas, corn.
- usi** n. cuscus; *kuskus.* Ref: I:48, 67: **Dpayio na usi gwem.** I will shoot the cuscus. *Saya panah kuskus.* **Hatam:** *miei.* **Numfor:** *kapa; sma; wan.* See **ogu** 'cuscus'. Note: Or is **usi** also a kind of tree?
- uwam** [alternative: *wam*] v. sit; *duduk.* Ref: II:3: **Niwap mwamo rar en.** We are all sitting in the house. *Kami semua duduk didalam rumah.* **Hatam:** *gwam.* **Numfor:** *kein.* See **wamap** 'sky'. [Etym: *tudan ; ma-toran.*]
- uwap** n. nose; *hidung.* Ref: I:9. **Hatam:** *hwab.* **Numfor:** *sno.* Note: 1SG **duwapu**, 2SG **buwapu**, 3SG **wapu**.
- uweikap** n. shoulder; *bahu.* Ref: I:76: **Nanu buweikap.** Your shoulder. *Kau punya bahu.* **Hatam:** *nghad; nyehei.* **Numfor:** *radar.* See **kiew** 'shoulder'. Note: Final syllable is **ap** 'on top'.
- uweng** v. carry a string bag; *pikul.* Ref: I:27: **Danu duwengo mnaru dirapo wow ap.** I carry the bag going up the mountain. *Saya bawa noken naik gunung.* **Hatam:** *-ndei; -nghad.* **Numfor:** *wer; bowek.* See **uwep** 'carry'.
- uwep** v. carry on back; *menggendong; mendukung.* Ref: I:27: **Danu duwep atai.** I carry the boy. *Saya menggendong anak lakilaki.* Ref: I:27: **Nanu buwep nang.** You carry the girl. *Menggendong anak perempuan.* **H a t a m:** *usap.* **Numfor:** *pok.*
- uyaki** [alternative: *woyaki*] n. cockatoo; *Kakatua raja.* Ref: I:33, 35: **Uyaki wepo mundong ap.** The cockatoo was brooding on a stone. *Kakatua raja bertelur diatas batu.*

W

waai *n.* betelnut; *pinang*. Ref: I:24. **Hatam:** *nap*. **Numfor:** *nan*.

wadei *v.* fish with net; *taruh jaring*. Ref: I:79: **Nenu wadeio yarinu wetangkap mwaw**. He throws the net to catch fish. *Dia taruh jaring untuk tangkap ikan*. See **kwondei** 'throw'. Note: Perhaps this is a compound of verbaliser and **dei**.

wai *adj.* long; *panjang*. Ref: III:4. **Hatam:** *jei*. **Numfor:** *kwaim*. See **nikwar** 'tall'.

wakap *n.* back; *punggung*. Ref: I:28: **Npra npra tnun e wakapu kok**. We laughed and laughed until our back broke. *Kita tertawa sampe belakang patah*. **Hatam:** *nghim*. **Numfor:** *dokor; kru(ri)*. [Etym: likuD.]

wamap *n.* sky; *langit*. Ref: I:5. **Hatam:** *gwanti*. **Numfor:** *nangi*. See **ap** 'on top'; **uwam** 'sit'.

wap¹ *v.* all; *semua*. Ref: I:20: **Syewap sosir, mwam brung en ini**. You all come, let's sit here. *Kamu semua kemari, kita duduk disini*. **Hatam:** *hagom*. **Numfor:** *kam; kaim*.

wap² *n.* road; *jalan*. Ref: III:1: **Wape umboi**. Main road. *Jalan raya*. Ref: III:1: **Wap gwem**. Path. *Jalan tikus*. **Hatam:** *puig*. **Numfor:** *nyan*.

war *n.* water; *air*. **Hatam:** *minyei*. **Numfor:** *war*. [Etym: waSiR > wahiR > wai > war; TNGP III *wai/e.]

waren *n.* shore; *pantai*. Ref: III:3: **Waren pra**. Low tide. *Meti*. **Hatam:** *muk ngeisi*. **Numfor:** *siser; sye*. See **war** 'water'. Note: Hatam *muk sri* 'low tide'.

wasi *v.* accompany; *ikut*. Ref: I:30: **Nesuwu wasi da**. You also follow me. *Kau juga ikut saya*. **Hatam:** *bit; kak*. **Numfor:** *asr; usr*.

wat *n.* banana; *pisang*. Ref: III:7: **Watu nu nguwo**. That banana is crushed. *Pisang itu hancur*. **Hatam:** *wid*. **Numfor:** *byef*.

waw *n.* bird; *burung*. Ref: II:3: **Waw nenio prar isut**. The bird is flying above the tree. *Burung terbang diatas*. **Hatam:** *hab*. **Numfor:** *man*. See **syu** 'fly'. Note: The meaning of the example sentence is not clear.

wayi *prep.* hit; *kena*. Ref: I:28: **Diyani na nprot wayi monen**. I push you to the ground. *Saya dorong kau jatuh kena tanah*. **Hatam:** *ndei*. **Numfor:** *min*. See **dit** 'hit'.

we- *vbl.* verbaliser. See **wo-**.

wep *v.* sit on egg; *bertelur*. Ref: I:35: **Uyaki wepo mundong ap**. The cockatoo was brooding on a stone. *Kakatua raja bertelur diatas batu*. **Hatam:** *bas*. **Numfor:** *barekepen*.

wim *v.* fell; *tebang*. Ref: I:23: **New wim ow par e**. He fells a tree first. *Dia tebang pohon dulu*. **Hatam:** *wim*. **Numfor:** *kar*.

wit *prep.* with; *dengan*. Ref: I:23: **Dprap wito dunim**. I am talking with my wife. *Saya berbicara dengan ibu*. **Hatam:** *bit*. **Numfor:** *kuker*.

wo- *vbl.* verbaliser. Ref: I:21: **Wo-tutup war den**. He closes off the glass. *Dia tutup gelas air*. Ref: I:23: **D-w-ajar-omor moi**. I'm learning Moi. *Saya belajar bahasa Mansim*. Ref: II:5: **D-wo-ijin maio**. I asked permission from (someone). *Saya minta ijin sama (siapa)*. Ref: I:49: **Danu du-wa-ken mwaw mnar en**. I put the fish in the string bag. *Saya isi ikan dalam noken*. **Hatam:** *bV-*. **Numfor:** *we-*.

wom *num.* one; *satu*. Ref: I:20: **Danu dkraw rukem da wom kwai**. I have only one *langsat*. *Saya pegang satu langsung saja*. **Hatam:** *gom*. **Numfor:** *sai; oser*.

wondi *spat.n.* behind; *dibelakang*. Ref: I:20: **Nenaw wondi yu**. It's behind the house. *Ada dibelakang rumah*. **Hatam:** *nghim*. **Numfor:** *wondi*. Note: Clearly a glottal between **wondi** and **yu**; **wondi** is **Numfor** 'outside'.

wot *adj.* sick; *sakit*. Ref: I:16: **Dupwoda wot**. I have a headache. *Saya kepala sakit*. **Hatam:** *dut*. **Numfor:** *duf*. See **woten** 'wound'.

woten *n.* wound; *luka*. Ref: I:18. **Hatam:** *bog*. **Numfor:** *par; apek*. See **wot** 'sick'. Note: **Woten** seems to have another tone, or glottal onset.

wow¹ *n.* mountain; *gunung*. Ref: I:5; II:3: **Wow ap**. On top of the mountain. *Diatas gunung*. **Hatam:** *nungugw*. **Numfor:** *bon; urek*.

wow² *n.* fruit; *buah*. Ref: I:39. **Hatam:** *ngad*. **Numfor:** *bon*.

Y

yai *n.* father; *bapak*. Ref: I:11; III:3: **Yai dun**. My father. *Bapak saya*. **Hatam:** *cig*. **Numfor:** *ban; yai*.

yan *num.* two; *dua*. Ref: I:13. **Hatam:** *can*. **Numfor:** *dui; suru*.

yap¹ *adv.* tomorrow; *besok*. Ref: I:22. **Hatam:** *njab*. **Numfor:** *miser*. See **yap** 'light'.

yap² *adj.* light; *terang*. Ref: I:4: **Mon yap uo**. It is already light. *Tempat sudah terang*. **Hatam:** *njab; piga*. **Numfor:** *sna*. See **yap** 'tomorrow'.

yapam *n.* morning; *pagi*. Ref: I:6. **Hatam:** *njabigyoti*. **Numfor:** *arwo*. See **yap** 'light'.

yapap *n.* riverbank; *pinggir kali*. Ref: I:48: **Usi ir doru war yapap**. The *usi* tree grows on the riverbank. *Kayu usi tumbuh di pinggir kali*. **Hatam:** *minyey nyai*. **Numfor:** *yendi sare*. Note: Or does the example sentence mean: 'the cuscus went up the riverbank'?

yem *v.* call; *panggil*. Ref: I:29: **Danu diyem na**. I call you. *Saya panggil kau*. **Hatam:** *jem*. **Numfor:** *krin; or*.

References

- Dixon, R.M.W., 1997, *The rise and fall of languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Griffiths, Richard J., 1994, *The Hatam language dictionaries*. *Manokwari*: The Evangelical Alliance Mission.
- Hasselt, F.J.F. van, 1905, *Spraakkunst der Nufoorsche Taal*. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Hasselt, J.L. van and F.J.F. van Hasselt, 1947, *Noemfoorsch woordenboek*. Amsterdam: J.H. de Bussy.
- Pans, A.E.M.J., 1960, *De Arfakkers: een volk in beweging*. MA thesis. [To appear in Irian Jaya Source Materials.]
- Pouwer, Jan, 1958, *Socio-politische structuur in de Oostelijke Vogelkop*. Mimeograph. Hollandia, Jayapura.
- Reesink, Ger P., 1996, The 'death' of Boarai and the 'life' of Hatam. [To appear in James Collins and Hein Steinhauer, eds *Proceedings of Colloquium on Endangered Languages, held in Leiden, December 1996*.]
- 1999, *A grammar of Hatam, Bird's Head Peninsula, Irian Jaya*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Silzer, Peter J. and Heljä Heikkinen Clouse, 1991, *Index of Irian Jaya languages*, 2 edn. Jayapura: Program Kerjasama Universitas Cenderawasih and Summer Institute of Linguistics.

- Steinhauer, Hein, 1985, Number in Biak: counterevidence to two alleged language universals. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 141/4:462–485.
- Voorhoeve, C.L., 1975, *Languages of Irian Jaya checklist: preliminary classification, language maps, wordlists*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- 1987, Worming one's way through New Guinea: the chase of the peripatetic pronouns. In Donald C. Laycock and Werner Winter, eds *A world of language: papers presented to Professor S.A. Wurm on his 65th birthday*, 709–727. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- 1989, The masked bird: linguistic relations in the Bird's Head area. In Paul Haenen and Jan Pouwer, eds *Peoples on the move*, 78–101. Nijmegen: Centre for Australian and Oceanic Studies, University of Nijmegen.