Introduction

This dictionary is a result of Hans Fischer's long-term fieldwork among the Wampar (*Ngaeng Wampar*, 'Wampar people'). Wampar are a population of about 12,000–15,000 persons, occupying the middle Markham Valley in Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea (PNG), close to the city of Lae. Their neighbours often call them *Laewomba*, a name also used in some earlier literature (e.g. Böttger 1912; Neuhauss 1909, 1911; Sack 1976). Their language, *Dzob Wampar*,¹ belongs to the Markham family of the Austronesian languages. Today most Wampar speak not only Wampar but also the PNG lingua franca Tok Pisin (TP).

Five of the eight Wampar villages (Munun, Ngasawapum, Gabsongkeg, Gabmadzung, Dzifasing, Tararan) are situated near the Highlands Highway, north of the Markham River, and three are south of it (Mare, Wamped, Gabantsidz). The highway connects the coastal city of Lae with the Highlands provinces (see Figure 1). Additional Wampar and migrant settlements have proliferated in conjunction with new economic opportunities, including growing cash crops, cattle and chicken farms, and marketing along the main highway. Non-Wampar language communities and neighbours to the east are the Yalu, Musom, Lae and Labu; to the north the Erap, Mungkip and Duwet (cf. Hooley 1964, 1971, 1976); to the west the Adzera (Holzknecht 1989); and to the south the Watut (Carter et al. 2014), Mumeng and Buang.

After some initial difficulties, peaceful relations between Wampar settlements and Lutheran missionaries of *Neuendettelsauer Missionsgesellschaft* were established in 1909, which led to the construction of a mission station in 1910–1911 at Gabmadzung, near Gabsongkeg village. In the mid-1920s, the Neuendettelsau Missionaries baptised the first Wampar. While the Lutheran Church dominated Christian life for several decades, today Wampar are divided among various Protestant denominations.

¹ Literally, *Dzob Wampar* means 'Wampar language'. Throughout this dictionary we use the word 'Wampar' for the people as well as the language, when the context makes the referent clear.

Figure 1: Location of Wampar settlements and the Markham Valley

Source: Heiner Schnoor

The proximity of many Wampar settlements to Lae and the Highlands Highway has brought them extensive contacts with other ethnic groups. Schools, health facilities and churches have been established on their lands, and pastors, teachers and health workers from other parts of PNG have come to work and live among the Wampar. World War II brought contacts with both Japanese and Australian soldiers. In recent decades, many Wampar have gone for training, study or work to towns and other provinces of PNG, where they sometimes married. Accordingly, marriages with non-Wampar have increased markedly over the last 50 years (Beer & Schroedter 2014). This has contributed to changing language patterns. Children from inter-ethnic couples often learn two or three languages, and some grow up with only a passive knowledge of Wampar (Bacalzo 2012, 2021). Today, nearly everybody speaks TP, and Wampar tends to be used less frequently in everyday life.

1 History of ethnographic research among the Wampar

This dictionary is based on long-term and collaborative ethnographic research. Hans Fischer first became interested in the then 'Territory of Papua and New Guinea' in 1958, after reading the unpublished manuscripts and notes of the missionaries Karl

Panzer (1912, 1917) and Georg Stürzenhofecker (1926, 1929, 1930, 1939). In this dictionary, words from Stürzenhofecker's manuscript are marked with ‡. Fischer had obtained these manuscripts in 1956 from Herbert Tischner, curator at the Hamburg Ethnographic Museum (*Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde*), where Fischer studied. Inspired by them, Fischer first visited two Wampar villages (Ngasawapum and Gabsongkeg) and the mission station at Gabmadzung in 1958/59. Subsequently, he carried out fieldwork with groups living in the Lower Watut (a tributary of the Markham) and Anga groups; he resided in Forofar, in the household of a Wampar man, Pastor Benjamin, and had contacts with several other Wampar teachers and evangelists sent by the Lutherans to work among the Watut people. In 1965, Fischer began his first extended fieldwork among the Wampar at the former mission site, Gabmadzung; but from 1971/72 onwards the village of Gabsongkeg became his main place of fieldwork: he returned there in 1976, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997, 1999–2000, 2004 and 2009. He studied Wampar vocabulary and grammar while learning the language. At the same time, Fischer researched subjects such as settlement and household organisation (Schulze, Fischer & Lang 1997), kinship (Fischer 1975a, 1996), oral traditions (Fischer 1976, 1994) and material culture, including string figures (Claassen 2012; Fischer 2012; Beer & Claassen 2017).

In the beginning, Fischer used Tok Pisin to communicate with Wampar. He worked with several male consultants to compile a first vocabulary, using Mihalic's Tok Pisin dictionary (1957). Later, he recorded more complex usages. In addition, he carried a Wampar wordlist compiled around 1930 by the missionary Georg Stürzenhofecker and supplemented by other Lutheran missionaries (Fischer 1994: 22ff; 2000: 21). Even by Fischer's first field trips, Wampar speakers had already forgotten some of the older words and expressions recorded by the missionaries (cf. Fischer 2000).

Fischer collected stories, myths, biographies and descriptions of events, and translated them with Wampar consultants (see publications by Fischer between 1975 and 2015). To his surprise, some older men (Dziru, Ngaroyana, Gari) had written texts in Wampar themselves, mainly about their own lives and earlier conflicts. Back in Germany, he also received several letters from them, written in Wampar. Fischer used further methods to study the Wampar language more systematically; for example, he presented colour charts to elicit colour terms, and used photographs from earlier field trips to ask questions about persons, facial expressions and gestures.

Fischer's academic career coincided with the general growth in universities, which included an increase in students seeking to conduct PhD research in anthropology. As it turned out, a number of his students opted to conduct ethnographic research among the Wampar, addressing issues complementary to those of Fischer's work, so that something approaching a coordinated research project has grown organically. Broadly, these studies have led to a better picture of local heterogeneity in, for example, the extent to which communities were isolated from one another or intermarried with neighbouring groups, or the extent of their integration into state

institutions and church organisations. These local heterogeneities have become salient and must be taken into account in analyses. By comparing sociocultural continuity and change in different sites, we can more easily assess the explanatory weight of factors relevant to contrasts between settlements on both sides of the Markham. The Wampar dictionary has also benefited from the contributions of different scholars with diverse research interests and personal backgrounds who have been or still are involved in research on the Wampar.

In 1976 Fischer went to the field with Heide Lienert. Her MA focused on marriage and kinship in Ngasawapum village, and she later returned to the village for short periods in 1984, 1994 and 2002. More of Fischer's students went to the Wampar area in the following years: Christiana Lütkes, together with her husband Piotr, undertook fieldwork in Tararan village in 1993. Her PhD research on cultural and social organisation of work has been published, along with several articles on related topics (Lütkes 1999, 2002). Accompanied by her daughter, Rita Kramp completed doctoral research on family planning in Gabantsidz village in 1994/95; the results are published in a monograph (Kramp 1999). Bettina Beer (sometimes together with Hans Fischer) researched inter-ethnic relations and the senses, and—more recently—has begun investigating social inequality in the context of large-scale capitalist projects in Gabsongkeg village. Beer explored the domain of odours and olfaction as an aspect of sociality, expressed in speech, modes of interaction and evaluation. Besides general ethnographic methods, she also used more formal techniques, like domain and cultural consensus analyses, to research these topics. Paulina Reimann studied children's play and games (for an MA in sociocultural anthropology) in 2002. In 2002 Juliane Neuhaus undertook fieldwork for her PhD on village courts and legal pluralism in Munun village (Neuhaus 2009); she returned for a short period of fieldwork in 2009. More recently (Bacalzo 2012, 2021; Bacalzo, Beer & Schwörer 2014; Beer 2006, 2008, 2011, 2015; Beer & Church 2019), integrated research projects have been crafted with the explicit aim of extending the comprehensiveness of our understanding of the Wampar and their history. Several of Bettina Beer's students followed: Doris Bacalzo-Schwörer, along with her husband, Tobias Schwörer, completed ethnographic fieldwork in Dzifasing 2009/10; in 2016/17, they both began a long-term collaborative research project with Willem Church, who conducted fieldwork south of the Markham in Wamped and Mare (Beer & Church 2019; Church 2019, 2021).

All Wampar researchers took earlier versions of the then unpublished Wampar dictionary into the field, and commented on and contributed to the dictionary: some added information about language differences between villages and generations; others supplemented the dictionary with specialised vocabulary on smells, for example, or documented children's language.

2 Heterogeneity and variability of Dzob Wampar

Languages show internal variation and, of course, change over time. Naturally, then, *Dzob Wampar* reveals semantic and phonetic variation, which is principally caused by the histories of *sagaseg* ‘clan’ migration, the extent of foreign influences contingent on locality with respect to post-contact services and infrastructure, the contrasting patterns of marriage with non-Wampar, and intergenerational differences. Wampar names of villages, rivers or mountains have been changed by non-Wampar speakers in the context of missionary or government influence and appear today in different versions on maps. For example, one finds Gabensis (for Wampar Gabantsidz) or Wampit (Wamped) being used as ‘official’ names, though the usage is not consistent. The dictionary records these different usages. Differences between villages, loanwords incorporated into Wampar and generational differences will be discussed in the following sections.

2.1 Differences between villages

The most obvious forms of variation recorded in this dictionary are those that reflect the local versions of Wampar used in the researchers’ field sites. Proximity to the highway, to the city of Lae, to large markets, to good hunting grounds and/or gardening land are all important dimensions of general social heterogeneity. From the beginning, each ethnographer has been aware that they are not studying *the* Wampar, but Wampar people in a certain village, at a specific point in time. Even what people hold to constitute ‘Wampar-ness’ can differ between these villages. Moreover, today, how frequently Wampar is used in everyday life varies among villages, households and individuals. Gabsongkeg was selected as the focus of Fischer’s first fieldwork because of its proximity to Gabmadzung, the site of the former Mission Station. Consequently, the language spoken here became the basis for the lexicon that was given to subsequent Wampar ethnographers.

In early studies in the 1960s and 1970s, people occasionally pointed out dialectal differences between villages. In 2003/04 Fischer investigated this question systematically. He found that the villages of Gabsongkeg, Gabmadzung, Ngasawapum and Munun shared the same dialect, while Dzifasing and Tararan, two villages up-river, and the villages south of the Markham River (mainly Gabantsidz and Mare) spoke a slightly different one, although lexical differences were not extensive. Susanne Holzknicht (1989) reported that Wampar residents of Dzifasing and Tararan claimed that their local varieties were more similar to each other than to those used in other settlements. However, her own more systematic investigations suggest that the contrasts were mostly in the pronunciation of *owe* ‘yes’, which people in Tararan and Dzifasing ended with a glottal stop—not otherwise used in Wampar. Wampar from Dzifasing and Tararan were also said to speak more slowly than those from other villages (Holzknicht 1989: 36).

Individual differences in pronunciation within one village can, however, seem to be more marked than those between villages. In Gabsongkeg, for example, some people say *ngarobingin* ‘good’, some *ngarobungin*, some *rasen* or *rasin* ‘his brother’. *Ngarobungin* seems to be used more frequently in Dzifasing. In many words some people use *n*, others *ng*. In particular, consonants at the end of a word can vary between *b* and *p*, and *g* and *k*. Variability due to more or less rapid sociocultural change also affects language use and is slightly different according to the closeness of villages to the Highlands Highway and/or town (see Figure 1). Name taboos, which were widespread in former times, have been nearly completely given up in Gabsongkeg, while they are still used by many families in Tararan, Wamped and Mare (see Holzknacht 1988).

2.2 Loanwords and multilingualism

Many non-Wampar words are now part of the everyday language of Wampar speakers. This is a consequence of early contacts with neighbouring groups, explorers, prospectors and adventurers, colonial officers, German missionaries and the use of Jabêm as the main language of the Lutheran Mission.² Jabêm is an Austronesian language spoken near Finschhafen (Huon Peninsula, Morobe Province) in the area that was first contacted by the Lutheran missionaries in 1885. They developed a writing system and adopted Jabêm as their lingua franca. It became the main medium for instruction and evangelisation, and was spoken by up to 100,000 people before World War II (Zahn 1940; Zahn & Streicher 1982). Jabêm is one of the best documented Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea.

Some contacts with speakers of other PNG languages had already been important before Wampar had contact with the colonial world. For example, Wampar had incorporated names of prisoners taken in wars with other ethnic groups (e.g. *Antsig*), names of non-Wampar men who married Wampar women (*Anug*), while during the colonial period names from more distant peoples, such as those of the Sepik region, Papua or Salamaua, have been incorporated into Wampar usage. Not surprisingly, in the 1980s Wampar who lived close to Adzera-, Watut-, Yalu- or Bukawa-speaking villages were usually bilingual in those languages and their own (Holzknacht 1989: 36).

A number of nouns for introduced objects and other features of modernity are German loanwords. Many of these words became part of everyday Wampar through church usage (see Fischer 2000). Words like *beten* (‘to pray’, G. *beten*) or *aposter* (‘apostle’, G. *Apostel*) were introduced via the mission into Wampar. From the school context words like *tsaren* (‘numbers’, G. *Zahlen*) or *tafe* (‘blackboard’, G. *Tafel*) have

2 In areas where Papuan languages were spoken, the Neuendettelsau missionaries chose Kâte, a Papuan language, as the language of conversion.

been incorporated; from the context of handicraft *baisanga* ('pliers', G. *Beißzange*) or *hobel* ('plane', G. *Hobel*). Words for the days of the week partly follow German, such as *monta(k)* ('Monday', G. *Montag*), *tinstak* ('Tuesday', G. *Dienstag*), *mitwok* ('Wednesday', G. *Mittwoch*) and *sontag* ('Sunday', G. *Sonntag*). *Dangke* or *dangkesen* ('thank you', G. *danke* or *dankeschön*) is of German origin, as well as some words for plants like *brume* ('flower', G. *Blume*) or *katofeng* ('potato', G. *Kartoffel*). There is even a curse, which is said had been used by one of the missionaries and was preserved in Wampar: *saeskop kukuk naka mai* (presumably G. *Scheißkopf, zum Kuckuck noch einmal!* 'Shit head, damn it!'). These German loanwords are marked with G.

In the Wampar area the missionaries used the Wampar language even though they preferred to use Jabêm as the mission language. After World War II, missionaries introduced Jabêm to Wampar systematically for education. However, the missionaries had evidently used words from Jabêm from the beginning of their efforts, as Jabêm words are also used in Wampar texts and in conversations. Some examples are *anutu* ('god', Jb. *anôtô*), *bingsu* ('missionary', Jb. *bingsû*), *kidungwaga* ('teacher', Jb. *kêdôngwaga*), or *bumpum* ('white man', Jb. *bômbôm*). In addition, most newly introduced objects have Jabêm names, like *ngakwi* ('shirt', Jb. *ngakwê*), *raru* ('plate', Jb. *laclû*) or *birim* ('nail', Jb. *bêlêm*). One of the most frequently used Jabêm words is *taram* for 'gun', which originally meant 'bow' in Jabêm. Only a few Jabêm loanwords for animals, plants and food are used in Wampar, such as *kukuk* (Jb. *ucuc*) for a bird of prey, *waruwaru* (Jb. *wâlô*) for 'pumpkin' or *porom* (Jb. *polom*) for 'bread'. In the dictionary, Jabêm loanwords are marked with Jb. and words from the neighbouring Adzera (e.g. *simimpi* 'turtle') are also noted.

How Wampar language has incorporated loanwords from different historical contexts and languages is sometimes impossible to trace. Today it is very difficult to determine, for example, whether a word in *Dzob Wampar* has been integrated via Tok Pisin or directly from English. In the last decades, all adults and children spoke Tok Pisin, nearly everybody went to school, and learned at least a bit of English. Tok Pisin is called in Wampar *dzi rafen*, which means something like 'animal language' (*dzi* 'animal'; *rafen* 'talk, language'). *Pisin* in Tok Pisin has two meanings: 'Tok Pisin' and 'bird'. As this expression was evidently developed a long time ago, it is unclear now whether the meaning is mocking or serious.

More recently, Tok Pisin words have been integrated into everyday Wampar, but many young people believe that they are also ancestral Wampar words; this is conspicuously the case for terms denoting certain professions or offices like *kiap* 'colonial official', *didiman* (an employee of the Department of Agriculture) or *dokta boi* (also *tota*), a medical orderly. There are also some introduced objects that are named in Tok Pisin, though often slightly changed in Wampar, such as *apap* (*hapap* 'pick' or 'hoe'). Others are combined loanwords from Tok Pisin, like *gom bisnis*,

which is a combination of the Wampar word for ‘work’ *gom* and the Tok Pisin word for ‘business’ *bisnis*. In the dictionary, English words are marked with E., Tok Pisin with TP.

2.3 Generational differences

Several decades of Wampar research have shown the extent and speed of change in the region. Today the pace of change is greater than at any other point, as mining, migration and the commodification of land impact Wampar communities in uneven ways and to different degrees. More than 50 years of sociocultural change since Fischer began to study *Dzob Wampar* have resulted in great individual differences in knowledge of the vernacular. Frequently, young people and children no longer know the words used as names for people to whom they are related in a particular way, which forbids them to utter the original proper name of the person; nor do they know the words for things no longer in general use, such as *ge* ‘stone axe’ or *rop* ‘place of ancestral spirit’. Older consultants often gave meanings for Wampar words that differed from those given by younger people. In such cases, information on these differences is given in the dictionary.

A special age-related variety of language use is children’s talk, which has been described by Fischer (2000: 109ff) and has been included in the dictionary. Distinctive words used by children (and adults interacting with them) are marked ‘children’s talk’. Some of these words have also been used as names for dogs and pigs (see Beer & Fischer 2016). Children’s specific vocabulary is mainly used for relatives (*baba* for *abang* ‘father’), body parts (*dodo* for *seson* ‘breast’), animals, plants and food (*bekek* for TP *bisケット*), but also for modern elements (*erokota* for ‘helicopter’).

3 Names, plants and animals

Many proper and personal names have been included in this dictionary; these include names (*binga-n*) of men and women, of dogs and pigs, of tribes and groups, clans (*sagaseg*), totems and spirit places, of villages and even of trucks. In two earlier publications, Fischer (1975b, 2000) described names and naming among the Wampar, and Doris Bacalzo (2021) also discusses names and naming as part of establishing or emphasising relations between children and their relatives in transcultural kin networks. The importance of names becomes evident to researchers when, for example, they undertake an ethnographic census, or when consultants discuss rights of land use and inheritance.

Several aspects of naming are significant in *Dzob Wampar*. Today everybody has an ‘old’ name as well as a Christian name that they received when baptised or which they received together with a traditional name from a relative. Certain old names

‘go together’ with Christian names as they have been passed on in pairs for several generations. Every Wampar person can have several old names, sometimes combined with respective Christian names; in addition, any Wampar can give personalised nicknames to anybody else, which they then use in addressing and referring to that person. Many Wampar also have modern school names and nicknames.

Traditionally, Wampar had a strong taboo on uttering the names of fathers-, mothers-, sons- and daughters-in-law. Names often derive from meaningful words in Wampar and individuals dropped any words for things that formed part or the whole of these names from their vocabulary. According to several consultants, this might account for the many double and triple synonyms in Wampar vocabulary. It might also have led to rapid lexical replacement on a local level and the differentiation of dialects and the languages in the area on a wider scale (cf. Holzknecht 1989: 43). Substitutes for proper names and other items that were taboo have been recorded and listed in the dictionary, although many of these are forgotten today (see also Holzknecht 1988). There are several possible strategies to avoid uttering a personal name:

- a. Substitution with a semantically similar word, e.g. if *tao* ‘house’ is taboo, one can use *dabarab* ‘shade-house’, or *tabantib* ‘platform’ or ‘bed’.
- b. Using an equal item, e.g. if *dzif* ‘fire’ is the name of a relative and taboo, one can use *dôd* ‘fire’.
- c. Using a circumlocution, e.g. if *dzain* ‘betelnut’ is taboo, one can use *ram a ngeab* ‘thing to chew’.
- d. Using the word *bengan monten* ‘name the same as this’ or *edza beng-a-d monteng*, *edza bu-d monteng* ‘my in-laws name the same as this’.

In the dictionary, all names that are part of a fixed stock of names are marked for gender and additional information on the name is given such as ‘taboo name for ...’, ‘nickname’, or name of a mythical or historical person, place name, name in text of a song or ‘Christian name’. The meaning of a name is given if known, often with cross-references to other items in the dictionary; then the origin of the name is given (e.g. from Adzera, Watut and other languages). Many names are children’s talk for pigs or dogs such as *Geget*, a dog’s name from children’s talk for *bisket* (TP) or *Magi*, a dog’s name derived from *moagi* (fruit tree, men’s name). Several names derive from names of white people (e.g. *Bantser*, from the missionary Karl Panzer, *Egret* from Eggert, *Frao*, which is believed to have been the name of missionary Panzer’s wife [G. *Frau*]). Some of these have been given to Wampar children, passed on, kept in collective memory and have become markers of the historical time when the person was there.

Wampar has many more general names for flora than for fauna. The dictionary lists the Wampar generic terms and their sub-categories, if known, and vice versa. In some cases, a given plant's common name has a number of variants (e.g. *antsang/ntsang/ngantsang* 'a tree, the bark of which is eaten; hot taste like ginger; used in magic and formerly eaten before a fight'). All plant names are listed and followed by descriptions provided by consultants, and, where relevant, information about the taste, smell or use of the plant (some plants, for example, are *sagaseg* 'clan' totems, *sagaseg a wir*).

All researchers used available keys to New Guinea's flora and fauna to elicit terms for plants and animals from consultants (Allen 1991; Beehler et al. 1986; Gressitt & Hornabrook 1977; Henty 1969, 1981; Mackay 1986, 1987; Menzies 1975, 1991; Taylor & Taylor 1987). The sign <> is used for a plant or animal identified with the help of pictures from the literature. Different consultants were asked independently to assign animals and plants to biological taxa and generic terms. Many plant and animal names elicited several different identifications (see, for example, *dzabain*).

In 1991, Piotr Lütkes, a non-anthropologist, accompanied his wife Christiana during her anthropological fieldwork in the village of Tararan. He took photographs of plants and elicited local names for them. Roy Banka, at the PNG Forest Research Institute in Lae, identified the plants in the photographs. Lütkes passed on the Wampar designations and biological identifications to Hans Fischer. They are all included in this dictionary (marked with Δ).

Biological taxonomy is, however, a dynamic field; the biological identifications included here, of plants and animals obtained from older books, dictionaries or personal communications have in some cases been revised. In some cases, one Wampar term covers different species, or people disagree on the meanings of terms. Where possible, we have added the accepted biological identification of each plant and animal to make it easier to place them in a broader taxonomic setting and enable the reader to access information thereon. In some cases, the Wampar nomenclature and the scientific are not fully compatible.

Some plants and their names have, according to Wampar, been introduced from Jabêm. When possible, Jabêm dictionaries (Zahn & Streicher 1982) have been used to make biological identifications (in which case the entry is marked Jb.). Consultants also often identified plants and animals using Tok Pisin designations, which were compared to other dictionaries (Mihalic 1957, 1971); these are also listed and marked TP.

4 Notes on the sound system and orthography

As mentioned earlier, there is significant variation in how the government and local people spell Wampar place names. Lutheran missionaries were the first to write in and about *Dzob Wampar*: their orthographies tended to reflect their own linguistic origins and they had their own conventions for recording sounds and words. Fischer offered alternatives based on later phonetic conventions and adapted them for the sorts of keyboards available in PNG.

For example, Lutheran translators indicated long vowels by doubling the letter (e.g. *foon* ‘banana trunk’) in the orthography of The New Testament (Hooley 1984), whereas Fischer uses *fōn*. Some words that begin with *nts-* were written as beginning with *z-* (*zuc/ntsu* ‘rattan’). In the transcription by the missionaries the last example, *zuc* ends with *-c*, which is not pronounced and was used by Stürzenhofecker for a short final vowel or glottal stop. Wampar has no long final vowels, therefore Fischer, unlike Stürzenhofecker, did not mark short vowels. Stürzenhofecker appended the infinitive ending to verb stems (*zroperan/ntsrop-eran* ‘to duck, to dodge’), and often an inserted prosthetic *a* was added to the next word (*afenefon/a fenefon* ‘news, the bible’).

Table 1: Transcription of Wampar by Lutheran missionaries and by Fischer

Panzer & Stürzenhofecker	Fischer
aa	â
ee	ê
ii	î
oo	ô
uu	û
ʒ	dz
ŋ	ng
j	y
z	ts
-c	—
l	> r

Fischer decided to change the orthography to make it more accessible to Wampar and English speakers by using only letters of the English alphabet, which can be found on any common keyboard. He also avoided certain letters commonly used in German, such as *j* to represent the sound [y], replacing it with *y*.

Wampar has five vowels and 17 consonant phonemes. The consonants are: *b, d, dz, f, g, h, k, m, n, ng, p, r (= l), s, t, ts, w, y*. The sound *h* is only used in interjections (e.g. *he! hei!* surprise, question or request, also welcoming) and in some loanwords, mostly from German (e.g. *hobel, hube* ‘plane’ as in a carpenter’s tool, from G. *Hobel*). A glottal stop occurs only in the word *owe* ‘yes’, but this was only reported for the Eastern Wampar villages Dzifasing and Tararan.

Table 2: Chart of Wampar consonants

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Velar
Stop	p b		t d		k g
Prenasalised velar	mp		nt		ngk
Nasal	m		n		ng
Affricated Stop			ts dz		
Prenasalised			nts		
Fricative		f	s		
Liquid			r (l)		
Semivowels	w			y	

There are problems with this orthography for words beginning with *k*, *p*, *t* or *ts*. When uttered in isolation, usually only *k* is heard in these words (*kag*, *kangeran*, *kats*, *koats*). However, when they are spoken normally, as parts of whole sentences, and especially when following words that terminate in a vowel, the *k* in some words is prenasalised; for example, *oteg a ngkag* ‘don’t be noisy’, *ram a ngkoats* ‘something short’. In the dictionary these words are found under *ng*: *ngkag*, *ngkangeran*, *ngkats*, *ngkoats*. The same principle applies to some words beginning with *p* (*pas*, *pi*, *po*) in isolation, and in combinations with *mp* (*mpas* ‘wind, storm’, *mpi* ‘pig’, *mpo* ‘water’); isolated with *t* (*taf*, *tib*, *tot*), in combinations as *nt* (*ntaf*, *ntib*, *ntot*); and *ts* (*tsa*, *tsab*, *tsidz*) or in combinations as *nts* (*ntsa*, *ntseb*, *ntsidz*). All can be found in the latter form in this dictionary.

The Wampar vowels are: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. In the dictionary the symbol [^] is used (e.g. *â*, *ô*, etc.) for long vowels. Long vowels are marked in the dictionary, although Wampar do not always use them consistently in everyday discourse. But as the length of some vowels marks semantic differences between words they are accentuated, e.g. *fângeran* ‘to put down, spread out’ and *fangeran* ‘to stand upright, to be erect’.

Some lengthened vowels are based on an historical loss of a consonant (usually *g*) that is still retained in Adzera (Holzknecht 1998) as in *fugun* (Adzera) > Wampar *fôn* ‘banana trunk’ or *fagan* (Adzera) > Wampar *fân* ‘leg’. When consecutive vowels are identical they are usually elided (e.g. *a-an* > *an*, *mpu-en* > *mpun*). The Wampar sound system also contains the diphthongs *ae*, *ai*, *ao*, *au*. *Ae* and *ai* as well as *ao* and *au* have been used sometimes interchangeably: *ai* was sometimes, and by some people, pronounced as *ei* (for example, *aidz*, *faib*, *nain*, *paip*). In rapid speech, *ai* and *ae*, *au* and *ao* sound very similar, and *ai* can become *e*.

The entries in the dictionary are ordered as follows: *a, b, d, dz, e, f, g, h, i, k, m, n, ng, o, p, r, s, t, ts, u, w, y*. The order ignores the length of vowels, i.e. *a* and *â* are sorted together. Proper names beginning with an L (Lae, Labu, the missionary Lehner) can be found under *r*. *Dz, ng* and *ts* are independent phonemes with entries after *d, n* and *t*.

Table 3: Pronunciation of vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i, î</i>		<i>u, û</i>
Mid	<i>e, ê</i>		<i>o, ô</i>
Low		<i>a, â</i>	

An extra (epenthetic) vowel *a* is inserted between word-final and word-initial consonants, such as *ram a mpang* ‘grass area’, *gab a kau* ‘the village there’, *gaen a dzog* ‘ripe banana’. Between vowels sometimes *y* or *w* will be inserted as glides: *ngaeng a yaneran a garagab* ‘man who eats human beings, cannibal’ (from *an-eran* ‘to eat’). Similarly, the transition to *eyar* ‘he eats’ (from *ar-eran* ‘to eat’). Many words that on the surface start with *a* have an underlying initial *y*; for example, *âb-eran* ‘to clear, to weed’ becomes *yâb* in conjugated forms and word transition contexts (*afi eyab a gom* ‘the woman weeds the garden’). Across morpheme and word boundaries, identical vowels are assimilated: *edza a-bana amamau* becomes *edza’bana’mamu* ‘I keep silent’.

Table 4 summarises the placement of stress in words with emphasis on different syllables according to the number of syllables. Stressed vowels appear in boldface type.

Table 4: Pronunciation of and stress on different syllables

Number of Syllables	Stress	Duplication of syllables
One	gom, ram	<i>fur-eran/furufur - eran</i>
With two vowels	aidz, aom, Aus	
Two	abang, ampat, angra boman, fofon, dare, fose, Yangka	<i>abuabu</i>
Three	Adanta, Adzimba, aposter, Aratsets, aetsantson, foarim, foareng	
Two final vowels	fafoa	
Four	Afoareng, abaeb-eran	

5 Grammar sketch

Dzob Wampar has not yet been systematically and comprehensively described and analysed, although Susanne Holzknecht, a trained linguist, has produced descriptive and comparative work on Markham languages (1988, 1989, 1998), especially on Adzera. As the present authors are anthropologists and not linguists, the following sections can only present a sketch of some features of the grammar to give brief background information on the language and to make the dictionary more accessible.

5.1 Word order

Wampar sentence structure follows the typical general pattern of Markham languages. The standard word order is:

subject predicate object

<i>garafu</i>	<i>etao</i>	<i>gab</i>
the child	sees	the village

<i>gea</i>	<i>imu faring</i>
he	is big

<i>edza</i>	<i>ab</i>	<i>a ram ampang</i>
I	clear	the bush

<i>sera</i>	<i>epari</i>	<i>gaen</i>	<i>en edza?</i>
who	skins	bananas	for me?

Declarative sentences always follow the order described above with a noun or pronoun followed by a verb or auxiliary verb and, in the case of transitive verbs, by another noun or pronoun. Intransitive clauses can be in the order subject–verb or vice versa. Questions can be formulated with either interrogative words or particles (such as *bag* or *dzin*, see below), which are placed at the beginning of the question.

5.2 Nouns

Regular **nouns (n.)** are used in the same form in singular and plural; for example, *tao* ‘house’ or ‘houses’. Most Wampar nouns follow a simple regular pattern and are unchangeable in terms of modification, such as possession, number and person, like *aom* ‘spear’ or *boantob* ‘wealth’. As Holzkecht (1989: 104–108) describes as well, two subtypes of nouns are in use within the Markham family of languages: one for inalienable possessions such as terms for kin, body parts or substance, a person’s spirit, name, voice or reflection, which are understood to be inseparable from the person, and a second much larger set of common nouns, which refer to neutral or alienable possessed nouns. The kinship terms represent a restricted set of nouns that have a full set of pronoun suffixes for all persons; they are preserved in Wampar but not present in all Markham languages.

Wampar use the ending *-d* for first person singular and *-g* to distinguish a very small set of possessive nouns, mostly kin terms, e.g. *edza rompo-g* ‘my grandparent’ or *edza anu-g* ‘my mother’ (Holzknecht 1989: 108). Further exceptions to the regular case that the noun is unchangeable are specific words for body parts or kinship terms that take suffixes for possession by first, second and third person, usually *-d*, *-m*, and *-n*: *bangi-d*, *bangi-m*, *bangi-n* ‘my/our, your, her/his/their hand/s’, or *naro-d*, *naro-m*, *naro-n* ‘my/our, your, his/her/their child/ren’, also *dampān* ‘forehead’ or *maran* ‘eye, face’. Although most words for body parts follow this pattern, a few are unchangeable, such as *aeng* ‘joint’, *angkop* ‘breastbone’, *babraf* ‘lungs’, *baub* ‘scrotum’ or *dirits* ‘root, vein’, *bimpin* ‘breast’ or *wawang* ‘uterus’. In the dictionary, the words for relatives and body parts are listed with the third person possessive suffix such as *bangi-n* ‘her/his finger, hand, arm’ or *nafo-n* ‘her/his sibling of the same sex as speaker’.

Some nouns for inalienable possession have irregular forms, like *binga-n* ‘name’: *binga-d* or *bingu-d*, *bingu-m*, *binga-n*, also *benga-n* or *faranga-n* ‘nephew, niece, mother’s brother, father’s sister’: *yasig*, *farang-um*, *faranga-n*. The forms for the word for brother-in-law and sister-in-law are especially variable: *fâts*, *fûp*, *fâts* for first, second and third person. In these cases, the special forms are listed in the dictionary entry in the third person form and special words like *yasig* have extra entries.

Table 5: Irregular nouns

	father	mother	aunt	uncle	leg
1.p.	<i>abang</i>	<i>anug</i>	<i>ugu</i>	<i>farangad</i>	<i>faud</i>
2.p.	<i>ramum</i>	<i>rinum</i>	<i>ûp</i>	<i>farangum</i>	<i>faum</i>
3.p.	<i>raman</i>	<i>renan</i>	<i>wâts</i>	<i>farangan</i>	<i>fân</i>

Rits functions as a quantifier ‘many’, as in *tao rits* ‘many houses’. The reduplication of nouns can indicate plurality as well, such as ‘many’ or ‘all’: *tao tao* ‘many/all houses’. If the noun is accompanied by an adjective, the reduplication of the adjective can also be used as an indicator of the plural: *tao faring faring* ‘many/all big houses’.

Verbs can be transformed into nouns by suffixing *-(e)ran*, *tao-eran* ‘the seeing’ or *fog-eran* ‘the decoration’. The other possible way to form a noun is the combination of a verb or adjective with *ram* ‘thing, object’: *ram a fogeran* ‘decoration’ ‘thing for decorating’, *ram a tsatseran* ‘badness’ or ‘ghost’ (*etsats* ‘bad’, literally ‘thing bad’). Some words can be used as both nouns and adjectives, like *afi*, which as a noun means ‘woman, girl’ (*afi daer* ‘unmarried girl’) and as adjective ‘female’ (*naron afi* ‘female child’).

5.3 Verbs

In the lexicon, **verbs (v.)** are always listed in the infinitive form of the root plus the suffix *-(e)ran* (which is also used as gerund-marking suffix, as noted above), such as *babano-ran* ‘to hang down’, *dzangidz-eran* ‘to fast’ or *rof-eran* ‘to remove/peel off’. The ending *-ran* is added to a stem that ends with a vowel in the last syllable, and the suffix *-eran* is added if the last syllable ends with a consonant. As shown in Table 6, **personal prefixes** precede the verb stem in the first second and third person, but they do not differentiate between the singular and the plural.

Table 6: Personal prefixes

<i>a-</i>	1.p.		<i>a-ya</i> ‘I/we go’; <i>a-buri</i> ‘I/we sit down’
<i>o-</i>	2.p.	if the first syllable of verb contains <i>a, e, o</i>	<i>o-ya</i> ‘you go’
<i>ow-</i>		if the verb begins with a vowel	<i>ow-edz</i> ‘you exchange’
<i>u-</i>		if the first syllable of the verb contains <i>u, i</i>	<i>u-ngid</i> ‘you hold’
<i>e-</i>	3.p.	when the first syllable of verb contains <i>a, e, o</i>	<i>e-ya</i> ‘he/she goes/they go’
<i>i-</i>		when the first syllable of verb contains <i>i</i> or <i>u</i>	<i>gea ibini</i> ‘he squeezes’; <i>ges ifur</i> ‘they fished’

The roots of former main verbs precede the main verb-stem and its personal prefix. So *-re-* and *-ri-* indicate continuity: *e-moaf* ‘they sit’, *e-re-moaf* ‘they live there’ (*moaf-eran* ‘to sit’, of many people); *i-buri* ‘he sits’, *i-ri-buri* ‘he lives there’ (*buri-ran* ‘to sit’, of single people). The prefix *-re-* precedes verbs with *a, e, o* and *-ri-* before verbs with *i* and *u* in the first syllable. The verbal roots *-me-*, *-mi-* indicate movement towards the speaker (from *ma-ran* ‘to come’), and *-ye-* or *-yi-* movement away from the speaker (from *ya-ran* ‘to go’). Examples: *i-mi-buri* ‘he came to sit down’, *i-yi-buri* ‘he went to sit down’. Depending on the vowel in the verb *-me-* and *-ye-* are used (if the vowel is *a, e, o*), or *-mi-* and *-yi-* (if the vowel is *i, u*).

Wampar includes some auxiliary verbs, aspect markers, or ‘serial verbs’ as Holzknacht classifies them, which indicate position, duration or direction of an action and can connect verbs and/or parts of sentences (Fischer described them as prefixes): *-re-*, *-ri-*, express a permanent state such as *e-re-men* ‘He stays permanently’ (*men-eran* ‘to stay’); *i-ri-buri* ‘He sits permanently’ (*buri-ran* ‘to sit’). Again, the form of *-re-* or *-ri-* depends on the vowel of the verb.

5.4 Pronouns

Wampar **personal pronouns (pers. pron.)** show two features typical of Austronesian languages: first they do not differentiate between gender in the third person, i.e. there is a single form for ‘he’, ‘she’ and ‘it’; second, as in many Austronesian languages, there are two forms of the first person plural: *yaer* for the inclusive form (denoting the speaker and his/her group including the addressee), and *yaga* for the exclusive

form (speaker and others but not including the addressee). *Abid* is a special word for the dual of the first person ‘we two’, the second and third person dual are spoken of literally as ‘you and another one’ and ‘he/she/it and another one’ (these phrases are not properly speaking pronouns).

Table 7: Personal Pronouns

	Singular		Plural		Dual	
1.p. incl.	<i>edza</i>	I, me	<i>yaer</i>	we	<i>abid</i>	we two
1.p. excl.			<i>yaga</i>	we		
2.p.	<i>yai</i>	you	<i>num</i>	you	(<i>yai ri ongan</i>)	you two
3.p.	<i>gea</i>	he, she, it	<i>ges</i>	they	(<i>gea ri ongan</i>)	they two

5.5 Possessive pronouns and intensifying possessive pronouns

The forms of the **personal pronouns (poss. pron.)** are the same as those of the personal pronouns (Table 7). They are positioned before the object: *edza tao* ‘my house’; *yai ram* ‘your thing/object’. Possessive pronouns can have a suffix, which intensifies or emphasises the ownership, especially in disputes. The **intensifying (intens.)** suffixes are *-nig*, *-nim*, *-nin* for first, second and third person, singular, dual and plural (Table 8). In Tok Pisin this is usually translated as *bilong mi yet* ‘actually me, actually mine’. Intensive possessive pronouns can also be used without a noun as *edzanig* ‘only mine’, or as ‘I myself’, ‘it is me yet’. After consonants an epenthetic vowel *-a-* is inserted between the pronoun and the suffix as in *yaer-a-nig*. If a noun follows the pronoun, the suffix is added to the noun, like in *edza tao-nig* ‘my own house’; *yai marum-anim* ‘your own eyes’.

Table 8: Intensifying possessive pronouns

	Singular		Plural		Dual	
1.p. incl.	<i>edzanig</i>	My	<i>yaeranig</i>	our	<i>abidanig</i>	our
1.p. excl.			<i>yaganig</i>	our		
2.p.	<i>yainim</i>	your	<i>numanim</i>	your	(<i>yainim ri ongan</i>)	your
3.p.	<i>geanin</i>	his, her, its	<i>gesanin</i>	their	(<i>geanin ri ongan</i>)	their

In cases of kinship terms, the suffix is added after the term and its possessive suffix: *edza moanto-d-anig/yai moantom-anim* ‘my/your own wife’. In the case of body parts only, the suffixes for the first person do not differentiate between the first person inclusive and exclusive, which is *-d*, as in *edza/yaer/yaga bangid* ‘my/our hand/hands’. In noun compounds, such as *ono waro* ‘head’ the suffix is added to the first word, although often only for first and second person: *ono-d waro* ‘my head’; *ono-m waro* ‘your head’; and omitted in the third person *ono waro* ‘his head’.

5.6 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns (refl. pron.) and a **suffix** are used in combination with verbs in the sense of ‘oneself’. They usually follow the verb, as in *yaer afan-erad* ‘we laugh about ourselves’ or *ges its-eran* ‘they fight against each other/among themselves’.

Table 9: Reflexive pronouns

	Singular		Plural		Dual	
1.p. incl.	<i>edzarad</i>	I myself	<i>yaerarad</i>	we ourselves	<i>abid</i>	we two ourselves
1.p. excl.			<i>yagarad</i>	we ourselves		
2.p.	<i>yairam</i>	you yourself	<i>numeram</i>	you yourselves	<i>(yairam ri ongan)</i>	you two yourselves
3.p.	<i>gearan</i>	he, she, it his/her/itself	<i>geseran</i>	they themselves	<i>(gearan ri ongan)</i>	they two themselves

5.7 Particles

Particles for time and specific **aspects** can precede verbs, for example:

- *Bad* expresses intention: *edza bad aya* ‘I intend to go’. In some contexts, it is also a condition: *Yai bad umu garagab* ‘if you were a human’.
- *Badzin* expresses an action in the future, from about one hour to infinity: *Edza badzin aya* ‘I shall go’.
- *Bag* indicates a question (although it is relatively seldom used): *Boanu yai bag oya Lae?* ‘Will you go to Lae tomorrow?’
- *Ban* expresses that one is beginning or intending to begin something: *Ban oya kana?* ‘Where are you going?’ (A common question to somebody who is passing by). *Edza ban aya Lae* ‘I intend to go/I shall go to Lae’; *Yai ban onom dafum?* ‘Do you want to smoke?’
- *Bid* expresses an action that will happen immediately: *Bid aya* ‘I am going immediately’.
- *Bin* indicates future: *Boanu bin uburi kana?* ‘Where will you sit down tomorrow?’
- *Did, dzid*, is advice or a comment, that one should (had better) do something: *Edza did amu gaen* ‘I should (had better) cook now’.
- *Dzig* is used for questions: *Mog, yai dzig oya kana?* ‘Before, where did you go?’
- *Dzin* also indicates a question (see also interrogatives below): *Dzin aya kana?* ‘Where am I going?’ *Su dzin?* ‘What day/when?’
- *En* follows some verbs. In some cases, it means ‘for’ or ‘of’: *dzaferan en* ‘to look for, to take care of’; *budzi-ran en*: ‘to find out, to look for’. In other verbs, the meaning of *en* is unclear: *banyar-eran en* ‘to twist or to turn something around itself’.³

³ Adzera speakers use a similar construction, as in *gin*, which Susanne Holzknecht has classified as a separate word and oblique object marker (personal communication).

- *Pat* expresses that something is a continuous action that is still going on: *Su ongan edza pat amu* ‘I have been doing it since yesterday’.

5.8 Prefixes and suffixes to verbs

- *d-* stands for *da* ‘and’: *Gea iburi d-impri en ngaeng wasif* ‘He lived and was together with many people’, or *d-emar* ‘and he died’.
- *g-* is a demand to do something immediately: *yai g-umu!* ‘you do (it)!’ *g-amu* ‘let me do (it)!’
- *n-* expresses a question: *n-amu?* ‘Shall I do (it)?’
- *w-* expresses perfect tense and is a prefix for a finished action: *mog gea w-eya gom* ‘before, he went to the garden’. It is often combined with the suffix *-i*: *edza w-ampon* ‘I went’; *w-imu-i* ‘he made’.
- *wa-* expresses a demand or order: *yai wa-ya gom!* ‘you go into the garden!’ *wa-ya!* ‘go!’
- The suffixes *-rad*, *-ram*, *-ran* after vowels, and *-erad*, *-eram*, *-eran* after consonants stand for ‘oneself’ and ‘one another’, in the first, second and third person. They express reciprocal and reflexive action, and are mostly used in the plural. But we heard one example of a singular form: *ewet-eran* ‘he is cutting himself’ (*wet-eran* ‘to cut’). In the plural form (*its-eran* ‘to fight’) is: *yaer its-erad* ‘we fight with each other’, *num its-eram* ‘you fight with one another’, *ges its-eran* ‘they fight with one another’.

5.9 Adjectives and adverbs

Some **adjectives (adj.)** are unchangeable, like *faring* ‘big’, *moaru* ‘right’ or *ngarobingin* ‘good’. Some verbs describing qualities, like *tsats-eran* ‘to be bad’ are used in their infinitive form as adjectives: *tao tsats-eran* ‘bad house’. A number of nouns can be used as adjectives: *naron* ‘child, little’ or *wi* ‘blood, red’: *tao naron* ‘little house’, *tao a wi* ‘red house’. Adjectives are placed after the noun: *tao faring* ‘big house’. To use them before the noun the verb *mu-ran* (*a-mu*, *u-mu*, *i-mu* ‘to be, to do’) is used: *edza amu faring* ‘I am big’, or *tao imu faring* ‘the house is big’. Verbs and adjectives can be used adverbially, as in *edza ampom a ngkang* ‘I walked strongly’.

5.10 Demonstratives

Demonstratives (dem.) are placed after nouns and adjectives in sentences: *tao (faring) kani* ‘this (big) house’ or ‘these (big) houses’. They differentiate between the distance of things, between something that is ‘near’ (*uri*, *uni*, *uru*) and something that is ‘there’ (*kani*, *kai*, *kau*, *ko*). So *uri* is something rather near to the speaker ‘here’, and *uni* a bit more distant ‘there’, while *uru* is something far away or long ago. The same applies to *kani*, *kai*, *kau* and *ko*. *Efanuri* (*efa n uri* ‘like this’) as well as *efakani*, *efakai*, *efakau* are used for ‘so’.

5.11 Interrogatives

Interrogatives (interrog.) follow nouns, pronouns and verbs. The most commonly used are *sera*? ‘who?, which?, why?’, *serasera*? ‘how many?’ and *kana*? ‘where?, which?’. Some examples:

<i>Ngaeng sera?</i>	Who (which person)?
<i>Ram sera?</i>	What (which thing, object)?
<i>Nain sera?</i>	When (what time)?
<i>En sera?</i>	Why?
<i>Idzum serasera?</i>	How many dogs?
<i>Umu dimu serasera?</i>	How often did you do it? (How many times)?
<i>Emen kana?</i>	Where is it?
<i>Yai omen kana doma?</i>	Where were you and [where did you] come from? (Where have you been?)
<i>Gea eya kana?</i>	Where is he going?
<i>Su kana?</i>	What day?
<i>Iri kana?</i>	When?

In combination with *sera* or *kana*, *g-* is added as a prefix to verbs to express a question:

<i>Yai g-oya kana?</i>	Where are you going?
------------------------	----------------------

Only for questions about an imminent action, the prefix *n-* is used with the verb:

<i>Edza n-amu gaen?</i>	Shall I cook the meal?
<i>Gea n-eya Lae?</i>	Shall he go to Lae?

Two other interrogatives can precede the verb: *dzig* and *dzin*, both meaning ‘where’:

<i>Yai dzig uburi kana?</i>	Where did you sit down?
<i>Oya dzin uburi kana?</i>	Where will you go to sit?
<i>Tao dzin?</i>	Where is the house?
<i>Su dzin?</i>	When?

5.12 Numerals

By the 1970s Tok Pisin or English **numerals (num.)** had largely displaced Wampar numerals, and only *orots* and *serok* ‘one’ and ‘two’ were in general use. But people still have memories of the numeral system:

<i>orots</i>	1 (one)
<i>serok</i>	2 (two)

<i>serok orots</i>	3 (two one)
<i>serok a serok</i>	4 (two two)
<i>bangid ongan</i>	5 (my one hand)
<i>bangid ongan da orots</i>	6 (one of my hands and one)
<i>bangid serok</i>	10 (my two hands)
<i>bangid serok faud ongan</i>	15 (my two hands, my one foot)
<i>bangid serok faud serok</i>	20 (my two hands, my two feet)

The old Wampar numeral system is essentially a mixed binary system with words for one and two, and the addition of words for five ‘hand’, ‘two hands’ for 10, and ‘two hands and two feet’ for 20.

Wampar has several indefinite quantifiers:

<i>ongan</i>	a, an, one, anyone, another, another one
<i>orots orots</i>	some
<i>fûn</i>	some, different
<i>mangke</i>	many
<i>wasif</i>	very many, all

Numerals and quantifiers are placed after nouns: *ngaeng orots* ‘one man’, *tao serok a serok* ‘four houses’, *afi fun* ‘some women’.

5.13 Interjections

Wampar speakers use many different **interjections (interj.)**, such as *abi!*, which indicates that one has seen or discovered something or someone, as in *Abi, gea ifu!* ‘Hah, that is not correct!’ or *Abi, yai oya kana?* ‘Hey, where are you going?’ Another interjection frequently used is *are!* ‘hurry up!’⁴ often as *are aya!* ‘let’s go!’ All common exhortations and interjections are included in the dictionary and illustrated with examples.

5.14 Reduplication and negation

Verbs and adjectives are sometimes **reduplicated**. The reduplication of verbs has a frequentative function. It often means that something is happening or done continuously as in *dupidup-eran* ‘to keep on splashing’, while *dup-eran* means ‘to splash’. The reduplication of verbs is also used to indicate that something is in

⁴ A variant of this exhortation is found in most of the Markham languages (S. Holzknecht, personal communication).

a permanent state or is happening, or is done constantly: *abangibangi*: ‘I follow constantly’ (*bangi-ran* ‘to follow’); *ebengobengo*: ‘it is permanently bent’ (*bengo-ran* ‘to bend, to bow’).

If an adjective is reduplicated it can mean intensification, as in *fofose* or *fosefose* ‘especially black or very black’ from *fose* ‘black’ and *afisafis* ‘very different’ from *afis* ‘different’. Reduplicated adjectives are also used if the noun is plural. Reduplications of adjectives for specific colours should be translated as ‘-ish’: *wi a wi*: ‘reddish’, *dzung a dzung*: ‘yellowish, yellowy’.

For **negation** the verb *mam-eran* (infinitive form) is used in its conjugated forms (*amam*, *omam*, *emam*) before the infinitive form of the verb:

Edza aya ‘I go’ – *Edza amam a yaran* ‘I do not go’
Yai oma ‘you come’ – *Yai omam a maran* ‘you do not come’
Gea esa ‘he goes up’ – *Gea emam a saran* ‘he does not go up’

The negation of unchangeable adjectives is formed in the same way with the verb *mu-ran*:

Edza amu faring ‘I am big’ – *Edza amam a muran faring* ‘I am not big’

A simpler form of negation is possible through a noun (and adjective) followed by *ema*. It can mean ‘it is not’, and sometimes ‘(he) has not’:

Tao ema – ‘There is no house/he has no house’
Tao faring ema – ‘The house is not big/there is no big house’

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