

Social categories, shared experience, reciprocity and endangered meanings: Examples from Koromu (PNG)

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Speakers of many Trans New Guinea or Papuan languages use a number of reciprocal person-referring expressions. Various examples are found in the Papuan language of Koromu, spoken in Madang Province, Papua New Guinea. This paper examines the meanings of Koromu reciprocal expressions that recall shared past experiences, in particular, social category terms connected with coming of age events and spontaneous nicknames created at the time events occur in the course of everyday life. The meanings are explicated in clear simple terms using Natural Semantic Metalanguage primes. The explications point to important aspects of social cognition, including identification with significant others based on shared experience and relational concepts of personhood. Although this study points to the possibility of some language endangerment for some meanings, it also indicates the ongoing cultural importance of shared experiences, including commensality, in both rites of passage and everyday life.

Keywords: social cognition, coming of age, commensality, relational personhood, endangered meanings, person reference, Papuan languages

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the semantics of reciprocal social category terms based on shared experience in Koromu, a Trans New Guinea language spoken by 700 to 800 people in the middle-upper Ramu Valley of southeast Madang Province, Papua New Guinea (PNG). The social category terms examined here are based on shared experience in both coming of age rituals and everyday interactions. The data, collected while observing and participating in Koromu life from the mid-1970s to the present day, indicates that as the character of social interactions change over time, some meanings also change and may become endangered. At the same time continued use of a range of personal reference expressions highlighting shared experiences indicates the ongoing strength and maintenance of core cultural values and the importance of “relational personhood” in this part of Melanesia (Strathern 1988). The analysis and comparison of these culture-specific reference expressions and their key components of meaning, in both their older

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and current uses, is enhanced by using explications expressed in semantic primes of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) (Goddard and Wierzbicka eds. 2002) that can also be rendered in exponents in other languages.

‘Reciprocal’ social category terms based on shared experience are an important part of social interaction and cognition in Koromu. Like other person-referring expressions, these terms reflect specific cultural categories that are familiar and ordinary for the speakers who use them (cf. Enfield 2007: 97-99, on Lao) where “the aspects of things that are most important for us are hidden because of their simplicity and familiarity” (Wittgenstein 1953: No.129). Each of the reciprocal terms discussed here could be described as relating to ‘jointly defined situations’ (Evans 2007). In this study the terms related to coming of age include *namuka* ‘female agetate (for female ego)’ and its extended meanings, *waikohu* ‘male agetate (for male ego)’, *heraru* ‘cross-generational coming of age participant (male ego)’ and *ohu* ‘agetate/relative’ and its extended meanings. Koromu speakers can also choose to use reciprocal nicknames that commemorate shared events. Examples of both these types of personal reference expression can be found in other Papuan/Trans New Guinea languages, for example, in Melpa (Strathern 1977), Ku Waru (Merlan and Rumsey 1985) and Korowai (Stasch 2002). Reciprocity is also indicated in some dyadic terms in Australian languages (Evans 2006) and in words like Russian *tovarišč*, roughly ‘comrade’, Polish *koledzy* roughly ‘colleague’ and Australian English *mate* (Wierzbicka 1997: 71-79, 86-92, 101-108).² There are also similarities to reciprocal kinship terms, for example Koromu *asi* for ‘grandparents’ and ‘grandchildren’ (Priestley 2008/forthcoming a) and Melpa *kouwa* for grandfather and grandchild, *ta* for father and child, and so on (Lancy & Strathern 1981: 785).

2. Sources

The components of meaning in reciprocal shared experience terms are traced through careful examination of data from spoken corpora recorded in personal histories, stories of everyday life, folk tales and so on, as well as in records of conversations. Other information comes from observation and participation in Koromu community life recorded in journal entries and in topical

² While English ‘classmates’ does not have a strong emotive meaning and is not used as a vocative, expressions such as ‘old school tie’ and ‘old boys network’, though often used derogatively, do indicate some older Anglo values relating to shared relationships and experience, such as identification, loyalty and trust.

and chronological files (Priestley 1975-1980 a and b, including some notes from Ian Priestley). The latter files are based on the ‘Classified list of topics for observation’ in Healey (1975) and the ‘Outline of Cultural Materials’ in Murdock *et al.* (1971). This data was collected in the Koromu community during the times I lived at Kesawai 1,³ from 1975 to 1976, 1978 to 1980 and in 1986, and also while conducting linguistic fieldwork for several months or weeks at a time in 2000, 2004, 2010, and 2012. During most of the earlier period traditional rites of passage to adulthood were still common and today people of over forty still use many related social category terms in the more ‘traditional sense’, as do younger people who live at a distance from the centres of multilingualism that are near the school and the Ramu Valley highway. However, younger people who live near the road, the school and the communities of immigrants from other parts of PNG are less and less likely to use the older meanings.

3. Methodology

To express the ‘rich details’ of the Koromu ‘cultural world’ and to avoid a description based on strictly Anglocentric terms, while at the same time pointing to some ‘commonalities’ in human cognition (cf. Enfield & Levinson 2006: 30), the meanings of the Koromu words discussed here are explicated or represented in a metalanguage consisting of semantic primes that have corresponding exponents in Koromu (see Appendix 1). In some explications semantic molecules are also used. These semantic molecules, or complex word-meanings, function as units in the explication of other terms, thereby enabling a kind of conceptual “chunking”. They can themselves be explicated, eventually right down to the level of semantic primes. For an example, see the explication of ‘children’ (Goddard and Wierzbicka in press/2014: 31), an important semantic molecule in the discussion of social category terms.

[A] *children*

- a. people of one kind
- b. all people are people of this kind for some time
they can't be people of this kind for a long timec. when someone is someone of this kind, it is like this:
- d. this someone's body is small
- e. this someone can do some things, this someone can't do many other things

³ Kesawai 1 is the overall name of a group of small settlements, near the Kohu River and the Ramu Highway north of the Ramu River. Kesawai 2 is a neighbouring group of settlements near the Pakaia River to the East.

- f. because of this, if other people don't do good things for this someone at many times,
bad things can happen to this someone

Explications of some semantic molecules contain other semantic molecules, that is, “a ‘nesting’ of molecule within molecule” (Goddard & Wierzbicka in press/2014: 32; cf. Goddard 2010). Thus, the semantic molecule ‘women’ has the semantic molecule ‘children’ within it.⁴

[B] *women*

- a. people of one kind
b. people of this kind are not children [m]
c. people of this kind have bodies of one kind
e. the bodies of people of this kind are like this:
inside the body of someone of this kind there can be for some time a living body of a child [m]

4. Coming of age and reciprocal relationship terms

In her paper on reciprocity, Wierzbicka (2009: 124) proposed a general model for jointly defined reciprocal situations. This model, expressed in terms of the English exponents of semantic primes, conceptually links everyone linked by a situation into one whole. Such a model is applicable to the Koromu reciprocal social categories based on shared coming of age experiences introduced in section 1. Wierzbicka's (2009) model was originally applied to the English words *neighbours* and *brothers*. Here I apply it to *waikohu* ‘male agemate (of male ego)’.

[C] They are *waikohu*.

- a. these people are men [m]
b. people can say the same thing about them all
c. they can say this:
“this one of them is a *waikohu* of another one of these people, another one of them is
a *waikohu* of this one”
d. if people think about them all at the same time they can think about them like this:
“these people are like parts of one thing”

⁴ The explication for the semantic molecule ‘men’ includes both ‘children’ and ‘women’ as semantic molecules (Goddard and Wierzbicka in press/2014: 33).

Each of the Koromu reciprocal terms can be used to refer to dyadic relationships. However, in many cases there can be more than one other person in the ‘set’ of people with whom a person has shared an experience (cf. the Garia in Lawrence 1984: 211-212). For this reason, in the general model adapted from Wierzbicka (2009), it is appropriate to talk about ‘all these people’ rather than ‘two people’. Details of salient shared experiences and distinctive meanings are outlined in the discussion of individual terms below.

4.1 *Namuka* – ‘female agemates’ and other meanings

Traditionally, *namuka* ‘female agemate’ is a term used to refer to, or address, women of a similar age who experienced first menstruation at about the same time and who provided support to each other throughout that time. The unchangeable biological facts related to this female social category make study of the term *namuka* a good starting point for a discussion of ‘shared experience’ terms. At the same time new meanings associated with the term indicate the impact of social change on meaning and the possibility of meanings becoming endangered. These changes include the fact that in recent years *namuka* has been extended to include women of roughly the same age who share common experience, as well as some men, i.e. those who are not *waikohu* ‘agemates (male)’.

Namuka has both referential and vocative uses. Since there is inherent reciprocal and relational meaning within the term itself, it does not normally occur with possessive person-number suffixes. When used referentially, people’s identities are gleaned from context, as in example (1) where the speaker sees a woman approaching another woman’s house and knowing the relationship between the two calls out as follows:

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- (1) *Namuka ya pa ya n -a.*
agemate(female) river G/L⁵ go STAY⁶-3s
'(Your) agemate has gone to the river.' (She went and is there.)

In the vocative context a first person singular referent addresses a second person singular referent as in (2).

- (2) A. *Namuka, ani pa men -amu =e?*
agemate(f.) where G/L be -2s =Q
'Agemate, where are you?'

- B. *Ya pa men -i =mo.*
river G/L be -1s =BM
'I'm at the river.'

Namuka can occur with the first person singular possessive suffix when the speaker wants to express affection. In that case the first person singular possessive is combined with the address suffix. An affectionate expression like this may be used when the women meet, after a long time apart, or when grieving or parting. Usually the affectionate suffix has a long, drawn out falling intonation in this context.

- (3) *Namuka -mai -e!*
agemate -P1s -AFF
'My dear agemate!'

⁵ Abbreviations: AFF 'affectionate', BM 'boundary marker' (at the end of a stretch of discourse), DR 'different referent following', f 'female', GEN 'genitive', G/L 'goal/locative', IMP 'imperative', O 'object', p 'plural', P 'possessive', PRES 'present tense/aspect marker', Q 'question enclitic', R 'reciprocal', s 'singular', SR 'switch referent'.

⁶ The gloss for phasal or valency-changing verbs in serial verb constructions expresses the meaning that occurs when the word is a main verb. It is written in capitals to indicate the grammaticized use. *Ne* STAY has 'stative' and valency-decreasing uses.

The traditional meaning of *namuka* is closely tied to coming of age and the experiences of menarche. For practical reasons, and owing to social attitudes to the loss of blood, a young woman stays in seclusion at the back of her family's home during this time and throughout the month that follows (Priestley 1975-1980:⁷ June 1976). Apart from her mother and other female relatives there is one other important visitor, a young woman of similar age who experiences her first menstruation around the same time. During the period of seclusion this second young woman brings *ya* 'water' for her *namuka* 'agemate' to drink. This act of sharing a consumable entity is a crucial part of the relationship between them (Arikao Tomas, personal communication, 2012). Although male kin know that this is happening, and speak about it openly and proudly (Priestley 1975-1980: June 1976), they cannot see or speak to the young woman at this time.

An individual can use the term *namuka* for more than one person. A young woman who has been helped by a *namuka* during her first menstruation may help yet a third young woman of similar age and experience during hers. The latter two are then *namuka* as well. Each of them is closely associated with the other through shared experience, including the giving and receiving of something to drink.

As the remainder of this paper shows, the process of sharing a consumable entity is an important part of the special bonds between Koromu speaking people. The importance of both food and drink in this regard is highlighted by the use of one verb, *ne* 'consume:eat/drink', for what is described as 'eat' or 'drink' in English. A unitary word for this concept is also found in other Trans New Guinea languages, for example, Kalam (see Pawley 2011; Wierzbicka 2010).

In the explication of *namuka* that follows there is a framing component followed by components that describe the specific people, the jointly defined situation, resemblance between the people, the past events and the act(s) of identification in their shared experience. These components are followed by components that highlight the women's shared condition, public recognition and the core identification between them.

The first component of this explication begins with 'everyone knows', an expression that indicates the shared understanding, or social cognition, amongst people who speak the same language. The proposed full framing component states:

⁷ Priestley references in the period 1975-1980 are to the Coming of Age and Initiation sections of the Topical files and also, in most cases, to Journal entries for the same period.

everybody knows:

a woman [m] can say to another woman [m] 'you are my *namuka*' if she can think about this other woman like this: ...

This component combines semantic primes with the semantic molecule 'woman' (cf. *hena* in Koromu for both the singular and the plural). Here the singular form of 'woman' is used because in the Koromu community most women have, or have had, a *namuka*, and singular substantive forms suggest that generally speaking women only have one, or just a few, *namuka*. An alternative, 'these people', would suggest many *namuka* (cf. Wierzbicka 1997) and would also give a more impersonal tone. Furthermore, since each young woman experiences menstruation and seclusion alone, it is appropriate to use singular forms. (The first person plural pronoun 'we' is avoided because it is not a semantic prime.)

In the body of the explication the prime 'people' is used rather than the molecule 'woman' since the first component has already established that we are talking about a woman. Also to be precise about age in English and Koromu we would need to use *girl* or *henawahe*, neither of which are semantic primes or semantic molecules.

To indicate the specific people and the jointly defined nature of the relationship between them, the second and third components are:

there are two people

SPECIFIC PEOPLE

you are one of these people, I am one of these people

JOINTLY DEFINED

Following this, the third component states that the women were children at the same time. This indicates that they are alike in age and experience. This initial similarity in life experience foreshadows other similarities detailed later in the explication. Both women experience the unchanging biological fact of first menstruation at about the same time, and not because of any agency on their part, so the next component of the explication indicates that something 'happens'. Subsequent components highlight the fact that this is an experience women have and that this person is now a woman, not a child. This point is highlighted by the fact that, traditionally, prior to 1980, it was common for young women to be married very soon after this event.

As mentioned, the cultural understanding amongst Koromu speakers is that each girl stays inside a house alone during this time, apart from a few female visitors. One of these visitors is a girl of about her own age who brings her water to drink and other necessities. These acts of identification mean that the two young women share the experience to some extent. Other people know what is happening and male siblings even run with excitement to inform others when it first happens (Priestley 1975-1980: June 1976). However, these other people cannot do anything else.

Later, after the time of seclusion is over, the girls' families hold a celebration for the young women involved. There is public recognition of what has happened and of the young women's new status as marriageable women (see Priestley 1975-1980: June 1976). The public nature of the celebration contrasts markedly with the general taboo about speaking of menstruation in mixed company in many Australian communities though not in many other societies.⁸

In addition to semantic primes, the explication below includes the proposed universal semantic molecules 'woman', 'child', 'blood', and 'man' (cf. Goddard 2010: 131, Goddard and Wierzbicka in press/2014), as well as the Koromu molecule *ne* 'drink/eat/consume'; cf. Goddard's proposal that 'eat' is an English semantic molecule. *Ne* 'drink/eat/consume' indicates a culture-specific and important semantic molecule in Koromu where sharing food and drink with other people is an important aspect of the culture.

Explication [D] outlines components of meaning in the context 'you are my *namuka*'. In this explication I use 'there are two people' in the second component, since the traditional *namuka* relationship is common between just two people. Also it is possible that the woman a woman shares with in the first event, may not be the same woman who helps her in the second. As a result there may be two separate dyads.

[D] You are my *namuka* – Traditional

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| a. | everybody knows:
a woman [m] can say to another woman [m] 'you are my <i>namuka</i> ' if she can think about this other woman [m] like this: | |
| b. | there are two people
you are one of these people, I am one of these people
when you were a child [m] I was a child [m] (at the same time) | SPECIFIC PEOPLE
JOINTLY DEFINED
RESEMBLANCE |
| c. | at one time, something happened to your body
because of this, some blood [m] was not inside one part of your body anymore | PAST EVENTS |

⁸ Some young girls in Australia have a 'red tent day' party with other girls of their own age.

- something like this cannot happen to a man [m]
because of this, after this your body was a woman's [m] body
- d. when this happened, I did some good things for you ACT OF IDENTIFICATION
you *ne* [m] 'drank/ate' something because of this
at the same time many other people knew that something was happening to you
(many of) these people couldn't do good things for you at that time
- e. a short time after, (all) the same things happened to me SHARED CONDITION
- f. a short time after this, some people did many good things for you PUBLIC RECOGNITION
these people did many good things for me at the same time
- g. these people thought something like this at that time: IDENTIFICATION
'these people are women [m] now
they are like two parts of one thing
it is not good if one of these people says the other one's name [m]'

Over the years, particularly since 1975 when settlers began to move into the area and since 1980 when the primary school was started, the practices of female seclusion and *namuka* assistance at menarche have fallen out of use. However, the term *namuka* is still in use, albeit with extended meanings. My own experience of being called *namuka* by a dear friend fits more closely with explication [E] below. The people who call each other *namuka* in this sense are not necessarily the same age. However, for the time being the component about childhood remains, as generally the age difference is small. Thus it could be said that the two people were children at the same time.

[E] You are my *namuka*₂ – Modern, female referents

- a. many people know:
a woman [m] can say about another woman [m] 'you are my *namuka*' if she can think about this other woman [m] like this:
- b. there are two people
you are one of these people, I am one of these people
- c. when you were a child [m], I was a child [m] (at the same time)
often you did some things, I did the same things at the same time
often you did good things for me, I did good things for you
often I do things at the same time as you now
- d. I think something good about you
I know that you think the same about me

Interestingly, during recent (2010, 2012) visits to the Koromu area, I have heard this term used by men and/or about men. For this extended meaning I propose the following explication.

[F] You are my *namuka*₃ – Modern, male or female referents

- a. many people know:
someone can say about someone else ‘you are my *namuka*’ if this someone can think about this other someone like this:
- b. there are two people
you are one of these people, I am one of these people
- c. when you were a child [m], I was a child [m] (at the same time)
often you did some things, I did the same things at the same time
often you did good things for me, I did good things for you
often I do things at the same time as you now
- d. I think something good about you
I know that you think the same about me

These extensions of meaning and the fact that the practices of seclusion and assistance to one’s fellow *namuka* are becoming less common, particularly in roadside communities (Arikao Tomas, personal communication 2012), suggest that the earlier meaning of *namuka* is now in danger of being lost. This social category term is therefore an example of the speed with which meanings can become endangered in the context of social change.

4.2 *Waikohu*– ‘male agemates’ and coming of age rituals

The social category *waikohu* is based on experiences shared by young males when they are coming of age and are shown the *napare* ‘the mysteries of knowledge’. The description which follows is a basic overview of various components of the meaning of this term. At the end of the section I suggest a possible explication.⁹

As with the Koromu social understanding of *namuka*, everyone in traditional Koromu society knows that men of a similar age call each other *waikohu* when they have shared the experience of going through successive coming of age rites together from about the age of eleven or twelve. The experience is physically and emotionally challenging and the boys learn important cultural

⁹ For further details on the intricacies of relationships based on coming of age in a Madang language and culture see Lawrence (1984) on the Garia. Note there has been some social interaction between the Garia and Koromu communities since at least the mid-1970s when I first lived in a Koromu-speaking community.

information relating to interacting with people and superhuman beings. They are seen to progress toward manhood and the reciprocal relationships forged in these experiences are key relationships throughout their lives.

Terms such as *waikohu* resemble kin terms in that they signify “the relationship between a referent and a reciprocal, rather than simply signifying the referent itself” (Danziger 2001: 29, quoted in Stasch 2002: 335). Also, like kin terms, the referent is indicated “not independent of its context of utterance but by virtue of knowledge of who the speaker is” (Stasch 200: 335). Interestingly, the traditional uses of *namuka* ‘female agemate’ and of *waikohu* ‘male agemate’ do not occur with possessive suffixes, as kin terms do, since the relationship is inherent to the meaning of the term. When listening to any particular discourse the hearers know that the speaker is talking about one of a limited set of people and they can draw on their knowledge store to identify a specific referent. For example, the people listening to the dialogue in (4) are participants in the events, and the person recording the whole narrative in which it occurs was one of those participants also. These people can draw on their knowledge of the real world to identify the specific referent of *waikohu*. People who hear the story later can either refer to information in their knowledge store or ask questions to provide the correct context. Example (5) is from a different narrative, about a journey, recorded at the speaker’s destination. The hearer recording the narrative on the same day knows who the speaker travelled with and can identify the referent of *waikohu*. Other listeners, then or later, know the identity of the speaker and that he and his *waikohu* lived near each other at the starting point of the journey recounted in the narrative.

(4) *Waikohu, ansa men -a =e?*
 agemate where stay -3s =Q
 ‘Where is my agemate?’ T1.22.44

(5) ...*si, Wahi are, waikohu are, ka -r- ie.*
 then Wahi and/with agemate and/with come PRES -1p
 ‘...then with Wahi and with agemate we came’ T1.13.12

In explication [H] for *waikohu* there is a component indicating that there are a few people in the set of referents covered by this term. In a fairly small population there may only be a few boys ready to go through the coming of age rituals together. Sometimes the relationship may be dyadic, with only two people in a set of *waikohu*, but at other times there are three or four people. The value of the relationship between *waikohu* is indicated by the fact that the elders ensure that more than one boy goes through the experience of being ‘shown the *napare*’ at the same time. That way they share the experience and have at least one *waikohu* for life.

The boys are selected by their parents and other village elders because they are of a similar age. They are selected when they are children, so it is considered that they don’t know very much and they can’t do or think about a lot of things.¹⁰ They need to become people who can do and know things. As a result, when they come to puberty, something happens. Some people do things to ensure that the boys acquire the knowledge they need, and it is understood that, during this time, something is passed on from the forefathers.

The experience is also known to include a ritual separation from the mother and father and removal of their ‘pollution’. This is symbolized after the initiation house is built and the initiation garments are completed, when the boys are taken away from their family units for the final stages of the initial coming of age ritual. At that time a mother or grandmother performs a ritual song. She holds on her outstretched arms a *heri* ‘netbag’, used for carrying babies, and dances along the pathway following the initiates as they are taken away by the leaders of the initiation rites. In this way she grieves over the separation and over the loss of the boys’ strong connection, dependence and interaction with herself and other mothers and grandmothers. One might almost say that coming of age for a man indicates his final separation from his mother’s body. The mother’s body is an important part of Wierzbicka’s explication for *mother* (personal communication) as in [G] below, just as it is an aspect of the meaning of the Koromu term *ahi* ‘mother’ when used for a person’s birth mother.

[G] X is Y’s *mother*₁.

- a. Y can say about X: “this is my *mother*”
- b. someone can say this about a woman [m] if it is like this:

¹⁰ The importance of thinking in the development of children is also indicated by the combination of the verb *urunu* ‘think’ with the phasal (aspectual) perfective verb *here* PUT to mean roughly, ‘(s)he has thoughts now/can think now’ used to describe the thinking of small children of about 3 years of age.

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- c. when this someone's body was very small, it was for some time inside this woman's [m] body
- d. at that time, it was like a part of this woman's [m] body

The separation between men and women continues to be particularly important at times of menstruation and childbirth. For example, as mentioned earlier, although a girl's first menstruation is much talked about, men do not see the girls at that time. Also, men are not involved in childbirth and they, including husbands, do not see a new mother for a month after the first child is born.

Amongst the many events during the traditional initiation period, boys were kept up all night listening to ancestral stories, learning traditional songs and dances, facing trials of stamina, for example being touched by burning sticks, and abstaining from food, drink, sleep and from using each other's names. Although allowed to have hot soup, sweet potato and taro, the youths were not allowed water, fish or meat, apart from rare instances when the overall leader of the initiation allowed them to have bandicoot. The taboo on water was intended to allow their skin to go slack, so that they would lose any extra fat (Priestley: 1975-1980: March 1978, April 1980, cf. the concern of Garia people, also in southern Madang Province, to avoid neutralizing initiation rituals (Lawrence 1984: 208). Initiands also learned how to make and wear traditional loincloths, waistbands, armbands and hats, as well as tall masts, of bamboo and beaten bark worn in the final initiation dance (Priestley 1975-1980: September 1975, March 1978, April-June 1980). The term 'mast' is based on Tok Pisin *mas*, used in southern Madang Province for these tall mast-like structures (cf. Lawrence 1984: 210) described in detail below.

By the end of the time of initiation the boys would see the *napare*, the playing of the flutes. Until that time, like the women, they were not allowed to see them. The taboo was very strong. Women were never allowed to see them so they had to scramble into houses or cover their eyes with their hands and at the height of the ceremonies there was desperate fear in these actions, particularly if any men were nearby who might think the women had glimpsed something (personal observation recorded in Priestley 1975-1980: September 1975, March 1978, May 1980). The significance of the male initiatory events, and of the women's fear, is expressed in Read 1965 on Gahuku/Alekano, a language community to the south, and in Lawrence 1984 on the Garia, a Madang group with trade and sorcery links to Koromu. Lawrence (1984: 128) states that "in the past, men had to put to death any woman who witnessed male initiatory secrets...".

Following rituals in the privacy of the initiation house, and private spaces in the surrounding bush, as well as dances by men or by women on earlier nights, the youngest initiates joined older initiates and the men who cared for them in a grand final dance on the last night of the initiation period. They all wore large masts made of beaten bark and stretched across bamboo frames attached to a central pole. These masts were shaped as tall cylinders, long flat rectangles, squares and bird or airplane shapes. Some of those carried by young men going through later stages of initiation were very tall. The longest beaten bark cloth section I measured was 19 feet and nine inches long, with an extra five feet 1 inch length in the poles at the top and bottom. This made the whole framework 24 feet and ten inches long (Priestley 1975-1980, June 1980).

The ongoing use of the term *waikohu* rather than names, between agetates, provides a constant reminder throughout life of the shared experience of abstinence and learning at the time of seeing the *napare*. The relationship is one that cannot be changed because the experience has been shared and the men know each other well through facing the challenges and hardships involved. It is an unchangeable fact. Some of the actions involved suggest that it creates some parallels with the unchangeable facts in a woman's life, for example, the letting of blood. The relationship between *waikohu* is one of strong, mutual support. There is also a sense of avoidance and respect for the shared experience since names are avoided. Yet, at the same time, unlike relationships in which avoidance indicates differences in status, the partners in this relationship have an equality of status and experience and can express this in joking abuse throughout their lives (cf. Stasch 2002: 336 on joking avoidance.)

The following explication draws on the core factors outlined above. The semantic molecules 'man', 'child', 'blood' and 'name' (cf. Goddard 2010) can be expressed in Koromu as *tamaite*, *wera*, *petai* and *weine*, respectively. They are all used in the *waikohu* explication. Although there are specific terms for males of different ages after initiation, *tamaite* 'man', or *tamaitere* 'male', can be used for general reference. The Koromu semantic molecules *ne* 'drink/eat', *ya* 'water', and *tomto* 'meat/fish' are also used.

[H] You are my *waikohu* 'agemate relationship between men who come of age together'

a. everybody knows:

a man[m] can say to another man [m] 'you are my *waikohu*', if this man [m] can think about this other man [m] like this:

b. there are a few people

SPECIFIC PEOPLE

- | | | |
|----|---|------------------------|
| | you are one of them, I am one of them | JOINTLY DEFINED |
| | when you were a child [m], I was a child [m] (at the same time) | RESEMBLANCE |
| c. | after some time your body was not very small anymore | PAST EVENTS |
| | at the same time you were not a man [m] | |
| | you didn't know many things, you couldn't do many things | |
| | I was like this at the same time | |
| d. | at this time many things happened in one place | |
| | people can think about it like this: | |
| | at one time before some other people said many things to these people | |
| | these other people did many things to these people | |
| | at the same time these people could not <i>ne</i> 'drink/eat' [m] <i>ya</i> 'water' [m] | ACTS OF IDENTIFICATION |
| | these people could not <i>ne</i> 'drink/eat' [m] <i>tomto</i> 'meat/fish' [m] | |
| | because the other people did something, | |
| | some blood [m] was not inside some parts of these people's bodies anymore | |
| e. | because of this, a short time after, something else happened | |
| | many other people did many good things | |
| | many other people saw these people at that time | |
| | these people <i>ne</i> drank/ate [m] parts of the same thing at the same time | |
| f. | because these things happened, people can say: | PUBLIC RECOGNITION |
| | 'these people are not children [m] anymore (they are men [m]) | |
| | these people are like parts of one thing now | IDENTIFICATION |
| | because of this, it is bad if one of these people says the other one's name [m]' | |

There are links through trade and intermarriage between the people of Koromu and the people of Gahuku-Alekano, a neighbouring language spoken beyond the steep high mountains of Mount Otto and its neighbouring ridges. The decorated masts constructed of bark cloth and painted with red and black designs were similar, in size, shape, pattern and colouring to those I saw used in the Gahuku-Alekano while living there for three years during my teens (personal observation). Read, in his book *The High Valley* (1965), describes some of the last truly traditional initiation rites in Gahuku around 1950. Some of his comments may be significant in other communities. For example he suggests that in Gahuku there were some connections between blood-letting in male initiation and women's experience of blood loss:

Women's natural advantages were linked to menstruation, and the proud male sought to engineer the same effect by self-inflicted bleeding, starting at initiation. (...) [they] bled their noses regularly (...) to rid their bodies of the contaminating influence of women, and to ensure that they faced the dangers of their position in a cleansed condition, ritually protected from the hazards of aggression. (Read 1965: 131-132)

The shared experiences of coming of age are reiterated for each man through four or five initiation stages that occur about every 2 to 3 years in Koromu (cf. Lawrence 1984 and Read 1965). However, although these experiences were considered an essential part of growing up Koromu community leaders decided to stop initiations when the government agreed to provide the primary school they had been asking for (Sirin Kesapun, personal communication). The leaders saw school grades as a new way of imparting knowledge and coming to adulthood that could replace the stages of initiation.

Throughout their lives *waikohu* use this term to address or refer to each other, but in other ways they have a boisterous, direct, joking relationship. It is the norm for them to approach each other with very direct requests and to tease each other and speak lightheartedly about anything that may be happening. The social assumptions and stylistic conventions relating to this behaviour are somewhat similar to those in Yankunytjatjara lighthearted speech (Goddard and Wierzbicka 1997: 249). They can be captured in a cultural script as follows:

[I] A basic cultural script for social assumptions and behaviour of *waikohu*

- a. everyone knows: when some people are *waikohu*, it is like this:
 - at some time before many things happened to these people at the same time
 - because of this, these people are like part of the same thing
 - because these things happened, these people are men [m] now
- b. it is good if these people think about these things at many times after this
- c. because of this, it is good if a *waikohu* thinks like this about his *waikohu*:
 - “you are *waikohu*, you are like part of me, it is not good if I say your name [m]’
 - I can say things like this about you: ‘you are bad’, ‘you do bad things’
 - I can say things like this to you: ‘I don’t want this’, ‘I want this’, ‘I don’t think the same’
 - you can say the same things to me
 - when I say things like this to you, I can feel something good
 - when you say things like this to me, you can feel something good
- d. people think this is good

4.3 *Ohu* ‘male agemate, agemate, relative’

The term *ohu* can also be used for male agemates. However, while *waikohu* is only used for male agemates who experienced coming of age at the same time, *ohu* has a range of other uses. For example, it can be used to refer to people of a similar age connected by other types of shared

experience. It can also be applied to kin folk generally (for other personal reference and kin terms see Priestley forthcoming b). Thus with this term, as with *namuka*, there is a possibility that older meanings could be lost in the language of younger speakers as the social practices of the past become less common.

In Papuan languages there can be several different ways of referring to one's *waikohu* 'agemate' depending on the type of initiatory stage people experienced together (cf. the range terms used in Garia, reported in Lawrence 1984: 55). While it is not my purpose to detail all the intricacies of male coming of age, particularly as this is not knowledge generally shared with women, there are certain distinctions between *ohu* and *waikohu* that are common knowledge. For one thing, as with kinship terms, *ohu* is obligatorily expressed, either with a person number suffix that indicates a clear connection to the speaker, or with an address suffix (Priestley 2008, forthcoming a: 131-134).

- (6) *Ohu* *-ma* *yar* *-a* *-te* *oru* *meri* *-se* *-r* *-a*.
 agemate -P1s go -3s -DR insides move up -O1s -PRES -3s.
 'My agemate/relative is going and I am sorrowing.'

'You are my *waikohu*' and 'you are my *ohu*' have much the same explication when *ohu* is used to refer to 'male agemate'. However, it is possible that whereas *waikohu* has a component 'these people are like parts of one thing now', *ohu*, which occurs with a possessive person-number suffix that is also obligatory with kinship nouns, has a slightly different component, 'these people are part of one thing now'. The latter correlates with the prototypical scenario in the cultural script for kinship bonds "these people are all parts of one thing, I am part of the same thing" (Priestley 2008: 285).

There is also a traditional extension of meaning that can be compared with classificatory kinship usage, in that a woman can refer to her husband's fellow initiates as *ohu-ma* [agemate-P1s] 'my agemates' and, like her husband, she cannot use their names. This applies even when she is related to one of the agemates. For example, if her brother is her husband's agemate she will call her brother *ohu-ma* (Priestley 1975-1980: March 1978, Winai). Significantly, just as the establishment of the *waikohu/ohu* relationship is marked by people eating parts of the same thing,

so a marriage is finalized when food prepared by the woman is passed to the man and he accepts and eats his portion. In each case, sharing food signifies becoming part of one another.

For an explication of this ‘classificatory’ usage of *ohu*, other components of meaning are needed. At this stage I propose to use *ohu* ‘male agemate’ and *e* ‘husband’ as language-specific molecules within the explication since the meanings of both words are integral to the meaning of *ohu* ‘agemate’ in this context. As mentioned above the meaning of *ohu* is basically the same as explication [H] for *waikohu*. The explication of *e* ‘husband’ is a task for further research; but see the discussion of ‘husband’ as a semantic molecule in Goddard (2010). Also note that *e* ‘husband’ and *hena* ‘wife’, like consanguineal kinship terms, are obligatorily marked by either the possessive person-number suffix or the address suffix.

[J] *Ohu-ma₂* ‘my agemate through marriage’

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| a. | everybody knows: someone can say to someone else ‘you are my <i>ohu</i> ’ if this someone can think about this other someone like this: | |
| b. | there are two people
you are one of these people, I am one of these people
at some time before, many things happened to you
at the same time the same things happened to another man[m]
because of this, you are this man’s [m] <i>ohu</i> [m]
this other man is my <i>e</i> (‘husband’)[m]
I am like a part of this other man [m]
because of this, you are my <i>ohu</i> [m] | SPECIFIC PEOPLE
JOINTLY DEFINED
PAST EVENTS

ACT OF IDENTIFICATION |
| c. | because these things happened, people can say:
‘these people are like parts of one thing now
because of this, it is bad if one of these people says the other one’s name [m]’ | PUBLIC RECOGNITION
IDENTIFICATION |

This explication highlights a cultural assumption that a *hena* ‘wife’ is a ‘part of the same thing as a husband’ and that an *ohu* is ‘part of one thing’ with a fellow *ohu*. Each of these relationships are based on significant acts of identification and relational personhood, including acts of commensality, of sharing the same food.

Ohu ‘agemate’ is also used to refer to men who have not experienced traditional coming of age together, but who instead have shared the experience of training or working together. Examples come from cultural contexts outside the traditional ones, suggesting that the meaning of *ohu* has been extended to fit different cultural milieu. For example, during World War II there

were many Japanese and Australian soldiers in the mountains and in the Ramu Valley. In stories recorded about that time soldiers are referred to as each others *ohu*. Similarly, a group of people who translated the story of Zechariah in Luke's gospel used *ohu* to refer to the division of priests (2004). The latter example is given below in (7). It also shows that reference can be made to groups of 'agemates' using *ohu* with a possessive suffix as well as the enclitic =*ama* to refer to a group of *ohu* that act together.

- (7) *Ato tuhu pa Sekaraia -o ohu -nap =ama aie pa men -e.*
 Onetime G/L Zechariah GEN agemate-P3p =groupwork G/L be -3p
 'One time Zechariah's division was at work.' (Luke 1:8)

In another story recounted in the gospel of Luke, translators chose *ohu*, in its address form *ohu-ya*,¹¹ to translate English 'friend' and Tok Pisin *pren* 'friend' for the term used by Jesus to address a man let down through the roof to him. The choice of term may also reflect the fact that, even though they had only just met, the two men were sharing an important experience. This parallels the extended use of *wantok* in Tok Pisin to include someone the speaker has only just got to know.

Other examples in the data show that shared play in childhood and/or shared involvement in adult life create a basis for use of the term *ohu*. In the following example, the speaker refers to two people who frequently played together as children and who have often worked or socialized together as adults, even though they didn't experience traditional coming of age or other types of training together. In this extract the mother of one of them refers to an incident when the two men were boys.

- (8) *Ohu -nama seka eme te -pe Enae pa hes -apais -ae!*
 agemate -P2s quicklytake GET -SR Ramu G/L swim -leave -IMP2s
 'Take your agemate quickly and stop swimming in the Ramu.' T9.3.21

¹¹ Kinship nouns have obligatory person-number marking or they occur as vocatives with the address suffix.

Since *namuka* (see above) can be used for women of a similar age, *ohu* is still commonly used only for men. However, *ohu* is sometimes used for people of the same age who share the experience of going to school together, whether or not they are male or female.

Explication [L] sums up the meaning of *ohu* in these various extended uses.

[K] *You are my ohu – extended meaning for people who do things together*

- a. everybody knows: someone can say to someone else ‘you are my *ohu*’ if this someone can think about this other someone like this:
- b. there are some people SPECIFIC PEOPLE
you are one of these people, I am one of these people JOINTLY DEFINED
- c. people can say something like this: PUBLIC RECOGNITION
 - these people often do many things at the same time
 - these people are like parts of one thing IDENTIFICATION
 - this is good

Finally, the term *ohu* is also being used nowadays to refer to people who are kin.

[L] *You are my ohu – kin*

- a. everybody knows: someone can say to someone else ‘you are my *ohu*’ if this someone can think about this other someone like this:
- b. there are some people SPECIFIC PEOPLE
you are one of these people, I am one of these people JOINTLY DEFINED
- c. people can say something like this about these people: PUBLIC RECOGNITION
 - the *asi* [m] ‘ancestor’ of one of these people is the *asi* [m] ‘ancestor’¹²
 - of another one of these people
 - these people are parts of one thing IDENTIFICATION

4.4 *Heraru* – ‘cross-generational male relationships’ and coming of age rituals

Heraru is a reciprocal term between young initiates and the men who trained them (see also, *esiapei* in the Garia, Lawrence 1984: 212). *Heraru* is related to *herari*, the term used to refer to the first stage of initiation. Example (9) is from a narrative recorded in 1979. The narrator was an initiation leader for the 1975 initiation and at this point in his story he refers to a young man who had his first initiation at that time.

¹² There are several different terms for ‘ancestors’. *Asi* can be used for ‘grandparents’ and in some variant forms for great-grandparents. A deeper semantic study of the various terms is a subject for future research.

(9) O *Horukotuno* ama, um *Heraru* are pasi -neka -pe...

Oh Tinea.dust group um Heraru and met -O3p -SR

‘Oh, Horukotuno and all(his group), um with Heraru we met them...’ T1.15.78

This young man called the speaker *heraru* in return, since it is taboo for either of them to use each other’s names. The taboo is much stronger for the younger man. Even after the death of his *heraru* he owes a great respect to the older man and to the others who guided him through his coming of age.

Any one man can address or refer to at least two other people as *heraru* since there are always at least two agemates who come of age at the same time and always at least two initiation leaders looking after and instructing them (although the latter may have different status). In some cases a man will have four or five men to refer to as *heraru* if four or five agemates came of age at one time under his charge. The following explication attempts to capture the meaning of this term which, even though the participants have different perspectives, is a reciprocal term based on shared experience.

[M] You are my *heraru*.

- a. everybody knows: a man [m] can say about another man [m] ‘you are my *heraru*’ if this man [m] can think about this other man [m] like this:
- b. there are a few people SPECIFIC PEOPLE
you are one of these people, I am one of these people JOINTLY DEFINED
- c. at some time before, it was like this:
“you were in a place, I was in the same place at the same time PAST EVENTS
at that time in that place many things happened”
- d. people can think about it like this:
“at that time in that place one of these people did many things,
because of this, the other someone knows many things now, the other someone is not a child [m] anymore
now these people are like part of one thing IDENTIFICATION
it is bad if one of these people says another one’s name [m]”

5. Reciprocal/jointly defined nicknames

In addition to reciprocal terms connected to coming of age experiences and/or kinship, Koromu speakers also use ‘reciprocal’ person-referring expressions when two people refer to one another

using a term they create to refer to a simple shared experience, for example, sharing some special or distinctive food.

The following examples show that these terms include the name of the creature eaten, the verb *ne* ‘eat’ (/e/ is elided before /a/ at morpheme boundaries), the reciprocal suffix (Priestley 2008/forthcoming a: 87-88, 316) and the suffix *-i*. The latter can refer to either the first or the second person singular non-future tense. This unity of form for the first and second person makes it simpler to create reciprocal nicknames that are identical for each speaker, whether or not it can be said to reflect the importance of reciprocal relationships and shared experience in this language and culture.

- (10) (a) *Sako* -*n* -*a* -*i*
 sako -eat -R -1/2s
 lit. ‘I/You ate *sako* (a black bird) jointly’ T2.31.3
- (b) *Kame* -*n* -*a* -*i*
 liver -eat -R -1/2s
 lit. ‘I/You ate (pig’s) liver jointly’. T2.31.12
- (c) *Ahare* -*n* -*a* -*i*
 ear -eat -R -1/2s
 lit. ‘I/You ate (pig’s) ear jointly.’ T2.31.25

As in Korowai, a language of southern West Papua/Irian Jaya, Indonesia, these terms recalling an event that sets two people apart have characteristics of two different “canonical person-referring expressions”, kin terms and names (cf. Stasch 2002: 335). As with kin terms, a relationship between the referent and the reciprocal is indicated, rather than a reference being made simply to the referent. There is also a link to the context of the utterance since one needs to know who the speaker is to determine the referent. At the same time reciprocal nicknames resemble names since they are “idiosyncratic to two particular persons and their relationship” (Stasch 2002: 336). Explication [O] for *names* (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2008: 37) provides a basis for the use of semantic molecule *name* in cultural script [P], a cultural script which sums up

some basic attributes of reciprocal nicknames that, in these examples, involve the sharing of food as their founding event.

[N] *names*

- a. words of one kind
- b. there are many words of this kind
- c. people can say who someone is with a word of this kind
- d. a word of this kind can be like a part of someone

[O] A simple cultural script for reciprocal nicknames based on food sharing

- a. many people know:
 - b. sometimes two people *ne* 'eat/drink' [m] something good at the same time
one of these people *ne* 'eats/drinks' [m] one part of this thing, the other one *ne* 'eats/drinks' [m]
the other part of the same thing
because of this, after this, these two people are like part of the same thing
- c. one of these people says the word: "*ne* 'drink/eat' [m] this thing', the other someone can say the same thing
this word is like a name [m]
one of these people can say this word about the other one, the other one can say the same word
about this someone
- d. people think that this is good

Languages spoken in widely separated parts of the New Guinea island have reciprocal terms that recall special events, including events of commensality. For example, many Korowai reciprocal terms that set two people apart in a dyadic relationship also recall an event of commensality, of two people eating a particular thing together (Stasch 2002). Referential expressions based on shared experience, in particular commensality, are customary in other languages, for example the languages of the Melpa (Strathern 1977) and the Nebilyer people (Merlan and Rumsey 1985) spoken in highlands PNG. The data from these other languages also highlights the concept of reciprocal identity. So when "contracting a food term relationship" in Nebilyer, people often recite a jingle at the same time. In this jingle they basically say 'I am you, you are me' using each other's names (Merlan and Rumsey 1985). In addition, Strathern's detailed discussion of Melpa food-names shows their symbolism of "common substance and thus identity" (1977: 508). He links this with the strong cultural value of *mok rorom* "a good person is one who shares" suggesting that "the act of sharing food by breaking it in two and pairing oneself with another by proposing the adoption of a food-name highlights this value of sharing and

transforms it into a specific contract between two people” (ibid.). Similarly in Koromu when someone has *oru* they are considered to be “a good person who shares” and practises the law of hospitality (Levisen & Priestley forthcoming). The sharing of reciprocal nicknames based on sharing food and culturally important events expresses the importance of this this cultural realm..

7. Concluding remarks

The reciprocal terms explicated in this study reflect the importance of shared experience for Koromu-speaking people. They emphasize the cultural ideal that ‘it is good to do some things with other people’ and to have a connection with other people. These cultural concepts are so important they are reflected in the way that people refer to and address other people. Reciprocal person-referring expressions not only identify a person, they identify ways that people are related to each other through some of the major stages in life, as well as through ordinary everyday experience. Thus we can suggest a relational cultural script that includes the following:

it is good to do many things with other people
if someone does some things with someone else,
it is good if these two people think about it at many times after this
because of this, it is good to say some words about these things at many times

Some kinds of activities are particularly important. However, a study of the cultural context of all the varied terms described in this paper indicates the importance of commensality, of sharing food and drink between people. This is also a key factor in Melpa (Strathern 1977), Nebilyer (Merlan and Rumsey 1985), Korowai (Stasch 2002), and in relational personhood in Melanesia generally (Strathern 1988). Although a detailed study is beyond the scope of the present essay, commensality links reciprocal terms with kinship terms, particularly those for affines. While affinal relationships have other key components (cf. Strathern 1977) it is significant that in Koromu, when talking about the taboos on using the names of affines, people often say that it is because *usu n-a* [pig eat-3s] ‘he/she ate the pig’ that was given to the woman’s kin to finalise a marriage. A marriage is also considered finalized when the man accepts and eats a small portion of food cooked by the bride. Thus th moment of eating defines and sets apart this new relationship, just as it plays a significant part in coming of age and in reciprocal nicknames. The idea behind this seems to be something like this:

at some times, it can be like this:

two people eat [m] parts of one thing

after this, these people are like part of one thing because of this

Acts of commensality apply in the establishment of many different types of reciprocal relationship. At a more general level, reciprocal terms based on relationality and shared experience are a reflection of key cultural concerns in the Koromu-speaking community that can be summed up in more general terms in the following cultural script.

[P] A cultural script about the value represented by reciprocal terms

a. many people think like this:

b. it is good if someone can think like this about someone else:

“at some time before I did something with this other someone

because of this, this someone is like part of me, I am like part of this someone

I thought something good because of this, this other someone thought the same

I felt something good because of this, this other someone felt the same”

it is good if this someone feels something good towards this other someone because of this

Like kinship terms, reciprocal terms represent a relationship between the referent and the reciprocal, rather than the nature of simply one referent. At the same time they resemble names since they are closely associated with particular people and their relationship. There are a number of reciprocal expressions, and by using exponents of primes, the key cultural meanings and their extended meanings can be explicated and compared, highlighting both similar and distinctive components of meaning in these terms. These comparisons reveal some extensions of meaning, and suggest the possibility of semantic endangerment as the character of social interactions change over time. At the same time, they show that there are strong ongoing cultural scripts expressed in a range of person-referring expressions that highlight commensality, relational personhood and shared experiences.

Appendix 1: Exponents of semantic primes in English and Koromu (proposed)

[* indicates points of interest/investigation, e.g. A LONG TIME BEFORE = SU:RUMAPA, A LONG TIME AFTER = EPO:NO]

ENGLISH	KOROMU (provisional)	
I, YOU, SOMEONE, SOMETHING~THING, PEOPLE, BODY	I, NE, ATO, NA, HENATAMAITE (AHAROPU), METE	Substantives
KIND, PART	TOMTOM (MA-), MO~ASAO~-NE	Relational substantives
THIS, THE SAME, OTHER~ELSE	MO, ATEREI ₂ , TOMO	Determiners
ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MUCH~MANY, LITTLE~FEW	ATEREI ₁ , AERE, ASA, NUPU ₁ , NUPU ₂ , WERAI	Quantifiers
GOOD, BAD	ETAMAU, WARIKAU	Evaluators
BIG, SMALL	ARENE, WERAKAHUNO	Descriptors
THINK, KNOW, WANT, DON'T WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR	U ₂ ~URUNU, SIPAMU, URUNU~- APESI, MAIKOHU, ORU~URUNU, WERE, ESERE	Mental predicates
SAY, WORDS, TRUE	U ₁ ~SA, SAKINE, ITINI	Speech
DO, HAPPEN, MOVE, TOUCH	HARU, AIRI, MOTOMOTO, MOTO	Action, events, movement, contact
BE (SOMEWHERE), THERE IS, BE(SOMEONE/SOMETHING), BE SOMEONE'S	MENE, MENE, MENE MENE~-NE*	Location, existence, specification, possession
LIVE, DIE	ENE, EME	Life, death
WHEN~TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME*, MOMENT	ENAPU~OTO~SA, APU, SURUMAPA, EONO, -APAIE, SUHUPE, OTO ATOPATE, APU MOREI	Time
WHERE~PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE	ANI(PA)~SA, MO PA, NAUMPA, WARISESA, AIAKE, WAIMESA, MESA, ORU PA	Space
NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF	IA~TAI, TAUMO, NAUTO, U SEI, UO	Logical concepts
VERY, MORE	HEREKANI, APAI	Intensifier, augmentor
LIKE~WAY~AS	UAPU	Similarity

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