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History, contact and classification of Papuan languages
Part One**

THE KEUW ISOLATE: PRELIMINARY MATERIALS AND CLASSIFICATION

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ABSTRACT

Keuw is a poorly documented language spoken by less than 100 people in southeast Cenderawasih Bay. This paper gives some preliminary data on Keuw, based on a few days of field work. Keuw is phonologically similar to Lakes Plain languages: it lacks contrastive nasals and has at least two tones. Basic word order is SOV. Lexical comparison with surrounding languages suggests that Keuw is best classified as an isolate.

Keywords: Keuw, Kehu, Papua, Indonesia, New Guinea, isolate, description, classification

1 INTRODUCTION

Keuw (ISO 639-3 *khh*, also known as Kehu or Keu) is a poorly documented language spoken by a small ethnic group of the same name in southeast Cenderawasih Bay. Keuw territory is located in a swampy lowland plain along the Poronai river in Wapoga district, Nabire regency, Papua province, Indonesia (see Figure 1 and 2). The Keuw are reported to be in occasional contact with the Burate (*bti*, East Geelvink Bay family), who live downstream near the mouth of the Poronai (village: Totoberi), and the Dao/Maniwo (*daz*, Paniai Lakes family), who live upstream in the highlands (village: Taumi). There is no known contact with other nearby ethnic groups, which include a group of Waropen (*wrp*, Austronesian) who live just south of the Burate (village: Samanui), and the Auye (*auu*, Paniai Lakes family), who live in the highlands along the Siriwo river.

1.1 PREVIOUS WORK

Most previous sources for the Keuw language are unpublished. The earliest source is Moxness (1998), a short report based on discussions with a missionary to the Keuw which contains some historical and cultural background and 24 words. Whitehouse (n.d.) contains a 125-word list from the archives of SIL Papua, of which a few words are cited in Whitehouse (2006).¹ Finally, Papua Pos Nabire (2011b) includes an amateur linguistic comment, stating ‘Sentences in their language always end with the letter “E”’.² This probably refers to the

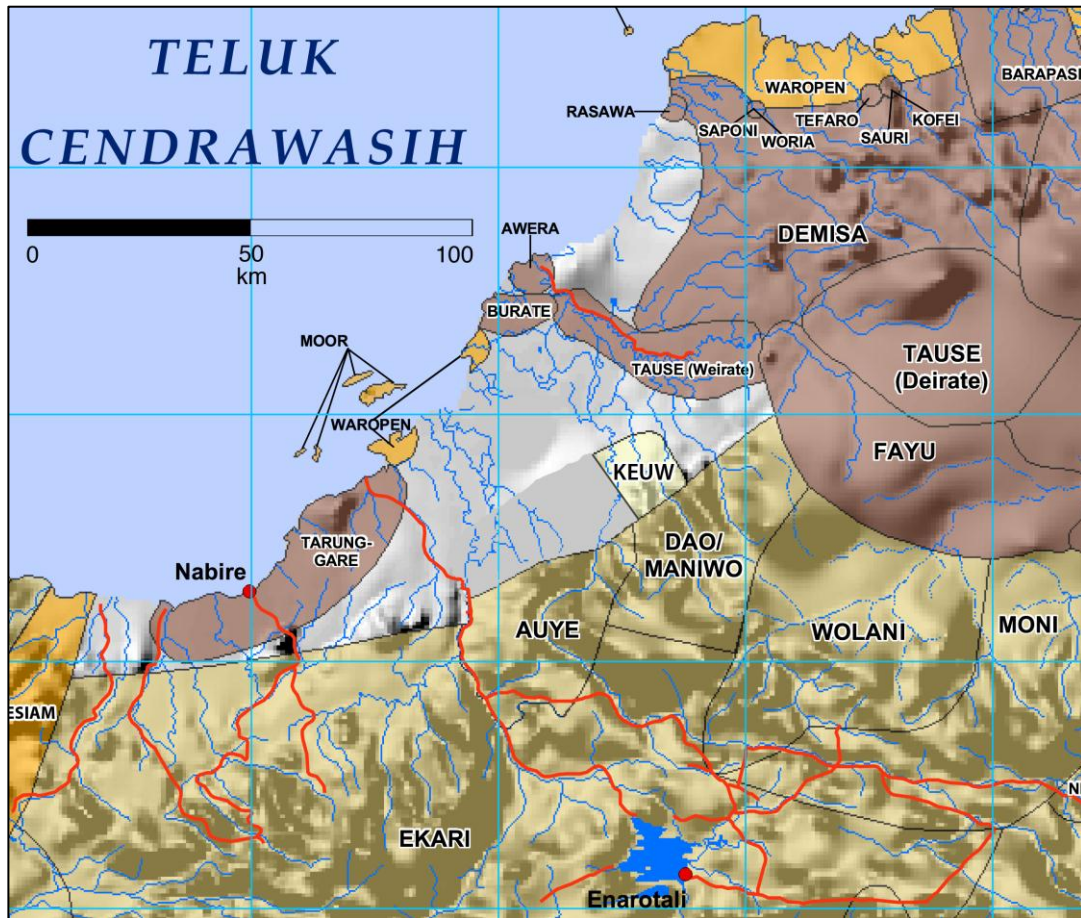


Figure 1: The location of Keuw and surrounding languages. Adapted from SIL Indonesia map of the languages of Papua (2003).

frequent nominal suffix *-yo/-ye* (see §3.2).

Comparison of the data I collected with the two unpublished wordlists leaves no doubt that all come from the same language. For example, the word for sago is *telye* in Moxness, *teli* in Whitehouse, and *télyò/télyè* in my data; no other languages of the region have this word for sago. Comparison with my data indicates that Moxness's list is mostly correct, while Whitehouse's contains numerous mistranscriptions and errors. The inaccuracy of Whitehouse's data is not surprising given his statement that 'the handwriting is barely legible' in the original (Whitehouse 2006:268).

Because of its historical significance as the first report on Keuw, Moxness (1998) is reproduced (with permission) in §7.

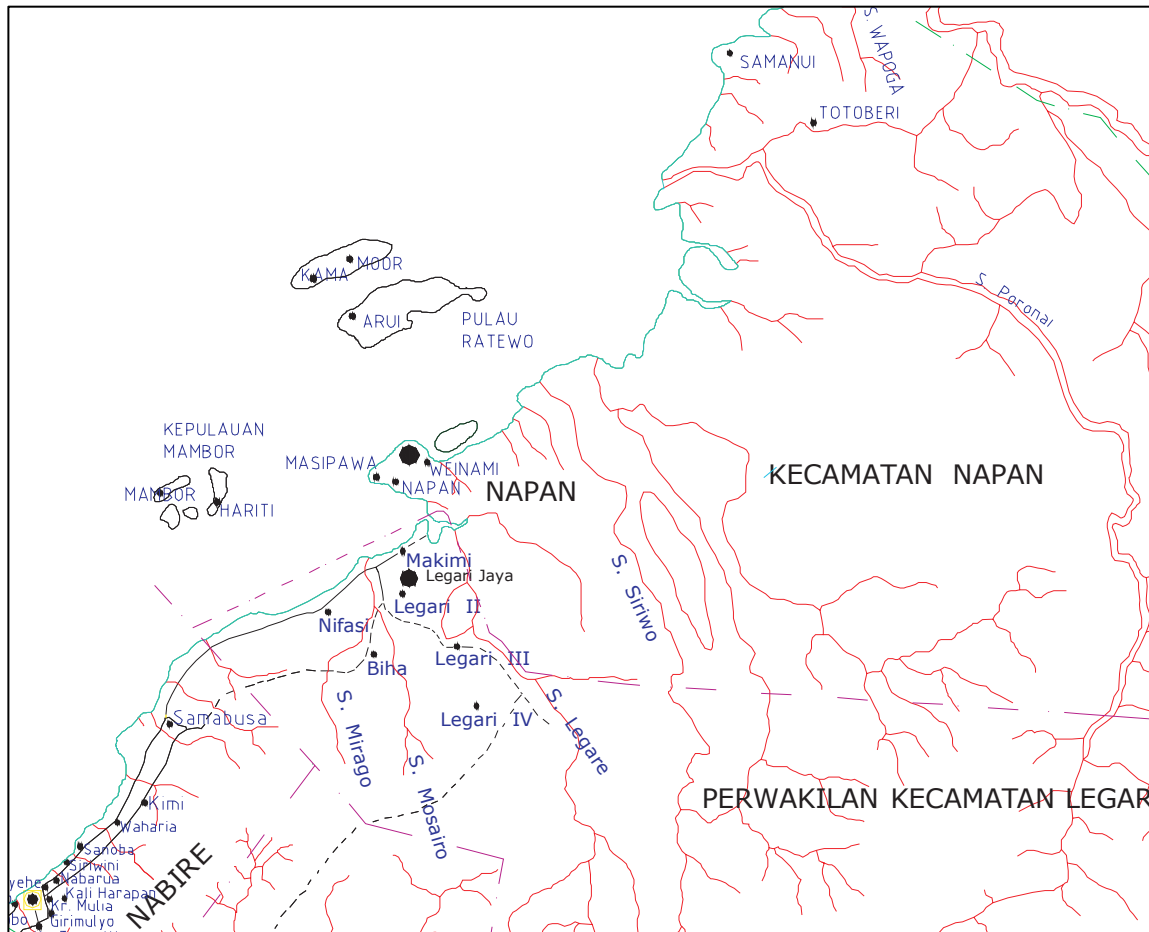


Figure 2: Political map of Nabire regency, showing the coastline from Nabire to Samanui, and the course of the Siriwo and Poronai. Formerly available at <<http://nabirekab.go.id/>>.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE PRESENT STUDY

My own data derives from three recorded elicitation sessions (Sep.–Oct. 2011) in Nabire with two Keuw speakers, both also fluent in Papuan Malay: Jon (c. 35 years old, head of the Keuw tribe) and Isak (c. 30 years old, head of Keuw village).³ Isak is not fully fluent in Keuw, as a result of which I elicited most of the data from Jon. Several non-Keuw residents of Keuw village, who had accompanied Jon and Isak to Nabire, provided additional information about Keuw culture and life in the village.

Elicitation was challenging. Jon and Isak did their best, but clearly found the task somewhat difficult and confusing. Furthermore, Jon was the only fully fluent speaker present, and so had no one to confer with. I was most successful at eliciting lexical items and getting judgments on their pronunciation and meaning. Despite repeated attempts, I could not elicit more than one or two clauses, nor could I elicit any pronouns or paradigms. A five-minute

text was recorded, which contains a few multiword clauses. Materials from these sessions will be made available at <<http://lautgesetz.com/keuw/>>.

Before turning to the results of my elicitation sessions, I first summarize the history of the Keuw since contact, and what is known about their culture.

2 HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE KEUW

2.1 CONTACT

It is not known how long the Keuw have been in their present location. Labree (1959:20) mentions a group living along the Poronai that is plausibly identified as the Keuw:

The population of Moor must have been much more numerous previously than it is now. One group has migrated to the Haarlem Islands, and – certainly not the least energetic among them – another group is said to have been drawn to the environs of the Warenai [Poronai] river, in the area between the Siriwo and Wapoga. On Moor it is generally held that this last group has grown into a warlike tribe, and since the parting was not on very good terms, no inhabitant of Moor is willing to help you search for these vanished relatives.⁴

The Moor are Austronesian speakers (*mhz*) who live on several islands in southeast Cenderawasih Bay. The Moor and other coastal groups still hold to this story of the origin of the Keuw, but there is no evidence for it (see §2.3). Nonetheless, it is likely that the story told to Labree refers to the Keuw, since no other group is known to have inhabited the named region.

In 1989, following up on reports of an uncontacted tribe living in the lowland forests of the Poronai, a team of government officials located a group of about 60 Keuw (Papua Pos Nabire 2011b). A village named Keuw was soon created for them along the Poronai, in which fifteen Keuw families settled. Over the years, some families apparently returned to the forest, leaving about nine. Meanwhile, at some point in the 1990s, Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) missionaries started working in Keuw, converted the Keuw living there, and built a church (Moxness 1998; p.c. from Keuw village residents).

Reports of the population of Keuw village vary. Official government statistics reported 85 residents in 2008, 43 male and 42 female (BPS Nabire 2009: 143), and 63 residents in 2011, 36 male and 27 female (BPS Nabire 2011: 26). A newspaper article from 2011 states that there are 49 residents (Papua Pos Nabire 2011a). According to the residents of Keuw village with whom I spoke, there are 20–30 ethnically Keuw residents, while non-Keuw make up at least half of the village.

None of the ethnically Keuw residents are older than about 40. Several stories I was told gave conflicting explanations for the absence of an older generation: an outbreak of disease, flight from contact or missionization, murder by an outside group. Jon and Isak explicitly stated that they were orphaned at a young age and raised by non-Keuw.

It is not known how many Keuw, if any, are still living in the forest. Jon and Isak said there were none, but it was not clear either that they were in a position to know, or that they would wish to reveal their presence.

Jon and Isak are not educated or literate, but are quite comfortable using money, public taxis, cell phones, and so on. I was told that other Keuw rarely or never go to Nabire, are less familiar with modern technology, and speak little or no Papuan Malay.

The name Keuw is said to be derived from Burate *keβete* ‘tree person’ (Papua Pos Nabire 2011b; p.c. from Burate speakers in Nabire). The name was not generally used or known prior to the establishment of Keuw village. The Keuw have no name for themselves.

SIL sources, e.g. Moxness (1998), use the spelling *Kehu* instead of *Keuw*. I have adopted the spelling *Keuw* in this paper because it corresponds to official usage, and because it more accurately reflects the pronunciation I heard, which never contained *h*.

2.2 SUBSISTENCE

The Keuw eat sago as their staple starch. Sago is baked in a wooden vessel using stones heated on a fire. Major protein sources are sago grubs, fish, and wild boar. They kill fish

using a poisonous root (*akar bobatu* in Papuan Malay, probably a variety of *Derris*). They supplement their diet with wild tubers, wild nutmeg, fruits, and edible fern.

The Keuw do not keep gardens, with the possible exception of replanting sago. Coconuts do not grow in their region. Bananas, areca nut (*pinang*), chickens, and dogs were unknown before contact. Traditional tools were apparently limited to stone axes, but now include steel axes and machetes (see §7). Traditional life was mobile, the only shelters being temporary wooden structures with thatch.

The Keuw are familiar with the coastal area around the mouth of the Poronai, and sometimes travel there. They claim that this has been so since long before contact.

2.3 FOLKLORE

Jon and Isak shared several stories of Keuw origins and folklore. They said that the Keuw were originally from Woisaru, after which they moved to Sanawado (apparently locations in Wapoga district). There was once a conflict in Sanawado owing to a sago shortage, as a result of which the Keuw set out in three canoes: two went to Woisaru, one to Ambumi in Wandamen Bay.⁵ Another story speaks of a sacred stone on the Raiwuto river that “belongs” to the Keuw: as proof of this, the Keuw say only a Keuw person can lift it.

As mentioned in §2.1, the Moor claim a connection with the Keuw. The story told to me by the Moor was that, in pre-Christian times (prior to the 1930s), the ancestors of the Keuw left Moor after a dispute. On this basis, the Moor claim—in fact insist—that Keuw is a dialect of Moor. It is obvious from my data that this is not the case. Jon and Isak have their own version of this story: they say that many years ago, a group of Moor entered Keuw territory, possibly because these Moor refused to become Christian and decided to flee. They then killed a crocodile, ate its meat in a ceremony, and because it was poisonous, they immediately died. As a result, the Keuw are unwilling to spend the night on Pulau Moor (although they may visit), because of the threat of black magic (*ilmu* in Papuan Malay).

Neither the Keuw nor the Moor version of this curious story can be verified. However, it is clear that the Moor and other *orang pantai* (coast dwellers) are culturally quite different from the Keuw, as both *orang pantai* and Keuw recognize. The *orang pantai* generally have no

first-hand knowledge of the Keuw, and go out of their way to exoticize them as “primitives”. In return, the Keuw are well aware of how they are portrayed, and their version of the story could have developed as a response.

3 GRAMMATICAL NOTES

This section presents structural information on Keuw, to the extent that I could obtain it.

3.1 PHONOLOGY

3.1.1 VOWELS

Keuw has at least five phonemic vowels /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, and /u/. The following words illustrate the contrast: *káayò* ‘kataweri tree’, *kéepyô* ‘eat’, *kíilyô* ‘cuscus’, *kóopíyò* ‘mushroom’, and *kúumyô* ‘netbag’. All vowels have a tendency to centralize, e.g., /a/ → [ɐ], /i/ → [ɪ], /u/ → [ʊ]. Phonetically, [ə] also occurs, but its phonemic status is unclear: it may be possible to explain all occurrences as epenthesis to break up consonant clusters (e.g., *márənô* ‘fill’) or as reductions of other vowels. The data is insufficient to resolve the question.

3.1.2 CONSONANTS

Keuw has the following consonant inventory:

	<i>bilabial</i>	<i>dental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>
<i>stop</i>	p b	t d			k g
<i>fricative</i>		s			
<i>liquid</i>			L		
<i>glide</i>				y	w

Nasality is irrelevant as a feature of Keuw phonology: there are no contrastive nasal consonants; voiceless stops can be freely prenasalized, while voiced stops can be oral or nasal. The following pairs illustrate the stop voicing contrast: (*m*)*píiyô* ‘land’ versus *míiyô/bíiyô* ‘sago porridge’; (*n*)*téenô* ‘good’ versus *nénínô* ‘take’; (*ŋ*)*kwáanô* ‘fall’ versus *gwáadnínô* ‘sweat’.

Other consonantal allophones include the following: /b/ is occasionally realized as [β]. /l/ can be pronounced [ɾ], often when following a stop, e.g., *tróonô* ‘sleep’. /t/ can apparently be

realized as [s] in some contexts, as in the variants *mpyátàntwéyò* and *mpyátànsweyò* ‘cough’. However, /s/ is clearly a separate phoneme, as shown by *séetèyè* ‘pandanus fruit’, which has no alternative realization.

3.1.3 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

The maximal syllable in Keuw is CC(G)VC (G = glide). The following kinds of CC onset clusters are attested:

- voiceless stop + voiceless stop: *kpíyò* ‘blood’, *tkéeyò* ‘fish sp.’, *tpíyò* ‘sap’
- stop + liquid: *tróonò* ‘sleep’, *mlúulyò* ‘eye’, *klwáanò* ‘swim’
- s + voiceless stop: *spóolyò* ‘root’, *skúulyò* ‘pigeon sp.’

A wide range of coda consonants is attested. Examples include *plíikdyò* ‘body hair’, *yúmséetyò* ‘cassava’, and *éebnò* ‘yes’. Coda consonants never occur at the end of a phonological phrase.

3.1.4 PROSODY

Keuw evidently has lexically contrastive tone. The wordlist contains a few (near-)minimal pairs, e.g., *áaliyò* ‘tongue’ versus *áalíyò* ‘house’; *kíilyò* ‘cuscus’ versus *kíilíyò* ‘arrow’; *úukyò* ‘grandfather’ versus *úunyò* ‘woman’. (Tonal diacritics follow IPA: acute indicates high, grave indicates low, circumflex indicates falling. Tone is marked only if it is known.) Many words begin with a sequence of high tones and shift to low or falling at some point. However, data is insufficient for an analysis of the tone system.

Surface vowels can be long or short, as in *kíilyò* ‘cuscus’ versus *kúdyò* ‘tree’. (Length is marked by doubling the vowel.) In my recorded data, surface length often varies across tokens, so that it has been difficult to transcribe length consistently and its underlying status is unclear.

3.1.5 AREAL CONTEXT

Keuw shares some phonological features with the Lakes Plain languages, mainly spoken to the northeast of Keuw territory. Lakes Plain languages have a similar consonant inventory, including lack of contrastive nasality; have lexical tone (but generally many more tonal contrasts); and may also have a tendency towards vowel centralization (Clouse 1997).

3.2 MORPHOSYNTAX

Keuw morphosyntax is poorly understood, but some patterns are evident in the data.

Nouns always end with the suffix *-yo* or *-ye* in citation form. The meaning of these suffixes is unclear: even to differentiate them proved impossible, as they were judged equally acceptable in all elicited contexts. Nouns in phrases and clauses are unsuffixed in most of my data, as in *tel dyewaa-no* ‘pound the sago’ versus citation *tél-yè* ‘sago’; *kúum búisip-yò* ‘one netbag’ versus citation *kúum-yô* ‘netbag’. However, a suffixed noun is attested within a clause: *tél-yè mpútàn-yô* ‘there is no sago’.

A nominal suffix *-wo* is attested in *bréen-yé kpúnt-yóo-wô* ‘head louse’ (cf. *kpúunt-yô* ‘head’). The context suggests it could be a genitive case, but when I elicited comparable phrases, the *-wo* suffix did not appear.

Verbs generally end with the suffix *-no* or *-ne*, both in citation form and in the small number of attested clauses. The prefix *ne-* is attested with two verbs: *né-núu-nô* ‘eat’ and *né-ntíyè-nô* ‘see’ (these verbs also occur unprefixes). Again, the meaning of these suffixes is unknown.

A number of words in my wordlist end in the form *-gəlok(iy)o* or *-gəlok(iy)e*, which appears to be a verbal formative, perhaps an auxiliary verb. It is attested in the following words: *dyésúo-gə̀lòkò* ‘be born’, *áṅkén-gə̀lòkò* ‘break’, *néṅklyáa-gə̀lòkò* ‘burn’, *tpóindlyábè-gə̀lòkò* ‘chew’, *nénsín-gə̀lòkò* ‘cook’, *púdnwá-gə̀lòkò* ‘draw/pour’, *tpóindláukè-gə̀lòkò* ‘grow’, *kwámpúdàṅ-gə̀lòkò* ‘sink’, *kúṅkágna-gə̀lòkò* ‘split’. It is also found in one noun, *maintpoləṅ-gə̀lòkiyo* ‘person’.

Another common verbal formative is *-nwa-*, probably identifiable with *nwáa-nô* ‘bring, carry’. It is attested in the following words: *páansig-nwà-nô* ‘cut’, *kunsig-nwa-no* ‘cut down’, *úntyís-nwà-nô* ‘dance’, *áid-nwá-nô* ‘hold’, *kúudəg-nwà-nô* ‘hungry’, *ámpám-nwà-nô* ‘lift’, *áṅkéé-nwà-nô* ‘pull’, *óṅgwé-nwà-nô* ‘rest’, *óṅṅ-nwà-nô* ‘tired’.

Two verbal formatives are attested only once: *ném(b)ídà-nô* ‘throw’, in *pántúdyè-nèmidà-nô* ‘hit’, and *tróo-nô* ‘sleep, lie’, in *túulàn-tróo-nò* ‘fight’ (cf. variant *túulà-nô*). Additionally, the

form *besmyelo* (meaning unknown) occurs several times following the verb in the recorded text (see §6).

A few basic facts about constituent order were observed. Basic clause order is SOV, e.g., *kómúul-yò yúmséet-yò núu-nô* [boar cassava eat] ‘the boar ate the cassava’. Numerals are placed after the noun, e.g., *kúum būsìp-yò* [netbag one] ‘one netbag’. Comparison of *plík-yô* ‘arm’ and *plík-ísit-ô* ‘fingernail’ suggests that possessors precede the possessed noun; however, this is more likely to be a compound.

3.3 LEXICON

Keuw has numerals for ‘one’, ‘two’, and ‘many’. Color terms are ‘black’, ‘white’, and ‘red’. Pronouns are unknown: I tried many times to elicit clauses with first and second person subjects, emphasizing contexts where the contrast would be important, but the result was always a clause consisting of a single verb with no person marking. Jon even explicitly stated that Keuw had no words for ‘I’ or ‘you’. Likewise, Keuw negators are unknown, aside from the negative existential: attempts to elicit clausal negation always resulted in a paraphrased positive clause.

A few Malay borrowings are apparent in the wordlist: *páptí-yò* ‘board/post’ is from *papan* ‘board’, or perhaps a combination of *papan* and *tiang* ‘post’; *kpun-syak* ‘headache’ consists of *kpun* ‘head’ and *syak* from Malay *sakit* ‘sick’; *áñkòpí-yò* ‘cockatoo’ is from *yakop*; and *būs-yò* ‘blister’ is from *bisul*.

The complete wordlist can be found in §5.

4 CLASSIFICATION

The only previous classification of Keuw is Whitehouse (2006), who includes it in a proposed macro-family containing the Bulaka–Trans Fly family (spoken along the south-central coast of New Guinea), the Pauwasi family (spoken south of Jayapura near the border with Papua New Guinea), and several New Guinea languages otherwise classified as isolates. Since Whitehouse does not individually justify each included language and family, but instead gives various pairwise lexical comparisons, his evidence is not very convincing.

The most obvious starting point for the classification of Keuw is comparison with geographically adjacent families. These include East Geelvink Bay (Burate, Wate/Tarunggare); Paniai Lakes (Dao/Maniwo, Auye); Lakes Plain (Tause, Avera); and Austronesian (Waropen, Moor). Speakers of Keuw and Burate claim that there is no resemblance between the two languages. A cursory comparison of Keuw with Wate/Tarunggare (*trt*), which is mutually intelligible with Burate, confirms this:⁶

English	Keuw	Wate/Tarunggare
arm	plíik-yô	neʔeha
bone	ntyéns-yô	ha
breast	túulí-yò	roa
ear	téémé-yô	uro
feces	pyáa-nô	ama
head	kpúunt-yô	ohaha
leg	páud-yô	nao
mouth	bíisìp-ô	aha
nose	klókòn-yô	omata
one	bíisìp-yò	ruʔa
pig	kómúul-yò	doho
skin	mpáakát-yô	isaʔa
tail	myóol-yò	waha
tooth	mée-yô	mou
tongue	áali-yò	isa
tree	kúd-yô	uto
two	páid-yô	amaite
urine	túu-yò	wuo

Lexical comparison makes it equally obvious that Keuw is not an Austronesian or Paniai Lakes language. Comparison with Proto-Lakes Plain (Clouse 1997) is somewhat more promising. The best comparisons are the following:

English	Keuw	LP comparison
blow	dóopún-yô	PLP *pudV
breast	túulí-yò	PLP *touCV
feces	pyáa-yô	PLP *pade
genitals, male	tóol-yê	PLP *tiuCV/*kudiCV
one	bíisìp-yò	lau bisi-bɛ
tree/wood	kúd-yô	PLP *kuCV
urine	túu-yò	PLP *tiCi

However, given the small phoneme inventory and small number of resemblant words, this evidence is quite thin indeed. Casting the net wider, I compared Keuw with Galis (1955),

which contains basic vocabulary for most languages of Dutch New Guinea, but did not find any plausible leads.

In summary, there is no conclusive evidence to relate Keuw to any other known language. It is best classified as an isolate on current evidence.

5 WORDLIST

Words were elicited using a 287-item Malay wordlist prepared by Mark Donohue, and a supplementary list of my own. Keuw words in Moxness (1998) and a few words from Whitehouse (n.d.) were also elicited.

The 312-item wordlist below is given in broad phonetic transcription. Transcriptions are based on the clearest recorded token of a word. Allophonic variants of plosives and nasals are marked; other possible variants are not shown, since were not systematically recorded for each word. Vowel centralization is not marked, except for particularly centralized tokens of [i] for /i/. Vowel length is marked, although, as mentioned above, consistent transcription proved difficult. Tone is unmarked on a few words because they were recorded only in phrasal context, and the tone was not clearly audible.

English	Malay	Keuw
above	di atas	tyímánàkà
afraid	takut	óntùndló-nò
ant	semut	ménáalèm-yô
arm; hand	tangan	plíik-yô
arrow	busur	kíilí-yò
ashes	abu	núu-yô
axe; machete	kampak/parang	ŋkwáanèkà-yô
bad	tidak baik	yópnómúum-ò
bamboo	bambu	táaní-yò
banana	pisang	pée-yò
bandicoot	tikus tanah	pyáal-yò, núulí-yé
bark	kulit kayu	túudí-yò
bat	kelelawar	trúum-yò
bathe	mandi	yílwà-nô, mwáŋkwáid-nô
behind	di belakang	dyíel
belly	perut	bráat-yô
below	di bawah	kákúntáukè
big	besar	mbúud-nô
bird sp. (unknown)	burung sp.	páupén-yô
bird sp., gallinaceous	burung maleo	kwáaklèn-yò

English	Malay	Keuw
bite	gigit	klúun-yô
bitter	asam	túntènlíd-yô
black; dirty	hitam/kotor	páunlíd-yô
blister	bisul	bíis-yò
blood	darah	kpíi-yò
blow	tiup	dóopún-yô
blunt	tumpul	káudènléd-yô
board; post	papan/tiang	páptí-yò
body	badan	káalí-yò
bone	tulang	ntyéns-yô
born, to be	lahir	dyésúo-gèlòkò, nénsúo-nô
bottom	pantat	mpyáakàt-yô
bow	panah	spáu-yô
branch	cabang	kúdmím-yô
breadfruit	sukun	mbríilí-yò
break; shatter	patah	áṅkéṅ-gèlòkò
breast	susu	túulí-yò
breathe	napas	klókàmwéel-ô
bring; carry	bawa	n(u)wáanô
burn	bakar	néṅklyáa-gèlòkò, nyəntuu-no
butterfly	kupu-kupu	sípènék-yò
calf	betis	kléekát-yô
call; shout	panggil/berteriak	óo-nô
canoe	perahu	éepèl-yò
carry on shoulder	pikol	némpúukà-nô
cassava; sweet potato	singkong/betatas	yúmséet-yò
cassowary	kasuari	múulí-yò
chase	kejar	némpóuntlám-nô
cheek	pipi	mági-yô
chew	kunya	tpóindlyábà-gèlòkò
child	anak	náil-yò
chin	dada	díipàk-yô
clear	terang	náṅèntéel-ô
clothing	baju	yúupí-yò
cockatoo	kakatua/yakop	áṅkòpí-yò
cockroach	kakerlak	páupùdìb-yô
cold	dingin	págétù-nô
come	datang	wée-nô
cook	masak	nénsín-gèlòkò
cough	batuk	mpyátèntwé-yò
crazy	gila	dyékúg-ə̀mó-nô
crocodile	buaya	kwáapál-yô
cry (v.)	menangis	táa-nô
cuscus	kuskus	kíil-yô
cut	potong	páansig-nwà-nô
cut down	tebang	kunsig-nwa-no
cut off	putus	tée-nô
dance	dansa/goyang	úntyís-nò, úntyís-nwà-nô

English	Malay	Keuw
deaf	tuli	kákídnéβ-ô
defecate	berak	pyáa-nô
die	mati	kíyè-nô
dig	gali	íimì-nô
don't	jangan	óléb-nô
draw (water); pour	timba/siram	púdnwá-gèlòkò, indo
dream	mimpi	trónèntíyè-nô
drift	hanyut	nínkín-yô
drink	minum	tóon-yô
dry or overripe fruit	buah tua	típóp-yè
ear	telinga	téémé-yô
eat (activity)	makan	núu-nô
eat (put in mouth)	makan (isi di mulut)	kéep-yô
eel	belut	éetém-yò
egg	telur	bléemí-yò
elbow	siku	ntúumèl-yô
embers; charcoal	bara/arang	dúmsáalí-yò
eye	mata	mlúul-yô
fall	jatuh	kwáa-nô
far	jauh	túnèntée-nô
fast; go fast	cepat/jalan cepat	klyá túuu-nô
father	bapak	áis-yô
feces	tahi	pyáa-nô
fern sp., edible	pakis	gádyúwée-yô
a few	sedikit	páyé pígyé
fight	bakalai	túulè-nô, túulèn-tróo-nô
fill	isi	márè-nô
find	dapat	pámáal-yô
finger nail	jari tangan	plíik-ùgè-nô, plíi-kísit-ô
fire	api	núup-yò
firewood	kayu bakar	óopí-yò
fish sp.	ikan bolana	kíid-yô, kíid-yé
fish sp., catfish	ikan lele	pléemí-yô
fish sp., catfish	ikan sembilang	tkée-yô
flesh	daging	ntyéepí-yò
flute	suling	púub-nô
fly (n.)	lalat	kwámmáal-yò
fly (v.)	terbang	mpíisèt-yô
forest; place	hutan/tempat	dyéñkùd-nô
friend	teman	n(u)wáa-nô
frog sp.	kodok	klúud-ô
frog sp. (river)	kodok kali	ñkáasí-yò
fruit	buah	ntáal-yò
fruit sp. (<i>Pometia pinnata</i>)	buah matoa	típí-yò
full; pregnant	kenyang/hamil	mpís prór-ô
gecko	cicak	skéñkásèl-yò
genitals, female	kemaluan perempuan	páal-yé
genitals, male	kemaluan laki-laki	tóol-yé

English	Malay	Keuw
go	pergi	páwì-nô
go down	turun	kémó-nô
go home	pulang	préem-yô, náswée-nô
go up	naik	páwìsúwà-nô
God	Tuhan	tkwáap-yò
good	bagus	tée-nô
grandfather	tete	úuk-yò
grow	tumbuh	tpóindláukà-gèlòkò
hair (body)	bulu	plíikd-yô
hang	gantung	nénkáu-nô
head	kepala	kpúunt-yô
headache	sakit (kepala)	kpun-syak
hear; know	dengar/tahu	kéi-nô
heavy	berat	ntíiblí-yô
here	di sini	kún
hit	pukul	pántúdyè-nèmidè-nô, tpáanlí-yè
hold	pegang	áid-nwá-nô
hole	lobang	píimì-nô
hornbill	burung tahun-tahun	múrkí-yò
hot; sick; hurt	panas/sakit	lwíi-nô
house	rumah	áalí-yò
human	manusia	tpáan-yô
hungry	lapar	kúudèg-nwà-nô
in front	di depan	ímàmpín
itch	gatal	lóop-yô
jump	lompat	úntyíib-nô
kataweri fruit	buah kataweri	káamàs-yô
kataweri tree	pohon kataweri	káa-yò
kill	bunuh	mé-nô
knee	lutut	máas-yò
land; sand	tanah/pasir	píi-yô
language	bahasa	áugèamáun-yò
laugh	tertawa	áudwè-nô
leaf	daun	kúntyíip-yô
leech	lintah	tpyáalí-yò
left	kiri	dyílpíndèn
leg; foot	kaki	páud-yô
lie (v.) (tell untruth)	tipu	káyébùnk-ô
lift	angkat	ámpám-nwà-nô
light	ringan	páamèndé-nô
live	hidup	klókèmpùkà-yò
loin covering	cawat	ílwálènkélèn-yò
long; tall	panjang/tinggi	kwíil-yò
look for	cari	némpóntábèkùd-nô
louse, body(?)	kutu	máa-yô
louse, head	kutu rambut	bréen-yé kpúnt-yóo-wô
love (n.)	cinta	wúnd-yò
man	laki-laki	méelí-yò

English	Malay	Keuw
many	banyak	túud-yò
mat	tikar	kíitán-yò
monitor lizard	soasoa	kléep-yò
moon	bulan	dyúután-yò
morning	pagi	páakúd-yò
mosquito	nyamuk	páilì-yò
mother	mama	íyáa-yò
mountain	gunung	káil-yò
mouth; lip	mulut/bibir	bíisì-pò
mucus	ingus	swée-nò
mushroom	jamur	kóopí-yò
naked	telanjang	túnlí-d-yò
near	dekat	kákèntée-nò
neck	leher	mpyátè-nò
netbag	noken	kúum-yò
night; dark	malam/gelap	tpóon-yò, tpóol-yò
noontime	siang	pánèipóisúr-ò, pakud-yo
nose	hidung	klókàn-yò
old	tua	múli-nò
one	satu	bíisip-yò
organ, internal (unknown)	jantung besar	byáat-yò
organ, internal (unknown)	jantung kecil	mpúulí-yò
over there	di sana	kóomótái
palm midrib	pelepa	áawì-yò
palm sp.	nibung	káidnèmúul-yò
pandanus fruit	buah merah	séetè-yè
path	jalanan	ṅkéempúkà-yò
peace(ful)	damai	plíikánsíg-nò
person	orang	maintpoləŋ-gəlokiyo
pick (fruit)	petik	ámpúlmá-nò
pig	babi	kómúul-yò
pigeon, crown	mambruk	spím-yò
pigeon sp.	kumkum	péelí-yò
pigeon sp.	merpati	skúul-yò
play	main	p(u)wáa-nò
pound (sago)	tokok (sagu)	páa-nò, dyewaa-no
pull	tarik	áṅkénè-móo-nò, áṅkée-nwà-nò
push	dorong	múntidyigmwé-nò
rain	hujan	kwíkyáa-kò
rainbow	pelangi	pyáa-yò
rat	tikus rumah	káu-yò
rattan	rotan	kéepák-yò
red	merah	áinéí-yò
refine (sago)	ramas (sagu)	tpáu-nò
rest	istirahat	óṅgwé-nwà-nò
rib	busuk	prée-nò
right	kanan	ntúdèntyíl-yè
river; sea	kali/laut	máa-yél-yò

English	Malay	Keuw
root	akar	spóol-yò
rope	tali	kyée-yò
run	lari	ímóo-nò
sago (general)	sagu	tél-yò
sago grub	ulat sagu	páipí-yò
sago midrib (small)	gabah sagu	táayí-yò
sago porridge	papeda	míi-yò
sago processing by-product	ela sagu	tekluti
sago stirrer	kore-kore papeda	mbyáakè-yò
sap	getah	tpíi-yò
scale; fin	sisik/sirip	mláalí-yò
scratch	garuk	yímìnkyée-nò
see	lihat	líyè-nò, tíyè-nò, kúntáb-nò
seed	biji	áim-yè
sharp	tajam	díβàmbyáa-yò
shellfish	bia	páalí-yò
shoot	panah/tembak	ménkídyèmèdà-nò
short	pendek	pódíβ-yò
shoulder	bahu	ηkáimwáat-yò
shrimp; crab	udang/kepiting	ηkáisi-yò
sing	menyanyi	wée-nò
sink	tenggelam	kwámpúdèη-gèlòkò
sit; wait	duduk/tunggu	wókènmó-nò
skin	kulit	mpáakét-yò
sky	langit	tpáapí-yò
sleep; lie	tidur	tróo-nò, gétrèmè
sleepy	mengantuk	bróompísyè-tò
slow	lambat	káakwáusimànèp-ò
small	kecil	núdákémúdnùngúí
smoke	asap	núkká-yò
snake (land sp.)	ular tanah	péel-yò
snake (tree sp.)	ular pohon	dyóon-yè
sneeze	bersin	séwà-nò
speak	bicara	áugènmáu-nò
spider	laba-laba	káawí-yò
spit (v.)	meludah	múrswée-yò
split	belah	kúnkágna-gèlòkò
stab	tikam	tpóinróo-nò
stand	berdiri	úntyíi-nò
star	bintang	póowákèn-yò
stay	tinggal	mékènmó-nò, mékènmú-wò
steal	curi	kwénènmáa-nò
stone	batu	tóotí-yò
stop	berhenti	ípèntée-yò
straight	lurus	pínèηkáunηk-ò
strong	kuat	ímóo-nò, málkèlìnyè-nò
sun	matahari	táadèn-yò
surprised	kaget	klwéek-nò

English	Malay	Keuw
swallow	telan	nénkúd-nô
swamp	rawa	túdyéndyúàt-ô
sweat (v.)	berkeringat	gwáadnì-nô
swim	berenang	klwáa-nô
swollen	bengkak	próonkóimwà-nô
tail	ekor	myóol-yò
take	ambil	néní-nô
taro sp.	bete	kyáal-yô
tear (of eye)	air mata	mlúul-mwél-yô
tendon; sinew	urat	púmwáat-yò
there is not	tarada	pútàn-yô, pútènt-ô
thigh	paha	púmwáat-yò
thirsty	haus	púdyíi-nò
thorn	duri	ríin-yò
throat	tenggorokan	mpyátènkùgè-nô
throw; no	lempar/buang/tidak	ném(b)ídè-nô
thunder; lightning	guntur/kilat	páamkúp-k-ò
tie	ikat	próo-nô
tired	capai	óhè-nwà-nô
toenail	jari kaki	páudn-yó màkè-yô, páu-kísit-ô
tomorrow morning	besok pagi	ino
tongs	gata api	klóopí-yò
tongue	lidah	áalí-yò
tooth	gigi	mée-yô
travel	jalan	préem-ô
tree kangaroo	kanguru pohon	dyúubnúgèkè-yô
tree sp. (unknown)	pohon sp.	páawís-yò
tree sp. (<i>Gnetum gnemon</i>)	genemo	síinsíp-yô
tree; wood	pohon/kayu	kúd-yô
tuber	ubi	kyáas-yò
turtle	penyu	káil-yò
two	dua	páid-yô
urinate	kencing	túu-nò, kpiis-yo
urine	air kencing	túu-yò
vegetable; leafy green	sayur	yúmsíp-yò
village	kampung	nùntáatpwà-nô
vomit	muntah	áalpè-nô
wake up	bangun	úntyíi-nô
wallaby	laolao	núlíyí-yô
wash	cuci	kíilyè-nô
wasp; termite	lebah/rayap	gádyúulí-yò
water	air	yél-yò
wet	basah	mwádnì-nô
what?; yes	apa?/ya	éeb-nò
white; clean	putih/bersih	kúmyáa-yò
who?	siapa?	mpáa-yò
wind	angin	yúumók-ò
wing	sayap	mpíisíp-yô

English	Malay	Keuw
woman	perempuan	úun-yô
worm	cacing	píikóot-yô
young	muda	mélámùdnèŋkit

6 TEXT

The recorded five-minute text was partially transcribed. The transcription of a two-and-a-half minute contiguous portion is given below. Numbered lines correspond to intonational phrases separated by pauses. Tones were not consistently audible and were not transcribed. Word and morpheme boundaries are uncertain.

The free translations were given by Jon in Papuan Malay, which I then translated into English, indicating with parentheses words that are apparently not mentioned in the original Keuw text. In some cases, Jon did not mention a grammatical subject in the translation.

The glosses were partially provided by Jon and partially inferred from the wordlist. Many glosses remain unknown.

- (1) *indo troo-no*
draw sleep
'draw water and sleep'
- (2) *wee-no*
come
'(you) come'
- (3) *pa-pawi-no*
go
'(I) follow'
- (4) *andu treem-o*
? sleep
'sleep'
- (5) *tel dyewaa-no*
sago pound
'pound sago'

- (6) *tekluti tpau-no*
by-product refine
'refine the sago by-product'
- (7) *tel aŋkene wee-no*
sago ? come
'(you) bring the sago'
- (8) *kumə marə-no*
netbag fill
'fill the netbag (with it)'
- (9) *tpol uŋkə wee-no*
night ? come
'(I) come home at night'
- (10) *ein in daswee-no*
? tomorrow.morning go.home
'(you sleep and then) come home tomorrow morning'
- (11) *dyebug əmoo-no*
? run
'run and hide' (cf. 'crazy' in wordlist)
- (12) *aal nyəntuu-no*
house burn
'burn the house'
- (13) *tulən-tloo-no*
fight
'fight'
- (14) *dyen in wen besmyelo*
place tomorrow.morning come ?
'(you sleep in someone's) house, tomorrow morning (you) come back'
- (15) *me-pau simyaaro*
go ?
'(I) follow'
- (16) *tro in naswee-no*
sleep tomorrow.morning go.home
'(you) sleep and come home tomorrow morning'

- (17) *dyutən kuno wesmyalo*
 moon ? ?
 ‘the moon sets’
- (18) *tadən menəposan wen besmyelo*
 sun ? come ?
 ‘come home after the sun has set’
- (19) *papaudəntyelo*
 ?
 ‘morning’
- (20) *paudəke*
 ?
 ‘afternoon’
- (21) *pauntuun-yo*
 ?
 ‘a long time’
- (22) *tloo-nə sintee-no*
 sleep ?
 ‘sleep for a long time’
- (23) *in naswee-no*
 tomorrow.morning go.home
 ‘come home tomorrow morning’
- (24) *wun nempontakud-no*
 love look.for
 ‘look for a woman’
- (25) *ontun gəlokiyo*
 afraid ?
 ‘cry’
- (26) *paip ronuweeno*
 sago.grub ?
 ‘(you) kill sago grubs’
- (27) *nempolukud-no*
 ?
 ‘go hunting’

- (28) *tel waidyin dyewen komə ŋkadyi wesmyelo*
 sago ? ? pig shoot ?
 ‘split a sago tree open, shoot a wild boar when it comes (to eat it)’
- (29) *komə ŋkadyi ween dyen moo nwa-no*
 pig shoot come ? ? bring
 ‘(you) shoot a wild boar and get someone (to help carry it)’
- (30) *ne-ween tpae ebesmyelo*
 come human ?
 ‘(you) let people know (about the boar)’
- (31) *tlo maino byesamyelo*
 ? person ?
 ‘(you) share it with people’

7 APPENDIX: MOXNESS (1998)⁷

A Brief, Second-hand Report on the Kehu (Kehu?)

Mike Moxness

27 November 1998

When I was in Nabire and the Napan area last week, I tried to gather as much information on the Kehu as possible. Though I didn’t get the opportunity to meet an actual Kehu speaker (one week earlier and I would have), I did get some second-hand information from people who have been with them, namely SDA’s who have planted a church there about a day’s walk from Siewa (the mining camp airstrip) on the Derewo/Porenai River. Most of my information was provided by Hiskia Refasi of the SDA church in Nabire.

Contact was initially made in the late 80’s and the SDA church has been the primary group to establish themselves among them. I had heard in Napan that it was the GIDI Church in Totoberi that had done so but the Adventists corrected me on that. The Sekretaris at Totoberi (Martin Didat, a Burate speaker) is said to know the language fairly well, and he is supposedly the one who made initial contact.

Originally there were 23 families who came out, but after a while the government in Nabire sent them back home. Most returned to the forest, but 3 families are living in the 7 houses

provided by the government. The location is 4 hours up the Derewo/Porenai River from the coast. The SDA church is set up there now.

Hiskia says there are probably 20-50 families in the forest, but the Kehu child that stayed with him thinks they are all dead because someone has supposedly been shooting them. The Kehu do not use bows and arrows, even for hunting, so they are defenseless. When hunting, they smear mud on themselves and ambush cassowary by grabbing their feet and beating them to death.⁸

They live in the swamp and build their houses among the sago using daun sago [sago leaves] for thatch, which probably is why they are invisible from the air. Travel through the area is very difficult, the water being waist high at times.

Kehu Word list (simplified transcription; as spoken by Hiskia Refasi)

Kehu	Malay	English
wanande	makan	eat
getlem	tidur	sleep
klalo	cepat (datang)	fast (come)
pakwa	jalan (pergi)	travel (go)
yelye	air	water
wadis yelye	mandi	bathe
kije (pas)	ikan	fish
mbyen	papeda, buah labu?	sago porridge, squash?
jurni	bulan	moon
tajeni (jurlin)	matahari	sun
telye	sagu	sago
peiye	buah pisang	banana fruit
yubye (pronounced with fricative b)	pakaian	clothing
jumudi	ember, loyang, belanga	bucket, basin, pot
askop	berhenti, cukup, jangan	stop, enough, don't!
dufyo	api	fire
pie	buang air besar	defecate
mbuaye	anak kecil	small child
punsyep	kepala sakit	headache
epelin (pronounced with fricative p)	perahu	canoe
ndasa	motor, kendaraan	motor, vehicle
mengkayu	mendayung	paddle (v.)
kuudakote	lapar	hungry
mbyempat	jenis buah yang bentuknya bulat (e.g. kelapa, labu)	k.o. small round fruit (e.g. coconut, squash)

I had Hiskia say the words from memory. Words in parentheses are those given at our first meeting. He hasn't been in the area in a few years. There is a rumor that the Kehu separated from the Moor (Austronesian) about 400 years ago, but from the preliminary notes above, the language (and culture) appears to be very different from any of the neighboring groups.

NOTES

1. This wordlist was reportedly collected by the missionary Ron Baird (Harald Hammarström, p.c.).
2. 'Dialog bahasa mereka selalu diakhiri dengan huruf "E".'
3. In Indonesia, the *kepala desa* ('head of the village') is an elected office with a term of six years. The *kepala suku* ('head of the tribe'), selected less formally by the older generation, is responsible for deciding questions of *adat* (customary law). In practice, the *kepala suku* is more powerful (at least in Papua province), because he has final say on land use in economic development projects.
4. 'De bevolking van Moor zou vroeger veel talrijker geweest zijn dan nu. Een deel is toen naar de Haarlemeilanden verhuizd – en zeker niet het minst energieke gedeelte, een deel zou ook naar de omgeving der Warenai rivier zijn getrokken, in de streek tussen Siriwo en Wapoga. Op Moor wordt algemeen aangenomen dat dit laatste deel tot een krijgszuchtige stam is uitgegroeid, en omdat het afscheid destijds niet zo vriendelijk was, zal niemand van de Moorbewoners bereid zijn U te helpen zoeken naar deze verdwenen familieleden.'
5. Ambumi is home to a Waropen village, which the Waropen claim as their place of origin (Held 1957). All other Waropen villages are located in eastern Cenderawasih Bay. I suspect Ambumi may have some sort of local religious significance, which could explain its mention in the Keuw story.
6. Data from my field notes. The speakers were Kaleb Waray (2008, Samabusa) and Tulus Money (2011, Wanggar).

7. This section is a mostly verbatim reproduction of Moxness (1998). Minor clarifications were added in brackets and a note; the wordlist was translated into English; and a reference to a neighboring group was suppressed (at Moxness's request), as it was based on an unfounded rumor. —DK

8. These are probably stories told by outsiders to exoticize the Keuw. Jon and Isak said that the Keuw used to use stone axes, but now have steel axes and machetes. They denied the cassowary hunting story, and others told me that hunting cassowary in such a fashion would be impossible due to the great strength of its legs. There are Keuw words for bow and arrow, and shooting a wild boar is mentioned in the text in §6. —DK

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