WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

Series B Volume 10

PAPERS ON KRIOL: THE WRITING SYSTEM AND A RESOURCE GUIDE

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Darwin
April 1984
Sandefur, John R.
Papers on Kriol.

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 86892 297 8.

1. Kriol language - Orthography and spelling.
I. Summer Institute of Linguistics. Australian Aborigines Branch. II. Title. (Series: Work papers of SIL-AAB. Series B; v. 10).

499'.15
PREFACE

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Research resulting in this volume was partially funded by grants from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

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INTRODUCTION TO

SERIES B VOLUME 10

Developing an orthography and writing system for a particular language is perhaps the most difficult and sensitive task a linguist may encounter. Not only must he deal with the interpretation of raw data, but he must also take into consideration the emotional and psychological aspects of writing a person's language. People feel very strongly about the way their language is written. When working in a language such as Kriol, the problems are magnified due, in part, to the continuum between 'light' and 'heavy' Kriol and the fact that it is an English-based creole spoken in an Aboriginal culture. In the first two articles of this work paper, the author discusses some of these issues, explains the basis on which decisions have been made, and presents some of the questions still to be dealt with.

The last article is a resource guide giving a description of materials available in and about Kriol. Also included are references dealing with various aspects of Kriol as well as a bibliography of books published in Kriol.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface iii

Introduction to Series B volume 10 iv

ASPECTS OF DEVELOPING A WRITING SYSTEM
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE REVISION OF THE
KRIOL ORTHOGRAPHY, by John Sandefur

0. Introduction 1

1. The Kriol Orthography 4
   1.1 The 1976 Kriol Orthography 5
   1.2 Etymological vs. Phonemic Orthography 7
   1.3 Special Considerations for a Phonemic Orthography 10
   1.4 The Need for a Review 12

2. The Goal of Orthography Development 13
   2.1 Characteristics of a Good Writing System 16

3. Evaluating the Kriol Writing System 19
   3.1 Choice of Script 19
   3.2 The Use of Upper Case 20
   3.3 Diacritics and Special Symbols 21
   3.4 The Phonemic Principle 24
   3.5 Testing a Writing System 27
   3.6 Considerations for Transfer 30
   3.7 Variability and Standardisation of Spelling 35
   3.8 Loanwords 49
   3.9 Punctuation 52

4. Beyond the Writing System 57

5. Summary of Suggestions for Kriol 58
   5.1 Orthography 59
   5.2 Punctuation 59
   5.3 Spelling 60
   5.4 Laying Down the Law 61

6. Postscript 62

Note 62

References 63
A GUIDE TO THE KRIOL WRITING SYSTEM,
by John Sandefur

0. Introduction

1. Part 1: The Kriol Alphabet
   1.1 The Orthography
   1.1.1 Simple Consonants
   1.1.2 Consonant Digraphs
   1.1.3 Simple Vowels
   1.1.4 Vowel Digraphs
   1.1.5 Complex Vowel Sounds
   1.2 Summary
   1.3 Punctuation

2. Part 2: Spelling Rules
   2.1 Standardised Spelling
   2.1.1 Rule 1: Slow and Fast Speech
   2.1.2 Rule 2: Contractions
   2.1.3 Rule 3: Long and Short Forms
   2.1.4 Rule 4: Reduplication
   2.1.5 Rule 5: Extended Words
   2.1.6 Rule 6: Suffixes
   2.1.7 Rule 7: Numbers
   2.1.8 Rule 8: Loanwords and Names
   2.1.9 Rule 9: Standardisation of Specific Words
   2.1.10 Rule 10: Ad Hoc Spellings
   2.2 Summary

Notes

Appendix

A RESOURCE GUIDE TO KRIOL, by John Sandefur

0. Introduction

1. Description of Kriol Materials

2. Kriol References

3. Kriol Bibliography
   3.1 Kriol Books Published in 1976
   3.2 Kriol Books Published in 1977
   3.3 Kriol Books Published in 1978
   3.4 Kriol Books Published in 1979
   3.5 Kriol Books Published in 1980
   3.6 Kriol Books Published in 1981
   3.7 Kriol Books Published in 1982
   3.8 Kriol Books Published in 1983
A GUIDE TO THE KRIOL WRITING SYSTEM

John Sandefur

0. INTRODUCTION

The Kriol writing system, like the writing system of every language, consists of two parts. The first part is the orthography, or what is popularly referred to as the alphabet, and the second part is the spelling rules. This guide is therefore divided into two parts, the first dealing with the Kriol alphabet and the second with suggested Kriol spelling rules.

1. PART 1: THE KRIOL ALPHABET

Strictly speaking, the alphabet is simply the set of letters that are used in writing a language. The alphabet itself says nothing about the sounds that the letters represent, nor does it say anything about the combinations of letters that are used to represent some sounds.

The Kriol alphabet uses the same script or style of letters that English uses. Kriol does not, however, use all the letters of the English alphabet. The Kriol alphabet has only twenty-one letters. It does not have the letters c, g, v, x and z.

The alphabetical order for Kriol is the same as English. The Kriol alphabet, therefore, is: a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, w, y.

1.1 THE ORTHOGRAPHY

The term 'orthography' refers to the letters or combinations of letters and the sounds they represent. In the Kriol orthography, each sound is represented by one and only one letter or one combination of letters. Kriol differs from English in this respect, for in English one sound may be written in several different ways.

For example, the 'k' sound can be written five different ways in English. It can be written with a k as in 'kill', with a c as in 'call', with a ck as in 'back', with a ch as in 'school', or with a g as in 'queen'. In Kriol, however,
the 'k' sound is always written with a k as in kilim. Or take the 'sh' sound. In English it can be written ten different ways, but in Kriol it is always written with the sh combination of letters.

The orthography is composed of consonants and vowels. These can be divided into two types: 'simple' consonants and vowels, and 'digraph' consonants and vowels. With simple consonants and vowels, a given sound is represented by a single consonant or vowel letter. With digraphs, a given sound is represented by a combination of two letters.

1.1.1 SIMPLE CONSONANTS

Simple consonants are the single letters b, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, w and y. The sound that each of these simple consonants represents in Kriol is the same as the 'basic' sound that the letter represents in English:

- b as in 'book'
- d as in 'daddy'
- f as in 'family'
- g as in 'good'
- h as in 'house'
- j as in 'jump'
- k as in 'kill'
- l as in 'look'
- m as in 'money'
- n as in 'nail'
- p as in 'paper'
- r as in 'run'
- s as in 'song'
- t as in 'today'
- w as in 'wind'
- y as in 'yes'

Particular care should be taken with g and j so as not to confuse them. The 'g' sound is 'hard' as in 'good' and the 'j' sound is 'soft' as in 'jump', but because the name of the letter g starts with the 'j' sound, there is a tendency to want to write g in some places where j should be written. For example, 'giraffe' in Kriol is jiraf, not *giraf.

The letter j is used to represent two sounds in Kriol. In addition to the English 'affricate' 'j' sound, it also represents the Aboriginal language sound known as a 'voiced lamino-palatal stop'. To many people, these two sounds are...
indistinguishable. The letter \( h \) is also used, in some dialects of Kriol, to represent a second sound known as a 'glottal stop'. This sound only occurs in a few words that have been borrowed from traditional Aboriginal languages. Although the glottal stop is not considered to be a sound in English, we do occasionally use it. For example, when we say 'uh oh' we usually cut off the flow of air between the 'uh' and the 'oh' with a glottal stop.

The letter \( b \), likewise, is used to represent two sounds in Kriol. In addition to representing the '\( b \)' sound, it is also used to represent the '\( v \)' sound.

The letter \( s \), in addition to representing the '\( s \)' sound, is also used to represent the '\( z \)' sound as in 'zip' and the '\( e \)' sound as in 'measure'. Neither of these two sounds, however, is very common in Kriol.

It should be noted that with all simple consonants in Kriol, the single letter is used to represent the sound. In this respect Kriol differs from English, for English often uses 'double letters' or 'geminate clusters' to represent a sound. For example, the double \( ll \) is sometimes used instead of the single \( l \) to represent the '\( l \)' sound, or a double \( ss \) to represent the '\( s \)' sound. This never happens in Kriol.

1.1.2 CONSONANT DIGRAPHS

Kriol has eleven consonant digraphs: \( ly, ng, ny, rd, rl, rn, rr, rt, sh, th \) and \( tj \). Most of these digraphs represent only one sound, but two of them (\( th \) and \( tj \)) represent more than one sound. Three of them (\( ng \), \( sh \) and \( th \)) are also digraphs in English and the sounds they represent in Kriol are basically the same as those they represent in English. The sounds these latter three represent are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ng} & \quad \text{as in 'sing'} \\
\text{sh} & \quad \text{as in 'ship'} \\
\text{th} & \quad \text{as in 'three' and 'there'}
\end{align*}
\]

The use of the digraph \( ng \) in Kriol differs in some respects from its use in English. Unlike English, \( ng \) can occur at the beginning of a word in Kriol. More importantly, however, it should be noted that in Kriol \( ng \) does not become an \( n \) when it occurs before a \( g \) or \( k \) as it does in English. For example, the words 'finger' and 'bank' in Kriol are written 'bingga' and 'beink' respectively, not *'binga' and *'beink'.

71
The digraph th, in addition to representing the voiced and voiceless 'th' sounds as in 'there' and 'three', is also used, in some dialects of Kriol, to represent the non-English sound known as an 'inter-dental stop'. This sound occurs in a few words that have been borrowed from traditional Aboriginal languages as well as in a few words (e.g. charrei 'that way') borrowed from English.

The digraph tj is used to represent two sounds, one of which is the English 'ch' sound as in 'children'. The other sound it represents is the Aboriginal language sound known as a 'voiceless lamino-palatal stop'. Particular care should be taken with this sound because it can easily be confused with the j sound.

The digraph rr is used to represent the 'trilled' 'r' sound, such as one hears in the Scottish dialects of English. This sound is more prominent in some dialects of Kriol than in others and varies with the 'd' sound (e.g. garra 'future tense' in some dialects and gada in others).

The digraphs ly and ny are used to represent 'alveo-palatal' sounds. The ly represents the 'll' sound in the English word 'million', and ny represents the 'n' sound in the English word 'onion'. These sounds are not particularly common in Kriol and mainly occur in words that have been borrowed from traditional Aboriginal languages.

The digraphs rd, rl, rn and rt are used to represent 'retroflexed' sounds. Although the same combinations of letters are used in English, the sounds these Kriol digraphs represent do not occur in English. These sounds are not particularly common in Kriol and mainly occur in words that have been borrowed from traditional Aboriginal languages.

1.1.3 SIMPLE VOWELS

Simple vowels are the single letters a, e, i, o and u. All of these letters represent more than one vowel sound. This means that the phonetic vowel sounds are 'underdifferentiated'. Very few Kriol speakers, however, perceive all of the phonetic vowel sounds as being distinctive or significant. The underdifferentiation of the Kriol vowel sounds, therefore, is not significantly critical.
The letter a represents the underlined vowel sounds in 'father', 'cup' and 'car'.

The letter e represents the underlined vowel sounds in 'elephant', 'apple' and 'bird'.

The letter i represents the underlined vowel sounds in 'bean' and 'bin'.

The letter o represents the underlined vowel sounds in 'hole', 'hall', 'rod', 'cause' and 'born'.

The letter u represents the underlined vowel sounds in 'book', 'boot' and 'sue'.

1.1.4 VOWEL DIGRAPHS

Kriol has five vowel digraphs: ai, au, ei, oi and ou. Unlike the 'simple' vowels, each vowel digraph represents only one vowel sound. The digraphs are designed in relation to their sounds in such a way that they essentially function as 'blends' or 'glides' of the simple vowels.

The digraph ai represents the vowel sound in 'fight', which is essentially a blend of the 'a' and 'i' sounds.

The digraph au represents the vowel sound in 'town', which is essentially a blend of the 'a' and 'u' sounds.

The digraph ei represents the vowel sound in 'eight', which is essentially a blend of the 'e' and 'i' sounds.

The digraph oi represents the vowel sound in 'boil', which is essentially a blend of the 'o' and 'i' sounds.

The digraph ou represents the vowel sound in 'road', which is essentially a blend of the 'o' and 'u' sounds.

1.1.5 COMPLEX VOWEL SOUNDS

In addition to the simple vowels and vowel digraphs, there are a few vowel sounds that require special attention.

A few Kriol words contain a 'u' vowel sound that has an 'i' sound before it as an 'on-glide'. Instead of writing the on-glide with the letter i, however, it is written with the
letter y. For example, the word for 'few' is written fyu.

More common are Kriol words that contain the 'oa' sound as in the word 'door' or the name 'Noah'. This sound has been interpreted in Kriol as being two sounds with a 'w' sound acting as a transition between them. In essence, the 'w' sound is functioning as an on-gliding to the 'a' sound. As a result, the 'oa' sound should be written as owa, as in dowa and Nowa.

Related to the 'owa' convention are verb roots that end in a vowel and have a suffix that begins with a vowel. These two vowels coming together in print often cause confusion through distortion of the visual image of vowel digraphs. As a result, where there is a transitional 'w' or 'y' sound, this should be indicated in print by including w or y as an on-glide. For example, bai + im 'to buy' should be written as baiyim. If such words are pronounced slowly, the 'y' or 'w' can be heard. A rule of thumb here is that if two vowels come together which are not one of the digraphs listed above, then a 'y' or 'w' should be inserted.

1.2 SUMMARY

Here is an alphabetical summary of the Kriol orthography:

a as in 'father', 'cup' and 'car'.
ai as in 'fight'.
au as in 'town'.
b as in 'book', sometimes as in 'video'.
d as in 'daddy'.
e as in 'elephant', 'apple' and 'bird'.
ei as in 'eight'.
f as in 'family'.
g as in 'good'.
h as in 'house', sometimes 'glottal stop'.
i as in 'bean' and 'bin'.
j as in 'jump', also 'voiced lamino-palatal stop'.
k as in 'kill'.
l as in 'look'.
ly as in 'million'.
m as in 'money'.
n as in 'nail'.
ng as in 'sing'.
nv as in 'onion'.
o as in 'hole', 'hall', 'rod', 'cause' and 'born'.
oi as in 'boil'.
ou as in 'road'.

74
p as in 'paper'.
r as in 'run'.
rd is a 'retroflexed-d'.
rl is a 'retroflexed-l'.
rr is a 'retroflexed-n'.
rt is a 'trilled-r'.
s as in 'song', sometimes as in 'zip' and 'measure'.
sh as in 'ship'.
t as in 'today'.
th as in 'three' and 'there', sometimes 'inter-dental stop'.
tj as in 'children', also 'voiceless lamino-palatal stop'.
u as in 'book', 'boot' and 'sue'.
w as in 'wind'.
y as in 'yes'.

1.3 PUNCTUATION

In addition to the letters and digraphs, the orthography of Kriol includes five punctuation symbols: full stop, comma, question mark, exclamation mark and quotation or speech marks. All of these are used in Kriol essentially the same way as they are in English. The thing to keep in mind, however, is that punctuation is intended to make accurate reading easier and should therefore be used primarily to indicate phonological or 'breath' phrases and clauses rather than purely grammatical or 'analytical' ones. In general, punctuation should be kept to a minimum and only used when really necessary.

Special care needs to be taken with stories that include dialogue. When the speaker changes, it is helpful to indicate this by starting a new paragraph, especially when the text contains no words that specifically tell the reader that the speaker has changed.

2. PART 2: SPELLING RULES

The most basic spelling rule in Kriol is that a person spells the way he or she speaks. This is especially the case with new literates doing experience writing. There is, however, a need to control the number of spellings used in materials designed for the initial teaching of reading. The basic rule for controlled spelling is that within a given primer or book the variation in spelling of a
particular word should be restricted to one or at most two forms.

2.1 STANDARDISED SPELLING

Standardised spelling should be used in materials produced for widespread distribution among Kriol speakers of different dialects. It should be noted that both controlled and standardised spelling refers only to the writing of Kriol. They are not intended to prescribe the pronunciation of Kriol in free speech or in reading.

There are two aspects to standardised spelling. The first is the general rules that govern standardisation; the second is the application of those rules to specific words. Details of the second aspect are beyond the scope of this guide, although some of the standardised spellings currently being used in the Kriol Bible translation project are given below in the appendix.

Ten basic rules for the standardisation of spelling are presented below. It should be noted that these rules are suggested rules. They are still in the developing stage and may be modified as more Kriol speakers gain experience in reading and writing their language.

2.1.1 RULE 1: SLOW AND FAST SPEECH

Some variation in pronunciation in Kriol is related to the speed of speech. Fast speech often causes the 'loss' of sounds, thus resulting in forms that are shorter than the slow speech forms. The general rule for standardised spelling is to select those forms which occur most frequently in moderate or slow speech.

For example, the final m on transitive verbs is often dropped during fast speech. The standardised written forms of such verbs should include the final m. As a specific example, take dalim 'tell'. It is often pronounced dali, but the standardised written form should be dalim.

2.1.2 RULE 2: CONTRACTIONS

Fast speech sometimes results in the 'contracting' of two or three words into one word. In most contractions, sounds are lost as well as the 'space' between the words. In
general, the standardised written form should be the non-contracted form. For example, in the Roper dialect, melabat andi 'we will' sometimes becomes melabandi, and bin oldei 'past tense habitual' sometimes becomes binli. The standardised forms should be melabat andi and bin oldei respectively.

There is, however, a set of contractions which are exceptions to the general rule. The expression in bin 'he/she/it past tense' is virtually always contracted to imin or ibin, depending on the dialect, in slow speech as well as in fast speech. The standardised written form in this case, therefore, should indicate the contraction. Because the eastern dialects almost universally use imin and the western dialect ibin and neither form predominates overall, the standardised written form should probably be imbin. This contraction takes place due to the bin being unstressed and following the one syllable pronoun. It is recommended that bin plus the other one syllable pronouns (i.e. yu, dei, wi and ai) also be written in their contracted forms (i.e. yubin, deibin, wibin and aibin).

2.1.3 RULE 3: LONG AND SHORT FORMS

Some words have developed a number of long and short forms. The general rule of standardisation is to allow both a long form and a short form.

For example, the locative preposition has three forms: langanda, langa and la. The first form tends to be archaic, but the last two are commonly used in everyone's speech. Somewhat similarly, the possessive or benefactive preposition has four forms: blanganda, blanga, bla and ba. The first form tends to be archaic, the last one tends to be restricted to children in a few dialects, but the middle two are commonly used in everyone's speech. The standardised written forms in both cases should be the two most common forms, langa and la and blanga and bla respectively.

Short and long forms should not be confused with contractions. Contractions are basically related to variation in pronunciation caused by the speed of speech, while short and long forms are not. For example, laijat 'thus' is shorter than lagijat, but it normally only occurs in fast speech. It is, therefore, a shorter contracted form of the longer uncontracted form. The two are not short and long forms in the sense used here.
Likewise, short and long forms should not be confused with the shorter and longer written representations of alternate pronunciations of words. Some heavier pronunciations tend to have shorter written representations than do lighter pronunciations. For example, *jabala* 'sharp' is shorter in its written form than the lighter *shabala*. Phonetically, however, they have the same number of sounds. Such shorter and longer forms are not short and long forms in the sense used here.

2.1.4 RULE 4: REPLICATION

When a one syllable word is 'doubled' or reduplicated, the reduplicated form should be written as one word. For example, the reduplicated form of *tok* 'talk' should be written *toktok*.

When a two syllable word is reduplicated, the reduplicated form can be written as either one word or two. For example, the reduplicated form of *bogi* 'bathe' can be written as *bogibogi* or *bogi bogi*.

When a word with three or more syllables is reduplicated, the reduplicated form should be written as two words. For example, the reduplicated form of *shabala* 'sharp' should be written as *shabala shabala*.

When a one or two syllable word has multiple reduplications, the multiple reduplicated form should be written as a series of separate words. For example, the multiple reduplicated form of *wok* 'walk' should be written as *wok wok wok wok wok wok*.

2.1.5 RULE 5: EXTENDED WORDS

A Kriol story teller will often 'hold on to' or 'string out' a word to create a particular effect. Normally the story teller does this by lengthening or 'extending' a vowel in the word. The convention for indicating this in written form is to write the extended vowel three times followed by a 'double' or long hyphen. For example, the extended form of the 'negative' word *najing* would be written *naaa--jing*.

Sounds, such as those made by animals, while very similar
to extended words, differ in several ways. Normally they are used in the sense of a direct quotation of the sound made; usually the extended sound is at the end of the word instead of the middle; and sometimes a consonant instead of a vowel is extended. Such extended words should be written with the first letter capitalised and the extended sound indicated by repeating the letter several times but without any hyphens added. For example, the sound a bullock makes could be $Mmmmm$.

2.1.6 RULE 6: SUFFIXES

Kriol makes use of a number of suffixes, some of which have several alternate forms of pronunciation. As a general rule, one form should function as the standardised written form.

Take, for example, the word for 'time', which can function as an independent word or as a suffix. When it functions as an independent word, it is often pronounced $taim$. When it functions as a suffix, however, it may be pronounced $taim$, $daim$ or $dam$. The general standardisation rule is to use only one of those variants in print. In this case, the standardised written form should probably be $taim$.

The transitive verb suffix, however, is an exception to the general rule. With transitive verbs there is a degree of 'vowel harmony' between the last vowel of the verb root and the vowel of the transitive suffix. A high back vowel in the verb root 'pulls' the suffix vowel towards it. For example, with the verb for 'cook', the $u$ in the root pulls the vowel in the suffix to a $u$ also, thus producing $kukum$.

Three forms of the transitive verb suffix are therefore used in standardised writing. With verbs whose final root vowel is a high back $u$, the suffix should normally be spelt $um$. With verbs whose final root vowel is a low central $a$, the suffix should normally be spelt $am$. In all other cases, the suffix should be spelt $im$.

2.1.7 RULE 7: NUMBERS

All numbers can be written in numerical fashion rather than being spelt out. The higher numbers should always be written in numerical fashion. For example, '15000' should not be written as $fiftin$ $thausan$.
Lower numbers can be written in three ways. They can be written in numerical fashion (e.g. '3'); they can be spelt out (e.g. thrī); or they can be spelt out with the 'nominaliser' suffix bala attached (e.g. thrībala).

2.1.8 RULE 8: LOANWORDS AND NAMES

Virtually all Kriol words were initially borrowed from other languages. This means that virtually all Kriol words are in essence loanwords. The general rule for the spelling of all words, including so-called loanwords, is to spell them in the orthographic system of Kriol, not in the language they were borrowed from. In general, this includes names as well.

A person's name, however, is a very personal thing. As a result, the general rule needs to be qualified. A person should be allowed to spell his or her name the way they want it to be spelt.

It should be kept in mind that just as there are contexts in which it is appropriate to speak English instead of Kriol and vice versa, so there are contexts in which it is appropriate to write in English rather than Kriol and vice versa. For example, a letter to a Kriol speaker can be written in Kriol, but the envelope should be addressed in English since it is written for the English speakers who work in the post office.

Somewhat similarly, in certain types of literature it may be advisable to include the English spelling of key words. For example, in instructional material on withdrawing money from a savings account, the English word 'name' should probably appear somewhere in the text since the person will meet up with that word when he goes to withdraw his money: e.g. *Yu pudum yu neim weya im tok 'name'.* 'Sign your name where it says 'name'.

2.1.9 RULE 9: STANDARDISATION OF SPECIFIC WORDS

The standardised written form of specific words should reflect the pronunciation that is in general use by the broadest range of Kriol speakers. For example, the Kriol word for 'store' can be pronounced jop or shop. The latter pronunciation is clearly the most commonly used. The standardised written form, therefore, should be shop since it reflects the predominant pronunciation.
Where there is no predominant pronunciation, the standardised written form should probably reflect the pronunciation that is closest to the pronunciation of the word in the language from which it was borrowed. For example, both *jilih* and *silip* are very common pronunciations of the word for 'sleep'. Neither pronunciation is clearly predominant. The standardised written form, therefore, should probably be *silip* since it more closely reflects its English 'etymon' or 'cognate'.

2.1.10 RULE 10: AD HOC SPELLINGS

One of the most basic rules in the standardisation of spelling is to be consistent. There are, however, occasions when circumstances suggest that the consistency rule should be broken. There are, for example, a few cases where interference from English suggests that the standardised written form of a Kriol word should be an irregular spelling.

One such case is the word for 'cannot'. In Kriol that word is pronounced *gan* or *kan*. These spellings, however, are often misread as 'can' because of the visual similarities between the Kriol and English words. The result, of course, is a total misinterpretation of the text. In order to prevent such misreading, the standardised written form of the Kriol word for 'cannot' should be *kaan* and for 'can' it should be *gin*.

2.2 SUMMARY

As noted earlier, the ten spelling rules above are not hard and fast. These rules have grown out of the observations and experiences of a variety of people who have been involved in various aspects of the development of Kriol literature during the past ten years. Although these rules will inevitably undergo revision as Kriol literature continues to mature, it is hoped that they will meet the current need for a guide to the standardisation of Kriol spelling for those presently involved in Kriol literacy and literature production.
NOTES

I am indebted to Kathy Gale, Annette Walker, Joyce Hudson, Eric Roberts, and the Kriol writers they checked with, for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this guide. Everyone, however, does not totally agree with its contents. The contents, therefore, reflect my own view, though on every point I have tried to incorporate the majority view.

For a more detailed discussion of the writing system of Kriol, see 'Aspects of Developing a Writing System with Particular Reference to the Revision of the Kriol Orthography' elsewhere in this volume.

For more discussion on spelling loanwords and names, see 'Those Pesty Loanwords' by John Sandefur in READ 18.1:16-21, April 1983.
APPENDIX

This appendix contains a selected list of Kriol words which indicate the standardised spellings currently being used in the Kriol translation of the Bible. This list represents about one-third of the total number of different Kriol words which presently occur in the translation. Basic English glosses have been added to each of the words listed here.

Many words in Kriol are formed by adding suffixes to a root word. The standardised suffix forms used in the Kriol translation include the following:

- ap  up
- at  out
- bala  (adjective/noun suffix)
- bat  (continuative aspect)
- bek  back
- dan  down
- in  (progressive aspect)
- kain  kind, sort
- kainaba  kind of
- mob  group
- oba  over
- of  off
- ran  around
- said  side
- taim  time
- wan  (adjective/noun suffix)
- wei  way, (manner)

In most cases when a suffix is added to a root word there is no change in the spelling of either the root word or the suffix. With such words only the root word is normally listed below. In some cases, however, the addition of a suffix may result in a change in the spelling of the root word or in the addition of a vowel between the root word and the suffix. Words (that occur in the translation) in which such changes take place are included in the list below.

The standardised form of 'time formulas' used in the Kriol translation is to spell the time formula as one word. For example, 'in eight days' is spelt eitdeitaim, 'in nine months' is spelt nainmantstaim, and 'on Friday' is spelt Fraideitaim.

Here then is the standardised Kriol spelling list currently being used in the Kriol Bible translation project:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abam</td>
<td>to have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abdala</td>
<td>hard, loud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afa</td>
<td>afterwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aftanuntaim</td>
<td>afternoon</td>
</tr>
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<td>aftum</td>
<td>to pursue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agamin</td>
<td>to argue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agri</td>
<td>to agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>I, eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alibin</td>
<td>I + (past tense)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ailibala</td>
<td>early, morning</td>
</tr>
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<td>aiyan</td>
<td>iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>album</td>
<td>to help</td>
</tr>
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<td>am</td>
<td>arm</td>
</tr>
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<td>andanith</td>
<td>under, underneath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andasten</td>
<td>to understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andimwei</td>
<td>to chase away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anggajip</td>
<td>handkerchief, veil</td>
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<td>anggul</td>
<td>uncle, mother's brother</td>
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<td>anloudim</td>
<td>to unload</td>
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<td>ansrim</td>
<td>to answer</td>
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<tr>
<td>antop</td>
<td>above, on top</td>
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<td>up and down</td>
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<td>to be upset</td>
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<td>to ask</td>
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<td>outside</td>
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<td>brother, sister</td>
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<td>butterfly</td>
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<td>pram, chariot</td>
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<td>baibul</td>
<td>Bible, biblical</td>
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<td>to bite</td>
</tr>
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<td>to buy</td>
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<td>to buck</td>
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<td>bucket</td>
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<td>later</td>
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<td>bundle</td>
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<td>to bow down</td>
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<td>bed</td>
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<td>misfortune</td>
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<td>news of a death</td>
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<td>baby</td>
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<td>bag</td>
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<td>leavening agent</td>
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<td>back</td>
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<td>backwards</td>
</tr>
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<td>to beat, to whip</td>
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<td>valley</td>
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<td>bern</td>
<td>to burn</td>
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<td>to burn</td>
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<td>to bury</td>
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<td>close friend</td>
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<td>bi</td>
<td>to be</td>
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<td>to beat, to win</td>
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<td>meat</td>
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<td>before, first</td>
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<td>big</td>
</tr>
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<td>pig</td>
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<td>very big</td>
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<td>important man</td>
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<td>many</td>
</tr>
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<td>bigneim</td>
<td>important or famous person</td>
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<td>to be embarrassed, to be shamed</td>
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<td>surprise</td>
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<td>to believe</td>
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<td>billycan, small container</td>
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<td>box</td>
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<td>wild horse</td>
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<td>bred</td>
<td>bread</td>
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<tr>
<td>breigawei</td>
<td>to break away</td>
</tr>
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<td>breigim</td>
<td>to break</td>
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<td>brida</td>
<td>breeder animal</td>
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<td>bridabat</td>
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<td>to multiply</td>
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<td>to breed</td>
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<td>to bring</td>
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<td>brokenhat</td>
<td>to be broken hearted</td>
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<td>brom</td>
<td>from</td>
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<tr>
<td>bukumdan</td>
<td>to book down, to charge</td>
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<td>bul</td>
<td>bull</td>
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<td>to be full</td>
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<td>bushis</td>
<td>bush, leaves</td>
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<td>but</td>
<td>boot</td>
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<tr>
<td>butleis</td>
<td>boot lace, shoe string</td>
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<td>daga</td>
<td>food</td>
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<tr>
<td>dagat</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dai</td>
<td>to die</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dakbala  dark
dalim    to tell
damba    unleaven bread, damper
dedi     father, father's brother
dedwan   dead
dei       they, day
debin    they + (past tense)
debreik  daybreak
degidawe  to remove, to take away
degim    to take
deilait  daylight
deyaitm  day time
deset    desert
det      that
detaim   that time
detkain  that kind, that sort
detlat   those
detmatj  much, many
detmob   those
detsaid  that side
deya     there
dibuldibul spirit
difrinwan different
digim    to dig
dijan    this
dina     lunch
dinataim noon, lunchtime
dis      this
disaid   this side
dish     dish
diskain  this kind, this sort
dislat   these
dismob   these
distaim  this time
doda     daughter
dodawinlau daughter-in-law
dog      dog
dokta    doctor
dongki   donkey
dowa     door
draimap  to dry
draisman dry season, drought
draiwan    dry
draiyanap to be drying up
dram      drum, large container
drangginbala drunk
drangk  to be drunk
draun    to be drowned, to be submerged
draundim to drown, to submerge
dregli  soon
drim  dream
drimin  to dream
dringgim  to drink
dringk  drink
droim  to draw
du  too
dubala  two
dum  to do
dumaji  because
duwit  to do, to obey
ebri  every
ebribodi  everybody
ebridei  everyday
ebrijing  everything
ebritaim  everytime
ebriwan  everyone
ebriwei  every way
ebriweya  everywhere
eingri  to be angry
einjul  angel
eitbala  eight
eldiswan  oldest
en  and
eni  any
enibodi  anybody
enijing  anything
enikain  any kind, any sort
enimo  any more
enimul  animal
enitaim  anytime
eniwan  anyone
eniwei  any way
eniweya  anywhere
erdim  to hurt
faib  five
faibala  five
faidim  to fight
faindat  to find out
faindim  to find
fait  to fight
faiya  fire
faiyadram  firedrum
faiyastik  firestick
faiyawud  firewood
fan  mock, tease
fathawinlau  father-in-law
feis  face
femili  family
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>femiliwei</th>
<th>to be pregnant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>feswan</td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fetwan</td>
<td>fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feyago</td>
<td>good chance</td>
</tr>
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<td>feast</td>
</tr>
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<td>to be flying</td>
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<td>for ever</td>
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<td>fault, wrong</td>
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<td>to be afraid</td>
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<td>to frighten</td>
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<td>foot</td>
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<td>to walk</td>
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<td>funeral</td>
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<td>gabaditaaim</td>
<td>mid-morning, mid-afternoon</td>
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<td>gabman</td>
<td>government</td>
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<td>garden</td>
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<td>(future tense)</td>
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<td>to have, with</td>
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<td>geit</td>
<td>gate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gejimap</td>
<td>to reach</td>
</tr>
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<td>gel</td>
<td>girl, female</td>
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<tr>
<td>gep</td>
<td>gap, space</td>
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<tr>
<td>gerrim</td>
<td>to get</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibit</td>
<td>to give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibitahei</td>
<td>to give away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gidap</td>
<td>to get up, to wake up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gidat</td>
<td>to get out</td>
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<tr>
<td>English Word</td>
<td>English Definition</td>
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<td>gidawei</td>
<td>to get away, to leave</td>
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<td>gidin</td>
<td>to get in, to arrive</td>
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<tr>
<td>gija</td>
<td>(reciprical) to each other</td>
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<td>gin</td>
<td>can, (emphasis)</td>
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<td>git</td>
<td>to get</td>
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<td>guitar, harp</td>
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<td>to go</td>
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<td>gold</td>
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<td>golagiya</td>
<td>to get angry with each other</td>
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<td>to cross</td>
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<td>go away</td>
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<td>to go up</td>
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<td>to go out, to exit</td>
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<td>to go away, to depart</td>
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<td>to go in, to enter</td>
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<td>to grab, to take hold of</td>
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<td>Word</td>
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<td>kripulum</td>
<td>to make cripple</td>
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<td>kristjin</td>
<td>Christian</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
kro  crow
krosim  to cross
krosimoba  to cross over
kroswei  from side to side, width
krulwan  to be cruel
kuk  cook
kukin  to be cooking
kukum  to cook
kultaim  evening
kwaitbala  quiet, peaceful
kwikbala  quick
labda  must
laf  laugh
lagijat  thus, like that
laib  alive
laibala  alive
laif  life
laigi  similar to, like
laikim  to like
lain  line
lait  light
laitimap  to light
laitining  lightening
laiya  lie
laiyan  lion
laiyawan  lying
laiyinbala  liar
lakiwan  fortunate
langa  to, at, in, by
langgus  language
larram  to let
larramgo  to release
lasnait  last night
laswan  last
lau  law, to allow
laumen  person knowledgeable in the law
lebdensaïd  left side
lebinbala  eleven
lebul  equal
leda  letter
leidan  to lay down
leidanabat  to be laying down
leig  leg
leik  lake
leimbala  lame
leisiwan  lazy
leitbala  late
lenabat  to learn
lenimbat  to teach
| leprasi  | leprosy      |
| leprasimen | leper       |
| libdimap  | to lift     |
| libin     | to be dwelling |
| libum     | to leave    |
| lida      | leader, ahead |
| lidim     | to lead     |
| lif       | leaf        |
| lilbala   | little      |
| lilbit    | little, small amount |
| lilboi    | young boy   |
| lilgel    | young girl  |
| lilwail   | short while |
| lisid     | lizard      |
| lisin     | to listen   |
| lisinbat  | to be listening |
| loda      | many, lots  |
| lodan     | down stream |
| lokinap   | to lock     |
| longtaim  | long time   |
| longwan   | long        |
| longwei   | far, distant |
| loud      | load        |
| loudid    | to have a load |
| loudumap  | to load     |
| luk       | to see, to look |
| lukabat   | to seek, to look for |
| lukautum  | to mind, to look after |
| lukaran   | to look around |
| lukbek    | to look back, to respect |
| lukinat   | to observe  |
| lusum     | to lose     |
| mad       | mud, plaster |
| mai       | my          |
| maidi     | mighty      |
| main      | my, mine    |
| maindim   | to care for, to mind |
| mainj    | may         |
| majuzumag | to gather together |
| mak       | mark        |
| makam     | to mark     |
| makaran   | to harrass  |
| mami      | mother, mother's sister |
| mani      | money       |
| mantin    | mountain    |
| marluga   | old man     |
| mas       | must        |
| masta     | master      |
| maus      | mouth       |
medisin
medrim
meigidat
meigim
meikim
meikshuwa
meit
meitap
men
merrit
mesinja
mi
mibala
midad
midim
midul
miksap
miksimap
milk
milwoda
mindimap
mindubala
minyu
misat
miselp
misteik
miting
mobeda
mokim
moning
mowa
mubabat
mun
naif
nait
naitaim
naitwotj
naja
najakain
najalat
najamen
najamob
najasaid
najawei
najing
najawan
nakam
nkap

chemicals, medicine
to murder
to come to understand
to make
to be heading to
to make sure
friend
to befriend
man
to marry
messenger
me
us
to meet together
to meet
middle
to mix up, to join together
to mix up, to join together
milk
deep water
to sew
us
us
to miss
myself
to make a mistake
meeting
better
to mock
morning
more
to move
moon
enough
knife
night
night
night
night
nightwatch
other
other kind
others
other man
other group
other side
another way
no, nothing
other, another
to hit
to be tired

96
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<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>to pay back</td>
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<td>packbag</td>
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<td>to pack up</td>
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<td>to be starving</td>
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<td>to pick up</td>
</tr>
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<td>to select</td>
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<td>pillow</td>
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<td>pinat</td>
<td>nut, peanut</td>
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<td>small coin</td>
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<td>people</td>
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<td>to play</td>
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<td>to play</td>
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<td>price</td>
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<td>promise</td>
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<tr>
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<td>to promise</td>
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<td>correct, proper</td>
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<td>pray</td>
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<tr>
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<td>prayer</td>
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<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prisana</td>
<td>prisoner</td>
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</table>

98
proof
proof
proof
to put
to pull
pretty
flower
to push
poor
rubbish
to rub, to spread
to treat harshly
rough time
roughly
to write about
all the way down
all the way up
to ride around
right
offsider
to ride, to write
riding
right over
all the way back
completely full
right, correct
correctly
to run
to run out, to deplete
to run away
argument
to argue
ready
red
rag
rain
rainbow
der
ranges, hills
rainwater
to think, to reckon
to be thinking
rations
river
beside the river
to go backwards
rib
beside a person
to read
to chase after
relative, relation
rili  really, very
ring   ring
ringimap to erect
risan  reason
rispek to respect
ritfala rich
ritjmen rich man
rolimap to roll up
ron    own
rong   wrong
ronselp ownself
ronwan own
ronwei own way
roud   road
roup   rope
ruf    roof
rum    room
rutjimat to dig out, to pull up
sabi   to know, to understand
said   side
sain   sign
sambala some
sambodi somebody
samtaim sometime
samting something
samweya somewhere
san    son, sun
sangidap sunrise, east
sangidapwei easternly
sangodan sunset, west
sangodanwei westernly
sanrais sunrise
sanraisaid easternly
dinner
sapa   seven
sebinbala to be satisfied
sedisfaid to settle down
seduldan sad
sedwan to say
sei    to save
seibum same
dell    same
delmei same day
delkain same kind
delmaim same time
delmwan same one
delmwei in the same manner
delkanbos second in charge
dekanwan second
delmat to sell
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>selp</td>
<td>self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selpselp</td>
<td>individually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sendim</td>
<td>to send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sengraun</td>
<td>sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serramon</td>
<td>ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serramonimen</td>
<td>person knowledgable in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceremional matters, priest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shabala</td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shain</td>
<td>to shine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shainim</td>
<td>to shine on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaiyof</td>
<td>to be wary of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shegin</td>
<td>to be shaking</td>
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<tr>
<td>sheik</td>
<td>to shake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheiken</td>
<td>to shake hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheim</td>
<td>shame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shepad</td>
<td>shepherd</td>
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<tr>
<td>shiftim</td>
<td>to shift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ship</td>
<td>sheep</td>
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<tr>
<td>shirrim</td>
<td>to shear</td>
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<tr>
<td>shok</td>
<td>surprise</td>
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<tr>
<td>sholda</td>
<td>shoulder</td>
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<tr>
<td>shopmenija</td>
<td>storekeeper</td>
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<tr>
<td>shotbala</td>
<td>short</td>
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<tr>
<td>shoum</td>
<td>to show</td>
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<td>shugabeig</td>
<td>wild honey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sid</td>
<td>seed, grain</td>
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<tr>
<td>sidan</td>
<td>to sit, to dwell, to live</td>
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<tr>
<td>sidanbat</td>
<td>to be sitting, to be dwelling</td>
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<td>sidpat</td>
<td>seed</td>
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<tr>
<td>sigrid</td>
<td>ceremonially restricted</td>
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<td>sickness</td>
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<td>six</td>
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<td>silba</td>
<td>silver</td>
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<tr>
<td>silip</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
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<td>silipiwei</td>
<td>sleepily</td>
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<td>sing</td>
<td>to sing</td>
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<tr>
<td>singat</td>
<td>to call</td>
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<td>singim</td>
<td>to sing</td>
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<tr>
<td>singinatbat</td>
<td>to be calling</td>
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<td>sister</td>
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<td>siyim</td>
<td>to see</td>
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<td>skai</td>
<td>sky</td>
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<td>to be scattered</td>
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<td>skin</td>
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<td>skrab</td>
<td>scrub, bushes</td>
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<td>slobala</td>
<td>slow</td>
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smel
smelim
smok
smokiwan
sneik
snikiwan
sobawan
sofwan
sokum
soldiwan
solja
solt
solwoda
song
sori
sowa
spadidwan
spel
speshalwan
speyawan
spilim
spirit
spirrim
spit
splidap
splidimap
spredabat
spredat
spredimat
spring
springwoda
sta
stadimof
stagiba
stak
stakboi
stakmen
stakyad
stap
stapam
stapbek
stat
stedap
stedibala
step
stik
stikinat
stil
stilim

fragrance
to smell
smoke
opaque
snake
sneaky
sober
soft
to soak
salty
soldier
salt
saltwater, sea
song
sorry
sore
spotted
rest
special
spare
to pour
spirit
to spear
spit, to spit
to divide
to divide
to spread out
to spread out
to spread out
spring
spring water
star
to start off
storekeeper
to be stuck
stockman
stockman
stockyard
to stop
to stop
to stay behind
to start
to be angered
steady
stairs
stick
to protrude
still
steal
stilinbala  thief
stingkinwan  smelly, decomposing
ston  stone
stonim  to throw stones at
stori  story
stowa  store
straipwan  striped
streidawei  immediately
steinja  stranger
streitbala  straight
streitinim  to straighten
strendid  to be stranded
string  string, sinew
stripidwan  striped
strongbala  strong
supsup  stew
suet  sweat
swiftgidap  to sweat
switinimap  to flatter
switsmelwan  sweet smelling fragrance
taidap  to be tied up
taim  time
taimap  to tie up
taitwan  tight
tatjam  to touch
taun  town
tebul  table
telim  to follow behind
teinggulimap  to tangle up
teingks  thanks
teingkyu  thanks
tenaran  to turn around
tenawei  to turn away
tenbala  ten
tenim  to turn
tenimran  to turn around
tenimweei  to turn away
testim  to test, to try
tharran  that
tharrei  that way
thestliwan  thirsty
thribala  three
thru  through
tidei  today
til  until
timba  timber
timperap  to become angry
tin  tin
tinait  tonight
ting  thing
thisim  to tease, to mock
titja  teacher
titjim  to teach
tjagidawei  to throw away
tjakam  to throw
tjakol  charcoal
tjeinjim  to change
tjeisimap  to chase
tjens  chance
tjetj  church
toiwan  artificial
tok  to say, to talk
tokabat  to speak about
tokinabat  to be speaking about
tomiyauk  axe
top  top
trabul  trouble
tra1  to try to
traib  tribe
traim  to try
trebulin  to travel
trebulinabat  to be travelling
tri  tree
tridim  to treat
trikibala  tricky
trikim  to trick
trip  trip
trubala  true
tufeis  hypocritical
tugeja  together
tul  tool
tuleit  too late
tumatj  too much
tumeni  too many
tuth  tooth, teeth
twelbala  twelve
twistimran  to twist around, to confuse
wai  why
wai1f  wife
wail  wild, upset
wain  wine
waitwan  white
wajameda  why
wai1  well
wanbala  one
wanda  to want to
wandim  to want
wanim  what
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<th>wanmo</th>
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<td>word, message, story</td>
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<td>to wait</td>
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<td>well (of water)</td>
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<td>wheat</td>
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<td>waterhole</td>
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<tr>
<td>wodrim</td>
<td>to water</td>
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<td>to walk</td>
</tr>
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<td>wokabat</td>
<td>to be walking</td>
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<tr>
<td>wokaran</td>
<td>to walk around</td>
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<tr>
<td>wokinabat</td>
<td>to be walking around</td>
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<td>walking stick</td>
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<td>wokpas</td>
<td>to walk past</td>
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<td>to warn</td>
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wordei (interjection)
wordo (interjection)
wori
to be concerned
worigin
to be concerned
wot
what
wotabat
what about
wotaim
what time
wotbla
why
wotfo
why
wotjim
to watch
wotkain
what kind of
wotrong
what wrong
wujan
which
wujawel
which way
wulwan
wooly, hairy, furry
wuman
woman
yan
gossip
yangbala
young
yangboi
young boy
yanggel
young girl
yangiswam
youngest
yangmen
young man
yangwan
young
yet
yet
yiya
year
yu
you
yubala
you
yubin
you + (past tense)
yumob
you
yundubala
we, us
yunmi
yourself
yuselp
to use
yusum
yes
yuwai

0.
This
first
mate
of
The
of
1.
Kric
rest
on
thrc
surv
 Carr
the
exte
Sand
Gumd
and
Addi
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more
do
desc
the
been
Huds
exte
anal
avai

106