'Mouth' and related terms in your dictionary

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ABSTRACT

The mouth is an important and versatile organ of the body. The aim of this paper is to guide dictionary compilers working in the Indonesian context when investigating terms associated with the mouth, including its subparts and diseases, as well as actions typically performed with the mouth.

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'Mouth' and related terms in your dictionary

by David Mead

Senyum adalah bahasa dunia. A smile is universal language.

So, you have the words for 'lips,' 'mouth,' 'tongue,' and 'teeth.' What else is there to record in your dictionary? Even though I've put lots of effort over several years into two indigenous language dictionaries of Sulawesi, I've belatedly come to realize that there were still many gaps in my coverage of even basic terms for parts of the mouth and related terms. Here is a guide to take you deeper.

1 Parts of the mouth

When asking for the term for 'lip,' be alert that some languages identify an external area of the mouth, which can be called the 'labial circle' in English, or *mulut bagian luar* in Indonesian. Correspondingly, the lips may be regarded as the edge of this area, compare for example the following terms from Kulisusu (southeastern Sulawesi):

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huu 'labial circle, external mouth area' wulu huu 'moustache,' literally 'hair (wulu) of the labial circle (huu)' wiwi huu 'lips,' literally 'edge (wiwi) of the labial circle (huu)'
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While investigating the lips, also check to see if there is a term for the corners of the mouth, technically one's 'labial commissures' (Indonesian *pojok mulut*). Some languages even have a name for the lines or folds that extend outward, often dropping, from the corner of the mouth (*garis-garis pada pojok mulut*). In English these folds are colloquially called marionette lines or puppet lines. Also check whether there is a separate term for the short, vertical depression which extends from the nose to the upper lip. The technical English name for this small cleft is the 'philtrum' or the 'infranasal depression.' In Indonesian it can be referred to as *lekukan antara hidung dan bibir atas*. In Uma (Central Sulawesi), for example, the term for this depression is *halu' wiwi*, literally 'river of the lips' (Michael Martens 2010:pers.comm.)

In addition to 'moustache,' Indonesian *kumis*, which grows above the upper lip, some languages may also have a special term for the tuft of beard which grows centered below the lower lip and above the chin, called the attilio. When shaped and allowed to grow, in English it can also be called a 'mouche,' a 'smig,' or (after the style was popularized by jazz musicians) a 'soul patch.' In the Indonesian context I have come across two terms for

this tuft of hair: anfaqah (borrowed from Arabic), and takujeng (blended from tidak (tak) kumis tidak (tak) jenggot).

In the animal sphere, probe whether there are separate terms for 'snout' (moncong, mulut yg panjang atau memanjang), for example the snout of a dog or pig, as well as terms for 'beaks' and 'bills' of birds (Indonesian generic paruh, though a wide bill such as of a duck or goose can be called a sudu). Are there yet other terms for the 'mouth' of a snake? Of a turtle? Of a fish, or certain fish species? Of squid and octopi? Be creative. You could also ask about terms for the 'mouths' of inanimate objects such as bottles and rivers, the muzzle of a gun, etc.

Inside the mouth cavity (*rongga mulut*, *mulut bagian dalam*), the most notable features are, of course, the 'tongue' *lidah* and the 'teeth' *gigi*. But also probe for terms for 'gums' *gusi*, *daging tempat gigi tumbuh* and for 'palate' *langit-langit mulut*. If necessary the latter can be further divided into the forward 'hard palate' (*langit-langit keras*) with its alveolar ridge (*alvéolus*) behind the upper front teeth, and the rear 'soft palate' or 'velum' (*langit-langit lunak*).

The surface of the tongue itself is covered with raised protusions that give the tongue its rough texture. These are the lingual papillae, colloquially called taste buds,² or in Indonesian *papila*, *tonjolan pada permukaan lidah*. On occasion one or more papillae may become swollen and painful. In Indonesian the condition of having inflamed papillae (*bintik-bintik lidah*) can be called *lidah berduri*.

At the back of the mouth hangs the uvula, the *anak lidah* or *anak tekak*. To the sides are the tonsils, *amandel*. Past the tonsils and the uvula can be seen the back of one's throat, which is technically the wall of one's pharynx (*farinks* or *faring*). In Indonesian, the soft area in the back of the mouth, including both the pharynx and the velum, is one's *tekak*. Giving structure to the entire mouth area are the jaws, *rahang*, which can be divided into the upper jaw or maxilla (*rahang atas*) and the lower jaw or mandible (*rahang bawah*)—though usually *tulang rahang* 'jawbone' is understood to refer only to the mandible.

The main division of the teeth are between the molars—geraham or gigi geraham—and the incisors—gigi manis, gigi kacip, gigi pengiris, or gigi seri. (The term gigi seri—from Latin incidere 'for biting'—appears to have the widest application, being used of the front teeth of humans as well as other mammals.) Children and adults also have four canine teeth (also called cuspids), gigi asu, gigi anjing or gigi taring. Counting from the center, canines are the third tooth back on either side, top and bottom. (In English, the upper canines, but not the lower ones, are also called 'eyeteeth.') In an adult, behind each canine are two more teeth technically called 'premolars' or 'bicuspids' in English. If there is a

¹ The inside of the mouth can be further divided into the 'oral vestibule,' the area between the cheeks/lips and gums/teeth—you can run the tip of your tongue around in this area—and the 'oral cavity proper,' that is, the area between (inside) the teeth and bounded in back by the pharynx.

² Technically taste buds (tunas pengecap) are cellular (microscopic) structures located around the papillae.

need to distinguish, premolars can be called *gigi geraham kecil* (or *gigi geraham depan*), and molars *gigi geraham besar* (or *gigi geraham belakang*).

The first four teeth (two upper, two lower) that a baby gets are called its *gigi sulung*. Correspondingly, the last four molars which an adult gets, one's wisdom teeth, are called one's *gigi bungsu* (or *gigi geraham bungsu*). Milk teeth or baby teeth are *gigi susu* (or *gigi desidus*), while adult or permanent teeth can be called *gigi déwasa*, *gigi sejati*, *gigi kekal*, *gigi benar*, or *gigi tetap*. Artificial teeth and dentures are *gigi palsu*, *gigi buatan* or *gigi tiruan*. The expression *gigi geligi* means 'all one's teeth.' When a person or animal bites something, the action may leave toothmarks / bite marks, *jejas gigit*.



Visualizing a prototypical tooth, its major parts are: (a) the cusp(s), any point or peaklike projection on the chewing surface of the tooth (*ujung gigi*, *titik gigi*); (b) the crown, that is, the visible part of the tooth (*puncak gigi*, *mahkota gigi*, *corona gigi*) (a false crown is also called a *jakét gigi* or *sarung gigi* in Indonesian); (c) the neck, the narrowed part where the tooth meets the gum line (*léhér gigi*); and (d) the root(s) of the tooth (*akar gigi*).

There may also be particular names or expressions for teeth which are notable in one way or another. For example:

```
crowded, overlapping teeth = gigi berjejal, bergigi tak beraturan
small teeth neatly arranged = gigi tikus
large front teeth = gigi kampak, gigi kapak
bucktoothed, having protruding upper front teeth = gigi tonggos, gigi seri
   yg mencuat / mengajur ke depan
having a (deep / severe) overbite = gigi tonggos, gigi rahang atas jauh lebih
   maju dibandingkan gigi rahang bawah
snaggletoothed, having a tooth which juts out or is not in alignment
   with the others = suatu gigi yg tdk rata dng yg lain
harelipped, having a harelip / cleft palate = bibir sumbing
gap-toothed, having a gap or space (diastema) between the teeth = gigi renggang
missing a tooth = celah gigi
toothless = ompong
snow-white teeth = gigi\ semara\ danta
yellowed teeth = gigi kuning
a blackened or discolored tooth = gigi sayap kumbang
plaque or tartar on the teeth = karang gigi
a cracked, chipped or broken tooth = gigi patah, gigi pecah, gigi sumbing
a loose tooth = gigi yg goyah, gigi yg longgar
a tooth which has fallen out = gigi tanggal, gigi copot
lose a tooth = terkeluar gigi
cut a new tooth = keluar gigi baru, tumbuh gigi baru
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Check also for traditions concerning what to do with a baby tooth after it has fallen out. In the Uma area of Central Sulawesi, an upper baby tooth is thrown under the house, while a lower baby tooth is thrown on the roof 'for the mice to use'; the latter custom is also found among the Javanese (Michael Martens 2008:pers.comm.). In some locales, dreaming that one has lost a tooth (*bermimpi gigi tanggal*) is regarded as a sign of impending death in the family or other misfortune.

In the animal sphere, particularly large, long or sharp teeth may carry a separate name, such as with the English terms 'fang' and 'tusk.' As indicated in the following chart, however, English and Indonesian speakers divide semantic space differently.

of snake	of dog	of pig	of elephant
fang		tusk	
taring			gading

Also don't forget the 'gum pad' or 'dental pad' (technically pulvinus dentalis, Indonesian unknown) which replaces the missing upper incisors and canines of cattle and and other bovids; or the 'egg tooth,' *gigi telur*, of chickens (not to mention other birds and reptiles), which is used to break through the shell and later falls off (in some species reabsorbed).

2 Diseases of the mouth

The following are five diseases of the mouth. The first-mentioned diseases are common. As for the last, I've never seen a case of scurvy in my life. It appears that the primary reference of the Indonesian term *seriawan* (the spelling *sariawan* is also encountered) is to canker sores, but it is sometimes applied more generally to other kinds of ulcers inside the mouth. Some even apply *seriawan* to thrush (see below)—though others regard this as patently incorrect (see Yayasan Spirita 2006, 2008a, 2008b). Because of this potential ambiguity, you should further define the term *seriawan* should you choose to use it in your dictionary.

oral ulcer = ulkus mulut, tukak mulut, lesi (luka) pd mulut, seriawan

Oral ulcer is a general term for any open sore inside the mouth or on or near the
lips. Some types of oral ulcers are painful, others are not. Causes can be various,
including physical trauma, infection, and cancer. Two commonly encountered
types of oral ulcers are cold sores and canker sores.

(a) cold sore, fever blister, oral herpes, labial herpes = hérpes mulut, hérpes bibir Cold sores (fever blisters) are a subtype of oral ulcer which form at the corners of the mouth, on the lips, and/or in the labial circle (and tend to reappear in places of previous outbreaks). Cold sores usually run their course within a two-week period, passing through a tingling stage, a blistering stage (cluster of tiny blisters), a weeping stage, and a crusting stage. Caused by the *Herpes simplex* virus.

(b) canker sores, recurrent aphthous stomatitis (RAS) = afté, seriawan biasa Canker sores are shallow, painful ulcers with whitish centers and red margins, which occur inside the mouth. Canker sore outbreaks tend to be chronic and recurrent (though diminishing as a person ages), and often involve multiple sores at a time. The cause of canker sores is unknown, though a common misconception in the West is that they are caused by a *Herpes* virus. In Indonesia it is commonly believed that canker sores can be cured by taking vitamin C, a notion which perhaps has its origin in the equally mistaken belief that canker sores are an early symptom of scurvy (see below).

oral thrush, candidiasis of the mouth³ = guam, kandidiasis mulut, seriawan(?) A fungal infection (mycosis) caused by yeast of genus Candida, occurring mostly in infants and young children. It is characterized by whitish patches on the tongue and/or elsewhere in the oral cavity or pharynx. There may also be redness and swelling.

dental cavity, tooth decay = sakit gigi

A dental caries starts out as a small chalky area (where the enamel has been demineralized), and if left untreated can progress to large brown cavitations.

gingivitis, inflammation of the gums = radang gusi, gusi yg radang dan sakit

Caused by irritant chemicals and toxins produced by bacteria in plaque and tartar

(karang gigi).

scurvy = gusi yg berdarah, penyakit skurvi

Caused by deficiency in vitamin C, scurvy results in spongy, bleeding gums and bleeding from all mucus membranes, and eventually—if left untreated—to tooth loss, suppurating wounds and death.

3 Actions performed with the mouth

The following is a partial list of what could be called 'mouth actions'—things people do with their mouths. These actions are listed as a means of priming your respondents' pumps, so to speak, and make no claim to completeness. Of course, as lexicographers we are particularly interested in discovering those actions which are distinct lexical items (viz. words or 'phrasal lexemes') in the language. Also pay attention to feelings, moods, or meanings which may be expressed through some of these actions.

eat = makan eat hastily or greedily = makan terburu-buru, makan dng lahap cram one's mouth full = menyumbatkan ke dalam mulut eat up everything = makan semuanya tanpa berada sisa

³ In older times also called 'sprue' (from Dutch *spruw* 'thrush mouth ulcers'), but today the term sprue is better applied to certain intestinal ailments.

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feast sumptuously = berpesta pora
eat only a little = makan porsi yg kecil
eat daintily, eat with small bites = makan porsinya sedikit demi sedikit
eat without using hands, eat with one's face (as infant, animals) = makan tanpa
   memakai tangan (spt bayi, héwan)
eat grass, graze (as cow, goat, etc.) = mengangon (spt sapi, kambing, dsb)
snack around, not eat a definite meal = makan makanan ringan saja
eat a snack = makan sarapan, makan penganan
eat provisions prepared for a journey = makan bekal
drink = minum
sip = menyesap, meminum sedikit-sedikit
slurp = menghirup
swallow = menelan^4
gulp down (something) = meneguk(i) (sesuatu)
gulp (from nervousness) = meneguk ludah, menelan ludah (krn merasa gugup)
swallow (s.th.) whole, swallow without chewing = menelan (sesuatu) bulat-bulat
suck on, suck up = mengisap, menghisap
suck the liquid out of s.th. and spit out the remainders (as sugarcane) = menyepah,
   mengunyah sesuatu untuk mengambil sarinya kemudian membuang ampasnya
suckle, suck at the breast = menyusu, menéték
suck one's thumb = menghisap ibu jari
touch or feel with the mouth (as infant) = menyentuh dng mulut (spt bayi)
bite = menggigit
snap, snap at (as dog) = menggertak, menggertaki
strike at, bite (as snake) = mematuk (spt ular)
peck, peck at, peck up (as chicken) = mematuk, memaruh, mencucuk (spt ayam)
dabble (as duck) (dip down and strain food with the bill) = menyudu (spt itik)
bite one's cheek / lip / tongue (accidentally) = pipi / bibir / lidah tergigit
bite or suck one's lower lip (e.g. with worry or concentration) = menggigit bibir
   bawah, mengisap bibir bawah
bite one's knuckle (e.g. with worry) = menggigit buku jari (krn merasa cemas)
bite down on, hold (something) between the teeth = menahan (sesuatu) di antara gigi
hold (something) in the mouth = menahan (sesuatu) di dalam mulut
roll around in the mouth (as candy) = mengulum (gula-gula dsb) di dalam mulut
carry in the mouth = menggondol, menggonggong
bite to the bone = menggigit sampai ke tulang
bite off, bite through = menggigit potong, menggigit hingga putus
rip, tear off with the teeth = merabak, merobék dng gigi
(peel) open with the teeth = membuka dng gigi
munch on, nibble at, gnaw on = mengerumit, mengunggis, mengerip, mengerikiti
gnaw up, gnaw something all over = menggerogot
chew, masticate = mengunyah, memamah
chew noisily with the mouth open, smack the lips = mengecap, berdecap-decap
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⁴ Some languages may have separate lexemes for swallowing liquids versus swallowing solids.

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chew on crunchy food, make crunching sounds while eating = mengerkahi sambil
   makan
chew betel nut = makan pinang
chew the cud = memamah \ biak
bite one's nails, chew one's fingernails = menggigit kuku
gum, masticate (as toothless person) = memamah tanpa gigi
wipe one's mouth (e.g. after eating) = membersihkan mulut, menyeka mulut (sesudah
   makan)
pick the teeth = menyugi, menusuk gigi, membersihkan gigi dng tusuk gigi,
   menyingkirkan sisa-sisa makanan dr gigi <sup>5</sup>
brush the teeth = menvikat gigi
gargle, rinse the mouth = berkumur, membasuh mulut
swish water around in the mouth = menggerak-gerakkan air dalam mulut
hold water in the mouth = menyimpan air dalam mulut
spit water out of the mouth = menyemburkan air dr mulut
salivate = keluar ludah, keluar air liur
salivate, relish (over food) = berseléra, menimbulkan seléra (tt masakan), bernafsu
   makan
salivate profusely from nausea = keluar ludah banyak krn merasa muak
vomit = memuntahkan
drool (have saliva dribbling out) = menétés air ludah, menétés air liur
foam, froth at the mouth = berbusa pd tepi bibir, berbusa mulut
spit, expel saliva = meludah, berludah, mengeluarkan ludah / air liur
expel spittle from betel nut quid = berludah dr memakan pinang <sup>6</sup>
spit between the upper teeth and tongue with lip drawn upward = meludah antara
    lidah dan gigi depan sambil mencibir bibir atas
spew, expel forcefully from the mouth = memuntahkan
clear one's throat, expectorate = membelahak
spit out (something) = meludahkan (sesuatu)
taste (food) = mencicipi
protrude the tongue, stick out one's tongue = menjulurkan lidah, mengulur lidah
loll, hang loosely (of the tongue) (e.g. a dog with its tongue lolling) = lidah terjulur
lap = meminum dng lidah
lick = menjilat
lick one's lips, moisten the lips = menjilat bibir, membasahi bibir
pucker, purse the lips = mengerut(kan) bibir
make a kissing sound = mencucup, membuat bunyi 'cup' dng bibir
kiss = mencium
buss on or near the cheek, kiss by touching cheeks (as greeting) = mencium pipi,
   mengecup pipi
kiss on the mouth = mencium mulut, berkecupan
```

⁵ Also explore terms for toothpick (*sugi*, *tusuk*, *pencungkil gigi*) and for food stuck between the teeth (*sisasisa makanan yg terselip antara gigi*).

⁶ Also check whether there is a local word for 'cuspidor, spittoon' (peludahan, tempolong).

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kiss passionately = saling mengulum bibir, kulum-mengulum bibir dan lidah
bill and coo, rub beaks together (as birds) = sulang-menyulang (spt burung)
peck each other (as birds) = bercucukan
pop the lips = buka mulut dengan bibir rapat hingga bibir berbunyi 'pop'
make a finger pop sound with the lips = masukkan jari telunjuk ke dalam mulut,
   kemudian tolak jari itu keluar untuk menghasilkan bunyi 'pop'
strum the lips with one's finger(s) (makes a 'blub blub blub' sound) ^{7} = membuat bunyi
    'bab bab' dengan menggerakkan bibir ke atas dan ke bawah menggunakan jari
click the tongue, go 'tisk' = berdecak-decak, membuat bunyi 'cek' dng mulut
have one's teeth set on edge = (merasa) ngilu
have a shooting pain in one's tooth = gigi \ linu
have a lingering taste in the mouth, have an aftertaste = menekak 8
dry-throated, thirsty = tekak kering, tekak haus
dry-mouthed, cotton-mouthed (e.g. from anxiety) = mulut kering (krn merasa
   khawatir)
burp, belch = beserdawa
hiccup, hiccough = cegukan, bersedu, pada umumnya berulang-ulang menyebabkan
   terjadinya bunyi hik, hik, hik <sup>9</sup>
have food or drink go down the wrong pipe = tersedak, makanan atau minuman
   masuk ke saluran penafasan hingga orang terbatuk
choke = mencekik
cough = batuk
breathe = bernafas
inhale = menarik nafas
gasp, inhale suddenly (e.g. in pain, astonishment, or horror) = menghirup nafas
   tiba-tiba (msl krn kesakitan, keheranan, atau kengerian)
draw air inward through one's clenched teeth = menarik nafas antara gigi
   yg mengatup
take a deep breath = menarik nafas panjang, menarik nafas dalam-dalam
hold one's breath = menahan nafas
exhale = mengeluarkan nafas
breathe one's last, take one's last breath = menghembuskan nafas terakhir
breathe calmly = bernafas tenang
wheeze = berbunyi menciut-ciut
whistle = bersiul
shallow breathing = nafas cetek, nafas pendek
panting, out of breath = mencengap, tersengal-sengal nafas
catch one's breath, take a breather = mengistirahatkan diri, istirahat untuk
   menenangkan nafas
```

⁷ Some English speakers refer to this as 'burbling the lips,' but this seems less correct. To burble refers to the quiet sound of water flowing over rocks or of bubbling water; by extension it means to talk long and foolishly, or, of a baby, to make quiet, happy sounds.

⁸ Also *menekak manis* 'have a sweet aftertaste,' *menekak pahit* 'have a bitter aftertaste,' etc.

⁹ Also explore cultural ways of ridding someone of hiccups.

```
have difficulty breathing = sulit menarik nafas
have the breath / wind knocked out of oneself (unable to breath normally for a brief
   period of time) = kesulitan bernafas msl krn jatuh
stop breathing, unable to breathe = henti nafas, kehabisan nafas
slack-jawed, slack-mouthed, with one's mouth hanging open = mulut celangap
gape = menganga
yawn = menguap
open the mouth wide = membuka mulut lébar-lébar
cover one's mouth with the hand = menutup mulut dng tangan
put a finger to one's lips, touch one's lip = menyentuh mulut (menggunakan jari)
grin = meringis, menyeringai
smile = bersenyum, tersenyum
return a smile, smile back = membalas senyuman, tersenyum balik
smile wide with teeth showing = tersenyum lébar kelihatan gigi
easily smiling, quick to smile = cepat tersenyum
sincere, honest smile = senyum ramah, senyum tulus <sup>10</sup>
winsome, captivating smile = senyum menawan
pleased smile, smile of pleasure = senyum kenikmatan, senyum bahagia
contented, satisfied smile, smile of satisfaction = senyum puas
smug, self-satisified smile, gloating smile = senyum krn puas dng diri sendiri
proud smile = senyum kebanggaan
lustful smile = senyum berahi
wicked smile, evil grin = senyum jahat
polite smile, formal smile = senyum basa-basi
embarrassed smile = senyum malu-malu, senyum simpul
slight smile, faint smile = senyum berguris-guris / terguris, senyum di bibir saja
growing smile = senyum mengembang
fleeting smile = senyum tersipu-sipu
sad smile = senyum muram
perplexed smile = senyum bingung
pained smile = senyum kepedihan
smile despite difficulties, paste a smile on one's face = mengulum senyum
force a smile = tersenyum sumbing
repress a smile = menekan senyum
shut one's mouth tight = mengatupkan mulut, mengetam mulut, mengetam bibir
tight-lipped, close-lipped, close-mouthed = mulut bertutup, mulut mengatup
muzzle, fasten the mouth of an animal to prevent biting or eating = memberangus,
   menutup (moncong anjing, anak sapi, dsb) dng berangus supaya tidak menggigit
   atau makan
protrude or extend one's lower lip (e.g. to point) = menonjolkan bibir bawah
   (misalnya, untuk menunjukkan sesuatu)
pout (e.g. with disappointment or disgust) = bibir monyong, mulut manyun,
   memanyunkan bibir
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¹⁰ Also mengguratkan senyum ramah / muram / dsb 'give a sincere / sad / etc. smile.'

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frown = memberungut, membengkokkan bibir, bermuka masam
grimace (from pain) = bergeringsing muka (krn kesakitan)
screw up one's face (furrow the brow, wrinkle the nose and purse the lips)
   = mengerutkan muka <sup>11</sup>
curl one's upper lip = mencibir bibir atas
tremble (of the lips) = bibir menggigil
chatter (of the teeth) (from cold) = gigit menggigil (krn dingin)
grind, gnash the teeth = mengertakkan gigi
snarl, growl (as dog) = menggeram
bare one's teeth (or fangs) = menunjukkan gigi
clench one's jaw, clench one's teeth = mengatupkan gigi, ketam (gigi)
coo, burble (as baby) (soft articulations beginning at about two months of age) =
   mendekut, mebuat suara kecil (spt bayi berusia dua bulan)
babble (as baby) = mengocéh, mencelotéh, meraban, membabél (seperti bayi)
mumble = berkomat-kamit, mengomel
speak out of the side of one's mouth = berbicara dng sebelah bibir saja
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Somewhat arbitrarily, I end the list here, although 'mumbling' and 'speaking out of the side of one's mouth' could, of course, easily lead into various other articulations such as whispering, speaking with a rasp, talking with one's mouth full, etc.—not to mention all the varieties of human laughter and animal articulations such as barking, grunting, cackling, crowing, hissing, lowing, bleating, etc.

4 The mouth and metonymy

Michael Martens reports:

I found that in Uma the term for 'mouth' (nganga) is used more when speaking about food, whereas the word for 'lips' (wiwi) is used more when speaking about speech. Tongue is not used as a metonymy for either. So, for example, in Matthew 15:18 (NIV: "But the things that come out of the mouth come from the heart, and these make a man unclean") it is more idiomatic in Uma to say "evil words that appear from our heart and are uttered on our lips..." Or Luke 6:45 (NIV: "...For out of the overflow of the heart his mouth speaks") is expressed in Uma "...For what is the contents of our heart, that also is what is uttered on our lips." (Martens 2008:pers.comm.)

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¹¹ Note also mengerutkan dahi 'furrow one's brow,' mengerutkan hidung 'wrinkle one's nose.'

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