2 The texts

This chapter contains the corpus of one hundred texts described in the previous chapter. Each text has a name, which is either a translation of the Paiwan name (given in the second line of the title) or a description of the contents. The title also indicates the village or dialect of the original narrator of the story, a page number reference for the OA stories, and where known, an indication of the dialect of Paiwan used.

The contents and composition of the three-line interlinear blocks of text have been described earlier. The numbered sections into which each text is divided correspond directly to the occurrence of sentence breaks in the original text. Note that these breaks are sometimes not followed directly by the English translations, which may break or join the original sentences.

For ease of reading, following each text is a full English translation, which repeats the content of the free translations provided with each sentence in the text. Some paragraph breaks are supplied in the full translation, but these are inserted on the basis of appropriateness to the narrative, and not in response to any linguistic marking of such levels in the texts themselves.

The reader is reminded that in the interlinearisations, the approach is to provide a single gloss for each morpheme. This means that where polysemy occurs, it can only be detected where the reader compares the morpheme gloss given with the meanings that the morpheme has attributed to it in the translation. For example, *pa-* functions as a derivational particle, usually indicating causative. With verbs, it usually means to cause the situation of the verb to come about, but there are some special senses as well. For example, with a noun that is the name of an animal, pa- means ‘to make the noise characteristic of that animal’, such as pa- + ngiaw ‘cat’ = ‘to meouw’. However, in the morpheme glosses that are given, pa- is simply glossed as meaning ‘cause’, and the reader has to look at the translation to discover that ‘cause’ + ‘cat’ = ‘to meouw’.

#### 001 PUïAïUYAïUYAN ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan (Qatsiîay village, p.141)

001 ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan tsug a marivu katua vaîaw.

ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan tsug a ma-rivu ka-tua vaîaw

f.h h (name) like c stat-quarrel and-obl spouse

Puîaîuyaîuyan liked to quarrel with his wife.

002 nu keman ini pakani, marka veîatjen.

nu em=kan ini pa-kan-i marka veîatj-en

when af=eat not cause-eat-pf pl hit-pf

When they ate he didn’t give her food, but they hit one another(?).

[marka: from mare- ‘having reciprocal relationship’?]

003 qau limutseng azua vaîaw; vaik a îetaladj tua verung nua tsuqu.

qau li-mutseng a-zua vaîaw vaik a îe-taladj tua verung nua tsuqu

so qal-angry c-that spouse leave c go.to-inside obl hole of bischoffia

His wife was angry, and went into a hole in a bischoffia tree.

[verung: F64 has berung]

004 qau tsuatsuay anga malap ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan tua putjaw, sa

qau tsua-tsuay anga m-alap ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan tua putjaw sa

so red-long.time indeed af-take f.h h (name) obl axe and

putjavi a tsuqu, a muri paîekatsauan tua vaîaw.

putjaw-i a tsuqu a ma-uri pa-îe-ka-tsau-an tua vaîaw

axe-pf c bischoffia c stat-will cause-go.to-become-being-nom obl spouse

After a time Puîaîuyaîuyan took an axe and chopped at the tree to get his wife out.

[paîekatsauan: see F310 under tsau: ‘to make st. appear in full or as a whole person/being’.]

005 manu “teng,” aya, milayap a sema tjai likuz tua îavek.

manu teng aya mi-layap a em=sa tja-i likuz tua îavek

then excl say af-fly c af=go more-loc back obl sea

But it (or she) said “Tung,” and she flew to the far side of the sea.

006 tsuatsuay anga mapuvarung ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan.

tsua-tsuay anga ma-pu-varung ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan

red-long.time indeed stat-have-chest f.h h (name)

After a time Puîaîuyaîuyan got anxious.

007 qemaqivu tua sikataqaîan tu vaik a qemaîup.

em=qa-qivu tua si-ka-ta-qaîa-an tu vaik a em=qaîup

af=red-speak obl if-main-?-outsider-nom obl leave c af=hunt

He called his fellow-villagers to go hunting.

008 qau kiîavaran ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan: “tiaken makamaza ken i

qau ki-îavar-an ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan ti-aken maka-maza aken i

so do-speak-lf f.h h (name) f-I via-here f.I loc

dungdung tua îavek.

dungdung tua îavek

near obl sea So Puîaîuyaîuyan said: “I’ll go along here near the sea.

009 timun pakazua-u itjua pungayan.”

ti-mun pa-maka-zua-u i-tjua pungayan

f-you(p) cause-via-that-imp loc-there cliff You go along by the cliffs.”

010 manu neka nu satsemel.

manu neka nu satsemel

then no of wild.game There was no wild game.

011 nu paluku, qatjuvi marka nga÷i sakamaya.

nu pa-luku qatjuvi marka nga÷i sakamaya

when cause-find.game snake pl badger only

If they started anything, it was just snakes and badgers.

012 qau kirivu a sikataqaîan.

qau ki-rivu a si-ka-ta-qaîa-an

so do-quarrel c if-main-?-outsider-nom The villagers complained:

013 “aku neka nu satsemel?” aya kivadaq tjai sa Puîaîuyaîuyan.

aku neka nu satsemel aya ki-vadaq tjai sa Puîaîuyaîuyan

why no of wild.game say do-ask obl.h h (name)

“Why is there no game?” they asked Puîaîuyaîuyan.

014 qau kiîavaran ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan: “nuka qatjuvi, nuka nga÷i kuangu,”

qau ki-îavar-an ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan nuka qatjuvi nuka nga÷i kuang-u

so do-speak-lf f.h h (name) even snake even badger firearm-imp

aya kiîavaran.

aya ki-îavar-an

say do-speak-lf He replied: “Shoot even snakes and badgers,” he said.

015 qau timadju izua i îavek a qarawqawqaw sakamaya.

qau ti-madju i-zua i îavek a ar=qaw-qawqaw sakamaya

so f-3rd.pers loc-that loc sea c qal=red-shout only

And he was there by the sea shouting away.

[qarawqawqaw was originally qarauqauqaw]

016 qau a sikataqaîan: “anema kudakudain nazua tsautsau?”

qau a si-ka-ta-qaîa-an a-nema kuda-kuda-en nua-zua tsau-tsau

so c if-main-?-outsider-nom ?-what red-do.what-pf of-that red-being

aya kinemnem.

aya kinemnem

say think The villagers thought: “What’s this fellow up to?”

017 qau vaiken a kiqenetj.

qau vaik-en a ki-qenetj

so leave-pf c do-see They went to have a look.

018 mintu “îauîauîavu a djaraîap,” ayaya semenasenay.

mintu îau-îauîaw-u a djaraîap ay-aya em=sena-senay

sudden red-stretch-imp c banyan red-say af=red-chant

And he was singing: “Stretch out, banyan tree!”.

[mintu: W has ‘(?mingtjus)’ which in F177 (as mingetjus) means to ‘be startled’]

[îauîauîavu: F135 has îauî ‘roar’, îauîau ‘crazy’ (under îau) and F138 under îaw has vuliîawîaw ‘whirlwind’]

019 qau tsuay anga îemauîau a djaraîap a sema tjai likuz

qau tsuay anga em=îauîaw a djaraîap a em=sa tja-i likuz

so long.time indeed af=stretch c banyan c af=go more-loc back

tua îavek.

tua îavek

obl sea

After a time the tree stretched out to the far side of the sea.

020 qau azua ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan semusu a vaik tua djaraîap.

qau a-zua ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan em=susu a vaik tua djaraîap

so c-that f.h h (name) af=proceed c leave obl banyan

And Puîaîuyaîuyan went along the tree.

021 mintu tsaluman tua qinaîivan nua tapaw nua vaîaw.

mintu tsalum-an tua in=qaîiw-an nua tapaw nua vaîaw

sudden reach-lf obl perf=roof-nom of hut of spouse

He reached the roof of his wife’s house,

[qinaîavan: F210 has ‘rafters; ceiling’]

022 qau sualapen a itung, sa vuîuqan a paîeteku.

qau su-alap-en a itung sa vuîuq-an a pa-îe-teku

so remove-take-pf c cloth and throw-lf c cause-go.to-down

and took off his clothes and threw them down below.

023 manu djumaken nua aîak nua vaîaw.

manu djumak-en nua aîak nua vaîaw

then find-pf by child of spouse His wife’s child found them.

024 “aku uzaitsu a itung, kina?

aku uza-i-tsu a itung kina

why here-loc-this c cloth mother “Why are these clothes here, mother?

025 matu su inalangan.”

ma-tu su in-alang-an

stat-alike your(s) perf-make-nom They look like ones made by you.”

026 “maka inu ti tjama tua îavek?”

maka inu ti tjama tua îavek

via where f.h dad obl sea “How did your father get here across the sea?”

[tjama: this form is used when a particular father is addressed or referred to.]

027 qau sualapen ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan a dangiîan, sa vuîuqan uta.

qau su-alap-en ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan a dangiîan sa vuîuq-an uta

so remove-take-pf by h (name) c apron and throw-lf also

Then Puîaîuyaîuyan took off his apron (loincloth?) and threw that down too.

[dangiîan: F67 has dangiî-an but no other meaning or form like dangiî.]

028 qau djumaken nua kake÷ian

qau djumak-en nua ka-ke÷i-an

so find-pf by red-small-nom The child found it.

029 “aku uzaitsu a dangiîan?

aku uza-i-tsu a dangiîan

why here-loc-this c apron “Why is this apron here?

030 matu su inalangan.”

ma-tu su in-alang-an

stat-alike your(s) perf-make-nom It looks like one made by you.”

031 qau îetsasaw a kina, sa kiqenetji a pasa qinaîivan.

qau îe-tsasaw a kina sa ki-qenetj-i a pa-sa in=qaîiw-an

so go.to-outside c mother and do-see-pf c cause-go perf=roof-nom

The mother went out, and looked up at the roof.

032 mintu djemelidjeli ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan i vavaw tua qinaîivan.

mintu em=djeli-djeli ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan i va-vaw tua in=qaîiw-an

sudden af=red-laugh f.h h (name) loc red-above obl perf=roof-nom

There was Puîaîuyaîuyan laughing on the roof.

033 qaqivuin anga nua vaîaw a pasa qumaqan.

qa-qivu-en anga nua vaîaw a pa-sa qumaq-an

red-speak-pf indeed by spouse c cause-go indoors-nom

His wife called to him to come indoors.

034 qau maseleman anga, keman tua kaiven.

qau ma-selem-an anga em=kan tua kaiv-en

so stat-dark-nom indeed af=eat obl meal-pf

After dark they sat down to supper.

[tua: was tu]

035 manu ini kan ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan.

manu ini kan ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan

then not eat f.h h (name) Puîaîuyaîuyan didn’t eat.

036 qau kivadaqan nua vaîaw: “anema su tjenglayan a keman?” ayain.

qau ki-vadaq-an nua vaîaw a-nema su tjenglay-an a em=kan aya-en

so do-ask-lf by spouse ?-what your(s) like-lf c af=eat say-pf

His wife asked him: “What would you like to eat?”

037 “avan a vaîetjuk sakamaya a tjenglayan a keman.”

avan a vaîetjuk sakamaya a tjenglay-an a em=kan

exact c citrus only c like-lf c af=eat

“I would just like to eat an orange (or oranges).”

038 qau siyaya tua vaîetjuk sa pakani.

qau si-yaya tua vaîetjuk sa pa-kan-i

so if-harvest obl citrus and cause-eat-pf

So she picked an orange for him and gave it to him to eat.

039 qau muri qemereng anga.

qau ma-uri em=qereng anga

so stat-will af=lie.down indeed When they were going to lie down,

040 kiîavaran ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan: “qemereng aken i kulakula,” aya

ki-îavar-an ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan em=qereng aken i kula-kula aya

do-speak-lf f.h h (name) af=lie.down f.I loc red-foot say

kiîavaran tua vaîaw.

ki-îavar-an tua vaîaw

do-speak-lf obl spouse

Puîaîuyaîuyan said: “I’ll lie at the foot end,” he said to his wife.

041 a vaîaw: “maya qemereng i kulakula; makulakula sun.”

a vaîaw maya em=qereng i kula-kula ma-kula-kula sun

c spouse don’t af=lie.down loc red-foot stat-red-foot f.you(s)

His wife said: “Don’t lie at the foot end; you’ll have trouble with the feet.”

[makulakula: “be footed”, ie. kicked out?]

042 “qemereng aken i îaving,” aya ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan.

em=qereng aken i îaving aya ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan

af=lie.down f.I loc side say f.h h (name)

“I’ll lie at the edge,” said Puîaîuyaîuyan.

043 kiîavaran a vaîaw: “maya qemereng i îaviîaving; maîaviîaving

ki-îavar-an a vaîaw maya em=qereng i îavi-îaving ma-îavi-îaving

do-speak-lf c spouse don’t af=lie.down loc red-side stat-red-side

sun.

sun

f.you(s) His wife said: “Don’t lie at the side; you’ll have trouble at the edge.

044 qerengu izua itjua qeluz,” aya a vaîaw.

qereng-u i-zua i-tjua qeluz aya a vaîaw

lie.down-imp loc-that loc-there main.post say c spouse

Lie there by the pillar,” said his wife.

045 qau vaik a qemereng sema tjua qeluz ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan.

qau vaik a em=qereng em=sa tjua qeluz ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan

so leave c af=lie.down af=go there main.post f.h h (name)

So Puîaîuyaîuyan went to lie by the pillar.

046 ita vengin inika taqed, qaritjqitjqitj.

ita vengin ini-ka taqed ar=qitj-qitjqitj

one night not-after sleep qal=red-grind.teeth

The whole night he didn’t sleep; he was just grinding his teeth.

047 kivadaqan nua vaîaw ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan: “makuda sun?

ki-vadaq-an nua vaîaw ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan ma-kuda sun

do-ask-lf by spouse f.h h (name) stat-do.what f.you(s)

His wife asked him: “What’s the matter with you?

048 aku ini sun a taqed?

aku ini sun a taqed

why not f.you(s) c sleep Why don’t you sleep?

[sun: was su]

049 aku qaritjqitjqitj sun?”

aku ar=qitj-qitjqitj sun

why qal=red-grind.teeth f.you(s) Why do you grind your teeth?”

050 “maitazuangata nu keman aken tua vaîetjuk,” aya ti sa

ma-aya-ta-zua-anga-ta nu em=kan aken tua vaîetjuk aya ti sa

stat-be.thus-?-that-indeed-? when af=eat f.I obl citrus say f.h h

Puîaîuyaîuyan.

Puîaîuyaîuyan

(name) “It’s always just like that when I eat oranges,” he said.

051 manu pentjupetjuq tua qeluz nua tapaw.

manu in=petju-petjuq tua qeluz nua tapaw

then perf=red-extract obl main.post of hut

In fact he was pulling out the pillar of the house.

052 qau sa pasusu-i tua naîemauîaw a djaraîap a tapaw.

qau sa pa-susu-i tua na-em=îauîaw a djaraîap a tapaw

so and cause-proceed-pf obl past-af=stretch c banyan c hut

And he caused the whole house to follow the line of the stretched out banyan tree.

053 qau maîianga patseged anga tiamadju a mapuîat.

qau ma-îia-anga pa-tseged anga ti-a-madju a ma-puîat

so stat-dawn-indeed cause-alert indeed f-pl-3rd.pers c num-all

Next day they all woke up.

054 mintu i îaviîaving anga tua îavek.

mintu i îavi-îaving anga tua îavek

sudden loc red-side indeed obl sea

And there they were on the edge of the sea.

055 qau mingtjus anga azua vaîaw.

qau m-pingtjus anga a-zua vaîaw

so af-startled indeed c-that spouse His wife was startled.

056 “aku imazanga ken?” aya kiîavaran.

aku i-maza-anga aken aya ki-îavar-an

why loc-here-indeed f.I say do-speak-lf “Why am I here now?” she said.

057 qau kiîavaran ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan: “tiaken a nakematsu a pasa

qau ki-îavar-an ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan ti-aken a na-em=katsu a pa-sa

so do-speak-lf f.h h (name) f-I c past-af=carry c cause-go

maza.

maza

here Puîaîuyaîuyan said: “It was I who brought you here.

058 ini anga nakuya aken.

ini anga na-kuya aken

not indeed stat-bad f.I I’m not bad any more.

059 mayanga mavilad.

maya-anga ma-vilad

don’t-indeed stat-flee Don’t run away.

060 a pareka nanguanguaqi anga itjen mapuîat.”

a pareka na-ngua-nguaq-i anga itjen ma-puîat

c mutual stat-red-good-hort indeed f.we(inc) num-all

Let’s all be good to one another.”

Puîaîuyaîuyan liked to quarrel with his wife. When they ate he didn’t give her food, but they hit one another(?). His wife was angry, and went into a hole in a bischoffia tree. After a time Puîaîuyaîuyan took an axe and chopped at the tree to get his wife out. But it (or she) said “Tung,” and she flew to the far side of the sea.

After a time Puîaîuyaîuyan got anxious. He called his fellow-villagers to go hunting. So Puîaîuyaîuyan said: “I’ll go along here near the sea. You go along by the cliffs.” There was no wild game. If they started anything, it was just snakes and badgers.

The villagers complained: “Why is there no game?” they asked Puîaîuyaîuyan.

He replied: “Shoot even snakes and badgers,” he said. And he was there by the sea shouting away. The villagers thought: “What’s this fellow up to?” They went to have a look. And he was singing: “Stretch out, banyan tree!”

After a time the tree stretched out to the far side of the sea. And Puîaîuyaîuyan went along the tree. He reached the roof of his wife’s house, and took off his clothes and threw them down below. His wife’s child found them. “Why are these clothes here, mother? They look like ones made by you.”

“How did your father get here across the sea?”. Then Puîaîuyaîuyan took off his apron (? loincloth) and threw that down too. The child found it. “Why is this apron here? It looks like one made by you.” The mother went out, and looked up at the roof. There was Puîaîuyaîuyan laughing on the roof. His wife called to him to come indoors. After dark they sat down to supper. Puîaîuyaîuyan didn’t eat. His wife asked him: “What would you like to eat?”

“I would just like to eat an orange (or oranges).” So she picked an orange for him and gave it to him to eat. When they were going to lie down, Puîaîuyaîuyan said: “I’ll lie at the foot end,” he said to his wife. His wife said: “Don’t lie at the foot end; you’ll have trouble with the feet.”

“I’ll lie at the edge,” said Puîaîuyaîuyan. His wife said: “Don’t lie at the side; you’ll have trouble at the edge. Lie there by the pillar,” said his wife. So Puîaîuyaîuyan went to lie by the pillar. The whole night he didn’t sleep; he was just grinding his teeth. His wife asked him: “What’s the matter with you? Why don’t you sleep? Why do you grind your teeth?”

“It’s always just like that when I eat oranges,” he said. In fact he was pulling out the pillar of the house. And he caused the whole house to follow the line of the stretched out banyan tree. Next day they all woke up. And there they were on the edge of the sea. His wife was startled. “Why am I here now?” she said. Puîaîuyaîuyan said: “It was I who brought you here. I’m not bad any more. Don’t run away. Let’s all be good to one another.”

#### 002 THE SNAKE’S WIFE vaîaw nua qatjuvi (Qatsiîay village, p.145)

001 uzai a vuluvulung a tsautsau a navaik a qemaîup.

uzay a vulu-vulung a tsau-tsau a na-vaik a em=qaîup

there c red-old c red-being c past-leave c af=hunt

There was an old person who went hunting.

002 manu djemumak tua vetsiar a bulabulay.

manu em=djumak tua vetsiar a bula-bulay

then af=find obl flower c red-beautiful

He found some beautiful flowers,

003 kiyayain tu sipavai tua marka aîak a vavayavayan.

ki-yaya-en tu si-pa-vay tua marka aîak a vaya-vavayan

do-harvest-pf obl if-cause-give obl pl child c red=female

and picked them to give to his daughters.

004 manu nua qatjuvi a vetsiar a kiniyaya.

manu nua qatjuvi a vetsiar a in=ki-yaya

then of snake c flower c perf=do-harvest

The flowers he picked belonged to a snake.

005 qau mangtjez a qatjuvi.

qau m-pangetjez a qatjuvi

so af-come c snake The snake came along.

006 “aku su kiyayain a ku vetsiar?

aku su ki-yaya-en a ku vetsiar

why you(s) do-harvest-pf c my flower “Why have you picked my flowers?

007 patsikelu.

pa-tsikel-u

cause-return-imp Put them back.

008 nu ini su patsikeli, ku katsi sun,” ayain nua qatjuvi a

nu ini su pa-tsikel-i ku kats-i sun aya-en nua qatjuvi a

when not you(s) cause-return-pf I bite-pf f.you(s) say-pf by snake c

vuluvulung.

vulu-vulung

red-old If you don’t put them back, I’ll bite you,” said the snake to the old man.

009 qau patsikelen pasa tjua qapulu azua vetsiar.

qau pa-tsikel-en pa-sa tjua qa-pulu a-zua vetsiar

so cause-return-pf cause-go there ?-trunk c-that flower

So he put the flowers back to the roots.

010 îakua ini anga a patsikel.

îakua ini anga a pa-tsikel

but not indeed c cause-return But he couldn’t really put them back.

011 nu patsikelen, matjanitjani.

nu pa-tsikel-en ma-tjani-tjani

when cause-return-pf stat-red-fall When he put them back, they fell over.

012 kivadaq a qatjuvi: “uzai a nisun a aîak a vavayan, kemuda?”

ki-vadaq a qatjuvi uzay a ni-sun a aîak a vavayan em=kuda

do-ask c snake there c of-you(s) c child c female af=do.what

The snake asked: “Have you got a daughter by any chance?”

013 “uzai,” aya vuluvulung.

uzay aya vulu-vulung

there say red-old “I have,” said the old man.

014 “nu maitazua, katsuu azua vetsiar, sa pavayan tua su

nu ma-aya-ta-zua katsu-u a-zua vetsiar sa pa-vay-an tua su

when stat-be.thus-?-that carry-imp c-that flower and cause-give-lf obl your(s)

aîak.

aîak

child “In that case, take the flowers and offer them to your children.

015 a tjenglay tazua vetsiar niaken anga a vaîaw.

a tjenglay ta-zua vetsiar ni-aken anga a vaîaw

c like obl-that flower of-I indeed c spouse

The one who likes the flowers will be my wife.

016 nu ini su papuvaîavan tjanuaken, ku katsi sun,” ayain a

nu ini su pa-pu-vaîaw-an tjanu-aken ku kats-i sun aya-en a

when not you(s) cause-have-spouse-nom obl-I I bite-pf you(s) say-pf c

vuluvulung.

vulu-vulung

red-old

If you don’t give her to me as my wife, I’ll bite you,” he said to the old man.

017 qau katsuin nua vuluvulung azua vetsiar a pasa tjumaq; sa

qau katsu-en nua vulu-vulung a-zua vetsiar a pa-sa tju-umaq sa

so carry-pf by red-old c-that flower c cause-go there-house and

kivadaqi a aîak tu tima a tjenglay tazua vetsiar.

ki-vadaq-i a aîak tu ti-ima a tjenglay ta-zua vetsiar

do-ask-pf c child obl f-who c like obl-that flower

The old man took the flowers home, and asked his children which of them liked the flowers.

018 manu masengats a tjaîavuluvulungan a vavayan.

manu ma-sengats a tjaîa-vulu-vulung-an a vavayan

then stat-dislike c most-red-old-nom c female

The oldest daughter didn’t like them at all.

019 qau qemaung azua vuluvulung.

qau em=qaung a-zua vulu-vulung

so af=cry c-that red-old The old man cried.

020 “nu masengats mun, muri katsen aken nua qatjuvi,” aya tjemumaî

nu ma-sengats mun ma-uri kats-en aken nua qatjuvi aya em=tjumaî

when stat-dislike f.you(p) stat-will bite-pf f.I by snake say af=discuss

tua marka aîak.

tua marka aîak

obl pl child

“If you all dislike them, I’ll be bitten by a snake,” he told his children.

021 qau penaula a sipuîaîakan a vavayan.

qau en=pa-ula a si-pu-îaîak-an a vavayan

so af=cause-lack c if-have-child-nom c female

His youngest daughter had pity on him.

022 “nu maitazua, idan azua vetsiar tjanuaken anga.

nu ma-aya-ta-zua id-an a-zua vetsiar tjanu-aken anga

when stat-be.thus-?-that come-lf c-that flower obl-I indeed

“In that case, give the flowers to me.

023 puvaîaw aken tua qatjuvi,” aya.

pu-vaîaw aken tua qatjuvi aya

have-spouse f.I obl snake say I’ll marry the snake,” she said.

024 sipavai nua vuluvulung.

si-pa-vay nua vulu-vulung

if-cause-give by red-old So the old man gave them to her.

025 qau ka tjelutjeluan mangtjez a qatjuvi.

qau ka tjelu-tjelu-an m-pangetjez a qatjuvi

so after red-three-nom af-come c snake

On the third day the snake came.

026 “inu anga niaken a vaîaw?” aya a qatjuvi.

inu anga ni-aken a vaîaw aya a qatjuvi

where indeed of-I c spouse say c snake

“Where is my wife?” said the snake.

027 qau situlek nua kama.

qau si-tulek nua kama

so if-point by father The father pointed her out.

028 qau katsuin azua vavayan nua qatjuvi a sema tjua tapaw nimadju.

qau katsu-en a-zua vavayan nua qatjuvi a em=sa tjua tapaw ni-madju

so carry-pf c-that female by snake c af=go there hut of-3rd.pers

So the snake took the girl to his house.

029 manu vaivaik tiamadju a ma÷usa i djalan.

manu vai-vaik ti-a-madju a ma-÷usa i djalan

then red-leave f-pl-3rd.pers c num-two loc road

The two of them were going along the path;

030 mintu mapavalit tu tsautsau azua qatjuvi tu vangsangsar.

mintu ma-pa-valit tu tsau-tsau a-zua qatjuvi tu vangsangsar

sudden stat-cause-exchange alike red-being c-that snake alike handsome.man

and then the snake changed into a handsome man.

[vangsangsar: F338 has vangesangesar]

031 qau masalu aravats azua vavayan.

qau ma-salu a-ravats a-zua vavayan

so stat-believe c-true c-that female The girl was very pleased.

[masalu: F254 has salu as ‘believe’, ‘agree to’; ‘pleased’ is the Japanese gloss.]

032 djemaîun tiamadju a ma÷usa itjua tapaw nua qatjuvi.

em=djaîun ti-a-madju a ma-÷usa i-tjua tapaw nua qatjuvi

af=arrive f-pl-3rd.pers c num-two loc-there hut of snake

The two of them reached the snake’s house.

033 mintu bulay aravats azua tapaw.

mintu bulay a-ravats a-zua tapaw

sudden beautiful c-true c-that hut The house was very fine,

[mintu might mean something like ‘indeed’]

034 qaiîungan a patsatsikel.

qa-iîung-an a pa-tsa-tsikel

?-glass-nom c cause-red-return with mirrors all round.

035 nu kidjekets a lalangaw, se÷elas tua kinabulay nua tapaw.

nu ki-djekets a la-langaw se-÷elas tua in=ka-bulay nua tapaw

when do-land.on c red-fly invol-slide obl perf=main-beautiful of hut

When flies tried to alight on it, they slipped because it was so fine.

[kinabulay means ‘very fine’ here]

036 qau azua qatjuvi ini paîetsasatsasavi azua vaîaw;

qau a-zua qatjuvi ini pa-îe-tsasa-tsasaw-i a-zua vaîaw

so c-that snake not cause-go.to-red-outside-pf c-that spouse

marekutj tu maqunvuîan.

ma-rekutj tu ma-qunvuî-an

stat-fear obl stat-dusty-nom

The snake wouldn’t let his wife go outside. He was afraid of her (or the house) getting dirty.

[maqunvuîan: F235 qunevuî]

037 manu vaik azua qatjuvi a sema kavuavuan.

manu vaik a-zua qatjuvi a em=sa ka-vua-vua-an

then leave c-that snake c af=go main-red-field-nom

The snake went off to the fields.

038 mangtjez azua kaka a tjaîavuluvulungan a vavayan.

m-pangetjez a-zua kaka a tjaîa-vulu-vulung-an a vavayan

af-come c-that sibling c most-red-old-nom c female

His wife’s oldest sister came.

039 “aku bulay aravats a tsu a tapaw?

aku bulay a-ravats a tsu a tapaw

why beautiful c-true c this c hut “Why is the house so fine?

040 kana tiaken a napuvaîaw,” aya timadju a saîinga.

ka-na ti-aken a na-pu-vaîaw aya ti-madju a sa-îinga

after-then f-I c past-have-spouse say f-3rd.pers c qal-desire

If only I had married him,” she said in her longing for it.

041 qau “nangaq a ku qetsin tsu a vaîaw nua qatjuvi,” aya timadju

qau na-nguaq a ku qetsi-en tsu a vaîaw nua qatjuvi aya ti-madju

so stat-good c I fight-pf this c spouse of snake say f-3rd.pers

a kinemnem.

a kinemnem

c think “I must kill the snake’s wife,” she thought.

042 kiîavaran a kaka tjaîavuluvulungan: “nangaq a kiqaiîungan itjen,

ki-îavar-an a kaka tjaîa-vulu-vulung-an na-nguaq a ki-qa-iîung-an itjen

do-speak-lf c sibling most-red-old-nom stat-good c do-?-glass-nom f.we(inc)

tima tjabulay itjen.”

ti-ima tja-bulay itjen

f-who more-beautiful f.we(inc)

The oldest sister said: “Let’s look in the mirror, to see who is more beautiful.”

043 qau kiqaiîungan tiamadju ma÷usa.

qau ki-qa-iîung-an ti-a-madju ma-÷usa

so do-?-glass-nom f-pl-3rd.pers num-two

The two of them looked in the mirror,

044 manu tjabulay azua vaîaw nua qatjuvi.

manu tja-bulay a-zua vaîaw nua qatjuvi

then more-beautiful c-that spouse of snake

and the snake’s wife was more beautiful.

045 qau ini kasalu azua tjaîavuluvulungan.

qau ini ka-salu a-zua tjaîa-vulu-vulung-an

so not stat-believe c-that most-red-old-nom

The oldest sister was not convinced.

046 “djaîepan tu namitung sun tua bulabulay, avan su

djaîep-an tu na-ma-itung sun tua bula-bulay avan su

fit-nom compl past-stat-cloth f.you(s) obl red-beautiful exact you(s)

sikabulay,” aya.

si-ka-bulay aya

if-become-beautiful say

“Of course it’s because you’ve got a fine robe on; that’s why you look nice,” she said.

047 qau pavalivaliten a itung, sa kiqaiîungan.

qau pa-vali-valit-en a itung sa ki-qa-iîung-an

so cause-red-exchange-pf c cloth and do-?-glass-nom

So they swopped robes and looked in the mirror.

048 îakua tjabulay angata azua vaîaw nua qatjuvi.

îakua tja-bulay anga-ta a-zua vaîaw nua qatjuvi

but more-beautiful indeed-? c-that spouse of snake

But the snake’s wife was definitely more beautiful.

049 kiîavaran anan uta azua tjavulung a vavayan: “nangaq a vaik itjen

ki-îavar-an anan uta a-zua tja-vulung a vavayan na-nguaq a vaik itjen

do-speak-lf still also c-that more-old c female stat-good c leave f.we(inc)

a kiqaiîungan a sema tjua laku,” ayain azua vaîaw nua qatjuvi.

a ki-qa-iîung-an a em=sa tjua laku aya-en a-zua vaîaw nua qatjuvi

c do-?-glass-nom c af=go there waterwell say-pf c-that spouse of snake

The older said once more: “Let’s go to the well to look at our reflections,” she said to the snake’s wife.

050 qau vaik tiamadju a kiqaiîungan a sema tjua laku.

qau vaik ti-a-madju a ki-qa-iîung-an a em=sa tjua laku

so leave f-pl-3rd.pers c do-?-glass-nom c af=go there waterwell

They went to the well to look at their reflections.

051 îakua tjabulay angata azua vaîaw nua qatjuvi.

îakua tja-bulay anga-ta a-zua vaîaw nua qatjuvi

but more-beautiful indeed-? c-that spouse of snake

But the snake’s wife was definitely more beautiful.

052 limutseng azua tjavulung a vavayan.

li-mutseng a-zua tja-vulung a vavayan

qal-angry c-that more-old c female The older girl was angry.

053 sizurung a paîetaladj tua laku.

si-zurung a pa-îe-taladj tua laku

if-push c cause-go.to-inside obl waterwell

She pushed her sister into the well.

054 qau azua tjavulung a vavayan vaik anga kisan vaîaw tua qatjuvi.

qau a-zua tja-vulung a vavayan vaik anga ki-sane vaîaw tua qatjuvi

so c-that more-old c female leave indeed do-make spouse obl snake

And the older girl went to become the snake’s wife.

055 manu mangtjez a qatjuvi kasi kavuavuan, sa kiqenetji a vaîaw.

manu m-pangetjez a qatjuvi kasi ka-vua-vua-an sa ki-qenetj-i a vaîaw

then af-come c snake from main-red-field-nom and do-see-pf c spouse

The snake came back from the fields and looked at his wife.

056 “aku sekulukulung anga a ku vaîaw?” aya timadju a kinemnem.

aku se-kulu-kulung anga a ku vaîaw aya ti-madju a kinemnem

why invol-red-awkward indeed c my spouse say f-3rd.pers c think

“Why has my wife become ugly?” he thought.

057 manu vaik timadju a tsaîum a sema tjua laku.

manu vaik ti-madju a tsaîum a em=sa tjua laku

then leave f-3rd.pers c carry.water c af=go there waterwell

And he went to the well to get water.

058 manu uzai a djurikuku: “hi hi hi hi. manu ku vaîaw, aya,”

manu uzay a djurikuku hi hi hi hi manu ku vaîaw aya

then there c fowl hee hee hee hee then my spouse say

aya zemaing.

aya em=zaing

say af=call

There was a cockerel there. “Hee hee; ‘She’s my wife’ he thinks,” it crowed.

059 qau karimen azua djurikuku nua qatjuvi, sa katsu-i a tjumaq.

qau ar=kim-en a-zua djurikuku nua qatjuvi sa katsu-i a tju-umaq

so randomly=search-pf c-that fowl by snake and carry-pf c there-house

The snake looked for the cockerel and took it home.

060 qau manu vaik azua qatjuvi a sema kavuavuan.

qau manu vaik a-zua qatjuvi a em=sa ka-vua-vua-an

so then leave c-that snake c af=go main-red-field-nom

And so the snake went off to the fields.

061 “pagaîu-i tsu a djurikuku.

pa-gaîu-i tsu a djurikuku

cause-slow-hort this c fowl “Take care of this cockerel.

062 maya qemtsi,” ayain a vaîaw.

maya em=qetsi aya-en a vaîaw

don’t af=fight say-pf c spouse Don’t kill it,” he said to his wife.

063 manu ÷emasi tua kasaî.

manu em=÷asi tua kasaî

then af=dry obl rice.with.husk She put some unhulled rice out to dry.

064 manu tsug a keman azua djurikuku.

manu tsug a em=kan a-zua djurikuku

then like c af=eat c-that fowl The cockerel kept eating it.

065 qau limutseng azua vaîaw; qetsin a djurikuku nazua vaîaw.

qau li-mutseng a-zua vaîaw qetsi-en a djurikuku nua-zua vaîaw

so qal-angry c-that spouse fight-pf c fowl of-that spouse

The wife got angry, and she killed the cockerel.

[nazua = ‘of’ or ‘by’ here?]

066 mangtjez azua qatjuvi.

m-pangetjez a-zua qatjuvi

af-come c-that snake The snake came back.

067 “inu anga ku djurikuku?” ayain a vaîaw.

inu anga ku djurikuku aya-en a vaîaw

where indeed my fowl say-pf c spouse

“Where is my cockerel?” he said to his wife.

068 “keman aravats tua kasaî.

em=kan a-ravats tua kasaî

af=eat c-true obl rice.with.husk “It kept eating the rice,

069 qau ku qetsin anga,” aya kiîavaran tua vaîaw a uqaîay.

qau ku qetsi-en anga aya ki-îavar-an tua vaîaw a uqaîay

so I fight-pf indeed say do-speak-lf obl spouse c male

so I killed it,” she said to her husband.

070 qau tsuîuin anga azua djurikuku.

qau tsuîu-en anga a-zua djurikuku

so butcher-pf indeed c-that fowl So the cockerel was butchered.

071 nu djemamay a uqaîay, seti; nu djemamay a vavayan, tsuqelaî.

nu em=djamay a uqaîay seti nu em=djamay a vavayan tsuqelaî

when af=side.dish c male meat when af=side.dish c female bone

When they ate it as a side dish, the husband always got meat, and the wife got bones.

072 qau limutseng azua vavayan; siverits azua djamay.

qau li-mutseng a-zua vavayan si-verits a-zua djamay

so qal-angry c-that female if-discard c-that side.dish

The wife was angry, and threw away the side dish.

073 mintu tsemuvuq a seray itjua vinritsan.

mintu em=tsuvuq a seray i-tjua in=verits-an

sudden af=sprout c pine.sp loc-there perf=discard-nom

A pine tree sprouted at the place where the dish landed.

074 qau meqatsa azua seray, san sangelen.

qau me-qatsa a-zua seray sane sangel-en

so af-big c-that pine.sp make stool-pf

The pine tree grew tall, and the wood was used for a stool.

075 nu qemiladj a uqaîay, minseg.

nu em=qiladj a uqaîay m-ineseg

when af=sit c male af-be.still

When the husband sat on it, it was steady;

[minseg: in F101 under inesug]

076 nu qemiladj a vavayan, maîeqaîeqad.

nu em=qiladj a vavayan ma-îeqa-îeqad

when af=sit c female stat-red-wobble

but when the wife sat on it, it wobbled.

[maîeqaîeqad: in F144 as îiqad]

077 limutseng azua vavayan.

li-mutseng a-zua vavayan

qal-angry c-that female The wife was angry,

078 sipetsungu azua sangel.

si-petsungu a-zua sangel

if-make.fire c-that stool and used the stool for firewood.

There was an old person who went hunting. He found some beautiful flowers, and picked them to give to his daughters. The flowers he picked belonged to a snake. The snake came along. “Why have you picked my flowers? Put them back. If you don’t put them back, I’ll bite you,” said the snake to the old man.

So he put the flowers back to the roots. But he couldn’t really put them back. When he put them back, they fell over. The snake asked: “Have you got a daughter by any chance?”

“I have,” said the old man.

“In that case, take the flowers and offer them to your children. The one who likes the flowers will be my wife. If you don’t give her to me as my wife, I’ll bite you,” he said to the old man. The old man took the flowers home, and asked his children which of them liked the flowers. The oldest daughter didn’t like them at all.

The old man cried. “If you all dislike them, I’ll be bitten by a snake,” he told his children. His youngest daughter had pity on him. “In that case, give the flowers to me. I’ll marry the snake,” she said. So the old man gave them to her.

On the third day the snake came. “Where is my wife?” said the snake. The father pointed her out. So the snake took the girl to his house. The two of them were going along the path; and then the snake changed into a handsome man. The girl was very pleased. The two of them reached the snake’s house. The house was very fine, with mirrors all round. When flies tried to alight on it, they slipped because it was so fine. The snake wouldn’t let his wife go outside. He was afraid of her (or the house) getting dirty.

The snake went off to the fields. His wife’s oldest sister came. “Why is the house so fine? If only I had married him,” she said in her longing for it. “I must kill the snake’s wife,” she thought. The oldest sister said: “Let’s look in the mirror, to see who is more beautiful.” The two of them looked in the mirror, and the snake’s wife was more beautiful. The oldest sister was not convinced. “Of course it’s because you’ve got a fine robe on; that’s why you look nice,” she said. So they swopped robes and looked in the mirror. But the snake’s wife was definitely more beautiful. The older said once more: “Let’s go to the well to look at our reflections,” she said to the snake’s wife. They went to the well to look at their reflections. But the snake’s wife was definitely more beautiful. The older girl was angry. She pushed her sister into the well. And the older girl went to become the snake’s wife.

The snake came back from the fields and looked at his wife. “Why has my wife become ugly?” he thought. And he went to the well to get water. There was a cockerel there. “Hee hee; ‘She’s my wife’, he thinks,” it crowed. The snake looked for the cockerel and took it home. And so the snake went off to the fields. “Take care of this cockerel. Don’t kill it,” he said to his wife. She put some unhulled rice out to dry. The cockerel kept eating it. The wife got angry, and she killed the cockerel.

The snake came back. “Where is my cockerel?” he said to his wife. “It kept eating the rice, so I killed it,” she said to her husband. So the cockerel was butchered. When they ate it as a side dish, the husband always got meat, and the wife got bones. The wife was angry, and threw away the side dish. A pine tree sprouted at the place where the dish landed. The pine tree grew tall, and the wood was used for a stool. When the husband sat on it, it was steady; but when the wife sat on it, it wobbled. The wife was angry, and used the stool for firewood.

#### 003 THE STUPID MAN malutjulutjuk a uqaîay (Qatsiîay village, p.150)

001 uzai a marevaîaw ka sitsuayan.

uzay a mare-vaîaw ka si-tsuay-an

there c pair-spouse after if-long.time-nom

Once upon a time there was a couple,

002 uzai a uqaîay a aîak.

uzay a uqaîay a aîak

there c male c child and they had a son.

003 sa nasemvaî azua kina.

sa na-em=sevaî a-zua kina

and past-af=carry.on.back c-that mother

The mother was carrying the child on her back.

004 qau azua kina: “vaiku a kikasiw,” ayain a kama.

qau a-zua kina vaik-u a ki-kasiw aya-en a kama

so c-that mother leave-imp c do-tree say-pf c father

The mother said to the father: “Go and get some wood.”

005 qau “ui, vaik aken a kikasiw,” aya a kama.

qau ui vaik aken a ki-kasiw aya a kama

so yes leave f.I c do-tree say c father

“Right, I’m off to get wood,” said the father.

006 qau kematsu ta tsalis a la÷ua÷uq, sa vaik a kikasiw.

qau em=katsu ta tsalis a a÷u=la÷uq sa vaik a ki-kasiw

so af=carry obl rope c red=long and leave c do-tree

He took a long rope, and went to get wood.

007 manu uzai a qanivung a ÷usa qapuluan.

manu uzay a qanivung a ÷usa qa-pulu-an

then there c phoenix.bush c two ?-trunk-nom

There were two phoenix bushes.

008 ini seqasi; vengetjen tua tsalis, sa vatsaqi.

ini seqas-i vengetj-en tua tsalis sa vatsaq-i

not chop-pf tie-pf obl rope and carry.pole-pf

He didn’t cut them, but tied them with the rope, and put them on a pole to carry.

009 îakua ini pakakatsu.

îakua ini paka-katsu

but not able-carry But he couldn’t carry them.

010 qau ini katsu-i a kasiw; vaik a tjumaq.

qau ini katsu-i a kasiw vaik a tju-umaq

so not carry-pf c tree leave c there-house

So he took no wood, and went off home.

011 qau sa tjumaî tua vaîaw: “liaw aravats a ku kinikasiw.

qau sa tjumaî tua vaîaw liaw a-ravats a ku in=ki-kasiw

so and discuss obl spouse many c-true c I perf=do-tree

And he told his wife: “I’ve collected lots of wood.

012 ini pakakatsu aken.

ini paka-katsu aken

not able-carry f.I I couldn’t carry it.

013 vaiku a malap,” ayain a vaîaw a vavayan.

vaik-u a m-alap aya-en a vaîaw a vavayan

leave-imp c af-take say-pf c spouse c female

Go and get it,” he said to his wife.

014 qau pazazekazekatjen nua vavayan: “aitsu a ke÷ike÷i laîa-u

qau pa-za-zeka-zekatj-en nua vavayan aya-i-tsu a ke÷i-ke÷i laîa-u

so cause-red-red-share-pf by female be.thus-loc-this c red-small heat-imp

anga tua zaîum, sa papavanavi anga; sa supu-i anga

anga tua zaîum sa pa-pa-vanaw-i anga sa supu-i anga

indeed obl water and cause-cause-bathe-pf indeed and count-pf indeed

a djurikuku,” ayain a vaîaw a uqaîay.

a djurikuku aya-en a vaîaw a uqaîay

c fowl say-pf c spouse c male

The woman gave him an order: “Heat up some water for this child and bathe him; and count the chickens,” said the wife to the man.

015 qau a vaîaw a vavayan sa vaik a kikasiw.

qau a vaîaw a vavayan sa vaik a ki-kasiw

so c spouse c female and leave c do-tree

And the wife went to get the wood.

016 qau a uqaîay a vaîaw laîain a zaîum a papinatuk, sa pataladjen

qau a uqaîay a vaîaw laîa-en a zaîum a pa-pinatuk sa pa-taladj-en

so c male c spouse heat-pf c water c cause-boil and cause-inside-pf

a ke÷ike÷i.

a ke÷i-ke÷i

c red-small

So the husband heated some water till it was boiling, and put the child in it.

017 navungisir anga azua ke÷ike÷i a namatsay anga.

navungisir anga a-zua ke÷i-ke÷i a na-m-patsay anga

bare.teeth indeed c-that red-small c past-af-die indeed

The child died with teeth bared(?).

018 qau azua vaîaw a uqaîay: “masalusalu a ke÷ike÷i a ku

qau a-zua vaîaw a uqaîay ma-salu-salu a ke÷i-ke÷i a ku

so c-that spouse c male stat-red-believe c red-small c I

papavanavan,” ayaya malevaleva tua namatsay anga

pa-pa-vanaw-an ay-aya ma-leva-leva tua na-m-patsay anga

cause-cause-bathe-lf red-say stat-red-pleased obl past-af-die indeed

a ke÷ike÷i.

a ke÷i-ke÷i

c red-small

The husband thought: “The child is glad I’ve bathed it,” and he was happy about the dead child.

019 qau pakanan a djurikuku uta, sa djameqi, sa penipeni÷i a liqu;

qau pa-kan-an a djurikuku uta sa djameq-i sa peni-peni÷-i a liqu

so cause-eat-lf c fowl also and catch-pf and red-twist-pf c neck

qau sa kelayan pitjua djeîep.

qau sa kelay-an pi-tjua djeîep

so and hang-lf put-there wall

He fed the chickens too; then caught them and wrung their necks, and hung them up on the wall.

[penipeni*÷i*: F has penid, not peni÷]

020 qau azua vavayan vaik a malap tua kinikasiw.

qau a-zua vavayan vaik a m-alap tua in=ki-kasiw

so c-that female leave c af-take obl perf=do-tree

The woman went to collect the wood he had gathered.

021 manu inika kasiw; qapulu nua qanivung.

manu ini-ka kasiw qa-pulu nua qanivung

then not-after tree ?-trunk of phoenix.bush

But it wasn’t wood; it was whole phoenix bushes.

022 qau tsemikel a tjumaq azua vavayan.

qau em=tsikel a tju-umaq a-zua vavayan

so af=return c there-house c-that female So she returned home.

023 “su sinupu anga a djurikuku?” ayain a kivadaq a vaîaw a uqaîay.

su in=supu anga a djurikuku aya-en a ki-vadaq a vaîaw a uqaîay

you(s) perf=count indeed c fowl say-pf c do-ask c spouse c male

“Have you counted the chickens?” she asked her husband.

024 “sinupu anga azua ku sinikelay,” ayain.

in=supu anga a-zua ku in=si-kelay aya-en

perf=count indeed c-that I perf=if-hang say-pf

“I’ve counted the ones I’ve hung up,” he told her.

025 qenetjan nua vavayan; namatsay anga a djurikuku a penuîat.

qenetj-an nua vavayan na-m-patsay anga a djurikuku a en=puîat

see-lf by female past-af-die indeed c fowl c af=all

The woman had a look; all the chickens were dead.

026 limutseng aravats a vavayan.

li-mutseng a-ravats a vavayan

qal-angry c-true c female The woman was very angry.

027 qau kivadaqan uta: “pinapavanavan anga a ke÷ike÷i?”

qau ki-vadaq-an uta in=pa-pa-vanaw-an anga a ke÷i-ke÷i

so do-ask-lf also perf=cause-cause-bathe-lf indeed c red-small

ayain a kivadaq.

aya-en a ki-vadaq

say-pf c do-ask

She also asked: “Has the child had a bath?” she asked him.

028 “ui, ku pinapavanavan anga; masalu aravats,

ui ku in=pa-pa-vanaw-an anga ma-salu a-ravats

yes I perf=cause-cause-bathe-lf indeed stat-believe c-true

djemelidjeli a naqemereng,” aya tua namatsay anga.

em=djeli-djeli a na-em=qereng aya tua na-m-patsay anga

af=red-laugh c past-af=lie.down say obl past-af-die indeed

“Yes, I’ve bathed him. He liked it very much; he’s lying there smiling,” he said about the dead child.

[naqemereng: originally naqemeleng.]

029 vaiken a kiqenetj nua vavayan.

vaik-en a ki-qenetj nua vavayan

leave-pf c do-see by female The woman went to look at it.

030 mintu namatsay anga.

mintu na-m-patsay anga

sudden past-af-die indeed And it was dead.

031 puvarung aravats azua vavayan; qemaung anga.

pu-varung a-ravats a-zua vavayan em=qaung anga

have-chest c-true c-that female af=cry indeed

The woman was very upset, and cried.

032 qau kiîavaran a uqaîay: “aku qemaung sun a paqeteleng?

qau ki-îavar-an a uqaîay aku em=qaung sun a pa-qeteleng

so do-speak-lf c male why af=cry f.you(s) c cause-randomly

The man said: “Why are you being so silly as to cry?

033 a djemelidjeli a ke÷ike÷i.”

a em=djeli-djeli a ke÷i-ke÷i

c af=red-laugh c red-small The child is smiling.”

034 kiîavaran a vavayan: “aya itjen tua namatsay anga?” aya.

ki-îavar-an a vavayan aya itjen tua na-m-patsay anga aya

do-speak-lf c female say f.we(inc) obl past-af-die indeed say

The woman said: “Do we talk like that about the dead?”

035 qau sa qaung anga azua vavayan.

qau sa qaung anga a-zua vavayan

so and cry indeed c-that female And the woman cried.

036 qau tsuay anga, “alapu tua titaw katua pungki,” ayain a uqaîay.

qau tsuay anga alap-u tua titaw ka-tua pungki aya-en a uqaîay

so long.time indeed take-imp obl hoe and-obl basket say-pf c male

After a time she said to the man: “Take a hoe and basket.

037 qau vaik a malap tua titaw katua pungki; sa vaik tiamadju a

qau vaik a m-alap tua titaw ka-tua pungki sa vaik ti-a-madju a

so leave c af-take obl hoe and-obl basket and leave f-pl-3rd.pers c

sema tsemtsemel.

em=sa tsem-tsemel

af=go red-plant

So he went and got a hoe and basket; and they went off into the woods.

038 qau “kali-u tsu a imaza,” ayain.

qau kali-u tsu a i-maza aya-en

so dig-imp this c loc-here say-pf “Dig here,” she told him.

039 kaliin nua uqaîay.

kali-en nua uqaîay

dig-pf by male The man dug there.

040 qau sa muri tseveîen azua ke÷ike÷i.

qau sa ma-uri tseveî-en a-zua ke÷i-ke÷i

so and stat-will bury-pf c-that red-small The child was to be buried.

041 manu magarang a uqaîay: “aku tseveîen a paqeteleng, a masalusalu

manu ma-garang a uqaîay aku tseveî-en a pa-qeteleng a ma-salu-salu

then stat-scold c male why bury-pf c cause-randomly c stat-red-believe

a djemelidjeli a ke÷ike÷i?”

a em=djeli-djeli a ke÷i-ke÷i

c af=red-laugh c red-small

But the man was angry: “Why are you being so silly as to bury him? The child is happy and smiling.”

042 “namatsay anga,” ayain nua vavayan.

na-m-patsay anga aya-en nua vavayan

past-af-die indeed say-pf by female “He’s dead,” the woman told him.

043 qau tseveîen anga nimadju.

qau tseveî-en anga ni-madju

so bury-pf indeed by-3rd.pers And she buried him.

044 qau sa tulu-i anga azua uqaîay: “nu mapuvaruvarung a tja

qau sa tulu-i anga a-zua uqaîay nu ma-pu-varu-varung a tja

so and teach-pf indeed c-that male when stat-have-red-chest c our(inc)

salasaladj, nu qemauqaung, tja pusaladjan a

sala-saladj nu em=qau-qaung tja pu-saladj-an a

red-companion when af=red-cry we(inc) have-companion-lf c

mapuvarung a qemaung, saka nangaq.”

ma-pu-varung a em=qaung sa-ka na-nguaq

stat-have-chest c af=cry and-after stat-good

Then the man was taught: “When our friends are upset and cry, we join them in being upset and crying; that’s the right thing to do.”

045 qau tsuatsuay anga manu uzai a pakaikaiv.

qau tsua-tsuay anga manu uzay a pa-kai-kaiv

so red-long.time indeed then there c cause-red-meal

After a time some people gave a wedding supper,

046 qau vaik a kiqepu tiamadju.

qau vaik a ki-qepu ti-a-madju

so leave c do-associate f-pl-3rd.pers and they went to it.

047 manu qemaung azua pinakaivan a vavayan.

manu em=qaung a-zua in=pa-kaiv-an a vavayan

then af=cry c-that perf=cause-meal-nom c female

The bride for whom the supper was given cried;

048 mintu qemaung uta azua uqaîay.

mintu em=qaung uta a-zua uqaîay

sudden af=cry also c-that male and then the man cried too.

049 qau kirivuan nua vaîaw a vavayan: “aku qemaung sun a

qau ki-rivu-an nua vaîaw a vavayan aku em=qaung sun a

so do-quarrel-lf by spouse c female why af=cry f.you(s) c

paqeteleng?” ayain.

pa-qeteleng aya-en

cause-randomly say-pf

He was told off by his wife: “Why are you being so silly as to cry?” she said to him.

050 “‘nu qemauqaung a qaliqali, qemaung itjen a pusaladj,’

nu em=qau-qaung a qali-qali em=qaung itjen a pu-saladj

when af=red-cry c red-friend af=cry f.we(inc) c have-companion

aya sun.

aya sun

say f.you(s) “You said: ‘When other people cry, we join them in crying.’

051 aku kirivu sun a paqeteleng?” ayain a vavayan.

aku ki-rivu sun a pa-qeteleng aya-en a vavayan

why do-quarrel f.you(s) c cause-randomly say-pf c female

So why on earth are you scolding me?” he said to her.

052 qau keman ta tsengeî.

qau em=kan ta tsengeî

so af=eat obl lunch Once they were eating lunch.

053 nu paîetekutekuin, puîapuîaten a djemamay nua uqaîay.

nu pa-îe-teku-teku-en puîa-puîat-en a em=djamay nua uqaîay

when cause-go.to-red-down-pf red-all-pf c af=side.dish by male

When the food was being put on the table, the man ate up all the side dishes.

054 qau masiaq azua vavayan.

qau ma-siaq a-zua vavayan

so stat-shame c-that female The woman was ashamed.

055 “maya djemamay aravats.

maya em=djamay a-ravats

don’t af=side.dish c-true “Don’t eat so much of the side dishes.

056 ku qadjayay a su lima.

ku qadjay-ay a su lima

I tie-lf c your(s) hand I’ll tie a string round your arm.

057 nu ku tsi÷tsi÷en, djamayu,” ayain.

nu ku tsi÷tsi÷-en djamay-u aya-en

when I tug-pf side.dish-imp say-pf

When I tug it, you can eat some,” she said to him.

[tsi÷tsi÷en: perhaps should be tjirtjiren.]

058 nu tsuay anga ini tsi÷tsi÷i.

nu tsuay anga ini tsi÷tsi÷-i

when long.time indeed not tug-pf For a long time there was no tug.

059 “aku ini anga su tsi÷tsi÷tsi÷i?” aya a uqaîay.

aku ini anga su tsi÷-tsi÷tsi÷-i aya a uqaîay

why not indeed you(s) red-tug-pf say c male

“Why haven’t you tugged yet?” said the man.

060 manu tjemala tideq sa paqaquîuts a vatu.

manu tjemala tideq sa pa-qa-quîuts a vatu

then enter space and cause-red-tussle c dog

Then some dogs came into the space between them and started a tussle;

[tjemala: could be m=tjala, tjemala, tjemaîa?]

061 qau matsi÷tsi÷ a lima.

qau ma-tsi÷tsi÷ a lima

so stat-tug c hand and so his arm got tugged.

062 tjadjaîaw anan a djemamay.

tja-djaîaw anan a em=djamay

more-quickly still c af=side.dish

He went at the side dishes even more crazily (?even quicker).

[tjadjaîaw: tjaîauîau in OA, but probably a transcription error.]

063 qau puîaten anga a djamay.

qau puîat-en anga a djamay

so all-pf indeed c side.dish He ate up all the side dishes;

064 nekanga nu sidjamay nua qaliqali.

neka-anga nu si-djamay nua qali-qali

no-indeed of if-side.dish of red-friend there was nothing left for anyone else.

Once upon a time there was a couple, and they had a son. The mother was carrying the child on her back. The mother said to the father: “Go and get some wood.”

“Right, I’m off to get wood,” said the father. He took a long rope, and went to get wood. There were two phoenix bushes. He didn’t cut them, but tied them with the rope, and put them on a pole to carry. But he couldn’t carry them. So he took no wood, and went off home. And he told his wife: “I’ve collected lots of wood. I couldn’t carry it. Go and get it,” he said to his wife.

The woman gave him an order: “Heat up some water for this child and bathe him; and count the chickens,” said the wife to the man. And the wife went to get the wood. So the husband heated some water till it was boiling, and put the child in it. The child died with teeth bared(?). The husband thought: “The child is glad I’ve bathed it,” and he was happy about the dead child. He fed the chickens too; then caught them and wrung their necks, and hung them up on the wall. The woman went to collect the wood he had gathered. But it wasn’t wood; it was whole phoenix bushes. So she returned home. “Have you counted the chickens?” she asked her husband.

“I’ve counted the ones I’ve hung up,” he told her. The woman had a look; all the chickens were dead. The woman was very angry. She also asked: “Has the child had a bath?” she asked him. “Yes, I’ve bathed him. He liked it very much; he’s lying there smiling,” he said about the dead child. The woman went to look at it. And it was dead. The woman was very upset, and cried.

The man said: “Why are you being so silly as to cry? The child is smiling.” The woman said: “Do we talk like that about the dead?” And the woman cried. After a time she said to the man: “Take a hoe and basket.” So he went and got a hoe and basket; and they went off into the woods. “Dig here,” she told him. The man dug there. The child was to be buried. But the man was angry: “Why are you being so silly as to bury him? The child is happy and smiling.”

“He’s dead,” the woman told him. And she buried him. Then the man was taught: “When our friends are upset and cry, we join them in being upset and crying; that’s the right thing to do.”

After a time some people gave a wedding supper, and they went to it. The bride for whom the supper was given cried; and then the man cried too. He was told off by his wife: “Why are you being so silly as to cry?” she said to him. “You said: ‘When other people cry, we join them in crying.’ So why on earth are you scolding me?” he said to her.

Once they were eating lunch. When the food was being put on the table, the man ate up all the side dishes. The woman was ashamed. “Don’t eat so much of the side dishes. I’ll tie a string round your arm. When I tug it, you can eat some,” she said to him. For a long time there was no tug. “Why haven’t you tugged yet?” said the man. Then some dogs came into the space between them and started a tussle; and so his arm got tugged. He went at the side dishes even more crazily(?even quicker). He ate up all the side dishes; there was nothing left for anyone else.

#### 004 THE BROTHERS marekaka (Qatsiîay village, p.154)

001 uzai a ma÷usa a marekaka ka sitsuayan.

uzay a ma-÷usa a mare-kaka ka si-tsuay-an

there c num-two c pair-sibling after if-long.time-nom

Once upon a time there were two brothers.

002 kiîavaran a kaka tjaîaîak: “uzai a djaraîap i katsasavan

ki-îavar-an a kaka tja-îaîak uzay a djaraîap i ka-tsasaw-an

do-speak-lf c sibling more-child there c banyan loc main-outside-nom

ku liîing.

ku liîing

I shelter

The younger brother said: “There is a banyan tree in the courtyard that I shelter under.

003 nu tja leglegen, matjani a vaîitjuq kasi vavaw tua djaraîap,

nu tja legleg-en ma-tjani a vaîitjuq kasi va-vaw tua djaraîap

when we(inc) shake-pf stat-fall c money from red-above obl banyan

kaka,” ayain a tjavulung.

kaka aya-en a tja-vulung

sibling say-pf c more-old

When we shake it, money falls down from on top of the banyan, brother,” he said to the older one.

[leglegen: OA has regregen (= ‘cut with saw’), but with Japanese translation ‘shake’.]

004 qau “nu maitazua vaik anga ken kiliîing, sa ku leglegi

qau nu ma-aya-ta-zua vaik anga aken ki-liîing sa ku legleg-i

so when stat-be.thus-?-that leave indeed f.I do-shelter and I shake-pf

anga, uîa ken a puvaîitjuq,” aya a kaka a tjavulung.

anga uîa aken a pu-vaîitjuq aya a kaka a tja-vulung

indeed so.that f.I c have-money say c sibling c more-old

“In that case I’ll go and shelter under it and shake it, so that I can get some money,” said the older brother.

005 qau inika tsuatsuay vaik azua kaka a tjavulung a kiliîing,

qau ini-ka tsua-tsuay vaik a-zua kaka a tja-vulung a ki-liîing

so not-after red-long.time leave c-that sibling c more-old c do-shelter

sa leglegi.

sa legleg-i

and shake-pf

Not long afterwards the older brother went and sheltered under it and shook it.

006 manu matjani a marka qatjuvi marka qatjulaî marka qatsiîay.

manu ma-tjani a marka qatjuvi marka qatjulaî marka qatsiîay

then stat-fall c pl snake pl worm pl stone

But snakes, worms and stones fell down.

007 qau limutseng azua kaka a tjavulung.

qau li-mutseng a-zua kaka a tja-vulung

so qal-angry c-that sibling c more-old The older brother was angry,

008 muri seqasen a kaka a tjaîaîak.

ma-uri seqas-en a kaka a tja-îaîak

stat-will chop-pf c sibling c more-child

and was going to knife his younger brother.

009 qau kiîavaran a kaka a tjaîaîak: “nu ini su kasalu,

qau ki-îavar-an a kaka a tja-îaîak nu ini su ka-salu

so do-speak-lf c sibling c more-child when not you(s) stat-believe

tiakenay a lemegleg.”

ti-aken-ay a em=legleg

f-I-lf c af=shake

The younger brother said: “If you don’t believe me, I’ll do the shaking.”

010 qau leglegen nimadju.

qau legleg-en ni-madju

so shake-pf by-3rd.pers He shook it;

011 mintu matjani a vaîitjuq marka situngan.

mintu ma-tjani a vaîitjuq marka si-itung-an

sudden stat-fall c money pl if-cloth-nom

and down fell money and clothes.

012 qau masalu anga a kaka a tjavulung.

qau ma-salu anga a kaka a tja-vulung

so stat-believe indeed c sibling c more-old

So the older brother believed him.

013 kiîavaran anan uta azua kaka a tjaîaîak: “uzai a niaken a titaw

ki-îavar-an anan uta a-zua kaka a tja-îaîak uzay a ni-aken a titaw

do-speak-lf still also c-that sibling c more-child there c of-I c hoe

a bulabulay.

a bula-bulay

c red-beautiful The younger brother also said: “I’ve got a fine hoe.

014 nu tja sikali tua qipu, îekatsauan a sauzayan,”

nu tja si-kali tua qipu îe-ka-tsau-an a sa-uzay-an

when we(inc) if-dig obl soil go.to-become-being-lf c qal-there-nom

ayain a kaka tjavulung.

aya-en a kaka tja-vulung

say-pf c sibling more-old

If we dig the soil with it, treasure appears,” he said to his older brother.

[sauzayan: under uzai in F330]

015 kiîavaran a kaka a tjavulung: “nu maitazua pasedjami

ki-îavar-an a kaka a tja-vulung nu ma-aya-ta-zua pa-sedjam-i

do-speak-lf c sibling c more-old when stat-be.thus-?-that cause-borrow-hort

aken tua nisun a titaw,” aya a kaka a tjavulung.

aken tua ni-sun a titaw aya a kaka a tja-vulung

f.I obl of-you(s) c hoe say c sibling c more-old

The older brother said: “In that case lend me your hoe,” said the older brother.

016 qau pasedjaman, sa titavan nua kaka a tjavulung tua qipu.

qau pa-sedjam-an sa titaw-an nua kaka a tja-vulung tua qipu

so cause-borrow-lf and hoe-lf by sibling c more-old obl soil

So he lent it and the older one hoed the soil with it.

017 îakua nu temitaw, qatsiîai katua kasiw sakamaya.

îakua nu em=titaw qatsiîay ka-tua kasiw sakamaya

but when af=hoe stone and-obl tree only

But when he hoed there were only stones and wood.

018 qau limutseng azua kaka; siverits azua titaw.

qau li-mutseng a-zua kaka si-verits a-zua titaw

so qal-angry c-that sibling if-discard c-that hoe

So that brother was angry and threw away the hoe.

019 qau limutseng azua kaka a tjaîaîak uta.

qau li-mutseng a-zua kaka a tja-îaîak uta

so qal-angry c-that sibling c more-child also

So the younger brother was angry too.

020 ini anga pare qaqivuivu tiamadju.

ini anga pare qa-ivu=qivu ti-a-madju

not indeed pair ?-red=speak f-pl-3rd.pers

They wouldn’t speak to one another.

021 uzai a qadaw malap azua kaka a tjaîaîak tua îaugiu, sa kani.

uzay a qadaw m-alap a-zua kaka a tja-îaîak tua îaugiu sa kan-i

there c sun af-take c-that sibling c more-child obl shallot and eat-pf

One day the younger brother took some shallots and ate them,

022 sa vaik a sema tjua mamazangiîan, sa qetjutj.

sa vaik a em=sa tjua ma-ma-zangiî-an sa qetjutj

and leave c af=go there stat-stat-chief-nom and break.wind

and went to the chief’s place, and broke wind.

023 manu semqu azua mamazangiîan; manu paka nguîinguî

manu em=sequ a-zua ma-ma-zangiî-an manu pa-ka nguîinguî

then af=smell c-that stat-stat-chief-nom then cause-become fragrant

aravats a mamazangiîan.

a-ravats a ma-ma-zangiî-an

c-true c stat-stat-chief-nom

The chief smelled it and thought it very fragrant.

024 qau pavayan tua vaîitjuq marka lami.

qau pa-vay-an tua vaîitjuq marka lami

so cause-give-lf obl money pl staple.food

And he gave him money and staple foods.

025 manu lemangda a kaka a tjavulung tu nakeman tua îaugiu sa

manu em=langeda a kaka a tja-vulung tu na-em=kan tua îaugiu sa

then af=hear c sibling c more-old obl past-af=eat obl shallot and

qetjutj; qau kipavayan anga timadju tua vaîitjuq, aya

qetjutj qau ki-pa-vay-an anga ti-madju tua vaîitjuq aya

break.wind so do-cause-give-lf indeed f-3rd.pers obl money say

linangdan.

in=langeda-an

perf=hear-lf

The older brother heard that he had eaten shallots and broken wind, and had been given money, according to what he heard.

026 “nangaq a vaik aken a tsemakaw tua îaugiu, sa ku kani;

na-nguaq a vaik aken a em=tsakaw tua îaugiu sa ku kan-i

stat-good c leave f.I c af=steal obl shallot and I eat-pf

sa ku vaik a qemtjutj tua mamazangiîan.

sa ku vaik a em=qetjutj tua ma-ma-zangiî-an

and I leave c af=break.wind obl stat-stat-chief-nom

“I must go and steal some shallots and eat them and go and break wind to the chief,

027 ki ken a pavayi anga tua vaîitjuq nua mamazangiîan,” aya

ki aken a pa-vay-i anga tua vaîitjuq nua ma-ma-zangiî-an aya

will f.I c cause-give-pf indeed obl money by stat-stat-chief-nom say

timadju.

ti-madju

f-3rd.pers and the chief will give me some money,” he said.

028 qau vaik a tsemakaw tua îaugiu sa kani, sa vaik a qemtjutj

qau vaik a em=tsakaw tua îaugiu sa kan-i sa vaik a em=qetjutj

so leave c af=steal obl shallot and eat-pf and leave c af=break.wind

tua mamazangiîan.

tua ma-ma-zangiî-an

obl stat-stat-chief-nom

So he went and stole some shallots and ate them, and went and broke wind to the chief.

029 manu qangsel aravats.

manu qangsel a-ravats

then stink c-true It made a dreadful stink.

030 qau limutseng a mamazangiîan.

qau li-mutseng a ma-ma-zangiî-an

so qal-angry c stat-stat-chief-nom The chief was angry,

031 seqasen anga azua kaka a tjavulung.

seqas-en anga a-zua kaka a tja-vulung

chop-pf indeed c-that sibling c more-old

and the older brother was cut down (and killed).

Once upon a time there were two brothers. The younger brother said: “There is a banyan tree in the courtyard that I shelter under. When we shake it, money falls down from on top of the banyan, brother,” he said to the older one.

“In that case I’ll go and shelter under it and shake it, so that I can get some money,” said the older brother. Not long afterwards the older brother went and sheltered under it and shook it. But snakes, worms and stones fell down. The older brother was angry, and was going to knife his younger brother. The younger brother said: “If you don’t believe me, I’ll do the shaking.” He shook it; and down fell money and clothes. So the older brother believed him.

The younger brother also said: “I’ve got a fine hoe. If we dig the soil with it, treasure appears,” he said to his older brother. The older brother said: “In that case lend me your hoe,” said the older brother. So he lent it and the older one hoed the soil with it. But when he hoed there were only stones and wood. So that brother was angry and threw away the hoe. So the younger brother was angry too. They wouldn’t speak to one another.

One day the younger brother took some shallots and ate them, and went to the chief’s place, and broke wind. The chief smelled it and thought it very fragrant. And he gave him money and staple foods. The older brother heard that he had eaten shallots and broken wind, and had been given money, according to what he heard. “I must go and steal some shallots and eat them and go and break wind to the chief, and the chief will give me some money,” he said. So he went and stole some shallots and ate them, and went and broke wind to the chief. It made a dreadful stink. The chief was angry, and the older brother was cut down (and killed).

#### 005 PUïAïUYAïUYAN AND SIMIDALU ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan kati sa Simidalu (Qatsiîay village p.157)

001 uzai ka sitsuayan ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan, navaik a kiseqas

uzay ka si-tsuay-an ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan na-vaik a ki-seqas

there after if-long.time-nom f.h h (name) past-leave c do-chop

tua se Tjuavudas.

tua se Tjuavudas

obl person.of (place)

Once upon a time there was a man called Puîaîuyaîuyan, who went to fight the Tjuavudas people.

002 nakuya aravats a sikudan nua se Tjuavudas a tsautsau;

na-kuya a-ravats a si-kuda-an nua se Tjuavudas a tsau-tsau

stat-bad c-true c if-do.what-nom of person.of (place) c red-being

tsug a tsemakaw; marka semqas tua tsautsau.

tsug a em=tsakaw marka em=seqas tua tsau-tsau

like c af=steal pl af=chop obl red-being

The Tjuavudas people were very bad; they were fond of stealing and of killing people.

003 qau limutseng ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan; mirava, sa vaik a kiseqas

qau li-mutseng ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan mi-rava sa vaik a ki-seqas

so qal-angry f.h h (name) af-prepare and leave c do-chop

tua se Tjuavudas.

tua se Tjuavudas

obl person.of (place)

Puîaîuyaîuyan was angry. He got ready, and went to fight the Tjuavudas people.

004 qau djemaîun itjua qinaîan nua se Tjuavudas.

qau em=djaîun i-tjua in=qaîa-an nua se Tjuavudas

so af=arrive loc-there perf=outsider-nom of person.of (place)

He got to the village of the Tjuavudas people,

005 kiseqasan ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan a se Tjuavudas a lima a qadaw.

ki-seqas-an ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan a se Tjuavudas a lima a qadaw

do-chop-lf by h (name) c person.of (place) c five c sun

and fought against them for five days.

006 îakua matsidiî ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan, tjuruvu a se Tjuavudas.

îakua ma-tsidiî ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan tjuruvu a se Tjuavudas

but stat-alone f.h h (name) many c person.of (place)

But Puîaîuyaîuyan was on his own, and there were lots of the Tjuavudas people.

007 qau ini vala ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan; qetsiin anga nua se Tjuavudas.

qau ini vala ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan qetsi-en anga nua se Tjuavudas

so not able f.h h (name) fight-pf indeed by person.of (place)

Puîaîuyaîuyan couldn’t win, and he was killed by the Tjuavudas people.

008 qau sa tseludju-i anga tua kavayan a qulu katua tsuqelaî.

qau sa tseludju-i anga tua kavayan a qulu ka-tua tsuqelaî

so and point-pf indeed obl bamboo.sp c head and-obl bone

And his head and skeleton were impaled on bamboo spikes.

009 manu uzai a aîak ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan, ti sa Simidalu a ngadan.

manu uzay a aîak ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan ti sa Simidalu a ngadan

then there c child of h (name) f.h h (name) c name

Puîaîuyaîuyan had a child called Simidalu.

010 qau meqatsa azua; kivadaq tua kina: “tima ku kama?

qau me-qatsa a-zua ki-vadaq tua kina ti-ima ku kama

so af-big c-that do-ask obl mother f-who my father

He grew up, and asked his mother: “Mother, who is my father?

011 aku neka ku kama i tjumaq?” ayain a kina.

aku neka ku kama i tju-umaq aya-en a kina

why no my father loc there-house say-pf c mother

Why is my father not here at home?” he said to his mother.

012 îakua marekutj a kina a tjemumaî tu qintsi nua se

îakua ma-rekutj a kina a em=tjumaî tu in=qetsi nua se

but stat-fear c mother c af=discuss compl perf=fight by person.of

Tjuavudas; marekutj tu vaik anan a kikuang tua se Tjuavudas.

Tjuavudas ma-rekutj tu vaik anan a ki-kuang tua se Tjuavudas

(place) stat-fear obl leave still c do-firearm obl person.of (place)

But his mother was afraid to tell him that his father had been killed by Tjuavudas people; she was afraid that he too would go and fight the Tjuavudas people.

013 îakua manu vaik a kivadaq tua qaliqali ti sa Simidalu.

îakua manu vaik a ki-vadaq tua qali-qali ti sa Simidalu

but then leave c do-ask obl red-friend f.h h (name)

But Simidalu went and asked others,

014 manu tjumaîan nua qaliqali.

manu tjumaî-an nua qali-qali

then discuss-lf by red-friend and they told him.

015 qau kemîang anga ti sa Simidalu tu qintsi a kama nua se

qau em=keîang anga ti sa Simidalu tu in=qetsi a kama nua se

so af=know indeed f.h h (name) obl perf=fight c father by person.of

Tjuavudas.

Tjuavudas

(place)

So now Simidalu knew that his father had been killed by the Tjuavudas people.

016 “nu maitazua vaik aken a kiquîis tua se Tjuavudas,”

nu ma-aya-ta-zua vaik aken a ki-quîis tua se Tjuavudas

when stat-be.thus-?-that leave f.I c do-turn obl person.of (place)

aya kinemnem.

aya kinemnem

say think

“In that case I’ll go and get revenge on the Tjuavudas people,” he thought.

017 qau ini tjumaî tua kina; vaik timadju a sema tjua qinaîan

qau ini tjumaî tua kina vaik ti-madju a em=sa tjua in=qaîa-an

so not discuss obl mother leave f-3rd.pers c af=go there perf=outsider-nom

nua se Tjuavudas, sa kikuangi a se Tjuavudas.

nua se Tjuavudas sa ki-kuang-i a se Tjuavudas

of person.of (place) and do-firearm-pf c person.of (place)

He didn’t tell his mother; he went to the village of the Tjuavudas people and fired on them.

018 azua ti sa Simidalu saigu aravats a kiseqas.

a-zua ti sa Simidalu saigu a-ravats a ki-seqas

c-that f.h h (name) skill c-true c do-chop

Simidalu was a very skilful fighter.

019 qau ini anga vala a se Tjuavudas.

qau ini anga vala a se Tjuavudas

so not indeed able c person.of (place)

The Tjuavudas people couldn’t win.

020 qau djumaken a tsuqelaî katua qulu nua kama, a sinipatseludju

qau djumak-en a tsuqelaî ka-tua qulu nua kama a in=si-pa-tseludju

so find-pf c bone and-obl head of father c perf=if-cause-point

tua kavayan.

tua kavayan

obl bamboo.sp

He found his father’s skeleton and head, impaled on bamboo spikes.

021 qau alapen nimadju sa paîeteku-i, sa qepu-i a tsuqelaî.

qau alap-en ni-madju sa pa-îe-teku-i sa qepu-i a tsuqelaî

so take-pf by-3rd.pers and cause-go.to-down-pf and associate-pf c bone

He took them down and collected up the bones.

022 qau sa kisenayi nimadju: “kuda mapatsatsaitsaing a tsuqelaî

qau sa ki-senay-i ni-madju kuda ma-pa-tsa-tsai-tsaing a tsuqelaî

so and do-chant-pf by-3rd.pers do.what stat-cause-red-red-fasten c bone

ni kama.”

ni kama

of father And he chanted over them: “May father’s bones join together!”

023 qau mapatsatsaitsaing a tsuqelaî nua kama.

qau ma-pa-tsa-tsai-tsaing a tsuqelaî nua kama

so stat-cause-red-red-fasten c bone of father

And his father’s bones joined together.

024 “kuda puseti ti kama.”

kuda pu-seti ti kama

do.what have-meat f.h father “May flesh come on my father’s body!”

025 puseti a kama.

pu-seti a kama

have-meat c father Flesh came on his father’s body.

026 “kuda kiîavaran ti kama.”

kuda ki-îavar-an ti kama

do.what do-speak-lf f.h father “May father speak!”

027 kiîavaran a kama.

ki-îavar-an a kama

do-speak-lf c father His father spoke.

028 qau mevaîut anga a kama.

qau me-vaîut anga a kama

so af-alive indeed c father His father had come back to life.

029 qau miravanga tiamadju; qau sa vaik anga tjumaq.

qau mi-rava-anga ti-a-madju qau sa vaik anga tju-umaq

so af-prepare-indeed f-pl-3rd.pers so and leave indeed there-house

So they got ready and went back home.

030 qau djemaîun i gadegade.

qau em=djaîun i gade-gade

so af=arrive loc red-mountain They got to the mountain ridge.

031 penanang ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan.

en=panang ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan

af=shout.war.cry f.h h (name) Puîaîuyaîuyan gave a victory shout.

032 qau lemangda a i tjumaq.

qau em=langeda a i tju-umaq

so af=hear c loc there-house The people at home heard it.

033 “aku uzai azua penanang?

aku uzay a-zua en=panang

why there c-that af=shout.war.cry “Why is someone giving a victory shout?

034 matu ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan,” aya a qaliqali.

ma-tu ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan aya a qali-qali

stat-alike f.h h (name) say c red-friend

It sounds like Puîaîuyaîuyan,” people said.

035 penanang uta ti sa Simidalu.

en=panang uta ti sa Simidalu

af=shout.war.cry also f.h h (name) Simidalu also gave a shout,

036 qau langdan nua qaliqali.

qau langeda-an nua qali-qali

so hear-lf by red-friend and was heard by the other people.

037 “aku uzai azua sinipanang?

aku uzay a-zua in=si-panang

why there c-that perf=if-shout.war.cry

“What is there to give a victory shout about?

038 matu ti sa Simidalu,” aya a qaliqali.

ma-tu ti sa Simidalu aya a qali-qali

stat-alike f.h h (name) say c red-friend

It sounds like Simidalu,” people said.

039 qau viliviliîan anga penanang anga tiamadju a ma÷usa.

qau vili-viliî-an anga en=panang anga ti-a-madju a ma-÷usa

so red-behind-lf indeed af=shout.war.cry indeed f-pl-3rd.pers c num-two

Finally they both shouted together.

040 mintu sa linguîan nua quîivangeraw tu masan limaî.

mintu sa linguî-an nua quîi-vangeraw tu ma-sane lima-î

sudden and around-lf by ?-rainbow obl stat-make five-times

Then they were surrounded by five rainbows.

041 qau vaik tiamadju a tjumaq.

qau vaik ti-a-madju a tju-umaq

so leave f-pl-3rd.pers c there-house

They went on to their home.

042 djemaîun tiamadju; kamayan anan a quîivangeraw.

em=djaîun ti-a-madju ka-ma-aya-an anan a quîi-vangeraw

af=arrive f-pl-3rd.pers become-stat-be.thus-lf still c ?-rainbow

They arrived, and the rainbows were still there.

043 qau mangtjez a qaliqali a kiqenetj, sa pakaleva-i anga

qau m-pangetjez a qali-qali a ki-qenetj sa pa-ka-leva-i anga

so af-come c red-friend c do-see and cause-main-pleased-pf indeed

tiamadju a ma÷usa.

ti-a-madju a ma-÷usa

f-pl-3rd.pers c num-two

So others came to see, and the two of them were welcomed.

044 qau zemian a qaliqali a tapuluq a qadaw; marka kevava.

qau em=zian a qali-qali a ta-puluq a qadaw marka ke-vava

so af=dance c red-friend c one-ten c sun pl consume-alcohol

People danced for ten days and drank beer.

[marka: implies ‘together/collectively’ here.]

045 qau sa san mamazangiîani anga ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan kati

qau sa sane ma-ma-zangiî-an-i anga ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan ka-ti

so and make stat-stat-chief-nom-pf indeed f.h h (name) and-f.h

sa Simidalu.

sa Simidalu

h (name) And they made Puîaîuyaîuyan and Simidalu chiefs.

Once upon a time there was a man called Puîaîuyaîuyan, who went to fight the Tjuavudas people. The Tjuavudas people were very bad; they were fond of stealing and of killing people. Puîaîuyaîuyan was angry. He got ready, and went to fight the Tjuavudas people. He got to the village of the Tjuavudas people, and fought against them for five days. But Puîaîuyaîuyan was on his own, and there were lots of the Tjuavudas people. Puîaîuyaîuyan couldn’t win, and he was killed by the Tjuavudas people. And his head and skeleton were impaled on bamboo spikes.

Puîaîuyaîuyan had a child called Simidalu. He grew up, and asked his mother: “Mother, who is my father? Why is my father not here at home?” he said to his mother. But his mother was afraid to tell him that his father had been killed by Tjuavudas people; she was afraid that he too would go and fight the Tjuavudas people. But Simidalu went and asked others, and they told him. So now Simidalu knew that his father had been killed by the Tjuavudas people. “In that case I’ll go and get revenge on the Tjuavudas people,” he thought.

He didn’t tell his mother; he went to the village of the Tjuavudas people and fired on them. Simidalu was a very skilful fighter. The Tjuavudas people couldn’t win. He found his father’s skeleton and head, impaled on bamboo spikes. He took them down and collected up the bones. And he chanted over them: “May father’s bones join together!”. And his father’s bones joined together. “May flesh come on my father’s body!”. Flesh came on his father’s body. “May father speak!”. His father spoke. His father had come back to life. So they got ready and went back home. They got to the mountain ridge. Puîaîuyaîuyan gave a victory shout. The people at home heard it. “Why is someone giving a victory shout? It sounds like Puîaîuyaîuyan,” people said. Simidalu also gave a shout, and was heard by the other people. “What is there to give a victory shout about? It sounds like Simidalu,” people said. Finally they both shouted together. Then they were surrounded by five rainbows. They went on to their home. They arrived, and the rainbows were still there. So others came to see, and the two of them were welcomed. People danced for ten days and drank beer. And they made Puîaîuyaîuyan and Simidalu chiefs.

#### 006 WHITE OWL AND BROWN OWL tjugelui katua ngangay (Qatsiîay village, p.160)

001 izua sitsuayan marekaîaaîak a matjelu.

i-zua si-tsuay-an mare-ka-aîa-aîak a ma-tjelu

loc-that if-long.time-nom pair-main-red-child c num-three

Once upon a time there was a family of three.

002 uzai a aîak nua kina a lumamad anan.

uzay a aîak nua kina a lumamad anan

there c child of mother c infant still

The mother had a child which was still a baby,

003 qau sipasevaî tua aîak a tjaîavuluvulungan a vavayan.

qau si-pa-sevaî tua aîak a tjaîa-vulu-vulung-an a vavayan

so if-cause-carry.on.back obl child c most-red-old-nom c female

which she gave to the oldest girl to carry on her back.

004 qau sa vaik a kina a kivurasi.

qau sa vaik a kina a ki-vurasi

so and leave c mother c do-sweet.potato

And the mother went off to get sweet potatoes.

005 manu tsuay anga aravats, qemaung a ke÷ike÷i.

manu tsuay anga a-ravats em=qaung a ke÷i-ke÷i

then long.time indeed c-true af=cry c red-small

After a long time the baby cried.

006 qau katsuin nazua tjavulung a kaka pasa tjua kina.

qau katsu-en nua-zua tja-vulung a kaka pa-sa tjua kina

so carry-pf by-that more-old c sibling cause-go there mother

So the older sister took him to their mother.

007 qau kiîavaran a aîak a tjaîavuluvulungan: “sualapu ti a÷ing a

qau ki-îavar-an a aîak a tjaîa-vulu-vulung-an su-alap-u ti a÷ing a

so do-speak-lf c child c most-red-old-nom remove-take-imp f.h boy c

qemaung,” ayain a kina.

em=qaung aya-en a kina

af=cry say-pf c mother

The oldest child said: “Take the boy away; he’s crying,” she said to her mother.

008 îakua “gaîu anan; kivurasi anan aken,” aya kina.

îakua gaîu anan ki-vurasi anan aken aya kina

but slow still do-sweet.potato still f.I say mother

But the mother said: “Wait a bit; I’m still getting sweet potatoes.”

009 qemaung aravats a ke÷ike÷i.

em=qaung a-ravats a ke÷i-ke÷i

af=cry c-true c red-small The baby cried a lot.

010 “sualapu ti a÷ing,” ayain anan uta a kina.

su-alap-u ti a÷ing aya-en anan uta a kina

remove-take-imp f.h boy say-pf still also c mother

“Take the boy away,” the girl said once more to her mother.

011 îakua ini sualapi angata.

îakua ini su-alap-i anga-ta

but not remove-take-pf indeed-? But she just would not take him.

012 qau keman tua tsengeî; ini pakani.

qau em=kan tua tsengeî ini pa-kan-i

so af=eat obl lunch not cause-eat-pf

She ate lunch, but didn’t feed the children.

013 qau kisankuya azua kake÷ian; vaik a sema qapaz.

qau ki-sane-kuya a-zua ka-ke÷i-an vaik a em=sa qapaz

so do-make-bad c-that red-small-nom leave c af=go fence

The children were angry, and went away to the edge of the field.

014 qau sa pedii a siaîa katua tjalikuvaî tu sanpalaîen

qau sa pedi-i a si-aîa ka-tua tjalikuvaî tu sane-palaî-en

so and tear-pf c if-carry.cloth and-obl blanket obl make-wing-pf

niamadju a ma÷usa.

ni-a-madju a ma-÷usa

of-pl-3rd.pers c num-two

The carrying-cloth and the baby blanket were torn up to make wings for the two of them;

015 qau kitsaquan tiamadju a milayap.

qau ki-tsaqu-an ti-a-madju a mi-layap

so do-able-lf f-pl-3rd.pers c af-fly and they practised flying.

016 qau tsuay anga aravats vaiken a karim nua kina.

qau tsuay anga a-ravats vaik-en a ar=kim nua kina

so long.time indeed c-true leave-pf c qal=search by mother

After a long time the mother went to look for them.

017 mintu kitsaquaquan a milayap.

mintu ki-aqu=tsaqu-an a mi-layap

sudden do-red=able-lf c af-fly

And they were practising flying.

018 “aku maitazuazua mun?” ayain nua kina a kiîavaran a

aku ma-aya-ta-zua-zua mun aya-en nua kina a ki-îavar-an a

why stat-be.thus-?-that-that f.you(p) say-pf by mother c do-speak-lf c

kake÷ian.

ka-ke÷i-an

red-small-nom “Why are you doing that?” said the mother to the children.

019 “vaiku a tjumaq,” ayain azua kake÷ian.

vaik-u a tju-umaq aya-en a-zua ka-ke÷i-an

leave-imp c there-house say-pf c-that red-small-nom

“Go home!” the children were told.

020 îakua ini kisalu a vaik.

îakua ini ki-salu a vaik

but not do-believe c leave But they wouldn’t go.

021 “muri masan qayaqayam amen,” aya kiîavaran tua kina.

ma-uri ma-sane qaya-qayam amen aya ki-îavar-an tua kina

stat-will stat-make red-bird f.we(exc) say do-speak-lf obl mother

“We’re going to become birds,” they said to their mother.

022 qau kagarangan nua kina.

qau ka-garang-an nua kina

so past-scold-lf by mother The mother scolded them.

023 milayap a mavilad a sema tsemtsemel.

mi-layap a ma-vilad a em=sa tsem-tsemel

af-fly c stat-flee c af=go red-plant They flew off to the woods.

024 qau azua kake÷ian maîavar tiamadju: “tisun layapu a maka

qau a-zua ka-ke÷i-an ma-îavar ti-a-madju ti-sun layap-u a maka

so c-that red-small-nom stat-speak f-pl-3rd.pers f-you(s) fly-imp c via

kaledep; tiaken a maka maza i katsedas,” ayain nua tjavulung a

ka-ledep ti-aken a maka maza i ka-tsedas aya-en nua tja-vulung a

main-descend f-I c via here loc main-sunrise say-pf by more-old c

tjaîaîak.

tja-îaîak

more-child

The children discussed together: “You fly in the west; I’ll be here in the east,” said the older one to the younger one.

025 qau muri mavaday anga tiamadju; matjatjuktjuk.

qau ma-uri ma-vaday anga ti-a-madju ma-tja-tjuktjuk

so stat-will stat-separate indeed f-pl-3rd.pers stat-red-beak

They were going to part, and they touched beaks.

026 qau sa kaîavar: “nu metsevung itjen, uîa qu÷aqu÷asan

qau sa ka-îavar nu me-tsevung itjen uîa qu÷a-qu÷as-an

so and past-speak when af-meet f.we(inc) so.that red-white.hair-nom

anga,” aya tiamadju.

anga aya ti-a-madju

indeed say f-pl-3rd.pers

And they said to one another: “Let’s be white-haired when we meet again,” they said.

027 qau milayap anga tiamadju a mavadai a ma÷usa.

qau mi-layap anga ti-a-madju a ma-vaday a ma-÷usa

so af-fly indeed f-pl-3rd.pers c stat-separate c num-two

And the two of them flew off and parted.

028 qau metsevung tiamadju ka qu÷aqu÷asan anga tiamadju a

qau me-tsevung ti-a-madju ka qu÷a-qu÷as-an anga ti-a-madju a

so af-meet f-pl-3rd.pers after red-white.hair-nom indeed f-pl-3rd.pers c

qayaqayam.

qaya-qayam

red-bird They met again when they were white-haired birds.

029 qau maîavar anan tiamadju uta: “tisun ngangay aya-u anga.

qau ma-îavar anan ti-a-madju uta ti-sun ngangay aya-u anga

so stat-speak still f-pl-3rd.pers also f-you(s) excl say-imp indeed

And they talked to one another again: “You say ‘ngangay’,

030 tiaken tjugelui ayanga aken nu zemaing,” ayain a tjaîaîak.

ti-aken tjugelui aya-anga aken nu em=zaing aya-en a tja-îaîak

f-I excl say-indeed f.I when af=call say-pf c more-child

and I’ll say ‘tjugelui’ when we call,” the younger one was told.

031 avan sika uzai anga nua tjugelui katua ngangay tutsu.

avan sika uzay anga nua tjugelui ka-tua ngangay tu-tsu

exact reason there indeed of brown.owl and-obl white.owl obl-this

And that’s why there are the *ngangay* (white owl) and *tjugelui* (brown owl) to this day.

Once upon a time there was a family of three. The mother had a child which was still a baby, which she gave to the oldest girl to carry on her back. And the mother went off to get sweet potatoes. After a long time the baby cried. So the older sister took him to their mother. The oldest child said: “Take the boy away; he’s crying,” she said to her mother. But the mother said: “Wait a bit; I’m still getting sweet potatoes.” The baby cried a lot. “Take the boy away,” the girl said once more to her mother. But she just would not take him. She ate lunch, but didn’t feed the children.

The children were angry, and went away to the edge of the field. The carrying-cloth and the baby blanket were torn up to make wings for the two of them; and they practised flying. After a long time the mother went to look for them. And they were practising flying. “Why are you doing that?” said the mother to the children. “Go home!” the children were told. But they wouldn’t go. “We’re going to become birds,” they said to their mother. The mother scolded them.

They flew off to the woods. The children discussed together: “You fly in the west; I’ll be here in the east,” said the older one to the younger one. They were going to part, and they touched beaks. And they said to one another: “Let’s be white-haired when we meet again,” they said. And the two of them flew off and parted.

They met again when they were white-haired birds. And they talked to one another again: “You say ‘ngangay’, and I’ll say ‘tjugelui’ when we call,” the younger one was told. And that’s why there are the *ngangay* (white owl) and *tjugelui* (brown owl) to this day.

#### 007 THE QALU PEOPLE GO HEAD-HUNTING maqinatsap a se Qalu (Qatsiîay village, p.162)

001 ka sitsuayan masengats a se Pungudan a vaik a

ka si-tsuay-an ma-sengats a se Pungudan a vaik a

after if-long.time-nom stat-dislike c person.of (place) c leave c

paikinuriî tua se Qalu.

pa-i-in=kuriî tua se Qalu

cause-loc-perf=dried.food obl person.of (place)

Once upon a time the Pungudan people got tired of going to give a tribute of dried meat to the Qalu people.

002 manu limutseng a se Qalu; mirava, sa vaik a sema Pungudan

manu li-mutseng a se Qalu mi-rava sa vaik a em=sa Pungudan

then qal-angry c person.of (place) af-prepare and leave c af=go (place)

a maqinatsap.

a ma-in=qatsap

c stat-perf=head.hunt

So the Qalu people were angry, and got ready and went to Pungudan to hunt heads.

003 djemaîun tiamadju.

em=djaîun ti-a-madju

af=arrive f-pl-3rd.pers When they arrived,

004 kiqiîa i pasulaulauz, a naremaung tua se Pungudan.

ki-qiîa i pa-su-lau-lauz a na-em=raung tua se Pungudan

do-hide loc cause-remove-red-down c past-af=trap obl person.of (place)

they hid below the village, ready to ambush the Pungudan people.

005 manu îengîengan a bulabulay a vavayan.

manu îeng-îeng-an a bula-bulay a vavayan

then red-look.at-lf c red-beautiful c female

But they saw a beautiful girl,

006 qau matjatjumatjumaî tiamadju tu uzai a bulabulay a vavayan.

qau ma-tja-tjuma-tjumaî ti-a-madju tu uzay a bula-bulay a vavayan

so stat-red-red-discuss f-pl-3rd.pers obl there c red-beautiful c female

and told one another that there was a beautiful girl.

007 qau maîavar tiamadju: “iya ÷i.

qau ma-îavar ti-a-madju iya ÷i

so stat-speak f-pl-3rd.pers ah oh And they decided: “Well now,

008 mayanga qemtsi a se Pungudan.

maya-anga em=qetsi a se Pungudan

don’t-indeed af=fight c person.of (place)

don’t kill the Pungudan people after all.

009 nangaq a vaik itjen a kivangavang tazua bulabulay a vavayan,”

na-nguaq a vaik itjen a ki-vangavang ta-zua bula-bulay a vavayan

stat-good c leave f.we(inc) c do-play obl-that red-beautiful c female

aya tiamadju.

aya ti-a-madju

say f-pl-3rd.pers Let’s go and court the beautiful girl,” they said.

010 qau sualapen a tjakit, sa kelayan tua djaraîap i tsasaw.

qau su-alap-en a tjakit sa kelay-an tua djaraîap i tsasaw

so remove-take-pf c knife and hang-lf obl banyan loc outside

They took off their swords and hung them on a banyan tree outside.

011 mavukuts a djaraîap tua kinaliaw nua tjakit.

ma-vukuts a djaraîap tua in=ka-liaw nua tjakit

stat-bend c banyan obl perf=main-many of knife

The tree was bent over because there were so many swords.

[mavukuts: F343 vekuts]

012 qau sa vaik tiamadju a kivangavang a sema tjua bulabulay

qau sa vaik ti-a-madju a ki-vangavang a em=sa tjua bula-bulay

so and leave f-pl-3rd.pers c do-play c af=go there red-beautiful

a vavayan.

a vavayan

c female So they went to the beautiful girl’s place to court her.

013 qau sa pakaivi anga azua bulabulay a vavayan.

qau sa pa-kaiv-i anga a-zua bula-bulay a vavayan

so and cause-meal-pf indeed c-that red-beautiful c female

And (eventually) the beautiful girl was given in marriage (to one of them).

014 manu djemaîun i Qalu, sa muri kisudjuan.

manu em=djaîun i Qalu sa ma-uri ki-sudju-an

then af=arrive loc (place) and stat-will do-sweetheart-lf

So they reached Qalu, and were going to make love.

015 manu neka nu nimadju; uzai a iku.

manu neka nu ni-madju uzay a iku

then no of of-3rd.pers there c tail

But she had no private parts, and she had a tail.

016 qau “kudain anga tsu, a neka nu nimadju?” aya se Qalu.

qau kuda-en anga tsu a neka nu ni-madju aya se Qalu

so do.what-pf indeed this c no of of-3rd.pers say person.of (place)

“What’s the matter with her, with no private parts?” said the Qalu people.

017 manu djemaîun tua sikapu÷uan nua vatu.

manu em=djaîun tua si-ka-pu÷u-an nua vatu

then af=arrive obl if-become-swell-lf by dog

Then the time came for dogs to be on heat;

018 mintu uzai anga a nimadju.

mintu uzay anga a ni-madju

sudden there indeed c of-3rd.pers and then she had her private parts.

019 sa kivadaqi anga azua vavayan tu tima kama, tu tima kina.

sa ki-vadaq-i anga a-zua vavayan tu ti-ima kama tu ti-ima kina

and do-ask-pf indeed c-that female obl f-who father obl f-who mother

So the woman was asked who were her father and mother.

020 qau tjemumaî azua vavayan: “tsautsau a ku kina; vatu a ku kama,”

qau em=tjumaî a-zua vavayan tsau-tsau a ku kina vatu a ku kama

so af=discuss c-that female red-being c my mother dog c my father

aya tjemumaî.

aya em=tjumaî

say af=discuss

And she told them: “My mother is human; my father is a dog,” she said.

021 qau nu puaîak azua vavayan, ÷usa÷usa nu puaîak a kintaî.

qau nu pu-aîak a-zua vavayan ÷usa-÷usa nu pu-aîak a kintaî

so when have-child c-that female red-two when have-child c once

And when she bore children she bore twins.

Once upon a time the Pungudan people got tired of going to give a tribute of dried meat to the Qalu people. So the Qalu people were angry, and got ready and went to Pungudan to hunt heads. When they arrived, they hid below the village, ready to ambush the Pungudan people. But they saw a beautiful girl, and told one another that there was a beautiful girl. And they decided: “Well now, don’t kill the Pungudan people after all. Let’s go and court the beautiful girl,” they said. They took off their swords and hung them on a banyan tree outside. The tree was bent over because there were so many swords.

So they went to the beautiful girl’s place to court her. And (eventually) the beautiful girl was given in marriage (to one of them). So they reached Qalu, and were going to make love. But she had no private parts, and she had a tail. “What’s the matter with her, with no private parts?” said the Qalu people. Then the time came for dogs to be on heat; and then she had her private parts. So the woman was asked who were her father and mother. And she told them: “My mother is human; my father is a dog,” she said. And when she bore children she bore twins.

#### 008 WOMEN FRIENDS AND KIDADAW mare÷ava kati sa Kidadaw (Qatsiîay village, p.164)

001 uzai a mare÷ava a maisuisu i vavaw tua qinaîivan.

uzay a mare-÷ava a m-isu=paisu i va-vaw tua in=qaîiw-an

there c pair-female.friend c af-red=pound loc red-above obl perf=roof-nom

There were women friends pounding grain up on a roof.

002 manu îateku aravats a kalevelevan; saqetju aravats a qadaw.

manu îa-teku a-ravats a ka-levelev-an saqetju a-ravats a qadaw

then really-down c-true c main-dazzle-nom painful c-true c sun

The sky was very low, and the suns’ heat was very painful.

[îateku: should be îe-teku?]

003 qau maîavar azua mare÷ava: “aku saqetju aravats a qadaw?

qau ma-îavar a-zua mare-÷ava aku saqetju a-ravats a qadaw

so stat-speak c-that pair-female.friend why painful c-true c sun

The women said to one another: “Why is the suns’ heat very painful?

004 paulan tu tja tsektseken tua qaselu,” aya matsidiî.

pa-ula-an tu tja tsektsek-en tua qaselu aya ma-tsidiî

cause-lack-lf obl we(inc) stake-pf obl pestle say num-alone

There’s the danger of our striking them with our pestles,” said one.

005 mintu sipalut a tsemektsek.

mintu sipalut a em=tsektsek

sudden really c af=stake Then they really did strike them,

[sipalut: should be siparut?]

006 qau mavutsanga a qadaw a ita.

qau ma-vutsa-anga a qadaw a ita

so stat-blind-indeed c sun c one and one sun went blind.

007 avan anga azua qiîas.

avan anga a-zua qiîas

exact indeed c-that moon That is now the moon.

008 qau tsalugtsug anga a kalevelevan a îevavaw.

qau al=tsugtsug anga a ka-levelev-an a îe-va-vaw

so qal=bump indeed c main-dazzle-nom c go.to-red-above

And with a bump the sky went up.

009 manu zemaing ti sa Kidadaw.

manu em=zaing ti sa Kidadaw

then af=call f.h h (name) Then Kidadaw cried out.

010 qau marekutj a mare÷ava.

qau ma-rekutj a mare-÷ava

so stat-fear c pair-female.friend The women friends were afraid,

011 qau mavilad a mare÷ava a sema pasa likuz tua vaqu.

qau ma-vilad a mare-÷ava a em=sa pa-sa likuz tua vaqu

so stat-flee c pair-female.friend c af=go cause-go back obl millet

and ran away and hid behind the millet (store).

012 îakua laingen ni sa Kidadaw; sa djameqi sa patsasavi.

îakua laing-en ni sa Kidadaw sa djameq-i sa pa-tsasaw-i

but follow-pf by h (name) and catch-pf and cause-outside-pf

But Kidadaw chased them, and caught (one) and brought her outside.

013 qau kiîavaran ti sa Kidadaw: “qiladju tua tataqan.

qau ki-îavar-an ti sa Kidadaw qiladj-u tua tataq-an

so do-speak-lf f.h h (name) sit-imp obl sharpen-nom

Kidadaw said: “Sit on the whetstone.

014 ku tsavulidaw sun,” aya ti sa Kidadaw.

ku tsavulid-aw sun aya ti sa Kidadaw

I carry.on.shoulder-lf f.you(s) say f.h h (name)

I’ll carry you on my shoulder,” he said.

015 “ini; marekutj aken tua su djui,” aya azua vavayan.

ini ma-rekutj aken tua su djui aya a-zua vavayan

not stat-fear f.I obl your(s) thorn say c-that female

“No. I’m afraid of your spikes,” said the woman.

016 îakua pitsipitsen sa paqiladji ni sa Kidadaw.

îakua pitsipits-en sa pa-qiladj-i ni sa Kidadaw

but hold-pf and cause-sit-pf by h (name)

But Kidadaw got hold of her and made her sit down,

017 sa tsavulidi a pasa tjumaq tua tapaw ni sa Kidadaw,

sa tsavulid-i a pa-sa tju-umaq tua tapaw ni sa Kidadaw

and carry.on.shoulder-pf c cause-go there-house obl hut of h (name)

sa puvaîavi anga.

sa pu-vaîaw-i anga

and have-spouse-pf indeed

and carried her into his house, and made her his wife.

018 qau tsuatsuay anga vaik a venateq.

qau tsua-tsuay anga vaik a en=vateq

so red-long.time indeed leave c af=wash

After a long time she went to wash clothes.

019 manu djumaken a tsiqaw a lialiaw.

manu djumak-en a tsiqaw a lia-liaw

then find-pf c fish c red-many She found a lot of fish.

020 qau djameqen nimadju, sa katsu-i a tjumaq; qau sa san djamay.

qau djameq-en ni-madju sa katsu-i a tju-umaq qau sa sane djamay

so catch-pf by-3rd.pers and carry-pf c there-house so and make side.dish

She caught them and took them home, and made a side dish of them.

021 qau maka kan tiamadju; mintu saqetju a tjiaî.

qau maka kan ti-a-madju mintu saqetju a tjiaî

so finished eat f-pl-3rd.pers sudden painful c stomach

When they had finished eating, she had stomach ache.

022 qau nusauni, “pusaladji aken a putsaqi.”

qau nu-sauni pu-saladj-i aken a pu-tsaqi

so when-soon have-companion-hort f.I c have-dung

Later she said: “Come with me while I go to defecate.”

023 inika tsuay uta, “pusaladji aken a putsaqi,” aya azua

ini-ka tsuay uta pu-saladj-i aken a pu-tsaqi aya a-zua

not-after long.time also have-companion-hort f.I c have-dung say c-that

vaîaw.

vaîaw

spouse Soon afterwards, “Come with me while I go,” said the wife.

024 manu masupil anga ti sa Kidadaw.

manu ma-supil anga ti sa Kidadaw

then stat-tired indeed f.h h (name) Kidadaw got tired of this.

025 “matselaqut aken a vaik,” aya ti sa Kidadaw.

ma-tse-laqut aken a vaik aya ti sa Kidadaw

stat-?-lazy f.I c leave say f.h h (name)

“I’m tired of going,” said Kidadaw.

026 qau vaik azua vavayan a matsidiî sakamaya putsaqi.

qau vaik a-zua vavayan a ma-tsidiî sakamaya pu-tsaqi

so leave c-that female c stat-alone only have-dung

So the woman went off alone to defecate.

027 manu maka putsaqi azua vavayan.

manu maka pu-tsaqi a-zua vavayan

then finished have-dung c-that female When she had finished,

028 qau kiîavaranan a tsaqi nimadju: “nu qemaqivu ti sa Kidadaw,

qau ki-îavar-anan a tsaqi ni-madju nu em=qa-qivu ti sa Kidadaw

so do-speak-still c dung by-3rd.pers when af=red-speak f.h h (name)

‘aa’ aya-u anga,” ayain a tsaqi.

‘aa’ aya-u anga aya-en a tsaqi

‘ah’ say-imp indeed say-pf c dung

she said to the faeces: “When Kidadaw calls, say ‘Ah’,” she said.

029 qau timadju mavilad anga sema tjumaq.

qau ti-madju ma-vilad anga em=sa tju-umaq

so f-3rd.pers stat-flee indeed af=go there-house

And she ran away back to her own home.

030 qau nu qemaqivu ti sa Kidadaw, “aa,” aya azua tsaqi.

qau nu em=qa-qivu ti sa Kidadaw aa aya a-zua tsaqi

so when af=red-speak f.h h (name) ah say c-that dung

When Kidadaw called, the faeces said “Ah”.

031 nu qaqivuin uta, “aa,” aya azua tsaqi.

nu qa-qivu-en uta aa aya a-zua tsaqi

when red-speak-pf also ah say c-that dung

When he called again, it said “Ah”.

032 qaqivuin anan uta.

qa-qivu-en anan uta

red-speak-pf still also He called once more,

033 “aa,” aya uta a tsaqi.

aa aya uta a tsaqi

ah say also c dung and again it said “Ah”.

034 qau samaîi ti sa Kidadaw.

qau sa-ma-aîi ti sa Kidadaw

so qal-stat-different f.h h (name) Kidadaw was surprised.

035 “makuda azua tsautsau?

ma-kuda a-zua tsau-tsau

stat-do.what c-that red-being “What’s happened to her?

036 aku tsuay anga aravats a inika pangtjengtjez?” aya timadju.

aku tsuay anga a-ravats a ini-ka pa-ngetje-ngetjez aya ti-madju

why long.time indeed c-true c not-after cause-red-come say f-3rd.pers

Why is she so long not coming back?” he said.

037 qau vaiken a kiqenetj.

qau vaik-en a ki-qenetj

so leave-pf c do-see He went to have a look;

038 mintu avan anga tsaqi sakamaya.

mintu avan anga tsaqi sakamaya

sudden exact indeed dung only and there was only the faeces.

039 qau limutseng ti sa Kidadaw; siqaqe÷u tua nimadju, sa pusapui

qau li-mutseng ti sa Kidadaw si-qa-qe÷u tua ni-madju sa pu-sapuy

so qal-angry f.h h (name) if-red-erect obl of-3rd.pers and have-fire

a qatsiîay, a tsektsekan tua nimadju.

a qatsiîay a tsektsek-an tua ni-madju

c stone c stake-lf obl of-3rd.pers

Kidadaw was angry. With his penis in a state of erection he struck it against a stone and produced fire.

There were women friends pounding grain up on a roof. The sky was very low, and the suns’ heat was very painful. The women said to one another: “Why is the suns’ heat very painful? There’s the danger of our striking them with our pestles,” said one. Then they really did strike them, and one sun went blind. That is now the moon. And with a bump the sky went up.

Then Kidadaw cried out. The women friends were afraid, and ran away and hid behind the millet (store). But Kidadaw chased them, and caught (one) and brought her outside. Kidadaw said: “Sit on the whetstone. I’ll carry you on my shoulder,” he said. “No. I’m afraid of your spikes,” said the woman. But Kidadaw got hold of her and made her sit down, and carried her into his house, and made her his wife.

After a long time she went to wash clothes. She found a lot of fish. She caught them and took them home, and made a side dish of them. When they had finished eating, she had stomach ache. Later she said: “Come with me while I go to defecate.” Soon afterwards, “Come with me while I go,” said the wife.

Kidadaw got tired of this. “I’m tired of going,” said Kidadaw. So the woman went off alone to defecate. When she had finished, she said to the faeces: “When Kidadaw calls, say ‘Ah’,” she said. And she ran away back to her own home. When Kidadaw called, the faeces said “Ah”. When he called again, it said “Ah”. He called once more, and again it said “Ah”. Kidadaw was surprised. “What’s happened to her? Why is she so long not coming back?” he said. He went to have a look; and there was only the faeces. Kidadaw was angry. With his penis in a state of erection he struck it against a stone and produced fire.

#### 009 THE ANT-EATER AND THE CRAB qam katua gang (Qatsiîay village, p.166)

001 uzai a qam katua gang ka sitsuayan.

uzay a qam ka-tua gang ka si-tsuay-an

there c ant.eater and-obl crab after if-long.time-nom

Once upon a time there were an ant-eater and a crab.

002 a gang katsuin na qam a kikaludjeî.

a gang katsu-en nua qam a ki kaludjeî

c crab carry-pf by ant.eater c do loquat

The ant-eater took the crab to get loquats.

[kaludjeî: F108 has kaludjiî]

003 qau kiîavaran a gang: “imaza-u i teku.

qau ki-îavar-an a gang i-maza-u i teku

so do-speak-lf c crab loc-here-imp loc down

The crab said: “Stay here below.

004 vaik aken a îevavaw, a yaya tua kaludjeî a sema vavaw,”

vaik aken a îe-va-vaw a yaya tua kaludjeî a em=sa va-vaw

leave f.I c go.to-red-above c harvest obl loquat c af=go red-above

ayain a qam.

aya-en a qam

say-pf c ant.eater

I’ll go up and pick the fruit up at the top,” he said to the ant-eater.

005 sa vaik timadju a îevavaw.

sa vaik ti-madju a îe-va-vaw

and leave f-3rd.pers c go.to-red-above So he went up;

006 qau yayayain sa vuîuvuîuqan a paîeteku.

qau ya-yaya-en sa vuîu-vuîuq-an a pa-îe-teku

so red-harvest-pf and red-throw-lf c cause-go.to-down

and he picked the fruit and threw it down below.

007 qau a qam i teku; îuîuîuîuin, sa pilipiliqi tua namalum.

qau a qam i teku îuîu-îuîu-en sa pili-piliq-i tua na-ma-lum

so c ant.eater loc down red-gather-pf and red-choose-pf obl past-stat-ripe

The ant-eater was down below, picking them up and choosing out the ripe ones.

008 azua namalum patalataladjen tua umaq nimadju.

a-zua na-ma-lum pa-tala-taladj-en tua umaq ni-madju

c-that past-stat-ripe cause-red-inside-pf obl house of-3rd.pers

He put the ripe ones in his house;

009 qau avan anga matjaq sakamaya a qinpu nua qam.

qau avan anga matjaq sakamaya a in=qepu nua qam

so exact indeed unripe only c perf=associate by ant.eater

and it was just the unripe ones that he collected together.

010 qau îeteku anga azua gang.

qau îe-teku anga a-zua gang

so go.to-down indeed c-that crab The crab came down,

011 qau sa qenetji a qinpu nua qam.

qau sa qenetj-i a in=qepu nua qam

so and see-pf c perf=associate by ant.eater

and had a look at what the ant-eater had collected.

012 mintu avan a matjaq sakamaya.

mintu avan a matjaq sakamaya

sudden exact c unripe only It was only the unripe ones.

013 qau “sema inu anga a namalum?” aya azua gang.

qau em=sa inu anga a na-ma-lum aya a-zua gang

so af=go where indeed c past-stat-ripe say c-that crab

“Where have the ripe ones gone?” said the crab.

014 qau vaik azua gang.

qau vaik a-zua gang

so leave c-that crab The crab went off.

015 qau a qam izuanan itjua qapulu nua kaludjeî.

qau a qam i-zua-anan i-tjua qa-pulu nua kaludjeî

so c ant.eater loc-that-still loc-there ?-trunk of loquat

The ant-eater was still at the foot of the tree.

016 qau lalapen nua gang.

qau l-alap-en nua gang

so red-take-pf by crab The crab took (what was there).

017 mintu pinaîetaladj anga tua umaq nua qam a

mintu in=pa-îe-taladj anga tua umaq nua qam a

sudden perf=cause-go.to-inside indeed obl house of ant.eater c

namalum.

na-ma-lum

past-stat-ripe The ripe ones had all been put in the ant-eater’s house.

018 qau vaiken a sema zua nua gang.

qau vaik-en a em=sa zua nua gang

so leave-pf c af=go that by crab The crab went there.

019 mintu lialiaw a tsinpisan i taladj tua qinaman.

mintu lia-liaw a in=tsepis-an i taladj tua in=qam-an

sudden red-many c perf=fruit-lf loc inside obl perf=ant.eater-nom

And there were lots of fruit he had picked lying in the ant-eater’s den.

020 qau “aku maitazua ti tja qali?” aya timadju.

qau aku ma-aya-ta-zua ti tja qali aya ti-madju

so why stat-be.thus-?-that f.h our(inc) friend say f-3rd.pers

“Why is our friend like that?” he said.

021 qau kisan kuya timadju, sa vaik a tjumaq.

qau ki-sane kuya ti-madju sa vaik a tju-umaq

so do-make bad f-3rd.pers and leave c there-house

He was annoyed, and went off home.

022 qau tsuatsuay anga metsevung tiamadju a ma÷usa.

qau tsua-tsuay anga me-tsevung ti-a-madju a ma-÷usa

so red-long.time indeed af-meet f-pl-3rd.pers c num-two

After a long time the two of them met again.

023 qau maîavar tiamadju: “nangaq a qemaîup itjen,” aya

qau ma-îavar ti-a-madju na-nguaq a em=qaîup itjen aya

so stat-speak f-pl-3rd.pers stat-good c af=hunt f.we(inc) say

tiamadju.

ti-a-madju

f-pl-3rd.pers They said to one another: “Let’s go hunting.”

024 “tiakenay anan a temalaw.

ti-aken-ay anan a em=talaw

f-I-will still c af=ambush “I’ll first lie in wait,

025 tisunay anan a îemama tua îaviavia,” aya a qam.

ti-sun-ay anan a em=îama tua îa-via-via aya a qam

f-you(s)-will still c af=burn obl class-red-grass say c ant.eater

while you set fire to the grass,” said the ant-eater.

026 qau vaik a qam a sema taladj tua îaviavia.

qau vaik a qam a em=sa taladj tua îa-via-via

so leave c ant.eater c af=go inside obl class-red-grass

The ant-eater went into the grass.

027 qau qemawqaw a gang: “inu anga sun?” ayain nua gang a qam.

qau em=qawqaw a gang inu anga sun aya-en nua gang a qam

so af=shout c crab where indeed f.you(s) say-pf by crab c ant.eater

The crab shouted: “Where are you?” he said to the ant-eater.

028 “imaza ken,” aya a qam.

i-maza aken aya a qam

loc-here f.I say c ant.eater “Here I am,” said the ant-eater.

029 “pai anga,” ayain anan nua gang a qemawqaw.

pai anga aya-en anan nua gang a em=qawqaw

well indeed say-pf still by crab c af=shout

“All right then,” shouted the crab again.

030 “mayanan,” ayain nua qam.

maya-anan aya-en nua qam

don’t-still say-pf by ant.eater “Wait a bit,” said the ant-eater.

031 manu semuasuad tua umaq azua qam.

manu em=sua-suad tua umaq a-zua qam

then af=red-scoop obl house c-that ant.eater He scooped out a house;

032 qau maka suad azua qam tua umaq; îetaladj timadju.

qau maka suad a-zua qam tua umaq îe-taladj ti-madju

so finished scoop c-that ant.eater obl house go.to-inside f-3rd.pers

and when he had finished scooping it out he got inside.

033 qau qemawqaw tua gang: “pai anga.

qau em=qawqaw tua gang pai anga

so af=shout obl crab well indeed

Then he shouted to the crab: “All right now.

034 maka talaw anga ken,” aya azua qam.

maka talaw anga aken aya a-zua qam

finished ambush indeed f.I say c-that ant.eater

I’m ready lying in wait,” said the ant-eater.

035 qau îamain anga azua îaviavia nua gang.

qau îama-en anga a-zua îa-via-via nua gang

so burn-pf indeed c-that class-red-grass by crab

Then the crab set fire to the grass.

036 qau qawqawan nua gang: “inu anga sun?” ayain.

qau qawqaw-an nua gang inu anga sun aya-en

so shout-lf by crab where indeed f.you(s) say-pf

And the crab shouted: “Where are you?”

037 “imaza ken,” aya qam.

i-maza aken aya qam

loc-here f.I say ant.eater “Here I am,” said the ant-eater.

038 “inu anga sun?” ayain nua gang uta.

inu anga sun aya-en nua gang uta

where indeed f.you(s) say-pf by crab also

“Where are you?” said the crab again.

039 “imaza ken,” ayain nua qam uta.

i-maza aken aya-en nua qam uta

loc-here f.I say-pf by ant.eater also “Here I am,” said the ant-eater again.

040 qau tsemalivat a sapui.

qau em=tsalivat a sapuy

so af=pass c fire The fire passed.

041 “inu anga sun?” ayain uta nua gang.

inu anga sun aya-en uta nua gang

where indeed f.you(s) say-pf also by crab

“Where are you?” said the crab again.

042 “imaza ken,” aya a qam; sa îekatsauan tua umaq

i-maza aken aya a qam sa îe-ka-tsau-an tua umaq

loc-here f.I say c ant.eater and go.to-become-being-lf obl house

nimadju.

ni-madju

of-3rd.pers “Here I am,” said the ant-eater, and emerged from his home.

043 qau sa “tisunay anga a temalaw,” ayain a gang.

qau sa ti-sun-ay anga a em=talaw aya-en a gang

so and f-you(s)-lf indeed c af=ambush say-pf c crab

“Now it’s your turn to lie in wait,” the crab was told.

044 qau “muri a sema inu aken?” aya zua gang.

qau ma-uri a em=sa inu aken aya zua gang

so stat-will c af=go where f.I say that crab

“Where am I to go to?” said the crab.

045 tjumaîan nua qam: “sazua-u itjua namaqurepung a îavia,”

tjumaî-an nua qam sa-zua-u i-tjua na-ma-qurepung a îa-via

discuss-lf by ant.eater go-that-imp loc-there past-stat-disarray c class-grass

ayain.

aya-en

say-pf The ant-eater told him: “Go in there in the tangled grass,” he said.

046 qau azua gang vaik a kipataluvtuv tua namaqurepung a

qau a-zua gang vaik a ki-pa-al=tuvtuv tua na-ma-qurepung a

so c-that crab leave c do-cause-qal=curl obl past-stat-disarray c

îaviaviain.

îa-via-via-in

class-red-grass-nom

So the crab went and curled up small in the place with tangled grass.

047 qau “pai anga,” ayain nua qam.

qau pai anga aya-en nua qam

so well indeed say-pf by ant.eater “All right then,” said the ant-eater.

048 “pai anga,” aya a gang.

pai anga aya a gang

well indeed say c crab “All right,” said the crab.

049 qau îamain nua qam.

qau îama-en nua qam

so burn-pf by ant.eater The ant-eater set fire (to the grass).

050 “inu anga sun?” ayain nua qam.

inu anga sun aya-en nua qam

where indeed f.you(s) say-pf by ant.eater “Where are you?” said the ant-eater.

051 “imaza ken,” aya a gang.

i-maza aken aya a gang

loc-here f.I say c crab “Here I am,” said the crab.

052 qau tsemalivat a sapui.

qau em=tsalivat a sapuy

so af=pass c fire The fire passed.

053 “inu anga sun?” ayain nua qam.

inu anga sun aya-en nua qam

where indeed f.you(s) say-pf by ant.eater “Where are you?” said the ant-eater.

054 mintu nekanga.

mintu neka-anga

sudden no-indeed No reply.

055 “inu anga sun?” ayain anan uta.

inu anga sun aya-en anan uta

where indeed f.you(s) say-pf still also

“Where are you?” he said once again.

056 mintu nekanga.

mintu neka-anga

sudden no-indeed No reply.

057 qau vaiken sa kiqenetji nua qam a sema zua.

qau vaik-en sa ki-qenetj-i nua qam a em=sa zua

so leave-pf and do-see-pf by ant.eater c af=go that

The ant-eater went there to have a look.

058 mintu naku÷esul anga namatsay anga.

mintu na-ku÷esul anga na-m-patsay anga

sudden past-hard indeed past-af-die indeed

And the crab was stiff and dead.

059 qau tseviqan a qalitsi.

qau tseviq-an a qalitsi

so segment-lf c penis He sliced off some of the crab’s penis.

060 qau sa kisenay a papuvaîut.

qau sa ki-senay a pa-pu-vaîut

so and do-chant c cause-have-alive

Then he chanted a spell and brought him back to life.

061 qau katsuin a qalitsi a tjumaq.

qau katsu-en a qalitsi a tju-umaq

so carry-pf c penis c there-house And he took the crab’s penis home.

062 qau kadjamadjaman anga.

qau ka-djama-djama-an anga

so main-red-morning-nom indeed Next morning,

063 qau sipakan anga a qalitsi nimadju nua qam.

qau si-pa-kan anga a qalitsi ni-madju nua qam

so if-cause-eat indeed c penis of-3rd.pers by ant.eater

the crab was given some of his own penis to eat by the ant-eater.

064 qau “ha ha; kanen a qalitsi nimadju,” aya a qam.

qau ha ha kan-en a qalitsi ni-madju aya a qam

so aha aha eat-pf c penis of-3rd.pers say c ant.eater

“Ha ha, he’s eating his own penis,” said the ant-eater.

065 qau kemîang azua gang tu qalitsi nimadju azua kinan.

qau m=keîang a-zua gang tu qalitsi ni-madju a-zua in=kan

so af=know c-that crab obl penis of-3rd.pers c-that perf=eat

Then the crab knew that it was his own penis that he had eaten.

066 “ii, pakanan aken tua niaken a qalitsi ni ku qali,” aya, sa djiladjilay

ii pa-kan-an aken tua ni-aken a qalitsi ni ku qali aya sa djila-djilay

hey cause-eat-lf f.I obl of-I c penis by my friend say and red-spit

a gang.

a gang

c crab

“Ugh! My friend has given me my own penis to eat,” said the crab and spat.

067 îakua kudain, kinan anga nimadju a qalitsi.

îakua kuda-en in=kan anga ni-madju a qalitsi

but do.what-pf perf=eat indeed of-3rd.pers c penis

But there was nothing for it; he had eaten some of his own penis.

068 qau tsemikel anga a qalitsi nua gang.

qau em=tsikel anga a qalitsi nua gang

so af=return indeed c penis of crab

(Later) the crab’s penis grew back again.

Once upon a time there were an ant-eater and a crab. The ant-eater took the crab to get loquats. The crab said: “Stay here below. I’ll go up and pick the fruit up at the top,” he said to the ant-eater. So he went up; and he picked the fruit and threw it down below. The ant-eater was down below, picking them up and choosing out the ripe ones. He put the ripe ones in his house; and it was just the unripe ones that he collected together. The crab came down, and had a look at what the ant-eater had collected. It was only the unripe ones. “Where have the ripe ones gone?” said the crab. The crab went off. The ant-eater was still at the foot of the tree. The crab took (what was there). The ripe ones had all been put in the ant-eater’s house. The crab went there. And there were lots of fruit he had picked lying in the ant-eater’s den. “Why is our friend like that?” he said. He was annoyed, and went off home.

After a long time the two of them met again. They said to one another: “Let’s go hunting.” “I’ll first lie in wait, while you set fire to the grass,” said the ant-eater. The ant-eater went into the grass. The crab shouted: “Where are you?” he said to the ant-eater. “Here I am,” said the ant-eater. “All right then,” shouted the crab again. “Wait a bit,” said the ant-eater. He scooped out a house; and when he had finished scooping it out he got inside. Then he shouted to the crab: “All right now. I’m ready lying in wait,” said the ant-eater. Then the crab set fire to the grass. And the crab shouted: “Where are you?”. “Here I am,” said the ant-eater. “Where are you?” said the crab again. “Here I am,” said the ant-eater again. The fire passed. “Where are you?” said the crab again. “Here I am,” said the ant-eater, and emerged from his home. “Now it’s your turn to lie in wait,” the crab was told. “Where am I to go to?” said the crab. The ant-eater told him: “Go in there in the tangled grass,” he said. So the crab went and curled up small in the place with tangled grass. “All right then,” said the ant-eater. “All right,” said the crab. The ant-eater set fire (to the grass). “Where are you?” said the ant-eater. “Here I am,” said the crab. The fire passed. “Where are you?” said the ant-eater. No reply. “Where are you?” he said once again. No reply. The ant-eater went there to have a look. And the crab was stiff and dead. He sliced off some of the crab’s penis. Then he chanted a spell and brought him back to life. And he took the crab’s penis home. Next morning, the crab was given some of his own penis to eat by the ant-eater. “Ha ha, he’s eating his own penis,” said the ant-eater. Then the crab knew that it was his own penis that he had eaten. “Ugh! My friend has given me my own penis to eat,” said the crab and spat. But there was nothing for it; he had eaten some of his own penis. (Later) the crab’s penis grew back again.

#### 010 KAPURAR ti sa Kapurar (Qatsiîay village, p.170)

001 ti sa Kapurar ka sitsuayan la÷uq aravats a nimadju.

ti sa Kapurar ka si-tsuay-an la÷uq a-ravats a ni-madju

f.h h (name) after if-long.time-nom long c-true c of-3rd.pers

Once upon a time Kapurar had a very long penis [lit. his was very long].

002 qau nu masiasik a vavayavayan, vaik a sema qapaz.

qau nu m-asi-asik a vaya=vavayan vaik a em=sa qapaz

so when af-red-weed c red=female leave c af=go fence

When women were weeding the fields, he went to the edge of the field.

003 qau sa qiladj, sa saksaki a kulits.

qau sa qiladj sa saksak-i a kulits

so and sit and undo-pf c penis He sat down and exposed his penis,

004 qau sa pataluvtuvan tua inasikan a tsemel nua vavayavayan.

qau sa pa-al=tuvtuv-an tua in-asik-an a tsemel nua vaya=vavayan

so and cause-qal=curl-lf obl perf-weed-nom c plant by red=female

and it went through the grass the women had weeded out.

005 nu tjaîu inu a vavayavayan, tjaîu inu uta a kulits a

nu tjaîu inu a vaya=vavayan tjaîu inu uta a kulits a

when reach where c red=female reach where also c penis c

lemailaing.

em=lai-laing

af=red-follow Wherever the women went the penis followed,

006 qau sa tsektsektseki a kina÷angan nua vavayavayan.

qau sa tsek-tsektsek-i a in=ka÷ang-an nua vaya=vavayan

so and red-stake-pf c perf=private.part-nom of red=female

and touched the women’s private parts.

007 qau qarawqaw a vavayavayan a mavilad tua rekutjan tazua kulits ni

qau ar=qawqaw a vaya=vavayan a ma-vilad tua rekutj-an ta-zua kulits ni

so qal=shout c red=female c stat-flee obl fear-lf obl-that penis of

sa Kapurar.

sa Kapurar

h (name) The women screamed and ran away for fear of Kapurar’s penis.

008 îakua tavaken anga a tsuatsuay anga; ini anga ka rekutji.

îakua tavak-en anga a tsua-tsuay anga ini anga ka rekutj-i

but habit-pf indeed c red-long.time indeed not indeed after fear-pf

But after a time they got used to it and weren’t frightened any more.

009 qau nu masiasik a vavayavayan, sa tsektseki a kina÷angan,

qau nu m-asi-asik a vaya=vavayan sa tsektsek-i a in=ka÷ang-an

so when af-red-weed c red=female and stake-pf c perf=private.part-nom

tsektsekan uta azua kulits ni sa Kapurar tua vuka.

tsektsek-an uta a-zua kulits ni sa Kapurar tua vuka

stake-lf also c-that penis of h (name) obl digging.stick

When the women were weeding and their private parts were touched, they hit back at Kapurar’s penis with their digging-sticks.

010 îakua ini keîang azua vavayavayan tu kasi inu a mangtjez.

îakua ini keîang a-zua vaya=vavayan tu kasi inu a m-pangetjez

but not know c-that red=female obl from where c af-come

But the women didn’t know where it came from.

011 nu tsektsekan tua vuka, maulaw.

nu tsektsek-an tua vuka ma-ulaw

when stake-lf obl digging.stick stat-lost

When they hit it with their digging-sticks, it disappeared.

012 tsuay anga uta mangtjez azua kulits.

tsuay anga uta m-pangetjez a-zua kulits

long.time indeed also af-come c-that penis

After a time it would come back again,

013 qau tsektsekan uta tua vuka.

qau tsektsek-an uta tua vuka

so stake-lf also obl digging.stick and get hit again with digging-sticks.

014 “tsevuk,” aya azua kulits ni sa Kapurar.

tsevuk aya a-zua kulits ni sa Kapurar

excl say c-that penis of h (name) “*Tsevuk*,” said Kapurar’s penis.

015 azua kulits ni sa Kapurar semamaîi a kinala÷uq.

a-zua kulits ni sa Kapurar em=sa-maîi a in=ka-la÷uq

c-that penis of h (name) af=qal-different c perf=main-long

Kapurar’s penis was an amazing length.

016 sinivaîavaîan azua kulits a palayulayu.

in=si-vaîa-vaîan a-zua kulits a pa-layu-layu

perf=if-red-bandolier c-that penis c cause-red-store

He had it hanging(?) over his shoulder(?).

017 manu vaik tiamadju a qemaîup.

manu vaik ti-a-madju a em=qaîup

then leave f-pl-3rd.pers c af=hunt

They went off to hunt.

018 qau kiîavaranan nua qaliqali: “tja qeneqenetjay a su kulits,”

qau ki-îavar-anan nua qali-qali tja qene-qenetj-ay a su kulits

so do-speak-still by red-friend we(inc) red-see-lf c your(s) penis

ayain azua ti sa Kapurar nua qaliqali.

aya-en a-zua ti sa Kapurar nua qali-qali

say-pf c-that f.h h (name) by red-friend

The others said: “Let’s have a look at your penis,” they said to Kapurar.

[kiîavaranan: originally kiîavaran in OA]

019 qau saksaken azua kulits, sa pakiqenetjan tua qaliqali.

qau saksak-en a-zua kulits sa pa-ki-qenetj-an tua qali-qali

so undo-pf c-that penis and cause-do-see-lf obl red-friend

He exposed his penis and showed it to them.

020 manu maka kiqenetj a qaliqali.

manu maka ki-qenetj a qali-qali

then finished do-see c red-friend When they had finished looking at it,

021 “aitsu anga qaîa,” ayain nua qaliqali a ventsa.

aya-i-tsu anga qaîa aya-en nua qali-qali a n=vetsa

be.thus-loc-this indeed outsider say-pf by red-friend c af=lie

the others lied and said: “The enemy have come.”

022 ini kiamaw anga a venaîavaîan tua kulits ti sa Kapurar.

ini ki-amaw anga a in=vaîa-vaîan tua kulits ti sa Kapurar

not do-same indeed c perf=red-bandolier obl penis f.h h (name)

Kapurar didn’t have time to shoulder his penis;

023 mintuluq timadju.

min-tuluq ti-madju

af-run f-3rd.pers he just ran.

[mintuluq: F286 has mi-n-tuluq, F176 has minetuluq with root inetuluq, and F101 has intuluq with reference to tuluq. Note F21 where miN- is an ‘agent marker for certain verbs, conditioning for variants not determined’.]

024 qau rakatsen anga a kulits maka tjua djuidjuiin.

qau rakats-en anga a kulits maka tjua djui-djui-in

so drag-pf indeed c penis via there red-thorn-nom

His penis was dragged through thorny bushes.

025 qau djemaîun ti sa Kapurar i tjumaq.

qau em=djaîun ti sa Kapurar i tju-umaq

so af=arrive f.h h (name) loc there-house When he got home,

026 qau qemaqivu tua qaliqali, sa pasudjuian a kulits.

qau em=qa-qivu tua qali-qali sa pa-su-djui-an a kulits

so af=red-speak obl red-friend and cause-remove-thorn-lf c penis

he called some people and got them to remove the thorns from his penis.

027 qau azua djui pitjua djilungen, sa padjungi.

qau a-zua djui pi-tjua djilung-en sa padjung-i

so c-that thorn put-there jar-pf and store-pf

The thorns were put in pots and stored away.

[padjungi: F190 has padjeng for ‘store’]

028 qau tsuatsuay anga, “kevava-u kevava-u,”

qau tsua-tsuay anga ke-vava-u ke-vava-u

so red-long.time indeed consume-alcohol-imp consume-alcohol-imp

ayain a qaliqali.

aya-en a qali-qali

say-pf c red-friend

After some time he said to the others: “Come and drink some beer, drink some beer.”

029 qau mangtjez a qaliqali.

qau m-pangetjez a qali-qali

so af-come c red-friend The others came,

030 paîetekuin azua djilung.

pa-îe-teku-en a-zua djilung

cause-go.to-down-pf c-that jar and he brought out the pots.

031 “aitsu a vava, kevava-u a matsidiî,” ayain a

aya-i-tsu a vava ke-vava-u a ma-tsidiî aya-en a

be.thus-loc-this c alcohol consume-alcohol-imp c stat-alone say-pf c

qaliqali.

qali-qali

red-friend “Anyone can drink this beer as they want,” he said to the others.

032 qau azua vava tjanu sepatj i djilung.

qau a-zua vava tjanu sepatj i djilung

so c-that alcohol full four loc jar There were four pots full of beer.

033 masalu a qaliqali.

ma-salu a qali-qali

stat-believe c red-friend The others were pleased,

034 kiîuvaq a vaik a semutsaqev tazua djilung.

ki-îuvaq a vaik a em=su-tsaqev ta-zua djilung

do-compete c leave c af=remove-lid obl-that jar

and raced to go and take the lids off the pots.

035 manu sutsaqevan a djilung; milayap a pangats, sa tsaîedji azua

manu su-tsaqev-an a djilung mi-layap a pangats sa tsaîedj-i a-zua

then remove-lid-lf c jar af-fly c hornet and sting-pf c-that

qaliqali a naventsa tjaimadju.

qali-qali a na-n=vetsa tjai-madju

red-friend c past-af=lie obl-3rd.pers

When the lids were taken off the pots, out flew wasps and hornets and stung those who had lied to him.

036 qau mavilad azua qaliqali a mapuîat.

qau ma-vilad a-zua qali-qali a ma-puîat

so stat-flee c-that red-friend c num-all And they all ran away.

037 qau a tjainan djui nua tjavuvuk a kinaqatian.

qau a tjainan djui nua tjavuvuk a in=ka-qati-an

so c bee thorn of strawberry c perf=?-create-lf

The bees were made from the thorns of wild strawberries,

038 qau a tji÷iuî djui nua îadjudju.

qau a tji÷iuî djui nua dju=îadju

so c hornet.sp thorn of red=tree.sp

the large hornets from the thorns of paliurus,

039 qau a tsalukuî djui nua kadjuian.

qau a tsalukuî djui nua ka-djui-an

so c wasp.sp thorn of main-thorn-nom

the small hornets(?) from the thorns of the thorn tree,

040 qau a îaîuvur djui a paqeteleng a kinaqatian.

qau a îaîuvur djui a pa-qeteleng a in=ka-qati-an

so c wasp.sp thorn c cause-randomly c perf=?-create-lf

and the wasps(?) from various thorns.

041 qau avan sika uzai nua pangats tutsu.

qau avan sika uzay nua pangats tu-tsu

so exact reason there of hornet obl-this

And that’s why there are wasps and hornets now.

Once upon a time Kapurar had a very long penis. When women were weeding the fields, he went to the edge of the field. He sat down and exposed his penis, and it went through the grass the women had weeded out. Wherever the women went the penis followed, and touched the women’s private parts. The women screamed and ran away for fear of Kapurar’s penis. But after a time they got used to it and weren’t frightened any more. When the women were weeding and their private parts were touched, they hit back at Kapurar’s penis with their digging-sticks. But the women didn’t know where it came from. When they hit it with their digging-sticks, it disappeared. After a time it would come back again, and get hit again with digging-sticks.

“*Tsevuk*,” said Kapurar’s penis. Kapurar’s penis was an amazing length. He had it hanging over his shoulder. They went off to hunt. The others said: “Let’s have a look at your penis,” they said to Kapurar. He exposed his penis and showed it to them. When they had finished looking at it, the others lied and said: “The enemy have come.” Kapurar didn’t have time to shoulder his penis; he just ran. His penis was dragged through thorny bushes. When he got home, he called some people and got them to remove the thorns from his penis. The thorns were put in pots and stored away.

After some time he said to the others: “Come and drink some beer, drink some beer.” The others came, and he brought out the pots. “Anyone can drink this beer as they want,” he said to the others. There were four pots full of beer. The others were pleased, and raced to go and take the lids off the pots. When the lids were taken off the pots, out flew wasps and hornets and stung those who had lied to him. And they all ran away. The bees were made from the thorns of wild strawberries, the large hornets from the thorns of paliurus, the small hornets (?) from the thorns of the thorn tree, and the wasps (?) from various thorns. And that’s why there are wasps and hornets now.

#### 011 THE HUSBAND KILLED BY HIS WIFE vaîaw a uqaîay a qintsi nua vavayan (Qatsiîay village, p.173)

001 uzai a marevaîaw ka sitsuayan a napenaulaulain.

uzay a mare-vaîaw ka si-tsuay-an a na-en=pa-ula-ula-en

there c pair-spouse after if-long.time-nom c past-af=cause-red-lack-pf

Once upon a time there was a married couple in great distress.

002 qau nekanga nu muri kanen.

qau neka-anga nu ma-uri kan-en

so no-indeed of stat-will eat-pf They had nothing to eat.

003 qau “kemudanga itjen?” aya tiamadju.

qau em=kuda-anga itjen aya ti-a-madju

so af=do.what-indeed f.we(inc) say f-pl-3rd.pers

“What are we to do?” they said.

004 “maya sika neka nu tja kitanen.

ma-aya sika neka nu tja ki-tan-en

stat-be.thus reason no of our(inc) do-profit-pf

“This way we’ve got no way of earning.

005 nangaq a vaik aken a sema tjua maîaqaîan,” aya azua

na-nguaq a vaik aken a em=sa tjua ma-aîa-qaîa-an aya a-zua

stat-good c leave f.I c af=go there stat-red-outsider-nom say c-that

vaîaw a uqaîay.

vaîaw a uqaîay

spouse c male

I had better go to another place,” said the husband.

006 qau vaik, sa tsuatsuay ini pangtjez anga i tjumaq.

qau vaik sa tsua-tsuay ini pangetjez anga i tju-umaq

so leave and red-long.time not come indeed loc there-house

So he went away, and for a long time he didn’t come home.

007 manu uzai a uqaîay a lemulutjuk tazua vaîaw a vavayan.

manu uzay a uqaîay a em=lu-lutjuk ta-zua vaîaw a vavayan

then there c male c af=red-bad obl-that spouse c female

A man tempted the wife.

008 “kudain a ini pangtjez anga a su vaîaw a tjaisangas.

kuda-en a ini pangetjez anga a su vaîaw a tja-i-sangas

do.what-pf c not come indeed c your(s) spouse c more-loc-first

“What about your former husband who hasn’t come back?

009 nangaq a timitjanga a marevaîaw.

na-nguaq a ti-mitja-anga a mare-vaîaw

stat-good c f-we(inc)-indeed c pair-spouse Let us two live together.

010 anema su katjenglayan a matsidiî?” ayain a kiîavaran a

a-nema su ka-tjenglay-an a ma-tsidiî aya-en a ki-îavar-an a

?-what you(s) become-like-lf c stat-alone say-pf c do-speak-lf c

palayulayu.

pa-layu-layu

cause-red-store Why do you want to live alone?” he kept saying.

[palayulayu: idea of ‘heaping up’, ie. ‘always’]

011 “nangaq nu maya.

na-nguaq nu ma-aya

stat-good when stat-be.thus “All right then;

012 kudain a ini pangtjez anga a ku vaîaw a tjaisangas,” aya

kuda-en a ini pangetjez anga a ku vaîaw a tja-i-sangas aya

do.what-pf c not come indeed c my spouse c more-loc-first say

azua vavayan.

a-zua vavayan

c-that female

seeing that my former husband doesn’t come back,” said the woman.

013 qau makakeîang anga a varung niamadju a ma÷usa.

qau ma-ka-keîang anga a varung ni-a-madju a ma-÷usa

so stat-red-know indeed c chest by-pl-3rd.pers c num-two

So the two of them agreed to it.

014 qau malap tua vava, sa alap tua katjutjung tu ÷usa; sa

qau m-alap tua vava sa alap tua ka-tjutjung tu ÷usa sa

so af-take obl alcohol and take obl ?-cup obl two and

kevava tiamadju.

ke-vava ti-a-madju

consume-alcohol f-pl-3rd.pers

They got some beer and two bamboo cups, and drank together.

015 qau maka kevava tiamadju.

qau maka ke-vava ti-a-madju

so finished consume-alcohol f-pl-3rd.pers

When they had finished drinking,

016 taulan a vava katua katjutjung pi quluqulu.

ta-ula-an a vava ka-tua ka-tjutjung pi qulu-qulu

past-lack-lf c alcohol and-obl ?-cup put red-head

they left the beer and cups at the head end (of the sleeping platform),

017 qau sa qereng tiamadju.

qau sa qereng ti-a-madju

so and lie.down f-pl-3rd.pers and lay down.

018 manu mangtjez azua vaîaw a tjaisangas, sa setsevungi nua

manu m-pangetjez a-zua vaîaw a tja-i-sangas sa se-tsevung-i nua

then af-come c-that spouse c more-loc-first and invol-meet-pf by

tsa÷ i djalan.

tsa÷ i djalan

bandit loc road

The former husband came back, and met a thief along the way.

019 “ku katsuaw su kinatsu; pazuliuîi aken tu lima iday,” aya

ku katsu-aw su in=katsu pa-zuliuî-i aken tu lima iday aya

I carry-lf your(s) perf=carry cause-wage-hort f.I obl five hundred say

azua tsa÷.

a-zua tsa÷

c-that bandit “I’ll carry your baggage; pay me 500,” said the thief.

[pazuliuîi: F361 has zeliuî ‘wage’.]

020 “ui, katsuu nu maya; ku pazuliuîay anga sun,” aya azua

ui katsu-u nu ma-aya ku pa-zuliuî-ay anga sun aya a-zua

yes carry-imp when stat-be.thus I cause-wage-lf indeed f.you(s) say c-that

vaîaw a tjaisangas a uqaîay.

vaîaw a tja-i-sangas a uqaîay

spouse c more-loc-first c male

“All right; carry it then; I’ll pay you,” said the former husband.

021 qau katsuin nua tsa÷ a pasa tjua tapaw nimadju.

qau katsu-en nua tsa÷ a pa-sa tjua tapaw ni-madju

so carry-pf by bandit c cause-go there hut of-3rd.pers

So the thief carried the things to the man’s house.

022 mintu kevavavava azua vaîaw a vavayan katua uqaîay a zuma.

mintu ke-vava-vava a-zua vaîaw a vavayan ka-tua uqaîay a zuma

sudden consume-red-alcohol c-that spouse c female and-obl male c other

The wife and the other man were drinking.

023 qau taulan nua tsa÷ pagaîu azua nanemanemanga.

qau ta-ula-an nua tsa÷ pa-gaîu a-zua na-nema-nema-anga

so past-lack-lf by bandit cause-slow c-that past-red-what-indeed

The thief put everything down gently;

[nanemanemanga ‘all kinds of things’]

024 qau a tsa÷: “nangaq kiqiîa ken imaza iqumaqan.

qau a tsa÷ na-nguaq ki-qiîa aken i-maza i-qumaq-an

so c bandit stat-good do-hide f.I loc-here loc-indoors-nom

and he said: “I’ll hide here in the back of the house.

025 qau nu taqed tiamadju, tsemakaw anga ken tua

qau nu taqed ti-a-madju em=tsakaw anga aken tua

so when sleep f-pl-3rd.pers af=steal indeed f.I obl

nanemanemanga, sa ku kavilad anga nusauni,” aya timadju.

na-nema-nema-anga sa ku ka-vilad anga nu-sauni aya ti-madju

past-red-what-indeed and I stat-flee indeed when-soon say f-3rd.pers

When they go to sleep, I’ll steal everything, and then escape later,” he said.

026 qau kiqiîa itjua misulemaleman.

qau ki-qiîa i-tjua mi-lema=sulem-an

so do-hide loc-there af-red=dark-nom

And he hid in the dark.

[misulemaleman: constituency difficult-F261 has selem-a-lem-an.]

027 qau inika tsuay mangtjez azua vaîaw a tjaisangas.

qau ini-ka tsuay m-pangetjez a-zua vaîaw a tja-i-sangas

so not-after long.time af-come c-that spouse c more-loc-first

Soon the former husband came.

028 manu patjarakeîang azua vaîaw a tjaiviliî a uqaîay tu

manu pa-tjara-keîang a-zua vaîaw a tja-i-viliî a uqaîay tu

then cause-surely-know c-that spouse c more-loc-behind c male obl

muri mangtjez azua vaîaw a tjaisangas.

ma-uri m-pangetjez a-zua vaîaw a tja-i-sangas

stat-will af-come c-that spouse c more-loc-first

The second husband got to know that the former husband was coming.

029 qau migatsaî sa vaik a sema patekuteku tua taqtaq.

qau mi-gatsaî sa vaik a em=sa pa-teku-teku tua taqtaq

so af-stand and leave c af=go cause-red-down obl platform

He got up and went under the sleeping platform.

030 qau mangtjez azua vaîaw a tjaisangas a uqaîay.

qau m-pangetjez a-zua vaîaw a tja-i-sangas a uqaîay

so af-come c-that spouse c more-loc-first c male

The former husband arrived.

031 qau nataqed anga azua vavayan.

qau na-taqed anga a-zua vavayan

so past-sleep indeed c-that female The woman was asleep,

032 qau tegain anga nazua vaîaw a tjaisangas azua vavayan.

qau tega-en anga nua-zua vaîaw a tja-i-sangas a-zua vavayan

so awaken-pf indeed by-that spouse c more-loc-first c-that female

but the former husband woke her up.

033 qau patseged azua vavayan.

qau pa-tseged a-zua vavayan

so cause-alert c-that female She woke up,

034 “aku uzai a vava katua katjutjung imaza?” ayain a vavayan.

aku uzay a vava ka-tua ka-tjutjung i-maza aya-en a vavayan

why there c alcohol and-obl ?-cup loc-here say-pf c female

and he said to her: “Why is there beer and cups here?”

035 “ui angata.

ui anga-ta

yes indeed-? “Oh well,

036 nu keman aken, ku sipazekazekatj sun a palayulayu,”

nu em=kan aken ku si-pa-zeka-zekatj sun a pa-layu-layu

when af=eat f.I I if-cause-red-share f.you(s) c cause-red-store

aya maitazua a kiîavaran azua vavayan.

aya ma-aya-ta-zua a ki-îavar-an a-zua vavayan

say stat-be.thus-?-that c do-speak-lf c-that female

when I eat I always put some out for you too,” the woman just said.

037 qau paîeteku azua vavayan, sa kevava tiamadju.

qau pa-îe-teku a-zua vavayan sa ke-vava ti-a-madju

so cause-go.to-down c-that female and consume-alcohol f-pl-3rd.pers

The woman set out the beer (on a table), and they drank.

038 qau talavan tua vava azua uqaîay; mapulaw aravats; maipuq

qau talaw-an tua vava a-zua uqaîay ma-pulaw a-ravats ma-ipuq

so hold.liquid-lf obl alcohol c-that male stat-drunk c-true stat-fall

anga.

anga

indeed The man got full up with beer, got very drunk, and fell down.

039 qau azua tsa÷ katua vaîaw a tjaiviliî a uqaîay, avan tazua

qau a-zua tsa÷ ka-tua vaîaw a tja-i-viliî a uqaîay avan ta-zua

so c-that bandit and-obl spouse c more-loc-behind c male exact obl-that

kevavavavanan a ma÷usa, nakiqiîa i patekuteku tua

ke-vava-vava-anan a ma-÷usa na-ki-qiîa i pa-teku-teku tua

consume-red-alcohol-still c num-two past-do-hide loc cause-red-down obl

taqtaq a ma÷usa itjua misulemaleman.

taqtaq a ma-÷usa i-tjua mi-lema=sulem-an

platform c num-two loc-there af-red=dark-nom

The thief and the second husband, while these two were still drinking, were both hidden under the sleeping platform in the dark.

040 manu uzai a djurikuku i taladj tua taqtaq.

manu uzay a djurikuku i taladj tua taqtaq

then there c fowl loc inside obl platform

There was a cockerel under the platform.

041 manu sakutsin nua tsa÷; zemaing.

manu sakuts-en nua tsa÷ em=zaing

then move-pf by bandit af=call When the thief moved it, it crowed.

[sakutsin: *sakatsuin* in OA]

042 qau marekutj tu djumaken azua tsa÷.

qau ma-rekutj tu djumak-en a-zua tsa÷

so stat-fear obl find-pf c-that bandit The thief was afraid of being found.

043 “îa quluqulu aken,” aya timadju.

îa qulu-qulu aken aya ti-madju

class red-head f.I say f-3rd.pers “I’ll go to the head end,” he said.

044 mintu mapatsatsagtsag a qulu katu azua qulu na vaîaw a

mintu ma-pa-tsa-tsagtsag a qulu ka-tu a-zua qulu nua vaîaw a

sudden stat-cause-red-bump c head and-obl c-that head of spouse c

tjaiviliî a uqaîay.

tja-i-viliî a uqaîay

more-loc-behind c male His head bumped into the head of the second husband.

045 qau azua tsa÷: “aku uzai a tsautsau imaza?” aya azua tsa÷.

qau a-zua tsa÷ aku uzay a tsau-tsau i-maza aya a-zua tsa÷

so c-that bandit why there c red-being loc-here say c-that bandit

“Why is there someone in here?” said the thief.

046 “nangaq a vaik aken a sema azua i tja iqumaqan a kiqiîa,”

na-nguaq a vaik aken a em=sa a-zua i tja i-qumaq-an a ki-qiîa

stat-good c leave f.I c af=go c-that loc more loc-indoors-nom c do-hide

aya timadju.

aya ti-madju

say f-3rd.pers “I had better go and hide further into the house,” he said.

047 qau avan azua vaîaw uta tjaiviliî a uqaîay: “nangaq a vaik

qau avan a-zua vaîaw uta tja-i-viliî a uqaîay na-nguaq a vaik

so exact c-that spouse also more-loc-behind c male stat-good c leave

aken sema azua i tja iqumaqan a kiqiîa,” aya timadju.

aken em=sa a-zua i tja i-qumaq-an a ki-qiîa aya ti-madju

f.I af=go c-that loc more loc-indoors-nom c do-hide say f-3rd.pers

And the second husband also was the same. “I had better go and hide further into the house,” he said.

048 manu izuanga tsa÷ a nakiqiîa; matsatsagtsag anan a qulu.

manu i-zua-anga tsa÷ a na-ki-qiîa ma-tsa-tsagtsag anan a qulu

then loc-that-indeed bandit c past-do-hide stat-red-bump still c head

The thief was hidden there, and they bumped heads again.

049 qau vaik azua tsa÷ uta a sema laukung.

qau vaik a-zua tsa÷ uta a em=sa laukung

so leave c-that bandit also c af=go attic

The thief moved again to the roof store-place.

050 azua vaîaw a tjaiviliî a uqaîay: “uzai a tsautsau imaza uta.

a-zua vaîaw a tja-i-viliî a uqaîay uzay a tsau-tsau i-maza uta

c-that spouse c more-loc-behind c male there c red-being loc-here also

The second husband said: “There is someone here too.

051 nangaq a vaik aken a sema zua i laukung a kiqiîa,” aya.

na-nguaq a vaik aken a em=sa zua i laukung a ki-qiîa aya

stat-good c leave f.I c af=go that loc attic c do-hide say

I had better go and hide in the roof store-place!

052 qau vaik.

qau vaik

so leave So he went there;

053 mintu mapatsatsagtsag anan a qulu uta.

mintu ma-pa-tsa-tsagtsag anan a qulu uta

sudden stat-cause-red-bump still c head also

and they bumped heads once more.

054 “ii, aku uzai a tsautsau imaza uta?” aya zua tsa÷.

ii aku uzay a tsau-tsau i-maza uta aya zua tsa÷

hey why there c red-being loc-here also say that bandit

“Ow! Why is there someone here too?” said the thief.

055 “masa namapeîuq tua tsautsau tjua imaza,” aya zua tsa÷.

ma-sa na-ma-peîuq tua tsau-tsau tjua i-maza aya zua tsa÷

stat-maybe past-stat-full obl red-being there loc-here say that bandit

“This place seems to be full of people,” said the thief,

056 migergerger anga tua rekutjan.

m-ger=igerger anga tua rekutj-an

af-red=tremble indeed obl fear-lf and trembled with fear.

[migergerger: F has both gerger ‘tear, split’ and igerger ‘tremble’ under gerger]

057 manu mapulaw aravats aza vaîaw a tjaisangas a uqaîay; qau

manu ma-pulaw a-ravats a-zua vaîaw a tja-i-sangas a uqaîay qau

then stat-drunk c-true c-that spouse c more-loc-first c male so

taqed anga.

taqed anga

sleep indeed Now the former husband was very drunk and asleep.

058 qau îekatsauan anga azua vaîaw a tjaiviliî a uqaîay.

qau îe-ka-tsau-an anga a-zua vaîaw a tja-i-viliî a uqaîay

so go.to-become-being-lf indeed c-that spouse c more-loc-behind c male

So the second husband emerged.

059 qau “muri kemuda sun?

qau ma-uri em=kuda sun

so stat-will af=do.what f.you(s) “What are you going to do?

060 muri kamayan sun a puvaîaw tua su vaîaw

ma-uri ka-ma-aya-an sun a pu-vaîaw tua su vaîaw

stat-will become-stat-be.thus-lf f.you(s) c have-spouse obl your(s) spouse

a tjaisangas kemuda?” ayain azua vavayan.

a tja-i-sangas em=kuda aya-en a-zua vavayan

c more-loc-first af=do.what say-pf c-that female

Are you going to carry on being married to your former husband, or what?” he said to the woman.

061 îakua “neka.

îakua neka

but no But the woman said: “No.

062 timitjayay anga a marevaîaw.

ti-mitja-ay anga a mare-vaîaw

f-we(inc)-will indeed c pair-spouse We two will live together.

[*timitjayay*: intrusive *y* between *a-ay*.]

063 tja qetsiaw anga azua ku vaîaw a tjaisangas,” aya azua vavayan.

tja qetsi-aw anga a-zua ku vaîaw a tja-i-sangas aya a-zua vavayan

we(inc) fight-lf indeed c-that my spouse c more-loc-first say c-that female

We’ll kill my former husband.”

064 qau “tja kudain a qemtsi, sa ini keîang tu tima a

qau tja kuda-en a em=qetsi sa ini keîang tu ti-ima a

so we(inc) do.what-pf c af=fight and not know obl f-who c

naqemtsi?” aya tiamadju.

na-em=qetsi aya ti-a-madju

past-af=fight say f-pl-3rd.pers

“How can we kill him, without it being known who has killed him?” they said.

065 kiîavaran a vavayan: “azua mapulaw.

ki-îavar-an a vavayan a-zua ma-pulaw

do-speak-lf c female c-that stat-drunk The woman said: “He’s drunk.

066 tja sialapan tua bungbung, sa pizua-i tua qatjuvi.

tja si-alap-an tua bungbung sa pi-zua-i tua qatjuvi

we(inc) if-take-lf obl bamboo.tube and put-that-pf obl snake

Let’s take a bamboo tube and put a snake in it.

067 qau sa tja tsage-i tua sapui a iku nua qatjuvi.

qau sa tja tsage-i tua sapuy a iku nua qatjuvi

so and we(inc) heat-pf obl fire c tail of snake

Then let’s heat the snake’s tail with fire;

068 qau ki mintuluq anga azua qatjuvi a sema tjua tjiaî nimadju,”

qau ki min-tuluq anga a-zua qatjuvi a em=sa tjua tjiaî ni-madju

so will af-run indeed c-that snake c af=go there stomach of-3rd.pers

aya tiamadju a maîavar.

aya ti-a-madju a ma-îavar

say f-pl-3rd.pers c stat-speak

and the snake will dart forward into his stomach,” they decided.

069 qau aitazuain a qemtsi azua vaîaw a tjaisangas.

qau aya-ta-zua-en a em=qetsi a-zua vaîaw a tja-i-sangas

so be.thus-?-that-pf c af=fight c-that spouse c more-loc-first

So that’s how the former husband was killed.

070 qau a tsa÷ kiqeneqenetj tazua ma÷usa a paîetalataladj tua

qau a tsa÷ ki-qene-qenetj ta-zua ma-÷usa a pa-îe-tala-taladj tua

so c bandit do-red-see obl-that num-two c cause-go.to-red-inside obl

qatjuvi.

qatjuvi

snake Now the thief saw the two putting the snake in.

071 qau marekutj anga azua tsa÷ tu sika uzai anga tsautsau

qau ma-rekutj anga a-zua tsa÷ tu sika uzay anga tsau-tsau

so stat-fear indeed c-that bandit obl reason there indeed red-being

iqumaqan a namatsay anga.

i-qumaq-an a na-m-patsay anga

loc-indoors-nom c past-af-die indeed

The thief was afraid that there was going to be a dead person in the house,

072 mintuluq anga îetsasaw.

min-tuluq anga îe-tsasaw

af-run indeed go.to-outside and he dashed outside.

073 qau maîianga; manu kemîang a mamazangiîan tu uzai

qau ma-îia-anga manu em=keîang a ma-ma-zangiî-an tu uzay

so stat-dawn-indeed then af=know c stat-stat-chief-nom obl there

a namatsay a tsautsau.

a na-m-patsay a tsau-tsau

c past-af-die c red-being Next day the chief heard that someone had died;

074 qau vaik a kivadaq tazua vaîaw a vavayan.

qau vaik a ki-vadaq ta-zua vaîaw a vavayan

so leave c do-ask obl-that spouse c female

so he went to ask the wife.

075 îakua “kemîang (aken) tu tima a naqemtsi” aya maitazua

îakua em=keîang aken tu ti-ima a na-em=qetsi aya ma-aya-ta-zua

but af=know f.I obl f-who c past-af=fight say stat-be.thus-?-that

tjemumaî.

em=tjumaî

af=discuss But she just said: “How can we (?I) know who killed him?” (?)

[aken not in OA but seems necessary.]

076 manu vaivaik azua mamazangiîan a sema kavuavuan;

manu vai-vaik a-zua ma-ma-zangiî-an a em=sa ka-vua-vua-an

then red-leave c-that stat-stat-chief-nom c af=go main-red-field-nom

setsevungan a tsa÷.

se-tsevung-an a tsa÷

invol-meet-lf c bandit The chief was going to the fields, and he met the thief.

077 “aku ini su puvaîavaîaw?

aku ini su pu-vaîa-vaîaw

why not you(s) have-red-spouse “Why don’t you get married?

078 tiaken a kisan muilang tjanusun,” ayain azua tsa÷.

ti-aken a ki-sane muilang tjanu-sun aya-en a-zua tsa÷

f-I c do-make go.between obl-you(s) say-pf c-that bandit

I’ll act as go-between for you,” he said to the thief.

079 mintu valisvis azua tsa÷.

mintu al=visvis a-zua tsa÷

sudden qal=shake c-that bandit The thief shook his head.

080 “marekutj aken a puvaîaw.

ma-rekutj aken a pu-vaîaw

stat-fear f.I c have-spouse “I’m afraid of getting married.

081 uzai anga ku îinengîengan a paîetalataladjan tua qatjuvi sa

uzay anga ku in=îeng-îeng-an a pa-îe-tala-taladj-an tua qatjuvi sa

there indeed I perf=red-look.at-lf c cause-go.to-red-inside-lf obl snake and

patsay anga.

patsay anga

die indeed I’ve seen someone who had a snake put in him and he died.

082 avan ku sika rekutj a puvaîaw,” aya zua tsa÷.

avan ku sika rekutj a pu-vaîaw aya zua tsa÷

exact I reason fear c have-spouse say that bandit

That’s why I’m afraid of marrying,” said the thief;

083 qau sa tjumaî tu tima a îinengîengan.

qau sa tjumaî tu ti-ima a in=îeng-îeng-an

so and discuss obl f-who c perf=red-look.at-lf

and he told whom he had seen.

084 qau kemîang anga azua mamazangiîan tu tima.

qau em=keîang anga a-zua ma-ma-zangiî-an tu ti-ima

so af=know indeed c-that stat-stat-chief-nom obl f-who

So now the chief knew who it was.

085 qau qetsin anga zua vavayan katua uqaîay a îema÷usa.

qau qetsi-en anga zua vavayan ka-tua uqaîay a îe-ma-÷usa

so fight-pf indeed that female and-obl male c go.to-num-two

And the woman and the man were both killed.

Once upon a time there was a married couple in great distress. They had nothing to eat. “What are we to do?” they said. “This way we’ve got no way of earning. I had better go to another place,” said the husband. So he went away, and for a long time he didn’t come home.

A man tempted the wife. “What about your former husband who hasn’t come back? Let us two live together. Why do you want to live alone?” he kept saying. “All right then; seeing that my former husband doesn’t come back,” said the woman. So the two of them agreed to it. They got some beer and two bamboo cups, and drank together. When they had finished drinking, they left the beer and cups at the head end (of the sleeping platform), and lay down.

The former husband came back, and met a thief along the way. “I’ll carry your baggage; pay me 500,” said the thief. “All right; carry it then; I’ll pay you,” said the former husband. So the thief carried the things to the man’s house. The wife and the other man were drinking. The thief put everything down gently; and he said: “I’ll hide here in the back of the house. When they go to sleep, I’ll steal everything, and then escape later,” he said. And he hid in the dark.

Soon the former husband came. The second husband got to know that the former husband was coming. He got up and went under the sleeping platform. The former husband arrived. The woman was asleep, but the former husband woke her up. She woke up, and he said to her: “Why is there beer and cups here?”

“Oh well, when I eat I always put some out for you too,” the woman just said. The woman set out the beer (on a table), and they drank. The man got full up with beer, got very drunk, and fell down. The thief and the second husband, while these two were still drinking, were both hidden under the sleeping platform in the dark. There was a cockerel under the platform. When the thief moved it, it crowed. The thief was afraid of being found. “I’ll go to the head end,” he said. His head bumped into the head of the second husband. “Why is there someone in here?” said the thief. “I had better go and hide further into the house,” he said. And the second husband also was the same. “I had better go and hide further into the house,” he said. The thief was hidden there, and they bumped heads again. The thief moved again to the roof store-place. The second husband said: “There is someone here too. I had better go and hide in the roof store-place! So he went there; and they bumped heads once more. “Ow! Why is there someone here too?” said the thief. “This place seems to be full of people,” said the thief, and trembled with fear.

Now the former husband was very drunk and asleep. So the second husband emerged. “What are you going to do? Are you going to carry on being married to your former husband, or what?” he said to the woman. But the woman said: “No. We two will live together. We’ll kill my former husband.”

“How can we kill him, without it being known who has killed him?” they said. The woman said: “He’s drunk. Let’s take a bamboo tube and put a snake in it. Then let’s heat the snake’s tail with fire; and the snake will dart forward into his stomach,” they decided. So that’s how the former husband was killed. Now the thief saw the two putting the snake in. The thief was afraid that there was going to be a dead person in the house, and he dashed outside. Next day the chief heard that someone had died; so he went to ask the wife. But she just said: “How can we (?I) know who killed him?” (?)

The chief was going to the fields, and he met the thief. “Why don’t you get married? I’ll act as go-between for you,” he said to the thief. The thief shook his head. “I’m afraid of getting married. I’ve seen someone who had a snake put in him and he died. That’s why I’m afraid of marrying,” said the thief; and he told whom he had seen. So now the chief knew who it was. And the woman and the man were both killed.

#### 012 THE TJAKUVUKUVUï MAN WHO CUT OFF HIS HAND namenge÷uq tua lima a se Tjakuvukuvuî (Qatsiîay village, p.178)

001 uzai aza marekaîaîak a masepatj.

uzay a-zua mare-ka-îaîak a ma-sepatj

there c-that pair-main-child c num-four There was a family of four.

002 manu vaik a kina a sema kavuavuan.

manu vaik a kina a em=sa ka-vua-vua-an

then leave c mother c af=go main-red-field-nom

The mother went to the fields,

003 qau adjuqen azua kake÷ian a matjelu.

qau adjuq-en a-zua ka-ke÷i-an a ma-tjelu

so leave-pf c-that red-small-nom c num-three and left the three children.

004 qau kiîavaranan nua kina: “maya marivurivu,” ayain, sa vaik a

qau ki-îavar-anan nua kina maya ma-rivu-rivu aya-en sa vaik a

so do-speak-still by mother don’t stat-red-quarrel say-pf and leave c

sema kavuavuan.

em=sa ka-vua-vua-an

af=go main-red-field-nom

She told them: “Don’t quarrel,” she said, and went to the fields.

005 manu liaw a sengsengan nua kina.

manu liaw a sengseng-an nua kina

then many c work-nom of mother She had a lot of work,

006 qau seleman anga aravats; qau qemauqaung anga a kake÷ian.

qau selem-an anga a-ravats qau em=qau-qaung anga a ka-ke÷i-an

so dark-nom indeed c-true so af=red-cry indeed c red-small-nom

and it got very dark, and the children cried.

007 manu lemangda a se Tjakuvukuvuî.

manu em=langeda a se Tjakuvukuvuî

then af=hear c person.of (place) A Tjakuvukuvuî man heard them.

008 “nangaq a ku vaiken a keman,” aya se Tjakuvukuvuî.

na-nguaq a ku vaik-en a em=kan aya se Tjakuvukuvuî

stat-good c I leave-pf c af=eat say person.of (place)

“I must go and eat (them),” he said.

009 qau vaiken sa tsagtsagi a siqeîevan, sa “suqeîevi,” ayain

qau vaik-en sa tsagtsag-i a si-qeîev-an sa su-qeîev-i aya-en

so leave-pf and bump-pf c if-block-nom and remove-block-hort say-pf

azua kake÷ian.

a-zua ka-ke÷i-an

c-that red-small-nom

He went there and knocked on the door, and said to the children: “Open the door.”

010 îakua ini suqeîevi.

îakua ini su-qeîev-i

but not remove-block-pf But they didn’t open it.

011 remeqereq azua se Tjakuvukuvuî tu sema qumaqan.

em=reqereq a-zua se Tjakuvukuvuî tu em=sa qumaq-an

af=determined c-that person.of (place) obl af=go indoors-nom

The Tjakuvukuvuî man was determined (?) to get inside.

[remeqereq: F224 has qerqer in a compound meaning ‘stare in anger’.]

012 ini suqeîevi angata.

ini su-qeîev-i anga-ta

not remove-block-pf indeed-? They just wouldn’t open the door.

013 “ti tjaina aken.

ti tjaina aken

f.h mother.h f.I “I’m your mother;

014 pasa qumaqanu aken,” ayain a ventsa.

pa-sa qumaq-an-u aken aya-en a n=vetsa

cause-go indoors-nom-imp f.I say-pf c af=lie let me in,” he lied.

015 “nu ti kina sun, pasuksukan a su lima tutsu a berung,”

nu ti kina sun pa-suksuk-an a su lima tu-tsu a berung

when f.h mother f.you(s) cause-insert-lf c your(s) hand obl-this c hole

ayain.

aya-en

say-pf “If you are our mother, put your hand through this hole,” they told him.

016 qau sipasuksuk a paqulid a lima.

qau si-pa-suksuk a pa-qulid a lima

so if-cause-insert c cause-real c hand So he put his hand through.

017 mintu inika lima nua kina.

mintu ini-ka lima nua kina

sudden not-after hand of mother It wasn’t their mother’s hand.

018 qau kitjakaîungan nua kake÷ian, sa muri vetseluqen.

qau ki-tja-kaîung-an nua ka-ke÷i-an sa ma-uri vetseluq-en

so do-more-hold-lf by red-small-nom and stat-will break-pf

The children hung onto his hand, and it was going to break.

019 qau nuka viîviîen nazua se Tjakuvukuvuî ini anga maviîviî.

qau nuka viîviî-en nua-zua se Tjakuvukuvuî ini anga ma-viîviî

so even pull-pf by-that person.of (place) not indeed stat-pull

Although the Tjakuvukuvuî man pulled it, he couldn’t pull it out.

020 qau kinge÷uqan anga a lima, sa kavilad anga.

qau ki-nge÷uq-an anga a lima sa ka-vilad anga

so do-sever-lf indeed c hand and stat-flee indeed

So he cut off his hand and ran away.

There was a family of four. The mother went to the fields, and left the three children. She told them: “Don’t quarrel,” she said, and went to the fields. She had a lot of work, and it got very dark, and the children cried.

A Tjakuvukuvuî man heard them. “I must go and eat (them),” he said. He went there and knocked on the door, and said to the children: “Open the door.” But they didn’t open it. The Tjakuvukuvuî man was determined (?) to get inside. They just wouldn’t open the door. “I’m your mother; let me in,” he lied.

“If you are our mother, put your hand through this hole,” they told him. So he put his hand through. It wasn’t their mother’s hand. The children hung onto his hand, and it was going to break. Although the Tjakuvukuvuî man pulled it, he couldn’t pull it out. So he cut off his hand and ran away.

#### 013 PUïAïUYAïUYAN AND SUïAïUïAïUI ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan kati sa Suîaîuîaîui (Qatsiîay village, p.180)

001 ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan kati sa Suîaîuîaîui a marevaîaw.

ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan ka-ti sa Suîaîuîaîui a mare-vaîaw

f.h h (name) and-f.h h (name) c pair-spouse

There was a married couple called Puîaîuyaîuyan and Suîaîuîaîui.

002 manu makeving azua ti sa Suîaîuîaîui a pulingelingetj a

manu ma-keving a-zua ti sa Suîaîuîaîui a pu-linge-lingetj a

then stat-itch c-that f.h h (name) c have-red-entire c

kinatsavatsavan.

in=ka-tsava-tsavan

perf=main-red-body Suîaîuîaîui had an itch all over her body,

003 qau nu kiqenetjan a semavaqavaqar anga.

qau nu ki-qenetj-an a em=vaqa=savaqar anga

so when do-see-lf c af=red=disgust indeed

and was disgusting to look at.

004 qau masengats anga ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan.

qau ma-sengats anga ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan

so stat-dislike indeed f.h h (name)

Puîaîuyaîuyan was disappointed in her,

005 qau siverits anga azua ti sa Suîaîuîaîui.

qau si-verits anga a-zua ti sa Suîaîuîaîui

so if-discard indeed c-that f.h h (name) and discarded her,

006 qau sa pavaliti a pakaiv ti sa Tjukutjuku.

qau sa pa-valit-i a pa-kaiv ti sa Tjukutjuku

so and cause-exchange-pf c cause-meal f.h h (name)

and changed to marry Tjukutjuku.

[pavaliti: was pavalit in OA]

007 qau ka pakaiv tjai sa Tjukutjuku, maqepu a qaliqali sa

qau ka pa-kaiv tjai sa Tjukutjuku ma-qepu a qali-qali sa

so after cause-meal obl.h h (name) stat-associate c red-friend and

zian.

zian

dance At his wedding to Tjukutjuku others gathered and danced.

008 qau kisan kuya ti sa Suîaîuîaîui tu sika siverits timadju.

qau ki-sane kuya ti sa Suîaîuîaîui tu sika si-verits ti-madju

so do-make bad f.h h (name) obl reason if-discard f-3rd.pers

Suîaîuîaîui was very upset because she was discarded.

009 qau semenay i pasa likuz tua likezaî; “kuda tsemevud a zaîum

qau em=senay i pa-sa likuz tua likezaî kuda em=tsevud a zaîum

so af=chant loc cause-go back obl fireplace do.what af=flow c water

tu ku pavanaw tua ku keving,” aya semenay azua

tu ku pa-vanaw tua ku keving aya em=senay a-zua

obl I cause-bathe obl my itch say af=chant c-that

ti sa Suîaîuîaîui.

ti sa Suîaîuîaîui

f.h h (name)

She chanted behind the fireplace: “May water flow out for me to wash away my itch,” she chanted.

[second ku could be preposed ‘I’.]

010 mintu tsemevud a paqulid a zaîum.

mintu em=tsevud a pa-qulid a zaîum

sudden af=flow c cause-real c water Then some water did really flow out.

011 qau sipavanaw anga tua keving nimadju.

qau si-pa-vanaw anga tua keving ni-madju

so if-cause-bathe indeed obl itch of-3rd.pers

She used it to wash away her itch.

012 mintu masualap a keving.

mintu ma-su-alap a keving

sudden stat-remove-take c itch The itch disappeared

013 qau bulabulay anga ti sa Suîaîuîaîui.

qau bula-bulay anga ti sa Suîaîuîaîui

so red-beautiful indeed f.h h (name) and Suîaîuîaîui was beautiful.

014 qau sa kialalang; qau sa vaik a sema tjua qaliqali a

qau sa ki-al-alang qau sa vaik a em=sa tjua qali-qali a

so and do-red-make so and leave c af=go there red-friend c

zemiazian.

em=zia-zian

af=red-dance So she dressed up and went to where the others were dancing.

015 îakua ini zian.

îakua ini zian

but not dance But she didn’t dance.

016 izua i vavaw tua qinaîivan a îemizaîizaw sakamaya.

i-zua i va-vaw tua in=qaîiw-an a em=îiza-îizaw sakamaya

loc-that loc red-above obl perf=roof-nom c af=red-look only

She was up on the roof just looking on.

017 îakua kudain a bulay aravats; maqiîqiî a qaliqali a zemiazian.

îakua kuda-en a bulay a-ravats ma-qiîqiî a qali-qali a em=zia-zian

but do.what-pf c beautiful c-true stat-dazzle c red-friend c af=red-dance

But she was so beautiful that the others who were dancing were dazzled.

018 qau tsuay anga ini anga tezeng tua qiîqiîan a qaliqali.

qau tsuay anga ini anga tezeng tua qiîqiî-an a qali-qali

so long.time indeed not indeed tolerate obl dazzle-nom c red-friend

After a time the others couldn’t stand the dazzle.

019 “aku maqiîqiî itjen aravats?” aya qaliqali a zemiazian.

aku ma-qiîqiî itjen a-ravats aya qali-qali a em=zia-zian

why stat-dazzle f.we(inc) c-true say red-friend c af=red-dance

“Why are we dazzled so much?” said the others who were dancing.

020 sa kiqenetji a paîevavaw.

sa ki-qenetj-i a pa-îe-va-vaw

and do-see-pf c cause-go.to-red-above They looked up,

021 mintu izua ti sa Suîaîuîaîui a naqemiladj i qinaîivan, a

mintu i-zua ti sa Suîaîuîaîui a na-em=qiladj i in=qaîiw-an a

sudden loc-that f.h h (name) c past-af=sit loc perf=roof-nom c

matu qadaw a kinabulay.

ma-tu qadaw a in=ka-bulay

stat-alike sun c perf=?-beautiful

and there was Suîaîuîaîui sitting on the roof, as beautiful as the sun.

022 qau îengîengan ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan.

qau îeng-îeng-an ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan

so red-look.at-lf by h (name) Puîaîuyaîuyan saw her.

023 sevisvis anga kinitjiakan a pinakaivan.

se-visvis anga in=ki-tjiak-an a in=pa-kaiv-an

invol-shake indeed perf=self-hold.hand-lf c perf=cause-meal-nom

He shook off the hand of the girl he was going to marry,

[pinakaivan: ‘bride’]

024 qau sa vaiki anga qemvet ti sa Suîaîuîaîui.

qau sa vaik-i anga em=qevet ti sa Suîaîuîaîui

so and leave-pf indeed af=embrace f.h h (name)

and went and embraced Suîaîuîaîui.

025 “parepuvaîavi anan,” aya ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan.

pare-pu-vaîaw-i anan aya ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan

pair-have-spouse-hort still say f.h h (name)

“Let’s stay married,” said Puîaîuyaîuyan.

026 îakua “masengats anga ken tjanusun.

îakua ma-sengats anga aken tjanu-sun

but stat-dislike indeed f.I obl-you(s)

But Suîaîuîaîui said: “I don’t like you any more.

027 azua su siniverits anga ken,” aya ti sa Suîaîuîaîui.

a-zua su in=si-verits anga aken aya ti sa Suîaîuîaîui

c-that you(s) perf=if-discard indeed f.I say f.h h (name)

You discarded me.”

028 “tsauan a makeving sun; avan ku siverits,” aya ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan.

tsauan a ma-keving sun avan ku si-verits aya ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan

yes c stat-itch f.you(s) exact I if-discard say f.h h (name)

“Yes, but you had the itch; that’s why I discarded you,” said Puîaîuyaîuyan.

[tsauan: F309 has ka-tsau-an ‘what is actual, existent’, so conveys concession “Yes, but...”?]

029 îakua nuka kudain a zemenger ti sa Suîaîuîaîui, ini anga kisalu

îakua nuka kuda-en a em=zenger ti sa Suîaîuîaîui ini anga ki-salu

but even do.what-pf c af=beg f.h h (name) not indeed do-believe

angata.

anga-ta

indeed-? But however much he besought her Suîaîuîaîui wouldn’t agree.

030 qau mavilad azua ti sa Suîaîuîaîui.

qau ma-vilad a-zua ti sa Suîaîuîaîui

so stat-flee c-that f.h h (name) She ran away,

031 îakua laingen ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan.

îakua laing-en ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan

but follow-pf by h (name) but he chased after her.

032 qau ini keîang anga ti sa Suîaîuîaîui tu kemuda.

qau ini keîang anga ti sa Suîaîuîaîui tu em=kuda

so not know indeed f.h h (name) obl af=do.what

She didn’t know what to do.

033 qau djemaîun i gadegade, maluîay anga aravats ti sa

qau em=djaîun i gade-gade ma-luîay anga a-ravats ti sa

so af=arrive loc red-mountain stat-tired indeed c-true f.h h

Suîaîuîaîui.

Suîaîuîaîui

(name) They got to a mountain ridge, and Suîaîuîaîui was very tired.

034 qau “sa-u, alapu a ku îinay a ku inadjuq izua i qinaîivan.

qau sa-u alap-u a ku îinay a ku in-adjuq i-zua i in=qaîiw-an

so go-imp take-imp c my hat c I perf-leave loc-that loc perf=roof-nom

“Go and get my hat which I left on the roof.

035 nu mangtjez sun, parepuvaîavi anga,” ayain a ventsa ti

nu m-pangetjez sun pare-pu-vaîaw-i anga aya-en a n=vetsa ti

when af-come f.you(s) pair-have-spouse-hort indeed say-pf c af=lie f.h

sa Puîaîuyaîuyan.

sa Puîaîuyaîuyan

h (name)

When you get back we can be married again,” she lied to Puîaîuyaîuyan.

036 îakua masalu ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan; mintuluq a vaik a malap tua

îakua ma-salu ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan min-tuluq a vaik a m-alap tua

but stat-believe f.h h (name) af-run c leave c af-take obl

îinay.

îinay

hat But he gladly believed her, and went running to get the hat.

037 qau sa tsikel a sema tjua kinaizuanan ni sa Suîaîuîaîui.

qau sa tsikel a em=sa tjua in=ka-i-zua-anan ni sa Suîaîuîaîui

so and return c af=go there perf=?-loc-that-still of h (name)

When he got back to where Suîaîuîaîui had been,

038 mintu nekanga ti sa Suîaîuîaîui.

mintu neka-anga ti sa Suîaîuîaîui

sudden no-indeed f.h h (name) she was gone.

039 qau îevavaw tua kasiw, sa îizavi ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan.

qau îe-va-vaw tua kasiw sa îizaw-i ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan

so go.to-red-above obl tree and look-pf by h (name)

He climbed a tree and had a look;

040 mintu izuanga i îavek a namavilad anga.

mintu i-zua-anga i îavek a na-ma-vilad anga

sudden loc-that-indeed loc sea c past-stat-flee indeed

and there she was by the sea having run away.

041 azua ti sa Suîaîuîaîui djemaîun i îavek.

a-zua ti sa Suîaîuîaîui em=djaîun i îavek

c-that f.h and (name) af=arrive loc sea

When Suîaîuîaîui got to the sea,

042 azua ti sa Suîaîuîaîui: “iîa paru tsatsagaî,” aya semenay.

a-zua ti sa Suîaîuîaîui iîa ar=pu tsatsagaî aya em=senay

c-that f.h h (name) may qal=have spider.sp say af=chant

she chanted: “May I become like a spider.”

[iîa: like F uîa.]

043 qau mamaw anga tua tsatsagaî, kavakaven anga a îavek.

qau ma-amaw anga tua tsatsagaî kavakav-en anga a îavek

so stat-same indeed obl spider.sp swim-pf indeed c sea

She became like a spider, and skated over the sea.

044 qau djemaîun i tagaw izua naqemiladj.

qau em=djaîun i tagaw i-zua na-em=qiladj

so af=arrive loc edge loc-that past-af=sit

She reached the far shore and sat down.

045 îakua tjenglay aravats; vaiken a lemaing ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan a sema

îakua tjenglay a-ravats vaik-en a em=laing ni sa Puîaîuyaîuyan a em=sa

but like c-true leave-pf c af=follow by h (name) c af=go

tagaw.

tagaw

edge

But Puîaîuyaîuyan wanted her very much, and went and followed her to the far shore.

046 îakua mintu uzai a vaîaw ni sa Suîaîuîaîui i tagaw.

îakua mintu uzay a vaîaw ni sa Suîaîuîaîui i tagaw

but sudden there c spouse of h (name) loc edge

But Suîaîuîaîui already had a husband over there.

047 qau azua ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan kipatsay tu tjenglayan.

qau a-zua ti sa Puîaîuyaîuyan ki-patsay tu tjenglay-an

so c-that f.h h (name) self-die obl like-nom

So Puîaîuyaîuyan killed himself for love.

There was a married couple called Puîaîuyaîuyan and Suîaîuîaîui. Suîaîuîaîui had an itch all over her body, and was disgusting to look at. Puîaîuyaîuyan was disappointed in her and discarded her, and changed to marry Tjukutjuku. At his wedding to Tjukutjuku others gathered and danced. Suîaîuîaîui was very upset because she was discarded. She chanted behind the fireplace: “May water flow out for me to wash away my itch,” she chanted. Then some water did really flow out. She used it to wash away her itch. The itch disappeared and Suîaîuîaîui was beautiful. So she dressed up and went to where the others were dancing. But she didn’t dance. She was up on the roof just looking on. But she was so beautiful that the others who were dancing were dazzled. After a time the others couldn’t stand the dazzle. “Why are we dazzled so much?” said the others who were dancing. They looked up, and there was Suîaîuîaîui sitting on the roof, as beautiful as the sun.

Puîaîuyaîuyan saw her. He shook off the hand of the girl he was going to marry, and went and embraced Suîaîuîaîui. “Let’s stay married,” said Puîaîuyaîuyan. But Suîaîuîaîui said: “I don’t like you any more. You discarded me.”

“Yes, but you had the itch; that’s why I discarded you,” said Puîaîuyaîuyan. But however much he besought her Suîaîuîaîui wouldn’t agree. She ran away, but he chased after her. She didn’t know what to do. They got to a mountain ridge, and Suîaîuîaîui was very tired. “Go and get my hat which I left on the roof. When you get back we can be married again,” she lied to Puîaîuyaîuyan.

But he gladly believed her, and went running to get the hat. When he got back to where Suîaîuîaîui had been, she was gone. He climbed a tree and had a look; and there she was by the sea having run away. When Suîaîuîaîui got to the sea, she chanted: “May I become like a spider.” She became like a spider, and skated over the sea. She reached the far shore and sat down. But Puîaîuyaîuyan wanted her very much, and went and followed her to the far shore. But Suîaîuîaîui already had a husband over there. So Puîaîuyaîuyan killed himself for love.

#### 014 WOMEN FRIENDS AND MEN FRIENDS mare÷ava katua mareqali (Qatsiîay village, p.183)

001 uzai a mare÷ava katua mareqali ka sitsuayan a

uzay a mare-÷ava ka-tua mare-qali ka si-tsuay-an a

there c pair-female.friend and-obl pair-friend after if-long.time-nom c

masiasik.

m-asi-asik

af-red-weed Once upon a time there were some girls and men weeding.

002 masasuvalivalit tiamadju a masik.

ma-sa-su-vali-valit ti-a-madju a m-asik

stat-red-remove-red-exchange f-pl-3rd.pers c af-weed

They took it in turns to weed.

003 kiîavaran a mareqali: “timunay anan a mare÷ava a masik,”

ki-îavar-an a mare-qali ti-mun-ay anan a mare-÷ava a m-asik

do-speak-lf c pair-friend f-you(p)-will still c pair-female.friend c af-weed

ayain.

aya-en

say-pf The men said: “You girls weed first.”

004 “ui,” aya azua mare÷ava.

ui aya a-zua mare-÷ava

yes say c-that pair-female.friend “All right,” said the girls.

005 qau masik azua mare÷ava.

qau m-asik a-zua mare-÷ava

so af-weed c-that pair-female.friend The girls weeded,

006 qau azua mareqali qemiladj itjua qapaz nua kavuavuan.

qau a-zua mare-qali em=qiladj i-tjua qapaz nua ka-vua-vua-an

so c-that pair-friend af=sit loc-there fence of main-red-field-nom

and the men sat at the edge of the field

007 qau sa san pa÷angani a mare÷ava.

qau sa sane pa÷ang-an-i a mare-÷ava

so and make bully-nom-pf c pair-female.friend and teased the girls.

008 nu masik azua mare÷ava, kidjeketsan a tsengal nua qalitsi.

nu m-asik a-zua mare-÷ava ki-djekets-an a tsengal nua qalitsi

when af-weed c-that pair-female.friend do-land.on-lf c knee by penis

While the girls weeded, the men touched their (the women’s) knees with their private parts.

009 qau “ii ii,” aya a mare÷ava, sa sapsapi azua qalitsi.

qau ii ii aya a mare-÷ava sa sapsap-i a-zua qalitsi

so hey hey say c pair-female.friend and scratch-pf c-that penis

“Oo oo,” said the girls, and scratched at the men’s private parts.

010 îakua inika masapsap; tsemiketsikel azua qalitsi a sema tjua tsengal.

îakua ini-ka ma-sapsap em=tsike-tsikel a-zua qalitsi a em=sa tjua tsengal

but not-after stat-scratch af=red-return c-that penis c af=go there knee

But they didn’t get rid of them; they kept coming back to their knees.

011 qau temarev anga aza mare÷ava.

qau em=tarev anga a-zua mare-÷ava

so af=attain indeed c-that pair-female.friend

And so the girls finished their turn of weeding.

012 qau “timunay anga a masik,” ayain azua mareqali.

qau ti-mun-ay anga a m-asik aya-en a-zua mare-qali

so f-you(p)-will indeed c af-weed say-pf c-that pair-friend

“Now it’s you to weed,” the men were told.

013 qau vaik azua mareqali a masik.

qau vaik a-zua mare-qali a m-asik

so leave c-that pair-friend c af-weed So the men went to weed.

014 nu masik azua mareqali, kidjeketsan nua kutji a tsengal.

nu m-asik a-zua mare-qali ki-djekets-an nua kutji a tsengal

when af-weed c-that pair-friend do-land.on-lf by vagina c knee

While the men were weeding, their knees were touched by the girls’ private parts.

015 “ii, a kutji,” aya mareqali, sa sapsapi.

ii a kutji aya mare-qali sa sapsap-i

hey c vagina say pair-friend and scratch-pf

“Ugh, private parts,” said the men, and brushed them away;

016 îakua inika sualap.

îakua ini-ka su-alap

but not-after remove-take but they didn’t go away.

017 qau luslusen tua vuka.

qau luslus-en tua vuka

so prod-pf obl digging.stick They prodded them with digging-sticks,

018 îakua inika sualap angata.

îakua ini-ka su-alap anga-ta

but not-after remove-take indeed-? but they just wouldn’t go away.

019 qau marekutj azua mareqali tua kutji.

qau ma-rekutj a-zua mare-qali tua kutji

so stat-fear c-that pair-friend obl vagina

The men were afraid of these private parts.

020 qau pagerits azua mareqali, sa kavilad anga.

qau pa-gerits a-zua mare-qali sa ka-vilad anga

so cause-scream c-that pair-friend and stat-flee indeed

And the men screamed and ran away.

Once upon a time there were some girls and men weeding. They took it in turns to weed. The men said: “You girls weed first.”

“All right,” said the girls. The girls weeded, and the men sat at the edge of the field and teased the girls. While the girls weeded, the men touched their (the women’s) knees with their private parts. “Oo oo,” said the girls, and scratched at the men’s private parts. But they didn’t get rid of them; they kept coming back to their knees.

And so the girls finished their turn of weeding. “Now it’s you to weed,” the men were told. So the men went to weed. While the men were weeding, their knees were touched by the girls’ private parts. “Ugh, private parts,” said the men, and brushed them away; but they didn’t go away. They prodded them with digging-sticks, but they just wouldn’t go away. The men were afraid of these private parts. And the men screamed and ran away.

#### 015 STONE GATE imatsatsukes (Qatsiîay village, p.184)

001 uzai ka sitsuayan a naqemaîup a tsautsau.

uzay ka si-tsuay-an a na-em=qaîup a tsau-tsau

there after if-long.time-nom c past-af=hunt c red-being

Once upon a time there were some people who had been hunting.

002 manu qudjaîan.

manu qudjaî-an

then rain-lf They got rained on,

003 qau vaik a siuîai a sema tjua îiv nua qatsiîay.

qau vaik a si-uîay a em=sa tjua îiv nua qatsiîay

so leave c if-overnight c af=go there cave of stone

and went to stay overnight in a rock cave.

[siuîai: F has uîay.]

004 manu meqatsa a qudjaî; tsaîeneq a qatsiîay.

manu me-qatsa a qudjaî aî=tseneq a qatsiîay

then af-big c rain qal=creak c stone

The rain got heavier, and the rock creaked.

005 manu “ki tjuqtjuqi anga itjen nua qatsiîay,” aya azua matsidiî.

manu ki tjuqtjuq-i anga itjen nua qatsiîay aya a-zua ma-tsidiî

then will pound-pf indeed f.we(inc) by stone say c-that num-alone

“We’ll be crushed by the rock,” said one.

006 “ini kuda.

ini kuda

not do.what “It’s all right.

007 ku tsukesaw anga tua ku veîatan,” aya matsidiî; qau tsukesen.

ku tsukes-aw anga tua ku veîatan aya ma-tsidiî qau tsukes-en

I post-lf indeed obl my bow say num-alone so post-pf

I’ll prop it up with my bow,” said another one, and propped it up.

008 manu ini tezeng a veîatan.

manu ini tezeng a veîatan

then not tolerate c bow But the bow couldn’t take the weight.

009 qau tjuqtjuqen tiamadju a naqemereng itjua îiv nua qatsiîay.

qau tjuqtjuq-en ti-a-madju a na-em=qereng i-tjua îiv nua qatsiîay

so pound-pf f-pl-3rd.pers c past-af=lie.down loc-there cave of stone

Those who were lying in the rock cave were crushed.

010 matsay anga tiamadju a mapuîat.

m-patsay anga ti-a-madju a ma-puîat

af-die indeed f-pl-3rd.pers c num-all They all died.

011 qau avan anga kinasengatsan a kakevikevingan a kakurakurapan,

qau avan anga in=ka-sengats-an a ka-kevi-keving-an a ka-kura-kurap-an

so exact indeed perf=main-dislike-lf c ?-red-itch-nom c ?-red-scaly-nom

a naqemereng i tsasaw tua îiv nua qatsiîay, tu tjinuqtjuq

a na-em=qereng i tsasaw tua îiv nua qatsiîay tu in=tjuqtjuq

c past-af=lie.down loc outside obl cave of stone obl perf=pound

anga tiamadju, a tjemumaî tua i tjumaq a tsautsau.

anga ti-a-madju a em=tjumaî tua i tju-umaq a tsau-tsau

indeed f-pl-3rd.pers c af=discuss obl loc there-house c red-being

It was the people who were shunned because of having the itch and skin disease, who were lying outside the rock cave, who told the people back at home that they had been crushed.

012 avan sika imatsatsukes ayain anga.

avan sika i-ma-tsa-tsukes aya-en anga

exact reason loc-stat-red-post say-pf indeed

That’s why the place Stone Gate is called Propped Up.

[imatsatsukes: something like ‘a post is there’, ‘be “post”-ed’.]

Once upon a time there were some people who had been hunting. They got rained on, and went to stay overnight in a rock cave. The rain got heavier, and the rock creaked. “We’ll be crushed by the rock,” said one. “It’s all right. I’ll prop it up with my bow,” said another one, and propped it up. But the bow couldn’t take the weight. Those who were lying in the rock cave were crushed. They all died. It was the people who were shunned because of having the itch and skin disease, who were lying outside the rock cave, who told the people back at home that they had been crushed. That’s why the place Stone Gate is called Propped Up.

#### 016 THE CHILD WHO WENT UP TO HEAVEN kake÷ian a îevavaw itjua kalevelevan (Qatsiîay village, p.185)

001 uzai ka sitsuayan a mareaîak i kavavuan a

uzay ka si-tsuay-an a mare-aîak i ka-va-vua-an a

there after if-long.time-nom c pair-child loc main-red-field-nom c

karakudakuda.

ar=ka-kuda-kuda

qal=main-red-do.what Once upon a time there was a family working in the fields.

002 a aîak a tjavulung a vavayan nasemvaî tua kaka tjaîaîak

a aîak a tja-vulung a vavayan na-em=sevaî tua kaka tja-îaîak

c child c more-old c female past-af=carry.on.back obl sibling more-child

a uqaîay.

a uqaîay

c male The older child, a girl, was carrying her younger brother on her back;

003 qau karakudakuda a kina.

qau ar=ka-kuda-kuda a kina

so qal=main-red-do.what c mother and the mother was working.

004 manu qemaung a sinvaî a kaka.

manu em=qaung a in=sevaî a kaka

then af=cry c perf=carry.on.back c sibling

The brother being carried started crying.

005 qau katsuin nua nasemvaî a kaka tjavulung a vavayan a

qau katsu-en nua na-em=sevaî a kaka tja-vulung a vavayan a

so carry-pf by past-af=carry.on.back c sibling more-old c female c

sema tjua kina, sa kiîavarani a kina tua patutu

em=sa tjua kina sa ki-îavar-an-i a kina tua pa-tutu

af=go there mother and do-speak-lf-hort c mother obl cause-breast

tazua kaka a tjaîaîak.

ta-zua kaka a tja-îaîak

obl-that sibling c more-child

So his older sister who was carrying him took him to their mother, and asked her mother to suckle the younger brother.

006 manu “malatjak tu karakuda,” ayain nua kina.

manu ma-latjak tu ar=ka-kuda aya-en nua kina

then stat-hurry obl qal=main-do.what say-pf by mother

“I must get on with the work,” her mother said to her,

007 qau ini patutu-i.

qau ini pa-tutu-i

so not cause-breast-pf and she wouldn’t suckle him.

008 îakua “matsuîa aravats; patutu-i anan,” ayain a mumaî

îakua ma-tsuîa a-ravats pa-tutu-i anan aya-en a ma-uma-î

but stat-hungry c-true cause-breast-hort still say-pf c stat-other-times

a kiîavaran a kina.

a ki-îavar-an a kina

c do-speak-lf c mother

But she said again to her mother: “He’s very hungry; stop and suckle him,” she said.

009 îakua ini patsunguî.

îakua ini pa-tsunguî

but not cause-agree But she wouldn’t agree (OR feed him).

010 “kemudanga ken?” aya azua ke÷ike÷ian a semvaî, tu

em=kuda-anga aken aya a-zua ke÷i-ke÷i-an a m=sevaî tu

af=do.what-indeed f.I say c-that red-small-nom c af=carry.on.back obl

sika mapiq anga timadju, maya sika qemauqaung azua

sika ma-piq anga ti-madju maya sika em=qau-qaung a-zua

reason stat-tired indeed f-3rd.pers don’t reason af=red-cry c-that

ke÷ike÷i a sinvaî tua tsuîan.

ke÷i-ke÷i a in=sevaî tua tsuîa-an

red-small c perf=carry.on.back obl hungry-nom

“What am I to do?” said the child who was carrying him, as she was tired; not to mention that the child she was carrying was crying with hunger.

011 ini anga purukuz tu kemuda.

ini anga pu-rukuz tu em=kuda

not indeed have-depend obl af=do.what She couldn’t decide what to do.

012 vaik anga îevavaw tua mui a qatsiîay.

vaik anga îe-va-vaw tua mui a qatsiîay

leave indeed go.to-red-above obl quartz c stone

She went and climbed on a quartz rock.

013 qau sa senay azua ke÷ike÷i a tjavulung.

qau sa senay a-zua ke÷i-ke÷i a tja-vulung

so and chant c-that red-small c more-old The older child sang,

014 qau manu lemadenga a tsemas tua senay nazua ke÷ike÷i.

qau manu em=ladenga a tsemas tua senay nua-zua ke÷i-ke÷i

so then af=hear c god obl chant of-that red-small

and (a) god heard the child’s song.

[lemadenga: = langeda, by metathesis, F149.]

015 mangtjez a tsemas a kiqenetj.

m-pangetjez a tsemas a ki-qenetj

af-come c god c do-see The god came to look,

016 mintu penaula a tsemas.

mintu en=pa-ula a tsemas

sudden af=cause-lack c god and had pity on them.

017 sualapen a kaka tjaîaîak a sinvaî; sa katsu-i a

su-alap-en a kaka tja-îaîak a in=sevaî sa katsu-i a

remove-take-pf c sibling more-child c perf=carry.on.back and carry-pf c

sema kalevelevan azua kaka a tjavulung.

em=sa ka-levelev-an a-zua kaka a tja-vulung

af=go main-dazzle-nom c-that sibling c more-old

The younger brother was taken off her back, and the older sister was taken to heaven.

018 qau azua kaka a tjaîaîak sisekam nua tsemas sa paqerengi.

qau a-zua kaka a tja-îaîak si-sekam nua tsemas sa pa-qereng-i

so c-that sibling c more-child if-spread by god and cause-lie.down-pf

And the god made a bed for the younger brother and laid him down to sleep.

019 qau seleman anga avan anga qaung a ladengadengan nua kina.

qau selem-an anga avan anga qaung a denga=ladenga-an nua kina

so dark-nom indeed exact indeed cry c red=hear-lf by mother

After dark the mother heard a cry.

020 qau penaula.

qau en=pa-ula

so af=cause-lack She felt sorry.

021 “ku vaikaw anan a kiqenetj tu kemudakuda,” aya a kina.

ku vaik-aw anan a ki-qenetj tu em=kuda-kuda aya a kina

I leave-lf still c do-see obl af=red-do.what say c mother

“I’ll go and see what’s happening,” said the mother,

022 vaiken sa kiqenetji.

vaik-en sa ki-qenetj-i

leave-pf and do-see-pf and went to have a look.

023 mintu avan anga tjaîaîak a aîak a naqemereng a qemauqaung.

mintu avan anga tja-îaîak a aîak a na-em=qereng a em=qau-qaung

sudden exact indeed more-child c child c past-af=lie.down c af=red-cry

There was the younger child lying down and crying.

024 qau mapuvarung azua kina.

qau ma-pu-varung a-zua kina

so stat-have-chest c-that mother The mother was anxious,

025 karimen azua aîak a tjavulung.

ar=kim-en a-zua aîak a tja-vulung

randomly=search-pf c-that child c more-old and searched for the older child.

026 mareka qauqavan; îakua nekangata.

mareka qawqaw-an îakua neka-anga-ita

many shout-lf but no-indeed-one

She kept shouting, but there was no sign of her.

027 qau miseleman anga, nekangata.

qau mi-selem-an anga neka-anga-ita

so af-dark-nom indeed no-indeed-one

It got dark, but there was no sign of the child.

028 vaik anga a tjumaq azua kina, sa tjumaîi a kama.

vaik anga a tju-umaq a-zua kina sa tjumaî-i a kama

leave indeed c there-house c-that mother and discuss-pf c father

The mother went home and told the father.

029 qau mapuvarung a kama katua kina.

qau ma-pu-varung a kama ka-tua kina

so stat-have-chest c father and-obl mother

Father and mother were both anxious,

030 tsemangitsangitj anga i tjumaq sakamaya.

em=tsangi-tsangitj anga i tju-umaq sakamaya

af=red-wail indeed loc there-house only and just wailed at home.

031 mintu sika pitju a qadaw tu kinaulavan nazua ke÷ike÷i,

mintu sika pitju a qadaw tu in=ka-ulaw-an nua-zua ke÷i-ke÷i

sudden number seven c sun obl perf=?-lost-nom of-that red-small

mangtjez azua ke÷ike÷i a tjumaq.

m-pangetjez a-zua ke÷i-ke÷i a tju-umaq

af-come c-that red-small c there-house

Then on the seventh day from the loss of the child, the child came home.

032 îakua qatsanga aravats, bulay anga uta.

îakua qatsa-anga a-ravats bulay anga uta

but big-indeed c-true beautiful indeed also

But she was very tall and beautiful too.

033 qau ini keîang a marekakama tu nima a aîak.

qau ini keîang a mare-ka-kama tu ni-ima a aîak

so not know c pair-red-father obl of-who c child

Her parents didn’t know whose child she was,

034 qau kivadaqan tu kasinu a tsautsau, tu tima a ngadan nimadju.

qau ki-vadaq-an tu kasi-inu a tsau-tsau tu ti-ima a ngadan ni-madju

so do-ask-lf obl from-where c red-being obl f-who c name of-3rd.pers

and asked her where she came from and what her name was.

035 qau tjemumaî azua ke÷ike÷i tua vinaikan a îevavaw.

qau em=tjumaî a-zua ke÷i-ke÷i tua in=vaik-an a îe-va-vaw

so af=discuss c-that red-small obl perf=leave-lf c go.to-red-above

And the child told them about how she had gone up above.

036 “tazua qemaung a ku sinvaî; qau mayanga ku piqan.

ta-zua em=qaung a ku in=sevaî qau maya-anga ku piq-an

obl-that af=cry c I perf=carry.on.back so don’t-indeed I tired-lf

“The brother I was carrying was crying, not to mention how tired I was.

037 qau vaik aken a sema tjua mui a qatsiîay, sa ku senay.

qau vaik aken a em=sa tjua mui a qatsiîay sa ku senay

so leave f.I c af=go there quartz c stone and I chant

So I went to the quartz rock and sang.

038 manu mangtjez a tsemas, sa sualapi ti a÷ing; sa katsu-i aken

manu m-pangetjez a tsemas sa su-alap-i ti a÷ing sa katsu-i aken

then af-come c god and remove-take-pf f.h boy and carry-pf I

a sema vavaw itjua kalevelevan.

a em=sa va-vaw i-tjua ka-levelev-an

c af=go red-above loc-there main-dazzle-nom

And a god came and took the boy off me; and I was taken up to heaven.

039 îakua tutsu sinan aîak anga ken nua tsemas.

îakua tu-tsu in=sane aîak anga aken nua tsemas

but obl-this perf=make child indeed f.I by god

But now I have been adopted by the god.

040 ini anga muri i tjumaq aken,” aya azua ke÷ike÷i.

ini anga ma-uri i tju-umaq aken aya a-zua ke÷i-ke÷i

not indeed stat-will loc there-house f.I say c-that red-small

I won’t be at home any more,” said the child.

041 qau patjara keîangan nua kina katua kama tu niamadju a

qau pa-tjara keîang-an nua kina ka-tua kama tu ni-a-madju a

so cause-surely know-lf by mother and-obl father obl of-pl-3rd.pers c

aîak.

aîak

child Then the mother and father realised that it was their child.

042 vetseqelen a lima a kula; masengats anga semau.

vetseqel-en a lima a kula ma-sengats anga em=sa-u

grasp-pf c hand c foot stat-dislike indeed af=go-imp

They held onto her arms and legs; they didn’t want to let her go.

[semau: ‘to say-go!-to’.]

043 “mayanga vaik.

maya-anga vaik

don’t-indeed leave “Don’t go!

044 imaza-i anga,” ayain nua matjaîaîak.

i-maza-i anga aya-en nua ma-tja-îaîak

loc-here-hort indeed say-pf by num-more-child

Let’s all stay here!” her parents said to her.

045 îakua ini kisalu azua ke÷ike÷i.

îakua ini ki-salu a-zua ke÷i-ke÷i

but not do-believe c-that red-small But the child wouldn’t agree.

046 avan a “pavayi aken tua vaqu tu tjelu a vatan,” aya.

avan a pa-vay-i aken tua vaqu tu tjelu a vat-an aya

exact c cause-give-hort f.I obl millet obl three c grain-nom say

Instead she said: “Give me three millet seeds.”

047 qau malap a matsidiî, sa pakauvuan tua quvaî nimadju.

qau m-alap a ma-tsidiî sa pa-kauvu-an tua quvaî ni-madju

so af-take c stat-alone and cause-tangled-lf obl hair of-3rd.pers

She took them herself, and put them in among her hair.

048 tsuay anga pagaîu, “muri vaik anga ken.

tsuay anga pa-gaîu ma-uri vaik anga aken

long.time indeed cause-slow stat-will leave indeed f.I

After a while she said: “Now I’m going.

049 îakua ku katsuaw tsu a vaqu.

îakua ku katsu-aw tsu a vaqu

but I carry-lf this c millet But I’ll take this millet.

050 nu tjaîu kalevelevan aken, ku sitalem anga tsu.

nu tjaîu ka-levelev-an aken ku si-talem anga tsu

when reach main-dazzle-nom f.I I if-plant indeed this

When I get to heaven, I’ll plant this.

051 qau nu liaw anga, a maisu anga tu ku kanen a matsidiî, nu

qau nu liaw anga a m-paisu anga tu ku kan-en a ma-tsidiî nu

so when many indeed c af-pound indeed obl I eat-pf c stat-alone when

maisu aken, ki zemuzung.

m-paisu aken ki em=zu-zung

af-pound f.I will af=red-thunder

When it has grown and when I pound grain for myself to eat, when I’m pounding it will thunder.

052 îakua, ku marekakama, azua a maisuisu tua ku kanen, aya-u

îakua ku mare-ka-kama a-zua a m-isu=paisu tua ku kan-en aya-u

but my pair-red-father c-that c af-red=pound obl I eat-pf say-imp

anga.”

anga

indeed But, my parents, think that it’s me pounding my food.”

053 qau paetez nua kai.

qau paetez nua kai

so cease of speech That was all she said.

054 mintu maulaw; ini keîang tu sema inu.

mintu ma-ulaw ini keîang tu em=sa inu

sudden stat-lost not know obl af=go where

She disappeared, and they didn’t know where she had gone.

055 avan anga kama katua kina sakamaya a qemauqaung i tjumaq.

avan anga kama ka-tua kina sakamaya a em=qau-qaung i tju-umaq

exact indeed father and-obl mother only c af=red-cry loc there-house

So the father and mother were just left at home crying.

Once upon a time there was a family working in the fields. The older child, a girl, was carrying her younger brother on her back; and the mother was working. The brother being carried started crying. So his older sister who was carrying him took him to their mother, and asked her mother to suckl e the younger brother. “I must get on with the work,” her mother said to her, and she wouldn’t suckle him. But she said again to her mother: “He’s very hungry; stop and suckle him,” she said. But she wouldn’t agree (OR feed him).

“What am I to do?” said the child who was carrying him, as she was tired; not to mention that the child she was carrying was crying with hunger. She couldn’t decide what to do. She went and climbed on a quartz rock. The older child sang, and (a) god heard the child’s song. The god came to look, and had pity on them. The younger brother was taken off her back, and the older sister was taken to heaven. And the god made a bed for the younger brother and laid him down to sleep.

After dark the mother heard a cry. She felt sorry. “I’ll go and see what’s happening,” said the mother, and went to have a look. There was the younger child lying down and crying. The mother was anxious, and searched for the older child. She kept shouting, but there was no sign of her. It got dark, but there was no sign of the child. The mother went home and told the father. Father and mother were both anxious, and just wailed at home.

Then on the seventh day from the loss of the child, the child came home. But she was very tall and beautiful too. Her parents didn’t know whose child she was, and asked her where she came from and what her name was. And the child told them about how she had gone up above. “The brother I was carrying was crying, not to mention how tired I was. So I went to the quartz rock and sang. And a god came and took the boy off me; and I was taken up to heaven. But now I have been adopted by the god. I won’t be at home any more,” said the child.

Then the mother and father realised that it was their child. They held onto her arms and legs; they didn’t want to let her go. “Don’t go! Let’s all stay here!” her parents said to her. But the child wouldn’t agree. Instead she said: “Give me three millet seeds.” She took them herself, and put them in among her hair. After a while she said: “Now I’m going. But I’ll take this millet. When I get to heaven, I’ll plant this. When it has grown and when I pound grain for myself to eat, when I’m pounding it will thunder. But, my parents, think that it’s me pounding my food.” That was all she said. She disappeared, and they didn’t know where she had gone. So the father and mother were just left at home crying.

#### 017 DOGS vatu (Qatsiîay village, p.189)

001 uzai a tsautsau ka sitsuayan a puanemanema.

uzay a tsau-tsau ka si-tsuay-an a pu-a-nema-nema

there c red-being after if-long.time-nom c have-?-red-what

Once upon a time there was a rich person.

002 manu kamayan a mangtjez a tsa÷; ini papaulingavi

manu ka-ma-aya-an a m-pangetjez a tsa÷ ini pa-pa-u-lingaw-i

then become-stat-be.thus-lf c af-come c bandit not cause-cause-?-know-pf

timadju.

ti-madju

f-3rd.pers Thieves kept coming and (s)he didn’t feel secure.

003 qau kinemnem timadju tu “kudain tsu a tsa÷ sa karekutj?”

qau kinemnem ti-madju tu kuda-en tsu a tsa÷ sa ka-rekutj

so think f-3rd.pers compl do.what-pf this c bandit and become-fear

aya timadju a kinemnem.

aya ti-madju a kinemnem

say f-3rd.pers c think

So he thought: “What can be done to these thieves to frighten them?” he thought.

004 îakua ini keîang timadju tu kudain.

îakua ini keîang ti-madju tu kuda-en

but not know f-3rd.pers compl do.what-pf But he didn’t know what to do.

005 manu mangtjez a vuluvulung a tsautsau.

manu m-pangetjez a vulu-vulung a tsau-tsau

then af-come c red-old c red-being Now an old person came,

006 kivadaqan timadju: “anema su kinemnemnemen?” ayain a kivadaq

ki-vadaq-an ti-madju a-nema su nem=kinemnem-en aya-en a ki-vadaq

do-ask-lf f-3rd.pers ?-what you(s) red=think-pf say-pf c do-ask

timadju.

ti-madju

f-3rd.pers and asked him: “What are you thinking about?” he was asked.

007 qau tjemumaî tua varung nimadju: “avan tsu a tsa÷ a tjuruvu aravats.

qau em=tjumaî tua varung ni-madju avan tsu a tsa÷ a tjuruvu a-ravats

so af=discuss obl chest of-3rd.pers exact this c bandit c many c-true

So he told him what was on his mind: “It’s this large number of thieves.

008 ku kudain sa kasualap?, aya ku varung.

ku kuda-en sa ka-su-alap aya ku varung

I do.what-pf and become-remove-take say my chest

What am I to do to get rid of them is what I am thinking.

009 îakua ini ku keîang.

îakua ini ku keîang

but not I know But I don’t know what to do.

010 nu kemîang sun, tjumaîi aken,” aya azua puanemanema a

nu m=keîang sun tjumaî-i aken aya a-zua pu-a-nema-nema a

when af=know f.you(s) discuss-hort f.I say c-that have-?-red-what c

tsautsau.

tsau-tsau

red-being If you know, tell me,” said the rich person.

011 “manu avan azua su kinemnemnemen.

manu avan a-zua su nem=kinemnem-en

then exact c-that you(s) red=think-pf

“So that’s what you are thinking about.

012 îakua maya mapuvarung.

îakua maya ma-pu-varung

but don’t stat-have-chest But don’t worry.

013 kemîang aken aravats,” ayain.

m=keîang aken a-ravats aya-en

af=know f.I c-true say-pf I know very well what to do,” he was told.

014 qau maleva azua puanemanema a tsautsau.

qau ma-leva a-zua pu-a-nema-nema a tsau-tsau

so stat-pleased c-that have-?-red-what c red-being

So the rich person was glad.

015 “nu maitazua sa kemîang sun, tjumaîi aken.”

nu ma-aya-ta-zua sa m=keîang sun tjumaî-i aken

when stat-be.thus-?-that and af=know f.you(s) discuss-hort f.I

“If you really know, tell me.”

016 “ui, ku tjumaîay sun.

ui ku tjumaî-ay sun

yes I discuss-lf f.you(s) “Yes, I’ll tell you.

017 uzai a vatu a ku îinengîengan i Guruîan a liaw aravats,

uzay a vatu a ku in=îeng-îeng-an i Guruîan a liaw a-ravats

there c dog c I perf=red-look.at-lf loc (place) c many c-true

maya kinababulay anga.

ma-aya in=ka-ba-bulay anga

stat-be.thus perf=main-red-beautiful indeed

I have seen plenty of dogs on Guruîan mountain, and fine ones too.

018 îakua nu muri vaik itjen a kivatu a sema zua, katsen

îakua nu ma-uri vaik itjen a ki-vatu a em=sa zua kats-en

but when stat-will leave f.we(inc) c do-dog c af=go that bite-pf

itjen nua vatu.

itjen nua vatu

f.we(inc) by dog But if we go there to get dogs, we’ll be bitten by the dogs.

019 îakua nu tja saneqavayi tua vaqu, sa tja pataudi

îakua nu tja sane-qavay-i tua vaqu sa tja pa-taud-i

but when we(inc) make-dumpling-pf obl millet and we(inc) cause-mix-pf

tua quvaî a qavay, sa tja pakani a kina nua vatu; qau

tua quvaî a qavay sa tja pa-kan-i a kina nua vatu qau

obl hair c dumpling and we(inc) cause-eat-pf c mother of dog so

sedjeketsan a angaî nua qavay; qau mapusemualap a

se-djekets-an a angaî nua qavay qau ma-pu-em=su-alap a

invol-land.on-lf c mouth by dumpling so stat-have-af=remove-take c

kina nua vatu.

kina nua vatu

mother of dog

But if we make dumplings of millet and mix hair in the dumplings, and feed them to the mother dog, then her mouth will get stuck up with the dumpling, and the mother dog will do nothing but try to get rid of it.

[saneqavayi: seqavayi in OA.]

[mapusemualap: for combination of ma-pu-see F23: ‘do to the exclusion of all else’.]

020 qau nuka tja sazuain anga, ini anga keîang a vatu tu tja

qau nuka tja sa-zua-en anga ini anga keîang a vatu tu tja

so even we(inc) go-that-pf indeed not indeed know c dog compl we(inc)

alalapen a aîak.

al-alap-en a aîak

red-take-pf c child

Then even if we go there, the dog won’t know that we are taking away her puppies.

021 tja alapen a aîak; qau tja katsuin a tjumaq azua kuku, sa

tja alap-en a aîak qau tja katsu-en a tju-umaq a-zua kuku sa

we(inc) take-pf c child so we(inc) carry-pf c there-house c-that pet and

tja pakani.

tja pa-kan-i

we(inc) cause-eat-pf We’ll take the puppies, and bring them home, and feed them.

022 qau nu meqatsa azua kuku, gemurugur a kemats anga, nu

qau nu me-qatsa a-zua kuku em=gurugur a em=kats anga nu

so when af-big c-that pet af=bark c af=bite indeed when

mangtjez a tsa÷ nu qezemezemetj.

m-pangetjez a tsa÷ nu zeme=qezemetj

af-come c bandit when red=night

When the puppies get big, they’ll bark and bite, if a thief comes at night.

023 qau nu katsen nu guruguren a tsa÷, ini anga turu a mangtjez a

qau nu kats-en nu gurugur-en a tsa÷ ini anga turu a m-pangetjez a

so when bite-pf when bark-pf c bandit not indeed dare c af-come c

tsemakaw.”

em=tsakaw

af=steal If he is bitten and barked at, he won’t dare to come and steal any more.

Once upon a time there was a rich person. Thieves kept coming and (s)he didn’t feel secure. So he thought: “What can be done to these thieves to frighten them?” he thought. But he didn’t know what to do.

Now an old person came, and asked him: “What are you thinking about?” he was asked. So he told him what was on his mind: “It’s this large number of thieves. What am I to do to get rid of them is what I am thinking. But I don’t know what to do. If you know, tell me,” said the rich person.

“So that’s what you are thinking about. But don’t worry. I know very well what to do,” he was told. So the rich person was glad. “If you really know, tell me.”

“Yes, I’ll tell you. I have seen plenty of dogs on Guruîan mountain, and fine ones too. But if we go there to get dogs, we’ll be bitten by the dogs. But if we make dumplings of millet and mix hair in the dumplings, and feed them to the mother dog, then her mouth will get stuck up with the dumpling, and the mother dog will do nothing but try to get rid of it. Then even if we go there, the dog won’t know that we are taking away her puppies. We’ll take the puppies, and bring them home, and feed them. When the puppies get big, they’ll bark and bite, if a thief comes at night. If he is bitten and barked at, he won’t dare to come and steal any more.”

#### 018 SAVAïI ti Savaîi (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.190)

001 izua sitsuayan i pasazayazaya tua tapaw ni Luvutsi a tapaw

i-zua si-tsuay-an i pa-sa-zaya-zaya tua tapaw ni Luvutsi a tapaw

loc-that if-long.time-nom loc cause-go-red-up obl hut of (name) c hut

ni Savaîi a Pasusu katua kina.

ni Savaîi a Pasusu ka-tua kina

of (name) c (name) and-obl mother

Once upon a time above the Luvutsi house was the house of Savaîi Pasusu and her mother.

002 sa ti Savaîi “muri vaik aken a sema tjatjan, kina.

sa ti Savaîi ma-uri vaik aken a em=sa tjatjan kina

and f.h (name) stat-will leave f.I c af=go spring mother

Savaîi said: “I’m going to the spring, mother.

003 îakua maya semutsaqev a ku tjaîev,” aya ti Savaîi; sa vaik a sema

îakua maya em=su-tsaqev a ku tjaîev aya ti Savaîi sa vaik a em=sa

but don’t af=remove-lid c my box say f.h (name) and leave c af=go

tjatjan.

tjatjan

spring But don’t take the lid off my box,” said Savaîi, and went off to the spring.

004 manu “anema siayaya nua ku aîak?

manu a-nema si-ay-aya nua ku aîak

then ?-what if-red-say by my child “What is my child talking about?

005 ku qayamaw,” aya azua kina, sa sutsaqevi a tjaîev.

ku qayam-aw aya a-zua kina sa su-tsaqev-i a tjaîev

I inspect-lf say c-that mother and remove-lid-pf c box

I’ll have a look,” said her mother; and she took the lid off the box.

006 manu minvar a aîak nua qatjuvi sema tu nazuazuanga.

manu m-inevar a aîak nua qatjuvi em=sa tu na-zua-zua-anga

then af-scatter c child of snake af=go obl past-red-that-indeed

Then young snakes scattered everywhere.

007 azua ti Savaîi a muri tsemikel a kasi tjatjan, metsevung katu

a-zua ti Savaîi a ma-uri em=tsikel a kasi tjatjan me-tsevung ka-tu

c-that f.h (name) c stat-will af=return c from spring af-meet and-obl

aîak nua qatjuvi.

aîak nua qatjuvi

child of snake

Savaîi was going to come back from the spring, and met a young snake.

008 “aa masa sinutsaqevan anga ni kina,” aya.

aa ma-sa in=su-tsaqev-an anga ni kina aya

ah stat-maybe perf=remove-lid-lf indeed by mother say

“Ah, that’s because mother has taken the lid off,” she thought.

[aa: a in OA.]

009 sa djemaîun i tapaw sa kiqenetjan a tjaîev; nekanga a aîak.

sa em=djaîun i tapaw sa ki-qenetj-an a tjaîev neka-anga a aîak

and af=arrive loc hut and do-see-lf c box no-indeed c child

She reached the house and looked at the box. There were no young snakes.

010 qau matjalaw ti Savaîi.

qau ma-tjalaw ti Savaîi

so stat-angry f.h (name) Savaîi was angry.

011 “aku su ayain a ku aîak?

aku su aya-en a ku aîak

why you(s) be.thus-pf c my child “Why did you do that to my children?

012 muri vaik anga ken a djemavats,” aya ti Savaîi.

ma-uri vaik anga aken a em=djavats aya ti Savaîi

stat-will leave indeed f.I c af=walk say f.h (name)

I’m going to walk away,” said Savaîi.

013 sa mirava tua nanemanemanga, sa kemuidi, sa vaik a sema

sa mi-rava tua na-nema-nema-anga sa em=kuidi sa vaik a em=sa

and af-prepare obl past-red-what-indeed and af=hat and leave c af=go

katsedas.

ka-tsedas

main-sunrise

And she packed up everything, and put on a bamboo hat, and went off to the east.

014 a kina “maya vaik, maya vaik,” aya.

a kina maya vaik maya vaik aya

c mother don’t leave don’t leave say Her mother said: “Don’t go, don’t go!”

015 vaik a kitjaviliî a kina, aya.

vaik a ki-tja-viliî a kina aya

leave c self-more-behind c mother say

And her mother followed behind her, they say.

016 qau djemaîun i îavek, sa vaik i taladj tua îavek.

qau em=djaîun i îavek sa vaik i taladj tua îavek

so af=arrive loc sea and leave loc inside obl sea

She came to the sea, and went into the sea.

017 qau maqelidi maqelidi a kuidi.

qau ma-qe-lidi ma-qe-lidi a kuidi

so stat-?-revolve stat-?-revolve c hat Her hat floated round and round,

[maqelidi: unclear, F336 has validi ‘revolve’.]

018 qau maulaw.

qau ma-ulaw

so stat-lost and it disappeared.

019 qau mavan anga nu siaya Tjisavaîi, aya tjautsikel a sitsuayan.

qau ma-avan anga nu si-aya Tjisavaîi aya tjautsikel a si-tsuay-an

so stat-exact indeed of if-say (name) say story c if-long.time-nom

And that’s why the place is called Tjisavaîi, according to the old story.

020 azua ti Savaîi namavunglay tua valaîvaî kasi îavek.

a-zua ti Savaîi na-ma-vungelay tua valaîvaî kasi îavek

c-that f.h (name) past-stat-pregnant obl monster from sea

Savaîi had become pregnant by the monster from the sea.

[valaîvaî: could be al=vaîvaî, alternative for dragon is varaîuvaî which is ar=vaîuvaî; F334 has vaîuvaî and varaîuvaî as ‘dragon’. F16 has al= and ar= with meaning ‘having quality of’.]

021 saka masa navaik a tsemikel a sema îavek itjua

sa-ka ma-sa na-vaik a em=tsikel a em=sa îavek i-tjua

and-after stat-maybe past-leave c af=return c af=go sea loc-there

valaîvaî.

valaîvaî

monster And it seems she had gone back to the sea to where the monster was.

Once upon a time above the Luvutsi house was the house of Savaîi Pasusu and her mother. Savaîi said: “I’m going to the spring, mother. But don’t take the lid off my box,” said Savaîi, and she went off to the spring.

“What is my child talking about? I’ll have a look,” said her mother; and she took the lid off the box. Then young snakes scattered everywhere. Savaîi was going to come back from the spring, and met a young snake. “Ah, that’s because mother has taken the lid off,” she thought. She reached the house and looked at the box. There were no young snakes. Savaîi was angry. “Why did you do that to my children? I’m going to walk away,” said Savaîi. And she packed up everything, and put on a bamboo hat, and went off to the east.

Her mother said: “Don’t go, don’t go!” And her mother followed behind her, they say. She came to the sea, and went into the sea. Her hat floated round and round, and it disappeared. And that’s why the place is called Tjisavaîi, according to the old story. Savaîi had become pregnant by the monster from the sea. And it seems she had gone back to the sea to where the monster was.

#### 019 OLD TREASURES milingan (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.192)

001 ka sitsuayan kinatsu a kemasi Pinavavuqatsang aza zua

ka si-tsuay-an in=katsu a em=kasi Pinavavuqatsang a-zua zua

after if-long.time-nom perf=carry c af=from (place) c-that that

milingan.

miling-an

past.era-nom

Once upon a time those treasures (human figures?) were brought from Pinavavuqatsang mountain.

[kemasi: masi in OA.]

002 sa azua milingan, ka vaik a maqinatsap a maîetjelu a

sa a-zua miling-an ka vaik a ma-in=qatsap a maîe-tjelu a

and c-that past.era-nom after leave c stat-perf=head.hunt c num-three c

sema Tjuaqatsiîay; manu qetsin a matsidiî nua se Tjuaqatsiîay,

em=sa Tjuaqatsiîay manu qetsi-en a ma-tsidiî nua se Tjuaqatsiîay

af=go (place) then fight-pf c num-alone by person.of (place)

aya.

aya

say

As for those treasures, three people went to Tjuaqatsiîay to hunt heads, and one was killed by the Tjuaqatsiîay people, they say.

003 sa qalu-i anga nua ma÷usa a pasa maza.

sa qalu-i anga nua ma-÷usa a pa-sa maza

and carry-pf indeed by num-two c cause-go here

He was carried back here by the two others.

004 avan nu sika neka nu qulu nua matsidiî, aya a tjautsikel a kemasi

avan nu sika neka nu qulu nua ma-tsidiî aya a tjautsikel a em=kasi

exact of reason no of head of num-alone say c story c af=from

tsuay.

tsuay

long.time And that’s why one of them has no head, according to the old story.

[kemasi: masi in OA.]

Once upon a time those treasures (human figures?) were brought from Pinavavuqatsang mountain. As for those treasures, three people went to Tjuaqatsiîay to hunt heads, and one was killed by the Tjuaqatsiîay people, they say. He was carried back here by the two others. And that’s why one of them has no head, according to the old story.

#### 020 THE STONE FAN sipaizan a qatsiîay (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.193)

001 ka sitsuayan ka mangtjengtjez a masi naqemizing ti

ka si-tsuay-an ka ma-ngetje-ngetjez a masi na-em=qizing ti

after if-long.time-nom after stat-red-come c from past-af=usurp f.h

Salakats, izua sipaizan a qatsiîay, a sikipaipaiz ni Salakats.

Salakats i-zua si-paiz-an a qatsiîay a si-ki-pai-paiz ni Salakats

(name) loc-that if-fan-nom c stone c if-self-red-fan by (name)

Once upon a time when Sakalats had just come from land he had won(?), there was a stone fan which Sakalats used to fan himself.

002 aza zua sipaizan vintsikan tua tsautsau katua marka ÷i÷i.

a-zua zua si-paiz-an in=vetsik-an tua tsau-tsau ka-tua marka ÷i÷i

c-that that if-fan-nom perf=mark-lf obl red-being and-obl pl pig

That fan was carved with people and pigs.

003 saka mangtjez imaza; sitavaî pitjua qaqerengan nua

sa-ka m-pangetjez i-maza si-tavaî pi-tjua qa-qereng-an nua

and-after af-come loc-here if-upright put-there red-lie.down-nom of

mamazangiîan.

ma-ma-zangiî-an

stat-stat-chief-nom So it came here and was set up by the chief’s bed.

004 sa manu marivu tua viliviliîan.

sa manu ma-rivu tua vili-viliî-an

and then stat-quarrel obl red-behind-nom But later there was a quarrel (?).

005 maîama a tapaw.

ma-îama a tapaw

stat-burn c hut The house was set on fire,

006 sipaîama azua sipaizan.

si-pa-îama a-zua si-paiz-an

if-cause-burn c-that if-fan-nom and the fan was burnt too.

007 saka nekanga tutsu.

sa-ka neka-anga tu-tsu

and-after no-indeed obl-this So it doesn’t exist now.

Once upon a time when Sakalats had just come from land he had won (?), there was a stone fan which Sakalats used to fan himself. That fan was carved with people and pigs. So it came here and was set up by the chief’s bed. But later there was a quarrel (?). The house was set on fire, and the fan was burnt too. So it doesn’t exist now.

#### 021 TEETH IN THE VAGINA aîis nua kutji (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.193)

001 ka sitsuayan izua kalaingan ni Qaquangan a vavayan.

ka si-tsuay-an i-zua ka-laing-an ni Qaquangan a vavayan

after if-long.time-nom loc-that main-follow-nom of (name) c female

Once upon a time there was a girl who was the oldest child in the Qaquangan family.

002 nu puvaîaw, sa nu kiu÷e azua vaîaw, katsen nua kutji a

nu pu-vaîaw sa nu ki-u÷e a-zua vaîaw kats-en nua kutji a

when have-spouse and when do-copulate c-that spouse bite-pf by vagina c

kulits; qau matsay a uqaîay.

kulits qau m-patsay a uqaîay

penis so af-die c male

When she married and her husband had intercourse with her, his penis was bitten by her vagina and the husband died.

[kiu÷e: F326 has ki-u÷u.]

003 semu maîelima a puvaîaw; matsay a mapuîat.

em=su maîe-lima a pu-vaîaw m-patsay a ma-puîat

af=remove num-five c have-spouse af-die c num-all

She got through five husbands, and they all died.

004 “aku maya saka maitazua a matsay a su vaîaw?

aku ma-aya sa-ka ma-aya-ta-zua a m-patsay a su vaîaw

why stat-be.thus and-after stat-be.thus-?-that c af-die c your(s) spouse

“Why ever is it that your husbands die like that?

005 manu namakuda sun?

manu na-ma-kuda sun

then past-stat-do.what f.you(s) What’s the matter with you?

006 tja qayamaw a nisun a kutji,” ayain nua kina.

tja qayam-aw a ni-sun a kutji aya-en nua kina

we(inc) inspect-lf c of-you(s) c vagina say-pf by mother

We’ll have a look at your private parts,” her mother told her.

007 manu izuangata a aîis.

manu i-zua-anga-ta a aîis

then loc-that-indeed-? c tooth And there really were teeth.

008 qau tsingtsingan sa sualapi a aîis.

qau tsingtsing-an sa su-alap-i a aîis

so cut-lf and remove-take-pf c tooth

So the teeth were cut and removed.

009 azua sinualap a aîis a ita, sa sipatsusuan anga tua

a-zua in=su-alap a aîis a ita sa si-pa-tsusu-an anga tua

c-that perf=remove-take c tooth c one and if-cause-thread-lf indeed obl

zangaq.

zangaq

necklace There was one tooth removed, and it was threaded onto a necklace;

[sipatsusuan: sipatsusua in OA.]

010 saka izuanan tutsu, aya a tjautsikel.

sa-ka i-zua-anan tu-tsu aya a tjautsikel

and-after loc-that-still obl-this say c story

and it still exists, according to the story.

Once upon a time there was a girl who was the oldest child in the Qaquangan family. When she married and her husband had intercourse with her, his penis was bitten by her vagina and the husband died. She got through five husbands, and they all died. “Why ever is it that your husbands die like that? What’s the matter with you? We’ll have a look at your private parts,” her mother told her. And there really were teeth. So the teeth were cut and removed. There was one tooth removed, and it was threaded onto a necklace; and it still exists, according to the story.

#### 022 EARTHQUAKES maparumaî a kadjunangan (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.194)

001 aitsu a kadjunangan qinadjayan ni Salakats tua quay katua

aya-i-tsu a ka-djunang-an in=qadjay-an ni Salakats tua quay ka-tua

be.thus-loc-this c main-earth-nom perf=tie-lf by (name) obl rattan and-obl

tsatsuken.

tsa-tsuk-en

red-vine.sp-pf This earth is tied up by Salakats with rattans and vines.

002 saka “qadjaw tu ki namatsemu anga a ku siniqadjay,” nu

sa-ka qadjaw tu ki na-ma-tsemu anga a ku in=si-qadjay nu

and-after perhaps compl will past-stat-decay indeed c I perf=if-tie when

aya ti Salakats, qau pavalitan a siniqadjay, aya.

aya ti Salakats qau pa-valit-an a in=si-qadjay aya

say f.h (name) so cause-exchange-lf c perf=if-tie say

So when Salakats thinks: “I wonder if the ties have rotted,” then the ties are changed, they say.

003 saka nu pavalivalit, qau maparumaî a kadjunangan,

sa-ka nu pa-vali-valit qau ma-pare-uma-î a ka-djunang-an

and-after when cause-red-exchange so stat-pair-other-times c main-earth-nom

aya.

aya

say And when he is changing them, the earth quakes, they say.

[maparumaî: mapalumaî in OA.]

004 palemek nu tsuay a pagaîu a ÷emuqa÷uq, sa uta ÷uqa÷uqen

pa-lemek nu tsuay a pa-gaîu a em=÷uqa÷uq sa uta ÷uqa÷uq-en

cause-might when long.time c cause-slow c af=shake and also shake-pf

nu puraketj.

nu pu-raketj

when have-always

Sometimes it shakes for quite a long time, and at other times it keeps on shaking.

005 sa azua qemayam tua kadjunangan tua nakuya tua nanguaq, aya

sa a-zua em=qayam tua ka-djunang-an tua na-kuya tua na-nguaq aya

and c-that af=inspect obl main-earth-nom obl stat-bad obl stat-good say

varung, aya a tjautsikel.

varung aya a tjautsikel

chest say c story

That is when he has a mind to inspect the earth to see what is bad and good, according to the story.

This earth is tied up by Salakats with rattans and vines. So when Salakats thinks: “I wonder if the ties have rotted,” then the ties are changed, they say. And when he is changing them, the earth quakes, they say. Sometimes it shakes for quite a long time, and at other times it keeps on shaking. That is when he has a mind to inspect the earth to see what is bad and good, according to the story.

#### 023 THE FLOOD qatsa a zaîum (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.194)

001 ka sitsuayan ka mairaw a kadjunangan, saka zaîum anga

ka si-tsuay-an ka ma-iraw a ka-djunang-an sa-ka zaîum anga

after if-long.time-nom after stat-melt c main-earth-nom and-after water indeed

pulingelingetj a gadu, manu izua namalauî a ke÷ike÷i a

pu-linge-lingetj a gadu manu i-zua na-ma-lauî a ke÷i-ke÷i a

have-red-entire c mountain then loc-that past-stat-remainder c red-small c

gadu.

gadu

mountain

Once upon a time the earth dissolved, and the mountains everywhere became water. There was just one small mountain left.

002 qau matsay a mapuîat azua tsautsau.

qau m-patsay a ma-puîat a-zua tsau-tsau

so af-die c num-all c-that red-being And all the people died.

003 sa izua ma÷usa a nasekelay tua ritsing nua îavilu itjua

sa i-zua ma-÷usa a na-se-kelay tua ritsing nua îavilu i-tjua

and loc-that num-two c past-invol-hang obl branch of tree.sp loc-there

gadu, aya.

gadu aya

mountain say

There were just two people left who hung onto a trichodesma tree’s branches on the mountain, they say.

004 qau makuîi a zaîum.

qau ma-kuîi a zaîum

so stat-dry c water Then the water dried up,

005 qau mevaîut azua nasekelay a marekaka.

qau me-vaîut a-zua na-se-kelay a mare-kaka

so af-alive c-that past-invol-hang c pair-sibling

and the siblings who had hung onto the tree survived.

006 nekanga nu sapuy; nekanga anemanema.

neka-anga nu sapuy neka-anga a-nema-nema

no-indeed of fire no-indeed ?-red-what

There was no fire; there was nothing.

007 qau tsikemen anga azua rugus nua îavilu a sinikelayan, sa patuti.

qau tsikem-en anga a-zua rugus nua îavilu a in=si-kelay-an sa patut-i

so snap-pf indeed c-that twig of tree.sp c perf=if-hang-lf and drill-pf

So they snapped off twigs of the trichodesma tree to which they had hung, and used them as drills.

008 qau maqati anga a sapuy.

qau ma-qati anga a sapuy

so stat-create indeed c fire So fire came,

009 qau petsungu anga; izuanga sikesa.

qau petsungu anga i-zua-anga si-kesa

so make.fire indeed loc-that-indeed if-food

and they could light a fire; they had the means to cook.

010 sa azua ma÷usanga tiamadju; qau marepuvaîaw.

sa a-zua ma-÷usa-anga ti-a-madju qau mare-pu-vaîaw

and c-that num-two-indeed f-pl-3rd.pers so pair-have-spouse

Those two who were left married one another.

011 manu puaîak tu marka mavutsa, tu marka mapiîay, tu

manu pu-aîak tu marka ma-vutsa tu marka ma-piîay tu

then have-child obl pl stat-blind obl pl stat-crippled obl

matjubang, aya.

ma-tjubang aya

stat-scrofulous say

And they had children who were blind, crippled or scrofulous, they say.

012 saka nu matjubang pasa pairangen; nu mapiîay nu

sa-ka nu ma-tjubang pa-sa pairang-en nu ma-piîay nu

and-after when stat-scrofulous cause-go plains-pf when stat-crippled when

mavutsa pasa paqaluqaluin; nu nanguanguaq a aîak

ma-vutsa pa-sa pa-qalu-qalu-in nu na-ngua-nguaq a aîak

stat-blind cause-go cause-red-sorghum-nom when stat-red-good c child

niamadju, aya tjautsikel.

ni-a-madju aya tjautsikel

of-pl-3rd.pers say story

The scrofulous ones were sent off to the plains people; the crippled and blind were sent to the east Paiwans; the healthy ones they took as their own children, according to the story.

013 sa azua marekaka tiamadju; mavan nu sika maya a

sa a-zua mare-kaka ti-a-madju ma-avan nu sika ma-aya a

and c-that pair-sibling f-pl-3rd.pers stat-exact of reason stat-be.thus c

maqati a mavutsa matjubang mapiîay, aya.

ma-qati a ma-vutsa ma-tjubang ma-piîay aya

stat-create c stat-blind stat-scrofulous stat-crippled say

Now those two were siblings; and that’s why the children were born blind, scrofulous or crippled like that, they say.

014 sa ka tsuatsuay anga marepuvaîavaîaw, djemaîun anga tua

sa ka tsua-tsuay anga mare-pu-vaîa-vaîaw em=djaîun anga tua

and after red-long.time indeed pair-have-red-spouse af=arrive indeed obl

marka nanguaq.

marka na-nguaq

pl stat-good

After a long time of intermarriage they got to having healthy children;

015 maqati anga a tsautsau a inika mavutsa, a inika mapiîay,

ma-qati anga a tsau-tsau a ini-ka ma-vutsa a ini-ka ma-piîay

stat-create indeed c red-being c not-after stat-blind c not-after stat-crippled

a inika matjubang, aya a tjautsikel a masi tsuay.

a ini-ka ma-tjubang aya a tjautsikel a masi tsuay

c not-after stat-scrofulous say c story c from long.time

and so there were people who were not blind or crippled or scrofulous, according to the old story.

Once upon a time the earth dissolved, and the mountains everywhere became water. There was just one small mountain left. And all the people died. There were just two people left who hung onto a trichodesma tree’s branches on the mountain, they say.

Then the water dried up, and the siblings who had hung onto the tree survived. There was no fire; there was nothing. So they snapped off twigs of the trichodesma tree to which they had hung, and used them as drills. So fire came, and they could light a fire; they had the means to cook. Those two who were left married one another. And they had children who were blind, crippled or scrofulous, they say. The scrofulous ones were sent off to the plains people; the crippled and blind were sent to the east Paiwans; the healthy ones they took as their own children, according to the story.

Now those two were siblings; and that’s why the children were born blind, scrofulous or crippled like that, they say. After a long time of intermarriage they got to having healthy children; and so there were people who were not blind or crippled or scrofulous, according to the old story.

#### 024 MAKING RIVERS seman pana (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.196)

001 ka sitsuayan neka pana, aya tjautsikel.

ka si-tsuay-an neka pana aya tjautsikel

after if-long.time-nom no river say story

Once upon a time there were no rivers, according to the story.

002 sa izua sisiî tjakanga qa÷is ritaî.

sa i-zua sisiî tjakanga qa÷is ritaî

and loc-that thrush kite hawk eagle

The quaker-thrush, the kite, the hawk and the eagle were together,

003 qau maîavar tiamadju.

qau ma-îavar ti-a-madju

so stat-speak f-pl-3rd.pers and they had a discussion.

004 “san pana-i; neka nu zaîum a tja tekelen,” aya azua sisiî katua

sane pana-i neka nu zaîum a tja tekel-en aya a-zua sisiî ka-tua

make river-hort no of water c we(inc) drink-pf say c-that thrush and-obl

tjakanga.

tjakanga

kite

“Let’s make a river; we’ve no water to drink,” said the quaker-thrush and the kite.

005 manu inika ui a pusaladj azazua qa÷is katua ritaî.

manu ini-ka ui a pu-saladj a-za-zua qa÷is ka-tua ritaî

then not-after yes c have-companion c-red-that hawk and-obl eagle

But the hawk and the eagle didn’t agree to help them.

006 “makapalak nia latip.”

ma-ka-palak nia latip

stat-become-break our(exc) bracelet

Our wire braclets (? OA) are / will get damaged.”

007 qau seman pana azua sisiî katua tjakanga.

qau em=sane pana a-zua sisiî ka-tua tjakanga

so af=make river c-that thrush and-obl kite

So the thrush and the kite made a river.

008 “nu ini nu pusaladj, mayanga temekel tua zaîum itjua

nu ini nu pu-saladj maya-anga em=tekel tua zaîum i-tjua

when not you(p) have-companion don’t-indeed af=drink obl water loc-there

nia sinan pana.

nia in=sane pana

we(exc) perf=make river

“If you don’t help, don’t drink from the river we’ve made.

009 nu temekel mun ki mun a matsangavu,” aya azua tjakanga

nu em=tekel mun ki mun a ma-tsangavu aya a-zua tjakanga

when af=drink f.you(p) will f.you(p) c stat-swell say c-that kite

katua sisiî.

ka-tua sisiî

and-obl thrush If you drink you will swell up,” said the thrush and the kite.

[matsangavu: root could be tsangaw, but nothing like this in F.]

010 saka nu temekel azazua qa÷is katua ritaî, matsangavu, ini

sa-ka nu em=tekel a-za-zua qa÷is ka-tua ritaî ma-tsangavu ini

and-after when af=drink c-red-that hawk and-obl eagle stat-swell not

anga ka minlayap, aya tjautsikel.

anga ka min-layap aya tjautsikel

indeed after af-fly say story

And when the hawk and eagle drank, they swelled up and couldn’t fly, according to the story.

011 sa nuka mavan tutsu nu temekel a qa÷is katua ritaî

sa nuka ma-avan tu-tsu nu em=tekel a qa÷is ka-tua ritaî

and even stat-exact obl-this when af=drink c hawk and-obl eagle

matsangavu angata.

ma-tsangavu anga-ta

stat-swell indeed-?

And even up to now if the hawk or the eagle drink they really do swell up.

Once upon a time there were no rivers, according to the story. The quaker-thrush, the kite, the hawk and the eagle were together, and they had a discussion. “Let’s make a river; we’ve no water to drink,” said the quaker-thrush and the kite. But the hawk and the eagle didn’t agree to help them. Our wire bracelets (? OA) are / will get damaged.” So the thrush and the kite made a river.

“If you don’t help, don’t drink from the river we’ve made. If you drink you will swell up,” said the thrush and the kite. And when the hawk and eagle drank, they swelled up and couldn’t fly, according to the story. And even up to now if the hawk or the eagle drink they really do swell up.

#### 025 EATING SNAKES keman tua qatjuvi (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.197)

001 azua ti Salakats keman tua qatjuvi sakamaya.

a-zua ti Salakats em=kan tua qatjuvi sakamaya

c-that f.h (name) af=eat obl snake only

(Chief) Salakats ate only snakes.

002 izua i Tjulutun itjua tsuqu a nakisaliî a kemakan.

i-zua i Tjulutun i-tjua tsuqu a na-ki-saliî a em=ka-kan

loc-that loc (place) loc-there bischoffia c past-do-isolate c af=red-eat

He would go off by himself to eat at Tjulutun by the bischoffia tree(?).

003 saka nu mangtjez a vadis, sipa÷al a pi katsasavan.

sa-ka nu m-pangetjez a vadis si-pa÷al a pi ka-tsasaw-an

and-after when af-come c chief’s.meat if-hang c put main-outside-nom

When the tribute meat was brought, he left it (on the platform) in the courtyard.

004 qau nu tsuatsuay anga madjapeng izua.

qau nu tsua-tsuay anga ma-djapeng i-zua

so when red-long.time indeed stat-overdone loc-that

After a long time it rotted away there.

005 manu izua za Tjulung: “aku su ayain tsa vutjuî?

manu i-zua zua Tjulung aku su aya-en tsa vutjuî

then loc-that that (name) why you(s) be.thus-pf this meat

Some people of the Tjulung family said: “Why do you do that to this meat?

[za: variant of se ‘people of’?]

006 paulain.

pa-ula-en

cause-lack-pf It’s a waste.

007 nia alapaw sa nia kani,” aya azuaza Tjulung.

nia alap-aw sa nia kan-i aya a-zua-zua Tjulung

we(exc) take-lf and we(exc) eat-pf say c-red-that (name)

We’ll take and eat it,” said the Tjulung family.

[azuaza: F has zua-zua compounds meaning ‘kind.of’, so here ‘those various Tjulung ones’.]

008 sisalu ni Salakats.

si-salu ni Salakats

if-believe by (name) Salakats agreed;

009 alapen ni Tjulung sa vaik.

alap-en ni Tjulung sa vaik

take-pf by (name) and leave so the Tjulung people took it and went off.

010 qau tjaîu zua i tji Taupili, gemugu: “azua inika kanen ni

qau tjaîu zua i tji Taupili em=gugu a-zua ini-ka kan-en ni

so reach that loc be.at (name) af=shout c-that not-after eat-pf by

Luvaniaw a vadis, muri a niamen anga a kadjunangan,

Luvaniaw a vadis ma-uri a ni-amen anga a ka-djunang-an

(name) c chief’s.meat stat-will c of-f.we(exc) indeed c main-earth-nom

azua i Maîipa Tjuaqatsiîay,” aya azua îa Tjulung.

a-zua i Maîipa Tjuaqatsiîay aya a-zua îa Tjulung

c-that loc (place) (place) say c-that class (name)

When they got to the Taupili house they shouted out: “The tribute meat has not been eaten by the Luvaniaw family. The land at Maîipa Tjauqatsiîay will become ours,” said the Tjulung people.

[tji: not in F; possibly a reduction of tjua ‘there’ + i ‘loc’.]

011 katavakan anga niamadju, aya tjautsikel.

ka-tavak-an anga ni-a-madju aya tjautsikel

main-habit-lf indeed of-pl-3rd.pers say story

So it was established as theirs, according to the story.

012 saka sitsuayan a uta tjemaîava îa Luvaniaw.

sa-ka si-tsuay-an a uta em=tjaîava îa Luvaniaw

and-after if-long.time-nom c also af=ask.help class (name)

At another time long ago the Luvaniaw family got help from others with work.

013 kemsa ti Salakats tu tsengeî.

em=kesa ti Salakats tu tsengeî

af=food f.h (name) obl lunch Salakats cooked the midday meal,

014 pakesaan tua qatjuvi a vulung a kinsa.

pa-kesa-an tua qatjuvi a vulung a in=kesa

cause-food-lf obl snake c snake.sp c perf=food

and cooked a hundred-pacer snake along with the other food.

015 sa ka makesa a kinsa, qaqivuin a tjinaîava sema tapaw.

sa ka ma-kesa a in=kesa qa-qivu-en a in=tjaîava em=sa tapaw

and after stat-food c perf=food red-speak-pf c perf=ask.help af=go hut

When the food was cooked, the helpers were called to the house.

016 a tjinaîava muri keman; paîetekuin a kinsa.

a in=tjaîava ma-uri em=kan pa-îe-teku-en a in=kesa

c perf=ask.help stat-will af=eat cause-go.to-down-pf c perf=food

The helpers were going to eat; the food was put out ready,

017 muri sulamudan nua zuma.

ma-uri su-lamud-an nua zuma

stat-will remove-leaf.sp-lf by other

and one of the people was going to take the covering leaves off.

018 manu “pagaîu-i a ku kinsa; izua Tjavenikiniki,” aya azua ti

manu pa-gaîu-i a ku in=kesa i-zua Tjavenikiniki aya a-zua ti

then cause-slow-hort c I perf=food loc-that (name) say c-that f.h

Salakats.

Salakats

(name)

But Salakats said: “Be careful of what I’ve cooked. Tjavenikiniki is there,” he said.

019 “ki anema siayaya Tjavenikiniki?” aya a tjinaîava.

ki a-nema si-ay-aya Tjavenikiniki aya a in=tjaîava

will ?-what if-red-say (name) say c perf=ask.help

“What does he mean by Tjavenikiniki?” said the helpers.

020 ka sulamudan izua qatjuvi a vulung a sinipakesa

ka su-lamud-an i-zua qatjuvi a vulung a in=si-pa-kesa

after remove-leaf.sp-lf loc-that snake c snake.sp c perf=if-cause-food

namintsekas.

na-min-tsekas

past-af-split

When they took the covering leaves off, there was the hundred-pacer snake cooked with the rest and all split open.

[namintsekas: F311 has m/in/e-tsekas under tsekas, so min- here could be in=m.]

021 qau marekutj a tjinaîava.

qau ma-rekutj a in=tjaîava

so stat-fear c perf=ask.help The helpers were afraid.

022 “kanu, ayain itjen tua pinakesaan tua qatjuvi.

kan-u aya-en itjen tua in=pa-kesa-an tua qatjuvi

eat-imp say-pf f.we(inc) obl perf=cause-food-nom obl snake

“We’re told to eat something cooked together with snake;

023 tjaîa semavaqaran,” aya a tjinaîava; sa kavilad a mapuîat, aya a

tjaîa em=savaqar-an aya a in=tjaîava sa ka-vilad a ma-puîat aya a

most af=disgust-nom say c perf=ask.help and stat-flee c num-all say c

tjautsikel a sitsuayan.

tjautsikel a si-tsuay-an

story c if-long.time-nom

it’s really disgusting,” said the helpers. And they all ran away, according to the old story.

(Chief) Salakats ate only snakes. He would go off by himself to eat at Tjulutun by the bischoffia tree(?). When the tribute meat was brought, he left it (on the platform) in the courtyard. After a long time it rotted away there. Some people of the Tjulung family said: “Why do you do that to this meat? It’s a waste. We’ll take and eat it,” said the Tjulung family. Salakats agreed; so the Tjulung people took it and went off.

When they got to the Taupili house they shouted out: “The tribute meat has not been eaten by the Luvaniaw family. The land at Maîipa Tjauqatsiîay will become ours,” said the Tjulung people. So it was established as theirs, according to the story.

At another time long ago the Luvaniaw family got help from others with work. Salakats cooked the midday meal, and cooked a hundred-pacer snake along with the other food. When the food was cooked, the helpers were called to the house. The helpers were going to eat; the food was put out ready, and one of the people was going to take the covering leaves off. But Salakats said: “Be careful of what I’ve cooked. Tjavenikiniki is there,” he said. “What does he mean by Tjavenikiniki?” said the helpers. When they took the covering leaves off, there was the hundred-pacer snake cooked with the rest and all split open. The helpers were afraid. “We’re told to eat something cooked together with snake; it’s really disgusting,” said the helpers. And they all ran away, according to the old story.

#### 026 TJIMU Tjimu (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.199)

001 ka sitsuayan Tjimu ti Taupili; keman tua tsautsau, aya.

ka si-tsuay-an Tjimu ti Taupili em=kan tua tsau-tsau aya

after if-long.time-nom (name) f.h (name) af=eat obl red-being say

Once upon a time there was a person of the Tjimu tribe called Taupili, who ate people, they say.

002 nu izua puaîak sa ini pasemalavan tjai Taupili, sa

nu i-zua pu-aîak sa ini pa-se-malaw-an tjai Taupili sa

when loc-that have-child and not cause-invol-tell-lf obl.h (name) and

keîangi tu izua napuaîak, vaiken a malap a aîak, sa kani.

keîang-i tu i-zua na-pu-aîak vaik-en a m-alap a aîak sa kan-i

know-pf compl loc-that past-have-child leave-pf c af-take c child and eat-pf

If anyone had a child and didn’t tell Taupili, and (s)he got to know that someone had had a child, he would go and take the child and eat it.

003 saka nu qemtsi tua tsautsau, kanen a uta, aya tjautsikel.

sa-ka nu m=qetsi tua tsau-tsau kan-en a uta aya tjautsikel

and-after when af=fight obl red-being eat-pf c also say story

When he killed people, they too were eaten, according to the story.

004 a tapaw inika imaza i qinaîan; izua itjua Tjinekaî;

a tapaw ini-ka i-maza i in=qaîa-an i-zua i-tjua Tjinekaî

c hut not-after loc-here loc perf=outsider-nom loc-that loc-there (name)

a izuazuanan nu keman tua tsautsau.

a i-zua-zua-anan nu em=kan tua tsau-tsau

c loc-red-that-still when af=eat obl red-being

His house was not here in the village; it was there at Tjinekaî. It was always there that he ate people.

Once upon a time there was a person of the Tjimu tribe called Taupili, who ate people, they say. If anyone had a child and didn’t tell Taupili, and (s)he got to know that someone had had a child, he would go and take the child and eat it. When he killed people, they too were eaten, according to the story. His house was not here in the village; it was there at Tjinekaî. It was always there that he ate people.

#### 027 DEER, WILD PIG, GOAT AND MUNTJAC DEER venan vavuy sizi takets (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.199)

001 ka sitsuayan izua zua ti sa Vuluvulung.

ka si-tsuay-an i-zua zua ti sa Vuluvulung

after if-long.time-nom loc-that that f.h h (name)

Once upon a time there was a person called Vuluvulung (*or* Savuluvulung; *or* Old Granny?).

002 manu padjumak tua aîak a uqaîay mavavuvavuy itjua îitsaq.

manu pa-djumak tua aîak a uqaîay ma-vavu-vavuy i-tjua îitsaq

then cause-find obl child c male stat-red-pig loc-there mud

She/he found a boy crawling in the mud.

003 qau alapen azua aîak, sa pakiramata-i, sa paitungi, sa

qau alap-en a-zua aîak sa pa-ki-ramata-i sa pa-itung-i sa

so take-pf c-that child and cause-self-wash-pf and cause-cloth-pf and

pakani.

pa-kan-i

cause-eat-pf She took the child, washed, clothed and fed it.

004 “paulaan tu meqatsa,” aya ti sa Vuluvulung.

pa-ula-an tu me-qatsa aya ti sa Vuluvulung

cause-lack-nom compl af-big say f.h h (name)

“A pity if it doesn’t grow up,” said Vuluvulung.

005 manu meqatsa.

manu me-qatsa

then af-big And the child grew up.

006 azua ti sa Vuluvulung ka tsemalis tua leklek a ta qapiz, sa vaik

a-zua ti sa Vuluvulung ka em=tsalis tua leklek a ta qapiz sa vaik

c-that f.h h (name) after af=rope obl twine c obl braid and leave

a sema tsemtsemel, katsuin azua kake÷ian.

a em=sa tsem-tsemel katsu-en a-zua ka-ke÷i-an

c af=go red-plant carry-pf c-that red-small-nom

Vuluvulung made a single braided cord of hemp twine, and went to the woods, taking the child.

007 “djadjasu tsu tjektjek nua tsalis,” ayain.

djadjas-u tsu tjektjek nua tsalis aya-en

grab-imp this end of rope say-pf

“Take hold of the end of the cord,” the child was told.

008 qau djadjasen nua kake÷ian.

qau djadjas-en nua ka-ke÷i-an

so grab-pf by red-small-nom So the child took hold of it.

009 vaik ti sa Vuluvulung i palinguî tua tsemtsemel, sa

vaik ti sa Vuluvulung i pa-linguî tua tsem-tsemel sa

leave f.h h (name) loc cause-around obl red-plant and

papetsevungi a tsalis a sema tjua kake÷ian; sa viîviîi a

pa-pe-tsevung-i a tsalis a em=sa tjua ka-ke÷i-an sa viîviî-i a

cause-emerge-meet-pf c rope c af=go there red-small-nom and pull-pf c

tsalis.

tsalis

rope

Vuluvulung went round the woods, and brought the ends of the cord together to where the child was, and pulled on the cord.

010 qau mapenge÷uq a kasiw a mapuîat.

qau ma-pe-nge÷uq a kasiw a ma-puîat

so stat-emerge-sever c tree c num-all And all the trees were snapped off.

011 vaik a sema tapaw.

vaik a em=sa tapaw

leave c af=go hut They went back to the house.

012 tsuatsuay anga pagaîu matsay a kasiw.

tsua-tsuay anga pa-gaîu m-patsay a kasiw

red-long.time indeed cause-slow af-die c tree

After quite a long time the trees died;

013 îamain, sa tjuguti tua lavu nua vaqu.

îama-en sa tjugut-i tua lavu nua vaqu

burn-pf and sow-pf obl chaff of millet

she burnt them off, and sowed millet chaff.

014 tsuatsuay anga pagaîu, “sa-u, kiqenetji a tja tjinugut,” ayain

tsua-tsuay anga pa-gaîu sa-u ki-qenetj-i a tja in=tjugut aya-en

red-long.time indeed cause-slow go-imp do-see-pf c we(inc) perf=sow say-pf

azua aîak ni sa Vuluvulung.

a-zua aîak ni sa Vuluvulung

c-that child by h (name)

After quite a long time Vuluvulung said to the child: “Go and look at what we sowed.”

[kiqenetji: qenetji in OA.]

015 vaik azua aîak a kiqenetj.

vaik a-zua aîak a ki-qenetj

leave c-that child c do-see The child went to look,

016 mangtjez a aîak a nakiqenetj.

m-pangetjez a aîak a na-ki-qenetj

af-come c child c past-do-see and came back after looking.

017 “neka nu anema, vuvu,” aya azua kake÷ian.

neka nu a-nema vuvu aya a-zua ka-ke÷i-an

no of ?-what grandparent say c-that red-small-nom

“There’s nothing, granny,” said the child.

018 “pasaladji; nanguaq nu tsuay anga,” aya ti sa Vuluvulung.

pa-saladj-i na-nguaq nu tsuay anga aya ti sa Vuluvulung

cause-companion-hort stat-good when long.time indeed say f.h h (name)

“Come along; it will be all right in time,” said Vuluvulung.

019 tsuatsuay anga a uta pagaîu, “sa-u, kiqenetji anan,” ayain ni

tsua-tsuay anga a uta pa-gaîu sa-u ki-qenetj-i anan aya-en ni

red-long.time indeed c also cause-slow go-imp do-see-pf still say-pf by

sa Vuluvulung.

sa Vuluvulung

h (name)

After quite a time more the child was told by Vuluvulung: “Go and have another look.”

020 vaik a kake÷ian.

vaik a ka-ke÷i-an

leave c red-small-nom The child went,

021 qau mangtjez a uta.

qau m-pangetjez a uta

so af-come c also and came back again.

022 “izuanga, vuvu, a galavagavagaw a ke÷ike÷ian, vuvu;

i-zua-anga vuvu a al=gava-gavagaw a ke÷i-ke÷i-an vuvu

loc-that-indeed grandparent c qal=red-wriggle c red-small-nom grandparent

qadjaw ki anema,” aya azua kake÷ian.

qadjaw ki a-nema aya a-zua ka-ke÷i-an

perhaps how ?-what say c-that red-small-nom

“Granny, now there are some small things wriggling about, granny. I don’t know what they are,” said the child.

023 “pasaladji; nanguaq nu tsuay anga.”

pa-saladj-i na-nguaq nu tsuay anga

cause-companion-hort stat-good when long.time indeed

“Come along; it will be all right in time.”

024 tsuatsuay pagaîu a uta, “sa-u, kiqenetji anan,” ayain ni sa

tsua-tsuay pa-gaîu a uta sa-u ki-qenetj-i anan aya-en ni sa

red-long.time cause-slow c also go-imp do-see-pf still say-pf by h

Vuluvulung.

Vuluvulung

(name)

After quite a time more the child was told by Vuluvulung: “Go and have another look.”

025 vaik a kake÷ian a kiqenetj; mangtjez.

vaik a ka-ke÷i-an a ki-qenetj m-pangetjez

leave c red-small-nom c do-see af-come

The child went to look, and came back.

026 “izuanga, vuvu, a ku÷aku÷alan a pagaîu; qadjaw ki anema,”

i-zua-anga vuvu a ku÷a-ku÷al-an a pa-gaîu qadjaw ki a-nema

loc-that-indeed grandparent c red-fat-nom c cause-slow perhaps how ?-what

aya azua kake÷ian.

aya a-zua ka-ke÷i-an

say c-that red-small-nom

“Now there are some quite big things, granny. I don’t know what they are,” said the child.

027 “pasaladji anan,” aya ti sa Vuluvulung.

pa-saladj-i anan aya ti sa Vuluvulung

cause-companion-hort still say f.h h (name)

“Come along still (ie. let’s leave them),” said Vuluvulung.

028 tsuatsuay anga pagaîu a uta, vaiken ni sa Vuluvulung katua

tsua-tsuay anga pa-gaîu a uta vaik-en ni sa Vuluvulung ka-tua

red-long.time indeed cause-slow c also leave-pf by h (name) and-obl

aîak a kiqenetj.

aîak a ki-qenetj

child c do-see

After quite a time more Vuluvulung and the child went to have a look at them.

029 manu a uta ku÷alan anga, a marka venan, a vavuy, a marka sizi,

manu a uta ku÷al-an anga a marka venan a vavuy a marka sizi

then c also fat-nom indeed c pl deer c pig c pl goat

marka takets, aya.

marka takets aya

pl muntjac say

And now they were big things-deer, wild pig, goats and muntjacs, they say.

030 qau mavan anga nu sika izua nua venan nua vavuy nua sizi

qau ma-avan anga nu sika i-zua nua venan nua vavuy nua sizi

so stat-exact indeed of reason loc-that of deer of pig of goat

nua takets tutsu, aya tjautsikel a masi tsuay.

nua takets tu-tsu aya tjautsikel a masi tsuay

of muntjac obl-this say story c from long.time

And that’s why there are deer, wild pigs, goats and muntjacs now, according to the old story.

Once upon a time there was a person called Vuluvulung (*or* Savuluvulung; *or* Old Granny?). She/he found a boy crawling in the mud. She took the child, washed, clothed and fed it. “A pity if it doesn’t grow up,” said Vuluvulung. And the child grew up.

Vuluvulung made a single braided cord of hemp twine, and went to the woods, taking the child. “Take hold of the end of the cord,” the child was told. So the child took hold of it. Vuluvulung went round the woods, and brought the ends of the cord together to where the child was, and pulled on the cord. And all the trees were snapped off. They went back to the house. After quite a long time the trees died; she burnt them off, and sowed millet chaff.

After quite a long time Vuluvulung said to the child: “Go and look at what we sowed.” The child went to look, and came back after looking. “There’s nothing, granny,” said the child.

“Come along; it will be all right in time,” said Vuluvulung. After quite a time more the child was told by Vuluvulung: “Go and have another look. “The child went, and came back again. “Granny, now there are some small things wriggling about, granny. I don’t know what they are,” said the child.

“Come along; it will be all right in time.” After quite a time more the child was told by Vuluvulung: “Go and have another look.” The child went to look, and came back. “Now there are some quite big things, granny. I don’t know what they are,” said the child. “Come along still (ie. let’s leave them),” said Vuluvulung.

After quite a time more Vuluvulung and the child went to have a look at them. And now they were big things-deer, wild pig, goats and muntjacs, they say. And that’s why there are deer, wild pigs, goats and muntjacs now, according to the old story.

#### 028 PIGS ÷i÷i (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.201)

001 ka sitsuayan neka ÷i÷i.

ka si-tsuay-an neka ÷i÷i

after if-long.time-nom no pig Once upon a time there were no pigs.

002 qau qepuin a tsuqelaî nua vavuy, sa kisenay: “kasan ÷i÷i-u,

qau qepu-en a tsuqelaî nua vavuy sa ki-senay ka-sane ÷i÷i-u

so associate-pf c bone of pig and do-chant become-make pig-imp

kasan ÷i÷i-u,” sa ayain azua tsuqelaî.

ka-sane ÷i÷i-u sa aya-en a-zua tsuqelaî

become-make pig-imp and say-pf c-that bone

The bones of wild pigs were collected, and a chant of blessing was sung over the bones: “Become pigs, become pigs!”.

003 qau masan ÷i÷i.

qau ma-sane ÷i÷i

so stat-make pig And they became pigs.

004 avan nu sika izua nua ÷i÷i tutsu, aya a tjautsikel a masi tsuay.

avan nu sika i-zua nua ÷i÷i tu-tsu aya a tjautsikel a masi tsuay

exact of reason loc-that of pig obl-this say c story c from long.time

And that’s why there are pigs now, according to the old story.

Once upon a time there were no pigs. The bones of wild pigs were collected, and a chant of blessing was sung over the bones: “Become pigs, become pigs!” And they became pigs. And that’s why there are pigs now, according to the old story.

#### 029 LICE kutsu (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.202)

001 ka sitsuayan neka nu kutsu; sa neka nu sengsengan; saka

ka si-tsuay-an neka nu kutsu sa neka nu sengseng-an sa-ka

after if-long.time-nom no of louse and no of work-nom and-after

masepeî.

ma-sepeî

stat-anxious

Once upon a time there were no lice, and no work; so they were bored.

002 “kemuda itjen sa kaqati a tja sengsengan?” aya a

em=kuda itjen sa ka-qati a tja sengseng-an aya a

af=do.what f.we(inc) and become-create c our(inc) work-nom say c

maîavar.

ma-îavar

stat-speak

“What shall we do to make work for ourselves?” they said to one another.

003 “tjamanguaq a tji navenli tua kutsu,” aya.

tja-ma-nguaq a tji na-n=veli tua kutsu aya

more-stat-good c we(inc) past-af=buy obl louse say

“We would be better off to buy some lice,” they said.

[tji: proclitic like tje- in Egli or class marker for animals?]

004 venli tua kutsu, aya; sa tjugutan a paka tua qulu.

n=veli tua kutsu aya sa tjugut-an a pa-ka tua qulu

af=buy obl louse say and sow-lf c cause-become obl head

They bought some lice, they say; and sowed them in their heads.

005 qau maqati anga a sengsengan.

qau ma-qati anga a sengseng-an

so stat-create indeed c work-nom So now they had work.

006 nu masepeî makakutsu anga, ini anga ka masepeî.

nu ma-sepeî ma-ka-kutsu anga ini anga ka ma-sepeî

when stat-anxious stat-red-louse indeed not indeed after stat-anxious

Now when they were bored, they would de-louse one another, and they weren’t bored any longer.

007 saka navenli ti Qaquangan, aya a tjautsikel a sitsuayan.

sa-ka na-n=veli ti Qaquangan aya a tjautsikel a si-tsuay-an

and-after past-af=buy f.h (name) say c story c if-long.time-nom

It was the Qaquangan family who bought them, according to the old story.

Once upon a time there were no lice, and no work; so they were bored. “What shall we do to make work for ourselves?” they said to one another. “We would be better off to buy some lice,” they said. They bought some lice, they say; and sowed them in their heads. So now they had work. Now when they were bored, they would de-louse one another, and they weren’t bored any longer. It was the Qaquangan family who bought them, according to the old story.

#### 030 ULCERS AND PAIN pumuqan katua ngilu (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.202)

001 ka sitsuayan neka pumuqan, neka ngilu, neka sengsengan; sa

ka si-tsuay-an neka pumuqan neka ngilu neka sengseng-an sa

after if-long.time-nom no ulcer no pain no work-nom and

masepeî itjen.

ma-sepeî itjen

stat-anxious f.we(inc)

Once upon a time there were no ulcers, no pain, no work, and we were bored.

002 “kemuda itjen sa kaqati a tja sengsengan?” aya a

em=kuda itjen sa ka-qati a tja sengseng-an aya a

af=do.what f.we(inc) and become-create c our(inc) work-nom say c

maîavar.

ma-îavar

stat-speak

“What shall we do to make work for ourselves?” they said to one another.

003 “tjamanguaq a tji navenli tua ngilu tua pumuqan, sa tja

tja-ma-nguaq a tji na-n=veli tua ngilu tua pumuqan sa tja

more-stat-good c we(inc) past-af=buy obl pain obl ulcer and we(inc)

tavaîan a pitju tja kula.

tavaî-an a pi-tju tja kula

upright-lf c put-there our(inc) foot

“We would be better off to buy some pain and ulcers, and plant them in our legs.

004 nu lemutud kitjen a masusepeîan,” aya a maîavar.

nu em=lutud ki-itjen a ma-su-sepeî-an aya a ma-îavar

when af=painful will-f.we(inc) c stat-remove-anxious-nom say c stat-speak

When they are painful, we won’t feel bored,” they said to one another.

005 qau venli, sa tavaîan a pitju kula, aya.

qau n=veli sa tavaî-an a pi-tju kula aya

so af=buy and upright-lf c put-there foot say

So they bought them and planted them in their legs, it is said.

006 avanu sika izua nua pumuqan nua ngilu tutsu.

avan nu sika i-zua nua pumuqan nua ngilu tu-tsu

exact of reason loc-that of ulcer of pain obl-this

That’s why there are ulcers and pain now.

007 saka navenli ti Tsuluî kati Taupili, aya a tjautsikel a masi

sa-ka na-n=veli ti Tsuluî ka-ti Taupili aya a tjautsikel a masi

and-after past-af=buy f.h (name) and-f.h (name) say c story c from

tsuay.

tsuay

long.time

It was the Tsuluî and Taupili families that bought them, according to the old story.

Once upon a time there were no ulcers, no pain, no work, and we were bored. “What shall we do to make work for ourselves?” they said to one another. “We would be better off to buy some pain and ulcers, and plant them in our legs. When they are painful, we won’t feel bored,” they said to one another. So they bought them and planted them in their legs, it is said. That’s why there are ulcers and pain now. It was the Tsuluî and Taupili families that bought them, according to the old story.

#### 031 ARECA/BETEL TREE saviki (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.203)

001 ka sitsuayan izua ti sa Tjukutjuku.

ka si-tsuay-an i-zua ti sa Tjukutjuku

after if-long.time-nom loc-that f.h h (name)

Once upon a time there was a woman called Tjukutjuku.

002 qau mapu tua ÷ipupun katua aluvetjuîatan, sa vaik a sema tjatjan.

qau m-apu tua ÷ipupun ka-tua aluvetjuîatan sa vaik a em=sa tjatjan

so af-betel obl tree.sp and-obl tree.sp and leave c af=go spring

She chewed the nuts of the *÷ipupun* and *aluvetjuîatan* trees, and went to the spring.

003 qau sidjilay i tjatjan azua inapuan.

qau si-djilay i tjatjan a-zua in-apu-an

so if-spit loc spring c-that perf-betel-nom

She spat into the spring what she had chewed;

004 qau sa tsemuvuq azua djilay tua saviki.

qau sa em=tsuvuq a-zua djilay tua saviki

so and af=sprout c-that spit obl betel.palm

and the spit sprouted into an areca tree.

005 qau meqatsa azua saviki, venangaî.

qau me-qatsa a-zua saviki en=vangaî

so af-big c-that betel.palm af=fruit

The areca tree got bigger and bore fruit;

006 qau kisavikin anga ni sa Tjukutjuku tu apuin.

qau ki-saviki-en anga ni sa Tjukutjuku tu apu-en

so do-betel.palm-pf indeed by h (name) compl betel-pf

and Tjukutjuku got areca nuts from it to chew.

007 azua ti sa Tjukutjuku ka vaik a kivala sema zua itjua tapaw

a-zua ti sa Tjukutjuku ka vaik a ki-vala em=sa zua i-tjua tapaw

c-that f.h h (name) after leave c self-able af=go that loc-there hut

nua mareqali, inika pinalimasudj a tapaw.

nua mare-qali ini-ka in=pa-li-masudj a tapaw

of pair-friend not-after perf=cause-qal-tidy c hut

When Tjukutjuku went to amuse herself to the house of some men friends, the house had not been tidied.

008 qau suapan ni sa Tjukutjuku; sa tjangtjangan ta saviki, sa vaik

qau suap-an ni sa Tjukutjuku sa tjangtjang-an ta saviki sa vaik

so sweep-lf by h (name) and lime.box-nom obl betel.palm and leave

a tsemikel a tjumaq.

a em=tsikel a tju-umaq

c af=return c there-house

Tjukutjuku swept the house, and left some crushed and prepared areca nuts, and went back home.

009 mangtjez a mareqali.

m-pangetjez a mare-qali

af-come c pair-friend The men friends arrived.

010 “îaqa, tima nasemuap tua tja tapaw?

îaqa ti-ima na-em=suap tua tja tapaw

hey f-who past-af=sweep obl our(inc) hut

“What’s this? Who has swept our house?

011 tjamanguaq a tja raungen,” aya.

tja-ma-nguaq a tja raung-en aya

more-stat-good c we(inc) trap-pf say

It would be better if we laid in wait for them,” they said.

012 qau raungen nua mareqali.

qau raung-en nua mare-qali

so trap-pf by pair-friend So the men friends lay in wait.

013 manu mangtjez azua ti sa Tjukutjuku.

manu m-pangetjez a-zua ti sa Tjukutjuku

then af-come c-that f.h h (name) Then Tjukutjuku came;

014 qau puvaîavan anga nua mareqali, aya a tjautsikel.

qau pu-vaîaw-an anga nua mare-qali aya a tjautsikel

so have-spouse-lf indeed of pair-friend say c story

and she became the wife of (one of?) the men friends, according to the story.

015 saka mavan nu sika izua nua saviki.

sa-ka ma-avan nu sika i-zua nua saviki

and-after stat-exact of reason loc-that of betel.palm

And that’s the reason why there are areca trees now.

Once upon a time there was a woman called Tjukutjuku. She chewed the nuts of the *÷ipupun* and *aluvetjuîatan* trees, and went to the spring. She spat into the spring what she had chewed; and the spit sprouted into an areca tree. The areca tree got bigger and bore fruit; and Tjukutjuku got areca nuts from it to chew. When Tjukutjuku went to amuse herself to the house of some men friends, the house had not been tidied. Tjukutjuku swept the house, and left some crushed and prepared areca nuts, and went back home. The men friends arrived. “What’s this? Who has swept our house? It would be better if we laid in wait for them,” they said. So the men friends lay in wait. Then Tjukutjuku came; and she became the wife of (one of ?) the men friends, according to the story. And that’s the reason why there are areca trees now.

#### 032 QALAMUDIS AND THE WATER MONSTER ti sa Qalamudis katua valaîuvaî (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.204)

001 ka sitsuayan ti sa Qalamudis a Tsuluî navaik a qemaîup.

ka si-tsuay-an ti sa Qalamudis a Tsuluî na-vaik a em=qaîup

after if-long.time-nom f.h h (name) c (name) past-leave c af=hunt

Once upon a time Qalamudis of the Tsuluî family had been hunting.

002 manu sekuliî, sa kavalut a vuluq.

manu se-kuliî sa ka-valut a vuluq

then invol-trip and stat-jab c spear He tripped and lost hold of his spear,

[sekuliî: sekeliî in OA.]

[kavalut: ma- often changes to ka- after sa. In F, valut is ‘digging stick’.]

003 manu malengleng a sema tjua vatsaî.

manu ma-lengleng a em=sa tjua vatsaî

then stat-buzz c af=go there pool and it slid down into a deep pool.

[lengleng: onomatopoeic for buzzing of bee, so here for noise of spear.]

004 qau inika keîang tu kudain nu malap.

qau ini-ka keîang tu kuda-en nu m-alap

so not-after know compl do.what-pf of af-take

He didn’t know what to do to get it back.

005 qau ledepen anga a vatsaî i Dinualan.

qau ledep-en anga a vatsaî i Dinualan

so descend-pf indeed c pool loc (place)

So he dived into the pool at Dinualan.

006 manu lemdep; a i taladj izua qatjuvi a valaîuvaî.

manu m=ledep a i taladj i-zua qatjuvi a valaîuvaî

then af=descend c loc inside loc-that snake c monster

He dived in; and there in the pool was a monster snake.

007 “inu anga ku vuluq?” ayain ni sa Qalamudis.

inu anga ku vuluq aya-en ni sa Qalamudis

where indeed my spear say-pf by h (name)

“Where is my spear?” Qalamudis said to it.

008 “izua ku siniparasudj tua tjuîung; alapu,” aya a valaîuvaî,

i-zua ku in=si-pa-rasudj tua tjuîung alap-u aya a valaîuvaî

loc-that I perf=if-cause-align obl bamboo.tube take-imp say c monster

qau alapen.

qau alap-en

so take-pf

“I lined it up there with the bamboo tube; take it,” said the monster. So he took it.

[siniparasudj: sinipalasudj in OA.]

009 maîavar tiamadju: “parepaqali-i; vava-i sa tja

ma-îavar ti-a-madju pare-pa-qali-i vava-i sa tja

stat-speak f-pl-3rd.pers pair-cause-friend-hort alcohol-hort and we(inc)

kinvava,” aya a maîavar.

ken-vava aya a ma-îavar

consume-alcohol say c stat-speak

They said to one another: “Let’s become friends. Let’s make beer and drink it,” they said to one another.

010 qau mirava ti sa Qalamudis, kemuîup, kematsing, qemezetj tua

qau mi-rava ti sa Qalamudis em=kuîup em=katsing em=qezetj tua

so af-prepare f.h h (name) af=jacket af=leggings af=press obl

pinuîayîayan; sa vaik a îetaladj tua zaîum a

in=pu-îayîay-an sa vaik a îe-taladj tua zaîum a

perf=have-eagle.feather-nom and leave c go.to-inside obl water c

kinvava.

ken-vava

consume-alcohol

Qalamudis got ready; he put on a sleeveless jacket and leggings, and pressed on his head an eagle-feather decoration; and he went into the water for a drinking party.

011 qau mapulaw anga ti sa Qalamudis; sema katsauan.

qau ma-pulaw anga ti sa Qalamudis em=sa ka-tsau-an

so stat-drunk indeed f.h h (name) af=go main-being-nom

Qalamudis got drunk. As he came out

[katsauan: ‘the world’, so here refers to coming from the water back to land.]

012 “pangtjezu anga i tjanuaken nu tsuatsuay anga,” ayain ni sa

pangetjez-u anga i tjanu-aken nu tsua-tsuay anga aya-en ni sa

come-imp indeed loc obl-I when red-long.time indeed say-pf by h

Qalamudis.

Qalamudis

(name) he said: “After a time you come to my place,” he said to the monster.

013 qau mangtjez a valaîuvaî i tjai Tsuluî a kinvava.

qau m-pangetjez a valaîuvaî i tja-i Tsuluî a ken-vava

so af-come c monster loc more-loc (name) c consume-alcohol

So the monster came to the Tsuluî house for a drinking party.

014 sa mapulaw anga azua valaîuvaî; vaik anga tsemikel.

sa ma-pulaw anga a-zua valaîuvaî vaik anga em=tsikel

and stat-drunk indeed c-that monster leave indeed af=return

The monster got drunk, and then went back.

015 maruquruqu i djalan, aya.

ma-ruqu-ruqu i djalan aya

stat-red-roll loc road say It rolled about in the path, they say.

016 sa azazua qali ni sa Qalamudis, nu kiqenetj a qaliqali, qatjuvi;

sa a-za-zua qali ni sa Qalamudis nu ki-qenetj a qali-qali qatjuvi

and c-red-that friend of h (name) when do-see c red-friend snake

îakua nu kiqenetj ti sa Qalamudis, tsautsau, aya a tjautsikel.

îakua nu ki-qenetj ti sa Qalamudis tsau-tsau aya a tjautsikel

but when do-see f.h h (name) red-being say c story

Now that friend of Qalamudis, when others looked at it, it was a snake; but when Qalamudis looked at it, it was human, according to the story.

Once upon a time Qalamudis of the Tsuluî family had been hunting. He tripped and lost hold of his spear, and it slid down into a deep pool. He didn’t know what to do to get it back. So he dived into the pool at Dinualan. He dived in; and there in the pool was a monster snake. “Where is my spear?”Qalamudis said to it.

“I lined it up there with the bamboo tube; take it,” said the monster. So he took it. They said to one another: “Let’s become friends. Let’s make beer and drink it,” they said to one another. Qalamudis got ready; he put on a sleeveless jacket and leggings, and pre ssed on his head an eagle-feather decoration; and he went into the water for a drinking party.

Qalamudis got drunk. As he came out he said: “After a time you come to my place,” he said to the monster. So the monster came to the Tsuluî house for a drinking party. The monster got drunk, and then went back. It rolled about in the path, they say. Now that friend of Qalamudis, when others looked at it, it was a snake; but when Qalamudis looked at it, it was human, according to the story.

#### 033 WHERE THE DOG SETTLED kadjuîean nua vatu (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.206)

001 ka sitsuayan ka mangtjengtjez qemiladj i Siniîizaw a

ka si-tsuay-an ka ma-ngetje-ngetjez em=qiladj i Siniîizaw a

after if-long.time-nom after stat-red-come af=sit loc (place) c

salasaladj ni Salakats: ti Qaquangan ti Paîaiîai ti Tequng ti

sala-saladj ni Salakats ti Qaquangan ti Paîaiîai ti Tequng ti

red-companion of (name) f.h (name) f.h (name) f.h (name) f.h

Qavulung ti Vaîuan ti Taupili.

Qavulung ti Vaîuan ti Taupili

(name) f.h (name) f.h (name)

Once upon a time the companions of Salakats came together and sat down at Siniîizaw: (the family heads of) Qaquangan, Paîaiîai, Tequng, Qavulung, Vaîuan and Taupili.

002 “kitjen a imazanga i Siniîizaw,” aya a varung niamadju.

ki-itjen a i-maza-anga i Siniîizaw aya a varung ni-a-madju

will-f.we(inc) c loc-here-indeed loc (place) say c chest of-pl-3rd.pers

“We’ll stay here at Siniîizaw,” they thought.

003 manu izua vatu vuqavuqaî.

manu i-zua vatu vuqa-vuqaî

then loc-that dog red-white But there was a white dog.

004 qau qemengal azua vatu; inika djuîe i Siniîizaw.

qau em=qengal a-zua vatu ini-ka djuîe i Siniîizaw

so af=howl c-that dog not-after settle loc (place)

This dog howled and wouldn’t settle down at Siniîizaw.

005 “tjamanguaq a tji navaik, aya a varung nua vatu.

tja-ma-nguaq a tji na-vaik aya a varung nua vatu

more-stat-good c we(inc) past-leave say c chest of dog

“The dog thinks we would do better to leave here.

006 masa inika djuîe a vatu,” aya.

ma-sa ini-ka djuîe a vatu aya

stat-maybe not-after settle c dog say

It seems the dog won’t settle down,” they said.

007 qau mirava tua nanemanemanga mapuîat; sa vaik.

qau mi-rava tua na-nema-nema-anga ma-puîat sa vaik

so af-prepare obl past-red-what-indeed num-all and leave

So they all got everything ready, and left.

008 semekez i Tjanumaq a vatu.

em=sekez i Tjanumaq a vatu

af=rest loc (place) c dog The dog rested at Tjanumaq.

009 “masa uri a imaza itjen, a semekez a vatu,” aya.

ma-sa uri a i-maza itjen a em=sekez a vatu aya

stat-maybe will c loc-here f.we(inc) c af=rest c dog say

“It seems we’ll stay here; the dog is resting,” they said.

010 qau vaik a uta a vatu.

qau vaik a uta a vatu

so leave c also c dog But the dog went on again,

011 qau semekez itjua ªaqa÷aqa.

qau em=sekez i-tjua ªaqa÷aqa

so af=rest loc-there (place) and then rested at ªaqa÷aqa.

012 qau semekez a tsautsau.

qau em=sekez a tsau-tsau

so af=rest c red-being The people rested too.

013 “masa uri a imaza itjen,” aya.

ma-sa uri a i-maza itjen aya

stat-maybe will c loc-here f.we(inc) say “It seems we’ll stay here,” they said.

014 qau vaik a uta a vatu, tjaîu zua i tja tapaw tutsu.

qau vaik a uta a vatu tjaîu zua i tja tapaw tu-tsu

so leave c also c dog reach that loc our(inc) hut obl-this

But the dog went on again, and reached where our houses are now.

015 kemali tua qipu a vatu sa qazaw.

em=kali tua qipu a vatu sa qazaw

af=dig obl soil c dog and lie.down

The dog dug in the ground and lay down.

016 “masa uri a imazanga a kadjuîean nua vatu, a qemazaw

ma-sa uri a i-maza-anga a ka-djuîe-an nua vatu a em=qazaw

stat-maybe will c loc-here-indeed c ?-settle-nom by dog c af=lie.down

imaza.

i-maza

loc-here

“It seems that this will be where the dog will settle down at last, as it’s lying down here.

017 tja manguaq a tji naseman tapaw,” aya maîavar.

tja ma-nguaq a tji na-em=sane tapaw aya ma-îavar

more stat-good c we(inc) past-af=make hut say stat-speak

We would do better to build houses,” they said to one another.

018 qau seman tapaw a mapuîat.

qau em=sane tapaw a ma-puîat

so af=make hut c num-all So they all built houses.

019 sa azazua vatu ini anga ka garavagaw.

sa a-za-zua vatu ini anga ka ar=gavagaw

and c-red-that dog not indeed after qal=wriggle

And that dog didn’t move any more.

[garavagaw: note garagav in F92.]

020 saka tsuay anga masan talau anga, aya a tjautsikel a masi

sa-ka tsuay anga ma-sane talau anga aya a tjautsikel a masi

and-after long.time indeed stat-make crystal indeed say c story c from

tsuay.

tsuay

long.time

And after a time it turned into crystal, according to the old story.

Once upon a time the companions of Salakats came together and sat down at Siniîizaw: (the family heads of) Qaquangan, Paîaiîai, Tequng, Qavulung, Vaîuan and Taupili. “We’ll stay here at Siniîizaw,” they thought.

But there was a white dog. This dog howled and wouldn’t settle down at Siniîizaw. “The dog thinks we would do better to leave here. It seems the dog won’t settle down,” they said. So they all got everything ready, and left. The dog rested at Tjanumaq. “It seems we’ll stay here; the dog is resting,” they said.

But the dog went on again, and then rested at ªaqa÷aqa. The people rested too. “It seems we’ll stay here,” they said.

But the dog went on again, and reached where our houses are now. The dog dug in the ground and lay down. “It seems that this will be where the dog will settle down at last, as it’s lying down here. We would do better to build houses,” they said to one another. So they all built houses. And that dog didn’t move any more. And after a time it turned into crystal, according to the old story.

#### 034 SAPAYAS AND THE QAVULUNG FAMILY ti Sapayas katua îa Qavulung (Tjakuvukuvuî village, p.207)

001 ka sitsuayan izua ti Sapayas; vaik a sema Velikiî.

ka si-tsuay-an i-zua ti Sapayas vaik a em=sa Velikiî

after if-long.time-nom loc-that f.h (name) leave c af=go (place)

Once upon a time someone called Sapayas went to Velikiî.

002 qau metsevung katua îa Qavulung.

qau me-tsevung ka-tua îa Qavulung

so af-meet and-obl class (name) He met people of the Qavulung family,

003 qau maîavar tua kadjunangan i Velikiî.

qau ma-îavar tua ka-djunang-an i Velikiî

so stat-speak obl main-earth-nom loc (place)

and they discussed the land at Velikiî.

004 “muri a niaken tsu a kadjunangan,” aya ti Sapayas.

ma-uri a ni-aken tsu a ka-djunang-an aya ti Sapayas

stat-will c of-I this c main-earth-nom say f.h (name)

“This land will be mine,” said Sapayas.

005 manu “a niamen tsu a kadjunangan,” aya marivu tiamadju.

manu a ni-amen tsu a ka-djunang-an aya ma-rivu ti-a-madju

then c of-f.we(exc) this c main-earth-nom say stat-quarrel f-pl-3rd.pers

But they disagreed; “This land is ours,” they said.

006 “metsevung anga a maîavar nu tjaiviliî,” aya, sa vaik a

me-tsevung anga a ma-îavar nu tja-i-viliî aya sa vaik a

af-meet indeed c stat-speak when more-loc-behind say and leave c

mavaday.

ma-vaday

stat-separate

“We’ll meet to discuss it later,” they said, and went their separate ways.

007 tsuatsuay anga pagaîu, qau metsevung sema zua i Pinaqaquîatan.

tsua-tsuay anga pa-gaîu qau me-tsevung em=sa zua i Pinaqaquîatan

red-long.time indeed cause-slow so af-meet af=go that loc (place)

After quite a little time they met at Pinaqaquîatan.

008 matsidiî ti Sapayas; a se Vulavulat izua mapuîat.

ma-tsidiî ti Sapayas a se Vulavulat i-zua ma-puîat

stat-alone f.h (name) c person.of (place) loc-that num-all

Sapayas was on his own, but all the Vulavulat people were there.

009 “kaîavari tua kadjunangan,” aya ti Sapayas.

ka-îavar-i tua ka-djunang-an aya ti Sapayas

become-speak-hort obl main-earth-nom say f.h (name)

“Let’s discuss the land,” said Sapayas.

010 qau “idu, paqaqetsi-i,” aya îa Qavulung.

qau id-u pa-qa-qetsi-i aya îa Qavulung

so come-imp cause-red-fight-hort say class (name)

But the Qavulung family said, “Come on, let’s fight!”

011 qau panaqen ti Sapayas.

qau panaq-en ti Sapayas

so arrow-pf f.h (name) Sapayas was shot at.

012 “maya penanaq.

maya en=panaq

don’t af=arrow “Don’t shoot!

013 kaîavari,” aya ti Sapayas.

ka-îavar-i aya ti Sapayas

become-speak-hort say f.h (name) Let’s talk,” said Sapayas.

014 ini langeda; kamayan a panaq.

ini langeda ka-ma-aya-an a panaq

not hear become-stat-be.thus-lf c arrow

They didn’t listen, and kept on shooting.

015 a nu panaqen, ipuq ti Sapayas; ini kadjameq.

a nu panaq-en ipuq ti Sapayas ini ka-djameq

c when arrow-pf fall f.h (name) not stat-catch

When he was shot at, Sapayas lay down, and wasn’t hit.

016 qau “maya penanaq.

qau maya en=panaq

so don’t af=arrow “Don’t shoot!

017 kaîavari,” aya ti Sapayas.

ka-îavar-i aya ti Sapayas

become-speak-hort say f.h (name) Let’s talk,” said Sapayas.

018 ini langeda îa Qavulung; kamayan a panaq.

ini langeda îa Qavulung ka-ma-aya-an a panaq

not hear class (name) become-stat-be.thus-lf c arrow

The Qavulung family didn’t listen, and kept on shooting.

019 “nu qema÷iw mun, gaîu anan ÷i.

nu em=qa÷iw mun gaîu anan ÷i

when af=rival f.you(p) slow still oh “If you challenge me, just wait a bit.

020 temaîiw anan aken tua ku tseqeîap,” aya ti Sapayas.

em=taîiw anan aken tua ku tseqeîap aya ti Sapayas

af=whet.stone still f.I obl my knife say f.h (name)

I’ll just sharpen my sword,” said Sapayas.

021 temaîiw azazua ti Sapayas.

em=taîiw a-za-zua ti Sapayas

af=whet.stone c-red-that f.h (name) Sapayas sharpened it;

022 pesapuy sepulingelingetj tua kazatjan.

pe-sapuy se-pu-linge-lingetj tua ka-zatja-an

emerge-fire invol-have-red-entire obl main-level-nom

and fire burst out all over the level land.

023 malipat i Riîuriîuan a sapuy.

ma-lipat i Riîuriîuan a sapuy

stat-disappear loc (place) c fire The fire reached Riîuriîuan.

024 “ua, ini.

ua ini

hey not “Hey, no!

025 nakuya tsu.

na-kuya tsu

stat-bad this This is no good.

026 ini tja ka muri temezeng.

ini tja ka ma-uri em=tezeng

not we(inc) after stat-will af=tolerate We won’t be able to stand this.

027 tja kaviladay,” aya îa Qavulung, sa kavilad.

tja ka-vilad-ay aya îa Qavulung sa ka-vilad

we(inc) stat-flee-will say class (name) and stat-flee

We’ll run away,” said the Qavulung family, and they ran away.

028 qau “tjezuanga.

qau tje-zua-anga

so do.at-that-indeed “That’s enough.

029 nia sisaluan anga a kadjunangan,” ayain ni Qavulung ti

nia si-salu-an anga a ka-djunang-an aya-en ni Qavulung ti

we(exc) if-believe-lf indeed c main-earth-nom say-pf by (name) f.h

Sapayas.

Sapayas

(name) We concede the land,” said Qavulung to Sapayas.

030 qau pautez anga.

qau pautez anga

so utmost indeed So that was the end (*or* So he was victorious).

031 saka ni Sapayas a kadjunangan tutsu azazua i Velikiî, aya

sa-ka ni Sapayas a ka-djunang-an tu-tsu a-za-zua i Velikiî aya

and-after of (name) c main-earth-nom obl-this c-red-that loc (place) say

a tjautsikel.

a tjautsikel

c story And the land at Velikiî belongs to Sapayas now, according to the story.

Once upon a time someone called Sapayas went to Velikiî. He met people of the Qavulung family, and they discussed the land at Velikiî. “This land will be mine,” said Sapayas. But they disagreed; “This land is ours,” they said. “We’ll meet to discuss it later,” they said, and went their separate ways.

After quite a little time they met at Pinaqaquîatan. Sapayas was on his own, but all the Vulavulat people were there. “Let’s discuss the land,” said Sapayas. But the Qavulung family said, “Come on, let’s fight!” Sapayas was shot at. “Don’t shoot! Let’s talk,” said Sapayas. They didn’t listen, and kept on shooting.

When he was shot at, Sapayas lay down, and wasn’t hit. “Don’t shoot! Let’s talk,” said Sapayas. The Qavulung family didn’t listen, and kept on shooting. “If you challenge me, just wait a bit. I’ll just sharpen my sword,” said Sapayas. Sapayas sharpened it; and fire burst out all over the level land. The fire reached Riîuriîuan. “Hey, no! This is no good. We won’t be able to stand this. We’ll run away,” said the Qavulung family, and they ran away. “That’s enough. We concede the land,” said Qavulung to Sapayas.

So that was the end (*or* So he was victorious). And the land at Velikiî belongs to Sapayas now, according to the story.

#### 035 THE PEOPLE OF TJAUVALIVALI se Tjauvalivali (ïaleklek village, p.209)

001 azua se Tjauvalivali a vavayavayan sakamaya, neka nu uqaîay.

a-zua se Tjauvalivali a vaya=vavayan sakamaya neka nu uqaîay

c-that person.of (place) c red=female only no of male

The people of Tjauvalivali were only females, no male.

002 saka “saîinga tu puaîak itjen,” aya.

sa-ka sa-îinga tu pu-aîak itjen aya

and-after qal-desire obl have-child f.we(inc) say

They said: “We want to have children.”

[saîinga: salinga in OA.]

003 sa sema gadu tjemuguîudj a pavalivali.

sa em=sa gadu em=tjuguîudj a pa-vali-vali

and af=go mountain af=bend.over c cause-red-wind

And they went to the mountain and bent down (?) and let the wind blow on them.

[tjemuguîudj: F has tj/m/ugeîuî. Variants, or mistranscription in OA?]

004 saka mavunglay, sa puaîak.

sa-ka ma-vungelay sa pu-aîak

and-after stat-pregnant and have-child They became pregnant and had children.

005 manu vavayan sakamaya, saka mapiîay sakamaya; inika venala.

manu vavayan sakamaya sa-ka ma-piîay sakamaya ini-ka en=vala

then female only and-after stat-crippled only not-after af=able

But they were all female; and they were all crippled, not strong.

006 manu mumaî a sema gadu a tjemuguîudj.

manu ma-uma-î a em=sa gadu a em=tjuguîudj

then stat-other-times c af=go mountain c af=bend.over

So they went to the mountain again and bent over.

[tjemuguîudj: tjemaguîudj in OA.]

007 saka izua a qemaîuqaîup se Tjauzayazaya.

sa-ka i-zua a em=qaîu-qaîup se Tjauzayazaya

and-after loc-that c af=red-hunt person.of (place)

And there was a man of Tjauzayazaya out hunting.

008 saka îevavaw tua kasiw a îemizaw.

sa-ka îe-va-vaw tua kasiw a em=îizaw

and-after go.to-red-above obl tree c af=look

He climbed a tree to have a look,

009 manu izua a vavayavayan a natjemuguîudj.

manu i-zua a vaya=vavayan a na-em=tjuguîudj

then loc-that c red=female c past-af=bend.over

and there were the women bending over.

010 saka îemengîeng azua uqaîay.

sa-ka em=îeng-îeng a-zua uqaîay

and-after af=red-look.at c-that male The man had a look,

011 “aku izua vavayan a namaitazua?” aya.

aku i-zua vavayan a na-ma-aya-ta-zua aya

why loc-that female c past-stat-be.thus-?-that say

and said: “Why are the women doing that?”

[ocurrence of singular unreduplicated vavayan here unexplained.]

012 saka paîiîi.

sa-ka pa-îiîi

and-after cause-visit He went over to them.

013 manu tjenglay tua uqaîay azua vavayavayan; saka djemadjas saka

manu tjenglay tua uqaîay a-zua vaya=vavayan sa-ka em=djadjas sa-ka

then like obl male c-that red=female and-after af=grab and-after

puzekatj.

pu-zekatj

have-share The women liked the man, and got hold of him and had intercourse (?).

014 sa puaîak tua uqaîay.

sa pu-aîak tua uqaîay

and have-child obl male And they bore male children.

015 saka mirazek a kitjuqinaîan, aya a tjautsikel.

sa-ka mi-razek a ki-tju-in=qaîa-an aya a tjautsikel

and-after af-plentiful c do-apart-perf=outsider-nom say c story

And so they flourished as a separate village, according to the story.

The people of Tjauvalivali were only females, no male. They said: “We want to have children.” And they went to the mountain and bent down (?) and let the wind blow on them. They became pregnant and had children. But they were all female; and they were all crippled, not strong. So they went to the mountain again and bent over. And there was a man of Tjauzayazaya out hunting. He climbed a tree to have a look, and there were the women bending over. The man had a look, and said: “Why are the women doing that?” He went over to them. The women liked the man, and got hold of him and had intercourse (?). And they bore male children. And so they flourished as a separate village, according to the story.

#### 036 DOGS vatu (ïaleklek village, p.210)

001 izua azua vatu a nakitjuqizing, aya a tjautsikel.

i-zua a-zua vatu a na-ki-tju-qizing aya a tjautsikel

loc-that c-that dog c past-do-apart-usurp say c story

There were some dogs which had belonged to Qizing village (OA; *or* which had been usurped), according to the story.

[nakitjuqizing: OA have ‘belonged to Qizing vilage’; alternative ‘which had been usurped’ is based on F qizing ‘usurp, encroach’.]

002 izua i Paliîaliîaw a vatu.

i-zua i Paliîaliîaw a vatu

loc-that loc (place) c dog There were dogs in the Lower Paiwan area.

003 saka nu qemaîup, nu qaqatsaqatsaan a vavuy a venan a takets,

sa-ka nu em=qaîup nu qa-qatsa-qatsa-an a vavuy a venan a takets

and-after when af=hunt of red-red-big-nom c pig c deer c muntjac

lingeîen nua vatu a pasa dudut tua qinaîan; sa

lingeî-en nua vatu a pa-sa du-dut tua in=qaîa-an sa

surround-pf by dog c cause-go red-approach obl perf=outsider-nom and

djadjasi sa kani a mapuîat.

djadjas-i sa kan-i a ma-puîat

grab-pf and eat-pf c num-all

When there was hunting, the big wild pigs, deer and muntjacs were surrounded and driven by the dogs to near the village, and were all caught and eaten.

004 azua nu kasi tsadja, inika makakatsu tu qaqatsaqatsaan.

a-zua nu kasi tsadja ini-ka maka-katsu tu qa-qatsa-qatsa-an

c-that when from far not-after finished-carry obl red-red-big-nom

When they came from a distance, they couldn’t carry the big ones;

005 avan nu sika lemingeî a pasa dudut tua tapaw.

avan nu sika em=lingeî a pa-sa du-dut tua tapaw

exact of reason af=surround c cause-go red-approach obl hut

that’s why they drove them to near the houses.

006 avan a kake÷ike÷ian a tangpatsen a sema tapaw, sa kani a

avan a ka-ke÷i-ke÷i-an a tangepats-en a em=sa tapaw sa kan-i a

exact c red-red-small-nom c hold.in.mouth-pf c af=go hut and eat-pf c

mapuîat.

ma-puîat

num-all The little ones were carried in the mouth to the houses, and were all eaten.

007 manu sema pairang a tsautsau a ma÷usa mareqali.

manu em=sa pairang a tsau-tsau a ma-÷usa mare-qali

then af=go plains c red-being c num-two pair-friend

Two men friends went down to the plains.

008 manu djumaken nazua vatu, sa katsi, sa patsay azua tsautsau a

manu djumak-en nua-zua vatu sa kats-i sa patsay a-zua tsau-tsau a

then find-pf by-that dog and bite-pf and die c-that red-being c

ma÷usa.

ma-÷usa

num-two Some dogs found them and bit them, and both men died.

009 “aku izua zazua vatu? saîinga aravats,” aya a tsautsau.

aku i-zua za-zua vatu sa-îinga a-ravats aya a tsau-tsau

why loc-that red-that dog qal-desire c-true say c red-being

People said: “Why are there dogs like that? We would very much like some.”

010 saka kemats azua.

sa-ka em=kats a-zua

and-after af=bite c-that But they bit.

011 manu “tja kudain anga,” aya.

manu tja kuda-en anga aya

then we(inc) do.what-pf indeed say So they said: “What shall we do?”

012 saka qemavay, sa paluvluvi tua quvaî.

sa-ka em=qavay sa pa-luvluv-i tua quvaî

and-after af=dumpling and cause-mix-pf obl hair

They made dumplings, and mixed hair in with them.

013 saka keman a vatu, sa katsingas a aîis nua vatu.

sa-ka em=kan a vatu sa ka-tsingas a aîis nua vatu

and-after af=eat c dog and stat-wedged c tooth of dog

And when the dogs ate them, their teeth were all stuck up.

[sa katsingas: saka tsingas in OA.]

014 sa djekepi nua tsautsau a kuku a ÷usa, a uqaîay a ita, a vavayan

sa djekep-i nua tsau-tsau a kuku a ÷usa a uqaîay a ita a vavayan

and catch-pf by red-being c pet c two c male c one c female

a ita; sa vaikan anga a sema a paqaluqalu.

a ita sa vaik-an anga a em=sa a pa-qalu-qalu

c one and leave-lf indeed c af=go c cause-red-sorghum

So the people took two puppies, one male and one female; and they took them off to the East Paiwan area.

[paqaluqalu: F has ‘East-coast Paiwan’.]

015 sa puaîak anga, sa puvatu anga a tsautsau, aya a tjautsikel.

sa pu-aîak anga sa pu-vatu anga a tsau-tsau aya a tjautsikel

and have-child indeed and have-dog indeed c red-being say c story

The dogs had puppies, and so people got dogs, according to the story.

There were some dogs which had belonged to Qizing village (OA; *or* which had been usurped), according to the story. There were dogs in the Lower Paiwan area. When there was hunting, the big wild pigs, deer and muntjacs were surrounded and driven by the dogs to near the village, and were all caught and eaten. When they came from a distance, they couldn’t carry the big ones; that’s why they drove them to near the houses. The little ones were carried in the mouth to the houses, and were all eaten.

Two men friends went down to the plains. Some dogs found them and bit them, and both men died. People said: “Why are there dogs like that? We would very much like some.” But they bit. So they said: “What shall we do?” They made dumplings, and mixed hair in with them. And when the dogs ate them, their teeth were all stuck up. So the people took two puppies, one male and one female; and they took them off to the East Paiwan area. The dogs had puppies, and so people got dogs, according to the story.

#### 037 MUNTJAC DEER takets (ïaleklek village, p.211)

001 aitsu a venan kemasi Lunguan i îavek a mangtjez, aya a

aya-i-tsu a venan em=kasi Lunguan i îavek a m-pangetjez aya a

be.thus-loc-this c deer af=from (place) loc sea c af-come say c

tjautsikel.

tjautsikel

story Deer came from Lunguan by the sea, according to the story.

002 saka ka patagiî a kemasi i îavek, inika tja

sa-ka ka pa-tagiî a em=kasi i îavek ini-ka tja

and-after after cause-originate c af=from loc sea not-after we(inc)

sunasian.

su-nasi-an

remove-breath-lf When they began to come from the sea, we didn’t kill them.

003 azua mamaw tua udjudju anan; saka inika tjen a djemameq

a-zua m-amaw tua udjudju anan sa-ka ini-ka tjua-en a em=djameq

c-that af-same obl sprout still and-after not-after there-pf c af=catch

nu kemuang itjen.

nu em=kuang itjen

when af=firearm f.we(inc)

They were still like soft sprouts(?); and we didn’t catch them when we were shooting.

[udjudju: = red-udju? ‘sprout’ is referring to their horns?]

004 azua ini anan a san satsemeli.

a-zua ini anan a sane satsemel-i

c-that not still c make wild.game-pf

We didn’t then consider them as wild game.

[satsemeli: tsemel is ‘plants’, so this could be sa-tsemeli ‘ones that eat grass’?]

005 nu tsuatsuay anga saka namasan venan anga, sa

nu tsua-tsuay anga sa-ka na-ma-sane venan anga sa

when red-long.time indeed and-after past-stat-make deer indeed and

puquvaî anga, sa putsuqaruîquîan anga, tsaîeqiî anga a kula,

pu-quvaî anga sa pu-tsu-ar=quîquî-an anga tsaîeqiî anga a kula

have-hair indeed and have-?-qal=hoof-nom indeed hard indeed c foot

vaik anga sema gadu a djemavats.

vaik anga em=sa gadu a em=djavats

leave indeed af=go mountain c af=walk

After a long time when they had become deer, with hair and hooves and hard feet, they walked up to the mountains.

006 avan anga zazua tja qaîupen anga, sa tja kuangi anga.

avan anga zua-zua tja qaîup-en anga sa tja kuang-i anga

exact indeed red-that we(inc) hunt-pf indeed and we(inc) firearm-pf indeed

After that we hunted them and shot them.

007 avan anga zazua patagiî a malap itjen tua venan.

avan anga zua-zua pa-tagiî a m-alap itjen tua venan

exact indeed red-that cause-originate c af-take f.we(inc) obl deer

It was then we began to take deer;

008 saka malap anga tua zua venan a vetsivetsikan.

sa-ka m-alap anga tua zua venan a vetsi-vetsik-an

and-after af-take indeed obl that deer c red-mark-nom

and we took the spotted deer.

009 saka nu uqaîay malualu a tequng; saka nu vavayan inika

sa-ka nu uqaîay ma-alu-alu a tequng sa-ka nu vavayan ini-ka

and-after of male stat-red-eight c horn and-after of female not-after

putequng.

pu-tequng

have-horn The males had 8-point antlers, and the females had no antlers.

010 sa liaw anga, sa vaik anga djaravats a penulingelingetj tua

sa liaw anga sa vaik anga ar=djavats a in=pu-linge-lingetj tua

and many indeed and leave indeed randomly=walk c perf=have-red-entire obl

kadjunangan.

ka-djunang-an

main-earth-nom Their number increased, and they roamed all over the land.

011 manu metsevung tua zua takets.

manu me-tsevung tua zua takets

then af-meet obl that muntjac A deer met a muntjac.

012 “kasinu sun a djaravaravats?” aya azua takets.

kasi-inu sun a ar=ar=va=djavats aya a-zua takets

from-where you(s) c randomly=randomly=red=walk say c-that muntjac

“Where have you come from roaming about?” said the muntjac.

013 “imaza ken angata a djaravaravats.”

i-maza aken anga-ta a ar=ar=va=djavats

loc-here f.I indeed-? c randomly=randomly=red=walk

“I roam all round here.”

014 “aku izua zazua namaitazua? aku putequng tua liaw?

aku i-zua zua-zua na-ma-aya-ta-zua aku pu-tequng tua liaw

why loc-that red-that past-stat-be.thus-?-that why have-horn obl many

aku vetsivetsikan?” aya zazua takets.

aku vetsi-vetsik-an aya zua-zua takets

why red-mark-nom say red-that muntjac

“Why is he like that, with lots of horns and spots?” said the muntjac.

015 vaik a sema tju Kavulungan.

vaik a em=sa tju Kavulungan

leave c af=go there (place) And it went to Kavulungan mountain.

016 saka izua zazua venan a nakemizing izua i tju

sa-ka i-zua zua-zua venan a na-em=kizing i-zua i tju

and-after loc-that red-that deer c past-af=spoon loc-that loc there

Kavulungan.

Kavulungan

(place) On Kavulungan there was the ancestor (? OA) of the deer.

[nakemizing: ‘ancestor’ in OA but F only has qizing ‘usurp’, so = naqemizing ‘predator’?]

017 saka “izua zazua ku sinitsevungan, saîinga tua tjalupung nua

sa-ka i-zua zua-zua ku in=si-tsevung-an sa-îinga tua tjalupung nua

and-after loc-that red-that I perf=if-meet-nom qal-desire obl hat of

venan azua mareunem.

venan a-zua mare-unem

deer c-that pair-six “I’ve met someone who wants a 6-pointer deer’s hat.

[mareunem: glossed as ‘water-deer’ in OA.]

018 vaik aken a tjeqaîa,” aya azua takets.

vaik aken a tje-qaîa aya a-zua takets

leave f.I c do.at-outsider say c-that muntjac

I’m off on a journey,” said the muntjac.

019 sa tjalupungan a tjalupung nua mareunem, sa vaik azua a tjeqaîa a

sa tjalupung-an a tjalupung nua mare-unem sa vaik a-zua a tje-qaîa a

and hat-lf c hat of pair-six and leave c-that c do.at-outsider c

sema zua tua venan malualu.

em=sa zua tua venan ma-alu-alu

af=go that obl deer stat-red-eight

He put on the 6-pointer’s hat, and went on a journey to the 8-pointer deer.

020 manu maîavar azua: “aku liaw a su tequng? ke÷i a niaken,” aya

manu ma-îavar a-zua aku liaw a su tequng ke÷i a ni-aken aya

then stat-speak c-that why many c your(s) horn small c of-I say

zazua.

zua-zua

red-that

Then he thought: “Why have you got lots of points on your antlers? There are few on mine,” he said.

021 vaik a tsemikel a sema tju Kavulungan.

vaik a em=tsikel a em=sa tju Kavulungan

leave c af=return c af=go there (place) He went back to Kavulungan.

022 “ken a kizuîu anan a ku tequng a ku tjalupung,” aya zazua takets.

aken a ki-zuîu anan a ku tequng a ku tjalupung aya zua-zua takets

f.I c do-add still c my horn c my hat say red-that muntjac

“I want to add more points to my hat,” said the muntjac.

023 manu “neka.

manu neka

then no “No.

024 idan patsikelu,” aya zua mareunem.

id-an pa-tsikel-u aya zua mare-unem

come-lf cause-return-imp say that pair-six Give it back,” said the 6-pointer.

025 saka “upai ku paîiîiay azua su siayaya.”

sa-ka u-pai ku pa-îiîi-ay a-zua su si-ay-aya

and-after ?-well I cause-visit-lf c-that your(s) if-red-say

“Right, I’ll go and see what you are talking about.”

026 sa vaik anga zazua a tjeqaîa.

sa vaik anga zua-zua a tje-qaîa

and leave indeed red-that c do.at-outsider And he went off on a journey;

027 îakua inika metsevung.

îakua ini-ka me-tsevung

but not-after af-meet but didn’t meet anyone.

028 “aku neka?” aya zazua mareunem ka tsemikel anga.

aku neka aya zua-zua mare-unem ka em=tsikel anga

why no say red-that pair-six after af=return indeed

“Why was there noone?” said the 6-pointer when he got back.

029 “nasa su lutjuken aken.

nasa su lutjuk-en aken

perhaps you(s) bad-pf f.I “It seems you were just fooling me.

030 îakua kisedjami a su tjalupung, nasaya su varung.

îakua ki-sedjam-i a su tjalupung nasa-aya su varung

but do-borrow-pf c your(s) hat perhaps-say your(s) chest

You just thought ‘I’ll borrow your hat’.

031 iru anga ka ui a pasedjam tjanusun,” aya zua mareunem tua

iru anga ka ui a pa-sedjam tjanu-sun aya zua mare-unem tua

will.not indeed after yes c cause-borrow obl-you(s) say that pair-six obl

takets.

takets

muntjac I certainly won’t lend it to you,” said the 6-pointer to the muntjac.

032 manu qemaung anga zua takets, aya.

manu em=qaung anga zua takets aya

then af=cry indeed that muntjac say So the muntjac cried, they say.

033 avan nu sika maîetutsu anga temulats a takets “aa aa”, aya a

avan nu sika maîe-tu-tsu anga em=tulats a takets aa aa aya a

exact of reason num-red-this indeed af=howl c muntjac ah ah say c

tjautsikel.

tjautsikel

story

And that’s why the muntjac howls “Aa aa!” right up to the present, according to the story.

[temulats: tulats not known, but F has terats ‘loud shout’.]

Deer came from Lunguan by the sea, according to the story. When they began to come from the sea, we didn’t kill them. They were still like soft sprouts(?); and we didn’t catch them when we were shooting. We didn’t then consider them as wild game. After a long time when they had become deer, with hair and hooves and hard feet, they walked up to the mountains. After that we hunted them and shot them.

It was then we began to take deer; and we took the spotted deer. The males had 8-point antlers, and the females had no antlers. Their number increased, and they roamed all over the land. A deer met a muntjac. “Where have you come from roaming about?” said the muntjac.

“I roam all round here.”

“Why is he like that, with lots of horns and spots?” said the muntjac. And it went to Kavulungan mountain. On Kavulungan there was the ancestor (? OA) of the deer. “I’ve met someone who wants a 6-pointer deer’s hat. I’m off on a journey,” said the muntjac. He put on the 6-pointer’s hat, and went on a journey to the 8-pointer deer. Then he thought: “Why have you got lots of points on your antlers? There are few on mine,” he said.

He went back to Kavulungan. “I want to add more points to my hat,” said the muntjac. “No. Give it back,” said the 6-pointer.

“Right, I’ll go and see what you are talking about.” And he went off on a journey; but didn’t meet anyone. “Why was there noone?” said the 6-pointer when he got back. “It seems you were just fooling me. You just thought ‘I’ll borrow your hat’. I certainly won’t lend it to you,” said the 6-pointer to the muntjac. So the muntjac cried, they say. And that’s why the muntjac howls “Aa aa!” right up to the present, according to the story.

#### 038 TSUDJUY ti sa Tsudjuy (ïaleklek village, p.214)

001 izua azazua qinaîan i Kaîuyung, matjaeneenem a umaq,

i-zua a-za-zua in=qaîa-an i Kaîuyung matja-une-unem a umaq

loc-that c-red-that perf=outsider-nom loc (place) num-red-six c house

aya a tjautsikel.

aya a tjautsikel

say c story

There was a village at Kaîuyung with six households, according to the story.

002 sa manu a qemaîup a sema zua i ïaitaw.

sa manu a em=qaîup a em=sa zua i ïaitaw

and then c af=hunt c af=go that loc (place)

They went hunting to ïaitaw.

003 ka tsemikel anga maqepu azua izua i Putjazaran i

ka em=tsikel anga ma-qepu a-zua i-zua i Putjazaran i

after af=return indeed stat-associate c-that loc-that loc (place) loc

pasalaulauz i Kaîuyung a namaqepu.

pa-sa-lau-lauz i Kaîuyung a na-ma-qepu

cause-go-red-down loc (place) c past-stat-associate

When they got back, they gathered at Putjazaran in the lower part of Kaîuyung.

004 manu “patsuni aken,” aya zua ti sa Tsudjuy, nu vetseluqen a

manu pa-tsun-i aken aya zua ti sa Tsudjuy nu vetseluq-en a

then cause-see-hort f.I say that f.h h (name) when break-pf c

kasiw a papetsevutsevungen.

kasiw a pa-pe-tsevu-tsevung-en

tree c cause-emerge-red-meet-pf

“Look at me!” said Tsudjuy, while he broke trees which had been put together.

005 “aku maya?” aya a salasaladj.

aku ma-aya aya a sala-saladj

why stat-be.thus say c red-companion

“Why can he do that?” said his companions,

006 mavilad a sema umaq.

ma-vilad a em=sa umaq

stat-flee c af=go house and ran away to their homes.

007 ka tjaiviliî anga azua ti sa Tsudjuy tjelu anga a qadaw tu

ka tja-i-viliî anga a-zua ti sa Tsudjuy tjelu anga a qadaw tu

after more-loc-behind indeed c-that f.h h (name) three indeed c sun obl

qinaîupan.

in=qaîup-an

perf=hunt-lf Afterwards Tsudjuy went hunting for three days.

008 “aku maya sun?” ayain nua mamazangiîan.

aku ma-aya sun aya-en nua ma-ma-zangiî-an

why stat-be.thus f.you(s) say-pf by stat-stat-chief-nom

“Why are you like that?” asked the chief.

009 manu “aki ken a makuda aya a ventseluq tua kasiw?” aya

manu aki aken a ma-kuda aya a in=vetseluq tua kasiw aya

then how f.I c stat-do.what be.thus c perf=break obl tree say

zazua.

zua-zua

red-that “Why am I able to break trees like that?”(?) he said.

010 îakua “uri kitjutapaw aken.

îakua uri ki-tju-tapaw aken

but will do-apart-hut f.I But “I’ll live in a house apart.

011 saka nu masan palak aken, maya kidut; matsay mun,”

sa-ka nu ma-sane palak aken maya ki-dut m-patsay mun

and-after when stat-make sorcery f.I don’t do-approach af-die f.you(p)

ayain azua salasaladj.

aya-en a-zua sala-saladj

say-pf c-that red-companion

When I am possessed, don’t come near; you’ll die,” he said to his companions.

012 sa vaik azua a seman djalan tu sisa tjatjan.

sa vaik a-zua a em=sane djalan tu si-sa tjatjan

and leave c-that c af=make road obl if-go spring

He went to make a path leading to a spring.

013 ka maqatsuvung a seman djalan, seman djalungan pizua i

ka ma-qa-tsuvung a em=sane djalan em=sane djalung-an pi-zua i

after stat-?-complete c af=make road af=make well-lf put-that loc

vetsekadan tua djeîeqi; saka maqatsuvung anga azua sinan

ve-tsekad-an tua djeîeqi sa-ka ma-qa-tsuvung anga a-zua in=sane

?-middle-lf obl cliff and-after stat-?-complete indeed c-that perf=make

tjatjan.

tjatjan

spring

When he had finished making the path, he made a well in the middle of a rock-face; and so the spring was finished.

014 saka vaik a kikasiw tu sisan tapaw.

sa-ka vaik a ki-kasiw tu si-sane tapaw

and-after leave c do-tree obl if-make hut

Then he went to get wood to make a house.

015 îakua inika masi tjakit, inika masi putjaw; vetseluqen tua lima.

îakua ini-ka masi tjakit ini-ka masi putjaw vetseluq-en tua lima

but not-after from knife not-after from axe break-pf obl hand

But he didn’t use a knife or axe; he broke trees with his hands.

016 saka nu masi kasiw, makataî tua sialangan.

sa-ka nu masi kasiw maka-ita-î tua si-alang-an

and-after when carry tree num-one-times obl if-make-nom

When he carried the wood, he carried all the rafters in one journey.

017 sa kiqatsiîay tu siupu makapusaî, vinatsaq tua

sa ki-qatsiîay tu si-upu maka-pa-÷usa-î in=vatsaq tua

and do-stone obl if-wall num-cause-two-times perf=carry.pole obl

sialangan.

si-alang-an

if-make-nom

He collected stones for the walls in two journeys, carrying them with a rafter for a pole.

[makapusaî: pa-÷usa has reduced to pusa (or could be pi- or pu- too).]

[sialangan: unclear how alang ‘make’ gives rafter.]

018 sa vaik anga a kitsukes; kimaya ÷usa tjataî a pasa melava,

sa vaik anga a ki-tsukes ki-ma-aya ÷usa tjataî a pa-sa me-lava

and leave indeed c do-post do-stat-be.thus two span c cause-go af-wide

saka pasa la÷uq kimaya tjelu a tjataî.

sa-ka pa-sa la÷uq ki-ma-aya tjelu a tjataî

and-after cause-go long do-stat-be.thus three c span

He went to get pillars; they were about two arm spans wide and three arm spans long.

[kimaya: ki maya in OA.]

[pasa: F 23-24 has pa-sa(1) ‘transfer st. to’ and pa-sa(2) ‘nearly’]

019 saka maqatsuvung anga kiniqepu, sa san tapaw anga

sa-ka ma-qa-tsuvung anga in=ki-qepu sa sane tapaw anga

and-after stat-?-complete indeed perf=do-associate and make hut indeed

zazua, aya.

zua-zua aya

red-that say He finished collecting the materials, and made a house, they say.

020 saka “aku izua zazua a pupitsul a mamaw tu tsemas?” aya.

sa-ka aku i-zua zua-zua a pu-pitsul a ma-amaw tu tsemas aya

and-after why loc-that red-that c have-strong c stat-same obl god say

“Why is he as strong as a god?” said his former companions,

021 saka samaîi aravats azua salasaladj, aya a tjautsikel.

sa-ka sa-ma-aîi a-ravats a-zua sala-saladj aya a tjautsikel

and-after qal-stat-different c-true c-that red-companion say c story

very surprised, according to the story.

[samaîi: see F 24 for entry under sa-(3)]

There was a village at Kaîuyung with six households, according to the story. They went hunting to ïaitaw. When they got back, they gathered at Putjazaran in the lower part of Kaîuyung. “Look at me!” said Tsudjuy, while he broke trees which had been put together.

“Why can he do that?” said his companions, and ran away to their homes. Afterwards Tsudjuy went hunting for three days. “Why are you like that?” asked the chief. “Why am I able to break trees like that?”(?) he said. But, “I’ll live in a house apart. When I am possessed, don’t come near; you’ll die,” he said to his companions.

He went to make a path leading to a spring. When he had finished making the path, he made a well in the middle of a rock-face; and so the spring was finished. Then he went to get wood to make a house. But he didn’t use a knife or axe; he broke trees with his hands. When he carried the wood, he carried all the rafters in one journey. He collected stones for the walls in two journeys, carrying them with a rafter for a pole. He went to get pillars; they were about two arm spans wide and three arm spans long. He finished collecting the materials, and made a house, they say. “Why is he as strong as a god?” said his former companions, very surprised, according to the story.

#### 039 THE EVIL-EYE MAN paîi (ïaleklek village, p.216)

001 izua i Kaîuyung azua îa Paiquluvuy a namasan paîi, aya

i-zua i Kaîuyung a-zua îa Paiquluvuy a na-ma-sane paîi aya

loc-that loc (place) c-that class (place) c past-stat-make magic say

a tjautsikel.

a tjautsikel

c story

There was a person of the Paiquluvuy family in Kaîuyung who became an evil-eye man, according to the story.

[Kaîuyung: Kaluyung in OA.]

002 nu kivangavang azua, izua patsunan a sasiq anema; paridiw

nu ki-vangavang a-zua i-zua pa-tsun-an a sasiq a-nema pa-ridiw

when self-play c-that loc-that cause-see-lf c ant ?-what cause-in.order

a matsay, aya.

a m-patsay aya

c af-die say

As he walked about, ants or anything else he saw died, they say.

003 “aku mayaya sun? nasa uri nakuya sun,” aya a

aku ma-ay-aya sun nasa uri na-kuya sun aya a

why stat-red-be.thus f.you(s) perhaps will stat-bad f.you(s) say c

îamadju.

îa-madju

class-3rd.pers

“Why are you like that? You’re going to be someone bad,” people said.

004 sivaik a sema pana; uri paqayam tua tsiqaw.

si-vaik a em=sa pana uri pa-qayam tua tsiqaw

if-leave c af=go river will cause-inspect obl fish

They took him to the river to see the fish;

005 manu ka kiqenetj tua tsiqaw, matsay anga.

manu ka ki-qenetj tua tsiqaw m-patsay anga

then after do-see obl fish af-die indeed

and when he looked at the fish they died.

006 “ai nasa uri ka paîi sun,” aya zazua salasaladj.

ai nasa uri ka paîi sun aya zua-zua sala-saladj

oh perhaps will after magic f.you(s) say red-that red-companion

“Oh! It seems you’re becoming an evil-eye man,” said his companions.

007 saka tsemikel a sema umaq.

sa-ka em=tsikel a em=sa umaq

and-after af=return c af=go house So they went back home.

008 îakua sivaik a sema pasa navanavaî.

îakua si-vaik a em=sa pa-sa nava-navaî

but if-leave c af=go cause-go red-south But they took him down south,

009 sa san tapavan.

sa sane tapaw-an

and make hut-lf and made him a house.

010 saka izuanga timadju a matsidiî.

sa-ka i-zua-anga ti-madju a ma-tsidiî

and-after loc-that-indeed f-3rd.pers c stat-alone And he was there by himself.

011 “azua nu kiteveî tua salasaladj, azua semengats,” aya.

a-zua nu ki-teveî tua sala-saladj a-zua em=sengats aya

c-that when do-join obl red-companion c-that af=dislike say

“When he is with his former companions he is dangerous,” they said.

[semengats: semungats in OA.]

012 avanu sikitjukuda.

avan nu si-ki-tju-kuda

exact of if-do-apart-do.what That’s why he had to live apart.

013 saka zua paîi a papatsay timadju, marekutj a maîaqaîan

sa-ka zua paîi a pa-patsay ti-madju ma-rekutj a ma-aîa-qaîa-an

and-after that magic c cause-die f-3rd.pers stat-fear c stat-red-outsider-nom

a qaliqali.

a qali-qali

c red-friend

So because the evil-eye man could kill, people of other villages were afraid.

014 saka avanu sipakitjaviliî tua vava tua vutjuî tua

sa-ka avan nu si-pa-ki-tja-viliî tua vava tua vutjuî tua

and-after exact of if-cause-do-more-behind obl alcohol obl meat obl

qavay tua kinsa, aya.

qavay tua in=kesa aya

dumpling obl perf=food say

So they took turns to give him beer, meat, dumplings and other food, they say.

[sipakitjaviliî: unclear - the gloss ‘take turns’ is from the Japanese translation in OA.]

015 manu nasa masupil anga azua maîaqaîan, sa

manu nasa ma-supil anga a-zua ma-aîa-qaîa-an sa

then perhaps stat-tired indeed c-that stat-red-outsider-nom and

sunasii nua se Vungaliz, sa îuîu-i.

su-nasi-i nua se Vungaliz sa îuîu-i

remove-breath-pf by person.of (place) and gather-pf

But it seems the people got tired of it, and the people of Vungaliz killed him and picked up (his head);

016 manu sivaik azua tjaîuzua i pana i Tjuakalangan.

manu si-vaik a-zua tjaîu-zua i pana i Tjuakalangan

then if-leave c-that reach-that loc river loc (place)

and took it to the river at Tjuakalangan.

017 “tja qayamaw,” aya zazua.

tja qayam-aw aya zua-zua

we(inc) inspect-lf say red-that “Let’s have a look,” they said.

018 manu ka suqulengan a mudingan, manu matsay a se

manu ka su-quleng-an a mudingan manu m-patsay a se

then after remove-covering-lf c face then af-die c person.of

Vungaliz.

Vungaliz

(place) But when they uncovered the face, the Vungaliz people died.

019 saka matsidiî anga a pinatseqisan a pi tsungal, aya.

sa-ka ma-tsidiî anga a pinatseqisan a pi tsungal aya

and-after num-alone indeed c glare c put knee say

One survived wounded in the knee from his glare, they say.

[pinatseqisan: unclear, could be in=pa-tseqis-an but no root tseqis known, ‘glare’ is translation of Japanese gloss in OA.]

020 saka matsidiî anga nu pakaqiaw sema umaq i Vungaliz.

sa-ka ma-tsidiî anga nu pa-ka-qiyaw em=sa umaq i Vungaliz

and-after stat-alone indeed when cause-?-assist af=go house loc (place)

He went off alone back home to Vungaliz calling for help.

021 “matsay amen,” aya, aya a tjautsikel.

m-patsay amen aya aya a tjautsikel

af-die f.we(exc) say say c story

“We’re being killed,” he said, according to the story.

There was a person of the Paiquluvuy family in Kaîuyung who became an evil-eye man, according to the story. As he walked about, ants or anything else he saw died, they say. “Why are you like that? You’re going to be someone bad,” people said. They took him to the river to see the fish; and when he looked at the fish they died. “Oh! It seems you’re becoming an evil-eye man,” said his companions. So they went back home.

But they took him down south, and made him a house. And he was there by himself. “When he is with his former companions he is dangerous,” they said. That’s why he had to live apart. So because the evil-eye man could kill, people of other villages were afraid. So they took turns to give him beer, meat, dumplings and other food, they say.

But it seems the people got tired of it, and the people of Vungaliz killed him and picked up (his head); and took it to the river at Tjuakalangan. “Let’s have a look,” they said. But when they uncovered the face, the Vungaliz people died. One survived wounded in the knee from his glare, they say. He went off alone back home to Vungaliz calling for help. “We’re being killed,” he said, according to the story.

#### 040 TJUKUTJUKU Tjukutjuku (ïaleklek village, p.218)

001 izua ti Tjukutjuku a pinatsayan nua kama nua kina, aya a

i-zua ti Tjukutjuku a in=patsay-an nua kama nua kina aya a

loc-that f.h (name) c perf=die-lf by father by mother say c

milimilingan.

mili-miling-an

red-past.era-nom

There was a person called Tjukutjuku whose father and mother had died, according to the old story.

002 saka izua ti sa Tjamuakakay, saka galemgemi azua ti

sa-ka i-zua ti sa Tjamuakakay sa-ka al=gemgem-i a-zua ti

and-after loc-that f.h h (name) and-after qal=fist-pf c-that f.h

Tjukutjuku.

Tjukutjuku

(name)

There was also a person called Tjamuakakay (*or* Muakakay, her aunt, OA), who disliked Tjukutjuku.

003 saka zua vavayan a kake÷ian puîatan tua nanemanemanga

sa-ka zua vavayan a ka-ke÷i-an puîat-an tua na-nema-nema-anga

and-after that female c red-small-nom all-lf obl past-red-what-indeed

tua qinaîan tua kadjunangan.

tua in=qaîa-an tua ka-djunang-an

obl perf=outsider-nom obl main-earth-nom

The young girl had no inheritance of village or land left.

004 mangtjez azua tju Makazayazaya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan kati Kuîeîuîeîu

m-pangetjez a-zua tju Makazayazaya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan ka-ti Kuîeîuîeîu

af-come c-that there (place) f.h (name) and-f.h (name)

a kisudju tua zua ti Tjukutjuku.

a ki-sudju tua zua ti Tjukutjuku

c do-sweetheart obl that f.h (name)

Puîaîuîaîuyan and Kuîeîuîeîu of Makazayazaya came to court Tjukutjuku.

005 saka zazua ti sa Tjamuakakay patalaq azua.

sa-ka zua-zua ti sa Tjamuakakay pa-talaq a-zua

and-after red-that f.h h (name) cause-jealous c-that

So Tjamuakakay was jealous.

006 “aku nu kisudjuan zazua namaya?” ayain azua tia

aku nu ki-sudju-an zua-zua na-ma-aya aya-en a-zua ti-a

why you(p) do-sweetheart-lf red-that past-stat-be.thus say-pf c-that f.h-pl

Puîaîuîaîuyan kati Kuîeîuîeîu.

Puîaîuîaîuyan ka-ti Kuîeîuîeîu

(name) and-f.h (name)

“Why do you court someone like that?” she said to Puîaîuîaîuyan and Kuîeîuîeîu.

007 azua ti Tjukutjuku tjenglayen nua zua ma÷usa.

a-zua ti Tjukutjuku tjenglay-en nua zua ma-÷usa

c-that f.h (name) like-pf by that num-two

But these two liked Tjukutjuku.

008 vaik azua sema vavua mazelizeliuî.

vaik a-zua em=sa va-vua ma-zeli-zeliuî

leave c-that af=go red-field stat-red-work

They all went to the fields and worked together.

009 ka nadjemaîun i vavua, “aku nu kizeliuîan a namaya?

ka na-em=djaîun i va-vua aku nu ki-zeliuî-an a na-ma-aya

after past-af=arrive loc red-field why you(p) do-work-lf c past-stat-be.thus

savaqar tua ka÷a÷i tua nakuyan.

savaqar tua ka÷a÷i tua na-kuya-an

disgust obl rag obl stat-bad-nom

When she got to the fields, (she said): “Why do you help someone like that with her work? She’s disgusting in her rags and ugliness.

010 sa-u tsikelu,” ayain ni sa Tjamuakakay a ma÷usa.

sa-u tsikel-u aya-en ni sa Tjamuakakay a ma-÷usa

go-imp return-imp say-pf by h (name) c num-two

Go off home,” Tjamuakakay said to the two men.

011 manu ini kilangda azazua a matjelu.

manu ini ki-langeda a-za-zua a ma-tjelu

then not do-hear c-red-that c num-three

But the three of them didn’t listen to her.

012 seman quma tua vasa, saka sema tapaw zazua kentsengeî.

em=sane quma tua vasa sa-ka em=sa tapaw zua-zua ken-tsengeî

af=make field obl taro and-after af=go hut red-that consume-lunch

They made a field of taro, and then went to the hut for lunch.

[*sema*: *seman* in OA.]

013 ka keman azua, “maya kidadut tua ma÷usa; sasequ

ka em=kan a-zua ma-aya ki-da-dut tua ma-÷usa sa-sequ

after af=eat c-that stat-be.thus do-red-approach obl num-two qal-smell

sun savaqar,” ayain ni sa Tjamuakakay ti Tjukutjuku.

sun savaqar aya-en ni sa Tjamuakakay ti Tjukutjuku

f.you(s) disgust say-pf by h (name) f.h (name)

When they were eating, Tjamuakakay said to Tjukutjuku: “Don’t go near those two. You smell and are disgusting.”

014 sa patjadaan ni sa Tjamuakakay azua ti Tjukutjuku.

sa patjada-an ni sa Tjamuakakay a-zua ti Tjukutjuku

and allot.food-lf by h (name) c-that f.h (name)

Tjamuakakay shared out food for Tjukutjuku;

015 saka nu patjada, sinu kake÷ian ni Tjukutjuku; avan a

sa-ka nu patjada in=su ka-ke÷i-an ni Tjukutjuku avan a

and-after when allot.food perf=remove red-small-nom of (name) exact c

ni sa Tjamuakakay qatsaqatsan.

ni sa Tjamuakakay qatsa-qatsa-an

of h (name) red-big-nom

and when she did so the bits for Tjukutjuku were all small, and it was Tjamuakakay’s that were the big ones.

016 manu saka keman azua, sema zua i tjai Tjukutjuku.

manu sa-ka em=kan a-zua em=sa zua i tjai Tjukutjuku

then and-after af=eat c-that af=go that loc obl.h (name)

But when the two men ate they came to Tjukutjuku.

017 sa ka makakan, vaik a sema kavavuan.

sa ka maka-kan vaik a em=sa ka-va-vua-an

and after finished-eat leave c af=go main-red-field-nom

When they had finished eating, they went back to the fields.

018 saka seleman anga a sema tapaw.

sa-ka selem-an anga a em=sa tapaw

and-after dark-nom indeed c af=go hut

When it was getting dark they came to the hut.

019 ka uri vaik azua, “kasiuîayu,” ayain ti Tjukutjuku ni sa

ka uri vaik a-zua kasi-uîay-u aya-en ti Tjukutjuku ni sa

after will leave c-that from-overnight-imp say-pf f.h (name) by h

Tjamuakakay.

Tjamuakakay

(name)

When they were going to go, Tjamuakakay said to Tjukutjuku; “Stay here!”

[kasiuîayu: F has uîay ‘st broken inside st’ with subentry si-uîay ‘to stay overnight’.]

020 inika ui ti Tjukutjuku.

ini-ka ui ti Tjukutjuku

not-after yes f.h (name) Tjukutjuku wouldn’t agree.

021 i vavaw tua tapaw a kalutskuts.

i va-vaw tua tapaw a al=kuts-kuts

loc red-above obl hut c qal=red-shout

Tjamuakakay got on the hut and shouted.

[kalutskuts: = al=kuts-kuts? but unclear and nothing in F. Could mean ‘topmost’, or could be garutsguts ‘scratching’.]

022 “ari,” ayain azua ma÷usa.

ari aya-en a-zua ma-÷usa

go.on say-pf c-that num-two “Let’s go!” she said to the two men.

[ari: expect ari-i ‘go.on-hort’.]

023 manu qemaung sakamaya.

manu em=qaung sakamaya

then af=cry only And Tjukutjuku cried.

024 manu, “ari sakamaya,” aya zazua ma÷usa, ayain ti Tjukutjuku.

manu ari sakamaya aya zua-zua ma-÷usa aya-en ti Tjukutjuku

then go.on only say red-that num-two say-pf f.h (name)

So those two said to Tjukutjuku: “Come on, let’s go.”

025 inika ui angata.

ini-ka ui anga-ta

not-after yes indeed-? But she refused.

026 vaikan a sema umaq masalasaladj.

vaik-an a em=sa umaq ma-sala-saladj

leave-lf c af=go house stat-red-companion

So they left her and went off home together.

027 manu kemîang anga azua vuvu a sitsuayan a namatsay

manu m=keîang anga a-zua vuvu a si-tsuay-an a na-m-patsay

then af=know indeed c-that grandparent c if-long.time-nom c past-af-die

anga.

anga

indeed

Now Tjukutjuku’s grandparent (grandfather, OA), who was long since dead, knew about it all.

028 mangtjez azua ti sa vuluvulung a venatsaq tua lukuî.

m-pangetjez a-zua ti sa vulu-vulung a en=vatsaq tua lukuî

af-come c-that f.h h red-old c af=carry.pole obl box

And this old person came, carrying a box on a pole.

029 izua anemanemanga sipavay tjai Tjukutjuku, tua zangaq tua

i-zua a-nema-nema-anga si-pa-vay tjai Tjukutjuku tua zangaq tua

loc-that ?-red-what-indeed if-cause-give obl.h (name) obl necklace obl

kaîat tua situngan.

kaîat tua si-itung-an

bracelet obl if-cloth-nom

Tjukutjuku was given all kinds of things-necklaces, bracelets and clothes.

030 “veritsan anga a su kava; nasa sakuya,” ayain ni sa vuluvulung.

verits-an anga a su kava nasa sa-kuya aya-en ni sa vulu-vulung

discard-lf indeed c your(s) clothing perhaps qal-bad say-pf by h red-old

“Throw away your clothes; they seem nasty,” said the old person.

031 sa kipavalit anga azua ti Tjukutjuku.

sa ki-pa-valit anga a-zua ti Tjukutjuku

and do-cause-exchange indeed c-that f.h (name)

So Tjukutjuku changed her clothes.

032 saka “uri vaik aken,” aya azua vuluvulung.

sa-ka uri vaik aken aya a-zua vulu-vulung

and-after will leave f.I say c-that red-old

“I’m going,” said the old person.

033 “kitsiur aken,” aya zua ti Tjukutjuku.

ki-tsiur aken aya zua ti Tjukutjuku

do-together f.I say that f.h (name)

“I’ll come with you,” said Tjukutjuku.

034 manu “maya.

manu maya

then don’t “Don’t!

035 aku kitsiur sun? îa namatsay anga ken a sitsuayan,”

aku ki-tsiur sun îa na-m-patsay anga aken a si-tsuay-an

why do-together f.you(s) really past-af-die indeed f.I c if-long.time-nom

aya, saka inika ui.

aya sa-ka ini-ka ui

say and-after not-after yes

Why would you go with me? I’ve been dead a long time,” said the old person, who wouldn’t agree,

036 sa zua vaik anga sakamaya azua vuluvulung.

sa zua vaik anga sakamaya a-zua vulu-vulung

and that leave indeed only c-that red-old and just went off.

037 manu maîianga zazua mangtjez anga kasi umaq azazua

manu ma-îia-anga zua-zua m-pangetjez anga kasi umaq a-za-zua

then stat-dawn-indeed red-that af-come indeed from house c-red-that

matjelu.

ma-tjelu

num-three Next day the other three came from home.

038 saka nakemavanga nazemangaq anga nakemaîat

sa-ka na-em=kava-anga na-em=zangaq anga na-em=kaîat

and-after past-af=clothing-indeed past-af=necklace indeed past-af=bracelet

anga.

anga

indeed Tjukutjuku was wearing the new clothes, necklaces and bracelets.

039 saka “uki kasinu sa tsinakaw ni tsaqi,” aya azua ti sa

sa-ka u-ki kasi-inu sa in=tsakaw ni tsaqi aya a-zua ti sa

and-after ?-how from-where go perf=steal by dung say c-that f.h h

Tjamuakakay.

Tjamuakakay

(name) “So where has the stinker stolen those?” said Tjamuakakay.

040 “ni vuvu a sinipavay taqezemetj.

ni vuvu a in=si-pa-vay ta-qezemetj

by grandparent c perf=if-cause-give past-night

“The grandparent gave them to me last night,

041 ‘kemîang aken tu kinagalemgeman sun nia tjaina.

m=keîang aken tu in=ka-al=gemgem-an sun ni-a tjaina

af=know f.I obl perf=?-qal=fist-lf f.you(s) by-pl mother.h

and said: ‘I know your aunt dislikes you.

[nia: -a ‘plural’ unexplained, unless it means ‘aunts’, or other females of mother’s generation.]

042 (nu) tsemikel anga sun a sema umaq, qaqivu anga tua vali

nu em=tsikel anga sun a em=sa umaq qa-qivu anga tua vali

when af=return indeed f.you(s) c af=go house red-speak indeed obl wind

tua semuap tu su umaq,’ ayain ni vuvu,” aya ti Tjukutjuku.

tua em=suap tu su umaq aya-en ni vuvu aya ti Tjukutjuku

obl af=sweep obl your(s) house say-pf by grandparent say f.h (name)

When you go home, tell the wind to sweep your house,’ said the grandparent,” said Tjukutjuku.

043 manu uri vaik anga azua.

manu uri vaik anga a-zua

then will leave indeed c-that When they were going to leave,

044 “vatsaqu azua ku nanemanemanga,” aya ti Tjukutjuku tua zua

vatsaq-u a-zua ku na-nema-nema-anga aya ti Tjukutjuku tua zua

carry.pole-imp c-that my past-red-what-indeed say f.h (name) obl that

ma÷usa.

ma-÷usa

num-two Tjukutjuku said to the two men: “Carry my things.”

045 manu “maya,” ayain ni Tjamuakakay azua ma÷usa.

manu maya aya-en ni Tjamuakakay a-zua ma-÷usa

then don’t say-pf by (name) c-that num-two

“Don’t!” said Tjamuakakay to the two.

046 manu “vatsaqu sakamaya.

manu vatsaq-u sakamaya

then carry.pole-imp only “Just carry them.

047 inika ku tsinakaw; sinipavay ni vuvu,” aya azua ti

ini-ka ku in=tsakaw in=si-pa-vay ni vuvu aya a-zua ti

not-after I perf=steal perf=if-cause-give by grandparent say c-that f.h

Tjukutjuku.

Tjukutjuku

(name) I didn’t steal them. The grandparent gave them to me,” said Tjukutjuku.

048 sa vatsaqi anga nazua ma÷usa a djemaîun i umaq.

sa vatsaq-i anga nua-zua ma-÷usa a em=djaîun i umaq

and carry.pole-pf indeed by-that num-two c af=arrive loc house

So the two carried them back to the house.

049 pasa qaqivuin a vali, sa suapi a umaq ni Tjukutjuku, sa

pai-sa qa-qivu-en a vali sa suap-i a umaq ni Tjukutjuku sa

well-and red-speak-pf c wind and sweep-pf c house of (name) and

pasa qumaqani anga azua nanemanemanga.

pa-sa qumaq-an-i anga a-zua na-nema-nema-anga

cause-go indoors-nom-pf indeed c-that past-red-what-indeed

She tried giving orders to the wind, and it swept Tjukutjuku’s house, and she put all her things into the house.

050 sa pasa puzayazayai a zaîum a ÷i÷i.

sa pa-sa pu-zaya-zaya-i a zaîum a ÷i÷i

and cause-go have-red-up-pf c water c pig

And she put water and the pigs into the inner part.

051 sa kavaruk a “makuîi a zaîum,” aya zazua.

sa kavaruk a ma-kuîi a zaîum aya zua-zua

and swear c stat-dry c water say red-that

And she swore: “The water has run dry.”

052 makuîi a zaîum, saka nekanga nu sikesa, nu tekelen.

ma-kuîi a zaîum sa-ka neka-anga nu si-kesa nu tekel-en

stat-dry c water and-after no-indeed of if-food of drink-pf

The water ran dry, and there was none to cook with or to drink.

053 manu matsay anga a kake÷ian a ramaîemaîeng.

manu m-patsay anga a ka-ke÷i-an a maîe=ramaîeng

then af-die indeed c red-small-nom c red=adult

So children and old people died.

054 manu kiqaung anga sikataqaîan.

manu ki-qaung anga si-ka-ta-qaîa-an

then do-cry indeed if-main-?-outsider-nom When the villagers asked,

055 mangtjez azua vuluvulung.

m-pangetjez a-zua vulu-vulung

af-come c-that red-old the old person came,

056 “pavayi aken tua zaîum.

pa-vay-i aken tua zaîum

cause-give-hort f.I obl water and said: “Give me some water.

057 idan a su tjakumuî.”

id-an a su tjakumuî

come-lf c your(s) quilt Give me your blanket.

058 sa tjevengi ni Tjukutjuku, sa pavayan anga tazua vuluvulung.

sa tjeveng-i ni Tjukutjuku sa pa-vay-an anga ta-zua vulu-vulung

and moisture-pf by (name) and cause-give-lf indeed obl-that red-old

And Tjukutjuku wetted it, and gave it to the old person.

059 manu maqepu a qaliqali a teptepan.

manu ma-qepu a qali-qali a teptep-an

then stat-associate c red-friend c suck-lf

Then others gathered round and sucked it.

060 saka megarang ti Tjukutjuku.

sa-ka me-garang ti Tjukutjuku

and-after af-scold f.h (name) Tjukutjuku got annoyed.

061 “tsuqitsuqi,” aya tua sikataqaîan.

tsuqitsuq-i aya tua si-ka-ta-qaîa-an

rumble-hort say obl if-main-?-outsider-nom

“That’s enough,” she said to the villagers.

[tsuqitsuqi: unclear, could mean growl?]

062 manu “nia patsevudi tua zaîum a su qinaîan,” aya.

manu nia pa-tsevud-i tua zaîum a su in=qaîa-an aya

then we(exc) cause-flow-pf obl water c your(s) perf=outsider-nom say

“We’ll give your village a source of water.”

063 tsevud anga a zaîum; sa mirazek anga a qinaîan, aya a

tsevud anga a zaîum sa mi-razek anga a in=qaîa-an aya a

flow indeed c water and af-plentiful indeed c perf=outsider-nom say c

tjautsikel.

tjautsikel

story So water emerged, and the village flourished, according to the story.

There was a person called Tjukutjuku whose father and mother had died, according to the old story. There was also a person called Tjamuakakay (*or* Muakakay, her aunt, OA), who disliked Tjukutjuku. The young girl had no inheritance of village or land left. Puîaîuîaîuyan and Kuîeîuîeîu of Makazayazaya came to court Tjukutjuku. So Tjamuakakay was jealous. “Why do you court someone like that?” she said to Puîaîuîaîuyan and Kuîeîuîeîu. But these two liked Tjukutjuku.

They all went to the fields and worked together. When she got to the fields, (she said): “Why do you help someone like that with her work? She’s disgusting in her rags and ugliness. Go off home”, Tjamuakakay said to the two men. But the three of them didn’t listen to her. They made a field of taro, and then went to the hut for lunch. When they were eating, Tjamuakakay said to Tjukutjuku: “Don’t go near those two. You smell and are disgusting.”

Tjamuakakay shared out food for Tjukutjuku; and when she did so the bits for Tjukutjuku were all small, and it was Tjamuakakay’s that were the big ones. But when the two men ate they came to Tjukutjuku. When they had finished eating, they went back to the fields. When it was getting dark they came to the hut. When they were going to go, Tjamuakakay said to Tjukutjuku; “Stay here!” Tjukutjuku wouldn’t agree. Tjamuakakay got on the hut and shouted. “Let’s go!” she said to the two men. And Tjukutjuku cried.

So those two said to Tjukutjuku: “Come on, let’s go.” But she refused. So they left her and went off home together. Now Tjukutjuku’s grandparent (grandfather OA), who was long since dead, knew about it all. And this old person came, carrying a box on a pole. Tjukutjuku was given all kinds of things-necklaces, bracelets and clothes. “Throw away your clothes; they seem nasty,” said the old person. So Tjukutjuku changed her clothes. “I’m going,” said the old person. “I’ll come with you,” said Tjukutjuku.

“Don’t! Why would you go with me? I’ve been dead a long time,” said the old person, who wouldn’t agree, and just went off. Next day the other three came from home. Tjukutjuku was wearing the new clothes, necklaces and bracelets. “So where has the stinker stolen those?” said Tjamuakakay.

“The grandparent gave them to me last night, and said: ‘I know your aunt dislikes you. When you go home, tell the wind to sweep your house,’ said the grandparent,” said Tjukutjuku. When they were going to leave, Tjukutjuku said to the two men: “Carry my things.”

“Don’t!” said Tjamuakakay to the two. “Just carry them. I didn’t steal them. The grandparent gave them to me,” said Tjukutjuku. So the two carried them back to the house. She tried giving orders to the wind, and it swept Tjukutjuku’s house, and she put all her things into the house. And she put water and the pigs in the inner part. And she swore: “The water has run dry.” The water ran dry, and there was none to cook with or to drink. So children and old people died.

When the villagers asked, the old person came, and said: “Give me some water. Give me your blanket.” And Tjukutjuku wetted it, and gave it to the old person. Then others gathered round and sucked it. Tjukutjuku got annoyed. “That’s enough,” she said to the villagers. “We’ll give your village a source of water.” So water emerged, and the village flourished, according to the story.

#### 041 KULUI Kului (ïaleklek village, p.222)

001 naizua zazua ti sa Kului, a naputsekeî tua vuluvulung, aya

na-i-zua zua-zua ti sa Kului a na-pu-tsekeî tua vulu-vulung aya

past-loc-that red-that f.h h (name) c past-have-spouse obl red-snake.sp say

a tjautsikel.

a tjautsikel

c story

Once there was a person called Kului who was married to a hundred-pace snake, according to the story.

[tua vuluvulung: “hundred-pace” is a nickname of fearful respect given to the very poisonous snake after whose bite you can only take 100 steps and then die.]

002 saka nu qezemezemetj tsautsau, saka nu maqadaw qatjuvi.

sa-ka nu zeme=qezemetj tsau-tsau sa-ka nu ma-qadaw qatjuvi

and-after when red=night red-being and-after when stat-sun snake

At night it was human, and in the day it was a snake.

003 inika tja îengîengan a zuma.

ini-ka tja îeng-îeng-an a zuma

not-after we(inc) red-look.at-lf c other The rest of us couldn’t see it.

004 izuazua tua vakar a pinaseleman tua itung.

i-zua-zua tua vakar a in=pa-selem-an tua itung

loc-red-that obl basket c perf=cause-dark-lf obl cloth

It was in a bamboo basket hidden by clothes.

005 saka inika ui tja patsunan ni Kului.

sa-ka ini-ka ui tja pa-tsun-an ni Kului

and-after not-after yes we(inc) cause-see-lf by (name)

Kului didn’t allow us to look at it.

006 manu “ki anema izua?” aya ti sa Ulung a kaka.

manu ki a-nema i-zua aya ti sa Ulung a kaka

then how ?-what loc-that say f.h h (name) c sibling

“What’s in there?” said her sibling Ulung.

007 “aku sikaqiîi aya tja qayamen?”

aku si-ka-qiîi aya tja qayam-en

why if-become-forbidden be.thus we(inc) inspect-pf

“Why are we not allowed to see it?”

008 “sa-u satjatjanu,” ayain ti Kului ni sa Ulung.

sa-u sa-tjatjan-u aya-en ti Kului ni sa Ulung

go-imp go-spring-imp say-pf f.h (name) by h (name)

“Go to the spring for water,” said Ulung to Kului.

009 ka qayamen, manu qatjuvi a vuluvulung.

ka qayam-en manu qatjuvi a vulu-vulung

after inspect-pf then snake c red-snake.sp

When (s)he had a look, it was a hundred-pace snake.

010 saka “aku ka qayamen aken?” aya, sa vaik anga zazua

sa-ka aku ka qayam-en aken aya sa vaik anga zua-zua

and-after why after inspect-pf f.I say and leave indeed red-that

malipat (tua) valuku a i navaî.

ma-lipat tua valuku a i navaî

stat-disappear obl hole c loc south

“Why are you looking at me?” it said, and disappeared down the hole in the south.

011 ka mangtjez ti Kului kasi tjatjan, ka qayamen a vakar, nekanga

ka m-pangetjez ti Kului kasi tjatjan ka qayam-en a vakar neka-anga

after af-come f.h (name) from spring after inspect-pf c basket no-indeed

a qatjuvi.

a qatjuvi

c snake

When Kului came back from the spring and looked at the basket, there was no snake.

012 “inu anga?” aya ti Kului.

inu anga aya ti Kului

where indeed say f.h (name) “Where is it?” said Kului.

013 “aku su pinivakar a qatjuvi?” aya ti sa Ulung, sa

aku su in=pi-vakar a qatjuvi aya ti sa Ulung sa

why you(s) perf=put-basket c snake say f.h h (name) and

kagarangi ti Kului.

ka-garang-i ti Kului

become-scold-pf f.h (name)

“Why did you put a snake in the basket?” said Ulung, and scolded Kului.

014 manu “ku zukatj azua,” aya ti sa Kului.

manu ku zukatj a-zua aya ti sa Kului

then my husband c-that say f.h h (name) “That’s my husband,” said Kului.

015 “ki maya nu ranaven tu vaik amen, ka nu qayamen.

ki ma-aya nu ranaw-en tu vaik amen ka nu qayam-en

do stat-be.thus you(p) intend-pf obl leave f.we(exc) after you(p) inspect-pf

“I suppose you deliberately made us go, when you had a look.

016 îakua ki tja kudain? vaik aken a kitsiur,” aya.

îakua ki tja kuda-en vaik aken a ki-tsiur aya

but how we(inc) do.what-pf leave f.I c do-together say

What are we to do? I’m going off with him,” she said.

017 saka maulaw anga, aya a tjautsikel.

sa-ka ma-ulaw anga aya a tjautsikel

and-after stat-lost indeed say c story

And she disappeared, according to the story.

Once there was a person called Kului who was married to a hundred-pace snake, according to the story. At night it was human, and in the day it was a snake. The rest of us couldn’t see it. It was in a bamboo basket hidden by clothes. Kului didn’t allow us to look at it. “What’s in there?” said her sibling Ulung. “Why are we not allowed to see it?”

“Go to the spring for water,” said Ulung to Kului. When (s)he had a look, it was a hundred-pace snake. “Why are you looking at me?” it said, and disappeared down the hole in the south. When Kului came back from the spring and looked at the basket, there was no snake. “Where is it?” said Kului.

“Why did you put a snake in the basket?” said Ulung, and scolded Kului. “That’s my husband,” said Kului. “I suppose you deliberately made us go, when you had a look. What are we to do? I’m going off with him,” she said. And she disappeared, according to the story.

#### 042 THE MONKEY AND THE CRAB ti ÷ail kati gagang (Kuîaîau village, p.224)

001 izua ti ÷ail kati gagang.

i-zua ti ÷ail ka-ti gagang

loc-that f.h monkey and-f.h crab There were a monkey and a crab.

002 “ari, kiitjui,” aya; sa vaik a ma÷usa.

ari ki-itju-i aya sa vaik a ma-÷usa

go.on do-loquat-hort say and leave c num-two

“Come on, let’s collect loquat fruit,” they said; and the two of them went off.

003 djemaîun ta kasiw.

em=djaîun ta kasiw

af=arrive obl tree They got to the tree,

004 uri pasa îevavaw ti gagang.

uri pa-sa îe-va-vaw ti gagang

will cause-go go.to-red-above f.h crab

and the crab was going to try to climb up.

005 manu inika lemaut; setsalaput sakamaya.

manu ini-ka em=laut se-tsa-laput sakamaya

then not-after af=able invol-?-slip only

But he couldn’t; he just slipped down.

006 saka ti ÷ai÷ail anga a îevavaw.

sa-ka ti ÷ai-÷ail anga a îe-va-vaw

and-after f.h red-monkey indeed c go.to-red-above

So it was the monkey who climbed up.

007 manu nu izuanga kiniitju ni ÷ai÷ail, gesgesen a

manu nu i-zua-anga in=ki-itju ni ÷ai-÷ail gesges-en a

then when loc-that-indeed perf=do-loquat by red-monkey shake-pf c

kaikapu, sa katjani a namalum, sa îuîu-i ni gagang.

kaikapu sa ka-tjani a na-ma-lum sa îuîu-i ni gagang

cloth and main-fall c past-stat-ripe and gather-pf by crab

When the monkey had picked any loquats, the crab shook the cloth container, and ripe ones fell out, and the crab picked them up.

008 “aku a ke÷i anga ku kiniitju, qalian? lingu su getselen a

aku a ke÷i anga ku in=ki-itju qali-an lingu su getsel-en a

why c small indeed I perf=do-loquat friend-nom perhaps you(s) claw-pf c

ku kaikapu.”

ku kaikapu

my cloth

“Friend, why are there so few left of what I’ve picked? Perhaps you have torn the cloth.”

[lingu: F has ligu.]

009 “anema naya, qalian? qayamu a su kaikapu, tu ki zua

a-nema na-aya qali-an qayam-u a su kaikapu tu ki zua

?-what past-say friend-nom inspect-imp c your(s) cloth compl how that

verits kemuda.”

verits em=kuda

discard af=do.what

“What are you saying, friend? Look at your cloth, to see whether there is a tear or anything.”

[verits: ‘discard, lose, throw away’ in F, but Japanese gloss in OA is ‘tear’.]

010 sa qayamen; neka.

sa qayam-en neka

and inspect-pf no When he looked, there was no tear.

011 “pai, qalian, ku îinuîu sakamaya,” aya ti gagang.

pai qali-an ku in=îuîu sakamaya aya ti gagang

well friend-nom I perf=gather only say f.h crab

“Well, friend, I just picked them up,” said the crab.

012 “ari, saumaqi.”

ari sa-umaq-i

go.on go-house-hort “Let’s go home.”

013 manu maîia, vaik a kizaman.

manu ma-îia vaik a ki-zaman

then stat-dawn leave c do-torch

Next day they went to get miscanthus grass for torches.

014 “pai, qalian, paîaîamai.”

pai qali-an pa-îa-îama-i

well friend-nom cause-red-burn-hort

“Well, friend, let’s try burning one another.”

015 “tiaken-ay anan tjaisangas,” sa îamain ni ÷ai÷ail.

ti-aken-ay anan tja-i-sangas sa îama-en ni ÷ai-÷ail

f-I-will still more-loc-first and burn-pf by red-monkey

“Well I’ll go first,” (said the crab), and the monkey set fire (to the grass).

016 “sekuda sun tua ku sapui, qalian?”

se-kuda sun tua ku sapuy qali-an

invol-do.what you(s) obl my fire friend-nom

“What do you think of my fire, friend?”

017 “makuda îa uqaîay.

ma-kuda îa uqaîay

stat-do.what really male “It’s nothing to a tough male like me.

018 uza tsu anan aken.

uza tsu anan aken

here this still f.I I’m still here.

019 sa tisun-ay anan, qalian i ÷ai÷ail.”

sa ti-sun-ay anan qali-an i ÷ai-÷ail

and f-you(s)-will still friend-nom which red-monkey

Now it’s your turn, friend monkey.”

020 îevavaw ta kasiw ti ÷ai÷ail; îamain ni gagang.

îe-va-vaw ta kasiw ti ÷ai-÷ail îama-en ni gagang

go.to-red-above obl tree f.h red-monkey burn-pf by crab

The monkey went up a tree, and the crab set fire to it (*or* the grass).

021 “sekuda sun tua ku sapui, qalian?”

se-kuda sun tua ku sapuy qali-an

invol-do.what f.you(s) obl my fire friend-nom

“What do you think of my fire, friend?”

022 “makuda îa uqaîay.

ma-kuda îa uqaîay

stat-do.what really male “It’s nothing to a tough male like me.

023 uza tsu anan aken.”

uza tsu anan aken

here this still f.I I’m still here.”

024 sa maqevutj a sapui.

sa ma-qevutj a sapuy

and stat-extinguish c fire Then the fire went out.

025 manu ini anga ka malangda.

manu ini anga ka ma-langeda

then not indeed after stat-hear The monkey couldn’t be heard any more.

026 “ku kimaw anan ti ku qali,” aya.

ku kim-aw anan ti ku qali aya

I search-lf still f.h my friend say

“I’ll go and look for my friend,” said the crab.

027 manu djumaken; namatsay anga.

manu djumak-en na-m-patsay anga

then find-pf past-af-die indeed He found him, and he was dead.

028 “ki ku kuda-i sa ti ku qali, sa mevaîut?”

ki ku kuda-i sa ti ku qali sa me-vaîut

how I do.what-hort and f.h my friend and af-alive

“What am I to do to bring my friend back to life?”

[mevaîut: evaîut in OA.]

029 sa vutsiqi, sa sualapi a qavuvung, sa tsapa-i.

sa vutsiq-i sa su-alap-i a qavuvung sa tsapa-i

and cut-pf and remove-take-pf c heart and dry-pf

He cut him open, took out his heart, and dried it.

030 “kemuda mevaîut ti ku qali?” aya.

em=kuda me-vaîut ti ku qali aya

af=do.what af-alive f.h my friend say

“How will my friend come back to life?” he said.

031 manu mevaîut.

manu me-vaîut

then af-alive Then he came back to life.

032 “uzai, qalian, a ku kini÷aluîan tua se Tjuvaîuîukay,” ayain.

uzay qali-an a ku in=ki-÷aluî-an tua se Tjuvaîuîukay aya-en

there friend-nom c I perf=do-waves-lf obl person.of (place) say-pf

“Here, friend, is what I won off the Tjuvaîuîukay people,” he said;

[kini÷aluîan: unclear how ÷aluî ‘waves of sea’ give ‘win’ as suggested by OA Japanese gloss.]

033 sa kani, sa “ari, saumaqi anga.”

sa kan-i sa ari sa-umaq-i anga

and eat-pf and go.on go-house-hort indeed

and they ate it. And they said: “Come on, let’s go home.”

034 sa maselem.

sa ma-selem

and stat-dark It got dark.

035 “ari, qalian, kisudju-i.”

ari qali-an ki-sudju-i

go.on friend-nom do-sweetheart-hort “Come on, friend, let’s go courting.”

036 sa “ika ken a uri kisudju, qalian,” aya ti gagang.

sa ika aken a uri ki-sudju qali-an aya ti gagang

and not f.I c will do-sweetheart friend-nom say f.h crab

“I’m not going courting, friend,” said the crab.

037 manu kitjaviliî ti gagang, sa paka patekuteku tua garaîigaî.

manu ki-tja-viliî ti gagang sa pa-maka pa-teku-teku tua ar=gaîigaî

then do-more-behind f.h crab and cause-via cause-red-down obl qal=bed

But the crab followed, and went along underneath the bed-space.

038 manu getselen a qalitsi ni ÷ai÷ail, sa vaikan.

manu getsel-en a qalitsi ni ÷ai-÷ail sa vaik-an

then claw-pf c penis of red-monkey and leave-lf

He pinched off the monkey’s penis, and went off with it.

039 manu vaik a sema vangaw ti gagang.

manu vaik a em=sa vangaw ti gagang

then leave c af=go sky.light f.h crab The crab went up to the sky-light.

040 sipaîeteku tua kinsa ni Tjukutjuku ti ÷ai÷ail;

si-pa-îe-teku tua in=kesa ni Tjukutjuku ti ÷ai-÷ail

if-cause-go.to-down obl perf=food by (name) f.h red-monkey

kemakan anga ti ÷ai÷ail.

em=ka-kan anga ti ÷ai-÷ail

af=red-eat indeed f.h red-monkey

Tjukutjuku set some food before the monkey, and the monkey was eating it.

041 tjanian a paka vangaw tua qalitsi pasa tua kinsa.

tjani-an a pa-maka vangaw tua qalitsi pa-sa tua in=kesa

fall-lf c cause-via sky.light obl penis cause-go obl perf=food

Through the sky-light was the way the crab dropped the penis into the food.

042 “iyaa, niaken a qalitsi tsu,” aya ti ÷ai÷ail, sa suîuîu-i, sa

iya ni-aken a qalitsi tsu aya ti ÷ai-÷ail sa su-îuîu-i sa

ah of-I c penis this say f.h red-monkey and remove-gather-pf and

vaikan a tjumaq.

vaik-an a tju-umaq

leave-lf c there-house

“Ugh! This is my penis,” said the monkey, and picked it out, and took it home.

043 “aku azua su sualapen a ku qalitsi?”

aku a-zua su su-alap-en a ku qalitsi

why c-that you(s) remove-take-pf c my penis

“Why did you remove my penis?”

044 “nataqed aken sakamaya,” aya ti gagang a kitevela.

na-taqed aken sakamaya aya ti gagang a ki-tevela

past-sleep f.I only say f.h crab c self-answer

“I was asleep all the time,” said the crab to excuse himself.

045 sa amin anga a kai.

sa amin anga a kai

and no.more indeed c speech That’s the end of the story.

There were a monkey and a crab. “Come on, let’s collect loquat fruit,” they said; and the two of them went off. They got to the tree, and the crab was going to try to climb up. But he couldn’t; he just slipped down. So it was the monkey who climbed up. When the monkey had picked any loquats, the crab shook the cloth container, and ripe ones fell out, and the crab picked them up. “Friend, why are there so few left of what I’ve picked? Perhaps you have torn the cloth.”

“What are you saying, friend? Look at your cloth, to see whether there is a tear or anything.” When he looked, there was no tear. “Well, friend, I just picked them up,” said the crab. “Let’s go home.”

Next day they went to get miscanthus grass for torches. “Well, friend, let’s try burning one another.”

“Well I’ll go first,” (said the crab), and the monkey set fire (to the grass). “What do you think of my fire, friend?”

“It’s nothing to a tough male like me. I’m still here. Now it’s your turn, friend monkey.” The monkey went up a tree, and the crab set fire to it (*or* the grass). “What do you think of my fire, friend?”

“It’s nothing to a tough male like me. I’m still here.” Then the fire went out. The monkey couldn’t be heard any more. “I’ll go and look for my friend,” said the crab. He found him, and he was dead. “What am I to do to bring my friend back to life?” He cut him open, took out his heart, and dried it. “How will my friend come back to life?” he said. Then he came back to life. “Here, friend, is what I won off the Tjuvaîuîukay people,” he said; and they ate it. And they said: “Come on, let’s go home.”

It got dark. “Come on, friend, let’s go courting.” “I’m not going courting, friend,” said the crab. But the crab followed, and went along underneath the bed-space. He pinched off the monkey’s penis, and went off with it. The crab went up to the sky-light. Tjukutjuku set some food before the monkey, and the monkey was eating it. Through the sky-light was the way the crab dropped the penis into the food. “Ugh! This is my penis,” said the monkey, and picked it out, and took it home. “Why did you remove my penis?”

“I was asleep all the time,” said the crab to excuse himself. That’s the end of the story.

#### 043 PUïAïUïAïUYAN AND TJUKUTJUKU ti Puîaîuîaîuyan kati Tjukutjuku (Kuîaîau village, p.227)

001 izua ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a se ïinasalas; saka izua ti

i-zua ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a se ïinasalas sa-ka i-zua ti

loc-that f.h (name) c person.of (place) and-after loc-that f.h

Tjukutjuku a se Makalaulauz.

Tjukutjuku a se Makalaulauz

(name) c person.of (place)

There was a person called Puîaîuîaîuyan of ïinasalas, and also Tjukutjuku of Makalaulauz.

002 “ari, qaîupi,” aya tua sikataqaîan; sa vaik a sema qemaîup.

ari qaîup-i aya tua si-ka-ta-qaîa-an sa vaik a em=sa em=qaîup

go.on hunt-hort say obl if-main-?-outsider-nom and leave c af=go af=hunt

“Come on, let’s go hunting,” said (Puîaîuîaîuyan) to his fellow-villagers; and they went hunting.

003 manu izua kasiw a qatsaqatsa.

manu i-zua kasiw a qatsa-qatsa

then loc-that tree c red-big Now there was a tall tree,

004 manu îevavaw ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.

manu îe-va-vaw ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

then go.to-red-above f.h (name) and Puîaîuîaîuyan climbed up it.

005 manu îengîengen ti Tjukutjuku, a pasa Makalaulauz.

manu îeng-îeng-en ti Tjukutjuku a pa-sa Makalaulauz

then red-look.at-pf f.h (name) c cause-go (place)

He saw Tjukutjuku over in Makalaulauz,

006 manu tjenglay ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.

manu tjenglay ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

then like f.h (name) and fell in love with her.

007 “ku kudavaw tsu,” aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan; sa sikivuîu tua quvaî tu

ku kuda-aw tsu aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan sa si-ki-vuîu tua quvaî tu

I do.what-lf this say f.h (name) and if-self-pluck obl hair obl

talayan.

ta-alay-an

one-thread-nom

“What shall I do about this?” said Puîaîuîaîuyan, and pulled out one of his hairs.

[kudavaw: kuda + -aw with intrusive v.]

[sikivuîu: F has veîu not vuîu.]

008 manu sipavali, sa djaîun tjai Tjukutjuku.

manu si-pa-vali sa djaîun tja-i Tjukutjuku

then if-cause-wind and arrive more-loc (name)

It was carried by the wind all the way to Tjukutjuku,

009 manu sema tapuîu.

manu em=sa tapuîu

then af=go lap and went into her lap.

010 sa kavunglay ti Tjukutjuku.

sa ka-vungelay ti Tjukutjuku

and become-pregnant f.h (name) Tjukutjuku became pregnant.

011 makalimaî a vunglanglay; puaîak tu uqaîay tu ti Kuîeîuîeîu.

maka-lima-î a lang=vungelay pu-aîak tu uqaîay tu ti Kuîeîuîeîu

num-five-times c red=pregnant have-child obl male obl f.h (name)

She was pregnant for five days, and bore a son called Kuîeîuîeîu.

012 “aku a puaîak a paqeteleng a neka nu tsekeî?

aku a pu-aîak a pa-qeteleng a neka nu tsekeî

why c have-child c cause-randomly c no of spouse

“Why has she had a child on the side without being married?

013 kaîavaru a temaqaîan tuki tima a navenunglay.”

ka-îavar-u a ta-ma-qaîa-an tu-ki ti-ima a na-en=vungelay

main-speak-imp c ?-stat-outsider-nom compl-how f-who c past-af=pregnant

All the village must find out who made her pregnant.”

014 manu neka.

manu neka

then no But noone was found.

015 “keîu,” ayain ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a se ïinasalas.

keî-u aya-en ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a se ïinasalas

come-imp say-pf f.h (name) c person.of (place)

Then Puîaîuîaîuyan of ïinasalas was asked to come.

016 manu mangtjez ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.

manu m-pangetjez ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

then af-come f.h (name) So he came.

017 “pai, îa kina, avan tsu a ku kama.”

pai îa kina avan tsu a ku kama

well really mother exact this c my father

(The child said:) “Now, mother, this is my father.”

018 saka “iya, manu avan tsu a kama,” aya a temaqaîan.

sa-ka iya manu avan tsu a kama aya a ta-ma-qaîa-an

and-after ah then exact this c father say c ?-stat-outsider-nom

So all the village said: “Well, so this is the father!”

019 sa pavay anga sakamaya tua sinilisi, sa pareputsekeî

sa pa-vay anga sakamaya tua in=si-lisi sa pare-pu-tsekeî

and cause-give indeed only obl perf=if-bride.price and pair-have-spouse

anga sakamaya.

anga sakamaya

indeed only So he gave the bride-price, and they finished by getting married.

020 saka amin a kai.

sa-ka amin a kai

and-after no.more c speech That’s the end of the story.

There was a person called Puîaîuîaîuyan of ïinasalas, and also Tjukutjuku of Makalaulauz. “Come on, let’s go hunting,” said (Puîaîuîaîuyan) to his fellow-villagers; and they went hunting. Now there was a tall tree, and Puîaîuîaîuyan climbed up it. He saw Tjukutjuku over in Makalaulauz, and fell in love with her. “What shall I do about this?” said Puîaîuîaîuyan, and pulled out one of his hairs. It was carried by the wind all the way to Tjukutjuku, and went into her lap. Tjukutjuku became pregnant. She was pregnant for five days, and bore a son called Kuîeîuîeîu. “Why has she had a child on the side without being married? All the village must find out who made her pregnant.” But noone was found.

Then Puîaîuîaîuyan of ïinasalas was asked to come. So he came. (The child said:) “Now, mother, this is my father.” So all the village said: “Well, so this is the father!” So he gave the bride-price, and they finished by getting married. That’s the end of the story.

#### 044 PUïAïUïAïUYAN AND THE HAWK ti Puîaîuîaîuyan katua qa÷is (Kuîaîau village, p.228)

001 izua ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a Vavuluvulungan.

i-zua ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a Vavuluvulungan

loc-that f.h (name) c (name)

There was Puîaîuîaîuyan Vavuluvulungan.

002 izua ti Tjukutjuku a Ka÷angiangian i qinaîan a mamaw.

i-zua ti Tjukutjuku a Ka÷angiangian i in=qaîa-an a ma-amaw

loc-that f.h (name) c (name) loc perf=outsider-nom c stat-same

There was Tjukutjuku Ka÷angiangian in the same village.

003 izua kuku ni Puîaîuîaîuyan a qa÷is.

i-zua kuku ni Puîaîuîaîuyan a qa÷is

loc-that pet of (name) c hawk Puîaîuîaîuyan had a pet hawk.

004 nu kisudju ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a sema Ka÷angiangian, avanu

nu ki-sudju ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a em=sa Ka÷angiangian avan nu

when do-sweetheart f.h (name) c af=go (name) exact when

qaqivuin azua qa÷is.

qa-qivu-en a-zua qa÷is

red-speak-pf c-that hawk

When Puîaîuîaîuyan went courting to the Ka÷angiangian house, he called the hawk to go along.

005 manu izua quma itjua Djaîalu.

manu i-zua quma i-tjua Djaîalu

then loc-that field loc-there (place) On the way there was a field at Djaîalu.

006 manu vaik tia Puîaîuîaîuyan katua qa÷is.

manu vaik ti-a Puîaîuîaîuyan ka-tua qa÷is

then leave f.h-pl (name) and-obl hawk

Puîaîuîaîuyan and the hawk went off.

007 manu rinaung nua qaîa a se ïinasalas.

manu in=raung nua qaîa a se ïinasalas

then perf=trap by outsider c person.of (place)

Enemies from ïinasalas lay in ambush.

008 manu kemîang a qa÷is tu izua qaîa.

manu m=keîang a qa÷is tu i-zua qaîa

then af=know c hawk compl loc-that outsider

The hawk knew there were enemies there.

009 “ari tsikeli, Puîaîuîaîuyan; imaza qaîa.”

ari tsikel-i Puîaîuîaîuyan i-maza qaîa

go.on return-hort (name) loc-here outsider

“Come on, let’s go back, Puîaîuîaîuyan; there are enemies here.”

010 “pumaya,” aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.

pu-ma-aya aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

have-stat-be.thus say f.h (name) “Never mind,” said Puîaîaîuîuyan.

011 manu djemaîun tua quma, sa kuangi nua qaîa ti Puîaîuîaîuyan;

manu em=djaîun tua quma sa kuang-i nua qaîa ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

then af=arrive obl field and firearm-pf by outsider f.h (name)

manu matsay.

manu m-patsay

then af-die

They reached the field, and Puîaîuîaîuyan was shot by the enemies, and died.

012 “‘ai anga ti kaka i Puîaîuîaîuyan,” aya a kuku a qa÷is.

ai anga ti kaka i Puîaîuîaîuyan aya a kuku a qa÷is

oh indeed f.h sibling which (name) say c pet c hawk

“Oh poor brother Puîaîuîaîuyan!” said the pet hawk.

013 “ku kudavaw ti kaka a papevaîut?”

ku kuda-aw ti kaka a pa-pe-vaîut

I do.what-lf f.h sibling c cause-emerge-alive

“What can I do to bring my brother back to life?”

014 manu mevaîut.

manu me-vaîut

then af-alive Well he came back to life.

015 mangtjez a qiyayaw.

m-pangetjez a ya=qiyaw

af-come c red=assist People came to the rescue.

016 “anema nu qaqiyaven?” aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.

a-nema nu qa-qiyaw-en aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

?-what you(p) red-assist-pf say f.h (name)

“What’s all the fuss about?” said Puîaîuîaîuyan.

017 “matsay anga, aya men tjanusun.”

m-patsay anga aya amen tjanu-sun

af-die indeed say f.we(exc) obl-you(s) “We thought you were dead.”

018 “ki izua za matsay? îa uqaîay.

ki i-zua zua m-patsay îa uqaîay

how loc-that that af-die really male “Dead indeed, a tough male like me!

019 ari sakamaya, saumaqi.”

ari sakamaya sa-umaq-i

go.on only go-house-hort Come on, let’s just go home.”

020 mangtjez i umaq.

m-pangetjez i umaq

af-come loc house When he got home,

021 qemauqaung a kina.

em=qau-qaung a kina

af=red-cry c mother his mother was crying.

022 “maya qemaung, kina; izuanan aken.

maya em=qaung kina i-zua-anan aken

don’t af=cry mother loc-that-still f.I “Don’t cry, mother, I’m still alive.

023 makuda îa uqaîay.”

ma-kuda îa uqaîay

stat-do.what really male It’s nothing to a male like me.”

024 amin a kai.

amin a kai

no.more c speech That’s the end of the story.

There was Puîaîuîaîuyan Vavuluvulungan. There was Tjukutjuku Ka÷angiangian in the same village. Puîaîuîaîuyan had a pet hawk. When Puîaîuîaîuyan went courting to the Ka÷angiangian house, he called the hawk to go along. On the way there was a field at Djaîalu. Puîaîuîaîuyan and the hawk went off. Enemies from ïinasalas lay in ambush. The hawk knew there were enemies there. “Come on, let’s go back, Puîaîuîaîuyan; there are enemies here.”

“Never mind,” said Puîaîaîuîuyan. They reached the field, and Puîaîuîaîuyan was shot by the enemies, and died. “Oh poor brother Puîaîuîaîuyan!” said the pet hawk. “What can I do to bring my brother back to life?” Well he came back to life. People came to the rescue.

“What’s all the fuss about?” said Puîaîuîaîuyan. “We thought you were dead.”

“Dead indeed, a tough male like me! Come on, let’s just go home.” When he got home, his mother was crying. “Don’t cry, mother, I’m still alive. It’s nothing to a male like me.” That’s the end of the story.

#### 045 A CANNIBAL keman tua tsautsau (Kuîaîau village, p.230)

001 izua se Pa÷ingulay a keman tua tsautsau, aya a tjautsikel.

i-zua se Pa÷ingulay a em=kan tua tsau-tsau aya a tjautsikel

loc-that person.of (place) c af=eat obl red-being say c story

It is said there was a person of Pa÷ingulay who ate people.

002 qayamen a djamuq na aîak.

qayam-en a djamuq nua aîak

inspect-pf c blood of child She/he tested the blood of children.

003 nu qadiadid, siverits.

nu adi=qadid si-verits

when red=bitter if-discard If it was bitter, he threw the child away.

004 nu qaîemqemqem, papeqatsain, sa tsuîu-i anga nu

nu aî=qem-qemqem pa-pe-qatsa-en sa tsuîu-i anga nu

when qal=red-sweet cause-emerge-big-pf and butcher-pf indeed when

meqatsa.

me-qatsa

af-big If it was sweet, he let the child grow up, and killed it when it was grown.

It is said there was a person of Pa÷ingulay who ate people. She/he tested the blood of chilren. If it was bitter, he threw the child away. If it was sweet, he let the child grow up, and killed it when it was grown.

#### 046 THE TABOO RIVER pana a palisi (Kuîaîau village, p.230)

001 naizua ti sa ªanga÷ang, navaik a sema pana sema

na-i-zua ti sa ªanga÷ang na-vaik a em=sa pana em=sa

past-loc-that f.h h (name) past-leave c af=go river af=go

Tjuruquîivangerangeraw.

Tjuruquîivangerangeraw

(place)

There was a person called ªanga÷ang. He went to the river to the Place of Many Rainbows.

[Tjuruquîivangerangeraw: tjuru-quîi-range=vangeraw : tjuru- short for tjuruvu F303, x F23.]

002 ka manu manadip a lepets a pinanadipan.

ka manu m-panadip a lepets a in=panadip-an

after then af-fish.with.hook c headcloth c perf=fish.with.hook-lf

When he fished with a hook, he caught a mourning head-cloth.

003 saka mumaî a manadip a kavakavanga.

sa-ka ma-uma-î a m-panadip a kava-kava-anga

and-after stat-other-times c af-fish.with.hook c red-clothing-indeed

The next time he caught a robe.

[kavakavanga: could be a single form ‘robe’.]

004 saka maîia manadip uta, saka tsautsau anga.

sa-ka ma-îia m-panadip uta sa-ka tsau-tsau anga

and-after stat-dawn af-fish.with.hook also and-after red-being indeed

Next day he fished again, and this time it was a person.

005 sa “nakuya tsu.

sa na-kuya tsu

and stat-bad this “This is no good.

006 kimaya siqazaî; kimaya ken a uri matsay.” aya, sa vaik

ki-ma-aya si-qazaî ki-ma-aya aken a uri m-patsay aya sa vaik

do-stat-be.thus if-dread do-stat-be.thus f.I c will af-die say and leave

anga sema umaq.

anga em=sa umaq

indeed af=go house

There’s something frightful about it. Perhaps I’m going to die,” he said, and went home.

007 ka mangtjez i umaq, “palisi anga izua.

ka m-pangetjez i umaq palisi anga i-zua

after af-come loc house taboo indeed loc-that

When he got home, the villagers said: “That’s taboo.

008 mayanga a sema zua penanadip, a umaq nua tsemas,” ayanga

maya-anga a em=sa zua en=panadip a umaq nua tsemas aya-anga

don’t-indeed c af=go that af=fish.with.hook c house of god say-indeed

tamaqaîan.

ta-ma-qaîa-an

?-stat-outsider-nom Don’t go there to fish; it’s the home of a god.”

009 saka ini anga ka sema zua; marekutj anga sakamaya.

sa-ka ini anga ka em=sa zua ma-rekutj anga sakamaya

and-after not indeed after af=go that stat-fear indeed only

So he didn’t go there any more; he was too frightened.

010 naizua ti Qeîung kati sa Pangil a sema zua semenasenay a

na-i-zua ti Qeîung ka-ti sa Pangil a em=sa zua em=sena-senay a

past-loc-that f.h (name) and-f.h h (name) c af=go that af=red-chant c

maresudjusudju.

mare-sudju-sudju

pair-red-sweetheart

There were Qeîung and Pangil who went there singing and courting.

011 matsay ti sa Qeîung, ka mangtjez i umaq.

m-patsay ti sa Qeîung ka m-pangetjez i umaq

af-die f.h h (name) after af-come loc house

Qeîung died when he got home.

012 sa nekanga nu îiadet a sema zua.

sa neka-anga nu îia-det a em=sa zua

and no-indeed of be.in-near c af=go that So noone else went near there.

[îiadet: F69 has îia-dut under dut, and F142 has îi-a-dut under îi-a.]

013 amin a kai.

amin a kai

no.more c speech That’s the end.

There was a person called ªanga÷ang. He went to the river to the Place of Many Rainbows. When he fished with a hook, he caught a mourning head-cloth. The next time he caught a robe. Next day he fished again, and this time it was a person. “This is no good. There’s something frightful about it. Perhaps I’m going to die,” he said, and went home.

When he got home, the villagers said: “That’s taboo. Don’t go there to fish; it’s the home of a god.” So he didn’t go there any more; he was too frightened. There were Qeîung and Pangil who went there singing and courting. Qeîung died when he got home. So noone else went near there. That’s the end.

#### 047 KUïEïUïEïU ti Kuîeîuîeîu (Kuîaîau village, p.231)

001 naizua tia sa Puîaîuîaîuyan kati sa Suîupîupan, a puaîak

na-i-zua ti-a sa Puîaîuîaîuyan ka-ti sa Suîupîupan a pu-aîak

past-loc-that f.h-pl h (name) and-f.h h (name) c have-child

tua aîak a ma÷usa.

tua aîak a ma-÷usa

obl child c num-two

Once upon a time Puîaîuîaîuyan and Suîupîupan had two children.

002 “ka iumaqan su kaka.

ka i-umaq-an su kaka

after loc-house-lf your(s) sibling “Stay at home with your sibling.

003 vaik anan amen a sema vavua.

vaik anan amen a em=sa va-vua

leave still f.we(exc) c af=go red-field We are just going to the fields.

004 kiman anga tua tja vaqu sa tsugtsugan anga,” ayain ti

kim-an anga tua tja vaqu sa tsugtsug-an anga aya-en ti

search-lf indeed obl our(inc) millet and bump-lf indeed say-pf f.h

Kuîeîuîeîu.

Kuîeîuîeîu

(name) Find some of our millet and pound it,” they said to Kuîeîuîeîu.

005 saka vaik a kina katua kama a sema vavua.

sa-ka vaik a kina ka-tua kama a em=sa va-vua

and-after leave c mother and-obl father c af=go red-field

So mother and father went off to the fields.

006 sitsugtsug a kaka tua djeîep.

si-tsugtsug a kaka tua djeîep

if-bump c sibling obl wall He hit his sibling against a stone wall.

007 azua “tsugtsugan anga,” aya tia kina.

a-zua tsugtsug-an anga aya ti-a kina

c-that bump-lf indeed say f.h-pl mother

That was because his mother had said “Pound it”.

[tia: marked for plural, suggesting that kina is shorthand here for mother and father.]

008 sa patsay azua kaka.

sa patsay a-zua kaka

and die c-that sibling So the sibling died.

009 sa pangtjez a kama katua kina.

sa pangetjez a kama ka-tua kina

and come c father and-obl mother Father and mother came.

010 “ainu anga su kaka?”

a-inu anga su kaka

?-where indeed your(s) sibling “Where is your sibling?”

011 “uzay namatsay anga.

uzay na-m-patsay anga

there past-af-die indeed “There, dead.

012 ‘tsugtsugan anga,’ nu aya mun, avan a ku sitsugtsug.”

tsugtsug-an anga nu aya mun avan a ku si-tsugtsug

bump-lf indeed when say f.you(p) exact c I if-bump

You said ‘Pound it’; that’s why I pounded her/him.”

013 “aku a su sitsugtsug?

aku a su si-tsugtsug

why c you(s) if-bump “Why did you pound her/him?

014 avan a vaqu a ku siaya tu su sitsugtsug.”

avan a vaqu a ku si-aya tu su si-tsugtsug

exact c millet c I if-say compl you(s) if-bump

It was the millet I meant you to pound.”

015 sa kaîia, vaik azua kina katua kama.

sa ka-îia vaik a-zua kina ka-tua kama

and past-dawn leave c-that mother and-obl father

Next day mother and father went off.

016 “laîa-an anga tja ÷i÷i,” ayain ti Kuîeîuîeîu.

laîa-an anga tja ÷i÷i aya-en ti Kuîeîuîeîu

heat-lf indeed our(inc) pig say-pf f.h (name)

“Boil some water for the pig,” they said to Kuîeîuîeîu;

017 sa vaik azua kama katua kina.

sa vaik a-zua kama ka-tua kina

and leave c-that father and-obl mother and father and mother went off.

018 sa pulaîa zua uta.

sa pu-laîa zua uta

and have-heat that also He put some water on to boil.

019 ka makalaîa, djekepen a ÷i÷i sa pasa pariuki, sa patsay azua

ka maka-laîa djekep-en a ÷i÷i sa pa-sa pariuk-i sa patsay a-zua

after finished-heat catch-pf c pig and cause-go wok-pf and die c-that

÷i÷i.

÷i÷i

pig When it had boiled, he caught the pig and put it in the wok, and the pig died.

020 sa pangtjez a kina katua kama kasi vavua.

sa pangetjez a kina ka-tua kama kasi va-vua

and come c mother and-obl father from red-field

Mother and father came back from the fields.

021 “ainu anga tja ÷i÷i?”

a-inu anga tja ÷i÷i

?-where indeed our(inc) pig “Where is our pig?”

022 “azua ‘laîa-an anga,’ aya mun; saka uzay namatsay anga.”

a-zua laîa-an anga aya mun sa-ka uzay na-m-patsay anga

c-that heat-lf indeed say f.you(p) and-after there past-af-die indeed

“You said ‘Boil some water for it’; and there it is dead.”

023 “azua ‘laîa-an anga,’ aya men, ala avan a su sipakanan, nia

a-zua laîa-an anga aya amen ala avan a su si-pa-kan-an nia

c-that heat-lf indeed say f.we(exc) but exact c you(s) if-cause-eat-lf we(exc)

siaya; saka nakuya tsu,” aya.

si-aya sa-ka na-kuya tsu aya

if-say and-after stat-bad this say

“When we said ‘Boil some water for it’, we meant it for you to feed it. This is no good,” they said.

024 sa djauîan tua pulingaw.

sa djauî-an tua pu-lingaw

and call-lf obl have-know So they called the shaman.

025 sa “tja kapalisi, sa djekepu a tja ÷i÷i,” ayain nua kama.

sa tja ka-palisi sa djekep-u a tja ÷i÷i aya-en nua kama

and we(inc) become-taboo and catch-imp c our(inc) pig say-pf by father

“We’ll perform a ceremony; you catch our pig,” said his father.

026 manu avan a kama djekepen.

manu avan a kama djekep-en

then exact c father catch-pf But it was his father he caught hold of.

027 “nakuya maitazua.

na-kuya ma-aya-ta-zua

stat-bad stat-be.thus-?-that “That’s no good.

028 avan a ÷i÷i a ku siaya.

avan a ÷i÷i a ku si-aya

exact c pig c I if-say I meant the pig.

029 ini; nakuya tsu.

ini na-kuya tsu

not stat-bad this No, that’s no good.

030 kapalisi a kirimu.

ka-palisi a ki-rimu

become-taboo c do-quick Let’s perform the ceremony quickly.

031 tja sukulungay, tja sulutjukay.”

tja su-kulung-ay tja su-lutjuk-ay

we(inc) remove-awkward-lf we(inc) remove-bad-lf

Let’s get rid of his stupidity and evil.”

032 sa djekepi a kama katua pulingaw, sa patsay anga sakamaya

sa djekep-i a kama ka-tua pu-lingaw sa patsay anga sakamaya

and catch-pf c father and-obl have-know and die indeed only

izua.

i-zua

loc-that

But he caught hold of his father and the shaman, and they died there and then.

033 saka amin.

sa-ka amin

and-after no.more The end.

Once upon a time Puîaîuîaîuyan and Suîupîupan had two children. “Stay at home with your sibling. We are just going to the fields. Find some of our millet and pound it,” they said to Kuîeîuîeîu. So mother and father went off to the fields. He hit his sibling against a stone wall. That was because his mother had said “Pound it”. So the sibling died. Father and mother came. “Where is your sibling?”

“There, dead. You said ‘Pound it’; that’s why I pounded her/him.”

“Why did you pound her/him? It was the millet I meant you to pound.” Next day mother and father went off. “Boil some water for the pig,” they said to Kuîeîuîeîu; and father and mother went off. He put some water on to boil. When it had boiled, he caught the pig and put it in the wok, and the pig died. Mother and father came back from the fields. “Where is our pig?”

“You said ‘Boil some water for it’; and there it is dead.”

“When we said ‘Boil some water for it’, we meant it for you to feed it. This is no good,” they said. So they called the shaman. “We’ll perform a ceremony; you catch our pig,” said his father. But it was his father he caught hold of. “That’s no good. I meant the pig. No, that’s no good. Let’s perform the ceremony quickly. Let’s get rid of his stupidity and evil.” But he caught hold of his father and the shaman, and they died there and then. The end.

#### 048 A TWO-HEADED MONSTER ÷akasi (Kuîaîau village, p.234)

001 izua tia Muakakai kati Tjukutjuku.

i-zua ti-a Muakakai ka-ti Tjukutjuku

loc-that f.h-pl (name) and-f.h (name)

There were two people called Muakakai and Tjukutjuku.

002 “ari, kivasa-i,” aya sa vaik a tjaîu vavua.

ari ki-vasa-i aya sa vaik a tjaîu va-vua

go.on do-taro-hort say and leave c reach red-field

“Come on, let’s collect taro,” they said, and went to the fields.

003 izua ÷akasi, mau÷usa a qulu.

i-zua ÷akasi mau-÷usa a qulu

loc-that monster num-two c head There was a monster with two heads.

004 “÷aakasi ÷aakasi, kisamuîa-u, îa ma÷usa.

÷aakasi ÷aakasi ki-samuîa-u îa ma-÷usa

? ? do-urgent-imp class num-two

“*ªaakasi ÷aakasi*, work hard you two.

005 uri matsay mun maqezemetj.

uri m-patsay mun ma-qezemetj

will af-die f.you(p) stat-night You will die tonight.

006 ÷aakasi ÷aakasi, kivasa-u a kirimu.

÷aakasi ÷aakasi ki-vasa-u a ki-rimu

? ? do-taro-imp c do-quick Collect the taro quickly.

007 uri matsay mun maqezemetj.”

uri m-patsay mun ma-qezemetj

will af-die f.you(p) stat-night You will die tonight.”

008 sa vaik a sema umaq.

sa vaik a em=sa umaq

and leave c af=go house So they went home.

009 manu maka qezung a matsidiî, maka paîing a matsidiî.

manu maka qezung a ma-tsidiî maka paîing a ma-tsidiî

then via window c num-alone via doorway c num-alone

One went through the window and one through the doorway.

010 maqaquîis i tala namatsay.

ma-qa-quîis i tala na-m-patsay

stat-red-turn loc bedspace past-af-die

(They bumped their heads together. (OA)) They lay dead, head to foot, in the space between the bed platforms.

011 amin a kai.

amin a kai

no.more c speech That’s the end.

There were two people called Muakakai and Tjukutjuku. “Come on, let’s collect taro,” they said, and went to the fields. There was a monster with two heads. “*ªaakasi ÷aakasi*, work hard you two. You will die tonight. Collect the taro quickly. You will die tonight.” So they went home. One went through the window and one through the doorway. (They bumped their heads together. (OA)) They lay dead, head to foot, in the space between the bed platforms. That’s the end.

#### 049 ORIGIN OF THE FIVE YEAR FESTIVAL maîeveq (Kuîaîau village, p.234)

001 naizua ti sa Rungiîingan a natsemukatsukar.

na-i-zua ti sa Rungiîingan a na-em=tsuka-tsukar

past-loc-that f.h h (name) c past-af=red-dry.clothes

There was (in heaven (OA)) a person called Rungiîingan who had been drying some clothes.

002 matjani a îeteku a sema Lingutjaî.

ma-tjani a îe-teku a em=sa Lingutjaî

stat-fall c go.to-down c af=go (place) He fell down to the Lingutjaî house,

003 sa djumaken ni sa ïemud.

sa djumak-en ni sa ïemud

and find-pf by h (name) and was found by ïemud.

004 “kemasinu sun?”

em=kasi-inu sun

af=from-where f.you(s) “Where are you from?”

005 “kemasi tjarivavaw aken.

em=kasi tjari-va-vaw aken

af=from utmost-red-above f.I “I’m from heaven.

006 pai petsunguan aken, uîa ken a kiayan tua tsevuî a sema

pai petsungu-an aken uîa aken a ki-aya-an tua tsevuî a em=sa

well make.fire-lf f.I so.that f.I c do-be.thus-lf obl smoke c af=go

tjarivavaw.”

tjari-va-vaw

utmost-red-above Light a fire for me, so that I can go up to heaven with the smoke.”

[kiayan: whole form glossed as ‘follow after’ in F61]

007 sa petsungu anga.

sa petsungu anga

and make.fire indeed He lit a fire.

008 “nu sika lima sa kiayan anga tua tsevuî, uri seman

nu sika lima sa ki-aya-an anga tua tsevuî uri em=sane

when number five and do-be.thus-lf indeed obl smoke will af=make

pulingaw amen.

pu-lingaw amen

have-know f.we(exc)

“On the fifth day, come up with the smoke; we will make (you) a shaman.

009 nu sika lima sa nu mangtjez sun i tjarivavaw,

nu sika lima sa nu m-pangetjez sun i tjari-va-vaw

when number five and when af-come f.you(s) loc utmost-red-above

tjukatsasavanu anga; sa kilangdangda-i anga nu

tju-ka-tsasaw-an-u anga sa ki-angeda=langeda-i anga nu

there-main-outside-nom-imp indeed and do-red=hear-pf indeed when

malada men.

ma-lada amen

stat-ritual f.we(exc)

On the fifth day when you come to heaven, stay in the courtyard, and listen while we perform the rite.

010 nu talangtangtang, sa tjiîivaru anga, nu uri nemingats anga

nu al=tang-tangtang sa tjiîivar-u anga nu uri em=ningats anga

when qal=red-dawn go granary-imp indeed when will af=recite indeed

men.”

amen

f.we(exc)

When it’s getting light, go in the indoor granary, when we are beginning to recite(?).

011 saka i tjiîivar anga ti sa ïemud, a patsutsun tua kisan

sa-ka i tjiîivar anga ti sa ïemud a pa-tsu-tsun tua ki-sane

and-after loc granary indeed f.h h (name) c cause-red-see obl do-make

pulingalingaw.

pu-linga-lingaw

have-red-know

So ïemud was in the granary watching the rite of making a shaman.

012 ka maîia, “ki ken a vaik anan,” aya ti sa ïemud.

ka ma-îia ki aken a vaik anan aya ti sa ïemud

after stat-dawn will f.I c leave still say f.h h (name)

Next day ïemud said: “I’ll be off now.”

013 “anema a nu vusam, anema nu tjaîayan?”

a-nema a nu vusam a-nema nu tjaîayan

?-what c your(p) seed ?-what your(p) big.seeds

“What small and bigger seeds do you have?”

014 “qali÷u÷u, vala.”

qali÷u÷u vala

taro.sp taro.sp “We have *qali÷u÷u* and *vala* taro.”

015 “katsu tusa vusam, a tjelu a vusaman, a vuluvulung, a tjamekuî, a

katsu tu-tsa vusam a tjelu a vusam-an a vulu-vulung a tjamekuî a

carry obl-this seed c three c seed-nom c red-millet.sp c millet.sp c

îailiman.

îailiman

millet.sp

“Take these small seeds of three kinds: *vuluvulung*, *tjamekuî* and *îailiman* millet.

[îailiman: lailiman in F.]

016 ari sa-u tjua Qutsuîi.

ari sa-u tjua Qutsuîi

go.on go-imp there (place) Off you go to Qutsuîi.

017 katsu tua ÷i÷i a vulivuliqan.”

katsu tua ÷i÷i a vuli-vuliq-an

carry obl pig c red-striped-nom Take a dappled pig.”

018 “maîevîeveq amen,” ayain ni sa Rungiîingan.

ma-îev-îeveq amen aya-en ni sa Rungiîingan

stat-red-festival.type f.we(exc) say-pf by h (name)

“We are celebrating the five year festival,” added Rungiîingan;

019 “alau pai kaîevequ anga, sa tsektseku anga tua kasiw.”

ala-u pai ka-îeveq-u anga sa tsektsek-u anga tua kasiw

but-imp well become-festival.type-imp indeed and stake-imp indeed obl tree

“so you too celebrate it, and stick wooden stakes in the ground.”

020 sa vaik anga ti sa ïemud a sema tjariteku.

sa vaik anga ti sa ïemud a em=sa tjari-teku

and leave indeed f.h h (name) c af=go utmost-down

ïemud went back to the world below.

021 mangtjez ti sa ïemud.

m-pangetjez ti sa ïemud

af-come f.h h (name) He arrived;

022 tsemektsek tua kasiw; mangtjez i Livulivuan.

em=tsektsek tua kasiw m-pangetjez i Livulivuan

af=stake obl tree af-come loc (place)

he stuck stakes in. He got to Livulivuan,

023 sa vaik a sema Rusivavan uta tsemektsek.

sa vaik a em=sa Rusivavan uta em=tsektsek

and leave c af=go (place) also af=stake

and went to Rusivavan sticking in stakes.

024 saka “nakuya tsu a neka nu pulingaw,” aya.

sa-ka na-kuya tsu a neka nu pu-lingaw aya

and-after stat-bad this c no of have-know say

“It’s bad there are no shamans,” he (*or* they) said;

025 sa kisan pulingaw a marekakakaka a maîe lima, a siruvetjek ni

sa ki-sane pu-lingaw a mare-kaka-kaka a maîe lima a si-ru-vetjek ni

and do-make have-know c pair-red-sibling c num five c if-many-sibling of

sa ïemud.

sa ïemud

h (name) and five siblings, ïemud’s siblings, became shamans.

026 sa tulu-i tuazua kinitulu a kasi tjarivavaw; sa

sa tulu-i tua-zua in=ki-tulu a kasi tjari-va-vaw sa

and teach-pf obl-that perf=do-teach c from utmost-red-above and

patagiî anga uta maîeveq a i tjariteku.

pa-tagiî anga uta ma-îeveq a i tjari-teku

cause-originate indeed also stat-festival.type c loc utmost-down

And he taught them what he had learnt from heaven; and they began to celebrate the festival in the world below too.

027 saka izua.

sa-ka i-zua

and-after loc-that And it goes on.

028 saka amin.

sa-ka amin

and-after no.more The end.

There was (in heaven (OA)) a person called Rungiîingan who had been drying some clothes. He fell down to the Lingutjaî house, and was found by ïemud. “Where are you from?”

“I’m from heaven. Light a fire for me, so that I can go up to heaven with the smoke.” He lit a fire. “On the fifth day, come up with the smoke; we will make (you) a shaman. On the fifth day when you come to heaven, stay in the courtyard, and listen while we perform the rite. When it’s getting light, go in the indoor granary, when we are beginning to recite(?).”

So ïemud was in the granary watching the rite of making a shaman. Next day ïemud said: “I’ll be off now.”

“What small and bigger seeds do you have?”

“We have *qali÷u÷u* and *vala* taro.”

“Take these small seeds of three kinds: *vuluvulung*, *tjamekuî* and *îailiman* millet. Off you go to Qutsuîi. Take a dappled pig.”

“We are celebrating the five year festival,” added Rungiîingan; “so you too celebrate it, and stick wooden stakes in the ground.” ïemud went back to the world below. He arrived; he stuck stakes in. He got to Livulivuan, and went to Rusivavan sticking in stakes. “It’s bad there are no shamans,” he (*or* they) said; and five siblings, ïemud’s siblings, became shamans. And he taught them what he had learnt from heaven; and they began to celebrate the festival in the world below too. And it goes on. The end.

#### 050 THE PENIS WHICH BECAME A MAN qalitsi a metsautsau (Kuîaîau village, p.236)

001 naizua tia Kuîeîuîeîu katua sedjeî a qalitsi.

na-i-zua ti-a Kuîeîuîeîu ka-tua sedjeî a qalitsi

past-loc-that f.h-pl (name) and-obl only c penis

There were Kuîeîuîeîu and just a penis.

002 pinatsayan anga nua kina katua kama.

in=patsay-an anga nua kina ka-tua kama

perf=die-lf indeed by mother and-obl father

They had been left orphans by their parents.

003 sa vaik a kisudju a sema Pakuvadavaday ti Kuîeîuîeîu, sa

sa vaik a ki-sudju a em=sa Pakuvadavaday ti Kuîeîuîeîu sa

and leave c do-sweetheart c af=go (place) f.h (name) and

katsu-i azua a kisudju azua qalitsi a pinituvung.

katsu-i a-zua a ki-sudju a-zua qalitsi a in=pi-tuvung

carry-pf c-that c do-sweetheart c-that penis c perf=put-container

Kuîeîuîeîu went courting to Pakuvadavaday, and took along the penis in a container to go courting.

004 saka nu semenay, a kiseîang azua qalitsi.

sa-ka nu em=senay a ki-seîang a-zua qalitsi

and-after when af=chant c do-equal c-that penis

When they sang, the penis sang along too.

005 saka maîia, sa vaik a sema tjatjan azua maresudjusudju a

sa-ka ma-îia sa vaik a em=sa tjatjan a-zua mare-sudju-sudju a

and-after stat-dawn and leave c af=go spring c-that pair-red-sweetheart c

tia Kuîeîuîeîu katia Muakakai katia Tjukutjuku.

ti-a Kuîeîuîeîu ka-ti-a Muakakai ka-ti-a Tjukutjuku

f.h-pl (name) and-f.h-pl (name) and-f.h-pl (name)

Next day the boy- and girl-friends went to the spring- Kuîeîuîeîu and Muakakai and Tjukutjuku.

006 ti Muakakai a sangasangasan, saka ti Tjukutjuku, saka ti

ti Muakakai a sanga-sangas-an sa-ka ti Tjukutjuku sa-ka ti

f.h (name) c red-first-nom and-after f.h (name) and-after f.h

Qalitsi, saka ti Kuîeîuîeîu a viliviliîan.

Qalitsi sa-ka ti Kuîeîuîeîu a vili-viliî-an

penis and-after f.h (name) c red-behind-nom

Muakakai was first, then Tjukutjuku, then Penis, and Kuîeîuîeîu last.

007 mangtjez i tjatjan; temalaw a mapuîat.

m-pangetjez i tjatjan em=talaw a ma-puîat

af-come loc spring af=hold.liquid c num-all

They got to the spring, and all dipped out water.

008 ka kiramata, patsual azua qalitsi, tjaluktjuk a pasa puzaîuman.

ka ki-ramata pa-tsual a-zua qalitsi al=tjuktjuk a pa-sa pu-zaîum-an

after self-wash cause-copy c-that penis qal=beak c cause-go have-water-nom

When they washed themselves, the penis copied the others and made a dripping noise(?) into the water.

[puzaîuman: F358 ‘water-source, vessel’.]

009 madudu ti Tjukutjuku; veseqitjen tua kasiw, sa sivuîuq malipat

ma-dudu ti Tjukutjuku veseqitj-en tua kasiw sa si-vuîuq ma-lipat

stat-angry f.h (name) flog-pf obl tree and if-throw stat-disappear

i lauz.

i lauz

loc down

Tjukutjuku was angry and hit it with a piece of wood, and threw it out of sight downhill.

010 “adadadadadada,” aya ti Qalitsi.

adadadadadada aya ti Qalitsi

ow say f.h penis “Ow ow ow,” said Penis.

011 “ari saumaqi anga,” aya.

ari sa-umaq-i anga aya

go.on go-house-hort indeed say “Come on, let’s go home,” they said.

012 ti Muakakai a sangasangasan, saka ti Tjukutjuku, saka ti

ti Muakakai a sanga-sangas-an sa-ka ti Tjukutjuku sa-ka ti

f.h (name) c red-first-nom and-after f.h (name) and-after f.h

Qalitsi, saka ti Kuîeîuîeîu a pangtjez i umaq.

Qalitsi sa-ka ti Kuîeîuîeîu a pangetjez i umaq

penis and-after f.h (name) c come loc house

Muakakai was first, then Tjukutjuku, then Penis, then Kuîeîuîeîu as they got home.

013 tjara maka tjumatjumaq anga azua vavayavayan katua tia

tjara maka tjuma-tju-umaq anga a-zua vaya=vavayan ka-tua ti-a

surely via red-there-house indeed c-that red=female and-obl f.h-pl

Kuîeîuîeîu katia Qalitsi.

Kuîeîuîeîu ka-ti-a Qalitsi

(name) and-f.h-pl penis

They went round by their homes, the girls and Kuîeîuîeîu and Penis.

014 mangtjez i tjumaq tia Kuîeîuîeîu katia Qalitsi.

m-pangetjez i tju-umaq ti-a Kuîeîuîeîu ka-ti-a Qalitsi

af-come loc there-house f.h-pl (name) and-f.h-pl penis

Kuîeîuîeîu and Penis got home.

015 “nakuya sun; masiaq itjen.

na-kuya sun ma-siaq itjen

stat-bad f.you(s) stat-shame f.we(inc) “You’re bad. It was embarrassing for us.

016 su djungusen sakamaya tua tja sudju.

su djungus-en sakamaya tua tja sudju

you(s) close.to-pf only obl our(inc) sweetheart

You were getting close to(?) our girl-friends.

017 ‘kaituvutuvungu,’ nu ku su ayain, inika sun a

ka-i-tuvu-tuvung-u nu ku su aya-en ini-ka sun a

main-loc-red-container-imp when I you(s) say-pf not-after f.you(s) c

kilangda.”

ki-langeda

do-hear Although I said to you, ‘Stay in the container,’ you didn’t listen to me.”

018 “ari nu maya, saîazuki,” aya ti Qalitsi tjai Kuîeîuîeîu.

ari nu ma-aya sa-îazuk-i aya ti Qalitsi tjai Kuîeîuîeîu

go.on when stat-be.thus go-plains-hort say f.h penis obl.h (name)

“Oh well, come on; let’s go to the plains,” said Penis to Kuîeîuîeîu.

[saîazuki: saîakuzi in OA.]

019 “ari nu maya,” ayain; sa pangtjez i îazuk.

ari nu ma-aya aya-en sa pangetjez i îazuk

go.on when stat-be.thus say-pf and come loc plains

“All right, let’s go,” he replied. So they reached the plains.

020 sa “anema su katjenglayan, uîa tjen a sema tsiam?”

sa a-nema su ka-tjenglay-an uîa tjen a em=sa tsiam

and ?-what you(s) become-like-lf so.that f.we(inc) c af=go shop

“If we go to the shop, what do you fancy?”

021 “avan a tsiqaw katua ngiaw a ku katjenglayan.”

avan a tsiqaw ka-tua ngiaw a ku ka-tjenglay-an

exact c fish and-obl cat c I become-like-lf

“I fancy a fish and a cat.”

022 saka amin nu velin.

sa-ka amin nu veli-en

and-after no.more of buy-pf So that’s all they bought.

023 sa vaik, sa pangtjez i umaq.

sa vaik sa pangetjez i umaq

and leave and come loc house They left and got back home.

024 “pasa puzayazayanu aken i tavi, sa pasazua-i uta

pa-sa pu-zaya-zaya-an-u aken i tavi sa pa-sa-zua-i uta

cause-go have-red-up-nom-imp f.I loc shelf and cause-go-that-hort also

azua ngiaw katua tsiqaw.”

a-zua ngiaw ka-tua tsiqaw

c-that cat and-obl fish

“Put me in the inner part of the house on the shelf, and put the cat and the fish there too.”

025 manu kikulat anan nua ngiaw, sa kasalisalitj a maka tua djui nua

manu ki-kulat anan nua ngiaw sa ka-sali-salitj a maka tua djui nua

then do-frisk still by cat and main-red-toss c via obl thorn of

tsiqaw a qalitsi.

tsiqaw a qalitsi

fish c penis

The cat kept frisking about(?), and the penis was tossed between the fins of the fish.

026 manu magutsal, manu metsautsau, saka ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a ngadan.

manu ma-gutsal manu me-tsau-tsau sa-ka ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a ngadan

then stat-burst then af-red-being and-after f.h (name) c name

And it burst open and turned into a person, whose name was Puîaîuîaîuyan.

027 “keîu anga, kaka.

keî-u anga kaka

come-imp indeed sibling “Come on, brother,

028 idan a ku situngan.”

id-an a ku si-itung-an

come-lf c my if-cloth-nom give me some clothes.”

029 manu mingtjus ti Kuîeîuîeîu.

manu m-pingtjus ti Kuîeîuîeîu

then af-startled f.h (name) Kuîeîuîeîu was startled.

030 “aku izuanga tsa ku saladj?” aya.

aku i-zua-anga tsa ku saladj aya

why loc-that-indeed this my companion say

“Why have I now got this companion?” he said.

031 manu namagutsal anga azua qalitsi, sa kalevanga ti

manu na-ma-gutsal anga a-zua qalitsi sa ka-leva-anga ti

then past-stat-burst indeed c-that penis and stat-pleased-indeed f.h

Kuîeîuîeîu sakamaya; sa paîungpavi anga, sa pazangaqi anga.

Kuîeîuîeîu sakamaya sa pa-îungpaw-i anga sa pa-zangaq-i anga

(name) only and cause-robe-pf indeed and cause-necklace-pf indeed

Well the penis had burst open, and Kuîeîuîeîu was very pleased. And he put on him a robe and a necklace.

032 “ari tsasavi anga sema sauîauîay a qemiladj a mapapaw

ari tsasaw-i anga em=sa sa-uîa-uîay a em=qiladj a ma-papaw

go.on outside-hort indeed af=go qal-red-piece c af=sit c stat-aside

÷usa; uîa îemengîeng tia Muakakai kati Tjukutjuku.”

÷usa uîa em=îeng-îeng ti-a Muakakai ka-ti Tjukutjuku

two so.that af=red-look.at f.h-pl (name) and-f.h (name)

“Come on, let’s go outside to the seats in the courtyard and sit there side by side; so that Muakakai and Tjukutjuku can see us.”

033 manu îengîengen ni Tjukutjuku.

manu îeng-îeng-en ni Tjukutjuku

then red-look.at-pf by (name) So Tjukutjuku saw them.

034 “tsasavu, kina,” aya.

tsasaw-u kina aya

outside-imp mother say “Go outside, mother,” she said.

035 sa tsasaw a kina.

sa tsasaw a kina

and outside c mother Mother went out.

036 “sa-u, kina, paîiîii azua i Vavuluvulungan ki tima zua

sa-u kina pa-îiîi-i a-zua i Vavuluvulungan ki ti-ima zua

go-imp mother cause-visit-hort c-that loc (name) how f-who that

qaîaqaîa.”

qaîa-qaîa

red-outsider “Mother, go and see who the visitor is at the Vavuluvulungan house.”

037 manu sa sazua kina, sa pangtjez i Pakuvadavaday azua kina.

manu sa sa-zua kina sa pangetjez i Pakuvadavaday a-zua kina

then go h-that mother and come loc (place) c-that mother

So mother went there, and she came back to the Pakuvadavaday house.

036 “qadjaw ki tima; ika ken a kemîang.”

qadjaw ki ti-ima ika aken a m=keîang

perhaps how f-who not f.I c af=know

“I don’t know who it is. I don’t know him.”

039 “sa-u; ‘idu,’ aya-u, kina.”

sa-u id-u aya-u kina

go-imp come-imp say-imp mother “Go and tell him to come here, mother.”

040 vaik a kina; djemaîun i Vavuluvulungan.

vaik a kina em=djaîun i Vavuluvulungan

leave c mother af=arrive loc (name)

Mother went, and reached the Vavuluvulungan house.

041 “ari, îa ma÷usa, kivangavangi a sema tjanuamen,” ayain.

ari îa ma-÷usa ki-vangavang-i a em=sa tjanu-amen aya-en

go.on class num-two do-play-hort c af=go obl-we(exc) say-pf

“Come on, you two, come for a visit to our house,” she said to them.

042 manu “uaa, masiaq amen.

manu uaa ma-siaq amen

then well stat-shame f.we(exc) “Well, we’re ashamed to;

043 singidan tazua nu san tjautsiketsikel tjanuamen,” aya ti

si-ngida-an ta-zua nu sane tsike=tjautsikel tjanu-amen aya ti

if-when-nom obl-that you(p) make red=story obl-we(exc) say f.h

Puîaîuîaîuyan.

Puîaîuîaîuyan

(name)

when was it that (*or* it’s not long since) you insulted(?) us?” said Puîaîuîaîuyan.

[san tjautsiketsikel: ‘make us the subject of talk/gossip’.]

044 sa vaik anga azua kina; mangtjez i Pakuvadavaday.

sa vaik anga a-zua kina m-pangetjez i Pakuvadavaday

and leave indeed c-that mother af-come loc (place)

So mother left, and arrived at the Pakuvadavaday house.

045 “inika ui.

ini-ka ui

not-after yes “They don’t agree.

046 ‘masiaq amen.

ma-siaq amen

stat-shame f.we(exc) They say: ‘We’re ashamed;

047 ika magaîu a nu san tjautsiketsikel,’ aya, îa ku aîak.”

ika ma-gaîu a nu sane tsike=tjautsikel aya îa ku aîak

not stat-slow c you(p) make red=story say oh my child

it wasn’t kind the way you insulted us,’ my child.”

048 “ki maya avan anga azua qalitsi makeîang,” aya maîavar azua

ki ma-aya avan anga a-zua qalitsi ma-keîang aya ma-îavar a-zua

do stat-be.thus exact indeed c-that penis stat-know say stat-speak c-that

mareaîaaîak.

mare-aîa-aîak

pair-red-child

“I suppose it must be that penis,” said the mother and children to one another.

049 “sa-u, îiîi-u, Lavuîivuîian, uîa ken a puvavulungan.”

sa-u îiîi-u Lavuîivuîian uîa aken a pu-vavulung-an

go-imp visit-imp (name) so.that f.I c have-?-nom

“Go and pay a visit, Lavuîivuîian (*or* go-between OA), so that I can marry without a betrothal present (*or* so that I can get into the Vavulungan household?).”

050 vaik ti sa Lavuîian; mangtjez i Vavuluvulungan.

vaik ti sa Lavuîian m-pangetjez i Vavuluvulungan

leave f.h h (name) af-come loc (name)

Lavuîian went and reached the Vavuluvulungan house.

051 “aku a mangtjez sun, vuvu?” aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.

aku a m-pangetjez sun vuvu aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

why c af-come f.you(s) grandparent say f.h (name)

“Why have you come, granny?” said Puîaîuîaîuyan.

052 “‘sa-u, îiîi-u,’ aya ti Tjukutjuku, ‘uîa ken a puvavulungan,’ aya;

sa-u îiîi-u aya ti Tjukutjuku uîa aken a pu-vavulung-an aya

go-imp visit-imp say f.h (name) so.that f.I c have-?-nom say

avanu ku sisamaza.”

avan nu ku si-sa-maza

exact of I if-go-here

“Tjukutjuku said: ‘Go and pay a visit, so that I can marry without a betrothal present.’ That’s why I’ve come.”

053 “ala iru ka ken a pukaui.

ala iru ka aken a pu-ka-ui

but will.not after f.I c have-become-yes “But I certainly won’t agree.

054 ika magaîu a nu tjautsiketsikel,” aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.

ika ma-gaîu a nu tsike=tjautsikel aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

not stat-slow c you(p) red=story say f.h (name)

Your insults were not kind,” said Puîaîuîaîuyan.

055 sa vaik (ti) sa Lavuîian.

sa vaik ti sa Lavuîian

and leave f.h h (name) So Lavuîian left,

056 mangtjez i Pakuvadavaday.

m-pangetjez i Pakuvadavaday

af-come loc (place) and reached the Pakuvadavaday house.

057 “ua, inika pukaui, îaîak.”

ua ini-ka pu-ka-ui îaîak

hey not-after have-become-yes child “Well, they don’t agree, child.”

058 “sa-u sakamaya, vuvu.

sa-u sakamaya vuvu

go-imp only grandparent “Go anyway, granny.

059 ku tjukuyavaw anga tua levut a ÷i÷i tu lima.”

ku tju-kuya-aw anga tua levut a ÷i÷i tu lima

I apart-bad-lf indeed obl white.pig c pig obl five

I’ll give five white pigs in compensation.”

[tjukuyavaw: epenthetic v.]

060 vaik ti sa Lavuîian a sema Vavuluvulungan.

vaik ti sa Lavuîian a em=sa Vavuluvulungan

leave f.h h (name) c af=go (name)

Lavuîian went to the Vavuluvulungan house.

061 “‘ku tjukuyavaw anga tua levut a ÷i÷i tu lima,’ aya, îaîak.”

ku tju-kuya-aw anga tua levut a ÷i÷i tu lima aya îaîak

I apart-bad-lf indeed obl white.pig c pig obl five say child

“‘I’ll give five white pigs as compensation,’ she says, child.”

062 “iru ka ken a pukaui angata,” aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.

iru ka aken a pu-ka-ui anga-ta aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

will.not after f.I c have-become-yes indeed-? say f.h (name)

“I most certainly won’t agree,” said Puîaîuîaîuyan.

063 vaik ti sa Lavuîian a sema Pakuvadavaday.

vaik ti sa Lavuîian a em=sa Pakuvadavaday

leave f.h h (name) c af=go (place)

Lavuîian went back to the Pakuvadavaday house.

064 “inika pukaui a paraketj.”

ini-ka pu-ka-ui a pa-raketj

not-after have-become-yes c cause-always “He continues not to agree.”

065 “tjuari, ku sazuaw anga sakamaya,” aya ti Tjukutjuku.

tjuari ku sa-zua-aw anga sakamaya aya ti Tjukutjuku

? I go-that-lf indeed only say f.h (name)

“It can’t be helped(?); I’ll just go there myself,” said Tjukutjuku.

066 kematsu tu qata tjanuita i kavatjes; saka avan a

em=katsu tu qata tjanu-ita i kavatjes sa-ka avan a

af=carry obl bead full-one loc rattan.basket and-after exact c

nanemanemanga sinu tjaîavuluvulungan; sa vaik anga sema

na-nema-nema-anga in=su tjaîa-vulu-vulung-an sa vaik anga em=sa

past-red-what-indeed perf=remove most-red-old-nom and leave indeed af=go

Vavuluvulungan ti Tjukutjuku.

Vavuluvulungan ti Tjukutjuku

(name) f.h (name)

She took a storage basket full of beads, and chose out all the oldest (most valuable) things. And so Tjukutjuku went to the Vavuluvulungan house.

067 qau sa pareputsekeî anga sakamaya.

qau sa pare-pu-tsekeî anga sakamaya

so and pair-have-spouse indeed only And in the end they were married.

068 saka izua, saka amin.

sa-ka i-zua sa-ka amin

and-after loc-that and-after no.more And that’s the end.

There were Kuîeîuîeîu and just a penis. They had been left orphans by their parents. Kuîeîuîeîu went courting to Pakudavadavay, and took along the penis in a container to go courting. When they sang, the penis sang along too. Next day the boy- and girl-friends went to the spring- Kuîeîuîeîu and Muakakai and Tjukutjuku. Muakakai was first, then Tjukutjuku, then Penis, and Kuîeîuîeîu last. They got to the spring, and all dipped out water. When they washed themselves, the penis copied the others and made a ÷ipping noise(?) into the water. Tjukutjuku was angry and hit it with a piece of wood, and threw it out of sight downhill. “Ow ow ow,” said Penis.

“Come on, let’s go home,” they said. Muakakai was first, then Tjukutjuku, then Penis, then Kuîeîuîeîu as they got home. They went round by their homes, the girls and Kuîeîuîeîu and Penis. Kuîeîuîeîu and Penis got home. “You’re bad. It was embarrassing for us. You were getting close to our girl-friends. Although I said to you, ‘Stay in the container,’ you didn’t listen to me.”

“Oh well, come on; let’s go to the plains,” said Penis to Kuîeîuîeîu. “All right, let’s go,” he replied. So they reached the plains. “If we go to the shop, what do you fancy?”

“I fancy a fish and a cat.” So that’s all they bought. They left and got back home.

“Put me in the inner part of the house on the shelf, and put the cat and the fish there too.” The cat kept frisking about(?), and the penis was tossed between the fins of the fish. And it burst open and turned into a person, whose name was Puîaîuîaîuyan. “Come on, brother, give me some clothes.” Kuîeîuîeîu was startled. “Why have I now got this companion?” he said. Well the penis had burst open, and Kuîeîuîeîu was very pleased. And he put on him a robe and a necklace. “Come on, let’s go outside to the seats in the courtyard and sit there side by side; so that Muakakai and Tjukutjuku can see us.”

So Tjukutjuku saw them. “Go outside, mother,” she said. Mother went out. “Mother, go and see who the visitor is at the Vavuluvulungan house.” So mother went there, and she came back to the Pakuvadavaday house. “I don’t know who it is. I don’t know him.”

“Go and tell him to come here, mother.” Mother went, and reached the Vavuluvulungan house. “Come on, you two, come for a visit to our house,” she said to them. “Well, we’re ashamed to; when was it that (*or* it’s not long since) you insulted(?) us?” said Puîaîuîaîuyan. So mother left, and arrived at the Pakuvadavaday house. “They don’t agree. They say: ‘We’re ashamed; it wasn’t kind the way you insulted us,’ my child.”

“I suppose it must be that penis,” said the mother and children to one another. “Go and pay a visit, Lavuîivuîian, so that I can marry without a betrothal present (*or* so that I can get into the Vavulungan household, OA). Lavuîian went and reached the Vavuluvulungan house. “Why have you come, granny?” said Puîaîuîaîuyan.

“Tjukutjuku said: ‘Go and pay a visit, so that I can marry without a betrothal present.’ That’s why I’ve come.”

“But I certainly won’t agree. Your insults were not kind,” said Puîaîuîaîuyan. So Lavuîian left, and reached the Pakuvadavaday house. “Well, they don’t agree, child.”

“Go anyway, granny. I’ll give five white pigs in compensation.” Lavuîian went to the Vavuluvulungan house. “‘I’ll give five white pigs as compensation,’ she says, child.”

“I most certainly won’t agree,” said Puîaîuîaîuyan. Lavuîian went back to the Pakuvadavaday house. “He continues not to agree.”

“It can’t be helped(?); I’ll just go there myself,” said Tjukutjuku. She took a storage basket full of beads, and chose out all the oldest (most valuable) things. And so Tjukutjuku went to the Vavuluvulungan house. And in the end they were married. And that’s the end.

#### 051 IDJUIDJUNG ti sa Idjuidjung (Kuîaîau village, p.242)

001 izua ti sa Idjuidjung.

i-zua ti sa Idjuidjung

loc-that f.h h (name) There was a person called Idjuidjung.

002 manu “ari tja paqinatsapaw,” aya a se ïinasalas.

manu ari tja pa-in=qatsap-aw aya a se ïinasalas

then go.on we(inc) cause-perf=head.hunt-lf say c person.of (place)

The people of Linasalas said: “Let’s go and hunt their heads.”

003 patadaîan ni sa Idjuidjung.

pa-tadaî-an ni sa Idjuidjung

cause-see-lf by h (name) Idjuidjung saw them.

004 “‘ai anga tsa vuluq sa kuang, a matu kaîaîudjeîudjen,

ai anga tsa vuluq tsa kuang a ma-tu ka-îa-îudjeîudje-an

oh indeed this spear this firearm c stat-alike main-class-thorn.plant-nom

a matu ngudjungudjuîan.

a ma-tu ngudju-ngudjuî-an

c stat-alike red-stump-nom

“Oh dear! Their spears and guns are like thorn-grass and high tree stumps.

[sa: not a conjunction between nouns, regarded here as variation of tsa.]

005 gaîu anan; ku sikesan anan tua puk, sa ku qaîidjeladjelavi.”

gaîu anan ku si-kesa-an anan tua puk sa ku djela=qaîidjelaw-i

slow still I if-food-lf still obl bean.sp and I red=undercooked-pf

Wait a bit. I’ll cook some tree-beans for them, and leave them undercooked.”

006 makakesa ti sa Idjuidjung.

maka-kesa ti sa Idjuidjung

finished-food f.h h (name) Idjuidjung finished his cooking.

007 “idu anga, îa qaîa.

id-u anga îa qaîa

come-imp indeed class outsider “Come on, enemies;

008 tjupaîingu a mamazangiîan, tjuvangavu kiîupetju a

tju-paîing-u a ma-ma-zangiî-an tju-vangaw-u ki-îupetj-u a

there-doorway-imp c stat-stat-chief-nom there-sky.light-imp do-plug-imp c

vavuluvulungan.”

va-vulu-vulung-an

?-red-old-nom

chiefs come to the doorway and old men to the skylight to block off our (*or* their) retreat!”

009 paqetjetj ti sa Idjuidjung tua puk, sa kadjameq a qaîa;

pa-qetjutj ti sa Idjuidjung tua puk sa ka-djameq a qaîa

cause-break.wind f.h h (name) obl bean.sp and stat-catch c outsider

matsay a mapuîat.

m-patsay a ma-puîat

af-die c num-all

Then Idjuidjung broke wind with the tree-beans, and blasted the enemy, and they all died.

010 matsidiî anga vaîut a ti sa Vungavan, djinameq a pitsungal; vaik a

ma-tsidiî anga vaîut a ti sa Vungavan in=djameq a pi-tsungal vaik a

stat-alone indeed alive c f.h h (name) perf=catch c put-knee leave c

sema umaq.

em=sa umaq

af=go house

There was just one survivor, Vungavan, who was hit in the knee. He went off home.

011 ka pakaqiaw mangtjez i umaq.

ka pa-ka-qiyaw m-pangetjez i umaq

after cause-?-assist af-come loc house He arrived home shouting for help.

012 “nakuya tsu.

na-kuya tsu

stat-bad this (The people said:) “This is bad.

013 ika tjen a nasa venala.

ika tjen a nasa en=vala

not f.we(inc) c perhaps af=able We can’t win.

014 tja paputsekeîaw tia Idjuidjung kati Tjukutjuku; sa

tja pa-pu-tsekeî-aw ti-a Idjuidjung ka-ti Tjukutjuku sa

we(inc) cause-have-spouse-lf f.h-pl (name) and-f.h (name) and

‘papuvaîutu a su qintsi a zua maîe taiday,’ tja

pa-pu-vaîut-u a su in=qetsi a zua maîe ta-iday tja

cause-have-alive-imp c you(s) perf=fight c that num one-hundred we(inc)

ayavaw ti sa Idjuidjung.”

aya-aw ti sa Idjuidjung

say-lf f.h h (name)

Let’s arrange a marriage between Idjuidjung and Tjukutjuku. And let’s say to Idjuidjung: ‘Bring back to life the hundred people you killed’.”

[zua: ua in OA.]

[tja ayavaw: tjayavaw in OA.]

015 sa vaik a masan kai ti sa Vungavan.

sa vaik a ma-sane kai ti sa Vungavan

and leave c stat-make speech f.h h (name)

Vungavan went as their mouthpiece;

016 mangtjez i tjai sa Idjuidjung.

m-pangetjez i tjai sa Idjuidjung

af-come loc obl.h h (name) and he reached Idjuidjung’s place.

017 “papuvaîutu a su qintsi; saka taiday a ÷i÷i a gung

pa-pu-vaîut-u a su in=qetsi sa-ka ta-iday a ÷i÷i a gung

cause-have-alive-imp c you(s) perf=fight and-after one-hundred c pig c cow

tu su silisi tjai Tjukutjuku.”

tu su si-lisi tjai Tjukutjuku

obl your(s) if-bride.price obl.h (name)

“Bring back to life the people you killed; and with a bride-price of a hundred pigs and cows you can marry Tjukutjuku.”

018 sa papuvaîuti a qintsi, sa vaik anga a putsekeî, sa

sa pa-pu-vaîut-i a in=qetsi sa vaik anga a pu-tsekeî sa

and cause-have-alive-pf c perf=fight and leave indeed c have-spouse and

pangtjez i ïinasalas.

pangetjez i ïinasalas

come loc (place)

So he brought those killed back to life, and went off to get married, and reached ïinasalas.

019 sa ka selem sa qereng tia Idjuidjung kati Tjukutjuku; manu

sa ka selem sa qereng ti-a Idjuidjung ka-ti Tjukutjuku manu

and after dark and lie.down f.h-pl (name) and-f.h (name) then

demadip ti sa Idjuidjung; manu ka djumaken a kutji, “tjuqtjuqan tua

em=dadip ti sa Idjuidjung manu ka djumak-en a kutji tjuqtjuq-an tua

af=grope f.h h (name) then after find-pf c vagina pound-lf obl

îamîam, sa putsemeli izua zua piqay.”

îamîam sa pu-tsemel-i i-zua zua piqay

ginger and have-treat-pf loc-that that wound

After dark Idjuidjung and Tjukutjuku lay down. Idjuidjung fondled her, and came across her vagina, and said: “Pound some ginger and put it on that wound there.”

020 “inika piqay azua; avan azua kutji a tja siputseketsekeî.”

ini-ka piqay a-zua avan a-zua kutji a tja si-pu-tseke-tsekeî

not-after wound c-that exact c-that vagina c we(inc) if-have-red-spouse

“That’s not a wound; that’s a vagina for consummating our marriage.”

021 “uaa, inika ken a tjenglay a piqay izua.”

uaa ini-ka aken a tjenglay a piqay i-zua

well not-after f.I c like c wound loc-that

“Oh! I don’t like there being a wound there.”

022 sa vaik a tjumaq.

sa vaik a tju-umaq

and leave c there-house And he went off home,

023 masu÷am anga sakamaya tua kutji a piqapiqay.

ma-su÷am anga sakamaya tua kutji a piqa-piqay

stat-disappointed indeed only obl vagina c red-wound

disappointed about the vagina ‘wound’.

024 “patsikelu anga a ku sinilisi a gung katua ÷i÷i.”

pa-tsikel-u anga a ku in=si-lisi a gung ka-tua ÷i÷i

cause-return-imp indeed c I perf=if-bride.price c cow and-obl pig

“Give me back the bride-price of cows and pigs.”

025 sa pavayan, saka sa vaik anga sakamaya.

sa pa-vay-an sa-ka sa vaik anga sakamaya

and cause-give-lf and-after and leave indeed only

They gave them back, and he just went off.

026 saka izua saka amin.

sa-ka i-zua sa-ka amin

and-after loc-that and-after no.more And that’s the end.

There was a person called Idjuidjung. The people of Linasalas said: “Let’s go and hunt their heads.” Idjuidjung saw them. “Oh dear! Their spears and guns are like thorn-grass and high tree stumps. Wait a bit. I’ll cook some tree-beans for them, and leave them undercooked.” Idjuidjung finished his cooking. “Come on, enemies; chiefs come to the doorway and old men to the skylight to block off our (*or* their) retreat!”

Then Idjuidjung broke wind with the tree-beans, and blasted the enemy, and they all died. There was just one survivor, Vungavan, who was hit in the knee. He went off home. He arrived home shouting for help. (The people said:) “This is bad. We can’t win. Let’s arrange a marriage between Idjuidjung and Tjukutjuku. And let’s say to Idjuidjung: ‘Bring back to life the hundred people you killed.’”

Vungavan went as their mouthpiece; and he reached Idjuidjung’s place. “Bring back to life the people you killed; and with a bride-price of a hundred pigs and cows you can marry Tjukutjuku.” So he brought those killed back to life, and went off to get married, and reached ïinasalas. After dark Idjuidjung and Tjukutjuku lay down, Idjuidjung fondled her, and came across her vagina, and said: “Pound some ginger and put it on that wound there.”

“That’s not a wound; that’s a vagina for consummating our marriage.”

“Oh! I don’t like there being a wound there.” And he went off home, disappointed about the vagina ‘wound’. “Give me back the bride-price of cows and pigs.”

They gave them back, and he just went off. And that’s the end.

#### 052 VATJUïAYAN (MR. IRON) ti sa Vatjuîayan (Patjavaî village, p.244)

001 tiamen a se Payuan tangidangida a vakela a vuluq a kuang na

ti-amen a se Payuan ta-ngida-ngida a vakela a vuluq a kuang nua

f-we(exc) c person.of Paiwan past-red-when c arrow c spear c firearm of

navunavuq a inalang.

navu-navuq a in-alang

red-bamboo c perf-make

Long ago we Paiwans had arrows, spears and guns made of bamboo.

002 qau nu maqinatsap i tuazua, maqaqetsi tuazua

qau nu ma-in=qatsap i tua-zua ma-qa-qetsi tua-zua

so when stat-perf=head.hunt loc obl-that stat-red-fight obl-that

inalang na vunavuq.

in-alang nua vunavuq

perf-make of bamboo.sp

When we went head-hunting at that time, we fought with weapons made of bamboo.

003 a vatu kiayan a pusaladj.

a vatu ki-aya-an a pu-saladj

c dog do-be.thus-lf c have-companion Dogs went along to help.

004 azua tsautsau a ngadan nu tapaw Paitudjan, ngadan nu tsautsau

a-zua tsau-tsau a ngadan nu tapaw Paitudjan ngadan nu tsau-tsau

c-that red-being c name of hut (name) name of red-being

Vatjuîayan, aya tangidangida.

Vatjuîayan aya ta-ngida-ngida

(name) say past-red-when

They say that long ago there was a man from the Paitudjan family whose name was Vatjuîayan.

005 namaqaqetsi tua îapiîapi timadju; tapuluq a vatu.

na-ma-qa-qetsi tua îapiîapi ti-madju ta-puluq a vatu

past-stat-red-fight obl nearby f-3rd.pers one-ten c dog

He fought people of nearby villages, and had ten dogs.

006 azua îapiîapi lima puluq a tsautsau.

a-zua îapiîapi lima puluq a tsau-tsau

c-that nearby five ten c red-being

There were 50 people from the other villages;

007 tjuruvu a matsay; ma÷usanga mevaîut, aya a tjautsikel a kemasi

tjuruvu a m-patsay ma-÷usa-anga me-vaîut aya a tjautsikel a em=kasi

many c af-die num-two-indeed af-alive say c story c af=from

tsuayan.

tsuay-an

long.time-nom many died and only two survived, according to the old story.

008 azua ti sa Vatjuîayan anga nu u÷ain a vatu a mapaqaqepu;

a-zua ti sa Vatjuîayan anga nu u÷a-en a vatu a ma-pa-qa-qepu

c-that f.h h (name) indeed when call-pf c dog c stat-cause-red-associate

nu migatsaî timadju, isangas a vatu.

nu mi-gatsaî ti-madju i-sangas a vatu

when af-stand f-3rd.pers loc-first c dog

When Vatjuîayan called, his dogs gathered; and when he got up to go, the dogs went first.

009 nu mavilad a qaîa, avan a vatu a lemaing.

nu ma-vilad a qaîa avan a vatu a em=laing

when stat-flee c outsider exact c dog c af=follow

If the enemy ran away, it was the dogs which pursued them.

010 qau ti sa Vatjuîayan vaik a beniîung ta lailaingen anga nua

qau ti sa Vatjuîayan vaik a en=biîung ta lai-laing-en anga nua

so f.h h (name) leave c af=ambush obl red-follow-pf indeed by

vatu nimadju.

vatu ni-madju

dog of-3rd.pers

And Vatjuîayan went and ambushed(?) those who were being pursued by his dogs.

[ta: was a]

[nimadju: was timadju]

011 qau azua qaîa ini anga ka djemalim.

qau a-zua qaîa ini anga ka em=djalim

so c-that outsider not indeed after af=win So the enemies could not win.

012 îevavaw tua kasiw.

îe-va-vaw tua kasiw

go.to-red-above obl tree They climbed up trees.

013 qau katsen a zuma azua qaîa.

qau kats-en a zuma a-zua qaîa

so bite-pf c other c-that outsider But some of the enemies were bitten.

014 nu îevavaw tua kasiw, katsen nua vatu a qapulu nua kasiw.

nu îe-va-vaw tua kasiw kats-en nua vatu a qa-pulu nua kasiw

when go.to-red-above obl tree bite-pf by dog c red-trunk of tree

When they climbed trees, the dogs bit the trunks of the trees.

015 qau inika djemalim a tsautsau.

qau ini-ka em=djalim a tsau-tsau

so not-after af=win c red-being The men couldn’t win.

016 saka maîi ti sa Vatjuîayan a penanapanaq.

sa-ka maîi ti sa Vatjuîayan a en=pana-panaq

and-after different f.h h (name) c af=red-arrow

And Vatjuîayan was an expert archer.

017 avanu sika padjavay a matsay nuazua qaîa, maya a

avan nu sika pa-djavay a m-patsay nua-zua qaîa ma-aya a

exact of reason cause-do.much c af-die of-that outsider stat-be.thus c

kai a kemasi tsuayan tangidangida.

kai a em=kasi tsuay-an ta-ngida-ngida

speech c af=from long.time-nom past-red-when

That’s why so many of the enemies died, according to the story from long ago in the past.

Long ago we Paiwans had arrows, spears and guns made of bamboo. When we went head-hunting at that time, we fought with weapons made of bamboo. Dogs went along to help.

They say that long ago there was a man from the Paitudjan family whose name was Vatjuîayan. He fought people of nearby villages, and had ten dogs. There were 50 people from the other villages; many died and only two survived, according to the old story. When Vatjuîayan called, his dogs gathered; and when he got up to go, the dogs went first. If the enemy ran away, it was the dogs which pursued them. And Vatjuîayan went and ambushed(?) those who were being pursued by his dogs. So the enemies could not win. They climbed up trees. But some of the enemies were bitten. When they climbed trees, the dogs bit the trunks of the trees. The men couldn’t win. And Vatjuîayan was an expert archer. That’s why so many of the enemies died, according to the story from long ago in the past.

#### 053 THE FLOOD qatsa a zaîum (Patjavaî village, p.245)

001 tangidangida a natjautsikel a qatsa a zaîum.

ta-ngida-ngida a na-tjautsikel a qatsa a zaîum

past-red-when c past-story c big c water

There is a story of a flood long ago.

002 matjiîev a kadjunangan a izua tu nazuanga.

ma-tjiîev a ka-djunang-an a i-zua tu na-zua-anga

stat-landslide c main-earth-nom c loc-that obl past-that-indeed

There were landslides everywhere.

003 nekanga nu kadjunangan, tsunuq anga sakamaya.

neka-anga nu ka-djunang-an tsunuq anga sakamaya

no-indeed of main-earth-nom scree indeed only

There was no solid ground left, only scree.

004 izua ma÷usa marekaka nakidjadjas tua îagagaz.

i-zua ma-÷usa mare-kaka na-ki-djadjas tua îa-gagaz

loc-that num-two pair-sibling past-do-grab obl class-grass.sp

There were two siblings who held on to some îagagaz grass.

005 qau azua ma÷usa nekanga nu kadjunangan, nekanga nu tapaw;

qau a-zua ma-÷usa neka-anga nu ka-djunang-an neka-anga nu tapaw

so c-that num-two no-indeed of main-earth-nom no-indeed of hut

naqemauqaung anga sakamaya.

na-em=qau-qaung anga sakamaya

past-af=red-cry indeed only

These two had no land any more and no house; they just cried.

006 palemek a izua qatjulay a nge÷unge÷uq.

pa-lemek a i-zua qatjulay a nge÷u-nge÷uq

cause-might c loc-that worm c red-sever

It happened that there was half a worm.

007 qau nu putsaqi a puita, ita vuledan a kadjunangan.

qau nu pu-tsaqi a pu-ita ita vuled-an a ka-djunang-an

so when have-dung c have-one one mountain-nom c main-earth-nom

Each time it defecated it formed a bit of hill land.

008 qau djemumak tua pariuk a tsevitseviq anga.

qau em=djumak tua pariuk a tsevi-tseviq anga

so af=find obl wok c red-segment indeed

They also found part of a wok.

009 qau zangen niamadju.

qau zang-en ni-a-madju

so guard-pf by-pl-3rd.pers They kept this.

010 îakua neka nu sapuy.

îakua neka nu sapuy

but no of fire But they had no fire.

011 qai anga tiamadju.

qai anga ti-a-madju

oh indeed f-pl-3rd.pers They were in a bad way.

012 “anema tja sapuy?” aya.

a-nema tja sapuy aya

?-what our(inc) fire say “What are we to do for fire?” they said.

013 palemek a mangtjez a valalangan, kematsukatsu tua sapui, a

pa-lemek a m-pangetjez a valalangan em=katsu-katsu tua sapuy a

cause-might c af-come c lizard af=red-carry obl fire c

kinats a pinadjekets a pitjua djaîiq.

in=kats a in=pa-djekets a pi-tjua djaîiq

perf=bite c perf=cause-alight c put-there torch

It happened that a lizard(?) came along carrying fire on a lighted torch held in its mouth.

014 qau azua ma÷usa a kake÷ian patsunan.

qau a-zua ma-÷usa a ka-ke÷i-an pa-tsun-an

so c-that num-two c red-small-nom cause-see-lf The two children saw it.

015 “anema zua?” aya.

a-nema zua aya

?-what that say “What’s that?” they said.

016 ka djemaîun i tjayamadju, izua sapuy.

ka em=djaîun i tjai-a-madju i-zua sapuy

after af=arrive loc obl-pl-3rd.pers loc-that fire

When it reached them, it was fire.

017 qau alapen nua ma÷usa a kinatsu nua valalangan.

qau alap-en nua ma-÷usa a in=katsu nua valalangan

so take-pf by num-two c perf=carry by lizard

So the two took the torch carried by the lizard.

018 ka alapen anga nazua ma÷usa a sapuy, zazua a valalangan “veng,”

ka alap-en anga nua-zua ma-÷usa a sapuy zua-zua a valalangan veng

after take-pf indeed by-that num-two c fire red-that c lizard excl

aya tsemikel.

aya em=tsikel

say af=return

When the two took the fire, the lizard said, “*Veng*,” and went back again.

019 kemasi izua tuazua ini anga ka maqevutj a sapuy.

em=kasi i-zua tua-zua ini anga ka ma-qevutj a sapuy

af=from loc-that obl-that not indeed after stat-extinguish c fire

From then on the fire did not go out.

020 zazua ma÷usa meqatsa tiamadju.

zua-zua ma-÷usa me-qatsa ti-a-madju

red-that num-two af-big f-pl-3rd.pers These two grew up.

021 qau azua qatjulay avan azua palidaw tua qipu.

qau a-zua qatjulay avan a-zua al=pa-id-aw tua qipu

so c-that worm exact c-that qal=cause-come-lf obl soil

It was the worm which excreted soil.

022 azua ma÷usa patsun tua quma.

a-zua ma-÷usa pa-tsun tua quma

c-that num-two cause-see obl field The two looked at the fields.

023 neka nu vurasi, neka nu vasa, neka nu vaqu.

neka nu vurasi neka nu vasa neka nu vaqu

no of sweet.potato no of taro no of millet

There was no sweet potato, taro or millet.

024 vaivaik anga a pikivangavang.

vai-vaik anga a pi-ki-vangavang

red-leave indeed c put-self-play They went off for a stroll.

025 qau djemumak tu tsuvuq nua vurasi katua vasa katua vaqu.

qau em=djumak tu tsuvuq nua vurasi ka-tua vasa ka-tua vaqu

so af=find obl sprout of sweet.potato and-obl taro and-obl millet

They found shoots of sweet potato, taro and millet;

[nua: nu in OA.]

026 qau avan anga zazua a kiudaîen.

qau avan anga zua-zua a ki-udaî-en

so exact indeed red-that c do-increase-pf

and that’s how they got things to grow.

027 zazua ma÷usa ka meqatsa tiamadju, “kemuda itjen?” aya

zua-zua ma-÷usa ka me-qatsa ti-a-madju em=kuda itjen aya

red-that num-two after af-big f-pl-3rd.pers af=do.what f.we(inc) say

kemim tua salasaladj.

em=kim tua sala-saladj

af=search obl red-companion

When these two grew up, they said “What are we to do?” and looked for mates.

028 neka nu patsunan a tsautsau.

neka nu pa-tsun-an a tsau-tsau

no of cause-see-lf c red-being They couldn’t see any people.

029 tiamadju anga mapuvaîaw a marekaka.

ti-a-madju anga ma-pu-vaîaw a mare-kaka

f-pl-3rd.pers indeed stat-have-spouse c pair-sibling

So those siblings married one another.

030 sangasan a puaîak matseviq, mavutsa, mataiî.

sangas-an a pu-aîak ma-tseviq ma-vutsa ma-taiî

first-nom c have-child stat-segment stat-blind stat-one.of.pair

Their first child was disabled, blind and missing limbs and organs.

031 ka sika masan musaî nanguaq anga a pagaîu nu

ka sika ma-sane ma-usa-î na-nguaq anga a pa-gaîu nu

after number stat-make num-two-times stat-good indeed c cause-slow when

puaîak.

pu-aîak

have-child The second child was rather better.

032 ka sika masan tjeluî nanguaq anga; a puaîak ini anga

ka sika ma-sane tjelu-î na-nguaq anga a pu-aîak ini anga

after number stat-make three-times stat-good indeed c have-child not indeed

ka mavutsa, ini anga ka mataiî.

ka ma-vutsa ini anga ka ma-taiî

after stat-blind not indeed after stat-one.of.pair

The third was all right, not blind and not missing any limbs.

033 qau avan anga zazua kakeîangan tu inika puvaîaw tua

qau avan anga zua-zua ka-keîang-an tu ini-ka pu-vaîaw tua

so exact indeed red-that red-know-lf obl not-after have-spouse obl

kaka; masa palisi, ayanga a tjautsikel.

kaka ma-sa palisi aya-anga a tjautsikel

sibling stat-maybe taboo say-indeed c story

So that’s how they knew not to marry siblings, perhaps (because) it’s taboo, according to the story.

There is a story of a flood long ago. There were landslides everywhere. There was no solid ground left, only scree. There were two siblings who held on to some îagagaz grass. These two had no land any more and no house; they just cried. It happened that there was half a worm. Each time it defecated it formed a bit of hill land. They also found part of a wok. They kept this. But they had no fire. They were in a bad way. “What are we to do for fire?” they said. It happened that a lizard(?) came along carrying fire on a lighted torch held in its mouth. The two children saw it. “What’s that?” they said. When it reached them, it was fire. So the two took the torch carried by the lizard. When the two took the fire, the lizard said, “*Veng*,” and went back again. From then on the fire did not go out.

These two grew up. It was the worm which excreted soil. The two looked at the fields. There was no sweet potato, taro or millet. They went off for a stroll. They found shoots of sweet potato, taro and millet; and that’s how they got things to grow. When these two grew up, they said “What are we to do?” and looked for mates. They couldn’t see any people. So those siblings married one another.

Their first child was disabled, blind and missing limbs and organs. The second child was rather better. The third was all right, not blind and not missing any limbs. So that’s how they knew not to marry siblings, perhaps (because) it’s taboo, according to the story.

#### 054 THE FIVE YEAR FESTIVAL maîevuq (Patjavaî village, p.248)

001 tiamen a se Payuan nu lima tsaviî a maîevuq.

ti-amen a se Payuan nu lima tsaviî a ma-îeveq

f-we(exc) c person.of Paiwan when five year c stat-festival.type

We Paiwans hold a festival every five years.

002 a patagiî malang tua qapu÷ung katua vuluq.

a pa-tagiî ma-alang tua qa-pu÷ung ka-tua vuluq

c cause-originate stat-make obl ?-twist.grass and-obl spear

We begin by making a ball and spears.

003 qau ita qiîas a kipalak.

qau ita qiîas a ki-palak

so one moon c do-sorcery We practise for one month.

[kipalak: OA gloss as ‘practise’, but nothing like this meaning in F192 or F454.]

004 nu itanga a qiîas, sema tjua mamazangiîan a maîevuq.

nu ita-anga a qiîas em=sa tjua ma-ma-zangiî-an a ma-îeveq

when one-indeed c moon af=go there stat-stat-chief-nom c stat-festival.type

After the month we go to the chief to hold the festival,

005 katsuin a vuluq katua qapu÷ung.

katsu-en a vuluq ka-tua qa-pu÷ung

carry-pf c spear and-obl ?-twist.grass taking the spears and the ball.

006 qau seman tsakar i likuz tua tsatsavaî.

qau em=sane tsakar i likuz tua tsa-tsavaî

so af=make platform loc back obl red-outskirts

We make a ceremonial platform behind the village gate.

007 pitju a qadaw i likuz tua tsatsavaî.

pitju a qadaw i likuz tua tsa-tsavaî

seven c sun loc back obl red-outskirts It is seven days behind the gate.

008 qau sema tjai qayaw anga tua tsatsavaî, malang tauta tua

qau em=sa tja-i qayaw anga tua tsa-tsavaî ma-alang ta-uta tua

so af=go more-loc front indeed obl red-outskirts stat-make one-also obl

tsakar.

tsakar

platform Then we come in front of the gate and make another platform.

009 tuazua qadaw a vavayan seman qavay seman vava.

tua-zua qadaw a vavayan em=sane qavay em=sane vava

obl-that sun c female af=make dumpling af=make alcohol

That day the women make dumplings and beer.

010 nu tjelu anga a qadaw zemiazian a ÷usa a qadaw.

nu tjelu anga a qadaw em=zia-zian a ÷usa a qadaw

when three indeed c sun af=red-dance c two c sun

Every three days we dance for two days (*or* After three days we dance for two days).

011 kenvava, qemapu÷upu÷ung anga i tjai qayaw i

ken-vava em=qa-pu÷u-pu÷ung anga i tja-i qayaw i

consume-alcohol af=?-red-twist.grass indeed loc more-loc front loc

tsatsavaî.

tsa-tsavaî

red-outskirts We drink and play the ball game in front of the gate.

012 avan anga tuazua qemaqivu tua vuvu.

avan anga tua-zua em=qa-qivu tua vuvu

exact indeed obl-that af=red-speak obl grandparent

And that’s when we summon our grandparents,

013 qau pakan anga tua qavay tua vava.

qau pa-kan anga tua qavay tua vava

so cause-eat indeed obl dumpling obl alcohol

and give them dumplings and beer.

014 semenay anga mapuîat.

em=senay anga ma-puîat

af=chant indeed num-all We all sing.

015 avan a îapiîapi qinaîan a mamazangiîan katua

avan a îapiîapi in=qaîa-an a ma-ma-zangiî-an ka-tua

exact c nearby perf=outsider-nom c stat-stat-chief-nom and-obl

puqenetj a tsautsau a sipatjanema a ngadan nu semenay.

pu-qenetj a tsau-tsau a si-pa-tja-nema a ngadan nu em=senay

have-see c red-being c if-cause-more-what c name when af=chant

When we sing, it’s the chiefs of neighbouring villages and the famous people whose names we mention.

[sipatjanema: meaning unclear.]

016 kemasi tsuay azua a pinatagiî.

em=kasi tsuay a-zua a in=pa-tagiî

af=from long.time c-that c perf=cause-originate This began long ago.

017 nu lima a qadaw qematsuvung; vaik a qemaîup.

nu lima a qadaw em=qa-tsuvung vaik a em=qaîup

when five c sun af=?-complete leave c af=hunt

We finish after five days, and go and hunt.

018 nu mangtjez a naqemaîup, a tsuru nua vuluq alangen.

nu m-pangetjez a na-em=qaîup a tsuru nua vuluq alang-en

when af-come c past-af=hunt c tip of spear make-pf

When we come back from hunting, we make tips for our spears.

019 qau vaik a sema itjua vutu a maqinatsap.

qau vaik a em=sa i-tjua vutu a ma-in=qatsap

so leave c af=go loc-there enemy c stat-perf=head.hunt

And we go to enemy areas to hunt heads.

020 nu qemtsi, katsuin a qulu; qau maleva.

nu m=qetsi katsu-en a qulu qau ma-leva

when af=fight carry-pf c head so stat-pleased

When we kill someone, we bring the head back and celebrate.

021 nu mangtjez i tjumaq, maqepu; qau seman qaîa sema

nu m-pangetjez i tju-umaq ma-qepu qau em=sane qaîa em=sa

when af-come loc there-house stat-associate so af=make outsider af=go

tjua mamazangiîan.

tjua ma-ma-zangiî-an

there stat-stat-chief-nom

When we get home, people gather, and we celebrate victory over the enemy at the chief’s place.

022 qau zemian: “nanguaq a tja tsaviî.”

qau em=zian na-nguaq a tja tsaviî

so af=dance stat-good c our(inc) year

We dance to celebrate: “It’s a good year for us.”

023 a uqaîay vavayan kake÷ian mapuîat maqepu sema tjua

a uqaîay vavayan ka-ke÷i-an ma-puîat ma-qepu em=sa tjua

c male female red-small-nom num-all stat-associate af=go there

mamazangiîan.

ma-ma-zangiî-an

stat-stat-chief-nom Men, women and children all gather at the chief’s place.

024 a naqemtsi a tsautsau kematsu tua ÷i÷i, tu sipakan tua

a na-m=qetsi a tsau-tsau em=katsu tua ÷i÷i tu si-pa-kan tua

c past-af=fight c red-being af=carry obl pig obl if-cause-eat obl

qintsi.

in=qetsi

perf=fight The person who made the kill brings a pig, to feed the person killed.

025 qau zemiazian, saka qemauqauqaw a malevaleva tua

qau em=zia-zian sa-ka em=qaw-qawqaw a ma-leva-leva tua

so af=red-dance and-after af=red-shout c stat-red-pleased obl

qintsian.

in=qetsi-an

perf=fight-nom And we dance, and shout to celebrate the killing.

026 a qulu nua qintsi pinivetsekadan tua katsasavan a

a qulu nua in=qetsi in=pi-ve-tsekad-an tua ka-tsasaw-an a

c head of perf=fight perf=put-?-middle-lf obl main-outside-nom c

pinivavaw tua valanga.

in=pi-va-vaw tua valanga

perf=put-red-above obl mortar

The head of the person killed is put in the middle of the courtyard on a mortar,

027 qau uqaîay vavayan kake÷ian kipalingulinguî a zemian.

qau uqaîay vavayan ka-ke÷i-an ki-pa-lingu-linguî a em=zian

so male female red-small-nom do-cause-red-around c af=dance

and men, women and children dance round it.

028 nu lima a qadaw puamin anga; sitjanga qaîaqaîa.

nu lima a qadaw pu-amin anga sitjanga qaîa-qaîa

when five c sun have-no.more indeed ? red-outsider

We finish after five days. We have treated the dead like a guest (?).

[sitjanga: OA’s Japanese gloss unclear.]

029 qau puamin anga.

qau pu-amin anga

so have-no.more indeed That’s the end.

We Paiwans hold a festival every five years. We begin by making a ball and spears. We practise for one month. After the month we go to the chief to hold the festival, taking the spears and the ball. We make a ceremonial platform behind the village gate. It is seven days behind the gate. Then we come in front of the gate and make another platform. That day the women make dumplings and beer. Every three days we dance for two days (*or* After three days we dance for two days). We drink and play the ball game in front of the gate. And that’s when we summon our grandparents, and give them dumplings and beer. We all sing. When we sing, it’s the chiefs of neighbouring villages and the famous people whose names we mention. This began long ago.

We finish after five days, and go and hunt. When we come back from hunting, we make tips for our spears. And we go to enemy areas to hunt heads. When we kill someone, we bring the head back and celebrate. When we get home, people gather, and we celebrate victory over the enemy at the chief’s place. We dance to celebrate: “It’s a good year for us.”

Men, women and children all gather at the chief’s place. The person who made the kill brings a pig, to feed the person killed. And we dance, and shout to celebrate the killing. The head of the person killed is put in the middle of the courtyard on a mortar, and men, women and children dance round it. We finish after five days. We have treated the dead like a guest (?). That’s the end.

#### 055 THE BLACK DRONGO BIRD tjatjiw (Tjauvaîi [or Tjavuaîi] village, p.250)

001 izua îa ma÷usa marekaka.

i-zua îa ma-÷usa mare-kaka

loc-that class num-two pair-sibling There were two siblings.

002 qau vaik a tjavulung a sema tjatjan.

qau vaik a tja-vulung a em=sa tjatjan

so leave c more-old c af=go spring The older one went to the spring,

003 qau adjuqen i umaq a tjaîaîak a uqaîay.

qau adjuq-en i umaq a tja-îaîak a uqaîay

so leave-pf loc house c more-child c male

and left the younger brother at home.

004 qau mangtjez a tjavulung kasi tjatjan.

qau m-pangetjez a tja-vulung kasi tjatjan

so af-come c more-old from spring

When the older one came back from the spring,

005 neka kaka; inalap na qaîa, maulaw.

neka kaka in-alap nua qaîa ma-ulaw

no sibling perf-take by outsider stat-lost

the brother wasn’t there; he had been taken by enemies and was gone.

006 qau qemaung a tjavulung: “paramur a semainu a kaka?”

qau em=qaung a tja-vulung paramur a em=sa-inu a kaka

so af=cry c more-old terrible c af=go-where c sibling

The older one cried: “This is awful(?). Where has brother gone?”

[paramur: palamuî in OA.]

007 vaik a kemim sa qauqaung.

vaik a em=kim sa qau-qaung

leave c af=search and red-cry She cried and went to look for him.

008 qau tevuta a tjatjiw kidjekets ta kasiw.

qau te-vuta a tjatjiw ki-djekets ta kasiw

so do-appear c drongo do-land.on obl tree

Then a black drongo bird appeared and alighted on a tree.

009 qau “tjatjiw tjatjiw, pagaîugaîu a qemaung.

qau tjatjiw tjatjiw pa-gaîu-gaîu a em=qaung

so drongo drongo cause-red-slow c af=cry

“*Tjatjiw tjatjiw*, don’t cry so much.

[tjatjiw: onomatapoeic for cry of bird here.]

010 pazeliuîi aken ta kaîauîavan.

pa-zeliuî-i aken ta ka-îawîaw-an

cause-work-hort f.I obl main-oil-nom Pay me some real oil,

011 ku sikiliîkauîaw a su paîekakain i tjuruzaquzaquin.”

ku sikiliîkauîaw a su aî=pe-kaka-in i tjuru-zaqu-zaqu-en

I bring.back c your(s) qal=emerge-sibling-nom loc many-red-tree.sp-pf

and I’ll bring back (?) your brother from the sapindus wood.”

012 qau pavayin ta qalev.

qau pa-vay-en ta qalev

so cause-give-pf obl oil She gave the bird some oil.

013 qau ka maka qalev, qau senay: “tjatjiw tjatjiw, imazamaza-u.

qau ka maka qalev qau senay tjatjiw tjatjiw i-maza-maza-u

so after finished oil so chant drongo drongo loc-red-here-imp

When it had finished oiling itself, it sang: “*Tjatjiw* *tjatjiw*, stay here.

014 ku sikiliîkauîaw a su paîekakain i tjuruzaquzaquin.”

ku sikiliîkauîaw a su aî=pe-kaka-in i tjuru-zaqu-zaqu-en

I bring.back c your(s) qal=emerge-sibling-nom loc many-red-tree.sp-pf

I’ll bring back your brother from the sapindus wood.”

015 qau vaik a malap ta kaka aza tjatjiw.

qau vaik a m-alap ta kaka a-zua tjatjiw

so leave c af-take obl sibling c-that drongo

So the bird went to get the brother.

016 tevuta a kaka kinatsukatsu na tjatjiw.

te-vuta a kaka in=katsu-katsu nua tjatjiw

do-appear c sibling perf=red-carry by drongo

The brother appeared, carried by the bird.

017 qau avan a nu sikeîang ta tjatjiw tu mamazangiîan.

qau avan a nu si-keîang ta tjatjiw tu ma-ma-zangiî-an

so exact c of if-know obl drongo compl stat-stat-chief-nom

And that’s how we know that the black drongo bird is of chiefly rank.

[avan a nu: OA has *avanan-u*.]

018 qau inika qetsiqetsiin na Payuan a tjatjiw.

qau ini-ka qetsi-qetsi-en nua Payuan a tjatjiw

so not-after red-fight-pf by Paiwan c drongo

And Paiwan people don’t kill a black drongo bird.

There were two siblings. The older one went to the spring, and left the younger brother at home. When the older one came back from the spring, the brother wasn’t there; he had been taken by enemies and was gone. The older one cried: “This is awful(?). Where has brother gone?” She cried and went to look for him.

Then a black drongo bird appeared and alighted on a tree. “*Tjatjiw tjatjiw*, don’t cry so much. Pay me some real oil, and I’ll bring back (?) your brother from the sapindus wood.” She gave the bird some oil. When it had finished oiling itself, it sang: “*Tjatjiw tjatjiw*, stay here. I’ll bring back your brother from the sapindus wood.”

So the bird went to get the brother. The brother appeared, carried by the bird. And that’s how we know that the black drongo bird is of chiefly rank. And Paiwan people don’t kill a black drongo bird.

#### 056 THE ANT-EATER AND THE MONKEY qaruqaruman kata ÷ail (Tjauvaîi [or Tjavuaîi] village, p.251)

001 izua qaruqaruman kata ÷ail a mareqali.

i-zua qaruqaruman ka-ta ÷ail a mare-qali

loc-that ant.eater and-obl monkey c pair-friend

There were two friends, the ant-eater and the monkey.

002 aza ÷ail: “ari kikasivi, qalian,” ayain a qaruqaruman.

a-zua ÷ail ari ki-kasiw-i qali-an aya-en a qaruqaruman

c-that monkey go.on do-tree-hort friend-nom say-pf c ant.eater

The monkey said to the ant-eater: “Come on, friend, let’s go and collect wood.”

003 qau vaik a kikasiw.

qau vaik a ki-kasiw

so leave c do-tree They went to collect wood.

004 qau matsaqu aravats a ÷ail a kikasiw.

qau ma-tsaqu a-ravats a ÷ail a ki-kasiw

so stat-able c-true c monkey c do-tree

The monkey was very good at collecting wood;

005 aza qaruqaruman inika matsaqu a kikasiw.

a-zua qaruqaruman ini-ka ma-tsaqu a ki-kasiw

c-that ant.eater not-after stat-able c do-tree but the ant-eater wasn’t.

006 “tja kudain nu kikasiw itjen?” aya a qaruqaruman tua ÷ail

tja kuda-en nu ki-kasiw itjen aya a qaruqaruman tua ÷ail

we(inc) do.what-pf when do-tree f.we(inc) say c ant.eater obl monkey

a kivadaq.

a ki-vadaq

c do-ask “How do we collect wood?” the ant-eater asked the monkey.

007 “tja kilu÷ayan, qau matsaqu itjen a kikasiw,” ayain nua ÷ail.

tja ki-lu÷ay-an qau ma-tsaqu itjen a ki-kasiw aya-en nua ÷ail

we(inc) do-roll-lf so stat-able f.we(inc) c do-tree say-pf by monkey

“We roll around on it(?). Then we are good at collecting wood,” said the monkey.

008 qau kilu÷ayan nua qaruqaruman a maka pavavaw a îaviavia.

qau ki-lu÷ay-an nua qaruqaruman a maka pa-va-vaw a îa-via-via

so do-roll-lf by ant.eater c via cause-red-above c class-red-grass

So the ant-eater rolled around (on the wood (?)) on the grass.

[kilu÷ayan: kiludayan in OA.]

009 inika putjaumaî.

ini-ka pu-tja-uma-î

not-after have-more-other-times He didn’t follow instructions.

[putjaumaî: unclear, translation follows Japanese.]

010 qau vaik i umaq tiamadju.

qau vaik i umaq ti-a-madju

so leave loc house f-pl-3rd.pers And they went home.

[or, And they left home; translation follows Japanese.]

011 ka maîia, “ari kigang itjen,” aya a qaruqaruman tua ÷ail.

ka ma-îia ari ki-gang itjen aya a qaruqaruman tua ÷ail

after stat-dawn go.on do-crab f.we(inc) say c ant.eater obl monkey

Next day, “Come on, we’re going to collect crabs,” said the ant-eater to the monkey.

012 qau vaik a kigang.

qau vaik a ki-gang

so leave c do-crab So they went to get crabs.

013 qau inika matsaqu a kigang a ÷ail.

qau ini-ka ma-tsaqu a ki-gang a ÷ail

so not-after stat-able c do-crab c monkey

The monkey wasn’t good at collecting crabs.

014 “tja kudain nu kigang itjen?” aya a ÷ail a kivadaq tua

tja kuda-en nu ki-gang itjen aya a ÷ail a ki-vadaq tua

we(inc) do.what-pf when do-crab f.we(inc) say c monkey c do-ask obl

qaruqaruman.

qaruqaruman

ant.eater “How do we collect crabs?” the monkey asked the ant-eater.

015 qau “tja tjuqtjuqen a tja lima,” ayain nua qaruqaruman a

qau tja tjuqtjuq-en a tja lima aya-en nua qaruqaruman a

so we(inc) pound-pf c our(inc) hand say-pf by ant.eater c

tjemumaî.

em=tjumaî

af=discuss “We hit our arms,” the ant-eater told the monkey.

016 qau tjuqtjuqen a lima nua ÷ail.

qau tjuqtjuq-en a lima nua ÷ail

so pound-pf c hand by monkey The monkey hit his arms;

017 îakua saqetju sakamaya.

îakua saqetju sakamaya

but painful only but it only hurt.

018 inika matsaqu a kigang a ÷ail.

ini-ka ma-tsaqu a ki-gang a ÷ail

not-after stat-able c do-crab c monkey

The monkey wasn’t any good at collecting crabs.

019 qau “temapi itjen tua vasa,” aya tiamadju.

qau em=tapi itjen tua vasa aya ti-a-madju

so af=bake f.we(inc) obl taro say f-pl-3rd.pers

“We’ll cook some taro in an earth oven,” they said.

020 qau temapi; penuîat a tinapi.

qau em=tapi en=puîat a in=tapi

so af=bake af=all c perf=bake

So they made an earth-oven; all their taro was cooked (?).

021 “ari, mavanaw itjen a sema djanaw,” aya.

ari ma-vanaw itjen a em=sa djanaw aya

go.on stat-bathe f.we(inc) c af=go lake say

“Come on, we’ll bathe in the pool,” they said.

022 vaik a mavanaw.

vaik a ma-vanaw

leave c stat-bathe They went to bathe.

023 qau “pare ledeledepi; tima a tsuatsuay?” aya tiamadju.

qau pare lede-ledep-i ti-ima a tsua-tsuay aya ti-a-madju

so pair red-descend-hort f-who c red-long.time say f-pl-3rd.pers

“Let’s both dive in, and see who can stay under longest,” they said.

024 “nu maitazua, tiakenay anan,” aya a ÷ail.

nu ma-aya-ta-zua ti-aken-ay anan aya a ÷ail

when stat-be.thus-?-that f-I-will still say c monkey

“All right; I’ll go first,” said the monkey.

025 qau lemdep a ÷ail.

qau m=ledep a ÷ail

so af=descend c monkey The monkey dived in;

026 inika tsuatsuay tjekatsauan.

ini-ka tsua-tsuay tje-ka-tsau-an

not-after red-long.time do.at-main-being-lf and quite soon came out again.

027 “tiakenay anga,” aya qaruqaruman.

ti-aken-ay anga aya qaruqaruman

f-I-will indeed say ant.eater “Now me,” said the ant-eater.

028 qau lemdep a qaruqaruman.

qau m=ledep a qaruqaruman

so af=descend c ant.eater The ant-eater dived in;

029 sa kemali a îetaladj tua qipu; padjaîun tua tinapi niamadju.

sa em=kali a îe-taladj tua qipu pa-djaîun tua in=tapi ni-a-madju

and af=dig c go.to-inside obl soil cause-arrive obl perf=bake of-pl-3rd.pers

and dug into the ground, and reached the taros they had cooked.

030 qau kanen a ku÷aku÷alan a tinapi.

qau kan-en a ku÷a-ku÷al-an a in=tapi

so eat-pf c red-fat-nom c perf=bake He ate the big taros;

031 qau tjekatsauan a qaruqaruman.

qau tje-ka-tsau-an a qaruqaruman

so do.at-main-being-nom c ant.eater

and then the ant-eater came out of the water.

032 qau “tja kanaw a tja tinapi,” aya.

qau tja kan-aw a tja in=tapi aya

so we(inc) eat-lf c we(inc) perf=bake say

“We’ll eat what we’ve cooked,” they said;

033 sutapian; qau nekanga a ku÷aku÷alan.

su-tapi-an qau neka-anga a ku÷a-ku÷al-an

remove-bake-lf so no-indeed c red-fat-nom

and uncovered the earth-oven. There were no big taros.

034 qau kanen anga azua ke÷ike÷ian.

qau kan-en anga a-zua ke÷i-ke÷i-an

so eat-pf indeed c-that red-small-nom So they just ate the small ones.

035 ka makakan, “putsaqi itjen, tuki tima ku÷aku÷al a tsaqi.

ka maka-kan pu-tsaqi itjen tu-ki ti-ima ku÷a-ku÷al a tsaqi

after finished-eat have-dung f.we(inc) compl-how f-who red-fat c dung

When they had finished eating the two of them said: “We’ll defecate, and see who has the bigger faeces.

036 azua tjaku÷al a tsaqi, avan nu nakeman tua tinapi a

a-zua tja-ku÷al a tsaqi avan nu na-em=kan tua in=tapi a

c-that more-fat c dung exact of past-af=eat obl perf=bake c

ku÷aku÷alan,” aya tiamadju a ma÷usa.

ku÷a-ku÷al-an aya ti-a-madju a ma-÷usa

red-fat-nom say f-pl-3rd.pers c num-two

The one with the bigger faeces will be the one who has eaten the big cooked taros.”

037 qau putsaqi tiamadju.

qau pu-tsaqi ti-a-madju

so have-dung f-pl-3rd.pers They defecated,

038 tjaku÷al a tsaqi nua qaruqaruman.

tja-ku÷al a tsaqi nua qaruqaruman

more-fat c dung of ant.eater and the ant-eater’s faeces was bigger.

039 qau vetseqelen a qaruqaruman nua ÷ail.

qau vetseqel-en a qaruqaruman nua ÷ail

so grasp-pf c ant.eater by monkey

And the monkey strangled the ant-eater.

040 qau “paîaîama-i,” aya tiamadju a maîavar.

qau pa-îa-îama-i aya ti-a-madju a ma-îavar

so cause-red-burn-hort say f-pl-3rd.pers c stat-speak

“Let’s set fire to one another,” they decided.

041 qau “tiakenay isangas,” aya ti qaruqaruman.

qau ti-aken-ay i-sangas aya ti qaruqaruman

so f-I-will loc-first say f.h ant.eater “Me first,” said the ant-eater.

042 qau îamain ti qaruqaruman; inika matsay.

qau îama-en ti qaruqaruman ini-ka m-patsay

so burn-pf f.h ant.eater not-after af-die

The (grass round the (OA)) ant-eater was set on fire; but he didn’t die.

043 “tiaken anga,” aya a ÷ail.

ti-aken anga aya a ÷ail

f-I indeed say c monkey “Now me,” said the monkey.

044 qau îevavaw ta kasiw.

qau îe-va-vaw ta kasiw

so go.to-red-above obl tree He went up a tree.

045 ka îamain, matsay a ÷ail.

ka îama-en m-patsay a ÷ail

after burn-pf af-die c monkey When he/it was set on fire, the monkey died.

046 ka matsay a ÷ail, kitjen a qalitsi nua ÷ail; saka mevaîut

ka m-patsay a ÷ail kitj-en a qalitsi nua ÷ail sa-ka me-vaîut

after af-die c monkey slice-pf c penis of monkey and-after af-alive

a ÷ail.

a ÷ail

c monkey

When the monkey had died, [the ant-eater] cut off the monkey’s penis. And the monkey came back to life.

047 sipakan ni qaruqaruman tua ÷ail azua qalitsi.

si-pa-kan ni qaruqaruman tua ÷ail a-zua qalitsi

if-cause-eat by ant.eater obl monkey c-that penis

The ant-eater fed the penis to the monkey.

048 qau “kemakan ti ÷ail tua qalitsi nimadju,” semenasenay ti

qau em=ka-kan ti ÷ail tua qalitsi ni-madju em=sena-senay ti

so af=red-eat f.h monkey obl penis of-3rd.pers af=red-chant f.h

qaruqaruman.

qaruqaruman

ant.eater And the ant-eater sang: “The monkey is eating his penis.”

049 “anemanema aya sun?” aya a ÷ail.

a-nema-nema aya sun aya a ÷ail

?-red-what say f.you(s) say c monkey

“What are you saying?” said the monkey.

[anemanema aya: anemanemaya in OA.]

050 “kidjavadjavay aken tua se Tjavaliîuk tua ku kinipangaîan,”

ki-djava-djavay aken tua se Tjavaliîuk tua ku in=ki-pangaî-an

do-red-do.much f.I obl person.of (place) obl my perf=do-portion-nom

aya ti qaruqaruman.

aya ti qaruqaruman

say f.h ant.eater

“I’m thanking the Tjavaliîuk people for the share (of meat) they have given me,” said the ant-eater.

[kidjavadjavay: F74 under djavay ‘work much’ has djava-djavay as a common greeting.]

051 sauniuni “qau pai patsuni a nisun,” ayain a ÷ail nua

sa-uni-uni qau pai pa-tsun-i a ni-sun aya-en a ÷ail nua

and-red-soon so well cause-see-hort c of-you(s) say-pf c monkey by

qaruqaruman.

qaruqaruman

ant.eater Later the ant-eater said to the monkey: “Let’s look at your private parts.”

052 qau qayamen a nimadju na ÷ail; nekanga a qalitsi; kinan anga

qau qayam-en a ni-madju nua ÷ail neka-anga a qalitsi in=kan anga

so inspect-pf c of-3rd.pers by monkey no-indeed c penis perf=eat indeed

a nimadju.

a ni-madju

c of-3rd.pers The monkey had a look, and he had no penis; it had been eaten.

There were two friends, the ant-eater and the monkey. The monkey said to the ant-eater: “Come on, friend, let’s go and collect wood.” They went to collect wood. The monkey was very good at collecting wood; but the ant-eater wasn’t. “How do we collect wood?” the ant-eater asked the monkey. “We roll around on it (?). Then we are good at collecting wood,” said the monkey. So the ant-eater rolled around (on the wood (?)) on the grass. He didn’t follow instructions (?). And they went home (OA, *or* And they left home).

Next day, “Come on, we’re going to collect crabs,” said the ant-eater to the monkey. So they went to get crabs. The monkey wasn’t good at collecting crabs. “How do we collect crabs?” the monkey asked the ant-eater. “We hit our arms,” the ant-eater told the monkey. The monkey hit his arms; but it only hurt. The monkey wasn’t any good at collecting crabs.

“We’ll cook some taro in an earth oven,” they said. So they made an earth-oven; all their taro was cooked(?) “Come on, we’ll bathe in the pool,” they said. They went to bathe. “Let’s both dive in, and see who can stay under longest,” they said. “All right; I’ll go first,” said the monkey. The monkey dived in; and quite soon came out again. “Now me,” said the ant-eater. The ant-eater dived in; and dug into the ground, and reached the taros they had cooked. He ate the big taros; and then the ant-eater came out of the water. “We’ll eat what we’ve cooked,” they said; and uncovered the earth-oven. There were no big taros. So they just ate the small ones. When they had finished eating the two of them said: “We’ll defecate, and see who has the bigger faeces. The one with the bigger faeces will be the one who has eaten the big cooked taros.” They defecated, and the ant-eater’s faeces was bigger. And the monkey strangled the ant-eater.

“Let’s set fire to one another,” they decided. “Me first,” said the ant-eater. The (grass round the (OA)) ant-eater was set on fire; but he didn’t die. “Now me,” said the monkey. He went up a tree. When he/it was set on fire, the monkey died. When the monkey had died, [the ant-eater] cut off the monkey’s penis. And the monkey came back to life. The ant-eater fed the penis to the monkey. And the ant-eater sang: “The monkey is eating his penis.”

“What are you saying?” said the monkey. “I’m thanking the Tjavaliîuk people for the share (of meat) they have given me,” said the ant-eater. Later the ant-eater said to the monkey: “Let’s look at your private parts.” The monkey had a look, and he had no penis; it had been eaten.

#### 057 VALULIAW ti Valuliaw (Tjauvaîi ([or Tjavuaîi] village, p.254)

001 izua ti Valuliaw, neka nu kina, neka nu kama, neka nu kaka.

i-zua ti Valuliaw neka nu kina neka nu kama neka nu kaka

loc-that f.h (name) no of mother no of father no of sibling

There was a person called Valuliaw, with no mother, father or siblings.

002 izua za ramaîeng a vavayan alapen ti Valuliaw tu vuvu.

i-zua zua ramaîeng a vavayan alap-en ti Valuliaw tu vuvu

loc-that that adult c female take-pf f.h (name) compl grandchild

An old woman took Valuliaw as her grandchild.

003 nu vaik i vavua, sikim tua nakuyakuya nua qaliqali.

nu vaik i va-vua si-kim tua na-kuya-kuya nua qali-qali

when leave loc red-field if-search obl stat-red-bad by red-friend

When they went to the fields, others chose for them the bad land (*or* others searched out the bad (?unused and therefore fertile) land.

004 nu sema vavua, itaita qadaw.

nu em=sa va-vua ita-ita qadaw

when af=go red-field red-one sun

When they went to the fields, they went only for one day at a time.

005 îakua nu patjara kivaqu anga, tjaîalialiavan a vaqu nuaza

îakua nu pa-tjara ki-vaqu anga tjaîa-lia-liaw-an a vaqu nua-zua

but when cause-surely do-millet indeed most-red-many-nom c millet of-that

marevuvu.

mare-vuvu

pair-grandparent

But when it came to millet harvest time, this grandmother and grandchild pair had the most millet.

006 nu qemaîup, sikim tua tseva tua qiîu na karang nua qaliqali.

nu em=qaîup si-kim tua tseva tua qiîu nua karang nua qali-qali

when af=hunt if-search obl ravine obl trail of lynx by red-friend

When they went hunting, others chose for him the ravines and lynx trails (*or* others searched the ravines and lynx trails).

007 îakua nu maselem saka uri sema umaq anga, ti Valuliaw a

îakua nu ma-selem sa-ka uri em=sa umaq anga ti Valuliaw a

but when stat-dark and-after will af=go house indeed f.h (name) c

liaw a inalap.

liaw a in-alap

many c perf-take

But when it was dark and they were going back home, Valuliaw had caught the most.

008 aitsu a ti Valuliaw avan anga nu kakiîuanan

aya-i-tsu a ti Valuliaw avan anga nu ka-ki-îuan-an

be.thus-loc-this c f.h (name) exact indeed of become-self-example-nom

nua Payuan nu temulu tua aîak.

nua Payuan nu em=tulu tua aîak

by Paiwan when af=teach obl child

When Paiwan people teach their children, it is this Valuliaw who is held out as a model.

There was a person called Valuliaw, with no mother, father or siblings. An old woman took Valuliaw as her grandchild. When they went to the fields, others chose for them the bad land (*or* others searched out the bad (?unused and therefore fertile) land.) When they went to the fields, they went only for one day at a time. But when it came to millet harvest time, this grandmother and grandchild pair had the most millet. When they went hunting, others chose for him the ravines and lynx trails (*or* others searched the ravines and lynx trails.) But when it was dark and they were going back home, Valuliaw had caught the most. When Paiwan people teach their children, it is this Valuliaw who is held out as a model.

#### 058 PUïAïUïAïUYAN AND TJUKUTJUKU Puîaîuîaîuyan kati Tjukutjuku (Tjaîakavus village, p.255)

[Much of the meaning of this text is obscure.]

001 izua i Makazayazaya aza ti Tjukutjuku putsekeî tjai

i-zua i Makazayazaya a-zua ti Tjukutjuku pu-tsekeî tjai

loc-that loc (place) c-that f.h (name) have-spouse obl.h

Kuîeîuîeîu, puaîak tjai Puîaîuîaîuyan.

Kuîeîuîeîu pu-aîak tjai Puîaîuîaîuyan

(name) have-child obl.h (name)

In Makazayazaya there was a person called Tjukutjuku who married Kuîeîuîeîu, and they had a child called Puîaîuîaîuyan.

002 i Makalaulauz ti Muakakai putsekeî tjai Puîaîuîaîuyan, puaîak

i Makalaulauz ti Muakakai pu-tsekeî tjai Puîaîuîaîuyan pu-aîak

loc (place) f.h (name) have-spouse obl.h (name) have-child

tjai Tjukutjuku.

tjai Tjukutjuku

obl.h (name)

In Makalaulauz Muakakai married Puîaîuîaîuyan, and their child was Tjukutjuku.

003 vaik ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a kisudju tjai Tjukutjuku.

vaik ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a ki-sudju tjai Tjukutjuku

leave f.h (name) c do-sweetheart obl.h (name)

Puîaîuîaîuyan went to court Tjukutjuku.

004 sipakatjeluî vaik a tsemikel sema Makazayazaya.

sipaka-tjelu-î vaik a em=tsikel em=sa Makazayazaya

num.of.day-three-times leave c af=return af=go (place)

On the third day he went back to Makazayazaya.

005 “sa-u, Vungavan, kivadaqi tu kemudakuda a silisi.”

sa-u Vungavan ki-vadaq-i tu em=kuda-kuda a si-lisi

go-imp (name) do-ask-hort compl af=red-do.what c if-bride.price

“Vungavan, go and ask about the bride-price.”

006 “aku a izua za putjaumaumaî aza lisian tu

aku a i-zua zua pu-tja-uma-uma-î a-zua lisi-an tu

why c loc-that that have-more-red-other-times c-that bride.price-nom obl

mamazangiîan?

ma-ma-zangiî-an

stat-stat-chief-nom

“Why should there be any change in the bride-price for chiefs?

007 taiday za taiday anga; pusiîevavaw tu tapuluq.”

ta-iday zua ta-iday anga pu-si-îe-va-vaw tu ta-puluq

one-hundred that one-hundred indeed have-if-go.to-red-above obl one-ten

A hundred is a hundred, and add ten.”

008 “anema aya, vuvu i Vungavan?”

a-nema aya vuvu i Vungavan

?-what say grandparent loc (name)

“What do they say, Granny Vungavan?”

[*anema aya* was *anemaya*]

009 “‘aku a izua za putjaumaumaî aza lisian tu

aku a i-zua zua pu-tja-uma-uma-î a-zua lisi-an tu

why c loc-that that have-more-red-other-times c-that bride.price-nom obl

mamazangiîan?

ma-ma-zangiî-an

stat-stat-chief-nom

“They just say: ‘Why should there be any change in bride-price for chiefs?

010 taiday za taiday anga; pusiîevavaw tu tapuluq’,

ta-iday zua ta-iday anga pu-si-îe-va-vaw tu ta-puluq

one-hundred that one-hundred indeed have-if-go.to-red-above obl one-ten

aya sakamaya.”

aya sakamaya

say only A hundred is a hundred, and add ten.’”

011 “ki tjen a qemaîup nutiaw, îa qalian, a kiveîangaw

ki tjen a em=qaîup nu-tiaw îa qali-an a ki-ve-îangaw

will f.we(inc) c af=hunt when-one.day class friend-nom c do-?-plant.sp

tja sipaputsekeî.

tja si-pa-pu-tsekeî

we(inc) if-cause-have-spouse

“We’ll go hunting tomorrow, friends, and get head-wreaths for the wedding.

012 ari qaîupi.

ari qaîup-i

go.on hunt-hort Come on, let’s go hunting.

013 kiveîangaîangavu a maqatsuvutsuvung.

ki-ve-îanga-îangaw-u a ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung

do-?-red-plant.sp-imp c stat-?-red-complete

Young people, collect the head-wreaths;

[*tsuvung* has sense ‘adult’ here, so whole word means ‘young adults’.]

014 vetsiku a ramaîemaîeng.

vetsik-u a maîe=ramaîeng

mark-imp c red=adult old people carve the meat.

[*vetsiku*: = *vutsiqu* ‘cut’?]

015 tja su tjatjainu anan a îavalian?”

tja su tjatjainu anan a îa-vali-an

we(inc) remove ? still c class-grass.sp-nom

How should the grass decorations be?”

016 “tja su tjakake÷i anan.”

tja su tja-ka-ke÷i anan

more remove more-?-small still “The smaller the better.”

017 “ari saumaqi anga.”

ari sa-umaq-i anga

go.on go-house-hort indeed “Come on, let’s go home.”

018 “tjumaqu anan a kaiv.”

tju-umaq-u anan a kaiv

there-house-imp still c meal “Go home and have supper.”

019 tsikel anga a maqatsuvutsuvung a ramaîemaîeng, sa seman

tsikel anga a ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung a maîe=ramaîeng sa em=sane

return indeed c stat-?-red-complete c red=adult and af=make

veîangaîangaw a maqatsuvutsuvung, seman vutjuvutjuî a ramaîemaîeng.

ve-îanga-îangaw a ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung em=sane vutju-vutjuî a maîe=ramaîeng

?-red-plant.sp c stat-?-red-complete af=make red-meat c red=adult

The young and old go back, and the young make head-wreaths, and the old deal with the meat.

[*tsikel*: should be *em=tsikel*?]

020 “ari anga a paputsekeî a sema Makalaulauz.”

ari anga a pa-pu-tsekeî a em=sa Makalaulauz

go.on indeed c cause-have-spouse c af=go (place)

“Let’s go to Makalaulauz for the wedding.”

021 sa vaik a tamaqaîan tjaîu sasukuzan.

sa vaik a ta-ma-qaîa-an tjaîu sa-sukuz-an

and leave c ?-stat-outsider-nom reach red-stop-nom

So the whole village went to the resting place.

022 matu matateztez sinikuang.

ma-tu ma-ta-teztez in=si-kuang

stat-alike stat-?-noise.of.gun perf=if-firearm Shots echoed round. (?)

023 “tsasavu, îa Tjukutjuku.

tsasaw-u îa Tjukutjuku

outside-imp class (name) “Come out, Tjukutjuku clan.

024 uzay anga a se Makazayazaya.”

uzay anga a se Makazayazaya

there indeed c person.of (place) Makazayazaya people are here.”

025 “uzay anga nia apu.

uzay anga nia apu

there indeed our(exc) betel “Here’s our betel-nut.

026 ki mun a namaqusaw anga, ki mun a namavali

ki mun a na-ma-qusaw anga ki mun a na-ma-vali

will f.you(p) c past-stat-thirst indeed will f.you(p) c past-stat-wind

anga, nu sika i djalan anga.”

anga nu sika i djalan anga

indeed of reason loc road indeed

You will be thirsty and wind-blown from the journey.”

027 “ui anga.

ui anga

yes indeed “Yes indeed,

028 namaqusaw anga men, namavali anga men, nia

na-ma-qusaw anga amen na-ma-vali anga amen nia

past-stat-thirst indeed f.we(exc) past-stat-wind indeed f.we(exc) our(exc)

sika i djalan anga.”

sika i djalan anga

reason loc road indeed

we are thirsty and wind-blown from our journey.

029 sipakatjeluî “ari anga.

sipaka-tjelu-î ari anga

num.of.day-three-times go.on indeed On the third day they said: “Let’s go now.

030 mavurvur anga îa tja kake÷ian îa tja ramaîemaîeng.”

ma-vurvur anga îa tja ka-ke÷i-an îa tja maîe=ramaîeng

stat-worry indeed class our(inc) red-small-nom class our(inc) red=adult

Our children and old people will be anxious.”

[mavurvur: F355 has vuruvur]

031 ta tsaviî anga ti Puîaîuîaîuyan i Makalaulauz; qau sa ika

ta tsaviî anga ti Puîaîuîaîuyan i Makalaulauz qau sa ika

one year indeed f.h (name) loc (place) so and not

puaîak.

pu-aîak

have-child Puîaîuîaîuyan was a year in Makalaulauz; but no child was born.

032 “sa-u, Vungavan.

sa-u Vungavan

go-imp (name) “Go, Vungavan,

033 ‘idu alapan amen ta vaqu i salang,’ aya-u ti

id-u alap-an amen ta vaqu i salang aya-u ti

come-imp take-lf f.we(exc) obl millet loc grain.store say-imp f.h

Puîaîuîaîuyan.”

Puîaîuîaîuyan

(name) tell Puîaîuîaîuyan: ‘Get us some millet from the granary.’”

034 “aku a mangtjez sun, vuvu i Vungavan?”

aku a m-pangetjez sun vuvu i Vungavan

why c af-come f.you(s) grandparent loc (name)

“Why have you come, Granny Vungavan?”

035 “singelit aken tjanumun.”

singelit aken tjanu-mun

miss f.I obl-you(p) “I missed you.”

036 “anema aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan?”

a-nema aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

?-what say f.h (name) “What does Puîaîuîaîuyan say?”

[anema aya was anemaya]

037 “marekutj aken a patjanema.

ma-rekutj aken a pa-tja-nema

stat-fear f.I c cause-more-what “I was afraid to say anything

038 nu ku patsunan a namare kikavetsengel.”

nu ku pa-tsun-an a namare ki-ka-vetsengel

when I cause-see-lf c ? do-main-crop when I saw all the crops.” (?)

039 “sa-u, Vurivuri.

sa-u Vurivuri

go-imp (name) “Go, Vurivuri,

040 qaqivu ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.”

qa-qivu ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

red-speak f.h (name) speak to Puîaîuîaîuyan.”

041 “aku a mangtjeztjez sun, vuvu i Vurivuri.”

aku a m-tjez=pangetjez sun vuvu i Vurivuri

why c af-red=come f.you(s) grandparent loc (name)

“Why have you come, Granny Vurivuri?”

042 “‘idu,’ aya tia tjaina, ‘alapan amen ta vaqu a sema

id-u aya ti-a tjaina alap-an amen ta vaqu a em=sa

come-imp say f.h-pl mother.h take-lf f.we(exc) obl millet c af=go

salang’.”

salang

grain.store “Your mother’s family say: ‘Get some millet for us from the granary.’”

043 “aku a sikaîaîava tjanuaken?”

aku a si-ka-îa-îava tjanu-aken

why c if-main-red-wait obl-I “Why are you waiting for me?”

044 “ui, ari, anema aya?

ui ari a-nema aya

yes go.on ?-what say “Yes, come on. What does he say?

[anema aya was anemaya]

045 nakuya tsu ika mun a puaîak.

na-kuya tsu ika mun a pu-aîak

stat-bad this not f.you(p) c have-child It’s bad that you have no child.

046 kitjuvadayu sakamaya.”

ki-tju-vaday-u sakamaya

do-apart-separate-imp only Get on and separate.”

047 “iya, manu anema nu siaya?

iya manu a-nema nu si-aya

ah then ?-what you(p) if-say “Oh, so what are you saying?

048 iru aken a pukaui a kitjuvaday.”

iru aken a pu-ka-ui a ki-tju-vaday

will.not f.I c have-become-yes c do-apart-separate I won’t agree to separate.”

049 “anema aya tia kama tia kina tjanusun?”

a-nema aya ti-a kama ti-a kina tjanu-sun

?-what say f.h-pl father f.h-pl mother obl-you(s)

“What do your father and mother say to you?”

[anema aya was anemaya]

050 “inika anema aya.”

ini-ka a-nema aya

not-after ?-what say “Nothing.”

[anema aya was anemaya]

051 sa qemauqaung tia Tjukutjuku kati Puîaîuîaîuyan.

sa em=qau-qaung ti-a Tjukutjuku ka-ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

and af=red-cry f.h-pl (name) and-f.h (name)

And Tjukutjuku and Puîaîuîaîuyan cried.

052 lemigu a se Kanavanavaî tu mavurvurvur tia Tjukutjuku.

em=ligu a se Kanavanavaî tu ma-vur-vurvur ti-a Tjukutjuku

af=reputed c person.of (place) compl stat-red-worry f.h-pl (name)

The Kanavanavaî people heard that the Tjukutjuku family were anxious.

053 “ari, kisudju-i a sema Makalaulauz,” aya.

ari ki-sudju-i a em=sa Makalaulauz aya

go.on do-sweetheart-hort c af=go (place) say

“Come on, let’s go courting to Makalaulauz,” they said.

054 saka izuanan ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.

sa-ka i-zua-anan ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

and-after loc-that-still f.h (name) Now Puîaîuîaîuyan was still there.

055 “uzay anga a se Kanavanavaî a muri kisudju tjanusun.

uzay anga a se Kanavanavaî a ma-uri ki-sudju tjanu-sun

there indeed c person.of (place) c stat-will do-sweetheart obl-you(s)

“There are Kanavanavaî people here who want to court you.

056 îakua iru a sika su÷am uta.

îakua iru a sika su÷am uta

but will.not c reason disappointed also But it’s not to be resented.

057 imazamazanan aken.

i-maza-maza-anan aken

loc-red-here-still f.I I’m still here.

058 qau a marekakakaka itjen a puraketj.

qau a mare-kaka-kaka itjen a pu-raketj

so c pair-red-sibling f.we(inc) c have-always We are siblings for ever.

059 tsasavu, îa Tjukutjuku,” aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.

tsasaw-u îa Tjukutjuku aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

outside-imp class (name) say f.h (name)

Come out, Tjukutjuku clan,” said Puîaîuîaîuyan.

060 “iru aken a pukaui.”

iru aken a pu-ka-ui

will.not f.I c have-become-yes “I won’t agree.”

061 “kana ika sun a pukaui, ki navaik aken a sema

ka-na ika sun a pu-ka-ui ki na-vaik aken a em=sa

after-then not f.you(s) c have-become-yes will past-leave f.I c af=go

Makazayazaya.”

Makazayazaya

(place) “If you don’t agree, I’ll go off to Makazayazaya.”

[navaik: function of na- ‘past’ unclear.]

062 sa vaik anga ti Tjukutjuku a sema tsasaw.

sa vaik anga ti Tjukutjuku a em=sa tsasaw

and leave indeed f.h (name) c af=go outside So Tjukutjuku went outside.

063 “uzay anga nia apu kinarasingan.

uzay anga nia apu kinarasingan

there indeed our(exc) betel ? “Here’s our betel-nut and beer.

064 tekelu anga.

tekel-u anga

drink-imp indeed Have a drink.

065 ki mun a namaqusaw anga; ki mun a namavali

ki mun a na-ma-qusaw anga ki mun a na-ma-vali

will f.you(p) c past-stat-thirst indeed will f.you(p) c past-stat-wind

anga; nu sika i djalan anga, nu sika i sasukuzan anga.”

anga nu sika i djalan anga nu sika i sa-sukuz-an anga

indeed of reason loc road indeed of reason loc red-stop-nom indeed

You’ll be thirsty and wind-blown from your journey and from being at the resting place.”

066 “ui, nia gaugavi, sa nia apu-i, sa nia tekeli.

ui nia gawgaw-i sa nia apu-i sa nia tekel-i

yes we(exc) accept-hort and we(exc) betel-hort and we(exc) drink-hort

“Yes, we accept; we’ll chew betel and drink.

067 namaqusaw anga men, namavali anga men a

na-ma-qusaw anga amen na-ma-vali anga amen a

past-stat-thirst indeed f.we(exc) past-stat-wind indeed f.we(exc) c

paquliqulid.”

pa-quli-qulid

cause-red-real We certainly are thirsty and wind-blown.”

068 sipakatjeluî “ari anga.”

sipaka-tjelu-î ari anga

num.of.day-three-times go.on indeed

On the third day they said: “Now let’s go.”

069 sa sema Kanavanavaî anga tjaîu sasukuzan.

sa em=sa Kanavanavaî anga tjaîu sa-sukuz-an

and af=go (place) indeed reach red-stop-nom

And they went to Kanavanavaî to the resting place.

070 “sa-u, vuvu i Vungavan, tsikelu sa kivadaqi tu

sa-u vuvu i Vungavan tsikel-u sa ki-vadaq-i tu

go-imp grandparent loc (name) return-imp and do-ask-hort compl

kemudakuda a silisi.”

em=kuda-kuda a si-lisi

af=red-do.what c if-bride.price

“Go, Granny Vungavan; go back and ask the bride-price.”

071 “aku a izua putjaumaumaî aza lisian tu

aku a i-zua pu-tja-uma-uma-î a-zua lisi-an tu

why c loc-that have-more-red-other-times c-that bride.price-nom obl

mamazangiîan?

ma-ma-zangiî-an

stat-stat-chief-nom

“Why should there be any change in the bride-price for chiefs?

072 taiday za taiday anga; pusiîevavaw tu tapuluq.”

ta-iday zua ta-iday anga pu-si-îe-va-vaw tu ta-puluq

one-hundred that one-hundred indeed have-if-go.to-red-above obl one-ten

A hundred is a hundred; and add ten.”

073 “anema aya?”

a-nema aya

?-what say “What do they say?”

[anema aya was anemaya]

074 “‘aku a izua za putjaumaumaî aza lisian tu

aku a i-zua zua pu-tja-uma-uma-î a-zua lisi-an tu

why c loc-that that have-more-red-other-times c-that bride.price-nom obl

mamazangiîan?

ma-ma-zangiî-an

stat-stat-chief-nom

“They just say: ‘Why should there be any change in the bride-price for chiefs?

075 taiday za taiday anga; pusiîevavaw tu tapuluq,’

ta-iday zua ta-iday anga pu-si-îe-va-vaw tu ta-puluq

one-hundred that one-hundred indeed have-if-go.to-red-above obl one-ten

aya sakamaya.”

aya sakamaya

say only

A hundred is a hundred; and add ten.’”

076 “ari, anema aya?

ari a-nema aya

go.on ?-what say “Come on, what do they say?

[anema aya was anemaya]

077 qaîupi, sa tja kiveîangavi.”

qaîup-i sa tja ki-ve-îangaw-i

hunt-hort and we(inc) do-?-plant.sp-hort

Let’s go hunting, and collect head-wreaths.”

078 sipakapusaî a qemaîuqaîup.

sipaka-pa-usa-î a em=qaîu-qaîup

num.of.day-cause-two-times c af=red-hunt They hunted for two days.

[*sipakapusaî*: *pusaî* is irregular form for *÷usa*]

079 “kiveîangavu a maqatsuvutsuvung, vutsiqu a ramaîemaîeng.

ki-ve-îangaw-u a ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung vutsiq-u a maîe=ramaîeng

do-?-plant.sp-imp c stat-?-red-complete cut-imp c red=adult

“Young people, collect the head-wreaths; old people carve the meat.

[vutsiqu ‘cut, carve meat’ replaces OA vetsiku ‘marked, spotted’.]

080 tja su tjatjainu anan a îavalian?”

tja su tjatjainu anan a îa-vali-an

we(inc) remove ? still c class-grass.sp-nom

How should the grass decorations be?”

081 “tja su tjakake÷i anan.

tja su tja-ka-ke÷i anan

we(inc) remove more-red-small still “The smaller the better.”

[tjakake÷i: originally tja kake÷i, but joined here as in 016 above]

082 tjezua aza.

tje-zua a-zua

do.at-that c-that “That’s enough.

[tjezua: replaces unknown tsizu]

083 ari saumaqi.

ari sa-umaq-i

go.on go-house-hort Come on, let’s go home.

084 maselem a qadaw.

ma-selem a qadaw

stat-dark c sun Daylight is going.

085 surava-i a tja kiniveîangaw a tja inalap.

su-rava-i a tja in=ki-ve-îangaw a tja in-alap

remove-prepare-hort c we(inc) perf=do-?-plant.sp c we(inc) perf-take

Let’s unload the head-wreaths we’ve collected.

086 sa-u kaivu anan.”

sa-u kaiv-u anan

go-imp meal-imp still Go and get supper.”

087 tsemikel anga a maqatsuvutsuvung a ramaîemaîeng.

em=tsikel anga a ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung a maîe=ramaîeng

af=return indeed c stat-?-red-complete c red=adult

The young and old come back.

088 “sanu veîangaîangavu a maqatsuvutsuvung, sanu vutjuîu a

sane-u ve-îanga-îangaw-u a ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung sane-u vutjuî-u a

make-imp ?-red-plant.sp-imp c stat-?-red-complete make-imp meat-imp c

ramaîemaîeng.

maîe=ramaîeng

red=adult “Young people, make wreaths; old people, deal with the meat.

089 ki tjen a vaik a nutiaw a sema Makalaulauz a putsekeî.

ki tjen a vaik a nu-tiaw a em=sa Makalaulauz a pu-tsekeî

will f.we(inc) c leave c when-one.day c af=go (place) c have-spouse

Tomorrow we’ll go to Makalaulauz for the wedding.

090 ari a tamaqaîan.”

ari a ta-ma-qaîa-an

go.on c ?-stat-outsider-nom Let the whole village go.”

091 uzay anga a se Kanavanavaî i sasukuzan anga.

uzay anga a se Kanavanavaî i sa-sukuz-an anga

there indeed c person.of (place) loc red-stop-nom indeed

The Kanavanavaî people were there at the resting place.

092 matu mateztez a sinikuang.

ma-tu ma-teztez a in=si-kuang

stat-alike stat-noise.of.gun c perf=if-firearm Shots echoed round.

093 namaya i Makalaulauz a uta; sa pangtjez i katsasavan.

na-ma-aya i Makalaulauz a uta sa pangetjez i ka-tsasaw-an

past-stat-be.thus loc (place) c also and come loc main-outside-nom

The same in Makalaulauz too. So they reached the courtyard.

094 “tsasavu, îa Tjukutjuku.”

tsasaw-u îa Tjukutjuku

outside-imp class (name) “Come out, Tjukutjuku clan.”

095 “iru aken a pukaui.”

iru aken a pu-ka-ui

will.not f.I c have-become-yes “I won’t agree.”

096 qemaung sakamaya ti Tjukutjuku; namaya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.

em=qaung sakamaya ti Tjukutjuku na-ma-aya ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

af=cry only f.h (name) past-stat-be.thus f.h (name)

Tjukutjuku just cries. So does Puîaîuîaîuyan.

097 “tsasavu sakamaya.

tsasaw-u sakamaya

outside-imp only “Just come out.

098 kana ika sun a pukaui, ki navaik aken a sema

ka-na ika sun a pu-ka-ui ki na-vaik aken a em=sa

after-then not f.you(s) c have-become-yes will past-leave f.I c af=go

Makazayazaya.”

Makazayazaya

(place) If you don’t agree, I’ll go to Makazayazaya.”

099 sa tsasaw anga ti Tjukutjuku sipakatjeluî.

sa tsasaw anga ti Tjukutjuku sipaka-tjelu-î

and outside indeed f.h (name) num.of.day-three-times

So Tjukutjuku came out on the third day.

100 sa vaik ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a sema Makazayazaya.

sa vaik ti Puîaîuîaîuyan a em=sa Makazayazaya

and leave f.h (name) c af=go (place)

And Puîaîuîaîuyan went to Makazayazaya.

101 sipakasimuluq matsay ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.

sipaka-si-m-puluq m-patsay ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

num.of.day-if-af-ten af-die f.h (name)

On the tenth day Puîaîuîaîuyan died.

[sipakasimuluq: may not be m- af but simuluq in place of puluq]

102 sipakivadaq tu pasainu a tsemveî.

si-pa-ki-vadaq tu pa-sa-inu a m=tseveî

if-cause-do-ask compl cause-go-where c af=bury

They asked where he should be buried.

103 “pasazua-u aken ta pautez na kadjunangan a pasa

pa-sa-zua-u aken ta pautez nua ka-djunang-an a pa-sa

cause-go-that-imp f.I obl utmost of main-earth-nom c cause-go

kanavanavaî.”

ka-nava-navaî

main-red-south

“Put me at the edge of the land towards the south(-east) (*or* Kanavanavaî).”

[Kanavanavaî had a capital letter as a place name, but here it is in lower case, so is glossed, but with note that possibly it also refers to the proper name of the place]

104 matsay anga makeîang ti Puîaîuîaîuyan.

m-patsay anga ma-keîang ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

af-die indeed stat-know f.h (name) Puîaîuîaîuyan was known to be dead.

105 “ari kivangavangi a sema Kanavanavaî,” aya ti Tjukutjuku.

ari ki-vangavang-i a em=sa Kanavanavaî aya ti Tjukutjuku

go.on self-play-hort c af=go (place) say f.h (name)

“Let’s go to Kanavanavaî,” said Tjukutjuku.

106 tjaîu zua ta tsineveîan tjai Puîaîuîaîuyan.

tjaîu zua ta in=tseveî-an tjai Puîaîuîaîuyan

reach that obl perf=bury-nom obl.h (name)

They went to where Puîaîuîaîuyan was buried.

107 “tjaula-i aken.

tja-ula-i aken

more-lack-hort f.I “Leave me here.

108 kitsungal anan aken,” aya, sa kisan ka÷ia÷i, sa vaik a minlayap

ki-tsungal anan aken aya sa ki-sane ka÷ia÷i sa vaik a min-layap

do-knee still f.I say and do-make butterfly.sp and leave c af-fly

tia Tjukutjuku kati Puîaîuîaîuyan.

ti-a Tjukutjuku ka-ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

f.h-pl (name) and-f.h (name)

I’m going to pay my respects,” she said, and turned into a butterfly. So Tjukutjuku and Puîaîuîaîuyan flew away.

109 sa manu vaik anga kivadaq ta qadaw: “kemuda kana ika

sa manu vaik anga ki-vadaq ta qadaw em=kuda ka-na ika

and then leave indeed do-ask obl sun af=do.what after-then not

men a puaîak?”

amen a pu-aîak

f.we(exc) c have-child

And so they went to ask the sun: “Why can’t we have children?”

110 pavay tu tjara mau ita nia sialangan anga a qadaw, sa

pa-vay tu tjara mau ita ni-a si-alang-an anga a qadaw sa

cause-give obl surely num one of-pl if-make-nom indeed c sun and

puaîak tjai Kuîeîuîeîu.

pu-aîak tjai Kuîeîuîeîu

have-child obl.h (name)

The sun gave each of them one source of life, and they had a child called Kuîeîuîeîu.

111 sema katsauan aza ti Kuîeîuîeîu; vaik a sema Makazayazaya,

em=sa ka-tsau-an a-zua ti Kuîeîuîeîu vaik a em=sa Makazayazaya

af=go main-being-nom c-that f.h (name) leave c af=go (place)

sa penaîipaîi a sinipapipuîuan ta anemaneman anga.

sa en=paîi-paîi a in=si-pa-pi-puîu-an ta a-nema-nema-an anga

and af=red-magic c perf=if-cause-put-deficit-nom obl ?-red-what-nom indeed

This Kuîeîuîeîu came into the world, and went to Makazayazaya, and (magically) destroyed all the signs of mourning.

112 “tima tsu?

ti-ima tsu

f-who this “Who is this?

113 kemasinu tsu nu qaîan?

em=kasi-inu tsu nu qaîa-an

af=from-where this of outsider-nom What village does he come from?

114 tja djameqaw sakamaya.”

tja djameq-aw sakamaya

we(inc) catch-lf only We’ll just kill him.”

115 “qadjaw nimun.

qadjaw ni-mun

perhaps of-you(p) “It’s up to you.

116 îa vuvu i Tjukutjuku, îa vuvu i Kuîeîuîeîu.

îa vuvu i Tjukutjuku îa vuvu i Kuîeîuîeîu

oh grandparent loc (name) oh grandparent loc (name)

Granny Tjukutjuku, Grandpa Kuîeîuîeîu,

117 timunay a sangasangasan a djemameq tjanuaken.

ti-mun-ay a sanga-sangas-an a em=djameq tjanu-aken

f-you(p)-will c red-first-nom c af=catch obl-I

you should be the first to kill me.

118 aîak aken nia kina i Tjukutjuku, nia kama i Puîaîuîaîuyan.”

aîak aken ni-a kina i Tjukutjuku ni-a kama i Puîaîuîaîuyan

child f.I of-pl mother loc (name) of-pl father loc (name)

Tjukutjuku was my mother; Puîaîuîaîuyan was my father.”

119 sa izuanga sakamaya.

sa i-zua-anga sakamaya

and loc-that-indeed only So he stayed on there.

In Makazayazaya there was a person called Tjukutjuku who married Kuîeîuîeîu, and they had a child called Puîaîuîaîuyan. In Makalaulauz Muakakai married Puîaîuîaîuyan, and their child was Tjukutjuku. Puîaîuîaîuyan went to court Tjukutjuku. On the third day he went back to Makazayazaya. “Vungavan, go and ask about the bride-price.”

“Why should there be any change in the bride-price for chiefs? A hundred is a hundred, and add ten.” “What do they say, Granny Vungavan?”. “They just say: ‘Why should there be any change in bride-price for chiefs? A hundred is a hundred, and add ten.’” “We’ll go hunting tomorrow, friends, and get head-wreaths for the wedding. Come on, let’s go hunting. Young people, collect the head-wreaths; old people carve the meat.(?) How should the grass decorations be?” “The smaller the better.” “Come on, let’s go home.” “Go home and have supper.” The young and old go back, and the young make head-wreaths, and the old deal with the meat. “Let’s go to Makalaulauz for the wedding.”

So the whole village went to the resting place. Shots echoed round. “Come out, Tjukutjuku clan. Makazayazaya people are here.” “Here’s our betel-nut. You will be thirsty and wind-blown from the journey.” “Yes indeed, we are thirsty and wind-blown from our journey.”On the third day they said: “Let’s go now. Our children and old people will be anxious.”

Puîaîuîaîuyan was a year in Makalaulauz; but no child was born. “Go, Vungavan, tell Puîaîuîaîuyan: ‘Get us some millet from the granary.’” “Why have you come, Granny Vungavan?”. “I missed you.” “What does Puîaîuîaîuyan say?”. “I was afraid to say anything when I saw all the crops.” “Go, Vurivuri, speak to Puîaîuîaîuyan.” “Why have you come, Granny Vurivuri?”.“Your mother’s family say: ‘Get some millet for us from the granary.’” “Why are you waiting for me?”. “Yes, come on. What does he say? It’s bad that you have no child. Get on and separate.”

“Oh, so what are you saying? I won’t agree to separate.” “What do your father and mother say to you?” “Nothing.” And Tjukutjuku and Puîaîuîaîuyan cried. The Kanavanavaî people heard that the Tjukutjuku family were anxious. “Come on, let’s go courting to Makalaulauz,” they said. Now Puîaîuîaîuyan was still there. “There are Kanavanavaî people here who want to court you. But it’s not to be resented. I’m still here. We are siblings for ever. Come out, Tjukutjuku clan,” said Puîaîuîaîuyan. “I won’t agree.” “If you don’t agree, I’ll go off to Makazayazaya.”

So Tjukutjuku went outside. “Here’s our betel-nut and beer. Have a drink. You’ll be thirsty and wind-blown from your journey and from being at the resting place.” “Yes, we accept; we’ll chew betel and drink. We certainly are thirsty and wind-blown.” On the third day they said: “Now let’s go.” And they went to Kanavanavaî to the resting place. “Go, Granny Vungavan; go back and ask the bride-price.” “Why should there be any change in the bride-price for chiefs? A hundred is a hundred; and add ten.” “What do they say?” “They just say: ‘Why should there be any change in the bride-price for chiefs? A hundred is a hundred; and add ten.” “Come on, what do they say? Let’s go hunting, and collect head-wreaths.” They hunted for two days. “Young people, collect the head-wreaths; old people carve the meat. How should the grass decorations be?” “The smaller the better. That’s enough. Come on, let’s go home. Daylight is going. Let’s unload the head-wreaths we’ve collected. Go and get supper.” The young and old come back. “Young people, make wreaths; old people, deal with the meat. Tomorrow we’ll go to Makalaulauz for the wedding. Let the whole village go.”

The Kanavanavaî people were there at the resting place. Shots echoed round. The same in Makalaulauz too. So they reached the courtyard. “Come out, Tjukutjuku clan.” “I won’t agree.” Tjukutjuku just cries. So does Puîaîuîaîuyan. “Just come out. If you don’t agree, I’ll go to Makazayazaya. “So Tjukutjuku came out on the third day. And Puîaîuîaîuyan went to Makazayazaya. On the tenth day Puîaîuîaîuyan died. They asked where he should be buried. “Put me at the edge of the land towards the south(-east) (*or* Kanavanavaî).” Puîaîuîaîuyan was known to be dead. “Let’s go to Kanavanavaî,” said Tjukutjuku. They went to where Puîaîuîaîuyan was buried. “Leave me here. I’m going to pay my respects,” she said, and turned into a butterfly. So Tjukutjuku and Puîaîuîaîuyan flew away. And so they went to ask the sun: “Why can’t we have children? The sun gave each of them one source of life, and they had a child called Kuîeîuîeîu. This Kuîeîuîeîu came into the world, and went to Makazayazaya, and (magically) destroyed all the signs of mourning. “Who is this? What village does he come from? We’ll just kill him.” “It’s up to you. Granny Tjukutjuku, Grandpa Kuîeîuîeîu, you should be the first to kill me. Tjukutjuku was my mother; Puîaîuîaîuyan was my father.” So he stayed on there.

#### 059 WHITE OWL AND BROWN OWL(?) ngangay katua tjugeluy (Tjaîakavus village, p.265)

001 “ari, kivasa-i, îa Ngangay.

ari ki-vasa-i îa Ngangay

go.on do-taro-hort oh (name) “Come on, Ngangay, let’s collect some taro.

002 sevaîu ti Tjugeluy.”

sevaî-u ti Tjugeluy

carry.on.back-imp f.h (name) Carry Tjugeluy on your back.”

003 “uza, kina, mapiq aken.”

uza kina ma-piq aken

here mother stat-tired f.I “Here, mother, I’m tired.”

004 “ku alapaw anga i tja i navanavaî.”

ku alap-aw anga i tja i nava-navaî

I take-lf indeed loc more loc red-south

“I’ll take him down when we get fyrther down south (? *or* to the right hand end).

[tja i was tjai in OA]

005 “uza, kina, mapiq aken.”

uza kina ma-piq aken

here mother stat-tired f.I “Here, mother, I’m tired.”

006 “ku alapaw anga i siîeveîevetj.”

ku alap-aw anga i si-îeve-îevetj

I take-lf indeed loc if-red-level

“I’ll take him when we get to the end of the row.” (?)

007 “uza, kina, mapiq aken.”

uza kina ma-piq aken

here mother stat-tired I “Here, mother, I’m tired.”

008 “gaîu anan.

gaîu anan

slow still “Wait a bit.

009 uri kivasanan aken.

uri ki-vasa-anan aken

will do-taro-still f.I I’m going to get some more taro.

010 ku patutuaw anga nusauni, nuka djemaqudjaqut aken.”

ku pa-tutu-aw anga nu-sauni nuka em=djaqu-djaqut aken

I cause-breast-lf indeed when-soon even af=red-cut.off f.I

I’ll suckle him later, while I cut the taro ends off.”

011 “uza, kina, sadjelung ti Tjugeluy.”

uza kina sadjelung ti Tjugeluy

here mother heavy f.h (name) “Here, mother, Tjugeluy is heavy.”

012 “gaîu anan.

gaîu anan

slow still “Wait a bit.

013 kemsanan aken.”

m=kesa-anan aken

af=food-still f.I I’ll cook first.”

014 “ui, îakua mapiq aken.”

ui îakua ma-piq aken

yes but stat-tired f.I “Yes, but I’m tired.”

015 “gaîu anan.

gaîu anan

slow still “Wait a bit.

016 ku vutsilaw anan a tja kinsa a pasa qelutseqets.”

ku vutsil-aw anan a tja in=kesa a pa-sa qelutseqets

I set.down-lf still c our(inc) perf=food c cause-go tree.sp

I’ll set our food down on a tree.” (?)

017 “pai uzanga, kina, pakani ti Tjugeluy.”

pai uza-anga kina pa-kan-i ti Tjugeluy

well here-indeed mother cause-eat-pf f.h (name)

“Well, come on, mother, feed Tjugeluy.”

018 vuîuqan ta ngitsu.

vuîuq-an ta ngitsu

throw-lf obl skin She threw over some taro peel.

019 sikilunung ni Ngangay, sa patumu-i.

si-ki-lunung ni Ngangay sa patumu-i

if-do-crumb by (name) and hand.over-pf

Ngangay crumbled it up and handed it over to him.

020 “pai vuîuqi tu ita a ku kaka.”

pai vuîuq-i tu ita a ku kaka

well throw-hort obl one c my sibling “Throw one over for my brother.”

021 ngitsu sakamaya sivuîuq, sa îuîu-i tu sikilunung ni Ngangay.

ngitsu sakamaya si-vuîuq sa îuîu-i tu si-ki-lunung ni Ngangay

skin only if-throw and gather-pf obl if-do-crumb by (name)

It was just peel she threw over; and Ngangay picked it up and crumbled it up.

022 makakan anga; îeteku ti kina.

maka-kan anga îe-teku ti kina

finished-eat indeed go.to-down f.h mother

Her mother finished eating and got down (from the tree (OA)).

023 “uza, kina, mapiq anga ken.”

uza kina ma-piq anga aken

here mother stat-tired indeed f.I “Here, mother, I’m tired.”

024 “gaîu anan.

gaîu anan

slow still “Wait a bit.

025 djemaqut anan aken tu ku kinatsu a sema umaq.”

em=djaqut anan aken tu ku in=katsu a em=sa umaq

af=cut.off still f.I obl I perf=carry c af=go house

I’ll first take the taro home and cut the ends off.”

026 “pai tutu anga, kina; matsuîangata ti Tjugeluy.”

pai tutu anga kina ma-tsuîa-anga-ta ti Tjugeluy

well breast indeed mother stat-hungry-indeed-? f.h (name)

“Do suckle him, mother; Tjugeluy is really hungry.”

027 “gaîu anan.

gaîu anan

slow still “Wait a bit.

028 miravanan aken.

mi-rava-anan aken

af-prepare-still f.I I’ll load up.

029 tjumazamaza-u.

tju-maza-maza-u

there-red-here-imp Stay here.

030 ku tsikelaw anga.

ku tsikel-aw anga

I return-lf indeed I’ll be back.

031 ku palautaw anan tutsu a tsevatseva.”

ku pa-laut-aw anan tu-tsu a tseva-tseva

I cause-able-lf still obl-this c red-ravine

I’ll just get them across this ravine.”

032 “ainu anga i kina?” aya ti Ngangay.

a-inu anga i kina aya ti Ngangay

?-where indeed which mother say f.h (name)

“Where has mother got to?” said Ngangay.

033 nu patsun ta qutsivauvaw, “uzay anga ti kina a malap

nu pa-tsun ta qutsivauvaw uzay anga ti kina a m-alap

when cause-see obl firefly there indeed f.h mother c af-take

tjanuitjen.”

tjanu-itjen

obl-f.we(inc)

When she saw a fire-fly, she thought: “Now mother has come to collect us.”

034 nu djemaîun a qutsivauvaw, “ari kitjaula-u, Tjugeluy.

nu em=djaîun a qutsivauvaw ari ki-tja-ula-u Tjugeluy

when af=arrive c firefly go.on do-more-lack-imp (name)

When the fire-fly came, she said: “Come on, Tjugeluy, let’s stop this.

035 kisan anema itjen, qalian?

ki-sane a-nema itjen qali-an

do-make ?-what f.we(inc) friend-nom What shall we become, friend?

036 kisan qayaqayami.”

ki-sane qaya-qayam-i

do-make red-bird-hort Let’s become birds.”

037 penenge÷uq ta siaîa tu sikipuiku.

en=pe-nge÷uq ta si-aîa tu si-ki-pu-iku

af=emerge-sever obl if-carry.cloth compl if-do-have-tail

She tore the coverlet to make tails,

038 putsu÷eqen a vayar tu sikipupalaî.

pu-tsu÷eq-en a vayar tu si-ki-pu-palaî

have-split-pf c cape compl if-do-have-wing

and split (?) the cape to make wings.

039 “ari, îevavavi ta kasiw, sa tja patsuni ti kama.”

ari îe-va-vaw-i ta kasiw sa tja pa-tsun-i ti kama

go.on go.to-red-above-hort obl tree and we(inc) cause-see-hort f.h father

“Come on, let’s go up a tree and watch father.”

040 “ainu anga tja aîak, Tjukutjuku?”

a-inu anga tja aîak Tjukutjuku

?-where indeed our(inc) child (name)

“Where are our children, Tjukutjuku?”

041 “uzay anga i viliî.

uzay anga i viliî

there indeed loc behind “They’re behind.

042 ki mangtjez nusauni angata.

ki m-pangetjez nu-sauni anga-ta

will af-come when-soon indeed-? They’re sure to come soon.

043 îakua qadjaw tuki anemanema sengsengan i djalan.”

îakua qadjaw tu-ki a-nema-nema sengseng-an i djalan

but perhaps compl-how ?-red-what work-nom loc road

But I don’t know what they are doing on the way.”

044 “ku vaikaw anan sa kitsatsevung.”

ku vaik-aw anan sa ki-tsa-tsevung

I leave-lf still and self-red-meet “I’ll go to meet them.”

045 “ainu anga marka ku aîak?

a-inu anga marka ku aîak

?-where indeed pl my child “Where are my children?

046 aku a ika ken a tsatsevutsevung?”

aku a ika aken a tsa-tsevu-tsevung

why c not f.I c ?-red-meet Why don’t I meet up with them?”

047 “uza tsu amen, kama.

uza tsu amen kama

here this f.we(exc) father “Here we are, father.

048 îakua rinanaw amen ni kina.

îakua in=ranaw amen ni kina

but perf=intend f.we(exc) by mother But mother forced us into this

049 kisan qayaqayam.”

ki-sane qaya-qayam

do-make red-bird becoming birds.”

050 “ia manu maya.”

ia manu ma-aya

oh then stat-be.thus “So that’s it.”

051 “gaîu, ti Tjukutjuku.”

gaîu ti Tjukutjuku

slow f.h (name) “Wait, Tjukutjuku.”

052 “siseqas ta vaîvaî, sa veseqitji ti Tjukutjuku.

si-seqas ta vaîvaî sa veseqitj-i ti Tjukutjuku

if-chop obl palm.sp and flog-pf f.h (name)

He cut a palm, and beat Tjuktjuku (She became a mouse (OA)).

[veseqitji: was vusaqitji.]

053 “kii kii kii.

kii kii kii

ow ow ow “*Kii kii kii*.

054 ngu÷ngu÷ay anga a su qaîutsuv.”

ngu÷-ngu÷ay anga a su qaîutsuv

red-chew indeed c your(s) storage.box There’s a hole in your storage box.”

055 “ari.

ari

go.on “Come on,

056 qalian, inlayapi ta vaday imaza.

qali-an in-layap-i ta vaday i-maza

friend-nom perf-fly-hort obl separate loc-here friend, let’s fly away from here.

057 tsevungi anga i Kavulungan.”

tsevung-i anga i Kavulungan

meet-hort indeed loc (place) Let’s meet on Kavulungan mountain.”

“Come on, Ngangay, let’s collect some taro. Carry Tjugeluy on your back.”

“Here, mother, I’m tired.” “I’ll take him down when we get down south (? *or* to the right hand end). “Here, mother, I’m tired.” “I’ll take him when we get to the end of the row(?).” “Here, mother, I’m tired.” “Wait a bit. I’m going to get some more taro. I’ll suckle him later, while I cut the taro ends off.” “Here, mother, Tjugeluy is heavy.” “Wait a bit. I’ll cook first.” “Yes, but I’m tired.” “Wait a bit. I’ll set our food down on a tree(? OA).” “Well, come on, mother, feed Tjugeluy.”

She threw over some taro peel. Ngangay crumbled it up and handed it over to him. (?) “Throw one over for my brother.” It was just peel she threw over; and Ngangay picked it up and crumbled it up. Her mother finished eating and got down (from the tree (OA)). “Here, mother, I’m tired.” “Wait a bit. I’ll first take the taro home and cut the ends off.” “Do suckle him, mother; Tjugeluy is really hungry.” “Wait a bit. I’ll load up. Stay here. I’ll be back. I’ll just get them across this ravine.” “Where has mother got to?” said Ngangay. When she saw a fire-fly, she thought: “Now mother has come to collect us.” When the fire-fly came, she said: “Come on, Tjugeluy, let’s stop this. What shall we become, friend? Let’s become birds.” She tore the coverlet to make tails, and split (?) the cape to make wings. “Come on, let’s go up a tree and watch father.”

“Where are our children, Tjukutjuku?” “They’re behind. They’re sure to come soon. But I don’t know what they are doing on the way.” “I’ll go to meet them.” “Where are my children? Why don’t I meet up with them?”. “Here we are, father. But mother forced us into this, becoming birds.” “So that’s it.” “Wait, Tjukutjuku.” He cut a palm, and beat Tjuktjuku (She became a mouse (OA)). “*Kii kii kii*. There’s a hole in your storage box.” “Come on, friend, let’s fly away from here. Let’s meet on Kavulungan mountain.”

#### 060 SHRIMP AND TREE-LIZARD Quzang kati Tjinganga÷uy (Kaviangan village, p.268)

001 izua aya ti Quzang kati Tjinganga÷uy.

i-zua aya ti Quzang ka-ti Tji-nga-nga÷uy

loc-that say f.h shrimp and-f.h kind-red-lizard.sp

They say there was Shrimp and Tree-lizard.

002 “pai karivui,” aya ti Tjinganga÷uy.

pai ka-rivu-i aya ti Tji-nga-nga÷uy

well main-quarrel-hort say f.h kind-red-lizard.sp

“Let’s have a fight,” said Tree-lizard.

003 “ui, pumaya,” aya ti Quzang.

ui pu-ma-aya aya ti Quzang

yes have-stat-be.thus say f.h shrimp “Yes, all right,” said Shrimp.

004 saka “keîu sema kuvuî,” aya ti Tjinganga÷uy.

sa-ka keî-u em=sa kuvuî aya ti Tji-nga-nga÷uy

and-after come-imp af=go meadow say f.h kind-red-lizard.sp

“Come to the meadow,” said Tree-lizard.

005 mangtjez ti Quzang, saka îemama ta kuvuî ti Tjinganga÷uy;

m-pangetjez ti Quzang sa-ka em=îama ta kuvuî ti Tji-nga-nga÷uy

af-come f.h shrimp and-after af=burn obl meadow f.h kind-red-lizard.sp

saka matsay a quzang penuîat.

sa-ka m-patsay a quzang en=puîat

and-after af-die c shrimp af=all

Shrimp came, and Tree-lizard set fire to the meadow; and all the shrimps died.

006 itanga a tjeza maîama a quzang.

ita-anga a tjeza ma-îama a quzang

one-indeed c remain stat-burn c shrimp

There was only one shrimp left that wasn’t burnt.

007 saka limutseng a quzang, sa venîeng ta pana.

sa-ka li-mutseng a quzang sa n=veîeng ta pana

and-after qal-angry c shrimp and af=dam obl river

The shrimp was angry, and dammed the river.

008 saka “keîu,” aya ti Quzang.

sa-ka keî-u aya ti Quzang

and-after come-imp say f.h shrimp “Now come,” said Shrimp.

009 saka mangtjez ti Tjinganga÷uy i pana.

sa-ka m-pangetjez ti Tji-nga-nga÷uy i pana

and-after af-come f.h kind-red-lizard.sp loc river

And Tree-lizard came to the river.

010 saka semuveîeng anga a quzang ta pana.

sa-ka em=su-veîeng anga a quzang ta pana

and-after af=remove-dam indeed c shrimp obl river

The shrimp removed the dam from the river;

011 sa qaîudjan a tjinganga÷uy na zaîum penuîat.

sa qaîudj-an a tji-nga-nga÷uy nua zaîum en=puîat

and lose-lf c kind-red-lizard.sp by water af=all

and all the tree-lizards were washed away by the water.

012 itanga a tjeza.

ita-anga a tjeza

one-indeed c remain There was only one left.

They say there was Shrimp and Tree-lizard. “Let’s have a fight,” said Tree-lizard. “Yes, all right,” said Shrimp. “Come to the meadow,” said Tree-lizard. Shrimp came, and Tree-lizard set fire to the meadow; and all the shrimps died.

There was only one shrimp left that wasn’t burnt. The shrimp was angry, and dammed the river. “Now come,” said Shrimp. And Tree-lizard came to the river. The shrimp removed the dam from the river; and all the tree-lizards were washed away by the water. There was only one left.

#### 061 MUAKAKAI Muakakai (Kaviangan village, p.269)

001 izua aya ta maretsekeî ti Tjukutjuku kati Puîaîuîaîuyan; sa

i-zua aya ta mare-tsekeî ti Tjukutjuku ka-ti Puîaîuîaîuyan sa

loc-that say obl pair-spouse f.h (name) and-f.h (name) and

puaîak tjai Muakakai tu nguanguaq aravats.

pu-aîak tjai Muakakai tu ngua-nguaq a-ravats

have-child obl.h (name) compl red-good c-true

They say there was a married couple called Tjukutjuku and Puîaîuîaîuyan. They had a very beautiful child called Muakakai.

002 saka piligu a îapiîapi, aya.

sa-ka pi-ligu a îapiîapi aya

and-after put-reputed c nearby say

The young men of the village fell in love with her;

003 saka putsekeî tjai Kuîeîuîeîu, aya.

sa-ka pu-tsekeî tjai Kuîeîuîeîu aya

and-after have-spouse obl.h (name) say

and she married Kuîeîuîeîu, they say.

004 manu puaîis aza kutji, aya.

manu pu-aîis a-zua kutji aya

then have-tooth c-that vagina say But they say her vagina had teeth.

005 saka masalud.

sa-ka ma-salud

and-after stat-sleep.with They slept together,

006 manu katsen na kutji, sa patsay ti Kuîeîuîeîu.

manu kats-en nua kutji sa patsay ti Kuîeîuîeîu

then bite-pf by vagina and die f.h (name)

and he was bitten by her vagina, and so Kuîeîuîeîu died.

007 saka maîianga, sa “pai, gatsaîu, kenamau anga,”

sa-ka ma-îia-anga sa pai gatsaî-u kenama-u anga

and-after stat-dawn-indeed and well stand-imp breakfast-imp indeed

aya ti Tjukutjuku.

aya ti Tjukutjuku

say f.h (name) In the morning Tjukutjuku said: “Get up and have breakfast.”

008 manu namatsay anga.

manu na-m-patsay anga

then past-af-die indeed But he was dead.

009 saka “aku matsay? su kinuda?” aya kivadaq a matjaîaîak.

sa-ka aku m-patsay su in=kuda aya ki-vadaq a matja-îaîak

and-after why af-die you(s) perf=do.what say do-ask c num-child

“Why did he die? What did you do?” her parents asked.

010 saka inika qivu ti Muakakai.

sa-ka ini-ka qivu ti Muakakai

and-after not-after speak f.h (name) Muakakai didn’t reply.

011 sa qaqivuin a sikataqaîan ni Kuîeîuîeîu; saka

sa qa-qivu-en a si-ka-ta-qaîa-an ni Kuîeîuîeîu sa-ka

and red-speak-pf c if-main-?-outsider-nom of (name) and-after

mangtjez a malap.

m-pangetjez a m-alap

af-come c af-take

They told Kuîeîuîeîu’s people, and they came and took his body.

012 saka “masiaq itjen,” aya ti Tjukutjuku kati Puîaîuîaîuyan.

sa-ka ma-siaq itjen aya ti Tjukutjuku ka-ti Puîaîuîaîuyan

and-after stat-shame f.we(inc) say f.h (name) and-f.h (name)

“We’re ashamed of her,” said Tjukutjuku and Puîaîuîaîuyan.

013 saka “sikudanga a aîak; tja îangianaw,” aya, sa

sa-ka si-kuda-anga a aîak tja îangi-an-aw aya sa

and-after if-do.what-indeed c child we(inc) trunk-nom-lf say and

piîangian; saka paqaîudj ta zaîum pasa pana.

pi-îangi-an sa-ka pa-qaîudj ta zaîum pa-sa pana

put-trunk-nom and-after cause-lose obl water cause-go river

“What use is this child? We’ll put her in a trunk,” they said, and put her in a trunk, and let it float away on the water of the river.

[îangianaw: îangi is a plant name, and îangi-an is ‘(tree) trunk’]

014 saka izua se tjarivavaw ti Kuîeîuîeîu katua

sa-ka i-zua se tjari-va-vaw ti Kuîeîuîeîu ka-tua

and-after loc-that person.of utmost-red-above f.h (name) and-obl

sikataqaîan tjepanapana.

si-ka-ta-qaîa-an tje-pana-pana

if-main-?-outsider-nom do.at-red-river

Now a person from heaven called Kuîeîuîeîu was fishing in the river with his fellow-villagers.

[katua: was katu; tjarivavaw: was tjaîevavaw]

015 sa djemumak anga ta îangian i taladj ta vatsaî.

sa em=djumak anga ta îangi-an i taladj ta vatsaî

and af=find indeed obl trunk-nom loc inside obl pool

They found the trunk in a deep pool.

016 sa alapen saka qaluin a sema umaq; saka mangtjez i umaq.

sa alap-en sa-ka qalu-en a em=sa umaq sa-ka m-pangetjez i umaq

and take-pf and-after carry-pf c af=go house and-after af-come loc house

They took it and carried it home.

017 “Kina kama, djemumak anga ta îangian.

Kina kama em=djumak anga ta îangi-an

mother father af=find indeed obl trunk-nom

When they got home, he said: “Mother, father, we found a trunk.

018 aki anema i taladj? sadjelung aravats.”

aki a-nema i taladj sadjelung a-ravats

how ?-what loc inside heavy c-true What can be inside it? It’s very heavy.”

019 qau pai semutsaqev, sa patsuni.

qau pai em=su-tsaqev sa pa-tsun-i

so well af=remove-lid and cause-see-hort

So they lifted the lid and looked inside.

[qau: was ku]

020 “manu ti Muakakai avan tsu.

manu ti Muakakai avan tsu

then f.h (name) exact this “This must be Muakakai.

021 makeîang aza puaîis a kutji; siniverits na matjaîaîak, a

ma-keîang a-zua pu-aîis a kutji in=si-verits nua matja-îaîak a

stat-know c-that have-tooth c vagina perf=if-discard by num-child c

siayaya.”

si-ay-aya

if-red-say

She is said to be well-known for her vagina with teeth, and for being thrown away by her parents.”

022 saka “sa-u qemaîup,” ayain ti Kuîeîuîeîu.

sa-ka sa-u em=qaîup aya-en ti Kuîeîuîeîu

and-after go-imp af=hunt say-pf f.h (name)

“Go off and hunt,” they said to Kuîeîuîeîu.

023 saka taqed ti Muakakai.

sa-ka taqed ti Muakakai

and-after sleep f.h (name) Muakakai went to sleep.

024 saka qetsapen aza aîis na kutji.

sa-ka qetsap-en a-zua aîis nua kutji

and-after grip-pf c-that tooth of vagina

And they pulled out the teeth from her vagina.

025 saka mangtjez ti Kuîeîuîeîu a naqemaîup.

sa-ka m-pangetjez ti Kuîeîuîeîu a na-em=qaîup

and-after af-come f.h (name) c past-af=hunt

Kuîeîuîeîu came back from hunting.

026 saka masalud; saka inikanga matsay ti Kuîeîuîeîu.

sa-ka ma-salud sa-ka ini-ka-anga m-patsay ti Kuîeîuîeîu

and-after stat-sleep.with and-after not-after-indeed af-die f.h (name)

They slept together, and Kuîeîuîeîu didn’t die.

027 sa mavunglay sa puaîak anga.

sa ma-vungelay sa pu-aîak anga

and stat-pregnant and have-child indeed

So Muakakai became pregnant, and they had a child.

028 ngadan na aîis tatalaven ÷a÷amelamen.

ngadan nua aîis tatalaven ÷a÷amelamen

name of tooth (name) (name)

The teeth were called tatalaven ÷a÷amelamen.

[tatalaven is ‘red-drip-pf’?]

029 qetsev na kadjunangan.

qetsev nua ka-djunang-an

counterpart of main-earth-nom

They were valuable enough to be exchanged for land.

030 sepatj a aîis na kutji a qata.

sepatj a aîis nua kutji a qata

four c tooth of vagina c bead There are four vagina teeth beads;

031 izua i Payuan a ita.

i-zua i Payuan a ita

loc-that loc Paiwan c one one at Payuan,

032 izua i Peîeti a ÷usa.

i-zua i Peîeti a ÷usa

loc-that loc (place) c two two at Peîeti,

033 izua i Kaviangan a ita.

i-zua i Kaviangan a ita

loc-that loc (place) c one and one at Kaviangan.

034 amin.

amin

no.more The end.

They say there was a married couple called Tjukutjuku and Puîaîuîaîuyan. They had a very beautiful child called Muakakai. The young men of the village fell in love with her; and she married Kuîeîuîeîu, they say. But they say her vagina had teeth. They slept together, and he was bitten by her vagina, and so Kuîeîuîeîu died. In the morning Tjukutjuku said: “Get up and have breakfast.” But he was dead. “Why did he die? What did you do?” her parents asked. Muakakai didn’t reply. They told Kuîeîuîeîu’s people, and they came and took his body. “We’re ashamed of her,” said Tjukutjuku and Puîaîuîaîuyan. “What use is this child? We’ll put her in a trunk,” they said, and put her in a trunk, and let it float away on the water of the river.

Now a person from heaven called Kuîeîuîeîu was fishing in the river with his fellow-villagers. They found the trunk in a deep pool. They took it and carried it home. When they got home, he said: “Mother, father, we found a trunk. What can be inside it? It’s very heavy.” So they lifted the lid and looked inside. “This must be Muakakai. She is said to be well-known for her vagina with teeth, and for being thrown away by her parents.” “Go off and hunt,” they said to Kuîeîuîeîu. Muakakai went to sleep. And they pulled out the teeth from her vagina. Kuîeîuîeîu came back from hunting. They slept together, and Kuîeîuîeîu didn’t die. So Muakakai became pregnant, and they had a child. The teeth were called *tatalaven ÷a÷amelamen*. They were valuable enough to be exchanged for land. There are four vagina teeth beads; one at Payuan, two at Peîeti, and one at Kaviangan. The end.

#### 062 THE EVIL-EYE MAN paîi (Kaviangan village, p.271)

001 izua sitsuayan a tsautsau se Peîeti îa Dakudakuts

i-zua si-tsuay-an a tsau-tsau se Peîeti îa Dakudakuts

loc-that if-long.time-nom c red-being person.of (place) class (name)

namepaîi.

na-me-paîi

past-af-magic

Once upon a time there was a person from Peîeti of the Dakudakuts clan who became an evil-eye man.

002 nu patsun ta lalangaw, ta qatsang, ta kuka, ta tsautsau,

nu pa-tsun ta la-langaw ta qatsang ta kuka ta tsau-tsau

when cause-see obl red-fly obl pig obl chicken obl red-being

matsay sakamaya penuîat, aya.

m-patsay sakamaya en=puîat aya

af-die only af=all say

If he looked at flies, pigs, chicken or people, they all just died, they say.

003 marekutj a sikataqaîan, sa kemim ta umaq.

ma-rekutj a si-ka-ta-qaîa-an sa em=kim ta umaq

stat-fear c if-main-?-outsider-nom and af=search obl house

The villagers were afraid, and looked for somewhere for him to live.

004 djemumak anga i sadip ta tjaguî; saka seman umaq; sa

em=djumak anga i sadip ta tjaguî sa-ka em=sane umaq sa

af=find indeed loc foothill obl crag and-after af=make house and

sematjez anga pasa zua a sikataqaîan.

em=satjez anga pa-sa zua a si-ka-ta-qaîa-an

af=return indeed cause-go that c if-main-?-outsider-nom

They found a rock-face in the foothills and made a house there; and the villagers sent him there.

005 saka pavaivai anga sakamaya senemanemanga, patje

sa-ka pa-vay-vay anga sakamaya se-nema-nema-anga pa-tje

and-after cause-red-give indeed only person.of-red-what-indeed cause-do.at

se Tenatseng a qinaîan a pairang.

se Tenatseng a in=qaîa-an a pairang

person.of (place) c perf=outsider-nom c plains

People from everywhere gave him food, including the plainspeople in the village of Tenatseng.

006 saka masutan aravats a senemanemanga.

sa-ka ma-su-tan a-ravats a se-nema-nema-anga

and-after stat-remove-profit c-true c person.of-red-what-indeed

So everyone lost heavily,

007 saka limutseng a pairang, sa “ari, qemtsii,” aya maîavar

sa-ka li-mutseng a pairang sa ari m=qetsi-i aya ma-îavar

and-after qal-angry c plains and go.on af=fight-hort say stat-speak

tia pairang.

ti-a pairang

f.h-pl plains

and the plainspeople got angry, and decided: “Come on, let’s kill him.”

008 vaik a sema zua i ta umaq ni paîi, sa djemaîun anga.

vaik a em=sa zua i ta umaq ni paîi sa em=djaîun anga

leave c af=go that loc obl house of magic and af=arrive indeed

They went to the evil-eye man’s house. When they got there,

009 “kiqiîau.

ki-qiîa-u

self-hide-imp they said: “Hide yourself.

010 mangtjez amen a pavay ta lami.”

m-pangetjez amen a pa-vay ta lami

af-come f.we(exc) c cause-give obl staple.food

We’ve come to give you food.”

011 sa kembung timadju a paîi; sa qetsin na pairang azua timadju

sa m=kebung ti-madju a paîi sa qetsi-en nua pairang a-zua ti-madju

and af=lie.flat f-3rd.pers c magic and fight-pf by plains c-that f-3rd.pers

a paîi.

a paîi

c magic So the evil-eye man bent down, and the plainspeople killed him.

012 manu mitsetsikal ti paîi; pavalet a patsun.

manu mi-tse-tsikal ti paîi pa-valet a pa-tsun

then af-red-angry f.h magic cause-oppose c cause-see

But the evil-eye man became violent and looked at them in revenge;

[mitsetsikal: = mitsatsikal in F.]

013 saka matsay anga sakamaya a pairang.

sa-ka m-patsay anga sakamaya a pairang

and-after af-die indeed only c plains and the plainspeople just died.

014 mapuîu anga a tjeza a matsay.

ma-puîu anga a tjeza a m-patsay

stat-deficit indeed c remain c af-die Only a few survived and didn’t die.

015 saka matsay ti paîi, sa kiquluan, sa tsavuin ta

sa-ka m-patsay ti paîi sa ki-qulu-an sa tsavu-en ta

and-after af-die f.h magic and do-head-lf and wrapping-pf obl

sitsavuan, sa kematsu sema umaq.

si-tsavu-an sa em=katsu em=sa umaq

if-wrapping-nom and af=carry af=go house

So the evil-eye man died, and they cut off his head, and wrapped it in a blanket; and brought it home.

[sitsauvan ‘blanket’ was sitsaqevan ‘lid’.]

016 sa mangtjez i umaq, saka semutsavu.

sa m-pangetjez i umaq sa-ka em=su-tsavu

and af-come loc house and-after af=remove-wrapping

When they got home, they unwrapped it.

017 tjuruvu a îemizaw a qaqunuan vavayavayan.

tjuruvu a em=îizaw a qa-qunu-an vaya=vavayan

many c af=look c red-child-nom red=female

There were many children and women watching.

018 manu patsun ta matsa, kimatsay anga a mapuîat.

manu pa-tsun ta matsa ki-m-patsay anga a ma-puîat

then cause-see obl eye self-af-die indeed c num-all

And by looking at the evil-eye man’s eyes they all killed themselves.

019 sa “nakuya,” aya azua tjeza a matsay; sa sematjez pasa pana

sa na-kuya aya a-zua tjeza a m-patsay sa em=satjez pa-sa pana

and stat-bad say c-that remain c af-die and af=return cause-go river

i taladj ta vatsaî.

i taladj ta vatsaî

loc inside obl pool

“That’s bad,” said those who survived and didn’t die. So they took the head to the river to a deep pool.

020 saka palisi anga palalaut.

sa-ka palisi anga pa-la-laut

and-after taboo indeed cause-red-able Ever since it is taboo to go there.

021 nu sema zua, kisaqetju anga sakamaya, aya.

nu em=sa zua ki-saqetju anga sakamaya aya

when af=go that self-painful indeed only say

They say that those who go there bring illness on themselves.

022 amin.

amin

no.more The end.

Once upon a time there was a person from Peîeti of the Dakudakuts clan who became an evil-eye man. If he looked at flies, pigs, chicken or people, they all just died, they say. The villagers were afraid, and looked for somewhere for him to live. They found a rock-face in the foothills and made a house there; and the villagers sent him there. People from everywhere gave him food, including the plainspeople in the village of Tenatseng. So everyone lost heavily, and the plainspeople got angry, and decided: “Come on, let’s kill him.” They went to the evil-eye man’s house. When they got there, they said: “Hide yourself. We’ve come to give you food.” So the evil-eye man bent down, and the plainspeople killed him. But the evil-eye man became violent and looked at them in revenge; and the plainspeople just died. Only a few survived and didn’t die. So the evil-eye man died, and they cut off his head, and wrapped it in a blanket; and brought it home. When they got home, they unwrapped it. There were many children and women watching. And by looking at the evil-eye man’s eyes they all killed themselves. “That’s bad,” said those who survived and didn’t die. So they took the head to the river to a deep pool. Ever since it is taboo to go there. They say that those who go there bring illness on themselves. The end.

#### 063 THE PEOPLE OF PADAIN AND KAPAYUANAN se Padain kata se Kapayuanan (Kapayuanan village, p.273)

001 se Padain kata se Kapayuanan a namaîaîaqedi

se Padain ka-ta se Kapayuanan a na-ma-îa-îa-qedi

person.of (place) and-obl person.of (place) c past-stat-red-class-boundary

a qinaîan.

a in=qaîa-an

c perf=outsider-nom

The people of Padain and Kapayuanan live in villages close to one another.

002 nu maqaqetsi nu maqadadaw, tjamakaya a se

nu ma-qa-qetsi nu ma-da=qadaw tja-ma-kaya a se

when stat-red-fight when stat-red=sun more-stat-able c person.of

Kapayuanan.

Kapayuanan

(place)

When they fight in the daytime, the Kapayuanan people win.

003 nu qezemezemetj nu maqaqetsi, tjamakaya a se Padain.

nu zeme=qezemetj nu ma-qa-qetsi tja-ma-kaya a se Padain

when red=night when stat-red-fight more-stat-able c person.of (place)

When they fight at night, the Padain people win.

004 aza sika tjamakaya, pumatsa pi tsungal a se Padain;

a-zua sika tja-ma-kaya pu-matsa pi tsungal a se Padain

c-that reason more-stat-able have-eye put knee c person.of (place)

avanu sivala djemavats nu qezemezemetj a kiqetsi.

avan nu si-vala em=djavats nu zeme=qezemetj a ki-qetsi

exact of if-able af=walk when red=night c do-fight

The reason they win is that the Padain people have eyes in their knees, and so they can march out to fight at night.

005 aza sika tjamakaya a se Kapayuanan nu maqadadaw,

a-zua sika tja-ma-kaya a se Kapayuanan nu ma-da=qadaw

c-that reason more-stat-able c person.of (place) when stat-red=sun

pumatsa pi mudingan a se Kapayuanan.

pu-matsa pi mudingan a se Kapayuanan

have-eye put face c person.of (place)

The reason why the Kapayuanan people win in daytime is that they have eyes in their faces.

The people of Padain and Kapayuanan live in villages close to one another. When they fight in the daytime, the Kapayuanan people win. When they fight at night, the Padain people win. The reason they win is that the Padain people have eyes in their knees, and so they can march out to fight at night. The reason why the Kapayuanan people win in daytime is that they have eyes in their faces.

#### 064 TWO SUNS ÷usa a qadaw (Kapayuanan village, p.274)

001 ka sitsuayan aitsu a kalevelevan i teku, saka

ka si-tsuay-an aya-i-tsu a ka-levelev-an i teku sa-ka

after if-long.time-nom be.thus-loc-this c main-dazzle-nom loc down and-after

÷usa a qadaw.

÷usa a qadaw

two c sun Once upon a time the sky was low, and there were two suns.

002 malevelev itjen, aya.

ma-levelev itjen aya

stat-dazzle f.we(inc) say We were in a bad way, they say.

003 masengseng sakamaya; inika tjen a taqed.

ma-sengseng sakamaya ini-ka tjen a taqed

stat-work only not-after f.we(inc) c sleep

We worked all the time, and never slept.

004 “aki tja kudai tsu?”.

aki tja kuda-i tsu

how we(inc) do.what-pf this “What are we going to do about this?”

005 maisu ti Tukanivun ta vaqu.

m-paisu ti Tukanivun ta vaqu

af-pound f.h (name) obl millet

Tukanivun (someone from the Tukanivun family (OA)) was pounding millet.

006 matsutsuk ta qaselu a kalevelevan; makelu a ita a qadaw,

ma-tsu-tsuk ta qaselu a ka-levelev-an ma-kelu a ita a qadaw

stat-red-bump obl pestle c main-dazzle-nom stat-fall c one c sun

sa îevavaw a kalevelevan.

sa îe-va-vaw a ka-levelev-an

and go.to-red-above c main-dazzle-nom

The pestle bumped the sky; one sun fell down, and the sky went up.

007 avan anga sika izua qezemezemetj; taqed anga itjen.

avan anga sika i-zua zeme=qezemetj taqed anga itjen

exact indeed reason loc-that red=night sleep indeed f.we(inc)

That’s why there is night; and now we can sleep.

Once upon a time the sky was low, and there were two suns. We were in a bad way, they say. We worked all the time, and never slept. “What are we going to do about this?” Tukanivun (someone from the Tukanivun family (OA)) was pounding millet. The pestle bumped the sky; one sun fell down, and the sky went up. That’s why there is night; and now we can sleep.

#### 065 DRIQUQU ªiququ (Kapayuanan village, p.274)

001 izua aza sitsuayan ti sa ªiququ a se Kapayuanan.

i-zua a-zua si-tsuay-an ti sa ªiququ a se Kapayuanan

loc-that c-that if-long.time-nom f.h h (name) c person.of (place)

Once upon a time there was a man of Kapayuanan called ªiququ.

002 muri livuin na se Qalu.

ma-uri livu-en nua se Qalu

stat-will invade-pf by person.of (place)

East Paiwans were going to invade the area.

003 kidaringungu, sa daringunguin a djelapaî izua i Dinukapan.

ki-daringungu sa daringungu-en a djelapaî i-zua i Dinukapan

do-tree.sp and tree.sp-pf c rock.bed loc-that loc (place)

He got some (gum?) tree wood, and put it on the rock slab at Dinukapan.

[djelapaî: was djelapal]

004 mangtjez a se Qalu.

m-pangetjez a se Qalu

af-come c person.of (place) The East Paiwans came.

005 nu kidjulat tazua dinaringungu, sekulasu sa patsay.

nu ki-djulat ta-zua in=daringungu se-kulasu sa patsay

when do-step.on obl-that perf=tree.sp invol-fall and die

When they stepped on the place with the slippery wood, they fell off and died.

006 matsidiî anga a tjeza ta matsay.

ma-tsidiî anga a tjeza ta m-patsay

stat-alone indeed c remain obl af-die

Only one survived (‘excluded from the dead’).

007 “sau vaiku,” aya ti sa ªiququ tazua se Qalu.

sa-u vaik-u aya ti sa ªiququ ta-zua se Qalu

go-imp leave-imp say f.h h (name) obl-that person.of (place)

“Be off with you,” said ªiququ to this East Paiwan.

008 “îakua nu mangtjez sun izua i qinaîan, tisun

îakua nu m-pangetjez sun i-zua i in=qaîa-an ti-sun

but when af-come f.you(s) loc-that loc perf=outsider-nom f-you(s)

a matsay.”

a m-patsay

c af-die “But when you get back to your village, you will die.”

009 izua ti sa ªiququ anga kidjulat a pizua i Dinukapan; azua

i-zua ti sa ªiququ anga ki-djulat a pi-zua i Dinukapan a-zua

loc-that f.h h (name) indeed do-step.on c put-that loc (place) c-that

taiî a kula i Padain.

taiî a kula i Padain

one.of.pair c foot loc (place)

ªiququ himself (was so big that) when he had one foot at Dinukapan, his other foot was at Padain (across the valley, and he had a very long penis (OA)).

[taiî: F has ta-iî where -iî is from -î ‘in sequence’]

010 izua za ti Muakai a se Padain tjemenutjenun.

i-zua zua ti Muakai a se Padain em=tjenu-tjenun

loc-that that f.h (name) c person.of (place) af=red-weave

Muakai of Padain was weaving.

[tjemenutjenun: was temenutenun, t and tj are hard to distinguish in this area]

011 tevuta aza kulits i tju djeîep.

te-vuta a-zua kulits i tju djeîep

do-appear c-that penis loc there wall A penis appeared along the wall.

[tevuta: cf. tje- F.]

012 “aki anema tsu?” aya mikeduts.

aki a-nema tsu aya mi-keduts

how ?-what this say af-startle “Whatever is this?” she said, startled.

013 veîatjen ta vaida.

veîatj-en ta vaida

hit-pf obl weaver’s.sword She hit it with her weaver’s sword,

014 mange÷uq aza kulits ni ªiququ.

ma-nge÷uq a-zua kulits ni ªiququ

stat-sever c-that penis of (name) and ªiququ’s penis was cut off.

015 viîviîen nimadju aza kulits; namadjui anga namaîavangas

viîviî-en ni-madju a-zua kulits na-ma-djui anga na-ma-îa-vangas

pull-pf by-3rd.pers c-that penis past-stat-thorn indeed past-stat-class-thistle

anga tua kinala÷uq.

anga tua in=ka-la÷uq

indeed obl perf=main-long

He dragged it along, and it got thorns and burrs on it because it was so long.

016 semudjui semuîavangas ti ªiququ, tjanu ita i tjakaz.

em=su-djui em=su-îa-vangas ti ªiququ tjanu ita i tjakaz

af=remove-thorn af=remove-class-thistle f.h (name) full one which basket.type

When he pulled all the thorns and burrs out, they filled a winnowing basket.

[tjanu: no meaning ‘fill’ in F, but there is tjaîu- ‘until, as far as’]

Once upon a time there was a man of Kapayuanan called ªiququ. East Paiwans were going to invade the area. He got some (gum?) tree wood, and put it on the rock slab at Dinukapan. The East Paiwans came. When they stepped on the place with the slippery wood, they fell off and died. Only one survived. “Be off with you,” said ªiququ to this East Paiwan. “But when you get back to your village, you will die.”

ªiququ himself (was so big that) when he had one foot at Dinukapan, his other foot was at Padain (across the valley, and he had a very long penis (OA)). Muakai of Padain was weaving. A penis appeared along the wall. “Whatever is this?” she said, startled. She hit it with her weaver’s sword, and ªiququ’s penis was cut off. He dragged it along, and it got thorns and burrs on it because it was so long. When he pulled all the thorns and burrs out, they filled a winnowing basket.

#### 066 COOKING MILLET kemsa ta vaqu (Kapayuanan village, p.276)

001 izua za se Kapayuanan a îa Kadaladalavan.

i-zua zua se Kapayuanan a îa Kadaladalavan

loc-that that person.of (place) c class (name)

There was a person of the Kadaladalavan family at Kapayuanan.

[The actor could be singular or plural, male or female, but take as singular female here.]

002 inika sema vavua masengseng ta quma.

ini-ka em=sa va-vua ma-sengseng ta quma

not-after af=go red-field stat-work obl field

She didn’t go away from the village to work in the fields.

003 tjaîu tjumaq sakamaya kikutsu sakamaya.

tjaîu tju-umaq sakamaya ki-kutsu sakamaya

reach there-house only self-louse only

She just stayed at home picking the lice off herself.

[tjaîu: was taru]

004 kemsa itaita a vat na vaqu.

em=kesa ita-ita a vat nua vaqu

af=food red-one c grain of millet She cooked millet one grain at a time.

005 nu kesain azua ita vat a vaqu, mapeîuq a pariuk.

nu kesa-en a-zua ita vat a vaqu ma-peîuq a pariuk

when food-pf c-that one grain c millet stat-full c wok

When she cooked one grain of millet, it filled the whole wok.

006 nu kesain a ita makuzan, mapeîuq a umaq; inika makaya

nu kesa-en a ita makuzan ma-peîuq a umaq ini-ka ma-kaya

when food-pf c one ear.of.millet stat-full c house not-after stat-able

tjumaq a tsautsau.

tju-umaq a tsau-tsau

there-house c red-being

When she cooked a whole ear of millet, it filled the house and people couldn’t get in.

007 “aitsu inika pa÷ia,” aya ti Kadaladalavan.

aya-i-tsu ini-ka pa-÷ia aya ti Kadaladalavan

be.thus-loc-this not-after cause-correct say f.h (name)

“This is no good,” said the Kadaladalavan family.

008 “nanguaq a tja tjaulan aitsu.

na-nguaq a tja tja-ula-an aya-i-tsu

stat-good c we(inc) more-lack-lf be.thus-loc-this

“We must stop this method.

[tjaulan: see F36-7.]

009 ka inika nanguaq a pakaqatsa ta zaîum,” aya pavavala

ka ini-ka na-nguaq a pa-ka-qatsa ta zaîum aya pa-va-vala

after not-after stat-good c cause-become-big obl water say cause-red-able

kemsa tu ita vat a vaqu.

em=kesa tu ita vat a vaqu

af=food obl one grain c millet

Perhaps it would be good to use a lot of water,” they said, and tried cooking one grain of millet.

010 ini anga ka meliaw.

ini anga ka me-liaw

not indeed after af-many It didn’t multiply any longer.

011 avan anga sika pakaqatsa ta zaîum, sa pakaliaw a

avan anga sika pa-ka-qatsa ta zaîum sa pa-ka-liaw a

exact indeed reason cause-become-big obl water and cause-become-many c

kemsa ta vaqu.

em=kesa ta vaqu

af=food obl millet

So that is why we use a lot of water, and cook a lot of grains of millet.

There was a person of the Kadaladalavan family at Kapayuanan. She didn’t go away from the village to work in the fields. She just stayed at home picking the lice off herself. She cooked millet one grain at a time. When she cooked one grain of millet, it filled the whole wok. When she cooked a whole ear of millet, it filled the house and people couldn’t get in. “This is no good,” said the Kadaladalavan family. “We must stop this method. Perhaps it would be good to use a lot of water,” they said, and tried cooking one grain of millet. It didn’t multiply any longer. So that is why we use a lot of water, and cook a lot of grains of millet.

#### 067 TUMAPALAPALAI AND KAVULUNGAN MOUNTAINS Tumapalapalai kata Kavulungan (Kapayuanan village, p.277)

001 ka sitsuayan azua i Tumapalapalai kata i Kavulungan

ka si-tsuay-an a-zua i Tumapalapalai ka-ta i Kavulungan

after if-long.time-nom c-that loc (place) and-obl loc (place)

selapay tu vavaw.

se-lapay tu va-vaw

invol-severe obl red-above

Once upon a time Tumapalapalai mountain and Kavulungan mountain were both extremely high (T. is the mountain behind Kapayuanan village (OA)).

002 “inika pa÷ia aitsu,” aya tiamadju.

ini-ka pa-÷ia aya-i-tsu aya ti-a-madju

not-after cause-correct be.thus-loc-this say f-pl-3rd.pers

“This is no good,” they said.

003 “ari satekui,” aya i Kavulungan tua i Tumapalapalai.

ari sa-teku-i aya i Kavulungan tua i Tumapalapalai

go.on go-down-hort say loc (place) obl loc (place)

“Let’s go down,” said Kavulungan to Tumapalapalai.

004 “ui, ari ari, katjaisangasu a sema teku,” aya i

ui ari ari ka-tja-i-sangas-u a em=sa teku aya i

yes go.on go.on become-more-loc-first-imp c af=go down say loc

Tumapalapalai tua i Kavulungan.

Tumapalapalai tua i Kavulungan

(place) obl loc (place)

“Yes, all right; you go down first,” said Tumapalapalai to Kavulungan.

005 “ini, tisunay a tjaisangas a sema teku,” aya i Kavulungan.

ini ti-sun-ay a tja-i-sangas a em=sa teku aya i Kavulungan

not f-you(s)-will c more-loc-first c af=go down say loc (place)

“No, you go down first,” said Kavulungan.

006 kilangda tua kai na i Kavulungan; sema teku a i

ki-langeda tua kai nua i Kavulungan em=sa teku a i

do-hear obl speech of loc (place) af=go down c loc

Tumapalapalai.

Tumapalapalai

(place) Tumapalapalai did as Kavulungan said and went down.

007 qau sema vavaw a i Kavulungan.

qau em=sa va-vaw a i Kavulungan

so af=go red-above c loc (place) And Kavulungan went up.

008 avan anga sika vavaw na i Kavulungan.

avan anga sika va-vaw nua i Kavulungan

exact indeed reason red-above of loc (place)

So that is why Kavulungan is so high.

Once upon a time Tumapalapalai mountain and Kavulungan mountain were both extremely high (T. is the mountain behind Kapayuanan village (OA)). “This is no good,” they said. “Let’s go down,” said Kavulungan to Tumapalapalai. “Yes, all right; you go down first,” said Tumapalapalai to Kavulungan. “No, you go down first,” said Kavulungan. Tumapalapalai did as Kavulungan said and went down. And Kavulungan went up. So that is why Kavulungan is so high.

#### 068 THE FLOOD qatsa a zaîum (Kapayuanan village, p.277)

001 ka sitsuayan izua za Taruvar i pairang; avan azua

ka si-tsuay-an i-zua zua Taruvar i pairang avan a-zua

after if-long.time-nom loc-that that (name) loc plains exact c-that

kakalipatan nua zaîum.

ka-ka-lipat-an nua zaîum

main-stat-disappear-nom of water

Once upon a time there was a monster Taruvar on the plains, and all the water went in there.

002 manu maîupetj azua angaî ni Taruvar.

manu ma-îupetj a-zua angaî ni Taruvar

then stat-plug c-that mouth of (name) Well Taruvar’s mouth was blocked.

003 matevuk a zaîum; meqatsa azua zaîum.

ma-tevuk a zaîum me-qatsa a-zua zaîum

stat-gather c water af-big c-that water

The water accumulated; and the water level rose.

004 azua ke÷ike÷ian a gade malimu tua zaîum tua kinaqatsa.

a-zua ke÷i-ke÷i-an a gade ma-limu tua zaîum tua in=ka-qatsa

c-that red-small-nom c mountain stat-cover obl water obl perf=become-big

The smaller mountains were all covered because of the great volume of water.

005 amin anga i Tumapalapalai kata i Palasidang kata i

amin anga i Tumapalapalai ka-ta i Palasidang ka-ta i

no.more indeed loc (place) and-obl loc (place) and-obl loc

Kavulungan inika namalimu ta zaîum.

Kavulungan ini-ka na-ma-limu ta zaîum

(place) not-after past-stat-cover obl water

Only Tumapalapalai, Palasidang and Kavulungan mountains were not covered by the water.

006 azua tsautsau a se Kapayuanan sema zua i Tumapalapalai.

a-zua tsau-tsau a se Kapayuanan em=sa zua i Tumapalapalai

c-that red-being c person.of (place) af=go that loc (place)

The people of Kapayuanan went to Tumapalapalai.

007 izua neka nu sapuy.

i-zua neka nu sapuy

loc-that no of fire There was no fire there.

008 izua za takets; sekauîan nua tsautsau pasa zua kisapuy tua

i-zua zua takets sekauî-an nua tsau-tsau pa-sa zua ki-sapuy tua

loc-that that muntjac send-lf by red-being cause-go that do-fire obl

Palasidang azua takets, a sema zua i Palasidang a îemanguy uta

Palasidang a-zua takets a em=sa zua i Palasidang a em=îanguy uta

(place) c-that muntjac c af=go that loc (place) c af=swim also

pasa maza; mangtjez i Tumapalapalai.

pa-sa maza m-pangetjez i Tumapalapalai

cause-go here af-come loc (place)

There was a muntjac, and the people sent it to Palasidang to get some fire. The muntjac swam there to Palasidang andcame back here to Tumapalapalai.

009 kemsanga azua (i) Tumapalapalai.

m=kesa-anga a-zua i Tumapalapalai

af=food-indeed c-that loc (place)

And so they could cook on Tumapalapalai.

010 ka tsuatsuay anga masuîupetj azua angaî ni Taruvar;

ka tsua-tsuay anga ma-su-îupetj a-zua angaî ni Taruvar

after red-long.time indeed stat-remove-plug c-that mouth of (name)

masutevuk anga; meke÷i anga a zaîum.

ma-su-tevuk anga me-ke÷i anga a zaîum

stat-remove-gather indeed af-small indeed c water

After a long time the mouth of Taruvar was unblocked, the water drained away, and the water level went down.

011 izua za qatjulaî masekelay tua kasiw; djumaken nua

i-zua zua qatjulaî ma-se-kelay tua kasiw djumak-en nua

loc-that that worm stat-invol-hang obl tree find-pf by

mamazangiîan.

ma-ma-zangiî-an

stat-stat-chief-nom

There were worms hanging on the trees. The chiefs found them

012 paquzipen tua lami nua mamazangiîan.

pa-quzip-en tua lami nua ma-ma-zangiî-an

cause-keep.animal-pf obl staple.food by stat-stat-chief-nom

and fed them staple foods.

013 azua qatjulaî nu tjeqatsang, masan qipu.

a-zua qatjulaî nu tje-qatsang ma-sane qipu

c-that worm when do.at-pig stat-make soil

When the worms defecated, it became soil.

[tjeqatsang: may be euphemistic for pu-tsaqi ‘defecate’]

014 avan anga sika izua nu sa qipu.

avan anga sika i-zua nu tsa qipu

exact indeed reason loc-that of this soil That’s the reason there is soil;

015 saka aitsu a kadjunangan azua sika nu

sa-ka aya-i-tsu a ka-djunang-an a-zua sika nu

and-after be.thus-loc-this c main-earth-nom c-that reason of

mamazangiîan, ayatua tiamadju a napaquzip

ma-ma-zangiî-an aya-tua ti-a-madju a na-pa-quzip

stat-stat-chief-nom be.thus-compl f-pl-3rd.pers c past-cause-keep.animal

ta qatjulaî.

ta qatjulaî

obl worm

and that’s the reason why all the land belongs to the chiefs, because they fed the worms.

[aya-tua: ‘because’]

Once upon a time there was a monster Taruvar on the plains, and all the water went in there. Well Taruvar’s mouth was blocked. The water accumulated and the water level rose. The smaller mountains were all covered because of the great volume of water. Only Tumapalapalai, Palasidang and Kavulungan mountains were not covered by the water. The people of Kapayuanan went to Tumapalapalai. There was no fire there. There was a muntjac, and the people sent it to Palasidang to get some fire. The muntjac swam there to Palasidang and came back here to Tumapalapalai. And so they could cook on Tumapalapalai. After a long time the mouth of Taruvar was unblocked, the water drained away, and the water level went down. There were worms hanging on the trees. The chiefs found them and fed them staple foods. When the worms defecated, it became soil. That’s the reason there is soil; and that’s the reason why all the land belongs to the chiefs, because they fed the worms.

#### 069 SAULIVAN Saulivan (Kapayuanan village, p.279)

001 izua za sitsuayan a ti Saulivan a mamazangiîan,

i-zua zua si-tsuay-an a ti Saulivan a ma-ma-zangiî-an

loc-that that if-long.time-nom c f.h (name) c stat-stat-chief-nom

pakasengseng ta sikataqaîan ta quma.

pa-ka-sengseng ta si-ka-ta-qaîa-an ta quma

cause-main-work obl if-main-?-outsider-nom obl field

Once upon a time there was a chief called Saulivan. He made his fellow-villagers work in his fields.

002 “izua vava,” aya ventsa; mavan a sika sengseng ta quma

i-zua vava aya n=vetsa ma-avan a sika sengseng ta quma

loc-that alcohol say af=lie stat-exact c reason work obl field

nimadju.

ni-madju

of-3rd.pers

He lied and said: “There’s beer for you.” That’s why they worked in his fields.

003 “keîu, tekelu,” aya.

keî-u tekel-u aya

come-imp drink-imp say “Come and get a drink,” he said.

004 ka sutsaqevan a djilung, manu neka nu vava, a pangats i taladj.

ka su-tsaqev-an a djilung manu neka nu vava a pangats i taladj

after remove-lid-nom c jar then no of alcohol c hornet loc inside

When the lid was taken off the pot, there was no beer; there were hornets inside.

005 mavilad a sikataqaîan.

ma-vilad a si-ka-ta-qaîa-an

stat-flee c if-main-?-outsider-nom The villagers ran away.

006 izua qatsiîay a kinelay i paîing.

i-zua qatsiîay a in=kelay i paîing

loc-that stone c perf=hang loc doorway

There was a slate slab hung in the doorway.

007 ka mavilad setsugtsug; madudu a sikataqaîan.

ka ma-vilad se-tsugtsug ma-dudu a si-ka-ta-qaîa-an

after stat-flee invol-bump stat-angry c if-main-?-outsider-nom

When they ran away, they bumped into it. The villagers were angry.

008 “keîu, kisudjui,” aya a sikataqaîan tjai Saulivan,

keî-u ki-sudju-i aya a si-ka-ta-qaîa-an tjai Saulivan

come-imp do-sweetheart-hort say c if-main-?-outsider-nom obl.h (name)

“a sema Padain,” aya pasukangalu.

a em=sa Padain aya pasukangalu

c af=go (place) say deceive

“Come on, let’s go to Padain to visit the girls,” the villagers lied to Saulivan.

009 pitaladjen timadju ta tjaîev, sa qalui sa vaikan a kemelu

pi-taladj-en ti-madju ta tjaîev sa qalu-i sa vaik-an a em=kelu

put-inside-pf f-3rd.pers obl box and carry-pf go leave-lf c af=fall

pasa zua i ta tjaîitiw; matsay timadju.

pa-sa zua i ta tjaîitiw m-patsay ti-madju

cause-go that loc obl waterfall af-die f-3rd.pers

They put him in a box, and went off carrying it, and tipped him down a waterfall. He died

010 mekasiw timadju.

me-kasiw ti-madju

af-tree f-3rd.pers and became a tree,

011 venangaî ta kaîipa.

en=vangaî ta kaîipa

af=fruit obl shell and the tree bore shells.

012 ka maipuq a kasiw, malap a katsalisian ta kaîipa.

ka ma-ipuq a kasiw m-alap a ka-tsalisi-an ta kaîipa

after stat-fall c tree af-take c main-slope-nom obl shell

When the tree fell, mountain people collected the shells.

013 mavan a sika izua na kaîipa tutsu.

ma-avan a sika i-zua nua kaîipa tu-tsu

stat-exact c reason loc-that of shell obl-this

That’s why there are kaîipa shells to this day.

Once upon a time there was a chief called Saulivan. He made his fellow-villagers work in his fields. He lied and said: “There’s beer for you.” That’s why they worked in the fields for him. “Come and get a drink,” he said. When the lid was taken off the pot, there was no beer; there were hornets inside. The villagers ran away.

There was a slate slab hung in the doorway. When they ran away, they bumped into it. The villagers were angry. “Come on, let’s go to Padain to visit the girls,” the villagers lied to Saulivan. They put him in a box, and went off carrying it, and tipped him down a waterfall. He died and became a tree, and the tree bore shells. When the tree fell, mountain people collected the shells. That’s why there are kaîipa shells to this day.

#### 070 TAIL AND PIRI Tail kati Piri (Tjukuvuî village, p.280)

001 izua ka tjaisangas tangapuî i Vutsuî, saka keman tua

i-zua ka tja-i-sangas tangapuî i Vutsuî sa-ka em=kan tua

loc-that after more-loc-first lion loc (place) and-after af=eat obl

tsautsau sakamaya palalaut.

tsau-tsau sakamaya pa-la-laut

red-being only cause-red-able

Once upon a time there was a lion in the Vutsuî area, and it kept on eating people.

[tangapuî: OA make it into a personal name.]

002 saka “aku tjen a uri maquang?

sa-ka aku tjen a uri ma-quang

and-after why f.we(inc) c will stat-exterminate

They said: “We are going to be wiped out, aren’t we?

003 uri tja kudain sa tja sualapen a tangapuî?”

uri tja kuda-en sa tja su-alap-en a tangapuî

will we(inc) do.what-pf and we(inc) remove-take-pf c lion

What are we going to do to get rid of this lion?”

004 qau djemauî tjai Tail kati Piri.

qau em=djauî tjai Tail ka-ti Piri

so af=call obl.h (name) and-f.h (name) So they summoned Tail and Piri.

005 “keîu, selapay anga men; uri maquang amen

keî-u se-lapay anga amen uri ma-quang amen

come-imp invol-severe indeed f.we(exc) will stat-exterminate f.we(exc)

tusa tangapuî.”

tu-tsa tangapuî

obl-this lion

“Come; we’re in trouble. We’re going to be wiped out by this lion”

[tusa tangapuî: was su tangapuî ‘remove lion’ so perhaps means “Get rid of the lion.”]

006 vaik a sema zua tiamadju a ma÷usa, kematsu tua vakela.

vaik a em=sa zua ti-a-madju a ma-÷usa em=katsu tua vakela

leave c af=go that f-pl-3rd.pers c num-two af=carry obl arrow

So the two went there, carrying (bows and) arrows.

007 “nu kemudakuda qadaw mangtjez a keman?”

nu em=kuda-kuda qadaw m-pangetjez a em=kan

when af=red-do.what sun af-come c af=eat

“At what time of day does it come to eat people?”

008 “nu i vavaw tsinedasan mangtjez.”

nu i va-vaw in=tsedas-an m-pangetjez

when loc red-above perf=sunrise-nom af-come

“It comes when the sun is above its rising place.”

[tsinedasan: should be preceded by tua?]

009 kemaîava tiamadju.

em=ka-îava ti-a-madju

af=become-wait f-pl-3rd.pers The two waited for it.

010 ka mangtjez a tangapuî, panaqen sa papatsayin; saka maleva

ka m-pangetjez a tangapuî panaq-en sa pa-patsay-en sa-ka ma-leva

after af-come c lion arrow-pf and cause-die-pf and-after stat-pleased

aravats tiamadju a Vutsuî.

a-ravats ti-a-madju a Vutsuî

c-true f-pl-3rd.pers c (place)

When the lion came, they shot and killed it. The Vutsuî people were very glad.

011 “uîa timun anga kikazeîuzeîu tua imaza penuîat.”

uîa ti-mun anga ki-zeîu=kazeîu tua i-maza en=puîat

so.that f-you(p) indeed do-red=tax obl loc-here af=all

“All the tribute from here can go to you.”

012 qau vaik tiamadju a tsemikel a sema Tjuvasavasai.

qau vaik ti-a-madju a em=tsikel a em=sa Tjuvasavasai

so leave f-pl-3rd.pers c af=return c af=go (place)

They went back to Tjuvasavasai.

013 qau ti ïautu anga kisan qempuqepu tua kazeîu i Vutsuî.

qau ti ïautu anga ki-sane m=qepu-qepu tua kazeîu i Vutsuî

so f.h (name) indeed do-make af=red-associate obl tax loc (place)

ïautu became the tribute collector among the Vutsuî.

014 nu patsatsikel tiamadju a pasa Vutsuî, kitsuîu a sema

nu pa-tsa-tsikel ti-a-madju a pa-sa Vutsuî ki-tsuîu a em=sa

when cause-red-return f-pl-3rd.pers c cause-go (place) do-butcher c af=go

zua tua qinaîan anga tiamadju a ma÷usa; mana

zua tua in=qaîa-an anga ti-a-madju a ma-÷usa ma-avan-a

that obl perf=outsider-nom indeed f-pl-3rd.pers c num-two stat-exact-?

palaingan nua naqaîangan.

pa-laing-an nua na-qaîa-anga-an

cause-follow-nom by past-outsider-indeed-nom

When the two travelled through there, feasts were given for them in every village, and they were the leaders of all the villages.

Once upon a time there was a lion in the Vutsuî area, and it kept on eating people. They said: “We are going to be wiped out, aren’t we? What are we going to do to get rid of this lion?” So they summoned Tail and Piri. “Come; we’re in trouble. We’re going to be wiped out by this lion” (*or* “Get rid of the lion”). So the two went there, carrying (bows and) arrows. “At what time of day does it come to eat people?” “It comes when the sun is above its rising place.” The two waited for it. When the lion came, they shot and killed it. The Vutsuî people were very glad. “All the tribute from here can go to you.” They went back to Tjuvasavasai. ïautu became the tribute collector among the Vutsuî. When the two travelled through there, feasts were given for them in every village, and they were the leaders of all the villages.

#### 071 THE ORPHANS AND THE CROW mapuîu katua qaqa (Tjukuvuî village, p.281)

001 izua marekaka a ma÷usa, neka nu kina, neka nu kama, mapuîu

i-zua mare-kaka a ma-÷usa neka nu kina neka nu kama ma-puîu

loc-that pair-sibling c num-two no of mother no of father stat-deficit

tiamadju.

ti-a-madju

f-pl-3rd.pers There were two children with no mother or father, all on their own.

002 vaik a sema vavua.

vaik a em=sa va-vua

leave c af=go red-field They went to the fields.

003 izua a sa Vuluvulung.

i-zua a sa Vuluvulung

loc-that c h (name) There was Granny Vuluvulung.

[Female designation based on women’s work of making thread.]

004 vaik a sema zua marekaka.

vaik a em=sa zua mare-kaka

leave c af=go that pair-sibling The children went over to her.

005 “pai ku tulu-aw mun tua sika sengsengan.”

pai ku tulu-aw mun tua sika sengseng-an

well I teach-lf f.you(p) obl reason work-nom

She said: “Right, I’ll teach you how to work the fields.”

006 vaik a sema umaq.

vaik a em=sa umaq

leave c af=go house They went off home.

007 ka maîianga, “sa-u, kitatuzunganu, marekaka.”

ka ma-îia-anga sa-u ki-ta-tuzung-an-u mare-kaka

after stat-dawn-indeed go-imp do-red-handle-nom-imp pair-sibling

Next day she said: “Siblings, go and get some poles.”

008 vaik a kitatuzungan.

vaik a ki-ta-tuzung-an

leave c do-red-handle-nom They went to find some poles.

009 i umaq a vuvu a tsemalitsalis.

i umaq a vuvu a em=tsali-tsalis

loc house c grandparent c af=red-rope

Grandmother stayed in the house making thread.

010 ka mangtjez a marekaka a nakitatuzungan, “vuvu,

ka m-pangetjez a mare-kaka a na-ki-ta-tuzung-an vuvu

after af-come c pair-sibling c past-do-red-handle-nom grandparent

mavatsuvatsuk anga qaliqali, vuvu.”

ma-vatsu-vatsuk anga qali-qali vuvu

stat-red-clear.land indeed red-friend grandparent

When the children came back after finding some poles, they said: “Grandmother, other people are clearing their land for planting.”

011 “malitseng.

ma-litseng

stat-quiet “Be quiet.

012 nu mavatsuvatsuk anga kemuda?

nu ma-vatsu-vatsuk anga em=kuda

when stat-red-clear.land indeed af=do.what What if they are clearing the land?

013 qadjaw anga.

qadjaw anga

perhaps indeed It’s up to them.

014 sa-u, îa qunu, kimu tua tsuqelaî.”

sa-u îa qunu kim-u tua tsuqelaî

go-imp oh child search-imp obl bone Go and find some bones, children.”

015 vaik a masi kaîaudjul; îemuîu tua tsuqelaî.

vaik a masi kaîaudjul em=îuîu tua tsuqelaî

leave c carry basket.type af=gather obl bone

They went off with a basket and picked up some bones.

[kaîaudjul: F325 and 375 have kaîa-udjur]

016 “kamseng anga, vuvu?”

ka-meseng anga vuvu

past-enough indeed grandparent “Is that enough, grandmother?”

017 “ini anan ka kamseng.

ini anan ka ka-meseng

not still after past-enough “It’s not enough yet;

018 sa-u, alapu anan.”

sa-u alap-u anan

go-imp take-imp still go and get some more.”

019 “su sikuda, vuvu, a su tsalitsalisen?”

su si-kuda vuvu a su tsali-tsalis-en

you(s) if-do.what grandparent c you(s) red-rope-pf

“Grandmother, what are you going to do with the thread you’re making?”

020 “inika sikuda.

ini-ka si-kuda

not-after if-do.what “Nothing.

021 sa-u, kimu tua vat nua îui.”

sa-u kim-u tua vat nua îui

go-imp search-imp obl grain of gourd Go and find some gourd seeds.”

022 ka makatsalis anga ti sa Vuluvulung, “ari anga, îa qunu,

ka maka-tsalis anga ti sa Vuluvulung ari anga îa qunu

after finished-rope indeed f.h h (name) go.on indeed oh child

savavua-i.

sa-va-vua-i

go-red-field-hort

When Granny Vuluvulung had finished making thread, she said: “Right, children, let’s go to the fields.

023 katsu a tatuzungan katua tsuqelaî katua vat nua îui.”

katsu a ta-tuzung-an ka-tua tsuqelaî ka-tua vat nua îui

carry c red-handle-nom and-obl bone and-obl grain of gourd

Take the poles, bones and gourd seeds.”

024 ka zemuker i vavua, “sa-u, îa qunu, tsektsekan tsa tatuzungan.”

ka em=zuker i va-vua sa-u îa qunu tsektsek-an tsa ta-tuzung-an

after af=arrive loc red-field go-imp oh child stake-lf this red-handle-nom

When they got to the fields, she said: “Children, go and stick the poles in the ground.

[zemuker: was *zemker* in OA.]

025 ka sinitsektsek anga, sipaqadjay a tsalis pakipalinguî, sa

ka in=si-tsektsek anga si-pa-qadjay a tsalis pa-ki-pa-linguî sa

after perf=if-stake indeed if-cause-tie c rope cause-do-cause-around and

viîviîen ni sa Vuluvulung.

viîviî-en ni sa Vuluvulung

pull-pf by h (name)

When they were stuck in, Granny Vuluvulung tied them with the thread all round and pulled it tight.

026 “kavala kana kinasengsengan anga,” aya.

ka-vala ka-na in=ka-sengseng-an anga aya

become-able after-then perf=stat-work-nom indeed say

“It would be good if the work were all done,” they said.

[kana kinasengsengan: was ka nakinasengsengan]

027 qau kinasengsengan anga.

qau in=ka-sengseng-an anga

so perf=stat-work-nom indeed So it was all done.

028 “sa-u, taleman tsa tsuqelaî katua vat nua îui.

sa-u talem-an tsa tsuqelaî ka-tua vat nua îui

go-imp plant-lf this bone and-obl grain of gourd

“Go and plant the bones and the gourd seeds.

029 azua tsuqelaî taleman pakateku nu upu; azua îui

a-zua tsuqelaî talem-an pa-maka-teku nu upu a-zua îui

c-that bone plant-lf cause-via-down of wall c-that gourd

pakavavaw nu upu.”

pa-maka-va-vaw nu upu

cause-via-red-above of wall

Plant the bones below the terrace wall, and the gourds above it.”

030 qau vaik tiamadju a sema umaq.

qau vaik ti-a-madju a em=sa umaq

so leave f-pl-3rd.pers c af=go house Then they went home.

031 “sa-u, îiîavu a tja quma, nuki kemudakudanga.”

sa-u îiîaw-u a tja quma nu-ki em=kuda-kuda-anga

go-imp inspect-imp c our(inc) field of-how af=red-do.what-indeed

“Go and look at our field, to see how it’s getting on.”

032 vaik a îemiîaw tiamadju.

vaik a em=îiîaw ti-a-madju

leave c af=inspect f-pl-3rd.pers They went to have a look.

033 ka mangtjez i umaq, “kemudakudanga, îa qunu?”

ka m-pangetjez i umaq em=kuda-kuda-anga îa qunu

after af-come loc house af=red-do.what-indeed oh child

When they got home, she asked: “How is it, children?”

034 “patagiî a mintsekas, vuvu.

pa-tagiî a min-tsekas vuvu

cause-originate c af-split grandparent

“There are beginning to be cracks in the ground, grandmother.

035 makesanga a vaqu nua qaliqali.”

ma-kesa-anga a vaqu nua qali-qali

stat-food-indeed c millet of red-friend

Other people’s millet is ripe.”

[nua: was nu]

036 “kudain, nu makesanga, kemuda?”

kuda-en nu ma-kesa-anga em=kuda

do.what-pf when stat-food-indeed af=do.what “What? What if it is ripe?”

037 vaik tiamadju a sema vavua.

vaik ti-a-madju a em=sa va-vua

leave f-pl-3rd.pers c af=go red-field They went to the fields.

038 “katsu tua valanga tua qaselu.”

katsu tua valanga tua qaselu

carry obl mortar obl pestle “Take a pestle and mortar.”

[katsu: should be katsu-u ‘carry-imp’?]

039 ka zemker i vavua, “sa-u patsunu, îa qunu.

ka em=zuker i va-vua sa-u pa-tsun-u îa qunu

after af=arrive loc red-field go-imp cause-see-imp oh child

When they got to the fields, she said: “Children, go and look.

040 nu ÷emunga÷ungal anga, alapu.”

nu em=÷unga-÷ungal anga alap-u

when af=red-groan indeed take-imp If there is anything grunting, pick it up.”

041 azua tsuqelaî masan nu qatsang.

a-zua tsuqelaî ma-sane nu qatsang

c-that bone stat-make of pig The bones had become pigs,

042 azua îui masan nu vaqu.

a-zua îui ma-sane nu vaqu

c-that gourd stat-make of millet and the gourds had become millet.

043 tsemuîu tiamadju; san qavay i vavua.

em=tsuîu ti-a-madju sane qavay i va-vua

af=butcher f-pl-3rd.pers make dumpling loc red-field

They butchered the pigs, and made millet dumplings there in the fields.

044 “sa-u, alapu a penuîat a vangaî nua îui a pasa tapaw.

sa-u alap-u a en=puîat a vangaî nua îui a pa-sa tapaw

go-imp take-imp c af=all c fruit of gourd c cause-go hut

“Go and put all the produce of the gourds in the shed,

045 sa nu sutseveîen a qatsang a penuîat.

sa nu su-tseveî-en a qatsang a en=puîat

and you(p) remove-bury-pf c pig c af=all and dig out all the pigs.”

046 ari vaiki anga, îa qunu, a sema umaq.

ari vaik-i anga îa qunu a em=sa umaq

go.on leave-hort indeed oh child c af=go house

(Later she said:) “Come on, children, let’s go home.

047 tjuku÷u tsa îui.”

tjuku÷-u tsa îui

headband-imp this gourd Carry the gourds on your backs.”

048 sa azua qatsang uaguin a pasa umaq.

sa a-zua qatsang uagu-en a pa-sa umaq

and c-that pig herd-pf c cause-go house And they drove the pigs home.

049 ka zemuker i umaq, “sa-u katsu, îa qunu, sa nu kula sa

ka em=zuker i umaq sa-u katsu îa qunu tsa nu kula tsa

after af=arrive loc house go-imp carry oh child this your(p) foot this

nu qavuvung a kivala.”

nu qavuvung a ki-vala

your(p) heart c self-able

When they got home, she said: “Off you go, children, take legs and hearts (from the butchered pigs) and go where you like.”

050 ka patsun a qaliqali, “ii, puvuvu tua qaqa,” aya qaliqali.

ka pa-tsun a qali-qali ii pu-vuvu tua qaqa aya qali-qali

after cause-see c red-friend hey have-grandparent obl crow say red-friend

When other people saw them, they said: “Ha ha, they’ve got a crow for a grandmother.”

051 qau vaik a pasemalaw tua vuvu.

qau vaik a pa-em=salaw tua vuvu

so leave c cause-af=tell obl grandparent

The children went and told the grandmother:

052 “‘ii, puvuvu tua qaqa,’ aya qaliqali, vuvu.”

ii pu-vuvu tua qaqa aya qali-qali vuvu

hey have-grandparent obl crow say red-friend grandparent

“Grandmother, other people say: ‘Ha ha, they’ve got a crow for a grandmother.’”

053 “nu aya qaliqali, uri kemuda?”

nu aya qali-qali uri em=kuda

when say red-friend will af=do.what “What if people say that?”

054 qau vaik a kivala.

qau vaik a ki-vala

so leave c self-able They went out again.

055 “ii, puvuvu tua qaqa,” aya qaliqali.

ii pu-vuvu tua qaqa aya qali-qali

hey have-grandparent obl crow say red-friend

People said: “Ha ha, they’ve got a crow for a grandmother.”

056 vaik a tjumaq.

vaik a tju-umaq

leave c there-house They went home.

057 “‘ii, puvuvu tua qaqa,’ aya qaliqali,” aya uta.

ii pu-vuvu tua qaqa aya qali-qali aya uta

hey have-grandparent obl crow say red-friend say also

Again they said: “People say: ‘Haha, they’ve got a crow for a grandmother.’”

058 “ui, uri vaik aken nu maya,” sa “qaqa,” aya timadju a

ui uri vaik aken nu ma-aya sa qaqa aya ti-madju a

yes will leave f.I when stat-be.thus and crow say f-3rd.pers c

vaik.

vaik

leave “All right, in that case I’m off.”So she said “Caw caw,” and went off.

059 ka vaik anga, djapesen nimadju.

ka vaik anga djapes-en ni-madju

after leave indeed breathe-pf by-3rd.pers When she had gone she whistled:

[*djapesen*: was *djapesi*]

060 “uîa nekanga nu lami nu qatsang.”

uîa neka-anga nu lami nu qatsang

so.that no-indeed of staple.food of pig “May the food and pigs vanish.”

061 qau nekanga nu anemanemanga.

qau neka-anga nu a-nema-nema-anga

so no-indeed of ?-red-what-indeed Then there was nothing left.

062 a matsuîanga tiamadju a tsemikel, saka izuanga a

a ma-tsuîa-anga ti-a-madju a em=tsikel sa-ka i-zua-anga a

c stat-hungry-indeed f-pl-3rd.pers c af=return and-after loc-that-indeed c

qemauqaung.

em=qau-qaung

af=red-cry They were back to being hungry, and they just cried.

063 “kavala ka izuanan ti vuvu; inika tjen a

ka-vala ka i-zua-anan ti vuvu ini-ka tjen a

become-able after loc-that-still f.h grandparent not-after f.we(inc) c

kipaulaula tua tja kanen,” aya tiamadju a kinemnem, ka

ki-pa-ula-ula tua tja kan-en aya ti-a-madju a kinemnem ka

do-cause-red-lack obl our(inc) eat-pf say f-pl-3rd.pers c think after

vaik anga ti sa Vuluvulung.

vaik anga ti sa Vuluvulung

leave indeed f.h h (name)

“If only grandmother was still here. Then we wouldn’t be in trouble over our food,” they thought, when Granny Vuluvulung had gone.

064 amin.

amin

no.more The end.

There were two children with no mother or father, all on their own. They went to the fields. There was Granny Vuluvulung. The children went over to her. She said: “Right, I’ll teach you how to work the fields.” They went off home. Next day she said: “Siblings, go and get some poles.” They went to find some poles. Grandmother stayed in the house making thread. When the children came back after finding some poles, they said: “Grandmother, other people are clearing their land for planting.” “Be quiet. What if they are clearing the land? It’s up to them. Go and find some bones, children.” They went off with a basket and picked up some bones. “Is that enough, grandmother?”. “It’s not enough yet; go and get some more.” “Grandmother, what are you going to do with the thread you’re making?” “Nothing. Go and find some gourd seeds.”

When Granny Vuluvulung had finished making thread, she said: “Right, children, let’s go to the fields. Take the poles, bones and gourd seeds.” When they got to the fields, she said: “Children, go and stick the poles in the ground.” When they were stuck in, Granny Vuluvulung tied them with the thread all round and pulled it tight. “It would be good if the work were all done,” they said. So it was all done. “Go and plant the bones and the gourd seeds. Plant the bones below the terrace wall, and the gourds above it.” Then they went home. “Go and look at our field, to see how it’s getting on.” They went to have a look. When they got home, she asked: “How is it, children?” “There are beginning to be cracks in the ground, grandmother. Other people’s millet is ripe.” “What? What if it is ripe?” They went to the fields. “Take a pestle and mortar.” When they got to the fields, she said: “Children, go and look. If there is anything grunting, pick it up.” The bones had become pigs, and the gourds had become millet. They butchered the pigs, and made millet dumplings there in the fields. “Go and put all the produce of the gourds in the shed, and dig out all the pigs.” (Later she said:) “Come on, children, let’s go home. Carry the gourds on your backs.” And they drove the pigs home.

When they got home, she said: “Off you go, children, take legs and hearts (from the butchered pigs) and go where you like.” When other people saw them, they said: “Ha ha, they’ve got a crow for a grandmother.” The children went and told the grandmother: “Grandmother, other people say: ‘Ha ha, they’ve got a crow for a grandmother.’” “What if people say that?” They went out again. People said: “Ha ha, they’ve got a crow for a grandmother.” They went home. Again they said: “People say: ‘Haha, they’ve got a crow for a grandmother.’”

“All right, in that case I’m off.” So she said “Caw caw,” and went off. When she had gone she whistled: “May the food and pigs vanish.” Then there was nothing left. They were back to being hungry, and they just cried. “If only grandmother was still here. Then we wouldn’t be in trouble over our food,” they thought, when Granny Vuluvulung had gone. The end.

#### 072 SAPULUNGAN AND MUAKAI Sapulungan kati Muakai (Tjukuvuî village, p.285)

001 izua ti Sapulungan kati Muakai.

i-zua ti Sapulungan ka-ti Muakai

loc-that f.h (name) and-f.h (name)

There was a couple called Sapulungan and Muakai.

002 ti Muakai a nguanguaq aravats matu qadaw.

ti Muakai a ngua-nguaq a-ravats ma-tu qadaw

f.h (name) c red-good c-true stat-alike sun

Muakai was as beautiful as the sun.

003 manu masulid.

manu ma-sulid

then stat-sleep.together But when they slept together,

004 neka nu buang nua kutji.

neka nu buang nua kutji

no of hole of vagina Muakai had no hole in her private parts.

005 manu limutseng ti Sapulungan.

manu li-mutseng ti Sapulungan

then qal-angry f.h (name) So Sapulungan was angry.

006 nu keman tua kinsa, nu temkel tua vava, inika

nu em=kan tua in=kesa nu m=tekel tua vava ini-ka

when af=eat obl perf=food when af=drink obl alcohol not-after

pukaui a kilinguî, limutseng sakamaya.

pu-ka-ui a ki-linguî li-mutseng sakamaya

have-become-yes c do-around qal-angry only

When they ate or drank, he refused to sit (in a circle) with the others; he just sulked.

[a: not in OA]

007 qau muri vaik a qemaîup ti Sapulungan.

qau ma-uri vaik a em=qaîup ti Sapulungan

so stat-will leave c af=hunt f.h (name)

Then Sapulungan was going off hunting,

008 taulain a qungtsuy pitjumaq.

ta-ula-en a qungtsuy pi-tju-umaq

past-lack-pf c pipe put-there-house and had left his pipe in the house.

009 “keîu, kina, keîan a ku qungtsuy.”

keî-u kina keî-an a ku qungtsuy

come-imp mother come-lf c my pipe “Come here, mother, hand me my pipe.”

010 alapen ni Muakai sa pavayan.

alap-en ni Muakai sa pa-vay-an

take-pf by (name) and cause-give-lf Muakai took the pipe and gave it to him.

011 “ini, patsikelu.

ini pa-tsikel-u

not cause-return-imp “No, put it back.

[patsikelu: was patsikel]

012 keîan, aya-u ti kina.”

keî-an aya-u ti kina

come-lf say-imp f.h mother Tell my mother to give it to me.”

013 alapen nua kina sa pavayan tjai Sapulungan.

alap-en nua kina sa pa-vay-an tjai Sapulungan

take-pf by mother and cause-give-lf obl.h (name)

So his mother took it and gave it to Sapulungan.

014 “anema nu vavayanan a namaitazua a kutji sakamaya, neka

a-nema nu vavayan-an a na-ma-aya-ta-zua a kutji sakamaya neka

?-what of female-nom c past-stat-be.thus-?-that c vagina only no

nu buang?”

nu buang

of hole “What sort of woman is that with no hole in her private parts?”

015 “djaîepan sun a limutsemutseng.”

djaîep-an sun a li-mutse-mutseng

fit-lf f.you(s) c qal-red-angry “No wonder you are angry.”

016 “pai pavava-u anga taqaîaqaîan.

pai pa-vava-u anga ta-qaîa-qaîa-an

well cause-alcohol-imp indeed ?-red-outsider-nom

“Give a drinking party for all the village.

017 azua tjaîasanguaqan a patekelan anga.

a-zua tjaîa-sa-nguaq-an a pa-tekel-an anga

c-that most-qal-good-nom c cause-drink-lf indeed

Give the best beer (to her);

018 nu mapulaw anga, pai patsunu anga.”

nu ma-pulaw anga pai pa-tsun-u anga

when stat-drunk indeed well cause-see-imp indeed

and when she is drunk, have a look.”

019 qivu tua taqaîaqaîan a pavava.

qivu tua ta-qaîa-qaîa-an a pa-vava

speak obl ?-red-outsider-nom c cause-alcohol

His mother got the villagers to make beer.

020 ka makesanga a vava, patsunin a tjaîasanguaqan a

ka ma-kesa-anga a vava pa-tsun-en a tjaîa-sa-nguaq-an a

after stat-food-indeed c alcohol cause-see-pf c most-qal-good-nom c

vava, sa “tekeli kati Muakai,” aya, sa tekelen na ma÷usa.

vava sa tekel-i ka-ti Muakai aya sa tekel-en nua ma-÷usa

alcohol and drink-hort and-f.h (name) say and drink-pf by num-two

When the beer was ready, she found the best beer, and said: “Muakai, let’s drink together,” and the two of them drank it (*or* “Let’s drink with Muakai;” and they drank with her).

021 ka mapulaw anga ti Muakai, seqereng a sema surur.

ka ma-pulaw anga ti Muakai se-qereng a em=sa surur

after stat-drunk indeed f.h (name) invol-lie.down c af=go bed

When Muakai was drunk, she lay down on the bed platform.

022 izua qaliqali a maisuisu i tsasaw.

i-zua qali-qali a m-isu=paisu i tsasaw

loc-that red-friend c af-red=pound loc outside

There was someone pounding grain outside.

023 “ku qeîevaw, îa uti.

ku qeîev-aw îa uti

I block-lf oh friend “I’ll close the window, friend,

024 mana nu malavu ti su ÷ava.”

ma-avan-a nu ma-lavu ti su ÷ava

stat-exact-? when stat-chaff f.h your(s) female.friend

in case the chaff goes on your friend.”

025 sutsavuen nua kina.

su-tsavu-en nua kina

remove-wrapping-pf by mother She undid Muakai’s clothes.

[sutsavuen: was sutsaqevin, or could be sutsauven (tsavu ‘a wrapping’; tsauv ‘to cover’)]

[nua: was nu]

026 “djaîepan aya a ku aîak.

djaîep-an aya a ku aîak

fit-lf say c my child “What my son says is quite right.

027 manu namaitutsu, a neka nu buang.”

manu na-ma-aya-tu-tsu a neka nu buang

then past-stat-be.thus-alike-this c no of hole

So it’s like that; there’s no hole.”

028 azua buang matu tsalinga nua îigim.

a-zua buang ma-tu tsalinga nua îigim

c-that hole stat-alike ear of needle The hole was like the eye of a needle.

029 malap ta siqunu a kina, sa tsukisen a seman buang.

m-alap ta si-qunu a kina sa tsukis-en a em=sane buang

af-take obl if-child c mother and incise-pf c af=make hole

His mother took a knife and cut a hole.

[siqunu: entry in F for ‘small knife’ is under qunu ‘child’]

030 ka mapapaulingaw, “alapu tua zaîum, sa su pavanaw.”

ka ma-pa-pa-u-lingaw alap-u tua zaîum sa su pa-vanaw

after stat-cause-cause-?-know take-imp obl water and you(s) cause-bathe

When Muakai was sober, his mother said: “Get some water and bathe yourself.”

031 malap tua zaîum ti Muakai, sa pavanaw.

m-alap tua zaîum ti Muakai sa pa-vanaw

af-take obl water f.h (name) and cause-bathe

Muakai got some water, and bathed herself.

032 ka mavanaw anga, samaîi anga sakamaya.

ka ma-vanaw anga sa-ma-aîi anga sakamaya

after stat-bathe indeed qal-stat-different indeed only

When she had bathed, she was very surprised.

033 “aku maitutsu anga sa niaken?

aku ma-aya-tu-tsu anga tsa ni-aken

why stat-be.thus-alike-this indeed this of-I “Why is it like this?

034 izuanga buang.”

i-zua-anga buang

loc-that-indeed hole There’s a hole now in my private parts.”

035 patsun a kina.

pa-tsun a kina

cause-see c mother His mother looked.

036 “makuda sun, Muakai?

ma-kuda sun Muakai

stat-do.what f.you(s) (name) “What’s up with you, Muakai?

037 aku sun a namaitazua?”

aku sun a na-ma-aya-ta-zua

why f.you(s) c past-stat-be.thus-?-that Why are you behaving like that?”

038 “pai patsunu a niaken.”

pai pa-tsun-u a ni-aken

well cause-see-imp c of-I “Well, look at my private parts.”

039 “kana vavayan namaitutsu a mapuîat; inika amin

ka-na vavayan na-ma-aya-tu-tsu a ma-puîat ini-ka amin

after-then female past-stat-be.thus-alike-this c num-all not-after no.more

sun a namaitazua.

sun a na-ma-aya-ta-zua

f.you(s) c past-stat-be.thus-?-that “Every woman is like that. It’s not only you.

040 mana sika limutsemutseng ni Sapulungan tjanusun.”

ma-avan-a sika li-mutse-mutseng ni Sapulungan tjanu-sun

stat-exact-? reason qal-red-angry by (name) obl-you(s)

That’s why Sapulungan was angry with you.”

041 “ia, kina, manu kemuda.”

ia kina manu em=kuda

oh mother then af=do.what “Oh, mother, so that was it.”

042 ka mangtjengtjez anga ti Sapulungan, vaik a kina a kitsevungan

ka ma-ngetje-ngetjez anga ti Sapulungan vaik a kina a ki-tsevung-an

after stat-red-come indeed f.h (name) leave c mother c do-meet-lf

a mapedjelidjeli.

a ma-pe-djeli-djeli

c stat-emerge-red-laugh

When Sapulungan came back, his mother went to meet him laughing.

043 mintuluq ti Sapulungan, temavikiî tjai Muakai, sana ivulungan, sana

min-tuluq ti Sapulungan em=ta-vikiî tjai Muakai sa-na ivulungan sa-na

af-run f.h (name) af=?-lap obl.h (name) and-? intercourse and-?

puaîak.

pu-aîak

have-child

Sapulungan ran and embraced Muakai; they had intercourse; and had a child.

044 saka izuanga tiamadju malevaleva mapuîat.

sa-ka i-zua-anga ti-a-madju ma-leva-leva ma-puîat

and-after loc-that-indeed f-pl-3rd.pers stat-red-pleased num-all

And they all lived happily ever after.

045 amin.

amin

no.more The end.

There was a couple called Sapulungan and Muakai. Muakai was as beautiful as the sun. But when they slept together, Muakai had no hole in her private parts. So Sapulungan was angry. When they ate or drank, he refused to sit (in a circle) with the others; he just sulked. Then Sapulungan was going off hunting, and had left his pipe in the house. “Come here, mother, hand me my pipe.” Muakai took the pipe and gave it to him. “No, put it back. Tell my mother to give it to me.” So his mother took it and gave it to Sapulungan. “What sort of woman is that with no hole in her private parts?”. “No wonder you are angry.” “Give a drinking party for all the village. Give the best beer (to her); and when she is drunk, have a look.”

His mother got the villagers to make beer. When the beer was ready, she found the best beer, and said: “Muakai, let’s drink together,” and the two of them drank it (*or* “Let’s drink with Muakai;” and they drank with her.) When Muakai was drunk, she lay down on the bed platform. There was someone pounding grain outside. “I’ll close the window, friend, in case the chaff goes on your friend.” She undid Muakai’s clothes. “What my son says is quite right. So it’s like that; there’s no hole.” The hole was like the eye of a needle. His mother took a knife and cut a hole. When Muakai was sober, his mother said: “Get some water and bathe yourself.” Muakai got some water, and bathed herself. When she had bathed, she was very surprised. “Why is it like this? There’s a hole now in my private parts.” His mother looked. “What’s up with you, Muakai? Why are you (behaving) like that?” “Well look at my private parts.” “Every woman is like that. It’s not only you. That’s why Sapulungan was angry with you.” “Oh, mother, so that was it.” When Sapulungan came back, his mother went to meet him laughing. Sapulungan ran and embraced Muakai; they had intercourse; and had a child. And they all lived happily ever after. The end.

#### 073 MUAKAI Muakai (Tjukuvuî village, p.288)

001 izua ti Muakai kati Muatjuku, a mare sikatsekeî.

i-zua ti Muakai ka-ti Muatjuku a mare si-ka-tsekeî

loc-that f.h (name) and-f.h (name) c pair if-main-spouse

There were two cousins, Muakai and Muatjuku.

002 putsekeî ti Makuîuîu tjai Muakai; puaîak tjai Sapulungan.

pu-tsekeî ti Makuîuîu tjai Muakai pu-aîak tjai Sapulungan

have-spouse f.h (name) obl.h (name) have-child obl.h (name)

Makuîuîu married Muakai, and their child was Sapulungan.

003 putsekeî ti Sapulungan tjai Muatjuku; puaîak tjai Muakai.

pu-tsekeî ti Sapulungan tjai Muatjuku pu-aîak tjai Muakai

have-spouse f.h (name) obl.h (name) have-child obl.h (name)

(Another) Sapulungan married Muatjuku, and their child was Muakai.

004 îakua a kutji sakamaya, neka nu kinatsavatsavan; îakua matsaqu a

îakua a kutji sakamaya neka nu in=ka-tsava-tsavan îakua ma-tsaqu a

but c vagina only no of perf=main-red-body but stat-able c

qivu.

qivu

speak But she was only a vagina, she had no body; but she could speak.

005 “uzi puaîak ti Muatjuku tua vavayan.

uzi pu-aîak ti Muatjuku tua vavayan

well have-child f.h (name) obl female “Well, Muatjuku has had a girl.

006 ari tja îiîavaw; uîa kisudju ti Sapulungan.”

ari tja îiîaw-aw uîa ki-sudju ti Sapulungan

go.on we(inc) inspect-lf so.that do-sweetheart f.h (name)

Let’s go and visit them, so that Sapulungan can court her.”

007 vaik a îemiîaw.

vaik a em=îiîaw

leave c af=inspect They went to pay a visit.

008 “ainu a nu aîak?” aya mangtjez.

a-inu a nu aîak aya m-pangetjez

?-where c your(p) child say af-come

“Where is your child?” they said when they arrived.

009 qiîain.

qiîa-en

hide-pf She was hidden.

010 “neka.

neka

no “There’s none.

011 inika tsautsau a nia aîak.”

ini-ka tsau-tsau a nia aîak

not-after red-being c our(exc) child Our child didn’t live.”

012 vaik a tsemikel a naîemiîaw.

vaik a em=tsikel a na-em=îiîaw

leave c af=return c past-af=inspect The visitors went back.

013 îemtu anga ti Sapulungan.

m=îetu anga ti Sapulungan

af=mature indeed f.h (name) Sapulungan grew up.

014 vaik a qemaîup tua uri sikisudju.

vaik a em=qaîup tua uri si-ki-sudju

leave c af=hunt obl will if-do-sweetheart

He went to hunt something as a courting present.

015 “uri mangtjez amen a paukez.”

uri m-pangetjez amen a paukez

will af-come f.we(exc) c betroth

(His parents sent a message:) “We are coming to arrange a marriage.”

016 saka, “mangtjez; uri tja kudain sa tja aîak a

sa-ka m-pangetjez uri tja kuda-en sa tja aîak a

and-after af-come will we(inc) do.what-pf and our(inc) child c

namaitutsu?

na-ma-aya-tu-tsu

past-stat-be.thus-alike-this

So (her parents said:) “They are coming. What are we going to do about our child like this?

017 tja sisiaq anga.

tja si-siaq anga

we(inc) if-shame indeed We’re ashamed of her.

018 pai tja qiîa-u.”

pai tja qiîa-u

well we(inc) hide-imp Let’s hide her.”

019 sialap tua îangian, sa pasazuain.

si-alap tua îangi-an sa pa-sa-zua-en

if-take obl trunk-nom and cause-go-that-pf They got a trunk and put her in that.

020 satjezen a pasa tsemtsemel itua îiv, sa vayvayin a itung anga.

satjez-en a pa-sa tsem-tsemel i-tua îiv sa vayvay-en a itung anga

return-pf c cause-go red-plant loc-obl cave and hang-pf c cloth indeed

They sent it off to a cave in the woods, and hung clothes round it.

021 djumaken ni Sapulungan a kinazuan.

djumak-en ni Sapulungan a in=ka-zua-an

find-pf by (name) c perf=main-that-nom Sapulungan found the place.

022 “aku namaitutsu a imaza, a liaw a itung anga, qau

aku na-ma-aya-tu-tsu a i-maza a liaw a itung anga qau

why past-stat-be.thus-alike-this c loc-here c many c cloth indeed so

neka nu tsautsau?”

neka nu tsau-tsau

no of red-being “Why is it like this, with lots of clothes and nobody here?”

023 patsunan nimadju a sema taladj tua îiv.

pa-tsun-an ni-madju a em=sa taladj tua îiv

cause-see-lf by-3rd.pers c af=go inside obl cave He looked inside the cave;

024 manu izua îangian.

manu i-zua îangi-an

then loc-that trunk-nom and there was the chest.

025 sutsaqevin ni Sapulungan.

su-tsaqev-en ni Sapulungan

remove-lid-pf by (name) Sapulungan opened the lid.

026 manu izua i taladj a tsinavu.

manu i-zua i taladj a in=tsavu

then loc-that loc inside c perf=wrapping

Inside there was something wrapped up.

027 “maya ken a semutsavu, masiaq aken.”

maya aken a em=su-tsavu ma-siaq aken

don’t f.I c af=remove-wrapping stat-shame f.I

“Don’t unwrap me. I’m ashamed.”

028 “tima sun?”

ti-ima sun

f-who f.you(s) “Who are you?”

029 “tiaken a aîak aken ni Muatjuku.”

ti-aken a aîak aken ni Muatjuku

f-I c child f.I of (name) “I’m Muatjuku’s child.”

030 “aku sun a imaza?”

aku sun a i-maza

why f.you(s) c loc-here “Why are you here?”

031 “qiniîanga ken ni nia kina.

in=qiîa-anga aken ni nia kina

perf=hide-indeed f.I by our(exc) mother “I was hidden by mother.

032 ‘masiaq tua qaliqali,’ aya tia kina.”

ma-siaq tua qali-qali aya ti-a kina

stat-shame obl red-friend say f.h-pl mother

Mother and the others said: ‘We’re ashamed of what others will say.’”

033 alapen ni Sapulungan, sa sikau-in.

alap-en ni Sapulungan sa sikau-en

take-pf by (name) and net.bag-pf

Sapulungan took her and put her in his net-bag (rucksack).

034 “anema, qalian, sa su kinavits a sadjelung?”

a-nema qali-an tsa su in=kavits a sadjelung

?-what friend-nom this you(s) perf=carry.on.back c heavy

“Friend, what’s that heavy thing on your back?”

035 “îakaraw.”

îakaraw

flower.sp “îakaraw flowers (for head decorations).”

036 vaik timadju a isangas qemalats, sa vaik a sema tjumaq.

vaik ti-madju a i-sangas em=qalats sa vaik a em=sa tju-umaq

leave f-3rd.pers c loc-first af=shout and leave c af=go there-house

He went ahead with a hunter’s shout of success, and went home.

037 semukavits, sa alapen a pasa surur, saka taqed.

em=su-kavits sa alap-en a pa-sa surur sa-ka taqed

af=remove-carry.on.back and take-pf c cause-go bed and-after sleep

He took off his load, took it to the bed platform and went to sleep.

038 “tekelu tua vava, kanu tua kinsa,” nu aya a kina, “saqetju

tekel-u tua vava kan-u tua in=kesa nu aya a kina saqetju

drink-imp obl alcohol eat-imp obl perf=food when say c mother painful

aken,” aya sakamaya timadju.

aken aya sakamaya ti-madju

f.I say only f-3rd.pers

When his mother said: “Drink some beer, have some food,” he just said: “I’m ill”.

039 tapuluq katu lima inika keman tua kinsa.

ta-puluq ka-tu lima ini-ka em=kan tua in=kesa

one-ten after-? five not-after af=eat obl perf=food

He didn’t eat for 15 days.

040 “Sapulungan, uzai a vavuy,” aya qaliqali, “sa-u alapu.”

Sapulungan uzay a vavuy aya qali-qali sa-u alap-u

(name) there c pig say red-friend go-imp take-imp

Some people said: “Sapulungan, there are some wild pigs; go and get them.”

041 vaik ti Sapulungan a qemaîup.

vaik ti Sapulungan a em=qaîup

leave f.h (name) c af=hunt Sapulungan went hunting.

042 parimasudj a kina tua qaqerengan nimadju; manu izua

pa-rimasudj a kina tua qa-qereng-an ni-madju manu i-zua

cause-tidy c mother obl red-lie.down-nom of-3rd.pers then loc-that

nuki anema.

nu-ki a-nema

of-how ?-what His mother tidied his bed; and there was something there.

043 “manu mavan a saqetjuan nua ku aîak,” aya, sa veritsan a

manu ma-avan a saqetju-an nua ku aîak aya sa verits-an a

then stat-exact c painful-nom of my child say and discard-lf c

pasa tekutekuan.

pa-sa teku-teku-an

cause-go red-down-nom

“So that was my son’s illness,” she said, and threw it down below (to the rubbish heap).

044 mangtjez ti Sapulungan; “ainu a ku..?” aya.

m-pangetjez ti Sapulungan a-inu a ku aya

af-come f.h (name) ?-where c my say

Sapulungan came back. “Where is my..?” he said.

045 “anema su siayaya?

a-nema su si-ay-aya

?-what you(s) if-red-say “What do you mean?

046 su palinged?

su pa-linged

your(s) cause-nose.flute Your flute?

047 su îaîegean?”

su îaîegean

your(s) mouth.organ Your mouth-organ?”

048 “inika mavan a ku siaya.”

ini-ka ma-avan a ku si-aya

not-after stat-exact c I if-say “That’s not what I mean.”

049 “mavan ka su maya a ku siniverits.”

ma-avan ka su m-aya a ku in=si-verits

stat-exact after you(s) af-say c I perf=if-discard

“Perhaps you mean what I threw away.”

050 “su siverits a pasa inu, kina?”

su si-verits a pa-sa inu kina

you(s) if-discard c cause-go where mother “Where did you throw it, mother?”

051 “ku siverits a pasa tekutekuan.”

ku si-verits a pa-sa teku-teku-an

I if-discard c cause-go red-down-nom “I threw it down below.”

052 qau vaik ti Sapulungan sema zua.

qau vaik ti Sapulungan em=sa zua

so leave f.h (name) af=go that So Sapulungan went down there.

053 manu izua ti Muakai, a naqemiladj i tekutekuan.

manu i-zua ti Muakai a na-em=qiladj i teku-teku-an

then loc-that f.h (name) c past-af=sit loc red-down-nom

And there was Muakai, sitting there down below (having turned into a human being (OA)).

054 alapen ni Sapulungan a temavikiî, a pasa kaîuvuîuvung.

alap-en ni Sapulungan a em=ta-vikiî a pa-sa ka-îuvu-îuvung

take-pf by (name) c af=?-lap c cause-go main-red-resting.place

Sapulungan took her and embraced her, and took her to the resting platform.

055 “ku sangutjaw,” aya a kina.

ku sangutj-aw aya a kina

I kiss-lf say c mother “I’ll give her a kiss,” said his mother.

056 manu lemuni.

manu em=luni

then af=earthquake Then there was an earthquake.

057 malap a kina tua qata, sa pavayan tjai Muakai, sana kisangutj,

m-alap a kina tua qata sa pa-vay-an tjai Muakai sa-na ki-sangutj

af-take c mother obl bead and cause-give-lf obl.h (name) and-? do-kiss

sana pavay tua anemanemanga siniputsekeî tjaimadju,

sa-na pa-vay tua a-nema-nema-anga in=si-pu-tsekeî tjai-madju

and-? cause-give obl ?-red-what-indeed perf=if-have-spouse obl-3rd.pers

sa pavayan tua matjaîaîak ni Muakai.

sa pa-vay-an tua matja-îaîak ni Muakai

and cause-give-lf obl num-child of (name)

His mother took precious beads and gave them to Muakai, and kissed her, and gave all sorts of wedding gifts for her, and gave them to Muakai’s parents.

058 “ai, manu izainu anga a tja aîak?” aya tiamadju a

ai manu i-zua-inu anga a tja aîak aya ti-a-madju a

oh then loc-that-where indeed c our(inc) child say f-pl-3rd.pers c

ma÷usa, sana vaik a sema zua îemiîaw tjai Muakai.

ma-÷usa sa-na vaik a em=sa zua em=îiîaw tjai Muakai

num-two and-? leave c af=go that af=inspect obl.h (name)

“Oh, so where has our child got to?” they said, and went there to visit Muakai.

059 puaîak anga ti Muakai kati Sapulungan, saka malevanga

pu-aîak anga ti Muakai ka-ti Sapulungan sa-ka ma-leva-anga

have-child indeed f.h (name) and-f.h (name) and-after stat-pleased-indeed

tiamadju.

ti-a-madju

f-pl-3rd.pers Muakai and Sapulungan had a child and were very happy.

060 amin anga.

amin anga

no.more indeed The end.

There were two cousins, Muakai and Muatjuku. Makuîuîu married Muakai, and their child was Sapulungan. (Another) Sapulungan married Muatjuku, and their child was Muakai. But she was only a vagina, she had no body; but she could speak. “Well, Muatjuku has had a girl. Let’s go and visit them, so that Sapulungan can court her.” They went to pay a visit. “Where is your child?” they said when they arrived. She was hidden. “There’s none. Our child didn’t live.” The visitors went back. Sapulungan grew up. He went to hunt something as a courting present. (His parents sent a message:) “We are coming to arrange a marriage.” So (her parents said:) “They are coming. What are we going to do about our child like this? We’re ashamed of her. Let’s hide her.” They got a trunk and put her in that. They sent it off to a cave in the woods, and hung clothes round it.

Sapulungan found the place. “Why is it like this, with lots of clothes and nobody here?” He looked inside the cave; and there was the chest. Sapulungan opened the lid. Inside there was something wrapped up. “Don’t unwrap me. I’m ashamed.” “Who are you?” “I’m Muatjuku’s child.” “Why are you here?” “I was hidden by mother. Mother and the others said: ‘We’re ashamed of what others will say.’” Sapulungan took her and put her in his net-bag (rucksack). “Friend, what’s that heavy thing on your back?” “îakaraw flowers (for head decorations).” He went ahead with a hunter’s shout of success, and went home. He took off his load, took it to the bed platform and went to sleep. When his mother said: “Drink some beer, have some food,” he just said: “I’m ill”. He didn’t eat for 15 days. Some people said: “Sapulungan, there are some wild pigs; go and get them.” Sapulungan went hunting. His mother tidied his bed; and there was something there. “So that was my son’s illness,” she said, and threw it down below (to the rubbish heap).

Sapulungan came back. “Where is my..?” he said. “What do you mean? Your flute? Your mouth-organ?” “That’s not what I mean.” “Perhaps you mean what I threw away.” “Where did you throw it, mother?” “I threw it down below.”So Sapulungan went down there. And there was Muakai, sitting there down below (having turned into a human being (OA)). Sapulungan took her and embraced her, and took her to the resting platform. “I’ll give her a kiss,” said his mother. Then there was an earthquake. His mother took precious beads and gave them to Muakai, and kissed her, and gave all sorts of wedding gifts for her, and gave them to Muakai’s parents. “Oh, so where has our child got to?” they said, and went there to visit Muakai. Muakai and Sapulungan had a child and were very happy. The end.

#### 074 THE WHITE STONE AT VALIVALIW mui i Valivaliw (Tjukuvuî village, p.292)

001 izua ti Sapulungan i tjarivavaw.

i-zua ti Sapulungan i tjari-va-vaw

loc-that f.h (name) loc utmost-red-above Sapulungan was up in heaven.

[tjarivavaw: was tjaîevavaw]

002 qau vaik a kina kama sema vavua.

qau vaik a kina kama em=sa va-vua

so leave c mother father af=go red-field

His mother and father went to the fields.

003 i umaq timadju.

i umaq ti-madju

loc house f-3rd.pers He was at home.

004 qau malap tua tjukutjuku, sa tjukutjukutjuku katua salasaladj.

qau m-alap tua tjukutjuku sa tjuku-tjukutjuku ka-tua sala-saladj

so af-take obl ball and red-ball and-obl red-companion

He took his ball (*or* wheel), and played with it with his companions.

005 manu maulaw.

manu ma-ulaw

then stat-lost Well it got lost.

006 “qai îa qalian, aki pasainu a ku tjukutjuku a maulaw?”

qai îa qali-an aki pa-sa-inu a ku tjukutjuku a ma-ulaw

oh class friend-nom how cause-go-where c my ball c stat-lost

“Hi, friends, where has my ball gone that I’ve lost?”

007 kemim timadju.

em=kim ti-madju

af=search f-3rd.pers He looked and looked for it.

[kemim: was kemiim with vowel lengthened for emphasis]

008 manu makelu a maka zua itua buabuang a sema teku.

manu ma-kelu a maka zua i-tua bua-buang a em=sa teku

then stat-fall c via that loc-obl red-hole c af=go down

Well it had fallen down below through a little hole.

009 vaik timadju a kitjaviliî maka zua pinakazuan nua

vaik ti-madju a ki-tja-viliî maka zua in=paka-zua-an nua

leave f-3rd.pers c do-more-behind via that perf=via-that-nom of

tjukutjuku nimadju a sema tjariteku.

tjukutjuku ni-madju a em=sa tjari-teku

ball of-3rd.pers c af=go utmost-down

He followed the ball by the way it had gone to the world below.

[tjariteku: was tjaîeteku]

010 qau kivadaq timadju tua taqaîaqaîan: “pasainu a ku

qau ki-vadaq ti-madju tua ta-qaîa-qaîa-an pa-sa-inu a ku

so do-ask f-3rd.pers obl ?-red-outsider-nom cause-go-where c my

tjukutjuku?

tjukutjuku

ball He asked the people: “Where has my ball gone?

011 inika mun a patsun a mapuîat?”

ini-ka mun a pa-tsun a ma-puîat

not-after f.you(p) c cause-see c num-all Haven’t any of you seen it?”

012 “inika men a kemîang.

ini-ka amen a m=keîang

not-after f.we(exc) c af=know “We don’t know.

013 pai sa-u kivadaqu ti vuvu i ªa÷engeraw.”

pai sa-u ki-vadaq-u ti vuvu i ªa÷engeraw

well go-imp do-ask-imp f.h grandparent which (name)

Go and ask granny ªa÷engeraw.”

[vuvu: female, as working with net-needle]

014 vaik a kivadaq.

vaik a ki-vadaq

leave c do-ask He went to ask her.

015 “inika ken a kemîang,” aya timadju.

ini-ka aken a m=keîang aya ti-madju

not-after f.I c af=know say f-3rd.pers She said: “I don’t know.”

016 manu patsunan ni Sapulungan izua i tjaiteku i surur.

manu pa-tsun-an ni Sapulungan i-zua i tjai-teku i surur

then cause-see-lf by (name) loc-that loc obl-down loc bed

Then Sapulungan saw it there under the bed-platform.

[patsunan: was patsuni]

017 alapen ni Sapulungan.

alap-en ni Sapulungan

take-pf by (name) Sapulungan picked it up.

018 “uza imaza, vuvu, sa ku tjukutjuku.”

uza i-maza vuvu tsa ku tjukutjuku

here loc-here grandparent this my ball “Here’s my ball, granny.”

019 “ini anga ka ken a tsemged a patsun.”

ini anga ka aken a m=tseged a pa-tsun

not indeed after f.I c af=alert c cause-see “I can’t see clearly any more.”

020 “uri imazanga ken i tjanusun, vuvu.”

uri i-maza-anga aken i tjanu-sun vuvu

will loc-here-indeed f.I loc obl-you(s) grandparent

“I’m going to stay with you, granny.”

021 “uri tjepana qaliqali, vuvu.

uri tje-pana qali-qali vuvu

will do.at-river red-friend grandparent “Others are going fishing, granny.

022 uri masi anema ken?”

uri masi a-nema aken

will carry ?-what f.I What am I to take?”

023 “katsuu sa sapeî a tjepana.”

katsu-u tsa sapeî a tje-pana

carry-imp this pot.holder c do.at-river “Take this pot-holder to fish with.”

024 manu inika malap a qaliqali.

manu ini-ka m-alap a qali-qali

then not-after af-take c red-friend Well the others didn’t catch anything;

025 qau venatsaq timadju tua tsiqaw.

qau en=vatsaq ti-madju tua tsiqaw

so af=carry.pole f-3rd.pers obl fish

but he used a pole to carry the fish he caught.

026 “uri, vuvu, uri qemaîup a qaliqali.

uri vuvu uri em=qaîup a qali-qali

will grandparent will af=hunt c red-friend “Granny, others are going hunting.

027 uri masi anema ken?”

uri masi a-nema aken

will carry ?-what f.I What am I to take?”

028 “katsuu aitsu a ku velayan a qemaîup.”

katsu-u aya-i-tsu a ku velay-an a em=qaîup

carry-imp be.thus-loc-this c my net.needle-nom c af=hunt

“Take this net-needle to hunt with.”

029 vaik timadju.

vaik ti-madju

leave f-3rd.pers Off he went.

030 manu “maya kiteveteveî ti tja qali.

manu maya ki-teve-teveî ti tja qali

then don’t do-red-join f.h our(inc) friend

But the others said: “Don’t go near this chap.

031 palisi namasi velayan.”

palisi na-masi velay-an

taboo past-carry net.needle-nom

It’s taboo to carry a net-needle when we’re hunting.”

032 qemaîup tiamadju.

em=qaîup ti-a-madju

af=hunt f-pl-3rd.pers They went hunting;

033 manu malap ti Sapulungan a semuliaw.

manu m-alap ti Sapulungan a em=su-liaw

then af-take f.h (name) c af=remove-many and Sapulungan caught lots,

034 qau inika malap a qaliqali.

qau ini-ka m-alap a qali-qali

so not-after af-take c red-friend but the others didn’t catch anything.

035 “vuvu, uri maqinatsap a qaliqali.

vuvu uri ma-in=qatsap a qali-qali

grandparent will stat-perf=head.hunt c red-friend

“Granny, others are going head-hunting.

036 uri masi anema ken?”

uri masi a-nema aken

will carry ?-what f.I What am I to take?”

037 “katsuu sa ku velayan.”

katsu-u sa ku velay-an

carry-imp go my net.needle-nom “Take my net-needle.”

038 “maya sa kiteveî.

maya sa ki-teveî

don’t go do-join “Don’t come near us.

039 namasi velayan sun,” ayain nua qaliqali.

na-masi velay-an sun aya-en nua qali-qali

past-carry net.needle-nom f.you(s) say-pf by red-friend

You’re carrying a net-needle,” said the others.

040 manu qemtsi timadju a semuliaw.

manu m=qetsi ti-madju a em=su-liaw

then af=fight f-3rd.pers c af=remove-many But he killed a lot,

041 inika qemtsi a qaliqali.

ini-ka m=qetsi a qali-qali

not-after af=fight c red-friend while the others didn’t kill anybody.

042 limutseng a mapuîat.

li-mutseng a ma-puîat

qal-angry c num-all They were all angry.

043 “tja kuda-u ti tja qali?

tja kuda-u ti tja qali

we(inc) do.what-imp f.h our(inc) friend “What are we going to do with this chap?

044 aku inika namakaya tua kemudamudanga?

aku ini-ka na-ma-kaya tua em=kuda-kuda-anga

why not-after past-stat-able obl af=red-do.what-indeed

Why haven’t we been able to do anything?

[kemudamudanga: reduplication includes the m=]

045 pai tja qetsiaw.”

pai tja qetsi-aw

well we(inc) fight-lf Let’s kill him.”

046 qau kivala ti Sapulungan; kilangda tua mazepzepzep.

qau ki-vala ti Sapulungan ki-langeda tua ma-zep-zepzep

so self-able f.h (name) do-hear obl stat-red-converse

Sapulungan was out for a stroll, and heard them discussing.

047 manu ru qetsin timadju.

manu ru qetsi-en ti-madju

then will fight-pf f-3rd.pers So he was going to be killed.

[ru: not in F24 or F248 for future]

048 vaik a tjumaq.

vaik a tju-umaq

leave c there-house He went indoors

049 pasemalaw tua vuvu: “uzau ru qetsin aken nua

pa-em=salaw tua vuvu uza-u ru qetsi-en aken nua

cause-af=tell obl grandparent here-imp will fight-pf f.I by

taqaîaqaîan.

ta-qaîa-qaîa-an

?-red-outsider-nom and told the granny: “The people are planning to kill me.

050 uri vaik aken, vuvu, a sema tjarivavaw.”

uri vaik aken vuvu a em=sa tjari-va-vaw

will leave f.I grandparent c af=go utmost-red-above

I’m going off to heaven, granny.”

051 “ini, Sapulungan, ka imaza-u anga.

ini Sapulungan ka i-maza-u anga

not (name) after loc-here-imp indeed “No, Sapulungan, stay on here.

[ka imazau: was kaimazau]

052 nu aya qaliqali, uri kemuda?”

nu aya qali-qali uri em=kuda

when say red-friend will af=do.what What does it matter what others say?”

053 “ini, vuvu, uri vaik aken a sema tjarivavaw.”

ini vuvu uri vaik aken a em=sa tjari-va-vaw

not grandparent will leave f.I c af=go utmost-red-above

“No, granny, I’m going to heaven.”

054 temalem timadju tua taîiw.

em=talem ti-madju tua taîiw

af=plant f-3rd.pers obl whet.stone He planted a small whetstone in the ground.

055 meku÷al a zemuker i tjarivavaw.

me-ku÷al a em=zuker i tjari-va-vaw

af-fat c af=arrive loc utmost-red-above

It grew big enough to reach up to heaven.

056 malap tua tjukutjuku.

m-alap tua tjukutjuku

af-take obl ball He took his ball.

057 “aitsu, vuvu, nu metad sa ku inapuan, sataladju

aya-i-tsu vuvu nu me-tad tsa ku in-apu-an sa-taladj-u

be.thus-loc-this grandparent when af-dry this my perf-betel-nom go-inside-imp

anga tua surur.”

anga tua surur

indeed obl bed

“Now, granny, when my betel-nut quid has dried, put it under the bed-platform.”

058 vaik ti Sapulungan a sema vavaw, a tsemikel a sema

vaik ti Sapulungan a em=sa va-vaw a em=tsikel a em=sa

leave f.h (name) c af=go red-above c af=return c af=go

tjarivavaw.

tjari-va-vaw

utmost-red-above Sapulungan went up and returned to heaven.

059 ka zemuker i tjarivavaw, djakadjaken nimadju a ventseluq.

ka em=zuker i tjari-va-vaw djakadjak-en ni-madju a in=vetseluq

after af=arrive loc utmost-red-above kick-pf by-3rd.pers c perf=break

When he reached heaven, he kicked and broke the whetstone pillar (implied);

060 manu matsay anga mapuîat a taqaîaqaîan i Valivaliw.

manu m-patsay anga ma-puîat a ta-qaîa-qaîa-an i Valivaliw

then af-die indeed num-all c ?-red-outsider-nom loc (place)

and all the people of Valivaliw were killed.

061 amin anga ti ªa÷engeraw nu vaîut.

amin anga ti ªa÷engeraw nu vaîut

no.more indeed f.h (name) of alive Only ªa÷engeraw survived.

062 ka i tjarivavaw anga ti Sapulungan, manu “pasainu

ka i tjari-va-vaw anga ti Sapulungan manu pa-sa-inu

after loc utmost-red-above indeed f.h (name) then cause-go-where

sun?

sun

f.you(s)

When Sapulungan got to heaven, his parents asked: “Where have you been?

063 ki maya matsay, aya men.

ki ma-aya m-patsay aya amen

will stat-be.thus af-die say f.we(exc) We thought you must be dead.

064 manu izua sun.”

manu i-zua sun

then loc-that f.you(s) But here you are.”

065 “kitjaviliî aken a sema tjariteku.

ki-tja-viliî aken a em=sa tjari-teku

self-more-behind f.I c af=go utmost-down

“I followed (my ball) to the world below.

066 qau izuanga ken i tjai vuvu i ªa÷engeraw.

qau i-zua-anga aken i tjai vuvu i ªa÷engeraw

so loc-that-indeed f.I loc obl.h grandparent which (name)

And I stayed there with granny ªa÷engeraw.

067 qau uri qetsin aken; mana ku sivaik a sema maza i

qau uri qetsi-en aken ma-avan-a ku si-vaik a em=sa maza i

so will fight-pf f.I stat-exact-? I if-leave c af=go here loc

tjarivavaw,” aya timadju a pasemalaw tua matjaîaîak.

tjari-va-vaw aya ti-madju a pa-em=salaw tua matja-îaîak

utmost-red-above say f-3rd.pers c cause-af=tell obl num-child

But I was going to be killed; that’s why I left and came back here to heaven,” he told his parents.

068 qemaung anga a kina kama, saka “kana matsay sun,

em=qaung anga a kina kama sa-ka ka-na m-patsay sun

af=cry indeed c mother father and-after after-then af-die f.you(s)

kana inika men a kemîang,” aya tiamadju.

ka-na ini-ka amen a m=keîang aya ti-a-madju

after-then not-after f.we(exc) c af=know say f-pl-3rd.pers

His mother and father cried. They said; “If you had died, we wouldn’t have known.”

069 azua i Valivaliw a mui mana nataîiw ni Sapulungan.

a-zua i Valivaliw a mui ma-avan-a na-taîiw ni Sapulungan

c-that loc (place) c quartz stat-exact-? past-whet.stone of (name)

The white stone at Valivaliw is from Sapulungan’s whetstone.

070 amin.

amin

no.more The end.

Sapulungan was up in heaven. His mother and father went to the fields. He was at home. He took his ball (*or* wheel), and played with it with his companions. Well it got lost. “Hi, friends, where has my ball gone that I’ve lost?” He looked and looked for it. Well it had fallen down below through a little hole. He followed the ball by the way it had gone to the world below. He asked the people: “Where has my ball gone? Haven’t any of you seen it?” “We don’t know. Go and ask granny ªa÷engeraw.” He went to ask her. She said: “I don’t know.” Then Sapulungan saw it there under the bed-platform. Sapulungan picked it up. “Here’s my ball, granny.” “I can’t see clearly any more.” “I’m going to stay with you, granny.”

“Others are going fishing, granny. What am I to take?” “Take this pot-holder to fish with.” Well the others didn’t catch anything; but he used a pole to carry the fish he caught. “Granny, others are going hunting. What am I to take?” “Take this net-needle to hunt with.” Off he went. But the others said: “Don’t go near this chap. It’s taboo to carry a net-needle when we’re hunting.” They went hunting, and Sapulungan caught lots, but the others didn’t catch anything.

“Granny, others are going head-hunting. What am I to take?” “Take my net-needle.” “Don’t come near us. You’re carrying a net-needle,” said the others. But he killed a lot, while the others didn’t kill anybody. They were all angry. “What are we going to do with this chap? Why haven’t we been able to do anything? Let’s kill him.” Sapulungan was out for a stroll, and heard them discussing. So he was going to be killed. He went indoors and told the granny: “The people are planning to kill me. I’m going off to heaven, granny.” “No, Sapulungan, stay on here. What does it matter what others say?” “No, granny, I’m going to heaven.” He planted a small whetstone in the ground. It grew big enough to reach up to heaven. He took his ball. “Now, granny, when my betel-nut quid has dried, put it under the bed-platform.” Sapulungan went up and returned to heaven.

When he reached heaven, he kicked and broke the whetstone pillar; and all the people of Valivaliw were killed. Only ªa÷engeraw survived. When Sapulungan got to heaven, his parents asked: “Where have you been? We thought you must be dead. But here you are.” “I followed (my ball) to the world below. And I stayed there with granny ªa÷engeraw. But I was going to be killed; that’s why I left and came back here to heaven,” he told his parents. His mother and father cried. They said; “If you had died, we wouldn’t have known.” The white stone at Valivaliw is from Sapulungan’s whetstone. The end.

#### 075 THE ANT-EATER AND THE RABBIT told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village

001 izua za mareqali tia lutjuk kati qam.

i-zua zua mare-qali ti-a lutjuk ka-ti qam

loc-that that pair-friend f.h-pl rabbit and-f.h ant.eater

There were two friends, Rabbit and Ant-eater.

002 “qalian, ari kiqaqiîi,” aya ti qam tjai lutjuk.

qali-an ari ki-qaqiî-i aya ti qam tjai lutjuk

friend-nom go.on do-tuber-hort say f.h ant.eater obl.h rabbit

“Friend, let’s go and collect tubers,” said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

003 “ari,” aya ti lutjuk.

ari aya ti lutjuk

go.on say f.h rabbit “Right, let’s go,” said Rabbit.

004 pai vaik tia mareqali a kiqaqiî.

pai vaik ti-a mare-qali a ki-qaqiî

well leave f.h-pl pair-friend c do-tuber

So the friends went off to collect tubers.

005 nu kemali ti lutjuk, savid a namapatsek.

nu em=kali ti lutjuk savid a na-ma-patsek

when af=dig f.h rabbit same c past-stat-pierce

When Rabbit dug, all the tubers were damaged (by his digging-stick).

006 nu kemali ti qam, kaku÷aku÷alan.

nu em=kali ti qam ka-ku÷a-ku÷al-an

when af=dig f.h ant.eater main-red-fat-nom

When Ant-eater dug, he found big tubers.

007 “su kudain, qalian, nu kemali sun?

su kuda-en qali-an nu em=kali sun

you(s) do.what-pf friend-nom when af=dig f.you(s)

“Friend, what do you do when you dig?

008 nu kemali aken, mapatsek sakamaya,” aya ti lutjuk.

nu em=kali aken ma-patsek sakamaya aya ti lutjuk

when af=dig f.I stat-pierce only say f.h rabbit

When I dig the tubers are all damaged,” said Rabbit.

009 “tja patsekan a tja lima, qalian,” aya ti qam.

tja patsek-an a tja lima qali-an aya ti qam

we(inc) pierce-lf c our(inc) hand friend-nom say f.h ant.eater

“We jab our arms, friend,” said Ant-eater.

010 patsekan aza lima nimadju.

patsek-an a-zua lima ni-madju

pierce-lf c-that hand of-3rd.pers Rabbit jabbed his arm.

011 “ananananananana,” aya ti lutjuk; “aku nu ku patsekan sa ku lima,

ananananananana aya ti lutjuk aku nu ku patsek-an tsa ku lima

ow say f.h rabbit why when I pierce-lf this my hand

qalian, saqetju?” aya ti lutjuk tjai qam.

qali-an saqetju aya ti lutjuk tjai qam

friend-nom painful say f.h rabbit obl.h ant.eater

“Oow!” said Rabbit; “why does it hurt when I jab my arm?” said Rabbit to Ant-eater.

012 “manu, ‘patseki a su lima,’ nu aya ken, su patsekan a

manu patsek-i a su lima nu aya aken su patsek-an a

then pierce-hort c your(s) hand when say f.I you(s) pierce-lf c

su lima?” aya ti qam.

su lima aya ti qam

your(s) hand say f.h ant.eater

“Well did you really jab your arm when I told you to?” said Ant-eater.

013 “pai ari, tja tapiaw anga, qalian, sa tja qaqiî,” aya

pai ari tja tapi-aw anga qali-an tsa tja qaqiî aya

well go.on we(inc) bake-lf indeed friend-nom this our(inc) tuber say

ti lutjuk.

ti lutjuk

f.h rabbit

“Well come on, friend, let’s roast our tubers in an earth-oven,” said Rabbit.

014 “ari,” aya ti qam.

ari aya ti qam

go.on say f.h ant.eater “Right, let’s,” said Ant-eater.

015 pai vaik tia mareqali.

pai vaik ti-a mare-qali

well leave f.h-pl pair-friend So off the friends went.

016 “ari kikasivi,” aya ti qam tjai lutjuk.

ari ki-kasiw-i aya ti qam tjai lutjuk

go.on do-tree-hort say f.h ant.eater obl.h rabbit

“Let’s collect some wood,” said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

017 vaik tia mareqali a kikasiw.

vaik ti-a mare-qali a ki-kasiw

leave f.h-pl pair-friend c do-tree The friends went to collect wood.

018 manu neka nu kasiw ni lutjuk.

manu neka nu kasiw ni lutjuk

then no of tree by rabbit But Rabbit couldn’t find any wood.

019 “su kudain, qalian, nu kikasiw sun?” aya ti lutjuk.

su kuda-en qali-an nu ki-kasiw sun aya ti lutjuk

you(s) do.what-pf friend-nom when do-tree f.you(s) say f.h rabbit

“What do you do, friend, when you collect wood?” said Rabbit.

020 “tja seqasen a tja lima,” aya ti qam.

tja seqas-en a tja lima aya ti qam

we(inc) chop-pf c our(inc) hand say f.h ant.eater

“We cut our arms,” said Ant-eater.

021 seqasen a lima nimadju.

seqas-en a lima ni-madju

chop-pf c hand of-3rd.pers Rabbit cut his arm.

022 “ananananananana,” aya ti lutjuk; “aku nu ku seqasen a ku lima,

ananananananana aya ti lutjuk aku nu ku seqas-en a ku lima

ow say f.h rabbit why when I chop-pf c my hand

qalian, saqetju?” aya ti lutjuk.

qali-an saqetju aya ti lutjuk

friend-nom painful say f.h rabbit

“Oow!” said Rabbit; “why does it hurt, friend, when I cut my arm?” said Rabbit.

023 “manu, ‘seqasu a su lima,’ nu aya ken, su seqasen a su

manu seqas-u a su lima nu aya aken su seqas-en a su

then chop-imp c your(s) hand when say f.I you(s) chop-pf c your(s)

lima?” aya ti qam.

lima aya ti qam

hand say f.h ant.eater

“Well did you really cut your arm when I told you to?” said Ant-eater.

024 “pai ari tapii anga, qalian,” aya ti lutjuk.

pai ari tapi-i anga qali-an aya ti lutjuk

well go.on bake-hort indeed friend-nom say f.h rabbit

“Well come on, friend, let’s roast the tubers,” said Rabbit.

025 “ari,” aya ti qam.

ari aya ti qam

go.on say f.h ant.eater “Right, let’s,” said Ant-eater.

026 pai vaik tia mareqali a temapi.

pai vaik ti-a mare-qali a em=tapi

well leave f.h-pl pair-friend c af=bake

So the friends went to roast the tubers.

027 ka makatapi, “ari, qalian, vaiki a îemanguy,” aya ti qam.

ka maka-tapi ari qali-an vaik-i a em=îanguy aya ti qam

after finished-bake go.on friend-nom leave-hort c af=swim say f.h ant.eater

When they had finished roasting them, Ant-eater said: “Come on, friend, let’s go swimming.”

[îemanguy was îemangui]

028 “ari,” aya ti lutjuk.

ari aya ti lutjuk

go.on say f.h rabbit “Right, let’s,” said Rabbit.

029 pai vaik tia mareqali a îemanguy.

pai vaik ti-a mare-qali a em=îanguy

well leave f.h-pl pair-friend c af=swim So the friends went off to swim.

030 “pai katjaisangasu,” aya ti qam tjai lutjuk.

pai ka-tja-i-sangas-u aya ti qam tjai lutjuk

well become-more-loc-first-imp say f.h ant.eater obl.h rabbit

“All right, you go first,” said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

031 “pai,” aya ti lutjuk.

pai aya ti lutjuk

well say f.h rabbit “All right,” said Rabbit.

032 lemdep ti lutjuk.

m=ledep ti lutjuk

af=descend f.h rabbit Rabbit dived in.

033 malipat a kula, sevatsavatsaq a qulu.

ma-lipat a kula se-vatsa-vatsaq a qulu

stat-disappear c foot invol-red-emerge c head

As soon as his legs went under the water his head came out.

034 “pai anga, tisunay anga,” aya ti lutjuk tjai qam.

pai anga ti-sun-ay anga aya ti lutjuk tjai qam

well indeed f-you(s)-will indeed say f.h rabbit obl.h ant.eater

“All right then, it’s your turn,” said Rabbit to Ant-eater.

[tisunay was tisunai]

035 “pai,” aya ti qam.

pai aya ti qam

well say f.h ant.eater “All right,” said Ant-eater.

036 lemdep ti qam.

m=ledep ti qam

af=descend f.h ant.eater Ant-eater dived in.

037 neka.

neka

no He didn’t reappear.

[neka: was neeka for emphasis]

038 masukiîaîavanga ti lutjuk.

ma-su-ki-îa-îava-anga ti lutjuk

stat-remove-do-red-wait-indeed f.h rabbit Rabbit got tired of waiting.

039 manu kemalikali a kisuteku tua tinapi niamadju.

manu em=kali-kali a ki-su-teku tua in=tapi ni-a-madju

then af=red-dig c do-remove-down obl perf=bake of-pl-3rd.pers

Well Ant-eater dug right underneath the earth-oven with the tubers in it.

[niamadju means ‘theirs’ as in ‘their tubers’?]

040 pai kanen aza kaku÷aku÷alan ni qam.

pai kan-en a-zua ka-ku÷a-ku÷al-an ni qam

well eat-pf c-that main-red-fat-nom by ant.eater

And Ant-eater ate up all the big ones.

[kanen: was kaanen for emphasis]

041 pai ka makakan taza kaku÷alan, malap tu ita taza tsiqaw,

pai ka maka-kan ta-zua ka-ku÷al-an m-alap tu ita ta-zua tsiqaw

well after finished-eat obl-that main-fat-nom af-take obl one obl-that fish

sa qareangaîi ni qam.

sa ar=qe-angaî-i ni qam

and qal=?-mouth-pf by ant.eater

When he had finished eating the big ones, he caught a fish and held it in his mouth.

042 tevuta naqemareangaî taza marutsiqeîap.

te-vuta na-em=ar=qe-angaî ta-zua marutsiqeîap

do-appear past-af=qal=?-mouth obl-that fish.sp

He came out of the water at last with the (mythical) ‘sheath-like’ fish in his mouth.

[tevuta: was tevuuta for emphasis]

043 “inu sun, qalian,” aya ti lutjuk.

inu sun qali-an aya ti lutjuk

where f.you(s) friend-nom say f.h rabbit

“Where have you been?” said Rabbit.

[inu: was iinu for emphasis]

044 “qemaîuqaîup aken, qalian, tusa marutsiqeîap,” aya ti qam.

em=qaîu-qaîup aken qali-an tu-tsa marutsiqeîap aya ti qam

af=red-hunt f.I friend-nom obl-this fish.sp say f.h ant.eater

“I’ve been hunting and hunting for this fish, friend,” said Ant-eater.

[qemaîuqaîup: was qemaîuqaaîup for emphasis]

045 “ari, qalian, tja sutapiaw anga tja tinapi,” aya ti

ari qali-an tja su-tapi-aw anga tja in=tapi aya ti

go.on friend-nom we(inc) remove-bake-lf indeed our(inc) perf=bake say f.h

lutjuk.

lutjuk

rabbit

“Come on, friend, let’s get the roasted tubers out of the earth-oven,” said Rabbit.

046 “ari,” aya ti qam.

ari aya ti qam

go.on say f.h ant.eater “Right, let’s,” said Ant-eater.

047 pai vaik tia mareqali.

pai vaik ti-a mare-qali

well leave f.h-pl pair-friend So off went the friends.

048 sutapin ni qam.

su-tapi-en ni qam

remove-bake-pf by ant.eater Ant-eater uncovered the earth-oven.

049 “ainu anga, qalian, a tja tinapi?” aya ti qam.

a-inu anga qali-an a tja in=tapi aya ti qam

?-where indeed friend-nom c our(inc) perf=bake say f.h ant.eater

“Where are the tubers we roasted, friend?” said Ant-eater.

050 “qadjaw,” aya ti lutjuk.

qadjaw aya ti lutjuk

perhaps say f.h rabbit “I don’t know,” said Rabbit.

051 “pai ari, qalian, tjeqatsangi.

pai ari qali-an tje-qatsang-i

well go.on friend-nom do.at-pig-hort “Well come on, friend, let’s defecate.

[tjeqatsangi: tje-qatsang ‘pigpen’ may be euphemism]

052 a patseliliq ki mavan a nakeman.

a pa-tseliliq ki ma-avan a na-em=kan

c cause-splutter will stat-exact c past-af=eat

The one who makes a spluttering noise will be the one who has eaten the tubers.

053 beluuk nu aya, ika uri nakeman,” aya ti qam.

beluuk nu aya ika uri na-em=kan aya ti qam

pass.wind when say not will past-af=eat say f.h ant.eater

The one who breaks wind will be the one who hasn’t eaten them,” said Ant-eater.

054 pai tjeqatsang tia mareqali.

pai tje-qatsang ti-a mare-qali

well do.at-pig f.h-pl pair-friend So the friends went to defecate.

055 “pai katjaisangasu,” aya ti qam tjai lutjuk.

pai ka-tja-i-sangas-u aya ti qam tjai lutjuk

well become-more-loc-first-imp say f.h ant.eater obl.h rabbit

“You go first,” said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

056 “tselilililililiq,” aya ti lutjuk.

lililili=tseliliq aya ti lutjuk

red=splutter say f.h rabbit Rabbit made a spluttering noise.

057 “pai tisunay anga,” aya tjai qam.

pai ti-sun-ay anga aya tjai qam

well f-you(s)-will indeed say obl.h ant.eater

“Now it’s your turn,” he said to Ant-eater.

[tisunay was tisunai]

058 “beluuk,” aya ti qam.

beluuk aya ti qam

pass.wind say f.h ant.eater Ant-eater broke wind.

059 “pai ari, qalian.

pai ari qali-an

well go.on friend-nom “Right then, friend;

060 saka ika tisun a nakeman tua tja tinapi?” aya ti

sa-ka ika ti-sun a na-em=kan tua tja in=tapi aya ti

and-after not f-you(s) c past-af=eat obl our(inc) perf=bake say f.h

qam tjai lutjuk.

qam tjai lutjuk

ant.eater obl.h rabbit

so it was you who ate the tubers we had roasted, wasn’t it?” said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

061 “pai ari, qalian, paîaîama-i,” aya ti qam tjai lutjuk.

pai ari qali-an pa-îa-îama-i aya ti qam tjai lutjuk

well go.on friend-nom cause-red-burn-hort say f.h ant.eater obl.h rabbit

“Well come on, friend, let’s try setting fire to one another,” said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

062 “ari,” aya ti lutjuk.

ari aya ti lutjuk

go.on say f.h rabbit “Right, let’s,” said Rabbit.

063 “mayanan,” aya ti qam.

maya-anan aya ti qam

don’t-still say f.h ant.eater “Wait a minute,” said Ant-eater.

[mayanan was maayanan for emphasis]

064 pai kemali a kisamuîa ti qam tua kalipatan nimadju.

pai em=kali a ki-samuîa ti qam tua ka-lipat-an ni-madju

well af=dig c do-urgent f.h ant.eater obl main-disappear-nom of-3rd.pers

So Ant-eater dug himself a hiding-place as fast as he could.

065 ka makakali, “pai anga, qalian, îiatepetepezu.

ka maka-kali pai anga qali-an îia-tepe-tepez-u

after finished-dig well indeed friend-nom be.in-red-jungle-imp

When he had finished digging, Ant-eater said to Rabbit: “All right now, friend, go in where the grass is thickest (?).

066 kipapaulingavu, qalian,” aya ti qam tjai lutjuk.

ki-pa-pa-u-lingaw-u qali-an aya ti qam tjai lutjuk

do-cause-cause-?-know-imp friend-nom say f.h ant.eater obl.h rabbit

Look out, friend!”

067 pai îiatepetepez ti lutjuk.

pai îia-tepe-tepez ti lutjuk

well be.in-red-jungle f.h rabbit So Rabbit went right in.

068 “pai anga,” aya ti lutjuk.

pai anga aya ti lutjuk

well indeed say f.h rabbit “Ready,” said Rabbit.

069 îamain ni qam.

îama-en ni qam

burn-pf by ant.eater Ant-eater set fire to the grass.

070 maîengis ti lutjuk.

ma-îengis ti lutjuk

stat-scorch f.h rabbit Rabbit got burnt.

071 patsunan ni qam.

pa-tsun-an ni qam

cause-see-lf by ant.eater Ant-eater came to look at him.

072 na÷ungaîis anga ti lutjuk.

na÷ungaîis anga ti lutjuk

bared.teeth indeed f.h rabbit Rabbit had his teeth bared (in death).

073 kitseviqan aza ÷i÷i ni lutjuk, sa paqareangaîan tjaimadju.

ki-tseviq-an a-zua ÷i÷i ni lutjuk sa pa-ar=qe-angaî-an tjai-madju

do-segment-lf c-that pig by rabbit and cause-qal=?-mouth-lf obl-3rd.pers

Ant-eater sliced off Rabbit’s penis, and stuck it in Rabbit’s mouth.

[÷i÷i: euph./slang for ‘penis’?]

074 “kakanu a ÷i÷i ni lutjuk,” aya.

ka-kan-u a ÷i÷i ni lutjuk aya

red-eat-imp c pig of rabbit say “Go on, eat Rabbit’s penis,” he said.

[kakanu: was kaakanu for emphasis]

075 amin.

amin

no.more The end.

[amin: was aamin for emphasis]

There were two friends, Rabbit and Ant-eater. “Friend, let’s go and collect tubers,” said Ant-eater to Rabbit. “Right, let’s go,” said Rabbit. So the friends went off to collect tubers. When Rabbit dug, all the tubers were damaged (by his digging-stick). When Ant-eater dug, he found big tubers. “Friend, what do you do when you dig? When I dig the tubers are all damaged,” said Rabbit. “We jab our arms, friend,” said Ant-eater. Rabbit jabbed his arm. “Oow!” said Rabbit; “why does it hurt when I jab my arm?” said Rabbit to Ant-eater. “Well did you really jab your arm when I told you to?” said Ant-eater.

“Well come on, friend, let’s roast our tubers in an earth-oven,” said Rabbit. “Right, let’s,” said Ant-eater. So off the friends went. “Let’s collect some wood, “ said Ant-eater to Rabbit. The friends went to collect wood. But Rabbit couldn’t find any wood. “What do you do, friend, when you collect wood?” said Rabbit. “We cut our arms,” said Ant-eater. Rabbit cut his arm. “Oow!” said Rabbit; “why does it hurt, friend, when I cut my arm?” said Rabbit. “Well did you really cut your arm when I told you to?” said Ant-eater.

“Well come on, friend, let’s roast the tubers,” said Rabbit. “Right, let’s,” said Ant-eater. So the friends went to roast the tubers. When they had finished roasting them, Ant-eater said: “Come on, friend, let’s go swimming.” “Right, let’s,” said Rabbit. So the friends went off to swim. “All right, you go first,” said Ant-eater to Rabbit. “All right,” said Rabbit. Rabbit dived in. As soon as his legs went under the water his head came out. “All right then, it’s your turn,” said Rabbit to Ant-eater. “All right,” said Ant-eater. Ant-eater dived in. He didn’t reappear. Rabbit got tired of waiting. Well Ant-eater dug right underneath the earth-oven with the tubers in it. And Ant-eater ate up all the big ones. When he had finished eating the big ones, he caught a fish and held it in his mouth. He came out of the water at last with the (mythical) ‘sheath-like’ fish in his mouth. “Where have you been?” said Rabbit. “I’ve been hunting and hunting for this fish, friend,” said Ant-eater.

“Come on, friend, let’s get the roasted tubers out of the earth-oven,” said Rabbit. “Right, let’s,” said Ant-eater. So off went the friends. Ant-eater uncovered the earth-oven. “Where are the tubers we roasted, friend?” said Ant-eater. “I don’t know,” said Rabbit. “Well come on, friend, let’s defecate. The one who makes a spluttering noise will be the one who has eaten the tubers. The one who breaks wind will be the one who hasn’t eaten them,” said Ant-eater. So the friends went to defecate. “You go first,” said Ant-eater to Rabbit. Rabbit made a spluttering noise. “Now it’s your turn,” he said to Ant-eater. Ant-eater broke wind. “Right then, friend; so it was you who ate the tubers we had roasted, wasn’t it?” said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

“Well come on, friend, let’s try setting fire to one another,” said Ant-eater to Rabbit. “Right, let’s,” said Rabbit. “Wait a minute,” said Ant-eater. So Ant-eater dug himself a hiding-place as fast as he could. When he had finished digging, Ant-eater said to Rabbit: “All right now, friend, go in where the grass is thickest (?). Look out, friend!” So Rabbit went right in. “Ready,” said Rabbit. Ant-eater set fire to the grass. Rabbit got burnt. Ant-eater came to look at him. Rabbit had his teeth bared (in death). Ant-eater sliced off Rabbit’s penis, and stuck it in Rabbit’s mouth. “Go on, eat Rabbit’s penis,” he said. The end.

#### 076 CHILDREN UP A TREE told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village

001 izua za mareqali.

i-zua zua mare-qali

loc-that that pair-friend There were two (young) friends.

002 “ari kikasivi, qalian,” aya tiamadju.

ari ki-kasiw-i qali-an aya ti-a-madju

go.on do-tree-hort friend-nom say f-pl-3rd.pers

They said to one another: “Let’s go and collect wood, friend.”

003 ka zemuker i vavua patsun ta za kamaya na qaliqali.

ka em=zuker i va-vua pa-tsun ta zua kamaya nua qali-qali

after af=arrive loc red-field cause-see obl that mango of red-friend

When they got to the fields, they saw some mango trees belonging to other people.

004 malulum anga.

ma-lu-lum anga

stat-red-ripe indeed The fruit was ripe,

005 manu sauram aza mareqali.

manu sa-uram a-zua mare-qali

then want-need c-that pair-friend so the friends wanted to eat it.

006 manu vaik a tsemakaw.

manu vaik a em=tsakaw

then leave c af=steal So they went to steal it,

007 îevavaw ta za kamaya a mareqali.

îe-va-vaw ta zua kamaya a mare-qali

go.to-red-above obl that mango c pair-friend and got up in the mango tree,

008 keman izua i vavaw.

em=kan i-zua i va-vaw

af=eat loc-that loc red-above and ate mangoes up there.

009 ka masilanga tiamadju, “ari, qalian, vaiki anga.

ka ma-sila-anga ti-a-madju ari qali-an vaik-i anga

after stat-satiate-indeed f-pl-3rd.pers go.on friend-nom leave-hort indeed

When they had had enough, they said: “Come on, friend, let’s go.

010 marekutj itjen.

ma-rekutj itjen

stat-fear f.we(inc) We’re afraid,

011 mana nu djumaken itjen,” aya tja mareqali.

ma-avan-a nu djumak-en itjen aya tja mare-qali

stat-exact-? when find-pf f.we(inc) say our(inc) pair-friend

in case we’re found out.”

012 manu inika makaya sema teku a maîe÷usa.

manu ini-ka ma-kaya em=sa teku a maîe-÷usa

then not-after stat-able af=go down c num-two

But the two of them couldn’t get down.

013 “kemuda itjen, qalian?” aya tiamadju.

em=kuda itjen qali-an aya ti-a-madju

af=do.what f.we(inc) friend-nom say f-pl-3rd.pers

They said: “What shall we do, friend?”

014 matsingul anga sakamaya i vavaw ta kamaya.

ma-tsingul anga sakamaya i va-vaw ta kamaya

stat-stranded indeed only loc red-above obl mango

They were just stranded up the mango tree,

015 qemaung aza mareqali.

em=qaung a-zua mare-qali

af=cry c-that pair-friend and they cried.

016 ka inika makayanga sema teku, maselem anga sakamaya.

ka ini-ka ma-kaya-anga em=sa teku ma-selem anga sakamaya

after not-after stat-able-indeed af=go down stat-dark indeed only

They couldn’t get down, and it got dark.

017 kipakiman anga na matjaîaîak.

ki-pa-kim-an anga nua matja-îaîak

do-cause-search-lf indeed by num-child

Their parents looked for them.

018 manu patadaîan naza mareqali aza kina kata kama a

manu pa-tadaî-an nua-zua mare-qali a-zua kina ka-ta kama a

then cause-see-lf by-that pair-friend c-that mother and-obl father c

namasisapuy.

na-ma-si-sapuy

past-stat-if-fire

The friends could see their mothers and fathers holding torches.

019 “îa qunu îa qunu, inu mun?” aya za kama.

îa qunu îa qunu inu mun aya zua kama

class child class child where f.you(p) say that father

The father(s) said: “Children children, where are you?”

020 tjaîu tjai teku tjayamadju.

tjaîu tja-i teku tjai-a-madju

reach more-loc down obl-pl-3rd.pers They came right below them.

021 “aki pasainu a mareka tja aîak?

aki pa-sa-inu a mareka tja aîak

how cause-go-where c many our(inc) child “Where have our children gone to?

022 aki matsay?

aki m-patsay

how af-die Are they dead?

023 aki semainu?” aya za matjaîaîak na mareqali.

aki em=sa-inu aya zua matja-îaîak nua mare-qali

how af=go-where say that num-child of pair-friend

Where have they gone?” the friends’ parents said.

024 naqeîetep aza mareqali taza rekutjan taza matjaîaîak.

na-qeîetep a-zua mare-qali ta-zua rekutj-an ta-zua matja-îaîak

past-silence c-that pair-friend obl-that fear-lf obl-that num-child

The friends kept quiet for fear of their parents.

025 manu vaik a sema umaq aza matjaîaîak.

manu vaik a em=sa umaq a-zua matja-îaîak

then leave c af=go house c-that num-child So the parents went home.

026 ka zemuker i umaq, pasemalaw taza i umaq: “neka tia

ka em=zuker i umaq pa-em=salaw ta-zua i umaq neka ti-a

after af=arrive loc house cause-af=tell obl-that loc house no f.h-pl

mareqali; matsay kaumaya,” aya taza taqaîaqaîan.

mare-qali m-patsay kaumaya aya ta-zua ta-qaîa-qaîa-an

pair-friend af-die perhaps say obl-that ?-red-outsider-nom

When they got home they told the people there: “There is no sign of the friends; perhaps they are dead,” they said to their fellow-villagers.

027 pai ka maîianga vaik anga kemim aza taqaîaqaîan.

pai ka ma-îia-anga vaik anga em=kim a-zua ta-qaîa-qaîa-an

well after stat-dawn-indeed leave indeed af=search c-that ?-red-outsider-nom

So next day the villagers went to look for them,

028 manu patsun aza ma÷usa.

manu pa-tsun a-zua ma-÷usa

then cause-see c-that num-two

and two of them saw the children (*or* and the two (children) saw them coming).

029 “uzai a îavingan i vavaw ta kamaya,” aya za qaliqali.

uzay a îaving-an i va-vaw ta kamaya aya zua qali-qali

there c side-nom loc red-above obl mango say that red-friend

These others said: “There’s some monkeys up a mango tree.

[îavingan: F137 has îaving-an ‘monkey’ under entry îaving ‘side, bank of stream’]

030 “ari tja kuangaw,” aya tiamadju.

ari tja kuang-aw aya ti-a-madju

go.on we(inc) firearm-lf say f-pl-3rd.pers Let’s shoot them.”

031 ka zukeren, mavan aza ma÷usa.

ka zuker-en ma-avan a-zua ma-÷usa

after arrive-pf stat-exact c-that num-two

When they got there, they saw it was the two children.

032 “pindjek sa suledjeledji.

pindjek sa suledjeledji

? ? ? They said to the two friends: “You silly fools! (??)

033 aki manu îavingan, aya men tjanumun.

aki manu îavingan aya amen tjanu-mun

how then monkey say f.we(exc) obl-you(p)

We thought you were monkeys.

034 uzi kemikim amen a taqaîaqaîan tjanumun.

uzi em=ki-kim amen a ta-qaîa-qaîa-an tjanu-mun

well af=red-search f.we(exc) c ?-red-outsider-nom obl-you(p)

All the village is searching for you;

035 manu i vavaw mun tusa kamaya.

manu i va-vaw mun tu-tsa kamaya

then loc red-above f.you(p) obl-this mango and here you are up a mango tree.

036 keîu sateku,” ayain aza mareqali.

keî-u sa-teku aya-en a-zua mare-qali

come-imp go-down say-pf c-that pair-friend Come on down.”

037 “inika men a makaya,” aya za mareqali.

ini-ka amen a ma-kaya aya zua mare-qali

not-after f.we(exc) c stat-able say that pair-friend

The friends said: “We can’t get down.”

038 sisan tjekezanga, sa sateku anga.

si-sane tjekeza-anga sa sa-teku anga

if-make ladder-indeed and go-down indeed

A ladder was made for them, and they got down. (Moral: We mustn’t be greedy or steal.)

There were two (young) friends. They said to one another: “Let’s go and collect wood, friend.” When they got to the fields, they saw some mango trees belonging to other people. The fruit was ripe, so the friends wanted to eat it. So they went to steal it, and got up in the mango tree, and ate mangoes up there. When they had had enough, they said: “Come on, friend, let’s go. We’re afraid, in case we’re found out.” But the two of them couldn’t get down. They said: “What shall we do, friend?” They were just stranded up the mango tree, and they cried. They couldn’t get down, and it got dark. Their parents looked for them. The friends could see their mothers and fathers holding torches. The father(s) said: “Children children, where are you?” They came right below them. “Where have our children gone to? Are they dead? Where have they gone?” the friends’ parents said. The friends kept quiet for fear of their parents. So the parents went home. When they got home they told the people there: “There is no sign of the friends; perhaps they are dead,” they said to their fellow-villagers.

So next day the villagers went to look for them, and two of them saw the children (*or* and the two (children) saw them coming). These others said: “There’s some monkeys up a mango tree. Let’s shoot them.” When they got there, they saw it was the two children. They said to the two friends: “You silly fools!(??). We thought you were monkeys. All the village is searching for you; and here you are up a mango tree. Come on down.” The friends said: “We can’t get down.” A ladder was made for them, and they got down. (Moral: We mustn’t be greedy or steal.)

#### 077 DREAMS told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village

001 nu misepi tjen tua tsemdatsedas tua maîiaîia, nanguaq

nu mi-sepi tjen tua em=tseda-tsedas tua ma-îia-îia na-nguaq

when af-dream f.we(inc) obl af=red-sunrise obl stat-red-dawn stat-good

aravats.

a-ravats

c-true When we dream of the rising sun or dawn it is very good.

002 matu tsemdatsedas a tja varung; tja sipuqimaqimang tua

ma-tu em=tseda-tsedas a tja varung tja si-pu-qima-qimang tua

stat-alike af=red-sunrise c our(inc) chest we(inc) if-have-red-luck obl

nemanemanga.

nema-nema-anga

red-what-indeed

It is as if our hearts were rising. We will have good luck in everything.

003 nu îemakaîakay itjen, uri kisudjuan itjen.

nu em=îaka-îakay itjen uri ki-sudju-an itjen

when af=red-swing f.we(inc) will do-sweetheart-lf f.we(inc)

If women dream they are on a swing, someone is in love with them. (Note: Swinging of the bride is part of the wedding ceremony.)

004 nu i vavaw itjen tua kavayan, uri putsekeî itjen tua

nu i va-vaw itjen tua kavayan uri pu-tsekeî itjen tua

when loc red-above f.we(inc) obl bamboo.sp will have-spouse f.we(inc) obl

mamazangiîan.

ma-ma-zangiî-an

stat-stat-chief-nom If we are up a bambusa tree, we will marry a chieftain.

005 nu misepi tjen tua zangaw, uri pupaisu itjen.

nu mi-sepi tjen tua zangaw uri pu-paisu itjen

when af-dream f.we(inc) obl betel.pepper will have-money f.we(inc)

When we dream of the leaf for wrapping betel nut, we will be rich.

006 nu patsun itjen tua kamaya a malulum, uri matu

nu pa-tsun itjen tua kamaya a ma-lu-lum uri ma-tu

when cause-see f.we(inc) obl mango c stat-red-ripe will stat-alike

lum a kinakesan nua tja vaqu.

lum a in=ka-kesa-an nua tja vaqu

ripe c perf=stat-food-lf by our(inc) millet

When we see ripe mangoes, our millet will be fully ripened.

007 nu misepi tjen tua tsiqaw, namaya uta sipuvaquvaqu.

nu mi-sepi tjen tua tsiqaw na-ma-aya uta si-pu-vaqu-vaqu

when af-dream f.we(inc) obl fish past-stat-be.thus also if-have-red-millet

When we dream about fish, this is also about our millet crop.

008 nu kake÷ike÷ian a tsiqaw, uri kake÷ike÷ian uta a tja

nu ka-ke÷i-ke÷i-an a tsiqaw uri ka-ke÷i-ke÷i-an uta a tja

when stat-red-small-nom c fish will stat-red-small-nom also c our(inc)

vaqu.

vaqu

millet If the fish are small ones, our millet also will have small grains.

009 nu itua îimeîimek a tsiqaw, uri putsemel aravats a tja

nu i-tua îime-îimek a tsiqaw uri pu-tsemel a-ravats a tja

when loc-obl red-unclear c fish will have-plant c-true c our(inc)

puvaquan.

pu-vaqu-an

have-millet-nom

If the fish are in muddy water, there will be a lot of weeds in our millet fields.

010 nu matsatsay, nanguaq aravats, sika merakarakats.

nu m-tsa=patsay na-nguaq a-ravats sika me-raka-rakats

when af-red=die stat-good c-true reason af-red-brave

If there is death or a funeral it is very good; the person seen will be strong.

011 nu sevatsavatsaq a zaîum i tjumaq, sipulamilami aya.

nu se-vatsa-vatsaq a zaîum i tju-umaq si-pu-lami-lami aya

when invol-red-emerge c water loc there-house if-have-red-staple.food say

If water is coming out indoors, it means there will be plenty of staple foods.

012 nu misepi tjen tua qatsang tua qatjuvi tua nemanemanga a

nu mi-sepi tjen tua qatsang tua qatjuvi tua nema-nema-anga a

when af-dream f.we(inc) obl pig obl snake obl red-what-indeed c

kake÷ike÷ian, tja aîak a penuîat.

ka-ke÷i-ke÷i-an tja aîak a en=puîat

stat-red-small-nom our(inc) child c af=all

If we dream about small pigs or snakes or anything, it’s all to do with our children.

013 îakua nu kaku÷aku÷alan, nakuya tsemas.

îakua nu ka-ku÷a-ku÷al-an na-kuya tsemas

but when stat-red-fat-nom stat-bad god

But if they are big ones, it refers to evil spirits.

014 nu tsemuîutsuîu itjen tua qatsang tua qemuzimuzip, uri

nu em=tsuîu-tsuîu itjen tua qatsang tua em=em=uzi=quzip uri

when af=red-butcher f.we(inc) obl pig obl af=af=red=animal will

izua matsay tjanuitjen a tatsekeîan.

i-zua m-patsay tjanu-itjen a ta-tsekeî-an

loc-that af-die obl-f.we(inc) c one-spouse-nom

If we are butchering a pig or other animal, there will be a death in our family.

[qemuzimuzip: F370 notes both redup. forms q/m/uziquzip and q/m/uzi/m/uzip]

015 nu maqevuqevutj a sapuy a tja djinadjas, uri

nu ma-qevu-qevutj a sapuy a tja in=djadjas uri

when stat-red-extinguish c fire c we(inc) perf=grab will

kemalavut itjen tua nasi nua tsautsau.

em=ka-lavut itjen tua nasi nua tsau-tsau

af=?-lose f.we(inc) obl breath of red-being

If a flame we are holding is going out, we will be responsible for the death of someone(?).

016 nu patsutsun itjen sakamaya, uri seîavak itjen tua

nu pa-tsu-tsun itjen sakamaya uri se-îavak itjen tua

when cause-red-see f.we(inc) only will invol-present.at f.we(inc) obl

masunasinasi.

ma-su-nasi-nasi

stat-remove-red-breath If we just see this, we will be present at a death.

017 nu qezemezemetj nu masulesulem, uri matu qezemezemetj a

nu zeme=qezemetj nu ma-sule-sulem uri ma-tu zeme=qezemetj a

when red=night when stat-red-dark will stat-alike red=night c

tja varung tua tja kininemneman.

tja varung tua tja in=kinemnem-an

our(inc) chest obl our(inc) perf=think-nom

If it is night or getting dark, the thoughts of our hearts will be like night.

018 nu izua vaqu i tjanuitjen, izua uri matsay.

nu i-zua vaqu i tjanu-itjen i-zua uri m-patsay

when loc-that millet loc obl-f.we(inc) loc-that will af-die

If we have millet, there will be a death.

019 nu izua qemaluqalu tua tsinqadjan, uri izua

nu i-zua em=qalu-qalu tua in=tseqadj-an uri i-zua

when loc-that af=red-carry obl perf=plane.wood-nom will loc-that

matsay i djalan.

m-patsay i djalan

af-die loc road

If someone is carrying cut planks of wood, someone will die on a track.

020 nu misepi tjen tu kemakan itjen tua vutjuî tua

nu mi-sepi tjen tu em=ka-kan itjen tua vutjuî tua

when af-dream f.we(inc) compl af=red-eat f.we(inc) obl meat obl

qavay, sika saqetjuqetju aya.

qavay sika qetju=saqetju aya

dumpling reason red=painful say

If we dream that we are eating meat or millet dumplings, it is said to be a sign of illness.

021 nu keman itjen tua sutjaw tua îuaîu tua paday, siqesaqesang.

nu em=kan itjen tua sutjaw tua îu-aîu tua paday si-qesa-qesang

when af=eat f.we(inc) obl peanut obl red-sweet obl rice if-red-cold

If we are eating peanuts, sweets or rice, it’s a sign of a cough.

022 nu seman umaumaq itjen, izua uri matsay a sisan luvang

nu em=sane uma-umaq itjen i-zua uri m-patsay a si-sane luvang

when af=make red-house f.we(inc) loc-that will af-die c if-make grave

tjanuitjen.

tjanu-itjen

obl-we(inc)

If we are repairing a house, someone will die and we will have to dig a grave (*or* a grave will be dug for us).

023 nu mulaulaw itjen tua tja turivetsan, sipatsatsay nua tja

nu m-ula-ulaw itjen tua tja turivetsan si-tsa=patsay nua tja

when af-red-lost f.we(inc) obl our(inc) tool if-red=die by our(inc)

aîak.

aîak

child If we have lost our tool, our child will die.

024 nu vaivaik itjen a sema tjuqaîa, nakuya; sivaivaik

nu vai-vaik itjen a em=sa tju-qaîa na-kuya si-vai-vaik

when red-leave f.we(inc) c af=go there-outsider stat-bad if-red-leave

nua tja avavak.

nua tja av-avak

by our(inc) red-soul

If we are going to another village, that is bad; our souls will depart.

025 nu venliveli tjen tua makaliîaw, kapuîu aya.

nu n=veli-veli tjen tua maka-liîaw ka-puîu aya

when af=red-buy f.we(inc) obl num-cloth ?-deficit say

If we are buying cloth, it is a sign of mourning.

[makaliîaw: could be ma-ka- or maka-]

[kapuîu: puîu must have sense of ‘loss’ to give meaning ‘mourn’ here]

026 nu namitung itjen tua ka÷a÷i.

nu na-m-itung itjen tua ka÷a÷i

when past-af-cloth f.we(inc) obl rag If we are wearing rags,

027 uri masan zepzepan itjen.

uri ma-sane zepzep-an itjen

will stat-make converse-nom f.we(inc) we will become infamous.

[probably one sentence with previous]

028 nu mavanavanaw itjen, sika saqetjuqetju aya.

nu ma-vana-vanaw itjen sika qetju=saqetju aya

when stat-red-bathe f.we(inc) reason red=painful say

If we are bathing, it is said to be a sign of illness.

When we dream of the rising sun or dawn it is very good. It is as if our hearts were rising. We will have good luck in everything.

If women dream they are on a swing, someone is in love with them (Note: Swinging of the bride is part of the wedding ceremony.)

If we are up a bambusa tree, we will marry a chieftain.

When we dream of the leaf for wrapping betel nut, we will be rich.

When we see ripe mangoes, our millet will be fully ripened.

When we dream about fish, this is also about our millet crop. If the fish are small ones, our millet also will have small grains. If the fish are in muddy water, there will be a lot of weeds in our millet fields.

If there is death or a funeral it is very good; the person seen will be strong.

If water is coming out indoors, it means there will be plenty of staple foods.

If we dream about small pigs or snakes or anything, it’s all to do with our children. But if they are big ones, it refers to evil spirits. If we are butchering a pig or other animal, there will be a death in our family.

If a flame we are holding is going out, we will be responsible for the death of someone(?). If we just see this, we will be present at a death.

If it is night or getting dark, the thoughts of our hearts will be like night.

If we have millet, there will be a death.

If someone is carrying cut planks of wood, someone will die on a track.

If we dream that we are eating meat or millet dumplings, it is said to be a sign of illness.

If we are eating peanuts, sweets or rice, it’s a sign of a cough.

If we are repairing a house, someone will die and we will have to dig a grave (*or* a grave will be dug for us).

If we have lost our tool, our child will die.

If we are going to another village, that is bad; our souls will depart.

If we are buying cloth, it is a sign of mourning.

If we are wearing rags, we will become infamous.

If we are bathing, it is said to be a sign of illness.

#### 078 WORK IN FIELDS told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village

001 nu seman puvasan dangdangan anan, sana îama-i, sana

nu em=sane pu-vasa-an dangdang-an anan sa-na îama-i sa-na

when af=make have-taro-nom cut.bush-lf still and-then burn-pf and-then

qusuli.

qusul-i

dig.roots-pf

TARO: When we make a taro field, we clear the ground and burn the vegetation and dig out the roots.

002 nu qinusul anga, nu sariqsiqsiq a kadjunangan,

nu in=qusul anga nu ar=siq-siqsiq a ka-djunang-an

when perf=dig.roots indeed when qal=red-dry c main-earth-nom

quîitsan anga sakamaya.

quîits-an anga sakamaya

clear.cut.bush-lf indeed only

When we have dug out the roots, if the soil is dry we just clear away the burnt vegetation.

003 îakua nu djukel a kadjunangan.

îakua nu djukel a ka-djunang-an

but when clay c main-earth-nom But if the soil is sticky

004 tjara djukulen anan a semualap a qipu izua i ta

tjara djukul-en anan a em=su-alap a qipu i-zua i ta

surely beat-pf still c af=remove-take c soil loc-that loc obl

tjapunguîan, sana quîiquîitsi sa îama-i a qinepuan,

tjapunguî-an sa-na quîi-quîits-i sa îama-i a in=qepu-an

grass.root-nom and-then red-clear.cut.bush-pf and burn-pf c perf=associate-nom

sana taletalemi tua vasa.

sa-na al=te-talem-i tua vasa

and-then qal=do-plant obl taro

we always beat the soil out of the roots, and then clear up and burn the refuse; and then plant the taro.

005 a siqusulan siumaî a upu a pasekaumaî.

a si-qusul-an si-uma-î a upu a pa-se-ka-uma-î

c if-dig.roots-lf if-other-times c wall c cause-invol-become-other-times

When we are digging out the roots we renew the terrace walls in new positions.

006 nu seman puvaquan namaya tua puvasan a

nu em=sane pu-vaqu-an na-ma-aya tua pu-vasa-an a

when af=make have-millet-nom past-stat-be.thus obl have-taro-nom c

dangdangan anan sana îama-i sana kavatsuki.

dangdang-an anan sa-na îama-i sa-na ka-vatsuk-i

cut.bush-lf still and-then burn-pf and-then ?-clear.land-pf

MILLET: When we make a millet field, it’s the same as a taro field; we cut back and burn the vegetation and clear the land.

007 qau nu mavatsuk itjen, mumaî tua upu a zuma nu

qau nu ma-vatsuk itjen ma-uma-î tua upu a zuma nu

so when stat-clear.land f.we(inc) stat-other-times obl wall c other of

qaîan; îakua tjatjuruvu a inika mumaumaî tua upu nu

qaîa-an îakua tja-tjuruvu a ini-ka ma-uma-uma-î tua upu nu

outsider-nom but more-many c not-after stat-red-other-times obl wall when

mavatsuk.

ma-vatsuk

stat-clear.land

When we have cleared the land, in some villages they renew the terrace walls; but there are more people who don’t renew the walls after clearing the land.

008 aitsu a puvaquan inika namaya tua

aya-i-tsu a pu-vaqu-an ini-ka na-ma-aya tua

be.thus-loc-this c have-millet-nom not-after past-stat-be.thus obl

puvasan a djukulen.

pu-vasa-an a djukul-en

have-taro-nom c beat-pf

In millet fields we don’t beat the soil as in taro fields.

009 quîitsan anga sakamaya sa tjuguti.

quîits-an anga sakamaya sa tjugut-i

clear.cut.bush-lf indeed only and sow-pf

We just clear away the vegetation and sow the millet.

010 aitsu a pusutjavan mamaw katua puvasan a

aya-i-tsu a pu-sutjaw-an m-amaw ka-tua pu-vasa-an a

be.thus-loc-this c have-peanut-nom stat-same and-obl have-taro-nom c

siqusulan a mumaî tua upu aitsu a

si-qusul-an a ma-uma-î tua upu aya-i-tsu a

if-dig.roots-nom c stat-other-times obl wall be.thus-loc-this c

pusutjavan.

pu-sutjaw-an

have-peanut-nom

PEANUTS Peanut fields are like taro fields; the terrace walls are renewed when the roots are dug out.

011 a puvasan maretimaîimaîi a sitaleman.

a pu-vasa-an mare-ti-maîi-maîi a si-talem-an

c have-taro-nom pair-?-red-different c if-plant-nom

There are different times for planting taro fields,

012 mapalalailaing a kinaqaîaqaîan.

ma-pa-la-lai-laing a in=ka-qaîa-qaîa-an

stat-cause-red-red-follow c perf=?-red-outsider-nom

depending on the village.

013 a zuma nu qaîan temalem nu 1, 2 gatsu.

a zuma nu qaîa-an em=talem nu 1 2 gatsu

c other of outsider-nom af=plant when 1 2 month

Some villages plant in January or February;

[1,2, and etc. below: no vernacular is given. With gatsu ‘month’ one would count in Japanese.]

014 a zuma nu qaîan temalem anga nu 3, 4, 5 gatsu.

a zuma nu qaîa-an em=talem anga nu 3 4 5 gatsu

c other of outsider-nom af=plant indeed when 3 4 5 month

others in March to May.

015 aitsu a sitaleman kemasi tua pinutsaviîan a

aya-i-tsu a si-talem-an em=kasi tua in=pu-tsaviî-an a

be.thus-loc-this c if-plant-nom af=from obl perf=have-year-nom c

patje 5 gatsu.

pa-tje 5 gatsu

cause-do.at 5 month

Planting goes on from New Year to May.

016 aitsu a puvasan pataudan tua puk tua djulis.

aya-i-tsu a pu-vasa-an pa-taud-an tua puk tua djulis

be.thus-loc-this c have-taro-nom cause-mix-lf obl bean.sp obl plant.sp

We also plant tree-beans and goose-foot in taro fields.

017 nu nanguaq a kadjunangan, pataudan tua îapanay tua qarizang

nu na-nguaq a ka-djunang-an pa-taud-an tua îapanay tua qarizang

when stat-good c main-earth-nom cause-mix-lf obl maize obl bean.sp

a temalem.

a em=talem

c af=plant If the soil is good we also plant maize or green-beans.

018 nu 11, 12, 1 gatsu kivasa.

nu 11 12 1 gatsu ki-vasa

when 11 12 1 month do-taro We harvest taro in November to January.

019 a puvaquan nu 2, 3 gatsu, nu maviliî 4 gatsu, nu

a pu-vaqu-an nu 2 3 gatsu nu ma-viliî 4 gatsu nu

c have-millet-nom when 2 3 month when stat-behind 4 month when

matalu 1 gatsu a sitjugutan.

ma-talu 1 gatsu a si-tjugut-an

stat-plant.early 1 month c if-sow-nom

Millet fields are planted in February or March, or April for late planting, or January for early planting.

020 qau pataudan tua îumay tua puk tua qarizang tua djulis tua

qau pa-taud-an tua îumay tua puk tua qarizang tua djulis tua

so cause-mix-lf obl millet.sp obl bean.sp obl bean.sp obl plant.sp obl

îangga tua îapanay.

îangga tua îapanay

sesame obl maize

We mix in barnyard millet, tree-beans, green-beans, goose-foot, sesame(?) or maize.

021 nu 7, 8 gatsu kivaqu.

nu 7 8 gatsu ki-vaqu

when 7 8 month do-millet We harvest millet in July or August.

022 a pusutjavan 3, 4 gatsu a sitaletaleman i vurasian,

a pu-sutjaw-an 3 4 gatsu a si-tale-talem-an i vurasi-an

c have-peanut-nom 3 4 month c if-red-plant-nom loc sweet.potato-nom

sa talemi tua îapanay qarizang tua puk îangga.

sa talem-i tua îapanay qarizang tua puk îangga

and plant-pf obl maize bean.sp obl bean.sp sesame

A peanut field is planted in March or April in a sweet-potato field, and is planted with maize, green-beans, tree-beans or sesame.

023 nu 8, 9 gatsu kisutjaven.

nu 8 9 gatsu ki-sutjaw-en

when 8 9 month do-peanut-pf We harvest peanuts in August or September.

024 a puvurasian a pusavidan inika patautaudan a

a pu-vurasi-an a pu-savid-an ini-ka pa-tau-taud-an a

c have-sweet.potato-nom c have-same-nom not-after cause-red-mix-lf c

temalem.

em=talem

af=plant Fields for sweet potatoes only don’t have other things planted in them.

TARO: When we make a taro field, we clear the ground and burn the vegetation and dig out the roots. When we have dug out the roots, if the soil is dry we just clear away the burnt vegetation. But if the soil is sticky we always beat the soil out of the roots, and then clear up and burn the refuse; and then plant the taro. When we are digging out the roots we renew the terrace walls in new positions.

MILLET: When we make a millet field, it’s the same as a taro field; we cut back and burn the vegetation and clear the land. When we have cleared the land, in some villages they renew the terrace walls; but there are more people who don’t renew the walls after clearing the land. In millet fields we don’t beat the soil as in taro fields. We just clear away the vegetation and sow the millet.

PEANUTS: Peanut fields are like taro fields; the terrace walls are renewed when the roots are dug out. There are different times for planting taro fields, depending on the village. Some villages plant in January or February; others in March to May. Planting goes on from New Year to May.

We also plant tree-beans and goose-foot in taro fields. If the soil is good we also plant maize or green-beans. We harvest taro in November to January. Millet fields are planted in February or March, or April for late planting, or January for early planting. We mix in barnyard millet, tree-beans, green-beans, goose-foot, sesame(?) or maize. We harvest millet in July or August.

A peanut field is planted in March or April in a sweet-potato field, and is planted with maize, green-beans, tree-beans or sesame. We harvest peanuts in August or September. Fields for sweet potatoes only don’t have other things planted in them.

#### 079 MY LIFE told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village

001 tiaken ti Giîgiîaw aken.

ti-aken ti Giîgiîaw aken

f-I f.h (name) f.I I am Giîgiîaw.

002 se Vaîulu aken.

se Vaîulu aken

person.of (place) I of Vaîulu village.

003 sinipuaîak aken i Vaîulu.

in=si-pu-aîak aken i Vaîulu

perf=if-have-child f.I loc (place) I was born in Vaîulu.

004 ÷usanga ken a puluq katu sepatj a tsaviî tu pinuaîakan

÷usa-anga aken a puluq ka-tu sepatj a tsaviî tu in=pu-aîak-an

two-indeed f.I c ten after-? four c year obl perf=have-child-nom

tjanuaken.

tjanu-aken

obl-I It is 24 years since I was born.

005 ka tapuluq aken katu sepatj a tsaviî sema gaku aken a ventsik.

ka ta-puluq aken ka-tu sepatj a tsaviî em=sa gaku aken a m=vetsik

after one-ten f.I after-? four c year af=go school f.I c af=mark

When I was 14 I went to school to study.

006 sepatj aken a tsaviî i gaku.

sepatj aken a tsaviî i gaku

four f.I c year loc school I was 4 years in school.

007 ka ini anan ka ken a sema gaku napusalasaladj aken

ka ini anan ka aken a em=sa gaku na-pu-sala-saladj aken

after not still after f.I c af=go school past-have-red-companion f.I

tjai kama tjai kina tua sengsengan.

tjai kama tjai kina tua sengseng-an

obl.h father obl.h mother obl work-nom

Before I went to school I helped my father and mother in their (field) work.

008 ka i gaku anan aken matsay ti kama.

ka i gaku anan aken m-patsay ti kama

after loc school still f.I af-die f.h father

When I was still at school my father died.

009 qau ti kaka itua kuaping.

qau ti kaka i-tua kuaping

so f.h sibling loc-obl soldier My elder brother was in the army.

010 qau ti kina izua aîak a lumamad.

qau ti kina i-zua aîak a lumamad

so f.h mother loc-that child c infant My mother had very young children.

011 izua ku kaka kake÷ian anan a ma÷usa, ini anan ka makaya

i-zua ku kaka ka-ke÷i-an anan a ma-÷usa ini anan ka ma-kaya

loc-that my sibling red-small-nom still c num-two not still after stat-able

masengseng.

ma-sengseng

stat-work My two siblings were still children, not yet able to work.

012 nasemalimsim tuazua tia kina.

na-em=al=simsim tua-zua ti-a kina

past-af=qal=pity obl-that f.h-pl mother

My mother and the children were very badly off.

013 mana ku sinikitjaula i gaku.

ma-avan-a ku in=si-ki-tja-ula i gaku

stat-exact-? I perf=if-do-more-lack loc school That is why I left school.

014 salimsim aken tjaia kina tua mareka ku kaka.

al=simsim aken tjai-a kina tua mareka ku kaka

qal=pity f.I obl.h-pl mother obl many my sibling

I had pity on my mother and my siblings.

[tjaia: was tjaya]

015 neka nu muri paquzip.

neka nu ma-uri pa-quzip

no of stat-will cause-keep.animal There was noone to provide for them.

[paquzip: obviously for nurturing humans too]

016 qau tuazua naselapay aken tua nia sengsengan.

qau tua-zua na-se-lapay aken tua nia sengseng-an

so obl-that past-invol-severe f.I obl our(exc) work-nom

I had a bad time then working for us.

017 matsidiî aken tua ku kemudanga.

ma-tsidiî aken tua ku em=kuda-anga

stat-alone f.I obl my af=do.what-indeed I had to do everything on my own.

018 maluîay aken aravats.

ma-luîay aken a-ravats

stat-tired f.I c-true I was very tired.

019 îakua nu ika ken a masengseng, neka nu kanen nia kina nua

îakua nu ika aken a ma-sengseng neka nu kan-en ni-a kina nua

but when not f.I c stat-work no of eat-pf of-pl mother of

mareka ku kaka.

mareka ku kaka

many my sibling

But if I didn’t work there would be no food for my mother and my siblings.

020 qau kipaqadiî aken a masengseng ta ku sipaquzip tjaia

qau ki-pa-qadiî aken a ma-sengseng ta ku si-pa-quzip tjai-a

so do-cause-force f.I c stat-work obl I if-cause-keep.animal obl.h-pl

kina tua mareka ku kaka, patje mangtjez ti kaka a

kina tua mareka ku kaka pa-tje m-pangetjez ti kaka a

mother obl many my sibling cause-do.at af-come f.h sibling c

nakisan kuaping.

na-ki-sane kuaping

past-do-make soldier

So I put up with working to provide for my mother and my siblings, until my elder brother came back from the army.

[tjaia: was tjaya]

021 ka mangtjez anga ti kaka a nakisan kuaping, izuanga

ka m-pangetjez anga ti kaka a na-ki-sane kuaping i-zua-anga

after af-come indeed f.h sibling c past-do-make soldier loc-that-indeed

pusaladj tjanuaken tua nia sengsengan.

pu-saladj tjanu-aken tua nia sengseng-an

have-companion obl-I obl our(exc) work-nom

When my brother had come back from the army there was someone to help me with our work.

022 lima ken a tsaviî a masengseng a matsidiî, sa pangtjengtjez ti

lima aken a tsaviî a ma-sengseng a ma-tsidiî sa pa-ngetje-ngetjez ti

five f.I c year c stat-work c stat-alone and cause-red-come f.h

kaka, saka izuanga ku saladj a masengseng.

kaka sa-ka i-zua-anga ku saladj a ma-sengseng

sibling and-after loc-that-indeed my companion c stat-work

I did the work on my own for 5 years; then my brother came, and I had a companion in the work.

023 ka mangtjez anga ti kaka, ke÷i anga a ku sengsengan.

ka m-pangetjez anga ti kaka ke÷i anga a ku sengseng-an

after af-come indeed f.h sibling small indeed c my work-nom

When my brother came back, there was less work for me.

024 ika ken a maluîay anga.

ika aken a ma-luîay anga

not f.I c stat-tired indeed I wasn’t tired out.

025 makayanga ken a kivala sema tjuqaîa, izua i Paîul,

ma-kaya-anga aken a ki-vala em=sa tju-qaîa i-zua i Paîul

stat-able-indeed f.I c self-able af=go there-outsider loc-that loc (place)

i Payuan, i Qutsapungan, sema Takaw.

i Payuan i Qutsapungan em=sa Takaw

loc Paiwan loc (place) af=go (place)

I could go off for fun to other places-to Paîul, Payuan, Qutsapungan, and to Takao (Kaohsiung).

026 namasengsengseng aken i Takaw a kipaisu.

na-ma-seng-sengseng aken i Takaw a ki-paisu

past-stat-red-work f.I loc (place) c do-money

I worked in Takao to earn money.

027 ku siveli tua ku itung.

ku si-veli tua ku itung

I if-buy obl my cloth With it I bought clothes.

028 ka izuanga ku itung, vaik anga ken a sema umaq; sa ku

ka i-zua-anga ku itung vaik anga aken a em=sa umaq sa ku

after loc-that-indeed my cloth leave indeed f.I c af=go house and I

paitungi anga tia kina a mareka ku kaka.

pa-itung-i anga ti-a kina a mareka ku kaka

cause-cloth-pf indeed f.h-pl mother c many my sibling

When I had got some clothes I went back home; and I gave clothes to my mother and my siblings.

029 maleva ravats.

ma-leva ravats

stat-pleased true They were very pleased.

030 tu ku sinaTakavan navenli aken tua ku itung.

tu ku in=sa-Takaw-an na-n=veli aken tua ku itung

obl my perf=go-(place)-nom past-af=buy f.I obl my cloth

Every time I went to Takao I bought clothes.

031 maleva ravats ti kina.

ma-leva ravats ti kina

stat-pleased true f.h mother My mother was very pleased.

032 îakua tiaken nakuya ken aravats.

îakua ti-aken na-kuya aken a-ravats

but f-I stat-bad f.I c-true But I was very bad.

033 ku djinukul anga ti kina a ku kaka.

ku in=djukul anga ti kina a ku kaka

I perf=beat indeed f.h mother c my sibling I hit my mother and my siblings.

034 nakuya ken aravats.

na-kuya aken a-ravats

stat-bad f.I c-true I was very bad.

035 îakua tutsu tu ku kinasinzian inika ken a

îakua tu-tsu tu ku in=ka-sinzia-an ini-ka aken a

but obl-this obl my perf=main-believer-nom not-after f.I c

djemukudjukul anga.

em=djuku-djukul anga

af=red-beat indeed

But now since becoming a believer I don’t hit people any more.

036 lemangdanga ken tua tulu nua Tsemas.

em=langeda-anga aken tua tulu nua Tsemas

af=hear-indeed f.I obl teach of God Now I listen to the teaching of God.

037 kisamuîanga ken a semupu tua siisiu.

ki-samuîa-anga aken a em=supu tua siisiu

do-urgent-indeed f.I c af=count obl Bible I read the Bible frequently.

038 qau kemîang aken tua kiîivak tua tja kina tua timaimanga.

qau m=keîang aken tua ki-îivak tua tja kina tua ti-ima-ima-anga

so af=know f.I obl do-care.for obl our(inc) mother obl ?-red-who-indeed

I know about loving our mothers and everyone.

039 ka sangasangasan kisan sinzia zua ku kaka ma÷usa, sanaka

ka sanga-sangas-an ki-sane sinzia zua ku kaka ma-÷usa sa-na-ka

after red-first-nom do-make believer that my sibling num-two and-then-after

ti kina.

ti kina

f.h mother At first my two siblings became believers, and then my mother.

040 “kaka,” aya zua ku kaka, “kisan sinzia-u.

kaka aya zua ku kaka ki-sane sinzia-u

sibling say that my sibling do-make believer-imp

My siblings said to me: “Brother, become a believer.

041 nanguaq aravats.

na-nguaq a-ravats

stat-good c-true It’s very good.

042 inika tjen a marivurivu anga.

ini-ka tjen a ma-rivu-rivu anga

not-after f.we(inc) c stat-red-quarrel indeed We don’t quarrel any more.

043 ika tjen a tsemakatsakaw anga.

ika tjen a em=tsaka-tsakaw anga

not f.we(inc) c af=red-steal indeed We don’t steal.

044 nu matsay itjen vaik itjen a sema tjarivavaw, aya za

nu m-patsay itjen vaik itjen a em=sa tjari-va-vaw aya zua

when af-die f.we(inc) leave f.we(inc) c af=go utmost-red-above say that

tulu tjanuamen.

tulu tjanu-amen

teach obl-we(exc) We are taught that when we die we go to heaven.

045 nekanga nu tja pasalisaliw nu kisan sinzia itjen.

neka-anga nu tja pa-sali-saliw nu ki-sane sinzia itjen

no-indeed of our(inc) cause-red-sin when do-make believer f.we(inc)

We have no more sins when we become believers.

046 qau kisan sinzia-u.

qau ki-sane sinzia-u

so do-make believer-imp Become a believer.

047 nanguaq aravats.

na-nguaq a-ravats

stat-good c-true It’s very good.

048 uîa masualap a su pasalisaliw.”

uîa ma-su-alap a su pa-sali-saliw

so.that stat-remove-take c your(s) cause-red-sin

And your sins will be taken away.”

049 pasemalavan aken nua ku kaka tua tulu nua Tsemas.

pa-se-malaw-an aken nua ku kaka tua tulu nua Tsemas

cause-invol-tell-lf f.I of my sibling obl teach of God

My siblings told me the teaching of God.

050 inika ken a masalu.

ini-ka aken a ma-salu

not-after f.I c stat-believe I didn’t believe.

051 îakua ku patsunan a sikudan nua ku kaka.

îakua ku pa-tsun-an a si-kuda-an nua ku kaka

but I cause-see-lf c if-do.what-nom of my sibling

But I noticed my siblings’ behaviour.

052 inika marivurivu anga.

ini-ka ma-rivu-rivu anga

not-after stat-red-quarrel indeed They didn’t quarrel any more.

053 nu mangtjez a kasi gaku, vaik a tsaîum, vaik a kitsatsevung.

nu m-pangetjez a kasi gaku vaik a tsaîum vaik a ki-tsa-tsevung

when af-come c from school leave c carry.water leave c self-red-meet

When they came back from school, they went to get water or went to meet people (coming back laden from the fields).

054 kilangdanga aravats tua nia tulu.

ki-langeda-anga a-ravats tua nia tulu

do-hear-indeed c-true obl our(exc) teach

They were very obedient to what we told them.

055 patsun aken tua sikudan.

pa-tsun aken tua si-kuda-an

cause-see f.I obl if-do.what-nom I noticed their behaviour.

056 paquliqulid kaumaya, aya ken.

pa-quli-qulid kaumaya aya aken

cause-red-real perhaps say f.I I thought that perhaps what they said was true.

057 saqetju a ku varung, ka kinemnem anga ken.

saqetju a ku varung ka kinemnem anga aken

painful c my chest after think indeed f.I

This disturbed me when I thought about it.

058 izua zua qinaruqarut a sunat a sinipavay tua zua

i-zua zua in=qaru-qarut a sunat a in=si-pa-vay tua zua

loc-that that perf=red-distribute c book c perf=if-cause-give obl that

mareka ku kaka.

mareka ku kaka

many my sibling

My siblings had been given some booklets that were distributed.

059 ka vaik a sema gaku, ku alapen azua sunat, sa ku supu-i.

ka vaik a em=sa gaku ku alap-en a-zua sunat tsa ku supu-i

after leave c af=go school I take-pf c-that book this I count-pf

When they had gone to school, I took the booklets and read them.

060 “kiîivaki tua tja matjaîaîak.

ki-îivak-i tua tja matja-îaîak

do-care.for-hort obl our(inc) num-child

What I read was: “We should love our parents.

061 nakuya qemtsi tua tsautsau.

na-kuya m=qetsi tua tsau-tsau

stat-bad af=fight obl red-being We should not kill people,

062 nakuya padjumak.

na-kuya pa-djumak

stat-bad cause-find fornicate,

063 nakuya tsemakaw.

na-kuya em=tsakaw

stat-bad af=steal steal.

064 nakuya qauban.

na-kuya qauban

stat-bad envy or envy others.

065 kiîivaku tua nu îaqediqedi,” aya zua ku sinupu.

ki-îivak-u tua nu îa-qedi-qedi aya zua ku in=supu

do-care.for-imp obl your(p) class-red-boundary say that I perf=count

Love your neighbours.”

066 izua zua ku sinupu: “timun parekiîivaîivaku,” aya zua ku

i-zua zua ku in=supu ti-mun pare-ki-îiva-îivak-u aya zua ku

loc-that that I perf=count f-you(p) pair-do-red-care.for-imp say that I

sinupu.

in=supu

perf=count Another thing I read was: “Love one another.”

067 izua zua masanitaî uta: “tiaken namatsay aken sa ke

i-zua zua ma-sane-ita-î uta ti-aken na-m-patsay aken sa ke

loc-that that stat-make-one-times also f-I past-af-die f.I and I

kamevaîut.

ka-me-vaîut

become-af-alive One more thing I read was: “I was dead and came back to life.

068 tiaken djalan aken, kaqulidan, nasi aken.

ti-aken djalan aken ka-qulid-an nasi aken

f-I road f.I main-real-nom breath f.I

I am the way, the truth and the life.

069 a kisusu tjanuaken nuka matsay tjara ku papevaîuten,” aya

a ki-susu tjanu-aken nuka m-patsay tjara ku pa-pe-vaîut-en aya

c do-proceed obl-I even af-die surely I cause-emerge-alive-pf say

zua ku sinupu, sa ke kasalu anga.

zua ku in=supu sa ke ka-salu anga

that I perf=count and I stat-believe indeed

Anyone who follows me, even if they die I will bring them back to life”. That was what I read, and I believed.

070 îakua masiaq aken a semukub, tua ku qinaqivuivuan tua

îakua ma-siaq aken a em=sukub tua ku in=qa-ivu=qivu-an tua

but stat-shame f.I c af=bow.head obl I perf=?-red=speak-lf obl

mareka sinzia.

mareka sinzia

many believer

But I was ashamed to attend worship because of what I had said about believers.

071 îakua ka tsuatsuay anga kidjaladjalan anga ken a semukub

îakua ka tsua-tsuay anga ki-djala-djalan anga aken a em=sukub

but after red-long.time indeed do-red-road indeed f.I c af=bow.head

tua ku tsemekemekeî.

tua ku em=meke=tsekeî

obl my af=red=spouse

But after a time I did accompany my family to worship.

072 qau kisamuîanga ken a kiqepu tua sinzia, sa ke keîang anga

qau ki-samuîa-anga aken a ki-qepu tua sinzia sa ke keîang anga

so do-urgent-indeed f.I c do-associate obl believer and I know indeed

tua kakudan nua sinzia.

tua ka-kuda-an nua sinzia

obl ?-do.what-nom of believer

Then I frequently attended the believers’ meetings, and I understood the believers’ ways.

073 “iya manu kemudanga,” aya ken.

iya manu em=kuda-anga aya aken

ah then af=do.what-indeed say f.I “So that’s the way it is,”I said to myself.

[iya: was ya]

074 samaîi anga ken.

sa-ma-aîi anga aken

qal-stat-different indeed f.I I was surprised.

075 kana liguligu anga ken, sa ke ka kisan sinzia a kirimu,

ka-na ligu-ligu anga aken sa ke ka ki-sane sinzia a ki-rimu

after-then red-reputed indeed f.I and I after do-make believer c do-quick

kana ken a matsaqu anga, kana ken a kemîang anga,”

ka-na aken a ma-tsaqu anga ka-na aken a m=keîang anga

after-then f.I c stat-able indeed after-then f.i c af=know indeed

ayanga ken a kinemnem.

aya-anga aken a kinemnem

say-indeed f.I c think

“If only I had known and become a believer sooner. Then I would have been good at doing things and would have understood,”I thought.

076 pateîip aken aravats tua ika ku kinasinzian a kirimu.

pa-teîip aken a-ravats tua ika ku in=ka-sinzia-an a ki-rimu

cause-regret f.I c-true obl not my perf=main-believer-nom c do-quick

I greatly regretted that I hadn’t become a believer sooner.

077 îakua ka kisan sinzia aken kisamuîanga ken aravats a kisusu.

îakua ka ki-sane sinzia aken ki-samuîa-anga aken a-ravats a ki-susu

but after do-make believer f.I do-urgent-indeed f.I c-true c do-proceed

But when I became a believer I was a very zealous practising believer.

078 qau pai ka tsuatsuay anga ken tua ku kinasinzian,

qau pai ka tsua-tsuay anga aken tua ku in=ka-sinzia-an

so well after red-long.time indeed f.I obl my perf=main-believer-nom

kinemnem anga ken tua ku vaik a tjemautsikel, sa ke vaik

kinemnem anga aken tua ku vaik a em=tja-u-tsikel sa ke vaik

think indeed f.I obl my leave c af=more-?-return and I leave

anga sema tjuqaîa a pasemalamalaw tua kiîivak tua

anga em=sa tju-qaîa a pa-se-mala-malaw tua ki-îivak tua

indeed af=go there-outsider c cause-invol-red-tell obl do-care.for obl

pitsul nua Tsemas.

pitsul nua Tsemas

strong of God

Some time after I had become a believer I thought of going to tell others, and I went to other villages to tell people about the love and power of God.

079 ka patagiî vaik aken a sema Makazayazaya a pasemalaw tua

ka pa-tagiî vaik aken a em=sa Makazayazaya a pa-em=salaw tua

after cause-originate leave f.I c af=go (place) c cause-af=tell obl

kai nua Tsemas.

kai nua Tsemas

speech of God

First I went to Makazayazaya to tell them about the word of God.

080 îakua inika kemîang.

îakua ini-ka m=keîang

but not-after af=know But they didn’t understand.

081 ka ku sipakatjelutjeluî kemîang anga tua tulu nua Tsemas.

ka ku si-paka-tjelu-tjelu-î m=keîang anga tua tulu nua Tsemas

after my if-via-red-three-times af=know indeed obl teach of God

After my third visit they understood the teaching of God.

[sipakatjelutjeluî: expect sika- ‘ord’ here, occurrence of pa unexplained.]

082 qau kisan sinzianga azua tatsekeîan; saka metjuruvu anga.

qau ki-sane sinzia-anga a-zua ta-tsekeî-an sa-ka me-tjuruvu anga

so do-make believer-indeed c-that one-spouse-nom and-after af-many indeed

One family became believers; and later more people did so.

083 qau nu makapitjuî vaik aken a sema Makazayazaya.

qau nu maka-pitju-î vaik aken a em=sa Makazayazaya

so when num-seven-times leave f.I c af=go (place)

Every week I went to Makazayazaya.

084 makatjeluî aken makasimatjeî aken i Makazayazaya a

maka-tjelu-î aken maka-simatj-î aken i Makazayazaya a

num-three-times f.I num-four-times f.I loc (place) c

pasemalamalaw tua tulu nua Tsemas.

pa-se-mala-malaw tua tulu nua Tsemas

cause-invol-red-tell obl teach of God

I stayed in Makazayazaya 3 or 4 days telling them the teaching of God.

085 tatsaviî aken katu izua îemules a pasemalamalaw tua tulu

ta-tsaviî aken ka-tu i-zua em=îules a pa-se-mala-malaw tua tulu

one-year f.I after-? loc-that af=continue c cause-invol-red-tell obl teach

nua Tsemas.

nua Tsemas

of God For over a year I continued telling them the teaching of God.

086 man alu a puluq aza sinzia.

man alu a puluq a-zua sinzia

num eight c ten c-that believer There were 80 believers.

087 îakua ku putideqan a tjelu a qiîas.

îakua ku pu-tideq-an a tjelu a qiîas

but my have-space-nom c three c moon But then I didn’t go for 3 months;

088 kitjaula zua man ÷usa puluq.

ki-tja-ula zua man ÷usa puluq

do-more-lack that num two ten and 20 of them gave up.

089 qau mangtjez azua kemasi Karinku a naventsik, vaik anga

qau m-pangetjez a-zua em=kasi Karinku a na-m=vetsik vaik anga

so af-come c-that af=from (place) c past-af=mark leave indeed

sema Makazayazaya a zemang tua zua sinzia.

em=sa Makazayazaya a em=zang tua zua sinzia

af=go (place) c af=guard obl that believer

Then someone came back from studying at Karenko (Hualien), and went to Makazayazaya to look after the believers.

090 qau vaik anga ken a pasa tjuzuma a tjemautsikel tua

qau vaik anga aken a pa-sa tju-zuma a em=tja-u-tsikel tua

so leave indeed f.I c cause-go there-other c af=more-?-return obl

kai nua Tsemas.

kai nua Tsemas

speech of God So I went to other places to tell them the word of God.

091 kasi Masilid anga ken, kasi Djaîadjaîay anga ken a

kasi Masilid anga aken kasi Djaîadjaîay anga aken a

from (place) indeed f.I from (place) indeed f.I c

tjemautsiketsikel tua kai nua Tsemas.

em=tja-u-tsike-tsikel tua kai nua Tsemas

af=more-?-red-return obl speech of God

I went to Masilid and Djaîadjaîay to tell them the word of God.

092 nuka mayanga qudjaî, nuka mayanga vali, tjara vaik

nuka ma-aya-anga qudjaî nuka ma-aya-anga vali tjara vaik

even stat-be.thus-indeed rain even stat-be.thus-indeed wind surely leave

aken a sema Makazayazaya.

aken a em=sa Makazayazaya

f.I c af=go (place)

However rainy or windy it was I always went to Makazyazaya.

093 nuka mayanga tsadjan, nu tjaîu zuanga tua ku

nuka ma-aya-anga tsadja-an nu tjaîu zua-anga tua ku

even stat-be.thus-indeed far-nom when reach that-indeed obl my

sisazuan, tjara vaik aken.

si-sa-zua-an tjara vaik aken

past-go-that-nom surely leave f.I

However far it was, when the time came for me to go I always went.

094 nu zemuker aken i Makazayazaya, puqarut aken a maka

nu em=zuker aken i Makazayazaya pu-qarut aken a maka

when af=arrive f.I loc (place) have-distribute f.I c via

pu÷ipungan a pasemalaw tua taizin: “sinsi, uri pasemalaw aken

pu-÷ipung-an a pa-em=salaw tua taizin sinsi uri pa-em=salaw aken

have-Japan-nom c cause-af=tell obl officer teacher will cause-af=tell f.I

tua kai nua Tsemas.”

tua kai nua Tsemas

obl speech of God

When I arrived in Makazayazaya I went straight round to the police station to tell the officer: “Sir, I’m going to preach the word of God.”

095 “ainu a su vetsik a kemasi Alikang?

a-inu a su vetsik a em=kasi Alikang

?-where c your(s) mark c af=from (place)

“Where is your permit from the Alikang police station?

096 kasi gaku sun?” ayain aken.

kasi gaku sun aya-en aken

from school f.you(s) say-pf f.I

Are you a (?Bible school) graduate?” said the officer to me.

097 nuka ika nemanema siqaqivu tjanuaken.

nuka ika nema-nema si-qa-qivu tjanu-aken

even not red-what if-red-speak obl-I

That was said to me without any reason.

098 îakua ika ken a natemvela tua nemanema.

îakua ika aken a na-em=tevela tua nema-nema

but not f.I c past-af=answer obl red-what But I didn’t reply at all.

099 tuazua masulem anga, qudjaqudjaîan.

tua-zua ma-sulem anga qudja-qudjaî-an

obl-that stat-dark indeed red-rain-nom

It was getting dark, and it was the rainy season.

100 masepaqudjaî aken i djalan.

ma-se-pa-qudjaî aken i djalan

stat-invol-cause-rain f.I loc road I had got rained on on the way.

101 nuka mayanga ku îaîeqeran, inika ken a sauin a kirimu.

nuka ma-aya-anga ku îaîeqer-an ini-ka aken a sau-en a ki-rimu

even stat-be.thus-indeed my cold-nom not-after f.I c go-pf c do-quick

Although I was very cold, I wasn’t allowed to go quickly.

[îaîeqeran: F132 has îaîeqel ‘cold’]

102 nuka ika nemanema, siqaqivu tjanuaken a paqeteleng.

nuka ika nema-nema si-qa-qivu tjanu-aken a pa-qeteleng

even not red-what if-red-speak obl-f.I c cause-randomly

I was abused without any reason for it.

103 inika ken a paqiladjen.

ini-ka aken a pa-qiladj-en

not-after f.I c cause-sit-pf I wasn’t given a seat.

104 nu salilim anga sauin anga ken a pasa qinaîan.

nu li=salim anga sau-en anga aken a pa-sa in=qaîa-an

when red=late.night indeed go-pf indeed f.I c cause-go perf=outsider-nom

It was late at night when I was allowed to go to the village.

[salilim: F253 gives s/al/ilim, but then root is an unknown silim.]

105 mayanga qudjaî, mayanga selemanan.

ma-aya-anga qudjaî ma-aya-anga selem-anan

stat-be.thus-indeed rain stat-be.thus-indeed dark-still

In spite of the rain and the darkness,

106 ika ken a pasedjaman tua îaung, ika ken a sisan sapui.

ika aken a pa-sedjam-an tua îaung ika aken a si-sane sapuy

not f.I c cause-borrow-lf obl shade not f.I c if-make fire

I wasn’t lent anything to keep off the rain and I wasn’t given a torch.

107 “sa-u,” ayain aken.

sa-u aya-en aken

go-imp say-pf f.I I was just told to go.

108 ika manu amin.

ika manu amin

not then no.more That’s not all.

109 tua ku sisazuan anga, ika manu kinmusaî ika manu

tua ku si-sa-zua-an anga ika manu in=ki-musa-î ika manu

obl my past-go-that-nom indeed not then perf=do-two-times not then

kintjeluî, maya tuazua tua ku sisazuan anga.

in=ki-tjelu-î ma-aya tua-zua tua ku si-sa-zua-an anga

perf=do-three-times stat-be.thus obl-that obl my past-go-that-nom indeed

Whenever I went there, not just twice or three times, it was the same every time.

110 ika manu amin a i pu÷ipungan.

ika manu amin a i pu-÷ipung-an

not then no.more c loc have-Japan-nom It wasn’t only at the police station.

111 nu sema qinaîan aken, qaqivuin aken a paqeteleng.

nu em=sa in=qaîa-an aken qa-qivu-en aken a pa-qeteleng

when af=go perf=outsider-nom f.I red-speak-pf f.I c cause-randomly

When I went to the village I was abused.

112 pai namaya tutsu a ku siselapay.

pai na-ma-aya tu-tsu a ku si-se-lapay

well past-stat-be.thus obl-this c my if-invol-severe

That was the way I suffered.

113 nu vaik itjen a tjemautsikel tua kai nua Tsemas, tjara

nu vaik itjen a em=tja-u-tsikel tua kai nua Tsemas tjara

when leave f.we(inc) c af=more-?-return obl speech of God surely

izua tja siselapayan.

i-zua tja si-se-lapay-an

loc-that our(inc) if-invol-severe-nom

When we go to tell the word of God, there are always times when we suffer.

114 îakua paparangez itjen sakamaya tua Tsemas i vavaw.

îakua pa-pa-rangez itjen sakamaya tua Tsemas i va-vaw

but cause-cause-rely f.we(inc) only obl God loc red-above

But we just trust God above.

115 nu kinemnem itjen tua kinipakezkezan ni Yisu-sama tua

nu kinemnem itjen tua in=ki-pa-kezkez-an ni Yisu-sama tua

when think f.we(inc) obl perf=do-cause-nail-nom of Jesus-h obl

siselapay, paparangez itjen sakamaya tua tja siselapay.

si-se-lapay pa-pa-rangez itjen sakamaya tua tja si-se-lapay

if-invol-severe cause-cause-rely f.we(inc) only obl our(inc) if-invol-severe

When we think of the suffering of Jesus in his crucifixion, we just trust God in our suffering.

I am Giîgiîaw. of Vaîulu village. I was born in Vaîulu. It is 24 years since I was born. When I was 14 I went to school to study. I was 4 years in school. Before I went to school I helped my father and mother in their (field) work. When I was still at school my father died. My elder brother was in the army. My mother had very young children. My two siblings were still children, not yet able to work. My mother and the children were very badly off. That is why I left school. I had pity on my mother and my siblings. There was noone to provide for them. I had a bad time then working for us. I had to do everything on my own. I was very tired. But if I didn’t work there would be no food for my mother and my siblings. So I put up with working to provide for my mother and my siblings, until my elder brother came back from the army. When my brother had come back from the army there was someone to help me with our work. I did the work on my own for 5 years; then my brother came, and I had a companion in the work.

When my brother came back, there was less work for me. I wasn’t tired out. I could go off for fun to other places - to Paîul, Payuan, Qutsapungan, and to Takao (Kaohsiung). I worked in Takao to earn money. With it I bought clothes. When I had got some clothes I went back home; and I gave clothes to my mother and my siblings. They were very pleased. Every time I went to Takao I bought clothes. My mother was very pleased. But I was very bad. I hit my mother and my siblings. I was very bad. But now since becoming a believer I don’t hit people any more. Now I listen to the teaching of God. I read the Bible frequently. I know about loving our mothers and everyone. At first my two siblings became believers, and then my mother. My siblings said to me: “Brother, become a believer. It’s very good. We don’t quarrel any more. We don’t steal. We are taught that when we die we go to heaven. We have no more sins when we become believers. Become a believer. It’s very good. And your sins will be taken away.” My siblings told me the teaching of God. I didn’t believe. But I noticed my siblings’ behaviour. They didn’t quarrel any more. When they came back from school, they went to get water or went to meet people (coming back laden from the fields). They were very obedient to what we told them. I noticed their behaviour. I thought that perhaps what they said was true. This disturbed me when I thought about it. My siblings had been given some booklets that were distributed. When they had gone to school, I took the booklets and read them. What I read was: “We should love our parents. We should not kill people, fornicate, steal or envy others. Love your neighbours.” Another thing I read was: “Love one another.” One more thing I read was: “I was dead and came back to life. I am the way, the truth and the life. Anyone who follows me, even if they die I will bring them back to life.” That was what I read, and I believed.

But I was ashamed to attend worship because of what I had said about believers. But after a time I did accompany my family to worship. Then I frequently attended the believers’ meetings, and I understood the believers’ ways. “So that’s the way it is,” I said to myself. I was surprised. “If only I had known and become a believer sooner. Then I would have been good at doing things and would have understood,” I thought. I greatly regretted that I hadn’t become a believer sooner. But when I became a believer I was a very zealous practising believer. Some time after I had become a believer I thought of going to tell others, and I went to other villages to tell people about the love and power of God. First I went to Makazayazaya to tell them about the word of God. But they didn’t understand. After my third visit they understood the teaching of God. One family became believers; and later more people did so. Every week I went to Makazayazaya. I stayed in Makazayazaya 3 or 4 days telling them the teaching of God. For over a year I continued telling them the teaching of God. There were 80 believers. But then I didn’t go for 3 months; and 20 of them gave up. Then someone came back from studying at Karenko (Hualien), and went to Makazayazaya to look after the believers. So I went to other places to tell them the word of God. I went to Masilid and Djaîadjaîay to tell them the word of God. However rainy or windy it was I always went to Makazyazaya. However far it was, when the time came for me to go I always went.

When I arrived in Makazayazaya I went straight round to the police station to tell the officer: “Sir, I’m going to preach the word of God.” “Where is your permit from the Alikang police station? Are you a (?Bible school) graduate?” said the officer. That was said to me without any reason. But I didn’t reply at all. It was getting dark, and it was the rainy season. I had got rained on on the way. Although I was very cold, I wasn’t allowed to go quickly. I was abused without any reason for it. I wasn’t given a seat. It was late at night when I was allowed to go to the village. In spite of the rain and the darkness, I wasn’t lent anything to keep off the rain and I wasn’t given a torch. I was just told to go. That’s not all. Whenever I went there, not just twice or three times, it was the same every time. It wasn’t only at the police station. When I went to the village I was abused. That was the way I suffered. When we go to tell the word of God, there are always times when we suffer. But we just trust God above. When we think of the suffering of Jesus in his crucifixion, we just trust God in our suffering.

#### 080 PLAYING AT HUNTING told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village

001 ti Tjikunal kirimu a seman tjalupun tua sunat, sa tjalupunan

ti Tjikunal ki-rimu a em=sane tjalupun tua sunat sa tjalupun-an

f.h (name) do-quick c af=make hat obl book and hat-lf

nimadju.

ni-madju

by-3rd.pers Tjikunal straightaway made a hat out of paper and put it on.

002 ka manu sikiqaiîungan, nasaregem aravats timadju.

ka manu si-ki-qa-iîung-an na-saregem a-ravats ti-madju

after then if-self-?-glass-nom past-magnificent c-true f-3rd.pers

When he looked in the mirror he looked very splendid.

003 qau “nanguaq a kiqetsi aken tua tsumay,” aya timadju.

qau na-nguaq a ki-qetsi aken tua tsumay aya ti-madju

so stat-good c do-fight f.I obl bear say f-3rd.pers

So he said: “I must go and hunt a bear.”

004 seman tjakit tua zaman sa pasivuluq tua qau timadju

em=sane tjakit tua zaman sa pa-masi-vuluq tua qau ti-madju

af=make knife obl torch and cause-source-spear obl bamboo.sp f-3rd.pers

a sema kasasavan.

a em=sa ka-sasaw-an

c af=go main-forecourt-nom

He had miscanthus grass for a sword and held a bit of bamboo as a spear, and went out into the forecourt of the house.

005 manu patsun ti Kaîikaîi a kaka nimadju.

manu pa-tsun ti Kaîikaîi a kaka ni-madju

then cause-see f.h (name) c sibling of-3rd.pers

His sibling Kaîikaîi saw him,

006 “uri kemuda sun, kaka?” aya kivadaq.

uri em=kuda sun kaka aya ki-vadaq

will af=do.what f.you(s) sibling say do-ask

and asked: “What are you going to do, brother?”

007 manu tevelain ni Tjikunal: “uri kiqetsi aken tua tsumay,” aya.

manu tevela-en ni Tjikunal uri ki-qetsi aken tua tsumay aya

then answer-pf by (name) will do-fight f.I obl bear say

Tjikunal answered: “I’m going to hunt a bear.”

008 qau “su sikuda zua zaman azua qau?” ayain ni Kaîikaîi.

qau su si-kuda zua zaman a-zua qau aya-en ni Kaîikaîi

so you(s) if-do.what that torch c-that bamboo.sp say-pf by (name)

So Kaîikaîi said: “What are you doing with that grass and bamboo?”

009 “inika zaman, inika qau.

ini-ka zaman ini-ka qau

not-after torch not-after bamboo.sp He answered: “That’s not grass or bamboo;

010 ku tjakit aitsu, ku vuluq aitsu,” aya temvela.

ku tjakit aya-i-tsu ku vuluq aya-i-tsu aya em=tevela

my knife be.thus-loc-this my spear be.thus-loc-this say af=answer

this is my sword and my spear.”

011 “iya, ui ÷i.

iya ui ÷i

ah yes oh “Oh, I see.

012 pakianu aken, kaka,” ayain ni Kaîikaîi.

pa-kian-u aken kaka aya-en ni Kaîikaîi

cause-join-imp f.I sibling say-pf by (name)

Take me with you, brother,” said Kaîikaîi.

[pakianu: F120 has kian ‘join’, but F61 has pa-ki-aya-n too.]

013 manu kemim tiamadju tua tsumay.

manu em=kim ti-a-madju tua tsumay

then af=search f-pl-3rd.pers obl bear So they went looking for bears,

014 neka.

neka

no but didn’t find any.

015 qau “ainu anga, kaka, a tsumay?” aya ti Kaîikaîi.

qau a-inu anga kaka a tsumay aya ti Kaîikaîi

so ?-where indeed sibling c bear say f.h (name)

So Kaîikaîi said: “Where are the bears, brother?”

016 “uzing anga, palamu anga,” ayain ni Tjikunal.

uzing anga pa-lamu anga aya-en ni Tjikunal

there indeed cause-short.time indeed say-pf by (name)

“Over there; we’ll soon see them,” said Tjikunal.

017 manu ka tsuay a pagaîu tevuta zua niamadju a ngiaw.

manu ka tsuay a pa-gaîu te-vuta zua ni-a-madju a ngiaw

then after long.time c cause-slow do-appear that of-pl-3rd.pers c cat

After quite a time their cat emerged.

018 “aku tja ngiaw, kaka.

aku tja ngiaw kaka

why our(inc) cat sibling “Why, it’s our cat, brother.

019 maya qemtsiqetsi,” aya ti Kaîikaîi.

maya em=qetsi-qetsi aya ti Kaîikaîi

don’t af=red-fight say f.h (name) Don’t kill it,” said Kaîikaîi.

020 îakua sipatsiîik sakamaya ni Tjikunal sa laingi.

îakua si-pa-tsiîik sakamaya ni Tjikunal sa laing-i

but if-cause-lift.up only by (name) and follow-pf

But Tjikunal just raised his weapons and chased it.

021 ti Kaîikaîi “maya maya, a tja ngiaw, kaka, semalimsim,” aya a

ti Kaîikaîi maya maya a tja ngiaw kaka em=al=simsim aya a

f.h (name) don’t don’t c our(inc) cat sibling af=qal=pity say c

patjaviliviliî.

pa-tja-vili-viliî

cause-more-red-behind

Kaîikaîi followed him saying: “Don’t don’t; it’s our cat, brother; the poor thing.”

022 ka ika makalaing ti Tjikunal, semutjalupun anga sa veritsan

ka ika maka-laing ti Tjikunal em=su-tjalupun anga sa verits-an

after not finished-follow f.h (name) af=remove-hat indeed and discard-lf

anga a zaman a qau a djinadjas, sa tjumaq anga.

anga a zaman a qau a in=djadjas sa tju-umaq anga

indeed c torch c bamboo.sp c perf=grab and there-house indeed

When Tjikunal failed to catch up with the cat, he took off his hat and threw away the grass and bamboo he had been holding, and went indoors.

023 manu pakatjaraitan nua kina tua vurasi a kinuîaw

manu pa-ka-tjara-ita-an nua kina tua vurasi a in=kuîaw

then cause-main-surely-one-nom of mother obl sweet.potato c perf=roast

tiamadju a marekaka.

ti-a-madju a mare-kaka

f-pl-3rd.pers c pair-sibling

So their mother gave the siblings a roasted sweet potato each.

[tjara: with numeral, denotes ‘each’.]

024 ka kemakan tiamadju.

ka em=ka-kan ti-a-madju

after af=red-eat f-pl-3rd.pers While they were eating,

025 mangtjez azua ngiaw niamadju; îakua seqaîanga sakamaya,

m-pangetjez a-zua ngiaw ni-a-madju îakua se-qaîa-anga sakamaya

af-come c-that cat of-pl-3rd.pers but invol-outsider-indeed only

ika ui anga a îiadet.

ika ui anga a îia-det

not yes indeed c be.in-near

their cat came in; but it was very shy and wouldn’t go near them.

026 “qau pai pasedjaluu, kaka, a tja ngiaw,” ayain anga ni

qau pai pa-se-djalu-u kaka a tja ngiaw aya-en anga ni

so well cause-invol-peace-imp sibling c our(inc) cat say-pf indeed by

Kaîikaîi ti Tjikunal.

Kaîikaîi ti Tjikunal

(name) f.h (name)

Kaîikaîi said to Tjikunal: “Make friends with our cat, brother.”

027 sa pasedjalu-i anga, sana îiadedet, sana kakan

sa pa-se-djalu-i anga sa-na îia-de-det sa-na ka-kan

and cause-invol-peace-pf indeed and-then be.in-red-near and-then red-eat

tua sinitseviq ni Tjikunal.

tua in=si-tseviq ni Tjikunal

obl perf=if-segment by (name)

So he made friends with it, and then it came near and ate the bits of food which Tjikunal broke off for it.

Tjikunal straightaway made a hat out of paper and put it on. When he looked in the mirror he looked very splendid. So he said: “I must go and hunt a bear.” He had miscanthus grass for a sword and held a bit of bamboo as a spear, and went out into the forecourt of the house. His sibling Kaîikaîi saw him, and asked: “What are you going to do, brother?” Tjikunal answered: “I’m going to hunt a bear.” So Kaîikaîi said: “What are you doing with that grass and bamboo?” He answered: “That’s not grass or bamboo; this is my sword and my spear.” “Oh, I see. Take me with you, brother,” said Kaîikaîi.

So they went looking for bears, but didn’t find any. So Kaîikaîi said: “Where are the bears, brother?” “Over there; we’ll soon see them,” said Tjikunal. After quite a time their cat emerged. “Why, it’s our cat, brother. Don’t kill it,” said Kaîikaîi. But Tjikunal just raised his weapons and chased it. Kaîikaîi followed him saying: “Don’t don’t; it’s our cat, brother; the poor thing.” When Tjikunal failed to catch up with the cat, he took off his hat and threw away the grass and bamboo he had been holding, and went indoors. So their mother gave the siblings a roasted sweet potato each. While they were eating, their cat came in; but it was very shy and wouldn’t go near them. Kaîikaîi said to Tjikunal: “Make friends with our cat, brother.” So he made friends with it, and then it came near and ate the bits of food which Tjikunal broke off for it.

#### 081 MICE SOLDIERS told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village (possibly a story originally from Japan)

001 izua za itua matjaita umaq izua za ngiaw a ita.

i-zua zua i-tua matja-ita umaq i-zua zua ngiaw a ita

loc-that that loc-obl num-one house loc-that that cat c one

Once upon a time in a house there was a cat.

002 qau djuîam aravats azua ngiaw tua zua qiqi.

qau djuîam a-ravats a-zua ngiaw tua zua qiqi

so expert c-true c-that cat obl that mouse

The cat was very good at catching mice.

003 manu mazepzep azua mareka aîak nua qiqi: “aku ika

manu ma-zepzep a-zua mareka aîak nua qiqi aku ika

then stat-converse c-that many child of mouse why not

nakisumavan sa tja matjaîaîak tua kiqetsi?

na-ki-su-ma-avan tsa tja matja-îaîak tua ki-qetsi

past-do-remove-stat-exact this our(inc) num-child obl do-fight

So the mice children discussed together: “Why don’t our parents do anything about fighting the cat?

004 ku pai ari tja sikasavidan a kake÷ian sa tja

ku pai ari tja si-ka-savid-an a ka-ke÷i-an sa tja

well well go.on we(inc) if-stat-same-nom c red-small-nom and we(inc)

qetsii azua ngiaw a namalalap tua tja sevalitan,”

qetsi-i a-zua ngiaw a na-m-al-alap tua tja se-valit-an

fight-pf c-that cat c past-af-red-take obl our(inc) person.of-exchange-nom

aya, sa kaqepuqepu a mazepzep.

aya sa ka-qepu-qepu a ma-zepzep

say and stat-red-associate c stat-converse

So come on! Let us children go it alone and kill the cat that has taken our ancestors,” so they got together to discuss it.

[qetsii: was qetsi]

005 ka marasudj, mapangapangaî tiamadju tua uri tjaîuqulu a kemats,

ka ma-rasudj ma-panga-pangaî ti-a-madju tua uri tjaîu-qulu a em=kats

after stat-align stat-red-portion f-pl-3rd.pers obl will until-head c af=bite

tua tjaîuuquî, sana vaivaik.

tua tjaîu-uquî sa-na vai-vaik

obl until-back and-then red-leave

When they had agreed, they were divided up into those who would bite the cat’s head and those who would bite its back, and off they went.

006 manu malesles tiamadju, sa senay a djemaladjalan: “makaya men

manu ma-lesles ti-a-madju sa senay a em=djala-djalan ma-kaya amen

then stat-line f-pl-3rd.pers and chant c af=red-road stat-able f.we(exc)

aravats.

a-ravats

c-true So they lined up and sang as they went: “We are very strong.

007 keîu samaza-u a ngiaw; nia su papatsayaw,” aya

keî-u sa-maza-u a ngiaw nia su pa-patsay-aw aya

come-imp go-here-imp c cat we(exc) you(s) cause-die-lf say

tiamadju a pasiqatsangata.

ti-a-madju a pa-si-qatsa-anga-ta

f-pl-3rd.pers c cause-if-big-indeed-?

Come here, cat. We’re going to kill you,” they said very loudly.

008 manu langdan nazua vuluvulung a qiqi.

manu langeda-an nua-zua vulu-vulung a qiqi

then hear-lf by-that red-old c mouse An old mouse heard them,

009 “semainu amen aya mun a sedjeî a kake÷ian?

em=sa-inu amen aya mun a sedjeî a ka-ke÷i-an

af=go-where f.we(exc) say f.you(p) c only c red-small-nom

and said: “Where do you think you are going, you children all on your own?

[amen: quoted speech in translation, direct speech in text]

010 kemuda sa nu kakaya a qemtsi tua ngiaw?” ayain.

em=kuda sa nu ka-kaya a m=qetsi tua ngiaw aya-en

af=do.what and you(p) stat-able c af=fight obl cat say-pf

How can you kill the cat?”

011 îakua, “malitseng.

îakua ma-litseng

but stat-quiet But they answered: “Be quiet.

012 pai patsutsunu amen.

pai pa-tsu-tsun-u amen

well cause-red-see-imp f.we(exc) Just watch us.

013 tjara nia qetsin,” aya temvela, sa puarut sakamaya.

tjara nia qetsi-en aya em=tevela sa puarut sakamaya

surely we(exc) fight-pf say af=answer and straight only

We’ll certainly kill it,” and they just went on.

014 ka tjaîu qinaîivan tiamadju, semkez anan a pakeîang tua uri

ka tjaîu in=qaîiw-an ti-a-madju m=sekez anan a pa-keîang tua uri

after reach perf=roof-nom f-pl-3rd.pers af=rest still c cause-know obl will

pakazuanan.

pa-maka-zua-an-an

cause-via-that-nom-nom

When they got to the roof, they paused for instructions about the route.

015 “ari,” ka ayain nazua kamakama niamadju, vaik a sema teku a

ari ka aya-en nua-zua kama-kama ni-a-madju vaik a em=sa teku a

go.on after say-pf by-that red-father of-pl-3rd.pers leave c af=go down c

mapuîat a kipagaîu.

ma-puîat a ki-pa-gaîu

num-all c do-cause-slow

When their leader said: “Let’s go,” they all went below slowly.

016 ka manu sarigsig tiamadju, patseged azua ngiaw sa pangiaw.

ka manu ar=sigsig ti-a-madju pa-tseged a-zua ngiaw sa pa-ngiaw

after then qal=scratch f-pl-3rd.pers cause-alert c-that cat and cause-cat

But when they made a scratching noise the cat woke up and miaowed.

017 ka lemangda tiamadju, “ari,” nuka ayain nua kamakama, migerger

ka em=langeda ti-a-madju ari nuka aya-en nua kama-kama m-igerger

after af=hear f-pl-3rd.pers go.on even say-pf by red-father af-tremble

anga sakamaya a mapuîat.

anga sakamaya a ma-puîat

indeed only c num-all

When they heard that, even though the leader said: “Come on,” they all just shook with fear.

018 ka migatsaî azua ngiaw, tjara mavilavilad anga tiamadju.

ka mi-gatsaî a-zua ngiaw tjara ma-vila-vilad anga ti-a-madju

after af-stand c-that cat surely stat-red-flee indeed f-pl-3rd.pers

When the cat got up, they all just ran away.

019 azua zuma tjeqelas; azua zuma makelu tua qutjavan.

a-zua zuma tje-qelas a-zua zuma ma-kelu tua qutjaw-an

c-that other do.at-slip c-that other stat-fall obl hurry-nom

Some slipped and some fell in their hurry.

020 ka tjaîu umaq anga, “pai kayaya ken,” ayain anga nazua

ka tjaîu umaq anga pai ka-ay-aya aken aya-en anga nua-zua

after reach house indeed well ?-red-say f.I say-pf indeed by-that

vuluvulung a qiqi, sa kapedjelian.

vulu-vulung a qiqi sa ka-pe-djeli-an

red-old c mouse and ?-emerge-laugh-lf

When they got back home, the old mouse said: “I told you so,” and laughed at them.

021 azua mareka kake÷ian a qiqi: “ku maya tja parutan

a-zua mareka ka-ke÷i-an a qiqi ku ma-aya tja parut-an

c-that many red-small-nom c mouse well stat-be.thus our(inc) weak-nom

a maya,” ayanga tiamadju a kisan ngeli a mapuîat.

a ma-aya aya-anga ti-a-madju a ki-sane ngeli a ma-puîat

c stat-be.thus say-indeed f-pl-3rd.pers c do-make friend c num-all

And the mice children all said: “How weak we are after all,” laughing at themselves.

[for kisan ngeli ‘laugh at’ see F186]

Once upon a time in a house there was a cat. The cat was very good at catching mice. So the mice children discussed together: “Why don’t our parents do anything about fighting the cat? So come on! Let us children go it alone and kill the cat that has taken our ancestors.” So they got together to discuss it. When they had agreed, they were divided up into those who would bite the cat’s head and those who would bite its back, and off they went. So they lined up and sang as they went: “We are very strong. Come here, cat. We’re going to kill you,” they said very loudly.

An old mouse heard them, and said: “Where do you think you are going, you children all on your own? How can you kill the cat?” But they answered: “Be quiet. Just watch us. We’ll certainly kill it,” and they just went on. When they got to the roof, they paused for instructions about the route. When their leader said: “Let’s go,” they all went below slowly. But when they made a scratching noise the cat woke up and miaowed. When they heard that, even though the leader said: “Come on,” they all just shook with fear. When the cat got up, they all just ran away. Some slipped and some fell in their hurry. When they got back home, the old mouse said: “I told you so,” and laughed at them. And the mice children all said: “How weak we are after all,” laughing at themselves.

#### 082 OWLS AND CHILDREN told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village

001 aitsu a îequ nu qezemezemetj a sipangtjengtjezan a

aya-i-tsu a îequ nu zeme=qezemetj a si-pa-ngetje-ngetjez-an a

be.thus-loc-this c owl.sp when red=night c if-cause-red-come-nom c

paîequ.

pa-îequ

cause-owl.sp It is at night that owls come and hoot.

002 anema tja keîang tuki anema sipangtjengtjez nua îequ

a-nema tja keîang tu-ki a-nema si-pa-ngetje-ngetjez nua îequ

?-what we(inc) know compl-how ?-what if-cause-red-come by owl.sp

nu qezemezemetj a paîequ.

nu zeme=qezemetj a pa-îequ

when red=night c cause-owl.sp

We don’t know the reason why owls come and hoot at night.

003 îakua uri keman tua kake÷ian mana sipangtjengtjez, tja

îakua uri em=kan tua ka-ke÷i-an ma-avan-a si-pa-ngetje-ngetjez tja

but will af=eat obl red-small-nom stat-exact-? if-cause-red-come we(inc)

ayain anga a mareka kake÷ian a benuru.

aya-en anga a mareka ka-ke÷i-an a en=buru

say-pf indeed c many red-small-nom c af=tell.lie

But we lie to our children and tell them they come to eat children.

004 aitsu nu qemauqaung, nu tsemulitsuli, nu ika

aya-i-tsu nu em=qau-qaung nu em=tsuli-tsuli nu ika

be.thus-loc-this when af=red-cry when af=red-lose.appetite when not

kilangda nu tja qaqivuin a mareka tja aîak, “ku

ki-langeda nu tja qa-qivu-en a mareka tja aîak ku

do-hear when we(inc) red-speak-pf c many our(inc) child I

sidjauîan tua îequ, uîa sun a kani,” nu tja ayain,

si-djauî-an tua îequ uîa sun a kan-i nu tja aya-en

past-call-lf obl owl.sp so.that f.you(s) c eat-pf when we(inc) say-pf

patjezuanga tua qemaung tua maîekuya.

pa-tje-zua-anga tua em=qaung tua ma-îe-kuya

cause-do.at-that-indeed obl af=cry obl stat-go.to-bad

When our children cry or won’t eat or don’t do what we say, if we say: “I’ll call the owl to eat you up”, then they stop crying or being bad.

005 a îequ ika uri kemîakeîang tuki karekurekutji timadju.

a îequ ika uri em=keîa-keîang tu-ki ka-reku-rekutj-i ti-madju

c owl.sp not will af=red-know compl-how become-red-fear-pf f-3rd.pers

The owl won’t know that he is used to frighten children;

006 qau saka kakarekutjan nua kake÷ian timadju.

qau sa-ka ka-ka-rekutj-an nua ka-ke÷i-an ti-madju

so and-after main-stat-fear-nom by red-small-nom f-3rd.pers

but he still is a bogey for children.

007 a kake÷ian uta ika uri kemîakeîang tuki qayaqayam

a ka-ke÷i-an uta ika uri em=keîa-keîang tu-ki qaya-qayam

c red-small-nom also not will af=red-know compl-how red-bird

a ika uri kemuda a karekurekutjan niamadju.

a ika uri em=kuda a ka-reku-rekutj-an ni-a-madju

c not will af=do.what c become-red-fear-lf by-pl-3rd.pers

And the children aren’t to know that what they are frightened of is a bird that won’t do anything to them.

It is at night that owls come and hoot. We don’t know the reason why owls come and hoot at night. But we lie to our children and tell them they come to eat children. And the children aren’t to know that what they are frightened of is a bird that won’t do anything to them. When our children cry or won’t eat or don’t do what we say, we say: “I’ll call the owl to eat you up,” and then they stop crying or being bad. The owl won’t know that he is used to frighten children; but he still is a bogey for children. And the children aren’t to know that what they are frightened of is a bird that won’t do anything to them.

#### 083 PANGOLIN (ANT-EATER) told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village

001 aitsu a qam tjara kemîang itjen a mapuîat,

aya-i-tsu a qam tjara m=keîang itjen a ma-puîat

be.thus-loc-this c ant.eater surely af=know f.we(inc) c num-all

aitsu a qam matsaqu aravats a kemali tua qipu, saka

aya-i-tsu a qam ma-tsaqu a-ravats a em=kali tua qipu sa-ka

be.thus-loc-this c ant.eater stat-able c-true c af=dig obl soil and-after

pazangal aravats a djameqen.

pa-zangal a-ravats a djameq-en

cause-hope c-true c catch-pf

We all know about pangolins; they are very good at digging in the earth, and very hard to catch.

002 nu inika sitjara kiqam a tsautsau, inika djemamedjameq a

nu ini-ka si-tjara ki-qam a tsau-tsau ini-ka em=djame-djameq a

when not-after if-surely do-ant.eater c red-being not-after af=red-catch c

paqeteleng.

pa-qeteleng

cause-randomly

People can’t catch them any old how without being specialists at catching them.

003 aitsu a qam tja keîangen a mapuîat tu

aya-i-tsu a qam tja keîang-en a ma-puîat tu

be.thus-loc-this c ant.eater we(inc) know-pf c num-all compl

rusiaqan; kana manu, sinipasan qam sun, ayaya

ru-siaq-an ka-na manu in=si-pa-sane qam sun ay-aya

many-shame-nom after-then then perf=if-cause-make ant.eater f.you(s) red-say

itjen tua rusiaqan.

itjen tua ru-siaq-an

f.we(inc) obl many-shame-nom

We all know they are very shy. That’s why we say to a shy person: you’ve become a pangolin.

004 aitsu a qam sasiq a kakanen.

aya-i-tsu a qam sasiq a ka-kan-en

be.thus-loc-this c ant.eater ant c red-eat-pf Pangolins feed on ants.

005 saka nu patsun tua sasiq maligiî aravats.

sa-ka nu pa-tsun tua sasiq ma-ligiî a-ravats

and-after when cause-see obl ant stat-deceive c-true

When they see ants they are very clever;

006 kirimu a kembung timadju, sa tselaki aza qauîivan nimadju,

ki-rimu a m=kebung ti-madju sa tselak-i a-zua qauîivan ni-madju

do-quick c af=lie.flat f-3rd.pers and open-pf c-that scale of-3rd.pers

saka mimatsayan.

sa-ka mi-m-patsay-an

and-after pretend-af-die-lf

they quickly lie down and open their scales and pretend to be dead.

[mimatsayan: see F21, can’t tell if -an is lf or nom]

007 qau nu tevuta azua mareka sasiq a sema taladj tazua mareka

qau nu te-vuta a-zua mareka sasiq a em=sa taladj ta-zua mareka

so when do-appear c-that many ant c af=go inside obl-that many

qauîivan, tsaqevan anga nimadju tazua qauîivan nimadju; sa

qauîivan tsaqev-an anga ni-madju ta-zua qauîivan ni-madju sa

scale lid-lf indeed by-3rd.pers obl-that scale of-3rd.pers and

vaikan anga a sema tua zaîum a tsemlak ta qauîivan nimadju.

vaik-an anga a em=sa tua zaîum a m=tselak ta qauîivan ni-madju

leave-lf indeed c af=go obl water c af=open obl scale of-3rd.pers

When the ants come and get inside the scales, they close the scales, go to water, and there open the scales.

008 nu setjavaw anga azua mareka sasiq, gaîuin anga nimadju

nu se-tja-vaw anga a-zua mareka sasiq gaîu-en anga ni-madju

when invol-more-above indeed c-that many ant slow-pf indeed by-3rd.pers

a keman, aya.

a em=kan aya

c af=eat say When the ants float to the surface, they eat them at their leisure.

009 aitsu a vutjuî nusa qam sanguaq aravats, aya.

aya-i-tsu a vutjuî nu-tsa qam sa-nguaq a-ravats aya

be.thus-loc-this c meat of-this ant.eater qal-good c-true say

Pangolin meat is said to be very tasty;

010 îakua anema tja keîang nu ika tjen a nakilingaw anga

îakua a-nema tja keîang nu ika tjen a na-ki-lingaw anga

but ?-what we(inc) know when not f.we(inc) c past-do-know indeed

keman, saka kemîang itjen tu namakuda a pasa

em=kan sa-ka m=keîang itjen tu na-ma-kuda a pa-sa

af=eat and-after af=know f.we(inc) compl past-stat-do.what c cause-go

sanguaq?

sa-nguaq

qal-good

but how can we know if we haven’t had the experience of eating it and finding out how tasty it is?

011 a ti nakeman anga mana ki kemîang.

a ti na-em=kan anga ma-avan-a ki m=keîang

c f.h past-af=eat indeed stat-exact-? do af=know

Those who have eaten it know.

We all know about pangolins; they are very good at digging in the earth, and very hard to catch. People can’t catch them any old how without being specialists at catching them. We all know they are very shy. That’s why we say to a shy person: you’ve become a pangolin. Pangolins feed on ants. When they see ants they are very clever; they quickly lie down and open their scales and pretend to be dead. When the ants come and get inside the scales, they close the scales, go to water, and there open the scales. When the ants float to the surface, they eat them at their leisure. Pangolin meat is said to be very tasty; but how can we know if we haven’t had the experience of eating it and finding out how tasty it is? Those who have eaten it know.

#### 084 PIYAQAN AND TSABïIïAQ told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village

001 izua za mareqali tia Piyaqan kati Tsabîiîaq.

i-zua zua mare-qali ti-a Piyaqan ka-ti Tsabîiîaq

loc-that that pair-friend f.h-pl (name) and-f.h (name)

There were two friends called Piyaqan and Tsabîiîaq.

002 “ari kivala-i, qalian, sema ta vavayavayan,” aya ti Piyaqan.

ari ki-vala-i qali-an em=sa ta vaya=vavayan aya ti Piyaqan

go.on self-able-hort friend-nom af=go obl red=female say f.h (name)

“Come on, friend, let’s go and visit the girls,” said Piyaqan.

[kivala-i: vala has a wide variety of meanings]

003 “ari,” aya ti Tsabîiîaq.

ari aya ti Tsabîiîaq

go.on say f.h (name) “Let’s go,” said Tsabîiîaq.

004 vaik tia mareqali a kivala sema tua vavayavayan.

vaik ti-a mare-qali a ki-vala em=sa tua vaya=vavayan

leave f.h-pl pair-friend c self-able af=go obl red=female

So the friends went to visit the girls.

005 tjumaq tia mareqali.

tju-umaq ti-a mare-qali

there-house f.h-pl pair-friend The friends went indoors.

006 “kasinu mun, îa ki÷i,” aya ti Piyaqan taza sudju nimadju a

kasi-inu mun îa ki÷i aya ti Piyaqan ta-zua sudju ni-madju a

from-where f.you(p) oh Miss say f.h (name) obl-that sweetheart of-3rd.pers c

ti Kaîaîuîaîu.

ti Kaîaîuîaîu

f.h (name)

“Where have you been to, girls?” said Piyaqan to his girl-friend Kaîaîuîaîu.

007 “na i umaq amen; ‘ka i umaqi anga,’ ka aya mun

na i umaq amen ka i umaq-i anga ka aya mun

past loc house f.we(exc) after loc house-hort indeed after say f.you(p)

tjanuamen.

tjanu-amen

obl-we(exc) “We’ve been at home; seeing that you said ‘Let’s stay at home’.

008 qau kasinu mun avuaq?” aya ti Kaîaîuîaîu.

qau kasi-inu mun a-vuaq aya ti Kaîaîuîaîu

so from-where f.you(p) ?-today say f.h (name)

And where have you been today?” said Kaîaîuîaîu.

009 “namaya na i umaq amen uta.

na-ma-aya na i umaq amen uta

past-stat-be.thus past loc house f.we(exc) also “We’ve been at home too.

010 îakua ika men a napatsun tjanusun.

îakua ika amen a na-pa-tsun tjanu-sun

but not f.we(exc) c past-cause-see obl-you(s) But we didn’t see you.

011 ‘aki maya sema vavua,’ aya men.”

aki ma-aya em=sa va-vua aya amen

how stat-be.thus af=go red-field say f.we(exc)

We thought you must have gone to the fields,” (said Piyaqan).

012 “navaik aken a venateq,” aya ti Kaîaîuîaîu.

na-vaik aken a en=vateq aya ti Kaîaîuîaîu

past-leave f.I c af=wash say f.h (name)

“I went to wash clothes,” said Kaîaîuîaîu.

013 “djaîepan a ika men a napatsun tjanusun; manu navaik

djaîep-an a ika amen a na-pa-tsun tjanu-sun manu na-vaik

fit-nom c not f.we(exc) c past-cause-see obl-you(s) then past-leave

sun a venateq,” aya ti Piyaqan.

sun a en=vateq aya ti Piyaqan

f.you(s) c af=wash say f.h (name)

“So that’s why we didn’t see you; you went to wash clothes,” said Piyaqan.

014 pai izua za qali a ti Tsabîiîaq ika qivuivu.

pai i-zua zua qali a ti Tsabîiîaq ika ivu=qivu

well loc-that that friend c f.h (name) not red=speak

Well his friend Tsabîiîaq didn’t say a word.

015 “makuda sun, qalian?

ma-kuda sun qali-an

stat-do.what f.you(s) friend-nom “What’s the matter with you, friend?

016 ika sun a qivuivu,” aya ti Piyaqan taza qali nimadju.

ika sun a ivu=qivu aya ti Piyaqan ta-zua qali ni-madju

not f.you(s) c red=speak say f.h (name) obl-that friend of-3rd.pers

You haven’t said a word,” said Piyaqan to his friend.

017 “nuki ken a makuda tutsu; tjemengez aken sakamaya,” aya ti

nu-ki aken a ma-kuda tu-tsu em=tjengez aken sakamaya aya ti

of-how f.I c stat-do.what obl-this af=nap f.I only say f.h

Tsabîiîaq.

Tsabîiîaq

(name)

“I don’t know what’s the matter with me now; I just feel sleepy,” said Tsabîiîaq.

018 “pai kataqedan, kama i Tsabîiîaq, nu tjemengez sun,” aya ti

pai ka-taqed-an kama i Tsabîiîaq nu em=tjengez sun aya ti

well ?-sleep-nom father which (name) when af=nap f.you(s) say f.h

Kaîaîuîaîu.

Kaîaîuîaîu

(name)

“Well have a sleep then, old Tsabîiîaq, if you’re sleepy,” said Kaîaîuîaîu.

019 pai qemereng ti Tsabîiîaq.

pai em=qereng ti Tsabîiîaq

well af=lie.down f.h (name) So Tsabîiîaq lay down.

020 ini anan ka sekataqed.

ini anan ka se-ka-taqed

not still after invol-?-sleep He didn’t go fast asleep;

021 manu namitaqedan ti Tsabîiîaq.

manu na-mi-taqed-an ti Tsabîiîaq

then past-pretend-sleep-lf f.h (name) he just pretended to go to sleep.

022 “aku a sidudu nusa ti qalian a nataqed,” aya ti Piyaqan.

aku a si-dudu nu-tsa ti qali-an a na-taqed aya ti Piyaqan

why c if-angry of-this f.h friend-nom c past-sleep say f.h (name)

“Blast this friend who has gone to sleep!” said Piyaqan.

023 manu kirimu a paqetjutj ti Piyaqan.

manu ki-rimu a pa-qetjutj ti Piyaqan

then do-quick c cause-break.wind f.h (name) Straightaway Piyaqan broke wind.

024 “ha qalian, uza paqeqe anga sa kuka.

ha qali-an uza pa-qeqe anga tsa kuka

aha friend-nom here cause-crow indeed this chicken

“Come on, friend, the cocks are crowing;

025 gatsaîu,” aya ti Piyaqan tjai Tsabîiîaq.

gatsaî-u aya ti Piyaqan tjai Tsabîiîaq

stand-imp say f.h (name) obl.h (name) get up!” said Piyaqan to Tsabîiîaq.

026 pai migatsaî ti Tsabîiîaq.

pai mi-gatsaî ti Tsabîiîaq

well af-stand f.h (name) Tsabîiîaq got up.

027 “ika ken a nataqed, qalian,” aya ti Tsabîiîaq.

ika aken a na-taqed qali-an aya ti Tsabîiîaq

not f.I c past-sleep friend-nom say f.h (name)

“I wasn’t asleep, friend,” said Tsabîiîaq.

028 manu ka paqetjutj ti Piyaqan, sipapazini taza qali

manu ka pa-qetjutj ti Piyaqan si-pa-pa-zini ta-zua qali

then after cause-break.wind f.h (name) if-cause-cause-blame obl-that friend

nimadju a ti Tsabîiîaq.

ni-madju a ti Tsabîiîaq

of-3rd.pers c f.h (name)

So when Piyaqan broke wind he tried to put the blame on his friend Tsabîiîaq.

029 îakua manu ika nataqed.

îakua manu ika na-taqed

but then not past-sleep But he hadn’t been asleep.

030 pai keîangen tu timadju a napaqetjutj naza

pai keîang-en tu ti-madju a na-pa-qetjutj nua-zua

well know-pf compl f-3rd.pers c past-cause-break.wind by-that

vavayavayan.

vaya=vavayan

red=female So the girls knew that it was Piyaqan who had broken wind.

031 pai kasuqelaman anga sakamaya ti Piyaqan naza

pai ka-su-qelam-an anga sakamaya ti Piyaqan nua-zua

well main-remove-reluctant-nom indeed only f.h (name) of-that

vavayavayan.

vaya=vavayan

red=female So the girls disliked Piyaqan after that.

[kasuqelaman: ‘object of disgust’]

032 pai titjen nu ruburu itjen, kasuqelaman itjen

pai ti-tjen nu ru-buru itjen ka-su-qelam-an itjen

well f-we(inc) when many-tell.lie f.we(inc) main-remove-reluctant-nom f.we(inc)

nua tja salasaladj.

nua tja sala-saladj

by our(inc) red-companion If we are liars our companions won’t like us.

033 ika tjen a kinasaluan nua qaliqali.

ika tjen a in=ka-salu-an nua qali-qali

not f.we(inc) c perf=stat-believe-lf by red-friend

People won’t trust us.

There were two friends called Piyaqan and Tsabîiîaq. “Come on, friend, let’s go and visit the girls,” said Piyaqan. “Let’s go,” said Tsabîiîaq. So the friends went to visit the girls. The friends went indoors. “Where have you been to, girls?” said Piyaqan to his girl-friend Kaîaîuîaîu. “We’ve been at home; seeing that you said ‘Let’s stay at home’. And where have you been today?” said Kaîaîuîaîu. “We’ve been at home too. But we didn’t see you. We thought you must have gone to the fields,” (said Piyaqan). “I went to wash clothes,” said Kaîaîuîaîu. “So that’s why we didn’t see you; you went to wash clothes,” said Piyaqan.

Well his friend Tsabîiîaq didn’t say a word. “What’s the matter with you, friend? You haven’t said a word,” said Piyaqan to his friend. “I don’t know what’s the matter with me now; I just feel sleepy,” said Tsabîiîaq. “Well have a sleep then, old Tsabîiîaq, if you’re sleepy,” said Kaîaîuîaîu. So Tsabîiîaq lay down. He didn’t go fast asleep; he just pretended to go to sleep. “Blast this friend who has gone to sleep!” said Piyaqan. Straightaway Piyaqan broke wind. “Come on, friend, the cocks are crowing; get up!” said Piyaqan to Tsabîiîaq. Tsabîiîaq got up. “I wasn’t asleep, friend,” said Tsabîiîaq. So when Piyaqan broke wind he tried to put the blame on his friend Tsabîiîaq. But he hadn’t been asleep. So the girls knew that it was Piyaqan who had broken wind. So the girls disliked Piyaqan after that. If we are liars our companions won’t like us. People won’t trust us.

#### 085 SHAMAN told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village

001 malada nu aya, maretimaîimaîi a tsemas niamadju.

ma-lada nu aya mare-ti-maîi-maîi a tsemas ni-a-madju

stat-ritual when say pair-?-red-different c god of-pl-3rd.pers

When we speak of shamans, they have various gods.

002 îakua tjara tadjaladjalan a sidjapesan a sikapalisian a pagaîu.

îakua tjara ta-djala-djalan a si-djapes-an a si-ka-palisi-an a pa-gaîu

but surely one-red-road c if-breathe-nom c if-?-taboo-nom c cause-slow

But they are all more or less the same in their blowing (and) rituals.

[pagaîu: means ‘a little’ here]

003 aitsu a malada nu izua saqetju djapesen niamadju.

aya-i-tsu a ma-lada nu i-zua saqetju djapes-en ni-a-madju

be.thus-loc-this c stat-ritual when loc-that painful breathe-pf by-pl-3rd.pers

When someone is in pain the shamans blow on them.

004 nu selapay sitjetsemas niamadju a malada, sa djauîan tua

nu se-lapay si-tje-tsemas ni-a-madju a ma-lada sa djauî-an tua

when invol-severe if-do.at-god by-pl-3rd.pers c stat-ritual and call-lf obl

salasaladj niamadju, sana kapalisilisi niamadju.

sala-saladj ni-a-madju sa-na ka-lisi=palisi ni-a-madju

red-companion of-pl-3rd.pers and-then ?-red=taboo by-pl-3rd.pers

If it’s a severe case the shamans go into a trance for them and summon their spirit companions and perform rites.

005 qau nu palisi tiamadju, venay itjen tua tjinutsauan.

qau nu palisi ti-a-madju en=vay itjen tua in=tju-tsau-an

so when taboo f-pl-3rd.pers af=give f.we(inc) obl perf=apart-being-nom

When they perform rites, we give gifts for the spirits.

006 vaqu a sipatjutsautsau.

vaqu a si-pa-tju-tsau-tsau

millet c if-cause-apart-red-being

Millet is the gift for summoning spirits to human beings(?).

007 nu neka, paisu anga, lami anga a zuma.

nu neka paisu anga lami anga a zuma

when no money indeed staple.food indeed c other

If we haven’t any, then money or some other staple food.

008 saka izua uta a sinikipapuluqem a sinitjuap a

sa-ka i-zua uta a in=si-ki-pa-pu-luqem a in=si-tjuap a

and-after loc-that also c perf=if-do-cause-have-fortune c perf=if-signal c

sinikipuvatjuîayan a tja pinakitjukuda nu venay

in=si-ki-pu-vatjuîayan a tja in=pa-ki-tju-kuda nu en=vay

perf=if-do-have-iron c we(inc) perf=cause-do-apart-do.what when af=give

itjen.

itjen

f.we(inc)

And we also differentiate between gifts for success, for summoning spirits, for charms(?).

[pinakitjukuda ‘differentiate’]

009 nu selapay aravats tja sitsuîu tua qatsang.

nu se-lapay a-ravats tja si-tsuîu tua qatsang

when invol-severe c-true we(inc) if-butcher obl pig

If it’s a very serious case we kill a pig.

010 nu tsemuîu izua za zinatjak aya a sinipatjavang tua

nu em=tsuîu i-zua zua in=zatjak aya a in=si-pa-tjavang tua

when af=butcher loc-that that perf=arrangement say c perf=if-cause-cup obl

tsemas.

tsemas

god

When we kill it, part is ‘set aside’ as an offering to the gods (to be eaten only by the immediate family).

[patjavang: F293 has tjavang ‘a cup without handles’, so with pa- means ‘to offer’]

011 azua zuma nu vutjuîan mana ika makudanga a kanen nua

a-zua zuma nu vutjuî-an ma-avan-a ika ma-kuda-anga a kan-en nua

c-that other of meat-nom stat-exact-? not stat-do.what-indeed c eat-pf by

mareka kaka.

mareka kaka

many sibling The rest of the meat can be eaten by the relations.

012 aitsu a qemazaî tjara kitsuîu sakamaya.

aya-i-tsu a em=qazaî tjara ki-tsuîu sakamaya

be.thus-loc-this c af=dread surely do-butcher only

When there is a haunting(?) we certainly join in a sacrificial feast.

013 azua malada nu izua a naminvalak, sualapan tua mareka

a-zua ma-lada nu i-zua a na-min-valak su-alap-an tua mareka

c-that stat-ritual when loc-that c past-af-swell remove-take-lf obl many

qatsiîay tua mareka valiseqaî tua mareka qidung.

qatsiîay tua mareka valiseqaî tua mareka qidung

stone obl many wood.chip obl many charcoal

When someone has a swelling the shaman removes it with stones, wood-chips or charcoal.

[naminvalak: constituency? F335 has m-ine-valak, F482 has mi-ne-valak and m-i-ne-velak.]

014 nu izua piqay, nu naminvalak a tja kinatsavatsavan,

nu i-zua piqay nu na-min-valak a tja in=ka-tsava-tsavan

when loc-that wound when past-af-swell c our(inc) perf=main-red-body

malaing anga a nasema varung tjayamadju tua siqaqivu.

ma-laing anga a na-em=sa varung tjai-a-madju tua si-qa-qivu

stat-follow indeed c past-af=go chest obl-pl-3rd.pers obl if-red-speak

If we have sores or swellings on our bodies, the shamans say whatever comes to their minds to explain it.

015 vinuîuq aya.

in=vuîuq aya

perf=throw say We are told that spirits have thrown something at us,

016 djinukul aya.

in=djukul aya

perf=beat say have hit us,

017 sinizurung sun aya.

in=si-zurung sun aya

perf=if-push f.you(s) say have pushed us,

018 nasetsevung sun ayain itjen.

na-se-tsevung sun aya-en itjen

past-invol-meet f.you(s) say-pf f.we(inc) or we have met a spirit.

019 aitsu a malada makaya djemauî tua tja tjaisangas

aya-i-tsu a ma-lada ma-kaya em=djauî tua tja tja-i-sangas

be.thus-loc-this c stat-ritual stat-able af=call obl our(inc) more-loc-first

sa tja kiqaqivuan.

sa tja ki-qa-qivu-an

and we(inc) do-red-speak-lf

Shamans can summon our ancestors so that we can converse with them.

020 nu izua a tja sikivadavadaq, paruqu itjen tua zaqu.

nu i-zua a tja si-ki-vada-vadaq pa-ruqu itjen tua zaqu

when loc-that c we(inc) if-do-red-ask cause-roll f.we(inc) obl crystal.bead

If we have a question we put a crystal bead (on a gourd).

021 nu sitseker, îemaui aya.

nu si-tseker em=îa-ui aya

when if-stop af=really-yes say If it stays on, the answer is Yes.

022 izua i tjarivavaw a umaq nua tsemas.

i-zua i tjari-va-vaw a umaq nua tsemas

loc-that loc utmost-red-above c house of god The gods live in heaven.

023 nu ini anan ka patjeîuin inika makaya a tjumaq i

nu ini anan ka pa-tjeîu-en ini-ka ma-kaya a tju-umaq i

when not still after cause-cross.river-pf not-after stat-able c there-house loc

tjarivavaw.

tjari-va-vaw

utmost-red-above If a shaman hasn’t yet qualified she can’t get into heaven.

[patjeîuin: metaphorical use for ‘cross over river’ to mean ‘qualify’.]

024 qau nu tjumaq i tjarivavaw, ventjek azua malada.

qau nu tju-umaq i tjari-va-vaw n=vetjek a-zua ma-lada

so when there-house loc utmost-red-above af=segment c-that stat-ritual

When a shaman is going to enter heaven, she performs a rite of breaking bamboo.

025 nu uri malada tiamadju mesuaw a gemdeged sana

nu uri ma-lada ti-a-madju me-suaw a em=gedged sa-na

when will stat-ritual f-pl-3rd.pers af-yawn c af=repeat and-then

pangtjengtjezi, sana sane djaladjalan.

pa-ngetje-ngetjez-i sa-na sane djala-djalan

cause-red-come-pf and-then make red-road

When shamans are going to perform a trance rite, they yawn repeatedly and then the spirits come on them, and they make their way (to heaven).

026 nu qematsuvung seman djalan uta sana patjezua.

nu em=qa-tsuvung em=sane djalan uta sa-na pa-tje-zua

when af=?-complete af=make road also and-then cause-do.at-that

When they have finished they make a way back and that’s the end.

027 nu makakivaqu pakasalut tua tsemas; nu

nu maka-ki-vaqu pa-ka-salut tua tsemas nu

when finished-do-millet cause-?-harvest.rite obl god when

makakiîumay uta.

maka-ki-îumay uta

finished-do-millet.sp also

When we have finished harvesting millet we make a feast for the gods, and also when we have finished harvesting barnyard millet.

028 azua zuma nu maladan palisi a tjemamaku, palisi a keman tua

a-zua zuma nu ma-lada-an palisi a em=tjamaku palisi a em=kan tua

c-that other of stat-ritual-nom taboo c af=tobacco taboo c af=eat obl

paday tua masikau.

paday tua ma-sikau

rice obl stat-net.bag

For some shamans smoking is taboo, and also eating rice and wine from the plains(?).

029 îakua inika palisi a zuma.

îakua ini-ka palisi a zuma

but not-after taboo c other But for some there is no such taboo.

030 nu sangasangasan vayan tua zaqu a mapuîat.

nu sanga-sangas-an vay-an tua zaqu a ma-puîat

when red-first-nom give-lf obl crystal.bead c num-all

When shamans begin they are all given a crystal bead.

031 îakua neka nu patsutsunan niamadju a tsemas.

îakua neka nu pa-tsu-tsun-an ni-a-madju a tsemas

but no of cause-red-see-nom by-pl-3rd.pers c god

But they don’t really see gods.

032 îakua tiamadju a kinemnemnem tua kakudan niamadju.

îakua ti-a-madju a nem=kinemnem tua ka-kuda-an ni-a-madju

but f-pl-3rd.pers c red=think obl ?-do.what-nom of-pl-3rd.pers

It’s they themselves who think up their customs.

When we speak of shamans, they have various gods. But they are all more or less the same in their blowing (and) rituals. When someone is in pain the shamans blow on them. If it’s a severe case the shamans go into a trance for them and summon their spirit companions and perform rites. When they perform rites, we give gifts for the spirits. Millet is the gift for summoning spirits to human beings(?). If we haven’t any, then money or some other staple food. And we also differentiate between gifts for success, for summoning spirits, for charms(?). If it’s a very serious case we kill a pig. When we kill it, part is ‘set aside’ as an offering to the gods (to be eaten only by the immediate family). The rest of the meat can be eaten by the relations. When there is a haunting(?) we certainly join in a sacrificial feast. When someone has a swelling the shaman removes it with stones, wood-chips or charcoal. If we have sores or swellings on our bodies, the shamans say whatever comes to their minds to explain it. We are told that spirits have thrown something at us, have hit us, have pushed us, or we have met a spirit.

Shamans can summon our ancestors so that we can converse with them. If we have a question we put a crystal bead (on a gourd). If it stays on, the answer is Yes. The gods live in heaven. If a shaman hasn’t yet qualified she can’t get into heaven. When a shaman is going to enter heaven, she performs a rite of breaking bamboo. When shamans are going to perform a trance rite, they yawn repeatedly and then the spirits come on them, and they make their way (to heaven). When they have finished they make a way back and that’s the end. When we have finished harvesting millet we make a feast for the gods, and also when we have finished harvesting barnyard millet.

For some shamans smoking is taboo, and also eating rice and wine from the plains(?). But for some there is no such taboo. When shamans begin they are all given a crystal bead. But they don’t really see gods. It’s they themselves who think up their customs.

#### 086 SNAILS told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village

001 aitsu a ngatsi maretimaîimaîi a papungadan.

aya-i-tsu a ngatsi mare-ti-maîi-maîi a pa-pu-ngadan

be.thus-loc-this c snail pair-?-red-different c cause-have-name

Snails are known by various names.

002 azua zuma nu qaîan ÷uîi aya; azua zuma nu qaîan

a-zua zuma nu qaîa-an ÷uîi aya a-zua zuma nu qaîa-an

c-that other of outsider-nom snail.sp say c-that other of outsider-nom

ngatsingatsi aya; azua zuma nu qaîan tsirat aya.

ngatsi-ngatsi aya a-zua zuma nu qaîa-an tsirat aya

red-snail say c-that other of outsider-nom snail.sp say

Some villages call them ÷uîi, some ngatsingatsi, some tsirat.

003 aitsu a ngatsi selapay nu napesakuyakuya aravats

aya-i-tsu a ngatsi se-lapay nu na-pe-sa-kuya-kuya a-ravats

be.thus-loc-this c snail invol-severe of stat-emerge-qal-red-bad c-true

nu tja patsunan.

nu tja pa-tsun-an

when we(inc) cause-see-lf Snails are extremely unpleasant to look at;

004 îakua sanguaq aravats nu tja kanen.

îakua sa-nguaq a-ravats nu tja kan-en

but qal-good c-true when we(inc) eat-pf but they are very tasty to eat.

005 a sisan kakanenan tja alapen azua seti sakamaya, sa tja

a si-sane ka-kan-en-an tja alap-en a-zua seti sakamaya sa tja

c if-make red-eat-pf-nom we(inc) take-pf c-that meat only and we(inc)

senavi tua qavu a seman lialiaw, tua sika sualapan nazua

senaw-i tua qavu a em=sane lia-liaw tua sika su-alap-an nua-zua

wash-pf obl ash c af=make red-many obl reason remove-take-lf of-that

djarayadjayadjay, sana tja qirqiri tua îawîaw, sa tja

ar=djaya-djayadjay sa-na tja qirqir-i tua îawîaw sa tja

qal=red-sticky and-then we(inc) fry-pf obl oil and we(inc)

tau’iyu-i, sa tja djamayan.

tau’iyu-i sa tja djamay-an

mix.with.soy-pf and we(inc) side.dish-lf

When we are going to prepare them to eat, we take the meat only and clean it many times over with ash/lime to get rid of the stickiness; them we fry them in oil, add soya sauce, and eat them as a side dish.

[alapen: was lapen, assume a coalesced with previous a of tja]

[sisan kakanenan: two words here but constituency is [si[san[ka[kan]en]]an] ‘time of making eatables’]

[îawîaw: was îauîaw]

006 îakua inika amin a san djamayin; nanguaq uta a tsavuin

îakua ini-ka amin a sane djamay-en na-nguaq uta a tsavu-en

but not-after no.more c make side.dish-pf stat-good also c wrapping-pf

tua ragrag tua sutjaw.

tua ragrag tua sutjaw

obl dry.taro obl peanut

But they are not only eaten as a side dish; they are also good wrapped up with pounded dry taro or peanuts.

007 tjara palalidjam itjen.

tjara pa-la-lidjam itjen

surely cause-red-tongue f.we(inc) We certainly lick our lips after eating them.

008 qau aitsu a ngatsi ika tjen a pakake÷ike÷i nu malap

qau aya-i-tsu a ngatsi ika tjen a pa-ka-ke÷i-ke÷i nu m-alap

so be.thus-loc-this c snail not f.we(inc) c cause-red-red-small of af-take

itjen.

itjen

f.we(inc) We don’t just get a few snails.

009 meke÷i aravats nu tja san kakanenen; saka nu

me-ke÷i a-ravats nu tja sane ka-kan-en-en sa-ka nu

af-small c-true when we(inc) make red-eat-pf-pf and-after when

îemliaw itjen sekuletj itjen.

em=îe-liaw itjen se-kuletj itjen

af=go.to-many f.we(inc) invol-supply f.we(inc)

They go away to nothing when we cook them; so we get lots in order to have enough to eat.

[kakanenen: note kakanenan in 005, here it must be kan-en as ‘food’ then derived further.]

Snails are known by various names. Some villages call them ÷uîi, some ngatsingatsi, some tsirat. Snails are extremely unpleasant to look at; but they are very tasty to eat. When we are going to prepare them to eat, we take the meat only and clean it many times over with ash/lime to get rid of the stickiness; them we fry them in oil, add soya sauce, and eat them as a side dish. But they are not only eaten as a side dish; they are also good wrapped up with pounded dry taro or peanuts. We certainly lick our lips after eating them. We don’t just get a few snails. They go away to nothing when we cook them; so we get lots in order to have enough to eat.

#### 087 TABOOS told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village

001 aitsu a patjara penalisi izua maretimaîimaîi, îakua

aya-i-tsu a pa-tjara in=palisi i-zua mare-ti-maîi-maîi îakua

be.thus-loc-this c cause-surely perf=taboo loc-that pair-?-red-different but

tjara liaw a mamamaw.

tjara liaw a ma-ma=amaw

surely many c stat-red=same

As for taboos, there are different ones (in different villages), but certainly many are the same.

002 aitsu nu tjemugut, palisi a masi zaîum a namasi vusam.

aya-i-tsu nu em=tjugut palisi a masi zaîum a na-masi vusam

be.thus-loc-this when af=sow taboo c carry water c past-carry seed

When we sow grain it is taboo for the person carrying the seed to carry water.

003 sika mapuqasaqasaw aya.

sika ma-pu-qasa-qasaw aya

reason stat-have-red-watery say It is said to cause the ear to have no grain.

004 qau nu kivaqu anga palisi a kivinkatan aya.

qau nu ki-vaqu anga palisi a kivinkatan aya

so when do-millet indeed taboo c touch.herbage say

And when we are harvesting millet it is taboo to touch herbage in the forest(?).

[kivinkatan: could be ki-vin... or ki-in=vekat-an but nothing like these in f.]

005 sikisaqaîaqaîay aya.

si-ki-sa-qaîa-qaîay aya

if-do-qal-red-portend say It portends a plague (of rodents, etc.).

006 palisi a djemavats tua kakivaquin aya.

palisi a em=djavats tua ka-ki-vaqu-en aya

taboo c af=walk obl stat-do-millet-pf say

It is taboo to walk through a millet field being harvested, they say.

007 inika sikaîadjeîadjek aya.

ini-ka si-ka-îadje-îadjek aya

not-after if-?-red-dew say It won’t have dew (and won’t be a good harvest).

008 palisi a masi pariuk nu namasi vusam itjen.

palisi a masi pariuk nu na-masi vusam itjen

taboo c carry wok when past-carry seed f.we(inc)

When we are carrying seed it is taboo to carry a wok.

009 sika mapuqiduqidung aya.

sika ma-pu-qidu-qidung aya

reason stat-have-red-charcoal say They say the grain will go black like charcoal.

010 nu uri tjemugut itjen, palisi a kiqaqivuan tua tju÷alian.

nu uri em=tjugut itjen palisi a ki-qa-qivu-an tua tju-÷ali-an

when will af=sow f.we(inc) taboo c do-red-speak-lf obl there-pregnant-nom

When we are going to sow grain it is taboo to talk to people expecting a baby.

[tju÷alian: ‘expectant parent, male or female’]

011 nu palisilisi itjen palisi a pakisapuy, ayatua nasi aitsu

nu lisi=palisi itjen palisi a pa-ki-sapuy aya-tua nasi aya-i-tsu

when red=taboo f.we(inc) taboo c cause-do-fire say-obl breath be.thus-loc-this

a sapuy nu misepi itjen.

a sapuy nu mi-sepi itjen

c fire when af-dream f.we(inc)

When we are observing religious rites it is taboo to give someone a light, because fire represents breath/life when we dream.

012 nu venuîuq itjen a pasa vukivukid, vuîuqen itjen nua

nu en=vuîuq itjen a pa-sa vuki-vukid vuîuq-en itjen nua

when af=throw f.we(inc) c cause-go red-forest throw-pf f.we(inc) by

tsemas aya.

tsemas aya

god say

When we throw something towards the woods, the spirits throw things at us, we are told.

013 nu keman itjen i vukivukid, nu i dedet itjen tua

nu em=kan itjen i vuki-vukid nu i de-det itjen tua

when af=eat f.we(inc) loc red-forest when loc red-near f.we(inc) obl

vukivukid, palisi a ika padjalian.

vuki-vukid palisi a ika pa-djali-an

red-forest taboo c not cause-make.offering-lf

When we eat in the woods, when we are near the woods, it is taboo not to give an offering to the spirits.

014 kilinguîan itjen.

ki-linguî-an itjen

do-around-lf f.we(inc) They will sit and eat with us.

015 nu sekuliîan itjen nu kemakan itjen, tjara izua

nu se-kuliî-an itjen nu em=ka-kan itjen tjara i-zua

when invol-trip-lf f.we(inc) when af=red-eat f.we(inc) surely loc-that

matsay a matsidiî aya.

m-patsay a ma-tsidiî aya

af-die c stat-alone say

If we are ‘tripped’ (by a bird calling(?) to us) when we are eating, it is said that someone will certainly die.

[sekuliîan: ‘trip’ is uncertain because kuliî is also a ‘small brown bird of bad omen’]

016 palisi a vaqesingan nu sema vavua itjen, nu uri sema tua

palisi a vaqesing-an nu em=sa va-vua itjen nu uri em=sa tua

taboo c sneeze-nom when af=go red-field f.we(inc) when will af=go obl

namatsay itjen.

na-m-patsay itjen

past-af-die f.we(inc)

It is taboo to sneeze when we are going to the fields or when we are going to where someone has died.

017 tja sikasaqetjuqetju aya.

tja si-ka-qetju=saqetju aya

we(inc) if-become-red=painful say It is said it will mean sickness.

018 nu kaquîisan itjen, inika sitsiketsikel nu sema dedet

nu ka-quîis-an itjen ini-ka si-tsike-tsikel nu em=sa de-det

when main-turn-nom f.we(inc) not-after if-red-return when af=go red-near

itjen, nu ika tjen a mavunglay.

itjen nu ika tjen a ma-vungelay

f.we(inc) when not f.we(inc) c stat-pregnant

When things are the wrong way round (when the kirkir sings before the tsugaw bird), it doesn’t cause us to go back if we are just going a short distance; or if we aren’t expecting a child.

019 îakua a mavunglay katua uri sema tsadja a uri kiqetsi, palisi aravats.

îakua a ma-vungelay ka-tua uri em=sa tsadja a uri ki-qetsi palisi a-ravats

but c stat-pregnant and-obl will af=go far c will do-fight taboo c-true

But if we are expecting a child or going some distance to fight, it is a serious taboo.

020 tja sika tjaparuparut.

tja sika tja-paru-parut

we(inc) reason more-red-weak We will come off worst.

021 nu saqetju itjen, matu qinuîis itjen tua tja

nu saqetju itjen ma-tu in=quîis itjen tua tja

when painful f.we(inc) stat-alike perf=turn f.we(inc) obl we(inc)

siselapay aya.

si-se-lapay aya

if-invol-severe say

If we are ill, our suffering will be severe, as if we were turned inside out.

022 palisi uta a patsugavan nu semainu anga itjen.

palisi uta a pa-tsungaw-an nu em=sa-inu anga itjen

taboo also c cause-bird.sp-nom when af=go-where indeed f.we(inc)

It is a bad omen if the tsugaw bird sings wherever we are going.

023 tja sika luîaluîay, tja sika malaylaylay nu saqetju

tja sika luîa-luîay tja sika ma-lay-laylay nu saqetju

we(inc) reason red-tired we(inc) number stat-red-take.time when painful

itjen.

itjen.

f.we(inc) We will be tired. If we are ill, our illness will be long drawn out.

024 palisi uta a pakeîisan.

palisi uta a pa-keîis-an

taboo also c cause-bird.sp-nom It is a bad omen if the keîis bird sings.

025 tja sipatsatsay i djalan, tja sipagerigerits tua

tja si-tsa=patsay i djalan tja si-pa-geri-gerits tua

we(inc) if-red=die loc road we(inc) if-cause-red-scream obl

nemanemanga aya.

nema-nema-anga aya

red-what-indeed say

They say someone will die on the track, or we will have some grief to scream about.

026 nu alapen a tja itung nua qayaqayam, palisi aravats.

nu alap-en a tja itung nua qaya-qayam palisi a-ravats

when take-pf c our(inc) cloth by red-bird taboo c-true

If our clothes are taken by a bird, that is a very bad omen.

[alapen: was lapen]

027 sipatsatsay ta qaîa aya.

si-tsa=patsay ta qaîa aya

if-red=die obl outsider say They say we will be killed by our enemies.

028 palisi a qinuîivanglaw a qadaw.

palisi a in=quîivanglaw a qadaw

taboo c perf=rainbow c sun

It is a bad omen when there is a halo round the sun (when the sun is “rainbow-ed”).

[qinuîivanglaw: F233 has quîivangeraw ‘rainbow’]

029 sipatsatsay nua mamazangiîan aya.

si-tsa=patsay nua ma-ma-zangiî-an aya

if-red=die of stat-stat-chief-nom say It means a chieftain will die.

030 aitsu nu sema tjai viri tua djalan a sisiî a qatjuvi,

aya-i-tsu nu em=sa tja-i viri tua djalan a sisiî a qatjuvi

be.thus-loc-this when af=go more-loc left obl road c thrush c snake

qemtseng aya, saka palisi a puarut a sema vavua a sema

m=qetseng aya sa-ka palisi a puarut a em=sa va-vua a em=sa

af=barrier say and-after taboo c straight c af=go red-field c af=go

tjuqaîa.

tju-qaîa

there-outsider

If a quaker-thrush or a snake goes across the track from right to left, it is said to be blocked; and it is taboo to go straight to the fields or to another village.

031 îakua nu tja teqitsen azua qatjuvi, sa tja pasa tjai

îakua nu tja teqits-en a-zua qatjuvi sa tja pa-sa tja-i

but when we(inc) hook-pf c-that snake and we(inc) cause-go more-loc

viri, inika palisi.

viri ini-ka palisi

left not-after taboo

But if we use a stick to flip the snake over to the right and we pass it to the left it is not taboo.

032 aitsu a qayaqayam nu tja vuîuqen a pasa navaî

aya-i-tsu a qaya-qayam nu tja vuîuq-en a pa-sa navaî

be.thus-loc-this c red-bird when we(inc) throw-pf c cause-go right

saka sema tjai navaî, inika palisi uta.

sa-ka em=sa tja-i navaî ini-ka palisi uta

and-after af=go more-loc right not-after taboo also

As for the birds, if we throw things to make them go to the right and they go to the right, it isn’t taboo to go on.

033 palisi a lemaketsuî tua mamazangiîan.

palisi a em=laketsuî tua ma-ma-zangiî-an

taboo c af=step.over obl stat-stat-chief-nom

It is taboo to walk over the limb of a chieftain.

034 sikakalakala aya.

si-ka-kalakala aya

if-stat-arthritis say It is said to cause arthritis.

035 palisi petsungu tua tsuqu a kasiw.

palisi petsungu tua tsuqu a kasiw

taboo make.fire obl bischoffia c tree

It is taboo to use the bischoffia tree for firewood.

036 sika÷aqu÷aquî.

si-ka-÷aqu-÷aquî

if-stat-red-goitre It causes goitre.

037 palisi a tsemuîu a mavunglay tua qatsang.

palisi a em=tsuîu a ma-vungelay tua qatsang

taboo c af=butcher c stat-pregnant obl pig

It is taboo for someone expecting a baby to butcher a pig.

038 sikamapuqatsaqatsang aya.

si-ka-ma-pu-qatsa-qatsang aya

if-become-stat-have-red-pig say

They say it causes epilepsy.

[sikamapuqatsaqatsang: alternative for ‘epilepsy’ is ma-pu-÷i÷i, and ÷i÷i is also ‘pig’.]

039 palisi a qemtsi tua qemuzimuzip anga.

palisi a m=qetsi tua em=em=uzi=quzip anga

taboo c af=fight obl af=af=red=animal indeed

It is also taboo for them to kill any animal.

040 sipatsatsay aya.

si-tsa=patsay aya

if-red=die say They say it will cause a death.

041 palisi a semenay nu tsaviî anga tua puaîak.

palisi a em=senay nu tsaviî anga tua pu-aîak

taboo c af=chant when year indeed obl have-child

It is taboo to sing a year after a birth.

042 siqauqaung aya.

si-qau-qaung aya

if-red-cry say They say the child will be a cry-baby.

043 palisi a kemzekez a venengetj uta.

palisi a m=kezkez a en=vengetj uta

taboo c af=nail c af=tie also

It is taboo for someone expecting a baby to nail or tie something.

044 sikapazangazangal nu puaîak aya.

si-ka-pa-zanga-zangal nu pu-aîak aya

if-stat-cause-red-hard when have-child say They say it will lead to a difficult birth.

As for taboos, there are different ones (in different villages), but certainly many are the same. When we sow grain it is taboo for the person carrying the seed to carry water. It is said to cause the ear to have no grain. And when we are harvesting millet it is taboo to touch herbage in the forest(?). It portends a plague (of rodents, etc.). It is taboo to walk through a millet field being harvested, they say. It won’t have dew (and won’t be a good harvest). When we are carrying seed it is taboo to carry a wok. They say the grain will go black like charcoal. When we are going to sow grain it is taboo to talk to people expecting a baby.

When we are observing religious rites it is taboo to give someone a light, because fire represents breath/life when we dream. When we throw something towards the woods, the spirits throw things at us, we are told. When we eat in the woods, when we are near the woods, it is taboo not to give an offering to the spirits. They will sit and eat with us. If we are ‘tripped’ (by a bird calling(?) to us) when we are eating, it is said that someone will certainly die.

It is taboo to sneeze when we are going to the fields or when we are going to where someone has died. It is said it will mean sickness. When things are the wrong way round (when the kirkir sings before the tsugaw bird), it doesn’t cause us to go back if we are just going a short distance; or if we aren’t expecting a child. But if we are expecting a child or going some distance to fight, it is a serious taboo. We will come off worst. If we are ill, our suffering will be severe, as if we were turned inside out. It is a bad omen if the tsugaw bird sings wherever we are going. We will be tired. If we are ill, our illness will be long drawn out. It is a bad omen if the keîis bird sings. They say someone will die on the track, or we will have some grief to scream about. If our clothes are taken by a bird, that is a very bad omen. They say we will be killed by our enemies.

It is a bad omen when there is a halo round the sun. It means a chieftain will die. If a quaker-thrush or a snake goes across the track from right to left, it is said to be blocked; and it is taboo to go straight to the fields or to another village. But if we use a stick to flip the snake over to the right and we pass it to the left it is not taboo. As for the birds, if we throw things to make them go to the right and they go to the right, it isn’t taboo to go on. It is taboo to walk over the limb of a chieftain. It is said to cause arthritis. It is taboo to use the bischoffia tree for firewood. It causes goitre. It is taboo for someone expecting a baby to butcher a pig. They say it causes epilepsy. It is also taboo for them to kill any animal. They say it will cause a death. It is taboo to sing a year after a birth. They say the child will be a cry-baby. It is taboo for someone expecting a baby to nail or tie something. They say it will lead to a difficult birth.

#### 088 WEDDINGS told by Giîgiîaw of Vaîulu village

001 aitsu a maretseketsekeî inika tadjalan a mamazangiîan

aya-i-tsu a mare-tseke-tsekeî ini-ka ta-djalan a ma-ma-zangiî-an

be.thus-loc-this c pair-red-spouse not-after one-road c stat-stat-chief-nom

katua qaqetitan.

ka-tua qa-qetit-an

and-obl red-commoner-nom

Weddings of chieftains and commoners are not the same.

002 nu mamazangiîan marepaukuz aya.

nu ma-ma-zangiî-an marepaukuz aya

when stat-stat-chief-nom wedding.type say

With chieftains they are known as marepaukuz;

003 nu qaqetitan marepalikuz aya.

nu qa-qetit-an marepalikuz aya

when red-commoner-nom wedding.type say with commoners as marepalikuz.

004 aitsu a mamazangiîan nu qemayam tua

aya-i-tsu a ma-ma-zangiî-an nu em=qayam tua

be.thus-loc-this c stat-stat-chief-nom when af=inspect obl

sauzayan, papirava tua kama tua kina tua zua

sa-uzay-an pa-pi-rava tua kama tua kina tua zua

qal-possession-nom cause-put-prepare obl father obl mother obl that

sirakeraketj.

si-rake-raketj

if-red-always

In the case of the chieftains when they inspect the possessions offered as a bride price, they dress the father and the mother of (the bride) the cause of all-day celebrations.

005 nu uqaîay gamuts ÷eqer tjakit kuang siatj paledeled a

nu uqaîay gamuts ÷eqer tjakit kuang siatj pa-ledeled a

when male headdress necklace knife firearm bandolier cause-belt c

sipapirava.

si-pa-pi-rava

if-cause-put-prepare

A male is dressed in a headdress (with wild boars’ tusks), necklace, sword, gun, bandolier and belt.

006 nu vavayan quvaî tarar vatsvats ÷eqer kava kun tjukap a

nu vavayan quvaî tarar vatsvats ÷eqer kava kun tjukap a

when female hair turban earring necklace clothing skirt clog c

sipapirava.

si-pa-pi-rava

if-cause-put-prepare

A female is dressed in a fur coat, turban, pendant earrings, necklace, robe, skirt and shoes.

007 qau nu kavusaman papiravan a kama a kina azua aîak

qau nu ka-vusam-an pa-pi-rava-an a kama a kina a-zua aîak

so when main-chief-nom cause-put-prepare-lf c father c mother c-that child

a vavayan.

a vavayan

c female

And when it is a head chieftain father, mother and daughter are all dressed.

008 îakua inika mapasusu a penuîat.

îakua ini-ka ma-pa-susu a en=puîat

but not-after stat-cause-proceed c af=all

But these customs are not always carried out.

009 sauzayan anga a mamadjeledjelean, paisu anga a

sa-uzay-an anga a ma-ma-djele-djele-an paisu anga a

qal-possession-nom indeed c stat-stat-red-simple-nom money indeed c

sipapirava.

si-pa-pi-rava

if-cause-put-prepare

Cheaper possessions or money may be given instead of dressing the people.

010 nu uri marepaukuz seman rarukuzan nu katiatiaw,

nu uri marepaukuz em=sane ra-rukuz-an nu ka-tia-tiaw

when will wedding.type af=make red-depend-nom when past-red-one.day

sana parepaukuz.

sa-na parepaukuz

and-then ?

When a wedding is to take place, preparations of food etc (which confirm the agreement(?)) are made the day before, and then the wedding goes ahead.

011 nu maîianga marepakaiv, sana îayuz.

nu ma-îia-anga mare-pa-kaiv sa-na îayuz

when stat-dawn-indeed pair-cause-meal and-then love.song

Next day there is an exchange of drinks (at a feast); then there is a love song (at which the bride weeps).

012 nu îemayuz mana siqunevunevuî a sangasangasan.

nu em=îayuz ma-avan-a si-nevu=qunevuî a sanga-sangas-an

when af=love.song stat-exact-? if-red=give.gift c red-first-nom

When the song is sung there is the first distribution of small gifts to all.

013 nu maîianga kiulaw anga a sema tsemtsemel.

nu ma-îia-anga ki-ulaw anga a em=sa tsem-tsemel

when stat-dawn-indeed self-lost indeed c af=go red-plant

The next day the bride hides herself in the woods.

014 nu masulem nu mangtjez anga qemunevuî anga uta tua

nu ma-sulem nu m-pangetjez anga em=qunevuî anga uta tua

when stat-dark when af-come indeed af=give.gift indeed also obl

sikinmusaî.

si-in=ki-musa-î

if-perf=do-two-times

In the evening when she comes back there is the second distribution of gifts.

015 nu maîian anga nu qadavan kitsaqis anga, mana zua

nu maîi-an anga nu qadaw-an ki-tsaqis anga ma-avan-a zua

when different-nom indeed when sun-nom do-sew indeed stat-exact-? that

viliviliîan anga a qemunevuî; sana kialap nu maîian

vili-viliî-an anga a em=qunevuî sa-na ki-alap nu maîi-an

red-behind-nom indeed c af=give.gift and-then do-take when different-nom

anga nu qadavan.

anga nu qadaw-an

indeed when sun-nom

On the next day the bride puts on layers of underpants, and there is a last distribution of gifts. And then on the next day the bride is taken to the bridegroom’s house.

016 namayatutsu a kakudan nu tja suqatsan.

na-ma-aya-tu-tsu a ka-kuda-an nu tja su-qatsa-an

past-stat-be.thus-alike-this c ?-do.what-nom when we(inc) remove-big-lf

These are the customs in brief.

[namayatutsu: -tu could also be ‘obl’ or ‘alike’.]

017 îakua nu i tjuqaîa a vavayan, izua uta a kiniqayaman,

îakua nu i tju-qaîa a vavayan i-zua uta a in=ki-qayam-an

but when loc there-outsider c female loc-that also c perf=do-inspect-nom

a pana a tjekeza, a siniteperuk tua qinaîan, a tedek

a pana a tjekeza a in=si-teperuk tua in=qaîa-an a tedek

c river c ladder c perf=if-break.down obl perf=outsider-nom c ornament

tua tsakar, na maqatsuvutsuvung, a sitjumaq, a sinipakizing.

tua tsakar nua ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung a si-tju-umaq a in=si-pa-kizing

obl platform of stat-?-red-complete c if-there-house c perf=if-cause-spoon

But if the bride is in another village there will also be inspections of rivers and bridges, and compensation for ‘breaking up the village’, decorations for the shrine, the youths’ share, compensation for entering(?) and for food expenses (*or* for bringing home)(?).

018 aitsu a siputseketsekeî nua mamazangiîan kadjunangan

aya-i-tsu a si-pu-tseke-tsekeî nua ma-ma-zangiî-an ka-djunang-an

be.thus-loc-this c if-have-red-spouse of stat-stat-chief-nom main-earth-nom

pana qaîuqaîupan djilung a kauîayan qata kuang tjakit, izuanan

pana qaîu-qaîup-an djilung a ka-uîay-an qata kuang tjakit i-zua-anan

river red-hunt-nom jar c main-piece-nom bead firearm knife loc-that-still

uta a zuma vadis.

uta a zuma vadis

also c other chief’s.meat

The bride-prices among chieftains include land, rivers, hunting grounds, precious pots, beads, guns and swords; and there is other tribute to be paid as well.

[kauîayan: F326 ‘a rare, precious thing’]

019 izua uta aza tjiuma ayayain a îaîakayan.

i-zua uta a-zua tjiuma ay-aya-en a îa-îakay-an

loc-that also c-that wedding.swing red-say-pf c red-swing-nom

There is also a swing set up called a tjiuma.

Weddings of chieftains and commoners are not the same. With chieftains they are known as marepaukuz; with commoners as marepalikuz. In the case of the chieftains when they inspect the possessions offered as a bride price, they dress the father and the mother of (the bride) the cause of all-day celebrations. A male is dressed in a headdress (with wild boars’ tusks), necklace, sword, gun, bandolier and belt. A female is dressed in a fur coat, turban, pendant earrings, necklace, robe, skirt and shoes. And when it is a head chieftain father, mother and daughter are all dressed. But these customs are not always carried out. Cheaper possessions or money may be given instead of dressing the people.

When a wedding is to take place, preparations of food etc (which confirm the agreement(?)) are made the day before, and then the wedding goes ahead. Next day there is an exchange of drinks (at a feast); then there is a love song (at which the bride weeps). When the song is sung there is the first distribution of small gifts to all. The next day the bride hides herself in the woods. In the evening when she comes back there is the second distribution of gifts. On the next day the bride puts on layers of underpants, and there is a last distribution of gifts. And then on the next day the bride is taken to the bridegroom’s house. these are the customs in brief. But if the bride is in another village there will also be inspections of rivers and bridges, and compensation for ‘breaking up the village’, decorations for the shrine, the youths’ share, compensation for entering(?) and for food expenses (*or* for bringing home)(?). The bride-prices among chieftains include land, rivers, hunting grounds, precious pots, beads, guns and swords; and there is other tribute to be paid as well. There is also a swing set up called a tjiuma.

#### 089 THE DRUNKARD RETURNS HOME conversation piece, Vaîulu dialect

001 Rapar: pai pai, sa rukamayamayanga sun.

Rapar pai pai sa ru-ka-m-aya-m-aya-anga sun

(name) well well and many-?-af-red-af-be.thus-indeed f.you(s)

Rapar: Well, you’re always the same.

002 aitsu ki sun a natemekel tu sa vava pai.

aya-i-tsu ki sun a na-em=tekel tu tsa vava pai

be.thus-loc-this do f.you(s) c past-af=drink obl this alcohol well

Now presumably you’ve been drinking beer.

003 Tsudjuy: anemaya sun?

Tsudjuy a-nema-aya sun

(name) c-what-say f.you(s) Tsudjuy: What are you saying?

004 mapulaw aya sun a benuru a paqeteleng(?).

ma-pulaw aya sun a en=buru a pa-qeteleng

stat-drunk say f.you(s) c af=tell.lie c cause-randomly

Are you having the cheek to lie and say I’m drunk?

005 Rapar: qau kemuda?

Rapar qau em=kuda

(name) so af=do.what Rapar: Yes, what about it?

006 tsunu tsunu sa su sikudan a matu makapalapalak,

tsun-u tsun-u tsa su si-kuda-an a ma-tu maka-pala-palak

see-imp see-imp this your(s) if-do.what-nom c stat-alike finished-red-sorcery

matu ika tsautsau.

ma-tu ika tsau-tsau

stat-alike not red-being

Look at your behaviour, acting like a madman, not like a human being.

007 anana anana.

anana anana

ow ow (He hits her.) Ow ow!

008 matsay aken.

m-patsay aken

af-die f.I I’m dying.

009 aku ken uri su papatsayin qa?

aku aken uri su pa-patsay-en qa

why f.I will you(s) cause-die-pf ah Why are you going to kill me?

010 makuda sun makuda sun?

ma-kuda sun ma-kuda sun

stat-do.what f.you(s) stat-do.what f.you(s) What’s the matter with you?

011 aitsu patja÷ikitj anga ku nasi.

aya-i-tsu pa-tja-÷ikitj anga ku nasi

be.thus-loc-this cause-more-short indeed my breath My life has been shortened.

012 kina ni Rapar: qai, sa ku aîak.

kina ni Rapar qai tsa ku aîak

mother of (name) oh this my child Rapar’s mother: Oh, my child!

013 nu kudain, îa qunu?

nu kuda-en îa qunu

you(p) do.what-pf oh child What are you up to, children?

014 aitsu uri matsay anga.

aya-i-tsu uri m-patsay anga

be.thus-loc-this will af-die indeed She’ll die.

015 Kemay: na.

Kemay na

(name) well Kemay (neighbour): Well,

016 ui ÷i.

ui ÷i

yes oh yes.

017 aku maya sisamaîi a maya?

aku ma-aya si-sa-maîi a ma-aya

why stat-be.thus if-qal-different c stat-be.thus Why is this such a surprise?

[*aku*: here and next was *ku* in original text.]

018 aku a paulan nu sa tsautsau?

aku a pa-ula-an nu tsa tsau-tsau

why c cause-lack-nom of this red-being What a waste of a person!

019 aku manu manganga maya ti su qali?

aku manu ma-nganga ma-aya ti su qali

why then stat-molest stat-be.thus f.h your(s) friend

Why is your friend such a scoundrel?

020 kina: tsulis tsulis, sanguaq.

kina tsulis tsulis sa-nguaq

mother alright alright qal-good Rapar’s mother: All right all right; that’s fine.

021 masudjan sun.

masudj-an sun

tidy-nom f.you(s) You’ve had enough.

022 aku manu su kiayayan sakamaya tjai su qali a

aku manu su ki-ay-aya-en sakamaya tjai su qali a

why then you(s) self-red-be.thus-pf only obl.h your(s) friend c

manganga su keîangen?

ma-nganga su keîang-en

stat-molest you(s) know-pf

Then why are you always going with your friend who is a scoundrel, as you well know?

023 Tsudjuy: saka ari aya ti qali.

Tsudjuy sa-ka ari aya ti qali

(name) and-after go.on say f.h friend Tsudjuy: Well my friend says Come on;

024 manu uri kapa÷angan aken.

manu uri ka-pa÷ang-an aken

then will ?-bully-lf f.I and I would be bullied (if I didn’t).

025 kina: qau manu ari nu aya, kiayan sun; îakua tjenglay

kina qau manu ari nu aya ki-aya-an sun îakua tjenglay

mother so then go.on when say do-be.thus-lf f.you(s) but like

sun uta kaumaya tua kidjadjalan tjai su qali.

sun uta kaumaya tua ki-dja-djalan tjai su qali

f.you(s) also perhaps obl do-red-road obl.h your(s) friend

Rapar’s mother: Oh, so you go with him when he says Come on; but perhaps you also like going with your friend.

026 Tsudjuy: ika ken a uri kiayan anga nu tjaiviliî.

Tsudjuy ika aken a uri ki-aya-an anga nu tja-i-viliî

(name) not f.I c will do-be.thus-lf indeed when more-loc-behind

Tsudjuy: I’m not going to go with him any more.

Rapar: Well, you’re always the same. Now presumably you’ve been drinking beer.

Tsudjuy: What are you saying? Are you having the cheek to lie and say I’m drunk?

Rapar: Yes, what about it? Look at your behaviour, acting like a madman, not like a human being. (He hits her) Ow ow! I’m dying. Why are you going to kill me? What’s the matter with you? My life has been shortened.

Rapar’s mother: Oh, my child!. What are you up to, children? She’ll die.

Kemay (neighbour): Well, yes. Why is this such a surprise? What a waste of a person! Why is your friend such a scoundrel?

Rapar’s mother: All right all right; that’s fine. You’ve had enough. Then why are you always going with your friend who is a scoundrel, as you well know?

Tsudjuy: Well my friend says Come on; and I would be bullied (if I didn’t).

Rapar’s mother: Oh, so you go with him when he says Come on; but perhaps you also like going with your friend.

Tsudjuy: I’m not going to go with him any more.

#### 090 HARVEST PROSPECTS conversation piece

001 Kai: “uri keman itjen tu sa qarizang nia su vuvu,” ku

Kai uri em=kan itjen tu tsa qarizang ni-a su vuvu ku

(name) will af=eat f.we(inc) obl this bean.sp of-pl your(s) grandparent I

ayain, kina, a su vuvu ka sauni, ka tsemalivalivat

aya-en kina a su vuvu ka sauni ka em=liva=tsalivat

say-pf mother c your(s) grandparent after soon after af=red=pass

amen ta za su quma.

amen ta zua su quma

f.we(exc) obl that your(s) field

(Rough translation) Kai: “We’ll be eating some of your grandparents’ beans,”I said to your grandchild, mother, earlier on when we were passing your fields.

002 Kaleskes: inu inu?

Kaleskes inu inu

(name) where where Kaleskes: Where where?

003 uzi ki mavan aza i kadjalanan a taupuan, aya-u.

uzi ki ma-avan a-zua i ka-djalan-an a ta-upu-an aya-u

well will stat-exact c-that loc main-road-nom c one-wall-nom say-imp

Oh I suppose you mean the one terrace by the roadside.

004 Kai: pai îa, maya manu benereq a “taupuan” aya ta za nu

Kai pai îa maya manu in=bereq a ta-upu-an aya ta zua nu

(name) well oh don’t then perf=joke c one-wall-nom say obl that your(p)

penulingelingetj ta za nu quma.

in=pu-linge-lingetj ta zua nu quma

perf=have-red-entire obl that your(p) field

Kai: Oh come on, don’t joke by saying “one terrace” about your fields all over the place.

[benereq: F63 has beraq ‘joke’]

005 Kaleskes: iya, ui, maîimaîi; nu uri keman itjen kaumaya nu

Kaleskes iya ui maîimaîi nu uri em=kan itjen kaumaya nu

(name) ah yes thank.you when will af=eat f.we(inc) perhaps when

izua.

i-zua

loc-that

Kaleskes: Oh yes, thank you; perhaps we’ll have something to eat if there is any crop.

006 Kai: ui, qau mayanga za nu puk, mayanga

Kai ui qau ma-aya-anga zua nu puk ma-aya-anga

(name) yes so stat-be.thus-indeed that your(p) bean.sp stat-be.thus-indeed

za nu îangga, mayanga za nu îumay, mayanga

zua nu îangga ma-aya-anga zua nu îumay ma-aya-anga

that your(p) sesame stat-be.thus-indeed that your(p) millet.sp stat-be.thus-indeed

za nu vaqu.

zua nu vaqu

that your(p) millet

Kai: Yes, not to mention your peas, your sesame, your banyard millet, your ordinary millet.

[îangga: ‘sesame’ here, but note F has it as ‘peanut’.]

007 uri keman itjen aravats ta za nu kikavetsengel.

uri em=kan itjen a-ravats ta zua nu ki-ka-vetsengel

will af=eat f.we(inc) c-true obl that your(p) do-main-crop

We are going to have plenty to eat from your crops.

008 Kaleskes: ui, îakua qadjaw ki tja kani anga.

Kaleskes ui îakua qadjaw ki tja kan-i anga

(name) yes but perhaps will we(inc) eat-pf indeed

Kaleskes: Yes, but I don’t know whether we’ll eat any of it,

009 maya sa qemuzimuzip, maya sa tja

ma-aya tsa em=em=uzi=quzip ma-aya tsa tja

stat-be.thus this af=af=red=animal stat-be.thus this our(inc)

kinatsavitsaviîan a nakuya aravats.

in=ka-tsavi-tsaviî-an a na-kuya a-ravats

perf=past-red-year-nom c stat-bad c-true

what with the pests and (making good our losses on) the very bad years.

010 Kai: qu saka ki tja pinatsunan anga a tsinuvuqan.

Kai qu sa-ka ki tja in=pa-tsun-an anga a in=tsuvuq-an

(name) well and-after will we(inc) perf=cause-see-lf indeed c perf=sprout-nom

Kai: Well, let’s be content to look at the crops.

011 qau mamaw ka ta zua inika tjen a napatsun anga ta

qau ma-amaw ka ta zua ini-ka tjen a na-pa-tsun anga ta

so stat-same after obl that not-after f.we(inc) c past-cause-see indeed obl

tsinuvuqan(?).

in=tsuvuq-an

perf=sprout-nom It’s not as if we hadn’t any crops to look at.

012 îakua qemazaî a ika tjen a uri sinikuletj na Tsemas, a ika

îakua em=qazaî a ika tjen a uri in=si-kuletj nua Tsemas a ika

but af=dread c not f.we(inc) c will perf=if-supply by God c not

tjen a uri sinipenetj tua tja sikavaîut.

tjen a uri in=si-penetj tua tja si-ka-vaîut

f.we(inc) c will perf=if-allot obl our(inc) if-?-alive

Anyway it would be something quite out of the ordinary if God didn’t supply us and arrange for us to have something to live on.

(Rough translation) Kai: “We’ll be eating some of your grandmother’s beans,” I said to your grandchild, mother, earlier on when we were passing your fields.

Kaleskes: Where where? Oh I suppose you mean the one terrace by the roadside.

Kai: Oh come on, don’t joke by saying “one terrace” about your fields all over the place.

Kaleskes: Oh yes, thank you; perhaps we’ll have something to eat if there is any crop.

Kai: Yes, not to mention your peas, your sesame, your banyard millet, your ordinary millet. We are going to have plenty to eat from your crops.

Kaleskes: Yes, but I don’t know whether we’ll eat any of it, what with the pests and (making good our losses on) the very bad years.

Kai: Well, let’s be content to look at the crops. It’s not as if we hadn’t any crops to look at. Anyway it would be something quite out of the ordinary if God didn’t supply us and arrange for us to have something to live on.

#### 091 KUïEïEïEïE AND PULELELELENGAN

001 izua aya tua ku milimilingan, izua aya zua maraîak a ti

i-zua aya tua ku mili-miling-an i-zua aya zua mare-aîak a ti

loc-that say obl my red-past.era-nom loc-that say that pair-child c f.h

Kuîeîeîeîe kati Pulelelelengan a setjarivavaw, aya.

Kuîeîeîeîe ka-ti Pulelelelengan a se-tjari-va-vaw aya

(name) and-f.h (name) c person.of-utmost-red-above say

There were according to my story, there were a parent and child called Kuîeîeîeîe and Pulelelelengan who lived in the world above, they say.

002 izua ma÷usa÷usa selapay nu nasepuîu aravats, aya.

i-zua ma-÷usa-÷usa se-lapay nu na-se-puîu a-ravats aya

loc-that num-red-two invol-severe of past-invol-deficit c-true say

With only the two of them they were extremely lonely, they say.

003 “qai, qunu, qai mai sapuîu itjen.

qai qunu qai mai sa-puîu itjen

oh child oh oh qal-deficit f.we(inc) “Well, son, we are lonely.

004 qai muri tjemavang itjen tua vaung tua lizuk tua gadu,” aya

qai ma-uri em=tjavang itjen tua vaung tua lizuk tua gadu aya

oh stat-will af=create f.we(inc) obl sea obl plain obl mountain say

tiamadju a maraîak, aya.

ti-a-madju a mare-aîak aya

f-pl-3rd.pers c pair-child say

Now we’ll make the sea, the plains and the mountains,” said the parent and child, they say.

[tjemavang: tjavang in F is ‘offer to spirits’]

005 manu izuanga nakipalinguî a vaung.

manu i-zua-anga na-ki-pa-linguî a vaung

then loc-that-indeed past-do-cause-around c sea

So then there was the sea all around.

006 izuanga tiamadju itua tjaîavavavan a gadu a

i-zua-anga ti-a-madju i-tua tjaîa-va-vaw-an a gadu a

loc-that-indeed f-pl-3rd.pers loc-obl most-red-above-nom c mountain c

tjemavatjavang tua vaung tua lizuk tua gadu, aya.

em=tjava-tjavang tua vaung tua lizuk tua gadu aya

af=red-create obl sea obl plain obl mountain say

There they were on the highest mountain making the sea, the plains and the mountains, they say.

007 “qai qai, muri puîauîaung itjen tua maretimaîimaîi a kasiw

qai qai ma-uri pu-îau-îaung itjen tua mare-ti-maîi-maîi a kasiw

oh oh stat-will have-red-shade f.we(inc) obl pair-?-red-different c tree

a venutsiatsiar a venangavangaî tua kakanen a mareka kaizuazua,”

a en=tsia=vutsiar a en=vanga-vangaî tua ka-kan-en a mareka ka-i-zua-zua

c af=red=flower c af=red-fruit obl red-eat-pf c many ?-loc-red-that

aya uta, aya.

aya uta aya

say also say

“Well we’ll get shade from the various kinds of trees that have blossom and bear fruit for food of all kinds(?),” they said too, they say.

[venutsiatsiar: F also has vetsiar]

[venangavangaî: was venagavangaî]

008 manu izuanga uta naseleman anga a gadu a kasiw

manu i-zua-anga uta na-selem-an anga a gadu a kasiw

then loc-that-indeed also past-dark-nom indeed c mountain c tree

matatukalulum anga matatuzarzarzar anga vutsiar, aya.

ma-ta-tu-ka-lu-lum anga ma-ta-tu-zar-zarzar anga vutsiar aya

stat-red-alike-?-red-ripe indeed stat-red-alike-red-shine indeed flower say

And so the mountains became shaded (?); trees got ripe in turn and the blossoms became bright in turn, they say.

[matatukalulum: constituency uncertain]

009 nuka tsemel anga tsinuvuqan anga sepeîuq a kana qipuqipu

nuka tsemel anga in=tsuvuq-an anga se-peîuq a ka-na qipu-qipu

even plant indeed perf=sprout-nom indeed invol-full c after-then red-soil

anga, aya.

anga aya

indeed say Grass too sprang up, and all the ground was full up, they say.

010 manu “qai muri pukuku itjen, qunu, tua qemuzimuzip tua

manu qai ma-uri pu-kuku itjen qunu tua em=em=uzi=quzip tua

then oh stat-will have-pet f.we(inc) child obl af=af=red=animal obl

qayaqayam tua îemanguîanguy i taladj tua vaung,” manu aya uta

qaya-qayam tua em=îangu-îanguy i taladj tua vaung manu aya uta

red-inspect obl af=red-swim loc inside obl sea then say also

tiamadju a maraîak, aya.

ti-a-madju a mare-aîak aya

f-pl-3rd.pers c pair-child say

Then “Now we’ll have pets, child; animals, birds and things that swim in the sea,” the parent and child also said, they say.

011 saka tjikezem, manu ka tsimeraw izuanga uta; nekanga

sa-ka tjikezem manu ka tsimeraw i-zua-anga uta neka-anga

and-after close.eyes then after open.eyes loc-that-indeed also no-indeed

nuka ita ika izua.

nuka ita ika i-zua

even one not loc-that

So they closed their eyes, and when they opened them, there it all was; there was not a thing missing;

[ita: not in original text, but required here]

012 nekanga nu kinaqusaw tua kuku, aya.

neka-anga nu in=ka-qusaw tua kuku aya

no-indeed of perf=stat-missing obl pet say

they weren’t missing any pets, they say.

013 saka izuanga tiamadju a talidulidu sakamaya, aya.

sa-ka i-zua-anga ti-a-madju a lidu=talidu sakamaya aya

and-after loc-that-indeed f-pl-3rd.pers c red=interested only say

So there they were just enjoying themselves, they say.

014 “qai, qunu, djavadjavay îakua ku pai sa-u ÷i, îizavu a tja

qai qunu djava-djavay îakua ku pai sa-u ÷i îizaw-u a tja

oh child red-do.much but well well go-imp oh look-imp c our(inc)

sikataqaîan i tjariteku,” ayain ti Pulelelelengan nua zua

si-ka-ta-qaîa-an i tjari-teku aya-en ti Pulelelelengan nua zua

if-main-?-outsider-nom loc utmost-down say-pf f.h (name) by that

kama ti Kuîeîeîeîe, aya.

kama ti Kuîeîeîeîe aya

father f.h (name) say

“Now, child, I’m sorry but off you go and see our fellows in the world below,” said father Kuîeîeîeîe to Pulelelelengan, they say.

015 “manu ika na ku îizaven ÷i, kama, ki kemudakuda?” aya ti

manu ika na ku îizaw-en ÷i kama ki em=kuda-kuda aya ti

then not well I look-pf oh father will af=red-do.what say f.h

Pulelelelengan, aya.

Pulelelelengan aya

(name) say

So “If I go to see them,(?) father, what am I to do?” said Pulelelelengan, they say.

[ika na: was i kana]

016 qau “ui, djavadjavay, îakua sa-u kivakini ki pasemalaw a tja

qau ui djava-djavay îakua sa-u kivakini ki pa-em=salaw a tja

so yes red-do.much but go-imp ? will cause-af=tell c our(inc)

sikataqaîan, qunu.

si-ka-ta-qaîa-an qunu

if-main-?-outsider-nom child

“Yes, I’m sorry, but go; our fellows will tell you, child.

017 îakua maya patjekutjekuî tua tjelu a puluq a qadaw, ÷i, sa su

îakua maya pa-tjeku-tjekuî tua tjelu a puluq a qadaw ÷i sa su

but don’t cause-red-exceed obl three c ten c sun oh and you(s)

pangtjez sa su kitsepeliw a sema maza,” aya ti Kuîeîeîeîe tua zua

pangetjez sa su ki-tsepeliw a em=sa maza aya ti Kuîeîeîeîe tua zua

come and you(s) do-return c af=go here say f.h (name) obl that

aîak a ti Pulelelelengan a pazazekazekatj, aya.

aîak a ti Pulelelelengan a pa-za-zeka-zekatj aya

child c f.h (name) c cause-red-red-share say

But don’t stay longer than 30 days and come back here,” ordered Kuîeîeîeîe to his child Pulelelelengan, they say.

[pazazekazekatj: ‘give order to’]

018 sa vaik ti Pulelelelengan a îemizaw tua i tjariteku, aya.

sa vaik ti Pulelelelengan a em=îizaw tua i tjari-teku aya

and leave f.h (name) c af=look obl loc utmost-down say

So Pulelelelengan went to visit the world below, they say.

019 manu zemuker i tjariteku maka tjaia Muatjukutjuku azua ti

manu em=zuker i tjari-teku maka tjai-a Muatjukutjuku a-zua ti

then af=arrive loc utmost-down via obl.h-pl (name) c-that f.h

Pulelelelengan, aya.

Pulelelelengan aya

(name) say

And Pulelelelengan arrived in the world below by way of the Muatjukutjuku house, they say.

[tjaia: was tjaya]

020 manu ka zemuker anga, “keîu, îa sikataqaîan.

manu ka em=zuker anga keî-u îa si-ka-ta-qaîa-an

then after af=arrive indeed come-imp oh if-main-?-outsider-nom

And when he had arrived, he kept saying: “Come here, fellow villagers,

021 qa keîu satjaiqayavu tjanuaken.

qa keî-u sa-tjai-qayaw-u tjanu-aken

ah come-imp go-obl-front-imp obl-I come to me.

022 ku nu tjautsikelay ku nu pasemalavay,” ayaya timadju.

ku nu tjautsikel-ay ku nu pa-se-malaw-ay ay-aya ti-madju

I you(p) story-lf I you(p) cause-invol-tell-lf red-say f-3rd.pers

I will speak to you and explain to you.”

[ku nu: note double preposed pronouns, see Egli p.156-7.]

023 sa qepuqepu-i(?) a setjariteku, sa pasekeîangi tua

sa qepu-qepu-i a se-tjari-teku sa pa-se-keîang-i tua

and red-associate-pf c person.of-utmost-down and cause-invol-know-pf obl

nanguaqan nua kinaizuanan, tua izua kama nimadju a

na-nguaq-an nua in=ka-i-zua-anan tua i-zua kama ni-madju a

stat-good-nom of perf=?-loc-that-still obl loc-that father of-3rd.pers c

tjaîakiîivakan, nu ayaya, qai ka sekeîang anga a i

tjaîa-ki-îivak-an nu ay-aya qai ka se-keîang anga a i

most-do-care.for-nom when red-say oh after invol-know indeed c loc

tjariteku, “qu manu kemuda a nu izua tjananguaq tua

tjari-teku qu manu em=kuda a nu i-zua tja-na-nguaq tua

utmost-down well then af=do.what c when loc-that more-stat-good obl

tja kinaizuanan, a nu izua rukiîivakan aravats,”

tja in=ka-i-zua-anan a nu i-zua ru-ki-îivak-an a-ravats

our(inc) perf=?-loc-that-still c when loc-that many-do-care.for-nom c-true

aya zua setjariteku, aya.

aya zua se-tjari-teku aya

say that person.of-utmost-down say

So he gathered the people of the world below, and explained to them the goodness of his place, and about his most loving father. And when the people of the world below understood this, they said: “So that’s how it is; so there is a place better than our place, and there is someone really loving,” said the people of the world below, they say.

024 saka a(?) mapuzangal anga tua patsun tua sema tjarivavaw,

sa-ka a ma-pu-zangal anga tua pa-tsun tua em=sa tjari-va-vaw

and-after c stat-have-hope indeed obl cause-see obl af=go utmost-red-above

aya.

aya

say And they longed to see and to get to the world above, they say.

025 “qai, îa sikataqaîan, patjatjautsiketsikelu anga ÷i,

qai îa si-ka-ta-qaîa-an pa-tja-tsike=tjautsikel-u anga ÷i

oh oh if-main-?-outsider-nom cause-more-red=story-imp indeed oh

pasekeîangu anga a ika nakiqepu a ika ku

pa-se-keîang-u anga a ika na-ki-qepu a ika ku

cause-invol-know-imp indeed c not past-do-associate c not I

sintsevungan(?) ÷i; uîa mun a kemîang a mapuîat tua

in=se-tsevung-an ÷i uîa mun a m=keîang a ma-puîat tua

perf=invol-meet-lf oh so.that f.you(p) c af=know c num-all obl

kiîivak ni kama, tua nanguaqan nua i tjarivavaw,” aya ti

ki-îivak ni kama tua na-nguaq-an nua i tjari-va-vaw aya ti

do-care.for of father obl stat-good-nom of loc utmost-red-above say f.h

Kuîe-Pulelelelengan.

Kuîe-Pulelelelengan

(name)-(name)

“Fellow villagers, tell one another; explain to the people who didn’t turn up, whom I haven’t met; so that you will all know the love of my father and the goodness of the world above,” said Kuîe-Pulelelelengan.

026 sa vaik a kitsepeliw a sema tua kama i tjarivavaw, aya.

sa vaik a ki-tsepeliw a em=sa tua kama i tjari-va-vaw aya

and leave c do-return c af=go obl father loc utmost-red-above say

And he went back to his father in the world above, they say.

027 sa tjautsiketsikel anga tua kama a îemitaîita tua

sa tsike=tjautsikel anga tua kama a em=îita-îita tua

and red=story indeed obl father c af=red-one obl

kinaitjaritekuan ti Pulelelelengan, aya.

in=ka-i-tjari-teku-an ti Pulelelelengan aya

perf=main-loc-utmost-down-nom f.h (name) say

And Pulelelelengan told his father everything that he had done in the world below, they say.

028 selapay nu namalevaleva aravats a “manu izua nanguaq

se-lapay nu na-ma-leva-leva a-ravats a manu i-zua na-nguaq

invol-severe of past-stat-red-pleased c-true c then loc-that stat-good

matu sa tja kinaizuanan, manu zua izua

ma-tu tsa tja in=ka-i-zua-anan manu zua i-zua

stat-alike this our(inc) perf=?-loc-that-still then that loc-that

mamazangiîan aravats a rukiîivak,” aya setjariteku.

ma-ma-zangiî-an a-ravats a ru-ki-îivak aya se-tjari-teku

stat-stat-chief-nom c-true c many-do-care.for say person.of-utmost-down

And the people were very glad. “So there is something good like our own place. And there is a real chief who is truly loving,” said the people of the world below,

[matu sa: was ma tusa]

029 saka namalevanga aravats, saka sa su u

sa-ka na-ma-leva-anga a-ravats sa-ka sa su u

and-after past-stat-pleased-indeed c-true and-after and you(s) ?

iravaravanga sa su(?) kalevalevanga tua sema

i-rava-rava-anga sa su ka-leva-leva-anga tua em=sa

loc-red-prepare-indeed and you(s) become-red-pleased-indeed obl af=go

tjarivavaw a kitjaviliî tua ti Pulelelelengan, aya.

tjari-va-vaw a ki-tja-viliî tua ti Pulelelelengan aya

utmost-red-above c do-more-behind obl f.h (name) say

and they were very glad, “So get ready and be glad to go to the world above following Pulelelelengan,” they said (?).

There were according to my story, there were a parent and child called Kuîeîeîeîe and Pulelelelengan who lived in the world above, they say. With only the two of them they were extremely lonely, they say. “Well, son, we are lonely. Now we’ll make the sea, the plains and the mountains,” said the parent and child, they say. So then there was the sea all around. There they were on the highest mountain making the sea, the plains and the mountains, they say. “Well we’ll get shade from the various kinds of trees that have blossom and bear fruit for food of all kinds(?),” they said too, they say. And so the mountains became shaded (?); the trees got ripe in turn and the blossoms became bright in turn, they say. Grass too sprang up, and all the ground was full up, they say. Then “Now we’ll have pets, child; animals, birds and things that swim in the sea,” the parent and child also said, they say. So they closed their eyes, and when they opened them, there it all was; there was not a thing missing; they weren’t missing any pets, they say.

So there they were just enjoying themselves, they say. “Now, child, I’m sorry but off you go and see our fellows in the world below,” said father Kuîeîeîeîe to Pulelelelengan, they say. So “If I go to see them, father, what am I to do?” said Pulelelelengan, they say. “Yes, I’m sorry, but go; our fellows will tell you, child. But don’t stay longer than 30 days and come back here,” ordered Kuîeîeîeîe to his child Pulelelelengan, they say. So Pulelelelengan went to visit the world below, they say. And Pulelelelengan arrived in the world below by way of the Muatjukutjuku house, they say. And when he had arrived, he kept saying: “Come here, fellow villagers, come to me. I will speak to you and explain to you.” So he gathered the people of the world below, and explained to them the goodness of his place, and about his most loving father. And when the people of the world below understood this, they said: “So that’s how it is; so there is something good like our own place, and there is someone really loving,” said the people of the world below, they say. And they longed to see and to get to the world above, they say. “Fellow villagers, tell one another; explain to the people who didn’t turn up, whom I haven’t met; so that you will all know the love of my father and the goodness of the world above,” said Kuîe-Pulelelelengan.

And he went back to his father in the world above, they say. And Pulelelelengan told his father everything that he had done in the world below, they say. And the people were very glad. “So there is something better (?) than our place. And there is a real chief who is truly loving,” said the people of the world below, and they were very glad, “So get ready and be glad to go to the world above following Pulelelelengan,” they said (?).

#### 092 WEDDING CONSULTATION Vaîulu dialect (meaning of text obscure in many places)

001 aitsu uri pasemalaw aken tua sikazepzepan nua

aya-i-tsu uri pa-em=salaw aken tua si-ka-zepzep-an nua

be.thus-loc-this will cause-af=tell f.I obl if-stat-converse-nom of

maretseketsekeî a mamazangiîan.

mare-tseke-tsekeî a ma-ma-zangiî-an

pair-red-spouse c stat-stat-chief-nom

Now I am going to tell you about the discussions of chiefly families who are planning to arrange a marriage.

002 aitsu nu izua uri marepaukuukuz nua

aya-i-tsu nu i-zua uri mare-pa-uku-ukuz nua

be.thus-loc-this when loc-that will pair-cause-red-engage of

mamazangiîan, azua sauqaîay mangtjez a sema zua itua

ma-ma-zangiî-an a-zua sa-uqaîay m-pangetjez a em=sa zua i-tua

stat-stat-chief-nom c-that qal-male af-come c af=go that loc-obl

savavayan; sa patsun tazua sauzayan a uri sinisusu

sa-vavayan sa pa-tsun ta-zua sa-uzay-an a uri in=si-susu

qal-female and cause-see obl-that qal-possession-nom c will perf=if-proceed

tua zua vavayan, sa kazepzep tuki marasudj tuki ini.

tua zua vavayan sa ka-zepzep tu-ki ma-rasudj tu-ki ini

obl that female and stat-converse compl-how stat-align compl-how not

When chiefly families are going to have a betrothal the man’s family come to the woman’s place; and they (the bride’s family) look at the possessions which are to be given as a bride price for the woman, and they discuss whether they can agree or not.

003 nu inika marasudj magagulagula tua maretseketsekeî.

nu ini-ka ma-rasudj ma-ga-gula-gula tua mare-tseke-tsekeî

when not-after stat-align stat-red-red-interrupt obl pair-red-spouse

If they don’t agree the marriage cannot go forward.

004 îakua nu marasudj tjara marepaukuukuz anga tiamadju.

îakua nu ma-rasudj tjara mare-pa-uku-ukuz anga ti-a-madju

but when stat-align surely pair-cause-red-engage indeed f-pl-3rd.pers

But if they agree they certainly are betrothed.

005 qau aitsu uri qivu anga ken tua kapatatevelavela

qau aya-i-tsu uri qivu anga aken tua ka-pa-ta-vela=tevela

so be.thus-loc-this will speak indeed f.I obl become-cause-red-red=answer

niamadju.

ni-a-madju

of-pl-3rd.pers So now I’ll tell you the dialogue between them.

006 maitutsu a savavayan: pai aitsu a timun a nia

ma-aya-tu-tsu a sa-vavayan pai aya-i-tsu a ti-mun a nia

stat-be.thus-alike-this c qal-female well be.thus-loc-this c f-you(p) c our(exc)

kaka a nia vetjek, uri putakalanan aken.

kaka a nia vetjek uri pu-ta-kala-anan aken

sibling c our(exc) sibling will have-one-thread-still f.I

This is what the woman’s side say: Now our brothers and sisters I have something to say.

[putakalanan: could be -an nom + -an lf at end.]

007 aku ika tjen a maleva, aku ika tjen a seman azua tua

aku ika tjen a ma-leva aku ika tjen a em=sane a-zua tua

why not f.we(inc) c stat-pleased why not f.we(inc) c af=make c-that obl

mareka tja kaka tua mareka tja sikataqaîan a

mareka tja kaka tua mareka tja si-ka-ta-qaîa-an a

many our(inc) sibling obl many our(inc) if-main-?-outsider-nom c

nakemasi tjuqaîa.

na-em=kasi tju-qaîa

past-af=from there-outsider

Why shouldn’t we be glad and praise one another as siblings and fellow-tribespeople from elsewhere?

008 maîimaîi a nasaîinga mun a nakiîivak mun

maîimaîi a nasa-îinga mun a na-ki-îivak mun

thank.you c perhaps-desire f.you(p) c past-do-care.for f.you(p)

nalitjengits(?) mun kaumaya tua nu aîak tua nu vuvu.

nalitjengits mun kaumaya tua nu aîak tua nu vuvu

? f.you(p) perhaps obl your(p) child obl your(p) grandchild

We are grateful that you want, love and perhaps(?) your child or grandchild.

009 îakua pai aitsu a nu sinipaqayam aitsu a

îakua pai aya-i-tsu a nu in=si-pa-qayam aya-i-tsu a

but well be.thus-loc-this c you(p) perf=if-cause-inspect be.thus-loc-this c

nu kinuletj a nu linanaw tu kiîivak tua nu aîak

nu in=kuletj a nu in=lanaw tu ki-îivak tua nu aîak

you(p) perf=supply c you(p) perf=decide? obl do-care.for obl your(p) child

tua nu vuvu, aku inika uri tsengtseng, aku inika uri

tua nu vuvu aku ini-ka uri tsengtseng aku ini-ka uri

obl your(p) grandchild why not-after will enough why not-after will

nanguaq a tja sipalungulungu nua mareka kaka a marevetjevetjek,

na-nguaq a tja si-pa-lungulungu nua mareka kaka a mare-vetje-vetjek

stat-good c we(inc) if-cause-put.beside by many sibling c pair-red-sibling

aya sa ku kininemneman.

aya tsa ku in=kinemnem-an

say this my perf=think-nom

But what you have set out, what you have provided as an expression(?) of your love for your child or grandchild, why isn’t it suitable, why isn’t it up to what we expect(?) of our brothers and sisters?, is what I am thinking.

010 sauqaîay: ui tjara maitazua, uîa namaya aya men.

sa-uqaîay ui tjara ma-aya-ta-zua uîa na-ma-aya aya amen

qal-male yes surely stat-be.thus-?-that so.that past-stat-be.thus say f.we(exc)

Man’s side: Yes, that’s true. We want the same.

011 nia kinîang tu inika napenapadjulu, tu

nia in=keîang tu ini-ka na-in=pa-pa-djulu tu

we(exc) perf=know compl not-after past-perf=cause-cause-ready compl

inika uri nu siselaing a nia vusam a nia tjaîayan.

ini-ka uri nu si-se-laing a nia vusam a nia tjaîayan.

not-after will you(p) if-invol-follow c our(exc) seed c our(exc) big.seeds

We know that it looks as if it’s not properly prepared, that it wouldn’t be acceptable to you our original roots.

012 îakua qau saka nu aya itjen.

îakua qau sa-ka nu aya itjen

but so and-after when say f.we(inc) But then what are we to do?

013 pai maîi ki tsadja i inuan a nu, a kinitjuayan

pai maîi ki tsadja i inu-an a nu a in=ki-tjuay-an

well different will far loc where-nom c your(p) c perf=do-possess-nom

a kiniîaîaungan nua nu aîak nua nu vuvu uta, nu

a in=ki-îa-îaung-an nua nu aîak nua nu vuvu uta nu

c perf=do-red-shade-nom of your(p) child of your(p) grandchild also you(p)

keîangen uta tu nasemalimsim, nu keîangen uta tu

keîang-en uta tu na-m=al=simsim nu keîang-en uta tu

know-pf also compl past-af=qal=pity you(p) know-pf also compl

napenapeqauqaung uta aravats; saka kiîaîava mun

na-in=pa-pe-qau-qaung uta a-ravats sa-ka ki-îa-îava mun

past-perf=cause-emerge-red-cry also c-true and-after do-red-wait f.you(p)

saka pakadjele mun a maya numa.

sa-ka pa-ka-djele mun a ma-aya numa

and-after cause-stat-simple f.you(p) c stat-be.thus indeed

It would be different if the possessions and abodes of your children and grandchildren were a long way away. You know too that we are badly off, you know that we are very pitiable too; and you were waiting for us and you seem to belittle(?) us.

014 qau mere anemanga men uta a nu aîak a nu vuvu;

qau mere a-nema-anga amen uta a nu aîak a nu vuvu

so large ?-what-indeed f.we(exc) also c your(p) child c your(p) grandchild

nu aitutsuin uta aravats a paqaung aravats.

nu aya-tu-tsu-in uta a-ravats a pa-qaung a-ravats

you(p) be.thus-alike-this-nom also c-true c cause-cry c-true

So what are we to become, we your children and grandchildren? You treat us like this and cause us a lot of pain.

015 savavayan: ui ma, tjara maitazua.

sa-vavayan ui ma tjara ma-aya-ta-zua

qal-female yes well surely stat-be.thus-?-that

Woman’s side: Well yes, it’s like that.

016 nia keîangen a maitazua îakua, pai aitsu a nu

nia keîang-en a ma-aya-ta-zua îakua pai aya-i-tsu a nu

we(exc) know-pf c stat-be.thus-?-that but well be.thus-loc-this c your(p)

varung uta a nu kininemneman uta nia, a mareka nia kaka

varung uta a nu in=kinemnem-an uta nia a mareka nia kaka

chest also c your(p) perf=think-nom also we(exc) c many our(exc) sibling

sauqaîay, inika nu sinipaquliqulidan aravats kaumaya ta

sa-uqaîay ini-ka nu in=si-pa-quli-qulid-an a-ravats kaumaya tua

qal-male not-after you(p) perf=if-cause-red-real-lf c-true perhaps obl

nu kininemneman.

nu in=kinemnem-an

your(p) perf=think-nom

We know it’s like that; but, brothers and sisters of the man’s side, your hearts and thoughts, you have not been truly honest in your thoughts.

[nia (second instance): probably a speech error]

017 pai aitsu nu kana nu nalemanaw(?) mun, nuka

pai aya-i-tsu nu ka-na nu na-em=lanaw mun nuka

well be.thus-loc-this when after-then when past-af=decide? f.you(p) even

nu pinaquliqulidanen a nu kininemneman, uzi ki

nu in=pa-quli-qulid-an-en a nu in=kinemnem-an uzi ki

you(p) perf=cause-red-real-nom-pf c your(p) perf=think-nom well will

kana nu pinarumaya, îakua ayatua namatsaquan

ka-na nu in=pa-ru-ma-aya îakua aya-tua na-ma-tsaqu-an

after-then you(p) perf=cause-many-stat-be.thus but say-obl past-stat-able-lf

mun a kinemnem, tutsu anga maîian anga tja

mun a kinemnem tu-tsu anga maîi-an anga tja

f.you(p) c think obl-this indeed different-lf indeed our(inc)

kakudan, inika tjen a kematsukatsu tua sitiavan tua

ka-kuda-an ini-ka tjen a em=katsu-katsu tua si-tiaw-an tua

?-do.what-nom not-after f.we(inc) c af=red-carry obl if-one.day-nom obl

sikatjeluan a tja kakudan.

sika-tjelu-an a tja ka-kuda-an

number-three-nom c our(inc) ?-do.what-nom

Well if you had ?, if you had been honest in your thinking, you would have ?. But because you are clever at thinking, (you say) now the customs have changed, we don’t keep on the customs of yesterday and the day before.

018 aitsu a izuanga tja kivadaqan a ÷ipung a imaza

aya-i-tsu a i-zua-anga tja ki-vadaq-an a ÷ipung a i-maza

be.thus-loc-this c loc-that-indeed we(inc) do-ask-lf c Japan c loc-here

i kungkuan.

i kungkuan

loc police.station Now there are the Japanese here in the police station to ask.

019 ki tja paligiligiîi anga, ki tja katsaqu-i anga a qivu

ki tja pa-ligi-ligiî-i anga ki tja ka-tsaqu-i anga a qivu

will we(inc) cause-red-deceive-pf indeed will we(inc) ?-able-pf indeed c speak

tiamadju, sa tje palaluqeluqemi, aya nu varung.

ti-a-madju sa tje pa-la-luqe-luqem-i aya nu varung

f-pl-3rd.pers and we(inc) cause-red-red-fortune-pf say your(p) chest

We’ll deceive them, we’ll talk cleverly to them and we’ll get the better of them, is what you’re saying in your hearts.

020 îakua pai aitsu a nu vuvu aitsu a nu

îakua pai aya-i-tsu a nu vuvu aya-i-tsu a nu

but well be.thus-loc-this c your(p) grandchild be.thus-loc-this c your(p)

aîak palisi a nu katsaquin, palisi a nu kaligiîen a qivu.

aîak palisi a nu ka-tsaqu-en palisi a nu ka-ligiî-en a qivu

child taboo c your(p) stat-able-pf taboo c you(p) ?-deceive-pf c speak

But it’s taboo to fool your grandchild or child, it’s taboo to deceive her in words.

021 nu namaitazua a nu varung, neka, ika tjen a sa

nu na-ma-aya-ta-zua a nu varung neka ika tjen a tsa

when past-stat-be.thus-?-that c your(p) chest no not f.we(inc) c this

malalaing angata.

ma-la-laing anga-ta

stat-red-follow indeed-?

If that’s the way your hearts are, that’s it, we certainly won’t agree.

022 sauqaîay: pa÷ia mun pa÷ia mun a nia vusam a

sa-uqaîay pa-÷ia mun pa-÷ia mun a nia vusam a

qal-male cause-correct f.you(p) cause-correct f.you(p) c our(exc) seed c

mareka nia kaka.

mareka nia kaka

many our(exc) sibling

Man’s side: You are quite right, quite right, brothers and sisters who are our roots.

023 îakua pai mereanemanga uta nu aîak a nu kaka.

îakua pai mere-a-nema-anga uta nu aîak a nu kaka

but well large-?-what-indeed also your(p) child c your(p) sibling

But what are we to become, your children and your brothers and sisters?

024 pai titjen a tsautsau anga kasaîinga-i kipakimi tua

pai ti-tjen a tsau-tsau anga ka-sa-îinga-i ki-pa-kim-i tua

well f-we(inc) c red-being indeed ?-want-desire-pf self-cause-search-pf obl

mana tsekeî nua tja aîak, nu aya itjen a

ma-avan-a tsekeî nua tja aîak nu aya itjen a

stat-exact-? spouse of our(inc) child when say f.we(inc) c

timaimanga, tjara napapuîat itjen tjara nakinemnem itjen

ti-ima-ima-anga tjara na-pa-puîat itjen tjara na-kinemnem itjen

f-red-who-indeed surely past-cause-all f.we(inc) surely past-think f.we(inc)

tua mana uri napenapadjulu, nu mateveteveî uta

tua ma-avan-a uri na-in=pa-pa-djulu nu ma-teve-teveî uta

obl stat-exact-? will past-perf=cause-cause-ready when stat-red-join also

tjara liaw aravats a kai, tjara îakua, qau saka nema tja

tjara liaw a-ravats a kai tjara îakua qau sa-ka nema tja

surely many c-true c speech surely but so and-after what we(inc)

alapen, pakasinu itjen nu masa uraman nu

alap-en pa-kasi-inu itjen nu ma-sa uram-an nu

take-pf cause-from-where f.we(inc) when stat-maybe need-nom when

masa sinalimsiman.

ma-sa in=al=simsim-an

stat-maybe perf=qal=pity-nom

All of us human beings when anyone of us says that we want and are looking for a spouse for our child, we certainly do our best, we certainly think of what will be proper provision. But what are we to take, what way are we to take because of our need and our pitiable state?

[masa: hard to see meaning ‘because’ here, could be ‘perhaps’]

[alapen: was lapen]

025 pai aitsu a nu aîak a nu vuvu mana sika

pai aya-i-tsu a nu aîak a nu vuvu ma-avan-a sika

well be.thus-loc-this c your(p) child c your(p) grandchild stat-exact-? reason

namaitutsu, aitsu kinamiaminan anga

na-ma-aya-tu-tsu aya-i-tsu in=ka-ami-amin-an anga

past-stat-be.thus-alike-this be.thus-loc-this perf=?-red-no.more-nom indeed

pinapuîatan anga.

in=pa-puîat-an anga

perf=cause-all-lf indeed

And that’s the way it is with your child or grandchild. We have got to the end of everything, we have done everything for him.

026 îakua tjara nu pakadjelein.

îakua tjara nu pa-ka-djele-en

but surely you(p) cause-stat-simple-pf But you just despise (?) it.

027 îakua qadjaw nimun uta.

îakua qadjaw ni-mun uta

but perhaps of-you(p) also But it’s up to you,

028 nu ika saqetju a nu varung, nu ika mun a saleîseî uta tua

nu ika saqetju a nu varung nu ika mun a al=seîseî uta tua

when not painful c your(p) chest when not f.you(p) c qal=pity also obl

nu aîak, timun a mareka a tia kama a tia kina.

nu aîak ti-mun a mareka a ti-a kama a ti-a kina

your(p) child f-you(p) c many c f.h-pl father c f.h-pl mother

if your hearts aren’t sad, if you don’t have pity on your child, our fathers and mothers.

029 savavayan: maitazua îakua uri mezangal sa ku kai.

sa-vavayan ma-aya-ta-zua îakua uri me-zangal tsa ku kai

qal-female stat-be.thus-?-that but will af-hope this my speech

Woman’s side: That’s so; but I’m going to go on speaking.

030 pai kana sa kudanga kana kamatsulen tua sitsuayan

pai ka-na sa kuda-anga ka-na ka-matsul-en tua si-tsuay-an

well after-then and do.what-indeed after-then ?-?-pf obl if-long.time-nom

tua sitiavan tua sikatjeluan.

tua si-tiaw-an tua sika-tjelu-an

obl if-one.day-nom obl number-three-nom

(??) How would it be if we followed the customs of long ago, of yesterday and the day before.

031 pai katiaw kasikatjelu na tja pinakakaizuazua

pai ka-tiaw ka-sika-tjelu na tja in=pa-ka-ka-i-zua-zua

well past-one.day past-number-three past more perf=cause-?-?-loc-red-that

a tja pinakakudakudanga nu mareka saîingaîinga itjen

a tja in=pa-ka-kuda-kuda-anga nu mareka sa-îinga-îinga itjen

c more perf=cause-?-red-do.what-indeed when many qal-red-desire f.we(inc)

a mareka kaka a marevetjevetjek a tjara kavusavusaman.

a mareka kaka a mare-vetje-vetjek a tjara ka-vusa-vusam-an

c many sibling c pair-red-sibling c surely main-red-seed-nom

Well yesterday and the day before (??) there were all sorts of things we had to give and do if we wanted one another, we brothers and sisters of the real chiefly families.

032 îakua pai tutsu malumay anga, izuanga tja kivadaqan

îakua pai tu-tsu ma-lum-ay anga i-zua-anga tja ki-vadaq-an

but well obl-this stat-ripe-lf indeed loc-that-indeed our(inc) do-ask-nom

izua pazazekazekatj tjanuitjen numa.

i-zua pa-za-zeka-zekatj tjanu-itjen numa

loc-that cause-red-red-share obl-we(inc) indeed

But now we have gone weak(?). There are people to ask. There are people who give us orders.

[malumay: could possibly be ma-lunay stat-out.of.action or ma-lumaî stat-ashamed.]

033 aku mun a setseleî a maya, aku mun a seman paravats

aku mun a se-tseleî a ma-aya aku mun a em=sane pa-ravats

why f.you(p) c invol-cold c stat-be.thus why f.you(p) c af=make cause-true

aravats numa?

a-ravats numa

c-true indeed Why are you so cold(?)? Why do you flatter(?) so much?

034 saka qadjaw nimun.

sa-ka qadjaw ni-mun

and-after perhaps of-you(p) And it’s up to you.

035 pai tutsu tja minadjeledjele anga sa kininemneman.

pai tu-tsu tja in=ma-djele-djele anga tsa in=kinemnem-an

well obl-this we(inc) perf=stat-red-simple indeed this perf=think-nom

And now we have all cut down our ideas(?).

036 îakua ika mun a masan itaî ika mun a masan

îakua ika mun a ma-sane ita-î ika mun a ma-sane

but not f.you(p) c stat-make one-times not f.you(p) c stat-make

musaî tua nu kininemneman tua nu sinipaqayam.

ma-usa-î tua nu in=kinemnem-an tua nu in=si-pa-qayam

num-two-times obl your(p) perf=think-nom obl your(p) perf=if-cause-inspect

But you haven’t thought once or twice (?) about what you have put on show.

037 pai aitsu a ke÷ike÷i inika matsidiî inika ma÷usa

pai aya-i-tsu a ke÷i-ke÷i ini-ka ma-tsidiî ini-ka ma-÷usa

well be.thus-loc-this c red-small not-after stat-alone not-after num-two

matjaîaîak, tjuruvu aravats a matjaîaîak.

matja-îaîak tjuruvu a-ravats a matja-îaîak

num-child many c-true c num-child

This child hasn’t got just one or just two parents; there are very many people (of the parents’ generation)(?).

038 nu mavadavaday semainu tunazuanga tjara tja

nu ma-vada-vaday em=sa-inu tu-na-zua-anga tjara tja

when stat-red-separate af=go-where obl-past-that-indeed surely we(inc)

nemayain anga nu qempuqepu, tja nemayain anga

nema-aya-en anga nu m=qepu-qepu tja nema-aya-en anga

what-be.thus-pf indeed when af=red-associate we(inc) what-be.thus-pf indeed

nu qivu.

nu qivu

when speak

If they all go off everywhere, what are we to say to call them together again?

039 nu mateveteveî uta tjara liaw aravats a kai, tjara vutselay(?)

nu ma-teve-teveî uta tjara liaw a-ravats a kai tjara vutselay

when stat-red-join also surely many c-true c speech surely pale

itjen sakamaya.

itjen sakamaya

we(inc) only

If they are together again, there will be a great deal of talk; we’ll all be pale with shame(?).

040 saka qadjaw nimun, nu ika mun sa maumaî anga

sa-ka qadjaw ni-mun nu ika mun tsa ma-uma-î anga

and-after perhaps of-you(p) when not f.you(p) this stat-other-times indeed

nu kininemneman, kitjen a ma÷a÷iki÷ikitj sakamaya.

nu in=kinemnem-an ki-itjen a ma-÷a-÷iki-÷ikitj sakamaya

your(p) perf=think-nom will-f.we(inc) c stat-red-red-short only

So it’s up to you. If you don’t change your thinking we’ll cut the meeting short.

041 tjara nasemalimsim mun sakamaya.

tjara na-em=al=simsim mun sakamaya

surely past-af=qal=pity f.you(p) only You are certainly pitiable.

042 vutselay itjen tua matjaîaîak nu sa nu vuvu nu sa nu

vutselay itjen tua matja-îaîak nu tsa nu vuvu nu tsa nu

pale f.we(inc) obl num-child of this your(p) grandchild of this your(p)

aîak.

aîak

child We are pale with shame before the parents of this your grandchild or child.

043 sauqaîay: ui ui, îakua nakuya uta mezangal aravats.

sa-uqaîay ui ui îakua na-kuya uta me-zangal a-ravats

qal-male yes yes but stat-bad also af-hard c-true

Man’s side: Yes, yes. But it’s bad to go on too much.

044 uîa men anemaya-i aya men.

uîa amen a-nema-aya-i aya amen

so.that f.we(exc) ?-what-say-pf say f.we(exc)

What can be said to us, we ask ourselves.

045 tjara paquliqulid mun nu pasaqetju mun nu meîel mun

tjara pa-quli-qulid mun nu pa-saqetju mun nu meîel mun

surely cause-red-real f.you(p) when cause-painful f.you(p) when ? f.you(p)

nu kisan kuya mun tusa nia kininemneman tusa

nu ki-sane kuya mun tu-tsa nia in=kinemnem-an tu-tsa

when do-make bad f.you(p) obl-this our(exc) perf=think-nom obl-this

separutan tusa ika napenapadjulu, îakua aitsu

se-parut-an tu-tsa ika na-in=pa-pa-djulu îakua aya-i-tsu

invol-weak-nom obl-this not past-perf=cause-cause-ready but be.thus-loc-this

ki nu(?) sipazekatj sakamaya, ki kamseng a nu

ki nu si-pa-zekatj sakamaya ki ka-meseng a nu

will you(p) if-cause-share only will become-enough c you(p)

pinalangedan anga men ta nu varung ta nu

in=pa-langeda-an anga amen ta nu varung ta nu

perf=cause-hear-lf indeed f.we(exc) obl your(p) chest obl your(p)

kininemneman.

in=kinemnem-an

perf=think-nom

You are quite right when you are harsh with us, when you ? us, when you object to our thinking, to our weakness, to the unsuitability of our provision(?). But you could forgive this(?). It would be enough that you have let us know your feelings and thinking.

046 manu tiamen uta uîa tja patjavavavi uîa tjen

manu ti-amen uta uîa tja pa-tja-va-vaw-i uîa tjen

then f-we(exc) also so.that we(inc) cause-more-red-above-pf so.that f.we(inc)

a madjadjelidjeli, aya uta nia kininemneman tiamen a

a ma-dja-djeli-djeli aya uta nia in=kinemnem-an ti-amen a

c stat-red-red-laugh say also our(exc) perf=think-nom f-we(exc) c

sauqaîay.

sa-uqaîay

qal-male

We too on the man’s side we want us all to make progress, so that we can all be happy together, that’s our thinking too.

047 îakua saka nu aya itjen a naseparut amen aravats.

îakua sa-ka nu aya itjen a na-se-parut amen a-ravats

but and-after when say f.we(inc) c past-invol-weak f.we(exc) c-true

But what are we to do, as we are so very weak?

048 qau saka mereanemanga men uta.

qau sa-ka mere-a-nema-anga amen uta

so and-after large-?-what-indeed f.we(exc) also And what are we to become too?

049 qau ika mun a sa salimsim uta tua nu aîak tua nu

qau ika mun a tsa al=simsim uta tua nu aîak tua nu

so not f.you(p) c this qal=pity also obl your(p) child obl your(p)

vuvu, papaula-u(?) amen uta.

vuvu pa-pa-ula-u amen uta

grandchild cause-cause-lack-imp f.we(exc) also

You don’t take pity either on your child or grandchild. Take pity on us too.

050 savavayan: ui îakua maitazua mun a palalaut tua

sa-vavayan ui îakua ma-aya-ta-zua mun a pa-la-laut tua

qal-female yes but stat-be.thus-?-that f.you(p) c cause-red-able obl

nu kai, îakua ini, tjara ku÷esul amen sakamaya.

nu kai îakua ini tjara ku÷esul amen sakamaya

your(p) speech but not surely hard f.we(exc) only

Woman’s side: Yes, but you keep saying that. But no, we will just stand firm.

051 aitsu a tja sipatataretarev a kavusaman

aya-i-tsu a tja si-pa-ta-tare-tarev a ka-vusam-an

be.thus-loc-this c our(inc) if-cause-red-red-attain c main-seed-nom

kadjunangan pana qaîuqaîupen vadis, mana tja

ka-djunang-an pana qaîu-qaîup-en vadis ma-avan-a tja

main-earth-nom river red-hunt-pf chief’s.meat stat-exact-? our(inc)

sipatataretarev numa.

si-pa-ta-tare-tarev numa

if-cause-red-red-attain indeed

The bride prices of us real chiefs are land, rivers, hunting grounds, meat tribute, those are our bride prices.

052 ku pai papatsuni anan amen tua kadjunangan tua pana

ku pai pa-pa-tsun-i anan amen tua ka-djunang-an tua pana

well well cause-cause-see-hort still f.we(exc) obl main-earth-nom obl river

tua qaîuqaîupen tua vadis, sana tje karasurasudj sana

tua qaîu-qaîup-en tua vadis sa-na tje ka-rasu-rasudj sa-na

obl red-hunt-pf obl chief’s.meat and-then we(inc) stat-red-align and-then

tje paîaîunguîungu sana tja qaqivuivu-i a mareka

tje pa-îa-îungu-îungu sa-na tja qa-ivu=qivu-i a mareka

do.at cause-red-red-alongside and-then we(inc) red-red=speak-pf c many

tja kaka a inu tunazuanga a mapuîat, sana tje,

tja kaka a inu tu-na-zua-anga a ma-puîat sa-na tje

our(inc) sibling c where obl-past-that-indeed c num-all and-then we(inc)

sana tja parepaukuukuz, aya sa kininemneman numa.

sa-na tja pare-pa-uku-ukuz aya tsa in=kinemnem-an numa

and-then we(inc) pair-cause-red-engage say this perf=think-nom indeed

So then show us land, rivers, hunting grounds, meat tribute and we’ll all agree, and we’ll put them side by side, and we’ll tell all our brothers and sisters everywhere, and we’ll-and we’ll have a betrothal, is what we think.

053 ini nu aya mun, ki tjen a ma÷a÷iki÷ikitj sakamaya.

ini nu aya mun ki tjen a ma-÷a-÷iki-÷ikitj sakamaya

not you(p) say f.you(p) will f.we(inc) c stat-red-red-short only

If you say no, we’ll just cut the talk short.

054 nu uri puaîak tiamadju, nu uri tinveteveî a zinkatj

nu uri pu-aîak ti-a-madju nu uri in=tive-teveî a in=zekatj

when will have-child f-pl-3rd.pers when will perf=red-join c perf=share

nua naqemati, kitjen a maumaumaî anga nu

nua na-em=qati ki-itjen a ma-uma-uma-î anga nu

of past-af=create will-f.we(inc) c stat-red-other-times indeed when

tjaiviliî a mazepzep numa.

tja-i-viliî a ma-zepzep numa

more-loc-behind c stat-converse indeed

If they are to have children, if what the creator has provided is to be brought together, we’ll renew the discussion in the future.

055 aitsu a tja zepzepan tutsu a qezemezemetj tjara

aya-i-tsu a tja zepzep-an tu-tsu a zeme=qezemetj tjara

be.thus-loc-this c our(inc) converse-nom obl-this c red=night surely

qemulip sakamaya.

em=qulip sakamaya

af=waste only Our discussion tonight is just a waste of time.

056 sa patjezuanga sa tja zepzepan.

sa pa-tje-zua-anga tsa tja zepzep-an

and cause-do.at-that-indeed this our(inc) converse-nom

So that’s the end of our discussion.

Now I am going to tell you about the discussions of chiefly families who are planning to arrange a marriage. When chiefly families are going to have a betrothal the man’s family come to the woman’s place; and they (the bride’s family) look at the possessions which are to be given as a bride price for the woman, and they discuss whether they can agree or not. If they don’t agree the marriage cannot go forward. But if they agree they certainly are betrothed. So now I’ll tell you the dialogue between them.

This is what the woman’s side say: Now our brothers and sisters I have something to say. Why shouldn’t we be glad and praise one another as siblings and fellow-tribespeople from elsewhere? We are grateful that you want, love and perhaps ? your child or grandchild. But what you have set out, what you have provided as an expression(?) of your love for your child or grandchild, why isn’t it suitable, why isn’t it up to what we expect (?) of our brothers and sisters?, is what I am thinking.

Man’s side: Yes, that’s true. We want the same. We know that it looks as if it’s not properly prepared, that it wouldn’t be acceptable to you our original roots. But then what are we to do? It would be different if the possessions and abodes of your children and grandchildren were a long way away. You know too that we are badly off, you know that we are very pitiable too; and you were waiting for us and you seem to belittle(?) us. So what are we to become, we your children and grandchildren? You treat us like this and cause us a lot of pain.

Woman’s side: Well yes, it’s like that. We know it’s like that; but, brothers and sisters of the man’s side, your hearts and thoughts, you have not been truly honest in your thoughts. Well if you had, if you had been honest in your thinking, you would have . But because you are clever at thinking, (you say) now the customs have changed, we don’t keep on the customs of yesterday and the day before. Now there are the Japanese here in the police station to ask. We’ll deceive them, we’ll talk cleverly to them and we’ll get the better of them, is what you’re saying in your hearts. But it’s taboo to fool your grandchild or child, it’s taboo to decive her in words. If that’s the way your hearts are, that’s it, we certainly won’t agree.

Man’s side: You are quite right, quite right, brothers and sisters who are our roots. But what are we to become, your children and your brothers and sisters? All of us human beings when anyone of us says that we want and are looking for a spouse for our child, we certainly do our best, we certainly think of what will be proper provision. But what are we to take, what way are we to take because of our need and our pitiable state? And that’s the way it is with your child or grandchild. We have got to the end of everything, we have done everything for him. But you just despise (?) it. But it’s up to you, if your hearts aren’t sad, if you don’t have pity on your child, our fathers and mothers.

Woman’s side: That’s so; but I’m going to go on speaking. (?)How would it be if we followed the customs of long ago, of yesterday and the day before. Well yesterday and the day before (?) there were all sorts of things we had to give and do if we wanted one another, we brothers and sisters of the real chiefly families. But now we have gone weak(?). There are people to ask. There are people who give us orders. Why are you so cold(?)? Why do you flatter(?) so much? And it’s up to you. And now we have all cut down our ideas(?). But you haven’t thought once or twice (?) about what you have put on show. This child hasn’t got just one or just two parents; there are very many people (of the parents’ generation)(?). If they all go off everywhere, what are we to say to call them together again? If they are together again, there will be a great deal of talk; we’ll all be pale with shame(?).So it’s up to you. If you don’t change your thinking we’ll cut the meeting short. You are certainly pitiable. We are pale with shame before the parents of this your grandchild or child.

Man’s side: Yes, yes. But it’s bad to go on too much. What can be said to us, we ask ourselves. You are quite right when you are harsh with us, when you us, when you object to our thinking, to our weakness, to the unsuitability of our provision(?). But you could forgive this(?). It would be enough that you have let us know your feelings and thinking. We too on the man’s side we want us all to make progress, so that we can all be happy together, that’s our thinking too. But what are we to do, as we are so very weak? And what are we to become too? You don’t take pity either on your child or grandchild. Take pity on us too.

Woman’s side: Yes, but you keep saying that. But no, we will just stand firm. The bride prices of us real chiefs are land, rivers, hunting grounds, meat tribute, those are our bride prices. So then show us land, rivers, hunting grounds, meat tribute and we’ll all agree, and we’ll put them side by side, and we’ll tell all our brothers and sisters everywhere, and we’ll-and we’ll have a betrothal, is what we think. If you say no, we’ll just cut the talk short. If they are to have children, if what the creator has provided is to be brought together, we’ll renew the discussion in the future. Our discussion tonight is just a waste of time. So that’s the end of our discussion.

#### 093 MESSAGE TO PEOPLE IN ENGLAND (1) Vaîulu dialect

001 pai timun a nia kaka i Igiris a mapuîat, maîimaîi aravats

pai ti-mun a nia kaka i Igiris a ma-puîat maîimaîi a-ravats

well f-you(p) c our(exc) sibling loc England c num-all thank.you c-true

a nasekeîang mun tua kai nua Tsemas tua kiîivak nua

a na-se-keîang mun tua kai nua Tsemas tua ki-îivak nua

c past-invol-know f.you(p) obl speech of God obl do-care.for of

Tsemas a kirimu; sa nu pasa Tayuangi anga ti Uaituun

Tsemas a ki-rimu sa nu pa-sa Tayuang-i anga ti Uaituun

God c do-quick and you(p) cause-go Taiwan-pf indeed f.h Whitehorn

sinsi, sa ne paîalualuayi anga tua kiîivak nua Tsemas.

sinsi sa ne pa-lua=îaluay-i anga tua ki-îivak nua Tsemas

teacher and we(exc) cause-red=clear-pf indeed obl do-care.for of God

All our brothers and sisters in England, we are very thankful that you came to know the word of God earlier, and you sent Mr Whitehorn, and the love of God was made clear to us.

002 pai ka tjaisangas ika men a kemîang ki tjen a

pai ka tja-i-sangas ika amen a m=keîang ki tjen a

well after more-loc-first not f.we(exc) c af=know how f.we(inc) c

marekakakaka, ki matsidiî a tja kama a naqemati

mare-kaka-kaka ki ma-tsidiî a tja kama a na-em=qati

pair-red-sibling how stat-alone c our(inc) father c past-af=create

tjanuitjen a i katsauan.

tjanu-itjen a i ka-tsau-an

obl-f.we(inc) c loc main-being-nom

Before that we did not know that we are brothers and sisters, and that we have one Father who created us all in the world.

003 îakua ka pasemalavan anga men ni Uaituun sinsi

îakua ka pa-se-malaw-an anga amen ni Uaituun sinsi

but after cause-invol-tell-lf indeed f.we(exc) by Whitehorn teacher

kaîaluayin anga men, kemîang anga men tu

ka-îaluay-en anga amen m=keîang anga amen tu

become-clear-pf indeed f.we(exc) af=know indeed f.we(exc) compl

marekakakaka itjen.

mare-kaka-kaka itjen

pair-red-sibling f.we(inc)

But when Mr Whitehorn told us we understood, and now we know that we are brothers and sisters.

004 manu marekakakaka itjen a mapuîat a i katsauan, ayanga

manu mare-kaka-kaka itjen a ma-puîat a i ka-tsau-an aya-anga

then pair-red-sibling f.we(inc) c num-all c loc main-being-nom say-indeed

men.

amen

f.we(exc) So now we acknowledge that all of us in the world are brothers and sisters.

005 pai a kina-i-Tayuangan ni Uaituun sinsi nuka i tsadja

pai a in=ka-i-Tayuang-an ni Uaituun sinsi nuka i tsadja

well c perf=past-loc-Taiwan-nom of Whitehorn teacher even loc far

aravats i gadu ika puluîaluîayan tua pasemalaw tua kai nua

a-ravats i gadu ika pu-luîa-luîay-an tua pa-em=salaw tua kai nua

c-true loc mountain not have-red-tired-lf obl cause-af=tell obl speech of

Tsemas, tua tjemtjautsikel.

Tsemas tua em=tj-tjautsikel

God obl af=red-story

During Mr Whitehorn’s time in Taiwan even in very distant places in the mountains he has not shirked telling the word of God and preaching.

[tjemtjautsikel: unusual reduplication, or is it m=tje- ‘do.at’]

006 pai kana ika pitsul nua Tsemas, kana ikana men a

pai ka-na ika pitsul nua Tsemas ka-na ika-na amen a

well after-then not strong of God after-then not-then f.we(exc) c

zinuker ni Uaituun sinsi.

in=zuker ni Uaituun sinsi

perf=arrive by Whitehorn teacher

If it were not for the power of God Mr Whitehorn would not have reached us.

[ikana: was kana]

007 îakua ki anema pinapupitsulan nua Tsemas, ika

îakua ki a-nema in=pa-pu-pitsul-an nua Tsemas ika

but do ?-what perf=cause-have-strong-lf by God not

napuluîaluîayan tu uri mapaseqeîing amen uta, ayaya

na-pu-luîa-luîay-an tu uri ma-pa-se-qeîing amen uta ay-aya

past-have-red-tired-lf obl will stat-cause-invol-save f.we(exc) also red-say

men a malevaleva; saka napaparangez anga men

amen a ma-leva-leva sa-ka na-pa-pa-rangez anga amen

f.we(exc) c stat-red-pleased and-after stat-cause-cause-rely indeed f.we(exc)

sakamaya tua Tsemas.

sakamaya tua Tsemas

only obl God

But he has been given power by God and has not shirked the task, so that we too could be saved; we gladly acknowledge this, and we have truly trusted in God.

008 pai tisun a ti Uaituun sinsi, djavadjavay aravats a su

pai ti-sun a ti Uaituun sinsi djava-djavay a-ravats a su

well f-you(s) c f.h Whitehorn teacher red-do.much c-true c you(s)

kina-i-Tayuangan.

in=ka-i-Tayuang-an

perf=past-loc-Taiwan-nom

Now Mr Whitehorn, we are very grateful for your time in Taiwan.

009 pai ki sun a zemuker anga itua mareka tja kaka i

pai ki sun a em=zuker anga i-tua mareka tja kaka i

well will f.you(s) c af=arrive indeed loc-obl many our(inc) sibling loc

Igiris, ki sun a tjemautsiketsikel anga tua su

Igiris ki sun a em=tsike=tjautsikel anga tua su

England how you(s) c af=red=story indeed obl your(s)

kinasi-Tayuangan tua su zelian.

in=ka-si-Tayuang-an tua su zeli-an

perf=past-if-Taiwan-nom obl your(s) weariness-nom

Now you will return to our brothers and sisters in England, and you will be telling them of your visit to Taiwan and your labours here.

010 ika manu men a dedet a su zinuker, djavadjavay aravats,

ika manu amen a de-det a su in=zuker djava-djavay a-ravats

not then f.we(exc) c red-near c you(s) perf=arrive red-do.much c-true

Uaituun sinsi.

Uaituun sinsi

Whitehorn teacher

It is not as if we to whom you came lived near you; we are very grateful, Mr Whitehorn.

011 pai uîa sun a kinizangan, uîa sun a

pai uîa sun a in=ki-zang-an uîa sun a

well so.that f.you(s) c perf=self-guard-lf so.that f.you(s) c

pinapupitsulan, uîa sun a pinakatsuatsuay

in=pa-pu-pitsul-an uîa sun a in=pa-ka-tsua-tsuay

perf=cause-have-strong-lf so.that f.you(s) c perf=cause-become-red-long.time

i katsauan nua naqemati a Tsemas tua su

i ka-tsau-an nua na-em=qati a Tsemas tua su

loc main-being-nom by past-af=create c God obl you(s)

pasemalamalaw tua kai nua Tsemas, sa su kana tsemikel

pa-se-mala-malaw tua kai nua Tsemas sa su ka-na em=tsikel

cause-invol-red-tell obl speech of God and you(s) after-then af=return

anga uta tjanuamen a i Tayuang a mareka su kaka.

anga uta tjanu-amen a i Tayuang a mareka su kaka

indeed also obl-we(exc) c loc Taiwan c many your(s) sibling

May you be guarded and strengthened, and may the creator God grant you to live long in the world for your telling of the word of God, and so may you come back again to us your brothers and sisters in Taiwan.

[a Tsemas: was nua]

012 aitsu a tiamen ki men a napatjakisamuîanga

aya-i-tsu a ti-amen ki amen a na-pa-tja-ki-samuîa-anga

be.thus-loc-this c f-we(exc) will f.we(exc) c past-cause-more-do-urgent-indeed

uta a îemaluay tua pazazekazekatj nua Tsemas, uîa men a

uta a em=îaluay tua pa-za-zeka-zekatj nua Tsemas uîa amen a

also c af=clear obl cause-red-red-share by God so.that f.we(exc) c

napenakalevanga uta tjanusun a ti, tjanusun, nu

na-en=pa-ka-leva-anga uta tjanu-sun a ti tjanu-sun nu

past-af=cause-become-pleased-indeed also obl-you(s) c f.h obl-you(s) when

mangtjez anga sun a kitsepeliw a sema maza i Tayuang.

m-pangetjez anga sun a ki-tsepeliw a em=sa maza i Tayuang

af-come indeed f.you(s) c do-return c af=go here loc Taiwan

As for us we will more zealously try to understand the commands of God, so that we may gladden you, Mr-you, when you come back here to Taiwan.

All our brothers and sisters in England, we are very thankful that you came to know the word of God earlier, and you sent Mr Whitehorn, and the love of God was made clear to us. Before that we did not know that we are brothers and sisters, and that we have one Father who created us all in the world. But when Mr Whitehorn told us we understood, and now we know that we are brothers and sisters. So now we acknowledge that all of us in the world are brothers and sisters. During Mr Whitehorn’s time in Taiwan even in very distant places in the mountains he has not shirked telling the word of God and preaching. If it were not for the power of God Mr Whitehorn would not have reached us. But he has been given power by God and has not shirked the task, so that we too could be saved; we gladly acknowledge this, and we have truly trusted in God. Now Mr Whitehorn, we are very grateful for your time in Taiwan. Now you will return to our brothers and sisters in England, and you will be telling them of your visit to Taiwan and your labours here. It is not as if we to whom you came lived near you; we are very grateful, Mr Whitehorn. May you be guarded and strengthened, and may the creator God grant you to live long in the world for your telling of the word of God, and so may you come back again to us your brothers and sisters in Taiwan. As for us we will more zealously try to understand the commands of God, so that we may gladden you, Mr-you, when you come back here to Taiwan.

#### 094 MESSAGE TO PEOPLE IN ENGLAND (2) Vaîulu dialect

001 pai timun a mareka nia vetjek a i Igiris, kaleva-i anan

pai ti-mun a mareka nia vetjek a i Igiris ka-leva-i anan

well f-you(p) c many our(exc) sibling c loc England ?-pleased-hort still

tua Tsemas.

tua Tsemas

obl God

Our brothers and sisters in England, let us continue to rejoice in God.

002 pai a Tsemas, a aîak nimadju a kinaitaitan a ti Yisu-sama

pai a Tsemas a aîak ni-madju a in=ka-ita-ita-an a ti Yisu-sama

well c God c child of-3rd.pers c perf=main-red-one-nom c f.h Jesus-h

pasa maza i katsauanen sa tje paseqeîingi anga,

pa-sa maza i ka-tsau-an-en sa tje pa-se-qeîing-i anga

cause-go here loc main-being-nom-pf and we(inc) cause-invol-save-pf indeed

sa tje saneaîaki anga a mapuîat a i katsauan a

sa tje sane-aîak-i anga a ma-puîat a i ka-tsau-an a

and we(inc) make-child-pf indeed c num-all c loc main-being-nom c

tsautsau, sa tje paparevetjevetjeki anga a mapuîat.

tsau-tsau sa tje pa-pare-vetje-vetjek-i anga a ma-puîat

red-being and we(inc) cause-pair-red-sibling-pf indeed c num-all

As for God he sent his only son Jesus here to the world, and we are saved, and all we human beings in the world are made his children, and we are all made brothers and sisters together.

003 maleva itjen aravats tua Tsemas.

ma-leva itjen a-ravats tua Tsemas

stat-pleased f.we(inc) c-true obl God We truly rejoice in God.

004 qau pai timun a nia kaka i Igiris tjaisangas mun a

qau pai ti-mun a nia kaka i Igiris tja-i-sangas mun a

so well f-you(p) c our(exc) sibling loc England more-loc-first f.you(p) c

kemîang tua kiîivak nua Tsemas.

m=keîang tua ki-îivak nua Tsemas

af=know obl do-care.for of God

Now you our brothers and sisters in England you first knew of the love of God.

005 nu djaîunen amen a kemasi tsadja ravats i kaledep a

nu djaîun-en amen a em=kasi tsadja ravats i ka-ledep a

you(p) arrive-pf f.we(exc) c af=from far true loc main-descend c

sema maza i Tayuang.

em=sa maza i Tayuang

af=go here loc Taiwan

You came to us from far away in the west to here in Taiwan.

006 pai ka alu a puluq a tsaviî a tjaisangas imazanga mun a

pai ka alu a puluq a tsaviî a tja-i-sangas i-maza-anga mun a

well after eight c ten c year c more-loc-first loc-here-indeed f.you(p) c

tjemautsiketsikel tjanuamen.

em=tsike=tjautsikel tjanu-amen

af=red=story obl-we(exc)

From 80 years ago you were here teaching us.

007 liaw anga aravats a kiukai imaza i Tayuang.

liaw anga a-ravats a kiukai i-maza i Tayuang

many indeed c-true c church loc-here loc Taiwan

Now there are very many churches here in Taiwan.

008 pai tutsu a tsaviî ka kemasi sikatjeluî tjuruvu anga aravats

pai tu-tsu a tsaviî ka em=kasi sika-tjelu-î tjuruvu anga a-ravats

well obl-this c year after af=from number-three-times many indeed c-true

a nalemingdjeî tsa su umaq ta su

a na-em=lingdjeî tsa su umaq ta su

c past-af=stand.on.end this your(s) house obl your(s)

kinatsautsauan a Tsemas.

in=ka-tsau-tsau-an a Tsemas

perf=main-red-being-nom c God

And now and in the last few years(?) very many people have built up your house your body, God.

009 pai aitsu tiamen a katsalisian kisusususu anga

pai aya-i-tsu ti-amen a ka-tsalisi-an ki-susu-susu anga

well be.thus-loc-this f-we(exc) c main-slope-nom do-red-proceed indeed

men a mapuîat, natjeîaving anga men tua nia

amen a ma-puîat na-tje-îaving anga amen tua nia

f.we(exc) c num-all past-do.at-side indeed f.we(exc) obl our(exc)

sisalimsim tua mana nia pasalisaliw, malevaleva

si-al=simsim tua ma-avan-a nia pa-sali-saliw ma-leva-leva

if-qal=pity obl stat-exact-? our(exc) cause-red-sin stat-red-pleased

men aravats.

amen a-ravats

f.we(exc) c-true

And now we people of the mountain slopes have all become believers, we have passed the time of misery because of our sins; and we are very glad.

010 pai aitsu tisun a Tsemas a napaseqeîing tjanuamen,

pai aya-i-tsu ti-sun a Tsemas a na-pa-se-qeîing tjanu-amen

well be.thus-loc-this f-you(s) c God c past-cause-invol-save obl-we(exc)

saka timun uta a mareka nia vetjek a se Igiris a

sa-ka ti-mun uta a mareka nia vetjek a se Igiris a

and-after f-you(p) also c many our(exc) sibling c person.of England c

napadjaîun tjanuamen tua kai nua Tsemas, sa aya men a

na-pa-djaîun tjanu-amen tua kai nua Tsemas sa aya amen a

past-cause-arrive obl-we(exc) obl speech of God and say f.we(exc) c

malevaleva.

ma-leva-leva

stat-red-pleased

We rejoice and say: You, God, have saved us, and you our brothers and sisters of England have brought to us the word of God.

011 pai ka sikatjeluî a tsaviî nu sekauîan uta a ti Uaituun

pai ka sika-tjelu-î a tsaviî nu sekauî-an uta a ti Uaituun

well after number-three-times c year you(p) send-lf also c f.h Whitehorn

sinsi pasa maza i Tayuang, saka uri kitsaquan tua nia

sinsi pa-sa maza i Tayuang sa-ka uri ki-tsaqu-an tua nia

teacher cause-go here loc Taiwan and-after will do-able-lf obl our(exc)

kai a katsalisian, sa uri katsalisiani anga su kai,

kai a ka-tsalisi-an sa uri ka-tsalisi-an-i anga su kai

speech c main-slope-nom and will main-slope-nom-pf indeed your(s) speech

maleva men uta aravats.

ma-leva amen uta a-ravats

stat-pleased f.we(exc) also c-true

Two years ago you also sent teacher Whitehorn here to Taiwan, to learn our mountain language and to put your word into mountain language; we are very glad.

012 pai tu kinaimazan kisamuîamuîa aravats a

pai tu in=ka-i-maza-an ki-muîa=samuîa a-ravats a

well obl perf=?-loc-here-nom do-red=urgent c-true c

kematsalisianan tua nia sizengzenger tua Tsemas a senay.

em=ka-tsalisi-an-an tua nia si-zeng-zenger tua Tsemas a senay

af=main-slope-nom-nom obl our(exc) if-red-beg obl God c chant

During his time here he has worked hard to put into mountain language our songs of praise to God.

013 aitsu a nia, aitsu a kai uta nua Tsemas liaw

aya-i-tsu a nia aya-i-tsu a kai uta nua Tsemas liaw

be.thus-loc-this c our(exc) be.thus-loc-this c speech also of God many

anga uta a nia kinatsalisianan.

anga uta a nia in=ka-tsalisi-an-an

indeed also c our(exc) perf=main-slope-nom-nom

These our-the word of God too, we have put a lot into mountain language.

014 pai tutsu îemaluay anga men tua senay, îemaluay anga

pai tu-tsu em=îaluay anga amen tua senay em=îaluay anga

well obl-this af=clear indeed f.we(exc) obl chant af=clear indeed

men tua kai nua Tsemas a pagaîu.

amen tua kai nua Tsemas a pa-gaîu

f.we(exc) obl speech of God c cause-slow

So now we understand the songs, we understand the word of God a little.

015 malevaleva men uta aravats.

ma-leva-leva amen uta a-ravats

stat-red-pleased f.we(exc) also c-true We are very glad.

016 qau pai aitsu namatsadjatsadja itjen aravats a i Igiris

qau pai aya-i-tsu na-ma-tsadja-tsadja itjen a-ravats a i Igiris

so well be.thus-loc-this past-stat-red-far f.we(inc) c-true c loc England

a i maza, îakua tjara ita tja kininemneman, tjara

a i maza îakua tjara ita tja in=kinemnem-an tjara

c loc here but surely one our(inc) perf=think-nom surely

kisamuîamuîa-i sakamaya, tjara kalevaleva-i sakamaya, tjara

ki-muîa=samuîa-i sakamaya tjara ka-leva-leva-i sakamaya tjara

do-red=urgent-hort only surely stat-red-pleased-hort only surely

zengezengeri sakamaya tua Tsemas.

zenge-zenger-i sakamaya tua Tsemas

red-beg-hort only obl God

And now we in England and here are very far apart, but certainly we are one in thought; so let us all work hard, let us all rejoice, let us all praise God.

017 qau pai aitsu tiamen a katsalisian imaza uri

qau pai aya-i-tsu ti-amen a ka-tsalisi-an i-maza uri

so well be.thus-loc-this f-we(exc) c main-slope-nom loc-here will

zemenger amen, uri malevanan amen, uri semukub

em=zenger amen uri ma-leva-anan amen uri em=sukub

af=beg f.we(exc) will stat-pleased-still f.we(exc) will af=bow.head

amen tua Tsemas a palangda tjanumun a nia kaka i

amen tua Tsemas a pa-langeda tjanu-mun a nia kaka i

f.we(exc) obl God c cause-hear obl-you(p) c our(exc) sibling loc

Igiris a mapuîat.

Igiris a ma-puîat

England c num-all

And now we mountain people here are going to praise, to rejoice, to worship God, for all you our brothers and sisters in England to hear.

Our brothers and sisters in England, let us continue to rejoice in God. As for God he sent his only son Jesus here to the world, and we are saved, and all we human beings in the world are made his children, and we are all made brothers and sisters together. We truly rejoice in God. Now you our brothers and sisters in England you first knew of the love of God. You came to us from far away in the west to here in Taiwan. From 80 years ago you were here teaching us. Now there are very many churches here in Taiwan. And now and in the last few years(?) very many people have built up your house your body, God. And now we people of the mountain slopes have all become believers, we have passed the time of misery because of our sins; and we are very glad. We rejoice and say: You, God, have saved us, and you our brothers and sisters of England have brought to us the word of God. Two years ago you also sent teacher Whitehorn here to Taiwan, to learn our mountain language and to put your word into mountain language; we are very glad. During his time here he has worked hard to put into mountain language our songs of praise to God. These our-the word of God too, we have put a lot into mountain language. So now we understand the songs, we understand the word of God a little. We are very glad. And now we in England and here are very far apart, but certainly we are one in thought; so let us all work hard, let us all rejoice, let us all praise God. And now we mountain people here are going to praise, to rejoice, to worship God, for all you our brothers and sisters in England to hear.

#### 095 PRAYER Makazayazaya dialect

001 pai aitsu uri maleva men tjanusun a naqemati

pai aya-i-tsu uri ma-leva amen tjanu-sun a na-em=qati

well be.thus-loc-this will stat-pleased f.we(exc) obl-you(s) c past-af=create

a Tsemas.

a Tsemas

c God And now we will rejoice in you, creator God.

002 pai aitsu a i katsauan tisun a Tsemas a

pai aya-i-tsu a i ka-tsau-an ti-sun a Tsemas a

well be.thus-loc-this c loc main-being-nom f-you(s) c God c

naqemati, mavan a muri nia sikaleva.

na-em=qati ma-avan a ma-uri nia si-ka-leva

past-af=create stat-exact c stat-will we(exc) if-?-pleased

It is you, God, who created this world, and for that we rejoice in you.

003 saa pai aitsu su pinasuîivatjan amen a Tsemas,

sa-ka pai aya-i-tsu su in=pa-suîivatj-an amen a Tsemas

and-after well be.thus-loc-this you(s) perf=cause-peace-lf f.we(exc) c God

su kinizangan amen tusa nia pinatsalivat a qadaw;

su in=ki-zang-an amen tu-tsa nia in=pa-tsalivat a qadaw

you(s) perf=do-guard-lf f.we(exc) obl-this we(exc) perf=cause-pass c sun

malevaleva men aravats.

ma-leva-leva amen a-ravats

stat-red-pleased f.we(exc) c-true

And now you, God, have given us peace, you have guarded us through the past days; we rejoice greatly in you.

004 qau pai aitsu imazanga men i tjaiqayaw

qau pai aya-i-tsu i-maza-anga amen i tjai-qayaw

so well be.thus-loc-this loc-here-indeed f.we(exc) loc obl-front

tjanusun a namaqepu a uri semenasenay a uri semupusupu

tjanu-sun a na-ma-qepu a uri em=sena-senay a uri em=supu-supu

obl-you(s) c past-stat-associate c will af=red-chant c will af=red-count

tua su pazazekazekatj a Tsemas.

tua su pa-za-zeka-zekatj a Tsemas

obl your(s) cause-red-red-share c God

And now here we are before you gathered to sing and to read your commands, God.

005 pai saa uîa men a naîemaluay, uîa men a su

pai sa-ka uîa amen a na-em=îaluay uîa amen a su

well and-after so.that f.we(exc) c past-af=clear so.that f.we(exc) c you(s)

kinizangan a kemasi patagiî a patje maqatsuvung

in=ki-zang-an a em=kasi pa-tagiî a pa-tje ma-qa-tsuvung

perf=do-guard-lf c af=from cause-originate c cause-do.at stat-?-complete

tusa nia kinaqepuan.

tu-tsa nia in=ka-qepu-an

obl-this our(exc) perf=stat-associate-nom

So may we understand, and may we be guarded by you from the beginning to the end of our gathering.

006 uîa men a napuzangar, uîa men a natemavelak

uîa amen a na-pu-zangar uîa amen a na-em=ta-velak

so.that f.we(exc) c past-have-joy so.that f.we(exc) c past-af=past-receive

uta tua su pitsul tua su kiîivak tusa nia

uta tua su pitsul tua su ki-îivak tu-tsa nia

also obl you(s) strong obl you(s) do-care.for obl-this our(exc)

kinaqepuan.

in=ka-qepu-an

perf=stat-associate-nom

May we be joyful, and may we receive also your strength and love in our gathering.

007 saa aitsu a nia kiqaung a nia levan

sa-ka aya-i-tsu a nia ki-qaung a nia leva-an

and-after be.thus-loc-this c our(exc) do-cry c our(exc) pleased-nom

nia pinaka tjanusun a ti Yisu-sama.

nia in=pa-maka tjanu-sun a ti Yisu-sama

we(exc) perf=cause-via obl-you(s) c f.h Jesus-h

And now our prayer and praise is made through you, Jesus.

008 aming.

qaming

amen Amen.

And now we will rejoice in you, creator God. It is you, God, who created this world, and for that we rejoice in you. And now you, God, have given us peace, you have guarded us through the past days; we rejoice greatly in you. And now here we are before you gathered to sing and to read your commands, God. So may we understand, and may we be guarded by you from the beginning to the end of our gathering. May we be joyful, and may we receive also your strength and love in our gathering. And now our prayer and praise is made through you, Jesus. Amen.

#### 096 SERMON AND PRAYER Vaîulu dialect

001 pai patsuni tu aitsu imaza itua kai nua Tsemas.

pai pa-tsun-i tu a-i-tsu i-maza i-tua kai nua Tsemas

well cause-see-hort obl c-loc-this loc-here loc-obl speech of God

Let us look at this passage here in the word of God.

002 aitsu a vetsik imaza, kiîivaku tua nu îaqediqedi, aya.

a-i-tsu a vetsik i-maza ki-îivak-u tua nu îa-qedi-qedi aya

c-loc-this c mark loc-here do-care.for-imp obl your(p) class-red-boundary say

This writing here says Love your neighbours.

003 pai izua zua maqatsuvutsuvung vaik a sema zua i tjai

pai i-zua zua ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung vaik a em=sa zua i tjai

well loc-that that stat-?-red-complete leave c af=go that loc obl.h

Yisu-sama.

Yisu-sama

Jesus-h Now there was a young person who went to Jesus.

004 “tima mana ku îaqediqedi?” aya kivadaq timadju.

ti-ima ma-avan-a ku îa-qedi-qedi aya ki-vadaq ti-madju

f-who stat-exact-? my class-red-boundary say do-ask f-3rd.pers

“Who is my neighbour?” he asked.

005 manu tevelain ni Yisu-sama: “pai ku su pasemalavay.

manu tevela-en ni Yisu-sama pai ku su pa-se-malaw-ay

then answer-pf by Jesus-h well I you(s) cause-invol-tell-lf

And Jesus replied: “I will tell you.

006 izua zua matsidiî a nakemasi zua i Yirusaîim a pasa

i-zua zua ma-tsidiî a na-em=kasi zua i Yirusaîim a pa-sa

loc-that that stat-alone c past-af=from that loc Jerusalem c cause-go

Yiriku a patjeîelauz.

Yiriku a pa-tje-îe-lauz

Jericho c cause-do.at-go.to-down

There was a person who went down from Jerusalem towards Jericho.

[patjeîelauz: original was patjeîalauz]

007 manu setsevung tua za tsa÷.

manu se-tsevung tua zua tsa÷

then invol-meet obl that bandit And he met some robbers.

008 qau azua tsa÷ kirimuin a djemukul timadju, sa uri papatsayi,

qau a-zua tsa÷ ki-rimu-en a em=djukul ti-madju sa uri pa-patsay-i

so c-that bandit do-quick-pf c af=beat f-3rd.pers and will cause-die-pf

sa sukava-i timadju, sa paseqerengi, sa alapi

sa su-kava-i ti-madju sa pa-se-qereng-i sa alap-i

and remove-clothing-pf f-3rd.pers and cause-invol-lie.down-pf and take-pf

aza nanemanemanga, sa vaikan.

a-zua na-nema-nema-anga sa vaik-an

c-that past-red-what-indeed and leave-lf

And the robbers quickly beat him up, and were going to kill him, and took off his clothes and knocked him over and took everything, and left him.

[alapi: was lapi]

009 qau pai ka naseqereng anga azua matsidiî, tsemalivat azua

qau pai ka na-se-qereng anga a-zua ma-tsidiî em=tsalivat a-zua

so well after past-invol-lie.down indeed c-that stat-alone af=pass c-that

kisamuîamuîa i tsakar.

ki-muîa=samuîa i tsakar

do-red=urgent loc platform

And as the man was lying there, a person who worked hard at the shrine passed by.

010 manu inika pinatsunan.

manu ini-ka in=pa-tsun-an

then not-after perf=cause-see-lf He didn’t look at him;

011 vaik sakamaya timadju a lemagaw a pasulivay tsemalivat.

vaik sakamaya ti-madju a em=lagaw a pa-su-livay em=tsalivat

leave only f-3rd.pers c af=avoid c cause-remove-go.aside af=pass

he just made a detour and ignored him and passed on.

012 mangtjez uta a se ïibi a tsautsau; manu patsunan aza

m-pangetjez uta a se ïibi a tsau-tsau manu pa-tsun-an a-zua

af-come also c person.of Levi c red-being then cause-see-lf c-that

naseqereng.

na-se-qereng

past-invol-lie.down

A person from Levi also came. He looked at the person lying there,

013 lagavan uta nimadju, sa vaik.

lagaw-an uta ni-madju sa vaik

avoid-lf also by-3rd.pers and leave and also made a detour and went.

014 mangtjez anga a sika masan tjeluî a se Samalia a

m-pangetjez anga a sika ma-sane tjelu-î a se Samalia a

af-come indeed c number stat-make three-times c person.of Samaria c

nanguaq aravats a tsautsau.

na-nguaq a-ravats a tsau-tsau

stat-good c-true c red-being

The third person to come was a very good person from Samaria.

015 îeteku anga timadju taza kinavavavan a lakuda,

îe-teku anga ti-madju ta-zua in=ka-va-va-vaw-an a lakuda

go.to-down indeed f-3rd.pers obl-that perf=?-red-red-above-nom c camel

sa sazua-i anga patsun aza naseqereng, sa alapan anga

sa sa-zua-i anga pa-tsun a-zua na-se-qereng sa alap-an anga

and go-that-pf indeed cause-see c-that past-invol-lie.down and take-lf indeed

tua tsemel nimadju, sa putsemeli, sa tsavu-i anga aza

tua tsemel ni-madju sa pu-tsemel-i sa tsavu-i anga a-zua

obl plant of-3rd.pers and have-treat-pf and wrapping-pf indeed c-that

mareka piqay.

mareka piqay

many wound

He got down from the camel he was riding, and went and looked at the person lying there, and got out his medicines and applied them to him, and bandaged the wounds.

016 pai sa tsatsuîu-i anga a pasa vavaw tua lakuda nimadju, sa

pai sa tsatsuîu-i anga a pa-sa va-vaw tua lakuda ni-madju sa

well and put-pf indeed c cause-go red-above obl camel of-3rd.pers and

vaikan anga pasa kakasiuîayan.

vaik-an anga pa-sa ka-ka-si-uîay-an

leave-lf indeed cause-go ?-?-if-overnight-nom

Then he put him on his camel, and went off with him to the inn.

[tsatsuîu-i: could be tsa- red + tsuîu?]

017 qau pai ka izua i kakasiuîayan, ‘uza a paisu manu uri

qau pai ka i-zua i ka-ka-si-uîay-an uza a paisu manu uri

so well after loc-that loc ?-?-if-overnight-nom here c money then will

sikasiuîay nusa tiza.

si-ka-si-uîay nu-tsa ti-zua

if-?-if-overnight of-this f-that

And when he was there at the inn the person from Samaria said (to them): ‘Here is some money to pay for this person’s stay.

[sikasiuîay: could be sika- ‘num’?]

018 nu inika kamseng, ku vayi anga uta nutiaw,’ ayain nua

nu ini-ka ka-meseng ku vay-i anga uta nu-tiaw aya-en nua

when not-after past-enough I give-pf indeed also when-one.day say-pf by

zua se Samalia a tsautsau.

zua se Samalia a tsau-tsau

that person.of Samaria c red-being

If it isn’t enough, I’ll give more tomorrow.’

019 qau pai tisun,” ayatutsuin ni Yisu-sama aza maqatsuvutsuvung,

qau pai ti-sun aya-tu-tsu-en ni Yisu-sama a-zua ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung

so well f-you(s) be.thus-alike-this-pf by Jesus-h c-that stat-?-red-complete

“manu inu mana nakiîivak tua îaqediqedi?” ayain.

manu inu ma-avan-a na-ki-îivak tua îa-qedi-qedi aya-en

then where stat-exact-? past-do-care.for obl class-red-boundary say-pf

“Now as for you,” said Jesus to the young person, “which one loved his neighbour?” he said.

020 “mavan aza sika masan tjeluî mana nakiîivak

ma-avan a-zua sika ma-sane tjelu-î ma-avan-a na-ki-îivak

stat-exact c-that number stat-make three-times stat-exact-? past-do-care.for

tua îaqediqedi a napaseqeîing,” aya a temvela.

tua îa-qedi-qedi a na-pa-se-qeîing aya a em=tevela

obl class-red-boundary c past-cause-invol-save say c af=answer

“It was the third one, who showed love to his neighbour and saved him,” he replied.

021 “qau pai tisun sa-u aitaza-u uta, kiîivaku tua su

qau pai ti-sun sa-u aya-ta-zua-u uta ki-îivak-u tua su

so well f-you(s) go-imp be.thus-?-that-imp also do-care.for-imp obl your(s)

îaqediqedi,” ayain anga ni Yisu-sama.

îa-qedi-qedi aya-en anga ni Yisu-sama

class-red-boundary say-pf indeed by Jesus-h

“Well you go and do the same; love your neighbours,”Jesus said to him.

022 pai aitsu nu kinemnem itjen a mapuîat, aitsu a

pai a-i-tsu nu kinemnem itjen a ma-puîat a-i-tsu a

well c-loc-this when think f.we(inc) c num-all c-loc-this c

îaqediqedi nu aya, aitsu a ti Yisu, inika manu amin

îa-qedi-qedi nu aya a-i-tsu a ti Yisu ini-ka manu amin

class-red-boundary when say c-loc-this c f.h Jesus not-after then no.more

a kipalinguî tua tja umaq, inika amin a mareka

a ki-pa-linguî tua tja umaq ini-ka amin a mareka

c do-cause-around obl our(inc) house not-after no.more c many

tja qali a mareka tja kaka nu siayaya.

tja qali a mareka tja kaka nu si-ay-aya

our(inc) friend c many our(inc) sibling when if-red-say

Now when we all think about this, when we say neighbour, as for Jesus, it means not only those living round our house, not only our friends or our siblings.

[inika amin: was inikamin]

023 aitsu a imaza i katsauan a mapuîat, a senema a

a-i-tsu a i-maza i ka-tsau-an a ma-puîat a se-nema a

c-loc-this c loc-here loc main-being-nom c num-all c person.of-what c

senema, nuka tsadja aravats, tjara tja îaqediqedi a

se-nema nuka tsadja a-ravats tjara tja îa-qedi-qedi a

person.of-what even far c-true surely our(inc) class-red-boundary c

mapuîat.

ma-puîat

num-all

All the people here in the world, from here or there, even those a long way off, they are certainly all our neighbours.

024 saka titjen a mapuîat, aitsu imaza i katsauan a

sa-ka ti-tjen a ma-puîat a-i-tsu i-maza i ka-tsau-an a

and-after f-we(inc) c num-all c-loc-this loc-here loc main-being-nom c

mapuîat nia îaqediqedi, aya-i a mapuîat.

ma-puîat nia îa-qedi-qedi aya-i a ma-puîat

num-all our(exc) class-red-boundary say-hort c num-all

So all of us let us all recognise that all the people in the world are our neighbours.

025 nu setsevung itjen tua selapalapay, nu setsevung itjen

nu se-tsevung itjen tua se-lapa-lapay nu se-tsevung itjen

when invol-meet f.we(inc) obl invol-red-severe when invol-meet f.we(inc)

tua qemauqaung, nu setsevung itjen tua nasemalimsim, tja

tua em=qau-qaung nu se-tsevung itjen tua na-em=al=simsim tja

obl af=red-cry when invol-meet f.we(inc) obl past-af=qal=pity we(inc)

paseqeîingaw tja tjiakaw tja pakavaîutaw.

pa-se-qeîing-aw tja tjiak-aw tja pa-ka-vaîut-aw

cause-invol-save-lf we(inc) hold.hand-lf we(inc) cause-stat-alive-lf

If we meet those who are suffering, if we meet those who are crying, if we meet those who are in trouble, let us save, lead and help them.

026 aitsu a ini anan ka sekeîang tua kai nua Tsemas, tja

a-i-tsu a ini anan ka se-keîang tua kai nua Tsemas tja

c-loc-this c not still after invol-know obl speech of God we(inc)

tjiakaw a pasa tjaiqayaw tjai Yisu-sama, uîa

tjiak-aw a pa-sa tjai-qayaw tjai Yisu-sama uîa

hold.hand-lf c cause-go obl-front obl.h Jesus-h so.that

namapaseqeîing tiamadju.

na-ma-pa-se-qeîing ti-a-madju

past-stat-cause-invol-save f-pl-3rd.pers

Let us lead to Jesus those who do not yet know the word of God, so that they may be saved.

027 nu namayatutsu itjen mana uri napasusu

nu na-ma-aya-tu-tsu itjen ma-avan-a uri na-pa-susu

when past-stat-be.thus-alike-this f.we(inc) stat-exact-? will past-cause-proceed

itjen tua kai ni Yisu-sama.

itjen tua kai ni Yisu-sama

f.we(inc) obl speech of Jesus-h If we do this we will fulfil the words of Jesus.

028 kiîivaku tua su îaqediqedi, aya tjanuitjen a mapuîat.

ki-îivak-u tua su îa-qedi-qedi aya tjanu-itjen a ma-puîat

do-care.for-imp obl your(s) class-red-boundary say obl-we(inc) c num-all

Love your neighbours, he says to us all.

029 amin.

amin

no.more The end.

030 pai anema nia sitjumaî tjanusun a naqemati a Tsemas,

pai a-nema nia si-tjumaî tjanu-sun a na-em=qati a Tsemas

well ?-what we(exc) if-discuss obl-you(s) c past-af=create c God

tjanusun a ti Yisu-sama?

tjanu-sun a ti Yisu-sama

obl-you(s) c f.h Jesus-h What are we to say to you, Creator God, to you, Jesus?

031 maîimaîi aravats a su zukerin anga men a imaza i

maîimaîi a-ravats a su zuker-en anga amen a i-maza i

thank.you c-true c you(s) arrive-pf indeed f.we(exc) c loc-here loc

katsalisian, sa su kana paseqeîiqeîing anga tjanuamen.

ka-tsalisi-an sa su ka-na pa-se-qeîi-qeîing anga tjanu-amen

main-slope-nom and you(s) after-then cause-invol-red-save indeed obl-we(exc)

Thank you very much for your reaching us here the people of the mountains and saving us.

032 anemanan nia sitjumaî tjanusun a ti Yisu-sama?

a-nema-anan nia si-tjumaî tjanu-sun a ti Yisu-sama

?-what-still we(exc) if-discuss obl-you(s) c f.h Jesus-h

And what are we to say to you, Jesus?

033 pai aitsu a nasepasalisaliw a tiamen su ruram-en

pai a-i-tsu a na-se-pa-sali-saliw a ti-amen su ruram-en

well c-loc-this c past-invol-cause-red-sin c f-we(exc) you(s) come-pf

amen sa su pakeîangi amen ta uri nia

amen sa su pa-keîang-i amen ta uri nia

f.we(exc) and you(s) cause-know-pf f.we(exc) obl will our(exc)

pakazuanan.

pa-maka-zua-an-an

cause-via-that-nom-nom

You have come to(?) us who had sinned, and you have taught us the way we should go.

034 anema nia sitjumaî?

a-nema nia si-tjumaî

?-what we(exc) if-discuss What are we to say?

035 pai, Yisu-sama, aitsu a mareka imaza i gadu a mareka

pai Yisu-sama a-i-tsu a mareka i-maza i gadu a mareka

well Jesus-h c-loc-this c many loc-here loc mountain c many

tja kaka a katsalisian a namaviliviliî a

tja kaka a ka-tsalisi-an a na-ma-vili-viliî a

our(inc) sibling c main-slope-nom c past-stat-red-behind c

namavavutuvutu a sitsuayan, pai aitsu su îaluayi

na-ma-va-vutu-vutu a si-tsuay-an pai a-i-tsu su îaluay-i

past-stat-red-red-enemy c if-long.time-nom well c-loc-this you(s) clear-pf

anga men sa su tjautsikeli anga men ta uri nia

anga amen sa su tjautsikel-i anga amen ta uri nia

indeed f.we(exc) and you(s) story-pf indeed f.we(exc) obl will we(exc)

sikatsaquan a maqaqeîiqeîing a mareka kaka.

si-ka-tsaqu-an a ma-qa-qeîi-qeîing a mareka kaka

if-stat-able-nom c stat-?-red-save c many sibling

We and our brothers and sisters here in the mountains, mountain people who were uncivilised and at enmity with one another in times past, you have made it clear to us and have told us how we should be able to help one another as brothers and sisters.

[sikatsaquan: ka-tsaqu from ma-tsaqu with si-...-an, indicating the circumstances of becoming skilled; hard to know whether -an is nom or lf]

036 saka pai aitsu nuka men a matsadjatsadja, nuka

sa-ka pai a-i-tsu nuka amen a ma-tsadja-tsadja nuka

and-after well c-loc-this even f.we(exc) c stat-red-far even

namaqaqetsiqetsi a nia matjaîaîak, uîa nia vetjek anga

na-ma-qa-qetsi-qetsi a nia matja-îaîak uîa nia vetjek anga

past-stat-red-red-fight c our(exc) num-child so.that our(exc) sibling indeed

a mapuîat.

a ma-puîat

c num-all

And so even though our parents lived far apart and fought one another, they are all to be our brothers and sisters.

037 nu nakisusu anga men, nu napasusu anga

nu na-ki-susu anga amen nu na-pa-susu anga

when past-do-proceed indeed f.we(exc) when past-cause-proceed indeed

men ta su pazazekazekatj, uîa men a

amen ta su pa-za-zeka-zekatj uîa amen a

f.we(exc) obl your(s) cause-red-red-share so.that f.we(exc) c

natjemiatjiak anga sema tjaiqayaw sakamaya tjanusun.

na-em=tjia-tjiak anga em=sa tjai-qayaw sakamaya tjanu-sun

past-af=red-hold.hand indeed af=go obl-front only obl-you(s)

When we have become followers and fulfil your commands, may we lead them all to you.

038 pai uîa men a pitjakemîamîang anga, uîa men

pai uîa amen a pi-tja-m=m=îa=keîang anga uîa amen

well so.that f.we(exc) c put-more-af=af=red=know indeed so.that f.we(exc)

a nakikakezeng anga sakamaya tjanusun.

a na-ki-ka-kezeng anga sakamaya tjanu-sun

c past-do-red-be.firm indeed only obl-you(s)

May we understand better, may we stand firm in reliance on you alone.

039 tisun a naqemati a Tsemas, naqemati a Tsemas a

ti-sun a na-em=qati a Tsemas na-em=qati a Tsemas a

f-you(s) c past-af=create c God past-af=create c God c

nakiîivak tjanuamen a napasa maza i katsauan,

na-ki-îivak tjanu-amen a na-pa-sa maza i ka-tsau-an

past-do-care.for obl-we(exc) c past-cause-go here loc main-being-nom

uîa men a nayayanga sakamaya; saka mareka

uîa amen a na-ay-aya-anga sakamaya sa-ka mareka

so.that f.we(exc) c past-red-say-indeed only and-after many

vetjevetjek itjen, uîa men a naya.

vetje-vetjek itjen uîa amen a na-aya

red-sibling f.we(inc) so.that f.we(exc) c past-say

You are the creator God, the creator God who loved us and came here to the world, is what we should say; and we should say that we are all brothers and sisters;

040 uîa ika men a nasemanviliî.

uîa ika amen a na-em=sane-viliî

so.that not f.we(exc) c past-af=make-behind

so that we don’t hate anyone,

041 kumaîi a na nia vutu, uîa nia tjiaken sakamaya.

ku-maîi a na nia vutu uîa nia tjiak-en sakamaya

?-different c past our(exc) enemy so.that we(exc) hold.hand-pf only

even those who were our enemies, and so that we only lead them on.

042 ayatutsu-i, uîa tjen a sema tjaiqayaw tjai Yisu-sama

aya-tu-tsu-i uîa tjen a em=sa tjai-qayaw tjai Yisu-sama

say-alike-this-hort so.that f.we(inc) c af=go obl-front obl.h Jesus-h

uîa namapaseqeîing.

uîa na-ma-pa-se-qeîing

so.that past-stat-cause-invol-save

Let us say this, so that we may come to Jesus so that we may be saved;

043 uîa vaik a semusu tua sinan djalan ni Yisu-sama a

uîa vaik a em=susu tua in=sane djalan ni Yisu-sama a

so.that leave c af=proceed obl perf=make road by Jesus-h c

tja tamasi, uîa men a nayanga sakamaya

tja tamasi uîa amen a na-aya-anga sakamaya

our(inc) soul so.that f.we(exc) c past-say-indeed only

marepaqaqeîiqeîing, nu izua uri matsay i kadjalanan, nu

mare-pa-qa-qeîi-qeîing nu i-zua uri m-patsay i ka-djalan-an nu

pair-cause-red-red-save when loc-that will af-die loc main-road-nom when

izua matsuîatsuîa, aya ti Yisu-sama tazua tulu tjanuitjen.

i-zua ma-tsuîa-tsuîa aya ti Yisu-sama ta-zua tulu tjanu-itjen

loc-that stat-red-hungry say f.h Jesus-h obl-that teach obl-we(inc)

so that our souls may follow the way opened by Jesus, let us say and help one another. If there is someone dying at the roadside, if are there people hungry, says Jesus in his teaching for us,

044 parepaseqeîiqeîingi, uîa men a nayanga sakamaya

pare-pa-se-qeîi-qeîing-i uîa amen a na-aya-anga sakamaya

pair-cause-invol-red-save-hort so.that f.we(exc) c past-say-indeed only

nakikakezeng sakamaya ta su pazazekazekatj.

na-ki-ka-kezeng sakamaya ta su pa-za-zeka-zekatj

past-do-red-be.firm only obl your(s) cause-red-red-share

let us help one another, let us say, just relying on your commands.

045 aming.

qaming

amen Amen.

046 pai tisun a nia Tsemas a ti Yisu-sama, maîimaîi aravats su

pai ti-sun a nia Tsemas a ti Yisu-sama maîimaîi a-ravats su

well f-you(s) c our(exc) God c f.h Jesus-h thank.you c-true you(s)

kinizangan amen tusa nia sinukuban i tjaiqayaw

in=ki-zang-an amen tu-tsa nia in=sukub-an i tjai-qayaw

perf=do-guard-lf f.we(exc) obl-this we(exc) perf=bow.head-lf loc obl-front

tjanusun.

tjanu-sun

obl-you(s)

Jesus our God, thank you very much for guarding us during our time of worship before you.

047 pai a su pitsul a su garang a su kiîivak a su

pai a su pitsul a su garang a su ki-îivak a su

well c your(s) strong c your(s) scold c your(s) do-care.for c your(s)

valisakedan a su rupazekatjan uîa su

valisaked-an a su ru-pa-zekatj-an uîa su

worry-nom c your(s) many-cause-share-nom so.that you(s)

sinipakizangan tjanuamen a mapuîat, a marevetjevetjek i

in=si-pa-ki-zang-an tjanu-amen a ma-puîat a mare-vetje-vetjek i

perf=if-cause-do-guard-lf obl-we(exc) c num-all c pair-red-sibling loc

Igiris, a tiamen a imaza i Tayuang a selizuk a

Igiris a ti-amen a i-maza i Tayuang a se-lizuk a

England c f-we(exc) c loc-here loc Taiwan c person.of-plain c

katsalisian a mapuîat.

ka-tsalisi-an a ma-puîat

main-slope-nom c num-all

May your power, might, love, concern and forgiveness protect us all, our brothers and sisters in England and us here in Taiwan, all the plainspeople and mountain people.

048 aitsu a nia kiqaung nia pinaka tjanusun a ti

a-i-tsu a nia ki-qaung nia in=pa-maka tjanu-sun a ti

c-loc-this c we(exc) do-cry we(exc) perf=cause-via obl-you(s) c f.h

Yisu-sama.

Yisu-sama

Jesus-h We make our prayer through you, Jesus.

049 aming.

qaming

amen Amen.

Let us look at this passage here in the word of God. This writing here says Love your neighbours. Now there was a young person who went to Jesus. “Who is my neighbour?” he asked. And Jesus replied: “I will tell you. There was a person who went down from Jerusalem towards Jericho. And he met some robbers. And the robbers quickly beat him up, and were going to kill him, and took off his clothes and knocked him over and took everything, and left him. And as the man was lying there, a person who worked hard at the shrine passed by. He didn’t look at him; he just made a detour and ignored him and passed on. A person from Levi also came. He looked at the person lying there, and also made a detour and went. The third person to come was a very good person from Samaria. He got down from the camel he was riding, and went and looked at the person lying there, and got out his medicines and applied them to him, and bandaged the wounds. Then he put him on his camel, and went off with him to the inn. And when he was there at the inn the person from Samaria said (to them): ‘Here is some money to pay for this person’s stay. If it isn’t enough, I’ll give more tomorrow.’”

“Now as for you,” said Jesus to the young person, “which one loved his neighbour?” he said. “It was the third one, who showed love to his neighbour and saved him,” he replied. “Well you go and do the same; love your neighbours,” Jesus said to him. Now when we all think about this, when we say neighbour, as for Jesus, it means not only those living round our house, not only our friends or our siblings. All the people here in the world, from here or there, even those a long way off, they are certainly all our neighbours. So all of us let us all recognise that all the people in the world are our neighbours. If we meet those who are suffering, if we meet those who are crying, if we meet those who are in trouble, let us save, lead and help them. Let us lead to Jesus those who do not yet know the word of God, so that they may be saved. If we do this we will fulfil the words of Jesus. Love your neighbours, he says to us all. The end.

What are we to say to you, Creator God, to you, Jesus? Thank you very much for your reaching us here the people of the mountains and saving us. And what are we to say to you, Jesus? You have come to(?) us who had sinned, and you have taught us the way we should go. What are we to say? We and our brothers and sisters here in the mountains, mountain people who were uncivilised and at enmity with one another in times past, you have made it clear to us and have told us how we should be able to help one another as brothers and sisters. And so even though our parents lived far apart and fought one another, they are all to be our brothers and sisters. When we have become followers and fulfil your commands, may we lead them all to you. May we understand better, may we stand firm in reliance on you alone. You are the creator God, the creator God who loved us and came here to the world, is what we should say; and we should say that we are all brothers and sisters; so that we don’t hate anyone, even those who were our enemies, and so that we only lead them on. Let us say this, so that we may come to Jesus so that we may be saved; so that our souls may follow the way opened by Jesus, let us say and help one another. If there is someone dying at the roadside, if there are people hungry, says Jesus in his teaching for us, let us help one another, let us say, just relying on your commands. Amen. Jesus our God, thank you very much for guarding us during our time of worship before you. May your power, might, love, concern and forgiveness protect us all, our brothers and sisters in England and us here in Taiwan, all the plainspeople and mountain people. We make our prayer through you, Jesus. Amen.

#### 097 FAREWELL MESSAGE (1) Dialect not noted

001 aw anga sun, sinsi.

kaw anga sun sinsi

oh indeed f.you(s) teacher Greetings to you, teacher.

002 ka vaivaik anga sun imaza i Hiitu ki sun a

ka vai-vaik anga sun i-maza i Hiitu ki sun a

after red-leave indeed f.you(s) loc-here loc (place) will f.you(s) c

nakemuda ta su valisakedan tjanuamen, îaua i tja

na-em=kuda ta su valisaked-an tjanu-amen îakua ki tja

past-af=do.what obl your(s) worry-nom obl-we(exc) but will we(inc)

udain, masa tu matsatsadjatsadja itjen angata.

kuda-en ma-sa tu ma-tsa-tsadja-tsadja itjen anga-ta

do.what-pf stat-maybe compl stat-red-red-far f.we(inc) indeed-?

When you have left (us) here in Pingtung, how will you be in your concern for us? But what can be done, as we are so far apart.

[îa**ua: was la**ua, here and below]

003 ka vaivaik sun itua kisia’an ramuîu anga men aravats

ka vai-vaik sun i-tua kisia-an ramuîu anga amen a-ravats

after red-leave f.you(s) loc-obl train-nom sad indeed f.we(exc) c-true

tjanusun a ti sinsi.

tjanu-sun a ti sinsi

obl-you(s) c f.h teacher

When you left from the railway station we were very sad for you, teacher.

004 îaua aitsu nu napasusu itjen tua tulu nimadju

îakua aya-i-tsu nu na-pa-susu itjen tua tulu ni-madju

but be.thus-loc-this when past-cause-proceed f.we(inc) obl teach of-3rd.pers

tua pazazekazekatj nimadju a imaza i Tayuang, ki

tua pa-za-zeka-zekatj ni-madju ka i-maza i Tayuang ki

obl cause-red-red-share of-3rd.pers after loc-here loc Taiwan will

tjen a nametsevutsevung anga nu tsuay anga nu

tjen a na-me-tsevu-tsevung anga nu tsuay anga nu

f.we(inc) c past-af-red-meet indeed when long.time indeed when

tjaiviliî anga itua naqemati a Tsemas, ayaya men

tja-i-viliî anga i-tua na-em=qati a Tsemas ay-aya amen

more-loc-behind indeed loc-obl past-af=create c God red-say f.we(exc)

a masalusalu.

a ma-salu-salu

c stat-red-believe

But we were convinced that if we all fulfil his teaching and his commands while he was in Taiwan, we will meet later on in the future in the place of the creator God.

005 pai uta, sinsi, ka i vavaw sun tua varukur ki sun a

pai uta sinsi ka i va-vaw sun tua varukur ki sun a

well also teacher after loc red-above f.you(s) obl ship will f.you(s) c

nakemuda, ki sun a nasevalisakedan tjanuamen anga uta,

na-em=kuda ki sun a na-se-valisaked-an tjanu-amen anga uta

past-af=do.what will f.you(s) c past-invol-worry-lf obl-we(exc) indeed also

saka ki sun a namalevaleva uta tua zemuker uta tua

sa-ka ki sun a na-ma-leva-leva uta tua em=zuker uta tua

and-after will f.you(s) c past-stat-red-pleased also obl af=arrive also obl

marea tja kaka i Igiris.

mareka tja kaka i Igiris

many our(inc) sibling loc England

And also, teacher, while you are on the ship how will you be in your concern for us too? And you will be glad too to reach our brothers and sisters in England.

006 saka tiamen anga uta, kalevanga ti sinsi a uri

sa-ka ti-amen anga uta ka-leva-anga ti sinsi a uri

and-after f-we(exc) indeed also stat-pleased-indeed f.h teacher c will

djemaîun tua marea a aa, ayaya men.

em=djaîun tua mareka a kaka ay-aya amen

af=arrive obl many c sibling red-say f.we(exc)

And we too will say: Good for the teacher, he will reach our brothers and sisters.

007 nu ana masa a demut, i men a nasaîinga

nu ka-na ma-sa a em=dut ki amen a na-sa-îinga

when after-then stat-maybe c af=approach will f.we(exc) c past-want-desire

ta kidjadjalan tjanusun.

ta ki-dja-djalan tjanu-sun

obl self-red-road obl-you(s)

If it was near we would want to go with you;

[nu kana: ‘if only’]

008 îaua i tja kudain a matsatsadjatsadja itjen a maeîang.

îakua ki tja kuda-en a ma-tsa-tsadja-tsadja itjen a ma-keîang

but will we(inc) do.what-pf c stat-red-red-far f.we(inc) c stat-know

but what can we do as we are so far apart, as we know?

009 îaua aitsu nu tjaîuzuanga sun tua marea tja

îakua aya-i-tsu nu tjaîu-zua-anga sun tua mareka tja

but be.thus-loc-this when until-that-indeed f.you(s) obl many our(inc)

kaka, ki sun a napaqeneqenetj anga tjanuamen.

kaka ki sun a na-pa-qene-qenetj anga tjanu-amen

sibling will f.you(s) c past-cause-red-see indeed obl-we(exc)

But when you get there to our brothers and sisters, you will remember us;

010 nu inulinuli sun ki su inulinulian amen uta.

nu nuli=inuli sun ki su nuli=inuli-an amen uta

when red=pray f.you(s) will you(s) red=pray-lf f.we(exc) also

and when you pray you will pray for us too.

[inulinulian: was inulinuli]

011 saka tiamen uta uîa zemangazangal ti sinsi, uîa

sa-ka ti-amen uta uîa em=zanga-zangal ti sinsi uîa

and-after f-we(exc) also so.that af=red-hard f.h teacher so.that

padjalidjalim ti sinsi tu sipangtjez anga tjanuitjen nu

pa-djali-djalim ti sinsi tu si-pangetjez anga tjanu-itjen nu

cause-red-win f.h teacher compl if-come indeed obl-we(inc) when

tjaiviliî, i men a ayaya uta nu inuli amen.

tja-i-viliî ki amen a ay-aya uta nu inuli amen

more-loc-behind will f.we(exc) c red-say also when pray f.we(exc)

And when we pray we will say: May the teacher persevere, may the teacher be keen to come back to us later.

012 saa aitsu, sinsi, a marea tja matjaîaîak i zua

sa-ka aya-i-tsu sinsi a mareka tja matja-îaîak i zua

and-after be.thus-loc-this teacher c many our(inc) num-child loc that

marea tja kaka i navenala emuda nu djemaîun

mareka tja kaka ki na-in=vala em=kuda nu em=djaîun

many our(inc) sibling will past-perf=able af=do.what when af=arrive

sun.

sun

f.you(s)

And now, teacher, the parents there and our brothers and sisters, I hope they will be well when you reach them.

[nu: not in original text]

013 aitsu nu mapaqeneqenetj i sun a ventsivetsik anga

aya-i-tsu nu ma-pa-qene-qenetj ki sun a n=vetsi-vetsik anga

be.thus-loc-this when stat-cause-red-see will f.you(s) c af=red-mark indeed

tjanuamen sa su pasemalamalavi anga men tu

tjanu-amen sa su pa-se-mala-malaw-i anga amen tu

obl-we(exc) and you(s) cause-invol-red-tell-hort indeed f.we(exc) compl

ki nakemuda su zinukeran, tu ki sun a

ki na-em=kuda su in=zuker-an tu ki sun a

will past-af=do.what your(s) perf=arrive-nom compl will f.you(s) c

nasuîivatj emuda i vavaw tua varukur.

na-suîivatj em=kuda i va-vaw tua varukur

past-peace af=do.what loc red-above obl ship

And when you think of us you will write to us and tell us about your arrival, whether you were all right on the ship.

014 saka aitsu i men a aîavaîava uta tua su

sa-ka aya-i-tsu ki amen a ka-îava-îava uta tua su

and-after be.thus-loc-this will f.we(exc) c ?-red-wait also obl your(s)

vetsik uta, sinsi.

vetsik uta sinsi

mark also teacher

And now we will await your letter, teacher.

015 nu binkiukiu anga sun uta i sun a pasemalamalaw

nu kiu=binkiu anga sun uta ki sun a pa-se-mala-malaw

when red=study indeed f.you(s) also will f.you(s) c cause-invol-red-tell

uta tua uri su sipangtjezan anga tjanuamen nu tjaiviliî

uta tua uri su si-pangetjez-an anga tjanu-amen nu tja-i-viliî

also obl will your(s) if-come-nom indeed obl-we(exc) when more-loc-behind

anga.

anga

indeed

When you have begun studying too you will tell us when you are going to come back to us in the future.

016 saa tiaen uta, sinsi, tua naramaîeng aen aravats aitsu

sa-ka ti-aken uta sinsi tua na-ramaîeng aken a-ravats aya-i-tsu

and-after f-I also teacher obl past-adult f.I c-true be.thus-loc-this

nu mangtjez anga sun nu tjaiviliî, nu lemaqets

nu m-pangetjez anga sun nu tja-i-viliî nu em=laqets

when af-come indeed f.you(s) when more-loc-behind when af=delay

i naneanga.

ki na-neka-anga

will past-no-indeed

And I too, teacher, as I am very old, when you come back in the future perhaps I will not be here (??).

017 îaua nu pasusu anga en, nu namakaya ken a

îakua nu pa-susu anga aken nu na-ma-kaya aken a

but when cause-proceed indeed f.I when past-stat-able f.I c

kitjaîupatsay tua u inaimazan i atsauan, nu

ki-tjaîu-patsay tua ku in=ka-i-maza-an i ka-tsau-an nu

do-until-die obl my perf=stat-loc-here-nom loc main-being-nom when

ayain a tjaisangas anga tjanusun a sema tinkuku.

aya-en a tja-i-sangas anga tjanu-sun a em=sa tinkuku

say-pf c more-loc-first indeed obl-you(s) c af=go heaven

But if I am faithful, if I can endure my time on earth, perhaps (?) I will go to heaven before you.

[kitjaîupatsay: was kitjarupatsay, F405 has tjalu]

018 îaua aitsu nu ini anan a pasusu aen, asinu i

îakua aya-i-tsu nu ini anan a pa-susu aken kasi-inu ki

but be.thus-loc-this when not still c cause-proceed f.I from-where will

nazemuker tua ama i alevelevan.

na-em=zuker tua kama i ka-levelev-an

past-af=arrive obl father loc main-dazzle-nom

But if I am still not faithful, how can I reach our Father in heaven?

019 îaua aitsu nu sekulukulung amen i maza, i

îakua aya-i-tsu nu se-kulu-kulung amen i maza ki

but be.thus-loc-this when invol-red-awkward f.we(exc) loc here will

sun a napazekatj anga tjanuamen.

sun a na-pa-zekatj anga tjanu-amen

f.you(s) c past-cause-share indeed obl-we(exc)

But if we here are stupid, you will forgive us.

020 aw anga sun, sinsi.

kaw anga sun sinsi

oh indeed f.you(s) teacher Greetings, teacher.

021 djavadjavay a su kipaula tjanuamen a imaza anan sun

djava-djavay a su ki-pa-ula tjanu-amen ka i-maza anan sun

red-do.much c your(s) do-cause-lack obl-we(exc) after loc-here still f.you(s)

i Tayuang.

i Tayuang

loc Taiwan

Thank you for your trouble on our behalf while you were still here in Taiwan.

[Tayuang: was Tayuan]

[anan: was nan]

022 amin.

amin

no.more The end.

Greetings to you, teacher. When you have left (us) here in Pingtung, how will you be in your concern for us? But what can be done, as we are so far apart. When you left from the railway station we were very sad for you, teacher. But we were convinced that if we all fulfil his teaching and his commands while he was in Taiwan, we will meet later on in the future in the place of the creator God. And also, teacher, while you are on the ship how will you be in your concern for us too? And you will be glad too to reach our brothers and sisters in England. And we too will say: Good for the teacher, he will reach our brothers and sisters. If it was near we would want to go with you; but what can we do as we are so far apart, as we know? But when you get there to our brothers and sisters, you will remember us; and when you pray you will pray for us too. And when we pray we will say: May the teacher persevere, may the teacher be keen to come back to us later. And now, teacher, the parents there and our brothers and sisters, I hope they will be well when you reach them. And when you think of us you will write to us and tell us about your arrival, whether you were all right on the ship. And now we will await your letter, teacher. When you have begun studying too you will tell us when you are going to come back to us in the future. And I too, teacher, as I am very old, when you come back in the future perhaps I will not be here (??). But if I am faithful, if I can endure my time on earth, perhaps (?) I will go to heaven before you. But if I am still not faithful, how can I reach our Father in heaven? But if we here are stupid, you will forgive us. Greetings, teacher. Thank you for your trouble on our behalf while you were still here in Taiwan. The end.

#### 098 FAREWELL MESSAGE (2) Kazazaîan dialect

001 pai, sinsi, qai anga sun.

pai sinsi qai anga sun

well teacher oh indeed f.you(s) We remember you with affection, teacher.

002 ki sun a vaik anga i maza i Tayuang.

ki sun a vaik anga i maza i Tayuang

will f.you(s) c leave indeed loc here loc Taiwan

So you are leaving (us) here in Taiwan,

003 ki sun a djemaîun itua mareka tja kaka i Igiris.

ki sun a em=djaîun i-tua mareka tja kaka i Igiris

will f.you(s) c af=arrive loc-obl many our(inc) sibling loc England

and are going to our brothers and sisters in England.

004 pai nu vaik sun, pai kiqauqaungan amen uta tua tja

pai nu vaik sun pai ki-qau-qaung-an amen uta tua tja

well when leave f.you(s) well do-red-cry-lf f.we(exc) also obl our(inc)

kama Tsemas tusa nia saqetjuan uta.

kama Tsemas tu-tsa nia saqetju-an uta

father God obl-this our(exc) painful-nom also

Well when you go pray for us too to our Father God because of our illnesses too.

005 pai maîimaîi aravats, Uaitu sinsi, aitsu a su kinasi

pai maîimaîi a-ravats Uaitu sinsi aya-i-tsu a su in=kasi

well thank.you c-true Whitehorn teacher be.thus-loc-this c your(s) perf=from

Tayuangan.

Tayuang-an

Taiwan-nom

Thank you very much, teacher Whitehorn, during your time in Taiwan

006 napadjaîudjaîun sun tjanuamen, nazemuker sun uta i

na-pa-djaîu-djaîun sun tjanu-amen na-em=zuker sun uta i

past-cause-red-arrive f.you(s) obl-we(exc) past-af=arrive f.you(s) also loc

tjanuamen i Kazazaîan.

tjanu-amen i Kazazaîan

obl-we(exc) loc (place)

you came to us, you also reached us in Kazazaîan.

007 pai maîimaîi aravats.

pai maîimaîi a-ravats

well thank.you c-true Thank you very much.

008 malevaleva men aravats.

ma-leva-leva amen a-ravats

stat-red-pleased f.we(exc) c-true We are very pleased.

009 îakua pai aitsu, Uaitu sinsi, nu djemaîun sun

îakua pai aya-i-tsu Uaitu sinsi nu em=djaîun sun

but well be.thus-loc-this Whitehorn teacher when af=arrive f.you(s)

itua mareka tja kaka, qai anga tazua, ki sun aya anga

i-tua mareka tja kaka qai anga ta-zua ki sun aya anga

loc-obl many our(inc) sibling oh indeed obl-that will f.you(s) say indeed

uta tjanuamen a mapuîat a imaza i Tayuang.

uta tjanu-amen a ma-puîat a i-maza i Tayuang

also obl-we(exc) c num-all c loc-here loc Taiwan

But now, teacher Whitehorn, when you reach our brothers and sisters, you will remember with affection all of us here in Taiwan.

[îakua: was lakua]

010 pai nu izuanga sun uta itua mareka tja kaka, ki

pai nu i-zua-anga sun uta i-tua mareka tja kaka ki

well when loc-that-indeed f.you(s) also loc-obl many our(inc) sibling will

men a su sikiqauqaungan uta sakamaya tua tja Kama i

amen a su si-ki-qau-qaung-an uta sakamaya tua tja Kama i

f.we(exc) c you(s) if-do-red-cry-lf also only obl our(inc) father loc

vavaw.

va-vaw

red-above

And when you are there with our brothers and sisters, you will certainly pray for us to our Father above.

011 pai nu ika men a sa makapidaî uta, ki tjen a

pai nu ika amen a sa maka-pida-î uta ki tjen a

well when not f.we(exc) c go num-how.many-times also will f.we(inc) c

metsevutsevung anga i kalevelevan, nu napasusu

me-tsevu-tsevung anga i ka-levelev-an nu na-pa-susu

af-red-meet indeed loc main-dazzle-nom when past-cause-proceed

amen tua su tulu ta su pazazekazekatj.

amen tua su tulu ta su pa-za-zeka-zekatj

f.we(exc) obl your(s) teach obl your(s) cause-red-red-share

And if we don’t last so many days, we will meet in heaven, if we fulfil your teaching and commands.

012 pai amin a u kai.

pai amin a ku kai

well no.more c my speech Well that’s all I have to say.

013 qai anga sun.

qai anga sun

oh indeed f.you(s) Greetings.

We remember you with affection, teacher. So you are leaving (us) here in Taiwan, and are going to our brothers and sisters in England. Well when you go pray for us too to our Father God because of our illnesses too. Thank you very much, teacher Whitehorn, during your time in Taiwan you came to us, you also reached us in Kazazaîan. Thank you very much. We are very pleased. But now, teacher Whitehorn, when you reach our brothers and sisters, you will remember with affection all of us here in Taiwan. And when you are there with our brothers and sisters, you will certainly pray for us to our F ather above. And if we don’t last so many days, we will meet in heaven, if we fulfil your teaching and commands. Well that’s all I have to say. Greetings.

#### 099 FAREWELL MESSAGE (3) Dialect not noted

001 qai sun, sinsi.

qai sun sinsi

oh f.you(s) teacher We remember you with affection, teacher.

002 maîimaîi aravats a kinuletj sun nua tja Tsemas i

maîimaîi a-ravats a in=kuletj sun nua tja Tsemas i

thank.you c-true c perf=supply f.you(s) by our(inc) God loc

vavaw sa su pasamaza i Tayuangi, sa su sikanemanga

va-vaw sa su pa-sa-maza i Tayuang-i sa su si-ka-nema-anga

red-above and you(s) cause-go-here loc Taiwan-pf and you(s) if-?-what-indeed

tua nia kai a katsalisian, sana ne kemîang anga.

tua nia kai a ka-tsalisi-an sa-na ne m=keîang anga

obl our(exc) speech c main-slope-nom and-then we(exc) af=know indeed

Thank you very much that our God provided you and you were sent here to Taiwan, and you dealt with (?) the language of us people of the mountain slopes and we were able to understand.

003 pai aitsu a mareka katsalisian nisun a tami.

pai aya-i-tsu a mareka ka-tsalisi-an ni-sun a tami

well be.thus-loc-this c many main-slope-nom of-you(s) c people

And so the mountain people are your people.

[katsalisian: was kinatsalisian]

004 pai kana ika sun a namangtjez qau kana men a

pai ka-na ika sun a na-m-pangetjez qau ka-na amen a

well after-then not f.you(s) c past-af-come so after-then f.we(exc) c

kemîang tua nia vetsik a kinatsalisianan.

m=keîang tua nia vetsik a in=ka-tsalisi-an-an

af=know obl our(exc) mark c perf=main-slope-nom-nom

If you had not come how could (?) we have known the writing for our mountain language?

[kinatsalisianan: was katsalisian]

005 selapay nu namalevaleva men aravats.

se-lapay nu na-ma-leva-leva amen a-ravats

invol-severe of past-stat-red-pleased f.we(exc) c-true

We are extremely glad about it.

006 saka pai aitsu nu vaik sun uta uîa men a

sa-ka pai aya-i-tsu nu vaik sun uta uîa amen a

and-after well be.thus-loc-this when leave f.you(s) also so.that f.we(exc) c

su sikainulinuli, uîa men a temudutudur sakamaya tua

su si-ka-nuli=inuli uîa amen a em=tudu-tudur sakamaya tua

you(s) if-?-red=pray so.that f.we(exc) c af=red-progress only obl

nia sinku a mareka su kaka imaza i katsalisian,

nia sinku a mareka su kaka i-maza i ka-tsalisi-an

our(exc) faith c many your(s) sibling loc-here loc main-slope-nom

sana ne kana inulinuli uta tjanusun.

sa-na ne ka-na nuli=inuli uta tjanu-sun

and-then we(exc) after-then red=pray also obl-you(s)

And now when you go may you pray for us, so that we your brothers and sisters here in the mountains may continue always in our faith and pray too for you.

007 nu vaik anga sun nu i djalan anga sun, uîa

nu vaik anga sun nu i djalan anga sun uîa

when leave indeed f.you(s) when loc road indeed f.you(s) so.that

sun a napupitsupitsul anga uta; nu i djalan anga sun,

sun a na-pu-pitsu-pitsul anga uta nu i djalan anga sun

f.you(s) c past-have-red-strong indeed also when loc road indeed f.you(s)

uîa sun a namalevalevanga a mangtjez itua mareka

uîa sun a na-ma-leva-leva-anga a m-pangetjez i-tua mareka

so.that f.you(s) c past-stat-red-pleased-indeed c af-come loc-obl many

su matjaîaîak a mareka su kaka.

su matja-îaîak a mareka su kaka

your(s) num-child c many your(s) sibling

When you go and are on your journey may you be in good health; and on your way may you be glad to reach your parents and brothers and sisters.

008 saka pai aitsu a tiamen a uri su vinaikan uîa

sa-ka pai aya-i-tsu a ti-amen a uri su in=vaik-an uîa

and-after well be.thus-loc-this c f-we(exc) c will you(s) perf=leave-lf so.that

men a su kinipaqenetjan sa su kainulinulian amen,

amen a su in=ki-pa-qenetj-an sa su ka-nuli=inuli-an amen

f.we(exc) c you(s) perf=do-cause-see-lf and you(s) ?-red=pray-lf f.we(exc)

uîa men a napasusu tua tulu nua Tsemas tua kai nua

uîa amen a na-pa-susu tua tulu nua Tsemas tua kai nua

so.that f.we(exc) c past-cause-proceed obl teach of God obl speech of

tja kaka ti Yisu-sama, uîa tjen a namakaya

tja kaka ti Yisu-sama uîa tjen a na-ma-kaya

our(inc) sibling f.h Jesus-h so.that f.we(inc) c past-stat-able

metsevutsevung i tjarivavaw, nu namakapasusu

me-tsevu-tsevung i tjari-va-vaw nu na-maka-pa-susu

af-red-meet loc utmost-red-above when past-finished-cause-proceed

itjen tua tulu nua tja Tsemas i vavaw.

itjen tua tulu nua tja Tsemas i va-vaw

f.we(inc) obl teach of our(inc) God loc red-above

And we whom you are leaving behind may you remember us and pray for us, so that we will keep the teaching of God and the words of our brother Jesus; may we be able to meet up above if we have fully kept the teaching of our God above.

009 saka amin a ku kai.

sa-ka amin a ku kai

and-after no.more c my speech That’s all I have to say.

We remember you with affection, teacher. Thank you very much that our God provided you and you were sent here to Taiwan, and you dealt with (?) the language of us people of the mountain slopes and we were able to understand. And so the mountain people are your people. If you had not come how could (?) we have known the writing for our mountain language? We are extremely glad about it. And now when you go may you pray for us, so that we your brothers and sisters here in the mountains may continue always in our faith and pray too for you. When you go and are on your journey may you be in good health; and on your way may you be glad to reach your parents and brothers and sisters. And we whom you are leaving behind may you remember us and pray for us, so that we will keep the teaching of God and the words of our brother Jesus; may we be able to meet up above if we have fully kept the teaching of our God above. That’s all I have to say.

#### 100 FAREWELL MESSAGE (4) Vaîulu dialect

001 qai a siningelitan, sinsi.

qai a in=singelit-an sinsi

oh c perf=miss-lf teacher How we miss you, teacher.

002 aitsu tsuatsuay anga sun aravats a su vinaikan

aya-i-tsu tsua-tsuay anga sun a-ravats a su in=vaik-an

be.thus-loc-this red-long.time indeed f.you(s) c-true c your(s) perf=leave-lf

imaza i Tayuang.

i-maza i Tayuang

loc-here loc Taiwan It is now a very long time since you left Taiwan.

[vinaikan: is -an lf or nom?]

003 tiamen singelitan amen aravats, talimuzamuzaw amen sakamaya

ti-amen singelit-an amen a-ravats muza=talimuzaw amen sakamaya

f-we(exc) miss-lf f.we(exc) c-true red=sad f.we(exc) only

tjanusun.

tjanu-sun

obl-you(s) We miss you very much and just feel sad about you.

004 aki kemudakuda ti sinsi, aki kisamuîamuîa, aki napupitsul,

aki em=kuda-kuda ti sinsi aki ki-muîa=samuîa aki na-pu-pitsul

how af=red-do.what f.h teacher how do-red=urgent how past-have-strong

ayaya men sakamaya.

ay-aya amen sakamaya

red-say f.we(exc) only

What is the teacher doing, is he working hard, is he well?, we keep saying.

005 îakua nu nia kinemnemen kudain a pinazazekazekatj

îakua nu nia kinemnem-en kuda-en a in=pa-za-zeka-zekatj

but when we(exc) think-pf do.what-pf c perf=cause-red-red-share

timadju nua Tsemas tu mana uri kiqutjela tjanuitjen a

ti-madju nua Tsemas tu ma-avan-a uri ki-qutjela tjanu-itjen a

f-3rd.pers of God compl stat-exact-? will do-busy obl-we(inc) c

imaza i Tayuang a katsalisian numa.

i-maza i Tayuang a ka-tsalisi-an numa

loc-here loc Taiwan c main-slope-nom indeed

But when we think about it, he was ordered by God wasn’t he to be active for us mountain people here in Taiwan.

[kiqutjela: F237 has qutela]

006 pai tutsu i tsadja timadju tjanuitjen, îakua ventsivetsik anan

pai tu-tsu i tsadja ti-madju tjanu-itjen îakua n=vetsi-vetsik anan

well obl-this loc far f-3rd.pers obl-we(inc) but af=red-mark still

uta, kitulutulu anan uta tua kai nua Tsemas tua siîaluayan a

uta ki-tulu-tulu anan uta tua kai nua Tsemas tua si-îaluay-an a

also do-red-teach still also obl speech of God obl if-clear-nom c

pasemalaw tjanuitjen a kematsalisianan uta tua kai nua

pa-em=salaw tjanu-itjen a em=ka-tsalisi-an-an uta tua kai nua

cause-af=tell obl-we(inc) c af=main-slope-nom-nom also obl speech of

Tsemas, nu aya men uta masasa men uta.

Tsemas nu aya amen uta ma-sasa amen uta

God when say f.we(exc) also stat-console f.we(exc) also

Now he is far away from us, but he is still studying, he is still learning about the word of God so as to be able to tell us clearly in the mountain language the word of God; when we think of this we are comforted.

007 pai aitsu titjen a tsautsau a mapuîat tjara

pai aya-i-tsu ti-tjen a tsau-tsau a ma-puîat tjara

well be.thus-loc-this f-we(inc) c red-being c num-all surely

pinazazekazekatj itjen nua Tsemas tua uri tja sengsengan

in=pa-za-zeka-zekatj itjen nua Tsemas tua uri tja sengseng-an

perf=cause-red-red-share f.we(inc) by God obl will our(inc) work-nom

tusa tja kinaikatsauanan, tua mana uri

tu-tsa tja in=ka-i-ka-tsau-an-an tua ma-avan-a uri

obl-this our(inc) perf=?-loc-main-being-nom-nom obl stat-exact-? will

tja djalan, tu uri pasainu itjen.

tja djalan tu uri pa-sa-inu itjen

our(inc) road compl will cause-go-where f.we(inc)

Well all we human beings get our orders from God about our work in our life, the way we should go, where we should go to.

008 qau pai tisun a ti sinsi kudain a pinazazekazekatj anga

qau pai ti-sun a ti sinsi kuda-en a in=pa-za-zeka-zekatj anga

so well f-you(s) c f.h teacher do.what-pf c perf=cause-red-red-share indeed

sun nua Tsemas tua sema maza i Tayuang a hunyaku tua nia

sun nua Tsemas tua em=sa maza i Tayuang a hunyaku tua nia

f.you(s) by God obl af=go here loc Taiwan c translate obl our(exc)

kai a Payuang zuku.

kai a Payuang zuku

speech c Paiwan tribe

And you, teacher, you have been ordered by God haven’t you to come to Taiwan to translate into our language of the Paiwan tribe.

009 tjara kipaqeneqenetji amen sakamaya.

tjara ki-pa-qene-qenetj-i amen sakamaya

surely do-cause-red-see-hort f.we(exc) only Just remember us.

010 pai nu i gaku sun tjara liaw aravats a su siselapay

pai nu i gaku sun tjara liaw a-ravats a su si-se-lapay

well when loc school f.you(s) surely many c-true c your(s) if-invol-severe

a su sikaluîay nua su qulu nua su kininemneman na

a su si-ka-luîay nua su qulu nua su in=kinemnem-an na

c your(s) if-become-tired of your(s) head of your(s) perf=think-nom of

su kinatsautsauan tua su kisamuîa.

su in=ka-tsau-tsau-an tua su ki-samuîa

your(s) perf=main-red-being-nom obl your(s) do-urgent

When you are in the school you will have a lot to put up with, you will be tired in your head, your thinking and your body because of working hard;

011 îakua nuka ki sun a namaluîaluîay aravats, nuka ki sun

îakua nuka ki sun a na-ma-luîa-luîay a-ravats nuka ki sun

but even will f.you(s) c past-stat-red-tired c-true even will f.you(s)

a namazeli aravats, ui ÷i, ua ku tazua i Tayuang a ku

a na-ma-zeli a-ravats ui ÷i ua ku ta-zua i Tayuang a ku

c past-stat-weariness c-true yes oh hey I obl-that loc Taiwan c my

sengsengan a ku qinadju a liaw aravats a tjakaîavaîava tjanuaken

sengseng-an a ku in=adjuq a liaw a-ravats a tja-ka-îava-îava tjanu-aken

work-nom c I perf=leave c many c-true c more-?-red-wait obl-I

a namapalingzaî a namaparutsunuq anan, aya-u

a na-ma-pa-lingzaî a na-ma-ar=pu-tsunuq anan aya-u

c past-stat-cause-incomplete c past-stat-randomly=have-scree still say-imp

uta a kinemnem, sa su kipapupitsupitsul sa su kiqaung

uta a kinemnem sa su ki-pa-pu-pitsu-pitsul sa su ki-qaung

also c think and you(s) do-cause-have-red-strong and you(s) do-cry

uta tua Tsemas.

uta tua Tsemas

also obl God

but even if you are very weak, even if you are very tired, think like this: Yes, there is in Taiwan a lot of work that I left that is waiting for me that is incomplete(?) and still in a muddle; and so get more strength and pray to God.

[tazua: was tazu]

[namaparutsunuq: could be na-ma-pa-ru-tsunuq past-stat-cause-many-scree]

012 pai tiamen uta aitsu a ÷usa tsaviî a uri su vinaikan,

pai ti-amen uta aya-i-tsu a ÷usa tsaviî a uri su in=vaik-an

well f-we(exc) also be.thus-loc-this c two year c will your(s) perf=leave-lf

palamu ki mangtjez, aya men.

pa-lamu ki m-pangetjez aya amen

cause-short.time will af-come say f.we(exc)

We too during these two years of your absence, we’ll say: He’ll soon come back.

013 inika nia lina÷uq a kinemnem.

ini-ka nia in=la÷uq a kinemnem

not-after we(exc) perf=long c think

We haven’t made it longer in our thinking.

014 kiqauqaung amen uta tua su sipupitsulan, tua su

ki-qau-qaung amen uta tua su si-pu-pitsul-an tua su

do-red-cry f.we(exc) also obl your(s) if-have-strong-nom obl your(s)

sikitsepelivan anan a sema Tayuang, tua su siqatsuvungan tua

si-ki-tsepeliw-an anan a em=sa Tayuang tua su si-qa-tsuvung-an tua

if-do-return-nom still c af=go Taiwan obl your(s) if-?-complete-nom obl

su sengsengan, tua mana uri nia sikeîangan anga tua

su sengseng-an tua ma-avan-a uri nia si-keîang-an anga tua

your(s) work-nom obl stat-exact-? will our(exc) if-know-nom indeed obl

kai nua Tsemas uta a îemaluay.

kai nua Tsemas uta a em=îaluay

speech of God also c af=clear

And we pray too that you will be well, that you will return to Taiwan, that you will finish your work which will result in our understanding the word of God clearly.

015 qau saka aitsu uîa sun a napupitsupitsul a

qau sa-ka aya-i-tsu uîa sun a na-pu-pitsu-pitsul a

so and-after be.thus-loc-this so.that f.you(s) c past-have-red-strong c

palalaut, uîa sun a kinizangan uta na Tsemas, ainu

pa-la-laut uîa sun a in=ki-zang-an uta na Tsemas a-inu

cause-red-able so.that f.you(s) c perf=do-guard-lf also by God ?-where

ki nu kisamuîamuîa sun a ventsik uîa sun a

ki nu ki-muîa=samuîa sun a m=vetsik uîa sun a

will when do-red=urgent f.you(s) c af=mark so.that f.you(s) c

papuquluquluin nua Tsemas ta su keîangen a kirimu tua

pa-pu-qulu-qulu-en nua Tsemas ta su keîang-en a ki-rimu tua

cause-have-red-head-pf by God obl you(s) know-pf c do-quick obl

kai nua Tsemas.

kai nua Tsemas

speech of God

And now may you be well always, may you be guarded by God. When you are studying hard may God make you clever so that you quickly understand the word of God.

[saka aitsu: was sakaitsu]

[ta su: was a su]

[ki: possible speech error]

016 pai nu tjaiviliî anga vetsivetsikan amen uta tua su

pai nu tja-i-viliî anga vetsi-vetsik-an amen uta tua su

well when more-loc-behind indeed red-mark-lf f.we(exc) also obl your(s)

tigami tuki sun a kemudakudanga tuki sun a

tigami tu-ki sun a em=kuda-kuda-anga tu-ki sun a

letter compl-how f.you(s) c af=red-do.what-indeed compl-how f.you(s) c

paqenetj anan ta nia kai a kinatsalisianan.

pa-qenetj anan ta nia kai a in=ka-tsalisi-an-an

cause-see still obl our(exc) speech c perf=main-slope-nom-nom

And in the future write us letters to tell us what you are doing and whether you still remember our mountain language.

017 qau aitsu nu tjaiviliî anga kitjen a

qau aya-i-tsu nu tja-i-viliî anga ki-itjen a

so be.thus-loc-this when more-loc-behind indeed will-f.we(inc) c

metsevutsevung anan uta.

me-tsevu-tsevung anan uta

af-red-meet still also And in the future we will all meet again.

018 tiamen namalevaleva men namapuzangal amen tua

ti-amen na-ma-leva-leva amen na-ma-pu-zangal amen tua

f-we(exc) past-stat-red-pleased f.we(exc) past-stat-have-hope f.we(exc) obl

tja metsevutsevung nu tjaiviliî.

tja me-tsevu-tsevung nu tja-i-viliî

our(inc) af-red-meet when more-loc-behind

We are glad and hope for our meeting again in the future.

019 uîa tjen a la÷uq anan a tja nasi, uîa tjen a

uîa tjen a la÷uq anan a tja nasi uîa tjen a

so.that f.we(inc) c long still c our(inc) breath so.that f.we(inc) c

nasetsevung anan tjai sinsi, uîa tjen a

na-se-tsevung anan tjai sinsi uîa tjen a

past-invol-meet still obl.h teacher so.that f.we(inc) c

anan a kisamuîa tua patjara Tsemas, nakidjadjalan ayaya

anan a ki-samuîa tua pa-tjara Tsemas na-ki-dja-djalan ay-aya

still c do-urgent obl cause-surely God past-do-red-road red-say

men uta a kiqauqaung tua Tsemas.

amen uta a ki-qau-qaung tua Tsemas

f.we(exc) also c do-red-cry obl God

May our lives be long, so that we’ll meet the teacher again, so that we can join in working for God, is what we say in prayer to God.

020 saka kimen a napupitsupitsul uta, kimen a kiqaung

sa-ka ki-amen a na-pu-pitsu-pitsul uta ki-amen a ki-qaung

and-after will-f.we(exc) c past-have-red-strong also will-f.we(exc) c do-cry

tjanusun.

tjanu-sun

obl-you(s) May we be well and we’ll pray for you.

021 tisun uta ki sun a napupitsupitsul uta sa su

ti-sun uta ki sun a na-pu-pitsu-pitsul uta sa su

f-you(s) also will f.you(s) c past-have-red-strong also and you(s)

kiqauqaungan amen uta.

ki-qau-qaung-an amen uta

do-red-cry-lf f.we(exc) also And you too may you be well and pray for us too.

022 namatsatsadjatsadja itjen, îakua kitjen a namateveteveî i

na-ma-tsa-tsadja-tsadja itjen îakua ki-itjen a na-ma-teve-teveî i

past-stat-red-red-far f.we(inc) but will-f.we(inc) c past-stat-red-join loc

tjaiqayaw tua Tsemas, kitjen a tjara natjadjaladjalan sakamaya.

tjai-qayaw tua Tsemas ki-itjen a tjara na-tja-djala-djalan sakamaya

obl-front obl God will-f.we(inc) c surely past-more-red-road only

We are far apart, but we’ll be together before God and we’ll be united(?).

[tjara natjadjaladjalan: was tjanatjadjaladjalan]

023 saka aitsu uri amin anga nua ku kai.

sa-ka aya-i-tsu uri amin anga nua ku kai

and-after be.thus-loc-this will no.more indeed of my speech

And now this will be the end of my speech.

[saka aitsu was sakaitsu]

024 pakakiqauqaungi a palalaut a pasa tua Tsemas tua

pa-ka-ki-qau-qaung-i a pa-la-laut a pa-sa tua Tsemas tua

cause-?-do-red-cry-hort c cause-red-able c cause-go obl God obl

tja siselapay.

tja si-se-lapay

our(inc) if-invol-severe

Let us pray for one another always to God in our troubles.

How we miss you, teacher. It is now a very long time since you left Taiwan. We miss you very much and just feel sad about you. What is the teacher doing, is he working hard, is he well?, we keep saying. But when we think about it, he was ordered by God wasn’t he to be active for us mountain people here in Taiwan. Now he is far away from us, but he is still studying, he is still learning about the word of God so as to be able to tell us clearly in the mountain language the word of God; when we think of this we are comforted. Well all we human beings get our orders from God about our work in our life, the way we should go, where we should go to. And you, teacher, you have been ordered by God haven’t you to come to Taiwan to translate into our language of the Paiwan tribe. Just remember us. When you are in the school you will have a lot to put up with, you will be tired in your head, your thinking and your body because of working hard; but even if you are very weak, even if you are very tired, think like this: Yes, there is in Taiwan a lot of work that I left that is waiting for me that is incomplete(?) and still in a muddle; and so get more strength and pray to God. We too during these two years of your absence, we’ll say: He’ll soon come back. We haven’t made it longer in our thinking. And we pray too that you will be well, that you will return to Taiwan, that you will finish your work which will result in our understanding the word of God clearly.

And now may you be well always, may you be guarded by God. When you are studying hard may God make you clever so that you quickly understand the word of God. And in the future write us letters to tell us what you are doing and whether you still remember our mountain language. And in the future we will all meet again. We are glad and hope for our meeting again in the future. May our lives be long, so that we’ll meet the teacher again, so that we can join in working for God, is what we say in prayer to God. May we be well and we’ll pray for you. And you too may you be well and pray for us too. We are far apart, but we’ll be together before God and we’ll be united(?). And now this will be the end of my speech. Let us pray for one another always to God in our troubles.