## **Transcripts**

The following are transcripts of the speech events discussed in the article "Can the subaltern listen? Self-determination and the provisioning of expertise in Papua New Guinea." The speeches and conversations are mostly in Yopno, a Papuan language spoken by roughly 8,000 people in the Yopno valley. Transcript 5, though, is in Tok Pisin, the English-based creole spoken in much of Papua New Guinea. The Yopno orthography used here was developed by SIL Bible translators and has become relatively standard in Yopno communities. Most letters have roughly the same pronunciation as their IPA counterparts, but a few require additional comment.

- i a middle-low vowel, roughly equivalent to schwa in English
- k generally pronounced as an unvoiced post-velar stop
- g generally pronounced as a voiced post-velar stop
- η pronounced as a post-velar nasal
- j a voiced postalveolar affricate, equivalent to the j in English judge
- r alveolar tap

### <u>Abbreviations</u>

| I       | first person                                 | incl  | inclusive first person plural pronoun                                 |
|---------|--|-------|---|
| 2       | second person                                | indef | indefinite article  |
| 3       | third person                                 | infin | infinitive  |
| abl     | ablative                                     | lat   | lateral "up" or "down" (e.g., uphill, downhill)                       |
| com     | commitative                                  | loc   | locative  |
| con.loc | contained locative (e.g., inside, within)    | neg   | negation  |
| cond    | conditional (non-counterfactual)             | NFut  | near future tense/imperative  |
| cont    | continuative                                 | nom   | nominalizer   |
| d       | dual   | NPast | near past tense/perfect   |
| dat     | dative, complementizer                       | obj   | object marking suffix or object cross-<br>referencing prefix on verbs |
| dem     | generic demonstrative                        | Р     | plural  |
| dimin   | diminutive                                   | past  | distant past  |
| disc    | discourse marker                             | poss  | possessor cross-referencing in head-marking construction              |
| DS      | different subject serial verb inflection     | prep  | generic preposition   |
| DS.CC   | different subject clause-chaining inflection | pres  | present tense/unmarked tense  |
| emph    | emphatic                                     | S     | singular  |
| excl    | exclusive first person plural pronoun        | SS    | same subject serial verb inflection                                   |
| fut     | future tense/irrealis                        | SS.CC | same subject clause-chaining inflection                               |
| gen     | genitive                                     | subj  | subject marker  |
| gen.loc | general locative                             | top   | topicalizer   |
| imm     | imminent/desiderative                        | trans | transitivizer   |
|         |  |       |   |

# 1. Topa complains no one is listening to him about the work on the school

kɨla+amɨn nin amɨn tauma-sok lead+person[=leader] Ip person few-dimin

We leaders are few.

ai gen papia + yut-da gen yo-man amin and talk book+house[=school]-subj talk speak-lp.pres top Those of us speaking out about the school,

nin amin kabi-sok-da yo-man Ip person group-dimin-subj speak-Ip.pres we are a small group who is speaking.

un-jok yo-no ai dɨma gawak ni-ba ko-sot to nɨ that-dimin speak-Ip.DS and neg respect Ip.obj-give.2/3p.DS 3s.obj.see-Is.pres disc We talk about this, and I see you don't respect us, so...

bukmu-si nak gen yo-k-to sɨ-no paŋ-tudok a-ŋ nandi-sat sorry-emph Is talk speak-nom-dat emph-Is.poss p.obj-find.hard do-2/3p.pres feel-Is.pres Very sorry, but I feel it is really hard to speak.

ji amin madep a-kwa nak ai amin esalin-da-in yo-kwo 2p people big do-2/3p.DS.CC Is and person one-subj-only speak-Is.DS

disi ma nanda-kt-aŋ 2p.emph neg listen-imm-2/3p.pres

You all are a lot of people, and I'm just one person speaking, so you all won't listen to me.

### 2. The evangelist instructs people on the need to work on the school

kili un papia+yut dakwon amin un yan yo-sot disc that book+house[=school] gen thing that thus speak-Is.pres It's the work at the school that I'm talking about.

nand-ek ai un arɨp-mon-jok kw-amaŋ hear-SS.CC and that extent-loc-dimin go-I p.pres Let's listen and complete it.

on moat+monji madep-nin-to nanda-ba yondi madep a-ni, nithis female+boy[=children] big-Ip.poss-dat think-2/3p.DS thing big do-2/3p.fut eh? Do you think these children of ours are going to amount to something?

gak nandak+nandak-go to-ŋ amɨn 2s thought-2s.poss be-2/3p.pres top If you think so,

moat+monjiyo-do but+pasol a-kwi children-dat heart+fear do-2s.fut then you should worry about our children.

usadon egɨp-jak [Tok Pisin:] yu no save tomorrow be-3s.fut 2s neg know Tomorrow, they will be – you don't know –

usadon egɨp-neŋ un nandak+nandak amɨn-da-gɨn egɨp-t-aŋ tomorrow be-lp.fut that thought person-subj-only be-imm-2/3p.pres Tomorrow, there will only be educated people.

apsok nin-da bisap-mon abi-sak now Ip-subj time-loc come-3s.pres After our time now.

ai un-da manjip-gɨn amɨn un nandak+nandak amɨn-da-gɨn egɨp-ni and that-subj back-gen.loc top that knowledge person-subj-only be-2/3p.fut there will only be educated people.

bo Nian dakwon moat+monjiyo-da yoma dawari dakwon iek+gorongap suwo-k egip-ni-do or Nian gen children-subj area other gen clothes wash-nom be-2/3p.fut-dat Or, if you want the children of Nian to wash the clothes of people from other villages,

nanda-ŋ kaŋ tai on aŋpak-ŋon tai kw-a egɨp-no think-2/3p.pres cond good this way-loc good go-2/3p.DS be-Ip.NFut alright, you can keep doing things this way.

bo ai Nokopo dakwon... Nokopo madep or and Nokopo gen Nokopo big

Also, the children of Nokopo....The whole of Nokopo [i.e. not just Nian village, but also its neighbor Nokopo village, who he is also addressing. Nian and Nokopo villages are both part of Nokopo parish

and their kids go to Nokopo school. Both villages are included under the label of the "whole Nokopo" here]

usadon un nandak+nandak amɨn-da-in egɨp-ni tomorrow that thought person-subj-only be-2/3p.fut Tomorrow there will only be educated people.

nin dakwon kabi di-da un-gin bupmi amin ai Ip gen group some-subj that-gen.loc pitiful people and We don't want some of us to end up pitiful

nin nandak+nandak-nin mi-da arip-mon dima egip-neŋ-i Ip thought-Ip.poss lack-subj extent-loc neg be-Ip.fut-top and ignorant.

gen madep-si dɨ wudi-paŋ nanda-ŋ but-ji dɨma pasol-koŋ talk big-emph some like.this-p.obj hear-SS heart-2p.poss neg fear-2/3p.pres You all aren't motivated by this sort of talk.

but-ji nirup dɨma so-aŋ heart-2p.poss shake neg cook-2/3p.pres[=get excited] You aren't moved.

kulabek a-no un esal-gɨn a-ek papia+yut apt-omaŋ change do-Ip.NFut that one-only do-SS.CC school hold-Ip.pres Let's change, that's it. Let's tend to [i.e. hold on to] the school.

## 3. Kauso speaks to Peter of her problems

on nit ekwa-mak-gwan egɨp+egɨp a-ndo yokwɨ ta-nek this Id be-Id.pres-con.loc life do-Id.DS bad be-3s.DS Our lives are messed up.

un yaŋ-onda bo a-mak yaŋ-onda that thus-abl or do-Id.pres thus-abl Is it because we did this? Is it because of that?

yan-onda ya-mak yan-onda un-to ya-mak thus-abl speak-1d.NPast thus-abl that-dat speak-1d.NPast We wonder about it like that.

nit on-gwan ekwa-mak un egɨp+egɨp-jok a-ndo yokwɨ ta-nek Id this-con.loc be-Id.pres that life-dimin do-Id.DS bad be-3s.DS Our lives are messed up.

yan-onda bo ekwa-mak yan-onda ya-mak un-nan yo-kt-amak thus-abl or be-1d.NPast thus-abl speak-1d.NPast that-s.obj speak-imm-1d.pres Is it because of this or something else that they are messed up? We have wondered about this and now we are going to talk about it.

nak-ga wasa-ŋ tɨmɨ dɨ ya-apbo don ai dawarɨ tɨmɨ dɨ ya-n Is-subj start-SS bit some speak-Is.DS.CC later and other bit some speak-3s.NFut I will speak first and then later she will speak a bit.

meŋ+dat-da nak nak-ŋa-da meŋ+dat-da kosit to-ŋ-onda mother+father[=parents]-subj ls ls-emph-subj parents-subj way be-2/3p.pres-abl

dɨma mok-gɨmal e amɨn-da dɨma paŋ-mok-git neg get.together-2d.past and person-subj neg p.obj-join-2/3p.past

My own mother and father did not get married in the right way. People didn't arrange their marriage.

i kapu kosi-ronda mok-gimal
 self steal way-abl get.together-2d.past
 They married in a thieving way [i.e., without the proper arrangements and bridewealth transactions].

egip+egip-jok a-ndo yokwi ta-nek un tim-onda bo life-dimin do-1d.DS bad be-3s.DS that bit-abl or Are our lives messed up because of that?

un tɨm-onda k-ek jikŋɨ u-donda bo pa-mak that bit-abl go-SS.CC problem that-abl or get-Id.NPast ls it because of that that we have problems?

yan-onda un tɨm-pan nand-ek un-to ya-n ga-m-gumak thus-abl that bit-p.obj think-SS.CC that-dat speak-SS 2s.obj-give-2d.past We wonder about that sort of thing, and we asked you to come.

a-bi un tim-jok gak-da yaŋ yo-ndo nand-ek come-2s.DS that bit-dimin 2s-subj thus speak-1d.DS hear-SS.CC You have come, so you can listen to us talk

tai paŋ-dakŋa-ŋ ni-m yaŋ-onda can p.obj-finish-SS I p.obj-give.2s.NFut thus-abl and end our problems.

gen un-to gak-to yaŋ y-ip-gumak talk that-dat 2s-dat thus 3s.obj-put-1d.past For that we asked you to come.

## 4. Peter explains to Kauso the cause of her problems

wuli-da dat ek man-subj leader do.SS.CC The man who should guide them [i.e., their gapma],

wuli-da kon idap dakwon ya-n dakno-k a-k-ni man-subj spirit plate gen speak-SS finish-nom do-nom-infin the one who should make decisions.

un wuli-da a-k-ŋɨ do
that man-subj do-nom-infin so
that [i.e., their gapma] is the man for doing that. So,

un-to wuli monjin kɨnda dɨma ɨ-m-gut that-dat man child indef neg 3s.obj-give-3s.past he didn't give a boy to her [i.e., Kauso's mother].

monji wuli bido-kwi dakwon kosit sop+sop gak-ŋa kɨlɨ a-l to child man give.birth-2s.fut gen way close.nom 2s-emph perf do-2s.NPast so "You yourself have block the road for a boy, so

wuli kɨnda dɨma ga-b-o man indef neg 2s.obj-give-Is.near.fut I won't give you a boy."

kwok yet-gɨn ga-b-o [wild.sugar.cane.variety seed-just]=[woman-just] 2s.obj-give-Is.NFut "I give you only girls."

yan y-ek ai un morapmi yo dima esalin thus speak-SS.CC and that many too neg one They [i.e., their gapmas] said this and there aren't plenty (of children), just one.

yan-to ek un-to kon idap-go un yondi madep thus-for.that that-dat spirit plate-2s.poss that thing big For that reason, your gapma is very important.

un tim-jok kosit-go asi aŋ-upmal a-wmal to ek that bit-dimin way-2s.poss really s.obj-mess.up do-2d.past for.that Those two [i.e., your parents] really messed things up for you.

un jikŋɨ asi to-sok that problem really be-3s.pres That's why there are these problems.

kon tawak-gin yo mibili+mibili yo-kt-aman spirit drove-just too all.kinds.of.things speak-imm-Ip.pres We'll blame evil spirits and all sorts of things

ne un morap dɨma but that story neg but it's not that.

kon idap an-tobil-bi toek spirit plate s.obj-turn-past.participle for.that Because the gapma plate was turned [i.e., gapmas married each other],

un tim-onda wandan asi abu-sak that bit-abl difficulties really come-3s.pres these problems truly come.

## 5. Franklin provides an explanation of how netsa responds to conservation efforts

Sapos yu gat kain+kain ting+ting bifo, olsem ol raun cond 2s have all.kinds.of thought before such.as 3p go.around Whatever you thought before, for instance that they are going around

na luk-im masalai bilo ol hap bilong mipela. and see-trans forest.spirit gen p area gen l p visiting the spirits who live on our land.

Mi pikinini Yopno stret, mi tok-im yupela stret, zero. Is child Yopno emph Is speak-trans 2p emph zero (i.e. none) I am a true Yopno person. I'm telling you directly, none.

Mi no luk-im wanpela masalai long bus tu. Is neg see-trans one forest.spirit prep forest too I have not seen one spirit in the forest.

Ol no kam long mi tu.
3p neg come prep Is too
They don't come to me either.

Tasol ol awaye taim mi krungutim ol kisim bel+isi, long kain+kain birua go insait. but 3p express.joy when Is step.on 3p get peace prep all.kinds.of enemy go inside But they celebrate. When I walk around, they do not worry about all sorts of enemies coming into the forest.

Ol birua kam long yumi yet ya. p enemy come prep I p.incl self top There are all sorts of enemies who are coming here.

Yumi no gat save bilong meneg-im dispela samting. Ip.incl neg have knowledge gen manage-trans dem thing We don't know how to control them.

Taim yumi nogat save bilong menegmen, dispela ol bus graun ya When I p.incl neg.have knowledge gen management dem p forest land top When we don't know how to manage things, all of this forest and land here,

ol slip wantaim bikpela bel+pen na wari. 3p sleep with much anxiety and worry they are anxious and worry.

Taim yu banis-im em, em kisim bel+isi em kisim kol wara. When 2s fence-trans 3s 3s get peace 3s get cold water When you conserve them, then they are at peace, they feel calm.

Na em luk-im yu dispela papa bilong bus na graun o and 3s see-trans 2s dem father gen forest and land or And they see you, this proprietor of the forest and ground, YUS man em luk-im yu olsem yu traipela king bilong em. YUS person 3s see-trans 2s like 2s huge king gen 3s or YUS man, they see you as their powerful king.

Em hau netsa nau luk-im yupela na slip. 3s how nature.spirit now see-trans 2p and sleep That's how *netsa* now see you all.

Tasol yu yet yu wokabaut insait mi no luk-im wanpela masalai o wanpela ???
But 2s self 2s walk inside Is neg see-trans one forest.spirit or one
But you yourself walk around inside...I haven't see a single forest spirit or one [unclear]

i+stap long bus. be prep forest in the forest.

So nau pikinini YUS, mi yet, olsem, em wanpela giaman stori. so now child YUS Is self like 3s one false story So now, a Yopno child, I myself, say: it's a false account.

Giaman ting+ting. Kalt ting+ting. false thought cargo.cult thought False thinking. Cargo cult thinking.

Na em i+agenstim dispela gaden eden yumi laik wokabaut long en. And 3s go.against dem garden Eden Ip.incl want walk prep 3s It goes against this Garden of Eden we want to walk around in.

Yumi banis-im ya, yumi go bek long Genesis. Ip.incl fence-trans top, Ip.incl go back prep Genesis If we conserve it, we go back to Genesis.

So lukaut long tok bilong Bikpela tu bai kotim yumi. So watch.out prep talk gen God too fut indict Ip.incl So watch out; God's Word also will indict you.

So gutpela gutpela man+meri, papa bilong dispela ol netsa ya, yumi gutpela wasman. So good good people father gen dem p nature.spirit top I p.incl good caretaker So, good good people, proprietor of all of this *netsa* here, we are good caretakers.

Bosim na lukaut-im ????. Em luk+luk bilong yumi em dispela. supervise and watch.out-trans 3s responsibility gen I p.incl 3s dem Take care of them. That's our responsibility.

Tenk yu long harim bilong yupela. Thank 2s prep listen gen 2p Thank you for listening.

### 6. Mannu discusses the benefits of helping with a conservation celebration

on yondi dabil-da dima pandak-gaman this thing eye-subj neg 3p.obj.see-Ip.pres Our eyes don't see these things [the benefits of helping with conservation work].

to ni-pan a-nen yan nanda-aman so what-p.obj do-Ip.fut thus think-Ip.pres So we think, "What sort of thing is this we will be doing?"

angek but biron-da ek-aman kan disc heart two-subj be-Ip.pres cond While we think that way and are doubtful,

kukup dawari kili-ni pinda-ŋ to yaŋek villages other already-3.poss 3p.obj.see-3p.pres because because other villages have already see it,

on-donda bami ti tim abi-ŋba kili-ni panda-ŋ this-abl benefit good portion come-2/3p.DS already-3.poss 3p.obj.see-3p.pres because they have already seen the fruits of this work,

to yaŋek on dawon oma-ni-naŋ a-ŋ because that gen work-3.poss-s.obj do-2/3p.pres they do the work.

to e gak oman a-kti-yal so and 2s work do-imm-2s.pres You do the work

to yaŋek usadon don bamo ko-ndo because tomorrow later fruit-2s 3s.see-Id.NFut and because of that, later, you will see the benefit.

un gwagik tim-jok kinda-won ko-kti-yal that space portion-dimin indef-loc 3s.obj.see-imm-2s.pres in a short time, you will see it.

kaŋ-ek niaŋ-si nanda-kti-yal on-da on see-SS.CC how-emph think-imm-2s.pres this-subj this and what will you think then?

oman apjok a-wi to ya-ŋek on-to yo-maŋ work now do-2s.fut because that-dat say-1p.pres It's because you do this work now, that's what we're saying.

## 7. Monji and Nanda evaluate the speeches of the conservation celebration organizers

### Monji:

on kot bo yo morap a-kti-yal idam kɨnda ni-naŋ ka-ŋbɨ this work or thing many do-imm-2s.pres thing indef what-s.obj s.obj.see-2s.DS

This work [for the conservation celebration] that you are going to do, what will you get out of it?

aŋ-ak-ba ta-k-naŋ on tɨm-on po-go dɨmɨt-ti-yal 3s.obj-fight-2/3p.DS be-3s.NPast-s.obj this bit-loc p.obj-go.SS meet-imm-2s.pres Will you realize this dream of yours?

monji on tɨm-on dɨma dɨmɨt-jak kaŋ child this bit-loc neg meet-3s.fut cond If your child doesn't get it

on bisap doma-si ko-ki this time 2s.poss.neg-emph 3s.obj.see-2s.fut you won't see this time.

a-ki esal din gowat a-nden bamo amin do-2s.DS for.no.reason Ip.emph hard.work do-2d.fut benefit top

kɨnda-da bo pa-ŋ no-tjak indef-subj or take-SS eat-3s.fut

It wouldn't be good if we work hard and other people receive the benefit [i.e., scholarships for their children to attend teachers' college].

oman amin asi ik-amaŋ yaŋ yawan d-e-wo work person really be-Ip.pres thus openly 2p.obj-tell-Is.DS I'm telling you, we are really their [other communities'] laborers.

on gen oba yaŋ abu-k un nand-ek op-bo yaŋ ap-ti-yak this talk portion thus come-3s.NPast that hear-SS.CC come-1s.DS.CC thus come-imm-3s.pres I've thought about this sort of talk and it's going to keep coming.

on nɨn gen amɨn amɨn dɨ-da idɨn de-ŋba tarɨr-ek on ka-ŋgan disc talk top person some-subj here 2p.obj.tell-2/3p.DS be.happy-SS.CC this inside-con.loc

kɨsɨt baljo-k ek hand clap-nom do.SS.CC

Their representatives will speak to you, and you are excited and clap about it.

tamumbɨl+tamumbɨl dɨma ya-ŋ ya-ŋ a-ni nɨ unthinkingly neg speak-SS speak-SS do-2/3p.fut emph Don't just cheer. ya-ek top dɨ paŋ-teban egɨp-ni speak-SS.CC lie some p.obj-strong be-2/3p.fut You don't want to cheer and strengthen their lies.

nak-da mut+mut bisap-mon egi-yat na-md-aŋ Is-subj meeting time-loc be-Is.pres Is.obj-see-2/3p.pres You see me there at the meetings.

dɨma yaŋ nandi-yat amɨn nɨn neg thus think-Is.pres top disc

on-gin jitgi yanja-ŋ kisit baljo-k yo di dinoma a-yat this-gen.loc laughter laugh-SS hand clap-nom too neg.ls.poss do-ls.pres

If I feel it's not OK, I don't laugh and clap my hands.

gen din nanda-wo ni bisap nandak+nandak-no-kon aripmu dima aba-ŋ talk some hear-Is.NFut top time thought-Is.poss-loc enough neg come-2/3p.pres When the talk I hear is not satisfactory in my mind,

kɨdogo kɨnda ko-ko ta-ŋban on dɨma yaŋ nand-ek corner indef see-Is.DS be-3s.DS this neg thus think-SS.CC when I hear something questionable, and I think it's not OK,

on tim-on si-no yik-dat this bit-loc emph-1s.poss sit-1s.pres I just sit there.

ji on aŋpak-ji dɨ daga-ŋ da-m-gwit do 2p this way-2p.poss some become-SS 2p.obj-give-2/3p.past so

yum-ji tararik a-ŋ for.no.reason-2p.poss happy do-2/3p.pres

You are excited for no reason, this has become your way of doing things

yip-ba nandak+nandak-ji pi-sat leave-2/3p.DS thought-2p.poss open-1s.pres Stop it and clarify your thinking.

yaŋ ya-apno amɨn on-da di gɨlak ta-ŋ ni-m-gut yaŋ-to yu-ŋ thus speak-Ip.DS.CC people this-subj like be-SS Ip.obj-give-3s.past thus-dat speak-2/3p.pres You think, "If we talk like that, they will like us."

ti amɨn dɨ pɨgɨ-k+pɨgɨ-k-ji ti-si good people some go.inside-nom-2p.poss good-emph You are good at joining up with people. na-gin but monen yo-no mi
Is-just pig money thing-Is.poss have.none
I don't have pigs and money,

mani nandak+nandak-no-konda ti-si gaman [omitted] but thought-ls.poss-abl good-emph emph but my thinking is excellent!

but monen amin yu kinda tamin nin ji on dimdim pigek pig money person thing indef counterfactual top 2p this join go.down-SS.CC If I were a rich person, you all would join up with me.

nian d-e-wo kɨlaŋnok amɨn kukup nak kɨlaŋnok dɨnoma a-yat how 2p.obj-tell-Is.DS cheat person group Is cheat neg. Is.poss do-Is.pres What can I say to you all? You are a bunch of scammers. I don't scam people.

top+top y-egi-p-do si-no kwindi-yut lie speak-cont-nom-dat emph-1s.poss be.tired.of-1s.pres l'm tired of all the lies.

gen kinda yo-kti-yat talk indef speak-imm-1s.press I want to say something.

gɨsam-da gak-da egɨp+egɨp-mon noman ti-yak do ek yo-kti-yat blessing-subj you-poss life-loc happen be-3s.fut purp speak-imm-1s.pres I want to say something so that your life is blessed.

asi yu-wiŋ true speak-Is.fut I will speak truthfully.

bukmu dɨma a-wi jɨgɨ dɨma pa-wi sorry neg do-2s.fut problem neg have-2s.fut You won't be sorry and you won't have problems.

amin di-da kilannok kwadan-ni-do wasagi yu-m-ni person some-subj cheat place-3.poss-dat create 3p.obj-give-2/3p.fut lt would not be good if you allow them to cheat you.

oman amin isigukup ya yan top d-e-an work person Weskokop celebrate thus lie 2p.obj-call-2/3p.pres Laborer Weskokop, they deceive you with kind words.

mibili d-e-wo reason 2p.obj-tell-1s.DS Let me tell you the reason.

### Esal:

kili ya-g-eŋ-naŋ yawan da-sak already speak-cont-2/3p.NPast-s.obj openly 2p.obj.tell-3s.pres What you were saying, he's telling you.

### Monji:

isigukup ya yan top-ni d-e-an Weskokop celebrate thus lie-3.poss 2p.obj-tell-2/3p.pres Weskokop, they deceive you with kind words.

oman amin yan d-e-gek mambulu-ji piga-ka work person thus 2p.obj-call-SS.CC chin-2p.poss rub-2/3p.DS.CC They call you their slaves and pat you on the back

ji on-gɨn sɨŋgɨn pɨgɨ-ni ya 2p this-gen.loc still go.down-2/3p.fut good boy! and you keep doing it.

#### Nanda:

on ya-m-naŋ yu-sul this speak-1s.past-s.obj speak-2s.pres What I said, you are repeating.

isigap isu amin kili bamo wasa-ŋ-da that.over that.up person already fruit create-2/3p.NPast-subj
All the people from the other side [i.e., the celebration organizers] have received the benefit

oda ni-m-aŋ ko-ŋ order I p.obj-give-2/3p.pres 3s.obj.see-2/3p.pres and they give you orders, you see.

isigap in-din ga-i-ka ko-sol that.over there-gen.loc 2s.obj-tell-2/3p.DS.CC s.obj.see-2s.pres Over there you see what they tell you.

on on e kɨlɨ bamo pa-ŋ n-it this this and already fruit get-SS eat-2/3p.past They have already received the benefit.

kwadaŋ-naŋ aŋ-noman a-ŋ yu-wi-do idon ga-ik-aŋ place-s.obj s.obj-clear do-SS 3p.obj.give-2s.fut-dat here 2s.obj-tell-2/3p.pres They tell you to clean up their village.

e ga-ga bamo pa-ŋ no-k-do kaŋ and 2s-emph fruit get-SS eat-nom-dat cond If you want to get the benefit,

bamo kwadaŋ-gok gumɨni fruit place-dimin lat.down.there then that's the place to get it [indicating the preschool; Nanda and Monji claim that it is well-educated children who will get the scholarships to teachers college]

gumusi-konda pɨdo-kdɨ-sal lat.down.there-abl rise-imm-2s.pres You go from there [i.e., the preschool],

on isigap-do oman ti-go a-ki this that.over-dat work good-2s.poss do-2s.fut and you go work over there [i.e. at the village where the celebration will be held].

e gumu dɨma pɨnd-ik and lat.down.that neg p.obj.see-SS.CC If you don't look down there [at the preschool]

gwisu-paŋ pɨndi-gi-sal kaŋ lat.up.that-p.obj 3p.see-cont-2s.pres cond and you only look over there [at the village where the celebration will be held ],

amin di dakon kili n-it kwadan komak yu-m-igo-sal person some poss already eat-2/3p.past place clean.SS 3p.obj-give-cont-2s.pres you will clean the village of people who have already gotten the benefit.

### Monji:

tebai dɨma ɨŋta-t strong neg confused-2p.imp Don't be crazy.

amin apjok-gin tutuman kwadan-on nin person now-just gathering place-loc disc Now at meetings,

amin bamo pindak-gan nin person important 3p.obj.see-2/3p.pres disc you see all those important people.

[omitted] kɨsɨr-ɨ pɨrɨrɨk-to nɨn nirup+si-ek mani dima yo-ŋ hand-poss be.up-dat disc shake-emph-SS.CC but neg speak-2/3p.pres When Monji's hand is raised they tremble and they don't call on me.

paŋ-man a-ŋ muda-t-da yawan di-yat p.obj-investigate do-2/3p.pres finish-1s.NPast-subj openly 2p.obj.tell-1s.pres l've watched them and now l'm speaking out about this to you.

Titip gwin on-don gwin yan pinda-t Teptep all this-loc all thus 3p.obj-see-1s.NPast At Teptep and here too I've been watching them. nak gen yo-kt-apbo saitim ek Is talk speak-imm-Is.DS.CC go.around do.SS.CC When I want to speak, they ignore me

amin kisip-paŋ kisit suwo-k a-ŋ person another-p.obj hand point-nom do-2/3p.pres and call on someone else.

mibili-gat wasa-ŋ na-m-aŋ nak pɨnd-ek reason-com act-SS Is.obj-give-2/3p.pres Is 3p.obj.see-SS.CC There's a reason they do this to me. I have see and

pasul-u kɨnda-naŋ di-yat hide-poss indef-s.obj 2p.obj.tell-1s.pres speak out about their secret.

a-ba si-no ya-ŋ ko-wiŋ do-2/3p.DS emph-1s.poss talk-SS see-1s.fut If they call on me l'll speak openly.

#### Nanda:

nak-da ko-sut-nan gak on yu-sul Is-subj 3s.obj.see-Is.pres-s.obj 2s this speak-2s.pres I see what you're talk about.

### Monji:

amɨn dɨ-da person some-subj Some people,

amin dima yan pindak-gan person neg thus 3p.obj.see-2/3p.pres who they see as nothing to worry about,

kɨsɨr-ɨ pɨda-ŋba tamumbɨl mani ya-ŋ yo-m-aŋ hand-poss raise-2/3p.DS unthinkingly only speak-SS 3p.obj-give-2/3p.pres when they raise their hands, they just call on them immediately.

e nak dima ya-ŋ na-m-aŋ and Is neg speak-SS Is.obj-give-2/3p.pres They don't call on me.

wuda-ni-kon si-no japmu-win sore-3.poss-loc emph-1s.poss touch-1s.fut I will touch their sore [i.e. speak out about their secret] [omitted] dima yanja

neg laugh.2s.NFut

Don't laugh!

Kepedo:

aripmi-si yu-suk enough-emph speak-3s.pres He's speaking the truth.

Monji:

gak on-do k-aŋ nandi-yal 2s this-dat s.obj.see-SS think-2s.pres You recognize it?

Esal:

gen-paŋ ya-eg-aki on-paŋ yanja-ŋ ga-mi-sat talk-p.obj speak-cont-2s.DS.CC this-p.obj laugh-SS 2s.obj.give-1s.pres You are speaking out and I'm laughing at you about this.

Monji:

yanji-egin nanda-bi sak to-yak laugh-cont.SS think-2s.DS lazy be-3s.fut You laugh and you won't think hard.

umun gumu kundum-gɨn ka-g-aki that.down lat.down.that fire.place-gen.loc 3s.obj.see-cont-2s.DS.CC You look over there at the fire place and

gen yo-wo talk speak-1s.NFut I'll speak.

Nanda:

kɨsɨt-go tɨdɨ-ko asi gen-paŋ ya-kɨ hand-2s.poss shake-Is.NFut true talk-p.obj speak-2s.DS.CC Let me shake your hand. You are speaking the truth.

on yuki yu-sul yaŋ-onda dɨma this bad speak-2s.pres thus-abl neg What you are saying is not wrong.

gen di-paŋ yo-kdi-k a-ki ne talk some-p.obj speak-imm-nom do-2s.DS.CC but You have some talk you want to say.

## Esal:

gen gwin asu pasul-u to-ŋ talk all up.there hide-poss be-3p.pres All that talk up there that is hidden,

gwin pɨŋpɨŋ pɨŋ-abu-k-pɨŋ teŋteŋo oni yo-pmaŋ-dak all p.obj.bring p.obj-come-3s.NPast-p.obj light here 3p.obj-put-3s.pres he has brought it out into the light here.

yaŋ-paŋ on-do yanja-ŋ ga-m-ego-sat thus-p.obj this-dat laugh-SS 2s.obj-give-cont-1s.pres Because of that I'm laughing at you.