

The Ende way

Short stories and songs from Limol
prepared with the Ende Language
Committee

Kate L. Lindsey

Open Text Collections 5



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For Ende-speaking people everywhere.

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This collection stands as a shared achievement, a bridge between cultures and generations, and I am deeply thankful to everyone who has made it possible.

Abbreviations

=	clitic boundary	FOC	focus
-	morpheme boundary	FUT	future
~	reduplication boundary	HAB	habitual
>	acting on	HORT	hortative
1	first person	I	verb class I
2	second person	II	verb class II
3	third person	III	verb class III
A	agent	IV	verb class IV
ABL	ablative	IAM	iamitive
ACC	accusative	IM_FUT	immediate future
ACT_NZ	actor nominalizer	IMN	imminent
ADV	adverbalizer	INCL	inclusive/inclusory
ALL	allative	INF	infinitive
AN	animate	INS	instrumental
ATR	attributive	IPFV	imperfective
AUX	auxiliary	IRR	irrealis
CHAR	characteristic	KIN	kinship
CL_POSSESSIVE	close possessive	LOC	locative
CNTF	counterfactual	MED_DEM	medial demonstrative
COM	comitative	NDU	nondual
CON	conative	NEC	necessitative
CONJ	conjoined	NEG	negation
CONS	consecutive	NOM	nominative
COP	copula	NMLZ	actor nominalizer
DAT	dative	NPL	nonplural
DEM	demonstrative	NSG	nonsingular
DIM	dimunitive	P	patient
DU	dual	PERL	perrelative
EMPH	emphasis	PL	plural
EXCL	exclusive	PN	proper noun

Abbreviations

POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PP	past participle
PRIV	privative
PROHIB	prohibitive
PRS	present
PST	past
Q	question
REC	recent past
REM	remote past
RST	restrictive
RT_EXT	root extension
SG	singular
S	subject
VEN	ventive
VOC	vocative

Part I

Background

1 Preliminaries

1.1 The language and its speakers

This text collection features stories and songs in the Ende language. Ende (Glottocode: ende1235)¹ is a Pahoturi River language spoken in the South Fly region of Western Province, Papua New Guinea. Ende is sometimes classified as a dialect of Agob (ISO-639: kit) due to similar lexical inventories (Eberhard et al. 2019), but preliminary documentation indicates substantial grammatical differences between the two varieties. The Pahoturi River language family (see Figure 1.1) cannot be convincingly grouped with the Trans-New Guinea languages to its north, the Yam languages to its west, the Pama-Nyungan languages to its south, or the Kiwaian and Eastern Trans-Fly languages to its east (Evans et al. 2018), though extensive contact with these families has been used as evidence for Proto-Pahoturi reconstruction efforts (Chon 2025). For more on the Pahoturi River family, see the family portrait by Lindsey, Schokkin, and Wu (2022).

Historically, the South Fly region has experienced limited contact with colonizing forces and outside influences. However, (Australian) English and Tok Pisin were introduced during the colonial period in domains like education, religion, and governance. The introduction of these *lingua francas*, along with a colonial-era mandate for small kin groups to band together in named villages, disrupted a long tradition of egalitarian multilingualism in which locals lived in clan-size hamlets and had at least a passive understanding of the languages of nearby groups. Older Ende community members recall distinct dialects that have been lost since the community converged as a village in the first part of the 20th century (Zakae[†] 2018).

Nowadays, Ende is spoken by between 600 (Eberhard et al. 2019) and 1000 (Dareda 2016d) speakers, primarily in the South Fly villages of Limol, Malam, and Kinkin (see Figure 1.1), with some speakers residing in larger towns such as Daru and Port Moresby. In Limol and Malam, Ende is spoken by all generations and in all domains except primary education, where English is mandated. Multilingualism is common among Ende speakers. In addition to Ende, speakers use other

¹Not to be mistaken for the Ende language of Indonesia (Glottocode: ende1246; ISO-639: end).

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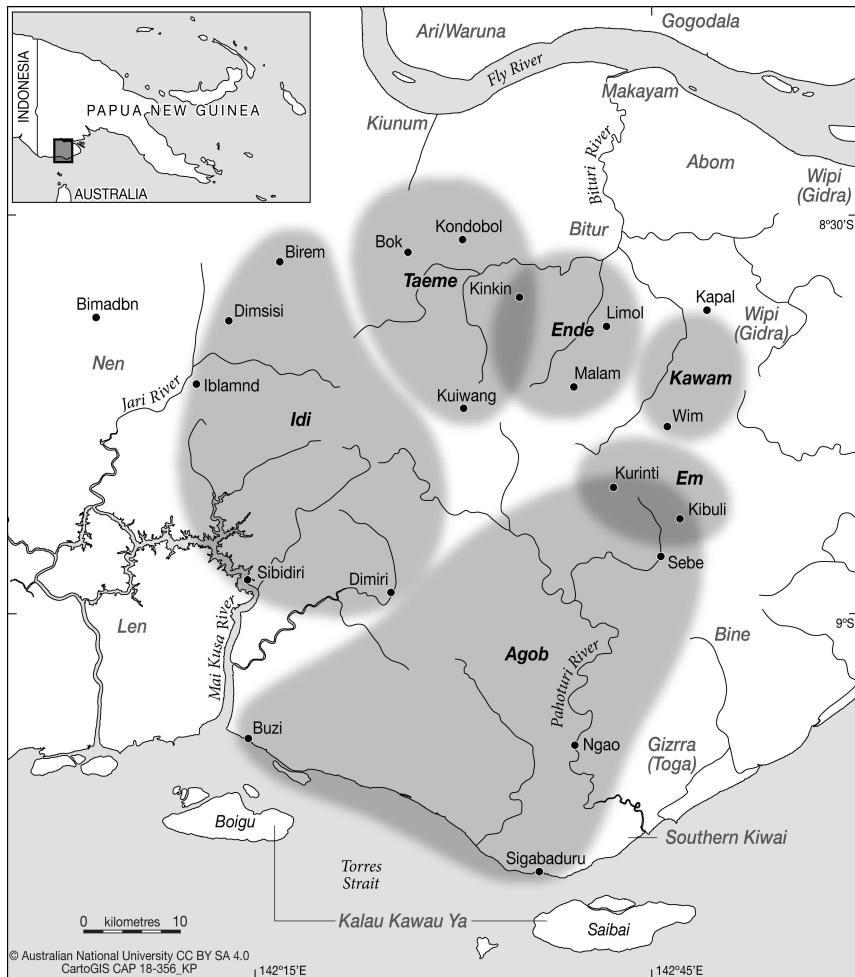


Figure 1.1: Map of villages in Western Province (Papua New Guinea) where Pahoturi River languages are primarily spoken. The shading indicates which villages are described locally as having that language as a primary language of the village. The village language and GPS data were collected by K. Lindsey and D. Schokkin in 2017.

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Pahoturi River languages, such as Taeme (Glottocode: tame1238), Kawam (Glottocode: kawa1281), Em (no Glottocode), and Agob (Glottocode: agob1244). They also speak regional languages like Bitur (Glottocode: bitu1242) and Gogodala (Glottocode: gogo1265), and regional *lingua francas*, such as Kiwai (Glottocode: sout2949), Tok Pisin (Glottocode: tokp1240), and (Australian) English (Glottocode: aust1314). In terms of language endangerment, I consider Ende to be vigorous/safe (EGIDS 6a; Lewis & Simons 2010). However, ongoing efforts by the Ende Language Committee, established in 2003, to develop a writing system, promote literacy, and utilize the language in local elementary schools show that the community hopes to safeguard the language further. The writing system in use in this collection is part of these language-strengthening efforts (see Section 1.3.2).

1.1.1 Clan and kinship

A foundational part of social organization in Limol is clan, or *tän*, a kinship system inherited patrilineally. Members of the Ende community are divided into two clans: the *Ddiliag* and the *Yamkong*, each associated with a symbolic color and bird. The *Ddiliag* clan is represented by the color *pällämpälläm* ‘white’ and the *kakayam* ‘bird of paradise.’ The *Yamkong* clan is represented by the color *mamam* ‘red’ and the *inpiak* ‘eagle’ (K. Dobola, p.c., 2018). Within the large clans are several subclans and sub-sub-clans that further organize families. Each subgroup has three additional symbols: a *mabun* ‘totem,’ a *pa* ‘bird,’ and a *tawar* ‘mark.’ These symbols may be shared across subgroups. Often, *tän* that share the same totem, bird, or mark are more closely related than other groups.

Clan, as a social construct, has been identified as a variable with the potential to explain sociolinguistic variation within a community (Stanford 2009). Quantitative studies of sociophonetic variation within Ende, such as /n/-deletion and retroflex affrication, have not found significant correlation between clan membership and these patterns (Lindsey 2021b, Strong et al. 2022). Still, some speakers suggest that dialectal differences exist between clan groups (Dobola 2018; Kurupel (Suwede) 2018: 253). Curiously, there is some indication that the notion of clan may be becoming less important in modern society; in interviews, some community members did not know their mother’s clan (Kurupel (Suwede) & Geser 2018: 160), their spouse’s clan (Sowati 2018: 212), or even sometimes their own (Geoff 2018: 103). This drop in awareness could indicate a shift in the importance or usefulness of *tän* groups within the community.

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1.1.2 Marriage

Clan also influences which marriages are allowed, such that there is a strong preference for cross-clan marriages. Of forty-seven marriages surveyed in 2018, only 15% were between two members of the *Yamkong* clan. Unions between two *Ddiliag* members are even rarer, at 6%. Most marriages (79%) are between *Ddiliag* and *Yamkong* people. Regardless of large clan affiliation, marrying into one's sub-clan is prohibited. This appears to be a fixed rule, likely to maintain biological exogamy within the small population. The traditional marriage model entails the practice of sister-exchange marriages called *erang*.² This is when two (or more) clans swap daughters to marry the other family's son. Clan affiliation, however, does not change for the women; they maintain affiliation with their father's clan group.

1.1.3 Religion

The Ende community is generally reluctant to discuss the spiritual and religious practices that predate their mass conversion to Christianity in the 1960s. Knowledge of this sort is typically passed down in private initiation ceremonies and family-owned stories called *mabun eka* that are not shared publicly.

Some former practices, including multiple forms of magic, are referenced at the end of Text O, when an older man brings another man back to life, in Text F, when an older woman turns into a fish, and in the documentary *Ende Tän e Indrang* ‘Light into Ende Tribe’ (Warama et al. 2018). This short film tells the story of two couples – brothers Dipa and Diwa Nägäm and their wives Mangkol Sobam and Wäli Wäziag – who traveled on behalf of the Ende community to Balimo to meet with Gogodala and foreign missionaries. There, they learned about Western religion (Christianity), Western medicine, and Western education, bringing this knowledge back to the Ende community. This news was celebrated by the community, who exchanged their former spiritual practices, medicines, and educational traditions for these new Western manners.

Nowadays, Christianity plays a vital role in the Ende community. In 2018, two Protestant denominations were practiced in Limol and Malam: a Lutheran church body that meets on Sundays and a Seventh-Day Adventist congregation that meets on Saturdays. In both churches, I observed sermons and songs primarily in Ende, and sometimes English, and multiple community groups within the church that meet throughout the week to discuss special interests.

²*Erang* is also the kinship term that the four members of the exchange will call one another. Kinship terms also exist for one's parents' exchange sister (*erngazmäg*), one's parent's exchange brother (*erngazenda*), and one's exchange cousins (*erngazeg*).

1.1.4 Education

Traditional methods of instruction and knowledge development are practiced in both informal and formal settings within the Ende community. Informally, novices are encouraged to observe daily activities, such as resource gathering and community building, from a very young age and to begin participating as soon as their abilities allow. Children are observed swinging machetes, climbing coconut palms, carrying small sago bundles, and tagging along on hunting trips as soon as, and sometimes before, their dexterity allows them to do so without hurting themselves or others. More formal instruction came in the form of gender-segregated initiation ceremonies that were once offered as a cohort of children entered puberty. The youngest people surveyed to have participated in such ceremonies were over 40 years old. There is some interest in reintroducing these ceremonies and/or recording them for posterity. On a daily basis, formal instruction is offered in the form of *kawa*, public speeches delivered early in the morning or late at night by an orator who walks the paths of the village, sometimes stopping in front of an individual house for extra effect. These messages often convey community values, such as respecting others' property, waking up early to care for one's family, and contributing to community-led projects.

Formal Western education was introduced in the South Fly area in 1965 with the establishment of the Upiara Primary School. Since then, primary education has been compulsory for all Ende children. Everyone born after 1960 traveled to Upiara to attend the English-medium primary school in their youth. In 1995, an elementary school was established in Limol that was attended by all those born after 1989. In 2007, the Ende Language Committee submitted an official orthography and texts in Ende to the Department of Education of Papua New Guinea, establishing Ende as a sanctioned language for teaching. This measure allows the elementary school teachers to teach in Ende and English (Mado 2018; Jowanang 2018: 54).

1.2 Typological overview

Based on our modest understanding of the South Fly linguistic landscape, Ende is typologically consistent with other Pahoturi River languages, which share some areal similarities to other local non-Trans-New Guinea language families (Evans et al. 2018).

Regarding the phoneme inventory, Ende shows phonemic contrasts between the consonants and vowels in Tables 1.1 and 1.2 (see Lindsey 2021a for more details). Researchers have noted several key features: a sizable liquid inventory

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(Evans et al. 2019), variable affrication of retroflex obstruents (Strong et al. 2022), an irregular vowel harmony system (Kohut 2021), and limited use of stress or intonational prosody to mark word meaning or sentence type (Dailey 2023).

Table 1.1: Consonant inventory

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Labiovelar
Voiceless stop	p	t	ʈʂ <tt>		k	
Voiced stop	b	d	ɖʐ <dd>		g <g>	
Nasal	m	n		j <ny>	ɳ <ng>	
Tap/flap		r <r>	t̪ <ll>			
Voiceless fric.		s				
Voiced fric.		z				
Approx.				j <y, e>		
Lat. approx.		l				w

Table 1.2: Vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid-high	ɪ <i>		
Mid	e		o
Mid-low		ə <ä>	
Low		a <a>	

About morphology, Ende exhibits an extensive set of case clitics, which attach to nominal and verbal phrases, limited nominal inflection, and complex verbal inflection. The case clitics and verbal templates are described in detail by K. Lindsey, Schokkin, and Wu (2022). These templates feature multiple and distributed exponence, such that the meaning of any given category, such as tense or argument number, is distributed across numerous morphemes, and the morphemes themselves may be associated with multiple meanings. Reduplication has inflectional and derivational functions and is observed in nominals and verbs (Scanlon 2018). Some inflectional categories of interest include a ventive/allative system of associated motion (Reed & Lindsey 2021) and verbal number.

As for syntax, sentences have regular subject-object-verb (SOV) word order (Brown 2020) and nominative-accusative alignment in both argument flagging and indexing (1, from Text I).

- (1) [Mareyas]_S nyongo meae [dirom gullbe de]_O [paya dägagän]_V gabma
bägäl alle.
- Mareyas nyongo=me=ae dirom gullbe=de paya³
PN road=LOC=RST cassowary huge=ACC shoot
d-ä-gag-än gabma bägäl=alle
REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA white_person bow=INS
'As we went, Mareas shot a huge cassowary with a gun [lit., white person's bow].'
(Dobola 2016b: WE_SN024:3)

Ende follows other trends for object-verb languages (Dryer 1991, 1992), including exhibiting postpositions, postnominal adjectives, main verbs before auxiliaries, and predicates before copulas. However, some aberrant word orders have been observed, including phrase-initial determiners, one preposition, and some prenominal adjectives. Adnominal property words even occur discontinuously. For example, in (2) the modifier phrase *wo abal* 'very ripe' and the nominal *up* 'banana' occur on different sides of the verb phrase *ikop dägaeyo* 'they saw it.'

- (2) *Up de adade ikop dägaeyo wo abal.*
- up=de adade ikop d-ä-ga-eyo wo abal
banana=ACC like_this see REM-3NDUP-AUX.3SGP-3NSGA ripe very
'They saw very ripe bananas.'

(Warama 2016c: RE_EN025:8)

One notable exception to SOV word order is experiencer-object constructions, which are typically OSV (3, from Text I). In a phrase like 'the boy is hungry', hunger is the stimulus in the nominative case. The subject is preceded by the boy, the experiencer in the accusative case. The verbs in these constructions are typically auxiliaries.

- (3) Ngämi ddone ada kili gogaebne, adawatta [ngämim]_O [ddäddäg abal da]_S [deyagnegnän]_V.
- ngämi ddone ada kili g-o-g-aeb-ne
1NSG.EXCL.NOM a_lot like_this happy REM-RT_EXT-AUX-PLS-IPFV
adawatta ngämim ddäddäg abal=da
because 1NSG.EXCL.ACC edible_animal very=NOM

³from English *fire*

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d-ey-a-g-neg-n-än

REM-1PLP-RT_EXT-AUX-SG>PL-IPFV-REM.3SGA

‘We were so happy because we were very hungry for meat.’

(Dobola 2016b: WE_SN024:4)

Some semantic categories of note include an inclusivity distinction in the first-person pronouns, dual and nondual argument agreement, verbal suppletion for participant number, three distance contrasts in demonstratives, and a genitive/ablative distinction in the possessive paradigm (see the discussion in the summary of Text A).

1.2.1 Related work on Ende

Work on the language includes a translation of the Book of Mark into Ende by W. Kurupel, T. Warama, W. Geser, and the Ende Language Committee in collaboration with the Lewada Bible Translation Centre (2009), a PhD dissertation on Ende phonology with an appended sketch grammar by K. Lindsey (2019), and a Master’s thesis by C. Scanlon on Ende reduplication (2021). An illustration of Ende’s phonology was published in the Journal of the International Phonetic Association (Lindsey 2021a), and its phonetic variation was discussed in multiple articles by Lindsey (2021b) and Strong (2022). Two archival collections feature Ende recordings in PARADISEC: The Language Corpus of Ende and other Pahoturi River Languages (LSNG08; Lindsey 2015a) and Ende Recordings (CS3; Scanlon 2018). Most recently, a collection of Ende Material Knowledge has been archived with the Endangered Material Knowledge Project at the British Museum (Scanlon 2025).

1.3 Storytelling and data collection

Storytelling is a cultural practice that plays an important role in Ende life. It is a source of entertainment and a way to transmit cultural knowledge, values, and norms across generations. There are multiple words for ‘story’: *pepeb*, *ttoen*, *eka* and *mabun eka*. A *pepeb* is a tale about unseen people or spirits that is told to young children only by the older generation, especially by older women. A *ttoen* or *eka* is a recollection of real events in the teller’s life, or as was told to the storyteller. A *mabun eka* is a sacred story that belongs to a clan group and is passed down from clan elders to new members during initiation ceremonies. It is generally agreed that these stories should not be shared outside the clan; if

they are, they should not be retold. The stories in this collection are of the first two types: *pepeb* and *ttoen*.

1.3.1 Sources of the data

The Ende Language Committee, composed of interested community members and visiting linguists, collected the texts presented in this collection in Limol village between 2015 and 2017. We recorded these stories to create books of Ende stories in the Ende language. The village announced a call requesting storytellers and illustrators to submit their stories or drawings of stories to the Ende Language Committee, who assembled the submissions into physical books for the local elementary school (Johnson et al. 2016a,b, Karao et al. 2016, Reed et al. 2017b,a). The Ende Language Committee transcribed and edited the recorded stories. The stories were also translated into English and analyzed at the morpheme, word, and phrase-level by various committee members, including J. Ben Danipa, J. Dareda, W. Kurupel, and T. Warama, and visiting linguists, including K. Lindsey, C. Scanlon, and L. Reed. We did not include these translations in the original publications, but I have added them to this collection in the form of interlinear glossing and phrase translations for an English-speaking audience.

The stories presented here are written texts, meaning that the narratives either originated in written form or were initially spoken but edited into a written form after the recordings were transcribed. Although storytelling in Ende is almost exclusively an oral tradition, the Ende Language Committee has strong intuitions about how the stories should be written down. Thus, though the texts in this collection differ from their oral counterparts, they represent a new and evolving cultural tradition in the community.

1.3.2 Orthography development

To write the stories down, the Ende Language Committee decided on a standardized orthography to use for representing all Ende texts. The orthography development began when the Ende Language Committee was established in 2003. At that time, the Ende tribe received an invitation from the Lewada Bible Translation Center in the nearby village of Lewada on the south bank of the Fly River. The village was asked to send several volunteers to spend several years in Lewada developing a writing system and translating the Book of Mark into Ende (Warama (Kurupel) 2007). While at the Lewada Bible Translation Center, the volunteers, including W. Kurupel, W. Geser, J. Ben Danipa, and T. Warama (contributors introduced below), worked with Shim Jae-Wook (SIL) to establish an orthography

1 Preliminaries

for Ende and produce a short Ende reader to test it. In 2007, the Ende Language Committee completed translating the Book of Mark into Ende, which has since become a source of great pride among the Ende tribe. The volunteers then returned to Limol village to teach others how to read and write in Ende.

The resulting Ende orthography has a direct mapping of phonemic sounds to written characters, as shown in Table 1.3. Digraphs *<tt>*, *<dd>*, *<ny>*, and *<ng>* for the retroflex affricates, palatal nasal, and velar nasal are also in use in the writing systems for other Pahoturi River languages, such as Kawam, Idi, and Taeme. The use of the digraph *<ll>* for the retroflex flap is unique to Ende but shares a pattern with the other retroflex sounds. The vowel symbols *<ä>* and *<i>* are used in many Pahoturi River languages, but for different vowels. In Ende, *<ä>* is used for the mid-central schwa and *<i>* for the mid-high front vowel. These vowels are phonologically reduced and are not written in all Pahoturi River languages. The palatal approximant is written with a *<y>* in syllabic onsets and with an *<e>* in codas. Though all the digraphs are made up of characters used for single graph phonemes, there is very little ambiguity between the digraphs and sequences of similar consonants (e.g., *ny /nj/* and *ny /n/*). This is because Ende does not have geminates or long consonants, has limited consonant clusters, and nasals tend to assimilate in place before stops and fricatives.

Table 1.3: Pahoturi River orthographic conventions (Lindsey et al. 2022: 49)

Phoneme	Ende	Kawam	Idi	Taeme
p	p	p	p	p
b	b	b	b	b
t	t	t	t	t
d	d	d	d	d
k	k	k	k	k
g	g	g	g	g
kp ^w	—	—	q	kw
gb ^w	—	—	ḡ	gw
ts	tt	—	th	tt
tʃ	—	ch	—	—
dz	dd	—	dh	dd
dʒ	—	jh	—	—
s	s	s	s	s

Continued on next page

Table 1.3 – continued from previous page

Phoneme	Ende	Kawam	Idi	Taeme
z	z	z	z	z
m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n
ɲ	ny	ny	ny	ny
ŋ	ng	ng	ng	ng
l	l	l	l	l
r	r	r	r	r
ɺ	ll	–	–	–
ʎ	–	–	ly	ly
j	y, e	y	y	j
w	w	w	w	w
i	i	i	i	i
u	u	u	u	u
ɪ	ɪ	not written	é	–
e	e	e	e	e
ə	ä	ɪ	not written	é
o	o	o	o	o
æ	–	ä	ä	ä
a	a	a	a	a

The Ende Language Committee also had to make choices regarding word breaks, punctuation, and capitalization. Because many of the Ende Language Committee members only knew how to write in one other language, English, many common English conventions were borrowed into Ende writing, including: capitalizing proper nouns, ending sentences with a full stop (.), an exclamation mark (!), or a question mark (?), using opening (“) and closing (”) quotation marks for quotations, and placing commas (,) between phrases or at intonation breaks. Hyphens (-) often precede vocative clitics that come at the ends of phrases (e.g., *Wagiba-o!* ‘Hey, Wagiba!’). Some clitics, such as nominative *da*, are written with a space between the clitic and the phrasal host, though they are analyzed as being a single phonological word. Other clitics, such as attributive *ang* are written without a space, like a suffix. Present tense auxiliary verbs, such as *allan*, are sometimes written with the preceding word, especially if it is a coverb and especially if it ends in a vowel, like *ekallan* ‘he is speaking’, and sometimes as two separate words *eka allan* ‘he is speaking.’ For this reason, present tense auxiliary verbs are analyzed as clitics in the following texts.

1.3.3 Transcription choices

After the texts were written down, the Ende Language Committee elected to edit the texts and remove certain discourse features. For example, we modified instances of loanwords or code-switching so that the story was written using what the committee calls *Ende abäl* or ‘pure Ende.’ We omitted other discourse features, such as word repetition or vowel lengthening (except in songs), which often indicate intensity, duration, or emphasis, because the committee did not consider these features appropriate in the written medium. Anyone interested in listening to or reading the transcriptions of the original spoken texts is invited to access these recordings in the Ende language corpus (Lindsey 2015a).

1.3.4 Translation and analysis

Every text was translated at the phrase-, word-, and morpheme-level into English. This process was most often completed by a pair of an English-speaking linguist, such as K. Lindsey, C. Scanlon, or L. Reed, and an Ende speaker. Some texts were translated unaccompanied at the phrase-level by a proficient bilingual Ende-English speaker, such as W. Kurupel or T. Warama. Some texts were translated unaccompanied at the word- and morpheme-level by a proficient Ende-speaking linguist, such as K. Lindsey or C. Scanlon, often with the help of the automated parser included in the Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEX) software program, which uses an Ende-English lexicon and previously analyzed Ende texts to suggest word- and morpheme-level glosses (Black & Simons 2006).

1.3.5 Contributor acknowledgement

The success of this collection is due to the dedication and contributions of many community members, including the Ende Language Committee, local storytellers, and illustrators, and visiting linguists. The committee played a pivotal role in advising the linguists on organizing the submissions, transcribing, translating, and editing the stories for publication. This collection would not have been possible without their expertise and passion for language preservation. Limol and Malam community leaders also supported the recording and collection of stories, ensuring that the narratives accurately reflected local traditions.

To better represent the range of contributors and their roles in the storytelling process, the contributors are introduced below. This group represents a diverse sample of men and women of multiple generations who contributed to the Ende language corpus (Lindsey 2015a). Of note, J. Ben Danipa, W. Geser, W. Kurupel, and T. Warama also assisted in the translation of the Book of Mark into Ende

(Kurupel 2007). They are joined by J. Dareda, M. Kidarga, S. Kurupel, and J. Sowati as some of the most confident writers of Ende in the village.⁴

1.3.6 Contributor biographies



Joshua Ben Danipa: male, 46 (1969), born in Tenadra, lives in Malam. Speaks Ende, English, Motu, Taeme, Idi, Kawam, and Tok Pisin. Brother of T. Dobola, uncle of J. Kaoga (Dobola). Contributed and translated Text D, a story about going hunting with his son.



Wendy Bewag: female, 34 (1983), lives in Daru. Speaks Ende and English. Contributed Text S, an ode to the crystal clear bathing waters in Limol village.

⁴Ende people have many names. Their first names and nicknames are given by their parents, godparents, and friends. Their last names are typically the name of their father (biological or adopted), and sometimes the names of their grandfathers. Secondary first or last names are written in parentheses. The names used in this book and bibliography were the preferred names of the speakers in 2018. Names of the deceased are followed by a cross symbol (†).

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Jerry (Jeks) Dareda: male, 42 (1975), born and lives in Limol as the village chief. Speaks Ende, English, Tok Pisin, and Motu. Father of S. Jerry. Contributed Text M, a story about a mythical man named *Bundae*, and assisted in translation and morphological analysis for many other texts in the collection.



Tina Dobola: female, 33 (1984), born in Malam, lives in Daru. Speaks Ende, English, and Tok Pisin. Sister of J. Ben Danipa, aunt of J. Kaoga (Dobola). Contributed and translated Text I, a travelling story in which she bravely traps a crocodile.



Wagiba Geser: female, 54 (1963), born in Kinkin, lives in Limol, chairwoman of Women's Fellowship. Speaks Ende, Taeme, and English, wife of W. Kurupel, mother of R. Warama and T. Warama, grandmother of I. Kenny. Contributed Text O, assisted in translation, and explained much of the cultural and contextual background to many of the stories in this collection.

1.3 Storytelling and data collection



Sali Goge (Wik): male, 76 (1940), lives in Malam, leader of the Malam Culture and Dance group (see Figure 1.44). Speaks Ende, Idi, Motu, and Tok Pisin. Wrote, contributed, and performed Text C, a song about the Bird-of-Paradise, as well as many other songs in the Ende language corpus.



Samuel Jerry: male, 10 (2007), pictured here with his parents and sister. Speaks Ende and English. Lives in Limol and attends Limol Primary School. Son of J. Dareda. Contributed and sung Text N, a children's song about *Ause Ur*, an old woman who used to live in the village and was generous with children.



Jordan Kaoga (Dobola): male, 11 (2006). Speaks Ende and English. Lives in Limol and attends Limol Primary School. Nephew of J. Ben Danipa and T. Dobola. Contributed and sung Text T, a children's song about dancing at the washing place.

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Biku (Madura) Kangge[†]: male, 75 (1941–2023), lived in Limol and was the oldest male of the *Limollang* clan, which owns the Limol land. Spoke Ende and Motu. Contributed and sung Text P, an encouraging work song to clear the Karama swamp for safe passage of canoes.

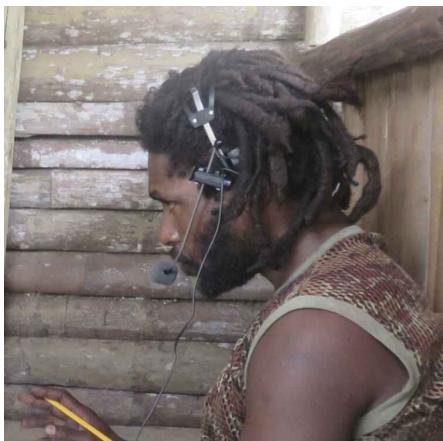


Sam Karao: male, 26 (1991), lives in Limol. Speaks Ende and English. Contributed and sung Text L, a beautiful lullaby sung while mothers are pounding sago. Also illustrated many texts in the Ende language corpus, including the Ende Alphabet Book (Karao et al. 2016).



Ibetty Kenny: female, 10 (2007), lives in Limol and attends Limol Primary School. Speaks Ende and English. Granddaughter of W. Kurupel and W. Geser, niece of R. Warama and T. Warama. Contributed and sung Text T, a children's song about dancing at the washing place. Moreover, served the Ende Language Committee tremendously by assisting in cooking, cleaning, and entertaining.

1.3 Storytelling and data collection



Minong Kidarga: male, 20s (1990s), lives in Limol, grandson of old man Kidarga Nakllae[†] of the Crocodile clan. Contributed Text A, a story about how Cuscus got his short ears. In this photo, he is working with his grandfather, noting down stories about old ways and the crocodile clan.



Donae Kurupel: female, 65 (1952), born and lives in Limol. Speaks Ende and Taeme. Sister of S. Kurupel and W. Kurupel. Contributed Text G, in which she kills and carries back a crocodile to share with the village.



Sowati Kurupel: male, 57 (1960), born and lives in Limol, village recorder. Speaks Ende, English, Agob, Motu, and Tok Pisin. Brother of D. Kurupel and W. Kurupel, father of J. Sowati. Contributed Text E, a story about hunting at night. Assisted with plant and animal identification to provide local context for many of the texts.

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Warama Kurupel (Suwede): male, 60 (1957), born and lives in Limol, pastor of the local PNG Evangelical Church and coordinator of the Ende Language Project. Speaks Ende, Taeme, Motu, English, and Tok Pisin. Husband of W. Geser, brother of D. Kurupel and S. Kurupel, father of R. Warama and T. Warama, grandfather of I. Kenny. Contributed Text F, a humorous tale about his father, and Text R, an ode to Karama swamp. Assisted in the editing, translating, and morphological analysis of Texts A, B, F, G, K, Q, S, and R. Illustrated Text M.



Jubli Sowati: male, 26 (1991), primary school teacher in Upiara. Speaks Ende, English, Kawam, Taeme, and Tok Pisin. Son of S. Kurupel. Contributed Text K, a fantastical story about an old woman and a young boy.

1.3 Storytelling and data collection



Julia Tätan (Delema): female, 10 (2007), lives in Limol and attends Limol Primary School. Speaks Ende and English. Contributed and sung Text J, a children's song about a fish who breaks a woman's fishing line.



Rose Warama: female, 20s (1990s), born in Limol. Speaks Ende and English. Daughter of W. Kurupel and W. Geser, sister of T. Warama, aunt of I. Kenny. Contributed Text Q, a hilarious tale about two friends: Lobster and Frog.



Tonny (Tonzah) Warama: male, 33 (1984), born in Limol, vice-chairperson for the Ende Language Project. Speaks Ende, English, Tok Pisin, and Taeme. Son of W. Kurupel and W. Geser, brother of R. Warama, uncle of I. Kenny. Contributed Text B, the Turtle's origin story. Assisted in the editing, translating, and morphological analysis of Texts A, F, G, K, M, O, and Q.

1.4 Text presentation

The texts in this collection are presented in two forms: parallel running text and interlinear glossing. The parallel text aligns the Ende text on the left with an English translation on the right. The Ende text is written using the Ende orthography (see Section 1.3.2) while the translation in English uses standard American English spelling conventions.

Following the parallel text, each story is presented in an interlinear gloss format, see (4) from Text I. In this format, each sentence is presented in the standard orthography on the first line in italics ①. Then, each word is annotated for morphological structure on the second line ②. Here, hyphens (-) represent affix boundaries, equals signs (=) represent clitic boundaries, and tildes (~) represent reduplication boundaries.⁵

- (4) ① *Däbe dirom de Mareyas kapu dägagän.*
 ② däbe dirom=de Mareyas kapu d-ä-gag-än
 ③ that cassowary=ACC PN carry REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA
 ④ ‘Mareyas carried that cassowary [to Dum river source].’
 (Dobola 2016b: WE_SN024:5)

On the third line ③, glosses of each morphological element are aligned with the word above. This gloss is written using the Leipzig glossing rules (Comrie et al. 2008) and represents the intended meaning of each morpheme for each use, but it does not necessarily represent all possible meanings of the morphological element. For example, a verb suffix that can be used to mean remote past or future will only be glossed as REM or FUT depending on the context. The abbreviations used for the glosses are listed on page vii. The conventions used for the abbreviations are based on typological and areal trends (e.g., Döhler 2018).

Finally, the translation of the sentence into English is presented in the fourth line in single quotes ④. This translation is typically a free translation, where the intended meaning of the Ende phrase is translated into a semantically equivalent English phrase in collaboration with Ende-speaking consultants and an English-speaking linguist. Sometimes, a literal translation of the words will follow the free translation in parentheses. Parts of the meaning that are retrievable from context or are assumed but not explicitly stated in the example are added to the translation in square brackets.

Examples (1)–(4) are followed by an in-line citation that references the source text in the bibliography, the text ID, and the line number within the text.

⁵ Affixes attach to roots or stems, while clitics attach to phrases. Both exhibit properties of being part of the phonological word, such as vowel harmony, but many speakers prefer to write some clitics as separate words on the orthographic line. Reduplication boundaries mark instances of phonological duplication and morphological doubling (Inkelas 2008).

1.5 Special information

The stories in this collection are organized into five parts. Part II, Animal Tales and Origin Stories, includes two *pourquoi* stories, which are etiological narratives formulated for children that discuss how certain things in nature came to be, such as how the turtle got its patterned shell. These origin narratives differ from *mabun eka*, sacred clan origin stories, which are more serious, passed down within a clan, and cannot be shared openly.

Parts III and IV include two first-hand narratives and one folk/remembered story each. First-hand narratives describe personal experiences, while folk/remembered stories are traditional tales passed down through generations and involve known people, places, or clan groups, often with magical or supernatural elements.

Part III, Tales of Hunting and Survival, includes three stories that describe the real and perceived dangers of leaving the village's safety alone. These stories emphasize the importance of vigilance in your surroundings and how the community protects one another.

Part IV is called Heroic or Legendary Stories and includes two chance occurrences with crocodiles, some of the largest predators in the region, and one fantastical encounter with a flood.

Part V is called Tales of Misbehavior and Consequence and contains three parables that serve as instructions for how to behave in the Ende community.

Lastly, Part VI, Odes and Reflections on the Natural World, brings together two odes as an example of more artistic narratives. Both are dedicated to important local water places: *Karama* swamp and *Iräm* washing place.

Within each part, each story is also organized into several sections. Section 1 of each story describes the origination of the text. Section 2 provides a summary and contextual background for the story. Section 3 provides the running Ende text and English translation in parallel, with the original illustrations, if available. Finally, Section 4 provides the text with interlinear glossing.

Just as storytelling sessions are interwoven with playfulness and song, the stories in this collection also alternate with selected songs from the rich inventory of sung texts in the Ende language corpus (Lindsey 2015a). The song texts have three sections: Section 1 describes the origins and provides a summary of the song, Section 2 provides the lyrics in Ende, and Section 3 shows the interlinear glossing. All songs may be downloaded for listening from the Ende language corpus archive (Lindsey 2015a).

1.6 Overview of the texts

Table 1.5 provides an overview of the texts included in this collection.

Table 1.5: The texts and songs in this collection.

TEXT	TITLE	TRANSLATION	WORDS
Text A	<i>Baet bo llan a allame de tubutubu gogon</i>	How Cuscus Got His Short Ears	686
Text B	<i>Kotllam bo pallall ttoen-ttoen</i>	Turtle's Story	350
Text C	<i>Kakayam bo tongoe</i>	The Bird of Paradise Song	81
Text D	<i>Tawa mamoeatt ttoen</i>	Swamp Hunting Story	404
Text E	<i>Iddob käbama ibiatt</i>	Night Hunting	365
Text F	<i>Auma we ibiatt ttoen</i>	Walking to the Grave Story	595
Text G	<i>Donae Kurupel bäne käza gäzatt ttoen</i>	Donae Kurupel's Crocodile Killing Story	522
Text H	<i>Käza misima saima</i>	The Crocodile Song	18
Text I	<i>Ngämaene ibiatt ttoenttoen</i>	Our Traveling Story	376
Text J	<i>Ttongo mälla da</i>	Children's song about fishing	42
Text K	<i>Ause da llig kälsre peyang</i>	The Old Woman and the Small Boy	192
Text L	<i>Bandra bebi bälle</i>	Sago Lullaby	32
Text M	<i>Bundae bo pepeb</i>	The Tale of Bundae	275
Text N	<i>Ause Ur</i>	Children's song about <i>Ause Ur</i>	54
Text O	<i>Yu ingong</i>	Fire Dance	473
Text P	<i>Ngasinga wutamu</i>	Swamp Work Song	135
Text Q	<i>Gämällang komlla</i>	A Tale of Two Thieves	463
Text R	<i>Eramang Karama walle</i>	Ode to Karama Swamp	119
Text S	<i>Iräm ine, Iräm ine</i>	Ode to Iräm Waters	139
Text T	<i>Ttongo toto me yäbäd a gok-lanän</i>	Children's song about <i>Iräm ine</i>	41
Total			5362

1.7 Contextual images

In this section, I have included many photographs taken during our visits to Limol to provide examples of places, animals, traditions, structures, and tools mentioned in the stories. The Figures are referenced in the texts as they are mentioned.

1.7.1 Flora



Figure 1.2: *Sana pätt* - Sago tree



Figure 1.3: *Yu bäng* ‘fire stick’



Figure 1.4: Grace Maher and Kate L. Lindsey planting a *nge pätt* ‘coconut tree’ in honor of the opening of the Limol Health Center in 2018

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Figure 1.5: *Up pätt* ‘banana tree’



Figure 1.7: *Karama* swamp



Figure 1.8: *Karama* swamp



Figure 1.6: *Karama* swamp



Figure 1.9: *Karama* swamp



Figure 1.10: *Karama* swamp

1.7.2 Fauna



Figure 1.11: *Baet* - Common Spotted Cuscus (*Spilocuscus maculatus*)



Figure 1.12: *Däräng* - Hunting dogs (*Canis lupus hallstromi* and *Canis lupus dingo*)

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Figure 1.13: *Atata kotllam* - Northern snake-necked turtle (*Chelodina rugosa*)



Figure 1.15: *Pall kotllam* - New Guinea painted turtle (*Emydura subglobosa*)



Figure 1.14: *Gamo kotllam* - Pig-nosed turtle (*Carettochelys insculpta*)



Figure 1.16: *Uwo kotllam* - New Guinea snapping turtle (*Elseya branderhorsti*)



Figure 1.17: *Ddia* - Rusa deer (*Rusa timorensis*)



Figure 1.20: *Käza* - Hall's New Guinea crocodile (*Crocodylus halli*)



Figure 1.18: *Kubull* 'bush wallaby'



Figure 1.21: *Welwele* - Coroneted fruit dove (*Ptilinopus coronulatus*)



Figure 1.19: A group of hunters gathering around a slain deer



Figure 1.22: *Kär pipiem* - Purple-tailed imperial pigeon (*Ducula rufigaster*)

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Figure 1.23: Kättekätte - Red-cheeked parrot (*Geoffroyus geoffroyi aruensis*)



Figure 1.26: Giwe - Fruit dove (*Ptilinopus coronulatus*)



Figure 1.24: Mise - Common cicadabird (*Edolisoma tenuirostre*)



Figure 1.25: Ngallngall - Catbird (*Aliruoedus maculosus*)



Figure 1.27: Yal - Yellow-billed kingfisher (*Syma torotoro*)



Figure 1.28: *Mok* - Friarbird (*Philemon corniculatus*)



Figure 1.29: *Tarambobo* - Hooded butcherbird (*Cracticus cassicus*)



Figure 1.30: *Pollgo* - White-lipped tree frog (*Litoria infrasfrenata*)



Figure 1.31: *Mama* - palm leaf enclosure



Figure 1.32: *Ma* - typical stilt house in Limol

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Figure 1.33: *Bägäl a wa tobäll a* - Bow and arrows



Figure 1.35: *Tobäll sapasapang* - Types of arrows, drawn by Andrew Kaoga (Dobola)



Figure 1.34: Matthew Warama with longbow and arrow

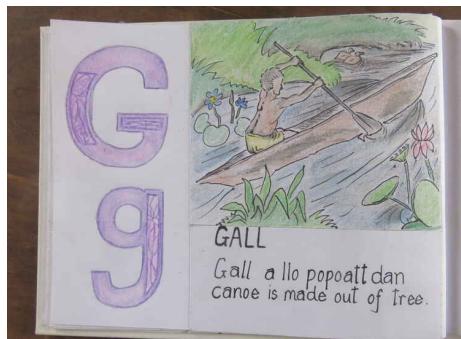


Figure 1.36: An illustration of a *gall* 'canoe' for the letter G in the Ende Alphabet Book (Karao et al. 2016)



Figure 1.37: Auma 'grave' - the grave site of twin baby girls Grace and Kate



Figure 1.38: Wagiba Geser fishing with a long net



Figure 1.39: Gull 'fishing net'



Figure 1.40: Donae Kurupel carrying a load of *yu* ‘firewood’



Figure 1.41: A woman carrying a small child on her shoulders and an infant in a *ddäma* ‘baby basket,’ suspended from her forehead



Figure 1.42: A woman squeezing *sana* ‘sago’



Figure 1.43: Sali Goge (Wik) in traditional dance attire



Figure 1.45: Warani Pewe[†] (center) with an *alläp* 'Kundu drum'



Figure 1.46: The Limol Culture and Dance group



Figure 1.44: The Malam Culture and Dance group



Figure 1.47: *Polle* - Communal garden fence

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Figure 1.48: *Pollepolle* - Personal garden fence



Figure 1.49: Meeting friends at the *Iräm ine* washing place

Figure 1.50: Washing clothes at the *Iräm ine* washing place

Part II

Animal tales and origin stories

A *Baet bo llan a allame de tubutubu gogon* – How Cuscus got his short ears

Introduction

Baet bo llan a allame de tubutubu gogon is a narrative archived in Lindsey (2015b) and can be cited as Kidarga (2016: WE_PN001). It was submitted to the collection in written form by Minong Kidarga of Limol village in 2016 to be included in a book for the Limol Elementary School. It was edited by W. Kurupel, T. Warama, and K. Lindsey. Editing involved rewriting the text with a standardized orthography and light editing to word choice, word order, or style. After editing, K. Lindsey recorded T. Warama reading the text aloud and later retelling the story from memory using a Zoom H4 recorder and head-mounted microphone. These recordings are archived in the collection as Warama (2016d) and Warama (2016e), respectively. W. Kurupel, T. Warama, K. Lindsey, and other members of the Ende Language Committee transcribed these recordings and translated all three texts at the phrase level. After this, K. Lindsey imported the texts into the Ende FLEX database and translated them at the morpheme level with help from C. Scanlon and various Ende Language Committee members.

The illustrations accompanying the story in Section A.3 were drawn by Kiplin Geoff for inclusion in the book titled *Pepeb Peba (Folk Stories)* assembled by Johnson et al. (2016b).

Summary and background

Baet bo llan a allame de tubutubu gogon is an example of a *pourquoi* story that gives an explanation of how something in nature came to be. This text explains why the cuscus (*Spilocuscus maculatus*; see Figure 1.11) has short ears, particularly when compared with the dog. The tale goes that Cuscus and Dog used to be great friends. But one day, Dog played a trick on Cuscus, which resulted in Cuscus'

A How Cuscus got his short ears

ears being cut short. In retaliation, Cuscus condemned Dog to a life dependent on humans to survive.

There are some parallels between this story and the parable *Yu ingong* (Text O). Both stories revolve around a main character who imitates someone and consequently undergoes a terrible fate.

Figure 1.11 displays the common spotted cuscus typically found in the Limol village region, while Figure 1.12 shows the type of dogs often raised for hunting in the area. These dogs are likely a cross-breed between the New Guinea singing dog (*Canis lupus hallstromi*) and the Australian dingo (*Canis lupus dingo*). Like the New Guinea singing dog, these dogs howl in groups.

One linguistic structure of note used in this story is diminutive reduplication. While playing hide-and-seek, Dog hides himself in a *mama* ‘palm leaf enclosure’ or literally ‘small house’ (see Figure 1.31 and Line 23). A *mama* does not look much like a typical *ma* ‘house’ in form (see Figure 1.32), but they serve a similar function and are made out of similar materials. Reduplication is used productively in Ende to derive diminutives, adverbs, nonsingular kinship nouns, and nonsingular adjectives.

Another morphological structure of interest is the possessive clitic *=da*, which appears many times in this text. Possessive *=da* differs from other possessive pronouns and clitics in that it can only refer to a third-person possessor (cf. *obo* ‘his/her/their’) and is only found after a closed class of kinship nominals, such as *nag* ‘friend’ (see Line 9). In the interlinear text, possessive *=da* is glossed as *CL_POSSESS.KIN*, to indicate a close possessive kinship relationship.

One additional type of possession featured in this story is ablative possession, which refers to a type of possession relationship where the possessor is the spatial or figurative source of the possesum. For example, *Baet bänē dinduatt* ‘Cuscus’s footsteps’ (Line 18) uses the ablative possessive pronominal clitic *bänē* to indicate that the footsteps are originating from Cuscus. Similarly, *llaeyabaene tot* ‘people’s rubbish’ (Line 49) uses the ablative possessive to indicate that the rubbish has been discarded and is no longer considered to be in possession by the people who created it. In this example, the people are a temporal or figurative source of the rubbish.

Parallel text

*Ngattong ngattong täräp me, Däräng
a wa Baet a mer abal nag dagwaeya.
Oba tämamae ttoen bällam ngasnen a*

Long ago, Dog and Cuscus were the best of friends. They did everything together. They looked for food to-

eragwaeya llame dagwaeya. Ada otät yagnen, ine ma deyarallo, tatu ma llameae deyarallo a ddob aka e ttoen de dangesnegneyo eragwaeya llameae. Oba mokowang abal ttoen a ngasnges ma da eragwaeya tongoenen daeyag. Ddobae togotogol tongoe kämang dagwaeya.

gether, went for water together, and went to wash together. Their favorite pastime was playing, and their favorite game was *togotogol* ‘hide-and-seek.’



Figure A.1: Dog and Cuscus

Ttongo ag me yäbad a mermer abal gogezänän. Wel a mermerangae deyapdoenän, a yäbad a ade daramdaramang gogän. Baet käsre däräng bom togotogol tongoe e ada ka gänyaolle ddangoe eran. Däräng bom llowam da däganän, be nag da bo eka me “ao” eka

One morning, the sun was out, and there was a nice breeze. Cuscus urged Dog to play hide-and-seek. Dog was tired, but he told his friend, “Yes.” Cuscus told his friend, “Close your eyes; I will hide first!” Dog closed his eyes, and his friend Cuscus took off. Cus-

A How Cuscus got his short ears

gogän. Baet käsre nagda Däräng bom ada eka dägagän, "Ikop nas, ngäna ngattong botgol." Däräng a käsre ikop dasän, nag da baet bom aeya dängmenän. Dedme dinduag a ada gogän, koliko ulle da gänyime daeya. Käsre ada gogon ge gondällän, matu me ddage da eraeya dedme gotgolän.

cus was running, and he came across a giant breadfruit tree. He climbed it quickly and hid in one of the lower branches.



Figure A.2: Dog finding Cuscus in the breadfruit tree

Däräng a käsre nagda Baet bom dangoeyän, "Nag bongo zime atgolalle?" Bogo do gungminggän ada, "Ao." Däräng käsre nagda bom yagnen de dängkamän. Baet era wel singosingoll dallän, ede

Dog called out, "Friend, are you hidden yet?" Cuscus answered, "Yes!" Dog then started to look for his friend. Cuscus had hidden upwind, so Dog was able to find him.

*däräng bälle mullae gogon nagda Baet
bälle bällabälle we.*

Däräng käsre nagda Baet bäne dinduatt dae dongkollmällän doweyae kollko mit. Nagda Baet bom kollko toko me ikop dägagän a ada eka dägagän, “Angetam.” Nagda Baet abo gongogetamän matu we. Käsre Däräng ako nagda Baet bom ada eka dägagän, “Bako ikop nas, nga ngäna ako boto-gol.” Angde Baet ikop dasän, nagda Däräng dedme dinduag a ada gogon, wel kllomokllomoll dallän. Däräng käsre dallän ada kukiny mama de ikop dägagän, käsre dibaoille ada gogon goträkän. Baet gontmonän täräpang, käsre nagda däräng bom dangnoeyän, “Nag, bongo zime atgolalle?” Däräng abo do gungmingän, “Ao.”

Baet käsre nagda Däräng bom yagyag de dängkamän. Ada yagyagang a dallän, ada dallän, “Wiyowa llowam a dägagän.” Käsre Baet nagda Däräng bälle wolle gogon ada, “Kapera, wiya agezän o!” Be Däräng a bogo käsre do towall ik me nagda Baet bälle kuki ttoen ngasnges de gotäbawän.

Käsre Däräng bogo do obo llan de mermerangae deyangädän, dibaeaabo ada llama näkap me gogezän-mällnän nagda Baet pate. Baet angde kapera da bom ikop dägagän, ada eka gogon, “Obo llan a tubutubu agnegan!” Käsre Baet abo nagda Däräng bom dangnoeyän ada, “Kapera, bongo bänne llan de alla yagalle?” Däräng a käsre kaeg da bom kuki de dängkamän

He followed in his footsteps right to the breadfruit tree. He saw Cuscus sitting there and said, “Come down!” Cuscus came down to the ground. Then Dog told his friend Cuscus, “Now it’s your turn. Close your eyes, and I will hide.” When Cuscus closed his eyes, Dog took off and ran downwind. He saw a pile of grass and hid underneath. Cuscus waited a long time and then asked Dog, “Friend, have you hidden yet?” Dog answered, “Yes!”

Cuscus then started to look for his friend Dog. He was looking for a long time and then said, “Phew, I’m tired.” He shouted for Dog, “Friend, come out!” But Dog played a trick on Cuscus from inside the grass.

He folded his ears back and shyly came out towards his friend Cuscus. When Cuscus saw his friend, he said, “His ears are short!” He asked Dog, “Friend, what did you do to your ears?” Dog lied to Cuscus and said, “I cut my ears.” Cuscus wanted his ears to look like his friend Dog’s ears. Dog said, “Wait for me here. I will go home.” Dog went to his house and brought

A How Cuscus got his short ears



Figure A.3: Dog and Cuscus at the washing place

ada, “Ngäna ngämo llan de era yatäränän.” Baet bo moko da eraya obo llan a ade ada ingoll bogallo ge obo kapera Däräng da bo llan a alla ingol lang gogeyo. Dibaballe däräng a käsre nagda Baet bom ada dägagän, “Bongo ngänäm nantmon, nga ngäna ma we balle.” Däräng käsre dallän do ma we gogon, a täl pallkoll de diwenyän. Käsre ada ka gänyaoolle nagda Baet bo llan de täräpnän anggan. Angde nagda Baet bo llan täräpnän a gottamänän, Däräng käsre nagda Baet bom ada dägagän, “Ibi tatuma!”

Käsre dedme kilikiliangae dinduag a ada gogeyo do oba mokowang abal tatuma da eraeya. Angde gongtägeyo

back a piece of bamboo. Then he cut his friend Cuscus's ears. When he finished, Dog said, “Let's go wash!”

Then, they were happily running to their favorite washing place. When they arrived, Dog told Cuscus to wash



Figure A.4: Dog and Cuscus in the village

tatuma we, Däräng a käsre Baet bom ngattong tatu we umllang dägnän. Baet käsre walle we ada gogon ge gogäbänän, tatu gogon mermerae ge llan täträp atta eragwaeya mermerae deyadrowän. Be nagda Däräng bogo eraeya nagda bom ddone ada datnagoenän. Angde Baet guirngänän walle atta, Däräng a ako käsre ada gogon walle we ge gllu! Gongkäbägän do igi abal e. Angde gopeyamän obo llan a komllaebmae eragwaeya deyatäräkän. Baet a angde Däräng pate ikop gogon, bogo gongnamän ada, nagda Däräng obom era kuki dägagän. Käsre eka laemnen gongkameyo. Baet käsre gäny-me dinduag a ada gogon, manggo de dängkälän. Baet Däräng bom abo do walle ada eka dägagän, "Bongo bäne ttam giddoll me era minyi llaeyabaene tot de notnegne, ide dae anzagaene a gämäll agne." Däräng ako gopänaeyän a Baet bom ada eka dägagän, "Bongo

first. Cuscus jumped in, washed well, and cleaned his cut ears. Dog was laughing at his friend. When Cuscus came out of the water, Dog jumped in. Splash! He dived to the deepest part. When he came out, his ears were untied. Cuscus saw this and realized that Dog had lied to him. They started to argue. Cuscus ran and climbed up a mango tree. He told Dog in the water, "You will live your life eating scraps, roaming off the paths, and stealing." Dog turned and said to Cuscus, "You will live your life eating tree lives and hiding from men who want to kill you."

A How Cuscus got his short ears

bäne ttam giddoll me era mäzi llo ttam
dae notnegne, a lla da bam minyi kud-
däll e gäz e nayagneyo.”

Ede säre Baet bo llan a era adawatta
tubutubu gogon. Däräng da däträp-
negän a sisri bongo ikop eralle ada
däräng a era yuwog ide dae kanyokany-
ong dan, ddobae gämällang dan a
yuwog ngätt me källa bebeyag dan.
Adawatta ada ttoenang gogon Baet a
däbe eka de ke donttögän.

So sadly, this is why Cuscus has short ears; Dog cut them. And now you see that Dog roams around stealing scraps and pooping in front of people's homes because Cuscus had condemned him so.

Glossed text

- (1) *Ngattong ngattong täräp me, Däräng a wa Baet a mer abal nag dagwaeya.*
ngattong ngattong täräp=me däräng=a wa baet=a mer abal
first first time=LOC dog=NOM and cuscus=NOM good very
nag da=gwaeya
friend MED.DEM=COP.PST.DU
'In the very beginning, Dog and Cuscus were very good friends.'
- (2) *Oba tämamae ttoen bällam ngasnen a eragwaeya llame dagwaeya.*
oba tämamae ttoen bällam ngas-nen=a era=gwaeya
3NSG.POSS all thing every do-I.PL=NOM which=COP.PST.DU
llame da=gwaeya
together MED.DEM=COP.PST.DU
'They did everything together.'
- (3) *Ada otät yagnen, ine ma deyarallo, tatu ma llameae deyarallo a ddob ako e
ttoen de dangesnegneyo eragwaeya llameae.*
ada otät yag-nen ine=ma d-ey-a-r-allo
like_this food search-I.PL water=CHAR REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-HAB.NSGA
tatu=ma llame=ae d-ey-a-r-allo a ddob
bathe=CHAR together=ADV REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-HAB.NSGA and other
ako e ttoen=de d-a-nges-neg-n-eyo
also which thing=ACC REM-RT_EXT-do-DU>PL-IPFV-REM.3NSGA

era=gwaeya llame=ae
which=COP.PST.DU together=ADV
'Like looking for food, getting water, going to wash were all together, and everything else they did together.'

- (4) *Oba mokowang abal ttoen a ngasnges ma da eragwaeya tongoenen daeyag.*
oba moko=wang abal ttoen=a ngas~nges=ma=da
3NSG.POSS desire=ATR very thing=NOM INF~do=ACT_NZ=NOM
era=gwaeya tongoe-nen da=aeyag
which=COP.PST.DU play-I.PL MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
'Their favorite thing to do was play.'
- (5) *Ddobae togotogol tongoe kämang dagwaeya.*
ddobae togo~tolog tongoe käm=ang da=gwaeya
very hide~hide game love=ATR MED.DEM=COP.PST.DU
'They loved to play hide-and-seek.'
- (6) *Ttongo ag me yäbad a mermer abal gogezänän.*
ttongo ag=me yäbad=a mer~mer abal
one morning=LOC sun=NOM ADV~good very
g-o-gez-än-än
REM-RT_EXT-come_out-II.NPL-REM.3SGS
'One morning, the sun was shining very well.'
- (7) *Wel a mermerangae deyapdoenän, a yäbad a ade daramdaramang gogän.*
wel=a mer-mer=ang=ae d-ey-a-pdoe-n-än
wind=NOM ADV~good=ATR=ADV REM-VEN-RT_EXT-blow-IPFV-REM.3SGS
a yäbad=a ade daram~dar-am=ang
and sun=NOM also ADV~shine_brightly-IV.NPL=ATR
g-o-g-än
REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
'The wind was blowing well and the sun was shining brightly.'
- (8) *Baet käsre däräng bom togotogol tongoe e ada ka gänyaolle ddangoe eran.*
baet käsre däräng=bom togo~tolog tongoe=e ada ka
cucus then dog=3SG.ACC hide~hide play=ALL like_this CNTF
gänya=olle ddangoe=eran
here=ALL force=AUX.PRS.3SG>3SG
'Then Cucus made Dog play hide-and-seek.'

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- (9) *Däräng bom llowam da däganän, be nag da bo eka me “ao” eka gogän.*
 däräng=bom llowam=da d-ä-ga-n-än be
 dog=3SG.ACC fatigue=NOM REM-3NDUP-AUX.3SGP-IPFV-REM.3SGA but
 nag=da=bo eka=me ao eka
 friend=CL_POSSESS.KIN=3SG.POSS language=LOC yes speak
 g-o-g-än
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘Dog was tired but he said, “Yes” in his friend’s language.’
- (10) *Baet käsre nagda Däräng bom ada eka dägagän, “Ikop nas, ngäna ngattong botgol.”*
 baet käsre nag=da däräng=bom ada eka
 cuscus then friend=CL_POSSESS.KIN dog=3SG.ACC like_this speak
 d-ä-gag-än ikop n-a-s ngäna
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA eye FUT.2>3-RT_EXT-close 1SG.NOM
 ngattong b-o-tgol
 first FUT.1S-RT_EXT-hide
 ‘Cuscus then told his friend, “Close your eyes, I will hide first.”’
- (11) *Däräng a käsre ikop dasän, nag da baet bom aeya dängmenän.*
 däräng=a käsre ikop d-a-s-än nag=da
 dog=NOM then eye REM-RT_EXT-close-REM.3SGA friend=CL_POSSESS.KIN
 baet=bom aeya d-ä-ngmen-än
 cuscus=3SG.ACC who.SG REM-3NDUP-reach-REM.3SGA
 ‘Dog closed his eyes; and his friend Cuscus took off.’
- (12) *Dedme dinduag a ada gogän, kollko ulle da gänyime daeya.*
 ded=me dindu=ag=a ada g-o-g-än kollko
 there=LOC run=ATR=NOM like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS breadfruit
 ulle=da gäny=me da=eya
 big=NOM here=LOC MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
 ‘There he was running and here was a big breadfruit tree.’
- (13) *Käsre ada gogon ge gondällän, matu me ddage da eraeya dedme gotgolän.*
 käsre ada g-o-g-on ge
 then like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS this
 g-o-nddäll-än matu=me ddage=da
 REM-RT_EXT-arrive-REM.3SGS lower_part=LOC branch=NOM

era=eya ded=me g-o-tgol-än
 which=COP.PST.SG there=LOC REM-RT_EXT-hide-REM.3SGS
 ‘He went like this, approached the tree, and hid in the lower branches.’

- (14) *Däräng a käsre nagda Baet bom dangnoeyän,” Nag bongo zime atgolalle?”*
- däräng=a käsre nag=da baet=bom
 dog=NOM then friend=CL_POSSESS.KIN cucusus=3SG.ACC
 d-a-ngnoe-yän nag bongo zime a-tgol-alle
 REM-RT_EXT-ask-REM.3SGA friend 2SG.NOM IAM REC-hide-REC.2SGS
 ‘Then Dog asked his friend Cucusus, “Friend, have you already hidden?”’
- (15) *Bogo do gungmingän ada, “Ao.”*
- bogo do g-u-ngämingg-än ada ao
 3SG.NOM there REM-RT_EXT-answer-REM.3SGS like_this yes
 ‘He answered from over there, “Yes!”’
- (16) *Däräng käsre nagda bom yagnen de dängkamän.*
- däräng käsre nag=da=bom yag-nen=de
 dog then friend=CL_POSSESS.KIN=3SG.ACC search-I.PL=ACC
 d-ä-ngk-am-än
 REM-3NDUP-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGA
 ‘Dog then started to look for his friend.’
- (17) *Baet era wel singosingoll dallän, ede däräng bälle mullae gogon nagda Baet bälle bällabälle we.*
- baet era wel singo~singoll d-a-ll-än ede
 cucusus FOC wind ADV~upwind REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS so
 däräng=bälle mullae g-o-g-on nag=da
 dog=3SG.DAT able REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS friend=CL_POSSESS.KIN
 baet=bälle bälla~bälle=we
 cucusus=3SG.DAT INF~find=ALL
 ‘Cucusus went upwind, so Dog was able to find his friend Cucusus.’
- (18) *Däräng käsre nagda Baet bäne dinduatt dae dongkollmällän doweyae kollko mit.*
- häräng käsre nag=da baet=bäne dindu=att=dae
 dog then friend=CL_POSSESS.KIN cucusus=3SG.ABL_POSSESS run=PP=PERL
 d-o-ngkollmäll-än dowe=ae kollko mit
 REM-3NDUP-follow-REM.3SGA proximity=ADV breadfruit base
 ‘Then Dog followed his friend’s running path closely to the base of the breadfruit tree.’

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- (19) *Nagda Baet bom kollko toko me ikop dägagän a ada eka dägagän, “Angetam.”*
nag=da baet=bom kollko toko=me ikop
friend=CL_POSS.KIN cucus=3SG.ACC breadfruit top=LOC see
d-ä-gag-än a ada eka
REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA and like_this speak
d-ä-gag-än a-ngetam
REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA FUT.2S-come_down
‘He saw his friend Cuscus sitting at the top of the breadfruit tree and said,
“Come down!”’
- (20) *Nagda Baet abo goonetamän matu we.*
nag=da baet abo g-o-ngetam-än
friend=CL_POSS.KIN cucus then REM-RT_EXT-come_down-REM.3SGS
matu=we
ground=ALL
‘His friend Cuscus came down to the ground.’
- (21) *Käsre Däräng ako nagda Baet bom ada eka dägagän, “Bako ikop nas, nga ngäna ako botogol.”*
käsre däräng ako nag=da baet=bom ada eka
then dog also friend=CL_POSS.KIN cucus=3SG.ACC like_this speak
d-ä-gag-än bako ikop n-a-s
REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA 2SG.NOM.also eye FUT.2>3-RT_EXT-close
nga ngäna ako b-o-togol
IM_FUT 1SG.NOM also FUT.1S-RT_EXT-hide
‘Then Dog said to his friend Cuscus, “Now your turn, close your eyes and
I will hide.”’
- (22) *Angde Baet ikop dasän, nagda Däräng dedme dinduag a ada gogon, wel kllomokllomoll dallän.*
angde baet ikop d-a-s-än nag=da
when cucus eye REM-RT_EXT-close-REM.3SGA friend=CL_POSS.KIN
däräng ded=me dindu=ag=a ada g-o-g-on
dog there=LOC run=ATR=NOM like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
wel kllomokllomoll d-a-ll-än
wind downwind REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS
‘When Cuscus closed his eyes, Dog went running like this. He went
downwind.’

- (23) *Däräng käsre dallän ada kukiny mama de ikop dägagän, käsre dibaolle ada gogon goträkän.*
- däräng käsre d-a-ll-än ada kukiny
 dog then REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS like_this grass_type
 ma~ma=de ikop d-ä-gag-än käsre diba=olle
 DIM-house=ACC see REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA then that=ALL
 ada g-o-g-on
 like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 g-o-träk-än
 REM-RT_EXT-go_underneath-REM.3SGS
 ‘Dog then went and saw a pile of grass. Then he went underneath.’
- (24) *Baet gontmonän täräpang, käsre nagda däräng bom dangnoeyän, “Nag, bongo zime atgolalle?”*
- baet g-o-ntmon-än täräp=ang käsre nag=da
 cucus REM-RT_EXT-wait-REM.3SGS time=ATR then friend=CL_POSS.KIN
 däräng=bom d-a-ngnoe-yän nag bongo zime
 dog=3SG.ACC REM-RT_EXT-ask-REM.3SGA friend 2SG.NOM IAM
 a-tgol-alle
 REC-hide-REC.2SGS
 ‘Cucus waited a long time. Then he asked his friend Dog, “Friend, have you already hidden?”’
- (25) *Däräng abo do gungmingän, “Ao!”*
- däräng abo do g-u-ngämingg-än ao
 dog then there REM-RT_EXT-answer-REM.3SGS yes
 ‘Then Dog answered from over there, “Yes!”’
- (26) *Baet käsre nagda Däräng bom yagyag de dängkamän.*
- baet käsre nag=da däräng=bom yag~yag=de
 cucus then friend=CL_POSS.KIN dog=3SG.ACC INF~search=ACC
 d-ä-ngk-am-än
 REM-3NDUP-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGA
 ‘Then Cucus started to look for his friend Dog.’
- (27) *Ada yagyagang a dallän, ada dallän, “Wiyowa llowam a dägagän.”*
- ada yag~yag=ang=a d-a-ll-än ada
 like_this INF~search=ATR=NOM REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS like_this

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- d-a-ll-än wiyowa llowam=a
 REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS wow fatigue=NOM
 d-ä-gag-än
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA
 ‘The seeker went looking like this, he went like this, “Phew, I’m tired.”’
- (28) *Käsre Baet nagda Däräng bälle wolle gogon ada, “Kapera, wiya agezän o!”*
 käsre baet nag=da däräng=bälle wolle
 then cuscus friend=CL_POSSESSIVE.KIN dog=3SG.DAT shout
 g-o-g-on ada kapera wiya
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS like_this out_of_town_friend come.IMP
 a-gezän=o
 FUT.2S-come_out=voc
 ‘Then Cuscus shouted for Dog like this, “Friend, come out!”’
- (29) *Be Däräng a bogo käsre do towall ik me nagda Baet bälle kuki ttoen ngasnges de gotäbawän.*
 be däräng=a bogo käsre do towall ik=me nag=da
 but dog=NOM 3SG.NOM then there grass inside=LOC friend=CL_POSSESSIVE.KIN
 baet=bälle kuki ttoen ngas~nges=de g-o-täba-wän
 cuscus=3SG.DAT deceive thing INF~do=ACC REM-RT_EXT-plan-REM.3SGS
 ‘But then Dog planned to play a trick on his friend Cuscus inside the grass.’
- (30) *Käsre Däräng bogo do obo llan de mermerangae deyangädän, dibaeya abo ada llama näkäp me gogezänmällnän nagda Baet pate.*
 käsre häräng bogo do obo llan=de mer~mer=ang=ae
 then dog 3SG.NOM there 3SG.POSS ear=ACC ADV~good=ATTR=ADV
 d-ey-a-ngäd-än diba=aeya abo ada llama
 REM-DUP-RT_EXT-fold-REM.3SGA that=COP.PST.SG then like_this hesitant
 näkäp=me g-o-gez-än-mäll-n-än
 mind=LOC REM-RT_EXT-come_out-II.NPL-PL-IPFV-REM.3SGS
 nag=da baet=pate
 friend=CL_POSSESSIVE.KIN cuscus=AN.ALL
 ‘Dog properly folded his ears, then he hesitantly came out towards his friend Cuscus.’

- (31) *Baet angde kapera da bom ikop dägagän, ada eka gogon, “Obo llan a tubutubu agnegan!”*
- baet angde kapera=da=bom ikop
 cucus when out_of_town_friend=CL_POSS.KIN=3SG.ACC see
 d-ä-gag-än ada eka g-o-g-on
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA like_this speak REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 obo llan=a tubu~tubu a-g-neg-an
 3SG.POSS ear=NOM NSG~short REC-AUX-3PLS-REC.3PLS
 ‘When Cucus saw his friend, he said, “His ears have shortened!”’
- (32) *Käsre Baet abo nagda Däräng bom dangnoeyän ada, “Kapera, bongo bäne llan de alla yagalle?”*
- käsre baet abo nag=da däring=bom
 then cucus then friend=CL_POSS.KIN dog=3SG.ACC
 d-a-ngnoe-yän ada kapera bongo
 REM-RT_EXT-ask-REM.3SGA like_this out_of_town_friend 2SG.NOM
 bäne llan=de alla y-a-g-alle
 2SG.POSS ear=ACC how DUP-RT_EXT-AUX-REC.2SGA
 ‘Then Cucus asked his friend Dog, “Friend, what did you do to your ears?”’
- (33) *Däräng a käsre kaeg da bom kuki de dängkamän ada, “Ngäna ngämo llan de era yatärpänan.”*
- däräng=a käsre kaeg=da=bom kuki=de
 dog=NOM then initiation_friend=CL_POSS.KIN=3SG.ACC deceive=ACC
 d-ä-ngk-am-än ada ngäna ngämo llan=de
 REM-3NDUP-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGA like_this 1SG.NOM 1SG.POSS ear=ACC
 era y-a-tärp-än-an
 FOC DUP-RT_EXT-cut-II.NPL-REC.3SGA
 ‘Then Dog started to lie to his friend like this, “I cut my ears.”’
- (34) *Baet bo moko da eraya obo llan a ade ada ingoll bogallo ge obo kapera Däräng da bo llan a alla ingollang gogeyo.*
- baet=bo moko=da era=aya obo llan=a ade
 cucus=3SG.POSS desire=NOM which=COP.PST.SG 3SG.POSS ear=NOM also
 ada=ingoll b-o-g-allo ge obo
 like_this=like FUT.3S-RT_EXT-AUX-IRR.NSGS this 3SG.POSS
 kapera däring=da=bo llan=a alla=ingoll=ang
 out_of_town_friend dog=CL_POSS=3SG.POSS ear=NOM how=like=ATR

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g-o-g-eyo

REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3DUS

‘Cuscus also wanted his ears to look like how his friend Dog’s ears were looking.’

- (35) *Dibaballe däräng a käsre nagda Baet bom ada dägagän, “Bongo ngänäm nantmon, nga ngäna ma we balle.”*
 dibaballe däräng=a käsre nag=da baet=bom ada
 afterwards dog=NOM then friend=CL_POSSESS.KIN cuscus=3SG.ACC like_this
 d-ä-gag-än bongo ngänäm n-a-ntmon
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC FUT.2>1SG-RT_EXT-wait
 nga ngäna ma=we b-a-lle
 IM_FUT 1SG.NOM house=ALL FUT.1S-RT_EXT-go
 ‘Afterwards, Dog said to his friend Cuscus, “You wait for me, I will go home.”’
- (36) *Däräng käsre dallän do ma we gogon, a täl pallkoll de diwenyän.*
 däräng käsre d-a-ll-än do ma=we
 dog then REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS there house=ALL
 g-o-g-on a täl pallkoll=de
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS and bamboo piece=ACC
 d-i-weny-än
 REM-VEN-carry-REM.3SGA
 ‘Dog then went to his house, and brought back a piece of bamboo.’
- (37) *Käsre ada ka gänyaolle nagda Baet bo llan de täräpnan anggan.*
 käsre ada ka gänya=olle nag=da baet=bo
 then like_this EMPH here=ALL friend=CL_POSSESS.KIN cuscus=3SG.POSS
 llan=de täräp-nan=anggan
 ear=ACC cut-I.PL=AUX.PRS.3SG>PL
 ‘Then, he cut his friend Cuscus’s ears.’
- (38) *Angde nagda Baet bo llan täräpnan a gottamänän, Däräng käsre nagda Baet bom ada dägagän, “Ibi tatuma!”*
 angde nag=da baet=bo llan täräp-nan=a
 when friend=CL_POSSESS.KIN cuscus=3SG.POSS ear cut-I.PL=NOM
 g-o-ttam-än-än däräng käsre nag=da
 REM-RT_EXT-finish-II.NPL-REM.3SGS dog then friend=CL_POSSESS.KIN

baet=bom ada d-ä-gag-än ibi
 cucus=3SG.ACC like_this REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA 1NSG.INCL.NOM
 tatu=ma
 bathe=CHAR
 ‘When he finished cutting Cucus’s ears, Dog then said to Cucus, “Let’s go wash!”’

- (39) *Käsre dedme kilikiliangae dinduag a ada gogeyo do oba mokowang abal tatuma da eraeya.*
 käsre ded=me kili~kili=ang=ae dindu=ag=a ada
 then there=LOC ADV~happy=ATR=ADV run=ATR=NOM like_this
 g-o-g-eyo do oba moko=wang abal
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3DUS to 3NSG.POSS desire=ATR very
 tatu=ma=da era=eya
 bathe=CHAR=NOM which=COP.PST.SG
 ‘Then they were happily running there to where their very favorite washing place was.’
- (40) *Angde gongttägeyo tatuma we, Däräng a käsre Baet bom ngattong tatu we umllang dägnän.*
 angde g-o-ngttägeyo tatu=ma=we däräng=a käsre
 when REM-RT_EXT-arrive-REM.3DUS bathe=CHAR=ALL dog=NOM then
 baet=bom ngattong tatu=we umllang
 cucus=3SG.ACC first bathe=ALL tell
 d-ä-g-n-än
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-II.NPL-REM.3SGA
 ‘When they arrived at the washing place, Dog told Cucus to wash first.’
- (41) *Baet käsre walle we ada gogon ge gogäbänän, tatu gogon mermerae ge llan täträp atta eragwaeya mermerae deyadrowän.*
 baet käsre walle=we ada g-o-g-on ge
 cucus then water=ALL like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS this
 g-o-gäb-än-än tatu g-o-g-on
 REM-RT_EXT-jump-II.NPL-REM.3SGS bathe REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 mer~mer=ae ge llan täträp=att=a era=gwaeya mer~mer=ae
 ADV~good=ADV this ear cut=PP=NOM which=COP.PST.DU ADV~good=ADV
 d-ey-a-dro-wän
 REM-DUP-RT_EXT-clean-REM.3SGA
 ‘Cucus then jumped and washed properly and cleaned his cut ears properly.’

A How Cuscus got his short ears

- (42) *Be nagda Däräng bogo eraeya nagda bom ddone ada datngoenän.*
be nag=da däräng bogo era=eya
but friend=CL_POSS.KIN dog 3SG.NOM which=COP.PST.SG
nag=da=bom ddone ada
friend=CL_POSS.KIN=3SG.ACC a_lot like_this
d-a-tngoe-n-än
REM-RT_EXT-laugh-IPFV-REM.3SGA
'And Dog laughed a lot at his friend.'
- (43) *Angde Baet guirngänän walle atta, Däräng a ako käsre ada gogon walle we ge gllu!*
angde baet g-u-irngän-än walle=att=a
when cuscus REM-RT_EXT-come_out-REM.3SGS water=ABL=NOM
däräng=a aka käsre ada g-o-g-on walle=we ge
dog=NOM also then like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS water=ALL this
gllu
splash_sound
'When Cuscus came out from the water, Dog then went into the water -
splash!'
- (44) *Gongkäbägän do igi abal e.*
g-o-ngkäbäg-än do igi abal=e
REM-RT_EXT-dive-REM.3SGS there underneath very=ALL
'He went under to the very deep part.'
- (45) *Angde gopeyamän obo llan a komllaebmae eragwaeya deyatäräkän.*
angde g-o-peym-än obo llan=a
when REM-RT_EXT-come_out-REM.3SGS 3SG.POSS ear=NOM
komlla=aeb=mae era=gwaeya d-ey-a-täräk-än
two=RST=RST which=COP.PST.DU REM-DUP-RT_EXT-untie-REM.3SGA
'When he came out, his two ears were untied.'
- (46) *Baet a angde Däräng pate ikop gogon, bogo gongnamän ada, nagda Däräng obom era kuki dägagän.*
baet=a angde däräng=pate ikop g-o-g-on
cuscus=NOM when dog=AN.ALL see REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
bogo g-o-ngnam-än ada nag=da
3SG.NOM REM-RT_EXT-understand-REM.3SGS like_this friend=CL_POSS.KIN

däräng obom era kuki d-ä-gag-än
 dog 3SG.ACC FOC deceive REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA
 ‘When Cucus looked towards Dog, he realized that Dog had lied to him.’

- (47) *Käsre eka laemnen gongkameyo.*
 käsrē eka laem-nen g-o-ngkam-eyo
 then word argue-I.PL REM-RT_EXT-start-REM.3DUS
 ‘Then they started to argue.’
- (48) *Baet käsrē gänyme dinduag a ada gogon, manggo de dängkälän.*
 baet käsrē gäny=me dindu=ag=a ada
 cucus then here=LOC run=ATR=NOM like_this
 g-o-g-on manggo¹=de d-ä-ngkäl-än
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS mango=ACC REM-3NDUP-ascend-REM.3SGA
 ‘Cucus then ran and climbed the mango tree.’
- (49) *Baet Däräng bom abo do walle ada eka dägagän, “Bongo bäne ttam giddoll me era minyi llaeyabaene tot de notnegne, ide dae anzagaene a gämäll agne.”*
 baet däräng=bom abo do=walle ada eka
 cucus dog=3SG.ACC then there=ABL like_this speak
 d-ä-gag-än bongo bäne ttam giddoll=me era
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA 2SG.NOM 2SG.POSS life life=LOC FOC
 minyi lla=eyabaene tot=de n-ot-neg-ne
 FUT person=3NSG.ABL_POSS rubbish=ACC FUT.2>3-eat-SG>PL-IPFV
 ide=dae a-nzagae-ne a gämäll a-g-ne
 side=PERL FUT.2S-roam-IPFV and steal FUT.2S-AUX-IPFV
 ‘Cucus said to Dog from there, “You, in your life, you will eat rubbish from people, and roam off the paths and steal.”’
- (50) *Däräng ako gopänaeyän a Baet bom ada eka dägagän, “Bongo bäne ttam giddoll me era mäzi llo ttam dae notnegne, a lla da bam minyi kuddäll e gäz e nayagneyo.”*
 däräng ako g-o-pänae-yän a baet=bom ada
 dog also REM-RT_EXT-turn-REM.3SGS and cucus=3SG.ACC like_this
 eka d-ä-gag-än bongo bäne ttam giddoll=me
 speak REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA 2SG.NOM 2SG.POSS life live=LOC

¹from English *mango*

A How Cuscus got his short ears

era mäzi llo ttam=dae n-ot-neg-ne a lla=da bam
 FOC FUT tree leaf=RST FUT.2>3-eat-SG>PL-IPFV and man=NOM 2SG.ACC
 minyi kuddäll=e gäz=e n-a-yag-n-eyo
 FUT dead=ALL kill=ALL FUT.3>2SG-RT_EXT-search-IPFV-FUT.NSGA
 ‘Dog also turned and said to Cuscus, “You, in your life, you will eat tree
 leaves and men will look for you to kill you dead.”

- (51) *Ede säre Baet bo llan a era adawatta tubutubu gogon.*
 ede säre baet=bo llan=a era adawatta tubu~tubu
 so sadly cuscus=3SG.POSS ear=NOM FOC therefore NSG~short
 g-o-g-on
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘So sadly this is why Cuscus has short ears.’
- (52) *Däräng da däträpnegan a sisri bongo ikop eralle ada däräng a era yuwog ide dae kanyokanyong dan, ddobae gämällang dan a yuwog ngätt me källa bebeyag dan.*
 däräng=da d-ä-träp-neg-än a sisri bongo
 dog=NOM REM-3NDUP-cut-SG>PL-REM.3SGA and now 2SG.NOM
 ikop=eralle ada däräng=a era yuwog ide=dae
 see=AUX.PRS.2SG>3SG like_this dog=NOM FOC many side=PERL
 kanye~kanye=ang da=n ddobae gämäll=ang
 ADJ~move_around=ATR MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG very steal=ATR
 da=n a yuwog ngätt=me källa be~be=yag
 MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG and many yard=LOC feces INF~leak=ATR
 da=n
 MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 ‘Dog cut them and now you see that Dog moves around off the paths and
 steals and poops in front of people’s homes.’
- (53) *Adawatta ada ttoenang gogon Baet a däbe eka de ke donttogän.*
 adawatta ada ttoen=ang g-o-g-on baet=a
 because like_this thing=ATR REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS cuscus=NOM
 däbe eka=de ke d-o-ntto-g-än
 that word=ACC CNTF REM-3NDUP-give-III.NPL-REM.3SGA
 ‘Because Cuscus gave those words.’

B *Kottllam bo pallall ttoenttoen* – Turtle’s story

Introduction

Kottllam bo pallall ttoenttoen ‘Turtle’s story’ is a *pourquoi* story told by Tonny (Tonzah) Warama for inclusion in a compilation of children’s stories for the Limol Elementary School called *Pepeb Peba (Folk Stories)* (Johnson et al. 2016a). T. Warama first told the story to D. Johnson on October 9, 2016 (4.6 minutes; Warama 2016f), retold it to K. Lindsey on October 29, 2016 (7.3 minutes; Warama 2016h), helped us write it down for *Pepeb Peba* (Warama 2016g), and then read that version aloud later that day (Warama 2016i). All four texts were transcribed, translated, and put into the Ende FLEx corpus, where they were further translated at the word and morpheme level by K. Lindsey, with the help of C. Scanlon, W. Kurupel, and T. Warama. The written version (Warama 2016g) is printed below with the original illustrations by A. Kaoga (Dobola) from the *Pepeb Peba* book.

Summary and background

‘Turtle’s story’ is a fable that explains how the *kottllam* ‘turtle’ got its cracked shell and home in the sea. In the beginning of the tale, Turtle is living a difficult life in a drought-stricken region with very little water. He is found by a giant bird, who recruits a friend to take him to a nicer village by the ocean. The birds transport Turtle by having him bite onto a long stick, warning him not to open his mouth during the flight. Turtle breaks this rule when he marvels at the beauty of the ocean and falls to the village, where his shell breaks into pieces. The villagers put Turtle back together and release him into the sea.

There are eight names for different species of turtles in the Ende dictionary (Lindsey & The Ende Language Committee 2017). The generic word for turtle, and the one used in this text, is *kottllam*. More specific names include: *atata kottllam* (see Figure 1.13), *gamo kottllam* (see Figure 1.14), *gogo kottllam*, *pall kottllam* (see

B Turtle's story

Figure 1.15), *paro kottlam*, *ulle kottlam* and *uwo kottlam* (see Figure 1.16). The *gamo* and *pall* ‘red’ turtles can be classified as the Pig-nosed turtle (*Carettochelys insculpta*) and the New Guinea painted turtle (*Emydura subglobosa*), respectively. Photographs of the *ataata* and the *uwo* match the physical characteristics of the Northern snake-necked turtle (*Chelodina rugosa*) and the New Guinea snapping turtle (*Elseya branderhorsti*) best.¹ The *ulle* ‘big’ turtle may be another name for the Pig-nosed turtle, as that is the largest turtle in this region (Georges et al. 2006), or it may be used for the New Guinea giant softshell (*Pelochelys bibroni*), the second largest.²

Georges et al. (2006) identified nine freshwater turtle species that inhabit the South Fly area in New Guinea – the highest number of turtle species in the Australasian region. Curiously, none of the turtles in this list have very prominent scutes, which give many turtles and tortoises the appearance of a “cracked” shell. All nine species have very smooth shells, though the snake-necked and the snapping turtles have natural grooves or patterns that may resemble cracks. Perhaps one of these latter four was the inspiration for this story. Or, perhaps the story was borrowed from a nearby community, where turtles with “cracked” shells are more common.

Though the idea of a turtle with a “cracked” shell may have extra-local origins, the effects of drought and food scarcity are unfortunately well-known in the region. The yearly drought lasts three seasons, roughly corresponding to August, September, and October. These three seasons are called *yäbad* ‘dry season,’ *yäbad bäng* ‘dry and hot season,’ and *yäbad ttäntämang* ‘dry, hot, and burning season.’ During these months, the residents of Limol rely on *sana* ‘sago’ (see Figure 1.2), which can be harvested year-round, and floating swamp gardens for sustenance.

Some structures of note in the following text include the malefactive use of the dative. For example, in Line 5, the turtle thinks to himself “*ngämle giddollma da llokttang abal agan*” ‘living has become impossible for me’, where *ngämle* is the first person dative form and the malefactive party in this event. Another interesting structure is the ventive associated motion prefix *i-*, which is found in verbs where the motion of the event is returning to a previous location or to the actual location of the speaker (Reed & Lindsey 2021). Ventive *i-* is used in Line 12 in the verb *dingällänän* ‘he got him and returned.’

¹*Uwo* is also used to refer to the magnificent riflebird, a bird-of-paradise native to the region.

²I do not have photographs of the *gogo*, *ulle*, or *paro* turtles. However, it is possible that *gogo* refers to the other *Emydura* turtle species as *gogo* and *pall* are often used in conjunction to name similar species where one is green and the other red. These words are also names for green and red sago palm trees.

Parallel text

Ttongo täräp me, yäbad ulle da dättämän. Ttängäm ulle da tämamae dallän didir abal gogon. Ine da däbeznegän, ada källäm a, ada walle mäg a, orbam a, a karama da ade petapeta abal gogon. Kottllam a wa ddob ine me gidollnenang kollba da, ubi ttongo källäm e dazernän, däbe källäm a ade yäbad ulle atta dallän do kälae abal gowensegän ine da, kollba da tämamae dadrowän a be kottllam aebe ttam dagirnän. Kottllam a ada gongnomenynän, "Ma ngäna säre ili balle, ngämlle giddollma da llokttang abal agan, ada otät a ddone dag, ada ine da gagäll dan a ako ngämlle giddollma da ddone mullae allan gänya källäm me!"

Once upon a time, the sun was blazing. All of the big villages became very dry. The water dried up, and the ponds, big creeks, pools and swamps became very shallow. Turtle was living in a pond with many fish. The pond shrank from the heat of the sun. All the fish died, but the turtle lived on. The turtle thought to himself, "How tragic! Living is very hard. There is no food, the water is bad. It is impossible for me to live in this pond!"



Figure B.1: Turtle and the fishpond

Ttongo täräp me, ttongo pa da bem ulle atta dapllagnän tuk me a däbe källäm de ikop dägagän ge kottllam a erame daeya. Pa da dapllagän matu we a kottllam bom ikop dägagän ddäg kutt dae päälläm gogän, obo pate dallän a dangnoeyän ada, "Bongo alla ai dan?" Kottllam a ada eka mu gogän, "Kandär mang, ngäna ai llokttang ttam me gidoll allan."

One day, a bird from the big sea was flying above and saw the pond where Turtle lived. The bird flew lower and saw the Turtle. Only his backbones were visible. He flew down and asked, "How are you?" Turtle replied, "Sorry, I am living a very difficult life."

B Turtle's story



Figure B.2: A bird visits Turtle

Golläntmenyän tämamae ngalen de. Pa da ddone ada kandärmang dägagän obom a ada eka dägagän, "Ngäna bam minyi bangmingg, mer ttängäm a dan duli, ai ine ulle dan, bem dan, tämamae ttoen a dedme mullamullae dag. Ede nga bongo gänyime, nga ngäna balle ngämo nag bom umllang bägag babbles ngämingg e." Pa obom dowansegän a dallän nagda bom dingällbänän a kotllam pate gongttägeyo.

"Ngämi bam da batrameya, abo bongo ge sabi de nongkollmall. Tuk me eka tameny a bongo abo mudan, kälae ttätt gallab a mudan." Pa da llo dätärpänän a kotllam bom amne abal me bod alle mällam e umllang dägagän. Pa komlla da llo de damllameyo ttälle alle a

Turtle told him everything that happened. The bird felt very sorry for him and said, "I will help you. There is a good village with plenty of water near the sea. Everything there is all right. You stay here, and I will go get my friend to help you." The bird left him to get his friend, and together they returned to the turtle."

"We will take you there, but you must follow our rules. When we are in the air, you are not allowed to speak or open your jaw, even a little." The birds got a stick and told Turtle to hold it with his mouth right in the middle. The two birds held the stick with their

paplläg de gongkameyo. Angde bem dowae me maduma we dälltaemnän, kottlam a mäse ada eka panyipeny e gongkamän, “Ae ttängäm a mer abal a gänyan,” wiowa e be gonyo we de gogon ekaklle, enanae gollomän kälakälae.

legs and started to fly. When they arrived at the village close to the sea, Turtle tried to say, “Wow, the village is good here! Wow!” But here it happened. Turtle fell to the ground and smashed into pieces.



Figure B.3: Turtle's journey

Lla da päre abo gobällän kottlam bo gollob pallkepalake de dänglläbeyo a kottlam bo patme däddäganeyo kame gontäbemenyegän a kottlam bom dätrameyo bem ulle we dainttemonggeyo. Kottlam bo ttam a abo tupi gogän.

The people went to poor Turtle, collected all the pieces of his shell, and put him back together. They let Turtle go free into the big sea. After this, Turtle's life was very long.



Figure B.4: Turtle's fall and reconstruction

Glossed text

- (1) *Ttongo täräp me, yäbad ulle da dättämän.*
ttongo täräp=me yäbad ulle=da d-ä-ttäm-n-än
one time=LOC sun big=NOM REM-3NDUP-burn-IPFV-REM.3SGA
'Once upon a time, the sun burned hot.'
- (2) *Ttängäm ulle da tämamae dallän didir abal gogon.*
ttängäm ulle=da tämamae d-a-ll-än didir abal
place big=NOM all REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS dried very
g-o-g-on
REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
'All the big villages became very dry.'
- (3) *Ine da däbeznegän, ada källäm a, ada walle mäg a, orbam a, a karama da ade petapeta abal gogon.*
ine=da d-ä-bez-neg-än ada källäm=a
water=NOM REM-3NDUP-dry_up-SG>PL-REM.3PLS like_this pond=NOM
ada walle mäg=a orbam=a a karama=da ade petapeta
like_this water source=NOM pool=NOM and swamp=NOM also thin
abal g-o-g-on
very REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
'Water dried up, and the ponds, the big creeks, the pools, and the swamps
became shallow.'
- (4) *Kottlam a wa ddob ine me giddollnenang kollba da, ubi ttongo källäm e dazernän, däbe källäm a ade yäbad ulle atta dallän do kälae abal gowensegän ine da, kollba da tämamae dadrowän a be kottlam aebe ttam dagirnän.*
kottlam=a wa ddob ine=me giddoll-nen=ang kollba=da ubi
turtle=NOM and other water=LOC live-II.PL=ATR fish=NOM 3NSG.NOM
ttongo källäm=e d-a-zer-n-än däbe källäm=a ade
one pond=ALL REM-RT_EXT-live-IPFV-REM.3PLS that pond=NOM also
yäbad ulle=att=a d-a-ll-än do kälae abal
sun big=ABL=NOM REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS there small very
g-o-wenseg-än ine=da kollba=da tämamae
REM-RT_EXT-put-REM.3SGS water=NOM fish=NOM all
d-a-dro-wän a be kottlam=aebe ttam
REM-RT_EXT-die-REM.3PLS and but turtle=RST life

d-a-gir-n-än

REM-RT_EXT-stay-IPFV-REM.3SGS

‘Turtle was living in this pond where fish also lived. That pond became very small from the big sun. The fish all died but the turtle lived on.’

- (5) *Kottllam a ada gongnomenynän, “Ma ngäna säre ili balle, ngämille giddollma da llokttang abal agan, ada otät a ddone dag, ada ine da gagäll dan a ako ngämille giddollma da ddone mullae allan gänya källäm me!”*
- kottllam=a ada g-o-ngno-men-y-n-än ma
turtle=NOM like_this REM-RT_EXT-think-III.PL-IPFV-REM.3SGS house
ngäna säre ili b-a-lle ngämille giddoll=ma=da
1SG.NOM sadly where FUT.1S-RT_EXT-go 1SG.DAT live=NMLZ=NOM
lloktt=ang abal a-g-an ada otät=a ddone
hard=ATR very REC-AUX-REC.3SGS like_this food=NOM NEG
da=g ada ine=da gagäll da=n
MED.DEM=COP.PRS.PL like_this water=NOM bad MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
a ako ngämille giddoll=ma=da ddone mullae=allan gänya
and again 1SG.DAT live=NMLZ=NOM NEG able=AUX.PRS.3SGS this
källäm=me
pond=LOC

‘The turtle thought, “How tragic, for me, living is very hard, and there is no food, and the water is bad, and for me, it’s impossible to live in this pond!”’

- (6) *Ttongo täräp me, ttongo pa da bem ulle atta dapllägnän tuk me a däbe källäm de ikop dägagän ge kottllam a erame daeya.*
- ttongo täräp=me ttongo pa=da bem ulle=att=a
one time=LOC one bird=NOM sea big=ABL=NOM
d-a-plläg-n-än tuk=me a däbe källäm=de ikop
REM-RT_EXT-fly-IPFV-REM.3SGS air=LOC and that pond=ACC see
d-ä-gag-än ge kottllam=a era=me
REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA this turtle=NOM which=LOC
da=eya
MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG

‘One day, a bird from the big sea was flying above and saw that pond where the turtle was.’

B Turtle's story

- (7) *Pa da dapllägän matu we a kottllam bom ikop dägagän ddäg kutt dae pälläm gogän, obo pate dallän a dangnoeyän ada, "Bongo alla ai dan?"*
 pa=da d-a-plläg-än matu=we a kottllam=bom
 bird=NOM REM-RT_EXT-fly-REM.3SGS lower_part=ALL and turtle=3SG.ACC
 ikop d-ä-gag-än ddäg kutt=dae pälläm
 see REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA back bone=RST visible
 g-o-g-än obo=pate d-a-ll-än
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS 3SG.POSS=AN.ALL REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS
 a d-a-ngnoe-yän ada bongo alla ai
 and REM-RT_EXT-ask-REM.3SGA like_this 2SG.NOM how good
 da=n
 MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 'The bird flew lower and saw the turtle, only his backbones were visible.
 He went to him and asked like this, "How are you?"'
- (8) *Kottllam a ada eka mu gogän, "Kandärmang, ngäna ai llokttang ttam me giddoll allan."*
 kottllam=a ada eka mu g-o-g-än
 turtle=NOM like_this speak response REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 kandärmang ngäna ai lloktt=ang ttam=me giddoll=allan
 sorry 1SG.NOM good hard=ATR life=LOC live=AUX.PRS.1SGS
 'Turtle replied like this, "Sorry, I am living a very difficult life."
- (9) *Golläntmenyän tämamae ngalen de.*
 g-o-lläntmeny-än tämamae ngalen=de
 REM-RT_EXT-tell-REM.3SGS all way=ACC
 'He told him everything.'
- (10) *Pa da ddone ada kandärmang dägagän obom a ada eka dägagän, "Ngäna bam minyi bangmingg, mer ttängäm a dan duli, ai ine ulle dan, bem dan, tämamae ttoen a dedme mullamullae dag.*
 pa=da ddone ada kandärmang d-ä-gag-än
 bird=NOM a_lot like_this sorry REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA
 obom a ada eka d-ä-gag-än ngäna bam
 3SG.ACC and like_this speak REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC
 minyi b-a-ngmi-ngg mer ttängäm=a da=n
 FUT FUT.1A-RT_EXT-help-III.NPL good place=NOM MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 duli ai ine ulle da=n bem
 there good water abundant MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG sea

da=n tämamae ttoen=a ded=me mullaes~mullaes
 MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG all way=NOM there=LOC NSG~enough
 da=g
 MED.DEM=COP.PRS.PL

‘The bird felt very sorry for him and said like this, “I will help you. There is a good village. There is good, big water there, a sea, there is enough of everything there.’

- (11) *Ede nga bongo gänyime, nga ngäna balle ngämo nag bom umllang bägag bablle ngämingg e.*

ede nga bongo gäny=me nga ngäna b-a-lle
 so IM_FUT 2SG.NOM here=LOC IM_FUT 1SG.NOM FUT.1S-RT_EXT-go
 ngämo nag=bom umllang b-ä-gag babble
 1SG.POSS friend=3SG.ACC tell FUT.1A-3NDUP-AUX 2SG.DAT
 ngämi-ngg=e
 help-III.NPL=ALL

‘So you stay here, I will go tell my friend to help you.”

- (12) *Pa obom dowansegän a dallän nagda bom dingällbänän a kottllam pate gongttägeyo.*

pa obom d-o-wanse-g-än a
 bird 3SG.ACC REM-3NDUP-put-III.NPL-REM.3SGA and
 d-a-ll-än nag=da=bom
 REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS friend=CL_POSS.KIN=3SG.ACC
 d-i-ngällbän-än a kottllam=pate
 REM-VEN-get-REM.3SGA and turtle=AN.ALL
 g-o-ngttä-g-eyo
 REM-RT_EXT-arrive-III.NPL-REM.3DUS

‘The bird left him and got and brought his friend and returned to the turtle.’

- (13) “*Ngämi bam da batrameya, abo bongo ge sabi de nongkollmäll.*

ngämi bam da b-a-täram-eya abo bongo
 1NSG.EXCL.NOM 2SG.ACC if FUT.1A-RT_EXT-lead-FUT.1NSGA then 2SG.NOM
 ge sabi=de n-o-ngkollmäll
 this law=ACC FUT.2>3-3NDUP-follow
 “We will take you, but you must follow our rules.’

B Turtle's story

- (14) *Tuk me eka tameny a bongo abo mudan, kälae ttatt gallab a mudan.*
 tuk=me eka tameny=a bongo abo muda=n kälae ttatt
 air=LOC speak discuss=NOM 2SG.NOM then PROHIB=COP.PRS.SG small jaw
 gall-ab=a muda=n
 open-IV.NPL=NOM PROHIB=COP.PRS.SG
 ‘In the air, you are not allowed to speak or open your jaw even a little.’
- (15) *Pa da llo dätärpänän a kottllam bom amne abal me bod alle mällam e umllang dägagän.*
 pa=da llo d-ä-tärp-än-än a kottllam=bom
 bird=NOM tree=REM-3NDUP-cut-II.NPL-REM.3SGA and turtle=3SG.ACC
 amne abal=me bod=alle mäll-am=e umllang
 center very=LOC mouth=INS hold-IV.NPL=ALL tell
 d-ä-gag-än
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA
 ‘The birds got a stick and told Turtle to hold it with his mouth right in the middle.’
- (16) *Pa komlla da llo de damllameyo ttälle alle a pappläg de gongkameyo.*
 pa komlla=da llo=de d-a-mll-am-eyo ttälle=alle
 bird two=NOM tree=ACC REM-RT_EXT-hold-IV.NPL-REM.3NSGA leg=INS
 a pa~plläg=de g-o-ngk-am-eyo
 and INF~fly=ACC REM-RT_EXT-start-IV.NPL-REM.3DUS
 ‘The two birds held the stick with their legs and started to fly.’
- (17) *Angde bem dowae me maduma we dälltaemnän, kottllam a mäse ada eka panypeny e gongkamän, “Ae ttängäm a mer abal a gänyan,” wiowa e be gonyo we de gogon ekaklle, enanae gollomän kälakälae.*
 angde bem dowae=me maduma=we
 when sea proximity=LOC village=ALL
 d-ä-llt-aem-n-än kottllam=a mäse ada
 REM-RT_EXT-arrive-IV.PL-IPFV-REM.3PLS turtle=NOM IMN like_this
 eka pany~peny=e g-o-ngk-am-än ae ttängäm=a
 speak INF~speak=ALL REM-RT_EXT-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGS ah place=NOM
 mer abal=a gänya=n wiowa=e be gonyo=we=de
 good very=NOM here=COP.PRS.SG wow=VOC but here=ALL=ACC
 g-o-g-on ekaklle enanae g-o-llom-än
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS ground forever REM-RT_EXT-break-REM.3SGS

käla~kälae

ADV~small

‘When they arrived at the village close to the sea, Turtle tried to say, “Wow, the village is very good here, wow!” But here it happened, the ground, at once smashed into pieces.’

- (18) *Lla da päre abo gobällän kottllam bo gollob pallkepallke de dänglläbeyo a kottllam bo patme däddäganeyo kame gontäbemenynegän a kottllam bom dätrameyo bem ulle we dainttemonggeyo.*

lla=da päre abo g-o-bäll-än kottllam=bo
man=NOM sadly.NSG then REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3PLS turtle=3SG.POSS
gollob pallke~pallke=de d-ä-nglläb-eyo a
shell NSG~piece=ACC REM-3NDUP-get-REM.3NSGA and
kottllam=bo=patme d-ä-ddäga-n-eyo
turtle=3SG.POSS=AN.LOC REM-3NDUP-put_together-IPFV-REM.3NSGA
kame g-o-ntäbemeny-neg-än a kottllam=bom
again REM-RT_EXT-instruct-3PLS-REM.3PLS and turtle=3SG.ACC
d-ä-tr-am-eyo bem ulle=we
REM-3NDUP-lead-IV.NPL-REM.3NSGA sea big=ALL
d-a-inttem-ongg-eyo
REM-RT_EXT-leave_someone-III.NPL-REM.3NSGA

‘Then the people sadly went to the turtle, collected all the pieces of his shell, and put him back together again, and they let Turtle free into the big sea.’

- (19) *Kottllam bo ttam a abo tupi gogän.*

kottllam=bo ttam=a abo tupi g-o-g-än
turtle=3SG.POSS life=NOM then long REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS

‘Then Turtle’s life was very long’

C *Kakayam bo tongoe* – The Bird of Paradise Song

Song summary



Figure C.1: Sali Goge (Wik) and Rhoda Kukuwang performing the *Kakayam bo tongoe* song and dance with their dance ensemble in 2016

The Bird of Paradise song and dance was written by Sali Goge (Wik) to be performed by the Malam Culture and Dance Group (see Figure 1.44). When the Bird of Paradise song is performed, the dancers wear grass skirts, cassowary feather armbands, legbands, and headdresses, and carry *abor*, a tool used to pound sago (see Figure C.1). The dancers sing and are accompanied by the kundu drum (played by the decorated man in the foreground of Figure C.1). The choreography for this song emulates the movements of the bird of paradise with flapping elbows, jumps, and turns. The lyrics repeat the lines ‘The Bird-of-Paradise is

C The Bird of Paradise Song

singing in the garden of Eden. The people, we see how he plays. Kwa-o, kwa-o, ke-ke-ke.' Here, the surroundings of the Ende villages are compared to the Garden of Eden from Christian mythology. This type of comparison is common among Ende-based Christian rhetoric, where the stories in the Bible have direct equivalence to local places, customs, and even ancestry. The Bird-of-Paradise has a special cultural importance in Ende culture and in Papua New Guinea. The Bird-of-Paradise is the national bird of Papua New Guinea and the totem of many local clan groups. The Bird-of-Paradise is renowned for its long tail feathers and elaborate dances.

The song, dance, and story behind the song can be heard and viewed in the Ende language corpus (Goge (Wik) 2015, 2016a,b,c,d).

Song text

Ae-ya, kakayam da eka allan Iden ttängäm me.
Lla ibi ikop bágageya obo tongoe de.
Kwa-o, kwa-o, ke-ke-ke.
Ae-ya, kakayam da eka allan Iden ttängäm me.
Lla ibi ikop bágageya obo tongoe de.
Kwa-o, kwa-o, ke-ke-ke.
Ae-ya, kakayam da eka allan Iden ttängäm me.
Lla ibi ikop bágageya obo tongoe de.
Kwa-o, kwa-o, ke-ke-ke.
Kwa-o, kwa-o, ke-ke-ke.
Ae-ya, kakayam da eka allan Iden ttängäm me.
Lla ibi ikop bágageya obo tongoe de.
Kwa-o, kwa-o, ke-ke-ke.
Kwa-o, kwa-o, ke-ke-ke.
Ae-ya, kakayam da eka allan Iden ttängäm me.
Lla ibi ikop bágageya obo tongoe de.
Kwa-o, kwa-o, ke-ke-ke.
Kwa-o, kwa-o, ke-ke-ke.

Glossed text

- (1) Ae-ya, kakayam da eka allan Iden ttängäm me.
ae=ya kakayam=da eka=allan Iden ttängäm=me
ah=voc bird_type=NOM speak=AUX.PRS.1SGS Eden garden=LOC
'Bird-of-Paradise is singing in the garden of Eden.'

- (2) *Lla ibi ikop bägeyea obo tongoe de.*
lla ibi ikop b-ä-gag-eya obo
man 1NSG.INCL.NOM see FUT.1A-3NDUP-AUX-FUT.1NSGA 3SG.POSS
tongoe=de
play=ACC
‘The people, we see how he plays.’
- (3) *Kwa-o, kwa-o, ke-ke-ke.*
[The sound of the *kakayam* bird-of-paradise.]

Part III

Tales of hunting and survival

D *Tawa mamoeatt ttoen* – Swamp hunting story

Introduction

This story, called *Tawa mamoeatt ttoen* ‘Swamp hunting story’ is a personal narrative told by Joshua Ben Danipa about a time he went hunting for deer with his son. J. Ben Danipa wrote this story in 2007 for inclusion in a primer designed to illustrate a new spelling system for Ende (Ben Danipa 2007). In 2017, K. Lindsey edited the text to adhere to the updated orthography for inclusion in an illustrated collection of hunting stories for the elementary school (Reed et al. 2017a). At that time, we also audio-recorded J. Ben Danipa reading the story out loud and retelling it from memory. These recordings are archived in Lindsey (2015a) as Ben Danipa (2017a) and Ben Danipa (2017b), respectively.

Summary and background

This text is a remembered narrative about a memorable hunting trip undertaken by J. Ben Danipa and his son. In the tale, J. Ben Danipa is prepared to join the village men solo to bring home an animal, but his son begs to come with him, “as young boys are wont to do.” J. Ben Danipa and his son do get close to some deer, but the hunting is thwarted because the father is distracted worrying about his son. This story provides some examples of Ende hunting practices and a glimpse into Ende family dynamics.

Hunting is an important activity in Ende society. Men hunt with longbows and unfletched arrows for deer (*Rusa timorensis*; Figure 1.17), boar, cassowary, birds, wallabies (Figure 1.18), and bandicoots, among other animals. Hunting bows and arrows are crafted out of bamboo and are typically longer than the hunter is tall (Figure 1.33–Figure 1.35). The kind of hunting described in this text is called *mamoe*, which is a type of group hunting where part of the hunting party chases the animals, often with dogs (Figure D.1), and the other members wait at a known bottleneck or path that they know the animals will take. In this story, J. Ben

D Swamp hunting story

Danipa is waiting at the swamp in a canoe for the deer that the hunters will chase towards him (see Figure 1.36 and Figure D.2).

One structure of interest in this text is the verb *kam* ‘to start’. *Kam* may appear in an intransitive verbal template, e.g., *gongkam* ‘I started’ in Line 1, or a transitive verbal template, e.g., *dängkam* ‘I started it’ in Line 17. In both cases, the verb inflects to agree with the valency of the infinitival verb in the lower clause, i.e. *ibi* ‘to walk’ and *llädäd* ‘to grab’, intransitive and transitive, respectively. As the infinitival verbs do not host any morphological inflection, such as person or number agreement, pluractionality, or associated motion, the verb *kam* will also inflect to mark these characteristics of the embedded event.

Parallel text

*Keiti ttängäm me lla da eka de dätäbeyo
Wur bun tawa mamoe e, ngämo bägäl
a wa toboll a dänglläb, ngäna ibi di
gongkam. Angde gopällttän, ngämo
llig kälsre da, obo bin a Immanuel,
mitmit dagän ngänäm, ge ddob llig
a alla medädabim mitmit amallo. Da
medäda ero we gopällttänalle, llig da
minyi mitmit bäganän ngänaeka pe-
yang. Ngäna obom dätram, ngämi
llame deyareya mamoema.*

*Nyongo dae ngämi deyareya dowe Era-
mang gall tapma, gall e ngämi goda-
galeya, ngäna imne we, ede Immanuel
ngattong e godmenän gall guwo me.
Bobag daeya dedam Karama walle
da adawatta yogoll ulle da dämanän.
Ngämi tawa bo menae dae dagllaen-
nalla ako ngämi gall me deyagirnalla,
ddia we gongllaenalla. Mamoeya mae-
nenang lla da däräng peyang tawa de
daddällgoeneyo, Wur bun tonton abal
me.*

*Komlla ddia de deyangkoenmällneyo
däräng a ngäsengäse dowe Taolang*

In KT village, some men were discussing plans to go hunting in Wur Swamp. I got my bow and arrows, and I started walking. When I set off, my small boy, Immanuel, clung to me, the way young children cling to their fathers. If fathers set off, children will long for them with tears. I carried him, and we went hunting together.

We walked down the road to Era-mang canoe place, and we got in the canoe. I boarded in the back so Immanuel could sit in the front, in the heart of the canoe. Karama River was flooded because of heavy rain. We paddled through the swamp, stayed in the boat, and looked for deer. Other hunters with dogs went into the swamp, directly towards Wur.

The dogs chased two deer down into Taolang Canoe Place. I paddled the ca-

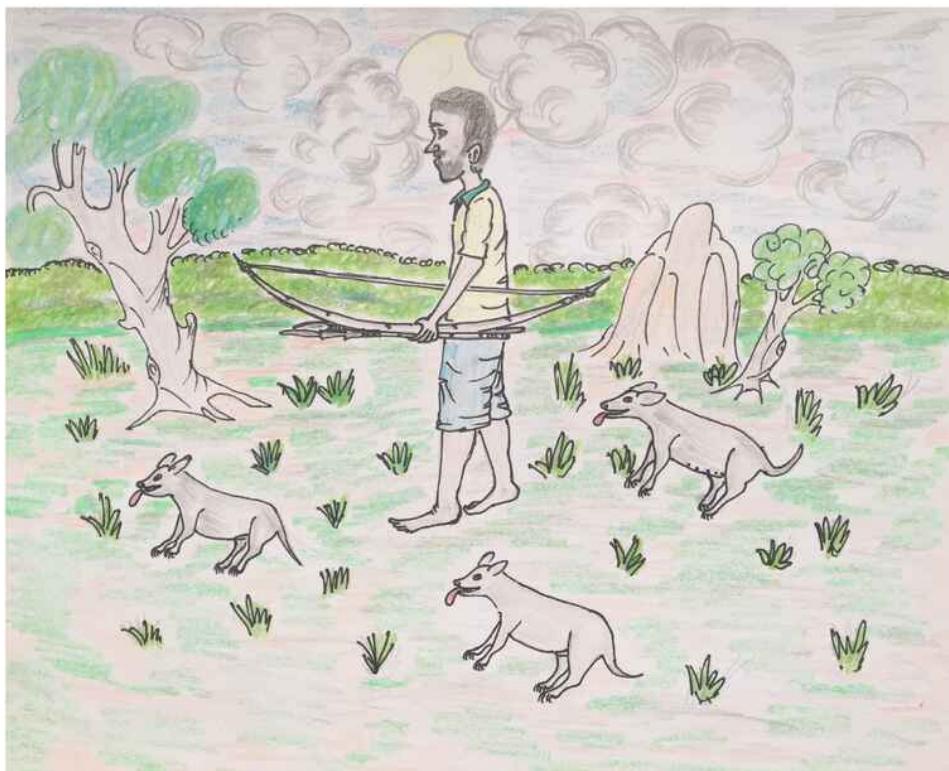


Figure D.1: Hunting with dogs

gall tapma. Ngäna gall de mängamän-gall dagllae ddia koenmäll e, gall alle gumbiebmeny. Komlla dagwaeya ddia da, ada gullbe täkäll peyang a ako mäg da ulle da. Ngäna gagäll kabag dae gall de dony ddia ngämenmäll e, Immanuel gall guwo me känyärtto gogän.

Angde ngämi ddia komlla de deyang-meneyä, ngäna llig kälsre de Immanuel dangnoe, "Bongo ddia komlla de ikop yaralle?" Bogo eka mu dagän ngänäm, "Baba, ao gänyageyo ddia da." Ako ada eka dagän, "Baba, ttongo nazu pakos alle." Ngäna umllang däga, "Immanuel, bongo gall guwo me, ngäna walle we gäbän allan ddia llädäd e."

noe quickly to chase the deer with the boat. There were two deer, one bull with horns and one doe. I did not direct the boat well through the flood grass to reach the deer. Immanuel stayed silent in the heart of the canoe.

When we reached the two deer, I asked my small boy Immanuel, "Do you see the two deer?" He answered, "Father, yes, those two deer are there." Then he said, "Father, shoot one with the arrow." I told him, "Immanuel, you stay in the canoe. I am jumping in the water to grab the deer."

D Swamp hunting story

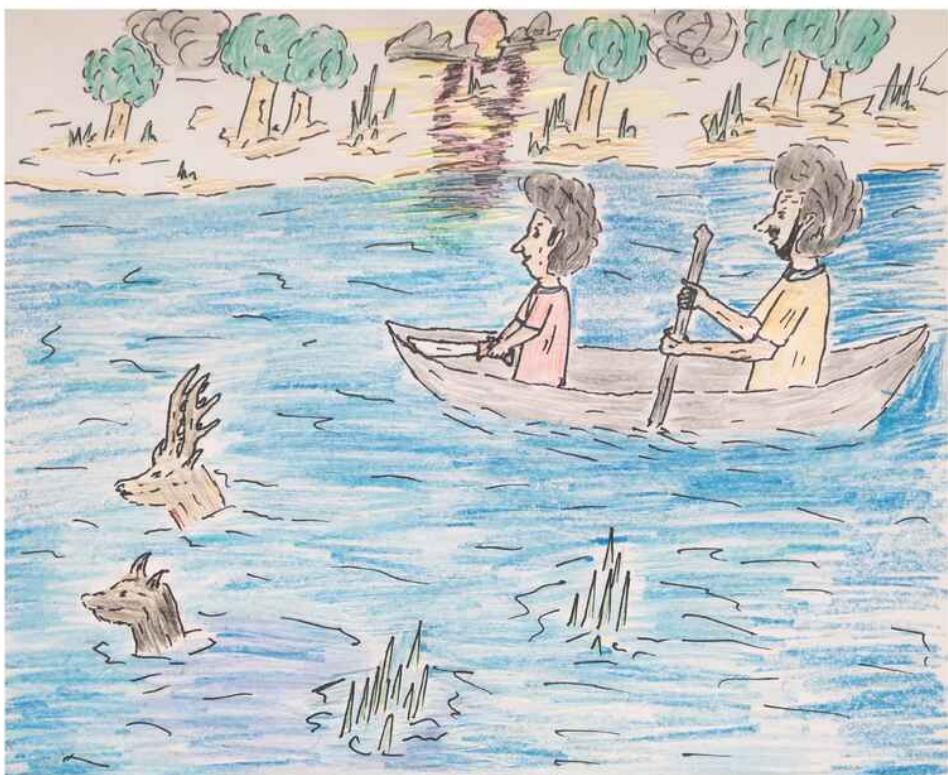


Figure D.2: Hunting by boat

Ngäna gogäbän walle we ddia dowae me, mäse llädad e dängkam, ngämo llig kälsre de, Immanuel bom gongnongg, gall me daeya bogo, poper gognän, be ddone ngänaeka gogän näkäp alle ngäna dämbäl, ada Immanuel zäme walle we aspunan adawatta ngäna ddändängeny me gogäbän gall atta.

Be bogo dadewaeya gall guwo me dämenang dagernän, ngäna angde gongllae gall e, ttongo ddia de ikop däga. Immanuel däbe ttongo ddia de ikop alle dätraemänän, obo gall dowae dae dänggllanän. Immanuel känyärtto

I jumped into the water close to the deer and tried to grab it. But in my mind, I thought of my small boy and how he was sitting in the boat, scared, but not crying. My mind raced and I thought Immanuel had fallen into the water when I jumped out of the canoe.

But he was still there sitting in the canoe. When I looked to the boat, I saw one deer. Immanuel was looking at that deer, he was swimming close to the boat. Immanuel stayed very quiet. I returned to the boat, got on, and

abal gogän. Ngäna gongäs gall e goda-gal, ngänäm Immanuel dangnoyän, “Baba, ddia da eraya?” Ngäna umllang däga obom ada, “Ttam agan, adawatta ngäna bam ada ka bongo walle we aspunalle. Bam ngäna ul-lowae angnongan, bongo llig kälsäre da yaralle ngämo peyang.”

Ngämi mängamängall gogllaeya gall tapma we, gall de dowansegeya ede ma we ada deyareya Immanuel ngämaene ddia koenmällatt eka de ma me dillit-nän mägda bälle, oblle kiliang daeya ngämaene ttoen llitit a. Iba umllang da llig kälekäle aba ttoen a, ende mäde da walle bangesneyo, mägda bälle minyi ma me billitnän obaene ttoen de.

Immanuel asked me, “Father, where is the deer?” I told him, “He is alive because I thought that you fell into the water. I was thinking of you, you small boy who came with me.”

We quickly paddled back to the canoe place and went home. Immanuel told our story to his mother. She was happy when our story finished. We know that young children like to tell stories to their mothers about what they do with their fathers.

Glossed text

- (1) *Keiti ttängäm me lla da eka de dätäbeyo Wur bun tawa mamoe e, ngämo bágäl a wa toboll a dänglläb, ngäna ibi di gongkam.*
 Keti ttängäm=me lla=da eka=de d-ä-täbe-eyo
 PN village=LOC man=NOM speak=ACC REM-3NDUP-plan-REM.3NSGA
 Wur bun tawa mamoe=e ngämo bágäl=a wa
 PN head swamp hunt=ALL 1SG.POSS bow=ACC.CONJ and
 toboll=a d-ä-nglläb ngäna ibi=di
 arrow=ACC.CONJ REM-3NDUP-get 1SG.NOM go=ACC
 g-o-ngk-am
 REM-RT_EXT-start-IV.NPL
 ‘In KT village, some men were talking about plans to go hunting in Wur swamp. I got my bow and arrows and I started walking.’
- (2) *Angde gopällttän, ngämo llig kälsre da, obo bin a Immanuel, mitmit dagän ngänäm, ge ddob llig a alla medädabim mitmit amallo.*
 angde g-o-pälltt-än ngämo llig kälsre=da
 when REM-RT_EXT-start_walking-II.NPL 1SG.POSS boy small=NOM
 obo bin=a PN mit~mit d-a-g-än ngänäm
 3SG.POSS name=NOM PN INF~miss REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGA 1SG.ACC

D *Swamp hunting story*

ge ddob llig=a alla meda=da=bim
 this some child=NOM how father=CL_POSSESS.KIN=3NSG.ACC
 mit~mit=amallo
 INF~miss=AUX.PRS.3PLS

‘When I set off, my small boy, his name is Immanuel, missed me, the way young children miss their fathers.’

- (3) *Da medäda ero we gopällttänalle, llig da minyi mitmit bäganän ngänaeka peyang.*
 da medä=da ero=we g-o-pällttän-alle
 if father=CL_POSSESS.KIN where=ALL REM-RT_EXT-start_walking-HAB.SGS
 llig=da minyi mit~mit b-ä-ga-n-än
 child=NOM FUT INF~miss FUT.3A-3NDUP-AUX-IPFV-FUT.3SGA
 ngänaeka=peyang
 cry=COM
 ‘If fathers set off, children will miss them with tears.’
- (4) *Ngäna obom dätram, ngämi llame deyareya mamoema.*
 ngäna obom d-ä-täram ngämi llame
 1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC REM-3NDUP-lead 1NSG.EXCL.NOM together
 d-ey-a-r-eya mamoe=ma
 REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-REM.1DUS hunt=CHAR
 ‘I carried him, we went hunting together.’
- (5) *Nyongo dae ngämi deyareya dowe Eramang gall tapma, gall e ngämi godagaleya, ngäna imne we, ede Immanuel ngattong e godmenän gall guwo me.*
 nyongo=dae ngämi d-ey-a-r-eya do=we
 road=PERL 1NSG.EXCL.NOM REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-REM.1DUS there=ALL
 Eramang gall tap=ma gall=e ngämi
 PN canoe dock=CHAR canoe=ALL 1NSG.EXCL.NOM
 g-o-dagal-eya ngäna imne=we ede Immanuel
 REM-RT_EXT-board-REM.1DUS 1SG.NOM rear=ALL SO PN
 ngattong=e g-o-dm-en-än gall guwo=me
 front=ALL REM-RT_EXT-sit-II.NPL-REM.3SGS canoe heart=LOC
 ‘We went on the road to Eramang canoe place, we got on the canoe. I got in the back so Immanuel sat in the front, in the heart of the canoe.’

- (6) *Bobag daeya dedam Karama walle da adawatta yogoll ulle da dämanän.*
 bobag da=eya dedam Karama walle=da adawatta
 flooded MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG then PN water=NOM because
 yogoll ulle=da d-ä-ma-n-än
 rain big=NOM REM-RT_EXT-rain-IPFV-REM.3SGA
 'Karama river was flooded because there had been big rains.'
- (7) *Ngämi tawa bo menae dae dagllaenalla ako ngämi gall me deyagirnalla,*
ddia we gongllaenalla.
 ngämi tawa=bo menae=dae
 1NSG.EXCL.NOM swamp=3SG.POSS side=PERL
 d-a-gllae-n-allा ako ngämi gall=me
 REM-RT_EXT-paddle-IPFV-REM.1DUS then 1NSG.EXCL.NOM canoe=LOC
 d-ey-a-gir-n-allा ddia¹=we
 REM-DU\$-RT_EXT-stay-IPFV-REC.1DUS deer=ALL
 g-o-ngllae-n-allा
 REM-RT_EXT-look_back-IPFV-REC.1DUS
 'We paddled through the swamp, then we stayed in the boat and looked for deer.'
- (8) *Mamoeya maenenang lla da däräng peyang tawa de daddällgoeneyo, Wur bun tonton abal me.*
 mamoe=a mae-nen=ang lla=da däräng=peyang tawa=de
 hunt=NOM hunt-I.PL=ATR man=NOM dog=COM swamp=ACC
 d-a-ddällgoe-n-eyo Wur bun tonton abal=me
 REM-RT_EXT-bush_hike-IPFV-REM.3NSGA PN head directly very=LOC
 'Those hunters with dogs went into the swamp, directly towards Wur.'
- (9) *Komlla ddia de deyangkoenmällneyo däräng a ngäsengäse dowe Taolang gall tapma.*
 komlla ddia=de d-ey-a-ngkoenmäll-n-eyo däräng=a
 two deer=ACC REM-DUP-RT_EXT-chase-IPFV-REM.3NSGA dog=NOM
 ngäse~ngäs=e do=we Taolang gall tap=ma
 ADV~return=ALL there=ALL PN canoe dock=CHAR
 'The dogs chased two deer down into Taolang canoe place.'

¹from English deer

D Swamp hunting story

- (10) *Ngäna gall de mängämängall dagllae ddia koenmäll e, gall alle gumbiebmeny.*
 ngäna gall=de mänga~mängall d-a-gllae ddia
 1SG.NOM canoe=ACC ADV~strength REM-RT_EXT-paddle deer
 koenmäll=e gall=alle g-u-mbieb-menya
 chase=ALL canoe=INS REM-RT_EXT-chase_after-III.PL
 ‘I paddled the canoe quickly to chase the deer with the boat.’
- (11) *Komlla dagwaeya ddia da, ada gullbe täkäll peyang a ako mäg da ulle da.*
 komlla da=gwaeya ddia=da ada gullbe täkäll=peyang
 two MED.DEM=COP.PST.DU deer=NOM like_this male horn=ATR
 a ako mäg=da ulle=da
 and also mother=NOM big=NOM
 ‘There were two deer, one bull with horns and one doe.’
- (12) *Ngäna gagäll kabag dae gall de dony ddia ngämenmäll e, Immanuel gall guwo me känyärtto gogän.*
 ngäna gagäll kabag=dae gall=de d-o-ny ddia
 1SG.NOM bad grass_type=PERL canoe=ACC REM-3NDUP-carry deer
 ngämen-mäll=e Immanuel gall guwo=me känyärtto
 reach-PL=ALL PN canoe heart=LOC silent
 g-o-g-än
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘I badly carried the boat through the *kabag* flood grass to reach the deer.
 Immanuel stayed silent in the heart of the canoe.’
- (13) *Angde ngämi ddia komlla de deyangmeneya, ngäna llig kälsre de Immanuel dangnoe, ‘Bongo ddia komlla de ikop yaralle?’*
 angde ngämi ddia komlla=de
 when 1NSG.EXCL.NOM deer two=ACC
 d-ey-a-ngmen-eya ngäna llig kälsre=de Immanuel
 REM-DUP-RT_EXT-reach-REM.1NSGA 1SG.NOM son small=ACC PN
 d-a-ngnoe bongo ddia komlla=de ikop=yaralle
 REM-RT_EXT-ask 2SG.NOM deer two=ACC see=AUX.PRS.2SG>DU
 ‘When we reached the two deer, I asked my small boy Immanuel, “Do you see the two deer?”’

- (14) *Bogo eka mu dagän ngänäm*, “*Baba, ao gänyageyo ddia da.*”
 bogo eka mu d-a-g-än ngänäm baba ao
 3SG.NOM speak response REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGA 1SG.ACC father yes
 gänya=geyo ddia=da
 here=COP.PRS.DU deer=NOM
 ‘He answered, “Father, yes, those two deer are right here.”’
- (15) *Ako ada eka dagän*, “*Baba, ttongo nazu pakos alle.*”
 ako ada eka d-a-g-än baba ttongo
 then like _this speak REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGA father one
 n-a-zu pakos=alle
 FUT.SGP-RT_EXT-shoot arrow_type=INS
 ‘Then he said, “Father, shoot one with the arrow.”’
- (16) *Ngäna umllang däga*, “*Immanuel, bongo gall guwo me, ngäna walle we gäbän allan ddia llädäd e.*”
 ngäna umllang d-ä-ga Immanuel bongo gall guwo=me
 1SG.NOM tell REM-3NDUP-AUX PN 2SG.NOM canoe heart=LOC
 ngäna walle=we gäb-än=allan ddia llädäd=e
 1SG.NOM water=ALL jump-II.NPL=AUX.PRS.1SGS deer grab=ALL
 ‘I told him, “Immanuel, you stay in the canoe, I am jumping in the water to grab the deer.”’
- (17) *Ngäna gogäbän walle we ddia dowae me, mäse llädäd e dängkam, ngämo llig kälsre de, Immanuel bom gongnongg, gall me daeya bogo, poper gognän, be ddone ngänaeka gogän näkäp alle ngäna dämbäl, ada Immanuel zäme walle we aspunan adawatta ngäna ddänddängeny me gogäbän gall atta.*
 ngäna g-o-gäb-än walle=we ddia dowae=me mäse
 1SG.NOM REM-RT_EXT-jump-II.NPL water=ALL deer proximity=LOC CON
 llädäd=e d-ä-ngk-am ngämo llig kälsre=de
 grab=ALL REM-3NDUP-start-IV.NPL 1SG.POSS son small=ACC
 Immanuel=bom g-o-ngno-ngg gall=me
 PN=3SG.ACC REM-RT_EXT-think_of-III.NPL canoe=LOC
 da=eya bogo poper g-o-g-n-än
 MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG 3SG.NOM afraid REM-RT_EXT-AUX-IPFV-REM.3SGS
 be ddone ngänaeka g-o-g-än näkäp=alle ngäna
 but NEG cry REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS mind=INS 1SG.NOM
 d-ä-mbäl ada Immanuel zäme walle=we
 REM-3NDUP-miss like_this PN IAM water=ALL

D Swamp hunting story

- a-spu-n-an adawatta ngäna ddä~nddängeny=me
 REC-fall-II.NPL-REC.3SGS because 1SG.NOM ADV~immediate=LOC
 g-o-gäb-än gall=att=a
 REM-RT_EXT-jump-II.NPL canoe=ABL=NOM
 'I jumped into the water close to the deer and tried to grab it, thinking of my small boy (Immanuel), how he was sitting in the boat scared but not crying, and my mind raced and I thought Immanuel had fallen into the water when I jumped out of the canoe.'
- (18) *Be bogo dadewaeya gall guwo me dämenang dagernän, ngäna angde gongllae gall e, ttongo ddia de ikop däga.*
 be bogo dade=waeya gall guwo=me dämen=ang
 but 3SG.NOM EXIST=COP.PST.SG canoe heart=LOC sit=ATR
 d-a-ger-n-än ngäna angde g-o-ngllae
 REM-RT_EXT-stay-IPFV-REM.3SGS 1SG.NOM when REM-RT_EXT-look_back
 gall=e ttongo ddia=de ikop d-ä-ga
 canoe=ALL a deer=ACC see REM-3NDUP-AUX
 'But he was still there in the canoe sitting. When I looked to the boat, I saw one deer.'
- (19) *Immanuel däbe ttongo ddia de ikop alle dätraemänän, obo gall dowae dae dänggllanän.*
 Immanuel däbe ttongo ddia=de ikop=alle
 PN that one deer=ACC eye=INS
 d-ä-tr-aem-än-än obo gall dowae=dae
 REM-3NDUP-lead-IV.PL-IPFV-REM.3SGA 3SG.POSS canoe proximity=PERL
 d-ä-ngglla-n-än
 REM-RT_EXT-swim-IPFV-REM.3SGA
 'Immanuel was looking at one deer, he was swimming close to the boat.'
- (20) *Immanuel känyärtto abal gogän.*
 Immanuel känyärtto abal g-o-g-än
 PN silent very REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 'Immanuel stayed very silent.'
- (21) *Ngäna gongäs gall e godagal, ngänäm Immanuel dangnoyän, "Baba, ddia da eraya?"*
 ngäna g-o-ngäs gall=e g-o-dagal ngänäm
 1SG.NOM REM-RT_EXT-return canoe=ALL REM-RT_EXT-board 1SG.ACC

Immanuel d-a-ngnoe-yän baba ddia=da
 PN REM-RT_EXT-ask-REM.3SGA father deer=NOM
 era=aya
 which=COP.PST.SG
 'I returned to the boat, got on, and Immanuel asked me, "Father, where is the deer?"'

- (22) *Ngäna umllang däga obom ada, "Ttam agan, adawatta ngäna bam ada ka bongo walle we aspunalle.*

ngäna umllang d-ä-ga obom ada ttam
 1SG.NOM tell REM-3NDUP-AUX 3SG.ACC like_this alive
 a-g-an adawatta ngäna bam ada ka bongo
 REC-AUX-REC.3SGS because 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC like_this CNTF 2SG.NOM
 walle=we a-spun-alle
 water=ALL REC-fall-REC.2SGS

'I told him, "He is alive because I thought that you fell into the water."

- (23) *Bam ngäna ullo-wae angnonggan, bongo llig kälsäre da yaralle ngämo peyang."*

bam ngäna ullo-wae a-nrgno-ngg-an bongo llig
 2SG.ACC 1SG.NOM big-ADV REC-think_of-III.NPL-REC.1SGS 2SG.NOM boy
 kälsäre=da y-a-r-alle ngämo=peyang
 small=NOM VEN-RT_EXT-go-REC.2SGS 1SG.POSS=COM

"I was thinking of you, you small boy who came with me."

- (24) *Ngämi mängamängall gogllaeya gall tapma we, gall de dowansegeya ede ma we ada deyareya Immanuel ngämaene ddia koenmällatt eka de ma me dillitnän mägda bälle, oblle kiliang daeya ngämaene ttoen llitit a.*

ngämi mänga~mängall g-o-gllae-eya gall
 1NSG.EXCL.NOM ADV~strength REM-RT_EXT-paddle-REM.1DUS canoe
 tap=ma=we gall=de d-o-wanseg-eya ede ma=we
 dock=CHAR=ALL canoe=ACC REM-3NDUP-put-REM.1NSGA so house=ALL
 ada d-ey-a-r-eya Immanuel ngämaene
 like_this REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-REM.1DUS PN 1NSG.EXCL.ABL_POSS
 ddia koenmäll=att eka=de ma=me d-i-llit-n-än
 deer chase=PP story=ACC house=LOC REM-3NDUP-tell-IPFV-REM.3SGA
 mäg=da=bälle oblle kili=ang da=eya
 mother=CL_POSS.KIN=3SG.DAT 3SG.DAT joy=ATR MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG

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ngämaene ttoen llit~it=a
1NSG.EXCL.ABL_POSS story tell~INF=NOM

‘We quickly paddled back to the canoe place and went home, and Immanuel told our story for his mother. She was happy when our story finished.’

- (25) *Iba umllang da llig kälekäle aba ttoen a, ende mäde da walle bangesneyo, mägda bälle minyi ma me billitnän obaene ttoen de.*
iba umllang=da llig käle-käle=aba ttoen=a
1NSG.INCL.POSS knowledge=NOM child NSG~small=3NSG.POSS story=NOM
ende mäde=da=walle b-a-nge-n-eyo
what.ACC father=CL_POSS.KIN=INCL FUT.3A-RT_EXT-do-IPFV-FUT.NSGA
mäg=da=bälle minyi ma=me
mother=CL_POSS.KIN=3SG.DAT FUT house=LOC
b-i-llit-n-än obaene ttoen=de
FUT.3A-3NDUP-tell-IPFV-REM.3SGA 3NSG.ABL_POSS story=ACC
‘We know that young children like to tell stories to the mothers at home about what they do with their fathers.’

E *Iddob käbama ibiatt* – Night hunting

Introduction

This text is called *Iddob käbama ibiatt* or Night Hunting. It was initially written by Sowati Kurupel around 2007 for inclusion in a literacy primer developed to showcase the Ende orthography at that time. In 2015, K. Lindsey and the Ende Language Committee updated the text to the latest spelling system and translated it into English (Kurupel 2007). In 2017, K. Lindsey asked S. Kurupel to retell the story from memory. This recording is available in the Ende language corpus (Kurupel 2017c). There is also a recording of Kaoga Dobola reading the written text out loud (Dobola 2017).

Summary and background

In this text, S. Kurupel tells a tale about how he went hunting one night, shot a deer, and was chased home by a bright light, which locals call a “ball plane” in English. There are many such stories in the Ende corpus about night hunting and ball planes. Generally, Limol residents do not move around after dark because of the lack of light and the chance of encountering dangerous animals. Night hunting is more frequent during full moons and when hunters can access battery-operated torches (flashlights) or solar-powered lanterns. Stories of ball plane encounters occur frequently at night and usually include descriptions of a low-flying, silent, spherical craft with a bright shining light that follows travelers. Sometimes these ball planes have people inside, often with light skin. Many in the community believe that if these ball planes were to catch them, the people inside would take their hearts and kill them. Others believe that they are trying to sell them weapons. Either way, people are afraid of them and will run back to the village in fear, often hurting themselves along the way by tripping and falling on the uneven walking paths. These stories were always presented to me as true and were never compared to the Western folk beliefs of aliens or UFOs. I have

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been asked multiple times to do something about these ball planes, specifically to ask that they stop scaring the Ende villagers.

After S. Kurupel returns home, he takes a group of men with him the following day to collect the slain deer. This is common practice, especially when the animal is too large for one man to carry (see Figure 1.19). The group of men will share the deer with their families, with the hunter taking the most prized cuts of meat. When possessions like slain animals, fallen trees, sago bundles, or other heavy items are left on the road, a mark is left on the bundle called *tab*. This *tab* can be a part of a plant or animal that is connected to the person's clan group, or even a simple branch on top that indicates "I am coming back for this."



Figure E.1: Sowati Kurupel with a *bägäl* 'longbow', a *tobäll* 'bamboo arrow', and a *nyäng* 'bag', prepared for a hunting trip.

Parallel text

Ttongo ebdo me, angde toto gognän, ngäna iddob kanyekanye we gotäba Minkom me. Ngäna ngämo bägäl a wa toboll a ada tos a mermer danserbeneg. Ngäna kälakälae gontämon do yäbad a angde goklawän dam ngäna ibi de gongkam, Eramang e nyongo de dongkollmäll do Togllaema minkom e gog.

One day, when evening was coming, I planned to go night hunting to Minkom point. I properly prepared my longbow, arrows, and torch. I waited a little until the sun set, then I started walking, I followed the road to Eramang and arrived at Togllaema.

Dibaballe gongkäz Tawabo we, mer enddäna ngättäma me godmen, käsre tos de dägazen nyäng ik att de a batri käp de dazer, angde daerängg mermer gogllaeyän. Ako dibaballe, ibi de gongkam do Dubolläpläp, ede gänya ngata me ddäddäg de ddone dangerängg.

Be angde Dubolläpläp alle ibi de gongkam do Ur, tawa we gog, dädme kullkull att me ttongo ddia de tosindrang alle dälläd. Dibaya kälepalle danyroene, angde dowae mäse däga, ddia da dam dingugän a dägabälän. Ako ngäna kame danyroe, ddia de llig ekaekong adawede oba ddone bindugän, ede llig ekawalle ddia de ngäna manglle däga. Dibaballe kame danyroe, angde dowae däga dam ngäna ddia de dazu pakos ulle walle, ada däga enanae ddäg kutt deyantäkeg, dädme pintta arle gognän, ngäna dam wap alle ada däga tumku däsän kuddäll e.

Diba täräp me ngäna ngonongg de danges Adilla God bom eso eka däga mit adawatta bogo ngänäm dangmingän, ge ngäna ewe de dawes ikopse alle. Dibaballe abo, ngäna ddia kudäll de dädme downanseg, ada deyarne kullkull att dae, be ngämo kame daeya ada ttongo tosindrang a ddäg alle kollmäll nallan, be ngämo pällkom da guireon, ede ngäna angde gongllae ddäg e, ge tosindrang a ngämo dowae me gogllaeyän.

Angde ngäna ge tos de ikop däga ngäna diba täräp me tos de dis, a dibaballe

Afterwards, I came out through the side of the swamp, sat down in a good, clear place, then took out the torch from inside my bag, put in the batteries, and when I tested it, it shone properly. Then afterwards, I started to walk towards *Dubolläpläp*, in that spot, I didn't see any animals.

But when I started to walk from *Dubolläpläp* to *Ur*, I got to the swamp, and there from out of the burned grass, I caught one deer with my torchlight. I crept slowly towards it, and when I got close, the deer ran away and stood. Again, I crept, I did a deer whistle so that the deer would not run away, I trapped the deer with the deer whistle. Afterwards, I crept again. When I got close, I shot the deer with a long arrow. I hit him straight in the backbone and broke it. He let out a scream. I then killed him with a stick to the back of the head.

At that moment, I had a thought and thanked God because he helped me. This is what I had asked for in prayer. Afterwards, I left the dead deer there, and returned to the burnt grass, where an unknown torch light was shining, but my goosebumps were standing, so when I looked behind me, this torch light was shining close to me.'

When I saw this torch light, I turned off my light, and afterwards started

dindu de gongkam, sirem kusi adawatta ngämo tikop de da bægazeneyo. Bina umllang dan ngäna ddone ada gog ngäna lla ulle dan, be ngäna tos in-drang lelang atta, era kuddäll ttam ada dindug ma we ngällangällaeng. Ngäna angde ma we gongttäg, ngäna ttärtle mae ma ik e gozen lelang atta a gotar.

Ttongo ag a angde däbdabän ge ttoen de ngäna ddobagabira dällätne, ddone ada gotngoenegnän. Be diba agalle ngäna llig de dokom ddia bänbybäny e, oba bin a gänyag ada Samson, Wawase, Matthew, a Pedro. Ede ge ddia de däbänya, wa dikomya, ma we, ngäma sespen dägayaebeya, wa däddägae-beya.

Glossed text

- (1) *Ttongo ebdo me, angde toto gognän, ngäna iddob kanye~kanye we gotäba Minkom me.*
ttongo ebdo=me angde toto g-o-g-n-än
one day=LOC when evening REM-RT_EXT-AUX-IPFV-REM.3SGS
ngäna iddob kanye~kanye=we g-o-täba Minkom=me
1SG.NOM night INF~move_around=ALL REM-RT_EXT-plan PN=LOC
'One day, when evening was coming, I planned to go night hunting to Minkom point.'
- (2) *Ngäna ngämo bægäl a wa toboll a ada tos a mermer danserbeneg.*
ngäna ngämo bægäl=a wa toboll=a ada
1SG.NOM 1SG.POSS bow=ACC.CONJ and arrow=ACC.CONJ like_this
tos¹=a mer~mer d-a-nserbe-neg
flashlight=ACC.CONJ ADV~good REM-RT_EXT-prepare-SG>PL
'I properly prepared my longbow, arrows, and flashlight.'
- (3) *Ngäna kälakälae gontämon do yäbad a angde goklawän dam ngäna ibi de gongkam, Eramang e nyongo de dongkollmäll do Togllaema minkom e gog.*

¹from Australian English *torch* 'flashlight'

to run through the dark because they might take my heart out. Now, you know that I am a big man, but I am scared of the torch light, and I ran home running and looking back. When I got home, I entered straight into my house out of fear and went to sleep.

The next morning, when it dawned, I told this story to others and they laughed a lot. But that morning, I took some boys to cut the deer. Their names are Samson, Wawase, Matthew and Pedro. So we cut that deer, and brought it home, boiled it, and ate it.

ngäna käla~kälae g-o-ntämon do yäbad=a angde
 1SG.NOM ADV~small REM-RT_EXT-wait to sun=NOM when
 g-o-kla-wän dam ngäna ibi=de
 REM-RT_EXT-set-REM.3SGS then 1SG.NOM go=ACC
 g-o-ngk-am Eramang=e nyongo=de d-o-ngkollmall
 REM-RT_EXT-start-IV.NPL PN=ALL road=ACC REM-3NDUP-follow
 do Togllaema Minkom=e g-o-g
 there PN PN=ALL REM-RT_EXT-AUX
 'I waited a little until the sun set, then I started walking, I followed the
 road to Eramang and arrived at Togllaema.'

- (4) *Dibaballe gongkäz Tawabo we, mer enddäna ngättäma me godmen, käsre
 tos de dägazen nyäng ik att de a batri käp de dazer, angde daerängg
 mermer gogllaeyän.*
- dibaballe g-o-ngkäz Tawabo=we mer enddäna
 afterwards REM-RT_EXT-go_aside PN=ALL good clearing
 ngättäma=me g-o-dmen käsre tos=de
 place=LOC REM-RT_EXT-sit then flashlight=ACC
 d-ä-gaz-en nyäng ik=att=de a batri²
 REM-3NDUP-take_out-II.NPL basket inside=ABL=ACC and battery
 käp=de d-a-zer angde d-a-erängg mer~mer
 round_thing=ACC REM-RT_EXT-put_in when REM-RT_EXT-test ADV~good
 g-o-gllae-yän
 REM-RT_EXT-shine-REM.3SGS
 'Afterwards, I came out through the side of the swamp, sat down in a
 good, clear place, then took out the flashlight from inside my bag, put in
 the batteries, and when I tested it, it shone properly.'
- (5) *Ako dibaballe, ibi de gongkam do Dubolläplläp, ede gänya ngata me
 ddäddäg de ddone dangerängg.*
- ako dibaballe ibi=de g-o-ngk-am do Dubolläplläp ede
 then afterwards go=ACC REM-RT_EXT-start-IV.NPL to PN so
 gänya ngata=me ddäddäg=de ddone d-a-ngerängg
 this spot=LOC edible_animal=ACC NEG REM-RT_EXT-encounter
 'Then afterwards, I started to walk towards Dubolläplläp, in that spot, I
 didn't see any animals.'

²from English *battery*

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- (6) *Be angde Dubolläplläp alle ibi de gongkam do Ur, tawa we gog, dädme kullkull att me ttongo ddia de tos indrang alle dälläd.*
 be angde Dubolläplläp=alle ibi=de g-o-ngk-am do Ur
 but when PN=ABL go=ACC REM-RT_EXT-start-IV.NPL to PN
 tawa=we g-o-g däd=me kullkull=att=me ttongo
 swamp=ALL REM-RT_EXT-AUX there=LOC grassfire=ABL=LOC one
 ddia³=de tos indrang=alle d-ä-lläd
 deer=ACC flashlight bright=INS REM-3NDUP-grab
 ‘But when I started to walk from Duboläpläp to Ur, I got to the swamp,
 and there from out of the burned grass, I caught one deer with my
 flashlight.’
- (7) *Dibaya kälepalle danyroene, angde dowae mäse däga, ddia da dam dindugän a dägabällän.*
 diba=aya kälepalle d-a-nyäroe-ne angde dowae mäse
 that=COP.PST.SG slowly REM-RT_EXT-creep-IPFV when proximity IMN
 d-ä-ga ddia=da dam d-indug-än a
 REM-3NDUP-AUX deer=NOM then REM-run-REM.3SGS and
 d-ä-gabäll-än
 REM-3NDUP-stand-REM.3SGS
 ‘I crept slowly towards it, and when I got close, the deer ran away and
 stood.’
- (8) *Ako ngäna kame danyroe, ddia de llig ekaekong adawede oba ddone bindugän, ede llig ekawalle ddia de ngäna manglle däga.*
 ako ngäna kame d-a-nyäroe ddia=de llig eka~eka=ong
 again 1SG.NOM again REM-RT_EXT-creep deer=ACC boy ADV~speak=ATR
 adawede oba ddone b-indug-än ede llig eka=walle
 so_that CONS NEG FUT.3S-run-REM.3SGS so child sound=INS
 ddia=de ngäna manglle d-ä-ga
 deer=ACC 1SG.NOM lure REM-3NDUP-AUX
 ‘Again I crept, I did a deer whistle so that the deer would not run away, I
 trapped the deer with the deer whistle.’
- (9) *Dibaballe kame danyroe, angde dowae däga dam ngäna ddia de dazu pakos ulle walle, ada däga enanae ddäg kutt deyantäkeg, dädme pintta arle gognän, ngäna dam wap alle ada däga tumku däsän kuddäll e.*

³from English deer

dibaballe kame d-a-nyäroe angde dowae d-ä-ga
 afterwards again REM-RT_EXT-creep when proximity REM-3NDUP-AUX
 dam ngäna ddia=de d-a-zu pakos ulle=walle
 then 1SG.NOM deer=ACC REM-RT_EXT-shoot arrow_type long=INS
 ada d-ä-ga enanae ddäg kutt
 like_this REM-3NDUP-AUX straight back bone
 d-ey-a-nttäke-g däd=me pintta arle
 REM-DUP-RT_EXT-break-III.NPL there=LOC bird_type scream
 g-o-g-n-än ngäna dam wap=alle ada
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-IPFV-REM.3SGS 1SG.NOM then stick=INS like_this
 d-ä-ga tumku d-ä-s-än
 REM-3NDUP-AUX back_of_head REM-3NDUP-extinguish-REM.3SGA
 kuddäll=e
 death=ALL

‘Afterwards, I crept again. When I got close, then I shot the deer with a long arrow. I hit him straight in the back bone and broke it. He let out a scream like a *pintta* bird. I then hit him with a stick in the back of the head to death.’

- (10) *Diba täräp me ngäna ngonongg de danges Adilla God bom eso eka däga mit adawatta bogo ngänäm dangmingän, ge ngäna ewe de dawes ikopse alle.*
 diba täräp=me ngäna ngono-nggg=de d-a-nges Adi-lla
 that time=LOC 1SG.NOM think-III.NPL=ACC REM-RT_EXT-make God-man
 God=bom eso⁴ eka d-ä-ga mit adawatta
 God=3SG.ACC thank_you speak REM-3NDUP-AUX reason because
 bogo ngänäm d-a-ngmi-ngg-än ge ngäna
 3SG.NOM 1SG.ACC REM-RT_EXT-help-III.NPL-REM.3SGA this 1SG.NOM
 e=we=de d-a-wes ikopse=alle
 which=ALL=ACC REM-RT_EXT-beg prayer=INS
 ‘At that moment, I made a thought and thanked God because he helped me. This is what I had asked for in prayer.’

- (11) *Dibaballe abo, ngäna ddia kuddäll de dädme downanseg, ada deyarne kullkull att dae, be ngämo kame daeya ada ttongo tos indrang a ddäg alle kollmäll nallan, be ngämo pällkom da guireon, ede ngäna angde gongllae ddäg e, ge tos indrang a ngämo dowae me gogllaeyän.*

⁴Eso is a regional word meaning ‘thank you’ observed in many unrelated languages, including Southern Kiwai, Kalau Lagau Ya and Torres Strait Creole.

dibaballe abo ngäna ddia kuddäll=de däd=me d-owanseg ada
 afterwards then 1SG.NOM deer dead=ACC there=LOC REM-put like_this
 d-ey-a-r-ne kullkull=att=dae be ngämo kame
 REM-VEN-RT_EXT-go-IPFV grassfire=ABL=PERL but 1SG.POSS ignorance
 da=eya ada ttongo tos indrang=a ddäg=alle
 MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG like_this a flashlight light=NOM outside=INS
 kollmäll=nallan be ngämo pälkom=da
 follow=AUX.PRS.3SG>1SG but 1SG.POSS body_hair=NOM
 g-u-ire-on ede ngäna angde
 REM-RT_EXT-come_out-REM.3SGS so 1SG.NOM when
 g-o-ngllae ddäg=e ge tos indrang=a ngämo
 REM-RT_EXT-look_back back=ALL this flashlight light=NOM 1SG.POSS
 dowae=me g-o-gllae-yän
 proximity=LOC REM-RT_EXT-shine-REM.3SGS

‘Afterwards, I left the dead deer there, and returned to the burnt grass, where an unknown light was shining, but my goosebumps were standing, so when I looked to the back, this light was shining close to me.’

- (12) *Angde ngäna ge tos de ikop däga ngäna diba täräp me tos de dis, a dibaballe dindu de gongkam, sarem kusi adawatta ngämo tikop de da bágazeneyo.*
 angde ngäna ge tos=de ikop d-ä-ga ngäna diba
 when 1SG.NOM this flashlight=ACC see REM-3NDUP-AUX 1SG.NOM that
 täräp=me tos=de d-i-s a dibaballe
 time=LOC flashlight=ACC REM-3NDUP-extinguish and afterwards
 dindu=de g-o-ngk-am sarem kusi adawatta ngämo
 run=ACC REM-RT_EXT-start-IV.NPL darkness through because 1SG.POSS
 tikop=de da b-ä-gaz-en-eyo
 heart=ACC if FUT.3A-3NDUP-take_out-II.NPL-FUT.NSGA
 ‘When I saw this light, I turned off my flashlight, and afterwards started to run through the dark because they might take my heart out.’
- (13) *Bina umllang dan ngäna ddone ada gog ngäna lla ulle dan, be ngäna tos indrang lelang atta, era kuddäll ttam ada dindug ma we ngällangällaeng.*
 bina umllang da=n ngäna ddone ada
 2NSG.POSS knowledge MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG 1SG.NOM a_lot like_this
 g-o-g ngäna lla ulle da=n be ngäna
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX 1SG.NOM man big MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG but 1SG.NOM
 tos indrang lel=ang=att=a era kuddäll ttam ada
 flashlight light fear=ATTR=ABL=NOM FOC dead life like_this

d-indug ma=we ngälla~ngälla=eng
REM-run house=ALL ADV~look_back=ATR

‘Now, you know that I am a big man, but I am scared of the light, and I ran home running and looking back.’

- (14) *Ngäna angde ma we gongttag, ngäna ttätte mae ma ik e gozen lelang atta a gotar.*

ngäna angde ma=we g-o-ngttä-g ngäna
1SG.NOM when house=ALL REM-RT_EXT-arrive-III.NPL 1SG.NOM
ttätte=mae ma ik=e g-o-ze-n
straight=RST house inside=ALL REM-RT_EXT-enter-II.NPL
lel=ang=att=a a g-otar
fear=ATR=ABL=NOM and REM-sleep

‘When I got home, I entered straight into my house out of fear and went to sleep.’

E Night hunting

- (15) *Ttongo ag a angde däbdabän ge ttoen de ngäna ddobagabira dällätne, ddone ada gotngoenegnän.*
- ttongo ag=a angde d-ä-bd-ab-än ge
 one morning=NOM when REM-RT_EXT-dawn-IV.NPL-REM.3SGS this
 ttoen=de ngäna ddobag=abira d-ä-llät-ne ddone
 story=ACC 1SG.NOM others=3NSG.DAT REM-3NDUP-tell-IPFV a_lot
 ada g-o-tngoe-neg-n-än
 like_this REM-RT_EXT-laugh-3PLS-IPFV-REM.3PLS
- ‘The next morning, when it dawned, I told this story to others and they laughed a lot.’
- (16) *Be diba agalle ngäna llig de dokom ddia bánybány e, oba bin a gänyag ada Samson, Wawase, Matthew, a Pedro.*
- be diba ag=alle ngäna llig=de d-o-kom ddia
 but that morning=ABL 1SG.NOM boy=ACC REM-RT_EXT-carry deer
 bány~bány=e oba bin=a gänya=g ada Samson
 INF~cut=ALL 3NSG.POSS name=NOM here=COP.PRS.PL like_this PN
 Wawase Matthew a Pedro
 PN PN PN
- ‘But that morning, I took some boys to cut the deer. Their names are Samson, Wawase, Matthew and Pedro.’
- (17) *Ede ge ddia de däbanya, wa dikomya, ma we, ngäma sespen dägayaebeya, wa däddägaebeya.*
- ede ge ddia=de d-ä-bany-ya wa
 so this deer=ACC REM-3NDUP-cut-REM.1NSGA and
 d-i-kom-ya ma=we ngäma sespen⁵
 REM-VEN-carry-REM.1NSGA house=ALL 1NSG.EXCL.POSS boil
 d-ä-ga-yaeb-eyá wa
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-NSG>PL-REM.1NSGA and
 d-ä-ddäg-aeb-eyá
 REM-3NDUP-eat-NSG>PL-REM.1NSGA
- ‘So we cut that deer, and brought it home, boiled it, and ate it.’

⁵from English *saucepan*

F *Auma we ibiatt ttoen* – Walking to the grave story

Introduction

Auma we ibiatt ttoen is an original story told by Warama Kurupel (Suwede) in 2017. Two oral tellings and one written version are archived in Lindsey (2015a). The story was first told to and recorded by K. Lindsey (Kurupel (Suwede) 2017a). The telling elicited so much laughter that it was retold to and recorded by L. Reed (Kurupel (Suwede) 2017c). K. Lindsey and L. Reed worked with W. Kurupel and T. Warama to transcribe and translate the two spontaneous recordings of the narrative. The two narratives were then combined and edited to produce the written version included here (Kurupel (Suwede) 2017b). Light editing involved rewriting the text with a standardized orthography and inserting content for clarity.

Summary and background

The *Walking to the Grave* story is a comedic narrative told by Warama Kurupel (Suwede) about a trick that his father, Kurupel Suwede, played during some funeral events in Malam in the 1940s (see Figure 1.1 for the location of Malam). The narrative takes place after the burial of a *Yawenang* man named Galo, an Ende man whose grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren lived in Limol in 2017, when the story was told. In the story, a group of men decide to play a game to test their bravery. The night after the burial, the men were challenged to carry a *yu bäng* ‘fire stick’ one-by-one to the grave and return without being frightened. Figure 1.3 shows a fire stick or firebrand. This dried cone may be the dried seed pod of *Banksia dentata*, which can stay lit for hours and is used in northern Australia and southern New Guinea to transport fire.

The fear of graves and the recently deceased may be related to the widespread belief that the spirits of the dead may be present in these spaces. In the story, K. Suwede takes advantage of this fear to play a trick on Awayang. When Awayang

F Walking to the grave story

takes his turn to visit the grave, K. Suwede surprises him by making a lot of noise, which sends Awayang running back to the group of men in fear. As he runs, he shouts *päzäg gädo*, which means ‘my brother-in-law is here’ in Idi. This part of the story reveals several aspects of Ende culture. First, Awayang’s belief that it was Galo, his brother-in-law, that made the noise supports the hypothesis that the fear of graves is related to the fear of encountering the spirit of the recently deceased. Second, his shouts in Idi reflect the multilingual landscape of the community in the 1940s and the present. W. Kurupel repeats this line seven times before translating it into Ende, but leaves it untranslated during the climax of the story, which is what solicits all the laughter from his audience. When he does translate the phrase into Ende, it is likely that he does so for the sake of the Ende-speaking linguist, not the usual audience who has basic knowledge of many local languages, including Idi. Finally, Awayang’s shouts remind us of the in-law name taboo practices upheld in the Ende community. It is forbidden to call your in-laws by name; instead, they are referred to by their relationship. In this case, Awayang respectfully refers to his dead brother-in-law as *päzäg* ‘brother-in-law’.

At the end of the story, K. Suwede sticks out his tongue at Awayang, indicating that he had tricked him. Showing one’s tongue is just one of many paralinguistic gestures used by the Ende community. One linguistic particle observed in speech that contains trickery or multiple states of belief is *ka*, the counterfactual (see Line 58). *Ka* appears in diverse contexts such as counterfactuals, hypotheticals, potentials, rhetorical questions, and corrective negation (Tighe & Gabbay 2022). In counterfactual and hypothetical constructions, *ka* marks scenarios as contrary to known reality or imagined possibilities, often framing situations of mistaken belief or unrealized expectations. The mistaken belief can involve new information, or it can indicate a separate reality from the one held in the common ground (e.g., in Line 58, *ka* marks the event of chasing a prankster who is known to be pretending to be a ghost).

A photo of a typical grave site is shown in Figure 1.37. This photo shows the graves of twin girls Kate and Grace, who died at two months of age. The signs above the graves provide the names and dates of birth and death for the deceased. Three crocodiles decorate the signs, indicating the clan totem of the girls: the *käza* ‘crocodile’ clan. The names Kate and Grace were given to the babies as they were born during Kate L. Lindsey and Grace Maher’s first visit to Limol in 2015. Figure 1.4 shows G. Maher and K. Lindsey planting a coconut tree in honor of the opening of the Limol health center.

Parallel text

Ttoen a ngasnges atta gänyan Llamda Kurupel bäne. Pazi da 1940 diba ngata me, ttongo lla da kuddäll gogon Malläm ttängäm me. Obo bin a Galo. Galo oba baba daeya Erme a Baewa wa Zaka. Yawenang lla deya. Kuddäll gogon Malläm me.

Tämamae lla da Llimoll atta gobällnän do Malläm. Ge kuddällag me alla ingollang kolloenen allan naeka we. Ubi goklloeyän Malläm ttängäm e, naeka gognegnän ge, gottamänän.

Oke, au we abo dibagaeya, auma däkälleyo, Galo bo pätt wanseg e, auma kälkkäll a gottamänän. Pätt de dowansegeyo auma me. Dawundeyo, gottamänän.

Ge angde iddob gogon, lla ulleulle da, tämamae llämäg a gotäbanegän. Ada, "Ibi sisri tongoe de ngasnges e dan, gänya kuddäll täräp me. Ngaskäma imomdae lla da llokttang a ainin, iddob e ibi wi do auma. Ibi sisri yu bäng de onymäll e dan."

Ttongda donyalle do auma dowansegalle, ttongda ako dallalle ngäs e. Auma watta diwenyalle. Ttongda aka donyalle do auma. Tämamae lla da ada gognegän, "Ai dan. Ibi sisri minyi däbe tongoe de bängesnalla iddob e. Ngaskäma aya lelmeny bogon auma we ibi wi."

Ngämo baba Kurupel ada gogon ada, "Ngäna bony. Ngäna yu di bony do auma do bowanseg. Ttongda abo ngäs e ballän." Awayang Idugoe, Tizag lla

This story is about what Old Man Kurupel did. Sometime around 1940, a man died in Malam village. His name was Galo. Galo was Erme, Baewa, and Zaka's father. He was a Yawenang man. He died in Malam.

Everyone from Limol went to Malam. During times of death, we gather together to mourn. They gathered in Malam, mourned together, and finished.

Okay, then there was the burial. They dug the grave to leave Galo's body. They finished the digging. They put the body in the grave. They covered it up and finished.

When night fell, the big men and old men got together and made a plan. They said, "Tonight, during this time of death, we will play a game." We will see who is truly brave by going to the grave at night. We will bring a fire-stick back-and-forth to the grave.

We will bring a fire-stick back-and-forth to the grave. He will carry it back from the grave. Then another will carry it to the grave. All of the men said, "Okay. Maybe someone without fear will go to the grave."

My father Kurupel went like this, "I'll take it. I'll take the fire to the grave and leave it there. Someone else will have to go and fetch it." Awayang Idu-

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daeya. Obo ttäle da apte gagäll deya, malla mermer ibi ag deya. Bogo ada eka gogon ada, "Abo ngänawa ngäs e balle. Auma watta ako ngäna yu bäng de beyangäs iddob säremang me."

Däbaeya, Kurupel donyän yu di do auma. Auma me dowansegän yu bäng de. Awayang ako ngäs e. Angde Awayang yu ngäs e ibi wi ada gogon, Kurupel däbe mängalae gungmaeyän ttongo nyongo dae dallän do auma. Galo bo auma sisor a eraeya. Do ngattong auma toko we gokakalän. Auma da pollepolle alle kättnan att dagaeya.

Daeya do llandär gognän, gontämonän Awayang bälle ada ngaskäma Awayang ibi allan. Llamda Awayang daolle obo ibi da malla mer daeya, be ttimat-timang ibi ag daeya. Daolle dallän abo tatraem de yaya Kurupel deyandärän. Käsre do auma me bogo do ddoddollem dägnegän ge wattällang a endagaeya do däbem ddoddollem dägnegän ge.

Wiowa Llamda Awayang! Dinduag ada gogon! Ede Galo eraeya, obo päzäg daeya, ge aya kuddäll gogon. Awayang ada gogon, "Päzäg gädo! Päzäg gädo! Päzäg gädo!" Ada ekaekong dindug-mällnän lel me, dowe de lla da ero dagaeya. A dindugalle, a gompedägalle, wup pätt me gobäddalle. Ako gopällttä-nalle. Ako dindugalle, mameat endagaeya ge däbe dudunän, dindu mi daeya, "Päzäg gädo! Päzäg gädo!", ada ekaekong dindugmällnän.

goe was a Tizag man. His legs were bad on one side, so he did not walk properly. He said, "I will return to the grave. And I will bring the fire-stick back during the night."

Then, Kurupel carried the fire there to the grave. He left the fire-stick on the grave. Then Awayang was going to return. When Awayang went to go to fetch the fire, Kurupel quickly went to the grave by taking a shortcut. Galo had a new grave. The first graves you entered from above. This grave was fenced in with a small fence.

He waited there and listened for Awayang to know when Awayang was coming. Old man Awayang's gait was not good; he walked with a limp toward the grave. He was walking that way and then father Kurupel heard his footsteps coming toward him. Then Kurupel made a lot of noise at the grave, he started banging the things that were left on the grave.

Oh Old man Awayang! Oh how he ran! Galo was this man's brother-in-law, the one that died. Awayang was going, "My brother-in-law is here! My brother-in-law is here! My brother-in-law is here!" He was running and yelling in fear towards where the men were. He was running, and tripping, and knocking down bananas. Then he took off again. He was running, knocking down pawpaws while running. "My brother-in-law is here! My brother-in-law is here!" he was yelling while running.

Idi eka walle ada gogon, “Päzäg gädo! Päzäg gädo!” Kuddäll lla de däbe Galo bom ada dägänän, “Galo gänyan! Galo gänyan! Galo bo anyke da gänyan ttam agan!” Lla da angde dandärmällneyo ge, lla gulag a, ubi ako dinduag a duduli Awayang bom danttäkämälleyo, däbe lla kuddäll anyke de ada ka koenmäll erallo, “Ya! Ya! Ya!” Adawede oba anyke da bowansegän Awayang bom, oba duli ballän. Dibaeya ge Awayang daeya llayaba pate gogon, ada “Alla?” Ada, “Ngäna mäse nallan do auma, dowae agan do auma de ddoddllem nägnegan ge adame ngäna gänyeya indugan lelang a.”

Däbe angde lla de umllang dägnegän, Kurupel daollemae ngättägngättäg gogän oba pate. Ada, “Bibi ende eka tameny eralla?” Ada, “Ingollang ttoen a angeasan.”

Kurupel Llamda Awayang bom dägmar täräll dägnegän. Llayabira a ddob mällayabira dällitneyo, ddone tongoe daeya. Ddobaeddobae gotongoenegränä gänya ttoen me. Dibaeya story da.

Dägmar täräll bo midd a ada dan, “Umlang agalle? Bongo ddone llokttang dan käde auma ibi wi.” Kurupel bâne ngasnges atta ada Idugoe a lla da. Ede ada ingoll ttoen da gongesän. Däbe adawede ada dangesneyo ada ngaskäma ainin lelmeny a, auma we ngaska aya iddob e ballän llokttang.

Eso.

He was yelling in Idi, “My brother-in-law is here! My brother-in-law is here!” He was yelling at the dead man, “Galo is here! Galo is here! Galo’s spirit is alive and here!” When the crowd of men heard this, they ran to meet Awayang and started chasing the dead spirit away, yelling, “Ya! Ya! Ya!” So that the spirit would leave Awayang alone and go far away. When Awayang reached the men, they said, “What happened?” Awayang replied, I was just going to the grave, when there was a lot of noise, which is why I ran back in fear!

After Awayang said this to the men, Kurupel showed up and came close to them. Kurupel said, “What are you talking about?” They said, “This is what happened.”

Then, Kurupel stuck his tongue out at Old Man Awayang. They told other men and woman, and oh they laughed a lot. People laughed so much at this story. That is the story.

Sticking out your tongue means, “Do you feel it? You’re not brave enough to go to the grave.” This is what happened to Kurupel and Idugoe. This is what happened. They did this to know who was brave enough to go to the grave at night.

Thank you.

Glossed text

- (1) *Ttoen a ngasnges atta gänyan Llamda Kurupel bäne.*
 ttoen=a ngas~nges=att=a gänya=n llamda
 story=NOM INF~happen=ABL=NOM here=COP.PRS.SG old_man
 Kurupel=bäne
 PN=3SG.ABL.POSS
 ‘This story is about what Old Man Kurupel did.’
- (2) *Pazi da 1940 diba ngata me, ttongo lla da kuddäll gogon Malläm ttängäm me.*
 pazi=da 1940¹ diba ngata=me ttongo lla=da kuddäll
 year=NOM 1940 that spot=LOC a man=NOM die
 g-o-g-on Malläm ttängäm=me
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS PN village=LOC
 ‘Sometime around 1940, a man died in Malam village.’
- (3) *Obo bin a Galo.*
 obo bin=a Galo
 3SG.POSS name=NOM PN
 ‘His name was Galo.’
- (4) *Galo oba baba daeya Erme a Baewa wa Zakae.*
 Galo oba baba da=eya Erme a Baewa wa Zakae
 PN 3NSG.POSS father MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG PN and PN and PN
 ‘Galo was Erme, Baewa, and Zakae’s father.’
- (5) *Yawenang lla deya.*
 Yawen=ang lla da=eya
 PN=ATR man MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
 ‘He was a Yawenang man.’
- (6) *Kuddäll gogon Malläm me.*
 kuddäll g-o-g-on Malläm=me
 die REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS PN=LOC
 ‘He died in Malam.’

¹from English 1940

- (7) *Tämamae lla da Llimoll atta gobällnän do Malläm.*
 tämamae lla=da PN=att=a g-o-bäll-n-än do
 all man=NOM PN=ABL=NOM REM-RT_EXT-go-IPFV-REM.3PLS there
 Malläm
 PN
 ‘Everyone from Limol went to Malam.’
- (8) *Ge kuddällag me alla ingollang kolloenen allan naeka we.*
 ge kuddäll=ag=me alla=ingoll=ang kolloe-nen=allan naeka=we
 this death=ATR=LOC how=like=ATR mix-I.PL=AUX.PRS.1PLS cry=ALL
 ‘During times of death, we gather together to mourn.’
- (9) *Ubi goklloeyän Malläm ttängäm e, naeka gognegnän ge, gottamänän.*
 ubi g-o-klloe-yän Malläm ttängäm=e naeka
 3NSG.NOM REM-RT_EXT-gather-REM.3SGS PN place=ALL cry
 g-o-g-neg-n-än ge
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-3PLS-IPFV-REM.3PLS this
 g-o-ttam-än-än
 REM-RT_EXT-finish-II.NPL-REM.3SGS
 ‘They gathered in Malam, mourned together, and finished.’
- (10) *Oke, au we abo dibagaeya, auma däkälleyo, Galo bo pätt wanseg e, auma källkäll a gottamänän.*
 oke au=we abo diba=gaeya au=ma
 okay burial=ALL then that=COP.PST.PL bury=CHAR
 d-ä-käll-eyo Galo=bo pätt wanse-g=e
 REM-3NDUP-dig-REM.3NSGA PN=3SG.POSS body put-III.NPL=ALL
 au=ma käll-käll=a g-o-ttam-än-än
 bury=CHAR INF~dig=NOM REM-RT_EXT-finish-II.NPL-REM.3SGS
 ‘Okay, then there was the burial. They dug the grave to leave Galo’s body.
 They finished the digging.’
- (11) *Pätt de dowansegeyo auma me.*
 pätt=de d-o-wanse-g-eyo au=ma=me
 body=ACC REM-3NDUP-put-III.NPL-REM.3NSGA bury=CHAR=LOC
 ‘They put the body in the grave.’

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- (12) *Dawundeyo, gottamänän.*
d-a-wund-eyo g-o-ttam-än-än
REM-RT_EXT-cover_pit-REM.3NSGA REM-RT_EXT-finish-II.NPL-REM.3SGS
‘They covered it up and finished.’
- (13) *Ge angde iddob gogon, lla ulleulle da, tämamae llämäg a gotäbanegän.*
ge angde iddob g-o-g-on lla ulle~ulle=da
this when night REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS man NSG~big=NOM
tämamae llämäg=a g-o-täba-neg-än
all old_man=NOM REM-RT_EXT-plan-3PLS-REM.3PLS
‘When night fell, the big men and old men got together and made a plan.’
- (14) *Ada, “Ibi sisri tongoe de ngasnges e dan, gänya kuddäll täräp me.*
ada ibi sisri tongoe=de ngas~nges=e
like_this 1NSG.INCL.NOM now play=ACC INF~do=ALL
da=n gänya kuddäll täräp=me
MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG this dead time=LOC
‘They said, “Tonight, during this time of death, we will play a game.”’
- (15) *Ngaskäma imomdae lla da llokttang a ainin, iddob e ibi wi do auma.*
ngaskäma imomdae lla=da llokott=ang=a ain=in
POT truth man=NOM strong=ATR=NOM who.SG=COP.PRS.SG
iddob=e ibi=wi do au=ma
night=ALL go=ALL there bury=CHAR
‘We will see who is truly brave by going to the grave at night.’
- (16) *Ibi sisri yu bäng de onymäll e dan.*
ibi sisri yu bäng=de ony-mäll=e da=n
1NSG.INCL.NOM now fire firestick=ACC carry-PL=ALL MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
‘We will bring a fire-stick back-and-forth to the grave.’
- (17) *Ttongda donyalle do auma dowansegalle, ttongda aka dallalle ngäs e.*
ttong=da d-o-ny-alle do au=ma
one=NOM REM-3NDUP-carry-IRR.SGA there bury=CHAR
d-o-wanse-g-alle ttongo=da aka
REM-3NDUP-put-III.NPL-IRR.SGA one=NOM again
d-a-ll-alle ngäs=e
REM-RT_EXT-go-HAB.SGS return=ALL
‘One many must carry the fire-stick to the grave and leave it there; then another will go and fetch it.’

- (18) *Auma watta diwenyalle.*
 au=ma=watt=a d-i-weny-alle
 bury=CHAR=ABL=NOM REM-VEN-carry-IRR.SGA
 'He will carry it back from the grave.'
- (19) *Ttongda aka donyalle do auma.*
 ttongo=da aka d-o-ny-alle do au=ma
 one=NOM again REM-3NDUP-carry-IRR.SGA there bury=CHAR
 'Then another will carry it to the grave.'
- (20) *Tämamae lla da ada gognegän, "Ai dan.*
 tämamae lla=da ada g-o-g-neg-än ai
 all man=NOM like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-3PLS-REM.3PLS good
 da=n
 MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 'All of the men said, "Okay."
- (21) *Ibi sisri minyi däbe tongoe de bängesnalla iddob e.*
 ibi sisri minyi däbe tongoe=de
 1NSG.INCL.NOM now FUT that play=ACC
 b-ä-nges-n-allा iddob=e
 FUT.1A-3NDUP-do-IPFV-FUT.1NSGA night=ALL
 'We will play this game tonight.'
- (22) *Ngaskäma aya lelmeny bogon auma we ibi wi.*"
 ngaskäma aya lel=meny b-o-g-on
 POT who.SG fear=PRIV FUT.3S-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 au=ma=we ibi=wi
 bury=CHAR=ALL go=ALL
 'Maybe someone without fear will go to the grave.'"
- (23) *Ngämo baba Kurupel ada gogon ada, "Ngäna bony.*
 ngämo baba Kurupel ada g-o-g-on ada
 1SG.POSS father PN like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS like_this
 ngäna b-onу
 1SG.NOM FUT.1A-carry
 'My father Kurupel went like this, "I'll take it.'

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- (24) *Ngäna yu di bony do auma do bowanseg.*
 ngäna yu=di b-on^y do au=ma do
 1SG.NOM fire=ACC FUT.1A-carry there bury=CHAR there
 b-o-wanse-g
 FUT.1A-3NDUP-put-III.NPL
 ‘I’ll take the fire to the grave and leave it there.’
- (25) *Ttongda abo ngäs e ballän.*
 ttongo=da abo ngäs=e b-a-ll-än
 one=NOM NEC return=ALL FUT.3S-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS
 ‘Someone else will have to go and fetch it.’
- (26) *Awayang Idugoe, Tizag lla daeya.*
 Awayang Idugoe Tizag lla da=eya
 PN PN man MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
 ‘Awayang Idugoe was a Tizag man.’
- (27) *Obo ttäle da apte gagäll deya, malla mermer ibi ag deya.*
 obo ttäle=da apte gagäll da=eya malla mer~mer
 3SG.POSS leg=NOM one_side bad MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG NEG ADV~good
 ibi=ag da=eya
 go=ATR MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
 ‘His legs were bad on one side, so he did not walk properly.’
- (28) *Bogo ada eka gogon ada, “Abo ngänawa ngäs e balle.*
 bogo ada eka g-o-g-on ada abo
 3SG.NOM like_this speak REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS like_this then
 ngäna=w^a ngäs=e b-a-lle
 1SG.NOM=EMPH return=ALL FUT.1S-RT_EXT-go
 ‘He said, “I will return to the grave.”
- (29) *Auma watta ako ngäna yu bäng de beyangäs iddob säremang me.”*
 au=ma=watt=a aka ngäna yu bäng=de
 bury=CHAR=ABL=NOM then 1SG.NOM fire firestick=ACC
 b-ey-a-ngäs iddob särem=ang=me
 FUT.1A-VEN-RT_EXT-return night darkness=ATR=LOC
 ‘And I will bring the fire-stick back during the night.’

- (30) *Däbaeya, Kurupel donyän yu di do auma.*
 däba=aeya Kurupel d-on-yän yu=di do au=ma
 that=COP.PST.SG PN REM-carry-REM.3SGA fire=ACC there bury=CHAR
 'Then, Kurupel carried the fire there to the grave.'
- (31) *Auma me dowansegän yu bäng de.*
 au=ma=me d-o-wanse-g-än yu bäng=de
 bury=CHAR=LOC REM-3NDUP-put-III.NPL-REM.3SGA fire firestick=ACC
 'He left the fire-stick on the grave.'
- (32) *Awayang ako ngäs e.*
 Awayang ako ngäs=e
 PN then return=ALL
 'Then Awayang was going to return.'
- (33) *Angde Awayang yu ngäs e ibi wi ada gogon, Kurupel däbe mängalae gungmaeyän ttongo nyongo dae dallän do auma.*
 angde Awayang yu ngäs=e ibi=wi ada
 when PN fire return=ALL go=ALL like_this
 g-o-g-on Kurupel däbe mängal=ae
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS PN that quick=ADV
 g-u-ngmae-yän ttongo nyongo=dae
 REM-RT_EXT-go_around-REM.3SGS another road=PERL
 d-a-ll-än do au=ma
 REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS there bury=CHAR
 'When Awayang went to go to fetch the fire, Kurupel quickly went to the grave by taking a shortcut.'
- (34) *Galo bo auma sisor a eraeya.*
 Galo=bo au=ma sisor=a era=eya
 PN=3SG.POSS bury=CHAR new=NOM which=COP.PST.SG
 'Galo had a new grave.'
- (35) *Do ngattong auma toko we gokakalän.*
 do ngattong au=ma toko=we g-o-kak-al-än
 there first bury=CHAR top=ALL REM-RT_EXT-enter-II.NPL-REM.3SGS
 'The first graves you entered from above.'

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- (36) *Auma da pollepolle alle kättnan att dagaeya.*
 au=ma=da polle~polle=alle kätt-nan=att da=gaeya
 bury=CHAR=NOM DIM~fence=INS fence-I.PL=ABL MED.DEM=COP.PST.PL
 'This grave was fenced in with a small fence.'
- (37) *Daeya do llandär gognän, gontämonän Awayang bälle ada ngaskäma*
Awayang ibi allan.
 da=eya do llandär g-o-g-n-än
 MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG there listen REM-RT_EXT-AUX-IPFV-REM.3SGS
 g-o-tomon-n-än Awayang=bälle ada ngaskäma
 REM-RT_WAIT-IPFV-REM.3SGS PN=3SG.DAT like_this POT
 Awayang ibi=allan
 PN go=AUX.PRS.3SGS
 'He waited there and listened for Awayang to know when Awayang was coming.'
- (38) *Llamda Awayang daolle obo ibi da malla mer daeya, be ttimattimang ibi ag daeya.*
 llamda Awayang da=olle obo ibi=da malla mer
 old_man PN MED.DEM=ALL 3SG.POSS walk=NOM NEG good
 da=eya be ttima~ttima=ang ibi=ag da=eya
 MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG but INF~limp=ATR go=ATR MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
 'Old man Awayang's gait was not good; he walked with a limp toward the grave.'
- (39) *Daolle dallän abo tatraem de yaya Kurupel deyandärän.*
 da=olle d-a-ll-än abo tatäraem=de yaya
 MED.DEM=ALL REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS then noise=ACC father
 Kurupel d-ey-a-andär-än
 PN REM-VEN-RT_EXT-hear-REM.3SGA
 'He was walking that way and then father Kurupel heard his footsteps coming toward him.'
- (40) *Käsre do auma me bogo do ddoddollem dägnegän ge wattällang a endagaeya do däbem ddoddollem dägnegän ge.*
 käsre do au=ma=me bogo do ddo~ddollem
 then there bury=CHAR=LOC 3SG.NOM there INF~make_noise
 d-ä-g-neg-än ge wattäll=ang=a enda=gaeya
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-SG>PL-REM.3SGA this put=ATR=NOM what=COP.PST.PL

do däbe-m ddo~ddollem d-ä-g-neg-än ge
 there that-ACC INF~make_noise REM-3NDUP-AUX-SG>PL-REM.3SGA this
 ‘Then Kurupel made a lot of noise at the grave, he started banging the
 things that were left on the grave.’

- (41) *Wiowa Llamda Awayang!*
 wiowa llamda Awayang
 wow old_man PN
 ‘Oh Old man Awayang!’

- (42) *Dinduag ada gogon!*
 dindu=ag ada g-o-g-on
 run=ATR like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘Oh how he ran!’

- (43) *Ede Galo eraeya, obo pätzäg daeya, ge aya kuddäll gogon.*
 ede Galo era=eya obo pätzäg
 so PN which=COP.PST.SG 3SG.POSS brother_in_law
 da=eya ge aya kuddäll g-o-g-on
 MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG this who.SG dead REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘Galo was this man’s brother-in-law, the one that died.’

- (44) *Awayang ada gogon, “Pätzäg gädo!”*
 Awayang ada g-o-g-on pätzäg² gädo³
 PN like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS brother_in_law is_here
 ‘Awayang was going, “My brother-in-law is here!”’

- (45) *Pätzäg gädo!*
 pätzäg gädo
 brother_in_law is_here
 ‘My brother-in-law is here!’

- (46) *Pätzäg gädo!”*
 pätzäg gädo
 brother_in_law is_here
 ‘My brother-in-law is here!”’

³The word *pätzäg* means ‘brother-in-law’ in both Idi and Ende.

³from Idi *gädo* ‘is here’

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- (47) *Ada ekaekong dindugmällnän lel me, dowe de lla da ero dagaeya.*
ada eka~eka=ong d-indug-mäll-n-än lel=me
like_this ADV~speak=ATR REM-run-PL-IPFV-REM.3SGS fear=LOC
do=we=de lla=da ero da=gaea
there=ALL=ACC man=NOM where MED.DEM=COP.PST.PL
‘He was running and yelling in fear towards where the men were.’
- (48) *A dindugalle, a gompedägalle, wup pätt me gobäddalle.*
a d-indug-alle a g-o-mpedä-g-alle up
and REM-run-HAB.SGS and REM-RT_EXT-trip-III.NPL-HAB.SGS banana
pätt=me g-o-bädd-alle
body=LOC REM-RT_EXT-hit-HAB.SGS
‘He was running, and tripping, and knocking down bananas.’
- (49) *Ako gopällttänalle.*
ako g-o-pällttän-alle
again REM-RT_EXT-start_walking-HAB.SGS
‘Then he took off again.’
- (50) *Ako dindugalle, mameat endageya ge däbe dudunän, dindu mi daeya,*
“*Päzäg gädo!*
ako d-indug-alle mameat enda=geya ge däbe
again REM-run-HAB.SGS pawpaw what=COP.PST.PL this that
d-u-du-n-än dindu=mi da=eya
REM-RT_EXT-blow_down-IPFV-REM.3SGA run=LOC MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
päzäg gädo
brother-in-law is_here
‘He was running, knocking down pawpaws while running. “My brother-in-law is here!”’
- (51) *Päzäg gädo!”,*
päzäg gädo
brother_in_law is_here
““My brother-in-law is here!””
- (52) *ada ekaekong dindugmällnän.*
ada eka~eka=ong d-indug-mäll-n-än
like_this ADV~speak=ATR REM-run-PL-IPFV-REM.3SGS
‘he was yelling while running.’

- (53) *Idi eka walle ada gogon, “Päzäg gädo!*
Idi eka=walle ada g-o-g-on
language_name language=INS like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
päzäg gädo
brother-in-law is_here
‘He was yelling in Idi, “My brother-in-law is here!”’
- (54) *Päzäg gädo!*
päzäg gädo
brother_in_law is_here
“My brother-in-law is here!”
- (55) *Kuddäll lla de däbe Galo bom ada dägänän, “Galo gänyan!*
kuddäll lla=de däbe Galo=bom ada
dead man=ACC that PN=3SG.ACC like_this
d-ä-g-n-än Galo gänya=n
REM-3NDUP-AUX-IPFV-REM.3SGA PN here=COP.PRS.SG
‘He was yelling at the dead man, “Galo is here!”’
- (56) *Galo gänyan!*
Galo gänya=n
PN here=COP.PRS.SG
“Galo is here!”
- (57) *Galo bo anyke da gänyan ttam agan!*
Galo=bo anyke=da gänya=n ttam a-g-an
PN=3SG.POSS spirit=NOM here=COP.PRS.SG alive REC-AUX-REC.3SGS
“Galo’s spirit is alive and here!”
- (58) *Lla da angde dandärmällneyo ge, lla gulag a, ubi ako dinduag a duduli*
Awayang bom danttäkämälleyo, däbe lla kuddäll anyke de ada ka koenmäll
erallo, “Ya!
lla=da angde d-a-ndär-mäll-n-eyo ge lla
man=NOM when REM-RT_EXT-hear-PL-IPFV-REM.3NSGA this man
gulag=a ubi Awayang=bom
crowd=NOM 3NSG.NOM again run=ATR=NOM ADV~there PN=3SG.ACC
d-a-nttäkämäll-eyo däbe lla kuddäll anyke=de ada
REM-RT_EXT-meet-REM.3NSGA that man dead spirit=ACC like_this

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ka koenmäll=erallo ya
 CNTF chase=AUX.PRS.3NSG>3SG go_away

‘When the crowd of men heard this, they ran to meet Awayang and started chasing the dead spirit away, yelling, “Ya!”

(59) Ya!

ya
 go_away
 ‘Ya!’

(60) Ya!”

ya
 go_away
 ‘Ya!”

(61) *Adawede oba anyke da bowansegän Awayang bom, oba duli ballän.*
 adawede oba anyke=da b-o-wanse-g-än
 so_that CONS spirit=NOM FUT.3A-3NDUP-put-III.NPL-REM.3SGA
 Awayang=bom oba duli b-a-ll-än
 PN=3SG.ACC CONS away FUT.3S-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS
 ‘So that the spirit would leave Awayang along and go far away.’

(62) *Dibaeya ge Awayang daeya llayaba pate gogon, ada “Alla?”*
 diba=aeya ge Awayang da=eya
 that=COP.PST.SG this PN MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG

lla=yaba=pate g-o-g-on ada alla
 person=3NSG.POSS=AN.ALL REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS like_this how
 ‘When Awayang reached the men, they said, “What happened?”’

(63) *Ada, “Ngäna mäse nallan do auma, dowae agan do auma de ddoddlem nägnegan ge adame ngäna gänyaeya indugan lelang a.”*
 ada ngäna mäse nallan do au=ma dowae
 like_this 1SG.NOM IMN AUX.PRS.1SG>2SG there bury=CHAR proximity
 a-g-an do au=ma=de ddo~ddollem
 REC-AUX-REC.1SGS there bury=CHAR=ACC INF~make_noise
 n-ä-g-neg-an ge adame ngäna
 REC.3PLP-3NDUP-AUX-SG>PL-REC.3SGA this this_is_why 1SG.NOM
 gänya=aeya indug-an lel=ang=a
 here=COP.PST.SG run-REC.1SGS fear=ATR=NOM
 ‘Awayang replied, “I was just going to the grave, when there was a lot of noise, which is why I ran back in fear!”’

- (64) *Däbe angde lla de umllang dägnegän, Kurupel daollemae ngättägngättäg gogän oba pate.*
 däbe angde lla=de umllang d-ä-g-neg-än
 that when man=ACC tell REM-3NDUP-AUX-SG>PL-REM.3SGA
 Kurupel da=olle=mae ngättäg~ngättäg
 PN MED.DEM=ALL=PERL ADV~arrive
 g-o-g-än oba=pate
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS 3NSG.POSS=AN.ALL
 ‘After Awayang said this to the men, Kurupel showed up and came close to them.’
- (65) *Ada, “Bibi ende eka tameny eralla?”*
 ada bibi ende eka tameny=eralla
 like_this 2NSG.NOM what.ACC speak discuss=AUX.PRS.2NSG>3SG
 ‘Kurupel said, “What are you talking about?”’
- (66) *Ada, “Ingollang ttoen a angesan.”*
 ada ingoll=ang ttoen=a a-nge-an
 like_this like=ATR story=NOM REC-happen-REC.3SGS
 ‘They said, “This is what happened.”’
- (67) *Kurupel Llamda Awayang bom dägmar täräll dägnegän.*
 Kurupel llamda Awayang=bom dägmar täräll
 PN old_man PN=3SG.ACC tongue stick_out
 d-ä-g-neg-än
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-SG>PL-REM.3SGA
 ‘Then, Kurupel stuck his tongue out at Old Man Awayang.’
- (68) *Llayabira a ddob mällayabira dällitneyo, ddone tongoe daeya.*
 lla=yabira a ddob mälla=yabira
 person=3NSG.DAT and some woman=3NSG.DAT
 d-ä-llit-n-eyo ddone tongoe da=eya
 REM-3NDUP-tell-IPFV-REM.3NSGA NEG laugh MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
 ‘They told other men and woman, and oh they laughed a lot.’
- (69) *Ddobaeddobae gotongoenegrän gänya ttoen me.*
 ddobae~ddobae g-o-tongoe-neg-n-än gänya ttoen=me
 ADV~very REM-RT_EXT-laugh-3PLS-IPFV-REM.3PLS this story=LOC
 ‘People laughed so much at this story.’

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- (70) *Dibaeya story da.*
 diba=aeaya story=da
 that=COP.PST.SG story=NOM
 ‘That is the story.’
- (71) *Dägmar täräll bo midd a ada dan, “Umllang agalle?*
 dägmar täräll=bo midd=a ada
 tongue stick_out=3SG.POSS meaning=NOM like_this
 da=n umllang a-g-alle
 MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG know REC-AUX-REC.2SGA
 ‘Sticking out your tongue means, “Do you feel it?”’
- (72) *Bongo ddone llokttang dan käde auma ibi wi.”*
 bongo ddone llokott=ang da=n käde au=ma
 2SG.NOM NEG strong=ATR MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG when bury=CHAR
 ibi=wi
 go=ALL
 ‘You’re not brave enough to go to the grave.’”
- (73) *Kurupel bänne ngasnges atta ada Idugoe a lla da.*
 Kurupel=bänne ngas~nges=att=a ada Idugoe a lla=da
 PN=3SG.ABL_POSS INF~do=ABL=NOM like_this PN and man=NOM
 ‘This is what happened to Kurupel and Idugoe.’
- (74) *Ede ada ingoll ttoen da gongesän.*
 ede ada=ingoll ttoen=da g-o-nges-än
 so like_this=like story=NOM REM-RT_EXT-happen-REM.3SGS
 ‘This is what happened.’
- (75) *Däbe adawede ada dangesneyo ada ngaskäma ainin lelmeny a, auma we ngaska aya iddob e ballän llokttang.*
 däbe adawede ada d-a-nges-n-eyo ada
 that so_that like_this REM-RT_EXT-make-IPFV-REM.3NSGA like_this
 ngaskäma ain=in lel=meny=a au=ma=we ngaska
 POT who.SG=COP.PRS.SG fear=PRIV=NOM bury=CHAR=ALL POT
 aya iddob=e b-a-ll-än llokott=ang
 who.SG night=ALL FUT.3S-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS strong=ATR
 ‘They did this to know who was brave enough to go to the grave at night.’

- (76) *Eso.*
*eso*⁴
thank_you
'Thank you.'

⁴*Eso* is a regional word meaning 'thank you' observed in many unrelated languages, including Southern Kiwai, Kalau Lagau Ya and Torres Strait Creole.

Part IV

Heroic or legendary stories

G *Donae Kurupel bänə käza gäzatt ttoen* – Donae Kurupel’s crocodile killing story

Introduction

The following narrative is called *Donae Kurupel bänə käza gäzatt ttoen* or ‘Donae Kurupel’s crocodile killing story.’ It is a true story told by Donae Kurupel about a noteworthy fishing day with Sokola Sowati (Kurupel).

D. Kurupel told this story to L. Reed in 2017 for inclusion in a book for the elementary school on fishing stories (Reed et al. 2017b). L. Reed recorded D. Kurupel using a Zoom H4N audio recorder and a head-mounted microphone while she told this 9.4-minute long story. This recording is archived in the Ende language corpus as Kurupel (2017b). After recording, L. Reed and W. Kurupel transcribed the story into standard Ende and translated it at the phrase-level. T. Warama and K. Lindsey translated the text at the word- and morpheme-levels. The text was lightly edited for style and structure for inclusion in the fishing story book. This edited version at 375 words long is presented here and is archived in the Ende language corpus as Kurupel (2017a). This published version is accompanied by illustrations drawn by 16-year-old Keith Mado.

Summary and background

In this fishing story, Donae Kurupel details an unexpected encounter with a crocodile while fishing. The type of fishing described here is one where fishers stake long vertical nets across a river, leaving them there for an extended period of time.¹ Later, someone will return to lift the nets out of the water to see if any fish are caught in the holes of the nets. Any fish that are caught in the

¹Other types of fishing include: shooting arrows with a bow, throwing harpoons from above, throwing harpoons while diving with goggles, dangling bait on a hook with a line, poisoning the water, setting bamboo traps, net casting (see Figure 1.38) and funneling the water with circular nets and baskets (see Figure 1.39).

G Donae Kurupel's crocodile killing story

nets are perfect bait for large predators, such as crocodiles (*Crocodylus halli*; see Figure 1.20). When D. Kurupel and S. Sowati go to check the nets, they find the caught fish half-eaten and suspect that a crocodile might be nearby. When they discover the crocodile, D. Kurupel bravely kills it, pulls it into their boat, and carries it back to the village. This would be an impressive feat for any Ende villager – crocodiles are dangerous and heavy – but especially so for D. Kurupel, who was in her late 50s or 60s when the event occurred. This fact is less surprising if we consider that women in this society are burdened with the responsibility of carrying heavy loads (see Figure 1.40). For example, women are responsible for fetching water from the wells multiple times daily. Young girls carry buckets of various sizes until they can balance the standard 40-pound (20-kilogram) jerry can on their heads and backs. Women also transport sago bundles, which are even heavier at around 60–80 pounds (30–40 kilograms). Water and sago both need to be carried regularly uphill from the swamps to the village. Men do carry some loads, such as felled trees and hunted animals.

You will also notice a reference to Christian prayer in this text (Line 5). The Ende community experienced a rapid conversion to Christianity in the 1950s and 60s when Christian missionaries came to the nearby towns of Goroka and Upiara. Ende representatives were sent out to these towns to learn what the missionaries had to say, and they returned with information about literacy, basic Western healthcare, and the Bible. This experience is captured in the documentary *Ende tän e indrang* ‘Light into Ende tribe’ (Warama et al. 2018). Although the Ende representatives needed to learn Gogodala, Tok Pisin, and English to communicate with the missionaries, the local conversion took place mostly in Ende. Because of this, the domain of religion is primarily in Ende, not in a *lingua franca*, such as Tok Pisin or English. English, however, is used frequently to quote from the Bible as the text has not been completely translated into Ende.

This text has a lovely quadruplet of verbs marked with ventive associated motion in Lines 18–24. They show how the ventive can mark motion into view, motion towards the speaker, or actions with intended motion towards a prominent place (e.g., the village). First, the crocodile’s head *ada digne* ‘goes like this VEN=[into view]’ and bites D. Kurupel in the hand. She *ttang de [...] gänyeri ada dige* ‘goes like this this way with her hand VEN=[back into view/towards the speaker]’ and sees that the crocodile only scraped the skin. She then *giri de dipirngän* ‘draws her knife VEN=[into view]’ and hits him in the head. They *gall ik e dizeneya* ‘pull him into the canoe VEN=towards the speaker’ and *net [de...] dingädneg* ‘fold the nets VEN=[in order to bring them back to the village]’.

Parallel text

Ngäna daeya gopällttän dalle, mälla da gull peyang ngattong gobällän. Ngäna oballe imne Sokola. Ngäna Sokola bom ada dägag, "Ibi beyareya nett irngän e." Ngämi dagwaeya deyareya gall tapma, gall e gokakaleya a dagllaeya. Ngäna dedme ikopse gog ada, "Baba, kollba da ngämlle buittnegän. Bongo täma-mae ttoen e zizag dalle, bongowae ngämiminy anggalle."

One day, I set off behind the women who had gone with the fishing nets. I was right behind Sokola. I said to her, "Let's go lift the nets out." We went to the canoe place, boarded the canoe, and started paddling. There, I prayed, "Father, please let me catch some fish. You prevail over all, and you are my only support."



Figure G.1: Ecosystem of the swamp, including boars, eagles, crocodiles, fish, turtles, and ducks

Ngämi dagwaeya deyareya a nett de dirängäneya, bunkuttang a guittän be sära torpoll daeya, käza da däddägän. Däbe sära torpoll ngäna dirngän a gall ik e däzan. Ngäna nga Sokola bom ada dägag, "Ibi daolle beyareya, ttongo nett a ako duli dan." Deyareya ge ngäna ada ikop gog, "Täl a ddone dan, ngasekäma nett de ngämaene käza da nonyan." Ngäna Sokola nga duli ikop agne, da duli tawa me bogän. Gänyan Sokola gällaenen allan täl a, nett ittallatt a erame daeya. Ngäna däbe täl de deyanykoe, rop me ako damllam, rop

We went and pulled up the nets. Some catfish were caught in the nets, but one was just a tail. A crocodile had bitten it. I pulled that tail out and put it in the canoe. I said to Sokola, "Let's go over there, there's a net over that way." We went, and I saw, "The bamboo [sticks] are gone, maybe a crocodile carried the net away on us." I said to Sokola, "Look over there, it will be over there in the swamp." Sokola was paddling over to the bamboo, where the caught net was. I pulled on that bamboo, I held on to

G Donae Kurupel's crocodile killing story

*de ada deyanykoe, "Kollba da ddone
dan ke, enda nett de nändäman?"*

the rope and pulled up like this on
the rope, "There aren't any fish like I
thought, what is sinking this net?"

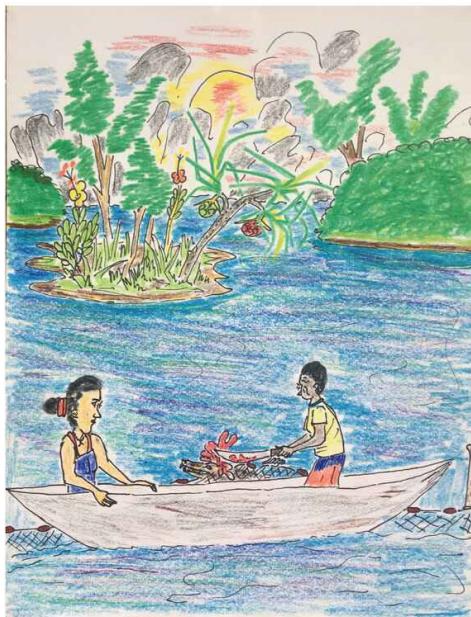


Figure G.2: Donae and Sokola finding the crocodile in the net

*Angde ngäna adawae gog a dädme
mäse ada deyanykoe, bode duduli dänd-
dämän rop de nett peyang. Ngäna,
"O ngasekäma käza da ulle dan, gäz e
dan, da bowanseg ede ako ami bääbädd-
eyo." Ngäna daeya deyanykoene, angde
abo dibaoille gog käza da erame daeya.
Däbe ngäna mängall alle mae deyany-
koene, bode duduli. Däbe ada digne
ge bun a abo enddäna we gogon. Käza
da aka däbe deyarnän ge ttang me
daddägän ngänäm. Ngäna ttang de
mamälldae gänyeri ada dige. Ttoe
daebe dukopän. Ngäna giri de dipirngän
a bun a wa tumku da dädme däbad-*

I kept on the same way and tried to pull again. It pulled the rope that way with the net. I was thinking, "Maybe the crocodile is very big and killable. If I leave it alone, who would come back to kill it?" I was pulling there where that crocodile was. I pulled with all of my strength, and he pulled back the other way. Then his head came up into view. The crocodile came towards me and bit me on my hand. I quickly moved my hand this way, like this. He only scraped the skin. I got out my knife and hit him there on the head and the back of the skull. We

dmällne. Gall ik e dizeneya. Net a däbe tubu da eragaeya, däbe ada dingädneg. Dakone däbe dibaballe mae. Ngäna Sokola, “Ai dan, ddone ibim beyad-dägän.”

pulled him into the canoe. I folded up the nets from off the stump and used them to cover the crocodile completely. I reassured Sokola, “Okay, he won’t bite us.”

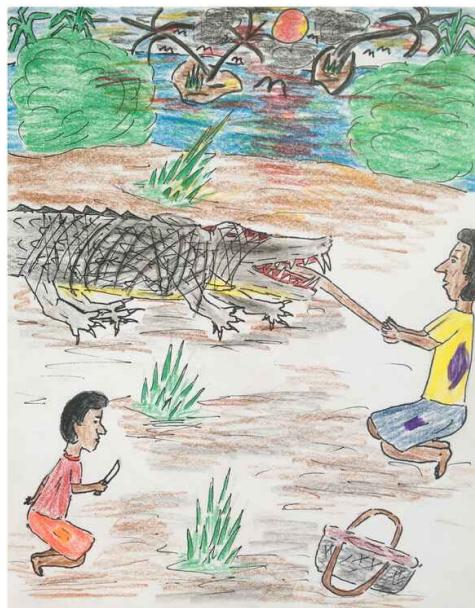


Figure G.3: Donae kills the crocodile with her machete

Ngäna daeya kili gogän e. Ngäna iba mäda bom kili dagän e. Ngäna, “O baba. Bongo ngämle nanttogalle ai za ulle daebe. Eso ulle.” Däbe gall e dagllaenalla ngämi do gall tapma. Ngäna daeya bandrabandra dalle. Gall e tap dägag, za de ngäna dägaz. Käza da däbe bogo gall ik mi ada any gogän. Gopnaeyän. Ngäna däbe käza da eraeya net alle de any dägag, gänyeri tutu we deyaspun. Ngäna däbe giri tupi da ngämo eraeya ada ume ttäp e däträkne.

I was so happy. I gave praise to our Father. I said, “Oh Father, You gave me this wonderful gift. Thank you so much.” We paddled the canoe until we arrived at the canoe place. I was singing. I docked the canoe, and I took our things out. The crocodile was turning around inside the canoe. I went like this to the crocodile with the net, and threw him onto land. I pushed my machete into his mouth.

G Donae Kurupel's crocodile killing story

Ngäna käza matta we dan gull peyang. Gänya Then his head came up into view this way. gopällttäneya, Ada any dägag. Matta we digeg. Gänye-e ma tutu gonyärabeya. Ngäna ada Sokola, "Buddog dan. Mäse eran ngäna wony e." Gänyaolle gogeya Warama bo ma we. Sowati ada ikop gogän, "A!" Ngänäm ada, "Bogo käza de näbäddan o, käza wa, käza wa, käza wa!"

I shouldered that crocodile with the net. I started walking, and went like this. I carried him on my shoulder. I carried him towards home and started going up the hill. I told Sokola, "He's heavy. I'm struggling to carry him." We made it here, close to Warama's house. Sowati saw, "Ah!" He said to me, "She killed a crocodile! Oh! Crocodile, crocodile, crocodile!"

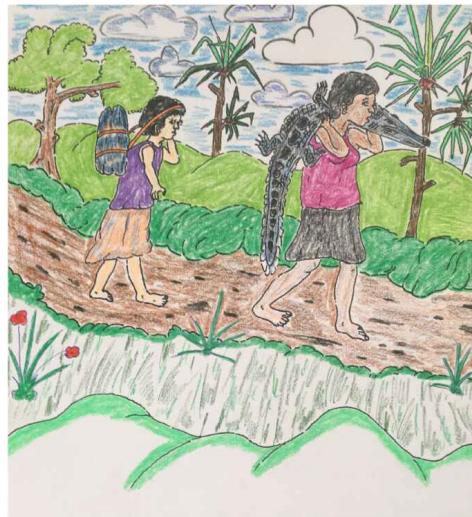


Figure G.4: Donae and Sokola carrying the crocodile back to the village

Ngäna dibaeya käza de dowanseg Warama bo ma käm me. "Alla ingollang näbäddalle?" Ada dangnoeneyo. "Nett me de ke aittan." Ttae ada gogon, "Abo ngäna wa ttoe bäglle." Mermerae ttoe de dägllewän a sapang dowansegän. Ako mägda de koko dängkamän. Däbe käza da tämamae lla de dättemänän.

Ngämo yae Zanger ngänäm ada dagän, "Bongo ge käza de mani muang nägag."

I put that crocodile down underneath Warama's house. They were asking me, "How did you kill it?" "I caught it in the net." Ttae offered, "I will skin it." He skinned it properly and set the skin aside. Then he started to cut up the main part of the meat. That crocodile satisfied everyone.

My mother Zanger said to me, "You should sell this crocodile for money.

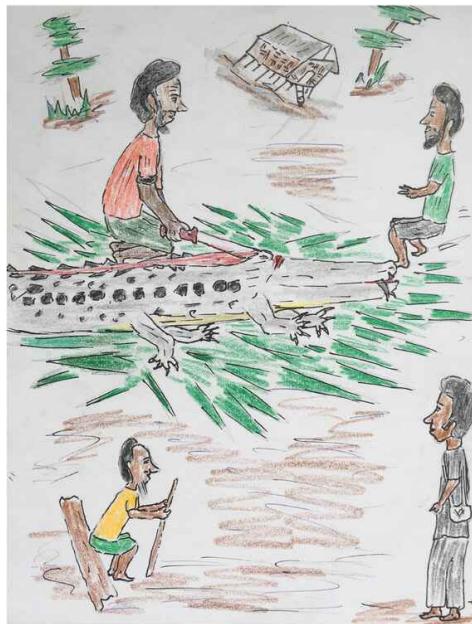


Figure G.5: Skinning the crocodile

"Ddone mani muang bäga, ada basinig, ngämo gänyan ttoe dae ikop bägag." Ttae däbe käza de ttoe dukopän. Däbe käza ttoe de Sowati soltang dägagän. Ako bogo ade gogon, "Abo ngänawa bony ttoe de Daru we." Bogo ddone donyän a be ako Joshua wa donyän. Tu andred alle dällädeyo ttoe de. Dibaeya ttoenttoen a. Eso.

I will not sell it for money, I will give it away, I will only sell the skin. Ttae peeled the skin off that crocodile. Sowati put salt on that crocodile skin. And then, he said, "I must take this skin to Daru." He didn't take it, but Joshua did. They sold that skin for K200. That was my short story. Thank you.

Glossed text

- (1) *Ngäna daeya gopällttän dalle, mälla da gull peyang ngattong gobällän.*
 ngäna da=eya g-o-pälltt-än
 1SG.NOM MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG REM-RT_EXT-start_walking-II.NPL
 d-a-lle mälla=da gull=peyang ngattong
 REM-RT_EXT-go woman=NOM net=COM first

g-o-bäll-än
 REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3PLS
 'I set off walking, the women with the nets had gone before.'

- (2) *Ngäna oballe imne Sokola.*
 ngäna oballe imne Sokola
 1SG.NOM 3SG.ABL rear PN
 'I went after Sokola.'
- (3) *Ngäna Sokola bom ada dägag, "Ibi beyareya nett irngän e."*
 ngäna Sokola=bom ada d-ä-gag ibi
 1SG.NOM PN=3SG.ACC like_this REM-3NDUP-AUX go
 b-ey-a-r-eya nett irängän=e
 FUT.1S-DUS-RT_EXT-go-FUT.1DUS net lift_out=ALL
 'I said to Sokola, "Let's go lift the nets out."
- (4) *Ngämi dagwaeya deyareya gall tapma, gall e gokakaleya a dagllaeya.*
 ngämi da=gwaeya d-ey-a-r-eya
 1NSG.EXCL.NOM MED.DEM=COP.PST.DU REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-REM.1DUS
 gall tap=ma gall=e g-o-kakal-eya a
 canoe dock=CHAR canoe=ALL REM-RT_ENTER-REM.1DUS and
 d-a-gllae-eya
 REM-RT_EXT-paddle-REM.1NSGA
 'We went to the canoe place, boarded the canoe, and started paddling.'
- (5) *Ngäna dedme ikopse gog ada, "Baba, kollba da ngämille buittnegän."*
 ngäna ded=me ikopse g-o-g ada baba kollba=da
 1SG.NOM there=LOC prayer REM-RT_EXT-AUX like_this father fish=NOM
 ngämille b-u-itt-neg-än
 1SG.DAT FUT.3S-RT_EXT-catch-3PLS-REM.3PLS
 'There, I prayed like this: "Father, let the fish be caught for me.'
- (6) *Bongo tämamae ttoen e zizag dalle, bongowae ngämiminy anggalle."*
 bongo tämamae ttoen=e zizag d-a-lle bongo=wae
 2SG.NOM all way=ALL owner REM-RT_EXT-go 2SG.NOM=RST
 ngämi-miny=anggalle
 help-III.PL=AUX.PRS.2SG>PL
 'You are the owner of all things, only you are helping me.'

- (7) *Ngämi dagwaeya deyareya a nett de dirängäneya, bunkuttang a guittän be sära torpoll daeya, käza da däddägän.*
- ngämi da=gwaeya d-ey-a-r-eya a
 1NSG.EXCL.NOM MED.DEM=COP.PST.DU REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-REM.1DUS and
 nett=de d-iräng-än-eya bunkuttang=a
 net=ACC REM-lift_out-II.NPL-REM.1NSGA catfish=NOM
 g-u-itt-än be sära torpoll da=eya
 REM-3NDUP-catch-REM.3SGS but tail piece MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
 käza=da d-ä-ddäg-än
 crocodile=NOM REM-3NDUP-eat-REM.3SGA
- ‘We went and pulled up the nets. Catfish were caught, but one was just a tail. A crocodile had bitten it.’
- (8) *Däbe sära torpoll ngäna dirngän a gall ik e däzan.*
- däbe sära torpoll ngäna d-irngän=a gall ik=e
 that tail piece 1SG.NOM REM-come_out=NOM canoe inside=ALL
 d-ä-zan
 REM-3NDUP-put_in
 ‘I pulled that tail out and put it in the canoe.’
- (9) *Ngäna nga Sokola bom ada dägag, “Ibi daolle beyareya, ttongo nett a ako duli dan.”*
- ngäna nga Sokola=bom ada d-ä-gag ibi
 1SG.NOM IM_FUT PN=3SG.ACC like_this REM-3NDUP-AUX 1NSG.INCL.NOM
 da=olle b-ey-a-r-eya ttongo nett=a aka
 MED.DEM=ALL FUT.1S-DUS-RT_EXT-go-FUT.1DUS one net=NOM also
 duli da=n away MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
- ‘I said to Sokola, “Let’s go over there, there’s a net over that way.”’
- (10) *Deyareya ge ngäna ada ikop gog, “Täl a ddone dan, ngasekäma nett de ngämaene käza da nonyan.”*
- d-ey-a-r-eya ge ngäna ada ikop
 REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-REM.1DUS this 1SG.NOM like_this see
 g-o-g täl=a ddone da=n ngasekäma
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX bamboo=NOM NEG MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG POT
 nett=de ngämaene käza=da n-on-y-an
 net=ACC 1NSG.EXCL.ABL_POSSESS crocodile=NOM REC.SGP-carry-REC.3SGA
- ‘We went, and I saw, “The bamboo [sticks] are gone, maybe a crocodile carried our net away on us.”’

G Donae Kurupel's crocodile killing story

- (11) *Ngäna Sokola nga duli ikop agne, da duli tawa me bogän.*
 ngäna Sokola nga duli ikop a-g-ne da duli
 1SG.NOM PN IM_FUT there see FUT.2S-AUX-IPFV if there
 tawa=me b-o-g-än
 swamp=LOC FUT.3S-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘I said to Sokola, “Look over there, it will be over there in the swamp.”’
- (12) *Gänyan Sokola gällaenen allan täl a, nett ittalatt a erame daeya.*
 gänya=n Sokola gällae-nen=allan täl=a nett²
 here=COP.PRS.SG PN paddle-I.PL=AUX.PRS.3SGS bamboo=NOM net
 ittal=att=a era=me da=eya
 hang=PP=NOM which=LOC MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
 ‘Sokola was paddling over to the bamboo, where the caught net was.’
- (13) *Ngäna däbe täl de deyanykoe, rop me ako damllam, rop de ada deyanykoe,*
 ‘*Kollba da ddone dan ke, enda nett de nändämänan?*’
 ngäna däbe täl=de d-ey-a-nykoe rop³=me aka
 1SG.NOM that bamboo=ACC REM-VEN-RT_EXT-pull rope=LOC also
 d-a-mll-am rop=de ada d-ey-a-nykoe
 REM-RT_EXT-hold-IV.NPL rope=ACC like_this REM-VEN-RT_EXT-pull
 kollba=da ddone da=n ke enda nett=de
 fish=NOM NEG MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG CNTF what net=ACC
 n-ä-ndäm-an
 REC.SGP-3NDUP-drown-REC.3SGA
 ‘I pulled on that bamboo, I held on to the rope and pulled up like this on
 the rope, “There aren’t any fish like I thought, what is sinking this net?”’
- (14) *Angde ngäna adawae gog a dädme mäse ada deyanykoe, bode duduli*
dändämän rop de nett peyang.
 angde ngäna adawae g-o-g a däd=me mäse
 when 1SG.NOM same_way REM-RT_EXT-AUX and there=LOC IMN
 ada d-ey-a-nykoe bode du~duli
 like_this REM-VEN-RT_EXT-pull 3SG.NOM.too ADV~there
 d-ä-ndäm-n-än rop=de nett=peyang
 REM-3NDUP-drown-IPFV-REM.3SGA rope=ACC net=COM
 ‘I kept on the same way and tried to pull again. It pulled the rope that
 way with the net.’

²from English *net*

³from English *rope*

- (15) *Ngäna*, “*O ngasekäma käza da ulle dan, gäz e dan, da bowanseg ede ako ami bääbäddeyo.*”
- ngäna o ngasekäma käza=da ulle da=n
 1SG.NOM oh POT crocodile=NOM big MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 gäz=e da=n da b-o-wanseg ede ako
 kill=ALL MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG if FUT.1A-3NDUP-put so then
 ami b-ä-bädd-eyo
 who.NSG.NOM FUT.3A-3NDUP-kill-REM.3NSGA
- ‘I was like, “Oh, maybe the crocodile is very big, killable, if I leave it alone, then who will kill it?”’
- (16) *Ngäna daeya deyanykoene, angde abo dibaolle gog käza da erame daeya.*
- ngäna da=eya d-ey-a-nykoe-ne angde abo
 1SG.NOM MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG REM-VEN-RT_EXT-pull-IPFV when then
 diba=olle g-o-g käza=da era=me
 that=ALL REM-RT_EXT-AUX crocodile=NOM which=LOC
 da=eya
 MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
- ‘I was pulling there where that crocodile was.’
- (17) *Däbe ngäna mängall alle mae deyanykoene, bode duduli.*
- däbe ngäna mängall=alle=mae d-ey-a-nykoe-ne
 that 1SG.NOM strength=INS=RST REM-VEN-RT_EXT-pull-IPFV
 bode du~dului
 3SG.NOM.too ADV~there
- ‘I pulled with all of my strength, and he [pulled] that way.’
- (18) *Däbe ada digne ge bun a abo enddäna we gogon.*
- däbe ada d-i-g-ne ge bun=a abo enddäna=we
 that like_this REM-VEN-AUX-IPFV this head=NOM then clearing=ALL
 g-o-g-on
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
- ‘Then his head came up into view this way.’
- (19) *Käza da ako däbe deyarnän ge ttang me daddägän ngänäm.*
- käza=da aka däbe d-ey-a-r-n-än ge
 crocodile=NOM again that REM-VEN-RT_EXT-go-IPFV-REM.3SGS this
 ttang=me d-a-ddäg-än ngänäm
 hand=LOC REM-RT_EXT-bite-REM.3SGA 1SG.ACC
- ‘The crocodile came towards me again and bit me in this hand.’

- (20) *Ngäna ttang de mamälldae gänyeri ada dige.*
 ngäna ttang=de mamälldae gänyeri ada d-i-ge
 1SG.NOM hand=ACC quickly this_way like_this REM-VEN-AUX
 'I quickly moved my hand this way, like this.'
- (21) *Ttoe daebe dukopän.*
 ttoe=daebe d-u-kop-än
 skin=RST REM-3NDUP-peel-REM.3SGA
 'He only scraped the skin.'
- (22) *Ngäna giri de dipirngän a bun a wa tumku da dädme däbäddmällne.*
 ngäna giri=de d-i-pirngän a bun=a wa
 1SG.NOM knife=ACC REM-VEN-draw_weapon and head=ACC.CONJ and
 tumku=da däd=me d-ä-bädd-mäll-ne
 back_of_head=ACC.CONJ there=LOC REM-3NDUP-hit-PL-IPFV
 'I got out my knife, and hit him there on the head and the back of the
 skull.'
- (23) *Gall ik e dizeneya.*
 gall ik=e d-i-z-en-ey
 canoe inside=ALL REM-VEN-enter-II.NPL-REM.1NSGA
 'We pulled him into the canoe.'
- (24) *Nett a däbe tubu da eragaeya, däbe ada dingädneg.*
 nett=a däbe tubu=da era=gaeya däbe ada
 net=NOM that short=NOM which=COP.PST.PL that like_this
 d-i-ngäd-neg
 REM-VEN-fold-SG>PL
 'The nets were there on the stump, I folded them up.'
- (25) *Dakone däbe dibaballe mae.*
 d-a-kone däbe dibaballe=mae
 REM-RT_EXT-cover that afterwards=RST
 'I covered [the crocodile] afterwards completely.'
- (26) *Ngäna Sokola, "Ai dan, ddone ibim beyaddägän."*
 ngäna Sokola ai da=n ddone ibim
 1SG.NOM PN good MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG NEG 1NSG.INCL.ACC
 b-ey-a-ddäg-än
 FUT.3A-DUP-RT_EXT-eat-REM.3SGA
 'I said to Sokola, "Okay, he won't bite us."'

- (27) *Ngäna daeya kili gogän e.*
 ngäna da=eya kili g-o-g-än=e
 1SG.NOM MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG happy REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS=VOC
 'I was so happy.'
- (28) *Ngäna iba mäda bom kili dagän e.*
 ngäna iba mäda=bom kili
 1SG.NOM 1NSG.INCL.POSS father=3SG.ACC happy
 d-a-g-än=e
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGA=VOC
 'I gave praise to our father.'
- (29) *Ngäna, "O baba.*
 ngäna o baba
 1SG.NOM oh father
 'I said, "Oh father,'
- (30) *Bongo ngämille nanttogalle ai za ulle daebe.*
 bongo ngämille n-a-ntto-g-alle ai za
 2SG.NOM 1SG.DAT REC.SGP-RT_EXT-give-III.NPL-REC.2SGA good thing
 ulle=daebe
 big=RST
 'You gave me this one big, good thing.'
- (31) *Eso ulle.⁴*
 eso⁴ ulle
 thank_you big
 'Thank you so much."
- (32) *Däbe gall e dagllaenalla ngämi do gall tapma.*
 däbe gall=e d-a-gllae-n-allá ngämi do
 that canoe=ALL REM-RT_EXT-paddle-IPFV-REM.1DUS 1NSG.EXCL.NOM to
 gall tap=ma
 canoe dock=CHAR
 'We paddled the canoe, until we arrived at the canoe place.'

⁴*Eso* is a regional word meaning 'thank you' observed in many unrelated languages, including Southern Kiwai, Kalau Lagau Ya and Torres Strait Creole.

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- (33) *Ngäna daeya bandrabandra dalle.*
 ngäna da=eya bandra~bandra d-a-lle
 1SG.NOM MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG ADV~sing REM-RT_EXT-go
 'I was singing.'
- (34) *Gall e tap dägag, za de ngäna dägaz.*
 gall=e tap d-ä-gag za=de ngäna
 canoe=ALL dock REM-3NDUP-AUX thing=ACC 1SG.NOM
 d-ä-gaz
 REM-3NDUP-take_out
 'I docked the canoe and I took our things out.'
- (35) *Käza da däbe bogo gall ik mi ada any gogän.*
 käza=da däbe bogo gall ik=mi ada any
 crocodile=NOM that 3SG.NOM canoe inside=LOC like_this something
 g-o-g-än
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 'The crocodile was going like this inside the canoe.'
- (36) *Gopnaeyän.*
 g-o-pnae-yän
 REM-RT_EXT-turn-REM.3SGS
 'He was turning.'
- (37) *Ngäna däbe käza da eraeya net alle de any dägag, gänyeri tutu we deyaspun.*
 ngäna däbe käza=da era=eya net=alle=de any
 1SG.NOM that crocodile=NOM which=COP.PST.SG net=INS=ACC something
 d-ä-gag gänyeri tutu=we d-ey-a-spun
 REM-3NDUP-AUX this_way land=ALL REM-VEN-RT_EXT-throw
 'I went like this to the crocodile with the net, and threw him towards the
 land.'
- (38) *Ngäna däbe giri tupi da ngämo eraeya ada ume ttäp e däträkne.*
 ngäna däbe giri tupi=da ngämo era=eya ada
 1SG.NOM that knife long=NOM 1SG.POSS which=COP.PST.SG like_this
 ume ttäp=e d-ä-träk-ne
 mouth split=ALL REM-3NDUP-push-IPFV
 'I pushed my long knife into his mouth.'

- (39) *Ngäna käza matta we dan gull peyang.*
 ngäna käza matta=we da=n gull=peyang
 1SG.NOM crocodile shoulder=ALL MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG net=COM
 'I shouldered that crocodile with the net.'
- (40) *Gänya gopällttäneya, Ada any dägag.*
 gänya g-o-pällttän-eya ada any
 this REM-RT_EXT-start_walking-REM.1DUS like_this something
 d-ä-gag
 REM-3NDUP-AUX
 'We started walking, and went like this.'
- (41) *Matta we digeg.*
 matta=we d-i-geg
 shoulder=ALL REM-VEN-AUX
 'I carried him back on my shoulder.'
- (42) *Gänye-e ma tutu gonyärabeya.*
 gänye=e ma tutu g-o-nyärab-eya
 here=voc house mountain REM-RT_EXT-ascend-REM.1DUS
 'I carried him towards home, and started going up the hill.'
- (43) *Ngäna ada Sokola, "Buddog dan.*
 ngäna ada Sokola buddog da=n
 1SG.NOM like_this PN heavy MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 'I said to Sokola, "It's heavy."
- (44) *Mäse eran ngäna wony e.*
 mäse eran ngäna wony=e
 IMN AUX.PRS.1SG>3SG 1SG.NOM carry=ALL
 'I'm struggling to carry it.'
- (45) *Gänyaolle gogeya Warama bo ma we.*
 gänya=olle g-o-g-eya Warama=bo ma=we
 here=ALL REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.1DUS PN=3SG.POSS house=ALL
 'We made it here, close to Warama's house.'
- (46) *Sowati ada ikop gogän, "A!"*
 Sowati ada ikop g-o-g-än a
 PN like_this see REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS ah
 'Sowati saw, "Ah!"'

G Donae Kurupel's crocodile killing story

- (47) *Ngänäm ada, "Bogo käza de näbäddan o, käza wa, käza wa, käza wa!"*
 ngänäm ada bogo käza=de
 1SG.ACC like_this 3SG.NOM crocodile=ACC
 n-ä-bädd-an=o käza=wa käza=wa
 REC.SGP-3NDUP-kill-REC.3SGA=voc crocodile=voc crocodile=voc
 käza=wa
 crocodile=voc
 'He said to me, "She killed a crocodile! Oh! Crocodile, crocodile,
 crocodile!"'
- (48) *Ngäna dibaeya käza de dowanseg Warama bo ma käm me.*
 ngäna diba=aeya käza=de d-o-wanseg Warama=bo
 1SG.NOM that=COP.PST.SG crocodile=ACC REM-RT_EXT-put PN=3SG.POSS
 ma käm=me
 house underneath=LOC
 'I put that crocodile down underneath Warama's house.'
- (49) “*Alla ingollang näbäddalle?*”
 alla=ingoll=ang n-ä-bädd-alle
 how=like=ATR REC.SGP-3NDUP-kill-REC.2SGA
 “How did you kill it?”
- (50) *Ada dangnoeneyo.*
 ada d-a-ngnoe-n-eyo
 like_this REM-RT_EXT-ask-IPFV-REM.3NSGA
 'They were asking me.'
- (51) “*Nett me de ke aittan.*”
 nett=me=de ke a-itt-an
 net=LOC=ACC Q REC-catch-REC.1SGS
 “I caught it in the net.”
- (52) *Ttae ada gogon, “Abo ngäna wa ttoe bäglle.”*
 Ttae ada g-o-g-on abo ngäna=wa ttoe
 PN like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS then 1SG.NOM=EMPH skin
 b-ä-glle
 FUT.1A-3NDUP-skin
 ‘Ttae went like this, “I will skin it.”’

- (53) *Mermmerae ttoe de dägllewän a sapang dowansegän.*
 mer~mer=ae ttoe=de d-ä-gle-wän a sapang
 ADV~good=ADV skin=ACC REM-3NDUP-skin-REM.3SGA and separate
 d-o-wanse-g-än
 REM-3NDUP-put-III.NPL-REM.3SGA
 ‘He skinned it properly and left it separate.’
- (54) *Ako mögda de koko dängkamän.*
 ako mögda=de ko~ko d-ä-ngk-am-än
 then main_part=ACC INF~cut REM-3NDUP-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGA
 ‘Then he started to cut up the main part of the meat.’
- (55) *Däbe käza da tämamae lla de dättemänän.*
 däbe käza=da tämamae lla=de
 that crocodile=NOM all man=ACC
 d-ä-ttem-än-än
 REM-3NDUP-finish-II.NPL-REM.3SGA
 ‘That crocodile satisfied everyone.’
- (56) *Ngämo yae Zanger ngänäm ada dagän, “Bongo ge käza de mani muang nägag.”*
 ngämo yae Zanger ngänäm ada d-a-g-än
 1SG.POSS mother PN 1SG.ACC like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGA
 bongo ge käza=de mani⁵ mu=ang n-ä-gag
 2SG.NOM this crocodile=ACC money payment=ATR FUT.2>3-3NDUP-AUX
 ‘My mother Zanger said to me, “You should sell this crocodile for money.”’
- (57) *“Ddone mani muang bäga, ada basinig, ngämo gänyan ttoe dae ikop bågag.”*
 ddone mani mu=ang b-ä-ga ada
 NEG money payment=ATR FUT.1A-3NDUP-AUX like_this
 b-a-si-nig ngämo gänya=n ttoe=dae ikop
 FUT.1A-RT_EXT-give-SG>PL 1SG.POSS here=COP.PRS.SG skin=RST see
 b-ä-gag
 FUT.1A-3NDUP-AUX
 “I will not sell it for money, I will give it away, I will only sell the skin.”

⁵from English *money*

G Donae Kurupel's crocodile killing story

- (58) *Ttae däbe käza de ttoe dukopän.*
 Ttae däbe käza=de ttoe d-u-kop-än
 PN that crocodile=ACC skin REM-3NDUP-peel-REM.3SGA
 'Ttae peeled the skin off that crocodile.'
- (59) *Däbe käza ttoe de Sowati soltang dägagän.*
 däbe käza ttoe=de Sowati solt⁶=ang d-ä-gag-än
 that crocodile skin=ACC PN salt=ATR REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA
 'Sowati put salt on that crocodile skin.'
- (60) *Ako bogo ade gogon, "Abo ngänawa bony ttoe de Daru we."*
 ako bogo ade g-o-g-on abo ngäna=wa
 then 3SG.NOM also REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS then 1SG.NOM=EMPH
 b-ony ttoe=de Daru=we
 FUT.1A-carry skin=ACC PN=ALL
 'And then, he said, "I must take this skin to Daru."
- (61) *Bogo ddone donyän a be aka Joshua wa donyän.*
 bogo ddone d-ony-än a be aka Joshua=wa
 3SG.NOM NEG REM-carry-REM.3SGA and then PN=EMPH
 d-ony-än
 REM-carry-REM.3SGA
 'He didn't take it, but Joshua did.'
- (62) *Tu andred alle dällädeyo ttoe de.*
 tu⁷ andred⁸=alle d-ä-lläd-eyo ttoe=de
 two hundred=INS REM-3NDUP-grab-REM.3NSGA skin=ACC
 'They bought this skin for two hundred [kina].'
- (63) *Dibaeya ttoenttoen a.*
 diba=aeya ttoen~ttoen=a
 that=COP.PST.SG DIM~story=NOM
 'That was my short story.'
- (64) *Eso.*
 eso
 thank_you
 'Thank you.'

⁶from English *salt*

⁸from English *two*

⁸from English *hundred*

H *Käza misima saima* – The Crocodile Song

Song summary



Figure H.1: Bringing a *käza* ‘crocodile’ back to Limol village

Käza misima saima is an ancient song for the *Tizag* (*Bobeag*) clan, which has the *käza* ‘crocodile’ as their primary totem. When a crocodile has been killed, the hunters sing this song to let the *Tizag* clan know that one of their totem animals has been slain. Traditionally, a gift was also offered to the elders of the clan, out of respect for the loss of their totem. Unlike the other texts in this collection, this song is made up of untranslatable words. Some say that the words belong to a lost dialect, and others say that the lyrics are sacred words that belong to the *Tizag* clan. There are other such untranslatable songs and phrases in the Ende language corpus. The Crocodile Song can be sung for hours, as indeed it

H The Crocodile Song

was for the journey depicted in the photo above (Figure H.1), when a 600-pound crocodile was carried from *Karama* swamp up the hill to Limol village. Eight men took turns carrying the crocodile, which was bound to a wooden stretcher. You can hear Donae Kurupel sing a version of this song in the Ende language corpus (Kurupel 2016).

Song text

*Käza misima saima
Misi misima saima
Yuma misima saima
Misi misima saima
Käza misima saima
Misi misima saima*

Glossed text

- (1) *Käza misima saima*
käza misima saima
crocodile [untranslated] [untranslated]
[Untranslatable]
- (2) *Misi misima saima*
misi misima saima
[untranslated] [untranslated] [untranslated]
[Untranslatable]
- (3) *Yuma misima saima*
yu=ma misima saima
fire=PURP [untranslated] [untranslated]
[Untranslatable]

I *Ngämaene ibiatt ttoenttoen* – Our traveling story

Introduction

This story, called *Ngämaene ibiatt ttoenttoen* ‘Our traveling story,’ is a story told by Tina Dobola and edited by K. Lindsey. T. Dobola wrote down her recollections of this true event and submitted it to the Ende Language Committee in 2016 (Dobola 2016b). T. Dobola and K. Lindsey edited the story to standardize the orthography. Later, K. Lindsey recorded T. Dobola reading the written story out loud (Dobola 2016c) and retelling the story from memory (Dobola 2016d).

Summary and background

This is a journey tale told by Tina Dobola, about the time she and a party traveled to Kurunti and encountered a crocodile on the way. Like D. Kurupel in the previous story, T. Dobola bravely kills the crocodile, protecting the fishing group, and creating an opportunity to make some money in the city by selling the skin. T. Dobola also describes how the group camped and hunted along the way, a beloved Ende practice.

One notable linguistic feature in this text is an experiencer-object construction in Line 4. In this construction, the word order is object-agent-verb (OAV), differing from the language’s typical agent-object-verb (AOV) order. Here, the experiencer (the entity feeling the emotion) is in the object case, the agent is the stimulus causing the experience, and the verb is often an auxiliary. For example, the sentence *ngämim ddäddäg abal da deyagnegnän* describes the group’s hunger for meat, literally translated as ‘meat really got us.’ This reflects how the meat (agent) affects the group (experiencer).

Another significant feature is the inclusory construction, exemplified in Line 26. This type of construction includes two noun phrases that reference participants, where the first refers to the entire group and the second just a subset of that group. The first noun phrase often includes a non-singular pronoun like *we* or

they, while the second noun phrase is marked by the instrumental clitic =(*w*)alle. For example, Line 26 references two participants – the author, T. Dobola, and her friend Tim – who are continuing to fish in a crocodile-infested pond. The author uses the pronoun *ngämi* ‘we’ to refer to the two of them, the modifier phrase *Tim alle* ‘with Tim’ to name the participant besides herself, and the verb *däpamnalla* ‘we fished,’ which agrees with both of the participants. We can contrast the inclusory construction with a more typical comitative construction like *bongo ... yaralle ngämo peyang* ‘you came with me’ from Text D, Line 23. In the comitative construction, the verb *yaralle* ‘you (sg) came’ only agrees with the pronoun *bongo* ‘you (sg)’ and does not index the modifying noun phrase *ngämo peyang* ‘with me.’

Parallel text

Ttongo täräp me, ngämi gotbamam Kurunti we ibi wi, ada baba, Mathilda, Tanisha, ngäna a Mareas bo kllum. A ngämi däplätt Malläm atta do amne me gotaram, Guim walle mäg me.

Däbamasem a ag me, däplätt, gobällne Mareyas nyongo meae dirom gullbe de paya dägagän gabma bägäl alle. Ngämi ddone ada kili gogaebne, adawatta ngämin ddäddäg abal da deyagnegnän. Däbe dirom de Mareyas kapu dägagän do Dum walle mäg e. Dädme ngämi yuwetyuwet ttägäll daugeya, dantmoneya, ttägäll de angde däziya, ngämi duwem gogmam. E ada abo däplätt do Kwangka ngätt. Dädme gotaram.

Ag me däbamasem a, däplätt do Pinang. Ako dädme gotaram adawatta buddo da tumang dageya komnen ma da. Däbamasem a ag me däplätt dowe Kurunti we, toto abal e dälltaemne Ku-

One day, a group of us planned on traveling to *Kurunti*. It was my dad, Mathilda, Tanisha, me, and Mareas’ family. We set off from Malam and slept on the way, near the source of the *Guim* River.

The next morning, we set off again and were walking when Mareas shot a huge cassowary on the path with a gun. We were so happy because we were really hungry for some meat. Mareas carried that cassowary to the source of the *Dum* river. There, we built a *mumu*-style oven, waited, uncovered the oven, and finally ate. After this, we set off towards *Kwangka* clearing. We slept there.

In the morning, we set off for *Pinang*. We slept there again because we were carrying a lot of things. The next morning, we set off towards *Kurunti* and it was already late in the evening

runti maduma ttängäm e. Nagnag a seborsebor deyagneyo, ttang deyanttep-menyevo, a ma we deyageyo. Wätät duwem gogmam dädme ngämi kumud-däga inu gogmam.

Ada dingismäll gonyo Tebar e, oba yunuang ma we, dädme gotaram. Ag me källäm pamnen e gobäll, ngattong ttongo källäm de däpameya. Ai gastol a talapia da däbem dägäddaebeya. Däbamasm a, ttongo källäm me gobäll (waya pampem). Ako däbem däpameya. Ai gastol a talapia da däbem dägäddaebeya. Ngäma kame da ada käza da daden walle ik mi, be Tim a däglibän a ngäimim umllang deyagnegän ada, "Ngäna käza de nägliban." Ngämi angde walle de däpamnalla, däbe käza da walle amne me gopeyamän. Ngämi tämamae ikop dägaeya. Mathilda a Kobe ubi komllaebe lelang atta tutu we guirngäneyo. Ngäna umllang dägneg ada, "Ge mani za dan, mudan lel a. Ai dan."

Ngämi Tim alla ngäma känyer däpamnalla, angde ngäna käk de menae me ikop dägag, ngäna misdae gull de igidae dony däbe käk de dampaeg. Be angde gull de ngäna tuki dirngän, käza gullbe da gull ik i gozenän. Tim mängalae deyarän ngämlle ngämingg i. Tutu wi darullgoeya käza de gull peyang ae däbe abo däbädveya käza de kuddäll e. Nuam a Masta, ubi käza de matta dägaeyo do inuwang ma we a ngämi kollba de. Käsre käza de ttoe däglleyo, ttägäll daugeya, gotaram.

when we arrived in *Kurunti* village. Our friends greeted us, shook our hands, and brought us to their homes. We ate and stayed there for three nights.

After that we returned via Tebar and slept there in the resting place. In the morning, we went to fish in the ponds. In the first pond, there were many fish; we caught *gastol* and tilapia. After that, we went to another pond to fish. We fished that pond and again caught plenty of *gastol* and tilapia fish. We didn't know that there was a crocodile in the water, but Tim startled it and let us know. When we were fishing that pond, that crocodile was coming out in the center of the water. We all saw him. Mathilda and Kobe jumped to the shore in fright. I told them, "This crocodile is a way to make some money. Don't be afraid! It's okay."

Tim and I kept fishing by ourselves until I noticed bubbles off to the side. I threw my net under to where I guessed those bubbles were. But when I pulled the net up, that huge crocodile had gone inside the net. Tim quickly came to help me. We dragged that crocodile in the net up to the shore and then killed it. Nuam and Masta, they shouldered that crocodile back to the sleeping place, and we carried the fish. After that, we skinned it, made a *mumu*-style oven, and went to sleep.

Ag me Malläm me dängäsmäll. Käza ttoe de Joshua Daru we donyän a K300.00 kina me dällädeyo. Däbe ttägäll käp de Joshua ma we diwenyän a ngämi dänyeya däbe ttägäll käp de.

Eso ulle däbeya ngämo ttoen llätt a.

In the morning, we returned to Malam. Joshua took that skin to Daru and made K300. Joshua brought the money back to us and we shared the money between us.

Thank you. That is the end of my story.

Glossed text

- (1) *Ttongo täräp me, ngämi gotbamam Kurunti we ibi wi, ada baba, Mathilda, Tanisha, ngäna a Mareas bo kulum.*
- ttongo täräp=me ngämi g-o-tba-mam Kurunti=we
one time=LOC 1NSG.EXCL.NOM REM-RT_EXT-plan-REM.1PLS PN=ALL
ibi=wi ada baba Mathilda Tanisha ngäna a Mareas=bo
go=ALL like_this father PN PN 1SG.NOM and PN=3SG.POSS
kulum
group
- ‘One time, we prepared to go to Kurunti, father, Mathilda, Tanisha, me, and Mareas’ group.’
- (2) *A ngämi däplätt Malläm atta do amne me gotaram, Guim walle mäg me.*
- a ngämi d-ä-pllätt Malläm=att=a do
and 1NSG.EXCL.NOM REM-RT_EXT-start_walking PN=ABL=NOM there
amne=me g-otar-am Guim walle mäg=me
center=LOC REM-sleep-REM.1PLS PN water source=LOC
- ‘We set off from Malam and slept along the way at Guim water source.’
- (3) *Däbamasem a ag me, däplätt, gobällne Mareyas nyongo meae dirom gullbe de paya dägagän gabma bägäl alle.*
- däba=masem=a ag=me d-ä-pllätt
that=ABL=NOM morning=LOC REM-RT_EXT-start_walking
g-o-bäll-ne Mareyas nyongo=me=ae dirom gullbe=de
REM-RT_EXT-go-IPFV PN road=LOC=RST cassowary male=ACC
paya¹ d-ä-gag-än gabma bägäl=alle
shoot REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA white_person bow=INS
- ‘From there, we set off in the morning. As we were going, Mareas shot a huge cassowary with a gun.’

¹from English fire

- (4) *Ngämi ddone ada kili gogaebne, adawatta ngämim ddäddäg abal da deyagnegnän.*
 ngämi ddone ada kili g-o-g-aeb-ne
 1NSG.EXCL.NOM a_lot like_this happy REM-RT_EXT-AUX-PLS-IPFV
 adawatta ngämim ddäddäg abal=da
 because 1NSG.EXCL.ACC edible_animal very=NOM
 d-ey-a-g-neg-n-än
 REM-1PLP-RT_EXT-AUX-SG>PL-IPFV-REM.3SGA
 ‘We were very happy because we were very hungry for meat.’
- (5) *Däbe dirom de Mareyas kapu dägagän do Dum walle mäg e.*
 däbe dirom=de Mareyas kapu d-ä-gag-än do
 that cassowary=ACC PN carry REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA there
 Dum walle mäg=e
 PN water source=ALL
 ‘Mareyas carried that cassowary to Dum river source.’
- (6) *Dädme ngämi yuwetyuwet ttägäll daugeya, dantmoneya, ttägäll de angde däziya, ngämi duwem gogmam.*
 däd=me ngämi yuwet~yuwet ttägäll
 there=LOC 1NSG.EXCL.NOM ADV~short_time mumu
 d-a-ug-eya d-a-ntmon-eya
 REM-RT_EXT-make_mumu-REM.1NSGA REM-RT_EXT-await-FUT.1NSGA
 ttägäll=de angde d-ä-z-iya ngämi
 mumu=ACC when REM-3NDUP-uncover-REM.1NSGA 1NSG.EXCL.NOM
 duwem g-o-g-mam
 eat REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.1PLS
 ‘There, we made a temporary oven, we waited, when we opened the oven
 we ate.’
- (7) *E ada abo däpllätt do Kwangka ngätt.*
 e ada abo d-ä-pllätt do Kwangka ngätt
 and like_this then REM-RT_EXT-start_walking to PN yard
 ‘From there, we set off for Kwangka place.’
- (8) *Dädme gotaram.*
 däd=me g-otar-am
 there=LOC REM-sleep-REM.1PLS
 ‘There, we slept.’

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- (9) *Ag me däbamasm a, däplätt do Pinang.*
ag=me däba=masem=a d-ä-plätt do Pinang
morning=LOC that=ABL=NOM REM-RT_EXT-start_walking to PN
'From there, we headed off in the morning to Pinang.'
- (10) *Ako dädme gotaram adawatta buddo da tumang dageya komnen ma da.*
ako däd=me g-otar-am adawatta buddo=da tumang
again there=LOC REM-sleep-REM.1PLS because weight=NOM plenty
da=geya kom-nen=ma=da
MED.DEM=COP.PST.PL carry-I.PL=CHAR=NOM
'We slept there too because our things were very heavy.'
- (11) *Däbamasm a ag me däplätt dowe Kurunti we, toto abal e dälltaemne Kurunti maduma ttängäm e.*
däba=masem=a ag=me d-ä-plätt do=we
that=ABL=NOM morning=LOC REM-RT_EXT-start_walking there=ALL
Kurunti=we toto abal=e d-ä-llt-aem-ne Kurunti
PN=ALL evening very=ALL REM-3NDUP-arrive-IV.PL-IPFV PN
maduma ttängäm=e
village place=ALL
'From there, we set off in the morning to Kurunti. We arrived at Kurunti village late in the evening.'
- (12) *Nagnag a seborsebor deyagneyo, ttang deyanttepmenyeyo, a ma we deyageyo.*
nag~nag=a sebor~sebor d-ey-a-g-n-eyo
NSG~friend=NOM INF~greet REM-1PLP-RT_EXT-AUX-IPFV-REM.3NSGA
ttang d-ey-a-nttep-meny-eyo a ma=we
hand REM-1PLP-RT_EXT-shake_hand-III.PL-REM.3NSGA and house=ALL
d-ey-a-g-eyo
REM-1PLP-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3NSGA
'Our friends greeted us, shook our hands, and accommodated us.'
- (13) *Wätät duwem gogmam dädme ngämi kumuddäga inu gogmam.*
wätät duwem g-o-g-mam däd=me ngämi
food eat REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.1PLS there=LOC 1NSG.EXCL.NOM
kumuddäga inu g-o-g-mam
three night REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.1PLS
'We ate and stayed there three nights.'

- (14) *Ada dingismäll gonyo Tebar e, oba yunuang ma we, dädme gotaram.*
ada d-i-ngismäll gonyo Tebar=e oba yunu=ang ma=we
like_this REM-VEN-return here PN=ALL 3NSG.POSS sleep=ATR place=ALL
däd=me g-otar-am
there=LOC REM-sleep-REM.1PLS
‘From there we returned towards here to Tebar, their sleeping place, we slept there.’
- (15) *Ag me källäm pamnen e gobäll, ngattong ttongo källäm de däpameya.*
ag=me källäm pam-nen=e g-o-bäll ngattong ttongo
morning=LOC pond fish-I.PL=ALL REM-RT_EXT-go first one
källäm=de d-ä-pam-eya
pond=ACC REM-3NDUP-fish-REM.1NSGA
‘In the morning, we went to fish the ponds. First we fished one pond.’
- (16) *Ai gastol a talapia da däbem dägäddaebeya.*
ai gastol=a talapia²=da däbe-m
good fish_type=ACC.CONJ fish_type=ACC.CONJ that-acc
d-ä-gädd-aeb-eya
REM-3NDUP-kill-NSG>PL-REM.1NSGA
‘We killed plenty of *gastol* and *tilapia* fish.’
- (17) *Däbamasm a, ttongo källäm me gobäll (waya pampem).*
däba=masem=a ttongo källäm=me g-o-bäll waya
that=ABL=NOM another pond=LOC REM-RT_EXT-go arrow_type
pam~pem
INF~fish
‘From there, we went to another pond, called Wire Fishing Pond.’
- (18) *Ako däbem däpameya.*
ako däbe-m d-ä-pam-eya
again that-acc REM-3NDUP-fish-REM.1NSGA
‘We fished that one too.’

²from English *tilapia*

I Our traveling story

- (19) *Ai gastol a talapia da däbem dägäddaebeya.*
ai gastol=a talapia=da däbe-m
good fish_type=ACC.CONJ fish_type=ACC.CONJ that-acc
d-ä-gädd-aeb-eyा
REM-3NDUP-kill-NSG>PL-REM.1NSGA
'We killed plenty of gastol and tilapia fish.'
- (20) *Ngäma kame da ada käza da daden walle ik mi, be Tim a däglibän a ngämim umllang deyagnegän ada, "Ngäna käza de nägliban."*
ngäma kame=da ada käza=da
1NSG.EXCL.POSS ignorance=NOM like_this crocodile=NOM
dade=n walle ik=mi be Tim=a
EXIST=COP.PRS.SG water inside=LOC but PN=NOM
d-ä-glib-än a ngämim umllang
REM-3NDUP-chase-REM.3SGA and 1NSG.EXCL.ACC tell
d-ey-a-g-neg-än ada ngäna käza=de
REM-1PLP-RT_EXT-AUX-SG>PL-REM.3SGA like_this 1SG.NOM crocodile=ACC
n-ä-glib-an
REC.SGP-3NDUP-chase-REC.1SGA
'We didn't know that there was a crocodile in the water, but Tim scared it
and told us, "I scared away a crocodile."
- (21) *Ngämi angde walle de däpamnalla, däbe käza da walle amne me gopeyamän.*
ngämi angde walle=de d-ä-pam-n-allा däbe
1NSG.EXCL.NOM when water=ACC REM-3NDUP-fish-IPFV-REM.1NSGA that
käza=da walle amne=me g-o-peyam-än
crocodile=NOM water center=LOC REM-RT_EXT-come_out-REM.3SGS
'When we were fishing that pond, that crocodile was coming out in the
middle of the pond.'
- (22) *Ngämi tämamae ikop dägaeya.*
ngämi tämamae ikop d-ä-ga-eyा
1NSG.EXCL.NOM all see REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.1NSGA
'We all saw it.'

- (23) *Mathilda a Kobe ubi komllaebe lelang atta tutu we guirngäneyo.*
 Mathilda a Kobe ubi komlla=aebe lel=ang=att=a
 PN and PN 3NSG.NOM two=RST fear=ATR=ABL=NOM
 tutu=we g-u-irngän-eyo
 mountain=ALL REM-RT_EXT-come_out-REM.3DUS
 'Mathilda and Kobe went back to land from fright.'
- (24) *Ngäna umllang dägneg ada, "Ge mani za dan, mudan lel a.*
 ngäna umllang d-ä-g-neg ada ge mani³ za
 1SG.NOM tell REM-3NDUP-AUX-SG>PL like_this this money thing
 da=n muda=n lel=a
 MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG PROHIB=COP.PRS.SG fear=NOM
 'I told them, "This is a money thing, don't be afraid.'
- (25) *Ai dan.*
 ai da=n
 good MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 'It's okay.'
- (26) *Ngämi Tim alle ngäma känyer däpamnalla, angde ngäna käk de menae me ikop dägag, ngäna misdae gull de igidae dony däbe käk de dampaeg.*
 ngämi Tim=alle ngäma känyer
 1NSG.EXCL.NOM PN=INCL 1NSG.EXCL.POSS alone
 d-ä-pam-n-allä angde ngäna käk=de menae=me
 REM-3NDUP-fish-IPFV-REM.1NSGA when 1SG.NOM bubble=ACC side=LOC
 ikop d-ä-gag ngäna misdae gull=de igi=dae
 see REM-3NDUP-AUX 1SG.NOM just net=ACC bottom=PERL
 d-o-ny däbe käk=de d-a-mpaeg
 REM-3NDUP-carry that bubble=ACC REM-RT_EXT-guess
 'Tim and I fished that pond by ourselves. When I saw some bubbles on the side, I just put the net deep below and guessed where the bubbles were.'
- (27) *Be angde gull de ngäna tuk i dirngän, käza gullbe da gull ik i gozenän.*
 be angde gull=de ngäna tuk=i d-ir-ngän käza
 but when net=ACC 1SG.NOM air=ALL REM-come_out-II.NPL crocodile
 gullbe=da gull ik=i g-o-z-en-än
 male=NOM net inside=ALL REM-RT_EXT-enter-II.NPL-REM.3SGS
 'But when I brought the net out from the water, a huge crocodile went into the net.'

³from English *money*

- (28) *Tim mängalae deyarän ngämlle ngämingg i.*
 Tim mängal=ae d-ey-a-r-än ngämlle ngämi-ngg=i
 PN quick=ADV REM-VEN-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGA 1SG.DAT help-III.NPL=ALL
 ‘Tim quickly came to help me.’
- (29) *Tutu wi darullgoeya käza de gull peyang ae däbe abo däbaddeya käza de kuddäll e.*
 tutu=wi d-a-rullgoe-eya käza=de
 mountain=ALL REM-RT_EXT-drag-REM.1NSGA crocodile=ACC
 gull=peyang=ae däbe abo d-ä-bädd-eya käza=de
 net=COM=ADV that then REM-3NDUP-kill-REM.1NSGA crocodile=ACC
 kuddäll=e
 dead=ALL
 ‘We dragged the crocodile with the net to the land and then hit that crocodile to death.’
- (30) *Nuam a Masta, ubi käza de matta dägaeyo do inuwang ma we a ngämi kollba de.*
 Nuam a Masta ubi käza=de matta
 PN and PN 3NSG.NOM crocodile=ACC shoulder
 d-ä-ga-eyo do inu=wang ma=we a
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3NSGA there sleep=ATTR place=ALL and
 ngämi kollba=de
 1NSG.EXCL.NOM fish=ACC
 ‘Nuam and Masta, they shouldered that crocodile back to the sleeping place, and we carried the fish.’
- (31) *Käsre käza de ttoe däglleyo, ttägäll daugeya, gotaram.*
 käsre käza=de ttoe d-ä-glle-eyo ttägäll
 then crocodile=ACC skin REM-3NDUP-skin-REM.3NSGA mumu
 d-a-ug-eyo g-otar-am
 REM-RT_EXT-make_mumu-REM.1NSGA REM-sleep-REM.1PLS
 ‘Then they skinned the crocodile, we made the oven, we slept.’
- (32) *Ag me Malläm me dängäsmäll.*
 ag=me Malläm=me d-ä-ngäsmäll
 morning=LOC PN=LOC REM-RT_EXT-return
 ‘In the morning we returned to Malam.’

- (33) *Käza ttoe de Joshua Daru we donyän a K300.00 kina⁴ me dällädeyo.*
 käza ttoe=de Joshua PN=we d-ony-än a
 crocodile skin=ACC PN PN=ALL REM-carry-REM.3SGA and
 300 kina=me d-ä-lläd-eyo
 three_hundred kina=LOC REM-3NDUP-grab-REM.3NSGA
 'Joshua took that crocodile skin to Daru and sold it for 300 kina.'
- (34) *Däbe ttägäll käp de Joshua ma we diwenyän a ngämi dänyeya däbe ttägäll käp de.*
 däbe ttägäll käp=de Joshua ma=we
 that anthill round_thing=ACC PN house=ALL
 d-i-weny-än a ngämi
 REM-VEN-carry-REM.3SGA and 1NSG.EXCL.NOM
 d-ä-ny-eya däbe ttägäll käp=de
 REM-3NDUP-share-REM.1NSGA that anthill round_thing=ACC
 'Joshua brought that money home and we split that money.'
- (35) *Eso ulle däbeya ngämo ttoen llätt a.*
 eso⁵ ulle däba=eya ngämo ttoen llätt=a
 thank_you big that=COP.PST.SG 1SG.POSS story end=NOM
 'Thank you very much, that's my story.'

⁴from Kuanua *kina* 'shell' via English

⁵*Eso* is a regional word meaning 'thank you' observed in many unrelated languages, including Southern Kiwai, Kalau Lagau Ya and Torres Strait Creole.

J *Ttongo mälla da* – Children’s Fishing Song

Song summary



Figure J.1: Ibetty Kenny (center) holding a fishing net while the women prepare to go fishing

This children’s song was contributed to the Ende language corpus in 2016 by Julia Tätän (Delema), a ten-year-old resident of Limol. This song, about a fish who breaks a woman’s fishing line, is sung by young girls on fishing trips or when spending time together. Other songs in this genre include songs about birds sitting in trees, people going to wash, and animals spending time together. Sometimes these ditties are accompanied by gestures or string games (see, e.g., Claassen 2024). You can listen to J. Tätän (Delema) sing this song in the Ende language corpus (Tätän (Delema) 2016).

Song text

Ttongo mälla da, tudi ma dallän a
Ttongo mälla da, tudi ma dallän a
Ede obo tudi di kollba da dättpenän.
Ttongo mälla da, tudi ma dallän a
Ttongo mälla da, tudi ma dallän a
Ede obo tudi di kollba da dättpenän.

Glossed text

- (1) *Ttongo mälla da, tudi ma dallän a*
ttongo mälla=da tudi=ma d-a-ll-än=a
one woman=NOM fishing=CHAR REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS=voc
'One woman went fishing.'
- (2) *Ttongo mälla da, tudi ma dallän a*
ttongo mälla=da tudi=ma d-a-ll-än=a
one woman=NOM fishing=CHAR REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS=voc
'One woman went fishing'
- (3) *Ede obo tudi di kollba da dättpenän.*
ede obo tudi=di kollba=da d-ä-tppen-än
so 3SG.POSS fishing_rod=ACC fish=NOM REM-3NDUP-break-REM.3SGA
'A fish broke her line.'

K *Ause da llig kälsre peyang* – The old woman and the small boy

Introduction

Ause da llig kälsre peyang or The Old Woman and the Small Boy is a story originally written by Jubli Sowati. J. Sowati submitted a written version of this story to the Ende Language Committee in 2016 (Sowati 2016). The text was edited for spelling and punctuation by T. Warama, W. Kurupel and K. Lindsey for inclusion in the 2016 *Pepeb peba* story book (Johnson et al. 2016b). Finally, K. Lindsey translated the text into English at the phrase, word, and morpheme-level in FLEX. The story was illustrated by Diana Johnson.

Summary and background

This is a fantastical story about an old woman and a small boy whose island gets flooded by an enormous wave. The old woman saves the boy by putting him in a small floating basket (see Figure 1.41), then saves herself by turning into a fish. The boy floats in his basket and arrives at a new village. There, he is raised by a childless widow. The young boy grows up strong and has many wives—a happy ending.

In this story, we get a peek into Ende mythology. Many *mabun eka* or origin stories involve shape-shifting, specifically, the ability for people to transform into one of the symbols of their clan, such as an animal or plant. Sometimes, this transformation has other fantastic properties, such as invisibility.

Though this story is the only one in the Ende collection that references a flood, the flood is a regional archetype that explains the movement of people to different places. For example, Döhler (2024: 35) includes a Yam!Kominzo text that describes how the killing of a mythological creature sparks a great flood that forces people to move to the north and south to escape its waters.

Adoption is a widespread practice in Ende culture and the region. While children are often raised in multiple households to ease the burden of child-rearing,

K The old woman and the small boy

adoption also takes place to balance families with too many or too few children, to satisfy sister-exchange traditions where women and girls are traded between clan groups to facilitate marriages, and to protect children born to unmarried parents.

Two lexical items of note in this text are *ttongdae* ‘only one’ and *apte ttang lläpät* ‘five’ in Lines 3 and 15. These two lexical items represent two of the five distinct counting systems used in Ende. *Ttongdae* is an inflected form of *ttongo* ‘one,’ which belongs to the set of Ende basic numerals that includes the numbers *ttongo* ‘one,’ *komlla* ‘two,’ and *kumuddäga* ‘three.’ These numbers take nominal clitics and can be combined to create larger numbers, such as four, five, and six. *Apte ttang lläpät*, on the other hand, is one of two phrasal compounds to refer to the numbers five and ten: *apte ttang lläpät* ‘lit: half of the digits of the hands’ and *komlla ttang lläpät* ‘lit: the digits of two hands.’ Other counting systems include the Ende body part counting system which goes from one pinky to the other and counts to 19 (e.g., *mända* ‘thumb, five’), the senary Yam counting system, which is borrowed from the Yam languages to the west and uses a base 6 to count yams, and the borrowed English numerals, which can be found in other texts in this collection.

Table K.1: Three numeral systems in use in Limol

	ENDE (1-6)	BODY-PART (1-19)	YAM (senary)
1	<i>ttongo</i>	<i>tirangesa</i> ‘pinky’	<i>ttongo</i>
2	<i>komlla</i>	<i>nitkin</i> ‘ring finger’	<i>komlla</i>
3	<i>kumuddäga</i>	<i>kllatollma</i> ‘middle finger’	<i>komlla a</i>
4	<i>komlla komlla</i> ‘two-two’	<i>tupi</i> ‘pointer’	<i>ttongo duma</i>
5	<i>komlla komlla</i> <i>a ttongo duma</i>	<i>mända</i> ‘thumb’	<i>komlla komlla a</i>
6	<i>kumuddäga</i> <i>kumuddäga</i> ‘three-three’ or <i>komllaebme</i> <i>komllaebme komllaebme</i> ‘two-two-two’	<i>gabin</i> ‘wrist’	<i>ttongo duma</i> <i>putt</i>
7		<i>ttangkum</i> ‘elbow’	
8		<i>matta</i> ‘shoulder’	

Continued on next page

Table K.1 – continued from previous page

ENDE (1-6)	BODY-PART (1-19)	YAM (senary)
9	<i>ngam</i> ‘breast’	
10	<i>ddill</i> ‘chest’	
11	<i>apte ngam</i> ‘other breast’	
12	<i>apte matta</i>	<i>komlla putt</i> ‘two-six’
13	<i>apte ttangkum</i>	
14	<i>apte gabin</i>	
15	<i>apte mända</i>	
16	<i>apte tupi</i>	
17	<i>apte kllatollma</i>	
18	<i>apte nitkin</i>	
19	<i>apte tirangesa</i>	
36		<i>pärta</i>
216		<i>taromba</i>
1,296		<i>damona</i>
7,776		<i>waramakae</i>

Parallel text

Ge ttoen a era bem amne me de gongesän. Misdae ttongdae kui kälsre dae obo känyer kakäkkakän gognän a mälla ause da lla llig kälsre peyang.

Ttongo toto we yäbad a angde gok-lanän a särem a deyawinän, wel ulle da gongkamän päädoenen de kämag ma alle. Ttängäm a säremang abal gogän. Auseda bo llig kälsre da ngä-naeka de gongkamän. Ause da käny-erkänyer däganän. Ause da bogo daeya llig eka täp me gognän a ine ulle da bogo ade gongällbänmällnän a tater in-goll ngädnan ngädnan deyarnän. Oblle

This story happened in the middle of the sea. Just one small island floating by itself, and an old woman with a small boy.

One evening, when the sun had set and darkness had settled, a big wind started to blow from the west. The village became very dark. The old woman's little boy started to cry. The old woman soothed him. The old woman was interrupting the boy when a big wave rose up and came rolling in like a mat. She didn't have any way to run because this island

K The old woman and the small boy



Figure K.1: An old woman and a small boy on an island in the middle of the sea



Figure K.2: The old woman protecting the small boy from the storm

ddone abal mulldae gogän dinduma ngalen a adawatta däbe daeya bem ulle amne me kui daeya. Ine da angde kui de mändmändd dängkamän, ause da llig kälsre de käg mamon att e däzanän a dainttemänggan. Ause da kollba we gopnaeyän a ine ik mi ikopmeny gogän.

Llig kälsre de ine da enanae dae dätramän do ddob llayaba pate dängtägän. Ttongo lligmeny mik da oblle damändän a obo patme ulle gogän. Ge

was in the center of the sea. When the water began to drown the island, the old woman put the small boy in a shaped container and left him to float. The old woman turned into a fish and disappeared into the water.

The water carried the small boy straight through and he arrived near some people. A childless widow raised him and under her he became big. This



Figure K.3: The old woman saved the small boy and turned into a fish.

*llig a eraeya ddobae mängallang daeya
ako ddobae melem ngasngesang daeya
ada ai lla ulle a tupi daeya. Ge llig a
dedme gunziwän obo mälla da täma-
mae apte ttang llipit.*

boy was really very strong and a good worker. He was good, big, and tall. This boy immigrated there and his wives numbered five.

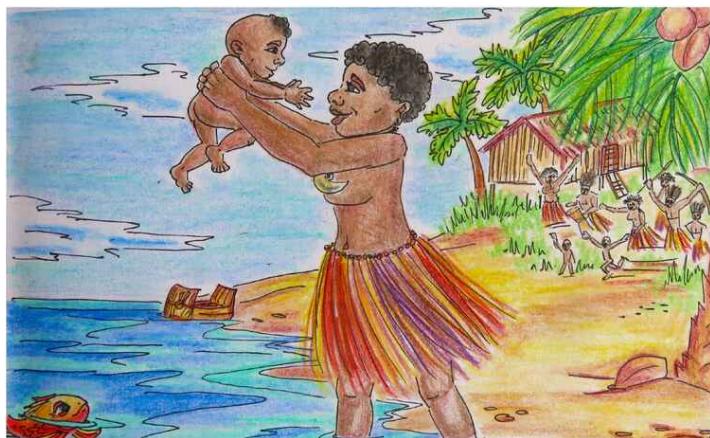


Figure K.4: The small boy was adopted by a childless widow.

Glossed text

- (1) *Ause da llig kälsre peyang.*
 ause=da llig kälsre=peyang
 old_woman=NOM boy small=COM
 ‘The old woman and the small boy’
- (2) *Ge ttoen a era bem amne me de gongesän.*
 ge ttoen=a era bem amne=me=de g-o-nge-s än
 this story=NOM FOC sea center=LOC REM-RT_EXT-happen-REM.3SGS
 ‘This story originated in the middle of the sea.’
- (3) *Misdae ttongdae kui kälsre dae obo känyer kakänkakän gognän a mälla ause da lla llig kälsre peyang.*
 misdae ttong=dae kui kälsre=dae obo känyer kakän~kakän
 just one=RST island small=RST 3SG.POSS alone ADV~float
 g-o-g-n-än a mälla ause=da lla
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-IPFV-REM.3SGS and woman old_woman=NOM male
 llig kälsre=peyang
 child small=COM
 ‘Just one small island floating by itself, and an old woman with a small boy.’
- (4) *Ttongo toto we yäbad a angde goklanän a särem a deyawinän, wel ulle da gongkamän pädoenen de kämag ma alle.*
 ttongo toto=we yäbad=a angde g-o-kla-n-än a
 one evening=ALL sun=NOM when REM-RT_EXT-set-IPFV-REM.3SGS and
 särem=a d-ey-a-wi-n-än wel ulle=da
 darkness=NOM REM-VEN-RT_EXT-settle-IPFV-REM.3SGS wind big=NOM
 g-o-ngk-am-än pädoe-nen=de kämag ma=alle
 REM-RT_EXT-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGS blow-I.PL=ACC west_wind place=ABL
 ‘One evening, when the sun had set and darkness had settled, a big wind started to blow from the West.’
- (5) *Ttängäm a säremang abal gogän.*
 ttängäm=a särem=ang abal g-o-g-än
 village=NOM darkness=ATR very REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘The village became very dark.’

- (6) *Ause da bo llig kälsre da ngänaeka de gongkamän.*
 ause=da=bo llig kälsre=da ngänaeka=de
 old_woman=CL_POSS.KIN=3SG.POSS boy small=NOM cry=ACC
 g-o-ngk-am-än
 REM-RT_EXT-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGS
 ‘The old woman’s little boy started to cry.’
- (7) *Ause da känyerkänyer däganän.*
 ause=da känyär~känyär d-ä-ga-n-än
 old_woman=NOM ADV~soothe REM-3NDUP-AUX.3SGP-IPFV-REM.3SGA
 ‘The old woman soothed him.’
- (8) *Ause da bogo daeya llig eka täp me gognän a ine ulle da bogo ade gongällbänmällnän a tater ingoll ngädnannägdnan deyarnän.*
 ause=da bogo da=eya llig eka
 old_woman=NOM 3SG.NOM MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG boy speak
 täp=me g-o-g-n-än a ine ulle=da
 interrupt=LOC REM-RT_EXT-AUX-IPFV-REM.3SGS and water big=NOM
 bogo ade g-o-ngällb-än-mäll-n-än a tater=ingoll
 3SG.NOM also REM-RT_EXT-rise-II.NPL-PL-IPFV-REM.3SGS and mat=like
 ngädnan~ngäd-nan d-ey-a-r-n-än
 ADV~roll-I.PL REM-VEN-RT_EXT-go-IPFV-REM.3SGS
 ‘The old woman was interrupting the boy when a big wave rose up and
 came rolling in like a mat.’
- (9) *Oblle ddone abal mulldae gogän dinduma ngalen a adawatta däbe daeya bem ulle amne me kui daeya.*
 oblle ddone abal mulldae g-o-g-än dindu=ma
 3SG.DAT NEG very able REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS run=NMLZ
 ngalen=a adawatta däbe da=eya bem ulle amne=me
 way=NOM because that MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG sea big center=LOC
 kui da=eya
 island MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
 ‘She didn’t have any way to run because this island was in the center of
 the sea.’

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- (10) *Ine da angde kui de mänddmändd dängkamän, ause da llig kälsre de käg mamon att e däzanän a dainttemänggän.*
 ine=da angde kui=de mänddmändd
 water=NOM when island=ACC INF~drown
 d-ä-ngk-am-än ause=da llig kälsre=de
 REM-3NDUP-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGA old_woman=NOM boy small=ACC
 käg mamon=att=e d-ä-zan-än a
 container shape=PP=ALL REM-3NDUP-put_in-REM.3SGA and
 d-a-inttem-ängg-än
 REM-RT_EXT-leave_someone-III.NPL-REM.3SGA
 ‘When the water began to drown the island, the old woman put the small boy in a shaped container and left him to float.’
- (11) *Ause da kollba we gopnaeyän a ine ik mi ikopmeny gogän.*
 ause=da kollba=we g-o-pnae-yän a ine
 old_woman=NOM fish=ALL REM-RT_EXT-turn-REM.3SGS and water
 ik=mi ikop=meny g-o-g-än
 inside=LOC see=PRIV REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘The old woman turned into a fish and disappeared into the water.’
- (12) *Llig kälsre de ine da enanae dae dätramän do ddob llayaba pate dängttägän.*
 llig kälsre=de ine=da enanae=dae
 boy small=ACC water=NOM straight=PERL
 d-ä-tr-am-än do ddob lla=yaba=pate
 REM-3NDUP-lead-IV.NPL-REM.3SGA there some person=3NSG.POSS=AN.ALL
 d-ä-ngttä-g-än
 REM-3NDUP-bring-III.NPL-REM.3SGA
 ‘The water carried the small boy straight through and he arrived near some people.’
- (13) *Ttongo lligmeny mik da oblle damändän a obo patme ulle gogän.*
 ttongo llig=meny mik=da oblle d-a-mänd-än
 one child=PRIV widow=NOM 3SG.DAT REM-RT_EXT-raise-REM.3SGA
 a obo=patme ulle g-o-g-än
 and 3SG.POSS=AN.LOC big REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘A childless widow raised him and under her he became big.’

- (14) *Ge llig a eraeya ddobae mängallang daeya ako ddobae melem ngasngesang daeya ada ai lla ulle a tupi daeya.*

ge llig=a era=eya ddobae mängall=ang
this boy=NOM which=COP.PST.SG very strength=ATR
da=eya aka ddobae melem ngas~nges=ang
MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG also very work INF~do=ATR
da=eya ada ai lla ulle a tupi
MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG like_this good man big and tall
da=eya
MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG

‘This boy was really very strong and a good worker. He was good, big, and tall.’

- (15) *Ge llig a dedme gunziwän obo mälla da tämamae apte ttang llipit.*

ge llig=a ded=me g-u-nzi-wän obo
this boy=NOM there=LOC REM-RT_EXT-settle-REM.3SGS 3SG.POSS
mälla=da tämamae apte ttang llipit
wife=NOM all one_side hand digit

‘This boy immigrated there and his wives numbered five.’

L *Bandra bebi bälle* – Sago lullaby

Song summary



Figure L.1: An infant sleeping in a *ddäma* ‘baby basket,’ a basket that can be hung to rock on a house post or suspended from someone’s forehead

Bandra bebi bälle, literally ‘A song for a baby,’ is a lullaby sung to help babies go to sleep. In the song, the baby is asked not to cry and to fall asleep, reassured that their mother is nearby squeezing sago (see Figure 1.42). The word *bebi* can be replaced with the baby’s name. Notably, this song contains all three vocative clitics =*a*, =*e*, and =*o*, which are lengthened to carry the melody. This lullaby was contributed by Sam Karao in 2016. You can listen to S. Karao singing this song in the Ende language corpus (Karao 2016a).

Song text

Bebi e: ngänaeka da mudan e:
Yae sana de bäkämän e:
Wotar o:, wotar o:, a:
Bebi e: ngänaeka da mudan e:
Yae sana de bäkämän e:
Wotar o:, wotar o: a:

Glossed text

- (1) *Bebi e: ngänaeka da mudan e:*
bebi¹=e ngänaeka=da muda=n=e
baby=VOC cry=NOM PROHIB=COP.PRS.SG=VOC
'Baby, don't cry.'
- (2) *Yae sana de bäkämän e:*
yae sana=de b-ä-käm-än=e
mother sago=ACC FUT.3A-3NDUP-squeeze-FUT.3SGA=VOC
'Mother is squeezing sago.'
- (3) *Wotar o:, wotar o:, a:*
w-otar=o w-otar=o=a
FUT.2S-sleep=VOC FUT.2S-sleep=VOC=VOC
'Go to sleep, go to sleep.'

¹from English *baby*

Part V

Tales of misbehavior and consequence

M *Bundae bo pepeb* – The tale of Bundae

Introduction

This text called *Bundae bo pepeb* ‘Bundae’s story,’ is a parable that was written down by Jerry (Jeks) Dareda and illustrated by Warama Kurupel (Suwede) in 2016 for inclusion in a collection of children’s stories called *Pepeb peba* ‘Story-book’ (Johnson et al. 2016b). After it was written down, the text was edited by T. Warama, W. Kurupel and K. Lindsey for standardization in spelling and punctuation (Dareda 2016a). Later, C. Scanlon recorded J. Dareda reading the written version out loud (Dareda 2016b) and retelling the story from memory (Dareda 2016c).

Summary and background

Bundae bo pepeb is a parable about a mythical man named Bundae. Bundae – literally: ‘only a head’ – lives deep in the forest and has a distinctively large head. In this story, some rowdy children encounter Bundae in the forest while hunting for birds. Bundae is sleeping and the children decide to crawl into his cavernous nostrils to clean and cook their birds. When Bundae awakes to find his nostrils full of debris, he plans to trick the children next time they invade his personal space. The next day, when the children crawl back into his nose to make a mess, Bundae sneezes them out, beats them, and sends them crying home to their parents. Some examples of the types of birds found in the area can be seen in Figures 1.21–1.29.

Although Bundae is not a giant *per se* – only his head is large – there are folk stories about giants in the Ende community and in the region (including in Idi p.c. Dineke Schokkin). For instance, there are Ende stories about one man, who was 12 feet tall and would carry an axe or *buitubuitu* ‘round stone axe’. If he killed a woman, he would say it was a cassowary. If he killed a man, he would say it was a pig. He had huge armbands (see Figure 1.43) and would put them on

his aggressors. If they were loose, he would say, you are too weak to fight me. He was allegedly from *Minkudd*, which is an origin place or *mitma*. The origin place of the Ende tribe is said to be *Dumoll*, while *Minkudd* is the origin of the Idi, Agob, Taeme, and Gundme tribes (p.c. Nugan Paal Gurel.)

One structure of note in this text is nonsingular reduplication. Typically, nominals are unmarked for number. For example, in Line 7 the nominals *llig* ‘boy’, *bägäl* ‘bow’ and *täbäll* ‘arrow’ are identical in form in singular contexts, although the context here is plural: ‘the boys got their bows and arrows.’ However, a subclass of modifiers – adjectives – reduplicate in nonsingular conditions (cf. *ulle* ‘big [head]’ and *ulleulle* ‘big [nostrils]’ in Lines 3 and 4 or *kälsre* ‘small [body]’ and *kälekäle* ‘small [boys]’ in Lines 5 and 6). A subclass of nominals – kinship nouns – also undergo nonsingular reduplication (cf. *nag* ‘friend’ and *nagnag* ‘friends’).

Parallel text

Ttongo täräp me, ttongo lla da dagirnän. Obo bin a Bundae. Obo bun a ulle abal daeya. Mälläng ik a ulleulle abal dagaeya. Lla zazer ma mälläll be pätt a kälsre.

Ttongo täräp me, llig kälekäle da gotbanegän pa koenmäll e. Llig a oba bägäl a täbäll a dänglläbeyo ada go-gnegän pa koenmäll e dageya, emae-mae pa de dägäddaebeyo. Käsre ada gognegän. Bundae bom ikop dägaeyo, bogo gotarnän pollon me. Angde ikop dägaeyo, llig a gotbanegän obo mälläng ik e zazer e. Käsre mälläng ik e gozerän a do yu de deyaudehyo. Pa de yu dägayaebneyo. Dompa de ade däpoaemneyo, totot dägaeyo obo mälläng ik de. Bundae bogo inu kuddäll, angde oba ttoen a gottamänän.

Käsre llig a gogezän, llamäg a nga inu kuddäll daeya. Angde llamäg a gon-

Once upon a time, there lived a man named Bundae. He had an enormous head and nostrils so big a man could fit inside. But his body was small.

One day, some young boys got together to go bird hunting. The boys got their bows and arrows and set off. They went and killed many different types of birds. Then they came across Bundae. They saw him sleeping in a small bush. They came up to him and planned to go inside his nose. They went inside his nose and started a fire inside. They cooked the birds on the fire. They sharpened their *dompa* arrows and made a big mess. Bundae was still fast asleep when all this finished.

The boys exited his nose while the old man slept. All of a sudden, the

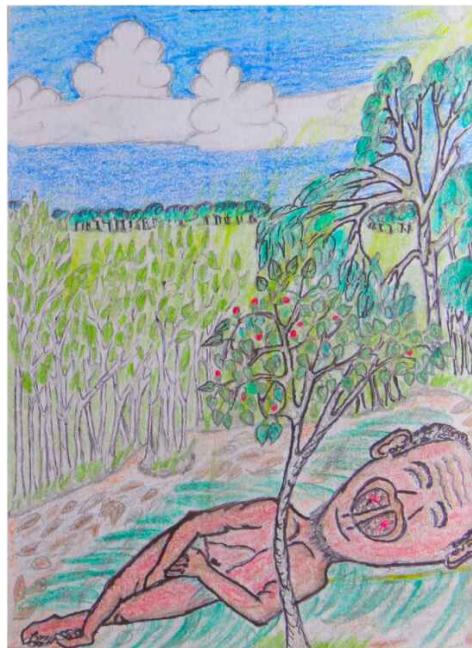


Figure M.1: Bundae asleep

sämänggän ada mälläng a nongonon-gorang agan, käsre ansi gogon. Tämamae emaemaet tot a gogezän ada, pa kom a yu ttätta da a emaemaet tot da gogezän. Bundae ddobae ddobae mikutt gogon, ada eka gogon, "Abo kä-naebag ingäsmäll."

Bundae gotarän ag me dallän. Däba ddägattalle gotarän, käsre llig a oba bágäl a täbäll a dänglläbeyo. Dagaeya pa koenmäll e. Llig a emaemaet pa de dägäddaebeyo, käsre ada gognegän doweae Bundae bälle yagyagang, bogo däba ngättma meae kuki we de inu kud-däll gogon.

Llig a käsre ada gognegän, ada, Bundae inu dan. Käsre gozerän Bundae bo

old man felt that his nose was itchy and he sneezed! All of the rubbish – bird feathers, burned wood, shavings – flew out of his nose. Bundae was incredibly angry and said, “You come back tomorrow!”

Bundae slept until the next morning. The boys then gathered their bows and arrows and set off to hunt birds. The boys killed all kinds of birds before they went to find Bundae again. He was in the same place and pretending to be asleep.

The boys thought that Bundae was sleeping. So they went inside his nose,

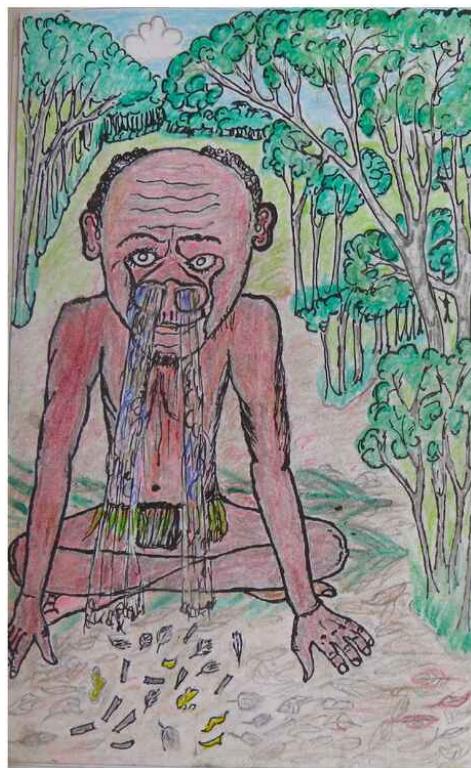


Figure M.2: Bundae sneezes out the boys' mess

mälläng ik e, käsre yu daudeyo, pa kom de dapädrelleyo. Angde Bundae gonsre-beon, käsre ansi gogon, llig dae pädrallag gogon. Käsre papa de dängkaem-negän a ada dägnegän, "Ge bina ma daeya? Ede bibi ngämo mälläng ik e zarnen amalla."

Käsre llig a ngänangänong ma we dängäsmällän. Llig a ddone ako dängäs-mällän Bundae pate.

started a fire, and began to pluck the birds' feathers. Bundae got ready and sneezed all the boys out onto the ground. Then he started to hit them and said, "Did you think this was your house? That you could just come inside my nose?"

The boys returned home crying and they never returned to Bundae again.

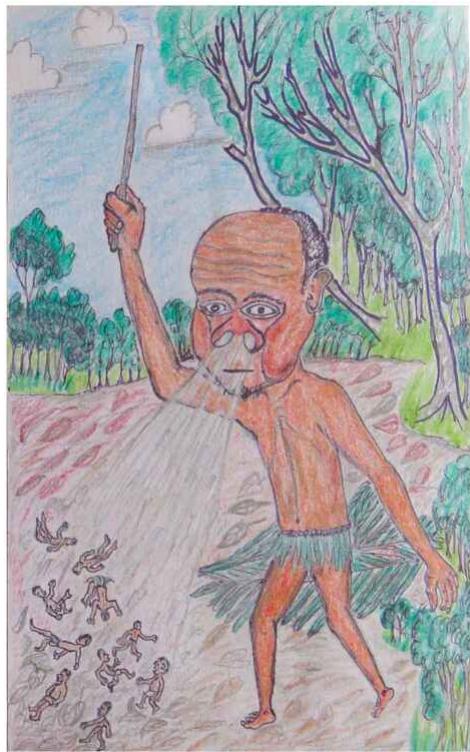


Figure M.3: Bundae reprimands the young boys

Glossed text

- (1) *Ttongo täräp me, ttongo lla da dagirnän.*
ttongo täräp=me ttongo lla=da d-a-gir-n-än
one time=LOC one man=NOM REM-RT_EXT-stay-IPFV-REM.3SGS
'Once upon a time, there lived a man.'
- (2) *Obo bin a Bundae.*
obo bin=a Bundae
3SG.POSS name=NOM PN
'His name is Bundae.'
- (3) *Obo bun a ulle abal daeya.*
obo bun=a ulle abal da=eya
3SG.POSS head=NOM big very MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
'His head was very big.'

- (4) *Mälläng ik a ulleulle abal dagaeya.*
 mälläng ik=a ulle~ulle abal da=gaeya
 nose inside=NOM NSG~big very MED.DEM=COP.PST.PL
 'His nostrils were very big.'
- (5) *Lla zazer ma mälläll be pätt a kälsre.*
 lla za~zer ma mälläll be pätt=a kälsre
 man INF~enter house size but body=NOM small
 'A man could fit inside, but his body was small.'
- (6) *Ttongo täräp me, llig kälekäle da gotbanegän pa koenmäll e.*
 ttongo täräp=me llig käle~käle=da g-o-tba-neg-än
 one time=LOC boy NSG~small=NOM REM-RT_EXT-plan-3PLS-REM.3PLS
 pa koenmäll=e
 bird chase=ALL
 'One time, little boys planned to chase birds.'
- (7) *Llig a oba bágäl a täbäll a dänglläbeyo ada gognegän pa koenmäll e dageya, emaema pa de dägäddaebeyo.*
 llig=a oba bágäl=a täbäll=a
 boy=NOM 3NSG.POSS bow=ACC.CONJ arrow=ACC.CONJ
 d-ä-nglläb-eyo ada g-o-g-neg-än
 REM-3NDUP-get-REM.3NSGA like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-3PLS-REM.3PLS
 pa koenmäll=e da=geya emaema pa=de
 bird chase=ALL MED.DEM=COP.PST.PL many_different_kinds bird=ACC
 d-ä-gädd-aeb-eyo
 REM-3NDUP-kill-NSG>PL-REM.3NSGA
 'The boys got their bows and arrows and went to chase birds. They went and killed many different types of birds.'
- (8) *Käsre ada gognegän.*
 käsre ada g-o-g-neg-än
 then like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-3PLS-REM.3PLS
 'Then they went like this.'
- (9) *Bundae bom ikop dägaeyo, bogo gotarnän pollon me.*
 Bundae=bom ikop d-ä-ga-eyo bogo
 PN=3SG.ACC see REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3NSGA 3SG.NOM
 g-o-tar-n-än pollon=me
 REM-RT_EXT-sleep-IPFV-REM.3SGS bush=LOC
 'They saw Bundae, he was sleeping in a small bush.'

- (10) *Angde ikop dägaeyo, llig a gotbanegän obo mälläng ik e zazer e.*
 angde ikop d-ä-ga-eyo llig=a
 when see REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3NSGA boy=NOM
 g-o-tba-neg-än obo mälläng ik=e
 REM-RT_EXT-plan-3PLS-REM.3PLS 3SG.POSS nose inside=ALL
 za~zer=e
 INF~enter=ALL
 ‘When they saw him, the boys planned to go inside his nose.’
- (11) *Käsre mälläng ik e gozerän a do yu de deyaudeyo.*
 käsre mälläng ik=e g-o-zer-än a do
 then nose inside=ALL REM-RT_EXT-enter-REM.3PLS and there
 yu=de d-ey-a-ud-eyo
 fire=ACC REM-VEN-RT_EXT-light_fire-REM.3NSGA
 ‘Then they entered his nostril and lit a fire there.’
- (12) *Pa de yu dägayaebneyo.*
 pa=de yu d-ä-ga-yaeb-n-eyo
 bird=ACC fire REM-3NDUP-AUX-NSG>PL-IPFV-REM.3NSGA
 ‘They cooked the birds.’
- (13) *Dompa de ade däpoaemneyo, totot dägaeyo obo mälläng ik de.*
 dompa=de ade d-ä-po-aem-n-eyo
 arrow_type=ACC also REM-3NDUP-sharpen-NSG>PL-IPFV-REM.3NSGA
 to~tot d-ä-ga-eyo obo mälläng ik=de
 NSG~rubbish REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3NSGA 3SG.POSS nose inside=ACC
 ‘They sharpened their arrows and trashed his nostrils.’
- (14) *Bundae bogo inu kuddäll, angde oba ttoen a gottamänän.*
 Bundae bogo inu kuddäll angde oba ttoen=a
 PN 3SG.NOM sleep dead when 3NSG.POSS way=NOM
 g-o-ttam-än-än
 REM-RT_EXT-finish-II.NPL-REM.3SGS
 ‘Bundae was still fast asleep when they finished.’
- (15) *Käsre llig a gogezän, llämäg a nga inu kuddäll daeya.*
 käsre llig=a g-o-gez-än llämäg=a nga
 then boy=NOM REM-RT_EXT-come_out-REM.3PLS old_man=NOM IM_FUT

inu kuddäll da=eya

sleep dead MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG

‘Then the boys came out and the old man was still fast asleep.’

- (16) *Angde llämäg a gonsämängän ada mälläng a nonganongorang agan, käsre ansi gogon.*

angde llämäg=a g-o-nsäm-ängg-än ada

when old_man=NOM REM-RT_EXT-feel-III.NPL-REM.3SGS like_this

mälläng=a nonganongor=ang a-g-an käsre ansi

nose=NOM itchy=ATR REC-AUX-REC.3SGS then sneeze

g-o-g-on

REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS

‘When the old man felt that his nose was itchy, he sneezed.’

- (17) *Tämamae emaemae tot a gogezän ada, pa kom a yu ttätta da a emaemae tot da gogezän.*

tämamae emaemae tot=a

all many_different_kinds rubbish=NOM

g-o-gez-än ada pa kom=a yu

REM-RT_EXT-come_out-REM.3PLS like_this bird feather=NOM fire

ttätta=da a emaemae tot=da

burned_wood=NOM and many_different_kinds rubbish=NOM

g-o-gez-än

REM-RT_EXT-come_out-REM.3PLS

‘All kinds of rubbish came out: bird feathers, burned wood, and all other kinds of rubbish.’

- (18) *Bundae ddobae ddobae mikutt gogon, ada eka gogon, “Abo känaebag ingäsmäll.”*

Bundae ddobae ddobae mikutt g-o-g-on ada

PN very very anger REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS like_this

eka g-o-g-on abo känaebag i-ngäsmäll

speak REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS NEC tomorrow VEN-return

‘Bundae was very, very angry and said, “They’ll be back tomorrow.”’

- (19) *Bundae gotarän ag me dallän.*

Bundae g-otarän ag=me d-a-ll-än

PN REM-sleep-REM.3SGS morning=LOC REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS

‘Bundae went back to sleep in the morning.’

- (20) *Däba ddägattalle gotarän, käsre llig a oba bágäl a täbäll a dänglläbeyo.*
 däba ddäg=att=alle g-otar-än käsre llig=a oba
 that back=ABL=ABL REM-sleep-REM.3SGS then boy=NOM 3NSG.POSS
 bágäl=a täbäll=a d-ä-nelläb-eyo
 bow=ACC.CONJ arrow=ACC.CONJ REM-3NDUP-get-REM.3NSGA
 ‘After he fell asleep, the boys got their bows and arrows.’
- (21) *Dagaeya pa koenmäll e.*
 da=gaeya pa koenmäll=e
 MED.DEM=COP.PST.PL bird chase=ALL
 ‘They went to hunt birds.’
- (22) *Llig a emaema pa de däggäddaebeeyo, käsre ada gognegän doweae Bundae bälle yagyagang, bogo däba ngättma meae kuki we de inu kuddäll gogon.*
 llig=a emaema pa=de
 boy=NOM many_different_kinds bird=ACC
 d-ä-gädd-aeb-eyo käsre ada
 REM-3NDUP-kill-NSG>PL-REM.3NSGA then like_this
 g-o-g-neg-än doweae Bundae=bälle yag~yag=ang
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-3PLS-REM.3PLS straight PN=3SG.DAT INF~search=ATR
 bogo däba ngättma=me=ae kuki=we=de inu kuddäll
 3SG.NOM that place=LOC=RST deceive=ALL=ACC sleep dead
 g-o-g-on
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘The boys killed all kinds of different birds, then they went to look for
 Bundae. He was there in that place pretending to be fast asleep.’
- (23) *Llig a käsre ada gognegän, ada, Bundae inu dan.*
 llig=a käsre ada g-o-g-neg-än ada
 boy=NOM then like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-3PLS-REM.3PLS like_this
 Bundae inu da=n
 PN asleep MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 ‘Then the boys went like this, like “Bundae is asleep.”’
- (24) *Käsre gozerän Bundae bo mälläng ik e, käsre yu daudeyo, pa kom de dapäädrelleyo.*
 käsre g-o-zer-än Bundae=bo mälläng ik=e
 then REM-RT_EXT-enter-REM.3PLS PN=3SG.POSS nose inside=ALL

- käsre yu d-a-ude-eyo pa kom=de
then fire REM-RT_EXT-light_fire-REM.3NSGA bird feather=ACC
d-a-pädrall-eyo
REM-RT_EXT-spread-REM.3NSGA
'They went in to Bundae's nostril, started a fire, and spread bird feathers everywhere.'
- (25) *Angde Bundae gonsrebeon, käsre ansi gogon, llig dae pädrallag gogon.*
angde Bundae g-o-nserbe-on käsre ansi
when PN REM-RT_EXT-prepare-REM.3SGS then sneeze
g-o-g-on llig=dae pädrall=ag
REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS boy=RST spread=ATR
g-o-g-on
REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
'When Bundae was ready, he sneezed and scattered the boys.'
- (26) *Käsre papa de dängkaemnegän a ada dägnegän, "Ge bina ma daeya?*
käsre papa=de d-ä-ngk-aem-neg-än a ada
then hit=ACC REM-3NDUP-start-IV.PL-SG>PL-REM.3SGA and like_this
d-ä-g-neg-än ge bina ma
REM-3NDUP-AUX-SG>PL-REM.3SGA this 2NSG.POSS house
da=eya
MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
'Then he started to hit them and went like this, "Is this your house?'
- (27) *Ede bibi ngämo mälläng ik e zarnen amalla.*
ede bibi ngämo mälläng ik=e zar-nen=amalla
so 2NSG.NOM 1SG.POSS nose inside=ALL enter-II.PL=AUX.PRS.2PLS
'So you're going inside my nostrils.'
- (28) *Käsre llig a ngänangänong ma we dängäsmällän.*
käsre llig=a ngäna~ngäna=ong ma=we
then boy=NOM ADV~cry=ATR house=ALL
d-ä-ngäs-mäll-än
REM-RT_EXT-return-PL-REM.3PLS
'Then the boys returned home crying.'

- (29) *Llig a ddone ako dängäsmällän Bundae pate.*
llig=a ddone ako d-ä-ngäs-mäll-än Bundae=pate
boy=NOM NEG again REM-RT_EXT-return-PL-REM.3PLS PN=AN.ALL
'The boys never went back to Bundae.'

N Ause Ur – Children’s song

Song summary



Figure N.1: Kidarga Nakllae[†], son of *Ause Ur* and Jerry (Jeks) Dareda, father of Samuel Jerry sitting in front of K. Nakllae's[†] house.

The song *Ause Ur* is a children’s song about an old woman named Ur, the mother of Kidarga Nakllae[†], who was, at the time of recording, one of the oldest men in the village. In the song, the child asks Ur for her last cigarette, and Ur’s response seems to indicate that she was a generous figure in the village. Tobacco is grown in the village, and generosity is common, but I did not personally observe any children smoking while I lived there. In the text, we can observe some instances of the benefactive *ngämlle* ‘for me’ (Line 2), the malefactive *ngämlle* ‘on me’ (Line 3), ablative possession *bänene* ‘that which used to be yours, or came from you’ (Line 4), and associated motion *yazgi* ‘wrap and bring’ (Line 2). This song was contributed by Samuel Jerry, the son of J. Dareda and neighbor to K. Nakllae[†]. You can hear S. Jerry sing this song in the Ende language corpus (Jerry 2016).

Song text

*Ause Ur, Ause Ur
 Ngämlle a sokpa de yazgi a, yazgi a
 O ngämo llig a ngämlle sokpa da ddone dan.
 Ai dan a, bänene yazgi a.
 Ause Ur, Ause Ur
 Ngämlle a sokpa de yazgi a, yazgi a,
 O ngämo llig a ngämlle sokpa da ddone dan.
 Ai dan a, bänene yazgi a.*

Glossed text

- (1) *Ause Ur, Ause Ur*
 ause Ur ause Ur
 old_woman PN old_woman PN
 'Old lady Ur, Old lady Ur [Old man Kidarga's mother]'
- (2) *Ngämlle a sokpa de yazgi a*
 ngämlle=a sokpa=de y-a-zgi=a
 1SG.DAT=VOC cigarette=ACC VEN-RT_EXT-wrap_up=VOC
 'Wrap a cigarette and bring it to me.'
- (3) *O ngämo llig a ngämlle sokpa da ddone dan.*
 o ngämo llig=a ngämlle sokpa=da ddone da=n
 oh 1SG.POSS boy=VOC 1SG.DAT tobacco=NOM NEG MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 'Oh, my child, I don't have any tobacco.'
- (4) *Ai dan a, bänene yazgi a.*
 ai da=n=a bänene
 good MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG=VOC 2SG.ABL_POSS
 y-a-zgi=a
 VEN-RT_EXT-wrap_up=VOC
 'That's okay, wrap me yours.'

O *Yu ingong* – Fire dance

Introduction

The *Yu ingong* ‘Fire dance’ story was originally told by Wagiba Geser in August 2016 while the Ende Language Committee was gathering stories for an Old Ways book (Johnson et al. 2016a) to have at the local elementary school (Geser 2016a). This recording was transcribed, translated, and edited into a written version for the storybook (Geser 2016b). After it was written down, Sam Karao and T. Warama read the text out loud for the corpus (Karao 2016b, Warama 2016k). Andrew Kaoga (Dobola) illustrated the version in the Old Ways book, and those illustrations are included here as well.

Summary and background

The *Yu ingong* ‘fire dance’ story is a parable about two older couples. The two men – Piasorosoro and an unnamed man – go into the middle of the garden while their wives set the garden ablaze. The men dance and play a drum. One man leaves the fire unscathed, but his friend, who copies him, is not. The moral of this story is not to imitate other people. In some versions of the story (including the main text below), Piasorosoro is the name of the man who was saved, and in some versions (including the song below), Piasorosoro is the name of the man who was burned.

This story mentions the *alläp* ‘kundu drum’, *pite* ‘grass skirt’, and *banggu* ‘headdress.’ Figures 1.43 and 1.44 show Sali Goge (Wik) and other dancers pictured wearing traditional cassowary feather headdresses, armbands, leg bands, and traditional grass skirts. They have also decorated their skin with white clay. Figure 1.45 shows Warani Pewe[†] carrying a *Kundu* drum, with singers and dancers in the background.

One unique term used in *Yu ingong* ‘Fire Dance’ is *omad*, which signifies a close relationship between two women who went through initiation together (see Line 45). *Omad* is one of many friendship and kinship terms that form a special class of words in Ende. One unique property of kinship terms is that they

have nonsingular forms, formed via reduplication, a property shared only with adjectives and some rare nouns.

Friendship is a common theme in Ende stories, as Ende people tend to move around the village and surrounding areas in pairs or groups for safety and company. When two friends want to signal an escalation in their friendship, they can choose between a number of special friendship terms that they will then use to call one another. One such term is *nadum*, which is used to call anyone with whom you share a name. Giving someone one of your names is an honor. Friendship is depicted in almost every story in this collection.

Parallel text

Ttongo lla bo bin a Piasorosoro, obo mällada walle deyagirneyo ttongo ttängäm me. Piasorosoro ada eka gogon, "Ibi goeg tatäräp e." Mälla da ada gogon, "Ai da, ibi beyareya goeg tatäräp e." Kumuddäga sande dagirnän däbe goeg a. Piasorosoro ada eka gogon, "Ibi sisri minyi goeg de baempononggeya." Mälla da ada eka gogon, "Ai dan."

Bogo gullbe da obo alläp a, banggu da, a pite da dänglläbän, däbe abo deyareyo ttängäm e. Bogo ttängäm amne we gozenän. Mälla ause bom ada eka dägagän, "Bongo polle ddäg me nagirne, ngäna do amne we balle." Ause da bom däntäbemenyän, "Abo bongo goeg de naemponomeny ada nättämän. Ngäna minyi do bozen, do pite bomätt, alläp eka bongkam." Alläp a eka gongkamän, "Dun... dun... dun... dun..." Mälla ause ada eka gogon, "Ngäna adame baemponongg." Käsre goeg de dängkamän. Mälla ause da dagirnän, dibaballe yu da goempononggän, goeg a dättämän. Kullkull a dalän llamda pate. Llamda ingong däng-

A man named Piasorosoro once lived with his wife in a village. Piasorosoro said, "Let's go to the garden to cut down trees." His wife said, "Okay, we will go to the garden to cut down trees." They let that new garden lay for three weeks to dry up. Then Piasorosoro said, "Let's burn the new garden now." His wife said, "All right."

Piasorosoro got his Kundu drum, casowary headdress, and grass skirt and went with his wife to the garden. He walked into the center of the garden and told his wife, "Stay outside of the fence. I will go into the center." He instructed his wife, "You must burn the garden until it is finished. I will enter, put on my grass skirt, and start playing my drum." The drum started playing, "Dun... dun... dun... dun...." The old woman said, "Now, I will burn it." Then she started to burn the garden. The old woman stayed nearby. From there, the fire started to burn and the garden was burnt. The grassfire was going towards the old man. The old

kamän, “Dun... dun... dun... dun....” ada dengnän, bandrobandrog, “Dun... dun... dun... dun... dun....” Kullkull a obom ddone dättämän, yu da gottamänän. “Llamda ae, bongo ai dan?” ause da ada eka gogon. “Aowo,” Piasorosoro, “Ngäna ai dan o.” Oba melem dättemäneyo a gongoseyo ma we.

man started to dance, “Dun... dun... dun... dun... dun...” He danced while singing, “Dun... dun... dun... dun... dun...” The grassfire did not burn him, and the fire finished. “Old man, are you all right?” the old woman asked. “Yes,” replied Piasorosoro. “I’m all right.” They finished their work and returned home.



Figure O.1: *Piasorosoro dancing in the flames*

Ttongo lla da era ikopikop dägagän, ada gogon, “Ngäna balle de amike kullkull de naempononggallo, ngäna ikop e balle.” Dallän ikop däddägnän, gongosän mälla da bom umllang dägagän. “Ibi ako goeg bäterpeya.” Däterpeyo.

Sande da kumuddäga goeg a didir gogon penengg e. Deyareyo penongg e. Llamda da obo ada pite da, alläp

Another man was watching and said, “I will go and find out who is burning the grassfire. I will go see.” He went and watched closely, returned home and told his wife, “Let’s go cut the gardens.” They cut the garden.

Three weeks later, the garden was dry to burn. They went to burn it. The old man took his grass skirt, kundu drum,

O Fire dance

a, banggu da däbe dokomän. “Mälla ause, bongo to da a yu bäng a.” Mälla ause bom umllang dägagän llamda ada, “Abo bongo yu de naemponongg, ngäna da amne we bozen a bagirne, bengne.” Ause da kästre kullkull de daemponomenyän tämamae.

Llamda da bogo daeya do gozenän, pite da, a banggu da gomättän. Al-läp, “Dun... dun...” gongkamän, “Dun... dun... dun... dun....” Dengnän do gogon gogon yu da dallän dallän llamda mäse dengnän. Kandärmang yu da daollemae llamda da bälle gazenma da ddone mullae gogon. Yu da daolle-mae pite we gogon, pite de ttäntäm dängkamän. Daolle obo pätt de tära dägagän dättemänän. Daolle abo aräre gogon ddone mullae gogon, obom abo yu da dättämän a kuddäll gogon. Mälla ause da ada, “Llamda alla o, zime yu da tärpa nägagan?”

and headdress. He said, “Old woman, you get the light and the fire-stick.” The old man told the old woman, “Set the garden on fire. I will go into the center and dance.” The old woman then started the grassfire.

The old man had gone in and put on his grass skirt and headdress. The drum started to sound, “Dun... dun... dun... dun... dun....” He danced and danced. The fire spread and spread. The old man tried to keep dancing. The fire got closer, and the poor old man was unable to escape. The fire caught on his grass skirt. It got to his body and finished him. He screamed because it seemed impossible. He got burned by the fire and died. The old woman said, “Old man, how are you? Has the fire already got him?”



Figure O.2: The old man succumbed to the flames

Ede bandra da gänyan: “Nag a... Piasorosoro bom yu a tärpa nägagan a ero

The song goes like this: “My friend Piasorosoro is burnt to ash by fire,

ke bina ke nga ero ikopikop gogaebne o.

Yu da amom dättämän, obo bin a bogo aenaeya Piasorosoro. Mälla da ada ingoll ngänaeka gogon, “Nag, Piasorosoro yu da tärpa nägagan.” Nagda olle gondärän, deyarän, mälla da alle ai omad dagwaeya. “Ende bibi ngänaeka eralla?” “Ai, Piasorosoro bom yu da tärpa nägagan, nga ero ikopikop gogaebne bina.” Ada ai dan käsre deyarän. Pa kom de dägawän ttälle alle do bun. Käsre opanen dängkamän. Adawalle Piasorosoro gonglläbänän, ada umllang dägagän, “Llamaene ttoen ttonenttonen, abo okbab.”

where was that, you say, where was it, you were looking at each other.”

The person who was burnt by the fire, his name was Piasorosoro. The wife cried out, “Friend, Piasorosoro got burnt to ashes by fire!” Her friend heard her calling and came over. These two were best friends. “What are you crying about?” “Oh, the fire got Piasorosoro after we saw you.” They said, okay, and went to him. He put bird feathers on from his head to his toes. Then he started to jump over him. After that, Piasorosoro got up, and he told him, “You must mind your own business.”

Glossed text

- (1) *Ttongo lla bo bin a Piasorosoro, obo mällada walle deyagirneyo ttongo ttängäm me.*
- ttongo lla=bo bin=a Piasorosoro obo
one man=3SG.POSS name=NOM PN 3SG.POSS
mälla=da=walle d-ey-a-gir-n-eyo ttongo
wife=CL_POSS.KIN=INCL REM-DUS-RT_EXT-live-IPFV-REM.3DUS one
ttängäm=me
village=LOC
- ‘There was a man named Piasorosoro, he lived with his wife in a village.’
- (2) *Piasorosoro ada eka gogon, “Ibi goeg tatäräp e.”*
- Piasorosoro ada eka g-o-g-on ibi
PN like_this speak REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS 1NSG.INCL.NOM
goeg ta~tärap=
garden INF~cut=ALL
- ‘Piasorosoro said, “Let’s go to the garden to cut down trees.”’

O Fire dance

- (3) *Mälla da ada gogon, "Ai da, ibi beyareya goeg tatäräp e."*
 mälla=da ada g-o-g-on ai
 woman=NOM like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS good
 da=0 ibi b-ey-a-r-eya
 MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG 1NSG.INCL.NOM FUT.1S-DUS-RT_EXT-go-FUT.1DUS
 goeg ta-täräp=e
 garden INF~cut=ALL
 'His wife said, "Okay, we will go to the garden to cut down trees."
- (4) *Kumuddäga sande dagirnän däbe goeg a.*
 kumuddäga sande¹ d-a-gir-n-än däbe goeg=a
 three week REM-RT_EXT-stay-IPFV-REM.3SGS that garden=NOM
 'The new garden laid for three weeks (to dry up.)'
- (5) *Piasorosoro ada eka gogon, "Ibi sisri minyi goeg de baempononggeya."*
 Piasorosoro ada eka g-o-g-on ibi
 PN like_this speak REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS 1NSG.INCL.NOM
 sisri minyi goeg=de b-a-empono-ngg-eya
 now FUT garden=ACC FUT.1A-RT_EXT-burn-III.NPL-FUT.NSGA
 'Piasorosoro said, "We will now burn the new garden."
- (6) *Mälla da ada eka gogon, "Ai dan."*
 mälla=da ada eka g-o-g-on ai
 woman=NOM like_this speak REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS good
 da=n
 MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 'His wife said, "All right."
- (7) *Bogo gullbe da obo alläp a, banggu da, a pite da dänglläbän, däbe abo deyareyo ttängäm e.*
 bogo gullbe=da obo alläp=a
 3SG.NOM husband=NOM 3SG.POSS kundu_drum=ACC.CONJ
 banggu=da a pite=da
 headdress=ACC.CONJ and grass_skirt=ACC.CONJ
 d-ä-nglläb-än däbe abo d-ey-a-r-eyo
 REM-3NDUP-get-REM.3SGA that then REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-REM.3DUS

¹from English *Sunday*

ttängäm=e
garden=ALL

‘The husband got his kundu drum, headdress, and grass skirt, so he got those and they went to the garden.’

- (8) *Bogo ttängäm amne we gozenän.*

bogo ttängäm amne=we g-o-z-en-än
3SG.NOM garden center=ALL REM-RT_EXT-enter-II.NPL-REM.3SGS
‘He entered the center of the garden.’

- (9) *Mälla ause bom ada eka dägagän*, “*Bongo polle ddäg me nagirne, ngäna do amne we balle.*”

mälla ause=bom ada eka d-ä-gag-än
woman old_woman=3SG.ACC like_this speak REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA
bongo polle ddäg=me n-a-gir-ne ngäna do
2SG.NOM fence outside=LOC FUT.2>3-RT_EXT-stay-IPFV 1SG.NOM there
amne=we b-a-lle
center=ALL FUT.1S-RT_EXT-go

‘He told the old woman, “Stay outside the fence, I will go into the center.”’

- (10) *Ause da bom däntäbemenyän*, “*Abo bongo goeg de naemponomeny ada nättemän.*

ause=da=bom d-ä-ntäbemeny-än abo
old_woman=CL_POSS.KIN=3SG.ACC REM-3NDUP-instruct-REM.3SGA NEC
bongo goeg=de n-a-empono-meney ada
2SG.NOM garden=ACC FUT.2>3-RT_EXT-burn-III.PL COMP
n-ä-ttem-än
FUT.2>3-3NDUP-finish-II.NPL

‘He instructed her, “You must burn the garden until you finish it.”’

- (11) *Ngäna minyi do bozen, do pite bomätt, alläp eka bongkam.*”

ngäna minyi do b-o-z-en do pite
1SG.NOM FUT there FUT.1S-RT_EXT-enter-II.NPL there grass_skirt
b-o-mätt alläp eka b-o-ngk-am
FUT.1S-RT_EXT-wear kundu_drum sound FUT.1S-RT_EXT-start-IV.NPL
‘I will enter, put on my grass skirt, and start playing my drum.’”

O Fire dance

- (12) *Alläp a eka gongkamän*, “Dun... dun... dun... dun....”
 alläp=a eka g-o-ngk-am-än
 kundu_drum=NOM sound REM-RT_EXT-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGS
 dun dun dun dun
 drum_sound drum_sound drum_sound drum_sound
 ‘The drum started playing, “Dun... dun... dun... dun....”’
- (13) *Mälla ause ada eka gogon*, “Ngäna adame baemponongg.”
 mälla ause ada eka g-o-g-on ngäna
 woman old_woman like_this speak REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS 1SG.NOM
 adame b-a-empono-ngg
 at_this_moment FUT.1A-RT_EXT-burn-III.NPL
 ‘The old woman said, “Now I will burn it.”’
- (14) *Käsre goeg de dängkamän*.
 käsre goeg=de d-ä-ngk-am-än
 then garden=ACC REM-3NDUP-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGA
 ‘Then she started to burn the garden.’
- (15) *Mälla ause da dagirnän, dibaballe yu da goempononggän, goeg a dättämän*.
 mälla ause=da d-a-gir-n-än dibaballe
 woman old_woman=NOM REM-RT_EXT-stay-IPFV-REM.3SGS afterwards
 yu=da g-o-empono-ngg-än goeg=a
 fire=NOM REM-RT_EXT-burn-III.NPL-REM.3SGS garden=NOM
 d-ä-ttäm-än
 REM-3NDUP-burn-REM.3SGA
 ‘The old woman stayed by; from then on the fire started to burn, the
 garden was burnt.’
- (16) *Kullkull a dallän llamda pate*.
 kullkull=a d-a-ll-än llamda=pate
 grassfire=NOM REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS old_man=AN.ALL
 ‘The grass fire was going towards the old man.’
- (17) *Llamda ingong dängkamän*, “Dun... dun... dun... dun....”
 llamda ingong d-ä-ngk-am-än dun
 old_man dance REM-3NDUP-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGA drum_sound
 dun dun dun
 drum_sound drum_sound drum_sound
 ‘The old man started to dance. “Dun, dun, dun, dun....”’

- (18) *ada dengän, bandrobandrog*, “Dun... dun... dun... dun... dun...”
 ada d-e-ng-n-än bandra~bandra=ag
 like_this REM-RT_EXT-dance-IPFV-REM.3SGS ADV~song=ATR
 dun dun dun dun dun
 drum_sound drum_sound drum_sound drum_sound drum_sound
 drum_sound
 ‘He danced while singing. *Dun, dun, dun, dun, dun...*’
- (19) *Kullkull a obom ddone dättämän, yu da gottamänän.*
 kullkull=a obom ddone d-ä-ttäm-än yu=da
 grassfire=NOM 3SG.ACC NEG REM-3NDUP-burn-REM.3SGA fire=NOM
 g-o-ttam-än-än
 REM-RT_EXT-finish-II.NPL-REM.3SGS
 ‘The grass fire did not burn him, the fire finished.’
- (20) “*Llamda ae, bongo ai dan?*”
 llamda=ae bongo ai da=n
 old_man=voc 2SG.NOM good MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 “Old man, are you all right?”
- (21) *Ause da ada eka gogon.*
 ause=da ada eka g-o-g-on
 old_woman=NOM like_this speak REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘the old woman asked.’
- (22) “*Aowo*,” *Piasorosoro*, “*Ngäna ai dan o.*”
 ao=wo Piasorosoro ngäna ai da=n=o
 yes=voc PN 1SG.NOM good MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG=voc
 “Yes,” replied Piasorosoro, “I’m all right.”
- (23) *Oba melem dättemäneyo a gongoseyo ma we.*
 oba melem d-ä-ttem-än-eyo a
 3NSG.POSS work REM-3NDUP-finish-II.NPL-REM.3NSGA and
 g-o-ngos-eyo ma=we
 REM-RT_EXT-return-REM.3DUS house=ALL
 ‘They finished their work and returned home.’

O Fire dance

- (24) *Ttongo lla da era ikopikop dägagän, ada gogon, “Ngäna balle de ami ke kullkull de naempononggallo, ngäna ikop e balle.”*
- ttongo lla=da era ikop~ikop d-ä-gag-än ada
 one man=NOM FOC ADV~look REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA like_this
 g-o-g-on de
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS 1SG.NOM FUT.1S-RT_EXT-go there
 ami de
 ke kullkull=de n-a-empono-ngg-allo
 who.NSG.NOM Q grassfire=ACC IRR.SGP-RT_EXT-burn-III.NPL-IRR.NSGA
 ngäna ikop=e b-a-lle
 1SG.NOM see=ALL FUT.1S-RT_EXT-go
 ‘Another man was watching and said, “I will go and find out who is
 burning the grass fire, I will go see.”’
- (25) *Dallän ikop däddägnän, gongosän mälla da bom umllang dägagän.*
- d-a-ll-än de
 REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS look REM-3NDUP-watch-IPFV-REM.3SGA
 g-o-ngos-än de
 REM-RT_EXT-return-REM.3SGS wife=CL_POSS.KIN=3SG.ACC tell
 d-ä-gag-än
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA
 ‘He went and watched closely, returned home, and told his wife,’
- (26) *Ibi ako goeg bäterpeya.*
- ibi de
 1NSG.INCL.NOM also garden FUT.1A-3NDUP-cut-FUT.NSGA
 ‘“Let’s go cut the gardens.”’
- (27) *Däterpeyo, sande da kumuddäga goeg a didir gogon penengg e.*
- d-ä-ter-peyo de
 REM-3NDUP-cut-REM.3NSGA week=NOM three de
 g-o-g-on de
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS set_on_fire-III.NPL=ALL
 ‘They cut the garden, three weeks later the garden was dry to burn.’
- (28) *Deyareyo penongg e.*
- d-ey-a-r-eyo de
 REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-REM.3DUS burn-III.NPL=ALL
 ‘They went to burn it.’

- (29) *Llamda da obo ada pite da, alläp a, banggu da däbe dokomän.*
 llamda=da obo ada pite=da
 old_man=NOM 3SG.POSS like_this grass_skirt=ACC.CONJ
 alläp=a banggu=da däbe
 kundu_drum=ACC.CONJ headdress=ACC.CONJ that
 d-o-kom-än
 REM-3NDUP-carry-REM.3SGA
 ‘The old man took his grass skirt, kundu drum, and headdress.’
- (30) “*Mälla ause, bongo to da a yu bäng a.*”
 mälla ause bongo to=da a yu bäng=a
 woman old_woman 2SG.NOM light=ACC.CONJ and fire firestick=ACC.CONJ
 “Old woman, you get the light and the fire-stick.”
- (31) *Mälla ause bom umllang dägagän llamda ada, “Abo bongo yu de naemponongg, ngäna da amne we bozen a bagirne, bengne.”*
 mälla ause=bom umllang d-ä-gag-än
 woman old_woman=3SG.ACC tell REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA
 llamda ada abo bongo yu=de n-a-empono-ngg
 old_man like_this NEC 2SG.NOM fire=ACC FUT.2>3-RT_EXT-burn-III.NPL
 ngäna da amne=we b-o-z-en a
 1SG.NOM if center=ALL FUT.1S-RT_ENTER-II.NPL and
 b-a-gir-ne b-e-ng-ne
 FUT.1S-RT_EXT-stay-IPFV FUT.1S-RT_EXT-dance-IPFV
 ‘The old man told the old woman, “You burn the fire, I will go into the center and stay and dance.”’
- (32) *Ause da kästre kullkull de daemponomenyän tämamae.*
 ause=da kästre kullkull=de d-a-empono-men-än
 old_woman=NOM then grassfire=ACC REM-RT_EXT-burn-III.PL-REM.3SGA
 tämamae
 all
 ‘The old woman then burned the whole grass fire.’
- (33) *Llamda da bogo daeya do gozenän, pite da, a banggu da gomättän.*
 llamda=da bogo da=eya do
 old_man=NOM 3SG.NOM MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG there
 g-o-z-en-än pite=da a
 REM-RT_EXT-enter-II.NPL-REM.3SGS grass_skirt=ACC.CONJ and

O Fire dance

banggu=da g-o-mätt-än
 headdress=ACC.CONJ REM-RT_EXT-wear-REM.3SGS
 ‘The old man had entered there, and put on his grass skirt and headdress.’

- (34) *Alläp*, “*Dun... dun...*” *gongkämän*, “*Dun... dun... dun... dun....*”
 alläp dun dun
 kundu_drum drum_sound drum_sound
 g-o-ngk-am-än dun dun
 REM-RT_EXT-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGS drum_sound drum_sound
 dun dun
 drum_sound drum_sound
 ‘Drum started to sound: *Dun, dun, dun, dun, dun, dun.*’
- (35) *Dengnän do gogon gogon yu da dallän dallän llamda mäse dengnän.*
 d-e-ng-n-än do g-o-g-on
 REM-RT_EXT-dance-IPFV-REM.3SGS there REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 g-o-g-on yu=da d-a-ll-än
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS fire=NOM REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS
 d-a-ll-än llamda mäse
 REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS old_man IMN
 d-e-ng-n-än
 REM-RT_EXT-dance-IPFV-REM.3SGS
 ‘He danced and danced, and the fire went and went, and the old man tried to dance.’
- (36) *Kandärmang yu da daollemæ llamda da bälle gazenma da ddone mullae gogon.*
 kandärmang yu=da da=olle=mae llamda=da=bälle
 unfortunate fire=NOM MED.DEM=ALL=PERL old_man=CL_POSS=3SG.DAT
 gaz-en=ma=da ddone mullae g-o-g-on
 come_out-II.NPL=NMLZ=NOM NEG able REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘Sadly, the fire got closer, the old man was unable to escape.’
- (37) *Yu da daollemæ pite we gogon, pite de ttänttäm dängkämän.*
 yu=da da=olle=mae pite=we
 fire=NOM MED.DEM=ALL=PERL grass_skirt=ALL
 g-o-g-on pite=de ttä~nttäm
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS grass_skirt=ACC INF~burn

d-ä-ngk-am-än

REM-3NDUP-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGA

‘The fire got to his grass skirt, it started to burn the grass skirt.’

- (38) *Daolle obo pätt de tära dägagän dättemänän.*
da=olle obo pätt=de tära d-ä-gag-än
MED.DEM=ALL 3SG.POSS body=ACC finish REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA
d-ä-ttem-än-än
REM-3NDUP-finish-II.NPL-REM.3SGA
‘It got to his body and finished him.’
- (39) *Daolle abo aräre gogon ddone mullae gogon, obom abo yu da dättämän a kuddäll gogon.*
da=olle abo aräre g-o-g-on ddone mullae
MED.DEM=ALL then scream REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS NEG able
g-o-g-on obom abo yu=da
REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS 3SG.ACC then fire=NOM
d-ä-ttäm-än a kuddäll g-o-g-on
REM-3NDUP-burn-REM.3SGA and dead REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
‘From there he screamed because it seemed impossible, then he got burnt by fire and died.’
- (40) *Mälla ause da ada, “Llamda alla o, zime yu da tärpa nägagan?”*
mälla ause=da ada llamda alla=o zime yu=da
woman old_woman=NOM like_this old_man how=VOC IAM fire=NOM
tärpa n-ä-gag-an
overcook REC.SGP-3NDUP-AUX-REC.3SGA
‘The old woman called out, “How is the old man? Has the fire burnt him already?”’
- (41) *Ede bandra da gänyan:*
ede bandra=da gänya=n
so song=NOM here=COP.PRS.SG
‘So this is the song:’
- (42) *“Nag a... Piasorosoro bom yu a tärpa nägagan a ero ke bina ke nga ero ikopikop gogaebne o.”*
nag=a Piasorosoro=bom yu=a tärpa
friend=NOM PN=3SG.ACC fire=NOM overcook

O Fire dance

n-ä-gag-an a ero ke bin-a ke nga ero
 REC.SGP-3NDUP-AUX-REC.3SGA and where Q 2NSG.POSS Q IM_FUT where
 ikop~ikop g-o-g-aeb-ne=o
 ADV~look REM-RT_EXT-AUX-PLS-IPFV=VOC
 “My friend Piasorosoro is burnt to ash by fire, where was that, you say,
 where was it, you were looking at each other.”

- (43) *Yu da amom dättämän, obo bin a bogo aenaeya Piasorosoro.*
 yu=da amom d-ä-ttäm-än obo bin=a
 fire=NOM who.SG.ACC REM-3NDUP-burn-REM.3SGA 3SG.POSS name=NOM
 bogo aen=aeya Piasorosoro
 3SG.NOM who.SG=COP.PST.SG PN
 ‘The person who was burnt by fire, his name was Piasorosoro.’
- (44) *Mälla da ada ingoll ngänaeka gogon, “Nag, Piasorosoro yu da tärpa nägagan.”*
 mälla=da ada=ingoll ngänaeka g-o-g-on nag
 wife=NOM like_this=like cry REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS friend
 Piasorosoro yu=da tärpa n-ä-gag-an
 PN fire=NOM overcook REC.SGP-3NDUP-AUX-REC.3SGA
 ‘The wife cried like this, “Friend, Piasorosoro got burnt to ashes by fire.”’
- (45) *Nagda olle gondärän, deyarän, mälla da alle ai omad dagwaeya.*
 nag=da olle g-o-ndär-än
 friend=CL_POSS.KIN shout REM-RT_EXT-hear-REM.3SGS
 d-ey-a-r-än mälla=da=alle ai
 REM-VEN-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGA woman=CL_POSS.KIN=INCL good
 omad da=gwaeya
 friend_type MED.DEM=COP.PST.DU
 ‘Her friend heard her calling and came over; with the woman they were
 good special friends.’
- (46) “*Ende bibi ngänaeka eralla?*”
 ende bibi ngänaeka=eralla
 what.ACC 2NSG.NOM cry=AUX.PRS.2NSG>3SG
 ““Why are you crying?””

- (47) “Ai, Piasorosoro bom yu da tärpa nägagan, nga ero ikopikop gogaebne bina.”
 ai Piasorosoro=bom yu=da tärpa n-ä-gag-an
 ah PN=3SG.ACC fire=NOM overcook REC.SGP-3NDUP-AUX-REC.3SGA
 nga ero ikop~ikop g-o-g-aeb-ne bina
 IM_FUT where ADV~look REM-RT_EXT-AUX-PLS-IPFV 2NSG.POSS
 ‘Yes, the fire got Piasorosoro from where he spied on you.’
- (48) *Ada ai dan käsre deyarän.*
 ada ai da=n käsre
 like_this good MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG then
 d-ey-a-r-än
 REM-VEN-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGA
 ‘Okay, then he went in.’
- (49) *Pa kom de dägawän ttälle alle do bun.*
 pa kom=de d-ä-ga-wän ttälle=alle do bun
 bird feather=ACC REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA leg=ABL there head
 ‘He put bird feathers from his legs to his head.’
- (50) *Käsre opanen dängkamän.*
 käsre opa-nen d-ä-ngk-am-än
 then cross-I.PL REM-3NDUP-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGA
 ‘Then he started to jump over [the fire].’
- (51) *Adawalle Piasorosoro gonglläbänän, ada umllang dägagän, “Llamaene ttoen ttonenttonen, abo okbab.”*
 adawalle Piasorosoro g-o-nglläbän-än ada umllang
 from_there PN REM-RT_EXT-rise-REM.3SGS like_this tell
 d-ä-gag-än llama=aene ttoen
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA other_people’s=3NSG.ABL_POSS way
 ttonen~tto-nen abo o-kb-ab
 ADV~collect-I.PL NEC FUT.2S-stop-IV.NPL
 ‘From there, Piasorosoro came up and said to them, “You must stop
 imitating other people.”’

P *Llabo ngasenga utamom* – Swamp work song

Song summary



Figure P.1: Young men punting a dinghy through the swamp near Parade (Coconut Island) in 2017

Ngasinga wutamu is a song that likely originated as a work song, sung while clearing the plants and mud from the canoe ways through the swamp waters to get from Limol to Parade (Coconut Island). This is an important passageway because it clears the route for children to access Upiara Secondary School and for those traveling up the Bituri River to reach the Fly River, which leads to many villages and towns, including the regional capital, Daru. Nowadays, this song has been set with choreography and is regularly performed by the Limol culture and dance group (see Figure 1.46). This song was contributed to the Ende language corpus in 2016 by Biku (Madura) Kangge[†], and you can hear him sing it in the archive (Kangge[†] 2016).

Song text

Llabo ngase nga utamom ngase nga uta Karama melem ttämänmeny dan.

Llimoll ngase nga utamom iba Parade llätt e bamllameya.

Llimoll ngase nga utamom iba Parade llätt e bamllameya.

Llabo ngase nga utamom ngase nga uta iba Karama melem ttämänmeny dan.

Llimoll ngase nga utamom Karama melem ttämänmeny dan.

Llabo ngase nga utamom ngase nga uta Karama melem ttämänmeny dan.

Llimoll ngase nga utamom Karama melem ttämänmeny dan.

Llimoll ngase nga utamom iba Karama melem ttämänmeny dan.

Llabo ngase nga utamom ngase nga uta Karama melem ttämänmeny dan.

Llimoll ngase nga utamom iba Karama melem ttämänmeny dan.

Llimoll ngase nga utamom iba Parade melem ttämänmeny dan.

Llabo ngase nga utamom ngase nga uta Karama melem ttämänmeny dan.

Llimoll ngase nga utamom iba Parade llätt e bamllameya.

Llimoll ngase nga utamom iba Parade llätt e bamllameya.

Glossed text

- (1) *Llabo ngase nga utamom ngase nga uta Karama melem ttämänmeny dan.*

lla=bo ngase nga uta=mom ngase nga uta
person=3SG.POSS HORT IM_FUT go.IMP-FUT.2PLS HORT IM_FUT go.IMP
Karama melem ttam-än=meny da=n
PN work finish-II.NPL=PRIV MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
'Let's go people, let's go, the swamp work isn't finished.'

- (2) *Llimoll ngase nga utamom iba Parade llätt e bamllameya.*

PN ngase nga uta=mom iba Parade llätt=e
PN HORT IM_FUT go.IMP-FUT.2PLS 1NSG.INCL.POSS PN stop=ALL
b-a-mll-am-eya
FUT.1A-RT_EXT-hold-IV.NPL-FUT.1NSGA
'Let's go Limol, let's get all the way to Parade [Coconut Island].'

Q *Gämällang komlla* – A tale of two thieves

Introduction

Gämällang komlla ‘A tale of two thieves’ or ‘Lobster and Frog’ is a parable originally written by Rose Warama in 2016 for the children’s storybook, *Pepeb peba* compiled by the Ende Language Committee (Johnson et al. 2016b). The story garnered so much laughter that we asked R. Warama to retell the story with an audience present (Warama 2016a). That version was transcribed, translated, and edited by W. Kurupel, T. Warama, and K. Lindsey to become Warama (2016b), the written version presented here. Both R. Warama and her brother T. Warama read the final written version out loud (Warama 2016j, Warama 2016c). Sokola Sowati (Kurupel) illustrated the original publication and her drawings are included here as well.

Summary and background

This story is a fable about two thieves – Frog and Lobster – who go out to *zanggae*, a word that means ‘to stroll’ or ‘saunter’, that is to wander around the village or bush without any aim and possibly get into trouble. When the two thieves came across a bountiful banana tree, laden with ripe fruit, they decided to climb the tree and steal the bananas. When the owner of the banana tree sees what has happened, he is angry and plans to catch the thieves the next morning. When Frog and Lobster return, the gardener is ready and asks the thieves who climbed the tree to knock the fruit. Frog and Lobster go back and forth – “Frog did!”, “Lobster did!” When the storyteller says this part, the phrase *Pollgo a* ‘Frog did’ is humorous because the words sound like a croaking frog. The two friends go back and forth until Frog admits to being the one that climbed the tree. The gardener chases them but only finds Lobster. This ending explains why humans eat lobster and why the two are not friends.

Stealing is looked down upon in Ende culture, especially because Ende people are very generous. When asked to define the word *moko* ‘love’, the Ende say that

moko is when you give me some food. When people talk about their loved ones, they describe them as *ttonggag* ‘giving, kind’. If someone does not have food or objects to give when seeing someone on the road, they will give them kind words instead.

Some relevant pictures include the local white-lipped tree frog (Figure 1.30), a bountiful banana tree (Figure 1.5), a communal garden fence (Figure 1.47), and a personal garden fence (Figure 1.48).

Parallel text

Komlla nag a gämällang a dadegwaeya ami gudae deyagirneyo walle ddage menae me. Oba bin a ubi dagwaeya, Pollgo a Guzi. Pollgo da täl ik mi giddollag daeya, be Guzi da ine ik mi.

Ttongo mer indrang ag me, ge komlla nag a gogezäneyo oba giddollma watta a ikop gogneyo adawede ka amom ikop bägaeya, be ddone amom ikop dägaeyo. Käsre ubi eka gontemenyeyo ada, “Ibi zanggae e wälläng e beyarnalla.” Angde deyareyo, wätät ttängäm e gongttägeyo. Misdae up daebeagaeya ibebatta.

Angde ikop gogeyo ttängäm ma ik i a gozen e, up de adade ikop dägaeyo, wo abal. Ubi komlla obaoba gongnoeyo ada, “Aya bängkälän?” Pollgo da ada eka gogon, “Abo ngänawa bängkäl.” Nagda Guzi ekaklle me gontmonän up wo gälbänanatt ttonen e nyäng e dazernän. Pollgo da abo gongetamän up toko atta a deyareyo oba giddollma we.

Imne ubi guinttemänggeyo oba ma we, be ngattong ubi eka gontemenyeyo ada,

There were once two friends – thieves – who lived on the side of a creek. Their names were Frog and Lobster. Frog lived inside a bamboo plant, but Lobster lived in the water.

One good bright morning, these two friends came out of their homes and looked around. “Who do we see?” But they saw no one. They discussed and said, “Let’s go stroll around the bush.” As they strolled, they arrived at a food garden. Only bananas were planted there.

When they looked inside the garden, they entered and saw bananas, very ripe ones. The two asked each other, “Who will climb?” Frog said, “It is I that must climb.” His friend Lobster waited on the ground and put the fallen ripe bananas into the bag. Then Frog came down from the top of the banana tree, and they went to their homes.

Afterwards, they parted ways to their own houses, but first they discussed,



Figure Q.1: Lobster and Frog stealing bananas

"Ibi minyi känazbag kame bongoseya ttängäm e up wo kakab ttamän e." Eka tameny att me, ubi guinttemänggeyo a oba ma we deyareyo.

Angde ubi oba ma we gogeyo, ttängäm zizag llamda da abo dedam dallän obo ttängäm ikop e. Polle ma ik i angde gozenän, up wo gälbenanatt de ikop dägagän a ddone kili gogon, "O-o-o, aya ngämo up de gämäll agnan? O-o-o."

Ttongo ag me, llamda da gudae dallän polle we gozenän a up golloll me got-golän a ikop su gognän känyertto ubira

"Tomorrow, we will return to that garden again to finish the leftover ripe bananas." After the discussion, they parted ways and went to their own homes.

When they got home, the owner of the garden went to see his garden. When he went inside the garden, he saw the fallen ripe bananas and he was not happy, "Oh! Who stole my bananas?"

The next morning, the old man went very early, entered the fence, and hid behind the banana tree. He quietly

Q A tale of two thieves



Figure Q.2: Lobster and frog at the banana tree.

ikop e ami obo up wo de gämäll alle däglebeyo. Angde llamda da togolag dagirnän, llayabaene eka nineyem de dandärän, bogo gonserbewän a mikutt a ada ulle gogon. Pollgo a nagda Guzi, ubi gongtägmällneyo deyareyo ttättlemae do up wo kakab a erame daeya. Angde ubi up wo pätt dowae e gogeyo, llamda da oba pate eraeranyang dipnurän, ada ekaekong, “A bibi gänyageyo ngämo up gämällang al!”

Ubi komlla misdae gopnaeyo a ngäsen-gäse dindugeyo, llo ttam didir ik i gotogoleyo. Llamda da ako säre olle deyagän oba pate ada, “Yareyo-o! Yareyo ngämo pate-o!” Käsre nag komlla da angde gondäreyo, kälepallemæ lel pe-yang deyareyo llamda da pate. Llamda da abo ubim ngonoenen de deyangkamän. Ngattong abal Pollgo bom dangnoeyän

peeked to see who would steal and take his ripe bananas. While the old man was hidden, he heard the two thieves whispering to each other. He prepared himself, and his temper rose. Frog and his friend Lobster were arriving, and they went straight to where the leftover ripe bananas were. When they got close to the ripe banana tree, the old man ran to them yelling and saying, “You were the ones who stole my bananas!”

Those two just turned around and ran to hide in some dried tree leaves. Then the old man called out to them, “Come out! Come to me!” When the poor friends heard, they slowly went towards the old man in fear. The man started to question those two. He asked Frog first, “Frog, who climbed?” Frog replied, “Lobster did.” Lobster



Figure Q.3: The gardener confronts the two thieves

ada, "Pollgo, aya nängkälan?" Pollgo da ada eka mu gogon, "Guzi a." Guzi ako ada gogon, "Pollgo a." Be Pollgo ada gogon, "Ddone ngänawa be Guzi a." Guzi ada gogon, "Ngäna ddone, be Pollgo a." Pollgo abo gonttamän, "Ao, ngänawa nängkälan."

Angde Pollgo da gonttamän, llamda da ddone ada mikutt gogon oba pate. Pollgo da nagda Guzi alle ddone ada dindugeyo lel me. Pollgo da gäbagäbämäll täl didir ik i gozenän, a Guzi da llo ttam didir ik i golläbän. Llamda da deyayagän a Guzi bom däbllewän. Käsre yu de daudewän a Guzi bom yu wi dämmattgalän. Pollgo da wa Guzi da, oba nag ttoen a dädme llätt gogon.

then said, "Frog did." But Frog said, "It wasn't me, it was Lobster." Lobster said, "Not me, but Frog." Then Frog confessed, "Yes, it was me who climbed.

When Frog confessed, the old man got very angry at them. Frog and his friend Lobster ran very fast in fear. Frog went into the dry bamboo jumping, and Lobster hid under some dry leaves. The old man searched for those two and found Lobster. Then he made a fire and put Lobster in. That was the end of Frog and Lobster's friendship.

Glossed text

- (1) *Komlla nag a gämällang a dadegwaeya ami gudae deyagirneyo walle ddage menae me.*
komlla nag=a gämäll=ang=a dade=gwaeya ami
two friend=NOM steal=ATR=NOM EXIST=COP.PST.DU who.NSG.NOM
gudae d-ey-a-gir-n-eyo walle ddage menae=me
earlier REM-DUS-RT_EXT-live-IPFV-REM.3DUS water stream side=LOC
'There were once two friends, thieves, who used to live on the side of a creek.'
- (2) *Oba bin a ubi dagwaeya, Pollgo a Guzi.*
oba bin=a ubi da=gwaeya pollgo a guzi
3NSG.POSS name=NOM 3NSG.NOM MED.DEM=COP.PST.DU frog and lobster
'Their names were Frog and Lobster'
- (3) *Pollgo da täl ik mi giddollag daeya, be Guzi da ine ik mi.*
pollgo=da täl ik=mi giddoll=ag da=eya be
frog=NOM bamboo inside=LOC live=ATR MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG but
guzi=da ine ik=mi
lobster=NOM water inside=LOC
'Frog lived inside a bamboo, but Lobster lived in the water.'
- (4) *Ttongo mer indrang ag me, ge komlla nag a gogezäneyo oba giddoll ma watta a ikop gogneyo adawede ka amom ikop bägeaya, be ddone amom ikop dägaeyo.*
ttongo mer indrang ag=me ge komlla nag=a
one good bright morning=LOC this two friend=NOM
g-o-gez-än-eyo oba giddoll
REM-RT_EXT-come_out-II.NPL-REM.3DUS 3NSG.POSS live
ma=watt=a a ikop g-o-g-n-eyo adawede
house=ABL=NOM and see REM-RT_EXT-AUX-IPFV-REM.3DUS so_that
ka amom ikop b-ä-g-eyya be ddone
CNTF who.SG.ACC see FUT.1A-3NDUP-AUX-FUT.1NSGA but NEG
amom ikop d-ä-ga-eyo
who.SG.ACC see REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3NSGA
'One good bright morning, these two friends came out of their homes and looked, "Who do we see?" but they saw no one.'

- (5) *Käsre ubi eka gontemenyeyo ada*, “*Ibi zanggae e wälläng e beyarnalla.*”
- käsre ubi eka g-o-ntemeny-eyo ada
 then 3NSG.NOM speak REM-RT_EXT-discuss-REM.3DUS like_this
 ibi zanggae=e wälläng=
 1NSG.INCL.NOM roam=ALL bush=ALL
 b-ey-a-r-n-all
 FUT.1S-DUS-RT_EXT-go-IPFV-FUT.1DUS
 ‘Then they discussed and said, “Let’s go stroll around the bush.”’
- (6) *Angde deyareyo, wätät ttängäm e gongttägeyo.*
- angde d-ey-a-r-eyo wätät ttängäm=e
 when REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-REM.3DUS food garden=ALL
 g-o-ngttä-g-eyo
 REM-RT_EXT-arrive-III.NPL-REM.3DUS
 ‘When they went, they arrived at a food garden.’
- (7) *Misdae up daebegaeya ibebatta.*
- misdae up=daebe=gaeya ib~eb=att=a
 just banana=RST=COP.PST.PL INF~plant=PP=NOM
 ‘Just bananas were planted there.’
- (8) *Angde ikop gogeyo ttängäm ma ik i a gozen e, up de adade ikop dägaeyo, wo abal.*
- angde ikop g-o-g-eyo ttängäm ma ik=i a
 when see REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3DUS garden place inside=ALL and
 g-o-ze-n=e up=de adade ikop
 REM-RT_EXT-enter-II.NPL=ALL banana=ACC like_that see
 d-ä-ga-eyo wo abal
 REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3NSGA ripe very
 ‘When they saw inside the garden and entered, they saw bananas, very ripe ones.’
- (9) *Ubi komlla obaoba gongnoeyo ada*, “*Aya bängkälän?*”
- ubi komlla oba~oba g-o-ngnoe-eyo ada
 3NSG.NOM two REFL~3NSG.POSS REM-RT_EXT-ask-REM.3DUS like_this
 aya b-ä-ngkäl-än
 who.SG FUT.3A-RT_EXT-ascend-FUT.3SGS
 ‘They two asked themselves, “Who will climb?”’

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- (10) *Pollgo da ada eka gogon, "Abo ngänawa bängkäl."*
 pollgo=da ada eka g-o-g-on abo
 frog=NOM like_this speak REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS NEC
 ngäna=wa b-ä-ngkäl
 1SG.NOM=EMPH FUT.1A-3NDUP-ascend
 'Frog said, "It is I that must climb."
- (11) *Nagda Guzi ekaklle me gontmonän up wo gälbäananatt ttonen e nyäng e dazernän.*
 nag=da guzi ekaklle=me g-o-ntmon-än
 friend=CL_POSSESS.KIN lobster ground=LOC REM-RT_EXT-wait-REM.3SGS
 up wo gälb-änan=att tto-nen=e nyäng=e
 banana ripe knock_fruit-II.PL=ABL collect-I.PL=ALL basket=ALL
 d-a-zer-n-än
 REM-RT_EXT-put_in-IPFV-REM.3SGA
 'His friend Lobster waited on the ground and put the fallen ripe bananas into the bag.'
- (12) *Pollgo da abo gongetamän up toko atta a deyareyo oba giddoll ma we.*
 pollgo=da abo g-o-ngetam-än up
 frog=NOM then REM-RT_EXT-come_down-REM.3SGS banana
 toko=att=a a d-ey-a-r-eyo oba giddoll
 top=ABL=NOM and REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-REM.3DUS 3NSG.POSS live
 ma=we
 house=ALL
 'Then Frog came down from the top of the banana tree and they went to their homes.'
- (13) *Imne ubi quinttemänggeyo oba ma we, be ngattong ubi eka gontemenyeyo ada, "Ibi minyi känazbag kame bongoseya ttängäm e up wo kakab ttamän e."*
 imne ubi g-u-inttem-ängg-eyo
 after 3NSG.NOM REM-RT_EXT-leave_someone-III.NPL-REM.3DUS
 oba ma=we be ngattong ubi eka
 3NSG.POSS house=ALL but first 3NSG.NOM speak
 g-o-ntemeny-eyo ada ibi minyi känazbag
 REM-RT_EXT-discuss-REM.3DUS like_this 1NSG.INCL.NOM FUT tomorrow
 kame b-o-ngos-eyä ttängäm=e up wo kakab
 again FUT.1S-RT_EXT-return-FUT.1DUS place=ALL banana ripe leftover

ttam-än=e

finish-II.NPL=ALL

‘Afterwards, they parted ways to their own houses, but first they discussed, “Tomorrow, we will return to that garden again to finish the leftover ripe bananas.”’

- (14) *Eka tameny att me, ubi guinttemänggeyo a oba ma we deyareyo.*

eka tameny=att=me ubi

speak teach=PP=LOC 3NSG.NOM

g-u-inttem-ängg-eyo

a oba

ma=we

REM-RT_EXT-part_ways-III.NPL-REM.3DUS and 3NSG.POSS house=ALL

d-ey-a-r-eyo

REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-REM.3DUS

‘After the discussion, they parted ways and went to their own homes.’

- (15) *Angde ubi oba ma we gogeyo, ttängäm zizag llamda da abo dedam dallän obo ttängäm ikop e.*

angde ubi oba ma=we g-o-g-eyo

when 3NSG.NOM 3NSG.POSS house=ALL REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3DUS

ttängäm zizag llamda=da abo dedam d-a-ll-än

garden owner old_man=NOM then then REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS

obo ttängäm ikop=e

3SG.POSS garden see=ALL

‘When they got home, the owner of the garden went to see his garden.’

- (16) *Polle ma ik i angde gozenän, up wo gälbenanatt de ikop dägagän a ddone kili gogon, “O-o-o, aya ngämo up de gämäll agnan?*

polle ma ik=i angde g-o-z-en-än up

fence place inside=ALL when REM-RT_EXT-enter-II.NPL-REM.3SGS banana

wo gälb-nan=att=de ikop d-ä-gag-än a

ripe knock_fruit-II.PL=PP=ACC see REM-3NDUP-AUX-REM.3SGA and

ddone kili g-o-g-on O-o-o aya ngämo

NEG happy REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS oh who.SG 1SG.POSS

up=de gämäll a-g-n-an

banana=ACC steal REC-AUX-IPFV-REC.3SGA

‘When he went inside the garden, he saw the fallen ripe bananas and he was not happy, “Oh! Who stole my bananas?’

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- (17) *O-o-o.”*
 O-o-o
 oh
 ‘Oh.”
- (18) *Ttongo ag me, llamda da gudae dallän polle we gozenän a up golloll me gotgolän a ikop su gognän känyertto ubira ikop e ami obo up wo de gämäll alle däglebeyo.*
 ttongo ag=me llamda=da gudae
 next morning=LOC old _man=NOM early _morning
 d-a-ll-än polle=we g-o-z-en-än
 REM-RT_EXT-go-REM.3SGS fence=ALL REM-RT_EXT-enter-II.NPL-REM.3SGS
 a up golloll=me g-o-tgol-än a ikop su
 and banana behind=LOC REM-RT_EXT-hide-REM.3SGS and see secret
 g-o-g-n-än känyärtto ubira ikop=e
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-IPFV-REM.3SGS silent 3NSG.DAT see=ALL
 ami obo up wo=de gämäll=alle
 who.NSG.NOM 3SG.POSS banana ripe=ACC steal=INS
 d-ä-gleb-eyo
 REM-3NDUP-take-REM.3NSGA
 ‘The next morning, the old man went very early, entered the fence, and hid behind the banana tree. He quietly peeked to see those who would steal and take his ripe bananas.’
- (19) *Angde llamda da togolag dagirnän, llayabaene eka nineyem de dandärän, bogo gonserbewän a mikutt a ada ulle gogon.*
 angde llamda=da togol=ag d-a-gir-n-än
 when old _man=NOM hide=ATR REM-RT_EXT-stay-IPFV-REM.3SGS
 lla=yabaene eka nineyem=de d-a-ndär-än
 person=3NSG.ABL_POSS sound whisper=ACC REM-RT_EXT-hear-REM.3SGA
 bogo g-o-nserbe-wän a mikutt=a ada ulle
 3SG.NOM REM-RT_EXT-prepare-REM.3SGS and anger=NOM like_this big
 g-o-g-on
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘While the old man was hidden, he heard whispers from them, he prepared himself and his temper rose.’

- (20) *Pollgo a nagda Guzi, ubi gongttägmällneyo deyareyo ttättemae do up wo kakab a erame daeya.*
- pollgo a nag=da guzi ubi
 frog and friend=CL_POSSESSIVE.KIN lobster 3NSG.NOM
 g-o-ngttä-g-mäll-n-eyo
 REM-RT_EXT-arrive-III.NPL-PL-IPFV-REM.3DUS
 d-ey-a-r-eyo ttätte=mae do up wo
 REM-DU\$-RT_EXT-go-REM.3DUS straight=RST to banana ripe
 kakab=a era=me da=eya
 leftover=NOM which=LOC MED.DEM=COP.PST.SG
 ‘Frog and his friend Lobster were arriving and they went straight to where the leftover ripe bananas were.’
- (21) *Angde ubi up wo pätt dowae e gogeyo, llamda da oba pate eraeranyang dipnurän, ada ekaekong, “A bibi gänyageyo ngämo up gämällang a!”*
- angde ubi up wo pätt dowae=e
 when 3NSG.NOM banana ripe trunk proximity=ALL
 g-o-g-eyo llamda=da oba=pate
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3DUS old_man=NOM 3NSG.POSS=AN.ALL
 era~erany=ang d-i-pnur-än ada
 ADV~scream=ATR REM-VEN-start_running-REM.3SGS like_this
 eka~eka=ong=a bibi gänya=geyo ngämo up
 ADV~speak=ATR=NOM 2NSG.NOM here=COP.PRS.DU 1SG.POSS banana
 gämäll=ang=a
 steal=ATR=NOM
 ‘When they got close to the ripe banana tree, the old man ran to them yelling and saying, “You were the ones who here stole my bananas!”’
- (22) *Ubi komlla misdae gopnaeyo a ngäsengäse dindugeyo, llo ttam didir ik i gotogoleyo.*
- ubi komlla misdae g-o-pnae-eyo a
 3NSG.NOM two just REM-RT_EXT-turn_back-REM.3DUS and
 ngäse~ngäs=e d-indug-eyo llo ttam didir ik=i
 ADV~return=ALL REM-run-REM.3DUS tree leaf brown_(dried) inside=ALL
 g-o-togol-eyo
 REM-RT_EXT-hide-REM.3DUS
 ‘Those two just turned around and ran backwards and hid in some dried tree leaves.’

- (23) *Llamda da ako säre olle deyagän oba pate ada, “Yareyo-o!*
 llamda=da ako säre olle d-ey-a-g-än
 old_man=NOM then sadly call REM-DUP-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGA
 oba=pate ada y-a-r-eyo=o
 3NSG.POSS=AN.ALL like_this VEN-RT_EXT-go-FUT.2DUS=voc
 ‘Then the old man sadly called out to them, “Come out!’
- (24) *Yareyo ngämo pate-o!*
 y-a-r-eyo ngämo=pate=o
 VEN-RT_EXT-go-FUT.2DUS 1SG.POSS=AN.ALL=voc
 ‘Come to me!’”
- (25) *Käsre nag komlla da angde gondäreyo, kälepallemae lel peyang deyareyo llamda da pate.*
 käsre nag komlla=da angde g-o-ndär-eyo
 then friend two=NOM when REM-RT_EXT-hear-REM.3DUS
 kälepalle=mae lel=peyang d-ey-a-r-eyo
 slowly=RST fear=COM REM-DUS-RT_EXT-go-REM.3DUS
 llamda=da=pate
 old_man=CL_POSS.KIN=AN.ALL
 ‘When the two friends heard, they slowly went towards the old man in fear.’
- (26) *Llamda da abo ubim ngonoenen de deyangkamän.*
 llamda=da abo ubim ngonoen-nen=de
 old_man=NOM then 3NSG.ACC ask-I.PL=ACC
 d-ey-a-ngk-am-än
 REM-DUP-RT_EXT-start-IV.NPL-REM.3SGA
 ‘The man started to question those two.’
- (27) *Ngattong abal Pollgo bom dangnoeyän ada, “Pollgo, aya nängkälän?”*
 ngattong abal pollgo=bom d-a-ngnoe-yän ada pollgo
 first very frog=3SG.ACC REM-RT_EXT-ask-REM.3SGA like_this frog
 aya n-ä-ngkäl-an
 who.SG REC.SGP-3NDUP-ascend-REC.3SGA
 ‘He asked Frog first, “Frog, who climbed?”’

- (28) *Pollgo da ada eka mu gogon*, “*Guzi a.*”
 pollgo=da ada eka mu g-o-g-on
 frog=NOM like_this speak response REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 guzi=a
 lobster=NOM
 ‘Frog replied, “Lobster did.”’
- (29) *Guzi ako ada gogon*, “*Polgo a.*”
 guzi ako ada g-o-g-on pollgo=a
 lobster then like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS frog=NOM
 ‘Guzi then said, “Frog did.”’
- (30) *Be Polgo ada gogon*, “*Ddone ngänawa be Guzi a.*”
 be pollgo ada g-o-g-on ddone ngäna=wa
 but frog like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS NEG 1SG.NOM=EMPH
 be guzi=a
 but lobster=NOM
 ‘But Frog said, “It wasn’t me, it was Lobster.”’
- (31) *Guzi ada gogon*, “*Ngäna ddone, be Polgo a.*”
 guzi ada g-o-g-on ngäna ddone be
 lobster like_this REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS 1SG.NOM NEG but
 pollgo=a
 frog=NOM
 ‘Lobster said, “Not me, but Frog.”’
- (32) *Pollgo abo gonttamän*, “*Ao, ngänawa nängkälän.*”
 pollgo abo g-o-nttam-än ao ngäna=wa
 frog then REM-RT_EXT-confess-REM.3SGS yes 1SG.NOM=EMPH
 n-ä-ngkäl-an
 REC.SGP-3NDUP-ascend-REC.1SGA
 ‘Then Frog confessed, “Yes, it was me that climbed.”’
- (33) *Angde Pollgo da gonttamän, llamda da ddone ada mikutt gogon oba pate.*
 angde pollgo=da g-o-nttam-än llamda=da ddone
 when frog=NOM REM-RT_EXT-confess-REM.3SGS old_man=NOM a_lot
 ada mikutt g-o-g-on oba=pate
 like_this anger REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS 3NSG.POSS=AN.ALL
 ‘When Frog confessed, the old man got very angry at them.’

- (34) *Pollgo da nagda Guzi alle ddone ada dindugeyo lel me.*
 pollgo=da nag=da guzi=alle ddone ada
 frog=NOM friend=CL_POSS.KIN lobster=INS a_lot like_this
 d-indug-eyo lel=me
 REM-run-REM.3DUS fear=LOC
 ‘Frog with his friend Lobster ran very fast in fear.’
- (35) *Pollgo da gäbägäbänmäll täl didir ik i gozenän, a Guzi da llo ttam didir ik i golläbän.*
 pollgo=da gäbä~gäbän-mäll täl didir ik=i
 frog=NOM ADV~jump-PL bamboo brown_(dried) inside=ALL
 g-o-z-en-än a guzi=da llo ttam
 REM-RT_EXT-enter-II.NPL-REM.3SGS and lobster=NOM tree leaf
 didir ik=i g-o-lläb-än
 brown_(dried) inside=ALL REM-RT_EXT-go_under-REM.3SGS
 ‘Frog went into the dry bamboo jumping and Lobster hid under some dry leaves.’
- (36) *Llamda da deyayagän a Guzi bom däbllewän.*
 llamda=da d-ey-a-yag-än a guzi=bom
 old_man=NOM REM-DUP-RT_EXT-search-REM.3SGA and lobster=3SG.ACC
 d-ä-blle-wän
 REM-3NDUP-find-REM.3SGA
 ‘The old man searched for those two and found Lobster.’
- (37) *Käsre yu de daudewän a Guzi bom yu wi dämattgalän.*
 käsre yu=de d-a-ude-wän a guzi=bom
 then fire=ACC REM-RT_EXT-light_fire-REM.3SGA and lobster=3SG.ACC
 yu=wi d-ä-mattgal-än
 fire=ALL REM-3NDUP-put_in_fire-REM.3SGA
 ‘Then he made a fire and put Lobster in.’
- (38) *Pollgo da wa Guzi da, oba nag ttoen a dädme llätt gogon.*
 pollgo=da wa guzi=da oba nag ttoen=a däd=me llätt
 frog=NOM and lobster=NOM 3NSG.POSS friend thing=NOM there=LOC stop
 g-o-g-on
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS
 ‘That was the end of Frog and Lobster’s friendship.’

Part VI

Odes and reflections on the natural world

R *Eramang Karama walle* – Ode to Karama Swamp

Introduction

The following text titled *Eramang Karama walle* ‘Ode to Karama Swamp’ is an ode written by Warama Kurupel (Suwede). It was written prior to 2007, when it appeared in a short reader developed in partnership with the Lewada Bible Translation Center to illustrate the newly developed Ende spelling system. It was edited by W. Kurupel and K. Lindsey in 2015 to the updated spelling system and submitted to the Ende language corpus with an accompanying translation (Kurupel (Suwede) 2007). In 2017, W. Kurupel read the written text out loud (Kurupel (Suwede) 2017d).

Summary and background

Eramang Karama walle is an ode written to the beauty and goodness of *Karama* swamp. *Karama* swamp is the location of the canoe mooring place and a meeting place for those arriving at the village by water. *Karama* is also a place to go for fishing and to harvest the swamp gardens. It is located about 2.5 kilometers from the center of Limol village. Pictures of *Karama* swamp are shown in Figures 1.6–1.10.

Parallel text

Oi walle karama, bongo ddobae moko-wang dan llayaba. Ag alle do yäbäd klaklema. Lla da, mälla da, mänmän a, llig pollo da Llimoll atta båne patt me kili anggan. Ddobag a yunu tarne nallo.

O Karama swamp, you are very lovely to the people. From morning to sunset. Men, women, young girls, and young boys from Limol rejoice in you. Others are sleeping near you.

Oi walle karama, kemibi za walle bongo nyämaenyämae gog. Bongo ada mer molle alle adako män duwar da mer mollong za walle anyan. Llayaba näkäp de bongo gagäll anggalle. Adame ddobag a gudae ngällbaenen eran yunu atta bäne pate llitaem eran. Mer llo popo alle bongo darbänen alle, ada ka män duwar da bun mi llo popo de nowattällan.

Oi walle karama, mudan bongo darbänen a. Ddone mänyi bam bawengameya. Bongo imomdae ttongo dan. Yowede ke gongesne? “Ngäna Adi lla bo mer de indrang eran.”

Glossed text

- (1) *Oi walle karama, bongo ddobae mokowang dan llayaba.*
 oi walle Karama bongo ddobae moko=wang da=n
 oh water PN 2SG.NOM very desire=ATR MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 lla=yaba
 person=3NSG.POSS
 ‘O Karama swamp, you are very lovely to the people.’
- (2) *Ag alle do yäbäd klaklema.*
 ag=alle do yäbäd kla~kle=ma
 morning=ABL to sun INF~set=NMLZ
 ‘From morning to sunset.’
- (3) *Lla da, mälla da, mänmän a, llig pollo da Llimoll atta bäne patt me kili anggan.*
 lla=da mälla=da män~män=a llig pollo=da PN=att=a
 man=NOM woman=NOM NSG~girl=NOM boy young=NOM PN=ABL=NOM
 bäne patt=me kili=anggan
 2SG.POSS body=LOC happy=AUX.PRS.3PLS
 ‘Men, women, young girls, and young boys from Limol rejoice in you.’

O Karama swamp, you are surrounded by many things. You have a good smell like a young girl sprays herself with good smelling things. You spoil people's thoughts. This is why some wake up early in the morning from sleep and come to you. You decorate yourself with beautiful tree flowers like young girls put tree flowers on their heads.

O Karama swamp, don't decorate yourself. We will not forget you. You are truly unique. Why were you made like this? “I am showing God's goodness.”

- (4) *Ddobag a yunu tamen nallo.*
 ddob=ag=a yunu tar-nen=nallo
 other=ATR=NOM sleep sleep_with-I.PL=AUX.PRS.3NSG>2SG
 'Others are sleeping near you.'
- (5) *Oi walle karama, kemibi za walle bongo nyämaenyämae gog.*
 oi walle Karama kemibi za=walle bongo nyämae~nyämae
 oh water PN many thing=INS 2SG.NOM INF~surround
 g-o-g
 REM-RT_EXT-AUX
 'O Karama swamp, you are surrounded by many things.'
- (6) *Bongo ada mer molle alle adako män duwar da mer mollong za walle anyan.*
 bongo ada mer molle=alle ad=ako män duwar=da mer
 2SG.NOM like_this good scent=INS like_this=also girl young=NOM good
 mollong za=walle a-ny-an
 smelling thing=INS REC-paint-REC.3SGS
 'You have a good smell like a young girl sprays herself with good
 smelling things.'
- (7) *Llayaba näkäp de bongo gagäll anggalle.*
 lla=yaba näkäp=de bongo gagäll=anggalle
 person=3NSG.POSS mind=ACC 2SG.NOM bad=AUX.PRS.2SG>PL
 'You spoil people's thoughts.'
- (8) *Adame ddobag a gudae ngällbaenen eran yunu atta bäne pate llitaem eran.*
 adame ddob=ag=a gudae ngällbae-nen
 this_is_why other=ATR=NOM early_morning wake_up-II.PL
 era=n yunu=att=a bäne=pate
 which=COP.PRS.SG sleep=ABL=NOM 2SG.POSS=AN.ALL
 llitaem=eran
 arrive=AUX.PRS.3SG>3SG
 'This is why some wake up early in the morning from sleep and come to
 you.'

- (9) *Mer llo popo alle bongo darbänen alle, ada ka män duwar da bun mi llo popo de nowattällan.*
 mer llo popo=alle bongo darbä-nen=alle ada ka
 good tree flower=INS 2SG.NOM decorate-I.PL=AUX.PRS.2SGS like_this CNTF
 män duwar=da bun=mi llo popo=de
 girl young=NOM head=LOC tree flower=ACC
 n-o-wattäll-an
 REC.3PLP-3NDUP-put-REC.3SGA
 ‘You decorate yourself with beautiful tree flowers like young girls put
 tree flowers on their heads.’
- (10) *Oi walle karama, mudan bongo darbänen a.*
 oi walle Karama muda=n bongo darbä-nen=a
 oh water PN PROHIB=COP.PRS.SG 2SG.NOM decorate-I.PL=NOM
 ‘O Karama swamp, don’t decorate yourself.’
- (11) *Ddone mänyi bam bawengameya.*
 ddone mänyi bam b-a-weng-am-eya
 NEG FUT 2SG.ACC FUT.1A-RT_EXT-forget-IV.NPL-FUT.1NSGA
 ‘We will not forget you.’
- (12) *Bongo imomdae ttongo dan.*
 bongo imomdae ttongo da=n
 2SG.NOM true unique MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 ‘You are truly unique.’
- (13) *Yowede ke gongesne?*
 yowede ke g-o-nges-ne
 why Q REM+RT_EXT-make-IPFV
 ‘Why were you made like this?’
- (14) “*Ngäna Adi lla bo mer deindrang eran.*”
 ngäna Adi lla=bo mer=deindrang=eran
 1SG.NOM God man=3SG.POSS goodness=ACC show=AUX.PRS.3SG>3SG
 “I am showing God’s goodness.”

S *Iräm ine, Iräm ine* – Ode to Iräm Waters

Introduction

Iräm ine, Iräm ine 'Ode to Iräm waters' is an ode written by Wendy Bewag prior to 2007. This text was included in a short reader developed by the Lewada Bible Translation Center to showcase a new spelling system for the Ende language. In 2015, W. Kurupel and K. Lindsey adapted the text to an updated spelling system and translated it into English (Bewag 2007). After it was written down, Maryanne Sowati (Kurupel) read the text aloud for the Ende language corpus (Sowati (Kurupel) 2017).

Summary and background

Iräm ine, Iräm ine is an ode written to the clarity and safety of the *Iräm* bathing waters. *Iräm ine* washing place is a particularly deep and clear part of *Iräm* creek that runs behind the *Kurupel Täräp* location of Limol village. There are two places where the creek pools that are designated as men's and women's washing places. These washing places are strictly segregated, so tales of trespassing are shocking and entertaining. The washing places are frequented for bathing, washing clothes, playing, and chatting. Pictures of *Iräm ine* are shown in Figures 1.50, 1.49, and T.1.

Parallel text

Iräm ine, Iräm ine, bongo ge ddobae näkap dämenang kädkädag abal ine dan. Angde lla da tatu anggan, bongo ddone yorkollang alle, ada ka imomdae bongo penz ine dan. Ddob ttängämang aba ulle umllang dan bongo, ddonddo nallo bam gänya ekawalle.

Iräm water, Iräm water, you are very mind-settling, very cold water. When people wash, you are not dirty, you are truly clean. Some villagers, they know you very well, they are proud of you and say:

Ada “Ka, ka, ka, ka, ttongo ingoll ine dan geyako, ngase iba ttängäm e da bogalle ge mer kädkädag ine da.” Be iräm bo eka mu da ttongdae gänyan ada, “Käma, ngäna de ngämo ttängäm me dan. Ddone aya minyi ngänäm batramän ttongo ttängäm e.” O, iräm ine, iräm ine, ngäna bam bälnan nallan, utale ttängäm alle. Bongo ge baddbedmeny, yorkollmeny, näkäp dämenang kädkädag ine dan.

Umllang eka da gänyan, da bäne moko da gänya walle ddage me tatu we bogän, ge mer tatuma ine da daden Llimoll ttängäm me dan. Ede wiya angkäbäg, minyi bongo umllangag.

Glossed text

- (1) *Iräm ine, Iräm ine, bongo ge ddobae näkäp dämenang kädkädag abal ine dan.*
 Iräm ine Iräm ine bongo ge ddobae näkäp dämen=ang
 PN water PN water 2SG.NOM this very mind sit=ATR
 kädkäd=ag abal ine da=n
 cold=ATR very water MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 ‘Iräm water, Iräm water, you are very mind-settling, very cold water.’
- (2) *Angde lla da tatu anggan, bongo ddone yorkollang alle, ada ka imomdae bongo Penz ine dan.*
 angde lla=da tatu=anggan bongo ddone
 when man=NOM bathe=AUX.PRS.3PLS 2SG.NOM NEG
 yorkoll=ang=alle ada ka imomdae bongo PN ine
 dirt=ATR=AUX.PRS.2SGS like_this CNTF true 2SG.NOM PN water
 da=n
 MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 ‘When people wash, you are not dirty, you are truly clean like the water in Penz.’

Like this, “No, no, no, no, a water like this, this is how the good cold water should be in our village.” But Iräm’s reply is like this: “Ah, I am in my village. No one will ever take me to another village.” Oh, Iräm water, Iräm water, I would come to you from a far village. You are a water that will never dry up, dirtless, mind settling cold water.

The summary is this, if you want to go wash in the river, this good washing place exists in our Limol village. So come and dive! And you will learn

- (3) *Ddob ttängämang aba ulle umllang dan bongo, ddonndo nallo bam gänya ekawalle.*
 ddob ttängäm=ang=aba ulle umllang da=n
 some village=ATR=3NSG.POSS big knowledge MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 bongo ddo~nddo=nallo bam gänya eka=walle
 2SG.NOM INF~boast=AUX.PRS.3NSG>2SG 2SG.ACC this word=INS
 ‘Some villagers, they know you very well, they are proud of you and say:’
- (4) *Ada “Ka, ka, ka, ka, ttongo ingoll ine dan geyako, ngase iba ttängäm e da bogalle ge mer kädkädag ine da.”*
 ada ka ka ka ka ttongo=ingoll ine da=n ge=yako
 like_this no no no no one=like water MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG this=also
 ngase iba ttängäm=e da b-o-g-alle ge
 HORT 1NSG.INCL.POSS place=ALL if FUT.3S-RT_EXT-AUX-IRR.SGS this
 mer kädkäd=ag ine=da
 good cold=ATR water=NOM
 ‘Like this, “No, no, no, a water like this, this is how the good cold water
 should be in our village.”’
- (5) *Be iräm bo eka mu da ttongdae gänyan ada, “Käma, ngäna de ngämo ttängäm me dan.*
 be Iräm=bo eka mu=da ttong=dae gänya=n
 but PN=3SG.POSS speak response=NOM one=RST here=COP.PRS.SG
 ada käma ngäna=de ngämo ttängäm=me
 like_this maybe 1SG.NOM=ACC 1SG.POSS village=LOC
 da=n
 MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 ‘But Iräm’s reply is like this: “Ah, maybe, I am in my village,’
- (6) *Ddone aya minyi ngänäm batramän ttongo ttängäm e.”*
 ddone aya minyi ngänäm b-a-täram-än ttongo
 NEG who.SG FUT 1SG.ACC FUT.3A-RT_EXT-lead-FUT.3SGA another
 ttängäm=e
 village=ALL
 ‘No one will take me away to another village.’”

- (7) *O, iräm ine, iräm ine, ngäna bam bälhan nallan, utale ttängäm alle.*
 o Iräm ine Iräm ine ngäna bam
 oh PN water PN water 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC
 bäl-nan=nallan utale ttängäm=alle
 remember-I.PL=AUX.PRS.1SG>2SG far village=ABL
 ‘Oh, Iräm water, Iräm water, I would remember you from a far village.’
- (8) *Bongo ge baddbeddmeny, yorkollmeny, näkäp dämenang kädkädag ine dan.*
 bongo ge baddbedd=meny yorkoll=meny näkäp dämen=ang
 2SG.NOM this dry_up=PRIV dirt=PRIV mind sit=ATR
 kädkäd=ag ine da=n
 cold=ATR water MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 ‘You are a water that will never dry up, dirtless, mind settling cold water’
- (9) *Umllang eka da gänyan, da bäne moko da gänya walle ddage me tatu we bogän, ge mer tatuma ine da daden Llimoll ttängäm me dan.*
 umllang eka=da gänya=n da bäne moko=da gänya
 knowledge word=NOM here=COP.PRS.SG if 2SG.POSS desire=NOM this
 walle ddage=me tatu=we b-o-g-än ge mer
 water stream=LOC bathe=ALL FUT.3S-RT_EXT-AUX-REM.3SGS this good
 tatu=ma ine=da dade=n PN ttängäm=me
 bathe=CHAR water=NOM EXIST=COP.PRS.SG PN village=LOC
 da=n
 MED.DEM=COP.PRS.SG
 ‘The summary is this, if you want to go wash in the river, this good
 washing place exists in our Limol village.’
- (10) *Ede wiya angkäbäg, minyi bongo umllang ag.*
 ede wiya a-ngkäbäg minyi bongo umllang a-g
 so come.IMP FUT.2S-dive FUT 2SG.NOM know FUT.2S-AUX
 ‘So come and dive! And you will learn.’

T *Ttongo toto me yäbäd a goklanän – Children's song about Iräm ine*

Song summary



Figure T.1: A group of girls having fun at *Iräm* washing place in 2017

Ttongo toto me, yäbäd a goklanän is a children's song about girls having fun at *Iräm* washing place at the end of the day (see Figure T.1). When this song is sung, everyone shakes their bum on the third line, which elicits much laughter. This song was contributed to the Ende language corpus twice, once by Jordan Dobola (Dobola 2016a) and once by Ibetty Kenny (Kenny 2016). Both performances are available in the archive.

Song text

*Ttongo toto me, yäbäd a goklanän.
Mänmän a yirim i tatu gognegän.*
Ttongo män a ada dingnän kum shake shake.
*Ttongo toto me, yäbäd a goklanän.
Mänmän a yirim i tatu gognegän.*
Ttongo män a ada dingnän kum shake shake.

Glossed text

- (1) *Ttongo toto me, yäbäd a goklanän.*
ttongo toto=me yäbäd=a g-o-kla-n-än
one evening=LOC sun=NOM REM-RT_EXT-set-IPFV-REM.3SGS
'One evening, the sun was setting'
- (2) *Mänmän a yirim i tatu gognegän.*
män~män=a yirim=i tatu g-o-g-neg-än
NSG~girl=NOM PN=ALL bathe REM-RT_EXT-AUX-3PLS-REM.3PLS
'The girls went to Iräm, they washed.'
- (3) *Ttongo män a ada dingnän kum shake shake.*
ttongo män=a ada d-ing-n-än kum shake¹
one girl=NOM like_this REM-dance-IPFV-REM.3SGS buttocks shake
shake
'One girl danced like this, shook her bum.'

¹from English *shake*

Part VII

Final reflections

Final reflections

During my most recent visit to Limol village, I was repeatedly asked what people in Australia and America thought of their stories and the Ende way of life. For many Ende people, working with a linguist to write down their oral practices was not just an exercise in linguistic analysis, but an opportunity to say to the outside world, “Hello! We are here and this is who we are.” I think this act is significant because many Ende people feel isolated from the rest of the world and believe that if more people knew about them, they might want to visit and help raise their quality of life.

In this way, the Ende Language Committee’s effort to share their culture and literature with us can be considered an attempt to enter into a partnership via exchange, one of the primary means of relationship building used in broader Melanesia (Dobrin 2008: 308). I discussed this theme in a podcast called “Sweet Potato Love” after my first visit to Limol in 2015 (Lindsey 2016). This podcast compiled more than 50 interviews with Ende women discussing their views on life, community, and culture. On the topic of love and relationships, the importance of material exchange was paramount. *Love*, as I came to understand it, was giving someone a sweet potato and receiving a fish in return. As Dobrin (2008: 309) describes in her interactions with the Arapesh community in the Sepik coastal region of Papua New Guinea, exchanging goods with outsiders is even more empowering because it demonstrates a society’s capacity for influence and authority on their cultural terms. Thus, this offering is a vulnerable one as there is an expectation, but no precedent, for a response in kind.

As the primary steward of the Ende language corpus outside of Papua New Guinea, I have endeavored to share information about the Ende people and culture through talks, books, papers, social media, and now in this collection of Ende texts. In return, I provided the community with material goods that are hard to get in Limol, which is a long list of almost anything you can think of (salt, fishing hooks, buckets, medicine, books, nails, eyeglasses, machetes, basketballs, shoes, mosquito nets...), and messages from abroad.

I hope they know how proud I am of everyone who contributed to this work as storytellers, illustrators, editors, translators, or compilers. Each unique perspective helped bring life to these pages.

Thematically, this collection reveals some fundamental aspects about the Ende way of life. Through harrowing tales about danger, hunger, drought, and conflict, we also witness accounts of bravery, resourcefulness, and kindness. Values of friendship, generosity, and mutual respect weave through the stories, just as they do in lived experiences, as Ende people navigate their relationships with the natural world, one another, and the mythical realm.

While storytelling has long been an oral practice, the Ende Language Committee's efforts to self-publish illustrated storybooks locally and to publish collections like this internationally safeguard the community's cultural legacy and history. I hope this collection inspires readers to appreciate the richness of the Ende language and culture and recognize the importance of supporting language strengthening efforts worldwide.

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The Ende way

This collection of Ende stories and songs contains 20 texts from the Ende language corpus, a repository of Ende language and culture. The texts were compiled by the Ende Language Committee and represent a diverse set of authors, illustrators, and translators from the community. Each text is accompanied by a summary, contextual background, and presented in two formats: a running text format in parallel with an English translation, and an interlinearized format with English translations at the morpheme and sentence levels. The texts cover a broad slice of Ende life and are organized into five thematic parts: Animal Tales and Origin Stories, Tales of Hunting and Survival, Heroic or Legendary Stories, Tales of Misbehavior and Consequence, and Odes and Reflections on the Natural World. Audio versions of all the texts are available online through the Ende language corpus.