

Speaking the map

Komnzo texts

Christian Döhler

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Christian Döhler



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I dedicate this book to my *ŋafe* Marua† and my *ngom* Kurai, who grew up speaking the neighbouring languages Wära and Anta and wishes that his children will speak Komnzo.

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Abbreviations

The category labels for abbreviations follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules.¹

∅	zero form	DIA	diathetic prefix
\.../	verb stem	DIM	diminutive
.	multi-item gloss (3SG.M)	DIST	distal deictic
-	multi-item lexemes	DISTR	distributive
(like_that)		DU	dual number
-	for affixes (-thé)	DUR	durative
=	for clitics (=en)	EMPH	emphatic
	syncretism (2 3 person)	ERG	ergative case
>	argument structure (1>3 ‘first person acting on third person’)	ETC	et cetera (‘and all’)
1	first person	F	feminine
2	second person	FUT	future
3	third person	FUTIMP	future imperative
ABS	absolutive	IAM	iamitive (‘already’)
ABSC	absconditive (attention getter, ‘look here’)	IC	inclusory case
ADJZ	adjectivizer	IMN	imminent (‘about to’)
ALL	allative	IMP	imperative
AND	andative (‘away’)	INDF	indefinite
ANIM	animate	INS	instrumental case
APPR	apprehensive	IO	indirect object
ASSOC	associative case	IPFV	imperfective
CHAR	characteristic case	IPST	immediate past
DAT	dative case	IRR	irrealis
DEM	anaphoric demonstrative	ITER	iterative
		LOC	locative case
		LPL	large plural
		M	masculine
		MED	medial deictic

¹<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>

Abbreviations

ND	non-dual	POT	potential
NEG	negator	PRIV	privative case
NMLZ	nominalizer	PROP	proprietary case
NPL	non-plural	PROX	proximal deictic
NPST	non-past	PST	past
NSG	non-singular	PURP	purposive case
ONLY	exclusive marker ('only', 'just')	Q	question
PFV	perfective	QUOT	quotative
PH	placeholder ('thingamajig')	REDUP	reduplication
PL	plural	RPST	recent past
PN	proper name	SG	singular
PLN	place name	SIMIL	similative case
POSS	possessive	STAT	stative
		TEMP	temporal case
		VENT	venitive ('towards')

Part I

Background

1 Preliminaries

1.1 Introduction

This collection of Komnzo texts has the thematic focus of landscape, place names, and locality. One does not need to dig very deep into Komnzo oral literature in order to investigate this topic. Judging just by the occurrence of place names in speech of any genre, one has to conclude that the anchoring of events in space is of great importance to Komnzo speakers. An early visitor to the region was the Government Anthropologist for the Territory of Papua, Francis Edgar Williams, who observed that “if you ask your guide where you stand at any moment, he will be able to give a name to the land” (1936: 207). In the late 1970s, the anthropologist Mary Ayres was based in the Komnzo-speaking village *Rouku*.¹ Ayres chose locality as the topic of her doctoral thesis — entitled *This side, that side: locality and exogamous group definition in Morehead area, Southwestern Papua* (Ayres 1983). She points out that the system of place names “is staggering in its elaboration” (1983: 38). In the following sections of this introduction, I will include some analysis of the way Komnzo speakers use their language to talk about places.

This book is structured as follows. As most of the cultural, demographic, anthropological and historical background information is given in the grammar of Komnzo (Döhler 2018: 8ff.), I include here only a summary thereof (Section 1.2). After a brief typological overview of the linguistic structure (Section 1.3) and a description of the glossing and orthography conventions (Section 1.4), I describe the provenance of the texts and the editing process (Section 1.5). Next, I address topics and text genres (Section 1.6), introduce the speakers (Section 1.7) and the texts (Section 1.8). The conceptualisation of landscape, place and locality is topic of Chapter 2. The main body of the book, consists of the 14 texts (Texts A–N). For each text, I provide the metadata in the introduction, a short summary of the content and some background information, a parallel text arranged in columns (Komnzo/English), and finally the interlinearised and fully glossed text.

¹As a convention, all Komnzo place names are printed in italic font in this book.

1.2 The setting

Komnzo speakers refer to themselves as the “Farem tribe”. *Faremkar* is the name for the place of origin; the place where the apical ancestors of all Komnzo speaking clans met before they settled their respective places. Thus, in the oral history of Farem people, the concept of a shared place of origin overlaps with speech variety. Henceforth, I use the terms “Komnzo speakers” and “Farem people” interchangeably.

Komnzo is spoken in the village of *Rouku*, which is located about seven kilometers west of *Morehead* and about one kilometer north of the Morehead River. See Figure 1.1 for an overview of the area. It is situated on the road that connects *Morehead* with *Weam* in the west. Traditional lands expand about 20km east-west and 25km north-south. Other settlements are *Morehead Station*, 7 km east of *Rouku*, and *Gunana*, 2 km west of *Rouku*. While the people in one of these settlements have permanent houses, their lives are quite mobile, as they spend a lot of time in their gardens or in camps along the river, where they have storage houses and temporary shelters for sleeping.

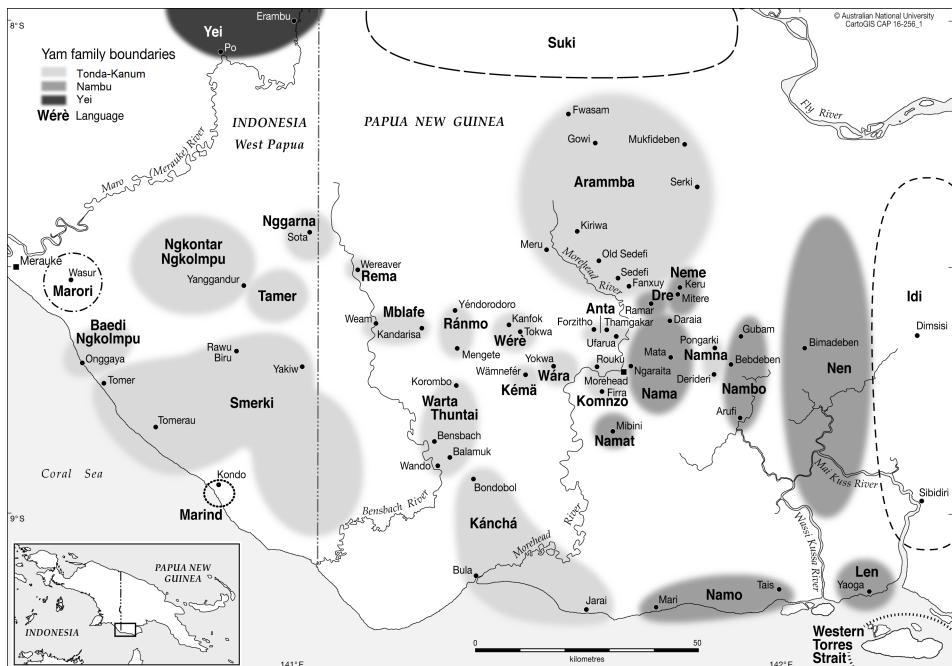


Figure 1.1: Languages in Southern New Guinea with Komnzo in the centre of the map

As is the case for most speech communities in the Morehead district, Farem people are very multilingual. There are demographic as well as cultural reasons for this. Like many other languages in New Guinea, Komnzo is a small language. I estimate the total number of speakers at around 250, a figure that is blurred by the widespread multilingualism. The local marriage pattern dictates that the women move their place of residence to the place of their respective husbands. They almost always come from a different village with a different language. The system can be described as symmetrical sister-exchange. Even though exogamous groups are based on clan and place, Mary Ayres states that it was explained to her sometimes as “a rule of dialect exogamy: *“We should not intermarry because we talk the same language”* is a phrase sometimes stated by informants” (1983: 186). As a consequence of this quasi-linguistic exogamy, children acquire not just the languages of both parents, but often the languages of their aunts and grandmothers, who might come from yet another language community. A repertoire of four to five local languages is quite common before entering the school system which is taught in English. The high levels of multilingualism – individual as well as societal – are contrasted by a conversational practice in which interactants converse in their respective languages: A Komnzo speaker meeting a Nama speaker on the road converses in Komnzo, while his interlocutor replies in Nama. This pattern is sometimes called “dual-lingualism” (Lincoln 1979) or “receptive multilingualism” (Rehbein et al. 2011, Singer 2023). Essentially, Komnzo speakers remain loyal to the language of their fathers – their patrilect – mainly for reasons of language ideology, emblematicity and linguistic purism. Over the recent years, a body of descriptive literature has emerged that focuses on this pattern in the Morehead District (Evans 2012, Evans et al. 2017, Döhler 2018: 34-36, Kashima 2020, Döhler 2021, Schokkin 2021, Schokkin 2024, Döhler forthcoming(b)).

Superimposed on the indigenous pattern of multilingualism is English as a lingua franca. English is the language of religion, education, media, and administration. The church services are held in English, with important phrases being translated for rhetorical purposes in Komnzo. The language of instruction in the primary school in Rouku and in the high school in Morehead is English. The national and provincial political sphere is conducted in English, as are the few available media channels such as the newspaper Post Courier and Radio Fly. With a few exceptions, everyone is proficient in English. Speakers over 65–70 also know Motu, as this was the language of the church and the school system until the 1970s. Younger men who have travelled and sometimes worked outside the region speak Tok Pisin and Bahasa Indonesia.

The languages of the Morehead District are not under immediate threat from English or from Tok Pisin, whose influence is growing only slowly. Neverthe-

1 Preliminaries

less, they should be considered endangered languages due to their small size and limited distribution. Most are spoken in a single village. The traditional multilingualism is certainly at risk, as English is becoming more important in communication between different communities. This process can already be observed in the town of Morehead, where people with different linguistic backgrounds meet regularly. Changes of this kind have been the harbingers of language loss in other parts of New Guinea (Aikhenvald 2002).

The social segmentation of people in the Morehead district is divided into a multi-layered structure (cf. Williams 1936, Ayres 1983). The most basic level of organisation is the clan. Clan membership is passed through the father's line, and clans are localised in the sense that they exist in and are associated with a particular tract of land. At the second level, all clans belong to one out of three groups: *Bangu*, *Sangara*, *Mayawa*. I use the term "section" for this level. If there were not three (but two) groups at this level, the more established term "moiety" would be appropriate here.² Sections are non-local in that one finds them in almost all villages in the Morehead district. For example, there are two Mayawa clans in the Komnzo speaking territory (*Mrzar Mayawa* and *Banibani Mayawa*), their lands are adjacent, they belong to the same exogamous group, they share the same totemic animals and most mythological stories. At the same time, different Mayawa clans are found at other villages in the Morehead district. At the third level, all clans of all sections in a specific area claim prior unity at a particular place. This often involves the travelling myths of the respective apical ancestor. One such myth is given in Text A. For *Rouku*, this place is called *Faremkar*. The third level aligns with language variety, thus, members of all clans (of all three sections; and all clans within these sections) who claim their mythical origin at *Faremkar* are also speakers of Komnzo. An overview of the clans and sections of the Farem people is given in Table 1.1.

In addition to self-attribution, there is a web of more or less visible markers that distinguish a member of one group from that of another group regardless of the level. Such markers include certain designs printed on grass skirts, particular patterns carved on arrows or drums, special songs and dance styles. Furthermore, there are totemic animals which one must not hunt or eat. Some of these markers overlap, for example the Swamp Eel (*dobakwr*) is a totem for all Mayawa and all Sangara clans. The most important fact about sections and clans lies in land ownership and exogamy. Moreover, clan affiliation is not only a theme in many stories, but some stories are also the property of a particular clan (cf. Section 2.7). For more information on the topic of social segmentation see Döhler (2018: 26ff.).

²Moiety from French 'one-half' is used in anthropological literature to classify kinship systems that are characterised by a system of dual-oppositions.

Table 1.1: Clans of the Farem people

SECTION	CLAN NAME ('translation')	# OF PATRILINES
Bangu	<i>Nümgar</i> ('crocodile')	1
Sangara	<i>Farem</i> (place name)	2
Sangara	<i>Wazu</i> (place name)	2
Sangara	<i>Mutherata</i> (place name)	1
Mayawa	<i>Banibani</i> ('Brahminy Kite')	2
Mayawa	<i>Mrzar</i> (proper name)	1

1.3 Grammar sketch

1.3.1 Introduction

Komnzo is a Papuan language of the Yam language family. The term “Papuan” was introduced by Ray (1895: 16), who defined these languages ex-negativo as the languages of the region near New Guinea that are neither Austronesian nor Australian. The number of distinct Papuan language families that have been proposed ranges from ten (Wurm 1975) to 23 (Ross 2005) up to 60 (Foley 1986). Although authors acknowledge the incredible diversity within New Guinea, there have been some attempts at defining grammatical properties which are characteristic for Papuan languages, for example the presence of tone, the absence of dependent marking (flagging), and switch-reference systems (Foley 1986, 2000).³ Komnzo, the languages of the Yam family, and possibly the whole Southern New Guinea area deviate from this Papuan type in a number of ways. In the following sections, I briefly introduce the typologically most striking features of the language. For an in-depth description, I refer the reader to the grammar (Döhler 2018).

1.3.2 Phonology

The Komnzo phoneme inventory consists of eight vowels and 18 consonants. The vowels are the five cardinal vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /ɔ/, /u/ plus a low front unrounded vowel /æ/, and two front rounded vowels /y/ and /œ/, which are unusual for

³Other authors have shown that the languages of New Guinea do not share a set of typological features of Papuan type that set them apart from the languages of the world (Comrie & Cysouw 2012).

1 Preliminaries

Papuan languages.⁴ The most frequent vowel is the epenthetic vowel, schwa [ə], which is not analysed as a phoneme. Figure 1.2 shows the vowel inventory.

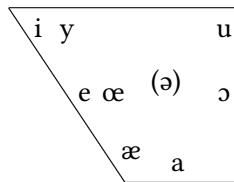


Figure 1.2: Vowels

Table 1.2: Consonants

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
plosive & affricate			t			k	k ^w
prenasalised plosive & affricate	^m b		ⁿ d			ⁿ g	ⁿ g ^w
fricative	ɸ	ð	s				
nasal	m		n			ŋ	
trill/tap			r				
semivowel					j		w

There are 18 consonantal phonemes, as shown in Table 1.2. These follow a set of pairs of voiceless and prenasalised plosives at the alveolar and velar points of articulation: /t/, /ⁿd/, /k/, /ⁿg/. There are labialised velars: /k^w/, /ⁿg^w. At the bilabial point of articulation there is only a prenasalised plosive /^mb/, while its oral counterpart /b/ only occurs in loanwords. There are three nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, one trill/tap /r/, two semivowels /j/, /w/ and, again unusual for Papuan languages, three fricatives /ɸ/, /ð/, /s/ and two affricates /ts/, /ⁿdz/. It follows that we can

⁴Outside of the Yam family front rounded vowels are also found in Awyu-Dumut languages (van Enk & de Vries 1997: 60).

identify three main points of articulation: bilabial, alveolar and velar. Further points of articulation include dental /ð/, palato-alveolar /ts/ and /ⁿdz/ as well as palatal /j/.

As in other Papuan languages such as Kalam (Blevins & Pawley 2010) many syllables lack phonemically specified vowels. In this case, an epenthetic vowel may be inserted, usually a short central vowel [ə]. Many words lack phonemically specified vowels altogether, for example the inflected verb *yngthkwrmth* [jɔməⁿgəθk^wərəməθ] ‘they were feeding him’.

The syllable structure allows for complex onsets of the type CRV, as in *gru* ‘shooting star’ or *sruk* ‘boy’. Otherwise onsets are simply CV. Even though vowel-initial words exist, they are always produced with a glottal stop, as in *ane* [ʔane] ‘that’ or *ebar* [ʔe^mbar] ‘head’. Syllable codas do exist, but they consist of maximally one consonant.

1.3.3 Morphology

Komnzo morphology can be used to easily distinguish nominals from verbs. As in other Yam languages such as Nama (Siegel 2017, 2023) and Nen (Evans 2015), Komnzo verb morphology exhibits a high degree of complexity. Verbal morphology is highly synthetic, while nominal morphology is agglutinative and almost entirely suffixing.

Komnzo nouns are inflected for number if their referent is animate. Otherwise number marking only takes place in the verb. Furthermore, nouns are marked for case by enclitics, which attach to the last element of the noun phrase. Table 1.3 shows the case markers for the inanimate noun *efoth* ‘sun, day’ and the animate noun *kabe* ‘man, people’. For more information on the range of meanings of case marked noun phrases, I refer the reader to the grammar (Döhler 2018: 135ff.).

Nominal morphology in Komnzo is comparatively simple. Case marking is shown by enclitics that attach to the rightmost element of a noun phrase, which is usually a head noun as in (1a), but may sometimes be a modifier as in (1b).

- (1) a. *kafar kabefnzo*
kafar kabe=f=nzo
big man=ERG.SG=ONLY
‘only the big man (did sth.)’
- b. *kabe kafarfⁿzo*
kabe kafar=f=nzo
man big=ERG.SG=ONLY
‘only the big man (did sth.)’

Table 1.3: Case markers on *efoth* ‘sun, day’ and *kabe* ‘man, human’

	INANIMATE	ANIMATE (SG)	ANIMATE (NSG)
Absolutive	<i>efoth</i>	<i>kabe</i>	<i>kabe=é</i>
Ergative	<i>efoth=f</i>	<i>kabe=f</i>	<i>kabe=é</i>
Dative	<i>efoth=n</i>	<i>kabe=n</i>	<i>kabe=nm</i>
Possessive	<i>efoth=ane</i>	<i>kabe=ane</i>	<i>kabe=aneme</i>
Locative	<i>efoth=en</i>	<i>kabe=dben</i>	<i>kabe=medben</i>
Allative	<i>efoth=fo</i>	<i>kabe=dbo</i>	<i>kabe=medbo</i>
Ablative	<i>efoth=fa</i>	<i>kabe=dba</i>	<i>kabe=medba</i>
Temp. locative	<i>efoth=thamen</i>	n/a	n/a
Temp. purposive	<i>efoth=thamar</i>	n/a	n/a
Temp. possessive	<i>efoth=thamane</i>	n/a	n/a
Instrumental	<i>efoth=me</i>	n/a	n/a
Purposive	<i>efoth=r</i>	n/a	n/a
Characteristic	<i>efoth=ma</i>	<i>kabe=anema</i>	<i>kabe=anemema</i>
Proprietive	<i>efoth=karä</i>	<i>kabe=karä</i>	n/a
Privative	<i>efoth=mär</i>	<i>kabe=mär</i>	n/a
Associative	<i>efoth=ää</i>	n/a	n/a
Inclusory	n/a	<i>kabe=r</i>	<i>kabe=ää</i>
Similative	<i>efoth=thatha</i>	<i>kabe=thatha</i>	n/a

In contrast to nominals, verb morphology is highly synthetic. Verbs may index up to two arguments showing agreement in person, number and gender. Verbs encode 18 TAM categories, valency, directionality and deictic status. Complexity lies not only in the number of categories that verbs express, but also in the way how these categories are encoded.

1.3.4 Distributed exponence

Komnzo verbs exhibit what may be called “distributed exponence” (Carroll 2016); an exponence type that is characterised by morphemic underspecification. For many grammatical categories, different slots have to be taken into account in order to arrive at the value of a grammatical category. This phenomenon is different from multiple exponence (e.g. circumfixes) in that each morphological slot can be manipulated independently. The basic principle is shown in Table 1.4 in the expression of a few selected tense-aspect-mood (TAM) values for the verb *thoraksi* ‘arrive, appear’; all in 3SG.M.

Table 1.4: Distributed exponence: TAM

Non-past imperfective	<i>y-thorak-wr</i>
Recent-past imperfective	<i>su-thorak-wr</i>
Recent-past durative	<i>y-thorak-wr-m</i>
Recent-past perfective	<i>sa-thor</i>
Past imperfective	<i>y-thorak-wr-a</i>
Past durative	<i>su-thorak-wr-m</i>
Past perfective	<i>sa-thor-a</i>
Iterative	<i>su-thor</i>

Distributed exponence means that we cannot gloss the prefix *y-* for a tense value, because it is used for the inflections of non-past, recent past and past. Furthermore, glossing the suffix *-m* as a durative is only half of its function as it backshifts tense as well from non-past to recent past and again from recent past to past tense. In fact, the only TAM morpheme in the table that serves only one function is the past suffix *-a*. Moreover, the table shows that the verb stem itself is also an exponent of TAM *thorak* versus *thor*. Indeed, most Komnzo verbs possess two stems which are sensitive to aspect, and for many verbs these are suppletive pairs (Döhler 2018: 180ff.). Again, the stem alone is not sufficient to express the aspectual values (imperfective, perfective, iterative, durative), but it is the combination of stem type, prefix and suffix.

Distributed exponence is best explained with the way Komnzo marks number on verbs. The four possible values are singular, dual, plural, and large plural.⁵ The exponents of number are distributed over two morphological slots. There is a binary distinction in the prefix (*y-* vs. *e-*) and the suffix (*-thgr* vs. *-thgn*). The four possible combinations of these exponents encode the four number values. This is shown with the intransitive verb *migsi* ‘hang’ in a third person frame in Table 1.5.

1.3.5 Syntax

Komnzo is a double-marking language. The case marking is organised in an ergative-absolutive system. In addition to three core cases (absolutive, ergative and dative), there are 14 semantic cases (cf. Table 1.3). Verbs index up to two arguments. The undergoer argument is indexed by a prefix and the actor argument

⁵Large plurals are available only for a small subset of verbs (Döhler 2018: 219ff.).

Table 1.5: Distributed exponence: number

3SG	<i>y-mi-thgr</i>
3DU	<i>e-mi-thgn</i>
3PL	<i>e-mi-thgr</i>
3LPL	<i>y-mi-thgn</i>

is indexed by a suffix, as in (4) and (5) below. One-place predicates split along the lines of stative versus dynamic event types. The latter employ the suffix for indexing, as in (3), while the former make use of the prefix, as in (2). However, in many cases the assignment of a verb lexeme to those inflectional patterns is rather idiosyncratic. Valency changing morphology, glossed as DIA (for diathetic) in (5), enables the indexing of a goal, beneficiary or possessor in the prefix. This is shown below with the verbs ‘sleep’ (2), ‘return’ (3), ‘see’ (4) and ‘give’ (5). I use the term “template” to describe the different inflectional patterns in which verb stems are found. Templates are fixed for some lexemes, but on the whole the system is remarkably fluid (Döhler 2022, 2023a,b).

- (2) *fi yrugr.*

fi y-rugr
 3.ABS 3SG.M-sleep
 ‘He sleeps.’

- (3) *fi ηabrigwrth.*

fi ηabrigwr-th
 3.ABS return-3PL
 ‘They return.’

- (4) *nafa fi ymarth.*

nafa fi y-mar-th
 3PL.ERG 3.ABS 3SG.M-see-3PL
 ‘They see him.’

- (5) *nafa yare kabən yaritħrħt.*

nafa yare kabə=n y-a-riθr-th
 3PL.ERG bag(ABS) man=DAT.SG 3SG.M-DIA-give-3PL
 ‘They give the man the bag.’

The most frequent word order in Komnzo is SOV, more accurately AUV⁶, since there is only weak evidence for a subject category. At the same time, the flagging of noun phrases with case allows for considerable freedom in the word order patterns. Nominal compounds and noun phrases are typically head-final, although modifying elements in the noun phrase, for example adjectives or quantifiers, may occur after the head. Relative clauses follow their head.

Subordinate clauses in Komnzo are usually non-finite employing nominalised verbs with appropriate case markers. Verb chaining and the distinction between medial and final verb forms, which are typical for Papuan languages, are not found in Komnzo. The following examples show a phase complement (6) and a complement of desire (7).

- (6) *nafa with rkusi thethkäfath.*

nafa	with	rku-si	the-thkäfa-th
3NSG.ERG	banana(ABS)	knock_down-NMLZ	2 3PL-start-2 3PL

‘They started knocking down the bananas.’

- (7) *fi miyo yé nge fathasir.*

fi	miyo	yé	nge	fatha-si=r
3.ABS	desire	3SG.M.be	child	hold-NMLZ=PURP

‘He wants to hold the child.’

In addition to nominalised verbs, clauses can be connected with conjunctions (8), relative pronouns (9) or a placeholder pronominal inflected for case (10).

- (8) *fi z zebnaf o komnzo yrugr?*

fi	z	zebnaf-ø	o	komnzo	y-rugr
3ABS	already	wake_up-3SG	or still	3SG.M-sleep	

‘Did he wake up already or is he still sleeping?’

- (9) *kabe sathor kayé mane sfmarwrme.*

kabe	sa-thor	kayé	mane	sf-marwrm-e
man(ABS)	3SG.M-arrive	yesterday	which	3SG.M-see-1PL

‘The man who we saw yesterday arrived.’

⁶AUV: actor undergoer verb.

- (10) *ŋare z zefar bänema nafane kkauna zwarithrth.*
ŋare z zefar-ø bäné=ma nafane kkauna
woman(ABS) already set_off-3SG PH=CHAR 3SG.POSS things
zu-a-rithr-th
3SG.F-DIA-give-3PL

‘The woman has left already, because they gave back her belongings to her.’

1.4 Conventions

1.4.1 Glossing conventions

The interlinearisation follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules.⁷ Additional abbreviations that appear in the gloss line are listed in the preamble to this book.

With the exception of verbs, I apply the standard item-and-arrangement model for interlinearisation, i.e., words are segmented on one line, and then glossed on the line below. The phenomenon of distributed exponence (cf. Section 1.3.4) prompts us to take a different approach for verbs, namely the word-in-paradigm model (Matthews 1974), which takes the word, rather than the morpheme, as the level of analysis. Hence, I do not provide a morpheme segmentation, but instead the verb stem is separated from all affixal material by \slanted lines/ on the morpheme tier. On the gloss tier, the inflected verb form is placed in its paradigm by listing information in the following order: argument structure, TAM, directionality, and (following a backslash) lexeme translation, as in (11). The values of grammatical categories are separated with a colon (:), e.g. NPST:IPFV:AND for non-past, imperfective, andative. Grammatical values that belong to the same domain are not separated or separated with a fullstop (.), e.g. 3SG.F for third singular feminine. The glossing of argument structure does not employ labels such as SBJ and OBJ, instead an arrow symbol indicates an actor > undergoer relationship, e.g. 1SG>3SG.M for ‘I (did sth. to) him’. The only exception are ditransitivised verbs, which include the label io for indirect object, usually a goal, possessor, or recipient, as the verb ‘give’ in (11).

Note that for the overview section in this publication, especially in Section 1.3.5, I have used a simplified gloss for explanatory purposes. A fully glossed version of example (10) from this section would look like (11).

⁷<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>

- (11) *ŋare z zefar bänema nafane kkauna zwarithrh.*
- ŋare z ze\far/ bän=ma nafane kkauna
 woman(ABS) already 2|3SG:RPST:PFV\set_off PH=CHAR 3SG.POSS things
 zwa\ri\thrth.
 2|3PL>3SG.F.IO:RPST:IPFV\give
 ‘The woman has left already, because they gave back her belongings to
 her.’

1.4.2 Orthographic conventions

There is no writing tradition in Komnzo, but most people can read and write in one of the official languages, namely English and Motu. The mission school, which was based at *Rouku* during the 1960s, operated in Motu, but today English is the teaching language at the school in *Morehead*. Thus, reading and writing in Komnzo has not been promoted in the past. As a consequence, literacy in one’s mother tongue is an alien concept for most Komnzo speakers. Writing Komnzo words is often limited to proper nouns.

The first attempt to develop an orthography for Komnzo took place at an alphabet workshop organised by Marco and Alma Bouvé of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) at *Morehead Station* in 2000. Representatives from several villages took part in this workshop, and the result was a number of different orthographies. The orthography developed for Komnzo was not in use at the time I began my work in 2010. Together with the Komnzo Language Committee, the spelling was revised several times. The texts in this book make use of the graphemes shown in Table 1.6 and Figure 1.3.

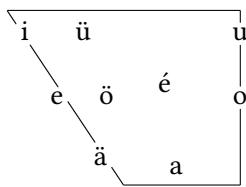


Figure 1.3: Vowel graphemes

Note that the epenthetic vowel [ɔ̃] is not written in the orthography because it is entirely predictable from the syllable structure (cf. Döhler 2018: 67ff.). There are in fact many roots which lack specified vowels altogether, for example *mnz* [mɔ̃nts] ‘house’, *zfth* [tsɔ̃ɸθ] ‘tree base’, and *ggrb* [ŋgɔ̃ŋgɔ̃rɔ̃m] ‘small, unripe

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Table 1.6: Consonant graphemes

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
plosive & affricate			t			k	kw
prenasalised plosive & affricate	b		d		nz	g	gw
fricative	f	th	s				
nasal	m		n			ŋ	
trill/tap			r				
semivowel				y		w	

coconut'. Only in word final position, the epenthetic vowel will be written as <é>. The quality of the epenthetic vowel shows only little variation. In almost all environments, it is realised as a mid central vowel of very short duration [ə].

The spelling of proper nouns is adapted to a more English-like orthography in the translations. I follow here some of the spelling conventions that Komnzo speakers have adopted, e.g. spelling pre-nasalised consonants with a digraph, and writing the epenthetic vowel. Examples are the personal name *karbu* [karə̃m̥bu], which is spelled "Karémbu" in the English translation, and the place name *mnzärfir* [mə̃ntsæ̃r̥f̥ir̥], which is spelled "Ménzärfér".

Punctuation in the interlinearised text is kept to a minimum. Only exclamation marks, question marks and quotation marks are used. In the parallel text version, where there is continuous text in Komnzo, I use full stops and sometimes commas. These punctuation marks signalise syntactic elements such as sentences, clauses and postposed elements. In addition, each sentence is introduced with a capital letter. For the definition of these elements, I refer the reader to the grammar (Döhler 2018).

1.5 Provenance

The provenance and metadata of the individual stories is given in the introductory text for each text. The documentation of Komnzo was part of my dissertation project at the Australian National University, Canberra. The project was funded by the DOBES initiative of the Volkswagen Foundation.⁸

1.5.1 Ethics

This project began with a pilot fieldtrip to the Morehead district in September of 2010. At the time, my goal was to establish contact to a community that speaks one of the Tonda languages. I did not know which village or variety I was going to work on when I first arrived in the provincial capital *Daru*. It was Abia Bai from *Rouku* who invited me to accompany him to his natal village, where I received a warm and friendly welcome from the community. I explained my intentions and people agreed that I may return regularly. I stayed for eight weeks, and was eventually adopted in the Mrzar Mayawa clan. My village name is *Bäi* [^mbæi].

The community set up a language committee with representatives from all clans in *Rouku* to oversee the documentation project. Some members remained passive representatives, while others took on more active roles, such as suggesting topics and stories to be recorded, checking my dictionary, helping me with elicitation, showing me plants and animals, inviting me to various feasts, and visiting places with me. The committee consisted of the following individuals: Abraham Maembu, Albert Maembu, Anau Weni, Caspar Mokai, Daure Kaumb, Kalés Tawéth, Kaumb Bai, Maembu Kwozi, Mai Karémbu, Marua Bai†, Mokai Orot, Railey Abia, Sémoi Weni†, Steven Karémbu, Turaki Damaya, and Wermang Maembu. The two people I worked with most of the time were my adoptive father Abia Bai and his daughter Nakre. In particular, Nakre helped me with the transcription and translation of all the texts in this collection.

On my first fieldtrip, I took with me a written consent form as was required by the ethics committee at ANU. This did not work well for people who do not regularly come into contact with bureaucratic processes and who do not have to deal with forms that they have to sign. Moreover, official paperwork is hardly a substitute for a personal conversation. In my case, it worked much better to explain myself in casual conversation, and to ask later if people agree to being recorded. I have only made and archived recordings in which the narrators were clear about the further terms of use.

⁸Grant number: 85606, Title: “Nen and Tonda: Two languages of Southern Papua New Guinea” (Komnzo belongs to the “Tonda” subgroup of the Yam family.)

1.5.2 Archived material

The original recordings of this text collection are archived at different places. All audio-visual footage collected during the Komnzo documentation project can be accessed at The Language Archive (TLA) under the following link: <https://hdl.handle.net/1839/a4d3a01c-0705-4583-8fb7-2fb479fe4e11>.

A second storage location for Komnzo recordings is the Zenodo data repository. Only a part of the original recordings is stored here, namely the Komnzo text corpus, i.e. the transcribed, translated and glossed recordings. This is available in the so-called “Komnzo community”⁹ under the following link: <https://zenodo.org/communities/komnzo>. While the footage files are stored in separate records at Zenodo, the corresponding annotation files (*.eaf) are available as a zip-file in a dedicated record under the following link: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1306246>, which is regularly updated.¹⁰

In the next section, I describe the editing process. The edited annotation files and the comma-separated files (*.csv) generated from them can be found under this link: <https://zenodo.org/records/14267763>.

1.5.3 Editing decisions

The texts in this collection are based on recordings that were made during my visits to *Rouku* between 2010 and 2017. With the help of various Komnzo teachers, especially Nakre Abia and her father Abia Bai, I have transcribed and translated these recordings. For this publication, I could not return to *Rouku*, which means that I was not able to consult with any of the original narrators or with my language teachers for the editing process. The editing choices are based on (1) my own understanding of the language, (2) comments made by my collaborators during the transcription which I noted down, (3) general comments made by my language teachers. As a consequence, the changes that I have made to the transcriptions are kept to a minimum. They involve standard procedures like removing some disfluencies such as false starts (12), self-corrections (13), and pauses (14) in order to make the texts better to read. I decided not to remove fillers such as the placeholder pro-form *bäne/baf* or the manner demonstrative *nima* since these are conventionalised lexical items (Döhler forthcoming(c)).¹¹

⁹Communities at Zenodo are topical collections. The Komnzo community also includes: the grammar, the dictionary, this text collection, scientific articles, specific datasets.

¹⁰The titles of the respective records for footage files and the file name of annotation files are labelled with the same source code, e.g. tci20100905.pdf (scan of the notebook), tci20100905.eaf (transcription), tci20100905.wav (audio), tci20100905.mpg (video).

¹¹These two items are glossed as *nima* [like_this] and *bäne/baf* [PH] in the texts.

- (12) *tfrisam -/ŋawa/- ŋawathknwa.*
 ‘He packed up at Téférism.’ [tci20110802 ABB 106]
- (13) *nafane yfzafgo ... zafo Akrimogoma emoth.*
 ‘Her name was Zafgo ... Zafo, a sister from Akrimongo.’ [tci20111107-01 MAK 92]

In many cases, the deletion of pauses has led to a rearrangement of units that correspond more to a sentence structure. For example, in the *Kukufia* story (Text I), the narrator made several pauses which were removed. Consequently, the three annotation units in the transcription file in (14a-c) were merged into one line of text in (14').

- (14) a. *nä kayé ...*
 ‘One day ...’ [tci20100905 ABB 25]
- b. *kukufia zenfara ...*
 ‘Kukufia set off ...’ [tci20100905 ABB 26]
- c. *kofär.*
 ‘to go fishing.’ [tci20100905 ABB 27]
- (14') *nä kayé kukufia zenfara kofär.*
 ‘One day, Kukufia set off to go fishing.’ [Text I, line 15]

The opposite scenario is also possible, i.e., narrators often produced postposed elements (e.g. a clause, noun phrase, inflected verb) that is intonationally part of the following unit, but belongs with the former unit in terms of syntax and semantics. In these cases, I have rearranged the annotation units to better reflect a kind of sentence notion. Below is an example of such rearrangement. The verb *kwakwirwrnθ* ‘they ran away’ belongs to the second intonation unit (in 15), but it is part of the topic construction in the first unit (15').

- (15) a. *yaw kabe wathr mane enrära*
 ‘As for the dancers’
- b. *kwakwirwrnθ ruga sagathifath dagon ra brämöwā egathikwath.*
 ‘they ran away. They forgot about the pig, the food and everything else.’ [tci20120909-06 KAB 72-73]
- (15') a. *yaw kabe wathr mane enrära kwakwirwrnθ*
 ‘As for the dancers, they ran away.’

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- b. *ruga sagathifath dagon ra bramöwā egathikwath.*

‘They forgot about the pig, the food and everything else.’

[Text K, lines 60–61]

Some texts are excerpts from a longer recording. For example, the text *Ausi* (Text N) comes from a recording session that includes a number of different stories. Such information about excerpts or possible thematic links between the texts are given in the introduction to each text.

Meta-comments have not been removed from the texts. These include personal introductions, afterword comments, asides that respond to something that was going on during the recording session, or comments directed to someone in the audience, or to myself. A typical example is given in (16), where the narrator addresses the linguist directly (16a). After a comment by his wife, he continues the narration (16b). There are also cases in which the linguist prompts the narrator by asking a clarification question or making a comment. Such situational information is given in the footnotes.

- (16) a. *nä kayé fthé boba gnyako nima kwa ymarwr ane kafar wämne.*

‘If you walk there one day, you will see that big tree.’

- b. *z niyakako. zba mothfa mane ykogr füni.*

‘Ah, you’ve already been there? The *füni* tree is right by the road.’

[Text G, lines 93–95]

Insertions from other languages are kept in the texts. These include code-switches, usually into English, or ad-hoc borrowings. Some examples are words like *okay*, numbers (15, *fifteen*), place names (*Daru, Australia*). In such cases, the orthography is not adapted. Loanwords on the other hand are phonologically integrated and, thus, do not count as insertions. Loanwords are adapted to the Komnzo orthography (eg. *bicycle* > *basikol*, *hospital* > *ospitor*).

There are a few code-switches for narrative purposes, for example in direct speech by someone from another place who speaks another language. This usually involves related languages or dialects, for example the code-switch to Wära in the two headhunting stories (in Texts D and E). Inserted material is not segmented or glossed in the interlinearised text.

In the English translations of the texts, I make some orthographic changes to proper nouns and place names to make them more readable. As mentioned earlier, there is no tradition of writing Komnzo words. Words that are commonly written are personal names and place names. Examples of such adaptations are the personal name *thbithé* [ðə^mbiðə] which is spelled “Thémbithé” and the place

name *karesa zfh* [karesa tsəɸəð] which is spelled “Karesa Zéfeth” in the English translation. In the text line, I use the Komnzo orthography.

1.6 Genres and narrative style

Komnzo speakers have terms for only some of the text genres included in this text collection. The names of genres reflect content rather than narrative structure, performance style or other conventions. Narratives are described as *ebar trikasi* ‘headhunting stories’ (Texts D and E), *menz trikasi* ‘ancestor stories’ (Texts A and B),¹² *nzürna trikasi* ‘spirit stories’ (Texts F, G, and H).¹³ The only exception is the genre *se zokwasi* ‘bark torch speech’, a type of public speech given during an all night feast that is unspecified for its content (Döhler 2019).

The titles of the stories reflect no local naming strategy, nor were the titles given by the narrators. Titles were created during the transcription and translation by myself together with my language teachers, often they are descriptive titles such as *fiyaf trikasi* ‘hunting story’ (Texts L and M).

Komnzo narratives are rarely the kind of staged performances that take place in a typical recording session. In most cases, narratives are told as “conversational narratives” that involve a lot of interaction between the narrator and their audience. If it is a conversation between a small number of participants, the main narrator is often interrupted by clarification questions or by side comments. If the audience is larger, there will also be loud emotional reactions and applause. An example of the latter is the story about the introduction of matches (Text K), especially the scene in which people run away in fear of the small matchbox. This interactive dimension of the Komnzo narratives cannot be rendered here in the printed text. However, the interested reader can listen to the original audio recordings.

1.7 Narrators

In Table 1.7, I present basic information about the narrators who appear in this text collection. As becomes clear from the table, most narrators are from one particular clan, namely the Mrzar Mayawa clan from *Masu*, a small hamlet close

¹²The word *menz* describes a mythical being from the creation time. Such beings reside at specific places (*menz kar*), and they always have a story that goes with the place. Therefore, I translate the word as ‘ancestor’, ‘story man’, ‘mythical being’.

¹³The word *nzürna* describes a shapeshifter, usually an old woman, who lives inside a particular tree. Nzürnas roam the forest and try to trick and kill unsuspecting villagers.

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to *Rouku* village. There is also a male bias in the selection of narrators. Biases like these are found already in the archived collection, i.e., in the recordings made during the documentation project. They were caused by the circumstances under which I was introduced to and later lived in *Rouku*. Because I was a man, I had more contact with men than with women. Because I was a Mayawa man, I spent more time with other men of the Mayawa clan than with men of other clans.

Table 1.7: Narrators sorted by age

NAME	SEX	AGE ^a	CLAN	HOME	TEXT
Ruth Abia	♀	28	Mrzar Mayawa	Rouku	J
Daure Kaumb	♂	35	Mrzar Mayawa	Rouku	B
Maembu Kwozi	♂	35	Banibani Mayawa	Rouku	M
Kurai Tawéth	♂	40	Nümgar Bangu	Yirko	H
Lucy Abia	♀	55	Sangara	Yokwa	L, N
Maraga Kwozi	♂	55	BaniBani Mayawa	Firra	D, G
Abia Bai	♂	60	Mrzar Mayawa	Masu	A, C, E, I
Kaumb Bai	♂	65	Mrzar Mayawa	Masu	K
Marua Bai†	♂	70	Mrzar Mayawa	Masu	F

^aEstimated age at the time of recording.

1.8 The texts

The texts in this collection are not grouped according to supposed genres, nor by narrator or time of recording. Instead, they are arranged thematically, as shown in Table 1.8. The first three texts are about places of origin and the creation of people. The following two texts are historical reports of two headhunting raids. The next three stories belong to the genre of *nzürna trikasi* ‘spirit stories’. This is followed by three stories about other supernatural phenomena. The text collection ends with three personal stories: two hunting stories and one life history.

Originally, the texts in this collection were selected to cover a wide range of narrative genres. It was only during the curation phase that I decided to give this book a thematic twist by exploring concepts of landscape, place names, and locality. Some of the texts lend themselves to this thematic analysis. For example, the first text *Kwafar* is a myth of wandering creators (Text A) and the second text *Masu* was recorded in an attempt to explore Komnzo place names (Text B). Other texts were selected for different reasons. Some texts are linked such as the three

texts belonging to the genre of *Nzürna trikasi* (Texts F–H), or the two stories about headhunting in which one (Text E) is the continuation of the other (Text D). As the next chapter shows, all the texts thematise landscape, place names and locality.

Table 1.8: Texts

TEXT	TITLE	TOPIC	WORDS
A	<i>Kwafar</i>	Origin myth, wandering creator myth, yam cultivation	1351
B	<i>Masu</i>	Myth and history about the home of the Mayawa clan	690
C	<i>Safak menz a faikore menz</i>	Myth about two ancestors	531
D	<i>Ebar zan firran</i>	Story about a headhunting attack on the village of <i>Firra</i>	909
E	<i>Faw brigsi</i>	Story about the revenge attack against the village of <i>Téndöfi</i>	780
F	<i>Nzürna trikasi watayan</i>	Spirit story at <i>Wataya</i> forest	543
G	<i>Nzürna trikasi firran</i>	Spirit story at <i>Firra</i> village	900
H	<i>Nzürna trikasi bresanema</i>	Spirit story at <i>Yirko</i> hamlet	773
I	<i>Kukufia</i>	Story about two children and the short man Kukufia	441
J	<i>Fenz yonasi</i>	Beliefs about sorcerers	612
K	<i>Masis</i>	Story about the introduction of matchboxes	619
L	<i>Fiyaf trikasi</i>	Short hunting story	320
M	<i>Fiyaf trikasi</i>	Story about an all day hunting trip	668
N	<i>Ausi</i>	Autobiographical story	1102
total			10239

2 Conceptualising landscape and place

2.1 Introduction

Mary Ayres writes that “Morehead people never cease to amaze me with their ability to recall, to the square meter, the precise location where an event occurred” (1983: 174). To keep such memories alive, the Farem leave tangible traces in the physical world. They often make cuts into tree trunks to mark a path. They tie leaves around trees to signal that a particular place should not be entered. They leave objects as a sign of remembrance of some event. Figure 2.1 shows the broken shaft of an arrow that a man had set up on the side of a path after he had killed a large pig at this spot the previous year.



Figure 2.1: A broken arrow is a reminder of the hunter’s luck and skill

2 Conceptualising landscape and place

The interest in places has also left its mark on the language of the Farem people. I will argue here that communication about route-finding and about shared locations is made possible by a sophisticated system of landscape terms and a dense network of place names. The words making up these subsystems are used to talk about everyday events, but they also bring the mythical past into the here and now. They help to regulate the rightful use of land, and in some cases may even restrict access to it. Lastly, they provide a spatial anchor for a large part of social life, for example by linking people to their respective places of origin. As Thornton puts it in his overview of Native American place naming, they “tell us something not only about the structure and content of the physical environment itself but also how people perceive, conceptualize, classify, and utilize their environment” (Thornton 1997: 209).

While the study of place names has a long tradition, research from the perspective of semantic typology has gained momentum in the last ten years. Good examples for a set of systematic studies of the topic can be found in the contributions to (Burenhult 2008). A particularly useful distinction introduced by Burenhult & Levinson (2008) looks at “feature names” versus “area names”. While the former pick out particularly salient features of concrete geography, e.g. rivers, mountains, or valleys, the latter are not based on the physical environment, but more abstract concepts are involved, e.g. ownership, history, myth, or ethnicity. Feature names are good for individuating many different types of landscape, but they cannot reach a complete coverage of a given environment. After all, in this system you can only name what is there. Area names, on the other hand, can potentially reach complete coverage.

Feature names and area names show varying degrees of internal structure in Komnzo. An example for the hierarchical organisation of feature names comes from the expression *kafar fz* ‘big forest’ which is used for ‘jungle; thick, dense, dark, cool forest’. There are several subtypes of this vegetation type which vary in size and shape, for example *fokufoku* ‘small patch of forest’ and *fz minz* ‘thin strip of forest’. For area names, we may take *kar* which describes an ‘inhabited place’, typically these are villages, but there is also the word *menz kar* ‘story/creator place’ for a place that was once or is still inhabited by a mythical creator spirit, and that has a creation story to it. Entering such places should be avoided at all costs, as it can lead to illness and death. There are many *menz kar* around *Rouku*, and each one has a place name.

The following description shows that Komnzo speakers employ a mix of both systems. Feature names capture a variety of landforms (e.g. hill, slope, creek, river mouth, island), man-made places (e.g. village, garden, path), and biological entities (e.g. forest, swamp, savannah, grove). Area names, especially in the form

of place names, are abundant and this subsystem reaches almost complete coverage. Recall FE Williams' comment from the introduction to this book: "if you ask your guide where you stand at any moment, he will be able to give a name to the land" (1936: 207).

Area names and place names often develop from the names of features. Take the three major cities in the German federal state of Saxony, which all come from Slavic feature names: Dresden from *Draždany* 'swampy forest', Leipzig from *Lip-sko* 'linden place', and Chemnitz from *Kamenica* 'stony river'. This pattern is also found in Komnzo place names such as *swäri zfth* 'swäri base'. This must have started as a descriptor of a place with an especially large or beautiful *swäri* tree (*Alstonia actinifila*), but over time it lost its descriptive function. Today it is used even though the *swäri* tree was cut down decades ago. Merlan (2001) described place name systems of this kind as "non-arbitrary", because they establish a direct relationship to the designated places.

Although landscape terms and place names in Komnzo are well-developed semantic fields, it is place names that carry the greater part of the functional load. In other words, speakers almost always coordinate through shared knowledge of place names rather than physical features of the environment. The latter is used as a fallback option if there is no name for a particular place or if the speaker assumes that the other person does not know the name.

2.2 The physical environment

The landscape of the Morehead District has been characterised by outsiders as uneventful, boring, and featureless. An extreme comment to this end was made by Wilfried Norman Beaver, the Resident-Magistrate of the colonial administration, who had briefly visited the region in September 1908. He writes: "The timber is poor, consisting of stunted gum, ti-tree and paper bark. The grass is poor, and the soil is but third rate. I should say this is one vast swamp in the rainy, and parched up in the dry season"; concluding that "there is nothing to induce settlement, nor would I ever advise anyone to go there." (Murray 1909: 12). Having spent a total of two years in the region, I can only disagree with him. However, we do not need to move much further in time from Beaver, to find a more nuanced description of the landscape. Francis Edgar Williams, the Government Anthropologist for the Territory of Papua, who had visited the region repeatedly throughout the 1920s, introduces the area by stating that "its scenery often has a mild, almost dainty, attractiveness in detail, but represents on the whole the extreme of monotony" (1936: 1). As we shall see, it is the small details on the ground that are highly salient to the people.

2 Conceptualising landscape and place

The wider area of Southern New Guinea, that part of the land between the Fly River in the north and the coastline in the south, has seen dramatic geomorphological changes over the last millennia. Recall that the initial settlement of the paleo-continent Sahul, consisting of New Guinea, mainland Australia, Tasmania, and the Aru Islands, is dated back to 40,000 BP (Allen & O'Connell 2008). Most of Southern New Guinea was inundated at the maximum height of the sea level at 6,000 BP (Chappell 2005). It was slowly rebuilt with sediments carried by the Fly River and Digul River. As a consequence, large parts of the land consist of alluvial soil of poor quality. A notable exception is the area under investigation here, the so-called "Morehead ridge" (Paijmans et al. 1971: 15), which is a slightly elevated stretch of land that runs in West-East direction. Here the soil is well drained and lies above the water level during the rainy season. For these reasons, most villages in the region are situated along the ridge. The village of *Rouku* is located on the highest part of the ridge.

The broader Southern New Guinea region lies in a zone of tropical savannah or sub-humid tropical climate. The annual rainfall is around 2000mm, and 70% of this falls during the wet season (Paijmans et al. 1971: 12).¹ The annual monsoon cycle brings a long dry season (June–November) and an intense wet season (December–May). Small differences in elevation are barely noticeable during the dry part of the year, but they become clear landmarks in the wet season. Rivers overflow their banks, ditches turn into creeks, recesses become stagnant ponds. All these changes affect the vegetation and other types of biota, e.g. the types of animals that occur in the different ecological niches at different times of the year. Figure 2.2 shows the high-water mark near the village of *Rouku*. During the previous rainy season, the paperbark trees on the right side of the picture were submerged to about 1 metre, while the bamboo groves on the left side remained dry.

Humans have interacted and changed the physical environment of the Morehead district, and they continue to do so. The most obvious result of these interventions are villages, roads and gardens that disrupt the natural environment. But even if a village was abandoned a long time ago or a garden has been left fallow for many years, there are unmistakable traces that remain. Old villages, for example, can be recognised not only by old house posts, but also by coconut palms that were once planted. Abandoned gardens can also be recognised by the absence of larger trees or dead trees whose naked trunks tower above the regrowing plants, or by bamboo groves that were once planted as building material for fences.

¹As a comparison, the Berlin-Brandenburg area received 579 mm annually on average between 1991-2010 (Senatsverwaltung 2022).



Figure 2.2: The high water mark is visible in the centre of the picture

Human meddling with the physical environment has yet another, much more subtle dimension. *Rouku* men often go hunting carrying the smouldering inflorescence of a local species of banksia. This *dagu zthé* ‘firestick’ is used to burn small patches of land along their routes, resulting in many low-intensity fires during the dry season. I was told that this practice serves to create a favourable habitat for wallabies and bandicoots or to increase the local supply of certain plants. In other parts of the world, especially Australia, this technique of “cultural burning” has lead to substantial changes in the geographic range and demographic structure of many vegetation types (Flannery 2002: 217ff. and Bowman 1998).

2.3 Landscape in the lexicon

The Komnzo lexicon marks off at least four major ecological zones: (i) *kafar fz* ‘big forest’, which is a type of monsoon rain forest (Figure 2.3), (ii) *fz* ‘forest’, which is a much thinner forest type covered by a grass floor and dotted with red anthills (Figure 2.4), (iii) *ksi kar* ‘bushy place’, which is a type of savannah that lacks trees, but is covered with high grass (Figure 2.5), and (iv) *zra* ‘swamp’, which is a place entirely inundated during the wet season, often timbered by paperbark trees and a ground cover of dead leaves (Figure 2.6). While there is a general distinction between *fz* ‘forest’, *ksi kar* ‘open grassland’ and *fath* ‘clear place, savannah’, we also find fine-grained distinctions like *fokufoku* ‘small patch of forest’, *fz minz* ‘thin strip of forest’, and *morthr* ‘edge of forest with a smaller patch forest close by’. For a further description of the landscape types, see Döhler (2018: 10ff.).

Large parts of the Morehead district are inundated by rising water during the wet season. Consequently, small changes in the landscape may have drastic effects during this time. This has found its way into the lexicon of Komnzo. Moving

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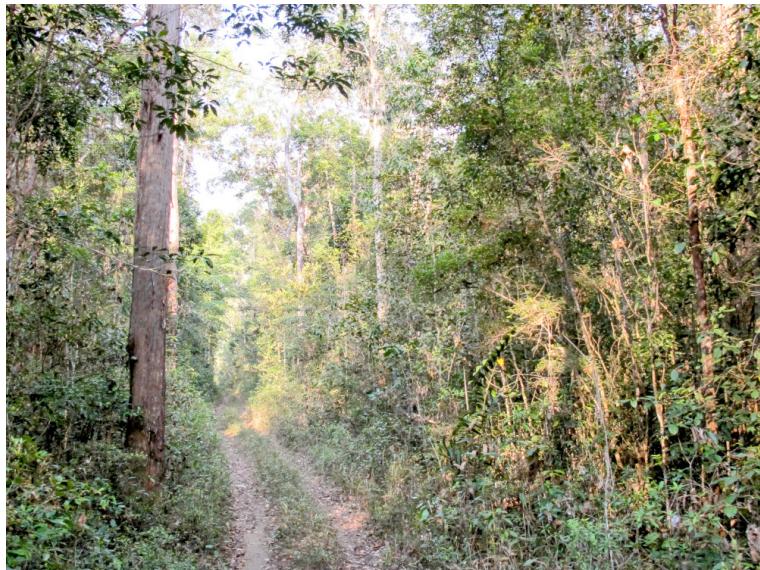


Figure 2.3: A road through the rain forest (*kafar fz*)



Figure 2.4: Thinner type of forest (*fz*)

2.3 Landscape in the lexicon



Figure 2.5: Edge of the forest transitioning to savannah (*ksi kar*)



Figure 2.6: Villagers catching fish in the swamp (*zra*)

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from the highest point, usually the villages and settlements, to the lowest point, the Morehead River, we find a number of specific terms. I translate the term *töna* as ‘high ground’. It is that part of the land, regardless of vegetation type, which is virtually never covered by water. Villages, hamlets, storage houses and yam gardens are located on *töna*. Small hills are referred to by *märmär* or by the Motu loan *ororo*. These areas may become islands (*bod*) during high floods. Wide, gentle slopes (*rsrs*) lacerated by many small creeks (*ttfö*) lead to lower areas. It is often along creeks where people plant sago palms. Taro gardens are made here if the ground stays wet throughout the year. Closer to the river, the ground can be very uneven and bumpy due to running water. This is called *kore*. A little lower lies that part of the land which is always covered by water during the rainy season. Often backwater stays in stagnant pools, which dry up only during the height of the dry season. These places are called *zra*, which I translate with ‘swamp’, but maybe the term ‘billabong’, commonly used in Australia, is more fitting. In this area, we find smaller pools of water which dry up (*nawan*) and larger pools which are permanent (*dmgū*). The ankle-deep, muddy water covered with leaves is called *nzäwi*. Walking towards the river, the land rises again in many places. This difference in elevation is almost unnoticeable, but it is enough so that this area dries up first at the end of the wet season. These places between the swamp and the river are called *for* and people plant cassava, sweet potato and taro here. The steep riverbanks along the Morehead river are called *rokuroku*, a word from which the village name *Rouku* originates. The sides of the river are covered with patches of *süfi* ‘floating grass’, and in some places this layer is called *tüf* when it is thick enough to support the cultivation of sweet potatoes. Finally, there is the Morehead River (Figure 2.7), and much of daily life takes place between the village and the river as people go and fetch water, wash, catch fish, or simply enjoy sitting by the river during the hot part of the year. The word for river is *ŋars*, and there is the verb *frezzi* meaning ‘to come up from the river’ (cf. Section 2.7). Most of the words mentioned here can be found in the texts included in this book, either as descriptors or as parts of place names (cf. Section 2.5).

Other parts of the lexicon feature human-made structures. For example, *kar* ‘village, place’ describes a place that is suitable for settlement, or that is in fact settled permanently by people (Figure 2.8). Garden structures are described as *dao* ‘garden’ and by metonymical extension as *ŋarake* ‘fence, garden’ (Figure 2.9). There is more specialised terminology, for example in *thaba* which describes a clearing in the forest that is used for gardening (Figure 2.10), or *dao kr* for an abandoned garden, *for ŋarake* for a garden by the river. Another example for a human-made structure is *swäyé* and somewhat archaic *ethf* for ‘berth’, or ‘canoe place’.

2.3 Landscape in the lexicon



Figure 2.7: The Morehead River at *Kanathr*



Figure 2.8: Houses in Rouku village

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Figure 2.9: A newly constructed garden fence (*ηarake*)



Figure 2.10: Two images of *thaba* 'forest garden' marked by dead trees

Area names of mythological significance are called *menz kar* ‘story place’, in which the word *menz* stands for a mythical creator. These place are always connected to a creation story, and therefore I adopt Ayres’ term ‘story place’ for them. More generally, sacred places are called *thak* and the reduplication of this word *thakthak* means ‘law, taboo, rule’. This example illustrates something that Ayres (1983) argues for in her dissertation, namely that the abstract is often anchored in the concrete landscape in the Morehead district.

2.4 Landscape in metaphors

Other ways of conceptualizing landscape in language comes in the form of metaphorical expressions. Before discussing one example of a metaphor at length, I want to point to a gap. The domain of body parts, which is commonly used in many languages around the world (Tjuka 2019) for landscape features such as river mouths or mountain faces, is largely absent in Komnzo. So far, the only example is the word *thm* ‘nose’, which can be used for river bends or curves in a road. Speakers translate *thm* with English ‘point’, as in *ŋars thm* ‘point in the river’ (lit. ‘river nose’).

Plants, especially trees, are a fertile source domain for landscape metaphors. The mouth of a creek or a river is referred to by the word *zfth*. This word is a colexification (François 2008) of a number of concepts. In its most basic sense, it means ‘base of a tree’. It can also mean ‘origin’ and ‘reason’, much like ‘root’ in the English expression ‘the root of all evil’. *Zfth* can also refer to one’s clan and lineage.² While the tree metaphor is commonly found in languages around the world, its extension to landscape and bodies of water, as in ‘river mouth’, seems to be specific to the Morehead district. This is also found in other riverine terminology such as *ttfö tuti* ‘creek branches, creek twigs’ or *ttfö minz* ‘creek vines’, which can both be used to refer to smaller streams. The place where a creek starts can be called either *ttfö ker* ‘creek tail’, but also *ttfö zrminz* ‘creek root’. The same terminology is applied to different parts of the much larger Morehead river.

The fact that bodies of water are conceptualised through a tree metaphor can be traced back to the myth of *Kwafar*, in which the place from which all humans descend is a tree. *Kwafar* is located somewhere in the Arafura Sea between New Guinea and Australia. In the myth, the tree burns down and the people are left homeless. The burning of the tree is connected to two brothers who kill a mythical creature. This event triggers a flood that drives the people to the north and

²In Text E, the speaker uses the nominal compound *kabe zfth* [people tree_base] to refer to the elders of his clan.

south. As the water rises, the channels in the ground left by the charred roots of the tree become creeks and rivers. In other versions of the myth, the tree falls to the north and the impressions left in the ground are filled by the water of the approaching flood. Text A is a version of the *Kwafar* myth. Other versions have been recorded by Williams (1936: 306) and Ayres (1983: 50).

2.5 Place names

The two quotations from Williams and Ayres cited in the introduction already indicate the abundance and importance of place names, or toponyms (cf. Section 1.1). In Figure 2.11, we can get an impression of what Ayres means when she writes that the system is “staggering in its elaboration” (1983: 38). The image shows a page from her notebook containing a map of *Rouku* and the surrounding area – no more than eight kilometers in diameter – with well over 100 named places. When I compared her sketch with my own data, I realised that the map is by no means exhaustive, and that there are many named places missing, especially closer to settlements.

While the place names are common knowledge and known to most Farem people, the details of each little path and the stories that go with them are only known to the rightful owners of that piece of land. In this sense, toponymic knowledge can be likened to a proof of ownership. For this reason, I have deliberately refrained from providing a complete list of the place names I have collected as well as a detailed map.

All place names in Komnzo are proper names, but they differ in their composition and meaning. Some place names have no other meaning than the places they refer to, for example *Fthi*, *Kanathr* or *Ijazäthe*. At some point in the past, they may have been segmentable into meaningful parts or formed a meaningful word in themselves, but this knowledge has faded. Place names usually preserve features that have become unproductive or lexemes that have become archaic. This can also be observed in Komnzo. For example, the place name *Thmefi* can be analysed as *thm* ‘nose’ and *efi* ‘hair’. However, the word *efi* is archaic and *thäbu* is used instead. In fact, some speakers are not aware of the possible segmentation.

Komnzo place names usually consist of two nouns that form a compound. Semantically, they range from generic descriptions such as *Gani zfh* ‘base of the *gani* tree’ (*Endiandra brassii*) to specific illustrations such as *Nzga warsi* ‘vulva chewing’ or *Kwanz fath* ‘baldness clearing’. Many of these compounds consist of a plant name and a landscape term or a term used for the part of a plant. The most common landscape terms in these compounds are: *zra* ‘swamp, water-hole’ and *ttfö* ‘creek’. The most common plant part terms are: *zfh* ‘base’ and *fr*

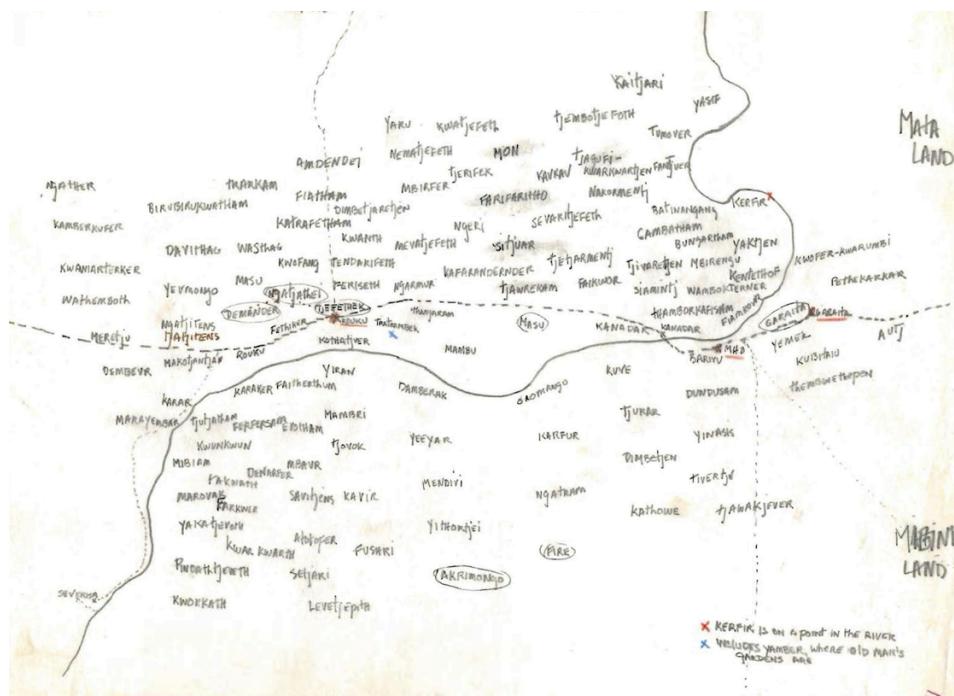


Figure 2.11: Place names around Rouku from Ayres' fieldnotes

'stem, grove'. A few examples are: *Karesa zfh* 'karea base' (*Melaleuca sp*), *Atätö fr* 'atätö stem' (*Pouteria sp*), *Wsws zra* 'wsws swamp' (*Combretum sp*). These are not descriptions of places or plant parts, as the translation might indicate, but they are proper names. An expression like *karesa zfh* can refer to the base of any *karesa* tree, but the proper name *Karesa Zfh* refers only to a single place.

Only few place names are inflected verbs. The two above mentioned place names *Kanathr* and *Ijazäthe* look like verbs, but they are no longer analyzable as such. A clearer example is the place name *Karifthe* which relates to one of the stories in this collection (Text C). *Karifthe* is the place where the protagonists set off in different directions after their argument. The place name is an inflected verb that can be translated as: ‘You two should send each other away!’³

³Second person dual imperative of the verb *rifthaksi* ‘send, send off’.

2.6 Mixed-language place names

The study of toponymy is a fruitful source of data about prior linguistic occupations of an area. In many places, as in the case of Celtic place names through much of Central and Eastern Europe (Sims-Williams 2006), there is an inference that language choice in toponyms is evidence for land-language associations different from those that currently obtain. However, we should beware of assuming that reigning conditions of monolingualism are the most potent force shaping place naming. Traditional egalitarian multilingualism is still practised throughout the Morehead District, which is reflected in mixed-language toponyms. Two such examples are: the place name *Sandir Mit* close to Bimadbn village, which mixes Nen *sandir* ‘banksia species’ and Idi *mit* ‘stem’⁴, and the place name *Ormogo* close to Rouku village, which mixes Komnzo *or* ‘Emerald dove’ and Nama *mogo* ‘house’.

Mixed-language place names account for a significant proportion of toponyms recorded for Komnzo. Table 2.1 gives a list of 20 of them. They involve words from almost all surrounding language varieties (cf. map in Figure 1.1).⁵ They are sorted by the order of elements: in the first set the second element comes from Komnzo, in the second set it is the first element. The last four place names involve cases in which the second variety is very close to Komnzo. Thus, there is one word that belongs to both languages, and one word that clearly belongs to the other language. For each place name, I provide the English translation in the rightmost column. In the two columns labeled “language 1” and “language 2”, I provide the translation of the mixed-language place name into each of the two languages; i.e. if it were a monolingual place name.

I have argued in Döhler (2021) that mixed-language place names must have been coined in a deliberate act; in a conscious decision that a particular place would henceforth be labeled with a bilingual expression. The names themselves are proof of this, as they consist of semantically coherent expressions such as *Fotnz* ‘short coconut’ with Wartha Thuntai *fo* ‘coconut’ and Komnzo *tnz* ‘short’ or *Mnzärfr* ‘ant post’ with Nama *mnzär* ‘ant’ and Komnzo *fr* ‘stem, post’. The point about semantic coherence is that it links words from two languages directly.

⁴I thank Daniel Gbae (Guvae) from the village of Bimadbn who gave me a handwritten document with a dozen bilingual place names around his village after I spoke to him about this issue. The place name *Sandir Mit* and the word *sandir* are listed in Evans’ dictionary of Nen (2019). The Idi word *mit* is listed in the lexical database Yamfinder (Carroll et al. 2021).

⁵Kémä and Namat are absent from the list. Both of these languages are so close to other varieties that a clear identification of the source language is difficult. In the case of Kémä these are Wära and Wéré, and in the case of Namat it is Nama.

Table 2.1: Mixed-language place names

NAME	LANGUAGE 1	LANGUAGE 2	TRANSLATION
Düdüsam	Na: <i>düdü wkwr</i>	Ko: <i>dödö sam</i>	'broom liquid'
Fakwr	Na: <i>fa fak</i>	Ko: <i>thrma kwr</i>	'after ashes'
Fotnz	Wt: <i>fo tg</i>	Ko: <i>ηazi tnz</i>	'coconut short'
Füsari	Na: <i>fü bilé</i>	Ko: <i>ηanz sari</i>	'garden plot axe'
Makozanzan	Ar: <i>maxo kamakama</i>	Ko: <i>nzga zanzan</i>	'vagina beating'
Mefath	We: <i>me faf</i>	Ko: <i>mni fath</i>	'fire place'
Mnzärfr	Na: <i>mnzär sérásér</i>	Ko: <i>msar fr</i>	'ant post'
Säzäri	Wt: <i>sä ytho</i>	Ko: <i>karesa zäri</i>	'paperbark bending'
Tratratabk	Ka: <i>tratra bak</i>	Ko: <i>drädrä bæk</i>	'lapwing's back'
Wästhak	Na: <i>wäs näk</i>	Ko: <i>wässü thak</i>	'tree (sp.) place'
Märofak	Ko: <i>märo kwr</i>	Na: <i>mane fak</i>	'tree (sp.) ashes'
Ormogo	Ko: <i>or mnz</i>	Na: <i>bänz mogo</i>	'dove house'
Snzäzwär	Ko: <i>snzä zfth</i>	Wt: <i>dawi zwär</i>	'crayfish base'
Wamamogo	Ko: <i>wama mnz</i>	Na: <i>féfé mogo</i>	'yam house'
Yemgifaf	Ko: <i>yem zan faf</i>	Na: <i>awyé gi faf</i>	'cassow. hunt place'
Zthékabir	Ko: <i>zthé etfth</i>	Wä: <i>zthk kabir</i>	'penis sleeping'
Dimsathak	An: <i>dimsa thak</i>	Ko: <i>nzrmsé thak</i>	'sour place'
Gawe	Wt: <i>ga we</i>	Ko: <i>nzä we</i>	'I also'
Sizwär	Ko: <i>si zfth</i>	Wt: <i>si zwär</i>	'eye base'
Zöfäthak	Wä: <i>zöfää thak</i>	Ko: <i>ymnd thak</i>	'bird place'

Abbreviations: Anta (An), Arammiba (Ar), Kánchá (Ka), Komnzo (Ko), Nama (Na), Wära (Wä), Wèré (We), Wartha Thuntai (Wt)

One piece of evidence against intentional naming would be if mixed-language place names were formed from a semantically coherent expression in one language, e.g. *fo tg* 'short coconut' in Wartha Thuntai, which is then combined with a generic place name in another language, e.g. *thak* 'place' in Komnzo, resulting in *fo tg thak*. However, such structures have not been documented for mixed-language place names. Further supporting evidence comes from the observation that these place names pattern roughly with geography, in that places containing a word from Wartha Thuntai are found west of *Rouku*, while places containing a word from Nama are found east of *Rouku*. Note that code-switching can be ruled out as a path of development, since code-switching is heavily sanctioned by the

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local language ideology. Instead, speakers converse in a dual-lingual mode (Lincoln 1976), sometimes also called receptive multilingualism (Singer 2023). The pattern of language use is such that in conversations between speakers of two different languages each consistently speaks one language in response to utterances in the other language.

2.7 Talking about places

The first observation that can be made from the texts in this collection is the abundance of place names. Almost all stories are anchored at some named place, and each scene takes place in a specific location. This becomes clear in the first text, the *Kwafar* myth (Text A), which belongs to a genre of “traveling creator myths” known from Australia (cf. Evans 2010: 5ff.). They are also known from Wagner (1996), who shows that traveling myths are found along the New Guinea south coasts of the Western and Gulf Provinces, in adjoining areas of West Papua, in southern areas of the Simbu Province, and on the Torres Strait Islands.

In the *Kwafar* myth in this collection, the ancestor travels and creates the landscape, for example by dropping crumbs from his yamcake that turn into small pebbles, or carving a bow and arrows for himself, the remains of which turn into bamboo groves. He brings with him certain sacred items such as rainmaking stones, and he plays a role in the dispersal of people from this original place called *Kwafar*. His name and route may change depending on where the story is recorded, but what gives the story its ultimate credibility is the account of the places he visited along the way. The version in this text collection tells the story of *Mathkwi*, the ancestor of the Mayawa clan in *Rouku*. In some episodes of the plot, the narrator Abia Bai lists the places like pearls on a string, as in the excerpt in (1).

- (1) a. *watik fo^a yaniyaka misa z^{fth}*
‘Then he continued and came to *Misa Zéfeth*.’
- b. *mäbri misa z^{fth} yrn*
‘*Mämbri* was first, then *Misa Zéfeth* and then *Yérén*.’
- c. *fä zänrsöfätha fof yaniyaka benzü z^{fth}*
‘He went down there (to the river) and walked to *Benzü Zéfeth*.’

[Text A, line 150–152]

While such spatial anchoring is especially important for myths of origin (cf. Texts A and B), there is another genre that shows this connection clearly. For the

genre of *nzürna trikasi* ‘spirit stories’, one must assume that each clan should have its own *nzürna trikasi* (Döhler forthcoming(a)). There are three *nzürna trikasi* in this book (cf. Texts F, G, and H). In the introduction to the first story, I outline the common elements found in all *nzürna trikasi*. What is more important now are the differences, because within a broader genre that contains many stories, the uniqueness of one’s own story must be emphasised. This is often achieved in the afterword by linking the story to one’s clan land, and thereby to one’s lineage. In each of the three stories we can recognise the narrator’s attempt to claim the respective story as his own by mentioning the place. As an example, I cite Maraga Kwozi’s afterword to the *nzürna* story, which is set in his native village of *Firra* in (2).

- (2) a. *nä karen nima näbuné bänema*
‘There are other (stories) at other places.’
- b. *nä nzürna ḷare zokwasi trikasi bä räro fi ane kar woga mane erä fi ane miyatha erä*
‘There are other Nzürna stories, but the villagers there know them.’
- c. *nzefé nzüwäbragwé nima ni miyatha nrä*
‘I followed this one because we know it.’
- d. *nzekaren ane yam kwafiyokwrm*
‘This happened in our village.’

[Text G, line 182–185]

On first mention of a particular place, narrators often provide additional explanations about certain features of the place or about its position in relation to other named places. Two examples are given below in (3) and (4). Such elaboration occurs somewhat more frequently in the stories than in natural language usage, since an unknowing outside linguist is involved in the recording situation. In (3), Lucy Abia points out a place that most people from *Rouku* would know very well. A case like (4) is different in that the place Maraga Kwozi mentions is further away and few people know the details of this location. In such circumstances, further explanations would also be used in more natural speech.

- (3) a. *wati zenfarake zäzr mnz bä rä*
‘So we departed and moved to *Zázér Ménz*.’
- b. *safs ane mothen rä nima ḷars zawe*
‘That’s on the road to *Safés*, on the side towards the river.’

[Text N, line 107–108]

2 Conceptualising landscape and place

- (4) a. *kafar wäsü sukogrm mrab fren waisamen*
‘The big *Wäsü* tree stood in a bamboo grove at *Waisam*.’
- b. *waisam ane kar yfrä*
‘That’s the name of the place, *Waisam*,’
- c. *mobo zwamnzrm*
‘where she lived.’
- d. *mrab fr thden*
‘It is located in the middle of a bamboo grove.’ [Text G, line 131–134]

Not only scenes within stories, but also people are explicitly associated with certain places. Narrators pay attention to this spatial anchoring even if (i) the character does not play a major role in the further course of the plot, (ii) the character is not mentioned by name or (iii) is identified only with a kinship term. Example (5) comes from the introduction of a story in which the narrator Kurai Tawéth mentions in passing that the protagonist has two wives.

- (5) a. *okay bres bä swamnzrm yirkon*
‘Okay, *Bres* was living in *Yirko*.’
- b. *edwä näre swarärm*
‘He had two wives.’
- c. *nä kanfokma nä masuma*
‘One was from *Kanfok* and the other one was from
Masu.’ [Text H, line 3–5]

Place names are often used metonymically referring to the inhabitants of that place, as in (6), where the notion of “people from place X” is inferred from the use of the dative case on the place name: *akrimogo kar=nm* [PLN village=DAT].

- (6) *akrimogo karnm naf thätrifa*
‘She told the *Akrimongo* people.’ [Text D, line 77]

Especially in dry season much of people’s daily life involves coming and going from the high ground to the river. This movement has left some impact in the verb lexicon. For example, the verb *frezsi* usually means ‘take something out of the water’. The verb can be used in a quasi-reflexive construction with the meaning ‘come up from the river’. The latter construction is used when disembarking a canoe, or when walking back from a river camp to the village. We can find *frezsi* with this meaning in a number of texts, for example in *Kwafar* (Text A), *Faw brigsi*

(Text E), and *Kukufia* (Text I). The verbs *rsörsi* ‘climb down’ and *sogsi* ‘climb up’, as in ‘climb down or up a tree’, can also be used to mean ‘go downhill or uphill’. For example, we find two short episodes that make use of the two verbs in the hunting story *Fiyaf trikasi* (Text M, lines 60–62, 114–116). The first of these is given below in (7) with the verbs for ‘climb up and down’ printed in bold font. Note that these route descriptions are located in places where the difference in elevation is barely noticeable in the dry season.

- (7) a. *wiyak e nä töna kresöbätho*

‘I walked up to the high ground.’

- b. *krärsöfäthé kresöbätho mdüfi tönafo fof*

‘I went down and went up again to the high ground at

Méndüfi.
[Text M, line 60–62]

2.8 Conclusion

Komnzo speakers do not use vectors on a grid, such as maps, compasses or other cartographic aids for coordination. In lieu of a grid system, or a landscape with highly salient features such as mountains and valleys, people use established tracks between named places in order to navigate, or rather to talk about such navigation. Thus, the local system of orientation is one of “tracks-between-named-places.” People do not just wander off and stroll around, except when hunting for an animal. When visiting unfamiliar territory, they are usually accompanied by someone who knows the area. Most tracks are visible even to the untrained eye, and should a track become overgrown because it has not been used for some time, people have a habit of cutting marks in the trees along the path.

Based on the abundance of place names in narratives and in Komnzo speech in general, I argue that the Farem conceptualise their environment through a network of named locations. The exact locations, as would be indicated on Western maps, are less important. What matters is a certain degree of coordination with other speakers. Such a mnemonic system is kept active in the memory and passed on to the next generation by constantly referring to places, which explains the abundance of place names in the texts. In that sense, the Farem people quite literally “speak the map”.

Part II

Texts

A *Kwafar* - The place of origin in *Kwafar*

A.1 Introduction

Kwafar is a narrative lasting roughly 18min. It was recorded by Christian Döhler on October 13th 2013, in video format.¹ The story is an excerpt from a longer recording session. The story teller is Abia Bai, and the recording took place outside his house in *Rouku*.

A.2 Summary & background

The text was prompted by my question “Where did the yams come from?” and it should be seen as a compendium rather than a single story line. The text can be cut into three story lines, which I have been told independently by others. The first part is the *Kwafar* flood myth, which also appears in Williams (1936) and Ayres (1983). *Kwafar* is a place off the coast between the island of New Guinea and the Australian continent.

According to the story, there was a large Wäsi tree at *Kwafar* and the people of different tribes and languages lived together in this tree. Eventually, the tree burned down and the people started spreading out from there. Many clans of the Morehead district have an apical ancestor who came from *Kwafar*. One of the many stories located at *Kwafar* involves two brothers. While hunting in the area, the brothers come across a mysterious creature that devours the bodies of those who died in the fire. The two brothers try to shoot the creature, but only the older brother is successful. As his arrow pierces the creature, a flood of water bursts out of the wound. In recent versions of the myth, the younger brother is said to be white like Europeans. He owns a shotgun instead of a bow. He runs south towards what is now Australia. The older brother runs north. He stops the flood by beating the water with branches of *dödö* (*Melaleuca sp*).

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20131013-01. It is archived at:
<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5653691>

At this point, Abia transitions into the second part. This is the story of Mathkwi, the apical ancestor of his clan. This story involves many small episodes about the route that Mathkwi took and all the things he carried and brought along.

The third part is about customs and traditions around yam cultivation, which involved a ritual about tasting the first yams of the season. In this part of the story, Abia also talks about two magic stones that were passed down through the family, but lost in his father's generation.

A.3 *Kwafar* (parallel text)

Moba zrathkäfe?

CD: *Wawa moba enrera?*

“Wawa moba enrera?” okay! kwa zöb-thé zrathkäfe nimame trikasi fof kwafar. Nimame fof nzranyan e zbo zrabthe. Ra nzigfu enfathwath. Ra fofosa nzigfu enfathwath. Watik zbo zf zrabthe ane-me fof. Trikasi näbi kwa wäniyak. Zane trikasi mane rä ḥajyf bäyf mane natrikwa. Nzenm natrikwa. Watik ane trikasi fof zena ḥaritakwr.

Trikasi mane rä kwafarma rä. “Kwafar” ḥajyf nima fof kwatrikrm “Kwafar mane rera thden rera.” Zane zena mane bad mane wythk. Mazo mä ḥakonrz a australiane bad mä wythk. Fä mä fi zfrärm ane. Kwafar fof kabe mä kwamosinzrmth. Wäsi warfo thfrugrm. Wäsi bäre ykonzrh. Nä bär bikogro zärkarä. Kabe fä fof thwamnzrm fof zokwasi ffrümenzo. Nä zfthen thwamnzrm. Nä thden thwamnzrm. Nä kerker thwamnzrm. Watik zokwasi ane ffrümenzo kwanafrmth.

Where will we start?

CD: Where did the yams come from?

“Where did the yams come from?” Okay! We will start the story in this way, with *Kwafar*. We will come like this and then finish up with the rain making stones. What rain stones they used to have. We will finish with this part. So it will be one story. As for this story, it was my father Bäi who told it. He told it to us. Well, this story will be passed on today.

This story is about *Kwafar*. “*Kwafar*”, that’s how father began the story, “*Kwafar* was in the centre, where this continent ends today and where the ocean begins, to where the Australian land ends.” That is where *Kwafar* was located. The people used to live together in *Kwafar*. They stayed on top of a Wäsi tree. They call this one Wäsi. Over there is one that casts a shadow. The people were living there, and they spoke different languages. Some lived at the base of the tree, others in the middle and still others at the top. They all spoke different languages.

Nä kayé wäsi ane zäföfa fof. Zästha fof. Nä kabe nima kwakwirwrnfh. Nä kabe nima mnin kwarsirwrnfh. Watik wäsi ane kwot yarsira zäbtha. Kabe bää mane thwägrm warfo nä mrmr. Fi we nimäwä kwarsirwrnfh. Watik ezi kabe ane frümenzo tnägsi zethkäfath. Bää frümenzo thwamnzrm. Watik mni fthé yarsira. Kar ane brämöwä yarsira fof. Thgathg zfrärm fath thefath. Watik menzmenz ane fof yabun kafar thgathg dagonr. Ane fof zenfara. Kabe mane thfthnm kwosi.

Watik gwamf yatha thäsa ezi ane thefath thgathgen fof yaser. Watik yatha anenzo fof sathkäfa. Ijatha ane swaruthrm gwam mon nima yarera. Ederna kabe. Kafar yf mane thfrnm. Nafangthrwä gwam muri. Gwam yara nafanane. Muri nafangth. Wati gwamf ane fof ezi yatha thäsa thgathgen. E anenzo fof yatha yayamgwa. Ane menzmenzo fof kabe maf änatha fof. Fewakafkwosi thwanathrm. Gwamfzagr ymarwa fof “Ra bäne yé?” Nima né samara o “Ra menzmenz yé?” Kabe nrma fi fobo fof yagathikwa fof ane menzmenz. Kabe ane zenthkäfath yak. Ijatha mane kwaruthrm yf yatha yara ane tifr. Wati sathkäfath. Kabeyé ane dunzi kma sfruthrmth. Keke.

One day, the Wäsi tree started to burn. It really lit up. Some people ran away, while others burned in the fire. So the Wäsi tree burned to the ground. Those people who stayed at the top, and those who stayed inside, they all died. The next morning, the people began to disperse and they have been living apart ever since. When the fire was burning, it burned everything down. It became a charred place, a clear place. There was a huge spirit being, a very big creature. It roamed around and ate the people, the dead that were lying there.

In the morning, Gwam called his dogs to go hunting at that burned place. He started with one of the dogs. The dog was barking, and Gwam was thinking like this. In fact, there were two men. They were well known: Gwam with his younger brother Muri. Gwam was the older brother and Muri was the younger brother. So it was Gwam who called the dogs in the morning to go hunting and that one dog stopped because of this creature. It was startled. It was that creature eating the human bodies. He ate the dead, the decaying corpses. Gwam saw it from a distance. “What’s that?” he said and tried to take a look at it. “What creature is this?” The creature stopped with a full stomach. As for the barking dog, its name was Tifér. Some of the people there tried to shoot the creature, but without success.

Gwamf nafangth sräkor "Muri zba känrit nzuzawe. Nzefé biruthro!" Ija naf nima "Samg! Bänema näbuné fof yruthrth byé. Keke kwosi yathizr." Naf nima "Keke. Fi miyamr erä fofosa mä rä. Nze komnzo zimarwé fof." Zirkn thfrnm. Näbun kwanafarm. Näbun kwanafarm. "Watik ngth biruthé. Famkaräsü gnäré!" Nafananaaf. Ane fof trikasi nima rä. Nafangth kma markai nabi-karä sfrärm. Watik nafangth mane yara naf keke samga. Nafananaafnzo nabi yathunza zf sfthnm. Yo kwan! Fof sargasira fofosa fesen.

No fof zärftha. No ane zamatha. Wati no mane kwakwirm fof. Wäsi zrminz mä yanrsira fof, mni mä yanrsira, no fä kwanthorthrm fof. Ane zrminz fof. Nof nä nima thäkothmako. Nä nima thänkothma nzezawe. Gwamane nima zenmathath muriane nima. Mane yan-kwirwath zentnäthath. Nä enrera bawi. Wartha nima bämnr wartha a kondomarin smärki. Nafanme foba fof yan-kwira fof. Fi foba fof yan-kwirwath bawi. Watik gwamf fä fof mni bäne zafrafa fof. No dödöme zakwra. Watik no fä fof zäkora. Keke kwa nof zanmäy-ofa. Fobo fof no yan-gathikwa fof.

Gwam told his small brother: "Muri, come over here to my side! I'll shoot him from here" and Muri said, "Shoot now! The others are shooting at it, but it's not dying." Gwam said: "No, they don't know where the heart is. Only I can see it from here." They kept on doing this. One was talking and then the other one was talking. Gwam said "Okay brother, I will shoot now! Watch out!" The story goes that it was the older brother who shot. The younger brother is said to have owned a shotgun. The younger brother did not hit the animal. The older brother drew the bow and hit it. The creature dropped down. He speared it. The arrow pierced right through to the heart.

Water began to break out. Water was flowing. Water that was running everywhere. Where the roots of the Wäsi tree burned, where the fire burned them, the water flowed along those roots. The water chased some of the people in this direction. Others were chased away towards our side here. The people from Gwam ran here and those from Muri in the other direction. Those who ran away scattered in various directions. Some came to *Bawi*. For example, the *Wartha* people who live there, and the *Kondomarin* and the *Sémärki*. The ancestors of those people dispersed there. They escaped first to *Bawi*. Then Gwam extinguished the fire. No! I mean, he hit the running

Watik fi mane enrera e zwari wartha fof. Watik fä fof zwarin. Zämsath. Zokwasi fthé emarwath ffrümenzo. Watik kondomarin nima feräro. Zena boba wazi fi berä meraukan. Nä mane erera zwarifa ḷafrezath thoro. Watik thoron fä fthé zemarath. We nimäwä fof zokwasi ffrümenzo. Watik foba zethkäfath nimame kwasogwrnfh. Okay, nä mane enrera zwarifa e bäne thamgakar. Nima bä ämnzr safs. Wati fi fä fof thfyakm. Nzenme mane yanra mä ḷankwirwath komo. Fä ḷanfrezath komo. Nzenme mayawama kabe nä fä thägathizath. We foba thden nä kwot we mayawama kabe fof. Foba baguma kabe foba zena mifinin zämnzr. Sagara fä thägathizath. Okay fi nima erera mogarkam. Nä mane erera nima erera bäne a drdr nä sagara fof. Bagu mane enrera bäne mäta. Sagara mane enrera garaita. Mayawa ni zbo zf nnrera.

Nzenme bada mrzarane bada mane yanra yf ane yanra mathkwi. Mathkwif ane enfathwa wawa fofosa. Naf ane ynfathwa fof. Wati näbi ane komnzo fofosa yara. Wawama nasi duga biskar dagon nä berä fof. Watik fi anekarä

water with the broom and stopped the flood. The water did not flow any further; it stopped there.

So the people were coming up to *Zwari*, the *Wartha* people really. They settled there in *Zwari*, where they realised that they spoke different languages. So the *Kondomarin* people continued further this way. Today, they live in *Merauke*. Others came up from *Zwari* towards *Thoro*. At *Thoro* it was the same again. They realised that they spoke different languages. So some of them moved further inland. Others came from *Zwari* straight to *Tamgakar*. For example, the people who live at *Safés*. They were walking this way. As for our ancestor and his people, they walked to *Komo*. They came up at *Komo*. They left some of our *Mayawa* people there. Some *Mayawa* people and some *Bangu* people live there in the centre. Nowadays, these people live at *Mibini*. The ancestor also left a few *Sangara* people there, and they spread out further to *Mogarkam*. Other *Sangara* people continued until *Dérideri*. Some of *Bangu* people continued further to *Mäta* and some of the *Sangara* people to *Garaita*. We *Mayawas* came right here.

As for our ancestor, the *Mérzar*'s ancestor, his name was *Mathkwi*. *Mathkwi* was bringing along those things: the yam stone. He had this one. It was for the cultivation of yams, long yams, taro and cassava, and for other

*fof yanra fof. Mane yanyaka e wm
bä ythn zabrta. Fä fof yanritakwath
fof. Kwanritakwrmth trkren. Watik
nima né fam zära "Garaita zawe?
Keke. nä kabe foba z sfyak." Watik
nima zethkäfa fi safs. Nimame ane
zethkäfa mothr. Mane yanra e akri-
mogo. Yam fä fof thremar fof "Oh nä
nima z eräro." Watik keräfi foba fof
zäzira fof. E kar yf rä ymnz. Watik
fobo fof "Oh kabe bä yé. Watik nimame
wiyak." Watik foba fof akrimogofa zen-
fara fof. Foba näbi yaniyaka. Karane yf
erä füsari. Füsäri rarafü kar. Rarafü
karfa kafrir. Fä ttön zänrita. E bänne zo-
fok. Zofok fä yamthiza. Nabi komnzo
bekogr. Nabi yatr fä fof zurärm. Zwa-
frmnzrm. Zurzirakwa fof. Nasi nömä
yanatha. Rfarrfar futhfuth mane er-
era wmr ane fof ynkwthenzath fof.
Zäkwtherath. Watik komnzo berästhgr.
Wm mane yé ynfathwa fof no nzigfu.
Watik ane fof yräza fof zofok kar.
Watik foba yaniyaka misa zfh. Mäbri
misa zfh yrn. Fä zänrsöfatha fof. Yani-
yaka benzü zfh. Foba fof ymd thren-
karis fof af a kfokfo ythama. Fam zära
"Kar bä rä. ya kar töna fobo fof wiyak
fof." Yaniyaka. Fä fof zänrita. Fof rä.
Kukwrb fr zra. Mnzärfr neba. Wati fä
fof yaniyaka fof mä zänfrefa. Nömä
futhfuth fä fof ynanträgwath.*

kinds of crops. He came with that stone. When he approached the place where the rocks are near *Zambérta*, he crossed the river. He crossed the river during the flood season. He thought to himself "Should I go to *Garaita*? No, someone's already gone there." So he started walking towards *Safés*. He got going and walked until *Akrimongo*. He saw footprints there. "Oh, others are already here." Then he shot an arrow that flew all the way to *Yéménz*. He heard people shouting from there and thought: "Oh, there's already someone there. Then I will go this way." He left *Akrimongo* and started walking. He came straight to a place called *Füsari*. From *Füsari* to *Rarafü Kar*. From *Rarafü Kar* to *Kafrir*, where he crossed the creek over to what's-that, to *Zofok*. He rested in *Zofok*. Those bamboos are still there, where he prepared his bow and arrow, where he put on the bowstring. He ate some yam cake. Those crumbs from the yam cake turned into rocks. They are still there. As for the stone that he had brought, the magic stone, he named it "*Zofok*" at that place. Then he continued further to *Misa Zéfeth*. *Mämbri* was first, then *Misa Zéfeth* and then *Yérén*. He went down to the river and walked to *Benzü Zéfeth*. From there he heard birds calling, the butcherbird and the bird of paradise. "This must be high ground. I am going to walk up there." He continued a little further. He crossed the river at *Kukwérémb Fér*, opposite *Ménzär Fér*.

*Mane yanra e zrä zöfäthak bä brä. Zafe
ŋazi fr nä fä fof ethn berä. Watik nä
fä fof ŋantnägwath fof. Fä fof sakuka
“Oh zane zf zunthorakwé watik!” Fz
zamara. Afa kfokfo zakarisa. Bäne za-
karisa ythama. Watik krenafth “Nima
wiyak. Zbo kar rä farem kar.” Watik
fthé yaka bobo foba krekaris “Oh füthan
nä zbo kabe yamnzs.” We foba krekaris
“Oh farem karen kabe yé.” Watik yako.
Faremaneme kabe z sathora. Bafane
bada fooffatamaane. Farem thden watik
foba fof sräkor. Foba fof “Bä fä fof
gnamnzé! Ey, fisor bthanen käms!”
Wati we nä sräthoro wazu. Fä fof sräkor
watik “Foba fof käms wazufa!”*

*Watik fthé zamara. Katan fäth ane
zfrärm “Kwa nzä zä zf kwramnzs?
Nima ŋabrigwé.” Moba fthmäsü zän-
brima. Watik nasi nömä ane fof tnägsi
thenthkäfa rrfar futhfuth. Watik mane
yaniyaka zä zf. E zane zf zethno zerä.
Fä fof ane futhfuth thuntnägwrm. Nä
bä enthn. E nima ziyan ne masu.
Foba fof sathora “Nzukar zä zf ämnzs.”
Watik menz kar ane fof zräkorth yari.*

That's where he walked up from the river. He dropped also some crumbs of the yam cake there.

He came right here to Zöfäthak. There are some more crumbs over there by those old coconuts. He dropped some more over there. Then he stopped and said “That's the place I was looking for.” He looked at the forest and again he heard the butcherbird and the other one, the bird of paradise. Then he said “I will go this way. There is a place, Faremkar.” When he came there, he heard something and said “Someone is staying in Fütha.” He listened again and said “Oh, there is already someone at Faremkar.” He continued and saw that the ancestor of the Farem was already there. Those one's ancestor, Fatama's ancestor. He was staying in the centre of Faremkar. He said “You stay over there! You can settle in Fisor Béthan!” Then another ancestor arrived, from the Wazu clan. He said: “You can settle there in Wazu!”

Mathkwi looked around and saw that it was a very small piece of land. He replied “Oh, this is where you want me to live? I will go back this way.” On the way, he was dropping crumbs of the yam cake, those scraps. They're right here. They are lying here. He kept dropping these crumbs. There are some lying right over there. He continued along this way to Masu. When he arrived, he said: “This is my

Yari sathora fof. Watik fä fof no nzigfukarä fi fof sathora fof. Fi mane yanra nzigfu nä fofosa yfathwa fof. Nasi wawa duga biskar ranzo fä dagon eräro. Anekaräsü swamnzrm fof. Fthé wawa thuworthrmth. Watik sfrärm e wawa taga kwot thkarthé kwafiyok-wrmth. Watik fthé fof wawa taga nä thurtnwrm. Nasi taga kemar taga taga bäne berä biskar duga. Watik nzigfu mrrmr foba sfrärm. Ane tagame su-myuknwrn. surdiknwrn. Watik wawa zfthen swäzin. Sfthnm e wawa fthé thwemar nima thkarthé zäkorth. Watik ausiausi thukonzrm: "Käthfe kabe!" Ausiausi thfyakm yanz ffrümenzoma. Wawa ane ebar fr wawa ebar fr kafar. Watik nä yanzma wawa näbi nä yanzma nä yanzma nä yanzma ni-manzo watik. Mnime thufränzrmth. Watik thufthakwrmth. Foba karome thurzathrmth. Zizi ane foftfzänzrmth bobo far mä suräzrmth. Mathkwi o karawa o kukuma o ote. Watik ane far fof sfrästhgrm. Wawa fobo fof thufnakwrm. Fobo fefe né wawa kwanäbü-nzrmth. Kwosi kwakonzrmth bänemr e tayo tfotfo.

place. My people will live here." They call this story place *Yari*.

So he arrived in *Yari*. He brought the rain making stone and another stone, the yam stone, for long yam, yam, taro, and cassava, for all these other types of crops. He was holding on to those items. The planting season came. Then the leaves of the yams became dry. He pulled off some of the yam leaves or long yam leaves, or sweet potato leaves, all those ones, cassava leaves also. He put the stone inside the leaves and rolled it up. He tied it up in a bundle and put it down at the base of the plants. It stayed there until he saw that the yam leaves became really dried out and wrinkled. Then he called the women of the village: "Go people!" The women went and took one yam from each garden plot. They took one especially big yam. One yam from this plot, and another one from that plot, and so on. They burned off the hair on the yam tubers. Then they took them out of the fire and put them in the ground oven. In the afternoon they took them out and brought them to the place where they had set up a post. All those grandfathers were doing that: Mathkwi, Karawa, Kukuma and Ote. They had set up a post. They laid the yams at the base and left them there until they were about to spoil and start to rot. They waited until the other yams were almost ripe.

Tayo wawa fthé kwakonzrmth. Rfnaksir bobo zarfa thfrärm mäta garaita. Nafa fthé kwänrfnfh “Ayo!” Wrwr fof zefaro swänrifhth. Watik we masu karé kwekaristh “Oh nafa z zärfnfh.” We kwot we näbikakme we nä wawa thf-rärmth. Katan o kafar thuwok-nzrmth. Watik kwarzathrmth. Tawar ane thfrä-rmth. ηazi thurwrmth. Kwot thufathwrmth kobakob. Watik kwarf-nakwrmth. Watik nima kwanrzrmth. Fatr nima thwafiyokwrmth “Ayo farem benm fräro!” Watik ane fthé kwärit ane tmatm rfnaksi tmatm. Thumarwrmth e rrr kwan fthé bäre kwäkorth. Tayo kwot thuwäkwm. Watik fthé fof yaka swefafth.

Anenzo fof. Ane tmatm kwaritakwrm e zbo bädbo. Bäi kafar zäkora. Nafa-ηafyf nafane ηafyf ane fof sara fof foba fof otef. Watik naf we ane fof thwamonegwrn no bäre no nzigfu a fofosa frä dagon fofosa fof. Foba e ni kafar ηankonzake. Nzesinenwä ane fof komnzo thfrnm ane eda rokar fof. E nama masun ane Yam tmatm z zwabragwre fof. E watik foba zänbri-make zena mänwä zä namnzs. Zfznrä. Watik fi fthmäsü kwik kwosi yara. Greg täwdben ane thfrärm ane bäre nzigfu thfrnm edawä. Watik nzenme ηafe fthmäsü kwosi yara. Watik foba

When the yams were ready, they heard from Mäta or Garaita that they had already started tasting the yams. Every time they tasted the new yams, they shouted, “Listen up!” and the wind carried the message here. The Masu people heard it and said: “Oh, they have already tasted their yams.” So they also took one yam from each plot. They chose big or small ones. They put it in the oven. They scraped the fibres out of the inside, mixed them with coconut and formed round balls. They tasted them and then threw some of the balls in this direction. They threw their arms in the air and shouted: “Listen, you Farem people, this is for you!” That’s what they did. This tasting ritual then moved from place to place further west. Now, the leaves had really dried out and the yams were ready. They picked up the digging stick and started harvesting.

This ritual was passed down all the way to Bäi. When Bäi became a man, his father gave him the yam stone. His father, Ote had also looked after the rain stone and the yam stone. This continued until we became men and those two stones were under our care. Until recently, we followed this tradition in Masu. But then we moved here, to where we live now. That was the time when father became ill and died. Those things were with Greg’s father then, these two whatchamacallit, these two stones. Since our father passed away, we don’t know who

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*ni miyamr nrä mafadben zena ethn. Z
thrifthmath fof.*

*Watik trikasi mane nyatrikwé fof, ḡaf-
ynm badafa ane fof yanritakwa fof.
Bada aki kwark benrera fof. Zath kwark
enrera e ḡafydbo we nzedbo fof né
zänrita nima. Watik zena maf keke
wäbragwr ane.*

they are with now. Someone must have hidden them.

Okay, the story I just told was passed down from our ancestors to the grandfathers, until it came to our father. It was about to be passed down to us. But today, no one follows this tradition anymore.

A.4 *Kwafar* (glossed text)

- (1) *moba zrathkäfe*
 moba zra\thkäf/e
 where.ABL 1DU>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\start
 ‘Where will we start?’²
- (2) “*wawa moba enrera?*” *okay*
 wawa moba en\rä/ra okay
 round_yam where.ABL 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be okay
 “Where did the yams come from?” Okay!
- (3) *kwa zöbthé zrathkäfe nimame trikasi fof*
 kwa zöbthé zra\thkäf/e nima=me trikasi fof
 FUT first 1DU>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\start like_this=INS story EMPH
 ‘We will start the story in this way,’
- (4) *kwafar*
 kwafar
 PLN
 ‘with Kwafar.’
- (5) *nimame fof nzranyan e zbo zrabthe*
 nima=me fof nzran\yan/ e zbo
 like_this=INS EMPH 1DU:IRR:IPFV:VENT\come until PROX:ALL
 zra\bth/e
 1DU>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\finish
 ‘We will come like this and then finish up’
- (6) *ra nzigfu enfathwath*
 ra nzigfu en\fath/wath
 what.ABS rain_stone 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\hold
 ‘with the rain stones.’
- (7) *ra fofosa nzigfu enfathwath*
 ra fofosa nzigfu en\fath/wath
 what.ABS heart rain_stone 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\hold
 ‘What rain stones they used to have.’

²I reply by asking the question: *wawa moba enrera?* ‘Where did the yams come from?’

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- (8) *watik zbo zf zrabthe aneme fof*
wati zbo zf zra\bth/e ane=me fof
then PROX:ALL ABSC 1DU>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\finish DEM=INS EMPH
'We will finish with this part.'
- (9) *trikasi näbi kwa wäniyak*
trikasi näbi kwa wän\yak/
story one FUT 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come
'It will be one story.'
- (10) *zane trikasi mane rä*
zane trikasi mane \rä/
DEM:PROX story which 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
'As for this story,'
- (11) *ŋafyf bäyf mane ŋatrikwa*
ŋafe=f bäi=f mane ŋa\trik/wa
father=ERG.SG PN=ERG.SG which SG:PST:IPFV\tell
'it was my father Bäi who told it.'
- (12) *nzenm natrikwa*
nzenm na\trik/wa
1NSG:DAT SG>1PL.IO:PST:IPFV\tell
'He told it to us.'
- (13) *watik ane trikasi fof zena ŋaritakwr*
wati ane trikasi fof zena ŋa\ritak/wr
then DEM story EMPH today 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\cross
'Well, this story will be passed on today.'
- (14) *trikasi mane rä kwafarma rä*
trikasi mane \rä/ kwafar=ma \rä/
story which 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PLN=CHAR 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
'This story is about Kwafar.'
- (15) *"kwafar" ŋafyf nima fof kwatrikwrn*
kwafar ŋafe=f nima fof kwa\trik/wrm
PLN father=ERG.SG like_this EMPH SG>1SG.IO:PST:DUR\tell
'"Kwafar", that's how father told me'

- (16) “*kwafar mane rera thden rera*”
 kwafar mane \rä/ra thd=en \rä/ra
 PLN which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be middle=LOC 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be
 “Kwafar was in the centre,”
- (17) *zane zena mane bad mane wylthk*
 zane zena mane bad mane wa\ythk/
 DEM:PROX today which ground which 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\come_to_end
 ‘where this continent ends today and’
- (18) *mazo mä yakanzr a*
 mazo mä \ja\ko/nzr a
 ocean where 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\become and
 ‘where the ocean begins,’
- (19) *australiane bad mä wylthk*
 australian=ane bad mä wa\ythk/
 PLN=POSS.SG ground where 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\come_to_end
 ‘to where the Australian land ends.’
- (20) *fä mä fi zfrärm ane*
 fö mä fi zf\rä/rm ane
 DIST where 3.ABS 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be DEM
 ‘That is where Kwafar was located.’
- (21) *kwafar fo kabe mä kwamosinzrmth*
 kwafar fo kabe mä kwa\mosi/nzrmth
 Kwafar EMPH people where 2|3PL:PST:DUR\gather
 ‘The people used to live together in Kwafar.’
- (22) *wäsi warfo thfrugrm*
 wäsi warfo thf\ru/grm
 tree_species above 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sleep
 ‘They stayed on top of a Wäsi tree.’³

³wäsi ’strangler fig’ (*Ficus elastica*).

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- (23) *wäsi bänē ykonzrth nä bā bikogro zärkarä*
 wäsi bänē y\ko/nzrth nä bā
 tree_species DEM:MED 2|3PL>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\speak INDF MED
 b=y\ko/gro zär=karä
 MED=3SG.M:NPST:STAT:AND\be_standing shade=PROP
 'They call this one Wäsi. Over there is one with the shade.'
- (24) *kabe fä fof thwamnzrm fof*
 kabe fä fof thwa\m/nzrm fof
 people DIST EMPH 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit EMPH
 'The people were living there,'
- (25) *zokwasi ffrümenzo*
 zokwasi f~frü=me=nzo
 speech REDUP~alone=INS=ONLY
 'and they spoke different languages.'
- (26) *nä zfthen thwamnzrm nä thden thwamnzrm nä kerker thwamnzrm*
 nä zfth=en thwa\m/nzrm nä thd=en thwa\m/nzrm
 INDF tree_base=LOC 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit INDF middle=LOC 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit
 nä kerker thwa\m/nzrm
 INDF tail 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit
 'Some lived at the foot of the tree, others in the middle and still others at
 the top.'
- (27) *watik zokwasi ane ffrümenzo kwanafrmth*
 wati zokwasi ane f~frü=me=nzo kwa\naf/rmth
 then speech DEM REDUP~alone=INS=ONLY 2|3PL:PST:DUR\talk
 'They all spoke different languages.'
- (28) *nä kayé wäsi ane zäföfa fof*
 nä kayé wäsi ane zä\föf/a fof
 INDF one_day_away tree_species DEM SG:PST:PFV\burn EMPH
 'One day, the Wäsi tree started to burn.'
- (29) *zästhä fof*
 zä\sth/a fof
 SG:PST:PFV\set_on_fire EMPH
 'It really lit up.'

- (30) *nä kabe nima kwakwirwrnsth*
 nä kabe nima kwa\kwir/wrmth
 INDF people like_this 2|3PL:PST:DUR\run
 ‘Some people ran away, while’
- (31) *nä kabe nima mnin kwarsirwrnsth*
 nä kabe nima mni=en kwa\rsir/wrmth
 INDF people like_this fire=LOC 2|3PL:PST:DUR\burn
 ‘others burned in the fire.’
- (32) *watik wäsi ane kwot ñarsira zäbtha*
 wati wäsi ane kwot ña\rsir/a zä\bth/a
 then tree_species DEM properly SG:PST:IPFV\burn SG:PST:PFV\finish
 ‘So the Wäsi tree burned to the ground.’
- (33) *kabe bää mane thwägrm warfo nä mrrmr*
 kabe bää mane th\wä/grm warfo nä mrrmr
 people MED which 2|3SG:PST:DUR:STAT\be_up_high above INDF inside
 ‘Those people who stayed at the top, and those (who stayed) inside,’
- (34) *fi we nimäwää kwarsirwrnsth*
 fi we nima=wä kwa\rsir/wrmth
 3.ABS also like_this=EMPH 2|3PL:PST:DUR\burn
 ‘they also burned.’
- (35) *watik ezi kabe ane frümenzo tnägsi zethkäfath*
 wati ezi kabe ane frü=me=nzo tnäg-si ze\thkäf/ath
 then morning people DEM alone=INS=ONLY lose-NMLZ 2|3PL:PST:PFV\start
 ‘Then, in the morning, people began to disperse.’
- (36) *bää frümenzo thwamnzrm*
 bää frü=me=nzo thwa\m/nzrm
 MED alone=INS=ONLY 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘They lived all by themselves.’
- (37) *watik, mni fthé ñarsira*
 wati mni fthé ña\rsir/a
 then fire when SG:PST:IPFV\burn
 ‘When the fire burned,’

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- (38) *kar ane brämöwä yarsira fof*
 kar ane brämöwä η a\rsir/a fof
 place DEM all SG:PST:IPFV\burn EMPH
 'it burned down everything.'
- (39) *thgathg zfrärm fath thefath*
 thgathg zf\rä/rm fath thefath
 burned_place 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be clear_place bushfire
 'It became a charred place, a clear place, a burned place.'
- (40) *watik menzmenz ane fof yabun kafar*
 wati menz~menz ane fof yabun kafar
 then REDUP~story_man DEM EMPH big big
 'Then (there was) a huge spirit being, a very big creature.'
- (41) *thgathg dagonr ane fof zenfara*
 thgathg dagon=r ane fof zen\far/a
 burned_place food=PURP DEM EMPH SG:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off
 'It roamed around and ate (people),'
- (42) *kabe mane thfthnm kwosi*
 kabe mane thf\thn/m kwosi
 people which 2|3PL:PST:DUR\lie_down corpse
 'the dead people who lay there.'
- (43) *watik gwamf η atha thäsa ezi*
 wati gwam=f η atha thä's/a ezi
 then PN=ERG.SG dog SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\call morning
 'In the morning, Gwam called his dogs'
- (44) *ane thefath thgathgen fof yaser*
 ane thefath thgathg=en fof yase=r
 DEM bushfire burned_place=LOC EMPH game=PURP
 '(to go) hunting at that burned place.'
- (45) *watik η atha anenzo fof sathkäfa*
 wati η atha ane=nzo fof sa\thkäf/a
 then dog DEM=ONLY EMPH SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\start
 'He started with one of the dogs.'

- (46) *ŋatha ane swaruthrm gwam mon nima yarera*
 ŋatha ane swa\ru/thrm gwam mon nima
 dog DEM SG>3SG.M.IO:PST:DUR\bark PN how like_this
 ya\rä/ra
 SG>3SG.M.IO:PST:IPFV\do
 ‘The dog was barking, and Gwam was thinking like this.’
- (47) *eda erna kabe*
 eda e\rn/a kabe
 two 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\be man
 ‘In fact, there were two men.’
- (48) *kafar yf mane thfrm*
 kafar yf mane thf\rn/m
 big name which 2|3DU:PST:DUR\be
 ‘They were well known:’
- (49) *nafangthrwä gwam muri*
 nafa-ngth=r=wä gwam muri
 3.POSS-younger_sibling=IC.DU=EMPH PN PN
 ‘Gwam with his younger brother Muri.’
- (50) *gwam yara nafanane muri nafangth*
 gwam ya\r/a nafa-nane muri
 PN 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be 3.POSS-elder_sibling PN
 nafa-ngth
 3.POSS-younger_sibling
 ‘Gwam was the older brother and Muri was the younger brother.’
- (51) *wati gwamf ane fof ezi ŋatha thäsa thgathgen e*
 wati gwam=f ane fof ezi ŋatha thä\s/a
 then PN=ERG.SG DEM EMPH morning dog SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\call
 thgathg=en e
 burned_place=LOC until
 ‘So it was Gwam who called the dogs in the morning (to go hunting) and’
- (52) *anenzof ŋatha yayamgwa*
 ane=nzo fof ŋatha ya\yamg/wa
 DEM=ONLY EMPH dog SG>3SG.M.IO:PST:IPFV\surprise
 ‘that one dog stopped because of this (creature).’

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- (53) *yayamgwa*
 ya\yamg/wa
 SG>3SG.M.IO:PST:IPFV\surprise
 'It was startled.'
- (54) *ane menznzo fof kabe maf änatha fof*
 ane menz=nzo fof kabe maf ä\na/tha
 DEM story_man=ONLY EMPH people who.ERG.SG SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\eat
 fof
 EMPH
 'It was that creature eating the human bodies.'
- (55) *fewakaf kwosi thwanathrm*
 fewa=kaf kwosi thwa\na/thrm
 smell=PROP corpse SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\eat
 'He ate the dead, the decaying corpses.'
- (56) *gwamf zagr ymarwa fof*
 gwam=f zagr y\mar/wa fof
 PN=ERG.SG far SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\see EMPH
 'Gwam saw it from a distance.'
- (57) “*ra bâne yé?*” *nima né samara*
 ra bâne \yé/ nima n sa\mar/a
 what.ABS PH.ABS 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be like_this IMN SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\see
 ‘What’s that?’ (he said) and tried to take a look at it.’
- (58) o “*ra menzmenz yé?*”
 o ra menz~menz \yé/
 or what.ABS REDUP~story_man 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ““What creature is this?””
- (59) *kabe nrma fi fobo fof ñagathikwa fof ane menzmenz*
 kabe nr=ma fi fobo fof ña\gathik/wa fof ane
 people belly=CHAR 3.ABS DIST:ALL EMPH 2|3SG:PST:IPFV\leave EMPH DEM
 menz~menz
 REDUP~story_man
 'The creature stopped with a full stomach.'

- (60) *kabe ane zenthkäfath yak*
 kabe ane zen\thkäf/ath yak
 people DEM 2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\start run
 ‘The (survivors) started to run.’
- (61) *ŋatha mane kwaruthrm*
 ŋatha mane kwa\ru/thrm
 dog which SG:PST:DUR\bark
 ‘That dog who was barking,’
- (62) *yf ŋatha yara ane tifr*
 yf ŋatha ya\r/a ane tifr
 name dog 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be DEM PN
 ‘its name was Tifér.’
- (63) *wati sathkäfath*
 wati sa\thkäf/ath
 then 2|3PL>3SG.M.IO:PST:PFV\start
 ‘It started (to bark at the creature)’
- (64) *kabeyé ane dunzi kma sfruthrmth, keke*
 kabe=é ane dunzi kma sf\ru/thrmth keke
 people=ERG.NSG DEM arrow POT 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:DUR\shoot NEG
 ‘and the people tried to shoot it. But they didn’t (succeed).’
- (65) *gwamf nafangth sräkor*
 gwam=f nafa-ngth srä\kor/
 PN=ERG.SG 3.POSS-younger_sibling 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\speak
 ‘Gwam told his small brother:’
- (66) “*muri zba känrit nzuzawe nzefé biruthro” ɳa*
 muri zba kän\rit/ nzuzawe nzefé
 Muri PROX:ABL 2SG:IMP:PFV:VENT\cross 1SG.POSS-side 1SG.ERG.EMPH
 b=y\ru/thro a
 MED=SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:AND\shoot and
 “Muri, come over here to my side. I’ll shoot him from here” and’

- (67) *naf nima “samg bänema näbuné fof yruthrth byé keke kwosi yathizr”*
 naf nima sa\mg/ bänem=ma näbun=é
 3SG.ERG like_this 2SG>3SG.M:IMP:IPFV\shoot PH.ABS=CHAR INDF=ERG.NSG
 fof yru/thrth b=\yé/ keke kwosi
 EMPH 2|3PL>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\shoot MED=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be NEG dead
 ya\thiz/r
 3SG:NPST:IPFV\die
 ‘(Muri) said, “Shoot now! because the others are shooting, but it’s not dying.”’
- (68) *naf nima “keke fi miyamr erä fofosa mä rä nze komnzo zimarwé fof”*
 naf nima keke fi miyamr e\rä/ fofosa mä
 3SG.ERG like_this NEG 3.ABS ignorance 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be heart where
 \rä/ nze komnzo z=y\mar/wé fof
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be 1SG.ERG only PROX=1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\see EMPH
 ‘Gwam said: “No, they don’t know where the heart is. Only I can see it from here.”’
- (69) *zirkn thfrnm näbun kwanafrm näbun kwanafrm*
 zirkn thf\rn/m näbun kwa\naf/rm näbun
 insistence 2|3DU:PST:DUR\be INDF SG:PST:DUR\talk INDF
 kwa\naf/rm
 SG:PST:DUR\talk
 ‘They kept on doing this. One was talking and then the other one was talking.’
- (70) *“watik ngth biruthé famkaräsü gnräré”*
 wati ngth b=y\ru/thé
 then younger_sibling MED=1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\shoot
 fam=karä=sü gn\rä/ré
 thought=PROP=ETC 2SG:IMP:IPFV\be
 ‘(Gwam said) “Okay brother, I will shoot now! Watch out!”’
- (71) *nafananaf ane fof trikasi nima rä*
 nafa-nane=f ane fof trikasi nima
 3.POSS-elder_sibling=ERG.SG DEM EMPH story like_this
 \rä/
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘The story goes that it was the older brother (who shot).’

- (72) *nafangth kma markai nabikarä sfrärm*
 nafa-ngth kma markai nabi=karä sf\rä/rm
 3.POSS-younger_sibling POT outsider bow=PROP 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be
 'The younger brother is said to have owned a shotgun.'⁴
- (73) *watik nafangth mane yara naf keke samga*
 wati nafa-ngth mane ya\r/a naf keke
 then 3.POSS-younger_sibling which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be 3SG.ERG NEG
 sa\mg/a
 SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\shoot
 'The younger brother did not hit the animal.'
- (74) *nafananafnzo nabi ḷathunza zf sfthnm*
 nafa-nane=f=nzo nabi ḷa\thu/nza zf
 3.POSS-elder_sibling=ERG.SG=ONLY bow SG:PST:IPFV\fold ABSC
 sf\thn/m
 3SG.M:PST:DUR\lie_down
 'The older brother drew the bow (and hit it). The creature dropped down.'
- (75) *yo kwan*
 yo kwan
 sound_of_arrow_hitting_sth shout
 'He speared it.'
- (76) *fof sargasira fofosa fefen*
 fof sa\rgosir/a fofosa fefe=en
 EMPH SG>3SG.M.IO:PST:PFV\penetrate heart real=LOC
 'The arrow bored right through to the heart.'
- (77) *no fof zärftha*
 no fof zä\rfth/a
 water EMPH SG:PST:PFV\burst
 'Water began to break out.'
- (78) *no ane zamatha*
 no ane za\math/a
 water DEM SG:PST:PFV\run
 'Water was flowing'

⁴While the older brother was shooting with bow and arrow.

- (79) *wati no mane kwakwirm fof*
 wati no mane kwa\kwir/m fof
 then water which SG:PST:DUR\run EMPH
 'Water that was running'
- (80) *wäsi zrminz mä ḷanrsira fof*
 wäsi zrminz mä ḷan\rsir/a fof
 tree_species root where SG:PST:IPFV:VENT\burn EMPH
 'Where the roots of the Wäsi tree burned,'
- (81) *mni mä ḷanrsira*
 mni mä ḷan\rsir/a
 fire where SG:PST:IPFV:VENT\burn
 'where the fire burned them,'
- (82) *no fä kwanthorthrm fof ane zrminz fof*
 no fä kwan\thor/thrm fof ane zrminz fof
 water DIST SG:PST:DUR:VENT\enter EMPH DEM root EMPH
 'the water flowed along those roots.'
- (83) *nof nä nima thäkothmako*
 no=f nä nima thä\kothm/ako
 water=ERG.SG INDF like_this SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV:AND\chase
 'The water chased away some of the people in this direction.'
- (84) *nä nima thänkothma nzezawe*
 nä nima thän\kothm/a nze-zawe
 INDF like_this SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\chase 1NSG.POSS-side
 'Others were chased away towards our side here.'
- (85) *gwamane nima zenmathath muriane nima*
 gwam=ane nima zen\math\ath muri=ane nima
 PN=POSS.SG like_this 2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\run PN=POSS.SG like_this
 'The people from Gwam ran here and those from Muri in the other direction.'
- (86) *mane ḷankwirwath zentnäthath*
 mane ḷan\kwir/wath zen\tnäth/ath
 which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\run 2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\lose
 'Those who ran away scattered.'

- (87) *nä enrera bawi*
 nä en\rä/ra bawi
 INDF 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be PLN
 'Some came to Bawi'⁵
- (88) *wartha nima bämnr wartha a kondomarin smärki*
 wartha nima b=ä\m/nzr wartha a kondomarin smärki
 PN like_this MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\sit PN and PN PN
 'For example, the Wartha people who live over there, and the Kondomarin and the Sémärki.'⁶
- (89) *nafanme foba fof ḷankwira fof*
 nafanme foba fof ḷan\kwir/a fof
 3NSG.POSS DIST:ABL EMPH SG:PST:IPFV:VENT\run EMPH
 'Those peoples' (ancestor) ran from there.'
- (90) *fi foba fof ḷankwirwath bawi*
 fi foba fof ḷan\kwir/wath bawi
 3.ABS DIST:ABL EMPH 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\run PLN
 'They ran from there to Bawi.'
- (91) *watik gwamffä fof mni bäne zafrafa fof*
 wati gwam=fä fof mni bäne za\fraf/a
 then PN=ERG.SG DIST EMPH fire PH.ABS SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\extinguish
 fof
 EMPH
 'Then Gwam extinguished the fire.'
- (92) *no dödöme zakwra*
 no dödö=me za\kwr/a
 water broom=INS SG.M>3SG.F:PST:PFV\hit
 'No, he hit the running water with the broom and'⁷
- (93) *watik no fä fof zä... zäkora*
 wati no fä fof zä zä\kor/a
 then water DIST EMPH PROX SG:PST:PFV\become
 'the water stopped flowing.'

⁵Bawi is a place on the coast between Bula and Jarai.

⁶Kondomarin are the speakers of Marind and various Kanum languages.

⁷dödö 'plant species (used as broom)' (*Melaleuca sp.*)

- (94) *keke kwa nof zanmäyofa fobo fof no ḷagathikwa fof*
 keke kwa no=f zanmäyofa fobo fof
 NEG FUT water=ERG.SG SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV:VENT\continue DIST:ALL EMPH
 no ḷa\gathik/wa fof
 water 2|3SG:PST:IPFV\leave EMPH
 'The water did not continue, it stopped there.'
- (95) *watik fi mane enrera e zwari wartha fof*
 wati fi mane en\rä/ra e zwari wartha fof
 then 3.ABS which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be until PLN PN EMPH
 'So the people were coming to Zwari, the Wartha people really.'
- (96) *watik fä fof zwarin zämsath*
 wati fä fof zwari=en zä\ms/ath
 then DIST EMPH PLN=LOC 2|3PL:PST:PFV\sit
 'They settled there in Zwari.'
- (97) *zokwasi fthé emarwath ffrümenzo*
 zokwasi fthé e\mar/wath f~frü=me=nzo
 speech when 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\see REDUP~alone=INS=ONLY
 'They realised that they spoke different languages.'
- (98) *watik kondomarin nima feräro*
 wati kondomarin nima f=e\rä/ro
 then PN like_this DIST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:AND\be
 'So the Kondomarin people went further this way.'
- (99) *zena boba wazi fi berä meraukan*
 zena boba wazi fi b=e\rä/ merauke=en
 today MED:ABL side 3.ABS MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be PLN=LOC
 'Nowadays, they live in Merauke.'
- (100) *nä mane erera zwarifa ḷafrezath thoro*
 nä mane e\rä/ra zwari=fa
 INDF which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be PLN=ABL
 ḷa\frez/ath thoro
 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\come_up_from_river PLN
 'Others came up from Zwari towards Thoro.'⁸

⁸Thoro is located somewhere between Bensbach and Wämnefér.

- (101) *watik thoron fä fthé zemarath we nimäwä fof zokwasi ffrümenzo*
 wati thoro=en fä fthé ze\mar/ath we nima=wä fof
 then PLN=LOC DIST when 2|3PL:PST:PFV\see also like_this=EMPH EMPH
 zokwasi f~frü=me=nzo
 speech REDUP~alone=INS=ONLY
 ‘At Thoro it was the same again. They realised that they spoke different languages.’
- (102) *watik foba zethkäfath nimame kwasogwrmth*
 wati foba ze\thkäf/ath nima=me kwa\sog/wrmth
 then DIST:ABL 2|3PL:PST:PFV\start like_this=INS 2|3PL:PST:DUR\ascend
 ‘So they moved further inland.’
- (103) *okay, nä mane enrera zwarifa e bäne thamgakar*
 okay nä mane en\rä/ra zwari=fa e thamgakar
 okay INDF which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be PLN=ABL until PLN
 ‘Others came from Zwari straight to Tamgakar.’⁹
- (104) *nima bä ämnzr safs*
 nima bä ä\m/nzr safs
 like_this MED 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\sit PLN
 ‘For example, the people who live at Safés.’
- (105) *wati fi fä fof thfyakm*
 wati fi fä fof thf\yak/m
 then 3.ABS DIST EMPH 2|3PL:PST:DUR\walk
 ‘They were walking this way.’
- (106) *nzenme mane yanra*
 nzenme mane yan\r/a
 1NSG.POSS which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\be
 ‘As for our ancestor and his people,’
- (107) *mä yankwirwath komo fä yanfrezath komo*
 mä ḷan\kwir/wath komo fä
 where 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\run PLN DIST
 ḷan\frez/ath komo
 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\come_up_from_river PLN
 ‘they walked to Komo. They came up at Komo.’¹⁰

⁹Tamgakar is located south of Mibini.

¹⁰Komo is a place in the between Mibini, Jarai, Bula, and Wämnefér.

- (108) *nzenme mayawama kabe nä fä thä\gathizath*
 nzenme mayawa=ma kabe nä fä thä\gathiz/ath
 1NSG.POSS Mayawa=CHAR man INDF DIST 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\leave
 'They left some of our Mayawa people there.'
- (109) *we foba thden nä kwot we mayawama kabe fof*
 we foba thd=en nä kwot we mayawa=ma kabe fof
 also DIST:ABL middle=LOC INDF properly also PN=CHAR people EMPH
 'Some Mayawa people live there in the middle.'
- (110) *foba baguma kabe*
 foba bagu=ma kabe
 DIST:ABL PN=CHAR people
 'and also some Bangu people.'
- (111) *foba zena mifinin zämnr*
 foba zena mifini=en z=a'm/nzr
 DIST:ABL today PLN=LOC PROX=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\sit
 'Nowadays, these people live at Mibini.'
- (112) *sagara fä thä\gathizath*
 sagara fä thä\gathiz/ath
 PN DIST 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\leave
 'He also left some Sangara people there.'
- (113) *okay fi nima erera mogarkam*
 okay fi nima e\rä/ra mogarkam
 okay 3.ABS like_this 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be PLN
 'Okay, they spread further to Mongarkam.'¹¹
- (114) *nä mane erera nima erera bäne a drdr nä sagara fof*
 nä mane e\rä/ra nima e\rä/ra bäne a
 INDF which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be like_this 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be PH.ABS and
 drdr nä sagara fof
 PLN INDF PN EMPH
 'Other Sangara people continued until Dérideri.'

¹¹ *Mongarkam* is located north of *Mibini*.

- (115) *bagu mane enrera bänë mäta*
 bagu mane en\rä/ra bänë mata
 PN which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be PH PLN
 ‘The Bangu people came to Mäta, and’
- (116) *sagara mane enrera garaita*
 sagara mane en\rä/ra garaita
 PN which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be PLN
 ‘the Sangara people to Garaita.’
- (117) *mayawa ni zbo zf nnrera*
 mayawa ni zbo zf nn\rä/ra
 PN 1NSG PROX:ALL ABSC 1PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be
 ‘We Mayawas came here.’
- (118) *nzenme bada mrzarane bada mane yanra yf ane yanra mathkwi*
 nzenme bada mrzar=ane bada mane
 1NSG.POSS ancestor Mrzar=POSS.SG ancestor which
 yan\r/a yf ane yan\r/a mathkwi
 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\be name DEM 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\be PN
 ‘As for our ancestor, the Mérzar’s ancestor, his name was Mathkwi.’
- (119) *mathkwif ane enfathwa*
 mathkwif= ane en\fath/wa
 PN=ERG.SG DEM SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\hold
 ‘Mathkwif was bringing along those things.’
- (120) *wawa fofosa*
 wawa fofosa
 round_yam heart
 ‘the yam stone.’¹²
- (121) *naf ane ynfathwa fof*
 naf ane yn\fath/wa fof
 3SG.ERG DEM SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\hold EMPH
 ‘He had this one.’

¹²A magic stone for planting yams.

A Kwafar - The place of origin in Kwafar

- (122) *wati näbi ane komnzo fofosa yara wawama nasi duga biskar*
 dati näbi ane komnzo fofosa ya\r/a wawa=ma
 then one DEM only heart 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be round_yam=CHAR
 nasi duga biskar
 long_yam taro cassava
 ‘It was for (the cultivation of) yams, long yams, taro and cassava,’
- (123) *dagon nä berä fof*
 dagon nä b=e\rä/ fof
 food INDF MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be EMPH
 ‘and for other kinds of crops.’
- (124) *watik fi anekarä fof yanra fof*
 dati fi ane=karä fof yan\r/a fof
 then 3.ABS DEM=PROP EMPH 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\be EMPH
 ‘He came with that (stone).’
- (125) *mane yanyaka e*
 mane yan\yak/a e
 which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\come until
 ‘As he walked towards’
- (126) *wm bää ythn zabrta*
 wm bää y\thn/ zabrta
 stone MED 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\lie_down PLN
 ‘the place where the stones lay near Zambérta,’
- (127) *fä fof yanritakwath fof kwanritakwrmth trkren*
 fö fof yan\ritak/wath fof kwan\ritak/wrmth
 DIST EMPH 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\cross EMPH 2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\cross
 trkr=en
 flood=LOC
 ‘they crossed the river. They crossed the river during the flood season.’
- (128) *watik nima né fam zära*
 dati nima n fam zä\r/a
 then like_this IMN thought SG:PST:PFV\do
 ‘Then he thought to himself’

- (129) “*garaita zawe? keke nä kabe foba z sfyak*”
 garaita zawe keke nä kabe foba z sf\yak/
 PLN side NEG INDF man DIST:ABL IAM 3SG.M:RPST:IPFV\walk
 “Should I go to Garaita? No, someone’s already gone there.”
- (130) *watik nima zethkäfa fi safs*
 wati nima ze\thkäf/a fi safs
 then like_this SG:PST:PFV\start 3.ABS PLN
 ‘So he started walking towards Safés.’
- (131) *nimame ane zethkäfa mothr mane yanra e akrimogo*
 nima=me ane ze\thkäf/a moth=r mane
 like_this=INS DEM SG:PST:PFV\start path=PURP which
 yan\r/a e akrimogo
 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\be until PLN
 ‘He got going and walked until Akrimongo.’
- (132) *yam fä fof thremar fof*
 yam fä fof thre\mar/ fof
 footprint DIST EMPH 2|3SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\see EMPH
 ‘He saw footprints there.’
- (133) “*oh nä nima z eräro*”
 oh nä nima z e\rä/ro
 oh INDF like_this IAM 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:AND\be
 “Oh, others are already here.”
- (134) *watik keräfi foba fof zäzira fof e kar yfrä ymnz*
 wati keräfi foba fof zä\zir/a fof e kar
 then palm_species DIST:ABL EMPH SG:PST:PFV\throw EMPH until place
 yf \rä/ ymnz
 name 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PLN
 ‘Then he shot an arrow that flew all the way to Yéménz.’
- (135) *watik fobo fof “oh kabe bää yé*
 wati fobo fof oh kabe bää \yé/
 then DIST:ALL EMPH oh man MED 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘Then (he heard people) from there and said: “Oh, there’s already
 someone there.’

A Kwafar - The place of origin in Kwafar

- (136) *watik nimame wiyak*"
 wati nima=me w\yak/
 then like_this=INS 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk
 'Then I will go this way."
- (137) *watik foba fof akrimogofa zenfara fof*
 wati foba fof akrimogo=fa zen\far/a fof
 then DIST:ABL EMPH PLN=ABL SG:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off EMPH
 'So he left Akrimongo and started walking.'
- (138) *foba näbi yaniyaka karane yf erä füsari*
 foba näbi yan\yak/a kar=ane yf
 DIST:ABL one 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\come place=POSS.SG name
 e\rä/ füsäri
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be PLN
 'He came straight to a place called Füsari.'
- (139) *füsärifa rarafü kar*
 füsäri=fa rarafü_kar
 PLN=ABL PLN
 'From Füsari to Rarafü Kar.'
- (140) *rarafü karfa kafrir fä ttfön zänrita*
 rarafü_kar=fa kafrir fä ttfö=en zän\rit/a
 PLN=ABL PLN DIST creek=LOC SG:PST:PFV:VENT\cross
 'From Rarafü Kar to Kafirir, where he crossed the stream,'
- (141) *e bäne zofok*
 e bäne zofok
 until PH PLN
 'until whatsthat, until Zofok.'
- (142) *zofok fä yamthiza*
 zofok fä ya\mthiz/a
 PLN DIST 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\rest
 'He was resting in Zofok.'
- (143) *nabi komnzo bekogr*
 nabi komnzo b=e\ko/gr
 bamboo only MED=2|3PL:NPST:STAT\be_standing
 'The bamboo trees are still there.'

- (144) *nabi ñatr fä fof zurärm zwafrmñzrm zurzirakwa fof*
 nabi ñatr fä fof zu\rä/rm
 bow bowstring DIST EMPH SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR\do
 zwa\frmñz/rm zu\rzirak/wa fof
 SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR\prepare SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\bend EMPH
 ‘There he fixed his bow and tied the string there.’
- (145) *nasi nömä yanatha*
 nasi nömä ya\na/tha
 long_yam yamcake SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\eat
 ‘He ate some yamcake.’
- (146) *rfarrfar futhfuth mane erera wmr ane fof ñakwthenzath fof zäkwtherath*
 rfarrfar futhfuth mane e\rä/ra wmr ane fof
 rests scraps which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be stone=PURP DEM EMPH
 ña\kwthe/nzath fof zä\kwther/ath
 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\change EMPH 2|3PL:PST:PFV\change
 ‘Those crumbs from the yamcake turned into stones.’
- (147) *watik komnzo berästhgr*
 wati komnzo b=e\räs/thgr
 then still MED=2|3PL:NPST:STAT\be_erected
 ‘They still exist.’
- (148) *wm mane yé yn fathwa fof no nzigfu*
 wm mane \yé/ yn\fath/wa fof
 stone which 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\hold EMPH
 no nzigfu
 water rain_stone
 ‘That stone that he had brought, that rain stone,’
- (149) *watik ane fof yräza fof zofok kar*
 wati ane fof y\räz/a fof zofok kar
 then DEM EMPH SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\erect EMPH PLN place
 ‘he put (the name) Zofok at that place.’
- (150) *watik foba yaniyaka misa zfth*
 wati foba yan\yak/a misa_zfth
 then DIST:ABL 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\come PLN
 ‘Then he continued and came to Misa Zéféth.’

A Kwafar - The place of origin in Kwafar

- (151) *mäbri misa zfth yrn*
 mäbri misa_zfth yrn
 PLN PLN PLN
 ‘Mämbri was first, then Misa Zéfeth and then Yérén.’
- (152) *fä zänrsöfätha fof yaniyaka benzü zfth*
 fä zän\rsöfäth/a fof yan\yak/a
 DIST SG:PST:PFV:VENT\descend EMPH 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\come
 benzü_zfth
 PLN
 ‘He went down there (to the river) and walked to Benzü Zéfeth.’
- (153) *foba fof ymd threnkaris fof afa kfokfo ythama*
 foba fof ymd thren\karis/ fof afa_kfokfo
 DIST:ABL EMPH bird 2|3SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV:VENT\hear EMPH butcherbird
 ythama
 bird_of_paradise
 ‘From there he heard the birds calling, the butcherbird and the bird of
 paradise.’
- (154) *fam zära “kar bä rä ya kar töna fobo fof wiyak fof”*
 fam zä|r/a kar bä \rä/ a kar
 thought SG:PST:PFV\do place MED 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be and place
 töna fobo fof w\yak/ fof
 high_ground DIST:ALL EMPH 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk EMPH
 ‘He thought: “This must be high ground. I am going to walk there.”’
- (155) *yaniyaka fä fof zänrita fof rä kukwrb fr zra mnzärfr neba*
 yan\yak/a fä fof zän\rit/a fof
 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\come DIST EMPH SG:PST:PFV:VENT\CROSS EMPH
 \rä/ kukwrb_fr zra mnzär_fr neba
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PLN swamp PLN opposite
 ‘He came there and crossed (the river) at Kukwérémb Fér, opposite
 Ménzär Fér.’
- (156) *wati fä fof yaniyaka fof mä zänfrefa*
 wati fä fof yan\yak/a fof mä
 then DIST EMPH 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\come EMPH where
 zän\fref/a
 2|3SG:PST:PFV:VENT\come_up_from_river
 ‘That’s where he came and where he walked up (from the river).’

- (157) *nömä futhfuth fä fof ḷantnägwath*
 nömä futhfuth fä fof ḷan\tnäg/wath
 yamcake scraps DIST EMPH 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\scatter
 'He dropped some crumbs of the yamcake there.'
- (158) *mane yanra e zrä zöfäthak*
 mane yan\r/a e z=\rä/ zöfäthak
 which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\be until PROX=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PLN
 'He came here to Zöfäthak.'
- (159) *bä brä zafe ḷazi fr nä fä fof ethn berä*
 bä b=\rä/ zafe ḷazi fr nä fä fof
 MED MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be old coconut post INDF DIST EMPH
 e\ethn/ b=e\rä/
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\lie_down MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 'Over there, by the old coconuts, there are some more (crumbs) there.'
- (160) *watik nä fä fof ḷantnägwath fof*
 wati nä fä fof ḷan\tnäg/wath fof
 then INDF DIST EMPH 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\scatter EMPH
 'He dropped some more there.'
- (161) *fä fof sakuka "oh zane zf zunthorakwé watik"*
 fä fof sa\kuk/a oh zane zf
 DIST EMPH 3SG.M:PST:PFV\stand oh DEM:PROX ABSC
 zun\thorak/wé wati
 1SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV:VENT\search then
 'Then he stopped (and said) "I was looking for this (place)."'
- (162) *fz zamara afa kfokfo zakarisa*
 fz za\mar/a afa_kfokfo za\karis/a
 forest SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\see butcherbird SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\hear
 'He looked at the forest and he heard the butcherbird'
- (163) *bäne zakarisa ythama*
 bäne za\karis/a ythama
 PH.ABS SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\hear bird_of_paradise
 'and he heard the other one, the bird of paradise.'

A Kwafar - The place of origin in Kwafar

- (164) *watik krenafth nima wiyak*
 wati kre\nafth/ nima w\yak/
 then 2|3PL:IRR:PFV\talk like_this 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk
 ‘Then he said “I will go this way.’
- (165) *zbo kar rä farem kar*
 zbo kar \rä/ farem_kar
 PROX:ALL place 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PLN
 ‘There is a place, Faremkar.’
- (166) *watik fthé yaka bobo*
 wati fthé \yak/a bobo
 then when 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\walk MED:ALL
 ‘When he came there,’
- (167) *foba krekaris “oh füthan nä zbo kabe yamnzs”*
 foba kre\karis/ oh fütha=en nä zbo kabe
 DIST:ABL 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\hear oh PLN=LOC INDF PROX:ALL man
 ya\m/nzs
 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\sit
 ‘he heard something (and said) “Someone is staying in Fütha.”’
- (168) *we foba krekaris “oh farem karen kabe yé”*
 we foba kre\karis/ oh farem_kar=en kabe
 also DIST:ABL 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\hear oh PLN=LOC man
 \yé/
 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘He listened again (and said) “Oh, there is someone in Faremkar already.”’
- (169) *watik yako*
 wati \yak/o
 then 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:AND\walk
 ‘So he continued to walk.’
- (170) *faremaneme kabe z sathora*
 farem=aneme kabe z sa\thor/a
 PN=POSS.NSG man IAM 3SG.M:PST:PFV\appear
 ‘The ancestor of the Farem was already there.’

- (171) *bafane bada foffatamaane*
 baf=ane bada fof fatama=ane
 PH=POSS.SG ancestor EMPH PN=POSS.SG
 ‘Those one’s ancestor, Fatama’s ancestor.’
- (172) *farem thden watik foba fof sräkor*
 farem thd=en wati foba fof srä\kor/
 PLN middle=LOC then DIST:ABL EMPH 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\speak
 ‘He was staying in the centre of Faremkar. He said to him’
- (173) *foba fof “bä fä fof gnamnzé ey*
 foba fof bä fä fof gna\m/nzé ey
 DIST:ABL EMPH MED DIST EMPH 2SG:IMP:IPFV\sit hey
 ““You stay over there!”
- (174) *fisor bthanen käms”*
 fisor_bthan=en kä\ms/
 PLN=LOC 2SG:IMP:PFV\sit
 ‘You can settle in Fisor Béthan!’”
- (175) *wati we nä sräthoro wazu*
 dati we nä srä\thor/o wazu
 then also INDF 3SG.M:IRR:PFV:AND\appear PN
 ‘Then another ancestor arrived, from the Wazu clan.’
- (176) *fä fof sräkor watik “foba fof käms wazufa”*
 fä fof srä\kor/ wati foba fof
 DIST EMPH 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\speak then DIST:ABL EMPH
 kä\ms/ wazu=fa
 2SG:IMP:PFV\sit PLN=ABL
 ‘He said: “You can settle there in Wazu!”’
- (177) *watik fthé zamara katan fäth ane zfrärm “kwa nzä zä zf kwramnzs?*
 dati fthé za\mar/a katan fäth ane zf\rä/rm kwa
 then when SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\see small DIM DEM 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be FUT
 nzä zä zf kwra\m/nzr
 1SG.ABS PROX ABSC 1SG:IRR:IPFV\sit
 ‘(Mathkwi) saw that it was a small piece of land (and he said) ‘Oh, this is where you want me to live?’

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- (178) *nima ñabrigwé*
nima ña\brig/wé
like_this 1SG:NPST:IPFV\return
'I will go back this way.'
- (179) *moba fthmäsü zänbrima watik*
moba fthmäsü zän\brim/a wati
where.ABL meanwhile SG:PST:PFV:VENT\return then
'While he returned from there,'
- (180) *nasi nömä ane fof tnägsi thenthkäfa rrifar*
nasi nömä ane fof tnäg-si then\thkäf/a
long_yam yamcake DEM EMPH lose-NMLZ SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\start
rfarrfar
scraps
'he was dropping crumbs of the yamcake'
- (181) *futhfuth*
futhfuth
scraps
'those scraps,'
- (182) *watik mane yaniyaka*
wati mane yan\yak/a
then which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\come
'while he was on his way.'
- (183) *zä zf e zane zf zethno zerä*
zä zf e zane zf z=e\thn/o
PROX ABSC until DEM:PROX ABSC PROX=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:AND\lie_down
z=e\rä/
PROX=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
'They're right here. They are lying here.'
- (184) *fä fof ane futhfuth thuntnägwrm*
fä fof ane futhfuth thun\tnäg/wrm
DIST EMPH DEM scraps SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\scatter
'He kept dropping these crumbs.'

(185) *nä bää enth*

nä bää en\thn/

INDF MED 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\lie_down

‘There are some lying over there.’

(186) *e nima ziyo ro ye masu*

e nima z=ya|r/o

e masu

until like_this PROX=3SG.M:PST:IPFV:AND\be until PLN

‘In this way, he continued on to Masu.’

(187) *foba fof sathora “nzukar zä zf ämnzr*

foba fof sa\thor/a nzu-kar zä zf

DIST:ABL EMPH 3SG.M:PST:PFV\appear 1SG.POSS-place PROX ABSC

ä\m/nzr

2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\sit

‘As he arrived “This is my place. My people will live here.”’

(188) *watik menz kar ane fof zräkorth yari*

wati menz kar ane fof zrä\kor/th yari

then story_man place DEM EMPH 2|3PL>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\speak PLN

‘They call this story place Yari.’

(189) *yari sathora fof*

yari sa\thor/a fof

PLN 3SG.M:PST:PFV\appear EMPH

‘So he arrived in Yari.’

(190) *watik fä fof no nzigfukarä fi fof sathora fof*

wati fä fof no nzigfu=karä fi fof

then DIST EMPH water rain_stone=PROP 3.ABS EMPH

sa\thor/a fof

3SG.M:PST:PFV\appear EMPH

‘He arrived with the rain stone.’

(191) *fi mane yanra*

fi mane yan\r/a

3.ABS which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\be

‘As he came,’

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- (192) *nzigfu nä fofoса yfathwa fof*
 nzigfu nä fofoса y\fath/wa fof
 rain_stone INDF heart SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\hold EMPH
 'he brought another stone, the yam stone'
- (193) *nasi wawa dugа biskar*
 nasi wawa dugа biskar
 long_yam round_yam taro cassava
 'for long yam, yam, taro, and cassava.'
- (194) *ranzo fä dagon eräro*
 ra=nzo fä dagon e\rä/ro
 what.ABS=ONLY DIST food SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:AND\be
 'for all these other types of crops.'
- (195) *anekaräsü swamnzrm fof*
 ane=karä=sü swa\m/nzrm fof
 DEM=PROP=ETC 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit EMPH
 'He was staying with those items.'
- (196) *fthé wawa thuworthrmth*
 fthé wawa thu\wor/thrmth
 when round_yam 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\plant
 'When planting season came.'
- (197) *watik sfrärm e wawa taga kwot thkarthé kwafiyokwrmth*
 dati sf\rä/rm e wawa taga kwot thkar-thé
 then 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be until round_yam leaf properly thick-ADJZ
 kwa\fiyok/wrmth
 2|3PL:PST:DUR\make
 'Then the leaves of the yam plants became dry.'
- (198) *watik fthé fof wawa taga nä thurtnwrm*
 dati fthé fof wawa taga nä
 then when EMPH round_yam leaf INDF
 thu\ rtn/wrm
 SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\pull_off_leaves
 'and he pulled off some of the yam leaves'

- (199) *nasi taga kemar taga taga bänē berä biskar duga*
 nasi taga kemar taga taga bänē b=e|rä/
 long_yam leaf yam_species leaf leaf PH.ABS MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 biskar duga
 cassava taro
 ‘or long yam leaves, or sweet potato leaves. All those leaves like cassava
 leaves, taro leaves’
- (200) *watik nzifgu mrmr foba sfrärm*
 wati nzifgu mrmr foba sf|rä/rm
 then rain_stone inside DIST:ABL 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be
 ‘He put the stone inside those (leaves).’
- (201) *ane tagame sumyuknwrn*
 ane taga=me su\myukn/wrm
 DEM leaf=INS SG>3SG.M:PST:DUR\twist
 ‘He rolled them up in these leaves.’
- (202) *surdiknwrn watik wawa zfthen swäzin*
 su\rdikn/wrm wati wawa zfth=en
 SG>3SG.M:PST:DUR\tie.around then round_yam tree_base=LOC
 swä\zin/
 2|3SG>3SG.M:ITER\put_down
 ‘He tied it up and put down (the bundle) at the base of the plants.’
- (203) *sfthnm e*
 sf\thn/m e
 3SG.M:PST:DUR\lie_down until
 ‘It lay there until’
- (204) *wawa fthé thwemar nima thkarthé zäkorth*
 wawa fthé thwe\mar/ nima thkar-thé
 round_yam when SG>2|3PL:ITER\see like_this thick-ADJZ
 zä\kor/th
 2|3PL:RPST:PFV\become
 ‘he saw that the yam leaves are really dried up.’
- (205) *watik ausiausi thukonzrm*
 wati ausi~ausi thu\ko/nzrm
 then REDUP~old_woman SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\speak
 ‘Then he called the women:’

A Kwafar - The place of origin in Kwafar

- (206) *käthfe kabe*
 kä
 2PL:IMP:PFV\walk people
 “Go people!”
- (207) *ausiausi thfyakm ḷanz ffrümenzoma*
 ausi~ausi thf\yak/m ḷanz
 REDUP~old_woman 2|3PL:PST:DUR\walk garden_row
 f~frü=me=nzo=ma
 REDUP~alone=INS=ONLY=CHAR
 ‘The women went and took one Yam from each plot.’
- (208) *wawa ane ebar fr wawa ebar fr kafar*
 wawa ane ebar fr wawa ebar fr kafar
 round_yam DEM head post round_yam head post big
 ‘(They took) one big Yam, the really big ones.’
- (209) *watik nä ḷanzma wawa näbi nä ḷanzma nä ḷanzma nimanzo watik*
 wati nä ḷanz=ma wawa näbi nä ḷanz=ma
 then INDF garden_row=CHAR round_yam one INDF garden_row=CHAR
 nä ḷanz=ma nä ḷanz=ma nima=nzo wati
 INDF garden_row=CHAR INDF garden_row=CHAR like_this=ONLY then
 ‘One Yam from this plot, and another one from that plot, and so on.’
- (210) *mniime thufränzrmth*
 mni=me thu\fra/nzrmth
 fire=INS 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\sing_e off
 ‘They burned off the hair (on the tubers).’
- (211) *watik thufthakwrmth foba karome thurzathrmth*
 wati thu\fthak/wrmth foba karo=me
 then 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\take_out_off_fire DIST:ABL ground_oven=INS
 thu\rza/thrmth
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\bake
 ‘They took them out of the fire and put them in the oven.’

- (212) *zizi ane fof thfänzrmth bobo far mä suräzrmth*
 zizi ane fof thf\zä/nzrmth bobo far mä
 afternoon DEM EMPH 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\carry MED:ALL stem where
 su\räz/rmth
 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:DUR\erect
 'In the afternoon, they took them to where they had set up the post.'
- (213) *mathkwi o karawa o kukuma o ote*
 mathkwi o karawa o kukuma o ote
 PN OR PN OR PN OR PN
 '(All those ancestors were doing that:) Mathkwi, Karawa, Kukuma and Ote.'
- (214) *watik ane far fof sfrästhgrm wawa fobo fof thufnakwrm*
 wati ane far fof sf\räs/thgrm wawa
 then DEM stem EMPH 3SG.M:PST:DUR:STAT\be_erected round_yam
 fobo fof thuf\nak/wrm
 DIST:ALL EMPH SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\put_down
 'They had set up the post and they put the yams down at the base.'
- (215) *fobo fefe né wawa kwanäbünzrmth kwosi kwakonzrmth*
 fobo fefe n wawa kwa\näbü/nzrmth kwosi
 DIST:ALL really IMN round_yam 2|3PL:PST:DUR\smash dead
 kwa\ko/nzrmth
 2|3PL:RPST:DUR\become
 'Then these yams were on the verge of decay, they started to rot.'
- (216) *bänemr e tayo tfotfo*
 bâne=r e tayo tfotfo
 PH.ABS=PURP until ripe almost
 'Time went by until (the other yams were) almost ripe.'
- (217) *tayo wawa fthé kwakonzrmth*
 tayo wawa fthé kwa\ko/nzrmth
 ripe round_yam when 2|3PL:RPST:DUR\become
 'When the yams were ripe,'
- (218) *rfnaksir bobo zarfa thfrärm mäta garaita*
 rfnak-si=r bobo zarfa thf\rä/rm mäta garaita
 taste-NMLZ=PURP MED:ALL ear 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be PLN PLN
 'they heard about the tasting in Mäta or Garaita.'

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- (219) *nafa fthé kwänrfnfh “ayo”*
 nafa fthé kwän\rfn/th ayo
 3NSG.ERG when 2|3PL:ITER:VENT\taste watch_out
 ‘Each time they tried the yams, (they shouted) “Listen up!”’
- (220) *wrwr fof zefaro swänrifhth*
 wrwr fof ze\far/o swän\rifhth/th
 wind EMPH SG:RPST:PFV:AND\set_off 2|3PL>3SG.M:ITER:VENT\send
 ‘The wind blew and carried the message here.’
- (221) *watik we masu karé kwekaristh “oh nafa z zärfnfh”*
 wati we masu kar=é kwe\karis/th oh nafa z
 then also PLN place=ERG.NSG 2|3PL:ITER\hear oh 3NSG.ERG IAM
 zä\rfn/th
 2|3PL:RPST:PFV\taste
 ‘The Masu people heard it and said: “Oh, they have already tasted the yams.”’
- (222) *we kwot we näbikakme we nä wawa thfrärmth katan o kafar thuwoknzrmth*
 we kwot we näbi-kak=me we nä wawa
 also properly also one-DISTR=INS also INDF round_yam
 thf\rä/rmth katan o kafar thu\wok/nzrmth
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\do small or big 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\choose
 ‘So they also took one yam each. They chose a big or small one.’
- (223) *watik kwarzathrmth*
 wati kwa\rza/thrmth
 then 2|3PL:PST:DUR\bake
 ‘They put it in the oven.’
- (224) *tawar ane thfrärmth ηazi thurwrmth*
 tawar ane thf\rä/rmth ηazi
 yam_pulp DEM 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\do coconut
 thu\r/wrmth
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\scrape
 ‘They scraped the inside fibre out, mixed it with coconut,’

- (225) *kwot thufathwrnþt̥ kobakob*
 kwot thu\fath/wrmth kobakob
 properly 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\hold round_object
 ‘and formed round balls.’
- (226) *watik kwarfnakwrmth watik nima kwanrzrmth*
 wati kwa\rfnak/wrmth wati nima kwan\rz/rmth
 then 2|3PL:PST:DUR\taste then like_this 2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\throw
 ‘They tasted these and then they threw the balls this way.’
- (227) *fatr nima thwafiyokwrmth “ayo farem benm fräro!”*
 fatr nima thwa\fiyok/wrmth ayo farem
 upper_arm like_this 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\make watch_out PN
 benm f=\rä/ro
 2NSG:DAT DIST=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:AND\be
 ‘They threw their arms in the air and shouted: “Listen, you Farem
 people, this is for you!”’
- (228) *watik ane fthé kwärit ane tmatm rfnaksi tmatm*
 wati ane fthé kwä\rit/ ane tmatm rfnak-si tmatm
 then DEM when SG:ITER\cross DEM action taste-NMLZ action
 ‘And so it happened. This tasting ritual passed by (heading west).’
- (229) *thumarwrnþt̥ e rrr kwan fthé bänē kwäkorth tayo kwot thuwäkwrm*
 thu\mar/wrm e rrr kwan fthé bänē
 SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\see until rustling_sound shout when PH.ABS
 kwä\kor/th tayo kwot thu\wák/wrm
 2|3PL:ITER\become ripe properly SG:PST:DUR\become_ripe
 ‘Next, they saw that the leaves had really dried up and the yam were
 ready.’
- (230) *watik fthé fof yaka swefafth*
 wati fthé fof yaka swe\faf/th
 then when EMPH digging_stick 2|3PL>3SG.M:ITER\hold
 ‘So they picked up the digging stick (and started harvesting).’

A Kwafar - The place of origin in Kwafar

- (231) *anenzofof, anetmatm kwaritakwrm e zbo bäydbo*
 ane=nzo fof ane tmatm kwa\ritak/wrm e zbo
 DEM=ONLY EMPH DEM action 2|3SG:PST:DUR\cross until PROX:ALL
 bai=dbo
 PN=ALL.ANIM.SG
 ‘This ritual was passed on all the way to Bäi.’
- (232) *bäi kafar zäkora*
 bai kafar zä\kor/a
 PN big SG:PST:PFV\become
 ‘When Bäi became a man,’
- (233) *nafanjafyf ... nafane nafyf aneofofsaraeof*
 nafa-njafe=f nafane njafe=f ane fof
 3.POSS-father=ERG.SG 3SG.POSS father=ERG.SG DEM EMPH
 sa\r/a fof
 SG>3SG.M.IO:PST:PFV\give EMPH
 ‘his father gave him (the yam stone).’
- (234) *fobafofotef*
 foba fof ote=f
 DIST:ABL EMPH PN=ERG.SG
 ‘(His father) Ote’
- (235) *watiknafwe aneofothwamonegwrmlnobänenozigfu*
 wati naf we ane fof thwa\moneg/wrm no bâne no nzigfu
 then 3SG.ERG also DEM EMPH SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\take.care rain PH.ABS
 rain rain_stone
 ‘had also looked after the rain stone’
- (236) *afofosafrädagonfofosafof*
 a fofofa f=\rä/ dagon fofofa fofof
 and heart DIST=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be food heart EMPH
 ‘and the yam stone, the food stone.’
- (237) *fobae ni kafar njanonzake*
 foba e ni kafar njan\ko/nzake
 DIST:ABL until 1NSG big 1PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\become
 ‘This continued until we became men.’

- (238) *nzesinenwä ane fof komnzo thfrnm ane eda rokar fof*
 nze-si=en=wä ane fof komnzo thf\rn/m ane eda
 1PL.POSS-eye=LOC=EMPH DEM EMPH only 2|3DU:PST:DUR\be DEM two
 rokar fof
 thing EMPH
 ‘Those two stones where under our eyes.’
- (239) *e nama masun ane yam tmatm z zwabragwre fof*
 e nama masu=en ane yam tmatm z
 until two_days_away PLN=LOC DEM event action IAM
 zwa\brag/wre fof
 1PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\follow EMPH
 ‘Until recently, we followed this tradition in Masu.’
- (240) *e watik foba zänbrimake zena mänwä zä namnzs*
 e wati foba zän\brim/ake zena mänwä zä
 until then DIST:ABL 1PL:PST:PFV:VENT\return today where.EMPH PROX
 na\m/nzs
 1PL:NPST:IPFV\sit
 ‘Then we moved to where we live now.’
- (241) *zf znrä*
 zf z=n\rä/
 ABSC PROX=1PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘We are here now.’
- (242) *watik fi fthmäsü kwik kwosi yara.*
 wati fi fthmäsü kwik kwosi ya\r/a
 then 3.ABS meanwhile sick dead 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
 ‘That was the time when (father) became ill and died.’
- (243) *greg täwdben ane thfrärm*
 greg täw=dben ane thf\rä/rm
 PN father=LOC.ANIM.SG DEM 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be
 ‘Those things were with Greg’s father,’
- (244) *ane bäne nzigfu thfrnm edawä*
 ane bäne nzigfu thf\rn/m eda=wä
 DEM PH.ABS rain_stone 2|3DU:PST:DUR\be two=EMPH
 ‘these two whatchamacallit, these two stones.’

- (245) *watik nzenme ḥafe fthmäsü kwosi yara*
 wati nzenme ḥafe fthmäsü kwosi ya\r/a
 then 1NSG.POSS father meanwhile dead 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
 'Then, our father passed away'
- (246) *watik foba ni miyamr nrä mafadben zena ethn*
 wati foba ni miyamr n\rä/ mafa=dben zena
 then DIST:ABL 1NSG ignorance 1PL:NPST:IPFV\be who=LOC.ANIM.SG today
 e\thn/
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\lie_down
 'and we don't know with whom they are now.'
- (247) *z thrifthmath fof*
 z th\rifthm/ath fof
 IAM 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hide EMPH
 'Someone must have hidden them.'
- (248) *watik trikasi mane nŷatrikwé fof*
 wati trikasi mane n=\ja\trik/wé fof
 then story which IPST=1SG:NPST:IPFV\tell EMPH
 'Okay, the story I just told'
- (249) *ŷafynm badafa ane fof ŷanritakwa fof*
 ḥafe=nm bada=fa ane fof ŷan\ritak/wa
 father DAT.NSG ancestor=ABL DEM EMPH
 fof
 SG:PST:IPFV:VENT\cross EMPH
 'was passed down from our ancestors to our fathers,'
- (250) *bada aki kwark benrera fof*
 bada aki kwark b=en\rä/ra fof
 ancestor grandparent deceased MED=2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be EMPH
 'to the grandfathers,'
- (251) *zath kwark*
 zath kwark
 grandparent deceased
 'to the late grandfather'

- (252) *enrera e nafydbo we nzedbo fof né zänrita nima*
en\rä/ra e ɳafe=dbo we nzedbo fof
2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be until father=ALL.ANIM.SG also 1NSG.ALL EMPH
n zän\rit/a nima
IMN SG:PST:PFV:VENT\cross like_this
'until it came to our father. It was about to pass to us like this.'
- (253) *watik zena maf keke wäbragwr ane*
wati zena maf keke wä\brag/wr ane
then today who.ERG.SG NEG 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\follow DEM
'But nobody follows (this tradition) any more.'

B *Masu* - The village of Masu

B.1 Introduction

Masu is a recording lasting roughly 6min. It was recorded by Christian Döhler on September 22nd 2012, in both audio and video.¹ The story teller is Daure (Srik) Kaumb. The recording took place in *Masu*, a garden place about 2km East of *Rouku*.

B.2 Summary & background

The story is about the first ancestor of the two Mayawa clans at *Rouku*. His name was Mathkwi. The story describes the path the ancestor took, and how he chose and settled down at *Masu*. In the second part, Daure explains the traditional settlement pattern, which was in small-scale hamlets, and how the people consolidated into the larger village of *Rouku*.

B.3 *Masu* (parallel text)

Trikasi kwa wthkärwé masuma. Kar yf fä mane znthkäfe yabär, tratrabäk, mdri. Masu zfrä. Masu zfrä kar.

Nzenme menz zöbthé fefe mobo sa-thora. Menz frükakmenzo fthé kwan-kwirwmth mrn frükakmenzo. Menz berä mayawa bagu sagara. Nafanme mothme zumarwmth. Nimame kwak-wirwmth. Kar fthé thunthorakwrmth.

I will start the story about *Masu*. We started walking and came from *Yambär*, to *Tratrambäk*, to *Méndri*, and now to *Masu* right here.

This is the village of *Masu*, where our ancestor first arrived. The ancestors came one by one, each clan. There were different ancestors of the Mayawa, the Bangu, and the Sanga. They were looking for their way when they came. They were looking for a place where they could settle down.

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20120922-08. It is archived at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11189733>

Nzenmenz zä zf yankwira. Komo foba fthé kwankwirwm. Swänze bā zänrita. Mare komnzo bithn bā mā zänrita. Zä zf yankwira zf zyé. Sathora zyé. Ymd foba zankarisa afa kfokfo “Kar töna bā rä brä.” Santhora. Zamar. Yf zwärako kar yf masu. Wati nimame komnzo zäritako ziyyaro. Ni-mame “Kwa n komnzo wiyyako.”

Fi yakako farem kar. Afa kfokfo mane zakarisa “Kar bā rä brä.” Yakako. Nima n sräzigrthm “Kabe z zämsa.” Kabe zöbthwé z zämsa ane foffarem. Farem thdma bres orot. Nafane menz zöbthé z zämsa. Thartharfa näbun mane thwaniyakm nima wazu berä muthrata. Kar yf fä z erä. Kar yf rä wazu faremkar thartharfa. Neba tharthar foba bräro muthrata. Neba wazi zba zünrä fisor bthan. Ane fofnzenme menz moba zänbrima. Kma zanmara “Keke. Kabe z zäms.” Zäbrimo. Watik yfnzo zwänra fisor bthan. Zänbrima zbo zf masu. Zf rä ane menz kar. Zä zf zämsa zf nzenme menz masu mayawanme menz. Edawä mrn mrzar mayawa a banibani mayawa.

Our ancestor came to this place here. He came from *Komo* and he crossed over the creek at *Swänze*. That log bridge is still there, where he went across. Then he came right here. He heard the butcherbird calling out and thought “This is a place on the high ground.” He looked at the place, and he gave the name *Masu* to it. Then he continued further saying: “I will try and walk a little further.”

He got to *Faremkar*, when he heard a butcherbird again: “There is a settlement there.” He walked further and he looked around: “Someone has settled here already.” The ancestors of the *Farem* clan had settled down there first in the middle of *Faremkar*, from *Bres* and *Orot*’s lineage. Their ancestor had settled there first. Others like the *Wazu* clan and *Muthérata* clan settled on the side of *Faremkar*. They have named places of their own there, for example *Wazu* right beside *Faremkar*. And there is *Muthérata* on the other side. In this direction is *Fisor Béthan*, the place from where our ancestor returned here. He must have looked thinking “Someone has settled here already.” So he only named that place *Fisor Béthan*, and then he returned to *Masu*. So this is the story place right here. Our ancestor settled down right here, the ancestor of the *Masu Mayawas*. There are two clans: *Mérzar Mayawa* and *Banibani Mayawa*.

Zä fof zämsa. Nafane msaksi zn zane zf rä. Zane zf kar töna rä. No trkr kafar fthé rera. Zanefaf zn keke nof zafafa. Nä karnzo nof thefafa. Zane keke. *Masu*. Manema nzräkorth masu kar. *Masu* kar ni zf nrä. Kar yf zane zf rä masu.

Fz rera zane kafar fz. Daor zufarwrmth zane brä fz. Zena keke nima rä fz brä. Zena yusi frnzo rä. Kafar fz rera zane. Ijafyé ethawä erera. Foba we enrera. Bada ethawä erera. Ijafyé ethawä enrera. We foba nanfiyokwath. Ni zena znrä tüfr. Niwä komnzo ñarake bäfiyokwre we zanefaf znen zf zerä. Zagathinzake kwa we bää nzfräro ñazäthe. Nä bad bänne bää mane eräro bad tnztnz nzenme bää mane eräro. Bää fof nzfrä e fthmäsü zabthe bää we kwanbrigwre we znrä zena. Zane ysakwren zf zathkäfe zrä. Ñarake thunbrigwre zena. Wawa mnz bthuwore fof. we zathkäfe we fof ñarakeme fof ñarake thikysime.

Watik trikasi masuanema nima zf rä brä. Ni zf kar zf rä. Zf masu manema nzräkorth masu kar. Ni masu kar zf nrä zf. Trikasi fof zwaythk katan brä nimame.

He settled down right here. His house was right here. This is high ground. When the water level rises during the rainy season, this place won't be affected by the water. Only other places are submerged, not *Masu* here. This is why they call us *Masu* people. We are the *Masu* people. It is based on this place *Masu*.

There used to be a dense forest here. They cut down the forest to create gardens. Today there is no more forest here, only savannah grass. It used to be a thick forest. In our fathers generation, there were only few people. All the way back. There were only a few people in the generation of our ancestors and fathers. They made us what we are today. And we are now many people. We are still gardening here, right here, in this place. At the moment, we are letting this place recover and have our gardens in ñazäthe where we also have some land. We have a small piece of land there. When we have used up the land there, we will return here. We have already started to bring some of the gardens back here. We have started building some storehouses. Next season we will start the actual layout of the gardens and put up fences.

This is the story about *Masu*. This place here is *Masu*, and that is why they called us *Masu* people. We are the *Masu* people. The story ends like this.

B Masu - The village of Masu

CD: *Rma kabe zefarath zane karfa?*

Zba kabe bänema zefarath. Zöbthé mane thfrärm fthé kafmd kwot kafmd fthé keke zfrärm. Wati frükakmenzo kabe thwamnzrmo katan karen. Nafanme menz mä zämsa. Fi fobo thwamnzrm nima. ni masun z nwamnzrm. Boba wazi bämnr nima. mifinin akrimogon nä thwamnzrm. Kar katakatan beräro nima. Safsen berä. Nä nima thwamnzrm kwaikr. Nä fä thwamnzrm nimame mefath. Wati, markai fthé yaniyaka. kwayan kabe fthé yaniyaka. Wati, näbi karfonzo nmosinza. Wati, näbi kafar kar thwafiyokwrme. Masma eyakako näbi roukufo. Ijazäthe-ma änyaka faremkar dmädr. Näbi karfonzo ñamosinzrake. Kafar kar wäfiyokwrake rouku.

Zöbthé mane nzfrärm frükakmenzo nwamnzrm. Ane mrn fämnr. Ane mrn fämnr. Ane mrn fämnr. Nimame mrnmenzo nwamnzrm. Zagr sime kwamarwrme. Markai fthé yaniyaka fof. Baibel buk trikasi fthé änyaka fof. Wati, båne naf wnzänza nima. Yuniti wnzänza. Wati, näbi kwot nawagr-wake fof. Tar ñakonzrake. Zena znrä ni-mame. Watik, anema nimame fof nrä fof. Näbi karenzo bå bnamnzr. Anema zane zf. Kar mä nzenme bada zämsa o menz zämsa kar anema thugathik-wrake. Näbi karenzo bobo fof nzfiyakmo.

CD: Why did the people move away?

When they used to live here, there was no government. People used to live in their clans, in small settlements, where their ancestors had settled initially. They were living like this. We were here at *Masu*, and those other people lived on the other side of the river, for example in *Mibini* or *Akrimogo*. There used to be small hamlets like *Safés* or *Kwaikér*. Others lived in *Mefath*. When the white man came, we shifted to one place. We built larger villages. The *Masu* people went to *Rouku* for good, likewise those ones from *Ijazäthe*, *Faremkar*, and *Démändér*. We came together in one village. We built one big village, and that's *Rouku*.

Before we were like this, we lived individually. This clan lived over there, that clan lived over there and the third clan lived over there. We each lived in our clans. We only saw each other from a distance. When the white man came, when the gospel came, it also brought whatchamacallit, it brought unity. From then on, we met regularly. We became friends. That's how we still live today. So that is the reason why we live like this, why we live in one village. As for the places where our ancestors had first settled, our story men, we have left these places. We've moved into a village together.

*Trikasi mane rä nima komnzo fof rä
nima. Nzenme kar fefe zane zfrä masu.
Nzenme menz mä zämsa zöbthé fefe.
Nä mrn we beräro nima. Trikasikaräsü
fi we nimäwä eräro. Nimame fof brä.
Eso.*

This is how the story goes. This is really our place here, *Masu*, where our ancestor settled down first. Other clans also have their places with their stories. It is just like this! Thank you!

B.4 *Masu* (glossed text)

- (1) *trikasi kwa wthkärwé masuma*
trikasi kwa w\thkär/wé masu=ma
story FUT 1SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\start PLN=CHAR
'I will start the story about Masu.'
- (2) *kar yffä mane znthkäfe yabär*
kar yf fä mane zn\thkäf/e yabär
place name DIST which 1PL>3SG.F:RPST:PFV:VENT\start PLN
'We started walked and came from Yambär,'
- (3) *tratrabäk mdri*
tratrabäk mdri
PLN PLN
'to Tratrambäk, to Méndri,'
- (4) *masu zfrä*
masu zf \rä/
PLN ABSC 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
'and now to Masu right here.'
- (5) *masu zfrä kar*
masu zf \rä/ kar
PLN ABSC 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be village
'This is the village of Masu,'
- (6) *nzenme menz zöbthé fefe mobo sathora*
nzenme menz zöbthé fefe mobo sa\thor/a
1NSG.POSS story_man first really where.ALL 3SG.M:PST:PFV\appear
'where our ancestor first arrived.'
- (7) *menz frükakmenzo fthé kwankwirwrnths*
menz frü-kak=me=nzo fthé kwan\kwir/wrmth
story_man alone-DISTR=INS=ONLY when 2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\run
'The ancestors came one by one,'
- (8) *mrn frükakmenzo*
mrn frü-kak=me=nzo
family alone-DISTR=INS=ONLY
'each clan.'

- (9) *menz berä mayawa bagu sagara*
 menz b=e\rä/ mayawa bagu sagara
 story_man MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be PN PN PN
 'There were different ancestors of the Mayawa, the Bangu, and the Sangara.'
- (10) *nafanme mothme zumarwrmth nimame kwakwirwrmth*
 nafanme moth=me zu\mar/wrmth nima=me
 3NSG.POSS path=INS 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:DUR\see like_this=INS
 kwa\kwir/wrmth
 2|3PL:PST:DUR\run
 'They were looking for their way when they came.'
- (11) *kar fthé thunthorakwrmth*
 kar fthé thun\thorak/wrmth
 village when 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\search
 'They were looking for a place (to settle down).'
- (12) *nzenmenz zä zf ḷankwira*
 nzen-menz zä zf ḷan\kwir/a
 1NSG:POSS-story_man PROX ABSC SG:PST:IPFV:VENT\run
 'Our ancestor came to this place here.'
- (13) *komo foba fthé kwankwirwrm*
 komo foba fthé kwan\kwir/wrm
 PLN DIST:ABL when 2|3SG:PST:DUR:VENT\run
 'He came from Komo and'
- (14) *swänze bä zänrita*
 swänze bä zän\rit/a
 PLN MED SG:PST:PFV:VENT\cross
 'he crossed over (the creek) at Swänze.'
- (15) *mare komnzo bithn bä mä zänrita*
 mare komnzo b=y\thn/ bä mä
 log_bridge still MED=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\lie_down MED where
 zän\rit/a
 SG:PST:PFV:VENT\cross
 'That log bridge is still there, where he went across.'

- (16) *zä zf ḷakwira zf zyé*
 zä zf ḷa\kwir/a zf z=\yé/
 PROX ABSC SG:PST:IPFV\run ABSC PROX=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘Then he came right here.’
- (17) *sathora zyé ymd foba zankarisa afa kfokfo*
 sa\thor/a z=\yé/ ymd foba
 3SG.M:PST:PFV\appear PROX=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be bird DIST:ABL
 zan\karis/a afa_kfokfo
 SG:PST:PFV:VENT\hear butcherbird
 ‘He arrived here and heard a butcherbird calling out.’²
- (18) “*kar töna bä rä brä*”
 kar töna bä \rä/ b=\rä/
 place high_ground MED 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ““This is a place on the high ground.””
- (19) *santhora zamara yf zwärako kar yf masu*
 san\thor/a za\mar/a yf
 3SG.M:PST:PFV:VENT\appear SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\see name
 zwä\r/ako kar yf masu
 SG>3SG.F:IO:PST:PFV:AND\give village name PLN
 ‘He looked at the place, and he gave the name Masu to it.’
- (20) *wati, nimame komnzo zäritako ziyaro*
 wati nima=me komnzo zä\rit/ako
 then like_this=INS only SG:PST:PFV:AND\cross
 z=ya\r/o
 PROX=3SG.M:PST:IPFV:AND\be
 ‘Then he continued further saying:’
- (21) *nimame kwa n komnzo wiyako*
 nima=me kwa n komnzo w\yak/o
 like_this=INS FUT IMN only 1SG:NPST:IPFV:AND\walk
 ““I will try and walk a little further.””

² *afa kfokfo* ‘hooded butcherbird’ (*Cracticus cassicus*)

- (22) *fi yakako farem kar afa kfokfo mane zakarisa*
 fi \yak/ako farem_kar afa_kfokfo mane
 3.ABS 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:AND\walk PLN butcherbird which
 za\karis/a
 SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\hear

‘He got to Faremkar, when he heard the butcherbird again:’

- (23) “*kar bä rä brä*”
 kar bä \rä/
 village MED 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 “There is a settlement there.”

- (24) *yakako nima n sräzigrthm “kabe z zämsa”*
 \yak/ako nima n srä\zigrthm/ kabe z
 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:AND\walk like_this IMN 3SG.F:IRR:PFV\look man IAM
 zä\ms/a
 SG:PST:PFV\sit
 ‘He walked further and he looked around “Someone has settled here already.”’

- (25) *kabe zöbhwé z zämsa ane fo farem*
 kabe zöbthé=wä z zä\ms/a ane fo farem
 man first=EMPH IAM SG:PST:PFV\sit DEM EMPH PLN
 ‘The ancestor of the Farem clan had settled down there first’

- (26) *farem thdma bres orot*
 farem thd=ma bres orot
 PLN middle=CHAR PN PN
 ‘at the center Faremkar, from Bres and Orot.’

- (27) *nafane menz zöbthé z zämsa*
 nafane menz zöbthé z zä\ms/a
 3SG.POSS story_man first IAM SG:PST:PFV\sit
 ‘Their ancestor had settled there first.’

- (28) *thartharfa näbun mane thwaniykm nima wazu berä muthrata*
 tharthar=fa näbun mane thwan\yak/m nima wazu
 beside=ABL INDF which 2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\come like_this PLN

- b=e\rä/ muthrata
 MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be PLN
 ‘Others like the Wazu clan and Muthérata clan settled on the side (of Faremkar).’

(29) *kar yffä z erä*
 kar yf fä z e\rä/
 place name DIST IAM 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘They have named places of their own there,’

(30) *kar yfrä wazu farem kar thartharfa*
 kar yf \rä/ wazu farem_kar tharthar=fa
 place name 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PLN PLN beside=ABL
 ‘for example Wazu right beside Faremkar.’

(31) *neba tharthar foba bräro muthrata*
 neba tharthar foba b=\rä/ro muthrata
 opposite beside DIST:ABL MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:AND\be PLN
 ‘And there is Muthérata on the other side.’

(32) *neba wazi zba zünrä fisor bthan*
 neba wazi zba z=wn\rä/ fisor_bthan
 opposite side PROX:ABL PROX=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\be PLN
 ‘And on the other side, in this direction, is Fisor Béthan.’

(33) *ane fof nzenme menz moba zänbrima*
 ane fof nzenme menz moba zän\brim/a
 DEM EMPH 1NSG.POSS story_man where.ABL SG:PST:PFV:VENT\return
 ‘That was the place from where our ancestor returned.’

(34) *kma zanmara keke kabe z zäms zäbrimo*
 kma zan\mar/a keke kabe z zä\ms/
 POT SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV:VENT\see NEG man IAM 2|3SG:RPST:PFV:sit
 zä\brim/o
 SG:PST:PFV:AND\return
 ‘He must have looked (and said) “Someone has settled here already.”’

(35) *watik yfnzo zwänra fisor bthan*
 watik yf=nzo zwän\r/a fisor_bthan
 then name=ONLY SG>3SG.F:IO:PST:PFV:VENT\give PLN
 ‘So he only named that place Fisor Béthan,’

- (36) *zänbrima zbo zf masu*
 zän\brim/a zbo zf masu
 SG:PST:PFV:VENT\return PROX:ALL ABSC PLN
 ‘and then he returned here to Masu.’
- (37) *zf rä ane menz kar*
 zf \rä/ ane menz kar
 ABSC 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be DEM story_man place
 ‘This is the story place right here.’
- (38) *zä zf zämsa zf nzenme menz*
 zä zf zä\ms/a zf nzenme menz
 PROX ABSC SG:PST:PFV\sit ABSC 1NSG.POSS story_man
 ‘Our ancestor settled down right here,’
- (39) *masu mayawanme menz*
 masu mayawa=aneme menz
 PLN PN=POSS.NSG story_man
 ‘the ancestor of the Masu Mayawas.’
- (40) *edawä mrn mrzar mayawa a banibani mayawa*
 eda=wä mrn mrzar mayawa a banibani mayawa
 two=EMPH family PN PN and PN PN
 ‘There are two families: Mérzar Mayawa and Banibani Mayawa.’
- (41) *zä fof zämsa*
 zä fof zä\ms/a
 PROX EMPH SG:PST:PFV\sit
 ‘He settled down right here.’
- (42) *nafane msaksi zn zane zf rä*
 nafane msak-si zn zane zf \rä/
 3SG.POSS sit-NMLZ place DEM:PROX ABSC 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘His house was right here.’
- (43) *zane zf kar töna rä no trkr kafar fthé rera*
 zane zf kar töna \rä/ no trkr kafar
 DEM:PROX ABSC place high_ground 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be water flood big
 fthé \rä/ra
 when 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be
 ‘This is a high place. When the water level rises in the rainy season,’

- (44) *zanefafznkenofzafafa*
 zane faf zn keke no=f za\faf/a
 DEM:PROX place place NEG water=ERG.SG SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\hold
 'this place is not affected by the water.'
- (45) *näkarnzonofthefafa*
 nä kar=nzo no=f the\faf/a
 INDF place=ONLY water=ERG.SG SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hold
 'Only other places are affected,'
- (46) *zanekekemasu*
 zane keke masu
 DEM:PROX NEG PLN
 'not Masu here.'
- (47) *manemanzräkorthmasukar*
 mane=ma nzrä\ko/rth masu kar
 which=CHAR 2|3PL>1PL:IRR:PFV\speak PLN village
 'This is why they call us Masu people.'
- (48) *masukarnizfnrä*
 masu kar ni zf n\rä/
 PLN village 1NSG ABSC 1PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 'We are the Masu people.'
- (49) *kar yfzanezfträmasu*
 kar yf zane zf trä/ masu
 place name DEM:PROX ABSC 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PLN
 'It is based on this place Masu.'
- (50) *fzrerazanekafarfz*
 fz trä/ra zane kafarfz
 forest 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be DEM:PROX big forest
 'There used to be a dense forest here.'
- (51) *daorzufarwrmthzanebräfz*
 dao=r zu\far/wrmth zane b=\rä/
 garden=PURP 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:DUR\fell DEM:PROX MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 fz
 forest
 'They cut down the forest to create gardens.'

- (52) *zena keke nima rä fz brä*
 zena keke nima \rä/ fz b=\rä/
 today NEG like_this 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be forest MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'Today there is no more forest here.'
- (53) *zena yusi frnzo rä*
 zena yusi fr=nzo \rä/
 today grass post=ONLY 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'only savannah grass.'
- (54) *kafar fz rera zane*
 kafar fz \rä/ra zane
 big forest 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be DEM:PROX
 'It used to be a thick forest.'
- (55) *ŋafyé ethawä erera*
 ŋafy=é etha=wä e\rä/ra
 father=ABS.NSG few=EMPH 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be
 'In our fathers generation, there were only few people.'
- (56) *foba we enrera*
 foba we en\rä/ra
 DIST:ABL also 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be
 'All the way back.'
- (57) *bada ethäwä erera ŋafyé ethäwä enrera we foba nanfiyokwath*
 bada etha=wä e\rä/ra ŋafy=é etha=wä
 ancestor few=EMPH 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be father=ABS.NSG few=EMPH
 en\rä/ra we foba nan\fiyok/wath
 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be also DIST:ABL 2|3PL>1PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\make
 'There were only a few people in the generation of our ancestors and
 fathers. They made us what we are today.'
- (58) *ni zena znrä tüfr*
 ni zena z=n\rä/ tüfr
 1NSG today PROX=2SG:NPST:IPFV\be plenty
 'And we are now many people.'

- (59) *niwä komnzo ñarake bäfiyokwre we*
 ni=wä komnzo ñarake b=ä\fiyok/wre we
 1NSG=EMPH still garden MED=1PL>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\make also
 'We are still gardening here,'
- (60) *zanefafznenzfzerä*
 zane faf zn=en zf z=e\rä/
 DEM:PROX place place=LOC ABSC PROX=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 'right here, in this place.'
- (61) *zagathinzake kwa we*
 za\gathinz/ake kwa we
 1PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\leave FUT also
 'We are leaving this place alone (to grow back),'
- (62) *bä nzfräro ñazäthe nä bad bäne bä mane eräro*
 bä nzf\rä/ro ñazäthe nä bad bäne bä mane
 MED 1PL:RPST:IPFV:AND\be ñazäthe INDF ground PH.ABS MED which
 e\rä/ro
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:AND\be
 'and we (have gardens) there at Ñazäthe, where we also have some land.'
- (63) *bad tnztnz nzenme bä mane eräro bä fof nzfrä*
 bad tnz~tnz nzenme bä mane e\rä/ro bä
 ground REDUP~short 1NSG.POSS MED which 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:AND\be MED
 fof nzf\rä/
 EMPH 1PL:RPST:IPFV\be
 'We have a small piece of land there.'
- (64) *e fthmäsü zabthe bä we kwanbrigwre we znrä zena*
 e fthmäsü za\bth/e bä we
 until meanwhile 1PL>3SG.F:RPST:PFV\finish MED also
 kwan\brig/wre we z=n\rä/ zena
 1PL:RPST:IPFV:VENT\return also PROX=1PL:NPST:IPFV\be today
 'When we have used up the land there, we will return here.'

- (65) *zane ysakwren zf zathkäfe zrä ḷarake thunbrigwre zena*
 zane ysakwr=en zf za\thkäf/e
 DEM:PROX rainy_season=LOC ABSC 1PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\start
 z=\rä/ ḷarake thun\brig/wre zena
 PROX=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be garden 1PL>2|3PL:RPST:IPFV:VENT\return today
 'We have already started to bring back the gardens back here this season.'
- (66) *wawa mnz bthuwore*
 wawa mnz b=thu\wor/e
 round_yam house MED=1PL>2|3PL:RPST:IPFV\plant
 'We have built some storage houses there.'
- (67) *fof we zathkäfe we fof ḷarakeme fof*
 fof we za\thkäf/e we fof ḷarake=me fof
 EMPH also 1PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\start also EMPH garden=INS EMPH
 'Next, we start with the actual design of the gardens,'
- (68) *ḷarake thikysime*
 ḷarake thiky-si=me
 garden tie_fence-NMLZ=INS
 'and building the fence.'
- (69) *watik trikasi masuanema nima zf rä brä*
 watik trikasi masu=ane=ma nima zf \rä/
 then story PLN=POSS.SG=CHAR like_this ABSC 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 b=\rä/
 MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'This is the story about Masu.'
- (70) *ni zf kar zf rä zf masu manema nzräkorth masu kar*
 ni zf kar zf \rä/ zf masu mane=ma
 1NSG ABSC place ABSC 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be ABSC PLN which=CHAR
 nzrä\ko/rth masu kar
 2|3PL>1PL:IRR:PFV\speak PLN place
 'This place here is Masu, and that is why they called us Masu people.'
- (71) *ni masu kar zf nrä zf*
 ni masu kar zf n\rä/ zf
 1NSG PLN place ABSC 1PL:NPST:IPFV\be ABSC
 'We are the Masu people.'

- (72) *trikasi fof zwaythk katan brä nimame*
 trikasi fof zwa\ythk/ katan b=\rä/
 story EMPH 3SG.F:RPST:PFV\come_to_end small MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 nima=me
 like_this=INS
 ‘The story ends like this.’³
- (73) *zba kabe bänema zefarath*
 zba kabe bäne=ma ze\far/ath
 PROX:ABL man PH=CHAR 2|3PL:PST:PFV\set_off
 ‘The people left because,’
- (74) *zöbthé mane thfrärm fthé*
 zöbthé mane thf\rä/rm fthé
 first which 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be when
 ‘when they were living here first,’
- (75) *kafmd kwot fthé keke zfrärm*
 kafmd kwot fthé keke zf\rä/rm
 government properly when NEG 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be
 ‘there was no government.’
- (76) *wati, frükakmenzo kabe thwamnzrmo katan karen*
 wati frü-kak=me=nzo kabe thwa\m/nzrmo katan
 then alone-DISTR=INS=ONLY people 2|3PL:PST:DUR:AND\sit small
 kar=en
 place=LOC
 ‘The people used to live in their respective groups in small settlements,’
- (77) *nafanme menz mä zämsa*
 nafanme menz mä zä\ms/a
 3NSG.POSS story_man where SG:PST:PFV\sit
 ‘where their respective ancestors had settled.’
- (78) *fi fobo thwamnzrm nima*
 fi fobo thwa\m/nzrm nima
 3.ABS DIST:ALL 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit like_this
 ‘They were living in this way:’

³CD asks: *rma kabe zefarath zane karfa?* “Why did the people leave this place?”

- (79) *ni masun z nzwamnzrm*
 ni masu=en z nzwa\m/nzrm
 1NSG PLN=LOC IAM 1PL:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘We were here at Masu,’
- (80) *boba wazi bämnr nima mifinin akrimogon nä thwamnzrm*
 boba wazi b=ä\m/nzr nima mifini=en akrimogo=en
 MED:ABL side MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\sit like_this PLN=LOC PLN=LOC
 nä thwa\m/nzrm
 INDF 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘and those other people lived on the other side of the river, for example in Mibini and Akrimogo.’
- (81) *kar katakatan beräro nima safsen berä*
 kar kata~katan b=e\rä/ro nima safs=en
 place REDUP~small MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:AND\be like_this PLN=LOC
 b=e\rä/
 MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘There were small settlements like Safés.’
- (82) *nä nima thwamnzrm kwaikr*
 nä nima thwa\m/nzrm kwaikr
 INDF like_this 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit PLN
 ‘Others lived in Kwaikér.’
- (83) *nä fä thwamnzrm nimame mefath*
 nä fä thwa\m/nzrm nima=me mefath
 INDF DIST 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit like_this=INS PLN
 ‘Others lived like this in Mefath.’
- (84) *wati, markai fthé yaniyaka kwayan kabe fthé yaniyaka*
 waiti markai fthé yan\yak/a kwayan kabe fthé
 then outsider when 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\come light man when
 yan\yak/a
 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\come
 ‘When the white man came,’
- (85) *wati, näbi karfonzo nmosinza*
 waiti näbi kar=fo=nzo n\mosi/nza
 then one place=ALL=ONLY SG>1PL:PST:IPFV\gather
 ‘he wanted to bring us together in one place.’

- (86) *wati, näbi kafar kar thwafiyokwrme*
 wati näbi kafar kar thwa\fiyok\wrme
 then one big place 1PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\make
 'So we built larger villages.'
- (87) *masuma eyakako näbi roukufo*
 masu=ma elyak/ako näbi rouku=fo
 PLN=CHAR 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:AND\walk one PLN=ALL
 'The Masu people went to Rouku for good,'
- (88) *ηazäthema äniyaka farem kar dmädr*
 ηazäthe=ma än\yak/a farem_kar dmädr
 ηazäthe=CHAR 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\come PLN PLN
 'likewise those ones from Ήazäthe, Faremkar, and Démändér.'
- (89) *näbi karfonzo ñamosinzrake*
 näbi kar=fo=nzo ña\mosi/nzrake
 one place=ALL=ONLY 1PL:PST:IPFV\gather
 'We came together in one village.'
- (90) *kafar kar wäfityokwrake rouku*
 kafar kar wä\fiyok/wake rouku
 big place 1PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make PLN
 'We built one big village, that's Rouku.'
- (91) *zöbthé mane nzfrärm frükakmenzo nzwamnzrm*
 zöbthé mane nzf\rä/rm frükak=me=nzo nzwam\m/nzrm
 first which 1PL:PST:DUR\be alone-DISTR=INS=ONLY 1PL:PST:DUR\sit
 'Before we were like this, we lived individually.'
- (92) *ane mrn fämnrz ane mrn fämnrz*
 ane mrn f=\m/nzr ane mrn f=ä\m/nzr
 DEM family DIST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\sit DEM family DIST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\sit
 'This clan lived over there and that clan lived over there,'
- (93) *ane mrn fämnrz nimame mrnmenzo nzwamnzrm*
 ane mrn f=ä\m/nzr nima=me mrn=me=nzo
 DEM family DIST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\sit like_this=INS family=INS=ONLY
 nzwam\m/nzrm
 1PL:PST:DUR\sit
 'and that other clan lived over there. We were staying in the clan.'

- (94) *zagr sime kwamarwrme*
 zagr si=me kwa\mar/wrme
 far eyes=INS 1PL:PST:DUR\see
 'We saw each other from a distance.'
- (95) *markai fthé yanyaka fof*
 markai fthé yan\yak/a fof
 outsider when 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\come EMPH
 'When the white man came,'
- (96) *baibel buk trikasi fthé änyaka fof*
 baibel buk trikasi fthé än\yak/a fof
 bible book story when 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\come EMPH
 'when the gospel came,'
- (97) *wati, bäre naf wnzänza nima yuniti wnzänza*
 wati bäne naf wnzä/nza nima yuniti
 then PH.ABS 3SG.ERG SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV:VENT\carry like_this unity
 wn\zä/nza
 SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV:VENT\carry
 'it also brought whatchamacallit, it brought unity.'
- (98) *wati, näbi kwot ñawagrwake fof*
 wati näbi kwot ña\wagr/wake fof
 then one properly 1PL:PST:IPFV\meet EMPH
 'That's when we really met up regularly.'
- (99) *tar ñakonzrake*
 tar ña\ko/nzrake
 mate 1PL:PST:IPFV\become
 'We became friends.'
- (100) *zena znrä nimame*
 zena z=n\rä/ nima=me
 today PROX=1PL:NPST:IPFV\be like_this=INS
 'That's how we still live today.'
- (101) *watik, anema nimame fof nrä fof*
 watik ane=ma nima=me fof n\rä/ fof
 then DEM=CHAR like_this=INS EMPH 1PL:NPST:IPFV\be EMPH
 'So that is reason why we live like this,'

- (102) *näbi karenzo bää bnamnzs anema zane zf*
 näbi kar en=nzo bää b=na\m/nzr ane=ma zane
 one place LOC=ONLY MED MED=1PL:NPST:IPFV\|sit DEM=CHAR DEM:PROX
 zf
 ABSC
 ‘why we live in one village.’
- (103) *kar mää nzenme bada zämsa o*
 kar mää nzenme bada zä\ms/a o
 place where 1NSG.POSS ancestor SG:PST:PFV\|sit or
 ‘As for the places where our ancestor had settled (first),’
- (104) *menz zämsa*
 menz zä\ms/a
 story_man SG:PST:PFV\|sit
 ‘our story man,’
- (105) *kar anema thugathikwrame näbi karenzo bobo fof nzfiyakmo*
 kar ane=ma thu\gathik/wrame näbi kar=en=nzo
 place DEM=CHAR 1PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\leave one place=LOC=ONLY
 bobo fof nzf\yak/mo
 MED:ALL EMPH 1PL:PST:DUR:AND\walk
 ‘we have left these places, and instead we moved to one village.’
- (106) *trikasi mane rää nima komnzo fof rää nima*
 trikasi mane \rä/ nima komnzo fof
 story which 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be like_this only EMPH
 \rä/ nima
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be like_this
 ‘This was how the story goes.’
- (107) *nzenme kar fefe zane zfrä masu*
 nzenme kar fefe zane zfrä masu
 1NSG.POSS place really DEM:PROX 3SG.F:RPST:IPFV\be PLN
 ‘This is really our place here, Masu,’
- (108) *nzenme menz mää zämsa zöbthé fefe*
 nzenme menz mää zä\ms/a zöbthé fefe
 1NSG.POSS story_man where SG:PST:PFV\|sit first really
 ‘where our ancestor settled down first.’

- (109) *nä mrn we beräro nima trikasikaräsü fi we nimäwä eräro*
nä mrn we b=e\rä/ro nima
INDF family also MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:AND\be like_this
trikasi=karä=sü fi we nimä=wä e\rä/ro
story=PROP=ETC 3.ABS also like_this=EMPH 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:AND\be
'Other clans also have their (places) with their stories.'
- (110) *nimame fof brä*
nima=me fof b=\rä/
like_this=INS EMPH MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
'It is just like this!'
- (111) *eso*
eso
thanks
'Thank you!'

C *Safak menz a faikore menz - Saratoga and Bushfowl man*

C.1 Introduction

Safak menz a faikore menz is a narrative lasting roughly 6min. It was recorded by Christian Döhler on August 2nd 2010, in both audio and video formats.¹ The story teller is Abia Bai, and the recording took place in his house at *Rouku* village.

C.2 Summary & background

The story is about two ancestors who each represent a totemic animal and are connected to a specific clan. There is the Bushfowl man of the Masu-Mayawa clan and the Saratoga man of the Garaita-Sangara clan. They used to live in good neighbourhood and shared the land on the same side of the Morehead River. At the same time, each held back a certain resource from the other. The Saratoga man hid Saratoga fish from his neighbour, and likewise the Bushfowl man hid the bushfowls.

One day they learn of each other's deeds and after an argument, the Saratoga man decides to move further east to the other side of the river. The Bushfowl man destroys the crossing over the river and moves further west.

The story explains some physical and cultural aspects of contemporary life, such as the location of the settlement of the two clans. Another example is the totemic relationship of the two groups to the respective animal species. The Garaita Sangara do not fish or eat saratogas, and the Masu Mayawas do not hunt bush fowl. Furthermore, the story is intended to explain why the two clans do not intermarry, but give each other wives if one of the groups lacks a sister to feed into the cycle of exchange marriages.

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20110802. It is archived at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11189770>

C.3 *Safak menz a faikore menz* (parallel text)

Nämä ezi. Zena thweksikarä ezi wnrä. Füsfüs yfsgwr. Kar wänrenzr namänzo. Thweksi ḷanbrigwr zena efoth. Zena ezi nze kwa trikasi ḷatrikwé bänema safak menz a faikore menz. Safak menz mane yara sagaraneme yara garaita sagara. Faikore menz mayawaneme yara masun mayawaname. Trikasi zane mane wnrä nzä mane ḷatrikwé badabandanmedba wnrä. Nzone ḷafyn bän ane trikasi yatrikwath. Nzunwä ḷafyf bäyf zwafäsa nima “Zrä ane kar. Safak fur zä thuthkagrm. Zä zf ḷafnnath. Wm bää mane kanathren ythn. Fthé ane foſ yrtmaknath. Wm mane sfrärm boba wazi neba kwaritakwrm.” Wati anema trikasi zena kwa ḷatrikwé foſ. Nimame zrethkäfē zane ezi mrmren.

Good morning! A happy morning is coming. The wind is blowing. The village is looking very good. Happiness is coming back today. This morning I will tell a story about the Saratoga man and the Bushfowl man. As for the Saratoga man, he was the Sangaras' story man, the Sangaras from Garaita. The Bushfowl man was the Mayawas' story man, the Mayawas from Masu. The story that is coming, that I will tell, comes from the ancestors. They told that story to my father Bäi, and my father Bäi told me the story. He was talking like this: "This is the place here. The saratoga fishlings were inside here. Those two were fighting right here. The stone bridge at Kanathér, that was time when they destroyed it. The stone crossed from one side (of the river) to the other side." Okay, I will tell this story now. I will start this story now in these morning hours.

Eda kabe thfrnm. Monwä kwanafé nima sagarama garaita sagaraane safak menzma. Kanathren swamnzrm. Nzone mayawa menz monegsi kabe mane sfrärm. Faikore thumgthkwrm naf tfrisamen. Wati wm fä sfrärm. Wm mane sfrärm neba kwaritakwrm boba wazi. Neba ḷars bänemr boba wazi. Watik sagara mane yara. Naf safak fur boba zran thumgthkwrm kanathren bobafa. Okay bänema mane yara mayawa menz, faikore maf thu-

There were two men. Just like I was saying before: It is about the Sangara, about the Garaita Sangaras' Saratoga man. He was living at Kanathér. As for my Mayawa man, who was our protector, he was feeding bushfowls at Téférism. There used to be a stone bridge there. That stone bridge went across from one side to the other side, from one side of the river to the other side. As for that Sangara, he was feeding Saratoga fishlings there in the

C.3 *Safak menz a faikore menz* (parallel text)

mgthkwrm. Fi tfrisamen swamnzrm. Nafane faikore fä fof thumgthkwrm faikore furfur katakatan.

Wati krsi zn we fä thwarnm edawänme. Safak menz kabe ane mane swarärm kanathren. Fä zfrärm fof. Wmen fä fof zufnakwrm gufiyar. Kofä mane bafen kwathorthrmth gufiyaren. Tfrisamen mane sfrärm nafane fä gufiyar we zfrärm. Fi nafkeke kafar kofä thurärm. Thwanathrm katakatanzo. Kanathren mane swamnzrm sagara menz. Nafnzo ane kafar kofä thwanathrm.

Nä kayé zefarako tfrisamfa faikore menz. Fthé yakako. Fi nafane fä fof krara ymd swägrm. Maf swatrikwrm nomai nima “Oh kabe yaniyak. Käfirms! Kofä thärithm!” Wati fi sräthoro. Krara yanor. Wati fi sräthoro fof. Wati kofä ane mane erä erifthza fof safak menzf. “Nzungath. Rar karo zane erä?” “Keke. Kadakada sutränwé kayé. Kaythamane karo rä.” Fi swathugrm gaso. Nimanzo nomai swafiyokwrm e nomai nomai nomai. Fam zära “Ah nzungathf nzä wathugwr. Bänema kam fof ethn berä kafar kofä kam. Watik nä kayé zba kwa tönafa wiyak.”

swamp, at the *Kanathér* side. Okay, that other one, the Mayawa story man, who was feeding the bushfowls, he lived at *Téférism*. He was feeding the bushfowls there, very small bush-fowls.

They had a place for a fish trap, one for each. The Saratoga man had his at *Kanathér*. He placed his fish basket by the stone bridge. The fish went inside that whatchamacallit, inside the fish basket. The other man placed his fish basket at *Téférism*, but he wasn't catching big fish. He was eating only the smaller ones. It was the one at *Kanathér*, the Sangara story man, who was eating the really big ones.

One day, the Bushfowl man set off from *Téférism*. As he was making his way, the other man's parrot was sitting above. He was always talking like this: “Oh, there is a man coming.” Get ready! Hide the fish!” While he was coming, the parrot called out. When he arrived, the Saratoga man had hidden the fish already. The Bushfowl man asked “My friend, what is this oven for?” The Saratoga man replied: “No, I made yamcake yesterday. This is yesterday's oven.” He deceived him badly. He was doing this to him again and again. The Bushfowl man thought to himself “Ah, my friend is tricking me because there were large fish bones lying around. Next time I will walk along the high ground.”

Watik tönafa mane yaniyak nä kayé kanathr. Tfirisamfa zefara. E boba santhora. Boba fthmäsü thoraksir kwanrärm. Watik safak fur ane fof yayamgwa. "Nzungathane zane safak fur rä." Srethkäf. Zran ane efnza. Safak fur thräbth. Näbinzo sränthor. Krara thrma santhora. Fafen sathora fof. "Nzungath. Ra karo rä ane?" Zokwasi-mär nafiyokwa. Keke nä zokwasi. Bäne-ma kofä karo ane fof yayamgwa fof. Mon-kwk! Zakarath fof. Safak fur sra-ziro. "Be nzun fof kwathugwr. Bukaren ane fof bä safak emgthkwa." Zakarath. ïafnnath, ïafnnath, ïafnnath. Wati safak menz mane yanra tfrisam. Tfri-samen fä fof faikore efnza, efnza, efnza. Nezä we näbi srefafo. Sräthoro. "Nzone bä nima thuwafiyokwrm berä nagayé fof?"

Wati faikore menz krär. Wm ane fof kanathren bä mane ythn. Tnz erästhgr. Ane srethkäf rtaksi. Ausi safak menzf zräkor "Ni krafare garaita. Bobo ñafänizne thfn." Wati wm ane bänemr tfotfo sfrärm. Thfn kar fi zärita. Safak menz sagarama mane yara e garaita krärsöfäth. Thfnen bä fof zena yamnzs. Nzenme masu karaneme faikore menz mane yanra yaniyaka zänbrima. Tfri-sam ñawathknwa. Zenfara e masu.

This time he was coming from the high ground to *Kanathér*. He departed from *Téferisam* and walked until he arrived there. As he was approaching the place, he was startled seeing those saratoga fishlings. He said "These are my friend's saratoga fishlings." He began to kill those saratoga fishlings there in the swamp. He finished them off. He only took one with him. The parrot arrived late, only after he already got there. He said to the Saratoga man "My friend, what oven is this?" He was speechless. They said nothing at all, because they were surprised about the fish oven. Anyway, they wrestled each other. He threw away the saratoga fishling. He said "You have tricked me. You fed the saratoga fish at your place." They pulled each other and hit each other. They were fighting and fighting. The Saratoga man came to *Téferisam*, and now he was killing the other one's bushfowls. He also took one and carried it away. "What are you doing to my children?" the Bushfowl man said.

He got up and started destroying that stone bridge at *Kanathér*, those rocks sticking out of the water. The Saratoga man said to his wife: "Let's go to *Garaita*. We will move to *Théfén*." The stone bridge was just about to disappear when the Saratoga man went across to *Théfén*. That is a Sangara place and over at *Garaita*. Nowadays, he lives there at *Théfén*. As for ours, the Masu people's guy, that Bushfowl

C.3 Safak menz a faikore menz (parallel text)

Watik masufo sathora fof. Watik nafane trikasi katan nima zbo zf zwaythk fof. Keke zanfr. Watik zena anema mane ern fof. Sagara garaitan a mayawa masu emoth nafa yarintn fof. Zba nezä äarithroth fäms yarer. Boba nezä änrithrth fäms yarer. Watik trikasi zbo zf zwaythk trikasi tnz. Eso kafar namä yarizsima. Gadmöwä.

man, he returned. He packed up his belongings at *Téférism*, set off and walked to *Masu*. Then he arrived at *Masu*.

Okay, his little story ends right here. It is not a long story. Okay, that is why these two, the Sangaras at *Garaita* and the *Masu Mayawas*, give each other sisters. They give them sisters from here as exchange women and in return they give sisters to us to be exchanged. The story ends right here. It was a short story. Thank you for listening. Thank you.

C.4 *Safak menz a faikore menz* (glossed text)

- (1) *namä ezi*
namä ezi
good morning
'Good morning!'
- (2) *zena thweksikarä ezi wnrä*
zena thwek-si=karä ezi wnrä/
today rejoice-NMLZ=PROP morning 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\be
'A happy morning is coming.'
- (3) *füsüs yfsgwr*
füsüs y\fsg/wr
wind 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\blow
'The wind is blowing.'
- (4) *kar wänrenzr namänzo*
kar wän\re/nzr namä=nzo
village 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\look good=ONLY
'The village is looking very good.'
- (5) *thweksi ḷanbrigwr zena efoth*
thwek-si ḷan\brig/wr zena efoth
rejoice-NMLZ 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\return today day
'Happiness is coming back today.'
- (6) *zena ezi nze kwa trikasi ḷatrikwé bänema*
zena ezi nze kwa trikasi ḷa\trik/wé bänem=ma
today morning 1SG.ERG FUT story 1SG:NPST:IPFV\tell PH=CHAR
'This morning I will tell a story about'
- (7) *safak menz a faikore menz*
safak menz a faikore menz
saratoga story_man and bushfowl story_man
'the Saratoga man and the Bushfowl man.'²

² *safak* = 'gulf saratoga' or 'Australian bony tongue' (*Scleropages jardinii*); *faikore* = 'orange-footed megapode' or 'scrubfowl' (*Megapodius reinwardt*)

C.4 *Safak menz a faikore menz* (glossed text)

- (8) *safak menz mane yara sagaraneme yara garaita sagara*
 safak menz mane ya|r/a sagara=aneme
 saratoga story_man which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be PN=POSS.NSG
 ya|r/a garaita sagara
 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be PLN PN
 ‘As for the Saratoga man, he was the Sangaras’ story man, the Sangaras from Garaita.’³
- (9) *faikore menz mayawaneme yara masun mayawanme*
 faikore menz mayawa=aneme ya|r/a masu=en
 bushfowl story_man PN=POSS.NSG 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be PLN=LOC
 mayawa=aneme
 PN=POSS.NSG
 ‘The Bushfowl man was the Mayawas’ story man, the Mayawas from Masu.’⁴
- (10) *trikasi zane mane wnrä*
 trikasi zane mane wn|rä/
 story DEM:PROX which 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\be
 ‘The story that is coming,’
- (11) *nzä mane ḷatrikwé*
 nzä mane ḷa|trik/wé
 1SG.ABS which 1SG:NPST:IPFV\tell
 ‘that I will tell,’
- (12) *badabadanmedba wnrä*
 badabada=nmedba wn|rä/
 ancestor=ABL.ANIM.NSG 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\be
 ‘comes from the ancestors.’
- (13) *nzone ḷafyn bääin ane trikasi yatrikwath*
 nzone ḷafe=n bää=n ane trikasi ya|trik/wath
 1SG.POSS father=DAT.SG PN=DAT.SG DEM story 2|3PL>1SG.IO:PST:IPFV\tell
 ‘They told that story to my father Bää,’

³ *Sangara* = non-local exogamous group, *Garaita Sangara* = local clan from Morehead

⁴ *Mayawa* = non-local exogamous group, *Masu Mayawa* = local clan from Rouku

C *Safak menz a faikore menz - Saratoga and Bushfowl man*

- (14) *nzunwä ḡafyf bäyf zwafäsa*
 nzun=wä ḡafe=f bäi=f zwa\fäs/a
 1SG.DAT=EMPH father=ERG.SG PN=ERG.SG SG>1SG.IO:PST:PFV\show
 ‘and my father Bäi told me the story.’
- (15) *nima “zrä ane kar*
 nima z=\rä/ ane kar
 like_this PROX=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be DEM place
 ‘He was talking like this: “This is the place here.’
- (16) *safak fur zä thuthkagrm*
 safak fur zä thu\th/kagrm
 saratoga bundle PROX 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be_inside
 ‘The saratoga fishlings were inside here.’
- (17) *zä zf ḡafnnath*
 zä zf ḡa\fn/nath
 PROX ABSC 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\hit
 ‘Those two were fighting right here.’
- (18) *wm bä mane kanathren ythn*
 wm bä mane kanathr=en y\thn/
 stone MED which PLN=LOC 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\lie_down
 ‘The stone bridge at Kanathér,’
- (19) *fthé ane fof yrtnaknath*
 fthé ane fof y\rtmak/nath
 when DEM EMPH 2|3DU>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\cut
 ‘that was time when they destroyed it.’
- (20) *wm mane sfrärm boba wazi neba kwaritakwrm”*
 wm mane sf\rä/rm boba wazi neba
 stone which 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be MED:ABL side opposite
 kwa\ritak/wrm
 2|3SG:PST:DUR\cross
 ‘The stone crossed from one side (of the river) to the other side.”
- (21) *wati anema trikasi zena kwa ḡatrikwé fof*
 wati ane=ma trikasi zena kwa ḡa\trik/wé fof
 then DEM=CHAR story today FUT 1SG:NPST:IPFV\tell EMPH
 ‘Okay, I will tell this story now.’

C.4 *Safak menz a faikore menz* (glossed text)

- (22) *nimame zrethkäfē zane ezi mrmren*
 nima=me zre
 like_this=INS 1SG:IRR:PFV\start DEM:PROX morning inside=LOC
 'I will start this story now in these morning hours.'
- (23) *eda kabe thfrnm*
 eda kabe thf\rn/m
 two man 2|3DU:PST:DUR\be
 'There were two men.'
- (24) *monwä kwanafe nima*
 mon=wä kwa\naf/é nima
 how=EMPH 1SG:PST:IPFV\speak like_this
 'Just like I was saying before:'
- (25) *sagarama garaita sagaraane safak menzma*
 sagara=ma garaita sagara=ane safak menz=ma
 PN=CHAR PLN PN=POSS.SG saratoga story_man=CHAR
 'It is about the Sangara, about the Garaita Sangaras' Saratoga man.'
- (26) *kanathren swamnzrm*
 kanathr=en swa\m/nzrm
 PLN=LOC 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit
 'He was living at Kanathér.'
- (27) *nzone mayawa menz monegsi kabe mane sfrärm*
 nzone mayawa menz moneg-si kabe mane
 1SG.POSS PN story_man take_care-NMLZ man which
 sf\rä/rm
 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be
 'As for my Mayawa man, who was our protector,'
- (28) *faikore thumgthkwrm naf tfrisamen*
 faikore thu\mgthk/wrm naf tfrisam=en
 bushfowl SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\feed 3SG.ERG PLN=LOC
 'he was feeding bushfowls at Téférisam.'
- (29) *wati, wm fä sfrärm*
 wati wm fä sf\rä/rm
 then stone DIST 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be
 'There used to be a stone bridge there.'

- (30) *wm mane sfrärm neba kwaritakwrm boba wazi*
 wm mane sf\rä/rm neba kwa\ritak/wrm boba
 stone which 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be opposite 2|3SG:PST:DUR\cross MED:ABL
 wazi
 side
 ‘That stone bridge went across from one side to the other side,’
- (31) *neba ïars bänemr boba wazi*
 neba ïars bänemr boba wazi
 opposite river until MED:ABL side
 ‘from one side of the river to the other side.’
- (32) *watik sagara mane yara*
 watik sagara mane ya\r/a
 then PN which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
 ‘As for that Sangara,’
- (33) *naf safak fur boba zran thumgthkwrm kanathren bobafa*
 naf safak fur boba zra=en thu\mgthk/wrm
 3SG.ERG saratoga bundle MED:ABL swamp=LOC SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\feed
 kanathr=en boba=fa
 PLN=LOC MED:ABL=ABL
 ‘he was feeding Saratoga fishlings there in the swamp, at the Kanathér
 side.’
- (34) *okay, bänema mane yara mayawa menz*
 okay bäne=ma mane ya\r/a mayawa menz
 okay PH=CHAR which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be PN story_man
 ‘Okay, that other one, the Mayawa story man,’
- (35) *faikore maf thumgthkwrm*
 faikore maf thu\mgthk/wrm
 bushfowl who.ERG.SG SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\feed
 ‘who was feeding the bushfowls,’
- (36) *fi tfrisamen swamnzrm*
 fi tfrisam=en swa\m/nzrm
 3.ABS PLN=LOC 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘he lived at Téférism.’

- (37) *nafane faikore fä fof thumgthkwrn faikore furfur katakatan*
 nafane faikore fä fof thu\mgthk/wrm faikore
 3SG.POSS bushfowl DIST EMPH SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\feed bushfowl
 fur~fur kata~katan
 REDUP~bundle REDUP~small
 ‘He was feeding the bushfowls there, very small bushfowls.’
- (38) *wati krsi zn we fä thwärnm edawänme*
 wati kr-si zn we fä thwa\rn/m
 then block-NMLZ place also DIST 2|3DU.IO:PST:DUR\be
 eda=wä=aneme
 two=EMPH=POSS.NSG
 ‘They had a place for a (fish) trap, one for each.’
- (39) *safak menz kabe ane mane swarärm kanathren fä zfrärm fof*
 safak menz kabe ane mane swa\rä/rm kanathr=en
 saratoga story_man man DEM which 3SG.M.IO:PST:DUR\be PLN=LOC
 fä zf\rä/rm fof
 DIST 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be EMPH
 ‘The Saratoga man had his at Kanathér.’
- (40) *wmen fä fof zufnakwrm gufiyar*
 wm=en fä fof zf\nak/wrm gwfiyar
 stone=LOC DIST EMPH SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR\put_down fish_basket
 ‘He placed his fish basket by the stone bridge.’
- (41) *kofä mane bafen kwathorthrmth gufiyaren*
 kofä mane baf=en kwa\thor/thrmth gwfiyar=en
 fish which PH=LOC 2|3PL:PST:DUR\enter fish_basket=LOC
 ‘The fish went inside that whatchamacallit, inside the fish basket.’
- (42) *tfrisamen mane sfrärm nafane fä gufiyar we zfrärm fi*
 tfrisam=en mane sf\rä/rm nafane fä gwfiyar we
 PLN=LOC which 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be 3SG.POSS DIST fish_basket also
 zf\rä/rm fi
 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be but
 ‘The other man placed his fish basket at Téférism, but’

- (43) *naf keke kafar kofä thurärm*
 naf keke kafar kofä thu\rä/rm
 3SG.ERG NEG big fish SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\do
 'he wasn't catching big fish.'
- (44) *thwanathrm katakatanzo*
 thwa\na/thrm kata~katan=nzo
 SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\eat REDUP~small=ONLY
 'He was eating only the smaller ones.'
- (45) *kanathren mane swamnzrm sagara menz*
 kanathr=en mane swa\m/nzrm sagara menz
 PLN=LOC which 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit PN story_man
 'It was the one at Kanathér, the Sangara story man,'
- (46) *nafnzo ane kafar kofä thwanathrm*
 naf=nzo ane kafar kofä thwa\na/thrm
 3SG.ERG=ONLY DEM big fish SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\eat
 'who was eating the really big ones.'
- (47) *nä kayé zefarako tfrisamfa faikore menz*
 nä kayé ze\far/ako tfrisam=fa faikore
 INDF one_day_away SG:PST:PFV:AND\set_off PLN=ABL bushfowl
 menz
 story_man
 'One day, the bushman set off from Téférism.'
- (48) *fthé yakako*
 fthé \yak/ako
 when 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:AND\walk
 'As he was making his way,'
- (49) *fi nafane fä fof krara ymd swägrm*
 fi nafane fä fof krara ymd
 but 3SG.POSS DIST EMPH parrot_species bird
 s\wä/grm
 3SG.M:PST:DUR:STAT\be_up_high
 'the (other man's) parrot was sitting above.'⁵

⁵ *krara* = (male) Papuan eclectus parrot (*Eclectus polychloros*)

- (50) *maf swatrikwrm nomai*
 maf swa\trik/wrm nomai
 who.ERG.SG SG>3SG.M.IO:PST:DUR\tell HAB
 'He was always talking'
- (51) *nima "oh kabe yaniyak*
 nima oh kabe yan\yak/
 like_this oh man 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come
 'like this: "Oh, there is a man coming."
- (52) *käfrms kofä thärifhm"*
 kä\frms/ kofä thä\rifhm/
 2SG:IMP:PFV\prepare fish 2SG>3PL:IMP:PFV\hide
 'Get ready! Hide the fish!"
- (53) *wati fi sräthoro krara yanor*
 wati fi srä\thor/o krara
 then 3.ABS 3SG.M:IRR:PFV:AND\appear parrot_species
 ya\nor/
 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\shout
 'While he was coming, the parrot called out.'
- (54) *wati fi sräthoro fof*
 wati fi srä\thor/o fof
 then 3.ABS 3SG.M:IRR:PFV:AND\appear EMPH
 'When he arrived,'
- (55) *wati kofä ane mane erä erifthza fof safak menzf*
 wati kofä ane mane e\rä/ e\rifhz/a fof
 then fish DEM which 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\hide EMPH
 safak menz=f
 saratoga story_man=ERG.SG
 'the Saratoga man had hidden the fish already.'
- (56) *"nzungath rar karo zane erä?"*
 nzu-ngath rar karo zane e\rä/
 1SG.POSS-mate what.PURP ground_oven DEM:PROX 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 '(The Bushfowl man asked) "My friend, what is this oven for?"'

- (57) “*keke kadakada sutränwé kayé*
 keke kadakada su\trän/wé kayé
 NEG yamcake 1SG>3SG.M:RPST:IPFV\slice one_day_away
 ‘(The Saratoga man replied:) “No, I made yamcake yesterday.”’
- (58) *kaythamane karo rä*”
 kayé=thamane karo \rä/
 one_day_away=TEMP.POSS ground_oven 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘This is yesterday’s oven.’”
- (59) *fi swathugrm gaso*
 fi swa\thug/rm gaso
 3.ABS SG>3SG.M:PST:DUR\trick badly
 ‘He deceived him badly.’
- (60) *nimanzo nomai swafiyokwrm e nomai nomai nomai*
 nima=nzo nomai swa\fiyok/wrm e nomai nomai nomai
 like_this=ONLY HAB SG>3SG.M:PST:DUR\make until HAB HAB HAB
 ‘He was doing this to him again and again.’
- (61) *fam zära “ah nzungathfnzä wathugwr*
 fam zä\r/a ah nzu-ngath=f nzä
 thought SG:PST:PFV\do ah 1SG.POSS-mate=ERG.SG 1SG.ABS
 wa\thug/wr
 2|3SG>1SG:NPST:IPFV\trick
 ‘(The bushfowl man) thought to himself “Ah, my friend is tricking me’
- (62) *bänema kam fof ethn berä kafar kofä kam*
 bäre=ma kam fof e\thn/ b=e\rä/
 PH=CHAR bone EMPH 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\lie_down MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 kafar kofä kam
 big fish bone
 ‘because there were large fish bones lying around.’
- (63) *watik nä kayé zba kwa tönafa wiyak*”
 wati nä kayé zba kwa töna=fa
 then INDF one_day_away PROX:ABL FUT high_ground=ABL
 w\yak/
 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk
 ‘Next time I will walk along the high ground.’”

- (64) *watik tönafa mane yanyak nä kayé kanathr*
 wati töna=fa mane yan\yak/ nä
 then high_ground=ABL which 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come INDF
 kayé kanathr
 one_day_away PLN
 'This time he was coming from the high ground to Kanathér.'
- (65) *tfrisamfa zefara e boba santhora*
 tfrisam=fa ze\far/a e boba san\thor/a
 PLN=ABL SG:PST:PFV\set_off until MED:ABL 3SG.M:PST:PFV:VENT\appear
 'He departed from Téferisam (and walked) until he arrived there.'
- (66) *boba fthmäsü thoraksir kwanrärm*
 boba fthmäsü thorak-si=r kwan\rä/rm
 MED:ABL meanwhile arrive-NMLZ=PURP 2|3SG:PST:DUR:VENT\do
 'As he was approaching the place,'
- (67) *watik safak fur ane fof yayamgwa*
 wati safak fur ane fof ya\yamg/wa
 then saratoga bundle DEM EMPH SG>3SG.M.IO:PST:IPFV\surprise
 'he was startled seeing those saratoga fishlings.'
- (68) *"nzungathane zane safak fur rä"*
 nzu-ngath=ane zane safak fur \rä/
 1SG.POSS-mate=POSS.SG DEM:PROX saratoga bundle 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 '(He said) "These are my friend's saratoga fishlings."
- (69) *srethkäf zran ane efnza safak fur*
 sre\thkäf/ zra=en ane e\fn/za
 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\start swamp=LOC DEM SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\hit
 safak fur
 saratoga bundle
 'He began to kill those saratoga fishlings there in the swamp.'
- (70) *thräbth*
 thrä\bth/
 2|3SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\finish
 'He finished them off'

- (71) *näbinzo sränthor*
 näbi=nzo srän\thor/
 one=ONLY 3SG.M:IRR:PFV:VENT\carry
 'He only took one with him.'
- (72) *krara thrma santhora fafen sathora fof*
 krara thrma san\thor/a fafen fi z
 parrot_species later 3SG.M:PST:PFV:VENT\appear meanwhile 3.ABS IAM
 sa\thor/a fof
 3SG.M:PST:PFV\appear EMPH
 'The parrot arrived late, only after he already got there.'
- (73) “*nzungath ra karo rä ane?*”
 nzu-ngath ra karo \rä/ ane
 1SG.POSS-mate what.ABS ground_oven 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be DEM
 'He said (to the Saratoga man) "My friend, what oven is this?"'
- (74) *zokwasimär ḷafiyokwa keke nä zokwasi*
 zokwasi=mär ḷa\fiyok/wa keke nä zokwasi
 speech=PRIV 2|3SG:PST:IPFV\make NEG INDF speech
 'He was speechless. They said nothing at all,'
- (75) *bänema kofü karo ane fof yayamgwa fof*
 bäre=ma kofä karo ane fof ya\yamg/wa
 PH=CHAR fish ground_oven DEM EMPH SG>3SG.M.IO:PST:IPFV\surprise
 fof
 EMPH
 'because they were surprised about the fish oven.'
- (76) *monkwk zakarath fof*
 monkwk za\kar/ath fof
 anyway 2DU:PST:PFV\pull EMPH
 'Anyway, they wrestled each other.'
- (77) *safak fur sraziro*
 safak fur sra\zir/o
 saratoga bundle SG>3SG.M.IO:IRR:PFV:AND\throw
 'He threw away the saratoga fishling.'

- (78) “*be nzun fof kwathugwr*
 be nzun fof kwa\thug/wr
 2SG.ERG 1SG.DAT EMPH SG>1SG:RPST:IPFV\trick
 ‘(He said) “You have tricked me.’
- (79) *bukaren ane fof bā safak emgthkwa*
 bu-kar=en ane fof bā safak e\mgthk/wa
 2SG.POSS-village=LOC DEM EMPH MED saratoga SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\feed
 ‘You fed the saratoga fish at your place.’”
- (80) *zakarath yafnnath yafnnath yafnnath*
 za\kar/ath yā\fn/nath yā\fn/nath yā\fn/nath
 2DU:PST:PFV\pull 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\hit 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\hit 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\hit
 ‘They pulled each other and hit each other. They were fighting and
 fighting.’
- (81) *wati safak menz mane yanra tfrisam*
 wati safak menz mane yan\r/a tfrisam
 then saratoga story_man which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\be PLN
 ‘Next the Saratoga man came to Téférism, and’
- (82) *tfrisamen fä fof faikore efnza efnza efnza nezä we näbi srefafo*
 tfrisam=en fä fof faikore e\fn/nza
 PLN=LOC DIST EMPH bushfowl SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\hit
 e\fn/nza e\fn/nza nezä we näbi
 SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\hit SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\hit in_return also one
 sre\faf/o
 SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV:AND\hold
 ‘now he was killing those bushfowls over there in Téférism. He also took
 one’
- (83) *sräthoro*
 srä\thor/o
 3SG.M:IRR:PFV:AND\carry
 ‘and carried it away.’

- (84) *nzone bā nima thuwafiyok\wrn berä nagayé fof?*
 nzone bā nima thuwa\fiyok/wrm b=e\rä/
 1SG.POSS MED like_this SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\make MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 nagayé fof
 children EMPH
 “What are you doing to my children?”
- (85) *wati faikore menz krär*
 wati faikore menz krä\r/
 then bushfowl story_man 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\do
 ‘The Bushfowl man got up.’
- (86) *wm ane fof kanathren bā mane ythn*
 wm ane fof kanathr=en bā mane y\thn/
 stone DEM EMPH PLN=LOC MED which 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\lie_down
 ‘That stone bridge at Kanathér’
- (87) *tnz erästhgr*
 tnz e\räs/thgr
 short 2|3PL:NPST:STAT\be_erected
 ‘that sticks out (of the water) a little bit,’
- (88) *ane srethkäf rtmaksi*
 ane sre\thkäf/ rtmak-si
 DEM 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\start cut-NMLZ
 ‘he started destroying it.’
- (89) *ausi safak menzf zräkor*
 ausi safak menz=f zrä\kor/
 old_woman saratoga story_man=ERG.SG 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\speak
 ‘The Saratoga man said to his wife:’
- (90) *“ni krafare garaita bobo ḷafänizne thfn”*
 ni kra\far/e garaita bobo ḷa\fäniz/ne thfn
 1NSG 1DU:IRR:PFV\set_off PLN MED:ALL 1DU:NPST:IPFV\shift_place PLN
 “Let’s go to Garaita. We will move to Théfén.”
- (91) *wati wm ane bänemr tfotfo sfrärm*
 wati wm ane bänemr tfotfo sf\rä/rm
 then stone DEM until almost 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be
 ‘The stone bridge was just about to disappear’

C.4 *Safak menz a faikore menz* (glossed text)

- (92) *thfn kar fi zärita safak menz sagarama mane yara*
 thfn kar fi zä\rit/a safak menz sagara=ma
 PLN place 3.ABS 2|3SG:PST:PFV\cross saratoga story_man PN=CHAR
 mane ya\r/a
 which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
 'when the Saratoga man went across to Théfén, to that Sangara place'
- (93) *e garaita krärsöfäth*
 e garaita krä\rsöfäth/
 until PLN 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\descend
 'and he went down at Garaita.'
- (94) *thfnen bää fof zena yamnzs*
 thfn=en bää fof zena ya\m/nzs
 PLN=LOC MED EMPH today 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\sit
 'Nowadays, he stays there at Théfén.'
- (95) *nzenme, masu karaneme,*
 nzenme masu kar=aneme
 1NSG.POSS PLN place=POSS.NSG
 'As for ours, the Masu people's guy,'
- (96) *faikore menz mane yanra*
 faikore menz mane yan\r/a
 bushfowl story_man which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\be
 'that Bushfowl man,'
- (97) *yanyaka zänbrima*
 yan\yak/a zän\brim/a
 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\come 2|3SG:PST:PFV:VENT\return
 'he was coming back, he returned.'
- (98) *tfrisam ñawathknwa*
 tfrisam ña\wathkn/wa
 PLN 2|3SG:PST:IPFV\pack_up
 'He packed up his belongings at Téférism'
- (99) *zenfara e masu*
 zen\far/a e masu
 SG:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off until PLN
 'and set off and walked to Masu.'

- (100) *watik masufo sathora fof*
 wati masu=fo sa\thor/a fof
 then PLN=ALL 3SG.M:PST:PFV\appear EMPH
 'Then he arrived at Masu.'
- (101) *watik nafane trikasi katan nima zbo zf zwaythk fof*
 wati nafane trikasi katan nima zbo zf
 then 3SG.POSS story small like_this PROX:ALL ABSC
 zwa\ythk/ fof
 3SG.F:RPST:PFV\come_to_end EMPH
 'Okay, his little story ends right here.'
- (102) *keke zanfr*
 keke zanfr
 NEG long
 'It is not a long story.'
- (103) *watik zena anema mane ern fof*
 wati zena ane=ma mane e\rn/ fof
 then today DEM=CHAR which 2|3DU:NPST:IPFV\be EMPH
 'Okay, that is why these two,'
- (104) *sagara garaitan a mayawa masu*
 sagara garaita=en a mayawa masu
 PN PLN=LOC and PN PLN
 'the Sangaras at Garaita and the Masu Mayawas,'
- (105) *emoth nafa ñarinth fof*
 emoth nafa ña\ri/nth fof
 sister 3NSG.ERG 2|3DU:NPST:IPFV\give EMPH
 'give each other sisters.'
- (106) *zba nezä äirthroth fäms ñarer boba nezä änritrth fäms ñarer*
 zba nezä ä\ri/throth fäms
 PROX:ABL in_return PL>2|3PL.IO:NPST:IPFV:AND\give exchange
 ñare=r boba nezä än\ri/thrth
 wife=PURP MED:ABL in_return 2|3PL>2|3PL.IO:NPST:IPFV:VENT\give
 fäms ñare=r
 exchange wife=PURP

C.4 Safak menz a faikore menz (glossed text)

‘They give them (sisters) from here as exchange women and in return they give them to us to be exchanged.’⁶

- (107) *watik trikasi zbo zf zwaythk*
wati trikasi zbo zf zwa\ythk/
then story PROX:ALL ABSC 3SG.F:RPST:PFV\come_to_end
‘The story ends right here.’
- (108) *trikasi tnz*
trikasi tnz
story short
‘It was a short story.’
- (109) *eso kafar namä yarizsima*
eso kafar namä yariz-si=ma
thanks big good hear-NMLZ=CHAR
‘Thank you for listening.’
- (110) *gadmöwä*
gadmöwä
thanks
‘Thank you.’

⁶The two groups do not intermarry, but they give each other women to be exchanged with another group. This relationship is called *ft kabe* in Komnzo.

D *Ebar zan firran* - The headhunting raid at Firra

D.1 Introduction

Ebar zan firran is a narrative lasting roughly 10min. It was recorded by Christian Döhler on November 7th 2011, in both audio and video formats.¹ The story teller is Maraga Kwozi, and the recording took place in the garden of his house at *Morehead Station*. Maraga was around 55 years old at the time of recording. He belongs to the Banibani Mayawa clan from *Firra*, and he lives with his family at *Morehead Station*. In fact all of Firra had become a semi-permanent settlement, which is mostly used as a garden place. The story focusses on a headhunting raid that must have taken place in the 1930s. The exact date can only be guessed from the age of one of the protagonists, Yasi, who was Maraga's grandfather. The story explains why there are only few people from *Firra*, and all of them are from the Mayawa section. The transcription of the recording prompted Abia Bai to tell me the story of the revenge in Text E.

D.2 Summary & background

A group of headhunters from *Mere*, *Wartha*, *Safés*, and *Nzrari* planned an attack on the village of *Firra*. One of the elders of the Mayawa clan named Yasi knew about the attack and left the village. He tried to convince his brother Srank to leave also, but Srank stayed behind. Srank survived the attack and ran to *Masu* where he informed his Mayawa brothers.

Only few people survived the attack. Among them was Srank, a young woman named Zafo from *Akrimongo*, and a man named Géfi from *Safés*. Zafo from *Akrimongo* had overheard the headhunters and could identify where they had come from. Most of the other families residing at *Firra* at the time were killed, and

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20111107. It is archived at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11189781>

their patrilinees were cut off because of the attack. The speaker emphasises that his patriline is the only one from *Firra* that has survived until today.

The Mayawa elders from *Masu*, together with *Yasi* and *Srank*, took revenge on the headhunters, but the story does not go into detail about this payback raid.

The story ends in statement that these events were the last headhunting raids in the region. Not long after the raids, the colonial administration and the local missionaries “pacified” the region.

D.3 *Ebar zan firran* (parallel text)

Zöbthé kabe mane thwamnzrm kabe yfane thfrärm. Nzone miyatha monme rä manenzo z yafyé thebräknath. Anenzó né threbräkné. Tüfr kabe thwamnzrm mayawama. Mayawa mrrmrma o mayawama kafar mane thwamnzrm. Yasi nzone aki a srank. Fi mayawama fof thfrnm. Bagu fi tüfrwä thwamnzrm. Fi baguanme kafar mane swamnzrm a mawoi. Firra kar mrmren sagarama bthi. Okay, ane etha mrn mrmren ane fof thwamnzrm. Fi kabe tüfr thwamnzrm firra kar mrmren.

Ane ebar yam fthé zewära firran. Nafa wäfiyokwath bobafa mere. Mere mane enrera warthañä zänthafrath. A näbun mane erera nzrari. Safs kabe zena mane ekonzrth. Nzrari mane thfamnzrm. Ane kabe fof enrera. Firran mafa thäkwrath kabe.

Okay, ane ebar fthé yafiyokwa. Nzone aki yasi, nzone yafe fthé fof katan fäth sfrärm, fi zizi zenfara. Nima zena

The people who lived in *Firra* before, they all had names. I only know the ones my fathers have mentioned. So I will only mention them. Many people from the Mayawa used to live there. They belonged to the Mayawa clan or were elders of the Mayawa. *Yasi*, my grandfather, and *Srank*. They were from the Mayawa clan. The *Bangu* were numerous. One of the *Bangu* elders who lived there was *Mawoi*. And there was *Béthi* of the *Sangara*. Okay, there were a lot of people within these three clans in *Firra* village.

At this time, a headhunt was taking place in *Firra*. Those who did this came from *Mere*. The ones from *Mere* have joined forces with the *Wartha* people. Others comes from *Nzrari*. Nowadays, they call them *Safés* people, including the ones living at *Nzrari*. These were the men who killed the people at *Firra*.

When that headhunting raid took place, my grandfather *Yasi*, my father was a young baby boy, he left in the

zf thräkwirth ebar zan nafanjarerwä. Nafanjare yf noko. Matama emoth. Nge nzone nafe ane fof kwozi. Nafä fof zenfarath zizi fefe. Fthé efoth kwabthak-wrm. Fi z miyatha zäkora nafanemäwä bad yamme. Nima “Zena kwa zan zbo pauthorthr. Kabe kwa zena efhnzrth firran.” Watik, srank kma sakora “Srank ni krafare!” Srankf zenaftha “Keke. Efoth zizi fefe rä. Nzä kayé woräro.” Watik, fi yasi mane yara fi fefe zenfara masu. Masufo fam thänra. Karbu ote mane fobo thwamnzrm ane badabada. Koyä ttfr mayawama kkafar. Watik, fi ane fefe zenfara ane miyathan ane zizi.

Zan woga thäthora zbär. Z ekrkwath nwir. Thden kar zakorath. Zbär zäth-bath. Zan thefafath. Srank a nafangth mane yara. Srank sakwrath. Zätra. Fi keke kwasirwä sakwrath. Watik, thogr thwarenzm mr rtmaksir. Z zäbrima-koth thogr. Thwarenzm. Srank fthé mane yara yakä. Nafangth fi z kwasirwä sakwrath. Watik, srank näbi yasi fam sanra. Yasi ynbragwa masu. Naf fof zätrifa fobo nima “Firran z thä-kwrth!”

afternoon. He knew that “They will kill them today.” He left with his wife. His wife’s name was Noko, a woman from *Mata*. The child, my father, was *Kwozi*. They set off together very late in the afternoon when the sun was going down. He had already worked it out with his own magic. He thought something like this: “Today the killing will come here” or “They will kill the people today in *Firra*.” He tried to tell Srank, “Srank, let’s go!” Srank said: “No, it’s already late in the day. I’ll come tomorrow.” Then Yasi really went to *Masu*. He thought of the people in *Masu*, *Karémbu* and *Ote*, who lived over there, these ancestors. *Koyä* and *Tétéfér*, the elders of the *Mayawa*. With this goal in mind, he set off in the afternoon.

The headhunters arrived at night. They were already blocking the space for the attack. They surrounded the village and came in at night and killed them. As for Srank and his little brother, they struck Srank down. But they did not kill him. They looked around for the small bamboo with which they wanted to cut his neck. When they returned to look for the bamboo knife, Srank ran off. They had already killed his little brother. Srank thought only of Yasi. He followed Yasi to *Masu*. On the way he told everyone: “They have already killed them in *Firra*.”

Fthé kwan swanorm ḷarsen masun neba wazifa. Yasif karbu sakora “Srank byanor. Garda sarofäth! Kayé kma fof fi sanmisé. Kma né sräkwrmth zan wogané.” Watik srank trtha byara. Srank ngemäre. Ane efoth yföyfön fthé kwankwirmth. Foba kwanfarkwrmth. Fobo nä karma thwamnzrm nima safsma. Safsma woga nä fobo swamnzrm gfi yf. Mafnemäwä bamu yé thbithé zena mafnemäwä erä. Fi z zenfara ane kayé nima “kayé zan zrará.” Fi z zenfara. Fi anema trtha zena zf erä. Fi fthé nyamnzrm nafasü kwa thräkwrmth. Kabe fobo nä firran mane erera. Kabe karma mane ämnza fi z thäkwrath. Fobo nafä thäthfrath. Fi anenko trtha woga ferna srank yasi. Yasifa foba fof ni zane zewärake zena znrä. Nzenme ḷafyé berna. Nzone ḷafe kwozi maiti. Fi trtha berna. Srank ngemäre zäbtha. ḷare ffé zefafa. Fi ngemär bana yara.

Ausi fäth mä rera ane zan mrmren. Nafane yf zafo. Akrimogma emoth zafo. Watik fi mane rera. Mathmath gamo zäzira. Nasi yfön zäthba. Watik zan wogané komnzo zfnagwrmth. Watik zan woga fthé zäzinbrath. Fi fthé fof zänmätra nasi yföfa akrimogo. Akrimogo karnm naf thätrifa “Mawoi z sakwrth!” Kafar mane yara firrama kafar mawoi. “Mawoi z safath.” Watik

Then he shouted at the river in *Masu* from the other side. Yasi said to Karémbu “Srank is shouting there. Take the canoe for him! I tried to take him with me yesterday. These headhunters nearly killed him.” So Srank survived, but he didn’t leave any children behind. Back then, when they ran away and left, other people had settled there, for example people from *Safés*. There was a man from *Safés* by the name of Géfi. His father was Bamu, but they actually come from Thémbithé. Géfi had left already. He knew there would be an attack. So he left. That’s why they his children are still alive. If he had stayed, he would have been killed along with others. The other people in *Firra*, people from other villages who had lived there, were also killed and mixed with them. Only those two survived, Srank and Yasi. We go back to Yasi; from that time until today. Our fathers were Kwozi and Maiti. This family line survived, but Srank died later without leaving children. He did get married, but the poor chap had no children.

There was another woman in that headhunting raid. Her name was Zafo. Zafo was from *Akrimongo*. She used magic and hid in the hole of a long yam. The headhunters simply missed her. When the headhunters had passed, she came out of the long yam hole and ran to *Akrimongo*. She told the *Akrimongo* people “They’ve already killed Mawoi.” Mawoi was an elder

fobo fof miyatha zäkorath “Oh firran z thäkwrt!” Nezä faw brigsir mane rera thrmawä eyaka. *Ijarsen kma thethräfath.* Fi z zafowä zäritakoth. Naf fof yariza yf fof. Wära zokwasime mane kwanafrmth fobo. Wartha zokwasime kwanafrmth. Kanza zokwasime. Wära zokwasi woga nä foba yariza. Woga mane yjanafa emoth wäthräkwa “Nzone ymoth fob rä mafo kmam zethfro!” *Nafadba ane ausi fäthdba miyatha zokwasi fof zathorath nima* “Okay, keke zagr woga zanr thwaniyak. Fi zba zrä. *Safsma woga thwaniyak nzrari.*”

Watik nezä faw mane rera. Ane firra zanane faw. Nezä faw z wbrigrnath. Nzenme aki a ote mafanemäwä zena kaunsl yé nane marua ane family brämöwä kadikafu. Okay nafa nezä z faw wbrigrnath. Bänema nafanme mayawa kakafar z brämöwä thäkwrtath firran. Ane ebar mane rera fawkarässü rera. Nezä mane erera zagr keke eyaka. Mane né merefo themiyarath. nezä faw merema woga kma thräkwrmth. Komnzo zäwtbefath. Safsma woga thäkwrtath nzrarin. Krsi znen fobo fof thethräfath. Fobo fof thäkwrtath. Watik faw z yabrigwa. Ane ebar nimame firran fof rera ane.

from *Firra*. “They’ve already got Mawoi.” That’s how they found out: “Oh, they killed them in *Firra*.” As for their revenge, that came much later. They should have stopped the headhunters at the river, but they had already crossed the river. The woman had heard their names. Some were talking in Wära language. Some talked in Wartha and Kánchez. She heard one guy speaking Wära, a man who prevented the others from killing his sister saying “That’s my sister over there. Don’t mix her up with the others!” From this young woman the knowledge spread and people said “Okay, they did not come from far away to kill them. There are from close by, from *Safés*, from *Nzrari*.”

Well, the revenge that took place was the payback for *Firra*. Our grandfathers paid them back and also Ote whose grandson is now the councilor, brother Marua, Kadikafu and the whole family. Okay, they took revenge because all their Mayawa elders were killed at *Firra*. Those cut-off heads would be avenged. They did not go far for their revenge. They were about to go to *Mere*. They almost took revenge on the people from *Mere*. But they decided to turn around and kill the *Safés* people at *Nzrari*. They surrounded them there and killed them. That was the revenge. This is what happened during the *Firra* headhunt.

Fobafa mane rä fobo fof kerker kwan-bthakrm ane fof. Monme zane ebarane zan zfrärm fof. Woga thufnzrmth. Ebar thwärtmth. Thfzänzrmth karfo. Ane mane rera edajane ane fof rera. Ane fof rera. Last fefe mä zermäna fethkakaren. Zbo mane thäkwirth. Fethkakar karen fthé thäkwirth. Näbi fthé fof zemathakoth. Fobo fof zäkora. Ebar fobo fof zäbtha. Zanemr zena znrä. Wati zenafa ni tüfr nagayé kwakonzre. Fi ane ebarane zokwasi fthé z maf kratrikwro. Fi zena mrmren fthé niné wbrigwre näbuné. Fthé zmarwre zane nzenme kar mrmren thd moreheaden. Nimame krenafth-mé thd moreheaden kar mane erä. Ni woga tüfrmäre nrä. Bänema nzenme thden ane fof kwakwirm. Woga finzo finzo kwafnzrmth. Nä kar wogané nä kar thwemiyarth. Nä kar wogané nä kar woga thwemiyarth. Okay ni ni-mame fof yafiyokwake.

Nzenme mrmren nima fof yakwira Yam. Anema kabekaräsü ni nrera. Ni mrnmää nrera. Firran mane thä-kwrath woga fi fefe zäbthath. Nafane story nimame firrajane fof rä brä. Nä keke mane fä sathfära. ninzo fefe nzethfära. Yasiane family zena znrä. Ni yasiane mrnma. Nge nafane. Nima ni nafane ane badabadama fof nrä. Nzenme mrn mrmren z monme miyatha yaktir. Gadmöwä fi zbo komnzo ämrna karbu ote. Firranzo bä bthrarärm. Mane fthé z thräkwrmt fobo fof. Keke

From then on, the hunting raids came to an end. What they did in the headhunt, they killed the people, cut off their heads and carried them to the village. This incident was the second to last headhunt. The very last one, where they killed people, took place at *Fethka*. When they killed the people of *Fethka*, the survivors ran away for good. From this point on, headhunting was over. That is why we are alive today. We are many children now. But this headhunting story, whoever may tell it, when we or others retell it, you just need to look inside our village, in the middle of *Morehead*. I can tell you, in the middle of *Morehead*, those are the villages where people came from. We are not many people, because this happened in our midst. People killed each other. One group of villagers attacked other villages, and again another group of villagers attacked other villagers. Okay, that is what we have done.

This custom was common with us. We were part of that. We come from that clan. The *Firra* headhunt really finished off these other clans. This is the story about the *Firra* headhunt. Nobody could escape there, only we could escape. From Yasi's family to us today. We are from Yasi's family. We are his children. We go back to his ancestors. We know about this in our family. Fortunately, Ote and Karémbu had stayed here. If they had been there at *Firra*, they would have

kwa ni tüfr nzrarärm. Fi mon zbo ämrna. Yasif ane fof fam thnra. Nafane-mäwä mrn fof. Watik zänbrima fi zanmatha. Nzone yafe näbinzo finzo.

Fobo fof wynthik ane zokwasi fof firra ebarma. Keke zanfrme rä. Fobo komnzo zänbtha fof. Nima kerkeren efothen zfwiyakm. Monwä z nnanafthmé. kerker efothen zfwiyakm. Fthé fefe markai zänthba. We mizi zänthbath. Fobo fof wynthka. Fthé dibura fathasi thethkäfath mafa ane woga thufnzmth nima-me. Fobo fof zwaythk ane zokwasi.

been killed too, and we would not be many people today. Because those two were staying here, Yasi thought of them, really his own clan, he came back, he ran really. My father was the only son.

The story of the *Firra*'s headhunt ends here. It is not a long story. At that time it ended in the last days of headhunting. Like I just told you. This happened in the last days of headhunting. This happened when the white man came and also when the missionaries arrived. After that, the headhunting ended. They started throwing people in prison who had killed someone. This story is now over.

D.4 Ebar zan firran (glossed text)

- (1) *zöbthé kabe mane thwamnzrm kabe yf ane thfrärm*
 zöbthé kabe mane thwa\m/nzrm kabe yf ane thf\rä/rm
 first man which 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit man name DEM 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be
 'The people who lived (in Firra) before had names.'
- (2) *nzone miyatha monme rä manenzo z ηafyé thebräknath anenzo né threbräkné*
 nzone miyatha mon=me \rä/ mane=nzo z
 1SG.POSS knowledge how=INS 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be which=ONLY IAM
 ηafe=é the\bräkn/ath ane=nzo n
 father=ERG.NSG 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\call_out DEM=ONLY IMN
 thre\bräkn/é
 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\call_out
 'I only know the ones my fathers have mentioned. So I will only mention them.'
- (3) *tüfr kabe thwamnzrm mayawama*
 tüfr kabe thwa\m/nzrm mayawa=ma
 plenty man 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit PN=CHAR
 'Many people from the Mayawa used to live there.'
- (4) *mayawa mrrmrma o mayawama kafar mane thwamnzrm*
 mayawa mrrmr=ma o mayawa=ma kafar mane thwa\m/nzrm
 PN inside=CHAR or PN=CHAR big which 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit
 'They belonged to the Mayawa clan or were elders of the Mayawa.'
- (5) *yasi nzone aki a srank*
 yasi nzone aki a srank
 PLN 1SG.POSS grandparent and PN
 'Yasi, my grandfather, and Srank.'
- (6) *fi mayawama fof thfrnm*
 fi mayawa=ma fof thf\rn/m
 3.ABS PN=CHAR EMPH 2|3DU:PST:DUR\be
 'They were from the Mayawa clan.'

- (14) *warthaŋä zänthafrath*
 wartha=ä zän\thafr/ath
 PLN=IC 2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\add
 'have joined forces with the Wartha people.'
- (15) *a näbun mane erera nzarima*
 a näbun mane e\rä/ra nzarari=ma
 and INDF which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be PLN=CHAR
 'Others comes from Nzrari.'
- (16) *safs kabe zena mane ekonzrth*
 safs kabe zena mane e\ko/nzrth
 PLN people today which 2|3PL>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\speak
 'Nowadays, they call them Safés people'
- (17) *nzrari mane thfamnzrm*
 nzrari mane thfa\m/nzrm
 PLN which 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit
 'including the ones living at Nzrari.'
- (18) *ane kabe fof enrera*
 ane kabe fof en\rä/ra
 DEM man EMPH 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be
 'These were the men'
- (19) *firran mafa thäkwrath kabe*
 firra=en mafa thä\kwr/ath kabe
 PLN=LOC who.ERG.NSG 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hit people
 'who killed the people at Firra.'
- (20) *okay, ane ebar fthé ḷafiyokwa*
 okay ane ebar fthé ḷa\fiyok/wa
 okay DEM head when SG:PST:IPFV\make
 'When that headhunting raid took place,'
- (21) *nzone aki yasi*
 nzone aki yasi
 1SG.POSS grandparent PN
 'my grandfather Yasi'

- (22) *nzone ḷafe fthé fof katan fäth sfrärm*
 nzone ḷafe fthé fof katan fäth sfrärm
 1SG.POSS father when EMPH small DIM 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be
 ‘my father was a young baby boy,’
- (23) *fi zizi zenfara*
 fi zizi zen\fara
 3.ABS afternoon SG:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off
 ‘he left in the afternoon.’
- (24) *nima zena zf thräkwrth ebar zan*
 nima zena zf thräkwrth ebar zan
 like_this today ABSC 2|3PL>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\hit head fight
 ‘He knew that “They will kill them today.”’
- (25) *nafaṇarerwä*
 nafa-ṇare=r=wä
 3.POSS-woman=IC.DU=EMPH
 ‘(He left) with his own wife.’
- (26) *nafajare yf noko*
 nafa-ṇare yf noko
 3.POSS-wife name Noko
 ‘His wife’s name was Noko,’
- (27) *matama emoth*
 mata=ma emoth
 Mata=CHAR girl
 ‘a girl from Mata.’
- (28) *nge nzone ḷafe ane fof kwozi*
 nge nzone ḷafe ane fof kwozi
 child 1SG.POSS father DEM EMPH Kwozi
 ‘The child, my father, was Kwozi.’
- (29) *nafä fof zenfarath zizi fefe fthé efoth kwabthakwrm*
 nafä fof zen\far/ath zizi fefe fthé efoth
 3PL.IC EMPH 2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off afternoon really when sun
 kwa\bthak/wrm
 SG:PST:DUR\finish
 ‘They set off together very late in the afternoon when the sun was going down.’

- (30) *fi z miyatha zäkora nafanemäwä bad yamme*
 fi z miyatha zä\kor/a nafane=ma=wä bad
 3.ABS IAM knowledge SG:PST:PFV\become 3SG.POSS=CHAR=EMPH ground
 yam=me
 event=INS
 ‘He had already worked it out with his own magic.’
- (31) *nima zena kwa zan zbo ḡathorthr kabe kwa zena efnzrth firran*
 nima zena kwa zan zbo ḡa\thor/thr kabe kwa zena
 like_this today FUT fight PROX:ALL 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\enter man FUT today
 e\fn/nzrth firra=en
 2|3PL>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\hit PLN=LOC
 ‘(He thought) something like this: “Today the killing will come here” or
 “They will kill the people today in Firra.”’
- (32) *watik, srank kma sakora “srank ni krafare”*
 wati srank kma sa\kor/a srank ni kra\far/e
 then PN POT SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\speak PN 1NSG 1DU:IRR:PFV\set_off
 ‘He tried to tell Srank, “Srank, let’s go!”’
- (33) *srankf zenaftha “keke efoth zizi fefe rä nzä kayé woräro”*
 srank=f ze\nafth/a keke efoth zizi fefe
 PN=ERG.SG SG:PST:PFV\speak NEG day afternoon really
 \rä/ nzä kayé wo\rä/ro
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be 1SG.ABS one_day_away 1SG:NPST:IPFV:AND\be
 ‘Srank said: “No, it’s already late in the day. I’ll come tomorrow.”’
- (34) *watik, fi yasi mane yara fi fefe zenfara masu*
 wati fi yasi mane ya\r/a fi fefe
 then 3.ABS PN which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be 3.ABS really
 zen\far/a masu
 SG:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off PLN
 ‘Then Yasi really went to Masu.’
- (35) *masufo fam thänra*
 masu=fo fam thän\r/a
 PLN=ALL thought SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\do
 ‘He thought of the people in Masu,’

- (36) *karbu ote mane fobo thwamnzrm ane badabada*
 karbu ote mane fobo thwa\m/nzrm ane badabada
 Karémbu PN which DIST:ALL 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit DEM ancestor
 'Karémbu and Ote, who lived over there, these ancestors.'
- (37) *koyä ttfr mayawama kkafar*
 koyä ttfr mayawa=ma k~kafar
 PN PN PN=CHAR REDUP~big
 'Koyä and Tétéfér, the elders of the Mayawa.'
- (38) *watik, fi ane fé zenfara ane miyathan ane zizi*
 wati fi ane fefe zen\far/a ane miyatha=en ane
 then 3.ABS DEM really SG:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off DEM knowledge=LOC DEM
 zizi
 afternoon
 'With this goal in mind, he set off in the afternoon.'
- (39) *zan woga thäthora zbär*
 zan woga thä\thor/a zbär
 fight man 2|3PL:PST:PFV\appear night
 'The headhunters arrived at night.'
- (40) *z ekrkwath nwir*
 z e\kr/kwath nwi=r
 IAM 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\block attack=PURP
 'They were already blocking the space for the attack.'
- (41) *thden kar zakorath zbär zäthbath*
 thd=en kar za\kor/ath zbär
 middle=LOC village 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\become night
 zä\thb/ath
 2|3PL:PST:PFV\enter
 'They surrounded the village and came in at night'
- (42) *zan thefafath*
 zan thä\faf/ath
 fight 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hold
 'and killed them.'

- (43) *srank a nafangth mane yara*
 srank a nafa-ngth mane ya\r/a
 PN and 3.POSS-younger_sibling which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
 'As for Srank and his little brother,'
- (44) *srank sakwrath zätra*
 srank sa\kwr/ath zä\tr/a
 PN 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:PFV\hit SG:PST:PFV\fall
 'they struck him down.'
- (45) *fi keke kwosirwä sakwrath*
 fi keke kwosi=r=wä sa\kwr/ath
 but NEG dead=PURP=EMPH 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:PFV\hit
 'But they did not kill him.'
- (46) *watik, thogr thwarenzrm mr rtmaksir*
 wati thog=r thwa\re/nzrm mr rtmak-si=r
 then bamboo_species=PURP 2|3PL:PST:DUR\look neck cut-NMLZ=PURP
 'They looked around for the small bamboo with which they wanted to
 cut his neck.'
- (47) *z zäbrimakoth thogr thwarenzrm srank fthé mane yara yakä*
 z zä\brim/akoth thog=r thwa\re/nzrm
 IAM PL:PST:PFV:AND\return bamboo_species=PURP 2|3PL:PST:DUR\look
 srank fthé mane ya\r/a yak=ä
 PN when which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be run=ASSOC
 'When they returned to look for the bamboo knife, Srank ran off.'
- (48) *nafangth fi z kwosirwä sakwrath*
 nafa-ngth fi z kwosi=r=wä
 3.POSS-younger_sibling 3.ABS IAM dead=PURP=EMPH
 sa\kwr/ath
 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:PFV\hit
 'They had already killed his little brother.'
- (49) *watik, srank näbi yasi fam sanra yasi ynbragwa masu*
 wati srank näbi yasi fam san\r/a yasi
 then PN one PN thought SG>3SG.M.IO:PST:PFV:VENT\do PN
 yn\brag/wa masu
 SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\follow PLN
 'Srank thought only of Yasi. He followed Yasi to Masu.'

- (50) *naf fof zätrifa fobo nima “firran z thäkwirth”*
 naf fof zä\trif/a fobo nima firra=en z
 3SG.ERG EMPH SG:PST:PFV\tell DIST:ALL like_this PLN=LOC IAM
 thä\kwr/th
 2|3PL>2|3PL:RPST:PFV\hit
 ‘(On the way) he told everyone: “They have already killed them in Firra.”’
- (51) *fthé kwan swanorm ñarsen masun neba wozifa*
 fthé kwan swa\nor/m ñars=en masu=en neba wazi=fa
 when shout 3SG.M:PST:DUR\shout river=LOC PLN=LOC opposite side=ABL
 ‘Then he shouted at the river in Masu from the other side.’
- (52) *yasif karbu sakora*
 yasi=f karbu sa\kor/a
 PN=ERG.SG PN SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\speak
 ‘Yasi said to Karémbu’
- (53) *srank byanor garda garda sarofäth!*
 srank b=ya\nor/ garda sa\rofäth/
 PN MED=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\shout canoe 2SG>3SG.M.IO:IMP:PFV\paddle
 ‘“Srank is shouting there. Take the canoe for him!”’
- (54) *kayé kma foffi sanmisé*
 kayé kma fof fi san\mis/é
 one_day_away POT EMPH 3.ABS 1SG>3SG.M:RPST:PFV:VENT\bring
 ‘I tried to take him with me yesterday.’
- (55) *kma né sräkwrmth zan wogané*
 kma n srä\kwr/mth zan woga=é
 POT IMN 2|3PL>3SG.M:IRR:PFV:DUR\hit fight man=ERG.NSG
 ‘These headhunters nearly killed him.’’
- (56) *watik, srank trtha byara srank ngemäre*
 wati srank trtha b=ya\r/a srank nge=mär
 then PN life MED=3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be PN child=PRIV
 ‘So Srank survived, but he didn’t leave any children behind.’

- (57) *ane efoth yföyfön fthé kwankwirmth foba kwanfarkwrmth*
 ane efoth yfö~yfö=en fthé kwan\kwi/rmth foba
 DEM day REDUP~hole=LOC when 2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\run DIST:ABL
 kwan\fark/wrmth
 2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\set_off
 ‘Back then, when they ran away and left,’
- (58) *fobo nä karma thwamnzrm nima safsma*
 fobo nä kar=ma thwa\m/nzrm nima safs=ma
 DIST:ALL INDF village=CHAR 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit like_this PLN=CHAR
 ‘other people had settled there, for example people from Safés.’
- (59) *safsma woga nä fobo swamnzrm gfi yf*
 safs=ma woga nä fobo swa'm/nzrm gfi yf
 PLN=CHAR man INDF DIST:ALL 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit PN name
 ‘There was a man from Safés by the name of Géfi.’
- (60) *mafнемäwä bamu yé thbithé zena mafnemäwä erä*
 mafane=ma=wä bamu \yé/ thbithé zena
 who.POSS.NSG=CHAR=EMPH PN 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be PN today
 mafane=ma=wä e\rä/
 who.POSS.NSG=CHAR=EMPH 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘His father was Bamu, but they actually come from Thémbithé.’
- (61) *fi z zenfara ane kayé nima*
 fi z zen\far/a ane kayé nima
 3.ABS IAM SG:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off DEM one_day_away like_this
 ‘(Géfi) he had left already.’
- (62) *kayé zan zrarä fi z zenfara fi anema trtha zena zf erä*
 kayé zan zra\rä/ fi z zen\far/a
 one_day_away fight 3SG.F:IRR:IPFV\be 3.ABS IAM SG:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off
 fi ane=ma trtha zena zf e\rä/
 3.ABS DEM=CHAR life today ABSC 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘He knew there would be an attack. So he left. That’s why they (his children) are still alive.’

- (63) *fi fthé nyamnzrm nafäsü kwa thräkwrnþth*
 fi fthé n=ya\m/nzrm nafä=sü kwa
 3.ABS when IPST=3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit 3PL.IC=ETC FUT
 thrä\kwr/mth
 2|3PL>2|3PL:IRR:PFV:DUR\hit
 ‘If he had stayed, he would have been killed along with others.’

- (64) *kabe fobo nä firran mane erera*
 kabe fobo nä firra=en mane e\rä/ra
 people DIST:ALL INDF PLN=LOC which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be
 ‘The other people in Firra,’

- (65) *kabe karma mane ämnza fi z thäkwrath fobo nafä thäthfrath*
 kabe kar=ma mane ä\m/nza fi z
 people village=CHAR which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\sit 3.ABS IAM
 thä\kwr/ath fobo nafä thä\thafr/ath
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hit DIST:ALL 3PL.IC 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\add
 ‘people from other villages who had lived there, were also killed and
 mixed with them.’

- (66) *fi anenzo trtha woga ferna srank yasi*
 fi ane=nzo trtha woga f=e\rn/a srank yasi
 3.ABS DEM=ONLY life man DIST=SG>2|3DU:PST:IPFV\be PN PN
 ‘Only those two survived, Srank and Yasi.’

- (67) *yasifa foba fof ni zane zewärake zena znrä*
 yasi=fa foba fof ni zane zä\wär/ake zena
 PN=ABL DIST:ABL EMPH 1NSG DEM:PROX 1PL:PST:PFV\happen today
 z=n\rä/
 PROX=1PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘We go back to Yasi; from that time until today.’

- (68) *nzenme ñafyé berna nzone ñafe kwozi maiti*
 nzenme ñafe=é b=e\rn/a nzone ñafe kwozi
 1NSG.POSS father=ABS.NSG MED=2|3DU:PST:IPFV\be 1SG.POSS father PN
 maiti
 PN
 ‘Our fathers were Kwozi and Maiti.’

- (69) *fi trtha berna. srank ngemäre zäbtha.*
 fi trtha b=e\rn/a srank nge=mär zä\bth/a
 3.ABS life MED=2|3DU:PST:IPFV\be PN child=PRIV SG:PST:PFV\finish
 '(This family line) survived, but Srank died later without leaving children.'
- (70) *ŋare ffé zefafa fi ngemär bana yara*
 ŋare fefe zä\faf/a fi nge=mär bana ya\r/a
 wife really SG:PST:PFV\marry but child=PRIV pitiful 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
 'He did get married, but the poor chap had no children.'
- (71) *ausi fäth mä rera ane zan mrmren nafane yf zafo*
 ausi fäth mä \rä/ra ane zan mrmr=en nafane
 old_woman DIM where 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be DEM fight inside=LOC 3SG.POSS
 yf zafo
 name PN
 'There was another woman in that headhunting raid. Her name was Zafo.'
- (72) *akrimogoma emoth zafo*
 akrimogo=ma emoth zafo
 PLN=CHAR sister PN
 'Zafo was from Akrimongo.'
- (73) *watik fi mane rera mathmath gamo zäzira nasi yfön zäthba*
 wati fi mane \rä/ra mathmath gamo zä\zir/a
 then 3.ABS which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be hiding_spell spell SG:PST:PFV\throw
 nasi yfö=en zä\thb/a
 long_yam hole=LOC SG:PST:PFV\enter
 'She used magic and hid in the hole of a long yam.'
- (74) *watik, zan wogané komnzo zfnagwrmth*
 wati zan woga=é komnzo zf\nag/wrmth
 then fight man=ERG.NSG only 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:DUR\miss
 'The headhunters simply missed her.'
- (75) *watik zan woga fthé zäzinbrath*
 wati zan woga fthé zä\zinbr/ath
 then fight man when 2|3PL:PST:PFV\pass_by
 'When the headhunters had passed,'

- (76) *fi fthé fof zänmätra nasi yföfa akrimogo*
 fi fthé fof zän\mätr/a nasi yfö=fa akrimogo
 3.ABS when EMPH SG:PST:PFV:VENT\exit long_yam hole=ABL PLN
 ‘she came out of the long yam hole (and ran) to Akrimongo.’
- (77) *akrimogo karnm naf thätrifa*
 akrimogo kar=nm naf thä\trif/a
 PLN village=DAT.NSG 3SG.ERG SG>2|3PL.IO:PST:PFV\tell
 ‘She told the Akrimongo people’
- (78) *mawoi z sakwrth*
 mawoi z sa\kwr/th
 PN IAM 2|3PL>3SG.M:RPST:PFV\hit
 “They’ve already killed Mawoi.”
- (79) *kafar mane yara firrama kafar mawoi*
 kafar mane ya\r/a firra=ma kafar mawoi
 big which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be PLN=CHAR big PN
 ‘Mawoi was an elder from Firra.’
- (80) *mawoi z safath*
 mawoi z sa\faf/th
 PN IAM 2|3PL>3SG.M:RPST:PFV\hold
 “They’ve already got Mawoi.”
- (81) *watik, fobo fof miyatha zäkorath “oh, firran z thäkwrth”*
 wati fobo fof miyatha zä\kor/ath oh firra=en z
 then DIST:ALL EMPH knowledge 2|3PL:PST:PFV\become oh PLN=LOC IAM
 thä\kwr/th
 2|3PL>2|3PL:RPST:PFV\hit
 ‘That’s how they found out: “Oh, they killed them in Firra.”’
- (82) *nezä faw brigsir mane rera thrmwä eyaka*
 nezä faw brig-si=r mane \rä/ra
 in_return payment return-NMLZ=PURP which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be
 thrma=wä e\yak/a
 later=EMPH 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\walk
 ‘As for their revenge, that came much later.’

- (83) *ŋarsen kma thethräfath fi z zaföwä zäritakoth*
 ŋars=en kma thä\thräf/ath fi z zafe=wä
 river=LOC POT 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\block but IAM early=EMPH
 zä\rit/akoth
 PL:PST:PFV:AND\cross
 ‘They should have stopped the headhunters at the river, but they had already crossed the river.’
- (84) *naffof ŋariza yffof*
 naf fof ŋa\riz/a yf fof
 3SG.ERG EMPH SG:PST:IPFV\hear name EMPH
 ‘The woman had heard their names.’
- (85) *wära zokwasime mane kwanafrmth fobo*
 wära zokwasi=me mane kwa\naf/rmth fobo
 PN speech=INS which 2|3PL:PST:DUR\talk DIST:ALL
 ‘Some were talking in Wära language.’
- (86) *wartha zokwasime kwanafrmth kanza zokwasime*
 wartha zokwasi=me kwa\naf/rmth kanza zokwasi=me
 PN speech=INS 2|3PL:PST:DUR\talk PN speech=INS
 ‘Some talked in Wartha and Kánchez.’
- (87) *wära zokwasi woga nä foba yariza*
 wära zokwasi woga nä foba ya\riz/a
 PN speech man INDF DIST:ABL SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\hear
 ‘She heard one guy speaking Wära,’
- (88) *woga mane ŋanafa emoth wäthräkwa*
 woga mane ŋa\naf/a emoth wä\thräk/wa
 man which SG:PST:IPFV\speak girl SG>3SG.F.IO:PST:IPFV\block
 ‘a man who prevented the others from killing his sister (saying)’
- (89) “*nzone ymoth fob rä mafo kmam zethfro*”
 “That’s my sister over there. Don’t mix her up with the others!”²

²He speaks in Wära. A Komnzo translation of this sentence would be: *nzone emoth fobo rä maf kmam zathafro*.

- (90) *nafadba ane ausi fäthdba miyatha zokwasi foſ zathorath nima*
 nafadba ane ausi fäth=dba miyatha zokwasi foſ
 3SG.ABL DEM old_woman DIM=ABL.ANIM.SG knowledge speech EMPH
 za\thor/ath nima
 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\carry like_this
 ‘From this young woman the knowledge spread (and people said)’
- (91) “*okay, keke zagr woga zanr thwaniyak. fi zba zrä. safsma woga thwaniyak, nzrarima.*”
 okay keke zagr woga zan=r thwan\yak/ fi
 okay NEG far man fight=PURP 2|3PL:RPST:IPFV:VENT\come 3.ABS
 zba z=rä/ safs=ma woga
 PROX:ABL PROX=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PLN=CHAR man
 thwan\yak/ nzrari=ma
 2|3PL:RPST:IPFV:VENT\come PLN=CHAR
 ““Okay, they did not come from far away to kill them. There are from close by, from Safés, from Nzrari.””
- (92) *watik, nezä faw mane rera*
 wati nezä faw mane \rä/ra
 then in_return payment which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be
 ‘Well, the revenge that took place’
- (93) *ane firra zanane faw*
 ane firra zan=ane faw
 DEM PLN fight=POSS.SG payment
 ‘was the payback for Firra.’
- (94) *nezä faw z wbrigrnath nzenme aki*
 nezä faw z w\brig/rnath nzenme
 in_return payment IAM 2|3DU>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\return 1NSG.POSS
 aki
 grandparent
 ‘Our grandfathers paid them back’
- (95) *a ote*
 a ote
 and PN
 ‘and also Ote’

- (96) *mafanemäwä zena kaunsl yé*
 mafane=ma=wä zena kaunsl \yé/
 who.POSS.NSG=CHAR=EMPH today councillor 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘whose (grandson) is now the councillor.’³
- (97) *nane marua ane family bramöwä kadikafu*
 nane marua ane family bramöwä kadikafu
 elder_sibling PN DEM family all PN
 ‘brother Marua, Kadikafu and the whole family.’⁴
- (98) *okay, nafa nezä z faw wbrigrnath*
 okay nafa nezä z faw w\brig/rnath
 okay 3NSG.ERG in_return IAM payment 2|3DU>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\return
 ‘Okay, they took revenge’
- (99) *bänema nafanme mayawa kakafar z bramöwä thäkwrath firran*
 bäre=ma nafanme mayawa ka-kafar z bramöwä
 PH=CHAR 3NSG.POSS PN REDUP~big IAM all
 thä\kwr/ath firra=en
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hit PLN=LOC
 ‘because all their Mayawa elders were killed at Firra.’
- (100) *ane ebar mane rera fawkaräsü rera*
 ane ebar mane \rä/ra faw=karä=sü
 DEM head which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be payment=PROP=ETC
 \rä/ra
 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be
 ‘Those cut-off heads would be avenged.’
- (101) *nezä mane erera zagr keke eyaka*
 nezä mane e\rä/ra zagr keke e\yak/a
 in_return which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be far NEG 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\walk
 ‘They did not go far for their revenge.’

³Ote’s grandson, Abia Bai, from Masu was the ward member for *Rouku* at the time.

⁴Abia Bai’s brothers Marua Bai and Kaumb Bai (Kadikafu).

- (102) *mane né merefo themiyarath nezä faw merema woga kma thräkwrnþt*
 mane n mere=fo thä\miya/rath nezä faw
 which IMN PLN=ALL 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\fetch in_return payment
 mere=ma woga kma thrä\kwr/mth
 PLN=CHAR man POT 2|3PL>2|3PL:IRR:PFV:DUR\hit
 ‘They were about to go to Mere. They almost took revenge on the people from Mere.’
- (103) *komnzo zäwthefath*
 komnzo zä\wthef/ath
 only 2|3PL:PST:PFV\change
 ‘But they decided to turn around and’
- (104) *safsma woga thäkwrath nzrarin*
 safs=ma woga thä\kwr/ath nzrari=en
 PLN=CHAR man 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hit PLN=LOC
 ‘kill the Safés people at Nzrari.’
- (105) *krsi znen fobo fof thethräfath fobo fof thäkwrath*
 kr-si zn=en fobo fof thä\thräf/ath
 block-NMLZ place=LOC DIST:ALL EMPH 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\block
 fobo fof thä\kwr/ath
 DIST:ALL EMPH 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hit
 ‘They surrounded them there and killed them.’
- (106) *watik, faw z ñabrigwa.*
 wati faw z ña\brig/wa
 then payment IAM SG:PST:IPFV\return
 ‘That was the revenge.’
- (107) *ane ebar nimame firran fof rera ane*
 ane ebar nima=me firra=en fof \rä/ra ane
 DEM head like_this=INS PLN=LOC EMPH 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be DEM
 ‘This is what happened during the Firra headhunt.’
- (108) *fobafa mane rä fobo fof kerker kwanbthakrm ane fof*
 foba=fa mane \rä/ fobo fof kerker
 DIST:ABL=ABL which 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be DIST:ALL EMPH tail
 kwan\bthak/wrm ane fof
 SG:PST:DUR:VENT\finish DEM EMPH
 ‘From then on, the hunting raids came to an end.’

- (109) *monme zane ebarane zan zfrärm fof*
 mon=me zane ebar=ane zan zf\rä/rm fof
 how=INS DEM:PROX head=POSS.SG fight 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be EMPH
 'What they did in the headhunt,'
- (110) *woga thufnzmth ebar thwärtmth thfzänzrmth karfo*
 woga thu\fn/nzrmth ebar thwä\rtm/th
 man 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\hit head 2|3PL>2|3PL:ITER\cut
 thf\zä/nzrmth kar=fo
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\carry village=ALL
 'they killed the people, cut off their heads and carried them back home.'
- (111) *ane mane rera edajane ane fof rera*
 ane mane \rä/ra eda=ane ane fof \rä/ra
 DEM which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be two=POSS.SG DEM EMPH 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be
 'This incident that was the second last headhunt.'
- (112) *ane fof rera last fefe mä zermäna fethkakaren zbo mane thäkwrath*
 ane fof \rä/ra last fefe mä zä\rmän/a fethka
 DEM EMPH 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be last really where SG:PST:PFV\close PLN
 kar=en zbo mane thä\kwr/ath
 place=LOC PROX:ALL which 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hit
 'The very last one, where they killed people, took place at Fethka.'
- (113) *fethkakar karen fthé thäkwrath näbi fthé fof zemathakoth*
 fethka kar kar=en fthé thä\kwr/ath näbi fthé fof
 PLN place place=LOC when 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hit one when EMPH
 zä\math/akoth
 PL:PST:PFV:AND\run
 'When they killed the people of Fethka, the (survivors) ran away forever.'
- (114) *fobo fof zäkora ebar fobo fof zäbtha*
 fobo fof zä\kor/a ebar fobo fof zä\bth/a
 DIST:ALL EMPH SG:PST:PFV\become head DIST:ALL EMPH SG:PST:PFV\finish
 'From this point on, headhunting was over.'
- (115) *zanemr zena znrä*
 zane=r zena z=n\rä/
 DEM:PROX=PURP today PROX=1PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 'That is why we are alive today'

- (116) *wati, zenafa ni tüfr nagayé kwakonzre*
 wati zena=fa ni tüfr nagayé kwa\ko/nzre
 then today=ABL 1NSG plenty children 1PL:RPST:IPFV\become
 'We are many children now.'
- (117) *fi ane ebarane zokwasi fthé z maf kratrikwro fi*
 fi ane ebar=ane zokwasi fthé z maf
 but DEM head=POSS.SG speech when IAM who.ERG.SG
 kra\trik/wro
 SG:IRR:IPFV:AND\tell
 'But this headhunting story, whoever may tell it,'
- (118) *zena mrmren fthé niné wbrigwre näbuné*
 zena mrmr=en fthé niné w\brig/wre
 today inside=LOC when 1NSG.EMPH 1PL>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\return
 näbun=é
 INDF=ERG.NSG
 'when we or others retell it,'
- (119) *fthé zmarwre zane nzenme kar mrmren thd moreheaden*
 fthé z\mar/wre zane nzenme kar mrmr=en
 when 2PL>3SG.F:IMP:IPFV\see DEM:PROX 1NSG.POSS village inside=LOC
 thd morehead=en
 middle PLN=LOC
 'you just need to look inside our village, in the middle of Morehead.'
- (120) *nimame krenafthmé thd moreheaden kar mane erä*
 nima=me krä\nafthm/é thd morehead=en kar mane
 like_this=INS 1SG:IRR:PFV\speak middle PLN=LOC village which
 e\rä/
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 'I can tell you, in the middle of Morehead, those are the villages (where
 people came from).'
- (121) *ni woga tüfrmäre nrä*
 ni woga tüfr=mär n\rä/
 1NSG man plenty=PRIV 1PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 'We are not many people.'

- (122) *bänema nzenme thden ane fof kwakwirm woga finzo finzo kwafnzrmth*
 bäne=ma nzenme thd=en ane fof kwa\kwir/m woga
 PH=CHAR 1NSG.POSS middle=LOC DEM EMPH SG:PST:DUR\run man
 fi=nzo fi=nzo kwa\fn/nzrmth
 3.ABS=ONLY 3.ABS=ONLY 2|3PL:PST:DUR\hit
 'because this happened in our midst. People killed each other.'
- (123) *nä kar wogané nä kar thwemiyarth*
 nä kar woga=é nä kar thwä\miyar/th
 INDF village man=ERG.NSG INDF village 2|3PL>2|3PL:ITER\fetch
 'One group of villagers attacked other villages,'
- (124) *nä kar wogané nä kar woga thwemiyarth*
 nä kar woga=é nä kar woga thwä\miyar/th
 INDF village man=ERG.NSG INDF village man 2|3PL>2|3PL:ITER\fetch
 'and again another group of villagers attacked other villagers.'
- (125) *okay, ni nimame fof ḷafiyokwake*
 okay ni nima=me fof ḷa\fiyok/wake
 okay 1NSG like_this=INS EMPH 1PL:PST:IPFV\make
 'Okay, that is what we have done.'
- (126) *nzenme mrmren nima fof ḷakwira yam*
 nzenme mrmr=en nima fof ḷa\kwir/a yam
 1NSG.POSS inside=LOC like_this EMPH SG:PST:IPFV\run custom
 'This custom was common with us.'
- (127) *anema kabekaräsü ni nrera ni mrnmäwä nrera*
 ane=ma kabe=karä=sü ni n\rä/ra ni
 DEM=CHAR man=PROP=ETC 1NSG 1PL:PST:IPFV\be 1NSG
 mrn=ma=wä n\rä/ra
 family=CHAR=EMPH 1PL:PST:IPFV\be
 'We were part of that. We come from that clan.'
- (128) *firran mane thäkwrath woga fi fefe zäbthath*
 firra=en mane thä\kwr/ath woga fi fefe
 PLN=LOC which 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hit man 3.ABS really
 zä\bth/ath
 2|3PL:PST:PFV\finish
 'The Firra headhunt really finished off these other clans.'

- (129) *nafane story nimame firrajane fof rä brä*
 nafane story nima=me firra=ane fof \rä/
 3SG.POSS story like_this=INS PLN=POSS.SG EMPH 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 b=\rä/
 MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘This is the story about the Firra headhunt.’
- (130) *nä keke mane fä sathfära ninzo fefe nznethfära*
 nä keke mane fä sa\thfär/a ni=nzo fefe
 INDF NEG which DIST 3SG.M:PST:PFV\jump 1NSG=ONLY really
 nzna\thfär/a
 1PL:PST:PFV\jump
 ‘Nobody could escape there, only we could escape.’
- (131) *yasiāne family zena znrä*
 yasi=ane family zena z=n\rä/
 PN=POSS.SG family today PROX=1PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘From Yasi’s family to us today.’
- (132) *ni yasiāne mrnma*
 ni yasi=ane mrn=ma
 1NSG PN=POSS.SG family=CHAR
 ‘We are from Yasi’s family.’
- (133) *nge nafane*
 nge nafane
 child 3SG.POSS
 ‘(We are) his children.’
- (134) *nima ni nafane ane badabadama fof nrä*
 nima ni nafane badabada=ma fof n\rä/
 like_this 1NSG 3SG.POSS ancestor=CHAR EMPH 1PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘We go back to his ancestors.’
- (135) *nzenme mrn mrmren z monme miyatha ḷakwir*
 nzenme mrn mrmr=en z mon=me miyatha
 1NSG.POSS family inside=LOC IAM how=INS knowledge
 ḷa\kwir/
 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\run
 ‘We know about this in our family.’

- (136) *gadmewä fi zbo komnzo ämrna karbu ote*
 gadmowä fi zbo komnzo ä\m/rna karbu ote
 thanks 3.ABS PROX:ALL only 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\sit PN PN
 'Fortunately, Ote and Karémbu had stayed here.'
- (137) *firranzo bā bthrarärm mane fthé z thräkwrnfh fobo fof*
 firra=nzo bā b=thra\rä/rm mane fthé z
 PLN=ONLY MED MED=2|3PL:IRR:DUR\be which when IAM
 thrä\kwr/mth fobo fof
 2|3PL>2|3PL:IRR:PFV:DUR\hit DIST:ALL EMPH
 'If they had been there at Firra, they would have been killed too,'
- (138) *keke kwa ni tüfr nzrarárm*
 keke kwa ni tüfr nzra\rä/rm
 NEG FUT 1NSG plenty 1PL:IRR:DUR\be
 'and we would not be many people today.'
- (139) *fi mon zbo ämrna yasif ane fo f am thnra*
 fi mon zbo ä\m/rna yasi=f ane fo f am
 3.ABS how PROX:ALL 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\sit PN=ERG.SG DEM EMPH thought
 thn\r/a
 SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\do
 'Because those two were staying here, Yasi thought of them,'
- (140) *nafanemäwä mrn fof*
 nafane=ma=wä mrn fof
 3SG.POSS=CHAR=EMPH family EMPH
 'really his own clan,'
- (141) *watik zänbrima fi zanmatha*
 wati zän\brim/a fi zan\math/a
 then SG:PST:PFV:VENT\return 3.ABS SG:PST:PFV:VENT\run
 'he came back, he ran really'
- (142) *nzone ḷafe näbinzo finzo*
 nzone ḷafe näbi=nzo fi=nzo
 1SG.POSS father one=ONLY 3.ABS=ONLY
 'My father was the only (son).'

- (143) *fobo fof wythik ane zokwasi fof firra earma*
 fobo fof wa\ythk/ ane zokwasi fof firra
 DIST:ALL EMPH 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\come_to_end DEM speech EMPH PLN
 ebar=ma
 head=CHAR
 ‘The story of the Firra’s headhunt ends here.’
- (144) *keke zanfrme rä*
 keke zanfr=me \rä/
 NEG long=INS 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘It is not a long story.’
- (145) *fobo komnzo zänbtha fof*
 fobo komnzo zän\bth/a fof
 DIST:ALL only 2|3SG:PST:PFV:VENT\finish EMPH
 ‘At that time it ended’
- (146) *nima kerkeren efother zfwiyakm monwä z nznanafthmé*
 nima kerker=en efoth=en zf\yak/m mon=wä z
 like_this tail=LOC day=LOC 3SG.F:PST:DUR\walk how=EMPH IAM
 nz=na\nafthm/é
 IPST=1SG>2SG.IO:RPST:PFV\talk
 ‘in the last days (of headhunting). Like I just told you.’
- (147) *kerker efother zfwiyakm*
 kerker efoth=en zf\yak/m
 tail day=LOC 3SG.F:PST:DUR\walk
 ‘This happened in the last days (of headhunting).’
- (148) *fthé fefe markai zänthba we mizi zänthbath*
 fthé fefe markai zän\thb/a we mizi
 when really outsider SG:PST:PFV:VENT\enter also pastor
 zän\thb/ath
 2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\enter
 ‘This happened when the white man came and also when the
 missionaries arrived.’
- (149) *fobo fof wythka*
 fobo fof wa\ythk/a ebar zan
 DIST:ALL EMPH 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\come_to_end head fight
 ‘After that, the headhunting ended.’

- (150) *fthé dibura fathasi thethkäfath mafa ane woga thufnzmth nimame*
fthé dibura fatha-si thä\thkäf/ath mafa ane
when prison hold-NMLZ 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\start who.ERG.NSG DEM
woga thu\fn/nzrmth nima=me
man 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\hit like_this=INS
'They started throwing people in prison who had killed someone.'
- (151) *fobo fof zuwythk ane zokwasi*
fobo fof zwa\ythk/ ane zokwasi
DIST:ALL EMPH 3SG.F:RPST:IPFV\come_to_end DEM speech
'This story is now over.'

E *Faw brigsi* - The revenge attack

E.1 Introduction

Faw brigsi is narrative lasting roughly 10min. It was recorded by Christian Döhler on November 19th 2011, in both audio and video formats.¹ The story teller is Abia Bai, and the recording took place outside his house at *Rouku* village. Abia proposed to tell this story prompted by the transcription of the story about the headhunting raid at *Firra* in Text D. The headhunters in the story come from the lineage of his grandfather and great-grandfather from the Masu-Mayawa clan.

E.2 Summary & background

The story is about a headhunt that took place in the village of *Téndöfi*. The raid was revenge for an earlier attack on the village of *Firra*, in which most of the inhabitants of *Firra* were killed. Some of the survivors of the Mayawa clan joined forces with the inhabitants of *Masu*, *Mongarkam* and *Fethkakar* and led the revenge campaign. The protagonists are Yasi and Ote.

The headhunters travel to *Tämnzüfi*, which is located on the opposite side of the Morehead River. They perform a ritual to ensure that their victims are unaware of the impending attack and go to sleep.

One of the headhunters has relatives in *Téndöfi*. He goes to the village and warns his exchange man and his family. After his return, the attackers wait until nightfall, then cross the river and surround the village. They enter the village and kill most of the inhabitants. Yasi and Ote fight with a young woman who is trying to free herself. Suddenly they realise that the other headhunters have finished their work and have already left the village. They leave the woman behind and follow the others.

On their return, the headhunters are welcomed back to their village by the women, who dance and sing for them. They celebrate the successful raid.

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20111119-01. It is archived at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5801368>

E.3 Faw brigsi (parallel text)

Namä ezi. Zane namä ezi mrmren nzä kwa trikasi ḷatrikwé. Tdöfin mane thäkwrath kabe ebar mä ertmakwrath fof. Faw wbrigwath firrane zanma fof.

Zanr fthé zathkäfath. Fam fthé wkurwath. Nafa wäfiyoknath ote a yasi. Bä ane fam wäfiyoknath tamnzüfi. Tamnzüfi mane rä ḷars wazi bä rä forthr fren. Fä fof fam wräznath faw brigsis. Bänema nafanme kabe zfh firran mane thäkwrath fof. Srank mane sakwrath. Watik fthé wäfiyoknath nafa nima zr ḷarnath mogarkam. Kabe zfh fobo nä thwamnzrm fof. Nima wäfiyoknath fethkakar. Nä zr fobo zarath fof. Nä zbo zf nafanme kabe zfh fefe faremanemedbo. Ane zr fthé ḷarnath. Watik kabe zba eyaka bobo bänne tämnzüfi. Fä ḷamosinzath. Wärzwänzath. Monme kwa thräkwrmth fof tdöfin kabe. Tdöfin kabe fäth bä mane thwamnzrm fof. Safsane kabe erera mafa zr yarerath firra ebarr fof. Watik anema fobo fof faw brigsis zathkäfath fof.

Kabe fä ḷamosinzath tämnzüfn. Zäbthath. Watik zefarath. Tämnzüfa zefarath sazäthi. Sazäthifa foba zartmath trn zäre. Trn zärefa eyaka käs. Käsen fä fof ḷamosinzath fof. ḷamothwath kabe yf ane fof efathwath. Frthmthm egarwath wämne. Wämne

Good morning! In this nice morning, I will tell the story, how they killed them at Téndöfi, where they cut off peoples' heads, and how they took revenge for the attack on Firra.

Before the revenge attack, they discussed their plans. Ote and Yasi did that. They planned it in Tamnzüfi. Tamnzüfi lies on the other side of the river in Fothér forest. They agreed on a plan to take revenge on them, to avenge their clan members, who were killed at Firra, against those who had killed Srank. They allied themselves with the people of Mogarkam. Some of their elders were living there. Likewise with Fethkakar, they also became allies. Some of their elders were from the Farem people. So they had formed an alliance at that time. All these head-hunters gathered at whatchamacallit, at Tämnzüfi. They discussed how they would attack the people of Téndöfi. A few people living in Téndöfi were from Safés. It was them who had formed an alliance in the attack on Firra. That is reason why they took revenge at Téndöfi.

So they gathered over there in Tämnzüfi. They finished their discussions and got going. They went from Tämnzüfi to Sazäthi. From Sazäthi, they took a shortcut to Térén Zäre. From Térén Zäre they walked to Käs. They gathered in Käs and sat closely to-

nima egarwath fr. Fr thmthm yfkarä. Ane kabeane yf nä swägarnzth. Ane kabeane yf nä swägarnzth. Thäbthath. Rnzam fobo erera fof boba wazi tdöfin thwamnzrm yare ngenge kabe.

Nä kabe yara nzenmema zane karma zf faremma. Safskarä mafä thäritath fof. Fi bopo sfrärm tdöfin. Wati naf thäkora “Nzone fäms fobo yamnzs. Nzone fäms yare fobo fof rä. Nzä zöbthé kwa wiyak. Kwa sranrifé fof fämsn.” Ijarsfa foba zabrmako. Katan bopo bräro fof käsfa zzagrmär. Watik fobo fof gardar sarna fof. Gardar yan-nor. Nafafämsf srenkaris “Oh kabe byannor gardar.” Watik nima yara fof. Z yaroyakwa ane fof tarazü. Nabi dunzi fyara fof. Nafafäms yaniyak fobo fof sremar fof. Sukufa srar zi nge fof. Nafafämsf mane thwanathrm zba mane yakako fof. zanr mane yakako fof. Watik sukufa ane rera zi nge. Sukufa srar. Sukufa krekar. Keke naf nima zära “Sukufa zane zisé zwar. Rma zisé zwar?” Watik thrma thamin yafrtha. Nima yafrtha. Noku yam wfänza fof. Watik nafafäms fam fthé fof zära nima “Zan kabe yé zane.”

gether collecting the names of their victims. They were breaking small twigs. They broke the twigs like this. They put a name to each twig. For this man's name they broke one twig, and for that man's name they broke another twig. They did this for as many people as lived on the other side of the river in Téndöfi, for every woman, for the children and the men.

There was one man amongst the head-hunters who was from our clan, from this village here, from the *Farem* people. He had exchanged wives with the people from *Safés*, and this family was also there in Téndöfi. So he told the others: “My exchange man is staying there. My exchange woman is there. I will go ahead. I will tell my exchange man what is going to happen.” He followed the riverbank for a short distance. Not far from Käs, he called out for the canoe. His exchange man heard him and said “Oh, someone is calling for the canoe.” Well, he was already dressed up wearing his headdress. He was carrying his bow and arrow. His exchange man came and he looked at him. He gave his exchange man tobacco, really strong tobacco. He was smoking it first, the one who went from here, the head-hunter. It was really strong tobacco. He gave him the tobacco. He puffed it, but he did not understand the sign, and thought “He gave me this strong tobacco. Why did he give me the strong tobacco?” Later he was biting

Watik kraritth bern. Sukufa ärithr nafa-thufthnm nafangom karnm ämnzr. Watik fämsf sräkor fäms “Fof krarifthe! Nzä fof nafarkwr fof.” Nää bana mane erera keke thätrifa nafafämsf. Watik fi nima zefara zyé. Zärita. Fi miyatha sfrärm nima zanr zane swaniyak. Kabe emarwr. Nafanjaré zräkor “Ni krafare!” Watik nafafämsf zräkor “Watik garda bana kwa srärité. Nama we n kränbrimé fof.” Watik krarifthth. Nafafäms zefarako. Fi zärita. Yaniyak kabe thrämosir. “Oh nima rä, nima rä, nima rä. Nima tüfr kabe erä, nima tüfr nare erä, ngenge. Fäms z zefaro.”

Watik kafar mane sfrärm. Finzo sagathinzath mogarkamma. Kabe naf fr thmthm mane erera we nima tätume thänarnza fof. Tätume thrärnarnz. Watik fi fobo fof swamnzrm tätü fof. bänema tmod ane äftyokwa fof. Tmod ane zräkorth tmatm. Keke kwa kräfänir fof. Kabe gamokarä ane thänarnzath fof. Tätü mä swamnzrm wämne tnz en-thärkunzath. Aneme tätü zanarnzath fof.

his tongue towards his exchange man. He bit on his tongue in an aggressive way. That's when his exchange man got the message "This is a head-hunter."

They crossed the river together. He gave tobacco to his in-laws, to his brothers-in-law and they sat down. Then, his exchange told him, "Let's say goodbye. I have to get going now." As for those other poor guys, his exchange man did not tell them what he knew: this one had come for an attack, he came to spy on the people. So he told his wife "We are going to leave!" The exchange man told him: "You go ahead. I will take the old canoe across and I will come back the day after tomorrow." They said goodbye to each other. He went across to meet the other headhunters. He told them "It is like this and like this. There are lots of men, women and children. My exchange man is leaving now."

Okay, there was an old man from *Mogar-kam*. They left him behind in the camp. He was the one who kept these small twigs and branches under the coconut shell. Someone had to hold down the coconut shell. So he stayed behind. He cast a spell on it called "tmod". The coconut shell must not be moved during this spell. It keeps the victims in check. They brought short pieces of wood and used them to hold the coconut shell in position.

Fi bana mane thfrärm. Boba mane erera tdöfin. Komnzo etfth etfthnzö thfrugrm. Yoganai thfrärm. Watik fi ïamonegwath, ïamonegwath. E zizi kräkor zzbär. Srima kabe thrärfithth. Zöbthé thrärfithth. Zöbthé fi efrezrth. Kar foba zumarwmth. “Oh fä erä, fä erä, fä erä.” Anemewä kwaritakwrmth. ïjaritakwath zan kabe brämöwä farem. Zäbtha watik. Kwot kar fthé wkrkwath, wkrkwath, wkrkwath. Ktkt zäkora fof. Fthé fof thränthor fof. tä tä tä tä the-thkäfath. Zan efnzath, efnzath, efnzath, efnzath.

Näbi fobo kafar emoth ausi bana rera fof. Oroman ote Oroman yasi nafa zrakothmth, zrakothmth. Zrafath. “Oh” kma thrakor “Ze bane ïari wr.” “Mh né nzafäkuthe fof. Zena zf mr nthkne!” Zrafath. Kata bananzo thrafithwonzth. Keke zkwrath. Mr wthknth. Kma zane garsir zfrnmth di kam fof. Keke. ïja kma bana emoth fäth fä nima kma kwafngwrm. Anemewä fi nä zan kabe mane erera. Zä efnzath kabe brämöwä. Ritaksi zethkäfath. Finzo fä fof. Ane kafar emothf thwathofiknm. Nima zfzänmth kma traksir. N zfrnmth di kam garsir “Awkt ngemäku kabe matak erä! Z nzngathinzth!” Wgathiknath fobo fof. Frknzo zwanorm. Grr kwannzo fobo zwanorm zba mrfa fof. Kramathth berna. “Ai!” Waro kwan thrarn fof. Foba thranyaftth berä. Gardakäro fobo fof eyan. ïjaritakwrth. “Mon?” “Zrkä komnzo zgathinze fof. Zane bökwän z zrtme katame. Komnzo bjätäriwr.”

The poor people in Téndöfi were fast asleep. They were very tired. The headhunters waited until it was late, until dawn. Then they sent their spies ahead. They approached from the river and spied out the village. They were talking “Okay, these one are there and the other ones are over there.” With this knowledge, they crossed the river. The whole group of *Farem* headhunters went across. They surrounded the village and sealed it off. Then the attack began. They shot their arrows and started fighting. They killed everyone of them.

There was one young woman there. Old man Ote and Yasi chased her. They chased and grabbed her. She tried to tell them: “Oh, I am one of your sisters.” They replied “Oh, we’ll take good care of you! We’ll break your neck now!” They held her tight and pulled out their bamboo knives. But they did not manage to kill her. They just cut the neck. They tried to break this neck bone here. They didn’t succeed and the poor girl was struggling to free herself. Meanwhile, the other headhunters had killed all the other villagers. They started to cross the river again. Only that girl was still fighting with the two men. They threw her to the ground trying to break her neck, when one of them realized “Oh brother, everyone’s gone! They’ve left us behind.” They let go of the girl. She was bleeding badly and gurgling from her throat. The two ran

away. “Hey!” They gave a signal and the others answered them. They were on the other side of the river with the canoe. They came across asking “What happened?” They replied “We left her half dead. We cut her throat with the bamboo knife. She’ll just die up there.”

ηafsinzth “Oh nima tüfr thänkwre. Tüfrmär thfrä. Nzenme tüfr thäkwrath.” Erugr. Ewäkwr. Buay äniyak äniyak sazäthi. Äniyak mdüfi. Fä fof wath thräntrifth ebar wath. “Eh” ausiausiyé badayé foba krekaristh “Z thänkwrth. Zännor!”

Ausiausi ηafyenwrth kafarkafar nä. Nafa krethkäfth. Fthé kwamnzokwrmth zzarkarä. Krethkäfth fi benrä ebarkarä. Anemewä thränthor. Watik ebar ane fof zzarfo threthkäfth bæne fof thorsi. Ekarkwrth. Thräbthth. Watik ηamsak-wath. Fof kwathwekwrmth. Kafar bru-bru suf nzrmth. “Oh” zba zf thwarizrmth “Z thänkwrth. Thäkwrth fof farem fethkar mogarkam.” Watik nezá fobo fof zan wythka fof.

Then they took stock: “Oh, we killed so and so many of them, not many. But they also killed some of us.” They slept and woke up in the morning. They rushed off and came to *Sazäthi*. Next, they came to *Méndüfi*. This is where they started singing a head-hunting song. “Hey”, the old women and the grandmothers heard them and said “They’ve already killed them. Now they’re coming back singing.”

The women and some old grannies stood in a row. They started jumping up and down. They held their fish nets. As the men approached the village, they held up the heads of their victims. They threw the heads into the fish nets. They took the fish nets to the old people and they finished the ritual. Then they sat down and enjoyed themselves. They were beating the big drums to let everyone know. When people heard this, they said “They’ve killed them already. The *Farem* people, the *Fethkakar* people and the *Mogarkam* people killed them.” That was the end of the revenge.

E.3 Faw brigsi (parallel text)

Watik zanma trikasi tdöfin mane thä-kwrath faremma. Zbo zf zwaythk. eso kafar benme namä yarizsima.

Well, the headhunting story has come to an end now, about those people who were killed at *Téndöfi* by the *Farem*. Thank you very much for listening!

E.4 Faw brigsi (glossed text)

- (1) *namä ezi*
namä ezi
good morning
'Good morning!'
- (2) *zane namä ezi mrmren nzä kwa trikasi ḷatrikwé*
zane namä ezi mrmr=en nzä kwa trikasi
DEM:PROX good morning inside=LOC 1SG.ABS FUT story
ṇa\trik/wé
1SG:NPST:IPFV\tell
'In this nice morning, I will tell the story.'
- (3) *tdöfin mane thäkwrath kabe ebar mä ertmakwrath fof*
tdöfi=en mane thä\kwr/ath kabe ebar mä
PLN=LOC which 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hit man head where
e\rtmak/wrath fof
2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\cut EMPH
'how they killed them at Téndöfi, where they cut off peoples' heads,'
- (4) *faw wbrigwath firrane zanma fof*
faw w\brig/wath firra=ane zan=ma fof
payment 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\return PLN=POSS.SG fight=CHAR EMPH
'and how they took revenge for the attack on Firra village.'
- (5) *zanr fthé zathkäfath fam fthé wkurwath*
zan=r fthé za\thkäf/ath fam fthé
fight=PURP when 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\start thought when
w\kur/wath
2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\split
'They discussed their plans before the revenge attack.'
- (6) *nafa wäfiyoknath ote a yasi*
nafa wä\fiyok/nath ote a yasi
3NSG.ERG 2|3DU>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make PN and PN
'Ote and Yasi did that.'

- (7) *bä ane fam wäfiyoknath tamnzüfi*
 bä ane fam wä\fiyok/nath tamnzüfi
 MED DEM thought 2|3DU>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make PLN
 'They planned it in Tamnzüfi.'
- (8) *tamnzüfi mane rä ḷars wazi bä rä forthr fren*
 tamnzüfi mane \rä/ ḷars wazi bä \rä/
 PLN which 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be river side MED 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 forthr fr=en
 PLN stem=LOC
 'Tamnzüfi lies on the other side of the river in the Fothér forest.'
- (9) *fä fof fam wräznath faw brigsi ränema*
 fä fof fam w\räz/nath faw
 DIST EMPH thought 2|3DU>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\erect payment
 brig-si=r bänem=ma
 return-NMLZ=PURP PH=CHAR
 'They agreed on a plan to take revenge on them,'
- (10) *nafanme kabe zftf firran mane thäkwrath fof*
 nafanme kabe zftf firra=en mane thä\kwr/ath fof
 3NSG.POSS man tree_base PLN=LOC which 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hit EMPH
 'to revenge their clan people, who were killed at Firra,'
- (11) *srank mane sakwrath.*
 srank mane sa\kwr/ath
 PN which 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:PFV\hit
 'against those who had killed Srank.'²
- (12) *watik, fthé wäfiyoknath nafa nima zr ḷarnath mogarkam*
 watik fthé wä\fiyok/nath nafa nima zr
 then when 2|3DU>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make 3NSG.ERG like_this tooth
 ḷa\rn/ath mogarkam
 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\do PLN
 'When they did so, they allied themselves with (the people of)
 Mogarkam.'³

²According to Maraga's headhunting story, Srank escaped the attack.

³zr ḷarär is a fixed expression meaning 'ally oneself with' (lit. 'do the teeth').

- (13) *kabe zfth fobo nä thwamnzrm fof*
 kabe zfth fobo nä thwa\m/nzrm fof
 man tree_base DIST:ALL INDF 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit EMPH
 'Some of their elders were living there.'
- (14) *nima wäftyoknath fethka kar*
 nima wä\fiyok/nath fethka kar
 like_this 2|3DU>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make PLN village
 'Likewise with Fethkakar,'
- (15) *nä zr fobo zarath fof*
 nä zr fobo za\r/ath fof
 INDF tooth DIST:ALL 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\do EMPH
 'they also allied themselves with them,'
- (16) *nä zbo zf nafanme kabe zfth fefe faremanemedbo*
 nä zbo zf nafanme kabe zfth fefe
 INDF PROX:ALL ABSC 3NSG.POSS man tree_base really
 farem=ane=medbo
 PLN=POSS.SG=ALL.ANIM.NSG
 'some came from here, some of their elders were from the Farem people.'
- (17) *ane zr fthé ñarnath*
 ane zr fthé ña\rn/ath
 DEM tooth when 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\do
 'So they had formed an alliance at that time.'
- (18) *watik, kabe zba eyaka bobo bäne tämnzüfi*
 watik kabe zba e\yak/a bobo bäne tämnzüfi
 then man PROX:ABL 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\walk MED:ALL PH.ABS PLN
 'Next the headhunters walked from here to whatchamacallit, to
 Tämnzüfi.'
- (19) *fä ñamosinzath wärzwänzath*
 fä ña\mosi/nzath wä\rzwä/nzath
 DIST 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\gather 2|3PL>3SG.F.IO:PST:IPFV\discuss
 'They gathered there and discussed things,'

- (20) *monme kwa thräkwrmth fof tdöfin kabe*
 mon=me kwa thrä\kwr/mth fof tdöfi=en kabe
 how=INS FUT 2|3PL>2|3PL:IRR:PFV:DUR\hit EMPH PLN=LOC people
 'how they will attack the people of Téndöfi.'
- (21) *tdöfin kabe fäth bä mane thwamnzrm fof safsane kabe erera*
 tdöfi=en kabe fäth bä mane thwa\m/nzrm fof safs=ane
 PLN=LOC man DIM MED which 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit EMPH PLN=POSS.SG
 kabe e\rä/ra
 people 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be
 'A few people living in Téndöfi were from Safés.'
- (22) *mafa zr ḷarerath firra ebarr fof*
 mafa zr ḷa\rä/rath firra ebar=r fof
 who.ERG.NSG tooth 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\do PLN head=PURP EMPH
 'They had formed an alliance in the attack on Firra.'
- (23) *watik, anema fobo foffaw brigsi r zathkäfath fof*
 watik ane=ma fobo fof faw brig-si=r
 then DEM=CHAR DIST:ALL EMPH payment return-NMLZ=PURP
 za\thkäf/ath fof
 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\start EMPH
 'This is really why they started the revenge there (in Téndöfi).'
- (24) *kabe fä ḷamosinzath tämnzüfin*
 kabe fä ḷa\mosi/nzath tämnzüfi=en
 man DIST 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\gather PLN=LOC
 'So they gathered over there in Tämnzüfi.'
- (25) *zäbthath watik zefarath*
 zä\bth/ath watik ze\far/ath
 2|3PL:PST:PFV\finish then 2|3PL:PST:PFV\set_off
 'They finished (their discussions) and got going.'
- (26) *tämnzüfa zefarath sazäthi*
 tämnzüfi=fa ze\far/ath sazäthi
 PLN=ABL 2|3PL:PST:PFV\set_off PLN
 'They went from Tämnzüfi to Sazäthi.'

- (27) *sazäthifa foba zartmath trn zäre*
 sazäthi=fa foba za\rtm/ath trn_zäre
 PLN=ABL DIST:ABL 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\cut PLN
 'From Sazäthi, they took a shortcut to Térén Zäre.'
- (28) *trn zärefa eyaka käs*
 trn_zäre=fa e\yak/a käs
 PLN=ABL 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\walk PLN
 'From Térén Zäre they walked to Käs.'
- (29) *käsen fä fof ñamosinzath fof*
 käs=en fä fof ña\mosi/nzath fof
 PLN=LOC DIST EMPH 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\gather EMPH
 'They gathered in Käs'
- (30) *ñamothwath kabe yf ane fof efathwath*
 ña\moth/wath kabe yf ane fof
 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\sit_together people name DEM EMPH
 e\fath/wath
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\hold
 'and sat closely together calling out the names (of their victims).'
- (31) *fr thmthm egarwath wämne*
 fr thm~thm e\gar/wath wämne
 post REDUP~nose 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\break tree
 'They were breaking small sticks,'
- (32) *wämne nima egarwath fr*
 wämne nima e\gar/wath fr
 tree like_this 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\break post
 'they broke the stick like this,'
- (33) *fr thmthm yfkărä*
 fr thm~thm yf=kărä
 post REDUP~nose name=PROP
 'and they put a name to each little twig.'

- (34) *ane kabeane yf nä swägarnzth ane kabeane yf nä swägarnzth*
 ane kabe=ane yf nä swä\gar/nzth ane
 DEM man=POSS.SG name INDF 2|3PL>3SG.M.IO:NPST:IPFV\break DEM
 kabe=ane yf nä swä\gar/nzth
 man=POSS.SG name INDF 2|3PL>3SG.M.IO:NPST:IPFV\break
 ‘For this man’s name they broke one stick, and for that man’s name they
 broke another stick.’
- (35) *thäbthath rn zam fobo erera fof boba wazi tdöfin thwamnzrm ñare ngenge kabe*
 thä\bth/ath rn zam fobo e\rä/ra fof
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\finish how_many DIST:ALL 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be EMPH
 boba wazi tdöfi=en thwa\m/nzrm ñare nge~nge kabe
 MED:ABL side PLN=LOC 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit woman REDUP~child man
 ‘They did this for as many people as lived on the other side of the river in
 Téndöfi, for every woman, for the children and for the men.’
- (36) *nä kabe yara nzenmema zane karma zf faremma*
 nä kabe ya\r/a nzenme=ma zane kar=ma
 INDF man 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be 1NSG.POSS=CHAR DEM:PROX village=CHAR
 zf farem=ma
 ABSC PLN=CHAR
 ‘But there was one man (amongst the headhunters) who was from our
 clan, from this village here, from the Farem people.’
- (37) *safs karä mafä thäritath fof fi bobo sfrärm tdöfin*
 safs kar=ä mafä thä\rit/ath fof fi bobo
 PLN village=IC who.IC.PL 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\CROSS EMPH 3.ABS MED:ALL
 sfrä/rm tdöfi=en
 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be PLN=LOC
 ‘He had exchanged wives with the people from Safés, and (this family)
 was also there in Téndöfi.’
- (38) *wati, naf thärkora “nzone fäms fobo yamnzs*
 wati naf thär\kor/a nzone fäms fobo
 then 3SG.ERG SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\speak 1SG.POSS exchange DIST:ALL
 ya\m/nzr
 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\sit
 ‘So he told the others: “My exchange man is staying there.”’

- (39) *nzone fäms ñare fobo fof rä*
 nzone fäms ñare fobo fof \rä/
 1SG.POSS exchange woman DIST:ALL EMPH 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'My exchange woman is also there.'
- (40) *nzä zöbthé kwa wiyak*
 nzä zöbthé kwa w\yak/
 1SG.ABS first FUT 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk
 'I will go ahead.'
- (41) *kwa srantrifé fof fämsn*"
 kwa sran\trif\é fof fäms=n
 FUT 1SG>3SG.M.IO:IRR:PFV:VENT\tell EMPH exchange=DAT.SG
 'I will tell my exchange man (what's coming)."
- (42) *ñarsfa foba zabrmako katan bobo bräro fof*
 ñars=fa foba za\bram/ako katan bobo
 river=ABL DIST:ABL SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV:AND\follow small MED:ALL
 b=\rä/ro fof
 MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:AND\be EMPH
 'He followed the riverbank for a short distance,'
- (43) *käsfa zzagrmär*
 käs=fa z~zagr=mär
 PLN=ABL REDUP~far=PRIV
 'not far from Käs.'
- (44) *watik fobo fof gardar sarna fof*
 watik fobo fof garda=r sa\rn/a fof
 then DIST:ALL EMPH canoe=PURP 3SG.M:PST:PFV\shout EMPH
 'Then he called out for the canoe.'
- (45) *gardar yannor nafafämsf srenkaris "oh kabe byannor gardar"*
 garda=r yan\nor/ nafa-fäms=f
 canoe=PURP 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\shout 3.POSS-exchange=ERG.SG
 sren\karis/ oh kabe
 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV:VENT\hear oh man
 b=yan\nor/ garda=r
 MED=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\shout canoe=PURP
 'As he was calling for the canoe, his exchange man heard him (and said)
 "Oh, someone is calling for the canoe."

- (46) *watik nima yara fof*
 watik nima ya|r/a fof
 then like_this 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be EMPH
 'Well, he looked like this,'
- (47) *z ɳaroyakwa ane fof tarazü*
 z ɳa|royak/wa ane fof tarazü⁴
 IAM SG:PST:IPFV\dress DEM EMPH headdress
 'he was already dressed up wearing his headdress'
- (48) *nabi dunzi fyara fof*
 nabi dunzi f=ya|r/a fof
 bow arrow DIST=3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be EMPH
 'and he was carrying his bow and arrow.'
- (49) *nafafäms yanyak fobo fof sremar fof*
 nafa-fäms yan|yak/ fobo fof
 3.POSS-exchange 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come DIST:ALL EMPH
 sre\mar/ fof
 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\see EMPH
 'His exchange man came and he looked at him.'
- (50) *sukufa srar zi nge fof*
 sukufa sra|r/ zi nge fof
 tobacco 2|3SG>3SG.M:IO:IRR:PFV\give pain child EMPH
 'He gave him tobacco, really strong tobacco.'⁴
- (51) *nafafämsf mane thwanathrm zba mane yakako fof*
 nafa-fäms=f mane thwa|na/thrm zba mane
 3.POSS-exchange=ERG.SG which SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\eat PROX:ABL which
 \yak/ako fof
 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:AND\walk EMPH
 'His exchange man was smoking it first, the one who went from here,'
- (52) *zanr mane yakako fof*
 zan=r mane \yak/ako fof
 fight=PURP which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:AND\walk EMPH
 'the one who had come for killing them.'

⁴ *zi nge* 'child of pain' is a metaphor for strong tobacco.

- (53) *watik sukufa ane rära zi nge*
 watik sukufa ane \rä/ra zi nge
 then tobacco DEM 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be pain child
 ‘Anyway, it was really strong tobacco.’
- (54) *sukufa srar sukufa krekar*
 sukufa sra\r/ sukufa kre\kar/
 tobacco 2|3SG>3SG.M.IO:IRR:PFV\give tobacco 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\pull
 ‘He gave him the tobacco and he puffed it.’
- (55) *keke naf nima zära “sukufa zane zisé zwar. rma zisé zwar?”*
 keke naf nima zä\r/a sukufa zane zisé
 NEG 3SG.ERG like_this SG:PST:PFV\do tobacco DEM:PROX painful
 zwa\r/ rma zisé zwa\r/
 2|3SG>1SG.IO:RPST:PFV\give why painful 2|3SG>1SG.IO:RPST:PFV\give
 ‘But he did not understand (the sign), and (thought) “He gave me this
 strong tobacco. Why did he give me the strong tobacco?”⁵
- (56) *watik, thrma thamin yafrtha*
 watik thrma thamin ya\fr/tha
 then later tongue SG>3SG.M.IO:PST:IPFV\bite
 ‘Later he was biting his tongue towards him.’⁶
- (57) *nima yafrtha noku yam wfänza fof*
 nima ya\fr/tha noku yam
 like_this SG>3SG.M.IO:PST:IPFV\bite anger event
 w\fä/nza fof
 SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\present EMPH
 ‘He bit (on his tongue) in an aggressive way.’
- (58) *watik nafafäms fam fthé fof zära nima “zan kabe yé zane”*
 watik nafa-fäms fam fthé fof zä\r/a nima zan
 then 3.POSS-exchange thought when EMPH SG:PST:PFV\do like_this fight
 kabe \yé/ zane
 man 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be DEM:PROX
 ‘That’s when his exchange man understood the message and thought
 “This is a headhunter.”’

⁵The strong tobacco was meant as a warning message.

⁶Another warning sign.

- (59) *watik kraritth bern*
 watik kra\rit/th b=e\rn/
 then 2|3DU:IRR:PFV\cross MED=2|3DU:NPST:IPFV\be
 'They crossed the river there.'
- (60) *sukufa ärithr nafathufthnm nafangom karnm ämnzr*
 sukufa ä\ri/thr nafa-thufth=nm
 tobacco 2|3SG>2|3PL.IO:NPST:IPFV\give 3.POSS-in_law=DAT.NSG
 nafa-ngom kar=nm ä\m/nzr
 3.POSS-brother_in_law place=DAT.NSG 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\sit
 'He gave tobacco to his in-laws, to his brothers-in-law and they sat down.'
- (61) *watik, fämsf sräkor fäms "fof krarifthe*
 watik fäms=f srä\kor/ fäms fof
 then exchange=ERG.SG 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\speak exchange EMPH
 kra\rifth/e
 1DU:IRR:IPFV\send
 'Then, his exchange told him, "Let's say goodbye.'
- (62) *nzä fof nafarkwr fof*
 nzä fof ña\fark/wé fof
 1SG.ABS EMPH 1SG:NPST:IPFV\set_off EMPH
 'I will set off now.'
- (63) *nä bana mane erera keke thätrifa nafafämsf*
 nä bana mane e\rä/ra keke thä\trif/a
 INDF pitiful which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be NEG SG>2|3PL.IO:PST:PFV\tell
 nafa-fäms=f
 3.POSS-exchange=ERG.SG
 'As for those other poor guys, his exchange man did not tell them.'
- (64) *watik, fi nima zefara zyé*
 watik fi nima ze\far/a z=\yé/
 then 3.ABS like_this SG:PST:PFV\set_off PROX=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 'Then he left like this,'
- (65) *zärita*
 zä\rit/a
 2|3SG:PST:PFV\cross
 'he crossed the river.'

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- (66) *fi miyatha sfrärm nima zanr zane swanyak*
 fi miyatha sf\rä/rm nima zan=r zane
 3.ABS knowledge 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be like_this fight=PURP DEM:PROX
 swan\yak/
 3SG.M:RPST:IPFV:VENT\come
 ‘But he knew that this one had come for an attack.’
- (67) *kabe emarwr*
 kabe e\mar/wr
 people 2|3SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\see
 ‘He was spying on the people.’
- (68) *nafanare zräkor “ni krafare”*
 nafa-ŋare zrä\kor/ ni kra\far/e
 3.POSS-wife 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\speak 1NSG 1DU:IRR:PFV\set_off
 ‘So he told his wife “We are going to leave!”’
- (69) *watik nafafämsf sräkor watik garda bana kwa srärité*
 watik nafa-fäms=f srä\kor/ watik garda
 then 3.POSS-exchange=ERG.SG 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\speak then canoe
 bana kwa srä\rit/é
 pitiful FUT 1SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\cross
 ‘The exchange man told him: “I will take the old canoe across and’
- (70) *nama we n kränbrimé fof*
 nama we n krän\brim/é fof
 two_days_away also IMN 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\return EMPH
 ‘I will come back the day after tomorrow.’
- (71) *watik, krarifhth nafafäms zefarako*
 watik kra\rifhth nafa-fäms ze\far/ako
 then 2|3DU:IRR:PFV\send 3.POSS-exchange SG:PST:PFV:AND\set_off
 ‘They said goodbye to each other and his exchange man left.’
- (72) *fi zärita yanyak kabe thrämosir*
 fi zä\rit/a yan\yak/ kabe
 3.ABS 2|3SG:PST:PFV\cross 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come people
 thrä\mosi/r
 2|3SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\gather
 ‘He went across and met the other headhunters.’

- (73) “*o nima rä nima rä nima rä nima tüfr kabe erä, nima tüfr njare erä nge nge*
 o nima \rä/ nima \rä/ nima
 or like_this 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be like_this 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be like_this
 \rä/ nima tüfr kabe e\rä/ nima
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be like_this plenty man 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be like_this
 tüfr njare e\rä/ nge~nge
 plenty woman 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be REDUP~child
 ‘(He told tem) “It is like this and like this. There are lots of men, women
 and children.’
- (74) *fäms z zefaro*
 fäms z ze\far/o
 exchange IAM SG:RPST:PFV:AND\set_off
 ‘My exchange man left already.’”
- (75) *watik kafar mane sfrärm finzo sagathinzath mogarkamma*
 watik kafar mane sf\rä/rm fi=nzo
 then big which 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be 3.ABS=ONLY
 sa\gathinz/ath mogarkam=ma
 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:PFV\leave PLN=CHAR
 ‘Okay, there was an old man from Mongarkam. They left only him behind
 (in the camp).’
- (76) *kabe nafr thmthm mane erera we nima tätüme thänarnza fof*
 kabe nafr fr thm~thm mane e\rä/ra we nima
 man 3SG.ERG post REDUP~nose which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be also like_this
 tätü=me thä\nar/nza fof
 coconut_shell=INS SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\press_down EMPH
 ‘He was the one who kept these small branches covered with a coconut
 shell.’⁷
- (77) *tätüme thrärnarnz watik, fi fobo fof swamnzrm*
 tätü=me thrär\nar/nz watik fi fobo
 coconut_shell=INS SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\press_down then 3.ABS DIST:ALL
 fof swa\m/nzrm
 EMPH 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘He had to push down the coconut shell. So he stayed behind.’

⁷This ensures that the victims remain in the dark about their impending fate.

- (78) *tätü fof bänema tmod ane äfiyokwa fof*
 tätü fof bäne=ma tmod ane ä\fiyok/wa fof
 coconut_shell EMPH PH=CHAR spell DEM SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\make EMPH
 'Using a coconut shell, he bewitched them with this spell.'
- (79) *tmod ane zräkorth tmatm*
 tmod ane zrä\kor/th tmatm
 spell DEM 2|3PL>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\speak action
 'This action is called tmod.'
- (80) *keke kwa kräfänir fof kabe gamokarä ane thänarnzath fof*
 keke kwa krä\fänir/ fof kabe gamo=karä ane
 NEG FUT 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\shift_place EMPH man spell=PROP DEM
 thä\nar/nzath fof
 2|3SG:PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\press_down EMPH
 'One cannot move (the coconut shell). It keeps (the victims) suppressed with the spell.'
- (81) *tätü mä swamnzm wämne tnz enthärkunzath aneme tätü zanarnzath fof*
 tätü mä swa\m/nzrm wämne tnz
 coconut_shell where 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit tree short
 en\thärku/nzath ane=me tätü
 2|3PL>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\drag DEM=INS coconut_shell
 za\nar/nzath fof
 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\press_down EMPH
 'They brought short sticks and used them to secure the coconut shell in place.'
- (82) *fi bana mane thfrärm boba mane erera tdöfin*
 fi bana mane thf\rä/rm boba mane e\rä/ra
 3.ABS pitiful which 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be MED:ABL which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be
 tdöfi=en
 PLN=LOC
 'As for the poor people there, the ones in Téndöfi,'
- (83) *komnzo etfth etfhnzo thfrugrm yoganai thfrärm*
 komnzo etfth etfth=nzo thf\ru/grm yoganai thf\rä/rm
 only sleep sleep=ONLY 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sleep tired 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be
 'they simply slept soundly. They were very tired.'

- (84) *watik, fi ñamonegwath ñamonegwath e zizi kräkor zzbar*
 watik fi ña\moneg/wath ña\moneg/wath e zizi
 then 3.ABS 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\wait 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\wait until afternoon
 krä\kor/ z~zbär
 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\become REDUP~night
 'So the (headhunters) waited and waited until it got late, until dawn.'
- (85) *srima kabe thrärifthth zöbthé thrärifthth*
 srima kabe thrä\rifth/th zöbthé thrä\rifth/th
 spy man 2|3PL>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\send first 2|3PL>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\send
 'They sent out their spies first.'
- (86) *zöbthé fi e\frezrth*
 zöbthé fi e\frez/rth
 first 3.ABS 2|3PL>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\come_up_from_river
 'They approached from the river'
- (87) *kar foba zumarwrmth*
 kar foba zu\mar/wrmth
 village DIST:ABL 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:DUR\see
 'and spied out the village from there.'
- (88) “*o fä erä fä erä fä erä*”
 o fä e\rä/ fä e\rä/ fä
 or DIST 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be DIST 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be DIST
 e\rä/
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 '(They were talking:) "Oh, these ones are there and the other ones are there."
- (89) *anemewä kwaritakwrmth ñaritakwath zan kabe bramöwä farem*
 ane=me=wä kwa\ritak/wrmth ña\ritak/wath zan kabe
 DEM=INS=EMPH 2|3PL:PST:DUR\cross 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\cross fight man
 bramöwä farem
 all PLN
 'With this (knowledge) they crossed the river. The whole group of headhunters from the Farem crossed over.'

- (90) *zäbtha watik*
 zä\bth/a watik
 2|3SG:PST:PFV\finish then
 'Until everyone was there there.'
- (91) *kwot kar fthé wkrkwath wkrkwath ktkt zäkora fof*
 kwot kar fthé w\krk/wath
 properly village when 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\block
 w\krk/wath w\krk/wath ktkt
 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\block 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\block tightness
 zä\kor/a fof
 2|3SG:PST:PFV\become EMPH
 'They blocked and blocked and blocked the village until they had sealed it off completely.'
- (92) *fthé fof thränthor fof*
 fthé fof thrän\thor/ fof
 when EMPH 2|3PL:IRR:PFV:VENT\appear EMPH
 'That was when the attack began.'
- (93) *tä tä tä tä thethkäfath zan efnzath efnzath efnzath*
 tä the\thkäf/ath zan e\fn/zath
 banging_sound 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\start fight 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\hit
 e\fn/zath e\fn/zath e\fn/zath
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\hit 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\hit 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\hit
 'Bang Bang Bang Bang. They shot their arrows and began to fight. They killed them and killed them.'
- (94) *näbi fobo kafar emoth ausi bana rera fof*
 näbi fobo kafar emoth ausi bana \rä/ra fof
 one DIST:ALL big girl old_woman pitiful 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be EMPH
 'There was one older girl there.'
- (95) *oroman ote oroman yasi nafa zrakothmth*
 oroman ote yasi nafa zra\kothm/th
 old_man PN PN 3NSG.ERG 2|3DU>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\chase
 'Old man Ote and Yasi chased her.'

- (96) *zrakothmth zrafath*
 zra\kothm/th zra\faf/th
 2|3DU>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\chase 2|3DU>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\hold
 'They chased her down and grabbed her.'
- (97) "Oh" *kma thrakor "ze bane yari wr"*
 kma thra\kor/
 POT 2|3SG>2|3DU:IRR:PFV\speak
 "Oh" she tried to tell them "I am your sister."⁸
- (98) "mh né nzafäkuthe fof
 mh n nza\fäkuth/e fof
 yes IMN 1PL>2SG:IRR:PFV\take_care EMPH
 '(They said) "Oh, we'll take good care of you.'
- (99) *zena zf mr nthkne!"*
 zena zf mr n\thkn/e
 today ABSC neck 1DU>2SG:NPST:IPFV\cut_off
 'We'll break your neck now!"
- (100) *zrafath kata bananzo thrafithwonzth*
 zra\faf/th kata bana=nzo
 2|3DU>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\hold bamboo_knife pitiful=ONLY
 thra\fithwonz/th
 2|3DU>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\take_out
 'They held her tight and pulled out their bamboo knives.'
- (101) *keke zkwrath mr wthknth*
 keke z\kwr/ath mr w\thkn/th
 NEG 2|3DU>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\hit neck 2|3DU>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\cut_off
 'But they did not manage to kill her. They just cut the neck.'
- (102) *kma zane garsir zfrnmth di kam fof*
 kma zane gar-si=r zf\rn/mth di kam
 POT DEM:PROX break-NMLZ=PURP 2|3DU>3SG.F:PST:DUR\do neck bone
 fof
 EMPH
 'They tried to break this neck bone here.'

⁸She speaks in Wära. A translation to Komnzo would be: *nzä benme yare worä*.

- (103) *keke ḷa kma bana emoth fä nima kma kwafrnzg\wrn*
 keke ḷa kma bana emoth fäth fä nima kma kwa\fznzg/wrm
 NEG and POT pitiful girl DIM DIST like_this POT SG:PST:DUR\struggle
 'They didn't succeed and the poor girl struggled to free herself.'
- (104) *anemewä fi nä zan kabe mane erera zä efnzath kabe bramöwä*
 ane=me=wä fi nä zan kabe mane e\rä/ra zä
 DEM=INS=EMPH 3.ABS INDF fight man which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be PROX
 e\fn/zath kabe bramöwä
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\hit man all
 'In the meantime, the other headhunters had killed all the other
 villagers'
- (105) *ritaksi zethkäfath*
 ritak-si ze\thkäf/ath
 cross-NMLZ 2|3PL:PST:PFV\start
 'and they started to cross the river again.'
- (106) *finzo fä fof ane kafar emothf thwathofiknm*
 fi=nzo fä fof ane kafar emoth=f
 3.ABS=ONLY DIST EMPH DEM big girl=ERG.SG
 thwa\thofik/nm
 SG>2|3DU.IO:PST:DUR\disturb
 'Only the big girl was still fighting (with the two men).'
- (107) *nima zfzänmth kma traksir n zfrnmth di kam garsir*
 nima zf\zä/nmth kma trak-si=r n
 like_this 2|3DU>3SG.F:PST:DUR\carry POT fall-NMLZ=PURP IMN
 zf\rn/mth di kam gar-si=r
 2|3DU>3SG.F:PST:DUR\do neck bone break-NMLZ=PURP
 'They carried her away and threw her to the ground and tried to break
 her neck, (when one of them said)'
- (108) *"awkt ngemäku, kabe matak erä! z nzngathinzth!"*
 awkot ngemäku kabe matak e\rä/ z
 oh_no adress_term people nothing 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be IAM
 nz=n\gathinz/th
 IMM=2|3PL>1DU:NPST:IPFV\leave
 "Oh brother, everyone is gone. They left us behind."⁹

⁹ Ngemäku is an address term between a biological and adoptive parent of a child.

- (109) *wgathiknath fobo fof. frknzo zwanorm. grr kwannzo fobo zwanorm zba mrfa fof*
 w\gathik/nath fobo fof frk=nzo
 2|3DU>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\leave DIST:ALL EMPH blood=ONLY
 zwa\nor/m grr kwan=nzo fobo
 3SG.F:PST:DUR\shout gurgling_sound shout=ONLY DIST:ALL
 zwa\nor/m zba mr=f a fof
 3SG.F:PST:DUR\shout PROX:ABL neck=ABL EMPH
 ‘They left the girl there. She was bleeding badly and gurgling from her throat.’
- (110) *kramathth berna “ai” waro kwan thrarn fof*
 kra\math/th b=e\rn/a ai waro kwan
 2|3DU:IRR:PFV\run MED=2|3DU:PST:IPFV\be ai fake shout
 thra\rn/ fof
 2|3DU:IRR:PFV\shout EMPH
 ‘The two guys ran off. “Hey!” They gave a signal.’
- (111) *foba thranyaft*
 foba thran\yaf/th
 DIST:ABL 2|3PL>2|3DU:IRR:PFV:VENT\answer
 ‘The others answered them.’
- (112) *berä gardakarä fobo fof eyan*
 b=e\rä garda=karä fobo fof
 MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be canoe=PROP DIST:ALL EMPH
 e\yan/
 2|3DU:NPST:IPFV\walk
 ‘They were on the other side with the canoe.’
- (113) *ŋaritakwrth “mon?”*
 ŋa\ritak/wrth mon
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\cross how
 ‘The others crossed the river (and asked) “What happened?”’
- (114) *“zrkä komnzo zgathinze fof. zane bökw an z zrtme katame*
 zrkä komnzo z\gathinz/e fof zane bökw an z
 half only 1DU>3SG.F:RPST:PFV\leave EMPH DEM:PROX throat IAM

- z\rtm/e kata=me
 1DU>3SG.F:RPST:PFV\cut bamboo_knife=INS
 '(They replied) "We left her half dead. We cut her throat with the
 bamboo knife.'
- (115) komnzo bŋatäriwr"
 komnzo b=ŋa\itäri/wr
 only MED=2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\suffer
 'She'll just die up there."
- (116) nafsinzth "oh nima tüfr thänkwre tüfrmär thfrä nzenme tüfr thäkwrath"
 nja\fsi/nzth oh nima tüfr thän\kwr/e
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\count oh like_this plenty 1PL>2|3PL:RPST:PFV:VENT\hit
 tüfr=mär thf\rä/ nzenme tüfr
 plenty=PRIV 2|3PL:RPST:IPFV\be 1NSG.POSS plenty
 thä\kwr/ath
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hit
 'Then they took stock: "Oh, we killed so and so many of them, not many.
 But they killed many of us."
- (117) erugr ewäkwr
 e\ru/gr e\wák/wr
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\sleep 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\daybreak_on_sb
 'They slept and woke up in the morning.'
- (118) buay äniyak äniyak sazäthi
 buay än\yak/ än\yak/
 running_away 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come
 sazäthi
 PLN
 'They rushed off and came to Sazäthi.'
- (119) äniyak mdüfi
 än\yak/ mdüfi
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come PLN
 'Next, they came to Méndüfi.'
- (120) fä fof wath thräntrifh ebar wath
 fä fof wath thrän\trif/th ebar wath
 DIST EMPH dance 2|3PL>2|3PL:IO:IRR:PFV:VENT\tell head dance
 'This is where they would sing a headhunting song.'

- (121) “eh” ausiausiyé badayé foba krekaristh
 eh ausi~ausi=é bada=é foba
 hey REDUP~old_woman=ERG.NSG ancestor=ERG.NSG DIST:ABL
 krek\karis/th
 2|3PL:IRR:PFV\hear
 ““Hey”, the old women and the grandmothers heard them (and said)’

(122) “z thänkwrth zännor”
 z thän\kwr/th z=än\nor/
 IAM 2|3PL>2|3PL:RPST:PFV:VENT\hit PROX=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\shout
 “They’ve already killed them. Now they’re coming back singing.”

(123) ausiausi ḥafyenwrth kafarkafar nä
 ausi~ausi ḥa\fyen/wrth kafar~kafar nä
 REDUP~old_woman 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\line_up REDUP~big INDF
 ‘The women and some older women stood in a row’

(124) nafa krethkäfth fthé kwamnzokwrmth zzarkarä
 nafa kre\thkäf/th fthé kwa\mnzok/wrmth zzar=karä
 3NSG.ERG 2|3PL:IRR:PFV\start when 2|3PL:PST:DUR\bounce fish_net=PROP
 ‘and they started jumping up and down holding their fishing nets.’

(125) krethkäfth fi benrä ebarkarä anemewä thränthor
 kre\thkäf/th fi b=en\rä/ ebar=karä
 2|3PL:IRR:PFV\start 3.ABS MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\be head=PROP
 ane=me=wä thrän\thor/
 DEM=INS=EMPH 2|3PL:IRR:PFV:VENT\appear
 ‘The (men) began to approach the village and held the heads’

(126) watik ebar ane fo fzzarfo threthkäfth bäne fo thor si
 watik ebar ane fo zzar=fo thre\thkäf/th bäne
 then head DEM EMPH fish_net=ALL 2|3PL>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\start PH.ABS
 fo f thor-si
 EMPH enter-NMLZ
 ‘and they began to whats-that, to put the heads in the fishing nets.’

(127) ekarkwrth thräbthth
 e\kark\wrth thrä\bth/th
 2|3PL>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\take 2|3PL>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\finish
 ‘They took them to the old people and finished (the ritual).’

- (128) *watik ḷamsakwath fof kwathwekwrmth kafar brubru sufñzrmth oh*
 watik ḷa\msak/wath fof kwa\thwek/wrmth kafar brubru
 then 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\sit EMPH 2|3PL:PST:DUR\rejoice big drum
 su\fn/zrmth oh
 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:DUR\hit oh
 ‘Then they sat down and enjoyed themselves. They beat the big drum
 (to let everyone know).’
- (129) *zba zf thwarizrmth*
 zba zf thwa\riz/rmth
 PROX:ABL ABSC 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\hear
 ‘The people heard this (and said)’
- (130) “*z thänkwrth*
 z thän\kwr/th
 IAM 2|3PL>2|3PL:RPST:PFV:VENT\hit
 ““They’ve killed them already.”
- (131) *thäkwrth fof farem fethkar mogarkam*
 thä\kwr/th fof farem fethkar mogarkam
 2|3PL>2|3PL:RPST:PFV\hit EMPH PLN PLN PLN
 ‘The Farem people, the Fethka people and the Mongarkam people killed
 them.’”
- (132) *watik, nezä fobo fof zan wythka fof*
 watik nezä fobo fof zan w\ythk/a fof
 then in_return DIST:ALL EMPH fight 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\come_to_end EMPH
 ‘That was the end of the revenge.’
- (133) *watik, zanma trikasi tdöfin mane thäkwrath faremma*
 watik zan=ma trikasi tdöfi=en mane thä\kwr/ath
 then fight=CHAR story PLN=LOC which 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hit
 farem=ma
 PLN=CHAR
 ‘Well, the headhunting story about those who were killed at Téndöfi by
 the Farem,’
- (134) *zbo zf zwythk*
 zbo zf zw\ythk/
 PROX:ALL ABSC 3SG.F:RPST:IPFV\come_to_end
 ‘it has come to an end now.’

- (135) *eso kafar benme namä yarizsima*
eso kafar benme namä yariz-si=ma
thanks big 2NSG.POSS good hear-NMLZ=CHAR
'Thank you very much for listening!'

F *Nzürna trikasi watayan* - The Nzürna story at Wataya forest

F.1 Introduction

Nzürna trikasi watayan is a recording lasting roughly 6min. It was recorded by Christian Döhler on November 19th 2011, in both audio and video.¹ The story teller is Marua Bai. The recording took place in a camp by the Morehead river the vicinity of *Rouku* village. This recording belongs to the wider genre of *nzürna trikasi* ‘Nzürna stories’ which are told publicly and can be considered common knowledge. During my fieldwork in *Rouku*, I was able to record three such stories, but I was told many more. In the following, I will give a kind of Gestalt description of the genre and introduce some of the recurring motifs.

The Nzürna character is a female forest being, often an older woman, with extraordinarily long fingernails and eyelashes, sometimes also earlobes. In many versions, she lives with a husband and with children, but these play only a minor role in the plot. Nzürna can change her appearance into a normal human being of any age and sex. She puts this skill to use in order to trick clueless villagers into deadly traps. The fate of her victims is often quite gruesome: She kills and eats them raw, she plucks out their eyeballs, she decapitates them and carries their heads home, with her long fingernails she rips out their intestines through the anus, and places them somewhere visible to mark the event. These chilling details add to the colourful retellings of Nzürna stories. In fact most stories contain some kind of a warning message: either the poor protagonist was warned not to go alone to these places in the forest, or the audience is directly addressed not to do such foolish things.

Nzürna stories are often imaginative and comical, and both the audience and narrator laugh a lot at certain passages that recur in the stories. For example, the doomed protagonist often tries to escape the Nzürna by hiding under a pile of yams in the storage house. But the Nzürna has the ability to command centipedes

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20111119-06. It is archived at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11189830>

and she sends them to give him painful bites. In another scene towards the end, the Nzürna realises that the villagers have sealed her fate by setting her house on fire. Trapped inside, she tries in vain to put out the fire by urinating and defecating on the flames getting all burned in her attempts. These parts of the story are often acted out verbally, sometimes even physically, and they usually elicit hysterical laughter from the audience.

In all versions of Nzürna stories that I have heard, she and her family live in the hollow inside of a Wäsü tree (*Ficus elastica*). These “strangler figs” or “curtain figs” have a remarkable appearance when fully matured. They are parasitic plants whose seeds are usually carried by birds to a host tree, where they germinate in crevices and develop long aerial roots downwards. Strangler figs grow until they fully envelop the host tree, which eventually dies. This creates the characteristic hollow central core, which is described as the entrance to the Nzürna’s house. Although most of the stories locate the Wäsü tree in a specific place, narrators can never point to the actual tree, because at the end of each story the Wäsü tree is burned to the ground by revengeful villagers, thereby killing the Nzürna.

F.2 Summary & background

This Nzürna story is set at *Wataya* forest, about 5km East of *Rouku*. In the plot of the story, a young girl is tricked by the Nzürna, who pretends to be one of her mothers. Realising what is going on, the young girl runs back to the village and meets her father. The father alarms the other villagers. They hide two girls in the yam house covering them with mats and yams. They try to protect them by dancing and drumming around the yam house. During the evening, the Nzürna sneaks around the yam house and makes everyone sleepy by throwing dust in their eyes. Once they sleep, she opens the yam house, kills and eats the girl. The next day, the villagers take revenge. Two sorcerers find the Wäsü tree and block the entrance. They pile firewood on the door, set it on fire, and kill the Nzürna.

F.3 Nzürna trikasi watayan (parallel text)

Okay kwa nathkärwé. Nzürna trikasi kwa nathkärwé. Kar ane fof rouku. Fä fof thwamnzrm boba yabär. Yabären watik erugwra. Ewäkwa. Ttfö nima rä dimsathak. Ttfö rsrsir zefarath kabe ausi fäthä. Kabe näbi sfrärm eda ñare-

Okay, I'll start talking to you now. I will start the Nzürna story for you. The place is *Rouku*. The people were living in *Yambär*. They slept in *Yambär*. There is a creek is at *Dimsathak*. The men and the women went off for

karä. Nge kafarmär madma nafane zaneme nafajamayé berno zöbthé. Watik nafajafe roukun bobo komnzo swamnzrm. Nge thrma kwabragwrmo madma.

Fi nzürna ñare fofo wataya fz masun. Zba mane rä kafar. Foba nima zwaniyakmzzarkarä ttön. Katan kofäkofä ñarufay naf ane thfnfrzrm. Watik emoth fäth zba katan zräro. Watik fofo fof zamarath fof. Foba wsza “Awe! Käntf! Ah zanfr z zäkorth! Ni zä zf namrn. Zane zf kwa ñafrzne.” Watik gaso zwathugwrm. Kma nima nafajame kma zräkor “Bobo gniyaké! Oh boba n thanmrinzé!” Katan kofäkofä zzarkarä fof nzürna ñare. Watik naf thwanmrinzrm taba. Nzürna ñaref yakme ane thwanathrm. Kwafyunzrm mthi. We bräro we nä kanzkanzfo we änmrinza. We gwrr gwrr gwrr. Naf emoth fäthf zremar “Ñame zane keke rä. Nzürna ñare rä!”

Nima zwamägwrmofz zawe kafar fzfo watayafo. Watik zräkor “Bobo gniyaké! Oh zagrwä.” Emoth fthé mane wiyaka ane bobo nä kanzkanzfo. Bad fä fof gwargwar zathkäfa tharisi emoth fäthf. No gabrinzo kwakwirm nzürna ñaredbo.

poison root fishing. There was one man who had two wives. The child, a girl, was still young, maybe like this. Her mothers went ahead, while the father stayed in *Rouku*. The girl followed behind.

The Nzürna lived in the big forest of *Wataya* on the *Masu* side. She came this way with her fish net catching fish at the creek, small fish, the ñarufay fish. She was catching those ones. The small girl was walking past, when they saw each other. The Nzürna called out to her: “Come over! Come here! The others are already far ahead. Let’s stay here. We will poison this creek right here.” She was deceiving her badly, pretending to be one of her mothers. She said to her “You go over there! Try to chase the fish this way!” The Nzürna caught small fish with her net. She caught them until the fish net was full. The Nzürna ate them up quickly. She gulped down the whole fish. They walked to another bend in the creek. She caught them and again “nom nom nom” she swallowed them. The little girl looked at her and thought “This is not my mother. This is a Nzürna.”

The Nzürna was leading her further into the forest at *Wataya*. Then she said “You go a bit further over there!” The girl went to another bend in the creek. The girl started digging up the mud in the water. The water that

*Watik emoth fäth mane rera ñakwira.
Moth.*

*Zränthor. Ñankwira zizi nafañafadbo.
“Ñafe wonmarwr! Nzürna wanmrinrz!
Nzürna ñarer ñyafrzne.” Nafañafe ñan-
kwira. Kabe brämöwä thämesako zizi
“Nima nima nima” Ätrikwr a ferä.
Nafa-ñamyé komnzo kwa thufogwrm
ttföfo frzsi znto.*

*Watik nafañamayé enthorakwa. Nafa-
ñafaf nä ñare zräkothm. Kofä yaregwr.
Nabi zan wfnza. We nä zräkothm. Nabi
zan wfnzr. “Emoth fäth ane fofefoth bää
sfrärm zizi.” Watik nima sizenzo emoth
fäth thrathbth wawa mnzen. Tbo mnz
bäkfo. Thäbu eraknath. Watik erdik-
nath. Watik nima ewäthath. Wawame
enarnath yamekarä. Zagathinzath.*

*Nzürna z renra. Withen zämora. Foba
thumarwrm. Kabe brubru nag ythama
tarazü. Mnz ane round wäfiyokwath.
Wath sfrnzürwrwmth “Bru bru bru bru
bru” Nzürna thethkäfa dd wthme. Kabe
etfh thfmnzerakwrm. Kwot zäbthath.
Etfh bra. Krenfar. Mnz ane wrfunzr.
Kräthbo. Thramar “Keke nä!” zräkor*

flowed towards the Nzürna was completely muddy. The girl quickly ran off towards the road. She got there and ran away.

She arrived at her father's place late in the afternoon. “Father, look at me! The Nzürna is chasing me. I just caught fish together with the Nzürna.” Her father brought all the people together. She told them “This happened and then this happened.” and so on. Her mothers were still out at the creek, at the netting place.

Well, when the mothers came back, the father got angry and chased one wife. She was still carrying the fish. He hit her with the bow. Then he chased the other wife, and he also hit her with the bow. He shouted “That little girl was all by herself. It was already getting late!” Then they put two girls of the same age at the back of the yam house. They told them to be very quiet. They twisted the girls' hair and tied them together. They wrapped in mats and covered them with more mats and put yams on top. That's how they left them.

The Nzürna had already arrived. She was leaning against the banana tree. She was watching them from there. The people brought out their drums, grass skirts, and headdresses. They stood around the yam house while dancing and drumming “bru bru bru bru” The Nzürna started to throw

“Zane zf!” Erbärn thäбуfa. Zränthor mnz zrfö. Si zramätr neba bök neba bök. Fkfa wth yfön gaga thräsryofth. Wth thrthr thränmätr. Wänathr fä fof. Kabe etfth bra. [Borsi we fof ḡaborwr?] Kabe etfth zäbthath. Wänatha. Watik faren. Watik faren wth thrämir. Ebarndo zathora wataya.

dust at them to make them sleepy. Soon they were exhausted and fell asleep. She went and tore open the yam house. She went inside and looked at the two girls. “Not this one”, she said, “but this is the one.” She untied their hair and carried one of the girls to the door. As for the other girl, she plucked out one of her eyes and then the other eye. Next she pushed her hand into her arse and ripped out the intestines. Then she ate her intestines. This happened while the people were fast asleep. What are you laughing at? [to someone in the audience] While the people were sleeping, she ate her up. Then she hung the remaining guts on a post. Only the head, she took back to *Wataya*.

Wämne yf bäne wäsi. Watik fä fof ḡasoga warfo nafanemäwä mnzen. Nafafisf zamara “Oh bää zane kerere z nyanyiyokwr? Kabe z be nyanyathr!” Nafafis zamatha zba. Nä fz bobo rä. Tauri kufak fobo fof ḡafäniza wtrime.

What’s the name of that tree? She got to her *Wäsi* tree. She climbed inside her house. Her husband looked at her and said, “Oh, what trouble have you been in? You have eaten a human again!” The husband took off and ran away. There is another forest over there. He was scared and ran away to *Tauri Kufak*.

Erugr. Ewäkr. Nima n “Matak, emoth ane matak!” Wthnzo zemarath faren. Kafar bthan kabe ḡawoknzath. Zamiyarath müsa “Oh, zä zf wthkgr!” Watik bthan kwathkwathme wäsi fur yrerath. Mni ḡathomonwath. Zbo zfthen zaföfath. ḡarsira, ḡarsira, ḡarsira, ḡarsira, ḡarsira. Nima n zremar “Eh mni!” Yirme kma mni wfraza. Keke.

The next morning, the people woke up and realized what had happened. “She’s gone. The girl is gone!” They only saw the guts hanging from the post. They chose their best sorcerers. They went after her until they found the tree. “Oh, she’s in here!” Then they wrapped up the *wäsi* tree with their magic spells. They piled fire-

F Nzürna trikasi watayan - The Nzürna story at Wataya forest

Wthme kma wnrtuwonza. Keke. Kabe ebar ane fof kränzir. Mni kma zfrazrm. Keke. Ijarsira bra. Kräbth wämnekaräsü. Krärzifth. Watik ane kukakuka kma n zarna. Watik zrefaft. Thgthg wrmrwath. Bra zäbtha. Zokwasi fof zäbth.

wood at the base and set it on fire. It burned and burned. The Nzürna was looking outside “Oh, there is fire!” She tried to put out the fire by peeing on it, but that didn’t work. She tried to spray the fire with her shit, but that didn’t work either. She threw the girl’s skull to extinguish the fire, but that didn’t work. In the end, she burned with the tree and everything else. Eventually the tree fell over. Well, that Kukakuka bird was just about to call out and escape with her, but the sorcerers grabbed it and burned it too. They ground up the charcoal, the last remains of her, until everything was gone. The story is finished now.

Nzürna trikasi nimame fof rä. Keke nzürna trikasi rä. Kabe trikasi rä zane kabe fefe. Watik nzürna trikasir z wkwthenzath. Watik fof zäbth.

CD: *Z wkwthenzath?*

Kabe zokwasi. Aha, nzürna trikasi zarth. Zakwthefath. Nima bresanema monwä ane rä. Emoth katan wänatha. Bres monvä zba yanatha. Zane kafar yara. Ane katan rera emoth fäth. Wataya zba mane rä masu zawe. Foba fof renra ane nzürna yare.

That was the Nzürna story. In fact, it is not a Nzürna story, but it’s a real story. They changed it into a Nzürna story. Okay, it is finished now.

CD: They changed it?

A real story, yes, they made it into a Nzürna story. They changed it. It is like the Nzürna story about Bres. The Nzürna ate a small girl just like she ate Bres. That one was an adult, but she was a small child. It happened at Wataya here. That Nzürna came from the Masu side.

F.4 Nzürna trikasi watayan (glossed text)

- (1) *okay kwa nathkärwé*
 okay kwa na\thkär/wé
 okay FUT 1SG>2SG.IO:NPST:IPFV\start
 ‘Okay, I’ll start talking to you now.’
- (2) *nzürna trikasi kwa nathkärwé*
 nzürna trikasi kwa na\thkär/wé
 spirit_woman story FUT 1SG>2SG.IO:NPST:IPFV\start
 ‘I will start the Nzürna story for you.’
- (3) *kar ane fofrouku*
 kar ane fof rouku
 place DEM EMPH PLN
 ‘The place (is) Rouku.’
- (4) *fä fof thwamnzrm boba yabär*
 fö fof thwa\m/nzrm boba yabär
 DIST EMPH 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit MED:ABL PLN
 ‘The people were living in Yambär.’
- (5) *yabären watik erugwra ewäkwa*
 yabär=en watik e\ru/gwra e\wák/wa
 PLN=LOC then 2|3SG:PST:IPFV\sleep 2|3SG:PST:IPFV\daybreak_on_sb
 ‘They slept in Yambär.’
- (6) *ttfö nima rä dimsathak*
 ttfo nima \rä/ dimsathak
 creek like_this 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PLN
 ‘There is a creek is at Dimsathak.’
- (7) *ttfö rsrsir zefarath kabe ausi fäthä*
 ttfo rsr-si=r ze\far/ath kabe
 creek poison_root_fishing-NMLZ=PURP 2|3PL:PST:PFV\set_off man
 ausi fäth=ä
 old_woman DIM=IC
 ‘The men and the women went off for poison root fishing.’

- (8) *kabe näbi sfrärm eda ïarekarä*
 kabe näbi sf\rä/rm eda ïare=karä
 man one 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be two wife=PROP
 'There was one man who had two wives.'
- (9) *nge kafarmär madma nafane zaneme*
 nge kafar=mär madma nafane zane=me
 child big=PRIV female 3SG.POSS DEM:PROX=INS
 'The child, a girl, was still young, maybe like this.'²
- (10) *nafajamayé berno zöbthé*
 nafa-ŋama=é b=e\rn/o zöbthé
 3.POSS-mother=ABS.NSG MED=2|3DU:NPST:IPFV:AND\be first
 'Her mothers went ahead,'
- (11) *watik nafajafe roukun bobo komnzo swamnzrm*
 watik nafa-ŋafe rouku=en bobo komnzo swa\m/nzrm
 then 3.POSS-father PLN=LOC MED:ALL only 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit
 'while the father stayed in Rouku.'
- (12) *nge thrma kwabragwrmo madma*
 nge thrma kwa\brag/wrmo madma
 child later SG:PST:DUR:AND\follow female
 'The girl followed behind.'
- (13) *fi nzürna ïare foba wataya fz masun zba mane rä kafar*
 fi nzürna ïare foba wataya fz masu=en zba
 but spirit_woman woman DIST:ABL PLN forest PLN=LOC PROX:ABL
 mane \rä/ kafar
 which 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be big
 'The Nzürna lived in the big forest of Wataya on the Masu side.'
- (14) *foba nima zwanyakm zzarkarä ttfön*
 foba nima zwan\yak/m zzar=karä=en
 DIST:ABL like_this 3SG.F:PST:DUR:VENT\come fish_net=PROP=LOC
 'She came this way with her fish net catching fish at the creek,'

²He indicates the size of the girl with a hand gesture.

- (15) *katan kofäkofä ḷarufay*
 katan kofä~kofä ḷarufay
 small REDUP~fish fish_species
 ‘small fish, the ḷarufay fish.’³
- (16) *naf ane thfnfrzrm*
 naf ane thfn\frz/rm
 3SG.ERG DEM SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\catch_with_net
 ‘She was catching those ones.’
- (17) *wati emoth fäth zba katan zräro*
 wati emoth fäth zba katan z=\rä/ro
 then girl DIM PROX:ABL small PROX=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:AND\be
 ‘The small girl was walking past,’
- (18) *watik fobo fof zamarath fof*
 watik fobo fof za\mar/ath fof
 then DIST:ALL EMPH 2|3DU:PST:PFV\see EMPH
 ‘when they saw each other.’
- (19) *foba wsza “awe ah*
 foba w\sz/a awe ah
 DIST:ABL SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\call come ah
 ‘The Nzürna called out to her: “Come over!”
- (20) *käntf ah zanfr z zäkorth!*
 kän\tf/ ah zanfr z zä\kor/th
 2SG:IMP:PFV:VENT\walk ah long IAM 2|3PL:RPST:PFV\become
 ‘Come here! The others are already far ahead.’
- (21) *ni zä zf namrn*
 ni zä zf na\m/rn
 1NSG PROX IMM 1DU:NPST:IPFV\sit
 ‘Let’s stay here.’
- (22) “*zane zf kwa ḷafrzne*”
 zane zf kwa ḷa\frz/ne
 DEM:PROX IMM FUT 1DU:NPST:IPFV\catch_with_net
 ‘We will poison this (creek) right here.”

³ ḷarufay “northern purple-spotted gudgeon” (*Morgunda Morgunda*)

- (23) *watik gaso zwathugwrm*
 watik gaso zwa\thug/wrm
 then badly SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR\trick
 ‘She was deceiving her badly,’
- (24) *kma nima nafajame kma*
 kma nima nafa-ŋjame kma
 POT like_this 3.POSS-mother POT
 ‘pretending to be one of her mothers.’
- (25) *zräkor “bobo gniyaké oh”*
 zrä\kor/ bobo gn\yak/é oh
 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\speak MED:ALL 2SG:IMP:IPFV\walk oh
 ‘She said to her “You go over there!”’
- (26) “*boba n thanmrinzé*”
 boba n than\mri/nzé
 MED:ABL IMN 2SG>2|3PL:IMP:IPFV:VENT\chase
 ‘Try to chase (the fish) this way!”’
- (27) *katan kofäkofä zzarkarä fof nzürna ḷare*
 katan kofä~kofä zzar=karä fof nzürna ḷare
 small REDUP~fish fish_net=PROP EMPH spirit_woman woman
 ‘The Nzürna caught small fish with her net.’
- (28) *watik naf thwanmrinzrm taba*
 watik naf thwan\mri/nzrm taba
 then 3SG.ERG SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\chase plenty
 ‘She caught them until (the fish net) was full.’
- (29) *nzürna ḷaref yakme ane thwanathrm kwafyunzrm mthi*
 nzürna ḷare=f yakme ane thwa\na/thrm
 spirit_woman woman=ERG.SG quickly DEM SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\eat
 kwa\fyu/nzrm mthi
 SG:PST:DUR\swallow whole
 ‘The Nzürna ate them up quickly. She gulped down the whole fish.’
- (30) *we bräro we nä kanzkanzfo*
 we b=\rä/ro we nä kanzkanz=fo
 also MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:AND\be also INDF crookedness=ALL
 ‘They walked to another bend in the creek.’

- (31) *we änmrinza we gwrr gwrr gwrr*
 we än\mri/nza we gwrr
 also SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\chase also sound_of_swallowing
 gwrr gwrr
 sound_of_swallowing sound_of_swallowing
 ‘She caught them and again “nom nom nom” (she swallowed them).’⁴
- (32) *naf emoth fäthf zremar “ŋame zane keke rä*
 naf emoth fäth=f zre\mar/ ŋame zane
 3SG.ERG girl DIM=ERG.SG 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\see mother DEM:PROX
 keke \rä/
 NEG 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘The little girl looked at her (and thought) “This is not my mother.”
- (33) *nzürna ŋare rä*
 nzürna ŋare \rä/
 spirit_woman woman 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘This is a Nzürna”
- (34) *nima zwämägwrm fz zawe kafar fzfo watayafo*
 nima zwa\mäg/wrmo fz zawe kafar fz=fo
 like_this SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR:AND\lead forest right big forest=ALL
 wataya=fo
 PLN=ALL
 ‘The Nzürna was leading her further into the forest at Wataya.’
- (35) *watik zräkor “bobo gniyaké oh zagrwä”*
 watik zrä\kor/ bobo gn\yak/é oh
 then 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\speak MED:ALL 2SG:IMP:IPFV\walk oh
 zagr=wä
 far=EMPH
 ‘Then she said “You go a bit further over there!”’
- (36) *emoth fthé mane wyaka ane bobo nä kanzkanzfo*
 emoth fthé mane w\yak/a ane bobo nä
 girl when which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\walk DEM MED:ALL INDF
 kanzkanz=fo
 crookedness=ALL
 ‘The girl went to another bend (in the creek).’

⁴gwrr kwan ‘sound of swallowing something down’

- (37) *bad fä fof gwargwar zathkäfa tharisi emoth fäthf*
 bad fä fof gwargwar za\thkäf/a thari-si emoth
 ground DIST EMPH mud SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\start dig-NMLZ girl
 fäth=f
 DIM=ERG.SG
 ‘The girl started digging up the mud in the water.’
- (38) *no gabrinzo kwakwirm nzürna ɳaredbo*
 no gabri=nzo kwa\kwir/m nzürna
 water muddyness=ONLY SG:PST:DUR\run spirit_woman
 ɳare=dbo
 woman=ALL.ANIM.SG
 ‘The water that flowed towards the Nzürna was completely muddy.’
- (39) *watik emoth fäth mane rera ɳakwira moth*
 watik emoth fäth mane \rä/ra ɳa\kwir/a moth
 then girl DIM which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be SG:PST:IPFV\run path
 ‘The girl quickly ran off towards the road.’
- (40) *zränthor ɳankwira*
 zrän\thor/ ɳan\kwir/a
 3SG.F:IRR:PFV:VENT\appear 2|3SG:PST:IPFV:VENT\run
 ‘She got there and ran away.’
- (41) *zizi nafaɳafadbo*
 zizi nafa-ɳafa=dbo
 afternoon 3.POSS-father=ALL.ANIM.SG
 ‘She arrived at her father’s place in the afternoon.’
- (42) “*ɳafe wonmarwr*
 ɳafe won\mar/wr
 father 2|3SG>1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\see
 ““Father, look at me!”
- (43) *nzürna wanmrinrz nzürna ɳarer ɳjafrzne*
 nzürna wan\mri/nzr nzürna
 spirit_woman 2|3SG>1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\chase spirit_woman
 ɳare=r n=ɳa\frz/ne
 woman=IC.DU IPST=1DU:NPST:IPFV\catch_with_net
 ‘The Nzürna is chasing me. I just caught fish together with the Nzürna.”’

- (44) *nafanjafe ḷankwira*
 nafa-ṣafe ḷan\kwir/a
 3.POSS-father 2|3SG:PST:IPFV:VENT\run
 ‘Her father ran off and’
- (45) *kabe bramöwä thämesako zizi*
 kabe bramöwä thä\mes/ako zizi
 man all SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV:AND\bring afternoon
 ‘brought all the people together in the afternoon.’
- (46) “*nima nima nima*”
 nima nima nima
 like_this like_this like_this
 ““This happened and then this happened.””
- (47) *ätrikwr a ferä*
 ä\trik/wr a f=e\rä/
 2|3SG>2|3PL.IO:NPST:IPFV\tell and DIST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘She told them.’
- (48) *nafanjamyé komnzo kwa thufogwrn ttföfo*
 nafa-ṣame=é komnzo kwa thu\fog/wrm ttfö=fo
 3.POSS-mother=ERG.NSG only FUT 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be_away creek=ALL
 ‘Her mothers were still out at the creek,’
- (49) *frzsi znfo*
 frz-si zn=fo
 catch_with_net-NMLZ place=ALL
 ‘at the netting place.’
- (50) *watik nafanjamaté enthorakwa*
 watik nafa-ṣama=é en
 then 3.POSS-mother=ERG.NSG 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\appear
 ‘Well, when the mothers came back,’
- (51) *nafanjafat nä ḷare zräkothm kofä yaregwr nabi zan nabi zan wfnza*
 nafa-ṣafa=f nä ḷare zrä\kothm/ kofä
 3.POSS-father=ERG.SG INDF wife 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\chase fish
 ya\reg/wr nabi zan nabi zan w\fn/za
 2SG:NPST:STAT\be_on_sb bow fight bow fight SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\hit
 ‘the father chased one wife. She was still carrying the fish. He hit her with the bow.’

- (52) *we nä zräkothm nabi zan nabi zan wfñzr*
 we nä zrä\kothm/ nabi zan nabi zan
 also INDF 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\chase bow fight bow fight
 w\fn/zr
 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\hit
 ‘Then he chased the other wife, and he also hit her with the bow.’
- (53) “*emoth fäth ane fof efoth bä sfrärm zizi*”
 emoth fäth ane fof efoth bä sf\rä/rm zizi
 girl DIM DEM EMPH sun MED 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be afternoon
 “That little girl (was out alone). It was already getting late in the day.”
- (54) *watik nima sizenzo emoth fäth thrathbth wawa mnzen*
 watik nima size=nzo emoth fäth thra\thb/th
 then like_this size=ONLY girl DIM 2|3PL>2|3DU:IRR:PFV\enter
 wawa mnz=en
 round_yam house=LOC
 ‘Then they put two girls of the same age in the yam house’
- (55) *tbo mnz bækfo*
 tbo mnz bæk=fo
 sudden_silence house behind=ALL
 ‘(and told them to be) very quiet at the back of the house.’
- (56) *thäbu eraknath watik erdiknath watik nima*
 thäbu e\rak/nath watik
 hair 2|3DU>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\twist then
 e\rdikn/ath watik nima
 2|3DU>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\tie_together then like_this
 ‘They twisted the (girls’) hair and tied them together.’
- (57) *ewäthath*
 e\wäth/ath
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\tie_around
 ‘They wrapped them up’
- (58) *wawame enarnath yamekarä*
 wawa=me e\nar/nath yame=karä
 round_yam=INS 2|3PL>2|3DU:PST:IPFV\press_down mat=PROP
 ‘and covered them with mats and put yams on top.’

- (59) *zagathinzath*
 za\gathinz/ath
 2|3DU:PST:PFV\leave
 ‘That’s how they left them.’
- (60) *nzürna z renra withen zämora*
 nzürna z \rä/nra with=en zä\mor/a
 spirit_woman IAM 3SG.F:PST:IPFV:VENT\be banana=LOC SG:PST:PFV\lean
 ‘The Nzürna had already arrived. She leaned against the banana tree.’
- (61) *foba thumarwrm*
 foba thu\mar/wrm
 DIST:ABL SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\see
 ‘She was watching them from there.’
- (62) *kabe brubru nag ythama tarazü*
 kabe brubru nag ythama tarazü
 man drum grassskirt bird_of_paradise headdress
 ‘The people (brought out) their drums, grassskirts, headdresses, etc.’
- (63) *mnz ane round wäfifyokwath*
 mnz ane round wä\fiyok/wath
 house DEM surround 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make
 ‘They surrounded the house’
- (64) *wath sfrnzürwrnsth*
 wath sf\rnzür/wrmth
 dance 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:DUR\dance
 ‘while they were dancing:’
- (65) “*bru bru bru bru bru*”
 bru bru bru bru
 sound_of_drum sound_of_drum sound_of_drum sound_of_drum
 bru
 sound_of_drum
 “bang bang bang bang bang”

- (66) *nzürna thethkäfa dd wthme*
 nzürna the\thkäf/a dd wth=me
 spirit_woman SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\start worm faeces=INS
 ‘The Nzürna began to throw fine soil at them.’⁵
- (67) *kabe etfh thfmnzerakwrm*
 kabe etfh thf\mnzerak/wrm
 man sleep SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\fall_asleep
 ‘She made people sleepy.’
- (68) *kwot zäbthath etfh bra*
 kwot zä\bth/ath etfh bra
 properly 2|3PL:PST:PFV\finish sleep sth_finished
 ‘Until they were done. They fell asleep.’
- (69) *kreñfar mnz ane wrfunzr*
 kreñ\far/ mnz ane w\rfu/nzr
 2|3SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\set_off house DEM 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\pull_off
 ‘She went and tore open the house.’
- (70) *kräthbo thramar*
 krä\thb/o thra\mar/
 SG:IRR:PFV:AND\enter 2|3SG>2|3DU:IRR:PFV\see
 ‘She went inside and looked at the (two girls).’
- (71) “*keke nä” zräkor “zane zf*”
 keke nä zrä\kor/ zane zf
 NEG INDF 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\speak DEM:PROX IMM
 “Not this one”, she said, “but this is the one.”
- (72) *erbärn thäbufa*
 e\rbä/rn thäbu=fa
 2|3SG>2|3DU:NPST:IPFV\untie hair=ABL
 ‘She untied their hair and’
- (73) *zräñthor mnz zrfö*
 zräñ\thor/ mnz zrfö
 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV:VENT\carry house door
 ‘carried one (of the girls) to the door.’

⁵ *dd wth* ‘fine dust’ (lit. ‘worm faeces’) is the soil thrown up by worms digging in the dry ground.

- (74) *si zramätr neba bök neba bök*
 si zra\mätr/ neba bök neba
 eyes 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\exit opposite smacking_sound opposite
 bök
 smacking_sound
 '(As for the other girl,) she first pulled out one eye and then the other.'
- (75) *fkfa wth yfön gaga thräsryofth*
 fk=fa wth yfö=en gaga thrä\sryofth/
 buttocks=ABL faeces hole=LOC hand 2|3SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\send
 'Then she pushed her hand in her arse and'
- (76) *wth thrthr thränmätr*
 wth thrthr thrän\mätr/
 faeces intestines 2|3SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV:VENT\exit
 'pulled out the intestines.'
- (77) *wänathr fä fof*
 wä\na/thr fä fof
 2|3SG>3SG.F.IO:NPST:IPFV\eat DIST EMPH
 'Then she ate her (intestines).'
- (78) *kabe etfh bra*
 kabe etfh bra
 man sleep sth_finished
 'The people were fast asleep.'
- (79) *borsi we fof ñaborwr*
 bor-si we fof ña\bor/wr
 laugh-NMLZ also EMPH 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\laugh
 'What are you laughing at?'⁶
- (80) *kabe etfh zäbthath wänatha watik faren*
 kabe etfh zä\bth/ath wä\na/tha
 man sleep 2|3PL:PST:PFV\finish SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\eat
 'While the people were sleeping, she ate her up.'

⁶Marua is talking to a boy in the audience.

- (81) *watik faren wth thrämir*
 watik far=en wth thrä\mir/
 then stem=LOC faeces 2|3SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\hang
 'Then she hung the (remaining) guts on a post.'
- (82) *ebarnzo zathora wataya*
 ebar=nzo za\thor/a wataya
 head=ONLY SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\carry PLN
 'She only took her head to Wataya.'
- (83) *wämne yf bäre wäsi*
 wämne yf bäre wäsi
 tree name PH.ABS tree_species
 'What's the name of that tree? To (her) Wäsi tree.'⁷
- (84) *watik fä fof n̄asoga warfo nafanemäwä mnzen*
 watik fä fof n̄a\sog/a warfo nafane=ma=wä
 then DIST EMPH SG:PST:IPFV\ascend above 3SG.POSS=CHAR=EMPH
 mnz=en
 house=LOC
 'Then she climbed inside her own house.'
- (85) *nafafisf zamara "oh bä zane kerere z n̄yanfiyokwr?"*
 nafa-fis=f za\mar/a oh bä zane kerere
 3.POSS-husband=ERG.SG SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\see oh 2.ABS DEM:PROX trouble
 z n=ŋan\fiyok/wr
 IAM IPST=2|3SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\make
 'Her husband looked at her (and said), "Oh, what trouble have you been
 in?"
- (86) *kabe z be nyanathr!"*
 kabe z be n=ya\na/thr
 man IAM 2SG.ERG IPST=2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\eat
 'You have eaten a human!"'
- (87) *nafafis zamatha zba*
 nafa-fis za\matha/a zba
 3.POSS-husband SG:PST:PFV\run PROX:ABL
 'The husband took off and ran this way.'

⁷wäsi “strangler fig” (*Ficus elastica*)

- (88) *nä fz bobo rä*
 nä fz bobo \rä/
 INDF forest MED:ALL 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'There is another forest over there.'
- (89) *tauri kufak fobo fof ḥafäniza wtrime*
 tauri_kufak fobo fof ḥa\fäniz/a wtri=me
 PLN DIST:ALL EMPH SG:PST:IPFV\shift_place fear=INS
 'He was scared and moved away to Tauri Kufak.'
- (90) *erugr ewäkr nima n "matak*
 e\ru/gr e\wäk/r nima n
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\sleep 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\daybreak_on_sb like_this IMN
 matak
 nothing
 'The people woke up (and realized) "They are gone!"'
- (91) *emoth ane matak*
 emoth ane matak
 girl DEM nothing
 'that girl is gone!"'
- (92) *wthnzo zemarath faren*
 wth=nzo ze\mar/ath far=en
 faeces=ONLY 2|3PL:PST:PFV\see stem=LOC
 'They only saw the guts hanging from the post.'
- (93) *kafar bthan kabe ḥawoknzath*
 kafar bthan kabe ḥa\wok/nzath
 big magic man 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\choose
 'They choose their best sorcerers.'
- (94) *zamiyarath müsa "oh zä zf wthkgr"*
 za\miyar/ath müsa oh zä zf
 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\fetch restlessness oh PROX IMM
 w\th/kg
 3SG.F:NPST:STAT\be_inside
 'They went after her (until they found the tree). "Oh, she's in here!"'

- (95) *watik bthan kwathkwathme wäsi fur yrerath*
 watik bthan kwathkwath=me wäsi fur
 then magic intention=INS tree_species bundle
 y'rä/rath
 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\do
 ‘Then they wrapped up the wäsi tree with their magic spells.’
- (96) *mni ñathomonwath zbo zfthen zaföfath*
 mni ña\thomon/wath zbo zfth=en
 firewood 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\make_fire PROX:ALL tree_base=LOC
 za\föf/ath
 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\burn
 ‘They piled firewood at the base and burned it.’
- (97) *ñarsira ñarsira ñarsira*
 ña\rsir/a ña\rsir/a ña\rsir/a
 SG:PST:IPFV\burn SG:PST:IPFV\burn SG:PST:IPFV\burn
 ‘It burned and burned’
- (98) *ñarsira ñarsira*
 ña\rsir/a ña\rsir/a
 SG:PST:IPFV\burn SG:PST:IPFV\burn
 ‘and burned and burned.’
- (99) *nima n zremar “eh mni”*
 nima n zre\mar/ eh mni
 like_this IMN 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\see hey fire
 ‘The Nzürna was looking outside “Oh, there is fire!”’
- (100) *yirme kma mni wfraza keke*
 yir=me kma mni w\fra/za keke
 urine=INS POT fire SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\extinguish NEG
 ‘She tried to put out the fire by peeing on it, but that didn’t work.’
- (101) *wthme kma wnrtuwonza keke*
 wth=me kma wn\rtuwo/nza keke
 faeces=INS POT SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV:VENT\spray NEG
 ‘She tried to spray the fire with her shit, but that didn’t work either.’

- (102) *kabe ebar ane foſ kränzir mni kma zſrazrm keke*
 kabe ebar ane foſ krän\zir/ mni kma
 man head DEM EMPH 2|3SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\throw fire POT
 z\fraz/rm keke
 SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR\extinguish NEG
 ‘She threw the human skull at the fire to extinguish it, but that didn’t work.’
- (103) *ŋarsira bra*
 ja\rsir/a bra
 SG:PST:IPFV\burn sth_finished
 ‘She burned completely’
- (104) *kräbth wämnekaräsü krärzifth*
 krä\bth/ wämne=karä=sü krä\rzif/th
 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\finish tree=PROP=ETC 2|3PL:IRR:PFV\push_over
 ‘with the tree and everything else. Eventually the tree fell.’
- (105) *watik ane kukakuka kma n zarna*
 watik ane kukakuka kma n za\rn/a
 then DEM bird_species POT IMN 3SG.F:PST:PFV\shout
 ‘Well, that kukakuka bird was just about to call out,’⁸
- (106) *watik zrefath thgthg wrmrwath*
 watik zre\faf/th thgthg w\rmr/wath
 then 2|3PL>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\hold charcoal 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\grind
 ‘when the (sorcerers) grabbed (and burned) it. They ground up the charcoal remains (of her)’⁹
- (107) *bra zäbtha*
 bra zä\bth/a
 sth_finished 2|3SG:PST:PFV\finish
 ‘until everything was gone.’

⁸si *kukakuka* is an unidentified bird species; the bird is said be always present when there is bushfire.

⁹The spirit of the Nzürna was trying to escape by shapeshifting into the bird.

- (108) *zokwasi fof zäbth nzürna trikasi nimame fo frä*
 zokwasi fof zä\bth/ nzürna trikasi nima=me
 speech EMPH 2|3SG:RPST:PFV\finish spirit_woman story like_this=INS
 fof \rä/
 EMPH 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘The story is finished now. That was the Nzürna story.’
- (109) *keke nzürna trikasi rä kabe trikasi rä zane kabe fefe*
 keke nzürna trikasi \rä/ kabe trikasi
 NEG spirit_woman story 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be man story
 \rä/ zane kabe fefe
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be DEM:PROX man really
 ‘Infact, it is not a Nzürna story, but a real story.’
- (110) *watik nzürna trikasir z wkwthenzath*
 watik nzürna trikasi=r z w\kwthe/nzath
 then spirit_woman story=PURP IAM 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\change
 ‘They later changed it into a Nzürna story.’
- (111) *watik fof zäbth*
 watik fof zä\bth/
 then EMPH 2|3SG:RPST:PFV\finish
 ‘Okay, it is finished now.’¹⁰
- (112) *kabe zokwasi aha nzürna trikasi zarath zakwthefath*
 kabe zokwasi ah nzürna trikasi za\r/ath
 man speech ah spirit_woman story 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\do
 za\kwthef/ath
 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\change
 ‘A real story, yes, they made it into a Nzürna story, they changed it.’
- (113) *nima bresanema monwä ane rä*
 nima bres=ane=ma mon=wä ane \rä/
 like_this PN=POSS.SG=CHAR how=EMPH DEM 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘It is like the (Nzürna story) about Bres.’

¹⁰CD asks: *z wkwthenzath?* ‘They changed it?’

- (114) *emoth katan wänatha*
 emoth katan wä\na/tha
 girl small SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\eat
 'The Nzürna ate a small girl (just like)'
- (115) *bres monwä bres monwä zba yanatha*
 bres mon=wä bres mon=wä zba ya\na/tha
 PN how=EMPH PN how=EMPH PROX:ABL SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\eat
 'she ate Bres.'
- (116) *zane kafar yara ane katan rera emoth fäth*
 zane kafar ya\r/a ane katan \rä/ra emoth
 DEM:PROX big 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be DEM small 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be girl
 fäth
 DIM
 'This one was an adult, but she was a small child.'
- (117) *wataya zba mane rä masu zawe foba fof renra ane nzürna ñare*
 wataya zba mane \rä/ masu zawe foba fof
 PLN PROX:ABL which 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PLN right DIST:ABL EMPH
 \rä/nra ane nzürna ñare
 3SG.F:PST:IPFV:VENT\be DEM spirit_woman woman
 '(It happened) at Wataya here. That Nzürna came from the Masu side.'

G *Nzürna trikasi firran* - The Nzürna story at Firra

G.1 Introduction

Nzürna trikasi firran is narrative lasting roughly 10min. It was recorded by Christian Döhler on September 1st 2012, in both audio and video formats.¹ The story teller is Maraga Kwozi, and the recording took place in the garden of his house at Morehead Station.

G.2 Summary & background

In this story, the Nzürna was on good terms with the people of *Firra*. During the day, when people were out in their gardens, she would come to the village looking after the houses. One day, a stranger comes to the village. The Nzürna welcomes him pretending to be a friendly host. She realises that the man is not from *Firra*, and seizes the opportunity. During the night, she kills and eats him. Then she returns to her Wäsü tree. When the villagers realise what has happened, they go after her and kill her. As in all Nzürna stories, she is burned in her Wäsü tree.

G.3 *Nzürna trikasi firran* (parallel text)

Zokwasi fefeme natrikwé o markai zokwasime? Should I tell you the story in Komnzo or in English?

CD: *Keke. Zokwasi fefeme!* No, in Komnzo!

Zokwasi fefeme natrikwé. Watikthmenezo! Zaföwä fthé kabe keke kwot tüfrthfrärm. Thwamnzrm zane kafar baden I will tell it in Komnzo. Okay then. A long time ago, there were not many people. No matter how many people

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20120901-01. It is archived at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11189847>

thzé kabe enrera. Nä kabe thfamnzrm mogarkamen. Kar nima rä mogarkam. Okay nä thfamnzrm firran. Okay nä fä fefe thwamnzrm mänwä kar bramöwä erä.

Firra mrmren mane zfrärm nzürna ñare bobo zwamnzrm. Nzürna ñare nafafisrwä thfrnm. Nafafis yf nagawa. Tnztnz kabe sfrärm. Nafane ñare nzürna ñare fof. Yf mane zfrärm zafo. Nafrr thwamrnm. Wati mä fefe thwamrnm wäsü. Nafanme mnz zfrärm. Wäsü kafar sukogrm. Ane yfön thuthkrnm. Boba mnz nafanme zfrärm mä thwamrnm.

Firra kar mrmren kabe thwamnzrm fobo. Kabe fthé kwarfakunzrmth. Fthé thfiyakm. Nima ñarake zinfo o fiyafro nima efothen etfthmöwä fthé thfiyakm. Ane nzürna ñare ausi fof kwänzinrz. Fi zwaniyakm. Gatha kar fthé thumarwrm. Gathagathame thfnakwrmth mnz gatha kar. Dödö thfefaf. Ane zurenwrmo. Mnz fath thwafiyokwrm. Kakauna monme gathagathame thfnakwrmth. Kwot namäme thfanakwrm. Mnzen thwarakthkwramo. Mni tñz rä kwanbrigwrm nafanemäwä mnzfo. Fthé we thwaniyakm thwänthor. Ane mnz woga fthé swänthor "Oh zane ñare z nzüwäniyak. Mnz fath zf nzürenwro zrä." Zafe kabe miyatha thfrärm. Nafanme rzarsi monme zfrärm. Ane kar woganzo nafä fi monme nzürna ñareyä kwarzarwrmth. Keke thufnzrm ane karma kabe naf. Bänema fi nar

there were on earth, people came here then. Some people were living in *Mogarkam*. *Mogarkam* is a village. Okay, others lived in *Firra*. Still others lived in the places where their respective villages were located.

Inside *Firra*, there once lived a Nzürna. The Nzürna lived together with her husband. Her husband's name was Nangawa. He was a smallish guy. As for his wife, that Nzürna's name was Zafo. They were living together in a Wäsü tree. Their house was inside a big Wäsü tree. There was a hole at the bottom of the tree. That was their house.

Plenty of people lived in *Firra*. When the villagers left the village to attend their gardens or to go hunting, or when they stayed overnight somewhere, that Nzürna took over their place. She came to the village. When she saw rubbish lying around, when the people had left their belongings scattered around and there was rubbish everywhere, that's when she would grab the broom and sweep the place. She cleared their house yards. She put everything back in the right order. She put those things back in the house for them, for example small pieces of firewood. Then she returned to her own place. When they returned, the house owners said: "Oh, this woman was here. She has swept the house yard here." Back then, the villagers were aware of their ties to

wogathatha bäne thfrärm. Nima miya-tha thfrärm. Nafane nagayé thfrärm. Naf thwamonegwrn kabe fefe.

Wati nä kayé mogarkamma kabe nima sfiyakm firrafo. Wati fi mane yara nama zokwasi woga yara. Firran mane thwamnzrm. Mema zokwasi woga yara. Fthé thwamnzrm kabe. Wati fi mane yaka e “Krara krara krara” Firra sa-thora fof. With fren fof “Krara krara krara” Fi zära. Yakme we sänis zära. Kabe wokuthé zäkora nima kabe. Ane si thäbu zanfr ra zane thfrärm. Ofe yar-erath. Zäwthefa. Kabe zäkora.

Watik nare nima zräzigrm “Awe! Nzone moba nzraniyak?” Naf we komnzo zära nima “Oh zane ausinzo zf zaghifth. Kabe matak erä. Nima z bramöwä kwafarkwrth. Nima erä yars-fo.” “Awow” Yamenzo srathams. Kra-math. With tayo yanrkunrz. Yarithr. Kafar famä zäkora. Nima “Nzone da-gonma zane zf yé. Z nziyaniyak.” Bäne-ma yrgfakwa. Nima zane karma keke yé. “Moba z nm nziyaniyak?” Garam-garam srethkäf “Kwa yabrigwr? Efoth byé!” “Keke zä zf kwa worugr. Kwa fof thrämonesé. Kayé fthé thräthor.”

the Nzürna. Only the people of that particular village were on good terms with the Nzürna. She did not attack them, because they were her friends. They knew about each other. They were like her children. She looked after them.

One day, there was a man from *Mogarkam*, who came for a visit to *Firra*. He spoke the Nama language. The people living in *Firra* were speakers of *Mema*. As he approached the village, a parrot called out “krara krara krara”. Then he arrived in *Firra* and went inside the banana grove “krara krara krara”. He quickly changed his appearance. He changed into a human being. Those long eyebrows and whatever else disappeared. He changed his appearance and became a human being.

The Nzürna saw him and said: “Come closer, my dear friend! Where did you just come from?” He was thinking like this: “Oh, they must have left that old woman behind. No one else is here. They’ve all gone away. They must have gone down to the river.” He said: “Okay then!” She spread out a mat for him and went and knocked down some bananas for him. She gave him the bananas. Bad thoughts arose in her mind: “This guy will be my meal now that he’s here.” She realised that the man was not from this village. “Where might he have come from?” She began to woo him. “You’re not go-

Zbär fafṇathamsakrnth. Etftth kramnzerth. Etftth kwosi krämnzer. Ausi nzürna jare krebnaf “Züm züm züm züm!” Subnazrm fof. Sain swarithrm. Wati. Keke zethäkna ane. Yaka zanrnzo srewakuth. Di fof safrnza kwosi. Kwot yanatha fä fof. Bramowä sabtha. Wtnzo ezänzr. Füni komnzo bikogr firran. Wämne yf füni yé. Firran bā ykogr. Nä kayé fthé boba gniyako. Nima kwa ymarwr ane kafar wämne.

Eno: *Z yakako!*

Z niyakako?

CD: *Razé. Z niyakako.*

Zba mothfa mane ykogr füni. Ane bafen yakan dganzo saräsa. Wth fobo fof thämira. Ane kabeane wth. Fi zäbri-mako.

Zäthbako mnzen. Nafafis oromanf zräses fof. “Be ranzo änfiyokwr ah? Bä moba nrä? Mä nznrugr?” “Mä kwa? Bä fof zämneré zbärma. Nagayanme znzän zwäfonz. Ane gathagathame kakauna mane egathikwroth.” Nafafis miyamr.

ing back today? It's already late. The sun is almost setting.” He replied “No, I will sleep here. I'll wait until the people come back tomorrow.”

In the evening, they spread their sleeping mats and went to sleep. The man was fast asleep. But the Nzürna woke up and called out “züm züm züm züm!” She was trying to wake him up, to give him a sign. He slept soundly and didn't move. She took the digging stick, struck him on the head and killed him. Then she ate him right there. She ate everything. Only the intestines, she carried to the Füni tree that stands in *Firra*. The name of the tree is Füni. It's there in *Firra*. If you walk there one day, you will see that big tree.

Eno: He already went there!

You've already walked there?

CD: Yes, we already walked there.

It is right by the road. She rammed the digging stick in the ground and hung the intestines from it, that man's intestines.

Then she returned and went inside her house. Her husband asked: “What have you been up to? Where do you come from? Where did you stay?” She replied “Nowhere! I slept there during the night. Nightfall caught me during work. The villagers had left their belongings lying around.” Her husband was unsuspecting.

Fi fthé enthorakwa mnz kabe fof. Nima thäzigrma. “Nä tmatm ffé nzjyawänzr. Manema kabe zä naf nziyanathr?” Äniyaka. Zbär zf zukwinzrmth. Zfkonzrmth. Zäbrimath “Mon kwa wäfiyokwre? Bänema kabe z nzirärkwr? Z nziyanathr.” Wati bthan kabe thfrärm. Ane kabe firran mane thwamnzrm. Wati tmatm äfiyokwrth. Ttmatm zwa- fiyokwrth. Fam wäfiyokwrth näbinzo. “Mnime né zräföfe.” Nima tmatmr rä.

Wati bthan tmatmme nafane fam zwarmänwrmth. Wärmänwath. E ane bafen keke kwamätrakwrm. Bänema fam z zürmänth. Wtri we z zära. Nima “Z zwemarth ane yam fiyoksin.” Mni wthomonwrth yfö mä zfrärm. Mni wthomonwath a zräföfth. Fi yame yrsifnzo zukonzrm boba wämne yfön fof. Nafafis bana krebnaf. Krekaris “u” Mni ukwan fof. Kafar wäsü sukogrm mrab fren waisamen. Waisam ane kar yf rä. Mobo zwamnzrm mrab fr thden. Krär nafafis zräs “Be ranzo kayé thwanfiyokwr?” “Ra kwa thanfiyokwé?” “Ra kwan we rä? Ah nzukar banafa borbor bana sathor.” Kma borbor ukwan zfrärm. Zufsgwrm fof. “Füsüs ukwan bana nzukar banafa wnrä.” Mni kwar- sirm. Mni komnzo kwa zöfthé zethkäfa.

When the villagers arrived, they looked around and said “Something bad has happened. Where did the man she ate come from?” In the evening, they went to her house. They argued with her and talked to her. As they returned to the village they were saying, “What should we do with her? Has she finished that man? She just ate him.” There were some sorcerers who lived in *Firra*. They came up with a plan, “We will burn her in the fire.”

They began to block her thoughts with their own magic. They blocked her mind until she did not dare come out of her house because they had intimidated her. She was scared thinking “They already know what I’ve done.” They piled up firewood by the entrance to her house. They piled up wood and set it on fire. Meanwhile, she was busy weaving a mat in her tree. Her poor husband woke up and heard the sound of the fire “uh” That big *Wäsü* tree stood in a bamboo grove at *Waisam*. That’s the name of the place, *Waisam*, where she lived. It is located in the middle of a bamboo grove. Her husband got up and asked her: “What have you done yesterday?” She replied “What do you mean, what did I do?” “What’s this sound? Oh no!” She realised “The wind is blowing from my dear place.” It was the sound of the burning bamboos. “It’s the sound of the wind coming from my village.” It was the fire that started growing.

Nima sräzigrm. Nafafis bana fof zänmätra fof. Mni zbo z zamara. Rürä fthé zagathifa. Nima sathfärako. Nima fi fthé sathfärako yakäsü. Trtha zuthorakwrm. Foba näbi fthé zanmatha fof. Emoth fäth nima ämnzr oten. Komnzo zena bobo rä. Ane kar we nä fof rä trikasi kar fof. Dödö fr rä. Kafar dödö fr zbo thden rä. Näbüwä fthé zanmatha ote. Emoth fäthnm thrätrif "Bejame ausi bzaföfh. Nafanemawä. Kafar Yam zwafiyokwr. Kabe nä z swanathr." Fi nimanzo ffé yarako.

Fi nima mni zewaräfa. Ijarsira, yasira. Kma zräzigrm "Moba kwa krämätré? Moba?" Näbi ffé zaföfath. Ijarsira e kwot zäbtha. Brbrnzo fof né zäthaba bafen ymden fof. "Kuka kuka" fä mane wänor. Krärth ane bthan woga ane kukakuka zrämgth. Krätr. Wati ffé zaföfath. Ane fobo fä zäbtha. Ane thrma mni fthé zäbtha.

Wati nagawa nabrigwa sir. "Komnzo rä o z kwarsir mnin?" Nabrigwa bobomr we waisam wäsü fthé sanmara. "Watik fi nafazfthenwä" Yanzo bobo yanora nafajareanema. Wati fi näbi zäbrima. Zbo yamnzr. Ane woga oten emoth fäthä ämnzr. Kabeyé komnzo fä nomai sumarwre. Ymarwre. Fthé fä yaritakwr nima firrafo yak. We nima nabrigwr. Tnz fäth ane kabe yé.

The poor husband was looking for an escape. He got out, while the fire was closing in. He left her alone. He jumped out like this. He jumped and took off. He was running for his life. He ran away for good. Their daughters were staying in *Ote* at the time. That place still exists. It's place with a story of its own. That place is in the middle of some Dödö trees. So he escaped to *Ote* and informed the daughters, "Your mother burned in the flames there. It was all her fault! She did a big crime. She ate a man." He went away for good.

The fire was still burning. It burned and burned. She tried to find a way, "Where will I get out? Where?" Everything burned to the ground. Only her spirit tried to escape by turning into a bird. The one that is calling out "kuka kuka" over there. But the sorcerers shot the Kukakuka bird. It fell to the ground and they burned it. They managed to kill her. Then the fire went out.

Nangawa returned to check on things. "Is she still alive or did she burn in the fire?" He returned to *Waisam* where he saw the Wäsü tree. He stood thinking "Well, it was all her fault." There he wept bitterly for his wife. Then he returned for good. This man lives now in *Ote* together with his daughters. From time to time, we see him when he crosses the river on his way to *Firra*. He is a small man.

Ane nzürna ñareane zokwasi nimame fofräfоф. Mane bobo firran zwamnzrm. Tüfr yam nä ffé thwafiyokwrm. Fi fathfa ane fof wäfityokwa. Nä karma kabe mane yanatha mogarkamma. Ane trikasi fobonzo wythk fof brä ane nzürna ñareanema. Watik fobo fof zräkoré. Nä karen nima näbuné bänema nä nzürna ñare zokwasi trikasi bää räro. Fi ane kar woga mane erä fi ane miyatha erä. Nzefé nzüwäbragwé. Nima ni miyatha nrä. Nzekaren ane yam kwafiyokwrm nzenme ñafyé mä thwamnzrm. Ùafyé we nzenm natrikwath. Nima zbo zf zakoré. Fof zäbthé.

That was the Nzürna's story, the one who lived in *Firra*. She had done many other things, but this one thing she did in public. She ate a man from another village, a man from *Mogarkam*. This is the end of the story about that Nzürna. I have told it now. There are other stories at other places. There are other Nzürna stories, but the villagers there would know them. I followed this story because we know it. This happened in our village, where our fathers once lived. And the fathers told us about it. I have finished the story now. I am done.

G.4 Nzürna trikasi firran (glossed text)

- (1) *zokwasi fefeme natrikwé o markai zokwasime?*
zokwasi fefe=me na\trik/wé o markai zokwasi=me
speech really=INS 1SG>2SG.IO:NPST:IPFV\tell or outsider speech=INS
'Should I tell you the story in Komnzo or in English?'²
- (2) *zokwasi fefeme natrikwé*
zokwasi fefe=me na\trik/wé
speech real=INS 1SG>2SG.IO:NPST:IPFV\tell
'I will tell it in Komnzo.'
- (3) *watikthmenzo*
watik-thé=me=nzo
enough-ADJZ=INS=ONLY
'Okay then.'
- (4) *zaföwä*
zafö=wä
old=EMPH
'A long time ago,'
- (5) *fthé kabe keke kwot tüfr thfrärm*
fthé kabe keke kwot tüfr thf'rä/rm
when people NEG properly plenty 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be
'there were not many people.'
- (6) *thwamnzrm zane kafar baden thzé kabe enrera*
thwa\m/nzrm zane kafar bad=en thzé kabe
2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit DEM:PROX big ground=LOC whatever people
en\rä/ra
2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be
'No matter how many people there were on earth, people came here then.'
- (7) *nä kabe thfamnzrm mogarkamen*
nä kabe thfa\m/nzrm mogarkam=en
INDEF people 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit PLN=LOC
'Some people were living in Mogarkam.'

²CD replies: *keke, zokwasi fefeme.* "No, in Komnzo."

- (8) *kar nima rä mogarkam*
 kar nima \rä/ mogarkam
 village like_this 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be Mogarkam
 ‘Mongarkam is a village.’
- (9) *okay, nä thfamnzrm firran*
 okay nä thfa\m/nzrm firra=en
 okay INDF 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit firra=LOC
 ‘Okay, others lived in Firra.’
- (10) *okay, nä fä fefe thwamnzrm mänwä kar bramöwä erä*
 okay nä fä fefe thwa\m/nzrm mänwä kar bramöwä
 okay INDF DIST really 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit where.EMPH village all
 e\rä/
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘Still others lived in the places where their respective villages were located.’
- (11) *firra mrmren mane zfrärm nzürna ïare bobo zwamnzrm*
 firra mrmr=en mane zf\rä/rm nzürna ïare bobo
 firra inside=LOC which 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be spirit_woman woman MED:ALL
 zwa\m/nzrm
 3SG.F:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘Inside Firra, there was a Nzürna, who lived there.’
- (12) *nzürna ïare nafafisrwä thfrm*
 nzürna ïare nafa-fis=r=wä thf\rn/m
 spirit_woman woman 3.POSS-husband=IC.DU=EMPH 2|3DU:PST:DUR\be
 ‘The Nzürna lived together with her husband.’
- (13) *nafafis yf nagawa*
 nafa-fis yf nagawa
 3.POSS-husband name PN
 ‘Her husband’s name was Nangawa.’
- (14) *tnztnz kabe sfrärm*
 tñz~tñz kabe sf\rä/rm
 REDUP~short man 3SG.M:NPST:DUR\be
 ‘He was a bit of a small guy.’

- (15) *nafane ḷare nzürna ḷare fof yf mane zfrärm zafo*
 nafane ḷare nzürna ḷare fof yf mane zf\rä/rm
 3SG.POSS wife spirit_woman woman EMPH name which 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be
 zafo
 PN
 ‘As for his wife, that Nzürna’s name was Zafo.’
- (16) *nafrr thwamrnm*
 nafr̩ thwa\m/rnm
 3DU.IC 2|3DU:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘They lived together.’
- (17) *wati, mä fefe thwamrnm wäsü*
 wati mä fefe thwa\m/rnm wäsü
 then where really 2|3DU:PST:DUR\sit tree_species
 ‘Where they really lived was in a Wäsü tree.³
- (18) *nafanme mnz zfrärm wäsü kafar sukogrm*
 nafanme mnz zf\rä/rm wäsü kafar
 3NSG.POSS house 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be tree_species big
 su\ko/grm
 3SG.M:PST:DUR:STAT\be_standing
 ‘Their house was inside the big Wäsü tree.’
- (19) *ane yfön thuthkrnm*
 ane yfö=en thu\th/krnm
 DEM hole=LOC 2|3DU:PST:DUR\be_inside
 ‘They were inside the hole (at the bottom of the tree).’
- (20) *boba mnz nafanme zfrärm mä thwamrnm*
 boba mnz nafanme zf\rä/rm mä thwa\m/rnm
 MED:ABL house 3NSG.POSS 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be where 2|3DU:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘That was their house where they lived.’
- (21) *firra kar mrmren kabe thwamnzrm fobo*
 firra kar mrmr=en kabe thwa\m/nzrm fobo
 PLN village inside=LOC people 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit DIST:ALL
 ‘Many other people lived in Firra.’

³wäsü (sometimes) wäsi ’strangler fig’ (*Ficus elastica*)

- (22) *kabe fthé kwarfakunzrmth fthé thfiyakm*
 kabe fthé kwa\rfaku/nzrmth fthé thf\yak/m
 man when 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sprinkle when 2|3PL:PST:DUR\walk
 'When the people spread out, when they left the village,'
- (23) *nima ḷarake znfo o fiyafr o*
 nima ḷarake zn=fo o fiyaf=r o
 like_this garden place=ALL or hunt=PURP or
 'to attend their gardens, or to go hunting,'
- (24) *nima efothern etfthmöwä thé thfwiyakm*
 nima efoth=en etfth=me=wä fthé thf\yak/m
 like_this day=LOC sleep=INS=EMPH when 2|3PL:PST:DUR\walk
 'or when they stayed overnight somewhere,'
- (25) *ane nzürna ḷare ausi fof kwänzinr*
 ane nzürna ḷare ausi fof kwän\zinr/
 DEM spirit_woman woman old_woman EMPH 2|3SG:ITER:VENT\replace
 'that Nzürna took over their place.'
- (26) *fi zwaniyakm gatha kar fthé thumarwrm*
 fi zwan\yak/m gatha kar fthé thu\mar/wrm
 3.ABS 3SG.F:PST:DUR:VENT\come bad place when SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\see
 'She came (to the village). When she saw rubbish lying around,'
- (27) *gathagathame thfnakwrmt mnz gatha kar*
 gathagatha=me thf\nak/wrmth mnz gatha kar
 bad=INS 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\put_down house bad place
 'when the people had left their belongings scattered around and there
 was rubbish everywhere,'
- (28) *dödö thfefaf ane zurenwrmo*
 dödö thfe\faf/ ane
 melaleuca_species 2|3SG>2|3PL:ITER\hold DEM
 zu\ren/wrmo
 SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR:AND\sweep
 'she would grab the broom and sweep the place.'

- (29) *mnz fath thwafiyokwrm*
 mnz fath thwa\fiyok/wrm
 house clear_place SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\make
 'She cleared their house yards.'
- (30) *kakauna monme gathagathame thfnakwrnths*
 nafanme kakauna mon=me gathagatha=me
 3NSG.POSS thing how=INS bad=INS
 thf\nak/wrnths
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\put_down
 'Sometimes their things were scattered around'
- (31) *kwot namäme thfanakwrm*
 kwot namä=me thfa\nak/wrm
 properly good=INS SG>2|3PL.IO:PST:DUR\put_down
 'and she put everything back in the right order'
- (32) *mnzen thwarakthkwramo*
 mnz=en thwa\rakthk/wramo
 house=LOC SG>2|3PL.IO:PST:DUR:AND\put_on_top
 'She put those things back in the house for them,'
- (33) *mni tnz rä*
 mni tnz \rä/
 fire short 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 '(for example) small pieces of firewood.'
- (34) *kwanbrigwrm nafanemäwä mnzfo*
 kwan\brig/wrm nafane=ma=wä mnz=fo
 SG:PST:DUR:VENT\return 3SG.POSS=CHAR=EMPH house=ALL
 'Then she returned to her own house.'
- (35) *fthé we thwaniyakm thwänthor*
 fthé we thwan\yak/m thwän\thor/
 when also 2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\come 2|3PL:ITER:VENT\appear
 'When the people came back again,'
- (36) *ane mnz woga fthé swänthor*
 ane mnz woga fthé swän\thor/
 DEM house man when 3SG.M:ITER:VENT\appear
 'the house owners said:'

- (37) "oh zane ḷare z nzüwāniyak mnz fath zf nzürenwro zrā."
 oh zane ḷare z nz=wän\yak/ mnz
 oh DEM:PROX woman IAM IPST=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come house
 fath zf nz=w\ren/wro
 clear_place IMM IPST=SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:AND\sweep
 z=rä/
 PROX=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 "Oh, this woman was here. She has swept the house yard here."

(38) *zafe kabe miyatha thfrärm nafanme rzarsi monme zfrärm*
 zafe kabe miyatha thf\rä/ram nafanme rzar-si mon=me
 old man knowledge 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be 3NSG.POSS tie-NMLZ how=INS
 zf\rä/ram
 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be
 'At that time, they knew about their connections to her.'

(39) *ane kar woganzo*
 ane kar woga=nzo
 DEM village man=ONLY
 'but only the people from this particular village.'

(40) *nafä fi monme nzürna ḷareyä kwarzarwrmth*
 nafä fi mon=me nzürna ḷareyä kwa\rzar/wrmth
 3PL.IC 3.ABS how=INS spirit_woman woman=IC 2|3PL:PST:DUR\tie
 'They were on good terms with the Nzürna.'

(41) *keke thufnzrm ane karma kabe nef*
 keke thu\fn/zrm ane kar=ma kabe nef
 NEG SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\hit DEM village=CHAR man 3SG.ERG
 'She did not attack the people from the village.'

(42) *bänema fi nar wogathatha bäne thfrärm nima*
 bänem=ma fi nar woga=thatha bäne thf\rä/ram nima
 PH=CHAR 3.ABS friend man=SIMIL PH.ABS 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be like_this
 'because they were her friends.'

(43) *miyatha thfrärm*
 miyatha thf\rä/ram
 knowledge 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be
 'They knew about her.'

- (44) *nafane nagayé thfrärm naf thwamonegwrn kabe fefe*
 nafane nagayé thf\rä/rm naf thwa\moneg/wrn kabe
 3SG.POSS children 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be 3SG.ERG SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\wait man
 fefe
 really
 ‘They were like her children and she looked after them.’
- (45) *wati nä kayé mogarkamma kabe*
 wati nä kayé mogarkam=ma kabe
 then INDF one_day_away Mogarkam=CHAR man
 ‘One day, there was a man from Mongarkam,’
- (46) *nima sfiyakm firrafo*
 nima sf\yak/m firra=fo
 like_this 3SG.M:PST:DUR\walk firra=ALL
 ‘who came for a visit to Firra.’
- (47) *wati, fi mane yara nama zokwasi woga yara*
 wati fi mane ya\r/a nama zokwasi woga
 then 3.ABS which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be two_days_away speech man
 ya\r/a
 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
 ‘He spoke Nama language.’
- (48) *firran mane thwamnzrm*
 firra=en mane thwa\m/nzrm
 firra=LOC which 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘The people living in Firra’
- (49) *mema zokwasi woga yara*
 mema zokwasi woga ya\r/a
 Mema speech man 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
 ‘were speakers of Mema.’
- (50) *fthé thwamnzrm kabe*
 fthé thwa\m/nzrm kabe
 when 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit man
 ‘In those times, when people still lived (at Firra).’⁴

⁴Firra is only used as a garden place today.

- (51) *wati, fi mane yaka e*
 wati fi mane \yak/a e
 then 3.ABS which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\walk until
 ‘Okay, as he came (to Firra)’
- (52) “*krara krara krara*”
 krara krara krara
 eclectus_parrot eclectus_parrot eclectus_parrot
 ‘the parrot was calling out “krara krara krara”.⁵
- (53) *firra sathora fof*
 firra sa\thor/a fof
 firra 3SG.M:PST:PFV\appear EMPH
 ‘He arrived in Firra’
- (54) *with fren fof*
 with fr=en fof
 banana post=LOC EMPH
 ‘inside the banana grove’
- (55) “*krara krara krara*”
 krara krara krara
 eclectus_parrot eclectus_parrot eclectus_parrot
 ““krara krara krara”.”
- (56) *fi zära yakme we sänis zära*
 fi zä\r/a yakme we sänis zä\r/a
 3.ABS SG:PST:PFV\do quickly also change SG:PST:PFV\do
 ‘He quickly changed his appearance.’
- (57) *kabe wokuthé zäkora nima kabe*
 kabe woku-thé zä\kor/a nima kabe
 man skin-ADJZ SG:PST:PFV\become like_this man
 ‘He changed into a human being.’

⁵*krara* ‘eclectus parrot’ (*Eclectus polychloros*)

- (58) *ane si thäbuzanfr ra zane thfrärm ofe ḷarerath*
 ane si thäbuzanfr ra zane thfrärm ofe ḷarerath
 DEM eyes hair long what.ABS DEM:PROX 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be
 ofe ḷa\rä/rath
 disappearance 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\do
 ‘Those long eyebrows and whatever else was there disappeared.’
- (59) *zäwthefa kabe zäkora*
 zä\wthef/a kabe zä\kor/a
 SG:PST:PFV\change man SG:PST:PFV\become
 ‘He changed his appearance and became a human being.’
- (60) *watik ḷare nima zräzigrm “awe nzone moba nzraniyak?”*
 watik ḷare nima zrä\zigrm/ awe nzone moba
 then woman like_this 3SG.F:IRR:PFV\look come 1SG.POSS where.ABL
 nzran\yak/
 2SG:IRR:IPFV:VENT\come
 ‘Then the Nzürna saw him and said: “Come closer, my dear friend! Where did you just come from?”’
- (61) *naf we komnzo zära nima*
 naf we komnzo zä\r/a nima
 3SG.ERG also only SG:PST:PFV\do like_this
 ‘He was thinking like this:’
- (62) *“oh zane ausinzo zfzagathifth.”*
 oh zane ausi=nzo zf za\gathif/th
 oh DEM:PROX old_woman=ONLY IMM 2|3PL>3SG.F:RPST:PFV\leave
 ‘Oh, they must have left this old woman behind.’
- (63) *“kabe matak erä nima z bramöwä kwafarkwrth*
 kabe matak e\rä/ nima z bramöwä
 man nothing 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be like_this IAM all
 kwa\fark/wrth
 2|3PL:RPST:IPFV\set_off
 ‘Nobody else is here. They have all gone out.’
- (64) *nima erä ḷarsfo.”*
 nima e\rä/ ḷars=fo
 like_this 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be river=ALL
 ‘They must have gone down to the river.”’

- (65) “awow”
 awow
 okay
 “Okay then!”
- (66) *yamenzo srathams*
 yame=nzo sra\thams/
 mat=ONLY 2|3SG>3SG.M.IO:IRR:PFV\spread
 ‘She spread out a mat for him’
- (67) *kramath with tayo yanrkunzr*
 kra\math/ with tayo yan\rku/nzr
 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\run banana ripe 2|3SG>3SG.F.IO:NPST:IPFV:VENT\knock_off
 ‘and went and knocked down some bananas for him.’
- (68) *yarithr*
 ya\ri/thr
 2|3SG>3SG.M.IO:NPST:IPFV\give
 ‘She gave him (the bananas).’
- (69) *kafar famä zäkora nima*
 kafar fam=ä zä\kor/a nima
 big thought=ASSOC SG:PST:PFV\become like_this
 ‘Bad thoughts arose in her mind:’
- (70) “*nzone dagonma zane zf yé*”
 nzone dagon=ma zane zf \yé/
 1SG.POSS food=CHAR DEM:PROX IMM 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 “This guy will be my meal.”
- (71) *z nziyaniyak.*
 z nz=yan\yak/
 IAM IPST=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come
 ‘He’s here already.’”
- (72) *bänema yrgfakwa nima zane karma keke yé.*
 bâne=ma y\rgfak/wa nima zane
 PH=CHAR SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\recognize like_this DEM:PROX
 kar=ma keke \yé/
 village=CHAR NEG 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘She realised that the man was not from this village.’

- (73) *moba z nm nziyaniyak?*
 moba z nm nz=yan\yak/
 where.ABL IAM maybe IPST=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come
 “Where might he have come from?”
- (74) *garamgaram srethkäf*
 garamgaram sre\thkäf/
 sweet_talk 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\start
 ‘She began to woo him.’
- (75) *“kwa ḷabrigwr? efoth byé!”*
 kwa ḷa\brig/wr efoth b=\yé/
 FUT 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\return sun MED=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 “You’re not going back today? The sun has almost set there.”
- (76) *“keke zä zf kwa worugr”*
 keke zä zf kwa wo\ru/gr
 NEG PROX IMM FUT 1SG:NPST:IPFV\sleep
 ‘He replied “No, I will sleep here.’
- (77) *“kwa fof thrämonesé kayé fthé thräthor.”*
 kwa fof thrä\mones/é kayé fthé
 FUT EMPH 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\wait one_day_away when
 thrä\thor/
 2|3PL:IRR:PFV\appear
 ‘I’ll wait until the people come back tomorrow.’
- (78) *zbärfaf ḷathamsakrnth*
 zbär faf ḷa\thamsak/rnth
 night place 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\spread
 ‘In the evening, they spread their sleeping mats’
- (79) *etfth kramnzerth*
 etfth kra\mnzer/th
 sleep 2|3DU:IRR:PFV\fall_asleep
 ‘and went to sleep.’
- (80) *etfth kwosi krämnzer*
 etfth kwosi krä\mnzer/
 sleep dead 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\fall.asleep
 ‘The man was fast asleep.’

- (81) *ausi nzürna ḷare krebnaf*
ausi nzürna ḷare kre\bnaf/
old_woman spirit_woman woman 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\wake_up
‘But the Nzürna woke up (and called out)’
- (82) *züm züm züm züm*
züm züm züm züm
centipede centipede centipede centipede
“züm züm züm züm”⁶
- (83) *subnazrm fof ... sain swarithrm wati*
su\bnaz/rm fof sain swa\ri/thrm
SG>3SG.M:PST:DUR\wake_up EMPH sign SG>3SG.M:IO:PST:DUR\give
‘She was trying to wake him up, to give him a sign.’
- (84) *keke zethäkna ane*
keke ze\thäkn/a ane
NEG SG:PST:PFV\shake DEM
‘He slept soundly and didn’t move.’
- (85) *yaka zanrnzo srewakuth*
yaka zan=r=nzo sre\wakuth/
digging_stick fight=PURP=ONLY 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\pick_up
‘She took the digging stick,’
- (86) *di fof safrnza kwosi*
di fof sa\fr/nza kwosi
neck EMPH SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\bite dead
‘struck him on the head and killed him.’
- (87) *kwot yanatha fä fof*
kwot ya\na/tha fä fof
properly SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\eat DIST EMPH
‘Then she ate him right there.’
- (88) *bramöwä sabtha*
bramöwä sa\bth/a
all SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\finish
‘(She ate) everything.’

⁶She can command the centipedes *züm*.

- (89) *wthnzo ezänzr*
 wth=nzo e\vä/zä/nzr
 faeces=ONLY 2|3SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\carry
 'Only the intestines, she carried'
- (90) *füni komnzo bikogr firran*
 füni komnzo b=y\ko/gr firra=en
 tree_species only MED=3SG.M:NPST:STAT\be_standing PLN=LOC
 'to the Füni tree that stands in Firra.'
- (91) *wämne yffüni yé*
 wämne yf füni \yé/
 tree name tree_species 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 'The name of the tree is Füni.'
- (92) *firran bää ykogr*
 firra=en bää y\ko/gr
 firra=LOC MED 3SG.M:NPST:STAT\be_standing
 'It's there in Firra.'
- (93) *nä kayé fthé boba gnyako nima kwa ymarwr ane kafar wämne*
 nä kayé fthé boba gn\yak/o nima
 INDF one_day_away when MED:ABL 2SG:IMP:IPFV:AND\walk like_this
 kwa y\mar/wr ane kafar wämne
 FUT 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\see DEM big tree
 'If you walk there day, you will see that big tree.'
- (94) *z niyakako?*
 z n\yak/ako
 IAM 2SG:PST:IPFV:AND\walk
 'Ah, you've already been there?'⁷
- (95) *zba mothfa mane ykogr füni*
 zba moth=fa mane y\ko/gr füni
 PROX:ABL path=ABL which 3SG.M:NPST:STAT\be_standing tree_species
 'It is right by the road.'

⁷Maraga's wife Eno pointed out that CD had been there the year before.

- (96) *ane bafen yakan dganzo saräsa*
 ane baf=en yaka=en dganzo sa|räsa
 DEM PH=LOC digging_stick=LOC bifurcation SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\erect
 ‘She rammed the digging stick in the ground’
- (97) *wth fobo fof thämira*
 wth fobo fof thä|mir/a
 faeces DIST:ALL EMPH SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hang
 ‘and hung the intestines from it,’
- (98) *ane kabeane wth*
 ane kabe=ane wth
 DEM man=POSS.SG faeces
 ‘that man’s intestines.’
- (99) *fi zäbrimako zäthbako mnzen*
 fi zä|brim/ako zä|thb/ako mnz=en
 3.ABS SG:PST:PFV:AND\return SG:PST:PFV:AND\enter house=LOC
 ‘Then she returned and went inside her house.’
- (100) *nafafis oromanf zräses fof*
 nafa-fis oroman=f zrä\s/ fof
 3.POSS-husband old_man=ERG.SG 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\ask EMPH
 ‘Her husband asked her:’
- (101) “*be ranzo änfiyokwr, ah?*
 be ra=nzo än|fiyok/wr ah
 2SG.ERG what.ABS=ONLY 2|3SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\make ah
 ‘”What have you been up to?”
- (102) *bä moba nrä?*
 bä moba n|rä/
 2.ABS where.ABL 2SG:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘Where do you come from?’
- (103) *mä nznrugr?”*
 mä nz=n|ru/gr
 where IPST=2SG:NPST:IPFV\sleep
 ‘Where did you stay?”’

- (104) *mä kwa bā fof zämñzeré zbärma*
 mä kwa bā fof zä\mnzer/é zbär=ma
 where FUT MED EMPH 1SG:RPST:PFV\fall.asleep night=CHAR
 '(She replied) "Nowhere! I slept there during the night."
- (105) *nagayanme znzän zwäfonz*
 nagayé=aneme znzä=en zwä\fonz/
 children=POSS.NSG work=LOC 1SG:RPST:PFV\dawn_on_sb
 'Nightfall caught me during work for the children.'
- (106) *ane gathagathame kakauna mane egathikwroth*
 ane gatha=me kakauna mane e\gathik/wroth
 DEM bad=INS thing which PL>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:AND\leave
 'They had left their things lying around."
- (107) *nafafis miyamr*
 nafa-fis miyamr
 3.POSS-husband ignorance
 'Her husband was unsuspecting.'
- (108) *fi fthé enthorakwa mnz kabe fof*
 fi fthé en\thorak/wa mnz kabe fof
 3.ABS when 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\appear house man EMPH
 'When the villagers arrived'
- (109) *nima thäzigrma*
 nima thä\zigrm/a
 like_this 2|3PL:PST:PFV\look
 'they looked around (and said)'
- (110) *nä tmatm ffé nzŋawänzr*
 nä tmatm fefe nz=ŋa\wä/nzr
 INDF action really IPST=2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\happen
 "Something bad has happened."
- (111) *manema kabe zä naf nziyanathr?*
 mane=ma kabe zä naf nz=ya\na/thr
 which=CHAR man PROX 3SG.ERG IPST=2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\eat
 'Where did the man she ate come from?"'

- (112) *äniyaka zbär zf zukwinzrmth zkonzrmth*
 än\yak/a zbär zf zu\kwi/nzrmth
 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\come night IMM 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:DUR\argue
 zf\ko/nzrmth
 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:DUR\speak
 ‘In the evening, they went to her house. They argued with her and
 talked to her.’
- (113) *zäbrimath mon kwa wäfiyokwre bänema kabe z nzirärkwr*
 zä\brim/ath mon kwa wä\fiyok/wre bäne=ma
 2|3PL:PST:PFV\return how FUT 1PL>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\make PH=CHAR
 kabe z nz=y\rärk/wr
 man IAM IPST=2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\mess_up
 ‘As they returned to the village they were saying, ”“What should we do
 with her? Has she already finished the man?”
- (114) *z nzizyanathr*
 z nz=ya\na/thr
 IAM IPST=2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\eat
 ‘She just ate him.”’
- (115) *wati, bthan kabe thfrärm ane kabe firran mane thwamnzrm*
 wati bthan kabe thf\rä/rm ane kabe firra=en mane
 then magic man 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be DEM man PLN=LOC which
 thwa\m/nzrm
 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘There were some sorcerers who lived in Firra.’
- (116) *wati, tmatm äfiyokwrth*
 wati tmatm ä\fiyok/wrth
 then action 2|3PL>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\make
 ‘There were getting prepared.’
- (117) *ttmatm zwafiyokwrmth*
 t~tmatm zwa\fiyok/wrmth
 REDUP~action 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:DUR\make
 ‘They were getting prepared for her’

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- (118) *fam wäfiyokwrth näbinzo*
fam wä\fiyok/wrth näbi=nzo
thought 2|3PL>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\make one=ONLY
'and they came up with a plan,'
- (119) “*mni me né zräföfe*”
mni=me né zrä\föf/e
fire=INS IMN 1PL>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\burn
“We will burn her in the fire.”
- (120) *nima tmatmr rä*
nima tmatm=r \rä/
like_this action=PURP 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
'This was the plan.'
- (121) *wati, bthan tmatmme nafane fam zwarmänwrmth*
wati bthan tmatm=me nafane fam zwa\rmän/wrmth
then magic action=INS 3SG.POSS thought 2|3PL>3SG.F.IO:PST:DUR\close
'They began to block their thoughts with their magic.'
- (122) *wärmänwath e*
wä\rmän/wath e
2|3PL>3SG.F.IO:PST:IPFV\close until
'They blocked her mind until'
- (123) *ane bafen keke kwämätrakwrm bänema*
ane baf=en keke kwa\mätrak/wrm bäne=ma
DEM PH=LOC NEG SG:PST:DUR\exit PH=CHAR
'she did not dare come out of her house because'
- (124) *fam z zürmänth*
fam z zü\rmän/th
thought IAM 2|3PL>3SG.M.IO:ITER\close
'they had intimidated her.'
- (125) *wtri we z zära nima*
wtri we z zä\r/a nima
fear also IAM SG:PST:PFV\do like_this
'She was scared (thinking)',

- (126) “z zwemarth ane yam fiyoksin”
 z zwe\mar/th ane yam fiyok-si=en
 IAM 2|3SG>1SG:RPST:PFV\see DEM event make-NMLZ=LOC
 “They already know what I’ve done.”
- (127) *mni wthomonwrth yfö mä zfrärm*
 mni w\thomon/wrth yfö mä zf\rä/rm
 firewood 2|3PL>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\make_fire hole where 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be
 ‘They piled up firewood by the entrance (to her house).’
- (128) *mni wthomonwath a zräföfth*
 mni w\thomon/wath a zrä\föf/th
 firewood 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\makepile_fire and 2|3PL:IRR:PFV\burn
 ‘They piled up wood and set it on fire.’
- (129) *fi yame yrsifnzo zukonzrm boba wämne yfön fof*
 fi yame yr-si=f=nzo zu\ko/nzrm boba
 but mat build-NMLZ=ERG.SG=ONLY SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR\become MED:ABL
 wämne yfö=en fof
 tree hole=LOC EMPH
 ‘Meanwhile, she was busy weaving a mat in her tree.’
- (130) *nafafis bana krebnaf krekaris “u” mni u kwan fof*
 nafa-fis bana kre\bnaf/ kre\karis/
 3.POSS-husband pitiful 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\wake_up 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\hear
 u mni u_kwan fof
 sound_of_wind fire sound_of_wind EMPH
 ‘Her poor husband woke up and hear the sound of the fire “uh”’
- (131) *kafar wäsü sukogrñ mrab fren waisamen*
 kafar wäsü su\ko/grm mrrab
 big tree_species 3SG.M:PST:DUR:STAT\be_standing small_bamboo
 fr=en waisam=en
 post=LOC PLN=LOC
 ‘The big Wäsü tree stood in a bamboo grove at Waisam.’
- (132) *waisam ane kar yf rä*
 waisam ane kar yf \rä/
 Waisam DEM place name 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘That’s the name of the place, Waisam,’

- (133) *mobo zwamnzrm*
 mobo zwa\m/nzrm
 where.ALL 3SG.F:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘where she lived.’
- (134) *mrab fr thden*
 mrrab fr thd=en
 small_bamboo post middle=LOC
 ‘It is located in the middle of a bamboo grove.’
- (135) *krär nafafis zräs “be ranzo kayé thwanfiyokwr?”*
 krä\r/ nafa-fis zrä\s/ be
 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\do 3.POSS-husband 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\ask 2SG.ERG
 ra=nzo kayé thwan\fiyok/wr
 what.ABS=ONLY one_day_away 2|3SG>2|3PL:RPST:IPFV:VENT\make
 ‘Her husband got up asked her: “What have you done yesterday?”’
- (136) *“ra kwa thanfiyokwé?”*
 ra kwa than\fiyok/wé
 what.ABS FUT 2SG>2|3PL:IMP:IPFV:VENT\make
 ‘(She replied) “What do you mean, what did I do?”’
- (137) *“ra kwan we rä? ah”*
 ra kwan we \rä/ ah
 what.ABS shout also 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be ah
 ‘“and what’s this sound? Oh no!”’
- (138) *“nzukar banafa borbor bana sathor kma borbor ukwan zfrärm zufsgwrm fof”*
 nzu-kar bana=fa borbor bana sa\thor/
 1SG.POSS-place pitiful=ABL strong_wind pitiful 3SG.M:RPST:PFV\appear
 kma borbor u_kwan zf\rä/rm
 POT strong_wind sound_of_wind 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be
 zu\fsg/wrm fof
 SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR\blow EMPH
 ‘(She realized) “My poor place, the wind is blowing. This is the sound of the fire (in the bamboos).’

- (139) *füsüs ukwan bana nzukar banafa wnrä*
 füsüs u_kwan bana nzu-kar bana=fa
 wind sound_of_wind pitiful 1SG.POSS-place pitiful=ABL
 wn\rä/
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\be
 ‘It’s the sound of the wind. It’s coming from my village.’
- (140) *mni kwarsirm mni komnzo kwa zöfthé zethkäfa*
 mni kwa\rsir/m mni komnzo kwa zöfthé ze\thkäf/a
 fire SG:PST:DUR\burn fire only FUT earlier SG:PST:PFV\start
 ‘It was the fire that started burning earlier.’
- (141) *nima sräzigrm nafafis bana fof zänmätra fof*
 nima srä\zigrm/ nafa-fis bana fof
 like_this 3SG.M:IRR:PFV\look 3.POSS-husband pitiful EMPH
 zän\mätr/a fof
 SG:PST:PFV:VENT\exit EMPH
 ‘The poor husband was looking for an escape. He got out.’
- (142) *mni zbo z zamara*
 mni zbo z za\mar/a
 fire PROX:ALL IAM SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\see
 ‘He saw that the fire was already very close.’
- (143) *rürä fthé zagathifa*
 rürä fthé za\gathif/a
 alone when SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\leave
 ‘So he left her alone’
- (144) *nima sathfärako*
 nima sa\thfär/ako
 like_this 3SG.M:PST:PFV:AND\jump
 ‘and jumped out like this.’
- (145) *nima fi fthé sathfärako yakäsü*
 nima fi fthé sa\thfär/ako yak=ä=sü
 like_this 3.ABS when 3SG.M:PST:PFV:AND\jump run=ASSOC=ETC
 ‘He jumped and took off.’

- (146) *trtha zuthorakwrm*
 trtha zu\thorak/wrm
 life SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR\search
 'He was running for his life.'
- (147) *foba näbi fthé zanmatha fof*
 foba näbi fthé zan\math/a fof
 DIST:ABL one when 2|3SG:PST:PFV:VENT\run EMPH
 'He ran away for good.'
- (148) *emoth fäth nima ämnzr oten*
 emoth fäth nima ä\m/nzr ote=en
 girl DIM like_this 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\sit Ote=LOC
 'Their daughters were staying in Ote at the time.'
- (149) *komnzo zena bobo rä ane kar we nä fof rä trikasi kar fof*
 komnzo zena bobo \rä/ ane kar we nä fof
 only today MED:ALL 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be DEM village also INDF EMPH
 \rä/ trikasi kar fof
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be story place EMPH
 'That place still exists. It's place with a story of its own.'
- (150) *dödö fr rä kafar dödö fr zbo thden rä*
 dödö fr \rä/ kafar dödö
 melaleuca_species post 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be big melaleuca_species
 fr zbo thd=en \rä/
 post PROX:ALL middle=LOC 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'That place is in the middle of some dödö trees.'⁸
- (151) *näbüwä fthé zanmatha ote emoth fäthnm thrätrif*
 näbi=wä fthé zan\math/a ote emoth fäth=nm
 one=EMPH when SG:PST:PFV:VENT\run Ote girl DIM=DAT.NSG
 thrä\trif/
 2|3SG>2|3PL.IO:IRR:PFV\tell
 'So he escaped to Ote and informed the daughters,'

⁸ *dödö* 'plant species' (*Melaleuca sp.*)

- (152) “*bename ausi bzaföfth nafanemäwā*
 be name ausi b=za\föf/th
 2NSG.POSS mother old_woman MED=2|3PL>3SG.F:RPST:PFV\burn
 nafane=ma=wä
 3SG.POSS=CHAR=EMPH
 “Your mother burned in the flames there. It was all her fault!”

(153) *kafar Yam zwafiyokwr kabe nä z swanathr.*”
 kafar Yam zwa\fiyok/wr kabe nä z
 big event 2|3SG>3SG.F:RPST:IPFV\make man INDF IAM
 swa\na/thr
 2|3SG>3SG.M:RPST:IPFV\eat
 ‘She did a big crime. She ate a man.’”

(154) *fi nimanzo ffé yarako*
 fi nima=nzo fefe ya\r/ako
 3.ABS like_this=ONLY really 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:AND\be
 ‘He went away for good.’

(155) *fi nima mni zewaräfa*
 fi nima mni ze\waräf/a
 but like_this fire SG:PST:PFV\burn
 ‘The fire was still burning.’

(156) *ŋarsira ŋasira*
 ŋa\rsir/a ŋa\rsir/a
 SG:PST:IPFV\burn SG:PST:IPFV\burn
 ‘It burned and burned.’

(157) *kma zräzigrm “moba kwa krämätré? moba?”*
 kma zrä\zigrm/ moba kwa krä\mätr/é moba
 POT 3SG.F:IRR:PFV\look where.ABL FUT 1SG:IRR:PFV\exit where.ABL
 ‘She tried to find a way, “Where will I get out? Where?”’

(158) *näbi ffé zaföfath ŋarsira e kwot zäbtha*
 näbi fefe za\föf/ath ŋa\rsir/a e kwot
 one really 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\burn SG:PST:IPFV\burn until properly
 zä\bth/a
 SG:PST:PFV\finish
 ‘Everything burned down. It burned until all was over.’

- (159) *brbrnzo fof né zäthaba bafen ymden fof*
 brbr=nzo fof né zä\thb/a baf=en ymd=en fof
 spirit=ONLY EMPH IMN SG:PST:PFV\enter PH=LOC bird=LOC EMPH
 ‘Only her spirit tried to escaped by entering into a bird.’
- (160) “*kuka kuka*” *fä mane wänor*
 kuka kuka fä mane wä\nor/
 bird_call bird_call DIST which 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\shout
 ‘The one that is calling out “kuka kuka” over there.’
- (161) *krärth ane bthan woga ane kuka kuka zrämgth krätr*
 krä\r/th ane bthan woga ane kukakuka
 2|3PL:IRR:PFV\do DEM magic man DEM bird_species
 zrä\mg/th krä\tr/
 2|3SG:PL>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\shoot 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\fall
 ‘But the sorcerers shot the kukakuka bird and it fell to the ground.’
- (162) *wati, ffé zaföfath ane fobo fä zäbtha*
 dati fefe za\föf/ath ane fobo fä
 then really 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\burn DEM DIST:ALL DIST
 zä\bth/a
 SG:PST:PFV\finish
 ‘They burned this bird and finished her off.’
- (163) *ane thrma mni fthé zäbtha*
 ane thrma mni fthé zä\bth/a
 DEM later fire when SG:PST:PFV\finish
 ‘The fire then went out.’
- (164) *wati nagawa ḷabrigwa sir*
 dati nagawa ḷa\brig/wa si=r
 then Nangawa SG:PST:IPFV\return eyes=PURP
 ‘Nangawa returned to check on things.’
- (165) “*komnzo rä o z kwarsir mnin?*”
 komnzo \rä/ o z kwa\rsir/ mni=en
 only 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be or IAM 2|3SG:PST:IPFV\burn fire=LOC
 “Is she still alive or did she burn in the fire?”

- (166) *ŋabrigwa bobomr we waisam wäsü fthé sanmara*
 ŋa\brig/wa bobomr we waisam wäsü fthé
 SG:PST:IPFV\return until also Waisam tree_species when
 san\mar/a
 SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV:VENT\see
 ‘He returned to Waisam where he saw the Wäsü tree.’
- (167) “*watik fi nafazfthenwä*”
 watik fi nafa-zfth=en=wä
 then 3.ABS 3.POSS-reason=LOC=EMPH
 ‘He said: “Well, it was all her fault.”’
- (168) *yanzo bobo yanora nafajareanema*
 ya=nzo bobo ya\nor/a nafa-ŋare=ane=ma
 tear=ONLY MED:ALL 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\shout 3.POSS-wife=POSS.SG=CHAR
 ‘He wept profusely for his wife there.’
- (169) *wati, fi näbi zäbrima*
 wati fi näbi zä\brim/a
 then 3.ABS one SG:PST:PFV\return
 ‘Then he returned for good.’
- (170) *zbo yamnzs ane woga oten emoth fäthä ämnzs*
 zbo ya\m/nzr ane woga ote=en emoth fäth=ä
 PROX:ALL 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\sit DEM man Ote=LOC girl DIM=IC
 ä\m/nzr
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\sit
 ‘This man lives now in Ote together with the daughters.’
- (171) *kabeyé komnzo fä nomai sumarwre*
 kabe=é komnzo fä nomai su\mar/wre
 people=ERG.NSG only DIST HAB 1PL>3SG.M:RPST:IPFV\see
 ‘You can still see him there from time to time.’
- (172) *ymarwre fthé fä ŋaritakwr nima*
 y\mar/wre fthé fä ŋa\ritak/wr nima
 1PL>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\see when DIST 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\cross like_this
 ‘We sometimes see him when he crosses the river’

- (173) *firrafo yak we nima ñabrigwr*
 firra=fo \yak/ we nima ña\brig/wr
 firra=ALL 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\walk also like_this 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\return
 'to go to Firra and when comes back again.'
- (174) *tnz fäth ane kabe yé*
 tnz fäth ane kabe \yé/
 short DIM DEM man 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 'He is a small man.'
- (175) *ane nzürna ñareane zokwasi nimame fofrä fof*
 ane nzürna ñare=ane zokwasi nima=me fof
 DEM spirit_woman woman=POSS.SG speech like_this=INS EMPH
 \rä/ fof
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be EMPH
 'That was the Nzürna's story.'
- (176) *mane bobo firran zwamnzrm*
 mane bobo firra=en zwa\m/nzrm
 which MED:ALL firra=LOC 3SG.F:PST:DUR\sit
 'about the one who lived in Firra.'
- (177) *tüfr Yam nä ffé thwafiyokwrm fi fathfa ane fof wäftyokwa*
 tüfr Yam nä fefe thwa\fiyok/wrm fi fath=fa
 plenty event INDF really SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\make but clear_place=ABL
 ane fof wä\fiyok/wa
 DEM EMPH SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make
 'She has done many other things, but this one thing she has done in public.'
- (178) *nä karma kabe mane yanatha mogarkamma*
 nä kar=ma kabe mane ya\na/tha
 INDF village=CHAR man which SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\eat
 mogarkam=ma
 Mogarkam=CHAR
 'She ate a man from another village, a man from Mongarkam.'

- (179) *ane trikasi fobonzo wythk fof brä*
 ane trikasi fobo=nzo wa\ythk/ fof
 DEM story DIST:ALL=ONLY 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\come_to_end EMPH
 b=\rä/
 MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘This is the end of the story’
- (180) *ane nzürna ñareanema*
 ane nzürna ñare=ane=ma
 DEM spirit_woman woman=POSS.SG=CHAR
 ‘about that Nzürna.’
- (181) *watik, fobo fof zräkoré*
 watik fobo fof zrä\kor/é
 then DIST:ALL EMPH 1SG:IRR:PFV\speak
 ‘I have told it now.’
- (182) *nä karen nima näbuné bänema*
 nä kar=en nima näbun=é bäre=ma
 INDF place=LOC like_this INDF=ERG.NSG PH=CHAR
 ‘There are other stories at other places.’
- (183) *nä nzürna ñare zokwasi trikasi bä räro fi ane kar woga mane erä fi ane miyatha erä*
 nä nzürna ñare zokwasi trikasi bä \rä/ro
 INDF spirit_woman woman speech story MED 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:AND\be
 fi ane kar woga mane e\rä/ fi ane miyatha
 3.ABS DEM village man which 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be 3.ABS DEM knowledge
 e\rä/
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘There are other Nzürna stories, but the villagers there know them.’
- (184) *nzefé nzüwäbragwé nima ni miyatha nrä*
 nzefé nz=wä\brag/wé nima ni
 1SG.ERG.EMPH IPST=1SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\follow like_this 1NSG
 miyatha n\rä/
 knowledge 1PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘I followed this one because we know it.’

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- (185) *nzekaren ane yam kwafiyokwrm*
nze-kar=en ane yam kwa\fifiok/wrm
1NSG:POSS-place=LOC DEM event SG:PST:DUR\make
'This happened in our village,'
- (186) *nzenme ɳafyé mä thwamnzrm*
nzenme ɳaf=é mä thwa\m/nzrm
1NSG.POSS father=ABS.NSG where 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit
'where our fathers lived.'
- (187) *ɳafyé we nzenm natrikwath*
ɳaf=é we nzenm na\trik/wath
father=ERG.NSG also 1NSG.DAT 2|3SG>1PL.IO:PST:IPFV\tell
'And the fathers told us about it.'
- (188) *nima zbo zf zakoré*
nima zbo zf za\kor/é
like_this PROX:ALL IMM 1SG>3SG.F:RPST:PFV\speak
'I have finished it (the story) here in this way.'
- (189) *fof zäbthé*
fof zä\bth/é
EMPH 1SG:RPST:PFV\finish
'I am done.'

H *Nzürna trikasi bresanema* - The Nzürna story about Bres

H.1 Introduction

Nzürna trikasi bresanema is narrative lasting roughly 10min. It was recorded by Christian Döhler on August 27th 2012, in both audio and video formats.¹ The story teller is Kurai Tawéth, and the recording took place in front of the yam house of one of his brothers in *Rouku* village. Kurai grew up in a Wära speaking environment, and he feels embarrassed about the fact that he speaks a different dialect. Consequently, this story has already been adapted to the Komnzo dialect in the transcription, i.e. it differs from the original recording.

H.2 Summary & background

This story is about a man called who lives at *Yirko*. While out hunting, Bres is tricked by the Nzürna. She pretends to be one of his wives. He soon realises who she really is, and he starts running back to the village, where he finds only his old mother. His two wives and all other villagers had left for a dance in another village. The mother hides Bres in the yam house under a pile of yams. When the Nzürna arrives at the scene, she starts to fight with the mother and defeats her. Next she sends centipedes into the yam house, who give Bres painful bites. The mother is then forced to open the yam house and the Nzürna kills and eats Bres. She leaves the place while the mother weeps over the death of her son. At the same time, Bres' wives realise that something has happened. They return to the village only to find the remains of their husband. The mother reports what has happened, and the villagers make plans to take revenge. They burn the Wäsü tree and kill the Nzürna.

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20120827-03. It is archived at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11189856>

H.3 Nzürna trikasi bresanema (parallel text)

Nabon ezi. Nä zokwasi we zathkäfē bresanema. Okay bres bä swamnzrm yirkon. Edäwä ḷare swarärm nä kanfokma nä masuma. Ane ḷare mane thfrnm nge matak. Bres mane sfrärm fiyaf kabe yara. Fara kabe yara. Nima sfiyakm bäne kwonätrkr dbäwth. Okay nzürna ḷare fä fof zwamnzrm dbäwthen. Nä kayé bäne swarärm kut ḷatr. Ezi sfiyakm. Ane thunfirakwrm taurir ruga yem. Thunzänzrm bobo fof mnzfo. Karome thurzathrmth edawä ḷariyé.

Good morning! I'll begin another story about Bres. Okay, Bres was living in Yirko. He had two wives. One wife was from Kanfok and the other was from Masu. Neither of those two women had children. Bres was a hunter, a night hunter. He used to go this way, to Kwonä Trkr and to Débawéth. Okay, there was a Nzürna living in Débawéth. One day he had set a thingamajig, a trap with a bamboo string. He went early in the morning. He caught wallaby, pig and cassowary. He carried them back to the house. The two wives cooked them in the oven.

Nä kayé farem bramöwä zane thäkuka. Wathr eyaka nima kanfok. Nzürna wath yara. Bresane ḷare mane erna. Ane wath zinfo zabramath. Thgathifath bres ausi. ḷariyé zafarath. Ezi fi zefara ḷatr sir. Efirakwa tauri rusa ruga. Wati karo zathkäfath thomonsi fof. Karo wäfiyokwr dbäwthen. Fä sfrärm. Wati thufränzrm. Nzürna ḷare fthé zanthora. Zanrna "Nzone nge ranzo äfiyokwr?" Nima bresf zamara "Eh ḷamyf zanema zf kwanafr. Zanema fof nzürna ḷare zä ḷamränzr. "Kwot kamonegwé!" Zane kwakonrz zf."

One day all the Farem people went for a dance at Kanfok. It was a nzürna dance. Bres' wives followed the others to that dancing place. They left Bres and the old woman behind. After they had left, Bres went and checked his traps. He took out a wallaby, a deer and a pig. He prepared the oven and piled up firewood. He made that oven in Débawéth. He stayed over there. He burned off the fur. That was when the Nzürna appeared. She called out to him "My child, what are you doing?" Bres saw her and thought "Hey, my mother told me about this one, about this Nzürna who is moving around here. "You be careful!" is what she told me."

Zakora “Wth ane thäthor! Thänmayuf nofo!” Fi mane ezänza. Ane thefafa bramöwä no znfo. Kma trutruf Zukark-wrm. Ane fof thwanathrm trtha. Kwa-fyunzrm. Foba wännora “Bres kan-math! Trutruf nof zezanrz bäne.” Bres nima ïankwir. Keke matak. Fam zära “Eh z nzänathr!” Bres gatha fam. Karo wrzöbnth. Wrnth. ïarznth. Tauri ane erzöbnath.

Okay nzürna ïare fi sakora “Bänemr kwa nkasinzé yamr.” Yamr bres krämnzer. Zä kwanfathwrm. Si mätrak-sir né sfrärm. Zanr sathkäfa nzürna ïaref dagonr fof. “Ah ausi nima rar ïafiyokwr?” “Keke yam zbo erä sin.” Watik zakora “Nima käthf! No kwan-rin dbäwth! Mrrabfafä satrakumth!” “Okaynzefé kwa kräré.” Fi mane wiyaka wämnen zärbetha. Zämora. Yir yari-nakwr. Yir no yanzänzr fobo “Zrä!” Nima zakumtha “Keke. Ausi yir befé zane nzürinakwr. Kwot gniyaké! Bobo mrrab bää zatrakumth!” Wati ausi ze-fara. Mrrab bää fof zatrakumtha ebaren.

Bresf bäne karo zathkäfa thasi fof. Tauri thefafa. Näbun kma yakme ewäth-wa. Nä ane thägathifa. Fi zamatha

He told her “You take the intestines and wash them in the water!” She carried them to the creek. The stream almost took them out of her hands. So she ate the intestines raw. She gulped them down. “Bres come quickly! The water current carries them away.” Bres ran to her, but the intestines were gone. He thought “She just ate them.” Bad thoughts arose in his mind. They closed up the oven. They threw out the little pieces of wood. They covered the wallaby meat.

Okay, the Nzürna said, “I’ll pick your lice out.” Bres laid down. She was holding his head like this, and tried to pull out his eyeballs. She was trying to kill him, to eat him really. He said “Old woman, why are you doing this?” She replied “No, here are lice in your eyes.” Then he told her: “You go and fetch some water for me from Débäwéth. Break some bamboos after that!” “Okay, I will do that.” She pretended to walk away, but she hid behind a tree. She leaned against the tree and pissed in the container. She brought back the urine for him and said “Here you go.” He smelled it and said “No, you just pissed into it. Go again and smash the bamboos too.” She walked away and this time she really smashed the bamboo against her head.

Meanwhile, Bres began to open up the oven. He grabbed some of the wallaby meat, quickly wrapped it up, and ran

mnzfo yirko. Ausi nafajame ausi bana fam wrera. Mane wiyaka zefara fi. Nzürna yare zanthora. Ra karesa era karo ane kwafyunzrm. Nzürna yaref yafyunza. Thäbtha. Tauri ane yafyunza wämne ssaböm bres mänwä swamnzrm. Wämne ssaböm berä. Ane yafyunza. Sathkäfa bragsi. "Bres" foba zwanorm "Bres tauri nä kwarafinzo!" Bresf nä thabr zwarafinzm wämnen. Ane kwäfyrmo. Erna. Mnz ththora.

back towards his house at Yirko. He was thinking of his old mother. When the Nzürna arrived, she swallowed everything down, she finished it all. She gulped down the wallaby meat and the leaves, barks and even the stones from the oven. Then she began to follow him calling out 'Bres, put down some wallaby meat for me!' He left a leg of the wallaby on a branch for her. She gobbled it down and asked for more. Again he left some meat on the path and she swallowed it whole. They kept doing this until they approached the house.

Okay ausi zakora "Ijame. Nzürna yaryf wanmrinrz." Ausif sakora "Anema fof gukonzé nima kmam foba gniyaké!" Ausi bane wäfiyokwa. Wawa ane yabun yawi e eriknwa. Fobo sakora "Kämutzer!" Aneme ythäfa. Ynarwa. Sabtha. Mnz wwäthwa kwot yadme. Sagathifa. Ausi zwamnzrm mni thaken. Mnzen fof zrfön nima bafen. Fobo mane zanthora "Oh ngemäku" Watik ausi a nzürna yare zan zathkäfath. Ausi bäneme kwafasinzrm yaka zanme. "Ra zisé wofnzs? Nzone ane nge sanmätr! Zbo ythkgr." "Keke. Nzä ngemäre worä." Zathkäfath zan. Ane kwafnmth. E nzürna yare bane sasryoftha züm. Bres zbo yfrtha kamen. "Ara" Ijawkwa. Nzürna yaref bane yad yrtymakwa. Zäthba. Watik "Kwämänz!" Bres zänmätra. Watik wth grigrinzo sanmätra. Watik fobo yanatha. Watik fi zänbrima nrkarä. Ausi ya zagathif ya kwosi. Okay nafane bzäbth.

Okay, Bres said to the old woman: "Mother, the Nzürna is after me." The old woman said to him: "That's why I told you not to go to that side." The old woman quickly pulled apart a big pile of yams. She said to him: "You lie down here!" She covered him up and finished this. She closed the door properly with a string and left him there. She sat down by the fire at the house door. Then the Nzürna arrived and said "Oh dear friend!" The old woman and the Nzürna began to fight. The old woman smacked her with the digging stick "What pain are you giving me? Bring out my child! He is in here." The old woman replied "I don't have any children." They fought and fought, until the Nzürna sent a centipede into the house. It bit Bres on the back and he yelled "aaah". The Nzürna cut the string and went inside. She said, "You lead the way!" Bres

Yareyé bā wath znen kanfoken. Erna bāne erna zargfath fi yiryir thatrakumtha. “Nzenme kabe nabonzo bā yé, o?” Zasath “Bā namänzo nrä?” “Keke. Nzä nimawä worä. Nzä yiryir z zwatrakumth.” “Krafare!” Zbären zanfarath. Mät kar äniyana. Thrathor Ausi zranmarth. Ya zwanoro. Thrakor “Benme kabe z ythkagr. Zyamnzs! NzüRNA yare z nziyanathr.”

came out. First, she pulled out his guts. Then she ate him. She returned back home with a full stomach. She left the old woman in tears. She was crying badly. Okay, this part of the story is finished.

The two women were at the dancing place at *Kanfok*. While they were there, they realised something had happened. They suddenly had to pee. “Is our husband okay or not?” They asked each other “Are you okay?” “No, I am the same like you. I’ve already wet myself.” “We have to get going.” They left during the night. They came to *Mät Kar*. They arrived at the place and found the old woman in tears. She said “Your husband is inside. He is sitting here. The Nzürna has just eaten him.”

Foba mane rera yak kabe ane kwasinzmth. Bthan kabe zerä bthan kabe fof. Ane tmatm wäfiyokwrath bafen yirkon. Fafä zanmänzath bobo fof nzürna yare mobo zfrärm. Kabe berä. Ausi fäth mni wthosinzrath ane wäsi bafen. Wäsi mnzen zwamnzm. Wati wthosinzath. Zaföfh. Wati ane ukwan boba zekarisa. Watik fthé fof zethkäfa “Nzukarfa bāne sather borbor fof.” Fthé fof zwanorm “Yokä”. Ane zokwasi kwanafrm. Nafan nima zwarärm. Kma sfrärm borbor. Fi mni zürnane ukwan zethkäfako. Mni ane zäföfa wäsi. Zbofä wärtsokwa ane mni thamin fof. Thm mane zathor. Yame kma kränzir. Nge nä kränzir. Yirme kma wnkunzr.

They informed the other villagers. They came together. There were sorcerers amongst them. They practiced their magic in *Yirko* and led the others to the place where the Nzürna lived. Men and women came and piled firewood by the *Wäsi* tree. Then they set it on fire. She heard the sound of the fire saying “The wind is coming from my place.” She shouted “*yokä*”. She was saying those magic words. She thought it must be the wind, but it was the sound of the smoke rising. The fire was burning this *Wäsi* tree. The flames shocked her up there in the tree. The flames reached her and she threw out the mat. She threw out

Keke. Nge ane bramöwä nafane mane erera mnifo kwanrzrm. Nima. Okay nafafis oroman mane yara zäfänira. Nrkaräfafä zathorako ane nzürna njare “Bä namänzo nnrä? Ra nr nrä? Kabe zä yak. Befé msfnzé!” Nimawä sakora “Ra befé nä z yase änthonarakwr? Komnzo fof nrugwr!” Wati mnifo ane fof zänfüsa. Bthan kabeyé mitafo wfathwath. Fam wärtmakwath.

Wati zena znamnzr ni znrä. Nzenme nge nabonzo fzen eyak. Zöbthé mane zfrärm keke nima kwamränzrmth. Gathagatha kar zfrärm. Ane wäsi zfthen kabe kam ane thfhnm kabe tüfr. Kabe tüfr naf z änatha. Ruga kam, yem kam, tauri kam, kabe kam. Dmädrma faremma nä z änatha ane nzürna njare. Okay bobo zäbth ane zokwasi. Eso bana. Eso kafar.

Nabon trikasi rä. Näbunffafä maf kратикwr. Keke ane. Nzone mane yara bres nzone kabe zfth nzone yara. Nzone bada yara. Ane festhfa rera ane yam. Nafane msaksi zn mane rera yirkon swamnzrm. Bänefafä yirko zamar nzone bad fä fof njabrigwr. Nimame. Eso kafar.

the children. She tried in vain to piss on the fire. She threw all her children into the fire. Nzürna's husband, the old man, had already fled. Earlier when she had arrived with a full stomach, he had asked: "Are you okay? What is with your stomach? There was a man walking along here. You might have killed him!" She replied "What? Did you get any meat for the children? You just go to sleep!" Okay, she finally threw herself into the fire and burned to death. The sorcerers caught her spirit. They had blocked her mind also.

Today we live here in this place. Our children are safe when they walk through the forest. In the past, the children didn't move around. It was a dangerous place. Human bones were lying around that Wäsi tree. She had eaten many people. There were pig bones, cassowary bones, wallaby bones and also human bones. She had eaten some people from *Démändér* and from *Farem*, that Nzürna woman. Okay, the story ends here. Thank you my friend. Thank you very much.

It is a good story. Others should not tell this story. It is mine. Bres was my ancestor. He was my greatgrandfather. This was a true thing that happened. As for Bres' home, he was living in Yirko. You can see my land at Yirko. Thank you!

H.4 Nzürna trikasi bresanema (glossed text)

- (1) *nabon ezi*
nabon ezi
good morning
'Good morning!'
- (2) *nä zokwasi we zathkäfē bresanema*
nä zokwasi we za\thkäf/é bres=ane=ma
INDF speech also 1SG>3SG.F:RPST:PFV\start PN=POSS.SG=CHAR
'I'll begin another story about Bres.'
- (3) *okay, bres bää swamnzrm yirkon*
okay bres bää swa\m/nzrm PLN=en
okay PN MED 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit PLN=LOC
'Okay, Bres was living in Yirko.'
- (4) *edäwä ñare swarärm*
eda=wä ñare swa\rä/rm
two=EMPH woman 3SG.M:IO:PST:DUR\be
'He had two wives.'
- (5) *nä kanfokma nä masuma*
nä kanfok=ma nä masu=ma
INDF PLN=CHAR INDF PLN=CHAR
'One wife was from Kanfok and the other was from Masu.'
- (6) *ane ñare mane thfrnm nge matak*
ane ñare mane thf\rn/m nge matak
DEM woman which 2|3DU:PST:DUR\be child nothing
'Neither of those two women had children.'
- (7) *bres mane sfrärm fiyafkabe yara*
bres mane sf\rä/rm fiyaf kabe ya\r/a
PN which 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be hunt man 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
'Bres was a hunter,'
- (8) *fara kabe yara*
fara kabe ya\r/a
night_hunting man 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
'a night hunter.'

- (9) *nima sfiyakm bäne kwonätrkr dbäwth*
 nima sf\yak/m bäne kwonätrkr dbäwth
 like_this 3SG.M:PST:DUR\walk PH.ABS PLN PLN
 'He used to go this way, to Kwonä Trkr and to Débawéth.'
- (10) *okay, nzürna ɳare fä fof zwamnzrm dbäwthen*
 okay nzürna ɳare fä fof zwa\m/nzrm dbäwth=en
 okay spirit_woman woman DIST EMPH 3SG.F:PST:DUR\sit PLN=LOC
 'Okay, there was a Nzürna living in Débawéth.'
- (11) *nä kayé bäne swarärm kut ɳatr*
 nä kayé bäne swa\rä/rm kut ɳatr
 INDF one_day_away PH.ABS 3SG.M.IO:PST:DUR\be trap string
 'One day he had set a whatchmacallit, a trap with a bamboo string.'
- (12) *ezi sfiyakm ane thunfirakwrm taurir ruga yem*
 ezi sf\yak/m ane
 morning 3SG.M:PST:DUR\walk DEM
 thun\firak/wrm tauri=r ruga yem
 SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\take_from_net wallaby=PURP pig cassowary
 'He went early in the morning. He caught wallaby, pig and cassowary.'
- (13) *thunzänzrm bobo fof mnzfo*
 thun\zä\nzrm bobo fof mnz=fo
 SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\carry MED:ALL EMPH house=ALL
 'He carried them back to the house.'
- (14) *karome thurzathrmth edawä ɳariyé*
 karo=me thu\rza/thrmth eda=wä ɳare=é
 ground_oven=INS 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\bake two=EMPH woman=ERG.NSG
 'The two wives cooked them in the oven.'
- (15) *nä kayé farem bramöwä zane thäkuka. wathr eyaka nima kanfok*
 nä kayé farem bramöwä zane thä\kuk/a
 INDF one_day_away Farem all DEM:PROX 2|3PL:PST:PFV\stand
 wathr=e\yak/a nima kanfok
 dance=PURP 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\walk like_this Kanfok
 'One day all the Farem people went for a dance at Kanfok.'

- (16) *nzürna wath yara*

nzürna wath ya\r/a
spirit_woman dance 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
'It was a nzürna dance.'²

- (17) *bresane ḷare mane erna ane wath zinfo zabramath*

bres=ane ḷare mane e\rn/a ane wath zn=fo
PN=POSS.SG woman which 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\be DEM dance place=ALL
za\bfram/ath
2|3DU:PST:PFV\follow

'Bres' wives followed the others to that dancing place.'

- (18) *thgathifath bres ausi*

th\gathif/ath bres ausi
2|3PL>2|3DU:PST:PFV\leave PN old_woman
'They left Bres and the old woman behind.'

- (19) *ṇariyé zafarath ezi fi zefara ḷatr sir*

ṇare=é za\far/ath ezi fi ze\far/a
woman=ABS.NSG 2|3DU:PST:PFV\set_off morning 3.ABS SG:PST:PFV\set_off
ṇatr si=r
string eyes=PURP

'After the women had left, (Bres) went off to check his traps in the morning.'

- (20) *efirakwa tauri rusa ruga*

e\firak/wa tauri rusa ruga
SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\take_from_net wallaby deer pig
'He took out a wallaby, a deer and a pig.'

- (21) *wati karo zathkäfath thomonsi fof*

wati karo za\thkäf/ath thomon-si fof
then ground_oven 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV\start make_fire-NMLZ EMPH
'He prepared the oven and piled up firewood.'

- (22) *karo wäfiyokwr dbäwthen*

karo wäfiyok/wr dbäwth=en
ground_oven 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\make PLN=LOC
'He made that oven in Débawéth.'

²This is the traditional dance style of the Farem people.

- (23) *fä sfrärm*
 fä sf\rä/rm
 DIST 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be
 ‘He stayed over there.’
- (24) *wati thufränzrm*
 wati thu\frä/nzrm
 then SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\singe_off
 ‘He burned off the fur.’
- (25) *nzürna ñare fthé zanthora*
 nzürna ñare fthé zan\thor/a
 spirit_woman woman when 3SG.F:PST:PFV:VENT\appear
 ‘That was when the Nzürna appeared.’
- (26) *zanrna “nzone nge ranzo äfifyokwr?”*
 zan\rn/a nzone nge ra=nzo
 3SG.F:PST:PFV:VENT\shout 1SG.POSS child what.ABS=ONLY
 ä\fifyok/wr
 2|3SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\make
 ‘She called out to him “My child, what are you doing?”’
- (27) *nima bresf zamara “eh*
 nima bres=f za\mar/a eh
 like_this PN=ERG.SG SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\see hey
 ‘Bres saw her (and thought) “Hey,’
- (28) *ñamyf zanema zf kwanaf*
 ñame=f zane=ma zf kwa\naf/r
 mother=ERG.SG DEM:PROX=CHAR ABSC 2|3SG:RPST:IPFV:VENT\talk
 ‘my mother told me about this one.’
- (29) *zanema fof nzürna ñare zä ñamränzr*
 zane=ma fof nzürna ñare zä ña\mrä/nzr
 DEM:PROX=CHAR EMPH spirit_woman woman PROX 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\stroll
 ‘about this nzürna who is moving around here.’
- (30) *“kwot kamonegwé” zane kwakonzr zf*
 kwot ka\moneg/wé zane kwa\ko/nzr zf
 properly 2SG:IMP:IPFV\wait DEM:PROX 2|3SG>1SG:RPST:IPFV\speak ABSC
 ‘“You be careful!” is what she told me.”’

- (31) *zakora* “*wth ane thäthor*
 za\kor/a wth ane thä\thor/
 SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\speak faeces DEM 2SG>2|3PL:IMP:PFV\carry
 ‘He told her “You take the intestines and’
- (32) *thänmayuf nofo*”
 thän\mayuf/ no=fo
 2SG>2|3PL:IMP:PFV:VENT\wash water=ALL
 ‘wash them in the water!”
- (33) *fi mane ezänza ane thefafa bramöwä no znfo*
 fi mane e\zä/nza ane thä\faf/a
 3.ABS which SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\carry DEM SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hold
 bramöwä no zn=fo
 all water place=ALL
 ‘She carried all to the water.’
- (34) *kma trutruf zukarkwrm ane fof thwanathrm trtha*
 kma trutru=f zu\kark/wrm ane fof
 POT stream=ERG.SG SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR\pull DEM EMPH
 thwa\na/thrm trtha
 SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\eat life
 ‘The stream of water almost tore them out of her hands. So she ate them
 (intestines) raw.’
- (35) *kwafyunzrm*
 kwa\fyu/nzrm
 SG:PST:DUR\swallow
 ‘She swallowed them down.’
- (36) *foba wännora* “*bres kanmath*
 foba wän\nor/a bres kan\math/
 DIST:ABL 3SG.F:PST:IPFV:VENT\shout PN 2SG:IMP:PFV:VENT\run
 ‘She shouted “Bres come quickly!”
- (37) *trutruf nof zezänzr bäne.”*
 trutru=f no=f z=e\zä/nzr bäne
 stream=ERG.SG water=ERG.SG PROX=2|3SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\carry PH.ABS
 ‘The water current carries them away.”

- (38) *bres nima ḷankwir keke matak*
 bres nima ḷan\kwir/ keke matak
 PN like_this 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\run NEG nothing
 ‘Bres ran towards her, but the guts were gone.’
- (39) *fam zära “eh z nzänathr”*
 fam zä\ṛ/a eh z nz=ä\na/thr
 thought SG:PST:PFV\do hey IAM IPST=2|3SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\eat
 ‘He thought “She just ate them.”’
- (40) *bres gatha fam*
 bres gatha fam
 PN bad thought
 ‘Bad thoughts arose in Bres’ mind.’
- (41) *karo wrzöbnth*
 karo w\rzöb/nth
 ground_oven 2|3DU>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\cover
 ‘They closed up the oven.’
- (42) *wrnth ḷarznth tauri ane erzöbnath*
 w\rn/th ḷa\rz/nth tauri ane
 2|3DU>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\do 2|3DU:NPST:IPFV\throw wallaby DEM
 e\rzöb/nath
 2|3DU>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\close_oven
 ‘They threw out (the little pieces of wood). They covered the wallaby meat.’
- (43) *okay nzürna ḷare fi sakora*
 okay nzürna ḷare fi sa\kor/a
 okay spirit_woman woman 3.ABS SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\speak
 ‘Okay, the Nzürna said,’
- (44) “*bänemr kwa nkasinzé yamr*”
 bäne=r kwa n\kasi/nzé yam=r
 PH=PURP FUT 1SG>2SG:NPST:IPFV\open_up louse=PURP
 “I’ll pick your lice out.”

- (45) *yamr bres krämnzer*
 yam=r bres krä\mnzer/
 louse=PURP PN 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\fall_asleep
 ‘Bres laid down.’
- (46) *zä kwanfathwrm. si mätraksir né sfrärm*
 zä kwan\fath/wrm si mätrak-si=r n sf\rä/rm
 PROX SG:PST:DUR:VENT\hold eyes exit-NMLZ=PURP IMN 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be
 ‘She was holding his head like this, and tried to pull out his eyeballs.’
- (47) *zanr sathkäfa nzürna ñaref*
 zan=r sa\thkäf/a nzürna ñare=f
 hit=PURP SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\start spirit_woman wife=ERG.SG
 ‘The nzürna was trying to kill him,’
- (48) *dagonr fof*
 dagon=r fof
 food=PURP EMPH
 ‘to eat him really.’
- (49) “*ah ausi nima rar ñafiyokwr?*” “*keke Yam zbo erä sin*”
 ah ausi nima rar ña\fiyok/wr keke Yam
 ah old_woman like_this what.PURP 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\make NEG louse
 zbo e\rä/ si=en
 PROX:ALL 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be eyes=LOC
 ‘He said “Old woman, why are you doing this?” She replied “No, here are lice in your eyes.”’
- (50) *watik zakora*
 wati za\kor/a
 then SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\speak
 ‘Then he told her:’
- (51) “*nima käthf no kwanrin dbäwth*”
 nima kä\thf/ no kwan\rin/ dbäwth
 like_this 2SG:IMP:PFV\walk water 2SG>1SG.IO:IMP:PFV:VENT\pour PLN
 ““You go and fetch some water for me from Débawéth.’

- (52) *mrrabfafä satrakumth*
 mrrab fafä sa\trakumth/
 small_bamboo after_that 2SG>3SG.M:IMP:PFV\smash
 ‘Break some bamboos after that!’
- (53) “*okay, nzefé kwa kräré.*”
 okay nzefé kwa krä\ré
 okay 1SG.ERG.EMPH FUT 1SG:IRR:PFV\do
 “Okay, I will do that.”
- (54) *fi mane wiyaka wämnen zärbetha*
 fi mane w\yak/a wämne=en zä\rbeth/a
 3.ABS which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\walk tree=LOC SG:PST:PFV\protect
 ‘She walked of, but she hid behind a tree.’
- (55) *zämora yir yarinakwr*
 zä\mor/a yir ya\rinak/wr
 SG:PST:PFV\lean urine 2|3SG>3SG.M.IO:NPST:IPFV\pour
 ‘She leaned (against the tree) and urinated in the container for him.’
- (56) *yir no yanzänzr fobo “zrä”*
 yir no yan\zä/nzr fobo
 urine water 2|3SG>3SG.M.IO:NPST:IPFV:VENT\carry DIST:ALL
 z=\rä/
 PROX=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘She brought the urine for him and said “Here you go.”’
- (57) *nima zakumtha “keke*
 nima za\kumth/a keke
 like_this SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\smell NEG
 ‘He smelled it and said “No’
- (58) *ausi yir befé zane nzürinakwr*
 ausi yir befé zane
 old_woman urine 2SG.ERG.EMPH DEM:PROX
 nz=w\rinak/wr
 IPST=2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\pour
 ‘old woman, you pissed into it!’

- (59) *kwot gniyaké bobo mrrab bā zatrakumth”*
 kwot gn\yaké bobo mrrab bā
 properly 2SG:IMP:IPFV\walk MED:ALL small_bamboo MED
 za\trakumth/
 2SG>3SG.F:IMP:PFV\smash
 ‘Go again! and smash the bamboos too.”
- (60) *wati ausi zefara mrrab bā fof zatrakumtha ebaren*
 wati ausi ze\far/a mrrab bā fof
 then old_woman SG:PST:PFV\set_off small_bamboo MED EMPH
 za\trakumth/a ebar=en
 2SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\smash head=LOC
 ‘She walked away and really hit the bamboo on her head.’
- (61) *bresf bärene karo zathkäfa thasi fof*
 bres=f bärene karo za\thkäf/a tha-si
 PN=ERG.SG PH.ABS ground_oven SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\start open_oven-NMLZ
 fof
 EMPH
 ‘Meanwhile, Bres began to open the oven.’
- (62) *tauri thefafä näbun kma yakme ewäthwa*
 tauri thä\faf/a näbun kma yakme
 wallaby SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\hold INDF POT quickly
 e\wäth/wa
 SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\wrap
 ‘He grabbed some of the wallaby meat and quickly wrapped them up.’
- (63) *nä ane thägathifa*
 nä ane thä\gathif/a
 INDF DEM SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\leave
 ‘He left some of the meat behind’
- (64) *fi zamatha mnzfo yirko*
 fi za\math/a mnz=fo yirko
 3.ABS SG:PST:PFV\run house=ALL PLN
 ‘and he ran towards the house at Yirko.’

- (65) *ausi nafajame ausi bana fam wrera*
 ausi nafa-ŋame ausi bana fam
 old_woman 3.POSS-mother old_woman pitiful thought
 w|rä/ra
 SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\do
 ‘He thought of his mother, the poor, old woman.’
- (66) *mane wiyaka zefara fi. nzürna ɳari zanthora*
 mane w\yak/a ze\far/a fi nzürna
 which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\walk SG:PST:PFV\set_off 3.ABS spirit_woman
 ɳare zan\thor/a
 woman 3SG.F:PST:PFV:VENT\appear
 ‘As he ran off, the Nzürna arrived (back at the oven).’
- (67) *ra karesa erera karo ane kwafyunzrm*
 ra karesa e|rä/ra karo ane
 what.ABS paperbark 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be ground_oven DEM
 kwa\fyu/nzrm
 SG:PST:DUR\swallow
 ‘Whatever bark and stones were lying around, she swallowed them.’
- (68) *nzürna ɳaref ɳafyunza thäbtha*
 nzürna ɳare=f ɳa\fyu/nza thä\bth/a
 spirit_woman wife=ERG.SG SG:PST:IPFV\swallow SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\finish
 ‘The Nzürna swallowed it all down. She finished it all.’
- (69) *tauri ane ɳafyunza wämne ssaböm bres mänwä swamnzrm wämne ssaböm berä*
 tauri ane ɳa\fyu/nza wämne ssaböm bres mänwä
 wallaby DEM SG:PST:IPFV\swallow tree fresh_leaves PN where.EMPH
 swa\m/nzrm wämne ssaböm b=e|rä/
 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit tree fresh_leaves MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘She swallowed the wallaby meat and the fresh leaves (in the oven) and
 the leaves that bres was sitting on.’
- (70) *ane ɳafyünza*
 ane ɳa\fyu/nza
 DEM SG:PST:IPFV\swallow
 ‘She swallowed these.’

- (71) *sathkäfa bragsi*
 sa\thkäf/a brag-si
 SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\start follow-NMLZ
 ‘She began to follow him.’
- (72) “*bres*” *foba zwanorm* “*bres tauri nä kwarafinzo*”
 bres foba zwa\nor/m bres tauri nä
 PN DIST:ABL 3SG.F:PST:DUR\shout PN wallaby INDF
 kwa\rafinz/o
 2SG>1SG.IO:IMP:PFV:AND\put_on_top
 ‘She called out, ‘Bres, put down some wallaby meat for me!’’
- (73) *bresf nä thabr zwarafinzm wämnen*
 bres=f nä thabr zwa\rafi/nzm wämne=en
 PN=ERG.SG INDF hand SG>3SG.F.IO:PST:DUR\put_on_top tree=LOC
 ‘Bres put one wallaby leg up on the branch for her’
- (74) *ane kwäfyurmo*
 ane kwä\fyur/mo
 DEM SG:ITER:DUR:AND\swallow
 ‘and she gulped it down.’
- (75) *erna mnz ththora*
 e\rn/a mnz th\thor/a
 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\be house 2|3DU:PST:PFV\appear
 ‘They kept doing this until they approached the house.’
- (76) *okay, ausi zakora* “*ŋame, nzürna ŋaryf wanmrinrz*”
 okay ausi za\kor/a ŋame nzürna
 okay old_woman SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\speak mother spirit_woman
 ŋare=f wan\mrinz/r
 woman=ERG.SG 2|3SG>1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\chase
 ‘Okay, Bres said to the old woman: “Mother, the Nzürna is after me.”’
- (77) *ausif sakora* “*anema fof gukonzé nima kmam foba gniyaké*”
 ausi=f sa\kor/a ane=ma fof
 old_woman=ERG.SG SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\speak DEM=CHAR EMPH
 gu\ko/nzé nima kma=m foba gn\yak/é
 1SG>2SG:RPST:IPFV\speak like_this POT=APPR DIST:ABL 2SG:IMP:IPFV\walk
 ‘The old woman said to him: “That’s why I told you not to go to this side.”’

- (78) *ausi bäne wäfiyokwa*
ausi bäne wä\fiyok/wa
old_woman PH.ABS SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make
‘The old woman was doing this,’
- (79) *wawa ane yabun yawi e eriknwa*
wawa ane yabun yawi e e\rikn/wa
round_yam DEM big round_object until SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\destroy
‘she pulled apart a big pile of yams.’
- (80) *fobo sakora “kämñzer”*
fobo sa\kor/a kä\mnzer/
DIST:ALL SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\speak 2SG:IMP:PFV\fall_asleep
‘She said to him: “You lie down here!”’
- (81) *aneme ythäfa ynarwa sabtha*
ane=me y\thäf/a y\nar/wa
DEM=INS SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\cover SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\press_down
sa\bth/a
SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\finish
‘She covered him up and finshed this.’
- (82) *mnz wwäthwa kwot ñadme sagathifa*
mnz w\wäth/wa kwot ñad=me sa\gathif/a
house SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\wrap properly rope=INS SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\leave
‘She closed the door properly with a string and left him there.’
- (83) *ausi zwamnzrm mni thaken*
ausi zwa\m/nzrm mni thak=en
old_woman 3SG.F:PST:DUR\sit fire fire_place=LOC
‘She sat down by the fire.’
- (84) *mnzen fof zrfön nima bafen*
mnz=en fof zrfö=en nima bafen
house=LOC EMPH door=LOC like_this PH.LOC
‘at the house door really.’
- (85) *fobo mane zanthora “oh ngemäku”*
fobo mane zan\thor/a oh ngemäku
DIST:ALL which 3SG.F:PST:PFV:VENT\appear oh address_term
‘Then (the Nzürna) arrived and said “Oh dear friend!”’

- (86) *watik ausi a nzürna yare zan zathkäfath*
 wati ausi a nzürna yare zan za\thkäf/ath
 then old_woman and spirit_woman woman fight 2|3DU:PST:PFV\start
 ‘The old woman and the Nzürna began to fight.’
- (87) *ausi bäneme kwafasinzrm yaka zanme*
 ausi bäneme kwa\fasi/nzrm yaka zan=me
 old_woman PH=INS SG:PST:DUR\make_noise digging_stick hit=INS
 ‘She hit her with the digging stick’
- (88) “*ra zisé wofnzs*?
 ra zisé wo\fn/zr
 what.ABS painful 2|3SG>1SG:NPST:IPFV\hit
 ““What pain are you giving me?”
- (89) *nzone ane nge sanmätr*
 nzone ane nge san\mätr/
 1SG.POSS DEM child 2SG>3SG.M:IMP:PFV:VENT\exit
 ‘Bring out my child!’
- (90) *zbo ythkgr*”
 zbo y\th/kgr
 PROX:ALL 3SG.M:NPST:STAT\be_inside
 ‘He is in here.”
- (91) “*keke nzä ngemäre worä*”
 keke nzä nge=mär wo\rä/
 NEG 1SG.ABS child=PRIV 1SG:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘The old woman replied “No, I don’t have any children.”’
- (92) *zathkäfath zan*
 za\thkäf/ath zan
 2|3DU:PST:PFV\start fight
 ‘They began to fight and’
- (93) *ane kwafnmth e*
 ane kwa\fn/nmth e
 DEM 2|3DU:PST:DUR\fight until
 ‘kept on fighting until’

- (94) *nzürna ñare båne sasryoftha züm*
 nzürna ñare båne sa\sryofth/a züm
 spirit_woman woman PH.ABS SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\send centipede
 ‘the Nzürna send in a centipede’
- (95) *bres zbo yfrtha kamen “ara” ñawarkwa*
 bres zbo y\fr/tha kam=en ara ña\wark/wa
 PN PROX:ALL SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\bite back=LOC ouch SG:PST:IPFV\howl
 ‘It bit Bres on the back and he yelled “aaah”’
- (96) *nzürna ñaref båne ñad yrtmakwa zäthba*
 nzürna ñare=f ñad y\rtmak/wa zä\thb/a
 spirit_woman wife=ERG.SG rope SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\cut SG:PST:PFV\enter
 ‘The Nzürna cut the string and went inside.’
- (97) *watik “kwamänz”*
 wati kwa\mänz/
 then 2SG>1SG:IMP:PFV\lead
 ‘She said, “You lead the way!”’
- (98) *bres zänmätra*
 bres zän\mätr/a
 PN SG:PST:PFV:VENT\exit
 ‘Bres came out.’
- (99) *watik, wth grigrinzo sanmätra*
 wati wth grigri=nzo san\mätr/a
 then faeces maggot=ONLY SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV:VENT\exit
 ‘She pulled out the worm (from his guts) and’
- (100) *watik, fobo yanatha*
 wati fobo ya\na/tha
 then DIST:ALL SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\eat
 ‘then, she ate him.’
- (101) *watik fi zänbrima nrkarä*
 wati fi zän\brim/a nr=karä
 then 3.ABS SG:PST:PFV:VENT\return belly=PROP
 ‘She returned back home with a full stomach’

- (102) *ausi ya zagathif ya kwosi*
 ausi ya za\gathif/ ya kwosi
 old_woman tear 2|3SG>3SG.F:RPST:PFV\leave tear dead
 'and left the old woman in tears. She was crying badly.'
- (103) *okay, nafane bzäbth*
 okay nafane b=zä\bth/
 okay 3SG.POSS MED=2|3SG:RPST:PFV\finish
 'Okay, this (part of the story) is finished.'
- (104) *ŋariyé bää wath znen kanfoken*
 ŋare=é bää wath zn=en kanfok=en
 woman=ABS.NSG MED dance place=LOC Kanfok=LOC
 'The two women were at the dancing place at Kanfok.'
- (105) *erna bäne erna*
 e\rn/a bäne e\rn/a
 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\be PH.ABS 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\be
 'While they were there,'
- (106) *zargfath fi yiryir thatrakumtha*
 za\rgf/ath fi yir~yir tha\trakumth/a
 2|3DU:PST:PFV\recognise 3.ABS REDUP~urine SG>2|3DU:PST:PFV\smash
 'they realised something had happened. They suddenly had to pee.'³
- (107) *nzenme kabe nabonzo bää yé o*
 nzenme kabe nabon=nzo bää \yé/ o
 1NSG.POSS man good=ONLY MED 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be or
 "Is our husband okay or not?"
- (108) *zasath "bää namänzo nrä?" "keke nzä nimäwää worä*
 za\s/ath bää namä=nzo n\rä/ keke nzä
 2|3DU:PST:PFV\ask 2.ABS good=ONLY 2SG:NPST:IPFV\be NEG 1SG.ABS
 nima=wä wo\rä/
 like_this=EMPH 1SG:NPST:IPFV\be
 'They asked each other "Are you okay?" "No, I am the same (like you)."

³A sudden urge of peeing is a sign that something bad has happened.

- (109) *nzä yiryir z zwatrakumth*
 nzä yir~yir z zwa\trakumth/
 1SG.ABS REDUP~urine IAM 2|3SG>1SG:RPST:PFV\smash
 ‘I’ve already wet myself.’
- (110) “*krafare*” *zbären zanfarath*
 kra\far/e zbär=en zan\far/ath
 1DU:IRR:PFV\set_off night=LOC 2|3DU:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off
 “We’ll get going.” They left during the night.’
- (111) *mät kar ännyana*
 mät kar än\yan/a
 Mät place 2|3DU:PST:IPFV:VENT\come
 ‘They came to Mät Kar.’
- (112) *thrathor*
 thra\thor/
 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\appear
 ‘They arrived at the place there’
- (113) *ausi zranmarth ya zwanoro*
 ausi zran\mar/th ya
 old_woman 2|3DU>3SG.F:PST:PFV:VENT\see tear
 zwa\nor/o
 3SG.F:RPST:IPFV:AND\shout
 ‘and found old woman in tears.’
- (114) *thrakor “benme kabe z ythkagr*
 thra\kor/ benme kabe z
 2|3SG>2|3DU:IRR:PFV\speak 2NSG:POSS man IAM
 y\th/kagr
 3SG.M:NPST:STAT\be_inside
 ‘She said “Your husband is inside.”
- (115) *zyamnzs*
 z=ya\m/nzs
 PROX=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\sit
 ‘He is sitting here.’

- (116) *nzürna ñare z nziyanathr*
 nzürna ñare z nz=ya\na/thr
 spirit_woman woman IAM IPST=2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\eat
 ‘The Nzürna has just eaten him.’
- (117) *foba mane rera yak kabe ane kwamosinzrmth*
 foba mane \rä/ra yak kabe ane kwa\mosi/nzrmth
 DIST:ABL which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be run man DEM 2|3PL:PST:DUR\gather
 ‘They went (to inform) the people. They came together.’
- (118) *bthan kabe zerä bthan kabe fof*
 bthan kabe z=e\rä/ bthan kabe fof
 magic man PROX=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be magic man EMPH
 ‘There were sorcerers here.’
- (119) *ane tmatm wäfiyokwrath bafen yrkon*
 ane tmatm wä\fiyok/wath bafen yirko=en
 DEM action 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make PH.LOC PLN=LOC
 ‘They practiced their magic in Yirko.’
- (120) *fafä zanmänzath bobo fof nzürna ñare mobo zfträrm*
 fafä zan\mänz/ath bobo fof nzürna ñare
 after_that 2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\lead MED:ALL EMPH spirit_woman woman
 mobo zf\rä/rm
 where.ALL 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be
 ‘Then they led the others to the place where the Nzürna lived.’
- (121) *kabe berä ausi fäth*
 kabe b=e\rä/ ausi fäth
 man MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be old_woman DIM
 ‘Men and women came along.’
- (122) *mni wthosinzrath ane wäsi bafen*
 mni w\thosi/nzrath ane wäsi bafen
 firewood 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make_fire DEM tree_species PH.LOC
 ‘They stacked firewood by the Wäsi tree.’
- (123) *wäsi mnzen zwamnzrm*
 wäsi mnz=en zwa\m/nzrm
 tree_species house=LOC 3SG.F:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘While she stayed in house in the tree.’

- (124) *wati wthosinzath zaföfth*
 dati w\thosi/nzrath za\föf/th
 then 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make_fire 2|3PL>3SG.F:RPST:PFV\burn
 'Then they set it on fire.'
- (125) *wati, ane u kwan boba zekarisa*
 dati ane u_kwan boba ze\karis/a
 then DEM sound_of_fire MED:ABL SG:PST:PFV\hear
 'She heard the sound of the fire.'
- (126) *watik fthé fof zethkäfa "nzukarfa bäne sathor borbor fof"*
 dati fthé fof ze\thkäf/a nzu-kar=fa bäne
 then when EMPH SG:PST:PFV\start 1SG.POSS-place=ABL PH.ABS
 sa\thor/ borbor fof
 3SG.M:RPST:PFV\appear strong_wind EMPH
 'She was saying "The wind is coming from my place."
- (127) *fthé fof zwanorm "ŋokä" ane zokwasi kwanafrm*
 fthé fof zwa\nor/m ŋokä ane zokwasi kwa\naf/rm
 when EMPH 3SG.F:PST:DUR\shout *** DEM speech SG:PST:DUR\talk
 'She shouted "ŋokä". She was saying those (magic) words.'
- (128) *nafan nima zwarärm kma sfrärm borbor*
 nafan nima zwa\rä/rm kma sf\rä/rm
 3SG.DAT like_this 3SG.F.IO:PST:DUR\be POT 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be
 borbor
 strong_wind
 'She thought it must be the wind,'
- (129) *fi mni zürnane u kwan zethkäfako*
 fi mni zürn=ane u_kwan ze\thkäf/ako
 but fire smoke=POSS.SG sound_of_fire SG:PST:PFV:AND\start
 'but, it was the sound of the smoke rising.'
- (130) *mni ane zäföfa wäsi*
 mni ane zä\föf/a wäsi
 fire DEM SG:PST:PFV\burn tree_species
 'The fire was burning on this Wäsi tree.'

- (131) *zbofā wärökwa ane mni thamin fof*
 zbo=fa wä\rsok/wa ane mni thamin fof
 PROX:ALL=ABL SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\disturb DEM fire tongue EMPH
 'The flames shocked her up there (in the tree).'
- (132) *thm mane zathor*
 thm mane za\thor/
 nose which 3SG.F:RPST:PFV\appear
 'The flames reached her and'
- (133) *yame kma kränzir*
 yame kma krän\zir/
 mat POT 2|3SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\throw
 'she threw out the mat.'
- (134) *nge nä kränzir*
 nge nä krän\zir/
 child INDF 2|3SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\throw
 'She threw out the children.'
- (135) *yirme kma wnkunzr keke*
 yir=me kma wn\ku/nzr keke
 urine=INS POT 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\put_off NEG
 'She tried in vain to urinate on the fire.'
- (136) *nge ane bramöwā nafane mane erera mnifo kwanrzrm*
 nge ane bramöwā nafane mane e\rä/ra mni=fo
 child DEM all 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be fire=ALL
 kwan\rz/rm
 SG:PST:DUR:VENT\throw
 'She threw all her children into the fire.'
- (137) *nima okay nafafis oroman mane yara zäfänira*
 nima okay nafa-fis oroman mane ya\r/a
 like_this okay 3.POSS-husband old_man which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
 zä\fänir/a
 SG:PST:PFV\shift_place
 'Nzürna's husband, the old man, had already fled.'

- (138) *nrkaräfafäzathorakoane nzürna ñare*
 nr=karä fafä za\thor/ako ane nzürna
 belly=PROP after_that 3SG.F:PST:PFV:AND\appear DEM spirit_woman
 ñare
 woman
 ‘Earlier when she had arrived with a full stomach, he asked:’
- (139) “*bänamänzo nnrära nr nrä?*”
 bä namä=nzo nn\rä/ ra nr
 2.ABS good=ONLY 2SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\be what.ABS belly
 n\rä/
 2SG:NPST:IPFV\be
 “Are you okay? What is with you stomach?”
- (140) *kabezäyak*
 kabe zä \yak/
 man PROX 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\walk
 ‘There was a man is walking along here.’
- (141) *befämsfnzé*
 befé m=s\fn/zé
 2SG.ERG.EMPH APPR=1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\hit
 ‘You might have killed him!”
- (142) *nimawä sakora*
 nima=wä sa\kor/a
 like_this=EMPH SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\speak
 ‘She replied’
- (143) *ra?befänäzyaseänthorakwr?*
 ra befé nä z yase
 what.ABS 2SG.ERG.EMPH INDF IAM game
 än\thorak/wr
 2|3SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\search
 “What? Did you get any meat for the children?”
- (144) *komnzofofnrugwr*
 komnzo fof n\rug/gr
 only EMPH 2SG:NPST:IPFV\sleep
 ‘You just go to sleep!’”

- (145) *wati, mnifo ane fof zänfusa*
 wati mni=fo ane fof zän\füs/a
 then fire=ALL DEM EMPH SG:PST:PFV:VENT\burn_down
 'Okay, (she threw herself) into the fire and burned to death.'
- (146) *bthan kabeyé mitafo wfathwath*
 bthan kabe=é mitafo w\fath/wath
 magic people=ERG.NSG ghost 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\hold
 'The sorcerers caught her spirit.'
- (147) *fam wärtmakwath*
 fam wä\rtmak/wath
 thought 2|3PL>3SG.F.IO:PST:IPFV\cut
 'They blocked her mind also.'
- (148) *wati, zena znamnzs ni znrä*
 wati zena z=na\m/nzr ni z=n\rä/
 then today PROX=1PL:NPST:IPFV\sit 1NSG PROX=1PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 'Today we are here.'
- (149) *nzenme nge nabonzo fzén eyak*
 nzenme nge nabon=nzo fz=en e\yak/
 1NSG.POSS child good=ONLY forest=LOC 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\walk
 'Our children are safe when they walk through the forest.'
- (150) *zöbthé mane zfrärm keke nima kwamräñzrmth*
 zöbthé mane zf\rä/rm keke nima kwa\mrä/nzrmth
 first which 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be NEG like_this 2|3PL:PST:DUR\stroll
 'In the past, the children didn't move around.'
- (151) *gathagatha kar zfrärm*
 gathagatha kar zf\rä/rm
 bad place 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be
 'It was a dangerous place.'
- (152) *ane wäsi zfthen kabe kam ane thfthnm kabe tüfr*
 ane wäsi zfth=en kabe kam ane thf\thn/m
 DEM tree_species tree_base=LOC man bone 2|3PL:PST:DUR\lie_down
 'Human bones were lying around on the base of that Wäsi tree.'

- (153) *kabe tüfr naf z änatha*
 kabe tüfr naf z ä\na/tha
 people many 3SG.ERG IAM SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\eat
 'She had eaten many people.'
- (154) *ruga kam yem kam tauri kam kabe kam*
 ruga kam yem kam tauri kam kabe kam
 pig bone cassowary bone wallaby bone man bone
 'There were pig bones, cassowary bones, wallaby bones and also human bones.'
- (155) *dmädrma faremma nä z änatha*
 dmädr=ma farem=ma nä z ä\na/tha
 Dmädr=CHAR Farem=CHAR INDF IAM SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\eat
 'He had eaten some people from Démändér and from Farem,'
- (156) *ane nzürna ñare*
 ane nzürna ñare
 DEM spirit_woman woman
 'that Nzürna woman.'
- (157) *okay, bobo zäbth ane zokwasi eso bana*
 okay bobo zä\bth/ ane zokwasi eso bana
 okay MED:ALL 2|3SG:RPST:PFV\finish DEM speech thanks pitiful
 'Okay, the story ends here. Thank you my friend.'
- (158) *eso kafar*
 eso kafar
 thanks big
 'Thank you very much.'
- (159) *nabon trikasi rä*
 nabon trikasi \rä/
 good story 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'It is a good story.'
- (160) *näbunffafä mafkratrikwr keke ane*
 näbun=f fafä maf kra\trik/wr keke ane
 INDF=ERG.SG after_that who.ERG.SG 2|3SG:IRR:IPFV\tell NEG DEM
 'Others should not tell this story.'

- (161) *nzone mane yara bres nzone kabe zftth nzone yara*
 nzone mane ya\r/a bres nzone kabe zftth nzone
 1SG.POSS which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be PN 1SG.POSS man base 1SG.POSS
 ya\r/a
 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
 'It is mine. Bres was my ancestor.'
- (162) *nzone bada yara*
 nzone bada ya\r/a
 1SG.POSS ancestor 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
 'He was my greatgrandfather.'
- (163) *ane festhfa rera ane yam*
 ane festh=fa \rä/ra ane yam
 DEM body=ABL 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be DEM event
 'This was a true thing (that happened).'
- (164) *nafane msaksi zn mane rera yirkon swamnzrm*
 nafane msak-si zn mane \rä/ra yirko=en
 3SG.POSS sit-NMLZ place which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be PLN=LOC
 swa\m/nzrm
 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit
 'He was living in Yirko.'
- (165) *bänefafä yrko zamar nzone bad fä fof ñabrigwr nimame*
 bänefafä yrko za\mar/ nzone bad fä
 PH.ABS after_that PLN 2SG>3SG.F:IMP:PFV\see 1SG.POSS ground DIST
 fof ña\brig/wr nima=me
 EMPH 2|3SG.NPST:IPFV\return like_this=INS
 'You can see my land at Yirko, which extends like that.'
- (166) *eso kafar*
 eso kafar
 thanks big
 'Thank you!'

I *Kukufia* - The short man Kukufia

I.1 Introduction

Kukufia is a narrative lasting roughly 6min. It was the first recording made during the documentation project. It was recorded by Christian Döhler on September 5th 2010, in audio format.¹ The speaker is Abia Bai, and the recording took place inside his house at *Rouku*.

I.2 Summary & background

The story is about a man from *Masu* whose name is Kukufia and two children, a girl and a boy. Kukufia visits the house of the children, while the parents are at a sago place. He forces the children to come with him on his canoe to go fishing. He abuses the small boy by piercing him with the spines of a catfish. One day, the children's father finds out about the events. Armed with his bow and arrow, he hides underneath the house. When Kukufia returns to take the children, the father shoots an arrow at him and Kukufia runs back to his wives. The father pursues him to *Masu*, where he kills him and his two wives.

I.3 *Kukufia* (parallel text)

Nzone yf rä abia. Nzä worä rokuma. Nzone ñafe bái. Trikasi bänema kwa natrikwé kabe tnz. Yf sfrärm kukufia. Kukufia mane yara masun swamnzrm. Nafane ñare edawä. Nä kayé kabe zä swamnzrm we rokun. Näbi ñarekarä fi sfrärm. Fi zefara bi farsir. Karesa zfth kar yf rä. Watik karesa zfthen fi bää bsfrärm. Nagayé zbo thgathinzako. Madma kafarwä a srak nge katanwä.

My name is Abia. I am from *Rouku*. My father was Bái. I'm going to tell you a story about what's-his-name. The short man's name was Kukufia. Kukufia lived in *Masu*. He had two wives. There was another man who lived here in *Rouku*. He had one wife. He set off to cut down a sago palm. The name of that place is *Karesa Zfth*. While he was there at *Karesa Zfth*, he

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20100905. It is archived at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11189889>

Nä kayé kukufia zenfara kofär. Ijarsfo zärsöfätha gardame rafisir kofä thoraksir. Nafane gäw kofä rusima ane entharukwr. Gardame krentharuf. Krenfar. Ijanrafinzr e mnzärfr. Kar yf rä yars rokurokun. Wati garda fä sanzina foba krenfar. Zänfrefa. Sränrn. Nafane yf zunbräknwrm. "Kukufia kukufia kukufia!" Wati katan nagayé fäthane yafe frükaren krakaristh. "Ngth kabe yanor." Ffi mnzen boba thfrnm etfth mnzen kafar mnzen. Watik kukufia yaniyak. Kräs "ey bä mane ethkgr mnzen? Bä nä mane zbo nthkgr?" Keke katakatané nä zayafath. Yakasi keke. Yaniyak kwot we mnz zräkw. Neba zräkw. Nagayé fäth kranmätrth. Madma kafarwä katan srak fäth.

Wati thmesa bobo yars rokurokufo. Wati foba zetharufath. Gardame katan emothf srafinzrm. Nafangth thden sfrärm gardan. Kukufia mane sfrärm kofär ane gäwkarä sukogrm. Watik kwazür srämg. Kwazür ysme nge fäth srämrir. Etha ys kwazür ane mane yaththgr. Ane ysme yrmigwr. We foba we krerafifth. Thwä zrämg. Nimamenzo yarafinrzth kaftfr we foba kränbrimth.

left his two children here, the older girl and younger boy.

One day, Kukufia set off to go fishing. He went down to the river to paddle his canoe and look for fish. He had his harpoon to spear fish. He put the things in the canoe. He got into the canoe and set off. He paddled all the way to the Mnzärfr. This is a place on the riverbank. Then he left the canoe there and started to walk up here. When he came up, he shouted. He called his name "Kukufia Kukufia Kukufia". In the absence of their father, the little children heard this. "Little brother, there's a man shouting!" The two were there in the house, in the sleeping house, in the big house. Then Kukufia approached. He asked them, "Hey, who are you in the house? Who are you in there?" The little ones didn't answer. They gave no answer. He approached the house and knocked hard. He knocked on the other side. The little children came out. The big girl and the small boy.

He took them to the riverbank there. Then they got into the canoe. The little girl paddled the canoe. Her little brother sat in the centre of the canoe. Kukufia stood there with his harpoon, looking for fish. Then he speared a kwazür fish. With the kwazür spines, he pricked the little boy. With those three spines on the kwazür, he poked him with those. From there they pad-

Nge kma kwawarkwrm zima. Keke nafukufia kwarizrm. Watik foba ḷanrafinzrth e mnzärfr swäyé. Watik foba fof nagayé we thranbrim. Nagayé fäth thnriftha. Fi we kränbrim e masu gardamenzo. Kräfref. ḷaremedbo kofä thräthayfth. Etha efotu nima tmatm ḷafiyokwa fof.

Nä kayé nafanme ḷafe karesa zfth foba nafaname yansriza. Fafen nge zi swathizrm ekri zi kofä ysma. Watik nafanafe mane yanra nagayé thrathorthm. Nagayé fi wtrima ḷagathiknath mnz mrrmr etfth mnzen. Wati nagayé srarfitfth “ḷafe ni znrn katan nagayé.” Wati ḷafe kräntf thramar “Oh nima-karä ern. Watik moba kabe yaniyak?” “Keke. masufa yaniyak. Yf yé ane kukufia.”

Ane zizin kukufia we sathora fof. Fänwä we garda sränzin mnzärfrren zran. Wati zänfrefa. Yaniyak. Nagayé kma né zirkn thrathkäf zirkn we kwot zirkn. keke. Nafane ḷafe fi banbanen sfrugrm. With tagame z ḷathäfa. Watik nafanafe kräyuf. Nagayé maneme thythy thfrnm. Fobo samga fof. Kukufia näbi zamatha dunzikarä. ḷakwir e masu. kräkwther. Nafane ḷare mane zfrärm edama thrma ḷare. Wati mää

dled a little further and he shot a catfish. They paddled until *Käftfr* and then returned from there. The boy must have cried because of the pain. But Kukufia wasn't paying attention. They paddled back to the canoe place at *Mnzärfr*. From there, he brought them back. He sent the little children away and he returned to *Masu* by canoe. He came up from the river and showed his wives the fish. He continued this over the course of three days.

One day the children's father came from *Karesa Zfth*. Their mother had sent him. In the meantime, the boy was in pain, physical pain from the fish spines. Their father came looking for them. The children stayed in fear in the house, inside the sleeping house. Then the children replied: “Father, we little children are here!” The father came and saw them. He said: “Oh, so that's what is going on! Where did that man come from?” “No, he came from *Masu*. His name is Kukufia.”

Kukufia came back that afternoon. He left his canoe at the swamp near *Mnzärfr* and came up from river. He started to bully the children, over and over again. They did not react. The father was under the house. He had covered himself with banana leaves. Then the father stood up. While the children were distracting Kukufia, he shot him from there. Kukufia ran off with the arrow in his body. He ran all

I Kukufia - The short man Kukufia

men fobo zämira fof.

Wati nagayaneme nafyf zöfäthakfa zba zf frknzo yamrinza bänemr e masu. Watik fobo fof nafanjare thras “Befis myé?” “Keke zä yé. Z zamath. Mataknzo yé.” Watik zära. “Mane kwa fof srarä? Nge ane fof yé. Katan nge fur fof yé.” Wati nagayaneme nafyf ane nge fr saferfa. Ijareyé efna edawä ane fof kwosirwä. Wati fi zänbrima zöfäthak roku. Wati nare fi wmiyanza. Nafanjare zräntes karesa zfthfa nagaynmedbo.

Wati trikasi fof zäbth. Trikasi zfrä tnz. Eso kafar.

the way to *Masu*. He changed his appearance. Now he clung to the breast of the second woman as a baby.

The father followed the blood trail from *Zöfäthak* to *Masu*. There he asked the two wives: “Where is your husband?” “He’s not here. He’s run away. He’s gone.” Then he asked “Who’s that supposed to be? It’s this child! The little baby is him!” The father smashed the baby against a tree and beat both women to death. Then he returned to *Zöfäthak*, to *Rouku*. He fetched the wife from *Karesa Zfth* and brought her back to the children.

Well, that is the end story of the story. It was a short story. Thank you very much.

I.4 *Kukufia* (glossed text)

- (1) *nzone yfrä abia*
 nzone yf \rä/ abia
 1SG.POSS name 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PN
 ‘My name is Abia.’
- (2) *nzä worä rokuma*
 nzä wo\rä/ roku=ma
 1SG.ABS 1SG:NPST:IPFV\be PLN=CHAR
 ‘I am from Rouku.’
- (3) *nzone ḷafe bái*
 nzone ḷafe bái
 1SG.POSS father PN
 ‘My father was Bái.’
- (4) *trikasi bänema kwa natrikwé*
 trikasi bane=ma kwa na\trik/wé
 story PH=CHAR FUT 1SG>2SG.IO:NPST:IPFV\tell
 ‘I’m going to tell you a story about what’s-his-name.’
- (5) *kabe tnz yfsfrärm kukufia*
 kabe tnz yf sf\rä/rm kukufia
 man short name 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be PN
 ‘The short man’s name was Kukufia.’
- (6) *kukufia mane yara masun swamnzrm*
 kukufia mane ya\r/a masu=en swa\m/nzrm
 PN which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be PLN=LOC 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘Kukufia lived in Masu.’
- (7) *nafane ḷare edawä*
 nafane ḷare eda=wä
 3SG.POSS wife two=EMPH
 ‘He had two wives.’
- (8) *nä kayé kabe zä swamnzrm we rokun*
 nä kayé kabe zä swa\m/nzrm we roku=en
 INDF one_day_away man PROX 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit also PLN=LOC
 ‘There was another man who lived here in Rouku.’

- (9) *näbi ḷarekarä fi sfrärm*
 näbi ḷare=karä fi sf\rä/rm
 one wife=PROP 3.ABS 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be
 'He had one wife.'
- (10) *fi zefara bi farsir*
 fi ze\far/a bi far-si=r
 3.ABS SG:PST:PFV\set_off sago fell-NMLZ=PURP
 'He set off to cut down a sago palm.'
- (11) *karesa zfth kar yf rä*
 karesa_zfth kar yf \rä/
 PLN place name 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'The name of that place is Karesa Zfth.'
- (12) *watik karesa zfthen fi bää bsfrärm*
 watik karesa_zfth=en fi bää b=sf\rä/rm
 then PLN=LOC 3.ABS MED MED=3SG.M:PST:DUR\be
 'While he was there at Karesa Zfth,'
- (13) *nagayé zbo thgathinzako*
 nagayé zbo th\gathinz/ako
 children PROX:ALL SG>2|3DU:PST:PFV:AND\leave
 'he left his two children here,'
- (14) *madma kafarwä a srak nge katanwä*
 madma kafar=wä a srak nge katan=wä
 female big=EMPH and boy child small=EMPH
 'the older girl and younger boy.'
- (15) *nä kayé kukufia zenfara kofär*
 nä kayé kukufia zen\fara kofä=r
 INDF one_day_away PN SG:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off fish=PURP
 'One day, Kukufia set off to go fishing.'
- (16) *ṇarsfo zärsöfatha gardame rafisir kofä thoraksir*
 ḷars=fo zä\rsöfath/a garda=me rafi-si=r kofä
 river=ALL 2|3SG:PST:PFV\descend canoe=INS paddle-NMLZ=PURP fish
 thorak-si=r search-NMLZ=PURP
 'He went down to the river to paddle his canoe and look for fish.'

- (24) *wati katan nagayé fāthane ɳafe frükaren krakaristh*
 wati katan nagayé fāth=ane ɳafe frū kar=en
 then small children DIM=POSS.SG father alone place=LOC
 kra\karis/th
 2|3DU:IRR:PFV\hear
 ‘In the absence of their father, the little children heard this.’
- (25) “*ngth kabe yanor*”
 ngth kabe ya\nor/
 younger_sibling man 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\shout
 “Little brother, there’s a man shouting!”
- (26) *fi mnzen boba thfrnm*
 fi mnz=en boba thf\rn/m
 3.ABS house=LOC MED:ABL 2|3DU:PST:DUR\be
 ‘The two were there in the house,’
- (27) *etfth mnzen kafar mnzen*
 etfth mnz=en kafar mnz=en
 sleep house=LOC big house=LOC
 ‘in the sleeping house, in the big house.’
- (28) *watik kukufia yanyak*
 watik kukufia yan\yak/
 then PN 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come
 ‘Then Kukufia approached.’
- (29) *kräs “ey bā mane ethkgr mnzen?”*
 krä\s/ ey bā mane e\th/kgr
 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\ask hey 2SG.ABS which 2|3PL:NPST:STAT\be_inside
 mnz=en
 house=LOC
 ‘He asked them, “Hey, who are you in the house?”
- (30) “*bā nä mane zbo nthkgr?*”
 bā nä mane zbo n\th/kgr
 2SG.ABS INDF which PROX:ALL 2SG:NPST:STAT\be_inside
 ‘Who are you in there?’”

- (31) *keke katakatané nä zayafath*
 keke kata~katan=é nä za\yaf/ath
 NEG REDUP~small=ERG.NSG INDF 2|3DU:PST:PFV\answer
 'The little ones didn't reply.'
- (32) *yakasi keke*
 yaka-si keke
 answer-NMLZ NEG
 'They gave no answer.'
- (33) *yanyak kwot we mnz zräkwr*
 yan\yak/ kwot we mnz zrä\kwr/
 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come properly also house 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\hit
 'He approached the house and knocked hard.'
- (34) *neba zräkwr*
 neba zrä\kwr/
 opposite 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\hit
 'He knocked on the other side.'
- (35) *nagayé fäth kranmätrth*
 nagayé fäth kran\mätr/th
 children DIM 2|3DU:IRR:PFV:VENT\exit
 'The little children came out.'
- (36) *madma kafarwä katan srak fäth*
 madma kafar=wä katan srak fäth
 female big=EMPH small boy DIM
 'The big girl and the small boy.'
- (37) *wati thmesa bobo ḷars rokurokufo*
 wati th\mes/a bobo ḷars rokuroku=fo
 then SG>2|3DU:PST:PFV\bring MED:ALL river river_bank=ALL
 'He took them to the riverbank there.'
- (38) *wati fo ba zetharufath*
 wati fo ba ze\tharuf/ath
 then DIST:ABL 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\enter_open_cont
 'Then they got into the canoe.'

- (39) *gardame katan emothf sfrafinzrm*
 garda=me katan emoth=f sf\rafi/nzrm
 canoe=INS small sister=ERG.SG SG>3SG.M:PST:DUR\paddle
 'The little girl paddled the canoe.'
- (40) *nafangth thden sfrärm gardan*
 nafa-nghth thd=en sf\rä/rm garda=en
 3.POSS-younger_sibling middle=LOC 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be canoe=LOC
 'Her little brother sat in the centre of the canoe.'
- (41) *kukufia mane sfrärm kofär ane gäwkarä sukogrm*
 kukufia mane sf\rä/rm kofä=r ane gäw=karä
 PN which 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be fish=PURP DEM fish_spear=PROP
 su\ko/grm
 3SG.M:PST:DUR:STAT\be_standing
 'Kukufia stood there at the front with his harpoon, looking for fish.'
- (42) *watik kwazür srämg*
 watik kwazür srä\mg/
 then fish_species 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\shoot
 'Then he speared a kwazür fish.'²
- (43) *kwazür ysme nge fäth srämir*
 kwazür ys=me nge fäth srä\rmir/
 fish_species spike=INS child DIM 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\pierce
 'With the Kwazür spines, he pricked the little boy.'
- (44) *etha ys kwazür ane mane yaththgr ane ysme yrmigwr*
 etha ys kwazür ane mane ya\thth/gr
 three spike fish_species DEM which 3SG.M:IO:NPST:STAT\be_sticking_on
 ane ys=me y\rmig/wr
 DEM spike=INS 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\pierce
 'With those three spines on the Kwazür, he poked him with those.'
- (45) *we fo^a we krerafifth thwä zrämg*
 we fo^a we kre\rafif/th thwä zrä\mg/
 also DIST:ABL also 2|3PL:IRR:PFV\paddle catfish 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\shoot
 'From there they paddled a little further and he shot a catfish.'³

²kwazür 'narrow fronted tandan' (*Neosilurus ater*)

³thwä 'triangular shield catfish' (*Sciades leptaspis*)

- (46) *nimamenzo ñarafinzrth kaftfr we foba kränbrimth*
 nima=me=nzo ña\rafi/nzrth kaftfr we foba
 like_this=INS=ONLY 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\paddle PLN also DIST:ABL
 krän\brim/th
 2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\return
 'They paddled until Kaftéfér and then returned from there.'
- (47) *nge kma kwawarkwrm zima*
 nge kma kwa\wark/wrm zi=ma
 child POT SG:PST:DUR\howl pain=CHAR
 'The boy must have cried because of the pain.'
- (48) *keke naf kukufia kwarizrm*
 keke naf kukufia kwa\riz/rm
 NEG 3SG.ERG PN 2|3SG:PST:DUR\hear
 'But Kukufia wasn't paying attention.'
- (49) *watik foba ñanrafinzrth e mnzärfr swäyé*
 watik foba ñan\rafi/nzrth e mnzärfr swäyé
 then DIST:ABL 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\paddle until PLN canoe_place
 'They paddled back to the canoe place at Mnzärfr.'
- (50) *watik foba fof nagayé we thranbrim*
 watik foba fof nagayé we thran\brim/
 then DIST:ABL EMPH children also 2|3SG>2|3DU:IRR:PFV:VENT\return
 'From there, he brought them back.'
- (51) *nagayé fäth thnriftha*
 nagayé fäth thn\rifth/a
 children DIM SG>2|3DU:PST:PFV:VENT\send
 'He sent the little children away'
- (52) *fi we kränbrim e masu gardamenzo*
 fi we krän\brim/ e masu garda=me=nzo
 3.ABS also 2|3SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\return until PLN canoe=INS=ONLY
 'and he returned to Masu by canoe.'

- (53) *kräfref ñaremedbo kofä thräthayfth*
 krä\fref/ ñare=medbo kofä
 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\come_up_from_river wife=ALL.ANIM.NSG fish
 thrä\thayf/th
 2|3SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\present
 'He came up from the river and showed his wives the fish.'
- (54) *etha efoth nima tmatm ñafiyokwa fof*
 etha efoth nima tmatm ña\fiyok/wa fof
 three day like_this action 2|3SG:PST:IPFV\make EMPH
 'He continued this over the course of three days.'
- (55) *nä kayé nafanme ñafe karesa zfth foba*
 nä kayé nafanme ñafe karesa_zfth foba
 INDF one_day_away 3NSG.POSS father PLN DIST:ABL
 'One day the children's father came from Karesa Zfth.'
- (56) *nafaŋame yansriza*
 nafa-ŋame yan\sriz/a
 3.POSS-mother SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\send
 'Their mother had sent him.'
- (57) *fafen nge zi swathizrm ekri zi kofä ysma*
 fafen nge zi swa\thiz/rm ekri zi kofä ys=ma
 meanwhile child pain 3SG.M:PST:DUR\die body pain fish spike=CHAR
 'In the meantime, the boy was in pain, physical pain from the fish spines.'
- (58) *watik nafaŋafe mane yanra nagayé thrathorthm*
 wati nafa-ŋafe mane yan\r/a nagayé
 then 3.POSS-father which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\be children
 thra\thorthm/
 2|3SG>2|3DU:IRR\search
 'Their father came looking for them.'
- (59) *nagayé fi wtrima ñagathiknath mnz mrmr etfth mnzen*
 nagayé fi wtri=ma ña\gathik/nath mnz mrmr etfth
 children 3.ABS fear=CHAR 2|3DU:NPST:IPFV\leave house inside sleep
 mnz=en
 house=LOC
 'The children stayed in fear in the house, inside the sleeping house.'

- (60) *wati nagayé srarfitf “ŋafe ni znrn katan nagayé”*
 watí nagayé sra\rfitf/th ŋafe ni
 then children 2|3DU>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\answer father 1NSG
 z=n\rn/ katan nagayé
 PROX=1DU:NPST:IPFV\be small children
 ‘Then the children replied: “Father, we little children are here!”’
- (61) *wati ŋafe kräntf thramar “oh nimakarä ern”*
 watí ŋafe krän\tf/ thra\mar/ oh
 then father 2|3SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\walk 2|3SG>2|3DU:IRR:PFV\see oh
 nima=karä e\rn/
 like_this=PROP 2|3DU:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘The father came and saw them. He said: “Oh, so that’s what is going on!”’
- (62) “*watik, moba kabe yanyak?*”
 watik moba kabe yan\yak/
 then where.ABL man 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come
 ‘Where did that man come from?’
- (63) “*keke, masufa yanyak. yf yé ane kukufia*”
 keke masu=fa yan\yak/ yf \yé/
 NEG PLN=ABL 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come name 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ane kukufia
 DEM PN
 ‘“No, he came from Masu. His name is Kukufia.”’
- (64) *ane zizin Kukufia we sathora fof*
 ane zizi=en kukufia we sa\thor/a fof
 DEM afternoon=LOC PN also 3SG.M:PST:PFV\appear EMPH
 ‘Kukufia came back that afternoon.’
- (65) *fänwä we garda sränzin mnzärfren zran*
 fän=wä we garda srän\zin/ mnzärfren=en
 DIST=EMPH also canoe 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV:VENT\put_down PLN=LOC
 zra=en
 swamp=LOC
 ‘He left his canoe at the swamp near Mnzärfren’

- (66) *wati zänfrefa yaniyak*
 wati zän\fref/a
 then 2|3SG:PST:PFV:VENT\come_up_from_river
 yan\yak/
 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come
 'and came up from river.'
- (67) *nagayé kma né zirkn thrathkäf zirkn we kwot zirkn*
 nagayé kma né zirkn thra\thkäf/ zirkn we
 children POT IMN insistence 2|3SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\start insistence also
 kwot zirkn
 properly insistence
 'He started to bully the children, over and over again.'
- (68) *keke. nafane ḷafe fi banbanen sfrugrm*
 keke nafane ḷafe fi banban=en sf\ru/grm
 NEG 3SG.POSS father 3.ABS underneath=LOC 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sleep
 'They did not react. The father was under the house.'
- (69) *with tagame z ḷathäfa*
 with taga=me z ḷa\thäf/a
 banana leaf=INS IAM 2|3SG:PST:IPFV\cover
 'He had covered himself with banana leaves.'
- (70) *watik, nafaṇafe kräyuf*
 watik nafa-ṇafe krä\yuf/
 then 3.POSS-father 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\stand
 'Then the father stood up.'
- (71) *nagayé maneme thythy thfrnm fobo samga fof*
 nagayé mane=me thythy thf\rn/m fobo
 children which=INS mucking_around 2|3DU:PST:DUR\be DIST:ALL
 sa\mg/a fof
 SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\shoot EMPH
 'While the children were distracting Kukufia, he shot him from there.'
- (72) *kukufia näbi zamatha dunzikarä*
 kukufia näbi za\math/a dunzi=karä
 PN one 2|3SG:PST:PFV\run arrow=PROP
 'Kukufia ran off with the arrow in his body.'

- (73) *ŋakwir e Masu*
 ŋa\kwir/ e masu
 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\run until PLN
 'He ran all the way to Masu.'
- (74) *kräkwther*
 krä\kwther/
 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\change
 'He changed (his appearance).'
- (75) *nafane ŋare mane zfrärm edama thrma ŋare.*
 nafane ŋare mane zf\rä/rm eda=ma thrma ŋare
 3SG.POSS wife which 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be two=CHAR later wife
 'It was his wife, the second one, the latter wife.'
- (76) *wati, mämen fobo zämira fof.*
 wati mäm=en fobo zä\mir/a fof
 then breast=LOC DIST:ALL 2|3SG:PST:PFV\hang EMPH
 'on whose breast he clung (as a baby).'
- (77) *wati nagayaneme ŋayf zöfäthakfa zba zf frknzo yamrinza bänemr e masu*
 wati nagayé=aneme ŋafe=f zöfäthak=fa zba zf
 then children=POSS.NSG father=ERG.SG PLN=ABL PROX:ABL ABSC
 frk=nzo ya\mri/nza bänemr masu
 blood=ONLY SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\chase until PLN
 'The father followed the blood trail from Zöfäthak to Masu.'
- (78) *watik fobo fof nafaŋare thras “befis myé?”*
 watik fobo fof nafa-ŋare thra\s/
 then DIST:ALL EMPH 3.POSS-wife 2|3SG>2|3DU:IRR:PFV\ask
 be-fis m=\yé/
 2SG.POSS-husband Q=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 'There he asked the two wives: "Where is your husband?"'
- (79) *“keke zä yé. z zamath. mataknzo yé.”*
 keke zä \yé/ z za\math/ matak=nzo
 NEG PROX 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be IAM 2|3SG:RPST:PFV\run nothing=ONLY
 \yé/
 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 "He's not here. He's run away. He's gone."

- (80) *watik zära*
 watik zǟr/a
 then SG:PST:PFV\do
 'Then he asked'
- (81) “*mane kwa fof srarä? nge ane fof yé.*”
 mane kwa fof srārä/ nge ane fof \yé/
 which FUT EMPH 3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\be child DEM EMPH 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 “Who’s that supposed to be? It’s this child!”
- (82) *katan nge fur fof yé.*
 katan nge fur for \yé/
 small child bundle EMPH 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘The little baby is him!’”
- (83) *wati nagayaneme ḷafyf ane nge fr saferfa*
 wati nagayé=aneme ḷafe=f ane nge fr
 then children=POSS.NSG father=ERG.SG DEM child post
 sāferfa
 SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\whip_against_sth
 ‘The father smashed the baby against a tree’
- (84) *ŋareyé efna edawä ane fof kwosirwä*
 ŋare=é e\fn/na eda=wä ane fof
 woman=ABS.NSG SG>2|3DU:PST:IPFV\hit two=EMPH DEM EMPH
 kwosi=r=wä
 dead=PURP=EMPH
 ‘and beat both women to death.’
- (85) *wati fi zänbrima zöfäthak roku*
 wati fi zän\brim/a zöfäthak roku
 then 3.ABS 2|3SG:PST:PFV:VENT\return PLN PLN
 ‘Then he returned to Zöfäthak, to Rouku.’
- (86) *wati ŋare fi wmiyanza*
 wati ŋare fi w\miya/nza
 then wife 3.ABS SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\fetch
 ‘He fetched the wife’

- (87) *nafajare zränmes karesa zfthfa nagaynmedbo*
nafa-ŋare zrän\mes/ karesa_zfth=fa
3.POSS-wife 2|3SG>3SG.F:RPST:PFV:VENT\bring PLN=ABL
nagayé=nmedbo
children=ALL.ANIM.NSG
'from Karesa Zfth and brought her back to the children.'
- (88) *wati trikasi fof zäbth*
watik trikasi fof zä\bth/
then story EMPH 2|3SG:RPST:PFV\finish
'Well, that is the end story of the story.'
- (89) *trikasi zfrä tnz*
trikasi zf\rä/ tnz
story 3SG.F:RPST:IPFV\be short
'It was a short story.'
- (90) *eso kafar*
eso kafar
thanks big
'Thank you very much.'

J *Fenz yonasi* - Drinking body fluids

J.1 Introduction

Fenz yonasi is a narrative lasting roughly 5min. It was recorded by Christian Döhler on September 3rd 2013, in both audio and video formats.¹ The story teller is Ruth Nakre Abia, and the recording took place at Abia Bai's house in *Rouku*.

J.2 Summary & background

Nakre talks about sorcerers and their practice of visiting the grave of a recently deceased person. These sorcerers would extract body fluids from the corpse, sometimes also bones. They take their power from these body parts.

J.3 *Fenz yonasi* (parallel text)

Bänema kwa ḡatrikwé nzefé. Fenz ane mane ḡonathrth kwosifr kabeaneme bthan kabeyé. Trikasi zrethkäfē.

Bthan kabe fthé fenz yonasi. Bänemr zrethkäfth mätraksir. Kzi kwa yafiyokwrth. Sraftyokwrth karesama. Kzi srärrzirth. Watik kwa eyak nima kwosifr fthé kabe fthé ynänzüthzrth baden. Fthé one week srakor. Fthé fof krefar ane bthan kabe bobo fokam zinfo. Fokam mnzfo. Sikwankwanme zbär thd kabef keke kwa sremar. Süsübäthen kwa yak tosinmäre kwayanmäre. Kwa yak. Yfrsé gwonyamekarä kwa yé. Keke

I will talk about the body fluid from a dead man's corpse and how sorcerers are drinking this. I will start the story.

When these sorcerers want to drink bodily fluids, they first take out the bark tray they have made. They make it from the paperbark tree by bending the bark into shape. Next they go to the corpse. About a week after the funeral, the sorcerer makes his way to the grave, to the grave house. He creeps there in the middle of the night. Nobody will catch sight of him. He makes his way in the dark with-

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20130903-04. It is archived at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11189896>

kwa kwayanthé gwonyamekarä bäne-ma kabeyé sremarth. Fi fthé srayak e fokam. Watik yfö katanr kwa yarenzr. Katan yfö fthé zremar ebarfa. Fä fof kwa bäne ythorthr mrrab. Mrrab zbo zanfr byé. Ane fof sräsryöfth bobo yfön. Watik fobo fof srayak. Kzi zräzin nabi tonze mrrab tonze. Fenzane bäne mrrab bäne kwa wämneme yrthakunzr. Watik fenz ane kwa yankarkwr. Naf fobo fof krayagunzr kzifo. Nafa watik-thmenzo. Keke kwa krärtf ane kzi. Fthé zremar nima watikthmenzo zfrä. Mrrab ane sräfum. Watik kwot zrarmänwr yfö. Watik krefar fof. Bäne zrazänzr fenz kzikaf mä keke kwa kabef sremar ane yam fiyoksin. Kwa wrifthzr.

Watik fi zöbthé zane bäne kramonzikn-wr zzarfa. Bäne ferä ymd thäbu nz-abu. Watik ane thrma ane fof krefar fokamfo. Ane fthé zrarinakwr. Kzin sräbth. Watik yonasir fof zräritf. Zöbthé bäneme kwa wrthakunzr zzarfame. Bänema gatha miyosé rä. Nafane miyo keke namä wärä. Zrathakunzr zräbth. Wati bäne ane kwa yfethakwr ymd nzabu. Srafethakwr. Keke kwa zane touch srarär ane fenzme. Kwan krakurwr. Zrarär kwanen bänema thafma gatha miyoma. Zrarär zrafethakwr. We zbo sranakwr krafith-kwr. We nimanzo kwot e zräbth ane fenz. Fthé zräbth kzi ane kwa yfönzr mnime. Fewama mnime sräföf. Watik kräbrim nafane mnzfo.

out a flashlight, without any light. He will wear black clothes. Not in white clothes, because someone might see him. Then he walks up to the grave and looks around for a small hole. When he finds a small hole at the head end, he inserts a small bamboo pipe. The pipe is about this long. He pushes it right into the hole. Next he puts the bark dish close to the bamboo pipe. He sucks up the fluid and pours it on the bark dish until he's got enough. He won't fill it right up. When he sees that there is enough there, he pulls out that bamboo pipe. Then he closes up the hole properly. Then he sets off. He will carry these bodily fluids with him in the bark dish, where nobody would see him. He will hide them.

Before he starts anything, he will go and get whatchamacallit, ginger roots. Those things will be prepared and also the feather of a bird. Only then does he go to the grave, fills up the bark dish and hides to drink. First, he sprinkles the liquid with the ginger because it has a bad taste. Its taste is not good. He sprinkles it all over. Then he dips in the feather. He carefully dips it in because fluid should not touch his mouth. It would scratch his mouth. He puts it carefully into the mouth because it's bitter, because of its terrible taste. He does that and he dips it in. And he puts it down his throat and licks it. He continues doing this until he finishes up the fluid. When he's done, we will burn the bark

Kwa yrugr. E baffthé sräbth nima kabe zan miyof. Okay fthé fof krefar. Keke kwa mnzen ane tmatm zrafiyokwr ane yam. Zagr kwa yak ksi karen. Bä sramnzs. Foba fof krefar kabe zanr. Si kwa zöbthé ñazübrakwr warfo kabedbo. Warfo kabe kwa ykonzr “Befé mitafo sabrim! Nzun fefe kwagathif.” Watik ane kabe kwa yfänzr. Kabe yf kwa ybräknwr. Nima “Bäi! Bäiane mitafo be sabrim! Nzun fefe kwagathif!” Watik fthé krefar. Kabef keke kwa sremar. Bänema mnzen fthé srarugr. Nagayé disturb or ñare disturb srarär. Watik anema fof krämätr outside. Nä karfo ksi karen fä sramnzs. Fä ane tmatm kwa kabe yafiyokwr. Btha zan yfnzr. Foba fof krethfär. Mobo fthzé. Nima zba fthé roukuma nge srarä. Zbär kwa yam zä wäfiyokwr. Zba krethfär safsfo. Bä btha zan srafnzr. Bthanme srafnzr. Kränbrim we ane we zbär keke kwa bä srarugr o srawäkwr. Zbär we kwa ñanbrigwr keke kwa mothen fi srayak. Fi krathfänzr.

Nima ane wäfiyokwr. Fthé sräbth kabe bthan zan srethkäf watik fä mane kwik erä fof. Keke. Taurifo tmatm zrafiyokwr o ñathafo o faso rrokar berä. Ane rrokar-fo kwa tmatm yafiyokwr keke kwa nima nä kabedben. Fi ane kabeanne mitafo kwa wthorthr. Nä faso

tray in the fire because of the bad smell. He burns it in the fire and he returns to his house.

He will sleep peacefully until the blood lust overcomes him. Okay, then he gets going. He doesn't do his magic in the house. He will go far somewhere in the bush. He has to go away in order to kill people. First, he will pray to god. He will say to god: “You take back the spirit but leave the flesh for me.” He will point out a particular person and mention their name, for example “Bäi! Take Bäi's spirit back and leave his flesh behind for me!” Then he makes his way. He won't visit that person because his wife or his children will distract him. Therefore, he will go out to some place in the bush. He will perform this action there, but his magic power will strike that person. He can fly from there where ever he wishes, for example if a Rouku boy is the sorcerer, he will do this in the night and he will fly from here to Safés. He will strike the victim with a spell. Then he returns in the night. He doesn't stay there overnight. He will not walk on the road, but he will fly.

He will do this: When he has finished drinking the fluids, he starts casting his spell. Next, someone will fall ill. He can also put the spell on a wallaby or on a dog, or on any other animal. He might do this to animal, and not to a human being. But the sorcerer's

rokarfo o fthzé ñatha zräthb. Ra fthzé srarä ymd. Watik ane fof kwa tmatm yafiyokwr. Íjatha yafiyokwr nafane yfkaf. Nezä kabe kwa kwosi yé. Keke ñatha kwa kwosi srarä yakme. Montariäsi fthé kratariwr ñatha. We kabe nimäwä kwa jatariwr. Kwot e ñatha fthé zä kwosi srarä. Kabe bë kwa kwosi yé. Bänema ñatha ane nafane yfkaf sfrä. Nimame ane fof bthan erä.

Okay ane fenz mane ñonathrth. Tmä naf fof ärithr. Kwosifr kabeane tmäf fof ezänzr nä karfo. Nä kayé kam kwa emätrakwrth kabe kam kwosifr kam. Watik ane fof thfäsir fof. Ane kamf kwa yzänzr bobo nä karfo. Fi fenz ane bänemrnzo rä tmä yarisir. Kamffí ane kwa yzänzr bobo nima safs o wämnefr. Nima zagr kwa ñathfänzr weam. Fthzé bobomrwä arufe krathfänzr zagr karfo. Ane tmäf kwa yzänzr kam a fenz.

Eso kafar. Anenzo katan trikasi zfrä. Trikasi nimanzo worä kabeyé mane watrikwrt. Fi srakwä fthzé kwot kратикрт. Gadmöwä.

spirit will go inside some animal or whatever. It could be a bird, or anything. For example, he performs these rituals on a dog and gives it the name of a man. This man will die, but he will not die quickly. While the dog dies slowly, the man will suffer in the same way. One day the dog will die. The man will also die because the dog has been marked with his name. That's how they do the spell.

These sorcerers only become strong, when they drink these body fluids. The strength of the corpse carries them to another village. Sometimes they also take bones, human bones, from the corpse. That's really something to fly with. These bones allow them to go to other places. And these bodily fluids give them magic power. The bones will carry them, for example to *Safés* or to *Wämnefr*, or to far away to places such as *Weam*, or all the way to *Arufi*. This power can take them there. They use the bones and the body fluids.

Thank you. That was the small story. I have told you this as I have heard it from others. The boys talk about this topic all the time. Thank you.

J.4 *Fenz yonasi* (glossed text)

- (1) *bänema kwa ḷatrikwé nzefé*
 bäne=ma kwa ḷa\trik/wé nzefé
 PH=CHAR FUT 1SG:NPST:IPFV\tell 1SG.ERG.EMPH
 'I will talk about'
- (2) *fenz ane mane ḷonathrh kwosifr kabeaneme bthan kabeyé*
 fenz mane ḷo\na/thrth kwosifr kabe=aneme bthan
 pus which 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\drink corpse man=POSS.NSG magic
 kabe=é
 man=ERG.NSG
 'the body liquids from a dead man's corpse that the sorcerers are
 drinking.'
- (3) *trikasi zrethkäfē*
 trikasi zre\thkäf/é
 story 1SG:IRR:PFV\start
 'I will start the story.'
- (4) *bthan kabe fthé fenz yonasi*
 bthan kabe fthé fenz yona-si
 magic man when pus drink-NMLZ
 'When the sorcerers go for drinking body fluids,'
- (5) *bänemr zrethkäfth mätraksir*
 bäne=mr zre\thkäf/th mätrak-si=r
 PH=PURP 2|3PL:IRR:PFV\start exit-NMLZ=PURP
 'they would start taking this out.'
- (6) *kzi kwa yafiyokwrth*
 kzi kwa ya\fiyok/wrth
 bark_tray FUT 2|3PL>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\make
 'First they make bark tray.'
- (7) *srafiyokwrth karesama kzi srärzirth*
 sra\fiyok/wrth karesa=ma kzi
 2|3PL>3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\make paperbark=CHAR bark_tray
 srä\rzir/th
 2|3PL>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\bend
 'They make it from the paperbark tree by bending the bark into shape.'

- (8) *watik kwa eyak nima kwosifr fthé*
 watik kwa e\yak/ nima kwosifr fthé
 then FUT 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\walk like_this corpse when
 'Then they go to the corpse.'
- (9) *kabe fthé ynänzüthrzrth baden*
 kabe fthé y\nänzüthz/rth bad=en
 man when 2|3PL>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\bury ground=LOC
 'People have buried the deceased in the grave'
- (10) *fthé one week srakor*
 fthé one week sra\kor/
 when one week 2|3SG>3SG.M.IO:IRR:PFV\become
 'and around a week after that,'
- (11) *fthé fof krefar ane bthan kabe bobo fokam znfo*
 fthé fof kre\far/ ane bthan kabe bobo fokam
 when EMPH 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\set_off DEM magic man MED:ALL grave
 zn=fo
 place=ALL
 'the sorcerer sets off to the grave,'
- (12) *fokam mnzfo*
 fokam mnz=fo
 grave house=ALL
 'to the grave house.'
- (13) *sikwankwanme zbär thd*
 sikwankwan=me zbär thd
 quietness=INS night middle
 'He sneaks there in the middle of the night.'
- (14) *kabef keke kwa sremar*
 kabe=f keke kwa sre\mar/
 man=ERG.SG NEG FUT 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\see
 'Nobody can see him.'
- (15) *süsübäthen kwa yak tosinmäre kwayanmäre*
 süsübäth=en kwa \yak/ tosin=märe kwayan=märe
 darkness=LOC FUT 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\walk flashlight=PRIV light=PRIV
 'He goes there in the dark without a flashlight, without any light.'

- (16) *kwa yak yfrsé gwonyamekarä kwa yé*
 kwa \yak/ yfrsé gwonyame=karä kwa
 FUT 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\walk black clothing=PROP FUT
 \yé/
 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘He is wearing black clothes.’
- (17) *keke kwa kwayanthé gwonyamekarä bänema kabeyé sremarth*
 keke kwa kwayan-thé gwonyame=karä kabe=é
 NEG FUT light-ADJZ clothing=PROP people=ERG.NSG
 sre\mar/th
 2|3PL>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\see
 ‘No bright clothing because someone might see him.’
- (18) *fi fthé srayak e fokam*
 fi fthé sra\yak/ e fokam
 3.ABS when 3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\walk until grave
 ‘Then he walks up to the grave.’
- (19) *watik yfö katanr kwa yarenzr*
 watik yfö katan=r kwa ya\re/nzr
 then hole small=PURP FUT 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\look
 ‘He looks around for a small hole.’
- (20) *katan yfö fthé zremar ebarfa*
 katan yfö fthé zre\mar/ ebar=fa
 small hole when 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\see head=ABL
 ‘When he finds a small hole at the head end’
- (21) *fä fof kwa bäne ythorthr mrrab*
 fä fof kwa bäne y\thor/thr mrrab
 DIST EMPH FUT PH.ABS 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\enter small_bamboo
 ‘he inserts a small bamboo pipe.’
- (22) *mrrab zbo zanfr byé*
 mrrab zbo zanfr b=\yé/
 small_bamboo PROX:ALL long MED=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘That bamboo pipe is about this long.’

- (23) *ane fof sräsryöfth bobo yfön*
 ane fof srä\sröfth/ bobo yfö=en
 DEM EMPH 2|3PL>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\send MED:ALL hole=LOC
 'He pushes it into the hole.'
- (24) *watik fobo fof srayak*
 watik fobo fof sra\yak/
 then DIST:ALL EMPH 3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\walk
 'Then he goes'
- (25) *kzi zräzin nabi tonze ... mrrab tonze*
 kzi zrä\zin/ nabi tonze mrrab
 bark_tray 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\put_down bamboo close small_bamboo
 tonze
 close
 'and puts the barktray close to the bamboo pipe.'
- (26) *fenzane bäne mrrab bäne kwa wämmeme yrthakunzr*
 fenz=ane bäne mrrab bäne kwa wämne=me
 pus=POSS.SG PH.ABS small_bamboo PH.ABS FUT tree=INS
 y\rthaku/nzr
 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\spray
 'He will spray the body fluid with the bamboo stick.'
- (27) *watik fenz ane kwa ḷankarkwr naf fobo fof krayagunzr kzifo*
 watik fenz ane kwa ḷan\kark/wr naf fobo fof
 then pus DEM FUT 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\pull 3SG.ERG DIST:ALL EMPH
 kra\yagu/nzr kzifo
 2|3SG:IRR:IPFV\pour bark_tray=ALL
 'He sucks up the body fluid and pours it on the barktray.'
- (28) *nafa watikthmenzo*
 nafa watik-thé=me=nzo
 3NSG.ERG enough-ADJZ=INS=ONLY
 'Until he's got enough.'
- (29) *ke ka krärtf ane kzi*
 ke ka krä\rtf/ ane kzi
 NEG FUT 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\fill_up DEM bark_tray
 'He won't fill the barktray right up.'

- (30) *fthé zremar nima watikthmenzo zfrä*
 fthé zre\mar/ nima watik-thé=me=nzo
 when 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\see like_this enough-ADJZ=INS=ONLY
 zf\rä/
 3SG.F:RPST:IPFV\be
 'When he sees that there is enough there,'
- (31) *mrrab ane sräfum*
 mrrab ane srä\fum/
 small_bamboo DEM 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\pull_out
 'he pulls out that bamboo pipe.'
- (32) *watik kwot zrarmänwr yfö*
 watik kwot zra\rmän/wr yfö
 then properly 2|3PL>3SG.F:IRR:IPFV\close hole
 'Then closes up the hole properly.'
- (33) *watik krefar fof*
 watik kre\far/ fof
 then 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\set_off EMPH
 'Then he departs.'
- (34) *bäne zrazänzr fenz kzikaf*
 bäne zra\zä/nzr fenz kzi=kaf
 PH.ABS 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:IPFV\carry pus bark_tray=PROP
 'He will carry these body fluids in the barktray'
- (35) *mä ke kwa kabef sremar ane yam fiyoksin*
 mä ke kwa kabef sre\mar/ ane yam
 where NEG FUT man=ERG.SG 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\see DEM event
 fiyok-si=en
 make-NMLZ=LOC
 'where nobody would see him doing this.'
- (36) *kwa wrifthzr*
 kwa w\rifth/zr
 FUT 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\hide
 'He will hide it.'

- (37) *watik fi zöbthé zane bäne kramonziknwr ... zzarfa*
 watik fi zöbthé zane bäne kra\monzikn/wr zzarfa
 then 3.ABS first DEM:PROX PH.ABS 2|3SG:IRR:IPFV\get_ready ginger
 'Before he starts anything, he will go and get whatchamacallit, the ginger'
- (38) *bäne ferä*
 bäne f=e\rä/
 PH.ABS DIST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 'Those things will be ready.'
- (39) *ymd thäbu nzabu*
 ymd thäbu nzabu
 bird hair wing
 'and also a feather of a bird.'
- (40) *watik ane thrma ane fof krefar fokamfo*
 watik ane thrma ane fof kre\far/ fokam=fo
 then DEM later DEM EMPH 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\set_off grave=ALL
 'Only after that, he goes to the grave,'
- (41) *ane fthé zrarinakwr kzin sräbth*
 ane fthé zra\rinak/wr kzi=en
 DEM when 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:IPFV\pour bark_tray=LOC
 srä\bth/
 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\finish
 'fills up the barktray,'
- (42) *watik yonasir fof zrärifthm*
 watik yona-si=r fof zrä\rifthm/
 then drink-NMLZ=PURP EMPH 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\hide
 'and hides it for drinking.'
- (43) *zöbthé bäneme kwa wrthakunrz*
 zöbthé bäne=me kwa w\rthaku/nzr
 first PH.ABS=INS FUT 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\spray
 'First, he sprinkles the body liquid'
- (44) *zzarfame bänema gatha miyosé rä*
 zzarfame=me bäne=ma gatha miyosé \rä/
 ginger=INS PH=CHAR bad taste 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'with the ginger because it has a bad taste.'

- (45) *nafane miyo keke namä wärä*
 nafane miyo keke namä wä\rä/
 3SG.POSS desire NEG good 3SG.F.IO:NPST:IPFV\be
 'Its taste is not good.'
- (46) *zrarthakunzr zräbth*
 zra\rthaku/nzr zrä\bth/
 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:IPFV\spray 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\finish
 'He sprinkles it all over.'
- (47) *wati bäne ane kwa yfethakwr ymd nzabu*
 wati bäne ane kwa yfethakwr ymd nzabu
 then PH.ABS DEM FUT 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\dip_in bird wing
 'Then he dips in the feather.'
- (48) *srafethakwr keke kwa zane touch sraräär ane fenzme*
 srafethakwr keke kwa zane touch
 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\dip_in NEG FUT DEM:PROX touch
 sra\rä/r ane fenz=me
 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\do DEM pus=INS
 'He carefully dips it in since the body fluid should not touch (his mouth).'
- (49) *kwan krakurwr*
 kwan kra\kur/wr
 throat 2|3SG:IRR:IPFV\split
 'It would scratch his mouth.'
- (50) *zrarär kwanen bänema thafma gatha miyoma*
 zra\rä/r kwan=en bänem=ma thaf=ma gatha
 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:IPFV\do throat=LOC PH=CHAR bitterness=CHAR bad
 miyo=ma taste=CHAR
 'He puts it carefully into the mouth because it's bitter, because of its terrible taste.'
- (51) *zrarär zrafethakwr we*
 zra\rä/r zra\fethak/wr we
 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:IPFV\do 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:IPFV\dip_in also
 'He does that and he dips it in.'

- (52) *zbo sranakwr krafithkwr*
 zbo sra\nak/wr kra\figthk/wr
 PROX:ALL 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\put_down 2|3SG:IRR:IPFV\lick
 'And he puts it down (his throat) and licks it.'
- (53) *we nimanzo kwot e zräbth ane fenz*
 we nima=nzo kwot e zrä\bth/ ane fenz
 also like_this=ONLY properly until 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\finish DEM pus
 'He continues doing this until he finishes up the fluid.'
- (54) *fthé zräbth kzi ane kwa yfönzr mnime fewama*
 fthé zrä\bth/ kzi ane kwa
 when 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\finish bark_tray DEM FUT
 y\fönz/r mni=me fewa=ma
 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\burn fire=INS smell=CHAR
 'When he's done, we will burn the barktray in the fire because of the bad smell.'
- (55) *mnime sräföf watik*
 mni=me srä\föf/ watik
 fire=INS 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\burn then
 'He burns it in the fire'
- (56) *kräbrim nafane mnzfo*
 krä\brim/ nafane mnz=fo
 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\return 3SG.POSS house=ALL
 '(and) he returns to his house.'
- (57) *kwa yrugr e*
 kwa y\rugr/ e
 FUT 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\sleep until
 'He will sleep peacefully until'
- (58) *baffthé sräbth nima kabe zan miyof*
 baf fthé srä\bth/ nima kabe zan
 PH.ERG.SG when 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\finish like_this man fight
 miyo=f
 desire=ERG.SG
 'the bloodlust overcomes him.'

- (59) *okay fthé fof krefar*
 okay fthé fof kre\far/
 okay when EMPH 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\set_off
 'Okay, then he gets going.'
- (60) *keke kwa mnzen ane tmatm zrafiyokwr ane yam*
 keke kwa mnz=en ane tmadm zra\fiyok/wr ane yam
 NEG FUT house=LOC DEM action 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:IPFV\make DEM event
 'He doesn't not do his magic in the house.'
- (61) *zagr kwa yak ksi karen bā sramnzs*
 zagr kwa \yak/ ksi kar=en bā
 far FUT 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\walk grassland place=LOC MED
 sra\m/nzr
 3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\sit
 'He will go far somewhere in the bush.'
- (62) *foba fof krefar kabe zanr*
 foba fof kre\far/ kabe zan=r
 DIST:ABL EMPH 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\set_off people fight=PURP
 'He has to go away to kill people.'
- (63) *si kwa zöbthé ηazübrakwr warfo kabedbo*
 si kwa zöbthé ηa\zübrak/wr warfo kabedbo
 eyes FUT first 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\close_eyes above man=ALL.ANIM.SG
 'First, he will pray to god.'
- (64) *warfo kabe kwa ykonzs*
 warfo kabe kwa y\ko/nzr
 above man FUT 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\speak
 'He will say to god:'
- (65) *"befé mitafo sabrim"*
 befé mitafo sa\brim/
 2SG.ERG.EMPH ghost 2SG>3SG.M:IMP:PFV\return
 "You take back the spirit"
- (66) *nzun fefe kwagathif"*
 nzun fefe kwa\gathif/
 1SG.DAT body 2SG>1SG.IO:IMP:PFV\leave
 'leave the flesh for me."

- (67) *watik ane kabe kwa yfänzr*
 watik ane kabe kwa y\fä/nzr
 then DEM man FUT 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\present
 'He will point out a particular person'
- (68) *kabe yf kwa ybräknwr nima "bäi"*
 kabe yf kwa y\bräkn/wr nima bäi
 man name FUT 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\call_out like_this Bäi
 'and mention their name, for example "Mbäii!"'
- (69) *"bäiane mitafo be sabrim nzun fefe kwagathif"*
 bäi=ane mitafo be sa\brim/ nzun fefe
 Bäi=POSS.SG ghost 2SG.ERG 2SG>3SG.M:IMP:PFV\return 1SG.DAT body
 kwa\gathif/
 2SG>1SG.IO:IMP:PFV\leave
 'Take Mbäii's spirit back and leave his flesh behind for me!"'
- (70) *watik fthé krefar kabef keke kwa sremar bänema*
 watik fthé kre\far/ kabef keke kwa
 then when 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\set_off man=ERG.SG NEG FUT
 sre\mar/ bänem=ma
 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\see PH=CHAR
 'Then he sets off. He won't visit the person because'
- (71) *mnzen fthé srarugr nagayé disturb or ñare disturb srarär*
 mnz=en fthé sra\rugr nagayé disturb o ñare
 house=LOC when 3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\sleep children disturbance or wife
 disturb sra\rä/r
 disturbance 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\do
 'his wife or his children will distract him.'
- (72) *watik anema fof krämätr outside nä karfo ksi karen fä sramnzs*
 watik ane=ma fof krä\mätr/ outside nä kar=fo
 then DEM=CHAR EMPH 2|3SG:IRR:IPFV\exit outside INDF place=ALL
 ksi kar=en fä sra\m/nzr
 grassland place=LOC DIST 3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\sit
 'Therefore, he will go out to some place in the savannah.'

- (73) *fä ane tmatm kwa kabe yafiyokwr. btha zan yfnzr*
 fä ane tmatm kwa kabe ya\fiyok/wr btha zan
 DIST DEM action FUT man 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\make magic fight
 y\fn/zr
 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\hit
 ‘He will perform this action there, but the magic will hit (that person).’
- (74) *foba fof krethfär*
 foba fof kre\thfä/r
 DIST:ABL EMPH 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\fly
 ‘He can fly from there’
- (75) *mobo fthzé*
 mobo fthzé
 where.ALL INDF
 ‘where ever (he wishes),’
- (76) *nima*
 nima
 like_this
 ‘for example’
- (77) *zba fthé roukuma nge srarä*
 zba fthé rouku=ma nge sra\rä/
 PROX:ABL when PLN=CHAR child 3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\be
 ‘if a Rouku boy is the sorcerer,’
- (78) *zbär kwa yam zä wäfiyokwr zba krethfär safisfo*
 zbär kwa yam zä wä\fiyok/wr zba
 night FUT event PROX 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\make PROX:ABL
 kre\thfä/r safis=fo
 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\fly PLN=ALL
 ‘he will do this in night and fly from here to Safés.’
- (79) *bä ... btha zan srafnzr bthanme srafnzr*
 bä btha zan sra\fn/zr bthan=me
 MED magic fight 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\hit magic=INS
 sra\fn/zr
 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\hit
 ‘He will strike him with a spell. He will strike him with magic.’

- (80) *kränbrim we ane we zbär*
 krän\brim/ we ane we zbär
 2|3SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\return also DEM also night
 'Then he returns in the night.'
- (81) *keke kwa bää srarugr o srawäkwr*
 keke kwa bää sra\ru/gr o sra\wák/wr
 NEG FUT MED 3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\sleep or 3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\daybreak_on_sb
 'He doesn't stay there overnight.'
- (82) *zbär we kwa yanbrigwr keke kwa mothen fi srayak fi krathfänzr*
 zbär we kwa ḷyan\brig/wr keke kwa moth=en fi
 night also FUT 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\return NEG FUT path=LOC 3.ABS
 sra\yak/ fi kra\thfä/nzr
 3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\walk 3.ABS 2|3SG:IRR:NPST\fly
 'He goes back in the night. He will not walk on the road, but he will fly.'
- (83) *nima ane wäfiyokwr*
 nima ane wä\fiyok/wr
 like_this DEM 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\make
 'He will do like this.'
- (84) *fthé sräbth kabe bthan zan srethkäf watik fä mane kwik erä fof*
 fthé srä\bth/ kabe bthan zan
 when 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\finish man magic fight
 sre\thkäf/ watik fä mane kwik e\rä/
 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\start then DIST which sickness 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 fof
 EMPH
 'When he has finished (drinking the bodily fluid), he starts casting spells.
 Next, some people there will fall ill.'
- (85) *keke taurifo tmatm zrafiyokwr o ḷnathafo*
 keke tauri=fo tmatm zra\fiyok/wr o ḷnatha=fo
 NEG wallaby=ALL action 2|3SG>3SG.F:IRR:IPFV\make or dog=ALL
 'He can put a spell on a wallaby or on a dog,'
- (86) *o faso rrokār berä*
 o faso r~rokār b=e\rä/
 or meat REDUP~thing MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 'or on any other (game) animals there.'

- (87) *ane rrokarto kwa tmatm yafiyokwr keke kwa nima nä kabedben*
 ane r~rokarto=fo kwa tmatm ya\fiyok/wr keke
 DEM REDUP~thing=ALL FUT action 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\make NEG
 kwa nima nä kabe=dben
 FUT like_this INDF man=LOC.ANIM.SG
 'He will do this to animals, not to another man.'
- (88) *fi ane kabeane mitafo kwa wthorthr*
 fi ane kabe=ane mitafo kwa w\thor/thr
 but DEM people=POSS.SG ghost FUT 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\enter
 'But the sorcerer's spirit will go inside'
- (89) *nä faso rokarfo o fthzé ñatha zräthb*
 nä faso rokar=fo o fthzé ñatha zrä\thb/
 INDF meat thing=ALL or INDF dog 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\enter
 'some animal or whatever. I can go inside a dog.'
- (90) *ra fthzé srarä ymd*
 ra fthzé sra\rä/ ymd
 what.ABS INDF 3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\be bird
 'It can be anything, for example a bird.'
- (91) *watik ane fof kwa tmatm yafiyokwr ñatha yafiyokwr nafane yfkaf*
 watik ane fof kwa tmatm ya\fiyok/wr ñatha
 then DEM EMPH FUT action 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\make dog
 ya\fiyok/wr nafane yf=kaf
 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\make 3SG.POSS name=PROP
 'For example, he does these rituals to a dog and he puts some man's name to it.'
- (92) *nezä kabe kwa kwosi yé keke ñatha kwa kwosi srarä yakme*
 nezä kabe kwa kwosi \yé/ keke ñatha kwa kwosi
 in_return man FUT dead 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be NEG dog FUT dead
 sra\rä/ yakme
 3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\be quickly
 'The man will die, but the dog will not die quickly.'
- (93) *mon tariäsi fthé kratariwr ñatha*
 mon tariä-si fthé kra\tari/wr ñatha
 how shrink-NMLZ when 2|3SG:IRR:IPFV\struggle dog
 'As the dog slowly perishes,'

- (94) *we kabe nimäwä kwa ḷatariwr*
 we kabē nimä=wä kwa ḷa\tarī/wr
 also man like_this=EMPH FUT 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\struggle
 'the man will suffer in the same way.'
- (95) *kwot e ḷatha fthé zä kwosi srarä kabe bä kwa kwosi yé*
 kwot e ḷatha fthé zä kwosi sra\rä/ kabe bā kwa
 properly until dog when PROX dead 3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\be man MED FUT
 kwosi \yé/
 dead 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 'Some day the dog will die. The man will also die there,'
- (96) *bänema ḷatha ane nafane yfkaf sfrä*
 bänemā=ma ḷatha ane nafane yf=kaf sf\rä/
 PH=CHAR dog DEM 3SG.POSS name=PROP 3SG.M:RPST:IPFV\be
 'because the dog was marked with his name.'
- (97) *nimame ane fof bthan erä*
 nima=me ane fof bthan e\rä/
 like_this=INS DEM EMPH magic 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 'This is how they are doing the magic.'²
- (98) *okay, ane fenz mane ḷonathrth*
 okay ane fenz mane ḷo\na/thrth
 okay DEM pus which 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\drink
 'It's when they drink these body fluids,'
- (99) *tmä naffof ärithr*
 tmä naf fof ä\ri/thr
 strength 3SG.ERG EMPH 2|3SG>2|3PL.IO:NPST:IPFV\give
 'they become strong.'
- (100) *kwosifr kabeane tmäffof ezänzr nä karfo*
 kwosifr kabe=ane tmä=f fof
 corpse man=POSS.SG strength=ERG.SG EMPH
 e\zä/nzr nä kar=fo
 2|3SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\carry INDF village=ALL
 'The strength of the corpse carries them to another village.'

²CD asks: *rma fi ḷonathrth ane fenz?* 'Why do they drink the body fluids?'

- (101) *nä kayé kam kwa emätrakwrth*
 nä kayé kam kwa e\mätrak/wrth
 INDF one_day_away bone FUT 2|3SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\exit
 ‘Sometimes, they will also extract bones,’
- (102) *kabe kam kwosifr kam*
 kabe kam kwosifr kam
 man bone corpse bone
 ‘human bones from the corpse.’
- (103) *watik, ane fof thfäsir fof*
 watik ane fof thfä-si=r fof
 then DEM EMPH fly-NMLZ=PURP EMPH
 ‘It is really for flying.’
- (104) *ane kamfkwa yzänzr bobo nä karfo*
 ane kam=f kwa y\zä/nzr bobo nä
 DEM bone=ERG.SG FUT 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\carry MED:ALL INDF
 kar=fo
 place=ALL
 ‘These bones allow them to go to other places.’
- (105) *fi fenz ane bänemrnzo rä tmä yarisir*
 fi fenz ane bänemr=nzo \rä/ tmä
 3.ABS pus DEM until=ONLY 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be strength
 yari-si=r
 give-NMLZ=PURP
 ‘And these body fluids give them power.’
- (106) *kamffí ane kwa yzänzr bobo nima safs o wämnefr*
 kam=f fi ane kwa y\zä/nzr bobo
 bone=ERG.SG 3.ABS DEM FUT 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\carry MED:ALL
 nima safs o wämnefr
 like_this PLN OR PLN
 ‘The bones will carry them, for example to Safés or to Wämnefr.’
- (107) *o wämnefr nima zagr kwa ḡathfänzr weam*
 nima zagr kwa ḡa\thfä/nzr weam
 like_this far FUT 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\fly PLN
 ‘They can fly far away (to places) such as Weam.’

- (108) *fthzé bobomrwä arufe krathfänzr*
 fthzé bobomr=wä arufe kra\thfä/nzr
 INDF until=EMPH PLN 2|3SG:IRR:NPST\fly
 'Wherever they wish. They could fly all the way to Arufi,'
- (109) *zagr karfo*
 zagr kar=fo
 far place=ALL
 'to places far away.'
- (110) *ane tmäf kwa yzänzr*
 ane tmä=f kwa y\zä/nzr
 DEM strength=ERG.SG FUT 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\carry
 'This power can take them there,'
- (111) *kam a fenz*
 kam a fenz
 bone and pus
 'it's the bones and the body fluid.'
- (112) *eso kafar. anenzo katan trikasi zfrä*
 eso kafar ane=nzo katan trikasi zf\rä/
 thanks big DEM=ONLY small story 3SG.F:RPST:IPFV\be
 'Thank you. That was the small story.'
- (113) *trikasi nimanzo worä kabeyé mane watrikwirth*
 trikasi nima=nzo wo\rä/ kabeyé mane
 story like_this=ONLY 1SG:NPST:IPFV\be people=ERG.NSG which
 wa\trik/wrth
 2|3PL>1SG.IO:NPST:IPFV\tell
 'I have told you as I have heard it from others.'
- (114) *fi srakwä fthzé kwot kratrikwirth*
 fi srak=wä fthzé kwot kra\trik/wrth
 but boy=EMPH INDF properly 2|3PL:IRR:IPFV\tell
 'The boys talk about this all the time.'
- (115) *gadmöwä*
 gadmöwä
 thanks
 'Thank you.'

K Masis - Matches

K.1 Introduction

Masis is a narrative lasting roughly 7min. It was recorded by Christian Döhler on September 9th 2012, in video format.¹ The story teller is Kaumb Bai. The recording took place after the Sunday service in a shelter next to the church building in *Rouku*. There was a large audience present, who burst out laughing at certain passages of the story.

K.2 Summary & background

The story is set in the time when the Morehead people had just been contacted by the colonial administrators and were exposed to “modern technology”. More specifically, the story is about the introduction of the matchbox as a means of making fire.

In the story, a feast was celebrated in the nearby village of *Forzitho*, to which many people travelled from villages further west. The guests sang and danced all night long, interrupted only by breaks to sit down and take a rest. During this time, it is customary that respected elders stand up and give a speech, and there is a special genre for these speeches called *se zokwasi* ‘bark torch speech’. The story is about an argument between two men who have exchanged sisters, a man from *Forzitho* and a man from *Koréth*.

The man from *Forzitho* talked himself into a rage during his *se zokwasi*. In the midst of this rage, he pulled out a box of matches and announced to the crowd that he can make fire with this little thing. He claimed that he can use it to light the primordial fire, which is called *kidn* in *Komnzo*. This was the fire that destroyed the mythical tree from which all humans descend. The audience was deeply shocked by his speech. They threw everything away, hid or ran away. A few brave ones pinned down the man and took the matchbox from him. They gave him kava to dampen his anger and also his physical movements. Finally, the dance continued until the early hours of the morning, when the people slaughtered a pig and distributed the food.

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20120909-06. It is archived at: <https://zenodo.org/records/1300792>

K.3 Masis (parallel text)

Nima fof. Zane mane zafe zokwasi rä nzenme yafynme. Ijafyé nafanme zokwasi zrä. Fthé fi miyamr thfrärm ra masis thfrärm. Wati anema masis mane thunrärm zba. Torres strait islandfa thunrärm ane masis. Wati keke tüfrma yus thwafiyokwrmth o thufath-wrmth. Nä kabe näbikakmenzo finzo miyatha thfrärm fof.

Ane efother nä kayé z wath rera nima forzitho. Wath rera. Wati zba kabe äniyaka. Thäwethath smärkifa. Forzithoma kabe nä yara mafrrfäms erna. Fi mon bänema yara korthma kabe. Nä yf bäneme mane wkonzrth mgte. Wati fi fof äniyaka wathr fof. Nzenme yam mane erä ruga emagthkwre. Ef nzre. Wati nimamr fof. Wati mane äniyaka forzitho. Wath sathayfath. Ijarnzürwäh zbär thd. Zbär erära. E wäksi tfotfo. Wati se fthé fof thäföfath fof. Se fthé fof thäföfath. Forzitho kabe fof nafafämsf thäföfa. Se thäföfa. nokukarä kwanafrmth. Nafafämsr kwanafrmth se zokwasi fof.

Wati naf z fafen masis z zbo thäthbako poketen gwonyame bafen yaren. Nokuyé fthé sabtha. Ane kabe forzitho

The story is like this. This story is an old story, our father's story. It's the fathers' story. It dates back to the time when people didn't yet know what matches were. When those matches first appeared here, they came from the *Torres Strait Islands*. There weren't many people who owned and used them. Only a few people really knew about them.

At this time, there was a feast in *Forzitho*. There was a dance and people from here went there. They had also invited people from *Smärki*. There was one man from *Forzitho*. He had exchanged wives with those ones. He might have been from whatchamacallit, a man from *Koréth*. Another name for that place is *Méngte*. Well, so they came for the pig dance. It is customary to raise a pig and kill it for the dance. This is the way. As they came to *Forzitho*, they brought the dance into the village and they danced until midnight. The whole night passed and it was almost dawn. That was when they burned the bark. When they burned the bark it was the *Forzitho* man, his exchange man, who was talking. He burned the torch. They were talking angrily. He got into an argument with his exchange man.

He had previously put a box of matches in his pocket, in his clothes, in the bag. As he talked himself into

kabe ane masis fthé thämätra fof. Fthé thämätra fefe. Näbi samätra masis fofo fof. Keke zane masis. Zena zerä. Striker zerä. Keke ane! o lighter zerä. Fi masis box fefe mane thfrärm fof. Ane masis stick masis. Wati näbi stick sanmätra ane kabe forzithoma kabe. Wati fof box ane neba zba thufathwrm neba. Gagame neba gagame stick sufathwrm. kwanafrm nokume “Nzefé fthé zänmätré. Zfth mni zane zfrä kidn.” Zfth mni nä kayé zwäsmth kidn. Wati kaböwä fthé samarath. Wtri zärath. Nima nafanme fam nima zfrärm. Kidn mane zfrärm a zafewä bad fthé wäfiyokwa. Nafyf fthé bad wäfiyokwa. kidn ane rifthsime zfrärm. Ymd nä zfrärm tüü. Zena tüü mane wännor ymd fof. Naf ane kidn zunarwrm mni.

Wati anema kabeyé fthé zekarisath. Nima “Ane kidn kwa zena zf yus wäfiyokwr o znsän wnakwr. Bänemr kwa yarsirwre ni bramöwä. Ane masis fof thukonzrm masis box fof!” Watik fthé thänmätra ane masis fof. Kabe mane erära zerfakuthath. Wtri zärath ane katan masis boksmanzo fof. Yaw kabe wathr mane enrära kwakwirwrmth. Ruga sagathifath. Dagon ra bramöwä egathikwath. Wtri zärath fof. “Ane fthé kma zräfusiré. Zrewär. Kabe bramöwä kwa yarsirwrth zane!” Wtri thfrärm. Wati krenafthth “Sritüthe! Ssafe! Kidn mni mzärfusir! Fthé bramöwä yarsir-

a rage, this man from *Forzitho*, he took out the matchbox. He pulled it out and got one match. It wasn't one of these lighters. Nowadays, there are cigarette lighters, not this type or lighter. These were real matches. These were match sticks. So the man from *Forzitho* took one match out. He held up the matchbox on one side with his hand. He held the match stick in his other hand. He was talking angrily “When I take this out, it will start the real fire, the Kidn fire!” They used to call the mythical fire sometimes Kidn. When people saw this, they got scared. They were thinking like this: This Kidn is from long time ago, when the earth was created, when god made the earth. This Kidn fire was hidden at the time. There was a bird named tüü. That tüü bird that was calling out today. She was hiding the Kidn fire.

The people heard him talk like this “Now I'm going to use them and we're all going to burn! I call these matches or matchbox.” As he took out the matches, the people ran off in all directions. They were afraid of this small matchbox. All the people who had come to the dance ran away. They forgot about the pig, the food and everything else. They all were really scared. He continued “When I light this up, when it strikes, all the people will burn here.” They were afraid and said: “Get him, hold him! He could start the fire and we'll all burn.” A few men

wre." Kabe nä änyaka zane gaga fur särath. Ykarkwath ane mni masis fof. Fthé fof zenaftha "Miyatha käkoré! Nima fof zräthor. Anemr worfizrmth." Näbuné manar thfgarwrmth. Brubru thuwänzrmth. Wtrime kwakwirwrmth ane masisma fof mni. Wati ykarkwrth. Ymsakwrth. "Be rar nima yam yafiyokwr? Ni kwa njarsirwrame. Nagayé fäth bramöwä berä. Ausi kamkam berä. Mane kwa né foba trtha niyarmo?" Wati ymsakwrth fof. Yara. Krär yari-nakwrth bänemr fof nafane noku frazsir. Krärme sräirfth. Wri kwosi sfhnm. Watik nafane noku fam aneme sä-bthath fof.

Wati wath srethkäfth. Erära. Threwäf. Ruga yfnzrth. Ykwathrth. Dagon yaritath. Ra bramöwä erära. Bi ra erära. ïjarithath. Wati fi bana nabrigwath. Smärki nabrigwath. Forzitho karnzo thägathifath fof. Ane kidn mni ane nafadben komnzo thfrärm.

Wati namäwä kwot fthé masis ane fof thenthkäfath markai. Fthé australian markaiyé fthé thenäthkäfath fof masis ane fof. Kabe miyatha kwot fof kwakonzrmth. Zane keke kidn rä. Zane keke zfth mni rä. Zane katan mninzo rä bänema sukufa o mni bänema fof. Anema zane rä fof. Fi zöbthé efóthen mane thfrärm. Siria wtri thfrärm wtri kafar. Nima "Bomb o kma bomb zf-

came and tied up his hands. They took the fire from him, the matchbox really. He said: "Now you're feeling it! This is what will happen if you make fun of me." Others almost broke their feathers on their headdresses and smashed their drums. They ran away in fear because of these matches. Then they took the matchbox away from him and they sat him down. They said "Why are you doing this? We all could have burned, all the little children and the old women. Who shall live from now on?" They sat him down properly. They poured him some kava to calm his anger. They bottled him with kava. He was lying there drunk out of his mind. They put an end to his angry thoughts.

Then they started the dance again up until the morning hours. They killed the pig and slaughtered it. They distributed the meat, the sago and whatever else was there. Then the Smärki people went back. They left Forzitho village for good. That Kidn fire was just with that one guy.

These matchboxes were only recently introduced by the whites. The white people from Australia brought these matches with them. People then found out that they call them matches. They have nothing do with the Kidn fire. This small fire is used for smoking tobacco or making a fire. It is for these things. But in the past, people were afraid. They were really scared

rärm?" Nimame fof. Keke kafar kwark miyatha thfrärm nima ane rokar. Ane timen bana nima nzenme ȳafyé o nafanme ȳafyé mane erära. Keke miyatha nä skul keke eyaka bobo. Mobo ra nä keke aunege zanthonath o knowledge nä keke zanthonath. Miyamr ane thfrärm fi fof zane mane wtri thfrärm. Nafanme nabawan efot ane fof rera. Ane masi fthé nafa themarath fof.

Anema nä katan zokwasi nimamenzo fofzfrä nzone katan masisma. Ane mnima zöbthé mane zukonzrmth kidn o zfth mni. Masis ane zöbthé zafe kabeyé thfkonzrmth fof. Eso kafar. Bramöwä yarizsima eso!

wondering “Is it a bomb or could it be a bomb?” That’s how it was. The old people did not really know about those things at the time. Our fathers did not know and they did not go to school. There was no knowledge about this. Nothing was known about this. They did not know about it, so they were afraid of it. It was their first time to see matches.

That was the small story about these small matches. They used to call these Kidn fire or Zéfeth fire. The old people used to call matches by those terms. Thank you all for listening. Thank you!

K.4 Masis (glossed text)

- (1) *nima fof*
nima fof
like_this EMPH
'(The story is) like this.'
- (2) *zane mane zafe zokwasi rä*
zane mane zafe zokwasi \rä/
DEM:PROX which old speech 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
'This story is an old story,'
- (3) *nzenme nafynme*
nzenme nafe=aneme
1NSG.POSS father=POSS.NSG
'our father's (story)'
- (4) *ŋafyé nafanme zokwasi zrä*
ŋafe=é nafanme zokwasi z=\rä/
father=ERG.NSG 3NSG.POSS speech PROX=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
'It's the fathers' story.'
- (5) *fthé fi miyamr thfrärm ra masis thfrärm*
fthé fi miyamr thfrärm ra masis
when 3.ABS ignorance 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be what.ABS matches
thfrärm
2|3PL:PST:DUR\be
'It dates back to the time when people didn't yet know what matches were.'
- (6) *wati, anema masis mane thunrärm zba*
wati ane=ma masis mane thunrärm zba
then DEM=CHAR matches which 2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\be PROX:ABL
'When those matches first appeared here,'
- (7) *torres strait islandfa thunrärm ane masis*
torres_strait_island=fa thunrärm ane masis
PLN=ABL 2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\be DEM matches
'they came from the Torres Strait Islands.'

- (8) *wati, keke tüfrma yus thwafiyokwrmth o thufathwrmth*
 wati keke tüfr=ma yus thwa\fiyok/wrmth o
 then NEG plenty=CHAR use 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\make or
 thu\fath/wrmth
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\hold
 ‘There weren’t many people who owned and used them.’
- (9) *nä kabe näbikakmenzo finzo miyatha thfrärm fof*
 nä kabe näbi-kak=me=nzo fi=nzo miyatha
 INDF people one-DISTR=INS=ONLY 3.ABS=ONLY knowledge
 thf\rä/rm fof
 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be EMPH
 ‘Only a few people really knew about them.’
- (10) *ane efotheren nä kayé z wath rera nima forzitho*
 ane efoth=en nä kayé z wath \rä/ra nima
 DEM day=LOC INDF one_day_away IAM dance 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be like_this
 forzitho
 PLN
 ‘At this time, there was a feast in Forzitho.’
- (11) *wath rera wati zba kabe äniyaka thäwethath smärkifa*
 wath \rä/ra wati zba kabe än\yak/a
 dance 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be then PROX:ABL people 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\come
 thä\weth/ath smärki=fa
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\invite PLN=ABL
 ‘There was a dance and people from here went there. They had also
 invited people from Smärki.²
- (12) *forzithoma kabe nä yara mafrr fäms erna*
 forzitho=ma kabe nä ya\r/a mafrr fäms
 PLN=CHAR man INDF 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be who.IC.DU exchange
 e\rn/a
 2|3DU:PST:IPFV\be
 ‘There was one man from Forzitho. He had exchanged wives with those
 ones.’

²Smärki is a collective term for various peoples who live further west.

- (13) *fi mon bänema yara korthma kabe*
 fi mon bäné=ma ya'r/a korth=ma kabe
 3.ABS how PH.ABS=CHAR 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be PLN=CHAR man
 'He might have been from whatchamacallit, a man from Koréth.'
- (14) *nä yf bäné mane wkonzrth mgte*
 nä yf bäné mane w\ko/nzrth mgte
 INDF name PH.ABS which 2|3PL>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\speak PLN
 'Another name for that place is Méngte.'
- (15) *wati fi fof äniyaka wathr fof*
 dati fi fof än\yak/a wath=r fof
 then 3.ABS EMPH 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\come dance=PURP EMPH
 'Well, so they came for the dance.'
- (16) *nzenme Yam mane erä ruga emagthkwre efnzre dati*
 nzenme Yam mane e'rä/ ruga
 1NSG.POSS tradition which 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be pig
 e\mgthk/wre e\fn/zre dati
 1PL>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\feed 1PL>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\hit then
 'It is customary to a pig and kill it (for the dance).'
- (17) *nimamr fof*
 nima=r fof
 like_this=PURP EMPH
 'This is the way.'
- (18) *wati, mane äniyaka forzitho wath sathayfath*
 dati mane än\yak/a forzitho wath
 then which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\come PLN dance
 sa\thayf/ath
 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:PFV\present
 'As they came to Forzitho, they brought the dance into the village'
- (19) *ŋarnzürwāth zbär thd*
 ŋa\rnzür/wath zbär thd
 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\dance night middle
 'and they danced until midnight.'

- (20) *zbär erära e wäksi tfotfo*
 zbär e\rä/ra e wäk-si tfotfo
 night 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be until daybreak_on_sb-NMLZ almost
 'The whole night passed and it was almost dawn.'
- (21) *wati, se fthé fof thäföfath fof*
 wati se fthé fof thä\föf/ath fof
 then barktorch when EMPH 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\burn EMPH
 'That was when they burned the bark.'³
- (22) *se fthé fof thäföfath*
 se fthé fof thä\föf/ath
 barktorch when EMPH 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\burn
 'When they burned the bark'
- (23) *forzitho kabe fof nafafämsf thäföfa*
 forzitho kabe fof nafa-fäms=f thä\föf/a
 PLN man EMPH 3.POSS-exchange=ERG.SG SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\burn
 'it was the Forzitho man, his exchange man, who was talking.'
- (24) *se thäföfa*
 se thä\föf/a
 bark_torch SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\burn
 'He burned (the torch).'
- (25) *nokukarä kwanafrmth*
 noku=karä kwa\naf/rmth
 anger=PROP 2|3PL:PST:DUR\talk
 'They were talking angrily.'
- (26) *nafafämsr kwanafnmth se zokwasi fof*
 nafa-fäms=r kwa\naf/nmth se zokwasi fof
 3.POSS-exchange=IC.DU 2|3DU:RPST:DUR\talk barktorch speech EMPH
 'He got into an argument with his exchange man.'

³'Burning the bark' alludes to a public speech genre called *se zokwasi* during which the speaker carries a burning bark torch.

- (27) *wati naf z fafen masis z zbo thäthbako poketen*
 wati naf z fafen masis z zbo
 then 3SG.ERG IAM meanwhile matches IAM PROX:ALL
 thä\thb/ako poket=en
 SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV:AND\enter pocket=LOC
 ‘He had previously put a box of matches in his pocket,’
- (28) *gwonyame bafen yaren*
 gwonyame bafen yare=en
 clothing PH.LOC bag=LOC
 ‘in his clothes, in the bag.’
- (29) *nokuyé fthé sabtha*
 noku=é fthé sa\bth/a
 anger=ERG.NSG when SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\finish
 ‘As he talked himself into a rage,’
- (30) *ane kabe forzitho kabe*
 ane kabe forzitho kabe
 DEM man PLN man
 ‘this man from Forzitho,’
- (31) *ane masis fthé thämätra fof*
 ane masis fthé thä\mätr/a fof
 DEM matches when SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\exit EMPH
 ‘he took out the matchbox.’
- (32) *fthé thämätra fefe näbi samätra masis foba fof*
 fthé thä\mätr/a fefe näbi sa\mätr/a masis
 when SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\exit really one SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\exit matches
 foba fof
 DIST:ABL EMPH
 ‘He pulled it out and got one match.’
- (33) *keke zane masis*
 keke zane masis
 NEG DEM:PROX matches
 ‘It wasn’t one of these lighters.’

- (34) *zena zerä striker zerä keke ane*
 zena z=e|rä/ striker z=e|rä/ keke
 today PROX=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be lighter PROX=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be NEG
 ane
 DEM
 ‘Nowadays, there are cigarette lighters, not this type’
- (35) *o lighter zerä*
 o lighter z=e|rä/
 or lighter PROX=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘or lighter.’
- (36) *fi masis box fefe mane thfrärm fof*
 fi masis boks fefe mane thf|rä/rm fof
 3.ABS matches box really which 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be EMPH
 ‘These were real matches.’
- (37) *ane masis stick masis*
 ane masis stick masis
 DEM matches stick matches
 ‘These were match sticks.’
- (38) *wati, näbi stick sanmätra ane kabe forzithoma kabe*
 wati näbi stick san|mätr/a ane kabe forzitho=ma kabe
 then one stick SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV:VENT\exit DEM man PLN=CHAR man
 ‘So the man from Forzitho took one match out.’
- (39) *wati fof box ane neba zba thufathwrm neba*
 wati fof boks ane neba zba thu\fath/wrm neba
 then EMPH box DEM opposite PROX:ABL SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\hold opposite
 ‘He held up the matchbox on one side’
- (40) *gagame neba gagame stick sufathwrm*
 gaga=me neba gaga=me stick su\fath/wrm
 hand=INS opposite hand=INS stick SG>3SG.M:PST:DUR\hold
 ‘with his hand. He held the match in his other hand.’
- (41) *kwanafrm nokume*
 kwa\naf/rm noku=me
 SG:PST:DUR\talk anger=INS
 ‘He was talking angrily’

- (42) “nzefé fthé zänmätré
 nzefé fthé zän\mätr/é
 1SG.ERG.EMPH when 1SG:PST:PFV:VENT\exit
 “When I take this out”
- (43) *zfth mni zane zfrä kidn*
 zfth mni zane zf\rä/ kidn
 tree_base fire DEM:PROX 3SG.F:RPST:IPFV\be mythical_fire
 ‘it will start the real fire, the kidn fire!’⁴
- (44) *zfth mni nä kayé zwäsmth kidn*
 zfth mni nä kayé zwä\s/mth
 tree_base fire INDF one_day_away 2|3PL>3SG.F:ITER:DUR\call
 kidn
 mythical_fire
 ‘They used to call the mythical fire sometimes kidn.’
- (45) *wati kaböwä fthé samarath wtri zärath*
 wati kabe=wä fthé sa\mar/ath wtri zä\r/ath
 then people=EMPH when 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:PFV\see fear 2|3PL:PST:PFV\do
 ‘When people saw this, they got scared.’
- (46) *nima nafanme fam nima zfrärm ah*
 nima nafanme fam nima zf\rä/rm ah
 like_this 3NSG.POSS thought like_this 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be ah
 ‘They were thinking like this:’
- (47) *kidn mane zfrärm a zafewä*
 kidn mane zf\rä/rm a zafe=wä
 mythical_fire which 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be and old=EMPH
 ‘This kidn is from long time ago,’
- (48) *bad fthé ḷafiyokwa*
 bad fthé ḷa\fifyok/wa
 ground when SG:PST:IPFV\make
 ‘when the earth was created,’

⁴ *Kidn* is the primordial fire that destroyed the Wäsi tree at *Kwafar* (cf. text A).

- (49) *yafyf fthé bad wä\fiyokwa*
 yafe=f fthé bad wä\fiyok/wa
 father=ERG.SG when ground SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make
 ‘when god made the earth.’
- (50) *kidn ane rifthzsime zfrärm*
 kidn ane rifthz-si=me zf\rä/rm
 mythical_fire DEM hide-NMLZ=INS 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be
 ‘This kidn fire was hidden at the time.’
- (51) *ymd nä zfrärm tüü*
 ymd nä zf\rä/rm tüü
 bird INDF 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be bird_species
 ‘There was a bird named tüü,’⁵
- (52) *zena tüü mane wännor ymd fof*
 zena tüü mane wän\nor/ ymd fof
 today bird_species which 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\shout bird EMPH
 ‘that tüü bird that was calling out today’
- (53) *naf ane kidn zunarwrm mni*
 naf ane kidn zu\nar/wrm mni
 3SG.ERG DEM mythical_fire SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR\press_down fire
 ‘She was hiding the kidn fire.’
- (54) *wati, anema kabeyé fthé zekarisath nima a*
 wati ane=ma kabé=é fthé ze\karis/ath nima a
 then DEM=CHAR people=ERG.NSG when 2|3PL:PST:PFV\hear like_this and
 ‘The people heard him talk like this’
- (55) *“nze kidn kwa zena zf yus wä\fiyokwr o znsän wnakwr bänemr kwa*
ñarsirwre ni bramöwä
 nze kidn kwa zena zf yus wä\fiyok/wr o
 1SG.ERG mythical_fire FUT now ABSC use 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\make or
 znsä=en w\nak/wr bän=r kwa
 work=LOC 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\put_down PH.ABS=PURP FUT
 ña\rsir/wre ni bramöwä
 1PL:NPST:IPFV\burn 1NSG all
 “Now I’m going to use them and we’re all going to burn!”

⁵tüü ‘pheasant coucal’ (*Centropus phasianinus*)

- (56) *ane masis fof thukonzrm masis box fof*
 ane masis fof thu\ko/nzrm masis boks fof
 DEM matches EMPH SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\speak matches box EMPH
 ‘I call these matches or matchbox.’
- (57) *watik, fthé thänmätra ane masis fof*
 wati fthé thän|mätr/a ane masis fof
 then when SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\exit DEM matches EMPH
 ‘As he took out the matches,’
- (58) *kabe mane erära zerfakuthath*
 kabe mane e\rä/ra ze\rfakuth/ath
 people which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be 2|3PL:PST:PFV\sprinkle
 ‘the people ran off in all directions.’
- (59) *wtri zärath ane katan masis boksmanzo fof*
 wtri zä|r/ath ane katan masis boks=ma=nzo fof
 fear 2|3PL:PST:PFV\do DEM small matches box=CHAR=ONLY EMPH
 ‘They were afraid of this small matchbox.’
- (60) *yaw kabe wathr mane enrära kwakwirwrmt*
 yaw kabe wath=r mane en\rä/ra kwa\kwir/wrmth
 all people dance=PURP which 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be 2|3PL:PST:DUR\run
 ‘All the people who had come to the dance ran away.’
- (61) *ruga sagathifath dagon ra bramöwä egathikwath*
 ruga sa|gathif/ath dagon ra bramöwä
 pig 2|3PL>2|3SG.M:PST:PFV\leave food what.ABS all
 e\gathik/wath
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\leave
 ‘They forgot about the pig, the food and everything else.’
- (62) *wtri zärath fof*
 wtri zä|r/ath fof
 fear 2|3PL:PST:PFV\do EMPH
 ‘They all were really scared.’
- (63) “*ane fthé kma zrärfusiré zrewär*
 ane fthé kma zrä|rfusir/é zre\wär/
 DEM when POT 1SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\light_up 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\crack
 ‘(He continued) “When I light this up, when it strikes,’

- (64) *kabe bramöwä kwa ḷarsirwrth zane*
 kabe bramöwä kwa ḷa\rsir/wrth zane
 people all FUT 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\burn DEM:PROX
 ‘all the people will burn here.’
- (65) *wtri thfrärm*
 wtri thf\rä/rm
 fear 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be
 ‘They were afraid.’
- (66) *wati krenafthth “sritüthe ssafe kidn mni mzärfusir frthe bramöwä ḷarsirwre”*
 wati kre\nafth/th s\ritüth/e s\faf/e
 then 2|3PL:IRR:PFV\talk 2PL>3SG.M:IMP:PFV\grab 2PL>3SG.M:IMP:PFV\hold
 kidn mni m=zä\rfusir/ fthé bramöwä
 mythical_fire fire APPR=2SG>3SG.F:IMP:PFV\light_up when all
 ḷa\rsir/wre
 1PL:NPST:IPFV\burn
 ‘So they said: “Get him, hold him! He could start the fire and we’ll all
 burn.”’
- (67) *kabe nä äniyaka zane gaga fur särath*
 kabe nä än\yak/a zane gaga fur
 people INDF 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\come DEM:PROX hand bundle
 sä\r/ath
 2|3PL>3SG.M.IO:PST:PFV\do
 ‘A few men came and tied up his hands.’
- (68) *ykarkwath ane mni masis fof*
 y\kark/wath ane mni masis fof
 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\take DEM fire matches EMPH
 ‘They took the fire from him, the matchbox really.’
- (69) *fthé fof zenaftha “miyatha käkoré nima fof zräthor anemr worfizrmth”*
 fthé fof ze\nafth/a miyatha kä\kor/é nima
 when EMPH SG:PST:PFV\speak knowledge 2SG:IMP:PFV\become like_this
 fof zrä\thor/ ane=r wo\rfiz/rmth
 EMPH 3SG.F:IRR:PFV\appear DEM=PURP 2|3PL>1SG:RPST:DUR\tease
 ‘He said: “Now you’re feeling it! This is what will happen if you make fun
 of me.”’

- (70) *näbuné manar thfgarwrmth brubru thuwänzrmth*
 näbun=é manar thf\gar/wrmth brubru
 INDF=ERG.NSG headdress 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\break drum
 thu\wä\nzrmth
 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\crack
 ‘Others almost broke their feathers (on their headdresses) and smashed
 their drums.’
- (71) *wtrime kwakwirwrmth ane masisma fof mni*
 wtri=me kwa\kwir/wrmth ane masis=ma fof mni
 fear=INS 2|3PL:PST:DUR\run DEM matches=CHAR EMPH fire
 ‘They ran away in fear because of these matches.’
- (72) *wati, ykarkwrth ymsakwrth*
 wati y\kark/wrth y\msak/wrth
 then 2|3PL>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\take 2|3PL>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\sit
 ‘Then they took (the matchbox) away from him and they sat him down.’
- (73) “*be rar nima yam ḷafiyokwr ni kwa njarsirwrame nagayé fäth brämöwä*
berä ausi kamkam berä
 be ra=r nima yam ḷa\fifyok/wr ni kwa
 2SG.ERG what.ABS=PURP like_this event 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\make 1NSG FUT
 n=ṣa\rsir/wrme nagayé fäth brämöwä b=e\rä/
 IPST=1PL:RPST:DUR\burn children DIM all MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ausi kam~kam b=e\rä/
 old_woman REDUP~bone MED=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘(They said) ‘Why are you doing this? We all could have burned, all the
 little children and the old women.’
- (74) *mane kwa né foba trtha niyarmo*
 mane kwa n foba trtha n=ya\r/mo
 which FUT IMN DIST:ABL life IPST=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:AND\be
 ‘Who shall live from now on?’”
- (75) *wati, ymsakwrth fof*
 wati y\msak/wrth fof
 then 2|3PL>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\sit EMPH
 ‘They sat him down properly.’

- (76) *yara krär yarinakwrth bänemr fof nafane noku frazsir*
 ya\r/a krä\r/ ya\rinak/wrth
 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\do 2|3PL>3SG.M.IO:NPST:IPFV\pour
 bäne=r fof nafane noku fraz-si=r
 PH.ABS=PURP EMPH 3SG.POSS anger extinguish-NMLZ=PURP
 'They poured him some kava to calm his anger.'⁶
- (77) *krärme srärirfth*
 krär=me srä\rirf/th
 kava=INS 2|3P>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\kill
 'They bottled him with kava.'
- (78) *wri kwosi sfthnm*
 wri kwosi sf\thn/m
 intoxication dead 3SG.M:PST:DUR\lie_down
 'He was lying there drunk out of his mind.'
- (79) *watik, nafane noku fam aneme sábthath fof*
 wati nafane noku fam ane=me sä\bth/ath fof
 then 3SG.POSS anger thought DEM=INS 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:PFV\finish EMPH
 'They put an end to his angry thoughts.'
- (80) *wati, wath srethkäfth erära threwäf*
 wati wath sre\thkäf/th e\rä/ra
 then dance 2|3PL>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\start 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be
 thre\wäf/
 2|3SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\weaken
 'Then they started the dance again up until the morning hours.'
- (81) *rug a yfnzrth ykwathrth dagon jaarithath ra bramöwä erära bi ra erära jaarithath*
 ruga y\fn/zrth y\kwa/thrth dagon
 pig 2|3PL>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\hit 2|3PL>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\cut_meat food
 ja\ri/thath ra bramöwä e\rä/ra bi ra
 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\give what.ABS all 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be sago what.ABS
 e\rä/ra ja\ri/thath
 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\give
 'They killed the pig and slaughtered it. They distributed the meat, the
 sago and whatever else was there.'

⁶The root of the kava plant (*Piper methysticum*) is consumed for its sedative effect.

- (82) *wati, fi bana nabrigwath smärki nabrigwath*
 wati fi bana $\eta\alpha\backslash brig/wath$ smärki $\eta\alpha\backslash brig/wath$
 then 3.ABS pitiful 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\return PLN 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\return
 'Then the Smärki people went back.'
- (83) *forzitho karnzo thägathifath fof*
 forzitho kar=nzo thä\gathif/ath fof
 PLN place=ONLY 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\leave EMPH
 'They left Forzitho village for good.'
- (84) *ane kidn mni ane nafadben komnzo thfrärm*
 ane kidn mni ane nafadben komnzo thf\rä/rm
 DEM mythical_fire fire DEM 3SG.LOC only 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be
 'That kidn fire was just with that one guy.'
- (85) *wati, namäwä kwot fthé masis ane fof thenthkäfath markai*
 wati namä=wä kwot fthé
 then good=EMPH properly when
 'These matchboxes were only recently introduced by the whites.'
- (86) *fthé australian markaiyé fthé thenäthkäfath fof masis ane fof*
 masis ane fof then\thkäf/ath markai fthé
 matches DEM EMPH 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\start outsider when
 australian markai=é fthé then\thkäf/ath fof
 PLN outsider=ERG.NSG when 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\start EMPH
 'The white people from Australia brought these matches with them.'
- (87) *kabe miyatha kwot fof kwakonzrmth*
 masis ane fof kabe miyatha kwot fof
 matches DEM EMPH people knowledge properly EMPH
 kwa\ko/nzrmth
 2|3PL:RPST:DUR\speak
 'People then found out that they call them matches.'
- (88) *zane keke kidn rä zane keke zfth mni rä*
 zane keke kidn \rä/ zane keke
 DEM:PROX NEG mythical_fire 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be DEM:PROX NEG
 zfth mni \rä/
 tree_base fire 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'They have nothing do with the kidn fire.'

- (89) *zane katan mni nzo rä bänema sukufa o mni bänema fof*
 zane katan mni=nzo \rä/ bäné=ma sukufa o
 DEM:PROX small fire=ONLY 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PH.ABS=CHAR tobacco or
 mni bäné=ma fof
 fire PH.ABS=CHAR EMPH
 ‘This small fire is used for smoking tobacco or making a fire.’
- (90) *anema zane rä fof*
 ane=ma zane \rä/ fof
 DEM=CHAR DEM:PROX 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be EMPH
 ‘It is for these things.’
- (91) *fi zöbthé efóthen mane thfrärm siria wtri thfrärm*
 fi zöbthé efoth=en mane thf\rä/rm siria wtri
 but first day=LOC which 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be serious fear
 thf\rä/rm
 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be
 ‘But in the past, people were afraid.’
- (92) *wtri kafar nima “bomb o kma bomb zfrärm?”*
 wtri kafar nima bomb o kma bomb zf\rä/rm
 fear big like_this bomb or POT bomb 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be
 ‘They were really scared “Is it a bomb or could it be a bomb?”’
- (93) *nimame fof*
 nima=me fof
 like_this=INS EMPH
 ‘That’s how it was.’
- (94) *keke kafar kwark miyatha thfrärm nima ane rokar. ane timen bana nima*
 keke kafar kwark miyatha thf\rä/rm nima ane rokar
 NEG big deceased knowledge 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be like_this DEM thing
 ane time=en bana nima
 DEM time=LOC pitiful like_this
 ‘The old people did not really know about those things at the time.’

- (95) *nzenme nafyé o nafanme nafyé mane erära keke miyatha nä skul keke eyaka bobo*
 nzenme nafe=é o nafanme nafe=é mane
 1NSG.POSS father=ERG.NSG or 3NSG.POSS father=ERG.NSG which
 e|rä/ra keke miyatha nä school keke e|yak/a
 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\be NEG knowledge INDF school NEG 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\walk
 bobo
 MED:ALL
 ‘Our fathers did not know and they did not go to school.’
- (96) *mobo ra nä keke aunege zanthonath o*
 mobo ra nä keke aunege
 where.ALL what.ABS INDF NEG knowledge
 zan\thor/ath o
 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV:VENT\carry or
 ‘There was no knowledge about this.’⁷
- (97) *knowledge nä keke zanthonath*
 knowledge nä keke zan\thor/ath
 knowledge INDF NEG 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:PFV:VENT\carry
 ‘Nothing was known abouth this.’
- (98) *miyamr ane thfrärm fi fof zane mane wtri thfrärm*
 miyamr ane thf|rä/rm fi fof zane mane wtri
 ignorance DEM 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be but EMPH DEM:PROX which fear
 thf|rä/rm
 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be
 ‘They did not know about it, so they were afraid of it.’
- (99) *nafanme nabawan efoth ane fof rera ane masi fthé nafa themarath fof*
 nafanme nambawan efoth ane fof |rä/ra ane masis
 3NSG.POSS first day DEM EMPH 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be DEM matches
 fthé nafa the\mar/ath fof
 when 3NSG.ERG 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:PFV\see EMPH
 ‘It was their first time to see matches.’

⁷ *aunege* is a Motu loanword meaning ‘knowledge’

- (100) *anema nä katan zokwasi nimamenzo fof zfrä nzone katan masisma*
 ane=ma nä katan zokwasi nima=me=nzo fof
 DEM=CHAR INDF small speech like_this=INS=ONLY EMPH
 zf'rä/ nzone katan masis=ma
 3SG.F:RPST:IPFV\be 1SG.POSS small matches=CHAR
 'That was the small story about these small matches.'
- (101) *ane mnima zöbthé mane zukonzrmth kidn o zfth mni*
 ane mni=ma zöbthé mane zu\ko/nzrmth kidn
 DEM fire=CHAR first which 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:DUR\speak mythical_fire
 o zfth mni
 or tree_base fire
 'They used to call these kidn fire or zfth fire.'
- (102) *masis ane zöbthé zafe kabeyé thfkonzrmth fof*
 masis ane zöbthé zafe kabe=é thf\ko/nzrmth
 matches DEM first old people=ERG.NSG 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:DUR\speak
 fof
 EMPH
 'The old people used to call matches by those terms.'
- (103) *eso kafar bramöwä yarizsima eso*
 eso kafar bramöwä yariz-si=ma eso
 thanks big all hear-NMLZ=CHAR thanks
 'Thank you all for listening. Thank you!'

L *Fiyaf trikasi* - A hunting story

L.1 Introduction

Fiyaf trikasi is narrative lasting roughly 5min. It was recorded by Julia Miller and Christian Döhler on August 21st 2012, in both audio and video formats.¹ The story teller is Lucy (Néfiam) Abia, and the recording took place in her river garden at Séthkäs while building a fence.

L.2 Summary & background

Lucy tells a story how she and her family spent a few days at their river camp. Her husband Abia went off hunting and shot a big pig. They slaughtered the pig and divided up the meat.

L.3 *Fiyaf trikasi* (parallel text)

Zena mane hunting story kwa nya-trikwé trikasi. Fiyafma trikasi nima. Ni masun nzwamnzrm. Wati alice riley fi katakatan thfrnm. Nzenme camp bää zfrärm bää båne rää brä. Ausi kamane faf zn. Biskar nyarake fää zwarärm.

Paituaf nzräkor “Nzä fiyafr wiyak.” Afa sande zefara fiyafr. Boba wazi kuf boba rää. Fää emoth fäth thfamnzrm. Ksi kar emoth fäth. Wati afa mane zefara byé. Ruga ane sathkäfa nyathame. Nyathayé sathkäfath. Sfaruthrmth. Ane fathnzo zfrärm. Wämne keke dödönzo.

I will tell a hunting story now, a story about hunting. We were living in *Masu*. Alice and Riley were small. Our camp was that place, at the old woman's place. She used to have cassava garden there.

Father said to us “I'll go hunting”. It was on Sunday. Father set off to go hunting. He went across the river to *Kuf*. Some young girls were living there, bush girls. As father departed, he began hunting for pigs with his dogs. The dogs started barking at

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20120821-02. It is archived at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11189906>

Dödö maneme narenwre fath. Ane frnzo zfrärm. Watik afaf ane ruga sathkäfa dunzi fof. Sfruthrm. Dunzime sfruthrm. Watik srethkäf. Yruthr. Srägathif. Wati foba krekaris. emothemoth ane ksi kar emoth thwanorm. Okay nafa nima afan swarärm. “Bäijam nafethm kma rära” Pilipanme nname nafaemoth fefe. Fi kma rära.

Wati mane yaniyaka zyé. nzenm nzrätrif “Ruga bää ythn.” Ni nafä nzfrärm sitauane emoth nima. Mane zokofo wämnrz dayr. Dayr fthé emoth zfrä. Watik fobo sräthor. Afa nzrätrif “Ruga z nzifnzé: yabun, yayabun, yabun, yabun! Keke. Kwa monme ynnzrm? Nimäwä fi ra bää nzänor? Ra emoth-emoth ane nzänor? ksi kar emothemoth?” Watik nzrämes ni yakyakme bnrä. Yakme ane bäne ruga yfränzre. Afa fi miyamr ykwasi. Nzefnzo. nzefé ane thfkathrm ruga. Wati afaf kwräkor “Yakme skwathé!” ykwathé. Sräbthé. Ðawathknwre.

Riley alice fi zbo thwamnzrm. Ausi kam fo frä bobo mane wämnrz wämnrz mnzen. Nafthfamonegrnm. Wati kufra ru. Ane afaf ertmakwa mrrabma. Kwa efsgwre “kuuuuu”. Fthé faso nima lucky fthé thrarä bafen. Yabun faso nima ruga o yem. Ra fthé srafnzth kafar. Wati ane bafen ka wfsgwrth ane kufra ru. Kufraru keke! Bäne rä? Mrab bäne

the pigs. This was a clear place without trees, only dödö bushes. These dödö that we use as a broom. Only those bushes were there. Then father aimed with his bow and arrow, and he shot it. He shot it and left it there. he heard these girls. These bush girls were shouting. Okay, they were doing this but father thought to himself “This could be my aunt and my uncle.” Phillip’s mother, his sister really. “It could be her.”

Then he came back and he told us, “The pig is lying there.” We were together with Sitau’s sister Dayér, who is now living in Tokwa. Dayér wasn’t married then. As he arrived, father told us “I just killed a pig, a huge one! But how can I carry it alone? There was also someone screaming there. Which girls were screaming there? Those bush girls?” Then he took us there. We walked quickly. We burned the fur off the pig. Father didn’t know how to cut it up. Only me, I was in charge of slaughtering pigs. Father told me: “Cut up the pig quickly!” I finished it and we packed it up.

Riley and Alice were staying here, where the old woman is living. She stayed in the house. She was looking after them. Father made a flute from the small bamboo. In those days we blew these flutes “kuuuuu” when we had hunting luck. When we got big animals like pigs or cassowaries, when we killed something big. That’s

fof rä? Turatura ertmakwr. Wati kwa wfsgwrth kufraruthatha. Turatura mrrabma kwa wrtmakwrth. Ane zunfs-gwrame e wati. Riley katakatan sfrärm fi yarekarä. Alice ñakwire “Nzenme afafruga weto kwarärm!”

Wati ynzänzake bobo brä. Yrzathake. Wati äkwathake nima sitauaneme afa kwark biyara. Nafanm äkwane nzenmwä. Naniyaka zbo weekenr. Wati we zäbrimake masu. Masun ni fä nzwanzrm. Wati mon kwa. We fof zänbri-make mnz. Wati story fof zäbth. Katan ttrikasi erä.

when we blew the kufraru flute. Oh, it's not the kufraru. It's the other one made from the small bamboo, the turatura flute. That's the one we blew. It is similar to the kufraru flute. They cut the turatura flute from the small bamboo. That's the one we were blowing. We went back home. Riley was still very small, he was in the baby basket. Alice was running around saying “Our father is making me happy.”

So we carried back the pig and we baked it in the oven. We cut the meat for them. Sitau's late father and the family were there. We cut some meat for them and also for ourselves. We sometimes came here for the weekend and then we returned to *Masu*, where we lived at the time. Anyhow, we went back to the house. Okay, that's the end of the story. These are small stories.

L.4 *Fiyaf trikasi* (glossed text)

- (1) *zena mane hunting story kwa ḷatrikwé trikasi*
zena mane hunting story kwa ḷa\trik/wé trikasi
now which hunt story FUT 1SG:NPST:IPFV\tell story
'I will tell a hunting story now.'
- (2) *fiyafma trikasi nima*
fiyaf=ma trikasi nima
hunt=CHAR story like_this
'a story about hunting.'
- (3) *ni masun nzwamnzrm*
ni masu=en nzwa\m/nzrm
1NSG Masu=LOC 1PL:PST:DUR\sit
'We were living in Masu.'
- (4) *wati alice riley fi katakatan thfrnm*
wati alice riley fi kata~katan thf\rn/m
then Alice Riley 3.ABS REDUP~small 2|3DU:PST:DUR\be
'Alice and Riley were small.'
- (5) *nzenme camp bä zfrärm bä bäre rä brä*
nzenme camp bä zf\rä/rm bär bäre \rä/
1NSG.POSS camp MED 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be MED PH.ABS 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
b=\rä/
MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
'Our camp was that place,'
- (6) *ausi kam ane faf zn*
ausi kam ane faf zn
old_woman bone DEM yard place
'at the old woman's place.'
- (7) *biskar ḷarake fä zwarärm*
biskar ḷarake fä zwa\rä/rm
cassava garden DIST 3SG.F.IO:PST:DUR\be
'She used to have cassava garden there.'

- (8) *paituaf nzräkor nzä fiyaf r wiyak*
 paituaf= f nzrä\kor/ nzä fiyaf=r
 old_man=ERG.SG 2|3SG>1PL:IRR:PFV\speak 1SG.ABS hunt=PURP
 w\yak/
 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk
 ‘Father said to us “I’ll go hunting”.
- (9) *afa sande zefara fiyaf r*
 afa sande ze\far/a fiyaf=r
 father Sunday SG:PST:PFV\set_off hunt=PURP
 ‘It was on Sunday. Father set off to go hunting.’
- (10) *boba wazi kuf boba rä*
 boba wazi kuf boba \rä/
 MED:ABL side PLN MED:ABL 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘He went across the river to Kuf?’
- (11) *fä emoth fäth thfamnzrm*
 fö emoth fäth thfa\m/nzrm
 DIST girl DIM 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘Some young girls were living there,’
- (12) *ksi kar emoth fäth*
 ksi kar emoth fäth
 grassland place girl DIM
 ‘bush girls.’
- (13) *wati afa mane zefara byé*
 wati afa mane ze\far/a b=\yé/
 then father which SG:PST:PFV\set_off MED=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘As father departed,’
- (14) *ruga ane sathkäfa ñathame*
 ruga ane sa\thkäf/a ñatha=me
 pig DEM SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\start dog=INS
 ‘he began hunting for pigs with his dogs.’
- (15) *ñathayé sathkäfath sfaruthrmth*
 ñatha=é sa\thkäf/ath sfa\ru/thrmth
 dog=ERG.NSG 2|3PL>3SG.M.IO:PST:PFV\start 2|3PL>3SG.M.IO:PST:DUR\bark
 ‘The dogs started barking (at the pigs).’

- (16) *ane fathnzo zfrärm wämne keke*
 ane fath=nzo zf\rä/rm wämne keke
 DEM clear_place=ONLY 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be tree NEG
 'This was a clear place without trees.'
- (17) *dödönzo*
 dödö=nzo
 melaleuca_species=ONLY
 'only dödö bushes.'
- (18) *dödö maneme ḷarenwre fath*
 dödö mane=me ḷa\ren/wre fath
 melaleuca_species which=INS 1PL:NPST:IPFV\sweep clear_place
 'Thsh dödö which we use as a broom.'
- (19) *ane frnzo zfrärm*
 ane fr=nzo zf\rä/rm
 DEM post=ONLY 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be
 'Only those bushes were there.'
- (20) *watik afaf ane ruga sathkäfa dunzi fof*
 wati afa=f ane ruga sa\thkäf/a dunzi fof
 then father=ERG.SG DEM pig SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\start arrow EMPH
 'Then father aimed with his bow and arrow,'
- (21) *sfruthrm*
 sf\ru/thrm
 SG>3SG.M:PST:DUR\shoot
 'and he shot it.'
- (22) *dunzime sfruthrm*
 dunzi=me sf\ru/thrm
 arrow=INS SG>3SG.M:PST:DUR\shoot
 'He kept on shooting at it with arrows.'
- (23) *watik, srethkäf yruthr srägathif*
 wati sre\thkäf/ y\ru/thr
 then 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\start 2|3SG>3SG:NPST:IPFV\shoot
 srä\gathif/
 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\leave
 'He shots it and left it there.'

- (24) *wati, foba krekaris emothemoth ane ksi kar emoth thwanorm*
 wati foba krekaris/ emoth~emoth ane ksi kar
 then DIST:ABL 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\hear REDUP~girl DEM grassland place
 emoth thwa\nor/m
 girl 2|3PL:PST:DUR\shout
 ‘Then he heard these girls. These bush girls were shouting.’
- (25) *okay, nafa nima afan swarärm*
 okay nafa nima afa=n swa\rä/rm
 okay 3NSG.ERG like_this father=DAT.SG 3SG.M.IO:PST:DUR\be
 ‘Okay, there doing this but father thought to himself’
- (26) “*bäiŋjam ḷafethm kma rära*”
 bāiŋjam ḷafethm kma \rä/ra
 exchange_aunt paternal_aunt POT 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be
 “‘This could be my aunt and my uncle.’”
- (27) *pilipanme ḷame*
 pilip=aneme ḷame
 PN=POSS.NSG mother
 ‘Phillip’s mother,’
- (28) *nafaemoth fefe*
 nafa-emoth fefe
 3.POSS-girl really
 ‘his sister really.’
- (29) *fi kma rära*
 fi kma \rä/ra
 3.ABS POT 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be
 “‘It could be her.’”
- (30) *wati, mane yaniyaka zyé*
 wati mane yan\yak/a z=\yé/
 then which 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\come PROX=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘Then he came back’
- (31) *nzenm nzrätrif*
 nzenm nzrä\trif/
 1NSG.DAT 2|3SG>1PL.IO:IRR:PFV\tell
 ‘and he told us,’

- (32) *ruga bā ythn*
 ruga bā y\thn/
 pig MED 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\lie_down
 “The pig is lying there.”
- (33) *ni nafä nzfrärm sitauane emoth nima*
 ni nafä nzf\rä/rm sitau=ane emoth nima
 1NSG 3PL.IC 1PL:PST:DUR\be PN=POSS.SG sister like_this
 ‘We were together with Sitau’s sister’
- (34) *mane zokofo wämnrz dayr*
 mane zoko=fo wä\m/nrz dayr
 which Tokwa=ALL 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\sit Dayr
 ‘Dayér, who is now living in Tokwa.’
- (35) *dayr fthé emoth zfrä*
 dayr fthé emoth zf\rä/
 Dayr when girl 3SG.F:RPST:IPFV\be
 ‘Dayér wasn’t married then.’
- (36) *watik fobo sräthor*
 wati fobo srä\thor/
 then DIST:ALL 3SG.M:IRR:PFV\appear
 ‘He arrived there.’
- (37) *afa nzrätrif*
 afa nzrä\trif/
 father 2|3SG>1PL.IO:IRR:PFV\tell
 ‘Father told us,’
- (38) *ruga z nzifnzé yabun yayabun yabun yabun*
 ruga z nz=y\fn/nzé yabun ya~yabun
 pig IAM IPST=1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\hit big REDUP~big
 “I just killed a pig, a huge one!”
- (39) *keke kwa monme ynzanzrm*
 keke kwa mon=me yn\zä/nzrm
 NEG FUT how=INS SG>3SG.M:RPST:DUR:VENT\carry
 ‘How will I carry it?’

- (40) *nimäwä fi ra bää nzänor*
 nima=wä fi ra bää nz=ä\nor/
 like_this=EMPH 3.ABS what.ABS MED IPST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\shout
 ‘also what was shouting there?’
- (41) *ra emoth emoth ane nzänor*
 ra emoth~emoth ane nz=ä\nor/
 what.ABS REDUP~girl DEM IPST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\shout
 ‘Which girls were just shouting there?’
- (42) *ksi kar emothemoth*
 ksi kar emoth~emoth
 grassland place REDUP~girl
 ‘those bushgirls?’”
- (43) *watik, nzrämes ni yakyakme bnrä*
 wati nzrä\mes/ ni yak~yakme b=n\rä/
 then 2|3SG>1PL:IRR:PFV\bring 1NSG REDUP~quickly MED=1PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘Then he took us there. We walked quickly.’
- (44) *yakme ane bäne ruga yfränzre*
 yakme ane ruga y\fträ/nzre
 quickly DEM pig 1PL>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\singe_off
 ‘We burned the fur off the pig.’
- (45) *afa fi miyamr ykwasi*
 afa fi miyamr ykwasi
 father 3.ABS ignorance cut_meat-NMLZ
 ‘Father didn’t know how to cut it up.’
- (46) *nzefnzo, nzefé ane thfkathrm ruga*
 nzefé=nzo nzefé ane th\fka/thrm ruga
 1SG.ERG.EMPH=ONLY 1SG.ERG.EMPH DEM SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\peel pig
 ‘Only me, I was cutting the pigs.’
- (47) *wati, afaf kwräkor yakme skwathé ykwathé*
 wati afa=f kwrä\kor/ yakme
 then father=ERG.SG 2|3SG>1SG:IRR:PFV\speak quickly
 s\kwath/é y\kwath/é
 2SG>3SG.M:IMP:IPFV\cut_meat 1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\cut_meat
 ‘Father told me: “Cut up the pig quickly!”’

- (48) *sräbthé ñawathknwre*
 srä\bth/é ña\wathkn/wre
 1SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\finish 1PL:NPST:IPFV\pack_up
 'I finished it and we packed it up.'
- (49) *riley alice fi zbo thwamnzrm*
 riley alice fi zbo thwa\m/nzrm
 Riley Alice 3.ABS PROX:ALL 2|3PL:PST:DUR\sit
 'Riley and Alice were staying here,'
- (50) *ausi kam fof rä bobo mane wämnzr*
 ausi kam fof \rä bobo mane
 old_woman bone EMPH 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be MED:ALL which
 wä\m/nzr
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\sit
 'where the old woman is living.'
- (51) *wämnzr mnzen*
 wä\m/nzr mnz=en
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\sit house=LOC
 'She stayed in the house.'
- (52) *naf thfamonegrnm*
 naf thfa\moneg/rnm
 3SG.ERG SG>2|3DU:PST:DUR\take_care
 'She was looking after them.'
- (53) *wati kufraru ane afaf ertmakwa mrrabma*
 waiti kufraru ane afa=f e\rtmak/wa
 then bamboo_flute DEM father=ERG.SG SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\cut
 mrrab=ma
 small_bamboo=CHAR
 'Father made a flute from the small bamboo.'
- (54) *kwa efsgwre "ku" fthé faso nima lucky fthé thrarä bafen*
 kwa e\fsg/wre ku fthé faso nima lucky fthé
 FUT 1PL>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\blow ku when meat like_this lucky when
 thra\rä/ baf=en
 2|3PL:IRR:IPFV\be PH=LOC
 'In those days we blew these (flutes) – 'kuuuuu' – when we had hunting luck.'

- (55) *yabun faso nima ruga o yem*
 yabun faso nima ruga o yem
 big meat like_this pig or cassowary
 'When we got big animals like pigs or cassowaries,'
- (56) *ra fthé srafnzth kafar*
 ra fthé sra\fn/nzrth kafar
 what.ABS when 2|3PL>3SG.M:IRR:IPFV\hit big
 'when we killed something big.'
- (57) *wati ane bafen ka wfsgwrth ane kufraru*
 wati ane baf=en kwa w\fsg/wrth ane kufraru
 then DEM PH=LOC FUT 2|3PL>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\blow DEM bamboo_flute
 'That's when we blow the kufraru flute.'
- (58) *kufraru keke*
 kufraru keke
 bamboo_flute NEG
 'Oh, it's not the kufraru.'
- (59) *bäne rä mrab bäne fof rä turatura ertmakwr wati kwa wfsgwrth*
 bäne \rä/ mrrab bäne fof
 PH.ABS 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be small_bamboo PH.ABS EMPH
 \rä/ turatura e\rtmak/wr wati kwa
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be bamboo_flute 2|3SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\cut then FUT
 w\fsg/wrth
 2|3PL>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\blow
 'It's the other one made from the small bamboo, the turatura flute. That's the one we blew.'
- (60) *kufraruthatha*
 kufraru=thatha
 bamboo_flute=SIMIL
 'It is similar to the kufraru flute.'
- (61) *turatura mrrabma kwa wrtmakwrth.*
 turatura mrrab=ma kwa w\rtmak/wrth
 bamboo_flute small_bamboo=CHAR FUT 2|3PL>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\cut
 'They cut the turatura flute from the small bamboo.'

- (62) *ane zunfsgwrame*
 ane zun\fsg\wrme
 DEM 1PL>3SG.F:PST:DUR:VENT\blow
 ‘That’s the one we were blowing.’
- (63) *eee wati*
 e wati
 until then
 ‘up until (home).’
- (64) *railey katakatan sfrärm fi yarekarä alice ηakwire “nzenme afaf ruga weto kwarärm”*
 riley kata~katan sf\rä/rm fi yare=karä alice
 Riley REDUP~small 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be 3.ABS bag=PROP Alice
 ηa\kwir/e nzenme afa=f ruga weto kwa\rä/rm
 1PL:NPST:IPFV\run 1NSG.POSS father=ERG.SG pig joy SG>1SG:PST:DUR\do
 ‘Riley was still very small, he was in the baby basket. Alice was running around saying “Our father is making me happy.”’
- (65) *wati ynzänzake bobo brä yrzathake*
 wati yn\zä/nzake bobo b=\rä/
 then 1PL>3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\carry MED:ALL MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 y\rsa/thake
 1PL>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\bake
 ‘So we carried back the pig and we baked it in the oven.’
- (66) *wati äkwathake nima*
 wati ä\kwa/thake nima
 then 1PL>2|3PL.IO:PST:IPFV\cut_meat like_this
 ‘We cut the meat for them.’
- (67) *sitauaneme afa kwark biyara nafamn äkwane nzenmwä*
 sitau=aneme afa kwark b=ya\r/a nafamn
 PN=POSS.NSG father deceased MED=3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be 3NSG.DAT
 ä\kwa/ne nzenm=wä
 1PL>2|3DU.IO:NPST:IPFV\cut_meat 1NSG.DAT=EMPH
 ‘Sitau’s late father and the family were there. We cut some meat for them and also for ourselves.’

- (68) *naniyaka zbo weekenr*
 nan\yak/a zbo weekend=r
 1PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\come PROX:ALL weekend=PURP
 'We sometimes came here for the weekend'
- (69) *wati we zäbrimake masu. masun ni fä nzuwamnzrm*
 wati we zä\brim/ake masu masu=en ni fä nzwa\m/nzrm
 then also 1PL:PST:PFV\return Masu Masu=LOC 1NSG DIST 1PL:PST:DUR\sit
 'and then we returned to Masu, where we lived at the time.'
- (70) *wati mon kwa we fof zänbrimake mnz*
 wati mon kwa we fof zän\brim/ake mnz
 then how FUT also EMPH 1PL:PST:PFV:VENT\return house
 'Anyhow, we went back to the house.'
- (71) *wati story fof zäbth*
 wati story fof zä\bth/
 then story EMPH 2|3SG:RPST:PFV\finish
 'Okay, that's the end of the story.'
- (72) *katan ttrikasi erä*
 katan t~trikasi e\rä/
 small REDUP~story 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 'These are small stories.'

M *Fiyaf trikasi* - A hunting story

M.1 Introduction

Fiyaf trikasi is narrative lasting roughly 9min. It was recorded by Christian Döhler on September 3rd 2013, in both audio and video formats.¹ The story teller is Maembu Kwozi, and the recording took place in front of his house at *Rouku* village.

M.2 Summary & background

Maembu talks about a hunting trip he went on the week before. He was hunting alone, with just his dogs. He passed several places on the other side of the Morehead River. He caught a wallaby, a goanna and several fish.

M.3 *Fiyaf trikasi* (parallel text)

Zrethkäfē. Zyé bā kakatan matar kom-nzo kmam kanafré! Zokwasi wzänzr daddyf. Kmam kanafré!

Zba zf zefara nama saturday. Mane wiyaka burä. Ijathanzo thäsa. Tosai name bana zräkoré nima wiyak gastolr. wiyak kafar swäyé. krärité boba wazi. watik jathaf we ane we kwathofikwrm. Watik nzä we kränbrimé. Ijatha ane we srenfafa. sübrüzm non. Ybrüza fiyé. Wati kräziré nima süfi frfo. Wati foba we fof krafare. Watik kma yisza yisza. Keke. Watik krefaré. Wiyak e ftrsam.

I will start it. You little ones here, stay quiet! Don't talk! Daddy's recording the story. Don't talk!

I left here the day before yesterday, on Saturday. As I got walking, I called the dogs. I told the baby's mother that I am going this way for Gastol fish. I walked to the big canoe place and went across. One of the dogs was romping around. I came back and grabbed it and dumped the dog in the water. Then I threw it up on the floating grass. Then I got going from

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20130903-03. It is archived at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11189913>

Fä kma srämonesé. Keke. Watik zefara. Foba fof krefaré. Wiyak e büdisn. Büdisn fä threkarisé stevené. Watik stevené ane bänemr gastolr kwafzrmth fof. Nafa foba woszrth. Nzefé keke thärfitfa. Nzä mothenzo.

Wiyak e mäbri fä kwräzik fzenzo. Fzen wiyak e deya yathayé zrefaft. Zrefaft fof. Wati wfrthrth. Yatr wrära. Krefaré. Foba wiyak e nä ttfö fäth fä wthn thden. Mäbri fz nima wnkurwr. Hjanbrigwr. Bömät fr nima boba wazi nabrigwro. Ane thden ttfö fä wthn. Watik dö fä samara. Watik dö ane nzefé bäre srethkäfë rsoknsi fof. Kwot kräthb bafen yfön fof. Nzä kräthfë. Nabi thräziné. Wämne yfarwa fiyé. Yaka yafiyokwr. Aneme tharisi srethkäfë. Ytharinza fyé. Nima ane sremaré zyé. We kwot ytharinza fiyé. Watik mrrab katan yrtmakwé fyé. Watik aneme sfagunzrm. Ynagunza e dö bä kränmätr. Watik kränmätr. Naifa zan dö sräkwé zyé. Zane naifame zf zrä. Watik kräthfë. Fobo fof nabi mä ethn. Wiyak dö sräziné. Yatr yräré fyé. Baiken ythorthé. Nabinzo threrainzé. Buay krefaré.

there. On the other side, I called him and called him, but nothing happened. Then I made my way to *Fétérsam*. I waited there for some while, but the dog didn't show up. I set off again. I walked until *Büdisén*. At *Büdisén*, I heard Steven and the others. They were catching fish with poison-root. They called out for me, but I didn't answer them. I just kept walking.

I went up until *Mämbri* and turned into the forest there. As I was walking in the forest and the dogs caught a wallaby. They held it and killed it. I made a carrying stick and then continued on. There is another small creek in the middle that divides *Mämbri* forest and comes back this way. *Bömät* *Fér* is located on the other side. There is a creek in between. I saw a goanna there and began to chase it. It went inside a hole. I walked there and put my bow on the side. I cut a stick for poking into the hole. I started digging like this for the goanna. I poked into it and I saw the goanna there. Then I cut a small bamboo and tried to stab it. I stabbed it and the goanna came out. It came out and I killed it with this bushknife here. Then I went to where the bow was lying and I started walked again. I put down the goanna and slinged it to the carrying stick. I put it in the bag. I put the bow on my shoulder and continued walking.

Wiyak e bömat fr. fzenzo kwofiyakm e rusa ḷathayé zräkothmth. Rusa nima krämätro. ḷathanzo we kranbrimth. Wiyak e krärsöfätho watik ttön. Baiknzo thrämiré. Dökarä fothrämiré ferä. Gastolr fä kma kwarenzrm. E stevenane yam we sramaré “Oh z swaniyak zane.” Watik kränbrimé. Sukufanzo ekenwé. Buay krefaré. Wiyak e nä töna kresöbätho. Krärsöfäthé. Kresöbätho mdüfi tönafo fof. Watik nä ttfo katan fä wthn. Sazäthifa zwänthma. Watik fä fof thremaré gastor fof. Totme kma nnz ḷanagunzé. Keke. Naifanzo zrefafé. Naifame ane kwartmakwrm. Edawä thrartmé. Watik nima kräziré ane edawä gastor tönafo. Watik we kwot ḷafnza e kwot thräkwré. Gastor tüfrwä ethawä thräkwré. Watik buyak we ttfo ane zräbrmé. Nimame keke. Nomär rä. Kränbrimé fobo fof mobo nabi thfthnm. Kwim ḷad yfkathé fyé. Yatrme erära ethorthé ferä. Nabin thrämiré. Krenfaré.

Waniyak e fobo fof bänego ttföfo nä ttföfo. Sazäthima kerwä wnrä. bänewkonzrh Fidath fr ttfö. Fidath zftt ttfö. Watik fä fof sramaré we stevenane yam. “Oh zä naf thufrzro.” Watik wiak nzä thdösnzo enwakunzé ferä. Enfkathé mni ḷathomonwé. Tabeta erafigwé ferä. Watik mrraben ertmakwé. Gastol ane ewäthwé ferä. Drid efkatha. Gastol ewäthwé. Thräbthé. Tabetafo erafigwa. Dö we yfränzé fyé. Ykwathé. Tabetan

I walked to *Bömät Fér*. As I was walking in the forest, the dogs were chasing a deer, but it escaped out of the forest and the dogs came back. I continued walking down. I hung up the bag with the goanna and all those things over there. I looked around for gastol fish. I saw Steven and his family's footprints and thought “Oh, they came here already.” So I turned around. First, I rolled a smoke, then I departed. I walked up to the high ground, came down and went up again to the high ground at *Méndüfi*. There is another small creek there that's going to *Sazäthi*. I saw gastol fish there. I tried to spear it without success. I took my bushknife and I cut through the water with the knife. I caught two fish. I threw the two fish on the ground and killed them properly. Then I followed the creek upstream up until there was no more water in it. Then I returned to the place where the bow was lying. I cut some of the bushrope. I slinged those things and put the fish in the bag and hung it on the bow. I set off.

I came to that place, whatisname, to the other creek. It's at the end of *Sazäthi* creek. What's it called? *Findath Fér* or *Findath Zéfeth* creek. I saw Steven's footprints there and thought “Oh, he must have caught fish here already.” So I collected some tree bark. I peeled off the bark and piled up firewood. I put a grill over the fire. I cut the small bamboo and tied up the gastol fish. I took off the scales

yrafigwé. Biskar äsinzé ferä. Thräbthé. Watik ane yrsi threthkäfē. Thurwrm. Komnzo thukwthenzrm. Ane gastol fof dö fyé. Watik enftakwr. Näbinzo gastol zräbthé. Watik gastolane wrbé bänefa mrrabfa. Zräziné karesa. Yfkathé. Fobo zräziné. Watik dagon threthkäfē biskar. Gastol ane fof thwanathrm. Watik dö kerwä zrärfé. Ane wänatha frä. Efoth bää sfrärm. "Oh zizi fefe". Yakme ane änathé ferä. Thräbthé. Krärsöfåthé we ttföfo. No ñonathé frä. Kränbrimé sukufanzo eknwé.

and tied it up. Then I put it on the grill. I also burned off the skin of the goanna and cut it into pieces. I put it on the grill as well. I cooked some cassawas. Then I began scraping the cassawa tubers. While I was scraping them, I kept turning those gastol fish. The goanna was on the other side. I took them out of the fire. Only one gastol fish was done. I took the gastol fish out of the bamboo case. I put it down, peeled the bark and put it beside. I started eating the cassawa, and the gastol fish. I knocked off the tail of the goanna and ate it. The sun was about there and I thought "Oh, it's getting late." I ate up the fish quickly and finished all. I went down to the creek and drank some water there. I came back and rolled my tobacco.

Yatrme eräré. Yatr krärgé. Nabi threnrafinzé. Buay krenfaré. Waniyak e mäbri fz. Waniyak e ttfö kränrsöfåthé mäbri ttfö. Nor bobo check kräré. Keke. Watik foba krenfare. Waniyak e büdisen töna krensöbåthé. Dagu zthk edawä thragarfé. Baiken thrathbé. Buay krenfaré. Waniyak e büdisn kwräthor. ïafothakwé. Nabi thräziné. No ñonathé fwrä. Buay krenfaré. Nabi yatr ane threnfafé. Waniyak e büdisn. Watik büdisnen fä kma check kräré. Keke. Fi z nima ñafarkwath kanathrfo. Steven foba zefara. Kakatan nimame zenfarath. Watik nzä bunrä thrma. Thrma kwanbragwrm. Waniyak e ftrsam. Srikane mnz mänwä wwägr. Watik fä fof zbär zwäfonza. We zbär ane kwa-

I put the things on the carrying stick. I slinged them and put them on bow. Then I rushed off. I came back to Mäm-bri forest. I walked down to Mäm-bri creek and checked for water. But there wasn't any. I set off from there and came to Büdisén. I went up to the high ground. I broke off two banksia flowers and put them in the bag. I rushed off and came to Büdisén. I took off the bags and put down the bow. I drank water over there. I walked with the bow and carrying stick in my hand and came to Büdisén. I checked there for Steven and his family, but they weren't there. They had left already for Kanathér. Steven went from here and the children came this way.

niyakm e kafar swäyé. ḥjatha fä kma we kwanorm. Ane ḥatha mane ybrüzako. Fä kma sfszrm keke. Watik gardan krentharufé. ḥatha kratharufth. Watik garda sränriflhé. ḥanrafinzé ye kränrité zba wazi. Watik sukufanzo eknwé. Buay krefaré.

Waniyak e zwärä. Kwräthor mnz. ḥatha ma thräsé. Nafaname zräsa fof. “ḥatha z santhor?” “Zbo zyé. Zafe fi mane santhor.” Nzefé nima “Ane ḥatha bää nzwathofikwr. Watik anema nzibrüzé. Bobo watik ane wtrime fi ḥatha zanmath nima.” Watik nzä ḥafothakwé bana. Krämsé.

Watik nimame trikasi zfrä brä. Eso kafar.

So I came too late. I followed them until I came to *Fétérsam*. Srik's house is here. The night caught up with me there. I arrived at the large canoe site in the dark. I called the dog that I had thrown in the water earlier in the day. I called, but without success. So I got into the canoe with the other two dogs. Then I pushed out the canoe out and paddled across to the other side. I rolled a cigarette and set off.

I came here. I arrived at the house. I asked them about the dog. I asked the mother “Did the dog show up here?” She replied “This one arrived earlier.” I explained: “This dog was mucking around there and that's why I pushed him under water. He ran here in fear.” Then I unloaded the things and took a rest.

That was the story. Thank you very much.

M.4 *Fiyaf trikasi* (glossed text)

²Maembu scolds his children who are making too much noise.

- (7) *tosai ḷame bana zräkoré nima wiyak gastolr*
 tosai ḷame bana zrä\kor/é nima
 baby mother pitiful 1SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\speak like_this
 w\yak/ gastol=r
 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk fish_species=PURP
 'I told the baby's mother that I am going this way for Gastol fish.'³
- (8) *wiyak kafar swäy*
 w\yak/ kafar swäy
 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk big canoe_place
 'I walked to the big canoe place'
- (9) *kräríté boba wazi*
 krä\rit/é boba wazi
 1SG:IRR:PFV\cross MED:ABL side
 'and went across.'
- (10) *watik ḷathaf we ane we kwathofikwrm*
 watik ḷatha=f we ane we kwa\thofik/wrm
 then dog=ERG.SG also DEM also SG:PST:DUR\disturb
 'One of the dogs was romping around.'
- (11) *watik, nzä we kränbrimé ḷatha ane we srenfafä sübrüzrm non ybrüza fiyé*
 watik nzä we krän\brim/é ḷatha ane we
 then 1SG.ABS also 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\return dog DEM also
 sren\faf/a sü\brüz/rm no=en
 SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV:VENT\hold SG>3SG.M:PST:DUR\submerge water=LOC
 y\brüz/a f=\yé/
 SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\submerge DIST=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 'I came back and grabbed it, and dumped the dog in the water.'
- (12) *wati kräziré nima süfi frfo*
 dati krä\zir/é nima süfi fr=fo
 then 1SG:IRR:PFV\throw like_this floating_grass post=ALL
 'Then I threw it up on the floating grass.'

³*gastol* 'striped snakehead' (*Channa striata*) is an invasive species in the region.

- (13) *wati fo_ba we fo_f krafare*
wati fo_ba we fo_f kra\far/e
then DIST:ABL also EMPH 1DU:IRR:PFV\set_off
'Then got going from there.'
- (14) *watik kma yisza yisza keke*
watik kma yi\sz/a yi\sz/a keke
then POT SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\call SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\call NEG
'On the other side, I called him and called him, but nothing happened.'
- (15) *watik krefaré wi_yak e ft_rsam*
watik kre\faré w\yak/ e ft_rsam
then 1SG:IRR:PFV\set_off 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk until Ftrsam
'Then I set off and walked to Fétérsam.'
- (16) *fä kma srämonesé keke*
fä kma srä\mones/é keke
DIST POT 1SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\wait NEG
'I waited there for some while, but but the dog didn't show up.'
- (17) *watik zefara*
watik ze\far/a
then SG:PST:PFV\set_off
'I set off again.'
- (18) *fob_a fo_f krefaré wi_yak e büdisn*
fob_a fo_f kre\faré w\yak/ e büdisn
DIST:ABL EMPH 1SG:IRR:PFV\set_off 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk until Büdisn
'I walked until Büdisén.'
- (19) *büdisn fä threkarisé stevené*
büdisn fä thre\karis/é steven=é
Büdisn DIST 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\hear Steven=ABS.NSG
'At Büdisén, I heard Steven and the others.'
- (20) *watik stevené ane bänemr gastolr kwafrzrmth fo_f*
watik steven=é ane bänemr gastol=r
then Steven=ABS.NSG DEM PH=PURP fish_species=PURP
kwa\frz/rmth fo_f
2|3PL:PST:DUR\poison_root_fishing EMPH
'They were catching fish with poison-root.'

- (21) *nafa foba woszrth*
 nafa foba wo\sz/rth
 3NSG.ERG DIST:ABL 2|3PL>1SG:NPST:IPFV\call
 'They called out for me.'
- (22) *nzefé keke thärfitfa*
 nzefé keke thä\rfitf/a
 1SG.ERG.EMPH NEG SG>2|3PL:PST:PFV\answer
 'but I didn't not answer them.'
- (23) *nzä mothenzo*
 nzä moth=en=nzo
 1SG.ABS path=LOC=ONLY
 'I just kept walking.'
- (24) *wiyak e mäbri fä kwräzik fzenzo*
 w\yak/ e mäbri fä kwrä\zik/
 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk until Mäbri DIST 1SG:IRR:PFV\turn_off
 fz=en=nzo
 forest=LOC=ONLY
 'I went up until Mämbri and turned into the forest there.'
- (25) *fzen wiyak e deya ḷathayé zrefaſth*
 fz=en w\yak/ e deya ḷatha=é
 forest=LOC 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk until forest_wallaby dog=ERG.NSG
 zre\faf/th
 2|3PL>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\hold
 'As I was walking in the forest and the dogs caught a wallaby.'
- (26) *zrefaſth fof*
 zre\faf/th fof
 2|3PL>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\hold EMPH
 'They held it and'
- (27) *wati wfrthrth*
 wati w\fr/thrth
 then 2|3PL>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\bite
 'then they killed it.'

- (28) *yatr wrära krefaré*
 yatr w\rä/ra kre\far/é
 carrying_stick SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\do 1SG:IRR:PFV\set_off
 'I made a carrying stick and I set off.'
- (29) *foba wiyak e*
 foba w\yak/ e
 DIST:ABL 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk until
 'I walked further.'
- (30) *nä ttfö fäth fä wthn thden*
 nä ttfö fäth fä w\thn/ thd=en
 INDF creek DIM DIST 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\lie_down middle=LOC
 'There is another small creek in the middle'
- (31) *mäbri fz nima wnkurwr ḷanbrigwr*
 mäbri fz nima wn\kur/wr
 PLN forest like_this 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\split
 ḷan\brig/wr
 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\return
 'that divides Mämbri forest and comes back this way.'
- (32) *bömät fr nima boba wazi ḷabrigwro*
 bömät_fr nima boba wazi ḷa\brig/wro
 PLN like_this MED:ABL side SG:NPST:IPFV:AND\return
 'Bömät Fé is located on the other side.'
- (33) *ane thden ttfö fä wthn*
 ane thd=en ttfö fä w\thn/
 DEM middle=LOC creek DIST 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\lie_down
 'There is a creek in between.'
- (34) *watik dö fä samara*
 watik dö fä sa\mar/a
 then monitor_lizard DIST SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\see
 'I saw a goanna there.'

- (35) *watik dö ane nzefé bäne srethkäfē rsoknsi fof*
 watik dö ane nzefé bäne sre\thkäf/é
 then monitor_lizard DEM 1SG.ERG.EMPH PH.ABS 1SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\start
 rsokn-si fof
 shock-NMLZ EMPH
 'I began to chase the goanna.'
- (36) *kwot kräthb bafen yfön fof*
 kwot krä\thb/ baf=en yfö=en fof
 properly SG:IRR:PFV\enter PH=LOC hole=LOC EMPH
 'It went inside a hole.'
- (37) *nzä kräthfē nabi thräziné*
 nzä krä\thf/é nabi thrä\zin/é
 1SG.ABS 1SG:IRR:PFV\walk bow 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\put_down
 'I walked there and put my bow on the side.'
- (38) *wämne yfarwa fiyé yaka yafiyokwr*
 wämne y\far/wa f=\yé/ yaka
 tree SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\fell DIST=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be digging_stick
 ya\fiyok/wr
 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\make
 'I cut a stick for poking (into the hole).'
- (39) *aneme tharisi srethkäfē*
 ane=me thari-si sre\thkäf/é
 DEM=INS dig-NMLZ 1SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\start
 'I started digging for the goanna.'
- (40) *ytharinza fyé*
 y\thari/nza f=\yé/
 SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\dig DIST=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 'I poked into it'
- (41) *nima ane sremaré zyé*
 nima ane sre\mar/é z=\yé/
 like_this DEM 1SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\see PROX=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 'and I saw (the goanna) there.'

- (42) *we kwot ytharinza fiyé*
we kwot y\thari/nza f=\yé/
also properly SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\dig DIST=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
'I poked some more.'
- (43) *watik mrrab katan yrtnakwé fyé*
watik mrrab katan y\rtmak/wé
then small_bamboo small 1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\cut
f=\yé/
DIST=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
'Then I cut a small bamboo'
- (44) *watik aneme sfnagunzrm*
watik ane=me sf\nagu/nzrm
then DEM=INS SG>3SG.M:PST:DUR\poke
'and tried to stab it.'
- (45) *ynagunza e dö bää kränmätr*
y\nagu/nza e dö bää
SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV\poke until monitor_lizard MED
krän\mätr/
2|3SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\exit
'I stabbed it and the goanna came out.'
- (46) *watik, kränmätr naifa zan dö sräkwre zyé*
watik krän\mätr/ naifa zan dö
then 2|3SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\exit bushknife fight monitor_lizard
srä\kwr\é z=\yé/
1SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\hit PROX=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
'It came out and I killed it with the bushknife,'
- (47) *zane naifame zf zrä*
zane naifa=me zf z=\rä/
DEM:PROX bushknife=INS ABSC PROX=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
'with this bushknife here.'

- (48) *watik kräthfē fobo fof nabi mā ethn*
 watik krä fobo fof nabi mā
 then 1SG:IRR:PFV\walk DIST:ALL EMPH bow where
 e
 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\lie_down
 ‘Then I went to where the bow was lying and’
- (49) *wiyak dō sräziné yatr yräré fyé*
 w\yak/ dō sräzin/é
 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk monitor_lizard 1SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\put_down
 yatr y|rä/ré f=yé/
 carrying_stick 1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\do DIST=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘I started walked again. I put down the goanna and slinged it to the
 carrying stick.’
- (50) *baiken ythorthé*
 baik=en y
 bag=LOC 1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\enter
 ‘I put it in the bag.’
- (51) *nabinzo threrafinzé buay krefaré*
 nabi=nzo thre\rafinz/é buay
 bow=ONLY 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\put_on_top running_away
 kre\far/é
 1SG:IRR:PFV\set_off
 ‘I put the bow my the shoulder and set off.’
- (52) *wiyak e böwäfr*
 w\yak/ e böwäfr
 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk until PLN
 ‘I walked to Böwäfr.’
- (53) *fzenzo kwofiyakm e rusa ḷathayé zräkothmth*
 fz=en=nzo kwof\yak/m e rusa ḷatha \yé/
 forest=LOC=ONLY 1SG:PST:DUR\walk until deer dog 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 zrä\kothm/th
 2|3PL>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\chase
 ‘As I was walking in the forest, the dogs were chasing a deer.’

- (54) *rusa nima krämätro ḷathanzo we kranbrimth*
 rusa nima krä\mätr/o ḷatha=ntzo we
 deer like_this SG:IRR:PFV:AND\exit dog=ONLY also
 kran\brim/th
 2|3DU:IRR:PFV:VENT\return
 ‘But the deer escaped out of the forest and the dogs came back.’
- (55) *wiyak e krärsöfätho watik ttfön*
 w\yak/ e krä\rsöfäth/o watik ttfö=en
 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk until SG:IRR:PFV:AND\descend then creek=LOC
 ‘I continued walking down’
- (56) *baiknzo thrämiré*
 watik ttfö=en baik=nzo thrä\mir/é
 then creek=LOC bag=ONLY 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\hang
 ‘I hung up the bag’
- (57) *dökarä fof thrämiré ferä*
 dö=karä fof thrä\mir/é
 monitor_lizard=PROP EMPH 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\hang
 f=e\rä/
 DIST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘with the goanna and all those things over there.’
- (58) *gastolr fä kma kwarenzrm e stevenane Yam we sramaré oh z swaniyak zane*
 gastol=r fä kma kwa\re/nzrm e steven=ane Yam
 fish_species=PURP DIST POT 1SG:PST:DUR\look until Steven=POSS.SG event
 we sra\mar/é oh z swan\yak/ zane
 also 1SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\see oh IAM 3SG.M:RPST:IPFV:VENT\come DEM:PROX
 ‘I looked around for gastol fish. I saw Steven and their footprints (and said) “Oh, they came here already.”’
- (59) *watik kränbrimé sukufanzo ekenwé*
 watik krän\brim/é sukufa=nzo e\kn/wé
 then 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\return tobacco=ONLY 1SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\roll
 ‘So I returned and rolled a smoke.’
- (60) *buay krefaré*
 buay kre\far/é
 running_away 1SG:IRR:PFV\set_off
 ‘Then I departed.’

- (61) *wiyak e nä töna kresöbätho*
 w\yak/ e nä töna kre\söbäth/o
 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk until INDF high_ground SG:IRR:PFV:AND\ascend
 'I walked up to the high ground.'
- (62) *krärsöfäthé kresöbätho mdüfi tönafo fof*
 krä\rsöfäth/é kre\söbäth/o mdüfi töna=fo
 1SG:IRR:PFV\descend SG:IRR:PFV:AND\ascend PLN high_ground=ALL
 fof
 EMPH
 'I went down and went up again to the high ground at Méndüfi.'
- (63) *watik nä ttfö katan fä wthn sazäthifa zwänthma*
 watik nä ttfö katan fä w\thn/ sazäthi=fa
 then INDF creek small DIST 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\lie_down PLN=ABL
 zwän\thn/a
 3SG.F.IO:PST:IPFV:VENT\lie_down
 'There is another small creek there that's going to Sazäthi.'
- (64) *watik fä fof thremaré gastor fof*
 watik fä fof thre\mar/é gastol fof
 then DIST EMPH 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\see fish_species EMPH
 'I saw gastol fish there.'
- (65) *totme kma nnz ñanagunzé keke*
 tot=me kma n nz=ña\nagu/nzé keke
 spear=INS POT IMN IPST=1SG:NPST:IPFV\poke NEG
 'I tried to spear it without success.'
- (66) *naifanzo zrefafé naifame ane kwartmakwrm*
 naifa=nzo zre\faf/é naifa=me ane kwa\rtmak/wrm
 bushknife=ONLY 1SG:IRR:PFV\hold bushknife=INS DEM SG:PST:DUR\cut
 'I took my bushknife and I cut through the water with the knife.'
- (67) *edawä thrartmé*
 eda=wä thra\rt/mé
 two=EMPH 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\cut
 'I caught two fish.'

- (68) *watik nima kräziré ane edawä gastor tönafo*
 watik nima krä\zir/é ane eda=wä gastol
 then like_this 1SG:IRR:PFV\throw DEM two=EMPH fish_species
 töna=fo
 high_ground=ALL
 'I threw the two fish on the ground'
- (69) *watik we kwot ḷafnza e*
 watik we kwot ḷa\fn/za e
 then also properly SG:PST:IPFV\hit until
 'and killed them properly.'
- (70) *kwot thräkwré gastor tüfrwä ethawä thräkwré*
 kwot thrä\kwr/é gastor tüfr=wä etha=wä
 properly 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\hit fish_species plenty=EMPH three=EMPH
 thrä\kwr/é
 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\hit
 'I caught some more gastol fish.'
- (71) *watik buyak we ttfö ane zräbrmē nimame*
 watik b=w\yak/ we ttfö ane
 then MED=1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk also creek DEM
 zrä\bram/é nima=me
 1SG>3SG.F:RPST:PFV\follow like_this=INS
 'Then I followed the creek upstream'
- (72) *keke nomär rä*
 keke no=mär \rä/
 NEG water=PRIV 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'up until there was no more water in it.'
- (73) *kränbrimé*
 krän\brim/é
 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\return
 'Then I returned'
- (74) *fobo fof*
 fobo fof
 DIST:ALL EMPH
 'to the place'

- (75) *mobo nabi thfthnm*
 mobo nabi thf\thn/m
 where.ALL bow 2|3PL:PST:DUR\lie_down
 ‘where the bow was lying.’
- (76) *kwim ɳad yfkathé fyé*
 kwim ɳad y\fkath/é f=yé/
 tree_species rope 1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\peel DIST=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘I cut some of the bushrope.’
- (77) *yatrme erära ethorthé ferä*
 yatr=me e\rä/ra e\thor/thé
 carrying_stick=INS SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\do 1SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\carry
 f=e\rä/
 DIST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘I slinged those things and put the in the bag’
- (78) *nabin thrämiré*
 nabi=en thrä\mir/é
 bow=LOC 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\hang
 ‘and hung it on the bow.’
- (79) *renfaré*
 kren\far/é
 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\set_off
 ‘I set off.’
- (80) *waniyak e fobo fof bänego ttföfo nä ttföfo*
 wan\yak/ e fobo fof bän=fo ttfö=fo nä
 1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come until DIST:ALL EMPH PH=ALL creek=ALL INDF
 ttfö=fo
 creek=ALL
 ‘I came to that place, whatsisname, to the other creek.’
- (81) *sazäthima kerwä wnrä*
 sazäthi=ma ker=wä wn\rä/
 PLN=CHAR tail=EMPH 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\be
 ‘It’s at the end of Sazäthi creek.’

- (82) *bäne wkonzrth*
 bäne w\ko/nzrth
 PH.ABS 2|3PL>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\speak
 ‘What’s it called?’
- (83) *fidath fr ttfö fidath zfh ttfö*
 fidath_fr ttfö fidath_zfh ttfö
 PLN creek PLN creek
 ‘Findath Féر creek or Findath Zéfeth creek.’
- (84) *watik fä fof sramaré we stevenane yam*
 watik fä fof sra\mar/é we steven=ane yam
 then DIST EMPH 1SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\see also PN=POSS.SG footprint
 ‘I saw Steven’s footprints there (and thought)’
- (85) “*oh zä naf thufrzro*”
 oh zä naf thu\frz/ro
 oh PROX 3SG.ERG SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV:AND\poison_root_fishing
 “Oh, he must have caught fish here already.”
- (86) *watik wiyak nzä thdös nzo enwakunzé ferä enfkathé*
 watik w\yak/ nzä thdös=nzo
 then 1SG:NPST:IPFV\walk 1SG.ABS bark_type=ONLY
 en\waku/nzé f=e\rä/
 1SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\pick_up DIST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 en\fkath/é
 1SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\peel
 ‘So I walked on and collected some tree bark. I peeled them off’
- (87) *mni ḷathomonwé*
 mni ḷa\thomon/wé
 firewood 1SG:NPST:IPFV\make_fire
 ‘and piled up firewood.’
- (88) *tabeta erafigwé ferä*
 tabeta e\rafig/wé f=e\rä/
 grill 1SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\put_on_top DIST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘I put a grill over the fire.’

- (89) *watik mrraben ertmakwé*
 watik mrrab=en e\rtmak/wé
 then small_bamboo=LOC 1SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\cut
 'I cut the small bamboo and'
- (90) *gastol ane ewäthwé ferä drid efkatha*
 gastol ane e\wähth/wé
 fish_species DEM 1SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\tie_around
 f=e\rä/ drid e\fkath/a
 DIST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be scales SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\peel
 'tied up the gastol fish. I took off the scales and'
- (91) *gastol ewäthwé thräbthé*
 gastol e\wähth/wé thrä\bth/é
 fish_species 1SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\tie_around 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\finish
 'tied it up.'
- (92) *tabetafo erafigwa*
 tabeta=fo e\rafig/wa
 grill=ALL SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\put_on_top
 'Then I put it on the grill.'
- (93) *dö we yfränzé fyé ykwathé*
 dö we y\frä/nzé
 monitor_lizard also 1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\singe_off
 f=\yé/ \ykw/a/thé
 DIST=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be 1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\cut_meat
 'I also burned off the skin of the goanna and cut it into pieces.'
- (94) *tabetan yrafigwé*
 tabeta=en y\rafig/wé
 grill=LOC 1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\put_on_top
 'I put it on the grill as well.'
- (95) *biskar äsinzé ferä thräbthé*
 biskar ä\si/nzé f=e\rä/
 cassava 1SG>2|3PL.IO:NPST:IPFV\cook DIST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 thrä\bth/é
 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\finish
 'I cooked some cassawas.'

- (96) *watik ane yrsi threthkäf*
 watik ane yr-si thre\thkäf/é
 then DEM scrape-NMLZ 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\start
 ‘Then I began scraping the cassawa tubers.’
- (97) *thurwrm komnzo thukwthenzrm ane gastol fof*
 thu\r/wrm komnzo thu\kwthe/nzrm ane
 SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\scrape only SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\change DEM
 gastol fof
 fish_species EMPH
 ‘While I was scraping them, I kept turning those gastol fish.’
- (98) *dö fyé*
 dö f=\yé/
 monitor_lizard DIST=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘The goanna was on the other side.’
- (99) *watik enfthakwr näbinzo gastol zräbthé*
 watik en\fthak/wé näbi=nzo gastol
 then SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\take_out one=ONLY fish_species
 zrä\bth/é
 1SG:IRR:PFV\finish
 ‘I took them out of the fire. Only one gastol fish was done.’
- (100) *watik gastolane wrbé bänefa mrrabfa*
 watik gastol ane w\rbä/é bänne=fa
 then fish_species POSS.SG 1SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\untie PH=ABL
 mrrab=fa
 small_bamboo=ABL
 ‘I took the gastol fish out of the bamboo case.’
- (101) *zräziné karesa yfkathé fobo zräziné*
 zrä\zin/é karesa y\fkath/é
 1SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\put_down paperbark 1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\peel
 fobo zrä\zin/é
 DIST:ALL 1SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\put_down
 ‘I put it down, peeled the bark and put it beside.’

- (102) *watik dagon threthkäfē biskar*
 watik dagon thre\thkäf/é biskar
 then food 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\start cassava
 'I started eating the cassawa.'
- (103) *gastol ane fof thwanathrm watik dö kerwä zrärfé ane wänatha frä*
 gastol ane fof thwa\na/thrm watik dö
 fish_species DEM EMPH SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\eat then monitor_lizard
 ker=wä zrä\rf/é ane wä\na/tha
 tail=EMPH 1SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\knock DEM SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\eat
 f=\rä/
 DIST=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'and the gastol fish. I knocked off the tail of the goanna and ate it.'
- (104) *efoth bä sfrärm oh zizi fefe*
 efoth bä sf\rä/rm oh zizi fefe
 sun MED 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be oh afternoon really
 'The sun was about there (and I thought) "Oh, it's getting late."
- (105) *yakme ane änathé ferä thräbthé*
 yakme ane ä\na/thé f=\rä/
 quickly DEM 1SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\eat DIST=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 thrä\bth/é
 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\finish
 'I ate up the fish quickly and finished all.'
- (106) *krärsöfathé we ttföfo*
 krä\rsöfath/é we ttfö=fo
 1SG:IRR:PFV\descend also creek=ALL
 'I went down to the creek and'
- (107) *no ḷonathé frä*
 no ḷo\na/thé f=\rä/
 water 1SG:NPST:IPFV\drink DIST=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'drank some water there.'
- (108) *kränbrimé sukufanzo eknwé*
 krän\brim/é sukufa=nzo e\kn/wé
 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\return tobacco=ONLY 1SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\roll
 'I came back and rolled my tobacco.'

- (109) *yatrme eräré*
yatr=me e\rä/ré
carrying_stick=INS 1SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\do
'I put the things on the carrying stick.'
- (110) *yatr krärgé*
yatr krä\rg/é
carrying_stick 1SG:IRR:PFV\wear
'I slinged them and'
- (111) *nabi threnrafinzé*
nabi thren\rafinz/é
bow 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV:VENT\put_on_top
'put then on bow.'
- (112) *buay krenfaré*
buay kren\far/é
running_away 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\set_off
'Then I rushed off.'
- (113) *waniyak e mäbri fz*
wan\yak/ e mäbri fz
1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come until Mäbri forest
'I came back to Mämbri forest.'
- (114) *waniyak e ttfö kränrsöfäché mäbri ttfö*
wan\yak/ e ttfö krän\rsöfäch/é mäbri
1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come until creek 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\descend PLN
ttfö
creek
'I walked down to Mämbri creek and'
- (115) *nor bobo check kräré keke*
no=r bobo check krä\r/é keke
water=PURP MED:ALL checking 1SG:IRR:PFV\do NEG
'checked for water. But there wasn't any.'

- (116) *watik foba krenfare waniyak e büdisn töna krensöbäthé*
 watik foba kren\far/é wan\yak/ e
 then DIST:ABL 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\set_off 1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come until
 büdisn töna kren\söbäth/é
 PLN high_ground 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\ascend
 'I set off from there and came to Büdisén. I went up to the high ground.'
- (117) *dagu zthk edawä thragarfé baiken thrathbé*
 dagu zthk eda=wä thra\garf/é baik=en
 tree_species penis two=EMPH 1SG>2|3DU:IRR:PFV\break bag=LOC
 thra\thb/é
 1SG>2|3DU:IRR:PFV\enter
 'I broke off two banksia flowers and put them in the bag.'⁴
- (118) *buay krenfaré waniyak e büdisn kwräthor*
 buay kren\far/é wan\yak/ e
 running_away 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\set_off 1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come until
 büdisn kwrä\thor/
 Büdisn 1SG:IRR:PFV\appear
 'I rushed off and came to Büdisén.'
- (119) *ŋafothakwé nabi thräziné*
 ŋa\fothak/wé nabi thrä\zin/é
 1SG:NPST:IPFV\take_off bow 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\put_down
 'I took off the bags and put down the bow.'
- (120) *no ŋonathé fwrä*
 no ŋo\na/thé f=wo\rä/
 water 1SG:NPST:IPFV\drink DIST=1SG:NPST:IPFV\be
 'I drank water over there.'
- (121) *buay krenfaré nabi yatr ane threnfafé waniyak e büdisn*
 buay kren\far/é nabi yatr ane
 running_away 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\set_off bow carrying_stick DEM
 thren\faf/é wan\yak/ e büdisn
 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV:VENT\hold 1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come until PLN
 'I walked with the bow and carrying stick in my hand and came to Büdisén.'

⁴ *dagu* 'tropical banksia' (*Banksia dentata*); *dagu zthk* lit. 'banksia penis' is the dried up inflorescence, which is used to carry fire.

- (122) *watik, büdisnen fä kma check kräré keke*
 watik büdisn=en fä kma check krä\ré keke
 then PLN=LOC DIST POT checking 1SG:IRR:PFV\do NEG
 'I checked there for (Steven and his family), but they weren't there.'
- (123) *fi z nima ḷafarkwath kanathrfo*
 fi z nima ḷa\fark/wath kanathr=fo
 3.ABS IAM like_this 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\set_off PLN=ALL
 'They left already for Kanathér.'
- (124) *steven foba zefara kakatan nimame zenfarath*
 steven foba ze\far/a ka~katan nima=me
 PN DIST:ABL SG:PST:PFV\set_off REDUP~small like_this=INS
 zen\far/ath
 2|3PL:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off
 'Steven went from here and the children came this way.'
- (125) *watik nzä bunrä thrma*
 watik nzä b=won\rä/ thrma
 then 1SG.ABS MED=1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\be later
 'So I came later.'
- (126) *thrma kwanbragwrn waniyak e ftrsam*
 thrma kwan\brag/wrm wan\yak/ e ftrsam
 later SG:PST:DUR:VENT\follow 1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come until PLN
 'I followed them until I came to Fétersam.'
- (127) *srikane mnz mänwä wwägr*
 srik ane mnz mä=en=wä w\wä/gr
 PN POSS.SG house where=LOC=EMPH 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be_up_high
 'Srik's house is there.'
- (128) *watik fä fof zbär zwänfonza*
 watik fä fof zbär zwän\fonz/a
 then DIST EMPH night 1SG:PST:PFV:VENT\dawn_on_sb
 'The night caught up with me there.'
- (129) *we zbär ane kwaniyakm e kafar swäy*
 we zbär ane kwan\yak/m e kafar swäy
 also night DEM 1SG:PST:DUR:VENT\come until big canoe_place
 'I arrived at the big canoe site in the dark.'

- (130) *ŋatha fä kma we kwanorm ane ŋatha mane ybrüzako*
 ŋatha fä kma we kwa\nor/m ane ŋatha mane
 dog DIST POT also 1SG:PST:DUR\shout DEM dog which
 y\brüz/ako
 SG>3SG.M:RPST:PFV:AND\submerge
 'I called the dog that I thrown in the water earlier in the day.'
- (131) *fä kma sfszrm keke*
 fä kma sf\sz/rm keke
 DIST POT SG>3SG.M:PST:DUR\call NEG
 'I called, but without success'
- (132) *watik gardan krentharufé ŋatha kratharufth*
 watik garda=en kren\tharuf/é ŋatha
 then canoe=LOC 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\enter_open_cont dog
 kra\tharuf/th
 2|3DU:IRR:PFV\enter_open_cont
 'So I got into the canoe with the two dogs.'
- (133) *watik garda sränrifthé*
 watik garda srän\rifth/é
 then canoe 1SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV:VENT\send
 'Then I pushed out the canoe out'
- (134) *ŋanrafinzé ye kränrité zba wazi*
 ŋan\rafi/nzé krän\rit/é zba wazi
 1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\paddle 1SG:IRR:PFV:VENT\cross PROX:ABL side
 'and paddled across to the other side.'
- (135) *watik sukufanzo eknwé*
 watik sukufa=nzo e\kn/wé
 then tobacco=ONLY 1SG>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\roll
 'I rolled a cigarette'
- (136) *buay krefaré*
 buay krefar/é
 running_away 1SG:IRR:PFV\set_off
 'and set off.'

- (137) *waniyak e zwrä kwräthor mnz*
 wan\yak/ e z=wo\rä/
 1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come until PROX=1SG:NPST:IPFV\be
 kwrä\thor/ mnz
 1SG:IRR:PFV\appear house
 ‘I came here. I arrived at the house.’
- (138) *ŋathama thräsé nafaŋame zräsa fof*
 ŋatha=ma thrä\s/é nafa-ŋame zrä\s/é
 dog=CHAR 1SG>2|3PL:IRR:PFV\call 3.POSS-mother 1SG>3SG.F:IRR:PFV\call
 fof
 EMPH
 ‘I asked them about the dog. I asked the mother’
- (139) *ŋatha z santhor zbo*
 ŋatha z san\thor/ zbo
 dog IAM 3SG.M:RPST:PFV:VENT\appear PROX:ALL
 “Did the dog show up here?”
- (140) *zyé zafe fi mane santhor*
 z=\yé/ zafe fi mane san\thor/
 PROX=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be old 3.ABS which 3SG.M:RPST:PFV:VENT\appear
 ‘She replied “This one arrived earlier.”
- (141) *nzefé nima “ane ŋatha bä nzwathofikwr watik anema nzibrüzé bobo watik
 ane wtrime fi ŋatha zanmath nima”*
 nzefé nima ane ŋatha bä nzwa\thofik/wr
 1SG.ERG.EMPH like_this DEM dog MED 2|3SG>1SG:RPST:IPFV\disturb
 ‘I explained: “That dog was mucking around there’
- (142) *watik anema nzibrüzé bobo*
 watik ane=ma nz=y\bruz/é bobo
 then DEM=CHAR IPST=1SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\submerge MED:ALL
 ‘and that’s why I pushed him under water.’
- (143) *watik ane wtrime fi ŋatha zanmath nima”*
 watik ane wtri=me fi ŋatha zan\math/ nima
 then DEM fear=INS 3.ABS dog 2|3SG:RPST:PFV:VENT\run like_this
 ‘He ran here in fear.”

- (144) *watik nzä ḷafothakwé bana*
watik nzä ḷa\fothak/wé bana
then 1SG.ABS 1SG:NPST:IPFV\take_off pitiful
'Then I unloaded the things'
- (145) *krämsé*
krä\ms/é
1SG:IRR:PFV\sit
'and took a rest.'
- (146) *watik nimame trikasi zfrä brä*
watik nima=me trikasi zf\rä/ b=\rä/
then like_this=INS story 3SG.F:RPST:IPFV\be MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
'That was the story.'
- (147) *eso kafar*
eso kafar
thanks big
'Thank you very much.'

N Ausi - The old woman

N.1 Introduction

Ausi is a narrative lasting roughly 14min. It was recorded by Christian Döhler on September 19th 2015, in video format.¹ The story is an excerpt from a longer recording session. The story teller is Lucy (Néfiyam) Abia, and the recording took place in her house in *Rouku*. Lucy was telling this story over dinner while we were sitting in the house. Her daughter Nakre and nephew Sékri were also present.

N.2 Summary & background

The story was prompted by a comment about Lucy's mother Naimér. Her mother was known as *ausi kamkam*, which is a nickname that means something like 'bony old woman'. Her mother had passed away during my absence a few months earlier. She must have been well over 90 years old, as she was the sole survivor of the last headhunting raid in the area.

Lucy talks about her own youth growing up in small hamlet close to Yokwa village, and later at *Kanathér*. Lucy's father died when she was still very young. It was her mother and another woman who took care of her and her elder sister. She describes her mother as a fierce woman who went hunting by herself killing pigs and cassowaries.

In the mid-70s, Lucy married Abia Bai and they moved to *Kiunga* for a few years. Abia was working there for the mining company. Later they returned to the Morehead district and lived at *Kanathér*, *Masu* and *Rouku*, and Lucy looked after the old woman.

The story is both a praise of her mother and an account of her own life.

¹The original recording session for this text is labelled tci20150919-05. It is archived at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11189920>

N.3 Ausi (parallel text)

Kwa zrethkäfē. nzä mane worera. Bä yarkwiyanza nzone kar bä rä wämnefr tfotfo. Ijars fä rä nzäwi rä. Okay ane bafen ane thartharen kar katan rä. Ijazi fä ekogr. Wimäs fä ekogr. Nzujafe kwark fthé trtha sfrärm. Fä fof nzwamnzrm. Nä kayé ñafe fthé kwosi yara. Nzone ñameyé edanzo. Ni edanzo. Nä ñafema ane nzunane rä. Bä kiungan mane wämnr. Okay nzä nezä katakatanwä kwofrärm.

Nä kayé nzone ñame ausi zane zf zrä zefarake zrafo zagrmäre nima. Nima zagr mission station brä. Fobo fof niyaka bnrä. Watik nzujame ane mane zfrärm fi fiyafri fthé zfyakm zane ausi zf. Naf thufnzrm. Naf yem thufnzrm. Naf rusa thufnzrm. Tauri thufnzrm. Okay fiyafri zefarake. Watik ñathayé ruga srethkäfth. Funny story we rä foba fof. Watik niyak, niyak, niyak. ñathayé ane ruga srethkäfth. Amafnzrakor "Kasöbäthe!" ama kwarkf. Watik nzä nanyéf kwofsogm. Nzä sogsi miyamr. Wosogwa nima. Nima zagr zf nima warfo. Kwerafinz zürben. Zürb fä ekogr thartharen. Nzone kar ane rä zürb thartharen rä ane karesa fr. Watik nanyf wosog bänemr fof wtrima. Kwerafinz frsima. Kwrerafinz. Fi ñasog. Krerafinz. Ama ausi wiyak.

I will start now. As for me, I was born there. My village is there, close to Wämnefer. There is a lagoon by the river there. Okay, there is a small village on the side. There are coconuts and mango trees there. When my late father was still alive, we used to live there. One day, my father passed away and only my mothers were left, and the two of us. My big sister is from another father. She lives up in Kiunga. Okay, I am just a little younger.

One day my mother, this old woman right here, she went with me to the swamp not far away. Maybe as far as the Mission station from there. So we walked there. As for my mother, this old woman here, she went hunting. She killed animals. She hunted cassowaries. She hunted deer. She hunted wallabies. Okay, so the two of us went hunting. We were making our way, when the dogs started chasing a pig. There is a funny part in this story. Then we walked and walked and the dogs started chasing the pig. The late mother said to us: "You climb up!" My big sister lifted me up on the tree. I couldn't climb then. So she put me up, maybe up to this height. She put me up on the Zürémb tree. There stood some Zürémb trees on the side. At my place there were some Zürémb trees on the side of that paperbark grove. Then my big sister put me on top because she was afraid. She put me up

Ama nzuname ane mane zfrärm. Srak bänethatha zfrärm. Zane ausi fäth srak tmäthé. Naf keke rugaane si zfamarm yemane o rusaane. Fthmäsü zfyakm bিrame thufnzrm ane.

Ruga ane յathayé srethkäfth. Wiyak, wiyak. Լjathayé bä sunrärmth nafazawe. Ausif nima kwa komnzo sfafenakwrm nima frsima. Eh bira fof zäfasira ebar fefen. Ruga tkwinzo krär.

Ni fi mane nrna nzä wthf warfo bä kwräbth. Watik nzä wth boba warfo fof kwanorm wämne warfo. Ama wäniyak eda յamayé “Mern?” “Wai” Naf foba nanyf zrärn. Nafane yf rä nancy. “Fi wth z nzwänor warfo znwäkrn komnzo” “Kanrsöfäthe! ruga bithn” Watik amaf bana warsörwr. Nane յarsör krefare e bobo ruga zinfo.

Amaf nzrakor fof “Mni kathomone! Kwa yfränzre fafä kräbrime bobo mnzfo.” Watik monwe kwa nyak nyak nyak fobo fof ruga zinfo. Mni յagar nth amayé nanyr. Wthomonth. Ruga

because she was afraid that the pig might bite me. So she put me up, and she climbed up herself. But the old woman went for it.

My mother behaved more like a man. This little old woman had the strength of a man. She didn't care about the dangers of a cassowary, a wallaby or a pig. When she went for those, she killed them with an axe.

So these dogs started chasing the pig. The old woman followed them. The dogs chased it towards her. The old woman stepped aside so that the pig wouldn't bite her. She whacked it right on the head. The pig fell over and curled up.

We were both sitting there in the tree. I really had to go for a shit. So I was shitting from the tree top. Mother came, both mothers in fact! They asked “Where are you two?” “Hey, over here!” big sister replied. Her name is Nancy by the way. “She's just shat herself. We're up here in the tree.” “You come down! The pig is lying dead over there.” Then mum lifted me poor kid down. My sister came down and we went to the place where the pig was lying.

Mother said to us “Pile up some firewood! We will burn off the fur and then go back to the house.” Then we walked around collecting firewood and then returned to pig. Mum and

fräsi srethkäfe. Amaf ykwathr. watik krenfare we karfo. Ni ane nomai fä fefe nzwamnzrm. Bä fefe nzwamnzrm kwot e nane kafar zäkora. Nzä nima zäkora ester brä. Bunzäthe bäiane nge nima wwark. Zäkora

Ane ñamyé edawä mane thfrnm fiyaf thfyam. Nä kayé fthé finzo zfyakm zane fiyafr. Tauri rusa o ruga thunfnzrm. Nzwaniyakm nezä ni naffof nzfamonegrnm. Nä ñame mane rera sotama rera. Zane mane rera fethka kar nima mane rä. Garaitama boba bräro. Kakafar zakorake. nzä zänkora nima lisa brä. Watik bä fefe nzfrärmo ane. Watik nä kayé zäbrimake zbo karfo. Kar kwark bobo räro yokwa.

We nä kayé zefara. Wiyak wiyak fz thd. Yem fä srethkäf ñathame. Yem bä zanmatha. Zane zwänagufa. Zä fortu zfarärm kwayanthé bana. Ane fof zanagufa. Mane wäniyak gräme kwanrfekwrm. Zä wfnza ñathame bä fefe yem zangathifa. Gräme ane zwaniyakm eh fobo fof. Watik nä aman zratrif "Yem bä ythn. Z sunfnzé. Zwänaguf mrrab bänego. Nzarnzmsa mrrab bafen." Fobo bana zanagufa zane. Ni ane ni mame amafnzo nzumgthkrnm. Amayé-nzo maf nä keke yakasi.

big sister chopped firewood. They piled up the fire and we started to burn the pig's hair off. Mum slaughtered it and we made our way back to the village. We had been living there for a long time. We were there until my sister grew older. I was as old as Ester there, as old as your namesake Bäi's daughter there. That's how old I became.

Sometimes my two mothers went hunting together. Sometimes she went hunting by herself. She hunted for wallabies, deer or pigs. The other mother then took care of us two children. The other mother was from Sota. But this mother here was from Fethkakar, from the Garaita side over there. We grew older and I was about as old as Lisa. We lived there until, we moved back here to this village. There is an abandoned village over there close to Yokwa.

One day she set off again. She went right in the middle of the forest and started hunting a cassowary with her dogs. The cassowary charged at her and pierced this leg. She still had a white scar, where it wounded her. When she came back, she was limping. She had killed the cassowary with the help of the dogs, but she had to leave it there. She was walking back slowly. She said to the other mother "The cassowary is lying there. I killed it already! It has pierced my leg and I almost stepped on these sharp bam-

Kwot e bäne 1968. Boba zenfarake. Amafnzwanrokonom. Fi nane z zathaba bänwä skoron. Watik nzä ane katan fäth fofnima wwork z zänkora lisa brä. ama ausif wanrokonza. Nä name mane rera bä boba wazi zäritako wämnefr. Nä mgthkasi nanyé fä zwamonegwrwm. Ane nane we z kwosi yara. Nzujafaf mane sarzafa. Wati zenfarake. Zäzr mnz bä rä. Safs ane mothen rä nima ñars zawe. Mission school fä n nznäthbath fi keke kwot.

boos.” The poor mother was wounded on the leg by the cassowary. This is how mother has provided for us, only the two mothers, no one else was helping us.

Time went by until 1968. We left that place. Mum accompanied us. She enrolled my sister in school. I was still a young girl back then. I was about the same age as Lisa. The old woman accompanied me. As for the other mother, she moved to Wämnefr. She had an adopted son, who took care of her there. That brother has passed away already. My father had adopted him. So we departed and moved to Zäzér Ménz. That’s on the road to Safés, on the side towards the river. They tried to enroll us in the Mission school, but that didn’t work. So we didn’t go to school.

School keke wäfifyokwake. Watik foba nznenrokafthath 68 fof. nnrera zrä. Zä nzäkorth “Keke zbo skul moreheadfo.” Wati naniyak kanathr zäritake boba. Bäne mä yamnzs ben mä sfamnzrm. Fä bäne mnz thfarärm dagon mnz. Znsä kabe mane thfrärm nafanme dagon mnz. Fobo niyaka. Fobo ñaritakwake. Fä nrugra. Watik schoolfo narokonzath. Nzä mane kwofrärm nä kayé skulr kwofityakm nä kayé keke. Nä kayé ane ausif tokume kwofzänzrm. Bobo kwäthayfm morehead station skulfo. Nzone fam ke kwot thfrärm. Bänethatha kwofrärm nima kunigakuniga. Mane ekonrzth ra erä. Bänema

In 1968, we moved away from there. We came here. They told us “There is no school here anymore. It has moved to Morehead.” So we came to Kanathér and crossed river there, where that one lives, where Ben was living. There used to be these canteen houses. It was accommodation for the workers there. We went across the river and we slept there. Then they enrolled us in school. I went to school on some days, but on other days I didn’t. Sometimes my mother carried me there on her shoulders. She would always drop me off at Morehead station, at the school. I wasn’t very interested

fzen bā. Bā nzfamnzrm ksi karen. Ni keke kwot mnzen nzwamnzrm. Nzone amayé bā thfamrnm mnz ksi karen. Foba ane zunmätrath nima skulr. Fi nanenzo z zäthba. Watik naf namäme zfrärm. nzä mane kwofrärm nima fefe kwafiyokwrm ausif fof. Nä kayé tokume kuzänzrm e bwrä skul. Bä fefe kwamonegwrn we kwänbrimm. E watik zänbrimake kanathr. Prepen fof kuzänzrm we one. Two nimämä komnzo kwafiyokwrm.

Kanathren mnz erwath. Fä nzwamnzrm. Nzä keke maf support nima yawiyawime. Nima fefe nzone mane zfrärm. Zuzir zfyakm. Marketr zfyakm. Wati gwonyame kwosi aneme kwazänzrm. Fi keke busy kwafiyokwrm nima “Oh keke kwa nzä nima wäfiyokwé” Fi naf nzä mon zfkonzrm. Ane yam naf zwafiyokwrm. Keke zokwasi nzone kwarzrm. Ra zwäkorm. Kwa ane nzwäfiyokwrm naf nzonema.

Nane mane rera skul zabtha. Watik mosbi mizif zamesa. Nima mosbi bā zwamnzrm. Watik nzänzo ane kwamonegwrn ama ausi. Kwot kwot kwot kwot 1973. Nze grade 6 zabtha. Watik select zwäfiyothath highschoolr. Kma n si zäzira maf nä keke yakasi nzun. Nze ama zakora “Maski kwa namrn. Nima fefe namrn. Nzefé kwa namonegwe.”

in school. I was like a “wild” girl, or whatever they call those who live in the forest. We used to live in the bush. We did not live in a proper house. My mothers lived in the bush. They took me out of school. Only my big sister went and she did well in school. But it was different with me. Some days, she really had to carry me to the school. Then she waited there for me and brought me back. We returned to *Kanathér*. She was carrying me there during prep school, and in grade one, and she did the same in second grade.

They built a house in *Kanathér*, where we lived. No one supported me with money for the school fee. My mother would go fishing, she sold the fish at the market. She then used this money to buy second-hand clothes. She didn't mind doing all these things. “Oh, no problem. I will do that for her.” is what she was saying. She was doing this. She always listened to me, to what I told her. She did all those things for me.

Then my big sister finished school. A pastor from *Moresby* took her, and she stayed with him in *Port Moresby*. Then mum took care only of me up until 1973. I finished grade 6 in 1973. They selected me for high school. I looked for financial support, but nobody helped me. I told mother “Nevermind, we'll stay here. We are going to live here and I will look after you.”

Kwot e afa boba yanra. Fi bā kwabzn-wrm kiungan. Watik party we ane funny story rä. Wati bā rä party nafa wäfiyokwath bā garaitan. Afa ane guitarkarä sfkogr. Watik nzefé ane size swafiyokwrm. "Nzone kabe ane fof yé." Watik kanathren ane ni nzwamnzrm. Watik afa ane boba binrä. Nä kayé naniyaka. Watik zäbrima Watik fobo bana bäne nafiyokwath fof. Nritakwath. Bäinjafe zba ynrera. Oriomon bā kwabznwrm fi. Oroman kwarkf zwäkora "Watik naf kwa wfathwr fäms ñarer." watik ñanafrath bobo mane bäne ykogr wari. Wari z ykonzrm? Keke bā kanathren mane yé. Zba mäbü mä ykogr.

Skiski fä äftiyokwath. Garaitafa äniyaka. Fäms ñarane mrn äniyaka garaitafa. Zba oroman kwarké äniyaka fäms bobo. Watik fä fof maret nafiyokwake.

Wati 75 afaf zwämesa kiunga. Katan ñarejare ane zwänmesa katan drisdriskaf. Bä fthé samara nima sakorath "Ra rä? Nafangth rä o mon?" Naf thukonzrm "Keke. Nzone ñare rä." Watik bā nanmza. Nä ysokwr afaf bā nä ñare wfnza. Afa zane gathagatha ebar sfrärm. Razé short temper! Nafadben keke mistake! Ane ñare wfnza. rumginae fobo satharufath diburar. Ni

Time went by until father came. He used to work in *Kiunga*. There was a party, that's another funny story. They were having a party in *Garaita*. Father was standing there with a guitar. I picked him thinking "This one will be my husband." Then we were living in *Kanathér*. Father visited us there. Other days, we went for a visit. Then he was about to return (to *Kiunga*). That was the time, when we got engaged. They exchanged us. The exchange man came from here. He was working in *Oriomo*. The late old father said to me: "Okay, he will marry her as an exchange." So they arranged everything and talked where this watchamacallit stands, that Wari tree. Do they call it Wari? No, it's the one that stands in *Kanathér* on this side, where the Mämbü tree grows.

They built a sitting platform and some people came from *Garaita*. The exchange woman's family came to *Garaita*. Their late old father and the exchange man came to this place. Then we got married there.

Then in 1975, father took me to *Kiunga*. I looked like a small girl in a dress when he brought me there. When they saw us, they wondered "Who's that? It that his small sister or what?" He told them "No, she is my wife!" Then we lived there. A year later, father had hit some woman there. Father was a bad guy then, really a short-tempered guy.

nima fefe zänbrimake. Nzä zentharufa booten. Kowi fof warä ra. Watik nzä nima fefe zänbrima.

Zä kwamnzrm karen. Fobo fefe zänbrima kanathr ausidben fä fof kwofrärm. Watik zena zwamnzs. Nzone fam mane né bänemr erära nima skulr. Maf keke yakasinzo ane skulfee. Watik anema fefe nima zägathifa. Watik karen bana kwa wamnzs. Okay nzone zawe ane fof rä nima kabén ra frasi yarithé. Nimame warfo kabef nzä zwäfrmsa. zena nima wamnzs. Ane kwanmnzs kanathr masu roku.

Watik z zäkoré. Ausi kam we fänwä zfnrä zunfsrwm. Zbo e watik zrä bana watik. Nama fof bufrukaren kwot e zane z zäbtha. Nima fefe komnzo zfthnm bana.

Watik nzone story katan rä. Eso!

You shouldn't make any mistakes with him. He had hit that woman and they took him to *Rumginae* prison. When he returned, we got on the boat to go back down the Fly River. I had some chickens and all those things which I left behind. We returned for good then.

I have been staying here in the village. After our return, I stayed at *Kanathér* with old mother. I've been living here until today. I was thinking of continuing school, but nobody helped with the school fee. That's really when I forgot about it and stayed in the village. My main occupation is sharing food with people in need. God has blessed me in this way. That's how I live today. I have lived at *Kanathér*, then *Masu* and now *Rouku*.

I have become an old woman now. But I was also taking my old mother around. She became weaker until one day she died. She passed away only recently, while you were away. In her last weeks, the poor old woman was lying down most of the time.

That's my little story. Thank you!

N.4 Ausi (glossed text)

- (1) *kwa zrethkäfē*
 kwa zre\thkäf/é
 FUT 1SG:IRR:PFV\start
 'I will start now.'
- (2) *nzä mane worera bä ḷarkwiyanza nzone kar bä rä*
 nzä mane wo\rä/ra bä ṣa\rkwiya/nza nzone
 1SG.ABS which 1SG:PST:IPFV\be MED SG:PST:IPFV\give_birth 1SG.POSS
 kar bä \rä/
 village MED 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'As for me, I was born there. My village is there,'
- (3) *wämnefr tfotfo*
 wämnefr tfotfo
 PLN almost
 'close to Wämnefr.'
- (4) *ŋars fä rä nzäwi rä*
 ŋars fä \rä/ nzäwi \rä/
 river DIST 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be lagoon 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'There is a lagoon by the river there.'
- (5) *okay ane bafen ane thartharen kar katan rä*
 okay ane baf=en ane tharthar=en kar katan \rä/
 okay DEM PH=LOC DEM beside=LOC village small 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'Okay, there is a small village on the side.'
- (6) *ŋazi fä ekogr wimäs fä ekogr*
 ŋazi fä e\ko/gr wimäs fä
 coconut DIST 2|3PL:NPST:STAT\be_standing mango DIST
 e\ko/gr
 2|3PL:NPST:STAT\be_standing
 'There are coconuts and mango trees there.'

- (7) *nzuŋafe kwark fthé trtha sfrärm fä fof nzwamnzrm*
 nzu-ŋafe kwark fthé trtha sf'rä/rm fä fof
 1SG.POSS-father deceased when life 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be DIST EMPH
 nzwa\m/nzrm
 1PL:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘When my late father was still alive, we used to live there.’
- (8) *nä kayé ŋafe fthé kwosi yara*
 nä kayé ŋafe fthé kwosi ya\r/a
 INDF one_day_away father when dead 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
 ‘One day, my father passed away’
- (9) *nzone ŋameyé edanzo*
 nzone ŋame=é eda=nzo
 1SG.POSS mother=ABS.NSG two=ONLY
 ‘and only my mothers (were left)’
- (10) *ni edanzo*
 ni eda=nzo
 1NSG two=ONLY
 ‘and the two of us.’
- (11) *nä ŋafema ane nzunane rä*
 nä ŋafe=ma ane nzu-nane \rä/
 INDF father=CHAR DEM 1SG.POSS-elder_sibling 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘My big sister is from another father.’
- (12) *bä kiungan mane wämnzr*
 bä kiunga=en mane wä\m/nzr
 MED PLN=LOC which 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\sit
 ‘She lives up in Kiunga.’
- (13) *okay, nzä nezä katakatanwä kwofrärm*
 okay nzä nezä kata~katan=wä kwof\rä/rm
 okay 1SG.ABS in_return REDUP~small=EMPH 1SG:PST:DUR\be
 ‘Okay, I am a just little younger.’

- (14) *nä kayé nzone ḷame ausi zane zf zrä*
 nä kayé nzone ḷame ausi zane zf
 INDF one_day_away 1SG.POSS mother old_woman DEM:PROX ABSC
 z=\rää/
 PROX=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'One day my mother, this old woman right here,'
- (15) *zefarake zrafo zagrmäre nima*
 ze\far/ake zra=fo zagr=märe nima
 1PL:PST:PFV\set_off swamp=ALL far=PRIV like_this
 'she went with me to the swamp not far away.'
- (16) *nima zagr mission station brä*
 nima zagr mission station b=\rää/
 like_this far mission station MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'Maybe as far as the mission station from there.'
- (17) *fobo fof niyaka bnrä*
 fobo fof n\yak/a b=n\rää/
 DIST:ALL EMPH 1PL:PST:IPFV\walk MED=2SG:NPST:IPFV\be
 'So we walked there.'
- (18) *nzuŋame ane mane zfrärm*
 nzu-ŋame ane mane zf\rää/rm
 1SG.POSS-mother DEM which 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be
 'As for my mother,'
- (19) *fi fiyafr fthé zfyakm zane ausi zf*
 fi fiyaf=r fthé zf\yak/m zane ausi zf
 3.ABS hunt=PURP when 3SG.F:PST:DUR\walk DEM:PROX old_woman ABSC
 'this old woman here, she went hunting.'
- (20) *naf thufnzrm*
 naf thu\fn/zrm
 3SG.ERG SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\hit
 'She killed (animals).'
- (21) *naf yem thufnzrm*
 naf yem thu\fn/zrm
 3SG.ERG cassowary SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\hit
 'She killed cassowaries.'

- (22) *naf rusa thufnzrm tauri thufnzrm*
 naf rusa thu\fn/zrm tauri thu\fn/zrm
 3SG.ERG deer SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\hit wallaby SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\hit
 ‘She killed deer. She killed wallabies.’
- (23) *okay, fiyafri zefarake*
 okay fiyaf=r ze\far/ake
 okay hunt=PURP 1PL:PST:PFV\set_off
 ‘Okay, so the two of us went hunting.’
- (24) *watik ḷathayé ruga srethkäfth*
 watik ḷatha=é ruga sre\thkäf/th
 then dog=ERG.NSG pig 2|3PL>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\start
 ‘The dogs started (chasing) a pig.’
- (25) *funny story we rä foba fof*
 funny story we \rä/ foba fof
 funny story also 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be DIST:ABL EMPH
 ‘it is also a funny bit in this story.’
- (26) *watik niyak niyak niyak*
 watik n\yak/ n\yak/ n\yak/
 then 1PL:NPST:IPFV\walk 1PL:NPST:IPFV\walk 1PL:NPST:IPFV\walk
 ‘Then we walked and walked’
- (27) *ḷathayé ane ruga srethkäfth*
 ḷatha=é ane ruga sre\thkäf/th
 dog=ERG.NSG DEM pig 2|3PL>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\start
 ‘and the dogs started (chasing) the pig.’
- (28) *amaf nzrakor kasöbäthe ama kwarkf*
 ama=f nzra\kor/ ka\söbäth/e ama
 mother=ERG.SG 2|3SG>1DU:IRR:PFV\speak 2DU:IMP:PFV\ascend mother
 kwark=f
 deceased=ERG.SG
 ‘The late mother said to us: “You climb up!”’
- (29) *watik nzä nanyéf kwofsogm*
 watik nzä nane=f kwof\sog/wrm
 then 1SG.ABS elder_sibling=ERG.SG SG>1SG:PST:DUR\ascend
 ‘My big sister lifted up (on the tree).’

- (30) *nzä sogsi miyamr*
 nzä sog-si miyamr
 1SG.ABS ascend-NMLZ ignorance
 'I couldn't climb.'
- (31) *wosogwa nima*
 wo\sog/wa nima
 SG>1SG:PST:IPFV\ascend like_this
 'So she put me up,'
- (32) *nima zagr zf nima warfo*
 nima zagr zf nima warfo
 like_this far ABSC like_this above
 'maybe up to this height.'
- (33) *kwerafinz zürben*
 kwe\rafinz/ zürb=en
 2|3SG>1SG:RPST:PFV\put_on_top tree_species=LOC
 'She put me up on the zürb tree.'
- (34) *zürb fä ekogr thartharen*
 zürb fä e\ko/gr tharthar=en
 tree_species DIST 2|3PL:NPST:STAT\be_standing beside=LOC
 'There stood some zürb trees standing on the side.'
- (35) *nzone kar ane rä zürb thartharen rä ane karesa fr*
 nzone kar ane \rä/ zürb tharthar=en
 1SG.POSS place DEM 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be tree_species beside=LOC
 \rä/ ane karesa fr
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be DEM paperbark post
 'At my place there were some zürb tree on the side of that paperbark grove.'
- (36) *watik nanyf wosog*
 watik nane=f wo\sog/wr
 then elder_sibling=ERG.SG 2|3SG>1SG:NPST:IPFV\ascend
 'Then my big sister put me on top'

- (37) *bänemr fof wtrima*
 bäne=mr fof wtri=ma
 PH=PURP EMPH fear=CHAR
 'because she was afraid'
- (38) *kwerafinz frsima*
 kwe\rafinz/ fr-si=ma
 2|3SG>1SG:RPST:PFV\put_on_top bite-NMLZ=CHAR
 'She put me up because (she was afraid that the pig) might bite me.'
- (39) *kwrerafinz fi ηasog krerafinz*
 kwre\rafinz/ fi ηa\sog/wr
 2|3SG>1SG:IRR:PFV\put_on_top 3.ABS 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\ascend
 kre\rafinz/
 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\put_on_top
 'So she put me up, and she climbed up herself.'
- (40) *ama ausi wiyak*
 ama ausi w\yak/
 mother old_woman 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\walk
 'But the old woman went for it.'
- (41) *ama nzuŋame ane mane zfrärm srak bänethatha zfrärm*
 ama nzu-ŋame ane mane zf\rä/rm srak bäne=thatha
 mother 1SG.POSS-mother DEM which 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be boy PH=SIMIL
 zf\rä/rm
 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be
 'My mother behaved more like a man.'
- (42) *zane ausi fäth srak tmäthé*
 zane ausi fäth srak tmä-thé
 DEM:PROX old_woman DIM boy strength-ADJZ
 'This little old woman had the strength of a man.'
- (43) *naf keke rugaane si z famarm yemane o rusaane*
 naf keke ruga=ane si zfa\mar/m
 3SG.ERG NEG pig=POSS.SG eyes SG>3SG.F:ITER:DUR\see
 yem=ane o rusa=ane
 cassowary=POSS.SG or deer=POSS.SG
 'She was looking in the eyes of the pigs, cassowaries or wallabies.'

- (44) *fthmäsü zfyakm birame thufnzrm ane*
 fthmäsü zf\yak/m bira=me thu\fn/zrm ane
 meanwhile 3SG.F:PST:DUR\walk axe=INS SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\hit DEM
 'When she went for those, she killed them with an axe.'
- (45) *ruغا ane ɳathayé srethkäfth wiyak wiyak*
 ruga ane ɳatha=é sre\thkäf/th w\yak/
 pig DEM dog=ERG.NSG 2|3PL>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\start 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\walk
 w\yak/
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\walk
 'So these dogs started chasing the pig. The old woman followed them.'
- (46) *ɳathayé bä sunrärmth nafazawe*
 ɳatha=é bä sun\rä/rmth nafa-zawe
 dog=ERG.NSG MED 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:DUR:VENT\do 3.POSS-right
 'The dogs chased it towards her.'
- (47) *ausif nima kwa komnzo sfafenakwrm nima frsima*
 ausi=f nima kwa komnzo
 old_woman=ERG.SG like_this FUT only
 sfa\fenak/wrm ane nima fr-si=ma
 SG>3SG.M:IO:PST:DUR\give_way DEM like_this bite-NMLZ=CHAR
 'The old woman stepped aside so that the pig wouldn't bite her.'
- (48) *eh bira fof zäfasira ebar fefen ruga tkwinzo krär*
 eh bira fof zä\fasir/a ebar fefe=en ruga
 hey axe EMPH SG:PST:PFV\make_noise head really=LOC pig
 tkwi=nzo krä\r/
 curving=ONLY 2|3SG:IRR:PFV\do
 'She whacked it right on the head. The pig fell over and curled up.'
- (49) *ni fi mane nrna nzä wthf warfo bä kwräbth*
 ni fi mane n\rn/a nzä wth=f warfo bä
 1NSG but which 1DU:NPST:IPFV\be 1SG.ABS faeces=ERG.SG above MED
 kwrä\bth/
 2|3SG>1SG:IRR:PFV\finish
 'We were both sitting there in the tree. I really had to go for a shit.'

- (50) *watik, nzä wth boba warfo fof kwanorm wämne warfo*
 watik nzä wth boba warfo fof kwa\nor/m wämne
 then 1SG.ABS faeces MED:ABL above EMPH 1SG:PST:DUR\emit tree
 warfo
 above
 ‘So I was shitting from the tree top.’
- (51) *ama wäniyak eda ɳamayé*
 ama wän\yak/ eda ɳama=é
 mother 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come two mother=ERG.NSG
 ‘Mother came, both mothers in fact!’
- (52) *mern*
 m=e\rn/
 Q=2|3DU:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘(They asked) “Where are you two?”’
- (53) “*wai*” *naffoba nanyf zrärn*
 wai naf foba nane=f zrä\rn/
 hey 3SG.ERG DIST:ABL elder_sibling=ERG.SG 3SG.F:IRR:PFV\shout
 “Hey, over here!” big sister replied.”
- (54) *nafane yfrä nancy*
 nafane yf rä nancy
 3SG.POSS name 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PN
 ‘Her name is Nancy by the way.’
- (55) “*fi wth z nzwänor warfo znwäkrn komnzo*”
 fi wth z nz=wä\nor/ warfo
 3.ABS faeces IAM IPST=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\emit above
 z=n\wä/krn komnzo
 PROX=1DU:NPST:IPFV\be_up_high only
 “She’s just shat herself. We’re up here in the tree.”’
- (56) “*kanrsöfäthe ruga bithn*”
 kan\rsöfäth/e ruga b=y\thn/
 1DU:IRR:PFV:VENT\descend pig MED=3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\lie_down
 “You come down! The pig is lying dead over there.”’

- (57) *watik amaf bana warsörwr*
 watik ama=f bana wa\rsör/wr
 then mother=ERG.SG pitiful 2|3SG>1SG.IO:NPST:IPFV\descend
 'Then mum lifted me poor chap down.'
- (58) *nane ḷarsör krefare*
 nane ḷa\rsör/ kre\far/e
 elder_sibling 2|3SG:NPST:IPFV\descend 1PL:IRR:PFV\set_off
 'My sister came down and we walked over'
- (59) *e bobo ruga znfo*
 e bobo fof ruga zn=fo
 until MED:ALL EMPH pig place=ALL
 'to the place where the pig lay.'
- (60) *amaf nzräkor nzräkor fof*
 ama=f nzrä\kor/ fof
 mother=ERG.SG 2|3SG>1DU:IRR:PFV\speak EMPH
 'Mother said to us'
- (61) *mni kathomone*
 mni ka\thomon/e
 fire 2DU:IMP:IPFV\make_fire
 "Pile up some firewood!"
- (62) *kwa yfränzrefafä kräbrime bobo mnzfo*
 kwa y\frä\nzre fafä krä\brim/e
 FUT 1PL>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\singe_off after_that 1PL:IRR:PFV\return
 bobo mnz=fo
 MED:ALL house=ALL
 'We will burn off the fur and then go back to the house."
- (63) *watik monwe kwa nyak nyak fobo fof ruga znfo*
 watik monwe kwa n\yak/ n\yak/
 then how FUT 1PL:NPST:IPFV\walk 1PL:NPST:IPFV\walk
 n\yak/ fobo fof ruga zn=fo
 1PL:NPST:IPFV\walk DIST:ALL EMPH pig place=ALL
 'Then we walked around (collecting firewood) and then returned to pig.'

- (64) *mni ḷagarnth amayé nanyr*
 mni ḷa|gar/nth ama=é nane=r
 firewood 2|3DU:NPST:IPFV\break mother=ERG.NSG elder_sibling=IC.DU
 'Mum and big sister chopped firewood.'
- (65) *wthomonth ruga fräsi srethkäfe*
 w\thomon/th ruga frä-si
 2|3DU>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\make_fire pig singe_off-NMLZ
 sre\thkäf/e
 1PL>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\start
 'They piled up the fire and we started to burn the pig's hair off.'
- (66) *amaf ykwathr*
 ama=f y\kwath/r
 mother=ERG.SG 2|3SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\cut_meat
 'Mum slaughtered it'
- (67) *watik krenfare we karfo*
 watik kren\far/e we kar=fo
 then 1PL:IRR:PFV:VENT\set_off also village=ALL
 'and we set off back to the village.'
- (68) *ni ane nomai fä fefe nzwamnzrm*
 ni ane nomai fä fefe nzwa\m/nzrm
 1NSG DEM HAB DIST really 1PL:PST:DUR\sit
 'We lived there for a long time.'
- (69) *bä fefe nzwamnzrm kwot e nane kafar zäkora*
 bä fefe nzwa\m/nzrm kwot e nane kafar
 MED really 1PL:PST:DUR\sit properly until elder_sibling big
 zä\kor/a
 SG:PST:PFV\become
 'We were there until my sister grew older.'
- (70) *nzä nima zäkora ester brä*
 nzä nima zä\kor/a ester b=\rä/
 1SG.ABS like_this SG:PST:PFV\become PN MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'I was as old as Ester there,'

- (71) *bunzäthe bäiane nge nima wwark*
 bu-nzäthe bai=ane nge nima w~wark
 2SG.POSS-namesake PN=POSS.SG child like_this REDUP~size
 'as old as your namesake Bäi's daughter there.'
- (72) *zäkora*
 zä\kor/a
 SG:PST:PFV\become
 '(That's how old) I became.'
- (73) *ane ñamyé edawä mane thfrnm fiyaf thfyanm*
 ane ñame eda=wä mane thf\rn/m fiyaf
 DEM mother two=EMPH which 2|3DU:PST:DUR\be hunt
 thf\yan/m
 2|3DU:PST:DUR\walk
 'My two mothers went hunting together.'
- (74) *nä kayé fthé finzo zfyakm zane fiyafr*
 nä kayé fthé fi=nzo zf\yak/m zane
 INDF one_day_away when 3.ABS=ONLY 3SG.F:PST:DUR\walk DEM:PROX
 fiyaf=r
 hunt=PURP
 'Sometimes she went hunting by herself.'
- (75) *tauri rusa o ruga thunfnzrm*
 tauri rusa o ruga thun\fn/zrm
 wallaby deer or pig SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR:VENT\hit
 'She killed wallabies, deer or pigs.'
- (76) *nzwanyakm nezä ni naffof nzfamonegrnm*
 nzwan\yak/m nezä ni naf fof
 1PL:PST:DUR:VENT\come in_return 1NSG 3SG.ERG EMPH
 nzfa\moneg/rnm
 SG>1DU:PST:DUR\wait
 'The other mother then took care of us two children.'
- (77) *nä ñame mane rera sotama rera*
 nä ñame mane \rä/ra sota=ma \rä/ra
 INDF mother which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be PLN=CHAR 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be
 'The other mother was from Sota.'

- (78) *zane mane rera fethka kar nima mane rä garaitama boba bräro*
 zane mane \rä/ra fethka_kar nima mane
 DEM:PROX which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be PLN like_this which
 \rä/ garaita=ma boba b=\rä/ro
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be PLN=CHAR MED:ABL MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:AND\be
 ‘But this mother here was from Fethkakar, from the Garaita side over
 there.’
- (79) *kakafar zakorake nzä zänkora nima lisa brä*
 ka-kafar za\kor/ake nzä zän\kor/a
 REDUP~big 1DU:PST:IPFV\become 1SG.ABS SG:PST:PFV:VENT\become
 nima lisa b=\rä/
 like_this PN MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘We grew older and I was about as old as Lisa.’
- (80) *watik bä fefe nzfrärmo ane watik nä kayé*
 watik bä fefe nzf\rä/rmo ane watik nä kayé
 then MED really 1PL:PST:DUR:AND\be DEM then INDF one_day_away
 ‘We lived there until,’
- (81) *zäbrimake zbo karfo*
 zä\brim/ake zbo kar=fo
 1PL:PST:PFV\return PROX:ALL village=ALL
 ‘we moved back here to this village.’
- (82) *kar kwark bobo räro yokwa*
 kar kwark bobo \rä/ro yokwa
 village deceased MED:ALL 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:AND\be PLN
 ‘There is an abandoned village over there close to Yokwa.’
- (83) *we nä kayé zefara*
 we nä kayé ze\far/a
 also INDF one_day_away SG:PST:PFV\set_off
 ‘One day she set off again.’
- (84) *wiyak wiyak fz thd*
 w\yak/ w\yak/ fz thd
 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\walk 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\walk forest middle
 ‘She went right in the middle of the forest’

- (85) *yem fä srethkäf ḷathame*
 yem fä sre\thkäf/ ḷatha=me
 cassowary DIST 2|3SG>3SG.M:IRR:PFV\start dog=INS
 ‘and started hunting a cassowary with her dogs.’
- (86) *yem bä zanmatha zane zwänagufa*
 yem bä za\matha/a zane zwä\ntaguf/a
 cassowary MED SG:PST:PFV:VENT\run DEM:PROX SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\poke
 ‘The cassowary charged at her and pierced this (leg).’
- (87) *zä fortu zfarärm kwayanthé bana*
 zä fortu zfa\rä/rm kwayan-thé bana
 PROX scar 3SG.F.IO:PST:DUR\be light-ADJZ pitiful
 ‘She still had a white scar,’
- (88) *ane fof zanagufa*
 ane fof za\naguf/a
 DEM EMPH SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\poke
 ‘where it wounded her.’
- (89) *mane wäniyak gräme kwannfekwrm*
 mane wän\yak/ grä=me kwan\rfek/wrm
 which 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come slowness=INS SG:PST:DUR:VENT\limp
 ‘When she came back, she was limping.’
- (90) *zä wfnza ḷathame bä fefe yem zangathifa*
 zä wfnza ḷatha=me bä fefe yem
 PROX SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\hit dog=INS MED really cassowary
 zan\gathif/a
 SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV:VENT\leave
 ‘She had killed the cassowary with the help of the dogs, but she had to leave it there.’
- (91) *gräme ane zwaniyakm eh fobo fof*
 grä=me ane zwan\yak/m e fobo fof
 slowness=INS DEM 3SG.F:PST:DUR:VENT\come until DIST:ALL EMPH
 ‘She was walking back slowly.’

- (92) *watik nä aman zratrif "yem bā ythn*
 watik nä ama=n zra\trif/ yem bā
 then INDF mother=DAT.SG 2|3SG>3SG.F.IO:IRR:PFV\tell cassowary MED
 y\thn/
 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\lie_down
 ‘She said to the other mother “The cassowary is lying there.’
- (93) *z sunfnzé zwänaguf mrrab bänefo n zarnzmsa mrrab bafen*
 z sun\fn/zé zwä\naguf/
 IAM 1SG>3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\hit 2|3SG>1SG:RPST:PFV\poke
 mrrab bäne=fo n za\rnzms/a
 small_bamboo PH=ALL IMN SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\step_on_sth
 mrrab baf=en
 small_bamboo PH=LOC
 ‘I killed it already! It has pierced (my leg) and I almost stepped on these
 (sharp) bamboos.’
- (94) *fobo bana zanagufa zane*
 fobo bana za\naguf/a zane
 DIST:ALL pitiful SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\poke DEM:PROX
 ‘The poor mother was wounded on the leg by the cassowary.’
- (95) *ni ane nimame amafnzo nzumgthkrnm*
 ni ane nima=me ama=f=nzo nzu\mgthk/rnm
 1NSG DEM like_this=INS mother=ERG.SG=ONLY SG>1DU:PST:DUR\feed
 ‘This is how mother has provided for us,’
- (96) *amayénzo maf nä keke yakasi*
 ama=é=nzo maf nä keke yaka-si
 mother=ERG.NSG=ONLY who.ERG.SG INDF NEG help-NMLZ
 ‘only the two mothers, no other help at all.’
- (97) *kwot e bäne 68*
 kwot e bäne 68
 properly until PH.ABS 1968
 ‘until 1968.’
- (98) *boba zenfarake*
 boba zen\far/ake
 MED:ABL 1PL:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off
 ‘We left that place.’

- (99) *amaf nzwanrokonm*
 ama=f nzwan\roko/nm
 mother=ERG.SG SG>1DU:ITER:DUR:VENT\escort
 'Mum accompanied us.'
- (100) *fi nane z zathaba bänwä skoron*
 fi nane z za\thb/a bänwä skoro=en
 3.ABS elder_sibling IAM SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\enter MED:EMPH school=LOC
 'She enrolled my sister in school.'
- (101) *watik nzä ane katan fäth fof nima w~wark z zänkora lisa brä*
 wati nzä ane katan fäth fof nima w~wark z
 then 1SG.ABS DEM small DIM EMPH like_this REDUP~size IAM
 zän\kor/a lisa b=\rä/
 SG:PST:PFV:VENT\become PN MED=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'I was still a young girl back then. I was about the same age as Lisa.'
- (102) *ama ausif wanrokonza*
 ama ausi=f wan\roko/nza
 mother old_woman=ERG.SG SG>1SG:PST:IPFV:VENT\escort
 'The old woman accompanied me.'
- (103) *nä ñame mane rera bä boba wazi zäritako wämnefr*
 nä ñame mane \rä/ra bä boba wazi
 INDF mother which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be MED MED:ABL side
 zä\rit/ako wämnefr
 SG:PST:PFV:AND\CROSS PLN
 'As for the other mother, she moved to Wämnefér.'
- (104) *nä mgthkasi nanyé fä zwamonegwrn*
 nä mgthk-si nane fä zwa\moneg/wrm
 INDF feed-NMLZ elder_sibling DIST SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR\wait
 'She had an adopted son, who took care of her there.'
- (105) *ane nane we z kwosi yara*
 ane nane we z kwosi ya\r/a
 DEM elder_sibling also IAM dead 3SG.M:PST:IPFV\be
 'That brother has passed away already.'

- (106) *nzunjafaf mane sarzafa*
 nzu η afe=f mane sa\rzaf/a
 1SG.POSS father=ERG.SG which SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\tie
 'My father had adopted him.'
- (107) *wati zenfarake zäzr mnz bää rää*
 dati zen\far\ake zäzr_mnz bää \rä/
 then 1PL:PST:PFV:VENT\set_off PLN MED 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'So we departed and moved to Zäzér Ménz.'
- (108) *safs ane mothen rää nima ñars zawe*
 safs ane moth=en \rä/ nima ñars zawe
 PLN DEM path=LOC 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be like_this river side
 'That's on the road to Safés, on the side towards the river.'
- (109) *mission school fä n nznäthbath fi keke kwot*
 mission school fä n nznä\thb/ath fi keke kwot
 mission school DIST IMN 2|3PL>1PL:PST:PFV\enter 3.ABS NEG properly
 'They tried to enroll us in the Mission school, but that didn't work.'
- (110) *school ke wäfliyokwake watik foba nznenrokafthath 68 fof*
 school keke wä\fliyok/wake wati foba
 school NEG 1PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make then DIST:ABL
 nznen\rokoth/ath 68 fof
 2|3PL>1PL:PST:PFV:VENT\escort 1968 EMPH
 'So we didn't go to school. In 1968, they took us away from there.'
- (111) *nnrera zrä*
 nn\rä/ra z=\rä/
 1PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\be PROX=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 'We came here.'
- (112) *zä nzäkorth "keke zbo skul moreheadfo*
 zä nzä\kor/th keke zbo skul morehead=fo
 PROX 2|3PL>1PL:RPST:PFV\speak NEG PROX:ALL school PLN=ALL
 'They told us "There is no school here anymore. It has moved to Morehead."

- (113) *wati naniyak kanathr zäritake boba*
 wati nan\yak/ kanathr zä\rit/ake boba
 then 1PL:NPST:IPFV:VENT\come PLN 1PL:RPST:PFV\cross MED:ABL
 'So we came to Kanathér and crossed river there,'
- (114) *bäne mä yamnzs ben mä sfamnzrm*
 bäne mä ya\m/nzr ben mä sfa\m/nzrm
 PH.ABS where 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\sit PN where 3SG.M:PST:DUR\sit
 'where that one lives, where Ben was living.'
- (115) *fä bäne mnz thfarärm dagon mnz*
 fä bäne mnz thfa\rä/rm dagon mnz
 DIST PH.ABS house 2|3PL.IO:PST:DUR\be food house
 'There used to be these cafeteria buildings.'
- (116) *znsä kabe mane thfrärm nafanme dagon mnz*
 znsä kabe mane thf\rä/rm nafanme dagon mnz
 work man which 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be 3NSG.POSS food house
 'For those workers, their cafeteria and accommodation buildings.'
- (117) *fobo niyaka fobo ḷaritakwake fä nrugra*
 fobo n\yak/a fobo ḷa\ritak/wake fä
 DIST:ALL 1PL:PST:IPFV\walk DIST:ALL 1PL:PST:IPFV\cross DIST
 n\ru/gra
 1PL:PST:IPFV\sleep
 'We walk there, we went across the river and we slept there.'
- (118) *watik schoolfo narokonzath*
 wati school=fo na\roko/nzath
 then school=ALL 2|3PL>1PL:PST:IPFV\escort
 'Then they enrolled us in school.'
- (119) *nzä mane kwofrärm nä kayé skulr kwofiyakm nä kayé keke*
 nzä mane kwof\rä/rm nä kayé skul=r
 1SG.ABS which 1SG:PST:DUR\be INDF one_day_away school=PURP
 kwof\yak/m nä kayé keke
 1SG:PST:DUR\walk INDF one_day_away NEG
 'I went to school on some days, but on other days I didn't.'

- (120) *nä kayé ane ausif tokume kwofzänzrm*
 nä kayé ane ausi=f toku=me
 INDF one_day_away DEM old_woman=ERG.SG carry_piggyback=INS
 kwof\zä/nzrm
 SG>1SG:PST:DUR\carry
 ‘Sometimes my mother carried me there on her shoulders.’
- (121) *bobo kwäthayfm morehead station skulfo*
 bobo kwä|thayf/m morehead station skul=fo
 MED:ALL SG>1SG:ITER:DUR\present PLN station school=ALL
 ‘She would always drop me off at Morehead station, at the school.’
- (122) *nzone fam ke kwot thfrärm*
 nzone fam keke kwot thf|rä/rm
 1SG.POSS thought NEG properly 2|3PL:PST:DUR\be
 ‘I wasn’t very interested in school.’
- (123) *bänethatha kwofrärm nima kunigakuniga mane ekonzrth ra erä*
 bâne=thatha kwof|rä/rm nima kuniga~kuniga mane
 PH=SIMIL 1SG:PST:DUR\be like_this REDUP~wild which
 e\ko/nzrth ra e|rä/
 2|3PL>2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\speak what.ABS 2|3PL:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘I was like a “wild” girl, or whatever they call’
- (124) *bänema fzén bää*
 bâne=ma fz=en bää
 PH=CHAR forest=LOC MED
 ‘those who live in the forest.’
- (125) *bää nzfamnzrm ksi karen*
 bää nzfa|m/nzrm ksi kar=en
 MED 1PL:PST:DUR\sit grassland place=LOC
 ‘We used to live in the bush.’
- (126) *ni keke kwot mnzen nzwamnzrm*
 ni keke kwot mnz=en nzwamnzrm
 1NSG NEG properly house=LOC 1PL:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘We did not live in a proper house.’

- (127) *nzone amayé bā thfamrnm mnz ksi karen*
 nzone ama=é bā thfa\m/rnm ksi kar=en
 1SG.POSS mother=ABS.NSG MED 2|3DU:PST:DUR\sit grassland place=LOC
 'My mothers lived in the bush.'
- (128) *foba ane zunmätrath nima skulr*
 foba ane zun\mätr/ath nima skul=r
 DIST:ABL DEM 2|3DU>1SG:PST:PFV:VENT\exit like_this school=PURP
 'They took me out of school.'
- (129) *fi nanenzo z zäthba*
 fi nane=nzo z zä\thb/a
 3.ABS elder_sibling=ONLY IAM SG:PST:PFV\enter
 'Only my big sister went'
- (130) *watik naf namäme zfrärm*
 watik naf namä=me zf\rä/rm
 then 3SG.ERG good=INS 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be
 'and she did well in school.'
- (131) *nzä mane kwofrärm*
 nzä mane kwof\rä/rm
 1SG.ABS which 1SG:PST:DUR\be
 'But it was different with me.'
- (132) *nima fefe kwafiyokwrm ausif fof nä kayé tokume kuzänzrm e bwrä skul*
 nima fefe kwa\fiyok/wrm ausi=f fof nä
 like_this really SG:PST:DUR\make old_woman=ERG.SG EMPH INDF
 kayé toku=me ku\zä/nzrm e
 one_day_away carry_piggyback=INS SG>1SG:PST:DUR\carry until
 b=wo\rä/ skul
 MED=1SG:NPST:IPFV\be school
 'Some days, she really had to carry to the school.'
- (133) *bä fefe kwamonegwrn we kwänbrimm*
 bä fefe kwa\moneg/wrm we kwän\brim/m
 MED really SG>1SG:PST:DUR\wait also SG>1SG:ITER:DUR:VENT\return
 'Then she waited there for me and brought me back.'

- (134) *e watik zänbrimake kanathr*
 e wati zän\brim\ake kanathr
 until then 1PL:PST:PFV:VENT\return PLN
 ‘We returned to Kanathér.’
- (135) *prepen fof kuzänzrm*
 prep=en fof ku\zä/nzrm
 prep_school=LOC EMPH SG>1SG:PST:DUR\carry
 ‘She was carrying me there during prep school,’
- (136) *we one*
 we one
 also one
 ‘and in grade one,’
- (137) *two nimämä komnzo kwafiyokwrm*
 two nima=ma komnzo kwa\fiyok/wrm
 two like_this=CHAR only SG:PST:DUR\make
 ‘and she did the same in second grade.’
- (138) *kanathren mnz erwath fä nzwamnzrm*
 kanathr=en mnz e\r/wath fä nzwa\m/nzrm
 PLN=LOC house 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\build DIST 1PL:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘They built a house in Kanathér, where we lived.’
- (139) *nzä keke maf support nima yawiyawime*
 nzä keke maf support nima yawi~yawi=me
 1SG.ABS NEG who.ERG.SG support like_this REDUP~round_object=INS
 ‘No one supported me with money (for the school fee).’
- (140) *nima fefe nzone mane zfrärm zuzir zfyakm*
 nima fefe nzone mane zfrä/rm zuzi=r
 like_this really 1SG.POSS which 3SG.F:PST:DUR\be fishing=PURP
 zf\yak/m
 3SG.F:PST:DUR\walk
 ‘My mother would go fishing,’
- (141) *marketr zfyakm*
 market=r zf\yak/m
 market=PURP 3SG.F:PST:DUR\walk
 ‘she sold the fish at the market.’

- (142) *wati gwonyame kwosi aneme kwazänzrm*
 wati gwonyame kwosi ane=me kwa\zä/nzrm
 then clothing dead DEM=INS SG>1SG.IO:PST:DUR\carry
 ‘She then used this money to buy second-hand clothes.’
- (143) *fi keke busy kwafiyokwrm nima a*
 fi keke busy kwa\fiyok/wrm nima a
 3.ABS NEG busy SG:PST:DUR\make like_this and
 ‘She didn’t mind doing all these things.’
- (144) “*oh keke kwa nzä nima wäfiyokwé*” *fi naf nzä mon zfkonzrm*
 oh keke kwa nzä nima wä\fiyok/wé naf
 oh NEG FUT 1SG.ABS like_this 1SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\make 3SG.ERG
 nzä mon zf\ko/nzrm
 1SG.ABS how SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR\speak
 ““Oh, no (problem). I will do that for her” is what she was saying.”
- (145) *ane Yam naf zwafiyokwrm*
 ane Yam naf zwa\fiyok/wrm
 DEM event 3SG.ERG SG>3SG.F:PST:DUR\make
 ‘She was doing this.’
- (146) *keke zokwasi nzone kwarzrm ra zwäkorm*
 keke zokwasi nzone kwa\rz/rm ra
 NEG speech 1SG.POSS SG>1SG.IO:PST:DUR\throw what.ABS
 zwä\kor/m
 SG>3SG.F:ITER:DUR\speak
 ‘She always listened to me, to what I told her.’
- (147) *kwa ane nzwäfiyokwrm naf nzonema*
 kwa ane nzwä\fiyok/wrm naf nzone=ma
 FUT DEM SG>1SG:PST:DUR\make 3SG.ERG 1SG.POSS=CHAR
 ‘She did all those things for me.’
- (148) *nane mane rera skul zabtha*
 nane mane \rä/ra skul za\bth/a
 elder_sibling which 3SG.F:PST:IPFV\be school SG>3SG.F::PST:PFV\finish
 ‘Then my big sister finished school.’

- (149) *watik mosbi mizif zamesa nima*
 wati mosbi mizi=f za\mes/a nima
 then PLN pastor=ERG.SG SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\bring like_this
 'A pastor from Moresby brought her.'
- (150) *mosbi bā zwamnzrm*
 mosbi bā zwa\m/nzrm
 PLN MED 3SG.F:PST:DUR\sit
 'and she stayed with him in Port Moresby.'
- (151) *watik nzänzo ane kwamonegwrn ama ausi*
 wati nzä=nzo ane kwa\moneg/wrm ama ausi
 then 1SG.ABS=ONLY DEM SG>1SG:PST:DUR\wait mother old_woman
 'Then mum took care only of me'
- (152) *kwot kwot kwot kwot 73*
 kwot kwot kwot kwot 73
 properly properly properly properly 1973
 'up until 1973.'
- (153) *73 nze grade 6 zabtha*
 73 nze grade 6 za\bth/a
 1973 1SG.ERG grade 6 SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\finish
 'I finished grade 6 in 1973.'
- (154) *watik select zwäfiyothatth highschoollr*
 wati select zwä\fiyoth/ath highschool=r
 then select 2|3PL>1SG:PST:PFV\make highschool=PURP
 'They selected me for high school.'
- (155) *kma n si zäzira maf nä keke yakasi nzun*
 kma n si zä\zir/a maf nä keke yaka-si
 POT IMN eyes SG:PST:PFV\throw who.ERG.SG INDF NEG help-NMLZ
 nzun
 1SG.DAT
 'I looked around, but no (financial) support for me.'

- (156) *nze ama zakora “maski kwa namrn*
 nze ama za\kor/a maski kwa
 1SG.ERG mother SG>3SG.F:PST:PFV\speak nevermind FUT
 na\m/rn
 1DU:NPST:IPFV\sit
 ‘I told mother “Nevermind, we’ll stay here.’
- (157) *nima fefe namrn nzefé kwa namonegwé*
 nima fefe na\m/rn nzefé kwa
 like _this really 1DU:NPST:IPFV\sit 1SG.ERG.EMPH FUT
 na\moneg/wé
 1SG>2SG:NPST:IPFV\wait
 ‘We are going to live here and I will look after you.’
- (158) *kwot eh ... afa boba yanra*
 kwot e afa boba yan\r/a
 properly until father MED:ABL 3SG.M:PST:IPFV:VENT\be
 ‘Time went by until father came.’
- (159) *fi bää kwabznwrm kiungan*
 fi bää kwa\bzn/wrm kiunga=en
 3.ABS MED SG:PST:DUR\work PLN=LOC
 ‘He used to work in Kiunga.’
- (160) *watik party we ane funny story rä*
 wati party we ane funny story ane \rä/
 then party also DEM funny story DEM 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘There was a party, that’s another funny story.’
- (161) *wati bää rä party naf# nafa wäfiyokwath bää garaitan*
 wati bää \rä/ party nafa wä\fiyok/wath
 then MED 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be party 3NSG.ERG 2|3PL>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\make
 garaita=en
 PLN=LOC
 ‘They were having a party in Garaita.’
- (162) *afa ane guitarkarä sfkogr*
 afa ane guitar=karä sf\ko/gr
 father DEM guitar=PROP 3SG:PST:STAT\be_standing
 ‘Father was standing there with a guitar.’

- (163) *watik nzefé ane size swafiyokwrm “nzone kabe ane fof yé”*
 wati nzefé ane size swa\fifiok/wrm nzone kabe ane
 then 1SG.ERG.EMPH DEM size SG>3SG.M:PST:DUR\make 1SG.POSS man DEM
 fof \yé/
 EMPH 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘I picked him (thinking) “This one will be my husband.”²
- (164) *watik kanathren ane ni nzwamnzrm*
 wati kanathr=en ane ni nzwa\m/nzrm
 then PLN=LOC DEM 1NSG 1PL:PST:DUR\sit
 ‘Then we were living in Kanathér.’
- (165) *watik afa ane boba binrä*
 wati afa ane boba b yn\rä/
 then father DEM MED:ABL MED 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV:VENT\be
 ‘Father visited us there.’
- (166) *nä kayé nanyaka*
 nä kayé nan\yak/a
 INDF one_day_away 1PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\come
 ‘Other days, we went for a visit.’
- (167) *watik zäbrima watik*
 wati zä\brim/a wati
 then SG:PST:PFV\return then
 ‘Then he returned (to Kiunga).’
- (168) *fobo bana bäne nafiyokwath fof fof nritakwath*
 fobo bana bäne na\fifiok/wath fof fof
 DIST:ALL pitiful PH.ABS 2|3PL>1PL:PST:IPFV\make EMPH EMPH
 n\ritak/wath
 2|3PL>1PL:PST:IPFV\cross
 ‘That was the time, when we got engaged. They exchanged us.’
- (169) *bäijafe zba ynrera*
 baijaf zba yn\rä/ra
 exchange_uncle PROX:ABL 3SG:PST:IPFV:VENT\be
 ‘The exchange man came here.’

²Abia and his brother Kaumb both played in a band.

- (170) *oriomon bā kwabznwrm fi*
 oriomo=en bā kwa\bzn/wrm fi
 PLN=LOC MED SG:PST:DUR\work 3.ABS
 'He was working in Oriomo.'
- (171) *oroman kwarkfzwäkora "watik naf kwa wfathwr fäms ḷarer"*
 oroman kwark=f zwä\kor/a wati naf kwa
 old_man deceased=ERG.SG SG>1SG:PST:PFV\speak enough 3SG.ERG FUT
 w\fath/wr fäms ḷare=r
 2|3SG>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\hold exchange woman=PURP
 'The late old father said to me: "Okay, he will marry her as an exchange."
- (172) *watik ḷanafrath bobo mane bäne ykogr wari*
 wati ḷa\naf/rath bobo mane bäne
 then 2|3PL:PST:IPFV\talk MED:ALL which PH.ABS
 y\ko/gr wari
 3SG.M:NPST:STAT\be_standing tree_species
 'Then they arranged everything and talked where that one stands, that wari tree.'³
- (173) *wari z ykonzrm*
 wari z y\ko/nzrm
 tree_species IAM SG>3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\speak
 'Do they call it wari?'⁴
- (174) *keke bā kanathren mane yé zba mäbü mä ykogr*
 keke bā kanathr=en mane \yé/ zba mäbü
 NEG MED PLN=LOC which 3SG.M:NPST:IPFV\be PROX:ABL tree_species
 mä y\ko/gr
 where 3SG.M:NPST:STAT\be_standing
 'No, it's the one that stands in Kanathér on this side, where the Mämbü tree grows.'
- (175) *skiski fā äfiyokwath*
 skiski fā ä\fiyok/wath
 platform DIST 2|3PL>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\make
 'They built a sitting platform'

³wari "Indian coral tree" (*Erythrina variagata*)⁴She asks the others.

- (176) *garaitafa änyaka*
 garaita=fa än\yak/a
 PLN=ABL 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\come
 'and some people came from Garaita.'
- (177) *fäms ḷarane mrn änyaka garaitafa*
 fäms ḷare=ane mrn än\yak/a garaita=fa
 exchange woman=POSS.SG family 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\come PLN=ABL
 'The exchange woman's family came to Garaita.'
- (178) *zba oroman kwarké änyaka fäms bobo*
 zba oroman kwark=é än\yak/a
 PROX:ABL old_man deceased=ABS.NSG 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\come
 fäms bobo
 exchange MED:ALL
 'Their late old father and the exchange man came to this place.'
- (179) *watik fä fof maret ḷafiyokwake*
 wati fä fof maret ḷa\fiyok/wake
 then DIST EMPH marriage 1PL:PST:IPFV\make
 'Then we got married there.'
- (180) *wati 75 afaf zwämesa kiunga*
 wati 75 afa=f zwä\mes/a kiunga
 then 1975 father=ERG.SG SG>1SG:PST:PFV\bring PLN
 'The in 1975, father took me to Kiunga.'
- (181) *katan ḷareṇare ane zwänmesa katan drisdriskaf*
 katan ḷare~ṇare ane zwän\mes/a katan
 small REDUP~woman DEM SG>1SG:PST:PFV:VENT\bring small
 dris~dris=kaf
 REDUP~dress=PROP
 'I looked like a small girl in a dress when he brought me there.'
- (182) *bä fthé samara nima sakorath “ra rä? nafangth rä o mon?”*
 bä fthé sa\mar/a nima sa\kor/ath
 MED when SG>3SG.M:PST:PFV\see like_this 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:PFV\speak
 ra \rä/ nafa-ngth \rä/
 what.ABS 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be 3.POSS-younger_sibling 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be

o mon

or how

‘When they saw us, they wondered “Who’s that? It that his small sister or what?”’

- (183) *naf thukonzrm “keke! nzone ñare rä”*
 naf thu\ko/nzrm keke nzone ñare \rä/
 3SG.ERG SG>2|3PL:PST:DUR\speak NEG 1SG.POSS wife 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
 ‘He told them “No, she is my wife!”’

- (184) *watik bä nanmza*
 wati bä nan\m/nza
 then MED 1PL:PST:IPFV:VENT\sit
 ‘Then we lived there.’

- (185) *nä ysokwr afaf bä nä ñare wfnza*
 nä ysakwr afa=f bä nä ñare w\fn/za
 INDF year father=ERG.SG MED INDF woman SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\hit
 ‘A year later, father had hit some woman there.’

- (186) *afa zane gathagatha ebar sfrärm*
 afa zane gatha~gatha ebar sf\rä/rm
 father DEM:PROX REDUP~bad head 3SG.M:PST:DUR\be
 ‘Father was a bad guy then.’

- (187) *razé short temper*
 razé short temper
 oh_yes short tempered
 ‘Really a short-tempered guy.’

- (188) *nafadben keke mistake*
 nafadben keke mistake
 3SG.LOC NEG mistake
 ‘no mistakes with him.’

- (189) *ane ñare wfnza rumginae fobo satharufath diburar*
 ane ñare w\fn/za rumginae fobo
 DEM woman SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV\hit PLN DIST:ALL
 sa\tharuf/ath dibura=r
 2|3PL>3SG.M:PST:PFV\enter prison=PURP
 ‘He had hit that woman and they took him to Rumginae prison.’

- (190) *ni nima fefe zänbrimake nzä zentharufa booten*
 ni nima fefe zän\brim/ake nzä
 1NSG like_this really 1PL:PST:PFV:VENT\return 1SG.ABS
 zen\tharuf/a boat=en
 SG:PST:PFV:VENT\enter_open_cont boat=LOC
 ‘We he returned, we got on the boat (to go back down the Fly River).’
- (191) *kowi fof warä ra*
 kowi fof wa\rä/ ra
 chicken EMPH 1SG.IO:NPST:IPFV\be what.ABS
 ‘I had some chickens and all those things.’
- (192) *watik nzä nima fefe zänbrima*
 wati nzä nima fefe zän\brim/a
 then 1SG.ABS like_this really SG:PST:PFV:VENT\return
 ‘I returned for good then.’
- (193) *zä kwamnzrm karen*
 zä kwa\m/nzrm kar=en
 PROX 1SG:PST:DUR\sit village=LOC
 ‘I have been staying here in the village.’
- (194) *fobo fefe zänbrima kanathr ausidben fä fof kwofrärm*
 fobo fefe zän\brim/a kanathr
 DIST:ALL really SG:PST:PFV:VENT\return PLN
 ausi=dben fä fof kwof\rä/rm
 old_woman=LOC.ANIM.SG DIST EMPH 1SG:PST:DUR\be
 ‘When I returned from there, I stayed at Kanathér with old mother.’
- (195) *watik zena zwamnzs*
 wati zena z=wa\m/nzr
 then now PROX=1SG:NPST:IPFV\sit
 ‘I’ve been living here until today.’
- (196) *nzone fam mane né bänemr erära nima schoolr*
 nzone fam mane n bâne=r e\rä/ra nima
 1SG.POSS thought which IMN PH=PURP SG>2|3PL:PST:IPFV\do like_this
 school=r
 school=PURP
 ‘I was thinking of continuing school,’

- (197) *maf keke yakasinzo ane skul fee*
 maf keke yaka-si=nzo ane skul fee
 who.ERG.SG NEG help-NMLZ=ONLY DEM school fee
 'but there was no help with the school fee.'
- (198) *watik anema fefe nima zägathifa watik karen bana kwa wamnzs*
 wati ane=ma fefe nima zä\gathif/a wati kar=en
 then DEM=CHAR really like_this SG:PST:IPFV\leave then village=LOC
 bana kwa wa\m/nzr
 pitiful FUT 1SG:NPST:IPFV\sit
 'Therefore I left it and (poor me) stayed in the village.'
- (199) *okay nzone zawe ane fof rä nima*
 okay nzone zawe ane fof \rä/ nima
 okay 1SG.POSS preference DEM EMPH 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be like_this
 'My occupation is like this'
- (200) *kaben ra frasi yarithé*
 kabe=n ra frasi ya\ri/thé
 people=DAT.SG what.ABS hunger 1SG>3SG.M.IO:NPST:IPFV\give
 'I give to someone if he is hungry.'
- (201) *nimame warfo kabef nzä zwäfrmsa*
 nima=me warfo kabe=f nzä zwä\frms/a
 like_this=INS above man=ERG.SG 1SG.ABS SG>1SG:PST:PFV\prepare
 'God has blesses me in this way.'
- (202) *zena nima wamnzs*
 zena nima wa\m/nzr
 today like_this 1SG:NPST:IPFV\sit
 'That's how I live today.'
- (203) *ane kwanmnzs kanathr masu roku*
 ane kwan\m/nzr kanathr masu roku
 DEM 1SG:PST:IPFV:VENT\sit PLN PLN PLN
 'I have lived at Kanathér, then Masu and now Rouku.'
- (204) *watik z zäkoré*
 wati ausi z zä\kor/é
 then old_woman IAM 1SG:RPST:PFV\become
 'I have become an old woman now.'

- (205) *ausi kam we fänwä zfnrä zunfsrwm*
ausi kam we fänwä zfnrä/
old_woman bone also DIST:EMPH 3SG.F:PST:IPFV:VENT\be
zun\rfsr/wrm
SG:SBJ>3SG.F:PST:DUR:VENT\take_along
'But I was also taking the old woman (my mother) around.'
- (206) *zbo e watik zrä bana watik*
zbo e wati z=\rä/ bana wati
PROX:ALL until enough PROX=3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be pitiful enough
'She became weaker until one day (she died).'
- (207) *nama fof bufrukaren kwot e zane z zäbtha*
nama fof bu-frukar=en kwot e zane
two_days_away EMPH 2SG.POSS-absence=LOC properly until DEM:PROX
z zä\bth/a
IAM 2|3SG:PST:PFV\finish
'She passed away only recently, while you were away.'
- (208) *nima fefe komnzo zfthnm bana*
nima fefe komnzo zf\thn/m bana
like_this really only 3SG.F:PST:DUR\lie_down pitiful
'The poor (old woman) was lying down most of the time.'
- (209) *watik nzone story katan rä*
wati nzone story katan \rä/
then 1SG.POSS story small 3SG.F:NPST:IPFV\be
'That's my little story.'
- (210) *eso*
eso
thanks
'Thank you.'

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Speaking the map

This collection of fourteen texts in Komnzo offers an insight into the language and culture of the Farem people, their storytelling tradition, oral history, mythology and everyday life. It contains stories from nine narrators, which were transcribed, translated and analysed by the researcher with the help of the Komnzo language committee. All texts are presented in a parallel text version arranged in columns (Komnzo/English) and in an interlinearised and glossed version. The book focuses thematically on landscape, place names and locality. It includes a description and analysis of the way Komnzo speakers conceptualise this semantic domain.