Clans, spirits, land and food

Kilmeri texts

Claudia Gerstner-Link

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The book is dedicated to
Margaret Osi, the most brilliant speaker of Kilmeri,
the greater Osi family,
the Kilmeri people on their way between tradition and
modern life.

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Preface

The present collection of Kilmeri texts arose in parallel with the work on my Kilmeri grammar (Gerstner-Link 2018). From the very beginning of the fieldwork, texts were as important for me as grammatical issues of the language; being a researcher who holds a holistic view on language it seemed inconceivable for me to produce a grammar which wouldn't be based on a broad collection of running text. Special grammatical details can be – and must be – obtained by elicitation, but the overall character of a language manifests itself in texts of different genres. Unfortunately, grammars usually include only a few texts in an appendix, while most texts of the language in question are not publicly accessible. My own grammar also follows this practice; and, what is more, the glossed texts are somehow "hidden" in the Online Supplement of the grammar. Therefore the OTC project of the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* is a most welcome opportunity to finally publish all the Kilmeri texts that I could collect during my fieldwork.

In addition to texts that are related to Kilmeri heritage, my consultants and I worked on a partial translation of the gospel of Mark. They were highly engaged in this endeavour, which would honor their language in that it would prove their "bush" vernacular to be a language on the same level as English. The translation would show the ability of Kilmeri to put into words and express the texts of the Bible.

Regrettably, the present collection does not include those texts due to the constraint the publishers needed to observe to publish only *original* texts of a language community. It is true that translated texts don't belong to the literary and cultural heritage of a people, but attest influence from outside. They certainly bring a foreign note to the inner coherence of narrative topics of an indigenous community. However, there is always an unavoidable break of tradition as soon as outsiders – be it missionaries, traders, hunters, or linguists – enter a community. For instance, when my consultant Susan Bisam traveled with her husband, a crocodile hunter from the Sepik, to the area south of the Bewani mountains, she acquired some knowledge of the culture there and brought it to the Kilmeri area. These traits can be seen in one of her stories that she told in Tok Pisin. With the arrival of "modern life" a new genre of text emerges that can be called

"narratives situated in contemporary time and life." Texts of this type form one chapter of the present collection, and they certainly widen the narrative ability of their narrators and show their eagerness to tell the stories in question.

My fieldwork on Kilmeri (Border language family, northwestern Papua New Guinea) spread over seven years starting in November 1999 and ending in February 2007. During this time I spent about 15 months in the field. The first preliminary version of the glossed texts was finished in 2010. Subsequently, glosses and translations were continuously adapted and adjusted in parallel with the writing of the grammar. For this publication, all texts have been reviewed and, where necessary, revised in order to integrate a different perspective on the best translation of sentences or phrases. I am also finalising my Kilmeri dictionary (to be published in the "Dictionaria" series), which brings to light meanings of words that I was previously unaware of; such new findings have also been taken into account. The collection contains the six texts of the online supplement to my Kilmeri grammar. These texts were also revised and, in some cases, expanded when an (unintented) gap was found in the original transcription.

Acknowledgments

My first thanks go to the project team of the OTC Project, Sebastian Nordhoff, Christian Döhler and Mandana Seyfeddinipur, for inviting me to contribute to this project, which provides a substantial extension of language documentation beyond grammars and dictionaries. OTC editor in chief is Christian Döhler, and the project is based at the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Döhler is also regional editor of the Papuan section of OTC. So I owe greatest thanks to him: for his technical support, for his stylistic suggestions, for his editing ideas, and for generosity and enthusiasm during my work on the manuscript. His OTC volume "Speaking the map. Komnzo texts" (Döhler 2024) was a fine guide for my reflections and comments on the Kilmeri narratives. I also thank two anonymous referees whose careful comments helped to considerably improve the text. Finally, I thank Matthew Korte for his meticulous proofreading.

The preliminary version of the text collection dates back to the year 2010, and here I want to thank Inken Kaumann M.A. for her patient and probing help in compiling the texts. This work took place within my DFG project "Duale Grammatikographie: semasiologische und onomasiologische Analyse ereignis- und raumbezogener Konstruktionen in Kilmeri"[1] under the supervision of Ulrike Mosel.

The narrators to whom I owe the texts are introduced in Chapter 3 below. They were always eager to contribute stories belonging to their heritage as well as those of their current life. Many photos supplemented my fieldwork. Some of them are included here, and the narrators would feel honoured by that. But meanwhile, about 20 years after the fieldwork, they have deceased as all of them belonged to the oldest generation. I regard the narrators as my colleagues in entrenched linguistic knowledge. My greatest thanks go to them. For me, they are a model in the wisdom of heritage.

Last but not least, I deeply thank my husband Godehard Link who accompanied my research and publications on Kilmeri for decades with untiring interest, encouragement, and love.

[1]GZ: MO728/7-1,2; AOBJ: 529555: September 2006 – August 2009, cost-neutral extended until October 2010.

Abbreviations

The glossing conventions follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules.[1] Categorial abbreviations not found in the Leipzig Glossing Rules are my own. For explanations of categories that may seem rather idiosyncratic, I refer the reader to my grammar of Kilmeri (Gerstner-Link 2018).

Circumfixes are written as AFF- … -AFF in the gloss line. Multi-word lexemes in Kilmeri, such as serial verbs or collocations, are written with an underscore on the morpheme line when their components need to be spelled out. Serial verbs are indicated by the notation V_V(_V). Collocations are indicated by the notation N_N or N_V. Multi-word translations in the gloss line are separated by full stops.

All pronouns receive a lexical gloss if they occur by themselves, e.g. *ko* 'I' and *de* 'you.SG'. If they are affixed, they are glossed with an abbreviation (1SG and 2SG, respectively), as in *yip ko-pi-yo* [house 1SG-POSS-LOC] 'at my house'.

Tok Pisin insertions are marked with (TP) after the respective item in the gloss line. Tok Pisin words that are loanwords, however, are not marked in this way, as they are part of the contemporary Kilmeri lexicon.

Finally, translations of lexical items are glossed according to context, i.e. for some Kilmeri words the lexical gloss may differ because the Kilmeri word has several meanings.

All abbreviations used in this text collection are given below:

|	syncretism (e.g. A|S)	ANIM	animate
1	first person	ANT	anterior
2	second person	APH	anaphor
3	third person	AUG	augmentative
A	agent/transitive subject	CO	connective
ACCOM	accompaniment	COLL	collective
ADJ	adjective	CON	conative
ADV	adverbial	CPL	completive
AFF	affinitative	DEIC	deictic

[1] Cf. LGR revised version of February 2008: http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php

DET	determiner
DFAC	deictic-factual
DIST	distal
DU	dual
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	exclusive
FAC	resultative-factual
FRUS	frustrative
IMP	imperative 2nd person
IMP3	imperative 3rd person
INANIM	inanimate
INCL	inclusive
INGR	ingressive
INS	instrumental
IRR	irrealis
ITER	iterative
LKH	likelihood
LOC	locative
LV	light verb
MAL	malefactive
MOD	modal
N	noun
NEG	negation
NIV	non-interventional
NP	noun phrase
NSG	non-singular
NUM	numeral
O	patient object
OBS	obstructive
OR	recipient object
PART	partitive
PATH	path
PC	continuous past
PL	plural
POS	possibility
POSS	possessive
PP	punctual past
PROG	progressive/habituative
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal
PURP	purposive
Q	question marker
QUANT	quantificational suffix
QT	quantifier
RECIP	reciprocal
RTS	relative tense
S	intransitive subject
SG	singular
SIM	similative
SUB	subordinating
TER	terminative
TOP	topic
TP	from Tok Pisin
VOC	vocative

Part I

Background

1 Introduction

1.1 The Kilmeri people

The Kilmeri people live in the area south of Vanimo (Sandaun province) and south of the eastern table mountains of the Oenake range, which are up to 800 metres high (Figure 1.1). From the village of Ossima – the place where the fieldwork took place over the years – you have a beautiful view of these table mountains, which look like real landmarks. They constitute the northern boundary of the Kilmeri area and settlements. These settlements are located in the basin of the Puwani and Pual rivers; the headwaters of the Pual originate in the west, while the headwaters of the Puwani originate on the northern slopes of the Bewani Mountains, which rise above 1500 metres on the Papua New Guinea side of the international border with Indonesia (See the sketch of the villages in Figure 1.2). Nowadays there is a gravel road from the coast and the provincial capital of Vanimo to the administrative centre of Bewani at the foot of the Bewani range. Almost all villages of the Kilmeri people are located east of this road. Only Ilup, the most remote village, is situated west of the road, and Sosi, the northernmost village, is situated directly along this road. It can therefore be said that the settlements form a contiguous area. In 1990, when a population census was carried out, the Kilmeri had a population of around 2,500 in 15 villages (cf. Section 1.3).

1.1.1 Horticultural subsistence

As in the past, horticultural subsistence is a strong economic pillar of the Kilmeri. Close to the villages and hamlets, people create their gardens by slash-and-burn. There are usually several gardens: one or two gardens are more or less ready for harvesting, one is newly planted and one is in the preparation phase. Bananas are often planted also in a plot right next to the house (cf. Text G.20). The most important crops include the following species: sago (*Metroxylon sagu*) as primary staple food, banana (*Musa*) as secondary staple food; taro (*Colocasia*), breadfruit (*Artocarpus*), and sweet potatoes (*Ipomea batatas*) as valued supplements. These sources of starch are accompanied by greens and coconuts: *aibika* (*Abelmoschus manihot*), *tulip* (*Gnetum gnemon*), and coconut (*Cocos nucifera*).

Figure 1.1: Table mountains of the Oenake range in twilight

Horticulture is accompanied by the gathering of food from the bush, which is equally important to ensure a healthy, sustainable diet. Women collect wild greens and mushrooms on a daily basis. Women also look for nests of wild fowls, cassowaries, and others birds that breed on the ground. When gathering eggs, they tend to empty the nests (cf. Text F.6). As a result, breeding cycles are interrupted and the number of birds declines in the long term. Women and children also catch small fish in ponds that are hidden in the bush. The size of the fish that I saw was about 15 - 30cm in length. It is not known to me which varieties of freshwater fish live in these small ponds. Furthermore, small frogs were collected after it had rained. After a heavy rainfall frogs appear in large numbers and a bucket fills quickly (cf. Text A.6). I myself once saw a bucket with dozens of small yellow-greenish frogs, which the family soon started to roast in the fire for a meal. Moreover, frogs and geckos often rest in the deep ribs of sago palms and can be caught by climbing palm trees (cf. Text C.3). In freshwater streams, men and children collect crabs, which are another small animal food source. Shrimps are a delicious but rare addition to meals. Seasonal bush foods are various nuts and fruits gathered by groups of children. The fruits of the *ton* tree (*Pometia pinnata*) are particularly valued. They are a bit akin to rambutan fruits and lychee fruits.[1]

[1]The species *Pometia* belongs to the same family *Sapindaceae* as rambutan and lychee trees.

Figure 1.2: Map of the Kilmeri speaking villages by Godehard Link

Cultivating sago grubs is done by all families who have access to sago swamps or other places where palms grow that feed grubs (cf. Text B.1). The production of sago grubs is part of the sago business: It supplies the protein, while the sago pith provides the starch. A typical meal consists of sago jelly, *tulip* vegetable or *aibika* vegetable cooked in the milk of grated copra. Mushrooms, sago grubs, or some meat are also served, depending on availability (cf. Text C.2, C.3, F.8, F.11).

Hunting animals used to be the traditional task of men: wild pigs, ground kangaroos, tree kangaroos, possums, and cassowaries were hunted. Once in a while, someone spotted a deer, and then everyone was eager to get it. But success was rare, as I experienced it in the field. Bandicoots could be caught by hand (Text G.13) when a piece of overgrown garden was cleared. The story *Ai kopi basuiko* (Text C.1) is a good example of the former abundance of forest animals. But the story can also point to the danger of excessive hunting (cf. Text B.3 and G.12). In addition, (pregnant) female animals all too often become prey (Text C.7; p.c. Anita Osi as a sad comment on sharing the meat of a kangaroo with me, in whose pouch there was a young animal). Hunting was supplemented by semi-domesticated pigs, i.e. young wild boars were caught and fed (Text E.5).

1.1.2 Cash economy

Nowadays, garden crops and sago are often produced beyond subsistence and sold for money at markets. In Ossima there was and still is the Sunday market, which flourishes after the weekly Sunday service. Women from the neighbouring settlements come to this market to earn some money. Customers include the school's teachers and the parish with its staff, as well as guest families like me and my family. But the villagers would also buy goods that they currently lack. Quite a few people produce for the big markets in Vanimo and Dasi. Demand is high, especially for sago flour, as the squatters in Osi Camp (on the outskirts of Vanimo) have no access to the local sago swamps near the coast. The local sago palm grounds belong to the people of the coastal villages.

The establishment of the Catholic mission in Ossima in 1961 was accompanied by a cattle breeding project. Gradually, many people became cattle owners. The mission farm ran a small abattoir where the cows were slaughtered in order to bring the meat to the supermarkets in Vanimo. This provided some income for several families. The mission's cattle, pig, and vegetable farm also provided paid work. For about thirty years, this was a valued opportunity for young men to receive some education in agriculture. At the beginning of the 1990s, however, the farm gradually began to decline. When I arrived in Ossima, it was still in operation, but its heyday was over. By 2024, the farm business is almost at an end.

Another source of income are the royalties from the logging concessions. The primary forest of the entire Kilmeri area was certified for logging, and the logging company designated six so-called blocks, which were logged one after the other (Gerstner-Link 2018: 9-11). The valuable trees were cut down with chainsaws and moved with huge bulldozers. I witnessed this myself and even had the

opportunity to fly over an area where the trees had been dislodged. At times, one could hear from my house the sound of a huge tree falling over. Logging also offered young men paid jobs, but often at the cost of serious injuries due to a lack of safety measures.

In 2010 the company "Bewani Oil Palm Plantations Limited" started their palm oil business in the Kilmeri and East Pagi areas. For this purpose, a road was built from Vanimo to Imbio/Imbinis, a half-day's walk east of the Kilmeri villages. The road follows the coast and crosses the Puwani River at its mouth into the sea; previously the Puwani had been an obstacle to industrial development. The former road to Ossima ended on the north side of the river and one had to cross it on foot or by boat/canoe to reach Ossima and the mission, including the school there. The BOPPL oil plantation also offers paid jobs. After remaining in isolation, a new centre is now developing around the plantation in the East Pagi area.

Last but not least, some descendants of the old Kilmeri have also settled in Vanimo. Over the years, the provincial capital offered more and more job opportunities. Simultaneously, the Kilmeri youth had received the necessary education to work in town. So there is a certain backflow of money from the town to the villages.

1.2 Clan lands

The Puwani-Pual basin is not the old homeland of the Kilmeri. There is good evidence that they migrated into this area from the west along the Bewani river valley. Their homeland was probably the area south-west of the Sentani Lakes on the other side of the state border with Indonesia, which more or less borders on the territory of the Nimboran people and the Nimboran language family. This hypothesis is outlined and linguistically argued for in (Gerstner-Link 2023). It corresponds to the genealogical memory of the Kilmeri, who count their generations back to their shared ancestor Si who is said to have come to the area from outside and claimed the land. Margaret Osi from Ossima and Usi Kul from Omoi are aware of this oral history. The sons of Si are Bu and Nakei, who are the ancestors of the people of Ossima and Omoi, respectively. They lived nine generations back, calculated from the year 2000. These genealogical memories are identity-forming.

Near the eastern Kilmeri villages there are (or were) several remarkable old Kwila trees (*Intsia bijuga*) that are considered ancestral heritage. These trees have names that relate to the ancestors. For example, near Oiru there was a tree called *Isimu*, which is said to have been named by Si. It burned down in 1999; its interior

Figure 1.3: Map of Ossima village by Godehard Link

had completely dried out. Near Ossima stood a Kwila tree called *Ppaimu*, which was sacrificed for the construction of the "highway" – a dirt road roughly north of the Pual River from Kiliwes to the eastern villages – although many people wanted to preserve it. The Kwila tree *Ploumu* close to Omoi is still standing. Near Omula, the easternmost village, there was another tree called *Noumu*. It toppled over because of a landslide. Finally, on top of the hill Oimu located between Oiru and Omoi a Kwila tree named *Mu* rises. Note that *Mu* is a phonetic variant of *Bu*, emerging from prenasalisation of the plosive. In fact, all these tree names contain the syllable *mu*, which refers to the ancestor Bu. One of the Kwilas even contains the names of both ancestors, Si and Mu/Bu, namely the tree *Isimu*. According to Margaret Osi the name bearing Kwila trees are a certain subtype of *Intsia bijuga*: The Kilmeri name for this species is *ri maro* 'tree maro', but a slightly different type of *Intsia bijuga* is called *ri mu* 'tree of Bu'. The labelling of certain trees with the names of distant ancestors is a means of preserving clan history and securing land claims. These trees can reach an age of more than 200 years, so it is possible that the aforementioned trees were planted by the aforementioned ancestors and have been revered for generations and centuries.

The names of the clans that occur in the area also provide a good clue to the population and settlement history of the Puwani-Pual basin. The clan names are linked to the clan settlements, but today's villages and hamlets have different names from the clan names. Table 1.1 presents a list of ancient clan names found in the Puwani-Pual Basin, together with their administrative equivalents as found on official maps (Australia. Army. Royal Australian Survey Corps 1969: Sheet 7192). When asked where they live, people name their village with the (new) administrative names.

I would also like to mention that *kili*, which appears in several clan and village names, is a Kilmeri word meaning 'bone'.[2] In addition to those clan names

[2]The name *Kilimeri* is not a village name nowadays. Its components, *kili* 'bone' and *meri*, can shed light on its origin. The component *meri* relates to Nimboran *méndy* 'mouth' or *mendú* 'skull'. The sound correspondence /nd/ <> /r/ is regular and attested within the Border family as well as between Kilmeri and non-Border languages (cf. Gerstner-Link 2023). In Nimboran society *méndy* was a gift that the parents of a newly married woman received from the husband's family after the birth the first child, thus, acknowledging her fertility (Kouwenhoven 1956: 25). The naming of a new settlement with a phrase meaning 'bones (for the) mouth' points to the fact that there was plenty of game which would secure the livelihood and fertility of the people living there. Moreover, there is the story of the hero Sakou, who throws out bones and seeds, thus providing the people with an abundance of game and crops (cf. Text A.3). The village name *Kiliwes* consists of the words *kili* 'bone' and *wîs* 'moon'. The moon is also a reference to hunting, as the great hunts in the forests used to take place during the full moon phase (cf. Text B.7, Sequence (27).

Table 1.1: Correspondence of clan names and settlements

CLAN	VILLAGE NAMES	COMMENT
Ilá	Kilmeri, Kiliwes, Ossima	The name *Ilá* refers to these three villages
Ilup	Anau	
Imar	Ossima	Greater area of Ossima around the village proper
Imiri	Osol	
Ipies	Airu/Oiru	The name of the village comes from two phonetic varieties
Irer	Omoi	
Isa	Krisa	The inhabitants of Krisa speak the Sko language Isaka
Isep	Kilipau	
Isi	Isi I, Isi II, Esau/Olul	The third village is known under two names
Isipi	Omula	
Iulep	Awol	
Iwes	Kiliwes	

that correlate with settlements, there are further clans with similar names in the region: Iles, Imo I, Imo II, Imo III, Imo IV, Imop, Inuges, Ipualu, Iu, Iuwi, Iwom, and Iwopai.[3]

Evidently, all the clan names listed here begin with the vowel /i/, which is by far the most common in the Kilmeri lexicon (Gerstner-Link 2018: 63). Since *i- is the class marker of flying animals, i.e., birds and bats (Gerstner-Link 2018: 647), one could speculate that animals of these groups might have had a special spiritual function for the clans. Furthermore, in Nimboran the word for bird is *iý* (Anceaux 1965: 14). Probably it is not too far-fetched to think of a transfer relation, which would have been possible in either direction (cf. Gerstner-Link 2018: 654, 2023). However, there are also clan names that do not begin with the vowel /i/, but have completely different phonological forms. The ratio of documented clan names appears to be roughly half /i/-initial names and half other names.

[3]Kouwenhoven (1956: 27) states about Nimboran clans – which are called "tang" – that a clan or "tang" subdivides when it has exceeded a certain size. The same seems to hold in Kilmeri society, an example being the Imo clan, which now has four divisions.

Figure 1.4: Puwani River

1.3 Language vitality and literacy

1.3.1 Speakers and fluency

In the beginning of the 1990s, the Kilmeri comprised around 2,200 people in 15 Kilmeri-speaking villages (Nekitel 1998: 107, based on Grimes 1990). The National Population Census of 1990 states a population of 3,607,954 people for Papua New Guinea minus the North Solomon Province (Nekitel 1998: 81).[4] According to the National Statistical Office, the population of Papua New Guinea reached 7,275,324 in 2011, and 11,781,559 in 2021.[5] If we take the national census as a guide, with an average annual population growth of 3.81 per cent between 1990 and 2021, and apply this to the population of Kilmeri in 1990, which was 2,200, then by 2021 the population would be around 7,000. From my own experience, I can add that I met several families in Ossima who had around seven to ten children.[6]

[4]This census is also mentioned on the website of the National Statistical Office, but without numbers.

[5]Cf. https://www.nso.gov.pg/statistics/population/

[6]Margaret Osi told me that in the past, when the men's house still existed, women had no more than four children. Only when a child was about the age of four the next pregnancy was agreed on. Albert Maori Kiki says that in his mother's group of the Elema people at the Purari River (Gulf Province) women were supposed to have only two children (Kiki 1969: 30). Apparently, in traditional times, birth control was a behaviour that was accepted as it was considered to balance the life and the resources of people.

Most likely, the 15 Kilmeri-speaking villages would still be referred to as "Kilmeri speaking" by the people themselves, as the language is identity-forming to a certain extent. However, the number of fluent speakers has decreased considerably. The last generation, who spoke Kilmeri fluently as their only or dominant language, are no longer alive. The middle generation, born in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, grew up speaking Kilmeri but switched to Tok Pisin in large numbers. They used Kilmeri only to talk to the older people. This generation has a reasonably good command of the language. The younger generation has grown up bilingual and has mostly heard (some) Kilmeri from the adults, while speaking Tok Pisin. Many of them have Tok Pisin as their first language. It should also be noted that the middle generation often married spouses from outside the Kilmeri community. To give an example: Lis Osi had seven children, and three of them are married to non-Kilmeri partners: one son is married to a woman from Popondetta (Oro province; they live in Port Moresby); another son is married to a woman from Vanimo Lido; another daughter is married to a man from Krisa. This pattern of mixed marriages continues in the younger generation. Furthermore, this can certainly be generalised to other families. For the vernacular Kilmeri, this marriage pattern breakes with the tradition and has the dire consequence that the language quickly loses ground. The common language within the family is often Tok Pisin and is therefore intruding all situations. In addition to what has been said, many Kilmeri families squat in Ossima Camp located in the outskirts of Vanimo. Almost every large family has such a base in the city to stay overnight on business or just "to be in town." The language of Vanimo is of course Tok Pisin.

My impression is that Kilmeri can no longer be described as a living language. I do not have exact figures on speakers and their language proficiency, but the overall picture is not encouraging. Even if the language is used in daily life by a few families in about a third of the Kilmeri villages, this situation does not guarantee the language will survive. Yes, some sentences and words will survive, produced now and then as short utterances with simplified grammar. But unfortunately this is not the language that I analysed in my grammar (Gerstner-Link 2018) and that can be found in the stories in this collection.

1.3.2 Literacy and Language Shift

Until the 1960s the Kilmeri speaking community fostered their oral language tradition in daily and ceremonial life without being literate. Western education with schools and literacy training was first introduced by the Catholic Mission, which soon founded a school in Ossima. In 1971 Grade 1-6 were in operation; the school

had an enrolment of 200 children with boarding facilities for 180 children.[7] The language of instruction was English. Those children were the first generation to become literate. The older generation, born in the 1940s and 1950s, has remained largely illiterate. However, literacy was slow to spread and even in the 1990s not all children went to school regularly. Often the children were already 8 to 10 years old when they started school, and some left school after the fourth grade. The most successful students went on to high school and could choose between the high schools in Vanimo, Lumi, Green River and Aitape, which are all boarding schools with grades 7-10. In addition, Aitape Secondary School also offers grades 11 and 12.

Although the official language of instruction remained English after independence in 1975, Tok Pisin became the de facto language of schooling. This is also due to the fact that many teachers in the Vanimo-Bewani region and throughout the province come from other parts of the country and their common language is Tok Pisin. Even the local teachers are often not fluent in their local language.[8] This means that the indigenous Kilmeri language is not supported at school. As a consequence, the younger generation has become more and more convinced that the local language is of no practical use for them. It will not contribute to a livelihood better than the subsistence farming practised in the villages. I myself have heard this judgement several times.

One should also mention that the language favoured by the mission staff is Tok Pisin. Hardly anyone took up the challenge of learning Kilmeri, apart from a few phrases or short songs. The liturgic texts were all in Tok Pisin, including the Bible translation. The High Holidays were celebrated with annual biblical performances, the Passion Plays and the Christmas Plays, in which many people from the villages took part. These performances were held in Tok Pisin. Church life was based on Tok Pisin from the very beginning and is still based on this language today.

This is the background to the language shift of the Kilmeri people who received education in Ossima mission and became members of the church. In the villages surrounding the mission people shifted to Tok Pisin, and it was not only used as a lingua franca, but also within families. In Osi Camp, for example, the household language was already Tok Pisin, when I arrived in November 1999. We found the same situation in Ossima Asples, Omoi and Airu. The village of Awol, on the other hand, was more remote and only accessible on foot, so Kilmeri was not pushed out as much. My daughter had a schoolmate from Awol who visited us

[7] Cf. (Patrol Reports 1971: 20) and (Patrol Reports 1971/1972: 8)

[8] Cf. (Sandaun Provincial Government 2007: 19)

at home. To some degree, she grew up speaking Kilmeri, as her family spoke the language at home.

When reading a chapter of Otto Nekitel's book "Voices of yesterday, today and tomorrow" one repeatedly comes across the linguistic scenario that would feed the society of Papua New Guinea best (1998: 46-61; 78-90; 169-182). Clearly, a country needs a common lingua franca that can be used at all levels of private and public communication. This would be Tok Pisin. Secondly, the vernacular languages should not be banned, neither by individuals nor by groups of people. Ideally, the family would communicate in the parents' vernacular – or maybe two vernaculars in the case of mixed marriages – and the children would retain their mother's language even if leaving their home for higher education. That could result in a widespread creative bilingualism that preserves the old culture and meets the necessities of modern life and mobility. English as a possible third language would serve academic communication. At least in theory, language shift and language preservation are not mutually exclusive.

The secular cultural change also led to the abandonment of the indigenous language. (i) Film screenings: During my last field visits in 2006 and 2007, public film screenings were organised in Ossima for evening entertainment. A medium-sized screen was set up on someone's plot of land, and the audience – around 20-30 people – sat in front of it on the ground or on seats made from felled coconut palms. The adults watched American, Indian, or Chinese blockbusters, and the children watched Chinese cartoons. I did not witness the introduction of smartphones. Perhaps film watching has now become a form of private, individual entertainment. (ii) Dancing: Traditional dancing has disappeared entirely. Instead, dancing now takes the form of *banis*, which is a Tok Pisin term for 'a fenced-off place where people dance to Western music'. Several *banis*-grounds were set up during my time of field research. *Banis* is a popular weekend entertainment from Friday night to Sunday morning. The dancing usually starts in the evening and goes on until morning, and people rest during the following day. *Banis* is commercialised and people have to pay an admission fee. The owner of the *banis* site earns a good income despite his expenses for loudspeakers and other technical equipment.

Against this background, records of oral traditions are crucial to the ethnographic understanding of peoples worldwide. In the Kilmeri region, the people who "own" stories will be gone in the very near future. Margaret Osi, for example, celebrates her 82nd birthday in 2024, and my landlord Jeffrey Osi, who certainly knows a few old stories, is now in his sixties. It is not certain whether he succeeded in passing on "his" ancestral stories to the next generation.

2 The topics of the narratives

The texts of this collection are grouped into seven topical chapters. The first four chapters and their texts describe the traditional life of the Kilmeri people. They address clan history, ancestral stories, and traditional activities and experiences. The following three chapters describe contemporary village life, including events I have witnessed in around half of the stories.

The texts go back to the inhabitants of four villages or hamlets, namely the settlements of Ossima, Isi Camp, Omoi, and Awol. The village of Ossima consists of three settlements, namely Ossima Asples at the Puwani river, Ossima Station, and Osi Camp. Ossima station consists of the houses of the mission staff, the houses of the school teachers, the community buildings, the school, the church, and a few private houses. However, most of the people from Lis Osi's lineage live in Osi Camp, about 300 metres away, where I also had my house. This settlement consisted of five families at the time of the field research, but more houses may have been added, as the descendants of Jeffrey Osi have since founded their own families. Ossima Asples is the settlement of the Bisam lineage of the Imo clan. It consists of about ten houses with six to eight families, including the families of Susan Bisam and Andrew Wapi, two knowledgeable storytellers. Some people live apart from Ossima Asples on the ridge above the river towards Asue, in poorly built houses. Isi Camp is a small settlement of about five families (and some more houses) who came here some years ago from one of the Isi villages located further west near the Bewani road that connects the administrative centre of Bewani with the capital of Vanimo at the coast. The people of Isi Camp belong to the greater Imo clan and are thus entitled to live on that strip of land near Ossima. Like the Ossima people they are cattle owners.

The village of Omoi lies north of the Puwani River opposite Ossima Asples and stretches along the river, but a second settlement lies uphill, about 15 minutes' walk from the river. This is where the storytellers Usi Kul and Brigitte Esau had their houses. The village of Awol is located on a ridge above a large sago stand south of the Pual River and west of the Puwani River. Sei Walup, who "owned" one of the stories of the clan history, lived there. Some inhabitants of Awol settled in Warabung, the confluence of the Puwani and Pual rivers, but no one from there was involved in the language documentation.

Seven people have contributed to this text collection, and as they come from different villages and different "microcultures," the collection covers more than one narrative perspective and narrative heritage within the Kilmeri community.

2.1 Ancestral stories

There is no vernacular Kilmeri word for this genre. Although everyone knows exactly what kind of story is meant, they always refer to it with the Tok Pisin term *stori tumbuna*, which means 'stories of our ancestors'. Sometimes the opening formula of a story contains names of family members or a clan. All texts relate to characters rather than to an abstract literary concept, which may nevertheless exist implicitly.

Many of the ancestral stories are about bush spirits. In fact, the bush spirits are the main protagonists, and without them these stories would not have become a piece of oral history and collective identity. For the Kilmeri, I think, the world of the bush spirits forms a parallel world to that of humans. At least the stories are crafted in this way. The abstract structure is as follows: (1) One or sometimes two people leave the settlement and go into the bush or to a river to find food. (2) At this place, a bush spirit appears, which takes the form of a human or an animal. (3a) If it is a female, the bush spirit seduces her to follow it or (3b) if it is a man, the bush spirit kills him on the spot. (4) In revenge, the bush spirit is trapped in its house and killed by the people there.

In general, the bush spirit can change its appearance freely between an animal and a human being. If it takes a human by surprise outside the settlement, it can appear as a snake, goanna, crocodile, turtle or cassowary. In contrast, a bush spirit never appears as a pig, wallaby, possum or bandicoot. This means that mammals and marsupials are excluded from entering the world of bush spirits as agents of evil. This can be understood in terms of an animal hierarchy in the narrative structure.

The habitat of bush spirits is usually underwater, as they are thought to live at the bottom of bodies of water. This becomes evident in the stories when the people set off to take revenge, and visit the bush spirit at its home. It is usually a house, built in exactly the same way as human houses, with doors and ladders (Text B.3, Sequence 13) and a roof (Text A.6, Sequence 10). The bush spirit's house is equipped with the very same utensils that humans need to live (Text B.2, Sequence 36).

The human characters of these stories usually remain unnamed. Instead, they are described as "a couple," "two sisters," "two brothers," or as "father and son."

It is obvious that the protagonists represent stereotypical social pairings and are not individualised. This is mirrored in people's preference for addressing each other with the appropriate kin terms. I also observed the avoidance of personal names during my fieldwork. My husband, for example, was always called *poro* 'friend' by our Kilmeri friend and landlord Jeffrey Osi. Children, on the other hand, were often addressed by their names, preferably by their Kilmeri names. In the ancestral stories, only a few characters bear names, namely the man Kopukei in Text B.1, the man Wau in Text B.12, the man Bipep in Text B.3, and the girl Kusudua and the bush spirit Mawatkawi in Text B.5. The individualisation of a bush spirit through a personal name is interesting, but this topic was not pursued further. In a few texts friendly spirits appear, for example in Text A.6 and Text B.10. They reside at the bottom of bodies of water, just like the evil spirits (or *masalai* in Tok Pisin). It seems that they appear in human form, but one should be cautious as the narrative data on friendly spirits is sparse.

In addition to evening entertainment, the stories have two further functions. Firstly, they have the educational aim of warning people about the dangers of the bush. Although in most stories two people set off together to find hunting animals, one of them usually falls victim to the bush spirit. So even two pairs of eyes cannot withstand the challenges of the bush. Secondly, the stories describe the consequences of social misbehaviour within the family; in particular, they describe the fact that some male members are too greedy and unwilling to share food with others, be it with their younger brother or with their wife, as in the Texts B.3 and B.5. These disadvantaged family members then fall prey to the bush spirit because they wander off alone to find food in the bush.

2.2 Old village life

Five texts in this chapter recall Margaret Osi's experiences and memories of her life as a child and young woman. Some are more narrative in nature, others could also be classified as procedural texts, in particular Text C.4 about constructing a new family home after the old house had fallen into disrepair.[1]

In all cases, it was Margaret's expressed wish to represent an integral part of her earlier life as well as the earlier life of her people. Compare the two texts that deal with the death of a person. Text C.1 about Margaret's father Apai ends with a

[1]Barry Craig (South Australian Museum) undertook a survey of housing in central New Guinea to be found under (Craig 2018). His description and photos give a valuable impression of types of house and house building back in the 1960s. The description of Margaret Osi matches Craig's findings in the Upper Sepik area in many aspects.

(more or less) Christian burial, whereas Text C.5 describes the traditional burning ritual performed in the bush after a person's death. The ritual of mourning and exchanging gifts is not mentioned in the texts, although this custom is still alive. It was still practised at the time of my field research.

Two other stories in the chapter were told by Andrew Wapi, and they describe hunting events in the bush. Andrew owned a large bow and was known as a skilled bow maker.

2.3 Procedural texts

The texts in this chapter are all by Margaret Osi, with the exception of Text D.8, which lists the activities involved in sago processing and was told by Susan Bisam. Presumably, this genre of text did not have a place in traditional Kilmeri life, since all the necessary steps for producing a certain item of material culture were learnt by doing rather than by oral description. Again, the texts were produced to inform me about things connected with traditional life. The production of grass skirts and their colouring as well as the production of phallocrypts used to be common, but have been replaced by Western clothing for almost 50 years. Cooking in bamboo tubes has also been abandoned and people use tin pots nowadays. However, the brooms are still produced as described in Text D.6 (See Figure D.4). The same applies to the processing of sago, as sago pudding or pancakes are still the staple food. These have not been replaced by rice because it is simply too expensive, and so rice is only a supplement to the old sago-based diet.

2.4 Autobiographic texts

Recollecting and narrating one's own life is an artificial undertaking for the Kilmeri people. Yet is was mastered by all three consultants who were asked to do so. Susan Bisam chose Tok Pisin to tell the main episodes of her life (Text E.3). Although she delivered a Kilmeri version, which is included in this collection, it is a rather rudimentary story. Andrew Wapi produced a longer narrative (Text E.4) that comprises his childhood and the main steps of his life.

The third life story of Margaret Osi can be called a masterpiece both in depicting the central episodes of her life and in her Kilmeri language style (Text E.5). In addition, her admiration for the mission becomes evident in her recollection of the agricultural manager's grief at the death of her husband, Lis Osi (cf. Text E.2).

In 1968 the autobiography of Sir Albert Maori Kiki (1931-1993) appeared. He was one of the founders of the Pangu Pati of Papua New Guinea, whose activities

eventually lead to independence. Kiki's book was titled "Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime" (1968). A similar headline could be given to the lives of Margaret Osi, Susan Bisam, and Andrew Wapi. Despite the impact of World War II they lived a childhood that was entirely traditional without any Western goods and ideas. In the region west of the Sepik, Australian influence was low. Had Margaret, Susan, and Andrew known about their prominent predecessor, they would have been even more keen to let know a small auditory in and beyond Papua New Guinea about their lives and their contribution to history.

Both Andrew and Margaret grew up with relatives. Such an arrangement was very common in earlier times due to the numerous early deaths. So the two orphans in Text A.6 were a common occurrence only a few decades ago.

2.5 Contemporary village life

The chapter is a collection of stories and reports about happy and less happy events during the time of fieldwork. Again, Margaret Osi is the main storyteller, which reflects her talkative nature and her ability to tell long stories about any kind of event. Every time I returned to Papua New Guinea and to Ossima, Margaret was eager to tell me about the most important events. She did this for the fun of telling stories, but also to create a common ground about social incidents for the time of fieldwork. Although many more stories were told in Tok Pisin, she wanted to embed specific stories in the 'language of the place' (Tok Pisin: *tokples*) in order to frame them appropriately. Following the universal human urge, stories of illness and accidents were told for the most part, including accidents in which I myself was involved.

2.6 Episodes of daily life

This chapter is a collection of short episodes that Margaret Osi remembered by association. It may be a special experience of hers, such as her flight to the village of Green (Text G.1), or she may have wanted to inform me about certain habits in the village and in the bush. The special value of these short episodes lies in their high degree of spontaneity, as these contributions were not planned in any way. In contrast, the long narratives in other chapters were explicitly planned in advance and scheduled for a particular session or day. Moreover, these episodes reflect daily life in its incidental occurrences. The topics of these stories are completely random.

2.7 Overview of the texts

Table 2.1 provides an overview of the texts included in this collection. Note that the word count excludes the three texts that were narrated in Tok Pisin (A.7, B.4, B.9).

Table 2.1: The texts in this collection.

TEXT	TITLE	TOPIC	WORDS
A.1	*Am*	Genealogy of an Omoi clan	413
A.2	*Si yelo piyo*	Genealogy of the clan of Lis Osi	166
A.3	*Sakou*	A creation myth of some Kilmeri clans	838
A.4	*Haus tambaran*	Remembering the times past away	206
A.5	*Wapues*	Marriage ties between the villages of Ossima and Omula	374
A.6	*Pu ppulae*	A massacre of a clan, revenge against the leader, and a tabooed lake	373
A.7	*Muruk*	A massacre of a clan, committed by a cassowary man	–
A.8	*Ome na Lapi*	An earthquake caused by social misbehaviour	120
A.9	*Bue*	Reaching the sea and getting the taste of salt	86
B.1	*Bermepu*	An encounter with a bush spirit	277
B.2	*Urual bekulu*	An encounter with a bush spirit	617
B.3	*Walpop bo*	An encounter with a bush spirit	573
B.4	*Masalai piaune*	An encounter with a bush spirit who is successfully tricked by a human	–
B.5	*Kukumbina na Kusudua*	An encounter with a bush spirit	262
B.6	*Pu paek*	An encounter with a bush spirit	404
B.7	*Ruri onona ruri pialna*	An encounter with a bush spirit	402
B.8	*Urai ako wiye*	An encounter with a bush spirit	279
B.9	*Masalai pukpuk*	An encounter with a bush spirit	–

Continued on next page

Table 2.1 – continued from previous page

TEXT	TITLE	TOPIC	WORDS
B.10	*Nana puyo seku*	An encounter with a friendly bush spirit	176
B.11	*Wîs yako*	A moon story	386
B.12	*Wîs puli*	A moon story	88
B.13	*Nini na wîs*	A song about the sun and the moon	18
B.14	*Bike iwanyo*	Story about the cassowary and the hornbill	67
C.1	*Ai kopi basuiko*	The death of Margaret Osi's father	233
C.2	*Ruri Epek*	A baby obsessed by a spirit in a sago swamp	198
C.3	*Ko lelo piu no*	Finding food in the sago swamp	281
C.4	*Ai kopi yip papi*	Traditional house building	405
C.5	*Ono basuiko*	A man's death and the burning of the corpse	316
C.6	*Urual*	A hunting story	168
C.7	*Diri wor dop lo*	A hunting story	260
D.1	*Ber papi*	Making a phallocrypt	86
D.2	*Die papi*	Making a grass skirt	151
D.3	*Die aeppu pi*	Dying a grass skirt	55
D.4	*Ko oil pi*	Making oil from coconuts	96
D.5	*Yaup ulyo moli*	Boiling water in bamboo tubes	120
D.6	*Kos papi*	Making a broom	39
D.7	*Yûr lui*	Shooting birds	53
D.8	*Due dû papi*	The steps of processing sago	38
D.9	Female fertility	Some pieces of information dealing with female fertility	54
E.1	Margaret Osi I	First autobiography of Margaret Osi	39
E.2	Margaret Osi II	Second autobiography of Margaret Osi	135
E.3	Susan Bisam	Autobiography of Susan Bisam	46
E.4	Andrew Wapi	Autobiography of Andrew Wapi	158

Continued on next page

Table 2.1 – continued from previous page

TEXT	TITLE	TOPIC	WORDS
E.5	Margaret Osi III	Third autobiography of Margaret Osi	582
F.1	*Urai ikoiele*	An incident caused by a crocodile	362
F.2	*Bi dupua luwe*	Killing two pigs	130
F.3	*Bo Helenpiro*	The death of Helen Osi	265
F.4	*Ul ko lu*	An incident in the sago swamp	212
F.5	*Ko kipino ye*	An incident when coming back from the sago swamp	108
F.6	*Ko kau yek*	An incident caused by a cow	290
F.7	*Yipp pol*	Finding the nest of a wild fowl	100
F.8	*Ko Vanimoyo lo*	Foot walk from Ossima to Vanimo	146
F.9	*Sû duki*	Story about different types of torch lights	139
F.10	*Claudia ikoina nomari*	Claudia's sickness	311
F.11	*Bo Milipiro*	Mili's surgeries in Vanimo hospital	616
G	Episodes of daily life	Collection of 21 short texts expressing Margaret's experiences, perceptions and reflections on her daily village life	874
total			**13191**

3 The narrators

3.1 Margaret Kai Apai Osi

Margaret is known by four names, and her names give already a view into her life. *Margaret* is her Western name of baptism. *Kai* is her native name and the one used by her parents. *Apai* is the name of her father. *Osi* is the family name of her husband Lis Osi. Nowadays, she calls herself simply Margaret Osi.

Margaret is the only surviving child of her mother Puma, who died early, but she has five half-siblings from her father's second wife Es. She said she was born in 1942. She now lives in Ossima, but her father is originally from Ninggera and left the area to settle in Omoi. So Margaret grew up in Omoi. Her knowledge of the Ninggera language comprises only a few words and it was therefore not possible to obtain any significant information about this language from her. Her father returned to Ninggera at some point in his life, presumably with his second wife. This is mentioned in Text C.1, which is about the death of her father, as the fatally ill man was brought back from the bush and mangrove swamps in Ninggera to Vanimo and to Ossima. In fact, one of Magaret's brothers, Jack, still lives in Ninggera. It is interesting to observe that a family can be spread not only across villages, but also across languages.

Margaret has no formal schooling. She was already 19 years old when the mission was founded in 1961. However, she is passively literate and can read the Bible in Tok Pisin. Unfortunately, she never learned to write and, thus, could not assist in the development of the Kilmeri orthography.

Margaret has four children. Overall, she is a very active, clever, and prudent woman. Her youngest daughter Grace Osi has become a teacher and has a Bachelor's degree in education. When the mission came to Ossima with its white staff, Margaret quickly realised that a formal "Western" education would be essential in the future. She had a very high opinion of learning and teaching. At times she felt sad saying that she was no more than a "bus kanaka."[1] On the other hand, she was well aware that she had full command of Kilmeri - a privilege on the

[1] A derogatory term in Tok Pisin for an uncivilised person who follows a traditional rather than a modern lifestyle.

Figure 3.1: Margaret Osi stirring sago jelly

threshold of the 21st century, as subsequent generations had lost or abandoned the language at a rapid pace. She was dedicated to the Kilmeri documentation project from the very beginning and after a year had developed an astonishing degree of structural reflection on her language. Without her input, the field work would only have been half as successful as it is now. It is therefore most appropriate that more than half of the texts are authored by her; most of the texts in Chapters F and G are her own experiences.

3.2 Susan Sumoi Bisam

Susan is a bit younger than her *anti* (Tok Pisin for 'aunt') Margaret, and she is the oldest of five children. Her native name and first name is *Sumoi*. *Bisam* is the name of her father. Her only brother, Joe, seems to be the leader in Ossima Asples, like his cousin Jeffrey in Osi Camp. Susan grew up without any formal education and is illiterate. Susan is the mother of ten children, including two

sets of twins. All the children survived infancy. One of her younger daughters successfully completed the 10th grade at Lumi High School.

Figure 3.2: Susan Bisam washing sago

Her husband Arnold was a crocodile hunter and settled near Angoram on the lower Sepik. At some point, the Puwani River became a renowned place for crocodile hunting, and Arnold moved there. Later, his wife Susan followed him to Amanab, Imonda, Utai, and Wasengla. There were also crocodile populations in the rivers of the shallow, swampy lowland areas south of the Bewani Mountains. Utai, for example, is quite similar to Ossima, with two rivers such as the Puwani and the Pual. In Susan's autobiographic story in Text E.3, which she delivered in both Tok Pisin and Kilmeri, she speaks of herself in the third person.

When I met Susan, she was still a strong woman and very actively involved in sago production. As she had little to no money, she and her younger children had to subsist on sago. At times, when it was too dry to wash the sago pith, they experienced periods of hunger. She then complained about the harshness of life and the little support she received from her male relatives. Susan seemed to have been immersed in the oral tradition, and she really enjoyed sharing the old stories

with me. Unfortunately, her active command of Kilmeri was diminished by her long stay in the Sepik and she preferred to recite stories in Tok Pisin. It was only later that Margaret found a productive way to co-narrate stories in Kilmeri with her. Therefore, we decided to include three of her Tok Pisin stories in Text A.7, B.4, and B.9.

3.3 Andrew Wapi

Andrew Wapi from Ossima Asples was about the same age as Margaret Osi and like her, he had never received any formal education, so he was not literate. Sadly, he passed away in 2009.

After some travelling he settled in Asples. As a young man, he seized the opportunity to work on coconut plantations, which brought him to Rabaul. There he learnt Tok Pisin, the language that became increasingly natural to him over the years. When he returned to the area, the mission was founded, and he was able to find paid work there. For several years he worked as a cook at the mission station in Utai in the south-eastern foothills of the Bewani Mountains, where two of his children were born. He then returned to Ossima. He was the father of six children. One of his sons died in 2000, and on this occasion a mourning singsing took place. Despite his acquaintance with Western life Andrew highly valued the traditional way of life. He owned an impressive bow and was a good hunter. He was able to spot a bird of paradise hidden in a tree top and invisible to curious visitors!

Andrew has contributed five traditional stories (cf. Texts B.6, B.7, B.8, C.6, and C.7). Unfortunately, he seemed a bit intimidated by the recording equipment and might have produced a higher rate of disfluencies as a result. Nevertheless, he was always eager to present his stories about bush spirits and hunting events.

3.4 Brigitte Esau

Brigitte Esau is a generation younger than the above-mentioned narrators. She went to school in Ossima and continued her education in Vanimo. After completing high school, she found work in Port Moresby for two years. She was married to a man from Sepik, with whom she settled in Omoi. Like Susan Bisam, she is an example of a marriage with a man from another language which practically leads to the use of Tok Pisin as the family language. The respective language communities of husband and wife are not adjacent, nor was there any contact between them at earlier times.

Figure 3.3: Brigitte Esau (second from left) with her mother and children in Onume

Brigitte was keen to take part in the language work and contributed two stories that she had heard from her mother Sara. The brevity of her tales reflects the fact that her active command of Kilmeri was not comparable to that of her mother. Despite this, the two stories enrich the text collection. There are now two versions of the cultural exploitation of salt in Chapter A and a further story about an encounter between humans and bush spirits in Chapter B. Also note the sketch by Brigitte Esau showing the route from the Puwani-Pual basin to the coast (Figure A.6).

Sadly, Brigitte Esau passed away in 2014. She could still remember the time when the old men's house stood on a hill above the other houses in the Omoi uphill settlement where she had grown up. When she realised it was gone after returning from the city, she recalled feeling a deep sadness. With her deep appreciation of her origin and the old traditions she would have been able to revive the Kilmeri language in a team of like-minded people, yet her early death prevented this.

3.5 Usikul

Usikul is a member of one of the Omoi clans. He is always called by his two names *Usi* and *Kul*, which are merged to *Usikul*. He has no Western name. He lived on

one of the hills that rise north of the riverside settlement of Omoi. He presents himself as a self-confident person navigating "between the worlds," namely between the traditional and the modern world. He shows this mindset in a particular way that differs from that of Margaret Osi, who in her own way builds a bridge between tradition and "modernity." Usikul is historically and politically aware and consciously tries to combine these diametrically opposed heritages.

Figure 3.4: Narrator Usikul

Usikul's settlement is a small place called Ounup, consisting of two houses only, his old house and his new house. There is a waterhole nearby, but the small pool was overgrown with aquatic plants when I saw it in September 2000. For several years there was a road near his property, a logging track, which was only temporarily maintained and disappeared when the valuable timber was felled and transported away. The income from the logging brought him some money, some of which he invested in long trousers, a fine shirt, and leather shoes: his modern appearance. He wore it to celebrate the day when he could pass on his

intricate story about the fate of his clan and the old tradition. On this occasion, two feathers decorated his head (Figure 3.4).

3.6 Sei Walup

Sei Walup was an old man who lived in Awol and, like Usikul, was only known by his two native names. The village of Awol is 2 to 3 hours' walk from Ossima. The children from there who attend the Ossima Mission school usually live with relatives in Ossima. No one from the village of Awol was involved in the fieldwork as a regular consultant, but when I asked for people who knew old stories, he was mentioned as a knowledgeable person. Unfortunately, there was only one session with him, in which he told a clan story (Text A.6). He proved to be a passionate storyteller like Susan Bisam. In his lengthy introduction to the story it becomes evident that this story should belong to the heritage of the whole Kilmeri speaking community. He seemed to be aware of all the conflicts between the clans and the sometimes deadly consequences. One lesson of the story he told me could be that one should never forget local history.

Figure 3.5: Sei Walup (on the right) in front of his house

Sei Walup seemed to live as much as possible under traditional conditions. His house was rather modest compared to the houses in Ossima (Figure 3.5). In Awol, modern material culture was less visible than in the villages along the Pual and Puwani rivers. There were no water tanks, nor corrugated iron roofs (Figure A.3).

3.7 John Sol

John Sol, a middle-aged man from the Isi camp, was not a storyteller himself. Nevertheless, the clan-related text "Ome and Lapi" (Text A.8) is based on his knowledge. Margaret Osi and I had visited him with the intention to buy a cow, as he was one of those who owned a number of cattle. Later, when Margaret was finalising the deal, John brought up this story and provided a short version of it. It was this version that Margaret then reproduced.

3.8 Anita Osi and Lillian Bisam

In the first months of my fieldwork my older consultants were assisted by young people who had attented the school at Ossima. They were Anita Osi, the oldest daughter of Jeffrey Osi, and Lillian Bisam, the oldest daughter of Joe Bisam, Jeffrey Osi's cousin from Ossima Asples. In 2000, both girls were 16 years old. They took turns attending the language sessions, were able to read what I had written down, and suggested spelling when they thought I had made mistakes in my transcription decisions. This often helped to clarify things. Both had a very good passive knowledge of Kilmeri. Especially Lillian's explanations in particular showed that the person agreement with the recipient argument is a central feature of the grammar, which is retained in the otherwise simplified Kilmeri (See Section 5.7). I am also grateful for her explanation of the digestive system of a bush spirit, namely it cannot digest what it eats. Instead, everything drops out of its anus undigested. This is therefore a clear indication of whether an unknown male person is a human or a bush spirit.

3.9 Personal statement

In March/April 1999, when I travelled to Papua New Guinea for the first time to explore where I should conduct my field research, I also visited the University of Papua New Guinea in Port Moresby. It seemed appropriate to meet Professor Otto Nekitel from the Department of Language and Literature, who was teaching linguistics there. Even though I came unannounced and simply knocked on

the door of his office, he welcomed me warmly. I immediately sensed his interest in my plans and his intellectual support to document a Papuan language. He encouraged me to go to Ossima, a place apparently known because of its agricultural farm. Otto Nekitel urged me not only to write a grammar of Kilmeri, but collect the traditional stories of the Kilmeri people in order to preserve these for future generations. Sadly, Otto Nekitel passed away soon after my second visit to him in August 2001.

There is a huge difference between an indigenous scholar and a foreign scholar coming from the other end of the world! My brief field stays never allowed me to gain a comprehensive insight into the society of the people who hosted me. I always remained an outsider. I was able to learn their language to a certain extent, but the links between the language and their traditional way of life remained inaccessable to me. Understanding the structure of a language is one thing, but the stories that have been passed down for generations are quite another.

At first, the plots of the stories seemed strange to me. My consultants patiently attempted to explain the plot lines to me. They felt at ease with all the protagonists and characters. They felt comfortable with their past, even though they were living in a constantly modernising environment. Their voices are the voices of yesterday, today and – hopefully – tomorrow.[2]

Behind a "voice" there is always the story teller with his or her very own biography and life experiences. I wanted the narrators to become as vivid figures as the characters of their stories. Clearly, this is a subjective perspective. All too often, fieldworkers limit the information provided about the story tellers to a few data points that might be of statistical value. The narrators' personalities, however, remain in the dark. Personally, I find this regrettable. That is why I have decided to introduce them with some biographical details, so that the reader can get to know the real persons behind the stories. I think it is even a matter of respect to their efforts in helping me despite my very slow progress in learning their language and my "hevi maus" as my landlord Jeffrey Osi once put it. When reflecting on the years of fieldwork, my encounters with so many different people, and the conversations that I have had with them, I can find a one recurring theme: their desire and hope to participate in the "greater world."

Unfortunately, I could not obtain the narrators' explicit consent to portray them in this book. At the time of fieldwork, my priority was to write a grammatical description, and all my consultants are simply listed in the grammar. Now, twenty-five years later, the narrators featured in this book have passed away because of age or sickness, and it is impossible to get their explicit consent. I

[2]The title of Otto Nekitel's book "Voices of yesterday, today and tomorrow" (1998).

can only hope that my behaviour towards them was such that they would have enjoyed becoming part of this book.

Figure 3.6: Margaret Osi, Claudia Gerstner-Link, Susan Bisam, Andrew Wapi

4 Provenance

4.1 Transcription and editing

4.1.1 General remarks

Twenty-five years passed between the beginning of my fieldwork in November 1999 and the publication of this Kilmeri text collection. The recording equipment was technically up to the standard of the year 2000 and consisted of a table microphone and a tape recorder with Maxell or BASF tapes. The microphone was placed on the table about half a metre away from the speaker. The recording is not uniform because the speakers changed their voice intensity during the narration.

The recordings took place in my house at Osi Camp, which was built from bush material. Osi Camp is a hamlet consisting of about six houses belonging to Lis Osi's family. The recordings could not be isolated from the background noises of village life. In some cases, the background noise was so loud that it impeded listening to the tapes for subsequent transcription. The repeated rooster cries are almost comical. In any case, there was no way to avoid the sounds of everyday village life.

About half of the texts were recorded, the other half of the (mostly short) texts were written down by me while the narrator spoke in a relatively slow and well-articulated manner.

A note on the titles of the texts: Only in a few cases the titles were created by the narrators themselves, while most of them were created by me. Instead of a short title, narrators sometimes chose an introductory sentence in Tok Pisin to frame the story. This happened, for instance, with the story of the girl Wapues in Text A.5. If a narrator chose her own title, then this is stated in the short introduction to the respective text.

The texts are presented in two versions. First, there is a parallel text version with the original Kilmeri and the English translation in two columns. In this version, Kilmeri is written with punctuation marks and paragraphs that roughly correspond to the English translations. Secondly, there is the interlinearised version:

a sequenced, morphologically analysed and glossed text version with a translation into English. It should be noted that the parallel text version uses Kilmeri's morpho-phonemic rules (cf. Gerstner-Link 2018: 75-84).

4.1.2 Stories of early fieldwork

The narrations of these stories were scheduled for a specific session or day and took place in my house. Once everyone had arrived, the recording equipment was set up and explained to the narrator and to Margaret Osi, who was present at every recording session on account of her language proficiency. Usually, the transcription started the day after the recording. This was a time-consuming undertaking and required a great deal of patience on both sides. It happened time and again that a few words or sentences in a recording could not be recognised. After listening several times to a passage, Margaret would say: *Mi no save, mi no harim, em no klia long mi.* ('I don't know, I can't understand, it's not clear to me.') We have omitted such passages and proceeded with the transcription. Omissions of this kind are not signposted in the edited texts. Obviously, Margaret Osi was concerned to present a grammatically sound, fairly coherent narrative. She had no interest in interruptions by "stupid" repetitions whenever the narrator had lost the plot.

I insisted on including the phrases in Tok Pisin, as code-switching was a typical text feature of the narrator Andrew Wapi. On one occasion, Margaret herself used Tok Pisin when she began to tell a story. She only realised this when I asked her about it, and she then went on in Kilmeri (Text A.5).

4.1.3 Procedural texts

The production of procedural texts was not planned in advance, but happened spontaneously. On such occasions, Margaret Osi used to say something like, "Well, you should learn about penis gourds that my husband used to wear," or "Yesterday I made oil, so listen to how it's done!" Then Margaret spoke loud and clear, and the text was written down as she spoke. Only rarely did she edit the text herself afterwards. Some of these changes consisted of choosing a serial verb instead of a simple verb or adding a sentence in order to clarify something.

These texts are not complete instructions on how to do something, but short descriptions to provide the listener with some basic knowledge. The texts were not recorded on tape.

4.1.4 Episodes of daily life

These are Margaret Osi's spontaneous thoughts. Setting up a recording device would have been impractical, it would have interrupted the spontaneity of her ideas. Some of these (very) short texts even have an intimate flavour, for example when Margaret Osi recounts a dream she had the previous night (Text G.4). Such situations are sensitive and must not be disturbed by technical equipment.

The language of these short events was always free-flowing. I took notes and only afterwards asked questions about some unclear words or constructions. The flow of the speaker's thoughts was therefore not interrupted. These texts are not edited, but reflect what was spoken.

4.1.5 Teamwork stories

There are three traditional stories that were narrated in team by Susan Bisam and Margaret Osi: *Urual bekulu* (Text B.2), *Walpop bo* (Text B.3), and *Wîs yako* (Text B.11). The first step in this process was to remember the story. The two women took turns telling the story, using both languages, Kilmeri and Tok Pisin. They reassured each other about the correct unfolding of the events. This step was recorded but could not be transcribed because there was too much "meta-talk," namely discussions about which character did exactly what at what point in time, and so on. Once this was clarified, one of the women continued the story. In order to get a coherent and fluent version of the story, I asked Margaret to retell the whole story the next day. This version, as the second step of the storytelling, was not recorded but written down while Margaret spoke.

The text *The spellbound lake* (Text A.6) was narrated by a single person, Sei Walup. But it was narrated in Tok Pisin with only a few Kilmeri insertions. Despite being recorded, it was not suitable as a Kilmeri text in this form. However, Margaret Osi, who was not present at the recording in the village of Awol, also seemed to know this story. After listening to the Tok Pisin version, she retold it in Kilmeri. This version was not recorded on tape, but written down.

4.1.6 Stories from later fieldwork

From 2004 onwards, many stories were no longer recorded but written down as they were spoken. This type of storytelling was much favoured by Margaret Osi. It seemed to enhance her concentration. The face-to-face interaction during the storytelling sessions – sometimes planned, sometimes not – came close to the traditional setting, at least to some extent. The eye contact showed Margaret that I was paying attention to her and the story. In comparison, the microphone

and recorder seemed to replace the human listener, and the storyteller in question – in fact all the storytellers – focussed on the "machine," as they often called it. Without the recorder, the whole situation was more relaxed and simply more natural. There was no fear of "making a mistake." So we mostly avoided recording.

In two cases, the narratives describing old village life were recorded after a simpler oral presentation. In these cases, it is interesting to compare the choice of words and succinctness of the resulting texts. The simpler oral presentation was much more concise and avoided side issues of the story as well as special constructions such as the tail-head linkage constructions. In contrast, the recorded texts were longer and touched on subplots that illustrated the general story scene but were not strictly relevant to the topic of the text. The use of tail-head linkage constructions now seemed to help the speaker – Margaret Osi – remember her personal experiences.

After a story had been written down, I read it back to Margaret, and she decided on any editorial interventions. Such changes were minimal: she never deleted sentences, but occasionally added a more sophisticated word.

4.2 English translation principles

The Kilmeri text collection provides two types of English translation for the stories. One is the English running text translation and the other is the translation in the glossed text version. These translations differ in a number of aspects.

The English running text translation can be found in the parallel text version of each text. It retells the story in English and familiarises the reader with the plot of a story and its development. It preserves all direct speech as we find much dialogue in several texts. However, it does not preserve the style of the Kilmeri narration and is not intended to (fully) account for the grammar of Kilmeri. This translation will be helpful to anthropologists and historians, who might not be so much concerned with the intricacies of Kilmeri grammar. But it will also give the linguist a first orientation about the content of the story.

The English translation in the interlinear version, i.e. in the glossed text, stays closer to the original Kilmeri version. It tries to match the syntactic constructions of Kilmeri. For example, backgrounding constructions and tail-head linkage constructions are usually retained in English. The tenses and tense variations of the Kilmeri text are also generally retained. Subjects in the Kilmeri text appear as subjects in the English translation. However, topic-focus constructions of subjects (and sometimes objects) are rendered as plain subjects (or objects). Deictic

expressions are retained in the English sentence structure whenever possible. Occasionally, deictic forms in Kilmeri texts are closely spaced. This is done to emphasise the process of situational understanding by a protagonist. Narrative pauses or short interruptions of speech are preserved in the English translation by repeating a phrase as in Kilmeri. Often a referential phrase stands alone as an utterance followed by a full stop. Finally, Kilmeri's style of narration is rich in (visual) figurative speech, which the translation attempts to preserve.

Generally, both English translations contain more explicit referential phrases, as the omission of these is part of the concise Kilmeri style. The punctuation in the translations, especially the use of a full stop, reflect the Kilmeri clauses in most cases. Commas are used much less frequently to separate short or single-verb clauses. Listed entities referred to by nouns are not separated by commas in the Kilmeri running text.

I will illustrate my translation principles in the glossed texts with a few examples in the following sections.

4.2.1 The use of the continuous past

In Text A.3 *Sakou*, the phrase *umul (se)neki* 'to think about sth, to consider, to reflect upon' appears in the Sequences (6), (13), (14), and (18). But the continuous past *umul nekip* is only used in Sequence (18), otherwise the punctual past is used. The difference in tense points to the fact that the hero Sakou in (18) realises that he has to fight a bush spirit. His thinking about what to do needs some time now: What will be the best way to trick the evil spirit so that he cannot threaten Sakou's life? Therefore this difference in tense is retained in the translation.

Furthermore, there are verbs in Kilmeri that denote actions with inherent duration like *nise* 'laying in wait' or *le(wo)-* 'wait (for sb)'. Such actions are preferably coded by the continuous past instead of the punctual past (e.g. Text A.6, Sequence (29)). The translation retains the continuous past. The verb *nake* 'sit, live, stay' is a stative verb with inherent duration. In Kilmeri, it occurs always in the continuous past. The translation is guided by the narrative context.

The verb *dob pi* 'to look at' and its variants appear in the punctual past or in the continuous past, depending on whether it refers to a brief glance at something or to a searching look, for example in Text A.6, Sequence (26) and in Text A.8, Sequence (7). The English translation traces this difference.

4.2.2 Tense shift

In the Kilmeri texts, it can be observed quite frequently that the past tense shifts to present tense. It is not entirely clear if this switch follows a strict discourse

rule. However, there are certainly cases in which the change to present tense serves a narrative purpose.

For example, in Text A.5, Sequence (17) continues in present tense, although we have past tense in the preceding Sequence (16). At this point in the story of *Wapues*, the female protagonist realises that the alleged bush spirit is in fact a human being, and she is positively surprised. This narrative turn is expressed by a tense shift, which is continued to Sequences (18) and (19). The turn of surprise is also present in Text A.4 in Sequences (44), (46), (47), and (49). In the story of *Sakou*, the bush spirit, who seemed dead, suddenly gets up and climbs up the mountain/tree. The verb *ppue* 'go up, climb' appears in present tense in Sequence (49) even though preceding verbs appeared in punctual past. Also in Text A.6, Sequence (31), the escape of the protagonist Amou is expressed in present tense in order to fully capture the dramatic turn of the story.

There are also tense shifts for grammatical reasons. In Text A.6, the Sequences (20) and (21) appear in present tense which is triggered by the proximal deictic marking: *waeripi pule ere mini* 'waeripi-fish come, here they come hither' with the proximal deictic *ere* and the inherently deictic verb *mini* 'come hither/here'. This particular sensitivity to the tense of the original language should not be obscured by the translation.

4.2.3 Backgrounding

Backgrounding by subordinating verb forms is a common construction in Kilmeri. The most frequent form is *k*-VERB-*p-no* with sequential subordinating meaning. The most suitable English translation of this verb form is 'having + past participle.' This translation works best when the subordinate clause and the main clause have the same subject/agent. But even in this case, two main clauses in the simple past tense may be preferable.

However, I choose another kind of translation in the case of different subjects/actors, as illustrated in Text A.5, Sequence (16). Here, two consecutive events are backgrounded by the verbal forms *k-poname-p-no* 'having given' and *k-ni-p-no* 'having eaten'. The two events have different agents, the girl Wapues and the bush spirit respectively. This interesting discourse structure is translated into English with two separate clauses 'when she had given (the food) to him and he had eaten it.' See also Gerstner-Link (2018: 473-476), where I describe same subject and different subject marking in sequential subordinating verb forms.

4.2.4 Topic constructions

Consider the following topic-focus constructions in Text B.5 in Sequence (5): *weri ki muelno de ke ppulaena hukpo*, which literally translates as 'the younger sister, she said to her: "You, you caught many fish."' In the English translation, I omitted the topic pronouns, in order to produce a better English. The same can be found in Text B.7, Sequences (4), (27), and (29); and in Text B.8, Sequences (17) and (27). Note that the Kilmeri topic construction often occurs in the context of direct speech.

4.2.5 Summary

The English translation in the glossed text version is intended to make the reader familiar with the characteristic narrative style of Kilmeri. If a free translation were to level out stylistic peculiarities, it would defeat this purpose. I believe that a text collection should go beyond individual sentences and provide insights into the discourse mechanisms of a language and the coherence of the text. However, this is usually not the aim of grammars, which are descriptions of grammatical structures in a narrower sense. One might argue that one only needs to read the Kilmeri wording in detail in order to understand the discourse mechanisms of the language. However, this is not as easy as it sounds; it is rather difficult without a good knowledge of the grammar. Therefore, the English translation in the glossed texts bridges the gap between Kilmeri discourse style and English text style.

4.3 Parallel texts

In addition to the glossed text version, this collection includes a running text version in Kilmeri and English. Running texts have a greater potential to invite the reader into the indigenous literature than the rather technical apparatus of interlinearisation. One option was to place the running text versions of the individual stories in sequence. This type of visualisation would come closest to our own – the fieldworker's and reader's – tradition. However, there is a drawback in that the texts would have been presented without their inherent correlation.

The parallel arrangement in columns enables a more direct comparison. The most obvious parameter for comparison is the length of the texts. The comparison of the Kilmeri version and the English version shows that the Kilmeri version is shorter and more concise, paragraph by paragraph. This points to a linguistic

issue in that languages differ in their way of linking and embedding clauses. Languages such as English and German use a wide range of paratactic and hypotactic conjunctions that are absent in other languages (e.g. Latin and Ancient Greek). Kilmeri also lacks this type of connectivity. Attitudinal adverbials, which often link sentences, do not exist in Kilmeri at all.

Kilmeri can also easily dispense with pronouns. This can lead to sequences of verbs as one-word sentences. Referential explicitness in relation to local expressions is less important in Kilmeri than in English, it seems. But there is one caveat in that context: Kilmeri stories in the text collection were originally aimed at an audience that is capable of inferring places from the immediate context of the action or from common ground.

In addition, Kilmeri often does not embed the direct speech in a matrix clause such as 'X says', but instead only reproduces the direct speech. This may even happen at the beginning of a turn-taking sequence of direct speech between two protagonists in a story. On the other hand, the verb *mueli-* 'say to someone, tell someone, talk to someone' belongs to the small class of verbs with obligatory recipient agreement, so that the verb agrees with the addressee of the direct speech. It may also be of interest here that Kilmeri has no real counterpart of the verb *mueli* with the meaning of 'to answer, to reply'. The serial verb *dori_-mueli* 'to turn back + say' can be used to indicate a responding speech, but it is more often used for the speaker's own repetition of what has been said.

All these characteristics of Kilmeri outlined above result in a more compact text, making paragraphs and entire texts visibly shorter than the English translations. This arrangement as parallel texts reveals the different grammatical and discursive strategies between Kilmeri and English at a glance.

5 Grammatical overview

Figure 5.1: Location of Kilmeri in the Border family and surrounding language families.

5.1 Introductory remarks

Kilmeri is a Papuan language of the Border family, which is located in northern New Guinea on both sides of the international border between Papua New

Guinea and Indonesia (Figure 5.1). The following grammatical overview summarises the main features of Kilmeri grammar. It contains many illustrating and explanatory tables. The focus is on the coding of grammatical relations. Kilmeri combines several independent strategies that together build up an intricate system of marking these relations. One will find all the necessary examples covering the morphological coding devices of subjects and objects as well as of the semantic roles of Agent, Patient, and Recipient. For further and detailed information on all grammatical domains the reader is referred to my book "A Grammar of Kilmeri" (Gerstner-Link 2018) that presents the relevant discussions based on rich illustrations.

5.2 Phonology

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 present the inventories of vowels and consonants of Kilmeri as well as its biphonemic vowel sequences (cf. Table 5.3). The most common syllable structure in Kilmeri is CV. For verbs, this is the only syllable structure, with a few exceptions of the syllable type V. Nouns can also have closed syllables of the type CVC. Some fully inflected verbs also show closed syllables. Serial verbs have the syllable structure CVCV_CVCV.

Biphonemic vowel sequences are quite frequent (cf. Table 5.3). In some words as well as in spoken Kilmeri complex syllable onsets occur with the following structures C(b,p,k,s) + /r/ or C(k,s) + /l/ or C(s) + N.

Table 5.4 shows the orthography used in this text collection.

Note the following morphophonemic changes which occur in certain TAM inflected verb forms: (i) vowel lowering before /p/ and /m/; (ii) regressive vowel assimilation after consonantal prefixes; (iii) apocope, syncope, coalescence of vowels. Some of these morphophonemic changes become apparent when comparing the phonological first line of the glossed texts with the morphological second line.

5.3 Word order and focus position

The basic word order in Kilmeri is SV or AOV. Temporal adjuncts usually precede the subject, while locative adjuncts follow the verb. The focus position of a clause is immediately before the verb. This preverbal position is obligatory for verbal negation and wh-words. If a locative phrase is the focus of an utterance, the locative adjunct appears right before the verb in the clausal focus position. The

Table 5.1: Vowel system of Kilmeri

	(NEAR-)FRONT	CENTRAL	(NEAR-)BACK
HIGH	i		u
NEAR-HIGH	ɪ		ʊ
MID	ɛ		ɔ
NEAR-LOW	æ		
LOW		ɐ	

Table 5.2: Consonant system of Kilmeri

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVES						
voiced	b		d		(g)	
prenas. with trilled release	ʙ					
voiceless	p				k	ʔ
labialised	p^w					
NASALS	m		n			
RHOTIC TRILLS			r			
FRICATIVES	(ɸ/β)	(f)	s			
LATERALS			l			
APPROXIMANTS		ʋ		j		

Table 5.3: Biphonemic vowel sequences

	i	ɪ	u	ʊ	ɛ	ɔ	æ	ɐ
i			[iu]		[iɛ]			[iɐ]
ɪ								
u	[ui]				[uɛ]	[uɔ]		[ua]
ʊ								
ɛ	[ɛi]		[ɛu]			[ɛɔ]		
ɔ	[ɔi]		[ɔu]					
æ			[æu]					
ɐ	[ɐi]		[au]					

Table 5.4: Orthographic conventions

CONSONANTS		VOWELS	
GRAPHEME	PHONEME	GRAPHEME	PHONEME
<b>	/b/	<a>	/ɐ/
<d>	/d/	<ae>	/æ/
<k>	/k/	<e>	/ɛ/
<l>	/l/	<i>	/i/
<m>	/m/	<î>	/ɪ/
<n>	/n/	<o>	/ɔ/
<p>	/p/	<u>	/u/
<pp>	/^{m}ʙ/	<û>	/ʊ/
<r>	/r/		
<s>	/s/		
<w>	/ʊ/		
<y>	/j/		

same happens for subject focus. Instrumental adjuncts usually occur in some position before the verb.

Although Kilmeri uses personal pronouns frequently, there are often verb-only clauses when the actor of the action indexed by the verb is contextually or situationally known. Many clauses consist of only two constituents, namely, a type of nominal phrase (subject phrase, object phrase, locative phrase, instrumental phrase, temporal phrase) and the verb. Clauses containing three or more constituents are rare.

5.4 Nominal morphology and noun phrase structure

Table 5.5 shows the nominal case suffixes; it also contains three clitics that occur mainly on nominals. Kilmeri has only peripheral or semantic cases. Grammatical relations are encoded in the verb morphology (cf. Section 5.7).

All types of modifiers follow their respective head noun. Examples (1-8) illustrate some possible structures. Case suffixes appear at the end of the noun phrase, and have scope over the whole phrase.

Table 5.5: Nominal case suffixes and clitics

SUFFIX	GLOSS	FUNCTION
-pi	POSS	possessive case
-no	INS	instrumental-comitative case
-yo	LOC	locative-allative case
-ka	PATH	path indicating case
-so	SIM	similative case
-na	AFF	affinitative case
-e	VOC	vocative case
=ro	EMPH	emphasis marker
=pe	Q	question marker

(1) [N ADJ POSS]
yip puene kopi
house new 1SG.POSS
'my new house'

(2) [N ADJ QT]
yip ikoi an_baka
house big five
'five big house'

(3) [N N QT]
bese supue dupua
tulip-greens bunch two
'two bunches of *tulip*-greens'

(4) [[N N]$_{\text{POSS}}$ QT DET]
yûr su dupua ba
chicken egg two other
'[the] two other chicken eggs'

(5) [N NP]
ako dari werino
wife old.sister young.sister.INS
'wives, older and younger sister'

(6) [N[N POSS]]
buka ruri ikep
sister's.child child 3SG.POSS
'the nephew, his own child'

(7) [[N ADJ] N-POSS]
yip puene Jeffrey-pi
house new Jeffrey-POSS
'Jeffrey's new house'

(8) [[N ADJ] N-POSS-LOC]
yip puene Jeffrey-pi-yo
house new Jeffrey-POSS-LOC
'at Jeffrey's new house'

Noun phrases can be connected by the postposed particle *roise* 'with, together (with)'. The particle connects simple noun phrases as well as complex noun phrases. For simple noun phrases, the *roise*-phrase immediately follows the first element (9). When connecting complex noun phrases, the *roise*-phrase can be postponed after the verb (10).

(9) *bese paepu roise baroko*
bese paepu roise ba-re-ko
tulip.leaves mushrooms with FAC-get.done-FAC
'The mushrooms with *tulip*-leaves are done.' [Text C.3 Sequence 16]

(10) *bi puaku bou ulap, sû worno roise*
bi puaku bou ule-p sû wor-no roise
pig head back.limbs be.there.PL fire dog-INS together.with
'A pig's head and back limbs were there, together with embers and a dog.'
[Text A.5 Sequence 7]

5.5 Pronouns

The personal pronouns of Kilmeri distinguish the categories of person, number, and clusivity. These distinctions lead to eleven different pronominal forms. It is worth mentioning that the original pronoun system of the Border language family comes with only four forms: first person, second person, third person, and inclusive. The expanded system of Kilmeri is a new development which can easily be seen in the morphological structure of the newly added forms (cf. Tables 5.6, 5.7, and 5.8).

Table 5.6: Pronouns

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1 INCL	*ko*	*dedukoyo*	*nuko*
1 EXCL		*koyo*	*uke*
2	*de*	*deyo*	*ine*
3	*ki* ~ *ke*	*kiyo*	*iki*

Table 5.7: Emphatic pronouns

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	*ko ike*	*nuko ike*
2	*de eli*	*ine eli*
3	*ki=ro* ~ *ke=ro*	*iki=ro*

Table 5.8: Possessive pronouns

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1 INCL	*ko-pi*	*dedukoyo-pi*	*nuko-pi*
1 EXCL		*koyo-pi*	*uke-pi*
2	*de-pi*	*deyo-pi*	*ine-pi*
3	*kep* (*ki-pi*)	*kiyo-pi*	*iki-pi*

Note that the dual inclusive form *dedukoyo* is often substituted by the plural inclusive form *nuko*. In texts, we frequently find phrases like *nuko i-le* [we.INCL DU.S-go] 'we (two) go'. In contrast, the dual exclusive form is commonly used: *koyo i-le* [we.DU.EXCL DU.S-go] 'we two go'.

5.6 Verbal TAM morphology

TAM morphology and semantics in Kilmeri is quite extensive with 26 categories encoded by a variety of marking patterns. There are only few categories of pure tense (Table 5.9), but there are a large number of aspect categories (Table 5.10) and especially modality categories. The supercategory of modality can be divided into epistemic modality (Table 5.11) and deontic modality (Table 5.12). Epistemic modality is speaker-based, while the deontic modality is anchored in circumstances of the state of affairs. I refer the reader to the texts in this collection in which these categories occur in their most natural context. In (Gerstner-Link 2018: 248-321), I provide a detailed discussion of all TAM related forms and meanings. For explanatory purposes, I present a minimal outline of the TAM system in the following tables.

Table 5.9: Tense categories

AFFIX	GLOSS	FUNCTION
bare verb	n/a	present, continuous present, immediate future
-p	-PC	continuous past: ongoing action in the past
vowel backshift or lowering (+elision)	.PP	punctual past: bounded action in the past
-ko	-RTS	relative tense in the past
-ipe	-ANT	anteriority in discourse

Table 5.10: Aspect categories

AFFIX	GLOSS	FUNCTION
-uli	-PROG	Progressive and habituative: an action is ongoing for quite some time or is somebody's habit
-nake	-DUR	Durative: an action continues for some time
mi-	ITER-	Iterative: an action is repeated several or many times
-ke	-INGR	Ingressive
-or	-CON	Conative: an action is attempted
-ou	-FRUS	Frustrative: an action could not be done successfully
-we	-TER	Terminative: an action is done vigourously
-wole	-CPL	Completive: an action is completed

The possibility suffix *-m* occurs in five more categories as one element of marking (Tables 5.11 and 5.12 below). The six modal categories in which the possibility suffix *-m* occurs have in common that the state of affairs cannot become factual for different types of causes.

Table 5.11: Epistemic modality

AFFIX	GLOSS	FUNCTION
ba-verb-*ko*	FAC-verb-FAC	Factuality based on perception
u-	DFAC-	Deictic factuality: visual perception
dV-	LKH-	Likelihood: will probably happen or has probably happened
-m	-POS	Possibility: may happen in the future
asa verb-*m*	how verb-POS	Impossibility: cannot happen
ba verb-*we*-*m*	other verb-TER-POS	Supinative: combination of terminative and possibility under the scope of emphatic negation. It denotes sb's negative disposition.

Table 5.12: Deontic modality

AFFIX	GLOSS	FUNCTION
-p, *-yep* (PL)	-IMP	Imperative of second person: an order towards the hearer
a-	IMP3-	Imperative of third person: somebody may or should do something
muli	'want, say'	Volition: somebody wants something
kra-	NIV-	Non-intervention: a state of affairs should continue
kV-verb-*m*	PROH-verb-PROH	Prohibitive: something must not be done by the hearer
boka-verb-*m*	OBS-verb-OBS	Obstructive: something impedes an action
mona-verb-*m*	IRR-verb-IRR	Irrealis: counterfactual events in the past or hypothetical events in the future

5.7 Grammatical relations

In Kilmeri, grammatical relations are encoded exclusively in the verb. There are no core cases for subjects and objects. Thus, the verb alone bears the load of marking the syntactic functions and the semantic roles of agent, patient, and recipient. This grammatical task is divided between the marking of number and the marking of person, which are (to a large extent) independent of each other.

5.7.1 The coding of number

In Kilmeri, number marking on the verb distinguishes singular, dual, and plural. The plain verb form denotes a singular referent of the verbal action. Table 5.13 presents the affixes marking duality and plurality. The suffixes *-wepi* and *-mapi* probably reflect a former serial verb construction. Their punctual past forms are regular, as shown in Table 5.9.

Examples (11) and (12) illustrate singular verb forms without any number marking. The participant person is coded by a pronoun that is obligatory in such sentences.

Table 5.13: Number related affixes

AFFIX	GLOSS	FUNCTION
i-/-i	DU.S/A	dual subject/agent
-we	DU.S/O	dual subject/patient object; uncontrolled patient subject
wo-	ACCOM	accompaniment, denotes dual or paucal subject
-wepi	QUANT.S/O	plurality of subject or patient object
-mapi	QUANT.E	event plurality

(11) *em ko seleyo le*
em ko sele-yo le
tomorrow I garden-LOC go
'Tomorrow I will go to the garden.' [overheard conversation]

(12) *de aryo le*
de aryo le
you where go
'Where are you going?' [overheard conversation]

The dual verb form denotes two participants in the verbal action. The dual of S and A is marked by the affix *i-/-i*. The affix occurs as a prefix with the verbs that have a suppletive plural form for S, as in (13). It occurs as a suffix (14) for verbs that have a suppletive pural form for O, and for all other verbs (Cf. Gerstner-Link 2018: 341, 347, Table 7.2 there also shows the exceptions).

(13) *dedukoyo seleyo ile*
dedukoyo sele-yo i-le
we.DU.INCL garden-LOC DU.S-go
'We two go to the garden.' [overheard conversation]

(14) *dedukoyo pewo yasiyei*
dedukoyo pewo yasiye-i
we.DU.INCL banana plant-DU.A
'We two will plant bananas.' [overheard conversation]

The dual of O is marked by the suffix *-we* (15). This suffix is also used with verbs whose subject has the feature [-CONTR] (Gerstner-Link 2018: 329-330), as in (16).

(15) *bepu ko nîsî dupua wepulowe*
bepu ko nîsî dupua wepulo-we
sago.grub I string two bring.PP-DU.O
'I brought two strings of sago grubs.' [V,83][1]

(16) *epe aino kopi mariwe*
epe ai-no ko-pi mari-we
mother father-INS 1SG-POSS be.sick-DU.S
'My parents are sick.' [V,180]

The marking of plural number in Kilmeri is diverse. Many verbs come with a suppletive plural form denoting the plurality of S (intransitive verbs), as in (17) and (18), or O (transitive verbs), as in (19). A few verbs mark plurality of A by suppletive forms. In addition, there is the suffix *-wepi* that likewise marks the plurality of S and O, but never the plurality of A. Instead of already given duality and plurality, dual and plural forms of verbs can also denote incremental number.

Plurality coded by suppletive forms is distributive and participant related, but there are cases of action/event relatedness. Plurality coded by the suffix *-wepi* is distributive or cumulative, and it can be participant or action/event related (cf. Gerstner-Link 2018: 363) The coding devices of suppletive plural and *-wepi* can also be combined.

(17) *uke kumune seleyo mole*
uke kumune sele-yo mole
we.EXCL all.COLL garden-LOC go.PL
'We all go to the garden.' [overheard conversation]

(18) *dor anno kopi ripepi*
dor an-no ko-pi ripepi
foot hand-INS 1SG-POSS be.numb.PL
'My feet and hands are numb.' [V,144]

(19) *ko ul kiniyo kale*
ko ul kiniyo kale
I bamboo all lay.horizontally.PL.O
'I lay all the bamboo rods in parallel.' [VII,91]

[1]These codes refer to my field notebooks.

In example (20) we see a combination of plural and dual marking: The plural verb form encodes the plurality of the patient object via suppletion, but also bears the dual agent suffix.

(20) *deyo ri yipyo melinaip*
deyo ri yip-yo melina-i-p
you.DU wood house-LOC carry.inside.PL.O-DU.A-IMP
'You two, carry all the firewood inside the (kitchen) house!' [IV,79]

The following examples illustrate the suffix *-wepi*. Example (24) combines a suppletive plural with *-wepi*.

(21) *pper kiniyo bamonwepko*
pper kiniyo ba-mini-wepi-ko
gourd many FAC-come.hither-QUANT.S-FAC
'Many gourds have come up (for harvesting).' [Text D.1 Sequence 2]

(22) *ko dop sipiwepi*
ko dop sipi-wepi
I body hurt-QUANT.S
'My body hurts all over.' [V,106]

(23) *Buoko buar wepulo yena kiniyo leliewepu*
Buoko buar wepulo yena kiniyo lelie-wepu
Buoko axe bring.PP people all kill-QUANT.O.PP
'Buoko took an axe and killed all the people.' [Text A.6 Sequence 23]

(24) *uki kopi ri puk lil lupapwepu palouyo*
uki ko-pi ri_puk lil lu_papi-wepu
husband 1SG-POSS kind.of.tree blood incise_do.PL.O-QUANT.O.PP
palou-yo
spear-LOC
'My husband filled the engravings of the spear with coloured sap of the *puk*-tree.' [VII,148]

Example (25) illustrates event plurality in combination with the suppletive plural of the patient object.

(25) *ko solo pusapimapi*
ko solo pusapi-mapi
I only wash.PL.O-QUANT.E
'It is me alone who does the dishes all the time.' [VI,84]

5.7.2 The coding of person

In Kilmeri, the coding of person is limited to a small class of verbs. Semantically, these verbs encode the role of Recipient. As we saw above, the coding of Patients involves number, but not person. Kilmeri has two- and three-place verbs that require agreement with their Recipient objects, as shown in Table 5.15.

Table 5.14: Person affixes

AFFIX	GLOSS	FUNCTION
-ipi	1SG.OR	first person singular recipient object
-me	2SG.OR	second person singular recipient object
-ne	3SG.OR	third person singular recipient object
-no	3SG.OR.PP	third person singular recipient object punctual past
-ini	NSG.OR	non-singular recipient object
-en	NSG.OR.PP	non-singular recipient object punctual past

As Table 5.14 shows, there are distinctive person suffixes only in the singular. Dual and plural have one suffix which agrees with the Recipient argument. This agreement pattern is evidence for the person encoding paradigm even if the person distinction is neutralised for non-singular number values. The paradigm may reflect the old quaternal pronoun system of the Border languages which is still present in Imonda with first, second, third, and inclusive person (Seiler 1985: 44).

The verb *pona-* 'give' exhibits an irregular paradigm of person agreement, as in (30-32). For more information, I refer the reader to Gerstner-Link (2018: 386-394; 402-405).

The following examples (26-32) illustrate some of the verbs requiring obligatory person agreement.

(26) *de ko lewoipep*
de ko lewo-ipi-p
you I wait.for-1SG.OR-IMP
'Wait for me!' [overheard conversation]

(27) *ko de wulime*
ko de wuli-me
I you follow-2SG.OR
'I'll follow you.' [overheard conversation]

Table 5.15: Verbs with obligatory person indexing

VERB	MEANING
TRANSITIVE	
mueli-	'tell sb; talk to sb' (opposed to *mui*.SG/*moliye*.PL 'say, speak' without person agreement)
sai-	'ask sb'
pele-	'gossip with sb'
woni-	'call sb; call out for sb'
wui-	'answer sb'
lewo-	'wait for sb'
wuli-	'follow sb'
DITRANSITIVE	
nie-	'show sth to sb'
mosupi-	'show sth to sb' (involving a change of location as the thing to be shown is at a different place)
mosaupi-	'teach sth to sb'
powa-/pona-	'give sth to sb'
ripei-	'share (cooked) food with sb' (opposed to *ripei*.SG/*rupopi*.PL 'distribute (food)' without person agreement)
supoye-	'exchange women for marriage with sb'

(28) *ko Eva muelno de inalap*
ko Eva mueli-no de ina_le-p
I Eva talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you hurry_go-IMP
'I said to Eva: Hurry up!' [overheard conversation]

(29) *disaipel molo yena kiniyo mosaupoen*
disaipel molo yena kiniyo mosaupo-en
disciples(TP) go.PL.PP people many teach-NSG.OR.PP
'The disciples went and taught many people.' [Bible translation: Mark 6,12]

(30) *de luo ko ar powa*
de luo ko ar powa
you money I NEG give.1SG.OR.PP
'You didn't give me any money.' [Text E.5 Sequence 12]

(31) *melon de ana poname*
melon de ana poname
melon(TP) you who give.3SG.OR
'To whom will you give the melon?' [overheard conversation]

(32) *ko wal dû yûr su roise yano ponamo.*
ko wal dû yûr su roise ya-no ponamo
I fish flesh chicken egg with sago-INS give.3SG.OR.PP
'I gave her some fish and eggs with sago.' [Text F.11 Sequence 12]

The examples above illustrate agreement with only one argument, namely the "dative"-object in the role of the recipient. This is due to the fact that subjects are not marked on the verb except if (i) they are dual or (ii) the verb is intransitive and belongs to the class of suppletive plural verbs. The following examples illustrate subject and "dative"-object agreement. Example (33) shows a two-place verb with subject and "dative"-object agreement. Example (34) shows applicative constructions; the verb form *melinoi* illustrates a very rare instance of indexing three arguments via suppletive plural for the direct object (Theme), the applicative for third person singular and subject dual agreement.

(33) *koyo de wulimei.*
koyo de wuli-me-i
we.DU.EXCL you follow-2SG.OR-DU.A
'We two follow you.' [overheard conversation]

(34) *Leno kredimponoipno, le rapiyenoi, melnoi.*
le-no k-redim(TP)-pi-ne-i-p-no le
things-INS SUB-make.ready-LV-3SG.OR-DU.A-PC-CO things
rapiye-ne-i meli-no-i
fetch-3SG.OR-DU.A carry.PL.O-3SG.OR-DU.A
'After the two of them had made ready (Sakou's) things, they fetched them and carried everything for him.' [Text A.3 Sequence 60]

Regarding the slots of agreement affixes, we see that the "dative"-object suffix precedes the subject dual affix.

5.7.3 The coding of animacy

There are two verbs that encode animacy: (i) *riye* 'see sth' (35) vs. *reye* 'see sb' (36), and *rili* 'see several persons'; (ii) *reyane* 'meet sb' and *relane* 'meet several

persons'. The animate form is also used for higher animals. In fact, the verb *riye/reye/rili* combines animacy with suppletive number.

(35) *dob de riyoworo*
dob de riye-we=ro
eye you see.O.INANIM-TER=EMPH
'You watch out attentively!' [Text B.6 Sequence 27]

(36) *ono bekulu pu ipiyo pin dob ko reyo*
ono bekulu pu ipi-yo pin dob ko reyo
man huge water bottom-LOC come.up.hither.PP eye I see.O.ANIM.SG.PP
'A huge man came up here from the bottom of the water, I saw him.'
[Text B.6 Sequence 30]

5.8 Voice related constructions

Kilmeri has three types of constructions that can be broadly described as voice-related. They express reciprocity, malefactive source, and applicativity. There is no active-passive distinction in Kilmeri, i.e., the language follows the usual pattern of Papuan languages.

Reciprocity is marked by the suffix *-paye*, as in (37) and (38). This suffix shows several assimilation patterns (Gerstner-Link 2018: 422; 527-531).

(37) *uke bono pokapayo.*
uke bo-no poka-payo
we.EXCL word-INS scold-RECP.PP
'We scolded one another with words.' [V,96]

(38) *iki wako mekiyayep.*
iki wako meki-yaye-p
APH.PL amongst help-RECP-PC
'They were helping one another.' [VI,122]

The malefactive source of an action is indicated by the suffix *-maye* (Gerstner-Link 2018: 409-410). Malefactive constructions are always transitive. The participant against whom the action is directed may or may not occur in the clause, as in (39) and (40) respectively.

(39) *sukupu dop sei sowemayo.*
sukupu dop sei sowe-mayo
bush.spirit body white hide-MAL.PP
'The bush spirits hide from the white man.' [Text B.2 Sequence 42]

(40) *de smep musimayo upunaro.*
de smep musi-mayo upuna=ro
you door lock-MAL.PP good=EMPH
'You locked the door, very good [to prevent thieves from entering the house].' [overheard conversation]

Applicative constructions increase the number of participants of a verb. They can be used with intransitive and transitive verbs. The applicative suffixes are identical with the person marking suffixes. Most often applicatives occur with the third person, but they also can occur with first and second person (Gerstner-Link 2018: 405-409; 445-451).

(41) *de kaeli kopoipem.*
de kaeli k-pi-ipi-m
you strong PROH-do-1SG.OR-PROH
'For my sake, don't be stubborn towards me!' [overheard conversattion]

Text F.11 *Bo Milipiro* 'Mili's sickness' illustrates abundant use of applicativity as all the actions of the hospital staff are directed to the sick girl Mili, i.e., the verb inflections show third person singular agreement.

5.9 Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions are a major syntactic device in Kilmeri. In principle, verbs can become a component verb of a serial verb construction without any semantic constraints. For example, there are many lexicalised serial verb constructions whose meaning emerges from the idiosyncracies of two single verbs. Serial verbs usually consist of two verbs, but can also consist of three verbs. Suppletive plural forms can also occur in serial verb constructions (see *moliye* in Table 5.16).

Table 5.16 gives an overview of the standardised verbs that have a predictable meaning in serial verb constructions. Note that there is also stative serialisation in which positional verbs (and also the verb *nui* 'sleep') can occur as the first element. Moreover, there is lexicalised serialisation, in which some serial verbs constructions have fused together to form verbal compounds.

Table 5.16: Standardised serial verb formations in Kilmeri

VERB	TRANSLATION	FUNCTION
_nake[a]	'sit'	aspectual: durative
_wole	'move further'	aspectual: completive
_paye	'leave behind'	reciprocal
_kûne	'go down'	directional: 'downwards'
_pake	'throw'	directional: 'downwards'
_pepe	'put on top'	directional: 'on top of'
_pane	'do thither'	directional: 'away from'
_mini	'come here'	directional: 'towards'
_ppue	'go up'	directional: 'upward'
_pini	'come up here'	directional: 'up to here'
*dori_*	'turn back'	spatial: 'back'
*buri_*	'go ahead'	spatial: 'ahead'
*ina_*	'hurry'	modal: 'quickly'
*_maeu_*[b]	'belong to'	possession, e.g. 'as mine'
moliye.PL_	'several speak'	speaking while moving
_pue	'stroll, walk around'	hetero-kinetic motion verbs and *riye* 'see'
_laye	'put, lay'	spatial: two-dimensional expansion
_piye	'take'	reinforcing verb meaning

[a] The underscore (_) shows the position of the non-standardised verb

[b] This verb may precede or follow the non-standardised verb

5.10 Complex sentences

In Kilmeri, complex sentences are often construed without any grammatical marking, that is, via juxtaposition of clauses or inflected verbs. Sequentiality of events is indicated by a complex affixal structure on the verb: *k-verb-p-no* [SUB-verb-PC-CO] 'having VERB', e.g. *k-pule-p-no* 'having come'. Sequentiality marking is frequently used to achieve coherence; which often results in tail-head-constructions. We find simultaneity much less often, which is marked by *verb-no* [verb-CO] 'while x-ing'. In addition to these temporal relationships between the sentences, Kilmeri can also express the purpose of an action, in which case the verb is marked with the suffix *-na*, as in (42). A frequently used coordinating conjunction is *riyopuno* 'then', which appears at the beginning of the sentence.

(42) *ko pe pakono piyeke bisa luina*
ko pe pako-no piye-ke bisa lui-na
I arrow bow-INS take-INGR rat shoot-PURP
'I'll go get bow and arrows to kill the rats.' [IV,125]

There is no means to mark indirect speech. Instead, the speech of discourse participants is cited and embedded after the verb *mueli-* 'talk', as in (43). Such embeddings can also be recursive (Gerstner-Link 2018: 487).

(43) *ai muelne "ko duyo le"*
ai muel-ne ko du-yo le
father talk.to-3SG.OR I bush-LOC go
'The father says to him: "I will go to the bush."' [Text B.6, Sequence 3]

Part II

Texts

A Clan history: Genealogies and creation

Three of the texts in this chapter describe a major killing of people. In two cases, this is done by an individual in revenge for an unpleasant or morally inhibiting situation. In both stories, a large number of people are killed, namely the population of an entire village (Texts A.3 and A.6). In one of these stories, the killing is projected onto an evil bush spirit that devours the people of an entire village (Text A.3). In two stories, the killing is associated with a natural disaster, namely rain floods (Text A.6) and an earthquake (Text A.8).

One can also speak of massacres concealed by a narrative that takes centre stage. In two cases, the killing of a large number of people is probably the result of the occupation of land by new arrivals. The third case with the earthquake is more difficult to interpret. The killing can be seen as a punishment for a dance festival that somehow did not conform to the rules. This would correspond to the fact that natural disasters have always been regarded as supernatural due to their devastating consequences (Text A.8). The site of the festival and the fissure in the earth is known as Yi in the Kiliwes area.

A.1 Am

Introduction

The story of *Am* was originally told by Usi Kul in Onume/Omoi village in September 2000. Usi Kul tells the story of his ancestors and their way of life as he interprets it in the light of the "new world" that the people experience after the encounter with the whites. The story was then retold by Margaret Osi in an abridged version, which was subsequently transcribed.

It should be mentioned that Usi Kul also gave a version of the story in Tok Pisin. In this version he included parlando phrases which made his narrative performance very special. Most of the names of persons and clans he presented in this parlando mode. I include his Tok Pisin version as a parallel text at the end of this chapter.

Summary & background

The text begins with a genealogical overview of the narrator Usi Kul and his clan. He then continues with the story of the ancestor Am, as announced in Sequence 5. However, in Sequence 9 a person called Bu is introduced who is supposed to fulfil people's basic needs. Am, on the other hand, is associated with the upbringing of boys and social life in general (Sequences 10-14). In the past, it was common for boys to be separated from their mothers at a certain age and grow up in a male-dominated environment. Interestingly, four women are mentioned who took care of the boys in this male-dominated world. They may have been foster mothers and even breastfed the boys. This has not been confirmed, however.

Then it continues with some historical facts about the settlement and how the settlements have changed. Access to water is important, but so is the personal connection to a particular piece of land. Finally, the story ends with a reference to Bu and Am, both of which seem to be of equal importance.

In essence, the story of Am represents the genealogical lineage of the clans of the people living in Omoi and the surrounding hamlets today. The narrator blends the local indigenous tradition with modern developments; in particular, he interprets the loss of the old male cult houses of discussion and consensus, namely the *house tambaran*, in the light of the new House of Parliament in Port Moresby, where the nationwide political debates now take place. Secondly, he integrates a Christian biblical figure, namely Noah, as an ancestor who gave the people special power, thus relating them to God as the ultimate creator. Seen from the outside, the parallelism of two completely different ancestral lines may seem strange; for the people themselves, it is very probably an attempt to anchor themselves in both worlds, the traditional and the modern. In economic terms, the ancient period is often talked about as a "golden age" in which people lived in abundance.

Parallel text

Am ai kep Kupi, Kupi Am karimpo. Am kakarimpopno Am Ilöp karimpo. Ilöp kakarimpopno Ilöp karim Kaso, karim Dowo. Kaso Dowoyo karimpowe. Kaso Apai karimpo. Apai kamapim Dowo seken, Dowo Baes Waei. Uke oki nake tripela solo. Tripela brata kamap, uke tripela kamappo.

Am. His father is Kupi, he begot Am. Then Am begot Ilöp. Ilöp begot Kaso and Dowo. Kaso begot Apai. Apai is the father of the second Dowo, of Baes and Waei. We live here, three brothers. The three of us are the offspring of Apai and we live here.

Stori Am kep roki. Yaeau nui. Yaeau kunuipno moni buar, yaeau kepro moni buaryo. Guitar paitimpo moni kipiyapopno bekno. Yena dawa kipiyapno dawa lu brukwepu. Serimpi yena royeini, Bu ki royeini ronpua rokiniro, tripela royeini. Ro kipopno Am yip poro; lopos klokni pewo, yena riyo nake. Paeni, Yob, Baepiye, Sin. Yena kukpo. Kaikai si, rapue si, ruri isaeaupi. Epe kanakeno ruri roipi emi lupi seku. Rumkari ke ar lakiyo epeyo. Roipi solo ukeli yip riyo, yipyo woko haus palimen Siopo. Yip, nem kep roki, haus palimen, haus Siopo. Yip sepolo, mi Mosbika lo. Yipro Mosbiyo poli. Telefon kepro, Bu Ipor Dawap telefon ikep, bi wiyo, du mauo. Bu ki muli: "Bi ereyo nui." Yenaro solo sokuro, bi riyo lu. "Biper ereyo nake," em Bu i tok olsem. Bu ki mosaupi telefon ikep roki: Ipor Dawapyo. "Bras ereyo nake." Ki kiwiyapno du mauo. "Biep ereyo nui."

This is Am's story. They celebrated a traditional ceremony. After the ceremony there was money and stone axes. The ceremony brought money and stone axes. Am played the guitar. He took the money and put it in the bag. When the people grabbed the axes, all the blades broke. They shared them. Bu gave them to the people; he gave them three. Then Am built a house. He erected one tall post supporting a platform. The people lived there. The women Paeni, Yob, Baepiye, and Sin cooked the food and took care of the children. When mothers were giving birth, the umbilical cords of the boys fell. The girls were not fetched from their mothers; the boys only were fetched to the *haus tambaran.* They accompanied them to the house, the house of parliament Siopo. The name of the house is Parliament House or Siopo House. The house disappeared. It was transferred to Port Moresby. It is now in Port Moresby. The trees Ipor and Dawar were like Bu's phone when he was hunting, when he roamed about in the bush. Bu said, "Pigs live here," and the people built hunting fences and shot the pigs from there. "Possums live here," that's what Bu was saying. "Bandicoots live here" and "Boars live here." He caught them when he roamed around in the bush.

Em Ipor ki mui bo Dawapyo: "Ako depi e luwali." Em Bu ki muli mosaupi. Ono kilimpo yenaro an kini. Bu ki muelo:

Bu also watched the people's conduct: "Your wife has sex with a lover." Ipor and Dawap were uttering these words,

"Tripela wiyo, ere ere ere wiyo."

but Bu provided the information. So they killed the lover, five people altogether. Bu was talking to them. Three of them took the corpse.

Kupulupipno yena rais ileulipop, yena rais nop. Due komoipno riyo sonipop, yip riyo palimen yip. Pu paekyo lulipop, ep epi rka rka. Paua. Noah ki wokimpo, Noah Noah ponamo. Yena ke God ruri, yena ke God plas. Yelo roise po, wokimpo Am.

When they came to the land, the people used to eat rice. When they felled a sago palm, they processed the sago in that house, in the Parliament House. In swamps, they washed the sago pulp in the water. They rinsed it properly, and the rinse water streamed to all sides. Noah created the power and gave it to Bu. All the people are children of God. They are the sperm of God. He created them and the earth. He created Am.

Wapi diri kepro Boyau, Bu Ilop diri kep, roki kamapimporo uke oki nake. Moni pastaim uke maloro, moni ukeyo polip moni dere. Ukeyo solo polip, Öu dere mi ukero muli Öu klen. Kuppuapno, Wiba Yaebu kinapno Omoi siyui, Pupulboli. Yaebu bilong Waes dere, Wiba bilong Öu dere. Yaebu third komanoko, ruwaesi nambawan ipei kopi. Mi Yaebu third karimpo.

Wapi and his younger brother Boyau, Bu and his younger brother Ilöp come from here where we live now. When we first heard about money, we already had money and richness from the ancestors; it was simply with us. There was also the Öu ancestor, the Öu clan. Wiba and Yaebu came to the land here, they founded Omoi by digging the well Pupulboli. Yaebu is a Waes ancestor, Wiba is an Öu ancestor. I named my firstborn child Yaebu; I begot the third Yaebu.

Pupulboli pu ulno ipiyopi. Pu kipiyapno wepuloi, Bu ponamoi. Yena ro kiriyapno yilau layepanepo. Onume layepanepo, Omoiyo molo. Nau ol i stap long Omoi, Omoiyo mape. Ko midorilo. Mi ko Onumeyo nake, yelo riyoro iki nakapno bonporo, yilau uke bonporo. Ko o lo. Oki yelo kopi yilau kopi.

They filled bamboo containers with the water from Pupulboli. They filled them up and carried them and gave them to Bu. When the people saw this, they left the place. They left Onume and went to Omoi. Nowadays they live in Omoi. I went back there and lived in Onume in the place the ances-

Onume Onume Aewanup Aewanup, Omoi Omoi. Ukero kamapporo yilau riyo.	tors used to live. They had been born there, and we have been born there. I went back to my place: Onume, Aewanup, Omoi. We finally arrived at that place.
Noah Noah em karim dispela graun, Noah yelo piyo. Mi riyo nakap, yelo karimporo. Yau Yaesi Duweriyebili Duwarui Wekanei Onume, Onume dupua. Onume antap uke klokni muli, dupua Onume dere roki. Onume ewe roki yip riyo neki. Bu riyo nake, yip Am, yip riyo po.	Noah begot this ground, Noah took this ground, then he was living there. He begot this ground. The places are Yau, Yaesi, Duweriyebili, Duwarui, Wekanei, Onume, two places named Onume. The upper Onume as we call one of them, the place where the older brother built a house. Bu lived there. Am built a house there.
Stori kopi ba roki. Tenkyu em tasol.	This is my story. Thank you. That's it.

Glossed text

(1) *Am ai kep Kupi, Kupi Am karimpo. Am kakarimpopno Am Ilöp karimpo.*
Am ai kep Kupi Kupi Am karim-po Am
Am father 3SG.POSS Kupi Kupi Am beget(TP)-LV.PP Am
k-karim-pi-p-no Am Ilöp karim-po
SUB-beget(TP)-LV-PC-CO Am Ilöp beget(TP)-LV.PP
'Am, his father is Kupi, Kupi begot Am. When he had begotten Am, Am begot Ilöp.'

(2) *Ilöp kakarimpopno Ilöp karim Kaso, karim Dowo. Kaso Dowoyo karimpowe.*
Ilöp k-karim-pi-p-no Ilöp karim Kaso karim Dowo Kaso
Ilöp SUB-beget(TP)-LV-PC-CO Ilöp beget(TP) Kaso beget(TP) Dowo Kaso
Dowo-yo karim-po-we
Dowo-LOC beget(TP)-LV.PP-DU.O
'When he had begotten Ilöp, then Ilöp begets Kaso and begets Dowo. Kaso and Dowo he begot.'

(3) *Kaso Apai karimpo. Apai kamapim Dowo seken, Dowo Baes Waei.*
Kaso Apai karim-po Apai kamapim Dowo seken Dowo
Kaso Apai beget(TP)-LV.PP Apai originate(TP) Dowo second(TP) Dowo

Figure A.1: Usikul's genealogical tree

Baes Waei
Baes Waei
'Kaso begot Apai, Apai is the father of the second Dowo. Dowo, Baes and Waei (are his sons).'

(4) *Uke oki nake tripela solo. Tripela brata kamap, uke tripela kamappo.*
uke o-ki nake tripela solo tripela brata
we.EXCL PROX-APH live three(TP) only three(TP) brother(TP)
kamap uke tripela kamap-po
come.up(TP) we.EXCL three(TP) come.up(TP)-LV.PP
'We live here, we three only. Three brothers came up, the three of us are the offspring.'

(5) *Stori Am kep roki.*
stori Am kep ro-ki
story(TP) Am 3SG.POSS PROX-APH
'This is Am's story.'

(6) *Yaeau nui. Yaeau kunuipno moni buar, yaeau kepro moni buaryo.*
yaeau nui yaeau
traditional.ceremony do.intentionally traditional.ceremony
k-nui-p-no moni buar yaeau
SUB-do.intentionally-PC-CO money(TP) stone.axe traditional.ceremony
kep=ro moni buar-yo
3SG.POSS=EMPH money(TP) stone.axe-LOC
'They celebrate a traditional ceremony. After having celebrated the ceremony there was money and stone axes. Their ceremony (brought) money and stone axes.'[1]

(7) *Guitar paitimpo moni kipiyapopno bekno.*
guitar paitim-po moni k-piye-pi-p-no bek-no
guitar beat(TP)-LV.PP money(TP) SUB-take-LV-PC-CO bag(TP)-INS
'(Am) played the guitar. Having taken the money, (Am put it) in the bag.'

(8) *Yena dawa kipiyapno dawa lu brukwepu.*
yena dawa k-piye-p-no dawa lu bruk-wepu
people axe SUB-take-PC-CO axe blade break(TP)-QUANT.S.PP
'(Just) as the people were grabbing the axes, the blades broke in pieces.'

(9) *Serimpi yena royeini, Bu ki royeini ronpua rokiniro, tripela royeini.*
serim-pi yena roye-ini Bu ki roye-ini ronpua_rokini=ro
share(TP)-LV people give-NSG.OR Bu APH give-NSG.OR three=EMPH
tripela roye-ini
three(TP) give-NSG.OR
'They share them. He gives them to the people. Bu gives them three, he gives to them three.'[2]

(10) *Ro kipopno Am yip poro; lopos klokni pewo, yena riyo nake.*
ro k-pi-p-no Am yip po=ro lopos klokni pewo
PROX SUB-do-PC-CO Am house make.PP=EMPH post one erect.PP
yena ri-yo nake
people DIST-LOC live
'After doing this Am built a house. He erected one (tall) post. The people live there.'

[1]It may be that this sequence refers to the appointment of Am as leader of the clan after the death of his father Kupi. In Nimboran society such an installation was done with a big feast that lasted over days (Kouwenhoven 1956: 29-33).

[2]It is not clear what kind of items the numeral "three" refers to; maybe the narrator wants to say that Bu gives three new axes to the people.

(11) *Paeni, Yob, Baepiye, Sin. Yena kukpo. Kaikai si, rapue si, ruri isaeaupi.*
Paeni Yob Baepiye Sin yena kuk-po kaikai si rapue si
Paeni Yob Baepiye Sin APH.PL cook(TP)-LV.PP food(TP) cook food cook
ruri isaeaupi
child take.care.PL.O
'(The women) Paeni, Yob, Baepiye, and Sin cooked. They cook the food and take care of the children.'

(12) *Epe kanakeno ruri roipi emi lupi seku. Rumkari ke ar lakiyo epeyo. Roipi solo ukeli yip riyo, yipyo woko haus palimen Siopo.*
epe k-nake-no ruri roipi emi_lupi seku rumkari ke
mother SUB-give.birth-CO child boy umbilical.cord fall.PP girl APH
ar lakiyo epe-yo roipi solo ukeli yip
NEG fetch.people.PP mother-LOC boy only take.with.oneself house
ri-yo yip-yo woko haus palimen Siopo
DIST-LOC house-LOC accompany.PP house parliament Siopo
'When the mothers were giving birth, the umbilical cords of the children, of the boys, fell down. They did not fetch the girls from their mothers. The boys only they fetched to that house. They accompanied them to the house, the House Parliament (or) Siopo.'[3]

(13) *Yip, nem kep roki, haus palimen, haus Siopo.*
yip nem kep ro-ki haus palimen haus
house name 3SG.POSS PROX.EMPH-APH house(TP) parliament house(TP)
Siopo
Siopo
'The name of the house is this: Parliament House (or) Siopo House.'

[3]Traditionally, the women preserved the umbilical cords of the newborn babies. The dried umbilical cords were believed to have an effect on the baby's sex. If they had children of one sex only, they used the cords in the following way: If a mother had only girls and wished for a boy, she put the last umbilical cord into the rib of a *duam*-palm, a type of sago palm with thorns. If a mother had only boys and wished for a girl, she put the last umbilical cord into the rib of a *numomo*-palm, a type of sago palm without thorns. (Margaret Osi, p. c.). The House Siopo is most probably identical with the *house tambaran* which was abandoned after the Mission had settled in the village of Ossima. The *haus tambaran* was the place where the men used to debate any kind of topic regarding village and life.

(14) *Yip sepolo, mi Mosbika lo. Yipro Mosbiyo poli.*
yip sepolo mi Mosbi-ka lo yip=ro
house disappear.PP then Port.Moresby-PATH go.PP house=EMPH
Mosbi-yo poli
Port.Moresby-LOC be.there
'The house disappeared. Then it went to Port Moresby. This house is now in Port Moresby.'[4]

(15) *Telefon kepro, Bu Ipor Dawap telefon ikep, bi wiyo, du mauo.*
telefon kep=ro Bu Ipor Dawap telefon ikep
phone(TP) 3SG.POSS=EMPH Bu Ipor Dawap phone(TP) 3SG.POSS.EMPH
bi wiyo du mauo
animal hold.PP bush roam-PP
'His phone. Bu (had) Ipor and Dawap as his messengers. He caught animals. He roamed the bush.'[5]

(16) *Bu ki muli: "Bi ereyo nui." Yenaro solo sokuro, bi riyo lu.*
Bu ki muli bi ere-yo nui yena=ro solo
Bu APH say pig PROX-LOC sleep people=EMPH only
sokuro bi ri-yo lu
build.fences.for.hunting.PP pig DIST-LOC shoot.PP
'Bu says: "Pigs live here." People simply built hunting fences and shot the pigs from there.'

(17) *"Biper ereyo nake," em Bu i tok olsem.*
biper ere-yo nake em Bu i tok olsem
possum PROX-LOC sit APH(TP) Bu PRED(TP) speak(TP) like.this(TP)
'"Possums stay here," that's what Bu was saying.'

(18) *Bu ki mosaupi telefon ikep roki: Ipor Dawapyo.*
Bu ki mosaupi telefon ikep ro-ki Ipor Dawap-yo
Bu APH teach phone(TP) 3SG.POSS.EMPH PROX-APH Ipor Dawap-LOC
'Bu teaches and his messengers are these: Ipor and Dawap.'

[4]Note the metaphorical use of the verb *le* 'go'. The transfer was institutionally, but the narrator says that the house itself moved.
[5]Ipor and Dawap are trees that act like personal messengers conveying news.

(19) *"Bras ereyo nake." Ki kiwiyapno du mauo. "Biep ereyo nui."*
bras ere-yo nake ki k-wiye-no du mauo biep ere-yo
bandicoot PROX-LOC sit APH SUB-hold-CO bush roam.PP boar PROX-LOC
nui
sleep
'"Bandicoots stay here." Catching them he roamed the bush. "Boars live here."'

(20) *Em Ipor ki mui bo Dawapyo: "Ako depi e luwali." Em Bu ki muli mosaupi.*
em Ipor ki mui bo Dawap-yo ako de-pi e
APH(TP) Ipor APH say word Dawap-LOC wife 2SG-POSS lover
luwali em Bu ki muli mosaupi
have.sexual.intercourse APH(TP) Bu APH speak teach
'Ipor tells news, with Dawap: "Your wife has sex with a lover." Bu (also) provides information (of this kind).'

(21) *Ono kilimpo yenaro an kini. Bu ki muelo: "Tripela wiyo, ere ere ere wiyo."*
ono kilim-po yena=ro an_kini Bu ki muelo tripela
man kill(TP)-LV.PP people=EMPH five Bu APH talk.to.PP three(TP)
bia wiyo ere ere ere wiyo
corpse hold.PP PROX PROX PROX hold.PP
'They killed the lover, five people altogether. Bu talked (to them). Three held the corpse, this one, this one, and this one took (it) (together).'

(22) *Kupulupipno yena rais ileulipop, yena rais nop. Due komoipno riyo sonipop, yip riyo palimen yip.*
k-pulupi-p-no yena rais ile-uli-pi-p yena rais
SUB-come.PL-PC-CO people rice(TP) eat.PL.A-PROG-LV-PC people rice(TP)
ni-p due k-moi-p-no ri-yo soni-pi-p
eat-PC sago.palm SUB-fell-PC-CO DIST-LOC pulverise.sago.pith-LV-PC
yip ri-yo palimen yip
house DIST-LOC parliament house
'When they had come, the people used to eat rice. They were eating rice. Having cut a sago palm, they processed the sago pith there, in that house, the Parliament House.'

(23) *Pu paekyo lulipop, ep epi rka rka.*
pu_paek-yo luli-pi-p ep epi r(i)-ka
water.hole-LOC mix.with.water-LV-PC rinse.water side DIST-PATH
r(i)-ka
DIST-PATH
'They washed (the sago pith) near the water. The rinse water (streamed) to all sides.'

(24) *Paua. Noah ki wokimpo, Noah Noah ponamo. Yena ke God ruri, yena ke God plas. Yelo roise po, wokimpo Am.*
paua Noah ki wokim-po Noah Noah ponamo yena
power(TP) Noah APH work(TP)-LV.PP Noah Noah give.3SG.OR.PP people
ke God ruri yena ke God plas yelo roise po
APH God child people APH God semen ground together make.PP
wokim-po Am
work(TP)-LV.PP Am
'Noah created the power. Noah, Noah gave it (to Bu). (All) the people are children of God, they are the sperm of God. He created them and the earth. He created Am.'

(25) *Wapi diri kepro Boyau, Bu Ilop diri kep, roki kamapimporo uke oki nake.*
Wapi diri kep=ro Boyau Bu Ilöp diri
Wapi younger.brother 3SG.POSS=EMPH Boyau Bu Ilöp younger.brother
kep ro-ki kamapim-po=ro uke o-ki nake
3SG.POSS PROX-APH originate(TP)-LV.PP=EMPH WE.EXCL PROX-APH live
'Wapi and his younger brother Boyau, Bu and his younger brother Ilöp come from here, (where) we live (now).'

(26) *Moni pastaim uke maloro, moni ukeyo polip moni dere.*
moni pastaim uke malo=ro moni uke-yo
money(TP) first(TP) we.EXCL hear.PP=EMPH money(TP) we.EXCL-LOC
poli-p moni dere
be.there-PC money(TP) ancestor
'When we heard of money first, we (already) had money. Money (and richness) from the ancestors.'

(27) *Ukeyo solo polip, Öu dere mi ukero muli Öu klen.*
uke-yo solo poli-p Öu dere mi uke=ro muli
we.EXCL-LOC only be.there-PC Öu ancestor again we.EXCL=EMPH speak
Öu klen
Öu clan(TP)
'(The money) was simply with us, from the Öu ancestor, as we call him, the Öu clan.'

(28) *Kuppuapno, Wiba Yaebu kinapno Omoi siyui, Pupulboli.*
k-ppue-p-no Wiba Yaebu ki-na-p-no Omoi
SUB-go.up-PC-CO Wiba Yaebu SUB-come.inside-PC-CO Omoi
siyu-i Pupulboli
throw.PP-DU.A Pupulboli
'Wiba and Yaebu came to the land here. Having come in, they (founded) Omoi and dug (the well) Pupulboli.'[6]

(29) *Yaebu bilong Waes dere, Wiba bilong Öu dere.*
Yaebu bilong Waes dere Wiba bilong Öu dere
Yaebu POSS(TP) Waes ancestor Wiba POSS(TP) Öu ancestor
'Yaebu is a Waes ancestor, and Wiba is an Öu ancestor.'

(30) *Yaebu third komanoko, ruwaesi nambawan ipei kopi. Mi Yaebu third karimpo.*
Yaebu third komanoko ruwaesi nambawan ipei ko-pi
Yaebu third(TP) ? small.child first(TP) firstborn 1SG-POSS
mi Yaebu third karim-po
again Yaebu third(TP) beget(TP)-LV.PP
'The third, Yaebu – as I named him – is my firstborn child. I begot the third, Yaebu.'

(31) *Pupulboli pu ulno ipiyopi. Pu kipiyapno wepuloi, Bu ponamoi.*
Pupulboli pu ul-no ipiyo-i pu
Pupulboli water bamboo-INS fill.in.a.container.PP-DU.A water
k-ipiye-i-p-no wepulo-i Bu ponamo-i
SUB-fill.in.a.container-DU.A-PC-CO bring.PP-DU.A Bu give.3SG.OR.PP-DU.A
'They filled water from Pupulboli in bamboo containers. After filling them they brought them (to a certain place) and gave them to Bu.'[7]

[6]The name Pupulboli literally means 'origin of shining water'.
[7]The two men might have given some water to Bu as a kind of offering.

(32) *Yena ro kiriyapno yilau layepanepo. Onume layepanepo, Omoiyo molo.*
yena ro k-riye-p-no yilau layepane-po Onume
people PROX SUB-see.O.INANIM-PC-CO place leave.behind-LV.PP Onume
layepane-po Omoi-yo molo
leave.behind-LV.PP Omoi-LOC go.PL.PP
'When the people saw this, they left the place. They left Onume and went to Omoi.'

(33) *Nau ol i stap long Omoi, Omoiyo mape.*
nau ol i stap long Omoi Omoi-yo mape
now(TP) APH.PL(TP) PRED(TP) live(TP) PREP(TP) Omoi Omoi-LOC live.PL
'Nowadays they live in Omoi, they live in Omoi.'

(34) *Ko midorilo. Mi ko Onumeyo nake, yelo riyoro iki nakapno bonporo, yilau uke bonporo.*
ko mi-dorilo mi ko Onume-yo nake yelo ri-yo=ro
I ITER-go.back.PP again I Onume-LOC live ground DIST-LOC=EMPH
iki nake-p-no bon-po=ro yilau uke
APH.PL live-PC-CO born(TP)-LV.PP=EMPH place we.EXCL
bon-po=ro
born(TP)-LV.PP=EMPH
'I went back there. I live in Onume again, on that ground (where) they used to live. They had already been born there, (in) the place we were born.'

(35) *Ko o lo. Oki yelo kopi yilau kopi. Onume Onume Aewanup Aewanup, Omoi Omoi.*
ko o lo o-ki yelo ko-pi yilau ko-pi Onume Onume
I PROX go.PP PROX-APH ground 1SG-POSS place 1SG-POSS Onume Onume
Aewanup Aewanup Omoi Omoi
Aewanup Aewanup Omoi Omoi
'I went (back) here. This is my ground, my place: Onume, Onume, Aewanup, Aewanup, Omoi, Omoi.'

(36) *Ukero kamapporo yilau riyo.*
uke=ro kamap-po=ro yilau ri-yo
we.EXCL=EMPH arrive(TP)-LV.PP=EMPH place DIST-LOC
'We finally arrived at that place.'

(37) *Noah Noah em karim dispela graun, Noah yelo piyo. Mi riyo nakap, yelo karimporo.*
Noah Noah em karim dispela graun Noah yelo piyo
Noah Noah APH(TP) beget(TP) this(TP) ground(TP) Noah ground take.PP
mi ri-yo nake-p yelo karim-po=ro
then DIST-LOC live-PC ground beget(TP)-LV.PP=EMPH
'Noah, Noah, he begot this ground. Noah took this ground, then he was living there. He begot this ground.'

(38) *Yau Yaesi Duweriyebili Duwarui Wekanei Onume, Onume dupua.*
Yau Yaesi Duweriyebili Duwarui Wekanei Onume Onume dupua
Yau Yaesi Duweriyebili Duwarui Wekanei Onume Onume two
'(The places are) Yau, Yaesi, Duweriyebili, Duwarui, Wekanei, Onume, two (places called) Onume.'

(39) *Onume antap uke klokni muli, dupua Onume dere roki. Onume ewe roki yip riyo neki. Bu riyo nake, yip Am, yip riyo po.*
Onume antap uke klokni muli dupua Onume dere ro-ki
Onume above(TP) we.EXCL one say two Onume ancestor PROX-APH
Onume ewe ro-ki yip ri-yo neki Bu ri-yo nake
Onume older.brother PROX-APH house DIST-LOC erect Bu DIST-LOC live
yip Am yip ri-yo po
house Am house DIST-LOC make.PP
'The Onume Antap as we call one (of them), (because there are) two. The ancestor's Onume is this. Onume, the older brother builds a house there, Bu lives there. Am's house, he built that house.'

(40) *Stori kopi ba roki. Tenkyu em tasol.*
stori ko-pi ba ro-ki tenkyu em tasol
story 1SG-POSS other PROX-APH thank.you(TP) APH(TP) only(TP)
'This is one of my stories. Thank you, that's it.'

Background on the Tok Pisin Version

Before Usikul told his story in Kilmeri, he narrated the clan's history in Tok Pisin. The content of the Tok Pisin version differs slightly from the Kilmeri version. Usikul mentions names of people and places that are not mentioned in the Kilmeri version, and vice versa. Interestingly, the narrator speaks of two *tokples*, or vernacular languages/words, that must have existed on the southern slopes

of the Oenake Mountains when the Bu clan arrived (cf. 4th paragraph below). These vernacular languages are hinted at by the words *ru* and *bar*, which are repeated in a long parlando. The parlando mode, which is used for important names throughout the narrative, gives these words a similar significance. On another level, these words are proof that the Kilmeri people migrated to this area from elsewhere. See also Text A.2 below, in which the ancestor Si is described as "the appropriator of the land."

The people who lived there prior to the arrival of the Kilmeri were Sko-speaking people (Donohue 2004: 5; Corris 2006: 3). In present-day Vanimo [Dusur], we find the word *va-nu-(pa)* [person-which-(particle)] meaning 'who' (Ross 1980: 100). The single words *va* 'person' and *nu* 'which' could be related to *bar* and *ru*, included by Usikul in his clan history. One could also think of the Barupu language, the easternmost language of the Sko family (Corris 2006: 2). The place Asue, now a hamlet, may have been the place where the women handed over their male babies to the four legendary women mentioned by Usikul in his Kilmeri version of the clan history.

The ancestral clan branched out into many lines and lineages. In Tok Pisin, the words *bruk* 'split' and *kil* 'line, mountain ridge' are used to refer to this.

Parallel text (Tok Pisin)

Ol mama baim dispela pikinini i kamap, ol bai lukim draipela draipela. Ol mama bai wari na pikinini bilong en lusim. Em tupela. Ol i kam daun long dispela haus. (beating) *Na taim ol bai singsing em moni em i stap. Taim ol i singsing tamiok i kamap pinis, ston tamiok. Em God i givim paua.* (beating) *Nem bilong God. Em dispela.*

The mothers must pay for these children who were born. They would look anxious. They worried about losing their children. They are two. They came to this house. In the past, when there were singsings, there was prosperity. At the time of the singsings, stone axes had come. God had given power. In the name of God. That's it.

Ol i stap long Onume. Ol meri hat wok long wara. Ol i go nau. Ol i go nau. Namba wan ol i kolim (break) *em nau Omoi, Omoi. Dispela kil i kam, na igo olsem nau. Em Omoi, em Awanup, na haus i stap daunbilo. Orai. Em Onume, em Onume. Onume wan, em tupela maunten. Em namba tu, nau haus i*

They all stayed in Onume. The women had to go a long way for water. Now they have gone. Now they have gone. The first village they called Omoi, Omoi. This mountain ridge here, they have left it by now. It's Omoi, it's Awanup, the houses are down there. Alright. It's Onume, Onume. Onume

stap bilong en, nau mi stap bilong en. Haus i kamap long dispela hap antap. Em.

one, it stretched over two ridges. It's the second Onume, where the houses are now. The houses were built on this place above. Yes.

Ol city - siopo, siopo - eeeeih (parlando) *- palimen, palimen - eeeeih* (parlando). *Am, Amiih* (parlando). *Em nau ol i tok nau. Em haus ol wokim nau. Siopo, Siopo - eeeih. Palimen, Palimen - eeeeih. Am em, Uppu, Uppu, Waki, Waebu, Waesu, Waki, Waesu, uke kumune* [Kilmeri] *i stap yet, oooooh, Iwe, ooooh.* (parlando)

The cities. Siopo, Siopo. Palimen, Palimen. Eeeeeih. Am, Amiih. It's the places where they talk now. It's the houses that they build now. Siopo, Siopo. Eeeeeih. Palimen, Palimen. Eeeeih. He is Am. Uppu, Uppu, Waki, Waebu, Waesu, Waki, Waesu. We all are still living. Oooooh. Iwe. Oooooh.

Em morota, ol i putim morota long dispela hap antap. Ol i putim morota nau. Em ol i kisim win bilong (aaaxx) bikpela Malakuna. Win bilong Malakuna. Em bikpela brata i save rong. Em nau. Ol i singsing nau. Uppu em bai kisim, Am bai kisim win bilong bikpela Malakuna i kamap long dispela haus nau. Dispela haus (very low voice). *Bai i go pinis. Bar singsing nau: erururururu, barbarbarbar. Em bilong Bar i stap. Tok olsem ol i go Ruru. Em nau em tupela tokples Ru, Bar. Em Bar nau. Ol i kamap bai Bu, Bu yet bai serim. Bu em i stap yet. Em Bu, Wapi, Eme, Ilöp, Kupi, Lö. Em nau*

It's the thatch shingles. They brought the thatch shingles to this place above. Then they brought the thatch shingles. They got their breath from the big Malakuna. Breath from Malakuna. He's the big brother who knows what is lacking. That's it. Then they had singsings. Uppu will get breath, Am will get breath from the big Malakuna who then came to this house. To this house. It will be finished. Then there were Bar singsings: erururururu, barbarbarbar. They belonged to Bar. The language was Ruru. Two words, *Ru* and *Bar*. Then it was Bar. Later they [the new people] will come with Bu. Bu himself will share [the place with the people of the other languages]. Bu is still here. They are Bu, Wapi, Eme, Ilöp, Kupi, Lö. That's it.

Nau Noah. Em dispela ol lain, em man i bipo kamap maki. Em i nogat toktok, i mekim olsem: "m, m". Bikos ol i opimim maus, God i no givim paua yet.

Then Noah. This ancestral line. In times past, he was a man who was good. They didn't speak, they did only like this: "m, m". Because their

mouths still had to be opened; God had not given them the power yet.

Em moni istap long hia. Em dispela man, em brukim ol plainim nau, em kamap i kam pas. Em karim dispela haus. Moni em Bu, Bu (beating).

There was prosperity here. Then this man, he then broke all blades which had come here. He carried this house. Bu is prosperity, Bu.

Break. Usikul coughs. Godehard Link comments: *Naispela tru* 'Very good'.

I kam, i kam mipela bruk. Mipela kil i kamap: Oru Diri. Em nau dispela lain nau, dispela moni i kamap mipela. Ilöp. Ilöp kamapim mipela, em karim Kasi wantaim Dowo. Em nau. Mipela i kam, kamap long Apai. Apai kamapim papa bilong mi Kul. Em nau. Kul kamapim mi. Em nau, em ya. (very low voice) *Nau kil em i bruk nau. Mipela kil em tri nau.*

Then our people split. Our mountain ridge was inhabited, Oru Diri. Now it's this ancestral line, this prosperity that came over us. Ilöp. Ilöp begot us, he begot Kasi and Dowo. That's it. We were begot, the line came down to Apai. Apai begot my father, Kul. That's it. Kul begot me. Yes, that's it. Then the line split. There are three in our line now.

Mipela tripela. Lain bilong Bi emya nau pikinini meri i go. Yoti mi yet mipela tripela klen. Tasol em wanpela papa tasol kamapim mipela. Ol tripela brata ikamap, em. Na em Sawa, Sa, Sa na Nani, em Sa Nani. Em dispela kil i kamya , em nau kilya, solo [Kilmeri]. *Nogat bikpela bai mi wokim bikpela. Em dispela kil, em Sa Nani … Kil i kam i lus nogat bikpela ples bai …. Dispela kil eeeeh.*[8]*Sawa Nani nau. Em tupela stap antap long Krisa.*

We are three. The line of Bi, yes, there are only girls. … We are three clans. There is only one father who begot us. He begot the three brothers. And they are Sawa, Sa and Nani. It is this line that came, it's this, only this. No big line to let us grow. It's this line, Sa and Nani. … The line will decline, there won't be a big place. … This line, eeeeh. Sawa and Nani now. They two live in Krisa.

Tupela maunten. Em karim mipelaya Omoi, Omula, Oiru. Dispela kil i kam, wanpela tasol. Brukna gen nau. Nau kamap long Eke, em long Omula. Mipela stap long Oimu, Eke, Oiru na Ossima.

Two ridges. There we are located, the villages Omoi, Omula and Oiru. This ancestral line came, one only. Then it split. They went to Eke in the direction of Omula. We live in Oimu, Eke,

[8]The word *kil* is always accompanied with drum beats.

Olgeta ples. Wanpela kil.

Oiru and Ossima. At all places. One ancestral line.

Em nau. Noah Noah em ples bilong Noah. Ples bilong Noah. Em Asue, Asue, em hap wara, em Asue. Em meri putim baby baby.

That's it. Noah, Noah, it's the place of Noah. The place of Noah. It's Asue, Asue, it's a place near the river, Asue. The women put their babies there, their babies.

A.2 Si yelo piyo

Introduction

The story *Si yelo piyo* 'Si took the ground' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in August 2004 and again in February 2007. The story describes the settling of the clan land, the most important event in the history of all Kilmeri-speaking clans. The text was spoken very slowly. Margaret paused repeatedly to recapitulate the generations and the people correctly. She produced the genealogy in August 2004 without being prompted.

Summary & background

The text provides the genealogy of the clan of Lis Osi, late husband of Margaret Osi (Sequences 1-5). The social organisation of the Kilmeri is strictly patrilineal. Lis Osi is a member of the greater Imop clan that split into several subclans whose members now live in Ossima, Isi I, and Isi II, respectively. Lis Osi is called *Imop eme*, which means 'of Imop origin'.

The second part of the text describes Si's land appropriation, starting with Sequence 6. Some of the sections of bush claimed by him are named and explicitly listed here, and the names go back to people who died a long time ago. In Sequence 8, the separation of the lineage between Isi Daru and Ossima is mentioned. The long journey of Si corresponds to the fact that the eastern villages, including Ossima, are the furthest away from the swampy basin around Bewani, which is where the first arrivals from the west came. This migration route of the Kilmeri can also be verified linguistically (Gerstner-Link 2023). The journey itself is not mentioned; the main purpose of this narrative is to substantiate the land claims in the Puwani-Pual basin.

The importance of this kind of oral tradition is shown by the fact that Margaret Osi recited it to me twice, three years apart. Today, land claims are crucial for the distribution of royalties from logging.

Parallel text

Si yelo ki piyo. Si dere Waiapi Yauyo. Si Bu Nakei Woreau Peiyo Sui Senyo Bewo Yaewiyo Wesei Eppi ... Eppi, Dipiai ... Dipiai. Oki Yau Waia Bilou. Waia Saewi Bilouyo karimpowe, Bilou Saewiyo. Bilou Bawi karimpo. Lis Waia

Si appropriated the land. Si is Waia's ancestor and Yau's. Si, Bu and Nakei, Woreau and Pei, Sui and Sen, Bewo and Yaewi, Wesei Eppi ... Eppi, Dipiai ... Dipiai. Oki, Yau, Waia, Bilou. Waia begot Saewi and Bilou, Bilou

karimpo. Saewi Lis karimpo. Lis Waiayo Yauyo karimpowepu, Imopwe ... Imopwe.

and Saewi. Bilou begot Bawi, Lis begot Waia. Saewi begot Lis, Lis begot Waia and begot Yau ... begot two Imop, two Imop.

Yau Kili neuli, Kili du roki, Imop du, Dipei du. Basupuliko. Kili mi roke mape, banapwepuko. Si ke du piyo. Si du piyoro, Oimu Iwanbi Lûli Saepuyo, Dupuopli. Lûli Saepuyo Dupuopli. Yelo roke piyo. Si inakei ruri kep. Yaewi Bewoyo. Yaewi ppue Isi Daruka, Bewo yo nake. Si lero, Kili neuli Isi. Ko Si Ossimayo oki nake. Yelo ki piyo, yelo ki napo.

Yau is naming Kili, the Kili bush is here, the Imop bush, the Dipei bush. The persons whose names are given to the sections of bush are all dead. Then the Kili people live there. They have come to the site. Si, he took the bush. Si truly took the bush, Oimu, Iwanbi, Lûli and Saepu, Dupuopli. Lûli and Saepu, Dupuopli. This land he took. Si lived there with his sons. Yaewi and Bewo. Yaewi goes up towards Isi Daru, Bewo stays here. Si walked and walked, he named Kili and Isi. I am Si, I live here in Ossima. He appropriated the land, he came here to the site.

Oimu Bu nake. Iwanbi Lûli Saepuyo Dupuopli ikepro, du yelo. Yelo ki napo: Omupaek Ouwin Ye Win Duppua Diyewi Yewi Bua Omal Bal Oli Lil Oipol Ipol Akos Ono Pusuwei. Du roke Waiapi Yaupi Jeromepi. Onoro piyeno, yelo bo yala ino moliye. Silkum Waiapi Yaupi, Silkum. Mounten Mamal i stap antap.

At Oimu, Bu lives. Iwanbi, Lûli and Saepu, Dupuopli is his, the forest, the land. Si came here to these sites: Omupaek, Ouwin, Ye, Win, Duppua, Diyewi, Omal, Bal, Oli, Lil, Oipol, Ipol, Akos, Ono, Pusuwei. This bush is Waia's, Yau's, Jerome's. If someone takes the land, they are now reclaiming it with these names. Silkum belongs to Waia, belongs to Yau ... Silkum. The mountain Mamal is upriver.

Glossed text

(1) *Si yelo ki piyo. Si dere Waiapi Yauyo.*

Si yelo ki piyo Si dere Waia-pi Yau-yo
Si ground APH take.PP Si ancestor Waia-POSS Yau-LOC
'Si appropriated the land. Si is Waia's ancestor and Yau's.'[9]

(2) *Si Bu Nakei Woreau Peiyo Sui Senyo Bewo Yaewiyo Wesei Eppi ... Eppi, Dipiai ... Dipiai.*
Si Bu Nakei Woreau Pei-yo Sui Sen-yo Bewo Yaewi-yo Wesei Eppi
Si Bu Nakei Woreau Pei-LOC Sui Sen-LOC Bewo Yaewi-LOC Wesei Eppi
Eppi Dipiai Dipiai
Eppi Dipiai Dipiai
'Si, Bu (and) Nakei, Woreau and Pei, Sui and Sen, Bewo and Yaewi, Wesei Eppi ... Eppi, Dipiai ... Dipiai.'[10]

(3) *Oki Yau Waia Bilou.*
Oki Yau Waia Bilou
Oki Yau Waia Bilou
'Oki, Yau, Waia, Bilou.'

(4) *Waia Saewi Bilouyo karimpowe, Bilou Saewiyo. Bilou Bawi karimpo. Lis Waia karimpo.*
Waia Saewi Bilou-yo karim-po-we Bilou Saewiyo Bilou Bawi
Waia Saewi Bilou-LOC beget(TP)-LV.PP-DU.O Bilou Saewi-LOC Bilou Bawi
karim-po Lis Waia karim-po
beget(TP)-LV.PP Lis Waia beget(TP)-LV.PP
'Waia begot Saewi and Bilou, Bilou and Saewi. Bilou begot Bawi, Lis begot Waia.'

(5) *Saewi Lis karimpo. Lis Waiayo Yauyo karimpowepu, Imopwe ... Imopwe.*
Saewi Lis karim-po Lis Waia-yo Yau-yo karim-pi-wepu
Saewi Lis beget(TP)-LV.PP Lis Waia-LOC Yau-LOC beget-LV-QUANT.O.PP
Imop-we Imop-we
Imop-DU.O Imop-DU.O

[9] Si is the ancestor of David Osi and Paul Osi.

[10] Bu is a direct, first generation descendant of Si, and as such he is the ancestor of the people of the village of Omoi located on the northern banks of the Puwani river across Ossima Asples. See Text A.1, story of Am. The name *Dipiai* is actually a place name.

'Saewi begot Lis, Lis begot Waia and begot Yau ... begot two Imops, two Imops.'[11]

(6) *Yau Kili neuli, Kili du roki, Imop du, Dipei du. Basupuliko. Kili mi roke mape, banapwepuko.*
Yau Kili ne-uli Kili du ro-ki Imop du Dipei du
Yau Kili go.thither-PROG Kili bush PROX-APH Imop bush Dipei bush
ba-supuli-ko Kili mi ro-ke mape
FAC-die.PL-FAC Kili then PROX-APH live.PL
ba-napi-wepi-ko
FAC-come.inside.PL-QUANT.S-FAC
'Yau is naming Kili: the Kili bush is here, the Imop bush, the Dipei bush. (The persons whose names are given to sections of bush all) have died. Then the Kili (people) live here. They have come to the site.'

(7) *Si ke du piyo. Si du piyoro, Oimu Iwanbi Lûli Saepuyo, Dupuopli. Lûli Saepuyo Dupuopli. Yelo roke piyo. Si inakei ruri kep.*
Si ke du piyo Si du piyo=ro Oimu Iwanbi Lûli Saepu-yo
Si APH bush take.PP Si bush take.PP=EMPH Oimu Iwanbi Lûli Saepu-LOC
Dupuopli Lûli Saepu-yo Dupuopli yelo ro-ke piyo Si
Dupuopli Lûli Saepu-LOC Dupuopli ground PROX-APH take.PP Si
i-nake-i ruri kep
DU.S-live-DU.S child 3SG.POSS
'Si took the bush. Si appropriated the forest: Oimu, Iwanbi, Lûli and Saepu, Dupuopli. Lûli and Saepu, Dupuopli. This land he took. Si lives (there with) his sons.'

(8) *Yaewi Bewoyo. Yaewi ppue Isi Daruka, Bewo yo nake.*
Yaewi Bewo-yo Yaewi ppue Isi Daru-ka Bewo yo nake
Yaewi Bewo-LOC Yaewi go.up Isi Daru-PATH Bewo location stay
'Yaewi and Bewo. Yaewi goes up towards Isi Daru, Bewo stays here.'

(9) *Si lero, Kili neuli Isi. Ko Si Ossimayo oki nake. Yelo ki piyo, yelo ki napo.*
Si le=ro Kili ne-uli Isi ko Si Ossima-yo o-ki nake
Si go=EMPH Kili go.thither-PROG Isi ko Si Ossima-LOC PROX-APH live

[11]The sons of Lis, Waia and Yau, are both members of the Imop clan. Margaret wants to point at this by the repetition *Imopwe Imopwe*. Actually, this is a special construction, since the verbal suffix *-we* is cliticised to a noun, probably short for *Imop karimpowe*.

yelo ki piyo yelo ki napo
ground APH take.PP ground APH come.inside.PL.PP
'Si walks and walks, he names Kili and Isi. I am Si, I live here in Ossima. He appropriated the land, he came to the site.'[12]

(10) *Oimu Bu nake. Iwanbi Lûli Saepuyo Dupuopli ikepro, du yelo.*
Oimu Bu nake Iwanbi Lûli Saepu-yo Dupuopli ikep=ro du
Oimu Bu live Iwanbi Lûli Saepu-LOC Dupuopli POSS.EMPH=EMPH bush
yelo
ground
'Oimu. Bu lives there. Iwanbi Lûli Saepuyo Dupuopli is his, the bush, the ground.'[13]

(11) *Yelo ki napo: Omupaek Ouwin Ye Win Duppua Diyewi Yewi Bua Omal Bal Oli Lil Oipol Ipol Akos Ono Pusuwei. Du roke Waiapi Yaupi Jeromepi. Onoro piyeno, yelo bo yala ino moliye.*
yelo ki napo Omupaek Ouwin Ye Win Duppua
ground APH come.inside.PL.O.PP Omupaek Ouwin Ye Win Duppua
Diyewi Yewi Bua Omal Bal Oli Lil Oipol Ipol Akos Ono Pusuwei du
Diyewi Yewi Bua Omal Bal Oli Lil Oipol Ipol Akos Ono Pusuwei bush
ro-ke Waia-pi Yau-pi Jerome-pi ono=ro piye-no
PROX.EMPH-APH Waia-POSS Yau-POSS Jerome-POSS man=EMPH take-CO
yelo bo yala i-no moliye
ground word now DIST-INS say.PL
'(Si) came to the land: Omupaek, Ouwin, Ye, Win, Duppua, Diyewi, Omal, Bal, Oli, Lil, Oipol, Ipol, Akos, Ono, Pusuwei. This bush is Waia's, Yau's, Jerome's. If someone takes the land, they are now reclaiming it with these (names).'[14]

[12]The names Isi and Osi are quite probably derived from deictics and the ancestor's name Si: Isi literally means 'there-Si' and Osi means 'here-Si'. However, the original deictic centre cannot be reconstructed. Most probably, the names should reassure his vast appropriation of land.

[13]The possessive pronoun 'his' refers to the lineage of Nakei, the second son of Si, while Bu is Si's first son.

[14]Traditionally the father allots the bush sections of the family to his sons in life, and, by doing so, avoids disagreements after his death. The name Ye actually refers to a person, as Margaret inserts in Tok Pisin. This insert is not transcribed.

(12) *Silkum Waiapi Yaupi, Silkum. Mounten Mamal i stap antap.*
Silkum Waia-pi Yau-pi Silkum maunten Mamal i stap
Silkum Waia-POSS Yau-POSS Silkum mountain Mamal PRED be.there
antap.
upriver
'Silkum belongs to Waia, belongs to Yau, Silkum. The mountain Mamal is upriver.'[15]

[15]This is the end of the Kilmeri text. Here Margaret switches to Tok Pisin and continues in Tok Pisin with the reconfirmation of the land claims of Lis Osi's sons towards any other claims by far relatives or newcomers.

A.3 Sakou

Introduction

The story of *Sakou* was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in August/September 2000. This is a creation story from the real world. The creator is Sakou. In later remarks on this story, Margaret compared him to Jesus, who also provides people with everything they need. Note that the text contains a considerable amount code-switching to Tok Pisin.

Summary & background

The story recounts the creation of the "golden world" in which the Kilmeri once lived. Sakou was the creator of all kinds of food, especially wild animals and sago. He grew up as an abandoned boy far away from his family and lived alone in the forest. By staying in a tree, he was able to sustain himself. Through clever behaviour, he also managed to trick an evil bush spirit and get rid of it. He eventually moved to a second tree that grew very tall. Two sisters were living in its crown and took care of him. When the bush spirit returned, the three people tried to trick it. At first, the two women tried to overpower it, but without success. Finally, Sakou came up with the idea of feeding the people of a village to the bush spirit. The bush spirit was unsuccessful in devouring a large man, whereupon it died. After the bush spirit's death, the three returned to Sakou's original village, where his nephew recognised him as his uncle. The clan welcomed him, but Sakou saw that the people were eating poor food. So he showed them what he himself was eating. Whilst the people were asleep, he scattered all kinds of seeds on the ground, and after sunrise, in the early morning, the world looked different and offered plenty of good food. Since then, all the clans have been living together with Sakou.

The outline of the story is: (i) The hero grows up away from his family, (ii) he defeats a bush spirit, sacrificing the inhabitants of an entire village in the process, (iii) he receives support from two women, (iv) he returns to his people and his village and helps them to a much better life.

An interpretation of the story leads to the question why an entire village was sacrificed. We can even rephrase the question as: The inhabitants of which village were massacred? The answer to this is speculative, but it may reflect the fact that the Kilmeri invaded the Pual Puwani river basin. So the story would describe the displacement and killing of the putative former inhabitants. These earlier people may have travelled inland from the coast and had a different diet,

more fish and less sago. This would explain two details of the story. Firstly, even Sakou's own people had "fish mouths"; and secondly, Sakou was the creator of wild animals and various types of nutritious sago. In addition, the bush spirit, as a representative of evil, is a legacy of the forest people inland.

Parallel text

Ko mosaupi. Ono nem kep Sakou. Dari werino puyo panai, nem kiyopi Ipp Salyo. Sakou pu wenap. Wo kup waliyo, koliyeno. Kokoliyenapno ki ipiyo ppuo olyo. Dob seppue, "woppuo aeppu ule." Kuppuapno ini kepyo nakap. Kuppuapno kilîpno ki kinepno. Dob seku.

I will tell a story: Once upon a time there was a man, his name was Sakou. His sisters threw him into the river, their names were Ipp and Sal. The river carried Sakou away, but a *kup*-liana clung to him and he held on it. Holding on to the liana, he climbed up from the mud onto the riverbank. He looks up: "There are a lot of ripe *woppuo*-fruits." Having climbed the tree, he sat on one of its branches. He plucked some fruits and ate them; then he looked down.

Bike kupulapno kiro woppuo aeppu niulipop. Mi kupulapno miro nep. Sakou umul nek, "'Yala ko asa pi?" An seke kep sayo; bike kûm sekeyo lilip. Riyo bike kûm paliyepako. Woppuo aeppu kilîpno bike kûmyo disanewepu. Kidisanewepupno riyopuno pakeno. Kinepno mi ba koniyo. Kûm moni paspo. Bike mi dusui. Bike sui, paliya. "Yala ko asa pi?" Dari werino wonien yilauyo, wonienro, ari. Dari werino ari. Oke mi masalai bekimpo, nem kep sukupu. Masalai miro pulo. Sukupu kupulapno Sakou ke miro wonip. Robekimpono.

In the meanwhile a cassowary had come and was eating ripe *woppuo*-fruits. It came again and was eating more fruits. Sakou thought, "What do I do now?" His hand ran through his hair; there was a sharp cassowary bone in the hair. He pulled the cassowary bone out of his hair. Then he plucked ripe *woppuo*-fruits and pierced them on the sharp bone. Afterwards, he threw the speared fruits down to the cassowary. As the cassowary ate, he could not swallow the pierced fruits, because the sharp bone got stuck in his throat. So the cassowary would surely die. The cassowary died. It was dead. "What should I do now?" Sakou called out to his sisters in the village; he called and called

for them, but no one answered. The older and the younger sister, nothing. A bush spirit answered him. Its name is Sukupu. So the bush spirit came. When Sukupu had come, Sakou called out again and the spirit answered him.

Sakou umul senek, "Dari werino ipulero yena ba roisero." Ari. Sakou umul senek, "Ari, oke mi sukupu ki pulo." Min dopyo, woppuo boliyo nekip. Kupulapno dob seppuo, "De ke woppuo aeppu niro. Ba ko powaip, ko ni!" Sakou inap woppuo aeppu ppueno, pakeno. Kuppuenapno, riyopuno pakeno. Somapaip, dû wayap, koniyo. Eku kepka seku. Sakou umul nekip, "Ko yala asa pi? Masalai oke, ko yala koniyam. Sukupu oke, oke ono pari. Oke masalai, ou." Bikero lilip, muelno: "Bike puenpep, ko dob powe, de kûnap!" "O o, ko ke asa kûnam? Oki de puenpep!"

Sakou thought, "The two sisters are coming, together with other people." But no, it wasn't them. Sakou realised, "No, this one is the bush spirit again who came." It came closer and stood at the foot of the *woppuo*-tree. When the spirit had come to the tree, it looked up and said: "You are eating ripe *woppuo*-fruits, give me some so I can eat them." Sakou rushed and climbed further up, throwing down to it some ripe *woppuo*-fruits. The bush spirit tasted the pulp. It swallowed the fruits, and they fell right back out of its arse. Sakou was thinking back and forth, "What should I do now? The bush spirit could devour me. It is a bush spirit, not a human. Yes, an evil spirit." The dead cassowary was lying there, and the bush spirit said to Sakou: "Cut up the flesh of the cassowary! I'll watch you do it, come down!" "Oh no, how am I supposed to get down again? Here, you cut it up yourself!"

Woppuo roke nowap, amainu. Am app sayap. Sakou dob pop, puenpep. Pili kep yana royo, dû kep yana royo, kili kep yana royo. Eli pûke. "Eli, ko asa pi?," sukupu muelne. Sakou muelne: "Eli de sewili numuelyo, yorer. Pu kippuyo lili, de sewili bike eli." Welro sepue.

The *woppuo*-tree started growing, it became tall and almost touched the sky. Sakou watched as the bush spirit was carving the cassowary. The spirit put the skin in one pile, the meat in another pile, and the bones in a third pile. The intestins were hang-

Riyopuno eli pulolu, epo popiyo, puyo pusiyo.

ing out. "The intestins, what should I do with them?" the bush spirit asked him. Sakou said to him: "Carry the intestines far away, very far away. After all, the river is far away, you take the cassowary's intestines there." The spirit ran off carrying them until it finally emptied the intestines. The bush spirit rinsed out the faeces and washed the intestines in the river.

Sakou kukûnapno yeloyo, bike dû pele pili piyo. Puop namo. "Dû ko ar muli, oke ko pili powaip, dû ke ko delaine." Nep muelne: "Ko misoru, ari, dû ke ko delaine, ko pili powaip!" Pili namo, mappeyo. Milo, oyo Sakumyo. Sakum mi bo so muelne: "Pili ko powaip, ko mappeye." Lo Eppulyo, ki muelne: "Ko misoru, ko delaine, ko pili powaip!" Lo. Klapno oyo, Muemyo: "Ko dû moniseso powaikap! De ke miweppuap olyo!" Sakou riyo ppuo, sepue, mainu. Bikero melko, royenen kepno dari werino, Bo Bapulyo. Ukenakap Bo Bapulyo. Bo Bapulyo Sakou yaikoi. Riyo kuppuapno Bo Bapulyo lakii.

Having climbed down to the ground, Sakou took the meat, the rib bones, and the skin of the cassowary. He gave Puop, a friendly spirit, some of it. Yet Puop said: "I don't want meat, here, give me some skin! The meat pushes me down because of its weight." Nep, also a friendly spirit, said to Sakou: "Me neither, the meat is too heavy for me. Give me some skin!" He gave him some skin, and Nep cooked it. Sakou went on to Sakum, and Sakum said to him: "Give me skin, I'll cook it!" He went on to Epul, the next friendly spirit, who said to him: "Neither do I, the flesh presses me down. Give me skin!" Sakou went further on. Having come to Muem, the last friendly spirit, a termite, Muem said: "Give me a small piece of meat! All the other meat you carry up the mountain!" Sakou went up there, far and high. He carried the cassowary's meat and gave it together with his own things to the two sisters, Bo and Bapul. He lived with Bo and Bapul, and they took care of Sakou. When he had climbed up the tall tree, Bo

and Bapul accommodated him.[16]

Sukupu riyo puloro, "Eh, arka lo?" Sakou dorka ki yek. Puop sano: "Oh, ko pili powaikap! Lap, oki le." Igo Nepyo. Nep muelne: "Ko misoru, pili ko powaikap!" Eppul muli: "Ko misoru, bike pili ko powaikap!" Lo Sakumyo. Sakum muli: "Ko misoru, ko pili powaikap!" Rope kana kamappi Muemyo: "Ko dû moni powaikap, ko pari! De olyo ppuap!" "De lakiyo?" "Oh, ko pari, kero ko pari lakiye."

Then the bush spirit returned to the place where it had encountered Sakou, "Ah, where did he go?" So it followed Sakou's foot steps. Then the bush spirit meets all the friendly spirits, too. Puop asked the spirit: "Oh, give me some skin, then go this way!" The bush spirit continued to Nep, and Nep said: "Me too, give me some skin, too!" Then Eppul said: "Me too, give me some skin of the cassowary!" The bush spirit went on to Sakum who said: "Me too, give me also some skin!" At last the spirit quickly came to Muem who said: "Give me a small piece of meat, I have none! Go up the mountain!" The bush spirit replied: "Did you catch him?" "Oh no, I didn't, I never catch people."

Olro nowap, igo. Sukupu ppue. Wo suelpakoi. Yeloyo basekiko. Lelpapporo, riyopuno puana. "Eh, ko nuipapporo!" Boyo mippue, so solo igo. Bo Bapulyo yaup si, "De mek kwewap!" Ppue, sukupu mek kweulip. Yaup sipakenoi mekyo. Doriseku yeloyo, paliya, lelpapporo. Puana, miro ppue. "Yala koyo asa pi? Luo sûno mappeye." Luo mappeyoi. Mek kweuliwe ppue, luo pakoi. Em i pundaun. Doriseku yeloyo, lelro, puana, ppue. "Ko asa pi?," umul nek Sakou roise dari werino. Oyo yena yilau kiniyo leki. Yena yilau kiniyo riyo pulup. Yena moni, yena moni poyap. Ono

The mountain grew and grew as the bush spirit climbed up. The two sisters sitting above in the tree cut the rope through, and the spirit fell to the ground. It lay there as if it were dead, but eventually it got up again.[17] "Ah, I was fast asleep!" Then the bush spirit climbed up again, as before, further and further up. Bo and Bapul boiled hot water and said to it: "Open your mouth and leave it open!" The bush spirit climbs up and holds its mouth open. They poured the hot water into its mouth. The spirit fell backwards to the ground. It lay there as if it

[16] There is an inconsistency: Muem, the termite, speaks of a mountain to climb up, while Bo and Bapul, who take care of Sakou, live up in a tree. Living in a tree matches the oral tradition that is present in Text A.1, the story "Am".

bekulu bulika nekip. Moni mike bakonupko. Yena moni kukonupipno, ekuka masakaikûno. Ikoipuno ono ikoi bulika nekip. Ki koniyouro, paliya, basuiko. Riyopuno piyeip, yipyo panapo, sû piyamu. Sû paloyo layepanepo. Sû beriro. Ûli kep pulwolo.

were dead, but then got up again and climbed up anew. "What do we do now? We heat stones in the fire", and the sisters heated stones. The bush spirit opened its mouth wide as it climbed, and they threw stones into its mouth. Again it fell backwards to the ground, lay there and got up the third time. "What should I do now?" Sakou thought together with the two sisters. This is where Sakou brought the people of the village. All the people of the village came together there. Most of them were little people. The little people stood in line, and next to them a huge man stood. The little humans were devoured first by the bush spirit. It swallowed them, and they fell out of its arse in large numbers. Finally, the huge man stood next to them. The spirit tried to gulp him without success, then it died from this. Eventually Sakou and the sisters brought the dead spirit into its house. They collected firewood and set fire on the sago palm leaves. While the fire was blazing, the bush spirit's gall bladder burst.

Riyopuno Sakou roise Bo Bapulyo ukeinakap. Sakou muelno: "De rapiyekap!" Sakou loro, riyo piye. "De amulip o?" "O? Ro pari, ko ke ba mulip. Ba piyekap!" Loro. "Ou, ko ro mulip, upuna. Koyo ro mulip, upuna."

Sakou then went on to live with Bo and Bapul. They said to Sakou: "Go and get us something!" Sakou went and brought something, and he asked them: "Is this what you wanted?" "No, that's not it. I wanted something else, go and bring something else!" So off he went again. "Yes, that's what I

[17]The rope must have been a tool for climbing up the mountain; before it was said that a tree grows almost to the sky (cf. Sequence 22). The details of the scene are not entirely clear.

wanted. All right, that's what we two wanted."

Leno kredimponoipno, le rapiyenoi, melnoi. Wokekoi yilau kepyo, due dû roise le kiniyo roise wokoi. Asples kepyo, yilau duki kepyo wokoi. Yena riyo bal lilip. Iki liliko bal, bal somon, Sakou paeau. Sakou pewo boliyo nekip, bal dorno piyelayowe.

Having finished with his things, they took everything and carried it for him. They accompanied him to his village, carrying the sago flour and all the belongings. They went to his home village. People were playing ball there. During the game, the ball came close to Sakou, who was standing at the foot of a banana tree. He held the ball firmly with his foot.

Buka ruri ikep Sakoupi, Sakou ki nuni, ki lipelamuko. "De nuni! Ko ke soro de ke basuiko!" "Ari, ko ar sui. Ko unake, ou!" Ki loro. Epe aino muelien: "Nuni kopi unakap!" "Koyo puyo panai." "Ari, bapulok. Pewo boliyo neki, nuni kopi bapulok." Anno wiyoi, wo mopui. Riyopuno yipyo wokoi. Kowokeipno muelien: "Inepe kaikai aro ni?" "Uke kaikai o ni." "O ari, eroke yeloro." Mek moniseso wal puyo mapenoso. "Ko ke kaikai oki ni. Ine mek pusapopup!" Ro ponien bi, mike yena nosopuo. Seken nosopuo. Third ponienro, upuna, ar nosopuo. Mek ikepro ikoi bapok. Mi bi royeen, kloknino dupuano rokinino. Upuna, mek mepien. "Ine yala upuna ni."

Sakou's own child, his nephew, had already looked for the ball and got it. "My uncle! I really thought you died long ago!" "No, I did not die, I am still alive, yes!" The nephew went and told his father and mother: "My uncle was alive the whole time!" "We threw him into the river." "No, he didn't drown, he has come back. He is standing at the foot of the banana tree there. My uncle has returned." They hugged him and wept. Then they escorted him to the house. Having escorted him, Sakou said to them: "What are you eating?" "We eat this kind of food." "Oh no, this is just earth." Their mouths were very small, like those of fish in water. "I eat this food here. Wash your mouths!" He gave them this food, the meat of the cassowary. First the people vomited. The second time they also vomited. The third time he gave them meat, and they did not vomit. Their mouths have become larger. Sakou gave them meat again, once,

twice, three times. All right, they liked it. "Now you are eating properly."

Iki ke sukoipu nip. Yena duyo molo, moloro. Löina wepulupip ba. "Eh, bi ope ine asa ile? Ppulae pi, maki ari. Oke ko ke ba niwe, ppulae pi!" Kaikai kepro wepuloro. Sakou yena ukenakap. Yenaro puloro romiso, yena muelien: "Nuko due klokni ukenui." Yena kaikai kiniyo rapiyo, puno rino due. "Klokni nui, ukenui." Yena epul malemayo. Riyopuno due nui. Duam pul bi kili yûr kili bras kili bike kili royepiyi, kiniyo. Kiniyo royepiyi, roseliyo. Bike kri woni, biep woni, yûr bo mui. Duam kwe seki. Riyopuno duruwa, yena dob soriyap: duam sokiromaliyenake. Duku duamno nekiyenake, dikana numomo, kiniyo nekiyenake. Bike biepno kri woninake, yûr bo mui. Riyopuno duruwei, du baruweko.

But they still ate millipedes. People went into the forest, and shouting *löi löi löi* they brought millipedes home. "Ah, how do you eat this meat? It's bad, it's not good. No, this stuff, I never eat it, it's bad!" He brought his own food, and Sakou continued to live together with the people. People from other clans also came there, and Sakou said to them: "For one night we will all sleep together." The people fetched all kinds of food and water and firewood, and Sakou repeated: "For one night we will all sleep together." The people obeyed and finally slept. Then Sakou threw around sago seeds, pig bones, bird bones, bandicoot bones, cassowary bones, all sorts of bone. He threw all these bones around. He created the animals. The cassowaries call *kri*, the boars call, the birds call. Dried sago ribs also fell down. Finally it is early morning and people looked in amazement: There were *duam*-palms in abundance. Everywhere stand *duku*- and *duam*-palms, *dikana*- and *numomo*-palms, all kinds of palmtrees abound. Cassowaries and wild boars were calling, birds were singing. It is early morning and the darkness is over.

Bo Sakoupi kuru, bo maki.

Sakou's story is over. It's a good story.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko mosaupi. Ono nem kep Sakou. Dari werino puyo panai, nem kiyopi Ipp Salyo.*
ko mosaupi ono nem kep Sakou dari weri-no
I teach man name 3SG.POSS Sakou older.sister younger.sister-INS
pu-yo pana-i nem kiyo-pi Ipp Sal-yo
river-LOC put.thither.PP-DU.A name APH.DU-POSS Ipp Sal-LOC
'I will tell (a story). (Once upon a time there was) a man, his name was Sakou. His sisters threw him into the river, their names were Ipp and Sal.'

(2) *Sakou pu wenap. Wo kup waliyo, koliyeno.*
Sakou pu wene-p wo_kup waliyo
Sakou river carry.thither-PC kind.of.creeper twine.around.PP
koliye-no
hang-3SG.OR.PP
'The river carried Sakou away, (but) a *kup*-liana clung to him and he held on it.'

(3) *Kokoliyenapno ki ipiyo ppuo olyo. Dob seppue, "Woppuo aeppu ule."*
k-koliye-ne-p-no ki ipi-yo ppuo ol-yo dob seppue
SUB-hang-3SG.OR-PC-CO APH clay-LOC go.up.PP mountain-LOC eye go.up
woppuo aeppu ule
kind.of.fruit ripe be.there.PL
'Holding on to the liana, he climbed up from the mud onto the river bank. He looks up: "There are (a lot of) ripe *woppuo*-fruits."'

(4) *Kuppuapno ini kepyo nakap. Kuppuapno kilîpno ki kinepno. Dob seku.*
k-ppue-p-no ini kep-yo nake-p k-ppue-p-no
SUB-go.up-PC-CO branch 3SG.POSS-LOC sit-PC SUB-go.up-PC-CO
k-lî-pi-no ki k-ni-p-no dob seku
SUB-pluck-PC-CO APH SUB-eat-PC-CO eye fall.PP
'Having climbed (the tree), he was sitting on one of its branches. Having climbed up and plucked (some fruits) and eaten (them), he looked down.'

(5) *Bike kupulapno kiro woppuo aeppu niulipop. Mi kupulapno miro nep.*
bike k-pule-p-no ki=ro woppuo aeppu
cassowary SUB-come-PC-CO APH=EMPH kind.of.fruit ripe
ni-uli-pi-p mi k-pule-p-no mi=ro ni-p
eat-PROG-LV-PC then SUB-come-PC-CO SO=EMPH eat-PC
'A cassowary had come, and it was eating ripe *woppuo*-fruits. After having come (again) it was eating (more fruits).'

(6) *Sakou umul nek, "Yala ko asa pi?" An seke kep sayo; bike kûm sekeyo lilip.*
Sakou umul_nek yala ko asa pi an seke kep sayo bike
Sakou think.PP now I how do hand hair 3SG.POSS touch.PP cassowary
kûm seke-yo lili-p
sharp.bone hair-LOC be.there-PC
'Sakou thought, "What do I do now?" (His) hand touched his hair; there is always a sharp cassowary bone in his hair.'

(7) *Riyo bike kûm paliyepako. Woppuo aeppu kilîpno bike kûmyo disanewepu.*
ri-yo bike kûm paliyepako woppuo aeppu
DIST-LOC cassowary sharp.bone pull.out.PP kind.of.fruit ripe
k-lî-p-no bike kûm-yo disane-wepu
SUB-pluck-PC-CO cassowary sharp.bone-LOC skewer-QUANT.O.PP
'He pulled the cassowary bone out (of his hair). (Then) he plucked ripe *woppuo*-fruits and speared them on the sharp cassowary bone.'

(8) *Kidisanewepupno riyopuno pakeno.*
k-disane-wepi-p-no riyopuno pake-no
SUB-skewer-QUANT.O-PC-CO then throw-3SG.OR.PP
'Having speared (them), he threw (them) (to the cassowary).'

(9) *Kinepno mi ba koniyo. Kûm moni paspo. Bike mi dusui.*
k-ni-p-no mi ba koniyo kûm moni pas-po
SUB-eat-PC-CO so NEG.EMPH swallow.PP sharp.bone throat block-LV.PP
bike mi d-sui
cassowary so LKH-die
'As (the cassowary) ate, it (could) not swallow (the pierced fruits). The sharp bone got stuck in its throat. So the cassowary would surely die.'

(10) *Bike sui, paliya. "Yala ko asa pi?" Dari werino wonien yilauyo, wonienro, ari.*
bike sui paliya yala ko asa pi dari weri-no
cassowary die be.dead now I how do older.sister younger.sister-INS
woni-en yilau-yo woni-en=ro ari
call-NSG.OR.PP village-LOC call-NSG.OR.PP=EMPH no
'The cassowary is dying. It is dead. "What do I do now?" He called out for his sisters in the village, he called and called for them. Nothing.'

(11) *Dari werino ari. Oke mi masalai bekimpo, nem kep sukupu.*
dari weri-no ari o-ke mi masalai
older.sister younger.sister-INS no PROX-APH again bush.spirit(TP)
bekim-po nem kep sukupu
answer(TP)-LV.PP name 3SG.POSS bush.spirit
'(His) older and younger sister, no. This one again, the bush spirit, answered. Its name is Sukupu.'

(12) *Masalai miro pulo. Sukupu kupulapno Sakou ke miro wonip. Robekimpono.*
masalai mi=ro pulo sukupu k-pule-p-no Sakou ke
bush.spirit(TP) so=EMPH come.PP bush.spirit SUB-come-PC-CO Sakou APH
mi=ro woni-p ro=bekim-pi-no
again=EMPH call-PC EMPH=answer(TP)-LV-3SG.OR.PP
'So the bush spirit came. When Sukupu had come, Sakou was calling out again, (and) the bush spirit answered him.'

(13) *Sakou umul senek, "Dari werino ipulero yena ba roisero." Ari.*
Sakou umul_senek dari weri-no i-pule=ro
Sakou think.PP older.sister younger.sister-INS DU.S-come=EMPH
yena ba roise=ro ari
people other together=EMPH no
'Sakou thought, "The two sisters are coming together with other people," (but) no.'

(14) *Sakou umul senek, "Ari, oke mi sukupu ki pulo." Min dopyo, woppuo boliyo nekip.*
Sakou umul_senek ari o-ke mi sukupu ki pulo
Sakou think.PP no PROX-APH again bush.spirit APH come.PP
min dopyo woppuo boliyo neki-p
come.hither.PP next.to kind.of.fruit.tree at.the.foot.of stand-PC
'Sakou realised, "No, this one is the bush spirit who came." (The bush spirit) came closer and stood at the base of the *woppuo*-tree.'

(15) *Kupulapno dob seppuo, "De ke woppuo aeppu niro. Ba ko powaip, ko ni!"*
k-pule-p-no dob seppuo de ke woppuo aeppu
SUB-come-PC-CO eye go.skywards.PP you TOP kind.of.fruit ripe
ni=ro ba ko powai-p ko ni
eat=EMPH some I give.1SG.OR-IMP I eat
'Having come (closer), it looked up: "What about you? You are eating ripe *woppuo*-fruits. Give me some, (so) I eat (them)!"'

(16) *Sakou inap woppuo aeppu ppueno, pakeno.*
Sakou ina-p woppuo aeppu ppue-no pake-no
Sakou hurry-PC kind.of.fruit ripe go.up-3SG.OR.PP throw-3SG.OR.PP
'Sakou was rushing. He climbed up and threw some ripe *woppuo*-fruits to the spirit.'

(17) *Kuppuenapno, riyopuno pakeno. Somapaip, dû wayap, koniyo. Eku kepka seku.*
k-ppue-ne-p-no riyopuno pake-no somapai-p dû
SUB-go.up-3SG.OR-PC-CO then throw-3SG.OR.PP taste-PC flesh
waye-p koniyo eku kep-ka seku
try-PC swallow.PP anus 3SG.POSS-PATH fall.PP
'Having climbed up, (Sakou) threw (some fruits) (down) to it. (The bush spirit) was tasting, it was trying the pulp. It swallowed (them), and (the fruits) fell right out of its arse.'[18]

(18) *Sakou umul nekip, "Ko yala asa pi?"*
Sakou umul_neki-p ko yala asa pi
Sakou think-PC I now how do
'Sakou was thinking (back and forth), "What should I do now?"'

(19) *"Masalai oke, ko yala koniyam. Sukupu oke, oke ono pari. Oke masalai, ou."*
masalai o-ke ko yala koniye-m sukupu o-ke
bush.spirit(TP) PROX-APH I MOD swallow-POS bush.spirit PROX-APH
o-ke ono pari o-ke masalai ou
PROX-APH man NEG.COP PROX-APH bush.spirit(TP) yes
'"A bush spirit. It could devour me. A bush spirit is this one, it is not a human. Yes, it is a bush spirit."'

(20) *Bikero lilip. Muelno: "Bike puenpep, ko dob powe, de kûnap!"*
bike-ro lili-p mueli-no bike puenpi-p
cassowary-EMPH be.there-PC talk.to-3SG.OR.PP cassowary cut.meat-IMP
ko dob pi-we de kûne-p
I eye LV-TER you go.down-IMP
'The (dead) cassowary was lying there. (The bush spirit) said to (Sakou), "Cut up the flesh of the cassowary, I will watch you (do it), come down!"'

[18]When food comes out of a person's anus undigested, this is a sign that the person in fact is a bush spirit.

(21) *"O o, ko ke asa kûnam? Oki de puenpep!"*
o o ko ke asa kûne-m o-ki de puenpi-p
oh oh I TOP how go.down-POS PROX-APH you cut.meat-IMP
'"Oh no. How could I go down? Here you go, cut (it) up (yourself)!"'

(22) *Woppuo roke nowap, amainu. Am app sayap.*
woppuo ro-ke nowe-p a-mainu am app saye-p
kind.of.fruit.tree PROX-APH grow-PC IMP3-high almost sky touch-PC
'This *woppuo*-tree was growing very tall. It would almost touch the sky.'

(23) *Sakou dob pop, puenpep. Pili kep yana royo, dû kep yana royo, kili kep yana royo.*
Sakou dob po-p puenpi-p pili kep yana royo dû kep
Sakou eye LV-PC cut.meat-PC skin 3SG.POSS other lay.PP meat 3SG.POSS
yana royo kili kep yana royo
other lay.PP bone 3SG.POSS other lay.PP
'Sakou was watching as (the bush spirit) was cutting up (the cassowary's flesh). Its skin (the spirit) put in one (pile), its meat it put in another (pile), and its bones it put in a third (pile).'

(24) *Eli pûke. "Eli, ko asa pi?," sukupu muelne.*
eli pûke eli ko asa pi sukupu mueli-ne
intestines lose intestines I how do bush.spirit talk.to-3SG.OR
'The intestines are hanging out. "The intestines, what do I do (with them)?" the bush spirit asks him.'

(25) *Sakou muelne: "Eli de sewili numuelyo, yorer. Pu kippuyo lili, de sewili bike eli."*
Sakou mueli-ne eli de sewili numuelyo yorer
Sakou talk.to-3SG.OR intestines you carry.away far.away very.far.away
pu kippuyo lili de sewili bike eli
river far.away be.there you carry.away cassowary intestines
'Sakou says to it, "Carry the intestines far away, very far away. The river is very far away. You carry the cassowary's intestines (there)."'

(26) *Welro sepue. Riyopuno eli pulolu, epo popiyo, puyo pusiyo.*
wel=ro sepue riyopuno eli pulolu epo
carry.PP=EMPH run.away eventually intestines take.out.PL.O.PP faeces

popiyo pu-yo pusiyo
take.out.PP river-LOC wash.PP
'(The bush spirit) ran off carrying (the intestines). Finally it emptied the intestines, rinsed out the faeces and washed (the intestines) in the river.'

(27) *Sakou kukûnapno yeloyo, bike dû pele pili piyo.*
Sakou k-kûne-p-no yelo-yo bike dû pele pili
Sakou SUB-go.down-PC-CO ground-LOC cassowary meat rib.cage skin
piyo
take.PP
'Having climbed onto the ground, Sakou took the meat, the rib bones, and the skin of the cassowary.'[19]

(28) *Puop namo. "Dû ko ar muli, oke ko pili powaip, dû ke ko delaine."*
Puop namo dû ko ar muli o-ke ko pili
Puop give.3SG.OR.PP meat I NEG want PROX-APH I skin
powai-p dû ke ko d-laine
give.1SG.OR-IMP meat TOP I LKH-lose.balance
'He gave Puop (some of it) (who replied): "I don't want the meat, give me the skin instead! The meat is too heavy for me."'

(29) *Nep muelne: "Ko misoru, ari, dû ke ko delaine, ko pili powaip!" Pili namo, mappeyo.*
Nep mueli-ne ko misoru ari dû ke ko d-laine ko pili
Nep talk.to-3SG.OR I too no meat APH I LKH-lose.balance I skin
powai-p pili namo mappeyo
give.1SG.OR-IMP skin give.3SG.OR.PP cook.over.fire.PP
'Nep says to him: "Me neither, the meat is too heavy for me, give me the skin!" He gave him some skin and (Nep) cooked it.'

(30) *Milo, oyo Sakumyo. Sakum mi bo so muelne: "Pili ko powaip, ko mappeye."*
mi-lo o-yo Sakum-yo Sakum mi bo so mueli-ne
ITER-go.PP PROX-LOC Sakum-LOC Sakum again word like talk.to-3SG.OR
pili ko powai-p ko mappeye
skin I give.1SG.OR-IMP I cook.over.fire
'He went on here, to Sakum, and Sakum talks to him like this: "Give me some skin, I'll cook (it)."'

[19]In the next episode, Sakou shares the cassowary with five friendly spirits, namely anthropomorphised grasses, ferns, and ants that bear names.

(31) *Lo Eppulyo, ki muelne: "Ko misoru, ko delaine, ko pili powaip!"*
lo Eppul-yo ki mueli-ne ko misoru ko d-laine ko
go.PP Eppul-LOC APH talk.to-3SG.OR I too I LKH-lose.balance I
pili powai-p
skin give.1SG.OR-IMP
'He went to Eppul who says to him: "Me neither, (the meat) is too heavy for me, give me some skin!"'

(32) *Lo. Klapno oyo, Muemyo: "Ko dû moniseso powaikap! De ke miweppuap olyo!"*
lo k-le-p-no o-yo Muem-yo ko dû moniseso
go.PP SUB-go-PC-CO PROX-LOC Muem-LOC I meat very.little
powai-ke-p de ke mi-weppue-p ol-yo
give.1SG.OR-INGR-IMP you TOP ITER-carry.up-IMP mountain-LOC
'(Sakou) went on. When he came to Muem (the termite said): "Give me a small piece of meat! Then you carry (the cassowary) up the mountain!"'

(33) *Sakou riyo ppuo, sepue, mainu. Bikero melko, royenen kepno dari werino, Bo Bapulyo.*
Sakou ri-yo ppuo sepue mainu bike=ro
Sakou DIST-LOC go.up.PP run.away high cassowary=EMPH
meli-ko roye-nen kep-no dari
carry.PL.O-RTS give-NSG.OR.PP 3SG.POSS-INS older.sister
weri-no Bo Bapul-yo
younger.sister-INS Bo Bapul-LOC
'Sakou went up there, far and high. He carried the cassowary and gave it with his (own things) to his sisters Bo and Bapul.'[20]

(34) *Ukenakap Bo Bapulyo. Bo Bapulyo Sakou yaikoi. Riyo kuppuapno Bo Bapulyo lakii.*
uke-nake-p Bo Bapul-yo Bo Bapul-yo Sakou yai-ko-i
jointly-live-PC Bo Bapul-LOC Bo Bapul-LOC Sakou take.care.of-RTS-DU.A
ri-yo k-ppue-p-no Bo Bapul-yo laki-i
tree-LOC SUB-go.up-PC-CO Bo Bapul-LOC fetch.people-DU.A
'He lived together with Bo and Bapul, and they took care of Sakou. When he had climbed the tall tree, Bo and Bapul accomodated him.'

[20]The two women in the tree, Bo and Bapul, behave like sisters towards Sakou. This reminds of the four women living in a tree house, who take care of male children, as told in the story of Am (Text A.1).

(35) *Sukupu riyo puloro, "Eh, arka lo?" Sakou dorka ki yek.*
sukupu ri-yo pulo=ro eh arka lo Sakou dor-ka
bush.spirit DIST-LOC come.PP=EMPH eh where go.PP Sakou foot-PATH
ki yek
APH follow.one's.traces.PP
'The bush spirit came (back) there, "Ah, where did he go?" It followed Sakou's foot steps.'[21]

(36) *Puop sano: "Oh, ko pili powaikap! Lap, oki le."*
Puop sa-no oh ko pili powai-ke-p le-p o-ki le
Puop ask-3SG.OR.PP oh I skin give.1SG.OR-INGR-IMP go-IMP PROX-APH go
'Puop asked (the spirit): "Oh, give me some skin! (Then) go, go this way!"'

(37) *Igo Nepyo. Nep muelne: "Ko misoru, pili ko powaikap!"*
igo Nep-yo Nep mueli-ne ko misoru pili ko
and.so.forth(TP) Nep-LOC Nep talk.to-3SG.OR I too skin I
powai-ke-p
give.1SG.OR-INGR-IMP
'And so forth to Nep. Nep says: "Me too, give me also some skin!"'

(38) *Eppul muli: "Ko misoru, bike pili ko powaikap!"*
Eppul muli ko misoru bike pili ko powai-ke-p
Eppul say I too cassowary skin I give.1SG.OR-INGR-IMP
'Eppul says: "Me too, give me some skin of the cassowary, too!"'

(39) *Lo Sakumyo. Sakum muli: "Ko misoru, ko pili powaikap!"*
lo Sakum-yo Sakum muli ko misoru ko pili powai-ke-p
go.PP Sakum-LOC Sakum say I too I skin give.1SG.OR-INGR-IMP
'(The bush spirit) went on to Sakum who says: "Me too, give me some skin, too!"'

(40) *Rope kana kamappi Muemyo: "Ko dû moni powaikap, ko pari!*
rope kana kamap-pi Muem-yo ko dû moni powai-ke-p
why fast arrive(TP)-LV Muem-LOC I meat small give.1SG.OR-INGR-IMP
ko pari
I NEG.COP
'And now? (The spirit) quickly arrives at Muem (who says): "Give me a small (piece of) meat, I have none!"'

[21] In the next episode, the bush spirit meets all the friendly spirits whom Sakou has met before, and it also shares food with them.

(41) *De olyo ppuap!" "De lakiyo?" "Oh, ko pari, kero ko pari lakiye."*
de ol-yo ppue-p de lakiyo oh ko pari
you mountain-LOC go.up-IMP you fetch.people.PP oh I NEG.COP
ke=ro ko pari lakiye
TOP=EMPH I NEG.COP fetch.people
'(Muem continues), "Go up the mountain!" – "Did you catch (him)?" – "Oh no, I didn't. Such a thing? I never catch people!"'

(42) *Olro nowap, igo. Sukupu ppue.*
ol=ro nowe-p igo sukupu ppue
mountain=EMPH grow-PC and.so.forth(TP) bush.spirit go.up
'The mountain was growing taller and taller as the bush spirit climbed up.'

(43) *Wo suelpakoi. Yeloyo basekiko. Lelpapporo, riyopuno puana.*
wo suelpako-i yelo-yo ba-seki-ko
rope cut.through.PP-DU.A ground-LOC FAC-fall-FAC
lelpappo=ro riyopuno puana
lie.motionless.PP=EMPH eventually stand.up.PP
'(The sisters) cut the rope. (The bush spirit) has fallen onto the ground. It lay there like dead. (But) eventually it got up (again).'

(44) *"Eh, ko nuipapporo!" Boyo mippue, so solo igo.*
eh ko nuipappo=ro boyo mi-ppue so solo
eh I sleep.motionless.PP=EMPH later ITER-go.up like only
igo
and.so.forth(TP)
'"Ah, I was fast asleep!" (thinks the bush spirit). Then it climbs up again, like before, further and further.'

(45) *Bo Bapulyo yaup si, "De mek kwewap!"*
Bo Bapul-yo yaup si de mek kwe-we-p
Bo Bapul-LOC hot.water cook you mouth open.mouth-TER-IMP
'Bo and Bopul boil hot water (and say to the bush spirit): "Open your mouth and leave it open!"'

(46) *Ppue, sukupu mek kweulip. Yaup sipakenoi mekyo.*
ppue sukupu mek kwe-uli-p yaup
go.up bush.spirit mouth open.mouth-PROG-PC hot.water
sipake-no-i mek-yo
pour.down-3SG.OR.PP-DU.A mouth-LOC
'It climbs up. The bush spirit held its mouth open, and they poured hot water into its mouth.'

(47) *Doriseku yeloyo, paliya, lelpapporo. Puana, miro ppue.*
doriseku yelo-yo paliya lelpappo=ro puana
fall.back.PP ground-LOC be.dead lie.motionless.PP=EMPH stand.up.PP
mi=ro ppuo
again=EMPH go.up.PP
'It fell backwards on the ground and (seems to be) dead. (The spirit) lay there like dead. (But) it got up and climbed up again.'

(48) *"Yala koyo asa pi? Luo sûno mappeye." Luo mappeyoi.*
yala koyo asa pi luo sû-no mappeye luo
now we.DU.EXCL how do stone fire-INS roast.over.fire stone
mappeyo-i
roast.over.fire.PP-DU.A
'"What do we do now? We heat stones in the fire," (and) they heated stones.'

(49) *Mek kweuliwe ppue, luo pakoi. Em i pundaun. Doriseku yeloyo, lelro, puana, ppue.*
mek kwe-uli-we ppue luo pako-i em
mouth open.mouth-PROG-TER go.up stone throw.PP-DU.A APH(TP)
i pundaun doriseku yelo-yo lel=ro puana
PRED(TP) fall(TP) fall.back.PP ground-LOC be.there.PP=EMPH stand.up.PP
ppue
go.up
'(The bush spirit) opens the mouth wide as it climbs, and they threw stones (into its mouth). It fell. It fell backwards onto the ground, lay (there), got up, and climbs (again).'

(50) *"Ko asa pi?" umul nek Sakou roise dari werino.*
ko asa pi umul_nek Sakou roise dari weri-no
I how do think.PP Sakou together older.sister younger.sister-INS
'"What am I going to do?" Sakou thought together with his sisters.'

(51) *Oyo yena yilau kiniyo leki. Yena yilau kiniyo riyo pulup.*
o-yo yena yilau kiniyo leki yena yilau kiniyo
PROX-LOC people village all fetch.people.PL.O people village all
ri-yo pulup
DIST-LOC come.PL.PP
'This is where he brought all the people from the village. All the people from the village came there.'

(52) *Yena moni, yena moni poyap. Ono bekulu bulika nekip.*
yena moni yena moni poye-p ono bekulu bulika neki-p
people small people small stand.PL-PC man huge side.by.side stand-PC
'(There were) little people. The little people were standing (in line). Next to (them) a huge man was standing.'

(53) *Moni mike bakonupko. Yena moni kukonupipno, ekuka masakaikûno.*
moni mike ba-konupi-ko yena moni k-konupi-p-no
small first FAC-swallow.PL.O-FAC people small SUB-swallow.PL.O-PC-CO
eku-ka masakaikûno
anus-PATH fall.down.PL.PP
'The little (people) were devoured first (by the bush spirit). After it had swallowed the little humans, they fell out of its arse in large numbers.'

(54) *Ikoipuno ono ikoi bulika nekip. Ki koniyouro, paliya, basuiko.*
ikoipuno ono ikoi bulika neki-p ki koniye-ou=ro
at.last man big side.by.side stand-PC APH swallow-FRUS=EMPH
paliya ba-sui-ko
be.dead FAC-die-FAC
'At last the big man was standing next to (the bush spirit). It tried to devour him without success. The spirit is dead. It has died.'

(55) *Riyopuno piyeip, yipyo panapo, sû piyamu. Sû paloyo layepanepo. Sû beriro. Ûli kep pulwolo.*
riyopuno piye-p yip-yo panapo sû piyamu sû
eventually take-PC house-LOC put.inside.PP fire collect.firewood.PP fire
palo-yo layepane-po sû beri=ro ûli
sago.thatches-LOC leave.behind-LV.PP fire burn=EMPH gall.bladder
kep pulwolo
3SG.POSS burst.PP
'Finally, they took (the dead bush spirit) and brought him into its house.

They collected firewood and set fire on the sago palm leaves. The fire blazed, and bush spirit's gall bladder burst.'

(56) *Riyopuno Sakou roise Bo Bapulyo ukeinakap.*
riyopuno Sakou roise Bo Bapul-yo uke-nake-p
then Sakou together Bo Bapul-LOC jointly-live-PC
'Then Bo and Bopul were living together with Sakou.'

(57) *Sakou muelno: "De rapiyekap!" Sakou loro, riyo piye. "De amulip o?"*
Sakou mueli-no de rapiye-ke-p Sakou lo=ro ri-yo
Sakou talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you fetch-INGR-IMP Sakou go.PP=EMPH DIST-LOC
piye de a-muli-p o
take you IMP3-like-PC PROX
'They said to Sakou: "Go get (us something)!" Sakou left. He brings (something and asks): "Is this what you wanted?"'[22]

(58) *"O? Ro pari, ko ke ba mulip. Ba piyekap!" Loro.*
o ro pari ko ke bayana muli-p bayana piye-ke-p
o PROX.EMPH NEG.COP I TOP different want-PC different take-INGR-IMP
lo=ro
go.PP=EMPH
'"Oh, this is not it. I wanted something different, go get something different!" So off he went.'

(59) *"Ou, ko ro mulip, upuna. Koyo ro mulip, upuna."*
ou ko ro muli-p upuna koyo ro muli-p upuna
yes I PROX.EMPH want-PC alright we.DU.EXCL PROX want-PC alright
'"Yes, that's what I wanted. Alright, that's what we wanted, alright."'

(60) *Leno kredimponoipno, le rapiyenoi, melnoi. Wokekoi yilau kepyo, due dû roise le kiniyo roise wokoi.*
le-no k-redim(TP)-pi-no-i-p-no le
things-INS SUB-make.ready-LV-3SG.OR-DU.A-PC-CO things
rapiyo-no-i meli-no-i woke-ko-i
fetch-3SG.OR.PP-DU.A carry.PL.O-3SG.OR.PP-DU.A accompany-RTS-DU.A

[22] It is not clear what the sisters want. Perhaps they want some special bush food like fruits or eggs.

yilau kep-yo due_dû roise le kiniyo roise
village 3SG.POSS-LOC sago.flour together belongings all together
woko-i
accompany.PP-DU.A
'When the two had finished with his things, they fetched (everything) and carried everything for him. They went with him to his village, with sago flour and with all his belongings they accompanied him (there).'

(61) *Asples kepyo, yilau duki kepyo wokoi. Yena riyo bal lilip.*
asples kep-yo yilau duki kep-yo woko-i
village(TP) 3SG.POSS-LOC village true 3SG.POSS-LOC accompany.PP-DU.A
yena ri-yo bal_lili-p
people DIST-LOC play.ball-PC
'To his village, his home village, they went with him. People were playing ball there.'

(62) *Iki liliko. Bal, bal somon, Sakou paeau. Sakou pewo boliyo nekip, bal dorno piyelayowe.*
iki lili-ko bal bal somon Sakou paeau Sakou pewo
APH.PL play-RTS ball ball come.hither.PP Sakou reach Sakou banana
boliyo neki-p bal dor-no piyelayo-we
at.the.foot.of stand-PC ball foot-INS hold.with.one's.foot.PP-TER
'They played. The ball, the ball came close and reached Sakou, who was standing at the base of a banana tree and firmly held the ball with his foot.'

(63) *Buka ruri ikep Sakoupi, Sakou ki nuni, ki lipelamuko.*
buka ruri ikep Sakou-pi Sakou ki
child.of.a.man's.sister child 3SG.POSS.EMPH Sakou-POSS Sakou APH
nuni ki lipelami-ko
maternal.uncle APH seek.hither-RTS
'His nephew, Sakou's own child, Sakou is the uncle. (His nephew) had already looked for (the ball).'

(64) *"De nuni! Ko ke soro de ke basuiko!" "Ari, ko ar sui. Ko unake, ou!"*
de nuni ko ke so=ro de ke ba-sui-ko ari ko
you maternal.uncle I TOP believe=EMPH you TOP FAC-die-FAC no I
ar sui ko u-nake ou
NEG die I DFAC-live yes
'"You are (my) uncle! I really thought you had died (long ago)!" – "No, I didn't die. Yes, I am still alive!"'

(65) *Ki loro. Epe aino muelien: "Nuni kopi unakap!"*
ki lo=ro epe ai-no mueli-en nuni
APH go.PP=EMPH mother father-INS talk.to-NSG.OR.PP maternal.uncle
ko-pi u-nake-p
1SG-POSS DFAC-live-PC
'(The nephew) went and told his father and mother: "My uncle was alive the whole time."'

(66) *"Koyo puyo panai." "Ari, bapulok. Pewo boliyo neki, nuni kopi bapulok."*
koyo pu-yo pana-i ari ba-pulo-ko pewo
we.DU.EXCL river-LOC put.thither.PP-DU.A no FAC-come-FAC banana
boliyo neki nuni ko-pi ba-pule-ko
at.the.foot.of stand maternal.uncle 1SG-POSS FAC-come-FAC
'(The sisters said), "We threw (him) into the river. (But) no (he didn't drown)." – "He has come (back) and is standing at the foot of the banana tree. My uncle has returned."'

(67) *Anno wiyoi, wo mopui. Riyopuno yipyo wokoi.*
an-no wiyo-i wo_mopu-i riyopuno yip-yo
arm-INS hold.PP-DU.A weep.PP-DU.A then house-LOC
woko-i
accompany.PP-DU.A
'They hugged (him) and wept. Then they accompanied him to the house.'

(68) *Kowokeipno muelien: "Inepe kaikai aro ni?" "Uke kaikai o ni." "O ari, eroke yeloro."*
k-woke-i-p-no mueli-en ine-pe kaikai
SUB-accompany-DU.A-PC-CO talk.to-NSG.OR.PP you.PL-Q food(TP)
a=ro ni uke kaikai o ni o ari ero-ke
which=EMPH eat we.EXCL food(TP) PROX eat PROX no PROX-APH
yelo=ro
soil=EMPH
'They had left with him, and he said to them: "Which kind of food do you eat?" – "We eat this food, this (kind of food)." – "This? No, this is just earth."'

(69) *Mek moniseso wal puyo mapenoso.*
mek moniseso wal pu-yo mape-no-so
mouth very.small fish water-LOC stay.PL-CO-SIM
'(Their) mouths were very small, like those of fish living in water.'

(70) *"Ko ke kaikai oki ni. Ine mek pusapopup!" Ro ponien bi, mike yena nosopuo.*
ko ke kaikai o-ki ni ine mek pusapopi-p ro
I TOP food PROX-APH eat you.PL mouth wash.PL.O-IMP PROX.EMPH
ponien bi mike yena nosopuo
give.NSG.OR.PP meat first people vomit.PP
'"I eat this food here. Wash (your) mouths!" He gave them this (food), meat (of the cassowary). First the people vomited.'

(71) *Seken nosopuo. Third ponienro, upuna, ar nosopuo. Mek ikepro ikoi bapok.*
seken nosopuo third ponien=ro upuna ar nosopuo
second(TP) vomit.PP third(TP) give.NSG.OR.PP=EMPH alright NEG vomit.PP
mek ikep=ro ikoi ba-pi-ko
mouth 3PL.POSS=EMPH big FAC-LV-FAC
'The second time they (also) vomited. The third time he gave them (meat), alright, they did not vomit. Their mouths have become larger.'

(72) *Mi bi royeen, kloknino dupuano rokinino. Upuna, mek mepien. "Ine yala upuna ni."*
mi bi roye-en klokni-no dupua-no rokini-no upuna mek
again meat give-NSG.OR.PP one-INS two-INS three-INS alright mouth
mepi-en ine yala upuna ni
taste.nice-NSG.OR.PP you.PL now alright eat
'He gave them meat again, once, twice, three times. All right, (their) mouths taste nice to them. "Now you are eating properly."'

(73) *Iki ke sukoipu nip. Yena duyo molo, moloro. Löina wepulupip ba.*
iki ke sukoipu ni-p yena du-yo molo molo=ro
APH.PL APH millipede eat-PC people bush-LOC go.PL.PP go.PL.PP=EMPH
löi-na wepulupi-p ba
löi-AFF bring.PL.A-PC other
'(But) they still ate millipedes. People went into the forest, went (there) and *löi löi löi* (calling) they brought something (home).'

(74) *"Eh, bi ope ine asa ile? Ppulae pi, maki ari. Oke ko ke ba niwe, ppulae pi!"*
eh bi o-pe ine asa ile ppulae pi maki ari o-ke ko ke
eh meat PROX-Q you.PL how eat.PL.A bad LV good no PROX-APH I TOP
ba ni-we ppulae pi
NEG.EMPH eat-TER bad LV
'"Ah, how do you eat this meat? It's bad, it's not good! This (stuff), I never eat it, it's bad!"'

(75) *Kaikai kepro wepuloro. Sakou yena ukenakap.*
kaikai kep=ro wepulo=ro Sakou yena uke-nake-p
food(TP) 3SG.POSS=EMPH bring.PP=EMPH Sakou people jointly-sit-PC
'He brought his food, (and) Sakou continued to live with the people.'

(76) *Yenaro puloro romiso, yena muelien: "Nuko due klokni ukenui."*
yena=ro pulo=ro ro=miso yena mueli-en nuko
people=EMPH come.PP=EMPH EMPH=too people talk.to-NSG.OR.PP WE.INCL
due klokni uke-nui
night one jointly-sleep
'The people (from other clans) also came there, (and Sakou) said to them: "For one night we will all sleep together."'

(77) *Yena kaikai kiniyo rapiyo, puno rino due. "Klokni nui, ukenui."*
yena kaikai kiniyo rapiyo pu-no ri-no due klokni
people food(TP) all fetch.PP water-INS wood-INS night one
nui uke-nui
do.intentionally jointly-sleep
'The people fetched all kinds of food and water and firewood, (and Sakou repeated): "For one night we will all sleep together."'

(78) *Yena epul malemayo. Riyopuno due nui.*
yena epul malemayo riyopuno due_nu
people ear obey.PP then sleep.PP
'The people obeyed, and finally they slept.'

(79) *Duam pul bi kili yûr kili bras kili bike kili royepiyi, kiniyo.*
duam pul bi kili yûr kili bras kili bike kili
kind.of.sago seed pig bone bird bone bandicoot bone cassowary bone
royepiyi kiniyo
throw.around all
'Sago seeds, pig bones, bird bones, bandicoot bones, cassowary bones, all sorts (of bones) (Sakou) throws around.'

(80) *Kiniyo royepiyi, roseliyo. Bike kri woni, biep woni, yûr bo mui. Duam kwe seki.*
kiniyo royepiyu ro=seliyo bike kri woni biep woni yûr
all throw.around.PP EMPH=SOW.PP cassowary kri call boar call bird
bo mui duam kwe seki
sound speak kind.of.sago dried.rib.of.sago.palm fall
'All (these bones) he throws around. He sowed (and created the animals):

the cassowaries call *kri*, the boars call, the birds call, dried sago palm ribs fall (down).'

(81) *Riyopuno duruwa, yena dob soriyap: duam sokiromaliyenake.*
riyopuno duruwa yena dob soriye-p duam
eventually early.morning people eye realise.O.INANIM-PC kind.of.sago
sokiromaliye-nake
be.there.in.abundance-DUR
'Finally it is early morning (and) the people were looking with amazement: there are *duam*-palms in abundance.'

(82) *Duku duamno nekiyenake, dikana numomo, kiniyo nekiyenake.*
duku duam-no nekiye-nake dikana numomo
kind.of.sago kind.of.sago-INS stand-DUR kind.of.sago kind.of.sago
kiniyo nekiye-nake
all stand-DUR
'*Duku*- and *duam*-palms, *dikana*- and *numumo*-palms, all kinds of palmtrees abound.'

(83) *Bike biepno kri woninake, yûr bo mui. Riyopuno duruwei, du baruweko.*
bike biep-no kri woni-nake yûr bo mui riyopuno
cassowary boar-INS kri call-DUR bird sound speak then
duruwei du ba-ruwe-ko
early.morning darkness FAC-break-FAC
'Cassowaries and boars call all the time, birds sing. Then it is early morning, the darkness is over.'

(84) *Bo Sakoupi kuru, bo maki.*
bo Sakou-pi kuru bo maki
story Sakou-POSS be.finished story good
'Sakou's story is over. It's a good story.'

A.4 Haus Tambaran

Introduction

The story *Haus tambaran* was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2000. The Tok Pisin title, given by Margaret herself, refers to the male cult house. The text contains references to older customs.

Note that the text shows some code-switching to Tok Pisin. For example, food is only referred to by the Tok Pisin word *kaikai*. Although the story is told in plural with exclusive *uke* 'we', the agentive suppletive plural *ile* 'eat.PL.A' of the verb *ni* 'eat' is not used. Instead, the singular inflection *ni* is used.

Summary & background

The text is Margaret Osi's personal recollection of the time and lifestyle before modern development came along with the Australian colonial administration and the Catholic mission. Margaret was about twenty years old at the time the mission was established. As a teenager, she would accompany her father to Vanimo and experienced the early days of the town. However, life in the bush was still very traditional back then. Margaret's generation is thus the last to have grown up on the firm ground of indigenous heritage.

The stories of *Am* (Text A.1), *Sakou* (Text B.2), and *Haus Tambaran* all revolve around the availability of food. The heroes Am/Bu and Sakou are well known for providing food, and the stories are dedicated to their memory. The ceremonies that took place at the *haus tambaran* likewise served the purpose of securing food. The staple food that is mentioned again and again is sago, together with game meat. Such food is the basic prerequisite for any further prosperity. Interestingly, rice is also mentioned as a foodstuff in the story of Am (Text A.1, Sequence 22).

Parallel text

Ko bo mosaupi.	I will tell a story.
Haus tambaran ipei uke ba riyo. Haus tambaran ppusi uke riyo, Saul Bopule Iwan uke riyo. Uke kiriyapno kaikai kero oso kiniyo ukeno. Kaikai ukeno nakap, kaikai kep kiniyo. Uke nako, kaikai sosolo polinakap. Kaikai kusono nakap, kusono nakap.	The male cult house of highest rank we did not see. But we saw the second ranking cult house, the Saul Bopule Iwan house we saw. In the presence of this cult house food was abundant; we jointly ate enough, even generously. Food stayed with us, the variety given

by the culthouse's rituals was plentiful. We were born, and food like this was always around. There used to always be something to eat, always.

Buai yena pulo yilau ukepiyo. Riyopuno kupulapno ukenakap, misin pulap. Yilau kipiyapno bo aipiro uke muelien, ukero malo. Kimike uke ar malo ai bo. Uke so nakap, uke sosolo nakap bipo. Ai bo uke kipiyapno, ou, bo maki savepoli. Bipo bo uke ba piyap, uke sosolo nakap.

Then the white people came to our place. Having come they lived with us, and the mission became more and more crowded. When they had settled down, they proclaimed the word of God to us, and we heard it ourselves. Before we didn't know the word of God. We lived, we simply lived. Having accepted the word of God, yes, we had knowledge of a good word. Before we didn't have the word of God, we were just living.

Emkapuno kaikai mono arka loro, arka loro? Ai kopi, nuni kopi, memi kopi muelipi: "Bese makina yasiye, ral makina yasiye, yesi makina yasiye, yala de monanem." Kaikai oke ko wili, yala kûnam, yala sepolam. "Biopo makina yai, kakaruk makina yai, de mek ino ire."

Where did the food sources go some time ago, where did the food go? My father, my uncle, my grandmother, they used to tell me: "Plant *tulip*-trees, plant *ral*-trees, plant *aibika*-shrubs. Keep your garden well, otherwise you will not eat vegetables." The kind of food I used to carry home from the garden, will become less and might disappear. "Take good care of the pigs, take good care of the chickens, then you will have a sweet mouth."

Kaikai ke yala basepolopisiko. Ari. Kaikai arka loro? Kaikai bepu noro, bi noro, ari. Bipo ke epeyo polip. Kaikai kana walpuap, wal kana walpuap, bermepu due bepu kana walpuap. Ukero nep. Yalaka ari. Kaikai mi klokni, mi ukero klokni ni. Kloknina sepiyowolopisiko.

Now the food has vanished completely. Where did the food go? The food we ate was sago grubs and pigs. Not anymore. Back then this food was abundant. Food was spreading quickly. Fish were spreading in all creeks, sago grubs were cultivated at many places. We could always eat more than enough. Nowadays, there

is but one piece of food available. No abundance. When hungry we have just one bit of food. Occasionally, there was complete lack of food everywhere.

Buai kupulapno moni mipulo. Ere mile, ikoina melippue moni. Yala ko ikoina ar ni, ar ni. Kaikai buaipi moni ikoiele. Uke sosolo mape, moni aska. Uke dilipeli, uke ikoina nip.

After the whites arrived, more and more money came in. Here it goes and goes, the price for food has increased considerably. Now I don't eat much, I don't eat much. White people's food is very expensive. We live like this, we don't have money. If we earned money, we would eat a lot.

Figure A.2: Margaret Osi appreciating food

Glossed text

(1) *Ko bo mosaupi.*
ko bo mosaupi
I story teach
'I will tell a story.'

(2) *Haus tambaran ipei uke ba riyo.*
haus_tambaran ipei uke ba
traditional.male.cult.house(TP) first.ranking we.EXCL NEG.EMPH
riyo
see.O.INANIM.PP
'We did not see the first ranking male cult house.'[23]

(3) *Haus tambaran ppusi uke riyo, Saul Bopule Iwan uke riyo.*
haus_tambaran ppusi uke riyo
traditional.male.cult.house(TP) second.ranking we.EXCL see.O.INANIM.PP
Saul Bopule Iwan uke riyo
Saul Bopule Iwan we.EXCL see.O.INANIM.PP
'(But) we saw the second ranking male cult house; the Saul Bopule Iwan house we saw.'

(4) *Uke kiriyapno kaikai kero oso kiniyo ukeno.*
uke k-riye-p-no kaikai kep=ro oso kiniyo
we.EXCL SUB-see.O.INANIM-PC-CO food(TP) 3SG.POSS=EMPH more all
uke-no
jointly-eat.PP
'In the presence (of this cult house) food is abundant. We ate together all (sorts of food).'[24]

(5) *Kaikai ukeno nakap, kaikai kep kiniyo.*
kaikai uke-no nake-p kaikai kep kiniyo
food(TP) we.EXCL-INS stay-PC food(TP) 3SG.POSS many
'Food was staying with us. (The culthouse's food) variety was plentiful.'

[23]All the women including the story teller were forbidden to see this secret male cult house, because it was taboo for the sight of women.
[24]That means, the cult(house) with its rituals was the source of food abundance.

(6) *Uke nako, kaikai sosolo polinakap.*
uke nako kaikai sosolo poli-nake-p
we.EXCL be.born food(TP) like.this be.there-DUR-PC
'We were born, and food like this was always around.'

(7) *Kaikai kusono nakap, kusono nakap.*
kaikai kuso-no nake-p kuso-no nake-p
food(TP) always-INS stay-PC always-INS stay-PC
'There used to be always something to eat, always.'[25]

(8) *Buai yena pulo yilau ukepiyo.*
buai yena pulo yilau uke-pi-yo
white.people people come.PP place we.EXCL-POSS-LOC
'(Then) the white people came to our place.'

(9) *Riyopuno kupulapno ukenakap, misin pulap.*
riyopuno k-pule-p-no uke-nake-p misin pulap
then SUB-come-PC-CO jointly-live-PC mission be.filled(TP)
'Then ... Having come they lived with us and the mission became crowded.'

(10) *Yilau kipiyapno bo aipiro uke muelien, ukero malo.*
yilau k-piye-p-no bo ai-pi=ro uke mueli-en
place SUB-take-PC-CO word father-POSS=EMPH we.EXCL talk.to-NSG.OR.PP
uke=ro malo
we.EXCL=EMPH hear.PP
'Having settled down, they proclaimed the word of God to us, and we heard it ourselves.'[26]

(11) *Kimike uke ar malo ai bo. Uke so nakap, uke sosolo nakap bipo.*
kimike uke ar malo ai bo uke so nake-p uke
before we.EXCL NEG hear.PP father word we.EXCL like live-PC we.EXCL
sosolo nake-p bipo
like.this live-PC before(TP)
'Before, we didn't know the word of God. We were living, we simply lived.'

[25]The verb *nake* 'stay, sit, live' which is used for living entities hints at animals for hunting.
[26]Note that the coming of the whites is referred to by the same verb *piye* 'take' as the appropriation of land by the people's ancestor Si (cf. Text A.2 above).

(12) *Ai bo uke kipiyapno, ou, bo maki savepoli.*
ai bo uke k-piye-p-no ou bo maki save_poli
father word we.EXCL SUB-take-PC-CO yes word good have.as.knowledge
'Having accepted the word of God, yes, we (then) had knowledge of a good word.'

(13) *Bipo bo uke ba piyap, uke sosolo nakap.*
bipo bo uke ba piye-p uke sosolo nake-p
before(TP) word we.EXCL NEG.EMPH take-PC we.EXCL like.this live-PC
'Before we weren't aware of the word (of God), we were just living.'

(14) *Emkapuno kaikai mono arka loro, arka loro?*
emkapuno kaikai mono arka lo=ro arka lo=ro
some.time.before food(TP) road where go.PP=EMPH where go.PP=EMPH
'Where did the food sources go some time ago, where did (the food) go?'

(15) *Ai kopi, nuni kopi, memi kopi muelipi: "Bese makina yasiye, ral makina yasiye, yesi makina yasiye, yala de monanem."*
ai ko-pi nuni ko-pi memi ko-pi
father 1SG-POSS maternal.uncle 1SG-POSS grandmother 1SG-POSS
muel-ipi bese maki-na yasiye ral makina yasiye yesi
talk.to-1SG.OR tulip good-ADV plant kind.of.tree good-ADV plant aibika
maki-na yasiye yala de mona-ni-m
good-ADV plant MOD you IRR-eat-IRR
'My father, my uncle, my grandmother, they tell me: "Plant *tulip*-trees, plant *ral*-trees, plant *aibika*-shrubs, (do that) properly, otherwise you will not eat (vegetables)."'

(16) *Kaikai oke ko wili, yala kûnam, yala sepolam.*
kaikai o-ke ko wili yala kûne-m yala sepole-m
food(TP) PROX-APH I carry now go.down-POS now vanish-POS
'This (kind of) food I carry (home from the garden), will soon become less and soon disappear.'

(17) *"Biopo makina yai, kakaruk makina yai, de mek ino ire."*
biopo maki-na yai kakaruk maki-na
domesticated.pig good-ADV take.care.of chicken(TP) good-ADV
yai de mek i-no ire
take.care.of you mouth DIST-INS make.feel.good
'"Take good care of the pigs, take good care of the chicken, then you will have a sweet mouth."'

(18) *Kaikai ke yala basepolopisiko. Ari. Kaikai arka loro?*
kaikai ke yala ba-sepole-pisi-ko ari kaikai arka lo=ro
food(TP) TOP now FAC-vanish-CPL-FAC no food(TP) where go.PP=EMPH
'Now the food has vanished completely, oh no, where did the food go?'

(19) *Kaikai bepu noro, bi noro, ari. Bipo ke epeyo polip.*
kaikai bepu no=ro bi no=ro ari bipo ke
food(TP) sago.grub eat.PP=EMPH pig eat.PP=EMPH no before(TP) APH
epeyo poli-p
openly be.there-PC
'The food we ate was sago grubs, pigs. Not anymore. Back then this food was abundant.'

(20) *Kaikai kana walpuap, wal kana walpuap, bermepu due bepu kana walpuap. Ukero nep.*
kaikai kana walpue-p wal kana walpue-p
food(TP) quickly spread.about-PC fish quickly spread.about-PC
bermepu due bepu kana walpue-p
kind.of.sago.grub sago kind.of.sago.grub quickly spread.about-PC
uke=ro ni-p
we.EXCL=EMPH eat-PC
'Food was spreading quickly, the fish were spreading quickly, the sago grubs, cultivated sago grubs were spreading quickly. We were eating (more than enough).'

(21) *Yalaka ari. Kaikai mi klokni, mi ukero klokni ni.*
yalaka ari kaikai mi klokni mi uke=ro klokni ni
now no food(TP) again one again we.EXCL=EMPH one eat
'Nowadays, instead of abundance, there is one piece of food (left). (Being hungry) we eat just one piece.'

(22) *Kloknina sepiyowolopisiko.*
klokni-na sepiye-wole-pisi-ko
one-ADV take.away-move.further-CPL-RTS
'Occasionally, there was a complete lack (of food) in all places.'[27]

[27]There is indeed a severe shortage of faunal food resources. A piece of game is found only occasionally. This is caused by the intrusion of the logging companies and the destruction of the primary forest.

(23) *Buai kupulapno moni mipulo.*
buai k-pule-p-no moni mi-pulo
white.people SUB-come-PC-CO money(TP) ITER-come.PP
'After the white people came, more and more money came in.'

(24) *Ere mile, ikoina melippue moni.*
ere mi-le ikoina melippue moni
here ITER-go much carry.up.PL.O money(TP)
'Here it goes and goes, the price (for food) is increasing considerably.'

(25) *Yala ko ikoina ar ni, ar ni. Kaikai buaipi moni ikoiele.*
yala ko ikoina ar ni ar ni kaikai buai-pi moni
now I much NEG eat NEG eat food(TP) white.people-POSS money(TP)
ikoiele
very.big
'Now I don't eat. White people's food is very expensive.'

(26) *Uke sosolo mape, moni aska.*
uke sosolo mape moni aska
we.EXCL like.this live.PL money(TP) none
'We live like this. We have no money.'

(27) *Uke dilipeli, uke ikoina nip.*
uke d-lipeli uke ikoina ni-p
we.EXCL LKH-find we.EXCL much eat-PC
'If we earned (money), we would eat a lot.'

A.5 Wapues

Introduction

The story of *Wapues* was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February/-March 2000. The protagonists of the story are Wapues and Siyu. Wapues is a girl from Omula, who meets her designated husband Siyu from Ossima. The story confirms the relationship between two clans that have settled in different places along the Puwani River. This oral history was known to Lis Osi of Ossima (upstream on the right bank) and Iwei Wai of Omula (downstream on the left bank).

The text shows some code switching to Tok Pisin. Indeed, Margaret Osi began the story in Tok Pisin. This is presented and translated in the first three paragraphs of the parallel text version, but it is omitted in the interlinear text version below.

Summary & background

The young girl Wapues was abandoned by her family and left alone in the bush. One day, a stranger came to her bush house wanting to stay with her. He looked ugly, black and fat and she wanted to get rid of him. While she was away in the sago swamp, he went to the river and cleansed his body of all the salt it contained. In this way, it is said, he introduced people to the resource of salt. Consequently, his appearance changed, and he became young and handsome. As a result, the girl accepted him as her husband, and they had five children. Together with their son, Wapues' parents left the old village of Ossima to look for a new, perhaps more resourceful place. Wapues and her husband Siyu stayed in Ossima.

The name Siyu suggests that the bearer's ancestry goes back to the ancestor Si. Possibly the name means 'Si place' and contains the noun *yo* 'place'. The name *Siyu* was sometimes pronounced as *Siyou*.

Interpretation and message: The story bears witness to the founding of a new settlement, the present-day village of Omula and its surroundings. It also attests to the common practice of exchanging wives between clans, as Wapues' clan is obliged to provide wives to Siyu's clan that settles in Ossima. The girls had to give up their ties to their families in favour of their husbands' families. This does not seem to have been easy, as shown by the image of the adult Wapues still clinging to her mother's breast. Wapues is reluctant to fulfil her marital duties.

Finally, the story explains the origin of salt as a resource.

Parallel text

Mi stori long tumbuna stori bilong tupela man, Jeffrey na Barnabas long Omula. Jeffrey long Ossima. Tumbuna man bilong Jeffrey, tumbuna meri bilong Barnabas. Mi stori nau. Long tokples bai mi storim. Mi wokim pinis, long Pisin pinis. Toktok long tokples nau.

I'll tell an ancient story connected to two men, Jeffrey and Barnabas from Omula. Jeffrey is from Ossima. It is about a male ancestor of Jeffrey and a female ancestor of Barnabas. I'm going to tell now. I'll speak in Kilmeri. I have already finished the story in Tok Pisin. Now I use Kilmeri.

Tupela, man na meri. Nem bilong tupela, Rei wantaim Romi. Romi em meri, Rei em man. Tupela i gat wanpela pikinini meri. Tupela pikinini. Na wanpela pikinini man, mi no save nem bilong en. Na pikinini meri, mi save nem bilong en: Wapues. Ok. Wapues i bin dringim susu bilong mama olgeta taim. Em bikpela meri pinis. Dispela susu bilong mama bilong en drai pinis. Nogat milk. Wara bilong en pinis.

Two people, a man and a woman. They are called Rei and Romi. Romi is the woman, and Rei is the man. They have got a girl. They have got two children. A boy, whose name I don't know. But I know the name of the girl: Wapues. Yes. All the years, Wapues has drunk milk from her mother's breast. Now she has become a big girl. Her mother's breasts have no milk anymore. No milk anymore.

Em i go long gaden. Em kam long haus. Em akamap bilong susu bilong mama moapela dring. I stap three nait. Tulait moning em i go bek long gaden, saksak. Em i sikarapim saksak, kisim mipela saksak, pulimapim long limbum. Em kisim ol aupa, pulimapim long limbum, em i karim i kam. Kamap long haus em go kalap susu. Em dring susu gen.

Wapues goes to the garden. She comes back to the house. And promptly she hangs on her mother's breast for drinking. This continues for three nights. The next morning she goes to the garden again, and to the sago swamp. She pounds sago pith, takes it and fills a basket with it. Then she collects aibika leaves, fills her basket and carries the baskets home. Having come to the house, she wants the breasts again. She wants to drink milk again.

Ba kep nomayo, ki niulipoko. Epe kepro dop kemiye. Ba pul aska, pul baslaupoko. Epe aino dop kemiye. Epe aino yilau bayo yilau bayo ilo, riyo inakap.

She sucked her mother's breasts, she indulged in sucking them. Her mother was tired of this. There is no milk anymore, the breasts had dried up.

Ruri kama uliyopanai. Ruri ki kama nakap. Wor bi sû wapenoi. Epe aino sepuei. Ruri roipiro wokoi, rowonakeip. Ruri riyo puloro, rumkari riyo puloro. Wonip yipyo paeau. "Ari, epe kopi ar nake, ai kopi ar nake, disei kopi ar nake. Balok, bamolko." Riyopuno smep paliyepana. Bi umaeau nouli, bi puaku bou ulap, sû worno roise. Wor nakap sû mopoyo. Uliyeno. Riyopuno kaikai kopopno kinipno. Riyopuno wonpappo pupno, pupno wonpappo.

Mother and father were tired of this and went to another place. They were staying at another place. They abandoned the child, and the child was staying alone. They left a dog, meat, and fire for her. The parents walked away. They took their other child, the boy, with them. They were staying together with him. The child arrived at the former house and called out for the parents. She said: "Nothing. My mother is gone, my father is gone, my brother is gone. They have left for good." Then she opened the door. There was meat hanging high up, a pig's head and back limbs. There were some embers and a dog, the dog was sitting on the ashes. Those were the things they had left for her. Then, having prepared and eaten some food, she called out by blowing a conch shell.

Onoro pupno bekimporo, tumbuna Weiafi wuino. Nem kep Siyu. Tumbuna bekimpono. Wapuesro woni. Epe aino kep woninip, epe aino wonwonnakeinep. Siyuro, Siyu bo Wapues wuinap pupno. Yipyo sepa. "Ah, de, ko de wonip? Ko kero epe aino woninip. De kemi asa pulo? Ko de ar wonmap. De ke milap! Ko ke epe aino woninip." Dob soreyap: eli bekulu, dop kep wisi, wapoyo nakap. Dob bîka ponap, smep musimayo. Riyopuno kaikai si. Yaup sûyo kiyowapno ya mappo. Bi si bese ap roise. Bîka ponamo, sukupuro. Koponamapno kinepno ekuka ar seku. Muelne: "Oh, ono, upuna. Ko so sukupuro, yala ko koniyam." Wapoyo nui

A man replied with a shell, the ancestor Weiafi replied to her. His name is Siyu. Wapues called out. She was calling for her mother and father. She kept on calling. As for Siyu, he answered the calls of Wapues with a horn shell. Then he arrived at the house. Wapues said: "Ah, you, I was calling you? But I was calling for mother and father. How did you come here? I wasn't calling you. Go away! I was calling mother and father." She realised that he was a fat, huge man with black skin. He was sitting on the porch. She was looking at him through a hole in the wall. She locked the door. Then she cooked food. After

dupikau punipino duruwa. Muelne: "De îlanap! De biliyo kanakewam, de îlanewe epika! Ko ike seleyo le, dueyo le." Smep paliyo, lo. Ukiro Siyu muelno: "Pu de arka ipiyewilipi?" "Ni puro lilikaro." "Pul pu arka?" "Pul pu luikaro. Ko rika pulmopi."

boiling water on the fire, she stirred in sago and cooked meat with *tulip*-vegetables and spinach. She gave it to him through a hole, to a putative bush spirit. He ate it, and the food did not fall out of his arse. She spoke to herself: "Oh, he's human. All right, I thought he was a bush spirit and could therefore devour me." He slept on the porch, all through the night, until the early morning hours. She said to him: "Make room, you can't sit in front of the door, move aside! I'm going to the garden and the sago swamp myself." She opened the door and wanted to leave. The prospective husband Siyu said to her: "Where do you get buckets of water?" She replied: "Drinking water is upstream." "And where is the bathing place?" "Bathing is downstream. I bathe over there."

Riyopuno lo. Wapues seleyo lo. Siyu ke kopopno, bi puaku kopopno kiyapopno wîlyo royowe. Yaup sûyo yowo, ya mappo, layowe. Layowe, ya kusupopopno: "Bi, yala ko am ar saupo." Klapno puyo lo. Dop kepro kusupipno bue riyo royepako puyo. Bue kep kroyepakapno somapaip: "Mepi, upuna, yala ko ino si." Pu bayana rari, pu nina. Bue moniro piyo. Ipi sûyo kiyowapno bi sikûno bese roise ap roise. Kisipno somapaip, mepi. Puliye ako ripeinoro. Ki dop kepro pûke. As, mi aesi kamappo. Ono miro dop senispo. Riyopuno rapue puakyo panawe, kinipno nakap, rile nakenap.

Then Wapues went to the garden. Siyu prepared the pig's head; he cleaned it and put it in a dish. He boiled water on the fire, stirred in sago and put it next to the other food. He cut the sago into portions. He thought: "I don't know how to cook the meat." He went to the river and emptied his skin of salt. He put the salt into the river. After putting the salt in the river, he tasted the water: "It tastes good. Now I cook the food with it." He also digged for different water, for drinking water. He took some salt. When the pot with water was boiling on the fire, he put the meat in together with *tulip*-

vegetables and spinach. After cooking, he tasted it, and it tasted good. He took the food out and shared it with his wife. He lost his skin, all gone. He became young again. The man changed his skin so much. Then he put the food on a board. After he had eaten, he remained seated. He was sitting high up on a plank and waiting for Wapues.

Wapues yipyo paeau: "De balok?" Em no bekim long em. Bo ba puleno, monemno nakap. Smep paliyepanap, anno wiyo: "Eh, de balok, de ke ono bayana!" "Ono bayana pari. Oke ko emka ko puloro, ko okiro." "De makiro. Dedukoyo piyeiya, dedukoyo inake." Riyopuno inakero. Ruri faifpela karim, boi rumkari dupua, roipi tripela. So karimpo, faifpela.

She arrived at the house: "Have you gone?" He didn't answer her; not a word came to her. He sat there in silence. She opened the door, and he embraced her: "Eh, you have changed, you're a different person!" He said: "I am not a different person. It is me. I came yesterday, I am the same person." She replied: "You're really good. We take each other. Let's live together." Then they lived together. They have got five children. She gave birth to two girls and three boys. She gave birth to five children.

Kuru, bo kuru.

That's the end, the story is finished.

Glossed text

(1) *Ba kep nomayo, ki niulipoko. Epe kepro dop kemiye. Ba pul aska, pul baslaupoko.*

ba kep ni-mayo ki ni-uli-pi-ko epe kep=ro
breast 3SG.POSS eat-MAL.PP APH eat-PROG-LV-RTS mother 3SG.POSS=EMPH
dop_kemiye ba pul aska pul ba-slau-pi-ko
feel.tired breast liquid none liquid FAC-dry-LV-FAC

'She sucked her (mother's) breasts. She indulged in sucking them. Her mother is tired (of this). There is no milk (any more), the breasts have dried up.'

(2) *Epe aino dop kemiye. Epe aino yilau bayo yilau bayo ilo, riyo inakap.*
epe ai-no dop_kemiye epe ai-no yilau ba-yo yilau
mother father-INS feel.tired mother father-INS place other-LOC place
ba-yo i-lo ri-yo i-nake-p
other-LOC DU.S-go.PP DIST-LOC DU.S-stay-PC
'Mother and father are tired of this. The parents went to another place, to another place. There they were staying.'

(3) *Ruri kama uliyopanai. Ruri ki kama nakap. Wor bi sû wapenoi.*
ruri kama uliyepana-i ruri ki kama nake-p wor bi sû
child alone abandon.PP-DU.A child APH alone stay-PC dog meat fire
wape-no-i
put.together-3SG.OR.PP-DU.A
'They abandoned the child. The child was staying alone. They left a dog, meat, and fire for her.'

(4) *Epe aino sepuei. Ruri roipiro wokoi, rowonakeip.*
epe ai-no sepue-i ruri roipi=ro
mother father-INS run.away-DU.S child boy=EMPH
woko-i ro=wo-nake-i-p
go.together.with.PP-DU.A EMPH=ACCOM-stay-DU.S-PC
'Mother and father walk away. They took the (other) child, the boy, with them. They were staying together with him.'

(5) *Ruri riyo puloro, rumkari riyo puloro. Wonip yipyo paeau.*
ruri ri-yo pulo=ro rumkari=ro ri-yo pulo=ro
child DIST-LOC come.PP=EMPH girl=EMPH DIST-LOC come.PP=EMPH
woni-p yip-yo paeau
call-PC house-LOC arrive
'The child came there, the girl came there. She was calling out and arrived at the house.'

(6) *"Ari, epe kopi ar nake, ai kopi ar nake, disei kopi ar nake. Balok, bamolko."*
ari epe ko-pi ar nake ai ko-pi ar nake disei ko-pi
no mother 1SG-POSS NEG sit father 1SG-POSS NEG sit brother 1SG-POSS
ar nake ba-le-ko ba-mole-ko
NEG sit FAC-go-FAC FAC-go.PL-FAC
'No, my mother isn't there, my father isn't there, my brother isn't there. He has gone. They have left (for good).'

(7) *Riyopuno smep paliyepana. Bi umaeau nouli, bi puaku bou ulap, sû worno roise. Wor nakap sû mopoyo. Uliyeno.*
riyopuno smep paliyepana bi umaeau ne-uli bi puaku
then door open.wide.PP meat high.up go.thither-PROG pig head
bou ule-p sû wor-no roise wor nake-p sû mopo-yo
back.limbs be.there.PL-PC fire dog-INS together dog sit-PC fire ashes-LOC
uliye-no
leave-3SG.OR.PP
'Then she opened the door wide. There was meat (hanging) high up, a pig's head and back limbs were there. Embers and a dog were there. The dog was sitting on the ashes. (Those were the things) they (had) left for her.'

(8) *Riyopuno kaikai kopopno kinipno. Riyopuno wonpappo pupno, pupno wonpappo.*
riyopuno kaikai k-pi-p-no k-ni-p-no riyopuno
then food(TP) SUB-make-PC-CO SUB-eat-PC-CO then
wonpappo pup-no pup-no wonpappo
call.blowing.PP shell-INS shell-INS call.blowing.PP
'Then, having prepared and eaten the food, she called out by blowing a horn. She blew a (conch) shell.'

(9) *Onoro pupno bekimporo, tumbuna Weiafi wuino. Nem kep Siyu. Tumbuna bekimpono.*
ono=ro pup-no bekim-po=ro tumbuna Weiafi
man=EMPH shell-INS answer(TP)-LV.PP=EMPH ancestor(TP) Weiafi
wui-no nem kep Siyu tumbuna
answer-3SG.OR.PP name 3SG.POSS Siyu ancestor(TP)
bekim-pi-no
answer(TP)-LV-3SG.OR.PP
'A man replied with a shell, the ancestor Weiafi replied to her. His name is Siyu. The ancestor answered her.'

(10) *Wapuesro woni. Epe aino kep woninip, epe aino wonwonnakeinep.*
Wapues=ro woni epe ai-no kep woni-ini-p epe
Wapues=EMPH call mother father-INS 3SG.POSS call-NSG.OR-PC mother
ai-no woni-woni-nake-ini-p
father-INS call-call-DUR-NSG.OR-PC
'Wapues calls out. She was calling for her mother and father; she kept on calling her parents.'

(11) *Siyuro, Siyu bo Wapues wuinap pupno. Yipyo sepa.*
Siyu=ro Siyu bo Wapues wui-ne-p pup-no yip-yo
Siyu=EMPH Siyu sound Wapues answer-3SG.OR-PC shell-INS house-LOC
sepa
arrive.PP
'As for Siyu, he answered the calls of Wapues with a horn shell. He arrived at the house.'

(12) *"Ah, de, ko de wonip? Ko kero epe aino woninip.*
ah de ko de woni-p ko ke=ro epe ai-no woni-ini-p
ah you I you call-PC I TOP=EMPH mother father-INS call-NSG.OR-PC
'(Wapues says) "Ah, you, I was calling you? I was calling out for mother and father."'

(13) *De kemi asa pulo? Ko de ar wonmap. De ke milap! Ko ke epe aino woninip."*
de ke-mi asa pulo ko de ar woni-me-p de ke
you TOP-too how come.PP I you NEG call-2SG.OR-PC you TOP
mi-le-p ko ke epe ai-no woni-ini-p
ITER-go-IMP I TOP mother father-INS call-NSG.OR-PC
'(Wapues continues), "You, how did you come? I was not calling you. You go (away)! I was calling mother and father."'

(14) *Dob soreyap: eli bekulu, dop kep wisi, wapoyo nakap. Dob bîka ponap, smep musimayo.*
dob soreye-p eli bekulu dop kep wisi wapo-yo
eye realise.O.ANIM.SG-PC fat huge skin 3SG.POSS black porch-LOC
nake-p dob bî-ka pi-ne-p smep musi-mayo
sit-PC eye hole-PATH LV-3SG.OR-PC door shut-MAL.PP
'She realised (that he was) a fat, huge (man) with black skin. He was sitting on the porch. She was looking at him through a hole (in the wall). She locked the door.'

(15) *Riyopuno kaikai si. Yaup sûyo kiyowapno ya mappo. Bi si bese ap roise.*
riyopuno kaikai si yaup sû-yo k-yowe-p-no ya_mappo bi
then food(TP) cook water fire-LOC SUB-boil-PC-CO stir.sago.PP meat
si bese ap roise
cook.PP tulip spinach together
'Then she cooked food. After boiling water on the fire, she stirred in sago and cooked meat with *tulip* vegetables and spinach.'

(16) *Bîka ponamo, sukupuro. Koponamapno kinepno ekuka ar seku.*
bî-ka ponamo sukupu=ro k-poname-p-no
hole-PATH give.3SG.OR.PP bush.spirit=EMPH SUB-give.3SG.OR-PC-CO
k-ni-p-no eku-ka ar seku
SUB-eat-PC-CO anus-PATH NEG fall.PP
'She gave it to the bush spirit through a hole. When she had given it to him (and) he had eaten it, it did not fall out of his arse.'[28]

(17) *Muelne: "Oh, ono, upuna. Ko so sukupuro, yala ko koniyam."*
mueli-ne oh ono upuna ko so sukupu=ro yala ko
talk.to-3SG.OR oh man alright I believe bush.spirit=EMPH MOD I
koniye-m
swallow-POS
'She speaks to herself, "Oh he's human. All right, I thought he is a bush spirit (and could therefore) devour me."'

(18) *Wapoyo nui dupikau punipino duruwa.*
wapo-yo nui dupikau punipino duruwa
porch-LOC sleep deep.darkness morning early.morning
'He sleeps on the porch, (from) deep darkness (to) the morning, (until) early morning.'

(19) *Muelne: "De îlanap! De biliyo kanakewam, de îlanewe epika!*
mueli-ne de îlane-p de bili-yo k-nake-we-m
talk.to-3SG.OR you give.passage-IMP you opening-LOC PROH-sit-TER-PROH
de îlane-we epi-ka
you give.passage-TER side-PATH
'She says to him: "Make room! You can't sit (in front of) the door, move aside!"'

(20) *Ko ike seleyo le, dueyo le." Smep paliyo, lo.*
ko_ike sele-yo le due-yo le smep paliyo lo
I.myself garden-LOC go sago.swamp-LOC go door open.PP go.PP
'(Wapues continues), "I'm going to the garden and the sago swamp myself." She opened the door and left.'

[28]The fact that Siyu digested the food in the normal way shows Wapues that he is a human and not a bush spirit.

(21) *Ukiro Siyu muelno: "Pu de arka ipiyewilipi?"*
uki=ro Siyu mueli-no pu de arka ipiye_wili-pi
husband=EMPH Siyu talk.to-3SG.OR.PP water you where bucket_carry-LV
'The (prospective) husband Siyu said to her: "From where do you get buckets of water?"'

(22) *"Ni puro lilikaro." "Pul pu arka?" "Pul pu luikaro. Ko rika pulmopi."*
ni_pu=ro lilika=ro pul_pu arka pul_pu
drinking.water=EMPH upriver=EMPH bathing.water where bathing.water
luika=ro ko ri-ka pul_mopi
downriver=EMPH I DIST-PATH bathe
'(She replied), "Drinking water is upriver." – (He asked) "And where is the bathing place?" – (She said), "Bathing water is downriver. I bathe over there."'

(23) *Riyopuno lo. Wapues seleyo lo.*
riyopuno lo Wapues sele-yo lo
then go.PP Wapues garden-LOC go.PP
'Then she left. Wapues went to the garden.'

(24) *Siyu ke kopopno, bi puaku kopopno kiyapopno wîlyo royowe. Yaup sûyo yowo, ya mappo, layowe.*
Siyu ke k-pi-p-no bi puaku k-pi-p-no k-yapi-p-no
Siyu APH SUB-make-PC-CO pig head SUB-make-PC-CO SUB-clean-PC-CO
wîl-yo royo-we yaup sû-yo yowo ya_mappo
dish-LOC lay.PP-TER water.for.cooking fire-LOC boil.PP stir.sago.PP
layo-we
put.PP-TER
'When Siyu had prepared ... Having prepared the pig's head, having cleaned it, he put it in a dish. He boiled water on the fire, stirred in sago and put it (next to the other food).'

(25) *Layowe. Ya kusupopopno: "Bi, yala ko am ar saupo."*
layo-we ya k-supopi-p-no bi yala ko am ar saupo
put.PP-TER sago SUB-cut.into.pieces-PC-CO meat now I yet NEG know
'He put it (there). Having cut the sago into portions (he thought), "Now the meat, I don't know yet (how to cook it)."'

(26) *Klapno puyo lo. Dop kepro kusupipno bue riyo royepako puyo.*
k-le-p-no pu-yo lo dop kep=ro
SUB-go-PC-CO river-LOC go.PP skin 3SG.POSS=EMPH
k-supupi-p-no bue ri-yo royepako pu-yo
SUB-open.for.emptying.PL.O-PC-CO salt DIST-LOC lay.down.PP river-LOC
'Having gone ... He went to the river. Having emptied his skin, he put the salt there; (he put it) into the river.'[29]

(27) *Bue kep kroyepakapno somapaip: "Mepi, upuna, yala ko ino si."*
bue kep k-royepake-p-no somapai-p mepi upuna yala
salt 3SG.POSS SUB-lay.down-PC-CO taste.nicely-PC taste.nice alright now
rapue ko i-no si
food I DIST-INS cook
'Having put his salt (into the river), he was tasting (the water), "It tastes good, alright. Now I cook the food with it."'

(28) *Pu bayana rari, pu nina.*
pu bayana rari pu ni-na
water different dig water eat-PURP
'(Then) he digs for different water, for drinking water.'

(29) *Bue moniro piyo. Ipi sûyo kiyowapno bi sikûno bese roise ap roise.*
bue moni=ro piyo ipi sû-yo k-yowe-p-no bi sikûno bese
salt little=EMPH take.PP pot fire-LOC SUB-boil-PC-CO meat fill.in.PP tulip
roise ap roise
together spinach together
'He took some salt. When the pot (of water) was boiling on the fire, he put the meat in together with *tulip*-vegetables and spinach.'

(30) *Kisipno somapaip, mepi. Puliye ako ripeinoro.*
k-si-p-no somapai-p mepi puliye ako ripei-ne=ro
SUB-cook-PC-CO taste-PC taste.nicely take.out wife share-3SG.OR=EMPH
'After cooking, he was tasting it and it tastes good. He takes (the food) out and shares it with his wife.'

[29] Siyu's body contained salt under the skin. The man's supranatural connection with salt may have contributed to Wapues's assent that he is the right husband for her.

(31) *Ki dop kepro pûke. As, mi aesi kamappo. Ono miro dop senispo.*
ki dop kep=ro pûke as mi aesi kamap-po ono
APH skin 3SG.POSS=EMPH lose none again young become(TP)-LV.PP man
mi=ro dop senis-po
SO=EMPH skin change(TP)-LV.PP
'He loses his skin, all gone. He became young again. The man changed his skin so much.'

(32) *Riyopuno rapue puakyo panawe, kinipno nakap, rile nakenap.*
riyopuno rapue puak-yo pana-we k-ni-p-no nake-p
then food board-LOC put.thither.PP-TER SUB-eat-PC-CO sit-PC
rile nake-ne-p
above sit-3SG.OR-PC
'Then he put the food on a board. After having eaten he stayed on; he was sitting above (in the house and waiting) for her.'

(33) *Wapues yipyo paeau: "De balok?"*
Wapues yip-yo paeau de ba-le-ko
Wapues house-LOC arrive you FAC-go-FAC
'Wapues arrived at the house, "Have you gone?"'

(34) *Em no bekim long em. Bo ba puleno, monemno nakap.*
em no bekim long em bo ba
APH(TP) NEG(TP) answer(TP) PREP(TP) APH(TP) word NEG.EMPH
pule-no monemno nake-p
come-3SG.OR.PP silent sit-PC
'He didn't answer her. Not a word came to her, he was sitting silently.'

(35) *Smep paliyepanap, anno wiyo: "Eh, de balok, de ke ono bayana!"*
smep paliyepane-p an-no wiyo eh de ba-le-ko de ke ono
door open.wide-PC arm-INS hold.PP eh you FAC-go-FAC you TOP man
bayana
different
'She was opening the door wide, and he embraced her: "Eh, you've gone! You've gone! You're a different person!"'

(36) *"Ono bayana pari. Oke ko emka ko puloro, ko okiro."*
ono bayana pari o-ke ko emka ko pulo=ro ko
man different NEG.COP PROX-APH I yesterday I come.PP=EMPH I
o-ki=ro
PROX-APH=EMPH
'(Siyu replied), "I am not a different person. It is me. I came yesterday. I am the same person."'

(37) *"De makiro. Dedukoyo piyeiya, dedukoyo inake."*
de maki=ro dedukoyo piye-i=ya dedukoyo i-nake
you good=EMPH we.DU.INCL take-DU.A=EMPH we.DU.INCL DU.S-live
'(She said), "You're really good. We take each other. Let's live (together)."'

(38) *Riyopuno inakero. Ruri faifpela karim, boi rumkari dupua, roipi tripela. So karimpo, faifpela.*
riyopuno i-nake=ro ruri faifpela i karim boi
then DU.S-live=EMPH child five(TP) PRED(TP) give.birth(TP) boy(TP)
rumkari dupua roipi tripela so karim-po faifpela
girl two boy three(TP) five give.birth(TP)-LV.PP five(TP)
'Then they live together. (They have) five children. She gave birth to boys ... to two girls and to three boys. Five, she gave birth to five (children).'

(39) *Kuru, bo kuru.*
kuru bo kuru
be.finished story be.finished
'(That's) the end. The story is finished.'

A.6 The spellbound lake

Introduction

The story 'The spellbound lake' was first told in Tok Pisin by Sei Walup in Awol village in September 2000. It was recorded there by my husband Godehard Link. The story was then retold by Margaret Osi in Ossima in August 2004.

Summary & background

The story is about how a clan got punished for neglecting two orphaned children. The orphaned children left their village, went into the bush and met their "grandmother" who dwells like a bush spirit at the bottom of a pond. The grandmother supported the children and she causes heavy rainfall through magic (Sequence 15). The first effect of the rain was frogs and fish appearing in abundance, which the people collected. The second effect was a flood in which people drowned (Sequence 22). The remaining people were killed by a man named Buoko, whose identity is unclear. Two entire clans were wiped out (Sequence 23). A second man named Amou, whose pregnant wife died in the flood, takes revenge and kills Buoko. (Sequences 29/30). Amou was the last surviving member of the Inuges clan.

Originally the story was told by Sei Walup (see Section 3.6). For better understanding, I suggested that he should first narrate it in Tok Pisin and then repeat the story in Kilmeri. Unfortunately, the Kilmeri version is only an abridged version of the detailed Tok Pisin version and is barely comprehensible. In addition, the second version features so much code-switching, that one cannot speak of a Kilmeri text. In retrospect, it would have been better to arrange a second visit to him, focussing solely on Kilmeri.

There are some narrative differences between Sei's Tok Pisin version and Margaret's Kilmeri version. Firstly, Sei starts with an overview embedding the story into the clan context. In particular, he says that the story is not 'his story', but he says in Tok Pisin: *na stori bilong mi — i no bilong mi, bilong olgeta man, man bilong mipela wanpela tokples i stap*, which means 'and my story — it isn't my story, it belongs to all people, the people of us are one language (community) for ever'. The ownership of the story is extended to the entire community of the fifteen Kilmeri-speaking villages, although it only reports on the fate of a single clan. This is an important indication that the people have a strong sense of shared identity and history. The story relates directly to the village and people of Isi. In fact, Sei mentions three place names: Ia, Isi, and Awol. Sei also confirms that the

disputed body of water had another, older name: Kisi. In his introduction he says: *Mi laik kirapim dispela stori nau. Nem bilong mi Sei Walup. Mi laik wokim mipela Awol stret. Mi wokim wara nau. Na Ppulae, wara Ppulae. Nem bilong em Kisi.* 'I want to start with the story. My name is Sei Walup. I want to tell a story about us people in Awol. I'll tell about a small lake, about "Bad water" lake. Before it was called lake Kisi.' Only after the dramatic incident described in the story did the lake become known as *ppulae* 'bad'.

Furthermore, Sei mentions the spirit woman who lives at the bottom of the original pond. She is called *memi* 'grandmother' by the children. This detail is relevant, because in Sei's version it is the husband Beko, not the spirit woman, who performs the rain magic. Thus, the husband is responsible for the death of the clans. An old Nimboran myth (Kouwenhoven 1956: 31) tells of the female supernatural being *Indjo*, who lives in the mountain rivers in the south of the Nimboran territory and whose power was feared. Should she become angry, she would send rain and thunder and drown the earth. Given the presumed homeland of the Kilmeri people, there may be a narrative link between the Nimboran oral tradition and this Kilmeri story: Apparently the villagers broke a social rule by neglecting orphaned children, and this was penalised by the spirit woman through her command over the rain and her ability to flood the earth. Margaret Osi preserved the female nature of the creator of the flood, while Sei Walup chose a male one. He also tells us that the two orphans drown in the rising waters. The role of Buoko in Margaret's version is not entirely clear. He may have killed some survivors of the flood or people from another village nearby.

Finally, concluding the story Sei reinforces his reliability with the Tok Pisin words *Olsem mi no giaman, trupela tok mi tok,* ***bo makina kopi muli****, tokples nau ... em tasol, sapos* ***app*** *i nogat lus em tasol, dispela stori em tasol* (Kilmeri phrases are in bold font), which translates as: 'Thus I don't lie, I said the truth, I am speaking my words good, in (my) vernacular now ... that's it, if the sky is not lost, that's it, this story now ends'. This is much more than the usual formulae used at the end of stories. He emphasises the dramatic and perhaps even traumatic events.

The location of the small mountain or hill called Asaul in Sequence (29) is unclear. However, the location of *Pu ppulae*, the 'bad water', is known. It is a lake about 1 km long and 100-120 m wide west of the Puwani River and south-east of the settlements of Awol. Its natural origin and geological composition are unclear. While the course of the Puwani has changed to some extent over the decades – people are aware of this – the lake is unlikely to be an ancient branch of the river. The Google Earth view shows a blue coloured body of water, while the rivers and old river branches in the area are brownish in colour because of the sediments

they carry. The lake can therefore be said to be a stagnant body of water with no obvious inflow or outflow. It is difficult to access as it is completely surrounded by reeds, and a swamp area extends about 300 metres to the east. The quality of the water is said to be poor, probably a little salty or alkaline, and it is compared to the salty sea, *olsem solwara* in Tok Pisin.

Pu ppulae is a taboo place. The inhabitants of Awol and Iulep, to whose land it belongs, do not catch fish in the lake and do not go there to bathe. People are allowed to visit the place, but may not touch it. The collective memory of the place where an ancestral clan perished is still vivid, and it is believed that it is inhabited by the spirits of the dead. White people are not normally allowed to enter the lake, but my family were escorted to the lake by the storyteller Sei Walup and two other men from the village.

People are still familiar with the ginger magic that can be used to bring about rain. On one occasion, Margaret Osi told me about a man from Isi camp who knows rain magic and who performed the ritual in very hot and dry weather.

Figure A.3: The village of Awol

Parallel text

Ripi Ripaekyo bûri seino. Epe aino basuiweko; ki kama inakap rupperie. Yena rapue ar poninipop. Kuso inakap: rapue an kepno riyepomapoip royeniulipop. Epo puakuyo ppaliyeinipop, ya pose puakuyo ppaliyeinipop, ya pose ya ise. Ruri dupua umul nekpamui, "Nuko ile kaikai painimpi. Yena nuko ar ponien."

Ripi and Ripaek are brother and sister. Their parents are dead, and the two of them live alone, as orphans. The villagers didn't give them any food. So they lived like this: they searched for food themselves. They walked around and ate what they found. The people used to rub faeces on their heads, and they used to rub spoiled sago on their heads, foul sago, burned sago. The two children thought: "We go and search for food, because the people didn't give us any."

Pu riyepoi. Pu dob sekui, pu eli dob sekui. Pu baîko. "Eh pu ulili." Ri epeyo lilip. "Puyo nuko yopi saulno." Bayopiko, baîko. Riyopuno wal luwapoi, waeripi wamo waeaup. Waeaup sepolo. Ri epeyo piapoiro. "Eh erepe? Anayo?" "Koyo? Koyo memi depi." "Oke ri epeyo ari, yip kopi. Awe! Deyo iminep!" Dob soreyewap, "Erepe? Deyo ba powe?" "Yena koyo epono ya poseno ya iseno ppaliyeen. Dop koyopi ppulae. Koyo makina ar inakap." Pul mopien. Epo ya puno pusiyeen, seke sayeen. Dop maki, ereru. Dipsu sien, wîlno ripien. Riyopuno royenen. Kinoipno dipsu neno ponien. Ropyo uleien, muelien: "Deyo ilap! Ko yala pu makopi."

They caught sight of water. They found a pond with brackish water. The water has dried up. "Eh, here is still some water!" Pieces of wood were poking out of the water. "We'll scoop the remaining water with a shovel." They scooped it, the pond was dry, and they caught the fish with their hands, *waeripi*-fish, *wamo*-fish, *waeup*-fish. The *waeup*-fish vanished. They uncovered the wood (at the bottom of the pond). They heard a voice: "Eh, what is this, who are you two?" The children replied: "We two? We two are your grandchildren." The woman said: "This is not uncovered wood, this is my house. Come, come here you two!" She was looking with surprise on them: "What is this, what did you two do?" The children replied: "The villagers rubbed us with faeces, with spoiled sago, with burned sago. Our bodies are bad, we are not living well." She bathed them. She washed

the faeces and the sago off their bodies with water and cut their hair. Now their bodies are good and strong. She cooked rice for them and distributed it on plates. Then she gave it to them. When they had eaten, she gave them raw rice. She put it in a basket and said to them: "Go! I will perform rain magic now."

Riyopuno sowo sepiana. Pu silepokûne. Pu poro dupikau. Pepuol peia kûno, ani duruwa. Punipino ilo, pu riyeip. Piu bakûnko, luwapoi. Piu baluwaoiko, loloi, klokni weloi yipyo. Ripi Ripaekyo yena muelien, "Ine molap, piu kauna oso mape." Yena molo kiniyo. Epe aino ruri roise piu luwapo. Pu busukna, kimike nomoina, boyopuno losna die poniyena. Waeripi pule. Ere mini wiyeyap! Waeripi sepolo. Mi rika baka lo. Waeripi ere mini, ere mini oke rkaro. Pu inerna walina, yena puyo silekûnwepu.

Then she ground and scattered ginger. Soon the rain was dripping down steadily. It rained heavily until darkness. *Pepuol*-frogs and *peia*-frogs jumped down to water pools, in daylight at dawn. In the morning the children went and saw all the water. Frogs have jumped down, and they caught them with their hands. They wrapped them into leaves and carried one package to their former house in the village. Ripi and Ripaek said to the people: "Go down there, there are frogs in great numbers, there are more there." So the people went, all of them, mothers and fathers together with their children, and they caught the frogs.[30] The water reached their ankles, then their shins, later their thighs and waists. The *waeripi*-fish came. Here they come, catch them! Then the *waeripi*-fish vanished. The fish swam there, to the other side; then the *waeripi*-fish came here again, they moved about here and over there. The water reached up to the armpit, to the neck, and people started drowning in the water.

[30]Frogs were and still are valuable food and people like to eat them.

Buoko buar wepulo. Yena kiniyo leliewepu. Yena supuli basupuliko. Yena ulewolelayep, Inuges ol Ir Inuges pur Ir. Isko lopapien dopyo. Kuru.

Buoko brought an axe and killed all the people. The people's bodies were lying everywhere: the Inuges from the mountain Ir and the Inuges from the plain Ir. He marked their bodies with black paint. It is over.

Amou ai kep sano, "Yara ako kopi ari? Dupu arka lo?" "Balok. Dupu yena wulien; yena piu lu." Monomno molo, dob sopop: yena kiniyo supuli. Amou yena kiniyo lakwepu. Ako kepyo nekip. Ako elno; epul kepyo isau re polip. Buoko dor epe Amoupi suelo. Amou suelno. Dor lumî solo upuna wopuem. Amou ol epi baka sesiyo, Buoko nisenap. Ol epi baka nisenap, baka lenap, ol Asaul. Sepue pele suko, bopap sepalo. Sepue pele wauna. Riyopuno wami bî sepeipana, dob pop, "Buoko upule." Amou lu paliya. Amou kike, kikero kikero. Ber pûke, ber yelo mono powolap. Yeloyo ye, boyo puana. Yena muelien, "Ko Buoko baluik."

Amou asked his father Yara: "My wife is not there? Where did Dupu go?" The father replied: "She has left. Dupu followed the people, who were catching frogs." Amou and his father Yara walked along the path and realised: All the people died. Amou recounted the names of all people. He was standing next to his dead wife. The woman had been pregnant; in her ear was an *isau*-feather. Buoko cut Amou's big toe. Now Amou has a gash. The cut left a scar; alright, he will be marked.[31]Amou fled to the other side of the mountain and lay in wait for Buoko. He lay in wait for him on the other side; he waited for him at Mount Asaul. He cut *limbum*-ribs and fenced a pig trap. He put the *limbum*-ribs side by side. Then he drilled a spying hole and was looking through: "Here comes Buoko." Amou shot him dead. Amou ran and ran. He lost his tongue as the tongue was dragging on the ground behind him. He fell over and got up again. He said to the people: "I shot Buoko."

Pu bueso lili. Pu ikoiele. Pu nem kep roki: Pu ppulae. Puro yena lil lili, In-

The water is salty like the sea. The lake is very large. The name of the

[31]Amou is one of the survisors of the killing. He must have encountered Buoko who cut his foot. Amou fled and planned to take revenge.

uges lil lili. Yena sukei riyo mape Puppulaeyo.

water is: Pu ppulae. The water is the blood of the people, the blood of the Inuges. The spirit of the people lives there in Lake Puppulae.

Figure A.4: Pu ppulae

Glossed text

(1) *Ripi Ripaekyo bûri_seino. Epe aino basuiweko; ki kama inakap rupperie.*
Ripi Ripaek-yo bûri_sei-no epe ai-no ba-sui-we-ko
Ripi Ripaek-LOC sister_brother-INS mother father-INS FAC-die-DU.S-FAC
ki kama i-nake-p rupperie
APH alone DU.S-live-PC orphans
'Ripi and Ripaek are brother and sister. (Their) parents had died, and they live alone as orphans.'

(2) *Yena rapue ar poninipop. Kuso inakap: rapue an kepno riyepomapoip royeniulipop.*
yena rapue ar ponini-pi-p kuso i-nake-p rapue an
people food NEG give.NSG.OR-LV-PC always DU.S-live-PC food hand

kep-no riye_pomapi-i-p roye_ni-uli-pi-i-p
3SG.POSS-INS see.O.INANIM_stroll-DU.A|S-PC lay_eat-PROG-LV-DU.A-PC
'People didn't give them any food. So they lived (like this): Looking for food on their own they strolled around, and they ate what was lying around.'

(3) *Epo puakuyo ppaliyeinipop, ya pose puakuyo ppaliyeinipop, ya pose ya ise.*
epo puaku-yo ppaliye-ini-pi-p ya pose puaku-yo
faeces head-LOC rub-NSG.OR-LV-PC sago be.spoiled head-LOC
ppaliye-ini-pi-p ya pose ya ise
rub-NSG.OR-LV-PC sago be.spoiled sago char
'(The people) used to rub faeces on their heads, they used to rub bad sago on their heads, foul sago, burned sago.'

(4) *Ruri dupua umul nekpamui, "Nuko ile kaikai painimpi. Yena nuko ar ponien."*
ruri dupua umul_nekpamu-i nuko i-le kaikai
child two ponder.PP-DU.S we.INCL DU.S-go food(TP)
painim-pi-i yena nuko ar ponien
search(TP)-LV-DU.A people we.INCL NEG give.NSG.OR.PP
'The two children pondered: "We go and search for food, because the people didn't give us any."'

(5) *Pu riyepoi. Pu dob sekui, pu eli dob sekui.*
pu riye-po-i pu dob seku-i
water see.O.INANIM-LV.PP-DU.A water eye fall.PP-DU.A
pu_eli dob seku-i
pond.with.brackish.water eye fall.down.PP-DU.A
'They saw water. Their eyes caught sight of water. Their eyes caught sight of a pond with brackish water.'

(6) *Pu baîko. "Eh pu ulili." Ri epeyo lilip. "Puyo nuko yopi saulno."*
pu ba-î-ko eh pu u-lili ri epeyo lili-p
water FAC-dry.up-FAC eh water DFAC-be.there wood open be.there-PC
pu-yo nuko yopi-i saul-no
water-LOC we.INCL scoop-DU.A shovel-INS
'The water has dried up. "Eh, here is still (some) water," pieces of wood were poking out of the water. "We will scoop (the remaining water) with a shovel."'

(7) *Bayopiko, baîko. Riyopuno wal luwapoi, waeripi wamo waeaup.*
ba-yopi-i-ko ba-î-ko riyopuno wal luwapi-i
FAC-scoop-DU.A-FAC FAC-dry.up-FAC then fish catch-DU.A
waeripi wamo waeaup
kind.of.fish kind.of.fish kind.of.fish
'They have scooped it, and (the pond) is dry. Then they catch the fish (with their hands), *waeripi*-fish, *wamo*-fish, *waeup*-fish.'

(8) *Waeaup sepolo. Ri epeyo piapoiro.*
waeaup sepolo ri epeyo piapo-i=ro
kind.of.fish vanish.PP wood open lift.up.PP-DU.A=EMPH
'The *waeaup*-fish vanished. They uncovered the wood (at the bottom of the pond).'

(9) *"Eh erepe? Anayo?" "Koyo? Koyo memi depi."*
eh ere=pe ana-yo koyo koyo memi de-pi
eh PROX=Q who-LOC we.DU.EXCL we.DU.EXCL grandchildren 2SG-POSS
'"Eh, what is this? Who are you two?" "We two? We two are your grandchildren."'

(10) *"Oke ri epeyo ari, yip kopi. Awe! Deyo iminep!" Dob soreyewap, "Erepe? Deyo ba powe?"*
o-ke ri epeyo ari yip ko-pi awe deyo
PROX-APH wood open no house 1SG-POSS come.IMP you.DU
i-mini-p dob soreye-we-p ere=pe
DU.S-come.hither-IMP eye look.intently.O.ANIM.SG-DU.O-PC PROX=Q
deyo ba pi-we
you.DU what do-TER
'"This is not uncovered wood, (this is) my house. Come! Come here you two!" She was scrutinising them: "What is this? What did you two do?"'

(11) *"Yena koyo epono ya poseno ya iseno ppaliyeen. Dop koyopi ppulae. Koyo makina ar inakap."*
yena koyo epo-no ya pose-no ya ise-no
people we.DU.EXCL faeces-INS sago be.spoiled-INS sago char-INS
ppaliye-en dop koyo-pi ppulae koyo maki-na ar
rub-NSG.OR.PP body we.DU.EXCL-POSS bad we.DU.EXCL good-ADV NEG
i-nake-p
DU.S-live-PC
'"The people rubbed us with faeces, with bad sago, with burned sago. Our bodies are bad, we were not living well."'

(12) *Pul mopien. Epo ya puno pusiyeen, seke sayeen. Dop maki, ereru.*
pul_mopi-en epo ya pu-no pusiye-en seke
bathe-NSG.OR.PP faeces sago water-INS wash-NSG.OR.PP hair
saye-en dop maki ereru
shave-NSG.OR.PP body good strong
'She bathed them. She washed the faeces and sago off their bodies with water and cut their hair. (Now, their) bodies are good and strong.'

(13) *Dipsu sien, wîlno ripien. Riyopuno royenen.*
dipsu si-en wîl-no ripi-en riyopuno
rice cook-NSG.OR.PP dish-INS distribute-NSG.OR.PP then
roye-en
lay-NSG.OR.PP
'She cooked rice for them and distributed it on plates for them. Then she gave it to them.'

(14) *Kinoipno dipsu neno ponien. Ropyo uleien, muelien: "Deyo ilap! Ko yala pu makopi."*
k-ni-i-p-no dipsu neno ponien rop-yo
SUB-eat-DU.A-PC-CO rice raw give.NSG.OR.PP basket-LOC
ulei-en mueli-en deyo i-le-p ko yala pu
put.inside-NSG.OR.PP talk.to-NSG.OR.PP you.DU DU.S-go-IMP I now rain
makopi
perform.magic
'When they had eaten, she gave them raw rice. She put it in a basket and said to them: "You two go! I will perform rain magic now."'

(15) *Riyopuno sowo sepiana. Pu silepokûne. Pu poro dupikau.*
riyopuno sowo sepiana pu silepokûne pu po=ro
then ginger fragment.PP rain drip.down.steadily rain LV.PP=EMPH
dupikau
pervasive.darkness
'Then she ground and scattered ginger. The rain falls steadily. It rained heavily until darkness.'

(16) *Pepuol peia kûno, ani duruwa.*
pepuol peia kûno ani duruwa
kind.of.frog kind.of.frog go.down.PP day early.morning
'*Pepuol*-frogs and *peia*-frogs went down (to waterpools), in daylight at dawn.'

(17) *Punipino ilo, pu riyeip. Piu bakûnko, luwapoi. Piu baluwaoiko, loloi, klokni weloi yipyo.*
punipino i-lo pu riye-i-p piu ba-kûne-ko
morning DU.S-go.PP water see.O.INANIM-DU.A-PC frog FAC-go.down-FAC
luwapo-i piu ba-luwapi-i-ko lolo-i klokni
catch.PP-DU.A frog FAC-catch-DU.A-FAC wrap.PP-DU.A one
welo-i yip-yo
carry.away.PP-DU.A house-LOC
'In the morning (the children) went and saw the water. Frogs have jumped down (to waterpools), and they caught them with their hands. (Soon) they have caught enough frogs. They wrapped them (into leaves). One (package) they carried to the house.'[32]

(18) *Ripi Ripaekyo yena muelien, "Ine molap, piu kauna oso mape."*
Ripi Ripaek-yo yena mueli-en ine mole-p piu
Ripi Ripaek-LOC people talk.to-NSG.OR.PP you.PL go.PL-IMP frog
kauna oso mape
in.great.numbers more sit.PL
'Ripi and Ripaek said to the people: "Go (down there), (there are) frogs in great numbers, there are more (there)."'

(19) *Yena molo kiniyo. Epe aino ruri roise piu luwapo.*
yena molo kiniyo epe ai-no ruri roise piu luwapo
people go.PL.PP all mother father-INS child with frog catch.PP
'So the people went, all of them. Mothers and fathers together with the children, and they caught the frogs.'

(20) *Pu busukna, kimike nomoina, boyopuno losna die poniyena. Waeripi pule. Ere mini wiyeyap! Waeripi sepolo.*
pu busuk-na kimike nomoi-na boyopuno los-na die_poniye-na
water shin-AFF before ankle-AFF later thigh-AFF waist-AFF
waeripi pule ere mini wiye-yep waeripi sepolo
kind.of.fish come here come.hither catch-IMP.PL kind.of.fish vanish.PP
'The water reached their shins, first their ankles, later their thigh and waist. The *waeripi*-fish come, here they come, catch them! The *waeripi*-fish vanished.'

[32]Probably they walk back to their old house in the village where they used to live before they encountered the spirit woman at the bottom of the pond. Then they would have persuaded the villagers to go catching fish.

(21) *Mi rika baka lo. Waeripi ere mini, ere mini oke rkaro.*
mi ri-ka ba-ka lo waeripi ere mini
again DIST.EMPH-PATH other-PATH go.PP kind.of.fish here come.hither
ere mini o-ke r-ka=ro
here come.hither PROX-APH DIST.EMPH-PATH=EMPH
'(The fish) went there, to the other side. The *waeripi*-fish come here, come here; here and over there (they are moving).'

(22) *Pu inerna walina, yena puyo silekûnwepu.*
pu iner-na wali-na yena pu-yo silekûne-wepu
water armpit-AFF neck-AFF people water-LOC sink-QUANT.S.PP
'The water reaches up to the armpit and to the neck. The people sank into the water.'

(23) *Buoko buar wepulo. Yena kiniyo leliewepu. Yena supuli basupuliko. Yena ulewolelayep, Inuges ol Ir Inuges pur Ir.*
Buoko buar wepulo yena kiniyo lelie-wepu yena
Buoko stone.axe bring.PP people all kill.people-QUANT.O.PP people
supuli ba-supuli-ko yena ulewolelaye-p Inuges
die.PL.S FAC-die.PL.S-FAC people be.there.PL_move.further_lay-PC Inuges
ol Ir Inuges pur Ir
mountain Ir Inuges plain Ir
'Buoko brought an axe and killed all people. The people die. They are dead. The people('s bodies) were lying everywhere, the Inuges from the mountain Ir and the Inuges from the plain Ir.'

(24) *Isko lopapien dopyo. Kuru.*
isko lopapi-en dop-yo kuru
black.colour mark.with.paint.PL.O-NSG.OR.PP body-LOC be.finished
'He marked their bodies with black paint. It is finished.'

(25) *Amou ai kep sano, "Yara ako kopi ari? Dupu arka lo?"*
Amou ai kep sa-no Yara ako ko-pi ari Dupu arka
Amou father 3SG.POSS ask-3SG.OR.PP Yara wife 1SG-POSS no Dupu where
lo
go.PP
'Amou asked his father Yara: "My wife is not (there)? Where did Dupu go?"'

(26) *"Balok. Dupu yena wulien; yena piu lu." Monomno molo, dob sopop: yena kiniyo supuli.*
ba-le-ko Dupu yena wuli-en yena piu lu
FAC-go-FAC Dupu people follow-NSG.OR.PP people frog shoot.PP
monomno molo dob_sopi-p yena kiniyo supuli
along.the.path go.PL.PP look.intently-PC people all die.PL
'"She has left. Dupu followed the people who caught frogs." (Amou and his father Yara) walked along the path and realised: All the people died.'

(27) *Amou yena kiniyo lakwepu. Ako kepyo nekip. Ako elno; epul kepyo isau re polip.*
Amou yena kiniyo lakwepu ako kep-yo
Amou people all count.names.QUANT.O.PP wife 3SG.POSS-LOC
neki-p ako el_no epul kep-yo isau re
stand-PC wife pregnant ear 3SG.POSS-LOC kind.of.bird feather
poli-p
be.there-PC
'Amou counted all the people by their names. He was standing next to his (dead) wife. The woman had been pregnant; in her ear was an *isau*-feather.'

(28) *Buoko dor epe Amoupi suelo. Amou suelno. Dor lumî solo upuna wopuem.*
Buoko dor_epe Amou-pi suelo Amou suel-no dor lumî solo upuna
Buoko big.toe Amou-POSS cut.PP Amou cut-CO foot scar only alright
wopue-m
be.marked-POS
'Buoko cut Amou's big toe. (Now) Amou has a gash. The foot has a big scar. Alright, he will be marked now.'[33]

(29) *Amou ol epi baka sesiyo, Buoko nisenap. Ol epi baka nisenap, baka lenap, ol Asaul.*
Amou ol epi baka sesiyo Buoko
Amou mountain side other get.out.of.the.way Buoko
nise-ne-p ol epi baka nise-ne-p baka
lie.in.wait-3SG.OR-PC mountain side other lie.in.wait-3SG.OR-PC other

[33]Amou is one of the survivors of the killing. He must have encountered Buoko who cut his foot. Amou fled and planned to take revenge.

le-ne-p ol Asaul
wait.for-3SG.OR-PC mountain Asaul
'Amou fled to the other side of the mountain and was lying in wait for Buoko. On the other side of the mountain he was lying in wait. He was waiting for him on the other (side), (at) Mount Asaul.'

(30) *Sepue pele suko, bopap sepalo. Sepue pele wauna. Riyopuno wami bî sepeipana, dob pop, "Buoko upule." Amou lu paliya.*
sepue_pele suko bopap sepalo sepue_pele wauna
trough.leaf cut.PP pig.trap fence.PP trough.leaf put.side.by.side.PP
riyopuno wami bî sepeipana dob pi-p Buoko u-pule Amou
then window hole drill.into.PP eye LV-PC Buoko DFAC-come Amou
lu paliya
shoot.PP be.dead
'He cut *limbum*-ribs and fenced a pig trap. He put the *limbum*-ribs side by side. Then he drilled a spying hole and was looking (through): "Here comes Buoko." Amou shot, (Buoko) is dead.'

(31) *Amou kike, kikero kikero. Ber pûke, ber yelo mono powolap. Yeloyo ye, boyo puana.*
Amou kike kike=ro kike=ro ber pûke ber yelo_mono
Amou run run=EMPH run=EMPH tongue lose tongue along.the.ground
powole-p yelo-yo ye boyo puana
burst-PC ground-LOC fall.over.PP later stand.up.PP
'Amou runs and runs. He loses his tongue as the tongue was dragging on the ground (behind him). He fell over onto the ground, but he got up (again).'

(32) *Yena muelien, "Ko Buoko baluik."*
yena mueli-en ko Buoko ba-lui-ko
people talk.to-NSG.OR.PP I Buoko FAC-shoot-FAC
'He said to the people: "I have shot Buoko."'

(33) *Pu bueso lili. Pu ikoiele. Pu nem kep roki: Pu ppulae. Puro yena lil lili, Inuges lil lili. Yena sukei riyo mape Puppulaeyo.*
pu bue-so lili pu ikoiele pu nem kep
water sea-SIM be.there water very.big water name 3SG.POSS
ro-ki pu ppulae pu=ro yena lil lili Inuges
PROX.EMPH-APH water Ppulae water=EMPH people blood be.there Inuges

lil	lili	yena	sukei	ri-yo	mape	Puppulae-yo
blood	be.there	people	spirit	DIST-LOC	live.PL	Puppulae-LOC

'The water is (salty) like the sea. The lake is very big. The name of the water is this: Pu Ppulae. The water is the blood of the people, the blood of the Inuges. The spirit of the people lives there, in the Pu Ppulae lake.'[34]

[34]The name of the lake is "Bad-water-lake".

A.7 Muruk

Introduction

The story *Muruk* 'The cassowary' was told by Susan Bisam in Ossima in December 1999. The language she chose was Tok Pisin.

Summary & background

According to Susan Bisam, the story originates from the Sepik region. She probably refers to some of the larger tributaries of the Sepik that originate in the Bewani Mountains and the Border Mountains. However, she also mentions the village of Omula, the neighbouring village of Omoi further downstream of the Puwani in the Kilmeri region. Today, the villages of Omoi and Omula are located on the left bank of the Puwani. A few decades ago, however, Omula appears to have been on the right bank of the Puwani, as shown on the official map of Australia/Papua New Guinea, sheet 7192. The area to the south-east of ancient Omula borders the Eastern Pagi language area and people. Presumably the inhabitants of Omula and a group of East Pagi were once hostile to each other. Much of the area between the old village of Omula and the East Pagi village of Imbrinis is covered by swamps in which sago palms are cultivated.

In the story of Muruk, the inhabitants of an entire village met a gruesome death. They had set a fire on kunai grass (*Imperata cylindrica*) to hunt for the fleeing animals, pigs and cassowaries. However, this is the opportunity for the cassowary man to avenge the death of his cassowary mother by killing them all. It is possible that the cassowary man is based on a ritual cassowary dancer, who is the first-ranking character in a fertility ritual called *Ida*, which is performed by a number of peoples of the Border language family (Gell 1975: 168-169). This ritual was performed annually by the Waina/Umeda, the Punda, and the Waris, who live south of the Bewani Mountains. The ritual was performed up until (at least) the 1970s and 1980s and is described in detail by Gell (1975). Its purpose was to ensure the availability of sago (1975: 15-16). The Waris dictionary of Brown & Wai (1986) contains about a dozen words and expressions that refer to this fertility ritual. Susan herself used the word *yîs* to describe a day-long break in sago work. In the Ida ritual, this word refers to hot sago jelly, which the dancers throw in the air in the early morning hours after the cassowary dance has ended. The women have to leave the scene and have to sit idle in their houses (Gell 1975: 185; cf. Text F.4, Sequence 24). No other consultant used the collocation *yîs nake* 'sit idle'.

The young cassowary's search for his mother[35], which is where the story begins, may indicate an important spiritual difference between the eastern Pagi villages and the Omula villages. The Omula, and all Kilmeri, do not engage in the fertility ritual centred around sago and the cassowary dancer, a cultural heritage of the southern groups of the Border people. From the perspective of the Eastern Pagi, the Omula are not authorised to hunt cassowaries without fulfilling the appropriate ritual requirements. Therefore, a young cassowary searching for its mother may convey the message that cassowaries are viciously killed by the people of Omula. Such a sacrilege was to be prevented which is why the cassowary man took action.

Margaret Osi never mentioned a fertility ritual similar to the *Ida* ritual described and analysed by Gell (1975). According to her, the spiritual source of the Kilmeri was the men's house that belonged to every Kilmeri village (Cf. Text B.4). I myself know of three men's houses that were in use until the 1970s (or even longer). In contrast, Gell explicitly denies the existence of men's houses in the village of Umeda (1975: 10-11). This difference in spiritual tradition is not the only difference between the Kilmeri and the Pagi. Linguistically, the Pagi language has more grammatical features in common with Waris and Imonda than with Kilmeri. In Gerstner-Link (2023), I hypothesise that the Pagi have migrated into the Puwani Basin from the south by crossing the Bewani Mountains. This hypothesis is backed up by the fact that the Waris people are described by Gell as fierce and are said to have repeatedly driven neighbouring peoples/clans out of their settlements (1975: 5; 22). The same could have happened to the Pagi, who then crossed the mountains to the north in search of a better habitat. Later on however, with the arrival of the Kilmeri clans, they became victims of displacement again.[36]

Note that the title *Muruk* in the story only refers to a cassowary. The animal is not called a *masalai* 'evil bush spirit'. Therefore, this title is in contrast to the other titles Susan has chosen for her stories which include the word *masalai*. However, the cassowary man is said to have practised cannibalism and is described as truly savage: *Em i wel, wel olgeta*. His wild behaviour corresponds to

[35]Cassowary eggs are hatched by the male and the chicks remain in the nest for around nine months under the protection of their father. The female bird is polygamous. The search for the "mother" is therefore an over-generalisation of the widespread breeding and caring behaviour of some bush animals. The lowland area north of the Bewani Mountains is the habitat of the Northern Cassowary (*Casuarius unappendiculatus*).

[36]A look on the language map in Figure 5.1 shows that the Pagi language territory is split into an Eastern part and a Western part, which is probably due to the intrusion of the Kilmeri from the west via the Bewani valley. The Kilmeri have ties to the Manem language area and some clans in the west (Jeffrey Osi, p.c.).

the behaviour of cassowaries in the wild, which are shy, solitary and aggressive. These birds grow up to 1.70 metres tall, equivalent to a human; and they can jump as high as 1.5 metres. This makes its appearance threatening.

Figure A.5: Susan as story teller

Parallel text

Tasol dispela muruk em i painim mama bilong en. Mama bilong en em i go looooong tais. Ol i kilim em. Ol i kilim em. Em i painim painim painim. Nogat. Em i no painim mama bilong en. Mama bilong en olsem Omula. Em i painim het bilong en. Het bilong mama bilong en. Em i lukim. Em i tokim ol man bilong Omula.

A cassowary was looking for its mother and searched for her. She had gone to the sago swamp and was killed there. They had killed her. The young cassowary looked and searched and searched all over. Nothing. It didn't find its mother. She must have gone towards Omula. Eventually it found her head. Its mother's head. It saw her head right there. So the cassowary talked to the people of Omula.

Em i kam tokim papamama bilong ol ples. Ol i lukautim em. Em i tokim ol: "Yupela wokim praim bilong mi. Bai mi go long bus." Mama bilong long ples em wokim praim bilong en. Em i silip, moning em i go pinis. Em i go kamap olsem dispela Omula.

Then it turned back to its own village and talked to the men and women there. They took care of it. Later it said to them: "You make sago pancakes for me. I will go to the bush." The mothers of the village made sago pancakes for the cassowary. It slept, and in the morning it left. It walked on and came to that place called Omula.

Em i tokim ol: "Yupela olgeta, meri, man, yumi kukim kunai." Ol i harim, ol i harim. Olgeta, meri, man, pikinini, lapun. Nogut, nogut. Ol i go long kukim kunai, bihainim dispela muruk. Maauu. Em dispela man em wokim muruk na i stap. Em i senisim olsem man.

The cassowary said to the people there: "You all, women, men, let's burn the kunai grass together." They listened to the cassowary, they heard what it said. The women, the men, the children, the elderly people, all of them listened. Bad, too bad for them. They all went to burn the kunai grass and followed the cassowary. How foolish! That man had the appearance of a cassowary. Now he changed into a human.

Em i kirap. Kilim ol, go go go goooo. Meri, man, pikinini, lapun. Nogut nogut bikman. Pinis pinis pinis pinis pinis. Ol i dai. Em ikirap brukim bel bilong ol. Brukim bel bilong ol go. Googoogoo. Go pasim. Etpela limbum long kisim lewa bilong dispela ol man. Em i smokim giamanim tasol. Em giamanim tasol. Em karim igo.

The man stood up in his cassowary mask. He killed them, all of them. He was occupied with killing. He killed the women, the men, the children, the elderly. A truly bad chief. It is over, over, over, over. They all died. The cassowary man stood up and broke their bodies in two, broke in two the bodies of all the people. He broke and broke and broke. Eight baskets full of the innards of all those people. He smoked the meat only a little bit. He couldn't wait to take it to his village.

Go long papamama bilong en soim. "Papamama emya, pikya, yupela kaikai sampela." Papamama bilong en, ol

He returned to his village to show the meat to his people. "All of you, look here, pig meat, pig meat, you eat!" His

i laitim paia. Ol i lukim. Oh, em bel bilong ol man. Lewa bilong ol man. Ol i no kaikai. Ol i putim long limbum. Pangal bilong saksak. Ol i wokim. Ol i putim i go daun. Em wan save kaikai. Em wan save kaikai gooo. Pinis.

family, they lit a fire. Then they look at the meat. Oh no: the innards of humans. Heart, liver, kidneys of human beings. They didn't eat anything of this flesh. They put the human flesh on sago palm leafstalks. All helped together and they put it there. The cassowary-man alone eats. He alone eats and eats. Then it's over. He has finished his human meal.

Dispela muruk em i ranewe. Em i wel, wel olgeta.

The cassowary man ran away. He is sly and tricky, a cunning fellow.

Em tasol liklik tok bilong mi long dispela moning taim.

That's my little talk in this morning.

A.8 Ome na Lapi

Introduction

The story *Ome na Lapi* 'Ome and Lapi' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in April 2002. The story features a jealous husband who causes the killing of many people.

Summary & background

The story goes back to the knowledge of John Sol from Isi Camp, a hamlet about 1 km from Ossima. There is a wide expanse of metre-high *kunai* grass (*Imperata cylindrica*) between the houses of Isi Camp and the Puwani River, which you have to cross to reach the sandy riverbank. The inhabitants of Isi Camp are from the village of Isi, 3-4 km south of Kiliwes. As they belong to the larger Imo clan, they were permitted to settle in the area of Ossima, which is also a settlement of the Imo clan. The large fissure in the earth near Kiliwes is called Yi.

The Sequences 13-15 are a free association that follow the actual story line. The "exchange" of weapons implies a sense of great loss after the arrival of the whites, who seemed to be so much stronger.

Parallel text

Ome duyo lo. Duyo klapno bike lu. Bike wepulo yipyo, epe kep sano, "Ako kopi ari?" "Ako depi kero bûri depi woko." Yena sûkui pi. Yena pupno woni, yena garamut rino kowe. Yelo niyerip. Yuku yakono sûkui roki pi, Yiyo; sûkui kipiwe. Ki pako kipiyapno pe roise wel. Yena sûkui popno ako kep reyap. Ome ki dob sana, "Eh ako kopi ke roki ono baya." Sûkui roki ipoi. "Ko pe pakoyo ulei, ko pulapi." Biliyo nekipno ki pulapiro.

Ome went to the bush and shot a cassowary. He brought the cassowary home and asked his mother: "Isn't my wife here?" She replied: "Your wife, she accompanied your sister." The people danced. They blew the conches and they beat the garamut. The ground was shaking. Men and women swayed, at the place Yi; they danced close together. He took a bow and arrows. While the people danced, he looked at his wife. Ome looked there, "Eh, my wife is dancing with another man." They swayed in the dance. "I will put an arrow on the bow and draw the bow," says Ome to himself.

	As he stands at the entrance, he draws the bow.
Yena kiniyo supuli, yelo bî kana powolo. Yena riyo kûno, yena kiniyo riyo kûpo. Yena riyo kûkûnapno bili sowe. Yelo mi bî dori, paupiyo, dori solo.	All the people died because a crack suddenly opened in the ground. People fell in there, all the people fell in there. All the people fell, and the opening of the ground closed. The ground turned back to close the cave. It closed it completely, it just turned back.
Pako ukepi yena dop sei wel. Pako dop seipi uke dop wisi piyo. Bawelko, basepoloko. Aska.	The people with white skin colour carried our bows away. We black-skinned people took the bows of the white-skinned people. Ours have been carried away, they are lost. Nothing is left.
Bo kuru.	That's the end of the story.

Glossed text

(1) *Ome duyo lo. Duyo klapno bike lu.*
Ome du-yo lo du-yo k-le-p-no bike lu
Ome bush-LOC go.PP bush-LOC SUB-go-PC-CO cassowary shoot.PP
'Ome went to the bush. Having gone to the bush he shot a cassowary.'

(2) *Bike wepulo yipyo, epe kep sano, "Ako kopi ari?"*
bike wepulo yip-yo epe kep sa-no ako
cassowary bring.PP house-LOC mother 3SG.POSS ask-3SG.OR.PP wife
ko-pi ari
1SG-POSS no
'He brought the cassowary home and asked his mother: "Isn't my wife (here)?"'

(3) *"Ako depi kero bûri depi woko."*
ako de-pi ke=ro bûri de-pi woko
wife 2SG-POSS TOP=EMPH sister 2SG-POSS accompany.PP
'"Your wife? She accompanied your sister."'

(4) *Yena sûkui pi. Yena pupno woni, yena garamut rino kowe. Yelo niyerip.*

yena sûkui pi yena pup-no woni yena garamut ri-no
people dance LV people conch-INS call people garamut(TP) wood-INS
kowe yelo niyeri-p
beat ground shake-PC
'The people dance. They blow the conches and they beat the garamut. The ground was shaking.'[37]

(5) *Yuku yakono sûkui roki pi, Yiyo; sûkui kipiwe.*
yuku yako-no sûkui roki pi Yi-yo sûkui kipiwe
man woman-INS dance sway LV Yi-LOC dance close.together
'Men and women sway, at the place Yi; they dance close together.'[38]

(6) *Ki pako kipiyapno pe roise wel.*
ki pako k-piye-p-no pe roise wel
APH bow SUB-take-PC-CO arrow together carry.PP
'After taking the bow he carried it together with arrows.'

(7) *Yena sûkui popno ako kep reyap.*
yena sûkui pi-p-no ako kep reye-p
people dance LV-PC-CO wife 3SG.POSS see.O.ANIM.SG-PC
'While people danced, he was looking at his wife.'

(8) *Ome ki dob sana, "Eh ako kopi ke roki ono baya." Sûkui roki ipoi.*
Ome ki dob sana eh ako ko-pi ke roki ono baya
Ome APH eye look.thither.PP eh wife 1SG-POSS TOP sway man different
sûkui roki i-po-i
dance sway DU.S-LV.PP-DU.S
'Ome looked there: "Eh, my wife is dancing with another man". They swayed in the dance.'

(9) *"Ko pe pakoyo ulei, ko pulapi."*
ko pe pako-yo ulei ko pulapi
I arrow bow-LOC put.inside I strain
'"I will put an arrow on the bow and draw the bow", (says Ome to himself).'

[37]The *garamut* is the native Papuan signal drum, the slit gong. It is also used for celebrations and entertainment as here.

[38]The translation 'close together' is not confirmed. It is due to paraphrasing the Kilmeri verb in Tok Pisin by Margaret Osi. The verb only occurred in this context and this text.

(10) *Biliyo nekipno ki pulapiro.*
bili-yo neki-p-no ki pulapi=ro
opening-LOC stand-PC-CO APH strain=EMPH
'While standing at the entrance, he draws the bow.'

(11) *Yena kiniyo supuli, yelo bî kana powolo. Yena riyo kûno, yena kiniyo riyo kûpo.*
yena kiniyo supuli yelo bî kana powolo yena riyo
people all die.PL ground hole quickly burst.PP people DIST-LOC
kûno yena kiniyo riyo kûpo
go.down.PP people all DIST-LOC go.down.PL.PP
'All the people die, (because) a crack suddenly opened up in the ground. The people fell in there, all the people fell in there.'[39]

(12) *Yena riyo kûkûnapno bili sowe. Yelo mi bî dori, paupiyo, dori solo.*
yena ri-yo k-kûne-p-no bili sowe yelo mi bî
people DIST-LOC SUB-go.down-PC-CO opening cover ground again hole
dori paupiyo dori solo
turn.back shut.completely.PP turn.back only
'After the people fell in there, the opening (of the ground) closes. The ground turns back again (to close the cave). It closed completely, it just turned back.'

(13) *Pako ukepi yena dop sei wel.*
pako uke-pi yena dop sei wel
bow we.EXCL-POSS people skin white carry.PP
'The people with white skin colour carried (away) our bows.'

(14) *Pako dop seipi uke dop wisi piyo.*
pako dop sei-pi uke dop wisi piyo
bow skin white-POSS we.EXCL skin black take.PP
'We black-skinned people took the bows of the white-skinned (people).'

(15) *Bawelko, basepoloko. Aska.*
ba-wili-ko ba-sepole-ko aska
FAC-carry-FAC FAC-lose-FAC nothing
'They have been carried (away), they are lost. Nothing (is left).'

[39]It is not clear whether the people are hit by Ome's arrows and then fall down into the hole, or whether the fissure opened as a (supernatural) punishment for the people's immoral conduct some time ago. People about the age of 80-90, which belong to the oldest generation still alive, seem to remember an earthquake in the area. Their children told me this.

(16) *Bo kuru.*
bo kuru
story be.finished
'The story is finished.'

A.9 Bue

Introduction

The story *Bue* 'The salt' was told by Brigitte Esau from Omoi on July 2000. It describes the discovery of salt by the ancestor Wumeye. For some time, Brigitte joined my consultant team and came to my house in Ossima.

Summary & background

Brigitte Esau mapped out the route through the bush by naming several places that the ancestor Wumeye visited (Figure A.6). He set off from the Pual River near Omoi. First he reached the Apilaua hillside and the Pusemo stream. Next he reached the second hill and the hamlet of Wupepp, where he spent the night. This place is mentioned in the story. Then he crossed the Puwalei stream and passed Walili, the last village (or even the last settlement?) before reaching the coast. Now he arrived at the coast at Okuli, where he made camp. People would later boil salt water at this place to extract salt.

Unfortunately, the names mentioned by Brigitte Esau could not be identified on official maps (Australia. Army. Royal Australian Survey Corps 1969: Sheet 7192). The places were "in use" a century ago or even longer. Today they are only recognisable to people who are familiar with all the details of the oral history.

The text confirms the argument that the Kilmeri are an inland people who first had to "discover" the coast and the sea.

Parallel text

Kimike kimike dukiro dete mumunano kaikai puno solo siulipop. Bue aska, puno solo. Riyopuno mumuna kopi nem kep ke Wumeye woppuo pul ppuo. Welro du mono. Oyo nu Wupepp yilauyo. Nuknoko epul so malap, bue welipi. Woppuo pul kupurapopno bueno mapa. So nep oke bue. Riyopuno doripulo yilauyo. Yena bo mosaupoen: "Bue ko ika riyeko, bue paeau. Bue ko bariyeko." Riyopuno yena muelien. Mono kirewoloro, bue paeau. Somapaip bue, ou. Riyopuno ul kusukelipno bue isaeaupo,

In really ancient times, our ancestors cooked their food with water only. There was no salt, only water. Then my ancestor – his name is Wumeye – roamed the forest and climbed a *woppuo*-tree to collect fruits. Then he carried them along the bush track. He spent the night here, at the place called Wupepp. Walking further he slept for some days in the bush and heard the sound of the sea approaching. Having opened the *woppuo*-fruits, he tasted them with salt. He was eat-

yilauyo melpulup. Bue nem kep bue Wumeye.

ing and thought: "Well, this is the taste of salt." Now he returned to the village. There he informed the people: "The sea, I saw it there. I reached the sea, I have seen the sea." Then he talked to the people, and afterwards they cut a bush track to reach the sea. They were tasting the salty water, yes. Then they cut bamboo containers, filled them with salt water and carried them to the village. The salt's name is Wumeye salt.

Kuru bo kopi.

My story is finished.

Figure A.6: Brigitte Esau's sketch

Glossed text

(1) *Kimike kimike dukiro dete mumunano kaikai puno solo siulipop. Bue aska, puno solo.*
kimike kimike duki=ro dete mumuna-no kaikai
in.the.past in.the.past true=EMPH ancestor ancestor-INS food(TP)
pu-no solo si-uli-pi-p bue aska pu-no solo
water-INS only cook-PROG-LV-PC salt none water-INS only
'In really past times, (our) ancestors used to cook their food with water only. There was no salt, only water.'

(2) *Riyopuno mumuna kopi nem kep ke Wumeye woppuo pul ppuo. Welro du mono. Oyo nu Wupepp yilauyo.*
riyopuno mumuna ko-pi nem kep ke Wumeye woppuo
then ancestor 1SG-POSS name 3SG.POSS APH Wumeye kind.of.tree
pul ppuo wel=ro du mono o-yo nu Wupepp
fruit climb.PP carry.PP=EMPH bush path PROX-LOC sleep.PP Wupepp
yilau-yo
place-LOC
'Then my ancestor – his name is Wumeye – climbed for fruits of a *woppuo*-tree and carried them (along) the bush track. He spent the night here, in the place (called) Wupepp.'

(3) *Nuknoko epul so malap, bue welipi. Woppuo pul kupurapopno bueno mapa.*
nuknoko epul so male-p bue weli-pi woppuo
sleep.for.some.nights.PP ear like hear-PC sea approach-LV kind.of.tree
pul k-purapi-p-no bue-no mapa
fruit SUB-break-PC-CO salt-INS taste.PP
'He slept for some days (in the bush) and heard the (sound of the) sea approaching. Having opened the *woppuo*-fruits, he tasted them with salt.'[40]

(4) *So nep oke bue. Riyopuno doripulo yilauyo.*
so ni-p o-ke bue riyopuno doripulo yilau-yo
like eat-PC PROX-APH salt then come.back.PP village-LOC
'So he was eating: this is salt. Then he returned to the village.'

[40]Wumeye must have walked all the way down to the coast following the noise of the surf.

(5) *Yena bo mosaupoen: "Bue ko ika riyeko, bue paeau. Bue ko bariyeko."*
yena bo mosaupi-en bue ko i-ka riye-ko bue
people word teach-NSG.OR.PP sea I DIST-PATH see.O.INANIM-RTS sea
paeau bue ko ba-riye-ko
arrive sea I FAC-see.O.INANIM-FAC
'He informed the people: "The sea, I saw it there. I reached the sea, I have seen the sea."'

(6) *Riyopuno yena muelien. Mono kirewoloro, bue paeau.*
riyopuno yena muel-en mono kirewolo=ro bue
then people talk.to-NSG.OR.PP path cut.foot.track.PP=EMPH sea
paeau
arrive
'Then he talked to the people, (and afterwards) they cut a bush track to reach the sea.'

(7) *Somapaip bue, ou. Riyopuno ul kusukelipno bue isaeaupo, yilauyo melpulup.*
somapai-p bue ou riyopuno ul k-sukeli-p-no bue isaeaupo
taste-PC sea yes then bamboo SUB-cut.PL.O-PC-CO sea fill.in.PP
yilau-yo meli_pulup
village-LOC carry.PL.O_come.PL.PP
'They were tasting the salty water, yes. Then, having cut bamboo containers, they filled them (with) salt water and carried them to the village.'

(8) *Bue nem kep bue Wumeye.*
bue nem kep bue Wumeye
salt name 3SG.POSS salt Wumeye
'The salt's name is Wumeye salt.'

(9) *Kuru bo kopi.*
kuru bo ko-pi
be.finished story 1SG-POSS
'My story is finished.'

B Traditional stories

B.1 Bermepu

Introduction

The story *Bermepu* '(The fight over) sago grubs' was told by Margaret Osi in the village of Ossima. The story was recorded in January 2000 and again in September 2004.

Summary & background

There are two versions of this story. The first version was told in January 2000, at the beginning of my fieldwork. It was the first story Margaret Osi told at my suggestion. She seemed a little unsure about telling traditional stories and disputed that she was a good storyteller. During their marriage, her husband Lis Osi used to tell these stories while she listened. But Margaret agreed to tell the story with the following Tok Pisin words: *Mi save dispela stori long binatang*, which is 'Yes, I do remember a story about sago grubs'. The next day, I set up the recording environment and she told the story.

The second version of the story was told in August 2004. Why a second version? I had the impression that there were some unclear passages that needed to be clarified. Then Margaret said she would retell the whole story, with the intention of producing it in a more coherent way and in better Kilmeri. She had no doubt that the new version was better, because both her own ability to narrate and my ability to understand Kilmeri had improved over the years of language work.

There are some differences between the two versions:

- Version 1 starts with several address formulae. In particular, I am explicitly addressed, which never happened again this way on later occasions. (See below, Kilmeri Glossed Text.) The second version does without introductory formulae.

- In Version 2 the fight between the bush spirit and the man is more elaborately told and mentions four kinds of "weapons" (Sequences 9 and 10).

- Version 2 explicitly mentions that the bush spirit has eaten up the two people including their brains (Sequence 21), while Version 1 speaks only about cooking them.
- In Version 1 the bush spirit has small children (Sequence 24).

Among the Kilmeri it is still customary to mark the claim of a family or a clan to certain bush goods by erecting a taboo sign. But often a dispute arises between two parties because they have not respected such a taboo. So the conflict between Kopukei, the human, and Sukupu, the bush spirit, is a normal social and economic conflict. The story partly shifts into the realm of an evil spirit with the expected bad ending for the human party.

For an outsider, taboo signs are difficult to recognise, as the plant parts with which they are erected are almost unrecognisable to someone who is not familiar with this custom. In their descriptions, people used the Tok Pisin word *tanget* (*Cordyline fruticosa*), a species endemic to New Guinea. This is a shrub with long green leaves (30-60 cm long, 5-10 cm wide) at the top of a woody stem that produces 40-60 cm long panicles of small fragrant yellowish, light purple, or red flowers that ripen into red berries. The wilted panicles can be slung around something as a taboo sign, cf. Kilmeri *aipo nopuane*, which contains the stem *nopi* 'to tie with a rope', and can also be used for tying beams together by means of a *liana*-rope.

The death of a bush spirit whose house caught fire is confirmed by a bang, which comes from the bush spirit's gall bladder bursting.

The object of dispute are sago grubs, viz., the larva of *Rhynchophorus ferrugineus ssp. papuanus*, also called *Rhynchophorus bilineatus*, a very nutritious part of the people's diet. The following basic remarks about the grubs and their use go back to Chan (2014: 32-37).

In Papua New Guinea, the larva of *R.bilineatus* is the most commonly eaten insect, as it is a by-product of sago starch production there. The sago weevil larvae are eaten alive, boiled, roasted or mixed into sago pancakes. Typically, weevils are produced from the sago stump and cabbage remaining after the harvest and processing of the sago palm, *Metroxylon sagu*. In some areas, the spiny-trunk sago palm, *Metroxylon rumphii*, which is not eaten because of inferior-quality starch, is cut and prepared for weevil production, each palm producing 500-600 grubs. The production and harvesting of sago grubs is still an important nutrient of the Kilmeri who live in forest settlements away from the coast and the town of Vanimo.

Figure B.1: A string of sago grubs on the market in Ossima Asples

Parallel text (second version)

Sukupu masalai, Kopukei ono. Kopukei aipo nopuanako, sukupu aipo nopuanako. Kopukei pulo, bermepu mo. Komoipno yeloyo layo. Bermepu we yeloyo. Kopukei bermepu puraporo. Rapiyo, luwapo ropyo, niskûno. Boyopuno sukupu pulo; sukupu welmalalpo. Sukupu dob po, "Upunaro, bepu de bamoiko. Nuko purapii." Bepu kiniyo kupurapoipno, kuru. Kiniyo banawoko. Kopukei ruri bepu parno lolo, rileyo weppuo. Ri wuliyo sakana sowo, dob pop.

Sukupu is a bush spirit, and Kopukei is a human. Kopukei had placed a taboo sign, and the bush spirit had also placed a taboo sign. Kopukei came and cut sago grubs. After cutting them he put them on the ground; several sago grubs fell onto the ground. Kopukei broke the sago grubs, took them and put them in a basket. After a while the bush spirit came; it had heard the noise of breaking wood. The bush spirit saw what happened and said: "All right, you have cut the sago grubs, we will break them together." Soon they had broken all the grubs and come to an end. Kopukei's son wrapped up the grubs in palm leaves, carried them up a tree, hid himself secretly in the top of the tree and

was watching what happened on the ground.

Sukupu Kopukei muelno: "Nuko bepu epono imali." Epono kimalko, mi bîsepno imali. Bîsepno kimalko, mi sûno imali. Sûno kimalko, mi rino imali. Rino kimalko, sukupu mi Kopukei lelio. Paliya. Kopukei ako lelio. Rino suloimoina kapiyo. Paliya. Uki akono leliowe. Ai kimike puenpo, mi epe puenpo. Sukupu epe aino uroyo nisei, ulei, meli yip kepyo.

The bush spirit said to Kopukei: "We will fight with faeces over the sago grubs." Having fought with faeces, they fought with saliva; having fought with saliva, they fought with fire; having fought with fire, they finally fought with sticks. While fighting with sticks, the bush spirit killed Kopukei. He is dead. The spirit also killed Kopukei's wife. It beat her fiercely and fervently with a stick, then she is dead. The evil spirit killed both, husband and wife. First it cut up the father's flesh, then it cut up the mother's flesh. The bush spirit put the flesh of father and mother in a netbag. It filled the netbag up and carried it to his house.

Yipyo kemelipno, ruri yeloyo kûno. Boyo ekuyo yek. Ruri kep aipo pewo. Yilauyo lo. Kiu kep muelien: "Epe aino sukupu no. Leliowe." Yena ruri Kopukeipi wulino. Monomno wulino. Ruri musiyo: "De lap, sanap!"

After the bush spirit had carried all the meat home, the boy came down from the tree. He followed the bush spirit's foot steps. The boy placed a taboo sign, went to the village and told his clan: "A bush spirit ate mother and father, he killed them both." Learning that the people followed Kopukei's child along the bush track. They sent the boy ahead: "Go and ask the spirit about your parents."

"Sukupu epe aino ulakip! Epe aino kopi, ari?" "Oh, ko ar reyowe." "Ari. De yipyoro wepulowe. De dupuapi." Yipyo lili. Ipiyo siwe. Puaku dupua solo ipiyo lilip. Dû kiniyo banok. Puaku dupua epe ainopi sipeiwe. Lûli neppino sipeiwe,

"Bush spirit, now release my mother and my father! Release my parents, aren't they here?" "No, no, I didn't see them." The boy countered: "No way, you brought them both to the house. You are lying." Yes, their bod-

lûli no. Sukupu buar piyo anno. "Am ko kûne. De am nekiwep." Yena yip pakiyo nekip, bîskilyo nekip. Enuka nekip, woloyo nekip. Peno wapilayo. Dop kepyo polip, sui. Paliya.

ies are in the house. The bush spirit cooked them in a pot. Now there were only the two heads left in the pot; all the meat has been eaten up. The bush spirit took the brains out of the heads. It took a knife, cut the brains out of the skulls and ate them. Then the bush spirit grasped an axe and said to the people waiting outside his house: "I come down first, you remain staying there." The people were standing around the house and underneath it; they were standing at the corners and on the ladder. They peppered it with arrows, which stuck in its body. So the bush spirit is dying. It is dead.

Anno piyeppuowepu, yipyo panapo. Smep bili musi. Sûno noriye. Sû kiniyo yip iseye sukupu roisero. Sukupu ûli pulwolo. Yena yipyo molo. Yilauyo löiso molo.

They lifted it up and put it into its house. They locked the door and set fires. The fires burned the house to the ground, together with the bush spirit. The gall bladder of the bush spirit burst. Hearing this noise, the people went back to their houses in the village. They went with shouts of victory.

Glossed text (second version)

(1) *Sukupu masalai, Kopukei ono.*
sukupu masalai Kopukei ono
bush.spirit bush.spirit(TP) Kopukei man
'Sukupu (is) a bush spirit, Kopukei (is) a human.'

(2) *Kopukei aipo nopuanako, sukupu aipo nopuanako.*
Kopukei aipo nopuane-ko sukupu aipo
Kopukei taboo.sign set.a.taboo.thither-RTS bush.spirit taboo.sign
nopuane-ko
set.a.taboo.thither-RTS
'Kopukei had set a taboo sign and the bush spirit had set a taboo sign.'

(3) *Kopukei pulo, bermepu mo. Komoipno yeloyo layo. Bermepu we yeloyo.*
Kopukei pulo bermepu mo k-moi-p-no yelo-yo layo
Kopukei come.PP sago.grub cut.PP SUB-cut-PC-CO ground-LOC put.PP
bermepu we yelo-yo
sago.grub fall.down ground-LOC
'Kopukei came and cut sago grubs. Having cut them, he put them on the ground. (Some) sago grubs fell on the ground.'

(4) *Kopukei bermepu puraporo. Rapiyo, luwapo ropyo, niskûno.*
Kopukei bermepu purapo=ro rapiyo luwapo
Kopukei sago.grub break.PP=EMPH fetch.PP catch.with.hands.PP
rop-yo niskûno
basket-LOC fill.in.PP
'Kopukei broke the sago grubs, took them, grabbed them, and filled them in a basket.'

(5) *Boyopuno sukupu pulo; sukupu welmalalpo.*
boyopuno sukupu pulo sukupu
later bush.spirit come.PP bush.spirit
welmalalpo
come.near.like.noise.of.breaking.wood.PP
'Later the bush spirit came. The bush spirit (heard) the noise of breaking wood.'

(6) *Sukupu dob po, "Upunaro, bepu de bamoiko. Nuko purapii."*
sukupu dob po upuna=ro bepu de ba-moi-ko nuko
bush.spirit eye LV.PP alright=EMPH sago.grub you FAC-cut-FAC WE.INCL
purapi-i
break-DU.A
'The bush spirit saw: "Alright, you have cut the sago grubs. We'll break them together."'

(7) *Bepu kiniyo kupurapoipno, kuru. Kiniyo banawoko.*
bepu kiniyo k-purapi-i-p-no kuru kiniyo
sago.grub all SUB-break-DU.A-PC-CO be.finished all
ba-nawe-ko
FAC-use.up-FAC
'They broke all sago grubs, (then) it was finished. All (the grubs) are used up.'

(8) *Kopukei ruri bepu parno lolo, rileyo weppuo. Ri wuliyo sakana sowo, dob pop.*
Kopukei ruri bepu par-no lolo rileyo weppuo ri
Kopukei child sago.grub palm.mat-INS wrap.PP above carry.up.PP tree
wuli-yo sakana sowo dob pi-p
tree.top-LOC secretly hide.PP eye LV-PC
'Kopukei's child wrapped the sago grubs in a palm leaf, carried them up, hid himself secretly in the top of the tree, and was watching (what happened on the ground).'

(9) *Sukupu Kopukei muelno: "Nuko bepu epono imali."*
sukupu Kopukei mueli-no nuko bepu epo-no
bush.spirit Kopukei talk.to-3SG.OR.PP we.INCL sago.grub faeces-INS
i-mali
DU.A-fight
'The bush spirit said to Kopukei: "We'll fight with faeces over the sago grubs."'

(10) *Epono kimalko, mi bîsepno imali. Bîsepno kimalko, mi sûno imali. Sûno kimalko, mi rino imali.*
epo-no k-i-mali-ko mi bîsep-no i-mali bîsep-no
faeces-INS SUB-DU.A-fight-RTS again saliva-INS DU.A-fight saliva-INS
k-i-mali-ko mi sû-no i-mali sû-no k-i-mali-ko
SUB-DU.A-fight-RTS again fire-INS DU.A-fight fire-INS SUB-DU.A-fight-RTS
mi ri-no i-mali
again stick-INS DU.A-fight
'Having fought with faeces, they fight with saliva. Having fought with saliva, they fight with fire. Having fought with fire, they (finally) fight with sticks.'

(11) *Rino kimalko, sukupu mi Kopukei lelio. Paliya.*
ri-no k-i-mali-ko sukupu mi Kopukei lelio
stick-INS SUB-DU.A-fight-RTS bush.spirit again Kopukei kill.people.PP
paliya
be.dead
'While fighting with sticks the bush spirit killed Kopukei. He is dead.'

(12) *Kopukei ako lelio. Rino suloimoina kapiyo. Paliya. Uki akono leliowe.*
Kopukei ako lelio ri-no suloimoina kapiyo
Kopukei wife kill.people.PP stick-INS extraordinarily beat.fiercely.PP
paliya uki ako-no lelio-we
be.dead husband wife-INS kill.people.PP-DU.O
'(The bush spirit) killed Kopukei's wife. It beat her fiercely and fervently with a stick, then she is dead. It killed both, husband and wife.'[1]

(13) *Ai kimike puenpo, mi epe puenpo.*
ai kimike puenpo mi epe puenpo
father first cut.meat.PP then mother cut.meat.PP
'First (the spirit) cut the father's flesh. Then it cut the mother's flesh.'

(14) *Sukupu epe aino uroyo nisei, ulei, meli yip kepyo.*
sukupu epe ai-no uro-yo nisei ulei meli
bush.spirit mother father-INS netbag-LOC fill.in put.inside carry.PL.O
yip kep-yo
house 3SG.POSS-LOC
'The bush spirit puts (the flesh) of father and mother in a netbag. It puts it inside (and) carries all (the flesh) to its house.'

(15) *Yipyo kemelipno, ruri yeloyo kûno. Boyo ekuyo yek.*
yip-yo k-meli-p-no ruri yelo-yo kûno boyo
house-LOC SUB-carry.PL.O-PC-CO child ground-LOC go.down.PP later
ekuyo yek
behind follow.one's.traces.PP
'When (the bush spirit) had carried all the meat home, the boy went down on the ground. Later on he followed the foot steps (of the bush spirit).'

(16) *Ruri kep aipo pewo. Yilauyo lo. Kiu kep muelien: "Epe aino sukupu no. Leliowe."*
ruri kep aipo pewo yilau-yo lo kiu kep
child 3SG.POSS taboo.sign put.upright.PP village-LOC go.PP clan 3SG.POSS
mueli-en epe ai-no sukupu no lelio-we
talk.to-NSG.OR.PP mother father-INS bush.spirit eat.PP kill.people.PP-DU.O
'The boy set up a taboo sign, went to the village and said to his clan: "The bush spirit ate mother and father. It killed them."'

[1]The wife is introduced only here.

(17) *Yena ruri Kopukeipi wulino. Monomno wulino. Ruri musiyo: "De lap, sanap!"*
yena ruri Kopukei-pi wuli-no monomno
people child Kopukei-POSS follow-3SG.OR.PP along.the.path
wuli-no ruri musiyo de le-p sa-ne-p
follow-3SG.OR.PP child send.PP you go-IMP ask-3SG.OR-IMP
'The people followed Kopukei's child. They followed him along the track. They sent the child (ahead): "Go (and) ask (the bush spirit)!"'

(18) *"Sukupu epe aino ulakip! Epe aino kopi, ari?"*
sukupu epe ai-no u-laki-p epe ai-no ko-pi
bush.spirit mother father-INS DFAC-fetch-PC mother father-INS 1SG-POSS
ari
no
'"Bush spirit, now release mother and father! My parents, aren't they (here)?"'

(19) *"Oh, ko ar reyowe." "Ari. De yipyoro wepulowe. De dupuapi."*
oh ko ar reyo-we ari de yip-yo=ro wepulo-we
oh I NEG see.O.ANIM.SG.PP-DU.O no you house-LOC=EMPH bring.PP-DU.O
de dupuapi
you lie
'"Oh, I didn't see them." "No way, you brought them both into the house. You are lying."'

(20) *Yipyo lili. Ipiyo siwe. Puaku dupua solo ipiyo lilip. Dû kiniyo banok.*
yip-yo lili ipi-yo si-we puaku dupua solo ipi-yo
house-LOC be.there pot-LOC cook-DU.O head two only pot-LOC
lili-p dû kiniyo ba-ni-ko
be.there-PC meat all FAC-eat-FAC
'(Their bodies) are in the house. (The spirit) cooked them in a pot. There were only the two heads in the pot. All the meat is eaten up.'

(21) *Puaku dupua epe ainopi sipeiwe. Lûli neppino sipeiwe, lûli no.*
puaku dupua epe ai-no-pi sipei-we lûli
head two mother father-INS-POSS take.out.the.brain-DU.O brain
neppi-no sipei-we lûli no
bush.knife-INS take.out.the.brain-DU.O brain eat.PP
'(The bush spirit) takes the brains out of the two heads of father and mother. It took the brains out with a knife and ate the brains.'

(22) *Sukupu buar piyo anno. "Am ko kûne. De am nekiwep."*
sukupu buar piyo an-no am ko kûne de am
bush.spirit stone.axe take.PP hand-INS first I go.down you still
neki-we-p
stand-TER-IMP
'The bush spirit took an axe with its hands: "I come down first. You remain staying there."'[2]

(23) *Yena yip pakiyo nekip, bîskilyo nekip. Enuka nekip, woloyo nekip. Peno wapilayo. Dop kepyo polip, sui. Paliya.*
yena yip pakiyo neki-p bîskilyo neki-p enuka
people house next.to stand-PC underneath stand-PC in.the.corner
neki-p wolo-yo neki-p pe-no wapilayo dop
stand-PC ladder-LOC stand-PC arrow-INS shoot.with.arrows.PP body
kep-yo poli-p sui paliya
3SG.POSS-LOC be.there-PC die be.dead
'The people were standing around the house. They were standing underneath (it), they were standing at the corners, they were standing on the ladder. They peppered it with arrows (which) stuck in its body. It is dying. (The bush spirit) is dead.'

(24) *Anno piyeppuowepu, yipyo panapo.*
an-no piyeppue-wepu yip-yo panapo
hand-INS lift.up-QUANT.O.PP house-LOC put.thither.PP
'They lifted it up with their hands and put it into the house.'

(25) *Smep bili musi. Sûno noriye. Sû kiniyo yip iseye sukupu roisero.*
smep bili musi sû-no noriye sû kiniyo yip iseye sukupu
door opening lock fire-INS fill.in fire many house char bush.spirit
roise=ro
together=EMPH
'They lock the opening of the door and start fires. Many fires burn the house to the ground together with the bush spirit.'

[2]The bush spirit thought it had only to fight the boy. The people had tricked the evil spirit in that they had sent the boy ahead.

(26) *Sukupu ûli pulwolo.*
sukupu ûli pulwolo
bush.spirit gall.bladder burst.PP
'The gall bladder of the bush spirit burst.'[3]

(27) *Yena yipyo molo. Yilauyo löiso molo.*
yena yip-yo molo yilau-yo löi-so molo
people house-LOC go.PL.PP village-LOC löi-SIM go.PL.PP
'The people went to (their) houses in the village. They went with shouts of victory.'

Glossed text (first version)

(1) *Claudia epul male. Bo sukupupi. Bermepu bo kep so.*
Claudia epul male bo sukupu-pi bermepu bo kep so
Claudia ear hear story bush.spirit-POSS sago.grub story 3SG.POSS like
'Claudia listen. A story about a bush spirit. The story of the sago grubs (goes) like (this).'

(2) *Sukupu dupua nako, Kopukei dupua nako. Sukupu dupua nako, Kopueki dupua nako.*
sukupu dupua nako Kopukei dupua nako sukupu dupua nako
bush.spirit two beget Kopukei two beget bush.spirit two beget
Kopukei dupua nako
Kopukei two beget
'The bush spirit placed two (taboo signs). Kopukei placed two (taboo signs). The bush spirit put two and Kopukei put two.'

(3) *Sukupu kupulapno Kopukei ki popiye, aipo popiye.*
sukupu k-pule-p-no Kopukei ki popiye aipo
bush.spirit SUB-come-PC-CO Kopukei APH take.away taboo.sign
popiye
take.away
'(Later), having come (again), the bush spirit takes away Kopukei's (signs). It takes away the taboo signs.'

[3]Generally, the burst of the gall bladder is clear evidence that the bush spirit is dead.

(4) *Kopopiyapno Kopukei riyepuloro: "Ah, sukupu asa popiyeko. Aipo ke kopi, bepu ke kopi."*
k-popiye-p-no Kopukei riye_pulo=ro ah
SUB-take.away-PC-CO Kopukei see.O.INANIM_come.PP=EMPH ah
sukupu asa popiye-ko aipo ke ko-pi bepu ke
bush.spirit how take.away-RTS taboo.sign APH 1SG-POSS sago.grubs APH
ko-pi
1SG-POSS
'When it had taken away (the taboo signs), Kopukei came and saw (that): "Ah, why did the bush spirit take them? The taboo signs are mine and the sago grubs are mine."'

(5) *Klapno yilauyo lo. Ako kep lakiyoro, ruri kep lakiyoro.*
k-le-p-no yilau-yo lo ako kep lakiyo=ro ruri
SUB-go-PC-CO village-LOC go.PP wife 3SG.POSS fetch.PP=EMPH child
kep lakiyo=ro
3SG.POSS fetch.PP=EMPH
'He left (the bush place). He went to the village and brought on his wife and his son.'

(6) *Kupulapno bepu moi. Bepu komoipno yeloyo layo. Yeloyo klayewapno.*
k-pule-p-no bepu mo-i bepu k-moi-i-p-no
SUB-come-PC-CO sago.grubs cut.PP-DU.A sago.grubs SUB-cut-DU.A-PC-CO
yelo-yo layo yelo-yo k-laye-we-p-no
ground-LOC lay.PP ground-LOC SUB-lay-TER-PC-CO
'Having come (there) (father and mother) cut the sago grubs. Having cut them, they put them on the ground. They had put them there.'

(7) *Riyopuno purapi. Kuprapopno, bepu ba kololapno ruri muel: "De rile ppuewap!"*
riyopuno purapi k-purapi-p-no bepu ba k-lole-p-no
then break SUB-break-PC-CO sago.grubs other SUB-wrap-PC-CO
ruri muel de rile ppue-we-p
child talk.to.PP you above climb-TER-IMP
'Then they break (the sago grubs). After breaking and wrapping some grubs (the father) said to his son: "Climb up high (into the tree)!"'

(8) *Ruri rileyo ppuowe. Bepu par isiye weppuap. Rileyo nakap, dob pop.*
ruri rileyo ppuo-we bepu par isiye weppue-p rileyo
child above climb.PP-TER sago.grubs pannier together carry.up-PC above
nake-p dob pi-p
sit-PC eye LV-PC
'The son climbed up and was carrying up the sago grubs together with the pannier. He was sitting above and looking.'

(9) *Sukupu pule. Skupu kupulapno muelne: "Bepu de bamoiko?"*
sukupu pule sukupu k-pule-p-no muel-ne bepu
bush.spirit come bush.spirit SUB-come-PC-CO talk.to-3SG.OR sago.grubs
de ba-moi-ko
you FAC-cut-FAC
'The bush spirit comes. Having come it says: "The sago grubs, you have cut them?"'

(10) *Upunaro. Duko poi. Kuprapopno muelne: "Nuko bîsepno imali."*
upuna=ro duko pi-i k-purapi-p-no muel-ne nuko
alright=EMPH we.INCL do-DU.A SUB-break-PC-CO talk.to-3SG.OR we.INCL
bîsep-no i-mali
saliva-INS DU.S-fight
'All right, we do it together. After breaking the grubs, (the bush spirit) says to him: "(Now) we are going to fight with saliva."'

(11) *Bîsepno kimalko igo. Bîsep ari. Muelne: "Nuko rino imali."*
bîsep-no ki i-mali-ko i_go bîsep ari muel-ne
saliva-INS APH DU.S-fight-RTS and.so.on(TP) saliva no talk.to-3SG.OR
nuko ri-no i-mali
we.INCL stick-INS DU.S-fight
'They fought with saliva. They fought and fought, no saliva (left). (The spirit) says: "(Now) we'll fight with sticks."'

(12) *Rino kimalko. Sukupu pulap, Kopukei pulap. Kimalko, kimalko, kimalko.*
ri-no ki i-mali-ko sukupu pulap Kopukei
stick-INS APH DU.S-fight-RTS bush.spirit abound.in(TP) Kopukei
pulap ki i-mali-ko ki i-mali-ko ki i-mali-ko
abound.in(TP) APH DU.S-fight-RTS APH DU.S-fight-RTS APH DU.S-fight-RTS
'They fought with sticks. The bush spirit beat and Kopukei beat. They fought and fought and fought.'

(13) *Riyopuno sukupu winim, kilim meri.*
riyopuno sukupu winim kilim meri
then bush.spirit win.TR(TP) kill.TR(TP) woman(TP)
'Then the bush spirit won and killed the woman.'

(14) *Ako kep maelipo. Paliya. Ruri dob pop: epe paliya. Igo. Mi ai kep. Ai kep kimalko rino igo.*
ako kep maeli-po paliya ruri dob_pi-p epe paliya
wife 3SG.POSS fell-LV.PP be.dead child eye_LV-PC mother be.dead
i_go mi ai kep ai kep ki i-mali-ko
and.so.on(TP) then father 3SG.POSS father 3SG.POSS APH DU.S-fight-RTS
ri-no i_go
stick-INS and.so.on(TP)
'It killed (Kopukei's) wife. She is dead. The boy was watching. His mother is dead. Then his father, his father. They fought on with sticks.'

(15) *Epono, mike epono kimalipno. Ri miriyemon. Mi rino. Ai paliya.*
epo-no mike epo-no k-i-mali-p-no ri
faeces-INS first faeces-INS SUB-DU.S-fight-PC-CO stick
mi-riye_mon mi ri-no ai paliya
ITER-see.O.INANIM_come.hither.PP then stick-INS father be.dead
'First with faeces. Having fought with faeces, they saw some sticks nearby. So (they fought) with sticks. The father is dead.'

(16) *Riyopuno parno lolo. Parno kololapno, uki lolapno, yako lolap. Yilau kepyo wel, yip kepyo.*
riyopuno par-no lolo par-no k-lole-p-no uki lole-p-no
then pannier-INS tie.PP pannier-INS SUB-tie-PC-CO husband tie-PC-CO
yako lole-p yilau kep-yo wel yip kep-yo
woman tie-PC village 3SG.POSS-LOC carry.PP house 3SG.POSS-LOC
'Then (the bush spirit) tied them on the pannier. After doing that it was lashing up the husband and the woman. It carried them to its place, to its house.'

(17) *Wepepo, layo, ako puenpo. Ipino siu. Riyopuno puaku oyo royo, yeniyo. Riyopuno uki puenpo.*
wepepo layo ako puenpo ipi-no siu riyopuno puaku
carry.on.top.PP lay.PP wife cut.meat.PP pot-INS cook.PP then head

o-yo royo yeni-yo riyopuno uki puenpo
PROX-LOC put.PP plank-LOC then husband cut.meat.PP
'It carried (the pannier) up and put it (there). It cut up the wife and cooked (the flesh) in a pot. Then it put the head here, on a plank. Afterwards it cut up the husband.'

(18) *Ruri riyo kûnoro. Kukûnapno ruri lo. Klapno oki wili.*
ruri ri-yo kûno=ro k-kûne-p-no ruri lo
child tree-LOC go.down=EMPH SUB-go.down-PC-CO child go.PP
k-le-p-no o-ki wili
SUB-go-PC-CO PROX-APH carry
'The boy climbed down from the tree. Having climbed down he left (the place). While walking he carries these (grubs).'

(19) *Aipo pewono yip kepyo. Aipo pewonapno. Riyopuno dorimaliyo.*
aipo pewo-no yip kep-yo aipo
taboo.sign erect-3SG.OR.PP house 3SG.POSS-LOC taboo.sign
pewo-ne-p-no riyopuno dori_maliyo
erect-3SG.OR-PC-CO then turn.back_go.home.PP
'He erected a taboo sign at his bush hut. After erecting the sign he returned back home.'

(20) *Loro yilauyo. Kiu kep muelini: "Ine pulupepe. Nuko mole. Epe aino sukupu leliowe. Ine awe!"*
lo=ro yilau-yo kiu kep mueli-ini ine
go.PP=EMPH village-LOC clan 3SG.POSS talk.to-NSG.OR you.PL
pulupi-p-e nuko mole epe ai-no sukupu
come.PL-IMP-VOC we.INCL go.PL mother father-INS bush.spirit
lelio-we ine awe
kill.PP-DU.O you.PL come.IMP
'He went to the village. He tells his kin people: "You come! Let's go! A bush spirit killed my parents. Come!"'

(21) *Kiu kep pe pakono kisau romolo. Ruri wulino.*
kiu kep pe pako-no kisau ro=molo ruri wuli-no
clan 3SG.POSS arrow bow-INS ? EMPH=go.PL.PP child follow-3SG.OR.PP
'His clan took bows and arrows. They went and followed the boy.'

(22) *Ruri buri wonppueno: "Epe aino wulikûnap!" Yena yipele baka baka.*
ruri buri woni_ppue-no epe ai-no
child go.ahead call_go.up-3SG.OR.PP mother father-INS
wuli_kûne-p yena yip-ele ba-ka ba-ka
follow_go.down-IMP people house-very other-PATH other-PATH
'The boy went ahead and called up to (the bush spirit): "Come down with my parents following!" The people (surrounded) the house from all sides.'

(23) *"Epe aino? Ko ke ari. Aska. Ko ar ukepulo." Sukupu kaeli, ruri kaeli.*
epe ai-no ko ke ari aska ko ar uke-pulo sukupu
mother father-INS I TOP no none I NEG jointly-come.PP bush.spirit
kaeli ruri kaeli
strong child strong
'"Mother and father? I didn't do anything. No, we didn't come together." The bush spirit is unrelenting, and the boy is also unrelenting.'

(24) *Kiu nap. Wapilayekûpu, paliya. Yipyo panepo. Sû piyamu. Layepanepo ruri aesino roise isaeaupo.*
kiu na-p wapi_laye_kûpu paliya yip-yo
clan go.inside-PC collect_lay_go.down.PL.A.PP be.dead house-LOC
pane-po sû piyamu laye_pane-po ruri aesi-no
do.thither-LV.PP fire take.hither.PP lay_do.thither-LV.PP child young-INS
roise isaeaupo
together let.suckle.PP
'The kin people were entering (the house). They peppered (the bush spirit) with arrows. It is dead. They put it into the house. They got fire and set (the house) on fire, together with all the young ones (of the bush spirit), (which) were suckling babies.'

(25) *Riyopuno ûli kep pulwolo. ûli kep kupulwolapno yena lo yilauyo. Löi löi roise lo.*
riyopuno ûli kep pulwolo ûli kep
then gall.bladder 3SG.POSS burst.PP gall.bladder 3SG.POSS
k-pulwole-p-no yena lo yilau-yo löi_löi roise lo
SUB-burst-PC-CO people go.PP village-LOC löi.löi together go.PP
'Then (the bush spirit's) gall bladder burst. When it had burst the people went to the village. They went with shouts of victory.'

(26) *Yilauyo sepa, yena nakap.*
yilau-yo sepa yena nake-p
village-LOC arrive people live-PC
'They arrived at the village and the people lived on.'

(27) *Bo kuru.*
bo kuru
story be.finished
'End of the story.'

B.2 Urual bekulu

Introduction

The story *Urual bekulu* 'The huge lizard' was told jointly by Susam Bisam and Margaret Osi in Ossima village in August 2004.

Summary & background

This story depicts the encounter of a hunter with a huge lizard that is later interpreted as a bush spirit. The hunter who roamed the bush alone is killed by the lizard. The term *urual* is glossed here as 'lizard', because this is the translation that the people themselves gave. In order to understand the physical power of the creature it makes sense to search for its biological and scientific identity. The description in the story and further explanations by the story tellers, especially by Susan Bisam, led to the species *Varanus salvadorii* (Ordo: Squamata; without rank: Toxicofera). In English it is called "the Papuan monitor," which denotes a varanoid saurian endemic to New Guinea. The animal is more than 2.5 m long, and it weighs well over 6 kg. It has extremely sharp and long teeth. Its limbs and claws are very strong and look quite big compared to the body.

All these features were known to Susan Bisam, in particular the strength of its limbs and the dangerous teeth. There is no doubt that when Susan was growing up, the hunters of the time had to be wary of these animals. The habitat of *Varanus salvadorii* is rainforests and swamps between the coast and the interior at altitudes of up to 600 metres. It lives in trees and jumps from branch to branch, using its long tail for balance. It feeds on small mammals, birds and eggs, but also on insects – in swampy areas it may even feed on sago grubs. Humans are therefore not prey for these monitor lizards, but they can fall victim to their aggressiveness when competing with them for prey animals such as possums or tree kangaroos. Some species of the Varanidae family are toxic and have venom glands. It seems possible that *Varanus salvadorii* also has poisonous glands, as its bites are apparently fatal.

What is said above seems to be a reasonable background for the following story. Reference to the protagonist as a "lizard" occurs 10 times (Sequences 9(3x), 10, 11, 31, 32, 35, 38, 39), whereas it is referred to as "bush spirit" 6 times (Sequences 31, 32, 39(4x)). The creature displays almost supernatural powers, as it is able to split the ironwood tree in two, in which the older brother (i.e., the victim) was hiding. This is, of course, a narrative exaggeration. Nevertheless, the base of its tail can be enormously strong.

I may add a comment on Sequence 36, which sounds more like a raid than a revenge, as it lists both traditional and modern items taken from the bush spirit. In the past, clans have indeed raided other settlements out of revenge or simply out of need.

Parallel text

Bo ileiele. Diri eweno.

This is a very long story. It tells about two brothers.

Diri ewe weliyeulipop. Bi ki kama niulipop; ar namepop. Pili solo nameulipop. Dû ki kama niulipop; ewe ar namepop. Minui, mi riyo le duyo, bi lui, wepule. Mi ki kama ni ruri akono roise, iki kama. Ewe bi pili solo ponamo.

The younger brother always withheld food from the older brother. He used to eat the killed animals alone; he didn't give him anything. He usually gave him only the skin. The meat he always ate alone; he didn't give the older brother any of it. He sleeps, he goes hunting into the bush, shoots animals, and brings them home. There he eats them together with his children and his wife, they alone. The older brother only receives the skin of the animals.

Ewe umul nek, "Ruri kopi wo mopi." Diri muelno, "Wor ko uliyewaip, wor dupua ko ukeli duyo." "Wor de ukelip!" Duyo ukeli. Wor bike nopo. Bi lu, bike lu. Puyo layo, aipo po; milo. Biep lu. Biep kuluipno puyo layo, aipo pewo; milo. Bike lu; wor bike nopo. Kuluipno puyo layo, aipo namba tri pewo. Milo wor ukeli. Bisem nopo. Wor dupua bisem wiyoi, paliya. Puyo layo, aipo pewo; milo. Biwi lu; wor nopo. Puyo layo, aipo pewo.

The older brother thought: "My children cry," and he said to his younger brother: "Leave me the dogs, I take two dogs with me to the bush." The younger replied: "Take the dogs with you!" He took them with him to the bush. The dogs barked loudly (and startled) the cassowaries. He shot a pig and a cassowary. In order to cool the killed animals, he put them into the river and set a taboo sign; then he carried on hunting. He shot a boar. He put the boar into the river and set a taboo sign; then off he went again. He shot a cassowary; the dogs had barked (and startled) the cassowaries. Having

shot one, he put it into the river and set a taboo sign. Off he went again and took the dogs with him. The dogs barked loudly for kangaroos. The two dogs caught a kangaroo, it is dead. He put it into the river and set a taboo sign. Then he went on for hunting. He shot a sow; the dogs had barked loudly. He put the sow into the river and set a taboo sign.

Miloro. Wor urual nopo. Urual niniyo nuip. Ai epul malo: auna lo, auna loro. Dob po, "Eh, urual nake!" Ai rimaro ipulka weliana. Pe pulapu; urual dopyo papiko polip. Dop ilewo, pe ba pulapu dopyo. Urual kipiowopno ono wiyo. Ri roise mo, ono roise suelowe. Dop kep opi kep soso. Lu pulapi ri roise suel. Elyo suelowe, paliya.

He went off again. The dogs barked for lizards. There was a big lizard sleeping in the sun. The father listened for noises: He went slowly, he approached more slowly. Then he looked, "Eh, there is a big lizard." The father hid in the buttress of an ironwood tree. He released an arrow. It stuck in the monitor lizard's body, there it was. The lizard turned its body towards him, and the father released one more arrow aiming at the lizard. Then the monitor lizard jumped and got hold of the man. Together with the tree it threw the man over and cut in half man and tree. The lizard's body and tail are like a saw. It aimed its teeth and cut apart man and tree. It cut him in two at his belly, and the man is dead.

Riyopuno puyo wel. Boyo wor lil puaku kepyo ppaliyo. Wor ba seke suel, seke aipi luyo pana, wel yipyo yilauyo. Wor lil ppaliyo kaeau kepyo, wel epeyo. Ba seke wel, ba lil wel. Puaku eye roise wel puyo wekûno. Bou dupua roise wekûno, puyo melkûno. Yilau kepyo, yip kepyo wel. Pper pu epiyo pewo, riyo sepauwo.

Then the bush spirit, who had taken on the appearance of a lizard, carried the dead man to the water. Afterwards it rubbed the head of one of the dogs with blood. For the other dog it cut off some hair and put the father's hair between its teeth. The dog carried it to the family's house in the vil-

lage. The bush spirit rubbed the dog's face with blood, and the dog carried it to the mothers. One brought the father's hair, the other one the father's blood. Meanwhile the bush spirit took the dead man's head and arms and carried them down to the water. It also carried the two legs down to the water. It brought plenty of human flesh to its place; it carried it to its underwater house. Then the spirit put the man's penis cover upright beside the water. It fastened it there on a stick.

Wor yilauyo iloi. Epe dupua leip. Riyopuno sukei kep burilo yipyo. Woloyo nekip, "Ah, al kauna dor kopi, al kauna." Yip wolo ppuap, biliyo nekip. Ako dupua smep paliyei: "Ari, aska. Oke boro? Oke yala sukei kep." Umul puso yopip, umul nekanepoip. Wor am ar pulupi. Riyopuno wor dupua ipulo yipyo. Epe epul maloip, smep paliyoip. Ael sûno layei; beri sû beri po. Epe wor besi riyepowepuen: Wor ba lil ppaliyo, wor ba seke wepulo. Epe dupua riyepoi: Wor besino kaeauno luno riyepoi. Seke luyo polip, lil kaeauyo polip. Epe wo mopi. Diri yipyo kûno, "Bo?" "De eli bi kama niulipop. De ar namopop bi dû. Uke pili solo ileulipop." Diri epul kamalapno wo mop, ewe wo mop.

The dogs went back to the village where the two mothers were waiting. But the dead man's spirit had already gone ahead to their house. He was standing at the ladder and saw: "Ah, so many leeches on my feet, an abundance of leeches." He climbed the ladder of the house and stood at the door. The two wives opened the door: "No, nothing, there's nobody. But what is this? This is his spirit." Their hearts flooded like water. They thought about what could have happened. The dogs hadn't come yet. Finally the dogs arrived at the house. The mothers were listening to their noise; then they opened the door. They put fire on a chip of wood, it burns, the flame burned. The mothers gazed at the dogs' mouths: One dog has blood rubbed on, the other dog brought hair. The two mothers caught sight of the dogs' mouths, their faces, their teeth: The hair between the teeth of one dog, the blood on the face

of the other dog. The mothers wept. The younger brother came down to the house: "What's the matter?" "You alone used to eat the animal's meat. You never gave meat to him, we used to eat only the skin." Having heard that, the younger brother wept. He wept for his older brother.

Riyopuno ya piyo, uroyo ule, ewe lipelip. Lo. Pu riyepulo, pu epi mono lo. Dob po: Bike ulili. Milo: Biep ulili. Milo: Bike ba ulili. Milo: Bisem ulili. Milo: Biwi el roise ulili. Dob powolo, "Ri ope ba po? Bo suelo?" Dob sopop, "Lil kauna walpue. Ewe kopi wiyo, puyo wekûno." Wo mop. Wo komopopno dob riye: Pper sepauwo, ulili. Yilauyo lo, woise lo. Ako dupua epul maloi: "Uki koyopi basuiko." Diri woise roki pule. Pulo yipyo, paeau, kiyo muelien: "Urual noro. Sukupu noro, puyo wekûno. Nuko mole." Kiu ukeli, moloro liki kepyo, paeau.

Then he took sago and put it into a netbag. He wanted to search for his brother and left. Reaching the river he walked along the track on the riverbank. He looked closely: "Here is a cassowary." He went on, "Here is a boar." He walked further, "Here is another cassowary." So he also discovered the kangaroo and the pregnant sow. He looked around: "This tree, what happened here? What cut it apart?" Then he realised: Blood is spread around everywhere. A bush spirit must have got hold of my older brother. It must have carried the corpse down to the water. The younger brother burst into tears. Suddenly he saw something else: The bush spirit fastened the penis cover on a stick. Here it is! So he left for the village; he went crying. The two wives heard the news: Our husband is dead. The younger brother was walking back shedding tears. He arrived at the house and told them: "A big lizard ate him. A bush spirit ate him. It carried him down to the river. Let's go for revenge." He took the clan with him. They went to the bush spirit's place and arrived there.

Diri ako ewe ako, dupua womopip yena ba roise. Sukupu urual epul malo, "Yena wo mopi." Riyopuno bili paliyo. Yena epul malo, "Ere pule." Bili bapaliyoko. "Ine pu epiyo poyewap! Yala pinem." Smep ba paliyepana; bili ba bapaliyepanoko. "Ere pule! Ine pe pakono powap!" Smep namba tri paliyo, bapaliyoko. Urual olyo lelwolo pu epiyo. Riyopuno yena wapilayekûpu. Urual paliya. Yena puyo kûno, puyo kepue. Yip kepyo paeau. Yena le kep rapiyo, rapiyemayo: Neppi nana dawa ipi, wîl sawono, spet, dipsu walno; oil kerosin petrol. Ipipis leki, yipp lekiro roise. Lam wik blanket siket taul sop omo. Kiniyo. Yena meli, le meli. Ako dupua le royeen. Baka iki meli, baka ako dupua royeen. Yena ri purapuwepu, sû mappo. Sû rino mappo, beri. Urual sûyo royepepo, sûro.

The two wives wept as did all the other people. The bush spirit heard it: "People are weeping." Then it opened the door. The people heard the noise: "Here it comes." The door is open. "You all stand in line beside the water, it will come up now." The bush spirit opened a second door; the door is wide open. "Here it comes! You all take bows and arrows." He opened the third door, and suddenly the lizard stood on the riverbank, at the edge of the water. The people peppered it with arrows. The huge lizard is dead. The people went down to the water, they are passing the water and reach its house. They grabbed its belongings and took them away: the bush knife, the small knife, the axe, the pots, the dishes with scoops, the spade, rice and fish, the oil, the petrol. They caught the wild ducks and also the wild fowls. They took the lamp, the wicks, the blankets, skirts and towels, soap and detergent, everything. The people carried lots of things, all his belongings. Many of them they gave to the two wives. They caried one half, the other half they gave to the two wives. Now the people cut a lot of wood. They lit a fire; they lit the fire with firewood. It burned and they put the lizard in the fire. The fire blazes.

Yena yilauyo molo. Le sukupupi meli. Sukupu royekoro, le ba uleko, sukupupi. Sukupu urual le roise molo yilauyo. Ûli boyo pulwolko. Yena epul malwolo, yilauyo paeau.

Carrying the belongings of the bush spirit, the people went back to the village. They had put the bush spirit's corpse on fire, together a few things of it. They went to the village loaded

with all the things of the lizard, which turned out to be a bush spirit. Later the gall bladder burst. The people heard the bang from a distance and soon arrived in their village.

Bo kuru.

The story is finished.

Sukupu ba ppili. Sukupu ba akoyo rurino. Sukupu luo bîyo mape, bîyo mapepulupi. Liki sukupupi poli, luo bîyo poli. Sukupu dop sei sowemayo. Ari, leliewepi aska. Yala uke upuna mape. Sukupu basepoloko, basepolowepuko.

Some bush spirits live single, other bush spirits have wives and children. The bush spirits live in stone caves. They come to stay in many caves. The places of the bush spirits are there, they are hidden in the stone caves. The bush spirits hid from the white people. No, there is no killing anymore. Now we live good. The bush spirits have disappeared; they have vanished entirely.

Glossed text

(1) *Diri ewe weliyeulipop. Bi ki kama niulipop; ar namepop. Pili solo nameulipop. Dû ki kama niulipop; ewe ar namepop.*
diri ewe weliye-uli-pi-p bi ki
younger.brother older.brother take.away.from-PROG-LV-PC animal APH
kama ni-uli-pi-p ar name-pi-p pili solo
alone eat-PROG-LV-PC NEG give.3SG.OR-LV-PC skin only
name-uli-pi-p dû ki kama ni-uli-pi-p ewe
give.3SG.OR-PROG-LV-PC meat APH alone eat-PROG-LV-PC older.brother
ar name-pi-p
NEG give.3SG.OR-LV-PC
'The younger brother always withheld from the older brother. He used to eat the (killed) animals alone; he did not give him anything. He usually gave him only the skin. He ate the meat always alone. He didn't give the older brother any (of it).'

(2) *Minui, mi riyo le duyo, bi lui, wepule. Mi ki kama ni ruri akono roise, iki kama. Ewe bi pili solo ponamo.*
mi-nui mi ri-yo le du-yo bi lui wepule mi ki
ITER-sleep again DIST-LOC go bush-LOC animal shoot bring again APH

kama ni ruri ako-no roise iki kama ewe bi pili
alone eat child wife-INS with APH.PL alone older.brother animal skin
solo ponamo
only give.3SG.OR.PP
'He sleeps, he goes there to the bush, shoots animals, and brings them (home). He eats them alone together with his children and his wife, they alone. To the older brother he gave only the skin of the animals.'

(3) *Ewe umul nek, "Ruri kopi wo mopi." Diri muelino, "Wor ko uliyewaip, wor dupua ko ukeli duyo." "Wor de ukelip!"*
ewe umul_nek ruri ko-pi wo_mopi diri
older.brother think.PP child 1SG-POSS cry younger.brother
mueli-no wor ko uliyewai-p wor dupua ko ukeli
talk.to-3SG.OR.PP dog I leave.for-IMP dog two I take.with.oneself
du-yo wor de ukeli-p
bush-LOC dog you take.with.oneself-IMP
'The older brother thought: "My children cry." He said to the younger brother: "Leave me the dogs! I take two dogs with (me) to the bush." (The younger brother replied): "Take the dogs with (you)!"'

(4) *Duyo ukeli. Wor bike nopo. Bi lu, bike lu. Puyo layo, aipo po; milo.*
du-yo ukeli wor bike nopo bi lu
bush-LOC take.with.oneself dog cassowary bark.loudly.PP pig shoot.PP
bike lu pu-yo layo aipo po mi-lo
cassowary shoot.PP river-LOC put.PP taboo.sign make.PP ITER-go.PP
'He took (them) to the bush. The dogs barked (and startled) the cassowaries. He shot a pig, and he shot a cassowary. He put them into the river (in order to cool the dead animals) and set a taboo sign. (Then) he went again (to hunt).'

(5) *Biep lu. Biep kuluipno puyo layo, aipo pewo; milo.*
biep lu biep k-lui-p-no pu-yo layo aipo
boar shoot.PP boar SUB-shoot-PC-CO river-LOC put.PP taboo.sign
pewo mi-lo
put.upright.PP ITER-go.PP
'He shot a boar. When he had shot the boar, he put it into the river and set a taboo sign. (Then) he went again.'

(6) *Bike lu; wor bike nopo. Kuluipno puyo layo, aipo namba tri pewo. Milo wor ukeli.*
bike lu wor bike nopo k-lui-p-no
cassowary shoot.PP dog cassowary bark.loudly.PP SUB-shoot-PC-CO
pu-yo layo aipo namba_tri pewo mi-lo wor
river-LOC put.PP taboo.sign third put.upright.PP ITER-go.PP dog
ukeli
take.with.oneself
'He shot a cassowary. The dogs (had) barked (and startled) the cassowaries. After shooting one, he put it into the river and set the third taboo sign. He went off again and took the dogs with (him).'

(7) *Bisem nopo. Wor dupua bisem wiyoi, paliya. Puyo layo, aipo pewo; milo.*
bisem nopo wor dupua bisem
groundliving.kangaroo bark.loudly.PP dog two groundliving.kangaroo
wiyo-i paliya pu-yo layo aipo pewo mi-lo
catch.PP-DU.A be.dead river-LOC put.PP taboo.sign put.upright ITER-go.PP
'(The dogs) bayed for kangaroos. The two dogs caught a kangaroo; it is dead. He put it into the river and set a taboo sign. (Then) he went on.'

(8) *Biwi lu; wor nopo. Puyo layo, aipo pewo. Miloro.*
biwi lu wor nopo pu-yo layo aipo
sow shoot.PP dog bark.loudly.PP river-LOC put.PP taboo.sign
pewo mi-lo=ro
put.upright.PP ITER-go.PP=EMPH
'He shot a sow. The dogs (had) bayed (for animals). He put it into the river and set a taboo sign. Off he went again.'

(9) *Wor urual nopo. Urual niniyo nuip. Ai epul malo: auna lo, auna loro. Dob po, "Eh, urual nake!"*
wor urual nopo urual nini-yo nui-p ai epul
dog big.lizard bark.loudly.PP big.lizard sun-LOC sleep-PC father ear
malo auna lo auna lo=ro dob po eh urual nake
hear.PP slowly go.PP slowly go.PP=EMPH eye do.PP eh big.lizard sit
'The dogs bayed for big lizards. A big lizard was sleeping in the sun. The father listened (for noises). He went slowly. He approached more slowly and looked: "Eh, (there) is a big lizard."'

(10) *Ai rimaro ipulka weliana. Pe pulapu; urual dopyo papiko polip. Dop ilewo, pe ba pulapu dopyo.*
ai ri_maro ipul-ka weliana pe pulapu
father ironwood buttress-PATH hide.oneself.thither.PP arrow release.PP
urual dop-yo papiko poli-p dop_ilewo pe ba
big.lizard body-LOC hit.PP be.there-PC hold.one's.body.PP arrow other
pulapu dop-yo
release.PP body-LOC
'The father hid in the buttress of an ironwood tree. He released an arrow. It stuck in the lizard's body and was stuck. (The lizard) turned (its) body towards (the father). He released another arrow (aiming) at (the lizard's) body.'

(11) *Urual kipiowopno ono wiyo. Ri roise mo, ono roise suelowe. Dop kep opi kep soso. Lu pulapi ri roise suel. Elyo suelowe, paliya.*
urual k-piowo-p-no ono wiyo ri roise mo ono roise
big.lizard SUB-jump-PC-CO man hold.PP tree together fell.PP man together
suelo-we dop kep opi kep so-so lu pulapi ri
cut.PP-DU.O body 3SG.POSS tail 3SG.POSS saw-SIM tooth strain tree
roise suel el-yo suelo-we paliya
together cut.PP belly-LOC cut.PP-DU.O be.dead
'With a jump the lizard got hold of the man. Together with the tree it threw (the man) over. It cut (the tree) apart together with the man. (The lizard's) body (and) its tail are like a saw. It aimed its teeth. It cut him together with the tree. (The lizard) cut (the man) in two at his belly; he is dead.'

(12) *Riyopuno puyo wel. Boyo wor lil puaku kepyo ppaliyo. Wor ba seke suel, seke aipi luyo pana, wel yipyo yilauyo.*
riyopuno pu-yo wel boyo wor lil puaku kep-yo
then water-LOC carry.PP later dog blood head 3SG.POSS-LOC
ppaliyo wor ba seke suel seke ai-pi lu-yo pana
rub.PP dog other hair cut.PP hair father-POSS tooth-LOC put.thither.PP
wel yip-yo yilau-yo
carry.PP house-LOC village-LOC
'Then (the bush spirit) carried (the dead man) to the water. Later it rubbed blood on the head of (one of) the dogs. It cut (off) some hair for the other dog and put the father's hair between its teeth. (The dog) brought it to the house in the village.'

(13) *Wor lil ppaliyo kaeau kepyo, wel epeyo. Ba seke wel, ba lil wel.*
wor lil ppaliyo kaeau kep-yo wel epe-yo ba seke
dog blood rub.PP face 3SG.POSS-LOC carry.PP mother-LOC other hair
wel ba lil wel
carry.PP other blood carry.PP
'(The spirit) rubbed blood on the dog, on its face. (The dog) carried it to the mothers. One carried the (father's) hair, and the other one carried the (father's) blood.'

(14) *Puaku eye roise wel puyo wekûno. Bou dupua roise wekûno, puyo melkûno. Yilau kepyo, yip kepyo wel.*
puaku eye roise wel pu-yo wekûno bou dupua
head arm together carry.PP water-LOC carry.down.PP leg two
roise wekûno pu-yo melkûno yilau kep-yo
together carry.down.PP water-LOC carry.down.PL.O.PP place 3SG.POSS-LOC
yip kep-yo wel
house 3SG.POSS-LOC carry.PP
'(The bush spirit) took head and arms and carried them down to the water. It carried the two legs down to the water. It carried a lot (of human flesh) to its place. It carried it to its house.'

(15) *Pper pu epiyo pewo, riyo sepauwo.*
pper pu epiyo pewo ri-yo sepauwo
penis.cover water beside put.upright.PP DIST-LOC fasten.PP
'(The bush spirit) put (the man's) penis cover upright beside the water. It fastened it there (on a stick).'

(16) *Wor yilauyo iloi. Epe dupua leip. Riyopuno sukei kep burilo yipyo.*
wor yilau-yo i-lo-i epe dupua le-i-p riyopuno
dog village-LOC DU.S-go.PP-DU.S mother two wait-DU.A-PC then
sukei kep burilo yip-yo
spirit 3SG.POSS go.ahead.PP house-LOC
'The dogs went to the village, (where) the two mothers were waiting. Then (the dead man's) spirit went ahead to the house.'

(17) *Woloyo nekip, "Ah, al kauna dor kopi, al kauna." Yip wolo ppuap, biliyo nekip.*
wolo-yo neki-p ah al kauna dor ko-pi al
ladder-LOC stand-PC ah leech in.large.amounts foot 1SG-POSS leech
kauna yip wolo ppue-p bili-yo neki-p
in.large.amounts house ladder go.up-PC opening-LOC stand-PC
'He was standing at the ladder: "Ah, so many leeches on my feet, countless leeches." He climbed the ladder of the house and was standing at the door.'

(18) *Ako dupua smep paliyei: "Ari, aska. Oke boro? Oke yala sukei kep."*
ako dupua smep paliye-i ari aska o-ke bo=ro
wife two door open-DU.A no nothing PROX-APH what=EMPH
o-ke yala sukei kep
PROX-APH now spirit 3SG.POSS
'The two wives open the door: "No, nothing. (But) what is this? This is (the man's) spirit."'

(19) *Umul puso yopip, umul nekanepoip.*
umul pu-so yopi-p umul_nekane-pi-i-p
heart water-SIM flood-PC focus.thoughts-LV-DU.S-PC
'Their hearts were flooding like water. They focused (their) thoughts on (what could have happened).'

(20) *Wor am ar pulupi. Riyopuno wor dupua ipulo yipyo. Epe epul maloip, smep paliyoip.*
wor am ar pulupi riyopuno wor dupua i-pulo yip-yo
dog still NEG come.PL then dog two DU.S-come.PP house-LOC
epe epul male-i-p smep paliyo-i
mother ear hear-DU.A-PC door open.PP-DU.A
'The dogs don't come yet. Finally the two dogs came to the house. The mothers were listening and opened the door.'

(21) *Ael sûno layei; beri sû beri po. Epe wor besi riyepowepuen: Wor ba lili ppaliyo, wor ba seke wepulo.*
ael sû-no laye-i beri sû beri po epe wor
chip.of.wood fire-INS put-DU.A burn fire burn LV.PP mother dog
besi riye-pi-wepi-en wor ba lil
mouth.of.animals see.O.INANIM-LV-QUANT.O-NSG.OR.PP dog other blood

ppaliyo wor ba seke wepulo
rub.PP dog other hair bring.PP
'They put fire on a chip of wood, it burns, the flame burned. The mothers gazed at the dogs' mouths (with the bad indications). One dog has blood rubbed on it, and the other dog brought hair.'

(22) *Epe dupua riyepoi: Wor besino kaeauno luno riyepoi. Seke luyo polip, lil kaeauyo polip.*
epe dupua riye-po-i wor besi-no
mother two see.O.INANIM-LV.PP-DU.A dog mouth.of.animals-INS
kaeau-no lu-no riye-po-i seke lu-yo poli-p
face-INS tooth-INS see.O.INANIM-LV.PP-DU.A hair tooth-LOC be.there-PC
lil kaeau-yo poli-p
blood face-LOC be.there-PC
'The two mothers saw that. They saw the dogs with their mouths and faces and teeth. Hair was between the teeth (of one dog). Blood was on the face (of the other dog).'

(23) *Epe wo mopi. Diri yipyo kûno, "Bo?"*
epe wo_mop-i diri yip-yo kûno bo
mother weep.PP-DU.S younger.brother house-LOC go.down.PP what
'The mothers wept. The younger brother came down to the house: "What's the matter?"'

(24) *"De eli bi kama niulipop. De ar namopop bi dû. Uke pili solo ileulipop."*
de_eli bi kama ni-uli-pi-p de ar namo-pi-p
you.yourself meat alone eat-PROG-LV-PC you NEG give.3SG.OR-LV-PC
bi dû uke pili solo ile-uli-pi-p
animal meat we.EXCL skin only eat.PL.A-PROG-LV-PC
'You alone used to eat the meat. You didn't give him any meat of the animals. We used to eat only the skin.'

(25) *Diri epul kamalapno wo mop, ewe wo mop.*
diri epul k-male-p-no wo_mop ewe wo_mop
younger.brother ear SUB-hear-PC-CO weep.PP older.brother weep.PP
'When the younger brother had heard (that), he wept. He wept for his older brother.'

(26) *Riyopuno ya piyo, uroyo ule, ewe lipelip. Lo. Pu riyepulo, pu epi mono lo.*
riyopuno ya piyo uro-yo ule ewe lipeli-p
then sago take.PP netbag-LOC put.inside.PP older.brother seek-PC
lo pu riye_pulo pu epi_mono lo
go.PP river see.O.INANIM_come.PP river side.path go.PP
'Then he took sago and put it into a netbag. He was searching for his brother. He left. Seeing the river he came (near) and walked along the edge of the river.'

(27) *Dob po: Bike ulili. Milo: Biep ulili. Milo: Bike ba ulili. Milo: Bisem ulili. Milo: Biwi el roise ulili.*
dob po bike u-lili mi-lo biep u-lili
eye LV.PP cassowary DFAC-be.there ITER-go.PP boar DFAC-be.there
mi-lo bike ba u-lili mi-lo bisem
ITER-go.PP cassowary other DFAC-be.there ITER-go.PP kangaroo
u-lili mi-lo biwi el roise u-lili
DFAC-be.there ITER-go.PP sow belly with DFAC-be.there
'He looked: Here is a cassowary. He went on: Here is a boar. He went on: Here is another cassowary. He went on: Here is a kangaroo. He went on: Here is a pregnant sow.'

(28) *Dob powolo, "Ri ope ba po? Bo suelo?" Dob sopop, "Lil kauna walpue. Ewe kopi wiyo, puyo wekûno."*
dob po-wolo ri o=pe ba po bo suelo dob_sopi-p
eye LV-go.further.PP tree PROX=Q what do.PP what cut.PP realise-PC
lil kauna walpue ewe ko-pi wiyo
blood in.large.amounts spread.about older.brother 1SG-POSS hold.PP
pu-yo wekûno wo_mop
water-LOC carry.down.PP weep.PP
'He looked around: "This tree here, what happened to it? What cut it through?" He realised: blood is spread around everywhere. (A bush spirit) took hold of the older brother and carried (the corpse) down to the water. He burst into tears.'

(29) *Wo mop. Wo komopopno dob riye: Pper sepauwo, ulili. Yilauyo lo, woise lo.*
wo_k-mopi-p-no dob riye pper sepauwo
tears_SUB-weep-PC-CO eye see.O.NANIM penis.cover fasten.PP
u-lili yilau-yo lo woise lo
DFAC-be.there village-LOC go.PP with.tears go.PP
'He was weeping. (Then) he sees (something else): (The bush spirit)

fastened the penis cover (on a stick). Here it is! He left (the place) for the village; he went crying.'

(30) *Ako dupua epul maloi: "Uki koyopi basuiko." Diri woise roki pule. Pulo yipyo, paeau, kiyo muelien:*
ako dupua epul malo-i uki koyo-pi ba-sui-ko
wife two ear hear.PP-DU.A husband we.DU.EXCL-POSS FAC-die-FAC
diri woise ro-ki pule pulo yip-yo
younger.brother with.tears PROX.EMPH-APH come come.PP house-LOC
paeau kiyo mueli-en
arrive APH.DU talk.to-NSG.OR.PP
'The two wives heard (the news): Our husband has died. The younger brother is coming here crying. He came to the house, reached it, and said to them.'

(31) *"Urual noro. Sukupu noro, puyo wekûno. Nuko mole." Kiu ukeli, moloro liki kepyo, paeau.*
urual no=ro sukupu no=ro pu-yo wekûno
big.lizard eat.PP=EMPH bush.spirit eat=EMPH river-LOC carry.down.PP
nuko mole kiu ukeli molo=ro liki
we.INCL go.PL clan take.with.oneself go.PL.PP=EMPH designated.place
kep-yo paeau
3SG.POSS-LOC arrive
'"A big lizard ate (him). A bush spirit ate (him) and carried (him) down to the river. Let's go." He took the clan with him. They went to the (bush spirit's) place and arrived (there).'

(32) *Diri ako ewe ako, dupua womopip yena ba roise. Sukupu urual epul malo, "Yena wo mopi."*
diri ako ewe ako dupua wo_mopi-p yena ba
younger.brother wife older.brother wife two weep-PC people other
roise sukupu urual epul malo yena wo_mopi
together bush.spirit big.lizard ear hear.PP people weep
'The younger and older brothers' wives were weeping together with the other people. The bush spirit lizard heard it: "People are weeping."'

(33) *Riyopuno bili paliyo. Yena epul malo, "Ere pule." Bili bapaliyoko. "Ine pu epiyo poyewap! Yala pinem."*
riyopuno bili paliyo yena epul malo ere pule bili
then opening open.PP people ear hear.PP here come opening
ba-paliye-ko ine pu epiyo poye-we-p yala
FAC-open-FAC you.PL water beside stand.PL-TER-IMP now
pini-m
come.up.hither-POS
'Then it opened the door. The people heard it: "Here it comes." The door is open: "You all stand in line beside the water! It will come up now."'

(34) *Smep ba paliyepana; bili ba bapaliyepanoko. "Ere pule! Ine pe pakono powap!"*
smep ba paliyepana bili ba ba-paliyepane-ko ere pule
door other open.wide.PP opening other FAC-open.wide-FAC here come
ine pe pako-no pi-we-p
you.PL arrow bow-INS do-TER-IMP
'(The bush spirit) opened another door. The other door is wide open: "Here it comes! You all take bows and arrows."'

(35) *Smep namba tri paliyo, bapaliyoko. Urual olyo lelwolo pu epiyo. Riyopuno yena wapilayekûpu. Urual paliya.*
smep namba_tri paliyo ba-paliye-ko urual ol-yo
door third(TP) open.PP FAC-open-FAC big.lizard river.bank-LOC
liliwolo pu epiyo riyopuno yena
be.there.suddenly.PP water beside then people
wapilayekûpu urual paliya
shoot.down.hither.with.arrows.PL.A.PP big.lizard be.dead
'(The spirit) opened the third door. It is open. Suddenly the big lizard was on the river bank. Then the people shot it down with arrows. The big lizard is dead.'

(36) *Yena puyo kûno, puyo kepue. Yip kepyo paeau. Yena le kep rapiyo, rapiyemayo: Neppi nana dawa ipi, wîl sawono, spet, dipsu walno; oil kerosin petrol. Ipipis leki, yipp lekiro roise. Lam wik blanket siket taul sop omo. Kiniyo.*
yena pu-yo kûno pu-yo kepue yip kep-yo
people water-LOC go.down.PP water-LOC pass.by house 3SG.POSS-LOC
paeau yena le kep rapiyo rapiye-mayo neppi
arrive people things 3SG.POSS fetch.PP fetch.PP-MAL.PP bush.knife

nana dawa ipi wîl sawo-no spet dipsu wal-no oil kerosin
small.knife axe pot dish scoop-INS spate(TP) rice fish-INS oil kerosin
petrol ipipis leki yipp leki=ro roise lam wik
petrol wild.duck fetch.PL.O wildfowl fetch.PL.O=EMPH together lamp wick
blanket siket taul sop omo kiniyo
blanket skirt towel soap detergent all

'The people went down to the water. They are passing by the water and reach its house. They took its belongings, took them away: the bush knife, the small knife, the axe, the pots, the dishes with scoops, the spate, rice and fish, the oil, the petrol; they fetched the wild ducks and the wildfowls; the lamp and the wicks, the blankets, skirts and towels, soap and detergent, everything.'

(37) *Yena meli, le meli. Ako dupua le royeen. Baka iki meli, baka ako dupua royeen.*
yena meli le meli ako dupua le roye-en
people carry.PL.O things carry.PL.O wife two things give-NSG.OR.PP
baka iki meli baka ako dupua roye-en
half APH.PL carry.PL.O half wife two give-NSG.OR.PP

'The people carry a lot. They carry (its) belongings. They gave (many of) the belongings to the two wives. They carry one half. The other half they gave to the two wives.'

(38) *Yena ri purapuwepu, sû mappo. Sû rino mappo, beri. Urual sûyo royepepo, sûro.*
yena ri purapi-wepu sû_mappo sû ri-no mappo
people wood cut.wood-QUANT.O.PP light.a.fire.PP fire wood-INS light.PP
beri urual sû-yo royepepo sû=ro
burn big.lizard fire-LOC lay.on.top.PP fire=EMPH

'The people cut a lot of wood. They lit a fire, lit the fire with firewood. It is burning. They put the big lizard in the fire. The fire (blazes).'

(39) *Yena yilauyo molo. Le sukupupi meli. Sukupu royekoro, le ba uleko, sukupupi. Sukupu urual le roise molo yilauyo.*
yena yilau-yo molo le sukupu-pi mel
people village-LOC go.PL.PP things bush.spirit-POSS carry.PL.O.PP
sukupu roye-ko=ro le ba ule-ko sukupu-pi
bush.spirit lay-RTS=EMPH things other be.there.PL-RTS bush.spirit-POSS

sukupu urual le roise molo yilau-yo
bush.spirit big.lizard things together go.PL.PP village-LOC
'The people went to the village. They carried the belongings of the bush spirit. They had put the bush spirit (in the fire), and a few things of the bush spirit were (in the fire, too). They went to the village (loaded) with the belongings of the bush spirit lizard.'

(40) *Ûli boyo pulwolko. Yena epul malwolo, yilauyo paeau.*
ûli boyo pulwole-ko yena epul male_wolo
gall.bladder later burst-RTS people ear hear_move.further.PP
yilau-yo paeau
village-LOC arrive
'Later the gall bladder burst. The people heard (the bang) from a distance. They arrived in the village.'

(41) *Bo kuru.*
bo kuru
story be.finished
'The story is finished.'

(42) *Sukupu ba ppili. Sukupu ba akoyo rurino. Sukupu luo bîyo mape, bîyo mapepulupi. Liki sukupupi poli, luo bîyo poli. Sukupu dop sei sowemayo. Ari, leliewepi aska. Yala uke upuna mape. Sukupu basepoloko, basepolowepuko.*
sukupu ba ppili sukupu ba ako-no ruri-no
bush.spirit other live.single bush.spirit other wife-INS child-INS
sukupu luo bî-yo mape bî-yo mape_pulupi
bush.spirit stone hole-LOC live.PL hole-LOC come.to.stay.PL
liki sukupu-pi poli luo bî-yo poli
made.ready.place bush.spirit-POSS be.there stone hole-LOC be.there
sukupu dop sei sowe-mayo ari lelie-wepi aska yala
bush.spirit skin white hide-MAL.PP no kill.people-QUANT.O none no
uke upuna mape sukupu ba-sepole-ko
we.EXCL alright live.PL bush.spirit FAC-disappear-FAC
ba-sepole-wepi-ko
FAC-vanish-QUANT.S-FAC
'Some bush spirits live single, other bush spirits have wives and children. The bush spirits live in stone caves. They come to stay in (many) caves. The ready made places of the bush spirits are there, they are in the stone

caves. The bush spirits hid from the whites. No, there is no killing any more. Now we live good. The bush spirits have disappeared, they have totally vanished.'

B.3 Walpop bo

Introduction

The story *Walpop bo* 'A small turtle' was told jointly by Susan Bisam and Margaret Osi in Ossima village in September 2004.

Summary & background

The Kilmeri title of the story, *Walpop bo*, was chosen by Margaret Osi herself. It translates as 'story of a small turtle'. The story revolves around a small turtle whose tracks two sisters saw on the riverbank while catching fish. The word *walpop* refers to a small kind of turtle. Such an animal does not have much meat, and therefore provides only a small addition to a meal. Nevertheless, one of the sisters wants to get it, even though they have already filled two baskets with fish. Climbing the often steep bank of a river can be dangerous as one might lose one's hold. The story could therefore be read as a warning not to do anything rash that is not worthwhile.

Further on, the story features a man who helps the unfortunate sister and takes her back to her village and her family. The generous behaviour of a stranger is culturally surprising. Normally, a stranger would seduce a lonely woman whom he meets by chance in the forest. Here, the contrary is happening.

Parallel text

Ako dari werino uki klokni piyoi. Dari el piamu, weri el aska, weri ppili. Uki kiyopi kaikai weliyoulipop. Ki kama noulipop, bi wal ya solo noulipop. Ako dupua dari werino umul nekpamui: "Nuko ile. Nuko pu riyepoi, pu ki îkori." Ilo. Pu baîko. Luika kililuipno saulno yopi. Pu î, yelo solo wal solo mapap, waeus wamo waeripi waesepp weiop. Bi riyei. Wal saul dupua layewoye. Dob bî riyei, walpop dor riyei, dor uppue. Riyopuno weri dari muelno: "De nakowap, de elno. Ko ppue." "Ari, ko ike ppue." Dari loro sukupu yipyo paeau. Weri kleouro. Weri womop dupuni. Wal

Two sisters took one husband. The older sister got pregnant, but the younger sister was not pregnant and was living like single. Their husband withheld the food; he used to eat alone. Only he would eat meat, fish, and sago. The two wives reflected: "Let's go, we look for the river. Did it dry up?" They went there and saw that the river has dried up. Having staked off a small basin downriver, they scooped it empty with a *pangal*-shovel. No water was left. Only the bottom of the river was visible, and there were fish, namely shrimps,

saul dupua puyo unepana, woise yipyo lo. Uki muelno: "De bi kama noulipop, dari kopi sepolo. Walpop bî luppue, yala sukupu noniri. Ko kleouro. De eli kama noulipop, bi de koyo ar ponienpop." Uki womopip. "De ke wo komopem! De kama noulpop! Sukei roki wapono."

wamo-fish, *weripi*-fish, *waesopp*-fish, and *weiop*-fish. The sisters saw meat for food. They put aside two *pangal*-baskets full of fish. Then they noticed a hole. They saw the footprints of a small turtle, right here the traces go straight up. Then the younger sister said to the older: "You stay here, because you are pregnant. I will go up." The older sister replied: "No, I will go up myself." So the older sister came to the house of the bush spirit. Her younger sister waited in vain and wept until evening. She tipped the *pangal*-containers with the fish across the river and went home crying. She said to her husband: "You always ate the meat alone. My sister disappeared. She went up to the cave of a small turtle. Now the bush spirit will eat her. I waited for her in vain. You yourself ate everything alone, you didn't give us any meat." The husband started weeping, but his wife said to him: "Don't even cry, you alone ate. Your bad habit caused her trouble."

Dari loro sukupu yipyo paeau. "Depe arka pulo?" "Ko so ke walpopri!" "Walpop ari, kore! Awe, de epi baka nakap!" Ako ruri nako roipi. Sukupu yipyo dob reyo. Wolo dupua poli, wolo ba sukupu kep wolo, ba akoro. Se seku, emi lupi suelo, mi ki no. Mi konopno ekuka seku, mi yeloyo seku. Akoro dob riye: "Eh, oke sukupu! Ko so onori. Oke sukupu, ko yala koniyoni." Umul pole roise nakap: "Yala ko asa pi?" Nakapno duyo lo, ono lure, bi lure, melpulo yipyo.

The older sister went to the bush spirit's house and reached it. "Where did you come from?" she was asked. She replied, "I expected a small turtle there." "A small turtle? No, it's me. Come, you will live on the other side of the house." The wife gave birth to a boy in the bush spirit's house. The bush spirit saw her. There were two ladders. One belonged to the bush spirit's room, the other one belonged to the woman's room. The placenta

Bi akoro ponamo. Onope ki no, ono dokomiyo. So poulipop. Ruri ireri, ruri puana, dorno le, ikoi. Riyopuno sukupu umul nekpamu: "Ko yesi wapke." Lo seleyo, sele numuelyo polip. Klapno yesi wapo.

fell down, the bush spirit cut the umbilical cord and ate it readily. Then it fell out of its anus and dropped on the ground. The wife realised: "Oh, this one is a bush spirit! I expected it to be human, but this one is a bush spirit. It will devour me soon." She lived on with a sad heart: "What am I going to do now?" While she was living like this, the bush spirit went to the bush. It shot humans and shot animals and brought them to the house. It gave the animals' meat to the woman. But what about the human flesh, did it eat it? The bush spirit surely hid when eating human flesh. It lived on like this. Meanwhile the child crawls, the child stands up, walks on his feet, has become big. One day the bush spirit decided: "I go collect *aibika*-leaves." It went to the garden, which was far away. Having left, it collected *aibika*-leaves.

Bipep puloro ako muelo: "De awe nuko ile! Ereka sukupu yala de noni, de ruri roise. Nuko ile, awe! Ko de ar ni, ko de mekiye." Dari ruri roise Bipep wulino. Bipep yipyo inakap: "Yilau depi roki," mosupino. Sukupu pulo, yesi yipyo wepulo. "De nake?" "Ou ko unake," Muem muelno. Bipep Muem muelo: "De yala wapiyam." "Ou, ko yala wapiyam." Muem yip bîyo nakap, Bipep Muem smep musono. "Koyo ile, de yala nakowonam." "Ou, deyo ilap." Rum kepyo lo, buar piyoko, wepulo: "Yala Muem puluwei, ko wapiyap. Oh ako ari, balok." Dorka yek: "Oh, oki

At once a man named Bipep came to the bush spirits house and said to the woman: "Come, let's go away from here, the bush spirit will eat you up soon. You together with your child, let's go now, come on! I won't eat you, I will help you." The older sister and her child followed Bipep and they were living in Bipep's house. "Here is your place", and he showed it to her. Then Bipep said to White Ant, a friendly spirit: "You should deceive the bush spirit." "Yes, I will do that." White Ant remained in the bush spirit's cave, and Bipep closed

woko Bipep yipyo." Sukupu Bipep sano: "Deyo inake?" "Oh koyo pari!" "De dupuapi deyoru." "Oh koyo pari!" "De ko wapiye, ko bareyeko, ere nake." Sukupu yipyo ppuo, wor dupua puesu. Yeloyo seku, puana: ko due nup. Bipep muelno: "Ko le yipyo, ko yip ikapyo le." Dorilo, balok.

the door behind Muem as White Ant is called: "We are leaving. You will stay here to wait for the spirit." "Yes, you two go now." The bush spirit came back and brought the *aibika*-leaves home: "Are you there?" "Yes, I am here," replied Muem, the White Ant. The bush spirit went into its room, took the stone axe and brought it, "Now I will break White Ant into pieces, it deceived me. Oh, the woman! Oh no, she has gone." The bush spirit followed their traces: "Oh, here he went together with her. They went to Bipep's house." Arriving there he asked Bipep: "Are you in?" "No, we are not." "You are lying, it's the two of you." Bipep insisted: "No, it's not us." The bush spirit countered, "You deceive me. I have seen her, she is here." The bush spirit went up the ladder to Bipep's house. Two dogs bit it. It fell on the ground, but stood up again. "I was sleeping," the spirit thought. Then it said to Bipep: "I'll leave, I go back to my house." It turned back and went.

Bipep akoro muelo: "Nuko ile yilau depiyo." Ilo. Bi ropno bepu ropno, suel parno lolo. Ako wokoro yilau kepyo. Pewo boliyo le royowo, ruri kep roise inekip, dob pop. Uki kep sele pop. Ako kep puap pulapana. Uki dob riye puap: "Ana pulap?" Loro pewo boliyo: "Eh ako kopi," anno wiyo ruri kep roise. "Ko so de kusuikori." "Ko ar sui, ko unake. Ko Bipep mekiyo." Le rapiyoi yipyo ilo, le yipyo royo. Weri kep pulo,

Bipep said to the wife: "We will go to your village." They went with baskets full of meat and sago grubs. He wrapped tobacco in a bark mat. Together with the woman Bipep walked to her village. He put their belongings at the foot of a banana tree. There they stood together with her child and looked around. Her husband was working in the garden. His wife threw *puap*-fruits after him. The husband

anno wiyo, mosiyo, womop: "Ko so de kusuikori!" "Ko unake, ko ar sui. Ko Bipep mekiyo." Kiu muelien: "Inawe, ine yip kopiyo pulupip! Bo kopi malap! Bipep kikilimpoyam kuwiyoyam, ko mekiyo!" "De uke bamuelienko, epul uke bamalok, boyo uke ar wiye."

looked up, "Who was throwing the *puap*-fruits?" He turned to the foot of the banana tree, "Oh, my wife!" He hugged her and the child: "I believed you died not long ago!" She replied: "I did not die, I am alive. Bipep helped me." They fetched the things and went to the house. She put her belongings inside. The younger sister came, hugged her, rejoiced, and sighed: "I believed you died." "I am alive, I didn't die. Bipep helped me." She said to the family: "Come, come to my house and hear my words! Do not kill Bipep, do not hold him! He saved me!" They replied: "You have spoken to us, we got it. We won't hold him and won't punish him."

Yena monomno molo. Sukupu yipyo moloro, paeau yip sukupupiyo. Wonppueno: "De nake?" "Depe ana?" Smep paliyo, yeloyo kûno. Yena epika poyap, peno wapilayoko. Pe kiniyo dop kepyo papulip, paliya. Piyapoppuo, yip bîyo panapo. Riyopuno yip sûno noriyo. Yena le roise yilauyo molo. Ûli boyo pulwolo. Yena epul malwolo: Ar nake, ûli kep bapulwoloko.

The people walked along the bush track. They went to the house of the bush spirit and arrived there. They called up to it: "Are you in?" "Who are you?" The spirit opened the door and came down to the ground. The people were standing in a line and peppered it with arrows. All the arrows stuck in its body. It is dead. They lifted it up and put it inside the house. Then they set the house on fire. Afterwards all the people went back to the village and took the bush spirit's things with them. Later its gall bladder burst. The people heard it bang. All right, the spirit doesn't live anymore; its gall bladder burst.

Bo kuru.

The story is finished.

Glossed text

(1) *Ako dari werino uki klokni piyoi. Dari el piamu, weri el aska, weri ppili.*
ako dari weri-no uki klokni piyo-i
wife older.sister younger.sister-INS husband one take.PP-DU.A
dari el_piamu weri el_aska weri
older.sister get.pregnant.PP younger.sister not.pregnant younger.sister
ppili
live.single
'The women, two sisters, took one husband. The older sister got pregnant. The younger sister was not pregnant, she lived single.'

(2) *Uki kiyopi kaikai weliyoulipop. Ki kama noulipop, bi wal ya solo noulipop.*
uki kiyo-pi kaikai weliye-uli-pi-p ki kama
husband APH.DU-POSS food(TP) take.away.from-PROG-LV-PC APH alone
ni-uli-pi-p bi wal ya solo ni-uli-pi-p
eat-PROG-LV-PC meat fish sago only eat-PROG-LV-PC
'Their husband usually withheld food (from them). He used to eat alone. Only he ate meat, fish, and sago.'

(3) *Ako dupua dari werino umul nekpamui: "Nuko ile. Nuko pu riyepoi, pu ki îkori."*
ako dupua dari weri-no umul_nekpamu-i nuko
wife two older.sister younger.sister-INS reflect.PP-DU.S we.INCL
i-le nuko pu riye-pi-i pu ki î-ko=ro
DU.S-go we.INCL river see.O.INANIM-LV-DU.A river APH dry.up-RTS=EMPH
'The two wives, the sisters, reflected: "Let's go look at the river. Did the river dry up?"'

(4) *Ilo. Pu baîko. Luika kililuipno saulno yopi.*
i-lo pu ba-î-ko luika k-lilu-i-p-no
DU.S-go.PP river FAC-dry.up-FAC downriver SUB-stake.off-DU.A-PC-CO
saul-no yopo-i
scooping.container-INS scoop.PP-DU.A
'They went. The river has (almost) dried up. Having staked off (a small basin) downriver, they scooped it (empty) with a *pangal*-shovel.'

(5) *Pu î, yelo solo wal solo mapap, waeus wamo waeripi waesepp weiop. Bi riyei.*
pu î yelo solo wal solo mape-p waeus wamo
water dry.up ground only fish only stay.PL-PC shrimps kind.of.fish
waeripi waesepp weiop bi riye-i
kind.of.fish kind.of.fish kind.of.fish meat see.O.INANIM-DU.A
'The water dries up. Only the ground (of the river is visible). There were only fish (left), (namely) shrimps, *wamo*-fish, *weripi*-fish, *waesopp*-fish, *weiop*-fish. They see meat.'

(6) *Wal saul dupua layewoye. Dob bî riyei, walpop dor riyei, dor uppue.*
wal saul dupua laye-we dob bî riye-i
fish scooping.container two put-DU.O eye hole see.O.INANIM-DU.A
walpop dor riye-i dor u-ppue
turtle foot see.O.INANIM-DU.A foot DFAC-go.up
'They put two *pangal*-containers (full) of fish (aside). They notice a hole. They see the footprints of a small turtle, right here the traces go straight up.'

(7) *Riyopuno weri dari muelno: "De nakowap, de elno. Ko ppue." "Ari, ko ike ppue."*
riyopuno weri dari mueli-no de nake-we-p
then younger.sister older.sister talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you stay-TER-IMP
de el_no ko ppue ari ko_ike ppue
you pregnant I go.up no I.myself go.up
'Then the younger sister said to the older: "You stay here, you are pregnant. I'll go up." (The older sister replied:) "No, I go up myself."'

(8) *Dari loro sukupu yipyo paeau. Weri kleouro. Weri womop dupuni.*
dari lo=ro sukupu yip-yo paeau weri ki
older.sister go.PP=EMPH bush.spirit house-LOC arrive younger.sister APH
le-ou=ro weri wo_mop dupuni
wait-FRUS=EMPH younger.sister cry.PP night
'So the older sister went to the house of the bush spirit and arrived (there). The younger sister waited for her in vain, and she cried until evening.'

(9) *Wal saul dupua puyo unepana, woise yipyo lo.*
wal saul dupua pu-yo uneipana-we woise
fish scooping.container two river-LOC tip.across.PP-DU.O with.tears

yip-yo lo
house-LOC go.PP
'She tipped the two scooping containers across the river and went home crying.'

(10) *Uki muelno: "De bi kama noulipop, dari kopi sepolo. Walpop bî luppue, yala sukupu noniri. Ko kleouro. De eli kama noulipop, bi de koyo ar ponienpop."*
uki mueli-no de bi kama ni-uli-pi-p dari
husband talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you meat alone eat-PROG-LV-PC older.sister
ko-pi sepolo walpop bî luppue yala sukupu no-ni=ro
1SG-POSS vanish.PP turtle hole go.up now bush.spirit AUG-eat=EMPH
ko ke le-ou=ro de_eli kama ni-uli-pi-p bi de
I TOP wait-FRUS=EMPH you.yourself alone eat-PROG-LV-PC meat you
koyo ar ponini-pi-p
WE.DU.EXCL NEG give.NSG.OR-LV-PC
'She said to her husband: "You ate the meat always alone. My sister has disappeared. She went up into the cave of a small turtle. Now a bush spirit will eat her. I waited for her in vain. You yourself would eat (everything) alone. You didn't give us any meat."'[4]

(11) *Uki womopip. "De ke wo komopem! De kama noulpop!" Sukei roki wapono.*
uki wo_mopi-p de ke wo_k-mopi-m de kama
husband cry-PC you TOP crying_PROH-cry-FAC you alone
ni-uli-pi-p sukei ro-ki wape-no
eat-PROG-LV-PC spirit PROX.EMPH-APH put.together-3SG.OR.PP
'The husband was crying (and his wife said to him): "Don't even cry! You alone ate. This bad mindset caused her (trouble)."'

(12) *Dari loro sukupu yipyo paeau. "Depe arka pulo?" "Ko so ke walpopri!" "Walpop ari, kore! Awe, de epi baka nakap!"*
dari lo=ro sukupu yip-yo paeau de=pe arka
older.sister go.PP=EMPH bush.spirit house-LOC arrive you=Q where
pulo ko so ke walpop=ro walpop ari ko=ro awe de
come.PP I believe APH turtle=EMPH turtle no I=EMPH come.IMP you
epi ba-ka nake-p
side other-PATH live-IMP
'The older sister went to the house of the bush spirit and arrived (there):

[4]In this context *bi* 'meat' refers to protein-rich, valuable food, which the husband did not share with his wives.

"Where did you come from?" she was asked. (The older sister replied:) "I assumed, it (is) a small turtle." "A small turtle, no, it's me, (the bush spirit). Come, live on the other side (of the house)!"'

(13) *Ako ruri nako roipi. Sukupu yipyo dob reyo. Wolo dupua poli, wolo ba sukupu kep wolo, ba akoro.*
ako ruri nako roipi sukupu yip-yo dob reyo
wife child gave.birth boy bush.spirit house-LOC eye see.O.ANIM.SG.PP
wolo dupua poli wolo ba sukupu kep wolo ba
ladder two be.there ladder other bush.spirit 3SG.POSS ladder other
ako=ro
wife=EMPH
'The wife gave birth to a child, to a boy, in the bush spirit's house. (The bush spirit) saw her. There are two ladders (there), one (belongs to) the bush spirit('s room), the other one (belongs to) the woman('s room).'

(14) *Se seku, emi lupi suelo, mi ki no. Mi konopno ekuka seku, mi yeloyo seku.*
se seku emi_lupi suelo mi ki no mi
placenta fall.down.PP umbilical.cord cut.PP then APH eat.PP then
k-ni-p-no eku-ka seku mi yelo-yo seku
SUB-eat-PC-CO anus-PATH fall.down.PP then ground-LOC fall.down.PP
'The placenta fell down. (The bush spirit) cut the umbilical cord and ate it readily. Then, when it had eaten it, it fell out of (its) anus and dropped on the ground.'

(15) *Akoro dob riye: "Eh, oke sukupu! Ko so onori. Oke sukupu, ko yala koniyoni."*
ako=ro dob reye eh o-ke sukupu ko so
wife=EMPH eye see.O.ANIM.SG eh PROX-APH bush.spirit I believe
ono=ro o-ke sukupu ko yala koniye_ni
man=EMPH PROX-APH bush.spirit I soon devour
'The wife realises: "Oh, this one is a bush spirit! I expected (the man was) human, (but) this one is a bush spirit. Will it devour me soon?"'[5]

(16) *Umul pole roise nakap: "Yala ko asa pi?"*
umul_pole roise nake-p yala ko asa pi
be.sad with live-PC now I how do
'She was living with a sad heart: "What am I going to do now?"'

[5]When food comes out of a person's anus undigested, this is a sign that the person in fact is a bush spirit.

(17) *Nakapno duyo lo, ono lure, bi lure, melpulo yipyo.*
nake-p-no du-yo lo ono lu=ro bi lu=ro
live-PC-CO bush-LOC go.PP person shoot.PP=EMPH animal shoot.PP=EMPH
melpulo yip-yo
bring.PL.O.PP house-LOC
'While she was living (like this), (the bush spirit) went to the bush, shot humans, shot animals, and brought them to the house.'

(18) *Bi akoro ponamo. Onope ki no, ono dokomiyo.*
bi ako=ro ponamo ono=pe ki no ono d-komiyo
meat wife=EMPH give.3SG.OR.PP person=Q APH eat.PP person LKH-hide.PP
'It gave the meat (of the animals) to the woman. (But) a human being, did (the spirit) eat it? It surely hid a human being (when eating it).'

(19) *So poulipop. Ruri ireri, ruri puana, dorno le, ikoi.*
so pi-uli-pi-p ruri ireri ruri puane dor-no le ikoi
as do-PROG-LV-PC child crawl child stand.up foot-INS go big
'(The spirit) was doing like this. (Meanwhile) the child crawls, the child stands up, walks on his feet, is big.'

(20) *Riyopuno sukupu umul nekpamu: "Ko yesi wapke." Lo seleyo, sele numuelyo polip. Klapno yesi wapo.*
riyopuno sukupu umul_nekpamu ko yesi wapi-ke lo
then bush.spirit reflect.PP I aibika collect-INGR go.PP
sele-yo sele numuelyo poli-p k-le-p-no yesi wapo
garden-LOC garden far.away be.there-PC SUB-go-PC-CO aibika collect.PP
'Then the bush spirit decided: "I go to collect *aibika*-leaves. It went to the garden. The garden was far away. Having gone, it collected *aibika*-leaves.'

(21) *Bipep puloro ako muelo: "De awe nuko ile! Ereka sukupu yala de noni, de ruri roise. Nuko ile, awe! Ko de ar ni, ko de mekiye."*
Bipep pulo=ro ako mueli-no de awe nuko
Bipep come.PP=EMPH wife talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you come.IMP we.INCL
i-le ere-ka sukupu yala de no-ni de ruri roise
DU.S-go PROX-PATH bush.spirit soon you AUG-eat you child together
nuko i-le awe ko de ar ni ko de mekiye
we.INCL DU.S-go come.IMP I you NEG eat I you help
'(At once) Bipep came and said to the woman: "Come, we'll leave! The bush spirit will eat you up soon, you together with your child. Let's go, come! I won't eat you up, I will help you."'[6]

[6]The man called Bipep is introduced as the positive opponent of the bush spirit without mentioning him before.

(22) *Dari ruri roise Bipep wulino. Bipep yipyo inakap: "Yilau depi roki," mosupino.*
dari ruri roise Bipep wuli-no Bipep yip-yo
older.sister child together Bipep follow-3SG.OR.PP Bipep house-LOC
i-nake-p yilau de-pi ro-ki mosupi-no
DU.S-live-PC place 2SG-POSS PROX.EMPH-APH show-3SG.OR.PP
'The older sister with (her) child followed Bipep, and they were living in Bipep's house. "Here is your place", he showed it to her.'

(23) *Sukupu pulo, yesi yipyo wepulo. "De nake?" "Ou ko unake," Muem muelno.*
sukupu pulo yesi yip-yo wepulo de nake ou ko u-nake
bush.spirit come.PP aibika house-LOC bring.PP you stay yes I DFAC-stay
Muem mueli-no
Muem talk.to-3SG.OR
'The bush spirit came and brought the *aibika*-leaves home: "Are you there?" "Yes, I am here," said Muem, the White Ant, to it.'[7]

(24) *Bipep Muem muelo: "De yala wapiyam." "Ou, ko yala wapiyam." Muem yip bîyo nakap, Bipep Muem smep musono. "Koyo ile, de yala nakowonam." "Ou, deyo ilap."*
Bipep Muem mueli-no de yala wapiye-m ou ko yala
Bipep Muem talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you MOD deceive-POS yes I MOD
wapiye-m Muem yip bîyo nake-p Bipep Muem smep
deceive-POS Muem house inside stay-PC Bipep Muem door
musi-no koyo i-le de yala nake-we-ne-m ou
lock-3SG.OR.PP WE.DU.EXCL DU.S-go you MOD stay-TER-3SG.OR-POS yes
deyo i-le-p
you.DU DU.S-go-IMP
'Bipep said to White Ant: "You should deceive it." "Yes, I will deceive (it)." White Ant was staying in the cave, and Bipep closed the door (behind) Muem: "We leave, you will stay here (and wait) for (the bush spirit)." "Yes, you two go (now)."'[8]

[7] Muem, the White Ant, behaves as a friendly spirit who helps people against evil bush spirits. Actually, *white ant* is the name for termites.

[8] According to the proper course of events, Sequence 24 should come before Sequence 23, but the narrator chose this order, which gives a postposed explanation for what is said in the preceding sequence.

(25) *Rum kepyo lo, buar piyoko, wepulo: "Yala Muem puluwei, ko wapiyap. Oh ako ari, balok."*
rum kep-yo lo buar piye-ko wepulo yala Muem
room 3SG.POSS-LOC go.PP stone.axe take-RTS bring.PP now white.ant
puluwei ko wapiye-p oh ako ari ba-le-ko
break.with.force I deceive-PC oh wife no FAC-go-FAC
'(The bush spirit) went into its room, took the stone axe and brought it: "Now I will break White Ant into pieces, it deceived me. Oh, the woman isn't (here). She has gone."'

(26) *Dorka yek: "Oh, oki woko Bipep yipyo."*
dor-ka yek oh o-ki woko Bipep
foot-PATH follow.one's.traces.PP oh PROX-APH go.together.with.PP Bipep
yip-yo
house-LOC
'It followed their traces: "Oh, here he went together (with her), to Bipep's house."'

(27) *Sukupu Bipep sano: "Deyo inake?" "Oh koyo pari!" "De dupuapi deyoru." "Oh koyo pari!" "De ko wapiye, ko bareyeko, ere nake."*
sukupu Bipep sa-no deyo i-nake oh koyo pari
bush.spirit Bipep ask-3SG.OR.PP you.DU DU.S-stay oh we.DU.EXCL NEG.COP
de dupuapi deyo=ro oh koyo pari de ko wapiye ko
you lie you.DU=EMPH oh we.DU.EXCL NEG.COP you I deceive I
ba-reye-ko ere nake
FAC-see.O.ANIM.SG-FAC here stay
'The bush spirit asked Bipep: "Are you there?" "No, we are not." "You are lying, it's you two." (Bipep insisted:) "No, it's not us." (The bush spirit counters:) "You deceive me. I have seen her, she is here."'

(28) *Sukupu yipyo ppuo, wor dupua puesu. Yeloyo seku, puana: ko due nup.*
sukupu yip-yo ppuo wor dupua puesu-i yelo-yo
bush.spirit house-LOC go.up.PP dog two bite.PP-DU.A ground-LOC
seku puana ko due_nui-p
fall.PP stand.up.PP I sleep-PC
'The bush spirit went up to the house. Two dogs bit (it). It fell on the ground, but stood up (again): "I was sleeping," (it thought).'

(29) *Bipep muelno: "Ko le yipyo, ko yip ikapyo le." Dorilo, balok.*
Bipep mueli-no ko le yip-yo ko yip ikap-yo le
Bipep talk.to-3SG.OR.PP I go house-LOC I house 1SG.POSS.EMPH-LOC go
dorilo ba-le-ko
go.back.PP FAC-go-FAC
'(Then the bush spirit) said to Bipep: "I'll go to the house. I will go (back) to my house." It turned back. It has gone.'

(30) *Bipep akoro muelo: "Nuko ile yilau depiyo." Ilo. Bi ropno bepu ropno, suel parno lolo. Ako wokoro yilau kepyo.*
Bipep ako=ro mueli-no nuko i-le yilau de-pi-yo
Bipep wife=EMPH talk.to-3SG.OR.PP we.INCL DU.S-go village 2SG-POSS-LOC
i-lo bi rop-no bepu rop-no suel par-no
DU.S-go.PP meat basket-INS sago.grub basket-INS tobacco bark.mat-INS
lolo ako woko=ro yilau kep-yo
wrap.PP wife go.together.with.PP=EMPH village 3SG.POSS-LOC
'Bipep said to the wife: "We'll go to your village. They went with meat in the basket and with sago grubs in the basket. He wrapped tobacco in a bark mat. Together with the woman he went to her village.'

(31) *Pewo boliyo le royowo, ruri kep roise inekip, dob pop.*
pewo boliyo le royo-we ruri kep roise
banana at.the.foot things lay.PP-TER child 3SG.POSS together
i-neki-p dob pi-p
DU.S-stand-PC eye LV-PC
'He put (their) belongings at the foot of a banana tree, (where) they were standing together with her child and were looking.'

(32) *Uki kep sele pop. Ako kep puap pulapana.*
uki kep sele pi-p ako kep puap
husband 3SG.POSS garden do-PC wife 3SG.POSS kind.of.fruit
pulapana
release.thither.PP
'Her husband was working in the garden. His wife threw *puap*-fruits (at him).'

(33) *Uki dob riye puap: "Ana pulap?" Loro pewo boliyo: "Eh ako kopi," anno wiyo ruri kep roise. "Ko so de kusuikori."*
uki dob riye puap ana pula-p lo=ro
husband eye see.O.INANIM fruit.species who release-PC go.PP=EMPH
pewo boliyo ah ako ko-pi an-no wiyo ruri kep
banana at.the.foot ah wife 1SG-POS arm-INS hold.PP child 3SG.POSS
roise ko so de ke sui-ko=ro
together I believe you TOP die-RTS=EMPH
'The husband looks around: "Who was throwing the *puap*-fruits?" He went to the foot of the banana tree, "Oh, my wife!" He put his arms around her and her/his child: "I believed you died not long ago."'

(34) *"Ko ar sui, ko unake. Ko Bipep mekiyo."*
ko ar sui ko u-nake ko Bipep mekiyo
I NEG die I DFAC-live I Bipep help.PP
'I did not die, I am alive. Bipep helped me.'

(35) *Le rapiyoi yipyo ilo, le yipyo royo. Weri kep pulo, anno wiyo, mosiyo, womop: "Ko so de kusuikori!" "Ko unake, ko ar sui. Ko Bipep mekiyo."*
le rapiyo-i yip-yo i-lo le yip-yo royo
things fetch.PP-DU.A house-LOC DU.S-go.PP things house-LOC lay.PP
weri kep pulo an-no wiyo mosiyo wo_mop ko
younger.sister 3SG.POSS come.PP arm-INS hold.PP embrace.PP weep.PP I
so de ke sui-ko=ro ko u-nake ko ar sui ko Bipep mekiyo
believe you TOP die-RTS=EMPH I DFAC-live I NEG die I Bipep help.PP
'They fetched the things and went to the house. She put (her) things into the house. Her younger sister came, embraced her, rejoiced and wept: "I believed you died." "I am alive, I didn't die. Bipep helped me."'

(36) *Kiu muelien: "Inawe, ine yip kopiyo pulupip! Bo kopi malap! Bipep kikilimpoyam kuwiyoyam, ko mekiyo!"*
kiu mueli-en ine awe ine yip ko-pi-yo
kin.group talk.to-NSG.OR.PP you.PL come.IMP you.PL house 1SG-POSS-LOC
pulupi-p bo ko-pi male-p Bipep k-kilim-pi-ye-m
come.PL-IMP word 1SG-POSS hear-IMP Bipep PROH-kill(TP)-LV-PL-PROH
k-wiye-ye-m ko mekiyo
PROH-hold-PL-PROH I help.PP
'She said to the family: "Come, come to my house! Hear my words! Do not kill Bipep, do not hold him. He helped me!"'

(37) *"De uke bamuelienko, epul uke bamalok, boyo uke ar wiye."*
de uke ba-mueli-ini-ko epul uke ba-male-ko boyo
you we.EXCL FAC-talk.to-NSG.OR-FAC ear we.EXCL FAC-hear-FAC later
uke ar wiye
we.EXCL NEG hold
'"You have spoken to us, and we have understood it. We won't get hold (of him) later (and won't punish him)."'[9]

(38) *Yena monomno molo. Sukupu yipyo moloro, paeau yip sukupupiyo.*
yena monomno molo sukupu yip-yo molo=ro
people along.the.path go.PL.PP bush.spirit house-LOC go.PL.PP=EMPH
paeau yip sukupu-pi-yo
arrive house bush.spirit-POSS-LOC
'The people went along the bush track. They went to the house of the bush spirit. They arrived at the house of the bush spirit.'

(39) *Wonppueno: "De nake?" "Depe ana?" Smep paliyo, yeloyo kûno.*
wonippue-no de nake de=pe ana smep paliyo yelo-yo
call.up-3SG.OR.PP you stay you=Q who door open.PP ground-LOC
kûno
go.down.PP
'They called up to it: "Are you there?" "Who are you?" (The spirit) opened the door and came down to the ground.'

(40) *Yena epika poyap, peno wapilayoko. Pe kiniyo dop kepyo papulip, paliya.*
yena epika poye-p pe-no wapilaye-ko pe kiniyo dop
people along stand.PL-PC arrow-INS collect.lay.PP-RTS arrow all body
kep-yo papuli-p paliya
3SG.POSS-LOC be.there.PL-PC be.dead
'The people were standing in a line and peppered it with their arrows. All the arrows stuck in its body. It is dead.'

(41) *Piyapoppuo, yip bîyo panapo. Riyopuno yip sûno noriyo. Yena le roise yilauyo molo.*
piyape_ppuo yip bîyo pane_po riyopuno yip sû-no
lift.up_go.up.PP house inside put.thither.PP then house fire-INS

[9]Normally a stranger would have been punished or even killed, when he entered a village accompanying a married woman of this village.

noriyo yena le roise yilau-yo molo
fill.in.PP people things together village-LOC go.PL.PP
'They lifted (it) up and put it inside the house. Then they set the house on fire. (Afterwards) they went together to the village (loaded) with the belongings (of the bush spirit).'

(42) *Ûli boyo pulwolo. Yena epul malwolo: Ar nake, ûli kep bapulwoloko.*
ûli boyo pulwolo yena epul male-wolo ar nake ûli
gall.bladder later burst.PP people ear hear-CPL.PP NEG live gall.bladder
kep ba-pulwole-ko
3SG.POSS FAC-burst-FAC
' 'Later (the spirit's) gall bladder burst. The people heard it loudly. (They knew) it wasn't alive (anymore), its gall bladder has burst.'

(43) *Bo kuru.*
bo kuru
story be.finished
'The story is finished.'

B.4 Masalai piaune

Introduction

The text *Masalai piaune* 'The python bush spirit' was told by Susan Bisam in Ossima in December 1999. The language of her choice was Tok Pisin. The title chosen by Susan contains the word *piaune*, which is a Kilmeri word, meaning 'python'.

Summary & background

The *masalai* or 'bush spirit' of Susan's story has a family and seems to live in a settlement like humans do. The surprising part of the story is the fact that the bush spirit's own people killed it because they mistook it for the human prey. Afterwards, only the sister of the murdered bush spirit refuses to eat its flesh. This accidental killing enabled the human to escape and return to his village.

Note the opening sentence of the story *mi laik wokim stori bilong masalai* ('I like to work on a story about a bush spirit'). This could indicate that the story is 'reworked' and thus re-enacted in front of an audience each time it is told.

Parallel text

Mi laik wokim stori bilong masalai.

I want to tell a story about an evil bush spirit.

Dispela masalai. Dispela man em i banisim saksak. Em i trai i was igo igo igo igo. Nogat. Em i no painim pik. Ai bilong en raun, em i silip antap long pangal. Em i silip indai, em i silip igo igo igo igo. Masalai man, em i raun long nait em i painim kaikai. Em i kam, em i lukim dispela pangal. Pangal ol meri i wasim saksak bilong en. Em i lukim dispela: Oh, man. Em i apim wantaim pangal. Em i karim em isi, yu i karim em, yugo yugo yugoo. Yu namel long rot nau.

This bush spirit. A man built a pig trap in the sago swamp. He lay in wait for a long time. Nothing. He didn't find a pig. His eyes were tired, and he slept on a pangal-platform. He was fast asleep and slept on and on. In the night a bush spirit was walking around and looking for food. It approached and saw the pangal-platform. A platform the women use for washing their sago. It saw the man. Oh, poor man! It lifted him up together with the platform. It carried him easily talking to itself: You carry him, you walk and walk along. You are halfway now.

Nau em i kirap. Em i no kirap strong, em i kirap isi tru. "Mi go olsem wantaim man karim mi." Nau em i kirap. Em i sindaun igo igo igo. Masalai man i karim em, em amamas. Em amamas long karim dispela man. Gooo. Em i lukim rop i hangamap. Man em i hangamap long dispela rop. Pangal nating em i karim. Igo igo kamap long haus bilong en. Na em i hol dispela rop, em i go antap long bikpela diwai. Em i stap antap tru. Diwai igo antap, igo antap, igo antap. Em i stap antap.

The man woke up. He didn't wake up entirely, he became awake just a little bit. "I move as if somebody would carry me." Now he is fully awake. He sits up and remains in this position. The bush spirit carries him and feels good. It feels good because it carries that man. So it goes. The man sees a liana hanging down before his eyes. He hangs with his hands on the liana. And the bush spirit carried an empty platform! It went on and reached its house. The man had kept hold of the liana and climbed a tall tree. He climbed high up. The tree was really tall and the man stayed in the tree top.

Man em i go tasol, em i lukim: "Eh pangal nating!" Em i tokim ol lain bilong en: "Oh mi bagarapim gutpela kaikai." Olgeta i laitim bumbum. Ol i go nau painim em. Em i kam wantaim ol, ikam kam kam. Kamap long dispela rop. Kamap long dispela bikpela diwai. "Oh em i stap. Man i stap, man i stap, em i stap antap." Nau em i tokim dispela ol lain bilong en: "Yupela i stap long hia, mipela i bai go antap." Ol i smelim. Oh man i stap antap. Man em i stap antap, em i banisim. Em i sindaun antap long diwai long het bilong en. Em i sindaun antap.

The bush spirit went on looking behind: "Hey, an empty platform!" It said to its family: "Oh no, I ruined a great meal." They lit a flare. All of them went to find the man. The bush spirit went with them, it walked and came to that liana hanging down from the tall tree. "Oh, here he is. The man is here, is here, he is staying above." Now it said to its family: "You stay here, I will climb up." They smell: Yes, the man is above. The man stays above hiding. He is sitting high up in the tree top. There he sat.

Man em i go antap. Dispela masalai man, han bilong en wait. Han bilong en bruk, dispela hap em i wait, em i wait. Man igo antap igo igo igo. Dispela man i stap antap – go tasol – em i paitim nus bilong en. Em i kilim em. Pundaun, em i go daun long graun. Ol lain i stap,

The bush spirit climbed up. The hand of this bush spirit is white. Once its hand had broken, and now this part is white, is white. The bush spirit climbed higher and higher. The man in the tree top, being on watch, beat the bush spirit's nose. He wanted to

em i singaut: "Oh em i kam, em i kilim em pinis." Man em i stap antap. Em i kilim dispela masalai manya. Man bilong ples em i singaut: "Oh mi kilim em pinis. Em i pundaun kam daun." Ol lain bilong en kirap tasolya. Ol i kilim em. Ol i kilim dispela masalai man. Ol i kilim em. Nogut tru. Go indai. Ol i karim em. Olgeta gutpela kaikai.

kill it. The bush spirit fell down to the ground. The family there, they were calling: "Oh it comes. The other one hit it." The man stayed above. He thinks to have killed that bush spirit. He, the villager, shouted: "Great, I have killed it. It fell off, it fell to the ground." The bush spirit's family stood there, on the ground. Now they killed the fallen man taking him erraneously for their human prey. So they killed that bush spirit man. They killed him. Bad, too bad. He is going to die. They carry him. Lots of fine food.

Naa man tru long ples, na i stap antap. Ol i kilim masalai, ol iya. Planti masalai. Ol i go ol i karim em. Gooo. Kamap long haus bilong en. Nau ol i katim. Ol i katim katim katim. Go. Ol i telim. Ol i kaikai. Ol i givim hap han long susa bilong ol. Ol i givim han long susa bilong ol. Susa bilong ol i no kaikai. Em i putim i stap. Em i putim i stap gooo. Tulait moning nau. Em i kisim dispela hap han bilong masalai. Em i kisim nau. Em i lukim dispela han. Em i tokim ol: "Ai, yupela i kaikai brata bilong mi. Yupela i kilim brata bilong mi." Ol i no toktok. Ol i tok: "Ol i rong pinis."

And the villager, the human, he is still staying above. The others, however, killed the bush spirit, all of them took part in killing it. Many bush spirits. They went away and carried it. They walked and walked and arrived at its house. Now they start to cut the flesh, and they are busy with cutting the bush spirit's flesh for a long time. Then they shared the meat. Then they ate. They gave half of its arm to their sister. They gave the meat of the arm to their sister. Their sister didn't eat. She puts it aside. She puts it aside. It's becoming morning now. She takes that part of the bush spirit's arm. She takes it and looks at it. She says to them: "Ai, you all ate my brother. You killed my brother." They didn't say anything. Later they said: "Everything got wrong."

Man bilong ples i stap antap, em i kam daun tasol. Em i go nau. Em igo igo igo.

The man of the village above in the tree, he came down now. And he went

Kamap long ples. Em i kamap long ples. Dispela masalai man, ol i nogat nau. Em yumi kilim em pinis, yumi kilim em. Tarangu. Ol i kilim em, ol i kaikai pinis. Nogat moa. Man bilong ples, em i go pinis. Kamaut long ples.

on and walked for quite some time, until he came to his village. But that bush spirit man, there is nothing left of him. We have killed it, have killed it indeed. Bad, too bad. They killed it and ate it up. Nothing is left. The villager has left behind that place in the bush. He finally arrived in his village.

Em tasol dispela stori bilong mi. Gutpela moning nau.

That's the end of my story. Good morning now.

B.5 Kukumbina na Kusudua

Introduction

The story *Kukumbina na Kusudua* 'Kukumbina and Kusudua' was told by Brigitte Esau from Omoi in April 2000. For some time, Brigitte joined my consultant team and came to my house in Ossima.

Summary & background

While catching fish in a river, one of two sisters is tricked by a bush spirit. She seemed to be lucky, but the many fish she had caught turned out to be the gift of an evil spirit. The spirit did not show itself at the river, but only appeared on her family's doorstep the next morning. Then it demanded that the girl marry it. There was no way out of this situation and, thus, the girl Kusudua followed it down into the river, where both changed into snakes.

It is interesting to note that the sisters fished separately. One is said to have stayed upstream, the other downstream. This fact may indicate a potentially dangerous situation, as the sisters cannot help each other if one of them falls and is caught in a whirlpool. The story could therefore be understood as a warning to stay together and not fish on slippery rocks in the middle of the river. Otherwise one could drown.

Parallel text

Dari werino ilo hukpoipno puyo. Weri huk lilika pop, dari huk luika pop. Weri ke wal kiniyo raki. Dari kero wal moniseso raki. Riyopuno dari werino doriilo yipyo, wal weloi. Dari ki weri muelno: "De ke wal kinyo pulimpo. Ko ke wal kiniyo ar pulimpo." Weri ki muelno: "De ke ppulaena hukpo." "Ari, ko ke makina hukpop." Riyopuno dari werino midoriilo yipyo. Dari ki epe bo mosaupono: "Weri kopi kero wal kiniyo raki. Ko ke kiniyo ar raki." Riyopuno dari ki weri muelno: "De kero ono ba de wal namo piye." "Ari. Ko ike pulimpo. Ono ba pari." Riyopuno dari werino yip

Two sisters went fishing in the river. The younger one caught fish upriver, and the older one downriver. The younger sister caught many fish, but the older one caught only very few fish. Then the sisters turned back home and carried the fish with them. The older sister said to the younger: "You caught a lot of fish, but me, I didn't catch many." The younger sister replied: "You didn't catch the right way." "No, I did it well." Then the two sisters turned back home. The older sister informed the mother: "My younger sister caught lots of fish, but

rumyo ina, due inuip.

me, I didn't catch many." The older sister countered: "As for you, someone gave you the fish to take." "No, I myself caught them, there wasn't anybody else." Then the two sisters went inside their room and slept.

Punipino pini. Masalai pial bapulok. Woloyo nakap. Dop kep pialno tanimpo. Woloyo nakap. Nem kep ke Mawatkawi. Epe aino masalai pial muelnoi: "De bo pulo?" Masalai pial epe aino muelien: "Ko ke bo ba pule. Ko ruri depi pule." Epe aino muelnoi: "De bo pule? De bo muli? Wor bi yûr wal suo nuan due?" Ar muli. Epe aino dorimuelnoi: "De bo muli?" Masalai pial muelien: "Ko ke ako muli, ruri depi." Epe aino dari werino muelien: "Deyo hukpoipno masalai pial oki pulo." Dari werino muelno: "De eliro wal kiniyo rakiulipop. Ko pari. De eli piyap. Ko pari."

The next morning, a bush spirit, a snake, had come. It was sitting on the ladder. It changed appearance and looked like a man, standing on the ladder. Its name is Mawatkawi. Father and mother said to the bush spirit, the snake: "What did you come for?" The bush spirit, the snake, replied: "I do not come for certain things. I come for your child." Father and mother repeated their question: "What did you come for? What do you want? A dog, a pig, chicken, fish, coconuts, breadfruit, sago?" It doesn't speak. Father and mother repeated once more: "What do you want?" The bush spirit, the snake, said to them: "Me? I want a wife, your daughter." Father and mother told the sisters: "While you were catching fish, the snake, a bush spirit, came here." The older sister said to the younger: "You were catching lots of fish, not me. Only you were taking them, not me."

Riyopuno epe aino patiponoi; weri ponoip. Na le kiniyo meli. Ri malalpoipno wo mopoi. Pial masalai ki burilo, Kusudua boyo lo. Ekuyo wulino epe aino roise wokoi. Pu epiyo nekip. Na pial ki dop kep Kusudua ponamo. Riyopuno pial dop senisimpono na puyo ikûno. Balopisiko. Epe aino boyo wo

Then father and mother had a party for her; they did that for the younger sister. They carried all the things, and while cutting firewood they wept. The bush spirit, the snake, went ahead and Kusudua walked behind. She followed it with her parents; they accompanied her. They stood at the edge

mopoi.	of the river. Then the snake gave its skin to Kusudua who now also looks like a snake. Then the snake changed back its own appearance from man to snake, and they went down into the river. They are gone for ever. Later on mother and father cried.
Kuru stori kopi.	My story is finished.

Glossed text

(1) *Dari werino ilo hukpoipno puyo. Weri huk lilika pop, dari huk luika pop.*
dari weri-no i-lo huk-pi-i-p-no
older.sister younger.sister-INS DU.S-go.PP catch.fish(TP)-LV-DU.S-PC-CO
pu-yo weri huk lilika pi-p dari
river-LOC younger.sister catch.fish(TP) upriver LV-PC older.sister
huk luika pi-p
catch.fish(TP) downriver LV-PC
'Two sisters went catching fish in the river, the younger one caught fish upriver, the older one downriver.'

(2) *Weri ke wal kiniyo raki. Dari kero wal moniseso raki.*
weri ke wal kiniyo raki dari ke=ro wal
younger.sister APH fish many catch.fish older.sister APH=EMPH fish
moniseso raki
very.little catch.fish
'The younger sister catches many fish, the older one catches a small amount of fish.'

(3) *Riyopuno dari werino doriilo yipyo, wal weloi.*
riyopuno dari weri-no dori_i-lo yip-yo
then older.sister younger.sister-INS turn.back_DU.S-go.PP house-LOC
wal welo-i
fish carry.away.PP-DU.A
'Then the sisters turned back home and took the fish with them.'

(4) *Dari ki weri muelno: "De ke wal kiniyo pulimpo. Ko ke wal kiniyo ar pulimpo."*
dari ki weri mueli-no de ke wal kiniyo
older.sister APH younger.sister talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you APH fish many
pulim-po ko ke wal kiniyo ar pulim-po
pull(TP)-LV.PP I APH fish many NEG pull(TP)-LV.PP
'The older sister said to the younger: "You caught many fish, as for me, I didn't catch many."'

(5) *Weri ki muelno: "De ke ppulaena hukpo." "Ari, ko ke makina hukpop."*
weri ki mueli-no de ke ppulae-na
younger.sister APH talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you TOP bad-ADV
huk-po ari ko ke maki-na huk-pi-p
catch.fish(TP)-LV.PP no I TOP good-ADV catch.fish(TP)-LV-PC
'The younger sister said to her: "You caught badly." "No, I caught well."'

(6) *Riyopuno dari werino midoriilo yipyo.*
riyopuno dari weri-no mi-dori_i-lo
then older.sister younger.sister-INS ITER-turn.back_DU.S-go.PP
yip-yo
house-LOC
'Then the two sisters turned back again to go home.'

(7) *Dari ki epe bo mosaupono: "Weri kopi kero wal kiniyo raki. Ko ke kiniyo ar raki."*
dari ki epe bo mosaupo-no weri ko-pi
older.sister APH mother word teach-3SG.OR.PP younger.sister 1SG-POSS
ke=ro wal kiniyo raki ko ke kiniyo ar raki
APH=EMPH fish many catch I TOP many NEG catch
'The older sister informed the mother: "My younger sister catches many fish. But I don't catch many."'

(8) *Riyopuno dari ki weri muelno: "De kero ono ba de wal namo piye."*
riyopuno dari ki weri mueli-no de ke=ro
then older.sister APH younger.sister talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you APH=EMPH
ono ba de wal namo piye
person some you fish give.2SG.OR.PP take
'Then the older sister said to the younger: "As for you, somebody gave you the fish to take."'

(9) *"Ari. Ko ike pulimpo. Ono ba pari."*
ari ko_ike pulim-po ono ba pari
no I.myself pull(TP)-LV.PP person some NEG.COP
'"No, I myself caught them, there wasn't anybody else."'

(10) *Riyopuno dari werino yip rumyo ina, due inuip.*
riyopuno dari weri-no yip rum-yo
then older.sister younger.sister-INS house room(TP)-LOC
i-na due i-nui-p
DU.S-go.inside sleep DU.A-do.intentionally-PC
'Then the two sisters went inside their room in the house and were sleeping.'

(11) *Punipino pini. Masalai pial bapulok. Woloyo nakap.*
punipino pini masalai pial ba-pule-ko wolo-yo
morning come.up.hither bush.spirit(TP) snake FAC-come-FAC ladder-LOC
nake-p
sit-PC
'The morning comes up. A bush spirit, the snake has come. It was sitting on the ladder.'

(12) *Dop kep pialno tanimpo. Woloyo nakap. Nem kep ke Mawatkawi.*
dop kep pial-no tanim-po wolo-yo nake-p nem
skin 3SG.POSS snake-INS change(TP)-LV.PP ladder-LOC sit-PC name
kep ke Mawatkawi
3SG.POSS APH Mawatkawi
'It changed its appearance with (that of a) snake, it was sitting (man-like) on the ladder, its name is Mawatkawi.'

(13) *Epe aino masalai pial muelnoi: "De bo pulo?"*
epe ai-no masalai pial mueli-no-i de bo
mother father-INS bush.spirit(TP) snake talk.to-3SG.OR.PP-DU.A you what
pulo
come.PP
'Father and mother said to the bush spirit, the snake: "What did you come for?"'

(14) *Masalai pial epe aino muelien: "Ko ke bo ba pule. Ko ruri depi pule."*
masalai pial epe ai-no mueli-en ko ke bo
bush.spirit(TP) snake mother father-INS talk.to-NSG.OR.PP I TOP what
ba pule ko ruri de-pi pule
NEG.EMPH come I child 2SG-POSS come
'The bush spirit, the snake, said to father and mother: "I don't come for any goods. I come for your child."'

(15) *Epe aino muelnoi: "De bo pule? De bo muli? Wor bi yûr wal suo nuan due?" Ar muli.*
epe ai-no mueli-no-i de bo pule de bo muli
mother father-INS talk.to-3SG.OR.PP-DU.A you what come you what want
wor bi yûr wal suo nuan due ar muli
dog pig chicken fish coconut breadfruit sago NEG speak
'Father and mother said to it: "What do you come for, what do you want? A dog, a pig, chicken, fish, coconuts, breadfruit, sago?" (Mawatkawi) doesn't speak.'

(16) *Epe aino dorimuelnoi: "De bo muli?"*
epe ai-no dorimueli-no-i de bo muli
mother father-INS repeat-3SG.OR.PP-DU.A you what want
'Father and mother repeated (to Mawatkawi): "What do you want?"'

(17) *Masalai pial muelien: "Ko ke ako muli, ruri depi."*
masalai pial mueli-en ko ke ako muli ruri de-pi
bush.spirit(TP) snake talk.to-NSG.OR.PP I TOP wife want child 2SG-POSS
'The bush spirit, the snake, said to them: "As for me, I want a wife, your daughter."'

(18) *Epe aino dari werino muelien: "Deyo hukpoipno masalai pial oki pulo."*
epe ai-no dari weri-no mueli-en
mother father-INS older.sister younger.sister-INS talk.to-NSG.OR.PP
deyo huk-pi-i-p-no masalai pial o-ki pulo
you.DU catch.fish-LV-DU.A-PC-CO bush.spirit(TP) snake PROX-APH come.PP
'Father and mother said to the sisters: "While you were catching fish, a bush spirit, the snake, came here."'

(19) *Dari werino muelno: "De eliro wal kiniyo rakiulipop. Ko pari. De eli piyap. Ko pari."*
dari weri-no mueli-no de_eli=ro wal
older.sister younger.sister-INS talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you.yourself=EMPH fish
kiniyo raki-uli-pi-p ko pari de_eli piye-p ko pari
many catch-PROG-LV-PC I NEG.COP you.yourself take-PC I NEG.COP
'The older sister said to the younger: "You yourself were catching many fish, not me. You yourself were taking them, not me."'

(20) *Riyopuno epe aino patiponoi; weri ponoip. Na le kiniyo meli. Ri malalpoipno wo mopoi.*
riyopuno epe ai-no pati-pi-no-i weri
then mother father-INS party-LV-3SG.OR.PP-DU.A younger.sister
pi-no-i-p na le kiniyo meli ri
do-3SG.OR.PP-DU.A-PC and(TP) things all carry.PL.O wood
malalpi-i-p-no wo_mopo-i
cut.firewood-DU.A-PC-CO cry.PP-DU.S
'Then father and mother had a party for her. They did it for the younger sister and carried all the things. While cutting firewood they cried.'[10]

(21) *Pial masalai ki burilo, Kusudua boyo lo. Ekuyo wulino epe aino roise wokoi.*
pial masalai ki burilo Kusudua boyo lo ekuyo
snake bush.spirit(TP) APH go.ahead.PP Kusudua behind go.PP behind
wuli-no epe ai-no roise woko-i
follow-3SG.OR.PP mother father-INS with accompany.PP-DU.S
'The bush spirit, the snake, went ahead, and Kusudua went behind. She followed it behind with father and mother, (who) accompanied her.'

(22) *Pu epiyo nekip. Na pial ki dop kep Kusudua ponamo.*
pu epiyo neki-p na pial ki dop kep Kusudua
river beside stand-PC and(TP) snake APH skin 3SG.POSS Kusudua
ponamo
give.3SG.OR.PP
'They were standing beside the river and the snake gave its skin to Kusudua, (and she changed into a snake).'

[10]Now the wedding party takes place at the girl's family's place; then they leave for the river, where the bush spirit lives.

(23) *Riyopuno pial dop senisimpono na puyo ikûno. Balopisiko.*
riyopuno pial dop senisim-pi-no na pu-yo
then snake skin change(TP)-LV-3SG.OR.PP and(TP) river-LOC
i-kûno ba-le-pisi-ko
DU.S-go.down.PP FAC-go-CPL-FAC
'Then the snake changed its appearance, and they went down into the river. They are gone forever.'[11]

(24) *Epe aino boyo wo mopoi.*
epe ai-no boyo wo_mopo-i
mother father-INS later cry.PP-DU.S
'Later mother and father cried.'

(25) *Kuru stori kopi.*
kuru stori ko-pi
be.finished story 1SG-POSS
'My story is finished.'

[11]The bush spirit who had come in human appearance changed back into a snake.

B.6 Pu paek

Introduction

The story *Pu paek* 'The pond in the forest' was told by Andrew Wapi in Ossima village in February 2000.

Summary & background

A father is accompanied by his son on a hunting trip into the bush. The son is told to stay near the bush hut while the father goes hunting alone. Left alone, the son is visited by a bush spirit. The spirit measures the beds to find out which is his father's bed. It also warns the child that it will come back the next night and eat his father. The son is suspicious of the visitor and tells his father everything. The father doesn't believe a word he says and just wants him to enjoy the delicious food. But the son is right, and that night the bush spirit returns and kills the father. The clan then takes revenge and kills the bush spirit.

The moral of the story is that the deep forest is always a potentially dangerous place. One must always exercise caution. Certainly it is not the right place to eat large meals and then rest in a sound sleep without hearing warning noises. This is exactly what happened to the father. When transcribing the text with Margaret Osi, she told me that the father's sleeping position indicates deep sleep (Sequence 33). So the father did not demonstrate the kind of behaviour required to withstand the challenges of the bush.

Some remarks to style and grammar of the narrator: Although grammatically mandatory, the narrator rarely uses the affixal dual of the verb. Instead, he often uses the prefix of accompaniment with a similar function. He also makes frequent use of topicalised pronouns for emphasis, while emphatic pronouns are not used. Furthermore, the text shows code-switching to Tok Pisin.

Parallel text

Ruri aino duyo woko. Kiyo kama woko. Kowokapno duyo, duyo wonu. Riyo kunuipno ai muele: "Ko duyo le, ko du pue. De ke nakowo, de riyo ppuowo." Riyo ulepoko, "de dob riyo powe Kuleipopno ai duyo lo. Duyo loro, du puap. Ruri kep muelkono: "De dob powe, de rileyo nakeno dob powe." Ai kep duyo lo. Duyo klapno du puap. Ruri ki kama

Father and son went together to the bush. The two of them went alone. Having come to the place they wanted to stay, they slept there in each other's company. The next morning, the father said to his son: "I'll go into the bush, I want to roam the forest. But you, you stay here and climb a tree." The father put him in the tree: "You

ri wuliyo nakap.

watch out from there attentively." Having put him in the tree, the father left for the deep bush. He went and was roaming the forest. Before he had said to his son: "You watch attentively while you are up there! You keep watching attentively!" His father went into the bush. He was roaming the forest. The boy was sitting alone in the tree top.

Raunwara yip pakiyo lilip, pu paek. Pu paek ikoiele yipyo lilip, raunwara ri epeyo îwoulip. Masalai riyo nakap, riyo piniro. Ruri kepro sano: "Depe rileyo bo nake, ai de rileyo ulepoko, ai depi arka lo?" "Ai kopi busyo lo. Du pue, yala pulam." "Deyo kama wopulo?" "Ou koyo kama wopulo." "Yeni kep ari ope yeni anapi?" "Yeniro erki kopi, ai kopi yeni kep erki." "Yeni kep ko malapi. Mak koyopi kopuala dupua. Yala ko dupuni pule, ai so muele." "Ou."

There was a pond with brackish water next to the bush hut. The pond was quite big. It had almost dried up. At the bottom wood was visible. A bush spirit was living there at the bottom of the pond. From there it comes up to the hut. It asked the father's son: "What are you sitting up there for? Did your father put you up in the tree? Where did your father go?" "My father went into the deep bush. He is roaming the forest. He will come back soon." The bush spirit continued asking: "The two of you came alone, just in each other's company?" "Yes, we came alone." "His bed? Whose bed is this?" "This bed is mine. But my father's bed is this." "I will measure his bed. Our measure is the same. Later in the night I will come again. Tell your father!" "Yes, I will."

Ai du kupuapno bike wepulo yipyo. Bike kuluipno, kowepulapno yipyo, kuwopuenpopno, aplayo woroyepepo, sû mappoppue. Sû kowomappoppuapno, punino sû womappoppuo. Kaikai bilil kwesipno kwonopno kiyo kama dupua inakap. Kwonopno due wonui ai muele:

When the father came back from the forest, he brought a cassowary to the bush hut. He had shot the cassowary and brought it to their hut. Having cut up the flesh together, they put it on top of planks. The fire is going up. They kept the fire lit during the

"Ono ba pu ipiyo pin. Ana ari. Puyo pin, ana ari. Yeni depi malapop." "Yala ko puni pini, yala ko puni koniye," so muel.

evening. When they had cooked and eaten their food with some meat, father and son were sitting alone. After the meal they went to bed. The son said to his father: "Somebody came up here from the water bottom. I don't know who he was. He came up here from the water bottom. I really don't know who. He was measuring your bed. 'Today at night I'll come up here again. Today at night I will devour your father,' so he said."

"De ke dupuapi , mopsi bo mui! Bike ulili." "Yala ko asa ni." "Bike de oso ni, dob de riyoworo." "Ari, dukiru so muel." "Ari, de ke giamanpi, de ke dupuapi!" "Dupuapi ari, bo dukiru. Dob ko reyo, ono bekulu pu ipiyo pin. Dob ko reyo." "Bike lili!" "Yala ko asa ni?" "Bike de apaina ni!" "Upru!" Wonuero puni pin. Puni kaepul an sayo. Kaepul kasayapno pu paek ke mi dopyo lili. Puni kipinipno ai kep koniyo. Ai solo koniyoro, yeni rupuolo. Yeni roise rupuap. Ruri ba koniyo, ruri nakap. Ruri ppulaena puana: Masalai ai kep koniyo. Kokoniyapno puyo kûno. Ruri puni klapno ri ipulyo nakap duruwa. Ai sekimpo: Piaune ari. Ai masalai koniyo, piaune ari. Oke ono sukupu bakoniyok.

"You are lying, you are talking nonsense, here's some cassowary meat." "How can I eat now?" protests the son. "You eat more of the cassowary, and tomorrow you watch out attentively." "No, it is true. What the man said is true." The father didn't believe his son: "No, no, you are lying, you are wrong. Here is the cassowary meat." "How can I eat now?" repeats the boy. "You just enjoy the cassowary with a good appetite." "Alright, OK." They slept together. At night the bush spirit came up from the bottom of the pond again. At night the father's hand touched his knee. While he's touching his knee, the dangerous pond lurks nearby. Having come up at night, the bush spirit swallowed up the child's father. Only the father it swallowed up. It broke his bed completely. It gulped him and broke the bed. It didn't swallow the child, and the boy was still alive. He got up in a bad mood, because the bush spirit devoured his father. After the human night meal, the

bush spirit went down into the water again. The boy ran away and then was sitting between the buttresses of a tree until early morning. Then he searched for his father: "A python, no." The boy is pondering: "A bush spirit must have swallowed up my father, not a python. This was a man, a bush spirit swallowed him up."

Riyopuno ruri woise lo yilauyo. Yena kiniyo ki muelen epe kep roise: "Ai kopi masalai bakoniyok. Ine awe, nuko mole! Masalai ono yeni depi bamalapoko. De ke mopsi bo mui. Bike lili, de noro! Ai kopi bike luro, koyo wesip. Mi ko so muelpup: Bike lili, de noro, de ke dupuapi! De bo kopi epul ar male, masalai de puni koniye."

So the child went tearfully back to the village. There he told all the people and also his mother: "A bush spirit swallowed up my father. You all come, let's go all together. The bush spirit, the man, measured his bed. 'You are talking nonsense,' said my father, 'There's some cassowary, you eat.' My father shot a cassowary, we were cooking it together, and then he was talking to me like this: 'Here's some cassowary meat, you just eat it. Your warning is nonsense.' 'You don't listen to my words, the bush spirit will swallow you up at night,' I repeated."

Riyopuno iki kumune molo. Kukepulapno pu riye. Kiyopipno, riyopuno pu îwolo yelo solo. Ri epeyo îwoulip riyo nakap. Yena kumune peno lu. Kuluipno paliya. Masalai roke baluko. Kelayapno neppno suko, iki yilauyo molo.

Then they all left for the bush. Having come together there, they saw the waterhole. They scooped the pond, the remaining water dried up soon, until there was only the bottom. Wood was visible because the water has gone. Down there the bush spirit lived. All the people shot arrows at it. Then it is dead. They killed this bush spirit. Having grabbed it, they cut it to pieces with their bush knives. Afterwards they went back to the village.

Em tasol liklik stori.

That's it, the little story.

Glossed text

(1) *Ruri aino duyo woko. Kiyo kama woko.*
ruri ai-no du-yo woko kiyo kama
child father-INS bush-LOC go.together.with.PP APH.DU alone
woko
go.together.with.PP
'Father and son went together to the bush. The two of them went alone.'

(2) *Kowokapno duyo, duyo wonu.*
k-woke-p-no du-yo du-yo wo-nu
SUB-go.together.with-PC-CO bush-LOC bush-LOC ACCOM-sleep.PP
'Having gone together to the bush, they slept in the bush in (each other's) company.'

(3) *Riyo kunuipno ai muele: "Ko duyo le, ko du pue."*
ri-yo k-nui-p-no ai mueli-no ko du-yo le ko
DIST-LOC SUB-sleep-PC-CO father talk.to-3SG.OR.PP I bush-LOC go I
du pue
forest roam
'Having slept there, the father said to (his son): "I'll go into the bush, I'll roam the forest."'

(4) *"De ke nakowo, de riyo ppuowo." Riyo ulepoko, "de dob riyo powe."*
de ke nake-we de ri-yo ppue-we ri-yo ulei-pi-ko de
you TOP stay-TER you tree-LOC climb-TER tree-LOC put.inside-LV-RTS you
dob ri-yo pi-we
eye tree-LOC LV-TER
'"(But) you, you stay (here). You climb up a tree." The father put him in the (chosen) tree: "You watch out from there attentively."'

(5) *Kuleipopno ai duyo lo.*
k-ulei-pi-p-no ai du-yo lo
SUB-put.inside-LV-PC-CO father bush-LOC go.PP
'Having put (him) in (the tree), the father went into the (deep) bush.'

(6) *Duyo loro, du puap.*
du-yo lo=ro du pue-p
bush-LOC go.PP=EMPH forest roam-PC
'He went into the bush and was roaming the forest.'

(7) *Ruri kep muelkono: "De dob powe, de rileyo nakeno dob powe."*
ruri kep mueli-ko-no de dob pi-we de rileyo nake-no
child 3SG.POSS talk.to-RTS-3SG.OR.PP you eye LV-TER you above stay-CO
dob pi-we
eye LV-TER
'Before he had said to his son: "You watch attentively, while you are up there. You keep watch attentively!"'

(8) *Ai kep duyo lo. Duyo klapno du puap.*
ai kep du-yo lo du-yo k-le-p-no du pue-p
father 3SG.POSS bush-LOC go.PP bush-LOC SUB-go-PC-CO forest roam-PC
'His father went into the bush. Having left, he was roaming the bush.'

(9) *Ruri ki kama ri wuliyo nakap.*
ruri ki kama ri wuli-yo nake-p
child APH alone tree tree.top-LOC sit-PC
'The child was sitting alone in the tree top.'

(10) *Raunwara yip pakiyo lilip, pu paek.*
raunwara yip pakiyo lili-p pu_paek
pond(TP) house next.to be.there-PC waterhole
'There was a pond next to a house, a hole with water.'

(11) *Pu paek ikoiele yipyo lilip, raunwara ri epeyo îwoulip.*
pu_paek ikoiele yip-yo lili-p raunwara ri epeyo
waterhole very.big house-LOC be.there-PC pond(TP) wood visible
îwole-p
dry.up-PC
'The pond was very big, it was near the (bush)house. The pond was drying up, and (at the bottom) wood was visible.'

(12) *Masalai riyo nakap, riyo piniro.*
masalai ri-yo nake-p ri-yo pini=ro
bush.spirit(TP) DIST-LOC live-PC DIST-LOC come.up.hither=EMPH
'A bush spirit was living there (at the bottom of the pond), from there it comes up here.'

(13) *Ruri kepro sano: "Depe rileyo bo nake, ai de rileyo ulepoko, ai depi arka lo?"*
ruri kep=ro sa-no de=pe rileyo bo nake ai de
child 3SG.POSS=EMPH ask-3SG.OR.PP you=Q above what sit father you
rileyo ulei-pi-ko ai de-pi arka lo
above put.inside-LV-RTS father 2SG-POSS where go.PP
'It asked the (father's) son: "What are you sitting there for, high above, did your father put you up in (the tree)? Where did your father go?"'

(14) *"Ai kopi busyo lo. Du pue, yala pulam."*
ai ko-pi du-yo lo du pue yala pule-m
father 1SG-POSS bush-LOC go.PP forest roam soon come-POS
'"My father went into the (deep) bush, he roams the forest. He will come (back) soon."'

(15) *"Deyo kama wopulo?"*
deyo kama wo-pulo
you.DU alone ACCOM-come.PP
'"Did the two of you come together alone?"'

(16) *"Ou koyo kama wopulo."*
ou koyo kama wo-pulo
yes we.DU.EXCL alone ACCOM-come.PP
'"Yes, we came alone."'

(17) *"Yeni kep ari ope yeni anapi?"*
yeni kep ari o=pe yeni ana-pi
bed 3SG.POSS no PROX=Q bed who-POSS
'"His bed, no, whose bed is this?"'

(18) *"Yeniro erki kopi, ai kopi yeni kep erki."*
yeni=ro ere-ki ko-pi ai ko-pi yeni kep ere-ki
bed=EMPH PROX-APH 1SG-POSS father 1SG-POSS bed 3SG.POSS PROX-APH
'"This bed is mine. My father's, his bed is this."'

(19) *"Yeni kep ko malapi. Mak koyopi kopuala dupua. Yala ko dupuni pule, ai so muele." "Ou."*
yeni kep ko malapi mak koyo-pi kopuala_dupua
bed 3SG.POSS I measure mark we.DU.EXCL-POSS two.times.the.same
yala ko dupuni pule ai so mueli-ne ou
today I night come father so talk.to-3SG.OR yes
'"I measure his bed. Our measurement is the same, later in the night I'll come. Tell (your) father." "Yes (I will)."'

(20) *Ai du kupuapno bike wepulo yipyo.*
ai du k-pue-p-no bike wepulo yip-yo
father forest SUB-roam-PC-CO cassowary bring.PP house-LOC
'Having roamed the forest, the father brought a cassowary to the (bush)house.'

(21) *Bike kuluipno, kowepulapno yipyo, kuwopuenpopno, aplayo woroyepepo, sû mappoppue.*
bike k-lui-p-no k-wepule-p-no yip-yo
cassowary SUB-shoot-PC-CO SUB-bring-PC-CO house-LOC
k-wo-puenpi-p-no apla-yo wo-royepepo sû
SUB-ACCOM-cut.meat-PC-CO plank-LOC ACCOM-lay.on.top.PP fire
mappeppue
light.go.up
'He shot the cassowary and brought it to the (bush)house. Then, having cut the meat together, they laid it on top of planks, and the burning fire is going up.'

(22) *Sû kowomappoppuepno, punino sû womappoppuo.*
sû k-wo-mappeppue-p-no puni-no sû wo-mappeppuo
fire SUB-ACCOM-light.go.up-PC-CO evening-INS fire ACCOM-light.go.up.PP
'Having lit the fire, they kept the fire lit during the evening.'

(23) *Kaikai bilil kwesipno kwonopno kiyo kama dupua inakap.*
kaikai bilil k-wo-si-p-no k-wo-ni-p-no
food(TP) pieces.of.meat SUB-ACCOM-cook-PC-CO SUB-ACCOM-eat-PC-CO
kiyo kama dupua i-nake-p
APH.DU alone two DU.S-sit-PC
'Having cooked and eaten food and pieces of meat, the two of them were sitting alone.'

(24) *Kwonopno due wonui ai muele:*
k-wo-ni-p-no due wo-nui ai mueli-ne
SUB-ACCOM-eat-PC-CO sleep ACCOM-do.intentionally father talk.to-3SG.OR
'After the meal they go to bed together, (and the son) says to (his) father:'

(25) *"Ono ba pu ipiyo pin. Ana ari. Puyo pin, ana ari. Yeni depi malapop."*
ono ba pu ipi-yo pin ana ari pu-yo
man other water clay-LOC come.up.hither.PP who no water-LOC
pin ana ari yeni de-pi malapi-p
come.up.hither.PP who no bed 2SG-POSS measure-PC
'"Somebody came up here from the water bottom. (I do) not (know) who he is. He came up here from the water bottom. (I do) not (know) who he is. He was measuring your bed."'

(26) *"Yala ko puni pini, yala ko puni koniye," so muel.*
yala ko puni pini yala ko puni koniye so muel
today I night come.up.hither today I night swallow so say.PP
'"Today at night I'll come up. Today at night I will devour (your father)," so he said.'

(27) *"De ke dupuapi , mopsi bo mui! Bike ulili." "Yala ko asa ni." "Bike de oso ni, dob de riyoworo."*
de ke dupuapi mopsi bo mui bike u-lili yala ko
you TOP lie nonsense word talk cassowary DFAC-be.there now I
asa ni bike de oso ni dob de riye-we=ro
how eat cassowary you more eat eye you see.O.INANIM-TER=EMPH
'"You are lying, you are talking nonsense. Here is cassowary (meat)." "How do I eat now?" "You eat more of the cassowary, (tomorrow) you watch out attentively."'

(28) *"Ari, dukiru so muel."*
ari duki=ro so muel
no true=EMPH so say.PP
'"No, it is true, so he said."'

(29) *"Ari, de ke giamanpi, de ke dupuapi!"*
ari de ke giaman-pi de ke dupuapi
no you TOP lie(TP)-LV you TOP lie
'"No, you are lying, you are lying."'

(30) *"Dupuapi ari, bo dukiru. Dob ko reyo, ono bekulu pu ipiyo pin. Dob ko reyo."*
dupuapi ari bo duki=ro dob ko reyo ono bekulu pu
lie no word true=EMPH eye I see.O.ANIM.SG.PP man huge water

ipi-yo pin dob ko reyo
clay-LOC come.up.hither.PP eye I see.O.ANIM.SG.PP
'"I am not lying, it is true. I saw him. A huge man came up here from the bottom of the water, I saw him."'

(31) *"Bike lili!" "Yala ko asa ni?" "Bike de apaina ni!"*
bike lili yala ko asa ni bike de apai-na ni
cassowary be.there now I how eat cassowary you greedy-ADV eat
'"There is the cassowary (meat)." "How can I eat now?" "You eat the cassowary with a good appetite."'

(32) *"Upru!"*
upuna=ro
alright=EMPH
'"Alright, alright."'

(33) *Wonuero puni pin. Puni kaepul an sayo. Kaepul kasayapno pu paek ke mi dopyo lili.*
wo-nu=ro puni pin puni kaepul an saye
ACCOM-sleep.PP=EMPH night come.up.hither.PP night knee hand touch
kaepul k-saye-p-no pu_paek ke mi dopyo lili
knee SUB-touch-PC-CO waterhole APH again next.to be.there
'They slept together. At night (the bush spirit) came up. At night the (father's) hand touches his knee. While he touches his knee, the waterhole is nearby.'[12]

(34) *Puni kipinipno ai kep koniyo.*
puni k-pini-p-no ai kep koniyo
night SUB-come.up.hither-PC-CO father 3SG.POSS swallow.PP
'When (the bush spirit) came up (from the bottom of the pond) at night, it swallowed up (the child's) father.'

(35) *Ai solo koniyoro, yeni rupuolo.*
ai solo koniyo=ro yeni rupue-wolo
father ony swallow.PP=EMPH bed break-CPL.PP
'Only the father it swallowed up. (His) bed (the bush spirit) broke completely.'

[12]This gesture indicates that the father is sleeping soundly.

(36) *Yeni roise rupuap. Ruri ba koniyo, ruri nakap.*
yeni roise rupue-p ruri ba koniyo ruri nake-p
bed together break-PC child NEG.EMPH swallow.PP child stay-PC
'It was breaking father and bed, (but) the child it didn't swallow. The child was staying (alive).'

(37) *Ruri ppulaena puana: Masalai ai kep koniyo.*
ruri ppulae-na puana masalai ai kep koniyo
child bad-ADV rise.PP bush.spirit(TP) father 3SG.POSS swallow.PP
'The boy rose (in a) bad (state of mind): the bush spirit devoured his father.'

(38) *Kokoniyapno puyo kûno. Ruri puni klapno ri ipulyo nakap duruwa.*
k-koniye-p-no pu-yo kûno ruri puni k-le-p-no
SUB-swallow-PC-CO water-LOC go.down.PP child night SUB-go-PC-CO
ri_ipul-yo nake-p duruwa
tree.buttress-LOC sit-PC early.morning
'Having swallowed him up, (the bush spirit) went down into the water. After running away at night the child was sitting between the buttresses of a tree until early morning.'

(39) *Ai sekimpo: Piaune ari.*
ai sekim-po piaune ari
father seek(TP)-LV.PP python no
'He searched for the father. A python? No.'

(40) *Ai masalai koniyo, piaune ari. Oke ono sukupu bakoniyok.*
ai masalai koniyo piaune ari o-ke ono sukupu
father bush.spirit(TP) swallow.PP python no PROX-APH man bush.spirit
ba-koniye-ko
FAC-swallow-FAC
'(The child thinks:) "A bush spirit swallowed up (my) father, not a python. This was a man. A bush spirit has swallowed him up."'

(41) *Riyopuno ruri woise lo yilauyo.*
riyopuno ruri woise lo yilau-yo
then child with.tears go.PP village-LOC
'Then the child went tearfully to the village.'

(42) *Yena kiniyo ki muelen epe kep roise:*
yena kiniyo ki mueli-en epe kep roise
people all APH talk.to-NSG.OR.PP mother 3SG.POSS together
'He said to all the people including his mother:'

(43) *"Ai kopi masalai bakoniyok. Ine awe, nuko mole!*
ai ko-pi masalai ba-koniye-ko ine awe
father 1SG-POSS bush.spirit(TP) FAC-swallow-FAC you.PL come.IMP
nuko mole
we.INCL go.PL
'"A bush spirit has swallowed up my father. You all come, we'll all go!"'

(44) *Masalai ono yeni depi bamalapoko.*
masalai ono yeni de-pi ba-malapi-ko
bush.spirit(TP) man bed 2SG-POSS FAC-measure-FAC
'"The bush spirit, the man has measured your bed."'

(45) *De ke mopsi bo mui. Bike lili, de noro!*
de ke mopsi bo mui bike lili de ni=ro
you TOP nonsense word talk cassowary be.there you eat=EMPH
'"You are talking nonsense. There is some cassowary, you eat."'

(46) *Ai kopi bike luro, koyo wesip. Mi ko so muelpup:*
ai ko-pi bike lu=ro koyo wo-si-p
father 1SG-POSS cassowary shoot.PP=EMPH we.DU.EXCL ACCOM-cook-PC
mi ko so mueli-ipi-p
then I so talk.to-1SG.OR-PC
'"My father shot a cassowary, (and) we were cooking it together. Then he was talking to me like this."'

(47) *Bike lili, de noro, de ke dupuapi!*
bike lili de ni=ro de ke dupuapi
cassowary be.there you eat=EMPH you TOP lie
'"There is cassowary meat, you just eat. You are lying."'

(48) *De bo kopi epul ar male, masalai de puni koniye."*
de bo ko-pi epul ar male masalai de puni koniye
you word 1SG-POSS ear NEG hear bush.spirit(TP) you night swallow
'(I replied to him:) "You don't listen to my words, the bush spirit will swallow you up at night."'

(49) *Riyopuno iki kumune molo. Kukepulapno pu riye.*
riyopuno iki kumune molo k-uke-pule-p-no pu
then APH.PL all.COLL go.PL.PP SUB-jointly-come-PC-CO water
riye
see.O.INANIM
'Then they all left. Having come (there) together they see the water(hole).'

(50) *Kiyopipno, riyopuno pu îwolo yelo solo.*
k-yopi-p-no riyopuno pu îwolo yelo solo
SUB-scoop-PC-CO then water dry.up.PP ground only
'They scooped (the pond) ... Then the water dried up, there was only the ground.'

(51) *Ri epeyo îwoulip riyo nakap. Yena kumune peno lu.*
ri epeyo îwole-p ri-yo nake-p yena kumune pe-no
wood visible dry.up-PC DIST-LOC live-PC people all.COLL arrow-INS
lu
shoot.PP
'Wood is visible (because the water) was drying up. There it was living. All the people jointly shot (it) with arrows.'

(52) *Kuluipno paliya. Masalai roke baluko.*
k-lui-p-no paliya masalai ro-ke ba-lui-ko
SUB-shoot-PC-CO be.dead bush.spirit(TP) PROX.EMPH-APH FAC-shoot-FAC
'Having shot at (the bush spirit) it was dead. They have killed this bush spirit.'

(53) *Kelayapno neppno suko, iki yilauyo molo.*
k-laye-p-no neppi-no suko iki yilau-yo molo
SUB-lay-PC-CO bush.knife-INS cut.PP APH.PL village-LOC go.PL.PP
'Having laid it (down), they cut (it to pieces) with (their) bush knives. (Then) they went to the village.'

(54) *Em tasol liklik stori.*
em tasol liklik stori
APH(TP) only(TP) small(TP) story(TP)
'That's it, the little story.'

B.7 Ruri onona ruri pialna

Introduction

The story *Ruri onona ruri pialna* 'A human child and a snake child' was told by Andrew Wapi in Ossima village in March 2000.

Summary & background

A woman and her husband were staying in a bush camp when she was seduced by a bush spirit. She gave birth to twins, a human-like child and a snake-like child. In the early years of their childhood, the two unequal brothers lived together peacefully. As young adults, however, the snake-like brother began to behave like a real bush spirit. When they both went hunting, it killed its human brother. The clueless parents find the snake at home and beat it to death. In the end, the parents lost both of their sons.

The story may convey the following message: A husband should always keep an eye on his wife. If she gets pregnant by some other man, the sons will fight over their rank. Murder and revenge may ruin the family.

There is repeated code switching to Tok Pisin, for example in Sequences 10, 12, 13, 15, and 23. Andrew Wapi's personal Kilmeri style makes very frequent use of the subordinating verb form for backgrounding (12 times) and tail-head linkage (10 times) for discourse coherence.

Parallel text

Uki akono sele yipyo ilo. Uki ako muelno: "De oyo nakewe, sele yipyo. Ko duyo le." Ke duyo klapno, bi kuluipno, wepulo yipyo. Kupuenpoipno aplayo royepepoi. Sû mappeppuo aplayo. Bi smokimpoi. Kosmokimpoipno ako due nuip. Pial ploulipopno, ar saupo. Due nuipop. Ako due nuipop, ar saupo. Uki kep ar reyepo. Uki ke duyo ploulipop. Pial ba reyo. Kuso luwalwulpop. Luwalpopno uki kep duyo ploulipop. Sakana puleuliponap.

A husband and a wife went to their garden house. The husband said to his wife: "You stay here in the garden house. I will go into the bush." He went to the bush. Having shot animals, he brought them to the house. They cut the meat and put it on top of the planks. They lit a fire and smoked the meat on the planks. After smoking the meat, the wife slept. Then a snake approached. She didn't sense it because she was sleeping. The wife was sleeping, so she didn't know what happened. The husband didn't see the snake either, since he was roaming

the forest. He did not see the snake. The bush spirit snake and the wife had sex the whole time. They were having sex, while her husband was roaming the bush. The bush spirit snake came secretly to her.

Ako el kipiyamipno. Bi kosmokimpoipno tupela i laik i go long ples. Iki solo yilauyo ilo. Ako el bekulu; ruri dupua onona pialna. Klostu i laik i karim tupela i go. Bi sali ropyo niskûno. Tupela i laik i go long ples. Draipela ren i kam. Pu bekulu pulo. Pu ripapno ruwepuloro. Pasim tupela i stap. Ba ilo yilauyo. Kiyo inakeko yipyo. So ilap. Ari. Pu ke kinikuro. So ilap. Ari. Pu ke kinikuro. Uki ako kepro muelno: "De nakap. De ke pulenakap. De oyo nui. Ko solo le. Ko kama yilauyo nui."

The wife became pregnant. Having finished smoking the meat, the two of them wanted to go back to the village. They went to the village. The wife had a big belly: there were two children, a man-like one and a snake-like one. Not long before giving birth the two of them set off. They filled dried meat into the baskets. They wanted to go to the village, but a heavy rain came. A huge rain came; rain and storm broke loose. The rain prevented them from going. They didn't go to the village, but remained in the garden house. So they wanted to go, but no, the rain covered everything. They didn't go, no, no, the rain covered everything. The husband said to his wife: "You stay, you stay here! You sleep here. I only will go. I alone will spend some nights in the village."

Ako ke ruri boyo nako, pialna onona. Uki yilauyo nuknoko. Punipino riyo puloro. Ako ruri banakeko, ba isaeaupop. Ba isaeaupopno ako kep muelno: "Nuko yilauyo ile." Ako ruri dupua woko. Pialna ropyo ule, onona wepulyo ule. Ilo yilauyo. Yena muelien: "Ako ruri dupua karimpowe, onona pialna."

Later the wife gave birth to the children, a snake child and a human child. The husband spent some nights in the village. One morning he came back there to the garden house. The wife had given birth to the children and let them suckle. After the breastfeeding he said to his wife: "Let's go to the village together." The wife went with the two children. The snake child she put into a basket, and the human child she put into the baby sling. They walked

to the village. There he said to the people: "My wife gave birth to twins, a human child and a snake child."

Ruri ba pialna kamappo, ba onona kamappo. Tupela em lukautim, ki iseaupoko. Pialna nowap, onona nowap. Ikoi. Kikoipoipno, riyopuno bopap sepalowe, dupua. Ononaro bopap sepalowe, dupua. Pialnaro sepalonoro, ki sepaloro. Wîs mono pule. Wîs ke apuli. Wîs mono pulilayeya. Riyopuno kumune ilo. Ewe kep bopap nisep. Diri kep bopap nisep. Pial mike klapno. Bi lu. Bi kuluipno kimike buri. Kupulapno ri wili kaliyeulip. Kililulipno sikilyo, puaku kepro imiyo pepo. Onoro lewonap, ewe kepro. Bi kuluipno, onoro kupulapno liki kiyopi nakap. Wopiyoro. Ki eku nakeno. El kep rika wiana pialro. Pial puaku ri wili pepeulip. Niseulip. Pauwepiyo sikapyo pisiyo. Onoro paliya. Ki onoro kisikapyapno, ki yilauyo kelewep, yipyo. Onoro ewe kep kikilimpopno, ki yilauyo yipyo lo. Rum kepyo lupuana. Kililulipno rum kepyo sipulyo. Kililulipno liki kepyo puaku imiyo pepo.

One child became a snake-like creature, the other one became a man-like creature. The mother took care of the two. She let them suckle. The snake-like one was growing, and the man-like one was growing. They have become big. Then they fenced pig traps for hunting, two traps. The human brother fenced two traps, because he also fenced one for the snake brother. He did the trap fencing. The light of the moon will soon come back. The moon needs to shine. Now the moon shines brightly on the bush tracks. Then they left together. The older brother was lying in wait near the pig trap, and his younger brother was also lying in wait near the pig trap. The snake went first and shot a pig. Having shot the pig, it went ahead and left first. Near the bush camp, it placed a log horizontally. After curling up beneath the log, it put its head outside on top. There it was waiting for the man, its very own brother. When the man had also shot a pig, he stayed in their ready made bush place and straightened it. While sitting he turned his belly there, towards the snake. The snake put its head on top of the log and was watching. It shot arrows at the man's breast until the man is dead. Having killed the man, the snake went home to the village, to its house. The older brother had

killed his younger brother. Then he went back to his home in the village. The snake-brother entered its room and curled up on the floor. After curling up at its place, it put its head on top of the body.

Du baruweko. Ai epe ikepro kana riyeiya. Nini bapulilayeko. Anupua ba ipuane, diri eweno. Onona pari. Epe ai muelkono: "Bopap riyekap!" Ai kana lenou. Pialna oke mi ewe kep kilimpo. Ewe kep barireko. Paliya. Eye bouno barireko. Oh, bapapoko. Ples bapapok. Riyopuno wepulo. Ai kep onona wepulo. Pialnaro ewe kep kilimpo. Ewe kep pialnaro kilimpo.

Soon the night is over. Their father and mother quickly checked the situation. The sun shines brightly, yet the two don't rise, the younger and the older brother. The human brother isn't here. So the mother said to the father: "Go and check the pig trap! Look what might have happened there." The father is quickly frustrated in waiting for the man-like brother. The snake must have killed its older brother. He is already stiff. He is dead, the limbs are stiff. Oh, they have already infested the body, the maggots have infested the body. Then the father brought the dead son to the parents' house. The snake killed its older brother; the older brother was killed by the snake brother.

Epe aino ri krapiyeipno kilikoi pialro. Rino pakikoi, pakikoi. Yipyo pakikoi. Yeloyo piowo. Yeloka kikilipno, pialnaro paliya. Ri kupurapoipno sû suloimoina. Sû suloimoina mappoi. Pial sûyo pepoi. Kili solo po, ise solo. Ononaro bî kraripno matmatyo pakûpu. Bî sowelayo.

Having fetched some sticks, mother and father beat the snake fiercely. They beat and beat. They beat it out of the house. The snake jumped on the ground. So they beat it fiercely outside. The snake brother is dead. They cut wood and lit a colossal fire, a huge fire. They put the snake on top of the fire. Soon it was bones only, charred only. Having dug a hole for the human brother at the burial place, they threw him down in the grave and covered the hole thoroughly.

Em tasol. Tenkyu.

That's it, thank you.

Figure B.2: Garden hut

Glossed text

(1) *Uki akono sele yipyo ilo.*
uki ako-no sele yip-yo i-lo
husband wife-INS garden house-LOC DU.S-go.PP
'A husband and a wife went to (their) garden house.'

(2) *Uki ako muelno: "De oyo nakewe, sele yipyo. Ko duyo le."*
uki ako mueli-no de o-yo nake-we sele yip-yo
husband wife talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you PROX-LOC stay-TER garden house-LOC
ko du-yo le
I bush-LOC go
'The husband said to his wife: "You stay here in the garden house, I'll go into the bush."'

(3) *Ke duyo klapno, bi kuluipno, wepulo yipyo.*
ke du-yo k-le-p-no bi k-lui-p-no wepulo yip-yo
APH bush-LOC SUB-go-PC-CO animal SUB-shoot-PC-CO bring.PP house-LOC
'He went to the bush. Having shot animals, he brought them to the house.'

(4) *Kupuenpoipno aplayo royepepoi. Sû mappeppuo aplayo. Bi smokimpoi.*
k-puenpi-i-p-no apla-yo royepepo-i sû_mappeppuo
SUB-cut.meat-DU.A-PC-CO plank-LOC lay.on.top.PP-DU.A light.a.fire.up.PP
apla-yo bi smokim-po-i
plank-LOC meat smoke-LV.PP-DU.A
'Having cut the meat, they laid it on top of planks. They lit a fire (going) upward and, on the planks, they smoked the meat.'

(5) *Kosmokimpoipno ako due nuip. Pial ploulipopno, ar saupo. Due nuipop.*
k-smokim-pi-i-p-no ako due_nui-p pial pule-uli-pi-p-no
SUB-smoke-LV-DU.A-PC-CO wife sleep-PC snake come-PROG-LV-PC-CO
ar saupo due_nui-pi-p
NEG know sleep-LV-PC
'They were smoking (the meat). The wife was sleeping. (Then), while the snake was coming, she did not sense it. She was sleeping.'

(6) *Ako due nuipop, ar saupo.*
ako due_nui-pi-p ar saupo
wife sleep-LV-PC NEG know
'The wife was sleeping, she did not know it.'

(7) *Uki kep ar reyepo. Uki ke duyo ploulipop. Pial ba reyo.*
uki kep ar reye-po uki ke du-yo
husband 3SG.POSS NEG see.O.ANIM.SG-LV.PP husband APH forest-LOC
pue-uli-pi-p pial ba reyo
roam-PROG-LV-PC snake NEG.EMPH see.O.ANIM.SG.PP
'Her husband didn't see it. The husband was roaming the forest. He did not see the snake.'

(8) *Kuso luwalwulpop.*
kuso luwalwuli-pi-p
always have.sexual.intercourse-LV-PC
'(The bush spirit-snake and the wife) had sex the whole time.'

(9) *Luwalwulpopno uki kep duyo ploulipop. Sakana plouliponap.*
luwalwuli-pi-p-no uki kep du-yo
have.sexual.intercourse-LV-PC-CO husband 3SG.POSS forest-LOC
pue-uli-pi-p sakana pule-uli-pi-ne-p
roam-PROG-LV-PC secretly come-PROG-LV-3SG.OR-PC
'While they were having sex, her husband was roaming the bush. (The bush spirit-snake) was coming secretly for her.'

(10) *Ako el kipiyamipno. Bi kosmokimpoipno tupela i laik i go long ples.*
ako el k-piyami-p-no bi k-smokim-pi-i-p-no
wife belly SUB-become.pregnant-PC-CO meat SUB-smoke-LV-DU.A-PC-CO
tupela i laik i go long ples
APH.DU(TP) PRED(TP) NFUT(TP) PRED(TP) go(TP) PREP(TP) village(TP)
'When the wife had become pregnant ... Having smoked the meat, the two of them wanted to go to the village.'

(11) *Iki solo yilauyo ilo. Ako el bekulu; ruri dupua onona pialna.*
iki solo yilau-yo i-lo ako el bekulu ruri dupua
APH.PL only village-LOC DU.S-go.PP wife belly huge child two
ono-na pial-na
man-AFF snake-AFF
'They just went to the village. The wife had a big belly, there were two children, a man-like one and a snake-like one.'

(12) *Klostu i laik i karim tupela i go. Bi sali ropyo niskûno.*
klostu i laik i karim tupela i
near(TP) PRED(TP) NFUT(TP) PRED(TP) give.birth(TP) APH.DU(TP) PRED(TP)
go bi sali rop-yo niskûno
go(TP) meat dry basket-LOC fill.in.PP
'Not long before giving birth the two of them went and filled dried meat into the basket.'

(13) *Tupela i laik i go long ples. Draipela ren i kam.*
tupela i laik i go long ples
APH.DU(TP) PRED(TP) NFUT(TP) PRED(TP) go(TP) PREP(TP) village(TP)
draipela ren i come
heavy(TP) rain(TP) PRED(TP) come(TP)
'They wanted to go to the village, (but) a heavy rain came.'

(14) *Pu bekulu pulo. Pu ripapno ruwepuloro.*
pu bekulu pulo pu ripap-no ruwepulo=ro
rain huge come.PP rain storm-INS come.to.break.in.PP=EMPH
'A huge rain came, rain and storm broke loose.'[13]

(15) *Pasim tupela i stap. Ba ilo yilauyo. Kiyo inakeko yipyo. So ilap. Ari. Pu ke kinikuro.*

[13]This sequence repeats the second part of Sequence 13 in Kilmeri.

pasim tupela i stap ba i-lo yilau-yo
block(TP) APH.DU(TP) PRED(TP) DUR(TP) NEG.EMPH DU.S-go.PP village-LOC
kiyo i-nake-ko yip-yo
APH.DU DU.S-stay-RTS small house-LOC
'(The rain) prevented them from going. They did not go to the village. They remained in the (garden)house.'

(16) *So ilap. Ari. Pu ke kinikuro. So ilap. Ari. Pu ke kinikuro.*
so i-le-p ari pu ke kinikuro so i-le-p ari pu ke
SO DU.S-go-PC no rain APH cover.everything.PP SO DU.S-go-PC no rain APH
kinikuro
cover.everything.PP
'So they would go. No. The rain covered everything. So they would go. No. The rain covered everything.'

(17) *Uki ako kepro muelno: "De nakap. De ke pulenakap. De oyo nui. Ko solo le. Ko kama yilauyo nui."*
uki ako kep=ro mueli-no de nake-p de ke
husband wife 3SG.POSS=EMPH talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you stay-IMP you TOP
pule nake-p de o-yo nui ko solo le ko kama yilau-yo nui
come stay-IMP you PROX-LOC sleep I only go I alone village-LOC sleep
'The husband said to his wife: "You stay, you really stay, you sleep here. Only I will go. I alone will sleep in the village."'

(18) *Ako ke ruri boyo nako, pialna onona.*
ako ke ruri boyo nako pial-na ono-na
wife APH child later gave.birth snake-AFF man-AFF
'The wife later gave birth to the children, a snake-like (child) and a man-like (child).'

(19) *Uki yilauyo nuknoko. Punipino riyo puloro. Ako ruri banakeko, ba isaeaupop.*
uki yilau-yo nuknoko punipino ri-yo
husband village-LOC sleep.for.some.nights.PP morning DIST-LOC
pulo=ro ako ruri ba-nake-ko ba_isaeaupi-p
come.PP=EMPH wife child FAC-give.birth-FAC suckle-PC
'The husband slept in the village for some nights. One morning he came (back) there. The wife has given birth to the children, and she let them suckle.'

(20) *Ba isaeaupopno ako kep muelno: "Nuko yilauyo ile."*
ba_isaeaupi-p-no ako kep mueli-no nuko yilau-yo
suckle-PC-CO wife 3SG.POSS talk.to-3SG.OR.PP we.INCL village-LOC
i-le
DU.S-go
'After the breastfeeding he said to his wife: "We'll go to the village."'

(21) *Ako ruri dupua woko. Pialna ropyo ule, onona wepulyo ule.*
ako ruri dupua woko pial-na rop-yo ule
wife child two go.together.with.PP snake-AFF basket-LOC put.into.PP
ono-na wepul-yo ule
man-AFF baby.sling-LOC put.into.PP
'The wife went together with the two children. The snake-like one she put into a basket, and the man-like one she put into the baby sling.'

(22) *Ilo yilauyo. Yena muelien: "Ako ruri dupua karimpowe, onona pialna."*
i-lo yilau-yo yena mueli-en ako ruri dupua
DU.S-go.PP village-LOC people talk.to-NSG.OR.PP wife child two
karim-po-we ono-na pial-na
give.birth(TP)-LV.PP-DU.O man-AFF snake-AFF
'They went to the village. (There) he said to the people: "My wife gave birth to two children, a man-like one and a snake-like one."'

(23) *Ruri ba pialna kamappo, ba onona kamappo. Tupela em lukautim, ki iseaupoko.*
ruri ba pial-na kamap-po ba ono-na
child other snake-AFF become(TP)-LV.PP other man-AFF
kamap-po tupela em lukautim ki isaeaupi-ko
become(TP)-LV.PP APH.DU(TP) APH(TP) take.care(TP) APH let.suckle-RTS
'One child became a snake-like (creature), the other one became a man-like (creature). She took care of the two (children). She let them suckle.'

(24) *Pialna nowap, onona nowap. Ikoi.*
pial-na nowe-p ono-na nowe-p ikoi
snake-AFF grow-PC man-AFF grow-PC big
'The snake-like one was growing, the man-like one was growing. (They are) big.'

(25) *Kikoipoipno. Riyopuno bopap sepalowe, dupua.*
k-ikoi-po-i-p-no riyopuno bopap sepalo-we dupua
SUB-big-LV-DU.S-PC-CO then pig.trap fence.PP-DU.O two
'They have become big. Then they fenced pig traps (for hunting pigs), two (traps).'

(26) *Ononaro bopap sepalowe, dupua. Pialnaro sepalonoro, ki sepaloro.*
ono-na=ro bopap sepalo-we dupua pial-na=ro
man-AFF=EMPH pig.trap fence.PP-DU.O two snake-AFF=EMPH
sepale-no=ro ki sepalo=ro
fence-3SG.OR.PP=EMPH APH fence.PP=EMPH
'The man-like one fenced two traps. He (also) fenced one for the snake-like (brother). He made the fences.'

(27) *Wîs mono pule. Wîs ke apuli. Wîs mono pulilayeya.*
wîs mono pule wîs ke a-puli wîs mono
moon path come moon APH IMP3-shine moon path
pulilaye=ya
shine.brightly=EMPH
'The path of the moonlight is coming. The moon has to shine. (Now) the moon shines brightly on the path.'

(28) *Riyopuno kumune ilo. Ewe kep bopap nisep. Diri kep bopap nisep.*
riyopuno kumune i-lo ewe kep bopap
then all.COLL DU.S-go.PP older.brother 3SG.POSS pig.trap
nise-p diri kep bopap nise-p
lie.in.wait-PC younger.brother 3SG.POSS pig.trap lie.in.wait-PC
'Then they went together. The older brother was lying in wait at the pig trap, and his younger brother was lying in wait at the pig trap.'

(29) *Pial mike klapno. Bi lu. Bi kuluipno kimike buri.*
pial mike k-le-p-no bi lu bi k-lui-p-no kimike
snake first SUB-go-PC-CO pig shoot.PP pig SUB-shoot-PC-CO first
buri
go.ahead
'The snake, having gone first, shot a pig. After having shot the pig it went ahead first (and left the place of the trap).'

(30) *Kupulapno ri wili kaliyeulip.*
k-pule-p-no ri_wili kaliye-uli-p
SUB-come-PC-CO log lay.horizontally-PROG-PC
'Having come, (the snake) was laying a log horizontally.'[14]

(31) *Kililulipno sikilyo, puaku kepro imiyo pepo. Onoro lewonap, ewe kepro.*
k-lililuli-p-no sikilyo puaku kep=ro imiyo pepo
SUB-curl.up-PC-CO under head 3SG.POSS=EMPH outside put.on.top.PP
ono=ro lewo-ne-p ewe kep=ro
man=EMPH wait.for-3SG.OR-PC older.brother 3SG.POSS=EMPH
'After curling up beneath it put its head outside on top. (So) it was waiting for the man, its very own brother.'

(32) *Bi kuluipno, onoro kupulapno liki kiyopi nakap. Wopiyoro.*
bi k-lui-p-no ono=ro k-pule-p-no liki
pig SUB-shoot-PC-CO man=EMPH SUB-come-PC-CO made.ready.place
kiyo-pi-yo nake-p wopiyo=ro
APH.DU-POSS-LOC stay-PC straighten.PP=EMPH
'Having shot a pig and come, the man was staying at their ready made place and straightened it.'

(33) *Ki eku nakeno. El kep rika wiana pialro.*
ki eku nake-no el kep ri-ka wiana
APH behind sit-CO belly 3SG.POSS DIST.EMPH-PATH turn.thither.PP
pial=ro
snake=EMPH
'While sitting he turned his belly there, (towards) the snake.'

(34) *Pial puaku ri wili pepeulip. Niseulip. Pauwepiyo sikapyo pisiyo. Onoro paliya.*
pial puaku ri_wili pepe-uli-p nise-uli-p pauwe-pi-yo
snake head log put.on.top-PROG-PC watch-PROG-PC breast-POSS-LOC
sikapyo pisiyo ono=ro paliya
shoot.arrows.PP finish.PP man=EMPH be.dead
'The snake was putting its head on top of the log and was lurking. It shot arrows at his breast, it ended it. The man is dead.'

[14]The snake-like brother must have reached a place where he could hide and later attack his man-like brother at the bush-camp.

(35) *Ki onoro kisikapyapno, ki yilauyo kelewep, yipyo.*
ki ono=ro k-sikapye-p-no ki yilau-yo kelewep
APH man=EMPH SUB-shoot.arrows-PC-CO APH village-LOC go.home.PP
yip-yo
house-LOC
'After having shot the man, (the snake) (went) home to the village, to (their) house.'

(36) *Onoro ewe kep kikilimpopno, ki yilauyo yipyo lo.*
ono=ro ewe kep k-kilim-pi-p-no ki yilau-yo
man=EMPH older.brother 3SG.POSS SUB-kill(TP)-LV-PC-CO APH village-LOC
yip-yo lo
house-LOC go.PP
'When the older brother had killed (the younger brother), he went to the village, to (his) house.'

(37) *Rum kepyo lupuana. Kililulipno rum kepyo sipulyo.*
rum kep-yo lupuana k-liluli-p-no rum
room(TP) 3SG.POSS-LOC enter.thither.PP SUB-curl.up-PC-CO room(TP)
kep-yo sipul-yo
3SG.POSS-LOC floor-LOC
'He entered his room. When (the snake) had curled up in its room, on the floor …'

(38) *Kililulipno liki kepyo puaku imiyo pepo.*
k-liluli-p-no liki kep-yo puaku imiyo
SUB-curl.up-PC-CO made.ready.place 3SG.POSS-LOC head outside
pepo
put.on.top.PP
'After curling up at its place, it put its head on top (of its body).'

(39) *Du baruweko. Ai epe ikepro kana riyeiya. Nini bapulilayeko. Anupua ba ipuane, diri eweno.*
du ba-ruwe-ko ai epe ikep=ro kana
darkness FAC-break-FAC father mother 3PL.POSS=EMPH quickly
riye-i=ya nini ba-pulilaye-ko anupua ba
see.O.INANIM-DU.A=EMPH sun FAC-shine.brightly-FAC two NEG.EMPH
i-puane diri ewe-no
DU.S-rise younger.brother older.brother-INS
'The darkness is over. Their father and mother quickly check (the situation). The sun shines brightly, (but) the two don't rise, the younger and the older brother.'

(40) *Onona pari. Epe ai muelkono: "Bopap riyekap!"*
ono-na pari epe ai mueli-ko-no bopap
man-AFF NEG.COP mother father talk.to-RTS-3SG.OR.PP pig.trap
riye-ke-p
see.O.INANIM-INGR-IMP
'The man-like brother is not there. (Therefore) the mother had said to the father: "Go to check the pig trap."'

(41) *Ai kana lenou. Pialna oke mi ewe kep kilimpo.*
ai kana le-ne-ou pial-na o-ke mi
father quickly wait.for-3SG.OR-FRUS snake-AFF PROX-APH again
ewe kep kilim-po
older.brother 3SG.POSS kill(TP)-LV.PP
'The father is quickly frustrated in waiting for (the man-like brother). The snake-like one, this one (must have) killed its older brother.'

(42) *Ewe kep barireko. Paliya. Eye bouno barireko. Oh, bapapoko. Ples bapapok.*
ewe kep ba-rire-ko paliya eye_bou-no
older.brother 3SG.POSS FAC-be.stiff-FAC be.dead limbs-INS
ba-rire-ko oh ba-papi-ko ples ba-papi-ko
FAC-be.stiff-FAC oh FAC-make.PL.O-FAC maggots FAC-make.PL.O-FAC
'Its older brother is already stiff. He is dead, the limbs are stiff. Oh, (they) have already infested (the body), the maggots have infested (the body).'

(43) *Riyopuno wepulo. Ai kep onona wepulo.*
riyopuno wepulo ai kep ono-na wepulo
then bring.PP father 3SG.POSS man-AFF bring.PP
'Then he brought him. His father brought the man-like one (to the parent's house).'

(44) *Pialnaro ewe kep kilimpo. Ewe kep pialnaro kilimpo.*
pial-na=ro ewe kep kilim-po ewe
snake-AFF=EMPH older.brother 3SG.POSS kill(TP)-LV.PP older.brother
kep pial-na=ro kilim-po
3SG.POSS snake-AFF=EMPH kill(TP)-LV.PP
'The snake-like one killed its older brother, the older brother was killed by the snake-like brother.'[15]

[15] Grammatical comment: The English passive is chosen as translation of the subject focus in the second clause; the first clause shows object focus.

(45) *Epe aino ri krapiyeipno kilikoi pialro. Rino pakikoi, pakikoi. Yipyo pakikoi.*
epe ai-no ri k-rapiye-i-p-no kili-ko-i
mother father-INS stick SUB-fetch-DU.A-PC-CO beat.fiercely-RTS-DU.A
pial=ro ri-no paki-ko-i paki-ko-i yip-yo
snake=EMPH stick-INS beat-RTS-DU.A beat-RTS-DU.A house-LOC
paki-ko-i
beat-RTS-DU.A
'When mother and father had fetched sticks, they beat the snake fiercely with the sticks. They beat and beat, they had beat it out in the house.'

(46) *Yeloyo piowo. Yeloka kikilipno, pialnaro paliya.*
yelo-yo piowo yeloka k-kili-p-no pial-na=ro
ground-LOC jump.PP outside SUB-beat.fiercely-PC-CO snake-AFF=EMPH
paliya
be.dead
'(The snake-like brother) jumped on the ground, and after they had fiercely beaten it outside, the snake is dead.'

(47) *Ri kupurapoipno sû suloimoina. Sû suloimoina mappoi.*
ri k-purapi-i-p-no sû suloimoina sû suloimoina
wood SUB-cut.wood-DU.A-PC-CO fire extraordinary fire extraordinary
mappo-i
light.PP-DU.A
'Having cut wood, they lit a colossal fire, a huge fire.'

(48) *Pial sûyo pepoi. Kili solo po, ise solo.*
pial sû-yo pepo-i kili solo po ise solo
snake fire-LOC lay.on.top.PP-DU.A bone only LV.PP char only
'They put the snake on top of the fire. (Soon) it was bones only, charred only.'

(49) *Ononaro bî kraripno matmatyo pakûpu. Bî sowelayo.*
ono-na=ro bî k-rari-p-no matmat-yo
man-AFF=EMPH hole SUB-dig-PC-CO burial.place(TP)-LOC
pakûpu bî sowelayo
throw.down.hither.PL.A.PP hole cover.thoroughly.PP
'Having dug a hole for the man-like brother at the burial place, they threw him down and covered the hole thoroughly.'

(50) *Em tasol. Tenkyu.*
em tasol tenk_yu
APH(TP) only(TP) thank.you(TP)
'That's it, thank you.'

B.8 Urai ako wiye

Introduction

The story *Urai ako wiye* 'A crocodile catches a woman' was told by Andrew Wapi in Ossima village in February 2000.

Summary & background

When a married couple returned from a stay in the bush and a successful hunt, they encountered a crocodile while crossing a river. The woman was caught by the crocodile, which turned out to be a bush spirit. The villagers tried to free her from the evil spirit, but it had already eaten all but a few remains of this human meal. The remaining bodyparts were given a usual Christian burial. This story combines a death due to the old way of life with a newly introduced Christian custom.

Like all the large rivers in the area, the Puwani was also the habitat of crocodiles. The crocodile population must have been quite large, otherwise the crocodile hunters would not have come to the village. It therefore makes sense that there would have been crocodile attacks and villagers would have fallen victim to these predatory animals. It is likely that after a person was killed by a crocodile, other people tried to recover a limb or the head of the deceased by diving into the river, as the story tells us.

The narrative begins and ends in Tok Pisin. In the first sentence Andrew Wapi introduces himself as a story teller.

Parallel text

Nem bilong me Andrew Wapi. Mi laik stori long tumbuna stori.

My name is Andrew Wapi, I like to tell an ancestral story.

Uki akono duyo ilo. Duyo ipuap. Duyo ipuapno bi luwapoi. Ako rop supouno po. Uki pe parno lolo. Parno klolapno, sû kamappoipno, ya keniminiipno, elro ki melipuloiwap ropno. Ki melipuloiro, ippuoro ol ouli. Kukûnoipno puyo. Puyo uki buri. Uki kimike pu siamu. Amaka puppoyo nakap. Ako boyo siana rop roise.

A husband and a wife went to the bush and stayed there some days. While roaming the bush they caught animals. The wife attached a supporting part on her basket to stabilise it. The husband tied the arrows he had not used on the pannier. Things were ready to go. After having lit a fire for a short sago meal, they transported the killed game in baskets. They carried plenty of meat and climbed the river-

bank. The husband descended to the river and went ahead into the water. The husband crossed the river first and then was staying over there on the sand. The wife crossed the river behind him, together with the basket.

Kuppuapno pu pokoyo urai riyo wiyo pu pokoyo. Urairo oke onoso. Urai ono sukei. Kwiyapno yip kepyo wena bi rop roisero. Roise wel, roise wiyo, roise wena. Urai yip kepyoro sukupu. Kimike dop uraiso po. Uki solo. Ki kama lo yilauyo. Uki wo roise lo, loro yilauyo. Yena kumuelinopno: "Ako kopi kero urai wiyo elro roise. Wel, roise wiyo. Yala so kunuipno em, so ukepule puyo, puyo kepue."

When the wife reached the middle of the river a crocodile caught her there, right in the middle of the river. But the crocodile was man-like. The crocodile had the spirit of a human. Having caught the wife the crocodile-man carried her inside his house at the bottom of the river, together with the basket of meat. He carried all together, held it and put it inside. Yes, the crocodile is a bush spirit in its house; before the spirit had a crocodile's skin. Only the husband is left. He went alone to the village; he went there crying. He reached the village and told the people: "My wife! A crocodile caught her together with the killed game. A bush spirit got hold of everything, it took her together with all the meat. Well, after having slept, let's go together to the river tomorrow morning and dive into the water."

Ukelipelup yakume urai wiyoro. Ono klokni mike kûno. Kukûnapno masalai yip riyo bili koweweno, masalai sano: "Ako onopiro nake?" "Ou unake ou." "De ko yala ar ûliyo name?" "De lap!" Yena ki so solo onoro kûnapro. Sosolo sosolo sosoloro. Las man boyoro kukûnapno riyopuno muelno: "Uki kepro romusiyepo. Ko ako kepro lakiye." "Ou ako kep kero. De ki muelnap: Ki akûne.

They were searching jointly for the woman whom the crocodile had caught. One man went down into the water first. Having come down to the bush spirit's house there, he knocked on the door and asked the bush spirit: "Is the man's wife here?" "Yes, she is here, yes." "Won't you give her back to me from your house?" "You better go!" Then the people did nothing but

Ki alakiye, ki alakiyeke." Uki kepro ki muelno. Uki kepro kukûnapno muelne: "Ko ako ikapro. De wepulo, de wepuloro yipyo. Nake?" "Ari. Ko banok. Hap solo lili. Hap solo ko parno lolo. Yala ko de ponameipe. De yala wili baka, baka ko banok." Uki kep kukûnapno muelne: "Ko wili." Par roise ponamo. Baka apulyo kisepamu. Baka solo kisepamu. Baka ki banok. Weppuo olyo.

this: A man went down, a man went down, one after the other, one after the other. When the last man came down, he said to the bush spirit: "Her husband sent me, I will fetch his wife." "Yes, his wife. Tell him: he himself should come down. He should fetch her, he should come and fetch her." The last man told that her husband. Now he goes down and says to the bush spirit: "My wife. You brought her there. You brought her to your house. Is she here?" "No, I have eaten her. There is only half of her left, one half only. I tied her remains on the pannier. Now I'll give her to you before you go up again. You carry one half, but the other half I have eaten up." Having gone down her husband answered the bush spirit: "I want to carry her up." The bush spirit gave her remains to him together with the pannier. Half of her it had cut off in the middle. One half it had cut off and eaten up. The husband carried her remains up to the riverbank.

Yena uki kepro wo roise kuppuapno olyo. Yena wo roise wel. Masalai noro. Hap solo baka banok. Hap solo welro yilauyo. Mi yilauyo planimpo. Lupi solo kwilipno, mi yala rar.

The people and husband climbed the riverbank in tears. Several people carried the wife's remains. The bush spirit had ate only half of the woman. One half it had eaten up. Only the second half they carried to the village. Then, in the village, they buried her. Having brought only a part of her, they dug a hole for burying what is left of her.

Em tasol tumbuna stori.

That's it, the ancestral story.

Glossed text

(1) *Nem bilong me Andrew Wapi. Mi laik stori long tumbuna stori.*
nem bilong mi Andrew Wapi mi laik stori long
name POSS(TP) I(TP) Andrew Wapi I(TP) like(TP) tell(TP) REL(TP)
tumbuna stori
ancestor(TP) story(TP)
'My name is Andrew Wapi. I like to tell an ancestral story.'

(2) *Uki akono duyo ilo. Duyo ipuap.*
uki ako-no du-yo i-lo du-yo i-pue-p
husband wife-INS bush-LOC DU.S-go.PP bush-LOC DU.S-roam-PC
'A husband and a wife went to the bush. They were roaming the bush.'

(3) *Duyo ipuapno bi luwapoi. Ako rop supouno po. Uki pe parno lolo.*
du-yo i-pue-p-no bi luwapo-i ako rop supou-no
bush-LOC DU.S-roam-PC-CO animal catch.PP-DU.A wife basket support-INS
po uki pe par-no lolo
make.PP husband arrow pannier-INS tie.PP
'While roaming the bush they caught animals. The wife attached a supporting part to the basket. The husband tied the arrows he had not used on the pannier (to take them home).'

(4) *Parno klolapno, sû kamappoipno, ya keniminiipno, elro ki melipuloiwap ropno.*
par-no k-lole-p-no sû_k-mappe-i-p-no ya
pannier-INS SUB-tie-PC-CO fire_SUB-light.a.fire-DU.A-PC-CO sago
k-ni_mini-i-p-no el=ro ki
SUB-eat_come.hither-DU.A-PC-CO game=EMPH APH
melipulo-i-we-p rop-no
bring.PL.O.PP-DU.A-TER-PC basket-INS
'He tied (the killed animals) on the pannier. Having lit a fire, eaten some sago, they transported the game in baskets.'

(5) *Ki melipuloiro, ippuoro ol ouli.*
ki melipulo-i=ro i-ppuo=ro ol ouli
APH bring.PL.O.PP-DU.A=EMPH DU.S-go.up.PP=EMPH hill ridge
'They brought plenty (of meat) and climbed the riverbank.'

(6) *Kukûnoipno puyo. Puyo uki buri.*
k-kûne-i-p-no pu-yo pu-yo uki buri
SUB-go.down-DU.S-PC-CO river-LOC river-LOC husband go.ahead
'Having gone down to the river, the husband went ahead into the water.'

(7) *Uki kimike pu siamu. Amaka puppoyo nakap.*
uki kimike pu siamu amaka puppo-yo nake-p
husband first river cross.hither.PP over.there sand-LOC stay-PC
'The husband crossed the river first and was staying over there on the sand.'

(8) *Ako boyo siana rop roise.*
ako boyo siana rop roise
wife behind cross.thither.PP basket together
'The wife crossed (the river) behind him, together with the basket.'

(9) *Kuppuapno pu pokoyo urai riyo wiyo pu pokoyo.*
k-ppue-p-no pu pokoyo urai ri-yo wiyo pu
SUB-go.up-PC-CO river in.the.middle crocodile DIST-LOC catch.PP river
pokoyo
in.the.middle
'When the wife reached the middle of the river, a crocodile caught her there, (right) in the middle of the river.'

(10) *Urairo oke onoso. Urai ono sukei.*
urai=ro o-ke ono-so urai ono sukei
crocodile=EMPH PROX-APH man-SIM crocodile man spirit
'But the crocodile was man-like. The crocodile had the spirit of a human being.'[16]

(11) *Kwiyapno yip kepyo wena bi rop roisero. Roise wel, roise wiyo, roise wena.*
k-wiye-p-no yip kep-yo wena bi rop
SUB-catch-PC-CO house 3SG.POSS-LOC carry.inside meat basket
roise=ro roise wel roise wiyo roise wena
together=EMPH together carry.PP together catch.PP together carry.inside
'Having caught (the wife) it carried her inside its house together with the basket of meat. It carried (all) together, held everything and put it inside.'

[16]Here it is explicitly said that bush spirits appearing as dangerous animals have a human mind.

(12) *Urai yip kepyoro sukupu. Kimike dop uraiso po.*
urai yip kep-yo=ro sukupu kimike dop
crocodile house 3SG.POSS-LOC=EMPH bush.spirit before skin
urai-so po
crocodile-SIM LV.PP
'In its house the crocodile is a bush spirit. Before it had a crocodile's skin.'

(13) *Uki solo. Ki kama lo yilauyo. Uki wo roise lo, loro yilauyo.*
uki solo ki kama lo yilau-yo uki wo_roise lo
husband only APH alone go.PP village-LOC husband crying go.PP
lo=ro yilau-yo
go.PP=EMPH village-LOC
'Only the husband. He went alone to the village. He went crying. He went to the village.'

(14) *Yena kumuelinopno: "Ako kopi kero urai wiyo elro roise. Wel, roise wiyo.*
yena k-muel-ini-p-no ako ko-pi ke=ro urai
people SUB-talk.to-NSG.OR-PC-CO wife 1SG-POSS APH=EMPH crocodile
wiyo el=ro roise wel roise wiyo
catch.PP game=EMPH together carry.PP together catch.PP
'He told the people: "My wife, a crocodile caught her together with the game. It took (both). It caught her together (with the game)."'

(15) *Yala so kunuipno em. So ukepule puyo, puyo kepue."*
yala so k-nui-p-no em so uke-pule pu-yo pu-yo
now so SUB-sleep-PC-CO tomorrow so jointly-come river-LOC river-LOC
kepue
dive
'(The husband said:) "Well, after having slept, tomorrow (morning) we'll come to the river together. We'll dive into the river."'

(16) *Ukelipelup yakume urai wiyoro. Ono klokni mike kûno.*
uke-lipeli-p yakume urai wiyo=ro ono klokni mike
jointly-seek-PC woman.SG crocodile catch.PP=EMPH man one first
kûno
go.down.PP
'They were searching together for the woman (whom) the crocodile caught. One man went down first.'

(17) *Kukûnapno masalai yip riyo bili koweweno, masalai sano:*
k-kûne-p-no masalai yip ri-yo bili
SUB-go.down-PC-CO bush.spirit(TP) house DIST-LOC opening
kowe-we-no masalai sa-no
knock-TER-3SG.OR.PP bush.spirit(TP) ask-3SG.OR.PP
'Having gone down to the bush spirit's house there, he knocked on its door and asked the bush spirit.'

(18) *"Ako onopiro nake?" "Ou unake ou."*
ako ono-pi=ro nake ou u-nake ou
wife man-POSS=EMPH sit yes DFAC-sit yes
'"Is the man's wife is staying there?" "Yes, she is here, yes."'

(19) *"De ko yala ar ûliyo name?" "De lap!"*
de ko yala ar ûliyo name de le-p
you I now NEG inside give.2SG.OR you go-IMP
'"Won't you give her back to me from your house?" "You better go!"'

(20) *Yena ki so solo onoro kûnapro. Sosolo sosolo sosoloro.*
yena ki so solo ono=ro kûne-p=ro sosolo sosolo
people APH like.this only man=EMPH go.down-PC=EMPH like.this like.this
sosolo=ro
like.this=EMPH
'The people (did nothing) but this. A man went down, like this, like this, like this.'

(21) *Las man boyoro kukûnapno riyopuno muelno:*
las man boyo=ro k-kûne-p-no riyopuno
last(TP) man(TP) later=EMPH SUB-go.down-PC-CO then
mueli-no
talk.to-3SG.OR.PP
'When later the last man had gone down, he finally said to (the bush spirit):'

(22) *"Uki kepro romusiyepo. Ko ako kepro lakiye."*
uki kep=ro ro=musiye-po ko ako kep=ro lakiye
husband 3SG.POSS=EMPH EMPH=send-LV.PP I wife 3SG.POSS=EMPH fetch
'"Her husband sent me. I will fetch his wife."'

(23) *Ou ako kep kero. De ki muelnap: "Ki akûne. Ki alakiye, ki alakiyeke."*
ou ako kep ke=ro de ki mueli-ne-p ki
yes wife 3SG.POSS APH=EMPH you APH talk.to-3SG.OR-IMP APH
a-kûne ki a-lakiye ki a-lakiye-ke
IMP3-go.down APH IMP3-fetch APH IMP3-fetch-INGR
'"Yes, his wife, she ... Tell him: He (himself) should go down, he should fetch her! He should go to fetch her."'

(24) *Uki kepro ki muelno. Uki kepro kukûnapno muelne:*
uki kep=ro ki mueli-no uki kep=ro
husband 3SG.POSS=EMPH APH talk.to-3SG.OR.PP husband 3SG.POSS=EMPH
k-kûne-p-no mueli-ne
SUB-go.down-PC-CO talk.to-3SG.OR
'(The last man) said (that) to her husband. Having gone down her husband says to (the bush spirit):'

(25) *"Ko ako ikapro. De wepulo, de wepuloro yipyo. Nake?"*
ko ako ikap=ro de wepulo de wepulo=ro
I wife 1SG.POSS.EMPH=EMPH you bring.PP you bring.PP=EMPH
yip-yo nake
house-LOC sit
'"I ... my wife ... You brought her. You brought her to your house. Is she there?"'

(26) *"Ari. Ko banok. Hap solo lili. Hap solo ko parno lolo.*
ari ko ba-ni-ko hap solo lili hap solo ko par-no
no I FAC-eat-FAC half(TP) only be.there half(TP) only I pannier-INS
lolo
tie.PP
'"No, I have eaten her. There is only half (left), half only. I tied (her remains) on the pannier.'

(27) *Yala ko de ponameipe. De yala wili baka, baka ko banok."*
yala ko de poname-ipe de yala wili baka baka ko ba-ni-ko
now I you give.2SG.OR-ANT you now carry half half I FAC-eat-FAC
'Now I give her to you before (you go up again). You carry one half, the other half I have eaten up."'

(28) *Uki kep kukûnapno muelne: "Ko wili."*
uki kep k-kûne-p-no mueli-ne ko wili
husband 3SG.POSS SUB-go.down-PC-CO talk.to-3SG.OR I carry
'Having come down her husband replies: "I will carry (her up)."'

(29) *Par roise ponamo. Baka apulyo kisepamu. Baka solo kisepamu. Baka ki banok. Weppuo olyo.*
par roise ponamo baka apulyo kisepamu baka
pannier together give.3SG.OR.PP half in.the.middle cut.off.hither.PP half
solo kisepamu baka ki ba-ni-ko weppuo ol-yo
only cut.off.hither.PP half APH FAC-eat-FAC carry.up.PP hill-LOC
'(The bush spirit) gave (her remains) to him together with the pannier. Half it (had) cut off in the middle. Only half it (had) cut off and eaten up. (The husband) carried (her remains) up to the river bank.'

(30) *Yena uki kepro wo roise kuppuapno olyo. Yena wo roise wel.*
yena uki kep=ro wo_roise k-ppue-p-no ol-yo
people husband 3SG.POSS=EMPH crying SUB-go.up-PC-CO hill-LOC
yena wo_roise wel
people crying carry.PP
'The people and the husband climbed up to the river bank in tears, some people carried (her remains) crying.'[17]

(31) *Masalai noro. Hap solo baka banok. Hap solo welro yilauyo.*
masalai no=ro hap solo baka ba-ni-ko hap solo
bush.spirit(TP) eat=EMPH half(TP) only half FAC-eat-FAC half(TP) only
wel=ro yilau-yo
carry.PP=EMPH village-LOC
'The bush spirit ate (half). Only half (they carried). One half it has eaten up, only the (other) half they carried to the village.'

(32) *Mi yilauyo planimpo. Lupi solo kwilipno, mi yala rar.*
mi yilau-yo planim-po lupi solo k-wili-p-no mi yala rar
then village-LOC bury-LV.PP piece only SUB-carry-PC-CO then now dig.PP
'Then they buried her in the village. Having carried only a part of her they dug now (a hole for burying).'

[17]Apparently several men are still down at the bush spirit's house in the river. Now they climb up to the river bank.

(33) *Em tasol tumbuna stori.*

em	tasol	tumbuna	stori
APH(TP)	only(TP)	ancestor(TP)	story(TP)

'That's it, the ancestor's story.'

B.9 Masalai pukpuk

Introduction

This is Susan Bisam's version of the story *Urai ako wiye* 'A crocodile catches a woman' in Tok Pisin. She told the story in Ossima in December 1999. The same story was later told in Kilmeri by Andrew Wapi, February 2000 (cf. Text B.8).

Summary & background

The title *Masalai pukpuk* 'The crocodile bush spirit' was given by the narrator.

The narrator Susan Bisam interprets the husband's hesitant behaviour as fear, an aspect that does not appear in Andrew Wapi's story. In terms of content, there are a few differences to Andrew Wapi's version. Firstly, in Susan's version, the villagers eat all the meat that the husband had brought back from the couple's stay in the bush. Secondly, the crocodile only eats one arm of the victim, whereas in Andrew's story it eats half of the body, leaving no *meri tru* 'full woman' to bury.

Susan had a remarkable knowledge of old stories and so it would have been a loss if she had not been given the opportunity to tell some of these stories in the language that suited her best. She is a great storyteller and would embed her tales in an atmosphere of wonder and drama. Indeed, she spoke with a theatrical voice and expression, making the audience feel like they were watching scenes on a stage. She speaks in short sequences with many repetitions and prolongations of vowels; these prolonged vowels are given a tonal melody. The transcription tries to preserve this as much as possible.

Parallel text

Man wantaim meri, ol i go long bus. Tupela i go long bus. Ol i painim abus i go i go i go, ol i go, planti abus. Pulimapim long limbum bilong meri. Pulimapim long bek. Em i pulimapim bek bilong en. Em i karim. Man bilong en, meri bilong en, tupela i karim abus. Tupela i go i go i go goo. Kam bek olsem. Tupela i kam bek long ples. Tupela kam kam kam. Ol i lukim bikpela wara. Tupela i kalapim. Man bilong en i kam

A husband and a wife went to the bush. They went to the bush. They looked for game many days and got a lot. It filled the wife's baskets. The baskets hang heavily on her back. She carried a heavy load. The husband and the wife, they both carried the meat and walked back towards the village. They already approached the village. But they still had to cross a big river. They went down. The man

pas. Em i go long hapsait. Meri bilong en i wet, i stap long hap sait. Kam. Man bilong en i stap long hap sait, em i wetim meri bilong en. Meri bilong en, em i karim abus. Em i sipim wara i kam. Em i sipim wara i kam kaam. Pukpuk em i smelim. Smel bilong abus. Pukpuk kam tasol. Em i kisim meri. I go daun long aninit long wara long haus bilong en. Man bilong en, em i painim meri. "Oh, meri bilong mi, em, pukpuk i kisim em pinis." Em i krai. Em i krai krai krai. Em i kisim abus bilong en, em i karim, em i go long ples. Dispela abus, ol i kaikai.

was first. He managed to cross and waited for his wife on the other side of the river. She was loaded with meat. Slowly she crossed the river. But there was a crocodile that smelled the meat. It came near and got hold of the woman. It pulled her down into its underwater house. Meanwhile the husband got suspicious and looked for her. "Oh, my wife got caught by a crocodile!" He took their meat and reached the village. There the people had a big meal.

Em i tokim ol lain bilong ples: "Meri bilong mi, pukpuk i bin kisim em. Em i go daun long wara." Ol lain bilong ples i kirap. Olgeta yet. Ol i go, banara, sipiya, ol i go. Kamap long wara. Ples i meri i go daun long, i go daun long en. Ol i stap. Go. Ol i daip. Wanpela man, em i daip bipo i go daun. Go. I go daun, kamap long haus bilong pukpuk. Em i sanap long dua bilong en. "Mipela kam bilong kisim meri." Em i tokim ol: "Sori, mi no givim em long yupela. Yupela i ken i go bek." Dispela man, em i go antap. I go, kamap na em i tokim ol: "Pukpuk i no laik."

Now the man told them: "My wife was caught by a crocodile. She disappeared under water." All the people got up, took their bows and arrows and went to the river. They went right to the place where the woman had got caught. There they stayed and started to dive into the river. One man dove first. He came to the crocodile's house and said: "We come to get back the woman." The crocodile replied: "Sorry, I won't give her to you. You just go back." So the man left and came back to the river bank. He told the waiting clans: "The crocodile refused to surrender her."

Wanpela man daip bipo i go daun. Olsem go, kamap long dua bilong en. "Pukpuk, mipela kam bilong kisim meri." Em i tokim ol: "Sori, mi lesya bilong givim yupela. Yupela i ken i go bek." Em i go antap, dispela man. Em i tokim ol: "Em i no laik." Narapela i go daun. Gooo, kamap long haus bilong en.

Another man dove down and came to the crocodile's door. "Crocodile, we come to get back the woman." The crocodile replied: "I don't want to give her back. You better go." So this man said again: "The crocodile refused what we want." The next man went down into the river and stood

"Mipela i kam bilong kisim meri." Em i tokim ol: "Sori, mi no bilong givim em yupela. Yupela i ken i go bek." Dispela man, em i go antap bek gen. Go, i kamap, em i tokim long lain: "Man. Em, i strong tumas. Olgeta traim traim, em i les na givim dispela meri long ol."

Las bilong en nau. Em dispela man i go daun nau. Em i tokim pukpuk: "Mi kam long kisim meri." Em tok: "Nogat. Yupela i go bek. Mi no givim long yupela." Em i kamap, na em tokim meri – man bilong en: "Yu yet bai i go daun. Mipela traim traim. Em i les bilong mipela. Yu bai i go daun. Em bai givim yu." Man bilong en, em i pret. Em i pret. Em i traim: "Mi lesya. Mi les mi go daun." Go ... Ol traim tokim em. Em i les. Bihain em i kisim tingting nau. Em i go daun. Em i go daun long daip aninit long wara, kamap long haus bilong pukpuk. Em i tokim em: "Mi kam long kisim meri." Em i tokim: "Yu kam pinisyaya." Em i tok: "Yu wet." Em i opim dua, em i givim dispela meri bilong en. Em i tokim em: "Wanpela han, mi kisim pinis. Bodi, yu kisim. Meri tru yu kisim i go antap." Em i kisim dispela bodi. Em i karim i go antap. Kamap long graun. Ol i wokim bet. Ol i karim em. Wanpela han, em pukpuk i kaikai. Ol karim i go. Ol i go planim em.

in front of the crocodile's door: "We come to get back the woman." "Sorry, I will not give her to you. Just go back." The man had to go up empty-handed as before the others. "Oh boy, this crocodile is unrelenting. We try and try, but it won't surrender her."

Now the last man dove into the river and said to the crocodile: "I come to get back the woman." As before, the crocodile replied: "No way. I won't give her to you." So the last man left and said to the wife's husband: "You yourself have to go down to the crocodile. We tried everything without success. It will give her only to you." But the man is full of fear. "I don't want to go, I don't want to dive into the river." They tried to convince him. He thought about it, and finally he acted. He came to the crocodile's house and said: "I come to get back my wife." The crocodile replied: "Finally you came. Wait!" Then the crocodile continued: "One arm, I took one arm. You take the body. You take the woman and go up with her." The husband brought his wife up to the river bank. There the people dug a grave und put her in. The crocodile had eaten only one of her arms. So they could bring her to the grave and bury her.

B.10 Nana puyo seku

Introduction

The story *Nana puyo seku* 'The lost knife' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in August 2001.

Summary & background

This story is about the loss of a knife that was returned by a friendly spirit. The spirit lives at the bottom of the river into which the knife had fallen. This knife was only borrowed and the bearer was afraid that he would not be able to return it to its owner. Both journeys of the man Wau, who was eventually lucky, ended successfully: his journey down to the bottom of the river and the journey up and back to the village and to the owner of the knife. Interestingly, there seems to exist a kind of parallel world at the bottom of the river where people live. They go to work and come back from work. These underwater creatures are potentially dangerous for the visitor Wau and he is advised to leave this place as quickly as possible. Margaret Osi did not comment on the nature of the underwater people.

Kilmeri does not have a term for 'lending, borrowing'. Instead, something is given *biapno* 'for a while' and the duration of use has to be negotiated. However, there is a clear obligation to return the borrowed item.

The opening formula of the text is in Tok Pisin. There are also some sentences in Tok Pisin later on.

Parallel text

Mi laik storim stori wantaim Jeffrey na David.	I want to tell a story connected to Jeffrey and David.
Wau nana pako puyo. Nana puyo seku. Nanaro kûnoro, ono pauweyo lelko, ono bepi. Ono bepiro nana anno piyowe, nana ono bapi. "Waue, nana ari?" "Nana puyo seku." "De minalap, piyekap!"	Wau dropped a small knife into the river. The knife fell into the river. The small knife sank down and landed on a man's breast, on the breast of an old man. The old man took the knife in his hand, another man's knife. Meanwhile Wau went back to the village where he is asked about the knife. "Wau, what about the small knife? Where is it?" "The small knife fell into

the river." "You hurry up again and go to get it!"

"Yala ko asa le rope?" Pu ikoipo, umul nekpamu. Klapno puap moiko, puap ilei ileimainu. Komoipno wepulo, kwepulapno pako puyo. "O, upuna, ko yala upuna kûne." Lupi baka kewipp buripolip. Riyopuno Wau kûno, kûnoro kûnoro kûnoro. Epul kep an sayo, bialil ulili. Em i go daun, kupuapno pulupako. Ono bepi reye paeau. "A de asa pulo?" "A ko nana lipeli." "Nana ko piyowe, ou. Nana ulili, we. De minalap! Yena wokyo molo, yena mi yala dupulupi. De inalap! Yala de kilimpi, de minalap, hariapya! De inappuap, yala de suellui."

"What am I going to do now because of this?" thinks Wau. The river was deep and he pondered. He went away. He cut a liana of wild limbum. A long liana, a very long one. Having cut it, he took it to the river and threw it into the water. "Oh, well, now I can go right down." The other end of the rope was tightened vertically above the water, there it starts. Then Wau went down, further down, further down, further down. His hand touched his ear. There is the magic blood of a corpse. He went on. While he was gliding through the water, he spit the blood out in order to make the water opaque so that he cannot be seen. He became aware of the old man. He arrived at his place. "Ah, why did you come?" "Ah, I am looking for the small knife." "The small knife, I took it, yes. Here it is, the small knife, look. Hurry up again! The people went to work, yet they will soon return. Hurry up! They will kill you, hurry up, hurry up! Go up quickly, otherwise they will kill you by cutting the rope."

Ono bepi sû Wau ponamo. Wau ppuero sû roise. Sû bepue solo, sû bamuriko. Mi kuppuero, kuppuero, kuppuero. Kamap olyo, paeau, eppinoyap. Ri lupi sukerpop: "O Wau upini." Kenekipno yipyo lo, sano: "Waue, de nana bapiyeko?" "Ko bapiyeko, we, nana mi oki."

The old man gave Wau a firestick. Wau is going up with the fire. With a glowing piece of firewood only, the flame has extinguished. He is going up again, going up, going up. He reaches the river bank, arrives there and rested. The end of the tree was creaking, "Oh, Wau is coming up right here," says a companion who stood

near the river. Wau stood there for a while. Then he went back to the house and people asked him: "Wau, you have got the small knife?" "I have got it. Look, the small knife, here it is again."

Bo kuru. The end of the story.

Glossed text

(1) *Mi laik storim stori wantaim Jeffrey na David.*
mi laik storim stori wantaim Jeffrey na David
I(TP) want(TP) tell(TP) story(TP) with(TP) Jeffrey and(TP) David
'I want to tell a story (connected) with Jeffrey and David.'[18]

(2) *Wau nana pako puyo. Nana puyo seku.*
Wau nana pako pu-yo nana pu-yo seku
Wau small.knife throw.PP river-LOC small.knife river-LOC fall.PP
'Wau threw a small knife into the river. The knife fell into the river.'

(3) *Nanaro kûnoro, ono pauweyo lelko, ono bepi.*
nana=ro kûno=ro ono pauwe-yo lili-ko ono
small.knife=EMPH go.down.PP=EMPH man breast-LOC be.there-RTS man
bepi
old
'The small knife sank down. (Now) it was on a man's breast, an old man's (breast).'

(4) *Ono bepiro nana anno piyowe, nana ono bapi.*
ono bepi=ro nana an-no piyo-we nana ono
man old=EMPH small.knife hand-INS take.PP-TER small.knife man
ba-pi
other-POSS
'The old man took the knife in his hand, the knife of another man.'[19]

[18] Jeffrey is the second son of Lis Osi's first wife Helen; his older brother Paul went to Port Moresby and settled there. So Jeffrey is Lis Osi's successor in the village. David is the oldest son of Lis Osi's second wife Margaret. When mentioning both sons, Jeffrey and David, Margaret wants to reassure their equal rank in the family. Actually, David was promoting his public influence in the village by leading debates and monitoring quarrels. How exactly the story is connected with Jeffrey and David in practice remained obscure.

[19] Meanwhile Wau went back to his place and village where he is asked about the knife.

(5) *"Waue, nana ari?" "Nana puyo seku." "De minalap, piyekap!"*
Wau-e nana ari nana pu-yo seku de mi-inale-p
Wau-VOC small.knife no small.knife river-LOC fall.PP you ITER-hurry-IMP
piye-ke-p
take-INGR-IMP
'"Wau, the small knife, (is it there or) not?" – "The small knife fell into the river." – "You hurry up again and go to get it!"'

(6) *"Yala ko asa le rope?" Pu ikoipo, umul nekpamu.*
yala ko asa le ro-pe pu ikoi-po umul_nekpamu
now I how go PROX.EMPH-Q river big-LV.PP ponder.PP
'"What am I going to do now because of this?" (thinks Wau) The river was deep and he thought back and forth.'

(7) *Klapno puap moiko, puap ilei ileimainu.*
k-le-p-no puap moi-ko puap ilei ileimainu
SUB-go-PC-CO wild.limbum cut-RTS wild.limbum long very.long
'He went away. He cut (a liana) of wild *limbum*. A long liana, a very long one.'

(8) *Komoipno wepulo, kwepulapno pako puyo.*
k-moi-p-no wepulo k-wepule-p-no pako pu-yo
SUB-cut-PC-CO bring.PP SUB-bring-PC-CO throw.PP river-LOC
'Having cut it, he took it (to the river). Having brought it, he threw it into the river.'

(9) *"O, upuna, ko yala upuna kûne."*
o upuna ko yala upuna kûne
oh well I now well go.down
'"Oh, well, now I (can) go down properly."'

(10) *Lupi baka kewipp buripolip.*
lupi baka kewipp buri_poli-p
end other be.vertically.tightened.above.the.water go.ahead_be.there-PC
'The other end (of the rope) was tightened vertically above the water. There it starts.'[20]

[20]The liana rope that Wau fastened to a tree reminds one of "magic ropes" which spirits use. These ropes are tied up to a tree and secure the spirits' healthy return to their place. (cf. Kiki 1969: 44; 57)

(11) *Riyopuno Wau kûno, kûnoro kûnoro kûnoro.*
riyopuno Wau kûno kûno=ro kûno=ro
then Wau go.down.PP go.down.PP=EMPH go.down.PP=EMPH
kûno=ro
go.down.PP=EMPH
'Then Wau went down, further down, further down, further down.'

(12) *Epul kep an sayo, bialil ulili.*
epul kep an sayo bia_lil u-lili
ear 3SG.POSS hand touch.PP corpse.blood DFAC-be.there
'(His) hand touched his ear: The (magic) blood of a corpse is there.'

(13) *Em i go daun, kupuapno pulupako.*
em i go daun k-pue-p-no pulupako
APH(TP) PRED(TP) go(TP) down(TP) SUB-roam-PC-CO spit.out.PP
'He went down. While he was gliding (through the water), he spit (the magic blood) out.'[21]

(14) *Ono bepi reye paeau.*
ono bepi reye paeau
man old see.O.ANIM.SG arrive
'He becomes aware of the old man and arrives (at his place).'

(15) *"A de asa pulo?" "A ko nana lipeli."*
a de asa pulo a ko nana lipeli
ah you how come.PP ah I small.knife seek
'"Ah, why did you come?" – "Ah, I am looking for the small knife."'

(16) *"Nana ko piyowe, ou. Nana ulili, we. De minalap! Yena wokyo molo, yena mi yala dupulupi. De inalap!*
nana ko piyo-we ou nana u-lili we de
small.knife I take.PP-TER yes small.knife DFAC-be.there look you
mi-inale-p yena wok-yo molo yena mi yala
ITER-hurry-IMP people work-LOC go.PL.PP people again MOD
d-pulupi de inale-p
LKH-come.PL you hurry-IMP
'"The small knife, I took it. Yes, here it is, the small knife, look! Hurry up

[21]He did that in order to make the water opaque that he cannot be seen.

again! The people went to work, but they will soon come again. Hurry up!"'[22]

(17) *Yala de kilimpi, de minalap, hariapya! De inappuap, yala de suellui."*
yala de kilim-pi de mi-inale-p hariap=ya de
now you kill(TP)-LV you ITER-quickly.go-IMP hurry.up(TP)=EMPH you
inappue-p yala de sueli_lui
climb.up.quickly-IMP now you cut_kill
'"They will kill you. Hurry up, hurry up! Go up quickly! They'll kill you by cutting (the rope)."'

(18) *Ono bepi sû Wau ponamo.*
ono bepi sû Wau ponamo
man old fire Wau give.3SG.OR.PP
'The old man gave Wau a firestick.'

(19) *Wau ppuero sû roise. Sû bepue solo, sû bamuriko. Mi kuppuero, kuppuero, kuppuero. Kamap olyo, paeau, eppinoyap.*
Wau ppue-ro sû roise sû bepue solo
Wau go.up-EMPH fire together fire smouldering.piece.of.firewood only
sû ba-muri-ko mi k-ppue=ro k-ppue=ro
fire FAC-extinguish-FAC again APH-go.up=EMPH APH-go.up=EMPH
k-ppue=ro kamap ol-yo paeau eppi_noye-p
APH-go.up=EMPH reach(TP) hill-LOC arrive rest-PC
'Wau is going up with the fire, with a glowing piece of firewood only. The flame has extinguished. He is going up again, going up, going up. He reaches the river bank, arrives (there). He was resting.'

(20) *Ri lupi sukerpop: "O Wau upini."*
ri lupi suker_pi-p o Wau u-pini
tree end creak-PC oh Wau DFAC-come.up.hither
'The end of the tree was creaking: "Oh, Wau is right coming up here."'[23]

[22]There seems to be a sort of underwater settlement in the river, where some people live and move back and forth for work. The nature of these people is not known except they are a threat for the diving man Wau. The 'under-water-world' wasn't described any further by the narrator.

[23]This is the inference of his not yet introduced companion who watched him from the riverbank.

(21) *Kenekipno yipyo lo, sano:*
k-neki-p-no yip-yo lo sa-no
SUB-stand-PC-CO house-LOC go.PP ask-3SG.OR.PP
'Having stood there (for a while), (Wau) went (back) to the house. (There) they asked him.'

(22) *"Waue, de nana bapiyeko?" "Ko bapiyeko, we, nana mi oki."*
Wau-e de nana ba-piye-ko ko ba-piye-ko we nana
Wau-VOC you small.knife FAC-take-FAC I FAC-take-FAC look small.knife
mi o-ki
again PROX-APH
'"Wau, you have got the small knife?" – "I have got it, look, the small knife, here it is again."'

(23) *Bo kuru.*
bo kuru
story be.finished
'End of the story.'

B.11 Wîs yako

Introduction

The story *Wîs yako* 'The moon woman' was jointly told by Susam Bisam and Margaret Osi in Ossima village in September 2004.

Summary & background

This story is a legend about the origin of the moon. People have always wondered how the light of the night came into being. Here, a beautiful but kleptomaniac woman abandoned her confused and sad husband and fled into the sky, where she became the moon. She was the man's second wife. His first wife had understood that she was not like other people. She warned the husband not to affront her and hide her. But he became jealous. So she decided to abandon the place and built a ladder to the sky.

The last two sequences of the story reflect the kindness as well as the usefulness of the moon. It turns the darkness of the night to light and enables people to move safely.

Moon stories are quite common in New Guinea. The moon is usually associated with a woman. But in some oral traditions, the human who changes to the moon is male, for example, in Muyu (Zahrer 2025: 33). In a legend of the Orokolo (Gulf Province), sun and moon are two brothers; the moon is the younger brother. During the day, the sun is a beautiful young man. But during the night, the moon receives all the beautiful adornment and radiates like his older brother (Kiki 1969: 42-26). Generally, I want to point to Beier's collection of Papuan tales about sun and moon (Beier & Chakravarti 1974).

Parallel text

Yukume sele ikoi po, sele bekulu yorer. Pewo layewepu pasok pailili paisol panpal paipines klapua pamapup paipopo. Suel dui yasiyo, ap yasiyo, war yasiyo, opse pues elo puel kupp kaukau. Rapue kiniyo maki powepu. Wîs yako pulo. Sele riyoulipop, "Eh pewo bamakiwepuko. Bamakipoko." Yipyo lo, neppi wepulo. Pewo sukewepu, yipyo mel. Midorilo, ba rapiyoko. Suelno apno yesi

A man laid out a big garden. A garden that covered a large terrain. He laid banana plantations out: *pasok*, *pailili*, *paisol*, *panpal*, *paipines*, *klapua*, *pamapup*, *paipopo*. He planted tobacco shoots. He planted spinach, wild sugar cane, stick taro, sugar cane, betel nuts, yams, and sweet potatos. One day all the vegetables were good for harvesting. The moon woman

Figure B.3: A big stalk of bananas

Figure B.4: Three kinds of bananas, including the red *Musa troglodytera*

roisero, puel war ropyo niskûno, yipyo mel. Rapue bakesiyowolewepuko. Yip bî solo polip.

came and was looking at the garden, "Eh, the bananas are all good, they have become ripe." She went back to her house, took a bush knife, cut plenty of bananas, and carried them home. She returned to the garden and grabbed more food. With tobacco, spinach, and *aibika* she left. She filled baskets with betel nuts and wild sugar cane and carried everything to her house. But soon the food was completely consumed. The house was empty.

Yukume seleyo lo sele kepyo. "Eh pewo kopi ana suko? Yala ko asa pi? Am ko nake. Ko dob powe, ko sowewe. Ono yala ana puleke? Saka ana piulipi?" Yakoro puni pulo seleyo. Yukumero pasok boliyo nekip. "Eh yakumero lero pewo riyepi." Pewo rodupua rodupua suko, pasok klokni, an kiniyo royowe yeloyo. Royowe yeloyo. Yukume nekipno an pulapu, anno wiyo, kikipiyo. Wîs yako wiyo anno, "Ere ko de bareyeko! Saka de piulipop. Yalaka dedukoyo ile yipyo." Wîs yako muelno: "Ari, yalaka yip ikapyo ilei." Yip kepyo iloi. Yip kepyo paeau, inakap. Inakero. Wîs yako elno. Mi yilau ukipiyo iloi. Euryo uliyoko, ako ipei kep muelnap: "De muli? Ko ako ba wepulo." "De aryo uliyoko?" "Ko uliyoko. Ou, ko de samap." "Ko muli, ou. Lakiyekap! Koyo kumune inake." Lakiyoko, yipyo woko. Ako ipeiro muelno: "Awe, de yo nakap! Ko ika nake, de rika nake." Inakap.

The man went himself to his garden, "Eh, who cut my bananas? What am I going to do now? I will stay and watch closely. I'll hide well. Which person will come here? Who secretly steals my things?" At night a woman came in the garden. The man was standing at the foot of a *pasok*-banana, "Eh, a woman is walking around and looking for bananas." She cut four bananas and a *pasok*-banana, five bunches of bananas. She put them on the ground. While the man was standing there within touching distance, she put them on the ground. Then he stretched out his arms and held her tightly. He grabbed the moon woman with both hands and said: "Now I have seen you. You did that by habit. Now we two will go together to my house." But the moon woman said to him: "No, we'll go to my house." So they went to her house and were living there. The moon woman gets pregnant. Then they went to the man's village. There

he left her behind at the toilet house. The man asked his first wife: "Do you agree that I brought another wife?" "Where did you leave her?" "I left her over there. I wanted to ask you first." "Yes, I agree, go bring her! We'll live together." He took the new wife to the house. The first wife said to her: "Come, you live in this place. I live here, you live there." So they were living on.

Wîs yako ruri nako, roipi nako. Nakoro. Duku po, ekuno wolip, ireri. Uki ako ipei roise yaeauyo iloi. "Nuko ako ppusi muelnei." "Ari yipyo kranake. Nuko kama mole yaeauyo." Wîs yako ako ipei muelno: "Ruri ko uliyewayap, ruri depi! Ruri kopiro de wokap!" Smep musikono. Riyopuno iwa puyo wel, pu ipiyo yipyo wel. Yip sipul pusapopo yenino. Wolo luliwepu, wolo luliwepu appyo. App moniseso poli. Wepul pino: wepul ba ekuyo, wepul ba elyo, wepul ba waliyo. Wîs yako ruri epkewi papeno.

The moon woman gave birth to a child. She gave birth to a boy. He laughed, he could sit, he crawled. One day the man wanted to visit a feast with his first wife, but she said: "We'll tell the second wife." "No, she should stay at home. We'll go alone to the feast." At that the moon woman said to the first wife: "Leave me your child. You take my child." She locked the door behind her. Then the moon woman took buckets to the river and carried water back to the house. She cleaned the floor and the boards in the house. Then she made a long ladder. She made a ladder up to the sky. The sky is very close. She made a baby sling for the child: a sling in the back, a sling in the front, a sling around the neck. The moon woman carried the boy piggyback.

Weppuo wolo mono. Dob seku, uki wonkûneno: "Ai ai ai, ko ke ule." Sûso popana. "Ako kopi rleya. Umul ko asa poro? Ko umul pole." "Ko muelmouro nuko kumune mole yaeauyo. De mi ba muli. De umul ppulae po. De pusampi.

She carried him up along the ladder, looked down, and called to her husband: "Ai, ai, ai, here I go." She vanished like fire. The man lamented: "My wife goes away over there. How do I feel? My heart is broken. I am so

Yako maki, yako mukari. Nuko yako pari, yako yilau bayanapi. Rope de asa pono? Balok."	sad." The first wife replied: "I warned you and said, let's go together to the feast. You didn't want that. You were jealous. You kept her away from other people. The woman is kind-hearted, and she is young and pretty. She's not a woman of us. She belongs to a different place. Why did you offend her? She has gone for good now."
Wîs appyo pin. Appyo banakepisiko ruri kep roise, dari ruri Awau. Ani wîs ar puli. Dupuni wîs puli. Wîs maki, ono mono poname. Wîs duwaniso makina puli. Mono de makina riye, de makina le.	The moon came up here to the sky. The woman stays forever in the sky together with her child. It's the child of the older sister. Its name is Awau. During the day the moon doesn't shine, it shines only in the night. The moon is friendly. I provides the people a path of light. The moon is like daylight. It shines brightly. You see your path well and walk safely.
Wîs bo kuru.	The moon story is over.

Glossed text

(1) *Yukume sele ikoi po, sele bekulu yorer.*
yukume sele ikoi po sele bekulu yorer
man.SG garden big do.PP garden huge very.far.away
'A man laid out a big garden. A large garden, stretching far.'

(2) *Pewo layewepu pasok pailili paisol panpal paipines klapua pamapup paipopo. Suel dui yasiyo, ap yasiyo, war yasiyo, opse pues elo puel kupp kaukau.*
pewo laye-wepu pasok pailili paisol
banana lay-QUANT.O.PP kind.of.banana kind.of.banana kind.of.banana
panpal paipines klapua pamapup
kind.of.banana kind.of.banana kind.of.banana kind.of.banana
paipopo suel dui yasiyo ap yasiyo war
kind.of.banana tobacco shoot plant.PP spinach plant.PP wild.sugar.cane
yasiyo opse pues elo puel kupp kaukau
plant.PP stick.taro kind.of.taro sugar.cane betel.nut yam sweet.potato
'He laid banana (plantations) out, *pasok*, *pailili*, *paisol*, *panpal*, *paipines*,

klapua, pamapup, paipopo. He planted tobacco shoots, and he planted spinach. He planted wild sugar cane, stick taro, sugar cane, betel nuts, yams, and sweet potatos.'

(3) *Rapue kiniyo maki powepu.*
rapue kiniyo maki pi-wepu
vegetables all good LV-QUANT.S.PP
'All vegetables were good (for harvesting).'

(4) *Wîs yako pulo. Sele riyoulipop, "Eh pewo bamakiwepuko. Bamakipoko."*
wîs yako pulo sele riye-uli-pi-p eh pewo
moon woman come.PP garden see.O.INANIM-PROG-LV-PC eh banana
ba-maki-wepi-ko ba-maki-pi-ko
FAC-good-QUANT.S-FAC FAC-good-LV-FAC
'The moon woman came and was looking at the garden: "Eh, the bananas are all good. They have become ripe."'

(5) *Yipyo lo, neppi wepulo. Pewo sukewepu, yipyo mel. Midorilo, ba rapiyoko. Suelno apno yesi roisero, puel war ropyo niskûno, yipyo mel.*
yip-yo lo neppi wepulo pewo suke-wepu yip-yo
house-LOC go.PP bush.knife bring.PP banana cut-QUANT.O.PP house-LOC
mel mi-dorilo ba rapiye-ko suel-no ap-no
carry.PL.O.PP ITER-go.back other fetch.PP-RTS tobacco-INS spinach-INS
yesi roise=ro puel war rop-yo niskûno
aibika together=EMPH betel.nut wild.sugar.cane basket-LOC fill.in.PP
yip-yo mel
house-LOC carry.PL.O.PP
'She went to (her) house, took a bush knife, cut plenty of bananas, and carried them home. She went back (to the garden) and fetched other (food plants). With tobacco, spinach, and *aibika* (she left). She filled betel nuts and wild sugar cane in baskets and carried everything home.'

(6) *Rapue bakesiyowolewepuko. Yip bî solo polip.*
rapue ba-kesiye-wole-wepi-ko yip bî solo poli-p
food FAC-use.up-CPL-QUANT.S-FAC house hole only be.there-PC
'The food was completely consumed. The house was empty.'

(7) *Yukume seleyo lo sele kepyo. "Eh pewo kopi ana suko? Yala ko asa pi? Am ko nake. Ko dob powe, ko sowewe. Ono yala ana puleke? Saka ana piulipi?"*

yukume sele-yo lo sele kep-yo eh pewo ko-pi ana
man.SG garden-LOC go.PP garden 3SG.POSS-LOC eh banana 1SG-POSS who
suko yala ko asa pi am ko nake ko dob pi-we ko sowe-we ono
cut.PP now I how do still I stay I eye LV-TER I hide-TER person
yala ana pule-ke saka ana pi-uli-pi
now who come-INGR secretly who do-PROG-LV

'The man went to the garden, to his garden: "Eh, who cut my bananas? What am I going to do now? I'll stay on. I will watch closely and hide well. What man is going to come now? Who does (this) secretly?"'

(8) *Yakoro puni pulo seleyo. Yukumero pasok boliyo nekip. "Eh yakumero lero pewo riyepi." Pewo rodupua rodupua suko, pasok klokni, an kiniyo royowe yeloyo.*
yako=ro puni pulo sele-yo yukume=ro pasok
woman=EMPH night come.PP garden-LOC man.SG=EMPH kind.of.banana
boliyo neki-p eh yakume=ro le=ro pewo
at.the.foot stand-PC eh woman.SG=EMPH go=EMPH banana
riye-pi pewo rodupua_rodupua suko pasok klokni
see.O.INANIM-LV banana four cut.PP kind.of.banana one
an kiniyo royo-we yelo-yo
hand all lay.PP-TER ground-LOC

'At night a woman came in the garden. The man was standing at the foot of a *pasok*-banana: "Eh, a woman is going (around) looking for the bananas." She cut four bananas and a *pasok*-banana, five (bunches of bananas). She put them on the ground.'

(9) *Royowe yeloyo. Yukume nekipno an pulapu, anno wiyo, kikipiyo.*
royo-we yelo-yo yukume neki-p-no an pulapu an-no
lay.PP-TER ground-LOC man.SG stand-PC-CO hand strain.PP hand-INS
wiyo kikipiyo
hold.PP hold.strong.PP

'She put them on the ground, while the man was standing (there). He reached out (his) arms and grabbed her with his hands. He held her tightly.'

(10) *Wîs yako wiyo anno, "Ere ko de bareyeko! Saka de piulipop. Yalaka dedukoyo ile yipyo."*

wîs yako wiyo an-no ere ko de ba-reye-ko
moon woman hold.PP hand-INS now I you FAC-see.O.ANIM.SG-FAC
saka de pi-uli-pi-p yalaka dedukoyo i-le yip-yo
secretly you LV-PROG-LV-PC now we.DU.INCL DU.S-go house-LOC
'He got hold of the moon woman with (both) hands: "Now I have seen you. You did (that) always secretly. Now we two go together to the house."'

(11) *Wîs yako muelno: "Ari, yalaka yip ikapyo ilei." Yip kepyo iloi. Yip kepyo paeau, inakap.*
wîs yako mueli-no ari yalaka yip ikap-yo
moon woman talk.to-3SG.OR.PP no now house 1SG.POSS.EMPH-LOC
i-le-i yip kep-yo i-lo-i yip kep-yo
DU.S-go-DU.S house 3SG.POSS-LOC DU.S-go.PP-DU.S house 3SG.POSS-LOC
paeau i-nake-p
arrive DU.S-live-PC
'The moon woman said to him: "No, we'll go to my house." They went to her house. They arrived at her house and were living there.'

(12) *Inakero. Wîs yako elno. Mi yilau ukipiyo iloi. Euryo uliyoko, ako ipei kep muelnap:*
i-nake=ro wîs yako el_no mi yilau uki-pi-yo
DU.S-live=EMPH moon woman pregnant then village husband-POSS-LOC
i-lo-i eur-yo uliyo-ko ako ipei
DU.S-go.PP-DU.S toilet-LOC leave.behind.PP-RTS wife first.ranking
kep mueli-ne-p
3SG.POSS talk.to-3SG.OR-PC
'They live there, and the moon woman gets pregnant. Then they went to the man's village. He had left her at the toilet-house and (then) was talking to his first wife.'

(13) *"De muli? Ko ako ba wepulo." "De aryo uliyoko?" "Ko uliyoko. Ou, ko de samap." "Ko muli ou. Lakiyekap! Koyo kumune inake."*
de muli ko ako ba wepulo de aryo uliye-ko ko
you want I wife other bring.PP you where leave.behind-RTS I
uliye-ko ou ko de sa-me-p ko muli ou
leave.behind-RTS yes I you ask-2SG.OR-PC I want yes
lakiye-ke-p koyo kumune i-nake
fetch.people-INGR-IMP we.DU.EXCL all.COLL DU.S-live
'"Do you agree (that) I brought another wife?" – "Where did you leave

her?" – "I left her (over there). Yes, I wanted to ask you." – "I agree, yes. Go get her! We'll live together."'

(14) *Lakiyoko, yipyo woko. Ako ipeiro muelno: "Awe, de yo nakap! Ko ika nake, de rika nake. Inakap."*
lakiye-ko yip-yo woko ako ipei=ro
fetch.people-RTS house-LOC accompany.PP wife first.ranking=EMPH
mueli-no awe de yo nake-p ko i-ka nake de
talk.to-3SG.OR.PP come.IMP you location sit-IMP I DIST-PATH sit you
ri-ka nake i-nake-p
DIST.EMPH-PATH sit DU.S-live-PC
'He took her to the house, accompanied her. The first wife said to her: "Come! You live in this place. I live here, you live there." (So) they lived on.'

(15) *Wîs yako ruri nako, roipi nako. Nakoro. Duku po, ekuno wolip, ireri.*
wîs yako ruri nako roipi nako nako=ro
moon woman child gave.birth boy gave.birth gave.birth=EMPH
duku_po eku-no woli-p ireri
laugh_LV.PP behind-INS sit-PC crawl
'The moon woman gave birth to a child, to a boy. She gave birth to a boy. He laughed, he was able to sit, he crawled.'

(16) *Uki ako ipei roise yaeauyo iloi. "Nuko ako ppusi muelnei." "Ari yipyo kranake. Nuko kama mole yaeauyo."*
uki ako ipei roise yaeau-yo i-lo-i
husband wife first.ranking with traditional.feast-LOC DU.S-go.PP-DU.S
nuko ako ppusi mueli-ne-i ari yip-yo kra-nake
we.INCL wife second.ranking talk.to-3SG.OR-DU.A no house-LOC NIV-stay
nuko kama mole yaeau-yo
we.INCL alone go.PL traditional.feast-LOC
'The man went to a feast together with his first wife. (The first wife said:) "We'll tell the second wife." (The husband replied:) "No, let her stay at home. We'll go alone to the feast."'

(17) *Wîs yako ako ipei muelno: "Ruri ko uliyewayap, ruri depi! Ruri kopiro de wokap!"*

wîs yako ako ipei mueli-no ruri ko uliyewaye-p
moon woman wife first.ranking talk.to-3SG.OR.PP child I leave.for-IMP
ruri de-pi ruri ko-pi=ro de woke-p
child 2SG-POSS child 1SG-POSS=EMPH you go.together.with-IMP
'The moon woman told the first wife: "Leave me the child, your child! Go together with my child!"'

(18) *Smep musikono. Riyopuno iwa puyo wel, pu ipiyo yipyo wel. Yip sipul pusapopo yenino.*
smep musi-ko-ne riyopuno iwa pu-yo wel pu
door lock-RTS-3SG.OR then bucket river-LOC carry.PP water
ipiyo yip-yo wel yip sipul pusapopo yeni-no
bucket.PP house-LOC carry.PP house floor wash.PL.O.PP board-INS
'She had locked the door behind her. Then she took buckets to the river and carried the buckets of water to the house. She cleaned the floor and the boards in the house.'

(19) *Wolo luliwepu, wolo luliwepu appyo. App moniseso poli. Wepul pino: wepul ba ekuyo, wepul ba elyo, wepul ba waliyo. Wîs yako ruri epkewi papeno.*
wolo luli-wepu wolo luli-wepu app-yo app moniseso
ladder fence-QUANT.O.PP ladder fence-QUANT.O.PP sky-LOC sky very.little
poli wepul pi-no wepul ba eku-yo
be.there baby.sling make-3SG.OR.PP baby.sling other behind-LOC
wepul ba el-yo wepul ba wali-yo wîs yako ruri
baby.sling other belly-LOC baby.sling other neck-LOC moon woman child
epkewi_pape-no
carry.piggyback-3SG.OR.PP
'She made a long ladder. She made a ladder up to the sky. The sky is very close (now). She made a baby sling for the child: a sling in the back, a sling in the front, and a sling around the neck. The moon woman carried the child piggyback.'

(20) *Weppuo wolo mono. Dob seku, uki wonkûneno: "Ai ai ai, ko ke ule." Sûso popana.*
weppuo wolo mono dob seku uki wonikûne-no ai ai ai
carry.up.PP ladder path eye fall.PP husband call.down-3SG.OR.PP ai ai ai
ko ke u-le sû-so popana
I TOP DFAC-go fire-SIM take.away.thither.PP
'She carried him up along the ladder, looked down, and called down to her husband: "Ai, ai, ai, here I go." She vanished like fire.'

(21) *"Ako kopi rleya. Umul ko asa poro? Ko umul pole."*
ako ko-pi r-le=ya umul ko asa pi=ro ko umul_pole
wife 1SG-POSS DIST.EMPH-go=EMPH heart I how do=EMPH I be.sad
'(The husband lamented:) "My wife goes away over there. How does my heart feel? I am sad."'

(22) *"Ko muelmouro nuko kumune mole yaeauyo. De mi ba muli. De umul ppulae po. De pusampi. Yako maki, yako mukari. Nuko yako pari, yako yilau bayanapi. Rope de asa pono? Balok."*
ko mueli-me-ou=ro nuko kumune mole
I talk.to-2SG.OR-FRUS=EMPH we.INCL all.COLL go.PL
yaeau-yo de mi ba muli de umul ppulae_po de
traditional.feast-LOC you again NEG.EMPH want you heart bad_LV.PP you
pusampi yako maki yako mukari
keep.a.woman.away.from.people woman good woman young.and.pretty
nuko yako pari yako yilau bayana-pi rope de asa
we.INCL woman NEG.COP woman place different-POSS why you how
po-no ba-le-ko
do.PP-3SG.OR.PP FAC-go-FAC
'(The first wife replied): "I said in vain to you (that) we go to the feast together. You did not want (it). You're coldhearted. You kept her away from other people. The woman is kind(hearted), and she is young and pretty. She is not woman of us, she is the woman of some different place. Why did you do this to her? She has gone (for good)."'

(23) *Wîs appyo pin. Appyo banakepisiko ruri kep roise, dari ruri Awau.*
wîs app-yo pin app-yo ba-nake-pisi-ko ruri
moon sky-LOC come.up.hither.PP sky-LOC FAC-stay-CPL-FAC child
kep roise dari ruri Awau
3SG.POSS with older.sister child Awau
'The moon came up hither to the sky. (The moon woman) stays forever in the sky together with her child. (It's) the child of the older sister, (its name is) Awau.'[24]

(24) *Ani wîs ar puli. Dupuni wîs puli. Wîs maki, ono mono poname. Wîs duwaniso makina puli. Mono de makina riye, de makina le.*

[24]The first wife is regarded as the older sister of the moon woman. The child Awau might refer to the evening star. Occasionally, moon and Venus appear close together in the night sky. Yet this hypothesis could not be verified.

ani wîs ar puli dupuni wîs puli wîs maki ono mono
day moon NEG shine night moon shine moon good man path
poname wîs duwani-so maki-na puli mono de maki-na
give.3SG.OR moon daylight-SIM good-ADV shine path you good-ADV
riye de maki-na le
see.O.INANIM you good-ADV go

'During the day the moon doesn't shine. It shines in the night. The moon is (something) good. It gives people the path (to walk). The moon is like daylight, it shines brightly. You see (your) path well and walk safely.'

(25) *Wîs bo kuru.*
wîs bo kuru
moon story be.finished
'The moon story is finished.'

B.12 Wîs puli

Introduction

The story *Wîs puli* 'The moon shines' was told by Brigitte Esau from Omoi village in September 2000. For some time, Brigitte joined my consultant team and came to my house for language work.

Summary & background

At first, the moon was a light globe. It belonged to a woman who used to work at night. When other people saw what she was doing, they attempted to steal the light ball. But it escaped and found its way into the sky.

The story is probably longer than the version given here. The narrator knew the story as it was told to her by her mother. The mother's version was certainly more detailed.

Parallel text

Kimike dukiro wîs appyo ar nakoulipop. Yena nini solo riyepop. Yena wok ninino solo poulipop. Yena wal hukno ninino solo poulipop. Yena due ninino solo poulipop. Riyopuno yakume wok puni poulipop. Huk puni poulipop. Yena iki wako muellayepo: "Yakume oke wok puni poulipi." Yena yakume wulino. Yakume ki wîs anyo laye. Du kla, dupuni piye. Yakume ki mi wîs riyo layowe. Ki wok sele pop. Yena kikeno muelnoro: "Wîs balso, piyemaye." Yakume ki piyowe. Riyopuno yena wîs piyemayo, dusoipo. Appyo banakepisiko. Yala nuko muli: "Wîs puli."

A long time ago the moon was not in the sky. The people saw only the sun. People did their work only under the sun. People hooked fish only during day time, and people made sago only during daytime. Then a certain woman was working at night. She was hooking fish at night. The people talked among each other: "This woman works always at night." The people followed her. The woman grasps the moon, and the darkness becomes light. She takes the night away. Then the woman puts the moon up in a tree and was doing her garden work. While the people were running after her they said: "The moon is like a ball, we'll steal it." The woman held it fast. But finally the people stole the moon. But they let it go away, and so it is

	in the sky forever. Now we say: "The moon shines."
Bo kuru.	End of the story.

Glossed text

(1) *Kimike dukiro wîs appyo ar nakoulipop. Yena nini solo riyepop.*
kimike duki=ro wîs app-yo ar nake-uli-pi-p yena nini solo
before true=EMPH moon sky-LOC NEG sit-PROG-LV-PC people sun only
riye-pi-p
see.O.INANIM-LV-PC
'A long time ago the moon was not in the sky. The people saw only the sun.'

(2) *Yena wok ninino solo poulipop. Yena wal hukno ninino solo poulipop. Yena due ninino solo poulipop.*
yena wok nini-no solo pi-uli-pi-p yena wal
people work(TP) sun-INS only do-PROG-LV-PC people fish
huk-no nini-no solo pi-uli-pi-p yena due nini-no solo
hook.fish(TP)-INS sun-INS only do-PROG-LV-PC people sago sun-INS only
pi-uli-pi-p
do-PROG-LV-PC
'People did (their) work only under the sun. People hooked fish only during daytime, and they processed sago only during daytime.'

(3) *Riyopuno yakume wok puni poulipop. Huk puni poulipop.*
riyopuno yakume wok puni pi-uli-pi-p huk puni
then woman.SG work night do-PROG-LV-PC hook.fish(TP) night
pi-uli-pi-p
do-PROG-LV-PC
'Then a certain woman was working at night. She was hooking fish at night.'

(4) *Yena iki wako muellayepo: "Yakume oke wok puni poulipi."*
yena iki wako muel-laye-po yakume o-ke wok
people APH.PL amongst talk.to-RECP-LV.PP woman.SG PROX-APH work(TP)
puni pi-uli-pi
night do-PROG-LV
'The people talked among each other: "This woman always works at night."'

(5) *Yena yakume wulino. Yakume ki wîs anyo laye. Du kla, dupuni piye.*
yena yakume wuli-no yakume ki wîs an-yo laye
people woman.SG follow-3SG.OR.PP woman.SG APH moon hand-LOC lay
du kla dupuni piye
darkness transparent night take
'The people followed the woman. (This) woman puts the moon into her hand. The darkness (becomes) light. She takes the night (away).'

(6) *Yakume ki mi wîs riyo layowe. Ki wok sele pop.*
yakume ki mi wîs ri-yo layo-we ki wok sele
woman.SG APH then moon tree-LOC lay.PP-TER APH work(TP) garden
pi-p
do-PC
'Then the woman put the moon up in a tree and was doing (her) garden work.'

(7) *Yena kikeno muelnoro: "Wîs balso, piyemaye."*
yena kike-no mueli-no=ro wîs bal-so piye-maye
people run-CO talk.to-3SG.OR.PP=EMPH moon ball-SIM take-MAL
'While the people were running after her they said: "The moon is like a ball, we'll steal it."'

(8) *Yakume ki piyowe.*
yakume ki piyo-we
woman.SG APH take.PP-TER
'The woman held it firmly.'

(9) *Riyopuno yena wîs piyemayo dusoipo. Appyo banakepisiko.*
riyopuno yena wîs piye-mayo dusoi-po app-yo
then people moon take-MAL.PP let.go.off-LV.PP sky-LOC
ba-nake-pisi-ko
FAC-sit-CPL-FAC
'Then the people stole the moon. (But) they let it go away. It is in the sky forever.'

(10) *Yala nuko muli: "Wîs puli."*
yala nuko muli wîs puli
now we.INCL say moon shine
'Now we say: "The moon shines."'

(11) *Bo kuru.*
bo kuru
story be.finished
'End of the story.'

B.13 Nini na wîs

Introduction

The text *Nini na wîs* 'Sun and Moon' is a song sung by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in January 2000.

The oral tradition of texts recited to an audience is complemented here by sung texts. The spectrum of singing is quite limited and reminds the listener more of musical recitation than of songs. Certainly, singing is just as important culturally as is storytelling. Spoken texts are often enriched with sung words that underscore the importance of certain names or phrases. In such cases, the genres of stories and songs overlap. An example of this is the Tok Pisin version of Text A.1 *Am*, which is spoken and sung by the storyteller Usikul.

Summary & background

Margaret Osi sings a song about the sun and the moon. She composed the song herself. Sun and moon are supposed to provide light to overcome the darkness of the night. Her Kilmeri paraphrase of the song was *nini napiya*, which means 'the sun comes in and fills the room with light'. The song consists of four sequences structured in verses: 1 1 2 2 3 3 4 4 1 1 2 2. Each sequence begins with a long melodic vowel, either *eee* or *aaa*.

The song was Margaret's response to my request to hear her sing a traditional song. Unfortunately, this was the only Kilmeri song I ever heard her sing.

The phonological structure of the song differs from that of spoken Kilmeri. Stressed vowels at the end of a word sound like a rising diphthong (Sequences 1 and 4). The verb *pini* changes to *rini*, probably due to assimilation of the place of articulation to the preceding and following /n/ phonemes (Sequences 2 and 3). Lastly, the emphatic suffix *-ya* becomes *-ye*. Again this can be seen as assimilation to the high vowel /i/ which dominates Sequences 2 and 3.

Parallel text

Mi singsing wanpela singsing tumbuna. Claudia bai harim. Mi singsing nau. Nini na wîs.	I'll sing an ancient song. Claudia will hear it. I'm going to sing now. Sun and moon.
Dupuni alei, dupuni alei. Du weriye alei, du weriye alei. Nini riniye, nini riniye. Wîs riniye, wîs riniye. Dupuni	The night should go, the night should go. Darkness flies and should leave, darkness flies and should leave. The

alei, dupuni alei. Du weriye alei, du weriye alei.

sun is rising now, the sun is rising now. The moon is rising now, the moon is rising now. The night should go, the night should go. Darkness flies and should leave, darkness flies and should leave.

Glossed text

(1) *Dupuni alei, dupuni alei. Du weriye, alei. Du weriye, alei.*
dupuni a-le dupuni a-le du weriye a-le du
night IMP3-go night IMP3-go darkness fly IMP3-go darkness
weriye a-le
fly IMP3-go
'The night should go, the night should go. The darkness flies and should go, the darkness flies and should go.'

(2) *Nini riniye, nini riniye.*
nini pini-ya nini pini-ya
sun come.hither-EMPH(TP) sun come.hither-EMPH(TP)
'The sun is rising, the sun is rising.'

(3) *Wîs riniye, wîs riniye.*
wîs pini-ya wîs pini-ya
moon come.hither-EMPH(TP) moon come.hither-EMPH(TP)
'The moon is rising, the moon is rising.'

(4) *Dupuni alei, dupuni alei. Du weriye, alei. Du weriye, alei.*
dupuni a-le dupuni a-le du weriye a-le du
night IMP3-go night IMP3-go darkness fly IMP3-go darkness
weriye a-le
fly IMP3-go
'The night should go, the night should go. The darkness flies and should go, the darkness flies and should go.'

B.14 Bike iwanyo

Introduction

The story *Bike iwanyo* 'Why cassowaries do not fly' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in September 2001.

Summary & background

This is a traditional story, which is widely known in the western part of Papua New Guinea. Probably, it originates from the Kopar and Watam people in the coastal area of the East Sepik province. Margaret Osi and Susan Bisam both knew the story. I asked Margaret to tell it in Kilmeri, and she did that without hesitation. For a more elaborated version of the story see Slone (2001b: 591-592): "Why Cassowaries Do Not Fly Anymore".

The cassowary is a flightless bird, although it has the phenotypic characteristics of a bird. This obvious discrepancy had to be explained and probably motivated people to invent a story. In Kilmeri folk taxonomy, cassowaries are not categorised as birds but as ground-living animals such as pigs, kangaroos, possums, rats, etc.

Parallel text

Iwan ke bike muelno: "Depe asa nake rileyo riyo? De yala ar nake rileyo. De yala yeloyo kûni." Iwan paki bikepi weno. Bike yeloyo kûno. Ri ini rupuo. Bike yeloyo ri roise seku. Iwan ri rupueno. Bike paki kana wayou. Iwan paki bikepi baweneko, asa lam. Bike yeloyo nakeko. Bike paki wewolono. Iwan rileyo lo. Riyo nakeko. Riyopuno banakepisiko. Bike liki iwanpi piyo, iwan liki bikepi piyo.

One day the hornbill said to the cassowary: "Why do you live above in the trees? You won't live there anymore. You'll come down to the ground." The hornbill broke the cassowary's wings. The cassowary came down to the ground. The tree branch broke. The cassowary fell down to the ground together with the branch. The hornbill broke the branch where it was sitting. The cassowary tried to move its wings. It tried that in vain. The hornbill has broken the cassowary's wings. It cannot fly anymore. So the cassowary sat on the ground. The cassowary's wings were broken alltogether. Now the hornbill

went up in the trees. There it sat. Finally they live forever like this: The cassowary took over the hornbill's place, and the hornbill took over the cassowary's place.

Glossed text

(1) *Iwan ke bike muelno: "Depe asa nake rileyo riyo? De yala ar nake rileyo. De yala yeloyo kûni."*
iwan ke bike muel-no de-pe asa nake rileyo ri-yo
hornbill APH cassowary talk.to-3SG.OR.PP 2SG-Q how sit above tree-LOC
de yala ar nake rileyo de yala yelo-yo kûni
you now NEG sit above you now ground-LOC come.down.hither
'The hornbill said to the cassowary: "How do you live above in the trees? Now you won't live above (anymore). Now you come down here to the ground."'

(2) *Iwan paki bikepi weno. Bike yeloyo kûno.*
iwan paki bikepi we-no bike yelo-yo
hornbill wing cassowary-POSS break-3SG.OR.PP cassowary ground-LOC
kûno
come.down.hither.PP
'The hornbill broke the cassowary's wings. The cassowary came down here to the ground.'

(3) *Ri ini rupuo. Bike yeloyo ri roise seku. Iwan ri rupueno.*
ri ini rupuo bike yelo-yo ri roise seku
tree branch break.PP cassowary ground-LOC wood together fall.PP
iwan ri rupue-no
hornbill tree break-3SG.OR.PP
'(The hornbill) broke the branch of the tree. The cassowary fell to the ground together with the branch. The hornbill broke the tree branch (where it was sitting).'

(4) *Bike paki kana wayou. Iwan paki bikepi baweneko, asa lam.*
bike paki kana waye-ou iwan paki bike-pi
cassowary wing quickly try-FRUS hornbill wing cassowary-POSS
ba-we-ne-ko asa le-m
FAC-break-3SG.OR-FAC how go-POS
'Quickly the cassowary tried (to move) his wings, but in vain. (The

hornbill) has broken the cassowary's wings. It cannot fly (anymore).'

(5) *Bike yeloyo nakeko. Bike paki wewolono.*
bike yelo-yo nake-ko bike paki we-wole-no
cassowary ground-LOC sit-RTS cassowary wing break-CPL-3SG.OR.PP
'The cassowary sat on the ground since then. (The hornbill) broke its wings completely.'

(6) *Iwan rileyo lo. Riyo nakeko.*
iwan rileyo lo ri-yo nake-ko
hornbill above go.PP tree-LOC sit-RTS
'The hornbill went above and sat in the tree since then.'

(7) *Riyopuno banakepisiko. Bike liki iwanpi piyo, iwan liki bikepi piyo.*
riyopuno ba-nake-pisi-ko bike liki iwan-pi
then FAC-live-CPL-FAC cassowary designated.place hornbill-POSS
piyo iwan liki bike-pi piyo
take.PP hornbill designated.place cassowary-POSS take.PP
'Then they finally live for ever (in the following way): The cassowary took over the hornbill's place, and the hornbill took over the cassowary's place.'

C Old village life

C.1 Ai kopi basuiko

Introduction

The story *Ai kopi basuiko* 'My father's death' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2000.

Summary & background

Margaret's father is said to have died through the intervention of sorcerers, who caused him to die slowly through attack spells. The victim was still alive a few days after the attack, but it is said that he was still killed by the attack. Here Margaret adopts the widespread line of argument that a person's death is never caused by medical problems but by human intervention, especially sorcery (see Gerstner-Link 2018: 14-15). This position was not discussed between her and me.

The story begins with the wizards' ambush after her father Apai has had a happy hunting experience. Then the sick man is taken from the bush hut to Ninggera and from there to Pasi near Vanimo. Instead of seeking help at the hospital in Vanimo, he was taken further to the villages – probably to Omoi – and to his relatives. He soon died there and then was given a Christian burial. I was told that people still wish to die in their own village rather than in a foreign place.

Parallel text

Epe aino kopi duyo ilo. Duyo inakap, bi lipeliwepup. Fopela lu, bike dupua biep dupua, bisem rodupua rokini, bipuel an kinika. Kuru, ba ar lu. Aplayo royewepu wapo. Sû mappo bi slau po. Ba mererpi ba mererile. Imiyu epul malo: "Duyo inake. Apai duyo nake." Imiyu molo, dob reyekûpo. Dorimolo.

My parents went to the bush. They stayed in the bush and looked for game. My father shot four big animals, two cassowaries and two boars. Then he shot three ground kangaroos and five tree kangaroos. That's enough, he didn't shoot any more animals. They put the meat on planks. They put the

planks side by side and lit fires underneath the planks. The meat became dry. Part of it they cut with a sharp cassowary bone for their bush meals. The other meat they cut with the cassowary bone to take it home to the village. The sorcerers heard something: "The two stay in the bush. Apai is staying in the bush." The sorcerers went there. From a higher spot they looked down to him. Then they left the place.

Riyopuno imiyu doripulup. Puyo lelio pul mopip. Epe kopi dob ar reyo, sakana lelio. Imiyu rauyo bia lilno. Puana. Ai kopi puana, yipyo lo. Nakap. Wik klokni nakap. Riyopuno mar, ikoina mar. Sîp Yar eme umul nek: "Yala dusui. Ko woke kanuno Yar yilauyo." Due klokni Yar yilauyo nuro duruwa. Punipino woko kanuno, puwayo. Paeau. Kanu layeko, wakayo puo, yipyo woko, yipyo uliyowe. Sîp lo, opo lipelip. Nuni kopi reyana, muelno: "Ai Margaretpi mari. Mari ikoina pi. Yala dusuiro." Opo Vanimoyo lo. Opo lo puwayo. Ai kopi epe kopi disei kopi lekiko, ukepulo Pasiyo.

Later the sorcerers came back. They killed him at the river, when he was bathing. My mother didn't see him ensorcelled. They killed him secretly. Then the sorcerers rouse him by means of the blood of a dead human. He stood up. My father got up and went back to the bush hut. He stayed on there. For one week he remained in the bush hut. Then he became sick. He was very sick. Sîp, a man from Ninggera, thought: "He will die soon. I will go together with him to Ninggera by canoe." One night he stayed in Ninggera until daybreak. In the morning he picked him up by canoe. With my father in the canoe, he paddled through the mangrove swamp. They arrived in Ninggera. He left the canoe and walked with him on his shoulders. Sîp brought him to his house and left my father there. Then he went and looked for a car. He met my uncle and told him: "Margaret's father is sick. He is very sick and he may die." A car came from Vanimo. The car went along the mangrove swamp.

They picked them all up, my father, my mother, and my brother. Together they came to Pasi.

Kiniyo eppi noyo. Op mek kep nikiyemayo muelien: "Imiyu ba leliekûpo. Yala suem. Yilauyo wokeyep." Opono wepulup. Monoyo suiouro. Mipuana, mi pu namo. Yip kepyo wepulup. Opoyo lakiyepakûpo yipyo woko. Yeni kepyo nuiweyo. Puni sui. Bo ruri kep muelneyep: "Ai kep basuiko." Ko muelien: "Pu ikoina yopo. Ko ruri moniseso. Ko punipino pule kanuno. Ko kanuno siami." Ko wo mop wo ikoina mop. Yena bî rar. Yeni wopiyo yeni pop. Matres roise piyeppuo, yeniyo uleilayekûpu. Matmatyo wel bili kumau bî pakûpo sowo. Ri wapo, ri royo, sowo. Basoweko. Yipyo molowe.

All rested. Op, Margaret's uncle, smelled his mouth and said to them: "Some sorcerers went down killing him. He may die. All of you go together to the village." They brought him by car. He shouldn't die on the road. The sick man rose again a bit, and they gave him water to drink. They drove him to his house. There they put him down from the car and went together to his house. There they bedded him on his bed. During the night he dies. Somebody said: "Tell his daughter that her father has died." When they came to me, I told them: "The river has risen and I have a baby. I will come in the morning by canoe. I'll cross the river by canoe." I cried. I cried desperately. The people dug a hole and got a coffin ready. They were making it. Then they lifted him together with the matress and put him down into the coffin. Now they carried him to the burial place, shut the lid of the coffin, and let it down into the hole. They covered the hole and put sticks together as a small fence. They covered it. It's covered properly. So they went back to their houses.

Bo kuru.

End of the story.

Glossed text

(1) *Epe aino kopi duyo ilo. Duyo inakap, bi lipeliwepup. Fopela lu, bike dupua biep dupua, bisem rodupua rokini, bipuel an kinika. Kuru, ba ar lu.*
epe ai-no ko-pi du-yo i-lo du-yo i-nake-p
mother father-INS 1SG-POSS bush-LOC DU.S-go.PP bush-LOC DU.S-stay-PC
bi lipeli-wepi-p fopela lu bike dupua biep dupua
animal seek-QUANT.O-PC four(TP) shoot.PP cassowary two boar two
bisem rodupua_rokini bipuel an_kinika kuru ba ar
kangaroo three tree.kangaroo five be.finished other NEG
lu
shoot.PP
'My parents went to the bush. They were staying in the bush and were looking for game. (My father) shot four (big animals), two cassowaries, and two boars. (Then he shot) three kangaroos and five tree kangaroos. (That's) enough, other (animals) he didn't shoot.'

(2) *Aplayo royewepu wapo. Sû mappo bi slau po. Ba mererpi ba mererile.*
apla-yo roye-wepu wapo sû_mappo bi slau po
plank-LOC put-QUANT.O.PP put.side.by.side.PP light.fire.PP meat dry LV.PP
ba mererpi ba mereri_le
some cut.with.sharp.bone.PL.O some cut.with.sharp.bone.PL.O_go
'(They) put (the animals) on planks. They put (the planks) side by side and lit fires (underneath the planks). The meat became dry. Some they cut up with a sharp bone (to eat in the bush). Some they cut up with a sharp bone to go (and bring home).'

(3) *Imiyu epul malo: "Duyo inake. Apai duyo nake." Imiyu molo, dob reyekûpo. Dorimolo.*
imiyu epul malo du-yo i-nake Apai du-yo nake imiyu
sorcerer ear hear.PP bush-LOC DU.S-stay Apai bush-LOC stay sorcerer
molo dob reye_kûpo dorimolo
go.PL.PP eye see.O.ANIM.SG._go.down.PL.A.PP go.back.PL.PP
'The sorcerers heard (something): "The two stay in the bush. Apai is staying in the bush." The sorcerers went (there) and looked down on him. (Then) they went back.'

(4) *Riyopuno imiyu doripulup. Puyo lelio pul mopip. Epe kopi dob ar reyo, sakana lelio.*

riyopuno imiyu doripulup pu-yo lelio pul_mopi-p epe
then sorcerer come.back.PL.PP river-LOC kill.PP bathe-PC mother
ko-pi dob ar reyo sakana lelio
1SG-POSS eye NEG see.O.ANIM.SG.PP secretly kill.PP
'Then the sorcerers came back. They killed (my father) at the river. He was bathing. My mother did not see him (ensorcelled). They killed him secretly.'

(5) *Imiyu rauyo bia lilno. Puana. Ai kopi puana, yipyo lo.*
imiyu rauyo bia_lil-no puana ai ko-pi
sorcerer shake.awake.PP magic.blood-INS stand.up.PP father 1SG-POSS
puana yip-yo lo
stand.up.PP house-LOC go.PP
'The sorcerers rouse him by means of the blood of a dead person. He stood up. My father got up and went to (his) (bush)house.'[1]

(6) *Nakap. Wik klokni nakap. Riyopuno mar, ikoina mar.*
nake-p wik klokni nake-p riyopuno mar ikoi-na mar
stay-PC week one stay-PC then be.sick.PP big-ADV be.sick.PP
'He was staying on. For one week he was staying on. Then he became sick. He was very sick.'

(7) *Sîp Yar eme umul nek: "Yala dusui. Ko woke kanuno Yar yilauyo."*
Sîp Yar eme umul_nek yala d-sui ko woke
Sîp Yar place.of.origin think.PP soon LKH-die I go.together.with
kanu-no Yar yilau-yo
canoe(TP)-INS Yar village-LOC
'Sîp, a man from Ninggera, thought: "He will die soon. I'll go together with him to Ninggera by canoe."'[2]

(8) *Due klokni Yar yilauyo nuro duruwa. Punipino woko kanuno, puwayo. Paeau.*
due klokni Yar yilau-yo nu-ro duruwa punipino
night one Yar village-LOC sleep.PP-EMPH daybreak morning
woko kanu-no puwa-yo paeau
go.together.with.PP canoe(TP)-INS mangrove.swamp-LOC arrive
'One night he slept in Ninggera until daybreak. In the morning he paddled together with him through the mangrove swamp. They arrived (in Ninggera).'

[1]A dead person's blood has various powers. Cf. Text B.10, Sequence 12.
[2]The village of Yar is now commonly called Ninggera.

(9) *Kanu layeko, wakayo puo, yipyo woko, yipyo uliyowe.*
kanu laye-ko waka-yo puo yip-yo woko
canoe(TP) put-RTS shoulder-LOC roam house-LOC go.together.with.PP
yip-yo uliyo-we
house-LOC leave.behind.PP-TER
'He left the canoe and walked (carrying) him on the shoulders. (Sîp) went with him to (his) house and left him in the house.'

(10) *Sîp lo, opo lipelip. Nuni kopi reyana, muelno: "Ai Margaretpi mari. Mari ikoina pi. Yala dusuiro."*
Sîp lo opo lipeli-p nuni ko-pi reyana mueli-no
Sîp go.PP car seek-PC maternal.uncle 1SG-POSS meet.PP talk.to-3SG.OR.PP
ai Margaret-pi mari mari ikoi-na pi yala d-sui=ro
father Margaret-POSS be.sick be.sick big-ADV LV soon LKH-die=EMPH
'Sîp left and was looking for a car. He met my uncle and said to him: "Margaret's father is sick. He is very sick and may just die."'

(11) *Opo Vanimoyo lo. Opo lo puwayo. Ai kopi epe kopi disei kopi lekiko, ukepulo Pasiyo.*
opo Vanimo-yo lo opo lo puwa-yo ai ko-pi
car Vanimo-LOC go.PP car go.PP mangrove.swamp-LOC father 1SG-POSS
epe ko-pi disei ko-pi leki-ko uke-pulo
mother 1SG-POSS brother 1SG-POSS fetch.PL.O-RTS jointly-come.PP
Pasi-yo
Pasi-LOC
'The car came from Vanimo. The car went along the mangrove swamp. They picked up my father, my mother, and my brother and came together to Pasi.'

(12) *Kiniyo eppi noyo. Op mek kep nikiyemayo, muelien: "Imiyu ba leliekûpo. Yala suem. Yilauyo wokeyep."*
kiniyo eppi_noyo Op mek kep nikiye-mayo mueli-en
all rest.PP Op mouth 3SG.POSS smell-MAL.PP talk.to-NSG.OR.PP
imiyu ba lelie_kûpo yala sui-m yilau-yo
sorcerer other kill_go.down.PL.A.PP soon die-POS village-LOC
woke-yep
go.together.with-IMP.PL
'All rested. Op, (Margaret's uncle), smelled his mouth and said to them: "Some sorcerers went down killing him. He may die. All of you go together to the village."'

(13) *Opono wepulup. Monoyo suiouro. Mipuana, mi pu namo.*
opo-no wepulup mono-yo sui-ou=ro mi-puana mi pu
car-INS bring.PL.A.PP road-LOC die-FRUS=EMPH ITER-rise.PP again water
namo
give.3SG.OR.PP
'They brought him by car. He must not die on the road. He rose again (a bit), and they gave him some water again.'

(14) *Yip kepyo wepulup. Opoyo lakiyepakûpo yipyo woko. Yeni kepyo nuiweyo.*
yip kep-yo wepulup opo-yo lakiye_pakûpo
house 3SG.POSS-LOC bring.PL.PP car-LOC fetch_put.down.PL.A.PP
yip-yo woko yeni kep-yo nuiweyo
house-LOC go.together.with.PP bed 3SG.POSS-LOC bed.PP
'They drove him to his house. (There) they put him down and went together to the house. They bedded him on his bed.'

(15) *Puni sui. Bo ruri kep muelneyep: "Ai kep basuiko."*
puni sui bo ruri kep mueli-ne-yep ai kep
night die word child 3SG.POSS talk.to-3SG.OR-IMP.PL father 3SG.POSS
ba-sui-ko
FAC-die-FAC
'During the night he dies. (People said:) "Tell his daughter that her father has died."'

(16) *Ko muelien: "Pu ikoina yopo. Ko ruri moniseso. Ko punipino pule kanuno. Ko kanuno siami."*
ko mueli-en pu ikoi-na yopo ko ruri moniseso ko
I talk.to-NSG.OR.PP river big-ADV rise.PP I child very.small I
punipino pule kanu-no ko kanu-no siami
morning come canoe(TP)-INS I canoe(TP)-INS cross.hither
'I told them: "The river rose high. I have a baby. I'll come in the morning by canoe. I will cross (the river) by canoe."'

(17) *Ko wo mop, wo ikoina mop. Yena bî rar. Yeni wopiyo, yeni pop. Matres roise piyeppuo, yeniyo uleilayekûpu.*
ko wo_mop wo_ikoina_mop yena bî rar yeni wopiyo yeni
I cry.PP cry.much.PP people hole dig.PP coffin get.ready.PP coffin
pi-p matres roise piyeppuo yeni-yo
make-PC mattress(TP) together lift.up.PP coffin-LOC

uleilayekûpu
put.inside.down.hither.PL.A.PP
'I cried. I cried desperately. The people dug a hole and got a coffin ready. They were making it. (Then) they lifted him together with the mattress and put him down into the coffin.'

(18) *Matmatyo wel bili kumau. Bî pakûpo, sowo. Ri wapo, ri royo, sowo. Basoweko. Yipyo molowe.*
matmat-yo wel bili kumau bî pakûpo
place.of.burial(TP)-LOC carry.PP opening shut hole throw.down.PL.A.PP
sowo ri wapo ri royo sowo ba-sowe-ko
cover.PP stick put.together.PP stick lay.PP cover.PP FAC-cover-FAC
yip-yo molo-we
house-LOC go.PL.PP-TER
'They carried him to the burial place and shut the opening (of the coffin). They let it down into the hole, covered it. (Then) they put sticks together (as a small fence). They covered (the grave). It is covered, and they went to (their) houses.'

(19) *Bo kuru.*
bo kuru
story be.finished
'The story is finished.'

C.2 Ruri Epek

Introduction

The story *Ruri epek* 'The ancestral spirit' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007.

Summary & background

Sago processing is one of the women's main occupations. They take their babies or toddlers with them when they spend a day in the sago swamp. Sometimes the children are carried in a big bilum while they work, sometimes they are placed on a *pangal* platform to sleep. This is an opportunity for the spirits to invade the child's mind and disturb its rest. The child can no longer be soothed by breast-feeding. A magical ritual must be performed with a specific plant to drive the spirits away. The leaves and bark used for the ritual could not be identified. The bark, which is chewed and spat on the child, may contain a calming substance.

One possible natural reason for the baby's restlessness is the omnipresent insects in the sago swamp and, to a lesser extent, in its own home.

Figure C.1: Pounding sago

Parallel text

Epe dueyo lo ruri moni roise. Wepulyo ule, dueyo woko. Due wosinip. Ruri nuweyewe yeniyo, epe due sinip. Yei wopiyo. Due nek wena yeiyo lul. Ruri due nuip, nek lulip. Nek aska, milupiko. Miwemon, lul, due lul. Nek mi ke kuru. Milo, milupiko, miwepulo. Sosoli nakap. Riyopuno nek kesiyo. Soruo kopue roise pusiyo.

The mother went to the sago swamp. She took her baby with her and put it in the baby sling. They went to the swamp. She pounded sago in company of her child. She let the child sleep on a platform and was busy pounding sago. Then she got the trough for kneading and washing the sago pith ready. She brought the pith to the washing place and washed it in the trough. The child was sleeping, and she was busy washing sago. Soon she had finished the pith. She brought more and went on washing the pith. Again the pith is finished. So she went once more to get a new load of pith for processing. Carrying sago pith and washing it kept her busy for quite some time. Finally she had used up all the pith. Now she cleaned the filtering net and the trough.

Eku nakap. Due ep amalûpi. Due ep balûpiko. Ep sipamu dû piyamu. Dû sepue roise piyamu rop soruo roise. Dû ropyo pokûno. Ruri puana wo mop, ba wo mop. Epe ba namo, ruri ba nep. Wepul moniyo laek, ruri wepulyo ule. Due dû piapo rop roise. Rop wakayo puakuyo puo. Yipyo woko.

She sat down for a while. First the rinse water of the sago pith has to be clean. Now the rinse water is clean. She tipped out the dirty water and took the sago flour. She took the flour and the trough, the basket and the net. Finally she filled the flour into a basket. The child woke up and cried. She cried for the breast. The mother let her suckle, and the child was drinking. Then the mother put the cloth around her neck and the child into the baby sling. She lifted up the baskets with sago flour. She carried the baskets on shoulders and head. So they returned back home.

Buai Epek. Epek dob reyepue ruri moniro. Yipyo wokoro. Dû rop isiye wolako, due rop. Riyopuno yaup yowo sûyo. Yaup mol. Due piyo wîlyo ya mappo. Ya sui. Ya lulpamu mamouno. Supopo rupueyo. Rapue si. Rapue bareko. Ipi isiye puliyo, wîlyo rupopo. Ruri kep royeen ai kep roise, kimiso. Iki kiniyo ilo ya roise. Baileko. Ruri moni wo mop. Epe ba namo. Ba ar no, pusayepop. Ba pusayap. Epek dob reyepuo. Ep yeniyo royewolap, yeni epiyo wapewolap. Pael pulupup. Ruri wo basneiko. Epek dob reyepuo, bamolko. Wo sina, monemno nake. Ba ere ni, upuna nake.

Buai, Epek. The ancestral spirits. Epek watches the baby. He accompanies the little child to the house. There the mother set the flour down. She set down the baskets. Then she heated water on the fire. The water boiled. She took sago in a dish and stirred it in. The sago is ready. She portioned the sago with wooden sticks and cut it into pieces. She put the portions on leaves. Now she cooked vegetables. The vegetables are done. She took them together with the pot from the fire and distributed them on the plates. She gave food to her children and their father. And also to herself. They all ate vegetables with sago. They have finished the meal. The little child started crying. The mother gave her the breast, but the baby didn't suckle. She was rejecting the breast. She didn't suckle. Epek, the ancestral spirit, watched the child. The parents put *ep*-leaves around the bed. They were putting them at the edges of the bed. Then they spit chewed bark on the child. Soon the child was silent. The ancestral spirits had occupied her. Now they have left her. The crying stopped and the baby is quiet. Now she wants to suckle and is fine.

Glossed text

(1) *Epe dueyo lo ruri moni roise. Wepulyo ule, dueyo woko. Due wosinip. Ruri nuweyewe yeniyo, epe due sinip.*

epe due-yo lo ruri moni roise wepul-yo ule
mother sago-LOC go.PP child little together cloth-LOC put.into.PP
due-yo woko due wo-sini-p ruri
sago-LOC accompany.PP sago ACCOM-pound.sago.pith-PC child

nuweye-we yeni-yo epe due sini-p
lay.down.for.resting-TER platform-LOC mother sago pound.sago.pith-PC
'The mother went to the sago swamp together with the little child. She put it in the baby sling. They went together to the sago swamp. She was pounding sago in company (of the child). (Then) she laid the child down on a platform to sleep. The mother continued pounding sago.'

(2) *Yei wopiyo. Due nek wena, yeiyo lul. Ruri due nuip, nek lulip. Nek aska, milupiko. Miwemon, lul, due lul. Nek mi ke kuru. Milo, milupiko, miwepulo. Sosoli nakap. Riyopuno nek kesiyo. Soruo kopue roise pusiyo.*
yei wopiyo due nek
kneading.trough.for.sago.washing get.ready.PP sago sago.pith
wena yei-yo lul
carry.inside.PP kneading.trough.for.sago.washing-LOC mix.with.water.PP
ruri due_nui-p nek luli-p nek aska
child sleep-PC sago.pith mix.with.water-PC sago.pith none
mi-lupi-ko mi-wemon lul due
ITER-shovel.by.hand-RTS ITER-bring.hither.PP mix.with.water.PP sago
lul nek mi ke kuru mi-lo
mix.with.water.PP sago.pith again APH be.finished ITER-go.PP
mi-lupi-ko mi-wepulo sosoli nake-p riyopuno
ITER-shovel.by.hand-RTS ITER-bring.PP like.this stay-PC then
nek kesiyo soruo kopue roise pusiyo
sago.pith use.up.PP filter.net trough together wash.PP
'She got the trough for kneading and washing the sago ready. She carried sago pith to (the washing place) and washed it in the kneading trough. The child was sleeping, and she was washing the sago pith. (There is) no pith left (anymore). Again she reshovelled some, brought it and washed it. She washed the sago pith. The pith is finished again. She went again, reshovelled and brought more. (So) she was busy like this. Then she (had) used up the sago pith and cleaned the filtering net and the trough.'

(3) *Eku nakap. Due ep amalûpi. Due ep balûpiko. Ep sipamu, dû piyamu. Dû sepue roise piyamu rop soruo roise. Dû ropyo pokûno.*
eku nake-p due ep am-a-lûpi due ep
behind sit-PC sago rinse.water GRAD-IMP3-clean sago rinse.water
ba-lûpi-ko ep sipamu dû piyamu dû
FAC-clean-FAC rinse.water tip.away.hither.PP flour take.hither.PP flour

sepue roise piyamu rop soruo roise dû rop-yo
trough together take.hither.PP basket filter.net together flour basket-LOC
pokûno
fill.in.PP
'She sat down (for a short while). First the rinse water (of the sago pith) has to be clean. The rinse water has become clean. She tipped out the dirty rinse water and took the (sago) flour. She took the flour and the trough together, and the basket with the filtering net. (Finally) she poured the flour into the basket.'

(4) *Ruri puana, wo mop, ba wo mop. Epe ba namo, ruri ba nep. Wepul moniyo laek, ruri wepulyo ule. Due dû piapo rop roise. Rop wakayo puakuyo puo. Yipyo woko.*
ruri puana wo_mop ba wo_mop epe ba namo
child wake.up.PP cry.PP breast cry.PP mother breast give.3SG.OR.PP
ruri ba ni-p wepul moni-yo laek ruri wepul-yo
child breast eat-PC cloth neck-LOC put.around.PP child cloth-LOC
ule due_dû piapo rop roise rop waka-yo
put.into.PP sago.flour lift.up.PP basket together basket shoulder-LOC
puaku-yo puo yip-yo woko
head-LOC walk.around.PP house-LOC accompany.PP
'The child woke up and cried. She cried for her breast. The mother gave her her breast, and the child was drinking. (The mother) put the cloth around her neck and the child into the baby sling. She lifted up the sago flour together with the baskets. She carried the baskets on shoulders and head. (Then) they went in (each other's) company (back) to the house.'

(5) *Buai, Epek. Epek dob reyepue ruri moniro. Yipyo wokoro. Dû rop isiye wolako, due rop.*
Buai Epek Epek dob reyepue ruri moni=ro yip-yo
Buai Epek Epek eye watch.O.ANIM.SG child little=EMPH house-LOC
woko=ro dû rop isiye wolako due rop
accompany.PP=EMPH flour basket together set.down.PP sago basket
'Buai, Epek (the ancestral spirits). Epek watches her. He accompanies the little child to the house. (The mother) set down the flour with the baskets, the sago baskets.'

(6) *Riyopuno yaup yowo sûyo. Yaup mol. Due piyo wîlyo, ya mappo. Ya sui. Ya lulpamu mamouno. Supopo rupueyo. Rapue si. Rapue bareko. Ipi isiye puliyo, wîlyo rupopo.*

riyopuno yaup yowo sû-yo yaup mol
then water.for.cooking heat.PP fire-LOC water.for.cooking boil.PP
due piyo wîl-yo ya_mappo ya_sui ya lulpamu
sago take.PP dish-LOC stir.sago.PP sago.be.ready sago portion.sago.PP
mamou-no supopo rupue-yo rapue si
wooden.sticks-INS cut.into.pieces.PP leaf-LOC vegetables cook
rapue ba-re-ko ipi isiye puliyo wîl-yo
vegetables FAC-be.done-FAC pot together take.off.PP plate-LOC
rupopo
distribute.PL.O.PP

'Then she heated water on the fire. The water boiled. She took sago in a dish and stirred it in. The sago is ready. She portioned the sago with wooden sticks and cut it into pieces. (She put the portions) on leaves. She cooked vegetables. The vegetables are done. She took them together with the pot (from the fire) and distributed them on the plates.'

(7) *Ruri kep royeen ai kep roise, kimiso. Iki kiniyo ilo ya roise. Baileko.*
ruri kep roye-en ai kep roise ki-miso iki
child 3SG.POSS give-NSG.OR.PP father 3SG.POSS together APH-also APH.PL
kiniyo ilo ya roise ba-ile-ko
all eat.PL.A.PP sago together FAC-eat.PL.A-FAC

'She gave (food) to her children and their father. And also to herself. They all ate (the vegetables) with sago. They have eaten up (all the food).'

(8) *Ruri moni wo mop. Epe ba namo. Ba ar no, pusayepop. Ba pusayap.*
ruri moni wo_mop epe ba namo ba ar no
child little cry.PP mother breast give.3SG.OR.PP breast NEG eat.PP
pusaye-pi-p ba pusaye-p
reject-LV-PC breast reject-PC

'The little child cried. The mother gave her her breast, but (the baby) didn't take her breast. She was rejecting it. She was rejecting the breast.'

(9) *Epek dob reyepuo. Ep yeniyo royewolap, yeni epiyo wapewolap. Pael pulupup.*
Epek dob reyepuo ep yeni-yo roye_wole-p
Epek eye watch.O.ANIM.SG.PP kind.of.leaf bed-LOC lay_move.further-PC
yeni epiyo wape_wole-p pael
bed at.the.edge put.together_move.further-PC chewed.bark.of.tree

pulu-pi-p
spit-LV-PC
'(The ancestral spirit) Epek watched (the child). (The parents) put *ep*-leaves around the bed. They were putting them at the edges of the bed. (Then) they were spitting chewed bark on the child.'

(10) *Ruri wo basneiko. Epek dob reyepuo. Bamolko. Wo sina, monemno nake. Ba ere ni, upuna nake.*
ruri wo ba-sinei-ko Epek dob reyepuo
child crying FAC-become.silent-FAC Epek eye watch.O.ANIM.SG.PP
ba-mole-ko wo sina monemno nake ba ere ni
FAC-go.PL-FAC crying become.silent.PP quiet sit-PC breast now eat
upuna nake
alright sit
'The child has become silent. The ancestral spirits (had) watched it. (Now) they have gone. The crying stopped. (The baby) stays quiet. Now she takes the breast and is fine.'[3]

[3]It is not clear whether Epek is a single spirit or a group of disturbing ancestral spirits. In Sequence (10) we have the plural form *bamolko* whose subject is Epek.

C.3 Ko lelo piu no

Introduction

The story *Ko lelo piu no* 'Eating geckos and frogs' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007.

Summary & background

Processing sago is hard work. Normally you spend the whole day in the sago swamp. Often the family works together, but in this story it is only the mother and her young daughter who go to the swamp together. It is commonly assumed that children are fairly independent once they are able to walk properly and climb smaller palm trees. They would look for something to eat during the long hours in the swamp. When they were hungry, they would look for small animals such as geckos and frogs and roast them in the fire. Here Margaret Osi recalls her own childhood. Back then, she took pride in catching these small creatures, which would be the only food or sometimes a nice addition to a small portion of sago jelly prepared by her mother.

When I was invited to accompany Susan Bisam to the swamp, she cut down a young palm tree to eat the white flesh at its upper end. It looked like a 30 to 40 cm high cone and tasted fresh. It was a special treat for the children who had come with us.

Figure C.2: Susan kneading sago pith

Parallel text

Koyo dueyo iloi, epe ko ikap roise. Koyo due wosonip. Epe kopi sonip, ko eku nakap dob ponap. Nek kau ropyo lupi. Ropyo lupuwapo, yeiyo meli. Sepue royepana pekolyo. Sepue apulyo lelweip. Riyopuno saryo wapo. Due pul sepueyo kûno. Pu ipiyo nekyo sipepo. Sipako, due lulip. Kululilpno nek kesiyowolo. Nek lupuapoko, melipulo, yeiyo lulip. Due lulip. Due lulip. Ko nakap. Ko unakap. Ko nakoro, epe kopiro ko muelno: "Ko el sui. Ko lelo piu lipeli riyepi."

My mother and I went to the sago swamp. We pounded sago pith together. My mother was pounding, while I was sitting down on a palm rib and watching her. There was plenty of sago pith which she shovelled into a basket. She shovelled pith into several baskets and carried it to the kneading trough for sago washing. She put the trough in a circle of wooden sticks. The trough was stably placed in the middle of it. Then she put sago pith into a palm rib container. The pith went down into the trough. She bucketed water and poured it on the sago pith. She poured it down and was washing the sago. Having washed for some time, the sago pith was used up. Then she shovelled more sago pith, brought it, and washed it in the trough. She was washing sago. She was washing sago incessantly, while I was sitting there. I was just sitting idly. At last I said to my mother: "I feel hungry. I will seek geckos and frogs. I will look for some for food."

Ko lo, ko numomo ppuo. Ko piu riyepo lelo roise. Ko ppue dob seku: piu unake. Ko wiyo, ko pako yeloyo. Numomo kwe epi baka ko dob seku: lelo unake. Ko wiyo, ko pako yeloyo. Ko kûno yeloyo. Ko piu lelo piyowe, rupueno lolowe. Ko numomo ba ppuo. Numomo kwe dob seku: piu unake. Ko wiyo, yeloyo pako. Kwe epi baka dob seku: piu dupua inakap. Ko wiyowe, ko yeloyo pakowe. Ko kûno yeloyo. Piu rondupua

Off I went. I climbed a *numomo*-sago palm and looked for frogs and geckos. I climbed up and looked down (into a palm rib): Here is a frog. I caught it and threw it on the ground. I looked also into the *numomo*-palm rib on the other side of me: Here is a gecko. I caught it and threw it on the ground. I went down to the ground. I took the frog and the gecko and wrapped them in a leaf. I climbed another sago palm

rokini rupueno lolo, meli yeiyo. "Piu lelo de luwapo?" "Ko baluwapoko." Ko sû mappoipe. Ko rupueno re, piyo sûyo. Sûyo rap. Ko puliyo sûyo. Ko piu rupue nepe. Epe kopi piu ko namo, dupua. Ko ike piu dupua leloyo. Koyo inoi.

and looked down into the *numomo*-palm rib: Here is a frog. I caught it and threw it on the ground. I looked also into the palm rib on the other side of me: Two frogs were sitting there. I caught them and threw them on the ground. Then I went down to the ground. I wrapped the three frogs in a leaf to carry them to the trough where my mother was. "Did you catch frogs and geckos?" "I have caught some." I lit a fire first. Then I took them in the leaves to get done in the fire. They were roasting in the fire. I took the frogs off the fire and took away the leaves. I gave two frogs to my mother. I myself had two frogs and the gecko. We ate.

Due bapusiyoko. Due dû ep sipamu. Sepue piyamu due dû roise. Ropyo pokûno. Due dû rop roise piapo, puakuyo wakayo puo. Ani kululipno yipyo iloi. Yilauyo paeau. Yipyo wolomno ppuo, due dû wapoyo wolo. Epe sû mappo, yaup yowo sûyo. Yaup mol. Epe kopi due piyo wîlyo, ya mappo. Ya kamappapno ya sui. Ya kusuipno, rupueyo supopo. Lelpanapno bese ipino si. Bese kisipno krapno, puliyo. Paepu si. Ipiyo sikûno, sûyo yowo. Paepu bese roise baroko. Puliyo, wîl royo, rupopo. Uke roinen. Uke ilo. Uke bailoko rapue kesiyo. Mapap.

The sago is washed. My mother tipped out the rinse water. She took the trough together with the sago flour. Then she filled the flour into baskets and lifted the heavy baskets up on her head and shoulders. We walked back. Having washed sago all day we went to our house. We reached the village. My mother climbed the ladder and set the sago flour on the porch. She lit a fire and boiled water on the fire. The water boiled. My mother put the sago in a dish and stirred water in. Soon the sago is ready. When it was done, she cut it in pieces and put the portions on leaves. She set them aside. Now she cooked *tulip*-vegetable in a pot. When the *tulip* was done, she took it out. Then she cooked mushrooms. She put them in a pot and

cooked them over the fire. Soon the mushrooms and the *tulip*-vegetable are done. She took them out of the pot, put the plates on the floor, distributed the vegetables, and gave them to us. We ate. We finished the meal. All the food is eaten up, and we were sitting and resting.

Bo kuru. End of the story.

Glossed text

(1) *Koyo dueyo iloi, epe ko ikap roise. Koyo due wosonip. Epe kopi sonip, ko eku nakap, dob ponap.*
koyo due-yo i-lo epe ko_ikap roise koyo due
we.DU.EXCL sago-LOC DU.S-go.PP mother I.myself with we.DU.EXCL sago
wo-soni-p epe ko-pi soni-p ko
ACCOM-pound.sago.pith-PC mother 1SG-POSS pound.sago.pith-PC I
eku nake-p dob pi-ne-p
behind sit-PC eye LV-3SG.OR-PC
'We went to the sago swamp, I together with my mother. We pounded sago pith together. My mother was pounding. I was sitting down (on a palm rib) and watching her.'

(2) *Nek kau ropyo lupi. Ropyo lupuwapo, yeiyo meli. Sepue royepana pekolyo. Sepue apulyo lelweip.*
nek kau rop-yo lupi rop-yo
sago.pith full basket-LOC shovel.by.hand basket-LOC
lupiwapo yei-yo meli
shovel.by.hand.a.lot.PP kneading.trough.for.sago.washing-LOC carry.PL.O
sepue royepana pekol-yo sepue apulyo
trough put.thither.PP circle.of.wooden.sticks-LOC trough in.the.middle
lili-we-p
be.there-TER-PC
'(There is) plenty of sago pith which she shovels into a basket. She shovelled (pith) into several baskets and carried it to the kneading trough for sago washing. She put the trough in a circle of wooden sticks. The trough was stably placed in the middle of it.'

(3) *Riyopuno saryo wapo. Due pul sepueyo kûno. Pu ipiyo nekyo sipepo. Sipako, due lulip. Kululilpno nek kesiyowolo. Nek lupuapoko, melipulo, yeiyo lulip.*
riyopuno sar-yo wapo due pul sepue-yo
then palm.rib.container-LOC put.together.PP sago fruit trough-LOC
kûno pu ipiyo nek-yo sipepo
go.down.PP water bucket.PP sago.pith-LOC pour.on.top.PP
sipako due luli-p k-luli-p-no
pour.down.into.PP sago mix.with.water-PC SUB-mix.with.water-PC-CO
nek kesiye-wolo nek lupiwapo-ko melipulo
sago.pith use.up-CPL.PP sago.pith shovel.by.hand.a.lot-RTS bring.PL.O.PP
yei-yo luli-p
kneading.trough.for.sago.washing-LOC mix.with.water-PC
'Then she put (sago pith) into a palm rib container. The pith went down into the trough. She bucketed water and poured it on the sago pith. She poured it down and was washing the sago. Having washed (for some time), the sago pith was used up. (Then) she shovelled more sago pith, brought it, and was washing it in the trough.'

(4) *Due lulip. Due lulip. Ko nakap. Ko unakap. Ko nakoro, epe kopiro ko muelno: "Ko el sui. Ko lelo piu lipeli, riyepi."*
due luli-p due luli-p ko nake-p ko
sago mix.with.water-PC sago mix.with.water-PC I sit-PC I
u-nake-p ko nako=ro epe ko-pi=ro ko muel-no
DFAC-sit-PC I sit.PP=EMPH mother 1SG-POSS=EMPH I talk.to-3SG.OR.PP
ko el_sui ko lelo piu lipeli riye-pi
I be.hungry I gecko frog seek see.O.INANIM-LV
'She was washing sago ... She was washing sago. I was sitting. I was just sitting. I sat (there) and said to my mother: "I feel hungry. I will seek geckos and frogs. I will look for them."'

(5) *Ko lo, ko numomo ppuo. Ko piu riyepo lelo roise. Ko ppue dob seku: piu unake. Ko wiyo, ko pako yeloyo.*
ko lo ko numomo ppuo ko piu riye-po lelo
I go.PP I sago.palm.species climb.PP I frog see.O.INANIM-LV.PP gecko
roise ko ppuo dob seku piu u-nake ko wiyo ko pako
together I climb.PP eye fall.PP frog DFAC-sit I hold.PP I throw.PP
yelo-yo
ground-LOC
'I went. I climbed a *numomo*-sago palm and looked for frogs and geckos. I

climbed up and looked down (into a palm rib): Here is a frog. I caught it and threw it on the ground.'[4]

(6) *Numomo kwe epi baka ko dob seku: lelo unake. Ko wiyo, ko pako yeloyo.*
numomo kwe epi baka ko dob seku lelo u-nake ko
sago.palm.species palm.rib side other I eye fall.PP gecko DFAC-sit I
wiyo ko pako yelo-yo
hold.PP I throw.PP ground-LOC
'I looked down into the *numomo*-palm rib on the other side: Here is a gecko. I caught it and threw it on the ground.'

(7) *Ko kûno yeloyo. Ko piu lelo piyowe, rupueno lolowe.*
ko kûno yelo-yo ko piu lelo piyo-we rupue-no
I go.down.PP ground-LOC I frog gecko take.PP-DU.O leaf-INS
lolo-we
wrap.PP-DU.O
'I went down to the ground. I took the frog and the gecko and wrapped them in a leaf.'

(8) *Ko numomo ba ppuo. Numomo kwe dob seku: piu unake. Ko wiyo, yeloyo pako.*
ko numomo ba ppuo numomo kwe dob
I sago.palm.species other climb.PP sago.palm.species palm.rib eye
seku piu u-nake ko wiyo yelo-yo pako
fall.PP frog DFAC-sit I hold.PP ground-LOC throw.PP
'I climbed another sago palm and looked down into the *numomo*-palm rib: Here is a frog. I caught it and threw it on the ground.'

(9) *Kwe epi baka dob seku: piu dupua inakap. Ko wiyowe, ko yeloyo pakowe.*
kwe epi baka dob seku piu dupua i-nake-p ko wiyo-we ko
palm.rib side other eye fall.PP frog two DU.S-sit-PC I hold.PP-DU.O I

[4]Grammatical comment: In standard linguistic semantics, constructions with *seek* are considered ambiguous due to a scope distinction: in the specific reading of *x seeks y*, *y* has wide scope over *seek*, meaning that there is some (specific) y_i such that *x* seeks it_i. The non-specific reading has this order reversed, in the sense of *x* seeking some or other *y* with a certain property. In Kilmeri, by contrast, there is no scope ambiguity involved at all. Instead, in the non-specific reading of some or other frog being sought the feature [-ANIM] is assigned via the verb form *riye* in the second clause, and once a specific frog is talked about, we find the feature [+ANIM] via the choice of the existential-postural verb *nake*, in the fourth clause of Sequence (5).

yelo-yo pako-we
ground-LOC throw.PP-DU.O
'I looked down into the palm rib on the other side: Two frogs were sitting (there). I caught them and threw them on the ground.'

(10) *Ko kûno yeloyo. Piu rondupua rokini rupueno lolo, meli yeiyo.*
ko kûno yelo-yo piu rondupua_rokini rupue-no lolo
I go.down.PP ground-LOC frog three leaf-INS wrap.PP
meli yei-yo
carry.PL.O kneading.trough.for.sago.washing-LOC
'I went down to the ground. I wrapped the three frogs in a leaf to carry them to the trough for sago washing.'

(11) *"Piu lelo de luwapo?" "Ko baluwapoko." Ko sû mappoipe. Ko rupueno re, piyo sûyo. Sûyo rap.*
piu lelo de luwapo ko ba-luwapi-ko ko sû_mappo-ipe ko
frog gecko you catch.PP I FAC-catch-FAC I light.a.fire.PP-ANT I
rupue-no re piyo sû-yo sû-yo re-p
leaf-INS get.done take.PP fire-LOC fire-LOC get.done-PC
'"Did you catch frogs and geckos?" "I have caught some." I lit a fire first. (Then) I took them in the leaves to get done in the fire. They were roasting in the fire.'

(12) *Ko puliyo sûyo. Ko piu rupue nepe. Epe kopi piu ko namo, dupua. Ko ike piu dupua leloyo. Koyo inoi.*
ko puliyo sû-yo ko piu rupue nepe epe ko-pi piu ko
I take.off.PP fire-LOC I frog leaf take.off.PP mother 1SG-POSS frog I
namo dupua ko_ike piu dupua lelo-yo koyo
give.3SG.OR.PP two I.myself frog two gecko-LOC we.DU.EXCL
i-no
DU.A-eat.PP
'I took them off the fire. I took away the leaves (from) the frogs. I gave frogs to my mother, two (of them). I myself (had) two frogs and the gecko. We ate.'

(13) *Due bapusiyoko. Due dû ep sipamu. Sepue piyamu due dû roise. Ropyo pokûno. Due dû rop roise piapo, puakuyo wakayo puo.*
due ba-pusiye-ko due_dû ep sipamu sepue
sago FAC-wash-FAC sago.flour rinse.water tip.away.hither.PP trough

piyamu due_dû roise rop-yo pokûno due_dû rop
take.hither.PP sago.flour with basket-LOC fill.in.PP sago.flour basket
roise piapo puaku-yo waka-yo puo
together lift.up.PP head-LOC shoulder-LOC walk.PP
'The sago is washed. (My mother) tipped out the rinse water of the sago flour. She took the trough together with the sago flour. (Then) she filled (the flour) in baskets and lifted the baskets along with the sago flour up on her head and shoulders. We walked (back).'

(14) *Ani kululipno yipyo iloi. Yilauyo paeau. Yipyo wolomno ppuo, due dû wapoyo wolo.*
ani k-luli-p-no yip-yo i-lo yilau-yo paeau
day SUB-mix.with.water-PC-CO house-LOC DU.S-go.PP village-LOC reach
yip-yo wolom-no ppuo due_dû wapo-yo wolo
house-LOC ladder-INS go.up.PP sago.flour porch-LOC set.PP
'Having washed sago (all) day we went to (our) house. We reached the village. (My mother) climbed the ladder and set the sago flour on the porch.'

(15) *Epe sû mappo, yaup yowo sûyo. Yaup mol. Epe kopi due piyo wîlyo, ya mappo. Ya kamappapno ya sui. Ya kusuipno, rupueyo supopo.*
epe sû_mappo yaup sû-yo yowo yaup
mother light.a.fire.PP water.for.cooking fire-LOC boil.PP water.for.cooking
mol epe ko-pi due piyo wîl-yo ya_mappo ya
boil.PP mother 1SG-POSS sago take.PP dish-LOC stir.sago.PP sago
k-mappe-p-no ya_sui ya
SUB-stir.sago-PC-CO sago.become.ready sago
k-sui-p-no rupue-yo supopo
SUB-sago.become.ready-PC-CO leaf-LOC cut.in.pieces.PL.O.PP
'(My) mother lit a fire and boiled water on the fire. The water boiled. My mother put the sago in a dish and stirred it. After stirring in (the water) the sago is ready. When it was ready, she cut it in pieces on leaves.'

(16) *Lelpanapno bese ipino si. Bese kisipno krapno, puliyo. Paepu si. Ipiyo sikûno, sûyo yowo. Paepu bese roise baroko.*
lilipane-p-no bese ipi-no si bese k-si-p-no
be.there.do.thither-PC-CO tulip pot-with cook.PP tulip SUB-cook-PC-CO
k-re-p-no puliyo paepu si ipi-yo sikûno
SUB-get.done-PC-CO take.out.PP mushroom cook.PP pot-LOC fill.in.PP

sû-yo yowo paepu bese roise ba-re-ko
fire-LOC boil.PP mushroom tulip with FAC-get.done-FAC
'While the sago (portions) are (put) aside, she cooked *tulip* in a pot. When the *tulip* was cooked and done, she took it out (of the pot). (Then) she cooked mushrooms. She placed them in a pot and cooked them over the fire. (Soon) the mushrooms and the *tulip*-vegetable are done.'

(17) *Puliyo, wîl royo, rupopo. Uke roinen. Uke ilo. Uke bailoko rapue kesiyo. Mapap.*
puliyo wîl royo rupopo uke roye-en
take.out.PP plate put.PP distribute.PL.O.PP we.EXCL give-NSG.OR.PP
uke ilo uke ba-ile-ko rapue kesiyo mape-p
we.EXCL eat.PL.A.PP we.EXCL FAC-eat.PL.A-FAC food use.up.PP sit.PL-PC
'She took them out (of the pot), put the plates (on the floor), distributed (the vegetables) and gave them to us. We ate. We have eaten. The food was consumed, and we were sitting (and resting).'

(18) *Bo kuru.*
bo kuru
story be.finished
'The story is finished.'

C.4 Ai kopi yip papi

Introduction

The story *Ai kopi yip papi* 'My father builds a house' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007.

Summary & background

The house that Margaret's father built is a family home. The events described took place around six decades ago, but the construction technique she describes is still used today. The only difference is the use of nails instead of ropes. My own house was also built the way Margaret describes. The supporting posts, which are anchored in the ground, are usually made of ironwood (*Intsia bijuga*), a hard wood. The floor of the house is about 1 metre (or even higher) from the ground.

The use of six support posts results in a house that is about 6 metres long and 3 metres wide. That's a rather small floor plan. As we see in Sequence 15, the fireplace was inside the house. Nowadays, people often have a separate kitchen house (*haus kuk* in Tok Pisin) of about 6 square metres where all meals are prepared. Traditionally, the Kilmeri had single-family houses owned by one family. The communal houses included a house for adolescent men and the men's house for ritual purposes. The latter were absolutely taboo for women (see Text A.4). Each village had its own men's house (*haus tambaran* in Tok Pisin), and the men would sleep and eat there (see Sequence (9) below). This was also the place for conversations and discussions. The spheres of life of men and women were thus relatively separate - a fact that Margaret Osi often repeats when she comments on the "modern" way of life. Above all, women did not have as many children as they do today. According to her, four children were normal compared to six to eight children today.

Some remarks to Margaret Osi's narrative style: The work steps are usually described in two clauses. First the action clause appears in the punctual past tense, and then the result is given in a separate clause in the modality of resultative factuality. The descriptive sequence of action and result, repeated for each work step, depicts the process of building the house perfectly. Note also the list of words and phrases indicating daybreak in Sequence (9). This adds a poetic touch to the scenery and the narrative. The sunrise itself cannot be seen in the forest. But you can see the change from black to grey to light.

Figure C.3: Houses at Ossima Asples

Parallel text

Ai kopi lopos mael, suko. Ba mo, suel boliyo wuliyo. Ba mo boliyo wuliyo. Ba mo boliyo wuliyo. An baka klokni lopos wapoko, royoko. Yipyo lo. Due klokni eppi noyo. Umul nek, nekpamu, "Nuko mole lopos memiye." Uke molo ko epe aino ikap roise. Uke paeau loposyo ulapno. Uke riyo paeau. Uke mapap sû mappo. Ai kopi lopos ba wel, yipyo layeko. Mipulo dori, mi ba laliko, wel yilau yipyo. Midoripulo, ba piyo, wel, yipyo layeko. Kuso sosoli nakap. Kuso ponake. Lopos piapo, laliko, yipyo layeko. Midoripulo, mi ba piapo. Mi ba lal, yipyo layeko. Midoripulo. Klokni solo lilip, ba aska. Piapo, lal, burilo. Uke boyo wulino: "Ine boyo pulupip! Ko lopos burilaliwe."

My father cut posts. He cut them to size. He felled other trees and cut them in shape from trunk to top. He felled more and cut them in shape from trunk to top. He felled still more trees and cut them in shape from trunk to top. He put together six posts and placed them on the ground. Finally he went back home to our house and rested there for one full day. He thought about what to do next. "We go and carry the posts." So we went off, me together with my parents. We arrived at the place where the posts were laid down. There we were staying and lit a fire. My father started carrying posts and put them at the place of the new house. He returned, took others, and carried them to the place of the house. He came back again, took another one, and carried it to

the construction site. He laid it down there. He was busy like this. He transported trunks and stems unceasingly. He lifted a post, carried it, laid it down at the future place of the house. He came back, lifted another one, carried it, and laid it down at the construction site. He came back again. Finally, only one post was left. He lifted it, carried it, and went ahead. We followed him: "You come behind. I'll carry the post ahead."

Kimike yipyo nakap. Uke boyo molo, paeau. Uke eppi noyo, mapap. Kwerno epe kopi yaup yowo. Yaup mol. Ya mappo. Ya sui. Lulpamu, rupueyo supopo. Bese si paepu roise. Bese paepu roise wi. Rap. Bareko. Puliyo, sipulyo wolowe. Amanisiipe. Pupuol pi, banisko. Wîlyo rupopo. Ai kopi ponamo, ko powa, disei kopi ponamo. Ki misero no. Uke ilap yano. Baileko. Uke bakesiyewepuko. Uke mapap. Du kwer mui. Dupuni bapuniko. Ai kopi lo. Iplîpyo lo, riyo nu. Ko ike epe roise disei roise due nu. Due nuro. Uke nuro. Yûr bo mu bo moliyo. Yûr kiniyo. Duruwe ani du baruweko punipino.

He arrived in the old house first and was sitting there. We went behind and also arrived. We rested. We were just sitting together. In the afternoon my mother boiled water. The water boiled. She stirred sago in. The sago is ready. She portioned it and cut it into pieces on leaves. Then she cooked *tulip*-vegetables with mushrooms. She turned vegetables and mushrooms over. They are getting done, they are done. She took the pot off the fire and set it on the floor. It has to cool first. It is still hot. Now it has cooled down. She distributed the food on plates. She gave one plate to my father, gave one to me, and gave one to my brother. She also ate. We were eating vegetables and mushrooms with sago. The food is eaten up. We have finished all of it. We were sitting and resting. The dusk makes its noises. The night comes. Soon it is completely dark. My father left. He went to the men's house and slept there. I myself slept with mother and brother. We

were fast asleep, fast asleep. Then the birds sang, all of them sang. Dawn comes in. Daylight rises. The darkness is over. It is morning.

Ai kopi pulo. Bî raripo. Lopos bî rararpo. Lopos pewaupo. Lopos dupua apulyo pewowe, ba dupua kipika pewowe, ba dupua elka pewowe. Bapewaupoko. Yali royepane. Baroyoko. Wono nopiwepu. Wono banopiwepiwepuko. Yip yali wono nopiwepiwepu. Yip piki royepana wono nopiwepu. Banopiwepiwepuko. Akar wusi wono nopiwepu. Banopiwepiko. Sipul royepana. Yaliyo yip sipul wono nopiwepu. Banopiwepuko. Palo po. Basepiko. Palo royepepo wono nopiwepippuo. Baka bapok. Kwer wui dupuni duruwa. Yip epi baka po. Epi baka palo kiniyo po. Kiniyo bapok. Puele lul. Puele ukelul yena ba roise. Kiniyo ukelul, yena mekiyo. Balulko.

My father came to the construction site. He dug a hole. He dug holes for the posts. He erected the posts. Two he erected in the middle, two at the back, two at the front. Now they are erected. Horizontally he laid along the supporting beams over the posts. They are put in position. He tied them together with rope. Many of them need to be tied together. He tied together all the supporting beams of the house with rope. He placed the crossbeams and tied them together with rope. They are all tied together. He tied the roof joints together with rope. They are tied together. Then he placed the floor planks on the supporting beams. He tied together the floor planks of the house with rope. They are tied together. He made the sago thatches. They are sown. He placed the sago thatches on top of the roof beams and tied everything together going up to the roof ridge. Then half of the roof is finished. The dusk sounds. The night falls in. The night is over. The dawn has approached. He made the other half of the roof. He made all the sago thatches for the other side. They are made. Then he fenced the walls. He fenced the walls together with many other people. Quite some people helped him. Now the walls are finished.

Baes lili. Par sipulyo royo. Yelo rapiyo, rapiyewapo. Yelo dorno piyelayewepu. Pu moni sipakewepu yelo baesyo. Rino seseliwepu. Baes yala sike pi. Baes balelko. Smep bili po, bili klokni. Bî sepeiwepu. Bili ba ar sepeiwepu. Kiniyo lul. Bî yip pakika solo polip, sûli lena. Bîom yip sûli rka le, bîom yipka. Sos wopiyanewepu. Dupuni ono asa paliyam? Imiyu asa paliyam. Wolo po wono nopiwepu. Banopiwepuko. Em so: Uke yeni yasupiwepu. Yeni uke bawopiyewepuko. Uke le rapiyekûpu yip sukuyo. Uke yip pueneyo melip. Le kiniyo: neppi dawa ipi rop due dû, kiniyo. Uke mapap yip pueneyo. Ai kopi eppi makina noyo, numuelna. Eppi noyenakap wîs klokni.

The fireplace is left to be made. He put a palm mat on the floor and fetched soil. He put the soil on the palm mat and trampled it with his feet. He poured down a little water and smoothed out the soil on the fireplace with a stick. Now the fireplace gets hard. Well, the fireplace is ready for use. Finally he made the door, one opening only. He cut out a hole. Other openings he didn't cut out. He had fenced all the sides of the house. There was only a hole towards one side of the house for the smoke to go, the smoke outlet of the house. The smoke goes out that way, namely through the smoke outlet of the house. Then he fastened bolts on the door. Nobody can open the door at night. A sorcerer cannot open it. At last he made the ladder. He tied it together with rope. The ladder is ready and one can enter the house properly. The next day we spent like this: We placed several boards on the walls. Then we took down our belongings from the old house and carried them to the new house. All the belongings: the bush knifes, the axe, the pots, the baskets, the sago flour, everything. From now on we stayed in the new house. My father took a good rest. He rested for a long time. He rested for a full month.

Figure C.4: Simon's house in Osi Camp

Glossed text

(1) *Ai kopi lopos mael, suko. Ba mo, suel boliyo wuliyo. Ba mo boliyo wuliyo. Ba mo boliyo wuliyo. An baka klokni lopos wapoko, royoko. Yipyo lo. Due klokni eppi noyo.*

ai ko-pi lopos mael suko ba mo suel boli-yo
father 1SG-POSS post cut.PP cut.PP other fell.PP cut.PP origin-LOC
wuli-yo ba mo boli-yo wuli-yo ba mo boli-yo
tree.top-LOC other fell.PP origin-LOC tree.top-LOC other fell.PP origin-LOC
wuli-yo an_baka klokni lopos wapo-ko royo-ko
tree.top-LOC five one post put.together.PP-RTS lay.PP-RTS
yip-yo lo due klokni eppi_noyo
house-LOC go.PP night one rest.PP

'My father cut posts. He cut them (to size). He felled other (trees) and cut them (in shape between) trunk and top, felled more (and cut them in shape between) trunk and top, felled (still more) (and cut them in shape between) trunk and top. He put together six posts. He laid them down (on the ground). (Then) he went to the house and rested for one day.'

(2) *Umul nek, nekpamu, "Nuko mole lopos memiye." Uke molo ko epe aino ikap roise. Uke paeau loposyo ulapno. Uke riyo paeau. Uke mapap sû mappo.*
umul_nek nekpamu nuko mole lopos memiye uke molo ko
think.PP ponder.PP we.INCL go.PL.PP post carry we.EXCL go.PL.PP I
epe ai-no ikap roise uke paeau lopos-yo
mother father-INS 1SG.POSS.EMPH with we.EXCL arrive post-LOC
ule-p-no uke ri-yo paeau uke mape-p sû_mappo
be.there.PL-PC-CO we.EXCL DIST-LOC arrive we.EXCL sit.PL-PC light.fire.PP
'He thought (about what to do). He thought thoroughly: "We'll go and carry the posts." We went off, me together with my parents. We arrived where the posts were. We arrived there, were staying and lit a fire.'

(3) *Ai kopi lopos ba wel, yipyo layeko. Mipulo dori, mi ba laliko, wel yilau yipyo. Midoripulo, ba piyo, wel, yipyo layeko. Kuso sosoli nakap. Kuso ponake.*
ai ko-pi lopos ba wel yip-yo laye-ko mi-pulo
father 1SG-POSS post some carry.PP house-LOC lay-RTS ITER-come.PP
dori mi ba lali-ko wel yilau yip-yo
return again other carry.on.shoulder.PP-RTS carry.PP place house-LOC
mi-dori_pulo ba piyo wel yip-yo laye-ko kuso
ITER-come.back.PP other take.PP carry.PP house-LOC lay-RTS always
sosoli nake-p kuso po-nake
like.this stay-PC always do.PP-DUR
'My father carried posts, he laid them down at (the place of) the (new) house. He came again, took others, carried them to the place of the house, and returned. He took another one, carried it to the (place of the) house, and laid it (down) there. He stayed on like this. He did that once and again.'[5]

(4) *Lopos piapo, laliko, yipyo layeko. Midoripulo, mi ba piapo. Mi ba lal, yipyo layeko. Midoripulo.*
lopos piapo lali-ko yip-yo laye-ko
post lift.up.PP carry.on.shoulder.PP-RTS house-LOC lay.PP-RTS
mi-dori_pulo mi ba piapo mi ba lal
ITER-come.back.PP again other lift.up.PP again other carry.on.shoulder.PP
yip-yo laye-ko mi-dori_pulo
house-LOC lay-RTS ITER-come.back.PP
'He lifted a post, carried it, and laid it down at (the future place of) the

[5]Besides the six stilts that carry the floor one meter above the ground, many more lighter posts are in need.

house. (Then) he came back, lifted another one, carried it, laid it down, and came back.'

(5) *Klokni solo lilip, ba aska. Piapo, lal, burilo. Uke boyo wulino. "Ine boyo pulupip! Ko lopos burilaliwe."*
klokni solo lili-p ba aska piapo lal
one only be.there-PC other none lift.up.PP carry.on.shoulder.PP
buri_lo uke boyo wuli-no ine boyo pulupi-p
go.ahead.PP we.EXCL behind follow-3SG.OR.PP you.PL behind come.PL-IMP
ko lopos buri_lali-we
I post go.ahead_carry.on.shoulder-TER
'Only one was left. No other one. He lifted it, carried it, and went ahead. We went behind him: "You come behind! I'll carry the post ahead."'

(6) *Kimike yipyo nakap. Uke boyo molo, paeau. Uke eppi noyo, mapap. Kwerno epe kopi yaup yowo. Yaup mol.*
kimike yip-yo nake-p uke boyo molo paeau uke
before house-LOC sit-PC we.EXCL behind go.PL.PP arrive we.EXCL
eppi_noyo mape-p kwerno epe ko-pi yaup yowo
rest.PP sit.PL-PC afternoon mother 1SG-POSS water.for.cooking boil.PP
yaup mol
water.for.cooking boil.PP
'He was sitting in the (old) house first. We went behind and arrived there. We rested and were sitting. In the afternoon my mother boiled water. The water boiled.'

(7) *Ya mappo. Ya sui. Lulpamu, rupueyo supopo. Bese si paepu roise. Bese paepu roise wi. Rap. Bareko. Puliyo, sipulyo wolowe.*
ya_mappo ya_sui lulpamu rupue-yo supopo
stir.sago.PP sago.be.ready portion.sago.PP leaf-LOC cut.into.pieces.PP
bese si paepu roise bese paepu roise wi
tulip cook.PP mushroom together tulip mushroom together turn
re-p ba-re-ko puliyo sipul-yo wolo-we
get.done-PC FAC-get.done-FAC take.off.PP floor-LOC set.PP-TER
'She stirred sago in. The sago is ready. She portioned it and cut it into pieces on leaves. She cooked *tulip*-vegetables with mushrooms. She turned vegetables and mushrooms over. They are getting done, they are done. She took (the pot) off (the fire) and set it on the floor.'

(8) *Amanisiipe. Pupuol pi, banisiko. Wîlyo rupopo. Ai kopi ponamo, ko powa, disei kopi ponamo. Ki misero no. Uke ilap yano. Baileko. Uke bakesiyewepuko.*
am-a-nisi-ipe pupuol pi ba-nisi-ko wîl-yo
GRAD-IMP3-become.cool-ANT heat LV FAC-become.cool-FAC plate-LOC
rupopo ai ko-pi ponamo ko powa
distribute.O.PL.PP father 1SG-POSS give.3SG.OR.PP I give.1SG.OR.PP
disei ko-pi ponamo ki misero no uke ile-p
brother 1SG-POSS give.3SG.OR.PP APH also eat.PP WE.EXCL eat.PL.A-PC
ya-no ba-ile-ko uke ba-kesiye-wepi-ko
sago-INS FAC-eat.PL.A-FAC WE.EXCL FAC-use.up-QUANT.O-FAC
'It has to cool first. It is hot. (Now) it has cooled down. She distributed it on plates. She gave (one plate) to my father, gave (one) to me, and gave (one) to my brother. She also ate. We were eating it with sago. We have eaten up (the food). We have finished all of it.'

(9) *Uke mapap. Du kwer mui. Dupuni bapuniko. Ai kopi lo. Iplîpyo lo, riyo nu. Ko ike epe roise disei roise due nu. Due nuro. Uke nuro. Yûr bo mu bo moliyo. Yûr kiniyo. Duruwe ani du baruweko punipino.*
uke mape-p du_kwer mui dupuni ba-puni-ko ai ko-pi
we.EXCL stay.PL-PC dusk talk night FAC-be.dark-FAC father 1SG-POSS
lo iplîp-yo lo ri-yo nu ko_ike epe roise
go.PP men's.house-LOC go.PP DIST-LOC sleep.PP I.myself mother with
disei roise due_nu due_nu=ro uke nu=ro yûr bo
brother with sleep.PP sleep.PP=EMPH we.EXCL sleep.PP=EMPH bird sound
mu bo moliyo yûr kiniyo duruwe ani du
talk.PP sound talk.PL.PP bird all dawn daylight darkness
ba-ruwe-ko punipino
FAC-break-FAC morning
'We were sitting (and resting). The dusk makes its noises. Night. It is completely dark. My father left. He went to the men's house and slept there. I myself slept with mother and brother. We were fast asleep, fast asleep. (Then) the birds sang, all of them sang. Dawn, daylight, the darkness is over, morning.'

(10) *Ai kopi pulo. Bî raripo. Lopos bî rararpo. Lopos pewaupo. Lopos dupua apulyo pewowe, ba dupua kipika pewowe, ba dupua elka pewowe. Bapewaupoko.*

ai ko-pi pulo bî rari-po lopos bî rararpo lopos
father 1SG-POSS come.PP hole dig-LV.PP post hole dig.PL.O.PP post
pewaupo lopos dupua apulyo pewo-we ba dupua
erect.PL.O.PP post two in.the.middle erect.PP-DU.O other two
kipika pewo-we ba dupua elka pewo-we
at.the.back erect.PP-DU.O other two at.the.front erect.PP-DU.O
ba-pewaupe-ko
FAC-erect.PL.O-FAC
'My father came. He dug a hole. He dug holes for the posts. He erected the posts. Two he erected in the middle, two at the back, two at the front. (Now) they are erected.'

(11) *Yali royepane. Baroyoko. Wono nopiwepu. Wono banopiwepiwepuko. Yip yali wono nopiwepiwepu.*
yali roye_pane ba-roye-ko wo-no nopiwepu
supporting.beam lay.thither FAC-lay-FAC rope-INS tie.together.PP
wo-no ba-nopiwepi-wepi-ko yip yali wo-no
rope-INS FAC-tie.together-QUANT.O-FAC house supporting.beam rope-INS
nopiwepi-wepu
tie.together-QUANT.O.PP
'(On the posts) he lays along the supporting beams. They are laid. He tied them together with rope. Many of them are tied together. He tied together all the supporting beams of the house with rope.'

(12) *Yip piki royepana wono nopiwepu. Banopiwepiwepuko. Akar wusi wono nopiwepu. Banopiwepiko.*
yip piki roye_pana wo-no nopiwepu
house crossbeam lay.thither.PP rope-INS tie.together.PP
ba-nopiwepi-wepi-ko akar wusi wo-no
FAC-tie.together-QUANT.O-FAC roof.joist construct rope-INS
nopiwepu ba-nopiwepi-ko sipul roye_pana
tie.together.PP FAC-tie.together-FAC floor lay.thither.PP
yali-yo yip sipul wo-no nopiwepu
supporting.beam-LOC house floor rope-INS tie.together.PP
ba-nopiwepi-ko
FAC-tie.together-FAC
'He placed the crossbeams and tied them together with rope. They are all tied together. He tied the roof joints together with rope. They are tied

together. (Then) he placed the floor (planks) on the supporting beams. He tied together the floor (planks) of the house with rope. They are tied together.'

(13) *Palo po. Basepiko. Palo royepepo wono nopiwepippuo. Baka bapok.*
palo po ba-sepi-ko palo royepepo wo-no
sago.thatches make.PP FAC-sew-FAC sago.thatches lay.on.top.PP rope-INS
nopiwepi_ppuo baka ba-pi-ko
tie.together_go.up.PP half FAC-do-FAC
'He made the sago thatches. They are sown. He placed the sago thatches on top (of the roof beams) and tied everything together going up. (Then) half (of the roof) is made.'

(14) *Kwer wui dupuni duruwa. Yip epi baka po. Epi baka palo kiniyo po. Kiniyo bapok. Puele lul. Puele ukelul yena ba roise. Kiniyo ukelul, yena mekiyo. Balulko.*
kwer wui dupuni duruwa yip epi baka po epi baka
dusk answer night dawn house side half make.PP side half
palo kiniyo po kiniyo ba-pi-ko puele lul puele
sago.thatches all make.PP all FAC-make-FAC wall fence.PP wall
uke-lul yena ba roise kiniyo uke-lul yena
jointly-fence.PP people other together all jointly-fence.PP people
mekiyo ba-luli-ko
help.PP FAC-fence-FAC
'The dusk sounds. The night (comes). The dawn (comes). He made the other half (of the roof). He made all the sago thatches of the other side. They are made. (Then) he fenced the walls. He fenced (the walls) together with many other people. People helped (him), and (the walls) are fenced.'

(15) *Baes lili. Par sipulyo royo. Yelo rapiyo, rapiyewapo. Yelo dorno piyelayewepu. Pu moni sipakewepu yelo baesyo. Rino seseliwepu. Baes yala sike pi. Baes balelko.*
baes lili par sipul-yo royo yelo rapiyo
fireplace be.there palm.mat floor-LOC lay.PP soil fetch.PP
rapiye_wapo yelo dor-no piyelaye-wepu pu moni
fetch_put.together.PP soil foot-INS trample-QUANT.O.PP water little
sipake-wepu yelo baes-yo ri-no
pour.down.into-QUANT.O.PP soil fireplace-LOC stick-INS

seseli-wepu baes yala sike pi baes ba-lili-ko
smooth.out-QUANT.O.PP fireplace now hard LV fireplace FAC-be.there-FAC
'There is the fireplace (left to be done). He put a palm mat on the floor and fetched soil. He fetched it, put it (on the palm mat), and trampled the soil with (his) feet. He poured down a little water and smoothed out the soil on the fireplace with a stick. Now the fireplace becomes hard. The fireplace is there.'

(16) *Smep bili po, bili klokni. Bî sepeiwepu. Bili ba ar sepeiwepu. Kiniyo lul. Bî yip pakika solo polip, sûli lena. Bîom yip sûli rka le, bîom yipka.*
smep bili po bili klokni bî sepei-wepu bili
door opening make.PP opening one hole cut.out-QUANT.O.PP opening
ba ar sepei-wepu kiniyo lul bî yip paki-ka solo
other NEG cut.out-QUANT.O.PP all fence.PP hole house side-PATH only
poli-p sûli le-na bîom yip sûli r(i)-ka le
be.there-PC smoke go-PURP smoke.outlet house smoke DIST-PATH go
bîom yip-ka
smoke.outlet house-PATH
'He made the door, one opening (only). He cut out a hole. Other openings he didn't cut out. He (had) fenced all (the sides of the house). There was only a hole towards (one) side of the house for the smoke to go, the smoke outlet of the house. The smoke goes out that way, (namely) through the smoke outlet of the house.'[6]

(17) *Sos wopiyanewepu. Dupuni ono asa paliyam? Imiyu asa paliyam. Wolo po wono nopiwepu. Banopiwepuko.*
sos wopiyane-wepu dupuni ono asa paliye-m imiyu
bolt fasten.thither-QUANT.O.PP night person how open-POS sorcerer
asa paliye-m wolo po wo-no nopiwepu
how open-POS ladder make.PP rope-INS tie.together.PP
ba-nopiwepi-ko
FAC-tie.together-FAC
'He fastened bolts (on the door). Nobody can open (the door) at night. A sorcerer cannot open it. He made the ladder. He tied it together with rope. (The ladder) is tied together.'

[6]Traditional houses had only one small door for entering the house in a crouched position. They didn't have windows. So it was quite dark inside the house.

(18) *Em so: Uke yeni yasupiwepu. Yeni uke bawopiyewepuko. Uke le rapiyekûpu yip sukuyo. Uke yip pueneyo melip. Le kiniyo: neppi dawa ipi rop due dû, kiniyo.*

em so uke yeni yasupi-wepu yeni uke
tomorrow like we.EXCL board place.PL.O-QUANT.O.PP board we.EXCL
ba-wopiye-wepi-ko uke le rapiye_kûpu
FAC-get.ready-QUANT.O-FAC we.EXCL belongings fetch.down.hither.PL.PP
yip suku-yo uke yip puene-yo meli-p le kiniyo
house old-LOC we.EXCL house new-LOC carry.PL.O-PC belongings all
neppi dawa ipi rop due_dû kiniyo
bush.knife axe pot basket sago.flour all

'The next day (goes) like this: We placed several boards. We have gotten the boards ready. (Then) we took down (all our) belongings from the old house and carried them to the new house. All the belongings: the bush knifes, the axe, the pots, the baskets, the sago flour, everything.'

(19) *Uke mapap yip pueneyo. Ai kopi eppi makina noyo, numuelna. Eppi noyenakap wîs klokni.*

uke mape-p yip puene-yo ai ko-pi eppi maki-na
we.EXCL stay.PL-PC house new-LOC father 1SG-POSS rest good-ADV
noyo numuelna eppi_noye-nake-p wîs klokni
rest.PP for.a.long.time rest-DUR-PC moon one

'(From now on) we were staying in the new house. My father took a good rest. He rested for a long time, (for) one month.'

C.5 Ono basuiko

Introduction

The story *Ono basuiko* 'A man has died' is told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007. The story is about a brother's death and the ritual treatment of his body.

Summary & background

The bodies of the deceased were placed on a mortuary platform in a tree and burned with a fire below the platform until only the bones remained. This story is not the only Kilmeri source for this procedure. During a visit to the village of Awol, the local consultants also spoke of this tradition, which had only recently disappeared.

This method of treating corpses is widespread. It has also been documented for the Simog and Daonda people, who both speak a language of the Border family, south of the Bewani Mountains (Seiler 1985: 223). The bones of the deceased are preserved and are supposed to transfer the power of his or her spirit to the living. They are usually carried in a (special?) net bag and are part of the hunting gear when a close relative of the deceased goes hunting (see Sequence (12)). This bone-related custom has also been reported for the Telefomin people, who live on the upper reaches of the Sepik (Craig 2018).

The conceptual difference between the traditional and the Christian way of burying the dead seems to be as follows: In the past, the dead were placed in a tree, whereas today they are enclosed in a coffin and placed in the ground. A tree might symbolise openness, while a coffin covered with earth symbolises the locking up of the dead. This may mean that it is believed that the spirits of the dead are no longer able to help the living.

Parallel text

Yena duyo molo. Diri eweno ilo ako ikep roise. Duyo mapap bi lipel. Lipeliwepu, puenpowepu. Diri baka royenamo, ewe ki baka. Boyopuno diri miso biep lu. Inakap. Diri mar diri nomar. Due an kinika so mar. Ewe umul nek, "Diri kopi suloimoina mari. Yala ko asa pi? Yala ko ba pi?" Dob reyo, "Oke yala

Some people set off to the bush. Two brothers went together with their wives. They were staying in the bush and looked for animals. They found many and cut up the meat of the killed animals. The older brother gave half of the meat to his younger brother, and he himself took the other half.

suem." Due an bakapuno diri kep sui. Basuiko. Paliya.

Then the younger brother also shot a boar. The families stayed on in the bush. But the younger brother became sick. For five days already he was very sick. So the older brother thought: "My brother is seriously ill. What am I going to do now? What should I do?" He looked at him and thought: "This one will die soon." After five more nights the younger brother dies. He died. He is dead.

Ewe wo. Ewe dob pul seku wo mop. Yala ko asa pi? Yeni rileyo po. Yol apla rileyo po. Ako kep muelnoro: "Uki depi yala nuko parno lole, parno panepue." Wono lolo, yolyo layo. Sû mappo. Sû kamappapno sû beri rap. Ako kep muelnoro: "Nuko ukeli yilauyo." Diri sukei wonino: "Ko ruri depi ako depi ko yilauyo ukeli. De boyo wulimonpep!" Yilauyo paeau wo roise. "De ba po? De aso?" "Diri kopi basuik. Ko ke layepaneko duyo. Du yipyo lili. Parno layo yolyo."

The older brother cried. His tears fell down, and he sighed: "What am I going to do now?" He built a platform up in a tree. He put a grid of planks up in the tree. Then he said to his brother's wife: "Now let's wrap your husband in a bark mat and put him up with the mat around his body." They tied the mat with a rope and put the body on the grid. Then they lit a fire. After lighting it, the blazing fire was burning the body. He said to his younger brother's wife: "We'll take ourselves to the village." To his brother's spirit he called out: "I take your children and your wife back to the village. You follow me later!" Crying they reached the village and were asked: "What did you do? How are you?" "My younger brother has died. I left his body in the bush, near the bush house. I put it on a grid. We had wrapped a bark mat around it."

Ewe kep sû mappap. Sû solo mappeulipop. Ewe sû mimappeke. Sosoli nakap. Diri kep biso baslaupoko. Klapno par nepeipana. Am ari, nikip. Midorilolo,

The brother tended the fire. He was tending the fire for a long time. The older brother went off to light the fire anew when it had extinguished.

wono layeko, midorilayeko. Mi yilauyo pulo. Nakero, due an dupua dor dupua. Makina amanikiipe. Mi boyo lo. Am due lakoipe. Klapno miriyeko. Par minepeipana. Diri kep banikiko. Kili solo ulap, puaku kili roise sappi kili roise. Krapiyapno ropyo niskûno, mel yilauyo. Yilauyo paeau. Yip bîyo wena. Laliyowe ki yo nuipno.

Tending the fire kept him busy. The younger brother's corpse has already dried like meat. When the older brother had come there again one day, he took off the bark mat and looked: not yet. The corpse was still smelling. He wrapped him with the rope again and put him up in the tree. He put him back on the lattice again. Then he returned to the village. He stays there for twenty days. Well, before that the corpse would still smell. Later he went again, yet he counted the days first. When he had come, he glanced at the corpse again. He took off the bark mat. His brother had smelled. But now there isn't any smell left. There were only the bones, together with the skull and with the jaw bone. Having gathered the bones, he put them in a basket and carried them to the village. He arrived in the village. He brought the bones into his house. There he hung them up over the place, where he slept.

Imiyu pulupi rilina. Sukei kep yala ewe kep muelne: "De due kunuem! Imiyu ere pulupi. De puanap! De nakap dob pep!" Riyopuno kaepul kaepi uroyo ule, klokni piyo. Ani yala rino pue. Monomno le. Du mono leipe. Epueyo puine, epuemno le. Boyopuno uro kep dob riye: "Uro kopi sepiye. Imiyu pulupi. Ko pauiyo laliye." Mono bayana lo. Mi epuemno lo yilauyo, paeau. Ako kep muelno: "Uro kopi sepiyo. Ko ro riyo. Mi ko ro pulo. Ko epemna pulo. Bi ko lipelou, mi ko ar lu."

Sorcerers might come to disturb the older brother's family. Then the younger brother's spirit warns his older brother: "You must not sleep! The sorcerers come here. Wake up, stay awake and watch out." So he put the kneecap into his netbag. He took only one bone. During the day he walks around with the netbag. He walks along a path. First he walks along the bush track. Then he branches off in the undergrowth and walks through the undergrowth. Later he looks at his

netbag: "My netbag is shaking. Sorcerers are coming. I'll hang it over my shoulder." He chose another route. He went through the undergrowth back to the village, arrived there and said to his wife: "My netbag shook, I saw this. I came back here. I walked fast. A pig I sought in vain, again I did not shoot anything."

Glossed text

(1) *Yena duyo molo. Diri eweno ilo ako ikep roise. Duyo mapap bi lipel. Lipeliwepu, puenpowepu. Diri baka royenamo, ewe ki baka. Boyopuno diri miso biep lu. Inakap.*

yena du-yo molo diri ewe-no i-lo
people bush-LOC go.PL.PP younger.brother older.brother-INS DU.S-go.PP
ako ikep roise du-yo mape-p bi lipel lipeli-wepu
wife 3PL.POSS with bush-LOC mape-p animal seek.PP find-QUANT.O.PP
puenpi-wepu diri baka roye_namo
cut.meat-QUANT.O.PP younger.brother half lay_give.3SG.OR.PP
ewe ki baka boyopuno diri miso biep lu
older.brother APH half then younger.brother also boar shoot.PP
i-nake-p
DU.S-stay-PC

'Some people went to the bush. Two brothers went together with their wives. They were staying in the bush and looked for animals. They found many and cut up the meat (of the shot animals). (The older brother) gave half (of the meat) to his younger brother, and he (took the other) half. Then the younger brother also shot a boar. They remained (in the bush).'

(2) *Diri mar diri nomar. Due an kinika so mar. Ewe umul nek, "Diri kopi suloimoina mari. Yala ko asa pi? Yala ko ba pi?" Dob reyo, "Oke yala suem." Due an bakapuno diri kep sui. Basuiko. Paliya.*

diri mar diri nomar due
younger.brother be.sick.PP younger.brother be.very.sick.PP night
an_kinika so mar ewe umul_nek diri
five five be.sick.PP older.brother think.PP younger.brother
ko-pi suloimoina mari yala ko asa pi yala ko ba pi dob
1SG-POSS extraordinarily be.sick now I how do now I what do eye

reyo o-ke yala sui-m due an_bakapuno
see.O.ANIM.SG.PP PROX-APH MOD die-POS night after.five.more
diri kep sui ba-sui-ko paliya
younger.brother 3SG.POSS die FAC-die-FAC be.dead
'The younger brother was sick. He was very sick for five days. Five (days) sick (already). The older brother thought: "My brother is seriously ill. What am I going to do now? What should I do?" He looked at him (and thought): "This one will possibly die." After five more nights the younger brother dies. He has died. He is dead.'

(3) *Ewe wo. Ewe dob pul seku wo mop. Yala ko asa pi? Yeni rileyo po. Yol apla rileyo po. Ako kep muelnoro: "Uki depi yala nuko parno lole, parno panepue." Wono lolo, yolyo layo. Sû mappo.*
ewe wo ewe dob pul seku wo_mop yala ko
older.brother crying older.brother eye liquid fall.PP cry.PP now I
asa pi yeni rileyo po yol apla rileyo po ako kep
how do platform above do.PP grid plank above do.PP wife 3SG.POSS
mueli-no=ro uki de-pi yala nuko par-no
talk.to-3SG.OR.PP=EMPH husband 2SG-POSS now we.INCL bark.mat-INS
lole par-no pane_pue wo-no lolo yol-yo layo sû_mappo
wrap bark.mat-INS lay.around rope-INS tie.PP grid-LOC lay.PP light.fire.PP
'The older brother cried. His tears fell down, he cried: "What am I going to do now?" He put a platform up (in a tree). He put a grid of planks up in the tree. (Then) he said to his brother's wife: "Now we wrap your husband in a bark mat and put him there with a bark mat around." They tied (the mat) with a rope and put (the body) on the grid. (Then) they lit a fire.'

(4) *Sû kamappapno sû beri rap. Ako kep muelnoro: "Nuko ukeli yilauyo." Diri sukei wonino: "Ko ruri depi ako depi ko yilauyo ukeli. De boyo wulimonpep!"*
sû k-mappe-p-no sû beri re-p ako kep
fire SUB-light-PC-CO fire blaze get.done-PC wife 3SG.POSS
mueli-no=ro nuko ukeli yilau-yo
talk.to-3SG.OR.PP=EMPH we.INCL take.with.oneself village-LOC
diri sukei woni-no ko ruri de-pi ako de-pi ko
younger.brother spirit call-3SG.OR.PP I child 2SG-POSS wife 2SG-POSS I

yilau-yo ukeli de boyo wulimini-ipi-p
village-LOC take.with.oneself you later follow-1SG.OR-IMP
'Having lit the fire, the blazing fire was burning (the body). He said to (the younger brother's) wife: "We take ourselves to the village." To his brother's spirit he called out: "I take your children and your wife to the village. You follow me later!"'

(5) *Yilauyo paeau wo roise. "De ba po? De aso?" "Diri kopi basuik. Ko ke layepaneko duyo. Du yipyo lili. Parno layo yolyo."*
yilau-yo paeau wo roise de ba po de aso diri
village-LOC reach crying with you what do.PP you how younger.brother
ko-pi ba-sui-ko ko ke laye_pane-ko du-yo du yip-yo
1SG-POSS FAC-die-FAC I TOP lay.aside-RTS bush-LOC bush house-LOC
lili par-no layo yol-yo
be.there bark.mat-INS lay.PP grid-LOC
'They reached the village crying (and were asked): "What did you do? How are you?" "My younger brother has died and I left (his body) in the bush, at the bush house. I put it with a mat (wrapped around it) on a grid."'

(6) *Ewe kep sû mappap. Sû solo mappeulipop. Ewe sû mimappeke. Sosoli nakap.*
ewe kep sû_mappe-p sû solo mappe-uli-pi-p
older.brother 3SG.POSS light.fire-PC fire only light-PROG-LV-PC
ewe sû mi-mappe-ke sosoli nake-p
older.brother fire ITER-light-INGR this.way stay-PC
'His brother tended the fire. He was tending the fire. The older brother went to light the fire anew (when it had extinguished). Tending the fire kept him busy.'

(7) *Diri kep biso baslaupoko. Klapno par nepeipana. Am ari, nikip. Midorilolo, wono layeko, midorilayeko.*
diri kep bi-so ba-slau-pi-ko k-le-p-no
younger.brother 3SG.POSS meat-SIM FAC-dry-LV-FAC SUB-go-PC-CO
par nepei_pana am ari niki-p mi-dori_lolo wo-no
bark.mat take.off.PP yet no stink-PC ITER-wrap.again.PP rope-INS
laye-ko mi-dori_laye-ko
lay-RTS ITER-lay.back-RTS
'The younger brother's (corpse) has dried like meat. When (the older brother) had gone (there), he took off the bark mat (and looked): not yet.

(The corpse) was (still) smelling. He wrapped him again with the rope and put him (there). He put him back again (on the lattice).'

(8) *Mi yilauyo pulo. Nakero, due an dupua dor dupua. Makina amanikiipe. Mi boyo lo. Am due lakoipe.*
mi yilau-yo pulo nake=ro due an_dupua dor_dupua
again village-LOC come.PP sit=EMPH night ten ten
maki-na am-a-niki-ipe mi boyo lo am due
good-ADV GRAD-IMP3-smell-ANT again later go.PP yet night
lako-ipe
count.PP-ANT
'He came back to the village. He stays (there) for twenty days. Well, before that (the corpse) still would have smelled. Later he went again, yet he counted the days first.'

(9) *Klapno miriyeko. Par minepeipana. Diri kep banikiko. Kili solo ulap, puaku kili roise sappi kili roise.*
k-le-p-no mi-riye-ko par mi-nepei_pana
SUB-go-PC-CO ITER-see.O.INANIM-RTS bark.mat ITER-take.off.PP
diri kep ba-niki-ko kili solo ule-p puaku
younger.brother 3SG.POSS FAC-smell-FAC bone only be.there.PL-PC head
kili roise sappi kili roise
bone together jaw bone together
'When he had come, he glanced (at the corpse) again. He took off the bark mat again. His brother had smelled. (But now there isn't any smell). There were only the bones, together with the skull and with the jaw bone.'

(10) *Krapiyapno ropyo niskûno, mel yilauyo. Yilauyo paeau. Yip bîyo wena. Laliyowe ki yo nuipno.*
k-rapiye-p-no rop-yo niskûno mel yilau-yo yilau-yo
SUB-fetch-PC-CO basket-LOC fill.in.PP carry.PL.O.PP village-LOC village-LOC
paeau yip bîyo wena laliyo-we ki yo nui-p-no
arrive house inside carry.inside.PP hang.PP-TER APH location sleep-PC-CO
'Having gathered (the bones), he put them in a basket and carried them to the village. He arrived in the village. He carried them into the house. He hung them up, where he slept.'

(11) *Imiyu pulupi rilina. Sukei kep yala ewe kep muelne: "De due kunuem! Imiyu ere pulupi. De puanap! De nakap dob pep!"*

imiyu pulupi rili-na sukei kep yala ewe
sorcerer come.PL see.O.ANIM.PL-PURP spirit 3SG.POSS now older.brother
kep mueli-ne de due k-nui-m imiyu ere
3SG.POSS talk.to-3SG.OR you night PROH-sleep-PROH sorcerer here
pulupi de puane-p de nake-p dob pi-p
come.PL you wake.up-IMP you sit-IMP eye do-IMP

'Sorcerers might come to look for (the older brother's family). (Then the younger brother's) spirit says to his older brother: "You must not sleep! The sorcerers come here. Wake up, stay (awake) and watch out!"'

(12) *Riyopuno kaepul kaepi uroyo ule, klokni piyo. Ani yala rino pue. Monomno le. Du mono leipe. Epueyo puine, epuemno le.*
riyopuno kaepul kaepi uro-yo ule klokni piyo ani
then knee kneecap netbag-LOC put.inside.PP one take.PP day
yala ri-no pue monomno le du mono le-ipe
now DIST-INS walk.around along.the.path go bush path go-ANT
epue-yo puine epuemno le
undergrowth-LOC branch.off.thither through.undergrowth go

'Then he put the kneecap into (his) netbag. He took one (bone). During the day he walks around with it. He walks along a path. First he walks along the bush track, (then) he branches off in the undergrowth and walks through the undergrowth.'

(13) *Boyopuno uro kep dob riye: "Uro kopi sepiye. Imiyu pulupi. Ko pauiyo laliye." Mono bayana lo. Mi epuemno lo yilauyo, paeau. Ako kep muelno: "Uro kopi sepiyo. Ko ro riyo. Mi ko ro pulo. Ko epemna pulo. Bi ko lipelou, mi ko ar lu."*
boyopuno uro kep dob riye uro ko-pi sepiye
later netbag 3SG.POSS eye see.O.INANIM netbag 1SG-POSS shake
imiyu pulupi ko paui-yo laliye mono bayana lo mi
sorcerer come.PL I shoulder-LOC hang path different go.PP again
epuemno lo yilau-yo paeau ako kep
through.undergrowth go.PP village-LOC arrive wife 3SG.POSS
mueli-no uro ko-pi sepiyo ko ro
talk.to-3SG.OR.PP netbag 1SG-POSS shake.PP I PROX.EMPH
riyo mi ko ro pulo ko epemna pulo bi ko
see.O.INANIM.PP again I PROX.EMPH come.PP I quickly come.PP pig I

lipeli-ou mi ko ar lu
seek-FRUS again I NEG shoot.PP
'Later he looks at his netbag: "My netbag is shaking. Sorcerers are coming. I'll hang it over my shoulder." He went along another path. He went again through the undergrowth to the village, arrived (there) and said to his wife: "My netbag shook, I saw this. I came (back) here. I walked fast. A pig I sought in vain, again I did not shoot (anything)."'

C.6 Urual

Introduction

The story *Urual* 'The big lizard' was told by Andrew Wapi without recording it. It was later renarrated jointly by Susan Bisam and Margaret Osi in Ossima village in August 2004.

Summary & background

This is a hunting story. Two brothers went hunting, but one of them was fatally wounded by the bite of a dangerous lizard. *Urual* refers to *Varanus salvadorii*, the "Papuan monitor lizard" from the Varanidae family, which is endemic to New Guinea (see comment on Text B.2). The story tells us that this animal was previously hunted for its meat. I assume that Andrew Wapi witnessed such hunting activities when he was young. The final sequence states that these lizards were common in the lowland forests and gives advice on how to kill them.

In this story, the deceased is buried in the ground, but without a coffin. The wake he received is a traditional custom. This part of the ritual after a death in the village is missing in Text C.5 above. The reason for this could be that the man in question died in the bush and was not transferred to the village before the cremation ritual took place. I was told that such cremations never took place near settlements, but some distance away in the bush.

Parallel text

Diri eweno duyo ilo. Duyo ipuap. Urual reyepuloi. Urual rileyo ppuo, riyo nakap. Ewe diri muelno: "De yeloyo nakap! Ko ppuene." Pe pakono melippueno. Eku makina kanakapno urual lu. Pe klokni ponamo lu. Urual dopyo polip. Mi pe ba pulapu. Pe ba pulapu, pe ba pulapu. An baka kini. Pe kuru. Urual anyo puesu. Boyo waliyo puesu. Wali sueli. Lu kep ileiele, saripso. Rileyo sui, paliya. Urual ri ini bayana piyana. Nakap.

Two brothers went to the bush. They were roaming the bush. They got to see a huge lizard. The lizard had climbed up a tree and was sitting there high up. The older brother said to the younger brother: "You stay on the ground. I'll climb up after the lizard." He took bow and arrows and climbed up the tree. Having found a good position, he shot at the big lizard. He took one arrow. He shot. The arrow stuck in the lizard's body. He released another arrow. He released the third arrow. He released the fourth ar-

row. Six arrows altogether. Now the arrows are finished. The big lizard bit the man's hand. Then it bit his neck. It cut the man's neck. Its teeth are very long, like a saber. The man died above in the tree. He is dead. The lizard jumped onto another branch of the tree and was sitting there.

Diri wo los walirue, weppuo rileyo. Ewe wepulno yeloyo wekûno. Yilauyo wel. Yena sano: "Ewe ba po?" "Urual puesu. Paliya. Basuiko." Yipyo wel. Yip bîyo nuknoko. Yena dupuni klokni nuknoko duruwa. Bî kraripno bia bîyo wel, pakûpu. Bî sowo. Bî kosowapno yena molo ri moi. Ri komoipno yeloyo ye. Urual peno kuluipno rino waliyo paku. Paliya. Ri komoipno sû mappo, urual puenpop. Kusukapno sûyo royepepo. Krapno mi sûyo napno puliyoro. Dû urualpi yena ilo, dipiyepayo. Urual dû yano ilo.

The younger brother twined up a liana and took it up the tree. Then he carried the older brother down to the ground by means of the liana-sling. He brought him to the village. The people there asked him: "What happened to your older brother?" "A huge lizard bit him. He died. He is dead." He carried him to the house. Inside the house they held a wake for the dead man. One night the people held the wake, until dawn. Then they dug a hole, carried the corpse to the hole, and threw it inside. They covered the hole. Having covered the hole the people went off to cut the tree, where the goanna had been. They cut the tree, and it fell over to the ground along with the goanna. After attacking the lizard with arrows they beat its neck with sticks. Finally it is dead. Having cut wood they lit a fire. Then they were cutting up the flesh of the huge lizard. After cutting it in pieces, they put it on the fire. It is done. They took the pieces off the fire with bamboo tongs. The people ate the meat of the lizard. They were expected to share it among themselves. They ate the lizard's meat with sago.

Bo kuru.

Urual kauna walpue. Urual puane, dob kosoupi: "Eh ono woryo." De ineryo luip! Pewai poname urual sui.

That's the story.

Numerous huge lizards move about. The lizard stands up and looks around alertly: "Eh, a man and a dog." Shoot it in the pit of its forelimbs! You hit it at the deadly spot and the big lizard will die.

Figure C.5: A Kilmeri man with his bow

Glossed text

(1) *Diri eweno duyo ilo. Duyo ipuap.*
diri ewe-no du-yo i-lo du-yo
younger.brother older.brother-INS bush-LOC DU.S-go.PP bush-LOC
i-pue-p
DU.S-roam-PC
'Two brothers went to the bush. They were roaming the bush.'

(2) *Urual reyepuloi. Urual rileyo ppuo, riyo nakap.*
urual reyepulo-i urual rileyo ppuo
big.lizard come.to.see.O.ANIM.SG.PP-DU.A big.lizard above go.up.PP
ri-yo nake-p
tree-LOC sit-PC
'They came to see a big lizard. The big lizard climbed up high and was sitting in a tree.'

(3) *Ewe diri muelno: "De yeloyo nakap! Ko ppuene."*
ewe diri mueli-no de yelo-yo nake-p
older.brother younger.brother talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you ground-LOC stay-IMP
ko ppue-ne
I go.up-3SG.OR
'The older brother said to the younger brother: "You stay on the ground! I'll climb up after (the lizard)."'

(4) *Pe pakono melippueno. Eku makina kanakapno urual lu.*
pe pako-no melippue-no eku maki-na k-nake-p-no
arrow bow-INS carry.up.PL.O-3SG.OR.PP behind good-ADV SUB-sit-PC-CO
urual lu
big.lizard shoot.PP
'He took bow and arrows (climbing) up after it. Having gotten a good position, he shot at the big lizard.'

(5) *Pe klokni ponamo lu. Urual dopyo polip.*
pe klokni ponamo lu urual dop-yo poli-p
arrow one give.3SG.OR.PP shoot.PP big.lizard body-LOC be.there-PC
'He gave (the lizard) one arrow. He shot. (The arrow) stuck in the body of the lizard.'

(6) *Mi pe ba pulapu. Pe ba pulapu, pe ba pulapu. An baka kini. Pe kuru.*
mi pe ba pulapu pe ba pulapu pe ba
again arrow other release.PP arrow other release.PP arrow other
pulapu an_baka kini pe kuru
release.PP five one.PART arrow be.finished
'He released another arrow. He released the third arrow. He released the fourth arrow. Six arrows (alltogether). (Now) the arrows are finished.'

(7) *Urual anyo puesu. Boyo waliyo puesu. Wali sueli. Lu kep ileiele, saripso. Rileyo sui, paliya.*
urual an-yo puesu boyo wali-yo puesu wali sueli lu
big.lizard hand-LOC bite.PP later neck-LOC bite.PP neck cut tooth
kep ileiele sarip-so rileyo sui paliya
3SG.POSS very.long blade(TP)-SIM above die be.dead
'The big lizard bit (his) hand. Then it bit (his) neck. It cut the man's neck. Its teeth are very long, like a blade. The man dies above (in the tree). He is dead.'

(8) *Urual ri ini bayana piyana. Nakap.*
urual ri ini bayana piyana nake-p
big.lizard tree branch different jump.PP sit-PC
'The lizard jumped onto another branch of the tree and was sitting (there).'

(9) *Diri wo los walirue, weppuo rileyo. Ewe wepulno yeloyo wekûno.*
diri wo_los walirue weppuo rileyo ewe
younger.brother kind.of.creeper twine carry.up.PP above older.brother
wepul-no yelo-yo wekûno
sling-INS ground-LOC carry.down.PP
'The brother twined up a liana and took it up. (Then) he carried the older brother down to the ground by means of a (liana) sling.'

(10) *Yilauyo wel. Yena sano: "Ewe ba po?"*
yilau-yo wel yena sa-no ewe ba po
village-LOC carry.PP people ask-3SG.OR.PP older.brother what do.PP
'He brought him to the village. The people asked him: "What happened to the older brother?"'

(11) *"Urual puesu. Paliya. Basuiko."*
urual puesu paliya ba-sui-ko
big.lizard bite.PP be.dead FAC-die-FAC
'"A huge lizard bit him. He is dead. He has died."'

(12) *Yipyo wel. Yip bîyo nuknoko. Yena dupuni klokni nuknoko duruwa.*
yip-yo wel yip bîyo nuknoko yena dupuni
house-LOC carry.PP house inside having.spent.some.nights people night
klokni nuknoko duruwa
one having.spent.some.nights dawn
'He carried him to the house. Inside the house they held a wake (for the dead). One night the people held the wake, until dawn.'

(13) *Bî kraripno bia bîyo wel, pakûpu. Bî sowo.*
bî k-rari-p-no bia bî-yo wel pakûpu
hole SUB-dig-PC-CO corpse hole-LOC carry.PP throw.down.hither.PL.A.PP
bî sowo
hole cover.PP
'Then they had dug a hole, carried the corpse to the hole, and threw it inside. (Then) they covered the hole.'

(14) *Bî kosowapno yena molo ri moi. Ri komoipno yeloyo ye.*
bî k-sowe-p-no yena molo ri moi ri k-moi-p-no
hole SUB-cover-PC-CO people go.PL.PP tree cut tree SUB-cut-PC-CO
yelo-yo ye
ground-LOC fall.over
'Having covered the hole the people went to cut the tree (where the goanna had been). Having cut that tree, it fell over to the ground (along with the goanna).'

(15) *Urual peno kuluipno rino waliyo paku. Paliya.*
urual pe-no k-lui-p-no ri-no wali-yo paku paliya
big.lizard arrow-INS SUB-shoot-PC-CO stick-INS neck-LOC beat.PP be.dead
'They shot the big lizard with arrows, they beat (its) neck with sticks. It is dead.'

(16) *Ri komoipno sû mappo, urual puenpop.*
ri k-moi-p-no sû_mappo urual puenpi-p
wood SUB-cut-PC-CO light.a.fire.PP big.lizard cut.meat-PC
'Having cut wood, they lit a fire. (Then) they were cutting the flesh of the big lizard.'

(17) *Kusukapno sûyo royepepo. Krapno mi sûyo napno puliyoro.*
k-suke-p-no sû-yo royepepo k-re-p-no mi sû-yo
SUB-cut-PC-CO fire-LOC lay.on.top.PP SUB-be.done-PC-CO then fire-LOC
nap-no puliyo=ro
bamboo.tongs-INS take.out.PP=EMPH
'After cutting it in pieces, they put it on the fire. It was done, and they took the pieces (of meat) off the fire with bamboo tongs.'

(18) *Dû urualpi yena ilo, dipiyepayo. Urual dû yano ilo.*
dû urual-pi yena ilo d-piyepayo urual dû
meat big.lizard-POSS people eat.PL.A.PP LKH-share.PP big.lizard meat
ya-no ilo
sago-INS eat.PL.A.PP
'The people ate the meat of the big lizard. They were expected to share it among themselves. They ate the lizard's meat with sago.'

(19) *Bo kuru.*
bo kuru
story be.finished
'End of the story'

(20) *Urual kauna walpue. Urual puane, dob kosoupi: "Eh ono woryo." De ineryo luip! Pewai poname urual sui.*
urual kauna walpue urual puane dob_kosoupi
big.lizard numerous move.about big.lizard stand.up look.around.alertly
eh ono wor-yo de iner-yo lui-p pewai poname
eh man dog-LOC you armpit-LOC shoot-IMP deadly.spot give.2SG.OR
urual sui
big.lizard die
'Numerous big lizards move about. The lizard stands up and looks around alertly: "Eh, a man and a dog." Shoot it in the pit of its forelimbs! You hit it at the deadly spot, and the big lizard will die.'

C.7 Diri wor dop lo

Introduction

The story *Diri wor dop lo* 'The younger brother changes into a dog' was told by Andrew Wapi in Ossima village in September 2000.

Summary & background

This hunting story is about a supernatural power that enables the younger of the two brothers to change his appearance. He transformed into a dog and behaved like a hunting dog. In this way, he managed to secure two tree kangaroos as prey. The older brother did not notice the younger brother's transformation (see Sequence (12)). He only became aware of it later in Sequence (22). After the hunt, the younger brother miraculously regains his human form. The story is set at a bush camp, and such camps are usually established in the deep forest for a few days in order to procure new food supplies. Therefore, the younger brother did not enter the main village in his changed appearance.

Dogs are indispensable for hunting marsupials. Hunters knock or shoot them down from trees and the dogs catch them on the ground (cf. Brumbaugh 1984: 135-138).

Andrew Wapi's text contains some code-switching to Tok Pisin. Notably, we find Tok Pisin combined with the Kilmeri light verb *pi*, for example *kamap-pi* 'become', *tanim-pi* and *senis-pi*, both 'change'. An example is Sequence (31). Even though the change of appearance is a narrative topos and an established concept in the Kilmeri tradition, there does not seem to be a verb with this meaning. In the story *Wapues* (Text A.5) in Sequence (31), the phrase *dop kep pûke* 'lose his skin' is used, but it is followed by Tok Pisin *kamap-pi* and *senis-pi*. In the story *Kusudua* (Text B.5) in Sequence (22), the expression *dop kep poname* 'give his skin to sb' occurs, again followed by *senis-pi*. For the Tok Pisin verb *lukautim* 'take care of' there is a clear equivalent in Kilmeri, viz., *yai* 'take care of'. At the same time, the speaker uses Kilmeri serial verbs when necessary, for example in Sequences (6), (8), (14), (26), (29), and (30), and thus exhibits good language competence.

Another comment concerns the narrator's style. The text is characterised by a lot of repetition. For example, the fact that the younger brother has turned into a dog is repeated several times. The catching and killing of the tree kangaroos is also repeated several times with almost the same wording. As a result, the text is not a fluid narrative. Instead, the narrator appears to constantly reassure himself about the plot.

Parallel text

Diri eweno ki kama inakap yilau kepyo. Yilau kepyo yana inakap. Diri ewe ako wonakap yilauyo. Ewe kepro busyo lo. Duyo klapno ewe wor duyo ukeli. Wor aska. Wor ba ukeli. Ki kama lo. Wor aska. Bipuel rilippueko dupua. Mi yilauyo klapno diri muelno: "Bipuel ko barilippueko. De awe! Nuko ile. Nuko riyo bipuel ppuenei, rile inake."

The older and the younger brother stayed alone at their place. They were staying at the place where they had built their bush camp. The younger brother was staying with the older brother's wife at the bush camp. His older brother went off into the bush. When leaving for the deep bush the older brother took dogs with him into the bush. No, there were no dogs. He didn't take any dogs. He went alone. There were no dogs. Looking up he had seen tree kangaroos, two of them. Then, having come back to the camp, he said to his younger brother: "I have seen tree kangaroos. Come, let us go! We'll climb up the tree for the kangaroos, they are sitting above."

Riyo iloro. Wor kiyopi aska. Ki solo ki kama inake. Klapno ewe ki muelne diri: "De nakap! Ko bipuel ppuene. De nakap yeloyo." Diri mi wor dop lo. Ewe umul senek, "Diri ke onona nakero. Dop kep worso po. Worna kamappo." Ewe ppuenoro rileyo. Bipuel riyo kosiyepakowe. Diri ke mi loro. Dop kep tanimpo. Mi wor kamappo. Riyopuno bipuel ppueno rileyo. Bipuel dupua dipiowo. Diri mi worna kamappo. Riyopuno bipuel dupua piyowe. Dupua kilimpowe. Bipuel dupua piowo, yeloyo seku. Dupua kilimpowe, uki akono. Bipuel dupua wiyowe. Diri mi wor dopna lo.

They went to the tree. There were no dogs with them. Only they. They are alone. Having come to the tree, the older brother said to his younger brother: "Stay down here! I'll climb for the tree kangaroos. You stay on the ground." Now the younger brother changed into a dog. He behaved like a hunting dog. The older brother thought: "My younger brother is a human being. But now his body looks like that of a dog. He became dog-like." The older brother climbed high up after the kangaroos. There he pushed them down from the tree by shooting arrows at them. The younger brother ran here. His skin had changed. He had become a dog. The older brother had climbed high up after the tree kan-

garoos. The two tree kangaroos must have jumped onto another branch. The younger brother had become dog-like. So he could grab the two tree kangaroos and killed them. The two tree kangaroos jumped and fell on the ground. He killed them both, a male one und a female one. He caught the two tree kangaroos. The younger brother was still a dog.

Ewe riyo kûnoro muelno: "Eh bipuel?" "Ko bawiyewoko." "De ke dop elep asa senisimpo?" "Ko mi worso po. Ko so mi bipuel yala dele. Mi dupua ko roki wiyowe." "Eli mi ko makina ya. Nuko ile yipyo." Yipyo welppuo. Kupuenpoipno ako muelno: "Diri kopi ke wor dop lo. Wor dop ki loro. Bipuel dupua oki wiyowe. Yala nuko asa poi? Diri kopi wor dop lo. Diri kopi klokniro. Ya yala nuko wîlno suelnei. Kimike nuko rupueno suelwilneip. Pastaim rupueno suelwiliponoip. Yala ke mi wîlno suelnei. Nuko yaii. Nuko makina yaii. Nuko makina lukautimpoi. Diri kopi ke wor dop lo. Nuko makina lukautimpoi."

The older brother climbed down from the tree and said to him: "Eh, what about the kangaroos?" "I have killed them both." "And what about you? How did you change your own skin?" "I became a dog. I thought, otherwise the kangaroos will certainly escape. Yes, the two ones, I killed them here." "You really took great care of me. Let's go back to the house." He carried the dead tree kangaroos up to the bush hut. While cutting the meat together, he said to his wife: "My younger brother changed into a dog. Yes, he became a dog. He grabbed the two tree kangaroos. But what are we going to do now? My brother changed into a dog, my only younger brother. Now we'll cut him the sago pudding on a plate. Before we brought it to him cut into a leaf. In the past, well, we served him the sago in a leaf. Now we cut it into a dish for him. We take care of him. We take great care. We always took great care. My younger brother changed into a dog. We took great care of him."

Boyopuno riyo nakero. Diri miro nakero. Mi kimike ki so nakapno. Mi ono dop kamappo. "Yalaka ko mi bakamappoko onona. Pastaim ko worso kamappo."	Later he stays there. The younger brother stays with the older brother and his wife. While first staying as a dog, he then became human again. (Finally the younger brother said to the others:) "From now on I have become man-like again. Before I had changed into a dog."
Em tasol tenk yu.	That's it. Thank you.

Glossed text

(1) *Diri eweno ki kama inakap yilau kepyo.*
diri ewe-no ki kama i-nake-p yilau
younger.brother older.brother-INS APH alone DU.S-stay-PC place
kep-yo
3SG.POSS-LOC
'The older and the younger brother were staying alone at their place.'

(2) *Yilau kepyo yana inakap.*
yilau kep-yo yana i-nake-p
place 3SG.POSS-LOC different DU.S-stay-PC
'They were staying at another place, (namely the place, where they had built their bush camp.)'

(3) *Diri ewe ako wonakap yilauyo. Ewe kepro busyo lo.*
diri ewe ako wo-nake-p yilau-yo
younger.brother older.brother wife ACCOM-stay-PC place-LOC
ewe kep=ro bus-yo lo
older.brother 3SG.POSS=EMPH bush(TP)-LOC go.PP
'The younger brother was staying with the older brother's wife at the bush camp. His older brother went off into the bush.'

(4) *Duyo klapno ewe wor duyo ukeli.*
du-yo k-le-p-no ewe wor du-yo ukeli
bush-LOC SUB-go-PC-CO older.brother dog bush-LOC take.with.oneself
'When leaving for the (deep) bush the older brother took dogs (with him) into the bush.'

(5) *Wor aska. Wor ba ukeli. Ki kama lo. Wor aska.*
wor aska wor ba ukeli ki kama lo wor aska
dog none dog NEG.EMPH take.with.oneself APH alone go.PP dog none
'(No, there were) no dogs. He did not take any dogs. He went alone. (There were) no dogs.'

(6) *Bipuel rilippueko dupua. Mi yilauyo klapno diri muelno:*
bipuel rilippue-ko dupua mi yilau-yo
tree.kangaroo look.upward.O.ANIM.PL-RTS two again place-LOC
k-le-p-no diri mueli-no
SUB-go-PC-CO younger.brother talk.to-3SG.OR.PP
'Looking up he had seen tree kangaroos, two (of them). Then, having come (back) to the camp, he said to his younger brother:'

(7) *"Bipuel ko barilippueko. De awe! Nuko ile. Nuko riyo bipuel ppuenei, rile inake."*
bipuel ko ba-rilippue-ko de awe nuko
tree.kangaroo I FAC-look.upward.O.ANIM.PL-FAC you come.IMP we.INCL
i-le nuko ri-yo bipuel ppue-ne-i rile
DU.S-go we.INCL tree-LOC tree.kangaroo go.up-3SG.OR.PP-DU.A above
i-nake
DU.S-sit
'"I have seen tree kangaroos. Come, let us go! We'll climb up the tree for the kangaroos, they are sitting above."'

(8) *Riyo iloro. Wor kiyopi aska. Ki solo ki kama inake.*
ri-yo i-lo=ro wor kiyo-pi aska ki solo ki kama
tree-LOC DU.S-go.PP=EMPH dog APH.DU-POSS none APH only APH alone
i-nake
DU.S-stay
'They went to the tree. There were no dogs with them. Only they. They are alone.'

(9) *Klapno ewe ki muelne diri: "De nakap! Ko bipuel ppuene. De nakap yeloyo."*
k-le-p-no ewe ki mueli-ne diri de
SUB-go-PC-CO older.brother APH talk.to-3SG.OR younger.brother you
nake-p ko bipuel ppue-ne de nake-p yelo-yo
stay-IMP I tree.kangaroo go.up-3SG.OR you stay-IMP ground-LOC
'Having come the older brother said to (his) younger brother: "You stay (down here). I'll climb for the tree kangaroos. You stay on the ground!"'

(10) *Diri mi wor dop lo.*
diri mi wor dop lo
younger.brother then dog skin go.PP
'Then the younger brother went dog-skinned.'[7]

(11) *Ewe umul senek, "Diri ke onona nakero. Dop kep worso po. Worna kamappo."*
ewe umul_senek diri ke ono-na nake=ro dop
older.brother think.PP younger.brother APH man-AFF stay=EMPH skin
kep wor-so po wor-na kamap-po
3SG.POSS dog-SIM LV.PP dog-AFF become(TP)-LV.PP
'The older brother thought: "My younger brother is a human being. (But) his body (looks) like that of a dog. He became dog-like."'

(12) *Ewe ppuenoro rileyo. Bipuel riyo kosiyepakowe.*
ewe ppue-no=ro rileyo bipuel ri-yo
older.brother go.up-3SG.OR.PP=EMPH above tree.kangaroo tree-LOC
kosiyepako-we
push.down.PP-DU.O
'The older brother climbed high up after (the kangaroos). There he pushed them down from the tree (by shooting arrows at them).'

(13) *Diri ke mi loro. Dop kep tanimpo. Mi wor kamappo.*
diri ke mi lo=ro dop kep tanim-po
younger.brother APH again go.PP=EMPH skin 3SG.POSS change(TP)-LV.PP
mi wor kamap-po
then dog become(TP)-LV.PP
'The younger brother came. His skin (had) changed. He became a dog.'

(14) *Riyopuno bipuel ppueno rileyo. Bipuel dupua dipiowo.*
riyopuno bipuel ppue-no rileyo bipuel dupua
then tree.kangaroo go.up-3SG.OR.PP above tree.kangaroo two
d-piowo
LKH-jump.PP
'Then he climbed high up after the tree kangaroos. The two tree kangaroos must have jumped (on another branch).'[8]

[7] From now on the younger brother has the appearance of a dog and behaves like a dog. So the hunt can proceed successfully.

[8] Sequences (13) and (14) repeat and paraphrase what has already been said in (10) and (12).

(15) *Diri mi worna kamappo. Riyopuno bipuel dupua piyowe. Dupua kilimpowe.*
diri mi wor-na kamap-po riyopuno
younger.brother again dog-AFF become(TP)-LV.PP then
bipuel dupua piyo-we dupua kilim-po-we
tree.kangaroo two take.PP-DU.O two kill(TP)-LV.PP-DU.O
'The younger brother became dog-like. Then he grabbed the two tree kangaroos and killed them both.'

(16) *Bipuel dupua piowo, yeloyo seku. Dupua kilimpowe, uki akono.*
bipuel dupua piowo yelo-yo seku dupua kilim-po-we
tree.kangaroo two jump.PP ground-LOC fall.PP two kill-LV.PP-DU.O
uki ako-no
husband wife-INS
'The two tree kangaroos jumped and fell on the ground. He killed the two, a male one und a female one.'[9]

(17) *Bipuel dupua wiyowe. Diri mi wor dopna lo.*
bipuel dupua wiyo-we diri mi wor dop-na
tree.kangaroo two hold.PP-DU.O younger.brother again dog skin-AFF
lo
go.PP
'He killed the two tree kangaroos. The younger brother was still a dog.'

(18) *Ewe riyo kûnoro, muelno: "Eh bipuel?"*
ewe ri-yo kûno=ro mueli-no eh
older.brother tree-LOC go.down.PP=EMPH talk.to-3SG.OR.PP eh
bipuel
tree.kangaroo
'The older brother climbed down from the tree and said to him: "Eh, (what about) the kangaroos?"'

(19) *"Ko bawiyewoko." "De ke dop elep asa senisimpo?"*
ko ba-wiye-we-ko de ke dop elep asa senisim-po
I FAC-kill-DU.O-FAC you TOP skin 2SG.POSS.EMPH how change(TP)-LV.PP
'"I have killed them both." "(But) you, how did you change your own skin?"'

[9]In sequences (14) and (16) there is no subject dual for the explicitly dual subject *bipuel dupua*. The narrator Andrew Wapi only uses the object dual.

(20) *"Ko mi worso po. Ko so mi bipuel yala dele. Mi dupua ko roki wiyowe."*
ko mi wor-so po ko so mi bipuel yala d-le mi
I again dog-SIM LV.PP I believe again tree.kangaroo MOD LKH-go again
dupua ko ro-ki wiyo-we
two I PROX.EMPH-APH kill.PP-DU.O
'"I became a dog. I thought, (otherwise) the kangaroos will certainly escape. Indeed, the two (ones), I killed them here."'

(21) *"Eli mi ko makina ya. Nuko ile yipyo."*
eli mi ko maki-na ya nuko i-le yip-yo
you.EMPH again I good-ADV take.care.of.PP we.INCL DU.S-go house-LOC
'"You really took great care of me. Let's go (back) to the house."'

(22) *Yipyo welppuo. Kupuenpoipno ako muelno: "Diri kopi ke wor dop lo."*
yip-yo welppuo k-puenpi-i-p-no ako mueli-no
house-LOC carry.up.PP SUB-cut.meat-DU.A-PC-CO wife talk.to-3SG.OR.PP
diri ko-pi ke wor dop lo
younger.brother 1SG-POSS APH dog skin go.PP
'He carried (the dead tree kangaroos) up to the house. While cutting the meat together, he said to his wife: "My younger brother went as a dog."'

(23) *Wor dop ki loro. Bipuel dupua oki wiyowe. Yala nuko asa poi?*
wor dop ki lo=ro bipuel dupua o-ki wiyo-we yala
dog skin APH go=EMPH tree.kangaroo two PROX-APH kill.PP-DU.O now
nuko asa pi-i
we.INCL how do-DU.A
'"He went as a dog. He killed these two tree kangaroos. (But) what are we going to do now?"'

(24) *Diri kopi wor dop lo. Diri kopi klokniro.*
diri ko-pi wor dop lo diri ko-pi
younger.brother 1SG-POSS dog skin go.PP younger.brother 1SG-POSS
klokni=ro
one=EMPH
'"My younger brother changed into a dog, my only younger brother."'

(25) *Ya yala nuko wîlno suelnei. Kimike nuko rupueno suelwilneip.*
ya yala nuko wîl-no sueli-ne-i kimike nuko rupue-no
sago now we.INCL plate-INS cut-3SG.OR-DU.A before we.INCL leaf-INS
suelwili-ne-i-p
cut.and.carry-3SG.OR-DU.A-PC
'"Now we cut him the sago pudding on a plate. Before we brought it to him cut into a leaf."'[10]

(26) *Pastaim rupueno suelwiliponoip. Yala ke mi wîlno suelnei.*
pastaim rupue-no suelwili-pi-ne-i-p yala ke mi
before(TP) leaf-INS cut.and.carry-LV-3SG.OR-DU.A-PC NOW APH again
wîl-no sueli-ne-i
plate-INS cut-3SG.OR-DU.A
'"Before we brought it to him in a leaf. Now we cut it into a dish for him."'

(27) *Nuko yaii. Nuko makina yaii. Nuko makina lukautimpoi.*
nuko yai-i nuko maki-na yai-i nuko
we.INCL take.care.of-DU.A we.INCL good-ADV take.care.of-DU.A we.INCL
maki-na lukautim-po-i
good-ADV take.care(TP)-LV.PP-DU.A
'"We take care (of him). We take great care. We took great care."'

(28) *Diri kopi ke wor dop lo. Nuko makina lukautimpoi."*
diri ko-pi ke wor dop lo nuko maki-na
younger.brother 1SG-POSS APH dog skin go.PP we.INCL good-ADV
lukautim-po-i
take.care(TP)-LV.PP-DU.A
'"My younger brother changed into a dog. We took great care (of him)."'

(29) *Boyopuno riyo nakero. Diri miro nakero.*
boyopuno ri-yo nake=ro diri mi=ro nake=ro
later DIST-LOC stay=EMPH younger.brother again=EMPH stay=EMPH
'Later he stays there. The younger brother stays (with us).'

(30) *Mi kimike ki so nakapno. Mi ono dop kamappo.*
mi kimike ki so nake-p-no mi ono dop kamap-po
again before APH like stay-PC-CO then man skin become(TP)-LV.PP
'While first staying like this, he then became human again.'

[10]People used to eat sago pudding served on big leaves, or wrapped into leaves as provisions.

(31) *Yalaka ko mi bakamappoko onona. Pastaim ko worso kamappo.*
yalaka ko mi ba-kamap-pi-ko ono-na pastaim ko wor-so
now I again FAC-become(TP)-LV-FAC man-AFF before(TP) I dog-SIM
kamap-po
become(TP)-LV.PP
'(Finally the younger brother said to the others:) "From now on I have become man-like again. Before I had changed into a dog."'

(32) *Em tasol tenk yu.*
em tasol tenk yu
APH(TP) only(TP) thank(TP) you(TP)
'The end, thank you.'

D Procedural texts

The following procedural texts are concerned with items of the material culture of the Kilmeri people. The production of sago and the manufacture of oil and brooms continue as described in Texts D.4, D.6, and D.8. However, there is another tradition that continues to this day, namely the manufacture of net bags, or bilums, as they are commonly known across Papua New Guinea. Many women wanted to make and sell me a net bag in order to receive some money. They almost competed to see who would come up with the most beautiful design. The only difference from the past is that nowadays the women use acrylic wool, which they buy in a supermarket in Vanimo. Traditionally, they dyed the natural bark fibers in a lye solution, the dye being extracted from the bark of certain trees (cf. Text D.3).

Figure D.1: Kini and Regina with almost finished bilums

D.1 Pper papi

Introduction

The text *Pper papi* 'Making penis gourds' (i.e., phallocrypts) was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007.

Summary & background

Until at least 1961, the year the Ossima Mission was founded, and possibly much longer, men covered their penises with a decorated gourd. According to what Margaret Osi told me, the men used small egg-shaped gourds for this purpose. This type of phallocrypt is widespread in the Sepik, the Border Mountains and the Bewani Mountains. Some specimens are now part of the anthropological collections of museums in Berlin, Leiden, Paris, and Adelaide. They were found in many settlements and language groups. It is interesting to mention a specimen found in Kilifas in the Fas/Momu language area.[1] The depicted carved decoration looks similar to those described by Margaret Osi and worn by her husband Lis Osi and her father Apai.

Parallel text

Pper pina sele kepine pper pul seliye. Pul pisisi, pei kiniyo poli. Ili kep wali kep le. Pele pi, pper pele ppipe papi. Pul mini. Pul kiminipno ikoi po, papulip.

For making penis gourds one prepares a garden and sows gourd seeds. The seeds build sprouts, there are many of them. Their bunches and stems spread. They make leaves, the gourds get ready leaves and flowers. Fruits come. When the fruits have come, they became big. There they were.

Yukume klapno seleyo pper kep riyeko. Bapok sike. Dob riyepo, pper kiniyo bamonwepko. Rondupua rokini pper lapo, yipyo meli. Royowe. Bî sepei, pper pul popiwepu nanano. Sû bopoyo wapo. Klokni piyo, nanano lop, lepapo, lepapuwepu. Rondupua rokini wapowe,

Having gone to the garden, a man looked at his gourds. They are strong indeed. He looked, many have come up. He would harvest three gourds and carry them to the house. He laid them in stock for making penis gourds. He drilled a hole, took out

[1] See the photo on the website "Upper Sepik-Central New Guinea Project," Data Set, Language Fas, Village Fas 2, Title Gourd phallocrypt, Image No.1: https://data.uscngp.com/artifact-images/7/VI%2050037/1.jpg

uroyo niswe. Laliyo yip bîyo. Laliyowe uro roise.	the gourd seeds with a knife, and put them on the ashes of the fire. He took one, scratched it with the knife, made a pattern, designed it with many scratches. Three gourds he treated like this and put them into a netbag. He hung the netbag inside the house. He hung up the penis gourds with the netbag.
Pi kepro ikoi ari. Moniseso upuna papi. Die wok kep ikoiele.	Their making is not much work. It is quite easy work. It is alright to produce them. Making grass skirts, by contrast, is different. Their production is labourious.

Glossed text

(1) *Pper pina sele kepine pper pul seliye. Pul pisisi, pei kiniyo poli. Ili kep wali kep le. Pele pi, pper pele ppipe papi. Pul mini. Pul kiminipno ikoi po, papulip.*
pper pi-na sele kepine pper pul seliye pul pisisi
penis.gourd do-PURP garden prepare gourd seed sow seed sprout
pei kiniyo poli ili kep wali kep le pele pi pper
sprout many be.there bunch 3SG.POSS stem 3SG.POSS go leaf do gourd
pele ppipe papi pul mini pul k-mini-p-no
leaf flower get.ready.PL.O fruit come.hither fruit SUB-come.hither-PC-CO
ikoi po papuli-p
big do.PP be.there.PL-PC
'For making penis gourds one prepares a garden and sows gourd seeds. The seeds build sprouts, there are many (of them). Their bunches and stems spread. They make leaves, the gourds get ready leaves and flowers. Fruits come. When the fruits have come, they became big. There they were.'

(2) *Yukume klapno seleyo pper kep riyeko. Bapok sike. Dob riyepo, pper kiniyo bamonwepko. Rondupua rokini pper lapo, yipyo meli. Royowe.*
yukume k-le-p-no sele-yo pper kep riye-ko
man.SG SUB-go-PC-CO garden-LOC gourd 3SG.POSS see.O.INANIM-RTS
ba-pi-ko sike dob riye-po pper kiniyo
FAC-do-FAC strong eye see.O.INANIM-LV.PP gourd many

ba-mini-wepi-ko rondupua_rokini pper lapo
FAC-come.hither-QUANT.S-FAC three gourd harvest.PP
yip-yo meli royo-we
house-LOC carry.PL.O lay.PP-TER
'Having gone to the garden, a man looked at his gourds. They are strong indeed. He looked, many have come up. He would harvest three gourds and carry them to the house. He kept them ready (for making penis gourds).'

(3) *Bî sepei, pper pul popiwepu nanano. Sû bopoyo wapo. Klokni piyo, nanano lop, lepapo, lepapuwepu. Rondupua rokini wapowe, uroyo niswe. Laliyo yip bîyo. Laliyowe uro roise.*
bî sepei pper pul popi-wepu nana-no sû bopo-yo
hole drill gourd seed take.out-QUANT.O.PP small.knife-INS fire ashes-LOC
wapo klokni piyo nana-no lop
put.together.PP one take.PP small.knife-INS scratch.PP
lepapo lepapi-wepu rondupua_rokini
make.a.pattern.PL.O.PP make.a.pattern-QUANT.O.PP three
wapo-we uro-yo nis-we laliyo yip bîyo
put.together.PP-TER netbag-LOC put.in.PP-TER hang.PP house inside
laliyo-we uro roise
hang.PP-TER netbag together
'He drilled a hole, took out the gourd seeds with a knife, and put them on the ashes of the fire. He took one, scratched it with the knife, made a pattern, designed it with many scratches. Three (gourds) altogether he treated (like this) and put them into a netbag. He hung (the netbag) inside the house. He hung up (the penis gourds) with the netbag.'

(4) *Pi kepro ikoi ari. Moniseso upuna papi. Die wok kep ikoiele.*
pi kep=ro ikoi ari moniseso upuna papi die wok
do 3SG.POSS=EMPH big no very.small alright produce grass.skirt work
kep ikoiele
3SG.POSS very.big
'Their making is not big (work). It is very small (work). It is alright to produce them. Grass skirts, (by contrast), their production is labourious.'

D.2 Die papi

Introduction

The text *Die papi* 'Making grass skirts' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007.

Summary & background

In her youth, Margaret Osi lived a traditional life. Making grass skirts was an important personal task for every woman and seemed to take up a lot of time. The skirts were worn day and night and did not last long. Apparently Margaret did not particularly enjoy the labour of making grass skirts. Only at the end of the report does she say which types of sago palms are most suitable and produce skirts that do not break so quickly. In other areas of New Guinea, grass skirts are made from real grass and not from the fibres of sago palm fronds.

Unfortunately, I could not witness the making of grass skirts. No woman makes them these days. So Margaret Osi's description remained somewhat theoretical for me. But photos show that grass skirts were densely woven from numerous individual, very thin strips of grass or fibre. Apparently they would start with the front, which covered the belly, and then continue with the back side (Sequence 3).

Parallel text

Ko puer sûni bese puer. Ko die sûni. Ko die puer nopi. Ko die wiyi. Ko die wiyi pueryo powole. Elka pono kipika po. Ko bapok. Ko malapi. Ko waye, upuna. Ko upuna po. Ko poniye die elka poli yul kipika pi. Kipika ko poro. Ko lumi elka komiye, yul woleno. Ko baponiyeko. Dop kopiyo poli. Ko poniyepue.

I roll a thread, a *tulip*-thread. I roll the grass skirt. I produce a thread for the grass skirt. I string the grass skirt. I string stripes for the grass skirt on the thread, going on and on. After doing it along the belly, I did it along the back. I have done it. I measure. I try, alright, I did it well. I wrap it around my body. The grass skirt goes along the belly, and I join it with the back part. I do it along the back. Then I hide the knot at the front. I have wrapped it, and it stays on my body. I walk around wrapped up in the grass skirt.

Mi ko ba pi. Die ko ba powe. Ba mi koro poniyena. Ko layowe. Die suku pono ppulae. Ko nepei, die suku. Ko die ba poniye, puene. Ko baponiyeko. Mi ko yala ba pi. Ko bapapko. Kiniyo royowe. De kuso ponake. Die papinake. Kiniyo wapowe.

Then I make one more. I make still another grass skirt. Again one more, for wrapping me. I keep it in stock. When the grass skirt gets old, it is bad. I take it off, the old grass skirt. I wrap another grass skirt around my body, a new one. I wrapped it and now wear it. Then I make one more. It's done. I put many grass skirts aside for later use. You always make them. You need to have ready grass skirts all the time. You put in stock many grass skirts.

Figure D.2: Women wearing grass skirts

Ko puyo le. Die puene ko anno wili. Ko die suku popi. Ppulae po. Ko epueyo piyi. Ko pulmopi. Pul komopopno ko

I go to the river. The new grass skirt I carry in my hands. The old grass skirt I take away. It is bad. I throw it into

olyo pini. Ko die puene poniye. Yipyo le, nake.	the weeds. I bathe in the river. Having bathed I climb the river bank. I wrap the new grass skirt around my body. Then I go to the house and stay there.
Duku die duam die maki. Die ar sukewole. Upuna poli. Die ko papino. Pi kepro ikoiele. Mi dop kemiye.	*Duku*-grass skirts and *duam*-grass skirts are good. They don't tear. They are fine. I produce many grass skirts. Their making is a lot of work. I feel very tired of doing it over and again.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko puer sûni bese puer. Ko die sûni. Ko die puer nopi.*
ko puer sûni bese puer ko die sûni ko die puer
I thread roll tulip thread I grass.skirt roll I grass.skirt thread
nopi
produce
'I roll a thread, a *tulip*-thread. I roll the grass skirt. I produce a thread for the grass skirt.'

(2) *Ko die wiyi. Ko die wiyi pueryo powole.*
ko die wiyi ko die wiyi puer-yo powole
I grass.skirt string I grass.skirt string thread-LOC keep.doing
'I string the grass skirt. I string (strips for) the grass skirt on the thread, going on and on.'

(3) *Elka pono kipika po. Ko bapok. Ko malapi. Ko waye, upuna. Ko upuna po.*
el-ka pi-no kipi-ka po ko ba-pi-ko ko malapi ko waye
belly-PATH do-CO back-PATH do.PP I FAC-do-FAC I measure I try
upuna ko upuna po
alright I well do.PP
'After doing it along the belly, I did it along the back. I have done it. I measure. I try, alright, I did it well.'

(4) *Ko poniye die elka poli yul kipika pi. Kipika ko poro. Ko lumi elka komiye, yul woleno.*
ko poniye die el-ka poli yul kipi-ka pi kipi-ka
I wrap grass.skirt belly-PATH be.there joint back-PATH do back-PATH
ko pi=ro ko lumi el-ka komiye yul wole-no
I do=EMPH I knot belly-PATH hide joint move.further-CO
'I wrap it. The grass skirt goes along the belly, and I join it along the back. I do it along the back. I hide the knot at the front, going further as joint.'

(5) *Ko baponiyeko. Dop kopiyo poli. Ko poniyepue.*
ko ba-poniye-ko dop ko-pi-yo poli ko poniye_pue
I FAC-wrap-FAC body 1SG-POSS-LOC be.there I wrap_walk.around
'I have wrapped it, and it stays on my body. I walk around wrapped up (in the grass skirt).'

(6) *Mi ko ba pi. Die ko ba powe. Ba mi koro poniyena. Ko layowe.*
mi ko ba pi die ko ba pi-we ba mi ko=ro
again I other do grass.skirt I other do-TER other again I=EMPH
poniye-na ko laye-we
wrap-PURP I lay-TER
'I make again one more. I make another grass skirt. Again one more, for wrapping me. I keep it ready.'

(7) *Die suku pono ppulae. Ko nepei, die suku. Ko die ba poniye, puene. Ko baponiyeko.*
die suku pi-no ppulae ko nepei die suku ko die
grass.skirt old LV-CO bad I take.off grass.skirt old I grass.skirt
ba poniye puene ko ba-poniye-ko
other wrap new I FAC-wrap-FAC
'When the grass skirt gets old, it is bad. I take it off, the old grass skirt. I wrap another grass skirt (around me), a new (one). I have wrapped it.'

(8) *Mi ko yala ba pi. Ko bapapko. Kiniyo ko royowe.*
mi ko yala ba pi ko ba-papi-ko kiniyo ko roye-we
again I now other do I FAC-make.PL.O-FAC many I lay-TER
'Now I make again one more. I have got it ready. I keep ready many.'

(9) *De kuso ponake. Die papinake. Kiniyo wapowe.*
de kuso pi-nake die papi-nake kiniyo
you always make-DUR grass.skirt produce.PL.O-DUR many
wape-we
put.for.one's.advantage-TER
'You always make them. You keep getting ready grass skirts. Many you put in stock.'

(10) *Ko puyo le. Die puene ko anno wili. Ko die suku popi. Ppulae po. Ko epueyo piyi.*
ko pu-yo le die puene ko an-no wili ko die suku
I river-LOC go grass.skirt new I hand-INS carry I grass.skirt old
popi ppulae pi ko epue-yo piyi
take.away bad LV I weed-LOC throw
'I go to the river. The new grass skirt I carry in my hands. The old grass skirt I take away. It is bad. I throw it into the weeds.'

(11) *Ko pulmopi. Pul komopopno ko olyo pini. Ko die puene poniye. Yipyo le, nake.*
ko pulmopi pul_ki-mopi-p-no ko ol-yo pini ko
I bathe bathe_SUB-bathe-PC-CO I hill-LOC come.up.hither I
die puene poniye yip-yo le nake
grass.skirt new wrap house-LOC go sit
'I bathe (in the river). Having bathed I climb the river bank. I wrap the new grass skirt, go to the house and stay (there).'

(12) *Duku die duam die maki. Die ar sukewole. Upuna poli.*
duku die duam die maki
kind.of.sago.palm grass.skirt kind.of.sago.palm grass.skirt good
die ar suke-wole upuna poli
grass.skirt NEG tear-CPL alright be.there
'*Duku*-grass skirts and *duam*-grass skirts are good. They don't tear. They are fine.'

(13) *Die ko papino. Pi kepro ikoiele. Mi dop kemiye.*
die ko papi-no pi kep=ro ikoiele
grass.skirt I produce.PL.O-CO do 3SG.POSS=EMPH very.big
mi-dop_kemiye
ITER-feel.tired
'I produce many grass skirts. Their making is a lot of work. I feel very tired (of doing it) over and again.'

D.3 Die aeppu pi

Introduction

The text *Die aeppu pi* 'Dyeing grass skirts' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in September 2004.

Summary & background

The leaves of the tree contain a substance that is used as red colouring. Unfortunately, I was unable to identify these trees botanically. But Fyfe & Bolton (2011) offers a good description of dyeing techniques in the Upper Sepik and provides identifications of some of the species used to dye string bag threads.

Whenever possible, materials were dyed with plants found in the forest. The dyeing of grass skirts took one day, including preparation and the drying process. Apparently, the skirts were left in the colouring solution for about six hours. The colour must have been non-fading.

Naturally, the women did not go into the deep bush alone, they accompanied their husbands. While the men went hunting, the women would search for the plants they needed.

Parallel text

Ko ri wies lipeli numuelyo. Ri wies nokomiyouli. Ko dob powole. Yala aryo neki? Ri wies uneki! Ko pele wapi. Bawapko. Ko yipyo wili. Ko wies pele ipi kloknino si, die ino pina. Die royepake. Die mi yala aeppu pi. Yena yako die melipulupi, wiesyo royepake. Kwerno rapiyekûpe, yipyo meli. Die niniyo roye. Die kopi aeppu bapok.

I seek a *wies*-tree, deep in the bush. The *wies*-trees are quite hidden. I look around: Where does one stand now? Here stands a *wies*-tree! I collect leaves of the tree. They are collected. I carry them to the house. I cook the *wies*-leaves in one big pot for dying the grass skirts in the liquid. I put the grass skirts into the pot, so the grass skirts will become red now. More people, the women, bring their grass skirts and put them into the *wies*-leach. In the afternoon they take out the grass skirts and bring them to their houses. There they dry the grass skirts in the sun. Now my grass skirts are red.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko ri wies lipeli numuelyo.*
ko ri_wies lipeli numuelyo
I kind.of.tree seek far.away
'I seek a *wies*-tree, deep in the bush.'

(2) *Ri wies nokomiyouli. Ko dob powole. Yala aryo neki?*
ri_wies nokomiye-uli ko dob pi_wole yala aryo neki
kind.of.tree hide.well-PROG I eye LV_move.further now where stand
'The *wies*-trees are quite hidden. I look around: Where does (one) stand now?'

(3) *Ri wies uneki! Ko pele wapi.*
ri_wies u-neki ko pele wapi
kind.of.tree DFAC-stand I leaf collect
'Here stands a *wies*-tree. I collect leaves (of the tree).'

(4) *Bawapko. Ko yipyo wili.*
ba-wapi-ko ko yip-yo wili
FAC-collect-FAC I house-LOC carry
'They are collected. I bring them to the house.'

(5) *Ko wies pele ipi kloknino si, die ino pina.*
ko wies pele ipi klokni-no si die i-no pi-na
I kind.of.tree leaf pot one-INS cook grass.skirt DIST-INS make-PURP
'I cook the *wies*-leaves in one (big) pot for dyeing the grass skirts in the liquid.'

(6) *Die royepake. Die mi yala aeppu pi.*
die royepake die mi yala aeppu pi
grass.skirt lay.down grass.skirt then now red LV
'I put the grass skirts into (the pot), then the grass skirts will become red now.'

(7) *Yena yako die melipulupi, wiesyo royepake.*
yena yako die meli_pulupi wies-yo royepake
people women grass.skirt carry.PL.O_come.PL.S kind.of.tree-LOC lay.down
'The people, the women, bring (their) grass skirts and put them into the *wies*(-leach).'

(8) *Kwerno rapiyekûpe, yipyo meli.*
kwerno rapiye_kûpe yip-yo meli
afternoon fetch_go.down.PL.A house-LOC carry.PL.O
'In the afternoon they take (the grass skirts) out and carry them to (their) houses.'

(9) *Die niniyo roye.*
die nini-yo roye
grass.skirt sun-LOC lay
'They put the grass skirts in the sun.'

(10) *Die kopi aeppu bapok.*
die ko-pi aeppu ba-po-ko
grass.skirt 1SG-POSS red FAC-LV-FAC
'My grass skirts have become red.'

D.4 Ko oil pi

Introduction

The procedural text *Ko oil pi* 'I make oil' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in September 2004.

Summary & background

Small-scale private production of coconut oil is very common in Kilmeri villages. Margaret Osi used to do this frequently. The oil is usually produced for personal use. Sometimes a surplus is sold on the local market. But nowadays, home-made coconut oil no longer meets people's needs, so they buy the oil from Vanimo supermarkets. Note that coconut oil is different from palm oil, which is produced in large plantations. Recently, one such plantation was established near Ossima (see Section 1.1.2 above).

Interestingly, there is no vernacular word for oil in the Kilmeri language.

Parallel text

Ko oil pi sekena aeuna. Aeu ko ino pi boyo. Ba sekena ba aeuna. Ko suo rapiye, yuki. Ko oil pi. Ko suo sekapi, suo yani ipiyo. Ko disyo pokûne emna. Mi yala ko apoyo pi. Ko sûyo yowe, sû mappane. Sû beri pianpane. Ko suo yani moli. Suo yani sre. Oil bapok. Ko puliyepami, layowe. Amanisipe. Banisko. Ko spunno noriyepake. Ko botolyo sipake. Oil maki. Oil ko ikoina po, ko maketyo laye. Ko ikoina ar po, monina po, ko aeu ino pi. Ko ar laye maketyo moniseso. Klokni solo, ko ar laye. Aeu ino pi.

I make oil for the hair and for sago pancakes. Sago pancakes I make with it later. Some for the hair, some for sago pancakes. I fetch coconuts and shred them. I make oil. I press the copra and knead it in a pot with some water. Then I pour the liquid in a dish for further use tomorrow. The next morning I process the copra liquid in a pan. I light a fire and heat it on the fire. The flame of the fire blazes up. I let the copra milk boil. The milky liquid boils away. The oil is made. I take it off the fire and put it aside. The oil has to cool down first. Now it is cool. I bottle it with a spoon. I pour it into a bottle. It's good oil. When I made a lot of oil, I offer it on the market for selling. In case I didn't make a lot, but only a little, I bake sago pancakes with

it. I don't offer it on the market, it is too little. In case it's only one bottle, I don't offer it for selling. I make sago pancakes with it.

Figure D.3: Margaret making coconut oil

Glossed text

(1) *Ko oil pi sekena aeuna. Aeu ko ino pi boyo. Ba sekena ba aeuna.*
ko oil pi seke-na aeu-na aeu ko i-no pi
I oil make hair-AFF sago.pancake-AFF sago.pancake I DIST-INS make
boyo ba seke-na ba aeu-na
later other hair-AFF other sago.pancake-AFF
'I make oil for the hair and for sago pancakes. Sago pancakes I make with it later. Some for the hair, some for sago pancakes.'

(2) *Ko suo rapiye, yuki. Ko oil pi.*
ko suo rapiye yuki ko oil pi
I coconut fetch shred I oil make
'I fetch coconuts and shred them. I make oil.'

(3) *Ko suo sekapi, suo yani ipiyo. Ko disyo pokûne emna.*
ko suo sekapi suo yani ipi-yo ko dis-yo pokûne
I coconut press coconut knead.in.water pot-LOC I dish-LOC pour
em-na
tomorrow-AFF
'I press the copra and knead the copra in a pot (with some water). (Then) I pour (the liquid) in a dish for (further use) tomorrow.'

(4) *Mi yala ko apoyo pi. Ko sûyo yowe, sû mappane.*
mi yala ko apo-yo pi ko sû-yo yowe sû_mappane
then now I pan-LOC make I fire-LOC heat light.a.fire.thither
'Then I process (the copra liquid) in a pan. I heat it on the fire. I light a fire.'

(5) *Sû beri pianpane. Ko suo yani moli.*
sû beri piane_pane ko suo_yani moli
fire flame blaze.up I copra.milk make.boil
'The flame of the fire blazes up. I let the copra milk boil.'

(6) *Suo yani sre. Oil bapok.*
suo_yani sre oil ba-pi-ko
copra.milk boil.away oil FAC-make-FAC
'The copra milk boils away. The oil is made.'

(7) *Ko puliyepami, layowe. Amanisipe. Banisko.*
ko puliyepami laye-we am-a-nisi-ipe
I take.off.hither put-TER GRAD-IMP3-become.cool-ANT
ba-nisi-ko
FAC-become.cool-FAC
'I take it off (the fire) and put it aside. (The oil) has to cool down first. It has cooled.'

(8) *Ko spunno noriyepake. Ko botolyo sipake. Oil maki.*
ko spun-no noriyepake ko botol-yo sipake oil maki
I spoon(TP)-INS fill.in.down I bottle-LOC pour.down.into oil good
'I bottle it with a spoon. I pour it into a bottle. It's good oil.'

(9) *Oil ko ikoina po, ko maketyo laye.*
oil ko ikoina po ko maket-yo laye
oil I much make.PP I market-LOC lay
'(When) I made a lot of oil, I offer it on the market (for selling).'

(10) *Ko ikoina ar po, monina po, ko aeu ino pi. Ko ar laye maketyo moniseso.*
ko ikoina ar po moni-na po ko aeu i-no
I much NEG make.PP little-ADV make.PP I sago.pancake DIST-INS
pi ko ar laye maket-yo moniseso
make I NEG lay market-LOC very.little
'(In case) I didn't make a lot, but only a little, I bake sago pancakes with it. I don't offer it on the market, it is too little.'

(11) *Klokni solo, ko ar laye. Aeu ino pi.*
klokni solo ko ar laye aeu i-no pi
one only I NEG lay sago.pancake DIST-INS make
'(In case) it's only one (bottle), I don't offer it (for selling). I make sago pancakes with it.'

D.5 Yaup ulyo moli

Introduction

The procedural text *Yaup ulyo moli* 'Boiling water in bamboo tubes' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007.

Summary & background

When my older consultants were young, their lives were based on materials that were largely provided by the natural environment. For example, the women did not use metal pots for cooking, but roasted food over the fire (bananas, breadfruit) or used vessels that they could make from bush materials. One type of such vessels used for cooking are bamboo tubes. Bamboo trunks are naturally segmented. If you cut off a long trunk, you get several tubes with a base and an opening. Such a tube served as a kind of pot. Because of the small diameter, several such tubes were needed to prepare a single meal. The tubes also needed a firm base. This meant using suitable timber to build a kind of grid in which the tubes could stand upright. Note that bamboo is quite fire-resistant (See also Text A.1, Sequence 31 and Text A.9, Sequence 7).

Parallel text

Ko ul more. Ri malalpore, ul roise wepulo yipyo, wapo. Ko ri pesoupo, ri ba kaliyo. Ko pu ulyo nororpo. Ko sûyo wauna, sû mappo. Ko due wîlyo piyo. Yaup mol, yaup bamolwepuko. Yaup ul isiye ko sipako. Ko due wîl roise uleipiyo. Ko due nonopiyei, due dipini. Due dû puso po. Ko due sul popi, sul wisi polino dueyo. Ul yaup roise ko piyo, sipako dueyo. Ko lakwole rondupua rondupua. Ko sipakowepu dueyo. Ya sui basuiko. Ko rupueyo supopo.

I cut bamboo. I cut firewood and brought it to the house together with the bamboo. I put everything together. I put some pieces of wood vertically, some I laid horizontally. I filled up the water into the bamboo tubes. I put the bamboo tubes side by side in the fire. I lit the fire. I took sago in a dish. The water boiled. The water in the bamboo tubes boiled well. Now I poured the water from the bamboo into the dish. I gently tossed the sago in the dish. If I toss the sago heavily, the sago is likely to spill over. Then the sago is like water. I take away the sago crumbs, the black crumbs that are in the sago. I took the bamboo

with the water and poured it down on the sago. I count four tubes. I pour them down on the sago. The sago jelly gets ready. It is ready. I cut it into pieces on leaves.

Pu ulyo noriyo. Mi ko bese si. Bese kisipno mi ko sûyo wolana ul isiye. Sûyo rap komolipno bese ro. Baroko. Ko puliyo ul roise. Ul ko neppino rino kiso. Ko kiseipno wîlyo unepako. Ko yano ni. Ko bakesiyoko, kuru.

I filled again water into the bamboo tubes. Now I cook the *tulip*-vegetables. Having cooked the *tulip*-vegetables, I boil more water. Again I fill bamboo tubes and put them on the fire. The *rap*-vegetable on the fire boiled, the *tulip*-vegetable also got done. The vegetables are done. I took them off the fire together with the bamboo. I split the bamboo tubes lengthwise with the bush knife or with a stick. After splitting it I poured the vegetables into the dish. I eat them with sago. I have eaten up everything, and (the meal is) finished.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko ul more. Ri malalpore, ul roise wepulo yipyo, wapo.*
ko ul mo=ro ri malalpo=ro ul roise
I bamboo cut.PP=EMPH wood cut.fire.wood.PP=EMPH bamboo together
wepulo yip-yo wapo
bring.PP house-LOC put.together.PP
'I cut bamboo. I cut firewood and brought it to the house together with the bamboo. I put (everything) together.'

(2) *Ko ri pesoupo, ri ba kaliyo. Ko pu ulyo nororpo.*
ko ri pesoupo ri ba kaliyo ko pu
I wood put.upright.PP wood other lay.horizontally.PP I water
ul-yo nororpo
bamboo-LOC fill.up.PL.O.PP
'I put some pieces of wood vertically, some I laid horizontally. I filled up the water into the bamboo tubes.'

(3) *Ko sûyo wauna, sû mappo.*
ko sû-yo wauna sû_mappo
I fire-LOC put.side.by.side.PP light.a.fire.PP
'I put them (the bamboo tubes) side by side on the fire. I lit the fire.'

(4) *Ko due wîlyo piyo. Yaup mol, yaup bamolwepuko.*
ko due wîl-yo piyo yaup mol yaup
I sago dish-LOC take.PP water.for.cooking boil.PP water.for.cooking
ba-moli-wepi-ko
FAC-boil-QUANT.S-FAC
'I took sago in a dish. The water boiled. The water (in the bamboo tubes) boiled well.'

(5) *Yaup ul isiye ko sipako. Ko due wîl roise uleipiyo. Ko due nonopiyei, due dipini. Due dû puso po.*
yaup ul isiye ko sipako ko due wîl
water.for.cooking bamboo together I pour.down.into.PP I sago dish
roise uleipiyo ko due nonopiye due d-pini due dû
with toss.gently.PP I sago toss.heavily sago LKH-go.up.hither sago flour
pu-so po
water-SIM LV
'I poured the water down (from) the bamboo (into the dish). I gently tossed the sago in the dish. (If) I toss the sago heavily, the sago is likely to spill over. (Then) the sago is like water.'

(6) *Ko due sul popi, sul wisi polino dueyo.*
ko due sul popi sul wisi poli-no due-yo
I sago crumb take.away.PL.O crumb black be.there-CO sago-LOC
'I take away the sago crumbs, the black crumbs that are in the sago.'

(7) *Ul yaup roise ko piyo, sipako dueyo. Ko lakwole rondupua rondupua. Ko sipakowepu dueyo.*
ul yaup roise ko piyo sipako
bamboo water.for.cooking together I take.PP pour.down.into.PP
due-yo ko lakiwole rondupua_rondupua ko
sago-LOC I count.go.further four I
sipake-wepu due-yo
pour.down.into-QUANT.O.PP sago-LOC
'I took the bamboo with the water and poured it down on the sago. I count four (tubes). I pour them down on the sago.'

(8) *Ya sui basuiko. Ko rupueyo supopo.*
ya_sui ba-sui-ko ko rupue-yo supopo
sago.become.ready FAC-die-FAC I leaf-LOC cut.into.pieces.PL.O.PP
'The sago jelly gets ready. It is ready. I cut it into pieces on leaves.'

(9) *Pu ulyo noriyo. Mi ko bese si. Bese kisipno mi ko sûyo wolana ul isiye.*
pu ul-yo noriyo mi ko bese si bese k-si-p-no
water bamboo-LOC fill.in.PP again I tulip cook tulip SUB-cook-PC-CO
mi ko sû-yo wolana ul isiye
again I fire-LOC set.thither.PP bamboo together
'I filled water into the bamboo tubes. Now I cook the *tulip*-vegetables. Having cooked the *tulip*-vegetables, I set (water) on the fire again (filled in) bamboo tubes.'

(10) *Sûyo rap komolipno bese ro. Baroko. Ko puliyo ul roise.*
sû-yo rap k-moli-p-no bese ro
fire-LOC leafy.vegetable SUB-boil-PC-CO tulip get.done.PP
ba-re-ko ko puliyo ul roise
FAC-get.done-FAC I take.off.PP bamboo together
'The *rap*-vegetables on the fire boiled, the *tulip*-vegetables (also) got done. The vegetables are done. I took them off the fire together with the bamboo.'

(11) *Ul ko neppino rino kiso. Ko kiseipno wîlyo unepako.*
ul ko neppi-no ri-no kiso ko
bamboo I bush.knife-INS stick-INS split.lengthwise.PP I
kisei-p-no wîl-yo uneipako
split.lengthwise-PC-CO dish-LOC pour.down.PP
'I split the bamboo tubes lengthwise with the bush knife or with a stick. After splitting it I poured the vegetables down into the dish.'

(12) *Ko yano ni. Ko bakesiyoko, kuru.*
ko ya-no ni ko ba-kesiye-ko kuru
I sago-INS eat I FAC-use.up-FAC be.finished
'I eat it with sago. I have eaten it up, and (the meal is) finished.'

D.6 Kos papi

Introduction

The procedural text *Kos papi* 'Making a broom' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007.

Figure D.4: Rose Osi making a broom

Summary & background

Margaret Osi comments on her granddaughter Imelda, who is sitting in an oil palm directly opposite the window of my house. Making brooms from palm material is still very common. Imelda cuts the palm fronds as raw material for the broom. The outer layer with the leaves has to be scraped off. Then the inner, tendon-like strips remain, which are tied together. The broom is then ready for use.

Parallel text

Imelda numu rileyo nake. Numu kweyo eku nake. Kos sueli, kos papi. Kili klokniyo nake. Boyopuno numu kopue-

Imelda is sitting above in a *numu*-palm. She is sitting on a palm rib to cut the raw material for making

yo neki. Dor makina neki, yala ri ini kopue dupokûni. Numu pele suelpake. Wuli solo piye. Wuli solo lîpiye. Wuli piye, leppapi.

a broom. She is sitting on one rib. Later she is standing in the trough-like depression of a palm rib. She has a good stand. Otherwise the depression of the palm rib will bend down and break. She cuts down some fronds of the oil palm. She takes only the tops. She cuts off only the tops of the fronds. She takes the tops and scrapes off the layer of the leaves.

Glossed text

(1) *Imelda numu rileyo nake. Numu kweyo eku nake. Kos sueli, kos papi.*
Imelda numu rileyo nake numu kwe-yo eku_nake kos sueli
Imelda oil.palm above sit oil.palm palm.rib-LOC sit.down broom cut
kos papi
broom make.PL.O
'Imelda is sitting above in a *numu*-palm. She is sitting on a palm rib to cut a broom, to make a broom.'

(2) *Kili klokniyo nake. Boyopuno numu kopueyo neki.*
kili klokni-yo nake boyopuno numu kopue-yo neki
bone one-LOC sit later oil.palm trough-LOC stand
'She is sitting on one rib. Later she is standing in the trough-like depression of a palm (rib).'

(3) *Dor makina neki, yala ri ini kopue dupokûni.*
dor maki-na neki yala ri ini kopue d-pokûni
foot good-ADV stand MOD tree branch trough LKH-move.down.hither
'She has a good stand. (Otherwise) the depression of the palm rib will bend down (and break).'

(4) *Numu pele suelpake. Wuli solo piye. Wuli solo lîpiye. Wuli piye, leppapi.*
numu pele suelipake wuli solo piye wuli solo lî_piye
oil.palm leaf cut.down tree.top only take tree.top only pluck_take
wuli piye leppapi
tree.top take scrape.off.layer
'She cuts down some fronds of the oil palm. She takes only the tops. She cuts off only the tops (of the fronds). She takes the tops and scrapes off the layer (of the leaves).'

D.7 Yûr lui

Introduction

The procedural text *Yûr lui* 'Shooting birds' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in August 2004.

Summary & background

Traditionally, birds are hunted with bow and arrow. This is a fairly silent way to kill them. Sometimes a shotgun is also used, as in the case of Lis Osi, Margaret's husband. In her report, Margaret switches to the first-person perspective and tells us that she herself is the hunter. Normally, women would not hunt for birds or game.

Note that the same vocabulary is used for rifle shooting as for traditional hunting. The bow is equivalent to the rifle, and the arrows are equivalent to the cartridges. The verb *pulapi* 'to draw a bow' means 'to load and aim with a rifle' in the modern context.

Parallel text

Uki kopi yem buai pakono lu iwan misoru. Buai pakono luiwepu. Ri ini dopyo nake, yûr riyo nake, ko pe pako weri. Ko pulapi, ko lui. Yûr seki, yûr basekiko. Yeloyo lili. Ko yûr piyeppue. Yûr ri ini numuelyo nake, amainuyo nake, ko buai pakono pulapi. Ko pe pako bîyo pane. Ko pulapi.

My husband shot crowned pigeons with a gun, hornbills also. With the gun he hunted them efficiently. If the bird sits on a branch close by, if the bird sits there, I nock an arrow. Then I draw the bow and shoot. The bird falls, the bird has fallen down. It lies on the ground. I pick the bird up. If the bird sits on a tree branch far away, if it sits aloft, I aim a gun. I put the cartridge inside and aim the rifle at it.

Glossed text

(1) *Uki kopi yem buai pakono lu iwan misoru. Buai pakono luiwepu.*
uki ko-pi yem buai pako-no lu
husband 1SG-POSS crowned.pigeon white.people bow-INS shoot.PP
iwan misoru buai pako-no lui-wepu
hornbill also white.people bow-INS shoot-QUANT.O.PP
'My husband shot crowned pigeons with a gun, hornbills also. With the

gun he shot them efficiently.'

(2) *Ri ini dopyo nake, yûr riyo nake, ko pe pako weri. Ko pulapi, ko lui.*
ri ini dopyo nake yûr ri-yo nake ko pe pako
tree branch close sit bird DIST-LOC sit I arrow bow
weri ko pulapi ko lui
nock.an.arrow I draw.a.bow I shoot
'If (the bird) sits on a branch close by, if the bird sits there, I nock an arrow. (Then) I draw the bow and shoot.'

(3) *Yûr seki, yûr basekiko. Yeloyo lili. Ko yûr piyeppue.*
yûr seki yûr ba-seki-ko yelo-yo lili ko yûr piye_ppue
bird fall bird FAC-fall-FAC ground-LOC be.there I bird take_go.up
'The bird falls, the bird has fallen (down). It lies on the ground. I pick the bird up.'

(4) *Yûr ri ini numuelyo nake, amainuyo nake, ko buai pakono pulapi. Ko pe pako bîyo pane. Ko pulapi.*
yûr ri ini numuelyo nake amainuyo nake ko buai
bird tree branch far.away sit aloft sit I white.people
pako-no pulapi ko pe pako bîyo pane ko pulapi
bow-INS train.a.gun I cartridge gun inside put.thither I train.a.gun
'If the bird sits on a tree branch far away, if it sits aloft, I aim at it with a gun. I put the cartridge inside the gun. I aim the gun (at it).'

D.8 Due dû papi

Introduction

The procedural text *Due dû papi* 'Processing sago' was narrated by Susan Bisam in Ossima village in December 1999.

Figure D.5: Three sacks of sago flour in a storeroom (village of Airu)

Summary & background

Right at the beginning of my field research, Susan Bisam was eager to describe the process of sago production to me, starting from cutting down the sago palm to mixing the sago pudding for consumption. Here she lists the activities and steps without explaining them in much detail. Susan spent most of her time processing sago for the family and also to sell in Vanimo if there was a means of transport to town. She was a strong woman and was capable of felling a fully grown sago palm by herself. The fibres of the palm bark are so hard that they were referred to with the word *re* meaning 'feather'. They are also similar in shape.

Susan's Kilmeri is very basic, but it contains the essential vocabulary.

A female cousin of Susan Bisam told her the following little story about pigs eating sago during night time, which Susan re-narrated in Tok Pisin in December 1999. It is included here because it adds a certain flavour to the processing of sago.

Pik man ol kaikai saksak. Em tokim pik meri: "Yu kam nau. Yumi go nau. Em i tulait nau. Man bai kam, em bai sutim liklik pikinini pik."

All the pigs eat sago. Once, a male pig said to its wife: "Come on, let's go. It's becoming morning. The humans will come, and they will shoot the little piglets."

Em tokim pik meri: "Ol i sutim pikinini pik bilong yu pinis. Yu ken krai i stap. Wari stap bilong pikinini bilong yu. Ol i karim pikinini bilong yu na kaikai. Mi tokim yu: 'Yumi go nau. Yumi mas hait long haus bilong yumi.' Yu no harim tok bilong mi. Yu sakim tok."

Later on the male pig said to its wife: "Now they have shot our young ones. Now you are crying. Your little ones weren't lucky. They took the little ones and ate them. I told you: 'Let's go. We must hide in our place.' But you didn't listen to my words. You were disobedient."

Parallel text

Ko due le. Ko due moi. Due pili pusopi, due re puli. Due re kiniyo, due apui solo. Due soni. Due dû ropyo pokûne. Due luli, due nek luli. Due dû sepue lili. Ko pu ipiyeke, ya mappe.

I go to the sago swamp. There I fell a sago palm. I remove the bark of the palm, and then I take out the hard fibres. There are sago palms with many fibres, and there are sago palms with smooth bark. Then I pound the sago pith and fill the pith into a basket. Then I wash the sago. I wash the sago pith. The sago flour is held by the net. Later I fetch water in a bucket and stir it in. It mixes with the sago flour.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko due le. Ko due moi.*
ko due le ko due moi
I sago.palm go I sago.palm cut
'I go to the sago swamp. (There) I fell a sago palm.'

(2) *Due pili pusopi, due re puli.*
due pili pusopi due re puli
sago.palm sago.bark remove sago feather take.out.PL.O
'I remove the bark of the palm, and (then) I take out the (hard) fibres.'

(3) *Due re kiniyo, due apui solo.*
due re kiniyo due apui solo
sago.palm feather many sago.palm sole.of.foot only
'(There are) sago palms with many fibres, (there are) sago palms with smooth bark.'

(4) *Due soni. Due dû ropyo pokûne.*
due soni due_dû rop-yo pokûne
sago pound.sago.pith sago.flour basket-LOC fill.in
'(Then I) pound the sago (pith). I fill the flour into a basket.'

(5) *Due luli, due nek luli.*
due luli due nek luli
sago mix.with.water sago pith mix.with.water
'(Then I) wash the sago. I wash the sago pith.'

(6) *Due dû sepue lili.*
due_dû sepue lili
sago.flour net.of.trough be.there
'The sago flour is (held) by the net.'

(7) *Ko pu ipiyeke, ya mappe.*
ko pu ipiye-ke ya_mappe
I water bucket-INGR stir.sago
'(Later) I fetch water in a bucket and stir it in (the sago flour).'

D.9 Female fertility

Introduction

This procedural text contains some remarks regarding female fertility. It was prompted by me. I wanted to get some information about the possibility of preventing pregnancy. It was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in August 2004.

Summary & background

The text describes a contraceptive method (Sequences 1 and 2), which is similar to using a vaginal diaphragm. The husband must not know that the wife wishes to avoid a pregnancy. The text also mentions a method for becoming pregnant (Sequences 3 and 4). Unfortunately, I was unable to botanically identify the tree, which is said to enhance fertility. Finally, the text speaks of miscarriages (Sequences 5 and 6), after which the fetus was buried in the ground.

In the past, women had to sleep in a special small hut called *pol yip* in Kilmeri during their menstruation. Menstrual blood was collected from a hole in the ground.

Parallel text

Seke suo roise yasiye. Seke bopyo pane, luo ron roise lole. Ko komiyewep. Uki kep yala ar riyei.	I insert hair and coconut together. I put the hair into a shell and glue it together with breadfruit sap. I would hide the diaphragm well. A woman's husband will not see it.
Ko ri pul piyeke, wepule. Ko ako suel ino pine. Aeune mi yala ar pi. Lil mupiye. Yala ruri pi.	I go take the liquid of a certain tree and bring it home. Then I mix it with the wife's tobacco. Then the menstruation doesn't come. The blood is blocked. Now there will be a child.
Ruri elyo sui, ppul seki. Ruri ppul seki. Maki ari. Bî rarip, wilikûpi bîyo. Bî sowe.	If the child dies in the belly, the fetus falls out. The fetal child falls out. This is not good. The women would dig a hole and bring the fetus here in the hole. Then they cover the hole.

Glossed text

(1) *Seke suo roise yasiye. Seke bopyo pane, luo ron roise lole.*
seke suo roise yasiye seke bop-yo pane
hair coconut together plant hair kind.of.mussel-LOC do.thither
luo ron roise lole
breadfruit sap together tie
'(I) insert hair and coconut fibre together. (I) put the hairy ingredients into a shell and glue it together with breadfruit sap.'

(2) *Ko komiyewep. Uki kep yala ar riyei.*
ko komiye-we-p uki kep yala ar riyei
I hide-TER-PC husband 3SG.POSS MOD NEG see.O.INANIM
'I would hide it well. Her husband will not see it.'

(3) *Ko ri pul piyeke, wepule. Ko ako suel ino pine.*
ko ri_pul piye-ke wepule ko ako suel i-no pi-ne
I liquid.of.tree take-INGR bring I wife tobacco DIST-INS do-3SG.OR
'I go take the liquid of a certain tree and bring it (home). I mix the wife's tobacco with it.'

(4) *Aeune mi yala ar pi. Lil mupiye. Yala ruri pi.*
aeune mi yala ar pi lil mupiye yala ruri pi
menstruation then MOD NEG do blood reduce now child do
'Then the menstruation doesn't come. The blood is blocked. Now there will be a child.'

(5) *Ruri elyo sui ppul seki. Ruri ppul seki. Maki ari.*
ruri el-yo sui ppul seki ruri ppul seki maki ari
child belly-LOC die fetus fall child fetus fall good no
'(If) the child dies in the belly, the fetus falls. The fetal child falls (out). (This) is not good.'

(6) *Bî rarip, wilikûpi bîyo. Bî sowe.*
bî rari-p wilikûpi bî-yo bî sowe
hole dig-PC carry.down.hither.PL.A hole-LOC hole cover
'(The women) would dig a hole and bring the fetus into the hole. (Then) they cover the hole.'

E Autobiographic texts

E.1 Margaret Osi I

Introduction

This is the first and shortest version of Margaret Osi's life story. She told it in Ossima village in November 1999.

Summary & background

Margaret Osi told me this first version of her life story in the earliest days of fieldwork. It is very short and linguistically most simple, but contains the most important steps of her life (cf. Gerstner-Link 2018: 926-927). The sequence of short clauses perfectly presents the basic SOV word order of Kilmeri.

Parallel text

Epe ko nako. Ko moniseso. Ko wepulyo nakap. Ko ikoina pi. Ko dob riye woa pulo. Ko mepu po. Ko wo mop. Ko ikoi ko bano. Ko epe mekiyap, ko ai mekiyap. Ko uki piyo. Ko ruri kopi roipi nako.

My mother gave birth to me. I was very little. I sat in a baby sling. I grow bigger. I learned to see and saw that there was war. I felt afraid and cried. Then I am big and have breasts. I helped mother and father. I took a husband. I gave birth to my children, to my sons.

Glossed text

(1) *Epe ko nako. Ko moniseso.*

epe	ko nako	ko moniseso
mother I	give.birth I	very.small

'(My) mother gave birth to me. I am very small.'

(2) *Ko wepulyo nakap.*
ko wepul-yo nake-p
I baby.sling-LOC sit-PC
'I was sitting in the baby sling.'

(3) *Ko ikoina pi.*
ko ikoi-na pi
I big-ADV LV
'I become big.'

(4) *Ko dob riye woa pulo.*
ko dob riye woa pulo
I eye see.O.INANIM war come.PP
'I look: war came.'

(5) *Ko mepu po. Ko wo mop.*
ko mepu po ko wo mop
I fright LV.PP I tear cry.PP
'I was afraid. I cried.'

(6) *Ko ikoi ko bano.*
ko ikoi ko ba-no
I big I breast-INS
'(Then) I am big and have breasts.'

(7) *Ko epe mekiyap, ko ai mekiyap.*
ko epe mekiye-p ko ai mekiye-p
I mother help-PC I father help-PC
'I was helping (my) mother and I was helping (my) father.'

(8) *Ko uki piyo.*
ko uki piyo
I husband take.PP
'I took a husband.'

(9) *Ko ruri kopi roipi nako.*
ko ruri ko-pi roipi nako
I children 1SG-POSS boy give.birth
'I gave birth to my children, to (my) boys.'

E.2 Margaret Osi II

Introduction

This is the second version of Margaret Osi's life story that she told to me in Ossima village in January 2000.

Summary & background

Margaret herself entitled this account of her life with Tok Pisin *Laip stori bilong man bilong mi taim em i dai* ('Life story of my husband when he died'). This suggests that the story is about her husband's last days. In fact, however, it centres on the difficulties she faced after his death. This recollection of Margaret's way of life after her husband's death ties in with her first short version above (Text E.1). This second part of her narrative is very repetitive and shows the great emotional and economic tumult of living as a widow.

The text exhibits some code-switching. The following nine words are all Tok Pisin: *kaikai* 'food', *famili* 'family', *baimpi* 'to buy', *maket* 'market', *moni* 'money', *rais* 'rice', *sop* 'soap', *omo* 'detergent' (a brand name for the type of product), *painimpi* 'to look for', *na* 'and'. In the text, Tok Pisin verbs alternate with their Kilmeri equivalents. The same goes for Tok Pisin *kaikai* 'food' likewise. There are four nouns which do not have Kilmeri equivalents: *famili*, *maket*, *sop*, and *omo* and should be considered true loanwords. The grammar in which these Tok Pisin words are embedded is strictly Kilmeri.

Parallel text

Ko yala bo saupi.

I am going to tell a story now.

Uki kopi basuiko. Ko kama nake. Ko kama nake na yala ko kaikai an ikapno lipeli. Ko an ikapno piye kaikai. Due soni. Ko dû wepule yipyo. Ya mappe. Ko ni kaikai. Rapue wapi famili kopi roise. Uke ni. Ko ukeni. Ko kaikai oyo wili maketyo wili. Ko moni piye. Moni ko wepule. Ko kaikai baimpi, rais baimpi, wal baimpi sop omo. Ko rapiye. Melipule le pusiyena, rais wal nina.

My husband died. I live alone. I live alone and need to find food with my own hands. I need to look for food myself. I pound sago. I bring the sago to my house. I stir sago. I eat the food. I collect vegetables together with my family. We eat them. We eat together. I bring some food here to the village market. So I earn some money. I bring the money to town. There I buy food. I buy rice, I buy fish, soap, and deter-

gent. I buy all this. I bring it with me to the village. Then I can wash my things and eat rice and fish instead of only sago.

Yala ko kama. Uki kopi basuiko. Balok. Balok. Yala ko kama nake. Ari. Ko so solo nake. Ko kama. Uki kopi balok. Balopisiko. Yala ko kama nake. Ruri kopi ari, ko ar powai. Ko kama so solo nake. Ko an ikapno painimpi moni. Ko an ikapno lipeli. Yip ko ikapyo nake. Ko so solo nake. Yip ba as. Klokni solo ko riyo nake. Kuru.

Now I am alone. My husband died. He has gone. He has gone for good. Now I live alone. Nothing left. I live just like this. I am alone. My husband has gone. He has gone for ever. Now I live alone. My children don't care, they don't give me anything. I live alone like this. I need to get money myself. I need to earn it with my own hands. I live in my own house. I live there. There is no other home. All alone I live there in this house. That's it.

Bo kuru.

The story is finished.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko yala bo saupi.*
ko yala bo saupi
I now story know
'Now I will tell a story.'

(2) *Uki kopi basuiko. Ko kama nake.*
uki ko-pi ba-sui-ko ko kama nake
husband 1SG-POSS FAC-die-FAC I alone sit
'My husband has died. I live alone.'

(3) *Ko kama nake na yala ko kaikai an ikapno lipeli.*
ko kama nake na yala ko kaikai an ikap-no lipeli
I alone sit and(TP) now I food(TP) hand 1SG.POSS.EMPH-INS find
'I live alone and (need) to find food with my own hands.'

(4) *Ko an ikapno piye kaikai. Due soni. Ko dû wepule yipyo.*
ko an ikap-no piye kaikai due soni ko
I hand 1SG.POSS.EMPH-INS take food(TP) sago pound.sago.pith I

dû wepule yip-yo
sago.flour bring house-LOC
'With my own hands I get it, the food. I pound sago and bring the flour to (my) house.'

(5) *Ya mappe. Ko ni kaikai.*
ya_mappe ko ni kaikai
stir.sago I eat food(TP)
'I stir the sago. I eat the food.'[1]

(6) *Rapue wapi famili kopi roise. Uke ni. Ko ukeni.*
rapue wapi famili ko-pi roise uke ni ko
vegetal.food collect family(TP) 1SG-POSS together we.EXCL eat I
uke-ni
jointly-eat
'I collect vegetables (in the bush), together with my family. We eat. I eat in company.'

(7) *Ko kaikai oyo wili maketyo wili. Ko moni piye.*
ko kaikai o-yo wili maket-yo wili ko moni piye
I food(TP) PROX-LOC carry market-LOC carry I money(TP) take
'I carry food here. I carry it to the market. (So) I will get some money.'

(8) *Moni ko wepule. Ko kaikai baimpi, rais baimpi, wal baimpi sop omo.*
moni ko wepule ko kaikai baimpi rais baimpi wal baimpi
money(TP) I bring I food(TP) buy(TP) rice(TP) buy(TP) fish buy(TP)
sop omo
soap detergent
'I get the money and buy food. I buy rice, buy tinfish, soap and detergent.'

(9) *Ko rapiye. Melipule le pusiyena rais wal nina.*
ko rapiye melipule le pusiye-na rais wal ni-na
I fetch bring.PL.O things wash-PURP rice(TP) fish eat-PURP
'I get it. I will bring a lot (with me), for washing my cloths, for eating rice and fish.'

[1]In this clause the word order is AVO as in Tok Pisin.

(10) *Yala ko kama. Uki kopi basuiko. Balok. Balok.*
yala ko kama uki ko-pi ba-sui-ko ba-le-ko ba-le-ko
now I alone husband 1SG-POSS FAC-die-FAC FAC-GO-FAC FAC-GO-FAC
'Now I am alone. My husband has died. He has gone. He has gone (for good).'

(11) *Yala ko kama nake. Ari. Ko so solo nake. Ko kama.*
yala ko kama nake ari ko so solo nake ko kama
now I alone sit no I like.this only sit I alone
'Now I live alone. No. I live only like this. I am alone.'[2]

(12) *Uki kopi balok. Balopisiko.*
uki ko-pi ba-le-ko ba-le-pisi-ko
husband 1SG-POSS FAC-GO-FAC FAC-GO-CPL-FAC
'My husband has gone. He has gone for ever.'

(13) *Yala ko kama nake. Ruri kopi ari, ko ar powai.*
yala ko kama nake ruri ko-pi ari ko ar powai
now I alone sit child 1SG-POSS no I NEG give.1SG.OR
'Now I live alone. My children, no, they don't give me anything.'

(14) *Ko kama so solo nake. Ko an ikapno painimpi moni. Ko an ikapno lipeli.*
ko kama so solo nake ko an ikap-no painimpi
I alone like.this only sit I hand 1SG.POSS.EMPH-INS find(TP)
moni ko an ikap-no lipeli
money(TP) I hand 1SG.POSS.EMPH-INS find
'I live alone like this. I look for money with my own hands.[3] With my own hands I (need) to earn it.'

(15) *Yip ko ikapyo nake. Ko so solo nake. Yip ba as.*
yip ko_ikap-yo nake ko so solo nake yip ba as
house 1SG.POSS.EMPH-LOC sit I like.this only sit house other none
'I live in my own house. I live only like this. There is no other house (for me to live in).'[4]

[2]The sentential negation *ari* 'no' refers to Margaret's former way of life with her husband who died several years ago.
[3]In this clause, O follows V as in Tok Pisin.
[4]Old parents usually prefer to live in the household of one of their children to secure their livelihood.

(16) *Klokni solo ko riyo nake. Kuru. Bo kuru.*
klokni solo ko ri-yo nake kuru bo kuru
one only I DIST-LOC sit be.finished story be.finished
'One (person) only I live there, that's it. The story is finished.'[5]

[5]The concluding formula *kuru* is partially integrated into Margaret's reasoning of being all alone. Her situation won't change anymore. Therefore it is taken here as part of the last sentence of the story.

E.3 Susan Bisam

Introduction

This autobiographical text was told by Susam Bisam in Ossima village in December 1999.

Summary & background

This is a short account of Susan's life, beginning with her marriage to a man from the Sepik. She focuses on the things her husband was doing without mentioning anything about her own daily activities. Nevertheless, she may have beaten the drum, as the final sequence might seem to indicate. The crocodile carvings on the slit drum (Sequence 7) show that the crocodile is an essential feature of Sepik culture.

Susan also told her life story in Tok Pisin. This version is longer and talks about the rush on crocodile skins in the area that eventually led to her marrying a man from Angoram (Lower Sepik). Note that Susan tells the story in the third person. The Tok Pisin text is not glossed, but is presented as a parallel text with an English translation below:

Wanpela de pukpuk i bin kilim wanpela man bilong Ossima. Stori bilong dispela man pukpuk i bin kilim i go olgeta long Sepik. Olsem planti man bilong Sepik i kam long wara Puwani bikos ol i laik kilim pukpuk na salim skin bilong pukpuk. Wanpela man namel long ol dispela man em Arnold. Sampela man namel long ol dispela man i stap long haus bilong Margaret. Susan i stap long haus bilong Margaret tu. Margaret em i anti bilong Susan. Olsem Susan i bungim man bilong en. Tupela i marit. Arnold i painim pukpuk olgeta de. Bihain kilim olgeta pukpuk ol i kisim skin. Skin bilong pukpuk em wait na gre na blak. Skin bilong pukpuk i nogat nil, rat tasol. Taim

One day a crocodile killed a man from Ossima village. This story found its way as far as to the Sepik. So many men from the Sepik came to the Puwani river because they wanted to catch crocodiles and sell their skins. Among them was Arnold. One of the crocodile hunters stayed in Margaret's house. Susan lived there, too. Margaret is a close relative of Susan. That's the way Susan met her husband. The two married. Arnold went hunting crocodiles all the days. They killed the crocodiles and took their skins. The skins were white, grey, and black. The skins had no spikes, only a few rat bites. Later on, when all the crocodiles in the Puwani were caught,

ol pukpuk i dai pinis long hia em i go long Amanab. Bihain long Imonda, Utai, Wasengla. Bihain tupela i go bek long Sepik. Long ples Angoram Arnold i bin mekim bikpela haus bilong famili bilong en. Haus bilong ol i stap arere long wara Sepik. Arnold i mekim planti kanu. Arnold i mekim planti garamut tu. Susan i gat bikpela gaden long Sepik. Em i planim kaukau, banana, pinat, melen, yam na mami.

the hunters went on to Amanab. Then they went on to Imonda, Utai, and Wasengla. After the crocodile rush Susan and Arnold went back to the Sepik. In Angoram Arnold built a big house for his family. The house stood close to the Sepik river. Arnold built canoes. He also made many *garamut*-drums. Susan got a big garden along the banks of the river. She planted sweet potatos, bananas, peanuts, melons, yams, and cassava.

Parallel text

Ko uki Sepik uki piyo. Ko yilau kepyo lo. Ko yip ikoiyo nake pu epiyo. Uki kopi yip po. Uki kopi kanu po, kanu kiniyo po. Uki kopi pul po, kanu pul po. Uki kopi garamut po. Urai po garamutyo. Ko garamut kowe, yena kiniyo pulupi.

I took a husband from the Sepik. I went to his place. There I lived in a big house at the edge of the river. My husband had built the house. My husband made canoes, many canoes he made. He also made paddles for the canoes. My husband made slit drums. He decorated them with crocodiles. When I beat the slit drum, all the people came.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko uki Sepik uki piyo.*
ko uki Sepik uki piyo
I husband Sepik husband take.PP
'I took a husband from the Sepik.'

(2) *Ko yilau kepyo lo.*
ko yilau kep-yo lo
I village 3SG.POSS-LOC go.PP
'I went to his village.'

(3) *Ko yip ikoiyo nake pu epiyo.*
ko yip ikoi-yo nake pu epiyo
I house big-LOC live river next.to
'I live in a big house on the banks of the river.'

(4) *Uki kopi yip po.*
uki ko-pi yip po
Husband 1SG-POSS house make.PP
'My husband made the house.'

(5) *Uki kopi kanu po, kanu kiniyo po.*
uki kopi kanu po kanu kiniyo po
husband 1SG-POSS canoe make.PP canoe many make.PP
'My husband made a canoe, he made many canoes.'

(6) *Uki kopi pul po, kanu pul po.*
uki kopi pul po kanu pul po
husband 1SG-POSS paddle(TP) make.PP canoe paddle(TP) make.PP
'My husband made paddles, he made canoe paddles.'

(7) *Uki kopi garamut po. Urai po garamutyo.*
uki ko-pi garamut po urai po
husband 1SG-POSS slit.drum(TP) make.PP crocodile make.PP
garamut-yo
slit.drum(TP)-LOC
'My husband made a slit drum. He carved crocodiles in the slit drum.'

(8) *Ko garamut kowe, yena kiniyo pulupi.*
ko garamut kowe yena kiniyo pulupi
I slit.drum(TP) beat people all come.PL
'When I beat the slid drum, all the people come.'

E.4 Andrew Wapi

Introduction

This autobiographical text was told by Andrew Wapi in Ossima village in February 2000.

Summary & background

At my request, Andrew Wapi recounted his life from the beginning to the present day in 2000, during which time he lost three relatives: both his parents and his first wife. In 2001, his second son Vincent died. When naming his children, Andrew Wapi first lists the indigenous name and then adds the Christian name. For him, the indigenous names are the real names, the others are just modern additions.

The following report of Andrew Wapi's life contains quite some Tok Pisin vocabulary. Some of this is found with other speakers, for example *laip stori* 'story of one's life', *storimpi* 'to tell', *nem* 'name', *taim* 'when', *karimpi* 'to beget'. Additionally, Andrew uses *lukautimpi* 'to take care of', *pinispi* 'to finish', and *bilong mi* 'of me'.

The word *yilewi* 'place' – which I have only heard in this report – is possibly related to I'saka *i'* 'village' and/or *wéi* 'house'. The emphatic suffix *-ya* is also of I'saka origin (cf. Table 1.1 above).

Also noteworthy is the frequent use of Kilmeri *boyo* 'later'. Here it functions almost as a coordinator for 'and then'. Note also the metaphorical use of *pue* 'go' in Sequence 11, which is used to indicate the passing of time (cf. Gerstner-Link 2018: 950-953).

Parallel text

Yala ko laip stori ikap mosaupi. Storipi moniya ko nakapno. Nem bilong mi, nem kopi Andrew Wapi. Yala ko laip ikap storipi.	Now I'll tell my life story, about the time when I was little. My name is Andrew Wapi. Now I am going to tell about my life.
Taim ko moniya nakapno epe ko karimporo. Ko moniseso. Epe aino kopiro suiwero. Ko moniseso uliyepaneko. Ko boyo noweko. Ko boyo nowo. Boyo ko noworo. Bilau ko lukautimpo. Ko	When I was little, my mother carried me. I was very little. My parents died. They left me when I was a little child. Later I had grown up. Later I grew up. Yes, I grew up over the years. My

moniya. Ko lukautimporo ko ikoi. Ko moniya ko nowapno ikoi. Ko mi buai ilewiyo lo, ko boyo noweko.

brother Bilau took care of me. I was still small. He took care of me until I was big. First I was small, then I was growing big. I went to the white people's place, when I had grown.

Ko mi nuni ko ikap lukautim. Boyo ya. Ko boyo ya. Ki mi buai ilewiyo lo. Uke boyo molo. Iki mi pinisporo uke yar dupua. Uke pulupiro yar dupua. Boyo pinispo. Krismas kupuapno, uke boyo kupulupiwap yilauyo. Yilauyo uke kupulapno, ko mi ako piyepulo, yako ipei. Ako mi ko kama ari. Mi uke kumune. Akoro mi basuik. Ko mi kama nakap. Kama ko nakoro. Ko mi ako ba boyo piyo Anna. Boyo ko kipiyapno ruwaesi koyo karimpoip sispela. Buas Simon, Sipop Vincent, Paio Anton, Ise Barbara, Yamap Samuel, Iman Rodes. Ruwaesi kopiro kuru. Sispela solo kuru.

My uncle took care of me. Later he took care. He looked after me. Then my brother went to the white people's coconut plantation. Later on we went together. They got us a contract for two years. We went there for two years. Then the contract finished. Christmas came, and then we returned to the village. After our return I took a wife, my first wife. With my wife I wasn't alone anymore. We were together. But my wife died. Again I lived alone. Yes, I was alone. Then I took another wife, Anna. After that marriage we had six children. These are their names: Buas Simon, Sipop Vincent, Paio Anton, Ise Barbara, Yamap Samuel, Iman Rodes. These are all my children. Six children only, no more.

Em tasol tenkyu.

That's it. Thank you.

Glossed text

(1) *Yala ko laip stori ikap mosaupi. Storipi moniya ko nakapno.*
yala ko laip stori ikap mosaupi storim-pi
now I life(TP) story(TP) 1SG.POSS.EMPH tell tell(TP)-LV
moni=ya ko nake-p-no
small=EMPH(TP) I sit-PC-CO
'Now I will tell my life story. Telling (about the time) when I was little.'

(2) *Nem bilong mi, nem kopi Andrew Wapi. Yala ko laip ikap storipi.*
nem bilong mi nem ko-pi Andrew Wapi yala ko laip
name POSS(TP) I(TP) name 1SG-POSS Andrew Wapi now I life(TP)
ikap storim-pi
1SG.POSS.EMPH tell(TP)-LV
'My name, my name is Andrew Wapi. Now I'll tell my life story.'

(3) *Taim ko moniya nakapno epe ko karimporo. Ko moniseso.*
taim ko moni=ya nake-p-no epe ko
when(TP) I small=EMPH(TP) sit-PC-CO mother I
karim-po=ro ko moniseso
carry(TP)-LV.PP=EMPH I very.small
'When I was small, (my) mother carried me. I was very small.'

(4) *Epe aino kopiro suiwero. Ko moniseso uliyepaneko. Ko boyo noweko.*
epe ai-no ko-pi=ro sui-we=ro ko moniseso
mother father-INS 1SG-POSS=EMPH die-DU.S=EMPH I very.small
uliyepane-ko ko boyo nowe-ko
leave.behind-RTS I later grow-RTS
'My parents died. I was very small, and they had left me behind. Afterwards I grew up.'

(5) *Ko boyo nowo. Boyo ko noworo. Bilau ko lukautimpo.*
ko boyo nowo boyo ko nowo=ro Bilau ko lukautim-po
I later grow.PP later I grow.PP=EMPH Bilau I take.care.of(TP)-LV.PP
'Then I grew up. Later I grew up, and (my brother) Bilau took care of me.'

(6) *Ko moniya. Ko lukautimporo ko ikoi. Ko moniya ko nowapno ikoi.*
ko moni=ya ko lukautim-po=ro ko ikoi ko
I small=EMPH(TP) I take.care.of(TP)-LV=EMPH I big I
moni=ya ko nowe-p-no ikoi
small=EMPH(TP) I grow-PC-CO big
'I was small, and he took care of me. I am big. I was small, and I was growing big.'

(7) *Ko mi buai ilewiyo lo, ko boyo noweko.*
ko mi buai ilewi-yo lo ko boyo nowe-ko
I then white.people place-LOC go.PP I later grow-RTS
'Then I went to the white people's place. I had grown up.'

(8) *Ko mi nuni ko ikap lukautim. Boyo ya. Ko boyo ya.*
ko mi nuni ko_ikap lukautim boyo
I then maternal.uncle 1SG.POSS.EMPH take.care.of(TP) later
ya ko boyo ya
take.care.of.PP I later take.care.of.PP
'Then my uncle, my mother's brother, looks after me. Later he took care. He took care of me.'[6]

(9) *Ki mi buai ilewiyo lo. Uke boyo molo.*
ki mi buai ilewi-yo lo uke boyo molo
APH then white.people place-LOC go.PP we.EXCL later go.PL.PP
'Then (my brother) went to the white people's place. Later we went (together).'

(10) *Iki mi pinisporo uke yar dupua. Uke pulupiro yar dupua. Boyo pinispo.*
iki mi pinis-po=ro uke yar dupua uke
APH.PL then finish(TP)-LV.PP=EMPH we.EXCL we.EXCL two we.EXCL
pulup=ro yar dupua boyo pinis-po
come.PL.PP=EMPH year two later finish(TP)-LV.PP
'Then they finished (our contract). We (spent there) two years. We came for two years, then it was finished.'

(11) *Krismas kupuapno, uke boyo kupulupiwap yilauyo.*
krismas k-pue-p-no uke boyo k-pulupi-we-p yilau-yo
krismas SUB-walk-PC-CO we.EXCL later SUB-come.PL-TER-PC village-LOC
'After Christmas, then we were finally coming back to the village.'

(12) *Yilauyo uke kupulapno, ko mi ako piyepulo, ako ipei.*
yilau-yo uke k-pule-p-no ko mi ako piye_pulo ako
village-LOC we.EXCL SUB-come-PC-CO I then wife take_come.PP wife
ipei
first
'Having come (back) to the village I took a wife, my first wife.'

(13) *Ako mi ko kama ari. Mi uke kumune.*
ako mi ko kama ari mi uke kumune
wife then I alone no then we.EXCL all.COLL
'(With) a wife, then I wasn't alone. We were together.'

[6]Presumably, Andrew's time with his uncle preceded his contract work and stay at the plantation.

(14) *Akoro mi basuik. Ko mi kama nakap. Kama ko nakoro.*
ako=ro mi ba-sui-ko ko mi kama nake-p kama ko
wife=EMPH then FAC-die-FAC I then alone stay-PC alone I
nako=ro
stay.PP=EMPH
'My wife has died. Then I was living alone. I was alone.'[7]

(15) *Ko mi ako ba boyo piyo Anna. Boyo ko kipiyapno ruwaesi koyo karimpoip sispela.*
ko mi ako ba boyo piyo Anna boyo ko k-piye-p-no ruwaesi
I then wife other later take.PP Anna later I SUB-take-PC-CO children
koyo karim-po-i-p sispela
we.DU.EXCL carry(TP)-LV.PP-DU.A-PC six(TP)
'Then I took another wife, Anna. Having married her, we had children, six.'

(16) *Buas Simon, Sipop Vincent, Paio Anton, Ise Barbara, Yamap Samuel, Iman Rodes. Ruwaesi kopiro kuru. Sispela solo kuru.*
Buas Simon Sipop Vincent Paio Anton Ise Barbara Yamap Samuel Iman
Buas Simon Sipop Vincent Paio Anton Ise Barbara Yamap Samuel Iman
Rodes ruwaesi ko-pi=ro kuru sispela solo kuru
Rodes children 1SG-POSS=EMPH be.finished six only be.finished
'Buas Simon, Sipop Vincent, Paio Anton, Ise Barbara, Yamap Samuel, Iman Rodes. (These are) my children. Six only, no more.'

(17) *Em tasol tenkyu.*
em tasol tenkyu
APH(TP) only(TP) thank.you(TP)
'That's it, thank you.'

[7]Possibly, Andrew's first wife died in childbirth together with the child. Only the second wife is said to have born children.

E.5 Margaret Osi III

Introduction

In this autobiographical text, Margaret Osi tells the full story of her life up until the year 2004. It was told in Ossima village in August 2004.

Summary & background

Margaret's third autobiographical story begins with the year of her birth. This is followed by the years of her marriage, the birth of her first child and finally the year of her husband's death. In this way, she embeds her life in a modern way of reckoning time. Along with this kind of mental framing, she tells of her adolesent life in steps that correspond to those of girls and young women of the same age. The capacity of helping one's parents in daily life is a big step in growing up. It prepares young women for their future responsibilities after marriage. Margaret herself did not marry early. She mentions three times that she currently lives on her own (Sequences 5, 7 and 8). According to the dates, she must have been in her early twenties when she got married. Then she married a man who was much older and she became his second wife (Sequence 10). The husband was the head of the village at the time. He made all the decisions and arrangements for the Catholic mission in Ossima. Obviously there was some tension between the stepbrothers, i.e., the sons from the two wives, which I could witness myself. The fact that Margaret had usurped the position of Lis Osi's wife may have been one of the reasons why his firstborn son Paul Waia killed Margaret's sow (Sequence 19). Margaret's own oldest (surviving) son David seemed to have a certain influence in the village by mediating disputes.

Margaret always admired the staff at the Mission. The head of the agricultural section of the Mission, Brother James Coucher CP, was a charismatic personality and was adored by all the villagers and the wider community. His esteem is apparent in Sequences 28-30. The private cattle business also continued after 'Brother Jim' had left Ossima. For example, I was able to buy a cow for Margaret from one of the cattle owners. Margaret was proud to be the owner of a cow and was happy when her cow became pregnant. She finishes her story with this fact.

Parallel text

Epe kopi nako 1942. Ko moniseso, wepulyo nakap. Ko ireri, nakero, puana, ko dorno lo. Woa polip. Epe kopi muelpop	My mother bore me in 1942. I was very small and sat in a baby sling. Then I crawled, I became able to sit, I stood

monem. Riyopuno woa kuru. Ko nowo ikoiele. Ko Silaso. Ko Silaso kupuapno mi ko Nancyso. Ko Nancyso nakap boyo ko Deiso. Deiso ko ikoiele. Ko yili melipop.

up, and I walked on my feet. But there was war. My mother kept telling me to be quiet. Eventually the war was over. I grew big. I was like Sila. After reaching Sila in height I became like Nancy. Then I became as big as Dei. I was really big and could carry heavy loads.

Ko ppili nakap epe aino ikap roise Omoiyo. Ko due mekiyap. Diri kopi weri kopi ko epe ikap mekiyap, ko ai ikap mekiyap. Ai ikap bi luipop. Bi sali ropno wepulap yilauyo epe aino ikap roise. Boyo nuni ko ikap roise inakap, nuni Esau. Ko uki am ar piyap, ppili nakap. Ppili nakap memi ko ikap roise. Mi ko memiyo lo, memi kopi Lipi. Ko riyo nakap. Saul Iwan Bopule polip. Bo klokni solo. Mi ari kuru. Yena layepana.

I lived unmarried at my parents' place in Omoi. I helped processing sago. I helped my younger siblings and my mother and my father. My father went hunting and shot animals. I brought the dried meat in a basket to the village, together with father and mother. Later I lived at my uncle Esau's place. I had not yet taken a husband, but lived single. I lived unmarried together with my grandmother. I had gone to my grandmother, to my grandmother Lipi. I stayed with her at her place. The men's house Saul Iwan Bopule was still in use. It is just one name, *Saul Iwan Bopule*. Then it came to an end. Nothing is left. People abandoned the men's house.

1965 ko uki piyo. Ko Luppapyo nakap. 1966 ruri kopi sui roipi moniseso. Ai Jeffreypi bûri aska. Ki kama solo. Ko luono lakiyo. Ai kopi ponamo nuni kopi ponamo luo namayo. Memi kopi kau ponamo Lipi. Lipi pusayepo de luo ko ar powa. Umul kep kauno sileno. Umul kep sneiwap. Kuru kuru. "Kau de ko baponamko." Ruri kopi ipei klokni sui. Ruri ipei makiro. Yala ko makina wonake. Kui kopi makiro ko makina wonake. Kui ppulae ko makina ar wonake.

In 1965 I took a husband. I got married with Lis Osi and lived in Luppap. In 1966 my child died, a little baby boy. Jeffrey's father hadn't had a sister. He was alone. He took me for money. He gave my father money, and he gave my uncle money. They shared the money. To my grandmother Lipi they gave a cow. Lipi had complained that she didn't receive money. With the cow her heart became placated. She felt appeased. All right. "You gave

Kui kopi ko rapue ar powa, olo pi. Kui kopi Imelda bo kep as. Pon riso ar pi. Kui roke umul maki.

me the cow." My firstborn child, this one child died. If the firstborn child is good, then I will live fine in his company. If my daughter-in-law is good, I will live fine with her. If the daughter-in-law is bad, I won't go on well with her. My first daughter-in-law, wife of my oldest son, didn't want to give me food. She is greedy. My daughter-in-law Imelda doesn't talk bad to me. She doesn't look grimly. She is good-hearted.

Ko ruri ppusi nako David Yau Luppapyo nako. Ruri ba kini Charles Imop, ruri ba kini Rafael Ppisi. Kiniyo Luppapyo. Yip ikoi Luppapyo polip. Yip moni duyo polip, Ouwinyo polip. Dete ol nem ponamo. Dete ol doriye pu lakiwepu, kiniyo lakiwepu. Pu Bilouppueki sowelaye. Pu lûpi maki. Nuko yilauyo molap, yilauyo pulup. Ko bi yaip biopo biep biwi. Ko yaiwepu. Suo yasiyo, ral yasiyo, ul luan yasiyo, sawa yasiyo, puel yasiyo, due doriyeyo yasiyo. Paul Waia bi kopi lu. Bipupi lu. Bipupi ruri nainpela nako. Ko smep paliyen, kiniyo yalaka molo ewo lipelip, ewo ilap. Ko bi ikap lipelip. Lipeliou ari. Ana luro? Ono ko ar reyo. Ko bo solo malo, bo pulo.

I had my second child. I bore my son David Yau in Luppap. The other children are Charles Imop and Rafael Ppisi. All born in Luppap. Our big house was in Luppap. Our small house was in the bush, at Ouwin. The ancestors had named the hill. The ancestors named the hills, the swamps, and the water bodies. They counted them all by their names. The small lake Bilouppueki is filled up now. Its water was clear and good. We went to the bush place at Ouwin. We often came there. We housed some pigs, domesticated pigs, a boar and a sow. I looked after them. I planted coconut palms, *ral*-trees, bamboo and breadfruit I planted, mango and betel pepper, and in the swamp I planted sago palms. Paul Waia shot my pig. He shot Bipupi. Bipupi had nine piglets. I left the door open, and all pigs went outside the yard to find and eat worms. I searched for my pig. I searched in vain, nothing. Who had shot? I didn't see the man. I heard only some gossip. The rumour came to me.

Uki kopi ruri duyo woko. Du mosupinap. Depi oki, depi oki. Du dob riyewap, mosupien. Du kiniyo mosupiwepien. Kompani kiniyo pulup oil lipelip. Yena kiniyo mapap. Riyopuno Jeffrey David Jerome Simon Tapi Joe Samou Sepik yilauyo kumune molo kompani roise. Wok pop Angoramyo krismas dupua. Riyopuno midoripulupip yilau kepyo.

My husband took his sons to the bush. He showed the bush to them. Here is yours, here is yours. They carefully acknowledged the bush slots. He showed his sons all the bush slots they will own after his death. One day a survey company came to the village. Many people were there. Then Jeffrey Osi, David Osi, Jerome Osi, Simon Tapi, and Joe Samou went to exploration places in the Sepik area together with the company staff. They worked for two years near Angoram. Then they returned to the village.

Riyopuno ko el piamu. Ko karimpop Grace rumkari klokni solo. Ko wîs nainpela kanakapno ko ruri nako. Dob ko riye rumkari. Yena ruri kopi woko. Brata Jim dob reyo. Pilot dob reyo. Dop kep ukeso! Yena mi koyo wepulupip. Josepin Bewa, Krisa yako, Bewa ruri nem ponamo. Grace neuli. Baikoipoko skulyo lo priskul. Helen skulim em tisa Amerikapi.

I got pregnant. I got pregnant with Grace, my only daughter. I was pregnant for nine months and then bore a baby. I see that she is a girl. Some people brought my child to Brother Jim. He looked at her. The pilot looked at her, too. "She has our skin!" Later the people brought her back to me. Josepin Bewa, a woman from Krisa, gave a name to her. She named her Grace. She grew up and went to school, to preschool. Helen, an American teacher, instructed her.

Uki kopi basuik. Yar 1990no sui, Sarere September 16. Ko Imeldayo Charlesyo uke yip riyo mapap. Uki kopi puapno yena bo ppulaena womui womoliye. Uki kopi ar mariulipop. Upunaro makina nakap. Yena lotu yaeau nuro duruwa. Yaeau puni nuknoko. Brata Jim wo mop umul polenap. "Ko yala ar nake. Ko yala lam. De nakapno ko nakap. Yalaka ko le." Jeffrey bo ar mui. Ruri kep ari. Bo ar mui. Ar mekiyo.

My husband died. He died in 1990, on Saturday, September 16th. Me, Imelda, and Charles were sitting in the house there. While my husband was busy with this and that, people spoke bad words about him. My husband wasn't sick. He was always fine. The people held a traditional wake for him. During the night they held the wake. Brother Jim wept and was very sad. "Now I won't stay any longer. I want

Brata Jim Vanimoyo lo. Bisnis kep ppulaepowolo. Kimike upuna polip, kanakapno. Yalaka ari. Umul kep maki yilau makina polip. Epue ar polip. Yalaka epue kauna. Epue sowelaye. Yol kaupi epue sowelaye. Epue ikoina po. Ri luap poyana, ri lop poyana, ri bayana roise. Ri rur ri rupopin kauna. Kiniyo poyana. Ko yilauyo nake. Ko ruripiyo nake. Yip kopi Charles ako nake. Kau kopi Ouwin elno.

to leave. As long as you were here, my friend Lis, I was also staying in the village. Now I'll go." Jeffrey Osi is not articulate. Neither are his children. They aren't eloquent. They didn't help with the farm business either. Brother Jim went to Vanimo. His farm business stagnated. Before everything was fine, when he was still there. But now it doesn't work. Back then Brother Jim was happy. The place was in a good condition, and there were no weeds. Now the weeds abound. Weeds cover everything densely. The cow fence is covered throughout by weeds. The weeds are a plague. *Luap*-trees rose everywhere, *lop*-trees rose everywhere as well as other trees. *Rur*-trees and Pandanus are numerous. All kinds of unwanted trees grew big all over the place. I myself live on in the village. Currently I live at my son David's place. In my house, Charles's wife is living now. My cow Ouwin is pregnant.

Glossed text

(1) *Epe kopi nako 1942. Ko moniseso, wepulyo nakap. Ko ireri, nakero, puana, ko dorno lo.*

epe ko-pi nako 1942 ko moniseso wepul-yo nake-p ko
mother 1SG-POSS gave.birth 1942 I very.small baby.sling-LOC sit-PC I
ireri nake=ro puana ko dor-no lo
crawl sit=EMPH stand.up.PP I foot-INS go.PP

'My mother gave birth (to me) in 1942. I was very small and staying in the baby sling. I crawled for a while, (then) I stood up, and walked on my feet.'

(2) *Woa polip. Epe kopi muelpop monem. Riyopuno woa kuru.*
woa poli-p epe ko-pi mueli-ipi-p monem riyopuno
war be.there-PC mother 1SG-POSS talk.to-1SG.OR-PC silent then
woa kuru
war be.finished
'There was war. My mother was saying to me: "Be quiet". Finally the war was over.'[8]

(3) *Ko nowo ikoiele. Ko Silaso. Ko Silaso kupuapno mi ko Nancyso. Ko Nancyso nakap boyo ko Deiso.*
ko nowo ikoiele ko Sila-so ko Sila-so k-pue-p-no mi ko
I grow.PP very.big I Sila-SIM I Sila-SIM SUB-roam-PC-CO then I
Nancy-so ko Nancy-so nake-p boyo ko Dei-so
Nancy-SIM I Nancy-SIM sit-PC later I Dei-SIM
'I grew up. I was big like Sila. After I walked around like Sila, I became like Nancy. I was staying like Nancy. Later I was like Dei.'[9]

(4) *Deiso ko ikoiele. Ko yili melipop.*
Dei-so ko ikoiele ko yili meli-pi-p
Dei-SIM I very.big I weight carry.PL.O-LV-PC
'(When) I was as big as Dei, I carried heavy (burdens).'

(5) *Ko ppili nakap epe aino ikap roise Omoiyo.*
ko ppili nake-p epe ai-no ikap roise Omoi-yo
I be.single sit-PC mother father-INS 1SG.POSS.EMPH with Omoi-LOC
'I was living unmarried with my parents in Omoi.'

(6) *Ko due mekiyap. Diri kopi weri kopi ko epe ikap mekiyap, ko ai ikap mekiyap. Ai ikap bi luipop. Bi sali ropno wepulap yilauyo epe aino ikap roise.*
ko due mekiye-p diri ko-pi weri ko-pi ko
I sago help-PC younger.brother 1SG-POSS younger.sister 1SG-POSS I
epe ikap mekiye-p ko ai ikap mekiye-p
mother 1SG.POSS.EMPH help-PC I father 1SG.POSS.EMPH help-PC

[8]The second world war is a vivid memory of Margaret, especially the Japanese soldiers who used to roam the forest.
[9]Margaret compares her growing body size with children and young girls of the neighbourhood in the year 2004.

ai ikap bi lui-pi-p bi sali rop-no
father 1SG.POSS.EMPH animal shoot-LV-PC meat dried basket-INS
wepule-p yilau-yo epe ai-no ikap roise
bring-PC village-LOC mother father-INS 1SG.POSS.EMPH with
'I would help with (processing) sago. My younger brothers, my younger sisters, and I helped my mother and my father. My father (often) shot animals. (Then) I carried the dried meat in baskets to the village, together with my parents.'

(7) *Boyo nuni ko ikap roise inakap, nuni Esau. Ko uki am ar piyap, ppili nakap.*
boyo nuni ko_ikap roise i-nake-p nuni
later maternal.uncle 1SG.POSS.EMPH with DU.S-live-PC maternal.uncle
Esau ko uki am ar piye-p ppili nake-p
Esau I husband yet NEG take-PC be.single live-PC
'Later I was living at my uncle's (place), at Uncle Esau's. I did not have a husband yet. I was unmarried.'

(8) *Ppili nakap memi ko ikap roise. Mi ko memiyo lo, memi kopi Lipi. Ko riyo nakap.*
ppili nake-p memi ko_ikap roise mi ko
be.single live-PC grandparent 1SG.POSS.EMPH with so I
memi-yo lo memi ko-pi Lipi ko ri-yo nake-p
grandparent-LOC go.PP grandparent 1SG-POSS Lipi I DIST-LOC live-PC
'I was living single together with my grandmother. I went to my grandmother, to my grandmother Lipi. I was living there.'

(9) *Saul Iwan Bopule polip. Bo klokni solo. Mi ari kuru. Yena layepana.*
Saul Iwan Bopule poli-p bo klokni solo mi ari kuru
Saul Iwan Bopule be.there-PC word one only again no be.finished
yena layepana
people leave.behind.PP
'(The men's house) Saul Iwan Bopule was (still) there. It is just one (long) name. It isn't there (anymore). The people abandoned it.'[10]

[10]The relinquishment and destruction of the old men's house was a major point of change in people's experience and lifetime. There was a *before* and an *after* regarding this event. Thus the fate of the men's house could play the role of indicating time in one's life story. See also Text A.4.

(10) *1965 ko uki piyo. Ko Luppapyo nakap. 1966 ruri kopi sui roipi moniseso.*
1965 ko uki piyo ko Luppap-yo nake-p 1966 ruri ko-pi sui
1965 I husband take.PP I Luppap-LOC live-PC 1966 child 1SG-POSS die
roipi moniseso
boy very.small
'(In) 1965 I married and was then living in Luppap. (In) 1966 my child died, a baby boy.'

(11) *Ai Jeffreypi bûri aska. Ki kama solo. Ko luono lakiyo. Ai kopi ponamo nuni kopi ponamo luo namayo.*
ai Jeffrey-pi bûri aska ki kama solo ko luo-no lakiyo
father Jeffrey-POSS sister none APH alone only I money-INS fetch.PP
ai ko-pi ponamo nuni ko-pi ponamo
father 1SG-POSS give.3SG.OR.PP maternal.uncle 1SG-POSS give.3SG.OR.PP
luo namayo
money give.RECP.PP
'Jeffrey's father had no sister, he was alone. So he took me for money. He gave my father (some money) and gave my uncle (some money). They shared the money.'[11]

(12) *Memi kopi kau ponamo Lipi. Lipi pusayepo de luo ko ar powa.*
memi ko-pi kau ponamo Lipi Lipi pusaye-po de
grandparent 1SG-POSS cow give.3SG.OR.PP Lipi Lipi reject-LV.PP you
luo ko ar powa
money I NEG give.1SG.OR.PP
'He gave my grandmother Lipi a cow. Lipi first rejected it: "You didn't give (any) money to me."'

(13) *Umul kep kauno sileno. Umul kep sneiwap. Kuru kuru. "Kau de ko baponamko."*
umul kep kau-no sile-no umul kep snei-we-p
heart 3SG.POSS cow-INS satisfy-3SG.OR.PP heart 3SG.POSS be.quiet-TER-PC
kuru kuru kau de ko ba-poname-ko
be.finished be.finished cow you I FAC-give.2SG.OR-FAC
'(Then) her heart was satisfied with the cow. Her mind was really quiet. (The argument) was finished. That's it. "I have given a cow to you", (said Jeffrey).'

[11] Jeffrey Osi is the second son of Margaret's husband Lis Osi and his successor in the village. His older brother Paul had left the village and gone to Port Moresby.

(14) *Ruri kopi ipei klokni sui. Ruri ipei makiro. Yala ko makina wonake. kui kopi makiro ko makina wonake. Kui ppulae ko makina ar wonake. Kui kopi ko rapue ar powa, olo pi.*
ruri ko-pi ipei klokni sui ruri ipei maki=ro yala ko
child 1SG-POSS firstborn one die child firstborn good=EMPH now I
maki-na wo-nake kui ko-pi maki=ro ko maki-na
good-ADV ACCOM-live daughter.in.law 1SG-POSS good=EMPH I good-ADV
wo-nake kui ppulae ko maki-na ar wo-nake
ACCOM-live daughter.in.law bad I good-ADV NEG ACCOM-live
kui ko-pi ko rapue ar powa olo_pi
daughter.in.law 1SG-POSS I food NEG give.1SG.OR.PP be.greedy
'My firstborn child, one (child) died. (If) the firstborn child is good, then I will live fine in his company. (If) my daughter-in-law is good, I will live fine with her. (If) the daughter-in-law is bad, I won't live well with her. My daughter-in-law didn't (want to) give me food. She is greedy.'

(15) *Kui kopi Imelda bo kep as. Pon riso ar pi. Kui roke umul maki.*
kui ko-pi Imelda bo kep as pon ri-so
daughter.in.law 1SG-POSS Imelda speech 3SG.POSS none nose wood-SIM
ar pi kui ro-ke umul maki
NEG LV daughter.in.law PROX.EMPH-APH heart good
'My daughter-in-law Imelda does not make words. Her face is not like wood. This daughter-in-law has a good heart.'

(16) *Ko ruri ppusi nako David Yau Luppapyo nako. Ruri ba kini Charles Imop, ruri ba kini Rafael Ppisi. Kiniyo Luppapyo.*
ko ruri ppusi nako David Yau Luppap-yo nako ruri
I child nextborn gave.birth David Yau Luppap-LOC gave.birth child
ba kini Charles Imop ruri ba kini Rafael Ppisi kiniyo
other one.PART Charles Imop child other one.PART Rafael Ppisi all
Luppap-yo
Luppap-LOC
'I gave birth to the second child, David Yau. I gave birth (to him) in Luppap. (Then) to one of the other children, Charles Imop, still to another child, Rafael Ppisi. All (were born) in Luppap.'[12]

[12]Nowadays all children receive two names: a Western/Christian name and a traditional name relating the child to clan ancestors, usually the generation of the grandparents.

(17) *Yip ikoi Luppapyo polip. Yip moni duyo polip, Ouwinyo polip. Dete ol nem ponamo. Dete ol doriye pu lakiwepu, kiniyo lakiwepu. Pu Bilouppueki sowelaye. Pu lûpi maki.*
yip ikoi Luppap-yo poli-p yip moni du-yo poli-p
house big Luppap-LOC be.there-PC house small bush-LOC be.there-PC
Ouwin-yo poli-p dete ol nem ponamo dete
Ouwin-LOC be.there-PC ancestor mountain name give.3SG.OR ancestor
ol doriye pu laki-wepu kiniyo laki-wepu
mountain swamp water count-QUANT.O.PP all count-QUANT.O.PP
pu Bilouppueki sowe_laye pu lûpi maki
water Bilouppueki cover.well water clear good
'The big house was in Luppap. A small house was in the bush. It stood (on the knoll) Ouwin. The ancestors gave the name to that knoll. They named hills, swamps, water bodies, the ancestors named everything. (Later) the pond Bilouppueki was filled up, (before) it had been good clear water.'[13]

(18) *Nuko yilauyo molap, yilauyo pulup. Ko bi yaip biopo biep biwi. Ko yaiwepu. Suo yasiyo, ral yasiyo, ul luan yasiyo, sawa yasiyo, puel yasiyo, due doriyeyo yasiyo.*
nuko yilau-yo mole-p yilau-yo pulip ko bi
we.INCL place-LOC go.PL-PC place-LOC come.PL.PP I animal
yai-p biopo biep biwi ko yai-wepu
take.care.of-PC domesticated.pig boar sow I take.care.of-QUANT.O.PP
suo yasiyo ral yasiyo ul luan yasiyo
coconut plant.PP kind.of.tree plant.PP bamboo breadfruit.tree plant.PP
sawa yasiyo puel yasiyo due doriye-yo yasiyo
mango.tree plant.PP betel.nut plant.PP sago swamp-LOC plant.PP
'We (often) went to the place (in the bush). We came to the place, and I took care of the animals. I took care of the domesticated pigs, the boar, and the sows. I planted coconut palms, *ral*-trees, bamboo, breadfruit trees, mango trees, and I planted betel nut palms. I (also) planted sago palms in the swamp.'

(19) *Paul Waia bi kopi lu. Bipupi lu. Bipupi ruri nainpela nako. Ko smep paliyen, kiniyo yalaka molo ewo lipelip, ewo ilap.*
Paul Waia bi ko-pi lu Bipupi lu Bipupi ruri nainpela
Paul Waia pig 1SG-POSS shoot.PP Bipupi shoot.PP Bipupi child nine(TP)

[13]Luppap is the old Kilmeri name for Ossima Asples at the Puwani River.

nako ko smep paliye-en kiniyo yalaka molo ewo
gave.birth I door open-NSG.OR.PP all now go.PL.PP kind.of.worm
lipeli-p ewo ile-p
seek-PC kind.of.worm eat.PL.A-PC
'Paul Waia shot my pig, he shot Bipupi. Bipupi had nine piglets. I opened them the door (unintentionally), and so they all went away. They were looking for worms. They were feeding on worms.'

(20) *Ko bi ikap lipelip. Lipeliou ari. Ana luro? Ono ko ar reyo. Ko bo solo malo, bo pulo.*
ko bi ikap lipeli-p lipeli-ou ari ana lu=ro ono
I pig 1SG.POSS.EMPH seek-PC seek-FRUS no who shoot.PP=EMPH person
ko ar reyo ko bo solo malo bo pulo
I NEG see.O.ANIM.SG.PP I speech only hear.PP speech come.PP
'I was searching for my pig, (but) I searched in vain. Nothing. Who shot it? I didn't see anybody. I only heard a rumour, the rumour came (to me).'

(21) *Uki kopi ruri duyo woko. Du mosupinap. Depi oki, depi oki. Du dob riyewap, mosupien. Du kiniyo mosupiwepien.*
uki ko-pi ruri du-yo woko du
husband 1SG-POSS child bush-LOC go.together.with.PP bush
mosupi-ne-p de-pi o-ki de-pi o-ki du dob
show-3SG.OR-PC 2SG-POSS PROX-APH 2SG-POSS PROX-APH bush eye
riye-we-p mosupi-en du kiniyo
see.O.INANIM-TER-IMP show-NSG.OR.PP bush all
mosupi-wepi-en
show-QUANT.O-NSG.OR.PP
'My husband went into the bush together with the sons. He was showing them the bush: here is yours, here is yours. Look carefully! He showed it to them. He showed to them all their bush lands.'[14]

(22) *Kompani kiniyo pulup oil lipelip. Yena kiniyo mapap. Riyopuno Jeffrey David Jerome Simon Tapi Joe Samou Sepik yilauyo kumune molo kompani roise. Wok pop Angoramyo krismas dupua. Riyopuno midoripulupip yilau kepyo.*

[14]Grammatical comment: The first occurrence of the verb *mosupi* with Recipient agreement shows singular agreement, while the second and third ones show plural agreement. The translation takes always the plural according to the intended meaning and reported situation.

kompani kiniyo pulup oil lipeli-p yena kiniyo mape-p riyopuno
company many come.PL.PP oil seek-PC people many sit-PC then
Jeffrey David Jerome Simon Tapi Joe Samou Sepik yilau-yo kumune
Jeffrey David Jerome Simon Tapi Joe Samou Sepik location-LOC all.COLL
molo kompani roise wok pi-p Angoram-yo krismas dupua
go.PL.PP company together work do-PC Angoram-LOC year two
riyopuno mi-doripulupi-p yilau kep-yo
then ITER-come.back.PL-PC village 3SG.POSS-LOC
'There came exploration companies. They searched for oil. Many people were there. Eventually Jeffrey, David, Jerome, Simon Tapi, and Joe Samou went to the Sepik region together with the company. Two years they worked near Angoram, then (everyone) returned to his village.'

(23) *Riyopuno ko el piamu. Ko karimpop Grace rumkari klokni solo. Ko wîs nainpela kanakapno ko ruri nako. Dob ko riye rumkari.*
riyopuno ko el_piamu ko karim-pi-p Grace rumkari
then I get.pregnant.PP I be.pregnant(TP)-LV-PC Grace girl
klokni solo ko wîs nainpela k-nake-p-no ko ruri nako dob ko
one only I moon nine(TP) SUB-live-PC-CO I child gave.birth eye I
riye rumkari
see.O.INANIM girl
'Then I got pregnant. I was carrying Grace, (my) only girl. After living for nine months, I gave birth to the child and I see: (She is) a girl.'

(24) *Yena ruri kopi woko. Brata Jim dob reyo. Pilot dob reyo. Dop kep ukeso! Yena mi koyo wepulupip.*
yena ruri ko-pi woko brata Jim dob
people child 1SG-POSS go.together.with.PP brother Jim eye
reyo pilot dob reyo dop kep uke-so
see.O.ANIM.SG.PP pilot eye see.O.ANIM.SG.PP skin 3SG.POSS we.EXCL-SIM
yena mi ko-yo wepulupi-p
people again 1SG-LOC bring.PL.A-PC
'Some people went together with the child (in order to show her to other people). Brother Jim looked at her, and the pilot looked at her: "Her skin is like ours." The people brought her back to me.'

(25) *Josepin Bewa, Krisa yako, Bewa ruri nem ponamo. Grace neuli.*
Josepin Bewa Krisa yako Bewa ruri nem ponamo Grace
Josephine Bewa Krisa woman Bewa child name give.3SG.OR.PP Grace
ne-uli
go.thither-PROG
'Josephine Bewa, a woman from Krisa, the daughter of Bewa, gave (the baby the) name. She named (the child) Grace.'[15]

(26) *Baikoipoko skulyo lo priskul. Helen skulim em tisa Amerikapi.*
ba-ikoi-pi-ko skul-yo lo priskul Helen skulim em
FAC-big-LV-FAC school-LOC go.PP primary.school Helen teach.TR APH(TP)
tisa Amerika-pi
teacher Amerika-POSS
'She has become big and went to school, to primary school. Helen instructed her, a teacher from America.'

(27) *Uki kopi basuik. Yar 1990no sui, Sarere September 16. Ko Imeldayo Charlesyo uke yip riyo mapap. Uki kopi puapno yena bo ppulaena womui womoliye. Uki kopi ar mariulipop. Upunaro makina nakap.*
uki ko-pi ba-sui-ko yar 1990-no sui Sarere September 16
husband 1SG-POSS FAC-die-FAC year 1990-INS die Saturday September 16
ko Imelda-yo Charles-yo uke yip ri-yo mape-p uki
I Imelda-LOC Charles-LOC we.EXCL house DIST-LOC sit.PL-PC husband
ko-pi pue-p-no yena bo ppulae-na wo-mui
1SG-POSS roam-PC-CO people speech bad-ADV ACCOM-speak
wo-moliye uki ko-pi ar mari-uli-pi-p upuna=ro
ACCOM-speak.PL husband 1SG-POSS NEG be.sick-PROG-LV-PC alright=EMPH
maki-na nake-p
good-ADV live-PC
'My husband has died. He died in the year 1990, on Saturday 16th of September. Me and Imelda and Charles, we were in that house (with him). While my husband was roaming (the bush), the people speak bad words on him. My husband was never sick. (Everything was) fine, he was in a good condition.'[16]

[15]The literal meaning is 'she goes forth (as) Grace'.
[16]The husband's health condition is spoken about in order to say that his death is caused by sorcery and is not a natural death.

(28) *Yena lotu yaeau nuro duruwa. Yaeau puni nuknoko. Brata Jim wo mop umul polenap. "Ko yala ar nake. Ko yala lam. De nakapno ko nakap. Yalaka ko le."*
yena lotu yaeau nu=ro
people church traditional.celebration do.intentionally.PP=EMPH
duruwa yaeau puni nuknoko
early.morning traditional.celebration night having.spent.several.nights
brata Jim wo_mop umul_pole-ne-p ko yala ar nake ko yala le-m
brother Jim cry.PP be.sad-3SG.OR-PC I now NEG stay I now go-POS
de nake-p-no ko nake-p yalaka ko le
you live-PC-CO I live-PC now I go
'The people organised a traditional funeral service and songs until the early morning. They held a wake during night. Brother Jim was crying and sad over him: "I won't stay (any longer), I will go. While you were alive, I was living (here). Now I'll leave."'

(29) *Jeffrey bo ar mui. Ruri kep ari. Bo ar mui, ar mekiyo. Brata Jim Vanimoyo lo. Bisnis kep ppulaepowolo. Kimike upuna polip, kanakapno. Yalaka ari.*
Jeffrey bo ar mui ruri kep ari bo ar mui ar
Jeffrey speech NEG speak child 3SG.POSS no speech NEG speak NEG
mekiyo brata Jim Vanimo-yo lo bisnis kep ppulae-pi-wolo
help.PP brother Jim Vanimo-LOC go.PP business 3SG.POSS bad-LV-CPL.PP
kimike upuna poli-p k-nake-p-no yalaka ari
before alright be.there-PC SUB-stay-PC-CO now no
'Jeffrey is not articulate. Neither are his children. They aren't eloquent and didn't help (with the farm business). Brother Jim went to Vanimo. His farm business stagnated. Before everything was fine, when he was still there. (But) now it doesn't work.'

(30) *Umul kep maki yilau makina polip. Epue ar polip. Yalaka epue kauna. Epue sowelaye. Yol kaupi epue sowelaye. Epue ikoina po. Ri luap poyana, ri lop poyana, ri bayana roise. Ri rur ri rupopin kauna. Kiniyo poyana.*
umul kep maki yilau maki-na poli-p epue ar poli-p
heart 3SG.POSS happy place good-ADV be.there-PC weeds NEG be.there-PC
yalaka epue kauna epue sowe_laye yol kau-pi
now weeds in.large.amounts weeds cover.thoroughly fence cow-POSS
epue sowe_laye epue ikoi-na po ri_luap
weeds cover.thoroughly weeds great-ADV LV.PP kind.of.tree

poyana ri_lop poyana ri bayana roise
rise.thither.PP kind.of.tree rise.thither.PP tree different together
ri_rur ri_rupopin kauna kiniyo poyana
kind.of.tree Pandanus numerous all rise.thither.PP
'(Back then Brother Jim) was happy. The place was in a good condition, and there were no weeds. Now (there are) weeds in large amounts. Weeds cover (everything) densely. The cow fence is covered throughout by weeds. The weeds are a plague. *Luap*-trees rose, *lop*-trees rose together with other trees. *Rur*-trees and Pandanus are numerous. All (kinds of unwanted trees) grew big in any direction.'

(31) *Ko yilauyo nake. Ko ruripiyo nake. Yip kopi Charles ako nake. Kau kopi Ouwin elno.*
ko yilau-yo nake ko ruri-pi-yo nake yip ko-pi Charles ako
I village-LOC live I child-POSS-LOC live house 1SG-POSS Charles wife
nake kau ko-pi Ouwin elno
live cow 1SG-POSS Ouwin pregnant
'I live in the village. I live with my son. In my house, Charles's wife lives there. My cow Ouwin is pregnant.'[17]

[17] Ouwin is the name of the place in the bush, where the family used to have a small house (see sequence 17 above). Domesticated animals used to and still bear a name of those bush places.

F Contemporary village life

F.1 Urai ikoiele

Introduction

The story *Urai ikoiele* 'The huge crocodile' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in April 2002. Her story was prompted by a report in the missionary news bulletin "PNG Passionists" (Willy 1996).

Summary & background

This is a tragic story about river crocodiles attacking humans. The events described probably took place in the 1970s near Ossima, when there were still large crocodiles in the Puwani River. At that time, great caution was always required when crossing the river. An attack was always a possibility. The incident in question seemed to have thrown the whole village into a frenzy. After the crocodile's attack, a thorough search was launched for the remains of the victim. Part of his body was found in the crocodile's stomach. The remains of the man were later buried in a coffin like an intact corpse. This corresponds to the practice described in the crocodile bush spirit story (cf. Text B.8). From this we can conclude that it was crucial to guide the deceased, represented by the corpse (or at least some of its remains), into the world of spirits through an appropriate ritual, be it traditional or Christian. Only in this way could his good spirits protect the rest of the family (cf. Text C.5).

Parallel text

Uki akono namueyo inakap, due soniip. ruri dupua ba ikoi ba moni, moni wepulyo. Due kosoneipno wik klokni inakap. Bi kuluipno pulo yipyo. Ako kep ruri yipyo ukenakap. Uke bi puenpoi, yipyo wepuloi, ipino sepoi. Kisipno napno pului, ureyo royepakoi. Sû mappeppuoi.

Husband and wife stayed in the sago swamp and pounded sago pith. They had two children with them, a big one and a small one. The small one was carried in the baby sling. The family stayed one week for processing sago. Then, having shot a pig in the forest,

Pupuol poppuo, bi slau po. Em so, yilauyo iloi.

the husband came back to the bush hut. There he joined his wife and the children. They cut up the meat together, brought it to the house and cooked it in pots. After cooking it they took it off with bamboo tongs and put it into smoking containers. They lit the fire. The heat went up, and the meat dried. The following day the same. Then they returned to the village.

Uki akono pu koryo inekip. Uki rop akopi piyo, wel ruri ikoi roise. Ri wili mono sianai. Amaka rop ruri ikoi wor roise wapoko. Riyopuno mi dorisiana, ako kep lakiyap ruri moni roise. Ukesiamu. Ako anno wiyo, ruri moni wepulyo. Ukesiamipno ol asayeya, urai puippulo. Uki kep wiyo. Ako kep ruri moni roise pu wena. Uki kep urai no, koniyepako. El kepyo uraipiyo lilip. "De lape yilauyo yena mueliinep! Ko ike ppulaero." "Epe aino, epe kopi pu wel bûri kopi roise. Ai kopi urai wiyo." "Ah de dupuapi!" "Ko dupuapi ari dukiro! Ine awe, ine mipiyap!" "Ko so de dupuapapro! Oke dukiro." "Ko ar dupuapap. Ko bo duki mulip."

Husband and wife stood at the river. The husband took the wife's basket. Together with the big child he carried it across the river. They crossed the river over some logs. After that the husband left the older child and the dog there on the river bank. Then he crossed back, took his wife and the small child. They crossed the river jointly. He held the hand of his wife, and the small child was in the baby sling. When they had crossed and should just touch the river bank, suddenly a crocodile surfaced. The crocodile got hold of the man. The woman and the little child were carried away in the river current. The crocodile ate the husband, it gobbled him up. He was in the crocodile's belly. The mother shouted to the big child: "Go to the village and tell the people! I'm in the worst condition!" The boy reached the village and called for help: "My parents, my parents! My mother and sister are drowning in the river. My father got caught by a crocodile." "Oh, you are lying!"

"I don't lie, it's true! You come, you all come here." Somebody, who had come near, said: "I thought you were lying, but it's true." The boy replied: "I wasn't lying. I was telling the truth!"

Yena kiniyo dob riye: ri wili wewolo, ri wili rupuewolo. Ewe kep wo roise puap. Pu epi mono puapno urai puyo puipulo. Mek nieno, ko banok diri depi. Yena pulupip. F. Ignatius muelno: "Urai ono bawiyoko. Nem kep Iwei. Ewe kep Bou, wo roise puap." F. Ignatius pulo. Yena kiniyo ukepulupip pu koryo. Pu koryo nekip. Urai pu wenap. Pu ûliyo mono nap. "Ine dob powayep! Kou urai baluiko. Urai ere napi." "Iweie! De urai ko nieipep." Mi puipulo urai. F.Ignatius muelien: "Elyo kuluem! Puakuyo luiyep! Elyo ono lili." Urai sui. Paliya.

All the people saw that the logs were broken, completely broken. The husband's older brother walked around crying. While walking along the river, the crocodile surfaced again. It showed its mouth to him and seemed to say: "I ate your brother." Now people came running and said to Father Ignatius: "A crocodile caught a man. His name is Iwei. His older brother is Bou. He walked around crying." Father Ignatius came. All the people were gathering beside the river. They stood at the river. The crocodile swam in the current. It floated under water. "Look carefully! Kou shot at the crocodile. Here the crocodile comes!" Bou sighed: "Oh Iwei! The crocodile showed you to me." The crocodile surfaced again. Father Ignatius said to the people: "Don't shoot at the belly! Shoot at the head! In the belly there is the man." The crocodile died. It is dead.

Yena kiniyo urai lapiyo, olyo layowe. "Ine auna puenpi. Ono elyo lili. El kemiyeyo nana riyo akûne." Uke kiniyo dob pop, F.Ignatius roise. F. Ignatius muelien: "Ono puaku ereki." Kupuenpopno ono puaku anno piyo. Puaku Iweipi urai elyo lilip. Kipiyapno layowe, suo peleyo layowe. Yena lipelip. Eye bouno rapiyo, suo peleyo royowe, kili dupua roise. An baka sepolo, puasi se-

Many people helped together to pull the crocodile on the river bank. Father Ignatius said: "Cut slowly and carefully. The man is in the belly. The knifes should cut into the soft belly." We all watched what people did. We watched with Father Ignatius. Suddenly Father Ignatius said: "Here is the head!" Having cut, they took the man's head out of the belly. Iwei's

polo, om sepolo u roise. Urai elyo ar lilip. Arka layero? Uke ar riye. Bokis moniyo nis. Kiniseipno yena bî rar. Bîyo wel, bîyo pakûpo, bî sowo.

head was in the crocodile's belly. They took it and put it on coconut palm fronds. They searched on. They took the limbs and put them also on the palm fronds. The same they did with two bones. One arm has disappeared, the bladder has disappeared, the testicles and the penis have disappeared. They aren't in the crocodiles belly. But where are they? We didn't see them anywhere. They put the man's remains into a small box. Having put them in, the people dug a hole. Then they carried the box to the hole, let it down into the hole, and covered it.

Yena ba urai ile. Yena ba ar ile ilopi. Yena urai ilopi. Riyopuno yena bî rar, moni ikoina rar. Baka royepakûpo bîyo. Bî sowo. Yena kiniyo yipyo molo.

Some people ate the crocodile's flesh. Others didn't eat it, they tabooed it. Some people tabooed the crocodile's flesh. Later the people dug one more hole, a little bigger hole. They threw the remains of the crocodile into there. Then they covered the hole. Finally all the people went back to their houses.

Glossed text

(1) *Uki akono namueyo inakap, due soniip. Ruri dupua ba ikoi ba moni, moni wepulyo.*

uki ako-no namue-yo i-nake-p due
husband wife-INS sago.swamp-LOC DU.S-stay-PC sago
soni-i-p ruri dupua ba ikoi ba moni moni
pound.sago.pith-DU.A-PC child two other big other small small
wepul-yo
baby.sling-LOC

'Husband and wife were staying in the sago swamp and pounding sago pith. They had two children, a big one and a small one. The small one was in the baby sling (for carrying).'

(2) *Due kosoneipno wik klokni inakap. Bi kuluipno pulo yipyo.*
due k-soni-i-p-no wik klokni i-nake-p bi
sago SUB-pound.sago.pith-DU.A-PC-CO week one DU.S-stay-PC pig
k-lui-p-no pulo yip-yo
SUB-shoot-PC-CO come.PP house-LOC
'They pounded sago pith, and they were staying one week. The husband shot a pig and came to the (bush) hut.'

(3) *Ako kep ruri yipyo ukenakap.*
ako kep ruri yip-yo uke-nake-p
wife 3SG.POSS child house-LOC jointly-stay-PC
'He joined his wife and the children in the house.'

(4) *Uke bi puenpoi, yipyo wepuloi, ipino sepoi. Kisipno napno pului, ureyo royepakoi.*
uke bi puenpo-i yip-yo wepulo-i ipi-no
jointly pig cut.meat.PP-DU.A house-LOC bring.PP-DU.A pot-INS
sepo-i k-si-p-no nap-no pulu-i
cook.PL.PP-DU.A SUB-cook-PC-CO bamboo.tongs-INS take.off.PP-DU.A
ure-yo royepako-i
smoking.container-LOC lay.down.PP-DU.A
'They cut the meat together, brought it to the house, and cooked it in pots. After cooking it they took it off with bamboo tongs and put it into smoking containers.'

(5) *Sû mappeppuoi. Pupuol poppuo, bi slau po. Em so, yilauyo iloi.*
sû mappeppuo-i pupuol pi_ppuo bi slau po em so
fire light.up.PP-DU.A heat LV_go.up.PP pig dry LV.PP tomorrow like
yilau-yo i-lo-i
village-LOC DU.S-go.PP-DU.S
'They lit the fire. The heat went up, and the meat dried. The following day the same. (Then) they went to the village.'

(6) *Uki akono pu koryo inekip. Uki rop akopi piyo, wel ruri ikoi roise.*
uki ako-no pu koryo i-neki-p uki rop ako-pi
husband wife-INS river beside DU.S-stand-PC husband basket wife-POSS
piyo wel ruri ikoi roise
take.PP carry.PP child big with
'Husband and wife were standing at the river. The husband took the wife's basket. He carried it, together with the big child.'

(7) *Ri wili mono sianai. Amaka rop ruri ikoi wor roise wapoko.*
ri_wili mono siana-i amaka rop ruri ikoi wor
log path cross.thither.PP-DU.A over.there basket child big dog
roise wapo-ko
together put.together.PP-RTS
'They crossed (the river) over logs. Over there he placed the basket together with the big child and the dog.'

(8) *Riyopuno mi dorisiana, ako kep lakiyap ruri moni roise.*
riyopuno mi dori_siana ako kep lakiye-p ruri
then again turn.back_cross.thither.PP wife 3SG.POSS fetch-PC child
moni roise
small with
'Then he crossed back again and took his wife together with the small child.'

(9) *Ukesiamu. Ako anno wiyo, ruri moni wepulyo. Ukesiamipno ol asayeya, urai puipulo.*
uke-siamu ako an-no wiyo ruri moni wepul-yo
jointly-cross.hither.PP wife hand-INS hold.PP child small baby.sling-LOC
uke-siami-p-no ol a-saye=ya urai
jointly-cross.hither-PC-CO hill IMP3-touch=EMPH(TP) crocodile
puipulo
come.to.emerge.PP
'They crossed the river jointly. He held the hand of his wife, and the small child was in the baby sling. When they had crossed and should have touched the river bank, a crocodile surfaced.'

(10) *Uki kep wiyo. Ako kep ruri moni roise pu wena.*
uki kep wiyo ako kep ruri moni roise pu
husband 3SG.POSS hold.PP wife 3SG.POSS child small with river
wena
carry.inside.PP
'(The crocodile) caught her husband, (while) the river carried away his wife and the small child.'

(11) *Uki kep urai no, koniyepako. El kepyo uraipiyo lilip.*
uki kep urai no koniyepako el kep-yo
husband 3SG.POSS crocodile eat.PP swallow.down.PP belly 3SG.POSS-LOC
urai-pi-yo lili-p
crocodile-POSS-LOC be.there-PC
'The crocodile ate the man, it gobbled him up. He was in the crocodile's belly.'

(12) *"De lape yilauyo yena mueliinep! Ko ike ppulaero."*
de le-p-e yilau-yo yena mueli-ini-p ko_ike
you go-IMP-VOC village-LOC people talk.to-NSG.OR-IMP I.myself
ppulae=ro
bad=EMPH
'(The mother said to the big child:) "You go straight to the village and tell the people (what happened). I am just badly off."'

(13) *"Epe aino, epe kopi pu wel bûri kopi roise. Ai kopi urai wiyo."*
epe ai-no epe ko-pi pu wel bûri ko-pi roise
mother father-INS mother 1SG-POSS river carry.PP sister 1SG-POSS with
ai ko-pi urai wiyo
father 1SG-POSS crocodile hold.PP
'"My parents! The river carried (away) my mother and my sister. My father was caught by a crocodile."'

(14) *"Ah de dupuapi!"*
ah de dupuapi
ah you lie
'"Ah, you are lying!"'

(15) *"Ko dupuapi ari dukiro! Ine awe, ine mipiyap!"*
ko dupuapi ari duki=ro ine awe ine mipi-yep
I lie no true=EMPH you.PL come.IMP you.PL come.hither.PL-IMP.PL
'"I am not lying, it's really true. You come, you come here!"'

(16) *"Ko so de dupuapapro! Oke dukiro."*
ko so de dupuapi-p=ro o-ke duki=ro
I believe you lie-PC=EMPH PROX-APH true=EMPH
'"I thought you were lying, (but) this is true!"'

(17) *"Ko ar dupuapap. Ko bo duki mulip."*
ko ar dupuapi-p ko bo duki muli-p
I NEG lie-PC I word true say-PC
'"I was not lying, I was saying the truth!"'

(18) *Yena kiniyo dob riye: ri wili wewolo, ri wili rupuewolo.*
yena kiniyo dob riye ri_wili we-wolo ri_wili rupue-wolo
people all eye see.O.INANIM log break-CPL.PP log break-CPL.PP
'All the people see it, (the crocodile) broke the log, it broke the log completely.'

(19) *Ewe kep wo roise puap. Pu epi mono puapno urai puyo puipulo. Mek nieno, ko banok diri depi.*
ewe kep wo_roise pue-p pu epi_mono pue-p-no
older.brother 3SG.POSS crying stroll-PC river side.path stroll-PC-CO
urai pu-yo puipulo mek nie-no ko
crocodile river-LOC come.to.emerge.PP mouth show-3SG.OR.PP I
ba-ni-ko diri de-pi
FAC-eat-FAC younger.brother 2SG-POSS
'The (husband's) older brother was walking around with tears. While walking along the river edge the crocodile surfaced and showed him its mouth: "I have eaten up your younger brother."'

(20) *Yena pulupip. Father Ignatius muelno: "Urai ono bawiyoko. Nem kep Iwei. Ewe kep Bou, wo roise puap."*
yena pulupi-p Father Ignatius mueli-no urai ono
people come.PL-PC Father Ignatius talk.to-3SG.OR.PP crocodile man
ba-wiye-ko nem kep Iwei ewe kep Bou wo_roise
FAC-catch-FAC name 3SG.POSS Iwei older.brother 3SG.POSS Bou crying
pue-p
stroll-PC
'The people were coming and said to Father Ignatius: "A crocodile has caught a man. His name is Iwei. His older brother is Bou. He was walking around crying."'

(21) *Father Ignatius pulo. Yena kiniyo ukepulupip pu koryo. Pu koryo nekip.*
Father Ignatius pulo yena kiniyo uke-pulupi-p pu
F.Ignatius come.PP people all jointly-come.PL-PC river beside

koryo pu koryo neki-p
river beside stand-PC
'Father Ignatius came. All the people were gathering beside the river. They were standing along the river.'

(22) *Urai pu wenap. Pu ûliyo mono nap.*
urai pu wena-p pu ûliyo mono na-p
crocodile river carry.inside-PC river inside path go.inside-PC
'The river current was carrying the crocodile. It was floating under water.'

(23) *"Ine dob powayep! Kou urai baluiko. Urai ere napi."*
ine dob pi-we-yep Kou urai ba-lui-ko urai ere
you.PL eye LV-TER-IMP.PL Kou crocodile FAC-shoot-FAC crocodile here
napi
go.inside.PL
'"Look carefully! Kou has shot at the crocodile. Here the crocodile is drifting!"'

(24) *"Iweie! De urai ko nieipep."*
Iwei-e de urai ko nie-ipi-p
Iwei-VOC you crocodile I show-1SG.OR-PC
'(Bou sight:) "Oh Iwei, the crocodile was showing you to me."'

(25) *Mi puipulo urai. Father Ignatius muelien: "Elyo kuluem! Puakuyo luiyep! Elyo ono lili."*
mi puipulo urai Father Ignatius mueli-en
again come.to.emerge.PP crocodile Father Ignatius talk.to-NSG.OR.PP
el-yo k-lui-m puaku-yo lui-yep el-yo ono
belly-LOC PROH-shoot-PROH head-LOC shoot-IMP.PL belly-LOC man
lili
be.there
'It surfaced again, the crocodile. Father Ignatius said to them: "Don't shoot at the belly! Shoot at the head! In the belly there is the man."'

(26) *Urai sui. Paliya. Yena kiniyo urai lapiyo, olyo layowe.*
urai sui paliya yena kiniyo urai lapiyo ol-yo
crocodile die be.dead people all crocodile pull.up.PP hill-LOC
layo-we
lay.PP-TER
'The crocodile dies. It is dead. Many people pulled it (jointly) to the river bank and put it there.'

(27) *"Ine auna puenpi. Ono elyo lili. El kemiyeyo nana riyo akûne." Uke kiniyo dob pop, Father Ignatius roise.*
ine auna puenpi ono el-yo lili el kemiye-yo
you.PL slowly cut.meat man belly-LOC be.there belly soft-LOC
nana ri-yo a-kûne uke kiniyo dob pi-p Father
small.knife DIST-LOC IMP3-go.down jointly all eye LV-PC Father
Ignatius roise
Ignatius with
'"Cut slowly, the man is inside the belly! At the soft belly, there the knife should go down." All were watching, together with Father Ignatius.'

(28) *Father Ignatius muelien: "Ono puaku ereki." Kupuenpopno ono puaku anno piyo. Puaku Iweipi urai elyo lilip. Kipiyapno layowe, suo peleyo layowe.*
Father Ignatius mueli-en ono puaku ere-ki k-puenpi-p-no
Father Ignatius talk.to-NSG.OR man head PROX-APH SUB-cut.meat-PC-CO
ono puaku an-no piyo puaku Iwei-pi urai el-yo
man head hand-INS take.PP head Iwei-POSS crocodile belly-LOC
lili-p k-piye-p-no layo-we suo pele-yo layo-we
be.there-PC SUB-take-PC-CO lay.PP-TER coconut leaf-LOC lay.PP-TER
'Father Ignatius said to them: "Here is the head of the man!" When they had cut, they took (out) the head of the man with their hands. Iwei's head, it was in the crocodile's belly. After taking it (out) they put it (there). They put it on coconut fronds.'

(29) *Yena lipelip. Eye bouno rapiyo, suo peleyo royowe, kili dupua roise.*
yena lipeli-p eye bou-no rapiyo suo pele-yo royo-we
people seek-PC arm leg-INS fetch.PP coconut.palm leaf-LOC put.PP-DU.O
kili dupua roise
bone two with
'The people were searching on. They took the limbs and put them on coconut palm leaves together with two bones.'

(30) *An baka sepolo, puasi sepolo, om sepolo u roise. Urai elyo ar lilip. "Arka layero? Uke ar riye."*
an baka sepolo puasi sepolo om sepolo u roise
arm other vanish.PP bladder vanish.PP testicles vanish.PP penis with
urai el-yo ar lili-p arka laye=ro uke ar
crocodile belly-LOC NEG be.there-PC where lay=EMPH we.EXCL NEG

riye
see.O.INANIM
'The other arm is lost, the bladder is lost, the testicles and the penis are lost, aren't in the crocodile's belly. "Where are they, we don't see them?"'

(31) *Bokis moniyo nis. Kiniseipno yena bî rar. Bîyo wel, bîyo pakûpo, bî sowo.*
bokis moni-yo nis k-nisei-p-no yena bî rar bî-yo
box small-LOC put.in.PP SUB-put.in-PC-CO people hole dig.PP hole-LOC
wel bî-yo pakûpo bî sowo
carry.PP hole-LOC throw.down.PL.A.PP hole cover.PP
'They put (the remains) into a small box. Having put them in, the people dug a hole. (Then) they carried (the box) to the hole, let it down into the hole, and covered it.'

(32) *Yena ba urai ile. Yena ba ar ile ilopi. Yena urai ilopi.*
yena ba urai ile yena ba ar ile ilopi
people other crocodile eat.PL.A people other NEG eat.PL.A taboo.food
yena urai ilopi
people crocodile taboo.food
'Some people eat the crocodile's meat. Other people don't eat it, they taboo it. These people taboo the crocodile's flesh.'

(33) *Riyopuno yena bî rar, moni ikoina rar. Baka royepakûpo bîyo. Bî sowo. Yena kiniyo yipyo molo.*
riyopuno yena bî rar moni ikoi-na rar baka
then people hole dig.PP small big-ADV dig.PP other
roye_pakûpo bî-yo bî sowo yena kiniyo yip-yo
put_throw.down.PL.A.PP hole-LOC hole cover.PP people all house-LOC
molo
go.PL.PP
'Then the people dug (one more) hole, a little bigger hole. They threw the remains of the crocodile into there. (Then) they covered the hole. (Finally) all the people went back to their houses.'

F.2 Bi dupua luwe

Introduction

The story *Bi dupua luwe* 'He shot two animals' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in March 2002.

Summary & background

This is a memory of a hunt in the (late?) 1970s, when the Ossima Mission had already existed for nearly twenty years. The seventies and eighties were a cultural transition period from the old customs to the new way of life. Note that some of the meat was sold at the market in Vanimo. We can see that hunting had become a means of generating surpluses in addition to subsistence gardening.

Parallel text

Uki kopi bi dupua luwe. Bike luro, biep luro, dupua. Uke bike kupuenpopno koyo ropyo niskûnoi, ko Katlin. Bike ropyo kiniskûneipno uke meli puyo. Puppoyo uke meli, pu koryo meli. Koyo doriilo. Uki kopi biep riyo nakap. Koyo paeau.

My husband shot two animals. He shot a cassowary and a boar, two animals. We cut up the cassowary and put the flesh into baskets, Katlin and me. After filling the baskets with the meat we carried them to the river. We carried them to the sandy river bank. Then we turned back to the place, where my husband stayed with the boar. We reached the place.

Ko bi eye bouno wono lolowe. Eye bouno ba lolowero. Ko ike bi kama piyeppuo. Ko wel puyo. Pu koryo uke molo. Uke pu epiyo mapap. Uke apla kopopno bi umaeauana aplayo. Ko sû mappeana bi apla. Ko sû kamappapno bi aplayo sû pupuol ppuo aplayo. Bi slau po. Bi kisileipno mi koyo ropyo nisuii. Bike ko appyo lauyayo. Biep ko appyo lauyayo. Koyo ropyo nisuii. Uki kopi dob solo pop. Uke molo Vanimoyo maketyo. Uke maket po. Koyo maket kopoipno ko uki ikap isiye yilauyo ilo.

With a *kanda*-liana I tied the front limbs of the pig together. Then I tied together the back limbs. I myself lifted the pig up all alone. I carried it to the river. We walked along the river. Then we were staying beside the river. Having made the smoking planks, we put the meat high up on the planks. I lit a fire near the meat planks. After lighting it under the meat planks, the heat went up to the planks. So the meat slowly dried. When the meat had dried up enough, we put it in bas-

Katlin uki kep roise nakap Vanimoyo.

kets. I had the cassowary cut up in two halves to share. I had also the boar cut up in two halfs to share. Now we filled the baskets with the meat. My husband was only watching. Having finished with the meat we left for Vanimo, to the market. We sold the meat on the market. Having sold the meat, my husband and I returned together to the village. Katlin remained in Vanimo together with her husband.

Glossed text

(1) *Uki kopi bi dupua luwe. Bike luro, biep luro, dupua.*
uki ko-pi bi dupua lu-we bike
husband 1SG-POSS animal two shoot.PP-DU.O cassowary
lu=ro biep lu=ro dupua
shoot.PP=EMPH boar shoot.PP=EMPH two
'My husband shot two animals. He shot a cassowary and he shot a boar, two (animals).'

(2) *Uke bike kupuenpopno koyo ropyo niskûnoi, ko Katlin.*
uke bike k-puenpi-p-no koyo rop-yo
we.EXCL cassowary SUB-cut.meat-PC-CO we.DU.EXCL basket-LOC
niskûno-i ko Katlin
fill.into.PP-DU.A I Katlin
'Having cut up the cassowary, we filled the meat into baskets, Katlin and me.'

(3) *Bike ropyo kiniskûneipno uke meli puyo. Puppoyo uke meli, pu koryo meli.*
bike rop-yo k-niskûne-i-p-no uke meli
cassowary basket-LOC SUB-fill.into-DU.A-PC-CO we.EXCL carry.PL.O
pu-yo puppo-yo uke meli pu koryo meli
river-LOC sand-LOC we.EXCL carry.PL.O river along carry.PL.O
'Having put the cassowary meat into the baskets we carry it to the river. To a sand bar we carry it. We carry it along the river.'

(4) *Koyo doriilo. Uki kopi biep riyo nakap. Koyo paeau.*
koyo dori_i-lo uki ko-pi biep ri-yo nake-p
we.DU.EXCL return_DU.S-go.PP husband 1SG-POSS boar DIST-LOC stay-PC
koyo paeau
we.DU.EXCL arrive
'We went back. My husband and the boar were (still) staying there (where we had left them). We arrived there.'

(5) *Ko bi eye bouno wono lolowe. Eye bouno ba lolowero.*
ko bi eye bou-no wo-no lolo-we eye
I pig front.limbs back.limbs-INS liana-INS tie.PP-DU.O front.limbs
bou-no ba lolo-we=ro
back.limbs-INS other tie.PP-DU.O=EMPH
'With a (kanda)-liana I tied the front limbs of the pig together. (Then) I tied together the back limbs.'

(6) *Ko ike bi kama piyeppuo. Ko wel puyo. Pu koryo uke molo.*
ko_ike bi kama piyeppuo ko wel pu-yo pu koryo uke
I.myself pig alone lift.up.PP I carry.PP river-LOC river along we.EXCL
molo
go.PL.PP
'I myself lifted up the pig all alone. I carried it to the river. We walked along the river.'

(7) *Uke pu epiyo mapap. Uke apla kopopno bi umaeauana aplayo.*
uke pu epiyo mape-p uke apla k-pi-p-no bi
we.EXCL river beside sit.PL-PC we.EXCL plank SUB-make-PC-CO meat
umaeauana apla-yo
put.high.up.thither.PP plank-LOC
'We were sitting beside the river. Having made the smoking planks, we put the meat high up on the planks.'

(8) *Ko sû mappeana bi apla. Ko sû kamappapno bi aplayo. Sû pupuol ppuo aplayo. Bi slau po.*
ko sû_mappeana bi apla ko sû_k-mappe-p-no bi apla-yo
I light.a.fire.thither.PP meat plank I light.a.fire-PC-CO meat plank-LOC
sû pupuol ppuo apla-yo bi slau po
fire heat go.up.PP plank-LOC meat dry LV.PP
'I lit a fire near the meat planks. After lighting it (under) the meat planks the heat of the fire went up to the planks. The meat dried.'

(9) *Bi kisileipno mi koyo ropyo nisuii. Bike ko appyo lauyayo. Biep ko appyo lauyayo. Koyo ropyo nisuii.*
bi k-silei-p-no mi koyo rop-yo nisui-i
meat SUB-dry-PC-CO again we.DU.EXCL basket-LOC put.in.PP-DU.A
bike ko appyo lauyayo biep ko appyo
cassowary I half carve.up.and.share.PP boar I half
lauyayo koyo rop-yo nisui-i
carve.up.and.share.PP we.DU.EXCL basket-LOC put.in.PP-DU.A
'When the meat had dried we put it again into baskets. I carved up the cassowary in halfs for sharing. I carved up the boar in halfs for sharing. (Then) we put (the meat) into the baskets.'

(10) *Uki kopi dob solo pop. Uke molo Vanimoyo maketyo. Uke maket po.*
uki ko-pi dob solo pi-p uke molo Vanimo-yo
husband 1SG-POSS eye only LV-PC we.EXCL go.PL.PP Vanimo-LOC
maket-yo uke maket po
market-LOC we.EXCL market LV.PP
'My husband was only watching. (Having finished with the meat) we went to Vanimo, to the market. We sold (the meat) on the market.'

(11) *Koyo maket kopoipno ko uki ikap isiye yilauyo ilo.*
koyo maket k-pi-i-p-no ko uki ikap
we.DU.EXCL market SUB-LV-DU.A-PC-CO I husband 1SG.POSS.EMPH
isiye yilau-yo i-lo
together village-LOC DU.S-go.PP
'Having sold the meat, my husband and I went (back) together to the village.'

(12) *Katlin uki kep roise nakap Vanimoyo.*
Katlin uki kep roise nake-p Vanimo-yo
Katlin husband 3SG.POSS together stay-PC Vanimo-LOC
'Katlin was staying in Vanimo together with her husband.'

F.3 Bo Helenpiro

Introduction

The story *Bo Helenpiro* 'The story of Helen' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in January 2006. The old woman Helen died tragically in a fire.

Summary & background

Helen Osi was the first wife of Lis Osi, the "modern mind" and leader of Ossima village. After his death she lived on for another ten years and received support from her second son Jeffrey Osi. Her first-born son Paul Waia had moved to Port Moresby. Helen passed away in 2005. In the last phase of her life she became frail and seemed to suffer from dementia. Helen often sat in an unfinished house where she kept her own fire and cooked for herself. But the fire that killed her occurred in her old house not far from her son's family. She was buried in the garden of my house, and a coconut tree was planted. Note that Jeffrey Osi feels the need to state clearly that his mother's death was a natural occurrence because of her age and the fire. He wants to cast aside thoughts of magic and superstition.

Parallel text

Helen yeloyo ye. Yipyo ye. Sementyo ye. Ipol pûkewolo, pikewolo. Ipol yul pikewolo. Rafael Cindyyo lakiyepappoi. Rafael Cindyyo mekiyoi. Helen kok lamo. Yeniyo nuiweyoi. Helen kok lamenakap. Dupuni duwani sipinakap. Ikoina sipip. Kuso polinakap dupuni duwani. Asa nuem. Abaidja rapue ponamap. Abaidja mekiyenakap. Dor asa rupiyam, kaepul dupua appue wipilal. Plas kuso nuinakap. Plas kauna walpuap puso. Plas dûkû. Plas ili dûkûke. Abaidja ki kama mekiyap. Yena kiniyo suipanepo. Helen kama nakap Abaidja roise. Kiyo kama inuip.

Helen fell over on the ground. She fell at the house. She fell on the cement floor. She hurt her hip. The joint tore. She dislocated her hip. Rafael and Cindy lifted her up. Rafael and Cindy helped her. Helen cried from pain. They laid her on the bed. Helen continued to cry from pain. Day and night she whimpered. It was hurting severely. She was in this condition for a long time, day and night. She couldn't sleep. Her granddaughter Abaidja gave her food. Abaidja helped her all the time. Helen couldn't stretch her legs. The sinews cramped in both knees. She often urinated. Large amounts of urine were spreading about like water. The urine stinks.

The urine had begun to stink. Abaidja alone was helping her. All the people neglected her. Helen was alone with Abaidja. They two slept together in one room.

Riyopuno Abaidja nomar. Mari ikoina po. Rumkari kep, Sabeth, epe kep ar mekiyo. Kipi ponamo. Ko Helen mekiyo. Ko Theresiayo le kep pusiyeno. Koyo sopno pul mopnoi. Ikil kep ikoiele, iripories. Denis aepu loleno. Lûs kauna doryo. Lûs doryo po. Aepu po ekuyo po. Kok solo lamenakap duwani dupuni. Yessica sû layo. Helen dorno kosiyepamu. Daunam sûro dor eku ipol roise. Sûro soloro. Helen rapue ilop. Ya ilop. Mek kep bo as. Mek kep kumau. Umul solo wiyap. Umul solo wiyenakap numuelna.

Then Abaidja became sick. She was very sick. Helen's only daughter Sabeth didn't help her mother. She turned her back on her. Then I helped Helen. Theresia and I washed her things, and we washed Helen with soap. She was very dirty. She was in a pitiful state. Denis the nurse dressed her sores. So many worms on her legs! The worms covered the legs. There were ulcers on her behind. She was only whimpering from pain, day and night. Yessica put a lamp there. But Helen knocked it over with her foot towards herself. The mosquito net caught fire, her legs, her behind, and her hip caught fire. Only flames. Helen refused food, refused sago. Her mouth didn't make sounds any more. Her mouth is shut. Only the heart was still beating. Only the heart still continued to beat for a long time.

Puni sui. Yena pulip dob reyo. Umul solo wiyap. Ko ai sano, ai kuso muelno: "Mono ponamap, smep paliyenap, de lil elepno pusiyap! Puri lilno." Riyopuno kesuiwepu. Sukei kep kelewepu. Balok. Yena wo mop, wo mopiyap. Yena Helen milino. Sarereno sui. Jeffrey Vanimoyo nakap. Pius Jeffrey muelno: "Epe depi basuik. De lap!" Jeffrey pulo yilauyo. David yeni wopiyeno. Yena yeniyo layo. Yena ba bî rarip. Bî kraripno bî kuru. Bî

One night she died. People came and looked at her. Only the heart was still beating. I asked the heavenly Father and prayed to God: "Prepare the way for her, open the door for her, wash her with your blood. She shall be clean with your blood." Then she finally died. Her spirit went back to its home. It has gone. The people cried. For a while they were crying. Then the people surrounded Helen in their

bawopiyeko.

traditional way. She died on a Saturday. Jeffrey, her second born son, was in Vanimo. Pius told Jeffrey via cellphone: "Your mother has died. Come here!" And Jeffrey came to the village. David fixed the coffin for her. The people put her in the coffin. Other people were digging a hole. Having dug hole deep enough, the grave is ready.

Riyopuno Helen piyekûpu yeniyo. Bîyo ule. Yena yeniyo roise wel, pakûpu bîyo. Sowo. Basowoko. Yena yipyo molo. Jeffrey bo mu: "Epe kopi marisui. Mari ba pari." Yena muelien: "Ine umul kenekem! Ine bo komoliyemapam! Bo ppulaepo. Layepaneyep!"

Then they took Helen down into the coffin and put it inside the hole. The people carried her in the coffin and threw the coffin down into the grave. They covered the grave. It is covered. Now the people went home. Jeffrey said: "My mother died of sickness, there was no other harm." He said to the people: "Don't give it any thoughts, don't spread gossip all the time! It is bad gossip, stop it!"

Glossed text

(1) *Helen yeloyo ye. Yipyo ye. Sementyo ye. Ipol pûkewolo, pikewolo. Ipol yul pikewolo.*
Helen yelo-yo ye yip-yo ye sement-yo
Helen ground-LOC fall.over.PP house-LOC fall.over.PP cement-LOC
ye ipol pûke-wolo pike-wolo ipol yul pike-wolo
fall.over.PP hip.joint lose-CPL.PP tear-CPL.PP hip.joint joint tear-CPL.PP
'Helen fell over on the ground. She fell at the house. She fell on the cement (floor). She hurt her hip. The joint tore. She dislocated her hip.'

(2) *Rafael Cindyyo lakiyepappoi. Rafael Cindyyo mekiyoi.*
Rafael Cindy-yo lakiyepappo-i Rafael Cindy-yo
Rafael Cindy-LOC lift.a.motionless.person.PP-DU.A Rafael Cindy-LOC
mekiyo-i
help.PP-DU.A
'Rafael and Cindy lifted her up. Rafael and Cindy helped her.'

(3) *Helen kok lamo. Yeniyo nuiweyoi. Helen kok lamenakap. Dupuni duwani sipinakap. Ikoina sipip.*
Helen kok_lamo yeni-yo nuiweyo-i Helen
Helen scream.out.of.pain.PP bed-LOC bed.PP-DU.A Helen
kok_lame-nake-p dupuni duwani sipi-nake-p ikoi-na sipi-p
scream.out.of.pain-DUR-PC night daylight hurt-DUR-PC big-ADV hurt-PC
'Helen cried from pain. They laid her on the bed. Helen continued to cry from pain. Day and night she whimpered. It was hurting severely.'

(4) *Kuso polinakap dupuni duwani. Asa nuem.*
kuso poli-nake-p dupuni duwani asa nui-m
always be.there-DUR-PC night daylight how sleep-POS
'She was (in this condition) for a long time, day and night. She couldn't sleep.'

(5) *Abaidja rapue ponamap. Abaidja mekiyenakap. Dor asa rupiyam, kaepul dupua appue wipilal.*
Abaidja rapue poname-p Abaidja mekiye-nake-p dor asa
Abaidja food give.3SG.OR-PC Abaidja help-DUR-PC foot how
rupiye-m kaepul dupua appue wipilal
stretch-POS knee two sinew cramp.PP
'(Her granddaughter) Abaidja was giving her food. Abaidja helped her all the time. (Helen) couldn't stretch her legs. The sinews cramped (in) both knees.'

(6) *Plas kuso nuinakap. Plas kauna walpuap puso. Plas dûkû. Plas ili dûkûke.*
plas kuso nui-nake-p plas kauna
urine often do.intentionally-DUR-PC urine in.large.amounts
walpue-p pu-so plas dûkû plas ili dûkû-ke
spread.about-PC water-SIM urine stink urine smell stink-INGR
'She often urinated. Large amounts of urine were spreading about like water. The urine stinks, the urine starts to stink.'

(7) *Abaidja ki kama mekiyap. Yena kiniyo suipanepo. Helen kama nakap Abaidja roise. Kiyo kama inuip.*
Abaidja ki kama mekiye-p yena kiniyo suipane-po Helen kama
Abaidja APH alone help-PC people many neglect-LV.PP Helen alone
nake-p Abaidja roise kiyo kama i-nui-p
sit-PC Abaidja with APH.DU alone DU.S-sleep-PC
'Abaidja alone was helping her. All the people neglected her. Helen was alone with Abaidja. They two were sleeping together (in one room).'

(8) *Riyopuno Abaidja nomar. Mari ikoina po. Rumkari kep, Sabeth, epe kep ar mekiyo. Kipi ponamo.*
riyopuno Abaidja nomar mari ikoi-na po rumkari kep
then Abaidja be.very.sick.PP be.sick big-ADV LV.PP girl 3SG.POSS
Sabeth epe kep ar mekiyo kipi ponamo
Sabeth mother 3SG.POSS NEG help.PP back give.3SG.OR.PP
'Then Abaidja became very sick. She was very sick. (Helen's) daughter, Sabeth, didn't help her mother. She turned the back on her.'

(9) *Ko Helen mekiyo. Ko Theresiayo le kep pusiyeno. Koyo sopno pul mopnoi. Ikil kep ikoiele, iripories.*
ko Helen mekiyo ko Theresia-yo le kep pusiye-no
I Helen help.PP I Theresia-LOC things 3SG.POSS wash-3SG.OR.PP
koyo sop-no pul_mopi-no-i ikil kep ikoiele
we.DU.EXCL soap-INS bathe-3SG.OR.PP-DU.A dirt 3SG.POSS very.big
iripories
be.pitiful
'(Then) I helped Helen. Theresia and I washed her things, and we washed Helen with soap. She was very dirty. She was in a pitiful state.'

(10) *Denis aepu loleno. Lûs kauna doryo. Lûs doryo po. Aepu po ekuyo po. Kok solo lamenakap duwani dupuni.*
Denis aepu lole-no lûs kauna dor-yo lûs
Denis ulcer wrap-3SG.OR.PP worms in.great.numbers foot-LOC worms
dor-yo po aepu po eku-yo po kok solo
foot-LOC LV.PP ulcer LV.PP behind-LOC LV.PP out.of.pain only
lame-nake-p duwani dupuni
scream-DUR-PC daylight night
'Denis (the nurse) dressed her sores. So many worms on her legs. The worms covered the legs. There were ulcers on her behind. She was only whimpering from pain, day and night.'

(11) *Yessica sû layo. Helen dorno kosiyepamu. Daunam sûro dor eku ipol roise. Sûro soloro.*
Yessica sû layo Helen dor-no kosiyepamu daunam
Yessica lamp put.PP Helen foot-INS push.hither.PP mosquito.net
sû=ro dor eku ipol roise sû=ro solo=ro
fire=EMPH foot behind hip.joint with fire=EMPH only=EMPH
'Yessica put a lamp (there). (But) Helen knocked it over with her foot towards herself. The mosquito net (caught) fire, her legs, her behind, and her hip. Only flames.'

(12) *Helen rapue ilop. Ya ilop. Mek kep bo as. Mek kep kumau. Umul solo wiyap. Umul solo wiyenakap numuelna.*
Helen rapue ilop ya ilop mek kep bo
Helen food taboo.food.PP sago taboo.food.PP mouth 3SG.POSS speech
as mek kep kumau umul solo wiye-p umul solo wiye-nake-p
none mouth 3SG.POSS shut heart only hold-PC heart only hold-DUR-PC
numuelna
for.a.long.time
'Helen refused food. She refused sago. Her mouth didn't make sounds (any more). Her mouth is shut. Only the heart was still beating. Only the heart still continued to beat for a long time.'

(13) *Puni sui. Yena pulip dob reyo. Umul solo wiyap. Ko ai sano, ai kuso muelno: "Mono ponamap, smep paliyenap, de lil elepno pusiyap! Puri lilno."*
puni sui yena pulip dob reyo umul solo wiye-p ko
night die people come.PL.PP eye see.O.ANIM.SG.PP heart only hold-PC I
ai sa-no ai kuso mueli-no mono
father ask-3SG.OR.PP father always talk.to-3SG.OR.PP path
poname-p smep paliye-ne-p de lil elep-no
give.2SG.OR-IMP door open-3SG.OR-IMP you blood 2SG.POSS.EMPH-INS
pusiye-p puri lil-no
wash-IMP clean blood-INS
'At night she dies. People came and looked at her. Only the heart was still beating. I asked the (heavenly) Father, I prayed to God: "Prepare the way for her, open the door for her, wash her with your blood! She (shall be) clean with your blood."'

(14) *Riyopuno kesuiwepu. Sukei kep kelewepu. Balok. Yena wo mop, wo mopiyap. Yena Helen milino.*
riyopuno ke-sui-wepu sukei kep ke-le-wepu
then APH-die-QUANT.S.PP spirit 3SG.POSS APH-go-QUANT.S.PP
ba-le-ko yena wo_mop wo_mopiye-p yena Helen
FAC-go-FAC people weep.PP weep.PL-PC people Helen
mili-no
surround.a.sick.person-3SG.OR.PP
'Then she finally died. Her spirit went back to its home. It has gone. The people cried. They were crying. (Then) the people surrounded Helen (in their traditional way).'

(15) *Sarereno sui. Jeffrey Vanimoyo nakap. Pius Jeffrey muelno: "Epe depi basuik. De lap!" Jeffrey pulo yilauyo.*
Sarere-no sui Jeffrey Vanimo-yo nake-p Pius Jeffrey mueli-no
Saturday-INS die Jeffrey Vanimo-LOC sit-PC Pius Jeffrey talk.to-3SG.OR.PP
epe de-pi ba-sui-ko de le-p Jeffrey pulo yilau-yo
mother 2SG-POSS FAC-die-FAC you go-IMP Jeffrey come.PP village-LOC
'She died on a Saturday. Jeffrey (her second born son) was in Vanimo. Pius told Jeffrey (via cell-phone): "Your mother has died. Come here!" And Jeffrey came to the village.'

(16) *David yeni wopiyeno. Yena yeniyo layo. Yena ba bî rarip. Bî kraripno bî kuru. Bî bawopiyeko.*
David yeni wopiye-no yena yeni-yo layo yena ba bî
David bed get.ready-3SG.OR.PP people bed-LOC lay.PP people other hole
rari-p bî k-rari-p-no bî kuru bî ba-wopiye-ko
dig-PC hole SUB-dig-PC-CO hole be.finished hole FAC-get.ready-FAC
'David fixed the coffin for her. The people put her in the coffin. Other people were digging a hole. Having dug the hole (deep) enough, the grave is ready.'

(17) *Riyopuno Helen piyekûpu yeniyo. Bîyo ule. Yena yeniyo roise wel, pakûpu bîyo. Sowo. Basowoko. Yena yipyo molo.*
riyopuno Helen piyekûpu yeni-yo bî-yo ule
then Helen take.down.hither.PL.A.PP bed-LOC hole-LOC put.inside.PP
yena yeni-yo roise wel pakûpu bî-yo
people bed-LOC together carry.PP throw.down.hither.PL.A.PP hole-LOC
sowo ba-sowe-ko yena yip-yo molo
cover.PP FAC-cover-FAC people house-LOC go.PL.PP
'Then they took Helen down into the coffin and put it inside the hole. The people carried her together with the coffin and let it down into the grave. They covered it. It is covered. The people went home.'

(18) *Jeffrey bo mu: "Epe kopi marisui. Mari ba pari." Yena muelien: "Ine umul kenekem! Ine bo komoliyemapam! Bo ppulaepo. Layepaneyep!"*
Jeffrey bo mu epe ko-pi mari_sui mari ba
Jeffrey speech speak.PP mother 1SG-POSS be.sick_die sickness other
pari yena mueli-en ine umul_k-neki-m ine bo
NEG.COP people talk.to-NSG.OR.PP you.PL PROH-think-PROH you.PL speech

k-moliye_mape-m bo ppulae-po laye_pane-yep
PROH-speak.PL_stay.PL-PROH speech bad-LV.PP leave.behind-IMP.PL
'Jeffrey said: "My mother died of sickness, there was no other harm."[1] He said to the people: "Don't give it any thoughts, don't spread gossip all the time! It is bad gossip, stop it!"'

[1]The notion of "other sickness" refers to illness caused by sorcery. Many people still don't understand the death of a person as a natural consequence of age or illness, but attribute it to the impact of man-made evil.

F.4 Ul ko lu

Introduction

The story *Ul ko lu* 'I cut my foot' was told by Susan Bisam from Ossima Asples in February 2000. Susan talks about cutting her foot when she stepped on a sharp bamboo in the sago swamp.

Summary & background

The sago swamps are full of unpleasant and even dangerous things: an abundance of annoying insects, the large thorns of the sago palms and sharp-edged sago leaves, and pieces of bamboo. Many people walk barefoot, like Susan, because of the wet and soggy ground. Not surprisingly, you can step on thorns or other sharp objects. Some people wear rubber boots, but they are expensive and uncomfortably hot.

Figure F.1: Sago spikes

Two days after the accident, Susan came to my house, and I treated the deep cut on her foot. Fortunately, that helped. However, Susan is not a woman who likes to rest. The sago swamp is her second home. She can barely imagine a day without going there, unless she is working in her garden. In the end, she was very fortunate as the wound healed quickly.

Parallel text

Ko klapno rop dupua nek klupuapopno ropyo niskûno. Ko piapeppuo ba puakuyo, ba ko laliyo puakuyo. Ko wemonro. Ul ko ar riyap. Ul ikoi monoyo lilip. Dor ba ko kana wopiyeko. Eh ul poro! Srrrrrr. Eh lil monro! Ruri diseipiro Pita pol pele piyamu. Sûno mariyap. O kana peou. Ari. Lil ke puso. Lil puso. Dob kopi duwelo. Dob kopi duwelo. Lil ikoina pi. Lil ke monro.

Having gone and shoveled two baskets of sago pith, I filled the pith into the baskets for transport. One I lift up on my head, the other one I carried slung around my head. So I carried the baskets. I didn't see the bamboo. There was a big piece of bamboo on the path. I had already stretched down one of my feet. Eh, a bamboo! Srrrrrr! Eh, the blood ran! My brother's son Pita collected leaves of betel pepper. Then he heated them over the fire. He did this almost in vain. No, it didn't help. The blood was like water. The blood was just like water. I felt dizzy. I felt only dizzy. So much blood. The blood streamed only.

"Ya ko powaip!" Yena ya ko powa. Ya ko kenepno ereru dop kopi. Ko muelpup: "De nakap!" Nek rop roise dupua ko woliwoko. Ruri kopi Ayu boyo wemon. Ko nakapno lil kopi ke pinispo. Rop dupua kopi boyo lulkûne. Kwer duiye. Lil kopi ar pinispo. Dor kopiro ul ko luro. Mi uke pulupiwap yipyo. Ko nui.

"Give me sago!" I said. So the people gave me sago. Having eaten some sago, my body felt stronger. But they told me: "Sit down!" I had already set down the two baskets of sago pith. My son Ayu carried them later to the kneading trough. While I was sitting, my blood stopped running. My two baskets of sago pith will be washed later. The frogs were croaking. But the bleeding didn't stop. The bamboo cut my foot severely. Finally we arrived at the house, and I went to sleep.

Trinde punipino ko pulo oyo. Iki boyo lulilo. Claudia dor kopi puno kupusiyapno, sopno marasin kuputimpopno, banisno lolo. Ko muelpup: "De klam! De yipyo solo nake. De due monasinem! Marasin ko putimporo strongpela." Ari, ko epul maloro. Ko ar malo. Due ko ar lul. Ko monoyo nakap. Matias ko kana lenou. Ko dorimaliyo. Ko kuso pulo. Yena ko monoyo relana. Yena so pulupip. Krelanapno uke kumune pulupip yipyo. Emka ko ba lo. Ko nakapno dupuni. Ko ba raunpo. Ko yîs nakap. Yipyo nakap. Yala ko oki pulo.

Wednesday morning I came here to Claudia's house. My family went to wash sago. Having washed my foot with water and soap and put on some medicine, Claudia dressed it with a bandage. She told me: "Don't go anywhere, stay in the house only! Suppose you would pound sago! The medicine I gave you is strong." If I had only listened. But I didn't listen. I didn't wash sago. I was just sitting beside the path. I waited in vain for Matias. Then I turned back home. I had come to the swamp as always. Later I met some people on the way. The people came along by accident. Having met them we all walked to the house together. Yesterday I didn't go anywhere. I rested until nightfall. Today I came here to Claudia.

Bo kopi kuru.

That's my story.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko klapno rop dupua nek klupuapopno ropyo niskûno.*
ko k-le-p-no rop dupua nek k-lupuape-p-no
I SUB-go-PC-CO basket two sago.pith SUB-shovel.by.hand.a.lot-PC-CO
rop-yo niskûno
basket-LOC fill.in.PP
'Having gone and shoveled two baskets of sago pith, I filled (the pith) into the baskets (for transport).'

(2) *Ko piapeppuo ba puakuyo, ba ko laliyo puakuyo.*
ko piapeppuo ba puaku-yo ba ko laliyo puaku-yo
I lift.up.PP other head-LOC other I carry.by.hanging.PP head-LOC
'One I lift up on (my) head, the other one I carried slung around (my) head.'

(3) *Ko wemonro ul ko ar riyap. Ul ikoi monoyo lilip.*
ko wemon=ro ul ko ar riye-p ul ikoi
I carry.hither.PP=EMPH bamboo I NEG see.O.INANIM-PC bamboo big
mono-yo lili-p
path-LOC be.there-PC
'I carried (the baskets). I didn't see the bamboo. There was a big (piece of) bamboo on the path.'

(4) *Dor ba ko kana wopiyeko. Eh ul poro! Srrrrrr. Eh lil monro!*
dor ba ko kana wopiye-ko eh ul po=ro srrr eh lil
foot other I quickly stretch-RTS eh bamboo LV.PP=EMPH srrr eh blood
mon=ro
come.hither.PP=EMPH
'I had already stretched one of my feet. Eh a bamboo! Srrrrrr! Eh the blood ran!'

(5) *Ruri diseipiro Pita pol pele piyamu. Sûno mariyap.*
ruri disei-pi=ro Pita pol pele piyamu sû-no
child brother-POSS=EMPH Pita betel.pepper leaf take.hither.PP fire-INS
mariye-p
heat-PC
'My brother's son Pita collected leaves of betel pepper. (Then) he was heating them on the fire.'[2]

(6) *O kana peou. Ari. Lil ke puso.*
o kana pi-ou ari lil ke pu-so
PROX quickly do-FRUS no blood APH water-SIM
'He did this almost in vain. No. The blood, it was like water.'

(7) *Lil puso. Dob kopi duwelo.*
lil pu-so dob ko-pi duwelo
blood water-SIM eye 1SG-POSS feel.dizzy.PP
'The blood was like water. I felt dizzy.'

[2]The hot leaves are said to staunch the blood.

(8) *Dob kopi duwelo. Lil ikoina pi. Lil ke monro.*
dob ko-pi duwelo lil ikoina pi lil ke
eye 1SG-POSS feel.dizzy.PP blood much LV blood APH
mon=ro
come.hither.PP=EMPH
'I felt dizzy. So much blood. The blood streamed (only).'

(9) *"Ya ko powaip!" Yena ya ko powa.*
ya ko powai-p yena ya ko powa
sago I give.1SG.OR-IMP people sago I give.1SG.OR.PP
'"Give me sago!" (I said). (So) the people gave me sago.'

(10) *Ya ko kunopno ereru dop kopi. Ko muelpup: "De nakap!"*
ya ko k-ni-p-no ereru dop ko-pi ko mueli-ipi-p de
sago I SUB-eat-PC-CO strong body 1SG-POSS I talk.to-1SG.OR-PC you
nake-p
sit-IMP
'Having eaten some sago, my body was strong(er). (But) they told me: "Sit down!"'

(11) *Nek rop roise dupua ko woliwoko. Ruri kopi Ayu boyo wemon.*
nek rop roise dupua ko woli-we-ko ruri ko-pi Ayu
sago.pith basket together two I set-DU.O-RTS child 1SG-POSS Ayu
boyo wemon
later carry.hither.PP
'I had (already) set (down) the two baskets of sago pith. My son Ayu carried them later (to the kneading trough).'

(12) *Ko nakapno lil kopi ke pinispo.*
ko nake-p-no lil ko-pi ke pinis-po
I sit-PC-CO blood 1SG-POSS APH finish(TP)-LV.PP
'While I was sitting, my blood stopped (running).'

(13) *Rop dupua kopi boyo lulkûne.*
rop dupua ko-pi boyo lulkûne
basket two 1SG-POSS later pour.down.for.washing
'My two baskets (of sago pith) will be washed later.'

(14) *Kwer duiye. Lil kopi ar pinispo. Dor kopiro ul ko luro.*
kwer duiye lil ko-pi ar pinis-po dor ko-pi=ro
frog croak blood 1SG-POSS NEG finish(TP)-LV.PP foot 1SG-POSS=EMPH
ul ko lu=ro
bamboo I shoot.PP=EMPH
'The frogs were croaking. (But) my blood didn't stop. The bamboo cut my foot (severely).'

(15) *Mi uke pulupiwap yipyo. Ko nui.*
mi uke pulupi-we-p yip-yo ko nui
then we.EXCL come.PL-TER-PC house-LOC I sleep
'Then we arrived at the house. I (went to) sleep.'

(16) *Trinde punipino ko pulo oyo. Iki boyo lulilo.*
Trinde punipino ko pulo o-yo iki boyo luli_lo
Wednesday morning I come.PP PROX-LOC APH.PL later wash.sago_go.PP
'Wednesday morning I came here (to Claudia's house). Later (Susan's family) went to wash sago.'

(17) *Claudia dor kopi puno kupusiyapno, sopno marasin kuputimpopno, banisno lolo.*
Claudia dor ko-pi pu-no k-pusiye-p-no sop-no marasin
Claudia foot 1SG-POSS water-INS SUB-wash-PC-CO soap-INS medicine
k-putim-pi-p-no banis-no lolo
SUB-put(TP)-LV-PC-CO bandage-INS wrap.PP
'Having washed my foot with water and soap and put on some medicine, Claudia dressed it with a bandage.'

(18) *Ko muelpup: "De klam! De yipyo solo nake. De due monasinem! Marasin ko putimporo strongpela."*
ko mueli-ipi-p de k-le-m de yip-yo solo nake de
I talk.to-1SG.OR-PC you PROH-go-PROH you house-LOC only sit you
due mona-sini-m marasin ko putim-po=ro
sago IRR-pound.sago.pith-IRR medicine I put(TP)-LV.PP=EMPH
strongpela
strong(TP)
'She told me: "Don't go (anywhere), stay in the house only! (Suppose) you would pound sago. The medicine I gave you is strong."'

(19) *Ari, ko epul maloro. Ko ar malo.*
ari ko epul malo=ro ko ar malo
no I ear hear.PP=EMPH I NEG hear.PP
'If I had (only) listened. (But) I didn't listen.'

(20) *Due ko ar lul. Ko monoyo nakap. Matias ko kana lenou.*
due ko ar lul ko mono-yo nake-p Matias ko kana
sago I NEG wash.sago.PP I path-LOC sit-PC Matias I quickly
le-ne-ou
wait.for-3SG.OR-FRUS
'I didn't wash sago. I was sitting at the path. I waited in vain for Matias.'

(21) *Ko dorimaliyo. Ko kuso pulo.*
ko dorimaliyo ko kuso pulo
I turn.back.to.one's.house.PP I always come.PP
'I turned back home. I (had) came (as) always.'

(22) *Yena ko monoyo relana. Yena so pulupip. Krelanapno uke kumune pulupip yipyo.*
yena ko mono-yo relana yena so pulupi-p
people I path-LOC meet.O.ANIM.PL.PP people like come.PL-PC
k-relane-p-no uke kumune pulupi-p yip-yo
SUB-meet.O.ANIM.PL-PC-CO we.EXCL all.COLL come.PL-PC house-LOC
'I met some people on the way. The people were coming by accident. Having met them we all walked to the house together.'

(23) *Emka ko ba lo. Ko nakapno dupuni.*
emka ko ba lo ko nake-p-no dupuni
yesterday I NEG.EMPH go.PP I sit-PC-CO night
'Yesterday I did not go (anywhere). While I was sitting (in the house), (it became) night.'

(24) *Ko ba raunpo. Ko yîs nakap. Yipyo nakap.*
ko ba raun-po ko yîs nake-p yip-yo nake-p
I NEG.EMPH stroll.around(TP)-LV.PP I idle sit-PC house-LOC sit-PC
'I did not stroll around. I was staying idly. I was in (my) house.'

(25) *Yala ko oki pulo.*
yala ko o-ki pulo
today I PROX-APH come.PP
'Today I came here.'

(26) *Bo kopi kuru.*
bo ko-pi kuru
story 1SG-POSS be.finished
'My story is finished.'

F.5 Ko kipino ye

Introduction

The story *Ko kipino ye* 'I fell on my back' was told by Susan Bisam in Ossima village in February 2006. On the way home from the sago swamp, Susan had a bad accident outside her house in Ossima Asples.

Summary & background

Returning home from the sago swamp with two heavy baskets of sago flour, Susan fell from the platform of her house in Ossima Asples. The platform is like an open veranda without railings. When you put down a heavy load – wet sago or firewood or a basket of coconuts – you have to be careful to maintain balance. Susan was probably exhausted and wanted to quickly get rid of the load. That is how the accident happened.

Once again we see that sago processing is Susan's way of life. In her home village, she received no support from her brothers. After the death of her husband, she was living alone having to feed four children. Sago makes up a family's staple diet. This meant that Susan had to do her sago work almost every day. Only the older ones of her twelve children were able to provide for themselves in their own families.

Parallel text

Ko due ropyo ule. Ko piyeppuo puakuyo laliyo. Ko monomno wepulo yipyo. Ko wolomno ppuo yip wapoyo. Ko due kasiyopako. Ali waliyo lolouli. Ko yeloyo seku due roise. Ali waliyo, loloulko. Ko kipino ye el appka. Kipi kopi ikoina sipi. Bui kili sipi, am duwewolap. Rita ko lakiyopappo. Ko dob wippu malippu. Yako dupua ko weppuoi yipyo, yeniyo nuweyoi. Kipi sipino ko wo mop. Ikoina sipip. Wippip, wiakap. Rita marasin kipi sipino piyoko. Kowepulapno ko no. Dupuni duruka kipi bui kilino, kiniyo sipuwepup. Dupuni duwani kipi sipinakap wîs

I put the sago into the baskets, lifted them up, and carried them home on my back and slung around my forehead. I brought them to the house walking along the trail. I went up the ladder to the porch of my house. Up above I let the sago fall with an uncontrolled, jerky movement. So the sling of one of the baskets wound around my neck. I fell down from the porch along with the sago. The sling had just wound around my neck. I fell over on my back, belly upwards. My back hurt terribly. My coccyx hurt terribly. It almost broke. Rita lifted me

dupua. Haus sikyo ko lo Vanimoyo. Marasin ko piyo, no. Sipi as, upuna. Yip ikap kanakapno kipi midorisipi.

up. My eyes were spinning, and I felt dizzy. Two women carried me up the ladder and into the house and bedded me on my bed. With my hurting back I just cried. It was hurting terribly. I turned my back up and turned it down. Rita got a medication for my hurting back. When she brought it, I took it. Day and night my back and coccyx bones hurt badly all over. Day and night the pain in my back continued, for two months. Finally I went to the hospital in Vanimo. There I got some medicine and took it. No pain anymore. The back felt alright. But as soon as I was back home in my house, my back started to hurt again.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko due ropyo ule. Ko piyeppuo puakuyo laliyo. Ko monomno wepulo yipyo.*
ko due rop-yo ule ko piyeppuo puaku-yo
I sago basket-LOC put.inside.PP I lift.up.PP head-LOC
laliyo ko monomno wepulo yip-yo
carry.by.hanging.PP I along.the.path bring.PP house-LOC
'I put the sago into the baskets, lifted them up, carried them home slung around my forehead and brought them to the house (walking) along the trail.'[3]

(2) *Ko wolomno ppuo yip wapoyo. Ko due kasiyopako. Ali waliyo lolouli.*
ko wolomno ppuo yip wapo-yo ko due kasiyepako ali
I along.the.ladder go.up.PP house porch-LOC I sago fall.jerkily.PP sling
wali-yo lole-uli
neck-LOC wrap-PROG
'I went up the ladder to the porch of the house. Up above I let the sago fall with an uncontrolled, jerky movement. So the sling (of one basket) was winding around my neck.'

[3]One type of basket used by the Kilmeri has a long, about 10cm broad sling. The forehead supports the sling, and the basket hangs on the back. Carrying two baskets like this isn't easy, and one has to walk and move carefully.

(3) *Ko yeloyo seku due roise. Ali waliyo loloulko. Ko kipino ye el appka.*
ko yelo-yo seku due roise ali wali-yo lole-uli-ko ko
I ground-LOC fall.PP sago together sling neck-LOC wrap-PROG-RTS I
kipi-no ye el app-ka
back-INS fall.over belly sky-PATH
'I fell on the ground along with the sago. The sling had just wound around the neck. I fell over on the back, belly upwards.'

(4) *Kipi kopi ikoina sipi. Bui kili sipi, am duwewolap.*
kipi ko-pi ikoina sipi bui kili sipi am d-we-wole-p
back 1SG-POSS badly hurt coccyx bone hurt almost LKH-break-CPL-PC
'My back hurt terribly. My coccyx hurt terribly. It would almost break.'

(5) *Rita ko lakiyopappo. Ko dob wippu malippu. Yako dupua ko weppuoi yipyo, yeniyo nuweyoi.*
Rita ko lakiyepappo ko dob wippu malippu yako
Rita I lift.a.motionless.person.PP I eye stir.up.PP feel.dizzy.PP women
dupua ko weppuo-i yip-yo yeni-yo nuweyo-i
two I carry.up.PP-DU.A house-LOC bed-LOC bed.PP-DU.A
'Rita lifted me up. My eyes were spinning, and I felt dizzy. Two women carried me up (the ladder) into the house and bedded me on the bed.'

(6) *Kipi sipino ko wo mop. Ikoina sipip. Wippip, wiakap.*
kipi sipi-no ko wo_mop ikoina sipi-p wippi-p wiake-p
back hurt-CO I weep.PP badly hurt-PC turn.up-PC turn.down-PC
'With my hurting back I cried. It was hurting terribly. I was turning (my back) up and was turning it down.'

(7) *Rita marasin kipi sipino piyoko. Kowepulapno ko no.*
Rita marasin kipi sipi-no piye-ko k-wepule-p-no ko no
Rita medicine back hurt-CO take-RTS SUB-bring-PC-CO I eat.PP
'Rita got a medication for my hurting back. When she brought it, I took it.'

(8) *Dupuni duruka kipi bui kilino, kiniyo sipuwepup. Dupuni duwani kipi sipinakap wîs dupua.*
dupuni duruka kipi bui kili-no kiniyo sipi-wepi-p dupuni
night day back coccyx bone-INS all hurt-QUANT.S-PC night
duwani kipi sipi-nake-p wîs dupua
day back hurt-DUR-PC moon two
'Day and night the back and the coccyx bones were hurting badly all over. Day and night the pain in the back continued, for two months.'

(9) *Haus sikyo ko lo Vanimoyo. Marasin ko piyo, no. Sipi as, upuna.*
haus_sik-yo ko lo Vanimo-yo marasin ko piyo no sipi as
hospital-LOC I go.PP Vanimo-LOC medicine I take.PP eat.PP pain none
upuna
alright
'I went to the hospital, to Vanimo. I got some medicine and took it. No pain (anymore). (It felt) alright.'

(10) *Yip ikap kanakapno kipi midorisipi.*
yip ikap k-nake-p-no kipi mi-dorisipi
house 1SG.POSS.EMPH SUB-sit-PC-CO back ITER-hurt.again
'(But) when I was staying (back home) in my house, the back hurt again.'

F.6 Ko kau yek

Introduction

The story *Ko kau yek* 'I chased a cow' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2006. Margaret tells how she once chased a cow and hurt her arm badly.

Summary & background

The Ossima Mission had an agricultural branch in order to improve nutrition and train young men in cattle breeding. There were therefore several herds of cows grazing in the immediate vicinity of the houses at Osi Camp. The fences were often broken, and the animals could roam freely. One night this happened again, and Margaret took action. She tried to chase a particular cow back beyond the fences. Unfortunately, she tripped and seriously injured her shoulder and upper arm. I was not there to witness the accident as it happened a few months before my 2006 field trip.

Parallel text

Puni ko kau yek. Ko kau isol kau rurina. Ko ba reyo. Ko dob po: Kau rurina pini, kike solo. Ko dob soreyep: "Numu de awe! Kau ruri roise kike solo. Pini. Nuko kikei." Koyo kikoi. Numu sowo, yol bîka lupuana. Ko kiko, kau kiko. Ko seliwolo. Simon wonino: "De awe! De kau rino pakip! De ko mekiyap!" An kopi kipika ye. Ulelipana. Ko umul nekpamu. Ko an baka wiyo, popompiyo. Simon bayekiko. Balok. Ko Numu wonino: "De awe! Nuko ilei yipyo."

At night I followed a cow around. I chased a cow, a cow and its young. But I hadn't seen the young yet. Then I noticed: a cow with its young is moving towards me. They are running. I was watching the animals as if magnetised: "Numu, come! A cow with its young is running straight towards us. It's coming here quickly. We need to run ourselves." We ran. Numu hid away. She sneaked through a hole in the fence. I ran and the cow ran. I slipped and fell over. I called out to Simon: "Come! Beat the cow with a stick! Help me!" My arm fell on the back. It twisted. I pondered about what to do. Then I held it with my other hand and stretched it straight. Simon has routed the cow. It has gone.

I called Numu: "Come! Let's go into the house."

Ko yeniyo nu. Ko asa nuem. An kopi ikoina sipip. Ko dupuniro puana, Numu muelno: "De puanap! Ko yaup yowe. De sû mappap!" Sû bamappeko. "Pu ipino ipiyap!" Yaup pupuol po, mol. Puliyo an kloknino. "Pili lupi piyekap!" Ko an ikap sililipi. Lil upuna lam dopyo. Upuna walwolam. Riyopuno ko yeniyo lo. Koyo ilo. Ko due nu duruwa. "De mi sû mappap! Ko yaup yowe. Mi ko yaupno sililipi." Mi ko pili lupi yaupyo îlako. Mi ko pakulyo sililipo. Ko dop ikap suko. Lil puso solo. Lil ba amaleipe. Lil bapok. Lil aska.

I lay down to sleep. But I couldn't find sleep. My arm was hurting terribly. I rose in the middle of the night and said to Numu: "Get up! I'm going to boil water. You light a fire!" The fire is lit. "Now fill water in a pot!" The water became hot and boiled. I took it away from the fire with one hand. "Go get a piece of cloth," I said. Now I press a hot, wet cloth onto my arm. So the blood will flow well through the body. It will diffuse well. Then I went to bed. We two went to bed. I slept until dawn. "You light a fire again!" I said to Numu, "I'll boil water. I'll press again a hot, wet cloth onto my arm." I dipped again the piece of cloth into the hot water. I pressed the hot, wet cloth onto my shoulder. I cut my skin. The blood is transparent like water. Other blood, red blood should flow first. The light blood has flown out. No such blood anymore.

Ko eye piyeppuou. Ikoina sipi, yilipi. Pili ko asa poniyam. Mi ko auna poniye, auna kure. Ikoina sipinakap. Mi ko lo monomno. Ko Matyu iloi. Opo kompanipi kumuneyo lakiyowe. Ono roke nem kep Joe Erima. Iloro Base Campyo. Mi koyo opo baya îpîpui. Koyo iloi, mi ineki, koyo Waisan Campyo ikûnoi. Koyo inakap. Punipino lo haus sikyo, ko kama. Ko marasin piyo, bayana. Ko puno no. Mi ko marasin kiniyo piyo. Ko yipyo wel. Rokloknino nep. An kopiro sipi as. Moni upuna.

I tried to lift my arm in vain. It hurt terribly. It was tense. I couldn't put on my clothes. I had to wrap slowly a laplap.[4]I put it on slowly. The shoulder continued to hurt terribly. Then I went along the road to Vanimo. Me and Matyu, we walked together. Later a car of the Forest Company took both of us along. This man, who picked us up, was Joe Erima. We drove with him to the Base Camp. Then we jumped on another car. We drove, stood up again on the truck bed, and jumped

off at Waisan Camp. There we stayed. In the morning I went to the hospital, I alone. I took a medication, a different one. I took it with water. Then I took many capsules of the medication. I took them home. I swallowed them daily. My arm didn't hurt anymore. It felt a bit better.

Sele ko asa pem. Yili ko asa wilem. Due ko asa sonem, lulem. Ko yala nake solo pi. Ko wayeou ko sele pi. Pakul waliyo sipi. Dop kiniyo, dop sipiwepi. Ko nake solo pi, sipi as, upuna.

I can't work in the garden. I can't carry any weight. I can't pound and wash sago. Now all I do is sit idly. I tried in vain to work in the garden. My shoulder and neck hurt. The whole body hurts. My body hurts all over. If I rest only, there is no pain, it is alright.

Glossed text

(1) *Puni ko kau yek. Ko kau isol kau rurina. Ko ba reyo. Ko dob po: Kau rurina pini, kike solo.*
puni ko kau yek ko kau isol kau ruri-na
night I cow follow.one's.traces.PP I cow chase.away.PP cow child-AFF
ko ba reyo ko dob po kau ruri-na
I NEG.EMPH see.O.ANIM.SG.PP I eye LV.PP cow child-AFF
pini kike solo
come.up.hither run only
'At night I followed a cow. I chased a cow, a cow and its young. (But) I didn't see (the young). (Then) I noticed: A cow with its young is coming towards me. They are just running.'

(2) *Ko dob soreyep: "Numu de awe! Kau ruri roise kike solo. Pini. Nuko kikei."*
ko dob soreye-p Numu de awe kau ruri
I eye look.intently.O.INANIM-PC Numu you come.IMP cow child
roise kike solo pini nuko kike-i
together run only come.up.hither we.INCL run-DU.S
'I was watching it like magnetised: "Numu, come! A cow with its young

[4] A laplap is a nicely designed, but informal piece of cloth about 1,60 m in length and 1 m in width, which women sling around their body.

is running straight towards us. It's coming up. We (need to) run (ourselves).”'

(3) *Koyo kikoi. Numu sowo, yol bîka lupuana. Ko kiko, kau kiko. Ko seliwolo. Simon wonino:*
koyo kiko-i Numu sowo yol bî-ka lupuana ko
we.DU.EXCL run.PP-DU.S Numu hide.PP fence hole-PATH go.in.PP I
kiko kau kiko ko seli-wolo Simon woni-no
run.PP cow run.PP I slip-CPL.PP Simon call-3SG.OR.PP
'We both ran. Numu hid away. She sneaked through a hole in the fence. I ran. The cow ran. I slipped and fell over. I called out for Simon.'

(4) *“De awe! De kau rino pakip! De ko mekiyap!”*
de awe de kau ri-no paki-p de ko mekiye-p
you come.IMP you cow stick-INS beat-IMP you I help-IMP
'“Come! Beat the cow with a stick! Help me!”'

(5) *An kopi kipika ye. Ulelipana. Ko umul nekpamu. Ko an baka wiyo, popompiyo.*
an ko-pi kipi-ka ye ulelipana ko umul_nekpamu ko
arm 1SG-POSS back-PATH fall.over.PP twist.PP I ponder.PP I
an_baka wiyo popompiyo
other.hand hold.PP stretch.straight.PP
'My arm fell on the back. It twisted. I pondered (about what to do). (Then) I held it with my other hand and stretched it straight.'

(6) *Simon bayekiko. Balok. Ko Numu wonino: “De awe! Nuko ilei yipyo.”*
Simon ba-yeki-ko ba-le-ko ko Numu woni-no de
Simon FAC-pursue-FAC FAC-go-FAC I Numu call-3SG.OR.PP you
awe nuko i-le-i yip-yo
come.IMP we.INCL DU.S-go-DU.S house-LOC
'Simon has routed (the cow). It has gone. I called Numu: “Come, let's go into the house.”'

(7) *Ko yeniyo nu. Ko asa nuem. An kopi ikoina sipip. Ko dupuniro puana, Numu muelno:*
ko yeni-yo nu ko asa nui-m an ko-pi ikoi-na
I bed-LOC do.intentionally.PP I how sleep-POS arm 1SG-POSS big-ADV

sipi-p ko dupuni=ro puana Numu mueli-no
hurt-PC I night=EMPH rise.PP Numu talk.to-3SG.OR.PP
'I lay down to sleep. (But) I could not sleep. My arm was hurting terribly. I rose in the (middle of the) night and said to Numu.'

(8) *"De puanap! Ko yaup yowe. De sû mappap!" Sû bamappeko. "Pu ipino ipiyap!"*
de puane-p ko yaup yowe de sû_mappe-p
you stand.up-IMP I hot.water boil you light.a.fire-IMP
sû_ba-mappe-ko pu ipi-no ipiye-p
fire_FAC-light-FAC water pot-INS put.in.a.pot-IMP
'"Get up! I boil water. You light a fire!" The fire is lit. "(Now) fill water in a pot!"'

(9) *Yaup pupuol po, mol. Puliyo an kloknino.*
yaup pupuol po mol puliyo an klokni-no
hot.water heat LV.PP boil.PP take.off.PP hand one-INS
'The water became hot and boiled. I took it away (from the fire) with one hand.'

(10) *"Pili lupi piyekap!" Ko an ikap sililipi. Lil upuna lam dopyo. Upuna walwolam.*
pili lupi piye-ke-p ko an ikap
cloth end take-INGR-IMP I arm 1SG.POSS.EMPH
sililipi lil upuna le-m dop-yo upuna
press.a.hot.wet.cloth.onto.skin blood alright go-POS body-LOC alright
walwole-m
diffuse-POS
'"Go get a piece of cloth", I said. I press a hot, wet cloth onto my arm. (So) the blood will flow well through the body. It will diffuse well.'

(11) *Riyopuno ko yeniyo lo. Koyo ilo. Ko due nu duruwa.*
riyopuno ko yeni-yo lo koyo i-lo ko due_nu duruwa
then I bed-LOC go.PP we.DU.EXCL DU.S-go.PP I sleep.PP dawn
'Then I went to bed. We two went (to bed). I slept until dawn.'

(12) *"De mi sû mappap! Ko yaup yowe. Mi ko yaupno sililipi."*
de mi sû_mappe-p ko yaup yowe mi ko yaup-no
you again light.a.fire-IMP I hot.water boil again I hot.water-INS
sililipi
press.a.hot.wet.cloth.onto.skin
'"You light a fire again! I'll boil water. I'll press again a hot, wet cloth (onto my arm)."'

(13) *Mi ko pili lupi yaupyo îlako. Mi ko pakulyo sililipo.*
mi ko pili lupi yaup-yo îlako mi ko
again I cloth end hot.water-LOC dip.into.water.PP again I
pakul-yo sililipo
shoulder-LOC press.a.hot.wet.cloth.onto.skin.PP
'I dipped again the piece of cloth into the hot water. I pressed the hot, wet cloth onto my shoulder.'

(14) *Ko dop ikap suko. Lil puso solo. Lil ba amaleipe. Lil bapok. Lil aska.*
ko dop ikap suko lil pu-so solo lil ba
I skin 1SG.POSS.EMPH cut.PP blood water-SIM only blood other
am-a-le-ipe lil ba-pi-ko lil aska
GRAD-IMP3-go-ANT blood FAC-do-FAC blood none
'I cut my skin. The blood is only (transparent) like water. Other blood, (red blood) should flow first. The blood has flown out. No blood (anymore).'

(15) *Ko eye piyeppuou. Ikoina sipi, yilipi.*
ko eye piyeppue-ou ikoi-na sipi yili-pi
I arm lift.up-FRUS big-ADV hurt tense-LV
'I try to lift my arm in vain. It hurts terribly. It is tense.'

(16) *Pili ko asa poniyam. Mi ko auna poniye, auna kure. Ikoina sipinakap.*
pili ko asa poniye-m mi ko auna poniye auna kure ikoi-na
cloth I how wrap-POS again I slowly wrap slowly put.on big-ADV
sipi-nake-p
hurt-DUR-PC
'I can't put on clothes. I have to wrap slowly (a laplap). I put it on slowly. It continued to hurt terribly.'[5]

[5] A laplap is a nicely designed, but informal piece of cloth about 1,60m in length and 1m in width, which women sling around their body.

(17) *Mi ko lo monomno. Ko Matyu iloi. Opo kompanipi kumuneyo lakiyowe.*
mi ko lo monomno ko Matyu i-lo-i opo
then I go.PP along.the.path I Matyu DU.S-go.PP-DU.S car
kompani-pi kumune-yo lakiyo-we
company-POSS all.COLL-LOC fetch.people.PP-DU.O
'Then I went along the road (to Vanimo). Me and Matyu, we walked. (Later) a car of the Company took both of us along.'

(18) *Ono roke nem kep Joe Erima. Iloro Base Campyo.*
ono ro-ke nem kep Joe Erima i-lo=ro Base
man PROX.EMPH-APH name 3SG.POSS Joe Erima DU.S-go.PP=EMPH Base
Camp-yo
Camp-LOC
'This man, (the driver) named Joe Erima, (picked us up.) We drove (with him) to the Base Camp.'

(19) *Mi koyo opo baya îpîpui. Koyo iloi, mi ineki, koyo Waisan Campyo ikûnoi. Koyo inakap.*
mi koyo opo baya îpîpu-i koyo i-lo-i
then we.DU.EXCL car other climb.on.PP-DU.S we.DU.EXCL DU.S-go.PP-DU.S
mi i-neki koyo Waisan_Camp-yo i-kûno-i
again DU.S-stand we.DU.EXCL Waisan.Camp-LOC DU.S-go.down.PP-DU.S
koyo i-nake-p
we.DU.EXCL DU.S-sit-PC
'Then we jumped on another car. We drove, stood again (on the truck bed), and jumped off at Waisan Camp. There we were staying.'

(20) *Punipino lo haus sikyo, ko kama. Ko marasin piyo, bayana. Ko puno no.*
punipino lo haus_sik-yo ko kama ko marasin piyo bayana
morning go.PP hospital-LOC I alone I medicine(TP) take.PP different
ko pu-no no
I water-INS eat.PP
'In the morning I went to the hospital, I alone. I took a medication, a different one. I took it with water.'

(21) *Mi ko marasin kiniyo piyo. Ko yipyo wel. Rokloknino nep.*
mi ko marasin kiniyo piyo ko yip-yo wel ro=kloknino
again I medicine many take.PP I house-LOC carry.PP EMPH=one.time

ni-p
eat-PC
'Then I took many capsules (of the medication). I took them home. I swallowed them daily.'

(22) *An kopiro sipi as. Moni upuna.*
an ko-pi=ro sipi as moni upuna
arm 1SG-POSS=EMPH pain none little alright
'My arm doesn't hurt any more. It feels a bit better.'

(23) *Sele ko asa pem. Yili ko asa wilem. Due ko asa sonem, lulem. Ko yala nake solo pi.*
sele ko asa pi-m yili ko asa wili-m due ko asa
garden I how make-POS weight I how carry-POS raw.sago I how
soni-m luli-m ko yala nake solo pi
pound.sago.pith-POS wash.sago-POS I now sit only do
'I can't work in the garden. I can't carry any weight. I can't pound and wash sago. Now all I do is sit (idly).'

(24) *Ko wayeou ko sele pi. Pakul waliyo sipi. Dop kiniyo, dop sipiwepi. Ko nake solo pi, sipi as, upuna.*
ko waye-ou ko sele pi pakul wali-yo sipi dop kiniyo dop
I try-FRUS I garden do shoulder neck-LOC hurt body many body
sipi-wepi ko nake solo pi sipi as upuna
hurt-QUANT.S I sit only do pain none alright
'I tried in vain to work in the garden. (My) shoulder and neck hurt. The whole body (hurts). My body hurts all over. (If) I rest only, (there is) no pain, it is alright.'

F.7 Yipp pol

Introduction

The story *Yipp pol* 'The nest of a wildfowl' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village on August 2001. Margaret describes how the two of us search in the bush for the eggs of wildfowl.

Summary & background

For a while now I had wanted to see a wildfowl nest in the forest. One day Margaret and I set off to find one. The villagers know about such places, of course, and Margaret knew where to go. Wild fowl eggs are a much appreciated addition to meals, especially as chicken eggs are not usually eaten but left to hatch. The location of the nest was about half an hour from the houses of Osi Camp, passing the spot where Margaret and her husband had their small bush hut. Then the track led into the forest. After a while, between the buttressed trunk of a *kwila* tree (*Intsia bijuga*), we saw the big nest of a wild fowl, which is a large ground-breeding bird.

Parallel text

Dika ko Margaretyo duyo iloi. Koyo yipp su lipeli. Koyo yûr pol riyepoip. Yûr pol ko bariyeko. Margaret yûr pol meip. Ko eku nakap. Ari, ko nekip, kles siyip. Riyopuno Margaret yipp su dupua paliyowe. Ba ura no. Dupua solo paliyowe. Margaret yipp su dupua rupueno lolowe. Ba kini ko powa, ba kini kep. Ki klokni ko klokni. Koyo yipyo iloi. Margaret weiau suelip. Ko nekip. Riyopuno mi ko emur suel. Emur ko ino pu siamu. Margaret an solo siana. Ko ri wili laine. Ko emurno pulo. Emurno puloro, yipyo paeau. Emur mi ko yipyo layowe. Emur ulili. Ko ar piyeko.

The day before yesterday Margaret and I went to the bush. We were looking for eggs of a wild fowl. We saw a bird's nest with eggs. Now I finally saw a wildfowl's nest with eggs! With her hands, Margaret digged for the eggs in the nest. I was sitting aside. No, I was standing and expelling the mosquitos! Then Margaret uncovered two eggs. A lizard had eaten another one. So she only dug out two. Margaret wrapped each of the two eggs of the wild fowl in a leaf. One she gave to me, one is hers. One for her, one for me. We went back home. On the way Margaret cut a *kanda*-liana. I stood aside and looked. Then she cut a walking stick for me. I crossed the water

ditch with the walking stick. Margaret crossed it without a stick. I balanced on a log. I walked with a stick. With the walking stick I came to the house and reached it. The walking stick I put into the house. It is here. I didn't throw it away.

Glossed text

(1) *Dika ko Margaretyo duyo iloi. Koyo yipp su lipelip.*
dika ko Margaret-yo du-yo i-lo-i
day.before.yesterday I Margaret-LOC bush-LOC DU.S-go.PP-DU.S
koyo yipp su lipeli-p
we.DU.EXCL wild.fowl egg seek-PC
'The day before yesterday Margaret and I went to the bush. We were looking for eggs of a wild fowl.'

(2) *Koyo yûr pol riyepoip. Yûr pol ko bariyeko.*
koyo yûr pol riye-pi-i-p yûr
we.DU.EXCL bird nest.with.eggs see.O.INANIM-LV-DU.A-PC bird
pol ko ba-riye-ko
nest.with.eggs I FAC-see.O.INANIM-FAC
'We saw a bird's nest with eggs. (Now) I have seen a (wild fowl's) nest with eggs."[6]

(3) *Margaret yûr pol meip. Ko eku nakap. Ari, ko nekip, kles siyip.*
Margaret yûr pol mei-p ko eku nake-p
Margaret bird nest.with.eggs dig.with.one's.hands-PC I behind sit-PC
ari ko neki-p kles siyi-p
no I stand-PC mosquito throw-PC
'Margaret was digging for the eggs in the nest with her hands. I was sitting (aside). No, I was standing and expelling the mosquitos.'

(4) *Riyopuno Margaret yipp su dupua paliyowe. Ba ura no. Dupua solo paliyowe.*
riyopuno Margaret yipp su dupua paliyo-we ba ura no
then Margaret wild.fowl egg two open.PP-DU.O other lizard eat.PP

[6]Wild fowls breed on the ground. Deep in the forest they build huge nests from sticks and leaves.

dupua solo paliyo-we
two only open.PP-DU.O
'Then Margaret uncovered two eggs. One (more) a lizard (had) eaten. She dug out only two.'

(5) *Margaret yipp su dupua rupueno lolowe. Ba kini ko powa, ba kini kep. Ki klokni ko klokni.*
Margaret yipp su dupua rupue-no lolo-we ba kini ko
Margaret wild.fowl egg two leaf-INS wrap.PP-DU.O other one.PART I
powa ba kini kep ki klokni ko klokni
give.1SG.OR.PP other one.PART 3SG.POSS APH one I one
'Margaret wrapped the two eggs of the wild fowl in a leaf (each). One she gave to me, one is her's. One for her, one for me.'

(6) *Koyo yipyo iloi. Margaret weiau suelip. Ko nekip.*
koyo yip-yo i-lo-i Margaret weiau sueli-p ko
we.DU.EXCL house-LOC DU.S-go.PP-DU.S Margaret kanda cut-PC I
neki-p
stand-PC
'We went (back) home. (On the way) Margaret was cutting to size a kanda(-liana). I was standing (aside).'

(7) *Riyopuno mi ko emur suel. Emur ko ino pu siamu. Margaret an solo siana.*
riyopuno mi ko emur suel emur ko i-no pu
then again I walking.stick cut.PP walking.stick I DIST-INS water
siamu Margaret an solo siana
cross.hither.PP Margaret hand only cross.thither.PP
'Then she cut a walking stick (for me). I crossed the water (ditch) with the walking stick. Margaret crossed it without (a stick).'

(8) *Ko ri wili laine. Ko emurno pulo. Emurno puloro, yipyo paeau.*
ko ri_wili laine ko emur-no pulo emur-no pulo=ro
I log seek.balance I stick-INS come.PP stick-INS come.PP=EMPH
yip-yo paeau
house-LOC arrive
'I balance on a log. I came with a stick. With a walking stick I came to the house and reached it.'

(9) *Emur mi ko yipyo layowe. Emur ulili. Ko ar piyeko.*
emur mi ko yip-yo layo-we emur u-lili ko ar
stick then I house-LOC lay.PP-TER stick DFAC-be.there I NEG
piyi-ko
throw.away-RTS
'Then I put the walking stick into the house. The stick is here. I didn't throw it away.'

F.8 Ko Vanimoyo lo

Introduction

The story *Ko Vanimoyo lo* 'I went to Vanimo' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in March 2002. Margaret describes the hike from Ossima via Krisa to Vanimo on Wednesday-Thursday, 13-14 March 2002.

Summary & background

The provincial capital of Vanimo is within everyone's reach from the village of Ossima. It's a quick journey by car with the public motor vehicle (PMV) or, while I was working on fieldwork, with Jeffrey Osi's farm truck. The slower way is on foot over the hills of Krisa. Many of the villagers used to walk to town, and Margaret did this quite often. The purpose of the journey was both to meet relatives who lived in Vanimo and just to be in town. She wanted to experience the atmosphere of the town, a motivating factor for the trip that should not be underestimated. The walk was exhausting for Margaret who was in her sixties, but she also enjoyed it.

Parallel text

Ko Trindeno lo, 8 a clock. Ko loro. Ko loro Isa yilauyo, paeau. Mi ko eppi noyap. Ko Simon Joe, uke tripela. Isa ako aeu po apono. Nem kep Ipp. Aeu popno bese siro, bi roise yûr roise. Baroko. Wîlyo rupopo. Uke konupno uke molo. Uke kûno puyo Pumon. Yelo pur ol ari. Uke moloro Pusokyo. Uke ppuoppuo olyo. Nem kep Awolu. Olro uke pueliyekepuo. Mi uke ol baya ppuo ol Oni. Yilauyo paeau. Uke eppi noyap, yip Yawapi ako kep roise.

I went on Wednesday, at 8 o'clock. I walked. I went to Isa's hamlet. I arrived. There I was resting. Me, Simon, Joe, the three of us were resting. Isa's wife made sago pancakes on a baking plate. Her name is Ipp. While making the sago pancakes she cooked *tulip*-vegetable with pig and chicken. It was done. She distributed it on the plates. Having eaten we went on. We went down to Pumon creek. The country is flat, there are no hills. We went on to Pusok creek. Then we climbed up Mount Awolu. We left the mountain behind us and climbed one more mountain, Mount Oni. We arrived at a hamlet. There we were resting, in the house of Yawa and his wife.

Uke moloro Pupualyo. Ko pulmop, Simon pulmop. Ko uro puakuyo ppuo. Koyo ilo. Pu po. Koyo pu isiye ilo. Uke ol Ayauiyo ippuo. Ayauiyo ippuo epi mono. Pu ikoiele. Koyo pu isiye iloro. Koyo pu monoyo piyei. Boyopuno pu poyana. Koyo iloro Uleiyo paeau. Koyo pueliyekoi. Koyo ono bayana Makoa reyanai. Koyo lewoinep monoyo. Boyo uke tripela moloro Pasiyo paeau. Riyopuno uke basno molo Waisan Campyo. Uke mapap.

We went down to Pupual creek. I waded through, Simon waded through. Then I climbed up the riverbank with the netbag around the head. We went on. It started to rain. We walked through the rain. We climbed Mount Ayaui, but we took the trail along the flank. The rain became heavy. We walked on through the rain. We became very wet on the way. Later on the rain stopped. We went to Ulei and arrived there. Soon we left it behind and then met a man, Makoa. He was waiting for us at the road. Now the three of us continued to the village of Pasi and arrived there. Then we went on by bus to Waisan Camp. There we stayed.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko Trindeno lo, 8 a clock. Ko loro. Ko loro Isa yilauyo, paeau. Mi ko eppi noyap. Ko Simon Joe, uke tripela. Isa ako aeu po apono. Nem kep Ipp.*
ko Trinde-no lo 8aclock ko lo=ro ko lo=ro Isa
I Wednesday-INS go.PP 8_o'clock I go.PP=EMPH I go.PP=EMPH Isa
yilau-yo paeau mi ko eppi_noye-p ko Simon Joe uke tripela
village-LOC arrive then I rest-PC I Simon Joe we.EXCL three(TP)
Isa ako aeu po apo-no nem kep Ipp
Isa wife sago.pancake make.PP pan-INS name 3SG.POSS Ipp
'I went on Wednesday, at 8 o'clock. I walked. I went to Isa's hamlet and arrived. (There) I was resting. Me, Simon, Joe, the three of us (were resting). Isa's wife made sago pancakes on a baking plate. Her name is Ipp.'

(2) *Aeu popno bese siro, bi roise yûr roise. Baroko. Wîlyo rupopo.*
aeu pi-p-no bese si=ro bi roise
sago.pancake make-PC-CO tulip.vegetable cook.PP=EMPH pig with
yûr roise ba-re-ko wîl-yo rupopo
chicken with FAC-be.done-FAC plate-LOC distribute.PL.O.PP
'While making the sago pancakes, she cooked *tulip*-vegetable with pig and chicken. It is done. She distributed it on the plates.'

(3) *Uke konupno uke molo. Uke kûno puyo Pumon. Yelo pur ol ari. Uke moloro Pusokyo. Uke ppuoppuo olyo. Nem kep Awolu.*
uke k-ni-p-no uke molo uke kûno pu-yo
we.EXCL SUB-eat-PC-CO we.EXCL go.PL.PP we.EXCL go.down.PP river-LOC
Pumon yelo pur ol ari uke molo=ro Pusok-yo
Pumon ground flat mountain no we.EXCL go.PL.PP=EMPH Pusok-LOC
uke ppuo-ppuo ol-yo nem kep Awolu
we.EXCL go.up.PP-go.up.PP mountain-LOC name 3SG.POSS Awolu
'Having eaten we went (on). We went down to the Pumon (creek). The country is flat, no hills. We went on to the Pusok (creek). (Then) we climbed up a mountain. Its name is Awolu.'

(4) *Olro uke pueliyekepuo. Mi uke ol baya ppuo ol Oni. Yilauyo paeau. Uke eppi noyap, yip Yawapi ako kep roise.*
ol=ro uke pueliyekepuo mi uke ol baya
mountain=EMPH we.EXCL leave.behind.PP then we.EXCL mountain other
ppuo ol Oni yilau-yo paeau uke eppi_noye-p yip
go.up.PP mountain Oni village-LOC arrive we.EXCL rest-PC house
Yawa-pi ako kep roise
Yawa-POSS wife 3SG.POSS with
'We left the mountain behind (us) and climbed one more mountain, the mountain Oni. We arrived at a hamlet. (There) we were resting, (in) the house of Yawa and his wife.'

(5) *Uke moloro Pupualyo. Ko pulmop, Simon pulmop. Ko uro puakuyo ppuo. Koyo ilo. Pu po. Koyo pu isiye ilo.*
uke molo=ro Pupual-yo ko pul_mop Simon
we.EXCL go.PL.PP=EMPH Pupual-LOC I wade.a.creek.PP Simon
pul_mop ko uro puaku-yo ppuo koyo i-lo pu
wade.a.creek.PP I netbag head-LOC go.up.PP we.DU.EXCL DU.S-go.PP rain
po koyo pu isiye i-lo
LV.PP we.DU.EXCL rain together DU.S-go.PP
'We went (down) to the Pupual (creek). I waded through, Simon waded through. (Then) I climbed up (the riverbank) with the netbag around the head. We went on. It rained. We went through the rain.'

(6) *Uke ol Ayauiyo ippuo. Ayauiyo ippuo epi mono. Pu ikoiele. Koyo pu isiye iloro.*
uke ol Ayaui-yo i-ppuo Ayaui-yo i-ppuo
we.EXCL mountain Ayaui-LOC DU.S-go.up.PP Ayaui-LOC DU.S-go.up.PP
epi_mono pu ikoiele koyo pu isiye i-lo=ro
sidepath rain very.big we.DU.EXCL rain together DU.S-go.PP=EMPH
'We climbed the mountain Ayaui. At Mount Ayaui, we climbed the flank path. The rain was heavy. We walked through the rain.'

(7) *Koyo pu monoyo piyei. Boyopuno pu poyana.*
koyo pu mono-yo piye-i boyopuno pu poyana
we.DU.EXCL rain path-LOC take-DU.A later rain stop.PP
'We became very wet on the way. Later the rain stopped.'

(8) *Koyo iloro Uleiyo paeau. Koyo pueliyekoi. Koyo ono bayana Makoa reyanai. Koyo lewoinep monoyo.*
koyo i-lo=ro Ulei-yo paeau koyo
we.DU.EXCL DU.S-go.PP=EMPH Ulei-LOC arrive we.DU.EXCL
pueliye-ko-i koyo ono bayana Makoa
leave.behind-RTS-DU.A we.DU.EXCL man different Makoa
reyana-i koyo lewo-ini-p mono-yo
meet.SG.O.PP-DU.A we.DU.EXCL wait.for-NSG.OR-PC road-LOC
'We went to Ulei and arrived there. (Soon) we left it behind and met another man, Makoa. He was waiting for us at the road.'

(9) *Boyo uke tripela moloro Pasiyo paeau. Riyopuno uke basno molo Waisan Campyo. Uke mapap.*
boyo uke tripela molo=ro Pasi-yo paeau riyopuno
later we.EXCL three(TP) go.PL.PP=EMPH Pasi-LOC arrive then
uke bas-no molo Waisan_Camp-yo uke mape-p
we.EXCL bus-INS go.PL.PP Waisan.Camp-LOC we.EXCL stay.PL-PC
'Later the three of us continued to Pasi and arrived there. Then we went on by bus to Waisan Camp. (There) we stayed.'

F.9 Sû duki

Introduction

The story *Sû duki* 'The true light' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007.

Summary & background

Torches are standard equipment for people in an environment without electricity. Fancy flash lights that can be made to flicker in colour, however, are not suitable for the forest because they scare the animals even more. Margaret wanted to state that the man in the story learnt a valuable lesson.

Parallel text

Ono du puap. Puni lo, bi lipelip. Loro, du puapno. Umul nekpamu, "ko sû piye." An seku uroyo, sû piyo. Sû bayana. Tos duki ari. Sû selayap. Sû pîpîlip. Bayana. Pîli pîli pîli. Pîpîlip.

A man roamed the bush. He went at night and wanted to look for pigs. He set off and was roaming the bush. He thought: "I'll take a light." His hand grabbed into his netbag, and he got a light. It was a different light, not a true torch light. The light was beaming. The light was flickering. A different type of torch light. Flicker, flicker, flicker. The light flickers.

Pial dobro riye. Tststs tststs. Bo ppulaena. Ko ana poipi? Riyopuno tos duki piyo. Selayap. "Eh pial, oke pial! Pial bekulu. Pial yala ko dupuesi." Ono dikike. Epemna lo. Pe pakono neppi royepana. Uro royepanouko. An solo kike. Tos solo wel, yilauyo puni. Yena mosaupoen: "Pial ko puesiou. Koro pulo. Ko mepu po. Em le. Ko pe pakono uro neppi rapiyeke."

A snake directs its eyes to the light: "Tststs tststs." A bad sound. "Who does this to me?" thinks the man. Then he took a true torch. The light spreaded: "Eh, a snake, this is a snake. A huge snake. The snake will certainly bite me." The man must have run away. He went fast. Bow and arrows and the bush knife he put somewhere. Frustrated he also left his netbag there. He ran empty-handed. He took only the torch light, to the village, at night. He told the people: "The snake didn't manage to bite me. I

came back here. I was afraid. Tomorrow I'll go. I go to get bow and arrows, the bush knife and the netbag."

Punipino lo. Rapiyeko, yilauyo pulo. Barapiyeko. Yilauyo klapno nakap. Bo muelien: "Sû bayana kipiyeyem! Ppulae! Sû roke imiyu pial pi. Pial yala ki riyeno sû mi dop kepso pîpîli. Pial mi yala nuko nowepi. Sû ereke layepanepiyap! Puni nuko rino mipi. Tos makiro oso poli."

In the morning he left for the bush. So he got his things and came back to the village. He has gotten all the equipment. Havinf come to the village, he remained there. He warned the people: "Don't take the different light! It's bad! This light makes a snake hostile. While the snake looks at it, the light flickers like a snake's skin. Snakes will bite us often. Abandon this light! At night we come with a wooden torch, which is a good torch. A glowing piece of wood is much better."

Glossed text

(1) *Ono du puap. Puni lo, bi lipelip. Loro, du puapno.*
ono du pue-p puni lo bi lipeli-p lo=ro du pue-p-no
man bush roam-PC night go.PP pig seek-PC go.PP=EMPH bush roam-PC-CO
'A man was roaming the bush. He went at night. He was looking for pigs. He set off. He was roaming the bush.'

(2) *Umul nekpamu, "ko sû piye." An seku uroyo, sû piyo. Sû bayana. Tos duki ari.*
umul_nekpamu ko sû piye an seku uro-yo sû piyo sû
ponder.PP I light take hand fall.PP netbag-LOC light take.PP light
bayana tos duki ari
different torch(TP) true no
'He thought: "I'll take a light." His hand grabbed into his netbag, and he got a light. A different light, not a true torch light.'

(3) *Sû selayap. Sû pîpîlip. Bayana. Pîli pîli pîli. Pîpîlip.*
sû selaye-p sû pîpîli-p bayana pîli pîli pîli
light lay.spreadingly-PC light flicker-PC different flicker flicker flicker

pîpîli-p
flicker-PC
'The light was beaming. The light was flickering. A different (type of light). Flicker, flicker, flicker, it was flickering.'

(4) *Pial dobro riye. Tststs tststs. Bo ppulaena.*
pial dob=ro riye tststs tststs bo ppulae-na
snake eye=EMPH see.O.INANIM tststs tststs sound bad-ADV
'A snake is focusing (the light): "Tststs tststs." A bad sound.'

(5) *Ko ana poipi? Riyopuno tos duki piyo. Selayap. "Eh pial, oke pial! Pial bekulu. Pial yala ko dupuesi."*
ko ana pi-ipi riyopuno tos duki piyo selaye-p eh
I who do-1SG.OR eventually torch true take.PP lay.spreadingly-PC eh
pial o-ke pial pial bekulu pial yala ko d-puesi
snake PROX-APH snake snake huge snake MOD I LKH-bite
'"Who does (this) to me?" (thinks the man). Then he took a true torch. The light was spreading: "Eh, a snake, this is a snake. A huge snake. The snake will certainly bite me."'

(6) *Ono dikike. Epemna lo. Pe pakono neppi royepana. Uro royepanouko. An solo kike. Tos solo wel, yilauyo puni.*
ono d-kike epemna lo pe pako-no neppi royepana
man LKH-run fast go.PP arrow bow-INS bush.knife put.thither.PP
uro royepane-ou-ko an solo kike tos solo wel
netbag put.thither-FRUS-RTS hand only run torch(TP) only carry.PP
yilau-yo puni
village-LOC night
'The man must (have) run. He went fast. Bow and arrows and the bush knife he put there. The netbag he (also) left there, frustrated. He runs empty-handed. He took only the torch light, to the village, at night.'

(7) *Yena mosaupoen: "Pial ko puesiou. Koro pulo. Ko mepu po. Em le. Ko pe pakono uro neppi rapiyeke."*
yena mosaupo-en pial ko puesi-ou ko=ro pulo ko
people teach-NSG.OR.PP snake I bite-FRUS I=EMPH come.PP I
mepu_po em le ko pe pako-no uro neppi
be.afraid.PP tomorrow go I arrow bow-INS netbag bush.knife

rapiye-ke
fetch-INGR
'He told the people: "The snake didn't manage to bite me. I came (back here). I was afraid. Tomorrow I'll go. I go to get bow and arrows, the bush knife and the netbag."'

(8) *Punipino lo. Rapiyeko, yilauyo pulo. Barapiyeko.*
punipino lo rapiye-ko yilau-yo pulo ba-rapiye-ko
morning go.PP fetch-RTS village-LOC come.PP FAC-fetch-FAC
'In the morning he left (for the bush). He fetched (the things) and came (back) to the village. He has gotten (all the equipment).'

(9) *Yilauyo klapno nakap. Bo muelien: "Sû bayana kipiyeyem! Ppulae! Sû roke imiyu pial pi. Pial yala ki riyeno sû mi dop kepso pîpîli."*
yilau-yo k-le-p-no nake-p bo mueli-en sû bayana
village-LOC SUB-go-PC-CO stay-PC word talk.to-NSG.OR.PP light different
k-piye-yem ppulae sû ro-ke imiyu pial pi
PROH-take-PROH.PL bad light PROX.EMPH-APH sorcerer snake make
pial yala ki riye-no sû mi dop kep-so pîpîli
snake now APH see.O.INANIM-CO light again skin 3SG.POSS-SIM flicker
'Having come to the village, he was staying there. He said to the people: "Don't take the different light! It's bad! This light makes a snake hostile. While the snake looks at it, the light flickers like a snake's skin."'[7]

(10) *"Pial mi yala nuko nowepi. Sû ereke layepanepiyap! Puni nuko rino mipi. Tos makiro oso poli."*
pial mi yala nuko ni-wepi sû ere-ke
snake again MOD we.INCL eat-QUANT.O light PROX-APH
layepane-pi-yep puni nuko ri-no mipi tos
abandon-LV-PL.IMP night we.INCL wood-INS come.hither.PL torch(TP)
maki=ro oso poli
good=EMPH more be.there
'"Snakes will bite us often. Abandon this light! At night we come with a wooden torch, (which) a good torch. It is (much) better."'[8]

[7]Perhaps the fancy torch light flickers like a rainbow snake's skin.
[8]The "wooden torch" is a glowing stick whose light isn't glaring.

F.10 Claudia ikoina nomari

Introduction

The story *Claudia ikoina nomari* 'Claudia is very sick' was told by Margaret Osi in Vanimo in September 2001. The story is about my own sickness.

Summary & background

I had to see a doctor because of a severe skin rash one day. Margaret accompanied me to town. We could travel in a four-seater Cessna aircraft. It was Margaret's first time on a plane, which is why everyone in town was surprised to suddenly see her there. We stayed in the bishop's guest house, where my family and I would normally sleep when we stayed in Vanimo. At times, our daughter Eva would stay with lay missionary friends in Lote, a mission village on a promontory a few kilometres west of Vanimo.

The story is told from different perspectives. It begins from my perspective. And then Margaret continues from her perspective.

Parallel text

Ko Eva muelno: "De inalap! Margaret muelkenap: Ko de same. Epe kopi de muli. Awe!" "Bubu de puanap! De inalap! Claudia de muli." Riyopuno ko pulo. Ko de reyo. "Margaret ko sialipo. Ko le haus sikyo Vanimoyo. Nuko ile. De mini, de muli?" Ko umul nek. Ko umul nekpe. "Ko kaikai bapiyeko. Yena due kopi sini. Luo kiniyo ko bapakok. Kaikai kopi ko David ponamo. Upunaro. Apoliwe. Nuko ile, ko mini."

I said to Eva: "Hurry up! Go tell Margaret: 'I am asking you something. My mother wants you. Come!'" Eva told her: "Grandmother, get up! Hurry up! Claudia wants you!" Then Margaret came and saw Claudia. "Margaret, I got a rash. I'll go to the hospital, to Vanimo. Let's go. Will you come, do you agree?" I thought about it. First I wanted to think about it: "I have bought food. The people should pound sago pith for me. All the money I have flung away. My food I gave to my son David. But alright, be it as it is. Let's go. I'll come with you."

"Ko am ba saupi. Ko am ba malo. Nuko auno mole, nuko opono mole?" Riyopuno nuko au lewone. Au amapuleipe.

Claudia said: "I don't know yet, I didn't hear it yet. Will we to go by plane, or will we go by car?" Eventu-

Au pule. Au seku ples balusyo. Au liki kepyo seku. Le royepanepo balus bîyo. Riyo-puno de Kevin sano: "De wepulo sia fopela?" Kevin muelno: "Ou, ko wepulo, ou. Uke ronpua ronpua." Nuko lupuanepo, bili musi. Ensin kep po. Au puana, wariye, au lo nuko roise. Vanimoyo seku.

ally we waited for the plane, it still had to come. The plane was coming. The plane landed on the airstrip. The plane landed on its landing place. We put our luggage inside the plane. Then you asked Kevin: "Did you bring four seats?" Kevin replied: "Yes, I brought them, yes. We are four." We entered the plane and the door closes. Its engine started, the plane rose, it is flying. The plane went with us and landed in Vanimo.

Kesekipno nuko haus sikyo molo. De dokta reyo. Dop depi riye. De muelme: "De eol ikoina pi. Lil depi piye." Riyo-puno marasin de poname. Due ronpua ronpua. Dokta de muelme: "Marasin so piye. Mi fraideno pule. Ko de reye. Aepu depi riye baslaupoko ari? Pul ar pi, slaupi. Roke upuna. Sapos pul pi, ar slaupi. Roke de marasin bayana piye."

After landing we went to the hospital. You saw a doctor. He examined your skin and said to you: "You sweat badly. I will make a blood test." Then he gives you some medicine. For four days. The doctor said to you: "You take the medicine like this. Friday you come again. I need to see you. I'll see your sores. Are they dry or not? If there is no liquid and they are dry, in that case it is alright. If there is still liquid and they are not dry, then you take a different medicine."

Yena ko saipop: "Depe arka pulo? De mono pulo?" "Ko Claudiayo ipulo auno, Claudia uki kep roise ruri kep. Haus sikyo ipulo dokta reye. An kep aepu pi, bou kep aepu pi." Mi uke romape, uke tripela. Eva Loteyo nake. Uke tripela solo. Ko bo komiye uke haus sikyo mape. So ko ar mueli uke yip riyo mape. Ari ari, ko bo komiyemaeu. Yip nukopi ari. Yip bisoppi. Yip nuko elep, yena upuna pulupi nuko rili.

The people in town asked me: "Where did you come from? When did you come?" I replied: "Claudia and me came by plane, Claudia together with her husband and child. We came to the hospital to see a doctor. There are sores on her arms and legs." Well, we stayed on, the three of us. Eva was staying in Lote. Only we three are in town. I hide the news that we are here for outpatient treatment. I don't talk about the fact that we are staying in that house. No, no, I hide the news

as mine. The house doesn't belong to us. It is the bishop's house. Were it our house or yours, then alright, the people may come to visit us.

Yena ko saipop: "Ine mono mole?" "Ko ar saupi uke sarereno molam? Dokta am ar mueli. Am bo malomaye. Aepu kep am ar sui. Yala asa muelnam bo. Yala uke opono molam yala uke auno molam." Yena mi ko saipop: "De eska pulo, de eska pulo?"

The people kept asking me: "When will you go back?" I replied: "I don't know, maybe we'll leave on Saturday. The doctor doesn't say it yet. We have still to listen to his words. Her sores aren't healed yet. He cannot say anything for sure. We might go by car, we might go by plane." Other people kept asking me: "When did you come? When did you come?"

Glossed text

(1) *Ko Eva muelno: "De inalap! Margaret muelkenap: Ko de same. Epe kopi de muli. Awe!"*
ko Eva mueli-no de inale-p Margaret mueli-ke-ne-p
I Eva talk.to-3SG.OR you hurry-IMP Margaret talk.to-INGR-3SG.OR-IMP
ko de sa-me epe ko-pi de muli awe
I you ask-2SG.OR mother 1SG-POSS you want come
'I said to Eva: "Hurry up, go and tell Margaret: I am asking you, my mother wants you, come!"'

(2) *"Bubu de puanap! De inalap! Claudia de muli."*
bubu de puane-p de inale-p Claudia de muli
grandmother you rise-IMP you hurry-IMP Claudia you want
'"Grandmother, get up! Hurry up! Claudia wants you!"'

(3) *Riyopuno ko pulo. Ko de reyo.*
riyopuno ko pulo ko de reyo
then I come.PP I you see.O.ANIM.SG.PP
'Then I came and saw you.' (*I* refers to Margaret, and now the story is told from her perspective.)

(4) *"Margaret ko sialipo. Ko le haus sikyo Vanimoyo. Nuko ile. De mini, de muli?"*
Margaret ko siali-po ko le haus_sik-yo Vanimo-yo nuko i-le
Margaret I rash-LV.PP I go hospital-LOC Vanimo-LOC we.INCL DU.S-go
de mini de muli
you come.hither you want
'"Margaret, I got a rash. I'll go to the hospital, to Vanimo. Let's go. Will you come, do you want to?"'

(5) *Ko umul nek. Ko umul nekipe. "Ko kaikai bapiyeko. Yena due kopi sini. Luo kiniyo ko bapakok. Kaikai kopi ko David ponamo. Upunaro. Apoliwe. Nuko ile, ko mini."*
ko umul_nek ko umul_neki-ipe ko kaikai ba-piye-ko yena due
I think.PP I think-ANT I food(TP) FAC-take-FAC people sago
ko-pi sini luo kiniyo ko ba-pake-ko kaikai
1SG-POSS pound.sago.pith money all I FAC-throw-FAC food(TP)
ko-pi ko David ponamo upuna=ro a-poli-we
1SG-POSS I David give.3SG.OR.PP alright=EMPH IMP3-be.there-TER
nuko i-le ko mini
we.INCL DU.S-go I come.hither
'I thought (about it). First I (wanted to) think (about it): "I have bought food. The people will pound sago pith for me. All the money I have thrown away. My food I gave to David. (But) alright, be it (as it is). Let's go. I come (with you)."'

(6) *"Ko am ba saupi. Ko am ba malo. Nuko auno mole, nuko opono mole?" Riyopuno nuko au lewone. Au amapuleipe.*
ko am ba saupi ko am ba malo nuko au-no mole
I yet NEG.EMPH know I yet NEG.EMPH hear.PP we.INCL plane-INS go.PL
nuko opo-no mole riyopuno nuko au lewo-ne au
we.INCL car-INS go.PL then we.INCL plane wait.for-3SG.OR plane
am-a-pule-ipe
GRAD-IMP3-come-ANT
'(Claudia said:) "I don't know yet, I didn't hear yet. Will we go by plane, will we go by car?" Eventually we wait for the plane, it has yet to come.'

(7) *Au pule. Au seku ples balusyo. Au liki kepyo seku. Le royepanepo balus bîyo.*
au pule au seku ples balus-yo au liki
plane come plane fall.PP place(TP) plane(TP)-LOC plane made.ready.place
kep-yo seku le royepane-po balus bîyo
3SG.POSS-LOC fall.PP belongings put.thither-LV.PP plane inside
'The plane is coming. The plane landed on the airstrip. The plane landed on its landing place. We put (our) luggage inside the plane.'

(8) *Riyopuno de Kevin sano: "De wepulo sia fopela?" Kevin muelno: "Ou, ko wepulo, ou. Uke ronpua ronpua." Nuko lupuanepo, bili musi. Ensin kep po. Au puana, wariye, au lo nuko roise. Vanimoyo seku.*
riyopuno de Kevin sa-no de wepulo sia fopela Kevin
then you Kevin ask-3SG.OR.PP you bring.PP seat four(TP) Kevin
mueli-no ou ko wepulo ou uke ronpua_ronpua nuko
talk.to-3SG.OR.PP yes I bring.PP yes we.EXCL four we.INCL
lupuane-po bili musi ensin kep po au puana wariye au
enter-LV.PP door close engine 3SG.POSS do.PP plane rise.PP fly plane
lo nuko roise Vanimo-yo seku
go.PP we.INCL with Vanimo-LOC fall.PP
'Then you asked Kevin: "Did you bring four seats?" Kevin replied: "Yes, I brought them, yes. We are four." We entered (the plane), and the door closes. Its engine started, the plane rose, it is flying. The plane went with us and landed in Vanimo.'

(9) *Kesekipno nuko haus sikyo molo. De dokta reyo. Dop depi riye. De muelme: "De eol ikoina pi. Lil depi piye."*
k-seki-p-no nuko haus_sik-yo molo de dokta reyo
SUB-fall-PC-CO we.INCL hospital-LOC go.PL.PP you doctor see.O.ANIM.SG.PP
dop de-pi riye de mueli-me de eol ikoi-na pi
skin 2SG-POSS see.O.INANIM you talk.to-2SG.OR you sweat big-ADV LV
lil de-pi piye
blood 2SG-POSS take
'After landing we went to the hospital. You saw a doctor. He examines your skin and says to you: "You sweat badly. I will make a blood test."'

(10) *Riyopuno marasin de poname. Due ronpua ronpua. Dokta de muelme: "Marasin so piye. Mi fraideno pule. Ko de reye. Aepu depi riye baslaupoko ari? Pul ar pi, slaupi. Roke upuna. Sapos pul pi, ar slaupi. Roke de marasin bayana piye."*

riyopuno marasin de poname due ronpua_ronpua dokta de
then medicine you give.2SG.OR night four doctor you
mueli-me marasin so piye mi fraide-no pule ko de
talk.to-2SG.OR medicine so take again Friday-INS come I you
reye aepu de-pi riye ba-slau-pi-ko ari pul ar
see.O.ANIM.SG sore 2SG-POSS see.O.INANIM FAC-dry-LV-FAC no liquid NEG
pi slau-pi ro-ke upuna sapos pul pi ar slau-pi
LV dry-LV PROX.EMPH-APH alright if(TP) liquid LV NEG dry-LV
ro-ke de marasin bayana piye
PROX.EMPH-APH you medicine different take

'Then he gives you some medicine. (For) four days. The doctor says to you: "You take the medicine like this. Friday you come again. I (need to) see you. (I need) to see your sores. Are they dry or not? (If) there is no liquid and they are dry, (in) that (case) alright. If there is liquid and they are not dry, then you take a different medicine."'

(11) *Yena ko saipop: "Depe arka pulo? De mono pulo?" "Ko Claudiayo ipulo auno, Claudia uki kep roise ruri kep. Haus sikyo ipulo dokta reye. An kep aepu pi, bou kep aepu pi."*
yena ko sa-ipi-p de=pe arka pulo de mono pulo ko
people I ask-1SG.OR-PC you=Q where come.PP you when come.PP I
Claudia-yo i-pulo au-no Claudia uki kep roise
Claudia-LOC DU.S-come.PP plane-INS Claudia husband 3SG.POSS with
ruri kep haus_sik-yo i-pulo dokta reye an
child 3SG.POSS hospital-LOC DU.S-come.PP doctor see.O.ANIM.SG arm
kep aepu pi bou kep aepu pi
3SG.POSS sore LV leg 3SG.POSS sore LV

'The people were asking me: "Where did you come from? When did you come?" "Claudia and me came by plane, Claudia together with her husband and child. We came to the hospital to see a doctor. There are sores on her arms and legs."'

(12) *Mi uke romape, uke tripela. Eva Loteyo nake. Uke tripela solo. Ko bo komiye uke haus sikyo mape.*
mi uke ro=mape uke tripela Eva Lote-yo nake
then we.EXCL EMPH=stay.PL we.EXCL three(TP) Eva Lote-LOC stay
uke tripela solo ko bo komiye uke haus_sik-yo mape
we.EXCL three(TP) only I word hide we.EXCL hospital-LOC stay.PL

'Well, we stay (on), the three of us. Eva is staying in Lote. Only we three

(are in town). I hide the news (that) we are in the hospital (for outpatient treatment).'

(13) *So ko ar mueli uke yip riyo mape. Ari ari, ko bo komiyemaeu. Yip nukopi ari. Yip bisoppi. Yip nuko elep, yena upuna pulupi nuko rili.*
so ko ar mueli uke yip ri-yo mape ari ari ko bo
so I NEG talk.to we.EXCL house DIST-LOC stay.PL no no I word
komiye_maeu yip nuko-pi ari yip bisop-pi yip nuko
hide_belong.to house we.INCL-POSS no house bishop-POSS house we.INCL
elep yena upuna pulupi nuko rili
2SG.POSS.EMPH people alright come.PL we.INCL see.O.ANIM.PL
'I don't talk (about the fact) that we are staying in that house. No, no, I hide the news as mine. The house doesn't belong to us. It is the bishop's house. Were it our house or yours, (then) alright, the people may come to visit us.'

(14) *Yena ko saipop: "Ine mono mole?" "Ko ar saupi uke sarereno molam? Dokta am ar mueli. Am bo malomaye. Aepu kep am ar sui. Yala asa muelnam bo. Yala uke opono molam yala uke auno molam."*
yena ko sa-ipi-p ine mono mole ko ar saupi uke
people I ask-1SG.OR-PC you.PL when go.PL I NEG know we.EXCL
sarere-no mole-m dokta am ar mueli am bo malomaye
Saturday-INS go.PL-POS doctor yet NEG talk.to yet word listen.carefully
aepu kep am ar sui yala asa mueli-ne-m bo yala
sore 3SG.POSS yet NEG die MOD how talk.to-3SG.OR-POS word MOD
uke opo-no mole-m yala uke au-no mole-m
we.EXCL car-INS go.PL-POS MOD we.EXCL plane-INS go.PL-POS
'The people were asking me: "When do you go (back)?" (I replied:) "I don't know, maybe we'll leave on Saturday. The doctor doesn't say it yet. We (have) still to listen to his words. Her sores aren't healed yet. He cannot say anything to her. We might go by car, we might go by plane."'

(15) *Yena mi ko saipop: "De eska pulo, de eska pulo?"*
yena mi ko sa-ipi-p de eska pulo de eska pulo
people again I ask-1SG.OR-PC you when come.PP you when come.PP
'The people kept asking me: "When did you come? When did you come?"'

F.11 Bo Milipiro

Introduction

The story *Bo Milipiro* 'Mili's sickness' was told by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in January 2007. Mili is Margaret Osi's five year old granddaughter who had to undergo an operation at Vanimo hospital.

Summary & background

At one point, Mili, the daughter of Charles Osi and his wife Imelda, had to be taken to the hospital in Vanimo for treatment. She was suffering from a serious wound that could not be treated in the village of Ossima. It was not clear what the cause of this severe, ulcerated wound was. Mili's mother could not accompany her because of their other four children. So Margaret Osi went to the hospital together with Mili and stayed with her during the long weeks of treatment. After the ulcer had been successfully excised, a skin transfer was necessary. The doctor removed a piece of skin from Mili's thigh.

Ulcerating infections under the skin are quite common in the forest. Some of them heal on their own. Others can be cured with a special antibiotic. If such medication is not available, the inflammation may become so severe that a sepsis is possible. Then an operation is required.

Parallel text

Ai Milipi yilauyo pulo. Opono pulo, lakiyoko, woko Vanimoyo. Ko muelpup: "Epee, de ruri kopi wokap haus sikyo! Aepu ikoina pi. Aepu kana po." Dokta muelien: "Deyo yala haus sikyo wonake. Aepu bueyo pusiyekap!" Ko Mili wepulo. Marasin pono aepuyo, lolono, dokta muelo: "Fonde operesenyo le, de ni kepem! De yala lam." Fonde punipino tenklokno lo. Aepu dûkû ikoiele. Dokta kiniyo riyemayo. Ppulae, sut ponamo. Yeniyo wenepu. Nanayo puenpo, sesiyepiyo. Aepu ppulae puppuli polip. Marasin pono, aepuyo lolono. Mili wemipu

Mili's father came to the village. He came by car, picked Mili up and brought her to Vanimo. He said to me: "Mother, accompany my child to the hospital! The ulcer is big, it grew very fast." After Mili's examination the doctor said to us: "The two of you stay together in the hospital now. But first you go and wash the ulcer in the sea!" Then I brought Mili back to the ward. She got medicine on the ulcer, and it was dressed. The doctor said to her: "Thursday you undergo the surgery. You must not eat anything,

yeniyo, yeni koyopi. Yeniyo nuweikûpu. Yeniyo nuip aua klokni. Riyopuno puana, ko muelpup: "Bubu, ko ni muli." Nes: "Kenem, umul maki amapoipe!" "Bubu, ko el sui, ni muli!" Ko ni ponamo, ya yûr dû yûr su roise. No. Ya kesiyo.

you just come." Thursday morning at 10 o'clock she went to the treatment room. The ulcer smelled strongly. The doctor looked carefully at everything. It looked bad. He gave her an injection. The nurses carried her to the operation table. The doctor cut with a lancet. He cut the ulcer out. The ulcer is bad. There were depositions of fat. He put medicine on the ulcer and dressed it. Then they brought Mili to her bed, to our bed. They laid her down on the bed. She was sleeping for one hour. Then she woke up and said to me: "Granny, I want to eat." The nurse said: "She must not eat! First her mind should be clear." After a while Mili said again: "Granny, I am hungry and want to eat." I gave her some food, sago with chicken meat and eggs. She ate. She finished the sago.

Aepu ikil am poli, puppuli polip. Tunde seken operesen lo. Nanano puenpo, sesiyepiyo, aepu suelpiyo. Lolono, wemipu yeniyo. Wemipu yeniyo nuweikûpu. Aua klokni nuip, bo mulanapop: "Epo ko ni, pili yasiyap! Ekuyo laye." Puana: "Ko aiyo le." Mi due nu, due nuro. Mipuana: "Bubu, ko el sui. Ko ni pi." Bo mulanapi layepana, kuru. Puaku maki pi. "Ni ko powaip!" Ko wal dû yûr su roise yano ponamo. Banok, bakesiyok.

The ulcer was still dirty. There were still depositions of fat. On Tuesday she underwent the second surgery. The doctor cut with a small knife, cut along the ulcer, and excised it. He dressed her wound. Then they brought her here to her bed. They brought her here and laid her down on the bed. She slept for one hour and was talking confused things: "I eat faeces, spread a cloth! Put it on my behind." She woke up: "I go to my father." She slept again and was sound asleep. Then she woke up again: "Granny, I am hungry, I do eat." She quit babbling nonsense. It had come to an end. Her head was fine. "Give me something to

eat!" repeated Mili. I gave her fish and eggs with sago. She has eaten it up. She finished all the food.

Ukenakap. Yena kiniyo mapap wot operesenpiyo. Aepu solo loloulipop wîs dupua. Aepu milolap, milolap, loloulipop. Dokta aepu riyeno: "Aepu depi maki. Pepualso bapok. Aeppu pon suli." Dokta muelo: "Ko lil depi riyeipe." Lil aska. Dokta Wi ko musiyo: "De ko upuna wulimonpi lil riye. Milipiso upuna, riye solo pi. Dedukoyo ilei." Dokta lil riyeno. Lil poro. Lil Charlespi riye: "Lil depi upuna, Milipiso." Lil wepulo. Mili yeniyo nuip, lil sutyo po. Lil sut mono na, ppae mono na. Ain riyo koliyo nes lil riyo koliyo. Lil dop kepyo lo. So solo nakap, lil leip. Amakesiyowole. Bakesiyowoloko, aska. Sut pûke, an plastano penei. Lil mi yala keminem.

We remained staying together. Many people were staying in the surgery ward. For two months, the nurses just kept dressing Mili's ulcer. They redressed the ulcer again and again. They kept dressing it. One day the doctor examined her wound again: "Your ulcer is good. It has become like sound flesh. It is red, with straight closing edges." The doctor said to her: "Before you go home, I'll check your blood." There aren't enough red blood cells. Doctor Wi sent me for a blood sample: "Please follow me kindly to check your blood. In case it is like Mili's, alright. Only to check it, let's go." The doctor checked my blood for Mili's benefit. He took some blood. Then he checked her father Charles's blood: "Your blood is alright, it is like Mili's." So they brought blood of him in order to infuse it Mili. Mili lay on the bed. They prepared the blood transfusion. The blood entered through the needle and flowed through the blood vessel. There was a metal stand. The nurse hung the blood bag there. The blood went into Mili's body. Mili was staying like this; the blood was flowing. It has still to be used up. Now it is used up. No blood is left in the bag. The nurse took away the needle and pressed a bandage on the crook of her arm. Now the blood won't come out.

Koyo inakap, Dokta muelien: "De operesenyo le. Ko dop pili depi srene. Pili monina srene aepuyo pi. Aepuyo panapne." Mili replied: "Ko ba muli!" "De lap! De epemna upuna lam!" Umul kep nek, "Ko le operesenyo." Yip bîyo lupuana, sut ponamo. Due nuip. Nes dupua, nes kini dokta kini wonino. Bo ar muel. Aepu nepeino, pusiyono. Aepu maki. Bou pili srono, aepuyo pono. Riyopuno aepu lolono, bou lolono. Nes wemon yeniyo. Nes klokni nuweiko numuelna nuro. Puana, "Ko el sui. Ni muli." Ko ya namo yûr su wal roise. Kesiyei. Ko nes muelno: "Aepu sipine, ikoina lolono. Ikoina kikipiyo. Minepeinap." Nes ko boi malo. Auna lolono. Upuna ar sipi. Aepu sipi kep as. Nes muelien: "Due an baka dupua!" Koyo due an baka dupua inakap. "Mili de awe! Uke aepu depi nepei." Kenepeipno dob aepu riyeno: "Aepu depi maki." Aepu epi pusiyeno, marasin peneino, aepuyo lolono. Koyo yeniyo ilo. Koyo inakap, dokta Wi pulo: "Deyo yala Fraideno ilei." Pulo, muel: "De lap, kuru. De yilauyo lap! Deyo yilauyo ilap!"

The two of us stayed on. The doctor informed us: "You need to undergo a further surgery. I will scrape off a piece of skin from you. Scrape off a small piece and put it on the ulcer. I'll put it on the ulcer for you to let it heal completely." Mili replied: "I don't want to." Doctor Wi repeated: "You go, please you should go quickly." She thought about it: "I will go for the surgery." She went into the treatment pavilion. They gave her an injection. She fell asleep. Two nurses, no, a nurse and a doctor each called her. She didn't answer. They undressed the ulcer and washed it. The ulcer is good. The doctor scraped off a piece of skin from her thigh and put it on the wound. Then they dressed her ulcer and dressed her thigh. The nurse brought her to the bed. One nurse laid her down before she slept for a long time. She awoke: "I am hungry and want to eat." I gave her sago with eggs and fish. She finished the food. Later I said to the nurse: "Her ulcer hurts, you dressed it tightly. It held too tightly, please take off her bandage!" The nurse listened to me. She redressed her wound carefully. Alright, it doesn't hurt anymore. No hurting ulcer. Soon the nurse said to us: "Seven days!" So we stayed on for seven more days. "Mili, come, we'll undress your ulcer!" Having undressed it, they looked thoroughly at her wound: "Your ulcer is healing well." They washed the edges of her ulcer, pressed medicine upon the

wound, and redressed it for her. We went back to our bed and were staying on, until Doctor Wi came: "The two of you will leave on Friday." Some days later he came and said: "You leave now, it is finished. Go to your village! You two may return to the village!"

Koyo Waisan Camp ilo. Koyo due dupua inakap. Ai kep ka hairimpo. Mili mike lo yilauyo. Ko boyo lo due bano. Ko Theresiayo opo ikoino iloi. Simon koyo ukel. Junksenyo wilikûno, koyo dorno iloi dupuni. Jerry disei kopi wonino. Yilau kepyo nakap, koyo riyo inu yip kepyo. Ako kep yûr si pewo si. Ya aska. Yûr pewono koyo inoi. Uke kumune due sap. Yûr bo mo. Yaep bo mo "kukukuku", yipp bo mo "nananana", yopp bo mo "kopokopo lolololo". Duruwa. Uke dueyo puana. Sû mappo pewo si. Ipino waeupp si biper si. Puliyo ipino layewo. Pupuol polip pupuol nisi. Wîlyo wapo. Ko powa Theresia namo. Biper waeupp roise, koyo pewono ino, Theresia ruri kep roise Joanna. Kukunopno uke molo dorno monomno. Uke moloro pu Pualyo, uke pulmopip. Uke pul komopipno uke mapap pewo ilo. Molo yilauyo moloro yilauyo paeau.

We went to Waisan Camp and were staying there for two days. Mili's father hired a car, and Mili went back to the village first. I went later, three days later. Theresia and me went on a big truck. Simon picked us up. At the junction he let us off, and we went by foot until night. We called out for Jerry, my brother. We were staying in his village and slept there, in his house. His wife cooked chicken, and she cooked bananas. There was no sago. We ate the chicken with bananas. We all slept. Then the rooster crowed. Birds called "kukukuku", the wild fowl called "nananana", other birds called "kopokopo lolololo". It was dawn. We rose from sleep. Jerry's wife lit a fire and cooked bananas. In a pot she cooked eel and possum. She took it off the fire. She put the cooked food aside with the pot. The heat still lasted. The heat has ceased. She served it in a dish. She gave some to me and gave some to Theresia. We ate possum and eel with bananas, me and Theresia together with her child Joanna. Having eaten we walked along the trail. We went to the Pual river and forded it. When we had crossed, we were sitting a while and

	ate bananas. Then we walked on to our village. We walked to the village of Ossima and arrived there.
Bo kuru.	The story is finished.

Glossed text

(1) *Ai Milipi yilauyo pulo. Opono pulo, lakiyoko, woko Vanimoyo.*
ai Mili-pi yilau-yo pulo opo-no pulo lakiye-ko
father Mili-POSS village-LOC come.PP car-INS come.PP fetch-RTS
woko Vanimo-yo
accompany.PP Vanimo-LOC
'Mili's father came to the village. He came by car, picked (Mili) up, and brought her to Vanimo.'

(2) *Ko muelpup: "Epee, de ruri kopi wokap haus sikyo! Aepu ikoina pi. Aepu kana po."*
ko mueli-ipi-p epe-e de ruri ko-pi woke-p
I talk.to-1SG.OR-PC mother-VOC you child 1SG-POSS accompany-IMP
haus_sik-yo aepu ikoi-na pi aepu kana po
hospital-LOC ulcer big-ADV do ulcer fast do.PP
'He said to me: "Mother, accompany my child to the hospital! The ulcer is big, it grew very fast."'

(3) *Dokta muelien: "Deyo yala haus sikyo wonake. Aepu bueyo pusiyekap!"*
dokta mueli-en deyo yala haus_sik-yo wo-nake aepu
doctor talk.to-NSG.OR.PP you.DU now hospital-LOC ACCOM-sit ulcer
bue-yo pusiye-ke-p
sea-LOC wash-INGR-IMP
'The doctor said to us: "The two of you stay together in the hospital now. You (two) go and wash the ulcer in the sea."'[9]

(4) *Ko Mili wepulo. Marasin pono aepuyo, lolono, dokta muelo: "Fonde operesenyo le, de ni kepem! De yala lam."*
ko Mili wepulo marasin pi-no aepu-yo lole-no dokta
I Mili bring.PP medicine do-3SG.OR.PP ulcer-LOC tie-3SG.OR.PP doctor
mueli-no Fonde operesen-yo le de ni k-pi-m de
talk.to-3SG.OR.PP Thursday surgery-LOC go you eat PROH-do-PROH you

[9]Salt water has disinfectant effects on wounds.

yala le-m
MOD go-POS
'I brought Mili (back). She got medicine on the ulcer and it was dressed. The doctor said to her: "Thursday you undergo the surgery. You must not eat (anything), you just come."'

(5) *Fonde punipino tenklokno lo. Aepu dûkû ikoiele. Dokta kiniyo riyemayo. Ppulae, sut ponamo.*
Fonde punipino ten_klok-no lo aepu dûkû ikoiele dokta
Thursday morning ten.a.clock-INS go.PP ulcer smell very.big doctor
kiniyo riyemayo ppulae sut ponamo
all look.carefully.O.INANIM.PP bad injection give.3SG.OR.PP
'Thursday morning at 10 o'clock she went (to the treatment room). The ulcer smelled strongly. The doctor looked carefully at everything. (It looked) bad. He gave her an injection.'

(6) *Yeniyo wenepu. Nanayo puenpo, sesiyepiyo. Aepu ppulae puppuli polip. Marasin pono, aepuyo lolono. Mili wemipu yeniyo, yeni koyopi.*
yeni-yo wenepu nana-no puenpo sesiyepiyo
bed-LOC carry.thither.PL.A.PP small.knife-INS cut.meat.PP take.away.PP
aepu ppulae puppuli poli-p marasin pi-no aepu-yo
ulcer bad fat be.there-PC medicine do-3SG.OR.PP ulcer-LOC
lole-no Mili wemipu yeni-yo yeni koyo-pi
tie-3SG.OR.PP Mili bring.hither.PL.A.PP bed-LOC bed we.DU.EXCL-POSS
'(The nurses) carried her to the operation table. (The doctor) cut with a lancet. He cut (the ulcer) out. The ulcer is bad. There were (depositions of) fat. He put medicine on the ulcer and dressed it. They brought Mili to her bed, to our bed.'[10]

(7) *Yeniyo nuweikûpu. Yeniyo nuip aua klokni. Riyopuno puana, ko muelpup: "Bubu, ko ni muli." Nes: "Kenem, umul maki amapoipe!"*
yeni-yo nuweyekûpu yeni-yo nui-p aua klokni riyopuno
bed-LOC lay.down.hither.PL.A.PP bed-LOC sleep-PC hour one then
puana ko mueli-ipi-p bubu ko ni muli nes
wake.up.PP I talk.to-1SG.OR-PC granny(TP) I eat want nurse
k-ni-m umul maki am-a-pi-ipe
PROH-eat-PROH mind good GRAD-IMP3-LV-ANT
'They laid her down on the bed. She was sleeping on the bed for one hour.

[10]Margaret and Mili share a bed in the hospital.

Then she woke up and said to me: "Granny, I want to eat." The nurse (said): "She must not eat! First (her) mind should be clear."'

(8) *"Bubu, ko el sui, ni muli!" Ko ni ponamo, ya yûr dû yûr su roise. No. Ya kesiyo.*
bubu ko el_sui ni muli ko ni ponamo ya yûr
granny(TP) I be.hungry eat want I eat give.3SG.OR.PP sago chicken
dû yûr su roise no ya kesiyo
meat chicken egg with eat.PP sago use.up.PP
'"Granny, I am hungry and want to eat." I gave her to eat, sago together with chicken meat and eggs. She ate. She finished the sago.'

(9) *Aepu ikil am poli, puppuli polip. Tunde seken operesen lo. Nanano puenpo, sesiyepiyo, aepu suelpiyo. Lolono, wemipu yeniyo.*
aepu ikil am poli puppuli poli-p Tunde seken operesen
ulcer dirt still be.there fat be.there-PC Tuesday second(TP) surgery
lo nana-no puenpo sesiyepiyo aepu suelipiyo
go.PP small.knife-INS cut.meat.PP take.away.PP ulcer cut.away.PP
lole-no wemipu yeni-yo
tie-3SG.OR.PP bring.hither.PL.A.PP bed-LOC
'The ulcer is still dirty. There were (still depositions of) fat. On Tuesday she underwent the second surgery. (The doctor) cut with a small knife, cut along the ulcer, and cut it out. He dressed her wound. (Then) they brought her here to her bed.'

(10) *Wemipu yeniyo nuweikûpu. Aua klokni nuip, bo mulanapop: "Epo ko ni, pili yasiyap! Ekuyo laye."*
wemipu yeni-yo nuweyekûpu aua klokni nui-p
bring.hither.PL.A.PP bed-LOC lay.down.hither.PL.A.PP hour one sleep-PC
bo mulane-pi-p epo ko ni pili yasiye-p eku-yo laye
speech babble-LV-PC faeces I eat cloth place-IMP behind-LOC lay
'They brought her here and laid her down on the bed. She was sleeping for one hour and was talking confused things: "I eat faeces, spread a cloth! Put it on (my) behind."'

(11) *Puana: "Ko aiyo le." Mi due nu, due nuro. Mipuana: "Bubu, ko el sui. Ko ni pi." Bo mulanapi layepana, kuru. Puaku maki pi.*
puana ko ai-yo le mi due_nu due_nu=ro
wake.up.PP I father-LOC go again sleep.PP sleep.PP=EMPH

mi-puana bubu ko el_sui ko ni pi bo mulane-pi
ITER-wake.up.PP granny I be.hungry I eat do speech babble-LV
layepana kuru puaku maki pi
leave.behind.PP be.finished head good LV
'She woke up: "I go to my father." She slept again and was sound asleep. (Then) she woke up again: "Granny, I am hungry, I do eat." She quit babbling nonsense. It came to an end. Her head is fine.'

(12) *"Ni ko powaip!" Ko wal dû yûr su roise yano ponamo. Banok, bakesiyok.*
ni ko powai-p ko wal dû yûr su roise ya-no
eat I give.1SG.OR-IMP I fish meat chicken egg with sago-INS
ponamo ba-ni-ko ba-kesiye-ko
give.3SG.OR.PP FAC-eat-FAC FAC-use.up-FAC
'"Give me to eat!" I gave her fish and eggs with sago. She has eaten it up. She has finished it.'

(13) *Ukenakap. Yena kiniyo mapap wot operesenpiyo. Aepu solo loloulipop wîs dupua. Aepu milolap, milolap, loloulipop.*
uke-nake-p yena kiniyo mape-p wot operesen-pi-yo aepu solo
jointly-sit-PC people many sit.PL-PC ward surgery-POSS-LOC ulcer only
lole-uli-pi-p wîs dupua aepu mi-lole-p mi-lole-p lole-uli-pi-p
tie-PROG-LV-PC moon two ulcer ITER-tie-PC ITER-tie-PC tie-PROG-LV-PC
'We were staying together. Many people were staying in the surgery ward. For two months, (the nurses) just kept dressing the ulcer. They redressed the ulcer again and again. They kept dressing it.'

(14) *Dokta aepu riyeno: "Aepu depi maki. Pepualso bapok. Aeppu pon suli."*
dokta aepu riye-no aepu de-pi maki pepual-so
doctor ulcer see.O.INANIM-3SG.OR.PP ulcer 2SG-POSS good sound.flesh-SIM
ba-pi-ko aeppu pon suli
FAC-LV-FAC red nose close
'The doctor looked closely at her ulcer: "Your ulcer is good. It has become like sound flesh. It is red, (with) straight closing edges."'

(15) *Dokta muelo: "Ko lil depi riyeipe." Lil aska.*
dokta mueli-no ko lil de-pi riye-ipe lil aska
doctor talk.to-3SG.OR.PP I blood 2SG-POSS see.O.INANIM-ANT blood none
'The doctor said to her: "Before (you go home) I'll check your blood." There is no blood.'[11]

[11]That means, there aren't enough red blood cells, and Mili needs a transfusion.

(16) *Dokta Wi ko musiyo: "De ko upuna wulimonpi lil riye. Milipiso upuna, riye solo pi. Dedukoyo ilei."*
dokta Wi ko musiyo de ko upuna wulimini-ipi lil
doctor Wi I send.PP you I kindly follow.hither-1SG.OR blood
riye Mili-pi-so upuna riye solo pi dedukoyo
see.O.INANIM Mili-POSS-SIM alright see.O.INANIM only LV we.DU.INCL
i-le
DU.S-go
'Doctor Wi sent me (for a blood sample): "Please follow me kindly to check your blood. (In case) it is like Mili's, alright. Only to check it, let's go."'

(17) *Dokta lil riyeno. Lil poro. Lil Charlespi riye: "Lil depi upuna, Milipiso." Lil wepulo.*
dokta lil riye-no lil pi=ro lil Charles-pi
doctor blood see.O.INANIM-3SG.OR.PP blood do=EMPH blood Charles-POSS
riye lil de-pi upuna Mili-pi-so lil wepulo
see.O.INANIM blood 2SG-POSS alright Mili-POSS-SIM blood bring.PP
'The doctor checked the blood for (Mili's) benefit. He takes some blood. (Then) he checks (her father) Charles's blood: "Your blood is alright, it is like Mili's." (Later) they brought (Charles') blood.'

(18) *Mili yeniyo nuip, lil sutyo po. Lil sut mono na, ppae mono na.*
Mili yeni-yo nui-p lil sut-yo po lil sut mono
Mili bed-LOC sleep-PC blood injection-LOC do.PP blood injection road
na ppae mono na
go.inside blood.vessel road go.inside
'Mili was lying on the bed. They prepared the blood transfusion. The blood entered through the needle and flowed through the blood vessel.'

(19) *Ain riyo koliyo nes lil riyo koliyo. Lil dop kepyo lo. So solo nakap, lil leip. Amakesiyowole. Bakesiyowoloko, aska.*
ain ri-yo koliyo nes lil ri-yo koliyo lil dop
iron DIST-LOC hang.PP nurse blood DIST-LOC hang.PP blood body
kep-yo lo so solo nake-p lil le-p
3SG.POSS-LOC go.PP like only sit-PC blood go-PC
am-a-kesiye_wole ba-kesiye-wole-ko aska
GRAD-IMP3-use.up_move.further FAC-use.up-CPL-FAC none
'(There was) a metal stand. She hung it there. The nurse hung the blood bag there. The blood went into (Mili's) body. (Mili) was staying like this;

the blood was flowing. It still has to be used up. It is used up (now), none (is left).'

(20) *Sut pûke, an plastano penei. Lil mi yala keminem.*
sut pûke an plasta-no penei lil mi yala
injection take.away hand bandage-INS press blood again now
k-mini-m
PROH-come.hither-PROH
'(The nurse) takes away the needle and presses a bandage on the (crook of her) arm. Now the blood won't come out again.'

(21) *Koyo inakap, Dokta muelien: "De operesenyo le. Ko dop pili depi srene. Pili monina srene aepuyo pi. Aepuyo panapne."*
koyo i-nake-p dokta mueli-en de operesen-yo le ko
we.DU.EXCL DU.S-sit-PC doctor talk.to-NSG.OR.PP you surgery-LOC go I
dop pili depi sre-ne pili moni-na sre-ne
body skin 2SG-POSS scrape.off-3SG.OR skin small-ADV scrape.off-3SG.OR
aepu-yo pi aepu-yo pane-pi-ne
ulcer-LOC do ulcer-LOC put.thither-LV-3SG.OR
'The two of us were staying on, and the doctor said to us: "You (need to) undergo a (further) surgery. I will scrape off a piece of skin from you. Scrape off a small piece and do it on the ulcer. (I'll) put it on the ulcer for you (to heal)."'

(22) *"Ko ba muli!" "De lap! De epemna upuna lam!" Umul kep nek, "ko le operesenyo."*
ko ba muli de le-p de epemna upuna le-m umul kep
I NEG.EMPH want you go-IMP you quickly kindly go-POS heart 3SG.POSS
nek ko le operesen-yo
erect.PP I go surgery-LOC
'(Mili replied:) "I don't want to." (Doctor Wi repeated:) "You go, please you should go quickly." She thought about it: "I will go for the surgery."'

(23) *Yip bîyo lupuana, sut ponamo. Due nuip. Nes dupua, nes kini dokta kini wonino. Bo ar muel. Aepu nepeino, pusiyono. Aepu maki. Bou pili srono, aepuyo pono.*
yip bîyo lupuana sut ponamo due_nui-p nes
house inside enter.thither.PP injection give.3SG.OR.PP sleep-PC nurse
dupua nes kini dokta kini woni-no bo ar muel
two nurse one.PART doctor one.PART call-3SG.OR.PP speech NEG talk.PP

aepu nepei-no pusiye-no aepu maki bou pili
ulcer undress-3SG.OR.PP wash-3SG.OR.PP ulcer good thigh skin
sre-no aepu-yo pi-no
scrape.off-3SG.OR.PP ulcer-LOC do-3SG.OR.PP
'She went into the treatment pavilion. They gave her an injection. She was sleeping. Two nurses, (no), a nurse and a doctor each called her. She did not talk. They undressed the ulcer and washed it. The ulcer is good. He scraped off a piece of her skin from the thigh and put it on her wound.'

(24) *Riyopuno aepu lolono, bou lolono. Nes wemon yeniyo. Nes klokni nuweiko numuelna nuro. Puana, "Ko el sui. Ni muli." Ko ya namo yûr su wal roise. Kesiyei.*
riyopuno aepu lole-no bou lole-no nes wemon
then ulcer tie-3SG.OR.PP thigh tie-3SG.OR.PP nurse bring.hither.PP
yeni-yo nes klokni nuweye-ko numuelna
bed-LOC nurse one lay.down.for.resting-RTS for.a.long.time
nu=ro puana ko el_sui ni muli ko ya namo
sleep.PP=EMPH wake.up.PP I be.hungry eat want I sago give.3SG.OR.PP
yûr su wal roise kesiye
chicken egg fish with use.up
'Then they dressed her ulcer and dressed her thigh. The nurse brought her to the bed. One nurse laid her down before she slept for a long time. She awoke: "I am hungry and want to eat." I gave her sago with eggs and fish. She finishes (the food).'

(25) *Ko nes muelno: "Aepu sipine, ikoina lolono. Ikoina kikipiyo. Minepeinap."*
ko nes mueli-no aepu sipi-ne ikoi-na lole-no
I nurse talk.to-3SG.OR.PP ulcer hurt-3SG.OR big-ADV tie-3SG.OR.PP
ikoi-na kikipiyo mi-nepei-ne-p
big-ADV hold.strong.PP ITER-undress-3SG.OR-IMP
'I said to the nurse: "Her ulcer hurts, you dressed it tightly. It held too tightly, take off her bandage!"'

(26) *Nes ko boi malo. Auna lolono. Upuna ar sipi. Aepu sipi kep as. Nes muelien: "Due an baka dupua!" Koyo due an baka dupua inakap.*
nes ko bo malo auna lole-no upuna ar sipi aepu sipi
nurse I word hear.PP carefully tie-3SG.OR.PP alright NEG hurt ulcer hurt
kep as nes mueli-en due an_baka dupua koyo
3SG.POSS none nurse talk.to-NSG.OR.PP night five two we.DU.EXCL

due an_baka dupua i-nake-p
night five two DU.S-sit-PC
'The nurse listened to me. She (re)dressed her (wound) carefully. Alright, it doesn't hurt (anymore). No hurting ulcer. (Soon) the nurse said to us: "Seven days!" (So) we were staying on for seven days.'

(27) *"Mili de awe! Uke aepu depi nepei." Kenepeipno dob aepu riyeno: "Aepu depi maki." Aepu epi pusiyeno, marasin peneino, aepuyo lolono.*
Mili de awe uke aepu de-pi nepei k-nepei-p-no
Mili you come.IMP we.EXCL ulcer 2SG-POSS undress SUB-undress-PC-CO
dob aepu riye-no aepu de-pi maki aepu epi
eye ulcer see.O.INANIM-3SG.OR.PP ulcer 2SG-POSS good ulcer side
pusiye-no marasin penei-no aepu-yo lole-no
wash-3SG.OR.PP medicine press-3SG.OR.PP ulcer-LOC tie-3SG.OR.PP
'"Mili, come, we undress your ulcer!" Having undressed it, they looked thoroughly at her ulcer: "Your ulcer is good." They washed the edges of her ulcer, pressed medicine upon the wound, and redressed it for her.'

(28) *Koyo yeniyo ilo. Koyo inakap, dokta Wi pulo: "Deyo yala Fraideno ilei." Pulo, muel: "De lap, kuru. De yilauyo lap! Deyo yilauyo ilap!"*
koyo yeni-yo i-lo koyo i-nake-p dokta Wi
we.DU.EXCL bed-LOC DU.S-go.PP we.DU.EXCL DU.S-sit-PC doctor Wi
pulo deyo yala Fraide-no i-le pulo muel de le-p
come.PP you.DU MOD Friday-INS DU.S-go come.PP talk.to.PP you go-IMP
kuru de yilau-yo le-p deyo yilau-yo i-le-p
be.finished you village-LOC go-IMP you.DU village-LOC DU.S-go-IMP
'We went (back) to the bed and were staying on. (Then) Doctor Wi came: "The two of you leave on Friday." (Some days later) he came and said: "You leave now, it is finished. Go to (your) village! You two return to the village!"'

(29) *Koyo Waisan Camp ilo. Koyo due dupua inakap. Ai kep ka hairimpo. Mili mike lo yilauyo.*
koyo Waisan_Camp i-lo koyo due dupua
we.DU.EXCL Waisan.Camp DU.S-go.PP we.DU.EXCL night two
i-nake-p ai kep ka hairim-po Mili mike lo
DU.S-sit-PC father 3SG.POSS car(TP) hire(TP)-LV.PP Mili first go.PP
yilau-yo
village-LOC
'We went to Waisan Camp and were staying there for two days. Her father hired a car, and Mili went (back) to the village first.'

(30) *Ko boyo lo due bano. Ko Theresiayo opo ikoino iloi. Simon koyo ukel. Junksenyo wilikûno, koyo dorno iloi dupuni.*
ko boyo lo due_ba-no ko Theresia-yo opo ikoi-no
I later go.PP three.days.later-INS I Theresia-LOC car big-INS
i-lo Simon koyo ukel junksen-yo
DU.S-go.PP Simon we.DU.EXCL take.with.oneself.PP junction-LOC
wilikûno koyo dor-no i-lo dupuni
drop.off.PP we.DU.EXCL foot-INS DU.S-go.PP night
'I went later, three days later. Theresia and I went on a big truck. Simon picked us up. At the junction he let us off, and we went by foot until night.'

(31) *Jerry disei kopi wonino. Yilau kepyo nakap, koyo riyo inu yip kepyo. Ako kep yûr si pewo si. Ya aska. Yûr pewono koyo inoi.*
Jerry disei ko-pi woni-no yilau kep-yo nake-p
Jerry brother 1SG-POSS call-3SG.OR.PP village 3SG.POSS-LOC sit-PC
koyo ri-yo i-nu yip kep-yo ako kep
we.DU.EXCL DIST-LOC DU.S-sleep.PP house 3SG.POSS-LOC wife 3SG.POSS
yûr si pewo si ya aska yûr pewo-no
chicken cook.PP banana cook.PP sago none chicken banana-INS
koyo i-no
we.DU.EXCL DU.A-eat.PP
'We called out for Jerry, my brother. We were staying in his village and slept there, in his house. His wife cooked chicken, and she cooked bananas. (There was) no sago. We ate the chicken with bananas.'

(32) *Uke kumune due sap. Yûr bo mo. Yaep bo mo "kukukuku", yipp bo mo "nananana", yopp bo mo "kopokopo lolololo". Duruwa. Uke dueyo puana.*
uke kumune due_sap yûr bo mu yaep bo
we.EXCL all.COLL sleep.PL.PP rooster sound say.PP kind.of.bird sound
mu kukukuku yipp bo mu nananana yopp bo
say.PP kukukuku wild.fowl sound say.PP nananana kind.of.bird sound
mu kopokopo lolololo duruwa uke due-yo puana
say.PP kopokopo lolololo dawn we.EXCL sleep-LOC rise.PP
'We all slept. (Then) the rooster crowed. Birds called "kukukuku", the wild fowl called "nananana", birds called "kopokopo lolololo". (It is) dawn. We rose from sleep.'

(33) *Sû mappo, pewo si. Ipino waeupp si biper si. Puliyo ipino layewo. Pupuol polip, pupuol nisi. Wîlyo wapo.*
sû_mappo pewo si ipi-no waeupp si biper si
light.fire.PP banana cook.PP pot-INS eel cook.PP possum cook.PP
puliyo ipi-no layo-we pupuol poli-p pupuol nisi
take.out.PP pot-INS lay.PP-TER heat be.there-PC heat become.cool
wîl-yo wapo
dish-LOC put.for.serving.PP
'(Jerry's wife) lit a fire and cooked bananas. In a pot she cooked eel and possum. She took it off (the fire), and she put (the cooked food) aside with the pot. The heat lasted, the heat ceases. She served it in a dish.'

(34) *Ko powa Theresia namo. Biper waeupp roise, koyo pewono ino, Theresia ruri kep roise Joanna.*
ko powa Theresia namo biper waeupp roise
I give.1SG.OR.PP Theresia give.3SG.OR.PP possum eel with
koyo pewo-no i-no Theresia ruri kep roise
we.DU.EXCL banana-INS DU.A-eat.PP Theresia child 3SG.POSS together
Joanna
Joanna
'She gave (some to) me and gave (some to) Theresia. We ate possum and eel with bananas, me and Theresia together with her child Joanna.'

(35) *Kukunopno uke molo dorno monomno. Uke moloro Pupualyo, uke pulmopip. Uke pul komopipno uke mapap pewo ilo. Molo yilauyo moloro yilauyo paeau.*
k-konupi-p-no uke molo dor-no monomno uke
SUB-eat.PL.O-PC-CO we.EXCL go.PL.PP foot-INS along.the.path we.EXCL
molo=ro pu Pual-yo uke pul_mopi-p uke
go.PL.PP=EMPH river Pual-LOC we.EXCL wade.a.creek-PC we.EXCL
pul_k-mopi-p-no uke mape-p pewo ilo
liquid_SUB-wade.a.creek-PC-CO we.EXCL sit.PL-PC banana eat.PL.A.PP
molo yilau-yo molo=ro yilau-yo paeau
go.PL.PP village-LOC go.PL.PP=EMPH village-LOC arrive
'Having eaten we walked along the trail. We went to the Pual river and forded it. When we had crossed we were sitting and ate bananas. (Then) we walked on to the village. We walked to (our) village and arrived there.'

(36) *Bo kuru.*
bo kuru
story be.finished
'The story is finished.'

G Episodes of Daily Life

This chapter features a loose collection of short texts, some of which are no longer than two sentences. They constitute colloquial Kilmeri speech that was not prompted by me. Margaret Osi, the author, speaks her mind freely. Here we get to witness her perception and interpretation of the world vibrating around her.

Some of these texts contribute to the understanding of Kilmeri social life today (Texts G.1, G.3, G.11, G.15, G.19). Other texts revolve around the themes of gardening, sago work, and hunting (Texts G.2, G.7, G.9, G.10, G.12, G.13, G.14, G.16, G.18, G.20). Also included are texts that express Margaret Osi's personal moods, which she wanted to share with me (Texts G.4, G.5, G.6, G.8, G.17).

I am just as grateful for these short texts as I am for the many long texts. They round off the picture of Margaret Osi's personality, who was indeed an outstanding woman. The reader may enjoy reading these episodes in special memory of her. She was well aware of the fact that her language and culture could not stand up to the developments of modern times, which have completely changed people's lives.

G.1 Ko Greenyo lo

Introduction

The text *Ko Greenyo lo* 'I went to Green' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Vanimo in March 2002.

Summary & background

The village of Green is the site of Green River High School in the Upper Sepik region, where Margaret's daughter Grace went to school after finishing 6th grade. Green River High School is a boarding school. However, students are expected to bring some food as school supplies are limited. Packages would sometimes be sent, but every now and then a family member would bring in some food. Margaret was fortunate to get a free flight to Green. For her this was a fantastic

experience. For the first time, she saw the mountains from above. Her daughter Grace almost couldn't believe she was seeing her mother on the school grounds. However, this brief reunion is not part of the story. On the return flight to Ossima, the fog lifted.

Parallel text

Ko loro Greenyo. Ol ba ikoiele! Ko ermue riyo. Ko ermue pulo Greenyo. Kukûnapno dob riyo pu po. Ru ikoiele po. Ol sowelayo. Dob ko asa riyem. Ko ru solo riyo. Yelo ko ar riyo. Ru solo poli. Ri kiniyo sowo, app. Ru kiniyo sowo.	I really went to Green. Such big mountains! I saw them for the first time. I came to Green for the first time. When the plane had gone down I saw that it rained. There was dense fog. It covered up the mountains. I couldn't see anything. I saw only fog. I didn't see the ground. There was only fog. It covered all the trees and the sky. Fog covered everything.
Au epi baka wiako. Au epi baka wi. Dob riyo ru epemna lo. Nini Ossimaka pulip.	The plane turned down to one side. Then it turned to the other side. Later I saw that the fog was lifting quickly. The sun was shining in the direction of Ossima.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko loro Greenyo. Ol ba ikoiele! Ko ermue riyo. Ko ermue pulo Greenyo.*
ko lo=ro Green-yo ol ba ikoiele ko ermue
I go.PP=EMPH Green-LOC mountain other very.big I for.the.first.time
riyo ko ermue pulo Green-yo
see.O.INANIM.PP I for.the.first.time come.PP Green-LOC
'I went to Green. Such big mountains! I saw them for the first time. I came to Green for the first time.'

(2) *Kukûnapno dob riyo pu po. Ru ikoiele po. Ol sowelayo.*
k-kûne-p-no dob riyo pu po ru ikoiele po
SUB-go.down-PC-CO eye see.O.INANIM.PP rain LV.PP fog very.big LV.PP
ol sowelayo
mountain cover.thoroughly.PP
'When (the plane) had gone down I saw (that) it rained. (There was) dense fog. It covered up the mountains.'

(3) *Dob ko asa riyem. Ko ru solo riyo. Yelo ko ar riyo. Ru solo poli.*
dob ko asa riye-m ko ru solo riyo yelo ko
eye I how see.O.INANIM-POS I fog only see.O.INANIM.PP ground I
ar riyo ru solo poli
NEG see.O.INANIM.PP fog only be.there
'I couldn't see (anything). I saw only fog. I didn't see the ground. There was only fog.'

(4) *Ri kiniyo sowo, app. Ru kiniyo sowo.*
ri kiniyo sowo app ru kiniyo sowo
tree all cover.PP sky fog all cover.PP
'It covered all the trees and the sky. Fog covered everything.'

(5) *Au epi baka wiako. Au epi baka wi.*
au epi baka wi-ako au epi baka wi
plane side other turn-DOWN.PP plane side other turn
'The plane turned down to one side. (Then) it turned to the other side.'[1]

(6) *Dob riyo ru epemna lo. Nini Ossimaka pulip.*
dob riyo ru epemna lo nini Ossima-ka puli-p
eye see.O.INANIM.PP fog fast go.PP sun Ossima-PATH shine-PC
'I saw (that) the fog lifted fast. Towards Ossima the sun was shining.'

[1]The aircraft flew in a curve and tilted from side to side.

G.2 Ri ini piowemon

Introduction

The text *Ri ini piowemon* 'A branch hit me' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Vanimo in March 2000.

Summary & background

Margaret had bad luck one day while working in her garden. She was trying to cut a branch from a tree that had already been felled. Unfortunately, the branch hit her on the forehead and caused a bruise. She must have been terrified by the accident because later she told me that she could just as easily have been killed. A bush knife is certainly not the best tool for chopping thick branches, but she had no axe at her disposal.

Parallel text

Ko seleyo lo. Ko sele pop. Ko ri sukap ripep. Ripep ini sukap. Ko neppino suelip. Baka ko dorno piyelayowe. Baka piowemon. Ri puaku kopi papiyo. Ko duwi. Riyopuno kiki kopi nowo. Soru ri ponyo poro, roke ko basuiko. De boyo pulero yala de David sane: "Margaret ari?" "Margaret basuik. Uke bîyo bararko."

I went to the garden. I was working in the garden. I was hewing off branches of a tree, a *ton*-tree. I was hewing off a branch of a *ton*-tree. I was hewing it off with the bush knife. One end of a branch I hold firmly with my foot. But the other end flipped against me. The branch hit and injured my head. I must have turned away. Then my forehead swelled up. If the branch had hit my face, then I would have died. Later on you would have come and asked David: "Margaret isn't there?" David had replied: "Margaret died. We buried her in a grave."

Glossed text

(1) *Ko seleyo lo. Ko sele pop. Ko ri sukap ripep. Ripep ini sukap.*
ko sele-yo lo ko sele pi-p ko ri suke-p ri_pep
I garden-LOC go.PP I garden do-PC I tree cut-PC ton(TP)-tree
ri_pep ini suke-p
ton(TP)-tree branch cut-PC
'I went to the garden. I was working in the garden. I was cutting a tree, a *ton*-tree. I was cutting a branch of a *ton*-tree.'

(2) *Ko neppino suelip. Baka ko dorno piyelayowe. Baka piowemon. Ri puaku kopi papiyo. Ko duwi.*
ko neppi-no sueli-p baka ko dor-no piyelayo-we baka
I bush.knife-INS cut-PC half I foot-INS trample.PP-TER half
piowe_mon ri puaku ko-pi papiyo ko
jump_come.hither.PP tree head 1SG-POSS injure.by.hitting.PP I
d-wi
LKH-turn
'I was cutting it with the bush knife. One end (of the branch) I hold firmly with my foot. (But) the other end flipped against me. The branch hit and injured my head. I must have turned away.'

(3) *Riyopuno kiki kopi nowo. Soru ri ponyo poro, roke ko basuiko.*
riyopuno kiki ko-pi nowo soru ri pon-yo po=ro
then forehead 1SG-POSS swell.PP if tree nose-LOC do.PP=EMPH
roke ko ba-sui-ko
then I FAC-die-FAC
'Then my forehead swelled up. If the branch (had) hit my face, then I would have died.'

(4) *De boyo pulero yala de David sane: "Margaret ari?"*
de boyo pule=ro yala de David sa-ne Margaret ari
you later come=EMPH soon you David ask-3SG.OR Margaret no
'Later on you (would) come and (would) ask David: "Margaret isn't there?"'

(5) *"Margaret basuik. Uke bîyo bararko."*
Margaret ba-sui-ko uke bî-yo ba-rari-ko
Margaret FAC-die-FAC we.EXCL hole-LOC FAC-bury-FAC
'"Margaret has died. We have buried her in a grave."'

G.3 Ko mimaripi

Introduction

The text *Ko mimaripi* 'I am sick again' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in January 2007.

Summary & background

Margaret often struggled to do her garden work. She loved this work, but was soon exhausted. Margaret suffered from various pains, especially after the accident with the cow (Text F.6). In such situations she felt somehow betrayed by her sons who did not support her properly. During my stays in field, her situation was improved because we shared all meals. I cooked rice for breakfast. We had a cup of tea and a nice bowl of rice with bananas or sugar every day before the language sessions. She loved starting the day that way.

Parallel text

Ko yip epiyo yesi yasiye. Ko yesi auna yasiye. Ko yelo ikoina rarpi. Ko minimari. Dop ikoina sipiwepi. Pakul sipi, paui sipi, kipi sipi. Ko mimaripi. Dop kiniyo sipiwepi. Ko so susup ikoina poro. Mi ko ikoina mari. Sele ikoina ko pino. Ruri ko ar mekiye. Ko ike an ikapno pi. Ko ana powaem? Luo ko ana powaem?

I plant *aibika*-shrubs next to the house. I plant the *aibika* slowly, and I dig the ground thoroughly. I come to be sick. My body hurts badly. My shoulder hurts, my collar bones hurt, and the back hurts. I am sick again. The whole body hurts all over. I guess the grass grows high. Now I am again really sick after working the garden so hard. My grown-up children don't help me. I myself do everything with my own hands. Who would give me anything? Who would give me money?

Glossed text

(1) *Ko yip epiyo yesi yasiye. Ko yesi auna yasiye. Ko yelo ikoina rarpi.*
ko yip epiyo yesi yasiye ko yesi auna yasiye ko yelo
I house next.to aibika plant I aibika slowly plant I ground
ikoi-na rari-pi
big-ADV dig-LV
'I plant *aibika*-shrubs next to the house. I plant the *aibika* slowly, and I dig the ground thoroughly.'

(2) *Ko minimari. Dop ikoina sipiwepi. Pakul sipi, paui sipi, kipi sipi. Ko mimaripi. Dop kiniyo sipiwepi.*
ko mini_mari dop ikoi-na sipi-wepi pakul sipi
I come.hither_be.sick body big-ADV hurt-QUANT.S shoulder hurt
paui sipi kipi sipi ko mi-mari-pi dop kiniyo sipi-wepi
collar.bone hurt back hurt I ITER-be.sick-LV body all hurt-QUANT.S
'I come to be sick. My body hurts badly. My shoulder hurts, my collar bones hurt, and the back hurts. I am sick again. The whole body hurts all over.'

(3) *Ko so susup ikoina poro. Mi ko ikoina mari. Sele ikoina ko pino.*
ko so susup ikoi-na pi=ro mi ko ikoi-na mari sele
I believe grass big-ADV LV=EMPH again I big-ADV be.sick garden
ikoi-na ko pi-no
big-ADV I LV-CO
'I believe the grass grows high. Now I am again really sick (after) working the garden so hard.'

(4) *Ruri ko ar mekiye. Ko ike an ikapno pi. Ko ana powaem? Luo ko ana powaem?*
ruri ko ar mekiye ko_ike an ikap-no pi ko ana
child I NEG help I.myself hand 1SG.POSS.EMPH-INS make I who
powai-m luo ko ana powai-m
give.1SG.OR-POS money I who give.1SG.OR-POS
'The (adult) children don't help me. I myself do (everything) with my own hands. Who would give me (anything)? Who would give me money?'

G.4 Ko yeriyo

Introduction

The text *Ko yeriyo* 'I was dreaming' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007.

Summary & background

Every now and then Margaret would share a dream she had dreamed the previous night. This time, she dreamed of me and my daughter Eva. Though she was sure the scene of the dream was in my country, the setting resembled the upper reaches of the Puwani River. Margaret mentions a second child who is probably a friend of Eva's who had visited us in Ossima a few years ago. Just like Eva, this girl had beautiful, curly, light-coloured hair. And Margaret always admired that kind of hair.

Parallel text

Ko deyo reyanawe yilau depiyo. Pu ikoiele, luo ikoi ulap. Eva ruwaesi ba roise pu epiyo ikûn deyo. Dob pokûnep olyo pokûnep. Ol inepi. Ko luoyo nakap puyo. Sû pulip. Ko riyo nakap. Eva ruri bayana koyo wepulo. Ko dob reyo: "Ruri eroke de anapi wepulo?" "Ko nunipi wepulo." Ruri baisui. Rumkari baisui. Mi yeniyo nakap. Sû beri kleina pulip. Ko meniyekoniyap. Baisui rumkari, seke kep maki. Ko pu lilika riye, luika riye. Luo ikoi walpuap ol ikoi roise. Mi ko puana. Kuru.

I met you two at your place. There was a very big river with big rocks. Eva and another small child went down along the river edge towards you. They were looking down, looking down here from the riverbank. They walked downriver along the bank. I was sitting on a rock in the river. A light was shining. I was sitting there. Eva brought an unknown child to me. I looked at her: "This child which you brought, whose child is it?" Eva replied: "I brought my uncle's child." A beautiful child. A beautiful girl. I was still sitting on a plank. A light burns, it was shining brightly. I was jealous. What a pretty girl, her hair is nice! I am looking upriver, I am looking downriver. Big rocks spread over the landscape, and there were big mountains. I woke up again. The dream is over.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko deyo reyanawe yilau depiyo. Pu ikoiele, luo ikoi ulap.*
ko deyo reyana-we yilau de-pi-yo pu ikoiele luo ikoi
I you.DU meet.PP-DU.O place 2SG-POSS-LOC river very.big rock big
ule-p
be.there.PL-PC
'I met you two of at your place. (There was) a very big river, and there were big rocks.'

(2) *Eva ruwaesi ba roise pu epiyo ikûn deyo. Dob pokûnep olyo pokûnep. Ol inepi.*
Eva ruwaesi ba roise pu epiyo i-kûn de-yo
Eva small.child other together river next.to DU.S-go.down.PP you.SG-LOC
dob pokûni-p ol-yo pokûni-p ol
eye move.down.hither-PC riverbank-LOC move.down.hither-PC riverbank
i-nepi
DU.S-go.thither
'Eva and another small child went down along the river edge towards you. They were looking down, looking down here from the riverbank. They walk downriver along the bank.'

(3) *Ko luoyo nakap puyo. Sû pulip. Ko riyo nakap.*
ko luo-yo nake-p pu-yo sû puli-p ko ri-yo nake-p
I stone-LOC sit-PC river-LOC light shine-PC I DIST-LOC sit-PC
'I was sitting on a rock in the river. A light was shining. I was sitting there.'

(4) *Eva ruri bayana koyo wepulo. Ko dob reyo: "Ruri eroke de anapi wepulo?"*
Eva ruri bayana ko-yo wepulo ko dob reyo ruri
Eva child different 1SG-LOC bring.PP I eye see.O.ANIM.SG.PP child
ero-ke de ana-pi wepulo
PROX-APH you who-POSS bring.PP
'Eva brought a different child to me. I looked at her: "This child (which) you brought, whose (child) is it?"'

(5) *"Ko nunipi wepulo." Ruri baisui. Rumkari baisui.*
ko nuni-pi wepulo ruri baisui rumkari baisui
I maternal.uncle-POSS bring.PP child beautiful girl beautiful
'(Eva replied:) "I brought my uncle's (child)." A beautiful child. A beautiful girl. '

(6) *Mi yeniyo nakap. Sû beri kleina pulip. Ko meniyekoniyap. Baisui rumkari, seke kep maki.*
mi yeni-yo nake-p sû beri klei-na puli-p ko
then plank-LOC sit-PC light burn clear-ADV shine-PC I
meniye_koniye-p baisui rumkari seke kep maki
be.jealous-PC pretty girl hair 3SG.POSS nice
'I was still sitting on a plank. A light burns. It was shining brightly. I was jealous. What a pretty girl, her hair is nice.'

(7) *Ko pu lilika riye, luika riye. Luo ikoi walpuap ol ikoi roise. Mi ko puana. Kuru.*
ko pu lilika riye luika riye luo ikoi
I river up.river see.O.INANIM down.river see.O.INANIM rock big
walpue-p ol ikoi roise mi ko puana kuru
spread.about-PC mountain big together then I wake.up.PP be.finished
'I am looking upriver, I am looking downriver. Big rocks were spreading about and big mountains. Then I woke up. Over.'

G.5 Pupi kwerno

Introduction

The text *Pupi kwerno* 'The wind in the afternoon' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2006.

Summary & background

This text shows Margaret's sensitivity to the atmosphere of an afternoon when everyone is out in their gardens, and all is very quiet. When she started to speak, it almost sounded like a poem. She speaks of the peacefulness of life and nature. The harshness of daily labour seems to have vanished. There is only the presence of silence.

Parallel text

Ko epul pupi polimale. Pupi snei. Ko pupi male poli. Pupi basneiko. Pupi pule, pupi snei. Pupi mipule, misnei. Pupi olka pule. Pupi solo poro, pu as. Pupi pu popi. Pupi seke depi wapiye. Pupi ri pele wapiye.

I hear the wind being there. Then the wind is quiet. I hear the wind, it is there. Now the wind has stopped. The wind comes, then pauses. The wind comes again and is quiet again. It comes and goes. The wind comes from the mountains. Only wind, no rain. The wind takes the rain away. The wind lets your hair fly. The wind lets fly the leaves of the trees.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko epul pupi polimale. Pupi snei.*
ko epul pupi poli_male pupi snei
I ear wind be.there_hear wind be.quiet
'I hear the wind being there. (Then) the wind is quiet.'

(2) *Ko pupi male poli. Pupi basneiko.*
ko pupi male poli pupi ba-snei-ko
I wind hear be.there wind FAC-be.quiet-FAC
'I hear the wind, it is there. (Now) the wind has stopped.'

(3) *Pupi pule, pupi snei. Pupi mipule, misnei.*
pupi pule pupi snei pupi mi-pule mi-snei mi-pule
wind come wind be.quiet wind ITER-come ITER-be.quiet ITER-come
mi-snei
ITER-be.quiet
'The wind comes, (then it) is quiet. The wind comes again and is quiet again. It comes and goes.'

(4) *Pupi olka pule. Pupi solo poro, pu as. Pupi pu popi.*
pupi ol-ka pule pupi solo pi=ro pu as pupi pu
wind mountain-PATH come wind only LV=EMPH rain none wind rain
popi
take.away.PL.O
'The wind comes from the mountains. Only wind, no rain. The wind takes the rain away.'

(5) *Pupi seke depi wapiye. Pupi ri pele wapiye.*
pupi seke de-pi wapiye pupi ri pele wapiye
wind hair 2SG-POS collect wind tree leaf collect
'The wind lets your hair fly. The wind lets fly the leaves of the trees.'

Figure G.1: Portrait of Margaret Osi

G.6 Pu du

Introduction

The text *Pu du* 'A short rainstorm' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007.

Summary & background

Margaret spoke these words as we watched an approaching storm. As it rained, Margaret commented on the wind and rain. Although the scene is not unusual, Margaret was intrigued. People react particularly to the dark sky and heavy air during rainy days. That is when one often overhears the compound *pudu* 'rain darkness'. The atmosphere is entirely different from the bright sun or the light clouds that villagers perceive as perfectly normal.

Parallel text

Pudu ikoina pi. Pu suloimoina pi. Pupi pi. Pupi pule, ripap. Sawa ini wekûne. Pu welippape. Pupi pu roise pule. Bopo kili pupi suloimoina powepi. Pu welipowole.

The darkness of the rainy weather is pervasive. There is a heavy rain. It is windy. Wind comes in, a storm. It breaks down a branch of the mango tree opposite our house. The rain is coming in blowing. Wind and rain come together. The wind is shaking heavily the leaf ribs of the papaya tree. The rain is approaching and then turning away in another direction.

Glossed text

(1) *Pudu ikoina pi. Pu suloimoina pi. Pupi pi. Pupi pule, ripap.*

pu_du	ikoi-na	pi	pu	suloimoina	pi	pupi	pi	pupi	pule	ripap
rain.darkness	big-ADV	LV	rain	huge	LV	wind	LV	wind	come	storm

'The darkness of the rainy weather is great. There is a heavy rain. It is windy. Wind comes, a storm.'

(2) *Sawa ini wekûne.*

sawa	ini	wekûne
mango.tree	branch	break.down

'(The storm) breaks down a branch of the mango tree (opposite the house).'

(3) *Pu welippape. Pupi pu roise pule.*
pu welippape pupi pu roise pule
rain approach.blowing wind rain together come
'The rain is coming in blowing. Wind and rain come together.'

(4) *Bopo kili pupi suloimoina powepi. Pu welipowole.*
bopo(TP) kili pupi suloimoina pi-wepi pu
papaya leaf.ribs wind huge LV-QUANT.S rain
welipowole
approach.moving.further
'The leaf ribs of the papaya (tree), the wind is shaking them heavily. The rain is approaching and (then) going in another direction.'

G.7 Pu malapi

Introduction

The text *Pu malapi* 'Water levels' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in August 2004.

Summary & background

Margaret talks about the water level in the sago swamps, which is important for the processing of sago. If the water level drops too low, the sago swamps almost dry up, and processing sago is no longer possible. It is therefore important to check the water level. It is impossible to do this with the naked eye because the water in the swamp is nearly black.

Parallel text

Ko ri wopiyako pu paekyo. Riyo malapo puyo. Malapo riyo. Ko ri peweko puyo. Pu ere îake. Pu baîko. Ko ul peweko puyo. Pu pini. Ri ko peworo. Pu ri sowelayo. Yala ikoina yopi. Pu bayopko.

I stuck a stick down into a waterhole. I measured with the stick stuck into the water. I measured the mark on the stick. Some days ago I had put a stick in the water. The water is going down now. The water level has decreased. I put a bamboo rod in the water. The water is going up again. I took a stick. The water covered the stick entirely. Now the water level is high. The water rose.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko ri wopiyako pu paekyo. Riyo malapo puyo. Malapo riyo.*

ko	ri	wopiyako	pu_paek-yo	ri-yo	malapo	pu-yo
1SG	stick	stretch.down.PP	water.hole-LOC	stick-LOC	measure.PP	water-LOC
malapo	ri-yo					
measure.PP	stick-LOC					

'I put a stick into a waterhole. I measured with the stick (put upright) in the water. I measured (the mark) on the stick.'

Figure G.2: The flooding of the Puwani River

(2) *Ko ri peweko puyo.*
ko ri pewe-ko pu-yo
1SG stick erect-RTS water-LOC
'(Some days ago) I had put a stick upright into the water.'

(3) *Pu ere îake. Pu baîko.*
pu ere îake pu ba-î-ko
water now recede.down water FAC-recede-FAC
'The water is going down now. The water (level) has gone down.'

(4) *Ko ul peweko puyo.*
ko ul pewe-ko pu-yo
water bamboo erect-RTS water-LOC
'I had put a bamboo rod in the water.'[2]

(5) *Pu pini. Ri ko peworo. Pu ri sowelayo.*
pu pini ri ko pewo=ro pu ri sowelayo
water go.up.hither stick 1SG erect.PP=EMPH water stick cover.entirely.PP
'The water is going up. I took a stick. The water covered the stick entirely.'

[2] Alternatively, one can use a bamboo rod instead of a stick for measuring the depth of the water.

(6) *Yala ikoina yopi. Pu bayopko.*
yala ikoi-na yopi pu ba-yopi-ko
now big-ADV rise.of.water water FAC-rise.of.water-FAC
'Now (the water) rises high. The water has risen.'

G.8 Wolmoyo koliye

Introduction

The text *Wolmoyo koliye* 'Hanging up the washed clothes' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007.

Summary & background

I had washed some clothes and wanted to dry them on the clothesline outside the house. Usually this is the best way to dry clothes. But on this day, strangely enough, the weather was changing at very short time intervals. Having watched me for a while, Margaret slipped into character and began making fun of me by talking about my situation using the first-person.

Parallel text

Mi ko le piyowe. Mi ko rowekûne yeloka. Wolmo bayo koliye, yeloyo polino. Mi ko yipyo îpîpî. Yipyo nake. Yala pu pem. Mi ko îpake. Mi ko le piyeke. Mi ko wepini yipyo. Koliyewe. Mi ko nake. Nini yala pulem. Mi ko rowekûne, koliyewe. Ko mipini yipyo. Ko eku nake. Oh! Yala pu poro! Nini ar puli. Mi ko piyeke, wepini. Pu pi. Ko due nui.

I am taking the washed things again, carry them down outside again, and hang them on the other clothes line, which is outside the house. Then I climb up the stairs into the house and sit there again. Oh, it may rain now! Again I climb down, go take the laundry, carry them up here into the house, hang them on the indoor line, and sit down again. Suddenly it seems to get sunny. Again I carry the things down and hang them. Again I come up here into the house and sit down to rest. Oh, now it is raining! The sun doesn't shine any longer. I go again to take the clothes and carry them up here. It rains. I'll sleep.

Glossed text

(1) *Mi ko le piyowe. Mi ko rowekûne yeloka. Wolmo bayo koliye, yeloyo polino.*
mi ko le piye-we mi ko ro=wekûne yeloka wolmo
again I things take-TER again I EMPH=carry.down outside clothes.line
ba-yo koliye yelo-yo poli-no
other-LOC hang ground-LOC be.there-CO
'I take the (washed) things again, carry them down outside again, and hang them on the other clothes line which is outside.'

(2) *Mi ko yipyo îpîpî. Yipyo nake.*
mi ko yip-yo îpîpî yip-yo nake
again I house-LOC climb.up house-LOC sit
'(Then) I climb up (the stairs) into the house and sit again in the house.'

(3) *Yala pu pem. Mi ko îpake. Mi ko le piyeke. Mi ko wepini yipyo. Koliyewe. Mi ko nake.*
yala pu pi-m mi ko îpake mi ko le piye-ke mi
now rain LV-POS again I climb.down again I things take-INGR again
ko wepini yip-yo koliye-we mi ko nake
I carry.up.hither house-LOC hang-TER again I sit
'(Oh) it may rain now. Again I climb down, go take the laundry, carry them up here into the house, hang them, and sit (there) again.'

(4) *Nini yala pulem. Mi ko rowekûne, koliyewe. Ko mipini yipyo. Ko eku nake.*
nini yala puli-m mi ko ro=wekûne koliye-we ko
sun soon shine-POS again I EMPH=carry.down hang-TER I
mi-pini yip-yo ko eku_nake
ITER-come.up.hither house-LOC I sit.down
'Suddenly it seems to get sunny. Again I carry the things down and hang them. Again I come up here into the house and sit down.'

(5) *Oh! Yala pu poro! Nini ar puli. Mi ko piyeke, wepini. Pu pi. Ko due nui.*
oh yala pu pi=ro nini ar puli mi ko piye-ke wepini
oh now rain LV=EMPH sun NEG shine again I take-INGR carry.up.hither
pu pi ko due_nui
rain LV I sleep
'Oh, now it is raining! The sun doesn't shine (anymore). I go again to take (the things) and carry them up here. It rains. I will sleep.'

G.9 Kau susup nonake

Introduction

The text *Kau susup nonake* 'The cows eat grass all day' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in January 2007.

Summary & background

Margaret describes the idleness of the cows, who do no more than eat grass. In Ossima and the neighbouring villages, cows were widespread and were part of the villagers' daily lives. They were introduced by the mission's farm administration in the 1960s. Right behind the houses of Osi Camp, where I lived, a herd of cows was seeking shade under the trees in the heat of the day.

Parallel text

Kau susup ninake, ilenake. Due monina nui. Mipipuanepi. Susup ile puni ani. Ono ukeli puyo. Kau iki pulmopi. Pu ile. Yolyo mole. Pul bamopko pue. Yol bîyo mape. Ono smep bili musi. Susup ile.

The cows eat grass continually. They sleep only for a short while. They stay awake. They eat grass day and night. A man leads them to the river. There the cows bathe and drink water. Then they go to their corral. They have bathed. Now they walk about a bit. Then they stay inside the fence again. The man closes the gate. The cows eat grass.

Glossed text

(1) *Kau susup ninake, ilenake. Due monina nui. Mipipuanepi.*
kau susup ni-nake ile-nake due moni-na nui
cow grass eat-DUR eat.PL.A-DUR sleep small-ADV do.intentionally
mipi_puane-pi
come.hither.PL_stand.up-LV
'The cows eat grass continually. They sleep only for a short while. They stay awake.'

(2) *Susup ile puni ani.*
susup ile puni ani
grass eat.PL.A night day
'They eat grass day and night.'

(3) *Ono ukeli puyo. Kau iki pulmopi. Pu ile.*
ono ukeli pu-yo kau iki pul_mopi pu ile
man take.with.oneself river-LOC cow APH.PL bathe water drink.PL.A
'A man leads them to the river. The cows, they bathe and drink water.'

(4) *Yolyo mole. Pul bamopko pue. Yol bîyo mape.*
yol-yo mole pul_ba-mopi-ko pue yol bîyo mape
fence-LOC go.PL bathe_FAC-bathe-FAC walk.about fence inside stay.PL
'They go to (their) corral. They have bathed, they walk about. (Then) they stay inside the fence.'

(5) *Ono smep bili musi. Susup ile.*
ono smep bili musi susup ile
man door opening close grass eat.PL
'The man closes the gate. They eat grass.'

G.10 Yem re

Introduction

The text *Yem re* 'The crest of the crowned pidgeon' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007.

Summary & background

Margaret comments on the beautiful plumage of the crowned pigeon (*Goura victoria*), which is endemic to northern New Guinea. Crowned pigeons used to be common in the forests of the Kilmeri region. They are large and beautiful birds. They were and still are hunted for their meat and their feathers. A crowned pigeon can provide almost twice as much meat as a chicken. Margaret once told me that one of her relatives shot one. She thought it was a good catch because it was a good meal and because it brought back her memories of the past.

In the following text, Margaret took the opportunity to talk about the appearance, beauty, and also the delicious meat of ground pigeons.

Parallel text

Yem riyo wariyeppue. Ri iniyo nakeko, re kep supuaspi. Yem ili kep puakuyo poli. Yem re lepapouli. Yem re boli sikero poli. Boli kep ar lipiyo, ar lepapo. Epi kep solo lepapouli. Puaku re ba sumi ba ilei. Yem re ri ppipeso. Yem re puaku pili roise sesiyepiye. Ko yem re sekeyo papi.

The crowned pigeon flies up into a tree. After alighting on a branch the feathers of its crown wobble. The crowned pigeon has a crest on its head. The feathers of the crowned pigeon have a pattern. The quills of the crowned pigeon are strong; they have no colour and no pattern. Only its side has a pattern. Some of the head feathers are short, some are long. The crest of the crowned pigeon looks like a flower of a tree. One cuts off the crowned pigeon's crest feathers together with some skin of the head. I prepare the crest of the crowned pigeon as adornment for my hair.

Yem ikoiele. Dop kep dû roise kakarukso pari.

The crowned pigeon is very big. Its body and meat aren't like that of a chicken, but weigh substantially more.

Glossed text

(1) *Yem riyo wariyeppue. Ri iniyo nakeko, re kep supuaspi. Yem ili kep puakuyo poli.*
yem ri-yo wariye_ppue ri ini-yo nake-ko re
crowned.pigeon tree-LOC fly.up tree branch-LOC sit-RTS feather
kep supuas_pi yem ili kep puaku-yo poli
3SG.POSS wobble crowned.pigeon bunch 3SG.POSS head-LOC be.there
'The crowned pigeon flies up into a tree. After alighting on a branch the feathers (of its crown) wobble. The crowned pigeon has a crest on its head.'

(2) *Yem re lepapouli. Yem re boli sikero poli. Boli kep ar lipiyo, ar lepapo. Epi kep solo lepapouli.*
yem re lepapi-uli yem re
crowned.pigeon feather have.a.pattern-PROG crowned.pigeon feather
boli sike=ro poli boli kep ar lipiyo ar
origin hard=EMPH be.there origin 3SG.POSS NEG paint.PP NEG
lepapo epi kep solo lepapi-uli
have.a.pattern.PP side 3SG.POSS only have.a.pattern-PROG
'The feathers of the crowned pigeon have a pattern. The quills of the crowned pigeon are strong; they have no colour and no pattern. Only its side has a pattern.'

(3) *Puaku re ba sumi ba ilei. Yem re ri ppipeso.*
puaku re ba sumi ba ilei yem re ri
head feather other short other long crowned.pigeon feather tree
ppipe-so
flower-SIM
'Some of the head feathers are short, some are long. (The crest of) the crowned pigeon (looks) like a flower of a tree.'

(4) *Yem re puaku pili roise sesiyepiye. Ko yem re sekeyo papi.*
yem re puaku pili roise sesiye_piye ko
crowned.pigeon feather head skin together take.away I
yem re seke-yo papi
crowned.pigeon feather hair-LOC prepare.PL.O
'One takes away the crowned pigeon's (crest) feathers together with some skin of the head. I prepare the (crest) feathers of the crowned pigeon for my hair.'

(5) *Yem ikoiele. Dop kep dû roise kakarukso pari.*

yem	ikoiele	dop	kep	dû	roise	kakaruk-so
crowned.pigeon	very.big	body	3SG.POSS	meat	together	chicken-SIM
pari						
NEG.COP						

'The crowned pigeon is very big. Its body and meat aren't like a chicken, (but substantially more).'

G.11 Rap

Introduction

The text *Rap* 'The raft' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in April 2002.

Summary & background

For several years, Margaret Uma, a distant relative of Jeffrey Osi, had her house in Osi Camp. The family previously lived in Osol, but had run into difficulties there. Jeffrey Osi wanted the woman and her family to move to his land, but they were not welcomed by the villagers and neighbours. When I returned to fieldwork one year, the house was no longer there. Margaret Osi told me that it had been deliberately burnt down. So the family left the place.

In order to make some money, people would produce sago for the market in Vanimo. Sometimes the roads to Vanimo were in such a bad condition that travelling by car was not possible. People would then build rafts and travel down the Puwani to the shore, where they could find a car. This was the plan of Joe, Margaret Uma's husband. He was not experienced in navigating a raft on the river and did not know his way around hidden rocks and driftwood. As a result, he lost all the sago that his wife had prepared for sale in Vanimo.

Parallel text

Margaret Uma due kana soni. Due uki kep wel. Due melro, rapno wel. Uki kep rapno welro. Puyo masakaikûno. Uki kep an solo lo. Rapno due aska. Due pu meli. Due pu wena. Joe rap makina ar wel. Riyo kûpiyo. Luoyo kûpiyo. Riyopuno due masakaikûno.

Margaret Uma pounded sago pith quite quickly. Her husband Joe took the sago. He carried a lot of sago and transported it by raft. Her husband transported it by raft. Unfortunately all the sago bags tipped over into the river. Her husband went empty-handed. There was no sago left on the raft. The river took the sago. The river carried the sago away. Joe didn't navigate the raft well. It bumped against a tree or bumped against a rock. Then all the sago bags fell down into the water.

Glossed text

(1) *Margaret Uma due kana soni. Due uki kep wel. Due melro, rapno wel.*
Margaret Uma due kana soni due uki kep
Margaret Uma sago quickly pound.sago.pith sago husband 3SG.POSS
wel due mel=ro rap-no wel
carry.PP sago carry.PL.O.PP=EMPH raft-INS carry.PP
'Margaret Uma pounded sago pith quite quickly. Her husband took the sago. He carried a lot of sago and transported it by raft.'

(2) *Uki kep rapno welro. Puyo masakaikûno.*
uki kep rap-no wel=ro pu-yo masakaikûno
husband 3SG.POSS raft-INS carry.PP=EMPH river-LOC fall.down.in.plenty.PP
'Her husband transported it by raft. (Unfortunately all the sago bags) tipped over into the river.'

(3) *Uki kep an solo lo. Rapno due aska. Due pu meli. Due pu wena.*
uki kep an solo lo rap-no due aska due pu
husband 3SG.POSS hand only go.PP raft-INS sago none sago river
meli due pu wena
carry.PL.O sago river carry.inside
'Her husband went empty-handed. There is no sago on the raft. The river carries all the sago. The river carries the sago with the current.'

(4) *Joe rap makina ar wel. Riyo kûpiyo. Luoyo kûpiyo. Riyopuno due masakaikûno.*
Joe rap maki-na ar wel ri-yo kûpiyo luo-yo
Joe raft good-ADV NEG carry.PP tree-LOC bump.against.PP rock-LOC
kûpiyo riyopuno due masakaikûno
bump.against.PP then sago fall.down.in.plenty.PP
'Joe didn't carry the raft well. It bumped against a tree (or) it bumped against a rock. Then all the sago (bags) fell down.'

G.12 Uki kopi bi lui

Introduction

The text *Uki kopi bi lui* 'My husband goes hunting' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in September 2004.

Summary & background

Margaret often wanted to reminisce about what a good hunter her husband Lis Osi had been. These days in the forest were something special for the whole family. As well as building up supplies, such days also meant an abundance of food. The meat of the small animals would be eaten directly in the bush camp. She remembers hunting days that took place in the bush section called Diyewi (Text A.2, Sequence 11).

Parallel text

Koyo ilo duyo. Uki kopi bike dupua luwe, biep klokni, ura, bisem dupua, yem klokni, iwan klokni. Mi ko apla po bino bikeno. Ko sûyo royo. Ko kiniyo royepepo. Ko sû mappeana. Sû beri poro. Ko sû piana pianpana. Ko aplayo royo, bi slau. Punipino uki kopi muel: "Nuko mole yilauyo." Uke yilauyo pulip. Paeau.

We went into the deep bush. There my husband shot two cassowarries, one boar, lizards, two kangaroos, one crowned pigeon, and one hornbill. I made the planks and filled them with pig and cassowary meat. I put them above the fire. I put everything on top of the planks. I lit a fire. The fire did flames. I blew the fire, and it blazed up. I put meat on the planks, and the meat dried. One morning my husband said: "We'll go back to the village." We came to the village. We arrived there.

Glossed text

(1) *Koyo ilo duyo. Uki kopi bike dupua luwe, biep klokni, ura, bisem dupua, yem klokni, iwan klokni.*

koyo	i-lo	du-yo	uki	ko-pi	bike	dupua
we.DU.EXCL	DU.S-go.PP	bush-LOC	husband	1SG-POSS	cassowary	two

lu-we	biep	klokni	ura	bisem	dupua	yem	klokni
shoot.PP-DU.O	boar	one	lizard	kangaroo	two	crowned.pigeon	one

iwan klokni
hornbill one
'We went into the (deep) bush. (There) my husband shot two cassowarries, one boar, lizards, two kangaroos, one crowned pigeon, and one hornbill.'

(2) *Mi ko apla po bino bikeno. Ko sûyo royo. Ko kiniyo royepepo. Ko sû mappeana. Sû beri poro. Ko sû piana pianpana. Ko aplayo royo, bi slau.*
mi ko apla po bi-no bike-no ko sû-yo royo ko kiniyo
then I plank do.PP pig-INS cassowary-INS I fire-LOC put.PP I all
royepepo ko sû_mappeana sû beri po=ro ko sû
lay.on.top.PP I light.a.fire.thither.PP fire flame LV.PP=EMPH I fire
piana pianpana ko apla-yo royo bi slau
blow.on.PP blaze.up.PP I plank-LOC put.PP meat dry
'I made the planks (and filled them) with pig and cassowary meat. I put them above the fire. I put everything on top (of the planks). I lit a fire. The fire did flames. I blew the fire, and it blazed up. I put meat on the planks, and the meat dries.'[3]

(3) *Punipino uki kopi muel: "Nuko mole yilauyo." Uke yilauyo pulip. Paeau.*
punipino uki ko-pi muel nuko mole yilau-yo uke
morning husband 1SG-POSS talk.to.PP we.INCL go.PL village-LOC we.EXCL
yilau-yo pulip paeau
village-LOC come.PL.PP arrive
'One morning my husband said: "We'll go (back) to the village." We came to the village and arrived (there).'

[3]The narrator describes repeated acts of filling the wooden planks with meat in order to smoke and dry all the meat.

G.13 Bras wiye

Introduction

The text *Bras wiye* 'Catching bandicoots' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in September 2000.

Summary & background

When cleaning and weeding around my house, people scared two bandicoots and captured them, a male and a juvenile. Bandicoots are common, and they are easy to catch. The Kilmeri distinguish (at least) five species of bandicoots. One of them lives in the forest, the others in the undergrowth and shrubs around houses. They can often also be caught near one's house. The following short text briefly describes how to catch bandicoots and how to prepare them for a meal. The dried meat of bandicoots is sold in the village market in Ossima (Fig. G.3).

Figure G.3: Selling smoked bandicoot meat in the market.

Parallel text

Yena bras yekipue. Bras anno wiye. Neppino waliyo sukeli. Suellui. Paliya. Wepule yipyo. Re sûno noriye. Puno

The people track down the bandicoots. They hold them with their hands and cut the necks with a knife. They kill

pusiye. Ipino si. Kreno, bareko. Puliye, rupopi.

them by cutting through their necks. They are dead. They carry them home. They singe off the skins with fire and wash the carcasses with water. They cook them in a pot. They are getting done. They are done. They take them out of the pot and distribute the meat.

Glossed text

(1) *Yena bras yekipue. Bras anno wiye. Neppino waliyo sukeli. Suellui. Paliya. Wepule yipyo.*

yena bras yeki_pue bras an-no wiye
people bandicoot follow.one's.traces_roam bandicoot hand-INS hold
neppi-no wali-yo sukeli suel_lui paliya wepule yip-yo
bush.knife-INS neck-LOC cut.PL.O cut_kill be.dead carry house-LOC

'The people track down the bandicoots. They hold them in their hands and cut their necks with a knife. They kill them by cutting. They are dead. They carry them home.'

(2) *Re sûno noriye. Puno pusiye. Ipino si. Kreno, bareko. Puliye, rupopi.*

re sû-no noriye pu-no pusiye ipi-no si k-re-no
hide fire-INS fill.in water-INS wash pot-INS cook SUB-become.done-CO
ba-re-ko puliye rupopi
FAC-be.done-FAC take.out distribute.PL.O

'They singe off the skins with fire and wash (the carcasses) with water. They cook them in a pot. They are getting done. They are done. They take them out (of the pot) and distribute (the meat).'

G.14 Bi sele mini

Introduction

The text *Bi sele mini* 'Pigs come into the gardens' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in January 2007.

Figure G.4: Taro patch

Summary & background

The forest in the Kilmeri region is the habitat of wild boars. On the one hand, they are prized for hunting. On the other hand, they are invaders in the gardens of humans. At times it is hard to keep them out. At worst, they can destroy an entire taro patch. In order to prevent this, one must make regular visits to the gardens and light fires. Pigs are quite shy and avoid human presence. In her description of the pigs' behaviour, Margaret's mention of a sorcerer seems unmotivated. Sorcerers attack humans, but not animals or plants.

Parallel text

Bi seleyo mini. Uke wok ar pi, bi wip ni, arme ni, umeko ni. Uke sû mappe seleyo, bi ar mini. Dop ili onopi nikiyei.

The pigs come to the gardens. When we don't work there, the pigs eat the taro. They eat *arme*-taro and they

Bi dorimaliye. Yala sele kuso ponake. Sele klayepanam. Sû sûli nikiyei. Bi dop ili sû sûli roise nikiyei. Dop ili le. Ono neki. Imiyu neki. Iner dop ili, ono iner ili le.

eat *umeko*-taro. When we light fires in the gardens, the pigs don't come. They smell the body odour of people. Then the pigs turn back to their hidden places. Better one always does the gardens. One must not neglect the gardens. The pigs smell the smoke of fire. They smell the body odour and the smoke. Body odour whiffs. Somebody must be nearby. A sorcerer is around. The body odour of the armpit, the armpit odour of a man hangs in the air.

Glossed text

(1) *Bi seleyo mini. Uke wok ar pi, bi wip ni, arme ni, umeko ni.*
bi sele-yo mini uke wok ar pi bi wip ni
pig garden-LOC come.hither we.EXCL work NEG LV pig taro eat
arme ni umeko ni
kind.of.taro eat kind.of.taro eat
'The pigs come to the gardens. (When) we don't work (there), the pigs eat the taro. They eat *arme*-taro and they eat *umeko*-taro.'

(2) *Uke sû mappe seleyo, bi ar mini. Dop ili onopi nikiyei. Bi dorimaliye.*
uke sû_mappe sele-yo bi ar mini dop ili
we.EXCL light.a.fire garden-LOC pig NEG come.hither body smell
ono-pi nikiyei bi dorimaliye
man-POSS smell pig turn.back
'(When) we light fires in the gardens, the pigs don't come. They smell the body odour of people. (Then) the pigs turn back (to their hidden places).'

(3) *Yala sele kuso ponake. Sele klayepanam. Sû sûli nikiyei. Bi dop ili sû sûli roise nikiyei.*
yala sele kuso pi-nake sele k-layepane-m sû sûli
now garden always LV-DUR garden PROH-neglect-PROH fire smoke
nikiyei bi dop ili sû sûli roise nikiyei
smell pig body smell fire smoke together smell
'(Better) one always does the gardens. One must not neglect the gardens. (The pigs) smell the smoke of fire. They smell the body odour and the smoke.'

(4) *Dop ili le. Ono neki. Imiyu neki. Iner dop ili, ono iner ili le.*
dop ili le ono neki imiyu neki iner dop ili ono
body smell go person stand sorcerer stand armpit body smell man
iner ili le
armpit smell go
'The body odour goes. Somebody is (nearby). A sorcerer is (nearby). The body odour of the armpit, the armpit odour of a man hangs in the air.'

G.15 Ono basuiko

Introduction

The text *Ono basuiko* 'A man has died' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2006.

Summary & background

The text describes a rather unusual incident: a man dies unexpectedly in his home. Nobody had expected it. The death was not blamed on sorcery because there were no previous signs of some serious illness at the time. The man had simply died in his sleep. People were shocked when they found out the next morning. The relatives were summoned to the house of the deceased for a mourning ritual. The relatives who attended the ritual, were listed according to their unique names. Once the mourning ritual was over, the guests were dismissed. The phrase *ine mole* 'You are all leaving' is the usual formula for dismissing visitors (cf. Gerstner-Link 2018: 143). It can be reinforced by the terminative suffix *-we*, which here indicates that people should return to their daily routine.

Parallel text

Bariyeko. Basuiko. Bia barirko. Uke kumune sapro. Puni uke ar reyo yeni kepyo. Uke so due nuiro. Yena kiniyo wonien: "Uke ar reyo. Uke due sap. Ono basuik. Ine awe." Yena pulupi, eku mape. Wo mopine, womopinake. Nuni kep, ewe kep, ai kep, ai ppusi kep, buka ruri kep, memi kep. Wo kuru. Ine molewe yilauyo.

We have seen it. He has died. The corpse is stiff. We all were fast asleep. During the night we didn't look after him on his bed. We thought he was fast asleep. We called all the people: "We didn't look for him. We were sleeping. The man has died. You all come!" The people come and sit down. They cry for him, they stay crying. His maternal uncle, his older brother, his father, his paternal uncle, his nephews, his grandparents. Then the crying is over. "You go back now to your places."

Glossed text

(1) *Bariyeko. Basuiko. Bia barirko. Uke kumune sapro.*
ba-riye-ko ba-sui-ko bia ba-rire-ko uke
FAC-see.O.INANIM-FAC FAC-die-FAC corpse FAC-be.stiff-FAC WE.EXCL
kumune sap=ro
all.COLL sleep.PL.PP=EMPH
'We have seen it. He has died. The corpse is stiff. We all were fast asleep.'

(2) *Puni uke ar reyo yeni kepyo. Uke so due nuiro.*
puni uke ar reyo yeni kep-yo uke so
night WE.EXCL NEG see.O.ANIM.SG.PP bed 3SG.POSS-LOC WE.EXCL believe
due_nui=ro
sleep=EMPH
'During the night we didn't see him on his bed. We thought he was fast asleep.'

(3) *Yena kiniyo wonien: "Uke ar reyo. Uke due sap. Ono basuik. Ine awe."*
yena kiniyo woni-en uke ar reyo uke
people all call-NSG.OR.PP WE.EXCL NEG see.O.ANIM.SG.PP WE.EXCL
due_sap ono ba-sui-ko ine awe
sleep.PL.PC man FAC-die-FAC you.PL come.IMP
'We called all the people: "We didn't look for him. We were sleeping. The man has died. You all come!"'

(4) *Yena pulupi, eku mape. Wo mopine, womopinake. Nuni kep, ewe kep, ai kep, ai ppusi kep, buka ruri kep, memi kep.*
yena pulupi eku_mape wo_mopi-ne wo_mopi-nake nuni
people come.PL sit.down.PL cry-3SG.OR cry-DUR maternal.uncle
kep ewe kep ai kep ai_ppusi kep
3SG.POSS older.brother 3SG.POSS father 3SG.POSS paternal.uncle 3SG.POSS
buka ruri kep memi kep
nephew child 3SG.POSS grandparent 3SG.POSS
'The people come and sit down. They cry for him, they stay crying. His maternal uncle, his older brother, his father, his paternal uncle, his nephews, his grandparents.'

(5) *Wo kuru. Ine molewe yilauyo.*
wo kuru ine mole-we yilau-yo
crying be.finished you.PL go.PL-TER place-LOC
'The crying is over. You go (back) to (your) places.'

G.16 Walpop susi

Introduction

The text *Walpop susi* 'The turtle wriggles' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2006.

Summary & background

For the Kilmeri people, freshwater turtles are part of their diet. However, it seems that not many turtles are left in the streams and waterholes. Only every now and then someone catches one. Since the animals are quite small, the quantity of meat is also quite small. In fact, it is only the limbs and the neck with the head that provide meat. When a turtle is caught, it is hung upside down on a fishing line until it dies. This took place in Rose Osi's kitchen house.

Parallel text

Ko walpop laliyowe. Ko îmu piyo. Walpop puaku yeloka, eku kep appka. Walpop eye bouno susi. Eye bouno solo susiwepi. Yala boyo sui. Eye bouno pukapikûne kemiye.

I hung up the small turtle. I took a fishing string. The turtle is hanging head down, tail up. The turtle is wiggling with its limbs. It's only wiggling with its limbs. A little later it will die. The limbs are hanging down limply and saggily.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko walpop laliyowe. Ko îmu piyo.*
ko walpop laliyo-we ko îmu piyo
I small.turtle hang.PP-TER I fishing.string take.PP
'I hung up the small turtle. I took a fishing string.'

(2) *Walpop puaku yeloka, eku kep appka.*
walpop puaku yeloka eku kep appka
small.turtle head down behind 3SG.POSS up
'The turtle (is hanging) head down, tail up.'

(3) *Walpop eye bouno susi. Eye bouno solo susiwepi. Yala boyo sui.*
walpop eye bou-no susi eye bou-no
small.turtle front.limbs back.limbs-INS wiggle front.limbs back.limbs-INS
solo susi-wepi yala boyo sui
only wiggle-QUANT.S soon later die
'The turtle is wiggling with its limbs. It's only wiggling with its limbs. A little later it will die.'

(4) *Eye bouno pukapikûne kemiye.*
eye bou-no pukapi_kûne kemiye
front.limbs back.limbs-INS pluck_go.down be.tired
'The limbs are hanging down limply and saggily.'[4]

[4]It looks similar to a plucked chicken.

G.17 Apa

Introduction

The text *Apa* 'Moths' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in January 2007.

Summary & background

Sometimes Margaret would watch little critters in my house. Such relaxed moments were a good break from the language work and helped to keep an air of enjoyment around my sometimes difficult grammatical and lexical questions. And Margaret enjoyed it. She was comfortable in her plastic chair and enjoyed looking around. As a field researcher, her comments were often the source of some unexpected insights and discoveries.

Parallel text

Lelo apa bayana wiye. Dob pone. Am ba wiye. Apa pakiwole. Apa bappueko. Paloyo nake. Apa paloyo peneouli. Apa lelo lemayo.

The gecko will catch another moth. It looks at it. It doesn't catch it yet. The moth is flapping the wings. The moth has gone up and sits in the sago thatches. It sticks on the sago thatches. It escaped the gecko.

Glossed text

(1) *Lelo apa bayana wiye. Dob pone. Am ba wiye. Apa pakiwole.*
lelo apa bayana wiye dob pi-ne am ba wiye apa
gecko moth different catch eye LV-3SG.OR yet NEG.EMPH catch moth
paki_wole
flap.wings
'The gecko will catch another moth. It looks at it. It doesn't catch it yet. The moth is flapping the wings.'

(2) *Apa bappueko. Paloyo nake. Apa paloyo peneouli. Apa lelo lemayo.*
apa ba-ppue-ko palo-yo nake apa palo-yo
moth FAC-go.up-FAC sago.thaches-LOC sit moth sago.thatches-LOC
penei-uli apa lelo le-mayo
stick-PROG moth gecko go-MAL.PP
'The moth has gone up and sits in the sago thatches. It sticks at the sago thatches. It escaped the gecko.'

G.18 Ri mapp

Introduction

The text *Ri mapp* 'Frangipani trees' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2006.

Summary & background

The milky sap of the frangipani trees (*Plumeria sp.*) contains a caustic irritant which is used to catch fish. Margaret always told me about these local customs whenever we went for a walk together.

Plumeria is native to tropical America. Its main centre is the island of Cuba where there are ten endemic species. The tree with its marvellous, often fragrant flowers was introduced to Hawaii in 1860 and subsequently cultivated there. Today it is widespread in the Pacific Islands.

Parallel text

Mapp pul walna wapina. De pu roise nowiye. De sipake puyo. Wal wiye, wal kiniyo wiye.

The sap of frangipani trees is for fish, for collecting them. You mix it well with water. You pour it down into a stream. Then you'll catch fish, you will catch many fish.

Glossed text

(1) *Mapp pul walna wapina. De pu roise nowiye.*
mapp pul wal-na wapi-na de pu roise nowiye
frangipani liquid fish-AFF collect-PURP you water with stir.with.effort
'The sap of frangipani trees is for fish, for collecting them. You mix it well with water.'

(2) *De sipake puyo. Wal wiye, wal kiniyo wiye.*
de sipake pu-yo wal wiye wal kiniyo wiye
you pour.down stream-LOC fish catch fish many catch
'You pour it down into a stream. (Then) you'll catch fish, you will catch many fish.'

G.19 Luo aska

Introduction

The text *Luo aska* 'No money' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in February 2007.

Summary & background

Money began to play a major role in everyday life in the first decade of the 21st century. Beyond subsistence, people desired goods that were only obtainable in exchange for money. Alternatively, they had to pay others who were no longer willing to exchange natural goods. The value of money was evident to everyone. I remember a situation when I gave two kina to our neighbour's son, who was about ten years old, to help me with some odd jobs. He could hardly believe that he had earned money.

As for Margaret, she was always more than happy when I paid her for our daily language sessions. However, this sporadic and small income was not her sole source of income. She could rely on some royalties from the timber business in the Kilmeri area (see Gerstner-Link 2018: 9-11). Still, she would sometimes say that she run out of money. She sighed and complained about her sons in particularly.

Parallel text

Uro kopi bî solo. Moni as. Moni ke miro ko bapapko? Le ko barapiyeko. Ko luo aska. Ko an solo nake. Yala ko asa pi? Ko umul nekpanepi. Yala ko bîyo piye?

My netbag is empty. No money. What for did I spend the money? I have bought this and that. I don't have any money. I am staying with my bare hands. What am I going to do now? I need to think hard: Where from to take money now?

Glossed text

(1) *Uro kopi bî solo. Moni as. Moni ke miro ko bapapko? Le ko barapiyeko.*
uro ko-pi bî solo moni as moni ke mi=ro
netbag 1SG-POSS hole only money(TP) none money(TP) TOP again=EMPH
ko ba-papi-ko le ko ba-rapiye-ko
I FAC-make.PL.O-FAC things I FAC-fetch-FAC
'My netbag is empty. No money. The money, (what for did) I spend it? I have bought this and that.'

(2) *Ko luo aska. Ko an solo nake. Yala ko asa pi?*
ko luo aska ko an solo nake yala ko asa pi
I money none I hand only sit now I how do
'I don't have money. I am staying with my bare hands. What am I going to do now?'

(3) *Ko umul nekpanepi. Yala ko bîyo piye?*
ko umul_nekpane-pi yala ko bîyo piye
I concentrate-LV now I where take
'I need to think hard: Where (from) to take (money) now?'

G.20 Ko pewo yasiye

Introduction

The text *Ko pewo yasiye* 'Planting bananas' was narrated by Margaret Osi in Ossima village in August 2001.

Summary & background

Every garden has a patch of bananas. People usually plant not just one variety, but different types of banana. They always had bananas for cooking and some sweet bananas for eating. There is often a further banana patch right next to the house. I once helped Margaret plant banana sprouts, which she recalls here. (See also Gerstner-Link forthcoming, for the different types of *Musa* that are known and cultivated by the Kilmeri).

Parallel text

Ko yelo bî rarari. Ko pewo dui yasiye. Bî sowe. Ko bayasiyeko. Ko pewo dui anno wiyowe. De yelo sowap. Ko dorno piyelayo. Ko pewo dui kiniyo meli sele pueneyo.

I dig some holes into the ground. I put the banana shoots in there and cover the holes. I have planted the bananas. Once I held the banana shoot with my hands and you were covering them with soil. Then I trampled the ground. I carry many banana shoots to the new garden patch.

Glossed text

(1) *Ko yelo bî rarari. Ko pewo dui yasiye. Bî sowe. Ko bayasiyeko.*
ko yelo bî rarari ko pewo dui yasiye bî sowe ko
I ground hole dig.PL.O I banana shoot plant hole cover I
ba-yasiye-ko
FAC-plant-FAC
'I dig some holes into the ground. I put the banana shoots (in there) and cover the holes. I have planted (the bananas).'

(2) *Ko pewo dui anno wiyowe. De yelo sowap.*
ko pewo dui an-no wiyo-we de yelo sowe-p
I banana shoot hand-INSTR hold.PP-TER you ground cover-PC
'I held the banana shoot with the hands and you were covering (them with) soil.'

(3) *Ko dorno piyelayo.*
ko dor-no piyelayo
I foot-INSTR trample.PP
'I trampled the ground.'

(4) *Ko pewo dui kiniyo meli sele pueneyo.*
ko pewo dui kiniyo meli sele puene-yo
I banana shoot many carry.PL.O garden new-LOC
'I carry many banana shoots to the new garden.'

Figure G.5: Banana shoots

Figure G.6: Fishing in Ossima by Eva Link

Figure G.7: Cindy concentrating on sand painting

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Clans, spirits, land and food

This collection of Kilmeri texts provides insight into the language and culture of the Kilmeri people in northern Papua New Guinea. Six narrators tell stories about their clans, their land, and its food supply during the 'golden age' as well as today. Life in the bush is never easy, as evil spirits often hinder people's efforts to find food. Readers will be introduced to a variety of genres, including legendary deeds of Kilmeri heroes, old village life, contemporary village life, and other oral traditions. All texts are presented in a parallel text version (Kilmeri-English) and in an interlinearised version. Each text is preceded by an introduction that describes the anthropological background and context of the story.