

TILP Vol. 7 2026:

Three stories from Kewapi Language of Papua New Guinea

Apoi Yaraepa (PhD)
Linguistics and Modern Languages Division
School of Humanities and Social Sciences
The University of Papua New Guinea
April 2026

Contents

Contents	2
Abbreviations	3
1 Introduction	7
2 Texts	7
2.1 Pig raising practice – Descriptive genre	7
2.2 Legend about the origin of the evil spirit – Myth genre	13
2.3 Waba’s story about a tree-chopping event – Reflective report genre	23
References	31

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	subject of transitive verb
Adj	adjective
AOV	subject-object-verb
ASP	aspect
AUG	augmentative mode
AVP	auxiliary verb phrase
BEN	benefactive
Ben	beneficiary
CASE	case
CAUS	causative
CDL	close downward location
CHL	close horizontal location
COMPL	completive aspect
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuative aspect
CTV	complement-taking verb
CUL	close upward location
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite referent
DES	desiderative modality
DETR	detransitiviser
DHL	distant horizontal location
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional marker
DL	dual number
DOWN	downward direction
DS	different subject or switch reference
DUR	durative aspect
EMP	emphatic assertion marker
ERG	ergative marker
EVD	evidential
EXCL	exclusive
FDL	far downward location
FEM	feminine
FHL	far horizontal location
FOR	force (semantic role)
FUL	far upward location
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive marker

GER	gerundive marker
GRP	group (number)
ILL	illocutionary force
IMM	immediate command
IMP	imperative
INCEP	inceptive aspect
INCL	inclusion/listing
incl.	inclusive
INDF	indefinitive referent
INST	instrumental case
INTERR	interrogative
intr	intransitive verb
IRR	irrealis status
IRT	indirect reported speech
KIN	kinship marker
lit	literal meaning
LOC	locative marker
MDL	mid downward location
MHL	mid horizontal location
MUL	mid upward location
N	noun
NDL	near downward location
NEG	negative
NF	nominal focus
NHL	near horizontal location
NOM	nominaliser
NON-IMM	non-immediate command
NON-SING	non-singular number
NP	noun phrase
NPT	near past tense
NSL	near speaker location
NSN	not seen evidence/event
NST	non-specific time
NUL	near upward location
O	object of transitive verb
Pat	patient
PAUC	paucal number
PERF	perfect aspect
PF	predicate focus
PL	plural
POS	possessor
POSS	possessed
PRG	present progressive tense
PT	participial verb
PUNCT	punctual aspect
PUR	purpose

Q	question
QR	quantifier
REALIS	realis status
Rec	recipient
REPORT	reporting clause
RHL	remote horizontal location
RPT	remote past tense
RQ	rhetoric question
RSN	reason
S	subject of intransitive verb
sec.	section
SEQ	sequence
SG	singular
SOV	subject-object-verb
SPN	split-action
SPR	simple present tense
SR	switch-reference
SS	same subject
SUB	subject
SUBJ	subjunctive
SV	subject-verb
SVCs	serial verb constructions
TIME	time
TNS	tense
TOP	topic
tr	transitive verb
UP	upward direction
V	verb
VP	verb phrase

Phonemic and orthographic alphabets:

Phonemes	a	ə	b	d	e	g	i	k
Small	aa	a	b	d	e	g	i	k
Capital	Aa	A	B	D	E	G	I	K
Phonemes	l	m	n	ñ	o	p	r	s
Small	l	m	n	ny	o	p	r	s
Capital	L	M	N	Ny	O	P	R	S
Phonemes	t	c	u	w	y			
Small	t	ty	u	w	y			
Capital	T	Ty	U	W	Y			

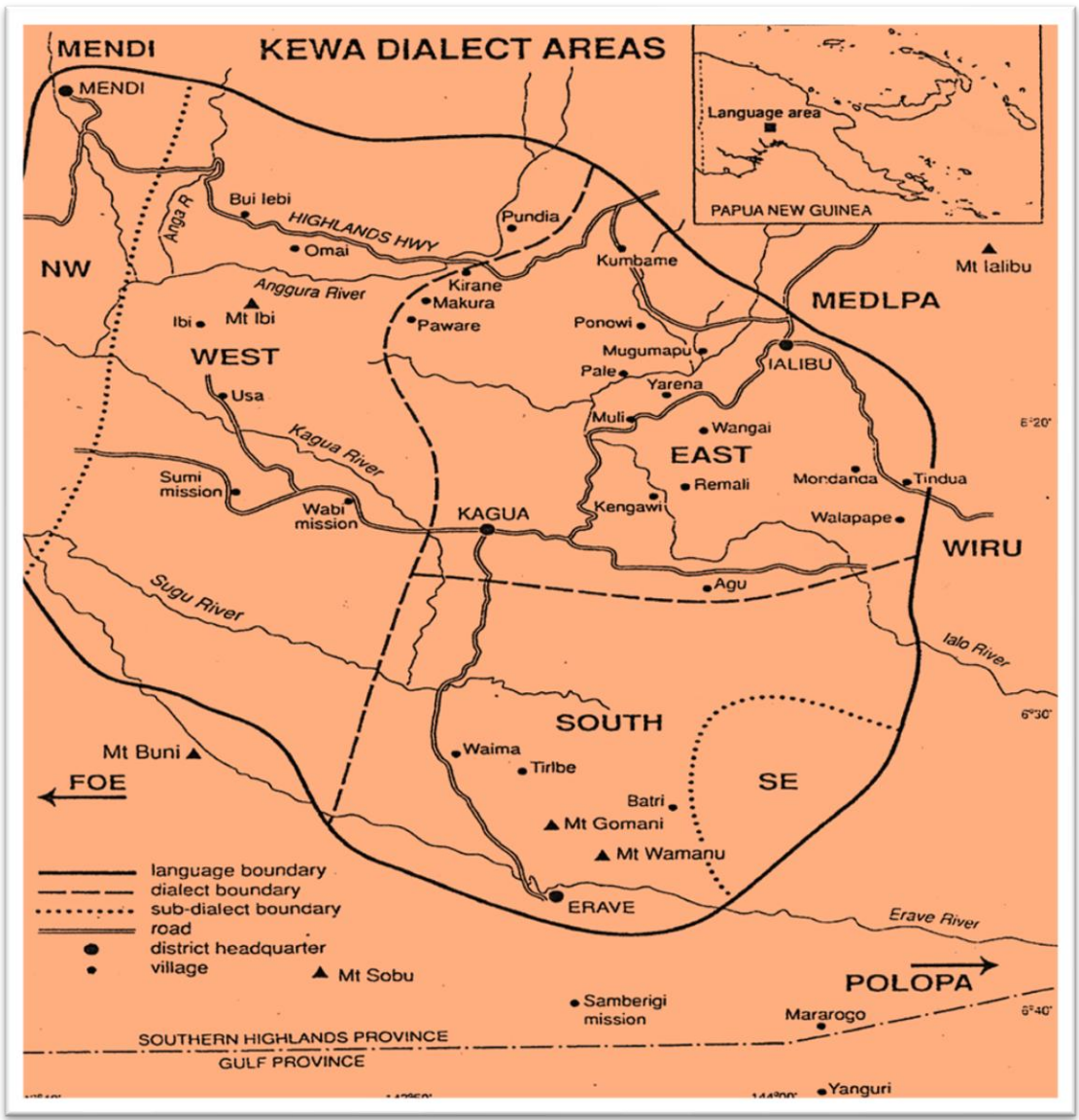


Figure 1: Language Area Map (Yarapea 2006, adapted from Franklin 1971).

1. Introduction

Kewapi is a non-Austronesian or a Papuan language of the West-Central (Engan) Family of the Trans New Guinea Phylum (Franklin 1971, Wurm 1975, 1982, Foley 1986). Within the Enga family, consisting of Enga, Huli, Angal Mendi and Wiru sub-families (Wurm 1975:470), Kewapi is a member of the Angal Mendi sub-family. The Kewapi language is known to outsiders as ‘Kewa’ (Franklin 1971), ‘Kewapi’ (Wurm and Laycock 1961 cited in Franklin and Franklin 1978:21, Yaraepa 1992) or ‘Kewabi’. The latter appears in government records in Ialibu District to refer to a census division, when used in opposition to ‘Imbonggu’ (a dialect of Medlpa) census division (Franklin 1978:3). The speakers of the East dialect of Kewapi call their ‘language’ ‘Kewapi’ and refer to the West and South dialects of Kewapi as ‘Kewa’ (see Figure 1: Language Area Map).

Kewapi is spoken by over 200,000 people in Pangia, Ialibu, Kagua, and Erave Districts of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. According to the 2011 National Census figures, the number of Kewapi speakers in Ialibu, Kagua and Erave Districts is 100,307, comprising 52,363 males and 47,671 females. The figure of 100,307 Kewapi speakers is only for Kewapi Rural Area in Ialibu and Kagua-Erave Districts. Including all Kewapi speakers in Papua New Guinea, the estimate figure is over 200,000. According to the 2011 National Census statistics, the Average Annual population growth rate since 2000 is 3.2%.

The texts presented here were recorded by the author between 1995 and 1997 during linguistic field work for a doctoral thesis ‘Morphosyntax of Kewapi Language’ submitted to the Australian National University in 2006. The thesis has been published as: Yaraepa, A. 2013. *The Kewapi language of Papua New Guinea*. Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea Press.

2. Texts

2.1 Pig raising practice – Descriptive genre

By Kilua Kauga (Kauga Subclan of Marepa tribe)

Text 2.1 is a monologic text whose communicative purpose is to describe Kewapi cultural practice of raising pigs and using them for important cultural occasions. This text was recorded on the 20th of September 1995 by the present writer. The speaker, Kilua Kauga (who passed away in 1999), was asked to describe a pig and its use in Kewa culture as if he was describing it to a foreigner who knows nothing about raising pigs. Kilua was over 55 years at the time of recording. He had extensive experience in raising pigs and organising big feasts for slaughtering pigs to pay debts to clansmen, consolidate tribal friendships, and reconcile tribal enemies. The place of recording was at Ialibu District of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, about 8 kilometers from Mugumapu village, the village of the speaker and this author. So the description is reflective, i.e. removed from the physical sight of pigs. There was a small audience of a few young men and boys.

Translation

As for pig, a sow gives birth to a male and a female pig, two of them, the one that is born (the female piglet) is a very small piglet. [T1:1]

When the sow gives birth to two tiny piglets, the one (female) that is born is mated by a male when it is on heat (i.e. when the sow is mature to have piglets). [T1:2]

When it mates (it), a very small piglet is born. [T1:3]

The one that is born is very small (and) when they look after it ..., it is born with very small ears, very small toes, a very small tongue, and a very small mouth. T1:4]

At that time, it continues to feed on milk and it becomes a bit bigger. [T1:5]

When it becomes big, and when it stops feeding on milk, we give it sweet potatoes. [T1:6]

When we give it sweet potatoes, the ears become big, the toes become big, the stomach becomes big, the snout becomes big, the tail also becomes big, and the ears also become big. [T1:7]

When it becomes big like that, and when we break sweet potatoes into pieces (usually by the teeth of the feeder) and give it, it does all that. [T1:8]

When it takes a sweet potato which is a big one and eats it (without much effort), it really becomes a big one. [T1:9]

When it becomes a big one, then, its ears really become big, legs become big, everything really becomes big, (and) the pig's skin becomes tight. [T1:10]

When that happens, we want it (the pig) to eat worms (so) we send it outside (of the house where it's kept). [T1:11]

When it goes outside, and when it comes back after eating worms, we fasten a rope on one leg and tie (it to its platform). [T1:12]

When it comes and gets into the enclosure we make to tie the pig, the women bring sweet potatoes and feed it (the pig). [T1:13]

When they bring sweet potatoes and feed it, big teeth grow, inside the lips, big teeth grow. [T1:14]

When the teeth grow, we say that this pig is a huge one. [T1:15]

When we say like that, (that huge thing)), the snout becomes short. [T1:16]

Having become short, that pig has become big for eating. [T1:17]

It becomes big for eating, when women look after it (the pig). T1:18]

When the teeth has grown and it becomes ready for eating, we slaughter it when there is a feast. [T1:19]

Glossed text

- (1) *Mena-re,* *mena kebo* *pamed-a-me* *inya* *mena ru*
 pig-TOP, pig mother one-ERG sow pig boar
mena-lopo *laapo* *made-a-ai-re* *si* *oge-si*
 pig-DL two carry-3SG.SPR-NOM-TOP piglet small-DIM
made-a.
 carry-3SG.SPR

'As for pig, a sow gives birth to a male and a female pig, two of them, the one that is born (the female piglet) is a very small piglet.' [T1:1]

Note: In the last line the interlinear gloss for *made-a* is appropriate. The verb root is *made* 'carry' in the context of 3SG.SPR.

- (2) *Si oge wekili-si-lopo raita made-a robo, go*
 piglet small tiny-DIM-DL both carry-3SG.SPR when, that
mena made-a-ai-ri surake meda-me
 pig carry-3SG.SPR-NOM-TOP uncastrated male one.INDF-ERG
mo mena yawele-a robo madaa pe-a.
 FHL pig on heat-3SG.SPR when on top do-3SG.SPR
 'When the sow gives birth to two tiny piglets, the one (female) that is born is mated by a male when it is on heat (i.e. when the sow is mature to have piglets).' [T1:2]
- (3) *Madaa pe-a robo-re, si oge-si made-a.*
 on top do-3SG.SPR when-TOP, piglet small-DIM carry-3SG.SPR
 'When it mates (it), a very small piglet is born.' [T1:3]
- (4) *Oge-si made-a-ai-re maa*
 small-DIM carry-3SG.SPR-NOM-TOP take
surube-me robo-re kaale-si oge-si
 look after-3PL.SPR when-TOP ear-DIM small-DIM
aepale made-a, kidipaa-si oge-si
 be.withcarry-3SG.SPR, toe-DIM small-DIM
aepale made-a, mena keke-si oge-si
 be.withcarry-3SG.SPR, pig tongue-DIM small-DIM
aepale made-a, agaa oge-si
 be.with carry-3SG.SPR, mouth small-DIM
aepale made-a.
 be.with carry-3SG.SPR
 'The one that is born is very small (and) when they look after it, it is born with very small ears, very small toes, a very small tongue, and a very small mouth.' [T1:4]
- (5) *Go robo-re, adu no-ma pu-maa-re,*
 that time-TOP, milk eat-CONT go-SEQ.SS-TOP,
oge-si adaa le-a.
 small-DIM big say-3SG.SPR
 'At that time, it continues to feed on milk and it becomes a bit bigger.' [T1:5] Note: the verb form *la* 'say' in simple present tense *le* 'say/become' functions as a *become* verb.
- (6) *Go adaa le-a robo-re, adu no-maa*
 that big say-3SG.SPR when-TOP, milk eat-SEQ.SS
lira-ya robo-re, sapi kale-ma.
 stop-3SG.SPR when-TOP, sweet potato give-1PL.SPR
 'When it becomes big, and when it stops feeding on milk, we give it sweet potatoes.' [T1:6]

- (7) *Sapi kale-ma robo-re, go-re kaale epaa*
 sweet potato give-1PL.SPR. when-TOP, that-TOP ear come
adaa le-a, kidipaa epaa adaa le-a,
 big say-3SG.SPR, toe come big say-3SG.SPR,
lo adaa le-a, pea epaa adaa le-a,
 stomach big say-3SG.SPR, snout come big say-3SG.SPR
aapu pege adaa le-a, kaale pege adaa le-a.
 tail also big say-3SG.SPR, ear also big say-3SG.SPR
 'When we give it sweet potatoes, the ears become big, the toes become big, the stomach becomes big, the snout becomes big, the tail also becomes big, and the ears also become big.' [T1:7]
- (8) *Gupa adaa le-a robo-re, sapi karepenalu*
 like that big say-3SG.SPR when-TOP, sweet potato break into pieces
kale-ma robo, go-au-nu pe-a.
 give-1PL.SPR when, that-NOM-PL do-3SG.SPR
 'When it becomes big like that, and when we break sweet potatoes into pieces (usually by the teeth of the feeder) and give it, it does all that.' [T1:8]
- (9) *Sapi adaa-ai pa maa ne-a robo-re,*
 sweet potato big-NOM just take eat-3SG.SPR when-TOP,
ora adaa-ai popa a-ya.
 really big-NOM come.go stand-3SG.SPR
 'When it takes a sweet potato which is a big one and eats it (without much effort), it really becomes a big one.' [T1:9]

Note: *popa* literally means 'come and go' and is from now a compound verb that probably originated from the reduplicated verb *pu* 'go'. In sentence [T1:9] *a-ya* 'stand-3SG.SPR', the existential verb *a* 'stand' functions as a *to-be* verb.

- (10) *Adaa-ai popa a-ya robo-ri,*
 big-NOM come.go stand-3SG.SPR when-TOP,
go-re, ora kale-pe-nu adaa yo,
 that-TOP, really ear-IRR-PL big be,
aa-pe-nu adaa yo,
 leg-IRR-PL big be,
ora olele adaa yo-ma
 really everything big be-CONT
pu piao-ya,
 go do-3SG.SPR,
mena yogole kiti pe-a
 pig skin tight do-3SG.SPR
 'When it becomes a big one, then, its ears really become big, legs become big, everything really becomes big, (and) the pig's skin becomes tight.' [T1:10]

- (11) *Go pea robo, pili/kolawi ne-na*
 that do.it when worm eat-3SG
yaa kama-nane wea-ema.
 want outside-DIR send-1PL.SPR
 'When that happens, we want it (the pig) to eat worms (so) we send it outside (of the house where it's kept).' [T1:11]
- (12) *Kamaa pe-a robo-re, pili no a-maa*
 outside go-3SG.SPR when-TOP, worm eat stand-SEQ.SS
epe-a robo-re, runane wala maa adili-ma
 come-3SG.SPR when-TOP, inside later take tie-1PL.SPR
ki-para kope mara-maa maa adi-lima.
 hand-LOC rope fasten-SEQ.SS take tie-1PL.SPR
 'When it goes outside, and when it comes back after eating worms, we fasten a rope on one leg and tie (it to its platform).' [T1:12]
- (13) *Kutapape pu-maa maa adi-lima-pora-re runane*
 enclosure do-SEQ.SS take tie-1PL.SPR-LOC-TOP inside
epaa kode-a-pora-re winya-nu-mi sapi
 come get into-it.SPR-LOC-TOP woman-PL-ERG sweet potato
madu kale-me.
 carry give-3PL.SPR
 'When it comes and gets into the enclosure we make to tie the pig, the women bring sweet potatoes and feed it (the pig).' [T1:13]
- (14) *Sapi madu kale-me robo-re, agaa-pe*
 sweet.potato carry give-3PL.SPR when-TOP, teeth-IRR
ope-a kabulu-pora runane, agaa-pe ope-a.
 grow-3SG.SPR lips-LOC inside, teeth-IRR grow-3SG.SPR
 'When they bring sweet potatoes and feed it, big teeth grow, inside the lips, big teeth grow.' [T1:14]
- Note: As in *agaa-pe* 'teeth-IRR' in [T1:14], nominals or predicates marked by the irrealis marker indicate augmentation of the marked nominal or event.
- (15) *Agaa ope-a robo-re, gore gó*
 teeth grow-3SG.SPR when-TOP, then this
mena ima-pe-da lo gupa le-ma.
 pig huge-IRR-INDF say like that say-1PL.SPR
 'When the teeth grow, we say that this pig is a huge one.' [T1:15]
- (16) *Gupa le-ma robo-re, mogo-na-ai,*
 like that say-1PL.SPR when-TOP, that-GEN-NOM,
pea-si epaa rudu le-a.
 nose-DIM come short say-3SG.SPR

'When we say like that, that huge thing, the snout becomes short.' [T1:16]

- (17) *Go rudu yo-maa-re, mena mogo na-pe-pe*
 that short be-SEQ.SS-TOP, pig that eat-IRR-IRR
ipi li-a.
 come say/be-3SG.SPR

'Having become short, that pig has become big for eating.' [T1:17]

Note: The irrealis marker *-pe* occurs twice in *na-pe-pe* 'eat-IRR-IRR = for eating' to indicate first the verb's yet-to-be realised (irrealis) status and second, to indicate augmentative status of the state of the event.

- (18) *Na-pe-pe ipi li-a-re, winya-me*
 eat-IRR-IRR come say/be-3SG.SPR-TOP, woman-ERG
surube-a robo pe-a.
 look after-3SG.SPR when do-3SG.SPR

'It becomes big for eating, when women look after it (the pig).' [T1:18]

- (19) *Aгаа-pe opo-maa na-pe le-a*
 teeth-IRR grow-SEQ.SS eat-IRR say/be-3SG.SPR
robo-re, yawe-robo li-ma.
 when-TOP, feast-when kill-1PL.SPR

'When the teeth has grown and it becomes ready for eating, we slaughter it when there is a feast.' [T1:19]

2.2 Legend about the origin of evil spirit – Myth genre

By Popeke Ubi (Noma Subclan of Marepa tribe)

Text 2 is a legend text. Payne describes such texts as mythology, "which typically deal with explanations for the current state of the world" (Payne 1997:359). The communicative purpose of the *kage* 'legend' text is to explain the origin of evil spirit.

The narrator is Popeke Ubi, a male in the mid forties from Mugumapu village. He is a former village councillor from the Nomarepa subclan of the Mugumapu Maarepa clan. There is an audience of about ten people including the present author. The place of recording of Popeke's *kage* is Mugumapu village and the time of recording is December 1996. It was recorded during the day. In Kewapi culture legends are told as entertainment stories. Scary legends are narrated in the night to enhance drama and suspense effects. The art of narration is mastered only by a few people who use the genre-specific rhetorical structures and language skillfully. To discourage people from the misuse of *kages* there is a traditional belief that the sky would fall or that something nasty will happen to the daring teller.

Translation

As for that, a couple lived, they went and built their possum-game (hunting) house in the bush. [T2:1]

Having stayed where they built the hunting house, (the man set up traps and caught and steam-roasted possums where he had set up traps, they continued to kill and steamroast possums. [T2:2] There one day the man intended to stay back (so) he said to the woman, "go and check (the traps)".[T2:3]

He said, "because I have set up a trap at the base of a tree, and because there I think it (game) will really become trapped there, go and see". [T2:4]

When she went down slowly because she intended to check the trap, a huge brown pig become trapped, down in the trap, where he (the man) had set the possum trap. [T2:5]

When it became trapped, the woman went and remove it from the trap and came up slowly and split wood, pulled out greens, split the wood into pieces, burned off the pig's hair upward and downward with the intention to steam-roast it in an earth oven. [T2:6]

Having come and steamroasted the pig in an earth oven, and as she was staying, in the direction of the road where she had gone and brought the pig, a man came calling for a pig there. [T2:7]

When he came calling the pig, the woman was very frightened [lit.: died by weight of fear]. [T2:8]

When she was in the state of fear, an evil man with brown hair that was in disarray, and falling all over his head, came out suddenly and said, "this woman, did you see my pig?". [T2:9]

When he said that, she said, "where my husband had set a trap the pig was caught in it, and (but) I have already steam-roasted it here". [T2:10]

When she said, "I did that", the man said, "because it is fine you did that, you should come with me (and) show me the place where you removed the pig from the trap". [T2:11]

She said, "about that, because it got caught in a trap, I have steam-roasted it, (so) you should reclaim it [lit.: carry it yourself and go]". [T2:12]

He said because the answer is no, and because he should see where it (the pig) was caught, she must take him down there first”. [T2:13]

She said, “no, because I will not go with you, you must go and see it yourself”, (because it was caught down there (distant location) under a fallen tree). [T2:14]

Then because the man intended to go and see the trap, he came and split himself in the middle (to become two halves). [T2:15]

Having split himself into two halves, he left one half to guard the woman, the other half, went down hastily lit.: shot through, with the intention to see the trap. [T2:16]

When the man did that, and while he was seeing the trap, the woman swiftly took out the pork from the earth oven and put all of them into the string bag. [T2:17]

Having carried the pork, the other half that the evil man had left behind to guard the woman, was not left behind; she took it and carried it when the half man did something she took it and carried it on top of her head above the string bag. [T2:18]

She went hastily lit.: shot off along the only road that was there and continued going quickly. [T2:19]

At that time, as the man continued to follow the woman he called to his other half, “half” and the half that she was carrying continued to reply, “yes”. [T2:20]

She didn’t even (think of) throwing it away, and she just continued to carry it and go. [T2:21]

If she throw it away, it will kill and eat her (she thought); she continued carrying it and went.[T2:22]

Having done that, as hej came to a place hej would call his other half, and hej continued to reply. [T2:23]

Having continued carrying the load, she really came to where the man was - her husband was waiting for the possums she will bring and said, “my good man, where you set the trap a pig become trapped in it and I am bringing it here with something else”, and she dropped the load heavily on the ground. [T2:24]

At that time, the man didn’t even say, “I must get an axe and chop the half-man”, he just kept looking at it. [T2:25]

When that happened, having called his other half close (behind the couple) and come with an intention, the half man (that was following the woman) came suddenly and combined the two halves. [T2:26]

Having intentionally combined the two halves, the evil man killed and ate the woman and man there. [T2:27]

Now then, that evil spirit they call *masalai* (borrowed for Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea Pidgin language word) for evil spirit); they say it goes around killing and eating people; that is how it began killing and eating people; it came out into being an evil spirit there and then. [T2:28]

Glossed text

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------|
| (1) | <i>Go-re,</i> | <i>winya</i> | <i>ali-lopo</i> | <i>laapo</i> | <i>awa-sipi</i> | <i>pere,</i> |
| | that-TOP, | woman | man-DL | two | live-3DL.RPT | but, |
| | <i>ipu-na</i> | <i>yapa-sa-daa</i> | <i>ada</i> | <i>rupa</i> | <i>raa-pora</i> | |
| | they-GEN | possum-game-house | house | as | bush-LOC | |
| | <i>ada</i> | <i>puaa</i> | <i>pu</i> | <i>wi-sipi,</i> | <i>yapa-sa-daa.</i> | |
| | House | go | do | put-3DL.RPT, | possum-game-house | |

'As for that, a couple lived, they went and built their possum-game (hunting) house in the bush.' [T2:1]

Notes: 1. *pere* 'but' is not an appropriate linker because the linked clauses are not contrastive. 2. *yapa-sa-daa* 'possum-game house' is a compound noun formed possibly by combining the nouns *yapa* 'possum' *sa* is possibly an abbreviated form of *adasa* 'game' and *ada* 'house'. 3. possum-game house is a house that is built and used in a hunting area. This house will be referred to as a 'hunting house'.

- (2) *Ade awa-maa li-sipi-na, yapa-sa-daa*
 DEF live-SEQ.SS say-3DL.RPT-GEN possum-game-house
pu wi-sipi-pora, ipu-de mo-de ali
 do put-3DL.RPT-LOC, he-DEF FHL-DEF man
kono ma-a-maa li-sa-na ipu-na yapa-nu
 trap CAUS-stand-SEQ.SS say-3SG.RPT-GEN he-GEN possum-PL
lu yawo kono ma-a-sa-pora-nu
 hit steamroast trap CAUS-stand-3SG.RPT-LOC-PL
lu yawa-la pu a-sipi.
 hit steam-roast-CONT do stand.DUR-3DL.RPT

'Having stayed where they built the hunting house, the man set up traps and caught and steam-roasted possums where he had set up traps, they continued to kill and steamroast possums.' [T2:2]

Notes: 1. *ade* 'one/the seen' functions as a clause linker when it precedes a clause and as a premodifier of noun in a NP. 2. The formula *li-sipi-na* or *li-sa-na* is used by the narrator to present parts of the narrative preceding the formula as events 'inferred' by the narrator (which is formally marked by the genitive marker *-na* to indicate an inferred event). Inferred segments of narratives contrast with segments that are presented as 'observed' by the narrator (which are formally unmarked) or segments presented as 'hearsay' reports (which are marked by the 'not-seen evidential marker *-yaa*'). In other words, the narrator views segments of the events from the participants' viewpoint, from the narrator's viewpoint and from a third person's viewpoint, respectively. 3. Pronouns are marked by the definite referent or event marker *-de* to indicate a reactivated definite referent, as in [T2:2] above.

- (3) *Ade-pora koro-meda mo ali ipu pa pi-tua-me*
 DEF-LOC one day FHL man he just sit-3SG.FUT-INST
li-sa-na, o-de winya-pora ta-lo
 say-3SG.RPT-GEN NSL-DEF woman-LOC say-IRR
 "puaa ada" *li-sa.*
 go see say-3SG.RPT

'There one day the man intended to stay back (so) he said to the woman, "go and see/check (the traps)"!' [T2:3]

Note: The instrumental case marker *-me* marking a predicate indicates intentional mode.

- (4) "Repona *re-pora kono meda go*
 [tree base-LOC trap one.INDF there
ma-aa-yo-le, go-pora-re ora
 CAUS-stand-1SG.SPR-because, that-LOC-TOP really
epaa ra-lia kone sa-lo-le,
 come catch-3SG.FUT thought put-1SG.SPR-because,

puaa ádá” li-sa.

go see say-3SG.RPT

'He said, "because I have set up a trap at the base of a tree, and because there I think it (game) will really become trapped there, go and see".' [T2:4]

- (5) *Ade-de kono-pora ada-lua-me ya-daa pawa*
 DEF-DEF trap-LOC see-3SG.FUT-INST want-because slowly
no pa-sa robo, mena kade pamedá epaa
 FDL go-3SG.RPT when, pig brown one come
rai pili-sa-yaa, no-de kono-pora,
 trap shoot-3SG.RPT-NSN, FDL-DEF trap-LOC
yapa kono ma-a-sa-pora.
 possum trap CAUS-stand-3SG.RPT-LOC

'When she went down slowly because she intended to check the trap, a huge brown pig become trapped, down in the trap, where he (the man) had set the possum trap.' [T2:5]

Notes: 1. *pili* is the 3SG.RPT form of the verb base *pia* 'shoot'. It functions as an auxiliary verb with a 'be' sense. 2. In [T2:5] the NP *ade-de kono-pora* 'DEF-DEF trap-LOC = the reactivated definite trap' note that *ade* is the free form definite marker while *-de* is the enclitic bound form definite marker, which functions to indicate a reactivated definite referent, namely, *kono* 'trap'.

- (6) *Ade epaa rai pili-sa-yaa robo-re, o-de*
 DEF come trap shoot-3SG.RPT-NSN when-TOP, NSL-DEF
winya-me li-sa-na, puaa koyo-maa
 woman-ERG say-3SG.RPT-GEN, come remove-SEQ.SS
li-sa-na, so-de pawa ipu-maa
 say-3SG.RPT-GEN, FUL-DEF slowly come-SEQ.SS
li-sa-na, repona epaa rele pu
 say-3SG.RPT-GEN, wood come split do
li-sa-na, imu-na mo kibitya yoko,
 say-3SG.RPT-GEN they-GEN FHL greens pull out,
li-sa-na, repona-de rele rele pu li-sa-na,
 say-3SG.RPT-GEN, wood-DEF split split do say-3SG.RPT-GEN,
ade mena iri so-ne no-ne epaa
 DEF pig hair FUL-DIR FDL-DIR come
kisa-loma-me epaa yawo pia-sa.
 burn-SEQ.SS-INST come steam-roast do-3SG.RPT

'When it became trapped, the woman went and remove it from the trap and came up slowly and split wood, pulled out greens, split the wood into pieces, burned off the pig's hair upward and downward with the intention to steam-roasted it in an earth oven.' [T2:6]

Note: In [T2:6] in the construction initial structure *Ade epaa rai pili-sa-yaa* 'DEF come trap shoot-3SG.RPT-NSN' the form *ade* 'DEF' indicates that the following event is definite, i.e. presupposed and so the known utterance segment is linked to the new utterance segments that follow. In other words, *ade* functions as a cataphoric discourse linker when it precedes a predicate structure.

- (7) *Epaa yawo pia-maa piri-nya mo-de*
 come steam-roast do-SEQ.SS sit-3SG.DS FHL-DEF
pa-sa-de pora-nane magia mo mena puaa koli-sa
 go-3SG.RPT-DEF road-DIR side FHL pig go remove-3SG.RPT
magia ali meda li-sa-na esu li-sa
 side man one.INDF say-3SG.RPT-GEN pig callsay-3SG.RPT
pere mena mo egeyo-maa ipu a-sa.
 but pig FHL call-SEQ.SS come stand.DUR-3SG.RPT

'Having come and steamroasted the pig in an earth oven, and as she was staying, in the direction of the road where she had gone and brought the pig, a man came calling for a pig there.' [T2:7]

Notes: 1. *pere* 'but' does not function as a contrastive but an additive coordinate marker in [T2:7]. 2. When the definite marker *-de* marks a predicate (as in [T2:7]), it indicates the speaker's belief that the marked event is known by the listener.

- (8) *Ade mena egeyo-ma ipu a-sa robo,*
 DEF pig call-CONT come stand.DUR-3SG.RPT when,
o-de nu ipu pururu keda komo-maa piri-sa.
 NSL-DEF woman she fear heavy die-SEQ.SS sit-3SG.RPT

'When he came calling the pig, the woman was very frightened lit.: died by the weight of fear.' [T2:8]

- (9) *Ade pi-sa robo li-sa-na-re,*
 DEF do-3SG.RPT when say-3SG.RPT-GEN-TOP
iri-nu tonalanala po-pe kapokalado, iri kaati-nu
 hair-PL disarray come-go evil man, hair brown-PL
lapa lapa li-sa pere ali pameda pelo tya-la
 fall fall say-3SG.RPT but man one pull hit-CONT
ipu-maa li-sa-na "gó winya, na mena
 come-SEQ.SS say-3SG.RPT-GEN this woman, my pig
ada-e" *li-sa.*
 see-2SG.NPT say-3SG.RPT

'When she was in the state of fear, an evil man with brown hair that was in disarray, and falling all over his head, came out suddenly and said, "this woman, did you see my pig?". [T2:9]

Note: words like *tonalanala* 'untidy as eaten by something' (*to* 'skin', *na-la* 'eat-CONT, *na-la* 'eat-CONT) cannot be meaningfully segmented as such. Others include *lapalapa* 'falling sound of long hair', *pelo tya-la* 'pull out hit-CONT = come out suddenly into the clear' are better considered as formulaic or conventional idiomatic expressions.

- (10) *Ade li-sa robo aya gorupa "na-na*
 DEF say-3SG.RPT when amend like this I-GEN
aali-mi kono ma-aa-ripa-yaa-pora epaa
 husband-ERG trap CAUS-stand-3SG.NPT-NSN-LOC come

ra-a-yaa *pere gó abala epaa*
 catch-NPT.3SG-NSN but here before come
yawa-wa” *li-sa.*
 steamroast-1SG.NPT say-3SG.RPT

'When he said that, she said, “where my husband had set a trap the pig was caught in it, and (but) I have already steam-roasted it here”.' [T2:10]

- (11) “*Go pea-wa*” *li-sa robo, mo-de ali-mi ta-lo*
 that do-1SG.NPT say-3SG.RPT when, FHL-DEF man-ERG say-IRR
go-re epe pea-e-le, mo koya-e-lena
 that-TOP good do-2SG.NPT-because, FHL untie-2SG.NPT-LOC
kamaa-re ipu maa wala-inya ba-na” *li-sa.*
 only-TOP he take show-2SG go-1DL say-3SG.RPT

'When she said, “I did that”, the man said, “because it was fine you did that, you should come with me (and) show me the place where you removed the pig from the trap”.' [T2:11]

- (12) “*Go-re, o kono-pora ra-a-daa,*
 that-TOP, NSL trap-LOC catch-3SG.NPT-because,
yawe-e-le, ne-na matya pa-inya”
 steamroast-1SG.SPR-because, you-GEN carry go-2SG
li-sa.
 say-3SG.RPT

'She said, “about that, because it got caught in a trap, I have steam-roasted it, (so) you should reclaim it [lit.: carry it yourself and go]”.' [T2:12]

- (13) *Dia-le ipu no ra-a-pora kamaa-re*
 no-because he FDL catch-3SG.NPT only-TOP
ada-no-le ipu abala maa pu li-sa.
 see-1SG-because he first take go say-3SG.RPT

'He said because the answer is no, and because he should see where it (the pig) was caught, she must take him down there first.' [T2:13]

Note: The embedded quote is indirect as the shift to third person pronoun *ipu* ‘he’ instead of *ni* ‘I’ signals.

- (14) “*Dia ipu-re na-pa-lipa-le, ne-na puaa ada*
 no she-TOP NEG-go-1DL.FUT-because, you-GEN go see
li-sa, *no repona rolo-pora*
 say-3SG.RPT, “FDL wood under-LOC
ra-a-yaa-le.
 catch-3SG.NPT-NSN-because

'She said, “no, because I will not go with you, you must go and see it yourself”, because it was caught down there (distant location) under a fallen tree)'. [T2:14]

- (15) *Go robo mo-de ali-mi li-sa-na ipu-mi*
 that time FHL-DEF man-ERG say-3SG.RPT-GEN he-ERG

ado-la *pa-lua-me* *ya-daa-wa* *li-sa-na*
 see-IRR go-3SG.FUT-INST want-because-EXCL say-3SG.RPT-GEN
ipu-de *rikana epaa maa rele pi-sa.*
 he-DEF centre come take split do-3SG.RPT

'Then because the man intended to go and see the trap, he came and split himself in the middle (to become two halves).' [T2:15]

- (16) *Rele pu-maa, li-sa-na medane-de mo-de*
 split do-SEQ.SS, say-3SG.RPT-GEN one side-DEF FHL-DEF
winya pa surubu piri-nya-lomaa,
 woman just guard sit-3SG.DS-SEQ,
ipu-de mo medane li-sa-na ipu maa
 he-DEF FHL one side say-3SG.RPT-GEN he take
pili tya-ba pa-sa, no-de kono
 shoot hit-PUNCT go-3SG.RPT, FDL-DEF trap
ado-la pa-lua-me.
 see-IRR go-3SG.FUT-INST

'Having split himself into two halves, he left one half to guard the woman, the other half, went down hastily [lit.: shot through], with the intention to see the trap.' [T2:16]

- (17) *Ade pi-sa robo, mo-de puua ada-lo piri-nya*
 DEF do-3SG.RPT when, FHL-DEF go see-CONT sit-3SG.DS
o-de winya-me li-sa-na ade mena
 NSL-DEF lady-ERG say-3SG.RPT-GEN DEF pig
kamaa-re kikao la-ba-na kikao kikao
 only-TOP swiftly say/be-PUNCT-3SG swiftly swiftly
li-sa pere ade mena yoko nene
 say-3SG.RPT but DEF pig take out from earth oven toward actor
pu mo-de nu-pora rayosi maa madi-sa.
 do FHL-DEF string bag-LOC all of them take carry-3SG.RPT

'When the man did that, and while he was seeing the trap, the woman swiftly took out the pork from the earth oven and put all of them into the string bag.' [T2:17]

- (18) *Ade maa matya-loma-me li-sa-na*
 DEF take carry-SEQ.SS-INST say-3SG.RPT-GEN
o-de ipu-de paaki lu wi-sa-de-ai pa
 NSL-DEF he-DEF half hit put-3SG.RPT-DEF-NOM just
wi-nya na-pe li-sa-na maa madi-sa,
 put-3SG.DS NEG-go say-3SG.RPT-GEN take carry-3SG.RPT,
mo ali-mi adua meda pi-sa robo
 FHL man-ERG something one.INDF do-3SG.RPT when
ade paki abuna mada maa lu ri-sa.
 DEF half also on top take hit carry-3SG.RPT

'Having carried the pork, the other half that the evil man had left behind to guard the woman, was not left behind; she took it and carried it when the half man did something she took it and carried it on top of her head above the string bag.' [T2:18]

- (19) *Maa pili tya-bi-sa go wi-sa pora-lu*
 take shoot hit-PUNCT-3SG.RPT there put-3SG.RPT road-along
kamaa-re, pa pa pa ipu pa-sa.
 only-TOP, go go go she go-3SG.RPT.
 'She went hastily lit.: shot off along the only road that was there and continued going quickly.' [T2:19]

- (20) *Go robo, o-de ali werepe ratya-ma*
 that time, NSL-DEF man later follow-CONT
ratya-ma pea-lo aa-ra paaki ya li-sa;
 follow-CONT do-CONT stand-SIM.SS half call say-3SG.RPT
wa lo-ma lo-ma pi-sa,
 [yes] say-CONT say-CONT do-3SG.RPT,
o ri-sa-ai-mi.
 here carry-3SG.RPT-NOM-ERG
 'At that time, as the man continued to follow the woman he called to his other half, "half" and the half that she was carrying continued to reply, "yes".' [T2:20]

Note: *-ma* 'CONT' marks continuative aspect and *-maa* 'SEQ.SS' marks sequential Same Subject (SS) relation with the main clause.

- (21) *Rubu pi-au pege na-pi pa ru pia-maa*
 throw do-NOM even NEG-do just carry do-SEQ.SS
kamaa pu piri-sa.
 only go sit.DUR-3SG.RPT
 'She didn't even (think of) throwing it away, and she just continued to carry it and go.' [T2:21]

- (22) *Rubu pia-lua robo-re, ipu lu na-lia;*
 throw away do-1SG.FUT time-if,she hit eat-3SG.FUT;
o-de paaki pa ru pi-au pu piri-sa.
 NSL-DEF half just carry do-NOM go sit.DUR-3SG.RPT
 'If she throw it away, it will kill and eat her (she thought); she continued carrying it and went.' [T2:22]

- (23) *Gu-pu-maa li-sa-na meda-lena*
 that-do-SEQ.SS say-3SG.RPT-GEN one.INDF-LOC
epaa aa-ra ta-lo
 come stand-SIM.SS say-IRR
paaki ya li-sa; wa la-la pi-sa.
 half call say-RPT.3SG; yes say-CONT do-3SG.RPT

‘Having done that, as hej came to a place hej would call his other half, and hej continued to reply.’ [T2:23]

Note: The subject nominal of the final verb *li* ‘say’ is the half of the evil man that is following the woman, while the subject nominal of the verb *pi* ‘do’ is the other half the woman is carrying. The disjoint reference is expressed by the subject suffixes of the declarative clauses.

- (24) *Ria ria pu piru-maa li-sa-na,*
 carry carry do sit-SEQ.SS say-3SG.RPT-GEN,
ora no-de ali-de a-sa-de le-si-na,
 really FDL-DEF man-DEF stand-3SG.RPT-DEF thing-DIM-GEN
mo-de yapa-nu mo-de
 FHL-DEF possum-PL FHL-DEF
mena koyo matya yapa koyo matya epa-lia
 pig remove carry possum remove carry come-3SG.FUT
lo-maa puua surubaa a-sa robo
 say-SEQ.SS go wait stand-3SG.RPT when
 “*na epe ali ne-na kono ma-aa-ripi-ya-de-pora*
 my good man you-GEN trap CAUS-stand-2SG.NPT-NSN-DEF-LOC
mena epaa raa pi-a-yaa robo,
 pig come be caught do-3SG.NPT-NSN when,
ele meda gó maa ria ipu-lu-da”
 something one.INDF here take carry come-1SG.PRG-INDEF”
li-sa pere epaa ru agala-sa.
 say-RPT.3SG but come carry throw.heavily-3SG.RPT

‘Having continued carrying the load, she really came to where the man was her husband was waiting for the possums she will bring and said, “my good man, where you set the trap, a pig become trapped in it and I am bringing it here with something else”, and she dropped the load heavily on the ground.’ [T2:24]

- (25) *Go robo, mo-de ali-mi “rai-mi pege abala*
 that time, FHL-DEF man-ERG axe-INST even first
maa lora-no” pi pege na-le pa ado-ba.
 take cut-1SG talk even NEG-say just wait-PUNCT
a-sa
 stand.DUR-3SG.RPT

‘At that time, the man didn’t even say, “I must get an axe and chop the half-man”, he just kept looking at it.’ [T2:25]

- (26) *Ade pi-sa robo, o-de paaki ya pi nopo*
 DEF do-3SG.RPT when, NSL-DEF half call say CDL
epaa lo-maa li-sa-na pa rekeleme
 come say-SEQ. SS say-3SG.RPT-GEN just suddenly
ipu-luma-me li-sa-na-re ade paki-lopo
 come-SEQ.SS-INST say-3SG.RPT-GEN-TOP DEF half-DL
ratya medaa-pora go epaa maa kirytya-sa.
 both same-LOC there come take combine-3SG.RPT

'When that happened, having called his other half close (behind the couple) and come with an intention, the half man (that was following the woman) came suddenly and combined the two halves.' [T2:26]

- (27) *Ade kiryta-toma-me, li-sa-na-re ade*
 DEF combine-SEQ.SS-INST, say-3SG.RPT-GEN-TOP DEF
winya ali-lopo-re go lu ni-sa-na-da.
 Woman man-DL-TOP there hit eat-3SG.RPT-GEN-INDEF
 'Having intentionally combined the two halves, the evil man killed and ate the woman and man there.' [T2:27]

Note: *-toma-me* follows *-ta*, the final syllable of verb root, as in *kirita-toma-me* and *-loma-me* occurs elsewhere, as in *mea-loma-me*. So *-ta* assimilates with /t/. Thus *-toma* and *-loma* are in complementary distribution.

- (28) *Go robo-re, mo-de kapokalado le-me-de **masalai*
 that when-TOP, FHL-DEF evil spirit say-3PL.SPR-DEF evil spirit
o winya-ali pamu na-ri pame-a
 NSL people go around eat-SIM.SS go around-3SG.SPR
le-me-de; go-re mogo pu-maa go lu
 say-3PL.SPR-DEF; that-TOP MHL do-SEQ.SS there hit
ni-sa-na-da; go reki-sa-na-da
 eat-3SG.RPT-GEN-INDEF; there wake-3SG.RPT-GEN-INDEF
pane.
 come into being

'Now then, that evil spirit they call *masalai* (borrowed for Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea Pidgin) for evil spirit); they say it goes around eating people; that is how it began killing and eating people; it came out into being an evil spirit there and then.' [T2:28]

2.3 Waba's story about a tree-chopping event – Reflective report genre

By Waba Molo (a female from the Kauga Subclan of Marepa tribe)

In Text 3, Waba recounts a tree-chopping event. Rekaunya, Kasa and the author comment on parts of Waba's story. The place of reporting is inside the author's house in Mugumapu village in Ialibu District of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It was recorded in January 1997 by the author.

Translation

Waba (1-4):

Another story, a gum tree, one that was a huge was chopped down, at that Mugumapu field. [T3:1] Having split the tree into pieces for a long while, we two carried the same piece. [T3:2] We two are carrying on our heads only one piece of wood at a time. [T3:3] The men are coming and putting the wood down there, after continuing to carry them and put them down to rest along the way. [T3:4]

Rekaunya:

Did they come and leave the wood there at the house? [T3:5]

Waba (6-7):

There at the house. [T3:6] We have finished carrying the wood. [T3:7]

Rekaunya:

Did they chop Kiwai's tree? [T3:8]

Waba:

We chopped Kiwai's tree. [T3:9]

Rekaunya (10-11):

I am saying (asking) because that is where Kiwai's tree is. [T3:10] That is where his father's house used to be. [T3:11]

Waba:

Yes. [T3:12]

Rekaunya:

He is one that was born there. [T3:13]

Waba (14-18):

Yes. [T3:14] We have already carried three huge pieces. [T3:15]

Having done that, now the two pieces that are remaining, having split one and continuing to split another, because we are stressed already we are leaving them down there at the house. [T3:16]

Having done that, because we want them to split and shape and later sharpen and come and give them (wood pieces) to us. [T3:17] Having continued carried them, we just put them, down there.

[T3:18]

Rekaunya:

I am sorry. [T3:19]

Waba:

We did a big hard work and are coming. [T3:20]

Rekaunya:

I am saying, I am sorry. [T3:21]

Waba:

That's right. [T3:22]

Kasa (23-24):

I came while you were chopping and splitting the tree. [T3:23] It was chopped down and chopped and split into pieces (and) while you were splitting it, (I came).' [T3:24]

Waba (25-28):

That was the one. [T3:25] That tree wasn't even a small one. [T3:26] It was a huge one. [T3:27] We made it to finish, that one, by many of us. [T3:28]

Rekainya:

Further away is Kede group's area; down that way is that Pareali who died; in the centre is Kiwai and his father's, Nasu and his father and brother's area.' [T3:29]

Waba:

Agree, yes. [T3:30]

Rekainya:

At that place. [T3:31]

Waba:

The tree that had been planted at the place where they built their house and stayed. [T3:32]

Rekainya (33-34):

That's right. [T3:33] The tree that his father planted.' [T3:34]

Waba:

That is the one. [T3:35]

Rekainya:

It's somewhere at the place where his parents built their house. [T3:36]

Waba (37-39):

That's right. [T3:37]

That is the one we are chopping. [T3:38] Having done that, we have caused it to finish, now. [T3:39]

Rekainya:

Yes. [T3:40]

Kasa:

Did you completely chop the huge stump?. [T3:41]

Waba (42-44):

Yes. [T3:42] While they are now completely splitting the huge stump, we are coming. [T3:43] We completely caused it to be not there. [T3:44]

Rekainya:

I am saying, I am sorry. [T3:45]

Waba:

That's right. [T3:46]

Apoi:

Are the men still standing, down there? [T3:47]

Waba (48-54)

The men are still standing in the area. [T3:48]

They are busy in the area, working hard. [T3:49] Axes are getting stuck in the wood one after another, but we are saying who are you and with stick as lever (we are splitting the wood.) [T3:50]

With that tree being so big axes are very small things. [T3:51] I am saying, the ones that are going to get stuck in the middle are smashed by a heavy stick and are being split into pieces.' [T3:52] I am saying, they are carrying that one. [T3:53] Even here a lot of men is needed to sharpen that wood, even the ones we are carrying and leaving here. [T3:54]

Glossed text

Waba (1-4):

- (1) *Remaa meda-re, polo **tere-re, gupi le*
 story one-TOP, gum tree-TOP, like say
aa li-pe-da maa po yaru-ai
 stand thing-AUG-INDEF take chop stand-NOM
pia-rima, mo Mugumapu kámaa.
 be-3PL.NPT, FHL Mugumapu field
 'Another story, a gum tree, one that was a huge was chopped down, at that Mugumapu field.' [T3:1]
- (2) *Rele relerele relerele relerele pu pu ao-re,*
 split splitsplit splitsplit splitsplit do do stand.DUR-TOP,
saa-me pameda luminu-maa ria-pa-de.
 we dual-ERG one share-SEQ.SS carry-1DL.NPT-DEF
 'Having split the tree into pieces for a long while, we two carried the same piece.' [T3:2]
- (3) *Pameda kamáá luminu-maa ritya-pa.*
 one only share-SEQ.SS carry-1DL.PRG
 'We two are carrying on our heads only one piece of wood at a time.' [T3:3]
- (4) *Ali-nu-mi-ri maa abuluru-maa ru sa-la sa-la*
 man-PL-ERG-TOP take carry-SEQ.SS carry put-CONT put-CONT
kamáá ipu-maa, epaa rui
 always come-SEQ.SS, come carry
pia-te-me mo-lena.
 do-3PL.PRG FHL-LOC
 'The men are coming and putting the wood down there, after continuing to carry them and put them down to rest along the way.' [T3:4]

Rekainya:

- (5) *Mo ada epaa ru wi-mi?*
 FHL house come carry put-3PL.NPT
 'Did they come and leave the wood there at the house?' [T3:5]

Waba (6-7):

- (6) *Mo ada.*
 FHL house
 'There at the house.' [T3:6]
- (7) *Ma-diayo pia-rima.*
 CAUS-not be do-1PL.NPT
 'We have finished carrying the wood.' [T3:7]

Rekainya:

- (8) *Kiwai-na repona poa-me?*

Kiwai-GEN tree chop-3PL.NPT
 'Did they chop Kiwai's tree?' [T3:8]

Waba:

(9) *Kiwai-na repona po pia-ma.*
 Kiwai-GEN tree chop do-1PL.NPT
 'We chopped Kiwai's tree.' [T3:9]

Rekainya (10-11):

(10) *Apo Kiwai-na repona-re go-pora a-ya-daa*
 that Kiwai-GEN tree-TOP that-LOC stand-3SG.SPR-because
la-lo.
 say-1SG.PRG
 'I am saying (asking) because that is where Kiwai's tree is.' [T3:10]

(11) *Apo ipu-na aara ipú-na ada*
 that he-GEN father they dual-GEN house
kolo go-pora.
 hole that-LOC
 'That is where his father's house used to be.' [T3:11]

Waba:

(12) *Ee.* 'Yes.' [T3:12]

Rekainya:

(13) *Ipu apo go-pora madi-e-ai.*
 he there that-LOC carry-3SG.RPT-NOM
 'He is one that was born there.' [T3:13]

Waba (14-18):

(14) *Ee.* 'Yes.' [T3:14]

(15) *To repo rayo-pe-re abala ria epaa-ma.*
 piece three all-IRR-TOP before carry come-1PL.NPT
 'We have already carried three huge pieces.' [T3:15]

(16) *Gupuma, abi-ri to laapo pa*
 having done that, now-TOP piece two just

ipi-li-a-ai-ri meda relerele pu-maa
 come-hit-3SG.SPR-NOM-TOP one splitsplit do-SEQ.SS
meda relerele pu pu ao-re go-re
 one splitsplit do do stand.DUR-TOP that-TOP

abala tapala-ripa-daa no ada pa sa-lema.
 before stress-3SG.NPT-because FDL house just put-1PL.PRG

'Having done that, now the two pieces that are remaining, having split one and continuing to split another, because we are stressed already we are leaving them down there at the house.' [T3:16]

- (17) *Gumaa, rele pu rele pu-maa*
 having done that, split do split do-SEQ.SS
pare pu-maa wala ada kele padalo-maa
 to shape do-SEQ.SS later house post sharpen-SEQ.SS
epaa gi-nya yaa-daa..
 come give-3PL want-because
 'Having done that, because we want them to split and shape and later sharpen and come and give them (wood pieces) to us..' [T3:17]

- (18) *Pa ru ao wi-ma, no-lena.*
 just carry stand.DUR put-1PL.NPT, FDL-LOC
 'Having continued carried them, we just put them, down there.' [T3:18]

Rekainya:

- (19) *Kodo pi-a.*
 sorry do-3SG.SPR
 'I am sorry.' [T3:19]

Waba:

- (20) *Kogono **atawaku adaa-ai-da pu-maa*
 work hard work (Tok Pisin) big-NOM-INDF do-SEQ.SS
ipu-luma.
 come-1PL.PRG
 'We did a big hard work and are coming.' [T3:20]

Rekainya:

- (21) *Kodo pi-a, la-pe.*
 sorry do-3SG.SPR, say-IRR
 'I am saying, I am sorry.' [T3:21]

Waba:

- (22) *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T3:22]

Kasa (23-24):

- (23) *Ni-ri po rele pea-lo aa-liminya epa-wa-de.*
 I-TOP chop split do-CONT stand-2PL.DS come-1SG.NPT-DEF
 'I came while you were chopping and splitting the tree.' [T3:23]

- (24) *Po agala-maa kobekabe pu*
 chop throw down-SEQ.SS chop into pieces do
rele pea-lo aa-liminya.
 splitdo-CONT stand-2PL.DS

'It was chopped down and chopped and split into pieces (and) while you were splitting it, (I came).' [T3:24]

Waba (25-28):

(25) *Go-de-ai* *yaa-de.*
that-DEF-NOM be.REALIS-DEF
'That was the one.' [T3:25]

(26) *Mo-de* *repona* *pege* *ege-ai-da*
FHL-DEF tree even small-NOM-INDF
dia *yaa-de.*
not be.REALIS-DEF.
'That tree wasn't even a small one.' [T3:26]

(27) *Adaa-na-ai-pe* *yaa-de.*
big-GEN-NOM-IRR be.REALIS-DEF
'It was a huge one.' [T6:27]

(28) *Ma-diayaa* *pia-rima-de,*
CAUS-not be do-1PL.NPT-DEF,
go-de-ai-ri, *pali-yada-me.*
that-DEF-NOM-TOP, sleep-fight-ERG
'We made it to finish, that one, by many of us.' [T3:28]

Rekainya:

(29) *Mo-ne-re* *Kede-repa-na* *yaa-de,*
FHL-DIR-TOP Kede-GRP-GEN be.REALIS-DEF;
no-ne-re *mo* *koma-a-de;*
FDL-DIR-TOP FHL die-3SG.NPT-DEF;
Pareali-na *yaa-de;* *go-pora-re* *Kiwai*
Pareali-GEN be.REALIS-DEF; that-LOC-TOP Kiwai
aara-ya-na *Nasu aara-nu-na* *ada* *yaa-de.*
father-KIN-GEN Nasu father-PL-GEN house be.REALIS-DEF
'Further away is Kede group's area; down that way is that Pareali who died; in the centre is Kiwai and his father's, Nasu and his father and brother's area.' [T3:29]

Waba:

(30) *O, ee.* 'Agree, yes.' [T3:30]

Rekainya:

(31) *Go-lena-re.* 'that-LOC-TOP = At that place.' [T3:31]

Waba:

(32) *Abala imu-na* *ada* *waru* *piri-lena* *yari* *repona.*

before they-GEN house make stay-LOC plant tree
 'The tree that had been planted at the place where they built their house and stayed.'
 [T3:32]

Rekainya (33-34):

(33) *Apea*. 'That's right.' [T3:33]

(34) *Aara-me yari repona*.
 father-ERG plant tree
 'The tree that his father planted.' [T3:34]

Waba:

(35) *Go-ai*. 'that-NOM = That is the one.' [T3:35]

Rekainya:

(36) *Agiara-nu-na ada kolo-na yaa-de*.
 mother-father-PL-GEN house space-GEN be.REALIS-DEF
 'It's somewhere at the place where his parents built their house.' [T3:36]

Waba (37-39):

(37) *Apea*. 'That's right.' [T3:37]

(38) *Go-ai poa-lema*.
 that-NOM chop-1PL.PRG
 'That is the one we are chopping.' [T3:38]

(39) *Gumaa, ma-dia ya pia-rima-de,*
 that do-SEQ.SS CAUS-not be do-1PL.NPT-DEF,
abi-ri
 now-TOP
 'Having done that, we have caused it to finish, now.' [T3:39]

Rekainya:

(40) *Ee*. 'Yes.' [T3:40]

Kasa:

(41) *Kamukamu ree-pe pege poa-me?*
 completely stump-IRR even chop-1PL.NPT
 'Did you completely chop the huge stump?' [T3:41]

Waba (42-44):

(42) *Ee*. 'Yes.' [T3:42]

(43) *Kamukamu ree-pe-re go rele*
 completely stump-IRR-TOP now split
pea-lo aa-nya ipu-luma.

do-CONT stand-3PL.DS come-1PL.PRG
 'While they are now completely splitting the huge stump, we are coming.' [T3:43]

- (44) *Kamukamu ma-dia yo pia-ma.*
 completely CAUS-not be do-1PL.NPT
 'We completely caused it to be not there.' [T3:44]

Rekainya:

- (45) *Kodo pi-a la-pe.*
 sorry do-3SG.SPR say-IRR.
 'I am saying, I am sorry.' [T3:45]

Waba:

- (46) *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T3:46]

Apoi:

- (47) *Ali-nu pa aa-rimi-na,*
 man-PL just stand-3PL.NPT-GEN,
no-lena?
 down-LOC
 'Are the men still standing, down there?' [T3:47]

Waba (48-54):

- (48) *Ali-nu pa pabo ae-me.*
 man-PL just fill stand-3PL.SPR
 'The men are still standing in the area.' [T3:48]

- (49) ***Atewoku kale-da pu pabo ae-me.*
 hard work (Tok Pisin) red-INDF do fill stand-3PL.SPR
 'They are busy in the area, working hard.' [T3:49]

- (50) *Bulo rai meda la-la pago-lo a-nya*
 sound axe one say-CONT stuck-CONT stand-3SG.DS

ya pere, ne aapi ya-pa lo-maa maa relerele
 be but, you who be-or say-SEQ.SS take splitsplit
pu-maa, kuria-pisa kuria-pisa pu-maa...
 do-SEQ.SS, stick-with stick-with do-SEQ.SS..

'Axes are getting stuck in the wood one after another, but we are saying who are you and with stick as lever (we are splitting the wood.) [T3:50]

- (51) *Mo repona-pe-me rai-nu-ri ege le-si.*
 FHL tree-IRR-INST axe-PL-TOP small thing-DIM
 'With that tree being so big axes are very small things.' [T3:51]

- (52) *Mogo* *rika-si-nani* *pago-la* *pu-la-ai-nu-ri*
 MHL middle-DIM-DIR stuck-IRR go-3SG.PRG-NOM-PL-TOP
kabu-me *pa* *maa* *rupilu* *pia* *pia* *pu-maa*
 stick-INST just take smash do do do-SEQ.SS
maa *bula* *la-la* *pu* *pia-ta* *la-pe.*
 take smash say-CONT do do-3SG.PRG say-IRR
 'I am saying, the ones that are going to get stuck in the middle are smashed by a heavy stick and are being split into pieces.' [T3:52]
- (53) *Go-ai* *ritya-me,* *la-pe.*
 that-NOM carry-3PL.PRG say-IRR.
 'I am saying, they are carrying that one.' [T3:53]
- (54) *O-ne* *pege* *ali* *aa-ra* *pado* *te-a*
 NSL-DIR even man be-SIM.SS sharpen say-3SG.FUT
mo *repona-re* *o* *ru* *sa-lemma-ai* *pege.*
 FHL wood-TOP here carry put-1PL.PRG-NOM even.
 'Even here a lot of men is needed to sharpen that wood, even the ones we are carrying and leaving here.' [T3:54]

References

- Foley, W.A. 1986. *The Papuan languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Franklin, K.J. 1971. *A grammar of Kewa, New Guinea*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, C16
- Franklin, K. J. and Franklin, J. assisted by Yapua Kirapeasi. 1978. *A Kewa dictionary: with supplementary grammatical and anthropological materials*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, C53.
- Payne, T. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wurm, S. 1975. Eastern Central Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages. In S. Wurm (ed.) *New Guinea area languages and language study, vol. 1: Papuan languages and the New Guinea linguistic scene*, 461-526. Pacific Linguistics C38.
- Wurm, S. A. 1982. *The Papuan Languages of Oceania*. Tubingen, Ger.: Narr
- Yarapea, A.M. 1992. Aspects of Kewapi grammar. M.Phil. thesis. Department of Linguistics, The University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia.
- Yarapea, A.M. 1993. Kewapi verbal morphology and semantics. *Journal of Language and Linguistics in Melanesia*, 24 (1): 95-110.
- Yarapea, A.M. 2001. On interclausal reference in Kewapi. In A. Pawley, M. Ross and D. Tyron (eds) *The boy from Bundaberg: studies in Melanesian linguistics in honour of Tom Dutton*, 399-417. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Yarapea, A. M. 2006. Morphosyntax of Kewapi Language. PhD thesis. Department of Linguistics. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

Yarapea, A. M. 2007. Switch reference in Kewapi. In Toru Okamura (ed) *Language in Papua New Guinea*. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers.

Yarapea, A. M. 2013. *The Kewapi Language of Papua New Guinea*. Port Moresby: UPNG Press.