

Tiang texts 3

Animal stories

Christoph Holz

The Jawun Research Centre
Central Queensland University

August 2023

Texts in the indigenous languages of the Pacific, Vol. 5(3)

Table of contents

1. This volume	1
2. Texts.....	2
2.1. The orphan, his grandmother and the crab (<i>Passingan Komek</i>).....	2
2.2. The boy and the snake (<i>Tove lavung</i>).....	5
2.3. The snake family (<i>Essau Lomba</i>)	12
2.4. The family and the octopus (<i>Tove lavung</i>)	17
2.5. The turtle and the cuscus (<i>Joseph Kombeng</i>)	22
2.6. The two ducks and the turtle (<i>Simpson lavung</i>)	36
2.7. The wallaby and the chicken (<i>Elizabeth Balane</i>).....	42
2.8. The dog and the wallaby (<i>Esrom Lereking</i>).....	47
2.9. The kingfisher and the little fish (<i>Adam Mandu</i>)	51
2.10. The kingfisher and the hermit crab (<i>Elizabeth Balane</i>).....	57
2.11. The parrot and the rat (<i>Simpson lavung</i>)	60

Abbreviations

1	first-person pronoun	MED	medial demonstrative
2	second-person pronoun	NEG	negation
3	third-person pronoun	NOML	nominaliser
AL	alienable possession	NPOSS	unspecified possessor
ART	article	NSG	nonsingular
CAU	causative	NVIS	nonvisible demonstrative
COMP	complementiser	PASS	passive
CONT	continuous	PAU	paucal
DIST	distal demonstrative	PFV	perfective
DISTR	distributive number word	PL	plural/pluractional
DU	dual	PN	personal noun
DUMMY	anaphoric dummy noun	POSS	possessive
EMPH	emphasis	PROH	prohibitive
EXC	exclusive	PROX	proximal demonstrative
FUT	future	PST	past
HAB	habitual	RC	recent
IMM	immediate	REC	reciprocal
IMP	imperative	REFL	reflexive
INAL	inalienable possession	REP	repetitive
INC	inclusive	RM	remote
IND	indefinite specific	SG	singular
INTJ	interjection	TR	transitive
INTR	intransitive	TRI	trial
IPFV	imperfective	VIS	visible demonstrative

1. This volume

Like Western fables, Tiang animal stories are entertaining and moralising. Different animals have different characteristics. While snakes are associated with the evil in present-day Tiang culture and in the stories of Volume 2, they can be friendly, have complex feelings and have their own families in Volume 3. Parrots and hermit crabs are intelligent. Ducks are helpful. Turtles are goodhearted but get angry easily. Chickens are admired for their beauty. Fish are gullible. Many animals like to play tricks on others, e.g. octopuses, cuscuses, wallabies, dogs, kingfishers, and rats.

The stories often provide explanations for why an animal looks or behaves in a certain way. The mangrove crab got its appearance because it was held tightly against the chest of a boy. The wallaby has short arms because they burned away. Dogs have distinctly shaped ears because they put a shell up their ears.

The story in Section 2.4 is the only story in my corpus that contains an actual Tiang-language song (Lines 19 and 20). The songs in other stories are sung in other languages, especially Tigak or Kaviri. For a transcription in musical notation, see Volume 6.

2. Texts

2.1. The orphan, his grandmother and the crab

By Passingan Komek (Bálás clan)

- (1) *pini si nakmal iriâi tiuá=n=a, mot na íákám*
 story AL orphan 3DU grandparent=3SG=ART and PN.ART crab
 ‘The story of the orphan, his grandmother and the crab.’
- (2) *inkâuâi inkâuâi tuna, na nakmal mot na tiuá=n=a ten,*
 old old true PN.ART orphan and PN.ART grandparent=3SG=ART woman
iriâi ki tom la malai si=riâi
 3DU HAB sit in village AL=3DU
 ‘A long long time ago, the orphan and his grandmother were living in their village.’
- (3) *bul iân ki pâ bul âñan-bin ki sânj*
 PL time HAB with PL feast-big HAB arrive
la gâlânj malai, na nakmal ki pan sânj
 in crowded.place village PN.ART orphan HAB go arrive
 ‘Many times when there was a big feast in the village centre, the orphan would come.’
- (4) *sakalan a bul kulâu ki sâk kel nan,*
 but ART PL people HAB NEG call 3SG
mot tauai nan pâ ta kiual boi-an
 and give 3SG with IND.ART half eat-NOML
 ‘But the people would not call him or give him any food.’
- (5) *bul iân kápái ki âi=noñ*
 PL time all HAB REC=be.enough
 ‘Everytime, it was the same.’
- (6) *kas iân tâmo ka pâ âñan ka sânj la malai-uin ala*
 other time now RM.PST with feast RM.PST arrive in village-big again
 ‘One day now, there was a feast in the village centre again.’
- (7) *tâmo na nakmal a kus na iâiâ si=n=a*
 now PN.ART orphan PFV tell PN.ART grandparent AL=3SG=ART
 ‘Now the orphan told his grandmother.’
- (8) *“iâiâ, nó uók tom, lo niáu uók pan la âñan tanén”*
 grandparent 2SG FUT sit or 1SG FUT go in feast today
 ‘“Grandma, you will stay, but I will go to the feast today.”’
- (9) *nan a ti lak,*
 3SG PFV stand go.up
mot nan a pan~pan sái la gâlânj malai,
 and 3SG PFV PL~go go.down in crowded.place village

nan a sâŋ puát a bul lu=biân,
3SG PFV arrive find ART PL PL=small

mot nan a sâŋ tom kuuál pâ nér
and 3SG PFV arrive sit together with 3PL

'He stood up, and he went down to the village centre, he arrived and found the children, and he sat down with them.'

(10) *iân a bakal a ra~rauai mot kálá boi-an,*
time ART chief PFV PL~make.sound finish on eat-NOML

a tâuan kuuál pâ lu=tén a potok a boi-an
ART male together with PL=woman PFV share ART eat-NOML

mot a mok kálá bul ba,
and ART pig on PL leaf.plate

i=n=a kulâu ik si~sik pâ=n=a
INAL=3SG=ART people IPFV INTR~take with=3SG=ART

'When the chief had finished his talk about the food, the men and women distributed the food and pork on leaf plates so the people would take from it.'

(11) *sakalan na nakmal ka pârék ta ba*
but PN.ART orphan RM.PST have.NEG IND.ART leaf.plate
'But the orphan did not have a leaf plate.'

(12) *ka pârék ta tiár ala ka kel nan,*
RM.PST have.NEG IND.ART person again RM.PST call 3SG

po nan ik boi
COMP 3SG IPFV eat.INTR

'There was also no one who would call him to eat.'

(13) *âŋan a mot tâmo,*
feast PFV finish now

mot a kulâu ik ta~taual la bul malai si=nér
and ART people IPFV PL~return in PL village AL=3PL

'The feast was over now, and the people were going back home.'

(14) *tâmo na nakmal a kunai-ti,*
now PN.ART orphan PFV startle-stand

mot nan a pan~pan taual la pitinauán
and 3SG PFV PL~go return in beach

'Now the orphan stood up, and he walked back to the beach.'

(15) *la iân nan a pan pan pan,*
in time 3SG PFV go go go

nan a lak ti kálá kó iákám
3SG PFV go.up stand on small.piece crab

'When he was walking and walking, he stepped on a crab.'

- (16) *nan a iot a kó iákám,*
3SG PFV hold ART small.piece crab
- mot nan a kápás a pék tuna la kâη i=n=a,*
and 3SG PFV hold PFV strong true in chest INAL=3SG=ART
- mot nan a âiát pan la lu*
and 3SG PFV run go in house
'He caught the crab, and he held it very tightly against his chest, and he ran home.'
- (17) *nan a sâη la malai,*
3SG PFV arrive in village
- mot nan a kel na iâiâ si=n=a*
and 3SG PFV call PN.ART grandparent AL=3SG=ART
'He arrived at home, and he called his grandmother.'
- (18) *"iâiâ! iâiâ! itâi pâ mákásám i=n=a le-le,*
grandparent grandparent 1DU.INC with meat INAL=3SG=ART in-afternoon
- óró niáu uâ sik"*
VIS.PROX 1SG RC.PST take
"Grandma! Grandma! We have meat for this afternoon, here, I brought it."
- (19) *tâmo na tiuá=n=a a sel lák a kó iákám,*
now PN.ART grandparent=3SG=ART PFV take hit ART small.piece crab
- mot nan a tán kuuál pâ bók*
and 3SG PFV cook together with taro
'Now his grandmother took the crab, and she cooked it with taro.'
- (20) *iriâi ka boi kuuál pâ mere la le ónén*
2DU RM.PST eat.INTR together with be.happy in afternoon NVIS.PROX
'They ate together happily that afternoon.'
- (21) *tanén nó uók ráη a kâη i nakmal*
today 2SG FUT see ART chest INAL orphan
- la ânte=n=a kó iákám*
in backside=3SG=ART small.piece crab
'Today, you can see the orphan's chest on the back of the crab.'
- (22) *ita ki â=tâη a âlamanη*
1PL.INC HAB CAU=say ART mangrove.crab
'We call it a mangrove crab.'
- (23) *rokon*
good
'Thank you.'

2.2. The boy and the snake

By Tove lavung (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *té, kus~kus-â ró i=n=a mata=ŋ âi=tama*
 then INTR~tell-INTR VIS.PROX INAL=3SG=ART eye=NPOSS REC=father
 'Okay, this story is about a family.'
- (2) *ner a tom, tâmâ=ŋ ki buák a popo,*
 3PL PFV sit father=NPOSS HAB want ART child
ten ki molokos an a popo
 woman HAB be.tired about ART child
 '(As) they were alive, the father loved the child, the woman was tired of the child.'
- (3) *ner a tom la kas iân,*
 3PL PFV sit in other time
ten a gâi sik a popo,
 woman PFV accompany take ART child
lak, mot lis pus-én a popo la kap i=n=a luntan
 go.up and give throw-TR ART child in bottom INAL=3SG=ART bush
 'They were alive one day, the woman took the child up and left the child in the middle of the bush.'
- (4) *té ten a sái taual*
 then woman PFV go.down return
 'Then the woman went back down (from the bush).'
- (5) *popo tâmo, nan a ulát la luntan*
 child now 3SG PFV go.around in bush
 'The child now went around in the bush.'
- (6) *té matai, nan a toŋ~toŋ la luntan, nan a matai*
 then sleep 3SG PFV INTR~confuse in bush 3SG PFV sleep
 'Then he slept, he was lost in the bush, he slept.'
- (7) *matai, tâŋan, pan pan*
 sleep wake.up go go
 'He slept, he got up, on and on.'
- (8) *pan pan pan pan, nan i buák irám*
 go go go go 3SG IPFV want drink
 'This went on, he wanted to drink.'
- (9) *nan a pan, te a kó uiá,*
 3SG PFV go cut ART small.piece rattan
i=n=a nan ik irám
 INAL=3SG=ART 3SG IPFV drink
 'He went, he cut a rattan vine to drink.'

- (10) *nan a pan~pan ala*
3SG PFV PL~go again
'He walked again.'
- (11) *pan pan, a siua riáp pâ nan,*
go go ART place dark with 3SG

té nan a matai la pat i=n=a uái
then 3SG PFV sleep in part INAL=3SG=ART tree
'He walked and walked, it became dark around him, then he slept at the bottom of a tree.'
- (12) *nan a tâñan la maulék, nan a pan~pan*
3SG PFV wake.up in morning 3SG PFV PL~go
'He got up in the morning, he walked.'
- (13) *pan pan pan, nan a lak a uái, nan ik ráñ~ráñ,*
go go go 3SG PFV go.up ART tree 3SG IPFV INTR~see

po nan ik ráñ ta buuán, po nan ik pan
COMP 3SG IPFV see IND.ART smoke COMP 3SG IPFV go
'He walked and walked, he climbed up a tree to look around so he saw smoke so he went (after the smoke).'
- (14) *lak a uái tâmo, nan a ráñ a buuán kálá pól*
go.up ART tree now 3SG PFV see ART smoke on mountain
'He climbed up the tree now, he saw the smoke on the mountain.'
- (15) *i=n=a nan a sái aman tâmo,*
INAL=3SG=ART 3SG PFV go.down come now

pan~pan a us a buuán kálá pól
PL~go PFV follow ART smoke on mountain
'Then he came down now, he followed the smoke onto the mountain.'
- (16) *nan a pan pan pan, nan a sâñ ti ráñ~ráñ*
3SG PFV go go go 3SG PFV arrive stand INTR~see
'He went and went, he arrived and looked around.'
- (17) *lo lu â=i ti kálá pól*
or house DIST=IPFV stand on mountain
'And there was a house standing on the mountain.'
- (18) *“é=k pan, mat é=k ráñ”*
1SG=IPFV go and 1SG=IPFV see
“‘I will go and have a look.’”
- (19) *nan a lak guguál kálá pól, sâñ ráñ~ráñ,*
3SG PFV go.up on.top on mountain arrive INTR~see

lo tuái, nan a mati la lu
or snake 3SG PFV lie in house
'He went up on top of the mountain, he came and looked around, but a snake was lying in the house.'

- (20) *tuái, nan a tâmâi a patlima lu=tén*
 snake 3SG PFV marry ART five PL=woman
 'The snake was married to five women.'
- (21) *patlima lu=tén anén, nér ki âisók*
 five PL=woman NVIS.PROX 3PL HAB work

lantuá=n=a sak~saka marat bók
 inside=3SG=ART DISTR~one garden taro
 '(Each of) these five women worked in a different taro garden.'
- (22) *a bul isá=nér na Piálauata, na Kontândâ, na Bulumé,*
 ART PL name=3PL PN.ART P. PN.ART K. PN.ART B.

na Sépék, na Laua
 PN.ART S. PN.ART L.
 'Their names were Pialauata, Kontanda, Bulume, Sepek, and Laua (all named after taro species).'
- (23) *lo a lek-biân anén*
 or ART man-small NVIS.PROX

a lak a sâŋ tom kuuál pâ nan
 PFV go.up PFV arrive sit together with 3SG
 'And this boy came up to stay with him.'
- (24) *"le-le, tiuá=k*
 in-afternoon grandparent=1SG
 "'(Good) afternoon, Grandson.'
- (25) *nó uâ gán amâ?"*
 2SG RC.PST leave where
 'Where have you come from?'"
- (26) *"riŋa=k uâ lak,*
 mother=1SG RC.PST go.up

mot lis pus-én niáu la kap i=n=a luntan
 and give throw-TR 1SG in bottom INAL=3SG=ART bush
 "'My mother went up and left me in the middle of the bush.'
- (27) *niáu uâ ulát óró mo, mot lak a uái,*
 1SG RC.PST go.around VIS.PROX only and go.up ART tree

té niá uâ ráŋ aman a buuán si=m, ma niá man
 then 1SG RC.PST see come ART smoke AL=2SG and 1SG come
 'I just walked around here and climbed up a tree, then I saw your smoke, and I came.'
- (28) *tâmo niá sâŋ óró si=m"*
 now 1SG arrive VIS.PROX AL=2SG
 'Now I came here to you.'"
- (29) *"rokon, itâi=k tom óró"*
 good 1DU.INC=FUT sit VIS.PROX
 "'Okay, we will stay here.'"

- (30) *pan le-le, tuái a sái,*
go in-afternoon snake PFV go.down
kel kuuái a lu=tén si=n=a, kus nér
call be.together ART PL=woman AL=3SG=ART tell 3PL
'In the afternoon, the snake went down and called his wives together, he told them.'
- (31) *"mé ók tán bók, ta iuái a bók, mé ók lak,*
2PL FUT cook taro IND.ART two ART taro 2PL FUT go.up
mé ók lis tâ la lu i=n=a le-le"
2PL FUT give VIS.DIST in house INAL=3SG=ART in-afternoon
"Cook taro, two taro tubers, go up, bring them to the house for dinner (lit. afternoon)."
- (32) *lu=tén a ualai non,*
PL=woman PFV do be.enough
nér a tán a iuái a kó=n bók,
3PL PFV cook ART two ART small.piece=3SG taro
nér a lak ik lis
3PL PFV go.up IPFV give
'The women did (as they were told), they cooked two taro tubers, they brought them up.'
- (33) *nér a tom lâŋ a patlima pâ iuái a iân,*
3PL PFV sit like ART five with two ART time
lu=tén tâmo, nér ik âpáktâ
PL=woman now 3PL IPFV wonder
'They stayed like seven days, the women now wondered.'
- (34) *"bul iân kápái, ita ki tán a saka kó=n bók,*
PL time all 1PL.INC HAB cook ART one small.piece=3SG taro
lo tâmo ita óró=k tán a iuái kó=n bók
or now 1PL.INC VIS.PROX=IPFV cook ART two small.piece=3SG taro
"We always cook one taro tuber, but now we are cooking two taro tubers.'
- (35) *a so, pâ tiár lo ta ten â=i tom*
PFV do.what with person or IND.ART woman DIST=IPFV sit
tâ guguái kuái pâ tuái?"
VIS.DIST on.top together with snake
'Why, is there a man or a woman living with the snake up there?'
- (36) *mat atâmo nan a tom la kas maulék,*
and now 3SG PFV sit in other morning
na tuái a gâi sík a lek-biân anén
PN.ART snake PFV accompany take ART man-small NVIS.PROX
'And now he stayed the next morning, the snake took this boy with him.'
- (37) *lek-biân anén a bin, iriái a iuon la malai,*
man-small NVIS.PROX PFV big 3DU PFV exit in village

té âisók la marat urui tuái
 then work in garden yam snake
 'This boy was big, they went out of the house, then they worked in the snake yams garden.'

- (38) *iriái a âisók atâmo, na Piálauata a lak*
 3DU PFV work now PN.ART P. PFV go.up
 'They worked now, Pialauata went up (to the garden).'
- (39) *na Piálauata lak sâŋ ti, koko, ráŋ~ráŋ*
 PN.ART P. go.up arrive stand hide.INTR INTR~see
 'Pialauata came up (to the garden), hid and watched.'
- (40) *“âu, lo lek-bin si=mam óró mo,*
 INTJ or man-big AL=1PL.EXC VIS.PROX only
lo nan a pâ kó lek-biân óró
 or 3SG PFV with small.piece man-small VIS.PROX
 '“Oh, but this is just our husband, but he is with this boy.'
- (41) *lo si=n=a bul iân,*
 or AL=3SG=ART PL time
mam ki tán a iuâi kó=n bók, tâmo iriái óró?”
 1PL.EXC HAB cook ART two small.piece=3SG taro now 3DU VIS.PROX
 'Because everytime, we cooked two taro tubers, now it is the two of them here?''
- (42) *na Piálauata tâmo ráŋ buák a lek-biân nâ*
 PN.ART P. now see want ART man-small NVIS.DIST
 'Pialauata now saw and liked that boy.'
- (43) *la maulék, tuái a kalapaŋ kâuâi*
 in morning snake PFV know already
 'In the morning, the snake already knew it.'
- (44) *iân a ten, na Piálauata, ka lak, na tuái ka kalapaŋ,*
 time ART woman PN.ART P. RM.PST go.up PN.ART snake RM.PST know
po nan a piuá
 COMP 3SG PFV die.unnatural
 'When the woman, Pialauata, went up (to the garden), the snake knew that he would die.'
- (45) *na tuái iriái a iuoŋ, nan a kus a lek-biân*
 PN.ART snake 3DU PFV exit 3SG PFV tell ART man-small
 'The snake and (the boy) went out, he told the boy.'
- (46) *“nó=k tom, niáu tâmo, niáu ók gán*
 2SG=FUT sit 1SG now 1SG FUT leave
 '“You will stay, I will go now.'
- (47) *nó=k tom, bul laua=n=a niâ kápái la malai,*
 2SG=FUT sit PL much=3SG=ART thing all in village
lo lantuá=n=a marat, nó=k â=katoŋ,
 or inside=3SG=ART garden 2SG=FUT CAU=care

lâŋ a marat urui tuái
like ART garden yam snake

'You will stay, all the many things at home or in the garden, take care of them, like the snake yams garden.'

- (48) *niáu tâmo, é=k gán*
1SG now 1SG=IPFV leave
'I will leave now.'

- (49) *"nó gán pan amâ?"*
2SG leave go where
"'Where are you going?'"

- (50) *"é=k gán tâmo,*
1SG=IPFV leave now

niáu=k piâ=n=a tom kuál pâ nó
1SG=FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART sit together with 2SG
"'I am leaving now, I cannot stay with you.'"

- (51) *tâŋan la maulék, na Piálauata lak, sâŋ âi=kel*
wake.up in morning PN.ART P. go.up arrive REC=call
'Waking up in the morning, Pialauata went up and shouted.'

- (52) *"i-kó=n bók óró"*
MSG-small.piece=3SG taro VIS.PROX
"'The taros are here.'"

- (53) *a lek-bin nâ si=nér a pârék*
ART man-big NVIS.DIST AL=3PL PFV have.NEG
'Their husband was gone.'

- (54) *nan a gán, nan a sái a kus~kus*
3SG PFV leave 3SG PFV go.down PFV INTR~tell
'She left, she went down to tell.'

- (55) *"ta=k lak,*
1PL.INC=FUT go.up

a lek-bin si=ra a pârék tâ la lu"
ART man-big AL=1PL.INC PFV have.NEG VIS.DIST in house
"'Let us go up, our husband is not there in the house.'"

- (56) *nér a lak, nér a sa~salaŋ, lo nan a pan,*
3PL PFV go.up 3PL PFV INTR~search or 3SG PFV go

mot mat mati la pat i=n=a uái
and die lie in part INAL=3SG=ART tree

'They went up, they were searching (for him), but he went and was lying dead at the bottom of a tree.'

- (57) *nér a lak, nér a sik a tuán i=n=a*
3PL PFV go.up 3PL PFV take ART bone INAL=3SG=ART
'They went up, they took his bones.'

(58) *nér a sik a tuán i=n=a, nér a sái,*
 3PL PFV take ART bone INAL=3SG=ART 3PL PFV go.down

nér a táuán la marat tuái
 3PL PFV bury in garden snake

‘They took his bones, they went down, they buried him in the snake (yams) garden.’

(59) *mot ténén, Piálauata tâmo tâmâi na lek-biân*
 and today P. now marry PN.ART man-small
 ‘And today, Pialauata now married the boy.’

(60) *tâmo ténén a kus~kus-â i=n=a urui tuái â=us*
 now today ART INTR~tell-INTR INAL=3SG=ART yam snake CAU=follow

na tuái, nér ka táuán nan lantuá=n=a marat urui tuái
 PN.ART snake 3PL RM.PST bury 3SG inside=3SG=ART garden yam snake

‘Now today, the story of the snake yams follows the snake that they buried in the snake yams garden.’

(61) *mot tâmo, kus~kus-â i=n=a a mot*
 finish now INTR~tell-INTR INAL=3SG=ART PFV finish
 ‘That is it now, its story ends.’

2.3. The snake family

By Essau Lomba (Máluánj clan)

- (1) *té rokón, a pini, niáu=k kus~kus pâ=n=a,*
 then good ART story 1SG=FUT INTR~tell with=3SG=ART
si=n=a mata=ŋ âi=tama tuái
 AL=3SG=ART eye=NPOSS REC=father snake
 ‘Okay, the story that I will tell is about a snake family.’
- (2) *na mânémbuâl, nan a lek tâuan*
 PN.ART snake.sp. 3SG PFV man male
 ‘The *mânémbuâl* snake was the husband.’
- (3) *na sápál, nan a popo*
 PN.ART snake.sp. 3SG PFV child
 ‘The *sápál* snake was the child.’
- (4) *lo na morâm, nan a ten*
 or PN.ART python 3SG PFV woman
 ‘And the python was the wife.’
- (5) *lo popo tuái, na sápál, kas isá=n=a na Sél*
 or child snake PN.ART snake.sp. other name=3SG=ART PN.ART S.
 ‘And the baby snake, the *sápál* snake, his other name was Sel.’
- (6) *nárál ka lak la marat kas maulék, nárál a âisók,*
 3TRI RM.PST go.up in garden other morning 3TRI PFV work
gó~gón, mat a táu~táu
 INTR~weed and PFV INTR~plant
 ‘They went up to the garden one morning, they were working, weeding and planting.’
- (7) *té a pan pan pan,*
 then PFV go go go
lo iân atân, nér ka pârék ta uata
 or time VIS.MED 3PL RM.PST have.NEG IND.ART fire
 ‘Then this went on and on, but that time, they had no fire.’
- (8) *té nér a salañ uata, té â=én a popo*
 then 3PL PFV search fire then CAU=send ART child
 ‘Then they looked for fire, then they sent the child.’
- (9) *“nó=k pan tâ si iâiâ, nó=k sik a uata*
 2SG=FUT go VIS.DIST AL grandparent 2SG=FUT take ART fire
 ‘“Go to Grandfather, get fire.’
- (10) *lo iân nó ók pan, pâ iuâi a salañ tân*
 or time 2SG FUT go with two ART way VIS.MED
 ‘But when you go, there are two paths there.’

- (11) *kas a mâsapa, lo kas, a kalaó a tom bont-en*
 other PFV clear or other ART spider PFV sit block-TR
 ‘One is clear, but the other one, a spider blocks it.’”
- (12) *té nan a pan tâmo, a lánját a usan nan la salan*
 then 3SG PFV go now ART rain PFV fall 3SG in way
 ‘Then he went now, rain fell on him on the way.’
- (13) *té nan a pan, mata=n=a riáp pâ lánját a usan,*
 then 3SG PFV go eye=3SG=ART dark with rain PFV fall

té nan a táñás
 then 3SG PFV cry
 ‘Then he went, he could not see anything because of the falling rain, then he cried.’
- (14) *nan a ti tâmo, nan a pan, nan a sik a uata,*
 3SG PFV stand now 3SG PFV go 3SG PFV take ART fire

té si â=us a salan pâ kalaó
 then FOC CAU=follow ART way with spider
 ‘He stood up, he went, he took the fire, then he now followed the path with the spider.’
- (15) *nan a pan pan pan, lo nan ik iâ táñás pan*
 3SG PFV go go go or 3SG IPFV CONT cry go
 ‘He went and went, and he was crying.’
- (16) *pan tâmo a kâu=n=a mat,*
 go now ART motivation=3SG=ART die

po nan ik sâñ la malai
 COMP 3SG IPFV arrive in village
 ‘Then he became too tired to go back home.’
- (17) *té nan a rap mati la ók uái támál,*
 then 3SG PFV go.bush lie in whole.piece tree tree.core

lo a lantuá=n=a a baló
 or ART inside=3SG=ART PFV tree.hole
 ‘Then he went to the bush and lay down in a log, and its inside was hollow.’
- (18) *tâmo nan a mati táñás, táñás, táñás, iriâi a bouon mât*
 now 3SG PFV lie cry cry cry 3DU PFV wait die
 ‘Now he was lying and crying and crying, they (his parents) waited in vain.’
- (19) *iriâi a â=én âi=pák an iriâi,*
 3DU PFV CAU=send REC=turn about 3DU

na morâm ik â=én lek-bin si=n=a
 PN.ART python IPFV CAU=send man-big AL=3SG=ART
 ‘They were sending each other (to go after their child), the python sent her husband.’
- (20) *“nó=k â=us na popo,*
 2SG=FUT CAU=follow PN.ART child

si=n=a nó uâ món â=én nan i=n=a sâ?
 AL=3SG=ART 2SG RC.PST first CAU=send 3SG INAL=3SG=ART what
 ‘‘You follow the child, because why did you sent him (in the first place)?’’

- (21) *tâmo lánát a usan, mat nan amâ tâ?’’*
 now rain PFV fall and 3SG where VIS.DIST
 ‘Now it is raining, and where is he?’’

- (22) *pârék, na tâmâ=ŋ ik molokos,*
 have.NEG PN.ART father=NPOSS IPFV be.annoyed

lo ik iâ ra~rauai laua
 or IPFV CONT PL~make.sound much
 ‘(But) no, the father was annoyed and talked much.’

- (23) *ârék, na riŋa=n=a ik iâ pék, pan pan pan,*
 have.NEG PN.ART mother=3SG=ART IPFV CONT strong go go go

na riŋa=n=a kesemek
 PN.ART mother=3SG=ART be.angry
 ‘(But) no, his mother was firm, this went on and on, his mother was angry.’

- (24) *té nan a pan atâmo,*
 then 3SG PFV go now

nan a si â=u~us a pan pan pan pan pan
 3SG PFV FOC CAU=INTR~follow PFV go go go go go
 ‘Then she went now, she went after (her child), she went and went.’

- (25) *nan a â=us a salan,*
 3SG PFV CAU=follow ART way

nâ=mo a popo ka si â=us,
 NVIS.DIST=only ART child RM.PST FOC CAU=follow

si=n=a nan ka loŋoi a léŋ=é popo ik táŋás
 AL=3SG=ART 3SG RM.PST hear ART voice=POSS child IPFV cry

‘She followed the path that the child had followed because she heard the voice of the crying child.’

- (26) *nan a pan pan pan,*
 3SG PFV go go go

nan a ráŋ a pan a uái támál,
 3SG PFV see PFV go ART tree tree.core

lo pâ baló, na popo tuái a rap mati
 or with tree.hole PN.ART child snake PFV go.bush lie
 ‘She went and went, she saw the log with the hole in which the baby snake was lying.’

- (27) *nan ik loŋoi a táŋás, nan ik kâlpák a ók uái,*
 3SG IPFV hear ART cry 3SG IPFV change ART whole.piece tree

lo nan sâk ráŋ ta niâu,
 or 3SG NEG see IND.ART thing

si=n=a a popo tuái tâ lantúa=n=a tuna
 AL=3SG=ART ART child snake VIS.DIST inside=3SG=ART true

‘She heard the crying, she turned the log, but she did not see anything because the baby snake was really inside.’

(28) *té nan a pál aman taual a ók uái,*
 then 3SG PFV turn come return ART whole.piece tree

lo nan sâk ráŋ
 or 3SG NEG see

‘Then she turned back the log, but she did not see him.’

(29) *pan pan tâmo, kâu=n=a mat, pan a siua iâ riáp*
 go go now motivation=3SG=ART die go ART place CONT dark

‘Then now she gave up when (lit. until) it got dark.’

(30) *té nan a taual*
 then 3SG PFV return

‘Then she went back.’

(31) *nan a taual pan la malai, sâŋ kus pák na tâmâ=ŋ*
 3SG PFV return go in village arrive tell turn PN.ART father=NPOSS

‘She went back home, she arrived and told the father.’

(32) *“nó ki â=én na popo lâŋ=âtâ, a rokon?*
 2SG HAB CAU=send PN.ART child like=VIS.DIST PFV good

‘“You send the child there, is (that the) right (thing to do)?’

(33) *lo nâ=mo, nó sâk pan a us nan,*
 or NVIS.DIST=only 2SG NEG go PFV follow 3SG

po nó=k ráŋ-bál nan, lo bouoŋ a rokon nan”
 COMP 2SG=IPFV see-make 3SG or wait PFV good 3SG

‘But you know, you did not go after him to search for him or wait for him.’

(34) *té pan tâmo, iriâi a âi=láuák, lo na popo nâ*
 then go now 3DU PFV REC=be.angry or PN.ART child NVIS.DIST

iâ mati tâ la baló i=n=a uái,
 CONT lie VIS.DIST in tree.hole INAL=3SG=ART tree

noŋ si=n=a siua iâ riáp
 be.enough AL=3SG=ART place CONT dark

‘Then now, they were angry at each other, but the child was still lying there in the hole in the log until it become dark.’

(35) *iriâi a âi=lák an iriâi, tâmo siua riáp bin,*
 3DU PFV REC=hit about 3DU now place dark big

iriâi iâ tom isaŋ tâmo
 3DU CONT sit alone now

‘They fought, now it became very dark, they stayed alone now.’

- (36) *iriâi a âi=potok-â lantuá=n=a to~tom-an si=riâi,*
 3DU PFV REC=share-INTR inside=3SG=ART NOML~sit-NOML AL=3DU
lo popo si=riâi a pârék tâmo
 or child AL=3DU PFV have.NEG now
 ‘They got divorced (lit. separated in their stay), and their child was no more now.’
- (37) *nan a pini si=narál lâη=âtâ*
 3SG PFV story AL=3TRI like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Their story is like that.’
- (38) *nan ik ra~rauai pâ ita kulâu,*
 3SG IPFV PL~make.sound with 1PL.INC people
noη ita=k ráη kinéla,
 be.enough 1PL.INC=IPFV see recognise
sémén ta kiual pâ niâu, ta=k ualai noη
 if 1PL.INC half with thing 1PL.INC=FUT do be.enough
 ‘It reminds us people that we must be prepared (lit. recognise if we need something) if we (go somewhere) to do something.’
- (39) *la iân ita=k pan la marat,*
 in time 1PL.INC=FUT go in garden
a marat i buák a niâu kápái, i=n=a âisók
 ART garden IPFV want ART thing all INAL=3SG=ART work
 ‘When we go to the garden, we need to take everything with us (lit. the garden needs everything to work).’
- (40) *nâ=mo lâη a pini tâmo ka âiát lâη=âtâ,*
 NVIS.DIST=only like ART story now RM.PST run like=VIS.DIST
noη ti ró, mat a mot
 be.enough stand VIS.PROX and PFV finish
 ‘The story now came like that up to here, and that is it.’
- (41) *rokon mo, nan isanη*
 good only 3SG alone
 ‘Thank you, that is it.’

2.4. The family and the octopus

By Tove lavung (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *té, a kus~kus-â ró i=n=a mata=ŋ âi=tama*
 then ART INTR~tell-INTR VIS.PROX INAL=3SG=ART eye=NPOSS REC=father
mat na kipuk
 and PN.ART octopus
 ‘Okay, this story is about a family and the octopus.’
- (2) *kas iân, nér a tom,*
 other time 3PL PFV sit
a tama=n=a u=lék-biân a kus iriâi
 ART father=3SG=ART DU=man-small PFV tell 3DU
 ‘One day, they were (at home), the father of the two boys told them.’
- (3) *“u=lék-biân, miâi=k tom, mâi=k lak la marat”*
 DU=man-small 2DU=FUT sit 1DU.EXC=FUT go.up in garden
 “‘Boys, you will stay, we will go up to the garden.’”
- (4) *u=lék-bin a lak la marat, u=lék-biân a tom*
 DU=man-big PFV go.up in garden DU=man-small PFV sit
 ‘The parents (lit. adults) went up to the garden, the boys stayed back.’
- (5) *nér iâ tom, na kipuk a lak*
 3PL CONT sit PN.ART octopus PFV go.up
 ‘They were staying, the octopus went up (from the sea).’
- (6) *kipuk a lak, kus*
 octopus PFV go.up tell
 ‘The octopus went up (from the sea), he told.’
- (7) *“u=lék-biân, miâi=k bál niáu”*
 DU=man-small 2DU=FUT make 1SG
 “‘Boys, cook me (in the earth oven).’”
- (8) *u=lék-biân a loŋoi*
 DU=man-small PFV hear
 ‘The boys listened.’
- (9) *“miâ=k pát a éŋé=n=a kánái, miâ=k bál niáu”*
 2DU=FUT tear ART branch=3SG=ART tree.sp. 2DU=FUT make 1SG
 “‘Break off a *kánái* branch (its wood burns fast), cook me (in the earth oven).’”
- (10) *u=lék-biân a loŋoi, iriâi a pan,*
 DU=man-small PFV hear 3DU PFV go
iriâi a pát a éŋé=n=a kánái
 3DU PFV tear ART branch=3SG=ART tree.sp.
 ‘The boys listened, they went, they broke off a *kánái* branch.’

- (11) *iriâi aman, lák a titá, buát a umán*
 3DU come hit ART cover.leaf come.out ART earth.oven
 ‘They came, they collected leaves to cover (the earth oven), they lit the earth oven.’
- (12) *umán a roŋot, iriâi a lák a umán tâmo,*
 earth.oven PFV shine 3DU PFV hit ART earth.oven now

té kus na kipuk
 then tell PN.ART octopus
 ‘The earth oven was heated, they removed (the hot stones) from the earth oven now, then they told the octopus.’
- (13) *“nó=k ului lak kálá umán”*
 2SG=FUT crawl go.up on earth.oven
 “‘Crawl up onto the earth oven.’”
- (14) *na kipuk a kus iriâi*
 PN.ART octopus PFV tell 3DU
 ‘The octopus told them.’
- (15) *“miâi=k loŋoi niáu ók táŋás,*
 2DU=FUT hear 1SG FUT cry

miâi ók man miâ=k pák niáu”
 2DU FUT come 2DU=FUT turn 1SG
 “‘(When) you hear me cry, come and take me out.’”
- (16) *nan a ului lak kálá umán,*
 3SG PFV crawl go.up on earth.oven

iriâi a timát mot titá nan
 3DU PFV put.hot.stone and cover.leaf 3SG
 ‘He crawled up onto the earth oven, they put hot stones on him and covered him with leaves.’
- (17) *iriâi a titá nan tâmo, iriâi a pan ik tâpelek*
 3DU PFV cover.leaf 3SG now 3DU PFV go IPFV play
 ‘They covered him with leaves now, they went to play.’
- (18) *iriâi a tâpelek tâpelek,*
 3DU PFV play play

iriâi a loŋoi na kipuk a táŋás
 3DU PFV hear PN.ART octopus PFV cry
 ‘They played and played, they heard the octopus crying.’
- (19) *“u=lék-biâŋ, miâ=k pák niáu*
 DU=man-small 2DU=FUT turn 1SG
 “‘Boys, take me out.’”
- (20) *u=lék-biâŋ, miâ=k pák niáu”*
 DU=man-small 2DU=FUT turn 1SG
 ‘Boys, take me out.’”

- (21) *“kipuk â=k táŋás, tâ=k pan tâ=k pák nan”*
 octopus DIST=IPFV cry 1DU.INC=FUT go 1DU.INC=IPFV turn 3SG
 “The octopus is crying there, let us go and take him out.”
- (22) *iriâi aman tâmo,*
 3DU come now
- iriâi a pák pus-én a titá kálá umán kipuk*
 3DU PFV turn throw-TR ART cover.leaf on earth.oven octopus
 ‘They came now, they removed the cover leaves from the earth oven with the octopus.’
- (23) *ku=n=a lu a ŋiáu pâ titá,* *biliŋa i=n=a umán*
 belly=3SG=ART house PFV rubbish with cover.leaf dirty INAL=3SG=ART earth.oven
 ‘The house was full of cover leaves, the dirt of the earth oven.’
- (24) *la iân iriâi a pák a mot a umán tâmo,*
 in time 3DU PFV turn PFV finish ART earth.oven now
- na kipuk a náu gán, sái la tas*
 PN.ART octopus PFV crawl leave go.down in sea
 ‘When they had taken out everything from the earth oven now, the octopus crawled away and went down to the sea.’
- (25) *uru tama=riâi a gán nâ lu,*
 DU father=3DU PFV leave NVIS.DIST bush
- sâŋ ráŋ a lu a ŋiáu*
 arrive see ART house PFV rubbish
 ‘Their parents left the bush, they came and saw that the house was full of rubbish.’
- (26) *“u=lék-biân, a ku=n=a lu a so a ŋiáu?”*
 DU=man-small ART belly=3SG=ART house PFV do.what PFV rubbish
 “Boys, why is the house full of rubbish?”
- (27) *“imâi uâ bál na kipuk”*
 1DU.EXC RC.PST make PN.ART octopus
 “We cooked the octopus (in the earth oven).”
- (28) *“ma na kipuk amâ?”*
 and PN.ART octopus where
 “And where is the octopus?”
- (29) *“nan uâ náu sái kâuâi la tas”*
 3SG RC.PST crawl go.down already in sea
 “He already crawled down to the sea.”
- (30) *“miâi uâ bál nan pâ sâ kiáp?”*
 2DU RC.PST make 3SG with what firewood
 “With what firewood did you cook him?”
- (31) *“nan uâ kus imâi,*
 3SG RC.PST tell 1DU.EXC

po mâi=k pát a éjé=n=a kájái
 COMP 1DU.EXC=IPFV tear ART branch=3SG=ART tree.sp.
 “‘He told us to break off a branch of the *kájái* tree.’”

- (32) *máúá nan ók lak aman ala, mot nan ók kus imiái,*
 tomorrow 3SG FUT go.up come again and 3SG FUT tell 2DU

po miâ=k pát a éjé=n=a kájái,
 COMP 2DU=FUT tear ART branch=3SG=ART tree.sp.

piâ=n=a loŋoi nan
 PROH.INAL=3SG=ART hear 3SG

“‘Tomorrow (when) he comes up again and tells you to break off a branch of the *kájái* tree, do not listen to him.’”

- (33) *miâ=k pát a éjé=n=a tauan*
 2DU=FUT tear ART branch=3SG=ART ton
 “‘You will break off a branch of the ton tree.’”

- (34) *nér a tâŋan la maulék, uru tama=riái a kus*
 3PL PFV wake.up in morning DU father=3DU PFV tell
 ‘They woke up in the morning, their parents told.’

- (35) *miâ=k tom, mâi=k lak nâ lu*
 2DU=FUT sit 1PL.EXC=FUT go.up NVIS.DIST bush
 “‘You will stay, we will go up to the bush.’”

- (36) *iriái a tom, na kipuk a náu lak aman sâŋ si=riái*
 3DU PFV sit PN.ART octopus PFV crawl go.up come arrive AL=3DU
 ‘They stayed, the octopus crawled up to them.’

- (37) *u=lék-biân, miâ=k bál niáu*
 DU=man-small 2DU=FUT make 1SG
 “‘Boys, cook me (in the earth oven).’”

- (38) *u=lék-biân a loŋoi a kus~kus-â si=n=a tama=riái*
 DU=man-small PFV hear ART INTR~tell-INTR AL=3SG=ART father=3DU
 ‘The boys listened to their parents’ talk.’

- (39) *iriái a pan pát a éjé=n=a tauan, man,*
 3DU PFV go tear ART branch=3SG=ART ton come

iriái a buát a umán
 3DU PFV come.out ART earth.oven

‘They went to break off a branch of the ton tree, they came, they lit the earth oven.’

- (40) *iriâ=k pát a éjé=n=a tauan kuuál pâ titá*
 3DU=IPFV tear ART branch=3SG=ART ton together with cover.leaf
 ‘They broke off the branch of the ton tree together with the cover leaves.’

- (41) *iriái aman mot buát a umán*
 3DU come and come.out ART earth.oven
 ‘They came and lit the earth oven.’

- (42) *umán a roḡot tom, iriâi a kus na kipuk*
 earth.oven PFV shine sit 3DU PFV tell PN.ART octopus
 ‘The earth oven was heated, they told the octopus.’
- (43) *iriâi a pan iot sik na kipuk, iriâi aman,*
 3DU PFV go hold take PN.ART octopus 3DU come

iriâi a â=tom na kipuk kálá umán
 3DU PFV CAU=sit PN.ART octopus on earth.oven
 ‘They went to catch the octopus, they came, they put the octopus on the earth oven.’
- (44) *iriâi a â=tom na kipuk kálá umán,*
 3DU PFV CAU=sit PN.ART octopus on earth.oven

mot timát nan
 and put.hot.stone 3SG
 ‘They put the octopus on the earth oven and put hot stones on him.’
- (45) *iriâi a timát nan, té titá nan*
 3DU PFV put.hot.stone 3SG then cover.leaf 3SG
 ‘They put hot stones on him, then they covered him with leaves.’
- (46) *tama=riâi a sâḡ le-le, sâḡ riái*
 father=3DU PFV arrive in-afternoon arrive ask
 ‘Their father came in the afternoon, he came and asked.’
- (47) *“u=lék-biâḡ, a ku=n=a lu a so a ḡiáu?”*
 DU=man-small ART belly=3SG=ART house PFV do.what PFV rubbish
 “‘Boys, why is the house full of rubbish?’”
- (48) *“mâi uâ bál na kipuk”*
 1DU.EXC RC.PST make PN.ART octopus
 “‘We cooked the octopus (in the earth oven).’”
- (49) *iriâi a riái*
 3DU PFV ask
 ‘They asked.’
- (50) *“lo na kipuk amâ?”*
 or PN.ART octopus where
 “‘And where is the octopus?’”
- (51) *“na kipuk a mat, mot óró=i ti la umán”*
 PN.ART octopus PFV die and VIS.PROX=IPFV stand in earth.oven
 “‘The octopus is dead and is here on the earth oven.’”
- (52) *tâmo â=mot~mot i=n=a pini a sâḡ lâḡ=âtâ*
 now CAU=INTR~finish INAL=3SG=ART story PFV arrive like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Now the ending of the story is like that.’

2.5. The turtle and the cuscus

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *a pini i=n=a un mot a óré*
 ART story INAL=3SG=ART turtle and ART cuscus
 ‘The story of the turtle and the cuscus.’
- (2) *kas iân ka pâ uru mánmánák*
 other time RM.PST with DU animal
 ‘Once, there were two animals.’
- (3) *lo uru mánmánák ónén, kas ki tom la tas,*
 or DU animal NVIS.PROX other HAB sit in sea

lo kas ki tom la luntan
 or other HAB sit in bush
 ‘But these two animals, one was living in the sea, and the other one was living in the bush.’
- (4) *isá=n=a uru mánmánák ónén,*
 name=3SG=ART DU animal NVIS.PROX

a bus nâ ki tom la tas,
 ART DUMMY NVIS.DIST HAB sit in sea

a isá=n=a na un
 ART name=3SG=ART PN.ART turtle
 ‘(As for) the names of the two animals, the one living in the sea, her name was turtle.’
- (5) *lo isá=n=a bus nâ, ki tom la luntan,*
 or name=3SG=ART DUMMY NVIS.DIST HAB sit in bush

a isá=n=a na óré
 ART name=3SG=ART PN.ART cuscus
 ‘And the name of the one living in the bush, his name was cuscus.’
- (6) *kas iân, iriâi ka sâk âi=pál,*
 other time 3DU RM.PST NEG REC=plan

po iriâi ik âi=puát la pitinauán
 COMP 3DU IPFV REC=find in beach
 ‘One day, they did not plan to meet on the beach.’
- (7) *pârék, iriâi ka lomom sik mo,*
 have.NEG 3DU RM.PST think take only

na un rarau ka iâ lomom,
 PN.ART turtle correct RM.PST CONT think

po nan ik iâ sái man la pitinauán,
 COMP 3SG IPFV CONT go.down come in beach

i=n=a nan ik pés keu
 INAL=3SG=ART 3SG IPFV excrete egg

‘No, they had just a spontaneous thought, the turtle thought about coming down to the beach to lay eggs.’

(8) *lo na óré la ka iâ lomon,*
 or PN.ART cuscus again RM.PST CONT think

po ik iâ sái nâ lá-uán la pitinauán,
 COMP IPFV CONT go.down NVIS.DIST in-sand in beach

po nan ik susu la tas
 COMP 3SG IPFV wash.INTR in sea

‘And the cuscus, in turn, thought about going down to the beach to wash in the sea.’

(9) *lo la iân na óré ka sái,*
 or in time PN.ART cuscus RM.PST go.down

âroról an a un ka iâ sái aman la pitinauán
 same.time about ART turtle RM.PST CONT go.down come in beach

‘But when the cuscus went down, it was at the same time the turtle came down to the beach.’

(10) *la iân iriâi kápái ka uâi=sái kuuál la pitinauán,*
 in time 3DU all RM.PST DU=go.down be.together in beach

iriâi a sâŋ âi=puát an iriâi
 3DU PFV arrive REC=find about 3DU

‘When they both went down together to the beach, they met each other.’

(11) *tâmo na un a kel na óré*
 now PN.ART turtle PFV call PN.ART cuscus

‘Now the turtle called out to the cuscus.’

(12) *“nó=k aman, nó uâ sái nó=k so?”*
 2SG=FUT come 2SG RC.PST go.down 2SG=IPFV do.what

‘“Come, what did you come down (to the beach) for?”’

(13) *té na óré a kus nan*
 then PN.ART cuscus PFV tell 3SG

‘Then the cuscus told her.’

(14) *“niáu uâ sái é=k susu”*
 1SG RC.PST go.down 1SG=IPFV wash.INTR

‘“I came down to wash.”’

(15) *té na óré ala riái na un*
 then PN.ART cuscus again ask PN.ART turtle

‘Then the cuscus also asked the turtle.’

(16) *“lo nó uâ sái aman la pitinauán,*
 or 2SG RC.PST go.down come in beach

po nó=k so?"
 COMP 2SG=IPFV do.what
 "“And what did you come down to the beach for?”"

(17) *té na un a ŋet nan lâŋ=âtâ*
 then PN.ART turtle PFV answer 3SG like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Then the turtle answered to him.’

(18) *"niáu uâ sái man, po é=k pés káltái"*
 1SG RC.PST go.down come COMP 1SG=IPFV excrete egg
 "“I came down to lay eggs.”"

(19) *"té rokon"*
 then good
 "“Okay, good.”"

(20) *la iân iriâi ka tom ra~rauai la pitinauán,*
 in time 3DU RM.PST sit PL~make.sound in beach

âi=rauai an iriâi, mot âi=riái-â an iriâi,
 REC=make.sound about 3DU and REC=ask-INTR about 3DU

na óré a puk~puk-â,
 PN.ART CUSCUS PFV INTR~move.see-INTR

mot ráŋ~ráŋ lak la la-laman
 and INTR~see go.up in in-open.sea

‘When they were talking on the beach, talking to each other and asking each other, the cuscus moved around to look up to the sea.’

(21) *nan a ráŋ puát a uái ik iâ io man*
 3SG PFV see find ART tree IPFV CONT float come
 ‘He saw a tree floating towards them.’

(22) *tâmo nan a kus a pan na un*
 now 3SG PFV tell PFV go PN.ART turtle
 ‘Now he told the turtle.’

(23) *"a pâ kas niâu nân ik io man*
 PFV with other thing NVIS.MED IPFV float come
 "“There is something floating there towards us.’

(24) *lo sâ siát uam?"*
 or what thing EMPH
 ‘But what can it be?’"

(25) *i=n=a tâmo na un a kâlpák nan,*
 INAL=3SG=ART now PN.ART turtle PFV change 3SG

mot ráŋ~ráŋ lak ala,
 and INTR~see go.up again

té ráŋ puát a uár ik io man
 then see find ART banana IPFV float come

‘Then now the turtle turned around and looked up (to the sea) too, then she saw a banana tree floating towards them.’

- (26) *otâmo nan a kus na óré lâŋ=âtâ*
 now 3SG PFV tell PN.ART cuscus like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Now she told the cuscus.’

- (27) *“a uár nân, lo óró=k io sái man tâmo”*
 ART banana NVIS.MED or VIS.PROX=IPFV float go.down come now
 “‘It is a banana tree, and it is floating down (to the beach) here now.’”

- (28) *“lo rokon, itâ=k tom bouon ráŋ nan*
 or good 1DU.INC=FUT sit wait see 3SG

ik io sái aman
 IPFV float go.down come

“‘Okay, let us sit, wait and see how it floats down (to the beach) here.’

- (29) *é=k lomôn,*
 1SG=IPFV think

ta niâu rokon kê=râi ka’u nân ik io man”
 IND.ART thing good for=1DU.INC maybe NVIS.MED IPFV float come
 ‘I think something good for us is floating there.’”

- (30) *iriâi a tom kár iân beuel biân*
 3DU PFV sit go.down time long small
 ‘They were sitting down for quite a long time.’

- (31) *tâmo a pat i=n=a uár a sâŋ tauau*
 now ART part INAL=3SG=ART banana PFV arrive go.ashore
 ‘Now the bottom of the banana tree came ashore.’

- (32) *a uár ónén sâŋ tauau la pitinauán otâmo*
 ART banana NVIS.PROX arrive go.ashore in beach now
 ‘The banana tree arrived on the beach now.’

- (33) *i=n=a tâmo iriâi a tâén sik a uár ónén,*
 INAL=3SG=ART now 3DU PFV lift take ART banana NVIS.PROX

â=lak aman la pitinauán
 CAU=go.up come in beach

‘Then now they lifted up the banana tree and brought it up to the beach.’

- (34) *iriâi ik tom ráŋ~ráŋ-an tâmo,*
 3DU IPFV sit INTR~see-NOML now

té na óré â=tâŋ lâŋ=âtâ
 then PN.ART cuscus CAU=say like=VIS.DIST

‘They looked at it now, then the cuscus said.’

- (35) *“sala, nó=k sik aman a uár,*
let 2SG=FUT take come ART banana
- po é=k lak é=k táu kâ=k”*
COMP 1SG=IPFV go.up 1SG=IPFV plant for=1SG
- “Leave it, bring the banana tree for me to go up (to the bush) and plant it for myself.”
- (36) *té na un ala â=táj lâŋ=âtâ*
then PN.ART turtle again CAU=say like=VIS.DIST
- ‘Then the turtle, in turn, said.’
- (37) *“pârék, niáu ala, é=k sik,*
have.NEG 1SG again 1SG=IPFV take
- po é=k táu óró mo la bák, niáu uâ pés keu”*
COMP 1SG=IPFV plant VIS.PROX only in place 1SG RC.PST excrete egg
- “No, I will also take it to plant it just at the place where I laid eggs.”
- (38) *iriâi a âi=raras-â tâmo la-uata an iriâi pan pan pan,*
3DU PFV REC=tight-INTR now be.in-middle about 3DU go go go
- mot otâmo na óré sâŋ kálá lom~lomom nâ*
and now PN.ART CUSCUS arrive on INTR~think NVIS.DIST
- ‘The were arguing now with each another on and on, and now the cuscus came up with this idea.’
- (39) *“baté, tâ=k puták bok la-uata”*
then 1DU.INC=FUT cut break in-middle
- “Okay, let us break it in the middle.”
- (40) *té na un a tuâi a us a lom~lomom si óré*
then PN.ART turtle PFV agree PFV follow ART INTR~think AL CUSCUS
- ‘Then the turtle agreed to follow the cuscus’ idea.’
- (41) *“té rokon, tâ=k bok la-uata”*
then good 1DU.INC=FUT break in-middle
- “Okay, let us break it in the middle.”
- (42) *té iriâi a sik a pán i=n=a gam,*
then 3DU PFV take ART skin INAL=3SG=ART shell.sp.
- mot iriâi a puták bok a uár la-uata*
and 3DU PFV cut break ART banana in-middle
- ‘Then they took a shell, and they cut the banana tree in the middle.’
- (43) *a butu pan la pat,*
ART stem go in part
- té a kas butu man la paka=n=a*
then ART other stem come in leaf=3SG=ART
- ‘One stem went to the bottom, and the other stem came to the leaves.’
- (44) *i=n=a tâmo na óré â=táj lâŋ=âtâ*
INAL=3SG=ART now PN.ART CUSCUS CAU=say like=VIS.DIST
- ‘Then now the cuscus said.’

- (45) *niá buák a paka=n=a*
1SG want ART leaf=3SG=ART
“I want the leaves.”
- (46) *na un ala â=táj lâη=âtâ*
PN.ART turtle again CAU=say like=VIS.DIST
‘The turtle also said.’
- (47) *niá la buák a paka=n=a*
1SG again want ART leaf=3SG=ART
“I also want the leaves.”
- (48) *pan ala, na óré â=táj lâη=âtâ*
go again PN.ART CUSCUS CAU=say like=VIS.DIST
‘Then again, the cuscus said.’
- (49) *pârék, niáu nâ, é=k buák a paka=n=a*
have.NEG 1SG NVIS.DIST 1SG=IPFV want ART leaf=3SG=ART
“No, I want the leaves.”
- (50) *iriâi kóró âi=raras-â pâ butu pan la paka=n=a uár,*
3DU PST.HAB REC=tight-INTR with stem go in leaf=3SG=ART banana

si=n=a iriâi ka ráη lâη=âtâ,
AL=3SG=ART 3DU RM.PST see like=VIS.DIST

po pat nâ pârék ta paka=n=a
COMP part NVIS.DIST have.NEG IND.ART leaf=3SG=ART
‘They were arguing about the stem of the banana tree with the leaves because they saw that the bottom part did not have any leaves.’
- (51) *mot iriâi ka lomôn lâη=âtâ,*
and 3DU RM.PST think like=VIS.DIST

po pat ók piâ=n=a â=sâη ta boi-an,
COMP part FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART CAU=arrive IND.ART eat-NOML

lo paka=n=a nâ, po ók â=sâη a boi-an
or leaf=3SG=ART NVIS.DIST COMP FUT CAU=arrive ART eat-NOML
‘And they thought that the bottom part would not produce food, and that the leaves would produce food.’
- (52) *mot tâmo na un a ti â=táj lâη=âtâ*
and now PN.ART turtle PFV stand CAU=say like=VIS.DIST
‘And now the turtle raised (her head) and said.’
- (53) *baté, sala rokon*
then let good
“Okay, it is fine.’
- (54) *niáu ók sik a butu pan la pat,*
1SG FUT take ART stem go in part

lo nó=k sik a butu pan la paka=n=a
 or 2SG=FUT take ART stem go in leaf-3SG=ART

‘I will take the stem that goes to the bottom, and you will take the stem that goes to the leaves.’”

- (55) *mot tâmo na óré a ti, kus nan lâŋ=âtâ*
 and now PN.ART CUSCUS PFV stand tell 3SG like=VIS.DIST
 ‘And now the cuscus raised (his head) and told her.’

- (56) *“tâ=k lak la bák nâ, niáu ki tom,*
 1DU.INC=FUT go.up in place NVIS.DIST 1SG HAB sit

po tâi ik táu a ti a bul uár si=râi
 COMP 1DU.INC IPFV plant PFV stand ART PL banana AL=1DU.INC

“‘Let us go up to the place where I live so we plant our bananas.’”

- (57) *iriâi a lak pan otâmo,*
 3DU PFV go.up go now

na un a kál a lék si=n=a
 PN.ART turtle PFV dig ART hole AL=3SG=ART

‘They went up now, the turtle dug her hole.’

- (58) *nan a â=ti toi a pat uár si=n=a,*
 3SG PFV CAU=stand touch ART part banana AL=3SG=ART

gán la-uata, sái aman la pat i=n=a
 leave in-middle go.down come in part INAL=3SG=ART

‘She put up her half of the banana tree, from the middle down to the bottom.’

- (59) *té na óré la kál a lék si=n=a*
 then PN.ART CUSCUS again dig ART hole AL=3SG=ART
 ‘Then the cuscus also dug his hole.’

- (60) *nan a â=ti toi ala a uár si=n=a,*
 3SG PFV CAU=stand touch again ART banana AL=3SG=ART

a butu=n=a aman la paka=n=a
 ART stem=3SG=ART come in leaf=3SG=ART

‘He also put up his banana, the stem coming to the leaves.’

- (61) *iâ pan tâmo, na un iâ taual sái la tas*
 CONT go now PN.ART turtle CONT return go.down in sea
 ‘Then the turtle went down again to the sea.’

- (62) *na óré iâ lak pan kálá bul uái,*
 PN.ART CUSCUS CONT go.up go on PL tree

amâ nan ki tom ka~kauas kól kálá=n=a
 where 3SG HAB sit INTR~jump.on go.around on=3SG=ART

‘The cuscus climbed onto the trees on which he lived jumping around.’

- (63) *na un ala iâ kakas kakas pan la bul bák nâ,*
 PN.ART turtle again CONT swim swim go in PL place NVIS.DIST

nan ki tom
3SG HAB sit

'The turtle also swam to the places where she lived.'

- (64) *kas iân tâmo, baté iriâi ka taual aman taual la bák nâ,*
other time now then 3DU RM.PST return come return in place NVIS.DIST

iriâi ka món âi=puát
3DU RM.PST first REC=find

'Another day now, they returned to the place where they first met.'

- (65) *té la mi=n=a ka lâŋ a saka mâsât pâ kiual,*
then in back=3SG=ART RM.PST like ART one year with half

iriâi a taual aman,
3DU PFV return come

i=n=a na un ik man é=k pês keu ala
INAL=3SG=ART PN.ART turtle IPFV.DYN come 1SG=IPFV excrete egg again

'Then after approximately one year and a half, they came back for the turtle to lay eggs again.'

- (66) *lo iriâi ka sâk â=tâŋ ta ra~rauui,*
or 3DU RM.PST NEG CAU=say IND.ART PL~make.sound

lo ta pâl~pâl-an, po ta iân iriâi ka pasak,
or IND.ART INTR~plan-NOML COMP IND.ART time 3DU RM.PST appoint

po i=n=a iriâi ik âi=puát ala la pitinauán, pârék
COMP INAL=3SG=ART 3DU IPFV REC=find again in beach have.NEG

'But they had not said any word or plan about the time they would arrange to meet again on the beach, no.'

- (67) *iriâi ka iâ lós-bok mo, po iriâi*
3DU RM.PST CONT jump-break only COMP 3DU

ka iâ sái âróról la iân ónén rarau,
RM.PST CONT go.down same.time in time NVIS.PROX correct

la iân nâ iriâi ka sâŋ âi=puát ala
in time NVIS.DIST 3DU RM.PST arrive REC-find again

'They were just surprised that they came down (to the beach) at that very same time when they found each other again.'

- (68) *i=n=a tâmo iriâi a sái tom la pitinauán,*
INAL=3SG=ART now 3DU PFV go.down sit in beach

iriâi a âi=riái-â tâmo,
3DU PFV REC=ask-INTR now

na un ik riái a lak na óré
PN.ART turtle IPFV ask PFV go.up PN.ART cuscus

'Then they sat down on the beach, they asked each other now, the turtle asked the cuscus.'

- (69) *“lo bul uár si=râi a lâṅâsâ?*
 or PL banana AL=1DU.INC PFV how
 ‘‘But how are our banana trees?’’
- (70) *nó ka pan nó=k puk-en a biâṅ, lo pârék?’’*
 2SG RM.PST go 2SG=IPFV move.see-TR PFV small or have.NEG
 ‘You went to have a little look, didn’t you?’’
- (71) *na óré ṅet nan*
 PN.ART cuscus answer 3SG
 ‘The cuscus answered her.’
- (72) *“pârék, niáu iâ sâk pan biâṅ é=k ráṅ,*
 have.NEG 1SG CONT NEG go small 1SG=IPFV see
lo é=k puk-en a uár, lo é=k ráṅ’’
 or 1SG=IPFV move.see-TR ART banana or 1SG=IPFV see
 ‘‘No, I did not go even a little to look or move around to see it.’’
- (73) *i=n=a tâmo na un a kus nan*
 INAL=3SG=ART now PN.ART turtle PFV tell 3SG
 ‘Then the turtle told him.’
- (74) *“tâ=k lak, po tâi=k ba ráṅ a bul uár si=râi,*
 1DU.INC=FUT go.up COMP 1DU.INC=IPFV IMM.FUT see ART PL banana AL=1DU.INC
é=k lomôn, nan a uá kâuâi ka’u tâmo’’
 1SG=IPFV think 3SG PFV fruit already maybe now
 ‘‘Let us go up to see our banana trees, I think they might already carry fruit now.’’
- (75) *iân iriâi iâ pan susulék tâmo,*
 time 3DU CONT go near now
iriâi a sâṅ ti la pat i=n=a bul uár si=râi
 3DU PFV arrive stand in part INAL=3SG=ART PL banana AL=3DU
 ‘When they were close now, they stopped at the bottom of their banana trees.’
- (76) *té na óré iâ pan la nón nâ,*
 then PN.ART cuscus CONT go in place NVIS.DIST
nan ka táu a uár,
 3SG RM.PST plant ART banana
lo na un ala pan la nón nâ,
 or PN.ART turtle again go in place NVIS.DIST
nan ka táu a uár
 3SG RM.PST plant ART banana
 ‘Then the cuscus went to the place where he had planted (his) banana tree, and the turtle also went to the place where she had planted (her) banana tree.’
- (77) *lo bul uár nâ mo ka sâk lâuák,*
 or PL banana NVIS.DIST only RM.PST NEG far

lo ka ti âi=kuuál-â mo
 or RM.PST stand REC=be.together-INTR only
 ‘And the banana trees were not far away but just stood close to each other.’

- (78) *i=n=a tâmo na óré a ráŋ puát lâŋ=âtâ,*
 INAL=3SG=ART now PN.ART CUSCUS PFV see find like=VIS.DIST

po a uár si=n=a ka mat
 COMP ART banana AL=3SG=ART RM.PST die
 ‘Then now the cuscus saw that his banana tree was dead.’

- (79) *lo bus si un mo ka tó, mot uá,*
 or DUMMY AL turtle only RM.PST live and fruit

lo pâ báj uár-bin ka su-â kálá=n=a,
 or with bunch banana-big RM.PST hang-INTR on=3SG=ART

lo uár ónén iâ málmál âróról la iân ónén,
 or banana NVIS.PROX CONT ripe same.time in time NVIS.PROX

iriâi iâ âi=puát ala
 3DU CONT REC=find again

‘But only the one of the turtle was alive and carried fruit, and there was a big bunch of bananas hanging on it, and the bananas were ripe at the same time as they met again.’

- (80) *otâmo na óré kus a pan na un*
 now PN.ART CUSCUS tell PFV go PN.ART turtle
 ‘Now the cuscus told the turtle.’

- (81) *“un, uár si=k óró nâ a meŋ, lo bus si=m,*
 turtle banana AL=1SG VIS.PROX NVIS.DIST PFV dry or DUMMY AL=2SG

a báj uár-bin óró a málmál su-â kálá=n=a”
 ART bunch banana-big VIS.PROX PFV ripe hang-INTR on=3SG=ART

“‘Turtle, my banana tree here is dry, but yours, a big bunch of ripe bananas is hanging on it.’”

- (82) *“lo mat ók lâŋâsâ tâmo?”*
 or and FUT how now
 “‘But what shall we do now?’”

- (83) *na un a riái nan*
 PN.ART turtle PFV ask 3SG
 ‘The turtle asked him.’

- (84) *“té ók lâŋ=âtâ*
 then FUT like=VIS.DIST
 “‘Okay, it will be like this.’”

- (85) *niáu ók lak, mot niáu ók mulaŋ a sái*
 1SG FUT go.up and 1SG FUT pick PFV go.down

a bul uár málmál kê=râi”
 ART PL banana ripe for=1DU.INC

‘I will climb up, and I will pick the ripe bananas for us.’”

- (86) *té na un a tuái tâmo*
 then PN.ART turtle PFV agree now
 ‘Then the turtle agreed now.’
- (87) *“até rokon, nó=k lak”*
 then good 2SG=FUT go.up
 “‘Okay, go up.’”
- (88) *i=n=a na óré ka~kauas lak otâmo*
 INAL=3SG=ART PN.ART CUSCUS INTR~jump.on go.up now
 ‘Then the cuscus jumped up now.’
- (89) *na óré a lak,*
 PN.ART CUSCUS PFV go.up
- si=n=a na un sâk noŋ ik lak~lak*
 AL=3SG=ART PN.ART turtle NEG be.enough IPFV INTR~go.up
 ‘The cuscus went up because the turtle could not climb.’
- (90) *tâmo na un a tom mot mo la pat i=n=a uár*
 now PN.ART turtle PFV sit finish only in part INAL=3SG=ART banana
 ‘Now the turtle just stayed at the bottom of the banana tree.’
- (91) *lo na óré a lak guguál*
 or PN.ART CUSCUS PFV go.up on.top
 ‘But the cuscus went up to the top.’
- (92) *na óré a lak tom guguál tâmo,*
 PN.ART CUSCUS PFV go.up sit on.top now
- nan a món muráŋ a saka kó uár,*
 3SG PFV first pick ART one small.piece banana
- nan a pok a pán, té é=k ŋan,*
 3SG PFV peel ART skin then 1SG=IPFV eat.TR
- té nan ik pus-én a sái a pán si un*
 then 3SG IPFV throw-TR PFV go.down ART skin AL turtle
 ‘The cuscus went up and sat on the top now, he first picked one banana, he peeled off the skin to eat it, then he threw the skin down to the turtle.’
- (93) *té nan ik kus a sái na un lâŋ=âtâ*
 then 3SG IPFV tell PFV go.down PN.ART turtle like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Then he told down to the turtle.’
- (94) *“a uár ka=m tân ik ala sái”*
 ART banana for=2SG VIS.MED IPFV again go.down
 “‘A banana for you is also coming down.’”
- (95) *na un kóró â=nás aman a bul pán=a uár*
 PN.ART turtle PST.HAB CAU=move come ART PL skin.3SG=ART banana
- óró si=n=a, nan a ráŋ puát lâŋ=âtâ,*
 VIS.PROX AL=3SG=ART 3SG PFV see find like=VIS.DIST

po pârék ta boi-an lantuá=n=a,
 COMP have.NEG IND.ART eat-NOML inside=3SG=ART

té â=iuâi i=n=a kas kó=n uár ala
 then CAU=two INAL=3SG=ART other small.piece=3SG banana again

‘The turtle moved the banana skins here to herself, she saw that there was no food inside, then the second banana, too.’

(96) *na óré a muráŋ a kas kó=n ala,*
 PN.ART CUSCUS PFV pick ART other small.piece=3SG again

nan a pok tâ guguál,
 3SG PFV peel VIS.DIST on.top

nan a ŋan pus-én a boi-an lantuá=n=a,
 3SG PFV eat.TR throw-TR ART eat-NOML inside=3SG=ART

pus-én a sái a pán ala si un
 throw-TR PFV go.down ART skin again AL turtle

‘The cuscus picked another one again, he peeled it on the top (of the banana tree), he ate the food inside and threw the skin down again to the turtle.’

(97) *nan a ŋan ŋan ŋan a mot*
 3SG PFV eat.TR eat.TR eat.TR PFV finish

a bul uár málmál kápái guguál
 ART PL banana ripe all on.top

‘He ate and ate all the ripe bananas on the top (of the tree).’

(98) *lo pán i=n=a,*
 or skin INAL=3SG=ART

nan kóró pus-én a sái tauai na un pâ=n=a
 3SG PST.HAB throw-TR PFV go.down give PN.ART turtle with=3SG=ART

‘But their skins, he always threw them down to the turtle.’

(99) *la iân ónén tâmo na óré iâ tom guguál kinak,*
 in time NVIS.PROX now PN.ART cuscus CONT sit on.top still

na un a kesemek otâmo
 PN.ART turtle PFV be.angry now

‘At that time now, when the cuscus was still sitting on the top, the turtle was angry now.’

(100) *“lo lek óró a so nan ik ualai a tó*
 or man VIS.PROX PFV do.what 3SG IPFV do ART live

lâŋ óró si=k”
 like VIS.PROX AL=1SG

‘“But why is this guy behaving to me like this?”’

(101) *nan a âi=láuák lak tâmo*
 3SG PFV REC=be.angry go.up now
 ‘She was angry (and shouted) upwards now.’

- (102) *“óré, nó nân ik ŋan a mot a uár onân,*
 cuscus 2SG NVIS.MED IPFV eat.TR PFV finish ART banana NVIS.MED
uár, nó ka táu, lo niáu lek tokon a uár óró,
 banana 2SG RM.PST plant or 1SG man own ART banana VIS.PROX
niáu óró tom li-piá”
 1SG VIS.PROX sit in-ground
 “‘Cuscus, eat up those bananas, the bananas that you had planted, but I am the owner of this banana tree, I am here down below.’”
- (103) *tâmo na óré kus nan*
 now PN.ART cuscus tell 3SG
 ‘Now the cuscus told her.’
- (104) *“lo nó nâ sâk noŋ nó=k lak~lak*
 or 2SG NVIS.DIST NEG be.enough 2SG=IPFV INTR~go.up
 “‘But you cannot climb.’”
- (105) *sala niáu ók iâ ŋan a mot a bul uár óró,*
 let 1SG FUT CONT eat.TR PFV finish ART PL banana VIS.PROX
lo nó, nó=k ŋan a bul pán mo
 or 2SG 2SG=FUT eat.TR ART PL skin only”
 ‘Let me eat up these bananas, but you, you will eat only the skins.’”
- (106) *na un a kesemek tâmo,*
 PN.ART turtle PFV be.angry now
nan a ti pan la butu=n=a uár ónén tâmo,
 3SG PFV stand go in stem=3SG=ART banana NVIS.PROX now
nan a suuát a uár ónén tâmo
 3SG PFV push ART banana NVIS.PROX now
 ‘The turtle was angry now, she stood up against the banana stem now, she pushed the banana tree now.’
- (107) *nan a suuát suuát suuát,*
 3SG PFV push push push
nan a nik nik nik nik a sái tâmo
 3SG PFV shake shake shake shake PFV go.down now
 ‘She pushed and pushed, she shook and shook (the banana tree) down now.’
- (108) *nan iâ nik a puka a uár nâ*
 3SG CONT shake PFV fall ART banana NVIS.DIST
kuuál pâ na óré guguál kálá=n=a
 together with PN.ART cuscus on.top on=3SG=ART
 ‘She shook, and the banana tree together with the cuscus on its top fell down.’
- (109) *i=n=a tâmo na óré iâ kár mati li-piá,*
 INAL=3SG=ART now PN.ART cuscus CONT go.down lie in-ground

a uár ala iâ â=u~us sái
 ART banana again CONT CAU=INTR~follow go.down

kuuál pâ nan tâmo
 together with 3SG now

'Then now the cuscus went down lying on the ground, the banana tree came down with him now.'

(110) *a uár iâ sâŋ pasai a mat na óré tâmo*
 ART banana CONT arrive press PFV die PN.ART CUSCUS now

la pat i=n=a, amâ la bák nâ,
 in part INAL=3SG=ART where in place NVIS.DIST

a uár ka iâ kár mati kuuál pâ na óré
 ART banana RM.PST CONT go.down lie together with PN.ART CUSCUS

'The banana tree landed on and slayed the cuscus now with its bottom part at the place where the banana tree came down with the cuscus.'

(111) *a uár aman pasai a mati na óré*
 ART banana come press PFV lie PN.ART CUSCUS

'The banana tree came (down) slaying the cuscus.'

(112) *tâmo na un iâ mere tâmo,*
 now PN.ART turtle CONT be.happy now

si=n=a na óré iâ mat
 AL=3SG=ART PN.ART CUSCUS CONT die

'Now the turtle was happy because the cuscus was dead.'

(113) *nan a kâlpák nan otâmo,*
 3SG PFV change 3SG now

nan a kár taual nâ lá-uán la tas,
 3SG PFV go.down return NVIS.DIST in-sand in sea

i=n=a nan a kakas lak,
 INAL=3SG=ART 3SG PFV swim go.up

mot nan a taual pan la bák nâ,
 and 3SG PFV return go in place NVIS.DIST

nan ki tom lantuá=n=a
 3SG HAB sit inside=3SG=ART

'She turned around now, she went back down to the beach into the sea to swim up (to the open sea), and she returned to the place where she lived.'

(114) *pini si=râi tâmo sâŋ mot lâŋ=âtâ*
 story AL=1DU.INC now arrive finish like=VIS.DIST

'Our story ends like that.'

2.6. The two ducks and the turtle

By Simpson lavung (Mo clan)

- (1) *té, pini ró a kus~kus-â pâ na pâto iriâi,*
 then story VIS.PROX PFV INTR~tell-INTR with PN.ART duck 3DU

té na un
 then PN.ART turtle

'Okay, this story is a story about the two ducks and the turtle.'

- (2) *kas iân ka pâ mât lâs-uin, na pâto iriâi a âi=pál,*
 other time RM.PST with reef noon-big PN.ART duck 3DU PFV REC=plan

po iriâi=k pan iriâi=k ñan mât
 COMP 3DU=IPFV go 3DU=IPFV eat.TR reef

'One day, there was a big low tide on the reef during the day, the two ducks planned to go to look for food on the reef.'

- (3) *iriâi=k â=us a pan a bul lu=tén-biân*
 3DU=IPFV CAU=follow PFV go ART PL PL=woman-small

ka pâs-muá
 RM.PST step-front

'They were following the girls walking in front.'

- (4) *bul lu=tén-biân ka pan nér ik ñan mât ala*
 PL PL=woman-small RM.PST go 3PL IPFV eat.TR reef again

'The girls also went to look for food on the reef.'

- (5) *mot tâmo na pâto iriâi a màmárásák pan,*
 and now PN.ART duck 3DU PFV search go

i=n=a ñan mât
 INAL=3SG=ART eat.TR reef

'And now the two ducks looked around to find food on the reef.'

- (6) *pan pan pan pan tâmo, iriâi a pan,*
 go go go go now 3DU PFV go

iriâi a sâñ puát na un a mât-bont-â
 3DU PFV arrive find PN.ART turtle PFV reef-block-INTR

'This went on and on, they went, they found the turtle stuck in the dry reef.'

- (7) *é=k lomón, nan ka boi lá-uán,*
 1SG=IPFV think 3SG RM.PST eat.INTR in-night

noñ a mât a tak, lo gán atâmo,
 be.enough ART reef PFV dry.reef or leave now

nan tâmo salaŋ bák, i=n=a lak taua, nan iâ mati mot
 3SG now search place INAL=3SG=ART go.up return 3SG CONT lie finish
 ‘Maybe he ate at night until the reef became dry and (wanted to) leave now, he now looked for a place to go back up, he was just lying down.’

- (8) *pâto iriâi sâŋ puát nan tâmo,*
 duck 3DU arrive find 3SG now

té na un a kus na pâto iriâi po
 then PN.ART turtle PFV tell PN.ART duck 3DU COMP
 ‘The two ducks found him now, then the turtle told the two ducks.’

- (9) *“niá buák â=us imiâi,*
 1SG want CAU=follow 2DU

po ta=k ŋan mât pan lâŋ=âtân”
 COMP 1PL.INC=IPFV eat.TR reef go like=VIS.MED
 “‘I want to follow you so we will look for food on the reef like that.’”

- (10) *tâmo iriâi a lomôn salaŋ ta salan,*
 now 3DU PFV think search IND.ART way

po na un ók â=us iriâi lâŋ nás,
 COMP PN.ART turtle FUT CAU=follow 3DU like who

lo bák nâ mât mot
 or place NVIS.DIST reef finish

‘Now they thought about a way for the turtle to follow them like anyone else (would), but the reef was completely dry.’

- (11) *sakan iriâi ók kus nan ók láu la tas,*
 but 3DU FUT tell 3SG FUT travel in sea

ner ók piâ=n=a âi=kalapaŋ an ner,
 3PL FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART REC=know about 3PL

lo sakan iriâ=k kus nan,
 or but 3DU=FUT tell 3SG

po nan ik láu óró lu la luntan,
 COMP 3SG IPFV travel VIS.PROX bush in bush

iriâi ók piâ=n=a suma, kas ala,
 3DU FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART fast other again

nan ók iâ puát piúá,
 3SG FUT CONT find die.unnatural

si=n=a a kulâu ók lák nan
 AL=3SG=ART ART people FUT hit 3SG

‘If they told him to travel by sea, they would lose track of (lit. not know) each other, but if they told him to travel by land through the bush, they would not be fast, the other (thing is), he would die because the people would kill him.’

- (12) *mot tâmo, pâto âi=pál tâmo, té lomona saka salan tâmo,*
and now duck REC=plan now then think ART one way now
iriâi a kus nan
3DU PFV tell 3SG
'And now the duck made a plan now, then he thought about one way now that they told him.'
- (13) *"baté, kó uái óró,*
then small.piece tree VIS.PROX
mâi ók âi=bal an nó pâ=n=a
1DU.EXC FUT REC=carry about 2SG with=3SG=ART
'"Okay, this stick, we will carry you with it.'
- (14) *nó=k ket a pék a kó uái,*
2SG=FUT bite PFV strong ART small.piece tree
lo mâi ók ioio pâ nó láu guguál
or 1DU.EXC FUT fly with 2SG travel on.top
'Bite firmly into the stick, and we will fly with you up through (the sky).'
- (15) *mot ita ók pan, a bul kulâu nâ,*
and 1PL.INC FUT go ART PL people NVIS.DIST
ner â=k sélépâi tâ,
3PL DIST=IPFV go.beach VIS.DIST
bul lu=tén mot a kulâu â=k ñan mât kól,
PL PL=woman and ART people DIST=IPFV eat.TR reef go.around
ner a laua mat
3PL PFV much die
'And we will go, those people are (having a picnic) on the beach there, the women and the men are looking around for food on the reef, they are very many.'
- (16) *lo sémén ta ók pan, mot ner ók ra~rauai,*
or if 1PL.INC FUT go and 3PL FUT PL~make.sound
lo sik pák itál, nó=k piâ=n=a ra~rauai
or take turn 1TRI.INC 2SG=FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART PL~make.sound
'And if we go, and they talk or make jokes about us, you cannot speak.'
- (17) *si=n=a nó=k ket a pék a kó uái,*
AL=3SG=ART 2SG=FUT bite PFV strong ART small.piece tree
sémén nó=k ra~rauai tâmo, nó=k puka"
if 2SG=FUT PL~make.sound now 2SG=FUT fall
'Because you will bite firmly into the stick, if you speak now, you will fall.'
- (18) *na un a tem rokon toi iriâi tâmo*
PN.ART turtle PFV answer good touch 3DU now
'The turtle agreed with them now.'

- (19) *a un a ket a pék a kó uái tâmo,*
ART turtle PFV bite PFV strong ART small.piece tree now

iriâi a ioio pâ=n=a láu pan guguál atâmo
3DU PFV fly with=3SG=ART travel go on.top now
'The turtle bit firmly into the stick now, they flew with him high up now.'

- (20) *iriâi a pan pan pan pan pan,*
3DU PFV go go go go go

iriâi a món sâŋ kálá imbo=lek pâs-muá,
3DU PFV first arrive on PL=man step-first

bul lu=tén ik món sélépâi
PL PL=woman IPFV first go.beach

'They went and went, they first came to the first (group of) people, the women who were (having a picnic) on the beach.'

- (21) *bul lu=tén iâ*
PL PL=woman CONT

'The women (said).'

- (22) *"baté, a lek-uin i la tas óró=k ioio láu*
then ART man-big INAL in sea VIS.PROX=IPFV fly travel

óró guguál

VIS.PROX on.top

'"Well, the big man from the sea is flying here through (the sky).'

- (23) *u=lék, miâ=k pus-én nan,*
DU=man 2DU=FUT throw-TR 3SG

po nan ik sái ik kár mat"
COMP 3SG IPFV go.down IPFV go.down die

'Guys (the ducks), throw him (down) so he falls down and dies.'

- (24) *na lek nâ lomón*
PN.ART man NVIS.DIST think

'That man (the turtle) thought.'

- (25) *"niá=k piâ=n=a ra~rauai"*
1SG=FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART PL~make.sound

'"I cannot speak."

- (26) *nan a lomón a pék a ra~rauai si pâto iriâi,*
3SG PFV think PFV strong ART PL~make.sound AL duck 3DU

mâ iriâi ka kus nan pâ=n=a
where 3DU RM.PST tell 3SG with=3SG=ART

'He remembered the ducks' words that they had told him.'

- (27) *nárál â=k-álát, nér ik iâ uén a us na un*
3TRI DIST=IPFV-pass.by 3PL IPFV CONT say PFV follow PN.ART turtle

pâ lâuâ=n=a ra~rauai
with much=3SG=ART PL~make.sound

'They were moving on, they (the people) were saying all kinds of things after the turtle.'

(28) *un tâmo a lomo-ηάτηγát,*
turtle now PFV think-hurt

pat i=n=a â=iuâi i=n=a imbo=lek ala
part INAL=3SG=ART CAU=two INAL=3SG=ART PL=man again

â=tán a us nér pâ bul ra~rauai,
CAU=say PFV follow 3PL with PL PL~make.sound

i=n=a lomo un ik ηάτηγát
INAL=3SG=ART mind turtle IPFV hurt

'The turtle now was angry because the second (group of) people also said words after them to hurt the turtle's feelings.'

(29) *na lek óró mái kiru buák ra~rauai,*
PN.ART man VIS.PROX back PST.HAB want PL~make.sound

lo sémén nan ók ra~rauai a sai na un,
or if 3SG FUT PL~make.sound PFV trace PN.ART turtle

na un ók ηet nan la, na un ók puka
PN.ART turtle FUT answer 3SG again PN.ART turtle FUT fall

'The man (the duck) here at the back wanted to speak, but if he spoke and got the turtle started, the turtle would also want to answer him, the turtle would fall.'

(30) *tâmo na pâto â=tán*
now PN.ART duck CAU=say
'Now the duck said.'

(31) *"sala, mam ik iâ âiát mák pan mo"*
let 1PL.EXC IPFV CONT run keep.quiet go only
"Let (them talk), we will just move on without saying a word."

(32) *nér a âiát pan pan pan pan tâmo,*
3PL PFV run go go go go now

nér a sâη kálá â=mot~mot i=n=a bul lu=tén tâmo
3PL PFV arrive on CAU=INTR~finish INAL=3SG=ART PL PL=woman now
'They went and went now, they came to the last (group of) women now.'

(33) *u=lék nâ mot na un sâk ioio láu*
DU=man NVIS.DIST and PN.ART turtle NEG fly travel

tâ guguál ala, óró mo li-piá tâmo
VIS.DIST on.top again VIS.PROX only in-ground now

'The two people (the ducks) and the turtle did not fly high anymore, just here on the ground now.'

(34) *iriâi a ioio pan tâmo, lu=tén-biâη a ti,*
3DU PFV fly go now PL=woman-small PFV stand

nér ik iâ sik pák mot â=tân
 3PL IPFV CONT take turn and CAU=say

a bul lâuâ=n=a ra~rauai sâk rokon ka un
 ART PL much=3SG=ART PL~make.sound NEG good for turtle

'They flew away now, the girls stood up, they were making jokes and saying all kinds of bad things to the turtle.'

(35) *nó kalapan, na un a su-â nâ,*
 2SG know PN.ART turtle PFV hang-INTR NVIS.DIST

lomo=n=a rjât rjât kâuâi, pâ bul lâuâ=n=a ra~rauai a lak
 mind=3SG=ART hurt already with PL much=3SG=ART PL~make.sound PFV go.up

kálá=n=a
 on=3SG=ART

'You know, the turtle, who was hanging there, his feelings were already hurt from the many words that came up to him.'

(36) *pan atâmo, na un a sapan a bala=n=a,*
 go now PN.ART turtle PFV open ART mouth=3SG=ART

po ik ra~rauai, lo rjet a bul lu=tén-biân
 COMP IPFV PL~make.sound or answer ART PL PL=woman-small

lo kulâu nâ, pârék, nan iâ puka sái tâmo
 or people NVIS.DIST have.NEG 3SG CONT fall go.down now

'Then the turtle opened his mouth to speak and answer the girls and people there, (but) no, he fell down now.'

(37) *nan a sái, iâ kár ti-uiák mat mati li-piá*
 3SG PFV go.down CONT go.down PASS-break die lie in-ground

tâmo kálá ânte=n=a mât
 now on backside=3SG=ART reef

'He fell down, broke (his shield) and lay dead on the ground now on top of the reef.'

(38) *tâmo nér a âkalimân âi=pák an nér, nér a sái,*
 now 3PL PFV sign REC=turn about 3PL 3PL PFV go.down

bolos nan tâmo, nér a rjan nan
 cut 3SG now 3PL PFV eat.TR 3SG

'Now they gave each other a signal, they went down, they cut him into pieces now, they ate him.'

(39) *tâmo nan a pini sâ rjet mot lâ rjet=âtâ*
 now 3SG PFV story arrive finish like=VIS.DIST

'Now this is a story which ends like that.'

(40) *rokon*
 good
 'Thank you.'

2.7. The wallaby and the chicken

By Elizabeth Balane (Sopokor clan)

- (1) *kas iân, na uen iriâi putâ ka kê~kol kálá bál*
 other time PN.ART wallaby 3DU chicken RM.PST INTR~paddle on canoe
 ‘Once, the wallaby and the chicken were paddling in the canoe.’
- (2) *iriâi ka kê~kol pan la kakais,*
 3DU RM.PST INTR~paddle go in spring
- mot iriâi ka puát a lu=tén ka âmámás kakam*
 and 3DU RM.PST find ART PL=woman RM.PST let.soak.in.sea seed.sp.
 ‘They were paddling to the freshwater springs (on the beach), and they found women letting the seeds (of the *su* fruit) soak in the sea.’
- (3) *iân iriâi ka kê~kol, na uen ka kol-pák a bál,*
 time 3DU RM.PST INTR~paddle PN.ART wallaby RM.PST paddle-turn ART canoe
- lo na putâ ka tom tâ muá*
 or PN.ART chicken RM.PST sit VIS.DIST front
 ‘When they were paddling, the wallaby navigated the canoe, and the chicken was sitting in front.’
- (4) *té lu=tén ka ráη na putâ,*
 then PL=woman RM.PST see PN.ART chicken
- mot nér ka â=táη lâη=âtâ*
 and 3PL RM.PST CAU=say like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Then the women saw the chicken, and they said like this.’
- (5) *“uai, sâ kó ualas-uin nâ si putâ”*
 INTJ what small.piece feather-big NVIS.DIST AL chicken
 “‘Wow, what a nice long feather of the chicken.’”
- (6) *málá â=k pi, mot â=k tai~tai-â tâ kálá bál*
 wind DIST=IPFV blow and DIST=IPFV INTR~fan-INTR VIS.DIST on canoe
 ‘The wind blew and (made the feathers) wave in the canoe.’
- (7) *té na uen ka kesemek toi na putâ,*
 then PN.ART wallaby RM.PST be.angry touch PN.ART chicken
- mot nan ka kus na putâ*
 and 3SG RM.PST tell PN.ART chicken
 ‘Then the wallaby was angry with the chicken, and he told the chicken.’
- (8) *“nó=k aman nó=k kol-pák a bál,*
 2SG=FUT come 2SG=IPFV paddle-turn ART canoe
- lo niá=k si tom tâ muá”*
 or 1SG=FUT FOC sit VIS.DIST front
 “‘You come and navigate the canoe, and I will now sit in front.’”

- (9) *té na uen a pan tâ muá,*
then PN.ART wallaby PFV go VIS.DIST front

lo na putâ si kol-pák a bál
or PN.ART chicken FOC paddle-turn ART canoe
'Then the wallaby went to the front, and the chicken now navigated the canoe.'
- (10) *iân iriâi=k kâ~kol pan ala, lu=tén ka â=tán*
time 3DU=IPFV INTR~paddle go again PL=woman RM.PST CAU=say
'When they were paddling again, the women said.'
- (11) *"kulâu, ta kó pelpele-uin si putâ nâ"*
people IND.ART small.piece long.chicken.feather-big AL chicken NVIS.DIST
"Wow (lit. people), such a long feather of that chicken."
- (12) *tâ máj, nan a kol-pák a bál,*
VIS.DIST behind 3SG PFV paddle-turn ART canoe

na uen a kesemek tâmo ala, na uen a â=tán
PN.ART wallaby PFV be.angry now again PN.ART wallaby PFV CAU=say
'At the back (of the canoe), he navigated the canoe, the wallaby was angry now again, the wallaby said.'
- (13) *"kol a lak a bál tâ la la-laman"*
paddle PFV go.up ART canoe VIS.DIST in in-open.sea
"Paddle the canoe up to the open sea."
- (14) *iriâi ka kâ~kol lak la la-laman tâmo,*
3DU RM.PST INTR~paddle go.up in in.open.sea now

té na uen a kai pót a bál
then PN.ART wallaby PFV scrape drill ART canoe
'They paddled up to the open sea now, then the wallaby scraped a hole into the canoe.'
- (15) *na putâ tâmo iâ ioio sái lá-piá,*
PN.ART chicken now CONT fly go.down in-ground

lo na uen tâmo ka mati kakas
or PN.ART wallaby now RM.PST lie swim
'The chicken flew down to the land now, but the wallaby now lay (on the water) and swam.'
- (16) *iân nan ka kakas tâmo, a béu a kâ~kol aman,*
time 3SG RM.PST swim now ART shark PFV INTR~paddle come

nan a kus na béu
3SG PFV tell PN.ART shark
'When he was swimming now, a shark swam towards him, he asked the shark.'
- (17) *"béu, non nó=k â=kouos niáu,*
shark be.enough 2SG=IPFV CAU=jump.on 1SG

po tâi=k sái pan tâ lá-piá?"
COMP 1DU.INC=IPFV go.down go VIS.DIST in-ground
"Shark, can you let me jump on you so we go down there to the land?"

- (18) *té na béu â=tán*
 then PN.ART shark CAU=say
 'Then the shark said.'
- (19) *"bouoŋ a lek tâ máí"*
 wait ART man VIS.DIST behind
 "'Wait for the man over there at the back.'"
- (20) *té nan a kakas sái*
 then 3SG PFV swim go.down
 'Then he swam down.'
- (21) *kas rián-bin aman*
 other fish-big come
 'Another big fish came.'
- (22) *nan a kus lâŋ=âtâ*
 3SG PFV tell like=VIS.DIST
 'He told like this.'
- (23) *"rián, noŋ nó=k â=kouos niáu,*
 fish be.enough 2SG=IPFV CAU=jump.on 1SG

nó=k sái pâ niáu nâ lá-uán?"
 2SG=FUT go.down with 1SG NVIS.DIST in-sand
 "'Fish, can you let me jump on you (so) you will go with me down to the beach?'"
- (24) *na rián a kus nan*
 PN.ART fish PFV tell 3SG
 'The fish told him.'
- (25) *"bouoŋ a kas rián tâ máí"*
 wait ART other fish VIS.DIST behind
 "'Wait for the other fish over there at the back.'"
- (26) *nan a kakas sái tâmo, na un aman*
 3SG PFV swim go.down now PN.ART turtle come
 'He swam down now, the turtle came.'
- (27) *na un aman tâmo, nan a kus na un*
 PN.ART turtle come now 3SG PFV tell PN.ART turtle
 'The turtle came now, he told the turtle.'
- (28) *"un, noŋ nó=k â=kouos a sái niáu*
 turtle be.enough 2SG=IPFV CAU=jump.on PFV go.down 1SG

nâ lá-uán?"
 NVIS.DIST in-sand
 "'Turtle, can you let me jump on you to go down to the beach?'"
- (29) *té na un a â=tán*
 then PN.ART turtle PFV CAU=say
 'Then the turtle said.'

- (30) *"kouos man"*
 jump.on come
 "Jump on."
- (31) *nan a â=kouos sik na uen tâmo,*
 3SG PFV CAU=jump.on take PN.ART wallaby now

iriâi a kakas sái kálá mât
 3DU PFV swim go.down on reef
 'He let the wallaby jump on now, they swam down to the reef.'
- (32) *na un a riái nan*
 PN.ART turtle PFV ask 3SG
 'The turtle asked him.'
- (33) *"é=k â=sái nó óró?"*
 1SG=IPFV CAU=go.down 2SG VIS.PROX
 "Shall I let you go down here?"
- (34) *na uen â=tâŋ*
 PN.ART wallaby CAU=say
 'The wallaby said.'
- (35) *"kinak, kár sái"*
 still go.down go.down
 "Not yet, go further down (to the beach)."
- (36) *iriâi a sái pan pan tâmo la kákásái,*
 3DU PFV go.down go go now in sea.grass

nan a â=tâŋ
 3SG PFV CAU=say
 'They went further down to the sea grass now, he said.'
- (37) *"é=k â=sái nó óró?"*
 1SG=IPFV CAU=go.down 2SG VIS.PROX
 "Shall I let you go down here?"
- (38) *"pârék, sái tâ lá-uán tuna"*
 have.NEG go.down VIS.DIST in-sand true
 "No, go down to the actual beach."
- (39) *iriâi a sái tâ lá-uán tâmo,*
 3DU PFV go.down VIS.DIST in-sand now

na uen a lós sái tâmo, pupuát a lak na un
 PN.ART wallaby PFV jump go.down now pull PFV go.up PN.ART turtle

tâ lá-uán, té kâlpák a mati nan tâmo
 VIS.DIST in-sand then change PFV lie 3SG now
 'They went down to the beach now, the wallaby jumped down now, he pulled the turtle up to the beach, then he turned him over now.'

- (40) *nan a kâlpák a mati nan tâmo, nan a pan,*
 3SG PFV change PFV lie 3SG now 3SG PFV go
- nan a gâi a bul lu=biân,*
 3SG PFV accompany ART PL PL=small
- po nér ik aman tâmo, nér ik lák a mat na un*
 COMP 3PL IPFV come now 3PL IPFV hit PFV die PN.ART turtle
 'He turned him over now, he went, he brought children so they would come to kill the turtle.'
- (41) *pini sí uen iriâi putâ a sâŋ noŋ lâŋ=âtâ*
 story AL wallaby 3DU chicken PFV arrive be.enough like=VIS.DIST
 'The story of the wallaby and the chicken ends like that.'
- (42) *rokon pâ loŋoi-â*
 good with hear-INTR
 'Thank you for listening.'

2.8. The dog and the wallaby

By Esrom Lereking (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *té rokon, kas iân, na péu iriâi uen*
 then good other time PN.ART dog 3DU wallaby
 ‘Okay, one day (there were) the dog and the wallaby.’
- (2) *na péu ka tom, nan ka tán~tán*
 PN.ART dog RM.PST sit 3SG RM.PST INTR~cook
 ‘The dog stayed, he cooked.’
- (3) *nan ka tán a kó bók la uata*
 3SG RM.PST cook ART small.piece taro in fire
 ‘He cooked a taro tuber in the fire.’
- (4) *té na uen ka aman, ka puát*
 then PN.ART wallaby RM.PST come RM.PST find

nan ik tán a kó=n bók
 3SG IPFV cook ART small.piece=3SG taro
 ‘Then the wallaby came and saw that he was cooking a taro tuber.’
- (5) *té la iân nén,*
 then in time NVIS.PROX

na péu ik kái a kó=n bók
 PN.ART dog IPFV scrape ART small.piece=3SG taro
 ‘Then at that time, the dog was scraping the taro.’
- (6) *té na uen a riái nan po*
 then PN.ART wallaby PFV ask 3SG COMP
 ‘Then the wallaby asked him.’
- (7) *“tiâ=ŋ, nó uâ kái~kái pâ sâ?”*
 same.sex.sibling=NPOSS 2SG RC.PST INTR~scrape with what
 ‘“Brother, with what did you scrape?”’
- (8) *té na péu â=tán*
 then PN.ART dog CAU=say
 ‘Then the dog said.’
- (9) *“ni=â kái~kái pâ kó kété i=n=a lima=k”*
 1SG=RC.PST INTR~scrape with small.piece fingernail INAL=3SG=ART arm=1SG
 ‘“I scraped with my claws.”’
- (10) *tâmo na uen â=tán*
 now PN.ART wallaby CAU=say
 ‘Now the wallaby said.’
- (11) *“nó=k sik aman, po é=k si kái”*
 2SG=FUT take come COMP 1SG=IPFV FOC scrape
 ‘“Bring me (taro) so I will scrape it.”’

- (12) *tâmo na uen a tom sái, nan a kái~kái*
 now PN.ART wallaby PFV sit go.down 3SG PFV INTR~scrape
pâ kó kété i=n=a lima=n=a
 with small.piece fingernail INAL=3SG=ART arm=3SG=ART
 'Now the wallaby sat down, he scraped with his claws.'
- (13) *lo iân nan kiru tom kái~kái tân,*
 or time 3SG PST.HAB sit INTR~scrape VIS.MED
a lima=n=a ik iâ ram lak
 ART arm=3SG=ART IPFV CONT burnt go.up
 'But when he sat scraping like that, his arms got burnt (from the hands towards the shoulders).'
- (14) *nan ik iâ kái~kái, uru lima=n=a ik iâ ram*
 3SG IPFV CONT INTR~scrape DU arm=3SG=ART IPFV CONT burnt
 'He continued to scrape, both his arms got burnt.'
- (15) *pan pan pan pan ram, pan pan pan pan pan tâmo,*
 go go go go burnt go go go go go now
lima uen iâ ram tok tâmo
 arm wallaby CONT burnt short now
 'On and on, (his arms) got burnt, on and on now, the arms of the wallaby burnt short now.'
- (16) *tâmo ténén ta=k ráη*
 now today 1PL.INC=FUT see
a uru pat lima uen tâ muá a tok,
 ART DU part arm wallaby VIS.DIST front PFV short
lo uru kek=en=a tâ mái a beue
 or DU leg=3SG=ART VIS.DIST behind PFV long
 'Now today we see that the arms of the wallaby at the front are short, but the legs at the back are long.'
- (17) *tâmo ténén ta=k ráη, po na uen,*
 now today 1PL.INC=FUT see COMP PN.ART wallaby
nan ki lóskârâu, lóskârâu mo,
 3SG HAB jump jump only
pâ a uru pat kek=en=a tâ muá a tok
 with ART DU part leg=3SG=ART VIS.DIST front PFV short
 'Now today we see that the wallaby just jumps around because his arms (lit. legs) in the front are short.'
- (18) *si=n=a na péu ka bát nan,*
 AL=3SG=ART PN.ART dog RM.PST trick 3SG
po na péu ka kái~kái
 COMP PN.ART dog RM.PST INTR~scrape

pâ kó kété i=n=a lima=n=a
 with small.piece fingernail INAL=3SG=ART arm=3SG=ART
 'Because the dog tricked him that the dog had scraped with his claws.'

- (19) *tâmo na uen ka lomôn, po tuna,*
 now PN.ART wallaby RM.PST think COMP true

po na péu ka kái~kái pâ kó kété si=n=a
 COMP PN.ART dog RM.PST INTR~scrape with small.piece fingernail AL=3SG=ART
 'Now the wallaby believed (lit. thought that it was true) that the dog scraped with his claws.'

- (20) *la îân na péu ka bát na uen*
 in time PN.ART dog RM.PST trick PN.ART wallaby

pâ kó kái~kái, nan a sik
 with small.piece INTR~scrape 3SG PFV take

a kó kái~kái, nan a kái~kái pâ=n=a,
 ART small.piece INTR~scrape 3SG PFV INTR~scrape with=3SG=ART

nan a â=ti lak la tanã=n=a
 3SG PFV CAU=stand go.up in ear=3SG=ART

'When the dog tricked the wallaby with a (shell) scraper, he took the scraper, he scraped with it, he put it up in his ears.'

- (21) *tâmo pâ kupe=n=a tân i ti*
 now with base=3SG=ART VIS.MED IPFV stand

tâ la mi=n=a tanã péu
 VIS.DIST in back=3SG=ART ear dog

'Now there is a trace of it behind the dog's ears.'

- (22) *la îân a péu ka bát nan, na uen ka lomôn,*
 in time ART dog RM.PST trick 3SG PN.ART wallaby RM.PST think

po tuna
 COMP true

'When the dog tricked him, the wallaby thought that it was true.'

- (23) *té ka kái~kái ala pâ kó kété si=n=a,*
 then RM.PST INTR~scrape again with small.piece fingernail AL=3SG=ART

noŋ si=n=a lima=n=a ka ram tok tâmo
 be.enough AL=3SG=ART arm=3SG=ART RM.PST burnt short now

'Then he scraped again with this claws until this arms burnt short now.'

- (24) *mot tâmo ténén ta=k ráŋ,*
 and now today 1PL.INC=FUT see

po lima uen tâ muá a tok
 COMP arm wallaby VIS.DIST front PFV short

'And now today we see that the arms of the wallaby in the front are short.'

- (25) *tâmo nan ki lóskârâu lóskârâu*
 now 3SG HAB jump jump
 'Now he jumps and jumps.'
- (26) *tâmo a pini si=riâi, la iân iriâi ka tán~tán,*
 now ART story AL=3DU in time 3DU RM.PST INTR~cook

sâŋ mot lâŋ=âtâ
 arrive finish like=VIS.DIST
 'Now their story of the time when they were cooking ends like that.'
- (27) *rokon, nan isaŋ*
 good 3SG alone
 'Thank you, that is all.'

2.9. The kingfisher and the little fish

By Adam Mandu (Keu clan)

- (1) *óró a kus~kus-â i=n=a káiuân mat a bul rián-biân*
 VIS.PROX PFV INTR~tell-INTR INAL=3SG=ART kingfisher.sp. and ART PL fish-small
 ‘This is the story of the kingfisher and the (many) little fish.’
- (2) *mé kalapan a káiuân, nan ki tó pâ rián*
 2PL know ART kingfisher.sp. 3SG HAB live with fish
 ‘You know the kingfisher, he lives on fish.’
- (3) *lo la iân anén, nan ka mâkâl sât tuna*
 or in time NVIS.PROX 3SG RM.PST be.hungry bad true
 ‘But this time, he was very hungry.’
- (4) *tâmo nan a ioio pâ-sâl man man man man*
 now 3SG PFV fly with-shore come come come come
 ‘Now he flew along the beach coming closer and closer.’
- (5) *la iân anén ka pâ mât lâs-uin,*
 in time NVIS.PROX RM.PST with reef noon-big
a iân a tas ki sái pan,
 ART time ART sea HAB go.down go
ki pâ bul rárám-biân nâ ki tom
 HAB with PL water-small NVIS.DIST HAB sit
lantúá=n=a bul ñat mo, lâñ niáu=k â=táñ
 inside=3SG=ART PL stone only like 1SG=FUT CAU=say
a rárám ki tom la bul ñat lo kantu
 ART water HAB sit in PL stone or sand.shallow.sea
 ‘This time, there was a big low tide during the day, when the sea recedes, there are little water holes in the stones, like I say the water is in the stones or round sandy spots in the shallow water.’
- (6) *té la iân anén tâmo, nan a ioio man man,*
 then in time NVIS.PROX now 3SG PFV fly come come
nan a nen nan a mâkâl sât
 3SG PFV feel 3SG PFV be.hungry bad
 ‘Then this time now, he flew coming closer and closer, the felt very hungry.’
- (7) *nan ik iâ ioio man tâmo, nan a ráñ~ráñ sái,*
 3SG IPFV CONT fly come now 3SG PFV INTR~see go.down
nan a ráñ a bul rián-biân la rárám anén
 3SG PFV see ART PL fish-small in water NVIS.PROX
 ‘He flew closer now, he looked down, he saw (many) little fish in this water.’

- (8) *tâmo nan a ioio sái, sân tom tâmo, "maulék"*
 now 3SG PFV fly go.down arrive sit now morning
 'Now he flew down and sat down now (and said), "(Good) morning.''
- (9) *bul rián, "maulék"*
 PL fish morning
 'The fish (said), "(Good) morning.'
- (10) *a so?"*
 PFV do.what
 'What is it?''
- (11) *"âu, nâ âi=lák-uin tâ, lo niáu uâ man,*
 INTJ NVIS.DIST REC=hit-big VIS.DIST or 1SG RC.PST come
lo kulâu ik âi=lák
 or people IPFV REC=hit
 '“Oh, there is a big war there, and I came here, but the people are fighting.’
- (12) *lák a mat a kulâu, nér ik tán lu,*
 hit PFV die ART people 3PL IPFV cook house
nér ik lák a mat a mok, lo niá tâmo,
 3PL IPFV hit PFV die ART pig or 1SG now
niáu uâ sal~sal mo, niá sâ buák láu tom si=nér
 1SG RC.PST INTR~miss only 1SG NEG want travel sit AL=3PL
 'They kill people, they burn houses, they kill pigs, but I now, I just (flew) past them, I do not want to stay with them.'
- (13) *niá iâ motot ala, sât nér saka lák niáu*
 1SG CONT be.afraid again bad 3PL APPR hit 1SG
 'I am also afraid that they will kill me.'
- (14) *tâmo ni=â man"*
 now 1SG=RC.PST come
 'Now I came.''
- (15) *bul rián-biân, "ba?"*
 PL fish-small INTJ
 'The little fish (said), "Really?''
- (16) *"lo âi=lák nâ ók iâ man lâñ óró"*
 or REC=hit NVIS.DIST FUT CONT come like VIS.PROX
 '“And that war will come here.''
- (17) *tâmo bul rián-biân*
 now PL fish-small
 'Now the little fish (said).'
- (18) *"ai, lo nér saka man saka lák imam"*
 INTJ or 3PL APPR come APPR hit 1PL.EXC
 '“Hey, maybe they will come and kill us.''

- (19) *tâmo niá uâ man é=k kus imé,*
 now 1SG RC.PST come 1SG=IPFV tell 2PL
po é=k â=gón sik imé ik lak tâ la luntan
 COMP 1SG=IPFV CAU=weed take 2PL IPFV go.up VIS.DIST in bush
 “Now I came to tell you that I will pick you up and take you up to the bush.”
- (20) *pâ rárám-bin tâ la luntan*
 with water-big VIS.DIST in bush
 ‘There is a big lake in the bush.’
- (21) *lo é=k â=gón sik imé,*
 or 1SG=IPFV CAU=weed take 2PL
i=n=a mé=k lak tâ lu,
 INAL=3SG=ART 2PL=IPFV go.up VIS.DIST bush
po mé ók tom tó tâ la rárám tâ la luntan”
 COMP 2PL FUT sit live VIS.DIST in water VIS.DIST in bush
 ‘And I will pick you up to take you up to the bush so you will stay alive there in the water in the bush.’”
- (22) *bul rián-biân a tom nâ â=táj*
 PL fish-small PFV sit NVIS.DIST CAU=say
 ‘The little fish staying there said.’
- (23) *uaté, uaté, uaté, rokon*
 then then then good
 “Okay, okay, okay, good.’
- (24) *nó=k gâi sik imam, lo nó ók sik imam lânâsâ?”*
 2SG=FUT accompany take 1PL.EXC or 2SG FUT take 1PL.EXC how
 ‘Take us with you, but how will you take us?’”
- (25) *na káiûân a ti nâ â=táj lân=âtâ*
 PN.ART kingfisher.sp. PFV stand NVIS.DIST CAU=say like=VIS.DIST
 ‘The kingfisher standing there said like this.’
- (26) *niáu ók mó iot imé, sak~saka sak~saka”*
 1SG FUT first hold 2PL DISTR~one DISTR~one
 “I will first catch you one by one.”
- (27) *baté, rokon tuna*
 then good true
 “Okay, thank you.’
- (28) *mam a mere”*
 1PL.EXC PFV be.happy
 ‘We are happy.’”
- (29) *lo a káiûân a ti nâ â=táj po*
 or ART kingfisher.sp. PFV stand NVIS.DIST CAU=say COMP
 ‘And the kingfisher standing there said.’

- (30) *“lo é=k mó ti-topoŋ si nás?”*
 or 1SG=IPFV first stand-start AL who
 “‘But with whom shall I start?’”
- (31) *tâmo a bul rián a ŋet nan*
 now ART PL fish PFV answer 3SG
 ‘Now the fish answered him.’
- (32) *“niáu, niáu”*
 1SG 1SG
 “‘Me, me.’”
- (33) *ner a â=ti lima*
 3PL PFV CAU=stand hand
 ‘They raised (their) fins (lit. hand).’
- (34) *ner a mere sât tuna, po ner ik lak tâ lu*
 3PL PFV be.happy bad true COMP 3PL IPFV go.up VIS.DIST bush
 ‘They were very happy that they would go up to the bush.’
- (35) *lo ner sâk kalapaŋ lâŋ=âtâ,*
 or 3PL NEG know like=VIS.DIST

po na kâiuâŋ ik bát ner
 COMP PN.ART kingfisher IPFV trick 3PL
 ‘But they did not know that the kingfisher was tricking them.’
- (36) *mot tâmo*
 finish now
 ‘It was too late.’
- (37) *na kâiuâŋ a ket sîk a kas la bala=n=a,*
 PN.ART kingfisher.sp. PFV bite take ART other in mouth=3SG=ART

nan a ioio ioio ioio ioio pan,
 3SG PFV fly fly fly fly go

nan iâ kanam tâ la-uata i=n=a pan~pan-an si=n=a
 3SG CONT swallow VIS.DIST in-middle INAL=3SG=ART NOML~go-NOML AL=3SG=ART
 ‘The kingfisher picked one up into his beak, he flew and flew away, he swallowed it in the middle of his journey.’
- (38) *nan a taual aman, a bul rián-biâŋ a riái nan*
 3SG PFV return come ART PL fish-small PFV ask 3SG
 ‘He came back, the little fish asked him.’
- (39) *“a kas-nón rián amâ?”*
 ART other-NSG fish where
 “‘Where are the other fish?’”
- (40) *“niá uâ pus-én ner tâ la rárám,*
 1SG RC.PST throw-TR 3PL VIS.DIST in water

mat tâmo niáu uâ taual
 and now 1SG RC.PST return
 “I threw them into the water, and now I came back.”

- (41) *baté, nó=k gâi imam ala*
 then 2SG=FUT accomany 1PL.EXC again
 “Okay, also take us with you.”

- (42) *nan a ket sik ala a kas kó=n,*
 3SG PFV bite take again ART other small.piece=3SG

pan pan pan, kanam
 go go go swallow

‘He also picked up another one, he went and went, he swallowed it.’

- (43) *nan kiru ualai lâη=âtâ, iâ pan iâ le-le,*
 3SG PST.HAB do like=VIS.DIST CONT go CONT in-afternoon

té nan a gán kus nér
 then 3SG PFV leave tell 3PL

‘He would do like this for the whole afternoon, then he left telling them.’

- (44) *mé=k tom bouoη la maulék, niáu=k ioio sâη si=mé,*
 2PL=FUT sit wait in morning 1SG=FUT fly arrive AL=2PL

i=n=a é=k ti-topoη,
 INAL=3SG=ART 1SG=IPFV stand-start

i=n=a gâi sik imé la
 INAL=3SG=ART accompany take 2PL again

“Wait until tomorrow morning, I will fly back to you to start taking you with me again.”

- (45) *tâmo kas iân, nan a man taual,*
 now other time 3SG PFV come return

nan a ket sik nér ala, sik a pan nér la rárám
 3SG PFV bite take 3PL again take PFV go 3PL in water

‘Now the next day, he came back, he picked them up again to take them to the water.’

- (46) *pârék, nan iâ kanam nér la-uata,*
 have.NEG 3SG CONT swallow 3PL in-middle

noη si=n=a bul rián kápái iâ mot
 be.enough AL=3SG=ART PL fish all CONT finish

‘(But) no, he swallowed them on the way until all the fish were gone.’

- (47) *a bul rián kápái iâ mot,*
 ART PL fish all CONT finish

na káiuaη iâ ioio gán tâmo
 PN.ART kingfisher.sp. CONT fly leave now

‘All the fish were gone, the kingfisher flew away now.’

(48) *nan a bát a rokon tuna a bul rián,*
 3SG PFV trick PFV good true ART PL fish

pat i=n=a nan ka mâkâl
 part INAL=3SG=ART 3SG RM.PST be.hungry
 'He tricked the fish very well because he was hungry.'

(49) *tâmo nan ka élér a salan ka=n=a,*
 now 3SG RM.PST clean.up ART way for=3SG=ART

po nan ik bát a bul rián,
 COMP 3SG IPFV trick ART PL fish

i=n=a nan ik iot sik nér,
 INAL=3SG=ART 3SG IPFV hold take 3PL

i=n=a nan ik pan ik kanam nér
 INAL=3SG=ART 3SG IPFV go IPFV swallow 3PL

la-uata i=n=a pan~pan-an si=n=a
 in-middle INAL=3SG=ART NOML~go-NOML AL=3SG=ART

'Now he found a way for himself to trick the fish to catch them so he went and swallowed them in the middle of his journey.'

(50) *a kus~kus-â i=n=a káiuân mat a rián*
 ART INTR~tell-INTR INAL=3SG=ART kingfisher.sp. and ART fish

sâŋ noŋ lâŋ=âtâ
 arrive be.enough like=VIS.DIST

'The story of the kingfisher and the fish ends like that.'

(51) *a kó marai tâmo a puka kálá rere tâmo*
 ART small.piece overripe now PFV fall on uncle now

'The overripe fruit now falls on Uncle now (he will tell the next story).'

(52) *rokon tuna*
 good true
 'Thank you.'

2.10. The kingfisher and the hermit crab

By Elizabeth Balane (Sopokor clan)

- (1) *óró a pini i mânâkâi iriâi gumaŋ*
 VIS.PROX PFV story INAL kingfisher.sp. 3DU hermit.crab
 ‘This is the story of the kingfisher and the hermit crab.’
- (2) *na mânâkâi iriâi gumaŋ ka tom la kas iân,*
 PN.ART kingfisher.sp. 3DU hermit.crab RM.PST sit in other time
té iriâi ka âi=peten an, po iriâi ók âikâs,
 then 3DU RM.PST REC=talk about COMP 3DU FUT race
i=n=a pan tâ la âilan
 INAL=3SG=ART go VIS.DIST in island
 ‘The kingfisher and the hermit crab were alive on day, then they talked to each other that they would have a race to the island.’
- (3) *tiár nâ=mo ók sâŋ pâs-muá tâ la âilan,*
 person NVIS.DIST=only FUT arrive step-front VIS.DIST in island
nan ók tokon an a âilan
 3SG FUT own about ART island
 ‘The one that would arrive first on the island, he would own the island.’
- (4) *kas la maulék tâmo,*
 other in morning now
iriâi a âigot, i=n=a iriâi ik âikâs
 3DU PFV be.ready INAL=3SG=ART 3DU IPFV race
 ‘The next morning now, they prepared for the race.’
- (5) *iriâi a matai, té tâŋan la maulék táptáp,*
 3DU PFV sleep then wake.up in morning cold
lo na gumaŋ ka iâ gán la salan si=n=a
 or PN.ART hermit.crab RM.PST CONT leave in way AL=3SG=ART
 ‘They slept, then they got up in the early (lit. cold) morning, but the hermit crab left his path.’
- (6) *nan iâ món ului gán,*
 3SG CONT first crawl leave
na mânâkâi ala ka iâ tâŋan ioio pan
 PN.ART kingfisher.sp. again RM.PST CONT wake.up fly go
 ‘He crawled away first, the kingfisher also got up to fly.’
- (7) *lo iân na gumaŋ ka gán, i=n=a âikâs,*
 or time PN.ART hermit.crab RM.PST leave INAL=3SG=ART race
nan ka gán a pus-én a pánpán i=n=a
 3SG RM.PST leave PFV throw-TR ART skin INAL=3SG=ART

ka mati tâ la bák tâ, nan ka tom
 RM.PST lie VIS.DIST in place VIS.DIST 3SG RM.PST sit

'But when the hermit crab left for the race, he left his shell lying at the place where he lived.'

- (8) *té nan ka îâ tom nau~nau pan, nau~nau pan,*
 then 3SG RM.PST CONT sit PL~crawl go PL~crawl go

nau~nau pan, noŋ nan ka sâŋ tâ la âilan
 PL~crawl go be.enough 3SG RM.PST arrive VIS.DIST in island

'Then he kept crawling and crawling until he arrived on the island.'

- (9) *na mânâkâi a tâŋan tâmo,*
 PN.ART kingfisher.sp. PFV wake.up now

nan a ioio man láu ráŋ
 3SG PFV fly come travel see

a pánpán i gumaŋ a mati
 ART skin INAL hermit.crab PFV lie

'The kingfisher got up now, he came flying and saw the hermit crab's shell lying (there).'

- (10) *nan a lomom, po na gumaŋ óró=k matai kinak*
 3SG PFV think COMP PN.ART hermit.crab VIS.PROX=IPFV sleep still

'He thought that the hermit crab was still asleep.'

- (11) *lo pârék nân,*
 or have.NEG NVIS.MED

na gumaŋ nâ tâŋan nau~nau gán kâuâi
 PN.ART hermit.crab NVIS.DIST wake.up PL~crawl leave already

'But no, the hermit crab had already got up and crawled away.'

- (12) *nan a â=u~us pan tâmo la âilan, nan kuru sâŋ*
 3SG PFV CAU=INTR~follow go now in island 3SG PST.HAB arrive

"kâ=k kâ=k kâ=k kâ=k kâ=k," tâ la âilan
 for=1SG for=1SG for=1SG for=1SG for=1SG VIS.DIST in island
 'He went for the island now, he arrived (saying), "Mine, mine, mine, mine, mine," on the island.'

- (13) *lo na gumaŋ a lak tom kâuâi kálá âtaŋ,*
 or PN.ART hermit.crab PFV go.up sit already on driftwood

ik tom mamariu
 IPFV sit warm

'But the hermit crab already went up on driftwood sitting warming itself.'

- (14) *tâmo na mânâkâi a sâŋ ráŋ puát na gumaŋ tâmo,*
 now PN.ART kingfisher.sp. PFV arrive see find PN.ART hermit.crab now

nan a kalapaŋ tuna tuna, po na gumaŋ tâmo,
 3SG PFV know true true COMP PN.ART hermit.crab now

nan a sik a bák
 3SG PFV take ART place

'Now the kingfisher arrived and saw the hermit crab now, he really knew that the hermit crab now took the place.'

(15) *lo nan tâmo a pârék*
 or 3SG now PFV have.NEG

'But he (the kingfisher) now did not (own the island).'

(16) *nan isaŋ tâmo, a pini i mânâkâi iriâi gumaŋ*
 3SG alone now ART story INAL kingfisher.sp. 3DU hermit.crab

'That is all now, the story of the kingfisher and the hermit crab.'

2.11. The parrot and the rat

By Simpson lavung (Mo clan)

- (1) *té ró, nan a kus~kus-â i âia iriâi kusé*
 then VIS.PROX 3SG PFV INTR~tell-INTR INAL eclectus.parrot 3DU rat
 ‘Okay, this is the story of the parrot and the rat.’
- (2) *na âia kuuál pâ bul máná,*
 PN.ART eclectus.parrot together with PL bird
ner ka pan ner ik lák rián i=n=a tâptâuâi
 3PL RM.PST go 3PL IPFV hit fish INAL=3SG=ART give.help
 ‘The parrot together with the (other) birds went to catch fish for thanksgiving.’
- (3) *ner a sik a bál tâmo, ner a pan ner ik mákásám*
 3PL PFV take ART canoe now 3PL PFV go 3PL IPFV meat
 ‘They took the canoe now, they went to catch fish.’
- (4) *ner ik mákásám tâ Lanikás mo i=n=a iân-bin*
 3PL IPFV meat VIS.DIST L. only INAL=3SG=ART time-big
 ‘They just caught fish at Lanikas for the feast.’
- (5) *té bul máná kápái, ner ka sâk sik ârék ta boi-an,*
 then PL bird all 3PL RM.PST NEG take have.NEG IND.ART eat-NOML
lo na âia saka,
 or PN.ART eclectus.parrot one
nan ka gán sik a kó su
 3SG RM.PST leave take ART small.piece tree.sp.
 ‘Then all the birds did not have any food at all, but the parrot alone had left to take a *su* fruit.’
- (6) *nan ka gán sik a kó su,*
 3SG RM.PST leave take ART small.piece tree.sp.
té nan ka â=toi la ók bi si=n=a,
 then 3SG RM.PST CAU=touch in whole.piece basket AL=3SG=ART
ma nan ka kouos bál pâ=n=a
 and 3SG RM.PST jump.on canoe with=3SG=ART
 ‘He left to take a *su* fruit, then he put it into his basket, and he jumped in the canoe with it.’
- (7) *té na kusé la-uata i=ner*
 then PN.ART rat in-middle INAL=3PL
 ‘Then the rat was among them.’
- (8) *bul máná ka kouos, ner ka sâk kalapan,*
 PL bird RM.PST jump.on 3PL RM.PST NEG know
po na kusé nân la-uata i=ner
 COMP PN.ART rat NVIS.MED in-middle INAL=3PL
 ‘The birds jumped in (the canoe), they did not know that the rat was there among them.’

- (9) *nér a pan pan pan pan tâmo,*
3PL PFV go go go go now
nér a sâŋ la bák i=n=a mákásám, kápái a lóskârâu
3PL PFV arrive in place INAL=3SG=ART meat all PFV jump
'They went and went now, they came to the place to catch fish, everyone jumped out.'
- (10) *kápái a âigot an a bul niâu si=nér,*
all PFV be.ready about ART PL thing AL=3PL
i=n=a lák rián tâmo, té nér a lóskârâu sái
INAL=3SG=ART hit fish now then 3PL PFV jump go.down
la tas
in sea
'Everyone prepared their things to catch fish now, then they jumped down into the sea.'
- (11) *nér a kár-su tâmo, nér ik mákásám*
3PL PFV go.down-dive now 3PL IPFV meat
'They dived now, they caught fish.'
- (12) *na kusé saka a tom kálá bál*
PN.ART rat one PFV sit on canoe
'The rat alone stayed back in the canoe.'
- (13) *kápái a pan nér ik mákásám*
all PFV go 3PL IPFV meat
'Everyone (else) went to catch fish.'
- (14) *nér iâ mákásám pan, nér iâ pan lâuák,*
3PL CONT meat go 3PL CONT go far
na kusé a tom tâmo, mâkâl
PN.ART rat PFV sit now be.hungry
'They were catching fish, they were going far, the rat stayed back now, he was hungry.'
- (15) *kusé a mâkâl atâmo, pâ~pâŋâl kól pan pan pan,*
rat PFV be.hungry now INTR~search go.around go go go
pâŋâl puát a kó su si âia a tom
search find ART small.piece tree.sp. AL eclectus.parrot PFV sit
lantuá=n=a bi
inside=3SG=ART basket
'The rat was hungry now, he looked around and around, he looked around and found the parrot's *su* fruit in the basket.'
- (16) *nan a ŋan atâmo*
3SG PFV eat.TR now
'He ate it now.'
- (17) *nan a ŋan ŋan ŋan a mot a rokon tuna*
3SG PFV eat.TR eat.TR eat.TR PFV finish PFV good true

a kó su nén
 ART small.piece tree.sp. NVIS.PROX
 'He ate and ate this *su* fruit completely.'

(18) *nan iâ ñan a mot a rokon,*
 3SG CONT eat.TR PFV finish PFV good

nan iâ kurâñ a rokon a bala=n=a,
 3SG CONT repair PFV good ART mouth=3SG=ART

nan iâ pan, iâ tom
 3SG CONT go CONT sit

'He ate it up completely, he cleaned his mouth well, he went, he sat down.'

(19) *nan a tom atâmo, kápái nâ, nér â=k lák rián,*
 3SG PFV sit now all NVIS.DIST 3PL DIST=IPFV hit fish

pan atâmo, nér aman taual, i=n=a ko~kouos, i=n=a gán
 go now 3PL come return INAL=3SG=ART INTR~jump.on INAL=3SG=ART leave

'He sat down now, everyone who was catching fish there now came, they came back to jump in the canoe to leave.'

(20) *na âia tâmo, nan nen nan a mâkâl,*
 PN.ART eclectus.parrot now 3SG feel 3SG PFV be.hungry

pan ik pel a bi si=n=a,
 go IPFV take.down ART basket AL=3SG=ART

po ik sik a kó su, po ik ñan
 COMP IPFV take ART small.piece tree.sp. COMP IPFV eat.TR

'The parrot now felt hungry, he went to take down his basket to take the *su* fruit to eat.'

(21) *nan a pel salañ a kó su a malilát*
 3SG PFV take.down search ART small.piece tree.sp. PFV be.lost
 'He took down (the basket) and looked for the *su* fruit (but it) was gone.'

(22) *mot tâmo nan ik riái nér kápái, nér kiru iâ âkulás po*
 and now 3SG IPFV ask 3PL all 3PL PST.HAB CONT dispute COMP
 'And now he asked them all, they would dispute.'

(23) *"niá sâk ñan, mam sâk kalapan*
 1SG NEG eat.TR 1PL.EXC NEG know
 "'I did not eat it, we do not know.'

(24) *riái na kusé"*
 ask PN.ART rat
 'Ask the rat.'

(25) *kápái ik â=tán*
 all IPFV CAU=say
 'Everyone would say.'

(26) *"mé=k riái na kusé, san nan isañ uâ tom kálá bál,*
 2PL=FUT ask PN.ART rat AL.3SG.ART 3SG alone RC.PST sit on canoe

lo ta kápái nâ uâ pan ta=k mákásám
 or 1PL.INC all NVIS.DIST RC.PST go 1PL.INC=IPFV meat
 “Ask the rat because he alone was in the canoe, and we all went to catch fish.”

- (27) *na kusé ik âkulás, pan~pan tâmo,*
 PN.ART rat IPFV dispute PL~go now

na âia lomo-ñátñát, té kus
 PN.ART eclecticus.parrot think-hurt then tell
 ‘The rat denied having done it, this went on now, the parrot was angry, then he said.’

- (28) “*mé=k suma, sémén mé=k piâ=n=a â=iuon,*
 2PL=FUT fast if 2PL=FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART CAU=exit

ténén mo niáu=k tok mot biák a bál
 today only 1SG=FUT pick and break ART canoe
 “‘Hurry, if you cannot take out (the *su* fruit and show it to me), just today, I will pick and break the canoe.’

- (29) *niáu=k tom tok pót ténen a bál, po rárám ik silé,*
 1SG=FUT sit pick drill today ART canoe COMP water IPFV go.down

po mé kápái ik koko, po nan ik mat
 COMP 2PL all IPFV hide.INTR COMP 3SG IPFV die
 ‘I will sit and pick a hole today in the canoe so water comes in so you all will hide, and he will die.’”

- (30) *mot tâmo nér a tom tâmo, âia kus*
 and now 3PL PFV sit now eclecticus.parrot tell
 ‘And now they stayed (in the canoe) now, the parrot told.’

- (31) “*uaté, imé kápái, mé=k âkulás, mé=k tom la it i=n=a bál,*
 then 2PL all 2PL=FUT dispute 2PL=FUT sit in rim INAL=3SG=ART canoe

mé=k pé~pés
 2PL=FUT INTR~excrete
 “‘Okay, you all say (it was not you), sit on the rim of the canoe and excrete.’”

- (32) *nér a tom la it i=n=a bál atâmo,*
 3PL PFV sit in rim INAL=3SG=ART canoe now

nér a pé~pés
 3PL PFV INTR~excrete
 ‘They sat down on the rim of the canoe now, they excreted.’

- (33) *bul máná kápái a pé~pés,*
 PL bird all PFV INTR~excrete

nér a pârék ta bul ter âi=rokon
 3PL PFV have.NEG IND.ART PL faeces REC=good
 ‘All the birds excreted, they did not have good faeces.’

- (34) “*a ter nâ ók kis,*
 ART faeces NVIS.DIST FUT yellow

tân mo a tiár uâ ñan a kó su si=k
 VIS.MED only ART person RC.PST eat.TR ART small.piece tree.sp. AL=1SG
 “(If) the faeces are yellow, it will be only because the person ate my *su* fruit.”

- (35) *kápái iâ pé~pés a pan pan pan pan pan,*
 all CONT INTR~excrete PFV go go go go go

a kusé atâmo, nan a â=mot~mot i=n=a lek,
 ART rat now 3SG PFV CAU=INTR~finish INAL=3SG=ART man

i=n=a ik pé~pés
 INAL=3SG=ART IPFV INTR~excrete

‘Everyone excreted and excreted, the rat now was the last person to excrete.’

- (36) *tâmo na kusé a pé~pés atâmo,*
 now PN.ART rat PFV INTR~excrete now

ner a ráñ bál a ter si=n=a a kis
 3PL PFV see make ART faeces AL=3SG=ART PFV yellow

‘Now the rat excreted, they saw his faeces were yellow.’

- (37) *âia kesemek atâmo*
 eclectus.parrot be.angry now
 ‘The parrot was angry now.’

- (38) *“kiru riái riái an nó, nó=k âkulás, po nó sâk kalapan,*
 PST.HAB ask ask about 2SG 2SG=IPFV dispute COMP 3SG NEG know

po nás uâ ñan, lo nó saka mo uâ tom kálá bál
 COMP who RC.PST eat.TR or 2SG one only RC.PST sit on canoe

“I asked and asked you, you would say that you did not know who ate it, but you alone were in the canoe.”

- (39) *âia tok pót a bál atâmo,*
 eclectus.parrot pick drill ART canoe now

rárám a silé lantuá=n=a bál nâ,
 water PFV enter inside=3SG=ART canoe NVIS.DIST

a bál a lilás sái tâmo
 ART canoe PFV sink go.down now

‘The parrot picked a hole in the canoe now, water came inside that canoe, the canoe sank down now.’

- (40) *bul máná kápái tâmo, ner a ioio*
 PL bird all now 3PL PFV fly

‘All the birds now flew (away).’

- (41) *ner a ioio gán, na kusé tâmo,*
 3PL PFV fly leave PN.ART rat now

nan a tom papap toi lantuá=n=a bál, korok, nan a mat
 3SG PFV sit hide touch inside=3SG=ART canoe drown 3SG PFV die

‘They flew away, the rat now sat hiding in the canoe, he drowned, he died.’

- (42) *tâmo lâŋ tanén, nó=k ráŋ,*
 now like today 2SG=FUT see
- la iân nan a toi lantuá=n=a rárám, mot io kól,*
 in time 3SG PFV touch inside=3SG=ART water and float go.around
- nan a â=pák~pák a pini ró*
 3SG PFV CAU=INTR~turn ART story VIS.PROX
 ‘Now like today, you will see when he (the rat) is held in water and floats arounds, he acts (like in) this story.’
- (43) *lomon nan isaŋ tâmo, a pini sâŋ mot lâŋ=âtâ*
 think 3SG alone now ART story arrive finish like=VIS.DIST
 ‘I think this is it now, the story ends like that.’
- (44) *rokon*
 good
 ‘Thank you.’