

Tiang texts 1

Pukuntap, Karak and Kipang

Christoph Holz

The Jawun Research Centre
Central Queensland University

August 2023

Texts in the indigenous languages of the Pacific, Vol. 5(1)

Table of contents

1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. About Tiang	1
1.2. Grammatical overview	2
1.3. Orthography	3
1.4. Tiang texts	4
1.5. This volume	4
2. Texts.....	5
2.1. Pukuntap and Matokombual (<i>Dolly Barai</i>).....	5
2.2. Pukuntap and Karak (<i>Essau Lomba</i>)	11
2.3. Karak and Ngelasimbang (<i>Takala Lamemes</i>)	15
2.4. Karak and Kipang (<i>Delilah Goliath</i>).....	20
2.5. Siu and Simekeua (<i>Takala Lamemes</i>)	29
2.6. The boy and the spirits (<i>Luisa Balat</i>).....	32
2.7. The family and Kipang (<i>Dolly Barai</i>)	37
2.8. Good Eye and Bad Eye (<i>Timothy Masaram</i>).....	49
2.9. The grandmother, her grandchildren and the spirits (<i>Simpson Iavung</i>)	60
References	67

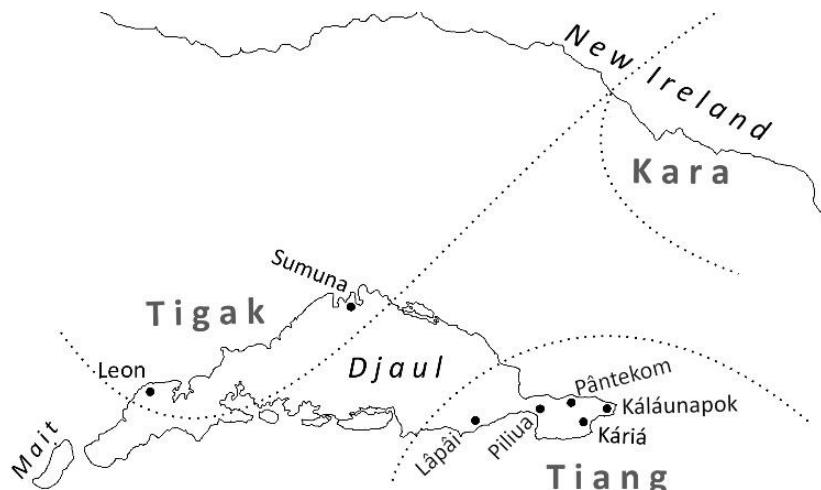
Abbreviations

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

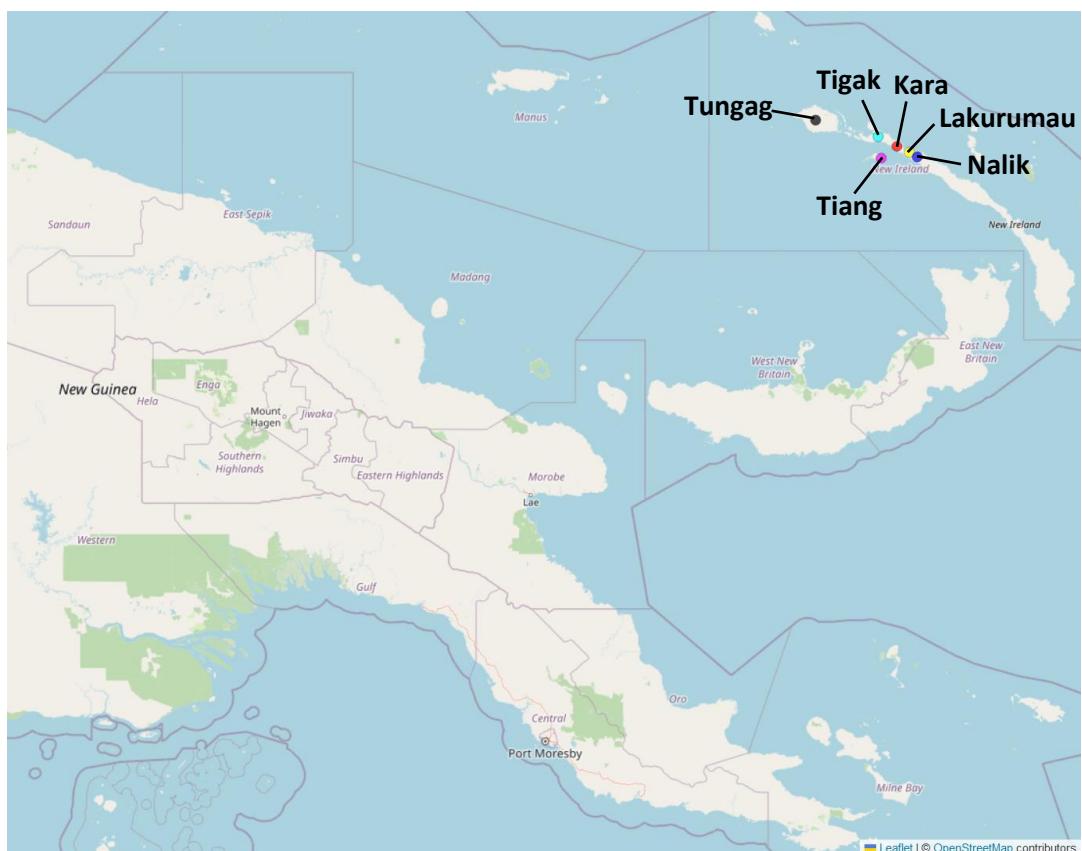
1. Introduction

1.1. About Tiang

Tiang [t_{bj}] is an Oceanic language spoken on Djaul Island in the northwest of New Ireland Province in Papua New Guinea (Map 1). Tiang is closely related to its neighbouring languages of northern New Ireland: Tungag, Tigak, Kara, Lakurumau and Nalik (Map 2). The language is spoken by around 4000 people (Drew 2019: 13) in five villages in the eastern half of Djaul: Piliua, Káláunapok, Káriá, Pântekom, and Lâpâi. Some Tiang speakers live in diaspora, particularly in the capital of New Ireland, Kavieng, and in the national capital, Port Moresby.



Map 1. Djaul | © Christoph Holz



Map 2. The Tungag-Nalik languages in Papua New Guinea | © OpenStreetMap (modified), CC BY-SA 2.0

The villages in the western half of Djaul traditionally speak Tigak, but there is a shift towards an increasing use of Tiang. Jenkins (2005: 49) reports a third language spoken in Sumuna, known by the names of Sumuna Aino and Kaviri. It is a moribund language spoken by only a handful of elderly people.

It is a common practice in the Bismarck Archipelago to name languages after the term for ‘sibling’ (Blust 2013: 331). The same is true for Tiang, whose name comes from the noun *tiāŋ* ‘same-sex sibling’.

All Tiang speakers are multilingual. Tiang is still actively spoken and learnt as a mother tongue by all generations. In addition, everyone speaks Tok Pisin, and many have at least passive knowledge of Tigak and English. Depending on their family’s connections, Tiang people may also speak other New Ireland languages. Some older community members still know Tolai, the former lingua franca of the church in New Ireland.

1.2. Grammatical overview

Tiang has a small phoneme inventory. There are eleven consonants and nine vowels. The syllable structure is (C)V(C). C represents a single consonant, and V a single vowel, a diphthong or a triphthong. Various phonological processes occur across morpheme boundaries, e.g. lenition, vowel harmony, and fusion.

Tiang is a nominative–accusative language, which is marked by constituent order. The subject of an intransitive clause precedes the predicate (SV), and so does the subject of a transitive clause (AVO). Subject pronouns may follow the predicate in imperative clauses (VS, VAO). Objects and peripheral arguments can be fronted (OAV). There are no case markers, but certain grammatical relations are expressed by prepositions. Objects in focus can be marked with the preposition *an* ‘about’.

Tiang displays many prototypical Oceanic features, e.g. the occurrence of serial verb constructions, the distinction of alienable and inalienable possession, and clusivity in first-person pronouns. Moreover, nouns and pronouns can be marked for singular, dual, trial/paucal and plural, and some pronouns allow for pronoun elaboration constructions. A few human nouns can be marked for number twice: ‘woman’, ‘man’, ‘child’ and reciprocal kinship terms can be preceded by an optional free number marker and an obligatory bound number marker (e.g. *bul lu=tén* ‘women, lit. PL PL=woman’). Some inalienable nouns can be made alienable by the unspecified possessor enclitic *=ŋ*.

Most transitive verbs derive their intransitive forms by reduplicating segments of the root (e.g. *góŋ* ‘to weed, TR’ > *gó~góŋ* ‘to weed, INTR’). Some verbs have different stems for transitive and intransitive forms (e.g. *ŋan* ‘to eat, TR’ > *boi* ‘to eat, INTR’) or have overt transitivity and intransitivity markers (e.g. *pus-én* ‘to throw, TR’ > *pus-â* ‘to throw, INTR’). Other valency-changing operations are passive, reciprocal and causative. There are no ditransitive or extended intransitive verbs.

There are three articles: *a* for common nouns, *na* for personal nouns, and *ta* for indefinite specific nouns. Place names do not usually cooccur with an article. There are separate markers for recent and remote past, and immediate and general future. Negation can have scope over multiple clauses. The distinction of up–down–level directions is of essential importance when talking about motion in Tiang.

Demonstratives distinguish three degrees of distance (proximal, medial, distal) and two values of visibility (visible, nonvisible). In their endophoric use, nonvisible forms are primarily used as anaphoric markers, while visible forms tend to express cataphors. Like many other languages of New Ireland and its surrounding areas, Tiang number words display a formation strategy called “sequential number words”, resulting from the sequence of two successive Proto Oceanic number words (e.g. *tâlât* ‘four’ < POC *tolu ‘three’ + POC *pat(i) ‘four’).

The grammar of Tiang has been analysed in detail by Holz (2023a). For papers dealing with individual topics of Tiang grammar, see King (2006) and Drew (2019) on phonology, Holz (2020, 2021) on numerals, Holz (2022) on language games, and Holz (2023b) on demonstratives.

1.3. Orthography

There have been many suggestions of how to write Tiang, and spelling conventions have changed a couple of times within the last fifty years. The orthography in this text collection follows a phonemic approach based on Holz (2023a). The phonemes and their spelling are illustrated in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1. Vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i <i>	ɨ <á>	u <u>
High-mid	ɛ <é>		ɔ <ó>
Mid		ə <a>	
Low-mid	ɛ <e>		ɔ <o>
Low		a <â>	

Table 2. Consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Apico-dental	Apico-alveolar	Dorso-velar
Voiceless stop	p <p>	t <t>		k <k>
Voiced stop	b 			g <g>
Fricative			s <s>	
Nasal	m <m>		n <n>	ŋ <ŋ>
Lateral			l <l>	
Trill			r <r>	

Some phonemes have allophones, which are not represented in the orthography here. /i/ and /u/ are pronounced as the glides [j] and [w ~ β] in diphthongs and triphthongs. If /i/ and /u/ do not form a diphthong or triphthong, the hiatus is marked by '<''. At the beginning of a word and after certain consonants, /r/ is often pronounced [d]. The cluster /rii/ is realised as [dʒi], except for the village name *Káriá* [k̥.rj̥i], which is not a native Tiang word. A comprehensive description of the Tiang sound system can be found in Chapter 2 of Holz (2023a).

Proper names and interjections may contain sounds not found in the regular language and are written as follows: [t̥c] <c>, [d] <d>, [ɸ] <f>, [h] <h>, and [dʒ] <j>. Proper names are written phonetically in the first

line of the glosses but appear in their actual spelling in the free translation. Proper names in the free translation are anglicised, i.e. they appear without diacritics, as practiced by most Tiang speakers.

1.4. Tiang texts

The present collection consists of 81 Tiang texts of various genres, which were collected during ten months of fieldwork in the Tiang community in 2019 and 2023. The texts are glossed in three lines, following the Leipzig Glossing Rules. False starts and pauses have been edited out, and severe mistakes in grammar and content have been corrected in consultation with Tiang speakers.

The texts are published in six volumes. The first three volumes cover traditional narratives. Volume 1 features nine stories about the recurrent characters Pukuntap, his wife Karak, and the evil but gullible spirit Kipang. Volume 2 contains nine stories dealing with other kinds of spirits, and the eleven stories in Volume 3 use animals as leading characters. The other three volumes deal with nonfictional contents. Biographies and descriptions of the history and ecology of Djaul are presented in Volume 4 (fifteen stories). Descriptions of Tiang culture and procedural texts went into Volume 5 (sixteen stories). Volume 6 contains two riddles and nineteen traditional and recently composed Tiang songs.

Other collections of Tiang narratives are Ainsworth and Tare Taufi (1973a, 1973b), Kombeng and Holz (2022a, 2022b) and a number of Tiang literacy materials produced by SIL PNG.

1.5. This volume

This volume revolves around the characters Pukuntap, Karak and Kipang. Pukuntap and Karak are husband and wife. Both are portrayed as diligent people who reflect Tiang societal expectations: Pukuntap is a hunter and fisherman; Karak manages the household and the garden. Kipang is a simpleminded male spirit who likes to kidnap or kill children and pigs and always dies in the end of a story because of his clumsiness.

The number of Pukuntap and Karak's children varies from story to story. Their only child with a name is Ngelasimbang, who dies due to Karak's carelessness. It appears that some of their children were conceived by supernatural beings. Both attract the romantic attention of spirits: Pukuntap is once taken hostage by the female dwarf spirit Matokombual, and Karak is courted by Kipang. Some stories feature more than one Kipang. Kipangs usually do not have a name. An exception are Good Eye and Bad Eye. Good Eye can see but not smell; Bad Eye can smell but not see.

Other characters occur. Karak owns a pig Simekeua, which is killed by Kipang. In another story, the pig Simekeua belongs to a man called Siu. Children play an important role in many stories. Sometimes, they save their parents from evil beings. Sometimes, they die because their parents did not take good care of them.

Two stories contain songs: Section 2.3 (Lines 14, 22, 29, 33, 40) and Section 2.5 (Lines 8, 9, 14, 15, 18, 19). The meaning of the songs is not entirely clear as they are sung in a language other than Tiang, presumably Tigak or Kaviri, as suggested by my Tiang teachers. For a transcription in musical notation, see Volume 6.

2. Texts

2.1. Pukuntap and Matokombual

By Dolly Barai (Mo clan)

(1) *Pukuntâp, nan a lek i=n=a séléŋ mok*
 P. 3SG PFV man INAL=3SG=ART hunt pig
 'Pukuntap, he was a pig hunter.'

(2) *nan ki lak kuuál pâ uru péu si=n=a la luntan,*
 3SG HAB go.up together with DU dog AL=3SG=ART in bush
i=n=a séléŋ lo nat mok
 INAL=3SG=ART hunt or shoot pig
 'He would go up with his two dogs to the bush to hunt and shoot pigs.'

(3) *nan ki lak ik séléŋ, ki lák mok,*
 3SG HAB go.up IPFV hunt HAB hit pig
mot nan ki iâ sái pâ=n=a
 and 3SG HAB CONT go.down with=3SG=ART
 'He would go up to hunt, he would kill pigs, and he would come down with them.'

(4) *té kas iân tâmo, nan a lák a mok*
 then other time now 3SG PFV hit ART pig
 'Then one day now, he killed a pig.'

(5) *nan a pala su-én la luntan, mot nan a rap~rap kinak*
 3SG PFV tie hang-TR in bush and 3SG PFV PL~go.bush still
 'He tied and hung it in the bush, and he was still walking in the bush.'

(6) *nan a rap pan,*
 3SG PFV go.bush go
mot nan a sâŋ la liáŋ si=n=a mus
 and 3SG PFV arrive in cave AL=3SG=ART dwarf
 'He was walking in the bush, and he came to the cave of a dwarf spirit.'

(7) *lo mus ónén, nan a ten*
 or dwarf NVIS.PROX 3SG PFV woman
 'But this dwarf spirit, it was a woman.'

(8) *Mâtokombuâl a isá=n=a ten mus ónén*
 M. PFV name=3SG=ART woman dwarf NVIS.PROX
 'Matokombual was the name of this female dwarf spirit.'

(9) *té na Mâtokombuâl a bont-en nan tâmo*
 then PN.ART M. PFV block-TR3SG now
 'Then Matokombual blocked (the way out for) him now.'

(10) *"nó=k piâ=n=a kár ala sén ten si=m,*
 2SG=FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART go.down again AL.3SG.ART woman AL=2SG

ita=k *tom* *óró* *la* *luntan, tom* *la* *liáŋ*"
 1PL.INC=FUT sit VIS.PROX in bush sit in cave
 "Do not go down (leaving the bush) again to your wife, we will stay here in the bush, stay in the cave."

(11) *tâmo* *na* *Pukuntâp* *iâ* *tom* *mot*
 now PN.ART P. CONT sit finish
 'Now Pukuntap had to stay.'

(12) *a* *bul* *âi=rîja=n-an* *iâ* *tom* *bouoŋ* *nan*
 ART PL REC=mother=3SG-NOML CONT sit wait 3SG
 'His wife and children were waiting for him.'

(13) *pâ* *u=lék-biâŋ* *a* *iuâi,*
 with DU=man-small PFV two

uru *popo* *lek* *tâuan, mot* *a* *rîja=rîai*
 DU child man male and ART mother=3DU
 'There were two children, two boys, and their mother.'

(14) *nér* *a* *bouoŋ* *bouoŋ* *bouoŋ, nan* *sâk* *sâŋ*
 3PL PFV wait wait wait 3SG NEG arrive
 'They were waiting and waiting, he did not come.'

(15) *kas* *iân* *tâmo, nan* *a* *lom~lomon*
 other time now 3SG PFV INTR~think
 'One day now, he thought.'

(16) " *niáu* *ók* *sik* *a* *ók* *kiáp* *óró,*
 1SG FUT take ART whole.piece firewood VIS.PROX

mat *niáu* *ók* *â=mati pâis* *i=n=a* *ten* *óró,* *na* *Mâtokombuâl*"
 and 1SG FUT CAU=lie side INAL=3SG=ART woman VIS.PROX PN.ART M.
 "I will take this piece of firewood, and I will put it next to this woman, Matokombual."

(17) *té* *nan* *a* *sik* *a* *ók* *kiáp* *tâmo*
 then 3SG PFV take ART whole.piece firewood now

la *lá-uáŋ* *onân,* *mot* *â=mati susulék an* *na* *Mâtokombuâl*
 in in-night NVIS.MED and CAU=lie near about PN.ART M.
 'Then he took a piece of firewood now that night and put it next to Matokombual.'

(18) *baté* *nan* *a* *gán,* *sái* *tâ* *lá-uán*
 then 3SG PFV leave go.down VIS.DIST in-sand

si=n=a *bul* *âi=rîja=n-an,* *mot* *sâŋ* *kus* *nér*
 AL=3SG=ART PL REC=mother=3SG-NOML and arrive tell 3PL
 'Then he left, went down to the beach to his wife and children and told them.'

(19) " *niáu* *a* *sái* *óró,*
 1SG PFV go.down VIS.PROX

i=n=a *kus* *imé* *ik* *âigot* *a* *tom* *a* *bál,*
 INAL=3SG=ART tell 2PL IPFV be.ready PFV sit ART canoe

bul niâu i=n=a kâ~kol,
 PL thing INAL=3SG=ART INTR~paddle

po ita ók pu an a ten óró, na Mâtokombuâl"
 COMP 1PL.INC FUT escape about ART woman VIS.PROX PN.ART M.

“I came down here to tell you to prepare a canoe, things for paddling, so we will escape from this woman, Matokombual.”

(20) *té nan a lak taual*
 then 3SG PFV go.up return
 ‘Then he went back up (to the bush).’

(21) *nér a tom tâmo,*
 3PL PFV sit now

nér ik lojoi lak a bul uái ik puka
 3PL IPFV hear go.up ART PL tree IPFV fall
 ‘They were staying now, they heard trees falling up (in the bush).’

(22) “*Mâtokombuâl tâ*”
 M. VIS.DIST
 “That is Matokombual.”

(23) *táŋás a us, salan na Pukuntâp*
 cry PFV follow search PN.ART P.
 ‘She was crying after him, searching for Pukuntap.’

(24) *nan a sái sái sái,*
 3SG PFV go.down go.down go.down
kiri pus-én âi=pák an a i=n=a,
 REP throw-TR REC=turn about ART hair=3SG=ART
bul uái ik iâ puka la salan
 PL tree IPFV CONT fall in way
 ‘She came further and further down, throwing her hair to and fro, the trees were falling along the road.’

(25) *sái sái sái tâmo,*
 go.down go.down go.down now
a bul âi=rîŋa=n-an a â=én nan
 ART PL REC=mother=3SG-NOML PFV CAU=send 3SG
 ‘Down, down, down now, the mother and children sent him (to stop the dwarf spirit).’

(26) *âi, nô=k pan, nô=k pan suá nan,*
 INTJ 2SG=FUT go 2SG=FUT go face 3SG
a mata=n=a uru u=lék-biâŋ si=k”
 ART eye=3SG=ART DU DU=man-small AL=1SG
 ‘Hey, you go, you go to face her because (lit. the eyes) of my two boys.’

(27) *nan a lak taual,*
 3SG PFV go.up return

nan a *gâi* pâk na Mâtokombuâl *la* salan,
 3SG PFV accompany turn PN.ART M. in way

iriâi a *lak* *taual* *la* *liáŋ* *si=n=a*
 3DU PFV go.up return in cave AL=3SG=ART
 'He went back up (to the bush), he took Matokombual back to the road, they went back to her cave.'

(28) té *kas* *iân*, nan a *sái* *ala*, *kus* nér
 then other time 3SG PFV go.down again tell 3PL
 'Then the next day, he went down again, telling them.'

(29) "imiâ=k *âigot* an a *bál*, a ós *ik* *tom* *tâmo*"
 2DU=FUT be.ready about ART canoe ART paddle IPFV sit now
 "'Prepare the canoe and the paddle now.'"

(30) *u=lék-biâŋ* *si=n=a* *loŋoi*, *iriâi* a *lam* a *bál*,
 DU=man-small AL=3SG=ART hear 3DU PFV cut ART canoe
 nér a *âigot* an a ós, *bouoŋ* an *ta* *kas* *iân*
 3PL PFV be.ready about ART paddle wait about IND.ART other time
 'His two boys heard this, they cut a canoe, they prepared a paddle, they waited for the (right) time.'

(31) *Pukuntâp* a *gán* bát a *mati* *ala* na Mâtokombuâl
 P. PFV leave trick PFV lie again PN.ART M.

pâ ók *kiáp*, *po* *nan* *â=k* *matai*
 with whole.piece firewood COMP 3SG DIST=IPFV sleep

kuuál *pâ* na Mâtokombuâl, *lo* *pârék*,
 together with PN.ART M. or have.NEG

ók *kiáp* *mo*
 whole.piece firewood only

 'Pukuntap left Matokombual by tricking her with a piece of firewood to lie down, as if he were sleeping next to Matokombual, but no, it was just a piece of firewood.'

(32) Mâtokombuâl a *tâŋjan*, mot ráŋ *salan*, *po* nan a *pârék*
 M. PFV wake.up and see search COMP 3SG PFV have.NEG
 'Matokombual woke up and looked for him and saw that he was not there.'

(33) baté nan a *tâŋás* a us *ala*
 then 3SG PFV cry PFV follow again
 'Then she cried after him again.'

(34) *sái* *sái* *sái* *sái*, *pus-én* a *sái*,
 go.down go.down go.down go.down throw-TR PFV go.down

mot *pus-én* *âi=pâk* an a *i=n=a* *pan*,
 and throw-TR REC=turn about ART hair=3SG=ART go

noŋ a *bul* *uái* *kápái* a *puka* *la* *salan*
 be.enough ART PL tree all PFV fall in way

 'She came further and further down, she threw (things) down and threw her hair to and fro until all the trees had fallen along the road.'

(35) *lo nér a kâ~kol kâuâi*
 or 3PL PFV INTR~paddle already
 'But they had already paddled (away).'

(36) *nan a si sái la riáp,*
 3SG PFV FOC go.down in dark
lo nér a sik a sái a bul bál, ós,
 or 3PL PFV take PFV go.down ART PL canoe paddle
mot nér a kâ~kol
 and 3PL PFV INTR~paddle
 'She came down now in the dark, but they took the canoes and paddles down (to the sea), and they paddled.'

(37) *nér a kâ~kol kâ~kol kâ~kol,*
 3PL PFV INTR~paddle INTR~paddle INTR~paddle
nér a pan la ti-toponj i=n=a nó=n=a liáŋ
 3PL PFV go in stand-start INAL=3SG=ART face=3SG=ART cave
 'They were paddling and paddling, they went to the first (side of the) cliff.'

(38) *na Mâtokombuâl kiri táŋás, âiát âi=pák la pitinauán tâmo*
 PN.ART M. REP cry run REC=turn in beach now
 'Matokombual was crying and running to and fro on the beach now.'

(39) *táŋás a us saláŋ nér*
 cry PFV follow search 3PL
 'She cried after and looked for them.'

(40) *nan a âiát pan pan pan pan,*
 3SG PFV run go go go
nan a pan la â=iuâi i=n=a nó=n=a liáŋ
 3SG PFV go in CAU=two INAL=3SG=ART face=3SG=ART cave
 'She ran and ran, she ran to the second (side of the) cliff.'

(41) *lo nér a kol pan lâuák kâuâi*
 or 3PL PFV paddle go far already
 'But they had already paddled far away.'

(42) *nan a bal a iuonj a téné la ku=n=a,*
 3SG PFV remove PFV exit ART gut in belly=3SG=ART
pus-én a pan kálá bál,
 throw-TR PFV go on canoe
i=n=a bont-en a bál mot a saman
 INAL=3SG=ART block-TR ART canoe and ART outrigger
 'She pulled her guts out of her belly, she threw them to the canoe to block the canoe and outrigger.'

(43) *na Pukuntâp a ráŋ lâŋ=âtâ,*
 PN.ART P. PFV see like=VIS.DIST

té *nan* *a* *kel* *a* *bul* *rián,*
 then 3SG PFV call ART PL fish

po *ik* *ŋan* *pát* *a* *téné* *si=n=a*
 COMP IPFV eat.TR tear ART gut AL=3SG=ART

'Pukuntap saw that, then he called the fish to eat through her guts.'

(44) *bul* *rián* *aman* *a* *pas* *pas* *pas* *a* *téné* *si=n=a,*
 PL fish come PFV pick pick pick ART gut AL=3SG=ART

tá-pát *tâmo,* *nan* *a* *mat*
 PASS-tear now 3SG PFV die

'The fish came and bit through her guts, they were torn apart now, she was dead.'

(45) *mot* *la* *â=iuâi* *i=n=a* *nó=n=a* *liáŋ* *nâ,*
 and in CAU=two INAL=3SG=ART face=3SG=ART cave NVIS.DIST

nan *ka* *sâŋ* *pus-én* *a* *téné* *lantuá=n=a,*
 3SG RM.PST arrive throw-TR ART gut inside=3SG=ART

nan *ka* *mat* *mati* *tâmo*
 3SG RM.PST die lie now

'And at that second (side of the) cliff, into which she had thrown her guts, she was now lying dead.'

(46) *i=n=a* *tâmo* *a* *mata=ŋ* *âi=tama,*
 INAL=3SG=ART now ART eye=NPOSS REC=father

nér *a* *taual* *la* *malai*
 3PL PFV return in village

'Then now the family, they went back home.'

(47) *pini-uiâŋ* *tok* *mo*
 story-small short only
 'Just a short story.'

2.2. Pukuntap and Karak

By Essau Lomba (Máluáñ clan)

(1) *rokon, niáu=k kus~kus-â pâ pini i Pukuntâp*
 good 1SG=FUT INTR~tell-INTR with story INAL P.
mot na Kârâk
 and PN.ART K.
 'Okay, I will tell the story of Pukuntap and Karak.'

(2) *Pukutâp, nan a lek tâuan, lo na Kârâk a ten*
 P. 3SG PFV man male or PN.ART K. PFV woman
 'Pukuntap was a man, and Karak was a woman.'

(3) *mot iriâi pâ popo*
 and 3DU with child
 'And they had a child.'

(4) *kas iân, na Kârâk a lak la marat*
 other time PN.ART K. PFV go.up in garden
 'One day, Karak went up to the garden.'

(5) *na Pukuntâp ka sái lák rián, nan ik mákásám*
 PN.ART P. RM.PST go.down hit fish 3SG IPFV meat
 'Pukuntap went down (to the beach) to catch fish, he would catch fish.'

(6) *pan pan pan, mot, lak*
 go go go
noŋ si=n=a na Pukuntâp a lák rián mot, lak
 be.enough AL=3SG=ART PN.ART P. PFV hit fish finish go.up
 'On and on, until Pukuntap finished catching fish, he went up (away from the beach).'

(7) *lo na Kârâk pâ ku=n=a,*
 or PN.ART K. with belly=3SG=ART
lo nan i buák âi=us tâmo
 or 3SG IPFV want REC=follow now
 'But Karak was pregnant, and she was about to give birth (lit. wanted to relax) now.'

(8) *nan a pan susulék an a baló i=n=a uái nâ,*
 3SG PFV go near about ART tree.hole INAL=3SG=ART tree NVIS.DIST
bulát, té nan a puát a popo tân
 tree.sp. then 3SG PFV find ART child VIS.MED
 'She went near a hole in a *bulát* tree, then she gave birth to (lit. found) the child there.'

(9) *baté nan a puát a popo, nan a muta paka=n laula,*
 then 3SG PFV find ART child 3SG PFV pluck leaf=3SG taro

té *nan* *a* *â=mati a* *popo* *kálá* *paka* *laula*
 then 3SG PFV CAU=lie ART child on leaf taro
 'Then she gave birth to the baby, she plucked a taro leaf, then she put the baby on the taro leaf.'

(10) té *nan* *a* *pan, nan* *a* *â=mati*
 then 3SG PFV go 3SG PFV CAU=lie
la *baló* *i=n=a* *uái, imam ki* *â=táŋ* *bulát*
 in tree.hole INAL=3SG=ART tree 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=say tree.sp.
 'Then she went, she put (the baby) in the hole in the tree that we call *bulát*'

(11) *tâmo* *a* *popo* *a* *mati, nan* *ik* *táŋás*
 now ART child PFV lie 3SG IPFV cry
 'Now the baby was lying down, he was crying.'

(12) té *tâmo* *ka* *pâ* *ten-biâŋ* *atâŋ,*
 then now RM.PST with woman-small VIS.MED
a *sâ* *i=n=a* *tâŋ* *a* *pan,*
 ART what INAL=3SG=ART VIS.MED PFV go
a *sâŋ* *loŋoi, mot* *râŋ* *puát* *a* *popo* *mati* *kálá* *paka* *laula*
 PFV arrive hear and see find ART child lie on leaf taro
 'Then now there was a girl, somehow she went there, she heard and saw the child lying on the taro leaf.'

(13) *kot* *sik* *tâmo, nan* *a* *man* *pâ=n=a*
 cover take now 3SG PFV come with=3SG=ART
 'She covered and took him now, she came with him.'

(14) *nan* *kiri* *bót,* *po* *popo* *ik* *piâ=n=a* *táŋás*
 3SG REP sing COMP child IPFV PROH.INAL=3SG=ART cry
 'She sang so the baby would stop crying.'

(15) *tâmo* *té* *nan* *a* *gâi* *sik* *a* *popo,*
 now then 3SG PFV accompany take ART child
nan *a* *pan* *pâ=n=a,* *â=tén* *si* *riŋa=n=a,*
 3SG PFV go with=3SG=ART CAU=show AL mother=3SG=ART
na *Kârâk*
 PN.ART K.
 'Now then she took the baby, she went with him, she showed him to his mother, Karak.'

(16) " *na* *popo* *ró,* *niáu* *uâ* *sik* *tâ*"
 PN.ART child VIS.PROX 1SG RC.PST take VIS.DIST
 "This child, I took him from there."

(17) *tâmo* *nan* *kiri* *bót* *pâ* *popo,*
 now 3SG REP sing with child
pat *i=n=a* *na* *popo* *kiri* *táŋás*
 part INAL=3SG=ART PN.ART child REP cry
 'Now she sang for the child because the child was crying.'

(18) *pan tâmo, na Pukuntâp a lak*
 go now PN.ART P. PFV go.up
 'Then now Pukuntap went up (to the garden).'

(19) *nan a lâuák kinak, nan a lojoi*
 3SG PFV far still 3SG PFV hear
a kó ten-biâŋ nâ ik bót pâ popo,
 ART small.piece woman-small NVIS.DIST IPFV sing with child
lo popo ik iâ táŋás
 or child IPFV CONT cry
 'He was still far away, he heard that girl singing for the child, and the child was still crying.'

(20) *tâmo nan a riái*
 now 3SG PFV ask
 'Now he asked.'

(21) *"a popo tâ=k táŋás, lo popo si nás?"*
 ART child VIS.DIST=IPFV cry or child AL who
 "A child is crying there, but whose child is it?"

(22) *tâmo nan a pan, nan a sâŋ ráŋ a popo a mati*
 now 3SG PFV go 3SG PFV arrive see ART child PFV lie
 'Now he went, he arrived and saw the child lying.'

(23) *na ten-biâŋ nâ iot sik kâuâi,*
 PN.ART woman-small NVIS.DIST hold take already
i=n=a ik ti bót pâ=n=a
 INAL=3SG=ART IPFV stand sing with=3SG=ART
 'The girl already held (the baby) to sing for him.'

(24) *pan tâmo, na Pukuntâp a riái*
 go now PN.ART P. PFV ask
 'Then Pukuntap asked.'

(25) *"a popo-uiâŋ?"*
 ART child-small
 "A baby?"

(26) *tâmo na ten-biâŋ nâ a iot sik té kus*
 now PN.ART woman-small NVIS.DIST PFV hold take then tell
lâŋ=âtâ, po na Pukuntâp ik piâ=n=a
 like=VIS.DIST COMP PN.ART P. IPFV PROH.INAL=3SG=ART
to i
 touch
 'Now the girl took the child, then she told Pukuntap not to touch him.'

(27) *pârék, iâŋ atâŋ mo,*
 have.NEG time VIS.MED only
na Pukuntâp sâk lojoi a ti~ti-bont-â,
 PN.ART P. NEG hear ART INTR~stand-block-INTR

nan iâ iot sik, mot popo iâ mat
 3SG CONT hold take and child CONT die

‘(But) no, just that moment, Pukuntap did not listen to the warning, he took him, and the child died
 (Pukuntap was not allowed to touch him because Karak had the child with a spirit from the bush).’

(28) *tâmo lâŋ=âtâ*

now like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Now it was like that.’

(29) *té a pini si=k a sâŋ noŋ lâŋ=âtâ*

then ART story AL=1SG PFV arrive be.enough like=VIS.DIST

‘Then my story ends like that.’

(30) *nan tâmo, rokon*

3SG now good
 ‘That is all, thank you.’

2.3. Karak and Ngalasimbang

By Takala Lamemes (Sopokor clan)

(1) *té, na Kârâk, na nátá=n=a na Nalasimbâŋ*
 then PN.ART K. PN.ART child=3SG=ART PN.ART Ng.
 'Okay, Karak, her child was Ngalasimbang.'

(2) *iriâi ka tom óró lá-uán la mata=n=a siua Pâkaua*
 3DU RM.PST sit VIS.PROX in-sand in eye=3SG=ART place P.
 'They lived here at the beach (lit. the eye) of Pakaua.'

(3) *té mât-bin ka puâs, iriâi ka pan ik ïjan mât*
 then reef-big RM.PST dry.reef 3DU RM.PST go IPFV eat.TR reef
 'Then the reef was dry, they went to look for food on the reef.'

(4) *iriâi a ïjan mât lak la mata=n=a siua,*
 3DU PFV eat.TR reef go.up in eye=3SG=ART place
na Kârâk a ló â=tom pus-én na Nalasimbâŋ
 PN.ART K. PFV travel CAU=sit throw-TR PN.ART Ng.
kálá bátuá tâ la mata=n=a kakais
 on big.sea.stone VIS.DIST in eye=3SG=ART spring
 'They were looking for food on the beach of the place, Karak went and left Ngalasimbang on a big stone in the sea in front of a freshwater spring.'

(5) *té nan a lak*
 then 3SG PFV go.up
 'Then she went up.'

(6) *nan a lak tâmo, na Nalasimbâŋ iâ tom,*
 3SG PFV go.up now PN.ART Ng. CONT sit
lo nan iâ gán
 or 3SG CONT leave
 'She went up now, Ngalasimbang stayed back, but she (Karak) left.'

(7) *na Kârâk iâ ïjan mât, pan lâŋ=âtâ Bolos,*
 PN.ART K. CONT eat.TR reef go like=VIS.DIST B.
lo na Nalasimbâŋ iâ tom
 or PN.ART Ng. CONT sit
 'Karak was looking for food in the reef, she went to Bolos, but Ngalasimbang stayed back.'

(8) *pusak a sái só-tá-pák*
 high.tide PFV go.down pierce-PASS-turn
 'The high tide came back.'

(9) *pusak ik sái tâmo,*
 high.tide IPFV go.down now

na Nyalasimbâŋ ik kâ~kel na riŋa=n=a, na Kârâk
 PN.ART Ng. IPFV PL~call PN.ART mother=3SG=ART PN.ART K.
 'The high tide came now, Ngalasimbang called her mother, Karak.'

(10) "Kârâk!"
 K.
 "Karak!"

(11) na Kârâk sâk iâ tem,
 PN.ART K. NEG CONT answer
 si=n=a na Kârâk tâ Bolos-uin tâ
 AL=3SG=ART PN.ART K. VIS.DIST B.-big VIS.DIST
 'Karak did not answer because Karak was far away in Bolos.'

(12) na Kârâk a pan~pan só-tá-pák atâmo,
 PN.ART K. PFV PL~go pierce-PASS-turn now
 tâlkép ráŋ na Nyalasimbâŋ a ti kâuâi kálá bátuá
 turn see PN.ART Ng. PFV stand already on big.sea.stone
 'Karak went back now, she turned around and saw Ngalasimbang already standing on the big stone in the sea.'

(13) tâmo nan ik kâ~kel
 now 3SG IPFV PL~call
 'Now she called.'

(14) "Kârâk, sâ rórók lé rórók le na mé, na Nyalasimbâŋ gét tók la sénséne na mé (Tigak?)
 ""?"

(15) Kârâk!"
 K.
 "Karak!"

(16) Kârâk sâk tem
 K. NEG answer
 'Karak did not answer.'

(17) Kârâk ik iâ pián gam aman, iâ man, iâ man,
 K. IPFV CONT collect shell come CONT come CONT come
 na Kârâk a loŋoi na Nyalasimbâŋ,
 PN.ART K. PFV hear PN.ART Ng.
 na Kârâk ik pan~pan aman
 PN.ART K. IPFV PL~go come
 'Karak was collecting shells, she came closer and closer, Karak heard Ngalasimbang, Karak came closer.'

(18) Nyalasimbâŋ a lak ti tâmo kálá ŋat
 Ng. PFV go.up stand now on stone
 'Ngalasimbang was now standing on the stone.'

(19) *pusak a sái uin atâmo, pusak sâk tâpelek*
 high.tide PFV go.down big now high.tide NEG play
 'The high tide became big now, the high tide was massive (lit. did not play).'

(20) *na Nalasimbâŋ a ráŋ a pusak tâmo,*
 PN.ART Ng. PFV see ART high.tide now
ik motot, nan ik kâ~kel
 IPFV be.afraid 3SG IPFV PL~call
 'Ngalasimbang saw the high tide now, was scared and called.'

(21) "Kârâk!"
 K.
 "Karak!"

(22) *Kârâk, sâ rórók lé rórók le na mé, na Nalasimbâŋ gét tók la sénséne na mé* (Tigak?)
 '?'

(23) *Kârâk óró=k man kâuâi mo*
 K. VIS.PROX=IPFV come already only
 'Karak was already coming here.'

(24) *Kârâk a man man man tâ Laklak*
 K. PFV come come come VIS.DIST L.
 'Karak came closer and closer to Laklak.'

(25) *Nalasimbâŋ a ti tâmo,*
 Ng. PFV stand now
pusak a lak la uru kek=en=a
 high.tide PFV go.up in DU leg=3SG=ART
 'Ngalasimbang was standing now, the high tide came up to her legs.'

(26) *tâmo na Nalasimbâŋ a lak ti tâmo, pusak a siái,*
 now PN.ART Ng. PFV go.up stand now high.tide PFV go.down
Kârâk óró=k aman tâmo, aman lâŋ Maru tâmo
 K. VIS.PROX=IPFV come now come like M. now
 'Now Ngalasimbang stood up now, the high tide came, Karak was coming now, she came to Maru now.'

(27) *na Nalasimbâŋ a kâ~kel*
 PN.ART Ng. PFV PL~call
 'Ngalasimbang called.'

(28) "Kârâk!"
 K.
 "Karak!"

(29) *Kârâk, sâ rórók lé rórók le na mé, na Nalasimbâŋ gét tók la sénséne na mé* (Tigak?)
 '?'

(30) *Kârâk, nan ik iâ man Pâléñjañâjâi kâuâi*
 K. 3SG IPFV CONT come P. already
 'Karak already came to Palengangangai.'

(31) *na Nalasimbâŋ a kâ~kel,*
 PN.ART Ng. PFV PL~call
lo pusak óró kâuâi la butu Nalasimbâŋ
 or high.tide VIS.PROX already in stem Ng.
 'Ngalasimbang called, but the high tide was already at Ngalasimbang's waist.'

(32) *na Kârâk a lonjoi kâuâi, té na Kârâk a tem*
 PN.ART K. PFV hear already then PN.ART K. PFV answer
 'Karak already heard her, then Karak answered.'

(33) "Kârâk, sâ rórók lé rórók le na mé, na Nalasimbâŋ gét tók la sénséne na mé" (Tigak?)
 "?"

(34) *a tas a lak kâuâi tâmo la liáŋ i Nalasimbâŋ, pan,*
 ART sea PFV go.up already now in cave INAL Ng. go
lo na Kârâk óró muá mo kâuâi
 or PN.ART K. VIS.PROX front only already
 'The sea came already up now to Ngalasimbang's chest, and Karak was just here in front (of her).'

(35) *na Nalasimbâŋ a kâ~kel*
 PN.ART Ng. PFV PL~call
 'Ngalasimbang called.'

(36) *a tas la uaia Nalasimbâŋ kâuâi tâmo*
 ART sea in neck Ng. already now
 'The sea was already at Ngalasimbang's neck now.'

(37) *na Nalasimbâŋ a mati tâmo, a mata=n=a a lak guguál*
 PN.ART Ng. PFV lie now ART eye=3SG=ART PFV go.up on.top
 'Ngalasimbang was now lying (on the surface of the sea), her eyes were facing upwards.'

(38) *lo a tâpátá=n=a a mati*
 or ART head.back=3SG=ART PFV lie
la pán=a tas kâuâi tâmo
 in skin.3SG=ART sea already now
 'And the back of her head was already lying under the surface of the sea now.'

(39) *tâmo nan a kâ~kel*
 now 3SG PFV PL~call
 'Now she called.'

(40) "Kârâk, sâ rórók lé rórók le na mé, na Nalasimbâŋ gét tók la sénséne na mé" (Tigak?)
 "?"

(41) *na Nalasimbâŋ a kâlpák nan*
 PN.ART Ng. PFV change 3SG
 'Ngalasimbang turned over (and drowned).'

(42) “óp”

INTJ

“Oh.”

(43) *gán kâ~kel na Kârâk*

leave PL~call PN.ART K.

‘She died while calling Karak.’

(44) “Kârâk!”

K.

“Karak!”

(45) *lo nan a kukuréktâmo sái la karap*

or 3SG PFV fall now go.down

in

lagoon

‘And she drowned in the lagoon.’

(46) *Kârâk a âiát aman tâmo, sâŋ iot sik nan,*

K.

PFV

run come now arrive hold take

3SG

mot tájás sái pâ=n=a lá-piá la pitinauán,

and

cry go.down

with=3SG=ART

in-ground

in

beach

i=n=a nan ik táuán óró Pâkaua

INAL=3SG=ART

3SG

IPFV

bury

VIS.PROX P.

‘Karak came running now, she lifted her up and cried and went with her down to the beach to bury her in Pakaua.’

(47) *nan isâŋ tâmo*

3SG

alone

now

‘That is it now.’

2.4. Karak and Kipang

By Delilah Goliath (Kaméré clan)

(1) *a pini si=ra nâ pâ Kârâk iriâi Kipan*
 ART story AL=1PL.INC NVIS.DIST with K. 3DU K.
 'Our story is about Karak and Kipang.'

(2) *inkâuâi tuna ka pâ tâéñ-bin ka tom, isá=n=a na Kârâk*
 old true RM.PST with mother-big RM.PST sit name=3SG=ART PN.ART K.
 'A long time ago, there was a woman, her name was Karak.'

(3) *nan ka ten rokomât tuna*
 3SG RM.PST woman good.very true
 'She was a very good woman.'

(4) *nan kiru koron a kulâu pâ boi-an masisa, boi-an tó*
 3SG PST.HAB care ART people with eat-NOML cooked eat-NOML live
 'She looked after the people with cooked food and uncooked food.'

(5) *lo sémén a kulâu ók sâñ la lu si=n=a,*
 or if ART people FUT arrive in house AL=3SG=ART
nan kiru â=kotorj nér
 3SG PST.HAB CAU=care 3PL
 'And if people came to her house, she would care for them.'

(6) *lân=âtâ nan ka ten rokon tuna*
 like=VIS.DIST 3SG RM.PST woman good true
 'Thus she was a very good woman.'

(7) *lo lantuá=n=a bák si Kârâk ala ka pâ imbo=lek nâ,*
 or inside=3SG=ART place AL K. again RM.PST with PL=man NVIS.DIST
nér kiru kel nér a bul kipan, nér ka tom
 3PL HAB.PST call 3PL ART PL spirit 3PL RM.PST sit
 'But at Karak's place, there were also spirits (lit. men) that they call *kipan*.'

(8) *lo pâ kas kipan nâ kiru buák na Kârâk*
 or with other spirit NVIS.DIST PST.HAB want PN.ART K.
 'And there was one spirit that loved Karak.'

(9) *tâmo nér iâ tom,*
 now 3PL CONT sit
lo kas iâñ, na Kipan ka mâilás pâ mok si Kârâk
 or other time PN.ART K. RM.PST spoil with pig AL K.
 'Now (as) they were alive, one day, Kipang killed Karak's pig.'

(10) *nan ka móñ lâk a mat a mok si Kârâk*
 3SG RM.PST first hit PFV die ART pig AL K.

lantuá=n=a rárám, nâ=mo mok si Kârâk nâ, Simekeua-uin
 inside=3SG=ART water NVIS.DIST=only pig AL K. NVIS.DIST S.-big
 'He had first killed Karak's pig in the water, that is, Karak's pig, the big Simekeua.'

(11) *lân=âtâ na Kârâk a tom pâ lomo-sât*
 like=VIS.DIST PN.ART K. PFV sit with think-bad
pâ mok-uin si=n=a, mat nan kiru iâ lomon po
 with pig-big AL=3SG=ART and 3SG PST.HAB CONT think COMP
 'Thus Karak was sad about her pig, and she thought.'

(12) *"niáu ók ualai ta sâ tata Kipanj, po niáu ók ñet nan,*
 1SG FUT do IND.ART what beside K. COMP 1SG FUT answer 3SG
nan ka móñ lák a mat a mok si=k?"
 3SG RM.PST first hit PFV die ART pig AL=1SG
 "'What will I do to Kipang to take revenge on (lit. answer) him (because) he first killed my pig?'"

(13) *lo nér iâ tom tâmo,*
 or 3PL CONT sit now
té iân anén ala a iân i=n=a su,
 then time NVIS.PROX again ART time INAL=3SG=ART tree.sp.
bul uái i=n=a su nâ la luntan
 PL tree INAL=3SG=ART tree.sp. NVIS.DIST in bush
 'And they were living on now, then that time was the season of the *su* fruit, the *su* trees in the bush.'

(14) *lo uái bus si Kârâk nâ ka su-â,*
 or tree DUMMY AL K. NVIS.DIST RM.PST hang-INTR
ka uá rokon tuna
 RM.PST fruit good true
 'And Karak's tree was full of fruit.'

(15) *tâmo na Kârâk kiru iâ tom âpéték an*
 now PN.ART K. PST.HAB CONT sit watch about
 'Now Karak was sitting and watched.'

(16) *ka pan tâmo, kas iân,*
 RM.PST go now other time
nan a lak nâ lu la marat,
 3SG PFV go.up NVIS.DIST bush in garden
i=n=a nan a sâj puát a kó su a puka
 INAL=3SG=ART 3SG PFV arrive find ART small.piece *su* a *puka*
 'This went on now, one day, she went up to the bush to the garden to find a *su* fruit that fell down.'

(17) *nan a sik tâmo, nan a seuek tâmo, nan a ñan*
 3SG PFV take now 3SG PFV break now 3SG PFV eat.TR
 'She took it now, she broke it in half now, she ate it.'

(18) *nan a ñjan*
 3SG PFV eat.TR
 'She ate it.'

(19) "ó, *uái su si=k a rokon tâmo, lo rokon tuna*
 INTJ tree tree.sp. AL=1SG PFV good now or good true
 "Oh, my *su* fruit are good now, and it is very good.'

(20) *niáu=k sái é=k kus na Kipan, po ik lak,*
 1SG=FUT go.down 1SG=IPFV tell PN.ART K. COMP IPFV go.up
po ik lak lis a su si=k
 COMP IPFV go.up give ART tree.sp. AL=1SG
 'I will go down to tell Kipang to go up and harvest the *su* fruit for me.'

(21) *po nan ók pan la énjé=n bus tâ,*
 COMP 3SG FUT go in branch=3SG DUMMY VIS.DIST
po ik to-uok, po nan ók puka
 COMP IPFV PASS-break COMP 3SG FUT fall
 'So he will go on that branch so it will break so he will fall.'

(22) *lo sémén nan ók iâ mat, iâ rokon kinak,*
 or if 3SG FUT CONT die CONT good still
si=n=a nan ka móñ lâk a mat a mok si=k
 AL=3SG=ART 3SG RM.PST first hit PFV die ART pig AL=1SG
i=n=a sâ?"
 INAL=3SG=ART what
 'And if he dies, it will still be good, because why did he kill my pig in the first place?"'

(23) *tâmo na Kârâk a kár nâ lá-uán,*
 now PN.ART K. PFV go.down NVIS.DIST in-sand
nan a sâñ lomon
 3SG PFV arrive think
 'Now Karak went down to the beach, she thought.'

(24) "â, *niá=k pan tâmo si Kipan é=k kus nan*"
 INTJ 1SG=FUT go now AL K. 1SG=IPFV tell 3SG
 "Ah, I will go to Kipang now to tell him."

(25) *nan a susu, nan a mos tâmo,*
 3SG PFV wash.INTR 3SG PFV decorate now
nan a pan pan tâ la lu si Kipan
 3SG PFV go go VIS.DIST in house AL K.
 'She washed, she dressed now, she went and went to Kipang's house.'

(26) *iân na Kipan ka ráñ lâk nan, nan iâ*
 time PN.ART K. RM.PST see hit 3SG 3SG CONT
 'When Kipang saw her, he (said).'

(27) "iáuái, ten-bin si=k â=k=âman
 INTJ woman-big AL=1SG DIST=IPFV=come
 "Oh, my wife is coming there."

(28) le-le rokon tuna, Kârâk"
 in-afternoon good true K.
 'Good afternoon, Karak."

(29) Kârâk a, "u," ȷet a le-le si=n=a
 K. PFV INTJ answer ART in-afternoon AL=3SG=ART
 'Karak (said), "Oh dear," she wished him a (good) afternoon.'

(30) "le-le rokon tuna, Kipan̄"
 in-afternoon good true K.
 "Good afternoon, Kipang."

(31) "lo nó uâ gán amâ?"
 or 2SG RC.PST leave where
 "But where have you come from?"

(32) "lo niáu uâ gán tâ la bák si=k,
 or 1SG RC.PST leave VIS.DIST in place AL=1SG
 nâ lu la marat
 NVIS.DIST bush in garden
 "But I have come from my place, from the bush, from the graden."

(33) niáu uâ sái, po é=k ráŋ nó"
 1SG RC.PST go.down COMP 1SG=IPFV see 2SG
 'I came down (from the bush) to see you.'

(34) "aman, aman, aman, aman, aman ba tom óró si Kipan̄
 come come come come come IMM.FUT sit VIS.PROX AL K.
 "Come, come, come, come, come and sit here with Kipang.'

(35) lo sâ lomo-sât si=m?
 or what think-bad AL=2SG
 'But what is on your mind?'

(36) ma nó=k kus na Kipan̄ pâ=n=a, a sâ âisók uéna,
 and 2SG=FUT tell PN.ART K. with=3SG=ART ART what work EMPH
 nó buák, po na Kipan̄ ik âisók an ka=m"
 2SG want COMP PN.ART K. IPFV work about for=2SG
 'And you tell Kipang about it, what job do you want Kipang to do for you?"

(37) "âu, niá nâ uâ sái, po é=k kus nó,
 INTJ 1SG NVIS.DIST RC.PST go.down COMP 1SG=IPFV tell 2SG
 po a uái su si=k nâ a málmál kâuâi
 COMP ART tree tree.sp. AL=1SG NVIS.DIST PFV ripe already
 "Oh, I came down to tell you that my su fruit are already ripe.'

(38) *lo* *é=k* *salaŋ* *ta* *tiár,* *po* *ik* *lak* *lis*"
 or 1SG=IPFV search IND.ART person COMP IPFV go.up give
 'And I am looking for someone to harvest them.'"

(39) " *e,* *a* *uái* *su-uin* *pâ* *sâ* *nâ,*
 INTJ ART tree tree.sp.-big with what NVIS.DIST
uái *su-uin* *nâ=mo*
 tree tree.sp.-big NVIS.DIST=only
noŋ *na* *Kipanŋ* *ik* *pan* *ik* *lak*"
 be.enough PN.ART K. IPFV go IPFV go.up
 "Ah, what is (so difficult) about the big *su* fruit, the big *su* fruit will be fine for Kipang to climb up
 (and harvest them.)"

(40) *lân=âtâ* *na* *Kipanŋ* *a* *riái* *pák* *ala*
 like=VIS.DIST PN.ART K. PFV ask turn again
 'Thus Kipang also asked.'

(41) " *lo* *sâ* *iân,* *nó* *ók* *buák,*
 or what time 2SG FUT want
po *na* *Kipanŋ* *ók* *lak* *lis* *a* *uái* *su* *si=m?*"
 COMP PN.ART K. FUT go.up give ART tree tree.sp. AL=2SG
 "But when do you want Kipang to harvest your *su* fruit?"

(42) " *âu,* *máuá* *la* *maulék*
 INTJ tomorrow in morning
 "Oh, tomorrow morning."

(43) *sémén* *nó* *pârék* *ta* *âisók,*
 if 2SG have.NEG IND.ART work
té *nó=k* *pan* *nó=k* *lak* *lis* *a* *uái* *su* *si=k*"
 then 2SG=FUT go 2SG=IPFV go.up give ART tree tree.sp. AL=1SG
 'If you do not have any work, then go and harvest my *su* fruit.'

(44) " *a* *rokon,* *a* *rokon*
 PFV good PFV good
 "Good, good."

(45) *a* *Kipanŋ* *nân* *lân* *a* *óré*
 ART K. NVIS.MED like ART cucus
 'Kipang is like a cucus.'

(46) *niáu* *ók* *lak* *lis* *a* *uái* *su* *si=m*"
 1SG FUT go.up give ART tree tree.sp. AL=2SG
 'I will harvest the *su* fruit for you.'"

(47) *tâmo* *na* *Kârâk* *iâ* *taual* *pan* *la* *lu* *si=n=a,*
 now PN.ART K. CONT return go in house AL=3SG=ART
mat *a* *matai,* *a* *lomo=n=a-uin* *a* *uân* *rokon* *tuna,*
 and PFV sleep ART mind=3SG=ART-big PFV fat good true

<i>po</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>Kipan̄</i>	<i>ók</i>	<i>lak</i>	<i>tâmo</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>uái</i>	<i>su,</i>
COMP	PN.ART	K.	FUT	go.up	now	ART	tree	tree.sp.
<i>ók</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>ók</i>	<i>puka</i>	<i>toi</i>	<i>lantuá=n=a</i>	<i>saŋ,</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>ik</i>
FUT	go	FUT	fall	touch	inside=3SG=ART	clam.shell	COMP	IPFV

'Now Karak went back to her house and slept, she really hoped (lit. her mind was fat) that Kipang would climb up the *su* tree and fall into a clam shell so he would die.'

(48)	<i>mot</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>âigot</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>saŋ-bin</i>	<i>tâmo,</i>
	and	3SG	PFV	be.ready	about	ART	clam.shell-big	now
	<i>nan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>pan,</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>â=tom</i>	<i>tâ</i>	<i>la</i>
	3SG	PFV	go	3SG	PFV	CAU=sit	VIS.DIST	<i>luntan</i>

la *bák* *nâ,* *i-kó* *su* *râisât* *a* *su-â*
in place NVIS.DIST NSG-small.piece tree.sp. very.big PFV hang-INTR

'And she prepared a big clam shell now, she went, she put it in the bush under her *su* tree at the place where many *su* fruit were hanging.'

(49)	<i>tâmo</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>maulék</i>	<i>i=n=a,</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>Kipan̄</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>susu</i>	<i>rokon,</i>
	now	in	morning	INAL=3SG=ART	PN.ART	K.	PFV	wash.INTR	good
	<i>nan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>uâp</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>pâ</i>	<i>niâ</i>	<i>mos~moson̄</i>	<i>uân</i>	<i>tuna</i>
	3SG	PFV	rub	3SG	with	thing	INTR~smell	fat	true

po *ter* *si=n=a* *mok*
COMP faeces AL=3SG=ART pig

'Now in the morning, Kipang washed well, he rubbed himself with his perfume (lit. thing that smells fat), pig faeces.'

(50)	<i>tâmo</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>uâp</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>tuá=n=a</i>	<i>pâ=n=a,</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>gán</i>
	now	3SG	PFV	rub	ART	skin=3SG=ART	with=3SG=ART	3SG	PFV	leave

'Now he rubbed his skin with it, he left.'

(51)	<i>nan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>tâmo,</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>sâŋ</i>	<i>tâ</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Kârâk</i>
	3SG	PFV	go	now	3SG	PFV	arrive	VIS.DIST	in	house	AL	K.

'He went now, he came to Karak's house.'

(52)	" <i>Kârâk</i> ,	<i>nó</i>	<i>mâ?</i> "
	K.	2SG	where

"Karak, where are you?"

(53)	" <i>a</i>	<i>niáu</i>	<i>óró</i> "
	or	1SG	VIS.PROX

"But I am here."

(54)	" <i>âu</i> ,	<i>lo</i>	<i>niáu</i>	<i>uâ</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>tâmo,</i>			
	INTJ	or	1SG	RC.PST	come	now			
	<i>po</i>	<i>é=k</i>		<i>lak</i>	<i>lis</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>uái</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>si=m</i> "

COMP 1SG=IPFV go.up give ART tree tree.sp. AL=2SG

"Oh, but I came now to harvest the *su* fruit for you."

(55) "rokon, tâ=k pan"
 good 1DU.INC=FUT go
 "Okay, let us go."

(56) *iriâi a âi=gâi tâmo,*
 3DU PFV REC=accompany now

iriâi a lak nâ lu la marat si Kârâk
 3DU PFV go.up NVIS.DIST bush in garden AL K.
 'They went together now, they went up to the bush to Karak's garden.'

(57) *iriâi a sâñ ti tâmo, na Kipanj a sai tâmo po*
 3DU PFV arrive stand now PN.ART K. PFV trace now COMP
 'They arrived now, Kipang asked (lit. did) now.'

(58) "a óró mo, uái su óró?"
 or VIS.PROX only tree tree.sp. VIS.PROX
 "But just this one, this *su* tree?"

(59) *na Kârâk a tem po*
 PN.ART K. PFV answer COMP
 'Karak answered.'

(60) "a, lo nô=k lak, ma nô=k â=kotoñ,
 yes or 2SG=FUT go.up and 2SG=FUT CAU=care

 nô=k piâ=n=a pan la éñé=n nâ biâñ"
 2SG=FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART go in branch=3SG NVIS.DIST small
 "Yes, climb up and watch out, do not go on those small branches."

(61) "e, a niâu-uin pâ sâ, niâ ga nâ=mo"
 INTJ ART thing-big with what thing empty NVIS.DIST=only
 "Ah, what is (so difficult) about this thing, it is nothing."

(62) *Kipanj nâ=mo lâñ a óré ki ka~kauas kól*
 K. NVIS.DIST=only like ART cuscus HAB INTR~jump.on go.around

la éñé=n=a su
 in branch=3SG=ART tree.sp.
 'Kipang was like a cuscus jumping around the branches of the *su* tree.'

(63) *tâmo nan a pan,*
 now 3SG PFV go

nan a giáñ a sái a su
 3SG PFV climb.shake PFV go.down ART tree.sp.
 'Now he went, he climbed up and shook down the *su* fruit.'

(64) *nan a giáñ a puka a sái a su,*
 3SG PFV climb.shake PFV fall PFV go.down ART tree.sp.

nóm-bus nâ málmál,
 NSG-DUMMY NVIS.DIST ripe

<i>lo</i>	<i>nóm-bus</i>	<i>nâ</i>	<i>sâk</i>	<i>málmál,</i>
or	NSG-DUMMY	NVIS.DIST	NEG	ripe

<i>nan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>giáŋ</i>	<i>ala</i>
3SG	PFV	climb.shake	again

'He climbed up and shook down the *su* fruit, ripe ones and unripe ones, he also shook them down.'

(65)	<i>tâmo</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>Kârâk</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kus</i>
	now	PN.ART	K.	PFV	tell

'Now Karak told.'

(66)	" <i>nâ,</i>	<i>i-kó=n</i>	<i>bus</i>	<i>óró=i</i>	<i>su-â</i>
	NVIS.DIST	NSG-small.piece=3SG	DUMMY	VIS.PROX=IPFV	hang-INTR

<i>la</i>	<i>éŋé=n</i>	<i>biâŋ,</i>	<i>é=k</i>	<i>motot</i>	<i>nân,</i>
in	branch=3SG	small	1SG=IPFV	be.afraid	NVIS.MED

<i>i=n=a</i>	<i>â=én</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>nó,</i>	<i>nó</i>	<i>saka</i>	<i>puka</i> "
INAL=3SG=ART	CAU=send	NOML	2SG	2SG	APPR	fall

"The ones hanging here on the small branch, I am afraid to send you, you might fall."

(67)	" <i>e,</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>báŋ</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>pâ</i>	<i>sâ</i>	<i>nâ,</i>
	INTJ	ART	bunch	tree.sp.	with	what	NVIS.DIST

<i>a</i>	<i>éŋé=n</i>	<i>pâ</i>	<i>sâ</i>	<i>nâ?</i>
ART	branch=3SG	with	what	NVIS.DIST

"Ah, what is (so difficult) about the bunch of *su* fruit, what is (so difficult) about the branch?"

(68)	<i>niáu</i>	<i>ók</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>nâ=mo</i>	<i>é=k</i>	<i>giáŋ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>sái</i> "
	1SG	FUT	go	NVIS.DIST=only	1SG=IPFV	climb.shake	PFV	go.down

'I will go to shake them down.'

(69)	<i>nan</i>	<i>iâ</i>	<i>ka~kauas</i>	<i>pan,</i>
	3SG	CONT	INTR~jump.on	go

<i>éŋé=n=a</i>	<i>uái</i>	<i>nâ</i>	<i>ik</i>	<i>iâ</i>	<i>ta-ul</i>	<i>sái,</i>
branch=3SG=ART	tree	NVIS.DIST	IPFV	CONT	PASS-bend	go.down

<i>po</i>	<i>ik</i>	<i>buák</i>	<i>to-uok</i>
COMP	IPFV	want	PASS-break

'He was jumping on (the branch), that branch bent down like it was about to break.'

(70)	<i>Kipan</i>	<i>iâ</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>tâmo,</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>éŋé=n</i>	<i>uái</i>	<i>iâ</i>	<i>ta-uas</i>
	K.	CONT	go	now	ART	branch=3SG	tree	CONT	PASS-break.off

'Kipang went on now, the branch broke off the tree stem.'

(71)	<i>na</i>	<i>Kipan</i>	<i>iâ</i>	<i>puka</i>	<i>sái</i>	<i>toí</i>	<i>lantuá=n=a</i>	<i>saŋ</i>
	PN.ART	K.	CONT	fall	go.down	touch	inside=3SG=ART	clam.shell

'Kipang fell into the clam shell.'

(72)	<i>na</i>	<i>Kârâk</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>sik</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ók</i>	<i>iámá</i>	<i>si=n=a,</i>
	PN.ART	K.	PFV	take	ART	whole.piece	axe	AL=3SG=ART

pan a pát bok na Kiparj pâ=n=a
 go PFV tear break PN.ART K. with=3SG=ART
 'Karak took her axe, she went to cut Kipang with it in two.'

(73) *na Kiparj iâ mat atâmo*
 PN.ART K. CONT die now
 'Kipang was dead now.'

(74) *a pini si=ra a mot lâŋ=âtâ tâmo*
 ART story AL=1PL.INC PFV finish like=VIS.DIST now
 'Our story ends like that now.'

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

2.5. Siu and Simekeua

By Takala Lamemes (Sopokor clan)

(1) óró a pini si Siu mot a mok si=n=a, na Simekeua
 VIS.PROX PFV story AL S. and ART pig AL=3SG=ART PN.ART S.
 'This is the story of Siu and his pig, Simekeua.'

(2) Simekeua, na Siu ka iot la biâŋ, S. PN.ART S. RM.PST hold in small
 mot nan a â=ti la kaka and 3SG PFV CAU=stand in well
 'Siu caught Simekeua when he was small, and he put him in a puddle.'

(3) té nan ki iâ tauai tauai tauai,
 then 3SG HAB CONT give give give
 lo na Kipanj ki iâ â=ti mata tata=n=a
 or PN.ART K. HAB CONT CAU=stand eye beside=3SG=ART
 'Then he always gave and gave (the pig food), but Kipang threw an eye on him (the pig).'

(4) tâmo iâ bin sâkârâi,
 now CONT big very.big
 na Kipanj a pan a sik kó bilé,
 PN.ART K. PFV go PFV sit small.piece spear
 na Kipanj a nat a Simekeua-uin si Siu
 PN.ART K. PFV shoot ART S.-big AL S.
 lantuá=n=a kaka tâmo
 inside=3SG=ART well now
 'Now (the pig) was very big, Kipang went and took a spear, Kipang shot Siu's big Simekeua in the puddle now.'

(5) na Siu a taual aman,
 PN.ART S. PFV return come
 nan a sâŋ ráŋ na Simekeua a mat mati kâuâi
 3SG PFV arrive see PN.ART S. PFV die lie already
 'Siu came back, he saw Simekeua lying dead already.'

(6) tâmo nan a tâŋás
 now 3SG PFV cry
 'Now he cried.'

(7) tâŋás mot taual atâmo, lo nan ik iâ bót
 cry and return now or 3SG IPFV CONT sing
 'He cried and went back now, and he would sing.'

(8) "soi soi soi soi kó mere ók kâk boko pana so (Tigak?)
 "What happened to my pig? (?)

(9) *kâk boko get tok la kóna ónjó roua é na Kipanj*” (Tigak?)
 ‘My pig has a spear in his belly, Kipang killed it.’’ (?)

(10) *mot nan a pan táŋás taual aman atâmo*
 and 3SG PFV go cry return come now
 ‘And he went and cried and came back now.’

(11) *taual aman,*
 return come

sâŋ ráŋ a pan na Simekeua si=n=a a mati
 arrive see PFV go PN.ART S. AL=3SG=ART PFV lie
 ‘He came back, he saw his Simekeua lying (there).’

(12) *lo na Kipanj a malilát*
 or PN.ART K. PFV be.lost
 ‘But Kipang was gone.’

(13) *nan a ti-topoŋ táŋás, mot bót taual pan ala*
 3SG PFV stand-start cry and sing return go again
 ‘He started crying and came back singing again.’

(14) “*soi soi soi soi kó mere ók kâk boko pana so* (Tigak?)
 “‘What happened to my pig?’ (?)

(15) *kâk boko get tok la kóna ónjó roua é na Kipanj*” (Tigak?)
 ‘My pig has a spear in his belly, Kipang killed it.’’ (?)

(16) *Siu a pan taual â=utál i=n=a iân tâmo*
 S. PFV go return CAU=three INAL=3SG=ART time now
 ‘Siu went back for the third time now.’

(17) *taual aman, sâŋ ráŋ ala a mok si=n=a, na Simekeua,*
 return come arrive see again ART pig AL=3SG=ART PN.ART S.

té nan a taual táŋás ala
 then 3SG PFV return cry again
 ‘He came back, he saw again his pig, Simekeua, then he went back crying again.’

(18) “*soi soi soi soi kó mere ók kâk boko pana so?* (Tigak?)
 “‘What happened to my pig?’ (?)

(19) *kâk boko get tok la kóna ónjó roua é na Kipanj*” (Tigak?)
 ‘My pig has a spear in his belly, Kipang killed it.’’ (?)

(20) *mot na Siu iâ gán táŋás pan,*
 and PN.ART S. CONT leave cry go

lo nan ik iâ malilát pan tâmo
 or 3SG IPFV CONT be.lost go now
 ‘And Siu left crying, and he disappeared now.’

(21) *na Simekeua iâ mati la kaka,*
 PN.ART S. CONT lie in well

Kipan̩ nâ sâk si kalapan̩ atâmo na Siu
 K. NVIS.DIST NEG FOC know now PN.ART S.

'Simekeua was still lying in the puddle, Kipang was not friends anymore with (lit. did not know) Siu.'

(22) *otâmo, a pini a lâŋ=âtâ*
 now ART story PFV like=VIS.DIST
 'Now the story is like that.'

2.6. The boy and the spirits

By Luisa Balat (Kaméré clan)

(1) *kas iân, a lu=tén ka ñjan mât*
 other time ART PL=woman RM.PST eat.TR reef
 'One day, the women were looking for food on the dry reef.'

(2) *bul iân, nér ki ñjan mât, pan pan tâmo kas iân,*
 PL time 3PL HAB eat.TR reef go go now other time
nér a pan nér ik pián gam
 3PL PFV go 3PL IPFV collect shell.sp.
 'They were always looking for food on the dry reef, on and on now one day, they went to collect shells.'

(3) *lo a kas ten ka pâ popo*
 or ART other woman RM.PST with child
 'But one woman had a child.'

(4) *nan ka kâkâ la mi=n=a,*
 3SG RM.PST carry in back=3SG=ART
nan a pan nér ik ñjan mât
 3SG PFV go 3PL IPFV eat.TR reef
 'She carried (the child in a cloth) on her back, she went so they would look for food on the reef.'

(5) *nér a ñjan mât pan pan pan tâmo, lo mât iâ puâs*
 3PL PFV eat.TR reef go go go now or reef CONT dry.reef
 'They were looking and looking for food on the reef, and the reef was dry.'

(6) *nan a ráŋ a kas ñat a mårálá,*
 3SG PFV see ART other stone PFV smooth
té nan a â=mati a popo si=n=a
 than 3SG PFV CAU=lie ART child AL=3SG=ART
 'She saw a smooth stone, then she put her child (on the stone).'

(7) *nan a â=mati a popo si=n=a*
 3SG PFV CAU=lie ART child AL=3SG=ART
la mata=n=a liáŋ si Kipar
 in eye=3SG=ART cave AL K.
 'She put the child at the entrance of Kipang's cave.'

(8) *nan a ñjan mât pan pan pan,*
 3SG PFV eat.TR reef go go go
a pusak a sái taual tâmo, nan ik taual man,
 ART high.tide PFV go.down return now 3SG IPFV return come
po nan ik ráŋ a popo, popo malilát,
 COMP 3SG IPFV see ART child child be.lost

a kipan̄ a gâi nan kâuâi
 ART spirit PFV accompany 3SG already

'She looked for food on the reef on and on, the high tide came back now, she came back to look for the child, the child was gone, a spirit already took him.'

(9) nan a man tâmo, nér a pan, nér sâk lom~lomon,
 3SG PFV come now 3PL PFV go 3PL NEG INTR~think

i=n=a salan̄ an a popo, nér a taul-én ga
 INAL=3SG=ART search NOML ART child 3PL PFV reject-TR empty

'She came now, they went, they did not think about looking for the child, they just abandoned him.'

(10) popo tom kuuál pâ bul kipan̄
 child sit together with PL spirit

'The child stayed with the spirits.'

(11) nan ka tom tân, noŋ nan a lek-bin
 3SG RM.PST sit VIS.MED be.enough 3SG PFV man-big

'He stayed there until he was an adult man.'

(12) nan a tom tó kuuál pâ bul kipan̄,
 3SG PFV sit live together with PL spirit

bul sâ lâuâ=n=a to~tom-an,
 PL what much=3SG=ART NOML~sit-NOML

a bul kipan̄ a tom pâ=n=a,
 ART PL spirit PFV sit with=3SG=ART

lek-biâŋ anén ka sik lâk a mot
 man-small NVIS.PROX RM.PST take hit PFV finish

'He lived with the spirits, whatever customs the spirits had, this boy had fully acquired them.'

(13) noŋ la kas iâŋ bul kipan̄ kápái ka iuon̄,
 be.enough in other time PL spirit all RM.PST exit

lo nan ka tom kuuál pâ kas lek-bin si=nér
 or 3SG RM.PST sit together with other man-big AL=3PL

lantuá=n=a liáŋ
 inside=3SG=ART cave

'Until one day, all the spirits went out, but he stayed back with one of their men in the cave.'

(14) tâmo nan a riái a lek-bin anén,
 now 3SG PFV ask ART man-big NVIS.PROX

pâ salan̄, i=n=a nér ki iuon̄ lo silé
 with way INAL=3SG=ART 3PL HAB exit or enter

'Now he asked this man about the way how they went out and in.'

(15) té riái nan ala pâ ra~râuai,
 then ask 3SG again with PL~make.sound

i=n=a *nér* *ki* *peten* *la* *mata=n=a* *lu,* *po* *ik* *mâsapa,*
 INAL=3SG=ART 3PL HAB talk in eye=3SG=ART house COMP IPFV clear

té *nér* *ók* *silé* *taual,* *té* *ki* *ta-uanat*
 then 3PL FUT enter return then HAB PASS-block

'Then he also asked him for the words that they would say at the entrance (of the cave) so it would open, and (when) they came back inside so it would close.'

(16) *tâmo* *lek-bin* *anén* *a* *kus* *nan* *pâ* *bul* *ra~rauai,*
 now man-big NVIS.PROX PFV tell 3SG with PL PL~make.sound

i=n=a *sapan* *an* *a* *mata=n=a* *lu,* *i=n=a* *ik* *mâsapa*
 INAL=3SG=ART open NOML ART eye=3SG=ART house INAL=3SG=ART IPFV clear

'Now this man told him the words to open the entrance so it would open.'

(17) *nan* *a* *kus* *a* *mot* *nan* *pâ* *bul* *laua=n=a* *niâu* *koko*
 3SG PFV tell PFV finish 3SG with PL much=3SG=ART thing hide.INTR

si=n=a *bul* *kipan*
 AL=3SG=ART PL spirit

'He told him all kinds of secrets of the spirits.'

(18) *iân* *nan* *ka* *sik* *mâsapa* *la* *iân* *tân,*
 time 3SG RM.PST take clear in time VIS.MED

lo *nan* *a* *lek-bin* *tâmo*
 or 3SG PFV man-big now

'When he learnt (these things) at that time, he was an adult man now.'

(19) *baté,* *nan* *a* *tom* *kuuál* *pâ* *nér* *tâmo,*
 then 3SG PFV sit together with 3PL now

nan *a* *riái* *a* *mâsapa* *nér,*
 3SG PFV ask PFV clear 3PL

po *sâ* *pat* *i=n=a* *nér* *a* *bul* *kulâu* *lân=âtâ,*
 COMP what part INAL=3SG=ART 3PL PFV PL people like=VIS.DIST

lo *nan,* *nan* *pâ* *kulát* *râj~râj-an* *potok*
 or 3SG 3SG with body INTR~see-NOML share

'Then he lived with them now, he asked them to explain why they were that kind of people while his body looked different.'

(20) *tâmo* *bul* *kipan* *a* *kus* *nan* *po*
 now PL spirit PFV tell 3SG COMP

'Now the spirits told him.'

(21) *"nó* *sâk* *ta* *lek-biâñ* *potok,*
 2SG NEG IND.ART man-small share

a *tâéñ* *si=m* *óró=i* *tom* *óró"*
 ART mother AL=2SG VIS.PROX=IPFV sit VIS.PROX

"You are not a different boy, your mother is here."

(22) *tâmo nan a â=táŋ po*
 now 3SG PFV CAU=say COMP
 'Now he said.'

(23) *"sâk tâéŋ si=k, niáu pâ tâéŋ si=k potok*
 NEG mother AL=1SG 1SG with mother AL=1SG share
 '"(This is) not my mother, I have another mother.'

(24) *tâéŋ si=k ka puát niáu, nan sâk tom*
 mother AL=1SG RM.PST find 1SG 3SG NEG sit
 'My mother who gave birth to me does not live (here).'

(25) *é=k lomon, nan a tom la ta kas bák*
 1SG=IPFV think 3SG PFV sit in IND.ART other place
 'I think she lives in another place.'

(26) *tâmo iân nan kiri ra~rauai lo âi=raras-â*
 now time 3SG REP PL~make.sound or REC=tight-INTR
kuál pâ nér, lo nan ka ti rarau
 together with 3PL or 3SG RM.PST stand correct
la mata=n=a lu i=n=a liáŋ-bin anén
 in eye=3SG=ART house INAL=3SG=ART cave-big NVIS.PROX
 'Now when he talked or argued with them, he stood right at the entrance of this big cave.'

(27) *iân nér a âi=raras-â pan tâmo la-uata i=nér,*
 time 3PL ART REC=tight-INTR go now in-middle INAL=3PL
nan ka ra~rauai tâmo
 3SG RM.PST PL~make.sound now
 'When they argued with each other now, he spoke (the words) now.'

(28) *iân nan ka ra~rauai tâmo,*
 time 3SG RM.PST PL~make.sound now
mata=n=a liáŋ nâ ka mâsapá,
 eye=3SG=ART cave NVIS.DIST RM.PST clear
nan a pu iuonj tâmo, kal a iuonj nér kápái tâmo
 3SG PFV escape exit now take PFV exit 3PL all now
 'When he spoke (the words) now, the entrance of the cave opened, he ran away outside now, he took out all of them (spirits) now.'

(29) *nér ka iuonj kulâu si=n=a lek-biâŋ anén,*
 3PL RM.PST exit people AL=3SG=ART man-small NVIS.PROX
nér a ráŋ nan
 3PL PFV see 3SG
 'They went outside, the people of the boy saw him.'

(30) *nan tâmo kuál pâ bul kipaj anén ka iuonj aman*
 3SG now together with PL spirit NVIS.PROX RM.PST exit come

tâmo, nér a lák a mat a mot a bul kipan
 now 3PL PFV hit PFV die PFV finish ART PL spirit
 'He came out with these spirits now, they killed all the spirits.'

(31) *mot tâmo, pini a mot lâŋ=âtâ*
 finish now story PFV finish like=VIS.DIST
 'That is it, the story ends like that.'

2.7. The family and Kipang

By Dolly Barai (Mo clan)

(1) *a pini si=n=a mata=ŋ âi=tama mot na Kipan*
 ART story AL=3SG=ART eye=NPOSS REC=father and PN.ART K.
 'The story of the family and Kipang.'

(2) *inkâuâi tuna ka pâ mata=ŋ âi=tama,*
 old true RM.PST with eye=NPOSS REC=father
a uru tâmâ=ŋ mot a u=lék-biâŋ
 ART DU father=NPOSS and ART DU=man-small
 'Once upon a time, there was a family, the parents and two boys.'

(3) *kas iân, a uru tâmâ=ŋ ka buák pan la marat*
 other time ART DU father=NPOSS RM.PST want go in garden
 'One day, the parents wanted to go to the garden.'

(4) *iriâi a gán kus a uru u=lék-biâŋ*
 3DU PFV leave tell ART DU DU=man-small
 'They left and gave the two boys instructions.'

(5) *a bus-bin ka pan ik lâlâuás,*
 ART DUMMY-big RM.PST go IPFV go.toilet
lo bus-biâŋ ka tom la malai
 or DUMMY-small RM.PST sit in village
 'The bigger one went to the toilet, but the smaller one was at home.'

(6) *té a bus-bin ka loŋoi, po iriâ=k iot a mok*
 then ART DUMMY-big RM.PST hear COMP 3DU=IPFV hold ART pig
 'Then the bigger one heard that they should catch a pig.'

(7) *lo bus-biâŋ ka â=raras, po iriâi ik lâk a uár,*
 or DUMMY-small RM.PST CAU=tight COMP 3DU IPFV hit ART banana
sen iriâi ik mâkâl
 if 3DU IPFV be.hungry
 'But the smaller one insisted that they should harvest a banana if they became hungry.'

(8) *té iriâi a âi=raras-â pan tâmo,*
 then 3DU PFV REC=tight-INTR go now
a bus-biâŋ a tuâi a us,
 ART DUMMY-small PFV agree PFV follow
po iriâi ik iot a mok
 COMP 3DU IPFV hold ART pig
 'Then they argued on and on now, the smaller one agreed that they would hunt a pig.'

(9) *iriâi iot a mok, iriâi a pala mati,*
 3DU hold ART pig 3DU PFV tie lie

lo *ka* *pârék* *ta* *uata*
 or RM.PST have.NEG IND.ART fire
 'They hunted a pig, they tied it down, but there was no fire.'

(10) *té* *bus-bin* *a* *â=én* *a* *bus-biâŋ*,
 then DUMMY-big PFV CAU=send ART DUMMY-small

po *nan* *ik* *pan* *ik* *sik* *uata* *tâ* *si* *Kipanŋ*
 COMP 3SG IPFV go IPFV take fire VIS.DIST AL K.
 'Then the bigger one sent the smaller one to go to take fire from Kipang.'

(11) *bus-biâŋ* *a* *gán* *tâmo*, *pan* *ik* *sik* *uata*,
 DUMMY-small PFV leave now go IPFV take fire

a *bus-bin* *a* *kus* *lis* *nan* *lâŋ=âtâ*
 ART DUMMY-big PFV tell give 3SG like=VIS.DIST
 'The smaller one left now, he went to take fire, the bigger one told him.'

(12) " *nó=k* *pan*, *nó=k* *râŋ* *a* *salan* *nâ* *pâ* *kalaó*
 2SG=FUT go 2SG=FUT see ART way NVIS.DIST with spider

la *mata=n=a*, *piâ=n=a* *â=us*, *salan* *si* *Kipanŋ* *tân*
 in eye=3SG=ART PROH.INAL=3SG=ART CAU=follow way AL K. VIS.MED
 "Go, you will see a road with a spider at its entrance, do not follow it, that is the road to Kipang.'

(13) *lo* *nó=k* *pan* *la* *bus* *nâ* *pârék* *ta* *kalaó*,
 or 2SG=FUT go in DUMMY NVIS.DIST have.NEG IND.ART spider

tân *a* *salan* *si=ra*"
 VIS.MED PFV way AL=1PL.INC
 'But take the one without the spider, that is our road.'

(14) *nan* *a* *pan* *a* *sâŋ* *tâmo*,
 3SG PFV go PFV arrive now

nan *a* *â=us* *toŋ* *a* *salan* *si* *Kipanŋ*
 3SG PFV CAU=follow confuseART way AL K.
 'He went and arrived now, he was confused and followed the path to Kipang.'

(15) *nan* *a* *pan*, *nan* *a* *sik* *a* *uata*, *té* *nan* *a* *taual*
 3SG PFV go 3SG PFV take ART fire then 3SG PFV return
 'He went, he took the fire, then he (wanted to) return.'

(16) *lo* *la* *iâŋ* *nan* *a* *pan* *sâŋ*, *na* *Kipanŋ* *a* *riái* *nan*
 or in time 3SG PFV go arrive PN.ART K. PFV ask 3SG
 'But when he went and arrived, Kipang asked him.'

(17) " *nó=k* *buák* *a* *sâ*, *popo?*"
 2SG=IPFV want ART what child
 "What do you want, child?"'

(18) *té* *nan* *a* *â=tâŋ* *lâŋ=âtâ*
 then 3SG PFV CAU=say like=VIS.DIST
 'Then he said.'

(19) "niá buák sik uata"
 1SG want take fire
 "I want to take fire."

(20) "a uata tân"
 ART fire VIS.MED
 "There is fire."

(21) nan a sik a ók uata, mot nan a iuor
 3SG PFV take ART whole.piece fire and 3SG PFV exit
 'He took a stick with fire, and he went out.'

(22) nan óró=k álat la mi=n=a lu,
 3SG VIS.PROX=IPFV pass.by in back=3SG=ART house
 na Kipan̄ a uén a us nan lâŋ=âtâ
 PN.ART K. PFV say PFV follow 3SG like=VIS.DIST
 'He was passing by behind the house, Kipang spoke behind (his back).'

(23) "mat mat mat mat, a uata a mat"
 die die die die ART fire PFV die
 "Dead, dead, dead, dead, the fire is dead."

(24) té nan a taual pan si Kipan̄ ala
 then 3SG PFV return go AL K. again
 'Then he went back to Kipang again.'

(25) "iâiâ, a uata si=k a mat"
 grandparent ART fire AL=1SG PFV die
 "Grandpa, my fire is out."

(26) "a uata tân, nó=k sik"
 ART fire VIS.MED 2SG=FUT take
 "There is fire, take it."

(27) nan a si~sik pâ=n=a,
 3SG PFV INTR~take with=3SG=ART
 noj a iu-ók pái kiáp
 be.enough ART NSG-whole.piece male.genitals firewood
 i=n=a uata a mot
 INAL=3SG=ART fire PFV finish
 'He took it until the second piece of firewood went out.'

(28) té na Kipan̄ â=táŋ
 then PN.ART K. CAU=say
 'Then Kipang said.'

(29) "nó=k bal a lu tâmo
 2SG=FUT remove ART house now
 pâ ók â=mot~mot i=n=a kiáp tân,
 with whole.piece CAU=INTR~finish INAL=3SG=ART firewood VIS.MED

nó=k *tâén* *sik* *niáu* *kuuál* *pâ* *lu*"
 2SG=FUT lift take 1SG together with house
 "Pull out the house now with the last piece of firewood, lift me up and carry me with the house."

(30) *na* *lek-biâŋ* *nâ* *bal* *a* *lu* *tâmo*,
 PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST remove ART house now
tâén *sik* *na* *Kipan* *kuuál* *pâ* *lu* *mot* *a* *uata*
 lift take PN.ART K. together with house and ART fire
 'The boy pulled out the house now, he carried Kipang together with the house and the fire.'

(31) *nan* *a* *tâén* *sik* *a* *gán* *a* *lu* *tâmo*,
 3SG PFV lift take PFV leave ART house now
â=us *salan* *pâ=n=a*
 CAU=follow road with=3SG=ART
 'He carried the house away now, following the road with it.'

(32) *pan* *pan* *pan*, *na* *lek-biâŋ* *nâ* *pâ* *kas* *lom~lomon*
 go go go PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST with other INTR~think
a *sâŋ* *si=n=a* *tâmo*
 PFV arrive AL=3SG=ART now
 'He went and went, the boy had one thought that came to him now.'

(33) *"niáu* *ók* *â=tî* *a* *lu* *tâmo* *pâ* *na* *Kipan*,
 1SG FUT CAU=stand ART house now with PN.ART K.
lo *é=k* *pan* *é=k* *bát~bát*, *po* *é=k* *lâlâuás*"
 or 1SG=IPFV go 1SG=IPFV INTR~trick COMP 1SG=IPFV go.toilet
 "I will put down the house now with Kipang, and I will go and trick him that I would go to the toilet."

(34) *nan* *a* *gán* *pan* *ik* *lâlâuás* *tâmo*,
 3SG PFV leave go IPFV go.toilet now
nan *a* *sik* *a* *ók* *uata* *mot* *a* *kó* *ŋát*
 3SG PFV take ART whole.piece fire and ART small.piece louse
 'He left and went to the toilet now, he took the stick with fire and a louse.'

(35) *té* *nan* *a* *â=tom* *la* *ter*, *mot* *kus* *nan* *lâŋ=âtâ*
 then 3SG PFV CAU=sit in faeces and tell 3SG like=VIS.DIST
 'Then he put (the louse) into the faeces and told it.'

(36) *"sémén* *na* *Kipan* *ók* *âi=kel*, *nó=k* *ŋet* *nan* *lâŋ=âtâ*,
 if PN.ART K. FUT REC=call 2SG=FUT answer 3SG like=VIS.DIST
'niáu *óró* *kinak*"
 1SG VIS.PROX still
 "If Kipang calls out, answer him like this, 'I am still here.'"

(37) *iân* *na* *Kipan* *kiri* *kel* *nan*, *"iâiâ,* *nó* *amâ?"*,
 time PN.ART K. REP call 3SG grandchild 2SG where

kó *ŋát* *nâ* kóró *tem* *po*
 small.piece louse NVIS.DIST PST.HAB answer COMP
 'Whenever Kipang called him, "Grandson, where are you?", the louse would reply.'

(38) "niá ró *kinak*"
 1SG VIS.PROX still
 "I am still here."

(39) *na* *lek-biâŋ* *nâ* *a* *gán* *kâuâi*,
 PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST PFV leave already

mot *iriâi* *â=k* *silá* *a* *mok*
 and 3DU DIST=IPFV burn.hair ART pig
 'The boy had already left, and they (he and his brother) burned the hair off the pig.'

(40) *pan* *tâmo* *iriâi* *a* *bál* *a* *mok*
 go now 3DU PFV make ART pig
 'Then they cooked the pig (in the earth oven).'

(41) *na* *Kipan* *a* *pan* *ik* *râŋ*,
 PN.ART K. PFV go IPFV see

po *lek* *uâ* *pan* *ik* *lâlâuás*, *nan* *amâ*
 COMP man RC.PST go IPFV go.toilet 3SG where
 'Kipang went to see where the boy was, who just went to the toilet.'

(42) "a *lek-biâŋ* *nâ*,
 ART man-small NVIS.DIST

 a *sâ* *lâlâuás* *nâ* a *iâŋ* *beuel?*"
 ART what go.toilet NVIS.DIST PFV time long
 "This boy, what is he doing so long on the toilet?"

(43) *nan* *a* *pan* *tâmo* *sâŋ* *râŋ* *puát* *a* *kó* *ŋát* *nâ*
 3SG PFV go now arrive see find ART small.piece louse NVIS.DIST

la *ter*
 in faeces
 'He came now and saw the louse in the faeces.'

(44) "ba, *lo* *nó* *ró* *mo*, *nó=k* *bát* *niáu?*"
 INTJ or 2SG VIS.PROX only 2SG=IPFV trick 1SG
 "Oh, but it is only you here, you tricked me?"

(45) *té* *nan* *a* *gán* *a* *us* *na* *lek-biâŋ* *nâ*,
 then 3SG PFV leave PFV follow PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST

pan, *nan* *a* *sâŋ*
 go 3SG PFV arrive
 'Then he left and went after the boy, he went, and he arrived.'

(46) *lo* *iriâi* *a* *bál* *a* *ti* *kâuâi* *a* *umán* *mok*
 or 3DU PFV make PFV stand already ART earth.oven pig
 'But they had already made the earth oven with the pig.'

(47) *lo téné a mati*
 or gut PFV lie
 'But the guts were lying (there).'

(48) *nan a riái*
 3SG PFV ask
 'He asked.'

(49) *"nás ók sái ik kais a téné*
 who FUT go.down IPFV wash.TR ART gut
i=n=a mok si=ra nâ lá-uán?"
 INAL=3SG=ART pig AL=1PL.INC NVIS.DIST in-sand
 "Who will go down to wash the guts of our pig on the beach?"

(50) *na Kipan̄ â=táŋ, "niáu"*
 PN.ART K. CAU=say 1SG
 'Kipang said, "I."

(51) *na Kipan̄ a tâén sik a téné,*
 PN.ART K. PFV lift take ART gut
sái pâ=n=a nâ lá-uán, mot ñan a mot
 go.down with=3SG=ART NVIS.DIST in-sand and eat.TR PFV finish
 'Kipang picked up the guts, went down with them to the beach and ate them up.'

(52) *nan a sik a paka=n=a âuám tâmo,*
 3SG PFV take ART leaf=3SG=ART pandanus.sp. now
nan a na~nal kol-an a tuá=n=a
 3SG PFV INTR~scratch go.around-TR ART skin=3SG=ART
 'He took a pandanus leaf now, he scratched it around his body.'

(53) *a tuá=n=a kápái a rângalaŋ mot,*
 ART skin=3SG=ART all PFV blood finish
nan a si lak, mot bát a u=lék-biâŋ,
 3SG PFV FOC go.up and trick ART DU=man-small
po béu uâ ket nan kuuál pâ téné
 COMP shark RC.PST bite 3SG together with gut
 'His body was all in blood, he went up and lied to the two boys that a shark had attacked him and the guts.'

(54) *mot a téné onén, nan uâ ñan a mot*
 and ART gut NVIS.PROX 3SG RC.PST eat.TR PFV finish
 'And these guts, he had just eaten them up.'

(55) *lo nan a bát~bát mo*
 or 3SG PFV INTR~trick only
 'But he was just lying.'

(56) *té riái a buák a rârám ala, iriái a ti,*
 then 3DU PFV want ART water again 3DU PFV stand

iriâi a riái

3DU PFV ask

‘Then they also wanted water, they raised (their heads), they asked.’

(57) “*nás ik sái ik itá ka=ra?*”
 who IPFV go.down IPFV fetch for=1PL.INC
 ““Who is going down to fetch (water) for us?””

(58) *na Kipanj â=táj, “niáu”*
 PN.ART K. CAU=say 1SG
 ‘Kipang said, “I.”’

(59) *iriâi a sik a kó bele,*
 3DU PFV take ART small.piece bamboo

iriâi a só pót sal~sal a karau tâmo,
 3DU PFV pierce drill INTR~miss ART bamboo.stem now

po i=n=a itá
 COMP INAL=3SG=ART fetch
 ‘They took a piece of bamboo, they made a hole through the bamboo stem now to fetch (water).’

(60) *Kipanj a sái la rárám tâmo, po nan ik itá,*
 K. PFV go.down in water now COMP 3SG IPFV fetch

rárám kuru iâ pan ik sal~sal
 water PST.HAB CONT go IPFV INTR~miss
 ‘Kipang went down to the water now to fetch (water), the water would always go through (the bamboo stem).’

(61) *kuru sâk tom la bele,*
 PST.HAB NEG sit in bamboo

pan pan, a kâu=n=a a mat tâmo
 go go ART motivation=3SG=ART PFV die now
 ‘It would not stay in the bamboo, then he gave up now.’

(62) *baté nan a ráj puát,*
 then 3SG PFV see find

po a bele a tó-pót sal~sal
 COMP ART bamboo PFV PASS-drill INTR~miss
 ‘Then he saw that the bamboo had a leak and could not keep (the water).’

(63) “*ai, a u=lék óró uâ bát niáu?*”
 INTJ ART DU=man VIS.PROX RC.PST trick 1SG
 ““Hey, did these two boys trick me?””

(64) *a karau óró, iriâi a só sal~sal, mot a tó-pót”*
 ART bamboo.stem VIS.PROX 3DU PFV pierce INTR~miss and PFV PASS-drill
 ‘This bamboo stem, they made a hole inside, and it is broken.’”

(65) *nan a taual lak tâmo, sâj moson a umán ter,*
 3SG PFV return go.up now arrive smell ART earth.oven faeces

iriâi a pé~pés a tom,
 3DU PFV INTR~excrete PFV sit

lo iriâi a pák sik a umán mok
 or 3DU PFV turn take ART earth.oven pig

'He went back up now, he smelled the earth oven with the faeces they had put inside, but they took away the earth oven with the pig.'

(66) *iriâi a lak tom kálá ni, iriâi ik ñan mok*
 3DU PFV go.up sit on coconut 3DU IPFV eat.TR pig

'They went up to sit on the coconut tree, they ate the pig.'

(67) *iriâi a ñan mok tâmo,*
 3DU PFV eat.TR pig now

na Kipanj kuru lorjoi iriâi ik soko a pangal
 PN.ART K. PST.HAB hear 3DU IPFV beat ART leaf.stalk

i=n=a ni pâ tuán
 INAL=3SG=ART coconut with bone

'They ate the pig now, Kipang heard them beating the leaf stalk of a coconut with a bone.'

(68) *lo nan kóró lomon,*
 or 3SG PST.HAB think

po sârân nân ik bok lio kálá ni
 COMP kingfisher.sp. NVIS.MED IPFV break tooth on coconut

'But he thought that a kingfisher broke his beak (lit. tooth) on the coconut.'

(69) *lo nér nâ ók iâ ñan mok*
 or 3PL NVIS.DIST FUT CONT eat.TR pig

'But they would continue eating the pig.'

(70) *pan tâmo, u=lék-biâj nâ a â=boi ñan pâ tuán,*
 go now DU=man-small NVIS.DIST PFV CAU=eat 3SG with bone

té iân beuel tâmo, nan a ráŋ puát tâmo
 then time long now 3SG PFV see find now

'Then the two boys fed him with bones, then after a long time now, he found out now.'

(71) "âi, *lo imiâi tân guguál?*"
 INTJ or 2DU VIS.MED on.top
 ""Hey, but are you up there?""

(72) "â"
 yes
 ""Yes.""

(73) "â" *lo imiâi uâ lak lâŋâsâ?*"
 or 2DU RC.PST go.up how
 ""But how did you go up?""

(74) “kek=emâi uâ pâs-muá, lo bén=émâi uâ sái”
 leg=1DU.EXC RC.PST step-front or head=1DU.EXC RC.PST go.down
 “Our feet went first, and our heads were (facing) down.”

(75) *lo* *iriâi* *ka* *gán* *â=tom* *âigot* *a* *tom* *a* *saij*
 or 3DU RM.PST leave CAU=sit be.ready PFV sit ART clam.shell.sp.

la *pat* *i=n=a* *ni* *kâuâi*
 in part INAL=3SG=ART coconut already
 ‘But they had already put a (big) clam shell at the bottom of the coconut tree.’

(76) *lo* *saij* *onén,* *iriâi* *a* *kâlpák* *a* *tom,*
 or clam.shell.sp. NVIS.PROX 3DU PFV change PFV sit
mot *iriâi* *a* *lak* *pâ* *bi* *mok* *tâ* *guguá!* *kálá* *ni,*
 and 3DU PFV go.up with basket pig VIS.DIST on.top on coconut
i=n=a *iriâi* *ik* *jan*
 INAL=3SG=ART 3DU IPFV eat.TR
 ‘But this clam shell, they turned it (with the sharp part showing upwards), and they went up with a basket of pork onto the top of the coconut tree so they would eat it.’

(77) *lo* *uru* *tama=riâi* *tâ* *la* *marat* *kinak,*
 or DU father=3DU VIS.DIST in garden still
iriâi *sâk* *mâ* *sái* *aman* *taual* *la* *malai* *kinak*
 3DU NEG still go.down come return in village still
 ‘But their parents were still in the garden, they had not come back to the village yet.’

(78) *iriâi* *a* *tom* *ala,* *mot* *soko* *a* *tuán* *kálá* *pangal*
 3DU PFV sit again and beat ART bone on leaf.stalk
i=n=a *ni* *ala*
 INAL=3SG=ART coconut again
 ‘They (the boys) were sitting again and beating a bone against the coconut leaf stalk again.’

(79) *na* *Kipan* *kiri* *iâ* *râp,*
 PN.ART K. REP CONT assume
po *a* *sârân* *nân* *ik* *bok* *lio*
 COMP ART kingfisher.sp. NVIS.MED IPFV break tooth
 ‘Kipang would always think that a kingfisher broke his beak (lit. tooth).’

(80) *té* *na* *Kipan* *kuru* *â=táj* *lân=âtâ*
 then PN.ART K. PST.HAB CAU=say like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Then Kipang would say.’

(81) “*nó=k* *bok* *a* *lio=m* *otân,*
 2SG=FUT break ART tooth=2SG VIS.MED
imátál *nâ* *ók* *iâ* *jan* *a* *mok*”
 1TRI.EXC NVIS.DIST FUT CONT eat.TR ART pig
 “Break your beak (lit. tooth) there, we are going to eat the pig.”

(82) *pan pan, a kâu=n=a a mat*
 go go ART motivation=3SG=ART PFV die
 'Then he became tired.'

(83) *a iân beuel tâmo, nan a ráŋ~ráŋ lak kálá ni,*
 ART time long now 3SG PFV INTR~see go.up on coconut
nan a ráŋ a u=lék-biâŋ
 3SG PFV see ART DU=man-small
 'After a long time now, he looked up to the coconut tree, he saw the two boys.'

(84) *"ai, lo imiâi otân guguál kâuâi?"*
 INTJ or 2DU VIS.MED on.top already
 "Hey, but are you already there on the top?"

(85) *"lo imiâi óró guguál"*
 or 1DU.EXC VIS.PROX on.top
 "But we are here on the top."

(86) *"lo imiâi uâ lak lâŋâsâ?"*
 or 2DU RC.PST go.up how
 "But how did you go up?"

(87) *"kek=emâi uâ pâs-muá, lo bék=émâi uâ sái"*
 leg=1DU.EXC RC.PST step-front or head=1DU.EXC RC.PST go.down
 "Our feet went first, and our heads were (facing) down."

(88) *iriâi a gán â=tom a saŋ li-piá,*
 3DU PFV leave CAU=sit ART clam.shell.sp. on-ground
a mata=n=a saŋ a lak
 ART eye=3SG=ART clam.shell.sp. PFV go.up
 'They put the clam shell on the ground, the opening of the shell was (facing) upwards.'

(89) *na Kipan̄ a â=us lak tâmo*
 PN.ART K. PFV CAU=follow go.up now
 'Kipang followed them up now.'

(90) *Kipan̄ a â=us lak pâ kek=en=a lak*
 K. PFV CAU=follow go.up with leg=3SG=ART go.up
 'Kipang followed them up with his feet upwards.'

(91) *iân nan ik buák sâŋ lak si=n=a u=lék-biâŋ tâmo,*
 time 3SG IPFV want arrive go.up AL=3SG=ART DU=man-small now
nan a puka sái tâmo, mot kár mat
 3SG PFV fall go.down now and go.down die
 'When he wanted to climb up to the two boys now, he fell down now and died.'

(92) *u=lék-biâŋ nâ tom mot kálá ni tâmo*
 DU=man-small NVIS.DIST sit finish on coconut now
 'The two boys were sitting on the coconut tree now.'

(93) *uru* *tâmâ=ŋ* *a* *sái* *taual* *tâmo,*
 DU father=NPOSS PFV go.down return now
iriâi *a* *sâŋ* *râŋ* *puát* *na* *Kipanŋ* *a* *mati* *mat*
 3DU PFV arrive see find PN.ART K. PFV lie die
la *pat* *i=n=a* *ni*
 in part INAL=3SG=ART coconut
 'The parents came back down (from the garden) now, they arrived and saw Kipang lying dead at the bottom of the coconut tree.'

(94) *iriâi* *a* *kup*
 3DU PFV shout
 'They shouted.'

(95) "âiâ, *u=lék-biâŋ* *óró* *uâ* *bésén* *a* *lek* *si=n=a* *kulâu?*
 INTJ DU=man-small VIS.PROX RC.PST harm ART man AL=3SG=ART people
 "Oh dear, did these two boys harm the man (not belonging to our family)?"

(96) *imiâi* *amâ?*"
 2DU where
 'Where are you?"'

(97) "imâi *óró*"
 1DU.EXC VIS.PROX
 "We are here."

(98) *iriâi* *a* *râŋ~râŋ* *lak,*
 3DU PFV INTR~see go.up
iriâi *a* *râŋ* *puát* *iriâi* *a* *tom* *kálá* *ni*
 3DU PFV see find 3SG PFV sit on coconut
 'They looked up, they saw them sitting on the coconut tree.'

(99) "miâi *uâ* *bésén* *a* *lek* *si=n=a* *kulâu?"
 2DU RC.PST harm ART man AL=3SG=ART people
 "Did you harm the man (not belonging to our family)?"*

(100) *iriâi* *a* *láuák* *láuák* *a* *u=lék-biâŋ* *si=riâi,*
 3DU PFV be.angry be.angry ART DU=man-small AL=3DU
noŋ *iriâi* *a* *gán* *a* *pus-én* *a* *u=lék-biâŋ*
 be.enough 3DU PFV leave PFV throw-TR ART DU=man-small
 'They were very angry with their two boys, until they abandoned the two boys.'

(101) *a* *u=lék-biâŋ* *nâ* *a* *sinak* *a* *bul* *paka=n=a* *ni,*
 ART DU=man-small NVIS.DIST PFV join ART PL leaf=3SG=ART coconut
mot *kais* *lâŋ* *a* *galgala*
 and wash.TR like ART broom
 'The two boys joint together coconut leaves and removed (lit. washed) (the leaf blades from the ribs) like (for) a broom.'

(102) *i=n=a* *tâmo* *iriâi* *a* *nat* *a* *lak* *la* *mata=n=a* *ualan*
 INAL=3SG=ART now 3DU PFV shoot PFV go.up in eye=3SG=ART moon
 'Then they shot (the coconut leaf ribs) up to the (lit. eye of the) moon.'

(103) *iriâi* *kiri* *nat* *a* *lak* *pan* *sâŋ* *si=n=a* *ualan,*
 3DU REP shoot PFV go.up go arrive AL=3SG=ART moon
té *noŋ* *amâ* *iriâi* *a* *tom*
 then be.enough where 3DU PFV sit
 'They shot them up to the moon until (the leaf ribs reached to) where they were sitting.'

(104) *baté* *kas* *ik* *món* *lak* *kálá* *kó* *sila* *pâs-muá,*
 then other PFV first go.up on small.piece coconut.leaf.broom step-front
té *â=nás* *lak* *kálá* *â=iuâi* *i=n=a* *sila*
 then CAU=move go.up on CAU=two INAL=3SG=ART coconut.leaf.broom
 'Then one of them climbed up onto the first coconut leaf stick, then he moved up to the second stick.'

(105) *baté* *a* *kas* *a* *lak* *a* *us* *kálá* *sila* *pâs-muá,*
 then ART other PFV go.up PFV follow on coconut.leaf.broom step-front
té *kas* *kana=riâi* *a* *â=nás* *lak*
 then other among=3DU PFV CAU=move go.up
kálá *â=utál* *i=n=a* *sila,*
 on CAU=three INAL=3SG=ART coconut.leaf.broom
i=n=a *a* *bus* *óró* *mái* *ik* *bal* *pus-én*
 INAL=3SG=ART ART DUMMY VIS.PROX back IPFV remove throw-TR
a *kó* *sila* *pâs-muá*
 ART small.piece coconut.leaf.broom step-front
 'Then the other one climbed onto the first stick, then the other one of them moved to the third stick so the one behind would pull out the first stick.'

(106) *iriâi* *a* *bal* *sila* *lak* *tâmo,*
 3DU PFV remove coconut.leaf.broom go.up now
noŋ *iriâi* *a* *sâŋ* *la* *mata=n=a* *ualan*
 be.enough 3DU PFV arrive in eye=3SG=ART moon
 'They pulled out the coconut leaf sticks and climbed up until they had reached the moon.'

(107) *tâmo* *iriâi* *tâ* *la* *ualan*
 now 3DU VIS.DIST in moon
 'Now they were on the moon.'

(108) *a* *pini* *a* *mot* *lâŋ=âtâ*
 ART story PFV finish like=VIS.DIST
 'The story ends like that.'

2.8. Good Eye and Bad Eye

By Timothy Masaram (Keu clan)

(1) *a pini si mata rokon mot na mata riáp*
 ART story AL eye good and PN.ART eye dark
 'The story of Good Eye and Bad Eye.'

(2) *na mata riáp, nan ki sâk ráŋ~ráŋ,*
 PN.ART eye dark 3SG HAB NEG INTR~see
lo nan ki mos~moson pâ isá=n=a
 or 3SG HAB INTR~smell with nose=3SG=ART
 'Bad Eye, he could not see, but he could smell with his nose.'

(3) *na mata rokon, nan ki ráŋ~ráŋ, lo isá=n=a a ta-uanat*
 PN.ART eye good 3SG HAB INTR~see or nose=3SG=ART PFV PASS-block
 'Good Eye, he could see, but his nose was blocked.'

(4) *té kas iân, a bul lu=biâŋ la kas bák,*
 then other time ART PL lu=biâŋ in other place
nér ka pan ik tâpelek
 3PL RM.PST go IPFV play
 'Then one day, children from another village went to play.'

(5) *lo pâ kas lek-biâŋ nâ,*
 or with other man-small NVIS.DIST
nér ki molokos an nan,
 3PL HAB be.tired about 3SG
po nan ik piâ=n=a kuuál pâ nér
 COMP 3SG IPFV PROH.INAL=3SG=ART together with 3PL
 'But there was one boy they did not like so he could not be with them.'

(6) *la bul iân a lu=biâŋ ki buák pan*
 in PL time ART PL=small HAB want go
nér ik tâpelek la rárám,
 3PL IPFV play in water
na lek-biâŋ ónén ki buák â=us nér,
 PN.ART man-small NVIS.PROX HAB want CAU=follow 3PL
sakalan nér ki molokos an nan
 but 3PL HAB be.tired about 3SG
 'Many times when the children wanted to go to play in the water, that boy wanted to follow them, but they were annoyed with him.'

(7) *lo lek-biâŋ ónén, a tuá=n=a a kâikâi*
 or man-small NVIS.PROX ART skin=3SG=ART PFV ringworm
 'But this boy, he (lit. his skin) had ringworm.'

(8) *kas iān tāmo, a lu=biāŋ a âi=pál,*
 other time now ART PL=small PFV REC=plan
po nér ik pan la rárám
 COMP 3PL IPFV go in water
 'One day now, the children were planning to go to the water.'

(9) *nér iā uâi=kuuál pan la rárám,*
 3PL CONT DU=be.together go in water
sakalan nér iā molokos an a lek-biāŋ nâ
 but 3PL CONT be.tired about ART man-small NVIS.DIST
 'They went together to the water, but they still did not like that boy.'

(10) *nér kóró susu kuuál la rárám,*
 3PL PST.HAB wash.INTR be.together in water
lo nér ik iā láuák kol-an nan
 or 3PL IPFV CONT be.angry go.around-TR 3SG
 'They were bathing together in the water, but they were angry with him.'

(11) *nér kóró bál lâuâ=n=a niâu toi nan*
 3PL PST.HAB make much=3SG=ART thing touch 3SG
 'They would do all kinds of (bad) things to him.'

(12) *a lek-biāŋ nâ a pu gán a pus-én nér*
 ART man-small NVIS.DIST PFV escape leave PFV throw-TR 3PL
tâmo, mot lak la bén=én=a rárám
 now and go.up in head=3SG=ART water
 'The boy ran away from them now and went up to the river head.'

(13) *lo la bén=én=a rárám ónén pâ bul nâtnât*
 or in head=3SG=ART water NVIS.PROX with PL round.stone
 'But at the river head, there were round stones.'

(14) *té na lek-biāŋ nâ kóró tom ráŋ a sái*
 then PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST PST.HAB sit see PFV go.down
a bul lu=biāŋ nâ ik tâpelek
 ART PL PL=small NVIS.DIST IPFV play
 'Then the boy was sitting and looking down to the playing children.'

(15) *nan kóró tom ârâiâ an a lu=biāŋ, pan,*
 3SG PST.HAB sit stare about ART PL=small PFV go
noŋ nan a mati matai kálá nâtnât
 be.enough 3SG PFV lie sleep on round.stone
 'He was sitting and staring at the children until he lay down and fell asleep on a stone.'

(16) *nan a mati matai,*
 3SG PFV lie sleep

mot uru kipan̩ a sâŋ aman si=n=a tâmo
 and DU spirit PFV arrive come AL=3SG=ART now
 'He lay down and fell asleep, and two spirits came to him now.'

(17) *uru kipan̩ ónén, a kas, a mata=n=a a rokon,*
 DU spirit NVIS.PROX ART other ART eye=3SG=ART PFV good
lo isá=n=a a ta-uanat
 or nose=3SG=ART PFV PASS-block
 '(As for) these two spirits, one had good eyes, but his nose was blocked.'

(18) *lo kas, a mata=n=a a sât, lo isá=n=a a másapa*
 or other ART eye=3SG=ART PFV bad or nose=3SG=ART PFV clear
 'But the other one had bad eyes, and his nose was clear.'

(19) *iriâi a pan~pan man tâmo*
 3DU PFV PL~go come now
 'They came here now.'

(20) *na mata riáp a moson̩ na lek-biâŋ nâ*
 PN.ART eye dark PFV smell PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST
 'Bad Eye smelled the boy.'

(21) *té nan a kus a pan na mata rokon*
 then 3SG PFV tell PFV go PN.ART eye good
 'Then he told Good Eye.'

(22) *"tiâ=ŋ, itâi pâ mákásám rokon tâmo!"*
 same.sex.sibling=NPOSS 1DU.INC with meat good now
 "Brother, we have good meat now!"

(23) *na mata riáp ik kus na mata rokon*
 PN.ART eye dark IPFV tell PN.ART eye good
 'Bad Eye told Good Eye.'

(24) *"nó=k ráŋ~ráŋ rokon, pâ mákásám kâ=râi"*
 2SG=FUT INTR~see good with meat for=1DU.INC
 "Look carefully, there is meat for us."

(25) *tâmo iriâi a pan~pan man, a moson̩*
 now 3DU PFV PL~go come ART smell
i=n=a lek-biâŋ nâ ik sâŋ bin la salan,
 INAL=3SG=ART man-small NVIS.DIST IPFV arrive big in way
tâmo na mata rokon a kus na mata riáp lâŋ=âtâ
 now PN.ART eye good PFV tell PN.ART eye dark like=VIS.DIST
 'Now they came here, the smell of the boy became stronger on the road, now Good Eye told Bad Eye.'

(26) *"nó=k mos~moson̩ ala"*
 2SG=FUT INTR~smell again
 "Smell again."

(27) *tâmo na mata rokon a kus na mata riáp, na mata riáp a mos~mosoŋ, na a mosoŋ puát, po a lek-biâŋ nâ a susulék*
 now PN.ART eye good PFV tell PN.ART eye dark
 PN.ART eye dark PFV INTR~smell
 3SG PFV smell find COMP ART man-small NVIS.DIST PFV near
 'Now Good Eye told Bad Eye, Bad Eye smelled, he smelled and found out that the boy was near.'

(28) *tâmo na mata riáp a kus na mata rokon*
 now PN.ART eye dark PFV tell PN.ART eye good
 'Now Bad Eye told Good Eye.'

(29) *"tiâ=ŋ, nô=k ráŋ~ráŋ rokon, a mákásám kâ=râi nâ a susulék kâuâi"*
 same.sex.sibling=NPOSS 2SG=FUT INTR~see good
 ART meat for=1DU.INC NVIS.DIST PFV near already
 "Brother, look carefully, our meat is already near."

(30) *tâmo na mata rokon a ráŋ~ráŋ pan*
 now PN.ART eye good PFV INTR~see go
 a ráŋ puát na lek-biâŋ nâ,
 PFV see find PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST
 3SG PFV lie on top=NPOSS n̄at la bén=én=a rárám
 'Now Good Eye looked around and found the boy, he was lying on a pile of stones at the river head.'

(31) *lo bul lu=biâŋ kápái, nér ka susu kuuál,*
 or PL PL=small all 3PL RM.PST wash.INTR be.together
 nér a gán~gán mot kâuâi
 3PL PFV PL~leave finish already
 'But all the children that were bathing together, they had already left.'

(32) *nér a gán, lo na lek-biâŋ nâ,*
 3PL PFV leave or PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST
 nér a gán a pus-én nan ik mati matai
 3PL PFV leave PFV throw-TR 3SG IPFV lie sleep
 la bén=én=a rárám,
 in head=3SG=ART water
 noŋ a uru kipaj a sâŋ puát nan
 be.enough ART DU spirit PFV arrive find 3SG
 'They left, but the boy, they left him sleeping at the river head until the two spirits came and found him.'

(33) *té iriâi a sik a uái,*
 then 3DU PFV take ART tree

iriâi a *pala* a *lek-biâŋ* *nâ*
 2DU PFV tie ART man-small NVIS.DIST

kuuál *pâ* ók *ŋat* *nâtnât* *nâ,*
 together with whole.piece stone round.stone NVIS.DIST

na *lek-biâŋ* *nâ* *ka* *mati* *kálá=n=a*
 PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST RM.PST lie on=3SG=ART

‘Then they took a stick, they tied the boy together with the stone (onto the stick) that the boy was lying on.’

(34) *tâmo* *iriâi* *ik* *ra~rauai,* *po* *nás* *kana=riâi* *ik* *pâs-muá*
 now 3DU IPFV PL~make.sound COMP who among=3DU IPFV step-front
 ‘Now they were talking about who of them should go first.’

(35) *iriâi* *kóró* *âi=raras-â* *âi=pák* *la-uata* *an* *iriâi,*
 3DU PST.HAB REC=tight-INTR REC=turn be.in-middle about 3DU

té *na* *mata* *rokon* a *kus* *na* *mata* *riáp* *lâŋ=âtâ*
 then PN.ART eye good PFV tell PN.ART eye dark like=VIS.DIST

‘They were arguing with each other, then Good Eye told Bad Eye.’

(36) “*nó*, *nó* ók *pâs-muá,*
 2SG 2SG FUT step-front

si=n=a *nó* ók *râŋ* a *salan* *kâ=râi* *i=n=a* *pan~pan”*
 AL=3SG=ART 2SG FUT see ART way for=1DU.INC INAL=3SG=ART PL~go

“You, you will go first because you will see the road for us to walk.”

(37) “*pârék*
 have.NEG
 “No.’

(38) *nó*, *nó=k* *pâs-muá,* *si=n=a* a *mata=m* a *rokon”*
 2SG 2SG=FUT step-front AL=3SG=ART ART eye=2SG PFV good

‘You, you go first because your eyes are good.’

(39) *iriâi* a *âi=raras-â* *pan* *pan* *pan,*
 3DU PFV REC=tight-INTR go go go

na *mata* *riáp* a *bâl-karól* *na* *mata* *rokon*
 PN.ART eye dark PFV make-achieve PN.ART eye good

‘They were arguing and arguing, Bad Eye won against Good Eye.’

(40) *baté* *na* *mata* *rokon* *tâmo* *pâs-muá,*
 then PN.ART eye good now step-front

si=n=a *nan* *ik* *râŋ* a *salan* *ka=riâi* *i=n=a* *pan~pan*
 AL=3SG=ART 3SG IPFV see ART way for=3DU INAL=3SG=ART PL~go

‘Then Good Eye went first now because he would see the road for them to walk.’

(41) *mot* *tâmo* *iriâi* a *pan* *pan* *pan* *taual* *la* *kupe=riâi*
 and now 3DU PFV go go go return in base=3DU

‘And now they were walking and walking back to their home.’

(42) *iriâi a pan pan pan,*
 3DU PFV go go go
tâmo na mata rokon ik riái na mata riáp
 now PN.ART eye good IPFV ask PN.ART eye dark
 'They were walking and walking, now Good Eye asked Bad Eye.'

(43) "tiâ=η, a mákásám si=râi?"
 same.sex.sibling=NPOSS ART meat AL=1DU.INC
 "Brother, our meat?"

(44) *tâmo na mata riáp a kus nan*
 now PN.ART eye dark PFV tell 3SG
 'Now Bad Eye told him.'

(45) "tiâ=η, a mákásám si=râi óró=i su-â"
 same.sex.sibling=NPOSS ART meat AL=1DU.INC VIS.PROX=IPFV hang-INTR
 "Brother, our meat is hanging here."

(46) *lo la iân iriâi kóró pan pan pan,*
 or in time 3DU PST.HAB go go go
ka pâ saka bé a ti la pâis i=n=a salan
 RM.PST with one breadfruit PFV stand in side INAL=3SG=ART way
 'But when they were walking and walking, there was one breadfruit tree standing next to the road.'

(47) *na lek-biâŋ nâ, iriâi a pipás mot kát nan*
 PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST 3DU PFV tie and carry 3SG
kuuál pâ pátá=η ηat, nan ka mati ráŋ~ráŋ
 together with top=NPOSS stone 3SG RM.PST lie INTR~see
 'The boy, whom they had tied and were carrying (on their shoulders) together with the pile of stones, was lying with open eyes.'

(48) *la iân nér kóró pan pan pan,*
 in time 3PL PST.HAB go go go
na lek-biâŋ nâ a ráŋ puát,
 PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST PFV see find
po pâ éŋé=n=a bé a susulék an nan,
 COMP with branch=3SG=ART breadfruit PFV near about 3SG
tâmo nan a kunai-ti
 now 3SG PFV startle-stand
mot to~toi lak kálá éŋé=n=a bé
 and INTR~touch go.up on branch=3SG=ART breadfruit
 'When they were walking and walking, the boy saw that there was a branch of the breadfruit tree near him, now he stood up and reached out for the branch of the breadfruit tree to climb up.'

(49) *otâmo nan a lak guguál kálá bé,*
 now 3SG PFV go.up on.top on breadfruit

lo *la* *iān* *iriāi* *kóró* *pan~pan*,
 or in time 3DU PST.HAB PL~go

na *mata* *rokon* *a* *riái* *na* *mata* *riáp*
 PN.ART eye good PFV ask PN.ART eye dark

‘Now he climbed up onto the breadfruit tree, and as they were walking, Good Eye asked Bad Eye.’

(50) “*tiā=ŋ*, *a* *mákásám* *si=râi?*”
 same.sex.sibling=NPOSS ART meat AL=1DU.INC
 “‘Brother, our meat?’”

(51) “*tiā=ŋ*, *óró=i* *tom*”
 same.sex.sibling=NPOSS VIS.PROX=IPFV sit
 “‘Brother, it is here.’”

(52) *lo* *pârék*, *na* *lek-biāŋ* *nâ* *a* *lak* *kâuâi*
 or have.NEG PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST PFV go.up already

kálá *bé*
 on breadfruit

‘But no, the boy had already climbed onto the breadfruit tree.’

(53) *lo* *mosoŋ* *i=n=a* *mo* *a* *tom* *kálá* *ŋat*
 or smell INAL=3SG=ART only PFV sit on stone
 ‘And only his smell was sticking to the stone.’

(54) *lo* *nan* *a* *lak* *kálá* *bé* *kâuâi*,
 or 3SG PFV go.up on breadfruit already

iriāi *a* *pan* *sâŋ* *tâ* *la* *malai*,
 3DU PFV go arrive VIS.DIST in village

baté *iriāi* *a* *âi=ríái-â* *an* *iriāi*
 then 3DU PFV REC=ask-INTR about 3DU

‘But he had already climbed onto the breadfruit tree, they went and came home, then they asked each other.’

(55) “*lo* *a* *mákásám* *si=râi* *amâ?*”
 or ART meat AL=1DU.INC where
 “‘But where is our meat?’”

(56) *tâmo* *na* *mata* *rokon* *a* *kâlpák*,
 now PN.ART eye good PFV change

nan *ik* *râŋ* *a* *pan* *a* *mákásám* *si=ríái*,
 3SG IPFV see PFV go ART meat AL=3DU

iriāi *ik* *âi=raras-â*, *si=n=a* *na* *lek-biāŋ* *nâ*
 3DU IPFV REC=tight-INTR AL=3SG=ART PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST

a *lak* *kâuâi* *kálá* *uái*, *mot* *tom* *guguái*
 PFV go.up already on tree and sit on.top

‘Now Good Eye turned around to look for their meat, they were arguing because the boy had already climbed onto the tree and was sitting on top (of the tree).’

(57) *tâmo* *iriâi* *âi=raras-â* *pâ* *ra~rauai, pan* *tâmo,*
 now 3DU REC=tight-INTR with PL~make.sound go now
iriâi *a* *kâlpák, mot* *iriâi* *a* *taual*
 3DU PFV change and 3DU PFV return
 'Now they were fighting with words, then they turned around, and they went back.'

(58) *iriâi* *a* *taual pan,*
 3DU PFV return go
mot *na* *mata riáp a kus na mata rokon*
 and PN.ART eye dark PFV tell PN.ART eye good
 'They went back, and Bad Eye told Good Eye.'

(59) "tiâ=η, *nó=k* *râj~râj* *rokon"*
 same.sex.sibling=NPOSS 2SG=FUT INTR~see good
 "Brother, look carefully."

(60) *iriâi* *a* *pan, baté* *iriâi* *a* *sâj rarau la* *bák nâ,*
 3DU PFV go then 3DU PFV arrive correct in place NVIS.DIST
na *lek-biâj* *nâ* *ka lak a bê*
 PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST RM.PST go.up ART breadfruit
 'They went, then they came straight to the place where the boy had climbed up the breadfruit tree.'

(61) *na* *mata rokon a râj~râj* *lak tâ guguál,*
 PN.ART eye good PFV INTR~see go.up VIS.DIST on.top
nan *a* *râj a lak na lek-biâj nâ*
 3SG PFV see PFV go.up PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST
a *tom tâ guguál kálá bê*
 PFV sit VIS.DIST on.top on breadfruit
 'Good Eye looked up to the top, he saw the boy sitting on top of the breadfruit tree.'

(62) *lo* *kálá bê* *ónén* *ka pâ uái bê*
 or on breadfruit NVIS.PROX RM.PST with tree breadfruit
 'But on the breadfruit tree, there were breadfruits.'

(63) *mot* *iriâi* *a ti li-piá* *pâ bê,*
 and 3DU PFV stand in-ground with breadfruit
mot *iriâi* *ik âi=peten* *an,*
 and 3DU IPFV REC=talk about
po *nás* *kana=riâi* *ik lak a bê*
 COMP who among=3DU IPFV go.up ART breadfruit
 'And they were standing under the breadfruit tree, and they were discussing who of them should climb up the breadfruit tree.'

(64) *iriâi* *ra~rauai pan, mot na mata riáp a kus,*
 3DU PL~make.sound go and PN.ART eye dark PFV tell

po na mata rokon ik lak
 COMP PN.ART eye good PFV go.up
 'They were talking and talking, and Bad Eye said that Good Eye should go up.'

(65) *lo na mata rokon ik kus na mata riáp,*
 or PN.ART eye good IPFV tell PN.ART eye dark
po na mata riáp ik lak
 COMP PN.ART eye dark IPFV go.up
 'But Good Eye told Bad Eye that Bad Eye should go up.'

(66) *lo na mata riáp sâk noj*
 or PN.ART eye dark NEG be.enough
 'But Bad Eye was not able to.'

(67) "nó=k lak, si=n=a mata=k nâ a riáp!"
 2SG=FUT go.up AL=3SG=ART eye=1SG NVIS.DIST PFV dark
 "You climb up because my eyes are bad!"

(68) *nan a kus na mata rokon*
 3SG PFV tell PN.ART eye good
 'He told Good Eye.'

(69) "nó ók lak tâ guguál, lo niáu ók tom lá-piá"
 2SG FUT go.up VIS.DIST on.top or 1SG FUT sit in-ground
 "You will climb to the top, and I will stay below."

(70) "lo nó ók lák a mat na lek-biâñ nâ láŋásâ?"
 or 2SG FUT hit PFV die PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST how
 "But how will you kill the boy?"

(71) "niáu ók loŋoi mo, sémén nan ók puka,
 1SG FUT hear only if 3SG FUT fall
 tân niáu ók kalapaj, po nan mo a puka
 VIS.MED 1SG FUT know COMP 3SG only PFV fall
 "I will just hear if he falls, then I will know that only he fell down."

(72) *tâmo niáu ók si te biák nan*"
 now 1SG FUT FOC cut break 3SG
 'Then I will cut him to pieces."

(73) *mot tâmo na mata rokon a lak*
 and now PN.ART eye good PFV go.up
 'And now Good Eye went up.'

(74) *nan a lak pan, po ik lam na lek-biâñ nâ*
 3SG PFV go.up go COMP IPFV cut PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST
 'He went up to slice up the boy.'

(75) *na lek-biâñ nâ a muráñ a kó bê,*
 PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST PFV pick ART small.piece breadfruit

mot titák a nó mata rokon
 and shoot ART face eye good
 'The boy picked a breadfruit and threw it into Good Eye's face.'

(76) *té na lek-biâŋ nâ tom guguál,*
 then PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST sit on.top

a kup sái po
 PFV shout go.down COMP
 'Then the boy sitting on top shouted down.'

(77) *"nan tân ik ala sái"*
 3SG VIS.MED IPFV again go.down
 "'He is coming down again.'"

(78) *nan a si ualai, po na mata rokon,*
 3SG PFV FOC make COMP PN.ART eye good
po uâ lák kâuâi na lek-biâŋ nâ
 COMP RC.PST hit already PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST
 'He pretended to be Good Eye and that he had killed the boy.'

(79) *na lek-biâŋ nâ kel a sái*
 PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST call PFV go.down
na mata riáp po
 PN.ART eye dark COMP
 'The boy shouted down to Bad Eye.'

(80) *"nan tân ik ala sái"*
 3SG VIS.MED IPFV again go.down
 "'He is coming down again.'

(81) *te biák nan tâmo"*
 cut break 3SG now
 'Slice him up now.'"

(82) *na mata riáp a sik a iámá*
 PN.ART eye dark PFV take ART axe
te biák a pâl i=n=a
 cut break ART put.together INAL=3SG=ART
 'Bad Eye took an axe to slice up his friend.'

(83) *na lek-biâŋ nâ ka tom tâ guguál,*
 PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST RM.PST sit VIS.DIST on.top
nan a sái aman, sik a iámá si mata riáp,
 3SG PFV go.down come take ART axe AL eye dark
nan a si te biák tâual na mata riáp
 3SG PFV FOC cut break return PN.ART eye dark
 'The boy sat on the top, he came down, he took Bad Eye's axe, he cut Bad Eye to pieces.'

(84) *otâmo iriâi kápái a mat*
 now 3DU all PFV die
 'Now both of them were dead.'

(85) *na lek-biâŋ nâ taual la malai si=n=a tâmo*
 PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST return in village AL=3SG=ART now
 'The boy returned to his village now.'

(86) *a bul boi-an nâ,*
 ART PL eat-NOML NVIS.DIST
a pátíán si=n=a ka âigot an,
 ART clan AL=3SG=ART RM.PST be.ready about
i=n=a pasak an a mat~mat-an si=n=a lek-biâŋ nâ,
 INAL=3SG=ART appoint NOML ART NOML~die-NOML AL=3SG=ART man-small NVIS.DIST
ka mot kâuâi
 RM.PST finish already
 'The meal that his clan had prepared for the boy's funeral was already finished.'

(87) *tâmo nér ka si lós-bok lâŋ=âtâ,*
 now 3PL RM.PST FOC jump-break like=VIS.DIST
po na lek-biâŋ nâ ka sâŋ taual
 COMP PN.ART man-small NVIS.DIST RM.PST arrive return
 'Now they were completely surprised that the boy had returned.'

(88) *tâmo a pini ka sâŋ mot lâŋ=âtâ*
 now ART story RM.PST arrive finish like=VIS.DIST
 'Now the story ends like that.'

2.9. The grandmother, her grandchildren and the spirits

By Simpson lavung (Mo clan)

(1) *baté ró, kus~kus-â i=n=a mata=ŋ âi=tiuá=n-an*
 then VIS.PROX INTR~tell-INTR INAL=3SG=ART eye=NPOSS REC=grandparent=3SG-NOML

kuál pâ bul kipaq
 together with PL spirit

'Okay, this is the story of the grandmother and her grandchildren and the spirits.'

(2) *kas iân ka pâ mata=ŋ âi=tiuá=n-an,*
 other time RM.PST with eye=NPOSS REC=grandparent=3SG-NOML

nér ka tom
 3PL RM.PST sit

'One day, there was a grandmother and her grandchildren, they were alive.'

(3) *u=lék-biâŋ a kus na tiuá=riâi,*
 DU=man-small PFV tell PN.ART grandparent=3DU

si=n=a nér ki tom bul iân,
 AL=3SG=ART 3PL HAB sit PL time

nér ki ijan boi-an ga
 3PL HAB eat.TR eat-NOML empty

'The boys told their grandmother because they always ate food without (meat).'

(4) *"iâiâ, mây ók sái, mây ók â=us mât,*
 grandparent 1DU.EXC FUT go.down 1DU.EXC FUT CAU=follow reef

mây=k mákásám ka=ra"
 1DU.EXC=FUT meat for=1PL.INC

"Grandma, we will go down (to the beach), we will walk along the reef to catch fish for us."

(5) *u=lék-biâŋ a tâŋan la maulék atâmo,*
 DU=man-small PFV wake.up in morning now

i=n=a iriâi a â=us mât,
 INAL=3SG=ART 3DU PFV CAU=follow reef

i=n=a lâk rián kálá mât
 INAL=3SG=ART hit fish on reef

'The boys got up in the morning now to walk along the reef to catch fish on the reef.'

(6) *pan pan pan, iriâi ka sâk tâpelek pâ kem rián,*
 go go go 3DU RM.PST NEG play with rope fish

kem rián bin râisât
 rope fish big very.big

'This went on and on, they had a rope with many fish (lit. they did not play), a rope with very many fish.'

(7) *iriâi a só-tá-pák aman atâmo,*
 3DU PFV pierce-PASS-turn come now
bul kipan a ráj iriâi aman pâ kem rián
 PL spirit PFV see 3DU come with rope fish
 'They came back now, the spirits saw them coming with a rope of fish.'

(8) *bul kipan a kâ~kel iriâi tâmo*
 PL spirit PFV PL~call 3DU now
 'The spirits called them now.'

(9) *"u=lék-biâj, miâ=k aman kelek"*
 DU=man-small 2DU=FUT come first
 "Boys, come please."

(10) *mot tâmo kas a sâj ti,*
 and now other PFV arrive stand
bus nâ ka sâk toi a kem rián ka sâj ti
 DUMMY NVIS.DIST RM.PST NEG touch ART rope fish RM.PST arrive stand
 'And now one (boy) stopped, the one who did not carry the rope with fish stopped.'

(11) *lo bus nâ, ka toi a kem rián,*
 or DUMMY NVIS.DIST RM.PST touch ART rope fish
ka pan ik lorjoi si=n=a bul kipan
 RM.PST go IPFV hear AL=3SG=ART PL spirit
 'But the one who held the rope with fish went and listened to the spirits.'

(12) *a sâj ti tâmo, bul kipan a kus nan*
 PFV arrive stand now PL spirit PFV tell 3SG
 'He stopped now, the spirits told him.'

(13) *"nó=k ti ráj~ráj'lak tâ guguál,*
 2SG=FUT stand INTR~see go.up VIS.DIST on.top
nó=k ráj a bul papara ró la pâ-tuá=n=a siua"
 2SG=FUT see ART PL star VIS.PROX in with-skin=3SG=ART place
 "Look up above, you will see the stars here in the sky."

(14) *iân nan a pus-én a lak a mata=n=a guguál tâmo,*
 time 3SG PFV throw-TR PFV go.up ART eye=3SG=ART on.top now
nér a pakai lâk a kem rián la lima=n=a,
 3PL PFV grab hit ART rope fish in arm=3SG=ART
nér a âiát silé pâ=n=a la liáj
 3PL PFV run enter with=3SG=ART in cave
 'When he looked (lit. threw his eyes) up now, they took the rope with fish out of his hands, they ran into (their) cave with it.'

(15) *mot tâmo u=lék-biâj nâ pan,*
 and now DU=man-small NVIS.DIST go

iriâi a sâŋ tâ la malai
 3DU PFV arrive VIS.DIST in village
 'And now the boys went, they arrived at home.'

(16) *na tiuá=riâi a riái iriâi*
 PN.ART grandparent=3DU PFV ask 3DU
 'Their grandmother asked them.'

(17) *"nâŋân ta rián, imiâi uâ lâk?"*
 where IND.ART fish 2DU RC.PST hit
 "'Where are the fish that you caught?'"

(18) *tâmo iriâi a kus na tiuá=riâi*
 now 3DU PFV tell PN.ART grandparent=3DU
 'Now they told their grandmother.'

(19) *"a kem rián nâ,*
 ART rope fish NVIS.DIST
a bul kipaj uâ pakai lâk la lima=mâi"
 ART PL spirit RC.PST grab hit in arm=1DU.EXC
 "'That rope of fish, the spirits took it out of our hands.'"

(20) *i=n=a tâmo nér a tom,*
 INAL=3SG=ART now 3PL PFV sit
na tiuá=riâi a kus iriâi
 PN.ART grandparent=3DU PFV tell 3DU
 'Then now they stayed, their grandmother told them.'

(21) *"imiâ=k tom, niá=k âigot an a tól ka=miâi"*
 2DU=FUT sit 1SG=FUT be.ready about ART spear for=2DU
 "'Stay, I will prepare a spear for you.'"

(22) *iriâi a pan tâmo iriâi=k pekel a lémboj,*
 3DU PFV go now 3DU=IPFV split ART tree.sp.
i=n=a na tiuá=riâi ik kásám a bul tól
 INAL=3SG=ART PN.ART grandparent=3DU IPFV sharpen ART PL spear
ka=riâi
 for=3DU
 'They went now to split a *lémboj* stem for the grandmother to sharpen the spears for them.'

(23) *nan a âigot an a bul tól ka=riâi, lakat,*
 3SG PFV be.ready about ART PL spear for=3DU give.magic
té nan a kus iriâi
 then 3SG PFV tell 3DU
 'She prepared the spears for them, gave (the spears) magic powers, then she told them.'

(24) *"miâ=k pan miâ=k sik a bul tól óró*
 2DU=FUT go 2DU=IPFV take ART PL spear VIS.PROX
 "'Go and take these spears.'

(25) *miâ=k* *pan* *miâ=k* *mákásám*
 2DU=FUT go 2DU=IPFV meat
 'Go and catch fish.'

(26) *té* *iân* *a* *bul* *kipaŋ* *ók* *kâ~kel* *imiâi*,
 then time ART PL spirit FUT PL~call 2DU
miâi *ók* *man* *taual* *la* *mata=n=a* *liâŋ* *tân*,
 2DU FUT come return in eye=3SG=ART cave VIS.MED
miâ=k *ti* *pâ* *bul* *tól*, *mat* *nat* *nér* *pâ=n=a”*
 2DU=FUT stand with PL spear and shoot 3PL with=3SG=ART
 'Then when the spirits call you, you will come back to the entrance of that cave, you will stand with the spears and shoot them with them.'

(27) *u=lék-biâŋ* *nâ* *pan* *iriâi* *ik* *mákásám*
 DU=man-small NVIS.DIST go 3DU IPFV meat
 'The boys went to catch fish.'

(28) *iriâi* *a* *mákásám* *mákásám* *mot* *tâmo*,
 3DU PFV meat meat finish now
iriâi *a* *só-tá-pák* *taual* *aman* *tâmo*
 3DU PFV pierce-PASS-turn return come now
 'They caught and caught fish and finished now, they came back now.'

(29) *kipaŋ* *a* *râŋ* *iriâi* *ala*, *kipaŋ* *a* *â=tâŋ*
 spirit PFV see 3DU again spirit PFV CAU=say
 'A spirit saw them again, the spirit said.'

(30) *“u=lék-biâŋ* *nâ* *â=k=âman* *pâ* *kem* *rián* *ala”*
 DU=man-small NVIS.DIST DIST=IPFV=come with rope fish again
 "The boys are coming there with a rope of fish again."

(31) *nér* *a* *kel* *iriâi* *tâmo*, *u=lék-biâŋ* *nâ* *sâk* *bouoŋ*,
 3PL PFV call 3DU now DU=man-small NVIS.DIST NEG wait
iriâi *a* *pan* *susulék*
 3DU PFV go near
 'They called them now, the boys did not wait, they went closer.'

(32) *lo* *bul* *tól* *nâ*,
 or PL spear NVIS.DIST
na *tiuá=riâi* *ka* *lakat* *lis* *si=riâi* *kâuâi*
 PN.ART grandparent=3DU RM.PST give.magic give AL=3DU already
 'And those spears, their grandmother had already given (the) magic (spears) to them.'

(33) *pan* *atâmo*, *pâ* *kipaŋ* *a* *món* *iuoŋ* *pâs-muá*
 go now with spirit PFV first exit step-front
 'Then now the first spirit came out.'

(34) *nér* *a* *pan~pan* *aman* *tâmo* *susulék* *si=riâi*,
 3PL PFV PL~go come now near AL=3DU

i=n=a *â=räuai* *iriâi,* *kas* *kana=riâi* *a* *món* *sik*
 INAL=3SG=ART CAU=make.sound 3DU other among=3DU PFV first take

a *kó* *tól,* *soko* *na* *kipaŋ*
 ART small.piece spear sew PN.ART spirit
 'They (the spirits) walked closer now to them (the boys) to talk to them, one of them (the boys) first took a spear and speared the spirit.'

(35) *kipaŋ iâ pu silé pan, té mat*
 spirit CONT escape enter go then die
 'The spirit fled into (the cave) and died.'

(36) *mot tâmo nér a ráŋ lâŋ=âtâ, nér kiri man,*
 and now 3PL PFV see like=VIS.DIST 3PL REP come

po nér ik lâk a u=lék-biâŋ nâ,
 COMP 3PL IPFV hit ART DU=man-small NVIS.DIST

po nér ik pakai lâk a rián si=riâi
 COMP 3PL IPFV grab hit ART fish AL=3DU
 'And now they (the spirits) saw that they (the spirits) came to take away their fish.'

(37) *u=lék-biâŋ nâ ka sâk sala nér*
 DU=man-small NVIS.DIST RM.PST NEG let 3PL
 'The boys did not let them.'

(38) *iriâi kiru ti pâ kala=n=a tól, âmo,*
 3DU PST.HAB stand with amount=3SG=ART spear INTJ

kas i buák âit iuŋ la mata=n=a liáŋ, iriâi=k soko
 other IPFV want run exit in eye=3SG=ART cave 3DU=IPFV sew
 'They stood with a number of spears, well, another one wanted to run out of the cave, they speared him.'

(39) *iriâi ka soko pan pan pan,*
 3DU RM.PST sew go go go

noŋ iriâi a â=mot a bul kipaŋ tâmo
 be.enough 3DU PFV CAU=finish ART PL spirit now
 'They speared and speared them until they finished the spirits now.'

(40) *â=mot~mot i=n=a tâmo, a pâs-muá-uin si=nér a iuŋ atâmo*
 CAU=INTR~finish INAL=3SG=ART now ART step-front-big AL=3PL PFV exit now
 'In the end now, their big leader came out now.'

(41) *pâs-muá si=nér a iuŋ anâ=mo,*
 step-front AL=3PL PFV exit NVIS.DIST=only

i=n=a iriâi a sik a kó tól,
 INAL=3SG=ART 3DU PFV take ART small.piece spear

iriâi a soko pan nan
 3DU PFV sew go 3SG
 'Their leader was just about to come out, then they took a spear, they speared him.'

(42) *kó* *tól* *a* *kár* *ti* *kálá=n=a,*
small.piece spear PFV go.down stand on=3SG=ART

nan *a* *puka* *sái* *tâmo*
3SG PFV fall go.down now

'The spear went down on him, he fell down now.'

(43) *iriâi* *a* *iot* *sik* *nan* *tâmo,* *iriâi* *a* *pan,*
3DU PFV hold take 3SG now 3DU PFV go

iriâi *a* *pus-én* *a* *mati* *nan*
3DU PFV throw-TR PFV lie 3SG

la *pat* *i=n=a* *uái* *ró* *pâ* *tutura*
in part INAL=3SG=ART tree VIS.PROX with thorn

'They took him now, they went, they threw him down at the bottom of this tree with thorns.'

(44) *tâmo* *tanén* *uái* *nén,* *ta* *ki* *â=tâŋ* *a* *âkipan̥*
now today tree NVIS.PROX 1PL.INC HAB CAU=say ART tree.sp.
'Now today this tree, we called it the *âkipan̥* (lit. big spirit).'

(45) *i=n=a* *tâmo* *iriâi* *ka* *pan,*
INAL=3SG=ART now 3DU RM.PST go

pus-én *a* *mati* *nan* *la* *pat* *i=n=a* *uái* *nén*
throw-TR PFV lie 3SG in part INAL=3SG=ART tree NVIS.PROX

'Then now they went, they had thrown him down at the bottom of this tree.'

(46) *lo* *lé* *ka* *sâk* *tâpelek,*
or ant.sp. RM.PST NEG play

té *lé* *ka* *ŋan* *ŋan* *ŋan* *perjen* *nan* *tuna*
then ant.sp. RM.PST eat.TR eat.TR eat.TR do.bad 3SG true

'And the (big brown) ants did a good job (lit. did not play), then the (big brown) ants ate and ate him up.'

(47) *té* *tâmo* *ténén* *nó=k* *ráŋ* *lâŋ=âtâ,*
then now today 2SG=FUT see like=VIS.DIST

a *sâ* *niâu* *ki* *mái* *mati* *la* *pat* *i=n=a* *uái,*
ART what thing HAB stink lie in part INAL=3SG=ART tree

nó=k *ráŋ* *a* *bul* *lé,* *nér* *ki* *sái* *kálá=n=a*
2SG=FUT see ART PL ant.sp. 3PL HAB go.down on=3SG=ART

'Then now today you will see that whatever stinks and lies at the bottom of the tree, you will see (big brown) ants, they will go down on it.'

(48) *nan* *tâmo* *kus~kus-â* *i=n=a* *bul* *kipan̥*
3SG now INTR~tell-INTR INAL=3SG=ART PL spirit

kuál *pâ* *mata=ŋ* *âi=tuá=n-an*
together with eye=NPOSS REC=grandparent=3SG-NOML

'This now is the story of the spirits and the grandmother and her grandchildren.'

(49) *pinî sâŋ̊ mot lâŋ̊=âtâ*
story arrive finish like=VIS.DIST
'The story ends like that.'

References

Ainsworth, Judith & Winifred P. Tare Taufi. 1973a. *Asumilau: Tiang magic songs*. Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea Bookshop.

Ainsworth, Judith & Winifred P. Tare Taufi. 1973b. *Tiang kuspini*. Port Moresby: Niugini Press.

Blust, Robert. 2013. *The Austronesian languages*. Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics.

Drew, Rebekah. 2019. *Organized phonology data: Tiaang language (tbj): New Ireland Province*. Ukarumpa: SIL PNG.

Holz, Christoph. 2020. Tiang. In Eugene Chan (ed.), *Numeral systems of the world's languages*. (<https://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/channumerals/Tiang.htm>)

Holz, Christoph. 2021. Sequential number word formation in the Tungag-Nalik languages (New Ireland). *Oceanic Linguistics* 60(1), 231–242.

Holz, Christoph. 2022. Notes on children's secret language games in New Ireland, Papua New Guinea. In Cynthia Groff, Andrea Hollington, Ellen Hurst-Harosh, Nico Nassenstein, Jacomine Nortier, Helma Pasch & Nurenzia Yannuar (eds.), *Global perspectives on youth language practices*, 203–223. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Holz, Christoph. 2023a. A comprehensive grammar of Tiang. Central Queensland University dissertation.

Holz, Christoph. 2023b. Discourse functions of 'visible' and 'nonvisible' demonstratives in Tiang (New Ireland) and in a cross-linguistic perspective. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, Robert L. Bradshaw, Luca Ciucci & Pema Wangdi (eds.), *Celebrating indigenous voice: Legends and narratives in languages of the tropics and beyond*, 181–217. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Jenkins, Rebecca S. 2005. *Language contact and composite structures in New Ireland*. Dallas: SIL International.

King, Phil. 2006. *An acoustic description of central vowels in three Austronesian languages of New Ireland*. Ukarumpa: SIL International.

Kombeng, Joseph & Christoph Holz. 2022a. *Taanuaa: Tiang picture book*. Kalispell: Education Projects International.

Kombeng, Joseph & Christoph Holz (eds.). 2022b. *Pini: Tiang story book*. Kalispell: Education Projects International.