

Tiang texts 5

Culture and instructions

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Abbreviations

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

1. This volume

This volume presents various aspects of Tiang culture, among them magic, the chief system, etiquette, and marriage. A feature that, according to my Tiang teachers, makes Djaul unique among New Ireland cultures is that Tiang people have a way to tell secrets through songs. Many texts are instructions and explain how to perform culturally important activities: planting, harvesting and the use of certain plants, cutting a canoe, catching a shark, and cooking.

The stories of Section 2.4 (Lines 12 and 13) and Section 2.5 (Lines 9 and 10) contain songs. For a transcription in musical notation, see Volume 6.

2. Texts

2.1. Lakau

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *óró* *Tiául,* *mam* *pâ* *isá=n=a* *bák* *si=mam* *ala* *ró,*
 VIS.PROX T. 1PL.EXC with name=3SG=ART place AL=1PL.EXC again VIS.PROX
amâ *bák* *anén,* *mam* *ki* *kár* *motot* *an* *uiân*
 where place NVIS.PROX 1PL.EXC HAB go.down be.afraid about small
 ‘Here an Djaul, we also have a name for our place here which is a place that we are a little afraid of going down to.’

- (2) *lo* *mam* *ók* *lânâsâ,* *si=n=a* *pâ* *bul* *rokomât* *kápái,*
 or 1PL.EXC FUT how AL=3SG=ART with PL good.very all
amâ *lantuá=n=a* *bul* *iân* *imam* *ki* *pâ* *buák* *pâ=n=a,*
 where inside=3SG=ART PL time 1PL.EXC HAB with want with=3SG=ART
nân *i* *tom* *lantuá=n=a*
 NVIS.MED IPFV sit inside=3SG=ART
 ‘But what shall we do, because there are all the good things that, whenever we want them, are in there.’

- (3) *isá=n=a* *bák* *anén,* *mam* *ki* *â=tâŋ* *Lakau*
 name=3SG=ART place NVIS.PROX 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=say L.
 ‘The name of this place, we called it Lakau.’

- (4) *Lakau,* *nan* *a* *tom* *la-uata* *i=n=a* *Sumuna*
 L. 3SG PFV sit in-middle INAL=3SG=ART S.
mot *a* *Piliua*
 and ART P.
 ‘Lakau is between Sumuna and Piliua.’

- (5) *lo* *lantuá=n=a* *bák* *anén,*
 or inside=3SG=ART place NVIS.PROX
mam *ki* *sik* *â=ŋasik* *lantuá=n=a,* *lân* *a* *saksak,*
 1PL.EXC HAB take CAU=help inside=3SG=ART like ART sago
mat *a* *sâ* *bul* *boi-an* *lantuá=n=a* *ala*
 and ART what PL eat-NOML inside=3SG=ART again
 ‘And inside this place, we get help in it like sago and whatever food there is also inside.’

- (6) *tân* *ala* *Lakau,* *nan* *a* *bák,* *amâ* *pâ* *liân-bin* *tân,*
 VIS.MED again L. 3SG PFV place where with cave-big VIS.MED
pâ *rárám* *lantuá=n=a,* *isá=n=a* *rárám* *anén* *a* *Sisiriúan*
 with water inside=3SG=ART name=3SG=ART water NVIS.PROX PFV S.
 ‘Lakau is also a place where there is a big cave with water in it, the name of this water is Sisiriuan.’

(7) *a bák anén, nan a bák masalai,*
 ART place NVIS.PROX 3SG PFV place spirit

lo kas-nón iân mam ki pan tân
 or other-NSG time 1PL.EXC HAB go VIS.MED

‘This place is a place with spirits, but sometimes we go there.’

(8) *sémén nó ta lek auái, lo ta popo-uiân ka’u,*
 if 2SG IND.ART man new or IND.ART child-small maybe

sémén nó sâk tété pan lantuá=n=a bák anén,
 if 2SG NEG walk.talk go inside=3SG=ART place NVIS.PROX

a bul potok i=n=a bák tân
 ART PL spirit INAL=3SG=ART place VIS.MED

noŋ nér ik lák nó,
 be.enough 3PL IPFV hit 2SG

la iân nó=k pan lantuá=n=a bák tân
 in time 2SG=FUT go inside=3SG=ART place VIS.MED

‘If you are a man new (to Djaul) or maybe a small child, if do not call your name (to the spirits) while you walk in this place, the spirits of that place can attack you when you go inside that place.’

(9) *rokon, nan isan*
 good 3SG alone
 ‘Thank you, that is all.’

2.2. Weather magic

By Alois Bolai (Mo clan)

- (1) *rokon*
good
'Okay.'
- (2) *niáu=k* *kus~kus-â* *mo* *pâ* *iân* *a* *bul* *iâiâ*
1SG=FUT INTR~tell-INTR only with time ART PL grandparent
- inkâuâi tuna, lo iân nér kiri âigot an a bul niâu,*
old true or time 3PL REP be.ready about ART PL thing
- i=n=a nér ki suá a bul petâu*
INAL=3SG=ART 3PL HAB face ART PL enemy
'I will just tell about the time of the grandparents a long time ago and when they prepared the things to face enemies.'
- (3) *lân a bul kulâu, nér ki âi=lák,*
like ART PL people 3PL HAB REC=hit
- té ki âi=piâl-â âi=pák an nér*
then HAB REC=discourage-INTR REC=turn about 3PL
'Like the people that fight and argue with each other.'
- (4) *nér ki âi=piâl-â pâ bul pék si=nér la siua,*
3PL HAB REC=discourage-INTR with PL strong AL=3PL in place
- lân a bul niâu, nér ki âisók an pâ bala=nér*
like ART PL thing 3PL HAB work about with mouth=3PL
'They argue with their powers in the village, like the spells they say (lit. things they perform with their mouths).'
- (5) *té kas-nón niâu, nér ki toi pâ lima=nér*
then other-NSG thing 3PL HAB touch with arm=3PL
'And other things, they do (lit. hold) with their hands.'
- (6) *té bul niâu, nér ki âisók an, ki pâ bák,*
then PL thing 3PL HAB work about HAB with place
- i=n=a nér ki ti-topon, i=n=a âisók pâ bakal,*
INAL=3SG=ART 3PL HAB stand-start INAL=3SG=ART work with chief
- nér ki â=ti*
3PL HAB CAU=stand
'And for the things that they do, there is a place where they start to use a tree branch (with strong wood whose bark is rotten) that they put (in the ground).'
- (7) *bakal nén pâ iuâi a éné=n=a,*
chief NVIS.PROX with two ART branch=3SG=ART

a kas kiri mati, lo kas ki ti lak rarau
 ART other REP lie or other HAB stand go.up correct
 ‘This tree branch has two branches, one is horizontal, and the other one points up vertically.’

(8) *té bus ki ti lak rarau,*
 then DUMMY HAB stand go.up correct

ner ki â=su-én a ta’i kálá=n=a
 3PL HAB CAU=hang-TR ART conch.shell on=3SG=ART
 ‘Then the one that points upwards, they hang a conch shell on it.’

(9) *té a bus ki mati nâ, nan a béŋ=én=a mok*
 then ART DUMMY HAB lie NVIS.DIST 3SG PFV head=3SG=ART pig
 ‘And the horizontal branch, it (has) the head of a pig.’

(10) *a lantuá=n=a béŋ=én=a mok anén ki pâ bul láíá,*
 ART inside=3SG=ART head=3SG=ART pig NVIS.PROX HAB with PL ginger.sp.

ner ki â=ro~roŋ la bala=n=a mok,
 3PL HAB CAU=INTR~stuff in mouth=3SG=ART pig

a láíá kuál pâ bul ral
 ART ginger.sp. together with PL lime

‘Inside this pig’s head is ginger, they stuff the pig’s mouth with ginger and lime.’

(11) *ner ki â=tom lantuá=n=a*
 3PL HAB CAU=sit inside=3SG=ART
 ‘They put them inside (the pig’s head).’

(12) *lo sâk ral, i=n=a ta ki tokol pâ=n=a, pârék*
 or NEG lime INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.INC HAB chew.betelnut with=3SG=ART have.NEG
 ‘But it is not the lime that we chew betelnuts with, no.’

(13) *ral anén, ner ki sik lantuá=n=a ŋat,*
 lime NVIS.PROX 3PL HAB take inside=3SG=ART stone

amâ ner ki iâ tán rarau i=n=a âisók onén
 where 3PL HAB CONT cook correct INAL=3SG=ART work NVIS.PROX

‘This lime, they take it from the inner part of a stone that they cook specifically for this work.’

(14) *iân ner ki âisók an tâmo,*
 time 3PL HAB work about now

si=n=a ner ki âigot an a kas pat
 AL=3SG=ART 3PL HAB be.ready about ART other part

la kas malai, ner ki piâl ner pâ bul âisók si=ner
 in other village 3PL HAB discourage 3PL with PL work AL=3PL

‘When they do it now, because they prepare (the magic) in one part of one village, they argue with them (people in the other village) with their powers.’

(15) *lâŋ a bul âisók si=ner, nan i=n=a la iân*
 like ART PL work AL=3PL 3SG INAL=3SG=ART in time

nér ki âi=piâl-â mo pâ bul pék si=nér
 3PL HAB REC=discourage-INTR only with PL strong AL=3PL
 ‘Like their magic is only for the time when they argue with each other with their powers.’

- (16) *té nér ók âisók an a bul niâu anén tâmo,*
 then 3PL FUT work about ART PL thing NVIS.PROX now

nér ók món bál-rán pâ málá
 3PL FUT first make-see with wind
 ‘Then they will perform these things now, they will first try it through wind.’

- (17) *a kulâu nén la bák anén, nér ók pâ kalapan,*
 ART people NVIS.PROX in place NVIS.PROX 3PL FUT with know

nér ók âi=piâl-â, nér ók â=tán po
 3PL FUT REC=discourage-INTR 3PL FUT CAU=say COMP
 ‘These people at this place have (magic) knowledge, they will argue with each other, they will say.’

- (18) *“nó=k bál-rán*
 2SG=FUT make-see
 ‘“Try me.’

- (19) *nó=k bál-rán a niâ nén, lo niâu sâk lomón,*
 2SG=FUT make-see ART thing NVIS.PROX or 1SG NEG think

po nó ók bál-karól, ók pârék”
 COMP 2SG FUT make-achieve FUT have.NEG
 ‘Try this thing, but I do not think that you will win, it will not happen.’

- (20) *iân nér ók âisók an,*
 time 3PL FUT work about

nér pâ bo~uont-â i=n=a bont-en an
 3PL with INTR~block-INTR INAL=3SG=ART block-TR NOML
 ‘When they perform it, they have protection to block (the other person’s magic).’

- (21) *lo óró, é=k peten â=us na iâiâ*
 or VIS.PROX 1SG=IPFV tell CAU=follow PN.ART grandparent

ki pini pâ bus, nan ki âisók an
 HAB story with DUMMY 3SG HAB work NOML
 ‘But here, I will tell what my grandfather used to tell me about what he used to do.’

- (22) *iâiâ lek tâuan, isá=n=a na Mângilân*
 grandparent man male name=3SG=ART PN.ART M.
 ‘My grandfather, his name was Manggilang.’

- (23) *té iân nan ki âisók an a niâ nén,*
 then time 3SG HAB work about ART thing NVIS.PROX

nér ók piâl nan tâmo
 3PL FUT discourage 3SG now
 ‘Then when he did this thing, they (other people who performed magic) would make fun of him now.’

- (24) *nan ók kus tâmo po*
3SG FUT tell now COMP
'He would say now.'
- (25) *"a rokon, nó=k tom la malai si=m*
PFV good 2SG=FUT sit in village AL=2SG
'"Okay, you will stay at your home.'
- (26) *lo niá tân ik álát"*
or 1SG VIS.MED IPFV pass.by
'But I will come for you.'
- (27) *lo sâk nan tân, nan ók â=én tâmo bul niâ nén*
or NEG 3SG VIS.MED 3SG FUT CAU=send now PL thing NVIS.PROX
kálá bakal anén
on chief NVIS.PROX
'But it was not him (in person) there, he would now send these things from this tree branch (to the enemy).'
- (28) *nan a âigot an a bul niâu lâη a ta'i,*
3SG PFV be.ready about ART PL thing like ART conch.shell
mot a béη=én=a mok
and ART head=3SG=ART pig
'He prepared the things like the conch shell and the pig head.'
- (29) *tâmo nan ók tom tâmo, nan ók piâ=n=a boi*
now 3SG FUT sit now 3SG FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART eat.INTR
'Now he would stay now, he would not eat.'
- (30) *nan ók ηan a saka bák patita pulák*
3SG FUT eat.TR ART one cut.piece sweet.potato cooked.without.grease
la maulék, saka bák le-le, lo kó bók,
in morning one cut.piece in-afternoon or small.piece taro
ner ók â=toi la umán, nan ók ηan
3PL FUT CAU=touch in earth.oven 3SG FUT eat.TR
'He would eat one piece of cooked dry sweet potato in the morning, one piece in the afternoon, or a piece of taro that they would put in the earth oven that he would eat.'
- (31) *saka bák mo,*
one cut.piece only
piâ=n=a boi utâ la utál a iân
PROH.INAL=3SG=ART eat.INTR much in three ART time
'One piece only, he could not eat much for three days.'
- (32) *tánámái nan a tom la pat i=n=a bakal tân si=n=a,*
afterward 3SG PFV sit in part INAL=3SG=ART chief VIS.MED AL=3SG=ART

pârék ta kulâu ki pan, pat i=n=a nér a bont-en
 have.NEG IND.ART people HAB go part INAL=3SG=ART 3PL PFV block-TR
 ‘Afterwards, he sat at the bottom of his tree branch, nobody would go there because it was forbidden (lit. they block them).’

(33) *la iân nér a bont-en,*
 in time 3PL PFV block-TR

a pârék ta kulâu ki pan la bák anén
 PFV have.NEG IND.ART people HAB go in place VIS.PROX
 ‘When it was forbidden (to go there), nobody could go to this place.’

(34) *té nan ók ra~rauai kálá bul niâ nén tâmo,*
 then 3SG FUT PL~make.sound on PL thing NVIS.PROX now

pan pan pan, nan a món bál-ráj la kas iân potok
 go go go 3SG PFV first make-see in other time share
 ‘Then he would talk to these things now (on the first day), on and on, he tested them first the next day.’

(35) *té ók pan a kas iân ala, nan ók bál-ráj ala*
 then FUT go ART other time again 3SG FUT make-see again
 ‘Then he would go the next day again, he would test them again.’

(36) *ók â=iuâi i=n=a iân tâmo,*
 FUT CAU=two INAL=3SG=ART time now

nan ók â=rauai a béŋ=én=a mok,
 3SG FUT CAU=make.sound ART head=3SG=ART pig

té ók âliliá tâmo
 then FUT move now

‘It would be (after) the second time now, he would talk to the pig head, then it would shake now.’

(37) *béŋ=én=a mok ók âliliá tâmo, ta’i ók tánjás*
 head=3SG=ART pig FUT move now conch.shell FUT cry
 ‘The pig head would shake now, the conch shell would cry.’

(38) *ta’i ók tánjás la mi=n=a utál a iân,*
 conch.shell FUT cry in back=3SG=ART three ART time

nan ók â=é~én tâmo
 3SG FUT CAU=INTR~send now

‘The conch shell would cry after the third time, he would send (the magic) now.’

(39) *i=n=a nan ik kel a lánjât tâmo, bák ók koi mot*
 INAL=3SG=ART 3SG IPFV call ART rain now place FUT black finish
 ‘Then he would call the rain now, the place would become completely black.’

(40) *bák ók koi mot pâ lánjât*
 place FUT black finish with rain
 ‘The place would become completely black with rain.’

- (41) *bák ók koi mot, ta'i ók tángás,*
 place FUT black finish conch.shell FUT cry
i=n=a málá ók kunai-ti tâmo
 INAL=3SG=ART wind FUT startle-stand now
 'The place would become completely black, the conch shell would cry so wind would come up now.'
- (42) *iân a málá ók kunai-ti tân,*
 time ART wind FUT startle-stand VIS.MED
málá tân ók aman ók pâ lomo=n=a lâñ a mok
 wind VIS.MED FUT come FUT with mind=3SG=ART like ART pig
 'When the wind would come up there, that wind would come with the sound like a pig.'
- (43) *iân nan ók aman,*
 time 3SG FUT come
nan ók pâ lomo=n=a lâñ a bul balus-uiân,
 3SG FUT with mind=3SG=ART like ART PL plane-small
lo bul balus-uin, lo a lomo=n=a-uin ók gugul
 or PL plane-big or ART mind=3SG=ART-big FUT drone
 'When it would come, it would have the sound like a small plane, or a big plane, or the big sound would be a drone.'
- (44) *iân ók aman tâmo, nan ók iâ pan rarau*
 time FUT come now 3SG FUT CONT go correct
si=n=a tiár nâ, iriâi ki pâ polo=riâi
 AL=3SG=ART person NVIS.DIST 3DU HAB with plantation=3DU
 'When it would come now, it would go directly to the person that he (lit. they) has a disagreement with.'
- (45) *nan ók kokot a isa lu la bák anén,*
 3SG FUT count ART how.much house in place NVIS.PROX
a málá ók sik pus-én
 ART wind FUT take throw-TR
 'He would count how many houses there were in this place that the wind would take away.'
- (46) *iân a málá ók sái la bák anén,*
 time ART wind FUT go.down in place NVIS.PROX
nan ók sâñ tâin bal a béñ=én=a lu
 3SG FUT arrive lift remove ART head=3SG=ART house
 'When the wind came down to this place, it would rip off the roof of the house.'
- (47) *tâin bal a béñ=én=a lu,*
 lift remove ART head=3SG=ART house
mot pus-én a pan la kas pat
 and throw-TR PFV go in other part
 'It would rip off the roof of the house, and it would flip it over.'

- (48) *nan ók iâ kokot, san nan i buák a isa,*
 3SG FUT CONT count if 3SG IPFV want ART how.much
tâlat a lu, lo patlima lu, lo bul lu kápái,
 four ART house or five house or PL house all
málá ók iâ tâin bal
 wind FUT CONT lift remove
 ‘He would count, if he wanted a certain number, four houses, or five houses, the wind would rip off (the roof).’
- (49) *tâmo ta’i ók tángás ala, niâ nén ók mot,*
 now conch.shell FUT cry again thing NVIS.PROX FUT finish
té taual aman taual
 then return come return
 ‘Now the conch shell would cry again, this thing would be over, then (the magic) would return (to the tree branch).’
- (50) *ók pan, a málá mot a lánját ók mot*
 FUT go ART wind and ART rain FUT finish
 ‘Afterwards, the wind and the rain would stop.’
- (51) *a lánját ók piâ=n=a bin utâ,*
 ART rain FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART big much
sakalan a bák ók koi mot
 but ART place FUT black finish
 ‘The rain would not be too big (anymore), but the place would (still) be completely black.’
- (52) *bák ók riáp pâ koi i=n=a lánját, lo málá ók bin*
 place FUT dark with black INAL=3SG=ART rain or wind FUT big
 ‘The place would be dark by the black rain (clouds), and the wind would be big.’
- (53) *málá ók pâ lomo=n=a ók bin sât tuna*
 wind FUT with mind=3SG=ART FUT big bad true
 ‘The wind would be very loud (lit. have a very big sound).’
- (54) *ók pan tâmo, ók pan la iân ik rokon*
 FUT go now FUT go in time IPFV good
 ‘It would continue now, until the weather would be fine.’
- (55) *ra~rauai ók sâŋ taual tâmo, po tiár nâ,*
 PL~make.sound FUT arrive return now COMP person NVIS.DIST
uâ piâl niáu, ók lis aman a ra~rauai po
 RC.PST discourage 1SG FUT give come ART PL~make.sound COMP
 ‘A message would come back now that the person who made fun of me would send a message.’
- (56) *“nó lek tuna tâmo, nó bál-karól niáu*
 2SG man true now 2SG make-achieve 1SG
 ‘“You are the real man now, you won against me.’

(57) *a béŋ=én=a lu si=k, nó bal pus-én*
 ART head=3SG=ART house AL=1SG 2SG remove throw-TR
 ‘My roof, you ripped it off.’

(58) *é=k lomon, po itâi ók noŋ kelek lâŋ=âtâ ka’u”*
 1SG=IPFV think COMP 1DU.INC FUT be.enough first like=VIS.DIST maybe
 ‘I think that we might have enough of it for now (I will strike back next time).’

2.3. The chiefs

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *óró a salan, i=n=a nó=k sâŋ saka pás-muá*
 VIS.PROX PFV way INAL=3SG=ART 2SG=FUT arrive one step-front
 ‘This is the way how you become a chief.’
- (2) *lo imam ki â=tâŋ a pás-muá onén óró Jâul*
 or 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=say ART step-front NVIS.PROX VIS.PROX J.
lâŋ=âtâ, isá=n anén, nér ki kel nan, a bakal
 like=VIS.DIST name=3SG NVIS.PROX 3PL HAB call 3SG PFV chief
 ‘And we call the chief here on Djaul like this, the name they call it is *bakal*.’
- (3) *i=n=a nó=k sâŋ saka bakal, pâ bul salan,*
 INAL=3SG=ART 2SG=IPFV arrive one chief with PL way
nó ók â=us
 2SG FUT CAU=follow
 ‘For you to become a chief, there are ways that you will follow.’
- (4) *pás-muá i=n=a, a kulâu-uin,*
 step-front INAL=3SG=ART ART people-big
nér ók ráŋ kinéla pâ nó
 3PL FUT see recognise with 2SG
 ‘Firstly, the other chiefs learn about you.’
- (5) *sémén lâŋ ta kas-nón bul pâl~pâl-an,*
 if like IND.ART other-NSG PL INTR~plan-NOML
nó ki ualai noŋ lantuá=n=a malai-uin,
 2SG HAB do be.enough inside=3SG=ART village-big
lo lantuá=n=a mata=n=a lu, tâmo nér ók kus nó mo,
 or inside=3SG=ART eye=3SG=ART house now PL FUT tell 2SG only
po nó ók sâŋ lâŋ=âtâ
 COMP 2SG FUT arrive like=VIS.DIST
 ‘If there are events that you organise in the village or inside your family, now they just tell you that you will be like that (a chief).’
- (6) *lo sémén nó=k â=us a bul pâl~pâl-an óró,*
 or if 2SG=FUT CAU=follow ART PL INTR~plan-NOML VIS.PROX
tân mam ók noŋ mam ók tauai nó
 VIS.MED 1PL.EXC FUT be.enough 1PL.EXC FUT give 2SG
pâ náuák lo pék, i=n=a nó=k sâŋ saka bakal
 with position or strong INAL=3SG=ART 2SG=IPFV arrive one chief
 ‘And if you follow (the instructions for) these events, then we can give you the title or power so you become a chief.’

- (7) *â=iuâi* *i=n=a,* *ner* *ók* *râŋ* *nó* *tâmo,*
CAU=two INAL=3SG=ART 3PL FUT see 2SG now
- sémén nó ualai non ta kas-nón bul pâl~pâl-an,*
if 2SG do be.enough IND.ART other-NSG PL INTR~plan-NOML
- ner ók tauai nó pâ káp mo*
3PL FUT give 2SG with lime.face only
'Secondly, they will watch you now, if you organise some events, they will only put lime on your face.'
- (8) *la iân pâ mata=n boi-uiân,*
in time with eye=3SG eat.INTR-small
- non ner ik tauai nó pâ káp*
be.enough 3PL IPFV give 2SG with lime.face
'When there is a little feast, they can put lime on your face.'
- (9) *té la iân nó=k sík a mot a káp,*
then in time 2SG=FUT take PFV finish ART lime.face
- tâmo ner ók tom râŋ mot kinéla nó pâ sâ âisók,*
now 3PL FUT sit see and recognise 2SG with what work
- nó ualai*
2SG do
'Then when you have had lime on your face, now they will scale you about whatever work you do.'
- (10) *té sémén nó â=us a rokon a bul pâl~pâl-an,*
then if 2SG CAU=follow PFV good ART PL INTR~plan-NOML
- lân nó a kas pâs-muá rokon, â=utál i=n=a tâmo,*
like 2SG PFV other step-front good CAU=three INAL=3SG=ART now
- ner ók non ner ik â=lak nó kálá iuan*
3PL FUT be.enough 3PL IPFV CAU=go.up 2SG on platform
'Then if you follow (the instructions for) the events well, like you are a good chief, thirdly now, they can put you on a platform (during a feast).'
- (11) *mot ner ik â=su-én lo tauai nó pâ bul mos*
and 3PL IPFV CAU=hang-TR or give 2SG with PL decorate
- lân a kapkap, i=n=a nó=k sâŋ lân a bakal*
like ART chief.necklace INAL=3SG=ART 2SG=IPFV arrive like ART chief
- tâmo i=n=a pátián sí=m*
now INAL=3SG=ART clan AL=2SG
'And they hang on you or give you decoration like a chief necklace for you to become a chief now of your clan.'
- (12) *rokon*
good
'Thank you.'

2.4. Songs that reveal secrets

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan), Christoph Holz (linguist), Dixon Makis (Munâ clan)

- (1) J: *tiâ=ŋ, lâ-lâs rokon*
 same.sex.sibling=NPOSS in-noon good
 ‘Brother, good day.’
- (2) C: *lâ-lâs*
 in-noon
 ‘(Good) day.’
- (3) J: *é=k buák â=mâsapa nó pâ kas salan,*
 1SG=IPFV want CAU=clear 2SG with other way

amâ imam ki â=us óró Jâul
 where 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=follow VIS.PROX J.
 ‘I want to explain to you a way that we follow here on Djaul.’
- (4) J: *sémén pâ ta tiár,*
 if with IND.ART person

nan a uán a tom ta kó buá,
 3SG PFV hide.TR PFV sit IND.ART small.piece betelnut

ta mâni, lo ta sâ bul niâu rokon, nan a uán
 IND.ART money or IND.ART what PL thing good 3SG PFV hide.TR
 ‘If there is a person who hides a betelnut, money, or whatever good things that he hides.’
- (5) J: *lo sémén ta tiár aman,*
 or if IND.ART person come

mat a náŋ nan pâ ta kó ŋat,
 and PFV request 3SG with IND.ART small.piece stone

lo sâ, sâ, sâ nâ, imam pâ kas salan,
 or what what what NVIS.DIST 1PL.EXC with other way

mam ki pan lantuá=n=a, mam ki ŋeŋen
 1PL.EXC HAB go inside=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC HAB sing
 ‘And if a person comes and asks him for some money or whatever, we have a way that we follow, we sing.’
- (6) J: *mam sâk noŋ mam ók ra~rauai, mam ki ŋeŋen mo,*
 1PL.EXC NEG be.enough 1PL.EXC FUT PL~make.sound 1PL.EXC HAB sing only

po nan ók loŋoi, mat nan ók kalapan lâŋ=âtâ,
 COMP 3SG FUT hear and 3SG FUT know like=VIS.DIST

po niáu uâ kus nan lantuá=n=a ŋeŋen,
 COMP 1SG RC.PST tell 3SG inside=3SG=ART sing

po nó=k pã ta niâu, nó uã uán
 COMP 2SG=IPFV with IND.ART thing 2SG RC.PST hide.TR

'We cannot say it, we just sing so he will listen and he will know that I told him in the song that you have the thing that you have hidden.'

- (7) J: *mat óró, nan a kas salan, amã imam ki â=us*
 and VIS.PROX 3SG PFV other way where 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=follow
 'And this is one way that we follow.'

- (8) J: *niâu sãk kalapan pã kas-nón bák, sakalan óró Jâu,*
 1SG NEG know with other-NSG place but VIS.PROX J.

mam ki â=us a salan anén,
 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=follow ART way NVIS.PROX

i=n=a mam ik kus a iuon, lo kus a rek,
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV tell PFV exit or tell PFV reveal

po pã ta niâu nân, nó uán lantuá=n=a bák tân
 COMP with IND.ART thing NVIS.MED 2SG hide.TR inside=3SG=ART place VIS.MED

'I do not know of another place, but here on Djaul, we follow this way to speak out or to reveal that there is that thing that you are hiding in that place.'

- (9) J: *tãmo niâu ók â=kalit nó pã salan,*
 now 1SG FUT CAU=learn 2SG with way

amã niâu uã peten si=m nã, mam ki â=us
 where 1SG RC.PST tell AL=2SG NVIS.DIST 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=follow

'Now I will teach you the way that I was talking to you about that we follow.'

- (10) J: *mat óró, nan a kas salan*
 and VIS.PROX 3SG PFV other way
 'And this is one way.'

- (11) D: (makes sign for tobacco)

- (12) J: *niâu uã ráŋ a kó ŋat la bi si=n=a*
 1SG RC.PST see ART small.piece stone in basket AL=3SG=ART
 'I saw some money (lit. stone) in his basket.'

- (13) J: *nó=k náŋ nan pã ta kó ŋat*
 2SG=FUT request 3SG with IND.ART small.piece stone
 'Ask him for some money (lit. stone).'

- (14) D: *bolek, pã ta kó ŋat tân?*
 in.law with IND.ART small.piece stone VIS.MED
 'In-law, is there some money (with you)?'

- (15) C: *a*
 yes
 'Yes.'

(16) D: *rokon*
good
'Thank you.'

2.5. Songs that reveal secrets

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan), Trevor Francis (Mo clan), Dixon Makis (Munâ clan)

(1) J: *óró Jâul ala, imam pâ kas salan, amâ mam ki â=us*
 VIS.PROX J. again 1PL.EXC with other way where 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=follow
 ‘Here on Djaul, we also have a way that we follow.’

(2) J: *salan anén, i=n=a sémén imam ik buák bát~bát*
 way NVIS.PROX INAL=3SG=ART if 1PL.EXC IPFV want INTR~trick
 ‘This way is for when we want to trick someone.’

(3) J: *i=n=a sémén lâŋ a pârék ta buá,*
 INAL=3SG=ART if like PFV have.NEG IND.ART betelnut

lo paka ka’u
 or pepper.leaf maybe

‘Like if there are no betelnuts or betel pepper leaves maybe.’

(4) J: *lo sémén mam a uán a tom la ta kas bák*
 or if 1PL.EXC PFV hide.TR PFV sit in IND.ART other place
 ‘Or if we hide them in another place.’

(5) J: *nâ=mo lâŋ a,*
 NVIS.DIST=only like ART

sémén ta tiár i buák man ik náŋ ta buá,
 if IND.ART person IPFV want come IPFV request IND.ART betelnut

mam ók kus nan, po pârék ta buá
 1PL.EXC FUT tell 3SG COMP have.NEG IND.ART betelnut

‘Like if someone wants to come and ask for a betelnut, we will tell him that there are no betelnuts.’

(6) J: *lo niáu pâ=n=a, lâŋ=âtâ*
 or 1SG with=3SG=ART like=VIS.DIST
 ‘But I have some, like this.’

(7) T: *rere, man ta ók buá*
 uncle come IND.ART whole.piece betelnut
 ‘Uncle, give me a betelnut.’

(8) J: *pârék, pâ ta buá*
 have.NEG have.NEG IND.ART betelnut
 ‘No, there are no betelnuts.’

(9) D: *nan uâ bát nó*
 3SG RC.PST trick 2SG
 ‘He tricked you.’

(10) D: *nó=k ti lak tâ lu,*
 2SG=FUT stand go.up VIS.DIST bush

mot *nó=k* *cek-im* *a* *boks* *tân*
 and 2SG=FUT check-TR ART box VIS.MED
 'Go up (a little) towards the bush and check that box.'

(11) T: *ei,* *lo* *buá-uin* *óró,* *óró* *la* *bek-uin ró*
 INTJ or betelnut-big VIS.PROX VIS.PROX in bag-big VIS.PROX
 'Hey, but there are many betelnuts here, here in this big bag.'

2.6. Table manners

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *óró é=k buák â=mâsapa itâi ténén lá-uáŋ pâ salan*
 VIS.PROX 1SG=IPFV want CAU=clear 1DU.INC today in-night with way
- i=n=a to~tom-an kuuál pâ kulâu-uin, lo nás,*
 INAL=3SG=ART NOML~sit-NOML together with people-big or who
- amâ nan ik man ik tom kuuál pâ nó,*
 where 3SG IPFV come IPFV sit together with 2SG
- lo la iân-bin, amâ ita ki tom kuuál,*
 or in time-big where 1PL.INC HAB sit be.together
- i=n=a si~sik pâ boi-an*
 INAL=3SG=ART INTR~take with eat-NOML
- ‘Here, I want to explain to us tonight the way to behave with respected people or (with) whoever comes and sits with you, or during a feast where we sit together to have food.’
- (2) *inkâuûi tuna ki pâ a bul kulâu,*
 old true HAB with ART PL people
- amâ nér kuru â=us a salan,*
 where 3PL PST.HAB CAU=follow ART way
- amâ nér ka loŋoi si=n=a bul kulâu-uin*
 where 3PL RM.PST hear AL=3SG=ART PL people-big
- ‘A long time ago, there were people who followed the way that they heard from the ancestors.’
- (3) *nér kuru pasa nér pâ salan i=n=a to~tom-an*
 3PL PST.HAB advise 3PL with way INAL=3SG=ART NOML~sit-NOML
- la iân=a boi*
 in time.3SG=ART eat.INTR
- ‘They advised them about the way to behave during a meal.’
- (4) *mat a bul salan anén lâŋ=âtâ*
 and ART PL way NVIS.PROX like=VIS.DIST
- ‘And the ways are like this.’
- (5) *la iân pâ to~tom-an kálá iuan i=n=a boi,*
 in time with NOML~sit-NOML on platform INAL=3SG=ART eat.INTR
- lo a iân nó=k boi kuuál pâ utál, tâlât,*
 or ART time 2SG=FUT eat.INTR together with three four
- lo patlima imbo=lek, amâ nântál a tom ulát a iuan*
 or five PL=man where 2TRI PFV sit go.around ART platform
- ka’u, lo tom li-piá kálá bul ba, nér a keten,*
 maybe or sit in-ground on PL leaf.plate 3PL PFV spread

lo *si~sik* *pâ* *boi-an* *lantúa=n=a* *tén~téném*
 or INTR~take with eat-NOML inside=3SG=ART INTR~wrap

lo *bul* *kaua,* *amâ* *ner* *ik* *só* *tauai* *nó,*
 or PL coconut.shell where 3PL IPFV serve give 2SG

mot *nó=k* *tom* *boi,* *a* *bul* *kulâu-uin* *inkâuâi,*
 and 2SG=FUT sit eat.INTR ART PL people-big old

ner *kuru* *kus* *lâŋ=âtâ*
 3PL PST.HAB tell like=VIS.DIST

‘When there is a meeting at the table, or when you eat with three, four or five people, and you maybe sit around the table or sit on the ground on (banana) leaves that were spread out and have food in wraps (from the earth oven) or on plates that were given to you, and you sit and eat, the ancestors used to say like this.’

(6) *la* *iân* *nó=k* *boi* *kuuál* *pâ* *malila*
 in time 2SG=FUT eat.INTR together with amount

lo *kulâu,* *ner* *a* *tom* *kuuál* *pâ* *nó,*
 or people 3PL PFV sit together with 2SG

la *iân* *nó* *nás,* *amâ* *nó* *si~sik* *pâ* *boi-an,*
 in time 2SG who where 2SG INTR~take with eat-NOML

mat *a* *kaua* *si=m* *a* *mot,*
 and ART coconut.shell AL=2SG PFV finish

nó=k *piâ=n=a* *mâ* *gán*
 2SG=FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART still leave

‘When you eat with many= people (lit. many or people) who sit with you, and when you are (the one) who has had food, and your plate is finished, you cannot leave yet.’

(7) *la* *iân* *nó* *ti* *lak,* *lo* *pan~pan* *gán,* *tân* *sâk* *rokon*
 in time 2SG stand go.up or PL~go leave VIS.MED NEG good
 ‘When you stand up and walk away, that is not good.’

(8) *nó=k* *tom* *kuuál* *pâ* *ner* *kelek,*
 2SG=FUT sit together with 3PL first

noŋ *si=n=a* *kápái,* *amâ* *mé* *tom* *kuuál,*
 be.enough AL=3SG=ART all where 2PL sit be.together

mat *a* *mé* *boi* *kuuál,*
 and ART 2PL eat.INTR be.together

a *bul* *kaua* *si=ner* *kápái* *a* *mot*
 ART PL coconut.shell AL=3PL all PFV finish

‘You will stay with them first until everyone that you sit with and eat together with, all their plates are finished.’

(9) *la* *iân* *tân* *noŋ* *ta-ka=n=a* *nântál,*
 in time VIS.MED be.enough IND.ART-for=3SG=ART 2TRI

lo *sémén a* *lu=tén,*
 or if ART PL=woman

amâ *ner* *ka* *man* *ner* *a* *tauai* *nó* *pâ* *boi-an,*
 where 3PL RM.PST come 3PL PFV give 2SG with eat-NOML

ner *ók* *man* *ik* *sik* *pus-én* *a* *bul* *kaua*
 3PL FUT come IPFV take throw-TR ART PL coconut.shell

la *ku=m*
 in belly=2SG

‘Until the time when one of you, or when the women who came to give you food, come to take away the plates in front of you.’

- (10) *rokon*
 good
 ‘Thank you.’

2.7. The way of marrying

Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *a salan i=n=a tâmâi*
 ART way INAL=3SG=ART marry
 ‘The way of marrying.’
- (2) *óró a salan, amâ imbo=lek si=mam inkâuâi,*
 VIS.PROX PFV way where PL=man AL=1PL.EXC old
ner kiru â=us, i=n=a tâmâi ik sân,
 3PL PST.HAB CAU=follow INAL=3SG=ART marry IPFV arrive
lo ner ki buák, po ik pâ tâmâi
 or 3PL HAB want COMP IPFV with marry
 ‘This is the way that our ancestors followed to marry and (when) they wanted that there was a marriage.’
- (3) *a salan i=n=a ki lâŋ óró*
 ART way INAL=3SG=ART HAB like VIS.PROX
lantuá=n=a bul mâsât inkâuâi tuna
 inside=3SG=ART PL year old true
 ‘The way of it was like this in the old days (lit. very old years).’
- (4) *pâs-muá i=n=a, ki pâ uru âi=tama lo u=lék,*
 step-front INAL=3SG=ART HAB with two REC=father or DU=man
amâ iriâi a tokon an ta popo, lek tâuan lo ten
 where 3DU PFV own about IND.ART child man male or woman
 ‘At first, there were two parents or two people that had a child, a boy or a girl.’
- (5) *iân iriâi a ráŋ bál lâŋ=âtâ,*
 time 3DU PFV see make like=VIS.DIST
po a popo si=riâi a noŋ ik tâmâi,
 COMP ART child AL=3DU PFV be.enough IPFV marry
a salan i=n=a ki lâŋ óró
 ART way INAL=3SG=ART HAB like VIS.PROX
 ‘When they realised that their child could marry, the way of it was like this.’
- (6) *iriâi, uru âi=laua=n-an, ók gán*
 3DU DU REC=husband=3SG-NOML FUT leave
 ‘They, the married couple, would leave (the house).’
- (7) *iriâ=k pan si=n=a kas uru âi=laua=n-an,*
 3DU=FUT go AL=3SG=ART other DU REC=husband=3SG-NOML
amâ iriâi a buák a ten lo ta lek tâuan tâ
 where 3DU PFV want ART woman or IND.ART man male VIS.DIST
 ‘They would go to another married couple that they wanted a woman or a man from.’

- (8) *iriâi ki pan tâmo, iriâ=k sân,*
3DU HAB go now 3DU=FUT arrive
té riâ=k kus a mâsapa,
then 3DU=FUT tell PFV clear
lo iriâi=k riâi a uru âi=laua=n-an po
or 3DU=FUT ask ART DU REC=husband=3SG-NOML COMP
'They would go now, they would arrive, then they would explain, and they would ask the couple.'
- (9) *“âi, imâi nâ uâ man pâ ra~rauai lâη óró,*
INTJ 1DU.EXC NVIS.DIST RC.PST come with PL~make.sound like VIS.PROX
po imâi i buák lâη=âtâ,
COMP 1DU.EXC IPFV want like=VIS.DIST
nátá=mâi ik tokon a nátá=miâi”
child=1DU.EXC IPFV own ART child=2DU
“‘Hey, we came with these words, that we want that our child marries your child.’”
- (10) *té nér ki tom kuuál, nér ik âi=peten an,*
then 3PL HAB sit be.together 3PL IPFV REC=talk about
baté nér a sân kálá lom~lomon
then 3PL PFV arrive on INTR~think
'Then they would sit together, they would talk about it, then they came up with an idea.'
- (11) *la iân a lom~lomon onén, nér a sân kálá=n=a,*
in time ART INTR~think NVIS.PROX 3PL PFV arrive on=3SG=ART
a rokon, i=n=a tâmo nér ik taual aman,
PFV good INAL=3SG=ART now 3PL IPFV return come
mot uru tâmâ=η, iriâi=k ra~rauai si=n=a nátá=riâi,
and DU father=NPOSS 3DU=IPFV PL~make.sound AL=3SG=ART child=3DU
a ten lo lek tâuan
ART woman or man male
'When the idea they came up with was good, then they would go back now, and the parents would talk to their child, the girl or the boy.'
- (12) *té kas uru tâmâi ala, iriâ=k pan,*
then other DU marry again 3DU=FUT go
riâ=k ra~rauai si=n=a nátá=riâi,
3DU=IPFV PL~make.sound AL=3SG=ART child=3DU
a ten lo lek tâuan
ART woman or man male
'Then the other married couple, too, they would go to talk to their child, the girl or the boy.'
- (13) *i=n=a tâmo iriâ=k gâi sik a ten,*
INAL=3SG=ART now 3DU=IPFV accompany take ART woman

lo iriâi=k gâi sik a lek tâuan, iriâi=k aman,
or 3DU=IPFV accompany take ART man male 3DU=IPFV come

iriâi=k â=tom kuuál iriâi, i=n=a iriâi=k sân tâmâi
3DU=IPFV CAU=sit be.together 3DU INAL=3SG=ART 3DU=IPFV arrive marry

'Then they would take the girl, or they would take the boy, they would come, they would make them stay together so they would get married.'

(14) *nan a tó, amâ lantuá=n=a bul mâsât inkâuâi,*
3SG PFV live where inside=3SG=ART PL year old

a kulâu-uin si=mam kóró â=us,
ART people-big AL=1PL.EXC PST.HAB CAU=follow

i=n=a iân nér i buák lâη=âtâ, po a to~tom-an,
INAL=3SG=ART time 3PL IPFV want like=VIS.DIST COMP ART NOML~sit-NOML

lo nér ik â=tâmâi a bul lu=biân auái
or 3PL IPFV CAU=marry ART PL PL=small new

'It is the custom that in the old days our ancestors would follow when they wanted a marriage (to take place), and they let the new children marry.'

(15) *baté tanén tâmo nó ók puát lâη=âtâ,*
then today now 2SG FUT find like=VIS.DIST

po pâ kê~kâlpák-bin a lâη=âtâ
COMP with INTR~change-big PFV like=VIS.DIST

'Then today now, you will see that there is a big change like this.'

(16) *lantuá=n=a bul mâsât, amâ nér ki buák â=tâmâi a lu=biân,*
inside=3SG=ART PL year where 3PL HAB want CAU=marry ART PL=small

tanén nó=k puát lâη=âtâ
today 2SG=FUT find like=VIS.DIST

'Regarding the age at which they wanted to arrange marriages for the children, today you will find this.'

(17) *ók la-uata i=n=a saka saηaulápâ patlima*
FUT in-middle INAL=3SG=ART one ten with five

sái pan si=n=a iuâi saηaulá, nér ik tâmâi tâmo
go.down go AL=3SG=ART two ten 3PL IPFV marry now

'It will be between (the age of) fifteen down to twenty, (then) they marry now.'

(18) *lo pâs-muá nâ kiru pârék*
or step-front NVIS.DIST PST.HAB have.NEG

'But before, this did not exist.'

(19) *kóró utál saηaulámâsât, tánámái nér ik tâmâi*
PST.HAB three ten year afterward 3PL IPFV marry

'It was (with) thirty years, then they would marry.'

(20) *lo pârék, kas-nón iân kóró utál saηauláik pan*
or have.NEG other-NSG time PST.HAB three ten IPFV go

si=n=a tâlât saŋaulá mâsât, tánámái nér ik tâmâi iuak
 AL=3SG=ART four ten year afterward 3PL IPFV marry later
 'But no, sometimes it was (with) thirty to forty years, then they would marry.'

- (21) *tanén lâŋ níúu uâ món â=tán,*
 today like 1SG RC.PST first CAU=say

pâ kê~kâlpák-bin a sâŋ kêuâi lantuá=n=a pat iân tanén
 with INTR~change-big PFV arrive already inside=3SG=ART part time today
 'Today, like I first said, there has already been a big change at this moment today.'

- (22) *mot nó=k puát lâŋ=âtâ, a malila i=n=a kulâu*
 and 2SG=FUT find like=VIS.DIST ART amount INAL=3SG=ART people

lo polok i=n=a kulâu lantuá=n=a bul malai si=mam
 or grow INAL=3SG=ART people inside=3SG=ART PL village AL=1PL.EXC

a suma sât i=n=a polok, â=us lâŋ=âtâ
 PFV fast bad INAL=3SG=ART grow CAU=follow like=VIS.DIST

'And you see that the population or the number (lit. growth) of the people in our villages is growing very fast because of this.'

- (23) *tâmâi sâk â=us kêuâi a pâl~pâl-an pâs-muá*
 marry NEG CAU=follow already ART INTR~plan-NOML step-front

mot a mâsât, amâ bul kulâu si=mam,
 and ART year where PL people AL=1PL.EXC

nér kóró â=tâmâi a bul tâmâi auái
 3PL PST.HAB CAU=marry ART PL marry new

'Marriage does not follow anymore the original plan and the age at which our people used to let new couples marry.'

- (24) *rokon, nan isaŋ*
 good 3SG alone
 'Thank you, that is all.'

2.8. The way to cut a canoe

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *salan i=n=a te bál*
 way INAL=3SG=ART cut canoe
 'The way to cut a canoe.'
- (2) *inkâuûi tuna a bul kulâu-uin si=mam kóró â=us*
 old true ART PL people-big AL=1PL.EXC PST.HAB CAU=follow
a salan óró, i=n=a nér ik pâ bál i=n=a mákásám,
 ART way VIS.PROX INAL=3SG=ART 3PL IPFV with canoe INAL=3SG=ART meat
lo i=n=a kâ~kol pan la ta kas-nón bák
 or INAL=3SG=ART INTR~paddle go in IND.ART other-NSG place
 'In the old days, our ancestors followed this way so they would have canoes to fish and to paddle to other places.'
- (3) *lo salan i=n=a a lâŋ óró*
 or way INAL=3SG=ART PFV like VIS.PROX
 'And the way to (do) it is like this.'
- (4) *tî-topoŋ i=n=a, nér ki món pan,*
 stand-start INAL=3SG=ART 3PL HAB first go
mot nér ik ráŋ bál a sâ uái,
 and 3PL IPFV see make ART what tree
amâ a â=us a buák si=nér,
 where PFV CAU=follow ART want AL=3PL
i=n=a nér ik te
 INAL=3SG=ART 3PL IPFV cut
 'At the beginning of it, they first go and choose a tree according to their wish for them to cut.'
- (5) *la mí=n=a, nér ki pan,*
 in back=3SG=ART 3PL HAB go
nér ik gâl a pat i=n=a mot muá=n=a uái
 3PL IPFV clean ART part INAL=3SG=ART and front=3SG=ART tree
 'Afterwards, they go, they clean the bottom and the bark around the tree (where they want to cut it).'
- (6) *i=n=a tâmo nér ik sik ta ók íámá,*
 INAL=3SG=ART now 3PL IPFV take IND.ART whole.piece axe
i=n=a nér ik te sái a uái
 INAL=3SG=ART 3PL IPFV cut go.down ART tree
 'Then now they take an axe to cut down the tree.'
- (7) *la iân a uái a mati,*
 in time ART tree PFV lie

nér a n̄n̄n̄ kelek a bál â=us a buák si=nér
 3PL PFV measure first ART canoe CAU=follow ART want AL=3PL
 ‘When the tree is lying down, they measure the canoe first according to their wish.’

(8) *a beue i=n=a, lo ik tok lâŋâsâ*
 ART long INAL=3SG=ART or IPFV short how
 ‘Its length, and how short it should be.’

(9) *té la mi=n=a, nér a te bok,*
 then in back=3SG=ART 3PL PFV cut break

nér a bok pus-én a pat nón,
 3PL PFV break throw-TR ART part place

amâ gán la pat ik pan la páspás
 where leave in part IPFV go in treetop

â=us a buák si=nér
 CAU=follow ART want AL=3PL

‘Then afterwards, they cut, they make a cut at the bottom, and they make a cut at the treetop (lit. they cut out the part coming from the bottom going to the treetop) according to their wish.’

(10) *té la mi=n=a tâmo, nér ik te mata=n=a bál*
 then in back=3SG=ART now 3PL IPFV cut eye=3SG=ART canoe
 ‘Then afterwards now, they cut the opening of the canoe.’

(11) *té nér ik pa~pak pus-én a mata=n=a bál*
 then 3PL IPFV INTR~open throw-TR ART eye=3SG=ART canoe
 ‘Then they open the opening of the canoe.’

(12) *iân nér a pa~pak a mot,*
 time 3PL PFV INTR~open PFV finish

nér a te a uru nó=n=a kápái
 3PL PFV cut ART DU face=3SG=ART all

‘When they finished opening it, they cut its front and rear (lit. two faces).’

(13) *sémén nó buák lâŋ=âtâ,*
 if 2SG want like=VIS.DIST

po a uru nó=n=a bál ik má-kásám,
 COMP ART DU face=3SG=ART canoe IPFV PASS-sharpen

té nó=k te us lâŋ a buák si=m
 then 2SG=FUT cut follow like ART want AL=2SG

‘If you want the front and rear of the canoe to be sharp, then you cut according to your wish.’

(14) *iân nó te mot a uru nó=n=a,*
 time 2SG cut finish ART DU face=3SG=ART

nó=k te a uru pâis i=n=a
 2SG=FUT cut ART DU side INAL=3SG=ART

‘When you finished cutting its front and rear, you cut the two sides of it.’

- (15) *iân nó te a mot a uru pâis i=n=a,*
time 2SG cut PFV finish ART DU side INAL=3SG=ART
- nó=k kâlpák a ku=n=a bál ik sái li-piá*
2SG=FUT change ART belly=3SG=ART canoe IPFV go.down in-ground
'When you finished cutting its sides, you turn the upper part of the canoe downwards.'
- (16) *té nó=k â=rarau a pâpete=n=a bál*
then 2SG=FUT CAU=correct ART back=3SG=ART canoe
'Then you cut the back of the canoe into shape.'
- (17) *té la iân nó te a rarau,*
then in time 2SG cut PFV correct
- nó=k kâlpák pák a ku=n=a ik lak taual,*
2SG=FUT change turn ART belly=3SG=ART IPFV go.up return
- i=n=a nó=k te lantuá=n=a pâ íamá*
INAL=3SG=ART 2SG=IPFV cut inside=3SG=ART with axe
'Then when you cut it into shape, you turn back its upper part upwards so you cut its inside with an axe.'
- (18) *la iân nó te mot a lantuá=n=a, nó ráj bál,*
in time 2SG cut finish ART inside=3SG=ART 2SG see make
- po nan a sái kâuâi, lo sái la-uata tâmo*
COMP 3SG PFV go.down already or go.down in-middle now
'When you finished cutting its inside, you recognise that it is already (cut) down and goes deep into the middle now.'
- (19) *nó=k sik a riám, nó=k riám a lantuá=n=a bál*
2SG=FUT take ART adze 2SG=FUT adze ART inside=3SG=ART canoe
'You take an adze, you carve the inside of the canoe.'
- (20) *lo pâ iuâi a riám,*
or with two ART adze
- pâ riám te~te, mot a riám se~se*
with adze INTR~cut and ART adze INTR~cut
'But there are two adzes, there is one (bigger) adze for cutting and a (smaller) adze for smoothing.'
- (21) *nó=k món te kelek a lantuá=n=a bál pâ riám te~te*
2SG=FUT first cut first ART inside=3SG=ART canoe with adze INTR~cut
'You first cut the inside of the canoe with the (bigger) adze for cutting.'
- (22) *té la mi=n=a,*
then in back=3SG=ART
- nó=k â=rarau a lantuá=n=a bál pâ riám se~se*
2SG=FUT CAU=correct ART inside=3SG=ART canoe with adze INTR~cut
'Then afterwards, you make the inside smooth with the (smaller) adze for smoothing.'
- (23) *lo sémén a mot tâmo, nó=k sik a pan la lu,*
or if PFV finish now 2SG=FUT take PFV go in house

lo nâ lá-uán la pitinauán
 or NVIS.DIST in-sand in beach
 'And when it is finished now, you take it home or to the beach.'

(24) *nó=k â=tom tân, po ik kár malakaŋ biâŋ*
 2SG=FUT CAU=sit VIS.MED COMP IPFV go.down dry small
 'You put it there so it goes down to dry a little.'

(25) *té nó=k âigot an a bul niâu*
 then 2SG=FUT be.ready about ART PL thing

ik tom â=bouoŋ a bál ik malakaŋ
 IPFV sit CAU=wait ART canoe IPFV dry

'Then you prepare the things so they are ready (lit. sit and wait) when the canoe is dry.'

(26) *nó=k âigot an a bul niâu, nér ki â=táŋ*
 2SG=FUT be.ready about ART PL thing 3PL HAB CAU=say

iuâi a butui, a bul karas,
 two ART joining.stick ART PL upright.stick

a bul â'i, té kó saman ala
 ART PL brace.stick then small.piece outrigger again

'You prepare the things that they call two horizontal joining sticks, small vertical sticks, diagonal bracing sticks, then also one outrigger.'

(27) *té pâ kas-nón uái mo, bul uái,*
 then with other-NSG tree only PL tree

amâ nér ki sik i=n=a butui, i=n=a bul â'i
 where 3PL HAB take INAL=3SG=ART joining.stick INAL=3SG=ART PL brace.stick

mot i=n=a bul karas, mot a saman ala
 and INAL=3SG=ART PL upright.stick and ART outrigger again

'Then there are only some kinds of trees, trees that they take for horizontal joining sticks, for diagonal bracing sticks, and for vertical sticks, and the outrigger.'

(28) *a bul uái kápái, nér ki sâk te*
 ART PL tree all 3PL HAB NEG cut

i=n=a bul niâu óró
 INAL=3SG=ART PL thing VIS.PROX

'Not every tree can be cut for these things.'

(29) *ki pâ âés mo, nér ki ráŋ bál,*
 HAB with vine only 3PL HAB see make

po a pék noŋ nér ik sik,
 COMP PFV strong be.enough 3PL IPFV take

i=n=a nér ik pala a bul â'i,
 INAL=3SG=ART 3PL IPFV tie ART PL brace.stick

karas, lo butui pâ=n=a
upright.stick or joining.stick with=3SG=ART

'There is only (a certain) vine they recognise as strong enough to take and tie the bracing sticks, vertical sticks and joining sticks with.'

- (30) *té nér ki pót a tâlât a lék la mata=n=a bál*
then 3PL HAB drill ART four ART hole in eye=3SG=ART canoe
'Then they drill four holes into the opening of the canoe.'

- (31) *i=n=a lék otân, nér ók sasan toi a bul âés,*
INAL=3SG=ART hole VIS.MED 3PL FUT push touch ART PL vine

mot nér ik pala pék uru butui,
and 3PL IPFV tie strong DU joining.stick

i=n=a nâ ik to~toi pék
INAL=3SG=ART NVIS.DIST IPFV INTR~touch strong

'Then these holes, they push vines through them, and they tie the two joining sticks firmly so they stay strongly fastened.'

- (32) *i=n=a iân nér ók pala a bul karas*
INAL=3SG=ART time 3PL FUT tie ART PL upright.stick

lo bul â'i, a sâk noŋ ik â=nás gán
or PL brace.stick PFV NEG be.enough IPFV CAU=move leave

kálá bál
on canoe

'Then when they tie the vertical sticks and the bracing sticks, they cannot become loose on the canoe.'

- (33) *lo âés ónén nâ, nér ki sik,*
or vine NVIS.PROX NVIS.DIST 3PL HAB take

i=n=a nér ik pala bál pâ=n=a,
INAL=3SG=ART 3PL IPFV tie canoe with=3SG=ART

nér ki â=táj a uiá
3PL HAB CAU=say ART rattan

'And the vine they take to tie the canoe, they call it rattan.'

- (34) *nér ik iâ pan kinak lantuá=n=a bák nâ,*
3PL IPFV CONT go still inside=3SG=ART place NVIS.DIST

bul uiá a tom
PL rattan PFV sit

'They still must go inside the place where rattan grows.'

- (35) *i=n=a nér ik iaman a bul uiá,*
INAL=3SG=ART 3PL IPFV pull.down ART PL rattan

i=n=a nér ik iâ man pâ=n=a
INAL=3SG=ART 3PL IPFV CONT come with=3SG=ART

'Then they pull down the rattan vines so they come (back to the canoe) with them.'

- (36) *i=n=a* *ner* *ik* *kakai* *a* *uia,*
 INAL=3SG=ART 3PL IPFV scrape ART rattan
- i=n=a* *tân* *ner* *ók* *sik* *a* *uia,*
 INAL=3SG=ART VIS.MED 3PL FUT take ART rattan
- i=n=a* *ner* *ik* *pala* *a* *pék* *a* *butui* *pâ=n=a,*
 INAL=3SG=ART 3PL IPFV tie PFV strong ART joining.stick with=3SG=ART
- mot* *a* *bul* *karas,* *mot* *a* *â'i*
 and ART PL upright.stick and ART brace.stick
- 'Then they remove the inside of the rattan vines, then they will take the rattan to tie the joining sticks with it, and the vertical sticks, and the bracing sticks.'
- (37) *ner* *ki* *pala* *pék* *kálá* *saman*
 3PL HAB tie strong on outrigger
- 'They tie them onto the outrigger.'
- (38) *i=n=a* *la* *mi=n=a* *la* *iân* *ner* *a* *pala* *pék*
 INAL=3SG=ART in back=3SG=ART in time 3PL PFV tie strong
- a* *saman,* *ner* *ik* *noj* *ner* *ik* *sik* *a* *sái*
 ART outrigger 3PL IPFV be.enough 3PL IPFV take PFV go.down
- nâ* *lá-uán,* *mot* *ner* *ik* *â=tom* *la* *tas*
 NVIS.DIST in-sand and 3PL IPFV CAU=sit in sea
- 'Then afterwards, when they tie the outrigger, they can take it down to the beach, and they put it into the sea.'
- (39) *i=n=a* *ner* *ik* *kâ~kol* *pâ=n=a*
 INAL=3SG=ART 3PL IPFV INTR~paddle with=3SG=ART
- 'Then they paddle with it.'
- (40) *lo* *kâ~kol* *pâ=n=a,*
 or INTR~paddle with=3SG=ART
- ner* *sâk* *noj* *ner* *ik* *kâ~kol* *ga,*
 3PL NEG be.enough 3PL IPFV INTR~paddle empty
- ner* *ók* *iâ* *te* *ta* *ós*
 3PL FUT CONT cut IND.ART paddle
- 'But (to) paddle with it, they cannot simply paddle, they will have to cut a paddle.'
- (41) *lo* *ós* *ónén* *ók* *â=gasik* *ner,*
 or paddle NVIS.PROX FUT CAU=help 3PL
- i=n=a* *kol* *an* *a* *bál*
 INAL=3SG=ART paddle NOML ART canoe
- 'And this paddle will help them to paddle in the canoe.'
- (42) *rokon*
 good
 'Thank you.'

2.9. The way to make a garden

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *óró a salan i=n=a nó=k pâ marat*
 VIS.PROX PFV way INAL=3SG=ART 2SG=FUT with garden
 ‘This is the way of how you get a garden.’
- (2) *ti-toponj i=n=a nó buák a marat,*
 stand-start INAL=3SG=ART 2SG want ART garden
a salan i=n=a ró ki lâŋ óró
 ART way INAL=3SG=ART VIS.PROX HAB like VIS.PROX
 ‘At first when you want a garden, the way of this is like this.’
- (3) *nó=k lomom kelek ta nóŋ, amâ nonj nó=k pan,*
 2SG=FUT think first IND.ART place where be.enough 2SG=IPFV go
mot nó=k te, i=n=a nó=k pâ marat,
 and 2SG=IPFV cut INAL=3SG=ART 2SG=IPFV with garden
lo nó=k âisók an a marat si=m
 or 2SG=IPFV work about ART garden AL=2SG
 ‘Think first of a place where you can go and cut so you will have a garden and work on your garden.’
- (4) *ti-toponj i=n=a lâŋ=âtâ*
 stand-start INAL=3SG=ART like=VIS.DIST
 ‘The beginning of it is like this.’
- (5) *sémén nó lomom lâŋ=âtâ, po tanén nó=k sái pan*
 if 2SG think like=VIS.DIST COMP today 2SG=IPFV go.down go
nó=k te ta bák i=n=a marat,
 2SG=IPFV cut IND.ART place INAL=3SG=ART garden
nó=k gán sik a íamá si=m
 2SG=FUT leave take ART axe AL=2SG
 ‘If you think that today you will go down to cut a certain place for a garden, you will leave (the house) and take your bush knife.’
- (6) *nó=k ráŋ bál a sâ nóŋ,*
 2SG=FUT see make ART what place
amâ nonj nó=k âisók an ta-ka=m marat,
 where be.enough 2SG=IPFV work about IND.ART-for=2SG garden
té nó=k pâ~pâkâi
 then 2SG=FUT INTR~cut.bush
 ‘You choose whatever place where you can make the garden for yourself, then you cut down the bush.’
- (7) *nó=k pâkâi a sái mot a bul uái kápái*
 2SG=FUT cut.bush PFV go.down finish ART PL tree all

tân, té nó=k sala mati, po ik mati meŋ
 VIS.MED then 2SG=FUT let lie COMP IPFV lie dry
 ‘You cut down all plants there, then you let them lie so they will lie to dry.’

- (8) *ók noŋ lâŋ a iuâi a uik ka’u, lo saka ualan,*
 FUT be.enough like ART two ART week maybe or one moon

nó=k sala mati a pâ~pâkâi si=m,
 2SG=FUT let lie ART INTR~cut.bush AL=2SG

i=n=a uás ik só, po ik meŋ
 INAL=3SG=ART sun IPFV pierce COMP IPFV dry

‘It will be for about two weeks maybe or one month, you let the plants that you cut (lit. your cut bush) lie so the sun will shine on them so they become dry.’

- (9) *la mi=n=a, nó=k sik a uata,*
 in back=3SG=ART 2SG=FUT take ART fire

mot nó=k sái pan la sâ bák nâ,
 and 2SG=FUT go.down go in what place NVIS.DIST

nó ka pâkâi, mot nó=k â=mánán
 2SG RM.PST cut.bush and 2SG=FUT CAU=burnt

‘Afterwards, you take fire, and you go down to whatever place you had cut down the bush, and you burn (the dried plants).’

- (10) *la iân nó â=mánán a mot atâmo, té nó=k gón*
 in time 2SG CAU=burnt PFV finish now then 2SG=FUT weed
 ‘When you have finished burning the bush now, then you weed.’

- (11) *nó=k gón a bák i=n=a marat tâmo*
 2SG=FUT weed ART place INAL=3SG=ART garden now
 ‘You weed the place for the garden now.’

- (12) *la iân nó gón a mot, té nó=k sik a bâirâ,*
 in time 2SG weed PFV finish then 2SG=FUT take ART hoe

i=n=a tâmo nó=k ti-topoŋ, i=n=a bâirâ,
 INAL=3SG=ART now 2SG=IPFV stand-start INAL=3SG=ART hoe

sémén nó buák lâŋ=âtâ,
 if 2SG want like=VIS.DIST

po a marat si=m ik patita isan mo
 COMP ART garden AL=2SG IPFV sweet.potato alone only

‘When you have finished weeding, then you take a hoe, then you start hoeing if you want that your garden will (have) only sweet potatoes.’

- (13) *nan tâmo, nó=k sik a bâirâ, i=n=a nó=k bâirâ*
 3SG now 2SG=FUT take ART hoe INAL=3SG=ART 2SG=IPFV hoe
 ‘Now you take a hoe so you will hoe.’

- (14) *iân nó bâirâ a mot a nón anén,*
 time 2SG hoe PFV finish ART place NVIS.PROX

amâ nó buák, po i=n=a patita,
where 2SG want COMP INAL=3SG=ART sweet.potato

la mi=n=a utál a ualan, lo tâlât a ualan,
in back=3SG=ART three ART moon or four ART moon

té nó ráη lâη=âtâ, po paka=n=a patita si=m,
then 2SG see like=VIS.DIST COMP leaf=3SG=ART sweet.potato AL=2SG

sémén ik ti-topoη, i=n=a kis, nan tân â=tén
if IPFV stand-start INAL=3SG=ART yellow 3SG VIS.MED CAU=show

lâη=âtâ, po a patita si=m a rokon
like=VIS.DIST COMP ART sweet.potato AL=2SG PFV good

‘When you have finished hoeing the place that you want to be for sweet potatoes, (you plant them,) after three months or four months, then you see that the leaves of your sweet potatoes begin turning yellow, this shows that your sweet potatoes are good.’

(15) *kas ráη~ráη-an, la iân nó buák kalapaη lâη=âtâ,*
other INTR~see-NOML in time 2SG want know like=VIS.DIST

po patita si=m a rokon tâmo, nó=k ráη tâ,
COMP sweet.potato AL=2SG PFV good now 2SG=FUT see VIS.DIST

sémén a kusé, nan ók ηan a biâη
if ART rat 3SG FUT eat.TR PFV small

ta bul nó=n=a patita, tân nó=k kalapaη
IND.ART PL face=3SG=ART sweet.potato VIS.MED 2SG=FUT know

lâη=âtâ, po a patita si=m a âigot tâmo,
like=VIS.DIST COMP ART sweet.potato AL=2SG PFV be.ready now

i=n=a kál~kál, i=n=a boi
INAL=3SG=ART INTR~dig INAL=3SG=ART eat.INTR

‘Another observation, when you want to know whether your sweet potatoes are good now, you look there if a rat will eat a little of the sweet potatoe leaves, then you will know that your sweet potatoes are ready for digging to eat.’

(16) *la pat iân tân ala, nó=k iâ lomôn lâη=âtâ,*
in part time VIS.MED again 2SG=FUT CONT think like=VIS.DIST

po la iân nó pâ marat auái, lâη a marat patita,
COMP in time 2SG with garden new like ART garden sweet.potato

pâs-muá i=n=a, nó=k iâ sik pus-én
step-front INAL=3SG=ART 2SG=FUT CONT take throw-TR

ta saka bi, i=n=a nó=k tauai ta pâs-muá
IND.ART one basket INAL=3SG=ART 2SG=IPFV give IND.ART step-front

i=n=a *lotu*
 INAL=3SG=ART religion

‘Also at that moment, you must remember that when you have a new garden, like a sweet potato garden, first you must take out one basket to give to a church leader.’

- (17) *pâs-muá* *lân* *a* *pâsta, na* *dikan, lo* *na* *tâltâla*
 step-front like ART pastor PN.ART deacon or PN.ART reverend
 ‘A leader like a pastor, the deacon or the reverend.’

- (18) *isá=n=a* *bus* *tân,* *ner* *ki* *â=tân* *lân=âtâ,*
 name=3SG=ART DUMMY VIS.MED 3PL HAB CAU=say like=VIS.DIST

pas *âuas,* *lo* *saka* *saŋaulá*
 first harvest or one ten

‘The name of this, they call it “tithes” (lit. first harvest) or *saka saŋaulá*.’

- (19) *saka* *saŋaulá,* *lân* *nó* *sâk* *ŋan* *kinak* *a* *boi-an* *tân,*
 one ten like 2SG NEG eat.TR still ART eat-NOML VIS.MED

lo *nó=k* *món* *tauai* *ta* *pâs-muá* *i=n=a* *lotu*
 or 2SG=FUT first give IND.ART step-front INAL=3SG=ART religion

‘Tithes, like you do not eat that food yet, but you will first give it to a church leader.’

- (20) *é=k* *lomon, po* *nan* *a* *salan,*
 1SG=IPFV think COMP 3SG PFV way

amâ *ita* *kápái* *ók* *â=us,* *lo* *itâi* *kápái* *ók* *â=us,*
 where 1PL.INC all FUT CAU=follow or 1DU.INC all FUT CAU=follow

la *iân* *nó* *ualai* *ta* *marat* *auái*
 in time 2SG do IND.ART garden new

‘I think this is the way that we all will follow, or that the both of us will follow, when you make a new garden.’

- (21) *la* *mi=n=a* *iuak* *la* *iân* *nó* *tauai* *a* *mot* *ta* *pâs-muá*
 in back=3SG=ART later in time 2SG give PFV finish IND.ART step-front

pâ *ta* *bi* *boi-an,*
 with IND.ART basket eat-NOML

noŋ *iuak* *nó=k* *kál* *iuak* *a* *boi-an,*
 be.enough later 2SG=IPFV dig later ART eat-NOML

i=n=a *nó=k* *pan* *nó=k* *âsót* *pâ=n=a*
 INAL=3SG=ART 2SG=IPFV go 2SG=IPFV market with=3SG=ART

‘Afterwards, later when you have given a leader a basket with food, you can later dig the food for yourself to go and sell it at the market.’

- (22) *lo* *ka=m* *ala,* *i=n=a* *pan* *la* *mata=n=a* *âŋan,*
 or for=2SG again INAL=3SG=ART go in eye=3SG=ART feast

lo *i=n=a* *pan* *la* *tâptâuái* *la* *mat~mat,*
 or INAL=3SG=ART go in give.help in NOML~die

la iân a tiár pâ tálál
 in time ART person with feast

'Or also for you to go to a feast, or to go as a gift to a funeral, when a person has a feast.'

(23) *lo pârék, nó=k iâ ñan tâmo a patita si=m*
 or have.NEG 2SG=FUT CONT eat.TR now ART sweet.potato AL=2SG

'But (if) not, you can eat your sweet potatoes now.'

(24) *rokon, nan isaŋ*
 good 3SG alone

'Thank you, that is all.'

2.10. The way to plant taro

By Maria Laris (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *a iân i=n=a táu bók, nó=k iâ tâjan*
 ART time INAL=3SG=ART plant taro 2SG=FUT CONT wake.up
la maulék, lak, mot gâl a bák, lo gón a bák,
 in morning go.up and clean ART place or weed ART place
té â=sót a uata
 then CAU=inflame ART fire
 'At the time of planting taro, you must wake up in the morning, go up (to the garden) and clean the place and weed the place, then make fire.'
- (2) *a bák a réŋ tâmo,*
 ART place PFV clean now
la mi=n=a, té sik a ipak tâmo, táu
 in back=3SG=ART then take ART taro.sucker now plant
 'The place is clean now, afterwards, then take a taro sucker now, plant it.'
- (3) *ta=k â=sót a bák ala, té táu bók,*
 1PL.INC=FUT CAU=inflame ART place again then plant taro
táu an a laula tâmo
 plant about ART taro now
 'We burn the place again, then plant taro, plant the taro now.'
- (4) *té pârék ta lâuâ=n=a kulâu ik táu a bók*
 then have.NEG IND.ART much=3SG=ART people IPFV plant ART taro
 'Then there are not many people (allowed) to plant taro.'
- (5) *nó rarau mo, lek tokon a marat, nó=k táu a bók*
 2SG correct only man own ART garden 2SG=FUT plant ART taro
 'Only you, the owner of the garden, you plant the taro.'
- (6) *pârék ta kas tiár ala*
 have.NEG IND.ART other person again
 'There is no other person.'
- (7) *âlal bin râisât tuna, i=n=a táu an a laula*
 fast big very.big true INAL=3SG=ART plant NOML ART taro
 'Fast a lot to plant taro.'
- (8) *a kulâu tâmâi piâ=n=a mati kuuál*
 ART people marry PROH.INAL=3SG=ART sleep be.together
la iân i=n=a táu~táu,
 in time INAL=3SG=ART INTR~plant

lo piâ=n=a silé lantuá=n=a laula
 or PROH.INAL=3SG=ART enter inside=3SG=ART taro

‘Married people cannot sleep with each other at the time of planting and cannot go into the taro (garden).’

- (9) *a lu=tén nâ, nér a ráŋ ualan,*
 ART PL=woman NVIS.DIST 3PL PFV see moon

piâ=n=a silé lantuá=n=a laula
 PROH.INAL=3SG=ART enter inside=3SG=ART taro

‘Women who have their period (lit. see the moon) cannot go into the taro (garden).’

- (10) *nó mo, nó lek tokon a marat,*
 2SG only 2SG man own ART garden

nó mo, nó=k táu a marat si=m
 2SG only 2SG=FUT plant ART garden AL=2SG

‘Only you, you are the owner of the garden, only you, you plant your garden.’

- (11) *tâmo la, péu ik piâ=n=a silé*
 now again dog IPFV PROH.INAL=3SG=ART enter

lantuá=n=a marat bók si=m,
 inside=3SG=ART garden taro AL=2SG

nó=k â=kotoŋ a rokon a bók si=m
 2SG=FUT CAU=care PFV good ART taro AL=2SG

‘Now also, dogs are forbidden to go into your taro garden, look well after your taro.’

- (12) *kulâu kápái piâ=n=a silé la marat si=m*
 people all PROH.INAL=3SG=ART enter in garden AL=2SG
 ‘All people are forbidden to enter your garden.’

- (13) *nó=k rurukal a marat si=m pâ rurukal,*
 2SG=FUT boundary ART garden AL=2SG with boundary

i=n=a kulâu ik piâ=n=a silé pâs kol-an
 INAL=3SG=ART people IPFV PROH.INAL=3SG=ART enter step go.around-TR

a lantuá=n=a marat si=m pâ kek=enér
 ART inside=3SG=ART garden AL=2SG with leg=3PL

‘You mark your garden with boundary sticks so people will not enter to step around inside your garden with their feet.’

- (14) *tâmo a âisók i=n=a laula lâŋ=âtâ*
 now ART work INAL=3SG=ART taro like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Now the way of (planting) taro is like this.’

- (15) *piâ=n=a sala tuna ta kas tiár ik silé la laula*
 PROH.INAL=3SG=ART let true IND.ART other person IPFV enter in taro
 ‘It is really forbidden to let another person enter the taro (garden).’

- (16) *bul* *âi=sât* *i=n=a* *laula* *lân=âtâ*
 PL REC=bad INAL=3SG=ART taro like=VIS.DIST
 ‘The diseases of the taro are like this.’
- (17) *máná,* *paka=n=a* *laula* *ik* *sât,* *lo* *gal*
 insect.sp. leaf=3SG=ART taro IPFV bad or garden.taboo.breach
lantuá=n=a *laula*
 inside=3SG=ART taro
 ‘Taro spoiling insects, the taro leaves become bad, and disease inside the taro (because one ate tabooed food before planting them).’
- (18) *lân=âtâ,* *a* *tiár* *tokon* *a* *marat* *isaŋ* *mo* *ik* *silé*
 like=VIS.DIST ART person own ART garden alone only IPFV enter
lantuá=n=a *marat*
 inside=3SG=ART garden
 ‘Thus, only the owner of the garden may enter the garden.’
- (19) *a* *urui* *mot* *a* *kokou,*
 ART yam and ART mami.yam
a *bo~uont-â* *i=n=a* *la* *lân=âtâ*
 ART INTR~block-INTR INAL=3SG=ART again like=VIS.DIST
 ‘As for yams and *mami* yams, their restrictions are also like this.’
- (20) *piâ=n=a* *gâi* *a* *kulâu* *kápái,*
 PROH.INAL=3SG=ART accompany ART people all
i=n=a *táu* *a* *urui* *mot* *a* *kokou*
 INAL=3SG=ART plant ART yam and ART mami.yam
 ‘Do not bring people (with you) to plant yams and *mami* yams.’
- (21) *nó* *rarau* *mo,* *nó=k* *táu* *a* *marat* *urui* *si=m*
 2SG correct only 2SG=FUT plant ART garden yam AL=2SG
mot *a* *laula*
 and ART taro
 ‘Only you, you plant your yams garden and the taro.’
- (22) *péu* *ik* *piâ=n=a* *silé* *la* *lantuá=n=a,* *tap* *tuna*
 dog IPFV PROH.INAL=3SG=ART enter in inside=3SG=ART taboo true
 ‘Dogs cannot go inside, it is strictly forbidden.’
- (23) *iân* *i=n=a* *kál* *ala* *a* *urui* *si=m,*
 time INAL=3SG=ART dig again ART yam AL=2SG
kulau *kápái* *ik* *piâ=n=a* *kál*
 people all IPFV PROH.INAL=3SG=ART dig
 ‘At the time of digging your yams again, all people are forbidden to dig.’
- (24) *nó* *isaŋ* *mo,* *nó=k* *kál,*
 2SG alone only 2SG=FUT dig

i=n=a *nó=k* *â=kotoŋ* *a* *rokon* *a* *marat si=m*
 INAL=3SG=ART 2SG=IPFV CAU=care PFV good ART garden AL=2SG
 ‘Only you, you dig and look well after your garden.’

2.11. The way to plant taro

By George Maiop (Sopokor clan)

- (1) *té, óró salan i=n=a táu bók*
 then VIS.PROX way INAL=3SG=ART plant taro
 ‘Well, this is the way to plant taro.’
- (2) *i=n=a biák an a piá, nó=k âlal*
 INAL=3SG=ART break NOML ART ground 2SG=FUT fast
 ‘To break the ground, you fast.’
- (3) *nó sâk ñan a rián tán~tán,*
 2SG NEG eat.TR ART fish INTR~cook
mot nó=k silé la marat
 and 2SG=FUT enter in garden
 ‘You do not eat cooked fish when you go into the garden.’
- (4) *nó sâk ñan a meŋ ala, mot nó=k silé la marat*
 2SG NEG eat.TR ART dry again and 2SG=FUT enter in garden
 ‘You do not eat dry (coconuts), either, when you go into the garden.’
- (5) *nó âlal, ti si=n=a marat, nó táu, a mot*
 2SG fast stand AL=3SG=ART garden 2SG plant PFV finish
 ‘You fast, until the garden that you plant is finished.’
- (6) *té nó=k boi iuak*
 then 2SG=FUT eat.INTR later
 ‘Then you will eat later.’
- (7) *nó=k ñan a sâ boi-an anân,*
 2SG=FUT eat.TR ART what eat-NOML NVIS.MED
ta ki âlal pâ=n=a
 1PL.INC HAB fast with=3SG=ART
 ‘You will eat whatever food we fast with.’
- (8) *té i=n=a urui*
 then INAL=3SG=ART yam
 ‘Then about the yams.’
- (9) *i=n=a biák an a piá,*
 INAL=3SG=ART break NOML ART ground
nó=k biák a mot a piá i=n=a urui,
 2SG=FUT break PFV finish ART ground INAL=3SG=ART yam
nó=k âlal, i=n=a boi-an si=m ik sâŋ rokomât
 2SG=FUT fast INAL=3SG=ART eat-NOML AL=2SG IPFV arrive good.very
 ‘To break the ground, you completely break the ground for the yams, you fast so your food will become very good.’

(10) *ti si=n=a nó táu a mot a bul niâu kápái,*
 stand AL=3SG=ART 2SG plant PFV finish ART PL thing all

nó=k boi iuak
 2SG=FUT eat.INTR later

'Until you have planted everything, (then) you will eat later.'

(11) *bul niâu kápái óró pâ âlal*
 PL thing all VIS.PROX with fast
 'All these things involve fasting.'

2.12. The way to kill sharks in the sea

By George Maiop (Sopokor clan)

- (1) *ró a pini i=n=a lák béu la tas*
 VIS.PROX PFV story INAL=3SG=ART hit shark in sea
 ‘This is a story about killing sharks in the sea.’
- (2) *salan i=n=a lák béu*
 way INAL=3SG=ART hit shark
 ‘The way to kill sharks.’
- (3) *nó=k pâ bilé, a kata, a rolok*
 2SG=FUT with spear ART floater ART coconut.rattle
 ‘You have a spear, a floater and a coconut shell rattle.’
- (4) *a bul niâu óró ki kouos kálá bál,*
 ART PL thing VIS.PROX HAB jump.on on canoe
i=n=a lák an a béu
 INAL=3SG=ART hit NOML ART shark
 ‘These things go into the canoe to kill a shark.’
- (5) *la iân i=n=a sái la tas,*
 in time INAL=3SG=ART go.down in sea
nó=k kol a lak a bál lak lak lak tâ=kál,
 2SG=FUT paddle PFV go.up ART canoe go.up go.up go.up VIS.DIST=up
baté kel an a béu tâmo, béu a iuon
 then call about ART shark now shark PFV exit
 ‘When you go into the sea, you paddle the canoe up and up to the open sea, then you call the shark now, the shark comes out.’
- (6) *la iân a béu a iuon, sik a kata,*
 in time ART shark PFV exit take ART floater
â=sái mot â=solon an la uaia=n=a béu
 CAU=go.down and CAU=push.through about in neck=3SG=ART shark
 ‘When the shark comes out, take the floater, push it down and let it go around the neck of the shark.’
- (7) *kit an a béu tâmo*
 strangle about ART shark now
 ‘Tie it around (the neck of) the shark now.’
- (8) *té taul-én an a kata,*
 then reject-TR about ART floater
sala iriâi=k âi=lák pâ kata tâ la tas
 let 3DU=IPFV REC=hit with floater VIS.DIST in sea
 ‘Then release the floater, let them (the shark) fight with the floater in the sea.’

(9) *pan la iân nan a murém, nó=k pupuát lák nan,*
 go in time 3SG PFV be.tired 2SG=FUT pull hit 3SG

té nó=k â=kouos kálá bál
 then 2SG=FUT CAU=jump.on on canoe

‘Then when he is tired, you pull him up, then you pull him up into the canoe.’

(10) *â=kouos a mot an, té ta’i a rauai,*
 CAU=jump.on PFV finish about then conch.shell PFV make.sound

mot kâlpák an a bál tâmo, sái tauai,
 and change about ART canoe now go.down return

i=n=a bál ik tauau
 INAL=3SG=ART canoe IPFV go.ashore

‘Pull him fully up, then the conch shell sounds (is blown to show how many sharks have been caught so the wife can prepare the earth oven), and turn the canoe now, return down (to the beach) so the canoe comes ashore.’

(11) *bál a sâη tauau tâmo, bul niâu i=n=a bál*
 canoe PFV arrive go.ashore now PL thing INAL=3SG=ART canoe

i=n=a lák béu a â=tom kurâη an otâmo
 INAL=3SG=ART hit shark PFV CAU=sit repair about now

‘The canoe comes ashore now, the things for killing sharks are put in order now.’

(12) *i=n=a máuá la iân i=n=a sái ala,*
 INAL=3SG=ART tomorrow in time INAL=3SG=ART go.down again

bul niâu ik kouos, i=n=a lák an a béu ala
 PL thing IPFV jump.on INAL=3SG=ART hit NOML ART shark again

‘Then tomorrow at the time of going down (to the beach) again, the things will go into the canoe to kill a shark again.’

2.13. The way to cook tapioca

By Jacob Bartsinuk (Sopokor clan), Debbie Bartsinuk (Kâi clan), Geraldine Bartsinuk (Kâi clan)

- (1) J: *a* *boi-an* *óró,* *tâpiok,* *la* *iân=a* *uás,* *mam* *ki* *ŋan*
 ART eat-NOML VIS.PROX tapioca in time.3SG=ART sun 1PL.EXC HAB eat.TR
 ‘This food, tapioca, we eat it during the dry season.’
- (2) J: *mam* *ki* *táu* *a* *tâpiok,* *i=n=a* *rán~rán,*
 1PL.EXC HAB plant ART tapioca INAL=3SG=ART INTR~see

sémén *a* *uás* *ók* *mati* *kálá=mam,* *nan* *a* *boi-an,*
 if ART sun FUT lie on=1PL.EXC 3SG PFV eat-NOML

i=n=a *noŋ* *la* *iân=a* *uás*
 INAL=3SG=ART be.enough in time.3SG=ART sun
 ‘We plant tapioca to look (out for us), when the sun lies on us, it is the food that lasts during the dry season.’
- (3) J: *mam* *ki* *táu,*
 1PL.EXC HAB plant

ki *tom* *lân* *a* *patlima pâ* *utál* *lo* *tâlât* *a* *ualan,*
 HAB sit like ART five with three or four ART moon

té *mam* *ki* *bukát*
 then 1PL.EXC HAB uproot
 ‘We plant it, it grows for like eight or nine months, then we pull it out.’
- (4) J: *la* *iân* *mam* *ki* *bukát* *tâmo,* *bul* *lu=tén* *ki* *sik,*
 in time 1PL.EXC HAB uproot now PL PL=woman HAB take

lo *tâuan* *ki* *sik,* *té* *â=toi* *la* *bi* *lân* *óró*
 or male HAB take then CAU=touch in basket like VIS.PROX
 ‘When we pull it out now, the women take it, or the men take it, then they put it in a basket like this.’
- (5) J: *tâpiok,* *a* *toi* *la* *bi,* *ner* *ki* *sik,* *mot* *pok*
 tapioca PFV touch in basket 3PL HAB take and peel
 ‘The tapioca that they put in the basket, they take it and peel it.’
- (6) J: *pok-an* *a* *tâpiok* *ki* *lân=âtâ*
 peel-NOML ART tapioca HAB like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Peeling the tapioca goes like this.’
- (7) J: *la* *mi=n=a,* *â=toi* *a* *mot* *la* *rárám*
 in back=3SG=ART CAU=touch PFV finish in water
 ‘Afterwards, put it completely into water.’
- (8) D: *kais* *a* *rokon* *tâmo*
 wash.TR PFV good now
 ‘Wash it well now.’

(9) D: *mot niáu ik busa tâmo*
and 1SG IPFV scrape now
'And I will scrape it now.'

(10) D: *é=k busa, i=n=a â=sân a boi-an lâŋ óró*
1SG=IPFV scrape INAL=3SG=ART CAU=arrive ART eat-NOML like VIS.PROX
'I will scrape it to make food like this.'

(11) D: *é=k â=sân a boi-an lâŋ óró tâmo,*
1SG=IPFV CAU=arrive ART eat-NOML like VIS.PROX now

i=n=a bál an
INAL=3SG=ART make NOML

'I will make food like this now to cook it (in the earth oven).'

(12) D: *té é=k â=toi la paka=n=a bái,*
then 1SG=IPFV CAU=touch in leaf=3SG=ART leaf.piece

i=n=a sái la umán, i=n=a bál an
INAL=3SG=ART go.down in earth.oven INAL=3SG=ART make NOML

'Then I will put it in a (banana) leaf and put it down on the earth oven to cook.'

(13) D: *té ik masisa, mam ik kata biân ala,*
then IPFV cooked 1PL.EXC IPFV cut small again

i=n=a mam ik milik pâ meŋ tâ,
INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV grease with dry VIS.DIST

i=n=a mam ik bál pák
INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV make turn

'Then it gets cooked, I will also cut it small, then we will grease it with those (scraped) dry (coconuts) to cook again (in the earth oven).'

(14) G: *milik óró, meŋ óró*
grease VIS.PROX dry VIS.PROX

'The grease is here, the dry (coconuts) are here.'

(15) G: *mam ik tâtâ*
1PL.EXC IPFV scrape
'We will scrape (dry coconuts).'

(16) G: *té mam ik milik a rokon ala, té mam ik bál pák*
then 1PL.EXC IPFV grease PFV good again then 1PL.EXC IPFV make turn
'Then we will grease it well again, then we will cook it again (in the earth oven).'

(17) D: *tân, mot tâmo*
VIS.MED finish now
'There, it is done now.'

(18) D: *pat i=n=a a boi-an óró, tâpiok nâ,*
part INAL=3SG=ART ART eat-NOML VIS.PROX tapioca NVIS.PROX

i=n=a *iân* *ki* *pâ* *bul* *iân-bin* *lân* *a* *mat~mat*
 INAL=3SG=ART time HAB with PL time-big like ART NOML~die
 ‘Because this food, tapioca, is for the time when there is a feast like a funeral.’

(19) D: *mam* *ki* *bál* *lo* *sik* *a* *boi-an* *óró,*
 1PL.EXC HAB make or take ART eat-NOML VIS.PROX

si=n=a *nan* *lân* *a* *boi-an* *si=mam*
 AL=3SG=ART 3SG like ART eat-NOML AL=1PL.EXC

la *bul* *iân* *ki* *pâ* *mâmât,* *lo* *i=n=a* *iân-bin*
 in PL time HAB with heavy or INAL=3SG=ART time-big
 ‘We cook and have this food because it is like our food in the time of a crisis or of a feast.’

(20) D: *tâ* *pat* *i=n=a* *pâ* *pál~pál-an,*
 VIS.DIST part INAL=3SG=ART with INTR~plan-NOML

i=n=a *bul* *popo* *ik* *silé,* *tâ* *mam* *a* *bál* *a* *tâpiok*
 INAL=3SG=ART PL child IPFV enter VIS.DIST 1PL.EXC PFV make ART tapioca

tâmo, *i=n=a* *pan* *tâ* *la* *bák* *i=n=a* *suâi*
 now INAL=3SG=ART go VIS.DIST in place INAL=3SG=ART respect

‘Because there is a baptism (lit. event of children go inside), then we cook tapioca (in the earth oven) now to give it to the mission.’

(21) D: *rokon*
 good
 ‘Okay.’

(22) D: *lo* *tâ* *imam* *ók* *busa* *ala*
 or VIS.DIST 1PL.EXC FUT scrape again
 ‘And there, we will scrape (tapioca) again.’

(23) D: *é=k* *busa* *mot* *tâmo*
 1SG=IPFV scrape finish now
 ‘I will completely scrape it now.’

(24) D: *té* *mam* *ik* *sik* *ta* *ók* *mal* *ka’u*
 then 1PL.EXC IPFV take IND.ART whole.piece cloth maybe
 ‘Then we might take a piece of cloth.’

(25) D: *tâmo* *mam* *a* *papat* *pus-én* *a* *rárám* *i=n=a* *tâpiok*
 now 1PL.EXC PFV squeeze throw-TR ART water INAL=3SG=ART tapioca
 ‘Now we squeeze out the water of the tapioca.’

(26) D: *mam* *ik* *papat* *pus-én* *a* *rárám* *tâmo,*
 1PL.EXC IPFV squeeze throw-TR ART water now

té *mam* *ók* *milik* *pâ* *menj*
 then 1PL.EXC FUT grease with dry

‘We will squeeze out the water now, then we grease it with (scraped) dry (coconuts).’

(27) D: *mam* *ók* *milik* *pâ* *menj,* *lo* *bus* *i=n=a* *bál* *ga,*
 1PL.EXC FUT grease with dry or DUMMY INAL=3SG=ART make empty

mam ók kot la bâi lâη óró
 1PL.EXC FUT cover in leaf.piece like VIS.PROX

'We will grease it with (scraped) dry (coconuts), but the ones to be cooked (in the earth oven) without coconut grease (lit. empty), we cover them in (banana) leaves like this.'

(28) D: *mam sâk kiual, i=n=a papat pus-én a rárám*
 1PL.EXC NEG half INAL=3SG=ART squeeze throw-TR ART water
 'We do not need to squeeze out the water.'

(29) D: *tâ máuá mam ók bál pák ala,*
 VIS.DIST tomorrow 1PL.EXC FUT make turn again

mam ók bál lâη óró, sâk papat pus-én a rárám
 1PL.EXC FUT make like VIS.PROX NEG squeeze throw-TR ART water

'Then tomorrow, we will cook it (in the earth oven) again, we will cook it like this, we do not squeeze out the water.'

(30) D: *pat i=n=a máuá mam ók bál pák ala*
 part INAL=3SG=ART tomorrow 1PL.EXC FUT make turn again
 'Because tomorrow, we will cook it again (in the earth oven).'

(31) D: *mam ók kata*
 1PL.EXC FUT cut
 'We will cut it.'

(32) D: *bus tâ, mam ki papat pus-én a rárám,*
 DUMMY VIS.DIST 1PL.EXC HAB squeeze throw-TR ART water

pat i=n=a mam ók milik pâ meη
 part INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC FUT grease with dry

'That one, we squeeze out the water because we will grease it with (scraped) dry (coconuts).'

(33) D: *baté, é=k lomon, nan ka'u mo*
 then 1SG=IPFV think 3SG maybe only
 'Okay, I think this might be it.'

(34) D: *rokon*
 good
 'Thank you.'

2.14. The way to cook Singapore taro

Elizabeth Balane (Sopokor clan)

- (1) *a sâuí i=n=a tán sái a tut la tasmal*
 ART recipe INAL=3SG=ART cook go.down ART Singapore.taro in salt
 ‘The recipe to cook Singapore taro in salt water.’
- (2) *nó=k sik a tut, nó=k â=lak la uata,*
 2SG=FUT take ART Singapore.taro 2SG=FUT CAU=go.up in fire
nó=k tán, kâlpák kâlpák
 2SG=FUT cook change change
 ‘You take the Singapore taro, you put it on the fire, you cook it, keep turning it.’
- (3) *iân ik masisa, nó=k sái nó=k itá tasmal,*
 time IPFV cooked 2SG=FUT go.down 2SG=IPFV fetch salt
mot nó=k â=toi a tut lântuá=n=a tasmal
 and 2SG=FUT CAU=touch ART Singapore.taro inside=3SG=ART salt
 ‘When it is cooked, you go down (to the beach) to fetch salt water, and you put the Singapore taro in the salt water.’
- (4) *té iân a tut a tom la tasmal,*
 then time ART Singapore.taro PFV sit in salt
a pán i=n=a ók to-pok,
 ART skin INAL=3SG=ART FUT PASS-peel
tân a tut a âigot, i=n=a ŋan
 VIS.MED ART Singapore.taro PFV be.ready INAL=3SG=ART eat.TR
 ‘Then when the Singapore taro is in the salt water, its skin will peel off, then the Singapore taro is ready to be eaten.’
- (5) *nó=k sik lák la tasmal tâmo, nó=k pok,*
 2SG=FUT take hit in salt now 2SG=FUT peel
té nó âigot tâmo, i=n=a ŋan an a tut
 then 2SG be.ready now INAL=3SG=ART eat.TR NOML ART Singapore.taro
 ‘You take it out of the salt water now, you peel it, then you are ready now to eat the Singapore taro.’
- (6) *nan isan, a sâuí i=n=a tut tán~tán a sái*
 3SG alone ART recipe INAL=3SG=ART Singapore.taro INTR~cook PFV go.down
la tasmal
 in salt
 ‘That is it, the recipe of Singapore taro cooked in salt water.’
- (7) *rokon*
 good
 ‘Thank you.’

2.15. The way to harvest ton

By Joseph Tabiri (Sopokor clan), Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) T: *le-le* *tâmo*
in-afternoon now
'(Good) afternoon now.'
- (2) K: *le-le*
in-afternoon
'(Good) afternoon.'
- (3) K: *nó* *ró=k* *so* *ró?*
2SG VIS.PROX=IPFV do.what VIS.PROX
'What are you doing?'
- (4) T: *niáu* *ró=k* *âigot* *an* *a* *kó* *kot,*
1SG VIS.PROX=IPFV be.ready about ART small.piece stick

mat *a* *bi,* *mat* *a* *kó* *âis*
and ART basket and ART small.piece vine
'I am preparing a (bamboo) stick (to remove fruit), a basket and a rope.'
- (5) K: *lo* *bul* *niâ* *ró* *i=n=a* *sâ?*
or PL thing VIS.PROX INAL=3SG=ART what
'But what are these things for?'
- (6) T: *óró,* *i=n=a* *niáu=k* *lak* *kálá* *tauan*
VIS.PROX INAL=3SG=ART 1SG=IPFV go.up on ton
'This is to climb up ton trees.'
- (7) T: *bul* *kol~kol* *i=n=a* *âis* *ók* *tom* *li-piá*
PL INTR~wind.up INAL=3SG=ART vine FUT sit in-ground
'The wound up rope will be on the ground.'
- (8) T: *lo* *nó=n=a* *mo,* *i=n=a* *niáu=k* *kol*
or face=3SG=ART only INAL=3SG=ART 1SG=IPFV wind.up

a *kó* *kumâm* *pâ=n=a*
ART small.piece climbing.rope with=3SG=ART
'But only its front, I will wind up as a climbing rope (the rest of the rope remains on the ground).'
- (9) T: *té* *niáu=k* *lak* *pâ* *kó* *âis* *guguál* *kálá* *tauan*
then 1SG=FUT go.up with small.piece vine on.top on ton
'Then I will climb up the ton tree with the rope.'
- (10) K: *lo* *a* *kó* *bele* *ró,*
or ART small.piece bamboo VIS.PROX

nó *uâ* *te* *i=n=a* *sâ?*
2SG RC.PST cut INAL=3SG=ART what
'And this bamboo stick, what did you cut it for?'

- (11) T: *kó* *bele* *óró,* *i=n=a* *kot* *an* *a* *tauan*
 small.piece bamboo VIS.PROX INAL=3SG=ART stick NOML ART ton
 ‘This bamboo stick is for harvesting ton fruit.’
- (12) K: *kó* *bele* *ró* *a* *tó,*
 small.piece bamboo VIS.PROX PFV live

lo *a* *kó* *bele* *lânâsâ?*
 or ART small.piece bamboo how
 ‘Is the bamboo fresh, or how is this bamboo?’
- (13) T: *kó* *bele* *meŋ*
 small.piece bamboo dry
 ‘(It is) dried bamboo.’
- (14) K: *lo* *óró?*
 or VIS.PROX
 ‘And this one?’
- (15) K: *bus* *óró* *i=n=a* *sâ?*
 DUMMY VIS.PROX INAL=3SG=ART what
 ‘What is this one for?’
- (16) T: *bus* *óró,* *i=n=a* *kot* *toi* *a* *tauan*
 DUMMY VIS.PROX INAL=3SG=ART stick touch ART ton
 ‘This one is for harvesting ton.’
- (17) K: *kot* *toi* *a* *tauan,* *ua?*
 stick touch ART ton INTJ
 ‘For harvesting ton, oh?’
- (18) K: *rokon,* *lo* *sâ* *bul* *niâu* *óró* *tom* *lantuá=n=a* *bi* *si=m* *óró?*
 good or what PL thing VIS.PROX sit inside=3SG=ART basket AL=2SG VIS.PROX
 ‘Okay, and what things are in your basket here?’
- (19) T: *a* *rárám,* *kó* *kápán,* *mot* *a* *pepâ*
 ART water small.piece lime and ART paper
 ‘Water, lime (for chewing betelnuts) and paper.’
- (20) K: *lo* *isá=n=a* *bi* *ró,* *ner* *ki* *â=tán* *a* *sâ?*
 or name=3SG=ART basket VIS.PROX 3PL HAB CAU=say ART what
 ‘And the name of this basket, what do they call it?’
- (21) T: *a* *sólói*
 ART basket
 ‘(They call it) a *sólói*.’
- (22) T: *sólói* *óró* *lân* *a* *bul* *bus* *si=n=a* *bul* *Tângâ*
 basket VIS.PROX like ART PL DUMMY AL=3SG=ART PL T.
 ‘This basket is in the style of the Tanga people.’
- (23) K: *rarau*
 correct
 ‘Right.’

- (24) K: *lo nás óró uâ âúás a sólóí óró?*
 or who VIS.PROX RC.PST weave ART basket VIS.PROX
 ‘And who weaved this basket?’
- (25) T: *a ten-bin sí=k*
 ART woman-big AL=1SG
 ‘My wife.’
- (26) K: *lo kot óró?*
 or stick VIS.PROX
 ‘And this stick (for harvesting fruit)?’
- (27) K: *nás uâ te, mot nás uâ kata?*
 who RC.PST cut and who RC.PST cut
 ‘Who chopped (the bamboo), and who cut (the opening)?’
- (28) T: *niá uâ te, mat niá uâ kata*
 1SG RC.PST cut and 1SG RC.PST cut
 ‘I chopped (the bamboo), and I cut (the opening).’
- (29) K: *uá?*
 INTJ
 ‘Really?’
- (30) K: *lo noŋ nó=k â=kalit niáu,*
 or be.enough 2SG=IPFV CAU=learn 1SG

pâ kata an a nó=n=a kot óró?
 with cut NOML ART face=3SG=ART stick VIS.PROX
 ‘And can you teach me how to cut the end of this (bamboo) stick?’
- (31) T: *niáu=k â=kalit nó pâ kata an?*
 1SG=FUT CAU=learn 2SG with cut NOML
 ‘(Whether) I (can) teach you how to cut it?’
- (32) K: *ner ki kata lâŋ óró mo?*
 3PL HAB cut like VIS.PROX only
 ‘Do they only cut it like this?’
- (33) T: *â=solon a ók uái ró,*
 CAU=enter ART whole.piece tree VIS.PROX

té ner ki kata lâŋ óró
 then 3PL HAB cut like VIS.PROX
 ‘Insert this piece of wood, then they cut it like this.’
- (34) K: *té?*
 then
 ‘(And) then?’
- (35) T: *nan ki lâŋ=âtâ*
 3SG HAB like=VIS.DIST
 ‘It is like this.’

- (36) T: *â=solon a uái*
 CAU=enter ART tree
 'Insert the piece of wood.'
- (37) K: *baté?*
 then
 '(And) then?'
- (38) T: *té tâmo nó=k kata*
 then now 2SG=FUT cut
 'Then now you cut it.'
- (39) K: *ner ki kata lâη=âtân, ua?*
 3PL HAB cut like=VIS.MED INTJ
 'They cut it like that (like you did), oh?'
- (40) K: *lo ner ki â=tâη a mata=n=a bele ró*
 or 3PL HAB CAU=say ART eye=3SG=ART bamboo VIS.PROX

pâ isá=n, lo pârék?
 with name=3SG or have.NEG
 'And do they have a name for the hole of this bamboo stick?'
- (41) T: *pârék ta isá=n,*
 have.NEG IND.ART name=3SG

ner a kata lâη a bala=n=a béu
 3PL PFV cut like ART mouth=3SG=ART shark
 'It does not have a name, they cut it like the mouth of a shark.'
- (42) K: *â, lâη a bala=n=a béu, ua?*
 INTJ like ART mouth=3SG=ART shark INTJ
 'Ah, like the mouth of a shark, oh?'
- (43) K: *a, rokon*
 yes good
 'Yes, good.'
- (44) K: *mat nó=k âigot an ró, mat nó ók pan lâηâsâ?*
 and 2SG=FUT be.ready about VIS.PROX and 2SG FUT go how
 'And you will prepare this, and where (lit. how) will you go?'
- (45) K: *nó ók lak~lak la sâ iân?*
 2SG FUT INTR~go.up in what time
 'When will you climb up (the tree)?'
- (46) T: *â=bouη an a tauan ók uηas,*
 CAU=wait about ART ton FUT flower

té ta=k rap tâmo, ta=k salaj bele,
 then 1PL.INC=FUT go.bush now 1PL.INC=FUT search bamboo

i=n=a lak a tauan

INAL=3SG=ART go.up ART ton

'Wait for the ton tree to develop flowers, then we will go to the bush now, we will look for bamboo to climb up the ton tree.'

(47) K: *lak a tauan*
go.up ART ton
'Climb up the ton tree.'

(48) K: *lo sâ bul tauan isan nâ, nó ók lak?*
or what PL ton alone NVIS.DIST 2SG FUT go.up
'And what kinds of ton trees will you climb up?'

(49) T: *bul bus nâ=mo pâ lé ke~ket*
PL DUMMY NVIS.DIST=only with ant.sp. INTR~bite
'The ones with (big brown) ants that bite.'

(50) K: *a*
yes
'Yes.'

(51) T: *lo pâ bul bus, nâ=mo nér a po,*
or with PL DUMMY NVIS.DIST=only 3PL PFV mute

ki sâk ke~ket mat
HAB NEG INTR~bite die
'And there the ones that are "mute" and do not bite much.'

(52) K: *baté sémén nó=k lak tâ guguál,*
then if 2SG=FUT go.up VIS.DIST on.top

mat a nó ók kot lânâsâ?
and ART 2SG FUT stick how
'Then when you climb up, how will you harvest (ton with the stick)?'

(53) T: *niáu ók sasan a pan a kó bele,*
1SG FUT insert PFV go ART small.piece bamboo

niá sâñ ti bál niáu kálá éñé=n tauan
1SG arrive stand make 1SG on branch=3SG ton
'I will push the bamboo stick into (the ton bunch), I will support myself on a branch of the ton tree.'

(54) T: *té niáu=k ti bál niáu tâmo,*
then 1SG=FUT stand make 1SG now

i=n=a é=k bok a kár tauan
INAL=3SG=ART 1SG=IPFV break ART bunch ton
'Then I will support myself (on a branch) now to break off a bunch of ton fruit.'

(55) K: *baté nó ók bok a kár tauan, té nó ók lânâsâ?*
then 2SG FUT break ART bunch ton then 2SG FUT how
'Then you will break off a bunch of ton, what will you do then?'

(56) K: *nó ók sái pâ kár tauan?*
 2SG FUT go.down with bunch ton
 'Will you climb down with the bunch of ton?'

(57) T: *pârék*
 have.NEG
 'No.'

(58) T: *a bi, niáu ók â=su-én kálá éjé=n=a tauan*
 ART basket 1SG FUT CAU=hang-TR on branch=3SG=ART ton
 'The basket, I will hang it on a branch of the ton tree.'

(59) T: *baté niáu=k tâin aman a kó bele,*
 then 1SG=FUT lift come ART small.piece bamboo

té pupuát lák a kár tauan, té muráŋ toi lantuá=n=a bi
 then pull hit ART bunch ton then pick touch inside=3SG=ART basket
 'Then I will lift up the bamboo stick, then I will pull (down) the bunch of ton, then I will pick them and put them in the basket.'

(60) K: *lo bul tauan kápái, nó ók â=toi,*
 or PL ton all 2SG FUT CAU=touch

lo pâ kas-nón nâ sât,
 or with other-NSG NVIS.DIST bad

lo kápái a uâi=rokon mo?
 or all ART DU=good only
 'And will you put all ton (in the basket), or are some bad, or are both (good and bad ones) just fine?'

(61) T: *bul bus nâ lâŋ a bis, niáu=k pus-én,*
 PL DUMMY NVIS.DIST like ART override.ton 1SG=FUT throw-TR

lo bus rokon, niáu=k â=toi
 or DUMMY good 1SG=FUT CAU=touch
 'The ones that are like overripe ton, I will throw them away, but the good ones, I will put them (in the basket).'

(62) K: *tánámái lo sémén a bi ók uná, nó ók lâŋâsâ,*
 afterward or if ART basket FUT be.full 2SG FUT how

nó ók ko~kouos sái taual?
 2SG FUT INTR~jump.on go.down return
 'Later when the basket is full, what will you do, will you jump down again?'

(63) T: *pârék*
 have.NEG
 'No.'

(64) T: *bi ók uná, pâ tiár nâ li-piá,*
 basket FUT be.full with person NVIS.DIST in-ground

i=n=a ók mál a kó âis,
 INAL=3SG=ART FUT untie ART small.piece vine

i=n=a *â=máluí* *a* *sái* *a* *âis* *pâ* *bi* *tauan*
 INAL=3SG=ART CAU=soft PFV go.down ART vine with basket ton
 '(When) the basket is full, there will be someone on the ground to loosen the rope to bring down the rope with the basket of ton.'

(65) K: *té, nan mo saka bi, nó ók lak?*
 then 3SG only one basket 2SG FUT go.up
 'Okay, is it just one basket that you will carry up?'

(66) K: *lo pâ ta laua bi kinak nâ, nó ók lak?*
 or with IND.ART much basket still NVIS.DIST 2SG FUT go.up
 'Or are there still many baskets that you will carry up?'

(67) T: *bi laua, niáu ók lak*
 basket much 1SG FUT go.up
 '(It is) many baskets that I will carry up.'

(68) T: *nan ók sái, té nó ók luluj toi*
 3SG FUT go.down then 2SG FUT pour touch

la bâi mo, nér a lam, lo keten
 in leaf.piece only 3PL PFV cut or spread
 'It will go down, then you will just pour it onto big leaves that they cut and put (on the ground).'

(69) T: *té koj toi a tauan*
 then pick.up touch ART ton
 'Then pick up the ton.'

(70) T: *té tiár nâ li-piá ók ti,*
 then person NVIS.DIST in-ground FUT stand

mot ók pupuát lak a bi, lo niáu tom tâ guguál
 and FUT pull go.up ART basket or 1SG sit VIS.DIST on.top
 'Then the person on the ground will stand up and pull up the basket, but I will be on top (of the tree).'

(71) K: *sémén nó ók buák kot toi ala?*
 if 2SG FUT want stick touch again
 '(What) if you want to harvest again?'

(72) T: *kot toi a tauan?*
 stick touch ART ton
 'Harvest ton?'

(73) K: *té rokon*
 then good
 'Okay then.'

(74) K: *lo sémén a tauan nâ pâ lé?*
 or if ART ton NVIS.DIST with ant.sp.
 'And if the ton tree has (big brown) ants?'

(75) T: *bus pâ lé, nonj é=k iâ lak,*
 DUMMY with ant.sp. be.enough 1SG=IPFV CONT go.up

lo níáu ók sik a bit
 or 1SG FUT take ART ash
 ‘The one with (big brown) ants, I can climb up, but I will take ashes.’

(76) K: *bit anén po i=n=a sâ tâ?*
 ash NVIS.PROX COMP INAL=3SG=ART what VIS.DIST
 ‘What are these ashes for?’

(77) T: *i=n=a uâp mo a éjé=n=a tauan,*
 INAL=3SG=ART rub only ART branch=3SG=ART ton

po lé ik piâ=n=a man ik ket níáu
 COMP ant.sp. IPFV PROH.INAL=3SG=ART come IPFV bite 1SG
 ‘Just to rub the ton branches so the ants will not come and bite me.’

(78) K: *po lé ik piâ=n=a man ik ket nó, ua?*
 COMP ant.sp. IPFV PROH.INAL=3SG=ART come IPFV bite 1SG INTJ
 ‘So the ants will not come and bite you, oh?’

(79) K: *rokon, lo sémén a bus nâ pârék ta lé?*
 good or if ART DUMMY NVIS.DIST have.NEG IND.ART ant.sp.
 ‘Okay, and if the (tree) does not have (big brown) ants?’

(80) T: *pârék ta lé ók rokon*
 have.NEG IND.ART ant FUT good
 ‘(If) there are no ants, it will be fine.’

(81) T: *lân bus ki sâk ke~ket*
 like DUMMY HAB NEG INTR~bite
 ‘Like the ones that do not bite.’

(82) K: *pâ isá=n=a lé nén?*
 with name=3SG=ART ant.sp. NVIS.PROX
 ‘Do these ants have a name?’

(83) T: *pâ bus lé uata, pâ bus po*
 with DUMMY ant fire with DUMMY mute
 ‘There are “fire” ants, there are “mute” ones.’

(84) K: *pâ lé uata, mat pâ bus po*
 with ant.sp. fire and with DUMMY mute
 ‘There are “fire” ants, and there are “mute” ones.’

(85) K: *lo bul tauan óró, lân imé ki lak, nó ók lânâsâ?*
 or PL ton VIS.PROX like 2PL HAB go.up 2SG FUT how
 ‘And these ton trees that you climb up, how do you do it?’

(86) K: *nó ók lak a tauan,*
 2SG FUT go.up ART ton

sémén a éjé=n=a tauan a tom lâuák?
 if ART branch=3SG=ART ton PFV sit far
 ‘Will you climb up a ton tree if the branches of the ton tree are far away?’

(87) T: *niáu ók kár â=nás pan susulék*
 1SG FUT go.down CAU=move go near

kálá éjé=n=a tauan,
 on branch=3SG=ART ton

mot sasan a pan a kó kot, mot kot lák
 and insert PFV go ART small.piece stick and stick hit

'I will move down closer (to the fruit) on the ton branch and push the (bamboo) stick into (the ton bunch) and harvest it.'

(88) K: *lo sémén lâŋ a tauan a pârék*
 or if like ART ton PFV have.NEG

ta éjé=n=a susulék, nó ók lak lâŋâsâ?
 IND.ART branch=3SG=ART near 2SG FUT go.up how

'And if the ton tree does not have any branches (near the branch carrying fruit), what will you do?'

(89) T: *tâmo niáu ók sala,*
 now 1SG FUT let

niáu=k pan la bul bus nâ susulék
 1SG=FUT go in PL DUMMY NVIS.DIST near

'Now I will let them be, I will go to one that is near (a branch with fruit).'

(90) K: *lo pârék ala ta kas salan ala,*
 or have.NEG again IND.ART other way again

lâŋ nó=k â=ti ta kó uái ka'ú,
 like 2SG=FUT CAU=stand IND.ART small.piece tree maybe

lo lâŋ=âtâ, i=n=a nó=k lak a us,
 or like=VIS.DIST INAL=3SG=ART 2SG=IPFV go.up PFV follow

sémén a tauan, nó sâk nonj nó=k lak guguál
 if ART ton 2SG NEG be.enough 2SG=IPFV go.up on.top

kálá=n=a?
 on=3SG=ART

'But is there no other way, like you put a piece of wood (up against the stem of the tree) to climb up if you cannot climb the ton tree (itself)?'

(91) T: *nó ók lâŋâsâ?*
 2SG FUT how
 'What do you mean?'

(92) T: *li-piá lo guguál?*
 in-ground or on.top
 'On the ground or on top?'

(93) K: *guguál, sémén ta tauan,*
 on.top if IND.ART ton

nó sâk noŋ nó=k pâu a butu=n=a
 2SG NEG be.enough 2SG=IPFV climb ART stem=3SG=ART
 ‘On top, if you cannot climb up the stem of the ton tree.’

(94) T: *niáu=k lam ta kó bele,*
 1SG=FUT cut IND.ART small.piece bamboo

té é=k luân, té niáu=k lak
 then 1SG=IPFV climb.ladder then 1SG=FUT go.up
 ‘I will cut a bamboo stick, then I will use it as a ladder, then I will climb up.’

(95) K: *rokon, nan tâmo*
 good 3SG now
 ‘Thank you, that is it now.’

(96) K: *imâi ók gán a pus-én nó tâmo*
 1DU.EXC FUT leave PFV throw-TR 2SG now
 ‘We will leave you now.’

(97) T: *ba?*
 INTJ
 ‘Oh?’

(98) K: *mot a é=k gán taual tâmo*
 and ART 1SG=IPFV leave return now
 ‘And I am going back now.’

(99) T: *té rokon*
 then good
 ‘Okay then.’

(100) K: *rokon*
 good
 ‘Thank you.’

(101) K: *le-le rokon*
 in-afternoon good
 ‘Good afternoon.’

(102) T: *le-le tâmo*
 in-afternoon now
 ‘(Good) afternoon now.’

2.16. The vines that we build houses with

By Alois Bolai (Mo clan), Rabbie Kupeng (Sopokor clan)

(1) A: *bul âés, imam ki sisák,*
 PL vine 1PL.EXC HAB sew

lo pala a pék a lu pâ=n=a
 or tie PFV strong ART house with=3SG=ART

'The vines that we sew (roofs) and tie fast (the parts of) the house with.'

(2) A: *ta ki pekel, i=n=a pa~pala,*
 1PL.INC HAB split INAL=3SG=ART INTR~tie

i=n=a pala pék a bul uái i=n=a lu,
 INAL=3SG=ART tie strong ART PL tree INAL=3SG=ART house

té i=n=a sisák an a paka=n=a lu i=n=a saksak
 then INAL=3SG=ART sew NOML ART leaf=3SG=ART house INAL=3SG=ART sago

'We split them for tying to tie fast the materials of the house, and to sew the sago leaves for the roof.'

(3) A: *nâ=mo paka=n=a saksak, i=n=a lak kálá lu*
 NVIS.DIST=only leaf=3SG=ART sago INAL=3SG=ART go.up on house
 'That is, the sago leaves that go up onto the house.'

(4) A: *ta ki pekel lâη=âtâ tâmo*
 1PL.INC HAB split like=VIS.DIST now
 'We split them like this now.'

(5) A: *óró, pan, ók mot, san ta buák,*
 VIS.PROX go FUT finish if 1PL.INC want

i=n=a sisák an a paka=n=a lu,
 INAL=3SG=ART sew NOML ART leaf=3SG=ART house

ta ók kata pok ala, i=n=a ta ók â=ménép an
 1PL.INC FUT cut break again INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.INC FUT CAU=thin NOML

'Here, continue, it will be done, if we want to sew the leaves for the roof, we also remove (the inside of the vine) to make it thin.'

(6) A: *tâmo ta=k pekel a biân,*
 now 1PL.INC=FUT split PFV small

i=n=a sisák an a paka=n=a lu
 INAL=3SG=ART sew NOML ART leaf=3SG=ART house

'Now we split it a little to sew the roof.'

(7) R: *tâ ménép kâuâi tâmo*
 VIS.DIST thin already now
 'It is already thin now.'

(8) A: *ta ki pekel pus-én a bus,*
 1PL.INC HAB split throw-TR ART DUMMY

a pán i=n=a pirak lantuá=n=a,
ART skin INAL=3SG=ART thick inside=3SG=ART

té pán i=n=a ménép tâmo
then skin INAL=3SG=ART thin now

‘We split (and remove the inside of) the one whose skin is thick inside, then its skin is thin now.’

(9) A: *ta ók sik, i=n=a sisák an a paka=n=a lu tâmo*
1PL.INC FUT take INAL=3SG=ART sew NOML ART leaf=3SG=ART house now
‘We will take it to sew the leaves for the roof now.’

(10) R: *soko lu pâ=n=a*
sew house with=3SG=ART
‘To sew (the leaves onto the) house with it.’

(11) A: *soko lu*
sew house
‘To sew (the leaves onto the) house.’

(12) A: *óró, pekel a pan*
VIS.PROX split PFV go
‘Here, split it all the way.’

(13) A: *mot*
finish
‘That is it.’

(14) A: *té nó=k kásám tâmo, i=n=a ik âñañan,*
then 2SG=FUT sharpen now INAL=3SG=ART IPFV sharp

i=n=a sisák an a paka=n=a lu kálá bâs
INAL=3SG=ART sew NOML ART leaf=3SG=ART house on split.bamboo
‘Then you sharpen it now to make it sharp to sew the leaves for the roof onto split bamboo sticks.’

(15) A: *ta ók â=mati bâs, té sisák a paka=n=a lu*
1PL.INC FUT CAU=lie split.bamboo then sew ART leaf=3SG=ART house
‘We will put the split bamboo sticks (on our knees), then we sew the leaves (onto them).’

(16) A: *nan tân mo*
3SG VIS.MED only
‘It is just like that.’

(17) A: *kas bus tâ, nér ki â=táj a ó*
other DUMMY VIS.DIST 3PL HAB CAU=say ART vine.sp.
‘The other one there, they call it the ó vine.’

(18) A: *bus óró, nér ki â=táj a márás*
DUMMY VIS.PROX 3PL HAB CAU=say ART vine.sp.
‘This one, they call it the márás vine.’

(19) A: *té kas â=i mati tâ a ó*
then other DIST=IPFV lie VIS.DIST PFV vine.sp.
‘Then the other one lying there is an ó vine.’

(20) R: *té pâ kas potok ala, a uiá*
 then with other share again ART rattan
 'Then there is also another one, rattan.'

(21) A: *uiá nâ, nan a bin*
 rattan NVIS.DIST 3SG PFV big
 'Rattan is the thickest (lit. is big).'

(22) A: *taua la i=n=a sisák,*
 vine.sp. again INAL=3SG=ART sew

nan a pârék ta bul bák~bák i=n=a,
 3SG PFV have.NEG IND.ART PL DISTR~cut.piece INAL=3SG=ART

nan a rarau ga mo
 3SG PFV correct empty only

'The *taua* vine is also for sewing (leaves for the roof), it does not have internodes, it is just straight.'

(23) A: *ta ki pekel mo, si=n=a nan a rokon*
 1PL.INC HAB split only AL=3SG=ART 3SG PFV good
 'We just split it because it is good (as it is).'

(24) A: *óró, nan a âigot,*
 VIS.PROX 3SG PFV be.ready

i=n=a sisák an a paka=n=a lu kâuâi
 INAL=3SG=ART sew NOML ART leaf=3SG=ART house already

'This one is ready for sewing the leaves for the roof.'

(25) R: *ta=k iâ pekel a rokon*
 1PL.INC=FUT CONT split PFV good
 'We will split it well.'

(26) R: *nâ=mo ki tá-pát, sémén ta sâk pekel a rokon*
 NVIS.DIST=only HAB PASS-tear if 1PL.INC NEG split PFV good
 'You know, it will break if we do not split it well.'

(27) A: *óró non nó=k iâ kakai lâŋ=âtâ,*
 VIS.PROX be.enough 2SG=IPFV CONT scrape like=VIS.DIST

i=n=a ik ménép, ik máluái, i=n=a sisák
 INAL=3SG=ART IPFV thin IPFV soft INAL=3SG=ART sew

'Here you can scrape (the inside of the vine) like this so it becomes thin and soft to sew (the leaves for the roof).'

(28) A: *mot tâmo*
 finish now
 'That is it now.'

(29) A: *nan a âigot, i=n=a sisák*
 3SG PFV be.ready INAL=3SG=ART sew
 'It is ready to sew (the leaves for the roof).'