

Tiang texts 6

Riddles and songs

Christoph Holz

The Jawun Research Centre
Central Queensland University

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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 consists of three genres: riddles (Chapter 2), Tiang songs (Chapter 3), and foreign-language songs sung by the Tiang community (Chapter 4). Most songs sung in the Tiang language were composed only recently. Traditional Tiang songs are rare because most traditional songs are sung in a language that my Tiang teachers identify as Tigak or Kaviri. The reason for the virtual absence of old Tiang songs could be that Tiang might be a young language that presumably developed during the most recent settlement waves on Djaul within the last 120 years as a mix of Tigak, Kara and other New Ireland languages. This hypothesis has been confirmed as a likely scenario by multiple members of the Tiang community.

Some stories of the other volumes contain songs: Sections 2.3 and 2.5 of Volume 1, Sections 2.6–2.8 of Volume 2, Section 2.4 of Volume 3, and Sections 2.4 and 2.5 of Volume 5. The lines of these songs are repeated here and accompanied by a transcription in musical notation.

2. Riddles

2.1. Bamboo

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *niáu a sâ?*
 1SG PFV what
 'What am I?'
- (2) *la iân niáu ka biân, niáu kóró â=lak a lâplâp*
 in time 1SG RM.PST small 1SG PST.HAB CAU=go.up ART cloth
 'When I was small, I used to wear a cloth.'
- (3) *lo la iân niáu a bin, niáu a unga*
 or in time 1SG PFV big 1SG PFV naked
 'But when I am big, I am naked.'
- (4) *niáu a bele*
 1SG PFV bamboo
 'I am bamboo.'

2.2. Baby

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *niau a sâ?*
1SG PFV what
'What am I?'
- (2) *noŋ niáu=k iâ kár nâ lá-uán*
be.enough 1SG=IPFV CONT go.down NVIS.DIST in-sand
'I can go to the beach.'
- (3) *noŋ niáu=k iâ pan la tâun*
be.enough 1SG=IPFV CONT go in town
'I can got to town.'
- (4) *noŋ é=k iâ táŋás*
be.enough 1SG=IPFV CONT cry
'I can cry.'
- (5) *noŋ é=k iâ boi*
be.enough 1SG=IPFV CONT eat.INTR
'I can eat.'
- (6) *noŋ é=k iâ susu*
be.enough 1SG=IPFV CONT wash.INTR
'I can wash.'
- (7) *noŋ é=k iâ mos*
be.enough 1SG=IPFV CONT decorate
'I can wear clothes.'
- (8) *noŋ é=k iâ lak la marat*
be.enough 1SG=IPFV CONT go.up in garden
'I can go up to the garden.'
- (9) *noŋ é=k iâ pan~pan kól*
be.enough 1SG=IPFV CONT PL~go go.around

lantuá=n=a ku=n=a malai
inside=3SG=ART belly=3SG=ART village
'I can walk around in the village.'
- (10) *lo niáu ki sâk pan~pan*
or 1SG HAB NEG PL~go
'But I cannot walk.'
- (11) *lo niáu a sâ?*
or 1SG PFV what
'But what am I?'

- (12) *popo*
child
'A baby.'

3. Tiang songs

3.1. The Maluang clan walks around

Sung by Rabbie Kupeng (Sopokor clan), Lillian Kupeng (Péu clan), Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

Traditional song

Báŋ Má-luáŋ ik tom rap kól, báŋ Má-luáŋ ik tom rap kól

la ma - saŋ bin Ká - lá - ua-uaŋ Ik tom rap kól,

ik tom rap kól. Iá - uái, a báŋ Má - luáŋ ik tom rap kól,

lo nér ik lo - mon. nér la ma - saŋ bin Ká-lá - ua - uaŋ.

(1) *báŋ Máluáŋ ik tom rap kól,*
bunch flying.fox IPFV sit go.bush go.around

báŋ Máluáŋ ik tom rap kól
bunch flying.fox IPFV sit go.bush go.around

la masa=ŋ-bin Káláuauaŋ
in inside=NPOSS-big K.
'The Maluang clan walks around in the bush in the big cave of Kalauauang.'

(2) *báŋ Máluáŋ ik tom rap kól,*
bunch flying.fox IPFV sit go.bush go.around

báŋ Máluáŋ ik tom rap kól
bunch flying.fox IPFV sit go.bush go.around

la masa=ŋ-bin Káláuauaŋ
in inside=NPOSS-big K.
'The Maluang clan walks around in the bush in the big cave of Kalauauang.'

(3) *ik tom rap kól, ik tom rap kól,*
IPFV sit go.bush go.around IPFV sit go.bush go.around

ik tom rap kól, ik tom rap kól,
IPFV sit go.bush go.around IPFV sit go.bush go.around

'They walk around in the bush, they walk around in the bush, they walk around in the bush, they walk around in the bush.'

(4) *iáuái, a báŋ Máluáŋ ik tom rap kól,*
INTJ ART bunch flying.fox IPFV sit go.bush go.around

lo nér ik lomon nér la masa=ŋ-bin Káláuauaŋ
 or 3PL IPFV think 3PL in inside=NPOSS-big K.

'Oh dear, the Maluang clan walks around in the bush, but they think of themselves in the big cave of Kalauauang.'


(5) *lo nér ik lomon nér la masa=ŋ-bin Káláuauaŋ*
 or 3PL IPFV think 3PL in inside=NPOSS-big K.

'But they think of themselves in the big cave of Kalauauang.'

3.2. Grandma, I am full

Sung by Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

Traditional lullaby



Iâ - iâ, kuk ka bóm, kuk ka bóm, ka bóm, ka bóm. Iâ -
 6 iâ, kuk ka bóm, niáu uâ tá - ñás la mau - lék. Iâ -
 12 iâ, kuk ka bóm, kuk ka bóm, ka bóm, ka bóm. Uâ la mau - lék.
 18 Lo tá - mo niáu ék mâ - kâl, mot niáu ék tá - ñás.

- (1) *iâiâ, ku=k ka bóm, ku=k ka bóm,*
 grandparent belly=1SG RM.PST full belly=1SG RM.PST full
ka bóm, ka bóm
 RM.PST full RM.PST full
 'Grandma, I am full, I am full, am full, am full.'
- (2) *iâiâ, ku=k ka bóm, niáu uâ táñás la mau lék*
 grandparent belly=1SG RM.PST full 1SG RC.PST cry in morning
 'Grandma, I am full, I was crying this morning.'
- (3) *iâiâ, ku=k ka bóm, ku=k ka bóm,*
 grandparent belly=1SG RM.PST full belly=1SG RM.PST full
ka bóm, ka bóm
 RM.PST full RM.PST full
 'Grandma, I am full, I am full, am full, am full.'
- (4) *uâ la mau lék*
 RC.PST in morning
 'Earlier this morning.'
- (5) *lo tâmo niáu, é=k mâkâl, mot niáu, é=k táñás*
 or now 1SG 1SG=IPFV be.hungry and 1SG 1SG=IPFV cry
 'But now I am hungry, and I am crying.'
- (6) *iâiâ, ku=k ka bóm, ku=k ka bóm,*
 grandparent belly=1SG RM.PST full belly=1SG RM.PST full
ka bóm, ka bóm
 RM.PST full RM.PST full
 'Grandma, I am full, I am full, am full, am full.'

3.3. Lullaby for Denelly

Sung and composed by Rondy Kombeng (Péu clan)

Mâ - mói Uân - pot si De - ne - li.
 Nan ki buák na mâ - mói Uân - pot.
 De - ne - li si mâ - mói Uân - pot.

(1) *mâmói Uânpot si Deneli*
 mother U. AL D.
 'Denelly's Auntie Wanpot.'

(2) *nan ki buák na mâmói Uânpot*
 3SG HAB want PN.ART mother U.
 'She loves Auntie Wanpot.'

(3) *Deneli si mâmói Uânpot*
 D. AL mother U.
 'Auntie Wanpot's Denelly.'

3.4. I saw a small bird

Sung by Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

Composed by May Philip Bartsaka (Ma clan)



9 Niá uâ ráŋ a kaskón má-ná uiân âk io - io u-lát gu - guál ká-lá uái.

16 Nan a bok sik a é-ŋén uái, nan a pu-ka sái li - piá. Nók â - iát â-iát â - iát, ták

iot a mâ - ra - uai sa - ka pu lak ta - ual ká - lá uái.

- (1) *niá uâ ráŋ a kas kó=n máná-uiân*
 1SG RC.PST see ART other small.piece=3SG bird-small

â=k ioio ulát guguál kálá uái
 DIST=IPFV fly go.round on.top on tree
 'I saw a small bird flying around the top of a tree.'

- (2) *nan a bok sik a éŋé=n uái,*
 3SG PFV break take ART branch=3SG tree

nan a puka sái li-piá
 3SG PFV fall go.down in-ground

'It broke a branch (when it wanted to sit down), it fell down to the ground.'

- (3) *nók âiát âiát âiát,*
 2SG=FUT run run run

tâ=k iot a mârauai saka pu lak taual kálá uái
 1DU.INC=FUT hold ART bird.sp. APPR escape go.up return on tree

'Come, come, come, let us catch the *mârauai* bird, otherwise it will escape and return into the tree.'

3.5. One girl pretended

Sung by Taia Melengen (Kaméré clan), Sila Massian (Keu clan)

Composer unknown

Kas ten biân̄ ka ua-lai ke - lek, po ten biân̄ i - na iot ba - laŋ. A

6
ba - laŋ iâ ket a li - ma - na, mot nan ka iá-uái iá-uái mâ - mói.

(1) *kas ten-biân̄ ka ualai kelek,*
other woman-small RM.PST do first

po ten-biân̄ i=n=a iot balan̄
COMP woman-small INAL=3SG=ART hold eel

'One girl pretended at first to be a girl (who knew how) to catch eels.'

(2) *a balan̄ iâ ket a lima=n=a,*
ART eel CONT bite ART arm=3SG=ART

mot nan ka iá-uái iá-uái mâ-mói
and 3SG RM.PST INTJ INTJ mother

'The eel bit her hand, and she cried and cried for (her) mum.'

3.6. The *bunbun* gives me

Sung and composed by Eddie Madani (Sopokor clan)

1. A *bun-bun lis a bân mal sik, a bân ma-li-sa ik la-*
 2./3. A *bun-bun lis a bân mal sik, a bân ma-li-sa ik lák-*

5
 la. *lák sái lâ-lâs.* 4. A *bân ik ti-kán ik â - suén ká-lá uái la uás.*

- (1) *a bunbun lis a bân mal si=k,*
 ART ? give ART bundle cloth AL=1SG
- a bân malisa ik lâ~la*
 ART bundle barracuda IPFV INTR~search.food
 ‘The *bunbun* (a kind of spirit or fish) gives me a bunch of cultural decoration, a group of barracudas is looking for food.’
- (2) *a bunbun lis a bân mal si=k,*
 ART ? give ART bundle cloth AL=1SG
- a bân malisa ik lák~lák sái lâ-lâs*
 ART bundle barracuda IPFV INTR~hit go.down in-noon
 ‘The *bunbun* gives me a bunch of cultural decoration, a group of barracudas is fighting and coming down (from the open sea to the beach) during midday.’
- (3) *a bunbun lis a bân mal si=k,*
 ART ? give ART bundle cloth AL=1SG
- a bân malisa ik lák~lák sái lâ-lâs*
 ART bundle barracuda IPFV INTR~hit go.down in-noon
 ‘The *bunbun* gives me a bunch of cultural decoration, a group of barracudas is fighting and coming down (from the open sea to the beach) during midday.’
- (4) *a bân ik tikán ik â=su-én kálá uái la uás*
 ART cordyline IPFV tie IPFV CAU=hang-TR on tree in sun
 ‘The cordyline is hung onto the tree during the sun.’
- (5) *a bân ik tikán ik â=su-én kálá uái la uás*
 ART cordyline IPFV tie IPFV CAU=hang-TR on tree in sun
 ‘The cordyline is hung onto the tree during the sun.’

3.7. Who is standing there

Sung by Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

Composed by Eddie Madani (Sopokor clan)

7 Nás nâi ti pâ-má - nất i - na la - man? Nók iâ lo - mon,
 13 nók iâ lo - mon a kó niâu sa - ka io - uok lák an
 19 la sa - ua. Nók iâ lo - mon, nók iâ lo - mon a kó
 niâu sa - ka io - uok lák an la sa - ua.

- (1) *nás nâ=i ti pâ-mâ-nất i=n=a laman?*
 who NVIS.DIST=IPFV stand end.of.reef INAL=3SG=ART open.sea
 'Who is standing there at the edge of the reef towards the open sea?'

- (2) *nó=k iâ lomôn, nó=k iâ lomôn a kó niâu*
 2SG=FUT CONT think 2SG=FUT CONT think ART small.piece thing

saka iouok lák an la sauá
 APPR remove hit about in boat.passage

'Be careful, be careful with (your) thing (penis), otherwise it will be ripped out (through your trousers) at the boat passage through the reef (vagina).'

- (3) *nás nâ=i ti pâ-mâ-nất i=n=a laman?*
 who NVIS.DIST=IPFV stand end.of.reef INAL=3SG=ART open.sea
 'Who is standing there at the edge of the reef towards the open sea?'

- (4) *nó=k iâ lomôn, nó=k iâ lomôn a kó niâu*
 2SG=FUT CONT think 2SG=FUT CONT think ART small.piece thing

saka iouok lák an la sauá
 APPR remove hit about in boat.passage

'Be careful, be careful with (your) thing, otherwise it will be ripped out at the boat passage through the reef.'

- (5) *nó=k iâ lomôn, nó=k iâ lomôn a kó niâu*
 2SG=FUT CONT think 2SG=FUT CONT think ART small.piece thing

saka iouok lák an la sauá
 APPR remove hit about in boat.passage

'Be careful, be careful with (your) thing, otherwise it will be ripped out at the boat passage through the reef.'

3.8. We praise God

Sung and composed by Eddie Madani (Sopokor clan)

Yu - mi prei-sim God long dis - pe-la bung wan-taim. Yu-mi

10
— mas a-ma - mas ol-ge-ta taim, ol-ge-ta man me-ri i stap long Djaul Ai - lan.

17
A me - re pan si-mé, bul bák ká-pái. Pâ léŋ i-na ta - i sik, nó sâŋ
Pâ léŋ i-na ta - i sik gán Pâ -

24
a-man. Ro - kon pan si-na, na Kris Ols, pâ bin i-na âi-sók sim
sa-uai.

31
ó-ró la bák si - mam. Tak — â-ka-u - ŋâi pan si-na pa-sa-ŋan, nan

40
mo a ta-ma-ra. — Ro-kon ro-kon i-na lon-ciŋ ta - nén la tuen - ti se-ken ei -

49
pril tuen-ti tuen - ti tri. Ol su - ma-tin, yu mas sa-ve ko-lim na rai-tim long buk.

56
Ol su-ma - tin, yu mas sa-ve long rit_ en_ rait. Yu - mi prei-sim God

65
long ma-ri-ma-ri bi - long en_ long yu mi. — E-diu - kei-san Pro-jekt

72
In - ta-nei-sa-nal — a â-ŋa-sik a ro-kon tu-na bulskul si - ra,
a â-ŋa-sik a ro-kon tu-na lu-biân tá-ná-mái.

79
Ŋe-ŋen — â-kau-ŋâi na pa - sa-ŋan ta-nén, nan a má-láu mat i -

86
ta_ la bul iân. — Long ma-ri-ma-ri bi - long en_ long yu mi. —

94
A bin_ i - na lo - mo - má-láu gán si - na man si - ra.

- (1) *yumi preisim God long dispela bung wantaim* (Tok Pisin)
'We praise God in this meeting.'
- (2) *yumi mas amamas olgeta taim, olgeta man meri i stap long Djaul Ailan* (Tok Pisin)
'We must be always happy, every man and woman living on Djaul Island.'
- (3) *a mere pan si=mé, bul bák kápái*
ART be.happy go AL=2PL PL place all
'Happiness goes to you, all the places.'
- (4) *pâ léŋ i=n=a ta'i si=k, nó sâŋ aman*
with voice INAL=3SG=ART conch.shell AL=1SG 2SG arrive come
'There is the sound of my conch shell, come.'
- (5) *pâ léŋ i=n=a ta'i si=k gán Pâsauai*
with voice INAL=3SG=ART conch.shell AL=1SG leave P.
'There is the sound of my conch shell coming from Pasauai.'
- (6) *rokon pan si=n=a, na Kris Ols,*
good go AL=3SG=ART PN.ART K. O.
pâ bin i=n=a âisók si=m óró la bák si=mam
with big INAL=3SG=ART work AL=2SG VIS.PROX in place AL=1PL.EXC
'Thank you, Chris Holz, for your big work here in our place.'
- (7) *ta=k âka'ungâi pan si=n=a pasañan,*
1PL.INC=FUT praise go AL=3SG=ART chief
nan mo a tama=ra
3SG only PFV father=1PL.INC
'Let us praise God, only he is our father.'
- (8) *rokon rokon i=n=a lonciŋ tanén*
good good INAL=3SG=ART launch today
la tuenti seken eipril tuenti tuenti tri
in twenty second April twenty twenty three
'Thank you for the (book) launch today on 22 April 2023.'
- (9) *ol sumatin, yu mas save kolim na raitim long buk* (Tok Pisin)
'Students, you must know how to read and write books.'
- (10) *ol sumatin, yu mas save long rit en rait* (Tok Pisin)
'Students, you must know how to read and write.'
- (11) *ta=k âka'ungâi pan si=n=a pasañan,*
1PL.INC=FUT praise go AL=3SG=ART chief
nan mo a tama=ra
3SG only PFV father=1PL.INC
'Let us praise God, only he is our father.'
- (12) *rokon rokon i=n=a lonciŋ tanén*
good good INAL=3SG=ART launch today

la tuenti seken eipril tuenti tuenti tri
in twenty second April twenty twenty three
 ‘Thank you for the (book) launch today on 22 April 2023.’

(13) *ol sumatin, yu mas save kolim na raitim long buk* (Tok Pisin)
 ‘Students, you must know how to read and write books.’

(14) *ol sumatin, yu mas save long rit en rait* (Tok Pisin)
 ‘Students, you must know how to read and write.’

(15) *yumi preisim God long marimari bilong en long yumi* (Tok Pisin)
 ‘We praise God for his love for us.’

(16) *Ediukeisan Projekt Intaneisanal, Ediukeisan Projekt Intaneisanal*
 E. P. I. E. P. I.

a â=ņasik a rokon tuna bul skol si=ra,
 PFV CAU=help PFV good true PL school AL=1PL.INC

a â=ņasik a rokon tuna lu=biâŋ tánámái
 PFV CAU=help PFV good true PL=small afterward

‘Education Projects International, Education Projects International (a publisher) has helped our schools very well, has helped future children very well.’

(17) *ŋeŋen âkauŋâi na pasañan tanén,*
 hymn praise PN.ART chief today

nan a máláu mat ita la bul iân
 3SG PFV love die 1PL.INC in PL time

‘Hymns praise God today, he loves us always very much.’

(18) *ŋeŋen âkauŋâi na pasañan tanén,*
 hymn praise PN.ART chief today

nan a máláu mat ita la bul iân
 3SG PFV love die 1PL.INC in PL time

‘Hymns praise God today, he loves us always very much.’

(19) *long marimari bilong en long yumi* (Tok Pisin)
 ‘For his love for us.’

(20) *a bin i=n=a lomo-máláu gán si=n=a man si=ra*
 ART big INAL=3SG=ART think-love leave AL=3SG=ART come AL=1PL.INC

‘Big love from him comes to us.’

3.9. I am sitting and thinking

Sung by Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

Composed by Ben Mawas

1. Niáu ik tom lo - mon, la iân i - mé ka lá - uák niáu,
 2. Niáu ik tom lo - mon, la iân i - mé ka lá - uák niáu,

7
 lo ék lo - mo - sât tu - na, la iân niáu ka tom
 lo ék lo - mo - sât tu - na, a ro - kon, niáu ik gán.

13
 — La iân i - mé ka lá - uák niáu, a ro - kon, niáu ik gán. tâ - mo.
 — La iân i - mé ka lá - uák niáu, a ro - kon, niáu ik gán. tâ - mo.

- (1) *niáu ik tom lomon, la iân imé ka láuák niáu,*
 1SG IPFV sit think in time 2PL RM.PST be.angry 1SG

lo é=k lomo-sât tuna, la iân niáu ka tom
 or 1SG=IPFV think-bad true in time 1SG RM.PST sit
 'I am sitting and thinking when you were angry with me, and I am very sad when I stayed.'

- (2) *la iân imé ka láuák niáu, a rokon,*
 in time 2PL RM.PST be.angry 1SG PFV good

niáu ik gán tâmo
 1SG IPFV leave now
 'When you were angry with me, it is fine, I will leave now.'

- (3) *niáu ik tom lomon, la iân imé ka láuák niáu,*
 1SG IPFV sit think in time 2PL RM.PST be.angry 1SG

lo é=k lomo-sât tuna, a rokon, niáu ik gán
 or 1SG=IPFV think-bad true PFV good 1SG IPFV leave
 'I am sitting and thinking when you were angry with me, and I am very sad, it is fine, I will leave.'

- (4) *la iân imé ka láuák niáu, a rokon,*
 in time 2PL RM.PST be.angry 1SG PFV good

niáu ik gán tâmo
 1SG IPFV leave now
 'When you were angry with me, it is fine, I will leave now.'

3.10. I was sitting and I heard

Sung by Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

Composed by Milang Erick

1. Niáu ka tom, mat niáu ka lo-ŋoi a tá-ŋás i-na gi-
 2. Niáu ka tom, mat niáu ka lo-ŋoi a tá-ŋás i-na gi-
 5. mát âk - â - man la li - ma - na So - luk.
 mát âk - â - man, a luâi ro - kon tu - na.
 9. Lâ - ŋâ - sâ, mé ka uâi - a - man tak lo - ŋoi
 13. a tá - ŋás i - na gi - mát âk - bu - lás - a -
 17. man la nó - na lián, la li - ma - na So - luk.

- (1) *niáu ka tom, mat niáu ka loŋoi*
 1SG RM.PST sit and 1SG RM.PST hear

a táŋás i=n=a gimát â=k=âman la lima=n=a Soluk
 ART cry INAL=3SG=ART slit.drum DIST=IPFV=come in arm=3SG=ART S.

'I was sitting, and I heard the sound of the slit drum coming from afar from the hands of Soluk (sports team and cultural group from Karia).'

- (2) *niáu ka tom, mat niáu ka loŋoi*
 1SG RM.PST sit and 1SG RM.PST hear

a táŋás i=n=a gimát â=k=âman, a luâi rokon tuna
 ART cry INAL=3SG=ART slit.drum DIST=IPFV=come PFV calm good true

'I was sitting, and I heard the sound of the slit drum coming from afar, it was a very quiet (day).'

- (3) *lâŋâsâ, mé ka uâi=aman ta=k loŋoi*
 how 2PL RM.PST DU=come 1PL.INC=IPFV hear

a táŋás i=n=a gimát â=k bulás aman
 ART cry INAL=3SG=ART slit.drum DIST=IPFV go.corner come

la nó=n=a lián la lima=n=a Soluk
 in face=3SG=ART cave in arm=3SG=ART S.

'Why (are you still sitting), come and let us listen to the sound of the slit drum coming from the other side of the cliff from the hands of Soluk.'

3.11. Praise, praise

Sung by Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

Composed by Elias Bula (Kaméré clan)

1. Me - re me - re pan si - na pa - sa - ŋan
2. Bul mâ - sât kápái nan ki ko - roŋ i - tâi.

8. pâ ko - roŋ i - tâi bul iân ká - pái. I -
Me - re me - re ik pan si - na. I -

14. tâi a tom tó pâ lo - mo - má láu si - na
tâi ik sik a ti a i - sán bin si - na,

21. kot i - tâi bul iân, bul iân ká - pái.
noŋ la bul iân, bul iân ká - pái.

27. 1./2. Tâi ik lis, tâi ik lis a me - re si - râi ik

34. pan si - na, pan si - na pâ tó ro - kon bul iân.

42. Nan ki sâk, nan ki sâk lo - mon pu - sên i - tâi,

49. lis a i - sán bin ik pan si - na.

- (1) *mere mere pan si=n=a pasanjan pâ koron itâi*
be.happy be.happy go AL=3SG=ART chief with care 1DU.INC

bul iân kápái
PL time all

'Praise, praise goes to God for looking after us all the time.'

- (2) *itâi a tom tó pâ lomo-máláu si=n=a kot itâi*
1DU.INC PFV sit live with think-love AL=3SG=ART cover 1DU.INC

bul iân, bul iân kápái
PL time PL time all

'We are alive because of his love covering us all the time, all the time.'

- (3) *tâi ik lis, tâi ik lis a mere si=râi*
 1DU.INC IPFV give 1DU.INC IPFV give ART be.happy AL=1DU.INC
ik pan si=n=a, pan si=n=a pâ tó rokon bul îân
 IPFV go AL=3SG=ART go AL=3SG=ART with live good PL time
 ‘We give, we give our praise to him, to him for a good life all the time.’
- (4) *nan ki sâk, nan ki sâk lomon pus-én itâi,*
 3SG HAB NEG 3SG HAB NEG think throw-TR 1DU.INC
lis a isá=n-bin ik pan si=n=a
 give ART name=3SG-big IPFV go AL=3SG=ART
 ‘He does not, he does not forget us, give him a big name.’
- (5) *bul mâsât kápái, nan ki koronj itâi*
 PL year all 3SG HAB care 1DU.INC
 ‘All the years, he looks after us.’
- (6) *mere mere ik pan si=n=a*
 be.happy be.happy IPFV go AL=3SG=ART
 ‘Praise, praise goes to him.’
- (7) *itâi ik sik a ti a isá=n-bin si=n=a,*
 1DU.INC IPFV take PFV stand ART name=3SG-big AL=3SG=ART
nonj la bul îân, bul îân kápái
 be.enough in PL time PL time all
 ‘We honour his big name to all time, all time.’
- (8) *tâi ik lis, tâi ik lis a mere si=râi*
 1DU.INC IPFV give 1DU.INC IPFV give ART be.happy AL=1DU.INC
ik pan si=n=a, pan si=n=a pâ tó rokon bul îân
 IPFV go AL=3SG=ART go AL=3SG=ART with live good PL time
 ‘We give, we give our praise to him, to him for a good life all the time.’
- (9) *nan ki sâk, nan ki sâk lomon pus-én itâi,*
 3SG HAB NEG 3SG HAB NEG think throw-TR 1DU.INC
lis a isá=n-bin ik pan si=n=a
 give ART name=3SG-big IPFV go AL=3SG=ART
 ‘He does not, he does not forget us, give him a big name.’

3.12. Song from the story “The family and the octopus”

Sung by Tove lavung

See Volume 3, Section 2.4, Lines (19) and (20)

U - lék biân, miâk pák niáu.

- (1) *u=lék-biân, miâ=k pák niáu*
 DU=man-small 2DU=FUT turn 1SG
 ‘Boys, take me out.’

3.13. Songs from the story “Songs that reveal secrets”

Sung by Joseph Kombeng and Dixon Makis

See Volume 5, Section 2.4, Lines (12) and (13); and Section 2.5, Lines (9) and (10)

Niáu uâ ráη a kó ηat la bi si - na. Nók náη nan pâ ta kó ηat.

- (1) J: *niáu uâ ráη a kó ηat 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.’

- (2) J: *nó=k náη nan pâ ta kó ηat*
 2SG=FUT request 3SG with IND.ART small.piece stone
 ‘Ask him for some money (lit. stone).’

Nan uâ bát nó. Nók ti lak tâ lu, mot nók ce-kim a boks tân.

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

- (2) 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.’

4.2. The coconut shell game

Sung by Delilah Goliath (Kaméré clan)

Traditional game

Pi - ri pi - ri pi - ri pi - ri pi - ri â-lo pi - ri pi - ri â-lo pi - ri. Pi -
 9
 ri pi - ri pi - ri pi - ri pi - ri â-lo pi - ri pi - ri â-lo pi - ri.

- (1) *óró a bót si=n=a lu=biâŋ ik tâpelek pâ kaua*
 VIS.PROX PFV sing AL=3SG=ART PL=small IPFV play with coconut.shell
 'This is a song that children play with coconut shells.'

- (2) *piri piri piri piri piri âlo, piri piri âlo piri* (language unknown; repeated five times)
 '?'

4.3. Song from the story “Karak and Ngalasimbang”

Sung by Takala Lamemes

See Volume 1, Section 2.3, Lines (14), (22), (29), (33), and (40)

Kâ - rāk, sâ ró - rók lé ró - rók le_____ na mé,

7
na N̄a - la - sim - bân_____ gét tók la sén - sé - ne_____ na mé.

- (1) *Kârâk, sâ rórók lé rórók le na mé, na N̄alasimbân̄ gét tók la sénséne na mé (Tigak?)*
'?

4.4. Song from the story “Siu and Simekeua”

Sung by Takala Lamemes

See Volume 1, Section 2.5, Lines (8), (9), (14), (15), (18), and (19)

Soi soi soi soi kó me - re ók kâk_ bo - ko pa-na so.____

⁶
Kâk bo-ko get tok la kóna ó - ŋó ro-ua é na Ki - paŋ.____

- (1) *soi soi soi soi kó mere ók kâk boko pana so* (Tigak?)
'What happened to my pig?' (?)
- (2) *kâk boko get tok la kóna óŋó roua é na Kipaŋ* (Tigak?)
'My pig has a spear in his belly, Kipang killed it.' (?)

4.5. Songs from the story “Lengkoe”

Sung by Wesley Naion and Mayson Gogot

See Volume 2, Section 2.7, Lines (16–21) and (28–33); Section 2.8, Lines (66–69) and (114–118)

Léŋ-kó - é é-ŋé a-ŋa ruk pa-na la - ia mo ko - ko.

10 Leŋ-ko - é é-ŋé a-ŋa ruk pa-na la - ia mo ko - ko, riŋ te-ŋe

19 roŋ a té-lé - ŋén. Ruk - ruk pa-na la - ia é-ŋé a - ŋa ruk -

27 ruk pa-na la - ia mo ko - ko. Leŋ-ko - é é-ŋé a - ŋa ruk -

36 ruk pa - na la - ia mo ko - ko, riŋ te - ŋe róŋ a té - lé - ŋén.

- (1) *Léŋkóé éŋé aŋa ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
'Lengkoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'
- (2) *Leŋkoé éŋé aŋa ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
'Lengkoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'
- (3) *riŋ teŋe roŋ a télénén* (Tigak?)
'Kill her, take her blood.'
- (4) *rukruk pana laia éŋé aŋa rukruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
'She is sleeping in the ginger, sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'
- (5) *Leŋkoé éŋé aŋa rukruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
'Lengkoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'
- (6) *riŋ teŋe róŋ a télénén* (Tigak?)
'Kill her, take her blood.'

Leŋ-ko - é é-ŋé e ruk pa-na la - ia mo ko - ko. Leŋ-ko - é

11 é-ŋé e-ŋe ruk pa-na la - ia mo ko - ko, riŋ se - ro-uâ ti - li - ŋe.

20 Leŋ-ko - é é-ŋé e-ŋe ruk pa-na la - ia mo ko - ko.

- (1) *Leŋkoé éjé e ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
‘Lengcoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.’
- (2) *Leŋkoé éjé eje ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
‘Lengcoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.’
- (3) *riŋ seje rouâ tiliŋe* (Tigak?)
‘Kill her, take her blood.’
- (4) *Leŋkoé éjé eje ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
‘Lengcoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.’

Ruk - ruk pa-na la - ia, é - jé e - je ruk pa-na la - ia mo ko - ko.

9
Leŋ - ko - é - é - jé e - je ruk pa-na la - ia mo ko - ko, riŋ

17
se - je ro-uâ ti - li - je. U, so - so so - lo-ŋâi é e

26
o é - jé i u - li - ne e o ta - sé. É - jé e

38
e o ta - sé é - jé e o é - jé na Kâ - râk me nâ é.

- (5) *rukruk pana laia éjé eje ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
‘She is sleeping in the ginger, sleeping and hiding in the ginger.’
- (6) *Leŋkoé éjé eje ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
‘Lengcoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.’
- (7) *riŋ seje rouâ téléje* (Tigak?)
‘Kill her, take her blood.’
- (8) *u, soso solonâi é e o éjé i ulina e o tasé* (Tigak?)
‘Oh, in the bush, this woman belongs to whom?’
- (9) *éjé e e o tasé éjé e o éjé na Kârâk me nâ é* (Tigak?)
‘She belongs to whom? It is Karak sleeping here.’

4.6. Song from the story “Paint Tin”

Sung by Adam Mandu

See Volume 2, Section 2.6, Lines (38–41), (44–47), and (51–54)

7 Â - iâ u ci - nâ, â - iâ u tâ - mâ. Sé iâ
tu i â lau_ mã, sé tó re ma ga tu â tuá.

- (1) *âiâ u cinâ, âiâ u tâmâ* (Halia)
'Ouch Mother, ouch Father.'
- (2) *âiâ u cinâ, âiâ u tâmâ* (Halia)
'Ouch Mother, ouch Father.'
- (3) *sé iâ tu i â lau mã* (Halia)
'(sings about her lover)'
- (4) *sé tó re ma ga tu â tuá*" (Halia)
'(sings about her aching heart)'