Tiang texts 2

Ghost stories

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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

While the Kipang stories of Volume 1 are amusing and have a happy ending, the spirits found in Volume 2 are dangerous, and the stories often have a tragic ending. The spirits in this volume live in caves. They can change their appearance to trick their victims, and they can turn into snakes to threaten or kill people.

One type of spirit are the people from the bush. While they can harm people, they can also fall in love with them. Such a love must be kept secret, and only once the dowry is paid, the couple can make their love official. People from the bush can have children. In the first story, the human boys Liuai and Sima help their father, a man from the bush, to become a real man.

Ghost stories are moralising; the spirits punish bad behaviour. The spirit Babanga and his wife kill a child who runs away from home. The spirits Liver Bilau and Lumakaka kill a child that always wants to drink coconut water. By killing the children, the spirits also punish the children's parents for their carelessness and teach them a lesson.

Volume 1 already introduced a type of spirit called *mus*, which are strong dwarfs. They can be female (see Matokombual of Volume 1, Section 2.1) or male. Dwarfs play a role in two stories about an ancestral Tiang woman, Lengkoe. The two stories tell Lengkoe's journey when she left her Tigak village to settle in a Tiang village. The dwarfs want to kill her while she sleeps, but the chief of the dwarfs stops them and saves Lengkoe. There is disagreement as to what clan Lengkoe belongs to, which is why I replaced her clan's name with an "X".

The only friendly spirit in this volume is Paint Tin, a magical woman living in a paint tin. Whenever her owners are out, she cleans their house. She dies after touching water, and her colour turned the sea blue. This story was taught to the narrator by his father Enock Sobu, who moved to Djaul from the Carteret Islands in Bougainville.

The last story does not feature an actual ghost. It tells the story of two sisters who fight about a child. Only a wise chief is able to settle their dispute. It is reminiscent of the biblical story of the Judgment of Solomon.

Three stories are accompanied by songs: Section 2.6 (Lines 38–41, 44–47, 51–54), Section 2.7 (Lines 16–21, 28–33), and Section 2.8 (Lines 66–69, 114–118). The song in Section 2.6 was identified by Jerry Allen (p.c.) and Joel Bito Tukana (p.c.) as Halia or the closely related language Tuloun. The songs in Sections 2.7 and 2.8 might be Tigak or Kaviri. For a transcription in musical notation, see Volume 6.

2. Texts

2.1. The man from the bush

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

(1)　　*a*　　　*lek*　　　*i=n=a*　　　　*luntan*
　　　　ART　　　man　　　INAL=3SG=ART　　bush
　　　　'The man from the bush.'

(2)　　*kas*　　*iân*　　*ka*　　*pâ*　　*in*　　*âi=riŋa=n=an*
　　　　other　　time　　RM.PST　with　　PAU　　REC=mother=3SG-NOML
　　　　'Once, there was a mother with her children.'

(3)　　*in*　　*âi=riŋa=n-an*　　　　*ónén*　　　　*ka*　　*pâ*　　*u=lék-biâŋ*　　*tâuan*
　　　　PAU　　REC=mother=3SG-NOML　NVIS.PROX　　RM.PST　with　　DU=man-small　　male

　　　　mot　　*a*　　*rina=riâi,*
　　　　and　　ART　　mother=3DU

　　　　isá=n=a　　　　*u=lék-biâŋ*　　*ónén*　　　　*na*　　*Liuâi*　　*iriâi*　　*Simâ*
　　　　name=3SG=ART　DU=man-small　　NVIS.PROX　　PN.ART　L.　　　3DU　　　S.
　　　　'This family consisted of two boys and their mother, the names of the boys were Liuai and Sima.'

(4)　　*nárál*　　*ka*　　　*tom*　　*kuuál*　　　　*la*　　*kas*　　*bák,*
　　　　3TRI　　　RM.PST　sit　　　be.together　　in　　　other　　place

　　　　amâ　　*a*　　*lâuák*　　*an*　　　*a*　　*ku=n=a*　　　　*malai*
　　　　where　PFV　　far　　　about　　ART　belly=3SG=ART　village
　　　　'They lived together in a place that was far from the village centre.'

(5)　　*la*　　*iân*　　*nér*　　*ka*　　　*tom,*
　　　　in　　time　　3PL　　RM.PST　sit

　　　　a　　　*u=lék-biâŋ*　　*nâ*　　　　*ka*　　　*bin*　　*tâmo,*
　　　　ART　　DU=man-small　　NVIS.DIST　　RM.PST　big　　now

　　　　té　　　*iriâi*　　*kóró*　　　*riái*　　*na*　　　*riŋa=riâi*　　　*pâ*　　*tama=riâi*
　　　　then　　3DU　　　PST.HAB　ask　　　PN.ART　mother=3DU　　with　　father=3DU
　　　　'As they were staying, the two boys grew up now, then they asked their mother about their father.'

(6)　　*"mâmói,*　　　*a*　　*tama=mâi*　　*óró*　　　*nás?"*
　　　　mother　　　　ART　father=1DU.EXC　VIS.PROX　who
　　　　'"Mum, who is our father?"'

(7)　　*lo*　　*na*　　　*riŋa=riâi*　　　*kóró*　　　*uán*
　　　　or　　PN.ART　mother=3DU　　PST.HAB　hide.TR
　　　　'But their mother was hiding him.'

(8)　　*iâ*　　　*pan*　　*iân*　　*beuel*　　*mat*　　*tâmo,*　　*baté*　　*iriâi*　　*a*　　　*riái*　　*nan*　　*ala*
　　　　CONT　　go　　　time　　long　　　die　　　now　　　then　　　3DU　　　PFV　　ask　　　3SG　　again
　　　　'It went on for a very long time now, then they asked her again.'

(9)   *"lo*   *a*   *tama=mâi*   *óró*   *nás?"*
        or   ART   father=1DU.EXC   VIS.PROX   who
        '"But who is our father?"'

(10)   *na*   *riŋa=riâi*   *ka*   *murém,*
        PN.ART   mother=3DU   RM.PST   be.tired

        po   *iriâi*   *ka*   *tom*   *ri~riái*   *ri~riái*   *utâ*   *mat,*
        COMP   3DU   RM.PST   sit   INTR~ask   INTR~ask   much   die

        i=n=a   *nan*   *a*   *ti,*   *nan*   *a*   *kus*   *iriâi*   *tâmo*
        INAL=3SG=ART   3SG   PFV   stand   3SG   PFV   tell   3DU   now
        'Their mother was tired of them asking so much, then she got up, she told them now.'

(11)   *"niáu*   *nâ*   *ka*   *tokon*   *a*   *lek*   *i=n=a*   *luntan*
        1SG   NVIS.DIST   RM.PST   own   ART   man   INAL=3SG=ART   bush
        '"I married a man from the bush (a spirit).'

(12)   *lo*   *lek*   *ónén*   *a*   *tama=miâi*
        or   man   NVIS.PROX   PFV   father=2DU
        'And that man is your father.'

(13)   *lo*   *nan*   *ki*   *sâŋ*   *aman*   *si=k*   *la*   *bul*   *lá-uáŋ*   *isaŋ"*
        or   3SG   HAB   arrive   come   AL=1SG   in   PL   in-night   alone
        'But he comes to me only at night."'

(14)   *té*   *la*   *iân*   *nér*   *a*   *tom,*   *iriâi*   *tâmo*   *kóró*   *lomon*   *lâŋ=âtâ,*
        then   in   time   3PL   PFV   sit   3DU   now   PST.HAB   think   like=VIS.DIST

        po   *na*   *riŋa=riâi*   *ka*   *bát*   *iriâi*
        COMP   PN.ART   mother=3DU   RM.PST   trick   3DU
        'Then as they were staying, they thought that their mother was tricking them.'

(15)   *té*   *kas*   *iân*   *ala,*   *iriâi*   *a*   *riái*
        then   other   time   again   3DU   PFV   ask
        'Then once again, they asked.'

(16)   *"mâmói,*   *a*   *tama=mâi*   *óró*   *nás?"*
        mother   ART   father=1DU.EXC   VIS.PROX   who
        '"Mum, who is our father?"'

(17)   *té*   *na*   *riŋa=riâi*   *a*   *kus*   *iriâi*   *lâŋ=âtâ*
        then   PN.ART   mother=3DU   PFV   tell   3DU   like=VIS.DIST
        'Then their mother told them.'

(18)   *"a*   *tama=miâi*   *nâ*   *a*   *lek*   *i=n=a*   *luntan,*
        ART   father=2DU   NVIS.DIST   PFV   man   INAL=3SG=ART   bush

        lo   *nan*   *ki*   *sâŋ*   *aman*   *si=k*   *lá-uáŋ*   *isaŋ"*
        or   3SG   HAB   arrive   come   AL=1SG   in-night   alone
        '"Your father is a man from the bush, but he comes to me only at night."'

(19)

kas	iân	tâmo,	nér	a	matai
other	time	now	3PL	PFV	sleep

'One day now, they slept.'

(20)

a	u=lék-biâŋ	nâ	a	â=matai	bát	na	riŋa=riâi
ART	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST	PFV	CAU=sleep	trick	PN.ART	mother=3DU

'The two boys tricked their mother to sleep.'

(21)

iriâi	a	ti,	iriâi	a	iuoŋ	tom	la	malai,
3DU	PFV	stand	3DU	PFV	exit	sit	in	village

i=n=a	iriâi	ik	tom	koko	pâ	na	lek	ónén,
INAL=3SG=ART	3DU	IPFV	sit	hide.INTR	with	PN.ART	man	NVIS.PROX

na	tama=riâi
PN.ART	father=3DU

'They got up, they went out and were sitting outside the house to hide for this man, their father.'

(22)

si=n=a	na	tama=riâi	ók	man	ik	salaŋ	na	riŋa=riâi
AL=3SG=ART	PN.ART	father=3DU	FUT	come	IPFV	search	PN.ART	mother=3DU

'Because their father would come and look for their mother.'

(23)

iriâi	a	tom,
3DU	PFV	sit

iriâi	a	ráŋ	na	lek	nâ	ik	iâ	man,
3DU	PFV	see	PN.ART	man	NVIS.DIST	IPFV	CONT	come

aman	sâŋ	ti	la	mata=n=a	lu
come	arrive	stand	in	eye=3SG=ART	house

'They were sitting, they saw the man coming, coming and standing at the door.'

(24)

baté	nan	a	âlálám	tâmo
then	3SG	PFV	whistle	now

'Then he whistled now.'

(25)

la	iân	nan	kóró	âlálám,
in	time	3SG	PST.HAB	whistle

na	riŋa=n=a	u=lék-biâŋ	nâ
PN.ART	mother=3SG=ART	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST

a	loŋoi	kinila	na	tama=riâi
PFV	hear	recognise	PN.ART	father=3DU

'When he was whistling, the mother of the two boys recognised their father.'

(26)

i=n=a	tâmo	nan	a	iuoŋ	pan
INAL=3SG=ART	now	3SG	PFV	exit	go

'Then she went out now.'

(27)

iuoŋ	pan,	lo	nan	ka	râp	lâŋ=âtâ,
exit	go	or	3SG	RM.PST	assume	like=VIS.DIST

po	*a*	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*nâ*	*â=k*	*matai*	*la*	*puá*	*si=riâi*
COMP	ART	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST	DIST=IPFV	sleep	in	bed	AL=3DU

'She went out, but she thought that the two boys were sleeping in their bed.'

(28)
lo	*pârék,*	*iriâi*	*ala*	*ka*	*iuoŋ*	*kâuâi,*
or	have.NEG	3DU	again	RM.PST	exit	already

i=n=a	*iriâi*	*ik*	*kouoŋ*	*na*	*tama=riâi*
INAL=3SG=ART	3DU	IPFV	spy	PN.ART	father=3DU

'But no, they were also already outside to spy on their father.'

(29)
mot	*la*	*iân*	*ónén*	*iriâi*	*a*	*iuoŋ,*
and	in	time	NVIS.PROX	3DU	PFV	exit

na	*riŋa=riâi*	*ala*	*a*	*iuoŋ*	*pan*
PN.ART	mother=3DU	again	PFV	exit	go

ik	*tom*	*â=rauai*	*na*	*tama=riâi,*
IPFV	sit	CAU=make.sound	PN.ART	father=3DU

lek	*nâ,*	*lek*	*i=n=a*	*luntan*
man	NVIS.DIST	man	INAL=3SG=ART	bush

'And when they went out, also their mother went out to sit and talk to their father, that man, the man from the bush.'

(30)
u=lék-biâŋ	*nâ*	*man*	*ala*	*tâmo,*
DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST	come	again	now

iriâi	*a*	*sâŋ*	*â=lós-bok*	*na*	*riŋa=riâi*	*mot*	*na*	*tama=riâi*
3DU	PFV	arrive	CAU=jump-break	PN.ART	mother=3DU	and	PN.ART	father=3DU

la	*mata=n=a*	*lu*
in	eye=3SG=ART	house

'The two boys also came now, they appeared and surprised their mother and father at the door.'

(31)
iriâi	*a*	*â=táŋ*
3DU	PFV	CAU=say

'They said.'

(32)
"â	*mâmói, lo*	*nó*	*ró*	*mo*	*ki*	*uán*	*na*	*pâpói*	*si=mâi,*
INTJ	mother or	2SG	VIS.PROX only	HAB	hide.TR	PN.ART	father	AL=1DU.EXC

lo	*tâmo*	*mâi*	*a*	*puát*	*na*	*pâpói*	*si=mâi"*
or	now	1DU.EXC	PFV	find	PN.ART	father	AL=1DU.EXC

'"Ah Mum, and you only used to hide our dad, but now we found our dad."'

(33)
i=n=a	*la*	*iân*	*ónén*	*tâmo,*	*na*	*tama=riâi*	*ka*	*lâŋ*
INAL=3SG=ART	in	time	NVIS.PROX	now	PN.ART	father=3DU	RM.PST	like

ka	*pârék*	*ta*	*salan*	*ala,*	*po*	*nan*	*ik*	*koko*
RM.PST	have.NEG	IND.ART	way	again	COMP	3SG	IPFV	hide.INTR

'Then this time now, their father seemed to have no more way to hide.'

(34)

nan	a	ti	tâmo,	nan	a	kus	na	u=lék-biâŋ	nâ
3SG	PFV	stand	now	3SG	PFV	tell	PN.ART	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST

'He stood up now, he told the two boys.'

(35)

"niáu	na	pâpói	si=miâi,	lo	niáu	sâk	tiár	tuna
1SG	PN.ART	father	AL=2DU	or	1SG	NEG	man	true

'"I am your dad, but I am not a real man.'

(36)

niáu	a	lek	i=n=a	luntan,	lo	niáu	ki	matai	la	liáŋ-bin
1SG	ART	man	INAL=3SG=ART	bush	or	1SG	HAB	sleep	in	cave-big

'I am a man from the bush, and I sleep in a big cave.'

(37)

lo	imiâi	a	u=lék-biâŋ	si=k
or	2DU	ART	DU=man-small	AL=1SG

'But you are my two boys.'

(38)

lo	âit	âi	tâmo,	mot	itál	ik	pan	tâ	la	malai	si=k,
or	run	2DU.IMP	now	and	1TRI.INC	IPFV	go	VIS.DIST	in	village	AL=1SG

amâ	niáu	ki	tom
where	1SG	HAB	sit

'And you two come now, and we will go to my home where I live.'

(39)

lo	sala	tom	na	mâmói	si=miâi	ik	tom	bouoŋ"
or	let	sit	PN.ART	mother	AL=2DU	IPFV	sit	wait

'But let your mum stay and wait."'

(40)

lá-uâŋ	la	iân	ónén	tâmo	nér	a	âi=puát	an	nér,
in-night	in	time	NVIS.PROX	now	3PL	PFV	REC=find	about	3PL

u=lék-biâŋ	a	â=us	a	tama=riâi	tâmo,
DU=man-small	PFV	CAU=follow	ART	father=3DU	now

lek	nâ	i=n=a	luntan,	amâ	nan	pâ	liáŋ-bin	si=n=a
man	NVIS.DIST	INAL=3SG=ART	bush	where	3SG	with	cave-big	AL=3SG=ART

'At night that time when they met, the two boys followed their father now, the man from the bush, where he had his big cave.'

(41)

la	iân	nér	a	pan,	nér	a	sâŋ	tâ	la	liáŋ,
in	time	3PL	PFV	go	3PL	PFV	arrive	VIS.DIST	in	cave

na	tama=riâi	a	kus	iriâi	lâŋ=âtâ
PN.ART	father=3DU	PFV	tell	3DU	like=VIS.DIST

'When they went, they arrived at the cave, their father told them.'

(42)

"bul	niâu	kápái	la	liáŋ	óró,	a	ŋat,
PL	thing	all	in	cave	VIS.PROX	ART	stone

a	sâ	bul	â=to~tom-an	la	liáŋ	óró,
ART	what	PL	CAU=INTR~sit-NOML	in	cave	VIS.PROX

san	imiâi	u=lék-biâŋ	si=k,	imiâi	a	puát	niáu	tâmo,
AL.3SG.ART	2DU	DU=man-small	AL=1SG	2DU	PFV	find	1SG	now

si=n=a		*niáu*	*ki*	*koko*
AL=3SG=ART		1SG	HAB	hide.INTR

'"All the things in this cave, the money (lit. stone), all kinds of belongings in this cave, because you are my two boys, you have found me now, as I used to hide.'

(43)

tâmo	*niáu*	*ik*	*tauai*	*a*	*mot*	*imiâi*	*pâ*	*bul*	*niâu*	*kápái*	*óró*
now	1SG	IPFV	give	PFV	finish	2DU	with	PL	thing	all	VIS.PROX

'Now I give you all these things.'

(44)

bul	*niâu*	*i=n=a*		*pék,*	*bul*	*niâu*	*i=n=a*		*âi=lák,*
PL	thing	INAL=3SG=ART		strong	PL	thing	INAL=3SG=ART		REC=hit

bul	*lâuâ=n=a*	*niâu*	*kápái*	*óró*	*lantuá=n=a*	*lián*	*si=k*
PL	much=3SG=ART	thing	all	VIS.PROX	inside=3SG=ART	cave	AL=1SG

'Things of power, things for fighting, all these things are inside my cave.'

(45)

tâmo	*é=k*		*tauai*	*imiâi"*
now	1SG=IPFV		give	2DU

'Now I give them to you."'

(46)

la	*iân*	*ónén*		*tâmo,*	*iriâi*	*a*	*tom*	*sikam,*
in	time	NVIS.PROX		now	3DU	PFV	sit	silent

nan	*a*	*kus*	*iriâi*	*lân=âtâ*
3SG	PFV	tell	3DU	like=VIS.DIST

'This time, they stayed quiet, he told them.'

(47)

"miâ=k		*â=matai*		*a*	*mata=miâi,*
2DU=FUT		CAU=sleep		ART	eye=2DU

mat	*é=k*		*tauai*	*pék*	*imiâi"*
and	1SG=IPFV		give	strong	2DU

'"Close your eyes, and I will give you power."'

(48)

lo	*la*	*iân*	*a*	*u=lék-biân*	*ka*	*â=matai*		*a*	*mata=riâi,*
or	in	time	ART	DU=man-small	RM.PST	CAU=sleep		ART	eye=3DU

nan	*a*	*ti,*	*nan*	*a*	*kâlpák*	*nan*	*lân*	*a*	*tuái-uin*	*tâmo*
3SG	PFV	stand	3SG	PFV	change	3SG	like	ART	snake-big	now

'But when the two boys had closed their eyes, he rose up, he turned into a big snake now.'

(49)

i=n=a		*nan*	*a*	*kâlpák*	*nan*	*lân*	*a*	*tuái-uin*	*tâmo,*
INAL=3SG=ART		3SG	PFV	change	3SG	like	ART	snake-big	now

la	*iân*	*nan*	*a*	*ti,*	*nan*	*a*	*kus*	*iriâi*	*lân=âtâ*	*po*
in	time	3SG	PFV	stand	3SG	PFV	tell	3DU	like=VIS.DIST	COMP

'He turned into a big snake now, when he stood up, he told them.'

(50)

"imiâ=k		*sapaŋ*	*a*	*mata=miâi*	*tâmo"*
2DU=FUT		open	ART	eye=2DU	now

'"Open your eyes now."'

(51)

baté	iriâi	a	sapaŋ	a	mata=riâi
then	3DU	PFV	open	ART	eye=3DU

'Then they opened their eyes.'

(52)

iriâi	a	ráŋ	lâŋ=âtâ,
3DU	PFV	see	like=VIS.DIST

po	a	tuái-uin	a	ulát	iriâi
COMP	ART	snake-big	PFV	go.around	3DU

'They saw that a big snake surrounded them.'

(53)

lo	tuái-uin	ónén	sâk	tuái-uiâŋ,
or	snake-big	NVIS.PROX	NEG	snake-small

lo	béŋ=én=a	tâmo	a	ti	suá	la	nó=riâi
or	head=3SG=ART	now	PFV	stand	face	in	face=3DU

'But this big snake was not a small snake, and his head was now facing their faces.'

(54)

nan	a	kâkâulát	ulát	iriâi	tâmo,
3SG	PFV	encircle	go.around	3DU	now

lo	béŋ=én=a,	nan	â=ti	man	la	nó=riâi
or	head=3SG=ART	3SG	CAU=stand	come	in	face=3DU

'He twined around them now, but his head, he raised it to their faces.'

(55)

té	nan	a	kus	iriâi	lâŋ=âtâ
then	3SG	PFV	tell	3DU	like=VIS.DIST

'Then he told them.'

(56)

"imiâi	a	uru	popo	si=k,
2DU	PFV	DU	child	AL=1SG

lo	niáu	sâk	tiár	tuna,	niáu	tâmo	óró"
or	1SG	NEG	man	true	1SG	now	VIS.PROX

'"You are my two children, but I am not a real man, this is me now."'

(57)

u=lék-biâŋ	nâ	kóró	buák	pu,
DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST	PST.HAB	want	escape

lo	iriâi	kuru	sâk	noŋ	tuna,
or	3DU	PST.HAB	NEG	be.enough	true

si=n=a	na	lek	nâ	ulát	iriâi	kâuâi
AL=3SG=ART	PN.ART	man	NVIS.DIST	go.around	3DU	already

'The two boys wanted to escape, but they tried in vain because the man had already wrapped himself around them.'

(58)

nan	a	kâkâulát	ulát	iriâi
3SG	PFV	encircle	go.around	3DU

'He wrapped himself around them.'

(59)

pan	tâmo,	u=lék-biâŋ	nâ	kus	nan
go	now	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST	tell	3SG

'Then the two boys told him.'

(60)

"tâmâ=ŋ,	*noŋ*	*nó=k*	*sala*	*imâi*	*ik*	*taual*	*si*	*mâmói?"*
father=NPOSS	be.enough	2SG=IPFV	let	1DU.EXC	IPFV	return	AL	mother

'"Father, can you let us return to Mum?"'

(61)

té	*nan*	*a*	*kus*	*iriâi*	*lâŋ=âtâ*
then	3SG	PFV	tell	3DU	like=VIS.DIST

'Then he told them.'

(62)

"imiâ=k	*â=matai*	*a*	*mata=miâi,*
2DU=FUT	CAU=sleep	ART	eye=2DU

mat	*niáu=k*	*sala*	*imiâi=k*	*pan*	*taual*	*si*	*riŋa=miâi"*
and	1SG=FUT	let	2DU=IPFV	go	return	AL	mother=2DU

'"Close your eyes, and I will let you return to your mother."'

(63)

iriâi	*a*	*â=matai*	*a*	*mata=riâi,*
3DU	PFV	CAU=sleep	ART	eye=3DU

té	*nan*	*a*	*kus*	*iriâi*	*lâŋ=âtâ*
then	3SG	PFV	tell	3DU	like=VIS.DIST

'They closed their eyes, then he told them.'

(64)

"té	*imiâi*	*ik*	*sapaŋ*	*a*	*mata=miâi*	*tâmo"*
then	2DU	IPFV	open	ART	eye=2DU	now

'"Then open your eyes now."'

(65)

i=n=a	*la*	*iân*	*iriâi*	*a*	*sapaŋ*	*a*	*mata=riâi,*
INAL=3SG=ART	in	time	3DU	PFV	open	ART	eye=3DU

nan	*sâk*	*tuái*	*ala,*	*nan*	*a*	*tiár*	*tuna*	*ala*	*tâmo,*	*tama=riâi*
3SG	NEG	snake	again	3SG	PFV	man	true	again	now	father=3DU

'Then when they opened their eyes, he was not a snake anymore, he was a real man again, their father.'

(66)

i=n=a	*tâmo*	*nan*	*a*	*gán*	*gâi*	*sik*	*iriâi*
INAL=3SG=ART	now	3SG	PFV	leave	accompany	take	3DU

kuuál	*pâ*	*bul*	*pék*	*kápái*	*nâ*
together	with	PL	strong	all	NVIS.DIST

ka	*tom*	*si=n=a*	*nâ,*	*nan*	*ka*	*lis*	*a*	*mot*	*si=riâi*
RM.PST	sit	AL=3SG=ART	NVIS.DIST	3SG	RM.PST	give	PFV	finish	AL=3DU

'Then he left with them together with all these powers that were with him, he gave them completely to them.'

(67)

mot	*nárál*	*a*	*pan*	*sâŋ*	*taual*	*si*	*riŋa=riâi,*
and	3TRI	PFV	go	arrive	return	AL	mother=3DU

tâmo	*na*	*riŋa=riâi*	*a*	*riái*	*iriâi*	*lâŋ=âtâ*
now	PN.ART	mother=3DU	PFV	ask	3DU	like=VIS.DIST

'And they returned to their mother, now their mother asked them.'

(68)

"a	*bul*	*bi*	*i=n=a*	*boi-an,*	*lo*	*bul*	*mâni,*
ART	PL	basket	INAL=3SG=ART	eat-NOML	or	PL	money

lo	*sâ*	*bul*	*niâu*	*kápái*	*óró,*	*imiâi*	*uâ*	*sik*	*aman,*
or	what	PL	thing	all	VIS.PROX	2DU	RC.PST	take	come

nás	*uâ*	*lis?"*
who	RC.PST	give

'"The baskets with food and the money and all these many other things you brought here, who gave it?"'

(69)

"na	*tama=mâi*	*uâ*	*tauai*	*imâi*	*pâ=n=a,*
PN.ART	father=1DU.EXC	RC.PST	give	1DU.EXC	with=3SG=ART

lo	*imátál*	*uâ*	*si~sik*	*man*	*pâ=n=a"*
or	1TRI.EXC	RC.PST	INTR~take	come	with=3SG=ART

'"Our father gave it to us, and we brought it here."'

(70)

pan	*tâmo,*	*kas*	*kana=n=a*	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*nâ*
go	now	other	among=3SG=ART	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST

kus	*na*	*tama=riâi*	*tâmo*
tell	PN.ART	father=3DU	now

'After this, one of the two boys told their father now.'

(71)

"pâpói,	*nó=k*	*piâ=n=a*	*taual*	*ala*	*lantuá=n=a*	*bák*	*tân,*
father	2SG=FUT	PROH.INAL=3SG=ART	return	again	inside=3SG=ART	place	VIS.MED

nó	*ók*	*lâŋ*	*a*	*tuái*	*ala*
2SG	FUT	like	ART	snake	again

'"Dad, you cannot go back to that place again, you will turn into a snake again.'

(72)

nó=k	*tom*	*kuuál*	*pâ*	*imátál*	*tâmo"*
2SG=FUT	sit	together	with	1TRI.EXC	now

'Stay with us now."'

(73)

té	*na*	*tama=riâi*	*a*	*kus*	*iriâi*	*lâŋ=âtâ*
then	PN.ART	father=3DU	PFV	tell	3DU	like=VIS.DIST

'Then their father told them.'

(74)

"niáu	*sâk*	*noŋ*	*é=k*	*tom*	*kuuál*	*pâ*	*imé,*
1SG	NEG	be.enough	1SG=IPFV	sit	together	with	2PL

noŋ	*na*	*riŋa=miâi*	*ók*	*pál*	*niáu*
be.enough	PN.ART	mother=2DU	FUT	buy	1SG

'"I cannot stay with you until your mother straightens the dowry.'

(75)

lo	*sémén*	*nan*	*ók*	*â=rarau*	*a*	*bul*	*mátuá=miâi,*
or	if	3SG	FUT	CAU=correct	ART	PL	uncle=2DU

a	*bul*	*moko=n*	*sât*	*si=n=a,*
ART	PL	clan=3SG	bad	AL=3SG=ART

amâ	*bul*	*makata=n=a,*
where	PL	opposite.sex.sibling=3SG=ART

tân	*iuak*	*niáu*	*ók*	*pan*	*é=k*		*tom*	*kuuál*		*pâ*	*imé,*
VIS.MED	later	1SG	FUT	go	1SG=IPFV		sit	together		with	2PL

niáu	*ók*	*sân*	*tiár*	*tuna*	*tâmo"*
1SG	FUT	arrive	man	true	now

'But if she straightens things with your uncles, her tabooed relatives that are her brothers, then I will go and stay with you, I will become a real man."'

(76)
la	*iân*	*ónén*	*tâmo,*	*a*	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*nâ*
in	time	NVIS.PROX	now	ART	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST

a	*kus*	*na*	*riŋa=riâi*	*lâŋ=âtâ*
PFV	tell	PN.ART	mother=3DU	like=VIS.DIST

'This time now, the two boys told their mother.'

(77)
"ita=k	*taual*	*pan*	*tâ*	*si=n=a*	*bul*	*rere"*
1PL.INC=FUT	return	go	VIS.DIST	AL=3SG=ART	PL	uncle

'"We will go back to (our) uncles."'

(78)
lo	*si=n=a*	*na*	*riŋa=riâi*	*ka*	*pâ*
or	AL=3SG=ART	PN.ART	mother=3DU	RM.PST	with

iuâi	*a*	*u=lék*	*tâuan,*	*a*	*uru*	*makata=n=a*
two	ART	DU=man	male	ART	DU	opposite.sex.sibling=3SG=ART

'And this is because their mother had two male (siblings), two brothers.'

(79)
nárál	*a*	*taual*	*pan*	*tâmo*
3TRI	PFV	return	go	now

'They went back now.'

(80)
uru	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*nâ*		*a*	*â=raras*	*na*	*riŋa=riâi*	*tâmo,*
DU	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST		PFV	CAU=tight	PN.ART	mother=3DU	now

po	*nan*	*ik*	*kus*	*a*	*bul*	*mátuá=riâi,*
COMP	3SG	IPFV	tell	ART	PL	uncle=3DU

mot	*nan*	*ik*	*â=rarau*	*iriâi*
and	3SG	IPFV	CAU=correct	3DU

'The two boys urged their mother now to tell their uncles and straighten things with them.'

(81)
té	*nér*	*a*	*taual*	*pan*	*tâ*	*la*	*malai*	*si=nér*	*tâmo*
then	3PL	PFV	return	go	VIS.DIST	in	village	AL=3SG	now

'Then they went back home now.'

(82)
kas	*lá-uáŋ*	*ala*	*tâmo,*	*tama=riâi*	*a*	*sân*	*aman,*
other	in-night	again	now	father=3DU	PFV	arrive	come

a	*tama=n=a*	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*nâ*
ART	father=3SG=ART	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST

'Another night again now, their father came, the father of the two boys.'

(83)
a	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*nâ*	*kus*	*na*	*tama=riâi*	*tâmo*
ART	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST	tell	PN.ART	father=3DU	now

'The two boys told their father now.'

(84) *"pâpói, mam uâ â=rarau kâuâi a bul makata mâmói*
father 1PL.EXC RC.PST CAU=correct already ART PL opposite.sex.sibling mother
'"Dad, we have already straightened things with Mum's brothers.'

(85) *nó=k man tâmo, nó=k tom kuuál pâ mátál tâmo"*
2SG=FUT come now 2SG=FUT sit together with 1TRI.EXC now
'Come now, you will stay with us now."'

(86) *la pat iân ónén tâmo, na tama=riâi nâ,*
in part time NVIS.PROX now PN.ART father=3DU NVIS.DIST

lek i=n=a luntan, ka â=tán rokon si=riâi
man INAL=3SG=ART bush RM.PST CAU=say good AL=3DU
'That moment now, their father, the man from the bush, said thanks to them.'

(87) *"rokon tâmo, pâ imé uâ â=rarau kâuâi"*
good now with 2PL RC.PST CAU=correct already
'"Thank you for straightening everything."'

(88) *la pat iân ónén tâmo,*
in part time NVIS.PROX now

na tama=riâi a iuoŋ la mâsapa
PN.ART father=3DU PFV exit in clear
'That moment now, their father came out into the public.'

(89) *noŋ tanén, a u=lék-biân ónén*
be.enough today ART DU=man-small NVIS.PROX

kuuál pâ na riŋa=riâi mot a tama=riâi nâ,
together with PN.ART mother=3DU and ART father=3DU NVIS.DIST

lek i=n=a luntan, nan a iuoŋ la mâsapa tâmo,
man INAL=3SG=ART bush 3SG PFV exit in clear now

mot nan a tom kuuál pâ nér kápái
and 3SG PFV sit together with 3PL all
'Until today, the two boys are together with their mother and father, the man from the bush, he went out into the public now, and he lived together with them all.'

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

2.2. The two orphans

By Dolly Barai (Mo clan)

(1)   *uru*   *u=âi=makata=n-an*   *nakmal,*
            DU   DU=REC=opposite.sex.sibling=3SG-NOML   orphan

            uru   *tama=riâi*   *ka*   *mat*
            DU   father=3DU   RM.PST   die
            '(There were) two orphan siblings, their parents had died.'

(2)   *té*   *iriâi*   *ka*   *iâ*   *tom*   *rokon*
            then   3DU   RM.PST   CONT   sit   good
            'Then they were still alright.'

(3)   *té*   *a*   *bus*   *ten*   *a*   *tâmâi*
            then   ART   DUMMY   woman   PFV   marry
            'Then the girl married.'

(4)   *té*   *lek*   *si=n=a*   *ki*   *buák,*   *po*   *na*   *lek-biâŋ*   *nâ,*
            then   man   AL=3SG=ART   HAB   want   COMP   PN.ART   man-small   NVIS.DIST

            nér   *ik*   *uâi=pan*   *la*   *âisók*
            3PL   IPFV   DU=go   in   work
            'Then her husband always wanted that (he and) the boy, they would go together to work.'

(5)   *na*   *lek-biâŋ*   *nâ*   *ki*   *sâ*   *buák*   *âisók,*
            PN.ART   man-small   NVIS.DIST   HAB   NEG   want   work

            nan   *ki*   *buák*   *tom*   *la*   *malai*   *ik*   *ualai*   *miás*
            3SG   HAB   want   sit   in   village   IPFV   make   shell.money
            'The boy did not want to work, he always wanted to stay at home to make shell money.'

(6)   *nan*   *ki*   *busa*   *a*   *bul*   *miás*
            3SG   HAB   scrape   ART   PL   shell.money
            'He would file the shell money.'

(7)   *té*   *kas*   *iân*   *tâmo,*   *na*   *bolek*   *si=n=a*
            then   other   time   now   PN.ART   in.law   AL=3SG=ART

            a   *kesemek*   *toi*   *na*   *ten*   *si=n=a*
            PFV   be.angry   touch   PN.ART   woman   AL=3SG=ART
            'Then one day now, his brother-in-law was angry with his wife.'

(8)   "*a*   *makata=m*   *óró*   *saka*   *lek*   *i=n=a*   *murém tuna*
            ART   opposite.sex.sibling=2SG   VIS.PROX   APPR   man   AL=3SG=ART   be.tired true
            '"Your brother here is a really lazy man.'

(9)   *nó=k*   *â=táŋ,*   *po*   *ta=k*   *pan*   *la*   *âisók,*
            2SG=FUT   CAU=say   COMP   1PL.INC=IPFV   go   in   work

lo	nan	ki	iâ	tom	ik	ualai	miás
or	3SG	HAB	CONT	sit	IPFV	make	shell.money

'You say that we would go to work, but he always stays at home to make shell money.'

(10)

niâu	ga	mo"
thing	empty	only

'Just useless things."'

(11)

té	nan	a	â=táŋ
then	3SG	PFV	CAU=say

'Then he said.'

(12)

"nó=k	kot	a	tinim	boi-an	ka=n=a
2SG=FUT	cover	ART	wrap	eat-NOML	for=3SG=ART

pâ	ter	si=n=a	mok"
with	faeces	AL=3SG=ART	pig

'"Wrap food for him with pig faeces (inside)."'

(13)

nan	a	pan	tâmo,	pián	sik	a	ter	si=n=a	mok
3SG	PFV	go	now	collect	take	ART	faeces	AL=3SG=ART	pig

'She went now, collecting pig faeces.'

(14)

tâmo	nan	a	kakaua
now	3SG	PFV	meat.in.earth.oven

kálá	tinim	bók	ka	lek-biâŋ	nâ,	makata=n=a
on	wrap	taro	for	man-small	NVIS.DIST	opposite.sex.sibling=3SG=ART

'Now she put them on the taro wraps for the boy, her brother.'

(15)

té	nér	a	pák	a	umán	la	maulék	tâmo,
then	3PL	PFV	turn	ART	earth.oven	in	morning	now

nan	a	pák	lis	a	tinim	boi-an	ónén
3SG	PFV	turn	give	ART	wrap	eat-NOML	NVIS.PROX

pâ	ter	si=n=a	mok
with	faeces	AL=3SG=ART	pig

'Then they took the food out of the earth oven in the morning now, she gave the wrapped food with the pig faeces (to her brother).'

(16)

lek-biâŋ	nâ	sapaŋ,	po	nan	ik	ŋan,
man-small	NVIS.DIST	open	COMP	3SG	IPFV	eat.TR

nan	a	mosoŋ	puát	a	ter	si=n=a	mok
3SG	PFV	smell	find	ART	faeces	AL=3SG=ART	pig

'The boy opened it to eat, he smelled the pig faeces.'

(17)

nan	a	táŋás	tâmo,	tául-én	a	tom	a	tin~tinim,
3SG	PFV	cry	now	reject-TR	PFV	sit	ART	INTR~wrap

sik	a	bul	riáu,
take	ART	PL	shell.money

â=mos   a   tuá=n=a   pâ=n=a   tâmo, po   nan   ik   gán
CAU=decorate ART   skin=3SG=ART with=3SG=ART now   COMP   3SG   IPFV   leave
'He was crying now, he did not take the wrapped food, he took the shell money, decorated his body with it now so he would leave.'

(18) *salaŋ   a   uru   tama=n=a*
      search ART   DU   father=3SG=ART
      'He looked for his parents.'

(19) *nan   a   â=mos   a   mot   a   tuá=n=a   tâmo,*
      3SG   PFV   CAU=decorate   PFV   finish ART   skin=3SG=ART   now

      nan   a   gán,   pan   pan   gán
      3SG   PFV   leave   go   go   leave
      'He decorated his body now, he left, went and left.'

(20) *nan   a   pan   pan   pan   pan,   nan   a   táŋás,*
      3SG   PFV   go   go   go   go   3SG   PFV   cry

      pan   a   salaŋ   a   u=lék-bin,   uru   tama=n=a,
      go   PFV   search ART   DU=man-big   DU   father=3SG=ART

      lo   iriâi   ik   táu~táu
      or   3DU   IPFV   INTR~plant
      'He went and went, he cried, he went to look for the two adults, his parents, but they (two spirits) were planting.'

(21) *iriâi   ik   táu   laula*
      3DU   IPFV   plant taro
      'They were planting taro.'

(22) *lo   iriâi   a   ti   kálá   pól*
      or   3DU   PFV   stand on   mountain
      'And they stood on a mountain.'

(23) *té   na   Babaŋa   â=táŋ*
      then   PN.ART   B.   CAU=say
      'Then Babanga (one of the spirits) said.'

(24) *"é   tiâ=ŋ,   lâŋ   a   isá=k   tân,*
      INTJ   same.sex.sibling=NPOSS   like   ART   name=1SG   VIS.MED

      a   popo   ik   â=táŋ,
      ART   child   IPFV   CAU=say

      a   tiár   tân   ik   â=táŋ   a   isá=k"
      ART   person VIS.MED IPFV   CAU=say   ART   name=1SG
      '"Hey wife (lit. sibling), (it sounds) like my name there, the child is saying, that human is saying my name."'

(25) *té   na   ten-bin   si=n=a   a   ti   loŋoi   a   rokon*
      then   PN.ART   woman-big   AL=3SG=ART   PFV   stand hear   PFV   good
      'Then his wife stood still and listed well.'

(26)

"hâi,	lo	popo	si=rôi	nân,	â=k	tánás	aman	tâ?
INTJ	or	child	AL=1DU.INC	NVIS.MED	DIST=IPFV	cry	come	VIS.DIST

'"Hey, but that is our child, is he crying and coming from there?'

(27)

é=k	lomon,	iriâi	uâ	âi=láuák	ka'u	nân"
1SG=IPFV	think	3DU	RC.PST	REC=be.angry	maybe	NVIS.MED

'I think they (the two orphans) might be angry with each other."'

(28)

té	pan	pan	pan	tâmo,	iriâi	a	rán~rán	lak,
then	go	go	go	now	3DU	PFV	INTR~see	go.up

nan	ik	iâ	âiát	sái	la	salan
3SG	IPFV	CONT	run	go.down	in	way

'Then this went on and on now, they looked up, he ran down the road.'

(29)

iriâi	a	âiát	pan,	mot	iot	a	pék	nan	tâmo
3DU	PFV	run	go	and	hold	PFV	strong	3SG	now

'They ran and held him tight now.'

(30)

lo	uru	tama=n=a,	amâ	iriâi	ka	lân	a	potok	kâuâi,
or	DU	father=3SG=ART	where	3DU	RM.PST	like	ART	spirit	already

iriâi	a	iot	a	pék	nan,	gâi	sik	nan,
3DU	PFV	hold	PFV	strong	3SG	accompany	take	3SG

nér	a	iuoŋ	la	malai
3PL	PFV	exit	in	village

'But his parents, who were already like spirits, they held him tight, they took him, they left the village.'

(31)

nér	a	pan	la	lu	tâmo,	iriâi	sâŋ	soko	a	gimát
3PL	PFV	go	in	home	now	3DU	arrive	beat	ART	slit.drum

'They went home now, they arrived and beat the slit drum.'

(32)

i=n=a	bul	máná	aman	tâmo,	ket	nan,
INAL=3SG=ART	PL	bird	come	now	bite	3SG

kiri	tok	kol-an	a	kâlmata=n=a,	taŋa=n=a,	bala=n=a,
REP	pick	go.around-TR	ART	eyeball=3SG=ART	ear=3SG=ART	mouth=3SG=ART

bul	nón	si=n=a	kápái,	i=n=a	nan	ik	mat
PL	place	AL=3SG=ART	all	INAL=3SG=ART	3SG	IPFV	die

'Then the birds came now, they bit him, they picked around in his eyeballs, his ears, his mouth, on every spot of his (body) so he died.'

(33)

nér	a	tok	tok	tok	tok	a	mot	a	tuá=n=a	kápái,
3PL	PFV	pick	pick	pick	pick	PFV	finish	ART	skin=3SG=ART	all

tâmo	nan	a	mat
now	3SG	PFV	die

'They picked and picked all over his body, now he was dead.'

(34)

sâŋ	lân	a	uru	tama=n=a,	nan	a	sâŋ	potok	tâmo
arrive	like	ART	DU	father=3SG=ART	3SG	PFV	arrive	spirit	now

'He became like his parents, he became a spirit now.'

(35)   *té*   *nér*   *ka*   *â=ti*   *nan*   *kálá*   *gimát*
       then   3PL   PM.PST   CAU=stand   3SG   on   slit.drum
       'They had put him on the slit drum.'

(36)   *i=n=a*   *nâ*   *bul*   *máná* *kiri*   *aman* *ik*   *ŋan*   *nan*
       INAL=3SG=ART   NVIS.DIST   PL   bird REP   come IPFV   eat.TR 3SG
       'Then the birds would come to eat him.'

(37)   *pini*   *a*   *mot*   *tâmo*
       story   PFV   finish   now
       'The story is over now.'

2.3. The two boys and their parents

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

(1)   *a*   *pini*   *si=n=a*   *uru*   *u=lék-biâŋ*   *tâuan*   *mot*   *a*   *uru*   *tama=riâi*
ART   story   AL=3SG=ART   DU   DU=man-small   male   and   ART   DU   father=3DU
'The story of two boys and their parents.'

(2)   *inkâuâi* *tuna*   *ka*   *pâ*   *u=lék-biâŋ*   *tâuan*   *mot*   *a*   *uru*   *tama=riâi,*
old   true   RM.PST   with   DU=man-small   male   and   ART   DU   father=3DU

      a   *tâmâ=ŋ*   *si=riâi* *mot*   *a*   *riŋa=riâi*
ART   father=NPOSS   AL=3DU and   ART   mother=3DU
'Once upon a time, there were two boys and their parents, their father and their mother.'

(3)   *kas*   *maulék,*   *nér*   *a*   *tom*   *la*   *malai,*
other   morning   3PL   PFV   sit   in   village

      té   *uru*   *tama=n=a*   *u=lék-biâŋ*   *nâ*   *kus*   *iriâi*   *lâŋ=âtâ*
then   DU   father=3SG=ART   DU=man-small   NVIS.DIST   tell   3PL   like=VIS.DIST
'One morning, they were at home, then the parents of the two boys told them.'

(4)   *"tanén* *la*   *maulék,*   *imâi*   *ók*   *sái*   *la*   *tas,*
today   in   morning   1DU.EXC FUT   go.down   in   sea

      po   *imâi*   *ba*   *lák*   *ta-ka=ra*   *rián*
COMP   1DU.EXC IMM.FUT hit   IND.ART-for=1PL.INC   fish
'"This morning, we will go down to the sea to catch some fish for us.'

(5)   *lo*   *imiâ=k*   *tom*   *bouoŋ* *la*   *malai,* *miâ=k*   *pan*   *la*   *marat,*
or   2DU=FUT   sit   wait   in   village   2DU=FUT   go   in   garden

      miâ=k   *lák*   *ta-ka=ra*   *bul*   *uár*
2DU=FUT   hit   IND.ART-for=1PL.INC   PL   banana
'But you will stay and wait at home, go to the garden, get some bananas for us.'

(6)   *té*   *miâ=k*   *man*   *miâ=k*   *tom*   *bouoŋ* *la*   *malai*
then   2DU=FUT   come   2DU=IPFV   sit   wait   in   village
'Then you will come and wait at home.'

(7)   *lo*   *miâ=k*   *tán*   *a*   *tom*   *a*   *bul*   *uár*   *ka=ra,*
or   2DU=FUT   cook   PFV   sit   ART   PL   banana for=1PL.INC

      lo   *mâi*   *ba*   *salaŋ* *ta-ka=ra*   *rián,*
or   1DU.EXC IMM.FUT search   IND.ART-for=1PL   fish

(8)   *i=n=a*   *ŋan*   *kuuál*   *pâ*   *a*   *bul*   *uár*   *si=ra"*
INAL=3SG=ART   eat.TR   together   with   ART   PL   banana AL=1PL.INC
'And you will cook the bananas for us, but we are going to look for some fish for us to eat with our bananas."'

(9)　　　*iriâi*　　*a*　　*gán*　　*kus*　　*iriâi*　　*lâŋ=âtâ*
　　　　　3DU　　PFV　　leave　　tell　　3DU　　like=VIS.DIST
　　　　　'They left telling them.'

(10)　　"*té*　　*miâi=k*　　　*tom*　　*tâmo,*　　*mâi=k*　　*sái*　　*pan*
　　　　　then　　2DU=FUT　　　sit　　now　　1DU.EXC=FUT　　go.down　　go

　　　　　nâ　　　　　*lá-uán,*　*po*　　*mâi=k*　　　*ba*　　*mákásám*　　*ka=ra"*
　　　　　NVIS.DIST　　in-sand　COMP　1DU.EXC=IPFV　　IMM.FUT　meat　　for=1PL.INC
　　　　　'"Then you will stay now, we will go down to the beach to catch fish for us."'

(11)　　*iriâi*　　*a*　　*sái*　　　　*tâmo,*
　　　　　3DU　　PFV　　go.down　　now

　　　　　iriâi　　*a*　　*ló*　　*kol*　　*sik*　　*a*　　*kas*　　*bál*
　　　　　3DU　　PFV　　travel　　paddle　　take　　ART　　other　　canoe
　　　　　'They went down (to the beach) now, they went paddling by taking one canoe.'

(12)　　*lo*　　*nér*　　*ka*　　*pâ*　　*iuâi*　　*a*　　*bál*
　　　　　or　　3PL　　RM.PST　　with　　two　　ART　　canoe
　　　　　'But they had two canoes.'

(13)　　*tâmo*　　*iriâi*　　*a*　　*ló*　　*kol*　　*sik*　　*a*　　*kas*　　*bál,*
　　　　　now　　3DU　　PFV　　travel　　paddle　　take　　ART　　other　　canoe

　　　　　i=n=a　　　　　*iriâi=k*　　*ba*　　*mákásám*
　　　　　INAL=3SG=ART　　3DU=IPFV　　IMM.FUT　meat
　　　　　'Now they went paddling by taking one canoe to catch fish.'

(14)　　*iriâi*　　*a*　　*pan,*　　*iriâi*　　*a*　　*kol*　　*bulás*　　　*a*　　*nó=n=a*　　　*liáŋ,*
　　　　　3DU　　PFV　　go　　3DU　　PFV　　paddle　　go.corner　　ART　　face=3SG=ART　　cave

　　　　　i=n=a　　　　　*â=láu*　　　*pan*　　*lantuá=n=a*　　*kas*　　*pat,*
　　　　　INAL=3SG=ART　　CAU=travel　　go　　inside=3SG=ART　　other　　part

　　　　　amâ　　*kápái*　　*ki*　　*pan,*　　*i=n=a*　　　　　*âi=kuuál-â,*
　　　　　where　　all　　HAB　　go　　INAL=3SG=ART　　REC=be.together-INTR

　　　　　i=n=a　　　　　*lák*　　*rián*
　　　　　INAL=3SG=ART　　hit　　fish
　　　　　'They went, they paddled around the cliff to travel to a place where everyone would go to meet to catch fish.'

(15)　　*u=lék-biâŋ*　　　*nâ*　　　　　*tom*　　*tâmo,*　　*bouoŋ*　　*bouoŋ,*
　　　　　DU=man-small　　NVIS.DIST　　sit　　now　　wait　　wait

　　　　　tâmo　　*siua*　　*iâ*　　*pâl-â*　　　　　*riáp*
　　　　　now　　place　　CONT　　put.together-INTR　　dark
　　　　　'The two boys stayed now and waited and waited, now it became dark.'

(16)　　*iriâi*　　*a*　　*âi=riái-â*
　　　　　3DU　　PFV　　REC=ask-INTR
　　　　　'They asked each other.'

(17) "lo   na   mâmói iriâi pâpói uâ   kár   iriâi ik   mákásám,
      or   PN.ART mother 3DU   father RC.PST go.down 3DU   IPFV meat

      lo   iriâi   amâ   tâ   la   pat   iân   tâ,
      or   3DU   where   VIS.DIST in   part   time   VIS.DIST

      lo   siua   óró=k   riáp"
      or   place   VIS.PROX=IPFV dark
      '"But Mum and Dad went down (to the beach) to catch fish, but where are they all day, and it is
      getting dark here."'

(18) tâmo   kas   kana=riâi   â=táŋ   lâŋ=âtâ
      now   other   among=3DU   CAU=say   like=VIS.DIST
      'Now one of them said.'

(19) "baté   tiâ=ŋ,   tâi=k   kár   nâ   lá-uán,
      then   same.sex.sibling=NPOSS 1DU.INC=FUT go.down NVIS.DIST   in-sand

      mot   tâi=k   ba   âi=kel kól   nâ   lá-uán"
      and   1DU.INC=FUT IMM.FUT   REC=call go.around NVIS.DIST in-sand
      '"Okay Brother, let us go down to the beach, and let us call around at the beach."'

(20) té   kas   a   tuâi   tâmo, té   iriâi kár
      then   other   PFV   agree now   then   3DU   go.down
      'Then the other one agreed now, then they went down.'

(21) iriâi   a   sâŋ   nâ   lá-uán otâmo,
      3DU   PFV   arrive NVIS.DIST   in-sand now

      iriâi   a   pâs   âi=pák   la   pitinauán   tâmo,
      3DU   PFV   step   REC=turn   in   beach   now

      iriâi   ik   âi=kel kól
      3DU   IPFV   REC=call go.around
      'They arrived at the beach now, they ran around the beach now to call around.'

(22) iriâi   âi=kel âi=kel âi=kel,
      3DU   REC=call REC=call REC=call

      a   pârék   ta   ŋe~ŋet   a   sâŋ   aman si=riâi taual
      PFV   have.NEG   IND.ART INTR~answer   PFV   arrive come AL=3DU return
      'They were calling and calling, there was no answer to come back to them.'

(23) i=n=a   tâmo   a   kas   a   â=táŋ
      INAL=3SG=ART   now   ART   other PFV   CAU=say
      'Then now one said.'

(24) "kas   bál   si=ra   nân   i   tom,   lo   kouos,
      other   canoe   AL=1PL.INC   NVIS.MED   IPFV   sit   or   jump.on

      po   tâ=k   pan"
      COMP   1DU.INC=IPFV go
      '"Our other canoe is there, let us jump inside to go."'

(25)

kas	tâmo	âiát	lak	taual	la	lu,
other	now	run	go.up	return	in	house

nan	a	tâén	sik	a	ós,
3SG	PFV	lift	take	ART	paddle

mot	âit	sái	taual	la	pitinauán
and	come	go.down	return	in	beach

'The other one now ran up returning to the house, he took a paddle and returned down to the beach.'

(26)

pan	tâmo,	kus	nan	lâŋ=âtâ
go	now	tell	3SG	like=VIS.DIST

'Then now he told him.'

(27)

"tiâ=ŋ,	kouos,
same.sex.sibling=NPOSS	jump.on

po	tâ=k	ba	salaŋ	na	mâmói	iriâi	pâpói"
COMP	1DU.INC=IPFV	IMM.FUT	search	PN.ART	mother	3DU	father

'"Brother, jump inside so we will look for Mum and Dad."'

(28)

i=n=a	tâmo	iriâi	a	kâ~kol,
INAL=3SG=ART	now	3DU	PFV	INTR~paddle

iriâi	a	kâ~kol	pan	pan	pan	otâmo
3DU	PFV	INTR~paddle	go	go	go	now

'Then now they paddled, they paddled and paddled now.'

(29)

iriâi	a	ló	bulás	la	nó=n=a	liáŋ,
3DU	PFV	travel	go.corner	in	face=3SG=ART	cave

amâ	nér	ki	láu	pan	la	nón	nâ,
where	3PL	HAB	travel	go	in	place	NVIS.DIST

kápái	ki	âi=kuuál-â	tân,	i=n=a	mákásám
all	HAB	REC=be.together-INTR	VIS.MED	INAL=3SG=ART	meat

'They passed by the cliff where they travelled to the place where everyone would meet to catch fish.'

(30)

iriâi	a	ti-topoŋ,	i=n=a	âi=kel
3DU	PFV	stand-start	INAL=3SG=ART	REC=call

'They started to call out.'

(31)

iriâi	a	âi=kel	âi=kel	âi=kel
3DU	PFV	REC=call	REC=call	REC=call

'They were calling and calling.'

(32)

la	iân	iriâi	kóró	âi=kel,	lo	na	riŋa=riâi	mot	na	tama=riâi,
in	time	3DU	PST.HAB	REC=call	or	PN.ART	mother=3DU	and	PN.ART	father=3DU

iriâi	ka	kol	láu	kál	tuna,
3DU	RM.PST	paddle	travel	up	true

mot	*iriâi*	*ka*	*sâk*	*noŋ*	*tuna*	*ik*	*loŋoi*	*a*	*âi=kel*
and	3DU	RM.PST	NEG	be.enough	true	IPFV	hear	ART	REC=call

'When they were calling, their mother and their father had in fact already paddled to the open sea (lit. up), and they really could not hear the call.'

(33)
si=n=a	*a*	*uru*	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*ka*	*kol*	*pâ-sâl*
AL=3SG=ART	ART	DU	DU=man-small	RM.PST	paddle	with-shore

'Because the two boys had paddled along the beach.'

(34)
i=n=a	*tâmo*	*iriâi*	*a*	*láu*	*kál,*
INAL=3SG=ART	now	3DU	PFV	travel	up

iriâi	*a*	*sái*	*la*	*bák*	*nâ,*
3DU	PFV	go.down	in	place	NVIS.DIST

nér	*ki*	*â=tom*	*a*	*bul*	*bál*	*si=nér*
3PL	HAB	CAU=sit	ART	PL	canoe	AL=3PL

'Then now they travelled to the open sea (lit. up), they went down to the place where they usually put their canoes.'

(35)
i=n=a	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*âi=kel*	*âi=kel*	*ala*	*otâmo*
INAL=3SG=ART	DU=man-small	REC=call	REC=call	again	now

'Then the two boys called out again now.'

(36)
iriâi	*a*	*ráŋ~ráŋ*	*pan*	*la*	*pán=a*	*tas*	*atâmo,*
3DU	PFV	INTR~see	go	in	skin.3SG=ART	sea	now

iriâi	*a*	*ráŋ*	*puát*	*a*	*kas*	*bál*	*ik*	*kol*	*aman*
3DU	PFV	see	find	ART	other	canoe	IPFV	paddle	come

'They looked along the surface of the sea now, they saw another canoe paddling towards them.'

(37)
lo	*kálá*	*bál*	*onén,*	*a*	*lek*	*nâ*	*kálá*	*bál,*
or	on	canoe	NVIS.PROX	ART	man	NVIS.DIST	on	canoe

nan	*a*	*kâlpák*	*nan*	*lâŋ*	*a*	*tama=riâi*
3SG	PFV	change	3SG	like	ART	father=3DU

'But in this canoe, there was a man in the canoe, he turned into their father.'

(38)
lo	*lek*	*onén*	*nâ,*	*nan*	*a*	*lek*	*masalai*
or	man	NVIS.PROX	NVIS.DIST	3SG	PFV	man	spirit

'But this man, he was a spirit man.'

(39)
i=n=a	*tâmo*	*nan*	*a*	*kol*	*aman*	*susulék*	*si=riâi,*
INAL=3SG=ART	now	3SG	PFV	paddle	come	near	AL=3DU

nan	*a*	*riái*	*iriâi*	*tâmo*
3SG	PFV	ask	3DU	now

'Then now he paddled closer to them, he asked them now.'

(40)
"lo	*imiâi*	*ik*	*salaŋ*	*nás?"*
or	2DU	IPFV	search	who

'"But who are you looking for?"'

(41) *"imâi   nâ   ik   salaŋ   na   tâmâ=ŋ   iriâi"*
      1DU.EXC NVIS.DIST   IPFV search PN.ART father=NPOSS 3DU
      '"We are looking for our parents (lit. our father they two)."'

(42) *"ai,   lo   imiâi   sâk   ráŋ   bál   niáu   óró   mo,*
      INTJ   or   2DU   NEG   see   make 1SG   VIS.PROX only

      na   tâmâ=ŋ   si=miâi?"
      PN.ART   father=NPOSS   AL=2DU
      '"Hey, but do you not recognise me just here, your father?"'

(43) *si=n=a   iriâi   ka   sâk   ráŋ   bál   nan   lâŋ=âtâ,*
      AL=3SG=ART   3DU   RM.PST NEG   see   make 3SG   like=VIS.DIST

      si=n=a   siua   ka   riáp,
      AL=3SG=ART   place RM.PST dark

      mot   iriâi   ka   râp,   po   ta   lek   potok
      and   3DU   RM.PST assume COMP IND.ART man   share
      'Because they did not recognise him for this reason (lit. like that), because it was dark, and they thought it was a different man.'

(44) *té   ala   iriâi   a   ráŋ   a   sa'i,*
      then   again 3DU   PFV   see   PFV   search.in.vain

      po   na   tâmâ=ŋ   iriâi   nâ   a   iuâi   kálá   bál
      COMP   PN.ART   father=NPOSS   3DU   NVIS.DIST   PFV   two   on   canoe
      'Then again they searched in vain if there were both parents in the canoe.'

(45) *lo   sâ   pat   i=n=a*
      or   what   part   INAL=3SG=ART

      a   saka   ţiár   mo   ik   kol   man   kálá   bál?
      ART   one   person only   IPFV   paddle come   on   canoe
      'But why was only one person paddling towards them in the canoe?'

(46) *i=n=a   tâmo   iriâi   a   riái*
      INAL=3SG=ART   now   3DU   PFV   ask
      'Then now they asked.'

(47) *"lo   na   riŋa=mâi   amâ,   na   mâmói   si=mâi?"*
      or   PN.ART   mother=1DU.EXC   where   PN.ART   mother AL=1DU.EXC
      '"But where is our mother, our mum?"'

(48) *tâmo   na   lek   nâ   bát   iriâi   po*
      now   PN.ART   man   NVIS.DIST   trick   3DU   COMP
      'Now the man lied to them.'

(49) *"niáu   uâ   â=sái   a   tom   pus-én   nan   kâuâi   la   pitinauán*
      1SG   RC.PST CAU=go.down   PFV   sit   throw-TR   3SG   already in   beach
      '"I already brought her down to the beach.'

(50) *mat   niáu   isaŋ   uâ   taual   lak,*
      and   1SG   alone   RC.PST return   go.up

san   *niáu*   *uâ*   *pan*   *la*   *lu,*
AL.3SG.ART   1SG   RC.PST   go   in   house

lo   *imiâi*   *uâ*   *pârék*
or   2DU   RC.PST   have.NEG
'And I came back alone because I went home, but you were not there.'

(51)   *mot*   *tâmo*   *niáu*   *uâ*   *man*   *niáu*   *ló*   *kol*   *sik*   *a*   *bál,*
       and   now   1SG   RC.PST   come   1SG   travel   paddle   take   ART   canoe

       mat   *a*   *niáu*   *uâ*   *â=us*   *aman*   *imiâi*
       and   ART   1SG   RC.PST   CAU=follow   come   2DU
       'And now I came, I took the canoe to paddle with it, and I followed you.'

(52)   *si=n=a*   *niáu*   *uâ*   *ráŋ*   *a*   *sa'i*   *a*   *bál*
       AL=3SG=ART   1SG   RC.PST   see   PFV   search.in.vain   ART   canoe

       a   *pârék*   *tâ*   *la*   *pitinauán*
       PFV   have.NEG   VIS.DIST   in   beach
       'Because I saw the boat was not on the beach.'

(53)   *i=n=a*   *tâmo*   *niáu*   *uâ*   *kol*   *a*   *us*   *imiâi,*
       INAL=3SG=ART   now   1SG   RC.PST   paddle   PFV   follow   2DU

       po   *ik*   *ráŋ*   *imiâi*
       COMP   IPFV   see   2DU
       'Then now I paddled after you to see you.'

(54)   *lo*   *aman*   *âi*   *tâmo,*
       or   come   2DU.IMP   now

       mat   *a*   *ita=k*   *uâi=taual*   *tâ*   *la*   *malai"*
       and   ART   1PL.INC=FUT   DU=return   VIS.DIST   in   village
       'But you two come now, and let us return together to the village."'

(55)   *té*   *u=lék-biâŋ*   *nâ*   *â=táŋ*
       then   DU=man-small   NVIS.DIST   CAU=say
       'Then the two boys said.'

(56)   *"baté*   *rokon"*
       then   good
       '"Okay, good."'

(57)   *nér*   *kápái*   *a*   *kâ~kol*
       3PL   all   PFV   INTR~paddle
       'They all paddled.'

(58)   *na*   *tama=riâi*   *onén*   *nâ,*   *lek*   *nâ*   *ka*   *bát,*
       PN.ART   father=3DU   NVIS.PROX   NVIS.DIST   man   NVIS.DIST   RM.PST   trick

       lo   *kâlpák*   *nan*   *lâŋ*   *a*   *tama=riâi,*
       or   change   3SG   like   ART   father=3DU

a	*gâi*	*sik*	*iriâi*	*tâmo*
PFV	accompany	take	3DU	now

'This father, that man, who lied and had turned into their father, took them now with him.'

(59)

i=n=a	*nér*	*a*	*kâ~kol*	*sái*
INAL=3SG=ART	3PL	PFV	INTR~paddle	go.down

'Then they paddled down (to the beach).'

(60)

nér	*a*	*sái*	*sái*	*sái,*
3PL	PFV	go.down	go.down	go.down

nér	*sâk*	*si*	*tauau*	*la*	*bák*	*nâ,*
3PL	NEG	FOC	go.ashore	in	place	NVIS.DIST

nér	*ki*	*â=tom*	*bál,*	*nér*	*a*	*tauau*	*la*	*nón* *potok*
3PL	HAB	CAU=sit	canoe	3PL	PFV	go.ashore	in	place share

'They went down and down (to the beach), they did not arrive at the place where they usually put canoes, they arrived at a different place.'

(61)

i=n=a	*tâmo*	*na*	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*nâ*	*a*	*riái*	*nan*
INAL=3SG=ART	now	PN.ART	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST	PFV	ask	3SG

'Then now the two boys asked him.'

(62)

"ai,	*tâmâ=ŋ,*	*lo*	*ita*	*sái*	*la*	*bák*	*potok*	*óró?*
INTJ	father=NPOSS	or	1PL.INC	go.down	in	place	share	VIS.PROX

'"Hey, Father, but did we go down to a different place here?'

(63)

lo	*ita*	*nâ*	*ik*	*pan*	*la*	*bák*	*nâ,*
or	1PL.INC	NVIS.DIST	IPFV	go	in	place	NVIS.DIST

ita	*ki*	*â=tom*	*a*	*bul*	*bál*	*si=ra*	*lantuá=n=a"*
1PL.INC	HAB	CAU=sit	ART	PL	canoe	AL=1PL.INC	inside=3SG=ART

'But we are going to the other place where we usually put our canoes."'

(64)

té	*na*	*lek*	*masalai*	*nâ*	*kus*	*iriâi*	*lâŋ=âtâ*
then	PN.ART	man	spirit	NVIS.DIST	tell	3DU	like=VIS.DIST

'Then the spirit man told them like this.'

(65)

"ita	*ók*	*pan*	*ta=k*	*ráŋ*	*na*	*mâmói*
1PL.INC	FUT	go	1PL.INC=IPFV	see	PN.ART	mother

'"We will go and see Mum.'

(66)

ta	*ók*	*â=tom*	*a*	*bál,*
1PL.INC	FUT	CAU=sit	ART	canoe

mot	*ita*	*ók*	*lak*	*ta=k*	*ráŋ*	*na*	*mâmói si=ra,*
and	1PL.INC	FUT	go.up	1PL.INC=IPFV	see	PN.ART	mother AL=1PL.INC

lo	*aman*	*âi*	*kelek*
or	come	2DU.IMP	first

'We will put away the canoe, and we will go up and see our mum, but come first.'

(67)

niáu	nâ	uâ	puát	a	kas	liáŋ-bin	nân"
1SG	NVIS.DIST	RC.PST	find	ART	other	cave-big	NVIS.MED

'I found a big cave there."'

(68)

lo	na	masalai	nâ	ik	bát	iriâi	nân
or	PN.ART	spirit	NVIS.DIST	IPFV	trick	3DU	NVIS.MED

'But the spirit would trick them there.'

(69)

"lo	man	âi,	po	ta=k	lak	ta=k	ráŋ~ráŋ
or	come	2DU.IMP	COMP	1PL.INC=IPFV	go.up	1PL.INC=IPFV	INTR~see

tâ	la	liáŋ-bin	onén"
VIS.DIST	in	cave-big	NVIS.PROX

'"But you two come so we will go up and see this cave."'

(70)

i=n=a	tâmo	u=lék-biâŋ	a	riái	nan
INAL=3SG=ART	now	DU=man-small	PFV	ask	3SG

'Then now the two boys asked him.'

(71)

"tâmâ=ŋ,	lo	sâ	bul	niâu	tâ	la	liáŋ?"
father=NPOSS	or	what	PL	thing	VIS.DIST	in	cave

'"Father, but what things are there in the cave?"'

(72)

"u=lék,	u=lék-biâŋ	si=k	nâ,	bul	rokomât	kápái	nâ,
DU=man	DU=man-small	AL=1SG	NVIS.DIST	PL	good.very	all	NVIS.DIST

niáu	uâ	ráŋ	tâ	lantuá=n=a	liáŋ
1SG	RC.PST	see	VIS.DIST	inside=3SG=ART	cave

'"Boys, my two boys, all the good things I saw there inside the cave.'

(73)

lo	imiâi=k	man,	po	ta=k	lak	ta=k	ráŋ"
or	2DU=FUT	come	COMP	1PL.INC=IPFV	go.up	1PL.INC=IPFV	see

'But come so we will go up and see it."'

(74)

nárál	a	âi=us	lak	atâmo
3TRI	PFV	REC=follow	go.up	now

'They went up one after another now.'

(75)

lek	nâ	ka	kâlpák	nan	lâŋ	na	tâmâ=ŋ	si=riâi,
man	NVIS.DIST	RM.PST	change	3SG	like	PN.ART	father=NPOSS	AL=3DU

nan	a	pâs-muá,	lo	iriâi	a	pâs-mái
3SG	PFV	step-front	or	3DU	PFV	step-back

'The man had turned into their father, he went first, and they (the boys) walked behind.'

(76)

nér	a	lak	pan	tâmo,
3PL	PFV	go.up	go	now

nér	a	sâŋ	ti	la	mata=n=a	liáŋ	onén	tâmo
3PL	PFV	arrive	stand	in	eye=3SG=ART	cave	NVIS.PROX	now

'They went up now, they arrived and stood at the entrance of that cave now.'

(77)

na	masalai	onén	â=táŋ	lâŋ=âtâ	po
PN.ART	spirit	NVIS.PROX	CAU=say	like=VIS.DIST	COMP

'The spirit said like this.'

(78)

"âit	âi,	po	tál	ik	silé	pan,	po	miâi=k	ráŋ"
run	2DU.IMP	COMP	1TRI.INC	IPFV	enter	go	COMP	2DU=IPFV	see

'"Come so we will go inside so you will see it."'

(79)

la	iân	nárál	kápái	a	uâi=silé	pan	lantuá=n=a	liáŋ	onén
in	time	3TRI	all	PFV	DU=enter	go	inside=3SG=ART	cave	NVIS.PROX

tâmo,	na	masalai	nâ	a	bont-en
now	PN.ART	spirit	NVIS.DIST	PFV	block-TR

a	mata=n=a	liáŋ	onén
ART	eye=3SG=ART	cave	NVIS.PROX

'When they all entered this cave now, the spirit blocked the entrance of this cave.'

(80)

tâmo	nér	kápái	tom	mot	lantuá=n=a	liáŋ
now	3PL	all	sit	finish	inside=3SG=ART	cave

'Now they all stayed inside the cave.'

(81)

i=n=a	tâmo	na	lek	masalai	onén	a	kus	iriâi	tâmo
INAL=3SG=ART	now	PN.ART	man	spirit	NVIS.PROX	PFV	tell	3DU	now

'Then now the spirit man told them.'

(82)

"baté,	miâi	ráŋ	a	mot	a	bul	niâu	kápái	óró,
then	2DU	see	PFV	finish	ART	PL	thing	all	VIS.PROX

té	ita=k	pan	la	malai
then	1PL.INC=FUT	go	in	village

'"Okay, look at all these things, then we will go to the village.'

(83)

té	ta=k	gâi	sik	na	mâmói,
then	1PL.INC=FUT	accompany	take	PN.ART	mother

té	ta=k	aman,	mot	sik	a	mot	a	bul	niâu	rokomât
then	1PL.INC=FUT	come	and	take	PFV	finish	ART	PL	thing	good.very

óró=i	tom	lantuá=n=a	liáŋ-bin	óró
VIS.PROX=IPFV	sit	inside=3SG=ART	cave-big	VIS.PROX

'Then we will pick up Mum, then we will come and take the very good things that are inside this big cave.'

(84)

lo	niáu	sâk	kalapaŋ,	po	bul	niâu	si	nás"
or	1SG	NEG	know	COMP	PL	thing	AL	who

'But I do not know whose things these are."'

(85)

nan	a	bát	iriâi	tâmo
3SG	PFV	trick	3DU	now

'He lied to them now.'

(86)   *"lo   ita=k   pan"*
           or   1PL.INC=FUT   go
           '"But let us go."'

(87)   *nér   ik   buák pan   pan   pan   la   mata=n=a   lián,*
           3PL   IPFV want go   go   go   in   eye=3SG=ART   cave

           po   nér   ik   gán,   po   nér   ik   pan   la   malai
           COMP 3PL   IPFV leave COMP 3PL   IPFV go   in   village
           'They wanted to go to the entrance of the cave to leave and go to the village.'

(88)   *nér   a   sâŋ   puát   lâŋ=âtâ,*
           3PL   PFV arrive find   like=VIS.DIST

           po   mata=n=a   lián   nâ   a   ta-uanat
           COMP eye=3SG=ART cave   NVIS.DIST   PFV PASS-block
           'They found out that the entrance of the cave was blocked.'

(89)   *i=n=a   tâmo la   pat   iân   nâ   iriâi   a   tom*
           INAL=3SG=ART now in   part time NVIS.DIST   3DU   PFV sit

           la   lián, uru tama=riâi   tuna, iriâi a   ti-topoŋ,
           in   cave DU   father=3DU   true   3DU PFV stand-start

           i=n=a   sa~salaŋ
           INAL=3SG=ART INTR~search
           'Then now at that moment when they were in the cave, their real parents started looking for them.'

(90)   *iriâi a   sa~salaŋ   sa~salaŋ   sa~salaŋ   sa~salaŋ*
           3DU   PFV PL~search   PL~search   PL~search   PL~search

           bul   bák   kápái a   mot
           PL   place all   PFV finish
           'They searched and searched everywhere.'

(91)   *iriâi a   lak   la   marat, iriâi a   sái   la   pitinauán,*
           3DU   PFV go.up in   garden 3DU   PFV go.down   in   beach

           iriâi a   ulát   la   pitinauán,
           3DU   PFV go.around in   beach

           lo   mâ   a   lek   nâ   ka   kâlpák nan   lâŋ   na   tama=riâi
           or   where ART man NVIS.DIST RM.PST change 3SG   like   PN.ART father=3DU
           'They went up to the garden, they went down to the beach, they walked around on the beach and where that man had turned into their father.'

(92)   *nan   a   bont-en   a   tom   iriâi lantuá=n=a   lián*
           3SG   PFV block-TR   PFV sit   3DU   inside=3SG=ART cave
           'He had locked them (the boys) inside the cave.'

(93)   *i=n=a   tâmo na   lek   nâ   kâlpák nan   tâmo*
           INAL=3SG=ART now PN.ART man NVIS.DIST   change 3SG   now

lâŋ	*a*	*tuái,*	*tâmo*	*kus*	*iriâi*	*tâmo*
like	ART	snake	now	tell	3DU	now

'Then now the man turned now into a snake, now he told them.'

(94)

"ráŋ,	*niáu*	*nâ*	*uâ*	*â=pák~pák*	*lâŋ*	*na*	*tama=miâi,*
see	1SG	NVIS.DIST	RC.PST	CAU=INTR~turn	like	PN.ART	father=2DU

lo	*niáu*	*nâ*	*masalai*	*nân*
or	1SG	NVIS.DIST	spirit	NVIS.MED

'"Look, I turned into your father, but I am this spirit.'

(95)

lo	*tâmo*	*niáu*	*ók*	*lák*	*a*	*mat*	*imiâi*	*tâmo*
or	now	1SG	FUT	hit	PFV	die	2DU	now

'But now I will kill you.'

(96)

lo	*imiâi*	*a*	*lom~lomon*	*lâŋâsâ?"*
or	2DU	PFV	INTR~think	how

'But what do you think?"'

(97)

tâmo	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*nâ*	*â=táŋ*
now	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST	CAU=say

'Now the two boys said.'

(98)

"âi,	*nó=k*	*piâ=n=a*	*lák*	*imâi*
INTJ	2SG=FUT	PROH.INAL=3SG=ART	hit	1DU.EXC

'"Hey, do not kill us.'

(99)

imâi	*buák*	*taual*	*pan*	*si=n=a*	*uru*	*tâmâ=ŋ*	*tuna*	*si=mâi"*
1DU.EXC	want	return	go	AL=3SG=ART	DU	father=NPOSS	true	AL=1DU.EXC

'We want to go back to our real parents."'

(100)

nan	*â=táŋ*	*po*
3SG	CAU=say	COMP

'He said.'

(101)

"niáu	*ók*	*lák*	*a*	*mat*	*imiâi*
1SG	FUT	hit	PFV	die	2DU

'"I will kill you.'

(102)

niáu=k	*ŋan*	*a*	*bul*	*téné*	*si=miâi*
1SG=FUT	eat.TR	ART	PL	gut	AL=2DU

'I will eat your guts.'

(103)

niáu=k	*ŋan*	*a*	*mot*	*a*	*ku=miâi*
1SG=FUT	eat.TR	PFV	finish	ART	belly=2DU

'I will eat up your belly.'

(104)

niáu	*ók*	*ŋan*	*a*	*kek=emiâi,*	*a*	*mata=miâi,*	*a*	*béŋ=émiâi,*
1SG	FUT	eat.TR	ART	leg=2DU	ART	eye=2DU	ART	head=2DU

niáu=k	*ŋan*	*a*	*mot*
1SG=FUT	eat.TR	PFV	finish

'I will eat your legs, your eyes, your head, I will eat them up.'

(105)

lo	niáu=k	tâén	sik	a	pat	lima=miâi	uru	pat-kais,
or	1SG=FUT	lift	take	ART	part	arm=2DU	DU	part-left

uru	pat-kais	lima	kápái	si=miâi
DU	part-left	arm	all	AL=2DU

'But I will pick up your two left arms, both left arms of yours.'

(106)

niáu=k	tâén	sik,
1SG=FUT	lift	take

mot	niáu	ók	pan	niáu	ók	â=tom	la	bák	nâ,
and	1SG	FUT	go	1SG	FUT	CAU=sit	in	place	NVIS.DIST

bál	si=mé	nâ,	imé	ki	pupuát	a	lak"
canoe	AL=2PL	NVIS.DIST	2PL	HAB	pull	PFV	go.up

'I will pick them up, and I will go and put them at the place where you pull up your canoe."'

(107)

a	u=lék-biâŋ	nâ	a	ti-topoŋ	rara'uta	tâmo
ART	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST	PFV	stand-start	mourn	now

'The two boys started crying now.'

(108)

iriâi=k	rara'uta	rara'uta,
3DU=IPFV	mourn	mourn

iriâi=k	âit	ulát	la	lantuá=n=a	liáŋ
3DU=IPFV	run	go.around	in	inside=3SG=ART	cave

'They were crying and crying, they were running around inside the cave.'

(109)

iriâi	ik	buák	biák	a	mata=n=a	liáŋ	nâ,
3DU	IPFV	want	break	ART	eye=3SG=ART	cave	NVIS.DIST

po	iriâi	ik	iuoŋ,	lo	sâk	noŋ
COMP	3DU	IPFV	exit	or	NEG	be.enough

'They wanted to break the entrance of the cave to exit, but they were not able to.'

(110)

si=n=a	a	liáŋ	nâ	ta-uanat	kâuâi
AL=3SG=ART	ART	cave	NVIS.DIST	PASS-block	already

'Because the cave was already blocked.'

(111)

tâmo	nan	a	lák	iriâi
now	3SG	PFV	hit	3DU

'Now he killed them.'

(112)

nan	a	món	lák	a	mat	a	kas,
3SG	PFV	first	hit	PFV	die	ART	other

lo	kas	ik	iâ	rara'uta	pâ	kas	pâl	i=n=a
or	other	IPFV	CONT	mourn	with	other	put.together	INAL=3SG=ART

'He first killed one (of them), and the other one was still crying over his friend.'

(113)

nan	a	lák	lák	lák	a	mat	a	kas	nâ,
3SG	PFV	hit	hit	hit	PFV	die	ART	other	NVIS.DIST

nan   *a*   *ŋan,*   *ŋan*   *la*   *mata=n=a*   *kas*
3SG   PFV   eat.TR   eat.TR   in   eye=3SG=ART   other
'He hit and hit the (first) one dead, he ate him, ate him in front of the other one.'

(114)   *ŋan*   *ŋan*   *ŋan*   *ŋan*   *a*   *mot*   *tâmo*
       eat.TR   eat.TR   eat.TR   eat.TR   PFV   finish   now
       'He ate and ate him up now.'

(115)   *nan*   *a*   *bok*   *lák*   *a*   *pat-kais,*   *nan*   *a*   *â=mati tâ,*
       3SG   PFV   break   hit   ART   part-left   3SG   PFV   CAU=lie VIS.DIST

       nan   *sâk*   *ŋan*   *ârék*
       3SG   NEG   eat.TR   have.NEG
       'He ripped off the left (arm), he put it down there, he did not eat it.'

(116)   *lo*   *kulát*   *kápái,*   *nan*   *a*   *ŋan*   *a*   *mot*
       or   body   all   3SG   PFV   eat.TR   PFV   finish
       'But the whole body, he ate it up.'

(117)   *té*   *nan*   *a*   *lák*   *a*   *kas*   *ala*
       then   3SG   PFV   hit   ART   other   again
       'Then he also killed the other one.'

(118)   *nan*   *a*   *lák*   *lák*   *lák*   *a*   *mat*   *a*   *rokon*   *nan*   *tâmo*
       3SG   PFV   hit   hit   hit   PFV   die   PFV   good   3SG   now
       'He hit and hit him well dead now.'

(119)   *nan*   *a*   *ti,*   *nan*   *a*   *bok*   *ala*   *a*   *pat-kais*   *lima=n=a,*
       3SG   PFV   stand   3SG   PFV   break   again   ART   part-left   arm=3SG=ART

       nan   *a*   *â=mati*   *potok*
       3SG   PFV   CAU=lie   share
       'He stood up, he ripped off his (the other boy's) left arm too, he put it down separately.'

(120)   *tâmo*   *nan*   *a*   *toi*   *sik*   *a*   *uru*   *pat-kais*   *lima*   *nâ*
       now   3SG   PFV   touch   take   ART   DU   part-left   arm   NVIS.DIST
       'Now he took the two left arms.'

(121)   *baté*   *nan*   *a*   *â=táŋ*   *la*   *mata=n=a*   *lián*   *lâŋ=âtâ*
       then   3SG   PFV   CAU=say   in   eye=3SG=ART   cave   like=VIS.DIST
       'Then he said at the entrance of the cave like this.'

(122)   *"nó=k*   *sapaŋ*   *tâmo,*   *po*   *é=k*   *iuoŋ"*
       2SG=FUT   open   now   COMP   1SG=IPFV   exit
       '"Open now so I may go out."'

(123)   *i=n=a*   *tâmo*   *a*   *mata=n=a*   *lián*   *nâ*
       INAL=3SG=ART   now   ART   eye=3SG=ART   cave   NVIS.DIST

       a   *mâsapa*   *pák*   *ala*   *tâmo*
       PFV   clear   turn   again   now
       'Then now the entrance of the cave opened again now.'

(124)
i=n=a	*tâmo*	*nan*	*a*	*iuoŋ*
INAL=3SG=ART	now	3SG	PFV	exit

'Then now he went out.'

(125)
nan	*a*	*iuoŋ,*	*i=n=a*	*nan*	*a*	*kouos*	*sik*	*a*	*bál*
3SG	PFV	exit	INAL=3SG=ART	3SG	PFV	jump.on	take	ART	canoe

si=n=a	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*nâ*
AL=3SG=ART	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST

'He went out to jump in the canoe of the two boys.'

(126)
nan	*a*	*kol*	*pan*	*pan*	*pan*	*pan*	*pan*	*sâŋ*
3SG	PFV	paddle	go	go	go	go	go	arrive

lantuá=n=a	*bák*	*nâ,*
inside=3SG=ART	place	NVIS.DIST

ulék-biâŋ	*nâ*	*mot*	*na*	*tama=riâi*	*ki*	*â=tom*	*a*	*bál*
DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST	and	PN.ART	father=3DU	HAB	CAU=sit	ART	canoe

'He paddled and paddled and came to the place where the two boys and their parents usually put away the canoe.'

(127)
nan	*a*	*â=tom*	*a*	*sái*	*tâmo*
3SG	PFV	CAU=sit	PFV	go.down	now

a	*lima=n=a*	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*nâ,*
ART	arm=3SG=ART	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST

nan	*a*	*pupuát*	*a*	*lak*	*a*	*bál*	*si=riâi,*
3SG	PFV	pull	PFV	go.up	ART	canoe	AL=3DU

nan	*a*	*pan~pan*	*taual*
3SG	PFV	PL~go	return

'He put the arms of the two boys down now, he pulled up their canoe, he walked back.'

(128)
la	*maulék*	*táptáp*	*tuna*	*la*	*kas*	*iân*	*otâmo,*
in	morning	cold	true	in	other	time	now

a	*uru*	*tâmâ=ŋ*	*nâ*	*a*	*sái*
ART	DU	father=NPOSS	NVIS.DIST	PFV	go.down

la	*pitinauán*	*ala,*	*i=n=a*	*iriâi=k*	*sa~salaŋ*
in	beach	again	INAL=3SG=ART	3DU=IPFV	INTR~search

'The next day right in the very early morning, the parents went down to the beach again to search.'

(129)
iriâi	*a*	*sái*	*pan*	*la*	*pitinauán,*
3DU	PFV	go.down	go	in	beach

iriâi	*a*	*sâŋ*	*ráŋ*	*puát*	*lâŋ=âtâ,*	*po*	*a*	*bál*	*a*	*tom,*
3DU	PFV	arrive	see	find	like=VIS.DIST	COMP	ART	canoe	PFV	sit

lo	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*a*	*pârék*
or	DU=man-small	PFV	have.NEG

'They went down to the beach, they saw that the canoe was there, but the two boys were not.'

(130)

i=n=a	tâmo	a	riŋa=riâi	a	ti-topoŋ,
INAL=3SG=ART	now	ART	mother=3DU	PFV	stand-start

i=n=a	âit	âi=pák	kól	la	pitinauán
INAL=3SG=ART	run	REC=turn	go.around	in	beach

'Then now their mother started to run in circles around the beach.'

(131)

nan	a	âit	pan	âit	pan,	mot	nan	a	ráŋ~ráŋ	pan,
3SG	PFV	run	go	run	go	and	3SG	PFV	INTR~see	go

nan	a	ráŋ	puát	a	lima=n=a	uru	u=lék-biâŋ
3SG	PFV	see	find	ART	arm=3SG=ART	DU	DU=man-small

'She ran to and fro, and she looked around, she found the arms of the two boys.'

(132)

uru	pat-kais	lima	kápái	a	mati	la	pitinauán
DU	part-left	arm	all	PFV	lie	in	beach

'Both left arms were lying on the beach.'

(133)

té	tâmo	nan	a	kel	a	pan	na	lek	si=n=a
then	now	3SG	PFV	call	PFV	go	PN.ART	man	AL=3SG=ART

'Then now she called her husband.'

(134)

"âi,	nó=k	aman
INTJ	2SG=FUT	come

'"Hey, come.'

(135)

a	lima=n=a	u=lék-biâŋ	óró,	lo	a	so	tâ?"
ART	arm=3SG=ART	DU=man-small	VIS.PROX	or	PFV	do.what	VIS.DIST

'These are the arms of the two boys, but what are they doing there?"'

(136)

i=n=a	tâmo	na	tâmâ=ŋ	si=riâi	ik	ti-topoŋ,
INAL=3SG=ART	now	PN.ART	father=NPOSS	AL=3DU	IPFV	stand-start

i=n=a	kup~kup	kól
INAL=3SG=ART	INTR~shout	go.around

'Then now their father started shouting around.'

(137)

kup~kup	kup~kup	kól,
INTR~shout	INTR~shout	go.around

po	u=lék-biâŋ	nâ	ik	loŋoi,	lo	pârék
COMP	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST	IPFV	hear	or	have.NEG

'He shouted and shouted around so the two boys would hear it, but no.'

(138)

iriâi	nâ	mat	kâuâi
3DU	NVIS.DIST	die	already

'They were already dead.'

(139)

tâmo	iriâi	a	tâén	sik	a	lima=n=a	uru	popo	si=riâi,
now	3DU	PFV	lift	take	ART	arm=3SG=ART	DU	child	AL=3DU

uru	u=lék-biâŋ	nâ
DU	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST

'Now they picked up the arms of their children, the two boys.'

(140) | iriâi | a | lak | pan | pâ=n=a, |
       | 3DU | PFV | go.up | go | with=3SG=ART |

       | iriâi | a | sâŋ | táuán | la | mata=n=a | lu |
       | 3DU | PFV | arrive | bury | in | eye=3SG=ART | house |
       'They went up with them, they arrived and buried them in front of the house.'

(141) | lá-uáŋ | i=n=a | kas | iân | tâmo, | iriâi | a | matai |
       | in-night | INAL=3SG=ART | other | time | now, | 3DU | PFV | sleep |
       'In the night of the next day now, they slept.'

(142) | iriâi | a | matai | tâmo, | a | masalai nâ | sâŋ | si=riâi |
       | 3DU | PFV | sleep | now, | ART | spirit NVIS.DIST | arrive | AL=3DU |
       'They slept now, the spirit came to them.'

(143) | masalai | nâ | sâŋ | si=riâi | tâmo | la | ra~rauai |
       | spirit | NVIS.DIST | arrive | AL=3DU | now | in | PL~make.sound |
       'The spirit appeared to them now as a voice.'

(144) | iriâi | a | loŋoi | a | ra~rauai | la | mi=n=a | lu |
       | 3DU | PFV | hear | ART | PL~make.sound | in | back=3SG=ART | house |
       'They heard the words at the back of the house.'

(145) | masalai | nâ | ik | kus | iriâi | lâŋ=âtâ |
       | spirit | NVIS.DIST | IPFV | tell | 3DU | like=VIS.DIST |
       'The spirit told them like this.'

(146) | "u=lék-biâŋ | si=miâi, | niáu | uâ | lák | a | mat | iriâi, |
       | DU=man-small | AL=2DU | 1SG | RC.PST | hit | PFV | die | 3DU |

       | mot | ŋan | iriâi | kâuâi |
       | and | eat.TR | 3DU | already |
       '"Your two boys, I killed them and already ate them.'

(147) | lo | niáu | buák | man | mo | é=k | â=mâsapa | imiâi | lâŋ=âtâ |
       | or | 1SG | want | come | only | 1SG=IPFV | CAU=clear | 2DU | like=VIS.DIST |
       'But I just wanted to come to explain it to you like this.'

(148) | a | pârék | ala | ta | u=lék-biâŋ | tâmo |
       | PFV | have.NEG | again | IND.ART | DU=man-small | now |
       'There are no more the two boys now.'

(149) | imiâi | rarau, | imiâi | ka | buák | gán | a | pus-én | a | tom |
       | 2DU | correct | 2DU | RM.PST | want | leave | PFV | throw-TR | PFV | sit |

       | a | u=lék-biâŋ | la | lu |
       | ART | DU=man-small | in | house |
       'You yourselves, you wanted to leave the two boys behind at home.'

(150) | mot | miâi | ka | pan | miâi | ka | mulit, | otâmo | miâ | ráŋ, |
       | and | 2DU | RM.PST | go | 2DU | RM.PST | slow | now | 2DU | see |

niáu	*uâ*	*ŋan*	*a*	*mat*	*iriâi*
1SG	RC.PST	eat.TR	PFV	die	3DU

'And you went and were slow, now you see I ate and killed them.'

(151)

si=n=a	*imiâi*	*sâk*	*â=kotoŋ*	*a*	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*nâ"*
AL=3SG=ART	2DU	NEG	CAU=care	ART	DU=man-small	NVIS.DIST

'Because you did not look after the two boys."'

(152)

rokon,	*nan*	*isaŋ*
good	3SG	alone

'Thank you, that is it.'

2.4. Liver Bilau

By Beleo Anas (Tutut clan)

(1) | *a* | *pini* | *i* | *Mâŋmâŋ* | *Bilau* |
     |-----|--------|-----|----------|---------|
     | ART | story | INAL | liver | B. |

'The story of Liver Bilau.'

(2) | *kas* | *le,* | *a* | *mata=ŋ* | *âi=tama* | *a* | *tom* |
     |-------|-------|-----|----------|----------|-----|-------|
     | other | afternoon | ART | eye=NPOSS | REC=father | PFV | sit |

'One afternoon, a family was staying (at home).'

(3) | *nárál* | *a* | *tom* | *tâmo,* |
     |---------|-----|-------|--------|
     | 3TRI | PFV | sit | now |

té	*kó*	*lek-biân*	*si=riâi*	*i*	*buák*	*irám*
then	small.piece	man-small	AL=3DU	IPFV	want	drink

'They were staying (at home), then their boy wanted to drink.'

(4) | *té* | *na* | *riŋa=n=a* | *â=táŋ* | *si=n=a* | *lâŋ=âtâ* |
     |------|------|-----------|---------|----------|----------|
     | then | PN.ART | mother=3SG=ART | CAU=say | AL=3SG=ART | like=VIS.DIST |

'Then his mother said to him like this.'

(5) | *"a* | *rárám* | *óró=i* | *tom"* |
     |------|---------|--------|--------|
     | ART | water | VIS.PROX=IPFV | sit |

'"The water is here."'

(6) | *nan* | *sâ* | *buák* | *irám* | *a* | *rárám* | *tuna,* | *nan* | *i* | *buák* | *irám* | *ni* |
     |-------|------|--------|--------|-----|---------|--------|-------|-----|--------|--------|------|
     | 3SG | NEG | want | drink | ART | water | true | 3SG | IPFV | want | drink | coconut |

'He did not want to drink actual water, he wanted to drink coconuts.'

(7) | *nan* | *ik* | *iâ* | *â=raras,* | *pan* | *pan* | *pan* | *tâmo,* |
     |-------|------|------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
     | 3SG | IPFV | CONT | CAU=tight | go | go | go | now |

uru	*tama=n=a*	*a*	*murém*	*an*	*nan,*
DU	father=3SG=ART	PFV	be.tired	about	3SG

pâ	*nan*	*ik*	*iâ*	*â=raras*
with	3SG	IPFV	CONT	CAU=tight

'He was arguing and arguing now, his parents were tired of him because he kept arguing.'

(8) | *i=n=a* | *tâmo* | *iriâi* | *a* | *silé* | *gán* | *a* | *pus-én* | *nan* |
     |--------|--------|--------|-----|--------|-------|-----|---------|-------|
     | INAL=3SG=ART | now | 3DU | PFV | enter | leave | PFV | throw-TR | 3SG |

'Then now they went into (the house) and left him behind.'

(9) | *nan* | *iâ* | *tom* | *táŋás* | *la* | *malai* |
     |-------|------|-------|--------|------|--------|
     | 3SG | CONT | sit | cry | in | village |

'He sat and cried outside the house.'

(10) | *nan* | *ik* | *iâ* | *tom* | *táŋás* | *atâmo,* | *na* | *Mâŋmâŋ* | *Bilau* | *a* | *aman* |
     |-------|------|------|-------|--------|---------|------|----------|--------|-----|--------|
     | 3SG | IPFV | CONT | sit | cry | now | PN.ART | liver | B. | PFV | come |

'He sat and cried now, Liver Bilau came.'

(11)

aman	atâmo,	sâŋ	riái	nan
come	now	arrive	ask	3SG

'He came now and asked him.'

(12)

"a	so,	nó=k	táŋás	pâ	sâ?"
PFV	do.what	2SG=IPFV	cry	with	what

'"What is it, what are you crying about?"'

(13)

tâmo	na	lek-biâŋ	nâ	â=táŋ	lâŋ=âtâ
now	PN.ART	man-small	NVIS.DIST	CAU=say	like=VIS.DIST

'Now the boy said like this.'

(14)

"nâ,	niáu	uâ	kus	mo	uru	tama=k,
NVIS.DIST	1SG	RC.PST	tell	only	DU	father=1SG

po	i	buák	irám
COMP	IPFV	want	drink

'"Well, I just told my parents that I wanted to drink.'

(15)

lo	niáu	sâ	buák	irám	a	rárám	tuna,	i	buák	irám	ni"
or	1SG	NEG	want	drink	ART	water	true	IPFV	want	drink	coconut

'But I do not want to drink actual water, I want to drink coconuts."'

(16)

tâmo	na	Mâŋmâŋ	Bilau	â=táŋ
now	PN.ART	liver	B.	CAU=say

'Now Liver Bilau said.'

(17)

"aman,	po	tâi=k	pan,
come	COMP	1DU.INC=IPFV	go

po	é=k	lak	a	ni	kana-uin	si=k,
COMP	1SG=IPFV	go.up	ART	coconut	amount-big	AL=1SG

po	nó=k	irám"
COMP	2SG=IPFV	drink

'"Come, let us go so I will climb up my big coconut tree so you will drink."'

(18)

tâmo	na	Mâŋmâŋ	Bilau	a	pi-kit	a	mata=n=a,
now	PN.ART	liver	B.	PFV	blow-flame	ART	eye=3SG=ART

â=ur	sik	nan	atâmo,	mot	iriâi	a	pan~pan
CAU=carry	take	3SG	now	and	3DU	PFV	PL~go

'Now Liver Bilau lit his eyes (using them as a torch), he took him (on his shoulders) now, and they walked.'

(19)

iriâi	kiru	pan	pan	pan,	nan	ik	pi-kit	a	mata=n=a,
3DU	PST.HAB	go	go	go	3SG	IPFV	blow-flame	ART	eye=3SG=ART

nan	ik	riái	po
3SG	IPFV	ask	COMP

'They went and went, he lit his eyes, he asked.'

(20)　　*"nó　　mâ?"*
　　　　2SG　　where
　　　　'"Where are you?"'

(21)　　*"niáu　óró"*
　　　　1SG　　VIS.PROX
　　　　'"I am here."'

(22)　　*iriâi=k　　　pan　　pan　　pan　　tâmo,　iriâi　a　　sâŋ　　tata=n=a　　　ni*
　　　　3DU=IPFV　　go　　　go　　　go　　　now　　3DU　　PFV　arrive　beside=3SG=ART　coconut
　　　　'They went and went now, they arrived at the coconut tree.'

(23)　　*na　　Mâŋmâŋ　　　Bilau　a　　　pi-kit　　　　a　　　mata=n=a　　　tâmo,*
　　　　PN.ART　liver　　　　B.　　PFV　blow-flame　ART　eye=3SG=ART　now

　　　　té　　â=tom　a　　sái　　　　nan,　mot　lak　　a　　　ni　　　　　tâmo
　　　　then　CAU=sit　PFV　go.down　3SG　and　go.up　ART　coconut　　now
　　　　'Liver Bilau lit his eyes now, then he put him down and climbed up the coconut tree now.'

(24)　　*nan　ik　　　lak,　té　　kiru　　　pi-kit　　　　a　　　mata=n=a,*
　　　　3SG　IPFV　go.up　then　PST.HAB　blow-flame　ART　eye=3SG=ART

　　　　mot　ik　　　riái
　　　　and　IPFV　ask
　　　　'He went up, then he lit his eyes and asked.'

(25)　　*"nó　　mâ?"*
　　　　2SG　　where
　　　　'"Where are you?"'

(26)　　*"niáu　óró"*
　　　　1SG　　VIS.PROX
　　　　'"I am here."'

(27)　　*Mâŋmâŋ　　Bilau　a　　　lak,　　tâmo　sâŋ　　la　　kiriko=n=a　　ni,*
　　　　liver　　　　B.　　PFV　go.up　now　　arrive　in　　larynx=3SG=ART　coconut

　　　　nan　a　　　kai　　　a　　　sái　　　　　a　　　ni
　　　　3SG　PFV　scrape　PFV　go.down　ART　coconut
　　　　'Liver Bilau climbed up, now he arrived on the top of the coconut tree, he pulled down a coconut.'

(28)　　*nan　a　　　kai　　　a　　　sái　　　　　a　　　ni,　　　　　pan　　pan　tâmo,*
　　　　3SG　PFV　scrape　PFV　go.down　ART　coconut　　go　　　go　　now

　　　　nan　a　　　sái,　　　　gán　　pi-kit　　　　a　　　mata=n=a,
　　　　3SG　PFV　go.down　leave　blow-flame　ART　eye=3SG=ART

　　　　té　　nan　a　　　riái
　　　　then　3SG　PFV　ask
　　　　'He pulled down a coconut, on and on, he climbed down, lit his eyes, then he asked.'

(29)　　*"nó　　mâ?"*
　　　　2SG　　where
　　　　'"Where are you?"'

(30)   *"lo   niáu   óró"*
       or   1SG   VIS.PROX
      '"But I am here."'

(31)   *nan   a   sái   aman*
       3SG   PFV   go.down   come
      'He came down.'

(32)   *Mâŋmâŋ   Bilau   a   sái   aman   atâmo,*
       liver   B.   PFV   go.down   come   now

       sâŋ   pi-kit   a   mata=n=a   la   pat   i=n=a   ni,
       arrive   blow-flame   ART   eye=3SG=ART   in   part   INAL=3SG=ART   coconut

       kuuál   a   tom   a   ni   tâmo,
       be.together   PFV   sit   ART   coconut   now

       nan   a   kus   a   lek-biâŋ   nâ
       3SG   PFV   tell   ART   man-small   NVIS.DIST
      'Liver Bilau came down now, lit his eyes at the bottom of the coconut tree, put together the coconuts now, he told the boy.'

(33)   *"tom   tâmo,   nó=k   irám   ni"*
       sit   now   2SG=FUT   drink   coconut
      '"Sit now, drink the coconut."'

(34)   *nan   a   só   kó=n   â=ti-topoŋ   i=n=a   ni,*
       3SG   PFV   pierce   small.piece=3SG   CAU=stand-start   INAL=3SG=ART   coconut

       nan   a   sisák   lis,   i=n=a   â=irám   nan
       3SG   PFV   sew   give   INAL=3SG=ART   CAU=drink   3SG
      'He removed the husk of the first coconut, he opened it and gave it to him to drink.'

(35)   *â=irám   nan   tâmo,   nan   a   irám   a   mot,   nan   a   pát,*
       CAU=drink   3SG   now   3SG   PFV   drink   PFV   finish   3SG   PFV   split

       té   nan   a   kakai   lis   si=n=a
       then   3SG   PFV   scrape   give   AL=3SG=ART
      'He gave it to him to drink now, he (the boy) drank it, he (Liver Bilau) split (the coconut), then he scraped (the coconut meat) and gave it to him.'

(36)   *nan   iâ   ŋan   a   mot   a   kó   ni,*
       3SG   CONT   eat.TR   PFV   finish   ART   small.piece   coconut

       nan   a   só   kas   kó=n   ala
       3SG   PFV   pierce   other   small.piece=3SG   again
      'He (the boy) ate up the coconut, he (Liver Bilau) removed the husk of another (coconut).'

(37)   *só   kas   kó=n,   nan   a   sisák   lis,*
       pierce   other   small.piece=3SG   3SG   PFV   sew   give

       nan   a   irám   a   ga,
       3SG   PFV   drink   PFV   empty

nan	*a*	*kakai*	*lis*	*ala*	*kas*	*kó=n*		*ni,*
3SG	PFV	scrape	give	again	other	small.piece=3SG		coconut

â=iuâi	*i=n=a*	*kó*	*ni*	*tâ*
CAU=two	INAL=3SG=ART	small.piece	coconut	VIS.DIST

si=n=a	*kó*	*lek-biâŋ*	*anén*
AL=3SG=ART	small.piece	man-small	NVIS.PROX

'He removed the husk of another one, he opened it and gave it (to the boy), he drank it empty, he scraped out another coconut and gave it (to the boy), it was the second coconut for the boy.'

(38)
pan	*tâmo,*	*a*	*â=utál*	*i=n=a*	*kó*	*ni,*
go	now	ART	CAU=three	INAL=3SG=ART	small.piece	coconut

lek-biâŋ	*nâ*	*â=táŋ*
man-small	NVIS.DIST	CAU=say

'Then (at) the third coconut, the boy said.'

(39)
"niá	*noŋ*
1SG	be.enough

'"I have had enough.'

(40)
ku=k	*a*	*bóm*	*kâuâi"*
belly=1SG	PFV	full	already

'My stomach is already full."'

(41)
té	*nan*	*a*	*uén*	*toi*	*na*	*lek-biâŋ*	*nâ*	*lâŋ=âtâ*
then	3SG	PFV	say	touch	PN.ART	man-small	NVIS.DIST	like=VIS.DIST

'Then he said to the boy like this.'

(42)
"nó=k	*irám,*	*si=n=a*	*nó*	*uâ*	*kus*	*a*	*uru*	*tama=m,*
2SG=FUT	drink	AL=3SG=ART	2SG	RC.PST	tell	ART	DU	father=2SG

po	*nó=k*	*irám,*	*mat*	*iriâi*	*uâ*	*sâk*	*loŋoi*	*nó,*
COMP	2SG=IPFV	drink	and	3DU	RC.PST	NEG	hear	2SG

po	*nó*	*uâ*	*buák*	*irám*	*ni*
COMP	2SG	RC.PST	want	drink	coconut

'"Drink because you told your parents that you (wanted to) drink, and they did not listen to you that you wanted to drink coconuts.'

(43)
irám"
drink

'Drink."'

(44)
nan	*ik*	*iâ*	*â=raras,*
3SG	IPFV	CONT	CAU=tight

na	*Mâŋmâŋ*	*Bilau*	*ik*	*iâ*	*â=raras*	*ala*
PN.ART	liver	B.	IPFV	CONT	CAU=tight	again

'He would argue, Liver Bilau would also argue.'

(45)
pan	*tâmo,*	*na*	*Mâŋmâŋ*	*Bilau*	*a*	*sisák*	*a*	*kó*	*ni,*
go	now	PN.ART	liver	B.	PFV	sew	ART	small.piece	coconut

luluŋ	*toi*	*la*	*bala=n=a,*	*la*	*isá=n=a,*
shake	touch	in	mouth=3SG=ART	in	nose=3SG=ART

la	*mata*	*pé~pés*	*si=n=a*
in	eye	INTR~excrete	AL=3SG=ART

'This went on now, Liver Bilau opened a coconut and poured it into his (the boy's) mouth, nose and anus.'

(46)
tâmo	*na*	*lek-biâŋ*	*nâ*	*a*	*salaŋ*	*ta*	*nón,*
now	PN.ART	man-small	NVIS.DIST	PFV	search	IND.ART	place

i=n=a	*nan*	*ik*	*âi=us,*
INAL=3SG=ART	3SG	IPFV	REC=follow

nan	*a*	*kát*	*sik*	*a*	*lek-biâŋ*	*nâ,*
3SG	PFV	carry	take	ART	man-small	NVIS.DIST

iriâi	*â=k*	*álát*
3DU	DIST=IPFV	pass.by

'Now the boy looked for a place to relieve himself, he carried the boy, they went.'

(47)
iriâi	*a*	*pan,*	*nan*	*kiru*	*iâ*	*pi-kit*	*a*	*mata=n=a,*
3DU	PFV	go	3SG	PST.HAB	CONT	blow-flame	ART	eye=3SG=ART

nan	*ik*	*riái*
3SG	IPFV	ask

'They went, he lit his eyes, he asked.'

(48)
"nó	*mâ?"*
2SG	where

'"Where are you?"'

(49)
"niáu	*óró"*
1SG	VIS.PROX

'"I am here."'

(50)
iriâi	*a*	*pan*	*pan*	*tâmo,*
3DU	PFV	go	go	now

ku	*lek-biâŋ*	*nâ*	*ta-posok*	*atâmo*
belly	man-small	NVIS.DIST	PASS-break	now

'They went and went now, the boy's belly burst now.'

(51)
ta-posok	*atâmo,*	*a*	*tané*	*i=n=a*	*kápái*	*a*	*iuoŋ*	*mot*	*atâmo*
PASS-break	now	ART	gut	INAL=3SG=ART	all	PFV	exit	finish	now

'(His belly) burst now, all his guts came out now.'

(52)
nan	*a*	*sik*	*a*	*tané,*	*nan*	*a*	*pan,*
3SG	PFV	take	ART	gut	3SG	PFV	go

nan	*a*	*niná*	*a*	*mata=n=a*	*lu*
3SG	PFV	net	ART	eye=3SG=ART	house

si=n=a   *uru*   *tama=n=a*   *pâ=n=a*
AL=3SG=ART   DU   father=3SG=ART   with=3SG=ART
'He took the guts, he went, he covered his parents' door with them.'

(53)   *a*   *kulát*   *i=n=a*   *kápái,*
        ART   body   INAL=3SG=ART   all

        na   *Mâŋmâŋ*   *Bilau*   *a*   *ŋan*   *a*   *mot*   *kâuâi*
        PN.ART   liver   B.   PFV   eat.TR   PFV   finish   already
        'His whole body, Liver Bilau has already eaten it.'

(54)   *tané*   *i=n=a*   *mo,*   *nan*   *a*   *pan,*   *nan*   *a*   *â=su-én*
        gut   INAL=3SG=ART   only   3SG   PFV   go   3SG   PFV   CAU=hang-TR

        la   *mata=n=a*   *lu*   *si=n=a*   *uru*   *tama=n=a*
        in   eye=3SG=ART   house   AL=3SG=ART   DU   father=3SG=ART
        'Only his guts, he went, he hung them up on his parents' door.'

(55)   *tâmo*   *la*   *maulék,*   *uru*   *tama=n=a*   *tâŋan,*   *iriâi*   *a*   *ráŋ*
        now   in   morning   DU   father=3SG=ART   wake.up   3DU   PFV   see
        'Now in the morning, his parents woke up, they saw.'

(56)   *"iáuái,*   *a*   *tané*   *i=n=a*   *lek-biâŋ*   *si=râi*   *óró*   *mo*
        INTJ   ART   gut   INAL=3SG=ART   man-small   AL=1DU.INC   VIS.PROX   only
        '"Oh dear, it is our boy's guts.'

(57)   *nâ=mo*   *itâi*   *uâ*   *sâk*   *loŋoi*   *nan,*
        NVIS.DIST=only   1DU.INC   RC.PST   NEG   hear   3SG

        pâ   *nan*   *uâ*   *buák*   *irám*   *ni,*
        with   3SG   RC.PST   want   drink   coconut

        lo   *tâi*   *uâ*   *sâk*   *loŋoi*   *nan*
        or   1DU.INC   RC.PST   NEG   hear   3SG
        'We did not listen to him when he wanted to drink coconuts, and we did not listen to him.'

(58)   *na*   *Mâŋmâŋ*   *Bilau*   *uâ*   *ŋan*   *nan*   *tâmo"*
        PN.ART   liver   B.   RC.PST   eat.TR   3SG   now
        'Liver Bilau ate him now."'

(59)   *tâmo*   *a*   *pini*   *a*   *mot*   *lâŋ=âtâ*
        now   ART   story   PFV   finish   like=VIS.DIST
        'Now the story ends like that.'

2.5. Lumakaka and the thirsty boy

By Elizabeth Balane (Sopokor clan, Pântekom Village)

(1) *kas*   *pini*   *ró*   *pini*   *si*   *Lumâkâkâ*
other   story   VIS.PROX story   AL   L.

    iriâi   *na*   *kó*   *lek-biâŋ*   *nâ*   *ka*   *maiu*
    3DU   PN.ART   small.piece   man-small   NVIS.DIST   RM.PST   be.thirsty
    'This other story is the story of Lumakaka and the thirsty boy.'

(2) *a*   *lek-biâŋ*   *ka*   *táŋás,*   *po*   *nan*   *ik*   *buák*   *irám*
ART   man-small   RM.PST   cry   COMP   3SG   IPFV   want   drink
'The boy cried that he wanted to drink.'

(3) *na*   *riŋa=n=a*   *ka*   *tom,*   *mot*   *ka*   *â=táŋ*
PN.ART   mother=3SG=ART   RM.PST   sit   and   RM.PST   CAU=say
'His mother was there and said.'

(4) *"pârék*   *ta*   *rárám"*
have.NEG   IND.ART   water
'"There is no water."'

(5) *lo*   *na*   *lek-biâŋ*   *nâ*   *iâ*   *táŋás*   *kinak,*
or   PN.ART   man-small   NVIS.DIST   CONT   cry   still

    po   *nan*   *ik*   *buák*   *irám*
    COMP   3SG   IPFV   want   drink
    'But the boy was still crying that he wanted to drink.'

(6) *na*   *riŋa=n=a*   *ik*   *â=táŋ*   *ala*   *po*
PN.ART   mother=3SG=ART   IPFV   CAU=say   again   COMP
'His mother said again.'

(7) *"ai,*   *a*   *pârék*   *ta*   *rárám*
INTJ   PFV   have.NEG   IND.ART   water
'"Hey, there is no water.'

(8) *nó*   *noŋ,*   *i=n=a*   *táŋás*
2SG   be.enough   INAL=3SG=ART   cry
'Stop crying.'

(9) *niáu*   *uâ*   *kus*   *nó*   *kâuâi,*   *po*   *pârék*   *ta*   *rárám"*
1SG   RC.PST   tell   2SG   already   COMP   have.NEG   IND.ART   water
'I already told you that there is no water."'

(10) *kó*   *lek-biâŋ*   *nâ*   *sâk*   *loŋoi,*   *nan*   *iâ*   *táŋás*   *kinak*
small.piece   man-small   NVIS.DIST   NEG   hear   3SG   CONT   cry   still
'The boy did not listen, he was still crying.'

(11) *tâmo*   *siua*   *le-le,*   *a*   *u=âi=laua=n-an*   *ik*   *âigot,*
now   place   in-afternoon   ART   DU=REC=husband=3SG-NOML   IPFV   be.ready

i=n=a	*iriâi=k*	*silé*	*iriâi=k*	*matai*
AL=3SG=ART	3DU=IPFV	enter	3DU=IPFV	sleep

'Now it was (late) afternoon, the married couple prepared to go inside to sleep.'

(12)

na	*riŋa*	*lek-biâŋ*	*nâ*	*a*	*toi*	*a*	*lima=n=a,*
PN.ART	mother	man-small	NVIS.DIST	PFV	touch	ART	arm=3SG=ART

nan	*a*	*pala*	*ti*	*nan*	*si=n=a*	*pat*	*i=n=a*	*uár*
3SG	PFV	tie	stand	3SG	AL=3SG=ART	part	INAL=3SG=ART	banana

la	*mi=n=a*	*lu*	*si=nér*
in	back=3SG=ART	house	AL=3PL

'The boy's mother took his hand, she tied him to the bottom of a banana tree behind their house.'

(13)

té	*nan*	*a*	*silé*	*a*	*us*	*na*	*lek*	*si=n=a,*
then	3SG	PFV	enter	PFV	follow	PN.ART	man	AL=3SG=ART

mat	*iriâi*	*a*	*matai*
and	3DU	PFV	sleep

'Then she followed her husband inside, and they slept.'

(14)

lá-uáŋ	*tâmo,*	*na*	*Lumâkâkâ*	*ka*	*man*	*tâmo,*
in-night	now	PN.ART	L.	RM.PST	come	now

ka	*loŋoi*	*a*	*kó*	*lek-biâŋ*	*nâ*	*ik*	*ti*	*táŋás*
RM.PST	hear	ART	small.piece	man-small	NVIS.DIST	IPFV	stand	cry

la	*pat*	*i=n=a*	*uár*
in	part	INAL=3SG=ART	banana

'At night now, Lumakaka came now, he heard the boy standing and crying at the bottom of the banana tree.'

(15)

aman	*tâmo,*	*riái*	*nan*
come	now	ask	3SG

'He came now, he asked him.'

(16)

"iâiâ,	*nó=k*	*táŋás*	*a*	*sâ?"*
grandparent	2SG=IPFV	cry	ART	what

'"Grandson, why are you crying?"'

(17)

"niáu	*buák*	*irám,*	*lo*	*na*	*mâmói*	*uâ*	*kus,*
1SG	want	drink	or	PN.ART	mother	RC.PST	tell

po	*a*	*pârék*	*ta*	*rárám"*
COMP	PFV	have.NEG	IND.ART	water

'"I want to drink, but Mum told that there was no water."'

(18)

"aman,	*niáu*	*ók*	*lak*	*a*	*ni-uin*	*si=k,*	*po*	*nó=k*	*irám"*
come	1SG	FUT	go.up	ART	coconut-big	AL=1SG	COMP	2SG=IPFV	drink

'"Come, I will climb up my big coconut tree for you to drink."'

(19)

té	*na*	*Lumâkâkâ*	*gâi*	*a*	*pan*	*nan*
then	PN.ART	L.	accompany	PFV	go	3SG

tâ	*la*	*pat*	*i=n=a*	*ni,*			
VIS.DIST	in	part	INAL=3SG=ART	coconut			

kol	*a*	*kó*	*kumâm-bin*	*tâmo,*	*lak*	*kálá*	*ni*
wind.up	ART	small.piece	climbing.rope-big	now	go.up	on	coconut

'Then Lumakaka took him to the bottom of the coconut tree, he wound up a big climbing rope now, he went up on the coconut tree.'

(20)
iân	*nan*	*ka*	*lak*	*pan*	*guguál*	*kálá*	*ni,*
time	3SG	RM.PST	go.up	go	on.top	on	coconut

nan	*kiru*	*riái*	*a*	*sái*	*na*	*lek-biâŋ*	*nâ*
3SG	PST.HAB	ask	PFV	go.down	PN.ART	man.small	NVIS.DIST

'When he went up on the top of the coconut tree, he would ask down to the boy.'

(21)
"iâiâ,	*nó*	*amâ?"*
grandparent	2SG	where

'"Grandson, where are you?"'

(22)
nan	*kiru*	*ŋet*	*nan*	*po*
3SG	PST.HAB	answer	3SG	COMP

'He would answer him.'

(23)
"niáu	*óró"*
1SG	VIS.PROX

'"I am here."'

(24)
na	*Lumâkâkâ*	*ik*	*iâ*	*lak*	*pan*	*tâmo*
PN.ART	L.	IPFV	CONT	go.up	go	now

'Lumakaka went up now.'

(25)
nan	*a*	*lak*	*pan*	*tuna*	*tâ*	*la*	*kiriko=n=a*	*ni,*	*té*
3SG	PFV	go.up	go	true	VIS.DIST	in	larynx=3SG=ART	coconut	then

nan	*ik*	*riái*	*a*	*sái*	*na*	*lek-biâŋ*	*nâ*	*po*
3SG	IPFV	ask	PFV	go.down	PN.ART	man-small	NVIS.DIST	COMP

'He went up right to the top of the coconut tree, then he asked down to the boy.'

(26)
"iâiâ,	*nó*	*amâ?"*
grandparent	2SG	where

'"Grandson, where are you?"'

(27)
"niáu	*óró"*
1SG	VIS.PROX

'"I am here."'

(28)
a	*lek-biâŋ*	*nâ*	*kiru*	*ŋet*	*nan*
ART	man-small	NVIS.DIST	PST.HAB	answer	3SG

'The boy would answer him.'

(29)
mot	*na*	*Lumâkâkâ*	*â=k*	*kai*	*a*	*sái*	*a*	*ni,*
and	PN.ART	L.	DIST=IPFV	scrape	PFV	go.down	ART	coconut

mot	*sái*	*aman*	*taual*	*tâmo*
and	go.down	come	return	now

'And Lumakaka was pulling down a coconut and came back down now.'

(30)

sái	*aman*	*taual*	*tâmo,*	*ik*	*riái*	*a*	*sái*	*po*
go.down	come	return	now	IPFV	ask	PFV	go.down	COMP

'He came back down now, he asked downwards.'

(31)

"iâiâ,	*nó*	*amâ?"*
grandparent	2SG	where

'"Grandson, where are you?"'

(32)

kó	*lek-biâŋ*	*nâ*	*ik*	*ŋet*	*po*
small.piece	man-small	NVIS.DIST	IPFV	answer	COMP

'The boy answered.'

(33)

"niáu	*óró"*
1SG	VIS.PROX

'"I am here."'

(34)

nan	*a*	*ló*	*sái*	*tâmo,*	*nan*	*a*	*sik*	*ta*	*iámá*	*si=n=a,*
3SG	PFV	travel	go.down	now	3SG	PFV	take	IND.ART	axe	AL=3SG=ART

nan	*a*	*lam*	*mot*	*kásám*	*a*	*kó*	*kál*	*tâmo,*
3SG	PFV	cut	and	sharpen	ART	small.piece	dig	now

nan	*a*	*só*	*a*	*ni*
3SG	PFV	pierce	ART	coconut

'He went down now, he took his axe, he cut and sharpened a digging stick now, he removed the husk of the coconut.'

(35)

nan	*a*	*só*	*kas*	*kó=n,*	*nan*	*a*	*sisák,*
3SG	PFV	piece	other	small.piece=3SG	3SG	PFV	sew

nan	*a*	*â=irám*	*a*	*kó*	*lek-biâŋ*	*nâ*
3SG	PFV	CAU=drink	ART	small.piece	man-small	NVIS.DIST

'He removed the husk of one, he opened it, he gave it to the boy to drink.'

(36)

nan	*a*	*irám*	*a*	*mot,*	*nan*	*a*	*te*	*biák,*
3SG	PFV	drink	PFV	finish	3SG	PFV	cut	break

nan	*a*	*kakai*	*lis*	*si=n=a,*	*mot*	*â=én*	*nan*	*ik*	*ŋan*
3SG	PFV	scrape	give	AL=3SG=ART	and	CAU=send	3SG	IPFV	eat.TR

'He (the boy) finished drinking, he (Lumakaka) cut (the coconut) open, he scraped it for him and told him to eat.'

(37)

nan	*a*	*ŋan*	*ŋan*	*ŋan*	*ŋan*	*pan*	*a*	*mot,*
3SG	PFV	eat.TR	eat.TR	eat.TR	eat.TR	go	PFV	finish

na	*Lumâkâkâ*	*a*	*só*	*kas*	*kó=n*	*ni*	*la*
PN.ART	L.	PFV	pierce	other	small.piece=3SG	coconut	again

'He ate and ate it all up, Lumakaka removed the husk of another coconut.'

(38)

só	kas	kó=n		ni	la,
pierce	other	small.piece=3SG		coconut	again

tâmo	nan	a	â=irám	nan
now	3SG	PFV	CAU=drink	3SG

'He removed the husk of another coconut, now he gave it to him to drink.'

(39)

nan	a	irám	irám	irám	irám	pan	pan	pan	pan	pan,
3SG	PFV	drink	drink	drink	drink	go	go	go	go	go

nan	a	te	biák,	nan	a	kakai	lis	si=n=a,
3SG	PFV	cut	break	3SG	PFV	scrape	give	AL=3SG=ART

té	kus	nan	ik	ŋan	a	mot
then	tell	3SG	IPFV	eat.TR	PFV	finish

'He drank and drank on and on, he cut (the coconut) open, he scraped it for him, then he told him to eat up.'

(40)

mot	na	lek-biâŋ	nâ	a	kus	po
and	PN.ART	man-small	NVIS.DIST	PFV	tell	COMP

'And the boy told.'

(41)

"niáu	a	noŋ	tâmo,	ku=k	a	bóm"
1SG	PFV	be.enough	now	belly=1SG	PFV	full

'"I have had enough now, I am full."'

(42)

na	Lumâkâkâ	â=táŋ
PN.ART	L.	CAU=say

'Lumakaka said.'

(43)

"âu,	lo	nó	uâ	món	táŋás,	po	nó=k	irám
INTJ	or	2SG	RC.PST	first	cry	COMP	2SG=IPFV	drink

'"Oh, but you first cried that you (wanted to) drink.'

(44)

nó=k	irám
2SG=FUT	drink

'Drink.'

(45)

nó=k	piâ=n=a	mân	â=táŋ,	po	nó	a	noŋ
2SG=FUT	PROH.INAL=3SG=ART	still	CAU=say	COMP	2SG	PFV	be.enough

'You cannot say yet that you are full.'

(46)

nó=k	irám,	si=n=a	nó	â	món	táŋás"
2SG=FUT	drink	AL=3SG=ART	2SG	RC.PST	first	cry

'Drink because you first cried."'

(47)

na	Lumâkâkâ	só	kas	kó=n		ni	la	tâmo
PN.ART	L.	pierce	other	small.piece=3SG		coconut	again	now

'Lumakaka removed the husk of another coconut now.'

(48)

nan	a	sisák	lis	si=n=a,	nan	a	irám
3SG	PFV	sew	give	AL=3SG=ART	3SG	PFV	drink

'He opened it and gave it to him, he drank.'

(49)   *nan*   *a*   *irám*   *tâmo,*   *nan*   *a*   *âigot,*

       3SG   PFV   drink   now   3SG   PFV   be.ready

       po   *nan*   *ik*   *pát*   *mot*   *kakai*   *lis*   *si*   *lek-biâŋ*   *nâ*

       COMP   3SG   IPFV   tear   and   scrape   give   AL   man-small   NVIS.DIST

       'He drank now, he (Lumakaka) prepared to cut open (the coconut) and scrape it for the boy.'

(50)   *pârék,*   *a*   *ku=n=a*   *pau*   *tâmo*

       have.NEG   ART   belly=3SG=ART   burst   now

       '(But) no, his belly burst now.'

(51)   *ku=n=a*   *pát*   *pau,*   *pat*   *i=n=a*   *ku=n=a*   *ka*   *bóm*   *mat*

       belly=3SG=ART   tear   burst   part   INAL=3SG=ART   belly=3SG=ART   RM.PST   full   die

       'His belly burst because his belly was too full.'

(52)   *nan*   *ka*   *sâk*   *noŋ*   *nan*   *ik*   *irám*   *ala,*

       3SG   RM.PST   NEG   be.enough   3SG   IPFV   drink   again

       ku=n=a   *ka*   *bóm*   *mat*   *kâuâi*   *tâmo*

       belly=3SG=ART   RM.PST   full   die   already   now

       'He could not drink anymore, his belly was already too full now.'

(53)   *a*   *ku=n=a*   *a*   *pau*   *tâmo,*

       ART   belly=3SG=ART   PFV   burst   now

       pat   *i=n=a*   *nan*   *ka*   *irám*   *utâ*   *mat*

       part   INAL=3SG=ART   3SG   RM.PST   drink   much   die

       'His belly burst now because he drank too much.'

(54)   *raŋalaŋ*   *ik*   *iuoŋ*   *la*   *isá=n=a,*   *mot*   *la*   *bala=n=a*

       blood   IPFV   exit   in   nose=3SG=ART   and   in   mouth=3SG=ART

       'Blood came out of his nose and of his mouth.'

(55)   *na*   *Lumâkâkâ*   *a*   *ráŋ*   *tâmo*

       PN.ART   L.   PFV   see   now

       na   *lek-biâŋ*   *nâ*   *a*   *mat*

       PN.ART   man-small   NVIS.DIST   PFV   die

       'Lumakaka saw now the boy was dead.'

(56)   *na*   *Lumâkâkâ*   *iot*   *sik*   *a*   *pan*   *nan*

       PN.ART   L.   hold   take   PFV   go   3SG

       tâ   *Nónarâkân*   *kálá*   *pátá=ŋ*   *ŋat-bin*   *tân,*

       VIS.DIST   N.   on   top=NPOSS   stone-big   VIS.MED

       po   *na*   *Lumâkâkâ*   *ik*   *ŋan*   *nan*   *tâmo*

       COMP   PN.ART   L.   IPFV   eat.TR   3SG   now

       'Lumakaka brought him to Nonarakan on a big pile of stones there to eat him now.'

(57)   *nan*   *a*   *ŋan*   *ŋan*   *ŋan*   *ŋan*   *ŋan*   *a*   *mot*   *nan,*

       3SG   PFV   eat.TR   eat.TR   eat.TR   eat.TR   eat.TR   PFV   finish   3SG

té	*a*	*mâŋmâŋ*	*i=n=a*	*kó*	*lek-biâŋ*	*nâ*
then	ART	liver	INAL=3SG=ART	small.piece	man-small	NVIS.DIST

ka	*puka*	*sái*	*kálá*	*pátá=ŋ*	*ŋat-bin*	*tâ*	*Nónarâkân*
RM.PST	fall	go.down	on	top=NPOSS	stone-big	VIS.DIST	N.

'He ate and ate him up, then the boy's liver fell on the big pile of stones there at Nonarakan.'

(58)

nan	*a*	*ók*	*pat*	*mâŋmâŋ,*	*a*	*bál*	*ŋat*	*tâmo,*
3SG	PFV	whole.piece	part	liver	PFV	make	stone	now

mot	*â=i*	*tom*	*kinak*
and	DIST=IPFV	sit	still

'It was the liver, it became stone now and is still there.'

(59)

mot	*tâmo*	*na*	*Lumâkâkâ*	*ka*	*mot*	*boi,*	*té*	*nan*	*ka*	*sik*
and	now	PN.ART	L.	RM.PST	finish	eat.INTR	then	3SG	RM.PST	take

a	*tané*	*i=n=a*	*kó*	*lek-biâŋ*	*nâ,*
ART	gut	INAL=3SG=ART	small.piece	man-small	NVIS.DIST

nan	*a*	*pan,*	*mot*	*â=su-én*	*la*	*mata=n=a*	*lu*	*si=nér*
3SG	PFV	go	and	CAU=hang-TR	in	eye=3SG=ART	house	AL=3PL

'And now Lumakaka finished eating, then he took the boy's guts, he went and hung them on their (the parents') door.'

(60)

iân	*a*	*u=âi=laua=n-an*	*ka*	*tâŋan*	*la*	*maulék,*
time	ART	DU=REC=husband=3SG-NOML	RM.PST	wake.up	in	morning

na	*riŋa=n=a*	*ka*	*ráŋ*	*puát*	*a*	*tané,*	*mot*	*ka*	*â=tán*
PN.ART	mother=3SG=ART	RM.PST	see	find	ART	gut	and	RM.PST	CAU=say

'When the married couple got up in the morning, his mother saw the guts and said.'

(61)

"iáuái,	*a*	*tané*	*si=n=a*	*kó*	*lek-biâŋ*	*si=k"*
INTJ	ART	gut	AL=3SG=ART	small.piece	man-small	AL=1SG

'"Oh dear, the guts of my boy."'

(62)

nan	*a*	*ráŋ~ráŋ*	*pan*	*la*	*pat*	*i=n=a*	*uár,*
3SG	PFV	INTR~see	go	in	part	INAL=3SG=ART	banana

nan	*a*	*ráŋ,*	*po*	*kó*	*lek-biâŋ*	*si=n=a*	*a*	*pârék,*
3SG	PFV	see	COMP	small.piece	man-small	AL=3SG=ART	PFV	have.NEG

si=n=a	*na*	*Lumâkâkâ*	*uâ*	*ŋan*	*nan*	*kâuâi*
AL=3SG=ART	PN.ART	L.	RC.PST	eat.TR	3SG	already

'She looked to the bottom of the banana tree, she saw that her boy was gone because Lumakaka had already eaten him.'

(63)

mot	*nan*	*uâ*	*ŋan*	*a*	*mot*	*nan,*
and	3SG	RC.PST	eat.TR	PFV	finish	3SG

nan	*uâ*	*â=su-én*	*a*	*tané*	*la*	*mata=n=a*	*lu*
3SG	RC.PST	CAU=hang-TR	ART	gut	in	eye=3SG=ART	house

si=n=a	uru	tama=n=a,	po	iriâi=k	ráŋ
AL=3SG=ART	DU	father=3SG=ART	COMP	3DU=IPFV	see

'And he had eaten him up, he had hung the guts on his parents' door so they would see them.'

(64)

iriâi=k	ráŋ	a	tané,	mot	iriâi=k	kalapaŋ	lâŋ=âtâ,
3DU=IPFV	see	ART	gut	and	3DU=IPFV	know	like=VIS.DIST

po	nan	uâ	â=kalit	iriâi	pâ	kó	lek-biâŋ	si=riâi,
COMP	3SG	RC.PST	CAU=learn	3DU	with	small.piece	man-small	AL=3DU

si=n=a	iriâi	ka	sâk	tauai	nan	pâ	rárám
AL=3SG=ART	3DU	RM.PST	NEG	give	3SG	with	water

'They would see the guts, and they would know that he taught them (a lesson) with their boy because they had not given him water.'

(65)

lâŋ=âtâ,	mot	na	Lumâkâkâ	ka	si	â=irám	nan
like=VIS.DIST	and	PN.ART	L.	RM.PST	FOC	CAU=drink	3SG

pâ	ni,	mot	a	ku=n=a	ka	pau
with	coconut	and	ART	belly=3SG=ART	RM.PST	burst

'(It happened) like that, and Lumakaka now had given him coconuts to drink, and his belly had burst.'

(66)

nan	ka	si	ŋan	a	mot	nan
3SG	RM.PST	FOC	eat.TR	PFV	finish	3SG

'He had eaten him up.'

(67)

nan	isaŋ	tâmo,	â=mot~mot	i=n=a	pini
3SG	alone	now	CAU=INTR~finish	INAL=3SG=ART	story

'That is all now, the end of the story.'

(68)

rokon	pâ	loŋoi-â
good	with	hear-INTR

'Thank you for listening.'

2.6. Paint Tin

By Adam Mandu (Keu clan)

(1)　　*a*　　*pini*　　*i=n=a*　　　　*tinpen*
　　　　ART　　story　　INAL=3SG=ART　　paint.tin
　　　　'The story of the paint tin.'

(2)　　*té*　　*rokon*　　*tuna*
　　　　then　　good　　true
　　　　'Okay, very well.'

(3)　　*pini*　　*óró,*　　*pini*　　*si=n=a*　　　*kas*　　*u=âi=laua=n-an*
　　　　story　　VIS.PROX　story　　AL=3SG=ART　　other　　DU=REC=husband=3SG-NOML
　　　　'This story is the story of a married couple.'

(4)　　*iriâi*　*ka*　　*tom,*　*riâi*　*ka*　　*pâ*　　*tinpen*　　*la*　　*lu*　　*si=riâi*
　　　　3DU　　RM.PST　sit　　3DU　　RM.PST　with　paint.tin　　in　　house　AL=3DU
　　　　'They were staying, they had a paint tin in their house.'

(5)　　*kas*　*iân,*　　*iriâi*　*ka*　　*lak*　　*la*　　*marat*　*iriâ=k*　　*âisók*
　　　　other　time　　3DU　　RM.PST　go.up　　in　　garden　3DU=IPFV　　work
　　　　'One day, they went up to the garden to work.'

(6)　　*iriâi*　*a*　　*âisók*　*pan*　*pan*　*pan,*　*uás*　*ik*　　*iâ*　　*âigot,*
　　　　3DU　　PFV　work　　go　　go　　go　　sun　　IPFV　CONT　be.ready

　　　　i=n=a　　　　*rip,*　　*iriâi*　*a*　　*sái*　　　*la*　　*mâsapa-uiâŋ*　*kinak*
　　　　INAL=3SG=ART　drown　　3DU　　PFV　　go.down　　in　　clear-small　　still
　　　　'They were working and working, the sun started to go down, they went down (back home) when it was still a little bright.'

(7)　　*té*　　*iriâi*　*a*　　*ráŋ*　*a*　　*malai*　*a*　　*réŋ,*　*lâŋ*　*pâ*　　*tiár,*
　　　　then　　3DU　　PFV　see　　ART　village　PFV　clean　like　with　person

　　　　lo　　*pâ*　　*ten,*　　*nan*　*ka*　　*gâl~gâl*　　*la*　　*lu*
　　　　or　　with　woman　3SG　RM.PST　INTR~sweep　in　house
　　　　'Then they saw their home was clean, like there had been a man or a woman who had cleaned the house.'

(8)　　*tâmo*　*iriâi*　*ka*　　*âi=riái-â*　　　*po*
　　　　now　　3DU　　RM.PST　REC=ask-INTR　　COMP
　　　　'Now they asked each other.'

(9)　　*"ai,*　*nás*　*tuna*　*ró*　　*uâ*　　*gâl*　*a*　　*ku=n=a*　　　*malai*　*si=râi,*
　　　　INTJ　who　true　VIS.PROX　RC.PST　sweep　ART　belly=3SG=ART　village　AL=1DU.INC

　　　　kais　　　　*a*　　*sóspén, pelet?"*
　　　　wash.TR　　ART　　pot　　plate
　　　　'"Hey, who on earth has cleaned our home and washed the pots and plates?"'

(10) | *lo* | *na* | *Tinpen* | *ka* | *âisók* | *mot* | *kâuâi* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| or | PN.ART | T. | RM.PST | work | finish | already |

'But Paint Tin had already done it.'

(11) | *nan* | *a* | *lak* | *taual* | *la* | *tinpen,* | *nan* | *a* | *tom* | *la* | *tinpen* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 3SG | PFV | go.up | return | in | paint.tin | 3SG | PFV | sit | in | paint.tin |

'She went back up into the paint tin, she lived in the paint tin.'

(12) | *kas* | *iân* | *ala,* | *kas* | *la* | *maulék,* | *iriâi* | *a* | *tâŋan,* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| other | time | again | other | in | morning | 3DU | PFV | wake.up |

iriâi	*a*	*lak*	*la*	*marat*	*ala*
3DU	PFV	go.up	in	garden	again

'The next day again, the other morning, they got up, they went up to the garden again.'

(13) | *iriâi* | *a* | *sái* | *taual,* | *iriâi* | *a* | *ráŋ* | *a* | *bák* | *a* | *réŋ,* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 3DU | PFV | go.down | return | 3DU | PFV | see | ART | place | PFV | clean |

lâŋ	*pâ*	*ten*	*a*	*gâl~gâl*
like	with	woman	PFV	INTR~sweep

'They went down back (home), they saw the place was clean, as if there had been a woman that had cleaned it.'

(14) | *mot* | *tâmo,* | *iriâi* | *a* | *âi=pál,* | *po* | *ta* | *kas* | *iân* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| and | now | 3DU | PFV | REC=plan | COMP | IND.ART | other | time |

iriâ=k	*lak,*	*iriâi*	*ók*	*ti*	*koko,*	*mat*	*iriâ=k*	*ráŋ,*
3DU=IPFV	go.up	3DU	FUT	stand	hide.INTR	and	3DU=FUT	see

po	*nás*	*ki*	*gâl~gâl,*	*ki*	*kais*	*sóspén,*	*lo*	*pelet*
COMP	who	HAB	INTR~sweep	HAB	wash.TR	pot	or	plate

'And now they planned for the next time they would go up (to the garden) that they would hide, and they would see who was cleaning (the house) and washing the pots and plates.'

(15) | *tâmo* | *kas* | *maulék* | *tâmo,* | *iriâi* | *a* | *lak* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| now | other | morning | now | 3DU | PFV | go.up |

'Now the next morning now, they went up (to the garden).'

(16) | *iriâi* | *a* | *lak* | *la* | *marat* | *tâmo,* | *iriâi* | *a* | *taual* | *sái,* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 3DU | PFV | go.up | in | garden | now | 3DU | PFV | return | go.down |

iriâi	*a*	*ti*	*â=râk~râk-â*	*pan*	*la*	*malai,*
3DU	PFV	stand	CAU=INTR~scrape-INTR	go	in	village

po	*iriâ=k*	*ráŋ*	*a*	*tiár*
COMP	3DU=IPFV	see	ART	person

'They went up to the garden now, they came down back (to the house), they (were hiding and) were looking (with prolonged necks) to see the person.'

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

iriâi	*a*	*ráŋ*	*a*	*ten*	*ik*	*iâ*	*gâl~gâl*	*kól*
3DU	PFV	see	ART	woman	IPFV	CONT	INTR~sweep	go.around

'They went, they saw a woman still sweeping around.'

(18)

mot	*tâmo*	*lek*	*tâuan*	*a*	*koko*	*pan*	*tâmo,*
and	now	man	male	PFV	hide.INTR	go	now

sâŋ	*iot*	*a*	*pék*	*a*	*ten*	*tâmo*
arrive	hold	PFV	strong	ART	woman	now

'And now the man that was hiding appeared now and caught the woman (Paint Tin) now.'

(19)

iot	*a*	*pék*	*a*	*ten*	*tâmo,*	*nan*	*a*	*riái*
hold	PFV	strong	ART	woman	now	3SG	PFV	ask

'Holding the woman now, he asked.'

(20)

"nó	*sâ*	*ten*	*uam?"*
2SG	what	woman	EMPH

'"What woman are you?"'

(21)

tâmo	*ten*	*a*	*ti*
now	woman	PFV	stand

'Now the woman (spoke) up.'

(22)

"â,	*lo*	*niá*	*tinpen*	*si=miâi,*	*tinpen*	*si=miâi*	*mo*
INTJ	or	1SG	paint.tin	AL=2DU	paint.tin	AL=2DU	only

'"Ah, but I am your paint tin, just your paint tin.'

(23)

nâ	*mo,*	*tinpen*	*nâ*	*ki*	*su-â*	*guguál"*
NVIS.DIST	only	paint.tin	NVIS.DIST	HAB	hang-INTR	on.top

'You know, that tin paint that hangs on the top (on the wall)."'

(24)

tâmo	*lek*	*tâuan*	*â=táŋ*	*po,*	*"ba?"*
now	man	male	CAU=say	COMP	INTJ

'Now the man said, "Really?"'

(25)

"a"
yes

'"Yes."'

(26)

"té	*rokon,*	*ta=k*	*tom*	*tâmo"*
then	good	1PL.INC=FUT	sit	now

'"Well okay, we will live (together) now."'

(27)

tâmo	*nér*	*a*	*tom*	*kuuál*	*la*	*lu,*	*nér*	*iâ*	*boi,*
now	3PL	PFV	sit	be.together	in	house	3PL	CONT	eat.INTR

nér	*iâ*	*matai,*	*pan*	*pan*	*pan*	*tâmo,*	*nér*	*a*	*âi=pál*
3PL	CONT	sleep	go	go	go	now	3PL	PFV	REC=plan

'Now they lived together in the house, they ate, they slept, this went on and on now, they made a plan.'

(28)

lek	*tâuan*	*a*	*kus*	*a*	*ten,*	*i=n=a*	*tâmo*	*na*	*ten*	*si=n=a,*
man	male	PFV	tell	ART	woman	INAL=3SG=ART	now	PN.ART	woman	AL=3SG=ART

mot	*na*	*Tinpen*	*po*
and	PN.ART	T.	COMP

'The man told (his) wife, then now his wife and Paint Tin.'

(29)
"itál	*ik*	*ba*	*ŋa~ŋaul,*	*itál*	*ba*	*tâpelek*	*kól*	*la*	*pitinauán"*
1TRI.INC	IPFV	IMM.FUT	INTR~hook.fish	1TRI.INC	IMM.FUT	play	go.around	in	beach

'"We will hook fish, we will play around on the beach."'

(30)
tâmo	*na*	*Tinpen*	*a*	*kus*	*lâŋ=âtâ*	*po*
now	PN.ART	T.	PFV	tell	like=VIS.DIST	COMP

'Now Paint Tin told like this.'

(31)
"niáu	*sâk*	*ten*	*tuna,*	*niá*	*nâ,*	*niá*	*pen*
1SG	NEG	woman	true	1SG	NVIS.DIST	1SG	paint

'"I am not a real woman, I am paint.'

(32)
lo	*sémén*	*niá*	*sái*	*tâ*	*la*	*tas,*
or	if	1SG	go.down	VIS.DIST	in	sea

a	*tas*	*ók*	*toi*	*a*	*tuá=k,*
ART	sea	FUT	touch	ART	skin=1SG

tâmo	*pen*	*ók*	*malilát*	*la*	*tuá=k*
now	paint	FUT	be.lost	in	skin=1SG

'But if I go down to the sea, the sea will touch my skin, now the paint will vanish from my skin.'

(33)
niáu=k	*piâ=n=a*	*tom"*
1SG=FUT	PROH.INAL=3SG=ART	sit

'I would not be anymore."'

(34)
a	*lek*	*tâuan*	*iâ*	*pék*
ART	man	male	CONT	strong

'The man was still stubborn.'

(35)
nér	*a*	*matai,*	*nér*	*a*	*tâŋan*	*la*	*maulék*	*kas*	*iân,*
3PL	PFV	sleep	3PL	PFV	wake.up	in	morning	other	time

nér	*a*	*sái*	*la*	*pitinauán,*	*ualai*	*a*	*sái*
3PL	PFV	go.down	in	beach	do	PFV	go.down

a	*bál,*	*na*	*ten*	*si=n=a*	*mot*	*na*	*Tinpen*	*nén,*
ART	canoe	PN.ART	woman	AL=3SG=ART	and	PN.ART	T.	NVIS.PROX

nér	*a*	*uâi=sái*
3PL	PFV	DU=go.down

'They slept, they got up in the morning the next day, they went down to the beach, they pulled the canoe down (into the sea), his wife and Paint Tin, they went down (into the sea).'

(36)
a	*Tinpen*	*tâmo*	*pan,*	*po*	*ik*	*kouos*	*a*	*bál,*
ART	T.	now	go	COMP	IPFV	jump.on	ART	canoe

po	*nér*	*ik*	*kâ~kol,*	*pârék*	*tâmo*
COMP	3PL	IPFV	INTR~paddle	have.NEG	now

'Paint Tin went now to jump in the canoe so they would paddle, (but) no now.'

(37)

iân	*nan*	*a*	*âtukai*	*a*	*tas*	*tâmo,*
time	3SG	PFV	touch	ART	sea	now

a	*tas*	*a*	*âtukai*	*a*	*uru*	*kek=en=a*	*tâmo,*
ART	sea	PFV	touch	ART	DU	leg=3SG=ART	now

tâmo	*nan*	*ka*	*sik*	*a*	*bót*	*óró*
now	3SG	RM.PST	take	ART	sing	VIS.PROX

'When she touched the sea now, the sea touched her two legs now, now she started this song.'

(38) *"âiâ u cinâ, âiâ u tâmâ* (Halia)
'"Ouch Mother, ouch Father.'

(39) *âiâ u cinâ, âiâ u tâmâ* (Halia)
'Ouch Mother, ouch Father.'

(40) *sé iâ tu i â lau mâ* (Halia)
'(sings about her lover)'

(41) *sé tó re ma ga tu â tuá"* (Halia)
'(sings about her aching heart)"'

(42)

tâmo	*nan*	*ka*	*sik*	*a*	*bót*	*óró,*
now	3SG	RM.PST	take	ART	sing	VIS.PROX

uru	*kek=en=a*	*kápái*	*tâmo,*	*a*	*tas*	*iâ*	*sik*	*a*	*pan*
DU	leg=3SG=ART	all	now	ART	sea	CONT	take	PFV	go

'Now she sang that song, both legs now, the sea took them away.'

(43)

tâmo	*nan*	*iâ*	*bót*	*pan*	*pan*	*pan*	*kinak*
now	3SG	CONT	sing	go	go	go	still

'Now she still continued to sing.'

(44) *"âiâ u cinâ, âiâ u tâmâ* (Halia)
'"Ouch Mother, ouch Father.'

(45) *âiâ u cinâ, âiâ u tâmâ* (Halia)
'Ouch Mother, ouch Father.'

(46) *sé iâ tu i â lau mâ* (Halia)
'(sings about her lover)'

(47) *sé tó re ma ga tu â tuá"* (Halia)
'(sings about her aching heart)"'

(48)

iân	*nan*	*a*	*bót*	*pan*	*lâŋ=âtâ,*
time	3SG	PFV	sing	go	like=VIS.DIST

gán	*la*	*tuá=n=a*	*tâmo*	*lak*	*la*	*ku=n=a,*
leave	in	skin=3SG=ART	now	go.up	in	belly=3SG=ART

a	*pen*	*tâmo*	*ti-topoŋ,*	*i=n=a*	*sik*	*a*	*mot*
ART	paint	now	stand-start	INAL=3SG=ART	take	PFV	finish

'When she sang like that, from her body now up to her belly, the paint now started to be taken away.'

(49)   *iâ*   *pan*   *tâmo,*
       CONT   go   now

       nó=k   *ráŋ*   *a*   *tas*   *iâ*   *mekeua*   *pan*   *tâmo*
       2SG=FUT   see   ART   sea   CONT   blue   go   now
       'This went on now, you will see the sea is still blue until now.'

(50)   *tâmo* *nan*   *iâ*   *sik*   *ala*   *a*   *bót*
       now   3SG   CONT take again ART sing
       'Now she was singing again.'

(51)   *"âiâ u cinâ, âiâ u tâmâ* (Halia)
       '"Ouch Mother, ouch Father.'

(52)   *âiâ u cinâ, âiâ u tâmâ* (Halia)
       'Ouch Mother, ouch Father.'

(53)   *sé iâ tu i â lau mâ* (Halia)
       '(sings about her lover)'

(54)   *sé tó re ma ga tu â tuá"* (Halia)
       '(sings about her aching heart)"'

(55)   *iân*   *nan*   *a*   *bót*   *pan*   *lâŋ=âtâ,*
       time   3SG   PFV   sing   go   like=VIS.DIST

       lak   *la*   *uaia=n=a,*   *lima=n=a,*   *béŋ=én=a,*   *mata=n=a,*
       go.up   in   neck=3SG=ART arm=3SG=ART head=3SG=ART eye=3SG=ART

       a   *tas*   *iâ*   *sik*   *a*   *mot*   *a*   *pan*   *tâmo*
       ART   sea   CONT take PFV   finish PFV   go   now
       'When she was singing like that, coming up to her neck, her arms, her head, her eyes, the sea completely took her away now.'

(56)   *a*   *ráŋ~ráŋ*   *i=n=a*   *ten*   *tâmo* *iâ*   *pârék,*
       ART   INTR~see   INAL=3SG=ART woman now   CONT have.NEG

       a   *tas*   *tâmo* *iâ*   *mekeua*   *mati*   *tâmo*
       ART   sea   now   CONT blue   lie   now
       'The colour of the woman is no more, the sea is still blue now.'

(57)   *mot* *a*   *kó*   *marai*   *iâ*   *puka* *kálá* *rere* *Lósbok*
       and   ART small.piece overripe CONT fall on   uncle L.
       'And an overripe (fruit) falls on Uncle Losbok (he will tell the next story).'

(58)   *mot* *a*   *pini* *i=n=a*   *tinpen*   *tâmo* *a*   *mot*   *lâŋ=âtâ*
       and   ART story INAL=3SG=ART paint.tin now   PFV finish like=VIS.DIST
       'And the story of the paint tin now ends like that.'

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

2.7. Lengkoe

By Wesley Naion (Kaméré clan)

(1) té   ró,   niáu   ók   kus~kus-â   pâ   pini   i   Léŋkóé
     then VIS.PROX 1SG   FUT   INTR~tell-INTR with story INAL   L.
     'Well here, I will tell the story of Lengkoe.'

(2) na   Léŋkóé, nan   a   ten-bin   moko=n   X
     PN.ART   L.   3SG   PFV   woman-big   clan=3SG   X
     'Lengkoe was an ancestral woman of the X clan.'

(3) nan   ka   ualai   pan~pan-an   si=n=a,   gán   Sumuna,
     3SG   RM.PST   do   NOML~go-NOML   AL=3SG=ART   leave   S.

     lak   puták   aman,   té   nan   ka   sâŋ   Lasái
     go.up   cross   come   then   3SG   RM.PST   arrive   L.
     'She made her way, she left Sumuna, she came up to the other side, then she arrived in Lasai.'

(4) nan   a   sâŋ   Lasái,   nan   a   nen   a   makal,
     3SG   PFV   arrive L.   3SG   PFV   feel   ART   be.hungry

     té   nan   a   lomon,
     then   3SG   PFV   think

     po   nan   ik   sái   nan   ik   ti   la   toŋoi,
     COMP   3SG   IPFV   go.down   3SG   IPFV   stand in   mangrove

     i=n=a   nan   ik   salaŋ   ta-ka=n=a   kó   iákám,
     INAL=3SG=ART   3SG   IPFV   search IND.ART-for=3SG=ART small.piece   crab

     i=n=a   nan   ik   tán   a   boi   nan
     INAL=3SG=ART   3SG   IPFV   cook   PFV   eat.INTR   3SG
     'She arrived in Lasai, she felt hungry, then she thought that she would go down to the mangroves to
     look for a crab for her to cook and eat.'

(5) nan   a   â=su-én   a   bi   si=n=a,
     3SG   PFV   CAU=hang-TR   ART   basket   AL=3SG=ART

     nan   a   sái   la   toŋoi,
     3SG   PFV   go.down   in   mangrove

     nan   a   iot   a   kó   iákám
     3SG   PFV   hold   ART   small.piece   crab
     'She hung up her basket, she went down to the mangroves, she caught a crab.'

(6) nan   a   lak   aman, nan   a   sâŋ   kal   a   uata   si=n=a,
     3SG   PFV   go.up   come   3SG   PFV   arrive   take   ART   fire   AL=3SG=ART

     i=n=a   nan   ik   tán   a   kó   iákám
     INAL=3SG=ART   3SG   IPFV   cook   ART   small.piece   crab
     'She came up (leaving the mangroves), she made her fire to cook the crab.'

(7)
nan	ik	kal	a	uata,
3SG	IPFV	take	ART	fire

si=n=a	a	uás	ik	sái	tâmo,	i=n=a	ik	rip
AL=3SG=ART	ART	sun	IPFV	go.down	now	INAL=3SG=ART	IPFV	drown

'She made fire because the sun went down now and was about to disappear.'

(8)
té	nan	kiru	rusa	tâmo,	si=n=a	nan	a	lomon,
then	3SG	PST.HAB	hurry	now	AL=3SG=ART	3SG	PFV	think

po	nan	ik	aman	suma
COMP	3SG	IPFV	come	fast

'Then she hurried up now because she thought that she should come quickly.'

(9)
nan	a	kal	a	uata,	nan	a	tán	a	kó	iákám,
3SG	PFV	take	ART	fire	3SG	ART	cook	ART	small.piece	crab

i=n=a	po	nan	ik	boi
INAL=3SG=ART	COMP	3SG	IPFV	eat.INTR

'She made fire, she cooked the crab so she would have something to eat.'

(10)
a	siua	ik	iâ	riáp	tâmo,	té	po	nan	ik	pan~pan,
ART	place	IPFV	CONT	dark	now	then	COMP	3SG	IPFV	PL~go

nan	a	lomon,	po	nan	ik	matai	mo
3SG	PFV	think	COMP	3SG	IPFV	sleep	only

'It got too dark now for her to walk, she thought that she should just sleep.'

(11)
té	nan	a	matai
then	3SG	PFV	sleep

'Then she slept.'

(12)
nan	a	matai,	noŋ	si=n=a	lá-uáŋ,	a	bul	mus,
3SG	PFV	sleep	be.enough	AL=3SG=ART	in-night	ART	PL	dwarf

nér	a	sâŋ	lá-uáŋ,	i=n=a	nér	ik	ŋan	nan
3PL	PFV	arrive	in-night	INAL=3SG=ART	3PL	IPFV	eat.TR	3SG

'She slept until when at night the dwarf spirits came to eat her.'

(13)
tâmo	nér	a	sâŋ,	po	nér	ik	ŋan	nan,
now	3PL	PFV	arrive	COMP	3PL	IPFV	eat.TR	3SG

té	nér	kiru	â=táŋ,	po	nér	ik	bouoŋ	na	bakal
then	3PL	PST.HAB	CAU=say	COMP	3PL	IPFV	wait	PN.ART	chief

'Now they came to eat her, then they said that they should wait for the chief.'

(14)
tâmo	nér	kiru	sik	a	paka=n	bót,
now	3PL	PST.HAB	take	ART	leaf=3SG	sing

i=n=a	nér	ik	bót	pulát	nan,
INAL=3SG=ART	3PL	IPFV	sing	encircle	3SG

bouoŋ na bakal ik sâŋ aman
wait PN.ART chief IPFV arrive come
'Now they sang a song to surround her, waiting for the chief to come.'

(15) *a paka=n bót, nér kiru sik, nan a lâŋ=âtâ,*
ART leaf=3SG sing 3PL PST.HAB take 3SG PFV like=VIS.DIST
'The song that they sang was like this.'

(16) *"Léŋkóé éŋé aŋa ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
'"Lengkoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'

(17) *Leŋkoé éŋé aŋa ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
'Lengkoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'

(18) *riŋ teŋe roŋ a téléŋén* (Tigak?)
'Kill her, take her blood.'

(19) *rukruk pana laia éŋé aŋa rukruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
'She is sleeping in the ginger, sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'

(20) *Leŋkoé éŋé aŋa rukruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
'Lengkoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'

(21) *riŋ teŋe róŋ a téléŋen"* (Tigak?)
'Kill her, take her blood."'

(22) *tâmo kas-nón, nér kuru â=táŋ*
now other-NSG 3PL PST.HAB CAU=say

mot â=kokol an a bák~bák i=n=a kulát i=n=a
and CAU=request about ART DISTR~cut.piece INAL=3SG=ART body INAL=3SG=ART
'Now some talked about which piece of her body they would get for themselves.'

(23) *kas ik â=táŋ po*
other IPFV CAU=say COMP
'Someone said.'

(24) *"ók kek kâ=k"*
whole.piece leg for=1SG
'"The legs are for me."'

(25) *"ók lima kâ=k"*
whole.piece arm for=1SG
'"The arms are for me."'

(26) *"kâlmata=n=a kâ=k"*
eyeball=3SG=ART for=1SG
'"The eyeballs are for me."'

(27) *té nér ik ti-topoŋ pák a paka=n bót*
then 3PL IPFV stand-start turn ART leaf=3SG sing
'Then they started singing again.'

(28) *"Léŋkóé éŋé aŋa ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
'"Lengkoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'

(29) *Leŋkoé éŋé aŋa ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
'Lengkoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'

(30) *riŋ teŋe roŋ a téléŋen* (Tigak?)
'Kill her, take her blood.'

(31) *rukruk pana laia éŋé aŋa ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
'She is sleeping in the ginger, sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'

(32) *o, Leŋkoé éŋé aŋa ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)
'Oh, Lengkoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'

(33) *riŋ teŋe róŋ a téléŋén"* (Tigak?)
'Kill her, take her blood."'

(34)

noŋ	*si=n=a*	*bakal*	*a*	*sâŋ*
be.enough	AL=3SG=ART	chief	PFV	arrive

'Until the chief came.'

(35)

té	*bakal*	*a*	*sâŋ*	*puk-en*	*a*	*ten-bin*	*nâ*
then	chief	PFV	arrive	move.see-TR	ART	woman-big	NVIS.DIST

'Then the chief came and looked around for that woman.'

(36)

té	*nan*	*a*	*kus*	*nér*	*lâŋ=âtâ*	*po*
then	3SG	PFV	tell	3PL	like=VIS.DIST	COMP

'Then he told them like this.'

(37)

"mé	*ók*	*ŋeŋen*	*pulát*	*nan,*	*lo*	*mé=k*	*piâ=n=a*	*ŋan*	*nan*
2PL	FUT	hymn	encircle	3SG	or	2PL=FUT	PROH.INAL=3SG=ART	eat.TR	3SG

'"Surround her and sing hymns, but do not eat her.'

(38)

pat	*i=n=a*	*nan*	*a*	*pátián*	*si=k*	*nân*
part	INAL=3SG=ART	3SG	PFV	clan	AL=1SG	NVIS.MED

'Because she belongs to my clan.'

(39)

lo	*mé=k*	*ŋeŋen*	*koroŋ*	*nan*	*mo,*
or	2PL=FUT	hymn	care	3SG	only

noŋ	*si=n=a*	*siua*	*ók*	*iân,*
be.enough	AL=3SG=ART	place	FUT	time

mat	*mé=k*	*sala*	*nan*	*ik*	*pan"*
and	2PL=FUT	let	3SG	IPFV	go

'And just protect her and sing hymns until it becomes daylight, and let her go."'

(40)

té	*nan*	*a*	*â=mot~mot*	*i=n=a*	*kus~kus-â*	*i=n=a*	*pini*
then	3SG	PFV	CAU=INTR~finish	INAL=3SG=ART	INTR~tell-INTR	INAL=3SG=ART	story

si=n=a	*pátián,*	*nér*	*kiru*	*â=táŋ*	*a*	*moko*	*X*
AL=3SG=ART	clan	3PL	PST.HAB	CAU=say	ART	clan	X

'Then this is the end of the story of the clan that they call the X clan.'

2.8. Lengkoe

By Mayson Gogot (Ma'iua clan)

(1)
a	*pini*	*óró*	*i=n=a*	*to~tom-an*	*si=n=a*	*kulâu*	*tâ*	*Lâpâi,*
ART	story	VIS.PROX	INAL=3SG=ART	NOML~sit-NOML	AL=3SG=ART	people	VIS.DIST	L.

pâ	*pan~pan-an*	*i=n=a*	*ten-bin*	*i*	*Sumuna*
with	NOML~go-NOML	INAL=3SG=ART	woman-big	INAL	S.

'This story is about the settlement of the people of Lapai (which began) with the journey of an ancestral woman from Sumuna.'

(2)
nan	*a*	*ten-bin*	*X*
3SG	PFV	woman-big	X

'She was an ancestral woman of the X clan.'

(3)
nér	*ka*	*món*	*tom*	*pâs-muá*	*tân*	*Sumuna*
3PL	RM.PST	first	sit	step-front	VIS.MED	S.

'They first lived in Sumuna before.'

(4)
té	*nan*	*ka*	*pan~pan*	*gán*	*tân*	*Sumuna,*
then	3SG	RM.PST	PL~go	leave	VIS.MED	S.

nan	*ka*	*lak*	*aman*	*óró,*	*po*	*nan*	*ik*	*man*	*óró*	*Lâpâi*
3SG	RM.PST	go.up	come	VIS.PROX	COMP	3SG	IPFV	come	VIS.PROX	L.

'Then she walked away from Sumuna, she came up here to come to Lapai.'

(5)
té	*iân*	*nan*	*ka*	*pan~pan*	*gán*	*tân*	*Sumuna,*
then	time	3SG	RM.PST	PL~go	leave	VIS.MED	S.

nan	*ka*	*iâ*	*man*	*man*	*man,*
3SG	RM.PST	CONT	come	come	come

lo	*nan*	*ka*	*pâ*	*ók*	*saksak*	*lantuá=n=a*	*laka*	*si=n=a*
or	3SG	RM.PST	with	whole.piece	sago	inside=3SG=ART	basket	AL=3SG=ART

'Then when she walked away from Sumuna, she came closer and closer, but she had one sago plant in her basket.'

(6)
té	*nan*	*ka*	*pan~pan*	*man*	*man*	*man*	*man*	*man*	*la*	*salan,*
then	3SG	RM.PST	PL~go	come	come	come	come	come	in	way

aman	*óró*	*Lâpâi,*	*nan*	*ka*	*â=us*	*mo*	*a*	*salan*	*la*	*luntan*
come	VIS.PROX	L.	3SG	RM.PST	CAU=follow	only	ART	way	in	bush

'Then she walked closer and closer on the path, she came here to Lapai, she just followed the path in the bush.'

(7)
aman	*aman*	*aman*	*aman*	*tâmo,*
come	come	come	come	now

nan	*ka*	*sâŋ*	*ti*	*tân*	*la-uata*	*an*	*La'iráp*	*mot*	*Lasái*
3SG	RM.PST	arrive	stand	VIS.MED	be.in-middle	about	L.	and	L.

'She came closer and closer now, she arrived in between Lairap and Lasai.'

(8)

la-uata	*tân,*	*nan*	*ka*	*sâŋ*	*tom*	*âi=us*
in-middle	VIS.MED	3SG	RM.PST	arrive	sit	REC=follow

'In between there, she arrived and had a rest.'

(9)

lo	*nón*	*anén*	*ka*	*pâ*	*lu*	*la*	*marat,*
or	place	NVIS.PROX	RM.PST	with	house	in	garden

nan	*a*	*ráŋ*	*a*	*lu*	*tâmo,*	*nan*	*â=táŋ*
3SG	PFV	see	ART	house	now	3SG	CAU=say

'But this place had a house in a garden, she saw the house now, she said.'

(10)

"niáu	*ók*	*tom*	*âi=us*	*óró*	*la*	*lu"*
1SG	FUT	sit	REC=follow	VIS.PROX	in	house

'"I will stay and rest here in the house."'

(11)

té	*nan*	*a*	*pan*	*nan*	*a*	*sâŋ*	*â=su-én*	*a*	*tom*
then	3SG	PFV	go	3SG	PFV	arrive	CAU=hang-TR	PFV	sit

a	*bi*	*si=n=a,*	*té*	*nan*	*a*	*â=táŋ*	*po*
ART	basket	AL=3SG=ART	then	3SG	PFV	CAU=say	COMP

'Then she went to hang up her basket, then she said.'

(12)

"niá=k	*sái*	*nâ*	*lá-uán*	*kelek,*
1SG=FUT	go.down	NVIS.DIST	in-sand	first

po	*ik*	*ba*	*salaŋ*	*ta*	*kó*	*iákám,*
COMP	IPFV	IMM.FUT	search	IND.ART	small.piece	crab

po	*niáu=k*	*ŋan*	*kuuál*	*pâ*	*ók*	*saksak*	*si=k"*
COMP	1SG=FUT	eat.TR	together	with	whole.piece	sago	AL=1SG

'"I will go down to the beach first to look for a crab to eat with my sago."'

(13)

té	*nan*	*a*	*sái*	*pan*	*tâmo,*	*nan*	*iâ*	*salaŋ*	*iákám,*
then	3SG	PFV	go.down	go	now	3SG	CONT	search	crab

lo	*uás*	*a*	*ti*	*guguál*	*kinak*
or	sun	PFV	stand	on.top	still

'Then she went down (to the beach) now, she looked for crabs, and the sun was still up.'

(14)

nan	*iâ*	*salaŋ*	*iákám,*	*pan*	*pan*	*pan,*
3SG	CONT	search	crab	go	go	go

nan	*sâk*	*puát*	*ârék*	*ta*	*kó*	*iákám*
3SG	NEG	find	have.NEG	IND.ART	small.piece	crab

'She looked and looked for crabs, she did not find any crab at all.'

(15)

nan	*a*	*â=us*	*a*	*kek=en=a*	*toŋoi*
3SG	PFV	CAU=follow	ART	leg=3SG=ART	mangrove

pan	*pan*	*pan*	*pan*	*tâ*	*li-piá*	*tuna*	*tâmo,*
go	go	go	go	VIS.DIST	in-ground	true	now

nan	*a*	*sâŋ*	*puát*	*a*	*kó*	*iákám*
3SG	PFV	arrive	find	ART	small.piece	crab

'She followed the roots of the mangroves for a long time there (towards the beach) now, she found a crab.'

(16)
kó	*saka*	*rarau*
small.piece	one	correct

'Exactly one.'

(17)
iân	*nan*	*ka*	*sik*	*a*	*kó*	*iákám*	*anén,*
time	3SG	RM.PST	take	ART	small.piece	crab	NVIS.PROX

nan	*ka*	*pan~pan*	*lak*	*aman*	*la*	*bák,*
3SG	RM.PST	PL~go	go.up	come	in	place

amâ	*a*	*laka*	*si=n=a*	*a*	*su-â*
where	ART	basket	AL=3SG=ART	PFV	hang-INTR

'When she took this crab, she walked up to the place where her basket was hanging.'

(18)
nan	*a*	*man*	*tâmo,*
3SG	PFV	come	now

nan	*a*	*sâŋ*	*sik*	*a*	*sái*	*a*	*laka*	*si=n=a,*
3SG	PFV	arrive	take	PFV	go.down	ART	basket	AL=3SG=ART

mot	*â=toi*	*a*	*iákám,*	*té*	*nan*	*a*	*tom*	*sái*	*tâmo*
and	CAU=touch	ART	crab	then	3SG	PFV	sit	go.down	now

'She came now, she arrived and took down her basket and put the crab (inside), then she sat down now.'

(19)
nan	*a*	*tom*	*sái*	*tâmo,*	*po*	*nan*	*ik*	*tán*	*a*	*iákám*
3SG	PFV	sit	go.down	now	COMP	3SG	IPFV	cook	ART	crab

'She sat down now to cook the crab.'

(20)
iân	*nan*	*ka*	*âigot,*	*i=n=a*	*tán*	*a*	*iákám,*
time	3SG	RM.PST	be.ready	INAL=3SG=ART	cook	ART	crab

nan	*ka*	*ráŋ*	*a*	*uás*	*ik*	*sái*	*tâmo*
3SG	RM.PST	see	ART	sun	IPFV	go.down	now

la	*kupe=n=a*	*nâ*
in	base=3SG=ART	NVIS.DIST

'When she prepared to cook the crab, she saw that the sun was about to go down now at her home.'

(21)
uás	*ik*	*iâ*	*sái*	*pan*	*tâmo,*	*nan*	*a*	*ráŋ,*
sun	IPFV	CONT	go.down	go	now	3SG	PFV	see

po	*sâk*	*noŋ*	*iân,*	*i=n=a*	*nan*	*ik*	*tán~tán,*
COMP	NEG	be.enough	time	INAL=3SG=ART	3SG	IPFV	INTR~cook

a	*iân*	*óró*	*mo*	*a*	*noŋ,*	*i=n=a*	*pan~pan*
ART	time	VIS.PROX	only	PFV	be.enough	INAL=3SG=ART	PL~go

'The sun was about to go down now, she saw that there was not enough time for her to cook, there was only enough time to walk.'

(22)

nan	a	ti	tâmo,	nan	a	â=táŋ	lâŋ=âtâ
3SG	PFV	stand	now	3SG	PFV	CAU=say	like=VIS.DIST

'She stood up now, she said like this.'

(23)

"té	niá=k	piâ=n=a	tán	a	iákám	si=k	tâmo,
then	1SG=FUT	PROH.INAL=3SG=ART	cook	ART	crab	AL=1SG	now

niá=k	pan	pan	pan	mo	Lâpâi
1SG=FUT	go	go	go	only	L.

'"Well, I cannot cook my crab now, I will just go and go to Lapai.'

(24)

mat	a	riáp	ala	óró=k	aman"
and	ART	dark	again	VIS.PROX=IPFV	come

'And it also gets dark now (lit. darkness is coming here)."'

(25)

té	nan	a	sik	a	bul	âigot	si=n=a	tâmo,
then	3SG	PFV	take	ART	PL	be.ready	AL=3SG=ART	now

po	nan	ik	pan~pan,	a	riáp	ik	iâ	man	tâmo
COMP	3SG	IPFV	PL~go	ART	dark	IPFV	CONT	come	now

'Then she took the things that she had prepared now and walked, it got dark now.'

(26)

tâmo	nan	a	â=táŋ
now	3SG	PFV	CAU=say

'Now she said.'

(27)

"sala,	niá=k	taual	la	lu
let	1SG=FUT	return	in	house

'"Let it be, I will go back to the house.'

(28)

é=k	taual	la	lu,
1SG=IPFV	return	in	house

po	niá=k	ba	matai	âi=us	mo
COMP	1SG=IPFV	IMM.FUT	sleep	REC=follow	only

'I will go back to the house so I will just sleep and rest.'

(29)

lo	máuá	iuak,	niá=k	tâŋan	pan"
or	tomorrow	later	1SG=FUT	wake.up	go

'And tomorrow, I will get up and go."'

(30)

tâmo	nan	a	gán	tân,	nan	a	taual	aman,
now	3SG	PFV	leave	VIS.MED	3SG	PFV	return	come

nan	a	sâŋ	â=tom	a	bi	si=n=a,
3SG	PFV	arrive	CAU=sit	ART	basket	AL=3SG=ART

té	nan	sâŋ	tán	kurâŋ	a	iákám	si=n=a,
then	3SG	arrive	cook	repair	ART	crab	AL=3SG=ART

lo	nan	ka	sâk	ŋan,	nan	a	â=toi	lantuá=n=a	bi,
or	3SG	RM.PST	NEG	eat.TR	3SG	PFV	CAU=touch	inside=3SG=ART	basket

té	*nan*	*a*	*â=tom*	*la*	*bák*	*nâ,*	*nan*	*ók*	*mati*	*âi=us*
then	3SG	PFV	CAU=sit	in	place	NVIS.DIST	3SG	FUT	lie	REC=follow

'Now she left, she went back, she put down her basket, then she cooked and wrapped (lit. preserved) her crab, but she did not eat it, she put it in the basket, then she put it down at the place where she would lie and rest.'

(31)

nan	*a*	*te*	*a*	*paka=n=a*	*bul*	*bâi*	*kól*
3SG	PFV	cut	ART	leaf=3SG=ART	PL	leaf.piece	go.around

la	*luntan,*	*nan*	*a*	*sik*	*aman,*	*nan*	*a*	*keten tâmo*
in	bush	3SG	PFV	take	come	3SG	PFV	spread now

'She cut large leaves around in the bush, she brought them, she spread them out (on the ground) now.'

(32)

té	*nan*	*a*	*mati*	*âi=us*	*tâmo*
then	3SG	PFV	lie	REC=follow	now

'Then she lay down and rested now.'

(33)

a	*siua*	*a*	*le*	*mot*	*riáp*	*tâmo*
ART	place	PFV	afternoon	and	dark	now

'It was (late) afternoon and dark now.'

(34)

nan	*a*	*mati*	*tâmo*	*la*	*luntanpâi*	*si=ra*	*óró*	*Lâpâi*
3SG	PFV	lie	now	in	jungle	AL=1PL.INC	VIS.PROX	L.

'She was lying down now in our jungle here in Lapai.'

(35)

lo	*luntanpâi*	*anén*	*pâ*	*bul*	*pátián,*
or	jungle	NVIS.PROX	with	PL	clan

lo	*nér*	*a*	*bul*	*mus*
or	3PL	PFV	PL	dwarf

'But in this jungle, there were clans, but they were dwarf spirits.'

(36)

pâ	*bul*	*mus*	*Kaméré,*	*pâ*	*mus*	*Âia,*	*pâ*	*mus* *Maiua,*
with	PL	dwarf	land.eagle	with	dwarf	eclectus.parrot	with	dwarf sea.eagle

pâ	*mus*	*Mânâi,*	*pâ*	*mus*	*Munâ,*	*pâ*	*mus*	*Sopokor,*
with	dwarf	kingfisher.sp.	with	dwarf	owl	with	dwarf	big.frigatebird

a	*bul*	*pátián*	*anén*
ART	PL	clan	NVIS.PROX

'There were Kamere dwarfs, there were Aia dwarfs, there were Maiua dwarfs, there were Manai dwarfs, there were Muna dwarfs, there were Sopokor dwarfs, all these clans.'

(37)

bul	*mus*	*sâk*	*bul*	*kulâu*	*tuna,*	*kulâu*	*i=n=a*	*ŋan*	*piuá,*
PL	dwarf	NEG	PL	people	true	people	INAL=3SG=ART	eat.TR	die.unnatural

nér	*ki*	*ŋan*	*tiár*
3PL	HAB	eat.TR	person

'Dwarfs are not real people, they are spirits (lit. people) that kill, they eat people.'

(38)

tâmo	*nan*	*a*	*matai,*	*a*	*bul*	*kulâu*	*anén*	*ik*	*ti-topoŋ,*
now	3SG	PFV	sleep	ART	PL	people	NVIS.PROX	IPFV	stand-start

i=n=a	*pan~pan*	*kól*	*lá-uáŋ*	*tâmo,*
INAL=3SG=ART	PL~go	go.around	in-night	now

i=n=a	*nér*	*ik*	*sa~salaŋ*
INAL=3SG=ART	3PL	IPFV	INTR~search

'Now, she slept, these people started to walk around at night now to look for (prey).'

(39)
nâ=mo	*nér*	*ik*	*salaŋ*	*piuá*	*lá-uáŋ*	*tâmo*
NVIS.DIST=only	3PL	IPFV	search	die.unnatural	in-night	now

nér	*ik*	*ráŋ~ráŋ*	*kól*	*po*
3PL	IPFV	INTR~see	go.around	COMP

'They were looking around for prey at night now, they were looking around.'

(40)
"pâ	*tiár*	*uâ*	*pan~pan*	*láu*	*óró*	*uâ*	*lâ-lâs,*
with	person	RC.PST	PL~go	travel	VIS.PROX	RC.PST	in-noon

lo	*ta=k*	*salaŋ*	*a*	*kupe=n=a*
or	1PL.INC=FUT	search	ART	base=3SG=ART

'"There was someone walking around here during the day, and let us look for her home.'

(41)
nan	*bét*	*nân*	*i*	*tom,*
3SG	still	NVIS.MED	IPFV	sit

lo	*nan*	*a*	*pan*	*sal~sal*	*kâuâi?"*
or	3SG	PFV	go	INTR~miss	already

'Is she still somewhere around, or has she already gone away?"'

(42)
iân	*nér*	*aman,*	*a*	*kas*	*pátián*	*aman*	*tâmo,*	*sâŋ*	*puát*	*nan,*
time	3PL	come	ART	other	clan	come	now	arrive	find	3SG

a	*Âia*
ART	eclectus.parrot

'When they came, one clan came now and found her, (it was) the Aia clan.'

(43)
lek	*Âia*	*man*	*tâmo,*	*sâŋ*	*ráŋ*	*puát*	*nan*
man	eclectus.parrot	come	now	arrive	see	find	3SG

'An Aia dwarf (lit. man) came now and found her.'

(44)
"a	*buuán*	*tâ,*	*ai*
ART	smoke	VIS.DIST	INTJ

'"There is smoke, hey.'

(45)
aman	*âmé"*
come	2PL.IMP

'Come."'

(46)
nan	*a*	*kel*	*a*	*kas-nón*	*mus*	*po*
3SG	PFV	call	ART	other-NSG	dwarf	COMP

'He called the other dwarfs.'

(47)
"a	*uata*	*tâ,*	*lo*	*niá=k*	*mosoŋ*	*a*	*buuán*	*óró*
ART	fire	VIS.DIST	or	1SG=IPFV	smell	ART	smoke	VIS.PROX

'"There is fire, and I smell smoke here.'

(48)   *pâ*   *tiár*   *óró=i*   *mati*   *kól*   *óró"*
           with   person   VIS.PROX=IPFV   lie   go.around   VIS.PROX
           'There is someone lying around here."'

(49)   *tâmo*   *nér*   *a,*   *"amâ?"*
           now   3PL   PFV   where
           'Now they (said), "Where?"'

(50)   *"óró,*   *óró=i*   *mati"*
           VIS.PROX   VIS.PROX=IPFV   lie
           '"Here, she is lying here."'

(51)   *nér*   *aman*   *tâmo,*   *man*   *man*   *man*   *man*   *tâmo,*   *nér*   *a*
           3PL   come   now   come   come   come   come   now   3PL   PFV
           'The came now, they came and came, they (said).'

(52)   *"a,*   *óró=i*   *mati*
           yes   VIS.PROX=IPFV   lie
           '"Yes, she is lying here.'

(53)   *hui*
           INTJ
           'Wow.'

(54)   *ap*
           INTJ
           'Oh.'

(55)   *mákásám-bin*   *rokon*   *ka=ra*
           meat-big   good   for=1PL.INC
           'A lot of good meat for us.'

(56)   *ta*   *pâ*   *kó*   *mákásám-bin*   *rokon*   *óró*
           1PL.INC   with   small.piece   meat-big   good   VIS.PROX
           'We have a lot of good meat here.'

(57)   *ta*   *ók*   *boi*   *rokon*   *ténén"*
           1PL.INC   FUT   eat.INTR   good   today
           'We will eat well today."'

(58)   *i=n=a*   *tâmo*   *nér*   *a*   *ti*   *tâmo,*   *nér*   *ik*   *bouoŋ*   *a*   *bakal*
           INAL=3SG=ART   now   3PL   PFV   stand   now   3PL   IPFV   wait   ART   chief
           'Then now they stood now, they waited for the chief.'

(59)   *lo*   *nér*   *a*   *ti*   *tâmo,*   *nér*   *ik*   *â=táŋ*
           or   3PL   PFV   stand   now   3PL   IPFV   CAU=say
           'And they stood now, they said.'

(60)   *"ta=k*   *bót*
           1PL.INC=FUT   sing
           '"Let us sing.'

(61)   *ta=k*   *bót,*   *ta=k*   *tiiá*   *bouoŋ*
           1PL.INC=FUT   sing   1PL.INC=FUT   dance   wait

na   bakal   ik   man   ik   ráŋ   a   niâ   ró"
PN.ART chief   IPFV come   IPFV see   ART   thing   VIS.PROX
'Let us sing, let us dance and wait for the chief to come and see this thing."'

(62) pâ   bakal   mus,   nan   a   lek   X
      with   chief   dwarf   3SG   PFV   man   X
      'There was a chief of the dwarfs, he was a man of the X clan.'

(63) lo   ten   tân   a   mati,   nan   a   ten   X   ala
      or   woman   VIS.MED PFV   lie   3SG   PFV   woman   X   again
      'And the woman lying there, she was also a woman of the X clan.'

(64) na   bakal   a   lek   X,   lo   nan   sâk   man   kinak,
      PN.ART chief   PFV   man   X   or   3SG   NEG   come   still

      lo   nér   ik   ti-topoŋ   bót   tâmo
      or   3PL   IPFV stand-start   sing   now
      'The chief was a man of the X clan, but he did not come yet, and they started to sing now.'

(65) tâmo   nér   ik   iâ   bót   lâŋ=âtâ
      now   3PL   IPFV CONT   sing   like=VIS.DIST
      'Now they would sing like this.'

(66) "Leŋkoé éŋé e ruk pana laia mo koko (Tigak?)
      '"Lengkoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'

(67) Leŋkoé éŋé eŋe ruk pana laia mo koko (Tigak?)
      'Lengkoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'

(68) riŋ seŋe rouâ tiliŋe (Tigak?)
      'Kill her, take her blood.'

(69) Leŋkoé éŋé eŋe ruk pana laia mo koko" (Tigak?)
      'Lengkoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger."'

(70) nér   ik   iâ   bót   mere   tâmo,
      3PL   IPFV CONT   sing   be.happy   now

      po   nér   pâ   mákásám   rokon,   i=n=a   ŋan
      COMP   3PL   with   meat   good   INAL=3SG=ART eat.TR
      'They were singing happily now that they had good meat to eat.'

(71) nér   a   bót,   po   na   bakal   ik   loŋoi   po
      3PL   PFV   sing   COMP   PN.ART chief   IPFV hear   COMP
      'They sang so the chief would hear.'

(72) "pâ   niâu,   a   kulâu   si=ra   uâ   puát   kâuâi,
      with   thing   ART   people   AL=1PL.INC   RC.PST   find   already

      ta=k   sái   tân"
      1PL.INC=FUT   go.down   VIS.MED
      '"There is a thing that our people have found, let us go down there."'

(73) *tâmo*   *nér*   *iâ*   *bót,*   *pan*   *pan*   *pan,*
    now   3PL   CONT   sing   go   go   go

    té   *na*   *lek*   *Maiua*   *ik*   *â=tán*   *po*
    then   PN.ART   man   sea.eagle   IPFV   CAU=say   COMP
    'Now they sang and sang, then the Maiua dwarf (lit. man) said.'

(74) *"ók*   *lima=n=a*   *kâ=k"*
    whole.piece   arm=3SG=ART   for=1SG
    '"Her arms are for me."'

(75) *té*   *na*   *Âia*   *ik*   *â=tán*   *po*
    then   PN.ART   eclectus.parrot   IPFV   CAU=say   COMP
    'Then the Aia (dwarf) said.'

(76) *"niáu*   *buák*   *a*   *mânmân"*
    1SG   want   ART   liver
    '"I want the liver."'

(77) *até*   *nér*   *ik*   *iâ*   *bót,*
    then   3PL   IPFV   CONT   sing

    lo   *nér*   *ik*   *potok*   *âi=pák*   *an*   *nér*   *pâ*   *bul*   *bák~bák,*
    or   3PL   IPFV   share   REC=turn   about   3PL   with   PL   DISTR~cut.piece

    i=n=a   *po*   *nér*   *ik*   *ŋan*
    INAL=3SG=ART   COMP   3PL   IPFV   eat.TR
    'Then they would sing, and they would (talk about how they would) share the body parts among themselves to eat.'

(78) *"a*   *lima=n=a*   *kâ=k"*
    ART   arm=3SG=ART   for=1SG
    '"Her arms are for me."'

(79) *"ók*   *kek=en=a*   *kâ=k"*
    whole.piece   leg=3SG=ART   for=1SG
    '"Her legs are for me."'

(80) *nér*   *ik*   *â=tán*
    3PL   IPFV   CAU=say
    'They said.'

(81) *"a*   *béŋ=én=a*   *kâ=k"*
    ART   head=3SG=ART   for=1SG
    '"Her head is for me."'

(82) *nér*   *ik*   *iâ*   *bót,*   *mot*   *kokol*   *an*   *a*   *bul*   *nón*   *anén,*
    3PL   IPFV   CONT   sing   and   request   about   ART   PL   place   NVIS.PROX

    i=n=a   *nér*   *ik*   *buák*   *ŋan*
    INAL=3SG=ART   3PL   IPFV   want   eat.TR
    'They were singing and talking about the body parts they wanted to eat.'

(83) | *nér* | *a* | *bót* | *bouoŋ* | *mo* | *na* | *bakal* | *ik* | *aman* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 3PL | PFV | sing | wait | only | PN.ART | chief | IPFV | come |

'They just sang and waited for the chief to come.'

(84) | *tâmo* | *na* | *bakal* | *a* | *loŋoi* | *lâuák* | *tâmo* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| now | PN.ART | chief | ART | hear | far | now |

'Now the chief heard them from afar.'

(85) | *"ó,* | *kulâu* | *a* | *puát* | *kâuâi* | *a* | *mákásám* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| INTJ | people | PFV | find | already | ART | meat |

'"Oh, (my) people have found meat.'

(86) | *niá=k* | *sái* | *pan* | *kelek"* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1SG=FUT | go.down | go | first |

'I will go down first."'

(87) | *na* | *bakal* | *iâ* | *pan~pan* | *sái* | *aman* | *tâmo,* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| PN.ART | chief | CONT | PL~go | go.down | come | now |

lo	*nér*	*ik*	*iâ*	*bót*
or	3PL	IPFV	CONT	sing

'The chief walked down now, and they were still singing.'

(88) | *lo* | *nér* | *ik* | *iâ* | *bót,* | *lo* | *nér* | *ik* | *iâ* | *â=táŋ* | *po* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| or | 3PL | IPFV | CONT | sing | or | 3PL | IPFV | CONT | CAU=say | COMP |

'And they were still singing, and they would say.'

(89) | *"ei,* | *a* | *lek* | *amâ* | *ró?* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| INTJ | ART | man | where | VIS.PROX |

'"Hey, where is this man (the chief)?'

(90) | *nan* | *ik* | *suma* | *man,* | *po* | *ita=k* | *ŋan* | *tâmo* | *a* | *niâ* | *ró* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 3SG | IPFV | fast | come | COMP | 1PL.INC=IPFV | eat.TR | now | ART | thing | VIS.PROX |

'He should come quickly so we can eat this thing now.'

(91) | *a* | *siua* | *óró=k* | *iân* | *aman* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ART | place | VIS.PROX=IPFV | time | come |

'It is about to become daylight.'

(92) | *sémén* | *a* | *siua* | *ók* | *iân* | *tâmo,* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| if | ART | place | FUT | time | now |

ta	*ók*	*piâ=n=a*	*bál-karól,*
1PL.INC	FUT	PROH.INAL=3SG=ART	make-achieve

i=n=a	*ŋan*	*a*	*mákásám*	*óró*
INAL=3SG=ART	eat.TR	ART	meat	VIS.PROX

'If it becomes daylight now, we will not be able to eat this meat.'

(93) | *mákásám* | *óró* | *ók* | *gán* | *ténén* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| meat | VIS.PROX | FUT | leave | today |

'This meat will be gone today.'

(94)

ta	*ók*	*piâ=n=a*		*ŋan*	*ténén*	*a*	*niâ*	*ró*
1PL.INC	FUT	PROH.INAL=3SG=ART		eat.TR	today	ART	thing	VIS.PROX

'We will not be able to eat this thing today.'

(95)

nan	*ik*	*aman*	*suma,*
3SG	IPFV	come	fast

po	*ta=k*	*mâ*	*ŋan*	*suma*	*a*	*mákásám*	*óró"*
COMP	1PL.INC=IPFV	still	eat.TR	fast	ART	meat	VIS.PROX

'He should come quickly so we can still eat this meat quickly."'

(96)

lo	*nér*	*ik*	*iâ*	*tom*	*ra~rauai,*
or	3PL	IPFV	CONT	sit	PL~make.sound

lo	*na*	*bakal*	*óró=k*	*aman*	*tâmo*
or	PN.ART	chief	VIS.PROX=IPFV	come	now

'And they were still talking, and the chief came here now.'

(97)

na	*bakal*	*aman*	*tâmo,*	*nan*	*a*	*sân*	*ráŋ*	*a*
PN.ART	chief	come	now	3SG	PFV	arrive	see	ART

'The chief came now, he arrived and saw.'

(98)

"a,	*a*	*niâ-uin*	*â=i*	*matai*	*tâ"*
yes	ART	thing-big	DIST=IPFV	sleep	VIS.DIST

'"Yes, a big thing is sleeping there."'

(99)

tâmo	*na*	*bakal*	*a*	*pan*	*pan*	*aman*
now	PN.ART	chief	PFV	go	go	come

'Now the chief came closer.'

(100)

nan	*aman*	*aman*	*aman*	*aman*	*aman*	*tâmo,*
3SG	come	come	come	come	come	now

nan	*ik*	*ráŋ~ráŋ*	*pan*	*susulék*	*tâmo*
3SG	IPFV	INTR~see	go	near	now

'He came closer and closer now, he came closer to have a look now.'

(101)

nan	*a*	*pan*	*tâmo,*	*nan*	*a*	*sân*	*ulát,*
3SG	PFV	go	now	3SG	PFV	arrive	go.around

nan	*ik*	*mos~mosoŋ*
3SG	IPFV	INTR~smell

'He went now, he arrived and walked around, he smelled.'

(102)

nan	*ik*	*mosoŋ*	*nan,*
3SG	IPFV	smell	3SG

té	*nan*	*a*	*ráŋ*	*a*	*rokon*	*tâmo*	*a*	*nó=n=a*	*ten*	*anén*
then	3SG	PFV	see	PFV	good	now	ART	face=3SG=ART	woman	NVIS.PROX

'He smelled her, then he saw the face of this woman well now.'

(103)

"torok	*âmé*	*pâ*	*bót"*
stop	2PL.IMP	with	sing

'"Stop singing."'

(104)
nan	a	kus	nér	po
3SG	PFV	tell	3PL	COMP

'He told them.'

(105)
"loŋoi,	mákásám	óró,	ita	buák	ŋan,	a	pátián	tuna	tuna	si=k
hear	meat	VIS.PROX	1PL.INC	want	eat.TR	PFV	clan	true	true	AL=1SG

'"Listen, this meat that we want to eat belongs to my very clan.'

(106)
mat	ita	ók	piâ=n=a	noŋ
and	1PL.INC	FUT	PROH.INAL=3SG=ART	be.enough

ta=k	lák	a	mat	nan
1PL.INC=IPFV	hit	PFV	die	3SG

'And we cannot kill her.'

(107)
tâmo	ita	ók	bót	ulát	a	ten-bin	óró	mo,
now	1PL.INC	FUT	sing	go.around	ART	woman-big	VIS.PROX	only

noŋ	si=n=a	siua	ók	iân,
be.enough	AL=3SG=ART	place	FUT	time

mat	ita	ók	sala	nan	ik	â=mot	a	pan~pan-an	si=n=a"
and	1PL.INC	FUT	let	3SG	IPFV	CAU=finish	ART	NOML~go-NOML	AL=3SG=ART

'Now we will only sing around this woman until it becomes daylight, and we will let her finish her journey."'

(108)
tâmo	nér	iâ	bót	mo,	nér	ka	sâk	ŋan	nan,
now	3PL	CONT	sing	only	3PL	RM.PST	NEG	eat.TR	3SG

pat	i=n=a	na	bakal	uâ	ráŋ	kinila	nan,
part	INAL=3SG=ART	PN.ART	chief	RC.PST	see	recognise	3SG

po	nan	a	pátián	si=n=a	rarau	tâmo
COMP	3SG	PFV	clan	AL=3SG=ART	correct	now

'Now they just sang, they did not eat her because the chief recognised her that she belonged to his very clan now.'

(109)
nan	ik	â=torok	tâmo	po
3SG	IPFV	CAU=stop	now	COMP

'He stopped them now.'

(110)
"piâ=n=a	lák	a	mat	nan,	sala
PROH.INAL=3SG=ART	hit	PFV	die	3SG	let

'"Do not kill her, let her be.'

(111)
ta=k	bót	noŋ	siua	ik	iân,
1PL.INC=FUT	sing	be.enough	place	IPFV	time

mat	ta=k	sala	nan	ik	pan"
and	1PL.INC=FUT	let	3SG	IPFV	go

'Let us sing until it becomes daylight, and let us let her go."'

(112)

tâmo	*nér*	*a*	*bót*	*ala,*	*lo*	*nér*	*a*	*kâlpák*	*a*	*bót*	*si=nér*
now	3PL	PFV	sing	again	or	3PL	PFV	change	ART	sing	AL=3PL

'Now they sang again, but they changed their song.'

(113)

bót	*si=nér*	*i=n=a*	*lomo-sât,*	*lo*	*nér*	*a*	*sik*	*lâŋ=âtâ*
sing	AL=3PL	INAL=3SG=ART	think-bad	or	3PL	PFV	take	like=VIS.DIST

'Their song was to apologise, and they sang like this.'

(114) *"rukruk pana laia éŋé eŋe ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)

'"She is sleeping in the ginger, sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'

(115) *Leŋkoé éŋé eŋe ruk pana laia mo koko* (Tigak?)

'Lengkoe here is sleeping and hiding in the ginger.'

(116) *riŋ seŋe rouâ téléŋe* (Tigak?)

'Kill her, take her blood.'

(117) *u, soso soloŋâi é e o éŋé i ulina e o tasé* (Tigak?)

'Oh, in the bush, this woman belongs to whom?'

(118) *éŋé e e o tasé éŋé e o éŋé na Kârâk me nâ é* (Tigak?)

'She belongs to whom? It is Karak sleeping here.'

(119)

ua,	*ta*	*gán*	*tâmo,*	*siua*	*tala=papak*	*rokon*	*tâmo*
INTJ	1PL.INC	leave	now	place	PASS=uncover	good	now

'Oh, let us leave now, it is getting bright now.'

(120)

sala	*nan*	*ik*	*pan"*
let	3SG	IPFV	go

'Let her go."'

(121)

tâ	*nér*	*ka*	*kâlpák*	*a*	*bót*	*si=nér*	*tâmo,*
VIS.DIST	3PL	RM.PST	change	ART	sing	AL=3PL	now

pat	*i=n=a*	*nér*	*a*	*lomo-máláu*	*lâŋ=âtâ*	*po*
part	INAL=3SG=ART	3PL	PFV	think-love	like=VIS.DIST	COMP

'Then they changed their song now because they felt sorry (and said) like this.'

(122)

"mam	*ók*	*pâ=n=a*	*ŋan*	*nó*	*tâmo,*	*nó*	*ók*	*pan"*
1PL.EXC	FUT	PROH.INAL=3SG=ART	eat.TR	2SG	now	2SG	FUT	go

'"We will not eat you now, go."'

(123)

nér	*iâ*	*bót,*	*pan*	*pan*	*pan,*
3PL	CONT	sing	go	go	go

noŋ	*a*	*siua*	*iâ*	*tala=papak*	*rokon*	*tâmo*
be.enough	ART	place	CONT	PASS=uncover	good	now

'They sang and sang until it became daylight now.'

(124)

uás	*a*	*lak*	*aman*	*tâmo,*	*nér*	*iâ*	*malilát*	*ga*	*pan*	*la*	*luntan*
sun	PFV	go.up	come	now	3PL	CONT	be.lost	empty	go	in	bush

'The sun came up now, they went away into the bush.'

(125)

ten-bin	*nâ*	*iâ*	*tom*	*tâmo*
woman-big	NVIS.DIST	CONT	sit	now

'The woman was still alive now.'

(126)

"ó,	*rokon*	*tuna*
INTJ	good	true

'"Oh, thank you.'

(127)

a	*lek,*	*a*	*pátián*	*si=k*	*rarau,*	*uâ*	*man,*	*uâ*	*sâŋ*	*ráŋ*	*niáu,*
ART	man	PFV	clan	AL=1SG	correct	RC.PST	come	RC.PST	arrive	see	1SG

otâmo	*nér*	*sâk*	*ŋan*	*niáu*
now	3PL	NEG	eat.TR	1SG

'The man, who belongs to my very clan, came and saw me, now they did not eat me.'

(128)

a	*X*	*a*	*pátián*	*tuna*	*tuna*	*si=k*	*tâmo*
ART	X	PFV	clan	true	true	AL=1SG	now

'X is my very true clan now.'

(129)

rokon	*tuna*
good	true

'Thank you.'

(130)

niáu	*ók*	*pan*	*tâmo*	*la*	*malai"*
1SG	FUT	go	now	in	village

'I will go now to the village."'

(131)

tâmo	*tâ*	*ténén*	*a*	*pini*	*óró*	*lâŋ*	*sâk*	*pini,*
now	VIS.DIST	today	ART	story	VIS.PROX	like	NEG	story

nan	*a*	*niâu*	*tuna*
3SG	PFV	thing	true

'Now today, this story is not (just) a story, it is a real thing.'

(132)

tâmo	*tâ*	*ténén*	*a*	*X,*
now	VIS.DIST	today	ART	X

nér	*a*	*toi*	*a*	*pék*	*a*	*bul*	*piá*	*kápái*	*tâ*	*Lâpâi*
3PL	PFV	touch	PFV	strong	ART	PL	ground	all	VIS.DIST	L.

'Now until today, the X clan holds all the land (between Sumuna and) Lapai.'

(133)

tân	*ik*	*álát*	*a*	*bul*	*piá*	*si=nér*	*kápái,*
VIS.MED	IPFV	pass.by	ART	PL	ground	AL=3PL	all

mot	*tâ*	*ténén*	*ala*	*a*	*saksak*	*Leŋkoé*	*si=n=a*	*ten-bin*	*óró,*
and	VIS.DIST	today	again	ART	sago	L.	AL=3SG=ART	woman-big	VIS.PROX

nan	*ka*	*táu*	*la*	*iân*	*anén,*	*â=i*	*ti*	*kinak*
3SG	RM.PST	plant	in	time	NVIS.PROX	DIST=IPFV	stand	still

'All this land belongs to them, and until today the sago tree Lengkoe of this ancestral woman, who planted it at that time, is still standing.'

(134) | *tâmo* | *a* | *pini* | *si=râi* | *a* | *sâŋ* | *mot* | *lâŋ* | *óró* |
       | now | ART | story | AL=1DU.INC | PFV | arrive | finish | like | VIS.PROX |

      'Now our story ends like this.'

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

2.9. The two sisters

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

(1)
a	*pini*	*si=n=a*	*uru*	*âi=tiá=n-an*	*u=tén*
ART	story	AL=3SG=ART	DU	REC=same.sex.sibling=3SG-NOML	DU=woman

'The story of two sisters.'

(2)
lo	*iriâi*	*nâ*	*uru*	*luuá*
or	3DU	NVIS.DIST	DU	twin

'But they were twins.'

(3)
kas	*iân*	*tâmo,*	*nér*	*ka*	*tom*	*la*	*malai,*
other	time	now	3PL	RM.PST	sit	in	village

a	*uru*	*tama=n=a*	*u=tén-biâŋ*	*nâ*
ART	DU	father=3SG=ART	DU=woman-small	NVIS.DIST

a	*gán*	*kus*	*a*	*u=tén-biâŋ*	*nâ*
PFV	leave	tell	ART	DU=woman-small	NVIS.DIST

'One day now, they were at home, the parents of the two girls left and told the two girls.'

(4)
"imiâi	*ók*	*tom,*	*lo*	*imâi*	*ók*	*pan*	*kelek*	*la*	*marat"*
2DU	FUT	sit	or	1DU.EXC	FUT	go	first	in	garden

'"You will stay, but we will go to the garden."'

(5)
té	*u=tén-biâŋ*	*nâ*	*tom*
then	DU=woman-small	NVIS.DIST	sit

'Then the two girls stayed (at home).'

(6)
lo	*u=tén-biâŋ*	*nâ,*
or	DU=woman-small	NVIS.DIST

iriâi	*kápái*	*nâ*	*ka*	*uru*	*u=tén-bin,*
3DU	all	NVIS.DIST	RM.PST	DU	DU=woman-big

amâ	*noŋ*	*iriâi=k*	*tâmâi*	*kâuâi*
where	be.enough	3DU=IPFV	marry	already

'But these two girls, both of them were women who could already marry.'

(7)
tâmo	*pâ*	*uru*	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*tâuan*	*kiri*	*sâŋ*	*salaŋ*	*iriâi*	*la*	*lu*
now	with	DU	DU=man-small	male	REP	arrive	search	3DU	in	house

'Now there were two boys who used to come to look for them in the house.'

(8)
lo	*bul*	*iân*	*kápái*	*nâ*	*iriâi*	*kuru*	*man,*
or	PL	time	all	NVIS.DIST	3DU	PST.HAB	come

a	*u=lék-biâŋ*	*tâuan*	*onén*	*ki*	*man*	*la*	*lu,*
ART	DU=man-small	male	NVIS.PROX	HAB	come	in	house

la	*iân*	*nâ*	*a*	*uru*	*tama=riâi*
in	time	NVIS.DIST	ART	DU	father=3DU

ki	gán	a	pus-én	iriâi,	ki	pan	la	marat
HAB	leave	PFV	throw-TR	3DU	HAB	go	in	garden

'But everytime they came, those two boys used to come to the house when their (the girls') parents left them behind to go to the garden.'

(9)
té	iân	anén	tâmo,	a	ulék-biâŋ	ka	man
then	time	NVIS.PROX	now	ART	DU=man-small	RM.PST	come

'Then this time now, the two boys came.'

(10)
lo	laua	iân	kâuâi,	iriâi	ki	man,
or	much	time	already	3DU	HAB	come

mot	tom	kuuál	pâ	uru	u=tén	nâ
and	sit	together	with	DU	DU=woman	NVIS.DIST

'But many times already, they used to come and stay with the two girls.'

(11)
a	kas	i	buák	tâmâi	a	kas	kana=riâi
ART	other	IPFV	want	marry	ART	other	among=3DU

'One (of them) wanted to marry one of them.'

(12)
kas	ala	i	buák	tâmâi	a	kas	kana=riâi
other	again	IPFV	want	marry	ART	other	among=3DU

'The other one, in turn, wanted to marry the other one of them.'

(13)
mot	iriâi	kápái	uru	u=tén	nâ,
and	3DU	all	DU	DU=woman	NVIS.DIST

uru	âi=ťiá=n-an	onén,
DU	REC=same.sex.sibling=3SG-NOML	NVIS.PROX

uru	luuá,	iriâi	tâmo	lâŋ	uru	tâuan	si=riâi	onén
DU	twin	3DU	now	like	DU	male	AL=3DU	NVIS.PROX

'And both girls, these two siblings, the twins, they were like this were their husbands.'

(14)
ka	pan	otâmo,	iriâi	a	pâ	mâmât
RM.PST	go	now	3DU	PFV	with	heavy

'This went on now, they became pregnant.'

(15)
la	kulát	i=riâi	tâmo,	iriâi	ka	pâ	popo
in	body	INAL=3DU	now	3DU	RM.PST	with	child

'In their bodies now, they had babies.'

(16)
kas	iân,	na	riŋa=riâi	a	tom	ráŋ	iriâi,
other	time	PN.ART	mother=3DU	PFV	sit	see	3DU

té	riái	iriâi	tâmo
then	ask	3DU	now

'One day, their mother was there and saw them, then she asked them now.'

(17)
"uru	nátá=k,	niá	nâ	óró=k	tom	ráŋ	imiâi,
DU	child=1SG	1SG	NVIS.DIST	VIS.PROX=IPFV	sit	see	2DU

po	*imiâi*	*nâ*	*pâ*	*mâmât*	
COMP	2DU	NVIS.DIST	with	heavy	

'"My two children, I am here and see that you are pregnant.'

(18)
miâi	*pâ*	*ku=miâi,*	*a*	*popo*	*nân*	*la*	*ku=miâi*	*ba?*
2DU	with	belly=2DU	ART	baby	NVIS.MED	in	belly=2DU	INTJ

'You have (big) bellies, is there a child in your bellies, oh?'

(19)
lo	*miâ=k*	*kus*	*niáu*	*kelek,*	*a*	*niâu*	*tuna,*
or	2DU=FUT	tell	1SG	first	PFV	thing	true

lo	*a*	*mata=k*	*mo*	*ik*	*bát*	*niáu?"*
or	ART	eye=1SG	only	IPFV	trick	1SG

'But you tell me now, is it a real thing, or are my eyes just tricking me?"'

(20)
té	*iriâi*	*kóró*	*âi=mâmât-â,*	*i=n=a*	*kus*	*na*	*riŋa=riâi*
then	3DU	PST.HAB	REC=heavy-INTR	INAL=3SG=ART	tell	PN.ART	mother=3DU

'Then they felt ashamed to tell their mother.'

(21)
pan	*otâmo,*	*na*	*riŋa=riâi*	*a*	*kus*	*na*	*tâmâ=ŋ*	*si=riâi*	*tâmo*
go	now	PN.ART	mother=3DU	PFV	tell	PN.ART	father=NPOSS	AL=3DU	now

'Then now their mother told their father now.'

(22)
"a	*uru*	*u=tén-biâŋ*	*si=râi*	*óró,*
ART	DU	DU=woman-small	AL=1DU.INC	VIS.PROX

iriâi	*nâ*	*pâ*	*ku=riâi*	*nân,*
3DU	NVIS.DIST	with	belly=3DU	NVIS.MED

pâ	*popo*	*nân*	*la*	*ku=riâi*
with	child	NVIS.MED	in	belly=3DU

'"Our two girls here, they have (big) bellies, there is a child in their bellies.'

(23)
lo	*nó=k*	*aman,*	*mot*	*nó=k*	*riái*	*iriâi,*
or	2SG=FUT	come	and	2SG=FUT	ask	3DU

po	*a*	*popo*	*nân*	*la*	*ku=riâi*	*si*	*nás*	*rarau"*
COMP	ART	baby	NVIS.MED	in	belly=3DU	AL	who	correct

'But come and ask them whose baby it is in their bellies."'

(24)
i=n=a	*tâmo*	*nér*	*a*	*tom*	*boi*	*le-le*
INAL=3SG=ART	now	3PL	PFV	sit	eat.INTR	in-afternoon

'Then now they sat and had dinner.'

(25)
na	*mâmói*	*si=riâi*	*a*	*âigot*	*an*	*a*	*boi-an*	*tâmo*
PN.ART	mother	AL=3DU	PFV	be.ready	about	ART	eat-NOML	now

'Their mum prepared the food now.'

(26)
nér	*a*	*tom*	*boi*	*le-le,*
3PL	PFV	sit	eat.INTR	in-afternoon

i=n=a	*na*	*tâmâ=ŋ*	*si=riâi*	*ik*	*riái*	*iriâi*	*tâmo*
INAL=3SG=ART	PN.ART	father=NPOSS	AL=3DU	IPFV	ask	3DU	now

'They were sitting and had dinner, then their father asked them now.'

(27)   "u=tén,   u=tén-biâŋ,   imiâ=k   kus   imâi,   uru   u=lék-bin,
       DU=woman   DU=woman-small   2DU=FUT   tell 1DU.EXC DU   DU=man-big

       imiâi   pâ   popo   la   ku=miâi,   lo   pârék?"
       2DU   with   child in   belly=2DU   or   have.NEG
       '"Girls, little girls, tell us adults, do you have babies in your bellies or not?"'

(28)   i=n=a   tâmo   na   u=tén-biâŋ   nâ   kus   atâmo
       INAL=3SG=ART   now   PN.ART DU=woman-small   NVIS.DIST tell now

       na   riŋa=riâi   mot   na   tâmâ=ŋ   si=riâi
       PN.ART mother=3DU   and   PN.ART father=NPOSS AL=3DU
       'Then now the two girls told their mother and their father.'

(29)   "imâi   pâ   mâmât óró   la   ku=mâi   tâmo,
       1DU.EXC with heavy VIS.PROX in belly=1DU.EXC now

       mâi   pâ   bul   popo   óró
       1DU.EXC with PL   child VIS.PROX
       '"We are pregnant, we will have these babies.'

(30)   imâi   ala   tâmo   ik   lâŋ   a   patlima pâ   tâlât a   ualan kâuâi
       1DU.EXC again now   IPFV like ART five   with four   ART moon already
       'We are also (pregnant) like nine months already.'

(31)   tâmo   imâi   uók   âigot,   i=n=a   mâi   ik   puát   popo"
       now   1DU.EXC FUT   be.ready   INAL=3SG=ART   1DU.EXC IPFV find   child
       'Now we will be ready to give birth."'

(32)   i=n=a   tâmo   na   tâmâ=ŋ   si=riâi a   riái iriâi
       INAL=3SG=ART   now   PN.ART father=NPOSS AL=3DU PFV ask   3DU
       'Then now their father asked them.'

(33)   "lo   a   bul   popo   nân   la   ku=miâi,
       or   ART PL   child NVIS.MED   in   belly=2DU

       nás   tokon a   bul   popo   nân?
       who   own   ART PL   child NVIS.MED
       '"But the babies in your bellies, whose babies are they (lit. who owns those babies)?'

(34)   sâ   lek   tâuan anân
       what man   male NVIS.MED

       ki   man   ki   matai kuuál   pâ   imiâi,
       HAB   come HAB   sleep together   with 2DU

       mot   imiâi pâ   mâmât nân   la   kulát i=miâi?"
       and   2DU   with heavy NVIS.MED   in   body   INAL=2DU
       'What man used to come and sleep with you so you are pregnant in your bodies?"'

(35)   i=n=a   tâmo   kas   kana=n=a   u=tén-biâŋ   nâ
       INAL=3SG=ART   now   other among=3SG=ART   DU=woman-small   NVIS.DIST

kus   a   pan   na   tâmâ=ŋ
tell   PFV   go   PN.ART father=NPOSS
'Then now one of the two girls told the father.'

(36) *"pâ   u=lék-biâŋ   ki   sâŋ   óró   si=mâi*
with   DU=man-small HAB arrive VIS.PROX AL=1DU.EXC
'"There are two boys that come here to us.'

(37) *u=lék-biâŋ   tâuan polok-an   ki   sâŋ   óró   si=mâi,*
DU=man-small male   grow-NOML   HAB   arrive VIS.PROX AL=1DU.EXC

mot   tâmo ki   tom   kuuál   pâ   imâi,
and   now   HAB   sit   together with 1DU.EXC

la   iân   imiâi ki   pan la   marat
in   time   2DU   HAB   go   in   garden
'The two young men come here to us, and now they always stay with us when you go to the garden.'

(38) *mot   óró   mo,   imâi pâ   mâmât"*
and   VIS.PROX only 1DU.EXC with heavy
'And only this, we are pregnant."'

(39) *la   mi=n=a   tâmo, nér a   pan, nér a   tom*
in   back=3SG=ART now   3PL PFV go   3PL PFV sit
'Afterwards now, they went, they sat down.'

(40) *i=n=a   tâmo a   uru u=tén-biâŋ   nâ   âi=us*
INAL=3SG=ART now ART DU   DU=woman-small NVIS.DIST REC=follow

atâmo, iriâi a   puát a   uru popo
now   3DU   PFV find ART DU   child
'Then the two girls made themselves comfortable now, they gave birth to two babies.'

(41) *té   iriâi a   puát popo, lo   popo nén   nâ   mo,*
then 3DU   PFV find child or   child NVIS.PROX NVIS.DIST only

iriâi a   popo kinak, iriâi a   mati,
3DU   PFV child still   3DU   PFV lie

iriâi ki   â=tás   iriâi kinak, lo   u=tén-biâŋ   nâ,
3DU   HAB CAU=breast 3DU   still or   DU=woman-small NVIS.DIST

si=n=a   iriâi ki   matai mo la   saka lu
AL=3SG=ART 3DU   HAB sleep only in   one   house
'Then they gave birth to the babies, but these babies, they were still babies, they were lying down, they (the mothers) still breastfed them, but the two girls, they used to sleep in the same house.'

(42) *tâmo kas   lá-uáŋ, iriâi a   matai,*
now   other in-night 3DU   PFV sleep

kas   kana=riâi   a   mati lak kálá popo si=n=a   rarau
other among=3DU   PFV lie go.up on child AL=3SG=ART correct
'Now one night, they slept, one of them was lying on her own baby.'

(43)

té	*nan*	*a*	*pasai*	*a*	*mat*	*a*	*popo*	*si=n=a*
then	3SG	PFV	press	PFV	die	ART	child	AL=3SG=ART

'Then she pressed her baby to death.'

(44)

la	*lá-uáŋ*	*onén*	*taual,*
in	in-night	NVIS.PROX	return

amâ	*nan*	*ka*	*pasai*	*a*	*mat*	*na*	*popo*	*si=n=a,*
where	3SG	RM.PST	press	PFV	die	PN.ART	child	AL=3SG=ART

nan	*a*	*â=nás*	*a*	*gán*	*a*	*popo*	*si=n=a*
3SG	PFV	CAU=move	PFV	leave	ART	child	AL=3SG=ART

pan	*la*	*ku=n=a*	*kas*	*tiâ=ŋ*	*si=n=a*
go	in	belly=3SG=ART	other	same.sex.sibling=NPOSS	AL=3SG=ART

'That same night when she had pressed her baby to death, she moved her baby away to the belly of the other sister.'

(45)

nan	*a*	*iot*	*lák*	*a*	*popo*	*si=n=a*	*tiâ=ŋ*	*si=n=a,*
3SG	PFV	hold	hit	ART	child	AL=3SG=ART	same.sex.sibling=NPOSS	AL=3SG=ART

nan	*a*	*â=mati*	*man*	*la*	*ku=n=a*
3SG	PFV	CAU=lie	come	in	belly=3SG=ART

'She took her sister's baby, she put it at her belly.'

(46)

lo	*popo*	*nén,*	*nan*	*a*	*iot*	*lák*	*nan*	*a*	*â=mati*	*man*
or	child	NVIS.PROX	3SG	PFV	hold	hit	3SG	PFV	CAU=lie	come

la	*ku=n=a,*	*a*	*tó,*	*lo*	*sâk*	*si=n=a,*
in	belly=3SG=ART	PFV	live	or	NEG	AL=3SG=ART

si=n=a	*kas*	*tiâ=ŋ*	*si=n=a*
AL=3SG=ART	other	same.sex.sibling=NPOSS	AL=3SG=ART

'But the baby that she took and put at her belly was alive, but it was not hers, (it was the one) of the other sister.'

(47)

i=n=a	*tâmo*	*iriâi*	*a*	*matai*	*noŋ*	*la*	*maulék,*
INAL=3SG=ART	now	3DU	PFV	sleep	be.enough	in	morning

i=n=a	*iriâi*	*a*	*tâŋan*
INAL=3SG=ART	3DU	PFV	wake.up

'Then now they slept until the (next) morning, then they woke up.'

(48)

na	*tiâ=ŋ*	*si=n=a*	*a*	*ráŋ*	*puát*	*lâŋ=âtâ,*
PN.ART	same.sex.sibling=NPOSS	AL=3SG=ART	PFV	see	find	like=VIS.DIST

po	*popo*	*la*	*pâis*	*i=n=a*	*nâ*	*a*	*mat*
COMP	child	in	side	INAL=3SG=ART	NVIS.DIST	PFV	die

'Her sister saw that the baby on her side was dead.'

(49)

i=n=a	*tâmo*	*nan*	*ik*	*ti-topoŋ,*	*i=n=a*	*rara'uta*
INAL=3SG=ART	now	3SG	IPFV	stand-start	INAL=3SG=ART	mourn

'Then now she started crying.'

(50)
lo	kas	ti͡â=ŋ	si=n=a	nâ,
or	other	same.sex.sibling=NPOSS	AL=3SG=ART	NVIS.DIST

nan	uâ	uán	a	popo	si=n=a,
3SG	RC.PST	hide.TR	ART	child	AL=3SG=ART

a	mati	â=tás	a	popo
PFV	lie	CAU=breast	ART	child

'But the other sister, who was hiding her dead baby, breastfed the baby.'

(51)
lo	popo	nén,	nan	ik	â=tás,
or	child	NVIS.PROX	3SG	IPFV	CAU=breast

sâk	si=n=a,	si	ti͡â=ŋ	si=n=a
NEG	AL=3SG=ART	AL	same.sex.sibling=NPOSS	AL=3SG=ART

'But the baby that she was breastfeeding was not hers, it was her sister's.'

(52)
na	popo	si=n=a	rarau	nâ	a	mat	kâuâi
PN.ART	child	AL=3SG=ART	correct	NVIS.DIST	PFV	die	already

'Her own baby was already dead.'

(53)
lo	na	ti͡â=ŋ	si=n=a	â=k	si	rara'uta
or	PN.ART	same.sex.sibling=NPOSS	AL=3SG=ART	DIST=IPFV	FOC	mourn

kálá	popo	nâ,	sâk	si=n=a,
on	child	NVIS.DIST	NEG	AL=3SG=ART

si=n=a	ti͡â=ŋ	si=n=a
AL=3SG=ART	same.sex.sibling=NPOSS	AL=3SG=ART

'But the baby her sister was crying on was not hers, it was her sister's.'

(54)
té	nan	a	rara'uta	pan	tâmo,	pan,	na	ten	nâ,
then	3SG	PFV	mourn	go	now	go	PN.ART	woman	NVIS.DIST

a	popo	si=n=a	a	tó,	a	ráŋ	puát	po
ART	child	AL=3SG=ART	PFV	live	PFV	see	find	COMP

'Then she cried now and cried, then the woman whose baby was alive saw.'

(55)
"hai,	popo	mat	óró	nâ	sâk	popo	si=k,
INTJ	child	die	VIS.PROX	NVIS.DIST	NEG	child	AL=1SG

a	popo	si=k	tâ	si	ti͡â=ŋ	si=k"
ART	child	AL=1SG	VIS.DIST	AL	same.sex.sibling=NPOSS	AL=1SG

'"Hey, this dead baby here is not my baby, my baby is there with my sister."'

(56)
i=n=a	tâmo	iriâi	ik	âi=raras-â
INAL=3SG=ART	now	3DU	IPFV	REC=tight-INTR

'Then now they were arguing.'

(57)
"ti͡â=ŋ,	a	popo	si=k	tân"
same.sex.sibling=NPOSS	ART	child	AL=1SG	VIS.MED

'"Sister, that is my baby."'

(58) | *a* | *kas* | *ala* | *â=táŋ* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ART | other | again | CAU=say |

'The other, in turn, said.'

(59) | *"pârék* | *uéna* |
|---|---|
| have.NEG | EMPH |

'"No, it is not.'

(60) | *popo* | *si=k* | *rarau* | *óró* |
|---|---|---|---|
| child | AL=1SG | correct | VIS.PROX |

'This is my own baby.'

(61) | *bus* | *si=m* | *tân* | *a* | *mat"* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| DUMMY | AL=2SG | VIS.MED | PFV | die |

'Yours there is dead."'

(62) | *bus* | *kas* | *tiâ=ŋ* | *si=n=a* | *â=táŋ* | *lâŋ=âtâ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DUMMY | other | same.sex.sibling=NPOSS | AL=3SG=ART | CAU=say | like=VIS.DIST |

'The other sister said.'

(63) | *"pârék* | *tiâ=ŋ,* | *a* | *bus* | *si=m* | *óró* | *a* | *mat* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| have.NEG | same.sex.sibling=NPOSS | ART | DUMMY | AL=2SG | VIS.PROX | PFV | die |

'"No, Sister, yours here is dead.'

(64) | *bus* | *si=k* | *tân,* | *nó* | *uâ* | *uán* | *lák* | *a* | *popo* | *si=k* | *tân,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DUMMY | AL=1SG | VIS.MED | 2SG | RC.PST | hide.TR | hit | ART | child | AL=1SG | VIS.MED |

tâmo	*nó*	*tân*	*ik*	*â=tás"*
now	2SG	VIS.MED	IPFV	CAU=breast

'Mine is there, you took my baby there, now you are breastfeeding it."'

(65) | *iriâi* | *a* | *âi=raras-â* | *tâmo,* | *âi=raras-â* | *pan* | *pan* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3DU | PFV | REC=tight-INTR | now | REC=tight-INTR | go | go |

'They were arguing now, arguing and arguing.'

(66) | *nér* | *a* | *sik* | *a* | *pan* | *a* | *âi=raras-â* | *onén,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3PL | PFV | take | PFV | go | ART | REC=tight-INTR | NVIS.PROX |

lo	*ra~rauai*	*onén,*	*lo*	*âi=láuák*	*onén*	*tâmo,*
or	PL~make.sound	NVIS.PROX	or	REC=be.angry	NVIS.PROX	now

sik	*a*	*pan*	*lantuá=n=a*	*pál~pál-an*
take	PFV	go	inside=3SG=ART	INTR~plan-NOML

'They (the family) took this argument and this talk and this fight now to court.'

(67) | *i=n=a* | *nér* | *a* | *ti* | *tâmo,* | *i=n=a* | *nér* | *ik* | *â=rarau* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| INAL=3SG=ART | 3PL | PFV | stand | now | INAL=3SG=ART | 3PL | IPFV | CAU=correct |

'Then they (spoke) up now to straighten things.'

(68) | *a* | *pan* | *tâmo,* | *pâ* | *kas* | *pâs-muá* | *lâŋ* | *a* | *bakal* | *la* | *malai* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PFV | go | now | with | other | step-front | like | ART | chief | in | village |

â=ti	*iriâi*	*la*	*ra~rauai,*	*riái*	*iriâi*	*tâmo*
CAU=stand	3DU	in	PL~make.sound	ask	3DU	now

'This went on now, there was one leader like a chief in the village, he let them stand up and talk, he asked them now.'

(69)

"té	*imiâi*	*ik*	*â=tán*	*tâmo,*	*óró*	*popo*	*si*	*nás*	*rarau?*
then	2DU	IPFV	CAU=say	now	VIS.PROX	child	AL	who	correct

'"Then say now, whose baby is this really?'

(70)

popo	*ró,*	*uâ*	*mat,*	*si*	*nás,*	*lo*	*popo*	*óró*	*tó*	*si*	*nás?"*
child	VIS.PROX	RC.PST	die	AL	who	or	child	VIS.PROX	live	AL	who

'Whose is this baby that has died, and whose is this baby that is alive?"'

(71)

tâmo	*kas*	*ik*	*â=tán*	*lân=âtâ*
now	other	IPFV	CAU=say	like=VIS.DIST

'Now one (of them) said.'

(72)

"popo	*ró*	*tó*	*iâ*	*si=k"*
child	VIS.PROX	live	CONT	AL=1SG

'"The baby here that is alive must be mine."'

(73)

bus	*nâ*	*ik*	*â=tán,*	*po*	*si=n=a,*	*ik*	*bát~bát*
DUMMY	NVIS.DIST	IPFV	CAU=say	COMP	AL=3SG=ART	IPFV	INTR~trick

'That one would say that it was hers, she was lying.'

(74)

sâk	*popo*	*si=n=a,*	*popo*	*si=n=a*	*nâ*	*mat*	*kâuâi*
NEG	child	AL=3SG=ART	child	AL=3SG=ART	NVIS.DIST	die	already

'It was not her child, her child was already dead.'

(75)

bus	*nâ,*	*popo,*	*nan*	*â=k*	*toi,*	*a*	*popo*	*mat,*
DUMMY	NVIS.DIST	child	3SG	DIST=IPFV	touch	PFV	child	die

nan	*a*	*â=tán*
3SG	PFV	CAU=say

'The one whose baby that she was holding was the dead baby, she said.'

(76)

"âu,	*popo*	*si=k*	*tâ,*	*bus*	*tâ*	*tó"*
INTJ	child	AL=1SG	VIS.DIST	DUMMY	VIS.DIST	live

'"Hey, that is my baby, the one that is alive."'

(77)

iriâi	*a*	*âi=raras-â*	*pan*	*pan*	*pan*	*tâmo,*
3DU	PFV	REC=tight-INTR	go	go	go	now

na	*pâs-muá*	*la*	*ku=n=a*	*malai*	*lân*	*a*	*bakal,*
PN.ART	step-front	in	belly=3SG=ART	village	like	ART	chief

nan	*a*	*kus*	*tâmo*
3SG	PFV	tell	now

'They were arguing and arguing now, the leader in the village similar to a chief told now.'

(78)

"baté	*rokon,*	*niáu*	*ók*	*sik*	*a*	*iámá,*
then	good	1SG	FUT	take	ART	axe

mat	niáu=k	te	mat	a	popo	ró	tó
and	1SG=FUT	cut	die	ART	child	VIS.PROX	live

'"Okay, I will take a knife, and I will kill the living baby.'

(79)
po	uru	popo	kápái	ók	mat,	po	ik	iâ	mot	lâŋ=âtâ"
COMP	DU	child	all	FUT	die	COMP	IPFV	CONT	finish	like=VIS.DIST

'So both babies will be dead so (the fight) will end like that."'

(80)
i=n=a	tâmo	na	pâs-muá	nâ,
INAL=3SG=ART	now	PN.ART	step-front	NVIS.DIST

nan	ki	â=kotoŋ	a	ku=n=a	malai,	amâ	nér	ki	tom,
3SG	HAB	CAU=care	ART	belly=3SG=ART	village	where	3PL	HAB	sit

toi	lák	a	popo	nâ	a	tó,
touch	hit	ART	child	NVIS.DIST	PFV	live

nan	a	tâén	sik	a	iámá	tâmo
3SG	PFV	lift	take	ART	axe	now

'Then now the leader that looked after the village where they were living took the child that was alive, he lifted up his knife now.'

(81)
nan	ik	âigot,
3SG	IPFV	be.ready

po	nan	ik	lam	bok	rarau	a	popo-uiâŋ	nâ	tó
COMP	3SG	IPFV	cut	break	correct	ART	child-small	NVIS.DIST	live

'He prepared to cut the small living baby in two.'

(82)
bus	nâ,	popo	mat	â	tom	si=n=a,	táŋás	atâmo
DUMMY	NVIS.DIST	baby	die	RC.PST	sit	AL=3SG=ART	cry	now

'The one (mother) that the dead baby was sitting with was crying now.'

(83)
la	iân	nan	ka	táŋás	rarau	kuuál	pâ	lek	nâ,
in	time	3SG	RM.PST	cry	correct	together	with	man	NVIS.DIST

la	ku=n=a	malai	nâ	ki	â=kotoŋ,
in	belly=3SG=ART	village	NVIS.DIST	HAB	CAU=care

â=táŋ	lâŋ=âtâ
CAU=say	like=VIS.DIST

'When she cried, the man in the village who looked after (things) said.'

(84)
"tâmo	niáu	a	puát	tâmo,
now	1SG	PFV	find	now

po	a	popo	ró	nâ	tó	si=n=a	ten	tâ	tâmo,
COMP	ART	child	VIS.PROX	NVIS.DIST	live	AL=3SG=ART	woman	VIS.DIST	now

nan	â=k	si	ti	toi	a	popo	mat	tâ
3SG	DIST=IPFV	FOC	stand	touch	ART	child	die	VIS.DIST

'"Now I found out that this living baby belongs to that woman now who is holding that dead baby.'

(85) | *lo* | *nó* | *ró,* | *nó* | *uâ* | *toi* | *a* | *popo* | *tó* | *óró,* |
| or | 2SG | VIS.PROX | 2SG | RC.PST | touch | ART | child | live | VIS.PROX |

| *popo* | *si=m* | *tâ* | *a* | *mat* | *tâ* |
| child | AL=2SG | VIS.DIST | PFV | die | VIS.DIST |

'And you here, who is holding this living baby, your baby there is dead.'

(86) | *tâmo* | *niáu* | *a* | *puát* | *tâmo,* |
| now | 1SG | PFV | find | now |

| *si=n=a* | *nó* | *sâk* | *lom~lomon* | *laua* | *mat* | *pâ* | *bus* | *óró* | *mat* |
| AL=3SG=ART | 2SG | NEG | INTR~think | much | die | with | DUMMY | VIS.PROX | die |

'Now I found it out because you do not care too much about (whether) this one dies.'

(87) | *ten* | *tân* | *nâ,* | *nan* | *uâ* | *rara'uta* | *mot* | *kup,* |
| woman | VIS.MED | NVIS.DIST | 3SG | RC.PST | mourn | and | shout |

| *la* | *iân* | *niáu* | *uâ* | *buák* | *lam* | *a* | *mat* | *a* | *popo* | *ró* |
| in | time | 1SG | RC.PST | want | cut | PFV | die | ART | child | VIS.PROX |

'That woman was crying and shouting when I wanted to kill this baby.'

(88) | *tân* | *â=tén* | *lâŋ=âtâ,* | *po* | *popo* | *óró* | *iâ* | *si=n=a* | *rarau* |
| VIS.MED | CAU=show | like=VIS.DIST | COMP | child | VIS.PROX | CONT | AL=3SG=ART | correct |

'This shows that this child must be her own.'

(89) | *lo* | *tâmo* | *niáu=k* | *sik* | *a* | *popo* | *óró,* |
| or | now | 1SG=FUT | take | ART | child | VIS.PROX |

| *niáu* | *ik* | *â=to~toi* | *na* | *ten* | *óró,* | *nan* | *uâ* | *kup* | *pâ* | *rara'uta,* |
| 1SG | IPFV | CAU=?~touch | PN.ART | woman | VIS.PROX | 3SG | RC.PST | shout | with | mourn |

| *lo* | *nan* | *uâ* | *kup,* |
| or | 3SG | RC.PST | shout |

| *po* | *piâ=n=a* | *lák* | *a* | *mat* | *a* | *popo* |
| COMP | PROH.INAL=3SG=ART | hit | PFV | die | ART | child |

'But now I will take this child, I will give it to this woman who was shouting and crying, and she was crying not to kill the baby.'

(90) | *lo* | *nó,* | *popo* | *si=m* | *tâ* | *mat,* | *nó=k* | *sik* | *a* | *popo* | *óró,* |
| or | 2SG | child | AL=2SG | VIS.DIST | die | 2SG=FUT | take | ART | child | VIS.PROX |

| *mot* | *nó=k* | *pan* | *nó=k* | *táuán* | *nan* |
| and | 2SG=FUT | go | 2SG=IPFV | bury | 3SG |

'But you, your baby there is dead, take this baby and go and bury it.'

(91) | *lo* | *nó,* | *ten* | *óró,* | *nó=k* | *sik* | *a* | *popo* | *tó,* |
| or | 2SG | woman | VIS.PROX | 2SG=FUT | take | ART | child | live |

| *mot* | *nó=k* | *â=kotoŋ,* | *nan* | *a* | *popo* | *si=m"* |
| and | 2SG=FUT | CAU=care | 3SG | PFV | child | AL=2SG |

'But you, this woman, take the living baby and look after it, it is your baby."'

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