

Tiang texts 4

History and biographies

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August 2023

Texts in the indigenous languages of the Pacific, Vol. 5(4)

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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

The stories of Volume 4 deal with nonfictional contents. The first few texts are an outline of the history of Djaul, starting from the colonial era up until the present. The texts address current problems experienced by the Tiang community. Social problems like a growing population make it difficult for many people to sustain themselves with the resources on their island. Tiang people are also very much aware of the climate change, which manifests in a rising sea level, extreme droughts and short but heavy rainy seasons.

New Ireland is famous for its *malagan* culture. How the *malagan* masks came to Djaul is one of the topics of this volume. Another text tells the story of how the much-loved *balpák* banana came to the island. The second half of the volume consists of biographies and short episodes from the lives of members of the Tiang community.

2. Texts

2.1. A little history of Djaul

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *a pini-uiâŋ i=n=a Tiául*
 ART story-small INAL=3SG=ART T.
 'A little history of Djaul.'
- (2) *óró a pini-uiâŋ i=n=a Tiául*
 VIS.PROX PFV story-small INAL=3SG=ART T.
 'This is a little history of Djaul.'
- (3) *tuna, niáu sâk mala kalapan a rokon*
 true 1SG NEG very know PFV good
 'Actually, I do not know it that well.'
- (4) *pâ bul kulâu-uin, amâ noŋ nér ik peten,*
 with PL people-big where be.enough 3PL IPFV tell
lo nér ik â=us a rokon a pini i=n=a Tiául
 or 3PL IPFV CAU=follow PFV good ART story INAL=3SG=ART T.
 'There are old people that can tell (about it), and they would recall the history of Djaul well.'
- (5) *kas-nón si=nér a mat kâuâi,*
 other-NSG AL=3PL PFV die already
lo pâ kas-nón, nér a tom tó kinak
 or with other-NSG 3PL PFV sit live still
 'Some of them are already dead, but there are some that are still alive.'
- (6) *sakalan nér sâk mala lom~lomon utâ a us,*
 but 3PL NEG very INTR~think much PFV follow
lo nér sâk lomom ala sâ sét i=n=a ta=k kus,
 or 3PL NEG think again what thing INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.INC=IPFV tell
lo peten â=us a pini-uiâŋ i=n=a Tiául
 or tell CAU=follow ART story-small INAL=3SG=ART T.
 'But they were not too interested, or they did not remember what we would tell about the little history of Djaul.'
- (7) *óró lâŋ a sâ bul bus nâ mo,*
 VIS.PROX like ART what PL DUMMY NVIS.DIST only
nér ki kus niáu pâ=n=a, lo sâ bul bus,
 3PL HAB tell 1SG with=3SG=ART or what PL DUMMY
niáu a tom ráŋ ala pâ pini-uiâŋ i=n=a Tiául,
 1SG PFV sit see again with story-small INAL=3SG=ART T.

mot a to~tom-an, lo tó si=n=a kulâu óró Tiául
 and ART NOML~sit-NOML or live AL=3SG=ART people VIS.PROX T.

‘This is what they used to tell me, and what I also experienced about the little history of Djaul and the situation and life of the people here on Djaul.’

- (8) *tâmo niáu ók peten â=us mo, noŋ i=n=a â=ŋasik*
 now 1SG FUT tell CAU=follow only be.enough INAL=3SG=ART CAU=help

lantuá=n=a pat îân óró pâ loŋ~loŋoi-â, i=n=a tánámái
 inside=3SG=ART part time VIS.PROX with INTR~hear-INTR INAL=3SG=ART afterward

si=n=a bul lu=biâŋ auái ik meŋen polok
 AL=3SG=ART PL PL=small new IPFV start grow

‘Now I will just tell accordingly so it may help at this moment for listening so afterwards, it will be for new children (when they) grow up.’

- (9) *Tiául, nan a âilan,*
 T. 3SG PFV island

lo nan a tom la pat kál i=n=a Niu Âilan
 or 3SG PFV sit in part up INAL=3SG=ART N. A.

‘Djaul is an island, and it is towards the westcoast (lit. upper part) of New Ireland.’

- (10) *té lantuá=n=a Tiául pâ patlima pâ iuái a malai óró Tiául,*
 then inside=3SG=ART T. with five with two ART village VIS.PROX T.

lo patlima mo ki ra~rauai pâ ra~rauai siua,
 or five only HAB PL~make.sound with PL~make.sound place

ner ki â=tán a Tiân
 3PL HAB CAU=say ART T.

‘Then on Djaul, there are seven villages here on Djaul, but only five (villages) speak the language called Tiang.’

- (11) *lo a iuái ki ra~rauai pâ ra~rauai Tigak*
 or ART two HAB PL~make.sound with PL~make.sound T.

‘But two (villages) speak Tigak.’

- (12) *óró, niáu=k peten isan rarau mo a Tiân, lo patlima malai,*
 VIS.PROX 1SG=FUT tell alone correct only ART T. or five village

amâ óró tom óró Tiân
 where VIS.PROX sit VIS.PROX T.

‘Here, I will only tell about the Tiang (people) and the five villages that are here on the Tiang (side).’

- (13) *inkâuái tuna, nó=k puát lâŋ=âtâ,*
 old true 2SG=IPFV find like=VIS.DIST

po ka pârék ta laua kulâu ka tom
 COMP RM.PST have.NEG IND.ART much people RM.PST sit

lantúa=n=a bul malai óró Tiân, ka isa imbo=lek mo
 inside=3SG=ART PL village VIS.PROX T. RM.PST how.much PL=man only
 ‘In the old days, you would find that there were not many people living here in the Tiang villages, there were only some.’

- (14) *óró, níáu=k peten a pan tâmo*
 VIS.PROX 1SG=FUT tell PFV go now
 ‘Here, I will continue to tell now.’

- (15) *inkâuâi tuna la iân na iâiâ nér ka tom tó,*
 old true in time PN.ART grandparent 3PL RM.PST sit live
iâiâ tâuan si=k mot na iâiâ ten si=k,
 grandparent male AL=1SG and PN.ART grandparent woman AL=1SG
ka pâ bul kulâu ka â=kotoŋ nér pâs-muá
 RM.PST with PL people RM.PST CAU=care 3PL step-front
 ‘In the old days, when the grandparents’ generation was alive, my grandfather and my grandmother, there were people that ruled over them before.’

- (16) *ka pâ bul kulâu bát, nér ka man,*
 RM.PST with PL people white 3PL RM.PST come
nér ka â=kotoŋ nér
 3PL RM.PST CAU=care 3PL
 ‘There were white people, they came, they ruled over them.’

- (17) *la iân nér ka tom, a tuna, ka pârék ta kalapaŋ*
 in time 3PL RM.PST sit PFV true RM.PST have.NEG IND.ART know
ka sâŋ mâsapa si=nér
 RM.PST arrive clear AL=3PL
 ‘When they were alive, it is true that there was no knowledge that reached them.’

- (18) *nér ala ka sâk mala kalapaŋ rokon,*
 3PL again RM.PST NEG very know good
pâ sâ sét a rokon, lo sâ sét a sât
 with what thing PFV good or what thing PFV bad
 ‘They did not really know well what was good and what was bad.’

- (19) *nér ka sâk kalapaŋ pâ niâu óró, â=kal~kalit, ala*
 3PL RM.PST NEG know with thing VIS.PROX CAU=INTR~learn again
 ‘They did not know about this thing, education, either.’

- (20) *nér ka tó mo, lâŋ nér kóró â=us mo*
 3PL RM.PST live only like 3PL PST.HAB CAU=follow only
sâ pâl~pâl-an, nér ka pâ=n=a
 what INTR~plan-NOML 3PL RM.PST with=3SG=ART
 ‘They were just living like they were following only whatever activities they had.’

- (21) *otâmo mot niá buák â=mâsapa lantuá=n=a iân tanén lâη=âtâ*
 now and 1SG want CAU=clear inside=3SG=ART time today like=VIS.DIST
 ‘And now I want to explain this today.’
- (22) *la iân a bul kulâu bát ka â=kotoη nér,*
 in time ART PL people white RM.PST CAU=care 3PL
ka pâ laua lâuâ=n=a kulâu bát
 RM.PST with much much=3SG=ART people white
 ‘When the white people were ruling over them, there were many kinds of white people.’
- (23) *ka pâ bul Jamani, ka pâ bul Siâpân, ka pâ bul Ostrelia*
 RM.PST with PL J. RM.PST with PL S. RM.PST with PL O.
ka â=kotoη nér, la iân nér ka tom
 RM.PST CAU=care 3PL in time 3PL RM.PST sit
 ‘There were Germans, there were Japanese, there were Australians that ruled over them when they were alive.’
- (24) *pâs-muá tuna i=n=a ti-topoη i=n=a sâ~sâη-an*
 step-front true INAL=3SG=ART stand-start INAL=3SG=ART NOML~arrive-NOML
i=n=a pâ mâsapa ik sâη,
 INAL=3SG=ART with clear IPFV arrive
a bul Jamani ka bul pâs-muá i=n=a kulâu,
 ART PL J. RM.PST PL step-front INAL=3SG=ART people
amâ nér ka man
 where 3PL RM.PST come
 ‘Long ago at the beginning of the arrival of the education that would come, the Germans were the first people who came.’
- (25) *nér ka tom kálá bul tesin*
 3PL RM.PST sit on PL station
 ‘They lived on the plantations.’
- (26) *mot nér kóró gâi nér,*
 and 3PL PST.HAB accompany 3PL
po nér ik pan ik âisók kuuál pâ nér,
 COMP 3PL IPFV go IPFV work together with 3PL
i=n=a nér ala ik kalapaη tâmo pâ niâu ró,
 INAL=3SG=ART 3PL again IPFV know now with thing VIS.PROX
nér ki â=tâη a mâni
 3PL HAB CAU=say ART money
 ‘And they used to take them so they would go and work with them so they would know now about this thing they called “money”.’
- (27) *mot iân tân, nér kóró â=kalit nér pâ salan*
 and time VIS.MED 3PL PST.HAB CAU=learn 3PL with way

i=n=a puát mâni, mot iân tân ala,
 INAL=3SG=ART find money and time VIS.MED again

a bul Jamani kóró â=én nér,
 ART PL J. PST.HAB CAU=send 3PL

i=n=a âisók la bul tesin
 INAL=3SG=ART work in PL station

'And at that time, they taught them the way to earn money, and also at that time, the Germans sent them to work on the plantations.'

(28) *mot a bul Jamani la kóró tauai nér pâ bul ηáuák,*
 and ART PL J. again PST.HAB give 3PL with PL position

lân nér ik sâη saka bul kulâu,
 like 3PL IPFV arrive one PL people

amâ i=n=a â=kotoη an a kulâu,
 where INAL=3SG=ART CAU=care NOML ART people

sémén na pâs-muá sâk tom lantuá=n=a tesin
 if PN.ART step-front NEG sit inside=3SG=ART station

'And the Germans also gave them positions, like they would become a kind of person that looks after people if the manager was not on the plantation.'

(29) *nan a pan Keuiân ka'u,*
 3SG PFV go K. maybe

lo pan amâ la sâ kas-nón bák,
 or go where in what other-NSG place

nan a â=kalit nér kâuâi pâ tó,
 3SG PFV CAU=learn 3PL already with live

lo i=n=a â=kotoη an a bul kulâu i=n=a âisók,
 or INAL=3SG=ART CAU=care NOML ART PL people INAL=3SG=ART work

la iân nér ik âisók la tesin
 in time 3PL IPFV work in station

'He might have gone to Kavieng or to some other place, he had already taught them the way to live and to look after the workers when they were working on the plantation.'

(30) *la mi=n=a, ka pâ ku sât ka sâη*
 in back=3SG=ART RM.PST with belly bad RM.PST arrive
 'Afterwards, aggressions (lit. bad belly) came up.'

(31) *ku sât ka sâη la-uata i=n=a bul Siâpân*
 belly bad RM.PST arrive in-middle INAL=3SG=ART PL S.

pâ bul Jamani
 with PL J.

'Aggressions came up between the Japanese and the Germans.'

- (32) *bul Siâpân ala ka buák aman ik â=kotoŋ ala*
 PL S. again RM.PST want come IPFV CAU=care again
a kuráŋ si=mam, lâŋ óró Tiául, lo óró Pâpuâ Niugini,
 ART world AL=1PL.EXC like VIS.PROX T. or VIS.PROX P. N.
lo Niu Âilan kápái
 or N. A. all
 ‘The Japanese also wanted to come to rule over our place, like here on Djaul and here in Papua New Guinea and all of New Ireland.’

- (33) *la iân nér, a bul Siâpân, ka man,*
 in time 3PL ART PL S. RM.PST come
nér kóró pâ ku sât toi a bul Jamani
 3PL PST.HAB with belly bad touch ART PL J.
 ‘When they, the Japanese, came, they had aggression against the Germans.’

- (34) *i=n=a tâmo ka sâŋ lantuá=n=a mâsât,*
 INAL=3SG=ART now RM.PST arrive inside=3SG=ART year
amâ ka pâ âi=lák-bin ka sâŋ óró la kuráŋ,
 where RM.PST with REC=hit-big RM.PST arrive VIS.PROX in world
nâ=mo nér ki â=táŋ a seken ual uo
 NVIS.DIST=only 3PL HAB CAU=say ART second world war
 ‘Then it happened during the years where there was the big war that came to the world, the one they call the “Second World War”.’

- (35) *la pat iân nân ka pâ âi=lák-bin*
 in part time NVIS.MED RM.PST with REC=hit-big
la iân tân tâmo, bul Siâpân ka iâ gán,
 in time VIS.MED now PL S. RM.PST CONT leave
bul Jamani la ka iâ gán
 PL J. again RM.PST CONT leave
 ‘At that moment where there was the big war at that time, the Japanese had to leave, the Germans also had to leave.’

- (36) *a Ostrelia rarau tâmo ka â=kotoŋ a kuráŋ óró si=mam*
 ART O. correct now RM.PST CAU=care ART world VIS.PROX AL=1PL.EXC
lâŋ a Tiául, lo Pâpuâ Niugini, lo Niu Âilan kápái
 like ART T. or P. N. or N. A. all
 ‘Australia now ruled over our place like Djaul, Papua New Guinea and all of New Ireland.’

- (37) *la iân mam ka tom kuuál pâ bul Ostrelia,*
 in time 1PL.EXC RM.PST sit together with PL O.
ka pâ imbo=lek-bin si=mam, amâ nér a â=kotoŋ
 RM.PST with PL=man-big AL=1PL.EXC where 3PL PFV CAU=care

a gâpman lantuá=n=a pâlanan si=mam,
ART government inside=3SG=ART parliament AL=1PL.EXC

ner ka sân lân a bul pâs-muá si=mam
3PL RM.PST arrive like ART PL step-front AL=1PL.EXC

‘When we were with the Australians, there were some important men that looked after the government in our parliament, they became like our leaders.’

(38) *na Mâikal Somâre, na Sa Juliás Cen,*
PN.ART M. S. PN.ART S. J. C.

té pâ kas-nón ala, niáu sâk lomom a bul isá=ner,
then with other-NSG again 1SG NEG think ART PL name=3PL

ner ka bul kulâu ónén,
3PL RM.PST PL people NVIS.PROX

ner ka â=kotoŋ a kântri la pat iân tân
3PL RM.PST CAU=care ART country in part time VIS.MED

‘Micheal Somare, Sir Julius Chan, then there were also others, I do not remember their names, these were the people who ruled the country at that time.’

(39) *té la iân nén, ner ka ráŋ lân=âtâ,*
then in time NVIS.PROX 3PL RM.PST see like=VIS.DIST

po a Pâpuâ Niugini tâmo noŋ ik sân saka kântri
COMP ART P. N. now be.enough IPFV arrive one country

‘Then at that time, they saw that Papua New Guinea could now become one country.’

(40) *la iân onén tâmo, ner a náŋ a kas-nón kântri,*
in time NVIS.PROX now 3PL PFV request ART other-NSG country

po noŋ imam Pâpuâ Niugini, mam ik sân saka kântri potok
COMP be.enough 1PL.EXC P. N. 1PL.EXC IPFV arrive one country share

‘That time now, they asked other countries whether we, Papua New Guinea, we could become one separate country.’

(41) *la iân tân tâmo, a bul kulâu,*
in time VIS.MED now ART PL people

amâ ner ka â=kotoŋ a bul tesin si=mam,
where 3PL RM.PST CAU=care ART PL station AL=1PL.EXC

lân óró Tiául, la iân ner ka loŋoi, po Pi’enji,
like VIS.PROX T. in time 3PL RM.PST hear COMP P.

po imam rarau kulâu koi, mam ik â=kotoŋ imam,
COMP 1PL.EXC correct people black 1PL.EXC IPFV CAU=care 1PL.EXC

la iân tân ala tâmo, kas-nón, amâ ka món sâk gán,
in time VIS.MED again now other-NSG where RM.PST first NEG leave

lo ner ka iâ tom kinak, ner a ti lak tâmo,
or 3PL RM.PST CONT sit still 3PL PFV stand go.up now

ner a taual la bul malai si=ner
 3PL PFV return in PL village AL=3PL

'At that time now, the people that ruled over our plantations, like here on Djaul, when they heard that PNG, that we ourselves, the black people, we would rule over ourselves, that time now, some that at first had not left but were still there, they got up now, they returned to their places.'

(42) *la iân tanén, bul kulâu si=mam óró la siua óró Tiául,*
 in time today PL people AL=1PL.EXC VIS.PROX in place VIS.PROX T.

ner ka mere sât tuna, la iân ner ka lojoi
 3PL RM.PST be.happy bad true in time 3PL RM.PST hear

lân=âtâ, po mam rarau, a bul kulâu koi,
 like=VIS.DIST COMP 1PL.EXC correct ART PL people black

mam ik â=kotoŋ pák imam
 1PL.EXC IPFV CAU=care turn 1PL.EXC

'At that time, our people here in the villages on Djaul were very happy when they heard that we ourselves, the black people, we would look after ourselves again.'

(43) *i=n=a la iân nén tâmo, ner ka â=tân,*
 INAL=3SG=ART in time NVIS.PROX now 3PL RM.PST CAU=say

po imam ik sik a indipendans si=mam óró Pâpuâ Niugini,
 COMP 1PL.EXC IPFV take ART independence AL=1PL.EXC VIS.PROX P. N.

kápái óró ka tuâi lân=âtâ,
 all VIS.PROX RM.PST agree like=VIS.DIST

po ner ik â=us a lom~lomon,
 COMP 3PL IPFV CAU=follow ART INTR~think

amâ a bul kulâu-uin si=mam ka pasak,
 where ART PL people-big AL=1PL.EXC RM.PST appoint

po mam ik pâ indipendans
 COMP 1PL.EXC IPFV with independence

'Then at that time, when they said that we would get our independence here in Papua New Guinea, everyone here agreed on following the idea that our leaders had chosen that we would have independence.'

(44) *lo kas niâu nâ mo, mam ka si tom ráŋ,*
 or other thing NVIS.DIST only 1PL.EXC RM.PST FOC sit see

la iân a bul kulâu bát ka gán a pus-én imam,
 in time ART PL people white RM.PST leave PFV throw-TR 1PL.EXC

lân a bul Jamani mot a bul Siâpân,
 like ART PL J. and ART PL S.

ka pârék tâmo ta kas kê~kâlpák lo ta niâu auái
 RM.PST have.NEG now IND.ART other INTR~change or IND.ART thing new

ka sâŋ, la mi=n=a iân nér ka gán
 RM.PST arrive in back=3SG=ART time 3PL RM.PST leave

‘But one thing that we now saw was when the white people left us, like the Germans and the Japanese, there was now no other change or development that came after they had left.’

(45) *san a kulâu anén, nér ka tom kuuál pâ imam,*
 if ART people NVIS.PROX 3PL RM.PST sit together with 1PL.EXC

nér ka bul kulâu nâ, nér kóró man,
 3PL RM.PST PL people NVIS.DIST 3PL PST.HAB come

nér ik ualai lis a bul salan rokomât ka=mam
 3PL IPFV do give ART PL way good.very for=1PL.EXC

i=n=a pan~pan, lo i=n=a bul kêr si=mam
 INAL=3SG=ART PL~go or INAL=3SG=ART PL car AL=1PL.EXC

ik âiát kálá=n=a
 IPFV run on=3SG=ART

‘If those people had stayed with us, they would have been those people that would have come, they would have made for us very good roads for walking or for our vehicles to run on them.’

(46) *nér ala kóró sik a lak a bul sip-bin sâkârâi,*
 3PL again PST.HAB take PFV go.up ART PL ship-big very.big

amâ mam kóró kouos, i=n=a pan Keuiân
 where 1PL.EXC PST.HAB jump.on INAL=3SG=ART go K.

‘They also used to bring up (to Djaul) big ships that we used to jump on to go to Kavieng.’

(47) *nér a lak a ualai a bul lu-uin âi=rokon kâuâi*
 3PL PFV go.up PFV do ART PL house-big REC=good already

la tesin
 in station

‘They had already put up big and very good houses on the plantations.’

(48) *lo lom~lomon anén, nér ik ualai a bul lu*
 or INTR~think NVIS.PROX 3PL IPFV do ART PL house

la tesin, po ik âi=noŋ ala, po nér ik ualai lis
 in station COMP IPFV REC=be.enough again COMP 3PL IPFV do give

a bul lu ka=n=a bul kulâu si=mam la malai,
 ART PL house for=3SG=ART PL people AL=1PL.EXC in village

lâŋ a bul kulâu la siua
 like ART PL people in place

‘Or the idea that they would make houses on the plantations so they would also be equal (for everyone), that they would make houses for our people in the village, like the people in the rural area.’

(49) *lo tâmo la pat iân anén ka sâk sâŋ,*
 or now in part time NVIS.PROX RM.PST NEG arrive

si=n=a *â=us* *lâŋ=âtâ,* *ner* *ka* *sâk* *tom* *tâmo*
 AL=3SG=ART CAU=follow like=VIS.DIST 3PL RM.PST NEG sit now

pâ *mam,* *si=n=a* *mam* *ka* *sik* *kâuûi* *a* *indipendans* *si=mam*
 with 1PL.EXC AL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC RM.PST take already ART independence AL=1PL.EXC
 ‘But now at that moment, this did not happen because they did not stay with us now because we had already got our independence.’

(50) *la* *iân* *ner* *ka* *gân,*
 in time 3PL RM.PST leave

ner *a* *gân* *sal~sal* *pâ* *bul* *rokomât* *kápái*
 3PL PFV leave INTR~miss with PL good.very all
 ‘When they had left, they left forever with all the good things.’

(51) *i=n=a* *tâmo* *a* *kulâu-uin* *si=mam* *a* *taual* *pan*
 INAL=3SG=ART now ART people-big AL=1PL.EXC PFV return go

la *bul* *tó* *si=mam* *inkâuûi,* *pâ* *mam* *kóró* *bál*
 in PL live AL=1PL.EXC old with 1PL.EXC PST.HAB make

a *lu* *si=mam* *pâ* *paka=n=a* *lu* *saksak* *mo*
 ART house AL=1PL.EXC with leaf=3SG=ART house sago only

‘Then our ancestors returned to our old lives, as we used to build houses just with a sago leaf roof.’

(52) *mam* *ik* *te* *a* *bul* *uái,* *a* *toŋoi,* *lo* *a* *boko,*
 1PL.EXC IPFV cut ART PL tree ART mangrove or ART tree.sp.

lo *sâ* *bul* *uái* *nâ,* *mam* *ki* *bál* *lu* *pâ=n=a*
 or what PL tree NVIS.DIST 1PL.EXC HAB make house with=3SG=ART

‘We would cut trees, mangrove trees or *boko* trees or whatever kind of trees that we build houses with.’

(53) *té* *mam* *kóró* *sái* *mam* *ik* *sépék* *mot* *sisák*
 then 1PL.EXC PST.HAB go.down 1PL.EXC IPFV remove.midrib and sew
 ‘Then we used to go down (to the swamp) to remove the midribs (from sago leaf blades) and sew (the leaf blades together).’

(54) *lo* *la* *iân* *tân* *tâmo,*
 or in time VIS.MED now

po *nás* *ala* *ik* *élérj* *lis* *a* *salan* *ka=mam,*
 COMP who again IPFV clean.up give ART way for=1PL.EXC

i=n=a *imam* *ik* *pâ* *bul* *kâpa,* *a* *bul* *sâ* *la*
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV with PL iron.roof ART PL what again

‘But at that time now, who would show us the way to have iron roofs and whatever things.’

(55) *bul* *rokomât* *i=n=a* *kâ~kâlpák,*
 PL good.very INAL=3SG=ART INTR~change

lo *bul* *râŋ~râŋ-an* *auái* *ik* *sâŋ* *lantúa=n=a* *kurâŋ,*
 or PL INTR~see-NOML new IPFV arrive inside=3SG=ART world

si=n=a kulâu nén noŋ nér ik éléŋ lis
 AL=3SG=ART people NVIS.PROX be.enough 3PL IPFV clean.up give

a salan, nér ka gán kâuâi
 ART way 3PL RM.PST leave already

‘The very good changes and development (lit. new observations) would come into the world because these people could show the way, (but) they had already left.’

- (56) *tâmo lâŋ a kulâu-uin si=mam, mam kóró taual ala*
 now like ART people-big AL=1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC PST.HAB return again
 ‘Now like our ancestors, we also stepped backwards (to the old way of life).’

- (57) *mam ik irám kaka,*
 1PL.EXC IPFV drink well

kas-nón iân, mam ik pan la bul mâi,
 other-NSG time 1PL.EXC IPFV go in PL water.cave

mam ik itá bul rárám si=mam tân la mâi
 1PL.EXC IPFV fetch PL water AL=1PL.EXC VIS.MED in water.cave

‘We would drink well water, sometimes, we would go to the water caves, we would fetch our water from the caves.’

- (58) *tâmo ka man noŋ la pat iân tanén,*
 now RM.PST come be.enough in part time today

to~tom-an nén si=mam óró la siua,
 NOML~sit-NOML NVIS.PROX AL=1PL.EXC VIS.PROX in place

to~tom-an si=mam sâk mala âi=noŋ
 NOML~sit-NOML AL=1PL.EXC NEG very REC=be.enough

‘Now until this moment today, this life of ours here in the village, our life is not very equal.’

- (59) *lâŋ=âtâ, si=n=a kas-nón si=mam, nér a pâ ŋat,*
 like=VIS.DIST AL=3SG=ART other-NSG AL=1PL.EXC 3PL PFV with stone

lo kas-nón si=mam pârék ta ŋat
 or other-NSG AL=1PL.EXC have.NEG IND.ART stone

‘It is like this, because some of us, they have money, but some of us do not have money.’

- (60) *kas-nón iân, mam kas-nón ók ŋan*
 other-NSG time 1PL.EXC other-NSG FUT eat.TR

ta kas-nón bul boi-an lâŋ a râis, lo irám ti,
 IND.ART other-NSG PL eat-NOML like ART rice or drink tea

lo a tinpis ka’u
 or ART tinned.fish maybe

‘Sometimes, some of us will eat some food like rice or drink tea or maybe tinned fish.’

- (61) *a kas-nón si=mam lantuá=n=a saka ualan,*
 ART other-NSG AL=1PL.EXC inside=3SG=ART one moon

nér ki sâk ñan ârék ta râis,
3PL HAB NEG eat.TR have.NEG IND.ART rice

nér ki sâk irám ta ti
3PL HAB NEG drink IND.ART tea

‘Some of us during one month, they do not eat rice at all, they do not drink tea.’

- (62) *kas-nón iân, kas-nón si=mam, mam ók iâ tom mo*
other-NSG time other-NSG AL=1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC FUT CONT sit only
‘Sometimes, some of us, we will just have to stay (without food).’

- (63) *mam ók boi mo la maulék, lâ-lâs ki pârék,*
1PL.EXC FUT eat.INTR only in morning in-noon HAB have.NEG

mot le-le la ki pârék
and in-afternoon again HAB have.NEG

‘We will only eat in the morning, not at lunch and neither in the afternoon.’

- (64) *kas-nón iân, a lu=biân mo, nér ók boi*
other-NSG time ART PL=small only 3PL FUT eat.INTR
‘Sometimes, only the children will eat.’

- (65) *kas-nón iân, a uru âi=tama, iriâi pâ lu=biân,*
other-NSG time ART two REC=father 3DU with PL=small

san nér a laua mat, bul boi-an-biân lantuá=n=a kaua,
if 3PL PFV much die PL eat-NOML-small inside=3SG=ART coconut.shell

kas-nón iân ki uná, kas-nón iân ki sâk uná
other-NSG time HAB be.full other-NSG time HAB NEG be.full

‘Sometimes, parents have children, if they are very many, the little food on the plate, sometimes it is full, sometimes it is not full.’

- (66) *kas-nón iân sémén ók pâ uás-bin ók mati,*
other-NSG time if FUT with sun-big FUT lie

tâmo pat iân tân, mam ki silé lantuá=n=a lâuâ=n=a mâmât-bin
now part time VIS.MED 1PL.EXC HAB enter inside=3SG=ART much=3SG=ART heavy-big

‘Sometimes, if there is a drought, now that time, we go into some kind of crisis.’

- (67) *pâ bul salan si=mam i=n=a puát ñat,*
with PL way AL=1PL.EXC INAL=3SG=ART find stone

lâñ a sémén a lâmâs si=mam ók piâ=n=a sâñ,
like ART if ART copra AL=1PL.EXC FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART arrive

lo kala=n=a meñ ók biân,
or amount=3SG=ART dry FUT small

kas-nón iân, a bul buá si=mam,
other-NSG time ART PL betelnut AL=1PL.EXC

amâ mam ki sik ηat p̂a=n=a, ók meη
 where 1PL.EXC HAB take stone with=3SG=ART FUT dry

‘There are ways for us to earn money, for example, if we cannot produce copra, or the dry coconuts are small, sometimes, our betelnuts, which we earn money with, are dry.’

- (68) *óró, nan a tó-uiân, lo mam p̂a bul salan-biân,*
 VIS.PROX 3SG PFV live-small or 1PL.EXC with PL way-small

amâ mam ki iâ â=us,
 where 1PL.EXC HAB CONT CAU=follow

i=n=a mam ik tó lantuá=n=a
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV live inside=3SG=ART

‘This is (our) simple life, but we have ways that we must follow to survive.’

- (69) *tâmo lantuá=n=a bul iân óró, nó=k puát lâη=âtâ,*
 now inside=3SG=ART PL time VIS.PROX 2SG=FUT find like=VIS.DIST

lantuá=n=a bul sak~saka bák óró Tiául, sak~saka tiár tân,
 inside=3SG=ART PL DISTR~one place VIS.PROX T. DISTR~one person VIS.MED

nan p̂a salan si=n=a, i=n=a nan ik puát ηat
 3SG with way AL=3SG=ART INAL=3SG=ART 3SG IPFV find stone

‘Now during this time, you will find that in each place here on Djaul, each person has his way to earn money.’

- (70) *mot nó=k piâ=n=a kalapan ala p̂a kas tiár,*
 and 2SG=FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART know again with other person

nan uâ puát a kó ηat lâηâsâ lâηâsâ lâηâsâ
 3SG RC.PST find ART small.piece stone how how how

‘And you will not know about a person how he earned his little money (through various ways).’

- (71) *a sâ uá=n=a uái tuna si=mam óró Tiául,*
 ART what fruit=3SG=ART tree true AL=1PL.EXC VIS.PROX T.

amâ mam ki puát a ηat p̂a=n=a,
 where 1PL.EXC HAB find ART stone with=3SG=ART

a buá mo, mot a lâmâs
 PFV betelnut only and ART copra

‘The main crops (lit. very fruits of our trees) here on Djaul we earn money with are only betelnuts and copra.’

- (72) *ki p̂a bul iân mo, sémén ki p̂a pâl~pâl-an ki sâη*
 HAB with PL time only if HAB with INTR~plan-NOML HAB arrive

lantuá=n=a kântri, lo p̂a bul kulâu ók man,
 inside=3SG=ART country or with PL people FUT come

i=n=a pâl an a pula, lo pâl an a riân,
 INAL=3SG=ART buy NOML ART sea.cucumber or buy NOML ART fish

tân iuak a pat iân tân
VIS.MED later ART part time VIS.MED

ki lâη a pat iân rokon mo, ki sâk tom iân beuel,
HAB like ART part time good only HAB NEG sit time long

ki tom lâη a utál a ualan mo, lo iuâi a ualan
HAB sit like ART three ART moon only or two ART moon

‘There are only (some) times, if there is an event to happen in the country, or there are people that come to buy sea cucumbers or to buy fish, then eventually, there will be the time like a chance (lit. good time) that will be there for a short time only and will stay only for three months or two months.’

(73) *mam ók sái, mam ók salaη kol-an a pula,*
1PL.EXC FUT go.down 1PL.EXC FUT search go.around-TR ART sea.cucumber

mam ik lák an a rián, i=n=a mam ik tó
1PL.EXC IPFV hit about ART fish INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV live

‘We will go down (to the beach), we will look for sea cucumbers, we will catch fish so we survive.’

(74) *nér ik tauai imam pâ ηat-biân,*
3PL IPFV give 1PL.EXC with stone-small

i=n=a mam a â=kotoη a tó si=mam
INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC PFV CAU=care ART live AL=1PL.EXC

‘They would give us a little money so we can look after our lives.’

(75) *lâη nan a bul salan, mâ mam ki tom óró la sua*
like 3SG PFV PL way where 1PL.EXC HAB sit VIS.PROX in place

‘Like these are the ways how we live here in the village.’

(76) *mam ki puát, kas-nón iân, mam ók tom,*
1PL.EXC HAB find other-NSG time 1PL.EXC FUT sit

mam ki pârék ta ηat, nâ=mo lâη a mâni
1PL.EXC HAB have.NEG IND.ART stone NVIS.DIST=only like ART money

‘We find that sometimes, we will stay, we will not have money.’

(77) *tuna, mam ók âisók biân, mam ók puát a mâni*
true 1PL.EXC FUT work small 1PL.EXC FUT find ART money

‘Truely, we will work a little, we will earn some money.’

(78) *kas-nón iân pârék*
other-NSG time have.NEG

‘Sometimes, (we) will not.’

(79) *la iân mam ók tom nâ mo,*
in time 1PL.EXC FUT sit NVIS.DIST only

sémén pâ salan-biân i=n=a ηat,
if with way-small INAL=3SG=ART stone

mam a loηoi la sâ bák, tâmo mam ók suma sât tuna
1PL.EXC PFV hear in what place now 1PL.EXC FUT fast bad true

mam ik pan, i=n=a mam ik âisók tân,
1PL.EXC IPFV go INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV work VIS.MED

si=n=a mam ik buák ɲat tân,
AL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV want stone VIS.MED

i=n=a pál a sâ sét-biân ók nonj imam
INAL=3SG=ART buy ART what thing-small FUT be.enough 1PL.EXC

‘When we stay, if there is a little way to (earn) money that we hear at some place, now we will hurry up to go to work there because we want that money to buy whatever small things we need.’

(80) *lantúa=n=a pat iân tanén, nó=k puát lâɲ=âtâ,*
inside=3SG=ART part time today 2SG=FUT find like=VIS.DIST

kas-nón si=mam, nér a mati kálá bul lu âi=rokon,
other-NSG AL=1PL.EXC 3PL PFV lie on PL house REC=good

lâɲ a bul lu si=nér pâ bul kâpa,
like ART PL house AL=3PL with PL iron.roof

nér a bauat pâ pâ-lâɲ, pâ bul pos âin,
3PL PFV make.wall with plank with PL post iron

lo pâ bul pos, nér a kata, lâɲ a káila lo âsai
or with PL post 3PL PFV cut like ART kwila or tree.sp.

‘This time today, you find that some of us, they sleep in very good houses, for example, their houses have an iron roof, they made walls with planks, it has iron posts or posts they cut, for example, (from) kwila or âsai trees.’

(81) *mat nér a matai rokon kálá kas-nón bul lu*
and 3PL PFV sleep good on other-NSG PL house
‘And they sleep well in some houses.’

(82) *kas-nón si=mam, mam iâ tom*
other-NSG AL=1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC CONT sit

kálá bul lu paka=n=a saksak kinak mo
on PL house leaf=3SG=ART sago still only

‘Some of us, we still must live in houses just with a sago leaf roof.’

(83) *a tó si=mam sâk mala âi=nonj*
ART live AL=1PL.EXC NEG very REC=be.enough

lantúa=n=a pat iân tanén
inside=3SG=ART part time today
‘Our life is not very equal at this time now.’

(84) *kas-nón iân, a gâpman ki sâk mala tâptâuâi si=mam,*
other-NSG time ART government HAB NEG very give.help AL=1PL.EXC

lo sâk ráɲ a rokon a bul kiual si=mam óró tom
or NEG see PFV good ART PL half AL=1PL.EXC VIS.PROX sit

lantuá=n=a malai

inside=3SG=ART village

‘Sometimes, the government does not help us much or does not see our needs (lit. halves) very well that (we have) here in the village.’

- (85) *pâ bul niâu nâ, nan a kiual-bin si=mam rarau,*
with PL thing NVIS.DIST 3SG PFV half-big AL=1PL.EXC correct

a gâpman si=mam ki sâk â=ηasik imam utâ
ART government AL=1PL.EXC HAB NEG CAU=help 1PL.EXC much

‘There are those things that are our very basic needs, our government does not help us much.’

- (86) *mot óró, nan a kas bul ráη~ráη-an,*
and VIS.PROX 3SG PFV other PL INTR~see-NOML

amâ imam rarau ki iâ pék,
where 1PL.EXC correct HAB CONT strong

pâ sâ sét noη, i=n=a â=kotoη imam
with what thing be.enough INAL=3SG=ART CAU=care 1PL.EXC

‘And these are some other observations, that we ourselves must work hard (to do) whatever can help us.’

- (87) *mam rarau ik iâ pék, sémén imam buák ta lu rokon*
1PL.EXC correct IPFV CONT strong if 1PL.EXC want IND.ART house good
‘We ourselves must be strong if we want a good house.’

- (88) *imam ik iâ âisók pék,*
1PL.EXC IPFV CONT work strong

i=n=a mam ik pâl ta ók kâpa,
INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV buy IND.ART whole.piece iron.roof

mam ik pâl ta ók tâη ka’u la
1PL.EXC IPFV buy IND.ART whole.piece tank maybe again

‘We must work hard to buy roofing iron, to buy a water tank maybe too.’

- (89) *lo mam ik pâl ta ók sâ sét-biâη,*
or 1PL.EXC IPFV buy IND.ART whole.piece what thing-small

lâη a bul ne-uiâη la ku=n=a lu,
like ART PL thing-small in belly=3SG=ART house

lâη a sipun, lo pelet, lo ta ók kâp
like ART spoon or plate or IND.ART whole.piece cup

‘Or we would buy some small things like the small things for the household like a spoon, or plate or a cup.’

- (90) *nan mo ki sâη lantuá=n=a bul básbás-biâη si=mam*
3SG only HAB arrive inside=3SG=ART PL sweat-small AL=1PL.EXC

‘It only comes with our sweat.’

- (91) *básbás, nâ=mo lâŋ a â=us lâŋ imam ik âisók*
 sweat NVIS.DIST=only like ART CAU=follow like 1PL.EXC IPFV work
 ‘Sweat, like it comes like because we work.’
- (92) *mam ók âisók,*
 1PL.EXC FUT work
- mam ók puát a bul kana=n=a ŋat-biâŋ,*
 1PL.EXC FUT find ART PL amount=3SG=ART stone-small
- i=n=a imam ik pâ sâ sét, i=n=a â=kotoŋ imam*
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV with what thing INAL=3SG=ART CAU=care 1PL.EXC
 ‘We will work, we will find a little money so we have something to look after ourselves.’
- (93) *nan a tó-uiâŋ si=mam óró Tiául tâ*
 3SG PFV live-small AL=1PL.EXC VIS.PROX T. VIS.DIST
 ‘This is our simple life here on Djaul.’
- (94) *kas niâu ala, lâŋ a nó=k puát lâŋ=âtâ,*
 other thing again like ART 2SG=FUT find like=VIS.DIST
- sémén mam ók pan tâ Keuiâŋ lantuá=n=a malai-uin,*
 if 1PL.EXC FUT go VIS.DIST K. inside=3SG=ART village-big
- lâŋ tâ la tâun si=mam, Keuiâŋ,*
 like VIS.DIST in town AL=1PL.EXC K.
- mam ók iâ lis ta bul mâni-uin sâkârâi,*
 1PL.EXC FUT CONT give IND.ART PL money-big very.big
- i=n=a pan mo Keuiâŋ*
 INAL=3SG=ART go only K.
 ‘Also another thing, like you will find that if we go to Kavieng into the city, like there to our town, Kavieng, we will have to spend a lot of money only to go to Kavieng.’
- (95) *lâŋ nó saka tiár, nó=k pan Keuiâŋ,*
 like 2SG one person 2SG=FUT go K.
- mot nó=k taual aman, i=n=a sik ta sâ sét,*
 and 2SG=FUT return come INAL=3SG=ART take IND.ART what thing
- nó buák la tâun*
 2SG want in town
 ‘Like you one single person, you go to Kavieng, and you come back to get whatever things you want in town.’
- (96) *nó=k iâ pâ mâni lâŋ a saka tiár*
 2SG=FUT CONT with money like ART one person
- i=n=a salan rarau mo*
 INAL=3SG=ART way correct only
 ‘You must have money like one hundred (kina) just for transport alone.’

- (97) *té nó=k iâ pâ kas-nón ηat-biân,*
 then 2SG=FUT CONT with other-NSG stone-small
i=n=a â=kotoη an nó,
 INAL=3SG=ART CAU=care NOML 2SG
la iân sémén nó pan nó matai la tâun
 in time if 2SG go 2SG sleep in town
 ‘Then you must have some little money to look after yourself when you go and sleep in town.’
- (98) *kas-nón iân, mam ók sái aman óró la bák,*
 other-NSG time 1PL.EXC FUT go.down come VIS.PROX in place
amâ mam ki sik kêr, i=n=a pan la tâun,
 where 1PL.EXC HAB take car INAL=3SG=ART go in town
kas-nón iân sémén mam ók man, a tas,
 other-NSG time if 1PL.EXC FUT come PFV sea
mam ók ló matai tân
 1PL.EXC FUT travel sleep VIS.MED
 ‘Sometimes, we will come down to the place (on the west coast of New Ireland) where we take a truck to go to town, sometimes, if we come and there is (rough) sea, we will sleep there (before) passing through.’
- (99) *imam ik iâ pâl boi-an ala,*
 1PL.EXC IPFV CONT buy eat-NOML again
i=n=a â=kotoη imam lantuá=n=a pat iân tân
 INAL=3SG=ART CAU=care 1PL.EXC inside=3SG=ART part time VIS.MED
 ‘We must also buy food to look after ourselves at that time.’
- (100) *tánámái mam ik kouos a lak a bul pót,*
 afterward 1PL.EXC IPFV jump.on PFV go.up ART PL boat
i=n=a lak aman taual óró la malai
 INAL=3SG=ART go.up come return VIS.PROX in village
 ‘Afterwards, we jump in the boats to come back to the village.’
- (101) *tanén nó=k puát lâη=âtâ,*
 today 2SG=FUT find like=VIS.DIST
po nó sâk noη pan~pan ga ik pan
 COMP 2SG NEG be.enough PL~go empty IPFV go
la kas bák
 in other place
 ‘Today, you find out that you cannot just travel for no good reason and go to another place.’
- (102) *sémén nó=k pâ ηat,*
 if 2SG=FUT with stone

tân nó=k pan nó=k ráŋ a kas-nón bák
 VIS.MED 2SG=FUT go 2SG=IPFV see ART other-NSG place
 'If you have money, then you (can) go and see other places.'

(103) *la iân nó pârék ta ŋat,*
 in time 2SG have.NEG IND.ART stone

nó sâk noŋ nó=k pan nó=k ráŋ a kas-nón
 2SG NEG be.enough 2SG=IPFV go 2SG=IPFV see ART other-NSG

bák ala, lo sâ lom~lomon, nó ók pâ=n=a,
 place again or what INTR~think 2SG FUT with=3SG=ART

la iân nó=k pârék ta ŋat,
 in time 2SG=FUT have.NEG IND.ART stone

nó=k piâ=n=a ualai noŋ
 2SG=FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART do be.enough

'When you do not have money, you cannot go to see other places again, or whatever thoughts you will have about it, when you do not have money, you cannot achieve it.'

(104) *nan tâmo lâŋ a tó-uiâŋ si=mam óró Tiául,*
 3SG now like ART live-small AL=1PL.EXC VIS.PROX T.

amâ imam ki tó lantuá=n=a bul to~tom-an,
 where 1PL.EXC HAB live inside=3SG=ART PL NOML~sit-NOML

imam pâ=n=a óró la malai
 1PL.EXC with=3SG=ART VIS.PROX in village

'This is now like our simple life here on Djaul that we live under the circumstances we have here in the village.'

(105) *kas niâu ala, lâŋ i buák peten ala,*
 other thing again like IPFV want tell again

pâ ráŋ~ráŋ-an si=mam óró Tiául, nó=k puát lâŋ=âtâ,
 with INTR~see-NOML AL=1PL.EXC VIS.PROX T. 2SG=FUT find like=VIS.DIST

mam pâ patlima malai, amâ nér ki ra~rauai Tiâŋ
 1PL.EXC with five village where 3PL HAB PL~make.sound T.

'Another thing, too, that I also want to tell, there is our observation here on Djaul, you will find that we have five villages where they speak Tiang.'

(106) *lo lantuá=n=a patlima malai anén pâ saka malai mo,*
 or inside=3SG=ART five village NVIS.PROX with one village only

lâŋ a kalapan, mot pâ lom~lomon,
 like ART know and with INTR~think

amâ i=n=a â=san an a kê~kâlpák-biâŋ
 where INAL=3SG=ART CAU=arrive NOML ART INTR~change-small

lantuá=n=a bul mata=n=a lu
inside=3SG=ART PL eye=3SG=ART house

‘But among the five villages, there is only one village like (it has) the knowledge and has ideas to make a small change in the households.’

(107) *saka malai nâ,*
one village NVIS.DIST

lân a ráñ~ráñ-an auái óró=k kár sâñ biân
like ART INTR~see-NOML new VIS.PROX=IPFV go.down arrive small

lantuá=n=a ku=n=a malai, lân a Piliua mo
inside=3SG=ART belly=3SG=ART village like ART P. only

‘That one village (where it is) like the development (lit. new observation) is coming down a little into the village, (is) like only Piliua.’

(108) *la-uata an a bul malai kápái lân a Káriá, Káláunapok,*
be.in-middle about ART PL village all like ART K. K.

Pântekom, Lâpâi, Piliua, nan lân a malai,
P. L. P. 3SG like ART village

amâ nan óró=k kár pâs-muá-uiân pâ salan
where 3SG VIS.PROX=IPFV go.down step-front-small with way

i=n=a ráñ~ráñ-an auái
INAL=3SG=ART INTR~see-NOML new

‘Among all the villages like Karia, Kalaunapok, Pantekom and Lapai, Piliua is like the village that comes a little into a leading position with a way of development.’

(109) *kas-nón bul malai pâ bul pâkot sak~saka mo,*
other-NSG PL village with PL some DISTR~one only

ner pâ lom~lomon, i=n=a â=kunai-ti
3PL with INTR~think INAL=3SG=ART CAU=startle-stand

a bul lu kár ráñ~ráñ âi=rokon,
ART PL house go.down INTR~see REC=good

lo bul lu nâ ik kár ti iân beuel,
or PL house NVIS.DIST IPFV go.down stand time long

amâ pâ kâpa kálá=n=a
where with iron.roof on=3SG=ART

‘(In) other villages, there are only some few who have ideas to put up houses that look a bit nicer or such houses that would stand a bit longer that have an iron roof on top.’

(110) *nan a tó-uiân, amâ imam pâ=n=a*
3SG PFV live-small where 1PL.EXC with=3SG=ART
‘This is the simple life that we have.’

(111) *kas-nón bul lâuâ=n=a lu, mâ lantuá=n=a bul malai si=mam,*
other-NSG PL much=3SG=ART house where inside=3SG=ART PL village AL=1PL.EXC

a bul lu nén sâk, po bul kulâu âisók
 ART PL house NVIS.PROX NEG COMP PL people work

lantuá=n=a gâpman lo lantuá=n=a bul kâmpani, pârék
 inside=3SG=ART government or inside=3SG=ART PL company, have.NEG

‘Some of the houses that are in our villages, these houses are not there because the people work in the government or in the companies, no.’

(112) *bul kulâu mo la siua,*
 PL people only in place

la iân nér ik réré lâmâs ka’u mo,
 in time 3PL IPFV cut copra maybe only

nér ik âsót pâ buá-uiân, lo nér ik lák a rián,
 3PL IPFV market with betelnut-small or 3PL IPFV hit ART fish

nér ik âsót pâ=n=a
 3PL IPFV market with=3SG=ART

‘(It is) just the people in the village, only when they cut copra maybe, (or) they sell some betelnuts, or they catch fish that they sell.’

(113) *lo sâ bul salan-biân nâ, nér ki puát ñat,*
 or what PL way-small NVIS.DIST 3PL HAB find stone

anén tâmo kó ñat-biân onén nâ mo,
 NVIS.PROX now small.piece stone-small NVIS.PROX NVIS.DIST only

nér ki ualai a bul to~tom-an lo lu si=nér pâ=n=a
 3PL HAB do ART PL NOML~sit-NOML or house AL=3PL with=3SG=ART

‘Or whatever little way how they earn money, this now, just this little money, they make their living and house with it.’

(114) *nan tâmo lâñ a to~tom-an-biân si=mam*
 3SG now like ART NOML~sit-NOML-small AL=1PL.EXC

óró lantuá=n=a malai, nan tâmo ki lâñ=âtâ
 VIS.PROX inside=3SG=ART village 3SG now HAB like=VIS.DIST

‘This now is like our situation here in the village, it is now like that.’

(115) *mam ala ki ráñ lâñ=âtâ, po kó tó-uiân,*
 1PL.EXC again HAB see like=VIS.DIST COMP small.piece live-small

imam pâ=n=a, iâ â=ñasik imam
 1PL.EXC with=3SG=ART CONT CAU=help 1PL.EXC

la to~tom-an si=mam lantuá=n=a kuráñ óró
 in NOML~sit-NOML AL=1PL.EXC inside=3SG=ART world VIS.PROX

‘We also see that the simple life we have helps us in our existence in this world.’

(116) *nan lâñ a kó pini-uiân i Tiául*
 3SG like ART small.piece story-small INAL T.

‘This is like a little history of Djaul.’

(117) *pâ sâ ráŋ~ráŋ-an ki sâŋ lantuá=n=a bul malai si=mam,*
with what INTR~see-NOML HAB arrive inside=3SG=ART PL village AL=1PL.EXC

la iân mam a tom tó kinak óró
in time 1PL.EXC ART sit live still VIS.PROX

‘There is some development that comes into our villages while we are still alive here.’

(118) *mam ala a ráŋ lâŋ=âtâ, po sémén a bul kulâu-uin*
1PL.EXC again ART see like=VIS.DIST COMP if ART PL people-big

si=mam ka sâk táu a tom ta kas-nón inuá,
AL=1PL.EXC RM.PST NEG plant PFV sit IND.ART other-NSG fruit

lâŋ a ni, âlan, buá, tauan, moli,
like ART coconut pao betelnut ton citrus

lo sâ bul inuá, nér ka táu a tom ka=mam,
or what PL fruit 3PL RM.PST plant PFV sit for=1PL.EXC

la pat iân nén, mam ók salaŋ bák ka=mam,
in part time NVIS.PROX 1PL.EXC FUT search place for=1PL.EXC

lo salaŋ ta nón, i=n=a mam ik tó
or search IND.ART place INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV live

‘We also see that if our ancestors had not planted some crops, like the coconut, pao nut, betelnut, ton, citrus fruits, or whatever crops they had planted for us, this moment, we would look for a place for us or look for a place so we could live.’

(119) *lo mam ik â=táŋ rokon si=n=a bul kulâu-uin anén,*
or 1PL.EXC IPFV CAU=say good AL=3SG=ART PL people-big NVIS.PROX

nér ka gán táu a tom a bul inuá,
3PL RM.PST leave plant PFV sit ART PL fruit

i=n=a tâmo mam ki sik,
INAL=3SG=ART now 1PL.EXC HAB take

i=n=a mam ik âsót pâ=n=a,
INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV market with=3SG=ART

i=n=a imam ik pâ ŋat
INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV with stone

‘But we say “thank you” to these ancestors, they left having planted crops, so now we take them to sell them so we have money.’

(120) *é=k lomon, nan isaŋ tâmo,*
1SG=IPFV think 3SG alone now

a kó pini-uiâŋ tok i=n=a Tiául
ART small.piece story-small short INAL=3SG=ART T.

‘I think this is it now, a short little history of Djaul.’

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

2.2. The growth of our villages

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *a pol~polok i=n=a bul malai si=mam*
 ART NOML~grow INAL=3SG=ART PL village AL=1PL.EXC
 ‘The growth of our villages.’
- (2) *inkâuûi tuna óró Tiául, mam kóró tom kálá bul bák si=mam,*
 old true VIS.PROX T. 1PL.EXC PST.HAB sit on PL place AL=1PL.EXC
mam pâ patlima pâ iuûi a malai:
 1PL.EXC with five with two ART village
Káriá, Káláunapok, Pântekom, Lâpâi, Piliua, Sumuna, mot pâ Leon
 K. K. P. L. P. S. and with L.
 ‘In the old days here on Djaul, we used to live in our places, we have seven villages: Karia, Kalaunapok, Pantekom, Lapai, Piliua, Sumuna, and there is Leon.’
- (3) *mam a â=sân a isá=n óró, Tiául*
 1PL.EXC PFV CAU=arrive ART name=3SG VIS.PROX T.
 ‘We came up with this name, *Tiául* (Djaul).’
- (4) *lo lântuá=n=a isá=n óró Tiául, mam pâ patlima bák,*
 or inside=3SG=ART name=3SG VIS.PROX T. 1PL.EXC with five place
ner ki ra~rauai Tiân
 3PL HAB PL~make.sound T.
 ‘But under this name, Djaul, we have five villages where Tiang is spoken.’
- (5) *lo iuûi ki ra~rauai Tigak*
 or two HAB PL~make.sound T.
 ‘But two (villages) speak Tigak.’
- (6) *mot lântuá=n=a Tiân onén, niâu, é=k buák peten nâ,*
 and inside=3SG=ART T. NVIS.PROX thing 1SG=IPFV want talk NVIS.DIST
lân=âtâ
 like=VIS.DIST
 ‘And about these Tiang (villages), the things I want to say are like this.’
- (7) *noŋ~noŋ i=mam inkâuûi ka sái,*
 INTR~count INAL=1PL.EXC old RM.PST go.down
lo tanén tâmo a lak sât tuna
 or today now PFV go.up bad true
 ‘The number of us in the old days was low, but today, it is very high.’
- (8) *mot a niâu nâ, é=k buák peten nâ,*
 and ART thing NVIS.DIST 1SG=IPFV want talk NVIS.DIST

lân=âtâ

like=VIS.DIST

'And the thing that I want to say is like this.'

- (9) *ka pês-muá lântuá=n=a isa mäsât a pan kâuâi,*
RM.PST step-front inside=3SG=ART how.much year PFV go already

ka pâ bul malai, lân óró Piliua
RM.PST with PL village like VIS.PROX P.

'It was before, some years ago, there were villages, like Piliua here.'

- (10) *Piliua, a lantuá=n=a noŋ~noŋ i=n=a kulâu, ka guguál,*
P. ART inside=3SG=ART INTR~count INAL=3SG=ART people RM.PST on.top

lo nan kóró âiát pês-muá pâ noŋ~noŋ i=n=a kulâu
or 3SG PST.HAB run step-front with INTR~count INAL=3SG=ART people

'Piliua, regarding the number of people, was at the top, and it used to come first in the number of people.'

- (11) *lo tanén pâ kâ~kâlpák-biân*
or today with INTR~change-small

'But today, there is a little change.'

- (12) *pês-muá lân niáu uâ món â=táj, a Piliua ka pês-muá,*
step-front like 1SG RC.PST first CAU=say ART P. RM.PST step-front

tánámái a Lâpâi, té Sumuna, la mi=n=a a Pântekom,
afterward ART L. then S. in back=3SG=ART ART P.

a Leon, Káriá, té Káláunapok
ART L. K. then K.

'Before, like I first said, the Piliua (population) was at the top, behind was the Lapai (population), then Sumuna, behind was the Pantekom (population), the Leon (population), Karia, then Kalaunapok.'

- (13) *tanén a kâlpák biân*
today PFV change small
'Today, it has changed a little.'

- (14) *â=us a ko~kokot lântuá=n=a pat iân tanén,*
CAU=follow ART INTR~count inside=3SG=ART part time today

la iân mam ka kokot pák a bul sak~saka malai,
in time 1PL.EXC RM.PST count turn ART PL DISTR~one village

mam a puát lân=âtâ, po a bák a âiát pês-muá
1PL.EXC PFV find like=VIS.DIST COMP ART place PFV run step-front

tâmo a Lâpâi
now PFV L.

'Following a recent counting, when we counted each village again, we found that the village that ran first now was Lapai.'

- (15) *Lâpâi lantuá=n=a pol~polok i=n=a kulâu*
L. inside=3SG=ART NOML~grow INAL=3SG=ART people

la non~non i=n=a kulâu, Lâpâi a âiát pâs-muá,
 in INTR~count INAL=3SG=ART people L. PFV run step-front

té Sumuna man a láu-sal ala a Piliua
 then S. come PFV travel-miss again ART P.

‘Lapai, regarding the growth of the people in the number of people, Lapai runs first, then comes Sumuna, surpassing Piliua.’

- (16) *té man iuak a Piliua la mi=n=a Sumuna,*
 then come later ART P. in back=3SG=ART S.

té a Pântekom, Leon, té pâs-muá Káláunapok,
 then ART P. L. then step-front K.

ka pâs-mái la mi=n=a Káriá
 RM.PST step-behind in back=3SG=ART K.

‘Then comes Piliua behind Sumuna, then Pantekom, Leon, then first Kalaunapok, which was behind Karia.’

- (17) *ténén pârék*
 today have.NEG
 ‘(But) not today.’

- (18) *Káláunapok a si pâs-muá, Káriá a si â=mot~mot*
 K. PFV FOC step-front K. PFV FOC CAU=INTR~finsh
 ‘Kalaunapok is now in front, Karia is now last.’

- (19) *tâmo mam a si tom ráη lâη=âtâ,*
 now 1PL.EXC PFV FOC sit see like=VIS.DIST

po pol~polok i=n=a kulâu tanén a lak tâmo
 COMP NOML~grow INAL=3SG=ART people today PFV go.up now
 ‘Now we live and see that the population growth is high now.’

- (20) *sâk â=us kâuâi a sâ non~non,*
 NEG CAU=follow already ART what INTR~count

mam ka tom pâ=n=a pâs-muá
 1PL.EXC RM.PST sit with=3SG=ART step-front

‘It does not follow anymore the number that we had (lit. stayed with) before.’

- (21) *óró tâmo, mam a si tom ráη lâη=âtâ,*
 VIS.PROX NOW 1PL.EXC PFV FOC sit see like=VIS.DIST

po a niâu â=sâη a bus óró lâη=âtâ,
 COMP ART thing CAU=arrive ART DUMMY VIS.PROX like=VIS.DIST

â=us a tâmâi lântuá=n=a iân tanén sâk â=us
 CAU=follow ART marry inside=3SG=ART time today NEG CAU=follow

a mâsât inkâuâi
 ART year old

‘Now we observe that the thing that created this is this, because the marriage nowadays does not follow the former age (when people used to marry).’

- (22) *tâmâi tanén tâmo â=sâη óró a noη~noη i=n=a kulâu*
 marry today now CAU=arrive VIS.PROX ART INTR~count INAL=3SG=ART people

lântuá=n=a bul malai a lak, â=us lâη=âtâ
 inside=3SG=ART PL village PFV go.up CAU=follow like=VIS.DIST

‘Marriage today now causes the number of people in the villages to rise because of this.’

- (23) *a bul kulâu tanén, nér sâk tâmâi a us a bul mâsât,*
 ART PL people today 3PL NEG marry PFV follow ART PL year

amâ kulâu-uin si=mam inkâuâi
 where people-big AL=1PL.EXC old

kóró â=us a pâl~pâl-an nén,
 PST.HAB CAU=follow ART INTR~plan-NOML NVIS.PROX

po nó=k pâ mâsât lâη=âtâ, nó=k tâmâi
 COMP 2SG=IPFV with year like=VIS.DIST 2SG=IPFV marry

‘People today do not marry following the age at which our ancestors would have followed this plan that you had a (certain) age to marry.’

- (24) *lâη a mâsât anén, lâη nó=k pâ utál saηaulá mâsât,*
 like ART year NVIS.PROX like 2SG=FUT with three ten year

mot ik lak tâlât saηaulá mâsât, nó=k tâmâi
 and IPFV go.up four ten year 2SG=FUT marry

‘Like that age, like you were thirty years old and up to forty years, (then) you would marry.’

- (25) *tanén tâmo pârék*
 today now have.NEG
 ‘Today now, it is not (like this).’

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

sái si=n=a iuâi saηaulá, pat iân tâ,
 go.down AL=3SG=ART two ten part time VIS.DIST

nó ráη a tâmâi a sâη
 2SG see ART marry PFV arrive

‘Between (the age of) fifteen down to twenty, at that time, you see the marriage to occur.’

- (27) *tâmo â=tén lâη=âtâ,*
 now CAU=show like=VIS.DIST

po a noη~noη i=n=a bul kulâu a lak
 COMP ART INTR~count INAL=3SG=ART PL people PFV go.up

‘Now it shows that the number of people went up.’

- (28) *niâ ró â=sâη a niâu,*
 thing VIS.PROX CAU=arrive ART thing

nér ki â=tán lántuá=n=a ra~rauai Inlis a populeisan
 3PL HAB CAU=say inside=3SG=ART PL~make.sound English ART population
 ‘This creates a thing they call “population” in English.’

(29) *nan a lak guguál mat tâmo,*
 3SG PFV go.up on.top die now

noŋ~noŋ i=n=a kulâu a lak guguál,
 INTR~count INAL=3SG=ART people PFV go.up on.top

â=us mo a bus óró
 CAU=follow only ART DUMMY VIS.PROX

‘It went up very high now, the number of people went up high, only because of that.’

(30) *mot tâmo tanén, nó=k puát lâŋ=âtâ, a noŋ~noŋ inkâuâi*
 and now today 2SG=FUT find like=VIS.DIST ART INTR~count old

mot a pâs-muá i=n=a, nás ka pâs-muá, man â=iuâi,
 and ART step-front INAL=3SG=ART who RM.PST step-front come CAU=two

â=utál, sâk â=us kâuâi
 CAU=three NEG CAU=follow already

‘And today, you see that the old number (of people) and who (which village) before came first, came second, third, does not follow anymore (the present situation).’

(31) *bul nó-m-bus nâ ka tom la-uata,*
 PL NSG-DUMMY NVIS.DIST RM.PST sit in-middle

lo ka pâs-mái, nér tâmo si lós pâs-muá
 or RM.PST step-behind 3PL now FOC jump step-front

i=n=a bul noŋ~noŋ nâ ka tom inkâuâi
 INAL=3SG=ART PL INTR~count NVIS.DIST RM.PST sit old

‘The ones (villages) that were in the middle or came last, they now jump to the front in the number (of people) that (used to) live there before.’

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

2.3. The climate change

By Jacob Bartsinuk (Sopokor clan)

(1) *la iân niáu ka biân,*
in time 1SG RM.PST small

niáu ka ráη a pitinauán ka tom lak kál
1SG RM.PST see ART beach RM.PST sit go.up up

‘When I was small, I saw that the beach was further towards the open sea (lit. up).’

(2) *ka pâ bul uái-uin ka ti la pitinauán,*
RM.PST with PL tree-big RM.PST stand in beach

lo imam kuru mati pâ bul uái-uin ónén
or 1PL.EXC PST.HAB lie with PL tree-big NVIS.PROX

‘There were trees standing on the beach, and we used to lie down under these trees.’

(3) *bul uái-uin anén tâmo, amâ kuru ti,*
PL tree-big NVIS.PROX now where PST.HAB stand

iân a bul tas-uin ki man, bul uái-uin anén,
time ART PL sea-big HAB come PL tree-big NVIS.PROX

ner a puka mot
3PL PFV fall finish

‘These trees now that used to stand, when big waves came, these big trees fell down.’

(4) *inkâuái, bul uái ka ti, mam kuru mati pâ=n=a,*
old PL tree RM.PST stand 1PL.EXC PST.HAB lie with=3SG=ART

sí=n=a a tas ka lâúák an ner
AL=3SG=ART ART sea RM.PST far about 3PL

‘In the old days, the trees were standing, we used to lie under them because the sea was far away from them.’

(5) *ténén, bul uái-uin anén, ner a puka mot,*
today PL tree-big NVIS.PROX 3PL PFV fall finish

â=us a tas kuru lak
CAU=follow ART sea PST.HAB go.up

‘Today, these trees have fallen down because the sea used to rise.’

(6) *bul pat i=n=a uái anén tâmo,*
PL part INAL=3SG=ART tree NVIS.PROX now

amâ tas kuru man ik pus-â la pat i=ner,
where sea PST.HAB come IPFV throw-INTR in part INAL=3PL

pan pan pan tâmo, ner a puka
go go go now 3PL PFV fall

‘Now these tree stems that the sea came towards and threw itself against for a long time have fallen down.’

- (7) *bul uái anén, mam kuru sik i=n=a âi=sât*
 PL tree NVIS.PROX 1PL.EXC PST.HAB take INAL=3SG=ART REC=bad
 ‘These trees, we used to take them to (treat) diseases.’
- (8) *bul paka=n=a, mam kuru sap, lo a bul muá=n=a uái,*
 PL leaf=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC PST.HAB pluck or ART PL front=3SG=ART tree
mam kuru kái, i=n=a irám lâŋ a marasin si=mam
 1PL.EXC PST.HAB scrape INAL=3SG=ART drink like ART medicine AL=1PL.EXC
 ‘Their (lit. its) leaves, we used to pluck them, and the bark of the trees, we used to scrape it to drink as our medicine.’
- (9) *ténén a pitinauán, amâ ka tom tâ=kál,*
 today ART beach where RM.PST sit VIS.DIST=up
a â=nás sái taual pâ bul uái a ti susulék
 PFV CAU=move go.down return with PL tree PFV stand near
la béŋ=én=a lián lâŋ óró Lakasau
 in head=3SG=ART cave like VIS.PROX L.
 ‘Today, the beach, which used to be further towards the open sea (lit. up), receded under the trees standing near the cliff like here in Lakasau.’
- (10) *la iân a pusak ki sâŋ, tas ki pus-â*
 in time ART high.tide HAB arrive sea HAB throw-INTR
la pitinauán, mot ki lak la taŋa=n=a ŋat
 in beach and HAB go.up in ear=3SG=ART stone
 ‘When the high tide comes, the sea throws itself against the beach and goes up to the cliff.’
- (11) *la iân niá ka biân, ka pârék*
 in time 1SG RM.PST small RM.PST have.NEG
 ‘When I was small, this did not happen.’
- (12) *tas ka sâk pus-â la pitinauán,*
 sea RM.PST NEG throw-INTR in beach
mat ik lak la béŋ=én=a lián
 and IPFV go.up in head=3SG=ART cave
 ‘The sea did not throw itself against the beach and reached the cliff.’
- (13) *la iân a málá, a lánát, lo a tas kuru sâŋ,*
 in time ART wind ART rain or ART sea PST.HAB arrive
a pitinauán si=mam, a tas kuru kál pus-én,
 ART beach AL=1PL.EXC ART sea PST.HAB dig throw-TR
mot bul uái kuru puka
 and PL tree PST.HAB fall
 ‘When wind, rain or the sea came, the sea dug out our beach, and the trees fell.’
- (14) *ténén tâmo a bák sâk lâŋ inkâuâi*
 today now ART place NEG like old
 ‘Today now, the place is not like in the old days.’

- (15) *pâ* *kâ~kâlpák* *i=n=a* *iân* *ténén,*
with INTR~change INAL=3SG=ART time today
- mot* *a* *tas* *tâmo* *ki* *pus-â* *la* *pitinauán,*
and ART sea now HAB throw-INTR in beach
- mot* *ik* *lak* *la* *taŋa=n=a* *ŋat*
and IPFV go.up in ear=3SG=ART stone
'There is the climate change today, and the sea now throws itself against the beach and comes up to the cliff.'
- (16) *inkâuûi ka* *pâ* *bul* *kulâu* *ka* *tom* *nâ* *lá-uán,*
old RM.PST with PL people RM.PST sit NVIS.DIST in-sand
- â=us* *a* *pitinauán*
CAU=follow ART beach
'In the old days, there were people who lived on the beach, along the white sand.'
- (17) *ténén,* *kulâu* *nâ* *ka* *tom* *nâ* *lá-uán,*
today people NVIS.DIST RM.PST sit NVIS.DIST in-sand
- ner* *a* *lak* *mot* *la* *luntan*
3PL PFV go.up finish in bush
'Today, the people that had lived on the beach already moved up to the inland (lit. bush).'
- (18) *nâ* *lá-uán* *tâmo,* *a* *tas* *a* *lak,*
NVIS.DIST in-sand now ART sea PFV go.up
- mot* *a* *kulâu* *a* *ualai* *a* *ku=n=a* *malai* *ka=ner* *la* *luntan*
and ART people PFV do ART belly=3SG=ART village for=3PL in bush
'On the beach now, the sea rises, and the people have built villages for themselves in the inland (lit. bush).'
- (19) *si=n=a* *ner* *a* *pu* *an* *a* *tas*
AL=3SG=ART 3PL PFV escape about ART sea
'Because they (had to) escape the sea.'
- (20) *sâk* *lâŋ* *inkâuûi* *tâmo,* *ner* *ka* *tom*
NEG like old now 3PL RM.PST sit
'It is not like in the old days how they used to live.'
- (21) *ténén* *kulâu* *kápái,* *ner* *a* *tom* *óró* *lu*
today people all 3PL PFV sit VIS.PROX bush
'Today, everyone lives here in the inland (lit. bush).'
- (22) *pârék* *ta* *kulâu* *â=i* *tom* *nâ* *lá-uán*
have.NEG IND.ART people DIST=IPFV sit NVIS.DIST in-sand
'No one lives there on the beach.'
- (23) *inkâuûi* *ala* *ki* *pâ* *iân* *i=n=a* *málá,*
old again HAB with time INAL=3SG=ART wind
- ki* *pâ* *iân=a* *uás,*
HAB with time.3SG=ART sun

lo ki pâ îân i=n=a mâtbun,
or HAB with time INAL=3SG=ART west.wind

mot ki pâ îân i=n=a mâ
or HAB with time INAL=3SG=ART reef

'In the old days, there was also the windy season, there was the dry season, there was the season of the west wind (and rough sea), and there was the season of the low tide.'

- (24) *la îân ténén, pârék, kuráj a kê~kâlpák, sâk lâŋ inkâuâi*
in time today have.NEG world PFV INTR~change NEG like old
'Today, they do not exist (anymore), the world has changed, it is not like before.'

- (25) *ók îân, amâ po ik uás, ki si lánát*
FUT time where COMP IPFV SUN HAB FOC rain
'There are times which are supposed to be sunny, but it rains.'

- (26) *la îân=a lánát ik si uás*
in time.3SG=ART rain IPFV FOC sun
'In the rainy season, there is sun.'

- (27) *so sâk âi=noŋ lâŋ inkâuâi*
so NEG REC=be.enough like old
'So it is not the same as before.'

- (28) *inkâuâi ki îâ pâ îân=a uás,*
old HAB CONT with time.3SG=ART sun

ki îâ pâ îân i=n=a lánát,
HAB CONT with time INAL=3SG=ART rain

ki pâ îân i=n=a tas, ténén pârék
HAB with time INAL=3SG=ART sea today have.NEG

'Before, there was the dry season, there was the rainy season, there was the season of (rough) sea, today there is not.'

- (29) *la bul mâsât ténén tâmo pârék*
in PL year today now have.NEG
'In recent years now, they do not exist.'

- (30) *a îân tâmo sâk âi=noŋ lâŋ a îân inkâuâi*
ART time now NEG REC=be.enough like ART time old
'The weather now is not the same as the weather in the old days.'

- (31) *a tas, a málá, a lánát,*
ART sea ART wind ART rain

bul îân nén sâk âi=noŋ tâmo, pârék
PL time NVIS.PROX NEG REC=be.enough now have.NEG

'(Rough) sea, wind, rain, these seasons are not the same now, no.'

- (32) *rokon*
good
'Thank you.'

2.4. The drought in 2022

By Sale Barai (Ma'iuva clan)

- (1) *la mäsât nâ ka mot,*
in year NVIS.DIST RM.PST finish

ka pâ uás-uin ka ti óró Jâul
RM.PST with sun-big RM.PST stand VIS.PROX J.
'Last year, there was a big drought here on Djaul.'
- (2) *a bul marat ka meŋ, mot ka pârék ta boi-an*
ART PL garden RM.PST dry and RM.PST have.NEG IND.ART eat-NOML
'The gardens were dry, and there was no food.'
- (3) *kulâu kóró â=sót a luntan, mat a bák ka máŋán*
people PST.HAB CAU=inflame ART bush and ART place RM.PST burnt
'People set the bush on fire, and the place burnt down.'
- (4) *mam kóró sik a bul botol si=mam,*
1PL.EXC PST.HAB take ART PL bottle AL=1PL.EXC

mat mam kóró pan Sumuna, i=n=a itá rárám
and 1PL.EXC PST.HAB go S. INAL=3SG=ART fetch water
'We took our bottles, and we went to Sumuna to fetch water.'
- (5) *mat imam ala kóró sâpâl saksak,*
and 1PL.EXC again PST.HAB chop sago

i=n=a ŋan kuál pâ râis
INAL=3SG=ART eat.TR together with rice
'And we also chopped sago trees to eat (sago) with rice.'
- (6) *bul boi-an táu~táu si=mam ka meŋ mot*
PL eat-NOML INTR~plant AL=1PL.EXC RM.PST dry finish
'Our planted food was completely dry.'
- (7) *kas-nón iân mam kóró tom, kóró pârék ta boi-an*
other-NSG time 1PL.EXC PST.HAB sit PST.HAB have.NEG IND.ART eat-NOML
'Sometimes, we stayed, there was no food.'
- (8) *mam ala kóró irám a rárám kaka, kakais, mot rárám la ŋat*
1PL.EXC again PST.HAB drink ART water well spring and water in stone
'We also drank well water, water from springs (on the beach) and water from caves.'
- (9) *mam ka tom, noŋ a lánát ka taual aman pák*
1PL.EXC RM.PST sit be.enough ART rain RM.PST return come turn
'We stayed (like this) until the rain came back again.'
- (10) *lo ka pârék ta kulâu ka mat*
or RM.PST have.NEG IND.ART people RM.PST die

la iân i=n=a uás
 in time INAL=3SG=ART sun
 'But no one died during the drought.'

(11) *kulâu kápái ka rokon*
 people all RM.PST good
 'Everyone was fine.'

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

2.5. The drought in 2022

By Lisah Tololo (Sopokor clan)

- (1) *rokon*
good
'Okay.'
- (2) *niáu=k* *ti-topoŋ* *a* *kus~kus-â* *i=n=a* *uás*
1SG=FUT stand-start ART INTR~tell-INTR INAL=3SG=ART sun
- ka* *sâŋ* *topoŋ* *si=mam* *óró* *la* *bák* *si=mam* *óró* *Jâul*
RM.PST arrive start AL=1PL.EXC VIS.PROX in place AL=1PL.EXC VIS.PROX J.
- 'I will begin the story of the drought that came to us here in our place here on Djaul.'
- (3) *a* *ti-topoŋ* *i=n=a* *uás,* *mam* *ka* *tom* *rokon,*
ART stand-start INAL=3SG=ART sun 1PL.EXC RM.PST sit good
- mam* *ka* *pâ* *boi-an* *noŋ*
1PL.EXC RM.PST with eat-NOML be.enough
- 'At the beginning of the drought, we were alright, we had enough food.'
- (4) *lâŋ* *a* *patita,* *uár,* *tâpiok,* *lo* *tut*
like ART sweet.potato banana tapioca or Singapore.taro
- 'Like sweet potatoes, bananas, tapioca and Singapore taro.'
- (5) *a* *bul* *boi-an,* *amâ* *lâŋ* *imam* *kulâu* *la* *siua,*
ART PL eat-NOML where like 1PL.EXC people in place
- mam* *ki* *pâ=n=a,* *mam* *ka* *noŋ* *rokon*
1PL.EXC HAB with=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC RM.PST be.enough good
- pâ* *bul* *lâuâ=n=a* *boi-an* *anén* *si=mam* *la* *siua*
with PL much=3SG=ART eat-NOML with NVIS.PROX AL=1PL.EXC in place
- la* *tu* *tâusan* *tuenti* *tu*
in two thousand twenty two
- 'The food that we, the people in the village, had, we had enough and many kinds of food with us in the village in 2022.'
- (6) *la* *mi=n=a* *tâmo* *iân* *a* *uás* *a* *sâŋ,* *mam* *ka* *puát*
in back=3SG=ART now time ART sun PFV arrive 1PL.EXC RM.PST find
- mot* *râŋ* *tâmo,* *po* *uás* *ók* *tom* *kár* *iân* *beuel,*
and see now COMP sun FUT sit go.down time long
- mam* *ka* *pârék* *ta* *rárám*
1PL.EXC RM.PST have.NEG IND.ART water
- 'After the drought has come now, we saw that the drought would stay for a long time, we had no water.'
- (7) *bul* *rárám* *ka* *mot* *lantuá=n=a* *bul* *tâŋ,*
PL water RM.PST finish inside=3SG=ART PL tank

mam kiru sik a bul bin i=n=a plâstik
 1PL.EXC PST.HAB take ART PL big INAL=3SG=ART plastic

i=n=a sik rárám, bul plâstik-bin râsât
 INAL=3SG=ART take water PL plastic-big very.big

'The water in the water tanks was gone, we took big plastic containers to get water, very big plastic containers.'

(8) *mam kiru pan~pan la bák beue,*
 1PL.EXC PST.HAB PL~GO in place long

i=n=a mam ik sik rárám ka=mam i=n=a irám
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV take water for=1PL.EXC INAL=3SG=ART drink

'We used to walk to distant places to get water for us to drink.'

(9) *a kas-nón iân, mam ki pan~pan le-le*
 ART other-NSG time 1PL.EXC HAB PL~GO in-afternoon

'Sometimes, we walked in the afternoon.'

(10) *kas-nón iân, mam ki pan~pan la maulék tuna,*
 other-NSG time 1PL.EXC HAB PL~GO in morning true

la iân a siua sâk iân rokon kinak
 in time ART place NEG time good still

'Sometimes, we walked in the early morning when it was not bright yet.'

(11) *mam ki pan~pan la bul iân anén ka=mam,*
 1PL.EXC HAB PL~GO in PL time NVIS.PROX for=1PL.EXC

i=n=a sik rárám
 INAL=3SG=ART take water

'We walked at all these times for us to get water.'

(12) *ka pan pan pan,*
 RM.PST go go go

mat a iân a uás ka sâŋ pék mat tâmo,
 and ART time ART sun RM.PST arrive strong die now

lo ka man pék mat, mam ka puát lâŋ=âtâ,
 or RM.PST come strong die 1PL.EXC RM.PST find like=VIS.DIST

po imam ók pârék ta boi-an
 COMP 1PL.EXC FUT have.NEG IND.ART eat-NOML

noŋ mam ók si~sik pâ=n=a
 be.enough 1PL.EXC FUT INTR~take with=3SG=ART

'This went on and on, and when the sun became very now strong and came (with all its) strength, we found out that we had no food that we could take.'

(13) *tâmo imam kulâu la bák óró si=mam Jâu,*
 now 1PL.EXC people in place VIS.PROX AL=1PL.EXC J.

mam ka pâ lom~lomon ka sân si=mam tâmo,
 1PL.EXC RM.PST with INTR~think RM.PST arrive AL=1PL.EXC now

po mam ik pan~pan la bul bisái si=mam,
 COMP 1PL.EXC IPFV PL~go in PL swamp AL=1PL.EXC

mam ik é saksak ka=mam i=n=a boi
 1PL.EXC IPFV wash sago for=1PL.EXC IPFV=3SG=ART eat.INTR

‘Now we people in our villages here on Djaul, we had the idea now to go to our swamps to wash sago for us to eat.’

- (14) *la iân tân, bul lu=biân~biân si=mam,*
 in time VIS.MED PL PL=small-small AL=1PL.EXC

mam kiru iâ gâi a pan nér la luntan,
 1PL.EXC PST.HAB CONT accompany PFV go 3PL in bush

mam ki pan la bák pâ bul saksak a tom
 1PL.EXC HAB go in place with PL sago PFV sit

‘At that time, we took our little children with us to the bush, we went to the place where sago trees grow.’

- (15) *kas-nón saksak a tom susulék*
 other-NSG sago PFV sit near
 ‘Some sago trees are nearby.’

- (16) *a kas-nón saksak, nér a tom lâuák an a bák,*
 ART other-NSG sago 3PL PFV sit far about ART place

lo amâ bul malai si=mam a tom
 or where PL village AL=1PL.EXC PFV sit

‘Other sago trees are far from the place where our villages are.’

- (17) *mam ki pan la bisái, mam i buák é a saksak*
 1PL.EXC HAB go in swamp 1PL.EXC IPFV want wash ART sago
 ‘We went to the swamp, we wanted to wash sago.’

- (18) *mam ki sân tân la bák i=n=a é,*
 1PL.EXC HAB arrive VIS.MED in place INAL=3SG=ART wash

i=n=a â=sân a saksak
 INAL=3SG=ART CAU=arrive ART sago

‘We arrived at the place to wash sago to make sago flour.’

- (19) *kas-nón iân, mam ki ráŋ salaŋ,*
 other-NSG time 1PL.EXC HAB see search

po pârék ta rárám ala i=n=a é,
 COMP have.NEG IND.ART water again INAL=3SG=ART wash

mat imam ki kál a bul rárám lantuá=n=a bisái
 and 1PL.EXC HAB dig ART PL water inside=3SG=ART swamp

‘Sometimes, we searched and saw that there was no water anymore to wash sago, and we dug for water in the swamp.’

- (20) *kas-nón iân, a rárám, mam ik puát, a susulék*
 other-NSG time ART water 1PL.EXC IPFV find PFV near
 ‘Sometimes, we saw that the water was near (the surface).’
- (21) *té mam ik sala ik luâi, i=n=a é*
 then 1PL.EXC IPFV let IPFV calm INAL=3SG=ART wash
 ‘Then we let it become clear (lit. calm) to wash sago.’
- (22) *kas-nón rárám, mam ki kál, mam ki sâk puát suma,*
 other-NSG water 1PL.EXC HAB dig 1PL.EXC HAB NEG find fast

nón beue-uin, i=n=a puát an
 place long-big INAL=3SG=ART find NOML
 ‘Some water that we dug, we did not find it fast, (we needed to dig) a big deep hole to find it.’
- (23) *té mam ki puát a rárám, i=n=a ik sâŋ ka=mam,*
 then 1PL.EXC HAB find ART water INAL=3SG=ART IPFV arrive for=1PL.EXC

i=n=a é, mam ki ualai lâŋ=âtâ
 INAL=3SG=ART wash 1PL.EXC HAB make like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Then we found water for us to wash sago, we did like this.’
- (24) *bul maulék kápái, mam ki tâŋan,*
 PL morning all 1PL.EXC HAB wake.up

mam ki pan la bák i=n=a sâpâl,
 1PL.EXC HAB go in place INAL=3SG=ART chop

mam ik pan la bák i=n=a é
 1PL.EXC IPFV go in place INAL=3SG=ART wash
 ‘Every morning, we got up, we went to the place to chop sago trees, we went to the place to wash sago.’
- (25) *a kas-nón si=mam ki pan la bák i=n=a é,*
 ART other-NSG AL=1PL.EXC HAB go in place INAL=3SG=ART wash

pârék ta bák rokon i=n=a matai,
 have.NEG IND.ART place good INAL=3SG=ART sleep

pârék ta lu i=n=a matai
 have.NEG IND.ART house INAL=3SG=ART sleep
 ‘Some of us who went to the place to wash sago did not have a good place to sleep, there was no house to sleep.’
- (26) *mam ki mati kól mo pâ bul uái, lo mam*
 1PL.EXC HAB lie go.around only with PL tree or 1PL.EXC

ik bál a ti a bul bák i=n=a kenuas-uiân,
 IPFV make PFV stand ART PL place INAL=3SG=ART canvas-small

i=n=a bul lu=biân si=mam ik matai,
 INAL=3SG=ART PL PL=small AL=1PL.EXC IPFV sleep

i=n=a *é* *a* *saksak* *ka=mam* *i=n=a* *boi*
 INAL=3SG=ART wash ART sago for=1PL.EXC INAL=3SG=ART eat.INTR

'We only lay around under trees, or we put up shelters out of canvas for our children to sleep, then we washed sago for us to eat.'

(27) *té* *iân* *mam* *ki* *é* *mot,*
 then time 1PL.EXC HAB wash finish

mam *ik* *sik* *a* *bul* *bek* *si=mam*
 1PL.EXC IPFV take ART PL bag AL=1PL.EXC

pâ *bul* *saksak* *ik* *iuoŋ* *la* *malai* *ka=mam* *i=n=a* *boi*
 with PL sago IPFV exit in village for=1PL.EXC INAL=3SG=ART eat.INTR

'Then when we had finished washing sago, we took our bags with sago out (of the bush) into the village for us to eat.'

(28) *iân* *mam* *ki* *pan,* *mam* *ki* *boi* *pâ* *bul* *saksak* *anén,*
 time 1PL.EXC HAB go 1PL.EXC HAB eat.INTR with PL sago NVIS.PROX

té *bul* *saksak* *anén* *ki* *mot,* *mam* *ki* *taual* *pan* *ala,*
 then PL sago NVIS.PROX HAB finish 1PL.EXC HAB return go again

mam *ik* *é*
 1PL.EXC IPFV wash

'When we went to eat this sago, and this sago was finished, we went back again to wash sago.'

(29) *pat* *i=n=a* *mam* *ki* *pârék* *ta* *boi-an* *ala,*
 part INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC HAB have.NEG IND.ART eat-NOML again

mam *ók* *ŋan*
 1PL.EXC FUT eat.TR

'Because we did not have any food anymore that we could eat.'

(30) *bul* *boi-an* *si=mam* *la* *marat* *a* *meŋ* *mot*
 PL eat-NOML AL=1PL.EXC in garden PFV dry finish

'Our food in the garden was completely dry.'

(31) *tâmo* *mam* *ki* *sâpâl* *saksak* *mo* *ka=mam* *i=n=a* *boi*
 now 1PL.EXC HAB chop sago only for=1PL.EXC INAL=3SG=ART eat.INTR

'Now we only chopped sago trees for us to eat.'

(32) *sakalan* *mam* *ki* *ŋan* *kuuál* *pâ* *rián*
 but 1PL.EXC HAB eat.TR together with fish

'But we ate (sago) with fish.'

(33) *mam* *ki* *sik* *rián* *la* *tas,*
 1PL.EXC HAB take fish in sea

i=n=a *â=ŋasik* *imam* *ik* *ŋan* *kuuál* *pâ* *saksak,*
 INAL=3SG=ART CAU=help 1PL.EXC IPFV eat.TR together with sago

i=n=a *mam* *ik* *pâ* *pék* *i=n=a* *tom*
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV with strong INAL=3SG=ART sit

'We caught fish in the sea to help us (by) eating them with sago so we had the strength to live.'

- (34) *a uás ka pék sât tuna, sakalan mam ka boi,*
 ART sun RM.PST strong bad true but 1PL.EXC RM.PST eat.INTR
mam ka irám bul rárám, mam ki pan~pan lâúák,
 1PL.EXC RM.PST drink PL water 1PL.EXC HAB PL~go far
i=n=a mam ik sik
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV take
 'The sun was very strong, but we ate, we drank water, we walked far to get it.'
- (35) *mam ki boi pâ saksak, mam ik é,*
 1PL.EXC HAB eat.INTR with sago 1PL.EXC IPFV wash
mam a rokon pâ bul boi-an anén lâŋ a saksak
 1PL.EXC PFV good with PL eat-NOML NVIS.PROX like ART sago
 'We ate sago, we washed sago, we were fine with this food like sago.'
- (36) *sakalan mam kiru pan~pan la bák lâúák tuna,*
 but 1PL.EXC PST.HAB PL~go in place far true
i=n=a mam ik sik a rárám ka=mam i=n=a irám
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV take ART water for=1PL.EXC IPFV=3SG=ART drink
 'But we used to walk to very distant places to get water for us to drink.'
- (37) *la iân imam ki pan~pan la bák lâúák i=n=a irám*
 in time 1PL.EXC HAB PL~go in place far INAL=3SG=ART drink
ala, lo i=n=a pan i=n=a itá, bul lu=biân-biân tuna,
 again or INAL=3SG=ART go INAL=3SG=ART fetch PL PL=small-small true
lo bul mâmói-uin râisât, lo bul pâpói-uin,
 or PL mother-big very.big or PL father-big
lo tiár nâ lâpân ala, nan ki iâ pan~pan
 or person NVIS.DIST old.person again 3SG HAB CONT PL~go
kinak, nan ik pan ik sik rárám ka=n=a
 still 3SG IPFV go IPFV take water for=3SG=ART
 'When we walked to distant places to drink again, or walked to fetch water, very small children, or very old mothers, or old fathers, or a person who was also old, everyone (lit. he) still had to walk to go to get water for themselves.'
- (38) *pat i=n=a, iân tân a uás ka pék, mam ók tom,*
 part INAL=3SG=ART time VIS.MED ART sun RM.PST strong 1PL.EXC FUT sit
mam a pârék ta rárám i=n=a irám
 1PL.EXC PFV have.NEG IND.ART water INAL=3SG=ART drink
 'Because when the sun was strong, and we would have stayed (in the villages), we would not have had water to drink.'
- (39) *tâmo mam ki pan~pan la bák beue,*
 now 1PL.EXC HAB PL~walk in place long

i=n=a *imam ik* *iâ* *sik* *rárám* *ka=mam* *i=n=a* *irám*
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV CONT take water for=1PL.EXC INAL=3SG=ART drink
 ‘Now we walked to a farway place so we got water for us to drink.’

- (40) *noj* *si=n=a* *iân* *tâmo,* *tuenti tuenti tri,*
 be.enough AL=3SG=ART time now twenty twenty three

a *lâjât-bin* *râisât* *a* *sái* *tâmo*
 ART rain-big very.big PFV go.down now
 ‘Until (this) time now, 2023, (when) the big rain came down now.’

- (41) *lâjât* *a* *sái,* *mam a* *lomom,*
 rain PFV go.down 1PL.EXC PFV think

po *mam ik* *ñan* *patita,* *pârék*
 COMP 1PL.EXC IPFV eat.TR sweet.potato have.NEG
 ‘The rain came down, we thought that we would eat sweet potatoes, (but) no.’

- (42) *a* *munmuna* *man,*
 ART caterpillar come

a *ñan* *pus-én* *a* *bul* *paka=n=a* *patita* *si=mam*
 PFV eat.TR throw-TR ART PL leaf=3SG=ART sweet.potato AL=1PL.EXC
 ‘The caterpillars came, they ate away the leaves of our sweet potatoes.’

- (43) *tâmo* *la* *bul* *pat* *iân* *óró,* *mam sâk* *mâkâl* *mat,*
 now in PL part time VIS.PROX 1PL.EXC NEG be.hungry die

mam a *ñan* *saksak kinak* *ala,* *mot* *ñan* *râis*
 1PL.EXC PFV eat.TR sago still again and eat.TR rice
 ‘Now this moment, we are not too hungry, we still eat sago again and eat rice.’

- (44) *sakalan a* *rárám,* *mam a* *rokon* *pâ=n=a* *tâmo*
 but ART water 1PL.EXC PFV good with=3SG=ART now
 ‘But as for water, we are fine now.’

- (45) *pâ* *lâjât* *a* *sái,* *mam pâ* *rárám*
 with rain PFV go.down 1PL.EXC with water
 ‘There is rain coming down, we have water.’

- (46) *sakalan a* *boi-an,* *mam ki* *ñan* *saksak*
 but ART eat-NOML 1PL.EXC HAB eat.TR sago
 ‘But as for food, we eat sago.’

- (47) *mam ki* *ñan* *a* *saksak,* *mam ki* *ñan* *a* *râis*
 1PL.EXC HAB eat.TR ART sago 1PL.EXC HAB eat.TR ART rice
 ‘We eat sago, we eat rice.’

- (48) *kas-nón* *iân,* *mam ik* *bál* *a* *saksak*
 other-NSG time 1PL.EXC IPFV make ART sago
 ‘Sometimes, we cook sago in the earth oven.’

- (49) *kas-nón iân, mam ik tán la uata*
 other-NSG time 1PL.EXC IPFV cook in fire
 ‘Sometimes, we cook it in the fire.’
- (50) *kas-nón iân, mam ik tán mo la pâripân,*
 other-NSG time 1PL.EXC IPFV cook only in frying.pan

i=n=a mam ik ñan pâ meñ
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV eat.TR with dry
 ‘Sometimes, we only cook it in a frying pan to eat it with (scraped) dry coconuts.’
- (51) *té mam pâ pék*
 then 1PL.EXC with strong
 ‘Then we have strength.’
- (52) *tâmo mam a tom*
 now 1PL.EXC PFV sit
 ‘Now we are still alive.’
- (53) *la bul iân óró tâmo, lâñ tuna mam a kiual kinak*
 in PL time VIS.PROX now like true 1PL.EXC PFV half still

pâ boi-an, lo mam iâ boi
 with eat-NOML or 1PL.EXC CONT eat.INTR
 ‘This time now, it is really like we are short of food, but we still eat.’
- (54) *sakalan mam sâk boi rokon kinak, lâñ mam ik ñan patita,*
 but 1PL.EXC NEG eat.INTR good still like 1PL.EXC IPFV eat.TR sweet.potato

lo mam ik ñan urui, lo ñan tut, lo ñan uár,
 or 1PL.EXC IPFV eat.TR yam or eat.TR Singapore.taro or eat.TR banana

pârék
 have.NEG
 ‘But we do not eat well yet, like eating sweet potatoes, yams, Singapore taro or bananas, no.’
- (55) *mam a boi, lo sâk lâñ a bul boi-an,*
 1PL.EXC PFV eat.INTR or NEG like ART PL eat-NOML

mam ki ñan pâs-muá
 1PL.EXC HAB eat.TR step-front
 ‘We eat, but it is not like the food that we ate before.’
- (56) *mam ik â=pék imam mo,*
 1PL.EXC IPFV CAU=strong 1PL.EXC only

i=n=a mam ik pâ pék i=n=a pan~pan
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV with strong INAL=3SG=ART PL~GO
 ‘We just strengthen ourselves so we have the strength to walk.’
- (57) *tâmo pini si=k la iân ró, nan a lâñ=âtâ*
 now story AL=1SG in time VIS.PROX 3SG PFV like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Now my story at this time is like that.’

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

2.6. The rainy season in 2023

By Lisah Tololo (Sopokor clan)

- (1) *rokon*
good
'Okay.'
- (2) *óró, niáú ók ti-topoŋ a kus~kus-â i=n=a â=mot~mot*
VIS.PROX 1SG FUT stand-start ART INTR~tell-INTR INAL=3SG=ART CAU=INTR~finish

i=n=a uás, mot ti-topoŋ i=n=a láŋát
INAL=3SG=ART sun and stand-start INAL=3SG=ART rain
'Here, I will begin the story of the end of the drought and the beginning of the rain.'
- (3) *láŋát ka taual,*
rain RM.PST return

mot mam ka tom lantuá=i=n=a iân i=n=a láŋát tâmo
and 1PL.EXC RM.PST sit inside=3SG=ART time INAL=3SG=ART rain now
'The rain has come back, and we live in the rainy season now.'
- (4) *iân a láŋát ka taual man, láŋát kiru âruru,*
time ART rain RM.PST return come rain PST.HAB continue

lo a utâ mat
or PFV much die
'When the rain came back, the rain did not stop (lit. was continuous) and was too much.'
- (5) *iân a láŋát-bin ka taual man tâmo,*
time ART rain-big RM.PST return come now

mot lâŋ imam kiru sâk pan la luntan ala,
and like 1PL.EXC PST.HAB NEG go in bush again

mam ik sik rárám, lo mam ik pan~pan
1PL.EXC IPFV take water or 1PL.EXC IPFV PL~go

la bul bák nâ, mam ki sik rárám,
in PL place NVIS.DIST 1PL.EXC HAB take water

mam ka tom mot la bul lu si=mam tâmo
1PL.EXC RM.PST sit finish in PL house AL=1PL.EXC now
'When the big rain came back now, like we did not go to the bush anymore to get water or walked to the places where we used to get water, we just stayed in our houses now.'
- (6) *pat i=n=a imam ka pâ rárám kâuâi*
part INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC RM.PST with water already

i=n=a irám a tom susulék an imam
INAL=3SG=ART drink PFV sit near about 1PL.EXC
'Because we already had water to drink near us.'

- (7) *lo la iân a lánját-bin ka taual man tâmo*
 or in time ART rain-big RM.PST return come now
la tu tâusan tuenti tri, mam ka lom~lomomon tâmo,
 in two thousand twenty three 1PL.EXC RM.PST INTR~think now
po mam ik âisók marat
 COMP 1PL.EXC IPFV work garden
 ‘But when the big rain came back now in 2023, we thought now that we would make gardens.’
- (8) *lo imam kiru ñan saksak kinak, pârék ta boi-an*
 or 1PL.EXC PST.HAB eat.TR sago still have.NEG IND.ART eat-NOML
lân a patita, uár, lo tut,
 like ART sweet.potato banana or Singapore.taro
lân a bul boi-an, amâ mam ka pâ=n=a, ka tom
 like ART PL eat-NOML where 1PL.EXC RM.PST with=3SG=ART RM.PST sit
 ‘But we still ate sago, there was no food like sweet potatoes, bananas or Singapore taro, like the food that we used to have.’
- (9) *mam ka ñan saksak kinak*
 1PL.EXC RM.PST eat.TR sago still
 ‘We still ate sago.’
- (10) *iâl i=n=a a lánját ka man taual,*
 although INAL=3SG=ART ART rain RM.PST come return
sakalan mam ka pârék ta boi-an kinak la iân anén
 but 1PL.EXC RM.PST have.NEG IND.ART eat-NOML still in time NVIS.PROX
 ‘Although the rain had come back, we still had no food at that time.’
- (11) *baté la iân mam kiru tom,*
 then in time 1PL.EXC PST.HAB sit
mam kiru pan mam ik sâpâl kinak
 1PL.EXC PST.HAB go 1PL.EXC IPFV chop still
 ‘Then as time went on (lit. we stayed), we still went to chop (sago trees).’
- (12) *la iân mam ik tom la bisái,*
 in time 1PL.EXC IPFV sit in swamp
la bák a bul saksak a tom,
 in place ART PL sago PFV sit
bul lánját-bin râisât kiru sái
 PL rain-big very.big PST.HAB go.down
 ‘When we were in the swamp, the place were the sago trees grow, very big rain came down.’
- (13) *lánját-bin râisât kiru sái,*
 rain-big very.big PST.HAB go.down
kiru sik pus-én a bul mu~muát i=n=a é,
 PST.HAB take throw-TR ART PL INTR~break INAL=3SG=ART wash

i=n=a *â=sâŋ* *a* *boi-an* *ka=mam* *lâŋ* *a* *saksak,*
 INAL=3SG=ART CAU=arrive ART eat-NOML for=1PL.EXC like ART sago

i=n=a *man* *taul* *la* *lu* *i=n=a* *boi*
 INAL=3SG=ART come return in house INAL=3SG=ART eat.INTR

'Very big rain came down, it took away the sago dust that we wash to make food for us like the sago to bring back home to eat.'

(14) *iân* *a* *lânát-bin* *râisât* *kiru* *sái* *tâmo,*
 time ART rain-big very.big PST.HAB go.down now

nan *ki* *â=gân* *a* *mot* *a* *bul* *mu~muát*
 3SG HAB CAU=leave PFV finish ART PL INTR~break

lantuá=n=a *bisái* *nâ,* *mam* *ik* *é*
 inside=3SG=ART swamp NVIS.DIST 1PL.EXC IPFV wash

'When the very big rain came down now, it took away the sago dust in the swamp that we washed.'

(15) *té* *mam* *ki* *pârék* *ta* *mu~muát* *ala,*
 then 1PL.EXC HAB have.NEG IND.ART INTR~break again

mam *ik* *si~sik* *pâ=n=a* *i=n=a* *é,*
 1PL.EXC IPFV INTR~take with=3SG=ART INAL=3SG=ART wash

pat *i=n=a* *a* *ulém* *a* *pék* *pâ* *lânát-bin* *râisât*
 part INAL=3SG=ART ART rain.stream PFV strong with rain-big very.big

a *sái*
 PFV go.down

'Then we did not have sago anymore that we could take to wash because the rain stream was strong from the very big rain that came down.'

(16) *kas-nón* *iân,* *imam* *ik* *kakas* *kól*
 other-NSG time 1PL.EXC IPFV swim go.around

lantuá=n=a *polo=n=a* *saksak*
 inside=3SG=ART plantation=3SG=ART sago

'Sometimes, we would swim around in the sago plantation.'

(17) *pat* *i=n=a* *rárám* *a* *uná* *mat* *lantuá=n=a* *bisái,*
 part INAL=3SG=ART water PFV be.full die inside=3SG=ART swamp

mot *mam* *kiru* *kakas* *kól* *lantuá=n=a* *bisái,*
 and 1PL.EXC PST.HAB swim go.around inside=3SG=ART swamp

si=n=a *rárám* *la* *polo=n=a* *saksak* *a* *lak* *guguál*
 AL=3SG=ART water in plantation=3SG=ART sago PFV go.up on.top

'Because the water was very high (lit. full) in the swamp, and we used to swim around in the swamp because the water in the sago plantation was high.'

(18) *kas-nón* *iân,* *mam* *ik* *pan* *mam* *ik* *é,*
 other-NSG time 1PL.EXC IPFV go 1PL.EXC IPFV wash

mam sâk noj mam ik é rokon,
1PL.EXC NEG be.enough 1PL.EXC IPFV wash good

si=n=a rárám a bin mat
AL=3SG=ART water PFV big die

‘Sometimes, we would go to wash sago, (but) we could not wash sago well because the water was too high.’

- (19) *rárám la bisái a bin mat pâ lánját ki sái,*
water in swamp PFV big die with rain HAB go.down

mot pâl a rárám ala tom kâuâi
and gather ART water again sit already

‘The water in the swamp was very high from the rain that came down and came to the water that was already there.’

- (20) *té ki ualai imam ki sâk é rokon*
then HAB do 1PL.EXC HAB NEG wash good

‘Then this caused that we could not wash (sago) well.’

- (21) *tâmo kas-nón îân, mam ki taual ga la lu,*
now other-NSG time 1PL.EXC HAB return empty in house

pârék ta saksak i=n=a boi,
have.NEG IND.ART sago INAL=3SG=ART eat.INTR

pat i=n=a rárám ki sái,
part INAL=3SG=ATR water HAB go.down

mot ik sik pus-én a bul mu~muát i=n=a é
and IPFV take throw-TR ART PL INTR~break INAL=3SG=ART wash

‘Now sometimes, we went back home empty-handed, there was no sago to eat because the water came down and took away the sago dust (that we wanted to) wash.’

- (22) *la îân mam kiru tom, mam kiru lomón, po mam ók táu~táu,*
in time 1PL.EXC PST.HAB sit 1PL.EXC PST.HAB think COMP 1PL.EXC FUT INTR~plant

pat i=n=a lánját a taual kâuâi
part INAL=3SG=ART rain PFV return already

‘As time went on (lit. we stayed), we thought that we would plant because the rain had already come back.’

- (23) *mam ki pan la bul bák si=mam,*
1PL.EXC HAB go in PL place AL=1PL.EXC

amâ a bul marat a tom, po mam ik táu~táu
where ART PL garden PFV sit COMP 1PL.EXC IPFV INTR~plant

‘We went to our places where the gardens were so we would plant.’

- (24) *îân mam ik pan mam ik táu~táu, a munmuna,*
time 1PL.EXC IPFV go 1PL.EXC IPFV INTR~plant ART caterpillar

nâ=mo ki â=sâñ a âue,
NVIS.DIST=only HAB CAU=arrive ART butterfly

ki pan ki ŋan a bul paka=n=a patita
 HAB go HAB eat.TR ART PL leaf=3SG=ART sweet.potato

‘When we went to plant, the caterpillars, the ones that turn into butterflies, went and ate the leaves of the sweet potatoes.’

- (25) *tâmo mam ki sâk boi kinak, pat i=n=a mam a lomon,*
 now 1PL.EXC HAB NEG eat.INTR still part INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC PFV think

po mam ik táu~táu,
 COMP 1PL.EXC IPFV INTR~plant

po mam ik si~sik pâ boi-an anén,
 COMP 1PL.EXC IPFV INTR~take with eat-NOML NVIS.PROX

mam ik táu~táu la iân a lánát ka sái, pârék,
 1PL.EXC IPFV INTR~plant in time ART rain RM.PST go.down have.NEG

a munmuna ki pan ki ŋan pus-én
 ART caterpillar HAB go HAB eat.TR throw-TR

a paka=n=a patita si=mam
 ART leaf=3SG=ART sweet.potato AL=1PL.EXC

‘Now we still did not eat because we thought that we would plant so we could have this food, we would plant when the rain came down, (but) no, the caterpillars came and ate away the leaves of out sweet potatoes.’

- (26) *tâmo mam ki iâ é kinak ala*
 now 1PL.EXC HAB CONT wash still again
 ‘Now we still had to wash (sago).’

- (27) *lantúa=n=a iân anén, mam sâk sik boi-an rokon kinak,*
 inside=3PL.ART time NVIS.PROX 1PL.EXC NEG take eat-NOML good still

pat i=n=a mam ik táu a tut,
 part INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV plant ART Singapore.taro

a munmuna ik ŋan a paka=n=a
 ART caterpillar IPFV eat.TR ART leaf=3SG=ART

‘At that time, we still did not have good food because (when) we would plant Singapore taro, the caterpillars would eat their leaves.’

- (28) *mam a táu a bul patita, lo bul boi-an*
 1PL.EXC PFV plant ART PL sweet.potato or PL eat-NOML

la siua, mam ki táu, lo munâi, bul lâuâ=n=a munâi,
 in place 1PL.EXC HAB plant or vegetable PL much=3SG=ART vegetable

mam a táu la iân a lánát ka sái taul,
 1PL.EXC PFV plant in time ART rain RM.PST go.down return

munmuna ki pan ki ŋan pus-én
 caterpillar HAB go HAB eat.TR throw-TR

‘We planted sweet potatoes or local food that we usually plant, or vegetables, many kinds of vegetables, we planted them when the rain came back, (but) the caterpillars came and ate them away.’

- (29) *otâmo mam ki iâ sâpâl kinak, mat mam ik iâ é kinak,*
 now 1PL.EXC HAB CONT chop still and 1PL.EXC IPFV CONT wash still
mam ki boi pâ saksak mo
 1PL.EXC HAB eat.INTR with sago only
 ‘Now we still had to chop (sago trees), and we still had to wash (sago), we ate only sago.’
- (30) *kas-nón iân imam pâ ñat, i=n=a sik boi-an,*
 other-NSG time 1PL.EXC with stone INAL=3SG=ART take eat-NOML
té mam ki pâl a râis,
 then 1PL.EXC HAB buy ART rice
té mam ki âñan tata=n=a lâñ a boi-an
 then 1PL.EXC HAB feast beside=3SG=ART like ART eat-NOML
 ‘Sometimes when we had money (lit. stone) to get food, then we bought rice, then we ate it as food.’
- (31) *lo imam sâk sik boi-an lâñ pâs-muá,*
 or 1PL.EXC NEG take eat-NOML like step-front
lâñ imam kiru si~sik rokon pâ=n=a,
 like 1PL.EXC PST.HAB INTR~take good with=3SG=ART
bul kaua si=mam i=n=a boi kiru uná
 PL coconut.shell AL=1PL.EXC INAL=3SG=ART eat.INTR PST.HAB be.full
 ‘But we did not get food like before, like we used to get good (food), our plates used to be full.’
- (32) *tâmo la iân óró, mam óró=i tom óró la bák si=mam*
 now in time VIS.PROX 1PL.EXC VIS.PROX=IPFV sit VIS.PROX in place AL=1PL.EXC
óró Jâul, mam a tom la bák i=n=a saksak
 VIS.PROX J. 1PL.EXC PFV sit in place INAL=3SG=ART sago
 ‘Now this time, we live here in our place here on Djaul, we live in the place of sago.’
- (33) *mam ki ñan a saksak mot a munâi lâñ a ilân,*
 1PL.EXC HAB eat.TR ART sago and ART vegetable like ART aibika
i=n=a â=ñasik imam,
 INAL=3SG=ART CAU=help 1PL.EXC
i=n=a mam ik ñan kuuál pâ saksak
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV eat.TR together with sago
 ‘We eat sago and vegetables like aibika to help us (by) eating them with sago.’
- (34) *a lâñát a sái bin râisât kâuâi, a bul luntan,*
 ART rain PFV go.down big very.big already ART PL bush
ner a mekeua rokon, bul lâuâ=n=a niâu kápái,
 3PL PFV green good PL much=3SG=ART thing all
lâñ ka men, ner a ráñ~ráñ rokon tâmo,
 like RM.PST dry 3PL PFV INTR~see good now

si=n=a *lânát* *a* *taual*
 AL=3SG=ART rain PFV return

'The rain has already come down heavily, the bush is nicely green, all kinds of things that were dry now look good because the rain came back.'

(35) *lo* *imam* *iâ* *mere,*
 or 1PL.EXC CONT be.happy

pat *i=n=a* *pasaran* *a* *tom* *kuuál* *pâ* *imam,*
 part INAL=3SG=ART chief PFV sit together with 1PL.EXC

mot *mam* *noj* *mam* *ik* *si~sik* *pâ* *boi-an*
 and 1PL.EXC be.enough 1PL.EXC IPFV INTR~take with eat-NOML

lân *a* *saksak*
 like ART sago

'But we are happy because God is with us, and we can get food like sago.'

(36) *mam* *ki* *irám* *ni,* *mot* *irám* *a* *bul* *rárám* *anén,*
 1PL.EXC HAB drink coconut and drink ART PL water NVIS.PROX

amâ *mam* *kiru* *pan~pan* *lâuák,* *i=n=a* *si~sik* *pâ=n=a*
 where 1PL.EXC PST.HAB PL~go far INAL=3SG=ART INTR~take with=3SG=ART

'We drink coconuts and drink water that we walked far (for) to get.'

(37) *kas-nón* *iân,* *mam* *ik* *pan* *la* *bák* *nâ* *pâ* *saksak,*
 other-NSG time 1PL.EXC IPFV go in place NVIS.DIST with sago

lo *pâ* *rárám,* *mam* *ki* *kál,*
 or with water 1PL.EXC HAB dig

mam *ki* *kál* *a* *rárám* *lân* *a* *kaka-uin*
 1PL.EXC HAB dig ART water like ART well-big

'Sometimes, we go to the place where there are sago trees or where there is water, we dig, we dig for water like a big well.'

(38) *té* *nan* *ik* *â=sâñ* *a* *rárám,*
 then 3SG IPFV CAU=arrive ART water

i=n=a *mam* *ik* *é* *pâ=n=a*
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV wash with=3SG=ART

'Then it provides water so we can wash (sago) with it.'

(39) *té* *mam* *ik* *â=sâñ* *a* *boi-an* *anén*
 then 1PL.EXC IPFV CAU=arrive ART eat-NOML NVIS.PROX

lân *a* *saksak,* *té* *mam* *ik* *âñan* *pâ=n=a*
 like ART sago, then 1PL.EXC IPFV meal with=3SG=ART

'Then we make food like sago, then we eat it.'

(40) *té* *mam* *ki* *pâ* *boi-an,* *mam* *ik* *sik* *aman* *taual*
 then 1PL.EXC HAB with eat-NOML 1PL.EXC IPFV take come return

la lu, i=n=a mam ik boi pâ=n=a
 in house INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV eat.INTR with=3SG=ART
 'Then we have food, we bring it back home to eat it.'

- (41) *mam ki âñan pâ saksak la iân=a uás,*
 1PL.EXC HAB feast with sago in time.3SG=ART sun
tâmo nonj si=n=a mâsât óró tu tâusan tuenti tri,
 now be.enough AL=3SG=ART year VIS.PROX two thousand twenty three
mam ki âñan tata=n=a boi-an lâñ a saksak
 1PL.EXC HAB feast beside=3SG=ART eat-NOML like ART sago
 'We eat sago during the dry season, now until this year, 2023, we eat food like sago.'

- (42) *kas-nón iân, mam ik ñan râis*
 other-NSG time 1PL.EXC IPFV eat.TR rice
 'Sometimes, we eat rice.'

- (43) *tó si=mam kulâu la siua,*
 live AL=1PL.EXC people in place

mam ki boi pâ boi-an la siua
 1PL.EXC HAB eat.INTR with eat-NOML in place
 'The habit of us people of the village (is that) we eat local food.'

- (44) *sak~saka iân mo, mam ki âñan pâ râis,*
 DISTR~one time only 1PL.EXC HAB feast with rice
lo bul iân kápái, mam ki ñan a boi-an la siua,
 or PL time all 1PL.EXC HAB eat.TR ART eat-NOML in place
lâñ niáu uâ món kokot nâ
 like 1SG RC.PST first count NVIS.DIST
 'Only occasionally, we eat rice, but all the time, we eat local food, like I have just listed.'

- (45) *mam ki ñan râis, mam ki ñan patita, tut,*
 1PL.EXC HAB eat.TR rice 1PL.EXC HAB eat.TR sweet.potato Singapore.taro
lo riá
 or wild.taro
 'We eat rice, we eat sweet potatoes, Singapore taro and wild taro.'

- (46) *tâmo la bul iân ró, mam sâk ñan riá,*
 now in PL time VIS.PROX 1PL.EXC NEG eat.TR wild.taro
sâk ñan patita, sâk ñan uár rokon kinak,
 NEG eat.TR sweet.potato NEG eat.TR banana good still
pat i=n=a bul boi-an si=mam ik menjen taul mo
 part INAL=3SG=ART PL eat-NOML AL=1PL.EXC IPFV start return only
 'Now in these times, we do not eat wild taro, we do not eat sweet potatoes, we do not eat good bananas yet because our food is just starting to come back.'

- (47) *nan a pini si=râi tâmo, sân noŋ lâŋ=âtâ*
 3SG PFV story AL=1DU.INC now arrive be.enough like=VIS.DIST
 ‘This is our story now, it ends like that.’

2.7. The *balpák* banana

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *óró a pini i=n=a balpák,*
 VIS.PROX PFV story INAL=3SG=ART banana.sp.
imam ki boi pâ=n=a la pat iân ténén
 1PL.EXC HAB eat.INTR with=3SG=ART in part time today
 ‘This is the story of the *balpák* banana, which we eat at this time today.’
- (2) *inkâuâi tuna mam ka pârék ta uár óró,*
 old true 1PL.EXC RM.PST have.NEG IND.ART banana VIS.PROX
isá=n=a a balpák
 name=3SG=ART PFV banana.sp.
 ‘In the old days, we did not have this banana whose name is *balpák*.’
- (3) *lo ténén tâmo pâ balpák óró, lo salan,*
 or today now with banana.sp. VIS.PROX or way
amâ balpák ka man óró Jâul, ka lâŋ=âtâ
 where banana.sp. RM.PST come VIS.PROX J. RM.PST like=VIS.DIST
 ‘But today now, there is this *balpák* banana, and the way how the *balpák* banana came here to Djaul is like this.’
- (4) *ka pâ imbo=lek-uin, nér ka lak tâ Râbâul*
 RM.PST with PL=man-big 3PL RM.PST go.up VIS.DIST R.
 ‘There were men who went up to Rabaul.’
- (5) *a kas-nón bul pan~pan-an,*
 ART other-NSG PL NOML~go-NOML
nér ka pâ bul âisók-biâŋ tâ
 3PL RM.PST with PL work-small VIS.DIST
 ‘(During) some trips, they had something to do there.’
- (6) *uaté nér a sâŋ ráŋ a uár óró, balpák, tâ Râbâul*
 then 3PL PFV arrive see ART banana VIS.PROX banana.sp. VIS.DIST R.
 ‘Then they saw this banana, *balpák*, there in Rabaul.’
- (7) *i=n=a tâmo nér a ráŋ buák an a balpák atâmo*
 INAL=3SG=ART now 3PL PFV see want about ART banana.sp. now
 ‘Then now they saw and wanted the *balpák* banana now.’
- (8) *té nér a sumát sík a mata i=n=a balpák,*
 then 3PL PFV remove.tool take ART sucker INAL=3SG=ART banana.sp.
nér a sái aman pâ=n=a
 3PL PFV go.down come with=3SG=ART
 ‘Then they took out a *balpák* sucker, the came down (to New Ireland) with it.’

- (9) *la iân nér a man, nér a sâñ óró Keiuiân,*
 in time 3PL PFV come 3PL PFV arrive VIS.PROX Kavieng
nér a kouos sik a bál tân,
 3PL PFV jump.on take ART canoe VIS.MED
nér a lak aman óró Jâul
 3PL PFV go.up come VIS.DIST J.
 ‘When they came, they arrived here in Kavieng, they jumped in a boat there, they came up here to Djaul.’
- (10) *nárál kápái ka pâ buák pâ uár óró mo,*
 3TRI all RM.PST with want with banana VIS.PROX only
pat mata uár óró, a balpák
 part sucker banana VIS.PROX ART banana.sp.
 ‘They all wanted only this banana, this (one) banana sucker, the *balpák* banana.’
- (11) *lo isá=n=a imbo=lek-uin anén na Orim, na Erik,*
 or name=3SG=ART PL=man-big NVIS.PROX PN.ART O. PN.ART E.
mat na Pâulus
 and PN.ART P.
 ‘And the names of these men were Orim, Erik and Paulus.’
- (12) *nér aman tâmo, na Orim tâmo sâñ táu a ti*
 3PL come now PN.ART O now arrive plant PFV stand
a pat balpák anén la marat si=n=a
 ART part banana.sp. NVIS.PROX in garden AL=3SG=ART
 ‘They came now, Orim now planted this *balpák* banana in his garden.’
- (13) *la kas iân tâmo, na Pâulus a ulát aman la marat,*
 in other time now PN.ART P. PFV go.around come in garden
nan a sâñ ráñ puát a pat balpák a ti,
 3SG PFV arrive see find ART part banana.sp. PFV stand
i=n=a nan a sâñ bal sik,
 INAL=3SG=ART 3SG PFV arrive remove take
nan a pan nan a si táu
 3SG PFV go 3SG PFV FOC plant
 ‘Another day now, Paulus came around to the garden, he saw the *balpák* banana standing, then he took it out, he went and planted it (in his garden).’
- (14) *na Orim aman sâñ ráñ,*
 PN.ART O. come arrive see
po a balpák a pârék atâmo
 COMP ART banana.sp. PFV have.NEG now
 ‘Orim came and saw that the *balpák* banana was gone now.’

- (15) *nan a kusé a us a salan, amâ lek nâ,*
 3SG PFV trace PFV follow ART way where man NVIS.DIST
na Pâulus ka man ka bal sik a pat uár
 PN.ART P. RM.PST come RM.PST remove take ART part banana
 'He followed the path which that man, Paulus, had come from to take out the banana stem.'
- (16) *nan a pan atâmo,*
 3SG PFV go now
nan a sâŋ ráŋ puát a uár a ti
 3SG PFV arrive see find ART banana PFV stand
 'He went now, he saw the banana tree standing.'
- (17) *i=n=a tâmo ala na Orim a bal sik*
 INAL=3SG=ART now again PN.ART O. PFV remove take
a balpák anén
 ART banana.sp. NVIS.PROX
 'Then now Orim also took out this *balpák* banana.'
- (18) *aman tâmo, nan a sâŋ táu pák la bák nâ,*
 come now 3SG PFV arrive plant turn in place NVIS.DIST
nan ka món táu a ti pâs-muá
 3SG RM.PST first plant PFV stand step-front
 'Now he planted it back in the place where he had first planted it before.'
- (19) *tâmo ténén nó ók ráŋ lâŋ=âtâ,*
 now today 2SG FUT see like=VIS.DIST
a uár óró, balpák, a kot a mot kápái
 ART banana VIS.PROX banana.sp. PFV cover PFV finish all
a bák óró Jâul
 ART place VIS.PROX J.
 'Now today, you will see that this banana, the *balpák*, has covered all of the island here on Djaul.'
- (20) *mat nan a uár, amâ la bul iân-bin,*
 and 3SG PFV banana where in PL time-big
mam kápái ki buák ŋan
 1PL.EXC all HAB want eat.TR
 'And it is the banana that, during feasts, we all want to eat.'
- (21) *mot a isá=n=a tâmo, nér ki â=táŋ a balpák*
 and ART name=3SG=ART now 3PL HAB CAU=say ART banana.sp.
 'And its name now, they call it the *balpák* (lit. dig out again) banana.'
- (22) *rokon*
 good
 'Thank you.'

2.8. The masks

By Wesley Naion (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *té, niáu=k kus~kus-â pâ mátuá ka ti-topoŋ*
 then 1SG=FUT INTR~tell-INTR with mask RM.PST stand-start
 ‘Okay, I will tell about how the masks started (on Djaul).’
- (2) *a mátuá óró, nan a bul tiiá ténén si=mam la âilan,*
 ART mask VIS.PROX 3SG PFV PL dance today AL=1PL.EXC in island
nan ka ti-topoŋ tâ la kuráŋ-bin, mat ka man
 3SG RM.PST stand-start VIS.DIST in world-big and RM.PST come
 ‘This mask (and) the dances today with us on the island started on the (New Ireland) mainland and came here.’
- (3) *nan a ti-topoŋ la kuráŋ-bin si=n=a kas lek-bin,*
 3SG PFV stand-start in world-big AL=3SG=ART other man-big
isá=n=a na Loŋâi
 name=3SG=ART PN.ART L.
 ‘It started on the (New Ireland) mainland because of a man whose name was Longai.’
- (4) *nan ka ti-topoŋ a mátuá tâ Lamusmus,*
 3SG RM.PST stand-start ART mask VIS.DIST L.
té nan ka sik a lak a tiiá nén,
 then 3SG RM.PST take PFV go.up ART dance NVIS.PROX
mot nan ka tiiá ró Káláunapok
 and 3SG RM.PST dance VIS.PROX K.
 ‘He started the masks there in Lamusmus, then he took this dance, and he danced here in Kalaunapok.’
- (5) *nan ka tiiá óró Káláunapok, nan ka â=kaliť nér,*
 3SG RM.PST dance VIS.PROX K. 3SG RM.PST CAU=learn 3PL
mot nér ka tiiá tiiá nén, na Siliuâ,
 and 3PL RM.PST dance dance NVIS.PROX PN.ART S.
mot a kas imbo=lek-bin ala
 and ART other PL=man-big again
 ‘He danced here in Kalaunapok, he taught them, and they danced this dance, Siliua and also other men (were his students).’
- (6) *nér ka tiiá tiiá, noŋ si=n=a na Siliuâ a mat*
 3PL RM.PST dance dance be.enough AL=3SG=ART PN.ART S. PFV die
 ‘They danced until Siliua died.’
- (7) *té a pat kulâu auái, nér ka sik a tiiá,*
 then ART part people new 3PL RM.PST take ART dance

nér a tiiá pâ=n=a
3PL PFV dance with=3SG=ART

'Then a new group took the dance, they danced with it.'

- (8) *na Sâlátên, nér a kas pat, amâ nér ka tiiá,*
PN.ART S. 3PL PFV other part where 3PL RM.PST dance

noŋ si=n=a isa mâsât, nér ka tó,
be.enough AL=3SG=ART how.much year 3PL RM.PST live

noŋ nér a mat
be.enough 3PL PFV die

'Salaten (and others) were another group who danced for some years when they were alive until they died.'

- (9) *a imbo=lek auái, nér ka si meŋen tiiá, na Tito,*
ART PL=man new 3PL RM.PST FOC start dance PN.ART T.

nér a tiiá pâ tiiá, aman aman, noŋ nér a malilát
3PL PFV dance with dance come come be.enough 3PL PFV be.lost

'New men now started dancing, Tito (and others) danced this dance until they passed away.'

- (10) *até a kas pat auái, nér ka si tiiá, na Lâtârâ,*
then ART other part new 3PL RM.PST FOC dance PN.ART L.

na pâpói si=k nér lantuá=n=a
PN.ART father AL=1SG 3PL inside=3SG=ART

'Then a new group now danced, Latara and my father were among them.'

- (11) *nér ka tiiá man aman aman,*
3PL RM.PST dance come come come

noŋ si=n=a iân nér a sâŋ mot
be.enough AL=3SG=ART time 3PL PFV arrive finish

'They danced and danced until they passed away.'

- (12) *té a tiiá nén tâmo ka mati isa mâsât-bin,*
then ART dance NVIS.PROX now RM.PST lie how.much year-big

noŋ si=n=a níáu a ti-topoŋ pák
be.enough AL=3SG=ART 1SG PFV stand-start turn

'Then this dance was put aside for many years until I started it again.'

- (13) *lo a tiiá, mam óró=k tiiá ró, a bul béŋ=én=a,*
or ART dance 1PL.EXC VIS.PROX=IPFV dance VIS.PROX ART PL head=3SG=ART

ka pâ iuái a uru beŋ
RM.PST with two ART PL head

'But the dance that we are dancing here, its masks (lit. heads), it has two types of masks (lit. heads).'

- (14) *a kas beŋ, mam kuru kel a lâmbâk*
ART other head 1PL.EXC PST.HAB call ART female.mask

'One mask (lit. head), we call it the *lâmbâk* (with a female face).'

- (15) *kas beŋ, mam kuru kel a mâiâu*
 other head 1PL.EXC PST.HAB call ART male.mask
 ‘The other mask (lit. head), we call it the *mâiâu* (with a male face).’
- (16) *a mâiâu, tanén tâmo nan a malilát*
 ART male.mask today now 3SG PFV be.lost
 ‘The *mâiâu* mask is lost today.’
- (17) *lo mam óró=k mâlmâlân tâmo pâ a lâmbâk*
 or 1PL.EXC VIS.PROX=IPFV dance now with ART female.mask
 ‘And we are dancing now with the *lâmbâk* mask.’
- (18) *lo lâmbâk, imam pâ lantuá=n=a beŋ anén,*
 or female.mask 1PL.EXC with inside=3SG=ART head NVIS.PROX

mam pâ bul â=tá~táj i=n=a ala,
 1PL.EXC with PL CAU=INTR~say INAL=3SG=ART again

bul â=mo~mos-an i=n=a béŋ=én=a mátuá, lâmbâk
 PL CAU=INTR~decorate-NOML INAL=3SG=ART head=3SG=ART mask female.mask
 ‘And the *lâmbâk* mask, for (lit. inside) this mask (lit. head), we also have words for the parts (lit. decorations) of this mask head, *lâmbâk*.’
- (19) *niáu ók ti-topoŋ kokot*
 1SG FUT stand-start count

a bul â=mo~mos-uiân i=n=a
 ART PL CAU=INTR~decorate-small INAL=3SG=ART
 ‘I will start listing its parts (lit. small decorations).’
- (20) *la iân kiru te an a nó=n=a mátuá,*
 in time PST.HAB cut about ART face=3SG=ART mask

mam kiru te a séué i=n=a béŋ=én=a mátuá
 1PL.EXC PST.HAB CUT ART tree.sp. INAL=3SG=ART head=3SG=ART mask
 ‘When we cut the face of the mask, we cut (wood of) the *séué* tree for the head of the mask.’
- (21) *iân a béŋ=én=a mátuá kiru mot, nér kiru luŋâ a mátuá*
 time ART head=3SG=ART mask PST.HAB finish 3PL PST.HAB frame ART mask
 ‘When the head of the mask was finished, they built the frame of the mask.’
- (22) *té lantuá=n=a luŋâ i=n=a mátuá, iân mam kiru luŋâ mot,*
 then inside=3SG=ART frame INAL=3SG=ART mask time 1PL.EXC PST.HAB frame finish

lo pâ paka=n â=tá~táj
 or with leaf=3SG CAU=INTR~say

i=n=a bul lâuâ=n=a mos kápái i=n=a mátuá
 INAL=3SG=ART PL much=3SG=ART decorate all INAL=3SG=ART mask
 ‘Then on (lit. inside) the frame of the mask, when we finished the frame, there were words for all the parts (lit. decorations) of the mask.’
- (23) *a kó tuán i=n=a luŋâ,*
 ART small.piece bone INAL=3SG=ART frame

mam kuru â=tán a puŋan i=n=a luŋâ
 1PL.EXC PST.HAB CAU=say ART top INAL=3SG=ART frame
 ‘The bone of the frame, we called it the *puŋan* (top) of the frame.’

(24) *té mulâi guguál, mam ki â=tán a puŋan i=n=a mulâi*
 then tree.sp. on.top 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=say ART top INAL=3SG=ART tree.sp.
 ‘Then (the bark of) the *mulâi* tree, we call (the upper hair) the *puŋan* of the *mulâi*.’

(25) *té lá-piá, mam ki â=tán a mis*
 then in-ground 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=say ART upper.side.hair
 ‘Then below, we call (the upper side hair) the *mis*.’

(26) *la pâis i=n=a, mam ki â=tán pepe=n=a mátuá*
 in side INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=say cheek=3SG=ART mask
 ‘On its side, we call (the side hair) the *pepe* (cheek).’

(27) *sái lá-piá pâ bus pagias,*
 go.down in-ground with DUMMY red

mam ki â=tán a pus
 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=say ART side.hair
 ‘Below, there is a red one, we call (the strip of side hair) the *pus*.’

(28) *lá-piá i=n=a ala, mam ki â=tán a borotâk*
 in-ground INAL=3SG=ART again 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=say ART lower.hair
 ‘Also below it, we call (the lowest hair) the *borotâk*.’

(29) *bul â=mo~mos-uiân i=n=a*
 PL CAU=INTR~decorate-small INAL=3SG=ART

lantúá=n=a kuma i=n=a nâ,
 inside=3SG=ART claw INAL=3SG=ART NVIS.DIST

mam ki â=tán a melmel
 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=say ART tassel
 ‘The small decorations on the vertical protrusions on its sides, we call them the *melmel* (tassel).’

(30) *a ke la bala=n=a,*
 ART cloth in mouth=3SG=ART

mam ki â=tán a bán mal
 1PL.EXC HAB CAU=say ART bunch cloth
 ‘The cloth under the chin (lit. in its mouth), we call it the *bán mal*.’

(31) *nan a kus~kus-â mo i=n=a mátuá ka ti-topoŋ,*
 3SG PFV INTR~tell-INTR only INAL=3SG=ART mask RM.PST stand-start

mat a bul â=mo~mos-an i=n=a mátuá
 and ART PL CAU=INTR~decorate-NOML INAL=3SG=ART mask

‘This is just the story of how the masks started (on Djaul), and the parts (lit. decorations) of the mask.’

(32) *nan a sâŋ ti óró mo, mot nan a mot*
 3SG PFV arrive stand VIS.PROX only and 3SG PFV finish

‘It (the story) ends here, and that is all.’

2.9. Joseph Kombeng

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *óró a pini-uiâŋ in=ék*
 VIS.PROX PFV story-small INAL=1SG
 ‘This is my little (life) story.’

- (2) *a isá=k na Josep Komben*
 ART name=1SG PN.ART J. K.
 ‘My name is Joseph Kombeng.’

- (3) *niáu i=n óró Piliua,*
 1SG INAL=3SG VIS.PROX P.
- lo pâs-muá i=n=a niáu ka â=nás man óró Piliua,*
 or step-front INAL=3SG=ART 1SG RM.PST CAU=move come VIS.PROX P.
- niáu kóró món tom tâ Káriá*
 1SG PST.HAB first sit VIS.DIST K.
 ‘I am from Piliua, but before I moved here to Piliua, I first lived in Karia.’

- (4) *imam lantuá=n=a ko~kokot si=mam la mata=n=a lu,*
 1PL.EXC inside=3SG=ART INTR~COUNT AL=1PL.EXC in eye=3SG=ART house
- imam a tâlât*
 1PL.EXC PFV four
 ‘We, as for our number in the household, we are four (siblings).’

- (5) *mam a tâlât,*
 1PL.EXC PFV four
- niáu a â=utál i=n=a popo lantuá=n=a mata=n=a lu,*
 1SG PFV CAU=three INAL=3SG=ART child inside=3SG=ART eye=3SG=ART house
- â=us na riŋa=mam ka puát imam*
 CAU=follow PN.ART mother=1PL.EXC RM.PST find 1PL.EXC
 ‘We are four (siblings), I am the third child in our household according to our mother giving birth to us.’

- (6) *niáu pâ makata=k-bin, niáu pâ tiâ=ŋ-bin,*
 1SG with opposite.sex.sibling=1SG-big 1SG with same.sex.sibling=NPOSS-big
- té niáu, té niá pâ makata=k, a ten,*
 then 1SG then 1SG with opposite.sex.sibling=1SG ART woman
- mot nan a â=mot~mot*
 and 3SG PFV CAU=INTR~finish
 ‘I have a big sister, I have a big brother, then (there is) me, then I have a sister, a girl, and she is the last-born.’

- (7) *lo imam kápái, mam ki tom, sâk óró la malai,*
 or 1PL.EXC all 1PL.EXC HAB sit NEG VIS.PROX in village

pârék, mam kápái ka bin la malai la luntan
 have.NEG 1PL.EXC all RM.PST big in village in bush
 'But all of us, we used to live not here in the village, no, we all grew up at a place in the bush.'

- (8) *malai si=mam sâk tom susulék an a malai-uin,*
 village AL=1PL.EXC NEG sit near about ART village-big

mam ki tom lâúák an a malai-uin
 1PL.EXC HAB sit far about ART village-big
 'Our place was not near the big village, we used to live far from the big village.'

- (9) *lo la iân niáu ka tâmâi mo,*
 or in time 1SG RM.PST marry only

té niáu ka â=nás man óró la gâlân malai,
 then 1SG RM.PST CAU=move come VIS.PROX in crowded.place village

óró Piliua

VIS.PROX P.

'But only when I married, then I moved here to the big village, here to Piliua.'

- (10) *mot niáu óró si tom tâmo óró Piliua, la lotu,*
 and 1SG VIS.PROX FOC sit now VIS.PROX P. in religion

mot la gâpman lantuá=n=a uipisi óró Piliua
 and in government inside=3SG=ART VPC VIS.PROX P.

'And now I live here in Piliua, in the church and in the government inside the VPC (Village Planning Committee) here in Piliua.'

- (11) *niáu ka ti-toponj, i=n=a â=kal~kalit la mâsât*
 1SG RM.PST stand-start INAL=3SG=ART CAU=INTR~learn in year

sañaulápâ patlima pâ tâlât a tiár
 ten with five with four ART man

mot patlima pâ tâlât sañaulápâ iuâi kálá saka
 and five with four ten with two on one

'I started learning (at school) in 1992 in (grade) one.'

- (12) *té niáu ka â=mot kálá sañaulá*
 then 1SG RM.PST CAU=finish on ten

la mâsât iuâi sañaulátiár pâ saka
 in year two ten man with one

'Then I finished (grade) ten in 2001.'

- (13) *té niáu ka pan tâ Don Boskou tâ Kokopo*
 then 1SG RM.PST go VIS.DIST D. B. VIS.DIST K.

'Then I went to Don Bosco (secondary school) in Kokopo.'

- (14) *niáu ka utál a mâsât tân, té niáu a taual aman*
 1SG RM.PST three ART year VIS.MED then 1SG PFV return come

'I was three years there, then I came back.'

- (15) *niáu a sik a ók kalapan-biân*
 1SG PFV take ART whole.piece know-small
tân la bák i=n=a â=kal~kalit,
 VIS.MED in place INAL=3SG=ART CAU=INTR~learn
té niá taual aman, niá tom mo la siua
 then 1SG return come 1SG sit only in village
 'I got some knowledge there at school, then I returned, I just stayed in the village.'
- (16) *niáu ka man, niáu a âisók*
 1SG RM.PST come 1SG PFV work
kuuál pâ Poliâmbâ kâmpani tâ Lâkurumâu
 together with P. company VIS.DIST L.
 'I came, and I worked with the Poliamba Company in Lakurumau.'
- (17) *té niá sái, niá âisók biân la Keuię Betię Sop,*
 then 1SG go.down 1SG work small in K. B. S.
amâ nér ki tâpelek a bul os
 where 3PL HAB play ART PL horse
 'Then I came down (from Lakurumau to Kavieng), I worked a little at Kavieng Betting Shop, where they had horse racing games.'
- (18) *niáu ka sâņ lâņ a lek i=n=a â=kotoņ ęat*
 1SG RM.PST arrive like ART man INAL=3SG=ART CAU=care stone
tân la Keuię Betię Sop, iân-biân tok mo
 VIS.MED in K. B. S. time-small short only
 'I became like an accountant (lit. man of looking after stones) there at Kavieng Betting Shop, for a short time only.'
- (19) *té niá pan, niá âisók lantuá=n=a kas marat si=n=a pârâņân*
 then 1SG go 1SG work inside=3SG=ART other garden AL=3SG=ART banana.sp.
tâ la malai-uin
 VIS.DIST in village-big
 'Then I went, I worked in a shop (lit. garden of bananas/white people) there in town.'
- (20) *isá=n=a marat onén a Pi'em'ems,*
 name=3SG=ART garden NVIS.MED PFV P.
amâ lek, nan a â=kotoņ, nan a kas Câinis
 where man 3SG PFV CAU=care 3SG PFV other C.
 'The name of that shop was PMM's, the manager of which was a Chinese.'
- (21) *niá ka âisók kuuál pâ nan,*
 1SG RM.PST work together with 3SG
lo isá=n=a lek onén na Geuin lp
 or name=3SG=ART man NVIS.MED PN.ART G. I.
 'I worked with him, and that man's name was Gavin Hip.'

- (22) *té níáu ka tom âisók*
 then 1SG RM.PST sit work
lantuá=n=a lu si=n=a i=n=a âisók
 inside=3SG=ART house AL=3SG=ART INAL=3SG=ART work
 ‘Then I worked in his office (lit. his house of work).’
- (23) *niá ka âisók kuuál pâ=n=a la lu i=n=a âisók*
 1SG RM.PST work together with=3SG=ART in house INAL=3SG=ART work
lân a lek i=n=a â=kotoŋ ŋat ala
 like ART man INAL=3SG=ART CAU=care stone again
la bák i=n=a âsót pâ boi-an pârânân
 in place INAL=3SG=ART market with eat-NOML banana.sp.
 ‘I worked with him in the office as an accountant again in the grocery retail shop (lit. market for bananas/white people’s food).’
- (24) *niá mot tân, niá taual pan Poliâmbâ ala,*
 1SG finish VIS.MED 1SG return go P. again
niá âisók pan tân tâlât a ualan mo
 1SG work go VIS.MED four ART moon only
 ‘I stopped (working) there, I returned to Poliamba again, I worked there only for four months.’
- (25) *niáu a gán a pus-én nér,*
 1SG PFV leave PFV throw-TR 3PL
â=us a pâl~pâl sâk mala âi=nonŋ
 CAU=follow ART INTR~buy NEG very REC=be.enough
 ‘I left them because the payment was not very good.’
- (26) *nér kiró sâk pâl a rokon imam, âisók sâkârâi,*
 3PL PST.HAB NEG buy PFV good 1PL.EXC work very.big
lo pâl~pâl a biânŋ
 or INTR~buy PFV small
 ‘They did not pay us well, there was a lot of work, but the payment was small.’
- (27) *té niá taual sái man*
 then 1SG return go.down come
la bák i=n=a tâpelek pâ os ala
 in place INAL=3SG=ART play with horse again
 ‘Then I came back down (from Lakurumau to Kavieng) to the horse racing shop again.’
- (28) *si=n=a nér a buák pák niáu,*
 AL=3SG=ART 3PL PFV want turn 1SG
niá man ik âisók ala saka mâsât mo
 1SG come IPFV work again one year only
 ‘Because they wanted me back, I came to work again for one year only.’

- (29) *la iân niáu a gán a pus-én*
 in time 1SG PFV leave PFV throw-TR
a bák i=n=a tâpelek os, niá taual aman la siua,
 ART place INAL=3SG=ART play horse 1SG return come in place
niá sâη tom óró Káriá
 1SG arrive sit VIS.PROX K.
 ‘When I left the horse racing shop, I came back to the village, I arrived and stayed here in Karia.’
- (30) *ner a pasak niáu, po é=k sâη a pás-muá*
 3PL PFV appoint 1SG COMP 1SG=IPFV arrive ART step-front
i=n=a uipisi i=n Káriá
 INAL=3SG=ART VPC INAL=3SG K.
 ‘They elected me to become the VPC chairman of Karia.’
- (31) *té niáu a â=kotoη a Káriá lantuá=n=a utál a mâsât*
 then 1SG PFV CAU=care ART K. inside=3SG=ART three ART year
 ‘Then I looked after the Karia (people) for three years.’
- (32) *niáu ka âisók lâη a pás-muá i=n=a ra~rauui*
 1SG RM.PST work like ART step-front INAL=3SG=ART PL~make.sound
pâ pâl~pâl-an i=n=a malai
 with INTR~plan-NOML INAL=3SG=ART village
 ‘I worked as the VPC chairman (lit. leader of discussing plans of the village).’
- (33) *la iân niá ka tom lantuá=n=a âisók lâη a pás-muá*
 in time 1SG RM.PST sit inside=3SG=ART work like ART step-front
i=n=a uipisi, lo niá ka tom kinak niá=k âisók,
 INAL=3SG=ART VPC or 1SG RM.PST sit still 1SG=IPFV work
ner a pasak niáu ala lantuá=n=a to~tom-an-bin
 3PL PFV appoint 1SG again inside=3SG=ART NOML~sit-NOML-big
i=n=a lotu ka tom tâ Káriá
 INAL=3SG=ART religion RM.PST sit VIS.DIST K.
 ‘When I was in the position as the VPC chairman, and I was still working, they also elected me into the big church meeting that took place in Karia.’
- (34) *ner ka buák lâη=âtâ, po é=k lek i=n=a kal~kalai*
 3PL RM.PST want like=VIS.DIST COMP 1SG=IPFV man INAL=3SG=ART INTR~write
i=n=a ti-kuuál i=n=a lotu óró Tiául
 INAL=3SG=ART stand-be.together INAL=3SG=ART religion VIS.PROX T.
 ‘They wanted me to become the secretary (lit. man of writing) of the United Church here on Djaul.’
- (35) *lantuá=n=a pat iân tân*
 inside=3SG=ART part time VIS.MED
la mâsât iuâi saηaulátiár mot patlima pâ utál,
 in year two ten man and five with three

noŋ *la* *iuâi* *saŋaulátiár* *mot* *patlima pâ* *tâlât,*
be.enough in two ten man and five with four

pan *si=n=a* *saŋaulá,* *té* *ner* *a* *pasak* *pák* *niáu* *ala,*
go AL=3SG=ART ten then 3PL PFV appoint turn 1SG again

i=n=a *é=k* *toi* *kinak* *a* *ŋáuák* *anén*
INAL=3SG=ART 1SG=IPFV touch still ART position NVIS.PROX

ik *aman* *noŋ* *si=n=a* *iuâi* *saŋaulátiár*
IPFV come be.enough AL=3SG=ART two ten man

mot *saka* *saŋaulápâ* *patima pâ* *utál,*
and one ten with five with three

té *kiual-biâŋ* *i=n=a* *iuâi* *saŋaulá* *mot* *patlima pâ* *tâlât*
then half-small INAL=3SG=ART two ten and five with four

‘During that time from 2008 to 2009/2010, then they elected me back again to hold that position until 2018, then a bit of 2019.’

(36) *la* *iân* *tân,* *niá* *ka* *tom* *âi=us* *biâŋ* *kelek,*
in time VIS.MED 1SG RM.PST sit REC=follow small first

â=us *a* *kas-nón* *bul* *ra~rauai* *ka* *sâŋ*
CAU=follow ART other-NSG PL PL~make.sound RM.PST arrive

lantuá=n=a *lotu,* *po* *ner* *ik* *â=én* *a* *pan* *niáu*
inside=3SG=ART religion COMP 3PL IPFV CAU=send PFV go 1SG

tâ *la* *bák* *i=n=a* *â=kal~kalit* *tâ* *Liga*
VIS.DIST in place INAL=3SG=ART CAU=INTR~learn VIS.DIST L.

‘At that time, I took a small break at first because some discussions came up inside the church that they would send me to the school in Ligga.’

(37) *lo* *ka* *sâk* *sâŋ,* *mam* *ka* *sâk* *bál-karól,*
or RM.PST NEG arrive 1PL.EXC RM.PST NEG make-achieve

â=us *a* *pál~pál-an* *ka* *sâk* *mala* *âi=noŋ*
CAU=follow ART INTR~plan-NOML RM.PST NEG very REC=be.enough

lantuá=n=a *lotu*
inside=3SG=ART religion

‘But that did not happen, we did not fulfill it because there was not enough (money for it) in the church.’

(38) *té* *niáu* *a* *tom* *ga* *mo* *la* *malai*
then 1SG PFV sit empty only in village

‘Then I just stayed at home.’

(39) *té* *pâ* *tîâ=ŋ* *tâmo* *ka* *gán*
then with same.sex.sibling=NPOSS now RM.PST leave

la iuniuasiti tâ Ostrelia, nan ka sái man
 in university VIS.DIST O. 3SG RM.PST go.down come
 ‘Then there was a brother now that came from a university in Australia, he came down (from abroad to New Ireland).’

(40) *té imâi a tom kuuál, i=n=a mâ=k âisók*
 then 1DU.EXC PFV sit be.together INAL=3SG=ART 1DU.EXC=IPFV work
 ‘Then we lived together to work.’

(41) *mot niáu kiró â=ŋasik nan pâ kas-nón bul âisók si=n=a,*
 and 1SG PST.HAB CAU=help 3SG with other-NSG PL work AL=3SG=ART

lân nan a lek-biân i=n=a â=kal~kalit lantuá=n=a iuniuasiti
 like 3SG PFV man-small INAL=3SG=ART CAU=INTR~learn inside=3SG=ART university

pâ ra~rauai siua i=n óró Tiául, ra~rauai Tiân
 with PL~make.sound place INAL=3SG VIS.PROX T. PL~make.sound T.

‘And I helped him with his tasks, as he was a university student (learning) about the local language here on Djaul, the Tiang language.’

(42) *é=k lomón, nan isan tâmo,*
 1SG=IPFV think 3SG alone now

a kus~kus-â pâ tó-uiân si=k,
 ART INTR~tell-INTR with life-small AL=1SG

lo to~tom-an si=k noŋ tanén
 and NOML~sit-NOML AL=1SG be.enough today

‘I think that is all now, the story about my little life and my situation until today.’

(43) *rokon*
 good
 ‘Thank you.’

2.10. The young man who looked after the bees

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *pini si=n=a lek polok-an,*
 story AL=3SG=ART man grow-NOML
amâ nan kóró â=kotoŋ a bul sâmbiâlonŋot
 where 3SG PST.HAB CAU=care ART PL bee
 ‘The story of the young man who looked after the bees.’
- (2) *la kas le-le, niáu ka tom la malai,*
 in other in-afternoon 1SG RM.PST sit in village
mot niáu a lak pan lantuá=n=a lu
 and 1SG PFV go.up go inside=3SG=ART house
 ‘One afternoon, I was at home, and I went up into the house.’
- (3) *niáu a lak pan la lu, mot sik a laka si=k,*
 1SG PFV go.up go in house and take ART basket AL=1SG
baté niáu a sái aman, mot tom tokol pâ lu
 then 1SG PFV go.down come and sit chew.betelnut with house
 ‘I went up into the house and took my basket, then I came down to chew betelnuts under the house.’
- (4) *la iân niáu ka tom tokol pâ lu,*
 in time 1SG RM.PST sit chew.betelnut with house
niáu a ráŋ~ráŋ lak la mi=n=a lu
 1SG PFV INTR~see go.up in back=3SG=ART house
 ‘When I was sitting and chewing betelnuts under the house, I looked up to the back of the house.’
- (5) *niáu a ráŋ puát a bul sâmbiâlonŋot*
 1SG PFV see find ART PL bee
ik iâ ioio ulát a lu
 IPFV CONT fly go.around ART house
 ‘I saw bees flying around the house.’
- (6) *ner a ioio ulát a lu,*
 3PL PFV fly go.around ART house
mot ner a sâŋ tom kuuál
 and 3PL PFV arrive sit be.together
 ‘They were flying around the house, and they were sitting together.’
- (7) *baté ner a sâi~sâi kuuál*
 then 3PL PFV INTR~gather be.together
la ba~uauat i=n=a lu
 in INTR~make.wall INAL=3SG=ART house
 ‘Then they gathered on the wall of the house.’

- (8) *otâmo niáu a ráŋ nér a sâi~sâi kuuál,*
 now 1SG PFV see 3PL PFV INTR~gather be.together
niáu a sik a lamai, mot â=sót,
 1SG PFV take ART dry.coconut.leaf and CAU=inflame
po é=k pâs a gán nér
 COMP 1SG=IPFV step PFV leave 3PL
 ‘Now I saw them gathering, I took a dry coconut leaf and lit it to chase them away.’
- (9) *la iân niáu kóró âigot an a lamai,*
 in time 1SG PST.HAB be.ready about ART dry.coconut.leaf
i=n=a pâs a gán nér,
 INAL=3SG=ART step PFV leave 3PL
nér a ioio gán, mot sâk pâ-lâuák, nér a taual aman
 3PL PFV fly leave and NEG with-far 3PL PFV return come
 ‘Every time I prepared a dry coconut leaf to chase them away, they flew away, and shortly afterwards, they came back.’
- (10) *la iân nér ka taual aman, niáu a â=sót*
 in time 3PL RM.PST return come 1SG PFV CAU=inflame
a kas kó=n lamai ala
 ART other small.piece=3SG dry.coconut.leaf again
 ‘When they came back, I lit again another coconut leaf.’
- (11) *niáu â=sót a kas kó=n lamai ónén,*
 1SG CAU=inflame ART other small.piece=3SG dry.coconut.leaf NVIS.PROX
té niáu a tán nér ala, niáu â=sót nér ala
 then 1SG PFV cook 3PL again 1SG CAU=inflame 3PL again
 ‘I lit the other dry coconut leaf, then I burnt them, I set them on fire again.’
- (12) *nér a ioio gán, lo la mi=n=a kas iân ala mo,*
 3PL PFV fly leave or in back=3SG=ART other time again only
nér a taual aman ala, mot a sâŋ tom
 3PL PFV return come again and PFV arrive sit
 ‘They flew away, but only after some time, they came back again and sat down.’
- (13) *tâmo niáu a ráŋ lâŋ=âtâ,*
 now 1SG PFV see like=VIS.DIST
po a bul sâmbiâloŋot óró nâ,
 COMP ART PL bee VIS.PROX NVIS.DIST
nér a buák a nón óró, i=n=a to~tom-an si=nér
 3PL PFV want ART place VIS.PROX INAL=3SG=ART NOML~sit~NOML AL=3PL
 ‘Now I saw that these bees wanted this place for them to stay.’

- (14) *baté niáu a kus~kus kól*
 then 1SG PFV INTR~tell go.around
 ‘Then I told around.’
- (15) *“la iân imé uók man la lu,*
 in time 2PL FUT come in house
mot ráŋ a bul sâmbiâlonot óró tom la mi=n=a lu,
 and see ART PL bee VIS.PROX sit in back=3SG=ART house
imé=k piâ=n=a lák nér
 2PL=FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART hit 3PL
 ‘‘‘When you come to (my) house and see the bees sitting here behind the house, do not kill them.’
- (16) *a bák tân nâ, nér iâ buák,*
 ART place VIS.MED NVIS.DIST 3PL CONT want
po nér ik tom lantuá=n=a’’
 COMP 3PL IPFV sit inside=3SG=ART
 ‘That place, they want it to live inside it.’’
- (17) *baté la kas iân, niáu a pan la gâlân malai,*
 then in other time 1SG PFV go in crowded.place village
té kulâu kóró kus niáu lâŋ=âtâ
 then people PST.HAB tell 1SG like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Then one day, I went to the village centre, then the people told me.’
- (18) *“imam ki láu tân la ku=n=a malai,*
 1PL.EXC HAB travel VIS.MED in belly=3SG=ART village
imam ki ráŋ a bul sâmbiâlonot,
 1PL.EXC HAB see ART PL bee
nér tân a tom sâi~sâi la mi=n=a lu si=m’’
 3PL VIS.MED PFV sit INTR~gather in back=3SG=ART house AL=2SG
 ‘‘‘(Every time) we go to the village centre, we see the bees, they sit there together behind your house.’’
- (19) *té niáu a kus nér lâŋ=âtâ*
 then 1SG PFV tell 3PL like=VIS.DIST
 ‘Then I told them.’
- (20) *“niáu ki â=kotoŋ nér, lo sâk â=kotoŋ pâ boi-an,*
 1SG HAB CAU=care 3PL or NEG CAU=care with eat-NOML
pârék, nér a puát a nón tân a rokon
 have.NEG 3PL PFV find ART place VIS.MED PFV good
 ‘‘‘I look after them, but not with food, no, they found that place to be good.’
- (21) *mot a nón tân iâ si=nér*
 and ART place VIS.MED CONT AL=3PL
 ‘And that place belongs to them.’

- (22) *lo la pat iân óró, nér ki gán,*
 or in part time VIS.PROX 3PL HAB leave
- mot ulát lâŋ a saka lo iuâi a ualan,*
 and go.around like ART one or two ART moon
- baté nér ki taual aman,*
 then 3PL HAB return come
- mot tom kuuál pâ niáu la lu”*
 and sit together with 1SG in house
- ‘But now they always leave and move around for one or two months, then they always return and stay with me in the house.’”

2.11. The life of us young people

By Micheal Makis (Mo clan)

- (1) *té, óró a tó si=mam polok-an óró Mâiân*
 then VIS.PROX PFV live AL=1PL.EXC grow-NOML VIS.PROX M.
 ‘Okay, this is the life of us young people here in Maiang (Piliua).’
- (2) *mam ki pâ buák i=n=a tâpelek*
 1PL.EXC HAB with want INAL=3SG=ART play
 ‘We always want to play (sports) games.’
- (3) *tâmo mam a tom guguál kálá tâpelek si=mam la bul sârere*
 now 1PL.EXC PFV sit on.top on play AL=1PL.EXC in PL Saturday
 ‘Now we are on our playing field every Saturday.’
- (4) *mânâs si=mam a tom kálá tâpelek*
 interest AL=1PL.EXC PFV sit on play
 ‘Our interest is in playing games.’
- (5) *mot tâmo sârere ró, mam ók pan,*
 and now Saturday VIS.PROX 1PL.EXC FUT go
i=n=a â=gán pus-én a kas-nón bul tim si=mam,
 INAL=3SG=ART CAU=leave throw-TR ART other-NSG PL team AL=1PL.EXC
té gren fâinal si=mam
 then grand finale AL=1PL.EXC
 ‘And now this Saturday, we will go to knockout some other of our teams, then (there will be) our grand finale.’
- (6) *té mam ók silé lântuá=n=a*
 then 1PL.EXC FUT enter inside=3SG=ART
 ‘Then we will go inside.’
- (7) *la mi=n=a, mam pâ bul boi-uiân,*
 in back=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC with PL eat.INTR-small
mam ki ualai la â=mot~mot i=n=a iân
 1PL.EXC HAB do in CAU=INTR~finish INAL=3SG=ART time
 ‘Afterwards, we have small feasts that we usually do on the weekends.’
- (8) *mam ók mere pâ tâpelek si=mam,*
 1PL.EXC FUT be.happy with play AL=1PL.EXC
i=n=a mam ik peuel-im bul polok-an si=mam,
 INAL=3SG=ART 1PL.EXC IPFV farewell-TR PL grow-NOML AL=1PL.EXC
amâ ki tâpelek, i=n=a ráŋ nás, nér ók tâpelek rokon,
 where HAB play INAL=3SG=ART see who 3PL FUT play good

té nás ka pâ bul máláúák-biân, nan kóró â=tén
 then who RM.PST with PL behaviour-small 3SG PST.HAB CAU=show
 'We will be happy with our game, then we will farewell our young people who would play to see who plays well, and who has got some talent that he would show.'

(9) *té â=mot~mot i=n=a ki pâ bul tâpelek-biân,*
 then CAU=INTR~finish INAL=3SG=ART HAB with PL play-small

lâŋ mam ik tom irám, mot sik pák
 like 1PL.EXC IPFV sit drink and take turn

lántuá=n=a bul to~tom-an kuuál-biân, mam ki ualai
 inside=3SG=ART PL NOML~sit-NOML be.together-small 1PL.EXC HAB do

'Then in the end, there are usually little games, like we sit and drink and have fun in the little meetings we organise.'

2.12. Preparations for the Tiang Book launch

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *óró a âigot bouon a pâl~pâl-an óró Pâsauai*
 VIS.PROX PFV be.ready wait ART INTR~plan-NOML VIS.PROX P.
 ‘This is the preparation for the event here in Pasauai.’
- (2) *lu=biâñ ka gâl~gâl, mot a bák a réñ,*
 PL=small RM.PST INTR~sweep and ART place PFV clean
- mot óró a âigot si=mam,*
 and VIS.PROX PFV be.ready AL=1PL.EXC
- i=n=a bouon a iân i=n=a lonciñ óró Pâsauai*
 INAL=3SG=ART wait ART time INAL=3SG=ART launch VIS.PROX P.
 ‘The boys have swept, and the place is clean, and this is the preparation for the time of the (book) launch here in Pasauai.’
- (3) *a ku=n=a malai óró, nan a âigot rokon tuna bouon*
 ART belly=3SG=ART village VIS.PROX 3SG PFV be.ready good true wait
- a iân-bin, amâ mam ók sâñ la eipril*
 ART time-big where 1PL.EXC FUT arrive in April
 ‘This area is preparing very well the event, which we will have in April.’
- (4) *a ku=n=a malai si=mam óró Pâsauai,*
 ART belly=3SG=ART village AL=1PL.EXC VIS.PROX P.
- nan a tom óró Piliua*
 3SG PFV sit VIS.PROX P.
 ‘Our area here in Pasauai is here in Piliua.’
- (5) *atâmo ró pâ bul lu=biâñ óró=k âisók lântuá=n=a lu*
 now VIS.PROX with PL PL=small VIS.PROX=IPFV work inside=3SG=ART house
- i=n=a tán~tán, amâ ita lo lu=tén ók tán~tán*
 INAL=3SG=ART INTR~cook where 1PL.INC or PL=woman FUT INTR~cook
- lantuá=n=a la iân=a lonciñ*
 inside=3SG=ART in time.3SG=ART launch
 ‘Now here are boys working on the cooking house in which we or the women will cook during the time of the (book) launch.’
- (6) *nan a lu i=n=a â=kokos an a kulâu*
 3SG PFV house INAL=3SG=ART CAU=meal NOML ART people
 ‘It is a house to feed the people.’
- (7) *mot óró la, kas-nón lu=biâñ, nér ró=k soko lu*
 and VIS.PROX again other-NSG PL=small 3PL VIS.PROX=IPFV beat house
 ‘And here, the boys are also making a (sago leaf) roof.’

- (8) *lo óró ti la, na Mâikal, lo â=i ti tâ la,*
 or VIS.PROX stand again PN.ART M. or DIST=IPFV stand VIS.DIST again

na Tâmtâm mat na Otniel
 PN.ART T. and PN.ART O.

'And the one also standing here is Michael, and also standing there are Tamtam and Otniel.'

- (9) *lo la pâis i Otniel na Mângâp,*
 or in side INAL O. PN.ART M.

mat na Robat tâ la pat tâ
 and PN.ART R. VIS.DIST in part VIS.DIST

'And next to Otniel is Mangap, and Robert is over there.'

- (10) *óró a âigot si=mam*
 VIS.PROX PFV be.ready AL=1PL.EXC
 'This is our preparation.'

- (11) *óró tom ala ró, na rere Tâbiri, a âisók si=n=a rarau,*
 VIS.PROX sit again VIS.PROX PN.ART uncle T. ART work AL=3SG=ART correct

i=n=a pekel mot kakai márás, i=n=a soko lu
 INAL=3SG=ART split and scrape vine.sp. INAL=3SG=ART beat house

'The one also standing here is Uncle Tabiri, his work is to split and scrape out *márás* vines to make the (sago leaf) roof.'

- (12) *óró tom ala ró, na Rondi,*
 VIS.PROX sit again VIS.PROX PN.ART R.

nan óró=k kés boi-an i=n=a tán~tán,
 3SG VIS.PROX=IPFV peel eat-NOML INAL=3SG=ART INTR~cook

i=n=a â=kokos an a lu=biâŋ ik soko lu
 INAL=3SG=ART CAU=meal NOML ART PL=small IPFV beat house

'The one also sitting here is Rondy, she is peeling food to cook to feed the boys who are making the (sago leaf) roof.'

- (13) *pâ iuan ala ró, pâ kêtepel óró mati kálá=n=a,*
 with platform again VIS.PROX with slingshot VIS.PROX lie on=3SG=ART

mot a bi óró kálá=n=a
 and ART bag VIS.PROX on=3SG=ART

'There is also a table here, there is a slingshot on it, and (there is) this bag on it.'

- (14) *nan ka=n=a bul lu=tén, i=n=a tom âi=us,*
 3SG for=3SG=ART PL PL=woman INAL=3SG=ART sit REC=follow

mot i=n=a kés an a boi-an lo sâ bul munâi,
 and INAL=3SG=ART peel NOML ART eat-NOML or what PL vegetable

ner ók ŋos
 3PL FUT cut

'It is for the women to sit and relax and to peel the food or whatever vegetables they will cut.'

- (15) *óró ti ró, na bole, nan a kas makata Rondi,*
 VIS.PROX stand VIS.PROX PN.ART in.law 3SG PFV other opposite.sex.sibling R.

lo nan a lek-biân kalapós
 or 3SG PFV man-small bamboo.slit.drum

‘The one standing here is (my) in-law, he is one of Rondy’s brothers, and he is a boy from New Hannover (lit. bamboo slit drum).’

- (16) *tâmo ró, nan óró=k â=lak a pan*
 now VIS.PROX 3SG VIS.PROX=IPFV CAU=go.up PFV go

a paka=n=a lu guguál
 ART leaf=3SG=ART house on.top

‘He is now lifting up the (sago) leaf roof.’

- (17) *kas ala tân, nó ráη a pan,*
 other again VIS.MED 2SG see PFV go

nan a kas makata Rondi
 3SG PFV other opposite.sex.sibling R.

‘The other one that you see there is another brother of Rondy.’

- (18) *nan a lek-biân kalapós, isá=n=a na Toni*
 3SG PFV man-small bamboo.slit.drum name=3SG=ART PN.ART T.

‘He is a boy from New Hannover (lit. bamboo slit drum), his name is Toni.’

- (19) *tâmo nan ró=k silé man óró*
 now 3SG VIS.PROX=IPFV enter come VIS.PROX

‘He is coming inside now.’

- (20) *mat a tâmo la, nó=k ráη a pan,*
 and ART now again 2SG=FUT see PFV go

nan a kas nâ, nan a päs-muá
 3SG PFV other NVIS.DIST 3SG PFV step-front

an a päl~päl-an óró la ku=n=a malai,
 about ART INTR~plan-NOML VIS.PROX in belly=3SG=ART village

na Jeikop Bâtsinuk, nan tâmo óró=i ti kálám a lu=biân,
 PN.ART J. B. 3SG now VIS.PROX=IPFV stand watch ART PL=small

mat nan óró=k kus nér,
 and 3SG VIS.PROX=IPFV tell 3PL

po imé=k soko lu lâη=âtâ,
 COMP 2PL=IPFV beat house like=VIS.DIST

mé=k âigot lâη=âtâ i=n=a iân-bin si=ra
 2PL=IPFV be.ready like=VIS.DIST INAL=3SG=ART time-big AL=1PL.INC

‘And now you also see, he is another one who leads this event in the area, Jacob Bartsinuk, he is now watching the boys, and he tells them how they (lit. you) should make the (sago leaf) roof, how they (lit. you) should prepare our event.’

- (21) *mot a béŋ=én=a la óró=k âísók pék*
 and ART head=3SG=ART again VIS.PROX=IPFV work strong
- pâ kas-nón bul lom~lomon, amâ nan i buák lis,*
 with other-NSG PL INTR~think where 3SG IPFV want give
- i=n=a â=pék an a iân*
 INAL=3SG=ART CAU=strong NOML ART time
 'And his head is also working hard with some ideas that he wants to give to make the event better.'
- (22) *tâ la, nan a mat~mat i=n=a lek tokon*
 VIS.DIST again 3SG PFV NOML~die INAL=3SG=ART man own
- a lu óró, isá=n=a na Reni Lâté*
 ART house VIS.PROX name=3SG=ART PN.ART R. L.
 'Also there, there is the grave of the owner of his house, his name was Rennie Late.'
- (23) *nan a mat kâuâi, lo mam óró tom la lu si=n=a,*
 3SG PFV die already or 1PL.EXC VIS.PROX sit in house AL=3SG=ART
- i=n=a ualai an a âísók lantuá=n=a iân-bin óró*
 INAL=3SG=ART do NOML ART work inside=3SG=ART time-big VIS.PROX
 'He is already dead, but we live here in his house to do the work for this event.'
- (24) *tâmo la lu=biâŋ óró ti, nér óró=k soko lu*
 now again PL=small VIS.PROX stand 3PL VIS.PROX=IPFV beat house
 'The boys here are also making a (sago leaf) roof now.'
- (25) *óró, nan a âigot bouoŋ i=n=a iân-bin*
 VIS.PROX 3SG PFV be.ready wait INAL=3SG=ART time-big
- ók sâŋ aman lantuá=n=a ku=n=a malai*
 FUT arrive come inside=3SG=ART belly=3SG=ART village
 'This is the preparation of the event that will come to the area.'
- (26) *é=k lomom, nan isaŋ*
 1SG=IPFV think 3SG alone
 'I think that is all.'
- (27) *rokon pâ loŋoi*
 good with hear
 'Thank you for listening.'

2.13. Bau

By Joseph Kombeng (Kaméré clan)

- (1) *na Bâ'u*
PN.ART B.
'Bau.'
- (2) *inkâuâi tuna, kas-nón mâsât a pan kâuâi,*
old real other-NSG year PFV go already

ka pâ lek mata riáp
RM.PST with man eye dark
'A long time ago, already some years ago, there was a blind man.'
- (3) *lo uru pat mata=n=a kápái a riáp*
or DU part eye=3SG=ART all PFV dark
'And both his eyes were blind.'
- (4) *lo isá=n=a na Bâ'u*
or name=3SG=ART PN.ART B.
'And his name was Bau.'
- (5) *nan a lek-bin Sopokor*
3SG PFV man-big big.frigatebird
'He was an elder of the Sopokor clan.'
- (6) *lo na lek-bin onén, na Bâ'u,*
or PN.ART man-big NVIS.PROX PN.ART B.

iâl i=n=a mata=n=a a riáp,
although INAL=3SG=ART eye=3SG=ART PFV dark

noŋ nan ik iâ pan~pan lak Lâpâi,
be.enough 3SG IPFV CONT PL~go go.up L.

noŋ nan ik iâ pan Káriá, nan ik pan Pântekom,
be.enough 3SG IPFV CONT go K. 3SG IPFV go P.

nan ik pan Káláunapok, lo nan ik man óró Piliua
3SG IPFV go K. or 3SG IPFV come VIS.PROX P.
'But this elder, Bau, although he was blind, he could walk up to Lapai, could go to Karia, he would go to Pantekom, he would go to Kalaunapok, and he would come here to Piliua.'
- (7) *a sâ bul nón kápái nân, lâŋ pan la marat,*
ART what PL place all NVIS.MED like go in garden

lo kár la susu, la bul bák kápái nân,
or go.down in wash.INTR in PL place all NVIS.MED

noŋ nan ik iâ pan lantuá=n=a
be.enough 3SG IPFV CONT go inside=3SG=ART
'Whatever place, like going to the garden or going down to wash, all those places he could go to.'

- (8) *nan ala noŋ nan ik loŋoi kinéla nó,*
3SG again be.enough 3SG IPFV hear recognise 2SG
la iân nó=k ra~rauai si=n=a
in time 2SG=FUT PL~make.sound AL=3SG=ART
'He could also recognise you when you talked to him.'
- (9) *lo la iân nó=k kus nan pâ isá=m,*
or in time 2SG=FUT tell 3SG with name=2SG
la pat iân tân, a léŋ=ém mo, nan ók loŋoi kinéla
in part time VIS.MED ART voice=2SG only 3SG FUT hear recognise
'And once you had told him your name, that moment, only by your voice, he would recognise you.'
- (10) *mot la iân sémén imiâi a âi=puát la salan,*
and in time if 2DU PFV REC=find in way
mot nó maulék nan, lo lâ-lâs nan, lo lá-uáŋ nan,
and 2SG morning 3SG or in-noon 3SG or in-night 3SG
lo le-le nan, nan ók iâ kinéla a léŋ=ém,
or in-afternoon 3SG 3SG FUT CONT recognise ART voice=2SG
mot nan ók iâ kel a isá=m
and 3SG FUT CONT call ART name=2SG
'And when you met on the road, and you said "good morning" to him, or "good day" to him, or "good night" to him, or "good afternoon" to him, he would recognise your voice, and he would call your name.'
- (11) *té miâ=k ra~rauai*
then 2DU=IPFV PL~make.sound
'Then you would talk.'
- (12) *la iân miâi ók gán, noŋ nan ik â=táŋ*
in time 2DU FUT leave be.enough 3SG IPFV CAU=say
ta paka=n ra~rauai, i=n=a nó gán,
IND.ART leaf=3SG PL~make.sound INAL=3SG=ART 2SG leave
lâŋ a lâ-lâs ka'u, lo le-le, lo lá-uáŋ, lo maulék,
like ART in-noon maybe or in-afternoon or in-night or morning
la iân miâ=k gán~gán âi=potok-â
in time 2DU=FUT PL~leave REC=share-INTR
'When you would leave, he could say the (right) word (lit. leaf of speech) of goodbye (lit. you leaving), like "good day" maybe, or "good afternoon", or "good night", or "good morning", at the time when you two split.'
- (13) *ka pan, ka pan, ka pan tâmo, ka pâ bul kulâu,*
RM.PST go RM.PST go RM.PST go now RM.PST with PL people
ner ka lák a mat nan tâmo
3PL RM.PST hit PFV die 3SG now
'This went on and on now, there were people who killed him now.'

- (14) *nér ka lák a mat nan, mot noŋ tanén tâmo,*
 3PL RM.PST hit PFV die 3SG and be.enough today now
- nó ók piâ=n=a ráŋ ala a lek onén,*
 2SG FUT PROH.INAL=3SG=ART see again ART man NVIS.PROX
- na Bâ'u, nan a mat kâuâi*
 PN.ART B. 3SG PFV die already
 'They killed him, and until today, you cannot see this man again, Bau, he is already dead.'

- (15) *lo lantuá=n=a pat iân óró mo,*
 or inside=3SG=ART part time VIS.PROX only
- noŋ a kulâu ók pini pâ nan si=m mo,*
 be.enough ART people FUT story with 3SG AL=2SG only
- po pâ kas tiár lâŋ=âtâ, isá=n=a na Bâ'u*
 COMP with other person like=VIS.DIST name=3SG=ART PN.ART B.
 'But at this moment only, people can only tell you stories about him, that there was such a man named Bau.'

- (16) *nan ka lek mata riáp,*
 3SG RM.PST man eye dark
- lo nan ka tom óró la kuráŋ si=ra óró Tiául*
 or 3SG RM.PST sit VIS.PROX in world AL=1PL.INC VIS.PROX T.
 'He was a blind man, and he was living here on our land here on Djaul.'

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

2.14. Maima fell down

By Bill Apelis (Ma'iuva clan)

(1) *na Mâimâ ka puka*
 PN.ART M. RM.PST fall
 'Maima fell down.'

(2) *kas iân ka pâ kas ten-biân, isá=n=a na Mâimâ*
 other time RM.PST with other woman-small name=3SG=ART PN.ART M.
 'Once, there was a girl, her name was Maima.'

(3) *ner ka â=én nan, po nan ik lak pulás*
 3PL RM.PST CAU=send 3SG COMP 3SG IPFV go.up mustard
 'They sent her to climb for mustard.'

(4) *lo ner ka â=én nan, i=n=a lak~lak,*
 or 3PL RM.PST CAU=send 3SG INAL=3SG=ART INTR~go.up

lo la iân ónén ka pâ lánát-bin,
 or in time NVIS.PROX RM.PST with rain-big

mot a uái ka mémé
 and ART tree RM.PST slippery

'And they sent her to climb up, but at that time, there was heavy rain, and the tree was slippery.'

(5) *lo la iân nan ka tom guguál kálá uái pulás,*
 or in time 3SG RM.PST sit on.top on tree mustard

a málá mot a lánát-bin ónén a sâη
 ART wind and ART rain-big NVIS.PROX PFV arrive

'And when she was sitting on the top of the mustard tree, wind and this heavy rain came.'

(6) *nan ka pârék ta nón ala ka=n=a,*
 3SG RM.PST have.NEG IND.ART place again for=3SG=ART

i=n=a nan ik to~toi pék,
 INAL=3SG=ART 3SG IPFV INTR~touch strong

si=n=a a uái a mémé
 AL=3SG=ART ART tree PFV slippery

'She did not have any place for herself anymore to hold onto because the tree was slippery.'

(7) *tâmo nan a tepel gán tâ guguál, mot kár mati li-piá*
 now 3SG PFV slip leave VIS.DIST on.top and go.down lie in-ground
 'Now she slipped from the top and fell down lying on the ground.'

(8) *lo la iân nan ka kár mati li-piá,*
 or in time 3SG RM.PST go.down lie in-ground

nan ka bok a lima=n=a
 3SG RM.PST break ART arm=3SG=ART

'But when she fell down lying on the ground, she broke her arm.'

- (9) *a pat-kais lima=n=a ka to-uok*
 ART part-left arm=3SG=ART RM.PST PASS-break
 ‘Her left arm was broken.’
- (10) *a lima=n=a ónén tâmo ka to-uok,*
 ART arm=3SG=ART NVIS.PROX now RM.PST PASS-break
- ner a gâi a pan nan*
 3PL PFV accompany PFV go 3SG
- la lu i=n=a â=tó~tó*
 in house INAL=3SG=ART CAU=INTR~live
 ‘Her arm was broken now, they took her to the hospital.’
- (11) *tâmo ner ka papa a lima=n=a*
 now 3PL RM.PST shape ART arm=3SG=ART
 ‘Now they put her arm in a cast.’
- (12) *nan isaŋ*
 3SG alone
 ‘That is it.’
- (13) *mot tâmo*
 finish now
 ‘This is the end now.’

2.15. The snake, the cuscus and a married couple

By Timothy Masaram (Keu clan)

- (1) *pini i=n=a tuái iriái óré, té uru âi=laua=n-an*
 story INAL=3SG=ART snake 3DU cuscus then DU REC=husband=3SG-NOML
 ‘The story of the snake and the cuscus, and a married couple.’
- (2) *kas iân ka pâ uru âi=laua=n-an,*
 other time RM.PST with DU REC=husband=3SG-NOML
- iriái ka âi=pál, po iriái ik lak la marat*
 3DU RM.PST REC=plan COMP 3DU IPFV go.up in garden
 ‘Once, there was a married couple, they had planned to go up to the garden.’
- (3) *iriái ka pan la marat, i=n=a gó~gón,*
 3DU RM.PST go in garden INAL=3SG=ART INTR~weed
- lo la iân ónén, a uás ka só~só,*
 or in time NVIS.PROX ART sun RM.PST INTR~pierce
- mot a ninák*
 and PFV hot
 ‘They went to the garden to weed, but at that time, the sun was shining bright and hot.’
- (4) *lo iriái ka iâ âisók lantuá=n=a uás*
 or 3DU RM.PST CONT work inside=3SG=ART sun
 ‘But they were still working in the sun.’
- (5) *iriái iâ âisók pan pan pan,*
 3DU CONT work go go go
- lek tâuan nâ nen a uás a lalaŋ nan*
 man male NVIS.DIST feel ART sun PFV warm 3SG
 ‘They were working and working, the man felt the sun burning him.’
- (6) *la iân nan a nen a uás a ninák,*
 in time 3SG PFV feel ART sun PFV hot
- baté nan a pan, mot a mati pâ kas uái-uin*
 then 3SG PFV go and PFV lie with other tree-big
 ‘When he felt the sun was hot, he went and lay down under a big tree.’
- (7) *la iân nan ka mati pâ uái,*
 in time 3SG RM.PST lie with tree
- a ku=n=a ka ráŋ~ráŋ lak tâ guguál*
 ART belly=3SG=ART RM.PST INTR~see go.up VIS.DIST on.top
 ‘When he lay down under the tree, his belly was facing upwards.’
- (8) *la iân nan ka mati ráŋ~ráŋ lak, a kek=en=a,*
 in time 3SG RM.PST lie INTR~see go.up ART leg=3SG=ART

nan ka pus-én a lak kálá kas pat kek=en=a
 3SG RM.PST throw-TR PFV go.up on other part leg=3SG=ART
 ‘When he was lying belly-up, his leg, he put it over his other leg.’

- (9) *a pat-uân kek=en=a ka lak la pat-kais,*
 ART part-right leg=3SG=ART RM.PST go.up in part-left

lo uru keke=n=a ka lak
 or DU leg=3SG=ART RM.PST go.up
 ‘His right leg was on top of his left one, but both his feet were pointing upwards.’

- (10) *té nan kóró pus-én a lak a mata=n=a tâ guguál,*
 then 3SG PST.HAB throw-TR PFV go.up ART eye=3SG=ART VIS.DIST on.top

nan a ráη puát na morâm iriâi óré, iriâi ik âi=pâs
 3SG PFV see find PN.ART python 3DU cuscus 3DU IPFV REC=step
 ‘Then he kept looking upwards to the top (of the tree), he saw a python and a cuscus chasing each other.’

- (11) *tâmo nan a ráη a óré ik iâ ko~kouos kól*
 now 3SG PFV see ART CUSCUS IPFV CONT INTR~jump.on go.around

kálá éηé=n=a uái,
 on branch=3SG=ART tree

lo na morâm ik iâ â=us nan
 or PN.ART python IPFV CONT CAU=follow 3SG

‘Now he saw the cuscus jumping around on the branches of the tree, and the python was following it.’

- (12) *na morâm kóró buák tuna, po ik iot na óré*
 PN.ART python PST.HAB want true COMP IPFV hold PN.ART CUSCUS
 ‘The python really wanted to catch the cuscus.’

- (13) *na óré kóró bát kol-an nan pan,*
 PN.ART CUSCUS PST.HAB trick go.around-TR 3SG go

noη na óré ala a pârék ta nón,
 be.enough PN.ART CUSCUS again PFV have.NEG IND.ART place

po nan ik pu, pat i=n=a na morâm iâ bont-en
 COMP 3SG IPFV escape part INAL=3SG=ART PN.ART python CONT block-TR

a bul salan kápái ka óré, i=n=a pu
 ART PL way all for CUSCUS INAL=3SG=ART escape

‘The cuscus tricked him around until the cuscus did not have any more space to escape, because the python would block every way for the cuscus to escape.’

- (14) *sí=n=a ka pârék ta salan ka óré,*
 AL=3SG=ART RM.PST have.NEG IND.ART way for cuscus

i=n=a pu an a morâm,
 INAL=3SG=ART escape about ART python

iriâi iâ âi=pâs pan rarau la bák nâ,
 3DU CONT REC=step go correct in place NVIS.DIST

na laua ten nâ iâ mati
 PN.ART husband woman NVIS.DIST CONT lie

‘Because there was no way for the cuscus to escape from the python, they chased each other right to the place where the woman’s husband was lying.’

(15) *na óré iâ lóskârâu sái la bák ónén rarau,*
 PN.ART cuscus CONT jump go.down in place NVIS.PROX correct

baté la mi=n=a, na morâm a â=u~us
 then in back=3SG=ART PN.ART snake.sp. PFV CAU=INTR~follow

‘The cuscus jumped down right to that place, then the python came after.’

(16) *a lek nâ kunai-tj, mot âiát toŋ~toŋ kól,*
 ART man NVIS.DIST startle-stand and run INTR~confuse go.around

si=n=a na óré iriâi morâm a sái rarau si=n=a
 AL=3SG=ART PN.ART cuscus 3DU python PFV go.down correct AL=3SG=ART

‘The man stood up and ran around in confusion because the cuscus and the python fell down to him.’

(17) *a pini a sâŋ mot lâŋ=âtâ*
 ART story PFV arrive finish like=VIS.DIST

‘The story ends like that.’